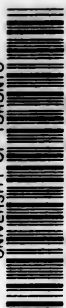


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# SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

Including both the Classical Language, and  
the older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana

BY

**WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY**

*Late Professor of Sanskrit in Yale University, Knight of the Prussian Order  
Pour le Mérite, Corresponding Member of the Académie des Inscrip-  
tions et Belles-Lettres of the Institute of France, etc., Editor-  
in-Chief of The Century Dictionary, an Encyclopedic  
Lexicon of the English Language*



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## PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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It was in June, 1875, as I chanced to be for a day or two in Leipzig, that I was unexpectedly invited to prepare the Sanskrit grammar for the Indo-European series projected by Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel. After some consideration, and consultation with friends, I accepted the task, and have since devoted to it what time could be spared from regular duties, after the satisfaction of engagements earlier formed. If the delay seems a long one, it was nevertheless unavoidable; and I would gladly, in the interest of the work itself, have made it still longer. In every such case, it is necessary to make a compromise between measurably satisfying a present pressing need, and doing the subject fuller justice at the cost of more time; and it seemed as if the call for a Sanskrit grammar on a somewhat different plan from those already in use — excellent as some of these in many respects are — was urgent enough to recommend a speedy completion of the work begun.

The objects had especially in view in the preparation of this grammar have been the following:

1. To make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians. The earliest European grammars were by the necessity of the case chiefly founded on their native prede-

cessors; and a traditional method was thus established which has been perhaps somewhat too closely adhered to, at the expense of clearness and of proportion, as well as of scientific truth. Accordingly, my attention has not been directed toward a profounder study of the grammatical science of the Hindu schools: their teachings I have been contented to take as already reported to Western learners in the existing Western grammars.

2. To include also in the presentation the forms and constructions of the older language, as exhibited in the Veda and the Brāhmana. Grassmann's excellent Index-Vocabulary to the Rig-Veda, and my own manuscript one to the Atharva-Veda (which I hope soon to be able to make public\*), gave me in full detail the great mass of Vedic material; and this, with some assistance from pupils and friends, I have sought to complete, as far as the circumstances permitted, from the other Vedic texts and from the various works of the Brāhmana period, both printed and manuscript.

3. To treat the language throughout as an accented one, omitting nothing of what is known respecting the nature of the Sanskrit accent, its changes in combination and inflection, and the tone of individual words — being, in all this, necessarily dependent especially upon the material presented by the older accentuated texts.

4. To cast all statements, classifications, and so on, into a form consistent with the teachings of linguistic science. In doing this, it has been necessary to discard a few of the long-used and familiar divisions and terms of Sanskrit grammar — for example, the classification and nomenclature of „special tenses” and “general tenses” (which is so indefensible that one can only wonder at its having maintained itself so long), the order and terminology of the conjugation-classes, the separation in treatment of the facts of internal and ex-

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\* It was published, as vol. XII. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, in 1891.

ternal euphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading.

Regard has been constantly had to the practical needs of the learner of the language, and it has been attempted, by due arrangement and by the use of different sizes of type, to make the work as usable by one whose object it is to acquire a knowledge of the classical Sanskrit alone as those are in which the earlier forms are not included. The custom of transliterating all Sanskrit words into European characters, which has become usual in European Sanskrit grammars, is, as a matter of course, retained throughout; and, because of the difficulty of setting even a small Sanskrit type with anything but a large European, it is practiced alone in the smaller sizes.

While the treatment of the facts of the language has thus been made a historical one, within the limits of the language itself, I have not ventured to make it comparative, by bringing in the analogous forms and processes of other related languages. To do this, in addition to all that was attempted beside, would have extended the work, both in content and in time of preparation, far beyond the limits assigned to it. And, having decided to leave out this element, I have done so consistently throughout. Explanations of the origin of forms have also been avoided, for the same reason and for others, which hardly call for statement.

A grammar is necessarily in great part founded on its predecessors, and it would be in vain to attempt an acknowledgment in detail of all the aid received from other scholars. I have had at hand always especially the very scholarly and reliable brief summary of Kielhorn, the full and

excellent work of Monier Williams, the smaller grammar of Bopp (a wonder of learning and method for the time when it was prepared), and the volumes of Benfey and Müller. As regards the material of the language, no other aid, of course, has been at all comparable with the great Petersburg lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth, the existence of which gives by itself a new character to all investigations of the Sanskrit language. What I have not found there or in the special collections made by myself or by others for me, I have called below "not quotable" — a provisional designation, necessarily liable to correction in detail by the results of further researches. For what concerns the verb, its forms and their classification and uses, I have had, as every one must have, by far the most aid from Delbrück, in his *Altindisches Verbum* and his various syntactical contributions. Former pupils of my own, Professors Avery and Edgren, have also helped me, in connection with this subject and with others, in a way and measure that calls for public acknowledgment. In respect to the important matter of the declension in the earliest language, I have made great use of the elaborate paper in the *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* (printing contemporaneously with this work, and used by me almost, but not quite, to the end of the subject) by my former pupil Prof. Lanman; my treatment of it is founded on his. My manifold obligations to my own teacher, Prof. Weber of Berlin, also require to be mentioned: among other things, I owe to him the use of his copies of certain unpublished texts of the Brāhmana period, not otherwise accessible to me; and he was kind enough to look through with me my work in its inchoate condition, favoring me with valuable suggestions. For this last favor I have likewise to thank Prof. Delbrück — who, moreover, has taken the trouble to glance over for a like purpose the greater part of the proof-sheets of the grammar, as they came from the press. To Dr. L. von Schröder is due whatever use I have been



able to make (unfortunately a very imperfect one) of the important Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā.\*

Of the deficiencies of my work I am, I think, not less fully aware than any critic of it, even the severest, is likely to be. Should it be found to answer its intended purpose well enough to come to another edition, my endeavor will be to improve and complete it; and I shall be grateful for any corrections or suggestions which may aid me in making it a more efficient help to the study of the Sanskrit language and literature.

GOTHA, July 1879.

W. D. W.

## PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

In preparing a new edition of this grammar, I have made use of the new material gathered by myself during the intervening years,\*\* and also of that gathered by others, so far as it was accessible to me and fitted into my plan;\*\*\* and I have had the benefit of kind suggestions from various quarters — for all of which I desire to return a grateful acknowledgment. By such help, I have been able not only to correct and repair certain errors and omissions of the first edition, but also to speak with more definiteness upon

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\* Since published in full by him, 1881—6.

\*\* A part of this new material was published by myself in 1885, as a Supplement to the grammar, under the title "Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language".

\*\*\* Especially deserving of mention is Holtzmann's collection of material from the Mahābhārata, also published (1884) in the form of a Supplement to this work; also Būhtlingk's similar collection from the larger half of the Rāmāyaṇa.

very many points relating to the material and usages of the language.

In order not to impair the applicability of the references already made to the work by various authors, its paragraphing has been retained unchanged throughout; for increased convenience of further reference, the subdivisions of paragraphs have been more thoroughly marked, by letters (now and then changing a former lettering); and the paragraph-numbers have been set at the outer instead of the inner edge of the upper margin.

My remoteness from the place of publication has forbidden me the reading of more than one proof; but the kindness of Professor Lanman in adding his revision (accompanied by other timely suggestions) to mine, and the care of the printers, will be found, I trust, to have aided in securing a text disfigured by few errors of the press.

Circumstances beyond my control have delayed for a year or two the completion of this revision, and have made it in some parts less complete than I should have desired.

NEW-HAVEN, Sept. 1888.

W. D. W.

## INTRODUCTION.

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### BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN LITERATURE.

It seems desirable to give here such a sketch of the history of Indian literature as shall show the relation to one another of the different periods and forms of the language treated in the following grammar, and the position of the works there quoted.

The name "Sanskrit" (*saṁskṛta*, 1087 d, *adorned, elaborated, perfected*), which is popularly applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India, belongs more properly only to that dialect which, regulated and established by the labors of the native grammarians, has led for the last two thousand years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe, as the written and spoken means of communication of the learned and priestly caste; and which even at the present day fills that office. It is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from the later and derived dialects — as the Prākṛit, forms of language which have datable monuments from as early as the third century before Christ, and which are represented by inscriptions and coins, by the speech of the uneducated characters in the Sanskrit dramas (see below), and by a limited literature; the Pāli, a Prakritic dialect which became the sacred language of Buddhism in Farther India, and is

still in service there as such ; and yet later and more altered tongues forming the transition to the languages of modern India. And, on the other hand, it is distinguished, but very much less sharply and widely, from the older dialects or forms of speech presented in the canonical literature, the Veda and Brāhmaṇa.

This fact, of the fixation by learned treatment of an authorized mode of expression, which should thenceforth be used according to rule in the intercourse of the educated, is the cardinal one in Indian linguistic history; and as the native grammatical literature has determined the form of the language, so it has also to a large extent determined the grammatical treatment of the language by European scholars.

Much in the history of the learned movement is still obscure, and opinions are at variance even as to points of prime consequence. Only the concluding works in the development of the grammatical science have been preserved to us; and though they are evidently the perfected fruits of a long series of learned labors, the records of the latter are lost beyond recovery. The time and the place of the creation of Sanskrit are unknown; and as to its occasion, we have only our inferences and conjectures to rely upon. It seems, however, altogether likely that the grammatical sense of the ancient Hindus was awakened in great measure by their study of the traditional sacred texts, and by their comparison of its different language with that of contemporary use. It is certain that the grammatical study of those texts (*ṣākhās*, lit'ly *branches*), phonetic and other, was zealously and effectively followed in the Brahmanic schools; this is attested by our possession of a number of phonetico-grammatical treatises, *prātiṣākhyas* (*prati ṣākhām belonging to each several text*), each having for subject one principal Vedic text, and noting all its peculiarities of form; these, both by the depth and exactness of their own researches and by the number of authorities which they quote, speak plainly of a lively scientific activity continued during a long time. What part, on the other hand, the notice of differ-

ences between the correct speech of the learned and the altered dialects of the vulgar may have borne in the same movement is not easy to determine; but it is not customary that a language has its proper usages fixed by rule until the danger is distinctly felt of its undergoing corruption.

The labors of the general school of Sanskrit grammar reached a climax in the grammarian Pāṇini, whose text-book, containing the facts of the language cast into the highly artful and difficult form of about four thousand algebraic-formula-like rules (in the statement and arrangement of which brevity alone is had in view, at the cost of distinctness and unambiguity), became for all after time the authoritative, almost sacred, norm of correct speech. Respecting his period, nothing really definite and trustworthy is known; but he is with much probability held to have lived some time (two to four centuries) before the Christian era. He has had commentators in abundance, and has undergone at their hands some measure of amendment and completion; but he has not been overthrown or superseded. The chief and most authoritative commentary on his work is that called the *Māhābhāṣya* *great comment*, by Pāṇinī.

A language, even if not a vernacular one, which is in tolerably wide and constant use for writing and speaking, is, of course, kept in life principally by direct tradition, by communication from teacher to scholar and the study and imitation of existing texts, and not by the learning of grammatical rules; yet the existence of grammatical authority, and especially of a single one, deemed infallible and of prescriptive value, could not fail to exert a strong regulative influence, leading to the avoidance more and more of what was, even if lingering in use, inconsistent with his teachings, and also, in the constant reproduction of texts, to the gradual effacement of whatever they might contain that was unapproved. Thus the whole more modern literature of India has been Paninized, so to speak, pressed into the mould prepared by him and his school. What are the limits of the artificiality of this process is not yet known.

The attention of special students of the Hindu grammar (and the subject is so intricate and difficult that the number is exceedingly small of those who have mastered it sufficiently to have a competent opinion on such general matters) has been hitherto mainly directed toward determining what the Sanskrit according to Pāṇini really is, toward explaining the language from the grammar. And, naturally enough, in India, or wherever else the leading object is to learn to speak and write the language correctly — that is, as authorized by the grammarians — that is the proper course to pursue. This, however, is not the way really to understand the language. The time must soon come, or it has come already, when the endeavor shall be instead to explain the grammar from the language: to test in all details, so far as shall be found possible, the reason of Pāṇini's rules (which contain not a little that seems problematical, or even sometimes perverse); to determine what and how much genuine usage he had everywhere as foundation, and what traces may be left in the literature of usages possessing an inherently authorized character, though unratified by him.

By the term "classical" or "later" language, then, as constantly used below in the grammar, is meant the language of those literary monuments which are written in conformity with the rules of the native grammar: virtually, the whole proper Sanskrit literature. For although parts of this are doubtless earlier than Pāṇini, it is impossible to tell just what parts, or how far they have escaped in their style the leveling influence of the grammar. The whole, too, may be called so far an artificial literature as it is written in a phonetic form (see grammar, 101a) which never can have been a truly vernacular and living one. Nearly all of it is metrical: not poetic works only, but narratives, histories (so far as anything deserving that name can be said to exist), and scientific treatises of every variety, are done into verse; a prose and a prose literature hardly has an existence (the principal exceptions, aside from the voluminous commentaries, are a few stories, as the *Daçakumāracarita* and the *Vāsavadattā*). Of linguistic history there is next to nothing

in it all; but only a history of style, and this for the most part showing a gradual depravation, an increase of artificiality and an intensification of certain more undesirable features of the language — such as the use of passive constructions and of participles instead of verbs, and the substitution of compounds for sentences.

This being the condition of the later literature, it is of so much the higher consequence that there is an earlier literature, to which the suspicion of artificiality does not attach, or attaches at least only in a minimal degree, which has a truly vernacular character, and abounds in prose as well as verse.

The results of the very earliest literary productiveness of the Indian people are the hymns with which, when they had only crossed the threshold of the country, and when their geographical horizon was still limited to the river-basin of the Indus with its tributaries, they praised their gods, the deified powers of nature, and accompanied the rites of their comparatively simple worship. At what period these were made and sung cannot be determined with any approach to accuracy: it may have been as early as 2000 B. C. They were long handed down by oral tradition, preserved by the care, and increased by the additions and imitations, of succeeding generations; the mass was ever growing, and, with the change of habits and beliefs and religious practices, was becoming variously applied — sung in chosen extracts, mixed with other material into liturgies, adapted with more or less of distortion to help the needs of a ceremonial which was coming to be of immense elaboration and intricacy. And, at some time in the course of this history, there was made for preservation a great collection of the hymn-material, mainly its oldest and most genuine part, to the extent of over a thousand hymns and ten thousand verses, arranged according to traditional authorship and to subject and length and metre of hymn: this collection is the *Rig-Veda Veda of verses* (१०) or of *hymns*. Other collections were made also out of the same general mass of traditional material: doubtless later, although the inter-

relations of this period are as yet too unclear to allow of our speaking with entire confidence as to anything concerning them. Thus, the **Sāma-Veda** *Veda of chants* (**sāman**), containing only about a sixth as much, its verses nearly all found in the Rig-Veda also, but appearing here with numerous differences of reading: these were passages put together for chanting at the soma-sacrifices. Again, collections called by the comprehensive name of **Yajur-Veda** *Veda of sacrificial formulas* (**yajus**): these contained not verses alone, but also numerous prose utterances, mingled with the former, in the order in which they were practically employed in the ceremonies; they were strictly liturgical collections. Of these, there are in existence several texts, which have their mutual differences: the **Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā** (in two slightly discordant versions, **Mādhyandina** and **Kāṇva**), sometimes also called the White Yajur-Veda; and the various and considerably differing texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, namely the **Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā**, the **Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā**, the **Kapishthala-Saṁhitā**, and the **Kāṭhaka** (the two last not yet published). Finally, another historical collection, like the Rig-Veda, but made up mainly of later and less accepted material, and called (among other less current names) the **Atharva-Veda** *Veda of the Atharvans* (a legendary priestly family); it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the Rig-Veda, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the name of Veda; but for us it is the most interesting of all, after the Rig-Veda, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or **mantra**, as it is called, in distinction from the prose **brāhmaṇa**), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them in only a single known manuscript.

A not insignificant body of like material, and of various period (although doubtless in the main belonging to the latest time of Vedic productiveness, and in part perhaps



the imitative work of a yet more modern time), is scattered through the texts to be later described, the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Sūtras*. To assemble and sift and compare it is now one of the pressing needs of Vedic study.

The fundamental divisions of the Vedic literature here mentioned have all had their various schools of sectaries, each of these with a text of its own, showing some differences from those of the other schools: but those mentioned above are all that are now known to be in existence; and the chance of the discovery of others grows every year smaller.

The labor of the schools in the conservation of their sacred texts was extraordinary, and has been crowned with such success that the text of each school, whatever may be its differences from those of other schools, is virtually without various readings, preserved with all its peculiarities of dialect, and its smallest and most exceptional traits of phonetic form, pure and unobscured. It is not the place here to describe the means by which, in addition to the religious care of the sectaries, this accuracy was secured: forms of text, lists of peculiarities and treatises upon them, and so on. When this kind of care began in the case of each text, and what of original character may have been effaced before it, or lost in spite of it, cannot be told. But it is certain that the Vedic records furnish, on the whole, a wonderfully accurate and trustworthy picture of a form of ancient Indian language (as well as ancient Indian beliefs and institutions) which was a natural and undistorted one, and which goes back a good way behind the classical Sanskrit. Its differences from the latter the following treatise endeavors to show in detail.

Along with the verses and sacrificial formulas and phrases in the text of the Black Yajur-Veda are given long prose sections, in which the ceremonies are described, their meaning and the reason of the details and the accompanying utterances are discussed and explained, illustrative legends are reported or fabricated, and various speculations, etymological and other, are indulged in. Such matter comes

to be called *brāhmaṇa* (apparently *relating to the brahman or worship*). In the White Yajur-Veda, it is separated into a work by itself, beside the *samhitā* or text of verses and formulas, and is called the *Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa Brāhmaṇa of a hundred ways*. Other similar collections are found, belonging to various other schools of Vedic study, and they bear the common name of *Brāhmaṇa*, with the name of the school, or some other distinctive title, prefixed. Thus, the *Āitareya* and *Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇas*, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the *Pañcaviṅṣa* and *Ṣaḍviṅṣa-Brāhmaṇas* and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, to the Atharva-Veda; and a *Jāiminiya- or Talavakāra-Brāhmaṇa*, to the Sāma-Veda, has recently (Burnell) been discovered in India; the *Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa* is a collection of mingled *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, like the *samhitā* of the same name, but supplementary and later. These works are likewise regarded as canonical by the schools, and are learned by their sectaries with the same extreme care which is devoted to the *samhitās*, and their condition of textual preservation is of a kindred excellence. To a certain extent, there is among them the possession of common material: a fact the bearings of which are not yet fully understood.

Notwithstanding the inanity of no small part of their contents, the *Brāhmaṇas* are of a high order of interest in their bearings on the history of Indian institutions; and philologically they are not less important, since they represent a form of language in most respects intermediate between the classical and that of the Vedas, and offer specimens on a large scale of a prose style, and of one which is in the main a natural and freely developed one — the oldest and most primitive Indo-European prose.

Beside the *Brāhmaṇas* are sometimes found later appendices, of a similar character, called *Āraṇyakas* (*forest-sections*): as the *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka*, *Tāittiriya-Āraṇyaka*, *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka*, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the *Brāhmaṇas*, are extracted the earliest *Upa- niṣads* (*sittings, lectures on sacred subjects*) — which,

however, are continued and added to down to a comparatively modern time. The Upanishads are one of the lines by which the Brāhmaṇa literature passes over into the later theological literature.

Another line of transition is shown in the *Sūtras* (*lines, rules*). The works thus named are analogous with the Brāhmaṇas in that they belong to the schools of Vedic study and are named from them, and that they deal with the religious ceremonies: treating them, however, in the way of prescription, not of dogmatic explanation. They, too, contain some *mantra* or hymn-material, not found to occur elsewhere. In part (*ṛāuta* or *kalpa-sūtras*), they take up the great sacrificial ceremonies, with which the Brāhmaṇas have to do; in part (*gṛhya-sūtras*), they teach the minor duties of a pious householder; in some cases (*sāmāyācārika-sūtras*) they lay down the general obligations of one whose life is in accordance with prescribed duty. And out of the last two, or especially the last, come by natural development the law-books (*dharma-śāstras*), which make a conspicuous figure in the later literature: the oldest and most noted of them being that called by the name of **Manu** (an outgrowth, it is believed by many, of the Mānava Vedic school); to which are added that of Yājñavalkya, and many others.

Respecting the chronology of this development, or the date of any class of writings, still more of any individual work, the less that is said the better. All dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again. Every important work has undergone so many more or less transforming changes before reaching the form in which it comes to us, that the question of original construction is complicated with that of final redaction. It is so with the law-book of Manu, just mentioned, which has well-founded claims to being regarded as one of the very oldest works of the proper Sanskrit literature, if not the oldest (it has been variously assigned, to periods from six centuries before Christ to four after Christ). It is so, again, in a still more striking degree, with the great legendary

epic of the **Mahābhārata**. The ground-work of this is doubtless of very early date; but it has served as a text into which materials of various character and period have been inwoven, until it has become a heterogeneous mass, a kind of cyclopedia for the warrior-caste, hard to separate into its constituent parts. The story of **Nala**, and the philosophical poem **Bhagavad-Gītā**, are two of the most noted of its episodes. The **Rāmāyaṇa**, the other most famous epic, is a work of another kind: though also worked over and more or less altered in its transmission to our time, it is the production, in the main, of a single author (Vālmiki); and it is generally believed to be in part allegorical, representing the introduction of Aryan culture and dominion into Southern India. By its side stand a number of minor epics, of various authorship and period, as the **Raghuvaṇṣa** (ascribed to the dramatist Kālidāsa), the **Māghakāvya**, the **Bhāṭṭikāvya** (the last, written chiefly with the grammatical intent of illustrating by use as many as possible of the numerous formations which, through taught by the grammarians, find no place in the literature).

The **Purāṇas**, a large class of works mostly of immense extent, are best mentioned in connection with the epics. They are pseudo-historical and prophetic in character, of modern date, and of inferior value. Real history finds no place in Sanskrit literature, nor is there any conscious historical element in any of the works composing it.

Lyric poetry is represented by many works, some of which, as the **Meghadūta** and **Gītagovinda**, are of no mean order of merit.

The drama is a still more noteworthy and important branch. The first indications of dramatical inclination and capacity on the part of the Hindus are seen in certain hymns of the Veda, where a mythological or legendary situation is conceived dramatically, and set forth in the form of a dialogue — well-known examples are the dialogue of Saramā and the Paṇis, that of Yama and his sister Yamī, that of Vasishtha and the rivers, that of Agni and the other gods — but there are no extant intermediaries between these

and the standard drama. The beginnings of the latter date from a period when in actual life the higher and educated characters used Sanskrit, and the lower and uneducated used the popular dialects derived from it, the Prakrits; and their dialogue reflects this condition of things. Then, however, learning (not to call it pedantry) intervened, and stereotyped the new element; a Prakrit grammar grew up beside the Sanskrit grammar, according to the rules of which Prakrit could be made indefinitely on a substrate of Sanskrit; and none of the existing dramas need to date from the time of vernacular use of Prakrit, while most or all of them are undoubtedly much later. Among the dramatic authors, Kālidāsa is incomparably the chief, and his *Çakuntalā* as distinctly his masterpiece. His date has been a matter of much inquiry and controversy; it is doubtless some centuries later than our era. The only other work deserving to be mentioned along with Kālidāsa's is the *Mṛcchakaṭī* of Çūdraka, also of questionable period, but believed to be the oldest of the extant dramas.

A partly dramatic character belongs also to the fable, in which animals are represented as acting and speaking. The most noted works in this department are the *Pañcatantra*, which through Persian and Semitic versions has made its way all over the world, and contributes a considerable quota to the fable-literature of every European language, and, partly founded on it, the comparatively recent and popular *Hitopadeṣa* (*salutary instruction*).

Two of the leading departments of Sanskrit scientific literature, the legal and the grammatical, have been already sufficiently noticed; of those remaining, the most important by far is the philosophical. The beginnings of philosophical speculation are seen already in some of the later hymns of the Veda, more abundantly in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas*, and then especially in the *Upanishads*. The evolution and historic relation of the systems of philosophy, and the age of their text-books, are matters on which much obscurity still rests. There are six systems of primary rank, and reckoned as orthodox, although really standing in no

accordance with approved religious doctrines. All of them seek the same end, the emancipation of the soul from the necessity of continuing its existence in a succession of bodies, and its unification with the All-soul; but they differ in regard to the means by which they seek to attain this end.

The astronomical science of the Hindus is a reflection of that of Greece, and its literature is of recent date; but as mathematicians, in arithmetic and geometry, they have shown more independence. Their medical science, although its beginnings go back even to the Veda, in the use of medicinal plants with accompanying incantations, is of little account, and its proper literature by no means ancient.

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## ABBREVIATIONS.

- AA. Āitareya-Āraṇyaka.  
 AB. Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa.  
 AÇS. Āçvalāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.  
 AGS. Āçvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.  
 Āpast. Āpastamba-Sūtra.  
 APr. Atharva-Prātiçākhyā.  
 AV. Atharva-Veda.  
 B. or Br. Brāhmaṇas.  
 BAU. Brhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.  
 BhG. Bhagavad-Gītā.  
 BhP. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.  
 BR. Bōhtlingk and Roth (Petersburg Lexicon).  
 C. Classical Sanskrit.  
 Ç. Çakuntalā.  
 Çatr. Çatruṃjaya-Māhātmyam.  
 ÇB. Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa.  
 ÇÇS. Çāṅkhāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.  
 ÇGS. Çāṅkhāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.  
 ChU. Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.  
 ÇvU. Çvetāçvatara-Upaniṣad.  
 DKC. Daça-Kumāra-Carita.  
 E. Epos (MBh. and R.).  
 GB. Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.  
 GGS. Gobhiliya-Grhya-Sūtra.  
 H. Hitopadeça.  
 Har. Harivaṇça.  
 JB. Jāiminiya (or Talavakāra) Brāhmaṇa.  
 JUB. Jāiminiya - Upaniṣad - Brāhmaṇa.  
 K. Kāthaka.  
 Kap. Kapiṣṭhala-Samhitā.  
 KB. Kāuṣītaki- (or Çāṅkhāyana-) Brāhmaṇa.  
 KBU. Kāuṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad.  
 KÇS. Kātyāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.  
 KS. Kāuçika-Sūtra.  
 KSS. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara.  
 KthU. Katha-Upaniṣad.  
 KU. Kena-Upaniṣad.  
 LÇS. Lātyāyana-Çrāuta-Sūtra.  
 M. Manu.  
 MāiU. Māitri-Upaniṣad.  
 MBh. Mahābhārata.  
 MđU. Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad.  
 Megh. Meghadūta.  
 MS. Māitrāyaṇi-Samhitā.  
 Nāiç. Nāiṣadhiya.  
 Nir. Nirukta.  
 Pañc. Pañcatantra.  
 PB. Pañcaviṇça- (or Tāṇḍya-) Brāhmaṇa.  
 PGS. Pāraskara-Grhya-Sūtra.  
 PU. Praçna Upaniṣad.  
 R. Rāmāyaṇa.  
 Ragh. Raghuvāṇça.  
 RPr. Rigveda-Prātiçākhyā.  
 RT. Rāja-Taraṅgini.  
 RV. Rig-Veda.  
 S. Sūtras.  
 ŞB. Şadviṇça-Brāhmaṇa.  
 Spr. Indische Sprüche (Bōhtlingk).  
 ŞV. Sāma-Veda.  
 TA. Tāittiriya-Āraṇyaka.  
 TB. Tāittiriya-Brāhmaṇa.  
 TPr. Tāittiriya-Prātiçākhyā.  
 Tribh. Tribhāṣyaratna (comm. to TPr.).  
 TS. Tāittiriya-Samhitā.  
 U. Upaniṣads.  
 V. Vedas (RV., AV., SV.).  
 Vas. Vasiṣṭha.  
 VBS. Varāha-Bṛhat-Samhitā.  
 Vet. Vetālapañcaviṇçaṭi.  
 Vikr. Vikramorvaçi.  
 VPr. Vājasaneyi-Prātiçākhyā.  
 VS. Vājasaneyi-Samhitā.  
 VS. Kāṇ. do. Kāṇva-text.  
 Y. Yājñavalkya.

## CHAPTER I.

### ALPHABET.

1. THE natives of India write their ancient and sacred language in a variety of alphabets — generally, in each part of the country, in the same alphabet which they use for their own vernacular. The mode of writing, however, which is employed throughout the heart of Aryan India, or in Hindustan proper, is alone adopted by European scholars. it is called the *devanāgarī*.

a. This name is of doubtful origin and value. A more comprehensive name is *nāgarī* (perhaps, *of the city*); and *deva-nāgarī* is *nāgarī of the gods*, or *of the Brahmans*.

2. Much that relates to the history of the Indian alphabets is still obscure. The earliest written monuments of known date in the country are the inscriptions containing the edicts of Aśoka or Piyadasi, of about the middle of the third century B. C. They are in two different systems of characters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitic source, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the same origin. From the latter, the Lath, or Southern Aśoka character (of Girnar), come the later Indian alphabets, both those of the northern Aryan languages and those of the southern Dravidian languages. The *nāgarī*, *devanāgarī*, Bengālī, Guzerātī, and others, are varieties of its northern derivatives; and with them are related some of the alphabets of peoples outside of India — as in Tibet and Farther India — who have adopted Hindu culture or religion.

a. There is reason to believe that writing was first employed in India for practical purposes — for correspondence and business and the like — and only by degrees came to be applied also to literary use. The literature, to a great extent, and the more fully in proportion to its claimed sanctity and authority, ignores all written record, and assumes to be kept in existence by oral tradition alone.

3. Of the *devanāgarī* itself there are minor varieties, depending on differences of locality or of period, as also of individual hand (see examples in Weber's catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., in Rājendralāla Mitra's notices of MSS. in Indian libraries, in the published fac-similes of inscriptions, and so on); and these are in some measure reflected in the type prepared for printing, both in India and in Europe. But a student who makes himself familiar with one style of printed characters will have little difficulty with the others, and will soon learn, by practice, to read the manuscripts. A few specimens of types other than those used in this work are given in Appendix A.

a. On account of the difficulty of combining them with the smaller sizes of our Roman and Italic type, the *devanāgarī* characters are used below only in connection with the first or largest size. And, in accordance with the laudable usage of recent grammars, they are, wherever given, also transliterated, in Clarendon letters; while the latter alone are used in the other sizes.

4. The student may be advised to try to familiarize himself from the start with the *devanāgarī* mode of writing. At the same time, it is not indispensable that he should do so until, having learned the principal paradigms, he comes to begin reading and analysing and parsing; and many will find the latter the more practical, and in the end equally or more effective, way.

5. The characters of the *devanāgarī* alphabet, and the European letters which will be used in transliterating them, are as follows:

|                |   | short    |                          | long   |           |       |    |     |    |      |    |     |
|----------------|---|----------|--------------------------|--------|-----------|-------|----|-----|----|------|----|-----|
|                |   | 1        | अ a                      | 2      | आ ā       |       |    |     |    |      |    |     |
| Vowels: simple | { | palatal  | 3                        | इ i    | 4         | ई ī   |    |     |    |      |    |     |
|                |   | labial   | 5                        | उ u    | 6         | ऊ ū   |    |     |    |      |    |     |
|                |   | lingual  | 7                        | ऋ ṛ    | 8         | ॠ ṝ   |    |     |    |      |    |     |
|                |   | dental   | 9                        | ऌ ḷ    | 10        | ॡ ḹ   |    |     |    |      |    |     |
| diphthongs     | { | palatal  | 11                       | ए e    | 12        | ऐ ai  |    |     |    |      |    |     |
|                |   | labial   | 13                       | ओ o    | 14        | औ au  |    |     |    |      |    |     |
| Visarga        |   | 15       | ः ḥ                      |        |           |       |    |     |    |      |    |     |
| Anusvāra       |   | 16       | ं ṁ, ः ṁ or ṁ (see 73c). |        |           |       |    |     |    |      |    |     |
|                |   | surd     | surd asp.                | sonant | son. asp. | nasal |    |     |    |      |    |     |
| Mutes          | { | guttural | 17                       | क k    | 18        | ख kh  | 19 | ग g | 20 | घ gh | 21 | ङ ṅ |
|                |   | palatal  | 22                       | च c    | 23        | छ ch  | 24 | ज j | 25 | झ jh | 26 | ञ ṇ |
|                |   | lingual  | 27                       | ट ṭ    | 28        | ठ ṭh  | 29 | ड ḍ | 30 | ढ ḍh | 31 | ण ṇ |
|                |   | dental   | 32                       | त t    | 33        | थ th  | 34 | द d | 35 | ध dh | 36 | न n |
|                |   | labial   | 37                       | प p    | 38        | फ ph  | 39 | ब b | 40 | भ bh | 41 | म m |

|            |           |    |       |
|------------|-----------|----|-------|
| Semivowels | { palatal | 42 | य (y) |
|            | { lingual | 43 | र (r) |
|            | { dental  | 44 | ल (l) |
|            | { labial  | 45 | व (v) |
| Sibilants  | { palatal | 46 | श (ç) |
|            | { lingual | 47 | ष (ş) |
|            | { dental  | 48 | स (s) |
| Aspiration |           | 49 | ह (h) |

a. To these may be added a lingual  $\text{ॠ}$ , which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of  $\text{ॢ}$   $\text{ṣ}$  when occurring between two vowels (54).

6. A few other sounds, recognized by the theories of the Hindu grammarians, but either having no separate characters to represent them or only very rarely and exceptionally written, will be noticed below (71 b, c, 230). Such are the guttural and labial breathings, the nasal semivowels, and others.

7. The order of arrangement given above is that in which the sounds are catalogued and described by the native grammarians; and it has been adopted by European scholars as the alphabetic order, for indexes, dictionaries, etc.: to the Hindus, the idea of an alphabetic arrangement for such practical uses is wanting.

a. In some works (as the Petersburg lexicon), a **visarga** which is regarded as equivalent to and exchangeable with a sibilant (172) is, though written as **visarga**, given the alphabetic place of the sibilant.

8. The theory of the **devanāgarī**, as of the other Indian modes of writing, is syllabic and consonantal. That is to say, it regards as the written unit, not the simple sound, but the syllable (**akṣara**); and further, as the substantial part of the syllable, the consonant or the consonants which precede the vowel — this latter being merely implied, or, if written, being written by a subordinate sign attached to the consonant.

9. Hence follow these two principles:

A. The forms of the vowel-characters given in the alphabetical scheme above are used only when the vowel

forms a syllable by itself, or is not combined with a preceding consonant: that is, when it is either initial or preceded by another vowel. In combination with a consonant, other modes of representation are used.

B. If more consonants than one precede the vowel, forming with it a single syllable, their characters must be combined into a single compound character.

a. Native Hindu usage, in manuscripts and inscriptions, treats the whole material of a sentence alike, not separating its words from one another, any more than the syllables of the same word: a final consonant is combined into one written syllable with the initial vowel or consonant or consonants of the following word. It never occurred to the Hindus to space their words in any way, even where the mode of writing admitted such treatment; nor to begin a paragraph on a new line; nor to write one line of verse under another: everything, without exception, is written solid by them, filling the whole page.

b. Thus, the sentence and verse-line *aham rudrebhir vasubhiḥ carāmy aham ādityāir uta viśvadevāḥ* (Rig-Veda X. 125. 1: see Appendix B) *I wander with the Vasus, the Rudras, I with the Ādityas and the All-Gods* is thus syllabized: a haṁ ru dre bhi rva su bhi ḥ ca rā mya ha mā di tyāi ru ta vi śva de vāḥ, each syllable ending with a vowel (or a vowel modified by the nasal-sign *anusvāra*, or having the sign of a final breathing, *visarga*, added: these being the only elements that can follow a vowel in the same syllable); and it is (together with the next line) written in the manuscripts after this fashion:

अहं रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्चराम्यहमादित्यै  
रुतविश्वदेवैः। अहमित्रावरूणाभा  
विभर्म्यहमिन्द्राग्नीमृक्मशिनोभा॥

Each syllable is written separately, and by many scribes the successive syllables are parted a little from one another: thus,

अहं रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्चराम्यहमादित्यै

and so on.

c. In Western practice, however, it is almost universally customary to divide paragraphs, to make the lines of verse follow one another, and also to separate the words so far as this can be done without changing the mode of writing them. See Appendix B, where the verse here given is so treated.

d. Further, in works prepared for beginners in the language, it is not uncommon to make a more complete separation of words by a

free use of the virāma-sign (11) under final consonants: thus, for example,

अहं रुद्रेभिर् वसुभिश् चराम्य् अहम् आदित्यैर् उत विश्वदेवैः ।

or even by indicating also the combinations of initial and final vowels (126, 127): for example,

अहं मित्रावरुणो भा बिभर्म्य् अहम् इन्द्राग्नी अहम् अश्विनो भा ॥

e. In transliterating, Western methods of separation of words are of course to be followed; to do otherwise would be simple pedantry.

10. Under A, it is to be noticed that the modes of indicating a vowel combined with a preceding consonant are as follows:

a. The short अ a has no written sign at all; the consonant-sign itself implies a following अ a, unless some other vowel-sign is attached to it (or else the virāma: 11). Thus, the consonant-signs as given above in the alphabetic scheme are really the signs of the syllables ka, kha, etc. etc. (to ha).

b. The long आ ā is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, का kā, धा dhā, हा hā.

c. Short इ i and long ई ī are written by a similar stroke, which for short i is placed before the consonant and for long ī is placed after it, and in either case is connected with the consonant by a hook above the upper line: thus, कि ki, की kī; भि bhi, भी bhī; नि ni, नी nī.

The hook above, turning to the left or to the right, is historically the essential part of the character, having been originally the whole of it; the hooks were only later prolonged, so as to reach all the way down beside the consonant. In the MSS., they almost never have the horizontal stroke drawn across them above, though this is added in the printed characters: thus, originally कि ki, क kī; in the MSS., कि, की; in print, कि, की.

d. The u-sounds, short and long, are written by hooks attached to the lower end of the consonant-sign: thus, कु ku, कू kū; दु du, दू dū. On account of the necessities of combination, du and dū are somewhat disguised: thus, दु, दू; and the forms with र r and ह h are still more irregular: thus, रु ru, रू rū; हु hu, हू hū.

e. The *ṛ*-vowels, short and long, are written by a sub-joined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, कृ *kr*, कृ *kṛ*; दृ *dr*, दृ *dṛ*. In the *h*-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, हृ *hr*, हृ *hṛ*.

As to the combination of *ṛ* with preceding *r*, see below, 14d.

f. The *ḷ*-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, कृ *kḷ*; the corresponding long has no real occurrence (23a), but would be written with a similar reduced sign.

g. The diphthongs are written by strokes, single or double, above the upper line, combined, for औ *o* and औ *āu*, with the *ā*-sign after the consonant: thus, के *ke*, कै *kāi*; को *ko*, कौ *kāu*.

h. In some *devanāgarī* manuscripts (as in the *Bengālī* alphabet), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the *ā*-sign before the consonant: thus, के *ke*, कै *kāi*; को *ko*, कौ *kāu*.

11. A consonant-sign, however, is capable of being made to signify the consonant-sound alone, without an added vowel, by having written beneath it a stroke called the *virāma* (*rest, stop*): thus, कृ *k*, दृ *d*, हृ *h*.

a. Since, as was pointed out above, the Hindus write the words of a sentence continuously like one word (9a, b), the *virāma* is in general called for only when a final consonant occurs before a pause. But it is also occasionally resorted to by scribes, or in print, in order to avoid an awkward or difficult combination of consonant-signs: thus,

लिङ्भिः *liṅbhiḥ*, लिट्सु *liṭsu*, अङ्क्त्वा *aṅkṭva*;

and it is used to make a separation of words in texts prepared for beginners (9d).

12. Under *B*, it is to be noticed that the consonant combinations are for the most part not at all difficult to make or to recognise for one who is familiar with the simple signs. The characteristic part of a consonant-sign that is to be added to another is taken (to the exclusion of the horizontal or of the perpendicular framing-line, or of both), and they are put together according to convenience,



either side by side, or one above the other; in a few combinations either arrangement is allowed. The consonant that is to be pronounced first is set before the other in the one order, and above it in the other order.

a. Examples of the side-by-side arrangement are: ग्ग gga, ज्ञ jja, प्य pya, न्य nma, त्थ ttha, भ्य bhya, स्क ska, ण्य ãya, त्क tka.

b. Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्क kka, क्क kva, च्च cca, ज्ञ्ज्ञ ñja, द्द dda, त्त् tta, त्त् tna, त्त् tva.

13. In some cases, however, there is more or less abbreviation or disguise of the independent form of a consonant-sign in combination. Thus,

a. Of क k in क्त kta, क्त kla; and in कण kṇa etc.;

b. Of त t in त्त tta;

c. Of द d in द्ग dga, द्ग dna, etc.;

d. Of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, क्य kya, क्म kma, ण्म ñma, ञ्म ñya, द्म dma, द्य dya, ह्म hma, ह्य hya, च्य chya, ष्य ṣhya.

e. Of ष ṣ, which generally becomes ष् when followed by a consonant: thus, ष्च ṣca, ष्ण ṣṇa, ष्व ṣva, ष्य ṣya. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below: thus, षु ṣu, षृ ṣr.

f. Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are ष्ण ṣṇa, ल्ल lla, द्ध ddha, द्ध dbha, ष्ठ ṣṭa, ष्ठ ṣṭha; and the compounds of ह h: as ह्ण hṇa, ह्ण hna.

g. In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognizable: thus, क्क्ष kṣa, ज्ञ्ज्ञ jña.

14. The semivowel र r, in making combinations with other consonants, is treated in a wholly peculiar manner, analogous with that in which the vowels are treated.

a. If pronounced before another consonant or combination of consonants, it is written above the latter, with a

hook opening to the right (much like the sign of the vowel *r*, as written under a consonant: 10e): thus, कं *rka*, रं *r̥a*, र्त्वं *rtva*, र्म्यं *rmya*, र्त्सं *rtsna*.

b. Then, if a consonant-group thus containing *r* as first member is followed by a vowel that has its sign, or a part of its sign, or its sign of nasality (*anuvāra*: 70, 71), written above the line, the *r*-sign is placed furthest to the right: thus, के *rke*, कै *rkañ*, किं *rki*, कीं *rki̇*, को *rko*, कीं *rkiñ*, को *rkoñ*.

c. If *r* is pronounced after another consonant, whether before a vowel or before yet another consonant, it is written with a straight stroke below, slanting to the left: thus, प्र *pra*, ध्र *dhra*, ग्र *gra*, स् *sra*, द्ध्र *ddhra*, त्र *ntra*, ग्र्य *grya*, स् *srva*, त्र्य *ntrya*; and, with modifications of a preceding consonant-sign like those noted above (13), त्र *tra*, द्र *dra*, ग्र *gra*, ह्र *hra*.

d. When र *r* is to be combined with a following र *r*, it is the vowel which is written in full, with its initial character, and the consonant in subordination to it: thus, रं *rr̥*.

15. Further combinations, of three, or four, or even five consonant-signs, are made according to the same rules. Examples are:

of three consonants, त्र *ttva*, द्ध्र *ddhya*, द्र *dvya*, द्र्य *drya*, ध्र्य *dhrya*, स् *psva*, द्र्य *çya*, द्र्य *ṣhya*, द्र्य *hvyā*;

of four consonants, त्र्य *ktrya*, द्र्य *ñkṣya*, द्र्य *ṣtrya*, त्र्य *tsmya*;

of five consonants, र्त्स्य *rtsnya*.

a. The manuscripts, and the type-fonts as well, differ from one another more in their management of consonant combinations than in any other respect, often having peculiarities which one needs a little practice to understand. It is quite useless to give in a grammar the whole series of possible combinations (some of them excessively rare) which are provided for in any given type-font, or even in all. There is nothing which due familiarity

with the simple signs and with the above rules of combination will not enable the student readily to analyse and explain.

16. a. A sign called the *avagraha* (*separator*) — namely ऽ — is occasionally used in the manuscripts, sometimes in the manner of a hyphen, sometimes as a mark of hiatus, sometimes to mark the elision of initial अ after final ए or ओ (135). In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily applied to the use last mentioned, and to that alone: thus, ते ऽब्रुवन् te 'bruvan, सो ऽब्रवीत् so 'bravit, for ते abruvan, so abravīt.

b. If the elided initial-vowel is nasal, and has the *anuvāra*-sign (70, 71) written above, this is usually and more properly transferred to the eliding vowel; but sometimes it is written instead over the *avagraha*-sign: thus, for सो 'ṇḥu-mān, from सो अण्चुमान्, either सो ऽण्चुमान् or सो ऽण्चुमान्.

c. The sign ° is used in place of something that is omitted, and to be understood from the connection: thus, वीरसेनसुतम् °तम् तेन *vīrasenasutas -tam -tena*.

d. Signs of punctuation are । and ॥.

At the end of a verse, a paragraph, or the like, the latter of them is ordinarily written twice, with the figure of enumeration between: thus, ॥ ५० ॥.

17. The numeral figures are

१ 1, २ 2, ३ 3, ४ 4, ५ 5, ६ 6, ७ 7, ८ 8, ९ 9, ० 0.

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way as European digits: thus, २५ 25, ६३० 630, ७००० 7000, १८९४ 1894.

18. The Hindu grammarians call the different sounds, and the characters representing them, by a *kāra* (*maker*) added to the sound of the letter, if a vowel, or to the letter followed by a, if a consonant. Thus, the sound or character a is called *akāra*; k is *kakāra*; and so on. But the *kāra* is also omitted, and a, ka, etc. are used alone. The r, however, is not called *rakāra*, but only ra, or *repha marl*: the sole example of a specific name for an alphabetic element of its class. The *anuvāra* and *visarga* are also known by these names alone.

## CHAPTER II.

## SYSTEM OF SOUNDS; PRONUNCIATION.

## I. Vowels.

19. THE *a*, *i*, and *u*-vowels. The Sanskrit has these three earliest and most universal vowels of Indo-European language, in both short and long form — अ *a* and आ *ā*, इ *i* and ई *ī*, उ *u* and ऊ *ū*. They are to be pronounced in the "Continental" or "Italian" manner — as in *far* or *farther*, *pin* and *pique*, *pull* and *rule*.

20. The *a* is the openest vowel, an utterance from the expanded throat, stands in no relation of kindred with any of the classes of consonantal sounds, and has no corresponding semivowel. Of the close vowels *i* and *u*, on the other hand, *i* is palatal, and shades through its semivowel *y* into the palatal and guttural consonant-classes; *u* is similarly related, through its semivowel *v*, to the labial class, as involving in its utterance a narrowing and rounding of the lips.

a. The Paninean scheme (commentary to Pāṇini's grammar i. 1. 9) classes *a* as guttural, but apparently only in order to give that series as well as the rest a vowel; no one of the Prātiçākhyas puts *a* into one class with *k* etc. All these authorities concur in calling the *i*- and *u*-vowels respectively palatal and labial.

21. The short *a* is not pronounced in India with the full openness of *ā*, as its corresponding short, but usually as the "neutral vowel" (English so-called "short *u*", of *but*, *son*, *blood*, etc.). This peculiarity appears very early, being acknowledged by Pāṇini and by two of the Prātiçākhyas (APr. i. 36; VPr. i. 72), which call the utterance *saṁvṛta*, *covered up*, *dimmed*. It is wont to be ignored by Western scholars, except those who have studied in India.

22. The *a*-vowels are the prevailing vowel-sounds of the language, being about twice as frequent as all the others (including diphthongs) taken together. The *i*-vowels, again, are about twice as numerous as the *u*-vowels. And, in each pair, the short vowel is more than twice ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 times) as common as the long.

a. For more precise estimates of frequency, of these and of the other

alphabetic elements, and for the way in which they were obtained, see below, 75.

23. The *ṛ*- and *ḷ*-vowels. To the three simple vowels already mentioned the Sanskrit adds two others, the *ṛ*-vowel and the *ḷ*-vowel, plainly generated by the abbreviation of syllables containing respectively a *ṛ* *r* or *ḷ* *l* along with another vowel: the *ṛ* coming almost always (see 237, 241-3) from *अṛ* *ar* or *ṛ* *ra*, the *ḷ* from *अल्* *al*.

a. Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long *ḷ*: but this is only for the sake of an artificial symmetry, since the sound does not occur in a single genuine word in the language.

24. The vowel *ṛ* is simply a smooth or untrilled *r*-sound, assuming a vocalic office in syllable-making — as, by a like abbreviation, it has done also in certain Slavonic languages. The vowel *ḷ* is an *l*-sound similarly uttered — like the English *l*-vowel in such words as *able*, *angle*, *addle*.

a. The modern Hindus pronounce these vowels as *ri*, *ri*, *li* (or even *lri*), having long lost the habit and the facility of giving a vowel value to the pure *r*- and *l*-sounds. Their example is widely followed by European scholars; and hence also the (distorting and altogether objectionable) transliterations *ṛi*, *ṛi*, *li*. There is no real difficulty in the way of acquiring and practising the true utterance.

b. Some of the grammarians (see APr. i. 37, note) attempt to define more nearly the way in which, in these vowels, a real *r*- or *l*-element is combined with something else.

25. Like their corresponding semivowels, *r* and *l*, these vowels belong respectively in the general lingual and dental classes; the euphonic influence of *ṛ* and *ṛ* (189) shows this clearly. They are so ranked in the Paninean scheme; but the Prātiçākhyas in general strangely class them with the *jihvāmūliya* sounds, our "gutturals" (39).

26. The short *ṛ* is found in every variety of word and of position, and is not rare, being just about as frequent as long *ū*. Long *ṛ* is very much more unusual, occurring only in certain plural cases of noun-stems in *ṛ* (371b, d, 375). The *ḷ* is met with only in some of the forms and derivatives of a single not very common verbal root (*kḷp*).

27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the *ṛe* and *ṛo*, are in great part original Indo-European

sounds. In the Sanskrit, they wear the aspect of being products of the increment or strengthening of इ i and उ u respectively; and they are called the corresponding *guṇa*-vowels to the latter (see below, 235 ff.). The other two, ऐ āi and औ āu, are held to be of peculiar Sanskrit growth; they are also in general results of another and higher increment of इ i and उ u, to which they are called the corresponding *vr̥ddhi*-vowels (below, 235 ff.). But all are likewise sometimes generated by euphonic combination (127); and औ o, especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final अस् as (175).

28. The ए e and ओ o are, both in India and in Europe, usually pronounced as they are transliterated — that is, as long *e*- (English “long *a*”, or *e* in *they*) and *o*-sounds, without diphthongal character.

a. Such they apparently already were to the authors of the *Prātiçākhyas*, which, while ranking them as diphthongs (*sandhyakṣara*), give rules respecting their pronunciation in a manner implying them to be virtually unitary sounds. But their euphonic treatment (131-4) clearly shows them to have been still at the period when the euphonic laws established themselves, as they of course were at their origin, real diphthongs, *ai* (*a* + *i*) and *au* (*a* + *u*). From them, on the same evidence, the heavier or *vr̥ddhi* diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their *a*-element, as *āi* (*ā* + *i*) and *āu* (*ā* + *u*).

b. The recognizable distinctness of the two elements in the *vr̥ddhi*-diphthongs is noticed by the *Prātiçākhyas* (see APr. i. 40, note); but the relation of those elements is either defined as equal, or the *a* is made of less quantity than the *i* and *u*.

29. The lighter or *guṇa*-diphthongs are much more frequent (6 or 7 times) than the heavier or *vr̥ddhi*-diphthongs, and the *e* and *āi* than the *o* and *āu* (a half more). Both pairs are somewhat more than half as common as the simple *i*- and *u*-vowels.

30. The general name given by the Hindu grammarians to the vowels is *svara tone*; the simple vowels are called *samānākṣara homogeneous syllable*, and the diphthongs are called *sandhyakṣara combination-syllable*. The position of the organs in their utterance is defined to be one of openness, or of non-closure.

a. As to quantity and accent, see below, 76 ff., 80 ff.

## II. Consonants.

31. The Hindu name for 'consonant' is *vyañjana manifest*. The consonants are divided by the grammarians into *sparṣa contact* or mute, *antahsthā, intermediate* or semi-vowel, and *ūṣman spirant*. They will here be taken up and described in this order.

32. Mutes. The mutes, *sparṣa*, are so called as involving a complete closure or contact (*sparṣa*), and not an approximation only, of the mouth-organs by which they are produced. They are divided into five classes or series (*varga*), according to the organs and parts of organs by which the contact is made; and each series is composed of five members, differing according to the accompaniments of the contact.

33. The five mute-series are called respectively guttural, palatal, lingual (or cerebral), dental, and labial; and they are arranged in the order as just mentioned, beginning with the contact made furthest back in the mouth, coming forward from point to point, and ending with the frontmost contact.

34. In each series there are two surd members, two sonant, and one nasal (which is also sonant): for example, in the labial series, *प* *p* and *फ* *ph*, *ब* *b* and *भ* *bh*, and *म* *m*.

a. The members are by the Hindu grammarians called respectively *first*, *second*, *third*, *fourth*, and *last* or *fifth*.

b. The surd consonants are known as *aghoṣa toneless*, and the sonants as *ghoṣavant having tone*; and the descriptions of the grammarians are in accordance with these terms. All alike recognise a difference of tone, and not in any manner a difference of force, whether of contact or of expulsion, as separating the two great classes in question. That the difference depends on *vivāra opening*, or *samvāra closure* (of the glottis), is also recognised by them.

35. The first and third members of each series are the ordinary corresponding surd and sonant mutes of European languages: thus, *क* *k* and *ग* *g*, *त* *t* and *द* *d*, *प* *p* and *ब* *b*.

36. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful. What *म* *m* is to *प* *p* and *ब* *b*, or *न* *n* to *त* *t* and *द* *d*, that is also each other nasal to its own series of mutes: a sonant expulsion into and through the nose, while the mouth-organs are in the mute-contact.

a. The Hindu grammarians give distinctly this definition. The nasal (*anunāsika passing through the nose*) sounds are declared to be formed by mouth and nose together; or their nasality (*ānunāsikya*) to be given them by unclosure of the nose.

37. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates: thus, beside the surd mute क् k we have the corresponding surd aspirate ख् kh, and beside the sonant ग् g, the corresponding sonant aspirate ग् gh. Of these, the precise character is more obscure and difficult to determine.

a. That the aspirates, all of them, are real mutes or contact sounds, and not fricatives (like European *th* and *ph* and *ch*, etc.), is beyond question.

b. It is also not doubtful in what way the surd *th*, for example, differs from the unaspirated *t*: such aspirates are found in many Asiatic languages, and even in some European; they involve the slipping-out of an audible bit of *status* or aspiration between the breach of mute-closure and the following sound, whatever it may be. They are accurately enough represented by the *th* etc., with which, in imitation of the Latin treatment of the similar ancient Greek aspirates, we are accustomed to write them.

c. The sonant aspirates are generally understood and described as made in a similar way, with a perceptible *h*-sound after the breach of sonant mute-closure. But there are great theoretical difficulties in the way of accepting this explanation; and some of the best phonetic observers deny that the modern Hindu pronunciation is of such a character, and define the element following the mute as a "glottal buzz", rather, or as an emphasized utterance of the beginning of the succeeding sound. The question is one of great difficulty, and upon it the opinions of the highest authorities are much at variance. Sonant aspirates are still in use in India, in the pronunciation of the vernacular as well as of the learned languages.

d. By the Prātiçākhyas, the aspirates of both classes are called *soḡman*: which might mean either *accompanied by a rush of breath* (taking *ūḡman* in its more etymological sense), or *accompanied by a spirant* (below, 59). And some native authorities define the surd aspirates as made by the combination of each surd non-aspirate with its own corresponding surd spirant; and the sonant aspirates, of each sonant non-aspirate with the sonant spirant, the *h*-sound (below, 65). But this would make the two classes of aspirates of quite diverse character, and would also make *th* the same as *ts*, *ṭh* as *ṭṣ*, *ch* as *cç* — which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to i. 1. 9) attributes to them *mahāprāṇa great expiration*, and to the non-aspirates *alpaprāṇa small expiration*.

e. It is usual among European scholars to pronounce both classes of aspirates as the corresponding non-aspirates



with a following *h*: for example, *क्* *th* nearly as in English *boathook*, *फ़* *ph* as in *haphazard*, *ध* *dh* as in *madhouse*, *भ* *bh* as in *abhor*, and so on. This is (as we have seen above) strictly accurate only as regards the surd aspirates.

38. The sonant aspirates are (in the opinion of most), or at least represent, original Indo-European sounds, while the surd aspirates are a special Indian development. The former are more than twice as common as the latter. The unaspirated (non-nasal) mutes are very much more frequent (5 times) than the aspirates (for the special frequency of *bh* and original *gh*, see 50 and 66); and among them the surds are more numerous ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  times) than the sonants. The nasals (chiefly *n* and *m*) are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series.

39. Guttural series: *क्* *k*, *ख* *kh*, *ग* *g*, *घ* *gh*, *ङ* *ñ*. These are the ordinary European *k* and *g*-sounds, with their corresponding aspirates and nasal (the last, like English *ng* in *singing*).

a. The gutturals are defined by the Prātiçākhyas as made by contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw, and they are called, from the former organ, *jihvāmūliya tongue-root sounds*. The Paninean scheme describes them simply as made in the throat (*kanṭha*). From the euphonic influence of a *k* on a following *s* (below, 180), we may perhaps infer that in their utterance the tongue was well drawn back in the mouth.

40. The *k* is by far the commonest of the guttural series, occurring considerably more often than all the other four taken together. The nasal, except as standing before one of the others of the same series, is found only as final (after the loss of a following *k*: 386, 407) in a very small number of words, and as product of the assimilation of final *k* to a following nasal (161).

41. The Sanskrit guttural series represents only a minority of Indo-European gutturals; these last have suffered more and more general corruption than any other class of consonants. By processes of alteration which began in the Indo-European period, the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant *ç*, and the aspiration *h*, have come from gutturals. See these various sounds below.

42. Palatal series: *च्* *c*, *च* *ch*, *ज* *j*, *झ* *jh*, *ञ* *ñ*.

The whole palatal series is derivative, being generated by the corruption of original gutturals. The *c* comes from an original *k* — as does also, by another degree of alteration, the palatal sibilant *ç* (see below, 64). The *j*, in like manner, comes from a *g*; but the

Sanskrit *j* includes in itself two degrees of alteration, one corresponding to the alteration of *k* to *c*, the other to that of *k* to *ç* (see below, 219). The *c* is somewhat more common than the *j* (about as four to three). The aspirate *ch* is very much less frequent (a tenth of *c*), and comes from the original group *sk*. The sonant aspirate *jh* is excessively rare (occurring but once in RV., not once in AV., and hardly half-a-dozen times in the whole older language); where found, it is either onomatopoetic or of anomalous or not Indo-European origin. The nasal, *ñ*, never occurs except immediately before — or, in a small number of words, also after (201) — one of the others of the same series.

43. Hence, in the euphonic processes of the language, the treatment of the palatals is in many respects peculiar. In some situations, the original unaltered guttural shows itself — or, as it appears from the point of view of the Sanskrit, the palatal reverts to its original guttural. No palatal ever occurs as a final. The *j* is differently treated, according as it represents the one or the other degree of alteration. And *c* and *j* (except artificially, in the algebraic rules of the grammarians) do not interchange, as corresponding surd and sonant.

44. The palatal mutes are by European scholars, as by the modern Hindus also, pronounced with the compound sounds of English *ch* and *j* (in *church* and *judge*).

a. Their description by the old Hindu grammarians, however, gives them a not less absolutely simple character than belongs to the other mutes. They are called *tālavya palatal*, and declared to be formed against the palate by the middle of the tongue. They seem to have been, then, brought forward in the mouth from the guttural point, and made against the hard palate at a point not far from the lingual one (below, 45), but with the upper flat surface of the tongue instead of its point. Such sounds, in all languages, pass easily into the (English) *ch*- and *j*-sounds. The value of the *ch* as making the preceding vowel "long by position" (227), and its frequent origination from *t* + *ç* (203), lead to the suspicion that it, at least, may have had this character from the beginning: compare 37 d, above.

45. Lingual series: *ṭ t*, *ṭṭh*, *ṣ ṣ*, *ṣṣh*, *ṇ ṇ*. The lingual mutes are by all the native authorities defined as uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate (somewhat as the usual English smooth *r* is pronounced). They are called by the grammarians *mūrdhanya*, literally *head-sounds*, *capitals*, *cephalics*; which term is in many European grammars

rendered by 'cerebrals'. In practice, among European Sanskritists, no attempt is made to distinguish them from the dentals:  $\text{ṛ t}$  is pronounced like  $\text{ṛ t}$ ,  $\text{ṛ ḍ}$  like  $\text{ṛ d}$ , and so with the rest.

46. The linguals are another non-original series of sounds, coming mainly from the phonetic alteration of the next series, the dentals, but also in part occurring in words that have no traceable Indo-European connection, and are perhaps derived from the aboriginal languages of India. The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighboring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these: 1.  $\text{ṣ}$  comes from  $\text{s}$ , much more rarely from  $\text{ç}$ ,  $\text{j}$ ,  $\text{kṣ}$ , in euphonic circumstances stated below (180, 218 ff.); 2. a dental mute following  $\text{ṣ}$  is assimilated to it, becoming lingual ( $\text{ṣ t}$ ,  $\text{ṣ ḥ}$ ,  $\text{ṣ n}$ : 197); 3.  $\text{n}$  is often changed to  $\text{ṇ}$  after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word (189 ff.); 4.  $\text{ḍh}$ , which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after  $\text{ṣ}$  (198 a) or  $\text{h}$  (222); 5.  $\text{ṭ}$  and  $\text{ḍ}$  come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final (142, 145—7). When originated in these ways, the lingual letters may be regarded as normal; in any other cases of their occurrence, they are either products of abnormal corruption, or signs of the non-Indo-European character of the words in which they appear.

a. In a certain number of passages numerically examined (below, 75), the abnormal occurrences of lingual mutes were less than half of the whole number (74 out of 159), and most of them (43) were of  $\text{ṇ}$ : all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal  $\text{ṭ}$ ; only 6, such a  $\text{ṭh}$ ; only 1, such a  $\text{ḍh}$ ; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal  $\text{ḍ}$ , besides 9 that have  $\text{ṇḍ}$ ; and 30 (including 1 root) show a  $\text{ṇ}$ .

b. Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes (about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the alphabet) — hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.

47. Dental series:  $\text{ṛ t}$ ,  $\text{ṛ ḥ}$ ,  $\text{ṛ d}$ ,  $\text{ṛ ḍh}$ ,  $\text{ṛ n}$ . These are called by the Hindus also *dantya dental*, and are described as formed at the teeth (or at the roots of the teeth), by the tip of the tongue. They are practically the equivalents of our European *t, d, n*.

a. But the modern Hindus are said to pronounce their dentals with the

tip of the tongue thrust well forward against the upper teeth, so that these sounds get a slight tinge of the quality belonging to the English and Modern Greek *th*-sounds. The absence of that quality in the European (especially the English) dentals is doubtless the reason why to the ear of a Hindu the latter appear more analogous with his linguals, and he is apt to use the linguals in writing European words.

48. The dentals are one of the Indo-European original mute-classes. In their occurrence in Sanskrit they are just about as frequent as all the other four classes taken together.

49. Labial series: प p, फ ph, ब b, भ bh, म m. These sounds are called *oṣṭhya labial* by the Hindu grammarians also. They are, of course, the equivalents of our *p, b, m*.

50. The numerical relations of the labials are a little peculiar. Owing to the absence (or almost entire absence) of *b* in Indo-European, the Sanskrit *b* also is greatly exceeded in frequency by *bh*, which is the most common of all the sonant aspirates, as *ph* is the least common of the surd. The nasal *m* (notwithstanding its frequent euphonic mutations when final: 212 ff.) occurs just about as often as all the other four members of the series together.

a. From an early period in the history of the language, but increasingly later, *b* and *v* exchange with one another, or fail to be distinguished in the manuscripts. Thus, the double root-forms *bṛh* and *vṛh*, *bādh* and *vadh*, and so on. In the Bengal manuscripts, *v* is widely written instead of more original *b*.

51. Semivowels: य y, र r, ल l, व v.

a. The name given to this class of sounds by the Hindu grammarians is *antaḥsthā* standing between — either from their character as utterances intermediate between vowel and consonant, or (more probably) from the circumstance of their being placed between the mutes and spirants in the arrangement of the consonants.

b. The semivowels are clearly akin with the several mute series in their physical character, and they are classified along with those series — though not without some discordances of view — by the Hindu grammarians. They are said to be produced with the organs slightly in contact (*iṣatsprṣṭa*), or in imperfect contact (*duḥsprṣṭa*).

52. The र r is clearly shown by its influence in the euphonic processes of the language to be a lingual sound, or one made with the tip of the tongue turned up into the dome of the palate. It thus resembles the English smooth *r*, and, like this, seems to have been untrilled.

a. The Paninian scheme reckons *r* as a lingual. None of the *Prāṭiśākhya*s, however, does so; nor are they entirely consistent with one another in its description. For the most part, they define it as made at "the roots of the teeth". This would give it a position like that of the vibrated *r*; but no authority hints at a vibration as belonging to it.

b. In point of frequency, *r* stands very high on the list of consonants; it is nearly equal with *v*, *n*, *m*, and *y*, and only exceeded by *t*.

53. The *ल्* is a sound of dental position, and is so defined and classed by all the native authorities.

a. The peculiar character of an *l*-sound, as involving expulsion at the side of the tongue along with contact at its tip, is not noticed by any Hindu phonetist.

b. The semivowels *r* and *l* are very widely interchangeable in Sanskrit, both in roots and in suffixes, and even in prefixes: there are few roots containing a *l* which do not show also forms with *r*; words written with the one letter are found in other texts, or in other parts of the same text, written with the other. In the later periods of the language they are more separated, and the *l* becomes decidedly more frequent, though always much rarer than the *r* (only as 1 to 7 or 8 or 10).

54. Some of the Vedic texts have another *l*-sound, written with a slightly different character (it is given at the end of the alphabet, 5), which is substituted for a lingual *ḍ* (as also the same followed by *h* for a *ḍh*) when occurring between two vowels. It is, then, doubtless a lingual *l*, one made by breach (at the side of the tongue) of the lingual instead of the dental mute-closure.

a. Examples are: *इले* *ile*, for *इडे* *ide*, but *इद्य* *idyā*; *मीळुषे* *mīlhuṣe*, for *मीढुषे* *mīḍhuṣe*, but *मीढ्वान्* *mīḍhvān*. It is especially in the *Rig-Veda* and its auxiliary literature that this substitution is usual.

55. The *य्* in Sanskrit, as in other languages generally, stands in the closest relationship with the vowel *इ* (short or long); the two exchange with one another in cases innumerable.

a. And in the *Veda* (as the metre shows) an *i* is very often to be read where, in conformity with the rules of the later Sanskrit euphony, a *y* is written. Thus, the final *i*-vowel of a word remains *i* before an initial vowel; that of a stem maintains itself unchanged before an ending; and an ending of derivation — as *ya*, *tya* — has *i* instead of *y*. Such cases will be noticed in more detail later. The constancy of the phenomenon in certain words and classes of words shows that this was no merely optional interchange. Very probably, the Sanskrit *y* had everywhere more of an *i*-character than belongs to the corresponding European sound.

56. The *y* is by its physical character a palatal utterance; and it is classed as a palatal semivowel by the Hindu phonetists. It is one of the most common of Sanskrit sounds.

57. The *ṛ* *v* is pronounced as English or French *v* (German *w*) by the modern Hindus — except when preceded by a consonant in the same syllable, in which case it has rather the sound of English *w*; and European scholars follow the same practice (with or without the same exception).

a. By its whole treatment in the euphony of the language, however, the *v* stands related to an *u*-vowel precisely as *y* to an *i*-vowel. It is, then, a *v* only according to the original Roman value of that letter — that is to say, a *w*-sound in the English sense; though (as was stated above for the *y*) it may well have been less markedly separated from *u* than English *w*, or more like French *ou* in *oui* etc. But, as the original *w* has in most European languages been changed to *v* (English), so also in India, and that from a very early time: the Paninean scheme and two of the *Prāṭicākhyas* (VPr. and TPr.) distinctly define the sound as made between the upper teeth and the lower lip — which, of course, identifies it with the ordinary modern *v*-sound. As a matter of practice, the usual pronunciation need not be seriously objected to; yet the student should not fail to note that the rules of Sanskrit euphony and the name of "semivowel" have no application except to a *w*-sound in the English sense: a *v*-sound (German *w*) is no semivowel, but a spirant, standing on the same articulate stage with the English *th*-sounds and the *f*.

58. The *v* is classed as a labial semivowel by the Hindu phonetical authorities. It has a somewhat greater frequency than the *y*.

a. In the Veda, under the same circumstances as the *y* (above, 55 a), *v* is to be read as a vowel, *u*.

b. As to the interchange of *v* and *b*, see above, 50 a.

59. Spirants. Under the name *ūṣman* (literally *heat*, *steam*, *flatus*), which is usually and well represented by *spirant*, some of the Hindu authorities include all the remaining sounds of the alphabet; others apply the term only to the three sibilants and the aspiration — to which it will here also be restricted.

a. The term is not found in the Paninean scheme; by different treatises the guttural and labial breathings, these and the *visarga*, or all these and *anusvāra*, are also (in addition to the sibilants and *h*) called *ūṣman*.

(see APr. i. 31 note). The organs of utterance are described as being in the position of the mute-series to which each spirant belongs respectively, but unclosed, or unclosed in the middle.

60. The ण् s. Of the three sibilants, or surd spirants, this is the one of plainest and least questioned character: it is the ordinary European *s* — a hiss expelled between the tongue and the roof of the mouth directly behind the upper front teeth.

a. It is, then, dental, as it is classed by all the Hindu authorities. Notwithstanding the great losses which it suffers in Sanskrit euphony, by conversion to the other sibilants, to *r*, to *visarga*, etc., it is still very high among the consonants in the order of frequency, or considerably more common than both the other two sibilants together.

61. The ण् ण. As to the character of this sibilant, also, there is no ground for real question: it is the one produced in the lingual position, or with the tip of the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of *sh*-sound; and by European Sanskritists it is pronounced as an ordinary *sh* (French *ch*, German *sch*), no attempt being made (any more than in the case of the other lingual sounds: 45) to give it its proper lingual quality.

a. Its lingual character is shown by its whole euphonic influence, and it is described and classed as lingual by all the Hindu authorities (the APr. adds, i. 23, that the tongue in its utterance is trough-shaped). In its audible quality, it is a *sh*-sound rather than a *s*-sound; and, in the considerable variety of sibilant-utterance, even in the same community, it may coincide with the *sh* of some among ourselves. Yet the general and normal *sh* is palatal (see below, 63; and therefore the sign ण, marked in accordance with the other lingual letters, is the only unexceptionable transliteration for the Hindu character.

b. In modern pronunciation in India, ण is much confounded with *kh*; and the manuscripts are apt to exchange the characters. Some later grammatical treatises, too, take note of the relationship.

62. This sibilant (as was noticed above, 46, and will be more particularly explained below, 180 ff.) is no original sound, but a product of the lingualization of *s* under certain euphonic conditions. The exceptions are extremely few (9 out of 145 noted occurrences: 75, and of a purely sporadic character. The Rig-Veda has (apart

from *y sah*, 182 b) only twelve words which show a *ṣ* under other conditions.

a. The final *ṣ* of a root has in some cases attained a more independent value, and does not revert to *s* when the euphonic conditions are removed, but shows anomalous forms (225-6).

63. The *ṣ*. This sibilant is by all the native authorities classed and described as palatal, nor is there anything in its history or its euphonic treatment to cast doubt on its character as such. It is, then, made with the flat of the tongue against the forward part of the palatal arch — that is to say, it is the usual and normal *śh*-sound. By European scholars it is variously pronounced — more often, perhaps, as *s* than as *śh*.

a. The two *śh*-sounds, *ṣ* and *ṣ*, are made in the same part of the mouth (the *ṣ* probably rather further back), but with a different part of the tongue; and they are doubtless not more unlike than, for example, the two *t*-sounds, written *ṭ* and *t*; and it would be not less proper to pronounce them both as one *śh* than to pronounce the linguals and dentals alike. To neglect the difference of *ṣ* and *ṣ* is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of *ṣ* and *ṣ* is attested by their euphonic treatment, which is to a considerable extent the same, and by their not infrequent confusion by the writers of manuscripts.

64. As was mentioned above (41), the *ṣ*, like *c*, comes from the corruption of an original *k*-sound, by loss of mute-contact as well as forward shift of the point of production. In virtue of this derivation, it sometimes (though less often than *c*) “reverts” to *k* — that is, the original *k* appears instead of it (43); while, on the other hand, as a *śh*-sound, it is to a certain extent convertible to *ṣ*. In point of frequency, it slightly exceeds the latter.

65. The remaining spirant, *ḥ*, is ordinarily pronounced like the usual European surd aspiration *h*.

a. This is not, however, its real character. It is defined by all the native authorities as not a surd element, but a sonant (or else an utterance intermediate between the two); and its whole value in the euphony of the language is that of a sonant: but what is its precise value is very hard to say. The Paninian scheme ranks it as guttural, as it does also *a*: this means nothing. The *Prāticākhyas* bring it into no relation with the guttural class; one of them quotes the opinion of some authorities that “it has the same position with the beginning of the following vowel” (TPr. ii. 47) — which so far identifies it with our *h*. There is nothing in its euphonic influence to mark it as retaining any trace of gutturally articulated character.



By some of the native phonetists it is identified with the aspiration of the sonant aspirates — with the element by which, for example, **gh** differs from **g**. This view is supported by the derivation of **h** from the aspirates (next paragraph), by that of **l+h** from **ḍh** (54), and by the treatment of initial **h** after a final mute (163).

66. The **h**, as already noticed, is not an original sound, but comes in nearly all cases from an older **gh** (for the few instances of its derivation from **dh** and **bh**, see below, 223g). It is a vastly more frequent sound than the unchanged **gh** (namely, as 7 to 1): more frequent, indeed, than any of the guttural mutes except **k**. It appears, like **j** (219), to include in itself two stages of corruption of **gh**: one corresponding with that of **k** to **c**, the other with that of **k** to **ç**; see below, 223, for the roots belonging to the two classes respectively. Like the other sounds of guttural derivation, it sometimes exhibits "reversion" (43) to its original.

67. The : **ḥ**, or **visarga** (**visarjanīya**, as it is uniformly called by the *Prātiçākhyas* and by *Pāṇini*, probably as *be-longing to the end* of a syllable), appears to be merely a surd breathing, a final *h*-sound (in the European sense of *h*), uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel.

a. One *Prātiçākhyā* (TPr. ii. 48) gives just this last description of it. It is by various authorities classed with **h**, or with **h** and **a**: all of them are alike sounds in whose utterance the mouth-organs have no definite shaping action.

68. The **visarga** is not original, but always only a substitute for final **s** or **r**, neither of which is allowed to maintain itself unchanged (170 ff.). It is a comparatively recent member of the alphabetic system; the other euphonic changes of final **s** and **r** have not passed through **visarga** as an intermediate stage. And the Hindu authorities are considerably discordant with one another as to how far **ḥ** is a necessary substitute, and how far a permitted one, alternative with a sibilant, before a following initial surd.

69. Before a surd guttural or labial, respectively, some of the native authorities permit, while others require, conversion of final **s** or **r** into the so-called *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* spirants. It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions, devised (like the long **i**-vowel: 23a) in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. At any rate, both manuscripts and printed texts in general make no account of them. Whatever individual character they may have must be, it would seem, in the direction of the (German) *ch*- and *f*-sounds. When written at all, they are wont to be transliterated by *χ* and *φ*.

70. The : *anusvāra*, *ñ* or *m*, is a nasal sound lacking that closure of the organs which is required to make a nasal mute or contact-sound (36); in its utterance there is nasal resonance along with some degree of openness of the mouth.

71. There is discordance of opinion among both the Hindu phonetists and their modern European successors respecting the real character of this element; hence a little detail is necessary here with regard to its occurrence and their views of it.

a. Certain nasals in Sanskrit are of servile character, always to be assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever character that may be. Such are final *m* in sentence-combination (213), the penultimate nasal of a root, and a nasal of increment (255) in general. If one of these nasals stands before a contact-letter or mute, it becomes a nasal mute corresponding to the latter — that is, a nasal utterance in the same position of the mouth-organs which gives the succeeding mute. If, on the other hand, the following consonant does not involve a contact (being a semivowel or spirant), the nasal element is also without contact: it is a nasal utterance with unclosed mouth-organs. The question is, now, whether this nasal utterance becomes merely a nasal infection of the preceding vowel, turning it into a nasal vowel (as in French *on*, *en*, *un*, etc., by reason of a similar loss of a nasal mute); or whether it is an element of more individual character, having place between the vowel and the consonant; or, once more, whether it is sometimes the one thing and sometimes the other. The opinions of the Prātiçākhyas and Pāṇini are briefly as follows:

b. The Atharva-Prātiçākhyas holds that the result is everywhere a nasalized vowel, except when *n* or *m* is assimilated to a following *l*; in that case, the *n* or *m* becomes a nasal *l*: that is, the nasal utterance is made in the *l*-position, and has a perceptible *l*-character.

c. The other Prātiçākhyas teach a similar conversion into a nasal counterpart to the semivowel, or a nasal semivowel, before *y* and *l* and *v* (not before *r* also). In most of the other cases where the Atharva-Prātiçākhyas acknowledges a nasal vowel — namely, before *r* and the spirants — the others teach the intervention after the vowel of a distinct nasal element, called the *anusvāra after-tone*.

d. Of the nature of this nasal afterpiece to the vowel no intelligibly clear account is given. It is said (RPr.) to be either vowel or consonant; it is declared (RPr., VPr.) to be made with the nose alone, or (TPr.) to be nasal like the nasal mutes; it is held by some (RPr.) to be the sonant tone of the nasal mutes; in its formation, as in that of vowel and spirant, there is (RPr.) no contact. As to its quantity, see further on.

e. There are, however, certain cases and classes of cases where these other authorities also acknowledge a nasal vowel. So, especially, wherever

a final *n* is treated (208—9) as if it were *ns* (its historically older form); and also in a small number of specified words. They also mention the doctrine of nasal vowel instead of *anusvāra* as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsistent in its choice between the one and the other).

f. In Pāṇini, finally, the prevailing doctrine is that of *anusvāra* everywhere; and it is even allowed in many cases where the Prātiçākhyas prescribe only a nasal mute. But a nasal semivowel is also allowed instead before a semivowel, and a nasal vowel is allowed in the cases (mentioned above) where some of the Prātiçākhyas require it by exception.

g. It is evidently a fair question whether this discordance and uncertainty of the Hindu phonetists is owing to a real difference of utterance in different classes of cases and in different localities, or whether to a different scholastic analysis of what is really everywhere the same utterance. If *anusvāra* is a nasal element following the vowel, it cannot well be any thing but either a prolongation of the same vowel-sound with nasality added, or a nasalized bit of neutral-vowel sound (in the latter case, however, the altering influence of an *i* or *u*-vowel on a following *s* ought to be prevented, which is not the case: see 183).

72. The assimilated nasal element, whether viewed as nasalized vowel, nasal semivowel, or independent *anusvāra*, has the value of something added, in making a heavy syllable, or length by position (79).

a. The Prātiçākhyas (VPr., RPr.) give determinations of the quantity of the *anusvāra* combining with a short and with a long vowel respectively to make a long syllable.

73. a. Two different signs, ण and ण̣, are found in the manuscripts, indicating the nasal sound here treated of. Usually they are written above the syllable, and there they seem most naturally to imply a nasal affection of the vowel of the syllable, a nasal (*anunāsika*) vowel. Hence some texts (Sāma- and Yajur-Vedas), when they mean a real *anusvāra*, bring one of the signs down into the ordinary consonant-place; but the usage is not general. As between the two signs, some manuscripts employ, or tend to employ, the ण̣ where a nasalized (*anunāsika*) vowel is to be recognized, and elsewhere the ण; and this distinction is consistently observed in many European printed texts; and the former is called the *anunāsika* sign: but the two are doubtless originally and properly equivalent.

b. It is a very common custom of the manuscripts to write the *anusvāra*-sign for any nasal following the vowel of a syllable, either before another consonant or as final (not before a vowel), without any reference to whether it is to be pronounced as nasal mute, nasal semivowel, or *anusvāra*. Some printed texts follow this slovenly and undesirable habit; but most write a nasal mute whenever it is to be pronounced — excepting where it is an assimilated *m* (213).



### III. Quantity of sounds and syllables.

76. The Hindu grammarians take the pains to define the quantity of a consonant (without distinction among consonants of different classes) as half that of a short vowel.

77. They also define the quantity of a long (*dirgha*) vowel or diphthong as twice that of a short (*hrasva*) vowel — making no distinction in this respect between the *guna*- and the *vrddhi*-diphthongs.

78. Besides these two vowel-quantities, the Hindus acknowledge a third, called *pluta* (literally *swimming*), or protracted, and having three *moras* or three times the quantity of a short vowel. A protracted vowel is marked by a following figure 3: thus, अ३ ऋ३.

a. The protracted vowels are practically of rare occurrence (in RV., three cases; in AV., fifteen; in the Brāhmaṇa literature, decidedly more frequent). They are used in cases of questioning, especially of a balancing between two alternatives, and also of calling to a distance or urgently. The protraction is of the last syllable in a word, or in a whole phrase; and the protracted syllable has usually the acute tone, in addition to any other accent the word may have; sometimes it takes also *anusvāra*, or is made nasal.

b. Examples are: *adhāḥ svid āśīd upāri svid āśīṣṭ* (RV.) *was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above?* *idām bhūyāḥ idāṁ* *īti* (AV.) *saying, is this more, or is that?* *āgnāḥi pātnīvāḥ sōmam piba* (TS.) *O Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma.*

c. A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or *a*-element: thus, *e* to *ē*3i, *o* to *ō*3u.

d. The sign of protraction is also sometimes written as the result of accentual combination, when so-called *kampa* occurs: see below, 90 c, d.

79. For metrical purposes, syllables (not vowels) are distinguished by the grammarians as heavy (*guru*) or light (*laghu*). A syllable is heavy if its vowel is long, or short and followed by more than one consonant ("long by position"). *Anusvāra* and *visarga* count as full consonants in

making a heavy syllable. The last syllable of a *pāda* (primary division of a verse) is reckoned as either heavy or light.

a. The distinction in terms between the difference of long and short in vowel-sound and that of heavy and light in syllable-construction is valuable, and should be observed.

#### IV. Accent.

80. The phenomena of accent are, by the Hindu grammarians of all ages alike, described and treated as depending on a variation of tone or pitch; of any difference of stress involved, they make no account.

81. The primary tones (*svara*) or accent-pitches are two: a higher (*udātta raised*), or acute; and a lower (*anudātta not raised*), or grave. A third (called *svarita*: a term of doubtful meaning) is always of secondary origin, being (when not enclitic: see below, 85) the result of actual combination of an acute vowel and a following grave vowel into one syllable. It is also uniformly defined as compound in pitch, a union of higher and lower tone within the limits of a single syllable. It is thus identical in physical character with the Greek and Latin circumflex, and fully entitled to be called by the same name.

82. Strictly, therefore, there is but one distinction of tone in the Sanskrit accentual system, as described by the native grammarians and marked in the written texts: the accented syllable is raised in tone above the unaccented; while then further, in certain cases of the fusion of an accented and an unaccented element into one syllable, that syllable retains the compounded tone of both elements.

83. The *svarita* or circumflex is only rarely found on a pure long vowel or diphthong, but almost always on a syllable in which a vowel, short or long, is preceded by a *y* or *v* representing an originally acute *i*- or *u*-vowel.

a. In transliteration, in this work, the *udātta* or acute will be marked with the ordinary sign of acute, and the *svarita* or circumflex (as being a downward slide of the voice forward) with what is usually called the grave accent: thus, *á*, acute, *yà* or *và*, circumflex.

84. The Prātiçākhyas distinguish and name separately the circumflexed tones arising by different processes of combination: thus, the circumflex is called

a. *Kṣāipra* (*quick*), when an acute *i* or *u*-vowel (short or long) is converted into *y* or *v* before a dissimilar vowel of grave tone: thus, *vyāpta* from *vī-āpta*, *apsvāntār* from *apsū antār*.

b. *Jātya* (*native*) or *nitya* (*own*), when the same combination lies further back, in the make-up of a stem or form, and so is constant, or belongs to the word in all circumstances of its occurrence: thus, *kvā* (from *kūa*), *svār* (*sūar*), *nyāk* (*niak*), *budhnyā* (*budhniā*), *kanyā* (*kanīā*), *nadyās* (*nadī-as*), *tanvā* (*tanū-ā*).

c. The words of both the above classes are in the Veda, in the great majority of cases, to be read with restoration of the acute vowel as a separate syllable: thus, *apsū antār*, *sūar*, *nadīas*, etc. In some texts, part of them are written correspondingly: thus, *sūvar*, *tanūvā*, *budhniya*.

d. *Praçliṣṭa*, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (128 c): thus *divī 'va* (RV. AV. etc.), from *divī iva*; *sūdgātā* (TS.), from *sū-ud-gātā*; *nāl 'vā 'ṇiyāt* (ÇB.), from *nā evā aṇiyāt*.

e. *Abhinihita*, when an initial grave *a* is absorbed by a final acute *é* or *ó* (135 a): thus, *tē 'bruvan*, from *tē abruvan*; *sō 'bravīt*, from *sō abravīt*.

85. But further, the Hindu grammarians agree in declaring the (naturally grave) syllable following an acute, whether in the same or in another word, to be *svarita* or circumflex — unless, indeed, it be itself followed by an acute or circumflex; in which case it retains its grave tone. This is called by European scholars the enclitic or dependent circumflex.

a. Thus, in *tēna* and *tē ca*, the syllable *na* and word *ca* are regarded and marked as circumflex; but in *tēna té* and *tē ca svār* they are grave.

b. This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are identified with one another, in treatment and designation. The enclitic circumflex is likewise divided into a number of sub-varieties, with different names: they are of too little consequence to be worth reporting.

86. The essential difference of the two kinds of circumflex is shown clearly enough by these facts: 1. the independent circumflex takes the place of the acute as the proper accent of a word, while the enclitic is the mere shadow following an acute, and following it in another word precisely as in the same word; 2. the independent circumflex maintains its character in all situations, while the enclitic before a following circumflex or acute loses its circumflex character, and becomes grave; moreover, 3. in many of the systems of marking accent (below, 88), the two are quite differently indicated.

87. The accentuation is marked in manuscripts only of the older literature: namely, in the primary Vedic texts, or *samhitās*, in two of the *Brāhmaṇas* (*Tāittiriya* and *Çatapatha*), in the *Tāittiriya-Araṇyaka*, in certain passages of the *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka*, and in the *Suparṇādhyaṃya*. There are a number of methods of writing accent, more or less different from one another; the one found in manuscripts of the *Rig-Veda*, which is most widely known, and of which most of the others are only slight modifications, is as follows.

a. The acute syllable is left unmarked; the circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, has a short perpendicular stroke above; and the grave next preceding an acute or (independent) circumflex has a short horizontal stroke below. Thus,

अग्निम् *agnīm*; जुहोति *juhóti*; तन्वा *tanvā*; क्व *kvā*.

b. But the introductory grave stroke below cannot be given if an acute syllable is initial; hence an unmarked syllable at the beginning of a word is to be understood as acute; and hence also, if several grave syllables precede an acute at the beginning of a sentence, they must all alike have the grave sign. Thus,

इन्द्रः *índrah*; ते *té*; कऱिष्यसि *kariṣyási*; तुविज्ञाता *tuvi-jātā*.

c. All the grave syllables, however, which follow a marked circumflex are left unmarked, until the occurrence of another accented syllable causes the one which precedes it to take the preparatory stroke below. Thus,

सुदृशीकसंदक् *sudṛṣīkasamdr̥k*;

but

सुदृशीकसंदग्गवाम् *sudṛṣīkasamdr̥g gāvām*.

d. If an independent circumflex be followed by an acute (or by another independent circumflex), a figure 1 is set after the former circumflexed vowel if it be short, or a figure 3 if it be long, and the signs of accent are applied as in the following examples:

अप्स्वत्तः *apsv āntāh* (from *apsú antāh*);

रायोऽवनिः *rāyòḥ vāniḥ* (from *rāyó avāniḥ*).



The rationale of this mode of designation is not well understood; the *Prātiśākhya*s give no account of it. In the scholastic utterance of the syllable so designated is made a peculiar quaver or *roulade* of the voice, called *kampa* or *vikampana*.

e. The accent-marks are written with red ink in the manuscripts, being added after the text is written, and perhaps often by another hand.

88 a. Nearly accordant with this, the *Rig-Veda* method of designating accent, are the methods employed in the manuscripts of the *Atharva-Veda*, of the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*, and of the *Taittirīya-Samhitā*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Āraṇyaka*. Their differences from it are of trifling importance, consisting mainly in peculiar ways of marking the circumflex that precedes an acute (87 d). In some manuscripts of the *Atharva-Veda*, the accent-marks are dots instead of strokes, and that for the circumflex is made within the syllable instead of above it.

b. In most manuscripts of the *Māitrāyaṇī-Samhitā*, the acute syllable itself, besides its surroundings, is marked—namely, by a perpendicular stroke above the syllable (like that of the ordinary circumflex in the *RV.* method). The independent circumflex has a hook beneath the syllable, and the circumflex before an acute (87 d) is denoted simply by a figure 3, standing before instead of after the circumflexed syllable.

c. The *Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* uses only a single accent-sign, the horizontal stroke beneath the syllable (like the mark for grave in *RV.*). This is put under an acute, or, if two or more acutes immediately follow one another, only under the last of them. To mark an independent circumflex, it is put under the preceding syllable. The method is an imperfect one, allowing many ambiguities.

d. The *Sāma-Veda* method is the most intricate of all. It has a dozen different signs, consisting of figures, or of figures and letters combined, all placed above the syllables, and varying according both to the accentual character of the syllable and to its surroundings. Its origin is obscure; if anything more is indicated by it than by the other simpler systems, the fact has not been demonstrated.

89. In this work, as everything given in the *devanāgarī* characters is also given in transliteration, it will in general be unnecessary to mark the accent except in the transliterated form; where, however, the case is otherwise, there will be adopted the method of marking only the really accented syllables, the acute and the independent circumflex: the latter by the usual *svarita*-sign, the former by a small u (for *udātta*) above the syllable: thus,

इन्द्र indra, अग्ने āgne, स्वर svar, नद्यम् nadyam.

a. These being given, everything else which the Hindu theory recognizes as dependent on and accompanying them can readily be understood as implied.

90. The theory of the Sanskrit accent, as here given (a consistent and intelligible body of phenomena), has been overlaid by the Hindu theorists, especially of the Prātiçākhyas, with a number of added features, of a much more questionable character. Thus :

a. The unmarked grave syllables following a circumflex (either at the end of a sentence, or till the near approach of another acute) are declared to have the same high tone with the (also unmarked) acute. They are called *pracaya* or *pracita* (*accumulated*: because liable to occur in an indefinite series of successive syllables).

b. The circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, is declared to begin on a higher pitch than acute, and to descend to acute pitch in ordinary cases: the concluding instant of it being brought down to grave pitch, however, in the case of an independent circumflex which is immediately followed by another ascent of the voice to higher pitch, in acute or independent circumflex (a *kampa* syllable: 87 d).

c. Pāṇini gives the ambiguous name of *ekaçruti* (*monotone*) to the *pracita* syllables, and says nothing of the uplifting of the circumflex to a higher plane; he teaches, however, a depression below the grave pitch for the marked grave syllable before acute or circumflex, calling it *sannatara* (otherwise *anudātātara*).

91. The system of accentuation as marked in the Vedic texts appears to have assumed in the traditional recitation of the Brahmanic schools a peculiar and artificial form, in which the designated syllables, grave and circumflex (equally the enclitic and the independent circumflex), have acquired a conspicuous value, while the undesignated, the acute, has sunk into insignificance.

92. The Sanskrit accent taught in the native grammars and represented by the accentuated texts is essentially a system of word-accent only. No general attempt is made (any more than in the Greek system) to define or mark a sentence-accent, the effect of the emphasis and modulation of the sentence in modifying the independent accent of individual words. The only approach to it is seen in the treatment of vocatives and personal verb-forms.

a. A vocative is usually without accent except at the beginning of a sentence: for further details, see 314.

b. A personal verb-form is usually accentless in an independent clause, except when standing at the beginning of the clause: for further details, see 591 ff.

93. Certain other words also are, usually or always, without accent.

a. The particles *ca*, *vā*, *u*, *sma*, *iva*, *cid*, *svid*, *ha*, and the Vedic *kam* (or *kām*), *gha*, *bhala*, *samaha*, *im*, *sīm*, are always without accent; also *yathā* in RV. (sometimes also elsewhere) in the sense of *iva*, at the end of a *pāda* or verse-division.

b. The same is true of certain pronouns and pronominal stems: *mā*, *me*, *nāu*, *nas*, *tvā*, *te*, *vām*, *vas* (491b), *ena* (500), *tva* (503b), *sama* (513c).

c. The cases of the pronominal stem *a* are sometimes accented and sometimes accentless (502).

d. An accentless word is not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence; also not of a *pāda* or primary division of a verse; a *pāda* is, in all matters relating to accentuation, treated like an independent sentence.

94. Some words have more than a single accented syllable. Such are:

a. Certain dual copulative compounds in the Veda (see 1255), as *mitrāvāruṇā*, *dyāvāprthivī*. Also, a few other Vedic compounds (see 1267d), as *bṛhaspāti*, *tānūnāpāt*.

b. In a few cases, the further compounds and derivatives of such compounds, as *dyāvāprthivīvant*, *bṛhaspātipraṇutta*.

c. Infinitive datives in *tavāi* (see 972a), as *étavāi*, *āpabhartavāi*.

d. A word naturally barytone, but having its final syllable protracted (see 78a).

e. The particle *vāvá* (in the *Brāhmaṇas*).

95. On the place of the accented syllable in a Sanskrit word there is no restriction whatever depending upon either the number or the quantity of the preceding or following syllables. The accent rests where the rules of inflection or derivation or composition place it, without regard to any thing else.

a. Thus, *indre*, *agnāu*, *indreṇa*, *agnínā*, *agnínām*, *bāhúcyuta*, *ánapacyuta*, *parjányaajinvita*, *abhimātiṣāhá*, *ánabhimlātavarṇa*, *abhiçasticātana*, *híraṇyavāçimattama*, *cātuçcatvāriṇçadakaçara*.

96. Since the accent is marked only in the older literature, and the statements of the grammarians, with the deduced rules of accentuation, are far from being sufficient to settle all cases, the place of the stress of voice for a considerable part of the vocabulary is undetermined. Hence it is a general habit with European scholars to pronounce Sanskrit words according to the rules of the Latin accent.

97. In this work, the accent of each word and form will in general be marked, so far as there is authority determining its place and character. Where specific words and forms are quoted, they will only be so far accentuated as they are found with accent in accentuated texts.

## CHAPTER III.

### RULES OF EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

#### Introductory.

98. The words in Sanskrit, as in the other languages related with it, are in great part analysable into roots, suffixes of derivation, and endings of inflection, these last being added mostly to stems containing suffixes, but also sometimes directly to roots.

a. There are, of course, a certain number of uninflected words — indeclinables, particles; and also not a few that are incapable of analysis.

99. The Sanskrit, indeed, possesses an exceptionally analysable character; its formative processes are more regular and transparent than those of any other Indo-European tongue. Hence the prevailing method of the Hindu native science of grammar, which sets up a certain body of roots, and prescribes the processes by which these may be made stems and words, giving the various added elements, and laying down the rules by which their combination is effected. And the same general method is, for like reason, followed also by European grammarians.

100. The euphonic laws, accordingly, which govern the combination of suffix or of ending with root or stem, possess a high practical importance, and require to be laid down in preparation for the topics of declension and conjugation.

101. Moreover, the formation of compounds, by joining two or more simple stems, is extremely frequent in Sanskrit; and this kind of combination has its own peculiar euphonic rules. And once more, in the form of the language as handed down to us by its literature, the words composing a sentence or paragraph are adapted to and combined with one another by nearly the same rules which govern the making of compounds; so that it is impossible to take apart and understand a Sanskrit sentence without knowing those rules. Hence

an increased degree of practical importance belonging to the subject of euphonic combination.

a. This euphonic interdependence of the words of a sentence is unknown to any other language in anything like the same degree; and it cannot but be suspected of being at least in part artificial, implying an erection into necessary and invariable rules of what in the living language were only optional practices. This is strongly indicated, indeed, by the evidence of the older dialect of the Vedas and of the derived Prakritic dialects, in both of which some of the rules (especially that as to the hiatus: see 113) are often violated.

102. The roots which are authenticated by their occurrence in the literary monuments of the language, earlier and later, number between eight and nine hundred. About half of these belong fully to the language throughout its whole history; some (about a hundred and fifty) are limited to the earlier or pre-classical period; some, again (over a hundred and twenty), make their first appearance in the later language.

a. There are in this number roots of very diverse character. Those occurring only later are, at least in great part, presumably of secondary origin; and a certain number are even doubtless artificial, used once or twice because found in the root-lists of the Hindu grammarians (103). But also of the rest, some are plainly secondary, while others are questionable; and not a few are variations or differentiated forms of one another. Thus, there are roots showing respectively *r* and *l*, as *rabh* and *labh*, *mruc* and *mluc*, *kṣar* and *kṣal*; roots with and without a strengthening nasal, as *vand* and *vad*, *mand* and *mad*; roots in *ā* and in *a* nasal, as *khā* and *khan*, *gā* and *gam*, *jā* and *jan*; roots made by an added *ā*, as *trā* from *tr*, *mnā* from *man*, *psā* from *bhas*, *yā* from *i*; roots the product of reduplication, as *jakṣ* from *ghas*, *dudh* from *dhū*; roots with a final sibilant of formative origin, as *bhakṣ* and *bhikṣ* from *bhaj*, *nakṣ* from *naç*, *çruṣ* from *çru*, *hās* from *hā*; root-forms held apart by a well-established discordance of inflection and meaning, which yet are probably different sides of one root, as *kṛṣ* *drag* and *kṛṣ* *plough*, *vid* *know* and *vid* *find*, *vr̥* *enclose* and *vr̥* *choose*; and so on. In many such cases it is doubtful whether we ought to acknowledge two roots or only one; and no absolute rule of distinction can be laid down and maintained.

103. The list of roots given by the Hindu grammarians contains about two thousand roots, without including all those which students of the language are compelled to recognize. Considerably more than half of this number, then, are unauthenticated by use; and although some of these may yet come to light, or may have existed without finding their way into any of the preserved literary documents, it is certain that most are fictitious: made in part for the explanation of words falsely described as their derivatives, but in the main for unknown and perhaps undiscoverable reasons.

a. The roots unauthenticated by traceable use will be made no account of in this grammar — or, if noticed, will be specified as of that character.

104. The forms of the roots as here used will be found to differ in certain respects from those given by the native grammarians and adopted by some European works. Thus:

a. Those roots of which the initial *n* and *s* are regularly converted to *ṇ* and *ṣ* after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with *ṇ* and *ṣ*; no western authority follows this example.

b. The Hindus classify as simple roots a number of derived stems: reduplicated ones, as *dīdhī*, *jāḡḡ*, *daridrā*; present-stems, as *ūrṇu*; and denominative stems, as *avadhīr*, *kumār*, *sabhāg*, *mantr*, *sāntv*, *arth*, and the like. These are in European works generally reduced to their true value.

c. A number of roots ending in an *ā* which is irregularly treated in the present-system are written in the Hindu lists with diphthongs — *e* or *āi* or *o*; here they will be regarded as *ā*-roots (see 251). The *o* of such root-forms, especially, is purely arbitrary; no forms or derivatives made from the roots justify it.

d. The roots showing interchangeably *ṛ* and *ir* and *īr* or *ur* and *ūr* (242) are written by the Hindus with *ṛ* or with *īr*, or with both. The *īr* here also is only formal, intended to mark the roots as liable to certain modifications, since it nowhere shows itself in any form or derivative. Such roots will in this work be written with *ṛ*.

e. The roots, on the other hand, showing a variation between *ṛ* and *ar* (rarely *ra*) as weak and strong forms will be here written with *ṛ*, as by the native grammarians, although many European authorities prefer the other or strong form. So long as we write the unstrengthened vowel in *vid* and *çī*, in *mud* and *bhū*, and their like, consistency seems to require that we write it in *ṣṛj* and *kṛ* also — in all cases alike, without reference to what may have been the more original Indo-European form.

105. In many cases of roots showing more than one form, the selection of a representative form is a matter of comparative indifference. To deal with such cases according to their historical character is the part rather of an Indo-European comparative grammar than of a Sanskrit grammar. We must be content to accept as roots what elements seem to have on the whole that value in the existing condition of the language.

106. Stems as well as roots have their variations of form (311). The Hindu grammarians usually give the weaker form as the normal one, and derive the other from it by a strengthening change; some European authorities do the same, while others prefer the contrary method; the choice is of unessential consequence, and may be determined in any case by motives of convenience.

107. We shall accordingly consider first of all, in the present chapter, the euphonic principles and laws which govern the combi-

nation of the elements of words and of words as elements of the sentence; then will be taken up the subject of inflection, under the two heads of declension and conjugation; and an account of the classes of uninflected words will follow.

a. The formation of conjugational stems (tense and mode-stems; also participles and infinitive) will be taught, as is usual, in connection with the processes of conjugational inflection; that of uninflected words, in connection with the various classes of those words. But the general subject of derivation, or the formation of declinable stems, will be taken up by itself later (chap. XVII.); and it will be followed by an account of the formation of compound stems (chap. XVIII.).

108. It is by no means to be expected of beginners in the language that they will attempt to master the rules of euphonic combination in a body, before going on to learn the paradigms of inflection. On the contrary, the leading paradigms of declension may best be learned outright, without attention, or with only a minimum of attention, to euphonic rule. In taking up conjugation, however, it is practically, as well as theoretically, better to learn the forms as combinations of stem and ending, with attention to such laws of combination as apply in the particular cases concerned. The rules of external combination, governing the make-up of the sentence out of words, should be grappled with only when the student is prepared to begin the reading or the formation of sentences.

### Principles of Euphonic Combination.

109. The rules of combination (*sam̐dhi putting together*) are in some respects different, according as they apply —

a. to the internal make-up of a word, by the addition of derivative and inflectional endings to roots and stems;

b. to the more external putting together of stems to make compound stems, and the yet looser and more accidental collocation of words in the sentence.

c. Hence they are usually divided into rules of internal combination, and rules of external combination.

110. In both classes of cases, however, the general principles of combination are the same — and likewise, to a great extent, the specific rules. The differences depend in part on the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain combinations in the one class or the other; in part, on the difference of treatment of the same sound as final of a root or of an ending, the former being more persistent than the latter; in part, on the occurrence in external combination of certain changes which are apparently phonetic but really historical; and, most frequent and conspicuous of all, on the fact that (157) vowels and semivowels and nasals exercise a sonantizing influence in external combination, but not in internal. Hence, to avoid unnecessary repetition as well as the separation of what really belongs together, the rules for both kinds of combination are given below in connection with one another.

111. a. Moreover, before case-endings beginning with *bh* and *s* (namely, *bhyām*, *bhis*, *bhyas*, *su*), the treatment of the finals of stems is in general the same as in the combinations of words (*pada*) with one another — whence those endings are sometimes called *pada*-endings, and the cases they form are known as *pada*-cases.

b. The importance of this distinction is somewhat exaggerated by the ordinary statement of it. In fact, *dh* is the only sonant mute initial of an ending occurring in conjugation, as *bh* in declension; and the difference of their treatment is in part owing to the one coming into collision usually with the final of a root and the other of an ending, and in part to the fact that *dh*, as a dental, is more assimilable to palatals and linguals than *bh*. A more marked and problematic distinction is made between *su* and the verbal endings *si*, *sva*, etc., especially after palatal sounds and *ḡ*.

c. Further, before certain of the suffixes of derivation the final of a stem is sometimes treated in the same manner as that of a word in composition.

d. This is especially the case before secondary suffixes having a markedly distinct office, like the possessive *mant* and *vant*, the abstract-making *tva*, the suffix of material *māya*, and so on; and it is much more frequent in the later language than in the earlier. The examples are sporadic in character, and no rule can be given to cover them: for details, see the various suffixes, in chap. XVII. In the RV. (as may be mentioned here) the only examples are *vidyūnmant* (beside *garūtmant*, *kakūd-mant*, etc.), *pṛṣadvant* (beside *datvānt*, *marūtvant*, etc.), *dhṛṣadvin* (beside *namasvin* etc.), *ṣagmā* (beside *ajmā*, *idhmā*, etc.), *mṛnmāya* (beside *manasmāya* etc.), and *aham̐yū*, *kiṁyū*, *ṣam̐yū*, and *aṇhoyū*, *duvoyū*, *āskṛdhoyu* (beside *namasyū*, *vacasyū*, etc.); and the AV. adds only *sāhovan* (RV. *sahāvan*).

112. The leading rules of internal combination (as already stated: 108) are those which are of most immediate importance to a beginner in the language, since his first task is to master the principal paradigms of



inflection; the rules of external combination may better be left untouched until he comes to dealing with words in sentences, or to translating. Then, however, they are indispensable, since the proper form of the words that compose the sentence is not to be determined without them.

a. The general principles of combination underlying the euphonic rules, and determining their classification, may be stated as follows:

113. Hiatus. In general, hiatus is forbidden; every syllable except the initial one of a sentence, or of a word or phrase not forming part of a sentence, must begin with a consonant (or with more than one).

a. For details, and for exceptions, see 125 ff.

b. In the earlier language, however, hiatus in every position was abundantly admitted. This appears plainly from the *mantras*, or metrical parts of the Veda, where in innumerable instances *y* and *v* are to be read as *i* and *u*, and, less often, a long vowel is to be resolved into two vowels, in order to make good the metre: e. g., *vāryāṇām* has to be read as *vā-ri-ā-ṇa-ām*, *svaṣṭyam* as *su-aṣ-vi-am*, and so on. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, also, we find *tvac*, *svar*, *dyāus* described as dissyllables, *vyāna* and *satyam* as trisyllables, *rājanya* as of four syllables, and the like. See further 129e.

114. Deaspiration. An aspirate mute is liable to lose its aspiration, being allowed to stand unchanged only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.

115. Assimilation. The great body of euphonic changes in Sanskrit, as elsewhere, falls under the general head of assimilation — which takes place both between sounds which are so nearly alike that the difference between them is too insignificant to be worth preserving, and between those which are so diverse as to be practically incompatible.

116. In part, assimilation involves the conversion of one sound to another of the same series, without change of articulating position; in part, it involves a change of position, or transfer to another series.

117. Of changes within the series, the most frequent and important occur in the adaptation of surd and sonant sounds to one

another; but the nasals and *l* have also in certain cases their special assimilative influence. Thus;

a. In the two classes of non-nasal mutes and spirants, surd and sonant are wholly incompatible; no surd of either class can either precede or follow a sonant of either.

b. A mute, surd or sonant, is assimilated by being changed to its correspondent of the other kind; of the spirants, the surd *s* is the only one having a sonant correspondent, namely *r*, to which it is convertible in external combination (164 ff.).

c. The nasals are more freely combinable: a nasal may either precede or follow a mute of either kind, or the sonant spirant *h*; it may also follow a surd spirant (sibilant); no nasal, however, ever precedes a sibilant in the interior of a word (it is changed instead to *anusvāra*); and in external combination their concurrence is usually avoided by insertion of a surd mute.

d. A semivowel has still less sonantizing influence; and a vowel least of all: both are freely preceded and followed by sounds of every other class, in the interior of a word.

e. Before a sibilant, however, is found, of the semivowels, only *r* and very rarely *l*. Moreover, in external combination, *r* is often changed to its surd correspondent *s*.

But

f. In composition and sentence-collocation, initial vowels and semivowels and nasals also require the preceding final to be sonant. And

g. Before a nasal and *l*, the assimilative process is sometimes carried further, by the conversion of a final mute to a nasal or *l* respectively.

118. Of conversions involving a change of articulate position, the most important are those of dental sounds to lingual, and, less often, to palatal. Thus:

a. The dental *s* and *n* are very frequently converted to *ṣ* and *ṇ* by the assimilating influence of contiguous or neighboring lingual sounds: the *s*, even by sounds — namely, *i*- and *u*-vowels and *k* — which have themselves no lingual character.

b. A non-nasal dental mute is (with a few exceptions in external combination) made lingual when it comes into collision with a lingual sound.

c. The dental mutes and sibilant are made palatal by a contiguous palatal.

But also:

d. A *m* (not radical) is assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever kind.

e. For certain anomalous cases, see 151.

119. The euphonic combinations of the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant, and the aspiration, as being sounds derived by phonetic alteration from more original gutturals (42 ff.), are made peculiar

and complicated by two circumstances: their reversion to a guttural form (or the appearance of the unaltered guttural instead of them: 43); and the different treatment of *j* and *h* according as they represent one or another degree of alteration — the one tending, like *c*, more to the guttural reversion, the other showing, like *ç*, a more sibilant and lingual character.

120. The lingual sibilant *s*, also of derivative character (from dental *s*), shows as radical final peculiar and problematic phenomena of combination.

121. Extension and abbreviation of consonant-groups. The native grammarians allow or require certain extensions, by duplication or insertion, of groups of consonants. And, on the other hand, abbreviation of certain other groups is allowed, and found often practised in the manuscripts.

122. Permitted Finals. The permitted occurrence of consonants at the end of a word is quite narrowly restricted. In general, only one consonant is allowed after the last vowel; and that must be neither the aspiration, nor a sibilant, nor a semivowel (save rarely *न* 1), nor an aspirate mute, nor a sonant mute if not nasal, nor a palatal.

123. Increment and Decrement. Besides these more or less regular changes accompanying the combination of the parts that make up words, there is another class of a different character, not consisting in the mutual adaptations of the parts, but in strengthening or weakening changes of the parts themselves.

124. It is impossible to carry through a perfectly systematic arrangement of the detailed rules of euphonic combination, because the different varieties of euphonic change more or less overlap and intersect one another. The order observed below will be as follows:

1. Rules of vowel combination, for the avoidance of hiatus.
2. Rules as to permitted finals (since these underlie the further treatment of final consonants in external combination).
3. Rules for loss of aspiration of an aspirate mute.
4. Rules of surd and sonant assimilation, including those for final *s* and *r*.

5. Rules for the conversion of dental sounds to lingual and palatal.

6. Rules for the changes of final nasals, including those in which a former final following the nasal re-appears in combination.

7. Rules regarding the special changes of the derivative sounds — the palatal mutes and sibilant, the aspiration, and the lingual sibilant.

8. Rules as to extension and abbreviation of consonant groups.

9. Rules for strengthening and weakening processes.

Everywhere, rules for more sporadic and less classifiable cases will be given in the most practically convenient connection; and the Index will render what help is needed toward finding them.

### Rules of Vowel Combination.

125. The concurrence of two vowels, or of vowel and diphthong, without intervening consonant, is forbidden by the euphony of the later or classical language. It is avoided, according to the circumstances of the case, either by fusion of the two concurrent sounds into one, by the reduction of one of them to a semivowel, or by development of a semivowel between them.

a. For the not infrequent cases of composition and sentence-combination in which the recent loss of a *s* or *y* or *v* between vowels leaves a permanent hiatus, see below, 132 ff., 175—7; for certain final vowels which are maintained unchanged in sentence-combination before an initial vowel, see 138.

b. A very few words in their admitted written form show interior hiatus; such are *tītaü sieve* (perhaps for *tītasu*, BR.), *prāüga wagon-pole* (for *prayuga*); and, in RV., *suütí*.

c. The texts of the older dialect are written according to the euphonic rules of the later language, although in them (see 113b) the hiatus is really of frequent occurrence. Hence they are not to be read as written, but with constantly recurring reversal of the processes of vowel-combination which they have been made artificially to undergo. See further 129e.

d. Also in the later language, hiatus between the two *pādas* or primary divisions of a metrical line is tolerably frequent, and it is not unknown in sporadic cases even in the interior of a *pāda*.

e. The rules of vowel combination, as regards both the resulting sound and its accent, are nearly the same in internal and in external *saṁdhi*.

126. Two similar simple vowels, short or long, coalesce and form the corresponding long vowel: thus, two a-vowels (either or both of them short or long) form आ ā; two i-vowels, ई ī; two u-vowels, ऊ ū; and, theoretically, two r-vowels form ॠ ṛ, but it is questionable whether the case ever practically occurs. Examples are:

स चाप्रजः sa cā 'prajāḥ (ca + aprajāḥ);

अतीव atī 'va (atī + iva);

सूक्तम् sūktam (su-uktam);

राजासीत् rājā 'sīt (rājā + āsīt);

अधीश्वरः adhiṣvarah (adhi-iṣvarah);

जुहूपभृत् juhūpabhṛt (juhū — upabhṛt).

a. As the above examples indicate, it will be the practice everywhere in this work, in transliteration (not in the *devanāgarī* text), to separate independent words; and if an initial vowel of a following word has coalesced with a final of the preceding, this will be indicated by an apostrophe — single if the initial vowel be the shorter, double if it be the longer, of the two different initials which in every case of combination yield the same result.

127. An a-vowel combines with a following i-vowel to ए e; with an u-vowel, to ओ o; with ऋ ṛ, to अर् ar; with लृ ṛ (theoretically), to अल् al; with ए e or ऐ ai, to ऐ ai; with ओ o or औ au, to औ au. Examples are:

राजेन्द्र rājendra (rāja-indra);

हितोपदेशः hitopadeṣah (hita-upadeṣah);

महर्षिः maharṣiḥ (mahā-rṣiḥ);

सैव sāi 'va (sā + eva);

राज्ञिश्चर्यम् rājāiṣvāryam (rāja-aiṣvāryam);

दिवौकासः divāukasah (divā-okasah);

ज्वरौषधम् jvarāuṣadham (jvara-āuṣadham).

a. In the Vedic texts, the vowel ṛ is ordinarily written unchanged after the a-vowel, which, if long, is shortened: thus, महार्षिḥ instead of महारṣiḥ. The two vowels, however, are usually pronounced as one syllable.

b. When successive words like indra ā ihi are to be combined, the first combination, to indrā, is made first, and the result is indre "hi (not indrāi "hi, from indra e 'hi).

128. As regards the accent of these vowel combinations, it is to be noticed that, 1. as a matter of course, the union of acute with acute yields acute, and that of grave with grave yields grave; that of circumflex with circumflex cannot occur; 2. a circumflex with following acute yields acute, the final grave element of the former being raised to acute pitch; a grave with following acute does the same, as no upward slide of the voice on a syllable is acknowledged in the language; but, 3. when the former of the fused elements is acute and the latter grave, we might expect the resulting syllable to be in general circumflex, to represent both the original tones. Pāṇini in fact allows this accent in every such case; and in a single accentuated Brāhmaṇa text (ÇB.), the circumflex is regularly written. But the language shows, on the whole, an indisposition to allow the circumflex to rest on either long vowel or diphthong as its sole basis, and the acute element is suffered to raise the other to its own level of pitch, making the whole syllable acute. The only exception to this, in most of the texts, is the combination of *ī* and *i*, which becomes *ī*: thus, *divī 'va*, from *divī iva*; in the Taittirīya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while *ú* and *u*, instead, make *ū*: thus, *sūdgātā* from *sū-udgātā*.

129. The *i*-vowels, the *u*-vowels, and ऋ *r*, before a dissimilar vowel or a diphthong, are regularly converted each into its own corresponding semivowel, *y* or *v* or *r*. Examples are:

इत्याह् *ity āha* (*iti + āha*);

मधिव *madhv iva* (*madhu + iva*);

दुहितर्ये *duhitrarthe* (*duhitṛ-arthe*);

ह्यस्य *stry asya* (*strī + asya*);

वध्वै *vadhvāi* (*vadhū-āi*).

a. But in internal combination the *i* and *u*-vowels are not seldom changed instead to *iy* and *uv* — and this especially in monosyllables, or after two consonants, where otherwise a group of consonants difficult of pronunciation would be the result. The cases will be noticed below, in explaining inflected forms.

b. A radical *i*-vowel is converted into *y* even before *i* in perfect tense-inflection: so *ninyima* (*ninī + ima*).

c. In a few sporadic cases, *i* and *u* become *iy* and *uv* even in word-composition: e. g., *triyavi* (*tri + avi*), *viyaṅga* (*vi + aṅga*), *suvita* (*su + ita*): compare 1204b, c.

d. Not very seldom, the same word (especially as found in different texts of the older language) has more than one form, showing various treat-

ment of an *i* or *u*-vowel: a. g. *svār* or *sūvar*, *tanvè* or *tanūve*, *budh-nyā* or *budhniya*, *rātryāi* or *rātriyāi*. For the most part, doubtless, these are only two ways of writing the same pronunciation, *sū-ar*, *budhni-a*, and so on; and the discordance has no other importance, historical or phonetic. There is more or less of this difference of treatment of an *i*- or *u*-element after a consonant in all periods of the language.

e. In the older language, there is a marked difference, in respect to the frequency of vowel-combination for avoiding hiatus as compared with that of non-combination and consequent hiatus, between the class of cases where two vowel-sounds, similar or dissimilar, would coalesce into one (126, 127) and that where an *i*- or *u*-vowel would be converted into a semivowel. Thus, in word-composition, the ratio of the cases of coalesced vowels to those of hiatus are in RV. as five to one, in AV. as nineteen to one, while the cases of semivowel-conversion are in RV. only one in twelve, in AV. only one in five; in sentence-combination, the cases of coalescence are in both RV. and AV. about as seven to one, while those of semivowel-conversion are in RV. only one in fifty, in AV. one in five.

f. For certain cases of the loss or assimilation of *i* and *u* before *y* and *v* respectively, see 233a.

130. As regards the accent — here, as in the preceding case (128), the only combination requiring notice is that of an acute *i*- or *u*-vowel with a following grave: the result is circumflex; and such cases of circumflex are many times more frequent than any and all others. Examples are:

व्युष्टि व्युष्टि (vi-uṣṭi); अभ्यर्चति abhyārcati;

नद्यौ nadyāu (nadi-āu);

स्विष्ट svīṣṭa (sū-iṣṭa); तन्वस् tanvās (tanū-as).

a. Of a similar combination of acute *ī* with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, *vijñātr̥ etāt* (i. e. *vijñātī etāt*: ÇB. xiv. 6. 8<sup>11</sup>); the accentuation is in accordance with the rules for *i* and *u*.

131. Of a diphthong, the final *i*- or *u*-element is changed to its corresponding semivowel, *y* or *v*, before any vowel or diphthong: thus, *ए e* (really *ai*: 28a) becomes *अय् ay*, and *ओ o* (that is, *au*: 28a) becomes *अव् av*; *ऐ āi* becomes *आय् āy*, and *औ āu* becomes *आव् āv*.

a. No change of accent, of course, occurs here; each original syllable retains its syllabic identity, and hence also its own tone.

b. Examples can be given only for internal combination, since in external combination there are further changes: see the next paragraph. Thus,

नय *naya* (ne-a); नाय *nāya* (nāi-a);

भव *bhava* (bho-a); भाव *bhāva* (bhāu-a).

132. In external combination, we have the important additional rule that the semivowel resulting from the conversion of the final element of a diphthong is in general dropped; and the resulting hiatus is left without further change.

133. That is to say, a final  $\text{ए e}$  (the most frequent case) becomes simply  $\text{अ a}$  before an initial vowel (except  $\text{अ a}$ : see 135, below), and both then remain unchanged; and a final  $\text{ऐ ai}$ , in like manner, becomes (everywhere)  $\text{आ ā}$ . Thus,

त आगताः  $ta \text{ āgatāḥ}$  ( $te + \text{āgatāḥ}$ );

नगर इह  $nagara iha$  ( $nagare + iha$ );

तस्मा अददात्  $tasmā adadāt$  ( $tasmāi + adadāt$ );

त्रिया उक्तम्  $striyā uktam$  ( $striyāi + uktam$ ).

a. The later grammarians allow the  $y$  in such combinations to be either retained or dropped; but the uniform practice of the manuscripts, of every age, in accordance with the strict requirement of the Vedic grammars (Prāti-ṣākyas), is to omit the semivowel and leave the hiatus.

b. The persistence of the hiatus caused by this omission is a plain indication of the comparatively recent loss of the intervening consonantal sound.

c. Instances, however, of the avoidance of hiatus by combination of the remaining final vowel with the following initial according to the usual rules are met with in every period of the language, from the RV. down; but they are rare and of sporadic character. Compare the similar treatment of the hiatus after a lost final  $s$ , 176—7.

d. For the peculiar treatment of this combination in certain cases by the MS., see below, 176 d.

134. a. The diphthong  $o$  (except as phonetic alteration of final  $as$ : see 175 a) is an unusual final, appearing only in the stem  $go$  (301 c), in the voc. sing. of  $u$ -stems (341), in words of which the final  $a$  is combined with the particle  $u$ , as  $atho$ , and in a few interjections. In the last two classes it is uncombinable (below, 138 c, f); the vocatives sometimes retain the  $v$  and sometimes lose it (the practices of different texts are too different to be briefly stated);  $go$  (in composition only) does not ordinarily lose its final element, but remains  $gav$  or  $go$ . A final  $as$  becomes  $a$ , with following hiatus, before any vowel save  $a$  (for which, see the next paragraph).



b. The  $\text{व् v}$  of  $\text{घाव् āv}$  from  $\text{घौ āu}$  is usually retained: thus,

तावेव  $\text{tāv eva}$  ( $\text{tāu} + \text{eva}$ );

उभाविन्द्राग्नी  $\text{ubhāv indrāgnī}$  ( $\text{ubhāu} + \text{indrāgnī}$ ).

c. In the older language, however, it is in some texts dropped before an u-vowel: thus,  $\text{tā ubhāu}$ ; in other texts it is treated like  $\text{āi}$ , or loses its u-element before every initial vowel: thus,  $\text{tā evā}$ ,  $\text{ubhā indrāgnī}$ .

135. After final  $\text{ए e}$  or  $\text{ओ o}$ , an initial  $\text{अ a}$  disappears.

a. The resulting accent is as if the  $\text{a}$  were not dropped, but rather absorbed into the preceding diphthong, having its tone duly represented in the combination. If, namely, the  $\text{e}$  or  $\text{o}$  is grave or circumflex and the  $\text{a}$  acute, the former becomes acute; if the  $\text{e}$  or  $\text{o}$  is acute and the  $\text{a}$  grave, the former becomes circumflex, as usually in the fusion of an acute and a grave element. If both are acute or both grave, no change, of course, is seen in the result. Examples are:

ते  $\text{ऽब्रुवन्}$   $\text{tē 'bruvan}$  ( $\text{té abruvan}$ );

सो  $\text{ऽब्रवीत्}$   $\text{sō 'bravīt}$  ( $\text{sāḥ abravīt}$ );

हिंसितव्यो  $\text{ऽग्निः}$   $\text{hiṁsitavyō 'gnīḥ}$  ( $\text{hiṁsitavyāḥ agnīḥ}$ );

यदिन्द्रो  $\text{ऽब्रवीत्}$   $\text{yād indrō 'bravīt}$  ( $\text{yād indrah ābravīt}$ );

यदाज्ञन्यो  $\text{ऽब्रवीत्}$   $\text{yād rājanyō 'bravīt}$  ( $\text{yād rājanyāḥ ābravīt}$ ).

b. As to the use of the *avagraha* sign in the case of such an elision, see above, 16. In transliteration, the reversed apostrophe, or rough breathing, will be used in this work to represent it.

c. This elision or absorption of initial  $\text{a}$  after final  $\text{e}$  or  $\text{o}$ , which in the later language is the invariable rule, is in the Veda only an occasional occurrence. Thus, in the RV., out of nearly 4500 instances of such an initial  $\text{a}$ , it is, as the metre shows, to be really omitted only about seventy times; in the AV., less than 300 times out of about 1600. In neither work is there any accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and spoken form of the text: in RV., the  $\text{a}$  is (as written) elided in more than three quarters of the cases; in AV., in about two thirds; and in both texts it is written in a number of instances where the metre requires its omission.

d. In a few cases, an initial  $\text{ā}$  is thus elided, especially that of *ātman*.

e. To the rules of vowel combination, as above stated, there are certain exceptions. Some of the more isolated of these will be

noticed where they come up in the processes of inflection etc.; a few require mention here.

136. In internal combination:

a. The augment *a* makes with the initial vowel of a root the combinations *āi*, *āu*, *ār* (vṛddhi-vowels: 235), instead of *e*, *o*, *ar* (guṇa-vowels), as required by 127: thus, *āita* (*a*+*ita*), *āubhnāt* (*a*+*ubhnāt*), *ārdhnōt* (*a*+*rdhnōt*).

b. The final *o* of a stem (1203a) becomes *av* before the suffix *ya* (originally *ia*: 1210a).

c. The final vowel of a stem is often dropped when a secondary suffix is added (1203a).

d. For the weakening and loss of radical vowels, and for certain insertions, see below, 249 ff., 257—8.

137. In external combination:

a. The final *a* or *ā* of a preposition, with initial *ṛ* of a root, makes *ār* instead of *ar*: Thus, *ārchati* (*ā*+*rchati*), *avārchati* (*ava*+*rchati*), *upārṣati* (QB.: *upa*+*ṛṣati*; but AV. *uparṣanti*).

b. Instances are occasionally met with of a final *a* or *ā* being lost entirely before initial *e* or *o*: thus, in verb-forms, *av' eṣyāmas* AB., *up' eṣatu* etc. AV.; in derivatives, as *upetavya*, *upetr*; in compounds, as *daṣoni*, *yathetam*, and (permissibly) compounds with *oṣṭha* (not rare), *otu* (not quotable), *odana*, as *adharoṣṭha* or *adharāuṣṭha*, *tilodana* or *tilāudana*; and even in sentence-combination, as *iv' etayas*, *aṣvin' eva*, *yath' ocīṣe* (all RV.), *tv' eman* and *tv' odman* B.; and always with the exclamation *om* or *omkāra*.

c. The form *ūh* from *√vah* sometimes makes the heavier or vṛddhi (235) diphthongal combination with a preceding *a*-vowel: thus, *prāuḍhi*, *akṣāuhiṇī* (from *pra* + *ūḍhi*, etc.).

138. Certain final vowels, moreover, are uncombinable (*pragṛhya*), or maintain themselves unchanged before any following vowel. Thus,

a. The vowels *ī*, *ū*, and *e* as dual endings, both of declensional and of conjugational forms. Thus, *bandhū āsāte imāu*; *giri ārohatam*.

b. The pronoun *amī* (nom. pl.: 501); and the Vedic pronominal forms *asmé*, *yuṣmé*, *tvé* (492a).

c. A final *o* made by combination of a final *a*-vowel with the particle *u* (1122b): thus, *atho*, *mo*, *no*.

d. A final *ī* of a Vedic locative case from an *i*-stem (336f).

e. A protracted final vowel (78).

f. The final, or only, vowel of an interjection, as *aho*, *he*, *ā*, *i*, *u*.

g. The older language shows occasional exceptions to these rules: thus, a dual *ī* combined with a following *i*, as *nṛpātī 'va*; an *a* elided after *o*, as *ātho 'si*; a locative *ī* turned into a semivowel, as *védy asyām*.

### Permitted Finals.

139. The sounds allowed to occur as finals in Sanskrit words standing by themselves (not in euphonic combination with something following) are closely limited, and those which would etymologically come to occupy such a position are often variously altered, in general accordance with their treatment in other circumstances, or are sometimes omitted altogether.

a. | The variety of consonants that would ever come at the end of either an inflected form or a derivative stem in the language is very small: namely, in forms, only t (or d), n, m, s; in derivative stems, only t, d, n, r, s (and, in a few rare words, j). But almost all consonants occur as finals of roots; and every root is liable to be found, alone or as last member of a compound, in the character of a declined stem.

140. All the vowel sounds, both simple and diphthongal, may be sounded at the end of a word.

a. But neither  $\bar{r}$  nor  $\bar{l}$  ever actually occurs; and  $\bar{r}$  is rare (only as neuter sing. of a stem in  $\bar{r}$  or  $\bar{ar}$ , or as final of such a stem in composition).

Thus,  $\bar{indra}$ ,  $\bar{çiváyā}$ ,  $\bar{ākāri}$ ,  $\bar{nadī}$ ,  $\bar{dātu}$ ,  $\bar{camū}$ ,  $\bar{janayitṛ}$ ,  $\bar{agne}$ ,  $\bar{çivāyāl}$ ,  $\bar{vāyo}$ ,  $\bar{agnāū}$ .

141. Of the non-nasal mutes, only the first in each series, the non-aspirate surd, is allowed; the others — surd aspirate, and both sonants — whenever they would etymologically occur, are converted into this.

Thus,  $\bar{agnimāt}$  for  $\bar{agnimāth}$ ,  $\bar{suhṭ}$  for  $\bar{suhṭd}$ ,  $\bar{vīrūt}$  for  $\bar{vīrūdh}$ ,  $\bar{trīṣṭūp}$  for  $\bar{trīṣṭūbh}$ .

a. In a few roots, when their final (sonant aspirate) thus loses its aspiration, the original sonant aspiration of the initial reappears: compare  $\bar{ṛh}$  h, below, 147.

Thus,  $\bar{dagh}$  becomes  $\bar{dhak}$ ,  $\bar{budh}$  becomes  $\bar{bhut}$ , and so on.

The roots exhibiting this change are stated below, 155.

b. There was some question among the Hindu grammarians as to whether the final mute is to be estimated as of surd or of sonant quality; but the great weight of authority, and the invariable practice of the manuscripts, favor the surd.

142. The palatals, however, form here (as often elsewhere) an exception to the rules for the other mutes. No palatal is allowed as final. The च् c reverts (43) to its original क् k: thus, वाक् vāk, अंहोमुक् aṅhomúk. The छ् ch (only quotable in the root प्रच्छ् prach) becomes ट् ṭ: thus, प्राट् prāṭ. The ज् j either reverts to its original guttural or becomes ट् ṭ, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations (219): thus, भिषक् bhiṣák, विराट् virāṭ. The ज्ञ् jh does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to ट् ṭ.

143. Of the nasals, the म् m and न् n are extremely common, especially the former (म् m and स् s are of all final consonants the most frequent); the ण् ṇ is allowed, but is quite rare; ङ् ṅ is found (remaining after the loss of a following क् k) in a very small number of words (386 b, c, 407 a); ज्ञ् ṅ never occurs.

a. But the final m of a root is changed to n (compare 212 a, below): thus, akran from kram, ágan, ajagan, aganiḡan from gam, ánān from nam, ayān from yam, praçān from çam; no other cases are quotable.

144. Of the semivowels, the ल् l alone is an admitted final, and it is very rare. The र् r is (like its nearest surd correspondent, स् s: 145) changed as final to visarga. Of य् y and व् v there is no occurrence.

145. Of the sibilants, none may stand unaltered at the end of a word. The स् s (which of all final consonants would otherwise be the commonest) is, like र् r, changed to a breathing, the visarga. The ष् ṣ either reverts (43) to its original क् k, or, in some roots, is changed to ट् ṭ (in accordance with its changes in inflection and derivation: see below, 218): thus, दिक् dik, but विट् viṭ. The श् ś is likewise changed to ट् ṭ: thus, प्रावृट् prāvṛṭ.

a. The change of ś to ṭ is of rare occurrence: see below, 226 d.

b. Final radical *s* is said by the grammarians to be changed to *t*; but no sure example of the conversion is quotable: see 168; and compare 555a.

146. The compound *क्* *ks* is prescribed to be treated as simple *प्* *ṣ* (not becoming *क्* *k* by 150, below). But the case is a rare one, and its actual treatment in the older language irregular.

a. In the only RV. cases where the *ks* has a quasi-radical character — namely *anāk* from *anāks*, and *āmyak* from *√myaks* — the conversion is to *k*. Also, of forms of the *s*-aorist (see 890), we have *adhāk*, *asrāk*, *arāik*, etc. (for *adhāks-t* etc.); but also *aprāt*, *ayāt*, *avāt*, *asrāt* (for *aprāks-t* etc.). And RV. has twice *ayās* from *√yaj*, and AV. twice *srās* from *√sṛj* (wrongly referred by BR. to *√srañs*), both 2d sing., where the personal ending has perhaps crowded out the root-final and tense-sign.

b. The numeral *ṣaṣ* *ṣiṣ* is perhaps better to be regarded as *ṣaks*, with its *ks* treated as *ṣ*, according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration *ह्* *h* is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like *ञ्* *j* and *ष्* *ṣ*) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as *क्* *k*, or is changed to *ट्* *ṭ* — both in accordance with its treatment in inflection: see below, 222. And, also as in inflection, the original sonant aspiration of a few roots (given at 155b) reappears when their final thus becomes deaspirated. Where the *ह्* *h* is from original *ध्* *dh* (223e), it becomes *त्* *t*.

148. The *visarga* and *anusvāra* are nowhere etymological finals; the former is only the substitute for an original final *स्* *s* or *र्* *r*; the latter occurs as final only so far as it is a substitute for *म्* *m* (213h).

149. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals, nearly in the order of their frequency, are : *प्* *p*, *म्* *m*, *न्* *n*, *त्* *t*, *क्* *k*, *प्* *p*, *ट्* *ṭ*; those of only sporadic occurrence are *ङ्* *ṅ*, *ल्* *l*, *ण्* *ṇ*; and, by substitution, : *म्*.

150. In general, only one consonant, of whatever kind, is allowed to stand at the end of a word; if two or more would etymologically occur there, the last is dropped, and again the last, and so on, till only one remains.

a. Thus, *tudants* becomes *tudant*, and this *tudan*; *udañc-s* becomes *udañk* (142), and this *udañ*; and *achāntst* (s-aor., 3d sing., of *√chand* [890b]) is in like manner reduced to *achān*.

b. But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after *r*: thus, *ūr̥k* from *ūrj*, *ivār̥k* from *√vrj*, *avart* from *√vrt*, *āmārt* from *√mrj*, *suhārt* from *suhārd*. The case is not a common one.

c. For relics of former double finals, preserved by the later language under the disguise of apparent euphonic combinations, see below, 207 ff.

151. Anomalous conversions of a final mute to one of another class are occasionally met with. Examples are:

a. Of final *t* to *k*: thus, 1. in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles, as  *jyók*, *tājāk* (beside *tājāt*), *ḥdhak* (beside *ḥdhat*), *pṛthak*, *drāk*; and of kindred character is *khādagdānt* (TA.); 2. in here and there a verbal form, as *sāviṣak* (AV. and VS. Kāṇ.), *dambhiṣak* (Āpast.), *aviṣyak* (Pārask.), *āhalak* (VS. MS.; = *āharat*); 3. in root-finals or the *t* added to root-stems (383 e), as *-dhṛk* for *-dhṛt* (Sūtras and later) at the end of compounds, *suçrūk* (TB.), *pṛkṣū* (SV.); and 4. we may further note here the anomalous *eñkṣva* (AB.; for *intsva*, *yidh*) and *avāksam* (AB.), and the feminines in *knī* from masculines in *ta* (1176 d).

b. Of final *d* or *t* to a lingual: thus, *pad* in Vedic *paḍbhīs*, *paḍgr̥bhi*, *paḍbīṣa*; *upānāḍbhīyām* (ÇB.); *vy avāt* (MS. iii. 4. 9; *√vas shine*), and perhaps *āpā 'rāt* (MS.; or *√raj*?).

c. Of *k* or *j* to *t*, in an isolated example or two, as *samiyāt*, *āsṛt*, *viçvasṛt* (TS. K.), and *prayātsu* (VS. TS.; AV. -kṣu).

d. In Tāittiriya texts, of the final of *anuṣṭūbh* and *triṣṭūbh* to a guttural: as, *anuṣṭūk* *as*, *triṣṭūgbhis*, *anuṣṭūgbhyas*.

e. Of a labial to a dental: in *kakūd* for and beside *kakūbh*; in *samsṛdbhis* (TS.) from *√srp*; and in *adbhīs*, *adbhīyās*, from *ap* or *āp* (393). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination *bbh* are not very rare in the older language: thus. *kakūbbhīyām*, *triṣṭūbbhis*, *kakubbhaṇḍā*, *anuṣṭūb bhī*.

f. The forms *pratidhūṣas*, *-ṣā* (Tāittiriya texts) from *pratidūh* are isolated anomalies.

152. For all the processes of external combination — that is to say, in composition and sentence-collocation — a stem-final or word-final is in general to be regarded as having, not its etymological form, but that given it by the rules as to permitted finals. From this, however, are to be excepted the *s* and *r*: the various transformations of these sounds have nothing to do with the *visarga* to which as

finals before a pause they have — doubtless at a comparatively recent period of phonetic history — come to be reduced. Words will everywhere in this work be written with final *s* or *r* instead of *h*; and the rules of combination will be stated as for the two more original sounds, and not for the *visarga*.

### Deaspiration.

153. An aspirate mute is changed to a non-aspirate before another non-nasal mute or before a sibilant; it stands unaltered only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.

a. Such a case can only arise in internal combination, since the processes of external combination presuppose the reduction of the aspirate to a non-aspirate surd (152).

b. Practically, also, the rules as to changes of aspirates concern almost only the sonant aspirates, since the surd, being of later development and rarer occurrence, are hardly ever found in situations that call for their application.

154. Hence, if such a mute is to be doubled, it is doubled by prefixing its own corresponding non-aspirate.

a. But in the manuscripts, both Vedic and later, an aspirate mute is not seldom found written double — especially, if it be one of rare occurrence: for example (RV.), *akḥkhalī*, *jājhjhatī*.

155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate (घ् *gh*, ध् *dh*, भ् *bh*; also ह् *h*, as representing an original घ् *gh*) thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant (ग् *g* or द् *d* or ब् *b*) becomes aspirate.

a. That is to say, the original initial aspirate of such roots is restored, when its presence does not interfere with the euphonic law, of comparatively recent origin, which (in Sanskrit as in Greek) forbids a root to both begin and end with an aspirate.

b. The roots which show this peculiar change are:

in *gh* — *dagh*;

in *h* (for original *gh*) — *dah*, *dih*, *duh*, *druh*, *drñh*, *guh*; and also *grah* (in the later desiderative *jighṛkṣa*);

in *dh* — *bandh*, *bādh*, *budh*;

in *bh* — *dabh* (but only in the later desiderative *dhipsa*, for which the older language has *dipsa*).

c. The same change appears when the law as to finals causes the loss of the aspiration at the end of the root: see above, 141.

d. But from *dah*, *duh*, *druh*, and *guh* are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, *dakṣat*; *adukṣat*; *dudukṣa* etc.; *jugukṣa*; *mitradrūk*.

e. The same analogy is followed by *dadh*, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stem *dadhā*, from *√dhā* (867), in some of the forms of conjugation: thus, *dhatthas* from *dadh+thas*, *adhatta* from *adadh+ta*, *adhaddhvam* from *adadh+dhvam*, etc.

f. No case is met with of the throwing back of an aspiration upon combination with the 2d sing. impv. act. ending *dhi*: thus, *dugdhi*, *daddhi* (RV.), but *dhugdhvam*, *dhaddhvam*.

### Surd and Sonant Assimilation.

156. Under this head, there is especially one very marked and important difference between the internal combinations of a root or stem with suffixes and endings, and the external combinations of stem with stem in composition and of word with word in sentence-making: namely —

157. a. In internal combination, the initial vowel or semivowel or nasal of an ending of inflection or derivation exercises no altering influence upon a final consonant of the root or stem to which it is added.

b. To this rule there are some exceptions: thus, some of the derivatives noted at 111d; final *d* of a root before the participial suffix *na* (957d); and the forms noted below, 161b.

c. In external combination, on the other hand, an initial sonant of whatever class, even a vowel or semivowel or nasal, requires the conversion of a final surd to sonant.

d. It has been pointed out above (152) that in the rules of external combination only admitted finals, along with *s* and *r*, need be taken account of, all others being regarded as reduced to these before combining with initials.

158. Final vowels, nasals, and ऌ 1 are nowhere liable to change in the processes of surd and sonant assimilation.

a. The *r*, however, has a corresponding surd in *s*, to which it is sometimes changed in external combination, under circumstances that favor a surd utterance (178).



159. With the exceptions above stated, the collision of surd and sonant sounds is avoided in combinations — and, regularly and usually, by assimilating the final to the following initial, or by regressive assimilation.

Thus, in internal combination: átsi, átti, atthás, attá (√ad + si etc.); çagdhí, çagdhvám (√çak + dhi etc.); — in external combination, ábhūd ayám, jyóg jīva, śaḍ aṣṭáyaḥ, triṣṭúb ápi, dig-gaja, ṣaḍ-ahá, arcád-dhūma, bṛhád-bhānu, ab-já.

160. If, however, a final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by त् t or थ् th of an ending, the assimilation is in the other direction, or progressive: the combination is made sonant, and the aspiration of the final (lost according to 153, above) is transferred to the initial of the ending.

Thus, gh with t or th becomes gdh; dh with the same becomes ddh, as buddhá (√budh + ta), runddhás (√rundh + thas or tas); bh with the same becomes bdh, as labdhá (√labh + ta), labdhvá (√labh + tvā).

a. Moreover, h, as representing original gh, is treated in the same manner: thus, dugdhá, dógdhum from duh — and compare rūḍhá and līḍhá from ruh and lih, etc., 222 b.

b. In this combination, as the sonant aspiration is not lost but transferred, the restoration of the initial aspiration (155) does not take place.

c. In dadh from √dhā (155 e), the more normal method is followed; the dh is made surd, and the initial aspirated: thus, dhatthas, dhattas. And RV. has dhaktam instead of dagdham from √dagh; and TA. has inttām instead of inddhām from √idh.

161. Before a nasal in external combination, a final mute may be simply made sonant, or it may be still further assimilated, being changed to the nasal of its own class.

Thus, either tát námas or tán námas, vág me or vān me, báḍ mahán or bāṇ mahán, triṣṭúb nūnám or triṣṭúm nūnám.

a. In practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in the manuscripts, as, indeed, it is by the Prātiçākhyas required and not permitted merely. Even by the general grammarians it is required in the compound śāṇṇavati, and before mātṛā, and the suffix maya (1225): thus, vāṇmāya, mṛṇmāya.

b. Even in internal combination, the same assimilation is made in some of the derivatives noted at 111 d, and in the na-participles (957 d). And a few sporadic instances are met with even in verb-inflection: thus,

stiñnoti, stiñnuvāt (MS.; for stighn-), mṛnnīta (LÇS.; for mṛdn-), jāñmayana (KS.; for jāgm-); these, however (like the double aspirates, 154a), are doubtless to be rejected as false readings.

162. Before l, a final t is not merely made sonant, but fully assimilated, becoming l: thus, tál labhate, úlluptam.

163. Before ह् h (the case occurs only in external combination), a final mute is made sonant; and then the ह् h may either remain unchanged or be converted into the sonant aspirate corresponding with the former: thus, either तद्धि tād hí or तद्धि tād dhí.

a. In practice, the latter method is almost invariably followed; and the grammarians of the Prātiśākhya period are nearly unanimous in requiring it. The phonetic difference between the two is very slight.

Examples are: vāg ghutāh, śaḍḍhotā (ṣaṭ + hotā), taddhita (tat + hita), anuṣṭub bhí.

### Combinations of final स् s and र् r.

164. The euphonic changes of स् s and र् r are best considered together, because of the practical relation of the two sounds, in composition and sentence-collocation, as corresponding surd and sonant: in a host of cases स् s becomes र् r in situations requiring or favoring the occurrence of a sonant; and, much less often, र् r becomes स् s where a surd is required.

a. In internal combination, the two are far less exchangeable with one another: and this class of cases may best be taken up first.

165. Final r radical or quasi-radical (that is, not belonging to an ending of derivation) remains unchanged before both surd and sonant sounds, and even before su in declension: thus, píparṣi, caturthá, catúrṣu, pūrṣú.

166. Final radical s remains before a surd in general, and usually before s, as in cāssi, cāssva, āsse, ācīṣṣu (the last is also written ācīṣṣu: 172): but it is lost in āsi (vas + si: 636). Before a sonant (that is, bh) in declension, it is treated as in external combination: thus, ācīrbhis. Before a sonant (that is, dh) in conjugation, it appears to be dropped, at least after long ā: thus, cādhi, caçādhi, cakādhi (the only quotable cases); in edhí (vas + dhi: 636) the root syllable is irregularly altered; but in 2d pers. pl., made with dhvam, as ādhvam, çādhvam, arādhvam (881a), vadhvam (vas

*clothe*), it is, on account of the equivalence and interchangeability of *dhv* and *ddhv* (232), impossible to say whether the *s* is omitted or converted into *d*.

a. Final radical *s* is very rare; RV. (twice, both 2d pers. sing.) treats *ághas* from *√ghas* in the same manner as any ordinary word ending in *as*.

b. For certain cases of irregular loss of the *s* of a root or tense-stem, see 233 b—e.

167. In a very few cases, final radical *s* before *s* is changed to *t* (perhaps by dissimilation): they are, from *√vas dwell* (also sporadically from *vas shine*, ÇB., and *vas clothe*, Har.), the future *vatsyāmi* and aorist *ávātsam*; from *√ghas*, the desiderative stem *jíghatsa*.

a. For *t* as apparent ending of the 3d sing. in *s*-verbs, see 555 a.

168. According to the grammarians, the final *s* of certain other roots, used as noun-stems, becomes *t* at the end of the word, and before *bh* and *su*: thus, *dhvat*, *dhvadbhis*, *śradbhyas*, *śratsu*. But genuine examples of such change are not quotable.

a. Sporadic cases of a like conversion are found in the Veda: namely, *mādbhis* and *mādbhyās* from *mās*; *uśadbhis* from *uśās*; *svátavadbhyas* from *svátavas*; *svávadbhis* etc. (not quotable) from *svávas*. But the actuality of the conversion here is open to grave doubt; it rather seems the substitution of a *t*-stem for a *s*-stem. The same is true of the change of *vāñs* to *vat* in the declension of perfect participles (458). The stem *anaḍvah* (404), from *anas-vah*, is anomalous and isolated.

b. In the compounds *ducchúnā* (*dus-ṇunā*) and *párucchepa* (*parus-ṇepa*), the final *s* of the first member is treated as if a *t* (203).

169. As the final consonant of derivative stems and of inflected forms, both of declension and of conjugation, *s* is extremely frequent; and its changes form a subject of first-rate importance in Sanskrit euphony. The *r*, on the other hand, is quite rare.

a. The *r* is found as original final in certain case-forms of stems in *ṛ* or *ar* (369 ff.); in root-stems in *ir* and *ur* from roots in *ṛ* (383 b); in a small number of other stems, as *svār*, *áhar* and *údhar* (beside *áhan* and *údhan*: 430), *dvār* or *dur*, and the Vedic *vádhar*, *uśar*-, *vasar*-, *vanar*-, *ṇrutar*-, *sapar*-, *sabar*-, *athar*- (cf. 176 c); in a few particles, as *antár*, *prātár*, *púnar*; and in the numeral *catúr* (482 g).

b. The euphonic treatment of *s* and *r* yielding precisely the same result after all vowels except *a* and *ā*, there are certain forms with regard to which it is uncertain whether they end in *s* or *r*, and opinions differ respecting them. Such are *ur* (or *us*) of the gen.-abl. sing. of *ṛ*-stems (371 c), and *us* (or *ur*) of the 3d plur. of verbs (550 c).

170. a. The  $\text{स् s}$ , as already noticed (145), becomes *visarga* before a pause.

b. It is retained unchanged only when followed by  $\text{त् t}$  or  $\text{थ् th}$ , the surd mutes of its own class.

c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes —  $\text{च् c}$  and  $\text{क्ष् ch}$ ,  $\text{ट् ṭ}$  and  $\text{ठ् ṭh}$  — it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely  $\text{श् ष}$  or  $\text{ष् ष}$ .

d. Before the guttural and labial surd mutes —  $\text{क् k}$  and  $\text{ख् kh}$ ,  $\text{प् p}$  and  $\text{फ् ph}$  — it is also theoretically assimilated, becoming respectively the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmānīya* spirants (69); but in practice these breathings are unknown, and the conversion is to *visarga*.

Examples are: to b. *tatas te*, *cakṣus te*; to c. *tataṣ ca*, *ta-syāṣ chāyā*; *pādaṣ ṭalati*; to d. *nalaḥ kāmam*, *puruṣaḥ khanati*; *yaçaḥ prāpa*, *vṛkṣaḥ phalavān*.

171. The first three of these rules are almost universal; to the last one there are numerous exceptions, the sibilant being retained (or, by 180, converted into  $\text{श्}$ ), especially in compounds; but also, in the *Veda*, even in sentence combination.

a. In the *Veda*, the retention of the sibilant in compounds is the general rule, the exceptions to which are detailed in the *Vedic grammars*.

b. In the later language, the retention is mainly determined by the intimacy or the antiquity and frequency of the combination. Thus, the final sibilant of a preposition or a word filling the office of a preposition before a verbal root is wont to be preserved; and that of a stem before a derivative of  $\text{√kr}$ , before *pati*, before *kalpa* and *kāma*, and so on. Examples are *namaskāra*, *vācaspati*, *āyuskāma*, *payaskalpa*.

c. The *Vedic* retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the *Prātiśākhya*s. The chief classes of cases are: 1. the final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form; 2. of a genitive before a governing noun: as *divás putráḥ*, *idás padé*; 3. of an ablative before *pári*: as *himávatas pári*; 4. of other less classifiable cases: as *dyāús pitá*, *trís pūtvá*, *yás pátiḥ*, *paridhís pátāti*, etc.

172. Before an initial sibilant —  $\text{श् ष}$ ,  $\text{ष् ष}$ ,  $\text{स् s}$  —  $\text{स् s}$  is either assimilated, becoming the same sibilant, or it is changed into *visarga*.

a. The native grammarians are in some measure at variance (see *APr.* ii. 40, note) as to which of these changes should be made, and in

part they allow either at pleasure. The usage of the manuscripts is also discordant; the conversion to *visarga* is the prevalent practice, though the sibilant is also not infrequently found written, especially in South-Indian manuscripts. European editors generally write *visarga*; but the later dictionaries and glossaries generally make the alphabetic place of a word the same as if the sibilant were read instead.

Examples are: *manuḥ svayam* or *manus svayam*; *indraḥ* *çūraḥ* or *indraç çūraḥ*; *tāḥ ṣaṭ* or *tāṣ ṣaṭ*.

173. There are one or two exceptions to these rules:

a. If the initial sibilant has a surd mute after it, the final *s* may be dropped altogether — and by some authorities is required to be so dropped. Thus, *vāyava stha* or *vāyavaḥ stha*; *catustanām* or *catuḥstanām*. With regard to this point the usage of the different manuscripts and editions is greatly at variance.

b. Before *ts*, the *s* is allowed to become *visarga*, instead of being retained.

174. Before a sonant, either vowel or consonant (except *ṛ r*: see 179), *स् s* is changed to the sonant *ṛ r* — unless, indeed, it be preceded by *अ a* or *आ ā*.

Examples are: *devapatir iva*, *çrīr iva*; *manur gacchati*, *tanūr apsu*; *svaṣṛ ajanayat*; *tayor adṛṣṭakāmaḥ*; *sarvāir guṇāḥ*; *agner manve*.

a. For a few cases like *dūdāça*, *dūnāça*, see below, 199 d.

b. The exclamation *bhos* (456) loses its *s* before vowels and sonant consonants: thus, *bho nāṣadha* (and the *s* is sometimes found omitted also before surds).

c. The endings *अस् as* and *आस् ās* (both of which are extremely common) follow rules of their own, namely:

175. a. Final *अस् as*, before any sonant consonant and before short *अ a*, is changed to *ओ o* — and the *अ a* after it is lost.

b. The resulting accentuation, and the fact that the loss of *a* is only occasional in the older language of the Veda, have been pointed out above, 135 a, c.

Examples are: *nalo nāma*, *brahmaṇyo vedavit*; *manobhava*; *hantavyo 'smi*; *anyonya* (*anyas + anya*), *yaçortham* (*yaças + artham*).

c. Final *अस् as* before any other vowel than *अ a* loses its *स् s*, becoming simple *अ a*; and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.

d. That is to say, the *o* from *as* is treated as an original *e* is treated in the same situation: see 132—3.

Examples are: *bṛhadaçva uvāca*, *āditya iva*, *nāmaūkti*, *vāsya-iṣṭi*.

176. Exceptions to the rules as to final *as* are:

a. The nominative masculine pronouns *sās* and *eṣās* and (Vedic) *syās* (495 a, 499 a, b) lose their *s* before any consonant: thus, *sa dadarça* *he saw*, *eṣa puruṣaḥ* *this man*; but so *'bravīt* *he said*, *puruṣa eṣaḥ*.

b. Instances are met with, both in the earlier and in the later language, of effacement of the hiatus after alteration of *as*, by combination of the remaining final *a* with the following initial vowel: thus, *tato 'vāca* (*tatas + uvāca*), *payoṣṇī* (*payas + uṣṇī*), *adhāsana* (*adhas + āsana*): compare 133 c, 177 b. In the Veda, such a combination is sometimes shown by the metre to be required, though the written text has the hiatus. But *sa* in RV. is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel: e. g., *sé 'd* for *sá 'íd*, *sā 'smāi* for *sá asmāi*, *sāu 'ṣadhīḥ* for *sá oṣadhīḥ*; and similar examples are found also in the other Vedic texts.

c. Other sporadic irregularities in the treatment of final *as* occur. Thus, it is changed to *ar* instead of *o* once in RV. in *avās*, once in SV. in *āvas* (RV. *āvo*), once in MS. in *dambhiṣas*; in *bhuvas* (second of the trio of sacred utterances *bhūs*, *bhuvas*, *svar*), except in its earliest occurrences; in a series of words in a Brāhmaṇa passage (TS. K.), viz. *jinvár*, *ugrár*, *bhīmár*, *tveṣár*, *ṣrutár*, *bhūtár*, and (K. only) *pūtár*; in *janar* and *mahar*; and some of the *ar*-stems noted at 169 a are perhaps of kindred character. On the other hand, *as* is several times changed to *o* in RV. before a surd consonant; and *sās* twice, and *yās* once, retains its final sibilant in a like position.

d. In MS., the final *a* left before hiatus by alteration of either *as* (*o*) or *e* (133) is made long if itself unaccented and if the following initial vowel is accented: thus, *sūrā éti* (from *sūras + éti*), *nirupyātā índrāya* (from *-yáte + índ-*), and also *kāryā éka-* (from *kāryās*, because virtually *kārias*); but *ādityā índraḥ* (from *ādityās + índraḥ*), *etā ítare* (from *eté + ítare*).

177. Final *आस् ās* before any sonant, whether vowel or consonant, loses its स् *s*, becoming simple *आ ā*; and a hiatus thus occasioned remains.

a. The maintenance of the hiatus in these cases, as in that of *o* and *e* and *āi* (above, 133—4), seems to indicate a recent loss of the intermediate sound. Opinions are divided as to what this should have been. Some of the native grammarians assimilate the case of *ās* to that of *āi*,

assuming the conversion to *āy* in both alike — but probably only as a matter of formal convenience in rule-making.

b. Here, too (as in the similar cases of *e* and *āi* and *o*: 133 c, 176 b), there are examples to be found, both earlier and later, of effacement of the hiatus.

178. Final *ṛ* *r*, in general, shows the same form which *ṣ* would show under the same conditions.

a. Thus, it becomes *visarga* when final, and a sibilant or *visarga* before an initial surd mute or sibilant (170): thus, *rudatī punaḥ*, *dvās tat*, *svaḥ ca*, *catūṣcatvāriṇṣat*; and (111 c, d) *prātaṣtāna*, *antastya*, *catuṣṭaya*, *dhūstva*; *prātaḥ karoti*, *antaḥpāta*.

b. But original final *r* preceded by *a* or *ā* maintains itself unchanged before a sonant: thus, *punar eti*, *prātarjit*, *ākar jyōtiḥ*, *āhār dāmnā*, *vārdhi*.

c. The *r* is preserved unchanged even before a surd in a number of Vedic compounds: thus, *aharpāti*; *svārcanas*, *svārcakṣas*, *svārpati*, *svarṣā*, *svarṣāti*; *dhūrṣād*, *dhūrṣaḥ*; *pūrpati*, *vārkāryā*, *ācīrpada*, *punartta*; and in some of these the *r* is optionally retained in the later language. The RV. also has *āvar tāmaḥ* once in sentence-combination.

d. On the other hand, final *ar* of the verb-form *āvar* is changed to *o* before a sonant in several cases in RV. And *r* is lost, like *s*, in one or two cases in the same text: thus, *akṣā induh*, *āha evā*.

179. A double *r* is nowhere admitted: if such would occur, either by retention of an original *r* or by conversion of *s* to *r*, one *r* is omitted, and the preceding vowel, if short, is made long by compensation.

Thus, *punā ramate*, *nṛpati rājati*, *mātū rihān*, *jyotiratha*, *dūrohaṇā*.

a. In some Vedic texts, however, there are instances of *ar* changed to *o* before initial *r*: thus, *svō rohāva*.

### Conversion of *ṣ* *s* to *ṣ* *ṣ*.

180. The dental sibilant *ṣ* *s* is changed to the lingual *ṣ* *ṣ*, if immediately preceded by any vowel save *ṣ* *a* and *ṣ* *ā*, or by *k* *k* or *ṛ* *r* — unless the *ṣ* *s* be final, or followed by *ṛ* *r*.

a. The assimilating influence of the preceding lingual vowels and semivowel is obvious enough; that of *k* and the other vowels appears to be due to a somewhat retracted position of the tongue in the mouth during

their utterance, causing its tip to reach the roof of the mouth more easily at a point further back than the dental one.

b. The general Hindu grammar prescribes the same change after a *l* also; but the *Prātiçākhyas* give no such rule, and phonetic considerations, the *l* being a dental sound, are absolutely against it. Actual cases of the combination do not occur in the older language, nor have any been pointed out in the later.

c. The vowels that cause the alteration of *s* to *ṣ* may be called for brevity's sake "alterant" vowels.

181. Hence, in the interior of a Sanskrit word, the dental *s* is not usually found after any vowel save *a* and *ā*, but, instead of it, the lingual *ṣ*. But —

a. A following *r* prevents the conversion: thus, *usra*, *tisras*, *tamisra*. And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an *r*-element (whether *r* or *ṛ*), whatever the position of that element: thus, *sisarti*, *sisṛtam*, *sarisṛpā*, *tistire*, *parisrūt*. To this rule there are a few exceptions, as *viṣṭīr*, *viṣṭārā*, *nīṣṭīṛta*, *vīṣpardhas*, *gāviṣṭhira*, etc. In *ajuṣṛan* the final *ṣ* of a root is preserved even immediately before *r*.

b. This dissimilating influence of a following *r*, as compared with the invariable assimilating influence of a preceding *r*, is peculiar and problematical.

c. The recurrence of *ṣ* in successive syllables is sometimes avoided by leaving the former *s* unchanged: thus, *sisakṣi*, but *siṣakti*; *yāsisīṣṭhās*, but *yāsiṣimahi*. Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see below, 184 e.

d. Other cases are sporadic: RV. has the forms *sisice* and *sisicus* (but *siṣicatus*), and the stems *ṛbīsa*, *kīstā*, *bīsa*, *busā*, *bṛsaya*; a single root *pis*, with its derivative *pesuka*, is found once in ÇB.; MS. has *mṛsmṛṣā*; *mūsala* begins to be found in AV.; and such cases grow more numerous; for *pūms* and the roots *nīns* and *hiṇs*, see below, 183 a.

182. On the other hand (as was pointed out above, 62), the occurrence of *ṣ* in Sanskrit words is nearly limited to cases falling under this rule: others are rather sporadic anomalies — except where *ṣ* is the product of *ç* or *kṣ* before a dental, as in *draṣṭum*, *çaṣṭe*, *tvaṣṭar*: see 218, 221. Thus, we find —

a. Four roots, *kaṣ*, *laṣ*, *bhaṣ*, *bhāṣ*, of which the last is common and is found as early as the *Brāhmaṇas*.

b. Further, in RV., *āṣa*, *kavāṣa*, *çaṣāla*, *cāṣa*, *jālāṣa*, *pāṣyā*, *baṣkāya*, *vāṣaṭ* (for *vakṣat*?), *kāṣṭhā*; and, by anomalous alteration of original *s*, *-ṣāh* (*turāṣāh* etc.), *āṣāḍha*, *upaṣṭūt*, and probably *apāṣṭhā* and *aṣṭhivānt*. Such cases grow more common later.

c. The numeral *ṣaṣ*, as already noted (146 b), is more probably *ṣakṣ*.



183. The nasalization of the alterant vowel — or, in other words, its being followed by *anusvāra* — does not prevent its altering effect upon the sibilant: thus, *haviṅṣi*, *parūṅṣi*. And the alteration takes place in the initial *s* of an ending after the final *s* of a stem, whether the latter be regarded as also changed to *ṣ* or as converted into *vi-sarga*: thus, *haviṣṣu* or *haviṣṣu*, *paruṣṣu* or *paruṣṣu*.

a. But the *s* of *pums* (394) remains unchanged, apparently on account of the retained sense of its value as *pums*; also that of *ṽhiṅs*, because of its value as *hins* (*hinasti* etc.); *ṽniṅs* (RV. only) is more questionable.

184. The principal cases of alteration of *s* in internal combination are these:

a. In endings, inflectional or derivative, beginning with *s* — thus, *su*; *si*, *se*, *sva*; *s* of sibilant-aorist, future, and desiderative; suffixes *sna*, *snu*, *sya*, etc. — after a final alterant vowel or consonant of root or stem, or a union-vowel: thus, *juhoṣi*, *ṣeṣe*, *anāiṣam*, *bhaviṣyāmi*, *cuṣṛiṣe*, *deṣṇa*, *jiṣṇu*, *vikṣu*, *akārṣam*.

b. The final *s* of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus, *haviṣā*, *haviṣas*, etc., from *havis*; *ṣakṣuṣmant*, *ṣociṣka*, *mānuṣa*, *manuṣya*, *jyotiṣṭva*.

c. Roots having a final sibilant (except *ṣ*) after an alterant vowel are — with the exception of fictitious ones and *pis*, *niṅs*, *hiṅs* — regarded as ending in *ṣ*, not *s*; and concerning the treatment of this *ṣ* in combination, see below, 225—6.

d. The initial *s* of a root after a reduplication: thus, *siṣyade*, *suṣvāpa*, *siṣāsati*, *coṣkūyate*, *sanīṣvanat*.

e. Excepted is in general an initial radical *s* in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes *ṣ*: thus, *sisīṛṣati* from *ṽsr*, *sisaṅkṣati* from *ṽsaṅj*. And there are other scattering cases, as *tresus* (perf. from *ṽtras*), etc.

185. But the same change occurs also, on a considerable scale, in external combination, especially in composition. Thus:

a. Both in verbal forms and in derivatives, the final *i* or *u* of a preposition or other like prefix ordinarily lingualizes the initial *s* of the root to which it is prefixed; since such combinations are both of great frequency and of peculiar intimacy, analogous with those of root or stem and affix: thus, *abhiṣāc*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *nīṣikta*, *vīṣita*; *anuvadhām*, *suṣēka*; the cases are numberless.

b. The principal exceptions are in accordance with the principles already laid down: namely, when the root contains an *r*-element, and when a recurrence of the sibilant would take place. But there are also others, of a more irregular character; and the complete account of the treatment of initial radical *s* after a prefix would be a matter of great detail, and not worth giving here.

c. Not infrequently, the initial *s*, usually altered after a certain prefix, retains the altered sibilant even after an interposed *a* of augment or reduplication: thus, *aty aṣṭhāt*, *abhy aṣṭhām*, *pary aṣasvajat*, *vy aṣahanta*, *ny aṣadāma*, *nir aṣṭhāpayan*, *abhy aṣiñcan*, *vy aṣṭabh-nāt*; *vi taṣṭhe*, *vi taṣṭhire*.

d. Much more anomalous is the occasional alteration of initial radical *s* after an *a*-element of a prefix. Such cases are *ava ṣṭambh* (against *ni stambh* and *prati stambh*) and (according to the grammarians) *ava ṣvan*.

186. In other compounds, the final alterant vowel of the first member not infrequently (especially in the Veda) lingualizes the initial *s* of the second: for example, *yudhiṣṭhira*, *pitṛṣvasṛ*, *goṣṭhā*, *agniṣtomā*, *anuṣṭūbh*, *trīṣaṁdhi*, *diviṣád*, *parameṣṭhín*, *abhiṣenā*, *pitṛṣád*, *puruṣtutā*.

a. A very few cases occur of the same alteration after an *a*-element: thus, *saṣṭūbh*, *avaṣṭambha*, *savyaṣṭhā*, *apāṣṭhā*, *upaṣṭút*; also *ṽsah*, when its final, by 147, becomes *ṭ*: thus, *satṛāṣṭ* (but *satṛā-sāham*).

187. The final *s* of the first member of a compound often becomes *ṣ* after an alterant vowel: thus, the *s* of a prepositional prefix, as *niṣṣṭhvan*, *duṣṭāra* (for *duṣṣṭāra*), *āvīṣṭa*; and, regularly, a *s* retained instead of being converted to *visarga* before a labial or guttural mute (171 a), as *haviṣṭā*, *jyotiṣṭ*; *tapuṣṭā*.

188. Once more, in the Veda, the same alteration, both of an initial and of a final *s*, is not infrequent even between the words composing a sentence. The cases are detailed in the *Prātiśākhya* belonging to each text, and are of very various character. Thus:

a. The initial *s*, especially of particles: as *ū śú*, *hí śma*, *kām u ṣvít*; — also of pronouns: as *hí śáh*; — of verb-forms, especially from *ṽas*: as *hí ṣṭhā*, *diví ṣṭha*; — and in other scattering cases: as *u ṣṭuhi*, *nū ṣṭhirám*, *trí ṣadhāsthā*, *ádhi ṣṇóh*, *nákiḥ śáh*, *yájuḥ ṣkannám*, *agníḥ ṣṭave*.

b. A final *s*, oftenest before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as *agníḥ ṭvā*, *niṣ ṭe*, *iyús ṭé*, *çúciḥ ṭvám*, *sádhiḥ ṭáva*; — but also in other cases, and wherever a final *s* is preserved, instead of being turned into *visarga*, before a guttural or labial (171): as *tríḥ pūtvā*, *áyuḥ kṛnotu*, *vāstoḥ pátiḥ*, *dyāús pitā*, *víbhiḥ pátāt*.

### Conversion of ण् न to ण् न्.

189. The dental nasal ण् न, when immediately followed by a vowel or by ण् न or म् म or य् य or व् व, is turned into the lingual ण् न् if preceded in the same word by the

lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels — that is to say, by *ṣ*, *r*, or *ṛ* or *ṛ* or *ṛ* —: and this, not only if the altering letter stands immediately before the nasal, but at whatever distance from the latter it may be found: unless, indeed, there intervene (a consonant moving the front of the tongue: namely) a palatal (except *y*), a lingual, or a dental.

a. We may thus figure to ourselves the *rationale* of the process: in the marked proclivity of the language toward lingual utterance, especially of the nasal, the tip of the tongue, when once reverted into the loose lingual position by the utterance of a non-contact lingual element, tends to hang there and make its next nasal contact in that position; and does so, unless the proclivity is satisfied by the utterance of a lingual mute, or the organ is thrown out of adjustment by the utterance of an element which causes it to assume a different posture. This is not the case with the gutturals or labials, which do not move the front part of the tongue (and, as the influence of *k* on following *s* shows, the guttural position favors the succession of a lingual): and the *y* is too weakly palatal to interfere with the alteration (as its next relative, the *i*-vowel, itself lingualizes a *s*).

b. This is a rule of constant application; and (as was pointed out above, 46) the great majority of occurrences of *ṇ* in the language are the result of it.

190. The rule has force especially —

a. When suffixes, of inflection or derivation, are added to roots or stems containing one of the altering sounds: thus, *rudrēṇa*, *rudrāṇām*, *vāriṇe*, *vāriṇī*, *vāriṇi*, *dātṛṇi*, *hārāṇi*, *dveṣāṇi*, *krīṇāmi*, *çṛṇóti*, *kṣubhāṇá*, *ghṛṇá*, *kárṇa*, *vṛkṇá*, *rugṇá*, *dráviṇa*, *iṣāṇi*, *purāṇá*, *rékṇas*, *cákṣaṇa*, *cíkīṣamāṇa*, *kṛpamāṇa*.

b. When the final *n* of a root or stem comes to be followed, in inflection or derivation, by such sounds as allow it to feel the effect of a preceding altering cause: thus, from *yran*, *rāṇanti*, *rāṇyati*, *rāraṇa*, *arāṇiṣus*; from *brahman*, *bráhmaṇā*, *bráhmāṇi*, *bráhmaṇá*, *brahmaṇyá*, *bráhmaṇvant*.

c. The form *piṇak* (RV.: 2d and 3d sing. impf.), from *ypiṣ*, is wholly anomalous.

191. This rule (like that for the change of *s* to *ṣ*) applies strictly and especially when the nasal and the cause of its alteration both lie within the limits of the same integral word; but (also like the other) it is extended, within certain limits, to compound words — and even, in the Veda, to contiguous words in the sentence.

192. Especially, a preposition or similar prefix to a root, if it contain r or end in euphonic r for s (174), very often lingualizes the n of a root or of its derived stems and forms. Thus:

a. The initial n of a root is usually and regularly so altered, in all forms and derivatives, after *parā*, *pari*, *pra*, *nir* (for *nis*), *antar*, *dur* (for *dus*): thus, *pārā ṇaya*, *pāri ṇiyate*, *prā ṇudasva*; *parāṇutti*, *pariṇāma*, *praṇavā*, *nirṇj*, *durṇāça*. Roots suffering this change are written with initial ṇ in the native root-lists. The only exceptions of importance are *nṛt*, *nabh*, *nand*, and *naç* when its ç becomes ś (as in *prānaṣṭa*).

b. The final n of a root is lingualized in some of the forms of *an* and *han*: thus, *prā 'ṇiti*, *prāṇā*, *prā haṇyate*, *prahāṇana*.

c. The class-signs *nu* and *nā* are altered after the roots *hi* and *mī*: thus, *pāri hiṇomi*, *prā miṇanti* (but the latter not in the Veda).

d. The 1st sing. impv. ending *āni* is sometimes altered: thus, *prā bhavāṇi*.

e. Derivatives by suffixes containing n sometimes have ṇ by influence of a preposition: thus, *prayāṇa*.

f. The n of the preposition *ni* is sometimes altered, like the initial of a root, after another preposition: thus, *pranipāta*, *pranidhi*.

193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes lingualizes a n of the next following member — either its initial or final n, or n in its inflectional or derivative ending. The exercise of the altering influence can be seen to depend in part upon the closeness or frequency of the compound, or its integration by being made the base of a derivative. Examples are: *grāmaṇi*, *triṇāman*, *urūṇasā*; *vṛtrahāṇam* etc. (but *vṛtraghnā* etc.: 195 a), *nṛmāṇas*, *drughāṇā*; *pravāhaṇa*, *nṛpāṇa*, *pūryāṇa*, *pitryāṇa*; *svargēṇa*, *durgāṇi*, *usrāyāmṇe*, *tryaṅgāṇam*.

194. Finally, in the Veda, a n (usually initial) is occasionally lingualized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns *nas* and *ena-* are oftenest thus affected: thus, *pāri ṇas*, *prāi 'ṇan*, *indra eṇam*; but also the particle *nā* like: thus, *vār ṇā*; and a few other cases, as *vār ṇāma*, *pūnar ṇayāmasi*, *agnér āveṇa*. More anomalous, and perhaps to be rejected as false readings, are such as *trīṇ imān* and *akṣāṇ āva* and *suhārṇ ṇaḥ* (MS.), and *vṛṣaṇ vā* (Āpast.).

195. a. The immediate combination of a n with a preceding guttural or labial seems in some cases to hinder the conversion to ṇ: thus, *vṛtraghnā* etc., *kṣubhnāti*, *tṛpnoti* (but in Veda *tṛpṇu*), *kṣepnū*, *suṣumnā*.

b. The RV. has the exceptions *uṣṭrānām* and *rāṣṭrānām*.

### Conversion of dental mutes to linguals and palatals.

196. When a dental mute comes in contact with a lingual or palatal mute or sibilant, the dental is usually assimilated, becoming lingual or palatal respectively.

The cases are the following:

197. A dental surd mute or nasal, or the dental sibilant, when immediately preceded by a *ṣ*, is everywhere converted into the corresponding lingual.

a. Under this rule, the combinations *ṣṭ*, *ṣṭh*, and *ṣṇ* are very common; *ṣṣ* is rarely so written, the *visarga* being put instead of the former sibilant (172): thus, *jyótiṣṣu* instead of *jyótiṣsu*.

b. Much less often, *dh* is changed to *ḍh* after final *ṣ* of a root or tense-stem, with loss of the *ṣ* or its conversion to *ḍ*: see 226 c.

c. Those cases in which final *ṣ* becomes *ṭ* before *su* (e. g. *dvitṣú*: 226 b) do not, of course, fall under this rule.

198. In the other (comparatively infrequent) cases where a dental is preceded by a lingual in internal combination, the dental (except of *su* loc. pl.) becomes lingual. Thus:

a. A *n* following immediately a *ṇ* made such by the rule given at 189, above — or, as it may be expressed, a double as well as a single *n* — is subject to the lingualization: thus, the participles *arṇṇá*, *kṣuṇṇa*, *kṣvinṇa*, *chrṇṇá*, *trṇṇá*; and, after prefixes (185 a), *niṣaṇṇa*, *parivṇṇa*, *viṣaṇṇa*, *vīṣyaṇṇa*. But TS. has *ádhiṣkanna*, and RV. *yájuḥ ṣkannám*.

b. Only a very few other instances occur: *ítte* and *áitṭa* from *ṽiḍ*; *ṣaḍḍhá* (also *ṣaḍdhá* and *ṣoḍhá*), and *ṣaṇṇám* (*ṣaṣ*+*nām*: anomalous gen. pl. of *ṣaṣ*: 483). A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, 199.

c. But *tāḍhi* (Vedic: *ṽtaḍ*+*dhi*) shows loss of the final lingual after assimilation of the dental, and compensatory lengthening.

d. Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of *ḍ* are explained in a similar way, as results of a lingualized and afterward omitted sibilant before *d*: thus *nīḍá* from *nisda*, *ṽpīḍ* from *pisd*, *ṽmrḍ* from *mṛsd*. For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, 199 c.

199. In external combination —

a. A final *t* is directed to be assimilated to an initial lingual mute: thus, *taṭ-tikā*, *taḍ ḍayate*, *taṭ-ṭhālīnī*, *taḍ ḍhāukate*: but the case never occurs in the older language, and very rarely in the later. For final *n* before a lingual, see 205 b.

b. An initial dental after a final lingual usually remains unchanged; and *su* of the loc. pl. follows the same rule: thus, *ṣáṭtriṇ-ṣat*, *ānaḍ diváh*, *ekarāṭ tvám*; *ṣaṭsú*, *rāṭsú*.

c. Exceptions are: a few compounds with *ṣaṣ* six showing double *ṇ* (198 b): namely, *ṣaṇṇavati*, *ṣaṇṇābhi* (and one or two others not quotable); and IB. has *ṣaṇ ṇiramimīta*.

d. In a few compounds, moreover, there appears a lingualized dental, with compensatory lengthening, after a lost lingual sibilant or its represen-

tative: namely, in certain Vedic compounds with *dus*: *dūdābha*, *dūdāc*, *dūdāhi*, *dūnāca*, *dūnāca* (compare the anomalous *purodāc* and *-dāca*: *puras+ydāc*); and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of *śaś*, with change of its vowel to an alterant quality (as in *voḍhum* and *soḍhum*: 224b): *śōdāca*, *śoḍhā* (also *śaḍdhā* and *śaḍdhā*), *śoḍant*.

e. Between final *t* and initial *s*, the insertion of a *t* is permitted — or, according to some authorities, required: thus, *śāt sahāsrāḥ* or *śātt sahāsrāḥ*.

200. The cases of assimilation of a dental to a contiguous palatal occur almost only in external combination, and before an initial palatal. There is but one case of internal combination, namely:

201. A *ṇ* coming to follow a palatal mute in internal combination is itself made palatal.

Thus, *yācñā* (the only instance after *c*), *yajñā*, *jajñé*, *ajñata*, *rājñā*, *rājñi*.

202. a. A final *ṇ* before an initial palatal mute is assimilated to it, becoming *च्* before *च्* or *क्* *ch*, and *ञ्* before *ञ्* (*क्* *jh* does not occur).

Thus, *uc carati*, *etac chattram*, *vidyuj jāyate*; *yātayājjana*, *vidyujjihva*, *bṛhācchandas*, *saccarita*.

b. A final *ṇ* is assimilated before *ञ्*, becoming *ञ्*.

c. All the grammarians, of every period, require this assimilation of *n* to *j*; but it is more often neglected, or only occasionally made, in the manuscripts.

d. For *n* before a surd palatal, see below, 208.

203. Before the palatal sibilant *श्*, both *त्* and *न्* are assimilated, becoming respectively *च्* and *ञ्*; and then the following *श्* may be, and in practice almost always is, converted to *क्* *ch*.

Thus, *vedavic chūrah* (-vit *çū*-), *tac chrutvā*, *hr̥cchaya* (*hr̥t* + *çaya*); *bṛhañ cheṣaḥ* or *çeṣaḥ*, *svapañ chete* or *çete*.

a. Some authorities regard the conversion of *ç* to *ch* after *t* or *n* as everywhere obligatory, others as only optional; some except, peremptorily or optionally, a *ç* followed by a mute. And some require the same conversion after every mute save *m*, reading also *vīpāt chutudrī*, *ānaṭ chūci*, *anuṣṭup chārādī*, *çuk chuci*. The manuscripts generally write *ch*, instead of *cch*, as result of the combination of *t* and *ç*.

b. In the MS., *t* and *ç* are anomalously combined into *ñ ç*: e. g. *tāñ çatām*, *etāvañçās*.

### Combinations of final *n*.

204. Final radical *n* is assimilated in internal combination to a following sibilant, becoming *anusvāra*.

Thus, *vāṅsi*, *vāṅsya*, *vāṅsat*, *maṅsyāte*, *jīghāṅsati*.

a. According to the grammarians, it is treated before *bh* and *sr* in declension as in external combination. But the cases are, at best, excessively rare, and RV. has *rāṅsu* and *vāṅsu* (the only Vedic examples).

b. Final *n* of a derivative suffix is regularly and usually dropped before a consonant in inflection and composition — in composition, even before a vowel; and a radical *n* occasionally follows the same rule: see 421 a, 439, 1203 c, 637.

c. For assimilation of *n* to a preceding palatal, see 201.

The remaining cases are those of external combination.

205. a. The assimilation of *n* in external combination to a following sonant palatal and the palatal sibilant *ç* have been already treated (202 b, 203).

b. The *n* is also declared to be assimilated (becoming *ṇ*) before a sonant lingual (*ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*), but the case rarely if ever occurs.

206. A *n* is also assimilated to a following initial *l*, becoming (like *m*: 213 d) a nasal *l*.

a. The manuscripts to a great extent disregard this rule, leaving the *n* unchanged; but also they in part attempt to follow it — and that, either by writing the assimilated *n* (as the assimilated *m*, 213 f, and just as reasonably) with the *anusvāra*-sign, or else by doubling the *l* and putting a sign of nasality above; the latter, however, is inexact, and a better way would be to separate the two *l*'s, writing the first with *virāma* and a nasal sign above. Thus (from *trīn lokān*):

manuscripts *त्रीलोकान्* or *त्रील्लोकान्*; better *त्रील् लोकान्*.

The second of these methods is the one oftenest followed in printed texts.

207. Before the lingual and dental sibilants, *ṣ* and *s*, final *n* remains unchanged; but a *t* may also be inserted between the nasal and the sibilant: thus, *tān ṣāt* or *tānt ṣāt*; *mahān sán* or *mahānt sán*.

a. According to most of the grammarians of the *Prātiçākhyas* (not RPr.), the insertion of the *t* in such cases is a necessary one. In the manuscripts it is very frequently made, but not uniformly. It is probably a purely phonetic phenomenon, a transition-sound to ease the double change of sonant to surd and nasal to non-nasal utterance — although the not infrequent cases in which final *n* stands for original *nt* (as *bharan*, *abharan*, *agnimān*) may have aided to establish it as a rule. Its analogy with the conversion of *n ç* into *ñch* (203) is palpable.

208. Before the surd palatal, lingual, and dental mutes, there is inserted after final *n* a sibilant of each of those classes respectively, before which the *n* becomes *anusvāra*: thus, *devāṇḥ ca*, *bhavāṇḥ chidyate*, *kumārāṇs trīn*, *abharāṇs tataḥ*, *dadhaṇḥ* (425 c) *carum*.

a. This rule, which in the classical language has established itself in the form here given, as a phonetic rule of unvarying application, really involves a historic survival. The large majority of cases of final *n* in the language (not far from three quarters) are for original *ns*; and the retention of the sibilant in such cases, when once its historical ground had been forgotten, was extended by analogy to all others.

b. Practically, the rule applies only to *n* before *c* and *t*, since cases involving the other initials occur either not at all, or only with extreme rarity (the Veda does not present an example of any of them). In the Veda, the insertion is not always made, and the different texts have with regard to it different usages, which are fully explained in their *Prātiśākhya*s; in general, it is less frequent in the older texts. When the *ç* does not appear between *n* and *c*, the *n* is of course assimilated, becoming *ñ* (203).

209. The same retention of original final *s* after a nasal, and consequent treatment of (apparent) final *ān*, *īn*, *ūn*, *ṛn* as if they were *āṇs*, *īṇs*, *ūṇs*, *ṛṇs* (long nasalized vowel with final *s*), shows itself also in other Vedic forms of combination, which, for the sake of unity, may be briefly stated here together:

a. Final *ān* becomes *āṇ* (nasalized *ā*) before a following vowel: that is to say, *āṇs*, with nasal vowel, is treated like *ās*, with pure vowel (177): thus, *devāṇ é 'há*, *úpabaddhāṇ ihá*, *mahāṇ asi*. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the *s* appears as *h* before *p*: thus, *svátavāṇḥ pāyūḥ*.

b. In like manner, *s* is treated after nasal *ī*, *ū*, *ṛ* as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming *r* before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) *h* before a surd (170): thus, *raçmiṇr iva*, *sūnūṇr yuvanyūṇr út*, *nṛṇr abhí*; *nṛṇḥ pātram* (and *nṛṇs p-*, MS.).

c. RV. has once *-īṇ* before *y*. MS. usually has *aṇ* instead of *āṇ*.

210. The nasals *n*, *ṇ*, *ñ*, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, *pratyāññ úd eṣi*, *udyāññ adityāḥ*, *āsāññ-igu*.

a. This is also to be regarded as a historical survival, the second nasal being an assimilation of an original consonant following the first. It is always written in the manuscripts, although the Vedic metre seems to show that the duplication was sometimes omitted. The RV. has the compound *vṛṣṇaṇaṇva*.

211. The nasals *ñ* and *ṇ* before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively *k* and *ç* — as *n* (207) inserts *t*: thus, *pratyāñk sómah*.



### Combinations of final *m*.

212. Final radical *m*, in internal combination, is assimilated to a following mute or spirant — in the latter case, becoming *anusvāra*; in the former, becoming the nasal of the same class with the mute.

a. Before *m* or *v* (as when final: 143 a), it is changed to *n*: thus, from *vgam* come *āganma*, *aganmahi*, *ganvahi*, *jaganvāns* (which appear to be the only quotable cases). According to the grammarians, the same change is made in the inflection of root-stems before *bh* and *su*: thus, *praçānbhis*, *praçānsu* (from *praçam*: *pra*+*vçam*). No derived noun-stem ends in *m*.

b. The ÇB. and KÇS. have *kāmvant* and *çāmvant*, and ChU. has *kamvara*.

213. Final *m* in external combination is a servile sound, being assimilated to any following consonant. Thus:

a. It remains unchanged only before a vowel or a labial mute.

b. But also, by an anomalous exception, before *r* of the root *rāj* in *samrāj* and its derivatives *samrājñī* and *sāmrajya*.

c. Before a mute of any other class than labial, it becomes the nasal of that class.

d. Before the semivowels *y*, *l*, *v* it becomes, according to the Hindu grammarians, a nasal semivowel, the nasal counterpart of each respectively (see 71).

e. Before *r*, a sibilant, or *h*, it becomes *anusvāra* (see 71).

f. The manuscripts and the editions in general make no attempt to distinguish the nasal tones produced by the assimilation of *m* before a following semivowel from that before a spirant.

g. But if *h* be immediately followed by another consonant (which can only be a nasal or semivowel), the *m* is allowed to be assimilated to that following consonant. This is because the *h* has no position of the mouth-organs peculiar to itself, but is uttered in the position of the next sound. The Prātiçākhyas do not take any notice of the case.

h. Cases are met with in the Veda where a final *m* appears to be dropped before a vowel, the final and initial vowels being then combined into one. The *pada*-text then generally gives a wrong interpretation. Thus, *saṁvānāno bhayamkaram* (RV. viii. 1. 2; *pada*-text -*nanā ubh*;-; SV. -*nanam*).

i. It has been pointed out above (73) that the assimilated *m* is generally represented in texts by the *anusvāra*-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by *m̐* (instead of a nasal mute or *ṁ*).

### The palatal mutes and sibilant, and ङ h.

214. These sounds show in some situations a reversion (43) to the original gutturals from which they are derived. The treatment of j and h, also, is different, according as they represent the one or the other of two different degrees of alteration from their originals.

215. The palatals and h are the least stable of alphabetic sounds, undergoing, in virtue of their derivative character, alteration in many cases where other similar sounds are retained.

216. Thus, in derivation, even before vowels, semivowels; and nasals, reversion to guttural form is by no means rare. The cases are the following:

a. Before a of suffix a, final c becomes k in *aṅká, çvaṅka, arká, pāká, vāká, çúka, parka, marká, vřka, prátika* etc., *reka, séka, moka, roká, çóka, toká, mroká, vraská*; — final j becomes g in *tyágá, bhága, bhāgá, yága, aṅga, bhaṅgá, saṅga, svaṅga, řṅga, tuṅga, yuṅga, varga, marga, mřgá, varga, sarga, nega, veга, bhóga, yugá, yóga, loga, róga*; — final h becomes gh in *aghá, maghá, arghá, dīrghá* (and *drāghīyas, drāghīṣṭha*), *degħa, meghá, ogha, dōgha, drōgha, mógha*; and in *dúghāna* and *mēghamāna*. In *neka* (y/nij) we have further an anomalous substitution of a surd for the final sonant of the root.

b. In another series of derivatives with a, the altered sound appears: examples are *ajá, yāja, çucá, çoca, vrajá, vevijá, yuja, ūrjá, dóha*.

c. Before the suffixes as and ana, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in *aṅkas, ókas, rókas, çókas, bhārgas*, and in *rogaṇa*; also in *ābhogāya*.

d. Before an i-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in *ābhogí, ógiyaṅs, tigítá, mokí, sphigí*): thus, *ājí, tují, rúci, çáci, vívici, rociṣṇú*.

e. Before u, the guttural reappears, as a rule (the cases are few): thus, *aṅku, vaṅkú, rekú, bhřgu, mārguka, raghú* (and *rāghīyaṅs*).

f. Before n, the examples of reversion are few, except of j (becoming g) before the participial ending na (957 c): thus, *rékñas, vagnú* (with the final also made sonant); and participles *bhagná, rugná*, etc.; and apparently *prṅṇa* from y/prc.

g. Before m (of *ma, man, mant, min*), the guttural generally appears: thus, *rukma, tigmá, yugma, řgma* (with sonant change); *takmán, vákman, sákman, yugmán; rúkmant; řgmín* and *vāgmín* (with sonant change): — but *ájman, ojmán, bhujmán*.

h. Before y, the altered sound is used: thus, *pacya, yajya, yajyu, yujya, bhujuy*. Such cases as *bhogya, yogya, negya, okya* are doubtless secondary derivatives from *bhoga* etc.

i. Before *r*, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided. thus, *takra*, *sakra*, *vakrá*, *çukrá*, *vigrá*, *ugrá*, *túgra*, *mṛgra*, *vāñ-kri*; but *vájra* and *pajrá* (?).

j. Before *v* (of the suffixes *va*, *van*, *vin*, etc., and participial *vāñs*) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, *řkvá*, *pakvá*, *vákva*; *vákvan*, *řkvan*, *rikvan*, *çukvan*, *mṛgvan*, *túgvan*, *yugvan*; *řkvan*t, *přkvan*t; *vāgvín*, *vagvaná*, *vagvanú* (with further sonant change; *vivakvāñs*, *riřkvāñs*, *vivikvāñs*, *rurukvāñs*, *çuçukvāñs*; *çuçukvaná*, *çuçukvāni*: also before the union-vowel *i* in *okivāñs* (RV., once). An exception is *yájvan*.

k. The reversion of *h* in derivation is comparatively rare. The final *j* which is analogous with *ç* (219) shows much less proclivity to reversion than that which corresponds with *c*.

l. A like reversion shows itself also to some extent in conjugational stem-formation and inflection. Thus, the initial radical becomes guttural after the reduplication in the present or perfect or desiderative or intensive stems, or in derivatives, of the roots *ci*, *cit*, *ji*, *hi*, *han*, and in *jáguri* (*√jř*); and *han* becomes *ghn* on the elision of *a* (402, 637). The RV. has *vivakmi* from *√vac* and *vāvakre* from *√vañc*; and SV. has *sasṛgmahe* (RV.-*srj*-). And before *ran* etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have *g* for radical *j* in *asṛgran*, *asṛgram*, *asasṛgram* (all in RV.).

217. Final *ç* of a root or stem, if followed in internal combination by any other sound than a vowel or semivowel or nasal, reverts (43) to its original guttural value, and shows everywhere the same form which a *k* would show in the same situation.

Thus, *váḳti*, *uváḳtha*, *váḳṣi*, *vaḳṣyāmi*, *vag̣dhi*; *vāgbḥis*, *vāḳśú*; *ukṭá*, *uktḥá*, *vakṭár*.

a. And, as final *c* becomes *k* (above 142), the same rule applies also to *c* in external combination: thus, *váḳ ca*, *vāg̣ ápi*, *vāñ me*.

Examples of *c* remaining unchanged in inflection are: *ucyáte*, *riřicré*, *vāc̣i*, *mumuc̣máhe*.

218. Final *ç* reverts to its original *k*, in internal combination, only before the *ś* of a verbal stem or ending (whence, by 180, *ṇ̃ ḳś*); before *ṭ* and *tḥ*, it everywhere becomes *ṣ́* (whence, by 197, *ṣ̣ ṣ̣ṭ* and *ṣ̣ ṣ̣tḥ*); before *dḥ*, *bḥ*, and *su* of the loc. pl., as when final (145), it regularly becomes the lingual mute (*ṇ̃ ṭ* or *ṇ̃ ḍ*).

Thus, *áviḳṣata*, *veḳṣyāmi*; *vāṣ̣ti*, *viṣ̣tá*, *dídeṣ̣tu*; *didiḍ̣dhi*, *viḍ̣bḥis*.

a. But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final *ç* to *k* before *bh* and *su*, and also when final (145): they are *diç*, *drç*, *spřç*, and optionally *naç*; and *viç* has in *V.* always *vikṣú*, loc. pl., but *viṭ*, *viḍbhís*, etc. Examples are *díkṣaṇçita*, *drçgbhís*, *hṛdispřk*, *nák* (or *naṭ*).

Examples of *ç* remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: *viçí*, *viviçyās*, *aviçran*, *açnomi*, *vaçmi*, *uçmási*.

b. A *ç* remains irregularly unchanged before *p* in the compound *viçpáti*.

219. Final *ṣj* is in one set of words treated like *ç*, and in another set like *ṣç*.

Thus, from *yuj*: *áyukthās*, *áyukta*, *yuñkté*, *yukti*, *yóktra*, *yokṣyāmi*, *yukṣú*; *yuñgdhí*, *áyugdhvam*, *yugbhís*.

Again, from *mṛj* etc.: *ámṛkṣat*, *srakṣyāmi*; *mārṣti*, *mṛṣṭá*, *sṛṣṭi*, *rāṣṭrá*; *mṛḍdhí*, *mṛḍdhvām*, *rāḍbhís*, *rāṣú*, *rāṭ*.

a. To the former or *yuj*-class belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, *bhaj*, *saj*, *tyaj* (not *V.*), *raj* color, *svaj*, *majj*, *nij*, *tij*, *vij*, 1 and 2 *bhuj*, *yuj*, *ruj*, *vṛj*, *añj*, *bhañj*, *çñj*; *úrj*, *sráj*, *bhiṣáj*, *ásrj*; — also, stems formed with the suffixes *aj* and *ij* (383.IV), as *ṭṛṇáj*, *vañj*; and *ṛtvij*, though containing the root *yaj*.

b. To the latter or *mṛj*-class belong only about one third as many: namely, *yaj*, *bhrajj*, *vraj*, *rāj*, *bhrāj*, *mṛj*, *sṛj*.

c. A considerable number of *j*-roots are not placed in circumstances to exhibit the distinction; but such roots are in part assignable to one or the other class on the evidence of the related languages. The distinction appears, namely, only when the *j* occurs as final, or is followed, either in inflection or in derivation, by a dental mute (*t*, *th*, *dh*), or, in noun-inflection, by *bh* or *su*. In derivation (above, 216) we find a *g* sometimes from the *mṛj*-class: thus, *mārga*, *sārga*, etc.; and (2161) before Vedic mid. endings, *saṣṛgmahe*, *asṛgrān*, etc. (beside *saṣṛjrire*) — while from the *yuj*-class occur only *yuyujre*, *ayujran*, *bubhujrire*, with *j*. And MS. has *viçvasřk* from (*vṣṛj*).

220. Final *ch* falls under the rules of combination almost only in the root *prach*, in which it is treated as if it were *ç* (*praç* being, indeed, its more original form): thus, *prakṣyāmi*, *pṛṣṭá*, and also the derivative *praçná*. As final and in noun-inflection (before *bh* and *su*), it is changed to the lingual mute: thus, *prāçvivāka*.

a. *Mūrtá* is called the participle of *mūrch*, and a gerund *mūrtvā* is given to the same root. They (with *mūrti*) must doubtless come from a simpler form of the root.

b. Of *jh* there is no occurrence: the grammarians require it to be treated like *c*.

221. The compound *kṣ* is not infrequent as final of a root (generally of demonstrably secondary origin), or of a tense-stem (*s*-aorist: see below, 878 ff.); and, in the not very frequent cases of its internal combination, it is treated as if a single sound, following the rules for *ç*: thus *çákṣe* (*cakṣ* + *se*), *cákṣva*; *cáṣṭe*, *ácaṣṭa*, *ásrāṣṭam*, *ásrāṣṭa*, *tváṣṭar*. As to its treatment when final, see 146.

a. Thus, we are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as *gorát*, *goráqbhis*, *gorátṣu* (from *gorákṣ*); and we actually have *ṣát*, *ṣáqbhis*, *ṣatṣú* from *ṣakṣ* or *ṣaṣ* (146 b). For *jagdha* etc. from *yjakṣ*, see 233 f.

b. In the single anomalous root *vraçc*, the compound *çc* is said to follow the rules for simple *ç*. From it are quotable the future *vraççyáti*, the gerunds *vṛṣṭvā* (AV.) and *vṛktvī* (RV.), and the participle (957 c) *vṛkná*. Its *c* reverts to *k* in the derivative *vraska*.

222. The roots in final *ṛ h*, like those in *ṛ j*, fall into two classes, exhibiting a similar diversity of treatment, appearing in the same kinds of combination.

a. In the one class, as *duh*, we have a reversion of *h* (as of *c*) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original *gh*: thus, *ádhuksam*, *dhokṣyāmi*; *dugdhām*, *dugdhá*; *ádhoek*, *dhúk*, *dhugbhís*, *dhukṣú*.

b. In the other class, as *ruh* and *sah*, we have a guttural reversion (as of *ç*) only before *s* in verb-formation and derivation: thus, *áruksat*, *rokṣyāmi*, *sākṣiyá*, *sakṣāni*. As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before *bh* and *su*, the *h* (like *ç*) becomes a lingual mute: thus, *turāṣāt*, *pṛtanāṣād* *ayodhyáh*, *turāṣáqbhis*, *turāṣátṣu*. But before a dental mute (*t*, *th*, *dh*) in verb-inflection and in derivation, its euphonic effect is peculiarly complicated: it turns the dental into a lingual (as would *ç*); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would *çh*: see 160); and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened: thus, from *ruh* with *ta* comes *rūdhá*, from *leh* with *ti* comes *lēdhi*, from *guh* with *tar* comes *gūdhár*, from *meh* with *tum* comes *médhum*, from *lih* with *tas* or *thas* comes *liḍhás*, from *lih* with *dhvam* comes *liḍhvám*, etc.

c. This is as if we had to assume as transition sound a sonant aspirate lingual sibilant *zh*, with the euphonic effects of a lingual and of a sonant aspirate (160), itself disappearing under the law of the existing language which admits no sonant sibilant.

223. The roots of the two classes, as shown by their forms found in use, are:

a. of the first or *duh*-class: *dah*, *dih*, *duh*, *druh*, *muh*, *snih* (and the final of *uṣṇíh* is similarly treated);

b. of the second or ruh-class: **vah**, **sah**, **mih**, **rih** or **lih**, **guh**, **ruh**, **ḍṛṇh**, **ṭṛṇh**, **ḇṛṇh**, **baṇh**, **spṛh**(?).

c. But **muh** forms also (not in RV.) the participle **mūḍha** and agent-noun **mūḍhār**, as well as **mugdhā** and **mugdhār**; and **druh** and **snih** are allowed by the grammarians to do likewise: such forms as **drūḍha** and **snīḍha**, however, have not been met with in use.

d. From roots of the ruh-class we find also in the Veda the forms **gartārūk**, nom. sing., and **prāṇadhīk** and **dadhīk**; and hence **puruspīk** (the only occurrence) does not certainly prove **√spṛh** to be of the duh-class.

e. A number of other h-roots are not proved by their occurring forms to belong to either class; they, too, are with more or less confidence assigned to the one or the other by comparison with the related languages.

f. In derivation, before certain suffixes (216), we have **gh** instead of **h** from verbs of either class.

g. The root **nah** comes from original **dh** instead of **gh**, and its reversion is accordingly to a dental mute: thus, **natsyāmi**, **naddhā**, **upānādbhis**, **upānadyuga**, **anupānatka**. So also the root **grah** comes from (early Vedic) **grabh**, and shows labials in many forms and derivatives (though it is assimilated to other h-roots in the desiderative stem **jighṛkṣa**). In like manner, **h** is used for **dh** in some of the forms and derivatives of **√dhā put**; and further analogous facts are the stem **kakuhā** beside **kakubhā**, the double imperative ending **dhi** and **hi**, and the dative **māhyam** beside **tūbhyam** (491).

#### 224. Irregularities of combination are:

a. The vowel **ṛ** is not lengthened after the loss of the h-element: thus, **ḍṛḍhā**, **ṭṛḍhā**, **ḇṛḍhā** (the only cases; and in the Veda their first syllable has metrical value as heavy or long).

b. The roots **vah** and **sah** change their vowel to **o** instead of lengthening it: thus, **voḍhām**, **voḍhām**, **voḍhār**, **sóḍhum**. But from **sah** in the older language forms with **ā** are more frequent: thus, **sāḍhā**, **ásāḍha** (also later), **sāḍhar**. The root **ṭṛṇh** changes the vowel of its class-sign **na** into **e** instead of lengthening it: thus, **ṭṛṇedhi**, **ṭṛṇedhu**, **atrṇet** (the grammarians teach also **ṭṛṇehmi** and **ṭṛṇekṣi**: but no such forms are quotable, and, if ever actually in use, they must have been made by false analogy with the others).

c. These anomalous vowel-changes seem to stand in connection with the fact that the cases showing them are the only ones where other than **an** alternant vowel (180) comes before the lingualized sibilant representative of the **h**. Compare **śóḍaṣa** etc.

d. Apparently by dissimilation, the final of **vah** in the anomalous compound **anaḍvah** is changed to **d** instead of **ḍ**: see 404.

### The lingual sibilant $\text{ṣ}$ .

225. Since the lingual sibilant, in its usual and normal occurrences, is (182) the product of lingualization of  $\text{s}$  after certain alterant sounds, we might expect final radical  $\text{ṣ}$ , when (in rare cases) it comes to stand where a  $\text{s}$  cannot maintain itself, to revert to its original, and be treated as a  $\text{s}$  would be treated under the same circumstances. That, however, is true only in a very few instances.

a. Namely, in the prefix *dus* (evidently identical with  $\text{yduṣ}$ ); in *sajūs* (adverbially used case-form from  $\text{yjuṣ}$ ); in (RV.) *vivēs* and *āvives*, from  $\text{yviṣ}$ ; in *āīyes* (RV.), from  $\text{yīṣ}$ ; and in *ācis*, from  $\text{ciṣ}$  as secondary form of  $\text{yçās}$ . All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

226. In general, final lingual  $\text{ṣ}$ , in internal combination, is treated in the same manner as palatal  $\text{ṣ}$ . Thus:

a. Before *t* and *th* it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated: e. g. *dviṣtas*, *dviṣthas*, *dvēṣṭum*.

This is a common and perfectly natural combination.

b. Before *dh*, *bh*, and *su*, as also in external combination (145), it becomes a lingual mute; and *dh* is made lingual after it: e. g. *piṇḍḍhi*, *viḍḍhi*, *viviḍḍhi*, *dviḍḍhvam*, *dviḍbhīs*, *dviṣú*; *bhinnaviṭka*.

c. So also the *dh* of *dhvam* as ending of 2d pl. mid. becomes  $\text{ḍh}$  after final  $\text{ṣ}$  of a tense-stem, whether the  $\text{ṣ}$  be regarded as lost or as converted to  $\text{ḍ}$  before it (the manuscripts write simply  $\text{ḍhv}$ , not  $\text{ḍḍhv}$ ; but this is ambiguous: see 232). Thus, after  $\text{ṣ}$  of *s*-aorist stems (881a), *astoḍhvam*, *avrḍhvam*, *cyoḍhvam* (the only quotable cases), from *astoṣ*+*dhvam* etc.; but *arādhvam* from *arās*+*dhvam*. Further, after the  $\text{ṣ}$  of *iṣ*-aorist stems (901a), *āindhiḍhvam*, *artiḍhvam*, *ajaniḍhvam*, *vepiḍhvam* (the only quotable cases), from *ajaniṣ*+*dhvam* etc. Yet again, in the precativē (924), as *bhaviṣiḍhvam*, if, as is probable (unfortunately, no example of this person is quotable from any part of the literature), the precativē-sign *s* ( $\text{ṣ}$ ) is to be regarded as present in the form. According, however, to the Hindu grammarians, the use of  $\text{ḍh}$  or of *dh* in the *iṣ*-aorist and precativē depends on whether the *i* of *iṣ* or of *iṣī* is or is not "preceded by a semivowel or *h*" — which both in itself appears senseless and is opposed to the evidence of all the quotable forms. Moreover, the same authorities prescribe the change of *dh* to  $\text{ḍh}$ , under the same restriction as to circumstances, in the perf. mid. ending *dhve* also: in this case, too, without any conceivable reason; and no example of  $\text{ḍhve}$  in the 2d pl. perf. has been pointed out in the literature.

d. The conversion of  $\text{ṣ}$  to  $\text{ṭ}$  (or  $\text{ḍ}$ ) as final and before *bh* and *su* is parallel with the like conversion of  $\text{ç}$ , and of *j* and *h* in the *mṛj* and

ruh classes of roots, and perhaps with the occasional change of s to t (167—8). It is a very infrequent case, occurring (save as it may be assumed in the case of *ṣaṣ*) only once in RV. and once in AV. (-*dvit* and -*pruṭ*), although those texts have more than 40 roots with final *ṣ*; in the Brāhmaṇas, moreover, have been noticed further only -*pruṭ* and *vit* (QB.), and -*ṣlit* (K.). From *piṇṣ*, RV. has the anomalous form *piṇak* (2d and 3d sing., for *piṇaṣ-s* and *piṇaṣ-t*).

e. Before s in internal combination (except su of loc. pl.) it becomes k: thus, *dvékṣi*, *dvekaṣvāmi*, *ādvikaṣam*.

f. This change is of anomalous phonetic character, and difficult of explanation. It is also practically of very rare occurrence. The only RV. examples (apart from *piṇak*, above) are *vivekṣi*, from *√viṣ*, and the desid. stem *ririkṣa* from *√riṣ*; AV. has only *dvikṣat* and *dvikṣata*, and the desid. stem *ṣiklikṣa* from *√ṣliṣ*. Other examples are quotable from *√/krṣ* and *piṣ* and *viṣ* (QB etc.), and *ṣiṣ* (QB.); and they are by the Hindu grammarians prescribed to be formed from about half-a-dozen other roots.

### Extension and Abbreviation.

227. As a general rule, *ch* is not allowed by the grammarians to stand in that form after a vowel, but is to be doubled, becoming *ech* (which the manuscripts sometimes write *chch*).

a. The various authorities disagree with one another in detail as to this duplication. According to Pāṇini, *ch* is doubled within a word after either a long or a short vowel; and, as initial, necessarily after a short and after the particles *ā* and *mā*, and optionally everywhere after a long. In RV., initial *ch* is doubled after a long vowel of *ā* only, and certain special cases after a short vowel are excepted. For the required usage in the other Vedic texts, see their several Prātiśākhya. The Kāthaka writes for original *ch* (not *ch* from combination of *t* or *n* with *ṣ*: 203) after a vowel everywhere *qch*. The manuscripts in general write simple *ch*.

b. Opinions are still at variance as to how far this duplication has an etymological ground, and how far it is only an acknowledgment of the fact that *ch* makes a heavy syllable even after a short vowel (makes "position": 79). As the duplication is accepted and followed by most European scholars, it will be also adopted in this work in words and sentences (not in roots and stems).

228. After *r*, any consonant (save a spirant before a vowel) is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled (an aspirate, by prefixing the corresponding non-aspirate: 154).

Thus:

अर्क *arka*, or अर्क्क *arkka*; कार्य *kārya*, or कार्य्य *kāryya*;

अर्थ *artha*, or अर्थ्य *arttha*; दीर्घ *dīrgha*, or दीर्घ्य *dīrghgha*.



a. Some of the authorities include, along with *r*, also *h* or *l* or *v*, or more than one of them, in this rule.

b. A doubled consonant after *r* is very common in manuscripts and inscriptions, as also in native text-editions and in the earlier editions prepared by European scholars — in later ones, the duplication is universally omitted.

c. On the other hand, the manuscripts often write a single consonant after *r* where a double one is etymologically required: thus, *kārtikeya*, *vārtika*, for *kārttikeya*, *vārttika*.

229. The first consonant of a group — whether interior, or initial after a vowel of a preceding word — is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled.

a. This duplication is allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiçākhyas — in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiçākhyas; the meaning of the whole matter is too obscure to justify the giving of details here.

230. Other cases of extension of consonant-groups, required by some of the grammatical authorities, are the following:

a. Between a non-nasal and a nasal mute, the insertion of so-called *yamas* (*twins*), or nasal counterparts, is taught by the Prātiçākhyas (and assumed in Pāṇini's commentary): see APr. i.99, note.

b. Between *h* and a following nasal mute the Prātiçākhyas teach the insertion of a nasal sound called *nāsikya*: see APr. i.100, note.

c. Between *r* and a following consonant the Prātiçākhyas teach the insertion of a *svarabhakti* or *vowel-fragment*: see APr. i.101—2, note.

d. Some authorities assume this insertion only before a spirant; the others regard it as twice as long before a spirant as before any other consonant — namely, a half or a quarter *mora* before the former, a quarter or an eighth before the latter. One (VPr.) admits it after *l* as well as *r*. It is variously described as a fragment of the vowel *a* or of *ṛ* (or *ḷ*).

e. The RPr. puts a *svarabhakti* also between a sonant consonant and a following mute or spirant; and APr. introduces an element called *sphoṭana* (*distinguisher*) between a guttural and a preceding mute of another class.

f. For one or two other cases of yet more doubtful value, see the Prātiçākhyas.

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, *yuṇdhī* for *yuṇgdhī*, *yuṇdhvām* for *yuṇgdhvām*, *āntām* for *āṅktām*, *pañtī* for *pañktī*, *chintām* for *chinttām*, *bhinthā* for *bhincthā*, *indhē* for *inddhē*.

a. This abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇini, is required by APr. (the other Prātiçākhyas take no notice of it). It is the more usual practice of the manuscripts, though the full group is also often written.

232. In general, a double mute (including an aspirate which is doubled by the prefixion of a non-aspirate) in combination with any other consonant is by the manuscripts written as simple.

a. That is to say, the ordinary usage of the manuscripts makes no difference between those groups in which a phonetic duplication is allowed by the rules given above (228, 229) and those in which the duplication is etymological. As every *tv* after a vowel may also be properly written *ttv*, so *dattvá* and *tattvá* may be, and almost invariably are, written as *datvá* and *tatvá*. As *kártana* is also properly *kárttana*, so *kárttika* (from *kṛtti*) is written as *kártika*. So in inflection, we have always, for example, *majñā* etc., not *majjñā*, from *majján*. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abbreviations are made: thus, *hr̥dyotá* for *hr̥ddyotá*; *chináty asya* for *chináttý asya*. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard *ādhvam* or *āddhvam* (from *√ās*), *ādvīḍhvam* or *ādvīḍdhvam* (from *√dviṣ*), as the true form of a second person plural.

233. a. Instances are sometimes met with of apparent loss (perhaps after conversion to a semivowel) of *i* or *u* before *y* or *v* respectively. Thus, in the Brāhmaṇas, *tú* and *nú* with following *vāi* etc. often make *tvāi*, *nvāi* (also *tvāvā*, *ánvāi*); and other examples from the older language are *anvart-* (*anu+√vart*); *paryan*, *paryanti*, *paryāyāt*, *paryāṇa* (*pari+yan*, etc.); *abhyārti* (*abhi+iyarti*); *antaryāt* (*antar+iyāt*); *cārvāc*, *cārvāka*, *cārvadana* (*cāru+vāc*, etc.); *kyānt* for *kiyānt*; *dvyoga* (*dvi+yoga*); *anvā*, *anvāsana* (*anu+vā*, etc.); probably *vyūnoti* for *vy yunoti* (RV.), *urvācī* (*uru-vaçī*), *çiqvarī* for *çiqu-varī* (RV.); *vīyāmā* (*vi+yāma*); and the late *svarna* for *suvarṇa*. More anomalous abbreviations are the common *ṛcā* (*tri+ṛca*); and *dvṛca* (*dvi+ṛca*: S.) and *trenī* (*tri+enī*: Āpast.).

Further, certain cases of the loss of a sibilant require notice. Thus:

b. According to the Hindu grammarians, the *s* of *s*-aorist stems is lost after a short vowel in the 2d and 3d sing. middle: thus, *adithās* and *adita* (1st sing. *adiṣi*), *akṛthas* and *akṛta* (1st sing. *akṛṣi*). It is, however, probable that such cases are to be explained in a different manner: see 834 a.

c. The *s* between two mutes is lost in all combinations of the roots *sthā* and *stambh* with the prefix *ud*: thus, *út* thus, *út-thita*, *út thāpaya*, *úttabdhā*, etc.

d. The same omission is now and then made in other similar cases: thus *cit kāmphanena* (for *skāmbh-*: RV.); *tasmāt tute* (for *stute*) and *puroruk tuta* (for *stuta*: K.); the compounds *ṛkthā* (*ṛk+sthā*: PB.) and *utphulīṅga*; the derivative *utphāla* (*√sphal*). On the other hand, we have *vidyūt stanāyantī* (RV.), *utsthala*, *kakutstha*, etc.

e. So also the tense-sign of the *s*-aorist is lost after a final consonant of a root before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, *achāntta*

(and for this, by 231, *achānta*) for *achāntsta*, *çāpta* for *çāpsta*, *tāp-tam* for *tāpstam*, *abhākta* for *abhāksta*, *amāuktam* for *amāukstam*. These are the only quotable cases: compare 883.

f. A final *s* of root or tense-stem is in a few instances lost after a sonant aspirate, and the combination of mutes is then made as if no sibilant had ever intervened. Thus, from the root *ghas*, with omission of the vowel and then of the final sibilant, we have the form *gdha* (for *ghs-ta*: 3d sing. mid.), the participle *gdha* (in *agdhād*), and the derivative *gdhi* (for *ghs-ti*; in *sā-gdhi*); and further, from the reduplicated form of the same root, or *γjakṣ*, we have *jagdha*, *jagdhum*, *jagdhvā*, *jagdhi* (from *jaghs-ta* etc.); also, in like manner, from *baps*, reduplication of *bhas*, the form *babdhām* (for *babhs-tām*). According to the Hindu grammarians, the same utter loss of the aorist-sign *s* takes place after a final sonant aspirate of a root before an ending beginning with *t* or *th*: thus, from *γrudh*, *s*-aorist stem *arāuts* act. and *aruts* mid., come the active dual and plural persons *arāuddham* and *arāuddhām* and *arāuddha*, and the middle singular persons *aruddhās* and *aruddha*. None of the active forms, however, have been found quotable from the literature, ancient or modern; and the middle forms admit also of a different explanation: see 834, 883.

### Strengthening and Weakening Processes.

234. Under this head, we take up first the changes that affect vowels, and then those that affect consonants — adding, for convenience's sake, in each case, a brief notice of the vowel and consonant elements that have come to bear the apparent office of connectives.

#### Guṇa and Vṛddhi.

235. The so-called *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*-changes are the most regular and frequent of vowel-changes, being of constant occurrence both in inflection and in derivation.

a. A *guṇa*-vowel (*guṇa secondary quality*) differs from the corresponding simple vowel by a prefixed *a*-element, which is combined with the other according to the usual rules; a *vṛddhi*-vowel (*vṛddhi growth, increment*), by the further prefixion of *a* to the *guṇa*-vowel. Thus, of  $\xi$  *i* or  $\xi$  *ī* the corresponding *guṇa* is ( $a+i=$ )  $\tau$  *e*; the corresponding *vṛddhi* is ( $a+e=$ )  $\tau$  *āi*. But in all gunating processes  $\mathfrak{A}$  *a* remains unchanged — or, as it is sometimes expressed,

अ a is its own guṇa; आ ā, of course, remains unchanged for both guṇa and vṛddhi.

236. The series of corresponding degrees is then as follows:

|              |     |     |     |    |    |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|----|----|
| simple vowel | a ā | i ī | u ū | ṛ  | ḷ  |
| guṇa         | a ā | e   | o   | ar | al |
| vṛddhi       | ā   | āi  | āu  | ār |    |

a. There is nowhere any occurrence of ṛ in a situation to undergo either guṇa or vṛddhi-change; nor does ḷ (26) ever suffer change to vṛddhi. Theoretically, ṛ would have the same changes as ṛ; and the vṛddhi of ḷ would be āl.

b. In secondary derivatives requiring vṛddhi of the first syllable (1204), the o of go (361 c) is strengthened to gāu: thus, gāumata, gāuṣṭhika.

237. The historical relations of the members of each vowel-series are still matters of some difference of opinion. From the special point of view of the Sanskrit, the simple vowels wear the aspect of being in general the original or fundamental ones, and the others of being products of their increment or strengthening, in two several degrees — so that the rules of formation direct a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ to be raised to guṇa or vṛddhi respectively, under specified conditions. But ṛ has long been so clearly seen to come by abbreviation or weakening from an earlier ar (or ra) that many European grammarians have preferred to treat the guṇa-forms as the original and the other as the derivative. Thus, for example: instead of assuming certain roots to be bhr̥ and vṛdh, and making from them bharati and vardhati, and bhr̥ta and vṛddha, by the same rules which from bhū and nī and from budh and cit form bhavati and nayati, bodhati and cetati, bhūta and nīta, buddha and citta — they assume bhar and vardh to be the roots, and give the rules of formation for them in reverse. In this work, as already stated (104 e), the ṛ-form is preferred.

238. The guṇa-increment is an Indo-European phenomenon, and is in many cases seen to occur in connection with an accent on the increased syllable. It is found —

a. In root-syllables: either in inflection, as dvēṣti from √dviṣ, dōhmi from √duh; or in derivation, as dvēṣa dōhas, dvēṣtum, dōgdhum.

b. In formative elements: either conjugational class-signs, as tanōmi from tanu; or suffixes of derivation, in inflection or in further derivation, as matāye from matī, bhānāvas from bhānū, pitāram from pitṛ (or pitār), hantavyā from hantu.

239. The vṛddhi-increment is specifically Indian, and its occurrence is less frequent and regular. It is found —

a. In root and suffix-syllables, instead of *guṇa*: thus, *stāūti* from *√stu*, *sākhāyam* from *sākhi*, *ānāṣam* from *√nī*, *ākārṣam* and *karāyati* and *kārya* from *√kṛ* (or *kar*), *dātāram* from *dātṛ* (or *dātār*).

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, *mānasā* from *mānas*, *vāidyutā* from *vidyūt*, *bhāumā* from *bhūmi*, *pārthiva* from *pr̥thivī* (1204).

But —

240. The *guṇa*-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing *guṇa* in processes of derivation and inflection do not apply to a short vowel which is "long by position", nor to a long vowel unless it be final: thus, *cétati* from *√cit*, but *nīndati* from *√nind*; *nāyati* from *√nī*, but *jīvati* from *√jīv*.

a. The *vr̥ddhi*-increment is not liable to this restriction.

b. Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, *ehā*, *ehas* from *√ih*; *heḍāyāmi*, *heḍas*, etc., from *√hiḍ*; *coṣa* etc. from *√cūṣ*; *ohate* etc. from *√ūh* *consider*; and especially, from roots in *iv*: *didēva* *deviṣyati*, *dēvana*, etc., from *√dīv*; *tiṣṭheva* from *√ṣṭhīv*; *srevāyāmi*, *srēvuka*, from *√srīv* — on account of which it is, doubtless, that these roots are written with *iv* (*div* etc.) by the Hindu grammarians, although they nowhere show a short *i*, in either verb-forms or derivatives.

c. A few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment: thus, *dūṣāyati* from *√duṣ*, *gūhati* from *√guh*.

The changes of *ṛ* (more original *ar* or *ra*) are so various as to call for further description.

241. The increments of *ṛ* are sometimes *ra* and *rā*, instead of *ar* and *ār*: namely, especially, where by such reversal a difficult combination of consonants is avoided: thus, from *√dṛṣ*, *drakṣyāmi* and *ādrākṣam*; but also *pr̥thú* and *prath*, *pr̥eh* and *prach*, *kr̥pā* and *ākrapiṣṭa*.

242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in *ṛ* (for more original *ar*), the *ṛ* exchanges both with *ar*, and more irregularly, in a part of the forms, with *ir* — or also with *ur* (especially after a labial, in *pr*, *mr*, *vr*, sporadically in others): which *ir* and *ur*, again, are liable to prolongation into *īr* and *ūr*. Thus, for example, from *tṛ* (or *tar*), we have *tarati*, *titarti*, *tatāra*, *atāriṣam*, by regular processes; but also *tirati*, *tīryati*, *tīrtvā*, *-tīrya*, *tīrṇa*, and even (V.) *turyāma*, *tuturyāt*, *tarturāṇa*. The treatment of such roots has to be described in speaking of each formation.

a. For the purpose of artificially indicating this peculiarity of treatment, such roots are by the Hindu grammarians written with long *īṛ*, or with both *ṛ* and *īṛ*: no *īṛ* actually appears anywhere among their forms.

b. The (quotable)  $\bar{r}$ -roots are  $2kr$  *strew*,  $1gr$  *sing*,  $2gr$  *swallow*,  $1jr$  *wear out*,  $tr$ ,  $1cr$  *crush*.

c. The (quotable)  $r$  and  $\bar{r}$ -roots are  $r$ ,  $1dr$  *pierce*,  $1pr$  *fill*,  $1mr$  *die*,  $2vr$  *choose*,  $str$ ,  $hvr$ .

d. Forms analogous with these are sometimes made also from other roots: thus,  $cir\tilde{na}$ ,  $cirtv\tilde{a}$ ,  $carc\ddot{u}ry\tilde{a}$ , from  $\gamma car$ ;  $sp\ddot{u}rdh\tilde{an}$  and  $sp\ddot{u}rdh\tilde{ase}$  from  $\gamma sprdh$ .

243. In a few cases  $r$  comes from the contraction of other syllables than  $ar$  and  $ra$ : thus, in  $tr\tilde{ta}$  and  $tr\tilde{tiya}$ , from  $ri$ ; in  $cr\ddot{nu}$ , from  $ru$ ; in  $bhrk\ddot{u}ti$ , from  $r\ddot{u}$ .

### Vowel-lengthening.

244. Vowel-lengthening concerns especially  $i$  and  $u$ , since the lengthening of  $a$  is in part (except where in evident analogy with that of  $i$  and  $u$ ) indistinguishable from its increment, and  $r$  is made long only in certain plural cases of stems in  $r$  (or  $ar$ : 369 ff.). Lengthening is a much more irregular and sporadic change than increment, and its cases will in general be left to be pointed out in connection with the processes of inflection and derivation: a few only will be mentioned here.

245. a. Final radical  $i$  and  $u$  are especially liable to prolongation before  $y$ : as in passive and gerund and so on.

b. Final radical  $ir$  and  $ur$  (from variable  $r$ -roots: 242) are liable to prolongation before all consonants except those of personal endings: namely, before  $y$  and  $tv\tilde{a}$  and  $na$ : and in declension before  $bh$  and  $s$  (392). Radical  $is$  has the same prolongation in declension (392).

246. Compensatory lengthening, or absorption by a vowel of the time of a lost following consonant, is by no means common. Certain instances of it have been pointed out above (179, 198 c, d, 199 d, 222 b). Perhaps such cases as  $pit\tilde{a}$  for  $pitars$  (371 a) and  $dhan\tilde{i}$  for  $dhanins$  (439) are to be classed here.

247. The final vowel of a former member of a compound is often made long, especially in the Veda. Prolongations of final  $a$ , and before  $v$ , are most frequent; but cases are found of every variety. Examples are:  $dev\tilde{a}v\tilde{i}$ ,  $vayun\tilde{a}v\tilde{id}$ ,  $pr\tilde{a}v\tilde{i}ṣ$ ,  $ṛt\tilde{a}vasu$ ,  $īndr\tilde{a}vant$ ,  $sadan\tilde{a}s\tilde{a}d$ ,  $ṣat\tilde{a}magha$ ,  $viṣv\tilde{a}nara$ ,  $ēk\tilde{a}daṣa$ ;  $ap\tilde{i}j\tilde{u}$ ,  $par\tilde{i}ṇ\tilde{a}h$ ,  $v\tilde{i}r\tilde{u}dh$ ,  $tuv\tilde{i}magh\tilde{a}$ ,  $tv\tilde{i}ṣimant$ ,  $ṣ\tilde{a}ktiv\tilde{a}nt$ ;  $vas\tilde{u}j\tilde{u}$ ,  $an\tilde{u}r\tilde{u}dh$ ,  $s\tilde{u}m\tilde{a}ya$ ,  $pur\tilde{u}v\tilde{a}su$ .

248. In the Veda, the final vowel of a word — generally  $a$ , much less often  $i$  and  $u$  — is in a large number of cases prolonged. Usually the prolongation takes place where it is favored by the metre, but sometimes even where the metre opposes the change (for details, see the various *Pr\tilde{a}tiṣ\tilde{a}khyas*).

Words of which the finals are thus treated are:

a. Particles: namely, áthā, ádhā, evā, utā, ghā, hā, ihā, ivā, cā, smā, nā, āṅgā, kīlā, átrā, yātrā, táttrā, kútrā, anyātrā, ubhay-átrā, adyā, áccchā, ápā, prā; áti, ní, yádī, nahí, abhí, ví; ū, tū, nū, sū, makṣū.

b. Case-forms: especially instr. sing., as enā, tēnā, yēnā, svēnā, and others; rarely gen. sing., as asyā, hariṇāsyā. Cases besides these are few: so sīmā, vṛṣabhā, hariyojanā (voc.); tanvī (loc.); and urū and (not rarely) purū.

c. Verb-forms ending in a, in great number and variety: thus (nearly in the order of their comparative frequency), 2d sing. impv. act., as pibā, syā, gamayā, dhārāyā; — 2d pl. act. in ta and tha, as sthā, attā, bibhṛtā, jayatā, ṛṇutā, anadatā, nayathā, jīvayathā (and one or two in tana: aviṣṭanā, hantanā); — 1st pl. act. in ma, as vidmā, riṣāmā, ṛdhyāmā, ruhemā, vanuyāmā, cakṛmā, marmṛjmā; — 2d sing. impv. mid. in sva, as yukṣvā, īdiṣvā, dadhiṣvā, vahasvā; — 1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as vedā, viveṇā, jagrabhā; 2d sing. perf. act., vetthā; — 2d pl. perf. act., anajā, cakrā. Of verb-forms ending in i, only the 2d sing. impv. act.: thus, kṛdhī, kṛṇuhī, kṣidhī, ṇrudhī, ṇrudhī, ṇrudhī, didihī, jahī.

d. To these may be added the gerund in ya (993 a), as abhi-gūryā, ācyā.

### Vowel-lightening.

249. The alteration of short a to an i or u-vowel in the formative processes of the language, except in ṛ or ar roots (as explained above), is a sporadic phenomenon only.

250. But the lightening of a long ā especially to an i-vowel (as also its loss), is a frequent process; no other vowel is so unstable.

a. Of the class-sign nā (of the krī-class of verbs: 717 ff.), the ā is in weak forms changed to ī, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final ā of certain roots is treated in the same manner: thus, mā, hā, etc. (662—6). And from some roots, ā- and ī- or i-forms so interchange that it is difficult to classify them or to determine the true character of the root.

b. Radical ā is weakened to the semblance of the union-vowel i in certain verbal forms: as perfect dadima from √dā etc. (794 k); aorist adhithās from √dhā etc. (834 a); present jahimas from √hā etc. (665).

c. Radical ā is shortened to the semblance of stem-a in a number of reduplicated forms, as tiṣṭha, piba, dada, etc.: see 671—4; also in a few aorists, as áhvam, ákhyam, etc.: see 847.

d. Radical ā sometimes becomes e, especially before y: as stheyāsam, deya.

251. Certain ā-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with ī and i-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in e or āi or o. Thus, from 2dhā *suck* (dhe) come the present dhāyati and participle and gerund dhītā, dhītvā; the other forms are made from dhā, as dadhus, adhāt, dhāsyati, dhātave, dhāpayati. From 2gā *sing* (gāi) come the present gāyati, the participle and gerund gītā and gītvā, and passive giyāte, and the other forms from gā. From 3dā *cut* (do) come the present dyāti and participle ditā or dinā, and the other forms from dā. The irregularities of these roots will be treated below, under the various formations (see especially 761 d ff.).

252. By a process of abbreviation essentially akin with that of ar or ra to r, the va (usually initial) of a number of roots becomes u, and the ya of a much smaller number becomes i, in certain verbal forms and derivatives. Thus, from vac come uvāca, ucyāsam, uktvā, uktā, uktī, ukthā, etc.; from yaj come iyāja, ijjāsam, iṣtvā, iṣtā, iṣti, etc. See below, under the various formations.

a. To this change is given by European grammarians the name of *samprasāraṇa*, by adaptation of a term used in the native grammar.

253. A short a, of root or ending, is not infrequently lost between consonants in a weakened syllable: thus, in verb-forms, ghnānti, āpaptam, jagmús, jajñús, ājñata; in noun-forms, rājñe, rājñī.

254. Union-vowels. All the simple vowels come to assume in certain cases the aspect of union-vowels, or insertions between root or stem and ending of inflection or of derivation.

a. That character belongs oftenest to i, which is very widely used: 1. before the s of aorist and future and desiderative stems, as in ājīviṣam, jīviṣyāmi, jījīviṣāmi; 2. in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as jījīvimā; occasionally also present, as āniti, róditi; 3. in derivation, as jīvitā, khānitum, janitī, rociṣṇú, etc. etc.

b. Long-ī is used sometimes instead of short: thus, āgrahīṣam, grahīṣyāmi; bravīti, vāvadīti; taritī, savitī; it is also often introduced before s and t of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs: thus, āsis, āsit.

c. For details respecting these, and the more irregular and sporadic occurrences of u- and a-vowels in the same character, see below.

### Nasal Increment.

255. Both in roots and in endings, a distinction of stronger and weaker forms is very often made by the presence or absence of a nasal element, a nasal mute or anusvāra, before a following consonant. In general, the stronger form is doubtless the more original; but, in the present condition of the language, the nasal has come in great measure to seem, and to some extent also to be used, as an actually strengthening element, introduced under certain conditions in formative and inflective processes.



a. Examples are, of roots: *ac* and *añc*, *grath* and *granth*, *vid* and *vind*, *daç* and *dañç*, *sras* and *srañs*, *ḍṛh* and *ḍṛñh*: of endings, *bhárantam* and *bhárata*, *mánasī* and *mánāñsi*.

256. A final *n*, whether of stem or of root, is less stable than any other consonant, where a weaker form is called for: thus, from *rājan* we have *rājā* and *rājabbis*, and in composition *rāja*; from *dhanín*, *dhaní* and *dhaníbbis* and *dháni*; from *√han* we have *hathá* and *hatá*, etc. A final radical *m* is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from *√gam*, *gahí*, *gatám*, *gatá*, *gátí*.

257. Inserted *n*. On the other hand, the nasal *n* has come to be used with great — and, in the later history of the language, with increasing — frequency as a union-consonant, inserted between vowels: thus, from *agní*, *agnínā* and *agninām*; from *mádhū*, *mádhunas*, *mádhunī*, *mádhūni*; from *çivá*, *çivéna*, *çivāni*, *çivānām*.

258. Inserted *y*. a. After final *ā* of a root, a *y* is often found as apparently a mere union-consonant before another vowel: thus, in inflection, *ádhyai* etc. (844), *çáyayati* etc. (1042), *çiváyās* etc. (363 c), *gáyati* etc. (761 e); further, in derivation, *-gāya*, *-yāyam*, *dāyaka* etc.; *-sthāyika*; *pāyāna*, *-gāyana*; *dhāyas*, *-hāyas*; *sthāyin* etc. (many cases); *-hitāyin*, *-tatāyin*; *sthāyuka*.

b. Other more sporadic cases of inserted *y* — such as that in the pronoun-forms *ayam*, *iyam*, *vayam*, *yūyam*, *svayam*; and in optative inflection before an ending beginning with a vowel (565) — will be pointed out below in their connection.

### Reduplication.

259. Reduplication of a root (originating doubtless in its complete repetition) has come to be a method of radical increment or strengthening in various formative processes: namely,

a. in present-stem formation (642 ff.): as *dádāmi*, *bibhármi*;

b. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally (782 ff.): as *tatāna*, *dadhāu*, *cakāra*, *riréca*, *lulópa*;

c. in aorist-stem formation (856 ff.): as *ádīdharam*, *ácucyavam*;

d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout (1000 ff., 1026 ff.): as *jāñghanti*, *jóhavīti*, *marmṛjyáte*; *pípāsati*, *jíghāñsati*;

e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems (1143 e): as *pápri*, *cárcara*, *sāsahí*, *cikítú*, *malimlucá*.

f. Rules for the treatment of the reduplication in these several cases will be given in the proper connection below.

260. As, by reason of the strengthening and weakening changes indicated above, the same root or stem not seldom exhibits, in the processes of inflection and derivation, varieties of stronger and weaker form, the distinction and description of these varieties forms an important part of the subjects hereafter to be treated.

## CHAPTER IV.

## DECLENSION.

261. The general subject of declension includes nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, all of which are inflected in essentially the same manner. But while the correspondence of nouns and adjectives is so close that they cannot well be separated in treatment (chap. V.), the pronouns, which exhibit many peculiarities, will be best dealt with in a separate chapter (VII.); and the words designating number, or numerals, also form a class peculiar enough to require to be presented by themselves (chap. VI.).

262. Declensional forms show primarily case and number; but they also indicate gender — since, though the distinctions of gender are made partly in the stem itself, they also appear, to no inconsiderable extent, in the changes of inflection.

263. Gender. The genders are three, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other older Indo-European languages; and they follow in general the same laws of distribution as, for example, in Greek and Latin.

a. The only words which show no sign of gender-distinction are the personal pronouns of the first and second person (491), and the numerals above *four* (483).

264. Number. The numbers are three — singular, dual, and plural.

a. A few words are used only in the plural: as *dārās wife*, *āpas water*; the numeral *dva two*, is dual only; and, as in other languages, many words are, by the nature of their use, found to occur only in the singular.

265. As to the uses of the numbers, it needs only to be remarked that the dual is (with only very rare and sporadic exceptions) used strictly in all cases where two objects are logically indicated, whether directly or by combination of two individuals: thus, *çivé te dyāvāpṛthiví ubhé stām may heaven and earth both be propitious to thee!* *dāivam ca mānuṣam ca hotārāu vṛtvā having chosen both the divine and the human sacrificers*; *pathor devayānasya pitṛyānasya ca of the two paths leading respectively to the gods and to the Fathers.*

a. The dual is used alone (without *dva two*) properly when the duality of the objects indicated is well understood: thus, *açvīnāu the two Açvins*; *īndrasya hārī Indra's two bays*; but *tasya dvāv açvāu staḥ he has two horses*. But now and then the dual stands alone pregnantly: thus, *vedaṁ vedāu vedān vā one Veda or two or more than two*; *eka-ṣaṣṭe çate two hundred and sixty-one*.

**266. Case.** The cases are (including the vocative) eight: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative.

a. The order in which they are here mentioned is that established for them by the Hindu grammarians, and accepted from these by Western scholars. The Hindu names of the cases are founded on this order: the nominative is called *prathamā first*, the accusative *dvitīyā second*, the genitive *ṣaṣṭhī sixth* (sc. *vibhakti division*, i. e. *case*), etc. The object sought in the arrangement is simply to set next to one another those cases which are to a greater or less extent, in one or another number, identical in form; and, putting the nominative first, as leading case, there is no other order by which that object could be attained. The vocative is not considered and named by the native grammarians as a case like the rest; in this work, it will be given in the singular (where alone it is ever distinguished from the nominative otherwise than by accent) at the end of the series of cases.

A compendious statement of the uses of the cases is given in the following paragraphs:

**267. Uses of the Nominative.** The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, and of any word qualifying the subject, whether attributively, in apposition, or as predicate.

**268. One or two peculiar constructions call for notice:**

a. A predicate nominative, instead of an objective predicate in the accusative, is used with middle verb-forms that signify regarding or calling one's self: thus, *sómam manyate papivān (RV.) he thinks he has been drinking soma*; *sá manyeta purāṇavít (AV.) he may regard himself as wise in ancient things*; *ḍurgād vā āhartā 'vocathāḥ (MS.) thou hast claimed to be a savior out of trouble*; *īndro brāhmaṇó brúvāṇaḥ (TS.) Indra pretending to be a Brahman*; *katthase satyavādī (R.) thou boastest thyself truthful*. Similarly with the phrase *rūpaṁ kṛ:* thus, *kṛṣṇó rūpāṁ kṛtvā (TS.) taking on a black form* (i. e. *making shape for himself as one that is black*).

b. A word made by *iti* (1102) logically predicate to an object is ordinarily nominative: thus, *svargó loká iti yám vādanti (AV.) what they call the heavenly world*; *tam agniṣṭoma ity ācakṣate (AB.) it they style agniṣṭoma*; *vidarbharājanayām damayantī 'ti viddhi mām (MBh.) know me for the Vidarbha-king's daughter, Damayanti by*

name. Both constructions are combined in *ajñān hi bālam ity āhuḥ pite 'ty eva tu mantradam* (M.) *for to an ignorant man they give the name of 'child', but that of 'father' to one who imparts the sacred texts.*

c. A nominative, instead of a second vocative, is sometimes added to a vocative by *ca* and: thus, *īndraḥ ca sōmam pibatam bṛhaspate* (RV.) *together with Indra, do ye two drink the soma, O Bṛhaspati!* *viṣve devā yājamānaḥ ca sīdatā* (TS.) *O ye All-Gods, and the sacrificer, take seats!*

269. Uses of the Accusative. The accusative is especially the case of the direct object of a transitive verb, and of any word qualifying that object, as attribute or appositive or objective predicate. The construction of the verb is shared, of course, by its participles and infinitives; but also, in Sanskrit, by a number of other derivatives, having a more or less participial or infinitival character, and even sometimes by nouns and adjectives. A few prepositions are accompanied by the accusative. As less direct object, or goal of motion or action, the accusative is construed especially with verbs of approach and address. It is found used more adverbially as adjunct of place or time or manner; and a host of adverbs are accusative cases in form. Two accusatives are often found as objects of the same verb.

270. The use of the accusative as direct object of a transitive verb and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration; an example or two are: *agnīm iḍe* *I praise Agni*; *nāmo bhārantāḥ* *bringing homage*; *bhūyo dātum arhasi* *thou shouldst give more*. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is *tām ugrām kṛṇomi tām brāhmāṇam* (RV.) *him I make formidable, him a priest.*

271. Of verbal derivatives having so far a participial character that they share the construction of the verb, the variety is considerable: thus —

a. Derivatives in *u* from desiderative stems (1038) have wholly the character of present participles: thus, *damayantīm abhīpsavaḥ* (MBh.) *desiring to win Damayantī*; *didṛkṣur janakātmajām* (R.) *desiring to see Janaka's daughter*. Rarely, also, the verbal noun in *ā* from such a root: thus, *svargam abhikāṅkṣayā* (R.) *with desire of paradise.*

b. So-called primary derivatives in *in* have the same character: thus, *mām kāmīnī* (AV.) *loving me*; *enam abhibhāṣiṇī* (MBh.) *addressing him*. Even the obviously secondary *garbhīn* has in *QB.* the same construction: thus, *sārvāṇi bhūtāni garbhya bhavati* *he became pregnant with all beings.*

c. Derivatives in *aka*, in the later language: as, *bhavantam abhivādakaḥ* (MBh.) *intending to salute you*; *mithilām avarodhakaḥ* (R.) *besieging Mithilā.*

d. Nouns in *tar*, very frequently in the older language, and as periphrastic future forms (942 ff.) in the later: thus, *hantā yó vṛtrān*

sánito 'tá vājam dātā maghāni (RV.) who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesses; tāu hī 'dam sarvaṁ hartārau (JB.) for they seize on this universe; tyaktāraḥ saṁyuge prāṇān (MBh.) risking life in battle.

e. The root itself, in the older language, used with the value of a present participle at the end of a compound: thus, yām yajñām paribhūr āsi (RV.) what offering thou surroundest (protectest); āhim apāḥ pariṣṭhām (RV.) the dragon confining the waters. Also a superlative of a root-stem (468, 471): thus, tvām vāsu devayatē vāniṣṭhaḥ (RV.) thou art chief winner of wealth for the pious; tā sōmaṁ somapātāmā (RV.) they two are the greatest drinkers of soma.

f. The derivative in i from the (especially the reduplicated) root, in the older language: thus, babhrīr vājram papīḥ sōmaṁ dadīr gāḥ (RV.) bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine; yajñām ātāniḥ (RV.) extending the sacrifice.

g. Derivatives in uka, very frequently in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, vatsāṅ ca ghātuko vīkaḥ (AV.) and the wolf destroys his calves; véduko vāso bhavati (TS.) he wins a garment; kāmukā enaṁ striyo bhavanti (MS.) the women fall in love with him.

h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in a, as índro dṛḍhā cid ārujāḥ (RV.) Indra breaks up even what is fast; nāi 'vā 'rhaḥ pāitṛkaṁ riktham (M.) by no means entitled to his father's estate; — in atnu, as viḍū cid ārujatnūbhiḥ (RV.) with the breakers of whatever is strong; — in atha, as yajāthāya devān (RV.) to make offering to the gods; — in ana, as taṁ nivāraṇe (MBh.) in restraining him; svamāṁsam iva bhojane (R.) as if in eating one's own flesh; — in ani, as samātsu turvāniḥ pṛtanyūn (RV.) overcoming foes in combats; — in ti, as nā tām dhūrtiḥ (RV.) there is no injuring him; — in van, as āpaçcāddaghvā 'nnam bhavati (MS.) he does not come short of food; — in snu, as sthirā cin namayiṣṇavaḥ (RV.) bowing even firm things.

272. Examples of an accusative with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: such words as ānuvrata faithful to, prātirūpa corresponding to, abhidhṛṣṇu daring to cope with, pratyāñc opposite to, may be regarded as taking an accusative in virtue of the preposition they contain; also ānuka, as ānukā devā vāruṇam (MS.) the gods are inferior to Varuṇa. RV. has tām antārvatīḥ pregnant with him; and AV. has mām kāmēna through loving me.

273. The direct construction of cases with prepositions is comparatively restricted in Sanskrit (1123 ff.). With the accusative are oftenest found prati, opposite to, in reference to, etc.; also anu after, in the course of; antar or antarā between; rarely ati across; abhi against, to; and others (1129). Case-forms which have assumed a prepositional value are also often used with the accusative: as antareṇa, uttareṇa, dakṣiṇena, avareṇa, ūrdhvam, ṛte.

274. The accusative is very often found also as object of verbs which in the related languages are not transitive.

a. It stands especially as the goal of motion, with verbs of going, bringing, sending, and the like: thus, *vidarbhān agaman* (MBh.) *they went to Vidarbha*; *divaṃ yayuḥ* (MBh.) *they went to heaven*; *vanagulmān dhāvantaḥ* (MBh.) *running to woods and bushes*; *apó divam úd vahanti* (AV.) *they carry up waters to the sky*; *devān yaje* (AV.) *I make offering to the gods*.

b. With verbs meaning *go*, this is an extremely common construction; and the use of such a verb with an abstract noun makes peculiar phrases of becoming: thus, *samatām eti* *he goes to equality* (i. e. *becomes equal*); *sa gacched badhyatām mama* (MBh.) *he shall become liable to be slain by me*; *sa pañcatvam āgataḥ* (H.) *he was resolved into the five elements* (*underwent dissolution, died*).

c. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, *tam abravīt* *he said to him*; *prākroçad uccāir nāiṣadham* (MBh.) *she cried out loudly to the Nishadhan*; *yás tvo 'vāca* (AV.) *who spoke to thee*.

d. The assumption of an accusative object is exceptionally easy in Sanskrit, and such an object is often taken by a verb or phrase which is strictly of intransitive character: thus, *sáhasā prā 'sy anyān* (RV.) *in might thou excellest* (lit. *art ahead*) *others*; *devā vāi bráhma sám avadanta* (MS.) *the gods were discussing* (lit. *were talking together*) *brahman*; *antár vāi mā yajñād yanti* (MS.) *surely they are cutting me off* (lit. *are going between*) *from the offering*; *tām sám babhūva* (ÇB.) *he had intercourse with her*.

275. Examples of the cognate accusative, or accusative of implied object, are not infrequent: thus, *tāpas tapyāmahe* (AV.) *we do penance*; *té hāi 'tām edhatum edhām cakrire* (ÇB.) *they prospered with that prosperity*; *uṣitvā sukhavāsam* (R.) *abiding happily*.

276. The accusative is often used in more adverbial constructions. Thus:

a. Occasionally, to denote measure of space: thus, *yojanaçatam gantum* (MBh.) *to go a hundred leagues*; *ṣaḍ uccerito yojanāni* (MBh.) *six leagues high*.

b. Much more often, to denote measure or duration of time: thus, *sá samvatsarām ūrdhvò 'tiṣṭhat* (AV.) *he stood a year upright*; *tisró rātrīr dikṣitāḥ syāt* (TS.) *let him be consecrated three nights*; *gatvā trīn ahorātrān* (MBh.) *having traveled three complete days*.

c. Sometimes, to denote the point of space, or, oftener, of time: thus, *yām asya dīçam dāsyuḥ syāt* (ÇB.) *whatever region his enemy may be in*; *tēnāi 'tām rātrīm sahā* " *jagāma* (ÇB.) *he arrived that night with him*; *imām rajanīm vyuṣṭām* (MBh.) *this current night*.

d. Very often, to denote manner or accompanying circumstance. Thus, the neuter accusative of innumerable adjectives, simple or compound

(1111), is used adverbially, while certain kinds of compounds are thus used to such an extent that the Hindu grammarians have made of them a special adverbial class (1313).

e. Special cases are occasionally met with: thus, *brahmacāryam uvāsa* (QB.) *he kept a term of studentship*; *phalām pacyānte* (MS.) *they ripen their fruit*; *gām dīvyadhvam* (MS., S.) *gamble for a cow*.

277. The accusative is, of course, freely used with other cases to limit the same verb, as the sense requires. And whenever it is usable with a verb in two different constructions, the verb may take two accusatives, one in each construction: and such combinations are quite frequent in Sanskrit. Thus, with verbs of appealing, asking, having recourse: as, *apó yācāmi bheṣajām* (RV.) *I ask the waters for medicine*; *tvām ahaṁ satyam icchāmi* (R.) *I desire truth from thee*; *tvām vyaṁ ṣaraṇaṁ gataḥ* (MBh.) *we have resorted to thee for succor*; — with verbs of bringing, sending, following, imparting, saying: as, *gurutvaṁ naraṁ nayanti* (H.) *they bring a man to respectability*; *sītā cā 'nvetu mām vanam* (R.) *and let Sītā accompany me to the forest*; *supēgasam mā 'va sṛjanty āstam* (RV.) *they let me go home well adorned*; *tām idam abravīt* (MBh.) *this he said to her*; — and in other less common cases: as, *vṛkṣām pakvām phalām dhūnuhi* (RV.) *shake ripe fruit from the tree*; *tām viṣām evā 'dhok* (AV.) *poison he milked from her*; *jitvā rājyaṁ nalam* (MBh.) *having won the kingdom from Nala*; *āmuṣṇitam paṇīm gāḥ* (RV.) *ye robbed the Paṇi of the kine*; *draṣṭum icchāvaḥ putram paçcimadar-çanam* (R.) *we wish to see our son for the last time*.

a. A causative form of a transitive verb regularly admits two accusative objects: thus, *devān uçatāḥ pāyayā havīḥ* (RV.) *make the eager gods drink the oblation*; *oṣadhīr evā phalām grāhayati* (MS.) *he makes the plants bear fruit*; *vaṇijo dāpayet karān* (M.) *he should cause the merchants to pay taxes*. But such a causative sometimes takes an instrumental instead of a second accusative: see 282 b.

278. Uses of the Instrumental. The instrumental is originally the *with*-case: it denotes adjacency, accompaniment, association — passing over into the expression of means and instrument by the same transfer of meaning which appears in the English prepositions *with* and *by*.

a. Nearly all the uses of the case are readily deducible from this fundamental meaning, and show nothing anomalous or difficult.

279. The instrumental is often used to signify accompaniment: thus, *agnīr devēbhir ā gamat* (RV.) *may Agni come hither along with the gods*; *marúdbhī rudrām huvema* (RV.) *we would call Rudra with the Maruts*; *dvāpareṇa sahāyena kva yāsyasi* (MBh.) *whither wilt thou go, with Dvāpara for companion?* *kathayan nāiṣadlena* (MBh.) *talking with the Nishadhan*. But the relation of simple accompaniment is more often helped to plainer expression by prepositions (*saha* etc.: 284).

280. The instrumental of means or instrument or agent is yet more frequent: thus, *bhadrām kārṇebhiḥ ṣṣṇuyāma* (RV.) *may we hear with our ears what is propitious*; *ṣastreṇa nidhanam* (MBh.) *death by the sword*; *kecit padbhyām hatā gajāiḥ* (MBh.) *some were slain by the elephants with their feet*; *prthak pāṇibhyām darbhataruṇakāir nava-nītenā ṅguṣṭhopakanīṣṭhikābhyām akṣiṇī ājya* (AGS.) *anointing their eyes with fresh butter, by help of the bunches of darbha-grass, with the thumb and ring-finger, using the two hands successively*. And this passes easily over into the expression of occasion or reason (for which the ablative is more frequent): thus, *kṛpayā through pity*; *tena satyena in virtue of that truth*.

281. Of special applications, the following may be noticed:

a. Accordance, equality, likeness, and the like: thus, *samām jyōtiḥ sūryeṇa* (AV.) *a brightness equal with the sun*; *yeṣām ahaṁ na pādaraajasā tulyaḥ* (MBh.) *to the dust of whose feet I am not equal*.

b. Price (by which obtained): thus, *daṣābhiḥ kṛṇāti dhenūbhiḥ* (RV.) *he buys with ten kine*; *gavām ṣatasahasreṇa dīyatām ṣabalā mama* (R.) *let Ṣabalū be given me for a hundred thousand cows*; *sa te 'kṣahṛdayam datā rājā, 'ṣvahrdayena vāi* (MBh.) *the king will give thee the secret science of dice in return for that of horses*.

c. Medium, and hence also space or distance or road, traversed: thus, *udnā nā nāvam anayanta* (RV.) *they brought [him] as it were a ship by water*; *é 'há yātam pathibhir devayānāiḥ* (RV.) *come hither by god-traveled paths*; *jagmur vihāyasā* (MBh.) *they went off through the air*.

d. Time passed through, or by the lapse of which anything is brought about: thus, *vidarbhān yātum icchāmy ekāhnā* (MBh.) *I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day*; *te ca kālēna mahatā yāuvanam pratipedire* (R.) *and they in a long time attained adolescence*; *tatra kālēna jāyante mānavā dīrghajīvinaḥ* (M.) *there in time are born men long-lived*. This use of the instrumental borders upon that of the locative and ablative.

e. The part of the body on (or by) which anything is borne is usually expressed by the instrumental: as, *kukkuraḥ skandheno 'hyate* (H.) *a dog is carried on the shoulder*; and this construction is extended to such cases as *tulayā kṛtam* (H.) *put on* (i. e. so as to be carried by) *a balance*.

f. Not infrequent are such phrases as *bahunā kim pralāpena* (R.) *what is the use of* (i. e. is gained by) *much talking*? *ko nu me jīvitena 'rthaḥ* (MBh.) *what object is life to me?* *nīrujas tu kim āṣadhāiḥ* (H.) *but what has a well man to do with medicines?*

g. An instrumental of accompaniment is occasionally used almost or quite with the value of an instrumental absolute: thus, *na tvayā 'tra mayā 'vasthitena kā 'pi cintā kāryā* (Pañc.) *with me at hand, thou need'st feel no anxiety whatever on this point*.



282. a. The construction of a passive verb (or participle) with an instrumental of the agent is common from the earliest period, and becomes decidedly more so later, the passive participle with instrumental taking to no small extent the place of an active verb with its subject. Thus, *yamēna dattāḥ* (RV.) *given by Yama*; *ṣaibhir īḍyaḥ* (RV.) *to be praised by sages*; *vyādhena jālaṁ vistīrṇam* (H.) *by the hunter a net [was] spread*; *tac chrutvā jaradgaveno 'ktam* (H.) *Jaradgava, hearing this, said*; *mayā gantavyam* (H.) *I shall go*. A predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental: thus, *adhunā tavā 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam* (H.) *henceforth I shall always be thy companion*; *avahitāir bhavitavyam bhavadbhiḥ* (Vikr.) *you must be attentive*.

b. A causative verb sometimes takes an instrumental instead of an accusative as second object: thus, *tām ṣvabhiḥ khādayed rājā* (M.) *the king should have her devoured by dogs*; *tā varuṇenā 'grāhayat* (MS.) *he caused Varuṇa to seize them*.

283. Many instrumental constructions are such as call in translation for other prepositions than *with* or *by*; yet the true instrumental relation is usually to be traced, especially if the etymological sense of the words be carefully considered.

a. More anomalously, however, the instrumental is used interchangeably with the ablative with words signifying separation: thus, *vatsāir víyutāḥ* (RV.) *separated from their calves*; *mā 'hām ātmānā ví rādh-īṣi* (AV.) *let me not be severed from the breath of life*; *sa tayā vyayujyata* (MBh.) *he was parted from her*; *pāpmānāi 'vāi 'nam ví punanti* (MS.) *they cleanse him from evil* (compare English *parted with*). The same meaning may be given to the case even when accompanied by *saha* with: thus, *bhartrā saha viyogaḥ* (MBh.) *separation from her husband*.

284. The prepositions taking the instrumental (1127) are those signifying *with* and the like: thus, *saha*, with the adverbial words containing *sa* as an element, as *sākam*, *sārdham*, *saratham*; — and, in general, a word compounded with *sa*, *sam*, *saha* takes an instrumental as its regular and natural complement. But also the preposition *vinā* *without* takes sometimes the instrumental (cf. 283a).

285. Uses of the Dative. The dative is the case of the indirect object — of that *toward* or in the direction of or in order to or for which anything is or is done (either intransitively or to a direct object).

a. In more physical connections, the uses of the dative approach those of the accusative (the more proper *to*-case), and the two are sometimes interchangeable; but the general value of the dative as the *toward*- or *for*-case is almost everywhere distinctly to be traced.

286. Thus, the dative is used with —

a. Words signifying *give*, *share out*, *assign*, and the like: thus, *yó ná dádāti sákhye* (RV.) *who gives not to a friend*; *yácchā 'smāi cārma* (RV.) *bestow upon him protection*.

b. Words signifying *show, announce, declare*, and the like: thus, *dhanur darçaya rāmāya* (R.) *show the bow to Rāma*; *āvīr ebhyo abhavat sūryaḥ* (RV.) *the sun was manifested to them*; *ṛtuparṇam bhīmāya pratyavedayan* (MBh.) *they announced Rituparṇa to Bhīma*; *tebhyaḥ pratijñāya* (MBh.) *having promised to them*.

c. Words signifying *give attention, have a regard or feeling, aspire*, and the like: thus, *niveçāya mano dadhuḥ* (MBh.) *they set their minds upon encamping*; *mātē 'va putrēbhyo mṛḍa* (AV.) *be gracious as a mother to her sons*; *kīm asmābhyam hr̥ṣṭe* (RV.) *why art thou angry at us?* *kāmāya spr̥hayaty ātmā* (Spr.) *the soul longs for love*.

d. Words signifying *please, suit, conduce*, and the like: thus, *yad-yad rocate viprebhyaḥ* (M.) *whatever is pleasing to Brahmins*; *tad ānantiyāya kalpate* (KU.) *that makes for immortality*.

e. Words signifying *inclination, obeisance*, and the like: thus, *māhyaṁ namantām pradīçaç cātasraḥ* (RV.) *let the four quarters bow themselves to me*; *devebhyo namaskṛtya* (MBh.) *having paid homage to the gods*.

f. Words signifying *hurling or casting*: as *yēna dūḍāçe āsyasi* (AV.) *with which thou hurlest at the impious*.

g. In some of these constructions the genitive and locative are also used: see below.

287. In its more distinctive sense, as signifying *for, for the benefit of, with reference to*, and the like, the dative is used freely, and in a great variety of constructions. And this use passes over into that of the dative of end or purpose, which is extremely common. Thus, *īṣum kṛṇvānā āsanāya* (AV.) *making an arrow for hurling*; *gr̥hṇāmi te sāubhagatvāya hāstam* (RV.) *I take thy hand in order to happiness*; *rāṣṭrāya māhyam badhyatām sapātnebhyaḥ parābhūve* (AV.) *be it bound on in order to royalty for me, in order to destruction for my enemies*.

a. Such a dative is much used predicatively (and oftenest with the copula omitted), in the sense of *makes for, tends toward*; also *is intended for*, and so *must*; or *is liable to*, and so *can*. Thus, *upadeço mūrkhāṇām prakopāya na çāntaye* (H.) *good counsel [tends] to the exasperation, not the conciliation, of fools*; *sa ca tasyāḥ saṁtoçāya nā 'bhavat* (H.) *and he was not to her satisfaction*; *sugopā asi ná dābhāya* (RV.) *thou art a good herdsman, not one for cheating* (i. e. *not to be cheated*).

b. These uses of the dative are in the older language especially illustrated by the dative infinitives, for which see 982.

288. The dative is not used with prepositions (1124).

289. Uses of the Ablative. The ablative is the *from-case*, in the various senses of *that preposition*; it is used to express removal, separation, distinction, issue, and the like.

290. The ablative is used where expulsion, removal, distinction, release, defense, and other kindred relations are expressed: thus, *té sedhanti pathó vṛkam* (AV.) *they drive away the wolf from the path*; *mā prá*

*gāma pathāḥ* (RV.) *may we not go away from the path*; *éti vā eṣā yajñamukhāt* (MS.) *he verily goes away from the face of the sacrifice*; *ārē asmād astu hetīḥ* (AV.) *far from us be your missile*; *pātām no vṛkāt* (RV.) *save us from the wolf*; *āstabhnād dyām avasrāsaḥ* (RV.) *he kept (lit. made firm) the sky from falling*.

291. The ablative is used where procedure or issue from something as from a source or starting-point is signified: thus, *çukrá kṛṣṇād ajanīṣṭa* (RV.) *the bright one has been born from the black one*; *lobhāt krodhaḥ prabhavati* (MBh.) *passion arises from greed*; *vātāt te prāṇam avidam* (AV.) *I have won thy life-breath from the wind*; *yé prāçyā diço abhidāsanty asmān* (AV.) *who attack us from the eastern quarter*; *tac chrutvā sakhigaṇāt* (MBh.) *having heard that from the troop of friends*; *vāyur antarikṣād abhāṣata* (MBh.) *the wind spoke from the sky*.

a. Hence also, procedure as from a cause or occasion is signified by the ablative: this is especially frequent in the later language, and in technical phraseology is a standing construction; it borders on instrumental constructions. Thus, *vájrasya çuṣṇād dadāra* (RV.) *from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he burst asunder*; *yasya danḍabhayāt sarve dharmam anurudhyanti* (MBh.) *from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty*; *akāramiçritatvād ekārasya* (Tribh.) *because it contains an element of a*.

b. Very rarely, an ablative has the sense of *after*: thus, *agacchann ahorātrāt tīrtham* (MBh.) *they went to the shrine after a whole day*; *ṭakārāt sakāre takāreṇa* (APr.) *after ṭ, before s, is inserted t*.

292. One or two special applications of the ablative construction are to be noticed:

a. The ablative with words implying fear (terrified recoil from): thus, *tāsyā jātāyāḥ sārvaṃ abibhet* (AV.) *everything was afraid of her at her birth*; *yāsmād rējanta kṛṣṭāyāḥ* (RV.) *at whom mortals tremble*; *yugmād bhiyā* (RV.) *through fear of you*; *yasmān no 'dvijate lokāḥ* (BhG.) *of whom the world is not afraid*.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, *prā ririce divā indraḥ pṛthivyāḥ* (RV.) *Indra is greater than the heaven and the earth*. With a comparative, or other word used in a kindred way, the ablative is the regular and almost constant construction: thus, *svādóḥ svādīyāḥ* (RV.) *sweeter than the sweet*; *kiṃ tasmād duḥkhataram* (MBh.) *what is more painful than that?* *ko mitrād anyāḥ* (H.) *who else than a friend*; *gā avṛṇīthā mat* (AB.) *thou hast chosen the kine rather than me*; *ajñebhyo granthināḥ çreṣṭhā granthibhyo dhāriṇo varāḥ* (M.) *possessors of texts are better than ignorant men; rememberers are better than possessors*; *tād anyātra tvān ní dadhmasi* (AV.) *we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee*; *pūrvā vicvasmād bhūvanāt* (RV.) *earlier than all beings*.

c. Occasionally, a probably possessive genitive is used with the comparative; or an instrumental (as in a comparison of equality): thus,

*nā 'sti dhanyataro mama (R.) there is no one more fortunate than I (i. e. my superior in fortune); putram mama prāṇair gariyasam (MBh.) a son dearer than my life.*

d. Occasionally, an ablative is used instead of a partitive genitive: thus, *mithunād ekam jaghāna (R.) he slew one out of the pair; tebhya ekam (KSS.) one of them.*

293. The ablative is used with a variety of prepositions and words sharing a prepositional character (1128); but all these have rather an adverbial value, as strengthening or defining the *from*-relation, than any proper governing force. We may notice here:

a. In the Veda, *ádhi* and *pári* are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative: as, *jātó himávatas pári (AV.) born from the Himalaya (forth); samudrād ádhi jajñise (AV.) thou art born from the ocean; cārantam pári tasthūṣaḥ (RV.) moving forth from that which stands fast.*

b. Also *purā* (and *purás*), in the sense of *forward from*, and hence *before*: as, *purā járasaḥ (RV.) before old age*; and hence also, with words of protection and the like, *from*: as *çaçamānāḥ purā nidāḥ (RV.) securing from ill-will.*

c. Also *ā*, in the sense of *hither from*, *all the way from*: as, *ā mūlād ānu çuṣyatu (AV.) let it dry completely up from the root; tasmād ā nadyò nāma stha (AV.) since that time ye are called rivers.* But usually, and especially in the later language, the measurement of interval implied in *ā* is reversed in direction, and the construction means *all the way to*, *until*: as, *yatí giríbhya ā samudrāt (RV.) going from the mountains to the ocean; ā 'syá yajñasyo 'dīçaḥ (VS.) until the end of this sacrifice; ā ṣoḍaṣāt (M.) till the sixteenth year; ā pradānāt (Ç.) until her marriage.*

294. Uses of the Genitive. a. The proper value of the genitive is adjectival; it belongs to and qualifies a noun, designating something relating to the latter in a manner which the nature of the case, or the connection, defines more nearly. Other genitive constructions, with adjective or verb or preposition, appear to arise out of this, by a more or less distinctly traceable connection.

b. The use of the genitive has become much extended, especially in the later language, by attribution of a noun-character to the adjective, and by pregnant verbal construction, so that it often bears the aspect of being a substitute for other cases — as dative, instrumental, ablative, locative.

295. The genitive in its normal adjective construction with a noun or pronoun is classifiable into the usual varieties: as, genitive of possession or appurtenance, including the complement of implied relation — this is, as elsewhere, the commonest of all; the so-called partitive genitive; the subjective and objective genitives; and so on. Genitives of apposition or

equivalence (*city of Rome*), and of characteristic (*man of honor*), do not occur, and hardly that of material (*house of wood*). Examples are: *indra-sya vājraḥ* *Indra's thunderbolt*; *pitā putrāṇām* *father of sons*; *putraḥ pituḥ* *son of the father*; *pituḥ kāmāḥ putrasya*, *the father's love of the son*; *ke naḥ* *which of us*; *çataṁ dāsīnām* *a hundred female slaves*.

a. The expression of possession etc. on the part of pronouns is made almost entirely by the genitive case, and not by a derived possessive adjective (516).

b. Exceptional cases like *nagarasya mārگاḥ* *the road to the city* (cf. *le chemin de Paris*), *yasyā 'haṁ dūta īpsitaḥ* (MBh.) *as messenger to whom I am wanted*, are occasionally met with.

296. The genitive is dependent on an adjective:

a. A so-called partitive genitive with a superlative, or another word of similar substantival value: thus, *çreṣṭhaṁ vīraṇām* *best of heroes*; *vīrūdhām viryavati* (AV.) *of plants the mighty (mightiest) one*.

b. Very often, by a transfer of the possessive genitive from noun to adjective, the adjective being treated as if it had noun-value: thus, *tasya samaḥ* or *anurūpaḥ* or *sadṛçaḥ* *resembling him* (i. e. *his like*); *tasya priyā* *dear to him* (*his dear one*); *tasyā 'viditam* *unknown to him* (*his unknown thing*); *havyaḥ carṣaṇīnām* (RV.) *to be sacrificed to by mortals* (*their object of sacrifice*); *īpsito naranārīṇām* (MBh.) *desired of men and women* (*their object of desire*); *yasya kasya prasūtaḥ* (H.) *of whomsoever born* (*his son*); *hantavyo 'smi na te* (MBh.) *I am not to be slain of thee*; *kim arthinām vañcayitavyam asti* (H.) *why should there be a deceiving of suppliants?*

c. In part, by a construction similar to that of verbs which take a genitive object: thus, *abhijñā rājadharmāṇām* (R.) *understanding the duties of a king*.

297. The genitive as object of a verb is:

a. A possessive genitive of the recipient, by pregnant construction, with verbs signifying *give*, *impart*, *communicate*, and the like: thus, *varāṇ pradāyā 'sya* (MBh.) *having bestowed gifts upon him* (*made them his by bestowal*); *rājño niveditam* (H.) *it was made known to the king* (*made his by knowledge*); *yad anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya diyate* (M.) *that after being promised to one she is given to another*. This construction, by which the genitive becomes substitute for a dative or locative, abounds in the later language, and is extended sometimes to problematic and difficult cases.

b. A (in most cases, probably) partitive genitive, as a less complete or less absolute object than an accusative: thus, with verbs meaning *partake* (*eat*, *drink*, etc.), as *pība sūtāsya* (AV.) *drink (of) the soma*; *mādhvaḥ pāyaya* (RV.) *cause to drink the sweet draught*; — with verbs meaning *impart* (of the thing imparted) etc., as *dādāta no amṛtasya* (RV.) *bestow upon us immortality*; — with verbs meaning *enjoy*, *be satisfied* or *filled*

with: as, *mātsy āndhasaḥ* (RV.) *do thou enjoy the juice*; *ājyasya pūrayanti* (S.) *they fill with butter*; — with verbs meaning *perceive, note, care for, regard* with feeling of various kinds: as, *vāsiṣṭhasya stuvatā indro aśrot* (RV.) *Indra listened to Vasiṣṭha who was praising him*; *yāthā māma smārāt* (AV.) *that he may think of me*; *tasya cukopa* (MBh.) *he was angry at him*.

c. A genitive of more doubtful character, with verbs meaning *rule* or *have authority*: as, *tvām iṣiṣe vāsūnām* (RV.) *thou art lord of good things*; *yāthā 'hām eṣām virājāni* (AV.) *that I may rule over them*; *katham mṛtyuḥ prabhavati vedaṣāstravidām* (M.) *how has death power over those who know the Vedas and treatises?*

d. A genitive, instead of an ablative, is sometimes found used with a verb of receiving of any kind (hearing included), and with one of fearing: thus, *yo rājñāḥ pratigṛhṇāti lubdhasya* (M.) *whoever accepts a gift from a greedy king*; *çṛṇu me* (MBh.) *learn from me*; *bibhīmas tava* (MBh.) *we are afraid of thee*.

298. A genitive in its usual possessive sense is often found as predicate, and not seldom with the copula omitted: thus, *yāthā 'so māma kévalaḥ* (AV.) *that thou mayest be wholly mine*; *sarvāḥ sampattayas tasya saṁtuṣṭaḥ yasya mānasam* (H.) *all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind*; — as objective predicate, *bhartuḥ putrāṁ vijānanti* (M.) *they recognise a son as the husband's*.

299. a. The prepositional constructions of the genitive (1130) are for the most part with such prepositions as are really noun-cases and have the government of such: thus, *agre*, *arthe*, *kṛte*, and the like; also with other prepositional words which, in the general looseness of use of the genitive, have become assimilated to these. A few more real prepositions take the genitive: either usually, like *upāri* *above*, or occasionally, like *adhās*, *antār*, *āti*.

b. A genitive is occasionally used in the older language with an adverb, either of place or of time: thus, *yātra kvā ca kurukṣetrāsya* (ÇB.) *in whatever part of Kurukshetra*; *yātra tū bhūmer jāyeta* (MS.) *on what spot of earth he may be born*; *idānīm āhnaḥ* (RV.) *at this time of the day*; *yāsyā rātryaḥ prātāḥ* (MS.) *on the morn of what night*; *dviḥ saṁvatsarasya* (K.) *twice a year*. Such expressions as the last occur also later.

300. a. The genitive is very little used adverbially; a few genitives of time occur in the older language: as, *aktos* *by night*, *vastos* *by day*; and there are found later such cases as *kasya cit kālasya* (Ç.) *after a certain time*; *tataḥ kālasya mahataḥ prayayāu* (R.) *then after a long time he went forth*.

b. A genitive, originally of possession, passing over into one of general concernment, comes in the later language (the construction is unknown earlier) to be used absolutely, with an agreeing participle, or quite rarely

an adjective. From such cases as the following — *paçyato bakamürkhasya nakulāir bhakṣitāḥ sutāḥ* (H.) *of the foolish heron, while he looked on, the young were eaten by the ichneumons*, or *gato 'rdharātrah kathāḥ kathayato mama* (KSS.) *half my night was passed in telling stories*, or *kartavyasya karmaṇaḥ kṣipram akriyamāṇasya kālāḥ pibati tadrasmam* (H.) *of a work needing to be done but left undone time quickly drinks up its essence* — come into currency, by increasing independence of the genitive, such other cases as: *divaṁ jagāma muninām paçyatām tadā* (R.) *he went then to heaven, the ascetics looking on*; *evam lālapatas tasya devadūtas tadā 'bhyetya vākyam āha* (MBh.) *as he thus lamented, a divine messenger coming addressed him*; *iti vādina evā 'sya dhenur āvavṛte vanāt* (Ragh.) *while he thus spoke, the cow came from the forest*. The genitive always indicates a living actor, and the participle is usually one of seeing or hearing or uttering, especially the former. The construction is said by the Hindu grammarians to convey an implication of disregard or despite; and such is often to be recognized in it, though not prevallyingly.

301. Uses of the Locative. a. The locative is properly the *in-case*, the case expressing situation or location; but its sphere of use has been somewhat extended, so as to touch and overlap the boundaries of other cases, for which it seems to be a substitute.

b. Unimportant variations of the sense of *in* are those of *amid* or *among*, *on*, and *at*. Of course, also, situation in time as well as place is indicated by the case; and it is applied to yet less physical relations, to sphere of action and feeling and knowledge, to state of things, to accompanying circumstance; and out of this last grows the frequent use of the locative as the case absolute.

c. Moreover, by a pregnant construction, the locative is used to denote the place of rest or cessation of action or motion (*into* or *on to* instead of *in* or *on*; German *in* with accusative instead of dative: compare English *there* for *thither*).

302. a. The locative of situation in space hardly needs illustration. An example or two are: *yé devā divi sthā* (AV.) *which of you gods are in heaven*; *na deveṣu na yakṣeṣu tādṛk* (MBh.) *not among gods or Yakshas is such a one*; *pārvatasya prsthé* (RV.) *on the ridge of the mountain*; *vidāthe santu devāḥ* (RV.) *may the gods be at the assembly*; *daçame pade* (MBh.) *at the tenth step*.

b. The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything takes place: thus, *asyā uṣāso vyūṣṭāu* (RV.) *at the shining forth of this dawn*; *etasminn eva kālē* (MBh.) *at just that time*; *dvādaçe varṣe* (MBh.) *in the twelfth year*. That the accusative is occasionally used in this sense, instead of the locative, was pointed out above (276c).

c. The person with whom, instead of the place at which, one is or remains is put in the locative: thus, *tisṭhanty asmin paçāvah* (MS.) *animals abide with him*; *gurāu vasan* (M.) *living at a teacher's*; and, pregnantly, *tāvat tvayi bhaviṣyāmi* (MBh.) *so long will I cleave to thee*.

303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus, *māde āhim īndro jaghāna* (RV.) *in fury Indra slew the dragon*; *mitrāsya sumatāu syāma* (RV.) *may we be in the favor of Mitra*; *te vacane ratam* (MBh.) *delighted in thy words*.

a. This construction is, on the one hand, generalized into an expression for *in the matter or case of*, or *with reference to*, *respecting*, and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, *é 'mām bhaja grāme āgveṣu gōṣu* (AV.) *be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle*; *tām it sakhitvā imahe* (RV.) *him we beg for friendship*; *upāyo 'yam mayā dṛṣṭa ānayaṇe tava* (MBh.) *this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither*; *satitve kāraṇam striyāḥ* (H.) *the cause of (in the case of) a woman's chastity*; *na ṣakto 'bhavan nivāraṇe* (MBh.) *he was not capable of preventing*.

b. On the other hand, the expression by the locative of a condition of things in which anything takes place, or of a conditioning or accompanying circumstance, passes over into a well-marked absolute construction, which is known even in the earliest stage of the language, but becomes more frequent later. Transitional examples are: *hāve tvā sūra ūdite hāve madhyāhndine divāḥ* (RV.) *I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day*; *aparādhe kṛte 'pi ca na me kopah* (MBh.) *and even in case of an offense committed, there is no anger on my part*. 2.6

c. The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, *stīrné barhīṣi samidhānē agnāu* (RV.) *when the barhis is strewn and the fire kindled*; *kāle ṣubhe prāpte* (MBh.) *a propitious time having arrived*; *avasannāyām rātrāv astācala-cūḍāvalambini candramasi* (H.) *the night having drawn to a close, and the moon resting on the summit of the western mountain*.

d. But the noun may be wanting, or may be replaced by an adverbial substitute (as *evam*, *tathā*, *iti*): thus, *varṣati* *when it rains*; [*sūrye*] *astamite* *after sunset*; *ādityasya dṛṣyamāne* (S.) *while there is seen [some part] of the sun*; *ity ardhokte* (Ḷ.) *with these words half uttered*; *asmābhiḥ samanujñāte* (MBh.) *it being fully assented to by us*; *evam ukte kalinā* (MBh.) *it being thus spoken by Kali*; *tathā 'nuṣṭhite* (H.) *it being thus accomplished*. So likewise the participle may be wanting (a copula *sati* or the like having to be supplied): thus, *dūre bhaye* *the cause of fear being remote*; while, on the other hand, the participle *sati* etc. is sometimes redundantly added to the other participle: thus, *tathā kṛte sati* *it being thus done*.

e. The locative is frequently used adverbially or prepositionally (1116): thus, *-arthe* or *-kṛte* *in the matter of, for the sake of*; *agre* *in front of*; *ṛte* *without*; *samīpe* *near*.

304. The pregnant construction by which the locative comes to express the goal or object of motion or action or feeling exercised is not



uncommon from the earliest time. It is by no means to be sharply distinguished from the ordinary construction; the two pass into one another, with a doubtful territory between. It occurs:

a. Especially with verbs, as of arriving, sending, placing, communicating, bestowing, and many others, in situations where an accusative or a dative (or a genitive, 297 a) might be looked for, and exchangeable with them: thus, *sá id devēṣu gacchati* (RV.) *that, truly, goes to (to be among) the gods*; *imāṁ no yajñām amṛteṣu dhehi* (RV.) *set this offering of ours among the immortals*; *yá āsiñcānti rāsam oṣadhīṣu* (AV.) *who pour in the juice into the plants (or, the juice that is in the plants)*; *mā prayacche 'ṣvare dhanam* (H.) *do not offer wealth to a lord*; *papāta medinyām* (MBh.) *he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth*; *skandhe kṛtvā* (H.) *putting on the shoulder*; *sañcṛutya pūrvam asmāsu* (MBh.) *having before promised us*.

b. Often also with nouns and adjectives in similar constructions (the instances not always easy to separate from those of the locative meaning with reference to: above, 303 a): thus, *dayā sarvabhūteṣu* *compassion toward all creatures*; *anurāgaṁ nāiṣadhe* (MBh.) *affection for the Ni-shadhan*; *rājā samyag vṛttaḥ sadā tvayi* (MBh.) *the king has always behaved properly toward thee*.

305. The prepositions construed with the locative (1126) stand to it only in the relation of adverbial elements strengthening and directing its meaning.

306. Declensional forms are made by the addition of endings to the stem, or base of inflection.

a. The stem itself, however, in many words and classes of words, is liable to variation, especially as assuming a stronger form in some cases and a weaker in others.

b. And between stem and ending are sometimes inserted connecting elements (or what, in the recorded condition of the language, have the aspect of being such).

c. Respecting all these points, the details of treatment, as exhibited by each class of words or by single words, will be given in the following chapters. Here, however, it is desirable also to present a brief general view of them.

307. Endings: Singular. a. In the nominative, the usual masc. and fem. ending is *s* — which, however, is wanting in derivative *ā* and *i*-stems; it is also euphonically lost (150) by consonant-stems. Neuters in general have no ending, but show in this case the bare stem; *a*-stems alone add *m* (as in the accus. masc.). Among the pronouns, *am* is a frequent masc. and fem. nom. ending (and is found even in du. and pl.); and neuters show a form in *d*.

b. In the accusative, **m** or **am** is the masc. and fem. ending — **am** being added after a consonant and **ṛ**, and after **i** and **ū** in the radical division, and **m** elsewhere after vowels. The neuter accusative is like the nominative.

c. The instrumental ending for all genders alike is **ā**. With final **i**- and **u**-vowels, the **ā** is variously combined, and in the older language it is sometimes lost by contraction with them. Stems in **a** make the case end in **ena** (sometimes **enā** in V.), and those in **ā** make it end in **ayā**; but instances occur, in the early language, of immediate addition of **ā** to both **a** and **ā**.

d. The dative ending is in general **e**; and with it likewise the modes of combination of **i** and **u** final are various (and disappearance by contraction not unknown in the oldest language). The **a**-stems are quite irregular in this case, making it end in **āya** — excepted is the pronominal element **-sma**, which combines (apparently) with **e** to **-smāi**. In the personal pronouns is found **bhyam** (or **hyam**).

e. A fuller ending **āi** (like gen.-abl. **ās** and loc. **ām**: see below) belongs to feminine stems only. It is taken (with interposed **y**) by the great class of those in derivative **ā**; also by those in derivative **ī**, and (as reckoned in the later language) in derivative **ū**. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical **ī** and **ū**, and even by those in **i** and **u**: these last have it in the earliest language in only exceptional instances. For the substitution of **āi** for abl.-gen. **ās**, see below, h.

f. The ablative has a special ending, **d** (or **t**), only in **a**-stems, masc. and neut., the **a** being lengthened before it (except in the personal pronouns of 1st and 2d person, which have the same ending at in the pl., and even, in the old language, in the dual). Everywhere else, the ablative is identical with the genitive.

g. The genitive of **a**-stems (and of one pronominal **u**-stem, **amu**) adds **sya**. Elsewhere, the usual abl.-gen. ending is **as**; but its irregularities of treatment in combination with a stem-final are considerable. With **i** and **u**, it is either directly added (only in the old language), added with interposed **n**, or fused to **es** and **os** respectively. With **ṛ** (or **ar**) it yields **ur** (or **us**: 169 b).

h. The fuller **ās** is taken by feminine stems precisely as **āi** is taken in the dative: see above. But in the language of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, the dative-ending **āi** is regularly and commonly used instead of **ās**, both of ablative and of genitive. See 365 d.

i. The locative ending is **i** in consonant- and **r**- and **a**-stems (fusing with **a** to **e** in the latter). The **i**- and **u**-stems (unless the final vowel is saved by an interposed **n**) make the case end in **āu**; but the Veda has some relics or traces of the older forms (**ay-i** [?] and **av-i**) out of which this appears to have sprung. Vedic locatives

from i-stems end also in ā and ī. The pronominal element -sma makes the locative -smin. Stems in an in the older language often lose the i, and use the bare stem as locative.

j. The ending ām is the locative correspondent to dat. āi and abl.-gen. ās, and is taken under the same circumstances: see above.

k. The vocative (unless by accent: 314) is distinguished from the nominative only in the singular, and not quite always there. In a-stems, it is the unaltered stem, and so also in most consonant-stems; but neuters in an and in may drop the n; and the oldest language has sometimes a vocative in s from stems in nt and ns. Stems in r change this to ar. In masc. and fem. i- and u-stems, the case ends respectively in e and o; in neuters, in the same or in i and u. Stems in ā change ā to e; derivative ī and ū are shortened; radical stems in long vowels use the nominative form.

308. Dual. a. The dual has — except so far as the vocative is sometimes distinguished from nominative and accusative by a difference of accent: 314 — only three case-forms: one for nom., accus., and voc.; one for instr., dat., and abl.; and one for gen. and loc.

b. But the pronouns of 1st and 2d person in the older language distinguish five dual cases: see 492b.

c. The masc. and fem. ending for nom.-accus.-voc. is in the later language usually āu; but instead of this the Veda has pre-vaillingly ā. Stems in ā make the case end in e. Stems in i and u, masc. and fem., lengthen those vowels; and derivative ī in the Veda remains regularly unchanged, though later it adds āu. The neuter ending is only ī; with final a this combines to e.

d. The universal ending for the instr.-dat.-abl. is bhyām, before which final a is made long. In the Veda, it is often to be read as two syllables, bhiām.

e. The universal ending of gen.-loc. is os; before this, a and ā alike become e (ai).

309. Plural. a. In the nominative, the general masculine and feminine ending is as. The old language, however, often makes the case in āsas instead of ās from a-stems, and in a few examples also from ā-stems. From derivative i-stems, is instead of yas is the regular and usual Vedic form. Pronominal a-stems make the masc. nom. in e.

b. The neuter ending (which is accusative also) is in general i; and before this the final of a stem is apt to be strengthened, by prolongation of a vowel, or by insertion of a nasal, or by both. But in the Veda the hence resulting forms in āni, ini, ūni are frequently abbreviated by loss of the ni, and sometimes by further shortening of the preceding vowel.

c. The accusative ending is also as in consonant-stems and in the radical division of ī- and ū-stems (and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those vowels and add in the masculine *n* (for *ns*, of which abundant traces remain), and in the feminine *s*. In the neuter, this case is like the nominative.

d. In the instrumental, the case-ending is everywhere *bhis* except in *a*-stems, where in the later language the case always ends in *āis*, but in the earlier either in *āis* or the more regular *ebhis* (*ābhis* in the two personal pronouns; and the pronominal stem *a* [501] makes *ebhis* only).

e. The dative and ablative have in the plural the same form, with the ending *bhyas* (in Veda often *bhias*), before which only *a* is altered, becoming *e*. But the two personal pronouns distinguish the two cases, having for the ablative the singular ending (as above pointed out), and for the dative the peculiar *bhyam* (almost never in Veda *bhiam*), which they extend also into the singular.

f. Of the genitive, the universal ending is *ām*; which (except optionally after radical *ī* and *ū*, and in a few scattering Vedic instances) takes after final vowels an inserted consonant, *s* in the pronominal declension, *n* elsewhere; before *n*, a short vowel is lengthened; before *s*, *a* becomes *e*. In the Veda, it is frequently to be pronounced in two syllables, as *a-am*.

g. The locative ending is *su*, without any exceptions, and the only change before it is that of *a* to *e*.

h. The vocative, as in the dual, differs from the nominative only by its accent.

310. The normal scheme of endings, as recognized by the native grammarians (and conveniently to be assumed as the basis of special descriptions), is this:

|     | Singular | Dual.    | Plural.  |
|-----|----------|----------|----------|
|     | m. f. n. | m. f. n. | m. f. n. |
| N.  | s —      | āu ī     | as i     |
| A.  | am —     | āu ī     | as i     |
| I.  | ā        | bhyām    | bhis     |
| D.  | e        | bhyām    | bhyas    |
| Ab. | as       | bhyām    | bhyas    |
| G.  | as       | os       | ām       |
| L.  | i        | os       | su       |

a. It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems and by the radical division of ī- and ū-stems; by other vowel-stems, with more or less considerable variations and modifications. The endings which have almost or quite unbroken range, through stems of all classes, are *bhyām* and *os* of the dual, and *bhis*, *bhyas*, *ām*, and *su* of the plural.

311. Variation of Stem. a. By far the most important matter under this head is the distinction made in large classes of words (chiefly those ending in consonants) between strong and weak stem-forms — a distinction standing in evident connection with the phenomena of accent. In the nom. and accus. sing. and du. and the nom. pl. (the five cases whose endings are never accented: 316a), the stem often has a stronger or fuller form than in the rest: thus, for example (424), राजानम् *rājān-am*, राजानौ *rājān-āu*, राजानस् *rājān-as*, against राज्ञा *rājñ-ā* and राजभिस् *rāja-bhis*; or (450b) महान्तम् *mahānt-am* and (447) अदन्तम् *adānt-am* against महता *mahat-ā* and अदता *adat-ā*. These five, therefore, are called the cases with strong stem, or, briefly, the strong cases; and the rest are called the cases with weak stem, or the weak cases. And the weak cases, again, are in some classes of words to be distinguished into cases of weakest stem, or weakest cases, and cases of middle stem, or middle cases: the former having endings beginning with a vowel (instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing.; gen.-loc. du.; gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (instr.-dat.-abl. du.; instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).

S O  
N N  
A A

b. The class of strong cases, as above defined, belongs only to masculine and feminine stems. In neuter inflection, the only strong cases are the nom.-acc. pl.; while, in those stems that make a distinction of weakest and middle form, the nom.-acc. du. belongs to the weakest class, and the nom.-acc. sing. to the middle: thus, for example, compare (408) प्रत्यञ्चि *pratyāñc-i*, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यञ्चस् *pratyāñc-as*, nom. pl. masc.; प्रतीची *pratic-ī*, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रतीचोस् *pratic-ós*, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यक् *pratyák*, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रत्यग्भिस् *pratyág-bhis*, instr. pl.

312. Other variations concern chiefly the final vowel of a stem, and may be mainly left to be pointed out in detail below. Of consequence

enough to mention here is only the **guṇa**-strengthening of a final **i** or **u**, which in the later language is always made before **as** of nom. pl. and **e** of dat. sing. in masc. and fem.; in the Veda, it does not always take place; nor is it forbidden in dat. sing. neut. also; and it is seen sometimes in loc. sing. Final **r** has **guṇa**-strengthening in loc. sing.

**313.** Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems, an added **n** often makes its appearance before an ending. This appendage is of least questionable origin in nom.-acc. pl. neut., where the interchange in the old language of the forms of **a**- and **i**-stems with those of **an**- and **in**-stems is pretty complete; and the **u**-stems follow their analogy. Elsewhere, it is most widely and firmly established in the gen. pl., where in the great mass of cases, and from the earliest period, the ending is virtually **nām** after a vowel. In the **i**- and **u**-stems of the later language, the instr. sing. of masc. and neut. is separated by its presence from the fem., and it is in the other weakest cases made a usual distinction of neuter forms from masculine; but the aspect of the matter in the Veda is very different: there the appearance of the **n** is everywhere sporadic; the neuter shows no special inclination to take it, and it is not excluded even from the feminine. In the ending **ena** from **a**-stems (later invariable, earlier predominating) its presence appears to have worked the most considerable transformation of original shape.

a. The place of **n** before gen. pl. **ām** is taken by **s** in pronominal **a**- and **ā**-stems.

b. The **y** after **ā** before the endings **āi**, **ās**, and **ām** is most probably an insertion, such as is made elsewhere (258).

### Accent in Declension.

**314. a.** As a rule without exception, the vocative, if accented at all, is accented on the first syllable.

b. And in the Veda (the case is a rare one), whenever a syllable written as one is to be pronounced as two by restoration of a semivowel to vowel form, the first element only has the vocative accent, and the syllable as written is circumflex (83—4): thus, **dyāūs** (i. e. **dīāūs**) when dissyllabic, but **dyāūs** when monosyllabic; **jyāke** when for **jīāke**.

c. But the vocative is accented only when it stands at the beginning of a sentence — or, in verse, at the beginning also of a metrical division or **pāda**; elsewhere it is accentless or enclitic: thus, **āgne yām yajñām paribhūr āsi** (RV.) *O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest*; but **ūpa tvā 'gna é 'masi** (RV.) *unto thee, Agni, we come*.

d. A word, or more than one word, qualifying a vocative — usually an adjective or appositive noun, but sometimes a dependent noun in the genitive (very rarely in any other case) — constitutes, so far as accent is

concerned, a unity with the vocative: thus (all the examples from RV.), at the beginning of a *pāda*, with first syllable of the combination accented, *indra bhrātāḥ* *O brother Indra!* *rājan soma* *O king Soma!* *yāviṣṭha dūta* *most youthful messenger!* *hōtar yaviṣṭha sukrato* *most youthful skilled offerer!* *ūrjo napāt sahasvan* *mighty son of strength!* — in the interior of a *pāda*, without accent, *sómāsa indra girvaṇaḥ* *the somas, O song-loving Indra!* *tāv aṇvinā bhadrahastā supāṇī ye,* *O Aṇvins of propitious and beautiful hands!* *ā rājānā maha ṛtasya gopā* *hither, ye two kingly guardians of great order!*

e. On the other hand, two or more independent or coördinate vocatives at the beginning of a *pāda* are regularly and usually both accented: thus, *pítar mātāḥ* *O father! O mother!* *ágna indra váruṇa mītra dévāḥ* *Agni! Indra! Varuṇa! Mitra! gods!* *çátamūte çátakrato* *thou of a hundred aids! of a hundred arts!* *vásiṣṭha çúkra dídivaḥ pāvaka* *best, bright, shining, cleansing one!* *ūrjo napāt bhádraçoce* *son of strength, propitiously bright one!* But the texts offer occasional irregular exceptions both to this and to the preceding rule.

f. For brevity, the vocative dual and plural will be given in the paradigms below along with the nominative, without taking the trouble to specify in each instance that, if the latter be accented elsewhere than on the first syllable, the accent of the vocative is different.

315. As regards the other cases, rules for change of accent in declension have to do only with monosyllables and with stems of more than one syllable which are accented on the final; for, if a stem be accented on the penult, or any other syllable further back — as in *sárpant*, *vári*, *bhágavant*, *sumánas*, *sahásravāja* — the accent remains upon that syllable through the whole inflection (except in the vocative, as explained in the preceding paragraph).

a. The only exceptions are a few numeral stems: see 483.

316. Stems accented on the final (including monosyllables) are subject to variation of accent in declension chiefly in virtue of the fact that some of the endings have, while others have not, or have in less degree, a tendency themselves to take the accent. Thus:

a. The endings of the nominative and accusative singular and dual and of the nominative plural (that is to say, of the strong cases: 311) have no tendency to take the accent away from the stem, and are therefore only accented when a final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the ending are blended together into a single vowel or diphthong. Thus, from *dattá* come *dattāu* (= *dattá+āu*) and *dattās* (= *dattá+as*); but from *nadí* come *nadyāu* (= *nadí+āu*) and *nadyās* (= *nadí+as*).

b. All the other endings sometimes take the accent; but those beginning with a vowel (i. e. of the weakest cases: 311) do so more readily than those beginning with a consonant (i. e. of the middle cases: 311). Thus, from *nāús* come *nāvá* and *nāubhís*; from *mahánt*, however, come *mahatá* but *mahádbhis*.

The general rules of accent, then, may be thus stated:

317. In the declension of monosyllabic stems, the accent falls upon the ending in all the weak cases (without distinction of middle and weakest): thus, *nāvā*, *naubhyām*, *nāvām*, *nauṣú*; *vāc*, *vāgbhis*, *vācām*, *vākṣú*.

a. But some monosyllabic stems retain the accent throughout: thus, *góbhis*, *gávām*, *góṣu*. For such cases, see below, 350, 361 c, d, 372, 390, 427. And in the acc. pl. the stem is even oftener accented than the ending, some words also admitting either accentuation.

318. Of polysyllabic stems ending in consonants, only a few shift the accent to the ending, and that in the weakest (not the middle) cases. Such are:

a. Present participles in *ánt* or *át*: thus, from *tudánt*, *tudatā* and *tudatós* and *tudatām*; but *tudádbhyām* and *tudátsu*.

b. A few adjectives having the form of such participles, as *mahatā*, *bṛhatás*.

c. Stems of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncope of the vowel: thus, *majjñā*, *mūrdhné*, *dāmnás* (from *majján* etc.: 423).

d. Other sporadic cases will be noticed under the different declensions.

e. Case-forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent: see 1110 ff.

319. Of polysyllabic stems ending in accented short vowels, the final of the stem retains the accent if it retains its syllabic identity: thus, *dattēna* and *dattāya* from *dattā*; *agnínā* and *agnāye* from *agní*; and also *dattébhyas*, *agníbhis*, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in *dattāís*, *dhenāú*, *agnín*, *dhenús*, and so on; or whether the final is changed into a semivowel before the ending: thus, *dhenvá*, *pitrá*, *jāmyós*, *bāhvós*, etc.

a. But *ām* of the gen. pl. from stems in *í* and *ú* and *ṛ* may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by *n* from the stem: thus, *agnínām*, *dhenūnām*, *pitṛnām*. In RV., even derivative *i*-stems show usually the same shift: thus, *bahvinām*. Of stems in *á*, only numerals (483 a) follow this rule: thus, *saptānām*, *daṣṇānām*.

320. Root-words in *i* and *ū* as final members of compounds retain the accent throughout, not shifting it to any of the endings. And in the older language there are polysyllabic words in long final vowels which follow in this respect as in others the analogy of the root-declension (below, 355 ff.). Apart from these, the treatment of stems in derivative long vowels is, as regards accent, the same as of those in short vowels — save that the tone is not thrown forward upon the ending in gen. plural.



## CHAPTER V.

## NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

321. a. THE accordance in inflection of substantive and adjective stems is so complete that the two cannot be separated in treatment from one another.

b. They may be classified, for convenience of description, as follows:

I. Stems in अ a; 326

II. Stems in इ i and उ u; 335

III. Stems in आ ā, ई ī, and ऊ ū: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems; 347

IV. Stems in अर r (or अर ar); 369

V. Stems in consonants. 382

c. There is nothing absolute in this classification and arrangement; it is merely believed to be open to as few objections as any other. No general agreement has been reached among scholars as to the number and order of Sanskrit declensions. The stems in a are here treated first because of the great predominance of the class.

322. The division-line between substantive and adjective, always an uncertain one in early Indo-European language, is even more wavering in Sanskrit than elsewhere. There are, however, in all the declensions as divided above — unless we except the stems in र r or ar — words which are distinctly adjectives; and, in general, they are inflected precisely like noun-stems of the same final: only, among consonant-stems, there are certain sub-classes of adjective stems with peculiarities of inflection to which there is among nouns nothing corresponding. But there are also two considerable classes of adjective-compounds, requiring special notice: namely —

323. Compound adjectives having as final member a bare verbal root, with the value of a present participle (383 a ff.): thus, su-dīṇ well-looking; pra-būdh foreknowing; a-drūh not hating; veda-vīd Veda-knowing; vṛtra-hān, Vṛtra-slaying; upastha-sād sitting in the lap. Every root is liable to be used in this way, and such compounds are not infrequent in all ages of the language: see chapter on Compounds, below (1269).

a. This class is essentially only a special class of compound adjectives, since in the earliest Veda the simple as well as the compounded root was sometimes used adjectively. But the compounded root was from the beginning much more often so used, and the later the more exclusively, so that practically the class is a separate and important one.

324. Compound adjectives having a noun as final member, but obtaining an adjective sense secondarily, by having the idea of possession added, and being inflected as adjectives in the three genders (1293 ff.). Thus, *prajākāmā* *desire of progeny*, whence the adjective *prajākāma*, meaning *desirous* (i. e. *having desire*) of progeny; *sabhārya* (sa + bhāryā) *having one's wife along*; and so on.

a. In a few cases, also, the final noun is syntactically object of the preceding member (1309-10): thus, *atimātra* *immoderate* (*ati mātram beyond measure*); *yāvayāddveṣas* *driving away enemies*.

325. Hence, under each declension, we have to notice how a root or a noun-stem of that declension is inflected when final member of an adjective compound.

a. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked here that a root-word ending a compound has the accent, but (320) loses the peculiarity of monosyllabic accentuation, and does not throw the tone forward upon the ending (except añc in certain old forms: 410).

### Declension I.

Stems (masculine and neuter) in ऋ a.

326. a. This declension contains the majority of all the declined stems of the language.

b: Its endings deviate more widely than any others from the normal.

327. Endings: Singular. a. The nom. masc. has the normal ending s.

b. The acc. (masc. and neut.) adds m (not am); and this form has the office also of nom. neuter.

c. The instr. changes a to ena uniformly in the later language; and even in the oldest Vedic this is the predominant ending (in RV., eight ninths of all cases). Its final is in Vedic verse frequently made long (enā). But the normal ending ā — thus, *yajñā*, *suhāvā*, *mahitvā* (for *yajñēna* etc.) — is also not rare in the Veda.

d. The dat. has āya (as if by adding aya to a), alike in all ages of the language.

e. The abl. has t (or doubtless d: it is impossible from the evidence of the Sanskrit to tell which is the original form of the ending),

before which *ā* is made long: this ending is found in no other noun-declension, and elsewhere only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

f. The gen. has *śya* added to the final *a*; and this ending is also limited to *a*-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun *amúśya*: 501). Its final *a* is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its *y* is vocalized (*asia*) almost as rarely.

g. The loc. ends in *e* (as 'if by combining the normal ending *i* with the final of the stem), without exception.

h. The voc. is the bare stem.

**328. Dual.** a. The dual endings in general are the normal ones.

b. The nom., acc., and voc. masc. end in the later language always in *āu*. In the Veda, however, the usual ending is simple *ā* (in RV., in seven eighths of the occurrences). The same cases in the neut. end in *e*, which appears to be the result of fusion of the stem-final with the normal ending *i*.

c. The instr., dat., and abl. have *bhyām* (in only one or two Vedic instances resolved into *bhiām*), with the stem-final lengthened to *ā* before it.

d. The gen. and loc. have a *y* inserted after the stem-final before *os* (or as if the *a* had been changed to *e*). In one or two (doubtful) Vedic instances (as also in the pronominal forms *enos* and *yos*), *os* is substituted for the final *a*.

**329. Plural.** a. The nom. masc. has in the later language the normal ending *as* combined with the final *a* to *ās*. But in the Veda the ending *āsas* instead is frequent (one third of the occurrences in RV., but only one twenty-fifth in the peculiar parts of AV.).

b. The acc. masc. ends in *ān* (for earlier *āns*, of which abundant traces are left in the Veda, and, under the disguise of apparent euphonic combination, even in the later language: see above, 208 ff.).

c. The nom. and acc. neut. have in the later language always the ending *āni* (like the *an*-stems: see 421; or else with *n*, as in the gen. pl., before normal *i*). But in the Veda this ending alternates with simple *ā* (which in RV. is to *āni* as three to two, in point of frequency; in AV., as three to four).

d. The instr. ends later always in *āis*; but in the Veda is found abundantly the more normal form *ebhis* (in RV., nearly as frequent as *āis*; in AV., only one fifth as frequent).

e. The dat. and abl. have *bhyas* as ending, with *e* instead of the final *a* before it (as in the Vedic instr. *ebhis*, the loc. pl., the gen. loc. du. [?], and the instr. sing.). The resolution into *ebhias* is not infrequent in the Veda.

f. The gen. ends in *ānām*, the final *a* being lengthened and having *n* inserted before the normal ending. The *ā* of the ending is not seldom (in less than half the instances) to be read as two syllables, *aam*: opinions are divided as to whether the resolution is historical or metrical only. A

very small number (half-a-dozen) of examples of simple *ām* as ending instead of *ānām* occur in RV.

g. The loc. ends in *egu* — that is to say, with the normal ending, before which the stem-final is changed to *e* (with consequent change of *s* to *ṣ*: 180).

h. Of accent, in this declension, nothing requires to be said; the syllable accented in the stem retains its own accent throughout.

330. Examples of declension. As examples of the inflection of *a*-stems may be taken काम *kāma* m. *love*; देव *devā* m. *god*; आस्य *āsyā* n. *mouth*.

Singular: (m)

|     |                          |                          |                           |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| N.  | कामस्<br><i>kāmas</i>    | देवस्<br><i>devās</i>    | आस्यम्<br><i>āsyām</i>    |
| A.  | कामम्<br><i>kāmam</i>    | देवम्<br><i>devām</i>    | आस्यम्<br><i>āsyām</i>    |
| I.  | कामेन<br><i>kāmena</i>   | देवेन<br><i>devēna</i>   | आस्येन<br><i>āsyēna</i>   |
| D.  | कामाय<br><i>kāmāya</i>   | देवाय<br><i>devāya</i>   | आस्याय<br><i>āsyāya</i>   |
| Ab. | कामात्<br><i>kāmāt</i>   | देवात्<br><i>devāt</i>   | आस्यात्<br><i>āsyāt</i>   |
| G.  | कामस्य<br><i>kāmasya</i> | देवस्य<br><i>devāsya</i> | आस्यस्य<br><i>āsyāsya</i> |
| L.  | कामे<br><i>kāme</i>      | देवे<br><i>devē</i>      | आस्ये<br><i>āsyē</i>      |
| V.  | काम<br><i>kāma</i>       | देव<br><i>devā</i>       | आस्य<br><i>āsyā</i>       |

Dual:

|           |                                |                                |                                 |
|-----------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| N. A. V.  | कामौ<br><i>kāmāu</i>           | देवौ<br><i>devāu</i>           | आस्ये<br><i>āsyē</i>            |
| I. D. Ab. | कामाभ्याम्<br><i>kāmābhyām</i> | देवाभ्याम्<br><i>devābhyām</i> | आस्याभ्याम्<br><i>āsyābhyām</i> |
| G. L.     | कामयोस्<br><i>kāmayos</i>      | देवयोस्<br><i>devāyos</i>      | आस्ययोस्<br><i>āsyāyos</i>      |

Plural:

|       |                        |                        |                          |
|-------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| N. V. | कामास्<br><i>kāmās</i> | देवास्<br><i>devās</i> | आस्यानि<br><i>āsyāni</i> |
|-------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|

|        |                        |                        |                         |            |
|--------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| A.     | कामान्<br>kāman        | देवान्<br>devān        | आस्यानि<br>āsyāni       | -an ∞ -ani |
| I.     | कामैस्<br>kāmaīs       | देवैस्<br>devāīs       | आस्यैस्<br>āsyāīs       | -ais       |
| D. Ab. | कामेभ्यम्<br>kāmebhyas | देवेभ्यस्<br>devēbhyas | आस्येभ्यम्<br>āsyēbhyas | -ibhyas    |
| G.     | कामानाम्<br>kāmanām    | देवानाम्<br>devānām    | आस्यानाम्<br>āsyānām    | -anām      |
| L.     | कामेषु<br>kāmeṣu       | देवेषु<br>devēṣu       | आस्येषु<br>āsyēṣu       | -eṣu       |

Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

a. Sing.: instr. *raváthenā*, *yajñā* (such genitive forms as *ācvasiā* are purely sporadic).

b. Du.: nom. etc. masc. *devā*; gen.-loc. *pastyòs* (stem *pastyā*).

c. Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. *devāsas*; neut. *yugā*; instr. *devēbhis*; gen. *caráthām*, *devānaam*.

331. Among nouns, there are no irregularities in this declension. For irregular numeral bases in *a* (or *an*), see 483-4. For the irregularities of pronominal stems in *a*, which are more or less fully shared also by a few adjectives of pronominal kindred, see the chapter on Pronouns (495 ff.).

### Adjectives.

332. Original adjectives in *a* are an exceedingly large class, the great majority of all adjectives. There is, however, no such thing as a feminine stem in *a*; for the feminine, the *a* is changed to *ā* — or often, though far less often, to *ī*; and its declension is then like that of *senā* or *devī* (364). An example of the complete declension of an adjective *a*-stem in the three genders will be given below (368).

a. Whether a masc.-neut. stem in *a* shall form its feminine in *ā* or in *ī* is a question to be determined in great part only by actual usage, and not by grammatical rule. Certain important classes of words, however, can be pointed out which take the less common ending *ī* for the feminine: thus, 1. the (very numerous) secondary derivatives in *a* with *vṛddhi* of the first syllable (1204): e. g. *āmitrá -trī*, *mānuṣa -ṣī*, *pāvamānā -nī*, *pāurṇamāsā -sī*; 2. primary derivatives in *ana* with accent on the radical syllable (1150): e. g. *códana -nī*, *saṁgrāhaṇa -ṇī*, *subhāgaṁkáraṇa -ṇī*; 3. primary derivatives in *a*, with strengthening of the radical syllable, having a quasi-participial meaning: e. g. *divākarā -rī*, *avakramā -mī*,

rathavāhā -hī (but there are many exceptions); 4. secondary derivatives in *maya* (1225) and *tana* (1245 e): e. g. *ayasmāya -yī*; *adyatana -nī*; 5. most ordinal numerals (487 h): e. g. *pañcamā -mī*, *navadaçā -çī*, *triṅçattamā -mī*. Not a few words make the feminine in either *ā* or *ī*: e. g. *kévalā* or *-lī*, *ugrā* or *-rī*, *pāpā* or *-pī*, *rāmā* or *-mī*; but ordinarily only one of these is accepted as regular.

333. There are no verbal roots ending in a. But a is sometimes substituted for the final ā of a root (and, rarely, for final an), and it is then inflected like an ordinary adjective in a (see below, 354).

334. a. A noun ending in a, when occurring as final member of an adjective compound, is inflected like an original adjective in a, making its feminine likewise in ā or ī (367).

b. For the most part, an adjective compound having a noun in *a* as final member makes its feminine in *ā*. But there are numerous exceptions, certain nouns taking, usually or always, *ī* instead. Some of the commonest of these are as follows: *akṣa eye* (e. g. *lohitākṣī*, *dvyakṣī*, *gavākṣī*), *parṇa leaf* (e. g. *tilaparṇī*, *saptaparṇī*; but *ekaparṇā*), *mukha face* (e. g. *kṛṣṇamukhī*, *dur mukhī*; but *trimukhā* etc.), *aṅga limb, body* (e. g. *anavadyāṅgī*, *sarvāṅgī*; but *caturaṅgā* etc.), *keça hair* (e. g. *sukeçī*, *muktakeçī* or *-çā*, etc.), *karṇa, ear* (e. g. *mahākarṇī*; but *gokarṇā* etc.), *udara belly* (e. g. *lambodarī*), *mūla root* (e. g. *pañcamūlī*; but oftener *çatāmūlā* etc.). The very great majority of such nouns (as the examples indicate) signify parts of the body.

c. On the other hand, a feminine noun ending in derivative *ā* shortens its final to *a* to form a masculine and neuter base: see 367 c.

d. In frequent cases, nouns of consonant ending are, as finals of compounds, transferred to the *a*-declension by an added suffix *a* (1209 a) or *ka* (1222).

## Declension II.

Stems (of all genders) in  $\xi$  i and  $\Xi$  u.

335. The stems in  $\xi$  i and  $\Xi$  u are inflected in so close accordance with one another that they cannot be divided into two separate declensions. They are of all the three genders, and tolerably numerous — those in  $\xi$  i more numerous than those in  $\Xi$  u, especially in the feminine (there are more neuters in  $\Xi$  u than in  $\xi$  i).

a. The endings of this declension also differ frequently and widely from the normal, and the irregularities in the older language are numerous.

**336.** Endings: Singular. **a.** The nom. masc. and fem. adds to the stem the normal ending **s**. The nom. and acc. neut. is the bare stem, without ending. In the Veda, the final **u** of a few neuters is lengthened (248 b): thus, **urū́**, **purū́**.

**b.** The acc. masc. and fem. adds **m** to the stem. Vedic forms in **iam** and **uam**, and, with **n**, **inam** and **unam**, are excessively rare, and doubtful.

**c.** The instr. fem. in the later language takes the normal ending **ā** simply, while the masc. and neut. insert **n** before it, making **inā** and **unā**. But in the Veda, forms in **yā** and **vā** (or **iā** and **uā**) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also; while **inā** is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, fem. **yā** is often (in two thirds of the occurrences) contracted to **ī**; and this is even sometimes shortened to **i**. An adverbial instr. in **uyā́** from half-a-dozen stems in **u** occurs.

**d.** The dat. masc. and fem. gunates the final of the stem before the ending **e**, making **aye** and **ave**. These are the prevailing endings in the Veda likewise; but the more normal **ye** and **ve** (or **ue**) also occur; and the fem. has in this case, as in the instr., sometimes the form **ī** for **ie**. In the later language, the neuter is required in this, as in all the other weakest cases, to insert **n** before the normal ending: but in the Veda such forms are only sporadic; and the neut. dat. has also the forms **aye**, **ve**, **ave**, like the other genders.

**e.** The abl. and gen. masc. and fem. have regularly, both earlier and later, the ending **s** with gunated vowel before it: thus, **es**, **os**; and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way; although **unas**, required later, is also not infrequent (**inas** does not occur). But the normal forms **yas** (or **ias**) and **vas** (or **uas**) are also frequent in both masc. and neuter. As masc. ending, **unas** occurs twice in RV. The anomalous **didyót** (so TS.; in the corresponding passages, **vidyót** VS., **didyāut** K., **didivās** MS.) is of doubtful character.

**f.** The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language **āu**, replacing both finals, **i** and **u**. And this is in the Veda also the most frequent ending; but, beside it, the **i**-stems form (about half as often in RV.) their loc. in **ā**: thus, **agnā́**; and this is found once even in the neuter. The RV. has a number of examples of masc. and neut. locatives in **avi** (the normal ending and the **u** gunated before it) from **u**-stems; and certain doubtful traces of a corresponding **ayi** from **i**-stems. Half-a-dozen locatives in **ī** (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as **pragṛhya** or uncombinable: 138 d) are made from **i**-stems. The later language makes the neuter locatives in **ini** and **uni**; but the former never occurs in the oldest texts, and the latter only very rarely.

**g.** The later grammar allows the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. fem. to be formed at will with the fuller fem. terminations of long-vowel stems, namely **āi**, **ās** (for which, in Brāhmaṇa etc., **āi** is substituted: 307 h), **ām**. Such forms are quite rare in the oldest language even from **i**-stems (less than 40 occurrences altogether in RV.; three times as many in AV.); and from **u**-stems they are almost unknown (five in RV. and AV.).

h. The voc. gunates the final of the stem, in masc. and fem., alike in the earlier and in the later language. In the neut., it is later allowed to be either of the same form or the unaltered stem; and this was probably the usage in the older time also; not instances enough are quotable to determine the question (AV. has *u* once, and VS. *o* once).

337. Dual. a. The later and earlier language agree in making the nom.-acc.-voc. masc. and fem. by lengthening the final of the stem. The same cases in the neuter (according to the rule given above) end later in *inī* and *unī*; but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence): AV. has *inī* twice (RV. perhaps once); VS. has *unī* once; RV. has *uī* from one *u*-stem, and *ī*, once shortened to *i*, from one or two *i*-stems.

b. The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is *bhyām* added to the unchanged stem.

c. The gen.-loc. of all ages adds *os* to the stem in masc. and fem.; in neut., the later language interposes, as elsewhere in the weakest cases, a *n*; probably in the earlier Vedic the form would be like that of the other genders; but the only occurrence noted is one *unos* in AV.

338. Plural. a. The nom.-voc. masc. and fem. adds the normal ending *as* to the gunated stem-final, making *ayas* and *avas*. The exceptions in the Veda are very few: one word (*ari*) has *ias* in both genders, and a few feminines have *is* (like *i*-stems); a very few *u*-stems have *uas*. The neut. nom.-acc. ends later in *inī* and *ūni* (like *āni* from a: 329 c); but the Veda has *ī* and *i* (about equally frequent) much oftener than *inī*; and *ū* and (more usually) *u*, more than half as often as *ūni*.

b. The accus. masc. ends in *in* and *ūn*, for older *ins* and *ūns*, of which plain traces remain in the Veda in nearly half the instances of occurrence, and even not infrequently in the later language, in the guise of phonetic combination (208 ff.). The accus. fem. ends in *īs* and *ūs*. But both masc. and fem. forms in *ias* and *uas* are found sparingly in the Veda.

c. The inst. of all genders adds *bhis* to the stem.

d. The dat.-abl. of all genders adds *bhyas* (in V., almost never *bhias*) to the stem.

e. The gen. of all genders is made alike in *inām* and *ūnām* (of which the *ā* is not seldom, in the Veda, to be resolved into *aam*). Stems with accented final in the later language may, and in the earlier always do, throw forward the accent upon the ending.

f. The loc. of all genders adds *su* (as *ṣu*: 180) to the stem-final.

g. The accent is in accordance with the general rules already laid down, and there are no irregularities calling for special notice.

339. Examples of declension. As models of *i*-stems may be taken अग्नि *agnī* m. *fire*; गति *gāti* f. *gait*; वारि *vāri* n. *water*.



## Singular:

|        |                   |                                 |                          |
|--------|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| N.     | अग्निम्<br>agnis  | गतिम्<br>gātis                  | वारि<br>vāri -s          |
| A.     | अग्निम्<br>agnīm  | गतिम्<br>gātim                  | वारि<br>vāri -m          |
| I.     | अग्निना<br>agninā | गत्या<br>gātyā                  | वारिणा<br>vāriṇā -nā     |
| D.     | अग्नये<br>agnāye  | गतये, गत्यै<br>gātaye, gātyāi   | वारिणे<br>vāriṇe -e      |
| Ab. G. | अग्नेस्<br>agnés  | गतेस्, गत्यास्<br>gātes, gātyās | वारिणस्<br>vāriṇas       |
| L.     | अग्नी<br>agnāu    | गतौ, गत्याम्<br>gātāu, gātyām   | वारिणि<br>vāriṇi         |
| V.     | अग्ने<br>agne     | गते<br>gāte                     | वारि, वारे<br>vāri, vāre |

## Dual:

|           |                          |                        |                         |
|-----------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| N. A. V.  | अग्नी<br>agnī            | गती<br>gātī            | वारिणी<br>vāriṇī        |
| I. D. Ab. | अग्निभ्याम्<br>agnibhyām | गतिभ्याम्<br>gātibhyām | वारिभ्याम्<br>vāribhyām |
| G. L.     | अग्न्योस्<br>agnyós      | गत्योस्<br>gātyós      | वारिणोस्<br>vāriṇós     |

## Plural:

|        |                         |                       |                        |
|--------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| N. V.  | अग्नयस्<br>agnāyas      | गतयस्<br>gātayas      | वारिणि<br>vāriṇi       |
| A.     | अग्नीन्<br>agnīn        | गतीन्<br>gātīs        | वारिणि<br>vāriṇi       |
| I.     | अग्निभिस्<br>agnibhis   | गतिभिस्<br>gātibhis   | वारिभिस्<br>vāribhis   |
| D. Ab. | अग्निभ्यस्<br>agnibhyas | गतिभ्यस्<br>gātibhyas | वारिभ्यस्<br>vāribhyas |
| G.     | अग्नीनाम्<br>agninām    | गतीनाम्<br>gātīnām    | वारिणाम्<br>vāriṇām    |
| L.     | अग्निषु<br>agnīṣu       | गतिषु<br>gātīṣu       | वारिषु<br>vāriṣu       |

340. In order to mark more plainly the absence in Vedic language of some of the forms which are common later, all the forms of Vedic occurrence are added below, and in the order of their frequency.

a. Singular. Nom. *agnís* etc., as above.

b. Acc.: masc. *agním*, *yayíam*, *ürmínam*(?); fem. and neut. as above.

c. Instr.: masc. *agnínā*, *rayyá* and *ürmiá*; fem. *ácittī*, *ütíá*, *matyá*, *suvṛktī*, *dhāsínā*; neut. wanting.

d. Dat.: masc. *agnáye*; fem. *tujáye*, *ütí*, *turyái*; neut. *çúcaye*.

e. Gen.-abl.: masc. *agnés*, *ávyas*, *ariás*; fem. *ádites*, *hetyás* and *bhūmíās*; neut. *bhūres*.

f. Loc.: masc. *agnāú*, *agnā*, *ājáyí*(?); fem. *ágatāu*, *úditā*, *dhá-nasātayi*(?), *védī*, *bhūmyām*; neut. *apratā*, *saptáraçmāu*.

g. Voc.: as above (neut. wanting).

h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. *hári*; fem. *yuvatí*; neut. *çúci*, *máhi*, *háriṇī*(?).

i. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.

j. Gen.-loc.: masc. *hários*; fem. *yuvatyós* and *jāmiós*; neut. wanting.

k. Plural. Nom.: masc. *agnáyas*; fem. *matáyas*, *bhūmīs*; neut. *çúci*, *bhūri*, *bhūriṇi*.

l. Accus.: masc. *agnín*; fem. *kṣitīs*, *çúcayas*(?).

m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above.

n. Gen.: masc. fem. *kavínām*, *ṛṣīṇaam* etc. (neut. wanting).

341. As models of u-stems may be taken शत्रु *çátru* m. *enemy*; धेनु *dhenú* f. *cow*; मधु *mádhu* n. *honey*.

Singular: m.

f.

n.

|        |                    |                                     |                          |
|--------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| N.     | शत्रुम्<br>çátrus  | धेनुम्<br>dhenús                    | मधु<br>mádhu             |
| A.     | शत्रुम्<br>çátrum  | धेनुम्<br>dhenúm                    | मधु<br>mádhu             |
| I.     | शत्रुणा<br>çátruṇā | धेन्वा<br>dhenvā                    | मधुना<br>mádhunā         |
| D.     | शत्रवे<br>çátrave  | धेनवे, धेन्वै<br>dhenáve, dhenvái   | मधुने<br>mádhune         |
| Ab. G. | शत्रोस्<br>çátros  | धेनोस्, धेन्वास्<br>dhenós, dhenvás | मधुनस्<br>mádhunas       |
| L.     | शत्रौ<br>çátrāu    | धेनौ, धेन्वाम्<br>dhenāú, dhenvám   | मधुनि<br>mádhuni         |
| V.     | शत्रो<br>çátro     | धेनो<br>dhéno                       | मधु, मधो<br>mádhu; mádho |

## Dual:

|           |                           |                          |                         |
|-----------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| N. A. V.  | शत्रू<br>çátrū            | धेनू<br>dhenū            | मधुनी<br>mádhunī        |
| I. D. Ab. | शत्रुभ्याम्<br>çátrubhyām | धेनुभ्याम्<br>dhenūbhyām | मधुभ्याम्<br>mádhubhyām |
| G. L.     | शत्र्वोस्<br>çátrvos      | धेन्वोस्<br>dhenvos      | मधुनोस्<br>mádhunos     |

## Plural:

|        |                          |                         |                        |
|--------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| N. V.  | शत्रवस्<br>çátravas      | धेनवस्<br>dhenávas      | मधूनि<br>mádhūni       |
| A.     | शत्रून्<br>çátrūn        | धेनून्<br>dhenūn        | मधूनि<br>mádhūni       |
| I.     | शत्रुभिस्<br>çátrubhis   | धेनुभिस्<br>dhenūbhis   | मधुभिस्<br>mádhubhis   |
| D. Ab. | शत्रुभ्यस्<br>çátrubhyas | धेनुभ्यस्<br>dhenūbhyas | मधुभ्यस्<br>mádhubhyas |
| G.     | शत्रूणाम्<br>çátrūṇām    | धेनूनाम्<br>dhenūnām    | मधूनाम्<br>mádhūnām    |
| L.     | शत्रुषु<br>çátruṣu       | धेनुषु<br>dhenūṣu       | मधुषु<br>mádhūṣu       |

342. The forms of Vedic occurrence are given here for the u-stems in the same manner as for the i-stems above.

- a. Singular. Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urú, urí.
- b. Accus.: masc. ketúm, ábhīruam, sucetúnam(?); fem. dhenúm.
- c. Instr.: masc. ketúnā, paçvā and krátuā; fem. ádhenuā and panvā, āçuyā; neut. mádhunā, mádhvā.
- d. Dat.: masc. ketāve, çíçve; fem. çarave, íṣvāi; neut. páçve(?), urāve, mádhune.
- e. Abl.-gen.: masc. manyós, pitvās, cāruṇas; fem. síndhos, íṣvās; neut. mádhvas and mádhuas, mádhos, mádhunas.
- f. Loc.: masc. pūrāú, sūnávi; fem. síndhāu, rájjvām; neut. sánāu, sánavi, sáno, sánuni.
- g. Voc.: as above.
- h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urví, jánuni.
- i. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.
- j. Gen.-loc.: as above (but vos or uos).
- k. Plural. Nom.: masc. řbhávas, mádhvas and mádhvas; fem. dhenávaṣ, çatakratvas; neut. purúṇi, purú, purú.

1. Accus.: masc. *ṛtūn*, *paçvās*; fem. *iṣūs*, *mádhvas*.

m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above; also gen. (but with the resolution *ūnaam* in part).

343. Irregular declension. There are no irregular u-stems, and only a very few i-stems.

a. *Sákhi* m. *friend* has for the five strong cases a peculiarly strengthened base (vriddhied), namely *sákhāy*, which in the nom. sing. is reduced to *sákhā* (without ending), and in the other cases takes the normal endings. The instr. and dat. sing. have the normal endings simply, without inserted *n* or *guṇa*; the abl.-gen. sing. adds *us*; and the loc. sing. adds *āu*: the rest is like *agní*. Thus:

Sing. *sákhā*, *sákhāyam*, *sákhya*, *sákhya*, *sákhya*, *sákhya*, *sákhya*, *sákhya*; Du. *sákhāyāu*, *sákhībhyām*, *sákhya*; Pl. *sákhāyas*, *sákhīn*, etc. etc.

b. The Veda has usually *sákhāyā* du., and often resolves the *y* to *i*, in *sákhīā*, *sákhīus*, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the simple word, unless (1315 b) *sakha* be substituted.

c. There is a corresponding fem., *sakhī* (declined like *devī*: 364); but the forms of *sakhi* are also sometimes found used with feminine value.

N.B. d. *Pāti* m. is declined regularly in composition, and when it has the meaning *lord*, *master*; when uncompounded and when meaning *husband*, it is inflected like *sákhi* in the instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., forming *pátyā*, *pátye*, *pátyus*, *pátyāu*. There are occasional instances of confusion of the two classes of forms.

e. For *pati* as final member of a possessive compound is regularly and usually substituted *patnī* in the fem.: thus, *jīvapatnī* *having a living husband*; *dāsapatnī* *having a barbarian for master*.

f. *Jāni* f. *wife* has the gen. sing. *jānyus* in the Veda.

g. *Arí* *eager*, *greedy*, *hostile* has in the Veda *aryás* in pl. nom. and accus., masc. and fem. Its accus. sing. is *arím* or *aryám*.

h. *Ví* *bird* has in RV. the nom. *vés* (beside *vís*). In the plural it accents *víbhis*, *víbhyas*, but *vīnām*.

i. The stems *ákṣi* *eye*, *ásthi* *bone*, *dádhi* *curds*, and *sákthi* *thigh*, are defective, their forms exchanging with and complementing forms from stems in *án* (*akṣán* etc.): see the stems in *an*, below (431).

j. The stem *pathí* *road* is used to make up part of the inflection of *pánthan*: see below, 433.

k. *Króṣṭu* m. *jackal* lacks the strong cases, for which the corresponding forms of *kroṣṭṛ* are substituted.

### Adjectives.

344. Original adjective stems in *i* are few; those in *u* are much more numerous (many derivative verb-stems forming a participial ad-

jective in u). Their inflection is like that of nouns, and has been included in the rules given above. In those weak cases, however — namely, the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual — in which neuter nouns differ from masculines in the later language by an inserted *n* (we have seen above that this difference does not exist in the Veda), the neuter adjective is allowed to take either form. The stem is the same for masculine and neuter, and generally (and allowably always) for feminine also.

a. There are a few instances of a feminine noun in *ī* standing (sometimes with changed accent) beside a masculine in *i*: thus, *krīmi* m., *krīmī* f.; *sākhi* (343 a) m., *sakhī* f.; *duṇḍubhī* m., *duṇḍubhī* f.; *dhūni* m., *dhunī* f.; *ṣakūni* m., *ṣakunī* or *-ni* f. In the later language, especially, there is a very frequent interchange of *i* and *ī* as finals of the same stem. No adjective in *i* makes a regular feminine in *ī*.

b. With stems in *u* the case is quite different. While the feminine may, and in part does, end in *u*, like the masculine and neuter, a special feminine-stem is often made by lengthening the *u* to *ū*, or also by adding *ī*; and for some stems a feminine is formed in two of these three ways, or even in all the three: thus, *kārū*, *-dipsū*, *ṣundhyū*, *carīṣṇū*, *vacasū*; *-anvī*, *urvī*, *gurvī*, *pūrvī* (with prolongation of *u* before *r*: compare 245 b), *bahvī*, *prabhvī*, *raghvī*, *sādhvī*, *svādvī*; — *pṛthū* and *pṛthvī*, *vibhū* and *vibhvī*, *mṛdū* and *mṛdvī*, *laghu* and *laghvī*, *vāsu* and *vāsvī*; *babhrū* and *babhrvī*, *bībhatsū* and *bībhatsvī*, *bhīrū* and *bhīrvī*; — *tanū* and *tanvī* and *tanvī*, *phalgū* and *phalgvī* and *phalgvī*, *mādhū* and *madhvī* and *mādhvī*. There are also some feminine noun-stems in *ū* standing (usually with changed accent) beside masculines in *u*: thus, *āgru* m., *agrū* f.; *kādrū* m., *kadrū* f.; *gūggulū* m., *gūggulū* f.; *jatū* m., *jatū* f.; *pṛdākū* m., *pṛdākū* f.

345. Roots ending in *i* or *u* (or *ṛ*: 376 b) regularly add a *t* when used as root-words or as root-finals of compounds; and hence there are no adjectives of the root-class in this declension.

a. Yet, in the Veda, a few words ending in a short radical *u* are declined as if this were suffixal: thus, *āsmṛtadhru*, *suṣṭū*; and the AV. has *pṛtanājī* (once). Roots in *ū* sometimes also shorten *ū* to *u*: thus, *prabhū*, *vibhū*, etc. (354); *go* (361 e) becomes *gu* in composition; and *re* perhaps becomes *ri* (361 e); while roots in *ā* sometimes apparently weaken *ā* to *i* (in *-dhi* from *√dhā* etc.: 1155).

346. Compound adjectives having nouns of this declension as final member are inflected in general like original adjectives of the same endings.

a. But in such compounds a final *i* or *u* is sometimes lengthened to form a feminine stem: thus, *suṣṛoṇī*, *svayonī* or *-ni*, *-gātrayaṣṭī* or *-ṭī*; *vāmorū* or *-ru*, *durhaṇū* or *-ṇu*, *varatanū*, *māṭṛbandhū*; and RV. has *āciṣvī* from *ṣiṣu*.

## Declension III.

Stems in long vowels:  $\text{आ } \bar{a}$ ,  $\text{ई } \bar{i}$ ,  $\text{ऊ } \bar{u}$ .

347. The stems ending in long vowels fall into two well-marked classes or divisions: A. monosyllabic stems — mostly bare roots — and their compounds, with a comparatively small number of others inflected like them; B. derivative feminine stems in  $\text{आ } \bar{a}$  and  $\text{ई } \bar{i}$ , with a small number in  $\text{ऊ } \bar{u}$  which in the later language have come to be inflected like them. The latter division is by far the larger and more important, since most feminine adjectives, and considerable classes of feminine nouns, ending in  $\text{आ } \bar{a}$  or  $\text{ई } \bar{i}$ , belong to it.

## A. Root-words, and those inflected like them.

348. The inflection of these stems is by the normal endings throughout, or in the manner of consonant-stems (with  $\text{अम् } \text{am}$ , not  $\text{म् } \text{m}$ , in the accus. sing.); peculiarities like those of the other vowel-declensions are wanting. The simple words are, as nouns, with few exceptions feminine; as adjectives (rarely), and in adjective compounds, they are alike in masculine and feminine forms. They may, for convenience of description, be divided into the following sub-classes:

1. Root-words, or monosyllables having the aspect of such. Those in  $\bar{a}$  are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use; those in  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  are more numerous, but still very few.

2. Compounds having such words, or other roots with long final vowels, as last member.

3. Polysyllabic words, of various origin and character, including in the Veda many which later are transferred to other declensions.

4. As an appendix to this class we may most conveniently describe the half-dozen stems, mostly of regular inflection, ending in diphthongs.

349. Monosyllabic stems. Before the endings beginning with vowels, final ī is changed to iy and ū to uv; while final ā is dropped altogether, except in the strong cases, and in the acc. pl., which is like the nominative (according to the grammarians, ā is lost here also: no instances of the occurrence of such a form appear to be quotable). Stems in ī and ū are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings āī, ās, ām in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except bhiyāī [?], RV., once). Before ām of gen. pl., n may or may not be inserted; in the Veda it is regularly inserted, with a single exception (dhiyām, once). The vocative is like the nominative in the singular as well as the other numbers; but instances of its occurrence in uncompounded stems are not found in the Veda, and must be extremely rare everywhere. The earlier Vedic dual ending is ā instead of āu.

350. To the ī- and ū-stems the rules for monosyllabic accent apply: the accent is thrown forward upon the endings in all the weak cases except the accus. pl., which is like the nom. But the ā-stems appear (the instances are extremely few) to keep the accent upon the stem throughout.

351. Examples of declension. As models of monosyllabic inflection we may take ज्ञा jā f. *progeny*; धी dhī f. *thought*; and भू bhū f. *earth*.

a. The first of these is rather arbitrarily extended from the four cases which actually occur; of the loc. sing. and gen.-loc. du., no Vedic examples from ā-stems are found.

Singular:

|        |               |                                 |                                 |
|--------|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| N.     | ज्ञास्<br>jās | धीस्<br>dhīs                    | भूस्<br>bhūs                    |
| A.     | ज्ञाम्<br>jām | धियम्<br>dhiyam                 | भुवम्<br>bhuvam                 |
| I.     | ज्ञा<br>jā    | धिया<br>dhiyā                   | भुवा<br>bhuvā                   |
| D.     | ज्ञे<br>jé    | धिये, धियै<br>dhiyé, dhiyāi     | भुवे, भुवै<br>bhuvé, bhuvāi     |
| Ab. G. | ज्ञस्<br>jās  | धियस्, धियास्<br>dhiyās, dhiyās | भुवस्, भुवास्<br>bhuvās, bhuvās |
| L.     | ज्ञि<br>jī    | धियि, धियाम्<br>dhiyī, dhiyām   | भुवि, भुवाम्<br>bhuvī, bhuvām   |
| V.     | ज्ञास्<br>jās | धीस्<br>dhīs                    | भूस्<br>bhūs                    |

## Dual :

|           |                       |                      |                      |
|-----------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| N. A. V.  | ज्ञौ<br>jāú           | धियो<br>dhíyāu       | भुवौ<br>bhúvāu       |
| I. D. Ab. | ज्ञाभ्याम्<br>jābhyām | धीभ्याम्<br>dhībhyām | भूभ्याम्<br>bhūbhyām |
| G. L.     | ज्ञोस्<br>jós         | धियोस्<br>dhiyós     | भुवोस्<br>bhuvós     |

## Plural :

|        |                                   |                                  |                                  |
|--------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| N.     | ज्ञास्<br>jās                     | धियस्<br>dhíyas                  | भुवस्<br>bhúvas                  |
| A.     | ज्ञास् (ज्ञस् ?)<br>jās, jās      | धियस्<br>dhíyas                  | भुवस्<br>bhúvas                  |
| I.     | ज्ञाभिस्<br>jābhis                | धीभिस्<br>dhībhis                | भूभिस्<br>bhūbhis                |
| D. Ab. | ज्ञाभ्यस्<br>jābhyas              | धीभ्यस्<br>dhībhyas              | भूभ्यस्<br>bhūbhyas              |
| G.     | ज्ञानाम् (ज्ञाम् ?)<br>jānām, jām | धियाम्, धीनाम्<br>dhiyām, dhīnām | भुवाम्, भूनाम्<br>bhuvām, bhūnām |
| L.     | ज्ञासु<br>jāsu                    | धीषु<br>dhīṣu                    | भूषु<br>bhūṣu                    |

352. Monosyllabic stems in composition. When the nouns above described occur as final member of a compound, or when any root in ā or ī or ū is found in a like position, the inflection of an ā-stem is as above. But ī and ū-stems follow a divided usage: the final vowel before a vowel-ending is either converted into a short vowel and semivowel (iy or uv, as above) or into a semivowel simply (y or v). The accent is nowhere thrown forward upon the endings; and therefore, when ī and ū become y and v, the resulting syllable is circumflex (83—4). Thus :

## Masc. and fem. Singular :

|        |                |                |
|--------|----------------|----------------|
| N. V.  | -dhīs          | -bhūs          |
| A.     | -dhíyam -dhyām | -bhúvam -bhvām |
| I.     | -dhíyā -dhyā   | -bhúvā -bhvā   |
| D.     | -dhíye -dhyè   | -bhúve -bhvè   |
| Ab. G. | -dhíyas -dhyas | -bhúvas -bhvas |
| L.     | -dhíyi -dhyi   | -bhúvi -bhvi   |



## Dual:

|           |           |        |           |        |
|-----------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| N. A. V.  | -dhīyāu   | -dhyāu | -bhūvāu   | -bhvāu |
| I. D. Ab. | -dhībhyām |        | -bhūbhyām |        |
| G. L.     | -dhīyos   | -dhyòs | -bhūvos   | -bhvòs |

## Plural:

|          |           |        |           |        |
|----------|-----------|--------|-----------|--------|
| N. A. V. | -dhīyas   | -dhyas | -bhūvas   | -bhvas |
| I.       | -dhībhis  |        | -bhūbhis  |        |
| D. Ab.   | -dhībhyas |        | -bhūbhyas |        |
| G.       | {-dhīyām  | -dhyām | {-bhūvām  | -bhvām |
|          | {-dhīnām  |        | {-bhūnām  |        |
| L.       | -dhīṇu    |        | -bhūṇu    |        |

a. As to the admissibility of the fuller endings *āi*, *ās*, and *ām* in the singular (feminine), grammatical authorities are somewhat at variance; but they are never found in the Veda, and have been omitted from the above scheme as probably unreal.

b. If two consonants precede the final *i* or *ū*, the dissyllabic forms, with *iy* and *uv*, are regularly written; after one consonant, the usage is varying. The grammarians prescribe *iy* and *uv* when the monosyllabic stem has more the character of a noun, and *y* and *v* when it is more purely a verbal root with participial value. No such distinction, however, is to be seen in the Veda — where, moreover, the difference of the two forms is only graphic, since the *yā*- and *vā*-forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: *iā* or *iā* and *uā* or *uā*, and so on.

c. As to neuter stems for such adjectives, see 367.

353. A few further Vedic irregularities or peculiarities may be briefly noticed.

a. Of the *ā*-stems, the forms in *ās*, *ām*, *ā* (du.) are sometimes to be read as dissyllables, *aas*, *aam*, *aa*. The dative of the stem used as infinitive is *āi* (as if *ā* + *e*): thus, *prakhyāi*, *pratimāi*, *parādāi*.

b. Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, *avadyabhiyā* (RV.), *ādhiā* (AV.).

354. But compounds of the class above described are not infrequently transferred to other modes of inflection: the *ā* shortened to *a* for a masculine (and neuter) stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative *ā*-class (below, 364) as feminine; the *i* and *ū* shortened to *i* and *u*, and inflected as of the second declension.

a. Thus, compound stems in *-ga*, *-ja*, *-da*, *-stha*, *-bhu*, and others, are found even in the Veda, and become frequent later (being made from all, or nearly all, the roots in *ā*); and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, *çṛtapān*, *vayodhāis* and *ratnadhébhis*, *dhanasāis* (all RV.); and, from *i* and *ū* compounds, *veṣaçrís* (TS.), *áhrayas* (RV.), *gaṇaçrībhis* (RV.), *karmanís* (ÇB.) and *ṛtanībhyas* (RV.) and *senānībhyas* (VS.) and *grāmanībhis* (TB.), *supúnā* (AV.), *çitibhrāve* (TS.).

b. Still more numerous are the feminines in *ā* which have lost

their root-declension: examples are *prajā* (of which the further compounds in part have root-forms), *svadhā*, *ṣradhā*, *pratimā*, and others.

c. Then, in the later language, a few feminines in *ī* are made from the stems in *a* shortened from *ā*: thus, *gopī*, *goṣṭhī*, *pannagī*, *pañkajī*, *bhujagī*, *bhujangī*, *surāpī*.

**355. Polysyllabic Stems.** Stems of this division (**A**) of more than one syllable are very rare indeed in the later language, and by no means common in the earlier. The Rig-Veda, however, presents a not inconsiderable body of them; and as the class nearly dies out later, by the disuse of its stems or their transfer to other modes of declension, it may be best described on a Vedic basis.

a. Of stems in *ā*, masculines, half-a-dozen occur in the Veda: *pānthā*, *mānthā*, and *ṛbhukṣā* are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, 433—4; *uçānā* (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing. *uçānā* (and loc. as well as dat. *uçāne*); *mahā* great is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition; *ātā* frame has only *ātāsu* not derivable from *ātā*.

b. Of stems in *ī*, over seventy are found in the Veda, nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. Half of the feminines are formed from masculines with change of accent: thus, *kalyāṇī* (m. *kalyāṇa*), *puruṣī* (m. *puruṣa*); others show no change of accent: thus, *yamī* (m. *yamā*); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, *nadī*, *lakṣmī*, *sūrmī*. The masculines are about ten in number: for example, *rathī*, *prāṇī*, *starī*, *ahī*, *āpathī*.

c. Of stems in *ū*, the number is smaller: these, too, are nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. The majority of them are the feminine adjectives in *ū* to masculines in *ū* or *u* (above, 344b): thus, *caranyū*, *carīṣṭū*, *jighatsū*, *madhū*. A few are nouns in *ū*, with change of accent: thus, *agrū* (*āgru*), *prḍākū* (*pṛḍāku*), *ṣvaçrū* (*ṣvāçura*); or without change, as *nṛtū*. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, *tanū*, *vadhū*, *camū*. The masculines are only two or three: namely, *prāçū*, *kṛkadāçū*, *makṣū*(?); and their forms are of the utmost rarity.

**356.** The mode of declension of these words may be illustrated by the following examples: *rathī* m. *charioteer*; *nadī* f. *stream*; *tanū* f. *body*.

a. No one of the selected examples occurs in all the forms; forms for which no example at all is quotable are put in brackets. No loc. sing. from any *ī*-stem occurs, to determine what the form would be. The stem *nadī* is selected as example partly in order to emphasize the difference between the earlier language and the later in regard to the words of this division: *nadī* is later the model of derivative inflection.

## Singular:

|        |           |        |        |
|--------|-----------|--------|--------|
| N.     | rathís    | nadís  | tanús  |
| A.     | rathíam   | nadíam | tanúam |
| I.     | rathíā    | nadíā  | tanúā  |
| D.     | rathíe    | nadíe  | tanúe  |
| Ab. G. | rathías   | nadías | tanúas |
| L.     | .....     | .....  | tanúi  |
| V.     | ráthi (?) | nádi   | tánu   |

## Dual:

|           |              |           |             |
|-----------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| N. A. V.  | rathíā       | nadíā     | tanúā       |
| I. D. Ab. | [rathíbhyām] | nadíbhyām | [tanúbhyām] |
| G. L.     | [rathíos]    | nadíos    | tanúos      |

## Plural:

|        |              |           |           |
|--------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| N. A.  | rathías      | nadías    | tanúas    |
| I.     | [rathíbhis]  | nadíbhis  | tanúbhis  |
| D. Ab. | [rathíbhyas] | nadíbhyas | tanúbhyas |
| G.     | rathínām     | nadínām   | tanúnām   |
| L.     | [rathíṣu]    | nadíṣu    | tanúṣu    |

b. The cases — *nadíam*, *tanúam*, etc. — are written above according to their true phonetic form, almost invariably belonging to them in the Veda; in the written text, of course, the stem-final is made a semi-vowel, and the resulting syllable is circumflexed: thus, *nadyām*, *tanvām*, etc.; only, as usual, after two consonants the resolved forms *iy* and *uv* are written instead; and also where the combination *yv* would otherwise result: thus, *cakríyā*, [*agrúvāi*,] and *mitrāyúvas*. The RV. really reads *staryām* etc. twice, and *tanvās* etc. four times; and such contractions are more often made in the AV. The ending *ā* of the nom.-acc. du. is the equivalent of the later *āu*. The nom. sing. in *s* from *ī*-stems is found in the older language about sixty times, from over thirty stems.

357. Irregularities of form, properly so called, are very few in this division: *camú* as loc. sing. (instead of *camvi*) occurs a few times; and there is another doubtful case or two of the same kind; the final *ū* is regarded as *pragṛhya* or uncombinable (138); *tanúi* is lengthened to *tanvī* in a passage or two; *-yúvas* is once or twice abbreviated to *-yūs*.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of *ī*- and *ū*-declension (below, 362ff.), which has nearly extinguished this category of words in the later language, has its beginnings in the Veda; but in RV. they are excessively scanty: namely, *dūtiām*, loc. sing., once, and *ṣvaṣruām*, do., once, and *dravitnuā*, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, we find the acc. sing. *kuhūm*, *tanūm*, *vadhūm*; the instr. sing. *palāliā* and one or two others; the dat. sing. *vadhvāi*, *ṣvaṣruāi*, *agrúvāi*; the abl.-gen. sing. *punarbhuvās*, *prḍākuās*, *ṣvaṣruās*; and the loc. sing. *tanúām* (with anomalous accent). Accusatives plural in *īs* and *ūs* are nowhere met with.

**359.** Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, *hīraṇyavāçis* and *sahás-rastaris*, *átaptatanūs* and *sárvatanūs*, all nom. sing. masculine.

### Stems ending in diphthongs.

**360.** There are certain monosyllabic stems ending in diphthongs, which are too few and too diverse in inflection to make a declension of, and which may be most appropriately disposed of here, in connection with the stems in *ī* and *ū*, with which they have most affinity. They are:

- a. stems in *āu*: *nāū* and *glāū*;
- b. stems in *āi*: *rāī*;
- c. stems in *o*: *gó* and *dyó* (or *dyū*, *dīv*).

**361. a.** The stem *nāū* f. *ship* is entirely regular, taking the normal endings throughout, and following the rules for monosyllabic accentuation (317) — except that the accus. pl. is said (it does not appear to occur in accented texts) to be like the nom. Thus: *nāūs*, *nāvam*, *nāvā*, *nāvé*, *nāvás*, *nāví*; *nāvāu*, *nāubhyām*, *nāvós*; *nāvas*, *nāvas*, *nāubhís*, *nāubhyás*, *nāvám*, *nāušū*. The stem *glāū* m. *ball* is apparently inflected in the same way; but few of its forms have been met with in use.

b. The stem *rāī* f. (or m.) *wealth*, might be better described as *rā* with a union-consonant *y* (258) interposed before vowel endings, and is regularly inflected as such, with normal endings and monosyllabic accent. Thus: *rās*, *rāyam*, *rāyā*, *rāyé*, *rāyás*, *rāyí*; *rāyāu*, *rābhyām*, *rāyós*; *rāyas*, *rāyás*, *rābhís*, *rābhyás*, *rāyām*, *rāsū*. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either *rāyás* or *rāyas*; for accus. sing. and pl. are also used the briefer forms *rām* (RV. once: *rāyam* does not occur in V.) and *rās* (SV., once); and the gen.-sing. is sometimes anomalously accented *rāyas*.

c. The stem *gó* m. or f. *bull* or *cow* is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except accus. sing., it is strengthened to *gāū*, forming (like *nāū*) *gāūs*, *gāvāu*, *gāvas*. In accus. sing. and pl. it has (like *rāī*) the brief forms *gām* and *gás*. The abl.-gen. sing. is *gós* (as if from *gu*). The rest is regularly made from *go*, with the normal endings, but with accent always remaining irregularly upon the stem: thus, *gāvā*, *gāve*, *gāvi*, *gávós*, *gāvām*; *góbhyām*, *góbhis*, *góbhyas*, *góṣu*. In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is *gónām*; the nom. etc. du. is (as in all other such cases) also *gāvā*; and *gām*, *gós*, and *gás* are not infrequently to be pronounced as dissyllables. As acc. pl. is found a few times *gāvas*.

d. The stem *dyó* f. (but in V. usually m.) *sky*, *day* is yet more anomalous, having beside it a simpler stem *dyu*, which becomes *div* before a vowel-ending. The native grammarians treat the two as

independent words, but it is more convenient to put them together. The stem *dyó* is inflected precisely like *gó*, as above described. The complete declension is as follows (with forms not actually met with in use bracketed):

|     | Singular.           |   | Dual.                      |               | Plural.                    |
|-----|---------------------|---|----------------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| N.  | <i>dyāūs</i>        |   |                            |               |                            |
| A.  | <i>dívam dyām</i>   | } | <i>[dívāu]</i>             | <i>dyāvāu</i> | <i>dívas dyāvas</i>        |
| I.  | <i>divá [dyāvā]</i> |   |                            |               | <i>divás, dyūn [dyās]</i>  |
| D.  | <i>divé dyáve</i>   | } | <i>[dyúbhyām dyóbhyām]</i> |               | <i>dyúbhis [dyóbhis]</i>   |
| Ab. | <i>divás dyós</i>   |   |                            |               | <i>[dyúbhyas dyóbhyas]</i> |
| G.  | <i>divás dyós</i>   | } | <i>[divós dyávós]</i>      |               | <i>[divām dyāvām]</i>      |
| L.  | <i>diví dyávi</i>   |   |                            |               | <i>dyúṣu [dyóṣu]</i>       |

e. The dat. sing. *dyáve* is not found in the early language. Both *dívas* and *divás* occur as accus. pl. in V. As nom. etc. du., *dyāvā* is, as usual, the regular Vedic form: once occurs *dyávi* (du.), as if a neuter form; and *dyāūs* is found once used as ablative. The cases *dyāūs*, *dyām*, and *dyūn* (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accented vocative then becomes *dyāūs* (i. e. *dīāūs*: see 314).

f. Adjective compounds having a diphthongal stem as final member are not numerous, and tend to shorten the diphthong to a vowel. Thus, from *nāu* we have *bhinnanu*; from *go*, several words like *águ*, *saptágu*, *sugu*, *bor hugú* (f. *-gū JB.*); and, correspondingly, *rāi* seems to be reduced to *ri* in *bṛhádraye* and *ṛdhádrayas* (RV.). In derivation, *go* maintains its full form in *gotra*, *agótā*, *-gava* (f. *-gavi*), etc.; as first member of a compound, it is variously treated: thus, *gávāçir*, *gáviṣṭi* (but *gaāçir*, *gaiṣṭi K.*), etc.; *goaçvá* or *goçva*, *gōṛjika*, *góopaça*, etc. In certain compounds, also, *dyu* or *dyo* takes an anomalous form: thus, *dyāurdā* (K.), *dyāurloká* (ÇB.), *dyāūsamçita* (AV.). In *revánt* (unless this is for *rayivant*) *rāi* becomes *re*. RV. has *ádhriçāvas* from *ádhriçu* (of questionable import); and AV. has *ghṛtastāvas*, apparently accus. pl. of *ghṛtastú* or *-stó*.

### B. Derivative stems in *ā*, *i*, *ū*.

362. To this division belong all the *ā* and *i*-stems which have not been specified above as belonging to the other or root-word division; and also, in the later language, most of the *i* and *ū*-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:

1. a. The great mass of derivative feminine *ā*-stems, substantive and adjective.

b. The inflection of these stems has maintained itself with little change through the whole history of the language, being almost precisely the same in the Vedas as later.

2. c. The great mass of derivative feminine *i*-stems.

d. This class is without exception in the later language. In the earlier, it suffers the exception pointed out above (355 b): that feminines made with change of accent follow this mode of declension only when the accent is not on the *ī*: thus, *tāviṣī*, *pāruṣī*, *pāliknī*, *rōhiṇī*.

e. The *i*-stems of this division in general are regarded as made by contraction of an earlier ending in *yā*. Their inflection has become in the later language somewhat mixed with that of the other division, and so far different from the Vedic inflection: see below, 363 g.

f. Very few derivative stems in *i* are recognized by the grammarians as declined like the root-division; the Vedic words of that class are, if retained in use, transferred to this mode of inflection.

g. A very small number of masculine *i*-stems (half-a-dozen) are in the Veda declined as of the derivative division: they are a few rare proper names, *mātālī* etc.; and *rāṣṭrī* and *sirī* (only one case each).

3. h. The *ū*-stems are few in number, and are transfers from the other division, assimilated in inflection to the great class of derivative *i*-stems (except that they retain the ending *s* of the nom. sing.).

**363. Endings.** The points of distinction between this and the other division are as follows:

a. In nom. sing. the usual *s*-ending is wanting: except in the *ū*-stems and a very few *i*-stems — namely, *lakṣmī*, *tārī*, *tantrī*, *tandrī* — which have preserved the ending of the other division.

b. The accus. sing. and pl. add simply *m* and *s* respectively.

c. The dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing. take always the fuller endings *āi*, *ās*, *ām*; and these are separated from the final of the *ā*-stems by an interposed *y*. In Brāhmaṇa etc., *āi* is generally substituted for *ās* (307 h).

d. Before the endings *ā* of instr. sing. and *os* of gen.-loc. du., the final of *ā*-stems is treated as if changed to *e*; but in the Veda, the instr. ending *ā* very often (in nearly half the occurrences) blends with the final to *ā*. The *yā* of *i*-stems is in a few Vedic examples contracted to *ī*, and even to *i*. A loc. sing. in *ī* occurs a few times.

e. In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an *i*- or *ū*-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., a *n* is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (in RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in *i* and *ū*-stems).

f. In voc. sing., final *ā* becomes *e*; final *ī* and *ū* are shortened.

g. In nom.-acc.-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in *ī* (and *ū*)-stems a marked difference between the earlier and later language, the latter borrowing the forms of the other division. The du. ending *āu* is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is *ī* (a corresponding dual of *ū*-stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending *as* has only a

doubtful example or two in RV., and a very small number in AV.; the case there (and it is one of very frequent occurrence) adds *s* simply; and though *yas*-forms occur in the Brāhmaṇas, along with *is*-forms, both are used rather indifferently as nom. and accus. (as, indeed, they sometimes interchange also in the epics). Of ā-stems, the du. nom. etc. ends in *e*, both earlier and later; in pl., of course, *s*-forms are indistinguishable from *as*-forms. The RV. has a few examples of *āsas* for *ās*.

h. The remaining cases call for no remark.

364. Examples of declension. As models of the inflection of derivative stems ending in long vowels, we may take सेना *sénā* f. *army*; कन्या *kanyā* f. *girl*; देवी *devī* f. *goddess*; वधू *vadhū* f. *woman*.

Singular:

|        |                     |                       |                           |                    |
|--------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| N.     | सेना<br>sénā        | कन्या<br>kanyā        | देवी<br>devī 0            | वधूस्<br>vadhūs    |
| A.     | सेनाम्<br>sénām     | कन्याम्<br>kanyām     | देवीम्<br>devīm - 111     | वधूम्<br>vadhūm    |
| I.     | सेनया<br>sénayā     | कन्यया<br>kanyayā     | देव्या<br>devyā R. 40 - ā | वध्वा<br>vadhvā    |
| D.     | सेनायै<br>sénāyāi   | कन्यायै<br>kanyāyāi   | देव्यै<br>devyāi          | वध्वै<br>vadhvāi   |
| Ab. G. | सेनायास्<br>sénāyās | कन्यायास्<br>kanyāyās | देव्यास्<br>devyās        | वध्वास्<br>vadhvās |
| L.     | सेनायाम्<br>sénāyām | कन्यायाम्<br>kanyāyām | देव्याम्<br>devyām        | वध्वाम्<br>vadhvām |
| V.     | सेने<br>séne        | कन्ये<br>kānye        | देवि<br>dévi              | वधु<br>vādhu       |

Dual:

|           |                         |                           |                         |                         |
|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| N. A. V.  | सेने<br>séne            | कन्ये<br>kānye            | देव्यौ<br>devyāu        | वध्वौ<br>vadhvāu        |
| I. D. Ab. | सेनाभ्याम्<br>sénābhyām | कन्याभ्याम्<br>kanyābhyām | देवीभ्याम्<br>devībhyām | वधूभ्याम्<br>vadhūbhyām |
| G. L.     | सेनयोस्<br>sénayos      | कन्ययोस्<br>kānyayos      | देव्योस्<br>devyós      | वध्वोस्<br>vadhvós      |

Plural:

|        |                        |                          |                        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| N. V.  | सेनास्<br>sénās        | कन्यास्<br>kanyās        | देव्यस्<br>devyās      | वध्वस्<br>vadhvās      |
| A.     | सेनास्<br>sénās        | कन्यास्<br>kanyās        | देवीस्<br>devīs        | वधूस्<br>vadhūs        |
| I.     | सेनाभिस्<br>sénābhis   | कन्याभिस्<br>kanyābhis   | देवीभिस्<br>devībhis   | वधूभिस्<br>vadhūbhis   |
| D. Ab. | सेनाभ्यस्<br>sénābhyas | कन्याभ्यस्<br>kanyābhyas | देवीभ्यस्<br>devībhyas | वधूभ्यस्<br>vadhūbhyas |
| G.     | सेनानाम्<br>sénānām    | कन्यानाम्<br>kanyānām    | देवीनाम्<br>devīnām    | वधूनाम्<br>vadhūnām    |
| L.     | सेनासु<br>sénāsu       | कन्यासु<br>kanyāsu       | देवीषु<br>devīṣu       | वधूषु<br>vadhūṣu       |

a. In the Veda *vadhū* is a stem belonging to the other division (like *tanū*, above, 356).

365. Examples of Vedic forms are:

a. *ā*-stems: instr. sing. *maṇiṣā* (this simpler form is especially common from stems in *tā* and *iā*); nom. pl. *vaçāsas* (about twenty examples); accus. pl. *araṁgamāsas* (a case or two). Half the *bhyas*-cases are to be read as *bhis*; the *ām* of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into *aam*; and the *ā* and *ām* of nom. and accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

b. *i*-stems: instr. sing. *çāmī*, *çāmi*; loc. *gaurī*; nom. etc. du. *devī*; nom. pl. *devīs*; gen. pl. *bahvīnām*. The final of the stem is to be read as a vowel, (not *y*) frequently, but not in the majority of instances: thus, *deviā*, *deviās*, *deviām*, *ródasios*.

c. The sporadic instances of transfer between this division and the preceding have been already sufficiently noticed.

d. Of the regular substitution made in the Brāhmaṇa language (307 g, 336 g, 363 c) of the dat. sing. ending *āi* for the gen.-abl. ending *ās*, in all classes of words admitting the latter ending, a few examples may be given here: *abhibhūtyāi rūpam* (AB.) *a sign of overpowering*; *triṣṭubhaç ca jagatyāi ca* (AB.) *of the metres triṣṭubh and jagatī*; *vāco dāivyāi ca mānuṣyāi ca* (AA.) *of speech, both divine and human*; *striyāi payaḥ* (AB.) *woman's milk*; *dhenvāi vā etād rétaḥ* (TB.) *that, forsooth, is the seed of the cow*; *jirṇāyāi tvacaḥ* (KB.) *of dead skin*; *jyāyasī yājyāyāi* (AB.) *superior to the yājyā*; *asyāi divo 'smād antarikṣāt* (ÇS.) *from this heaven, from this atmosphere*. The same substitution is made once in the AV.: thus, *svāpantv asyāi jñātāyaḥ* *let her relatives sleep*.



366. The noun *strī* f. *woman* (probably contracted from *sūtrī genetratrix*), follows a mixed declension: thus, *strī*, *strīyam* or *strīm*, *striyā*, *striyāī*, *striyās*, *striyām*, *strī*; *strīyāu*, *strībhyām*, *striyós*; *strīyas*, *strīyas* or *strís*, *strībhis*, *strībhyás*, *strīnām*, *strīṣu* (but the accusatives *strīm* and *strís* are not found in the older language, and the voc. *strī* is not quotable). The accentuation is that of a root-word; the forms (conspicuously the nom. sing.) are those of the other or derivative division.

### Adjectives.

367. a. The occurrence of original adjectives in long final vowels, and of compounds having as final member a stem of the first division, has been sufficiently treated above, so far as masculine and feminine forms are concerned. To form a neuter stem in composition, the rule of the later language is that the final long vowel be shortened; and the stem so made is to be inflected like an adjective in *i* or *u* (339, 341, 344).

b. Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost unknown. Of neuters from *ī*-stems have been noted in the Veda only *hariçrīyam*, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and *suādhīas*, gen. sing. (same as masc. and fem.); from *ū*-stems, only a few examples, and from stem-forms which might be masc. and fem. also: thus, *vibhú*, *subhú*, etc. (nom.-acc. sing.: compare 354); *supūā* and *mayobhúvā*, instr. sing.; and *mayobhú*, acc. pl. (compare *purú*: 342k); from *ā*-stems occur only half-a-dozen examples of a nom. sing. in *ās*, like the masc. and fem. form.

c. Compounds having nouns of the second division as final member are common only from derivatives in *ā*; and these shorten the final to *a* in both masculine and neuter: thus, from *a* *not* and *prajā progeny* come the masc. and neut. stem *apraja*, fem. *aprajā childless*. Such compounds with nouns in *ī* and *ū* are said to be inflected in masc. and fem. like the simple words (only with *īn* and *ūn* in acc. pl. masc.); but the examples given by the grammarians are fictitious.

d. Stems with shortened final are occasionally met with: thus, *ekapadni*, *āttalakṣmi*; and such adverbs (neut. sing. accus.) as *upabhāimi*, *abhyujjayini*. The stem *strī* is directed to be shortened to *stri* for all genders.

368. It is convenient to give a complete paradigm, for all genders, of an adjective-stem in *ṣ* a. We take for the purpose *पाप pāpā evil*, of which the feminine is usually made in *ṣā* in the later language, but in *ṣī* in the older.

Singular :

|     | m.             | n.                | f.                  | f.                 |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| N.  | पापस्<br>pāpās | पापम्<br>pāpām    | पापा<br>pāpā        | पापी<br>pāpī       |
| A.  |                | पापम्<br>pāpām    | पापाम्<br>pāpām     | पापीम्<br>pāpīm    |
| I.  |                | पापेन<br>pāpēna   | पापया<br>pāpāyā     | पाप्या<br>pāpyā    |
| D.  |                | पापाय<br>pāpāya   | पापायै<br>pāpāyāi   | पाप्यै<br>pāpyāi   |
| Ab. |                | पापात्<br>pāpāt   | पापायास्<br>pāpāyās | पाप्यास्<br>pāpyās |
| G.  |                | पापस्य<br>pāpāsya | पापायास्<br>pāpāyās | पाप्यास्<br>pāpyās |
| I.  |                | पापे<br>pāpé      | पापायाम्<br>pāpāyām | पाप्याम्<br>pāpyām |
| V.  |                | पाप<br>pāpa       | पापे<br>pāpe        | पापि<br>pāpi       |

Dual :

|           |               |                         |                         |                         |
|-----------|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| N. A. V.  | पापौ<br>pāpāu | पापे<br>pāpé            | पापे<br>pāpé            | पाप्यौ<br>pāpyāu        |
| I. D. Ab. |               | पापाभ्याम्<br>pāpābhyām | पापाभ्याम्<br>pāpābhyām | पापीभ्याम्<br>pāpībhyām |
| G. L.     |               | पापयोस्<br>pāpāyos      | पापयोस्<br>pāpāyos      | पाप्योस्<br>pāpyos      |

Plural :

|        |                        |                  |                        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| N.     | पापास्<br>pāpās        | पापानि<br>pāpāni | पापास्<br>pāpās        | पाप्यस्<br>pāpyās      |
| A.     | पापान्<br>pāpān        | पापानि<br>pāpāni | पापास्<br>pāpās        | पापीस्<br>pāpīs        |
| I.     | पापैस्<br>pāpāis       |                  | पापाभिस्<br>pāpābhis   | पापीभिस्<br>pāpībhis   |
| D. Ab. | पापेभ्यस्<br>pāpēbhyas |                  | पापाभ्यस्<br>pāpābhyas | पापीभ्यस्<br>pāpībhyas |

|    |                     |                     |                     |
|----|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| G. | पापानाम्<br>pāpānām | पापानाम्<br>pāpānām | पापानाम्<br>pāpānām |
| L. | पापेषु<br>pāpēṣu    | पापाम्<br>pāpāsu    | पापिषु<br>pāpīṣu    |

## Declension IV.

Stems in र r (or अर ar).

369. This declension is a comparatively limited one, being almost entirely composed of derivative nouns formed with the suffix तृ tr (or तर tar), which makes masculine nomina agentis (used also participially), and a few nouns of relationship. cf 1182

a. But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely devṛ m., svāṣṛ and nānāndṛ f.; and, besides these, nṛ m., stṛ (in V.) m., usṛ (in V.) f., savyaṣṭhṛ m., and the feminine numerals tisṛ and cataṣṛ (for which, see 482e,g). The feminines in ṛ are only mātṛ, duhitṛ, and yāṭṛ.

b. The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in i and u (second declension); its peculiarity, as compared with them, consists mainly in the treatment of the stem itself, which has a double form, fuller in the strong cases, briefer in the weak ones.

*weakest* 370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is r, which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to r (129). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them — which is very much the larger, containing all the nomina agentis, and also the nouns of relationship nāptṛ and svāṣṛ, and the irregular words stṛ and savyaṣṭhṛ — the r is vriddhied, or becomes āṛ; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with nṛ and usṛ, the r is gunated, or changed to ar. In both classes. the loc. sing. has ar as stem-final. allomo

371. Endings. These are in general the normal, but with the following exceptions:

a. The nom. sing. (masc. and fem.) ends always in ā (for original ars or ārs). The voc. sing. ends in ar.

b. The accus. sing. adds am to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. pl. has (like i and u-stems) n as masc. ending and s as fem. ending, with the r lengthened before them.

*acc*  

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \text{tā} \in \text{---} \text{tār} \in \text{---} \text{tar} \end{array} \right] \in \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{---} \text{tr} \sim \text{tr} \end{array} \right]$$
"                      "                      "

class a  
class B

- c. The abl.-gen. sing. changes *ṛ* to *ur* (or *us*: 169b).
- d. The gen. pl. (as in *i* and *u*-stems) inserts *n* before *ām*, and lengthens the stem-final before it. But the *ṛ* of *nṛ* may also remain short.
- e. The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents certain deviations from them. Thus:
- f. The ending in nom.-acc.-voc. du. is (as universally in the Veda) regularly *ā* instead of *āu* (only ten *āu*-forms in RV.).
- g. The *i* of loc. sing. is lengthened to *ī* in a few words: thus, *kartāri*.
- h. In the gen. pl., the RV. has once *svāsram*, without inserted *n*; and *narām* instead of *nṛnām* is frequent.
- i. Other irregularities of *nṛ* are the sing. dat. *nāre*, gen. *nāras*, and loc. *nāri*. The Veda writes always *nṛnām* in gen. pl., but its *ṛ* is in a majority of cases metrically long.
- j. The stem *uṣṛ* f. *dawn* has the voc. sing. *uṣar*, the gen. sing. *uṣrás*; and the accus. pl. also *uṣrás*, and loc. sing. *uṣrām* (which is metrically trisyllabic: *uṣrām*), as if in analogy with *ī* and *ū*-stems. Once occurs *uṣrí* in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form, *uṣári* (for the exchange of *s* and *ṣ*, see 181a).
- k. From *stṛ* come only *tāras* (apparently) and *stṛbhis*.
- l. In the gen.-loc. du., the *r* is almost always to be read as a separate syllable, *ṛ*, before the ending *os*: thus, *pitṛós*, etc. On the contrary, *nánāndari* is once to be read *nánāndri*.
- m. For neuter forms, see below, 375.

372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for *i*- and *u*-stems: if on the final of the stem, it continues, as acute, on the corresponding syllable throughout, except in the gen. pl., where it may be (and in the Veda always is) thrown forward upon the ending; where, in the weakest cases, *ṛ* becomes *r*, the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, *nṛ* and *stṛ*, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the forms already given above), *nṛbhis*, *nṛṣu*.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with *घ्रा* *ār* in the strong forms) the stems *दातृ* *dātṛ* m. *giver* and *स्वसृ* *svásṛ* f. *sister*; from the second class (with *घ्र* *ar* in the strong forms), the stem *पितृ* *pitṛ* m. *father*.

|    |                    |                      |                    |
|----|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
|    | Singular: <i>m</i> | <i>f</i>             | <i>m</i>           |
| N. | दाता<br>dātā       | स्वसा<br>svāsā       | पिता<br>pitā       |
| A. | दातारम्<br>dātāram | स्वसारम्<br>svāsāram | पितारम्<br>pitāram |

class α

class β

|        |                 |                      |                 |
|--------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| I.     | दात्रा<br>dātrā | स्वस्त्रा<br>svāsrā  | पित्रा<br>pitrā |
| D.     | दात्रे<br>dātré | स्वस्त्रे<br>svāstre | पित्रे<br>pitré |
| Ab. G. | दातुर्<br>dātūr | स्वसुर्<br>svāsūr    | पितुर्<br>pitūr |
| L.     | दातरि<br>dātāri | स्वसरि<br>svāsari    | पितरि<br>pitāri |
| V.     | दातर्<br>dātar  | स्वसर्<br>svāsar     | पितर्<br>pītar  |

## Dual :

|           |                         |                            |                         |
|-----------|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| N. A. V.  | दातारौ<br>dātārāu       | स्वसारौ<br>svāsārāu        | पितारौ<br>pitārāu       |
| I. D. Ab. | दातृभ्याम्<br>dātṛbhyām | स्वसृभ्याम्<br>svāsr̥bhyām | पितृभ्याम्<br>pitṛbhyām |
| G. L.     | दात्रोस्<br>dātrós      | स्वस्त्रोस्<br>svāstrós    | पित्रोस्<br>pitros      |

## Plural :

|        |                        |                           |                        |
|--------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| N. V.  | दातारम्<br>dātāras     | स्वसारम्<br>svāsāras      | पितरम्<br>pitāras      |
| A.     | दातृन्<br>dātṛñ        | स्वसृम्<br>svāsr̥s        | पितृन्<br>pitṛñ        |
| I.     | दातृभिस्<br>dātṛbhis   | स्वसृभिस्<br>svāsr̥bhis   | पितृभिस्<br>pitṛbhis   |
| D. Ab. | दातृभ्यस्<br>dātṛbhyas | स्वसृभ्यस्<br>svāsr̥bhyas | पितृभ्यस्<br>pitṛbhyas |
| G.     | दातृणाम्<br>dātṛṇām    | स्वसृणाम्<br>svāsr̥ṇām    | पितृणाम्<br>pitṛṇām    |
| L.     | दातृषु<br>dātṛṣu       | स्वसृषु<br>svāsr̥ṣu       | पितृषु<br>pitṛṣu       |

a. The feminine stem मातृ *mātr̥*, *mother*, is inflected precisely like पितृ *pitṛ*, excepting that its accusative plural is मातृम् *mātr̥s*.

b. The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. *dātārā*, *svāsārā*, *pītārā*, and the gen. pl. of *nṛ*, *narām*.

c. The nom. pl. forms *pitaras* and *mātaras* etc. are found used also as accus. in the epics.

374. The stem *krōṣṭṛ* m. *jackal* (lit'y *howler*) substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of *krōṣṭu*.

375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a complete neuter declension also for bases in *ṭṛ*, precisely accordant with that of *vāri* or *mādhū* (above, 339, 341). Thus, for example:

|       | Sing.                | Du.               | Plur.            |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| N. A. | <i>dhātṛ</i>         | <i>dhātṛṇi</i>    | <i>dhātṛṇi</i>   |
| I.    | <i>dhātṛṇā</i>       | <i>dhātṛbhyām</i> | <i>dhātṛbhis</i> |
| G.    | <i>dhātṛṇas</i>      | <i>dhātṛṇos</i>   | <i>dhātṛṇām</i>  |
| V.    | <i>dhātṛ, dhātar</i> | <i>dhātṛṇi</i>    | <i>dhātṛṇi</i> . |

a. The weakest cases, however (as of *i*- and *u*-stems used adjectively: 344), are allowed also to be formed like the corresponding masculine cases: thus, *dhātṛā* etc.

b. No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas, under influence of the common tendency (compare Germ. *Retter*, *Retterin*; Fr. *menteur*, *menteuse*) to give this *nomen agentis* a more adjective character, making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (appositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. *bhartṛ* and *janayitṛ*, qualifying *antāriṣam*; and *bhartṛṇi* and *janayitṛṇi*, qualifying *nāksatrāṇi*; as, in M., *grahitṛṇi*, qualifying *indriyāṇi*.

c. When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in *ī* is employed: thus, in TB., *bhartryās* and *bhartryāu*, *janayitryās* and *janayitryāu*, qualifying *āpas* and *ahorātré*; and such instances are not uncommon.

d. The RV. shows the same tendency very curiously once in the accus. pl. *mātṛṇ*, instead of *mātṛs*, in apposition with masculine nouns (RV. x. 35.2).

e. Other neuter forms in RV. are *sthātūr* gen. sing., *dhmātāri* loc. sing.; and for the nom. sing., instead of *-ṭṛ*, a few more or less doubtful cases, *sthātar*, *sthātūr*, *dhartāri*.

### Adjectives.

376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension: for the quasi-adjectival character of the nouns composing it, see above (375 b). The feminine stem is made by the suffix *ī*: thus, *dātrī*, *dhātṛī*.

b. Roots ending in *ṛ* (like those in *i* and *u*: 345) add a *t* to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member of a com-

pound: thus, *karmakṣt* (√kr), *vajrabhṣt* (√bhṣ), *balihṣt* (√hr). From some ṛ-roots, also, are made stems in *ir* and *ur*: see below, 383 a, b.

c. Nouns in ṛ as finals of adjective compounds are inflected in the same manner as when simple, in the masculine and feminine; in the neuter, they would doubtless have the peculiar neuter endings in nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

d. But TS. has once *tvátpitāras*, nom. pl., *having thee for father*.

## Declension V.

### Stems ending in Consonants.

377. All stems ending in consonants may properly be classed together, as forming a single comprehensive declension; since, though some of them exhibit peculiarities of inflection, these have to do almost exclusively with the stem itself, and not with the declensional endings.

378. In this declension, masculines and feminines of the same final are inflected alike; and neuters are peculiar (as usually in the other declensions) only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

a. The majority of consonantal stems, however, are not inflected in the feminine, but form a special feminine derivative stem in  $\xi$  ī (never in ऋ ā), by adding that ending to the weak form of the masculine.

b. Exceptions are in general the stems of divisions A and B — namely, the radical stems etc., and those in *as* and *is* and *us*. For special cases, see below.

379. Variations, as between stronger and weaker forms, are very general among consonantal stems: either of two degrees (strong and weak), or of three (strong, middle, and weakest): see above, 311.

a. The peculiar neuter forms, according to the usual rule (311b), are made in the plural from the strong stem, in singular and dual from the weak — or, when the gradation is threefold, in singular from the middle stem, in dual from the weakest.

b. As in the case of stems ending in short vowels (*āsyāni*, *vāriṇi*, *mādhūni*, *dātṛi*, etc.), a nasal sometimes appears in the special neuter plural cases which is found nowhere else in inflection. Thus, from the stems in *as*, *is*, *us*, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. in *-āṇsi*, *-īṇsi*, *-ūṇsi* are very common at every period. According to the grammarians, the radical stems etc. (division **A**) are treated in the same way; but examples of such neuters are of extreme rarity in the language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Sūtras* have been noted only *-hunti* (AB. vii. 2. 3), *-vṛnti* (PB. xvi. 2. 7 et al.), *-bhāñji* (KB. xxvii. 7), *-bhṛnti* (ÇB. viii. 1. 3<sup>1</sup>), and *-yuñji* (LÇS. ii. 1. 8); while in the later language is found here and there a case, like *-ṛrunti* (Ragh.), *-pūñsi* (Çiç.); it may be questioned whether they are not later analogical formations.

380. The endings are throughout those given above (310) as the "normal".

a. By the general law as to finals (150), the *s* of the nom. sing. masc. and fem. is always lost; and irregularities of treatment of the final of the stem in this case are not infrequent.

b. The gen. and abl. sing. are never distinguished in form from one another — nor are, by ending, the nom. and accus. pl.: but these sometimes differ in stem-form, or in accent, or in both.

381. Change in the place of the accent is limited to monosyllabic stems and the participles in *ánt* (accented on the final). For details, see below, under divisions **A** and **E**.

a. But a few of the compounds of the root *añc* or *ac* show an irregular shift of accent in the oldest language: see below, 410.

382. a. For convenience and clearness of presentation, it will be well to separate from the general mass of consonantal stems certain special classes which show kindred peculiarities of inflection, and may be best described together. Thus:

B. Derivative stems in *as*, *is*, *us*; 411

C. Derivative stems in *an* (*an*, *man*, *van*); 420

D. Derivative stems in *in* (*in*, *min*, *vin*);

E. Derivative stems in *ant* (*ant*, *mant*, *vant*); 447

F. Perfect active participles in *vāṇs*;

G. Comparatives in *yāṇs* or *yas*.

b. There remain, then, to constitute division **A**, especially radical stems, or those identical in form with roots,



together with a comparatively small number of others which are inflected like these.

They will be taken up in the order thus indicated.

### A. Root-stems, and those inflected like them.

383. The stems of this division may be classified as follows:

I. a. Root-stems, having in them no demonstrable element added to a root: thus, *ṛc verse*, *gír song*, *pád foot*, *díc direction*, *máh (V.) great*.

b. Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, *vác* from *√vac*, *sráj* from *√sṛj*, *mūṣ* from *√muṣ*, *vṛíṣ* from *√vraṣ* (?), *úṣ* from *√vas shine*; — from roots in final *ṛ* come stems in *ir* and *ur*: thus, *gír*, *ā-ḡír*, *stír*; *júr*, *túr*, *dhúr*, *púr*, *múr*, *stúr*, *sphúr*; and *psúr* from *√psar*.

c. With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as *cikít*, *yaviyúdh*, *vánīvan*, *sasyád*.

d. Words of this division in uncompounded use are tolerably frequent in the older language: thus, in RV. are found more than a hundred of them; in AV., about sixty; but in the classical Sanskrit the power of using any root at will in this way is lost, and the examples are comparatively few. In all periods, however, the adjective use as final of a compound is very common (see below, 401).

e. As to the infinitive use of various cases of the root-noun, see 371.

II. f. Stems made by the addition of *t* to a final short vowel of a root.

g. No proper root-stem ends in a short vowel, although there are (354) examples of transfer of such to short-vowel-declensions; but *i* or *u* or *ṛ* adds a *t* to make a declinable form: thus, *-jít*, *-ṣrút*, *-kít*. Roots in *ṛ*, however, as has just been seen (b), also make stems in *ir* or *ur*.

h. As regards the frequency and use of these words, the same is true as was stated above respecting root-stems. The Veda offers examples of nearly thirty such formations, a few of them (*mít*, *rít*, *stút*, *hrút*, *vṛt*, and *dyút* if this is taken from *dyu*) in independent use. Of roots in *ṛ*, *t* is added by *kṛ*, *dhṛ*, *dhvṛ*, *bhṛ*, *vṛ*, *sṛ*, *sprṛ*, *hṛ*, and *hṛṛ*. The roots *gā* (or *gam*) and *han* also make *-gát* and *-hát* by addition of the *t* to an abbreviated form in *a* (thus, *adhvagát*, *dyugát*, *dvigat*, *navagát*, and *samhát*).

III. i. Monosyllabic (also a few apparently reduplicated) stems not certainly connectible with any verbal root in the language, but having the aspect of root-stems, as containing no traceable suffix:

thus, *tvác skin*, *páth road*, *hřd heart*, *áp* and *vār water*, *dvār door*, *ās mouth*, *kakūbh* and *kakūd summit*.

j. Thirty or forty such words are found in the older language, and some of them continue in later use, while others have been transferred to other modes of declension or have become extinct.

k. Stems more or less clearly derivative, but made with suffixes of rare or even isolated occurrence. Thus:

1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix *vat*: *arvāvát*, *āvát*, *udvát*, *nivát*, *parāvát*, *pravát*, *saṁvát*; — 2. derivatives (V.) in *tāt* (perhaps abbreviated from *tāti*), in a few isolated forms: thus, *uparātāt*, *devātāt*, *vṛkātāt*, *satyātāt*, *sarvātāt*; — 3. other derivatives in *t* preceded by various vowels: thus, *daçát*, *vehát*, *vahát*, *sraçát*, *saçcát*, *vāghát*; *nápāt*; *taçít*, *divít*, *yoçít*, *rohít*, *sarít*, *harít*; *marút*; *yákr̥t*, *çákr̥t*; and the numerals for 30, 40, 50, *triñçát* etc. (475); — 4. stems in *ad*: thus, *dṛṣád*, *dhṛṣád*, *bhasád*, *vanád*, *çarád*, *samád*; — 5. stems in *j* preceded by various vowels: thus, *ṛṇāj*, *dhṛṣāj*, *sanāj*, *bhiṣāj*; *uçíj*, *vañíj*, *bhuríj*, *niñíj*(?), *ásṛj*; — 6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative: thus, *jñās*, *-dās*, *bhās*, *mās*, *bhiṣ*; — 7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as *viṣṭáp*, *vípāç*, *kápr̥th*, *çurúdh*, *içídh*, *pr̥kṣúdh*, *raghát*(?), *sarāgh*, *visrúh*, *uṣñh*, *kavás*.

384. Gender. The root-stems are regularly feminine as *nomen actionis*, and masculine as *nomen agentis* (which is probably only a substantive use of their adjective value: below, 400). But the feminine noun, without changing its gender, is often also used concretely: e. g., *druh* f. (*√druh* be inimical) means *harming*, *enmity*, and also *harmer*, *hater*, *enemy* — thus bordering on the masculine value. And some of the feminines have a completely concrete meaning. Through the whole division, the masculines are much less numerous than the feminines, and the neuters rarest of all.

a. The independent neuter stems are *hřd* (also *-hřd*), *dám*, *vār*, *svār*, *mās* *flesh*, *ās* *mouth*, *bhās*, *dós* (with which may be mentioned the indeclinables *çám* and *yós*); also the apparent derivatives *yákr̥t*, *çákr̥t*, *kápr̥th*, *ásṛj*.

385. Strong and weak stem-forms. The distinction of these two classes of forms is usually made either by the presence or absence of a nasal, or by a difference in the quantity of the stem-vowel, as long or short; less often, by other methods.

386. A nasal appears in the strong cases of the following words:

1. Compounds having as final member the root *ac* or *añc*: see below, 407 ff.; and RV. has once *uruvyāñcam* from root *vyac*; — 2. The

stem *yuj*, sometimes, in the older language: thus, nom. sing. *yūñ* (for *yūñk*), accus. *yūñjam*, du. *yūñjā* (but also *yūjam* and *yūjā*); — 3. The stem *-dṛç*, as final of a compound in the older language; but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, *anyādñ*, *idñ*, *kidñ*, *tādñ*, *etādñ*, *sadñ* and *pratisadñ*: but also *idñk*, *tādñk*, *svardñk*, etc.; — 4. For *path* and *pums*, which substitute more extended stems, and for *dant*, see below, 394—6.

387. The vowel *a* is lengthened in strong cases as follows:

1. Of the roots *vac*, *sac*, *sap*, *nabh*, *ças*, in a few instances (V.), at the end of compounds; — 2. Of the roots *vah* and *sah*, but irregularly: see below, 403—5; — 3. Of *ap water* (see 393); also in its compound *rītyap*; — 4. Of *pad foot*: in the compounds of this word, in the later language, the same lengthening is made in the middle cases also; and in RV. and AV. the nom. sing. neut. is both *-pat* and *-pāt*, while RV. has once *-pāde*, and *-pādbhis* and *-pātsu* occur in the Brāhmaṇas; — 5. Of *nas nose* (? *nāsā* nom. du. fem., RV., once); — 6. Sporadic cases (V.) are: *yāj* (?), voc. sing.; *pāthās* and *-rāpas*, accus. pl.; *vānīvānas*, nom. pl. The strengthened forms *bhāj* and *rāj* are constant, through all classes of cases.

388. Other modes of differentiation, by elision of *a* or contraction of the syllable containing it, appear in a few stems:

1. In *-han*: see below, 402; — 2. In *kṣam* (V.), along with prolongation of *a*: thus, *kṣāmā* du., *kṣāmas* pl.; *kṣamā* instr. sing., *kṣāmi* loc. sing., *kṣamās* abl. sing.; — 3. In *dvār*, contracted (V.) to *dur* in weak cases (but with some confusion of the two classes); — 4. In *svār*, which becomes, in RV., *sūr* in weak cases; later it is indeclinable.

389. The endings are as stated above (380).

a. Respecting their combination with the final of the stem, as well as the treatment of the latter when it occurs at the end of the word, the rules of euphonic combination (chap. III.) are to be consulted; they require much more constant and various application here than anywhere else in declension.

b. Attention may be called to a few exceptional cases of combination (V.): *mādbhis* and *mādbhyās* from *mās month*; the wholly anomalous *padbhis* (RV. and VS.: AV. has always *padbhis*) from *pād*; and *sarāj* and *sarāqbhyas* corresponding to a nom. pl. *sarāghas* (instead of *sarāghas*: 222). *Dān* is apparently for *dām*, by 143 a.

c. According to the grammarians, neuter stems, unless they end in a nasal or a semivowel, take in nom.-acc.-voc. pl. a strengthening nasal before the final consonant. But no such cases from neuter noun-stems appear ever to have been met with in use; and as regards adjective stems ending in a root, see above, 379 b.

390. Monosyllabic stems have the regular accent of such, throwing the tone forward upon the endings in the weak cases.

a. But the accusative plural has its normal accentuation as a weak case, upon the ending, in only a minority (hardly more than a third) of the stems: namely in *datás*, *pathás*, *padás*, *nidás*, *apás*, *uśás*, *jñásás*, *puñsás*, *māsás*, *mahás*; and sometimes in *vācás*, *srucás*, *hrutás*, *sridhás*, *kṣapás*, *vipás*, *durás*, *iśás*, *dviśás*, *druhás* (beside *vācás* etc.).

b. Exceptional instances, in which a weak case has the tone on the stem, occur as follows: *sádā*, *nádbhyas*, *tánā* (also *tanā*) and *táne*, *bádhe* (inf.), *rāpe* and *rāñsu*, *vāñsu*, *sváni*, *vīpas*, *kṣami*, *sūrā* and *sūras* (but *sūrē*), *āñhas*, and *vānas* and *bñhas* (in *vānaspāti*, *bñhaspāti*). On the other hand, a strong case is accented on the ending in *mahás*, nom. pl., and *kāsām* (AV.: perhaps a false reading). And *preśā*, instr. sing., is accented as if *preś* were a simple stem, instead of *pra-īś*. *Vimṛdhāḥ* is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in *ac* or *añc*, see 410.

391. Examples of inflection. As an example of normal monosyllabic inflection, we may take the stem *वाच्* *vāk* f. *voice* (from *वच्* *vac*, with constant prolongation); of inflection with strong and weak stem, *पद्* *pád* m. *foot*; of polysyllabic inflection, *मरुत्* *marút* m. *wind* or *wind-god*; of a monosyllabic root-stem in composition, *त्रिवृत्* *trivṛt* *three-fold*, in the neuter. Thus:

Singular:

|        |                |                |                   |                       |
|--------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| N. V.  | वाक्<br>vāk    | पात्<br>pāt    | मरुत्<br>marút    | त्रिवृत्<br>trivṛt    |
| A.     | वाचम्<br>vācam | पादम्<br>pādam | मरुतम्<br>marútam | त्रिवृत्<br>trivṛt    |
| I.     | वाचा<br>vācā   | पदा<br>padā    | मरुता<br>marútā   | त्रिवृता<br>trivṛtā   |
| D.     | वाचे<br>vācē   | पदे<br>padē    | मरुते<br>marúte   | त्रिवृते<br>trivṛte   |
| Ab. G. | वाचस्<br>vācās | पदस्<br>padás  | मरुतस्<br>marútas | त्रिवृतम्<br>trivṛtas |
| L.     | वाचि<br>vācí   | पदि<br>padí    | मरुति<br>marúti   | त्रिवृति<br>trivṛti   |

|           |                        |                       |                           |                               |
|-----------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Dual:     |                        |                       |                           |                               |
| N. A. V.  | वाचौ<br>vācāu          | पादौ<br>pādāu         | मरुतौ<br>marútāu          | त्रिवृती<br>trivṛtī           |
| I. D. Ab. | वाग्भ्याम्<br>vāgbhyām | पद्भ्याम्<br>padbhyām | मरुद्भ्याम्<br>marúdbhyām | त्रिवृद्भ्याम्<br>trivṛdbhyām |
| G. L.     | वाचोस्<br>vācós        | पदोस्<br>padós        | मरुतोस्<br>marútos        | त्रिवृतोस्<br>trivṛtos        |
| Plural:   |                        |                       |                           |                               |
| N. V.     | वाचस्<br>vācas         | पादस्<br>pādas        | मरुतस्<br>marútas         | त्रिवृत्ति<br>trivṛnti        |
| A.        | वाचस्<br>vācās, vācas  | पदस्<br>padās         | मरुतस्<br>marútas         | त्रिवृत्ति<br>trivṛnti        |
| I.        | वाग्भिस्<br>vāgbhís    | पदभिस्<br>padbhís     | मरुद्भिस्<br>marúdbhis    | त्रिवृद्भिस्<br>trivṛdbhis    |
| D. Ab.    | वाग्भ्यस्<br>vāgbhyás  | पद्भ्यस्<br>padbhyás  | मरुद्भ्यस्<br>marúdbhyas  | त्रिवृद्भ्यस्<br>trivṛdbhyas  |
| G.        | वाचाम्<br>vācām        | पदाम्<br>padām        | मरुताम्<br>marútām        | त्रिवृताम्<br>trivṛtām        |
| L.        | वानु<br>vākśú          | पत्सु<br>patsú        | मरुत्सु<br>marútsu        | त्रिवृत्सु<br>trivṛtsu        |

By way of illustration of the leading methods of treatment of a stem-final, at the end of the word and in combination with case-endings, characteristic case-forms of a few more stems are here added. Thus:

a. Stems in j: yuj-class (219 a, 142), *bhiṣáj physician*: bhiṣák, bhiṣájam, bhiṣággbhis, bhiṣákṣu; — mṛj-class (219 b, 142), *samráj universal ruler*: samrāt, samrájam, samráḍgbhis, samrātsu.

b. Stems in dh: -vṛdh *increasing*: -vṛt, -vṛdham, -vṛdbhis, vṛtsu; -búdh (155) *waking*: -bhút, -búdhām, -bhúdbhis, -bhútsu.

c. Stems in bh: -stúbh *praising*: -stúp, -stúbham, -stúbgbhis, -stúpsu.

d. Stems in ḥ: díḥ (218 a, 145) *direction*: dík, díḥam, diggbhis, dikṣú; — víḥ (218, 145) *the people*: vít, víḥam, viḍgbhis, viṭsú (V. vikṣú: 218 a).

e. Stems in ṣ (226 b, 145): dvíṣ *enemy*: dvít, dvíṣam, dviḍgbhis, dviṭsú.

f. Stems in h: duh-class (232—3 a, 155 b, 147), -dúh *milki*

*yielding*: -dhúk, -dúham, -dhúgbhis, -dhúksu; — ruh-class (223 b, 147), -lih *licking*: -liṭ, -liham, -liḍbhis, -liṭsu.

g. Stems in m (143 a, 212 a: only praçān, nom. sing., quotable): -çām *quieting*: -çān, çāmam, -çānbhis, -çānsu.

392. The root-stems in *ir* and *ur* (383 b) lengthen their vowel when the final *r* is followed by another consonant (245 b), and also in the nom. sing. (where the case-ending *s* is lost).

3.14 a. Thus, from *gír* f. *song* come *gír* (gīḥ), *gíram*, *girá*, etc.; *gírau*, *gírbhyám*, *gíros*; *gíras*, *gírbhis*, *gírbhyás*, *girá́m*, *gírú* (165); and, in like manner, from *púr* f. *stronghold* come *púr* (pūḥ), *púram*, *purá*, etc.; *púrau*, *púrbhyám*, *purós*; *púras*, *púrbhis*, *púrbhyás*, *purám*, *pūrú*.

b. There are no roots in *is* (except the excessively rare *pis*) or in *us*; but from the root *çās* with its *ā* weakened to *i* (250) comes the noun *āçís* f. *blessing*, which is inflected like *gír*: thus, *āçís* (āçīḥ), *āçíṣam*, *āçíṣā*, etc.; *āçíṣau*, *āçírbhyám*, *āçíṣos*; *āçíṣas*, *āçírbhis*, *āçírbhyas*, *āçíṣām*, *āçíḥsu*. And *sajūs* *together* is apparently a stereotyped nominative of like formation from the root *juṣ*. The form *aṣṭāpruṭ* (TS.), from the root-stem *pruṣ*, is isolated and anomalous.

c. These stems in *ir*, *ur*, *is* show a like prolongation of vowel also in composition and derivation: thus, *gírvāṇa*, *púrbhíd*, *dhūrgata*, *dhūstva*, *āçírdā*, *āçírvant*, etc. (but also *gírvan*, *gírvaṇas*).

d. The native grammar sets up a class of quasi-radical stems like *jigamis* *desiring to go*, made from the desiderative conjugation-stem (1027), and prescribes for it a declension like that of *āçís*: thus, *jigamis*, *jigamiṣā*, *jigamírbhis*, *jigamíḥsu*, etc. Such a class appears to be a mere figment of the grammarians, since no example of it has been found quotable from the literature, either earlier or later, and since there is, in fact, no more a desiderative stem *jigamis* than a causative stem *gamay*.

393. The stem *áp* f. *water* is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before *bh* to *d* (151 e): thus, *ápas*, *apás*, *adbhis*, *adbhyás*, *apám*, *apsú*.

a. But RV. has the sing. instr. *apá* and gen. *apás*. In the earlier language (especially AV.), and even in the epics, the nom. and accus. pl. forms are occasionally confused in use, *ápas* being employed as accus., and *apás* as nominative.

b. Besides the stem *ap*, case-forms of this word are sometimes used in composition and derivation: thus, for example, *abjá*, *āpodevata*, *āpomáya*, *apsumant*.

394. The stem *púms* m. *man* is very irregular, substituting *púmāns* in the strong cases, and losing its *s* (necessarily) before initial *bh* of a case-ending, and likewise (by analogy with this, or by an abbreviation akin with that noticed at 231) in the loc. plural. The vocative is (in accordance with that of the somewhat similarly

inflected perfect participles: see 462 a) *pūman* in the later language, but *pūmas* in the earlier. Thus: *pūmān*, *pūmāṁsam*, *puṁśā*, *puṁśé*, *puṁśās*, *puṁśí*, *pūman*; *pūmāṁsāu*, *pumbhyām*, *puṁśós*; *pūmāṁsas*, *puṁśās*, *pumbhís*, *pumbhyás*, *puṁśām*, *puṁśú*.

a. The accentuation of the weak forms, it will be noticed, is that of a true monosyllabic stem. The forms with *bh*-endings nowhere occur in the older language, nor do they appear to have been cited from the later. Instances of the confusion of strong and weak forms are occasionally met with. As to the retention of *s* unlingualized in the weakest cases (whence necessarily follows that in the loc. pl.), see 183 a.

b. This stem appears under a considerable variety of forms in composition and derivation: thus, as *puṁs* in *puṁṣcalí*, *puṁstva*, *puṁsavan*, *-puṁska*, etc.; as *pum* in *pūṁvatsa*, *pūṁrūpa*, *puṁvat*, *pumārtha*, etc.; as *puṁsa* in *puṁsavant*; — at the end of a compound, either with its full inflection, as in *striṭpūṁs* etc.; or as *puṁsa*, in *striṭpuṁsa*, *mahāpuṁsa*; or as *puma* in *striṭpuma* (TS. TA.).

395. The stem *path m. road* is defective in declension, forming only the weakest cases, while the strong are made from *pánthā* or *pánthan*, and the middle from *pathí*: see under *an*-stems, below, 433.

396. The stem *dánt m. tooth* is perhaps of participial origin, and has, like a participle, the forms *dánt* and *dát*, strong and weak: thus (V.), *dán*, *dántam*, *datá*, etc.; *datás* acc. pl. etc. But in the middle cases it has the monosyllabic and not the participial accent: thus, *dadbhís*, *dadbhyás*. In nom. pl. occurs also *-datas* instead of *-dantas*. By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from *dánta*.

397. A number of other words of this division are defective, making part of their inflection from stems of a different form.

a. Thus, *hṛd n. heart*, *māṁs* or *mās n. meat*, *mās m. month*, *nās f. nose*, *niç f. night* (not found in the older language), *pṛt f. army*, are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the accus. sing. and du. (the neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from *hṛdaya*, *māṁsá*, *māsa*, *nāsikā*, *niçā*, *pṛtanā*. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find *mās flesh* accus. sing.; *mās month* nom. sing.; and *nāsā nostrils* du. From *pṛt* occurs only the loc. pl. *pṛtsú* and (RV., once) the same case with double ending, *pṛtsúṣu*.

398. On the other hand, certain stems of this division, allowed by the grammarians a full inflection, are used to fill up the deficiencies of those of another form.

a. Thus, *ásrj n. blood*, *çákṛt n. ordure*, *yákṛt n. liver*, *dós n. (also m.) fore-arm*, have beside them defective stems in *án*: see below, 432. Of none of them, however, is anything but the nom.-acc. sing. found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.

b. Of *ās* n. *mouth*, and *úd* *water*, only a case or two are found, in the older language, beside *āsán* and *āsyā*, and *udán* and *údaka* (432).

399. Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, *dánta*, *māsa*. A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language, more commonly in the later. Such are *páda*, *-māda*, *-dāça*, *bhrājá*, *viṣṭāpa*, *dvāra* and *dura*, *pura*, *dhura*, *-drça*, *nāsā*, *nidā*, *kṣípā*, *kṣapā*, *āçā*, and perhaps a few others.

a. A few irregular stems will find a more proper place under the head of Adjectives.

### Adjectives.

400. Original adjectives having the root-form are comparatively rare even in the oldest language.

a. About a dozen are quotable from the RV., for the most part only in a few scattering cases. But *mah* *great* is common in RV., though it dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, *mahí*, which continues in use, as meaning *earth* etc.

401. But compound adjectives, having a root as final member, with the value of a present participle, are abundant in every period of the language.

a. Possessive adjective compounds, also, of the same form, are not very rare: examples are *yatásruc* *with offered bowl*; *sūryatvac* *sun-skinned*; *cātuṣpad* *four-footed*; *suhárd* *kind-hearted, friendly*; *rityāp* (i. e. *rítī-ap*) *having streaming waters*; *sahásradvār* *furnished with a thousand doors*.

b. The inflection of such compounds is like that of the simple root-stems, masculine and feminine being throughout the same, and the neuter varying only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers. But special neuter forms are of rare occurrence, and masc.-fem. are sometimes used instead.

c. Only rarely is a derivative feminine stem in *ī* formed: in the older language, only from the compounds with *ac* or *añc* (407 ff.), those with *han* (402), those with *pad*, as *ékapadī*, *dvipadī*, and with *dant*, as *vīṣadatī*, and *mahí*, *ámuci* (AV.), *úpasadī* (? ÇB.).

Irregularities of inflection appear in the following:

402. The root *han* *slay*, as final of a compound, is inflected somewhat like a derivative noun in *an* (below, 420 ff.), becoming *hā* in the nom. sing., and losing its *n* in the middle cases and its *a* in the weakest cases (but only optionally in the loc. sing.). Further, when the vowel is lost, *h* in contact with following *n* reverts to its original *gh*. Thus:



|     | Singular.        | Dual.          | Plural.      |
|-----|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| N.  | vṛtrahā          | } vṛtrahāṇāu   | vṛtrahāṇas   |
| A.  | vṛtrahāṇam       |                | vṛtraghnás   |
| I.  | vṛtraghnā        | } vṛtrahābhyām | vṛtrahābhis  |
| D.  | vṛtraghné        |                | vṛtrahābhyas |
| Ab. | } vṛtraghnás     | } vṛtraghnós   | vṛtraghnám   |
| G.  |                  |                | vṛtrahásu    |
| L.  | vṛtraghní, -háṇi | } vṛtrahāṇāu   | vṛtrahāṇas.  |
| V.  | vṛtrahan         |                |              |

a. As to the change of *n* to *ṇ*, see 193, 195.

b. A feminine is made by adding *ī* to, as usual, the stem-form shown in the weakest cases: thus, *vṛtraghnī*.

c. An accus. pl. -hānas (like the nom.) also occurs. *Vṛtrahābhis* (RV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. Transitions to the *a*-declension begin already in the Veda: thus, to -há (RV. AV.), -ghná (RV.), -hana.

403. The root *vah* carry at the end of a compound is said by the grammarians to be lengthened to *vāh* in both the strong and middle cases, and contracted in the weakest cases to *ūh*, which with a preceding *a*-vowel becomes *āu* (137c): thus, from *havyavāh* sacrifice-bearing (epithet of Agni), *havyavāt*, *havyavāham*, *havyāūhā*, etc.; *havyavāhāu*, *havyavādbhyām*, *havyāūhos*; *havyavāhas*, *havyāūhas*, *havyavādbhis*, etc. And *çvetavāh* (not quotable) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in *vās* and the vocative in *vas* or *vās*.

a. In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with *vah* have been found to occur: namely, -vāt, -vāham, -vāhāu or -vāhā, and -vāhas. But feminines in *ī*, from the weakest stem — as *turyāuhī*, *dityāuhī*, *paṣṭhāuhī* — are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. TS. has the irregular nom. sing. *paṣṭhavāt*.

404. Of very irregular formation and inflection is one common compound of *vah*, namely *anaḍvāh* (anas + *vah* burden-bearing or cart-drawing, i. e. *ox*). Its stem-form in the strong cases is *anaḍvāh*, in the weakest *anaḍūh*, and in the middle *anaḍūd* (perhaps by dissimilation from *anaḍūd*). Moreover, its nom. and voc. sing. are made in *vān* and *van* (as if from a *vant*-stem). Thus:

|     | Singular.  | Dual.         | Plural.     |
|-----|------------|---------------|-------------|
| N.  | anaḍvān    | } anaḍvāhāu   | anaḍvāhas   |
| A.  | anaḍvāham  |               | anaḍūhas    |
| I.  | anaḍūhā    | } anaḍūdbhyām | anaḍūdbhis  |
| D.  | anaḍūhe    |               | anaḍūdbhyas |
| Ab. | } anaḍūhas | } anaḍūhos    | anaḍūhām    |
| G.  |            |               | anaḍūtsu    |
| L.  | anaḍūhi    | } anaḍvāhāu   | anaḍvāhas   |
| V.  | anaḍvan    |               |             |

a. *Anaḍúdbhyas* (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. But compounds showing the middle stem — as *anaḍucchata*, *anaḍudarha* — are met with in *Brāhmaṇas* etc.

b. The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either *anaḍuhī* (ÇB.) or *anaḍvāhī* (K. MS.).

405. The root *sah* *overcome* has in the Veda a double irregularity: its *s* is changeable to *ṣ* even after an *a*-vowel — as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV., *tvām ṣāt*) — while it sometimes remains unchanged after an *i* or *u*-vowel; and its *a* is either prolonged or remains unchanged, in both strong and weak cases. The quotable forms are: *-ṣāt*, *-ṣāham* or *-sāham* or *-sāham*, *-sāhā*, *-sāhe* or *-sāhe*, *-ṣāhas* or *-ṣāhas* or *-sāhas*; *-sāhā* (du.); *-ṣāhas* or *-sāhas*.

406. The compound *avayāj* (*vyaj* *make offering*) a certain priest or (BR.) a certain sacrifice is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. *avayās*, and to make its middle cases from *avayās*.

a. Its only quotable form is *avayās*, f. (RV. and AV., each once). If the stem is a derivative from *ava*+*vyaj* *conciliate*, *avayās* is very probably from *ava*+*vyā*, which has the same meaning. But *sadhamās* (RV., once) and *purodās* (RV. twice) show a similar apparent substitution in nom. sing. of the case-ending *s* after long *ā* for a final root-consonant (*d* and *ç* respectively). Compare also the alleged *çvetavās* (above, 403).

407. Compounds with *añc* or *ac*. The root *ac* or *añc* makes, in combination with prepositions and other words, a considerable class of familiarly used adjectives, of quite irregular formation and inflection, in some of which it almost loses its character of root, and becomes an ending of derivation.

a. A part of these adjectives have only two stem-forms: a strong in *añc* (yielding *añ*, from *añks*, in nom. sing. masc.), and a weak in *ac*; others distinguish from the middle in *ac* a weakest stem in *c*, before which the *a* is contracted with a preceding *i* or *u* into *i* or *ū*.

b. The feminine is made by adding *i* to the stem-form used in the weakest cases, and is accented like them.

408. As examples of inflection we may take *prāñc* *forward*, *east*, *pratyāñc* *opposite*, *west*, *viṣvañc* *going apart*.

Singular:

|        |                |             |                   |                |                  |               |
|--------|----------------|-------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------|
| N. V.  | <i>prāñ</i>    | <i>prāk</i> | <i>pratyāñ</i>    | <i>pratyāk</i> | <i>viṣvañ</i>    | <i>viṣvak</i> |
| A.     | <i>prāñcam</i> | <i>prāk</i> | <i>pratyāñcam</i> | <i>pratyāk</i> | <i>viṣvañcam</i> | <i>viṣvak</i> |
| I.     | <i>prācā</i>   |             | <i>praticā</i>    |                | <i>viṣūcā</i>    |               |
| D.     | <i>prāce</i>   |             | <i>praticé</i>    |                | <i>viṣūce</i>    |               |
| Ab. G. | <i>prācas</i>  |             | <i>praticás</i>   |                | <i>viṣūcas</i>   |               |
| L.     | <i>prāci</i>   |             | <i>praticí</i>    |                | <i>viṣūci</i>    |               |

Dual:

|           |                  |              |                     |                |                   |               |
|-----------|------------------|--------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| N. A. V.  | <i>prāñcāu</i>   | <i>prāci</i> | <i>pratyāñcāu</i>   | <i>praticí</i> | <i>viṣvañcāu</i>  | <i>viṣūci</i> |
| I. D. Ab. | <i>prāgbhyām</i> |              | <i>pratyāgbhyām</i> |                | <i>viṣvabhyām</i> |               |
| G. L.     | <i>prācos</i>    |              | <i>praticós</i>     |                | <i>viṣūcos</i>    |               |

Plural:

|        |           |        |              |           |             |          |
|--------|-----------|--------|--------------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| N. V.  | prāñcas   | prāñci | pratyāñcas   | pratyāñci | viśvañcas   | viśvañci |
| A.     | prācas    | prāñci | praticās     | pratyāñci | viśūcas     | viśvañci |
| I.     | prāgbhis  |        | pratyāgbhis  |           | viśvagbhis  |          |
| D. Ab. | prāgbhyas |        | pratyāgbhyas |           | viśvagbhyas |          |
| G.     | prācām    |        | praticām     |           | viśūcām     |          |
| L.     | prākṣu    |        | pratyākṣu    |           | viśvakṣu    |          |

a. The feminine stems are *prāci*, *praticī*, *viśūci*, respectively.

b. No example of the middle forms excepting the nom. etc. sing. neut. (and this generally used as adverb) is found either in RV. or AV. In the same texts is lacking the nom. etc. pl. neut. in *ñci*; but of this a number of examples occur in the Brāhmaṇas: thus, *prāñci*, *pratyāñci*, *arvāñci*, *samyāñci*, *sadhryañci*, *anvañci*.

409. a. Like *prāñc* are inflected *āpāñc*, *āvāñc*, *pārāñc*, *arvāñc*, *adharāñc*, and others of rare occurrence.

b. Like *pratyāñc* are inflected *nyāñc* (i. e. *nīāñc*), *samyāñc* (*sam* + *añc*, with irregularly inserted *i*), and *ūdañc* (weakest stem *ūdic*: *ud* + *añc*, with *i* inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.

c. Like *viśvañc* is inflected *anvāñc*, also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.

d. Still more irregular is *tiryāñc*, of which the weakest stem is *tirāc* (*tirās* + *ac*: the other stems are made from *tir* + *añc* or *ac*, with the inserted *i*).

410. The accentuation of these words is irregular, as regards both the stems themselves and their inflected forms. Sometimes the one element has the tone and sometimes the other, without any apparent reason for the difference. If the compound is accented on the final syllable, the accent is shifted in RV. to the ending in the weakest cases provided their stem shows the contraction to *ī* or *ū*: thus, *prācā*, *arvācā*, *adharācas*, but *praticā*, *anūcās*, *samīci*. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, *praticī*, *samīci*, *anūci* (RV. has *praticim* once). The shift of accent to the endings, and even in polysyllabic stems, is against all usual analogy.

#### B. Derivative stems in *as*. *is*, *us*.

411. The stems of this division are prevailing neuter; but there are also a few masculines, and one or two feminines. ✓

412. The stems in *अस्* *as* are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix *अस्* *as* (a small number also

with तस् *tas* and नस् *nas*, and some are obscure); the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes इस् *is* and उस् *us*.

413. Their inflection is almost entirely regular. But masculine and feminine stems in अस् *as* lengthen the vowel of the ending in nom. sing.; and the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. make the same prolongation (of अ *a* or इ *i* or उ *u*) before the inserted nasal (anuvāra).

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनस् *mānas* n. *mind*; अङ्गिरस् *āṅgiras* m. *Angiras*; हविस् *havis* n. *oblation*.

Singular: n.

m.

n.

|       |        |                  |                        |                   |
|-------|--------|------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| φ     | N.     | मनस्<br>mānas    | अङ्गिरास्<br>āṅgirās   | हविस्<br>havis    |
| -am-φ | A.     | मनस्<br>mānas    | अङ्गिरसम्<br>āṅgirasam | हविस्<br>havis    |
| -ā    | I.     | मनसा<br>mānasā   | अङ्गिरसा<br>āṅgirasā   | हविषा<br>haviṣā   |
| -e    | D.     | मनसे<br>mānase   | अङ्गिरसे<br>āṅgirase   | हविषे<br>haviṣe   |
| -as   | Ab. G. | मनसस्<br>mānasas | अङ्गिरसस्<br>āṅgirasas | हविषस्<br>haviṣas |
| -i    | L.     | मनसि<br>mānasi   | अङ्गिरसि<br>āṅgirasi   | हविषि<br>haviṣi   |
|       | V.     | मनस्<br>mānas    | अङ्गिरस्<br>āṅgiras    | हविस्<br>havis    |

Dual:

|           |                        |                              |                           |
|-----------|------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| N. A. V.  | मनसौ<br>mānasī         | अङ्गिरसौ<br>āṅgirasāu        | हविषौ<br>haviṣī           |
| I. D. Ab. | मनोभ्याम्<br>mānobhyām | अङ्गिरोभ्याम्<br>āṅgirobhyām | हविर्भ्याम्<br>haviṛbhyām |
| G. L.     | मनसोस्<br>mānasos      | अङ्गिरसोस्<br>āṅgirasos      | हविषोस्<br>haviṣos        |

ext. sandhi

## Plural:

|          |                       |                             |                          |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| N. A. V. | मनांसि<br>mánāṅsi     | अङ्गिरसम्<br>āṅgirasas      | हवींषि<br>havīṅṣi        |
| I.       | मनोभिस्<br>mánobhis   | अङ्गिरोभिस्<br>āṅgirobhis   | हविर्भिस्<br>havírbhis   |
| D. Ab.   | मनोभ्यस्<br>mánobhyas | अङ्गिरोभ्यस्<br>āṅgirobhyas | हविर्भ्यस्<br>havírbhyas |
| G.       | मनसाम्<br>mánasām     | अङ्गिरसाम्<br>āṅgirasām     | हविषाम्<br>havíṣām       |
| L.       | मनःसु<br>mánas̥su     | अङ्गिरःसु<br>āṅgiraḥsu      | हविःषु<br>havíḥṣu        |

ext. sandhi

In like manner, चक्षुस् *cákṣus* n. *eye* forms चक्षुषा *cákṣuṣā*, चक्षुर्भ्याम् *cákṣurbhyām*, चक्षूषि *cákṣūṅṣi*, and so on.

415. Vedic etc. Irregularities. *a*. In the older language, the endings *-asam* (acc. sing.) and *-asas* (generally nom.-acc. pl.; once or twice gen.-abl. sing.) of stems in *as* are not infrequently contracted to *-ām*, *-ās* — e. g. *āçām*, *vedhām*; *surādhās*, *ánāgās* — and out of such forms grow, both earlier and later, substitute-stems in *ā*, as *āçā*, *jarā*, *medhā*. So from other forms grow stems in *a* and in *asa*, which exchange more or less with those in *as* through the whole history of the language.

*b*. More scattering irregularities may be mentioned, as follows: 1. The usual masc. and fem. du. ending in *ā* instead of *āu*; — 2. \**uṣās* f. *dawn* often prolongs its *a* in the other strong cases, as in the nom. sing.: thus, *uṣāsam*, *uṣāsā*, *uṣāsas* (and once in a weak case, *uṣāsas*); and in its instr. pl. occurs once (RV.) *uṣādbhis* instead of *uṣóbhis*; — 3. from *toçās* is once (RV.) found a similar dual, *toçāsā*; — 4. from *svávas* and *svátavas* occur in RV. a nom. sing. masc. in *vān*, as if from a stem in *vant*; and in the Brāhmaṇas is found the dat.-abl. pl. of like formation *svátavadbhyas*.

*c*. The stems in *is* and *us* also show transitions to stems in *i* and *u*, and in *iṣa* and *uṣa*. From *janús* is once (RV.) made the nom. sing. *janūs*, after the manner of an *as*-stem (cf. also *janūrvāsas* ÇB.).

416. The grammarians regard *uçānas* m. as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (355a), but give it the irregular nom. *uçānā* and the voc. *uçanas* or *uçana* or *uçanan*. Forms from the *as*-stem, even nom., are sometimes met with in the later literature.

*a*. As to forms from *as*-stems to *āhan* or *āhar* and *ūdhan* or *ūdhar*, see below, 430.

## Adjectives.

417. a. A few neuter nouns in *as* with accent on the radical syllable have corresponding adjectives or appellatives in *ās*, with accent on the ending: thus, for example, *āpas work*, *apās active*; *tāras quickness*, *tarās quick*; *yāças glory*, *yaças glorious*. A few other similar adjectives — *as tavās mighty*, *vedhās pious* — are without corresponding nouns.

b. Original adjectives in *is* do not occur (as to alleged desiderative adjectives in *is*, see 392 d). But in *us* are found as many adjectives as nouns (about ten of each class); and in several instances adjective and noun stand side by side, without difference of accent such as appears in the stems in *as*: e. g. *tāpus heat and hot*; *vāpus wonder and wonderful*.

418. Adjective compounds having nouns of this division as final member are very common: thus, *sumānas favorably minded*; *dirghāyus long-lived*; *çukrāçocis having brilliant brightness*. The stem-form is the same for all genders, and each gender is inflected in the usual manner, the stems in *as* making their nom. sing. masc. and fem. in *ās* (like *āṅgiras*, above). Thus, from *sumānas*, the nom. and accus. are as follows:

| Singular. |           |      | Dual.     |       |           | Plural. |    |    |
|-----------|-----------|------|-----------|-------|-----------|---------|----|----|
| m.        | f.        | n.   | m.        | f.    | n.        | m.      | f. | n. |
| N.        | sumānās   | -nas | sumānasāu | -nasī | sumānasas | -nāṇsi  |    |    |
| A.        | sumānasam | -nas |           |       |           |         |    |    |

and the other cases (save the vocative) are alike in all genders.

a. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, the neut. nom. sing. is in a considerable number of instances made in *ās*, like the other genders.

b. From *dirghāyus*, in like manner:

|    |                  |                     |               |        |
|----|------------------|---------------------|---------------|--------|
| N. | dirghāyus        | } dirghāyusāu -yuṣī | dirghāyusas   | -yūṇṣi |
| A. | dirghāyusam -yus |                     |               |        |
| I. | dirghāyusā       | dirghāyurbhyām      | dirghāyurbhis |        |
|    | etc.             | etc.                | etc.          |        |

419. The stem *anehās unrivalled* (defined as meaning *time* in the later language) forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. *anehā*.

C. Derivative stems in *an*.

420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes *अन् an*, *मन् man*, and *वन् van*, together with a few of more questionable etymology which are inflected like them. They are almost exclusively masculine and neuter.

421. The stem has a triple form. In the strong cases

of the masculine, the vowel of the ending is prolonged to आ ा; in the weakest cases it is in general struck out altogether; in the middle cases, or before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, the final न् n is dropped. The न् n is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving आ ा as final in the masculine, अ a in the neuter).

a. The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual analogy (311 b): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening to आ ा, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of अ a — but this only optionally, not necessarily.

b. In the loc. sing., also, the a may be either rejected or retained (compare the corresponding usage with र्-stems: 373). And after the m or v of man or van, when these are preceded by another consonant, the a is always retained, to avoid a too great accumulation of consonants.

422. The vocative sing. is in masculines the pure stem; in neuters, either this or like the nominative. The rest of the inflection requires no description.

423. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that when, in the weakest cases, an acute á of the suffix is lost, the tone is thrown forward upon the ending.

424. Examples of declension. As such may be taken राजन् rájan m. *king*; आत्मन् ātmán m. *soul, self*; नामन् nāman n. *name*. Thus:

|    | Singular: न् n.    | म m.                | न n.                   |
|----|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| N. | राजा<br>rájā       | आत्मा<br>ātmā       | नाम<br>nāma - 0        |
| A. | राजानम्<br>rájānam | आत्मानम्<br>ātmānam | नाम<br>nāma - 2m ∞ - 0 |
| I. | राज्ञा<br>rájñā    | आत्मना<br>ātmānā    | नाम्ना<br>nāmñā - 2    |
| D. | राज्ञे<br>rájñe    | आत्मने<br>ātmāne    | नाम्ने<br>nāmne - e    |

|           |                                |                         |                                |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ab. G.    | राज्ञस्<br>rājñas              | आत्मनस्<br>ātmānas      | नाम्नस्<br>nāmnas              |
| L.        | राज्ञि, राजान<br>rājñi, rājani | आत्मनि<br>ātmāni        | नाम्नि, नामनि<br>nāmni, nāmāni |
| V.        | राज्ञन्<br>rājjan              | आत्मन्<br>ātman         | नामन्, नाम<br>nāman, nāma      |
|           | Dual:                          |                         |                                |
| N. A. V.  | राज्ञानौ<br>rājñānāu           | आत्मानौ<br>ātmānāu      | नाम्नौ, नामनौ<br>nāmni, nāmāni |
| I. D. Ab. | राज्ञभ्याम्<br>rājñabhyām      | आत्मभ्याम्<br>ātmābhyām | नामभ्याम्<br>nāmabhyām         |
| G. L.     | राज्ञोस्<br>rājños             | आत्मनोस्<br>ātmānos     | नाम्नोस्<br>nāmnos             |
|           | Plural:                        |                         |                                |
| N.        | राज्ञानस्<br>rājñānas          | आत्मानस्<br>ātmānas     | नामानि<br>nāmāni               |
| A.        | राज्ञस्<br>rājñas              | आत्मनस्<br>ātmānas      | नामानि<br>nāmāni               |
| I.        | राज्ञभिस्<br>rājñabhis         | आत्मभिस्<br>ātmābhis    | नामभिस्<br>nāmabhis            |
| D. Ab.    | राज्ञभ्यस्<br>rājñabhyas       | आत्मभ्यस्<br>ātmābhyas  | नामभ्यस्<br>nāmabhyas          |
| G.        | राज्ञाम्<br>rājñām             | आत्मनाम्<br>ātmānām     | नाम्नाम्<br>nāmnam             |
| L.        | राज्ञसु<br>rājñasu             | आत्मसु<br>ātmāsu        | नामसु<br>nāmasu                |

a. The weakest cases of *mūrdhān* m. *head*, would be accented *mūrdhnā*, *mūrdhné*, *mūrdhnós*, *mūrdhnás* (acc. pl.), *mūrdhnām*, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., *mūrdhni* or *mūrdhāni*).

425. Vedic Irregularities. a. Here, as elsewhere, the ending of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. masc. is usually *ā* instead of *āu*.

b. The briefer form (with ejected *a*) of the loc. sing., and of the neut. nom.-acc.-voc. du., is quite unusual in the older language. RV. writes once *ṣatadāvni*, but it is to be read *ṣatadāvani*; and similar cases occur in AV. (but also several times *-mni*). In the Brāhmaṇas, too, such forms as *dhāmani* and *sāmanī* are very much more common than such as *ahni* and *lomnī*.



c. But throughout both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, an abbreviated form of the loc. sing., with the ending *i* omitted, or identical with the stem, is of considerably more frequent occurrence than the regular form: thus, *mūrdhán*, *kárman*, *ádhan*, beside *mūrdhāni* etc. The *n* has all the usual combinations of a final *n*: e. g. *mūrdhann asya*, *mūrdhant sa*, *mūrdhañs tvā*.

d. In the nom.-acc. pl. neut., also, an abbreviated form is common, ending in *ā* or (twice as often) *a*, instead of *āni*: thus, *brāhma* and *brāhmā*, beside *brāhmāni*: compare the similar series of endings from *a*-stems, 329 c.

e. From a few stems in *man* is made an abbreviated inst. sing., with loss of *m* as well as of *a*: thus, *mahinā*, *prathinā*, *variṇā*, *dānā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, for *mahimnā* etc. And *drāghmā* and *raçmā* (RV., each once) are perhaps for *drāghmānā*, *raçmānā*.

f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes found with the *a* of the suffix retained: thus, for example, *bhūmanā*, *dāmane*, *yāmanas*, *ukṣāṇas* (accus. pl.), etc. In the infinitive datives (970 d) — *trāmaṇe*, *vidmāne*, *dāvāne*, etc. — the *a* always remains. About as numerous are the instances in which the *a*, omitted in the written form of the text, is, as the metre shows, to be restored in reading.

g. The voc. sing. in *vas*, which is the usual Vedic form from stems in *vant* (below, 454 b), is found also from a few in *van*, perhaps by a transfer to the *vant*-declension: thus, *ṛtāvas*, *evayāvas*, *khidvas* (?), *prātaritvas*, *mātariçvas*, *vibhāvas*.

h. For words of which the *a* is not made long in the strong cases, see the next paragraph.

426. A few stems do not make the regular lengthening of *a* in the strong cases (except the nom. sing.). Thus:

a. The names of divinities, *pūṣān*, *aryamān*: thus, *pūṣā*, *pūṣāṇam*, *pūṣṇā*, etc.

b. In the Veda, *ukṣān bull* (but also *ukṣāṇam*); *yóṣan maiden*; *vīṣan virile, bull* (but *vīṣāṇam* and *vīṣāṇas* are also met with); *tmān*, abbreviation of *ātman*; and two or three other scattering forms: *anarváṇam*, *jémanā*. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre seems to demand *a* where *ā* is written.

427. The stems *çván m. dog* and *yúvan young* have in the weakest cases the contracted form *çún* and *yún* (with retention of the accent); in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, *çvā*, *çvānam*, *çúnā*, *çúne*, etc., *çvábhyām*, *çvábhis*, etc.; *yúvā*, *yúvānam*, *yūnā*, *yúvabhis*, etc.

a. In dual, RV. has once *yūnā* for *yúvānā*.

428. The stem *maghávan generous* (later, almost exclusively a name of Indra) is contracted in the weakest cases to *maghón*: thus, *maghāvā*, *maghāvānam*, *maghónā*, *maghóne*, etc.

a. The RV. has once the weak form *maghónas* in nom. pl.

b. Parallel with this is found the stem *maghávant* (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, *maghavadbhis*, *maghavatsu*, etc. (not *maghavabhis* etc.).

429 a. Stems in *a*, *ma*, *va*, parallel with those in *an*, *man*, *van*, and doubtless in many cases derived from them through transitional forms, are frequent in both the earlier and the later language, particularly as final members of compounds.

b. A number of *an*-stems are more or less defective, making a part of their forms from other stems. Thus:

430. a. The stem *áhan* n. *day* is in the later language used only in the strong and weakest cases, the middle (with the nom. sing., which usually follows their analogy) coming from *áhar* or *áhas*: namely, *áhar* nom.-acc. sing., *áhobhyām*, *áhobhis*, etc. (PB. has *aharbhis*); but *áhnā* etc., *áhni* or *áhani* (or *áhan*), *áhnī* or *áhani*, *áhāni* (and, in V., *áhā*).

b. In the oldest language, the middle cases *áhabhis*, *áhabyas*, *áhasu* also occur.

c. In composition, only *ahar* or *ahas* is used as preceding member; as final member, *ahar*, *ahas*, *ahan*, or the derivatives *aha*, *ahna*.

d. The stem *údhan* n. *udder* exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with *údhar* and *údhas*, but has become later an *as*-stem only (except in the fem. *údhni* of adjective compounds): thus, *údhar* or *údhas*, *údhnas*, *údhan* or *údhani*, *údhabbhis*, *údhasu*. As derivatives from it are made both *údhanya* and *údhasya*.

431. The neuter stems *akṣán* *eye*, *asthán* *bone*, *dadhán* *curds*, *sakthán* *thigh*, form in the later language only the weakest cases, *akṣnā*, *asthné*, *dadhnás*, *sakthnī* or *sakthāni*, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in *i*, *ákṣi* etc.: see above, 343i.

a. In the older language, other cases from the *an*-stems occur: thus, *akṣāni*, *akṣābhis*, and *akṣasu*; *asthāni*, *asthābhis*, and *asthābhyas*; *sakthāni*.

432. The neuter stems *asán* *blood*, *yakán* *liver*, *ṣakán* *ordure*, *āsán* *mouth*, *udán* *water*, *doṣán* *fore-arm*, *yūṣán* *broth*, are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems *ásrj*, *yákr̥t*, *ṣákr̥t*, *āsyā*, *údaka* (in older language *udaká*), *dós*, *yūṣá*, which are fully inflected.

a. Earlier occurs also the dual *doṣāni*.

433. The stem *pánthan* m. *road* is reckoned in the later language as making the complete set of strong cases, with the irregularity that the nom.-voc. sing. adds a *s*. The corresponding middle cases are made from *pathí*, and the weakest from *path*. Thus:

from **pánthan** — **pánthās**, **pánthānam**; **pánthānāu**; **pánthānas**;

from **pathí** — **pathíbhyām**; **pathíbhis**, **pathíbhyas**, **pathíṣu**;

from **path** — **pathā**, **pathé**, **pathás**, **pathí**; **pathós**; **pathás** or **páthas** (accus.), **pathám**.

a. In the oldest language (RV.), however, the strong stem is only **pánthā**: thus, **pánthās**, nom. sing.; **pánthām**, acc. sing.; **pánthās**, nom. pl.; and even in AV., **pánthānam** and **pánthānas** are rare compared with the others. From **pathí** occur also the nom. pl. **patháyas** and gen. pl. **pathinām**. RV. has, once **páthās**, acc. pl., with long ā.

434. The stems **mánthan** m. *stirring-stick*, and **ṛbhukṣān** m., an epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with **pánthan**; but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from the former the acc. sing. **mánthām**, and gen. pl. **mathinām** (like the corresponding cases from **pánthan**); from the latter, the nom. sing. **ṛbhukṣās** and voc. pl. **ṛbhukṣās**, like the corresponding Vedic forms of **pánthan**; but also the acc. sing. **ṛbhukṣānam** and nom. pl. **ṛbhukṣānas**, which are after quite another model.

### Adjectives.

435. Original adjective stems in an are almost exclusively those made with the suffix **van**, as **yájvan** *sacrificing*, **sútvan** *pressing the soma*, **jítvan** *conquering*. The stem is masc. and neut. only (but sporadic cases of its use as fem. occur in RV.); the corresponding fem. stem is made in **varī**: thus, **yájvarī**, **jítvarī**.

436. Adjective compounds having a noun in an as final member are inflected after the model of noun-stems; and the masculine forms are sometimes used also as feminine; but usually a special feminine is made by adding **ī** to the weakest form of the masculine stem: thus, **sómarājñī**, **kīlālodhnī**, **ékamūrdhnī**, **durnāmñī**.

437. But (as was pointed out above: 429 a) nouns in an occurring as final members of compounds often substitute a stem in a for that in an: thus, **-rāja**, **-janma**, **-adhva**, **-aha**; their feminine is in ā. Occasional exchanges of stems in **van** and in **vant** also occur: thus, **vivásvan** and **vivásvant**.

a. The remaining divisions of the consonantal declension are made up of adjective stems only.

### D. Derivative stems (adjective) in in.

438. The stems of this division are those formed with the suffixes **इन् in**, **मिन् min**, and **विन् vin**. They are mas-

culine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ई I.

a. The stems in in are very numerous, since almost any noun in a in the language may form a possessive derivative adjective with this suffix: thus, *bāla strength*, *balín m. n. balīni f. possessing strength, strong*. Stems in vin (1232), however, are very few, and those in min (1231) still fewer.

439. Their inflection is quite regular, except that they lose their final न् n in the middle cases (before an initial consonant of the ending), and also in the nom. sing., where the masculine lengthens the ई i by way of compensation. The voc. sing. is in the masculine the bare stem; in the neuter, either this or like the nominative.

a. In all these respects, it will be noticed, the in-declension agrees with the an-declension; but it differs from the latter in never losing the vowel of the ending.

440. Example of inflection. As such may be taken बलिन् *balín strong*. Thus:

|     | Singular.                            |             | Dual.                  |                 | Plural.               |                 |
|-----|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
|     | m.                                   | n.          | m.                     | n.              | m.                    | n.              |
| N.  | बली<br>balí                          | बलि<br>balí | बलिनौ<br>balínāu       | बलिना<br>balínī | बलिनम्<br>balínas     | बलीनि<br>balīni |
| A.  | बलिनम्<br>balínam                    | बलि<br>balí |                        |                 |                       |                 |
| I.  | बलिना<br>balínā                      |             | बलिभ्याम्<br>balíbhyaṃ |                 | बलिभिम्<br>balíbbhis  |                 |
| D.  | बलिने<br>balíne                      |             |                        |                 | बलिभ्यम्<br>balíbhyaś |                 |
| Ab. | बलिनम्<br>balínas                    |             | बलिनोम्<br>balínos     |                 | बलिनाम्<br>balínām    | बलिषु<br>balíṣu |
| G.  |                                      |             |                        |                 |                       |                 |
| L.  | बलिनि<br>balíni                      |             |                        |                 |                       |                 |
| V.  | बलिन् बलिन, बलि<br>balín bálin, bálí |             |                        |                 |                       |                 |

a. The derived feminine stem in inī is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative ī (364).

441. a. There are no irregularities in the inflection of in-stems, in either the earlier language or the later — except the usual Vedic dual ending in ā instead of āu.

b. Stems in in exchange with stems in i throughout the whole history of the language, those of the one class being developed out of those of the other often through transitional forms. In a much smaller number of cases, stems in in are expanded to stems in ina: e. g. ṣākīnā (RV.), ṣaṣmīṇa (B.), barhiṇa, bhajīna.

#### E. Derivative stems (adjective) in ant (or at).

442. These stems fall into two sub-divisions: 1. those made by the suffix अन् ant (or अत् at), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes मन् mant and वन् vant (or मत् mat and वत् vat). They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ई ī.

##### 1. Participles in ant or at.

443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in अन् ant and अत् at. The former is taken in the strong cases of the masculine, with, as usual, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neuter; the latter is taken by all the remaining cases.

a. But, in accordance with the rule for the formation of the feminine stem (below, 449), the future participles, and the present participles of verbs of the tud-class or accented ā-class (752), and of verbs of the ad-class or root-class ending in ā, are by the grammarians allowed to make the nom.-acc.-voc. du. neut. from either the stronger or the weaker stem; and the present participles from all other present-stems ending in a are required to make the same from the strong stem.

444. Those verbs, however, which in the 3d pl. pres. active lose न् n of the usual ending ति nti (550 b), lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem.

a. Such are the verbs forming their present-stem by reduplication without added *a*: namely, those of the reduplicating or *hu*-class (655) and the intensives (1012): thus, from *yhu*, present-stem *juhu*, participle-stem *júhvat*; intensive-stem *johu*, intensive participle-stem *jóhvat*. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, *cákṣat*, *dāṣat*, *dāsat*, *ṣāsat*, *sāṣcat*; the aorist participle *dhákṣat*, and *vāghát*(?). *Vavṛdhánt* (RV., once), which has the *n* notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in *a*: compare *vāvṛdhánta*, *vāvṛdhásva*.

b. Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. in *ánti*.

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in *अन्* an by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form *अत्स्* ants. The vocative of each gender is like the nominative.

446. Stems accented on the final syllable throw the accent forward upon the case-ending in the weakest cases (not in the middle also).

a. In the dual neut. (as in the feminine stem) from such participles, the accent is *ánti* if the *n* is retained, *atí* if it is lost.

447. Examples of declension. As such may serve *भवत्* *bhávant* *being*, *अदत्* *adánt* *eating*, *बुधत्* *júhvat* *sacrificing*. Thus:

|        | Singular:            |                |                    |              |                      |                 |
|--------|----------------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| N.     | भवन्<br>bhávan       | भवत्<br>bhávat | अदन्<br>adán       | अदत्<br>adát | बुधत्<br>júhvat      | बुधत्<br>júhvat |
| A.     | भवत्तम्<br>bhávāntam | भवत्<br>bhávat | अदत्तम्<br>adāntam | अदत्<br>adát | बुधत्तम्<br>júhvatam | बुधत्<br>júhvat |
| I.     | भवता<br>bhávata      |                | अदता<br>adatā      |              | बुधता<br>júhvata     |                 |
| D.     | भवते<br>bhávate      |                | अदते<br>adaté      |              | बुधते<br>júhvate     |                 |
| Ab. G. | भवतस्<br>bhávatas    |                | अदतस्<br>adatás    |              | बुधतस्<br>júhvatas   |                 |
| L.     | भवति<br>bhávati      |                | अदति<br>adatí      |              | बुधति<br>júhvati     |                 |

|           |                                      |                                  |  |
|-----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| V.        | भवन् भवत्<br>bhāvan bhāvat           | अदन् अदत्<br>ādan ādat           | जुह्वन् जुह्वत्<br>jūhvāt                  |
|           | Dual:                                |                                  |  |
| N. A. V.  | भवन्तौ भवन्ती<br>bhāvāntāu bhāvāntī  | अदन्तौ अदन्ती<br>adāntāu adāntī  | जुह्वन्तौ जुह्वन्ती<br>jūhvātāu jūhvātī    |
| I. D. Ab. | भवद्भ्याम्<br>bhāvadbhyām            | अदद्भ्याम्<br>adādbhyām          | जुह्वद्भ्याम्<br>jūhvadbhyām               |
| G. L.     | भवतोस्<br>bhāvatos                   | अदतोस्<br>adātós                 | जुह्वतोस्<br>jūhvatos                      |
|           | Plural:                              |                                  |  |
| N. V.     | भवन्तस् भवन्ति<br>bhāvāntas bhāvānti | अदन्तस् अदन्ति<br>adāntas adānti | जुह्वन्तस् जुह्वन्ति<br>jūhvāntas jūhvānti |
| A.        | भवतस् भवन्ति<br>bhāvatas bhāvānti    | अदतस् अदन्ति<br>adātás adānti    | जुह्वतस् जुह्वन्ति<br>jūhvatas jūhvānti    |
| I.        | भवद्भिस्<br>bhāvadbhis               | अदद्भिस्<br>adādbhis             | जुह्वद्भिस्<br>jūhvadbhis                  |
| D. Ab.    | भवद्भ्यास्<br>bhāvadbhyas            | अदद्भ्यास्<br>adādbhyas          | जुह्वद्भ्यास्<br>jūhvadbhyas               |
| G.        | भवताम्<br>bhāvātām                   | अदताम्<br>adātām                 | जुह्वताम्<br>jūhvātām                      |
| L.        | भवत्सु<br>bhāvatsu                   | अदत्सु<br>adātsu                 | जुह्वत्सु<br>jūhvatsu                      |

a. The future participle *bhaviṣyánt* may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either *bhaviṣyāntī* or *bhaviṣyatī*; *tudánt*, either *tudāntī* or *tudatī*; *yānt* (*ya*), either *yāntī* or *yātī*. And *jūhvāt*, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also *jūhvānti* (beside *jūhvati*, as given in the paradigm above).

b. But these strong forms (as well as *bhāvāntī*, du., and its like from present-stems in unaccented a) are quite contrary to general analogy, and of somewhat doubtful character. No example of them is quotable, either from the older or from the later language. The cases concerned, indeed, would be everywhere of rare occurrence.

448. The Vedic deviations from the model as above given are few. The dual ending *āu* is only one sixth as common as *ā*. Anomalous accent is seen in a case or two: *acodāte*, *rathirāyātām*, and *vāghādbhis* (if this is a participle). The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. neut. is *sānti*, with lengthened *ā* (compare the forms in *ānti*, below, 451 a, 454 c); one or two examples in *anti* are quotable from B.

449. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding  $\frac{3}{4}$  I to either the strong or the weak stem-form of the masc.-neut. The rules as to which of the two forms shall be taken are the same with those given above respecting the nom. etc. dual neuter; namely:

a. Participles from tense-stems ending in unaccented a add i to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in anti.

b. Such are the bhū or unaccented a-class and the div or ya-class of present-stems (chap. IX.), and the desideratives and causatives (chap. XIV.): thus, from  $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$  (stem bháva), bhávanti; from  $\sqrt{\text{div}}$  (stem dívya), dívanti; from búbhūṣa and bhāváyā (desid. and caus. of  $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ ), búbhūṣanti and bhāváyanti.

c. Exceptions to this rule are now and then met with, even from the earliest period. Thus, RV. has járati, and AV. the desiderative siṣāsati; in B. occur vadati, çocati, tṛpyati, and in S. further tiṣṭhati, and the causative namayati; while in the epics and later such cases (including desideratives and causatives) are more numerous (about fifty are quotable), though still only sporadic.

d. Participles from tense-stems in accented á may add the feminine-sign either to the strong or to the weak stem-form, or may make their feminines in anti or in ati (with accent as here noted).

e. Such are the present-stems of the tud or accented á-class (751 ff.), the s-futures (932 ff.), and the denominatives (1053 ff.): thus, from  $\sqrt{\text{tud}}$  (stem tudá), tudanti or tudati; from bhaviṣyá (fut. of  $\sqrt{\text{bhū}}$ ), bhaviṣyanti or bhaviṣyati; from devayá (denom. of devá), devayanti or devayati.

f. The forms in anti from this class are the prevailing ones. No future fem. participle in ati is quotable from the older language. From pres.-stems in á are found there ṛñjati and siñcati (RV.), tudati and pinvati (AV.). From denominatives, devayati (RV.), durasyati and çatrūyati (AV.). In BhP. occurs dhakṣyati.

g. Verbs of the ad or root-class (811 ff.) ending in ā are given by the grammarians the same option as regards the feminine of the present participle: thus, from  $\sqrt{\text{yā}}$ , yānti or yāti. The older language affords no example of the former, so far as noted.

h. From other tense-stems than those already specified — that is to say, from the remaining classes of present-stems and from the intensives — the feminine is formed in ati (or, if the stem be otherwise accented than on the final, in ati) only.

i. Thus, adati from  $\sqrt{\text{ad}}$ ; jūhvati from  $\sqrt{\text{hu}}$ ; yuñjati from  $\sqrt{\text{yuj}}$ ; sunvati from  $\sqrt{\text{su}}$ ; kurvati from  $\sqrt{\text{kṛ}}$ ; kriṇati from  $\sqrt{\text{kṛi}}$ ; dēdīcati from dēdīç (intens. of  $\sqrt{\text{diç}}$ ).



j. Feminine stems of this class are occasionally (but the case is much less frequent than its opposite: above, c) found with the nasal: thus, *yāntī* (AV., once), *undāntī* (ÇB.; but probably from the secondary *ā*-stem), *gr̥hṇantī* (S.), and, in the epics and later, such forms as *bruvantī*, *rudantī*, *cinvantī*, *kurvantī*, *jānantī*, *muṣṇantī*.

450. A few words are participial in form and inflection, though not in meaning. Thus:

a. *br̥hānt* (often written *v̥r̥hānt*) *great*; it is inflected like a participle (with *br̥hātī* and *br̥hāntī* in du. and pl. neut.).

b. *māhānt* *great*; inflected like a participle, but with the irregularity that the *a* of the ending is lengthened in the strong forms: thus, *māhān*, *māhāntam*; *māhāntāu* (neut. *māhātī*); *māhāntas*, *māhāntī*: instr. *māhātā* etc.

c. *pīṣant* *speckled*, and (in Veda only) *rūṣant* *shining*.

d. *jāgat* *movable, lively* (in the later language, as neuter noun, *world*), a reduplicated formation from *γgam* *go*; its nom. etc. neut. pl. is allowed by the grammarians to be only *jāgati*.

e. *ṛhānt* *small* (only once, in RV., *ṛhāté*).

f. All these form their feminine in *ātī* only: thus, *br̥hātī*, *māhātī*, *pīṣātī* and *rūṣātī* (contrary to the rule for participles), *jāgātī*.

g. For *dānt* *tooth*, which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 396.

451. The pronominal adjectives *īyant* and *kīyant* are inflected like adjectives in *mant* and *vant*, having (452) *īyān* and *kīyān* as nom. masc. sing., *īyatī* and *kīyatī* as nom. etc. du. neut. and as feminine stems, and *īyanti* and *kīyanti* as nom. etc. plur. neut.

a. But the neut. pl. *īyāntī* and the loc. sing. (?) *kīyāti* are found in RV.

## 2. Possessives in *mant* and *vant*.

452. The adjectives formed by these two suffixes are inflected precisely alike, and very nearly like the participles in *ant*. From the latter they differ only by lengthening the *ā* in the nom. sing. masc.

a. The voc. sing. is in *an*, like that of the participle (in the later language, namely: for that of the oldest, see below, 454 b). The neut. nom. etc. are in the dual only *ātī* (or *ātī*), and in the plural *anti* (or *āntī*).

b. The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus, *matī*, *vatī* (or *mātī*, *vātī*). One or two cases of *nī* instead of *ī* are met with: thus, *antārvatnī* (B. and later), *pativatnī* (C.).

*rūpavātī* 2.11

c. The accent, however, is never thrown forward (as in the participle) upon the case-ending or the feminine ending.

453. To illustrate the inflection of such stems, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of पशुमन् *paṣumān* *possessing cattle*, and भगवन् *bhāgavan* *fortunate, blessed*. Thus:

|          |      | Singular:                                |                              |  |                              |
|----------|------|--|------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
|          |      | m.                                       | n.                           | m.                                       | n.                           |
| N.       |      | पशुमान्<br><i>paṣumān</i>                | पशुमत्<br><i>paṣumat</i>     | भगवान्<br><i>bhāgavān</i>                | भगवत्<br><i>bhāgavat</i>     |
| A.       |      | पशुमतम्<br><i>paṣumāntam</i>             | पशुमत्<br><i>paṣumat</i>     | भगवत्तम्<br><i>bhāgavantam</i>           | भगवत्<br><i>bhāgavat</i>     |
| I.       |      | पशुमता<br><i>paṣumatā</i><br>etc.        |                              | भगवता<br><i>bhāgavatā</i><br>etc.        |                              |
| V.       |      | पशुमन्<br><i>pāṣuman</i>                 | पशुमत्<br><i>pāṣumat</i>     | भगवन्<br><i>bhāgavan</i>                 | भगवत्<br><i>bhāgavat</i>     |
|          |      | Dual:                                    |                              |  |                              |
| N. A. V. |      | पशुमतौ<br><i>paṣumāntāu</i><br>etc.      | पशुमती<br><i>paṣumatī</i>    | भगवतौ<br><i>bhāgavantāu</i><br>etc.      | भगवती<br><i>bhāgavatī</i>    |
|          |      | Plural:                                  |                              |  |                              |
| N. V.    | 3. 3 | पशुमतस्<br><i>paṣumāntas</i>             | पशुमन्ति<br><i>paṣumānti</i> | भगवत्तस्<br><i>bhāgavantas</i>           | भगवन्ति<br><i>bhāgavanti</i> |
| A.       |      | पशुमतस्<br><i>paṣumāntas</i>             | पशुमन्ति<br><i>paṣumānti</i> | भगवत्तस्<br><i>bhāgavantas</i>           | भगवन्ति<br><i>bhāgavanti</i> |
| I.       |      | पशुमद्भिस्<br><i>paṣumādbhis</i><br>etc. |                              | भगवद्भिस्<br><i>bhāgavadbhis</i><br>etc. |                              |

454. Vedic Irregularities. a. In dual masc. nom. etc., ā (for āu) is the greatly prevailing ending.

b. In voc. sing. masc., the ending in the oldest language (RV.) is almost always in *as* instead of *an* (as in the perfect participle: below, 462 a): thus, *adriyas*, *harivas*, *bhānumas*, *haviṣmas*. Such vocatives in RV. occur more than a hundred times, while not a single unquestionable instance of one in *an* is to be found. In the other Vedic texts, vocatives in *as* are extremely rare (but *bhagavas* and its contraction *bhagos* are met with, even in the later language); and in their reproduction of RV

passages the *as* is usually changed to *an*. It was pointed out above (425g) that the RV. makes the *voc.* in *as* also apparently from a few *an*-stems.

c. In RV., the *nom. etc. pl. neut.*, in the only two instances that occur, ends in *ānti* instead of *anti*: thus, *ghṛtāvānti*, *paçumānti*. No such forms have been noted elsewhere in the older language: the SV. reads *anti* in its version of the corresponding passages, and a few examples of the same ending are quotable from the Brāhmaṇas: thus, *tāvanti*, *etāvanti*, *yāvanti*, *ghṛtāvanti*, *pravanti*, *ṛtumanti*, *yugmanti*. Compare 448, 451.

d. In a few (eight or ten) more or less doubtful cases, a confusion of strong and weak forms of stem is made; they are too purely sporadic to require reporting. The same is true of a case or two where a masculine form appears to be used with a feminine noun.

455. The stem *ārvant* *running, steed*, has the *nom. sing.* *ārvā*, from *ārvan*; and in the older language also the *voc.* *arvan* and *accus.* *ārvāṇam*.

456. Besides the participle *bhāvant*, there is another stem *bhāvant*, frequently used in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person (but construed, of course, with a verb in the third person), which is formed with the suffix *vant*, and so declined, having in the *nom. sing.* *bhāvān*; and the contracted form *bhos* of its old-style vocative *bhavas* is a common exclamation of address: *you, sir!* Its origin has been variously explained; but it is doubtless a contraction of *bhāgavant*.

457. The pronominal adjectives *tāvant*, *etāvant*, *yāvant*, and the Vedic *īvant*, *māvant*, *tvāvant*, etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

## F. Perfect Participles in *vāṇs*.

458. The active participles of the perfect tense-system are quite peculiar as regards the modifications of their stem. In the strong cases, including the *nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut.*, the form of their suffix is *वास्* *vāṇs*, which becomes, by regular process (150), *vān* in the *nom. sing.*, and which is shortened to *वन्* *van* in the *voc. sing.* In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into *उष्* *uṣ*. In the middle cases, including the *nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing.*, it is changed to *वत्* *vat*.

a. A union-vowel *i*, if present in the strong and middle cases, disappears in the weakest, before *uṣ*.

not used  
for long  
time

459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding  $\text{३ १}$  to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in उषी  $\text{úṣī}$ .

460. The accent is always upon the suffix, whatever be its form.

461. Examples of inflection. To show the inflection of these participles, we may take the stems विद्वांस् *vidvāns* *knowing* (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from  $\sqrt{\text{विद्}}$  *vid*, and तस्थिवांस् *tasthivāns* *having stood* from  $\sqrt{\text{स्था}}$  *sthā*.

## Singular:

|        | m.                      | n.                | m.                          | n.                    |
|--------|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| N.     | विद्वान्<br>vidvān      | विद्वत्<br>vidvāt | तस्थिवान्<br>tasthivān      | तस्थिवत्<br>tasthivāt |
| A.     | विद्वांसम्<br>vidvānsam | विद्वत्<br>vidvāt | तस्थिवांसम्<br>tasthivānsam | तस्थिवत्<br>tasthivāt |
| I.     | विदुषा<br>vidúṣā        |                   | तस्थुषा<br>tasthúṣā         |                       |
| D.     | विदुषे<br>vidúṣe        |                   | तस्थुषे<br>tasthúṣe         |                       |
| Ab. G. | विदुषस्<br>vidúṣas      |                   | तस्थुषस्<br>tasthúṣas       |                       |
| L.     | विदुषि<br>vidúṣi        |                   | तस्थुषि<br>tasthúṣi         |                       |
| V.     | विद्वन्<br>vidvan       | विद्वत्<br>vidvat | तस्थिवन्<br>tasthivan       | तस्थिवत्<br>tasthivat |

## Dual:

|           |                              |                  |                                  |                     |
|-----------|------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| N. A. V.  | विद्वांसौ<br>vidvānsāu       | विदुषी<br>vidúṣī | तस्थिवांसौ<br>tasthivānsāu       | तस्थुषी<br>tasthúṣī |
| I. D. Ab. | विद्वद्भ्याम्<br>vidvādbhyām |                  | तस्थिवद्भ्याम्<br>tasthivādbhyām |                     |
| G. L.     | विदुषोस्<br>vidúṣos          |                  | तस्थुषोस्<br>tasthúṣos           |                     |

|        |                             |                       |                                 |                           |
|--------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
|        | Plural:                     |                       |                                 |                           |
| N. V.  | विद्वांसम्<br>vidvāṅsas     | विद्वांसि<br>vidvāṅsi | तस्थिवांसम्<br>tasthivāṅsas     | तस्थिवांसि<br>tasthivāṅsi |
| A.     | विदुषम्<br>viduṣas          | विद्वांसि<br>vidvāṅsi | तस्युषम्<br>tasthūṣas           | तस्थिवांसि<br>tasthivāṅsi |
| I.     | विद्वद्भिस्<br>vidvādbhis   |                       | तस्थिवद्भिस्<br>tasthivādbhis   |                           |
| D. Ab. | विद्वद्भ्यस्<br>vidvādbhyas |                       | तस्थिवद्भ्यस्<br>tasthivādbhyas |                           |
| G.     | विदुषाम्<br>viduṣām         |                       | तस्युषाम्<br>tasthūṣām          |                           |
| L.     | विद्वत्सु<br>vidvātsu       |                       | तस्थिवत्सु<br>tasthivātsu       |                           |

a. The feminine stems of these two participles are विदुषी *viduṣī* and तस्युषी *tasthūṣī*.

b. Other examples of the different stems are:

from *√kr* — *cakrṇāṅs*, *cakrṇāt*, *cakrūṣ*, *cakrūṣī*;

from *√nī* — *ninivāṅs*, *ninivāt*, *ninyūṣ*, *ninyūṣī*;

from *√bhū* — *babhūvāṅs*, *babhūvāt*, *babhūvūṣ*, *babhūvūṣī*;

from *√tan* — *tenivāṅs*, *tenivāt*, *tenūṣ*, *tenūṣī*.

462. a. In the oldest language (RV.), the vocative sing. masc. (like that of *vant* and *mant*-stems: above, 454b) has the ending *vas* instead of *van*: thus, *cikitvas* (changed to *-van* in a parallel passage of AV.), *titirvas*, *dīdivas*, *mīḍhvas*.

b. Forms from the middle stem, in *vat*, are extremely rare earlier: only three (*tatanvāt* and *vavṛtvāt*, neut. sing., and *jāgrvādbhis*, instr. pl.), are found in RV., and not one in AV. And in the Veda the weakest stem (not, as later, the middle one) is made the basis of comparison and derivation: thus, *viduṣṭara*, *ādāṣṭara*, *mīḍhūṣṭama*, *mīḍhūṣmant*.

c. An example or two of the use of the weak stem-form for cases regularly made from the strong are found in RV.: they are *cakrūṣam*, acc. sing., and *ābibhyuṣas*, nom. pl.; *emuṣām*, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem *emuṣá*; and QB. has *proṣūṣam*. Similar instances, especially from *vidvāṅs*, are now and then met with later (see BR., under *vidvāṅs*).

d. The AV. has once *bhaktivāṅsas*, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage *bhaktivāṅas*; *cakhvāṅsam* (RV., once) is of doubtful character; *okivāṅsā* (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of *√uc*, elsewhere unknown.

## G. Comparatives in yāns or yas.

463. The comparative adjectives of primary formation (below, 467) have a double form of stem for masculine and neuter: a stronger, ending in यास् yāns (usually ईयास् īyāns), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in यस् yas (or ईयस् īyas), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in यन् yan (but for the older language see below, 465a).

a. The feminine is made by adding ई ī to the weak masc.-neut. stem.

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of अयस् ṛéyas *better*, and of गरीयस् gáriyas *heavier*. Thus:

|           |                             |                        |                                 |                            |
|-----------|-----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Singular: |                             |                        |                                 |                            |
| N.        | अयान्<br>ṛéyān              | अयस्<br>ṛéyas          | गरीयान्<br>gáriyān              | गरीयस्<br>gáriyas          |
| A         | अयांसम्<br>ṛéyāṅsam         | अयस्<br>ṛéyas          | गरीयांसम्<br>gáriyāṅsam         | गरीयस्<br>gáriyas          |
| I.        | अयसा<br>ṛéyasā<br>etc.      |                        | गरीयसा<br>gáriyasā<br>etc.      |                            |
| V.        | अयन्<br>ṛéyan               | अयस्<br>ṛéyas          | गरीयन्<br>gáriyan               | गरीयस्<br>gáriyas          |
| Dual:     |                             |                        |                                 |                            |
| N. A. V.  | अयांसौ<br>ṛéyāṅsāu<br>etc.  | अयसी<br>ṛéyasī<br>etc. | गरीयांसौ<br>gáriyāṅsāu<br>etc.  | गरीयसी<br>gáriyasī<br>etc. |
| Plural:   |                             |                        |                                 |                            |
| N. V.     | अयांसस्<br>ṛéyāṅsas         | अयांसि<br>ṛéyāṅsi      | गरीयांसस्<br>gáriyāṅsas         | गरीयांसि<br>gáriyāṅsi      |
| A.        | अयसस्<br>ṛéyasas            | अयांसि<br>ṛéyāṅsi      | गरीयसस्<br>gáriyasas            | गरीयांसि<br>gáriyāṅsi      |
| I.        | अयोभिस्<br>ṛéyobhis<br>etc. |                        | गरीयोभिस्<br>gáriyobhis<br>etc. |                            |

a. The feminine stems of these adjectives are *श्रेयसी* *śréyasī* and *गरीयसी* *gáriyasī*.

465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions: 454b, 462a) is in *yas* instead of *yan*: thus, *ojīyas*, *jyāyas* (RV.: no examples elsewhere have been noted).

b. No example of a middle case occurs in RV. or AV.

c. In the later language are found a very few apparent examples of strong cases made from the weaker stem-form: thus, *kaniyasam* and *yaviyasam* acc. masc., *kaniyasāu* du., *yaviyasas* nom. pl.

### Comparison.

466. Derivative adjective stems having a comparative and superlative meaning — or often also (and more originally) a merely intensive value — are made either directly from roots (by primary derivation), or from other derivative or compound stems (by secondary derivation).

a. The subject of comparison belongs more properly to the chapter of derivation; but it stands in such near relation to inflection that it is, in accordance with the usual custom in grammars, conveniently and suitably enough treated briefly here.

467. The suffixes of primary derivation are *इयस्* *īyas* (or *इयान्स* *īyāns*) for the comparative and *इष्ठ* *iṣṭha* for the superlative. The root before them is accented, and usually strengthened by gunating, if capable of it — or, in some cases, by nasalization or prolongation. They are much more frequently and freely used in the oldest language than later; in the classical Sanskrit, only a limited number of such comparatives and superlatives are accepted in use; and these attach themselves in meaning for the most part to other adjectives from the same root, which seem to be their corresponding positives; but in part also they are artificially connected with other words, unrelated with them in derivation.

a. Thus, from *√kṣip* *hurl* come *kṣépiyas* and *kṣépiṣṭha*, which belong in meaning to *kṣiprá* *quick*; from *√vṛ* *encompass* come *váriyas* and *váriṣṭha*, which belong to *urú* *broad*; while, for example,

*kānīyas* and *kāniṣṭha* are attached by the grammarians to *yúvan* *young*, or *ālpa* *small*; and *vārṣīyas* and *vārṣiṣṭha* to *vṛddhá* *old*.

468. From Veda and Brāhmaṇa together, considerably more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in *īyas* and *iṣṭha* (in many cases only one of the pair actually occurring) are to be quoted.

a. About half of these (in RV., the decided majority) belong, in meaning as in form, to the bare root in its adjective value, as used especially at the end of compounds, but sometimes also independently: thus, from *ytap* *burn* comes *tāpiṣṭha* *excessively burning*; from *yaj* *offer* come *yājīyas* and *yājīṣṭha* *better and best* (or *very well*) *sacrificing*; from *yudh* *fight* comes *yódhiyas* *fighting better*; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, *jú* *hasty, rapid* with *jáviyas* and *jáviṣṭha*.

b. In a little class of instances (eight), the root has a preposition prefixed, which then takes the accent: thus, *āgamiṣṭha* *especially coming hither*; *vīcayiṣṭha* *best clearing away*; — in a couple of cases (*ācramiṣṭha*, *āparāvapiṣṭha*, *āstheyas*), the negative particle is prefixed; — in a single word (*çāmbhaviṣṭha*), an element of another kind.

c. The words of this formation sometimes take an accusative object (see 271 e).

d. But even in the oldest language appears not infrequently the same attachment in meaning to a derivative adjective which (as pointed out above) is usual in the later speech.

e. Besides the examples that occur also later, others are met with like *vāriṣṭha* *choicest* (*vāra* *choice*), *bārhiṣṭha* *greatest* (*bṛhánt* *great*), *ōṣiṣṭha* *quickest* (*ōṣam* *quickly*), and so on. Probably by analogy with these, like formations are in a few cases made from the apparently radical syllables of words which have no otherwise traceable root in the language: thus, *kradhiyas* and *kradhiṣṭha* (K.) from *kṛdhú*, *stháviyas* and *stháviṣṭha* from *sthūrá*, *çāçīyas* (RV.) from *çāçvant*, *āniyas* (AV.) and *āniṣṭha* (TS.) from *anú*; and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes *īyas* and *iṣṭha* are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, *āçiṣṭha* from *āçú* (RV.: only case), *tíkṣṇīyas* (AV.) from *tíkṣṇá*, *bráhmīyas* and *bráhmīṣṭha* (TS. etc.) from *bráhman*, *dhármīṣṭha* (TA.) from *dhárman*, *dráçhiṣṭha* (TA.: instead of *dārhiṣṭha*) from *dr̥çhā*, *ráçhiyas* (TS.) from *raghu*. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.

f. In *náviyas* or *návyas* and *náviṣṭha*, from *náva* *new*, and in *sányas* from *sána* *old* (all RV.), we have also formations unconnected with verbal roots.

469. The stems in *iṣṭha* are inflected like ordinary adjectives in *a*, and make their feminines in *ā*; those in *īyas* have a peculiar declension, which has been described above (463 ff.).



470. Of peculiarities and irregularities of formation, the following may be noticed:

a. The suffix *īyas* has in a few instances the briefer form *yas*, generally as alternative with the other: thus, *táviyas* and *távyas*, *náviyas* and *návyas*, *vásiyas* and *vásyas*, *pániyas* and *pányas*; and so from *rabh* and *sah*; *sányas* occurs alone. From *bhū* come *bhūyas* and *bhūyiṣṭha*, beside which RV. has also *bhāvīyas*.

b. Of roots in *ā*, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to *e*: thus, *sthéyas*, *dhéṣṭha*, *yéṣṭha*; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as *dhāiṣṭha*, *yāiṣṭha*. The root *jyā* forms *jyéṣṭha*, but *jjáyas* (like *bhūyas*).

c. The two roots in *ī*, *prī* and *çrī*, form *préyas* and *préṣṭha* and *çréyas* and *çréṣṭha*.

d. From the root of *ṛjū* come, without strengthening, *ṛjīyas* and *ṛjiṣṭha*; but in the older language also, more regularly, *rájiyas* and *rájiṣṭha*.

471. The suffixes of secondary derivation are *तृ tara* and *तम tama*. They are of almost unrestricted application, being added to adjectives of every form, simple and compound, ending in vowels or in consonants — and this from the earliest period of the language until the latest. The accent of the primitive remains (with rare exceptions) unchanged; and that form of stem is generally taken which appears before an initial consonant of a case-ending (weak or middle form).

a. Examples (of older as well as later occurrence) are: from vowel-stems, *priyátara*, *váhnitama*, *rathítara* and *rathítama* (RV.), *cārutara*, *potṭtama*, *samraktatara*; — from consonant-stems, *çāh-tama*, *çāçvattama*, *mṛdayáttama*, *tavástara* and *tavástama*, *tuviṣ-ṭama*, *vápuṣṭara*, *tapasvítara*, *yaçasvítama*, *bhāgavattara*, *hira-nyavāçimattama*; — from compounds, *ratnadhātama*, *abhibhūtara*, *sukṭtara*, *pūrbhíttama*, *bhūyiṣṭhabhāktama*, *bhūridāvattara*, *çucivratatama*, *strīkāmatama*.

b. But in the Veda the final *n* of a stem is regularly retained: thus, *madíntara* and *madíntama*, *vṛṣántama*; and a few stems even add a nasal: thus, *surabhíntara*, *rayíntama*, *madhúntama*. In a case or two, the strong stem of a present participle is taken: thus, *vṛādhantama*, *sāhantama*; and, of a perfect participle, the weakest stem: thus, *vidúṣ-ṭara*, *mīḍhúṣṭama*. A feminine final *ī* is shortened: thus, *devitamā* (RV.), *tejasvinitamā* (K.).

c. In the older language, the words of this formation are not much more frequent than those of the other: thus, in RV. the stems in *tara* and *tama* are to those in *īyas* and *iṣṭha* as three to two; in AV., only as six to five: but later the former win a great preponderance.

472. These comparatives and superlatives are inflected like ordinary adjectives in *a*, forming their feminine in *ā*.

473. a. That (especially in the Veda) some stems which are nouns rather than adjectives form derivatives of comparison is natural enough, considering the uncertain nature of the division-line between substantive and adjective value. Thus, we have *vīrātara*, *vīrātama*, *vāhñitama*, *mātṛtama*, *nṛtama*, *marūtama*, and so on.

b. The suffixes *tara* and *tama* also make forms of comparison from some of the pronominal roots, as *ka*, *ya*, *i* (see below, 520); and from certain of the prepositions, as *ud*; and the adverbially used accusative (older, neuter, *-taram*; later, feminine, *-tarām*) of a comparative in *tara* from a preposition is employed to make a corresponding comparative to the preposition itself (below, 1119); while *-tarām* and *-tamām* make degrees of comparison from a few adverbs: thus, *natarām*, *natamām*, *kathamtarām*, *kutastarām*, *addhātamām*, *nīcāistarām*, etc.

c. By a wholly barbarous combination, finding no warrant in the earlier and more genuine usages of the language, the suffixes of comparison in their adverbial feminine form, *-tarām* and *-tamām*, are later allowed to be added to personal forms of verbs: thus, *sīdatetarām* (R.: the only case noted in the epics) is *more despondent*, *vyathayatitarām* *disturbs more*, *alabhatatarām* *obtained in a higher degree*, *hasiṣyatitarām* *will laugh more*. No examples of this use of *-tamām* are quotable.

d. The suffixes of secondary comparison are not infrequently added to those of primary, forming double comparatives and superlatives: thus, *garīyastara*, *çreṣṭhata* and *çreṣṭhatama*, *pāpīyastara*, *pāpiṣṭhata* and *-tama*, *bhūyastaram*, etc.

e. The use of *tama* as ordinal suffix is noted below (487); with this value, it is accented on the final, and makes its feminine in *ī*: thus, *çatatamā* m. n., *çatatamī* f., *hundredth*.

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes *ra* and *ma*; thus, *ādhara* and *adhamā*, *āpara* and *apamā*, *āvara* and *avamā*, *ūpara* and *upamā*, *āntara*, *āntama*, *paramā*, *madhyamā*, *caramā*, *antima*, *ādima*, *paçcima*. And *ma* is also used to make ordinals (below, 487).

## CHAPTER VI.

## NUMERALS.

475. The simple cardinal numerals for the first ten numbers (which are the foundation of the whole class), with their derivatives, the tens, and with some of the higher members of the decimal series, are as follows:

|       |                 |                               |                  |                        |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| decl. | 1 एक<br>éka     | 10 दश<br>dāṣa                 | 100              | शत<br>ṣatá             |
| dual  | 2 द्व<br>dvá    | 20 विंशति<br>viñṣatí          | 1000             | सहस्र<br>sahásra       |
|       | 3 त्रि<br>trí   | 30 त्रिंशत्<br>triñṣát        | 10,000           | अयुत<br>ayúta          |
|       | 4 चतुर<br>catúr | 40 चत्वारिंशत्<br>catvāriñṣát | 100,000          | लक्ष<br>lakṣá          |
|       | 5 पञ्च<br>pañca | 50 पञ्चाशत्<br>pañcāṣát       | 1,000,000        | प्रयुत<br>prayúta      |
|       | 6 षष्<br>ṣaṣ    | 60 षष्टि<br>ṣaṣṭí             | 10,000,000       | कोटि<br>kóṭi           |
|       | 7 सप्त<br>saptá | 70 सप्तति<br>saptatí          | 10 <sup>8</sup>  | अर्बुद्<br>arbudá      |
|       | 8 अष्ट<br>aṣṭá  | 80 अशीति<br>aṣṭití            | 10 <sup>9</sup>  | महार्बुद्<br>mahārbuda |
|       | 9 नव<br>náva    | 90 नवति<br>navatí             | 10 <sup>10</sup> | खर्व<br>kharvá         |
|       | 10 दश<br>dāṣa   | 100 शत<br>ṣatá                | 10 <sup>11</sup> | निखर्व<br>nikharva     |

a. The accent *saptá* and *aṣṭá* is that belonging to these words in all accentuated texts; according to the grammarians, they are *sáp̄ta* and *áṣ̄ta* in the later language. See below, 483.

b. The series of decimal numbers may be carried still further; but there are great differences among the different authorities with

regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from *ayūta* on.

c. Thus, in the TS. and MS. we find *ayūta*, *niyūta*, *prayūta*, *ārbuda*, *nyārbuda*, *samudrā*, *mādhya*, *ānta*, *parārdhā*; K. reverses the order of *niyūta* and *prayūta*, and inserts *badva* after *nyarbuda* (reading *nyarbudha*): these are probably the oldest recorded series.

d. In modern time, the only numbers in practical use above *thousand* are *lakṣa* (*lac* or *lakh*) and *koṭi* (*crore*); and an Indian sum is wont to be pointed thus: 123,45,67,890, to signify 123 *crores*, 45 *lakhs*, 67 *thousand*, eight hundred and ninety.

e. As to the alleged stem-forms *pañcan* etc., see below, 484. As to the form *ṣakṣ* instead of *ṣaṣ*, see above, 146b. The stem *dva* appears in composition and derivation also as *dvā* and *dvi*; *catūr* in composition is accented *cātur*. The older form of *aṣṭa* is *aṣṭā*: see below, 483. Forms in *-ṣat* and *-ṣati* for the tens are occasionally interchanged: e. g. *viṇṣat* (MBh. R.), *triṇṣati* (AB.), *pañcāṣati* (RT.).

f. The other numbers are expressed by the various composition and syntactical combination of those given above. Thus:

476. The odd numbers between the even tens are made by prefixing the (accented) unit to the ten to which its value is to be added: but with various irregularities. Thus:

a. *eka* in 11 becomes *ekā*, but is elsewhere unchanged;

b. *dva* becomes everywhere *dvā*; but in 42—72 and in 92 it is interchangeable with *dvi*, and in 82 *dvi* alone is used;

c. for *tri* is substituted its nom. pl. masc. *trāyas*; but *tri* itself is also allowed in 43—73 and in 93, and in 83 *tri* alone is used;

d. *ṣaṣ* becomes *ṣo* in 16, and makes the initial *d* of *daṣa* lingual (199d); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (226b, 198b) to *ṭ* or *ḍ* or *ṇ*; and in 96 the *n* of *navati* is assimilated to it (199c);

e. *aṣṭa* becomes *aṣṭā* (483) in 18—38, and has either form in the succeeding combinations.

f. Thus:

|                     |                         |  |                      |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--|----------------------|
| 11 <i>ékādaṣa</i>   | 31 <i>ékatrinṣat</i>    | 61 <i>ékaṣaṣṭi</i>                         | 81 <i>ékāṣīti</i>    |
| 12 <i>dvādaṣa</i>   | 32 <i>dvātrinṣat</i>    | 62 { <i>dvāṣaṣṭi</i><br><i>dvīṣaṣṭi</i>    | 82 <i>dvyāṣīti</i>   |
| 13 <i>trāyodaṣa</i> | 33 <i>trāyastriṇṣat</i> | 63 { <i>trāyahṣaṣṭi</i><br><i>triṣaṣṭi</i> | 83 <i>tryāṣīti</i>   |
| 14 <i>cāturdaṣa</i> | 34 <i>cātustriṇṣat</i>  | 64 <i>cātuḥṣaṣṭi</i>                       | 84 <i>cāturaṣīti</i> |
| 15 <i>pāñcadaṣa</i> | 35 <i>pāñcatrinṣat</i>  | 65 <i>pāñcaṣaṣṭi</i>                       | 85 <i>pāñcāṣīti</i>  |
| 16 <i>ṣoḍaṣa</i>    | 36 <i>ṣaṭtriṇṣat</i>    | 66 <i>ṣaṭṣaṣṭi</i>                         | 86 <i>ṣaḍaṣīti</i>   |
| 17 <i>saptādaṣa</i> | 37 <i>saptātrinṣat</i>  | 67 <i>saptāṣaṣṭi</i>                       | 87 <i>saptāṣīti</i>  |
| 18 <i>aṣṭādaṣa</i>  | 38 <i>aṣṭātrinṣat</i>   | 68 { <i>aṣṭāṣaṣṭi</i><br><i>aṣṭāṣaṣṭi</i>  | 88 <i>aṣṭāṣīti</i>   |
| 19 <i>nāvadaṣa</i>  | 39 <i>nāvatriṇṣat</i>   | 69 <i>nāvaṣaṣṭi</i>                        | 89 <i>nāvāṣīti</i>   |

g. The numbers 21—29 are made like those for 31—39; the numbers 41—49, 51—59, 71—79, and 91—99 are made like those for 61—69.

h. The forms made with *dvā* and *trayas* are more usual than those with *dvi* and *tri*, which are hardly to be quoted from the older literature (V. and Br.). The forms made with *aṣṭā* (instead of *aṣṭa*) are alone found in the older literature (483), and are usual in the later.

477. The above are the normal expressions for the odd numbers. But equivalent substitutes for them are also variously made. Thus:

a. By use of the adjectives *ūna* *deficient* and *adhika* *redundant*, in composition with lesser numbers which are to be subtracted or added, and either independently qualifying or (more usually) in composition with larger numbers which are to be increased or diminished by the others: thus, *tryūnaṣaṣṭiḥ* *sixty deficient by three* (i. e. 57); *aṣṭādhikanavatiḥ* *ninety increased by eight* (i. e. 98); *ekādhikam ṣaṭam* *a hundred increased by one* (i. e. 101); *pañconam ṣaṭam* *100 less 5* (i. e. 95). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as *ekonaviṇṣatiḥ* *20 less 1*, or 19, are not uncommon; and later the *eka* 1 is left off, and *ūnaviṇṣati* etc. have the same value.

b. A case-form of a smaller number, generally *ēka* *one* is connected by *nā* *not* with a larger number from which it is to be deducted: thus, *ēkayā nā triṇṣāt* (ÇB. PB. KB.) *not thirty by one* (29); *dvābhyām nā 'ṣiṭim* (ÇB.) *not eighty by two* (78); *pañcābhir nā catvāri ṣaṭāni* (ÇB.) *not four hundred by five* (395); *ēkasmān nā pañcāṣāt* (in ordinal) 49 (TS.); *ēkasyāi* (abl. fem. : 307 h) *nā pañcāṣāt* 49 (TS.); most often, *ēkān* (i. e. *ēkāt*, irregular abl. for *ēkasmāt*) *nā viṇṣatiḥ* 19; *ēkān nā ṣaṭām* 99. This last form is admitted also in the later language; the others are found in the Brāhmaṇas.

c. Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with: thus, *triṣaptā* *thrice seven*; *triṇavā* *thrice nine*; *tridaṣā* *thrice ten*.

d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent words, with connecting *and*: thus, *nāva ca navatiḥ ca*, or *nāva navatiḥ ca* *ninety and nine*; *dvāu ca viṇṣatiḥ ca* *two and twenty*. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, *navatīr nāva* 99; *triṇṣātaḥ trīn* 33; *aṣṭīr aṣṭāu* 88.

478. The same methods are also variously used for forming the odd numbers above 100. Thus:

a. The added number is prefixed to the other, and takes the accent: for example, *ēkaṣaṭam* 101; *aṣṭāṣaṭam* 108; *triṇṣācchaṭam* 130; *aṣṭāviṇṣatiṣaṭam* 128; *cātuḥsahasram* (RV. : unless the accent is wrong) 1004; *aṣṭisahasram* 1080.

b. Or, the number to be added is compounded with *adhika redundant*, and the compound is either made to qualify the other number or is further compounded with it: thus, *pañcādhikaṁ ṣaṭam* or *pañcādhikaṣaṭam* 105. Of course, *ūna deficient* (as also other words equivalent to *ūna* or *adhika*) may be used in the same way: thus, *pañconam ṣaṭam* 95, *ṣaṣṭiḥ pañcavarjitā* 55; *ṣaṭam abhyadhikaṁ ṣaṣṭitaḥ* 160.

c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example, *dāṣa ṣaṭām ca* 110; *ṣaṭām ékaṁ ca* 101.

479. Another usual method (beginning in the *Brāhmaṇas*) of forming the odd numbers above 100 is to qualify the larger number by an adjective derived from the smaller, and identical with the briefer ordinal (below, 487): thus, *dvādaśāṁ ṣaṭām*, 112 (lit'ly *a hundred of a 12-sort*, or *characterised by 12*); *catuṣcatvāriṇāṁ ṣaṭām* 144; *ṣaṣṭaṣṭāṁ ṣaṭām* 166.

480. To multiply one number by another, among the higher or the lower denominations, the simplest and least ambiguous method is to make of the multiplied number a dual or plural, qualified by the other as any ordinary noun would be; and this method is a common one in all ages of the language. For example: *pañca pañcāṣaṭas* *five fifties* (250); *nāva navatāyas* *nine nineties* (810); *aṣṭībhīḥ tisṛībhīḥ* *with three eighties* (240); *pañca ṣaṭāni* *five hundreds*; *trīṇi sahasrāṇi* *three thousands*; *ṣaṣṭīm sahasrāṇi* 60,000; *dāṣa ca sahasrāṇy aṣṭāu ca ṣaṭāni* 10,800: and, combined with addition, *trīṇi ṣaṭāni trayastriṇṣaṭām ca* 333; *sahasre dve pañconam ṣaṭam eva ca* 2095.

a. In an exceptional case or two, the ordinal form appears to take the place of the cardinal as multiplicand in a like combination: thus, *ṣaṭ-triṇṣāṇṣ ca catūraḥ* (RV.)  $36 \times 4$  (lit. *four of the thirty-six kind*); *trīṇr ekādaśān* (RV.) or *traya ekādaśāsaḥ* (ÇÇS. viii. 21. 1)  $11 \times 3$ .

b. By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as *trīṇi ṣaṣṭiṣaṭāni*, which ought to signify 480 ( $3 \times 100 + 60$ ), is repeatedly used in the *Brāhmaṇas* to mean 360 ( $3 \times 100 + 60$ ); so also *dvé catustriṇṣe ṣaṭé* 234 (not 268); *dvāṣaṣṭāni trīṇi ṣaṭāni* 362; and other like cases. And even R. has *trayaḥ ṣaṭaṣaṭārdhāḥ* 350.

481. But the two factors, multiplier and multiplied, are also, and in later usage more generally, combined into a compound (accented on the final); and this is then treated as an adjective, qualifying the numbered noun; or else its neuter or feminine (in *ī*) singular is used substantively: thus, *dāṣaṣaṭās* 1000; *ṣaṭṣaṭāḥ padātibhiḥ* (MBh.) *with 600 foot-soldiers*; *trāyastriṇṣat triṣaṭāḥ ṣaṭ-sahasrāḥ* (AV.) 6333; *dviṣaṭām* or *dviṣaṭī* 200; *aṣṭādaṣaṣaṭī* 1800.

a. In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether *aṣṭa-ṣaṭam*, for example, is *aṣṭāṣaṭam* 108 or *aṣṭaṣaṭām* 800, and the like.

482. Inflection. The inflection of the cardinal numerals is in many respects irregular. Gender is distinguished only by the first four.

a. *Eka* *one* is declined after the manner of a pronominal adjective (like *sārva*, below, 524); its plural is used in the sense of *some*, *certain ones*. Its dual does not occur.

b. Occasional forms of the ordinary declension are met with: thus, *ēke* (loc. sing.), *ékāt* (477b).

c. In the late literature, *eka* is used in the sense of *a certain*, or even sometimes almost of *a*, as an indefinite article. Thus, *eko vyāghraḥ* (H.) *a certain tiger*; *ekasmin* *dine on a certain day*; *haste daṇḍam ekam ādāya* (H.) *taking a stick in his hand*.

d. *Dva* *two* is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N. A. V. *dvāú* (dvā, Veda) m., dvé f. n.; I. D. Ab. *dvābhyām*; G. L. *dvāyos*.

e. *Tri* *three* is in masc. and neut. nearly regular, like an ordinary stem in *i*; but the genitive is as if from *trayá* (only in the later language: the regular *trīṇām* occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem *tisṛ*, which is inflected in general like an *ṛ*-stem; but the nom. and accus. are alike, and show no strengthening of the *ṛ*; and the *ṛ* is not prolonged in the gen. (excepting in the Veda). Thus:

|        | m.       | n.    | f.        |
|--------|----------|-------|-----------|
| N.     | trāyas   | trīṇi | tisrās    |
| A.     | trīn     | trīṇi | tisrās    |
| I.     | tribhís  |       | tisṛbhis  |
| D. Ab. | tribhyás |       | tisṛbhyas |
| G.     | trayāṇām |       | tisṛṇām   |
| L.     | triṣú    |       | tisṛṣu    |

f. The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. *trī*. The accentuation *tisṛbhís*, *tisṛbhyás*, *tisṛṇām*, and *tisṛṣú* is said to be also allowed in the later language. The stem *tisṛ* occurs in composition in *tisṛdhanvá* (B.) *a bow with three arrows*.

g. *Catúr* *four* has *catvār* (the more original form) in the strong cases; in the fem. it substitutes the stem *cátasṛ*, apparently akin with *tisṛ*, and inflected like it (but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, 483). Thus:

|        | m.         | n.      | f.          |
|--------|------------|---------|-------------|
| N.     | catváras   | catvāri | cátasras    |
| A.     | catúras    | catvāri | cátasras    |
| I.     | catúrbhis  |         | catasṛbhis  |
| D. Ab. | catúrbhyas |         | catasṛbhyas |
| G.     | caturṇām   |         | catasṛṇām   |
| L.     | catúrṣu    |         | catasṛṣu.   |

h. The use of *n* before *ām* of the gen. masc. and neut. after a final consonant of the stem is (as in *ṣaṣ*: below, 483) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. *cataṣṣṇām* also sometimes occurs. In the later language, the accentuation of the final syllable instead of the penult is said to be allowed in inst., dat.-abl., and loc.

483. The numbers from 5 to 19 have no distinction of gender, nor any generic character. They are inflected, somewhat irregularly, as plurals, save in the nom.-acc., where they have no proper plural form, but show the bare stem instead. Of *ṣaṣ* (as of *catúr*), *nām* is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (198b) of stem-final and initial of the termination. *Aṣṭá* (as accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, *aṣṭā*, which is almost exclusively used in the older literature (V. and B.), both in inflection and in composition (but some compounds with *aṣṭa* are found as early as the AV.); its nom.-acc. is *aṣṭá* (usual later: found in RV. once, and in AV.), or *aṣṭā* (RV.), or *aṣṭāu* (most usual in RV.; also in AV., B., and later).

a. The accent is in many respects peculiar. In all the accented texts, the stress of voice lies on the penult before the endings *bhis*, *bhyas*, and *su*, from the stems in *a*, whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, *pañcābhis* from *pañca*, *navābhyas* from *nāva*, *daṣāsu* from *dāṣa*, *nava-daṣābhis* from *nāvadaṣa*, *ekādaṣābhyas* from *ékādaṣa*, *dvādaṣāsu* from *dvādaṣa* (according to the grammarians, either the penult or the final is accented in these forms in the later language). In the gen. pl., the accent is on the ending (as in that of *i*-, *u*-, and *ṛ*-stems): thus, *pañcadaṣānām*, *saptadaṣānām*. The cases of *ṣaṣ*, and those made from the stem-form *aṣṭā*, have the accent throughout upon the ending.

b. Examples of the inflection of these words are as follows:

|        |                   |                 |                  |                  |
|--------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| N. A.  | <i>pañca</i>      | <i>ṣaṣ</i>      | <i>aṣṭāu</i>     | <i>aṣṭá</i>      |
| I.     | <i>pañcābhis</i>  | <i>ṣaṣbhis</i>  | <i>aṣṭābhis</i>  | <i>aṣṭábhis</i>  |
| D. Ab. | <i>pañcābhyas</i> | <i>ṣaṣbhyas</i> | <i>aṣṭābhyas</i> | <i>aṣṭábhyas</i> |
| G.     | <i>pañcānām</i>   | <i>ṣaṣnām</i>   | <i>aṣṭānām</i>   |                  |
| L.     | <i>pañcāsu</i>    | <i>ṣaṣsū</i>    | <i>aṣṭāsū</i>    | <i>aṣṭāsu</i> .  |

c. *Saptá* (in the later language *sápta*, as *áṣṭa* for *aṣṭá*) and *nāva* and *dāṣa*, with the compounds of *dāṣa* (11—19), are declined like *pañca*, and with the same shift of accent (or with alternative shift to the endings, as pointed out above).

484. The Hindu grammarians give to the stems for 5 and 7—19 a final *n*: thus, *pañcan*, *saptan*, *aṣṭan*, *navan*, *daṣan*, and *ekādaṣan* etc. This, however, has nothing to do with the demonstrably original final nasal of 7, 9, and 10 (compare *septem*, *novem*, *decem*; *seven*, *nine*, *ten*); it is only owing to the fact that, starting from such a stem-form, their inflection is made to assume a more regular aspect, the nom.-acc. having the form of a neut. sing. in *an*, and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc. that of a neut. or masc. pl. in *an*: compare *nāma*, *nāmaḥ*, *nāma-*



bhyas, námasu — the gen. alone being, rather, like that of an a-stem: compare daçānām with indrānām and nāmnām or ātmānām. No trace whatever of a final n is found anywhere in the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these words (though ÇB. has twice daçaṁdaçin, for the usual daçadaçin).

485. a. The tens, viṇçatī and triṇçāt etc., with their compounds, are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, and in all numbers.

b. Çatā and sahasra are declined regularly, as neuter (or, rarely, in the later language, as masculine) stems of the same final, in all numbers.

c. The like is true of the higher numbers — which have, indeed, no proper numeral character, but are ordinary nouns.

486. Construction. As regards their construction with the nouns enumerated by them —

a. The words for 1 to 19 are in the main used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns: thus, daçābhir vīrāṇi with ten heroes; yé devā divy ékādaça sthā (AV.) what eleven gods of you are in heaven; pañcāsu jāneṣu among the five tribes; catasṭbhir gīrbhīḥ with four songs. Rarely occur such combinations as dāça kalāçānām (RV.) ten pitchers, ṛtūnām ṣaṭ (R.) six seasons.

b. The numerals above 19 are construed usually as nouns, either taking the numbered noun as a dependent genitive, or standing in the singular in apposition with it: thus, çatām dāsīḥ or çatām dāsīnām a hundred slaves or a hundred of slaves; viṇçatyā hāribhīḥ with twenty bays; ṣaṣṭyām çarātṣu in 60 autumns; çatēna pāçāṇi with a hundred fetters; çatām sahasram ayutam nyārbudam jaghāna çakró dāsyūnām (AV.) the mighty [Indra] slew a hundred, a thousand, a myriad, a hundred million, of demons. Occasionally they are put in the plural, as if used more adjectively: thus, pañcāçadbhir bāṇāṇi with fifty arrows.

c. In the older language, the numerals for 5 and upward are sometimes used in the nom.-acc. form (or as if indeclinably) with other cases also: thus, pañca kṛtṣu among the five races; sapta ṛçīnām of seven bards; sahasram ṣaibhīḥ with a thousand bards; çatām pūrbhīḥ with a hundred strongholds. Sporadic instances of a like kind are also met with later.

487. Ordinals. Of the classes of derivative words coming from the original or cardinal numerals, the ordinals are by far the most important; and the mode of their formation may best be explained here.

Some of the first ordinals are irregularly made: thus,

a. *éka* 1 forms no ordinal; instead is used *prathamá* (i. e. *prathama foremost*); *ādya* (from *ādi beginning*) appears first in the *Sūtras*, and *ādima* much later;

b. from *dvá* 2, and *trí* 3, come *dvitíya* and *tṛtíya* (secondarily, through *dvita* and abbreviated *trita*);

c. *catúr* 4, *śaṣ* 6, and *saptá* 7, take the ending *tha*: thus, *caturthá*, *ṣaṣthá*, *saptátha*; but for *fourth* are used also *turíya* and *túrya*, and *saptátha* belongs to the older language only; *pañcatha*, for *fifth*, is excessively rare;

d. the numerals for 5 and 7 usually, and for 8, 9, 10, add *ma*, forming *pañcamá*, *saptamá*, *aṣṭamá*, *navamá*, *daṣamá*;

e. for *11th* to *19th*, the forms are *ekādaśá*, *dvādaśá*, and so on (the same with the cardinals, except change of accent); but *ekādaśama* etc. occasionally occur also;

f. for the tens and intervening odd numbers from 20 onward, the ordinal has a double form — one made by adding the full (superlative) ending *tamá* to the cardinal: thus, *viñcatitamá*, *triñcatitamá*, *aṣṭitamá*, etc.; the other, shorter, in *a*, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, *viñcá* 20th; *triñcá* 30th; *catvāriñcá* 40th; *pañcācā* 50th; *ṣaṣṭá* 60th; *saptatá* 70th; *aṣṭitá* 80th; *navatá* 90th; and so likewise *ekaviñcá* 21st, *catustriñcá* 34th; *aṣṭacatvāriñcá* 48th; *dvāpañcācā* 52d; *ekaṣaṣṭá* 61st; and *ekānaviñcá* and *ūnaviñcá* and *ekonaviñcá* 19th; — and so on. Of these two forms, the latter and briefer is by far the more common, the other being not quotable from the *Veda*, and extremely rarely from the *Brāhmaṇas*. From 50th on, the briefer form is allowed by the grammarians only to the odd numbers, made up of tens and units; but it is sometimes met with, even in the later language, from the simple ten.

g. Of the higher numbers, *ṣatá* and *sahasra* form *ṣatatamá* and *sahasratamá*; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus, *ekaṣatá* or *ekaṣatatama* 101st.

h. Of the ordinals, *prathamá* (and *ādya*), *dvitíya*, *tṛtíya*, and *turíya* (with *túrya*) form their feminine in *ā*; all the rest make it in *ī*.

488. The ordinals, as in other languages, have other than ordinal offices to fill; and in Sanskrit especially they are general adjectives to the cardinals, with a considerable variety of meanings, as fractionals, as signifying *composed of so many parts* or *so-many-fold*, or *containing so many*, or (as was seen above, 479) *having so many added*.

a. In a fractional sense, the grammarians direct that their accent be shifted to the first syllable: thus, *dvitíya* half; *tṛtíya* third part; *cáturtha* quarter; and so on. But in accented texts only *tṛtíya* third, and *cáturtha* (ÇB.) and *túríya* quarter, are found so treated; for *half* occurs

only *ardhá*; and *caturthá* (MS. etc.), *pañcamá*, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

489. There are other numeral derivatives: thus —

a. multiplicative adverbs, as *dvís twice*, *trís thrice*, *catús four times*;

b. adverbs with the suffixes *dhā* (1104) and *ças* (1106): for example, *ekadhā in one way*, *çatadhā in a hundred ways*; *ekaças one by one*, *çataças by hundreds*;

c. collectives, as *dvítaya or dvayā a pair*, *dāçataya or daçāt a decade*;

d. adjectives like *dvika composed of two*, *pañcaka consisting of five or fives*;

and so on; but their treatment belongs rather to the dictionary, or to the chapter on derivation.

## CHAPTER VII.

### PRONOUNS.

490. THE pronouns differ from the great mass of nouns and adjectives chiefly in that they come by derivation from another and a very limited set of roots, the so-called pronominal or demonstrative roots. But they have also many and marked peculiarities of inflection — some of which, however, find analogies in a few adjectives; and such adjectives will accordingly be described at the end of this chapter.

#### Personal Pronouns.

491. The pronouns of the first and second persons are the most irregular and peculiar of all, being made up of fragments coming from various roots and combinations of roots. They have no distinction of gender.

a. Their inflection in the later language is as follows:

Singular:

|     | 1st pers.                | 2d pers.                   |
|-----|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| N.  | अहम्<br>ahám             | त्वम्<br>tvám              |
| A.  | माम्, मा<br>mām, mā      | त्वाम्, ता<br>tvām, tvā    |
| I.  | मया<br>máya              | तया<br>tváyā               |
| D.  | मह्यम्, मे<br>máhyam, me | तुभ्यम्, ते<br>túbhyam, te |
| Ab. | मत्<br>mát               | वत्<br>tvát                |
| G.  | मम, मे<br>māma, me       | तव, ते<br>tāva, te         |
| L.  | मयि<br>máyi              | वयि<br>tváyī               |

Dual:

|              |                       |                         |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| N. A. V.     | आवाम्<br>āvām         | युवाम्<br>yuvām         |
| I. D. Ab.    | आवाभ्याम्<br>āvābhyām | युवाभ्याम्<br>yuvābhyām |
| G. L.        | आवयोस्<br>āváyos      | युवयोस्<br>yuváyos      |
| and A. D. G. | नौ<br>nāu             | वाम्<br>vām             |

Plural:

|    |                                  |                                    |
|----|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| N. | वयम्<br>vayám                    | यूयम्<br>yūyám                     |
| A. | अस्मान्, नस्<br>asmān, nas       | युष्मान्, वस्<br>yuṣmān, vas       |
| I. | अस्माभिस्<br>asmābhis            | युष्माभिस्<br>yuṣmābhis            |
| D. | अस्मभ्यम्, नस्<br>asmābhyam, nas | युष्मभ्यम्, वस्<br>yuṣmābhyam, vas |

1st cf ego, me

1st we, us

2nd tu

|     |                               |                                 |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Ab. | अस्मत्<br>asmát               | युष्मत्<br>yuṣmāt               |
| G.  | अस्माकम्, नस्<br>asmākam, nas | युष्माकम्, वस्<br>yuṣmākam, vas |
| L.  | अस्मासु<br>asmāsu             | युष्मासु<br>yuṣmāsu             |

-su

b. The briefer second forms for accus., dat., and gen., in all numbers, are accentless; and hence they are not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence, or elsewhere where any emphasis is laid.

c. But they may be qualified by accented adjuncts, as adjectives: e. g. *te jāyataḥ of thee when a conqueror, vo vṛtābhyah for you that were confined, nas tribhyāḥ to us three* (all RV.).

d. The ablative *mat* is accentless in one or two AV. passages.

492. Forms of the older language. All the forms given above are found also in the older language; which, however, has also others that afterward disappear from use.

a. Thus, we find a few times the instr. sing. *tvā* (only RV.: like *manīṣā* for *manīṣāyā*); further, the loc. or dat. sing. *mé* (only VS.) and *tvé*, and the dat. or loc. pl. *asmé* (which is by far the commonest of these e-forms) and *yuṣmé*: their final e is uncombinable (or *praghyā*: 138 b). The VS. makes twice the acc. pl. fem. *yuṣmās* (as if *yuṣmān* were too distinctively a masculine form). The datives in *bhyam* are in a number of cases written, and in yet others to be read as if written, with *bhya*, with loss of the final nasal; and in a rare instance or two we have in like manner *asmāka* and *yuṣmāka* in the gen. plural. The usual resolutions of semivowel to vowel are made, and are especially frequent in the forms of the second person (*tuām* for *tvām* etc.).

b. But the duals, above all, wear a very different aspect earlier. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra the nominatives are (with occasional exceptions) *āvām* and *yuvām*, and only the accusatives *āvām* and *yuvām* (but in RV. the dual forms of 1st pers. chance not to occur, unless in *vām*[p], once, for *āvām*); the instr. in RV. is either *yuvābhyām* (occurs also once in AṢ.) or *yuvābhyām*; an abl. *yuvāt* appears once in RV., and *āvāt* twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) *yuvós* instead of *yuváyos*. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases, by endings in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Peculiar endings. The ending *am*, appearing in the nom. sing. and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The *bhyam* (or *hyam*) of dat. sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the *bhyām*, *bhyas*, *bhis* of the ordinary declension is palpable. The *t* (or

d) of the abl., though here preceded by a short vowel, is doubtless the same with that of the *a*-declension of nouns and adjectives. That the nom., dat., and abl. endings should be the same in sing. and pl. (and in part in the earlier du. also), only the stem to which they are added being different, is unparalleled elsewhere in the language. The element *sma* appearing in the plural forms will be found frequent in the inflection of the singular in other pronominal words: in fact, the compound stem *asma* which underlies the plural of *aham* seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of *ayam* (501), and its value of *we* to be a specialisation of the meaning *these persons*. The genitives singular, *māma* and *tāva*, have no analogies elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives *māmaka* and *tāvaka* (below, 516a) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen. pl., *asmākam* and *yuṣmākam*, are certainly of this character: namely, neuter sing. case-forms of the adjective stems *asmāka* and *yuṣmāka*, other cases of which are found in the Veda.

494. Stem-forms. To the Hindu grammarians, the stems of the personal pronouns are *mad* and *asmad*, and *tvad* and *yuṣmad*, because these are forms used to a certain extent, and allowed to be indefinitely used, in derivation and composition (like *tad*, *kad*, etc.: see below, under the other pronouns). Words are thus formed from them even in the older language — namely, *mātkṛta* and *mātsakhi* and *asmātsakhi* (RV.), *tvādyoni* and *mattās* (AV.), *tvātpitṛ* and *tvādivivācana* (TS.), *tvātprasūta* and *tvaddevatyā* and *yuvaddevatyā* and *yuṣmaddevatyā* (ÇB.), *asmaddevatyā* (PB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in *a*, or with the *a* lengthened to *ā*: thus, *māvanta*; *asmatrā*, *asmadrūh*, etc.; *tvāyata*, *tvāvanta*, *tvādatta*, *tvānid*, *tvāvasu*, *tvāhata*, etc.; *yuṣmādatta*, *yuṣmēsita*, etc.; *yuvāvanta*, *yuvāku*, *yuvādhita*, *yuvādatta*, *yuvānita*, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as *mādrç*.

a. The *Ā*vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, *tvāmākāma*, *tvāmāhuti*, *māmpaçyā*, *mamasatyā*, *asméhiti*, *ahampūrvā*, *ahamuttarā*, *ahamnyū*, *ahamsana*.

b. From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives *madiya*, *tvadiya*, *asmadiya*, *yuṣmadiya*, having a possessive value: see below, 516.

c. For *sva* and *svayām*, see below, 513.

### Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, *ta*, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be taken as model of a mode of declension usual in

so many pronouns and pronominal adjectives that it is fairly to be called the general pronominal declension.

a. But this root has also the special irregularity that in the nom. sing. masc. and fem. it has *sás* (for whose peculiar euphonic treatment see 178 a, b) and *sá*, instead of *tás* and *tá* (compare Gr. *ὁ, ἡ, το*, and Goth. *sa, so, thata*). Thus:

## Singular:

|     | m.                | n.         | f.                |
|-----|-------------------|------------|-------------------|
| N.  | सम्<br>sás        | तत्<br>tát | सा<br>sá          |
| A.  | तम्<br>tám        | तत्<br>tát | ताम्<br>tām       |
| I.  | तेन<br>téna       |            | तया<br>táyā       |
| D.  | तस्मै<br>tásmāi   |            | तस्यै<br>tásyāi   |
| Ab. | तस्मात्<br>tásmāt |            | तस्याम्<br>tásyāṣ |
| G.  | तस्य<br>tásya     |            | तस्याम्<br>tásyāṣ |
| L.  | तस्मिन्<br>tásmin |            | तस्याम्<br>tásyām |

## Dual:

|           |                     |          |                     |
|-----------|---------------------|----------|---------------------|
| N. A. V.  | तौ<br>tāú           | ते<br>té | ते<br>té            |
| I. D. Ab. | ताभ्याम्<br>tābhyām |          | ताभ्याम्<br>tābhyām |
| G. L.     | तयोम्<br>táyos      |          | तयोम्<br>táyos      |

## Plural:

|    |              |              |                  |
|----|--------------|--------------|------------------|
| N. | ते<br>té     | तानि<br>tāni | ताम्<br>tās      |
| A. | तान्<br>tān  | तानि<br>tāni | ताम्<br>tās      |
| I. | तैस्<br>tāis |              | ताभिस्<br>tābhis |

|        |                    |                    |
|--------|--------------------|--------------------|
| D. Ab. | तेभ्यस्<br>tébhyas | ताभ्यस्<br>tābhyas |
| G.     | तेषाम्<br>téṣām    | तासाम्<br>tāsām    |
| L.     | तेषु<br>téṣu       | तासु<br>tāsu       |

b. The Vedas show no other irregularities of inflection than those which belong to all stems in *a* and *ā*: namely, *ténā* sometimes; usually *tā* for *tāu*, du.; often *tā* for *tāni*, pl. neut.; usually *tébhis* for *tāis*, instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root *sa*, namely *sāsmin* (occurring nearly half as often as *tāsmin*); and ChU. has once *sasmāt*.

496. The peculiarities of the general pronominal declension, it will be noticed, are these:

a. In the singular, the use of *t* (properly *d*) as ending of nom.-acc. neut.; the combination of another element *sma* with the root in masc. and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of *sy* in fem. dat., abl.-gen., and loc.; and the masc. and neut. loc. ending *in*, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous *yādṛçmin*, RV., once). The substitution in B. of *āi* for *ās* as fem. ending (307 h) was illustrated at 365 d.

b. The dual is precisely that of noun-stems in *a* and *ā*.

c. In the plural, the irregularities are limited to *té* for *tās* in nom. masc., and the insertion of *s* instead of *n* before *ām* of the gen., the stem-final being treated before it in the same manner as before *su* of the loc.

497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as *tad*; and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective *tadiya*, with *tattvá*, *tadvat*, *tanmaya*; and numerous compounds, such as *tacchīla*, *tajjña*, *tatkara*, *tadanantara*, *tanmātra*, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so *tādanna*, *tadvid*, *tadvaçā*, etc. But derivatives from the true root *ta* are also many: especially adverbs, as *tātas*, *tātra*, *tāthā*, *tadā*; the adjectives *tāvant* and *tāti*; and the compound *tādṛç* etc.

498. Though the demonstrative root *ta* is prevailingly of the third person, it is also freely used, both in the earlier language and in the later, as qualifying the pronouns of the first and second person, giving emphasis to them: thus, *sò 'hām*, *this I*, or *I here*; *sá* or *sā tvām* *thou there*; *te vayam*, *we here*; *tasya mama* *of me here*, *tasminḥ tvayi* *in thee there*, and so on.

499. Two other demonstrative stems appear to contain *ta* as an element; and both, like the simple *ta*, substitute *sa* in the nom. sing. masc. and fem.



a. The one, *tya*, is tolerably common (although only a third of its possible forms occur) in RV., but rare in AV., and almost unknown later, its nom. sing., in the three genders, is *syās*, *syā*, *tyāt*, and it makes the accusatives *tyām*, *tyām*, *tyāt*, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as *ta*. It has in RV. the instr. fem. *tyā* (for *tyāyā*). Instead of *syā* as nom. sing. fem. is also found *tyā*.

b. The other is the usual demonstrative of nearer position, *this here*, and is in frequent use through all periods of the language. It prefixes *e* to the simple root, forming the nominatives *eṣās*, *eṣā*, *etāt* — and so on through the whole inflection.

c. The stem *tya* has neither compounds nor derivatives. But from *eta* are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple *ta*, only much less numerous: thus, *etaddā* (CB.), *etadartha*, etc., from the so-called stem *etat*; and *etādīc* and *etāvāt* from *eta*. And *eṣa*, like *sa* (498), is used to qualify pronouns of the 1st and 2d persons: e. g. *eṣā 'ham*, *ete vāyam*.

500. There is a defective pronominal stem, *ena*, which is accentless, and hence used only in situations where no emphasis falls upon it. It does not occur elsewhere than in the accusative of all numbers, the instr. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual: thus,

|          | m.            | n.           | f.            |
|----------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Sing. A. | <i>enam</i>   | <i>enāt</i>  | <i>enām</i>   |
| I.       | <i>enena</i>  |              | <i>enayā</i>  |
| Du. A.   | <i>enāu</i>   | <i>ene</i>   | <i>ene</i>    |
| G. L.    | <i>enayos</i> |              | <i>enayos</i> |
| Pl. A.   | <i>enān</i>   | <i>enāni</i> | <i>enās</i>   |

a. The RV. has *enos* instead of *enayos*, and in one or two instances accents a form: thus, *enām*, *enās* (?). AB. uses *enāt* also as nom. neut.

b. As *ena* is always used substantively, it has more nearly than *ta* the value of a third personal pronoun, unemphatic. Apparent examples of its adjectival use here and there met with are doubtless the result of confusion with *eta* (499 b).

c. This stem forms neither derivatives nor compounds.

501. The declension of two other demonstratives is so irregularly made up that they have to be given in full. The one, *अयम्* *ayām* etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, *this* or *that*; the other, *असौ* *asāu* etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, *yon* or *yonder*.

a. They are as follows:

Singular :

|     | m.                | n.                | f.            | m.                    | n.           | f.                    |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| N.  | अयम्<br>ayám      | इदम्<br>idám      | इयम्<br>iyám  | असौ<br>asāú           | अदस्<br>adás | अतौ<br>asāú           |
| A.  | इमम्<br>imám      | इदम्<br>idám      | इमाम्<br>imām | अमुम्<br>amúum        | अदस्<br>adás | अमूम्<br>amúim        |
| I.  | अनेन<br>anéna     | अनया<br>anáyā     |               | अमुना<br>amúnā        |              | अमुया<br>amúyā        |
| D.  | अस्मै<br>asmāí    | अस्यै<br>asyāí    |               | अमुष्मै<br>amúṣmāi    |              | अमुष्यै<br>amúṣyāi    |
| Ab. | अस्मात्<br>asmā́t | अस्यात्<br>asyā́s |               | अमुष्मात्<br>amúṣmā́t |              | अमुष्यात्<br>amúṣyā́s |
| G.  | अस्य<br>asyá      | अस्यास्<br>asyā́s |               | अमुष्य<br>amúṣya      |              | अमुष्यास्<br>amúṣyā́s |
| L.  | अस्मिन्<br>asmín  | अस्याम्<br>asyām  |               | अमुष्मिन्<br>amúṣmin  |              | अमुष्याम्<br>amúṣyām  |

Dual :

|           |                   |            |            |                        |
|-----------|-------------------|------------|------------|------------------------|
| N. A.     | इमौ<br>imāú       | इमे<br>imé | इमे<br>imé | अमू<br>amú             |
| I. D. Ab. | आभ्याम्<br>ābhyām |            |            | अमूभ्याम्<br>amúbbhyām |
| G. L.     | अनयोस्<br>anáyos  |            |            | अमुयोस्<br>amúyos      |

Plural :

|        |                  |                  |               |                       |                |                       |
|--------|------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| N.     | इमे<br>imé       | इमानि<br>imāni   | इमास्<br>imās | अमी<br>amí            | अमूनि<br>amúni | अमूस्<br>amúṣ         |
| A.     | इमान्<br>imān    | इमानि<br>imāni   | इमास्<br>imās | अमून्<br>amúnn        | अमूनि<br>amúni | अमूस्<br>amúṣ         |
| I.     | एभिस्<br>ebhís   | आभिस्<br>ābhís   |               | अमीभिस्<br>amíbbhis   |                | अमूभिस्<br>amúbbhis   |
| D. Ab. | एभ्यस्<br>ebhyás | आभ्यस्<br>ābhyás |               | अमीभ्यस्<br>amíbbhyas |                | अमूभ्यस्<br>amúbbhyas |
| G.     | एषाम्<br>eṣām    | आसाम्<br>āsām    |               | अमीषाम्<br>amíṣām     |                | अमूषाम्<br>amúṣām     |
| L.     | एषु<br>eṣú       | आसु<br>āsu       |               | अमीषु<br>amíṣu        |                | अमूषु<br>amúṣu        |

b. The same forms are used in the older language, without variation, except that (as usual) *imā* occurs for *imāu* and *imāni*, and *amū* for *amūni*; *amuyā* when used adverbially is accented on the final, *amuyā*; *asāu* (with accent, of course, on the first, *āsāu*; or without accent, *asāu*: 314) is used also as vocative; *amī*, too, occurs as vocative.

502. a. The former of these two pronouns, *ayām* etc., plainly shows itself to be pieced together from a number of defective stems. The majority of forms come from the root *a*, with which, as in the ordinary pronominal declension, *sma* (f. *sy*) is combined in the singular. All these forms from *a* have the peculiarity that in their substantive use they are either accented, as in the paradigm, or accentless (like *ena* and the second forms from *ahām* and *tvām*). The remaining forms are always accented. From *anā* come, with entire regularity, *anēna*, *anāyā*, *anāyos*. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem *imā*. And *ayām*, *iyām*, *idām* are evidently to be referred to a simple root *i* (*idām* being apparently a double form: *id*, like *tad* etc., with ending *am*).

b. The Veda has from the root *a* also the instrumentals *enā* and *ayā* (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. *ayós*; from *ima*, *imāya* occurs once in RV., *imasmāi* in AA., and *imāis* and *imeṣu* later. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation *āsmāi*, *āya*, *ābhis*.

c. In analogy with the other pronouns, *idām* is by the grammarians regarded as representative stem of this pronominal declension; and it is actually found so treated in a very small number of compounds (*idammāya* and *idāmrūpa* are of Brāhmaṇa age). As regards the actual stems, *ana* furnishes nothing further; from *ima* comes only the adverb *imāthā* (RV., once); but *a* and *i* furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, *ātas*, *ātra*, *ātha*, *ad-dhā*(?); *itās*, *íd* (Vedic particle), *idā*, *ihā*, *ítara*, *īm* (Vedic particle), *idḥ*, perhaps *evā* and *evām*, and others.

503. The other pronoun, *asāu* etc., has *amū* for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the *a*-stems, the element *sma* (f. *sy*), and which shifts to *amī* in part of the masc. and neut. plural. In part, too, like an adjective *u*-stem, it lengthens its final in the feminine. The gen. sing. *amūṣya* is the only example in the language of the ending *ṣya* added to any other than an *a*-stem. The nom. pl. *amī* is unique in form; its *ī* is (like that of a dual) *pragṛhya*, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138b). *Asāu* and *adās* are also without analogies as regards their endings.

a. The grammarians, as usual, treat *adās* as representative stem of the declension, and it is found in this character in an extremely small number of words, as *adomūla*; *adomāya* is of Brāhmaṇa age. The ÇB. has also *asāunāman*. But most of the derivatives, as of

the cases, come from *amu*: thus, *amútas*, *amútra*, *amúthā*, *amudā*, *amúrhi*, *amuvát*, *amuka*.

b. In the older language occurs the root *tva* (accentless), meaning *one*; *many a one*; it is oftenest found repeated, as *one and another*. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension. From it is made the (also accentless) adverb *tvadānim* (MS.).

c. Fragments of another demonstrative root or two are met with: thus, *āmas* *he* occurs in a formula in AV. and in Brāhmaṇas etc.; *avós* as gen.-loc. dual is found in RV.; the particle *u* points to a root *u*.

### Interrogative Pronoun.

504. The characteristic part of the interrogative pronominal root is क् *k*; it has the three forms क *ka*, कि *ki*, कु *ku*; but the whole declensional inflection is from क *ka*, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from कि *ki*, and has the anomalous form किम् *kím* (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter i-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

ke sa, 7a dem.

|    | m.         | n.          | f.          |
|----|------------|-------------|-------------|
| N. | कस्<br>kás | किम्<br>kím | का<br>kā    |
| A. | कम्<br>kám | किम्<br>kím | काम्<br>kām |

and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of त *ta* (above, 495).

a. The Veda has its usual variations, *kā* and *kébhī* for *kāni* and *kāis*. It also has, along with *kím*, the pronominally regular neuter *kád*; and *kám* (or *kam*) is a frequent particle. The masc. form *kis*, corresponding to *kím*, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations *nákis* and *mákis*.

505. The grammarians treat *kím* as representative stem of the interrogative pronoun; and it is in fact so used in a not large number of words, of which a few — *kimmāya*, *kiṁkara*, *kiṁkāmyā*, *kiṁdevata*, *kiṁçilā*, and the peculiar *kiṁyú* — go back even to the Veda and Brāhmaṇa. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form *kad*, a couple of times in the Veda (*katpayā*, *kádartha*), and not infrequently later, is found as first member of compounds. Then, from the real roots *ka*, *ki*, *ku* are made many derivatives; and from *ki* and *ku*, especially the latter, many compounds: thus,

kāti, kathā, kathām, kadā, katarā, katamā, kārhi; kīyant, kīdṛ; kūtas, kūtra, kūha, kvā, kucarā, kukarman, kumantrin, etc.

506. Various forms of this pronoun, as kad, kim, and ku (and, rarely, ko), at the beginning of compounds, have passed from an interrogative meaning, through an exclamatory, to the value of prefixes signifying an unusual quality — either something admirable, or, oftener, something contemptible. This use begins in the Veda, but becomes much more common in later time.

507. The interrogative pronoun, as in other languages, turns readily in its independent use also to an exclamatory meaning. Moreover, it is by various added particles converted to an indefinite meaning: thus, by ca, canā, cid, āpi, vā, either alone or with the relative ya (below, 511) prefixed: thus, kāṇ canā *any one*; nā kō 'pi *not any one*; yāni kāni *cit whatsoever*; yatamāt katamāc ca *whatever one*. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

### Relative Pronoun.

508. The root of the relative pronoun is य ya, which from the earliest period of the language has lost all trace of the demonstrative meaning originally (doubtless) belonging to it, and is used as relative only.

509. It is inflected with entire regularity according to the usual pronominal declension: thus,

|    | Singular. |     |        | Dual. |    |    | Plural. |      |         |
|----|-----------|-----|--------|-------|----|----|---------|------|---------|
|    | m.        | n.  | f.     | m.    | n. | f. | m.      | n.   | f.      |
| N. | यस्       | यत् | या     | यौ    | ये | ये | ये      | यानि | यास्    |
|    | yās       | yāt | yā     |       |    |    | yé      | yāni | yās     |
| A. | यम्       | यत् | याम्   | यौ    | ये | ये | यान्    | यानि | यास्    |
|    | yām       | yāt | yām    |       |    |    | yān     | yāni | yās     |
| I. | येन       |     | यया    |       |    |    | यैस्    |      | याभिस्  |
|    | yéna      |     | yáyā   |       |    |    | yáis    |      | yābhis  |
| D. | यस्मै     |     | यस्यै  |       |    |    | येभ्यस् |      | याभ्यस् |
|    | yāsmāi    |     | yāsyāi |       |    |    | yébhyas |      | yābhyas |
|    | etc.      |     | etc.   |       |    |    | etc.    |      | etc.    |

a. The Veda shows its usual variations of these forms: yā for yāu and yāni, and yēbhis for yáis; yós for yāyos also occurs once; yénā, with prolonged final, is in RV. twice as common as yéna. Reso-

lutions occur in *yābhias*, and *yēṣaam* and *yāsaam*. The conjunction *yāt* is an ablative form according to the ordinary declension.

510. The use of *yāt* as representative stem begins very early: we have *yātkāma* in the Veda, and *yatkārīn*, *yaddevatyā* in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: *yātas*, *yāti*, *yātra*, *yāthā*, *yādā*, *yādi*, *yārhi*, *yāvant*, *yatarā*, *yatamā*; and the compound *yādīṣ*.

511. The combination of *ya* with *ka* to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (507). Its own repetition — as *yād-yat* — gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the distributive.

512. One or two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of the relative may be here briefly noticed:

a. A very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates: thus, *yāḥ sunvatāḥ sākḥā tasmā īndrāya gāyata* (RV.) *who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye*; *yām yajñām paribhūr āsi sá id devēṣu gacchati* (RV.) *what offering thou protectest, that in truth goeth to the gods*; *yé triṣaptāḥ pariyānti bālā tēṣāṁ dadhātu me* (AV.) *what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me*; *asāu yó adharād gr̥hās tātṛa santv arāyyāḥ* (AV.) *what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be*; *sahā yān me āsti tēna* (TB.) *along with that which is mine*; *haṁsānām vacanaṁ yat tu tan mām dahati* (MBh.) *but what the words of the swans were, that burns me*; *sarvasya locanaṁ cāstraṁ yasya nā 'sty andha eva saḥ* (H.) *who does not possess learning, the eye of everything, blind indeed is he*. The other arrangement, though frequent enough, is notably less usual.

b. A frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause: thus, *mé 'mām prā 'pat pāu-ruṣeyo vadhó yāḥ* (AV.) *may there not reach him a human deadly weapon* (lit'ly, *what is such a weapon*); *pāri ṇo pāhi yád dhānam* (AV.) *protect of us what wealth [there is]*; *apāmārgó 'pa māṛṣtu kṣetṛiyām ṣapāthaṣ ca yāḥ* (AV.) *may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse*; *puṣkareṇa hṛtaṁ rājyaṁ yac cā 'nyad vasu kiṁcana* (MBh.) *by Pushkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was]*.

### Other Pronouns: Emphatic, Indefinite.

513. a. The isolated and uninflected pronominal word स्वयम् svayam (from the root *sva*) signifies *self*, *own self*. By its form it appears to be a nom. sing., and it is often-

est used as nominative, but along with words of all persons and numbers; and not seldom it represents other cases also.

b. Svayam is also used as a stem in composition: thus, *svayamjā*, *svayambhū*. But *sva* itself (usually adjective: below, 516e) has the same value in composition; and even its inflected forms are (in the older language very rarely) used as reflexive pronoun.

c. In RV. alone are found a few examples of two indefinite pronouns, *sama* (accentless) *any*, *every*, and *simā* *every*, *all*.

### Nouns used pronominally.

514. a. The noun *ātman* *soul* is widely employed, in the singular (extremely rarely in other numbers), as reflexive pronoun of all three persons.

b. The noun *tanū* *body* is employed in the same manner (but in all numbers) in the Veda.

c. The adjective *bhavant*, f. *bhavatī*, is used (as already pointed out: 456) in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person. Its construction with the verb is in accordance with its true character, as a word of the third person.

### Pronominal Derivatives.

515. From pronominal roots and stems, as well as from the larger class of roots and from noun-stems, are formed by the ordinary suffixes of adjective derivation certain words and classes of words, which have thus the character of pronominal adjectives.

Some of the more important of these may be briefly noticed here.

516. Possessives. a. From the representative stems *mad* etc. are formed the adjectives *madiya*, *asmadiya*, *tvadiya*, *yuṣmadiya*, *tadiya*, and *etadiya*, which are used in a possessive sense: *relating to me*, *mine*, and so on.

b. Other possessives are *māmakā* (also *māmaka*, RV.) and *tāvakā*, from the genitives *māma* and *tāva*. And RV. has once *mākina*.

c. An analogous derivative from the genitive *amūṣya* is *āmuṣyā-yaṇā* (AV. etc.) *descendant of such and such a one*.

d. It was pointed out above (493) that the "genitives" *asmākam* and *yuṣmākam* are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.

e. Corresponding to *svayám* (513) is the possessive *svá*, meaning *own*, as relating to all persons and numbers. The RV. has once the corresponding simple possessive of the second person, *tvá thy*.

f. For the use of *sva* as reflexive pronoun, see above, 513 b.

g. All these words form their feminines in *ā*.

h. Other derivatives of a like value have no claim to be mentioned here. But (excepting *sva*) the possessives are so rarely used as to make but a small figure in the language, which prefers generally to indicate the possessive relation by the genitive case of the pronoun itself.

517. By the suffix *vant* are formed from the pronominal roots, with prolongation of their final vowels, the adjectives *māvānt*, *tvāvānt*, *yusmāvānt*, *yuvāvānt*, *tāvānt*, *etāvānt*, *yāvānt*, meaning *of my sort, like me*, etc. Of these, however, only the last three are in use in the later language, in the sense of *tantus* and *quantus*. They are inflected like other adjective stems in *vant*, making their feminines in *vatī* (452 ff.).

a. Words of similar meaning from the roots *i* and *ki* are *īyant* and *kīyant*, inflected in the same manner: see above, 451.

518. The pronominal roots show a like prolongation of vowel in combination with the root *dr̥ṣ* see, look, and its derivatives *-dr̥ṣa* and (quite rarely) *dr̥kṣa*: thus, *mādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *tvādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *yusmādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *tādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *etādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*, *-dr̥kṣa*; *yādr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*; *īdr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*, *-dr̥kṣa*; *kīdr̥ṣ*, *-dr̥ṣa*, *-dr̥kṣa*. They mean *of my sort, like or resembling me*, and the like, and *tādr̥ṣ* and the following are not uncommon, with the sense of *talis* and *qualis*. The forms in *dr̥ṣ* are unvaried for gender; those in *dr̥ṣa* (and *dr̥kṣa*?) have feminines in *i*.

519. From *ta*, *ka*, *ya* come *tāti* so many, *kāti* how many? *yāti* as many. They have a quasi-numeral character, and are inflected (like the numerals *pāñca* etc.: above, 483) only in the plural, and with the bare stem as nom. and accus.: thus, N.A. *tāti*; I. etc. *tātibhis*, *tātibhyas*, *tātīnām*, *tātiṣu*.

520. From *ya* (in V. and B.) and *ka* come the comparatives and superlatives *yatarā* and *yatamā*, and *katarā* and *katamā*; and from *i*, the comparative *ītarā*. For their inflection, see below, 523.

521. Derivatives with the suffix *ka*, sometimes conveying a diminutive or a contemptuous meaning, are made from certain of the pronominal roots and stems (and may, according to the grammarians, be made from them all): thus, from *ta*, *takām*, *takát*, *takás*; from *sa*, *sakā*; from *ya*, *yakás*, *yakā*, *yaké*; from *asāu*, *asakāu*; from *amu*, *amuka*.

a. For the numerous and frequently used adverbs formed from pronominal roots, see Adverbs (below, 1097 ff.).



### Adjectives declined pronominally.

522. A number of adjectives — some of them coming from pronominal roots, others more or less analogous with pronouns in use — are inflected, in part or wholly, according to the pronominal declension (like त ta, 495), with feminine stems in ङ. Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, *katará* and *katamá*, *yatará* and *yatamá*, and *ítara*; also *anyá* *other*, and its comparative *anyatará* — are declined like *ta* throughout.

a. But even from these words forms made according to the adjective declension are sporadically met with (e. g. *itarāyām* K.).

b. *Anya* takes occasionally the form *anyat* in composition: thus. *anyatkāma*, *anyatsthāna*.

524. Other words are so inflected except in the nom.-acc.-voc. sing. neut., where they have the ordinary adjective form *am*, instead of the pronominal *at* (ad). Such are *sārva* *all*, *vīṣva* *all*, *every*, *éka* *one*.

a. These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e. g. *vīṣvāya*, *vīṣvāt*, *vīṣve* RV.; *éke* loc. sing., AV.).

525. Yet other words follow the same model usually, or in some of their significations, or optionally; but in other senses, or without known rule, lapse into the adjective inflection.

a. Such are the comparatives and superlatives from prepositional stems: *ádharma* and *adhamá*, *ántara* and *ántama*, *ápara* and *apamá*, *ávāra* and *avamá*, *úttara* and *uttamá*, *úpara* and *upamá*. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.

b. Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) *paramá*, *caramá*, *madhyamá*; and also *anyatama* (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: 523).

c. Further, the words *pāra* *distant*, *other*; *pūrva* *prior*, *east*; *dákṣiṇa* *right*, *south*; *paścima* *behind*, *western*; *ubháya* (f. *ubháyī* or *ubháyī*) *of both kinds* or *parties*; *néma* *the one*, *half*; and the possessive *svá*.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e. g. *prathamāsyās*, *tr̥tīyasyām*; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, *álpa* *few*; *ardhá* *half*; *kévala* *all*; *dvítaya* *of the two kinds*; *bāhya* *outside* — and others. RV. has once *samānāsmāt*.

svayam

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## CHAPTER VIII.

## CONJUGATION.

527. THE subject of conjugation or verbal inflection involves, as in the other languages of the family, the distinctions of voice, tense, mode, number, and person.

a. Further, besides the simpler or ordinary conjugation of a verbal root, there are certain more or less fully developed secondary or derivative conjugations.

528. Voice. There are (as in Greek) two voices, active and middle, distinguished by a difference in the personal endings. This distinction is a pervading one: there is no active personal form which does not have its corresponding middle, and *vice versa*; and it is extended also in part to the participles (but not to the infinitive).

529. An active form is called by the Hindu grammarians *parasmāi padam* a word for another, and a middle form is called *ātmane padam* a word for one's self: the terms might be best paraphrased by *transitive* and *reflexive*. And the distinction thus expressed is doubtless the original foundation of the difference of active and middle forms; in the recorded condition of the language, however, the antithesis of transitive and reflexive meaning is in no small measure blurred, or even altogether effaced.

a. In the epics there is much effacement of the distinction between active and middle, the choice of voice being very often determined by metrical considerations alone.

530. Some verbs are conjugated in both voices, others in one only; sometimes a part of the tenses are inflected only in one voice, others only in the other or in both; of a verb usually inflected in one voice sporadic forms of the other occur; and sometimes the voice differs according as the verb is compounded with certain prepositions.

531. The middle forms outside the present-system (for which there is a special passive inflection: see below, 768 ff.), and sometimes also within that system, are liable to be used likewise in a passive sense.

532. Tense. The tenses are as follows: 1. a present, with 2. an imperfect, closely related with it in form, having a prefixed augment; 3. a perfect, made with reduplication (to which in the Veda is added, 4. a so-called pluperfect, made from it with prefixed augment); 5. an aorist, of three different formations: a. simple; b. reduplicated; c. sigmatic or sibilant; 6. a future, with 7. a conditional, an augment-tense, standing to it in the relation of an imperfect to a present; and 8. a second, a periphrastic, future (not found in the Veda).

a. The tenses here distinguished (in accordance with prevailing usage) as imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and aorist receive those names from their correspondence in mode of formation with tenses so called in other languages of the family, especially in Greek, and not at all from differences of time designated by them. In no period of the Sanskrit language is there any expression of imperfect or pluperfect time — nor of perfect time, except in the older language, where the "aorist" has this value; later, imperfect, perfect, and aorist are so many indiscriminated past tenses or preterits: see below, under the different tenses.

533. Mode. In respect to mode, the difference between the classical Sanskrit and the older language of the Veda — and, in a less degree, of the Brāhmaṇas — is especially great.

a. In the Veda, the present tense has, besides its indicative inflection, a subjunctive, of considerable variety of formation, an optative, and an imperative (in 2d and 3d persons). The same three modes are found, though of much less frequent occurrence, as belonging to the perfect; and they are made also from the aorists, being of especial frequency from the simple aorist. The future has no modes (an occasional case or two are purely exceptional).

b. In the classical Sanskrit, the present adds to its indicative an optative and an imperative — of which last,

moreover, the first persons are a remnant of the old subjunctive. And the aorist has also an optative, of somewhat peculiar inflection, usually called the precative (or benedictive).

534. The present, perfect, and future tenses have each of them, alike in the earlier and later language, a pair of participles, active and middle, sharing in the various peculiarities of the tense-formations; and in the Veda are found such participles belonging also to the aorist.

535. Tense-systems. The tenses, then, with their accompanying modes and participles, fall into certain well-marked groups or systems:

I. The present-system, composed of the present tense with its modes, its participle, and its preterit which we have called the imperfect.

II. The perfect-system, composed of the perfect tense (with, in the Veda, its modes and its preterit, the so-called pluperfect) and its participle.

III. The aorist-system, or systems, simple, reduplicated, and sibilant, composed of the aorist tense along with, in the later language, its "precative" optative (but, in the Veda, with its various modes and its participle).

IV. The future-systems: 1. the old or sibilant future, with its accompanying preterit, the conditional, and its participle; and 2. the new periphrastic future.

536. Number and Person. The verb has, of course, the same three numbers with the noun: namely, singular, dual, and plural; and in each number it has the three persons, first, second, and third. All of these are made in every tense and mode — except that the first persons of the imperative numbers are supplied from the subjunctive.

537. Verbal adjectives and nouns: Participles. The participles belonging to the tense-systems have been already spoken of above (534). There is besides, coming directly from the root of the verb, a participle, prevailing of past and passive (or sometimes neuter) meaning. Future passive participles, or gerundives, of several different formations, are also made.

538. Infinitives. In the older language, a very considerable variety of derivative abstract nouns — only in a few sporadic instances having anything to do with the tense-systems — are used in an infinitive or quasi-infinitive sense; most often in the dative case, but sometimes also in the accusative, in the genitive and ablative, and (very rarely) in the locative. In the classical Sanskrit, there remains a single infinitive, of accusative case-form, having nothing to do with the tense-systems.

539. Gerunds. A so-called gerund (or absolutive) — being, like the infinitive, a stereotyped case-form of a derivative noun — is a part of the general verb-system in both the earlier and later language, being especially frequent in the later language, where it has only two forms, one for simple verbs, and the other for compound. Its value is that of an indeclinable active participle, of indeterminate but prevailing past tense-character.

a. Another gerund, an adverbially used accusative in form, is found, but only rarely, both earlier and later.

540. Secondary conjugations. The secondary or derivative conjugations are as follows: 1. the passive; 2. the intensive; 3. the desiderative; 4. the causative. In these, a conjugation-stem, instead of the simple root, underlies the whole system of inflection. Yet there is clearly to be seen in them the character of a present-system, expanded into a more or less complete conjugation; and the passive is

so purely a present-system that it will be described in the chapter devoted to that part of the inflection of the verb.

a. Under the same general head belongs the subject of denominative conjugation, or the conversion of noun and adjective-stems into conjugation-stems. Further, that of compound conjugation, whether by the prefixion of prepositions to roots or by the addition of auxiliary verbs to noun and adjective-stems. And finally, that of periphrastic conjugation, or the looser combination of auxiliaries with verbal nouns and adjectives.

541. The characteristic of a proper (finite or personal) verb-form is its personal ending. By this alone is determined its character as regards number and person — and in part also as regards mode and tense. But the distinctions of mode and tense are mainly made by the formation of tense and mode-stems, to which, rather than to the pure root, the personal endings are appended.

a. In this chapter will be given a general account of the personal endings, and also of the formation of mode-stems from tense-stems, and of those elements in the formation of tense-stems — the augment and the reduplication — which are found in more than one tense-system. Then, in the following chapters, each tense-system will be taken up by itself, and the methods of formation of its stems, both tense-stems and mode-stems, and their combination with the endings, will be described and illustrated in detail. And the complete conjugation of a few model verbs will be exhibited in systematic arrangement in Appendix C.

### Personal Endings.

542. The endings of verbal inflection are, as was pointed out above, different throughout in the active and middle voices. They are also, as in Greek, usually of two somewhat varying forms for the same person in the same voice: one fuller, called primary; the other briefer, called secondary. There are also less pervading differences, depending upon other conditions.

a. In the epics, exchanges of primary and secondary active endings especially the substitution of *ma*, *va*, *ta*, for *mas*, *vas*, *tha*) are not infrequent.

b. A condensed statement of all the varieties of ending for each person and number here follows.

543. Singular: First person. a. The primary ending in the active is *mi*. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has *ni* instead; and in the oldest Veda this *ni* is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in *ā* (as if the *ni* of *āni* were dropped). The secondary ending is properly *m*; but to this *m* an *a* has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing regularly where the tense-stem does not itself end in *a* (*vam* for *varm* or *varam* in RV., once, and *abhūm* MS., *avadhīm* TS. etc., *sanem* TB., are rare anomalies), that it is convenient to reckon *am* as ending; rather than *m*. But the perfect tense has neither *mi* nor *m*; its ending is simply *a* (sometimes *ā*: 248c); or, from *ā*-roots, *āu*.

b. The primary middle ending, according to the analogy of the other persons, would be regularly *me*. But no tense or mode, at any period of the language, shows any relic whatever of a *m* in this person; the primary ending, present as well as perfect, from *a*-stems and others alike, is *e*; and to it corresponds *i* as secondary ending, which blends with the final of an *a*-stem to *e*. The optative has, however, *a* instead of *i*; and in the subjunctive (later imperative) appears *āi* for *e*.

544. Second person. a. In the active, the primary ending is *si*, which is shortened to *s* as secondary; as to the loss of this *s* after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably *tha* (or *thā*: 248c). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is *dhi*; which, however, is more often reduced to *hi*; and in the great majority of verbs (including all *a*-stems, at every period of the language) no ending is present, but the bare stem stands as personal form. In a very small class of verbs (722—3), *āna* is the ending. There is also an alternative ending *tāt*; and this is even used sporadically in other persons of the imperative (see below, 570—1).

b. In the middle voice, the primary ending, both present and perfect, is *se*. The secondary stands in no apparent relation to this, being *thās*; and in the imperative is found only *sva* (or *svā*: 248c), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as *sua*. In the older language, *se* is sometimes strengthened to *sāi* in the subjunctive.

545. Third person. a. The active primary ending is *ti*; the secondary, *t*; as to the loss of the latter after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But in the imperative appears instead the peculiar ending *tu*; and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.

b. The primary middle ending is *te*, with *ta* as corresponding secondary. In the older language, *te* is often strengthened to *tāi* in

the subjunctive. In the perfect, the middle third person has, like the active, the same ending with the first, namely *e* simply; and in the older language, the third person present also often loses the distinctive part of its termination, and comes to coincide in form with the first (and MS. has *aduha* for *adugdha*). To this *e* perhaps corresponds, as secondary, the *i* of the aorist 3d pers. passive (842 ff.). The imperative has *tām* (or, in the Veda, rarely *ām*) for its ending.

**546. Dual:** First person. Both in active and in middle, the dual first person is in all its varieties precisely like the corresponding plural, only with substitution of *v* for the *m* of the latter: thus, *vas* (no *vasi* has been found to occur), *va*, *vahe*, *vahi*, *vahāi*. The person is, of course, of comparatively rare use, and from the Veda no form in *vas*, even, is quotable.

**547. Second and Third persons.** *a.* In the active, the primary ending of the second person is *thas*, and that of the third is *tas*; and this relation of *th* to *t* appears also in the perfect, and runs through the whole series of middle endings. The perfect endings are primary, but have *u* instead of *a* as vowel; and an *a* has become so persistently prefixed that their forms have to be reckoned as *athus* and *atus*. The secondary endings exhibit no definable relation to the primary in these two persons; they are *tam* and *tām*; and they are used in the imperative as well.

*b.* In the middle, a long *ā* — which, however, with the final *a* of *a*-stems becomes *e* — has become prefixed to all dual endings of the second and third persons, so as to form an inseparable part of them (*didhīthām* AV., and *jihīthām* ÇB., are isolated anomalies). The primary endings, present and perfect, are *āthe* and *āte*; the secondary (and imperative) are *āthām* and *ātām* (or, with stem-final *a*, *ethe* etc.).

*c.* The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in *āithe* and *āite*, apparently from *ethe* and *ete* with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed below: see 615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1008, 1043).

**548. Plural:** First person. *a.* The earliest form of the active ending is *masi*, which in the oldest language is more frequent than the briefer *mas* (in RV., as five to one; in AV., however, only as three to four). In the classical Sanskrit, *mas* is the exclusive primary ending; but the secondary abbreviated *ma* belongs also to the perfect and the subjunctive (imperative). In the Veda, *ma* often becomes *mā* (248 c), especially in the perfect.

*b.* The primary middle ending is *mahe*. This is lightened in the secondary form to *mahi*; and, on the other hand, it is regularly (in the Veda, not invariably) strengthened to *mahāi* in the subjunctive (imperative).

**549. Second person.** *a.* The active primary ending is *tha*. The secondary, also imperative, ending is *ta* (in the Veda, *tā* only



once in impv.). But in the perfect any characteristic consonant is wanting, and the ending is simply *a*. In the Veda, the syllable *na*, of problematic origin, is not infrequently added to both forms of the ending, making *thana* (rarely *thanā*) and *tana*. The forms in which this occurs will be detailed below, under the different formations; the addition is very rarely made excepting to persons of the first general conjugation.

b. The middle primary ending is *dhve*, which belongs to the perfect as well as the present. In the subjunctive of the older language it is sometimes strengthened to *dhvāi*. The secondary (and imperative) ending is *dhvam* (in RV., once *dhva*); and *dhvāt* is once met with in the imperative (570). In the Veda, the *v* of all these endings is sometimes to be resolved into *u*, and the ending becomes dissyllabic. As to the change of *dh* of these endings to *qh*, see above, 226 c.

550. Third person. a. The full primary ending is *anti* in the active, with *ante* as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is *anta*, to which should correspond an active *ant*; but of the *t* only altogether questionable traces are left, in the euphonic treatment of a final *n* (207); the ending is *an*. In the imperative, *antu* and *antām* take the place of *anti* and *ante*. The initial *a* of all these endings is like that of *am* in the 1st sing., disappearing after the final *a* of a tense-stem.

b. Moreover, *anti*, *antu*, *ante*, *antām*, *anta* are all liable to be weakened by the loss of their nasal, becoming *ati* etc. In the active, this weakening takes place only after reduplicated non-*a*-stems (and after a few roots which are treated as if reduplicated: 639 ff.); in the middle, it occurs after all tense-stems save those ending in *a*.

c. Further, for the secondary active ending *an* there is a substitute *us* (or *ur*: 169 b; the evidence of the Zend favors the latter form), which is used in the same reduplicating verbs that change *anti* to *ati* etc., and which accordingly appears as a weaker correlative of *an*. The same *us* is also used universally in the perfect, in the optative (not in the subjunctive), in those forms of the aorist whose stem does not end in *a*, and in the imperfect of root-stems ending in *ā*, and a few others (621).

d. The perfect middle has in all periods of the language the peculiar ending *re*, and the optative has the allied *ran*, in this person. In the Veda, a variety of other endings containing a *r* as distinctive consonant are met with: namely, *re* (and *ire*) and *rate* in the present; *rata* in the optative (both of present and of aorist); *rire* in the perfect; *ranta*, *ran*, and *ram* in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); *rām* and *ratām* in the imperative; *ra* in the imperfect of *duh* (MS.). The three *rate*, *ratām*, and *rata* are found even in the later language in one or two verbs (629).

551. Below are given, for convenience, in tabular form, the schemes of endings as accepted in the classical or later language: namely, a. the regular primary endings, used in the present indicative and the future (and the subjunctive in part); and b. the regular secondary endings, used in the imperfect, the conditional, the aorist, the optative (and the subjunctive in part); and further, of special schemes, c. the perfect endings (chiefly primary, especially in the middle); and d. the imperative endings (chiefly secondary). To the so-called imperative endings of the first person is prefixed the *ā* which is practically a part of them, though really containing the mode-sign of the subjunctive from which they are derived.

552. Further, a part of the endings are marked with an accent, and a part are left unaccented. The latter are those which never, under any circumstances, receive the accent; the former are accented in considerable classes of verbs, though by no means in all. It will be noticed that, in general, the unaccented endings are those of the singular active; but the 2d sing. imperative has an accented ending; and, on the other hand, the whole series of 1st persons imperative, active and middle, have unaccented endings (this being a characteristic of the subjunctive formation which they represent).

553. The schemes of normal endings, then, are as follows:

#### a. Primary Endings.

|   | active. |      |           | middle. |      |           |
|---|---------|------|-----------|---------|------|-----------|
|   | s.      | d.   | p.        | s.      | d.   | p.        |
| 1 | mi      | vás  | más       | é       | váhe | máhe      |
| 2 | si      | thás | thá       | sé      | áthe | dhvé      |
| 3 | ti      | tás  | ánti, áti | té      | áte  | ánte, áte |

#### b. Secondary Endings.

|   |    |     |        |      |       |                |
|---|----|-----|--------|------|-------|----------------|
| 1 | am | vá  | má     | í, á | váhi  | máhi           |
| 2 | s  | tám | tá     | thás | áthām | dhvám          |
| 3 | t  | tám | án, ús | tá   | átām  | ánta, áta, rán |

#### c. Perfect Endings.

|   |     |       |    |    |      |      |
|---|-----|-------|----|----|------|------|
| 1 | a   | vá    | má | é  | váhe | máhe |
| 2 | tha | áthus | á  | sé | áthe | dhvé |
| 3 | a   | átus  | ús | é  | áte  | ré   |

#### d. Imperative Endings.

|   |            |     |           |     |        |             |
|---|------------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|-------------|
| 1 | āni        | āva | āma       | āi  | āvahāi | āmahāi      |
| 2 | dhí, hí, — | tám | tá        | svá | áthām  | dhvám       |
| 3 | tu         | tám | ántu, átu | tám | átām   | ántām, átām |

554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if disyllabic, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant union-vowels are regarded, in this respect, as integral parts of the endings. But the

3d pl. ending *ate* of the pres. indic. middle has in RV. the accent *até* in a number of verbs (see 613, 685, 699, 719); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings: thus, *mahé* (see 719, 735).

555. The secondary endings of the second and third persons singular, as consisting of an added consonant without vowel, should regularly (150) be lost whenever the root or stem to which they are to be added itself ends in a consonant. And this rule is in general followed; yet not without exceptions. Thus:

a. A root ending in a dental mute sometimes drops this final mute instead of the added *s* in the second person; and, on the other hand, a root or stem ending in *s* sometimes drops this *s* instead of the added *t* in the third person — in either case, establishing the ordinary relation of *s* and *t* in these persons, instead of *s* and *s*, or *t* and *t*. The examples noted are: 2d sing. *aves* (to 3d sing. *avet*), *√vid*, AB.; 3d sing. *akat*, *√kr*, ÇB. *aghat*, *√ghas*, JB. AÇS.; *acakāt*, *√cakās*, RT.; *açāt*, *√ças*, AB. MBh. R.; *asrat*, *√sras*, VS.; *ahinat*, *√hiñs*, ÇB. TB. GB. Compare also the *s*-aorist forms *ayās* and *srās* (146a), in which the same influence is to be seen; and further, *ajāit* etc. (889a), and precativ *yāt* for *yās* (837). A similar loss of any other final consonant is excessively rare; AV. has once *abhanas*, for *-nak*, *√bhañj*. There are also a few cases where a 1st sing. is irregularly modeled after a 3d sing.: thus, *atrñam* (to *atrñat*), *√trñd*, KU., *acchinam* (to *acchinat*), *√chid*, MBh.: compare further the 1st sing. in *m* instead of *am*, 543a.

b. Again, a union-vowel is sometimes introduced before the ending, either *a* or *i* or *ī*: see below, 621b, 631, 819, 880, 1004a, 1068a.

c. In a few isolated cases in the older language, this *ī* is changed to *āi*: see below, 904b, 936, 1068a.

556. The changes of form which roots and stems undergo in their combinations with these endings will be pointed out in detail below, under the various formations. Here may be simply mentioned in advance, as by far the most important among them, a distinction of stronger and weaker form of stem in large classes of verbs, standing in relation with the accent — the stem being of stronger form when the accent falls upon it, or before an accentless ending, and of weaker form when the accent is on the ending.

a. Of the endings marked as accented in the scheme, the *ta* of 2d pl. is not infrequently in the Veda treated as unaccented, the tone resting on the stem, which is strengthened. Much less often, the *tam* of 2d du. is treated in the same way; other endings, only sporadically. Details are given under the various formations below.

### Subjunctive Mode.

557. Of the subjunctive mode (as was pointed out above) only fragments are left in the later or classical language: namely, in the

so-called first persons imperative, and in the use (579) of the imperfect and aorist persons without augment after *mā* prohibitive. In the oldest period, however, it was a very frequent formation, being three or four times as common as the optative in the Rīg-Veda, and nearly the same in the Atharvan; but already in the Brāhmaṇas it becomes comparatively rare. Its varieties of form are considerable, and sometimes perplexing.

558. In its normal and regular formation, a special mode-stem is made for the subjunctive by adding to the tense-stem an *a* — which combines with a final *a* of the tense-stem to *ā*. The accent rests upon the tense-stem, which accordingly has the strong form. Thus, from the strong present-stem *doh* (√*duh*) is made the subjunctive-stem *dōha*; from *juhó* (√*hu*), *juháva*; from *yunáj* (√*yu*), *yunája*; from *sunó* (√*su*), *sunáva*; from *bháva* (√*bhū*), *bhávā*; from *tudá* (√*tud*), *tudá*; from *ucyá* (pass., √*vac*), *ucyá*; and so on.

559. The stem thus formed is inflected in general as an *a*-stem would be inflected in the indicative, with constant accent, and *ā* for *a* before the endings of the first person (733 i) — but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:

560. a. In the active, the 1st sing. has *ni* as ending: thus, *dōhāni*, *yunājāni*, *bhāvāni*. But in the Rīg-Veda sometimes *ā* simply: thus, *āyā*, *brāvā*.

b. In 1st du., 1st pl., and 3d pl., the endings are the secondary: thus, *dōhāva*, *dōhāma*, *dōhan*; *bhāvāva*, *bhāvāma*, *bhāvān*.

c. In 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., the endings are primary: thus, *dōhathas*, *dōhatas*, *dōhatha*; *bhāvāthas*, *bhāvātas*, *bhāvātha*.

d. In 2d and 3d sing., the endings are either primary or secondary: thus, *dōhasi* or *dōhas*, *dōhati* or *dōhat*; *bhāvāsi* or *bhāvās*, *bhāvāti* or *bhāvāt*.

e. Occasionally, forms with double mode-sign *ā* (by assimilation to the more numerous subjunctives from tense-stems in *a*) are met with from non-*a*-stems: thus, *āsātha* from *as*; *āyās*, *āyāt*, *āyān* from *e* (√*i*).

561. In the middle, forms with secondary instead of primary endings are very rare, being found only in the 3d pl. (where they are more frequent than the primary), and in a case or two of the 3d sing. (and AB. has once *asyāthās*).

a. The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of *e* to *āi* in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In 1st sing., *āi* alone is found as ending, even in RV.; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only *āvahāi* is met with. In 1st pl., *āmahāi* prevails in RV. and AV. (*āmahe* is found a few times), and is alone known later. In 2d sing., *sāi* for *se* does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d sing., *tāi* for *te* occurs once in RV., and is the predominant form

in AV., and the only one later. In 2d pl., *dhvāi* for *dhve* is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d pl., *ntāi* for *nte* is the Brāhmaṇa form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in RV. nor AV. No such dual endings as *thāi* and *tāi*, for *the* and *te*, are anywhere found; but RV. has in a few words (nine: above, 547 c) *āithe* and *āite*, which appear to be a like subjunctive strengthening of *ethe* and *ete* (although found in one indicative form, *kṛṇvāite*). Before the *āi*-endings, the vowel is regularly long *ā*; but *antāi* instead of *āntāi* is two or three times met with, and once or twice (TS. AB.) *atāi* for *ātāi*.

562. The subjunctive endings, then, in combination with the subjunctive mode-sign, are as follows:

|   | active..   |       |      | middle.      |                  |                     |
|---|------------|-------|------|--------------|------------------|---------------------|
|   | s.         | d.    | p.   | s.           | d.               | p.                  |
| 1 | āni        | āva   | āma  | āi           | {āvahāi<br>āvahe | {āmahāi<br>āmahe    |
| 2 | {asi<br>as | athas | atha | {ase<br>āsāi | āithe            | {adhve<br>ādhvāi    |
| 3 | {ati<br>at | atas  | an   | {ate<br>ātāi | āite             | {ante, anta<br>ātāi |

a. And in further combination with final *a* of a tense-stem, the initial *a* of all these endings becomes *ā*: thus, for example, in 2d pers., *āsi* or *ās*, *āthas*, *ātha*, *āse*, *ādhve*.

563. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple form — with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary endings — the name of subjunctive, in the forms “imperfect subjunctive” and “improper subjunctive”, has been also given to the indicative forms of imperfect and aorist when used, with the augment omitted, in a modal sense (below, 537): such use being quite common in RV., but rapidly dying out, so that in the Brāhmaṇa language and later it is hardly met with except after *mā* prohibitive.

a. As to the general uses of the subjunctive, see below, 574 ff.

### Optative Mode.

564. a. As has been already pointed out, the optative is of comparatively rare occurrence in the language of the Vedas; but it gains rapidly in frequency, and already in the Brāhmaṇas greatly outnumbers the subjunctive, and still later comes almost entirely to take its place.

b. Its mode of formation is the same in all periods of the language.

565. a. The optative mode-sign is in the active voice a different one, according as it is added to a tense-stem ending in *a*, or

to one ending in some other final. In the latter case, it is *yā*, accented; this *yā* is appended to the weaker form of the tense-stem, and takes the regular series of secondary endings, with, in 3d plur., *us* instead of *an*, and loss of the *ā* before it. After an *a*-stem, it is *i*, unaccented; this *i* blends with the final *a* to *e* (which then is accented or not according to the accent of the *a*); and the *e* is maintained unchanged before a vowel-ending (*am*, *us*), by means of an interposed euphonic *y*.

b. In the middle voice, the mode-sign is *i* throughout, and takes the secondary endings, with *a* in 1st sing., and *an* in 3d pl. After an *a*-stem, the rules as to its combination to *e*, the accent of the latter, and its retention before a vowel-ending with interposition of a *y*, are the same as in the active. After any other final, the weaker form of stem is taken, and the accent is on the ending (except in one class of verbs, where it falls upon the tense-stem: see 645); and the *i* (as when combined to *e*) takes an inserted *y* before the vowel-endings (*a*, *āthām*, *ātām*).

c. It is, of course, impossible to tell from the form whether *i* or *i* is combined with the final of an *a*-stem to *e*; but no good reason appears to exist for assuming *i*, rather than the *i* which shows itself in the other class of stems in the middle voice.

566. The combined mode-sign and endings of the optative, then, are as follows, in their double form, for *a*-stems and for others:

a. for non-*a*-stems.

| active.      |              |             | middle.      |                |               |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| s.           | d.           | p.          | s.           | d.             | p.            |
| 1 <i>yām</i> | <i>yāva</i>  | <i>yāma</i> | <i>iyā</i>   | <i>ivāhi</i>   | <i>imāhi</i>  |
| 2 <i>yās</i> | <i>yātam</i> | <i>yāta</i> | <i>īthās</i> | <i>iyāthām</i> | <i>īdhvām</i> |
| 3 <i>yāt</i> | <i>yātām</i> | <i>yūs</i>  | <i>itā</i>   | <i>iyātām</i>  | <i>irān</i>   |

b. combined with the final of *a*-stems.

|               |             |             |              |                |               |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1 <i>eyam</i> | <i>eva</i>  | <i>ema</i>  | <i>eya</i>   | <i>evahi</i>   | <i>emahi</i>  |
| 2 <i>es</i>   | <i>etam</i> | <i>eta</i>  | <i>ethās</i> | <i>eyāthām</i> | <i>edhvam</i> |
| 3 <i>et</i>   | <i>etām</i> | <i>eyus</i> | <i>eta</i>   | <i>eyātām</i>  | <i>eran</i>   |

c. The *yā* is in the Veda not seldom resolved into *iā*.

d. The contracted *sanem*, for *saneyam*, is found in TB. and Āpast. Certain Vedic 3d pl. middle forms in *rata* will be mentioned below, under the various formations.

567. Precative. Precative forms are such as have a sibilant inserted between the optative-sign and the ending. They are made almost only from the aorist stems, and, though allowed by the grammarians to be formed from every root — the active precative from the simple aorist, the middle from the sibilant aorist — are

practically of rare occurrence at every period of the language, and especially later.

a. The inserted *s* runs in the active through the whole series of persons; in the middle, it is allowed only in the 2d and 3d persons sing. and du. and the 2d pl., and is quotable only for the 2d and 3d sing. In the 2d sing. act., the precative form, by reason of the necessary loss of the added *s*, is not distinguishable from the simple optative; in the 3d sing. act., the same is the case in the later language, which (compare 555 a) saves the personal ending *t* instead of the precative-sign *s*; but the RV. usually, and the other Vedic texts to some extent, have the proper ending *yās* (for *yāst*). As to *qh* in the 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

b. The accent is as in the simple optative.

568. The precative endings, then, accepted in the later language (including, in brackets, those which are identical with the simple optative), are as follows:

|   | active. |        |       | middle. |          |         |
|---|---------|--------|-------|---------|----------|---------|
|   | s.      | d.     | p.    | s.      | d.       | p.      |
| 1 | yāsam   | yāsva  | yāśma | [īyá]   | [īvāhi]  | [īmāhi] |
| 2 | [yās]   | yāstam | yāsta | īṣthās  | īyāsthām | īqhvam  |
| 3 | [yāt]   | yāstām | yāsus | īṣtā    | īyāstām  | [īrān]  |

a. Respecting the precative, see further 921 ff.

b. As to the general uses of the optative, see below, 573 ff.

### Imperative Mode.

569. The imperative has no mode-sign; it is made by adding its own endings directly to the tense-stem, just as the other endings are added to form the indicative tenses.

a. Hence, in 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., its forms are indistinguishable from those of the augment-preterit from the same stem with its augment omitted.

b. The rules as to the use of the different endings — especially in 2d sing., where the variety is considerable — will be given below, in connection with the various tense-systems. The ending *tāt*, however, has so much that is peculiar in its use that it calls for a little explanation here.

570. The Imperative in *tāt*. An imperative form, usually having the value of a 2d pers. sing., but sometimes also of other persons and numbers, is made by adding *tāt* to a present tense-stem — in its weak form, if it have a distinction of strong and weak form.

a. Examples are: *brūtāt*, *hatāt*, *vittāt*; *pipṛtāt*, *jahītāt*, *dhattāt*; *kṛṇutāt*, *kurutāt*; *grhṇītāt*, *jānītāt*; *ávatāt*, *rákṣatāt*, *vasatāt*; *viçatāt*, *sṛjatāt*; *asyatāt*, *naçyatāt*, *chyatāt*; *kriyatāt*;

gamayatāt, cyāvayatāt, vārayatāt; ipsatāt; jāgrtāt. No examples have been found from a nasal-class verb (690), nor any other than those here given from a passive, intensive, or desiderative. The few accented cases indicate that the formation follows the general rule for one made with an accented ending (552).

b. The imperative in tāt is not a very rare formation in the older language, being made (in V., B., and S.) from about fifty roots, and in toward a hundred and fifty occurrences. Later, it is very unusual: thus, only a single example has been noted in MBh., and one in R.; and correspondingly few in yet more modern texts.

571. As regards its meaning, this form appears to have pre-vaillingly in the Brāhmaṇas, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value — as signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time than the present: it is (like the Latin forms in *to* and *tote*) a posterior or future imperative.

a. Examples are: *ihāi 'vā mā tīṣṭhantam abhyēhi 'ti brūhi tām tū na āgatām pratiprābrūtāt* (ÇB.) *say to her "come to me as I stand just here," and [afterward] announce her to us as having come*; *yād ūrdhvās tīṣṭhā drāviṇe 'hā dhattāt* (RV.) *when thou shalt stand up-right, [then] bestow riches here* (and similarly in many cases); *utkūlam udvahō bhavo 'dūhya prāti dhāvatāt* (AV.) *be a carrier up the ascent; after having carried up, run back again*; *vānaspātir ādhi tvā sthāsyati tāsa vittāt* (TS.) *the tree will ascend thee, [then] take note of it*.

b. Examples of its use as other than 2d sing. are as follows: 1st sing., *āvyuṣāṁ jāgrtād ahām* (AV.; only case) *let me watch till day-break*; as 3d sing., *pūnar mām viçatād rayīḥ* (TS.) *let wealth come again to me*, *ayām tyāsa rājā mūrdhānaṁ vī pātayatāt* (ÇB.) *the king here shall make his head fly off*; as 2d du., *nāsatyāv abruvan devāḥ pūnar ā vahatād itī* (RV.) *the gods said to the two Aṣvins "bring them back again"*; as 2d pl., *āpāḥ ... devēṣu naḥ sukṛto brūtāt* (TS.) *ye waters, announce us to the gods as well-doers*. In the later language, the prevailing value appears to be that of a 3d sing.: thus, *bhavān prasādam kurutāt* (MBh.) *may your worship do the favor*, *enam bhavān abhirakṣatāt* (DKC.) *let your excellency protect him*.

c. According to the native grammarians, the imperative in tāt is to be used with a benedictive implication. No instance of such use appears to be quotable.

d. In a certain passage repeated several times in different Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, and containing a number of forms in tāt used as 2d pl., *vārayadhvāt* is read instead of *vārayatāt* in some of the texts (K. AB. AÇS. ÇÇS.). No other occurrence of the ending *dhvāt* has been anywhere noted.



### Uses of the Modes.

572. Of the three modes, the imperative is the one most distinct and limited in office, and most unchanged in use throughout the whole history of the language. It signifies a command or injunction — an attempt at the exercise of the speaker's will upon some one or something outside of himself.

a. This, however (in Sanskrit as in other languages), is by no means always of the same force; the command shades off into a demand, an exhortation, an entreaty, an expression of earnest desire. The imperative also sometimes signifies an assumption or concession; and occasionally, by pregnant construction, it becomes the expression of something conditional or contingent; but it does not acquire any regular use in dependent-clause-making.

b. The imperative is now and then used in an interrogative sentence: thus, *bravīhi ko 'dyāi 'va mayā viyuḥyātām* (R.) *speak! who shall now be separated by me?* *katham ete guṇavantaḥ kriyāntām* (H.) *how are they to be made virtuous?* *kasmāi piṇḍaḥ pradīyātām* (Vet.) *to whom shall the offering be given?*

573. The optative appears to have as its primary office the expression of wish or desire; in the oldest language, its prevailing use in independent clauses is that to which the name "optative" properly belongs.

a. But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and, on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is.

b. Further, the optative in dependent clauses, with relative pronouns and conjunctions, becomes a regular means of expression of the conditional and contingent, in a wide and increasing variety of uses.

c. The so-called precative forms (567) are ordinarily used in the proper optative sense. But in the later language they are occasionally met with in the other uses of the optative: thus, *na hi prapaçyāmi mamā 'panudyād yac chokam* (Bh G.) *for I do not perceive what should dispel my grief;* *yad bhūyāsūr vibhūṭayaḥ* (BhP.) *that there should be changes.* Also rarely with *mā*: see 579 b.

574. The subjunctive, as has been pointed out, becomes nearly extinct at an early period in the history of the language; there are left of it in classical usage only two relics: the use of its first persons in an imperative sense, or to signify a necessity or obligation resting on the speaker, or a peremptory intention on his part; and the use of unaugmented forms (570), with the negative particle *न* *mā*, in a prohibitive or negative imperative sense.

a. And the general value of the subjunctive from the beginning was what these relics would seem to indicate: its fundamental meaning is perhaps that of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, more so than the optative. But this meaning is liable to the same modifications and transitions with that of the optative; and subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent. And instead of their being (as in Greek) both maintained in use, and endowed with nicer and more distinctive values, the subjunctive gradually disappears, and the optative assumes alone the offices formerly shared by both.

575. The difference, then, between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree: command, requisition, wish; and no sharp line of division exists between them; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in coördinate clauses.

a. Thus, in AV., we have in impv.: *çatām jīva çarādaḥ do thou live a hundred autumns; ubhāu tāu jīvatām jarādaṣṭi let them both live to attain old age; — in subj., adyā jīvāni let me live this day; çatām jīvāti çarādaḥ he shall live a hundred autumns; — in opt., jīvema çarādām çatāni may we live hundreds of autumns; sāvram āyur jīvyāsam (prec.) I would fain live out my whole term of life.* Here the modes would be interchangeable with a hardly perceptible change of meaning.

b. Examples, again, of different modes in coördinate construction are: *iyām agne nārī pātiṁ videṣṭa . . . sūvānā putrān māhiṣī bhavāti gatvā pātiṁ subhāgā vī rājatu (AV.) may this woman, O Agni! find a spouse; giving birth to sons she shall become a chief-tuiness; having attained a spouse let her rule in happiness; gopāyā naḥ svastāye prabūdhe naḥ pūnar dadaḥ (TS.) watch over us for*

our welfare; grant unto us to wake again; *syān naḥ sūnūḥ ... sã te sumatir bhūtv asmé* (RV.) *may there be to us a son; let that favor of thine be ours.* It is not very seldom the case that versions of the same passage in different texts show different modes as various readings.

c. There is, in fact, nothing in the earliest employment of these modes to prove that they might not all be specialized uses of forms originally equivalent — having, for instance, a general future meaning.

576. As examples of the less characteristic use of subjunctive and optative in the older language, in independent clauses, may be quoted the following: *ã ghã tá gacchān úttarā yugāni* (RV.) *those later ages will doubtless come; yád ... ná marã íti mányase* (RV.) *if thou thinkest "I shall not die"; ná tá naçanti ná dabhāti táskaraḥ* (RV.) *they do not become lost; no thief can harm them; kásmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema* (RV.) *to what god shall we offer oblation? agnínā rayīm açaṇvat ... divé-dive* (RV.) *by Agni one may gain wealth every day; utāi 'nām brahmāṇe dadyāt tãthã syonã çivã syāt* (AV.) *one should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious and favorable; áhar-ahar dadyāt* (ÇB.) *one should give every day.*

577. The uses of the optative in the later language are of the utmost variety, covering the whole field occupied jointly by the two modes in earlier time. A few examples from a single text (MBh.) will be enough to illustrate them: *ucchiṣṭam nã 'va bhuñjīyam na kuryām pãdadhāvanam* *I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation; jñātīn vrajet* *let her go to her relatives; nã 'vam sã karhicit kuryāt* *she should not act thus at any time; katham vidyam nalam nṛpam* *how can I know king Nala? utsarge samçayaḥ syāt tu vindetã 'pi sukham kvacit* *but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere; katham vāso vikarteyam na ca budhyeta me priyã* *how can I cut off the garment and my beloved not wake?*

578. The later use of the first persons subjunctive as so-called imperative involves no change of construction from former time, but only restriction to a single kind of use: thus, *dīvyāva* *let us two play; kiṁ karavāṇi te* *what shall I do for thee?*

579. The imperative negative, or prohibitive, is from the earliest period of the language regularly and usually expressed by the particle *mã* with an augmentless past form, prevailingly aorist.

a. Thus, *prã pata mé 'há raṁsthāḥ* (AV.) *fly away, do not stay here; dviṣāṇç ca máhyam radhyatu mã cã 'hām dviṣatē radham* (AV.) *both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe; urv açaṃ ābhayaṃ jyótir indra mã no dīrghã abhí naçan tamisrãḥ* (RV.) *I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the long darknesses come upon us; mã na áyuḥ prã moṣīḥ* (RV.) *do not*

*steal away our life; samāçvasihi mā çucaḥ* (MBh.) *be comforted; do not grieve; mā bhāṣiḥ or bhāḥ* (MBh. R.) *do not be afraid; mā bhūt kālasya paryayaḥ* (R.) *let not a change of time take place.* Examples with the imperfect are: *mā bibher ná mariṣyasi* (RV.) *do not fear; thou wilt not die; mā smāi 'tānt sākḥin kuruthāḥ* (AV.) *do not make friends of them; mā putram anutapyathāḥ* (MBh.) *do not sorrow for thy son.* The relation of the imperfect to the aorist construction, in point of frequency, is in RV. about as one to five, in AV. still less, or about one to six; and though instances of the imperfect are quotable from all the older texts, they are exceptional and infrequent; while in the epics and later they become extremely rare.

b. A single optative, *bhujema*, is used prohibitively with *mā* in RV.; the older language presents no other example, and the construction is very rare also later. In an example or two, also, the precative (*bhūyāt*, R. Pañc.) follows *mā*.

c. The RV. has once apparently *mā* with an imperative; but the passage is probably corrupt. No other such case is met with in the older language (unless *srpa*, TA. i. 14; doubtless a bad reading for *srpas*); but in the epics and later the construction begins to appear, and becomes an ordinary form of prohibition: thus, *mā prayacche 'çvare dhanam* (H.) *do not bestow wealth on a lord; sakhi māi 'vaṁ vada* (Vet.) *friend, do not speak thus.*

d. The ÇB. (xi. 5. 1<sup>1</sup>) appears to offer a single example of a true subjunctive with *mā*, *ní padyāsāi*; there is perhaps something wrong about the reading.

e. In the epics and later, an aorist form not deprived of augment is occasionally met with after *mā*: thus, *mā tvāṁ kālo 'tyagāt* (MBh.) *let not the time pass thee; mā vālipatham anv agāḥ* (R.) *do not follow Vālī's road.* But the same anomaly occurs also two or three times in the older language: thus, *vyāpaptat* (ÇB.), *agās* (TA.), *anaçat* (KS.).

580. But the use also of the optative with *ná* not in a prohibitive sense appears in the Veda, and becomes later a familiar construction: thus, *ná riṣyema kadā caná* (RV.) *may we suffer no harm at any time; ná cā 'tisrjén ná juhuyāt* (AV.) *and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice; tád u táthā ná kuryāt* (ÇB.) *but he must not do that so; na divā çayita* (ÇGS.) *let him not sleep by day; na tvāṁ vidyur janāḥ* (MBh.) *let not people know thee.* This in the later language is the correlative of the prescriptive optative, and both are extremely common; so that in a text of prescriptive character the optative forms may come to outnumber the indicative and imperative together (as is the case, for example, in Manu).

581. In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even in the oldest language to establish a definite distinction between subjunctive and optative; a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent —

and then, in the later language, such uses are represented by the optative alone. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this:

a. After relative pronouns and conjunctions in general: *yā vyūṣūr yāc ca nūnām vyucchān* (RV.) *which have shone forth [hiitherto], and which shall hereafter shine forth*; *yō 'to jāyātā asmākaṁ sá éko 'sat* (TS.) *whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us*; *yō vāi tān vidyāt pratyākṣam sá brahmā véditā syāt* (AV.) *whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest*; *putrāṇām . . . jātānām janāyāc ca yān* (AV.) *of sons born and whom thou mayest bear*; *yāsya . . . ātithir gṛhān āgacchet* (AV.) *to whose-soever house he may come as guest*; *yatamāthā kāmāyeta tāthā kuryāt* (QB.) *in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it*; *yārhi hótā yajamānasya nāma gṛhṇīyāt tārhi brūyāt* (TS.) *when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak*; *svarūpaṁ yadā draṣṭum icchethāḥ* (MBh.) *when thou shalt desire to see thine own form*.

b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: *yājāma devān yādi cāknāvāma* (RV.) *we will offer to the gods if we shall be able*; *yād agne syām ahām tvām tvām vā ghā syā ahām syūṣ te satyā ihā 'cīṣaḥ* (RV.) *if I were thou, Agni, or if thou wert I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot*; *yō dyām atisārpāt parāstān nā sá mucyātāi varuṇasya rājñāḥ* (AV.) *though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna*; *yād ānācīvān upavāset kṣō-dhukāḥ syād yād aṇṇīyād rudrō 'sya paṇūn abhī manyeta* (TS.) *if he should continue without eating, he would starve*; *if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle*; *prārthayed yadi mām kaṣcid danḍyaḥ sa me pumān bhavet* (MBh.) *if any man soever should desire me, he should suffer punishment*. These and the like constructions, with the optative, are very common in the Brāhmaṇas and later.

c. In final clauses: *yāthā 'hām çatruho 'sāni* (AV.) *that I may be a slayer of my enemies*; *gṛṇānā yāthā pībātho āndhaḥ* (RV.) *that being praised with song ye may drink the draught*; *urāu yāthā tāva çarman mādema* (RV.) *in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection*; *ūpa jānīta yāthe 'yām pūnar āgacchet* (QB.) *contrive that she come back again*; *kṛpām kuryād yathā mayi* (MBh.) *so that he may take pity on me*. This is in the Veda one of the most frequent uses of the subjunctive; and in its correlative negative form, with *néd* in order that not or lest (always followed by an accented verb), it continues not rare in the Brāhmaṇas.

d. The indicative is also very commonly used in final clauses after *yathā*: thus, *yāthā 'yām pūruṣo 'ntārikṣam anucāراتi* (QB.) *in order that this man may traverse the atmosphere*; *yathā na vighnaḥ kriyate* (R.) *so that no hindrance may arise*; *yathā 'yam naçyati tathā vidheyam* (H.) *it must be so managed that he perish*.

e. With the conditional use of subjunctive and optative is further to be compared that of the so-called conditional tense: see below, 950.

f. As is indicated by many of the examples given above, it is usual in a conditional sentence, containing protasis and apodosis, to employ always the same mode, whether subjunctive or optative (or conditional), in each of the two clauses. For the older language, this is a rule well-nigh or quite without exception.

582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-system and those (in the older language) of the perfect and aorist-systems.

### Participles.

583. Participles, active and middle, are made from all the tense-stems — except the periphrastic future, and, in the later language, the aorist (and aorist participles are rare from the beginning).

a. The participles unconnected with the tense-systems are treated in chap. XIII. (952 ff.).

584. The general participial endings are *अन्त* *ant* (weak form *अत्* *at*; fem. *अन्ती* *antī* or *अती* *atī*: see above, 449) for the active, and *आना* *āna* (fem. *आना* *ānā*) for the middle. But —

a. After a tense-stem ending in *a*, the active participial suffix is virtually *nt*, one of the two *a*'s being lost in the combination of stem-final and suffix.

b. After a tense-stem ending in *a*, the middle participial suffix is *māna* instead of *āna*. But there are occasional exceptions to the rule as to the use of *māna* and *āna* respectively, which will be pointed out in connection with the various formations below. Such exceptions are especially frequent in the causative: see 1043 f.

c. The perfect has in the active the peculiar suffix *vāns* (weakest form *uṣ*, middle form *vat*; fem. *uṣī*: see, for the inflection of this participle, above, 458 ff.).

d. For details, as to form of stem etc., and for special exceptions, see the following chapters.

### Augment.

585. The augment is a short *अ* *a*, prefixed to a tense-stem — and, if the latter begin with a vowel, combining with that vowel irregularly into the heavier or *vṛddhi* diphthong

(136a). It is always (without any exception) the accented element in the verbal form of which it makes a part.

a. In the Veda, the augment is in a few forms long *ā*: thus, *ānaṭ*, *āvar*, *āvṛṇi*, *āvṛṇak*, *āvidhyat*, *āyunak*, *āyukta*, *āyukṣātām*, *ārīṇak*, *ārīṇik* (and *yās ta āvidhat*, RV.ii.1.7, 9?).

586. The augment is a sign of past time. And an augment-preterit is made from each of the tense-stems from which the system of conjugation is derived: namely, the imperfect, from the present-stem; the pluperfect (in the Veda only), from the perfect-stem; the conditional, from the future-stem; while in the aorist such a preterit stands without any corresponding present indicative.

587. In the early language, especially in the RV., the occurrence of forms identical with those of augment-tenses save for the lack of an augment is quite frequent. Such forms lose in general, along with the augment, the specific character of the tenses to which they belong; and they are then employed in part non-modally, with either a present or a past sense; and in part modally, with either a subjunctive or an optative sense — especially often and regularly after *mā* prohibitive (579); and this last mentioned use comes down also into the later language.

a. In RV., the augmentless forms are more than half as common as the augmented (about 2000 and 3300), and are made from the present, perfect, and aorist-systems, but considerably over half from the aorist. Their non-modal and modal uses are of nearly equal frequency. The tense value of the non-modally used forms is more often past than present. Of the modally used forms, nearly a third are construed with *mā* prohibitive; the rest have twice as often an optative as a proper subjunctive value.

b. In AV., the numerical relations are very different. The augmentless forms are less than a third as many as the augmented (about 475 to 1450), and are prevaillingly (more than four fifths) aoristic. The non-modal uses are only a tenth of the modal. Of the modally used forms, about four fifths are construed with *mā* prohibitive; the rest are chiefly optative in value. Then, in the language of the Brāhmaṇas (not including the *mantra*-material which they contain), the loss of augment is, save in occasional sporadic cases, restricted to the prohibitive construction with *mā*; and the same continues to be the case later.

c. The accentuation of the augmentless forms is throughout in accordance with that of unaugmented tenses of similar formation. Examples will be given below, under the various tenses.

d. Besides the augmentless aorist-forms with *mā* prohibitive, there are also found occasionally in the later language augmentless imperfect-forms (very rarely aorist-forms), which have the same value as if they were augmented, and are for the most part examples of metrical license. They are especially frequent in the epics (whence some scores of them are quotable).

important process

**Reduplication.**

588. The derivation of conjugational and declensional stems from roots by reduplication, either alone or along with other formative elements, has been already spoken of (259), and the formations in which reduplication appears have been specified: they are, in primary verb-inflection, the present (of a certain class of verbs), the perfect (of nearly all), and the aorist (of a large number); and the intensive and desiderative secondary conjugations contain in their stems the same element.

589. The general principle of reduplication is the prefixion to a root of a part of itself repeated — if it begin with consonants, the initial consonant and the vowel; if it begin with a vowel, that vowel, either alone or with a following consonant. The varieties of detail, however, are very considerable. Thus, especially, as regards the vowel, which in present and perfect and desiderative is regularly shorter and lighter in the reduplication than in the root-syllable, in aorist is longer, and in intensive is strengthened. The differences as regards an initial consonant are less, and chiefly confined to the intensive; for the others, certain general rules may be here stated, all further details being left to be given in connection with the account of the separate formations.

590. The consonant of the reduplicating syllable is in general the first consonant of the root: thus, पप्रक् *paprach* from √प्रक् *prach*; शिश्रि *śiśri* from √श्रि *śri*; बुबुध् *bubudh* from √बुध्. But —

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, दधा *dadhā* from √धा; बिभ्र *bibhr* from √भ्र.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for ह *h*:



thus, चकृ cakṛ from √कृ kṛ; चिखिद् cikhid from √खिद् khid; जग्रभ् jagrabh from √ग्रभ् grabh; जह् jahṛ from √ह् hr.

c. The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (2161).

d. Of two initial consonants, the second, if it be a non-nasal mute preceded by a sibilant, is repeated instead of the first: thus, तस्तृ tastr from √स्तृ str; तस्थ् tasthā from √स्था sthā; चस्कन्द caskand from √स्कन्द skand; चस्खल् caskhal from √स्खल् skhal; चुशुत् cuṣut from √शुत् ṣut; पस्पृष् pasprdh from √स्पृष् sprdh; पुस्फुट pusphuṭ from √स्फुट sphuṭ: — but सस्ना sasnā from √स्ना snā; सस्मृ sasmr from √स्मृ smr; सुस्रु susru from √स्रु sru; शिस्लिष् ṣiṣliṣ from √स्लिष् ṣliṣ.

### Accent of the Verb.

591. The statements which have been made above, and those which will be made below, as to the accent of verbal forms, apply to those cases in which the verb is actually accented.

a. But, according to the grammarians, and according to the invariable practice in accentuated texts, the verb is in the majority of its occurrences unaccented or toneless.

b. That is to say, of course, the verb in its proper forms, its personal or so-called finite forms. The verbal nouns and adjectives, or the infinitives and participles, are subject to precisely the same laws of accent as other nouns and adjectives.

592. The general rule, covering most of the cases, is this: The verb in an independent clause is unaccented, unless it stand at the beginning of the clause — or also, in metrical text, at the beginning of a pāda.

a. For the accent of the verb, as well as for that of the vocative case (above, 314c), the beginning of a pāda counts as that of a sentence, whatever be the logical connection of the pāda with what precedes it.

b. Examples of the unaccented verb are: agnīm īde puróhitam Agni I praise, the house-priest; sá íd devéṣu gacchati that, truly, goes to the gods; ágne sūpāyanó bhava O Agni, be easy of access; idám indra ṣṛṇuhi somapa this, O Indra, soma-drinker, hear; námas te rudra kṛṇmaḥ homage to thee, Rudra, we offer; yájamānasya paçún páhi the sacrificer's cattle protect thou.

c. Hence, there are two principal situations in which the verb retains its accent:

593. First, the verb is accented when it stands at the beginning of a clause — or, in verse, of a *pāda*.

a. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the sentence are, in prose, *ṇundhadvam dāivyāya kārmaṇe be pure for the divine ceremony; āpnōtī 'mām lokām he wins this world; — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, syāmē 'd indrasya ṇārmaṇi may we be in Indra's protection; darṇāya mā yātudhānān show me the sorcerers; gāmad vājebhir ā sā naḥ may he come with good things to us; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the pāda, tēṣām pāhi ṇrudhī hāvam drink of them, hear our call; sāstu mātā sāstu pitā sāstu ṇvā sāstu viṇpātīḥ let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep; viṇvakarman nāmas te pāhy āsmān Viṇvakarman, homage to thee; protect us! yuvām... rājāna ūce duhitā pṇcché vām narā the king's daughter said to you "I pray you, ye men"; vayām te vāya indra viddhī ṇu naḥ prā bharāmahe we offer thee, Indra, strengthening; take note of us.*

b. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the *pāda* when this is not the head of the sentence are: *āthā te āntamānām vidyāma sumatinām so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors; dhātā 'ayā agrūvāi pātīm dādhatu pratikāmyām Dhātār bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish; yātudhānasya somapa jahī prajām slay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer.*

594. Certain special cases under this head are as follows:

a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accented, as if it were itself initial in the clause or *pāda*: thus, *āṇrutkarṇa ṇrudhī hāvam O thou of listening ears, hear our call! site vāndāmahe tvā O Sītā, we reverence thee; viṇve devā vāsavo rākṇate 'mām all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man; utā "gaṇ cakrūṇam devā devā jivāyathā pūnaḥ likewise him, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live again.*

b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, *tarāṇir īj jayati kṇēti pūṇyati successful he conquers, rules, thrives; amītrān... pārāca indra prā mṇṇā jahī ca our 'foes, Indra, drive far away and slay; asmābhyam jeṇi yōtsi ca for us conquer and fight; āṇiṇomā havīṇaḥ prāsthitasya vītām hāryataṇ vṇṇaṇa juṇēthām O Agni and Soma, of the oblation set forth partake, enjoy, ye mighty ones, take pleasure.*

c. In like manner (but much less often), an adjunct, as subject or object, standing between two verbs and logically belonging to both, is reckoned to the first alone, and the second has the initial accent: thus, *jahī prajāṇ nāyasva ca slay the progeny, and bring [it] hither; ṇṇōtu naḥ subhāgā bōdhatu tmānā may the blessed one hear us, [and may she] kindly regard [us].*

d. It has even come to be a formal rule that a verb immediately following another verb is accented: thus, *sá yá etám evám upāste pūryāte prajāyā paçubhiḥ* (ÇB.) *whoever worships him thus is filled with offspring and cattle.*

595. Second, the verb is accented, whatever its position, in a dependent clause.

a. The dependency of a clause is in the very great majority of cases conditioned by the relative pronoun *ya*, or one of its derivatives or compounds. Thus: *yám yajñám paribhūr āsi* *what offering thou protectest*; *ó té yanti yé aparīṣu páçyān* *they are coming who shall behold her hereafter*; *sahá yān me āsti téna* *along with that which is mine*; *yātra naḥ pūrve pitāraḥ pareyūḥ* *whither our fathers of old departed*; *adyā muriya yādi yātudhāno āsmi* *let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer*; *yāthā hāny anupūrvām bhāvanti* *as days follow one another in order*; *yāvad idám bhūvanaḥ víçvam āsti* *how great this whole creation is*; *yātkāmās te juhumāś tām no astu* *what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours*; *yatamās tītrpsāt* *whichever one desires to enjoy.*

b. The presence of a relative word in the sentence does not, of course, accent the verb, unless this is really the predicate of a dependent clause: thus, *āpa tyé tāyāvo yathā yanti* *they make off like thieves (as thieves do)*; *yāt sthā jāgac ca rejate* *whatever [is] immovable and movable trembles*; *yathākāmaḥ ní padyate* *he lies down at his pleasure.*

c. The particle *ca* when it means *if*, and *céd* (*ca+id*) *if*, give an accent to the verb: thus, *brahmā céd dhástam āgrahīt* *if a Brāhman has grasped her hand*; *tvām ca soma no váço jivātūḥ ná marāmahe* *if thou, Soma, wiltst us to live, we shall not die*; *ā ca gācchān mitrām enā dadhāma* *if he will come here, we will make friends with him.*

d. There are a very few passages in which the logical dependence of a clause containing no subordinating word appears to give the verb its accent: thus, *sām āçvaparnāç cāranti no náro 'smākam indra rathīno jayantu* *when our men, horse-winged, come into conflict, let the chariot-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory.* Rarely, too, an imperative so following another imperative that its action may seem a consequence of the latter's is accented: thus, *tūyam ā gahi kápveçu sú sácā píba* *come hither quickly; drink along with the Kanvas (i. e. in order to drink).*

e. A few other particles give the verb an accent, in virtue of a slight subordinating force belonging to them: thus, especially *hí* (with its negation *nahí*), which in its fullest value means *for*, but shades off from that into a mere asseverative sense; the verb or verbs connected with it are always accented: thus, *ví té muñcantām vimúco hí sánti* *let them release him, for they are releasers*; *yác cid dhí... anāçastā iva smāsi* *if we, forsooth, are as it were unrenowned*; — also *néd* (*ná+id*), meaning *lest, that not*: thus, *nét tvā tápāti sūro arcīṣā* *that the sun may not burn thee with his beam*; *virājaḥ néd vicchinádānī* *'ti saying to himself,*

"lest I cut off the virūj" (such cases are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas); — and the interrogative *kuvid* whether? thus, *ukthébhiḥ kuvíd āgámat* will he come hither for our praises?

596. But further, the verb of a prior clause is not infrequently accented in antithetical construction.

a. Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of being regarded as that of protasis and apodosis; but often, also, such a relation is very indistinct; and the cases of antithesis shade off into those of ordinary coördination, the line between them appearing to be rather arbitrarily drawn.

b. In many cases, the antithesis is made distincter by the presence in the two clauses of correlative words, especially *anya—anya, eka—eka, vā—vā, ca—ca*: thus, *prā-prā 'nyé yānti páry anyá āsate* some go on and on, others sit about (as if it were while some go etc.); *úd vā siñcádhvam úpa vā pṛṇadhvam* either pour out, or fill up; *sám ce 'dhyásvā 'gne prā ca vardhaye 'mám* both do thou thyself become kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person. But it is also made without such help: thus, *prā 'jātāḥ prajā janáyati pári prájātā gṛhṇāti* the unborn progeny he generates, the born he embraces; *āpa yuṣmád ákramīn ná 'smān upāvartate* [though] she has gone away from you, she does not come to us; *nā 'ndhō 'dhvaryúr bhávati ná yajñām rákṣāṇsi ghnanti* the priest does not become blind, the demons do not destroy the sacrifice; *kéna sómā gṛhyānte kéna hūyante* by whom [on the one hand] are the somas dipped out? by whom [on the other hand] are they offered?

597. Where the verb would be the same in the two antithetical clauses, it is not infrequently omitted in the second: thus, beside complete expressions like *urvī cá 'si vāsvī cá 'si* both thou art broad and thou art good, occur, much oftener, incomplete ones like *agnír amúṣmīn loká āsíd yamō 'smín* Agni was in yonder world, Yama [was] in this; *asthnā 'nyāḥ prajāḥ pratitiṣṭhanti māṇsēnā 'nyāḥ* by bone some creatures stand firm, by flesh others; *dvipāc ca sárvaṁ no rákṣa cātuṣpād yāc ca naḥ svām* both protect everything of ours that is biped, and also whatever that is quadruped belongs to us.

a. Accentuation of the verb in the former of two antithetical clauses is a rule more strictly followed in the Brāhmaṇas than in the Veda, and least strictly in the RV.: thus, in RV., *abhí dyām mahinā bhuvam* (not *bhúvam*) *abhí 'mám pṛthivīm mahīm* I am superior to the sky in greatness, also to this great earth; and even *índro vidur āngirasaḥ ca ghorāḥ* Indra knows, and the terrible *Āngirases*.

598. There are certain more or less doubtful cases in which a verb-form is perhaps accented for emphasis.

a. Thus, sporadically before *caná* in any wise, and in connection with asseverative particles, as *kíla, āngá, evá*, and (in ÇB., regularly) *hánta*: thus, *hānte 'mám pṛthivīm vibhájāmahāi* come on! let us share up this earth.

## CHAPTER IX.

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### THE PRESENT-SYSTEM.

599. THE present-system, or system of forms coming from the present-stem, is composed (as was pointed out above) of a present indicative tense, together with a subjunctive (mostly lost in the classical language), an optative, an imperative, and a participle, and also a past tense, an augment-preterit, to which we give (by analogy with the Greek) the name of imperfect.

a. These forms often go in Sanskrit grammars by the name of "special tenses", while the other tense-systems are styled "general tenses" — as if the former were made from a special tense-stem or modified root, while the latter came, all alike, from the root itself. There is no reason why such a distinction and nomenclature should be retained; since, on the one hand, the "special tenses" come in one set of verbs directly from the root, and, on the other hand, the other tense-systems are mostly made from stems — and, in the case of the aorist, from stems having a variety of form comparable with that of present-stems.

600. Practically, the present-system is the most prominent and important part of the whole conjugation, since, from the earliest period of the language, its forms are very much more frequent than those of all the other systems together.

a. Thus, in the Veda, the occurrences of personal forms of this system are to those of all others about as three to one; in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as five to one; in the Hitopadeṣa, as six to one; in the Çakuntalā, as eight to one; in Manu, as thirty to one.

601. And, as there is also great variety in the manner in which different roots form their present-stem, this, as being their most conspicuous difference, is made the basis of their principal classification; and a verb is said to be of this or of that conjugation, or class, according to the way in which its present-stem is made and inflected.

602. In a small minority of verbs, the present-stem is identical with the root. Then there are besides (excluding the passive and causative) seven more or less different methods of forming a present-stem from the root, each method being followed by a larger or smaller number of verbs. These are the "classes" or "conjugation-classes", as laid down by the native Hindu grammarians. They are arranged by the latter in a certain wholly artificial and unsystematic order (the ground of which has never been discovered); and they are wont to be designated in European works according to this order, or else, after Hindu example, by the root standing at the head of each class in the Hindu lists. A different arrangement and nomenclature will be followed here, namely as below — the classes being divided (as is usual in European grammars) into two more general classes or conjugations, distinguished from one another by wider differences than those which separate the special classes.

603. The classes of the FIRST or NON-a-CONJUGATION are as follows:

611 I. The root-class (second class, or ad-class, of the Hindu grammarians); its present-stem is coincident with the root itself: thus, अद् *ad eat*; इ *i go*; आस् *ās sit*; या *yā go*; द्विष् *dviṣ hate*; दुह् *duh milk*.

642 II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, जुहु *juhu* from √हु *hu sacrifice*; दद् *dadā* from √द *dā give*; बिभृ *bibhr* from √भृ *bhr bear*.

683 III. The nasal class (seventh or rudh-class); a nasal, extended to the syllable न *na* in strong forms, is inserted before the final consonant of the root: thus, रुन्ध् *rundh* (or रुणध् *ruṇadh*) from √रुध् *rudh obstruct*; युञ्ज् *yuñj* (or युनञ् *yunaj*) from √युज् *yuj join*.

IV. a. The nu-class (fifth or su-class); the syllable नु nu is added to the root: thus, सुनु sunu from √सु su *press out*; आप्नु āpnu from √आप् āp *obtain*. 697

b. A very small number (only half-a-dozen) of roots ending already in न् n, and also one very common and quite irregularly inflected root not so ending (कृ kr *make*), add उ u alone to form the present-stem. This is the eighth or tan-class of the Hindu grammarians; it may be best ranked by us as a sub-class, the u-class: thus, तनु tanu from √तन् tan *stretch*.

V. The nā-class (ninth or krī-class); the syllable ना nā (or, in weak forms, नी nī) is added to the root: thus, क्रीणा krīnā (or क्रीणी krīnī) from √क्री krī *buy*; स्तभ्ना stabhnā (or स्तभ्नी stabhnī) from √स्तभ् stabh *establish*. 717

604. These classes have in common, as their most fundamental characteristic, a shift of accent: the tone being now upon the ending, and now upon the root or the class-sign. Along with this goes a variation in the stem itself, which has a stronger or fuller form when the accent rests upon it, and a weaker or briefer form when the accent is on the ending these: forms are to be distinguished as the strong stem and the weak stem respectively (in part, both have been given above). The classes also form their optative active, their 2d sing. imperative, their 3d pl. middle, and their middle participle, in a different manner from the others.

605. In the classes of the SECOND or a-CONJUGATION, the present-stem ends in a, and the accent has a fixed place, remaining always upon the same syllable of the stem, and never shifted to the endings. Also, the optative, the 2d sing. impv., the 3d pl. middle, and the middle par- themat system

ticiples, are (as just stated) unlike those of the other conjugation.

606. The classes of this conjugation are as follows:

VI. The a-class, or unaccented a-class (first or bhū-class); the added class-sign is a simply; and the root, which has the accent, is (if capable of it) strengthened by guṇa throughout: thus, भव bháva from √भू bhū *be*; नय náya from √नी nī *lead*; बोध bódha from √बुध् budh *wake*; वद váda from √वद् vad *speak*.

VII. The á-class, or accented a-class (sixth or tud-class); the added class-sign is a, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, तुद tudá from √तुद् tud *thrust*; सृज srjá from √सृज् srj *let loose*; सुव suvá from √सू sū *give birth*.

VIII. The ya-class (fourth or div-class); ya is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, दीव्य dívya from √दिव् div (more properly दीव् dīv: see 765) *play*; नह्य náhya from √नह् nah *bind*; क्रुध्य krúdhya from √क्रुध् krudh *be angry*.

IX. The passive conjugation is also properly a present-system only, having a class-sign which is not extended into the other systems; though it differs markedly from the remaining classes in having a specific meaning, and in being formable in the middle voice from all transitive verbs. Its inflection may therefore best be treated next to that of the ya-class, with which it is most nearly connected, differing from it as the á-class from the a-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented yá to the root: thus, अद्य adyá from √अद् ad *eat*; रुध्य rudhyá from √रुध् rudh *obstruct*; बुध्य budhyá from √बुध् budh *wake*; तुद्य tudyá from √तुद् tud *thrust*.



607. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or *cur-class*, having a class-sign *āya* added to a strengthened root (thus, *corāya* from *√cur*), and an inflection like that of the other *a*-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-system, but extends also into the rest of the conjugation — while it also has to a great extent a causative value, and may be formed in that value from a large number of roots — it will be best treated in full along with the derivative conjugations (chap. XIV., 1041 ff.).

608. A small number of roots add in the present-system a *ch*, or substitute a *ch* for their final consonant, and form a stem ending in *cha* or *chā*, which is then inflected like any *a*-stem. This is historically, doubtless, a true class-sign, analogous with the rest; but the verbs showing it are so few, and in formation so irregular, that they are not well to be put together into a class, but may best be treated as special cases falling under the other classes.

a. Roots adding *ch* are *ṛ* and *yu*, which make the stems *ṛcchā* and *yúccha*.

b. Roots substituting *ch* for their final are *iṣ*, *uṣ* (or *vas shine*), *gam*, *yam*, which make the stems *icchā*, *ucchā*, *gáccha*, *yáccha*.

c. Of the so-called roots ending in *ch*, several are more or less clearly stems, whose use has been extended from the present to other systems of tenses.

609. Roots are not wholly limited, even in the later language, to one mode of formation of their present-stem, [but are sometimes reckoned as belonging to two or more different conjugation-classes. And such variety of formation is especially frequent in the Veda, being exhibited by a considerable proportion of the roots there occurring; already in the *Brāhmaṇas*, however, a condition is reached nearly agreeing in this respect with the classical language. The different present-formations sometimes have differences of meaning; yet not more important ones than are often found belonging to the same formation, nor of a kind to show clearly a difference of value as originally belonging to the separate classes of presents. If anything of this kind is to be established, it must be from the derivative conjugations, which are separated by no fixed line from the present-systems.

610. We take up now the different classes, in the order in which they have been arranged above, to describe more in detail, and with illustration, the formation of their present-systems, and to notice the irregularities belonging under each class.

### I. Root-class (second, *ad-class*).

611. In this class there is no class-sign; the root itself is also present-stem, and to it are added directly the per-

sonal endings — but combined in subjunctive and optative with the respective mode-signs; and in the imperfect the augment is prefixed to the root.

a. The accented endings (552) regularly take the accent — except in the imperfect, where it falls on the augment — and before them the root remains unchanged; before the unaccented endings, the root takes the *guṇa*-strengthening.

b. It is only in the first three classes that the endings come immediately in contact with a final consonant of the root, and that the rules for consonant combination have to be noted and applied. In these classes, then, additional paradigms will be given, to illustrate the modes of combination.

### 1. Present Indicative.

612. The endings are the primary (with अते *áte* in 3d pl. mid.), added to the bare root. The root takes the accent, and has *guṇa*, if capable of it, in the three persons sing. act.

Examples of inflection: a. active, root इ *i* *go*: strong form of root-stem, ए *é*; weak form, इ *i*; middle, root अस *sit*, stem अस (irregularly accented throughout: 628).

| active.      |               |                | middle.       |                  |                   |
|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| s.           | d.            | p.             | s.            | d.               | p.                |
| 1 एमि<br>émi | इवस्<br>ivás  | इमस्<br>imás   | आसे<br>āse    | आस्वहे<br>āsvahe | आस्महे<br>āsmāhe  |
| 2 एषि<br>éṣi | इथस्<br>ithás | इथ<br>ithá     | आस्से<br>āsse | आसाथे<br>āsāthe  | आद्ध्ये<br>āddhve |
| 3 एति<br>éti | इतस्<br>itás  | यन्ति<br>yānti | आस्ते<br>āste | आसाते<br>āsāte   | आसते<br>āsate     |

b. root दृश् *hate*: strong stem-form, द्वेṣ; weak, दृश्. For rules of combination for the final ṣ, see 226.

|                     |                   |                      |                    |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 द्वेṣमि<br>dvēṣmi | दृश्वास<br>dṛṣvās | दृश्मास<br>dṛṣmās    | दृश्<br>dṛṣé       | दृश्वाहे<br>dṛṣvāhe | दृश्माहे<br>dṛṣmāhe   |
| 2 द्वेṣषि<br>dvēṣṣi | दृश्थस<br>dṛṣṭhás | दृश्थ<br>dṛṣṭhá      | दृश्क्षे<br>dṛṣkṣé | दृश्आथे<br>dṛṣāthe  | दृश्द्धवे<br>dṛṣddhvé |
| 3 द्वेṣति<br>dvēṣṭi | दृश्तस<br>dṛṣṭás  | दृश्न्ति<br>dṛṣṭānti | दृश्क्षे<br>dṛṣkṣé | दृश्आते<br>dṛṣāte   | दृश्क्षते<br>dṛṣkṣate |

c. root दुह *milk*: strong stem-form, दóh; weak, duh. For rules of combination for the final h, and for the conversion of the initial to dh, see 222 a, 155, 160.

|                    |                   |                    |                  |                    |                     |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1 दóहमि<br>dóhmi   | दुहवास<br>duhvās  | दुहमास<br>duhmās   | दुहे<br>duhé     | दुहवाहे<br>duhvāhe | दुहमाहे<br>duhmāhe  |
| 2 धóक्षि<br>dhókṣi | दुग्धस<br>dugdhás | दुग्ध<br>dugdhá    | दुहक्षे<br>duhṣé | दुहआथे<br>duhāthe  | दुहग्धवे<br>dugdhvé |
| 3 दóग्धि<br>dógdhi | दुग्धस<br>dugdhás | दुहन्ति<br>duhānti | दुग्धे<br>dugdhé | दुहआते<br>duhāte   | दुहक्षते<br>duhṣate |

d. root *lih* *lick*: strong stem, *léh*; weak, *lih*. For rules of combination of the final *h*, see 222 b.

|   |              |               |                |              |                 |                |
|---|--------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 | <i>léhmi</i> | <i>lihvás</i> | <i>lihmás</i>  | <i>lihé</i>  | <i>lihváhe</i>  | <i>lihmáhe</i> |
| 2 | <i>lékṣi</i> | <i>liḡhás</i> | <i>liḡhá</i>   | <i>likṣé</i> | <i>lihátthe</i> | <i>liḡhvé</i>  |
| 3 | <i>léḡhi</i> | <i>liḡhás</i> | <i>lihánti</i> | <i>liḡhé</i> | <i>liháte</i>   | <i>liháte</i>  |

613. Examples of the 3d sing. mid. coincident in form with the 1st sing. are not rare in the older language (both V. and B.): the most frequent examples are *ḡce*, *duhé*, *vidé*, *ḡáye*; more sporadic are *cité*, *bruve*, *huvé*. To *tha* of the 2d pl. is added *na* in *sthána*, *pāthánā*, *yāthána*. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in *rihaté*, *duhaté*. Examples of the same person in *re* and *rate* also occur: thus (besides those mentioned below, 629—30, 635), *vidré*, and, with auxiliary vowel, *arhire* (unless these are to be ranked, rather, as perfect forms without reduplication: 790 b).

## 2. Present Subjunctive.

614. Subjunctive forms of this class are not uncommon in the older language, and nearly all those which the formation anywhere admits are quotable, from Veda or from Brāhmaṇa. A complete paradigm, accordingly, is given below, with the few forms not actually quotable for this class enclosed in brackets. We may take as models (as above), for the active the root *i go*, and for the middle the root *ās sit*, from both of which numerous forms are met with (although neither for these nor for any others can the whole series be found in actual use).

a. The mode-stems are *áya* (*é+a*) and *āsā* (*ās+a*) respectively.

| active.                         |                |               | middle.                             |   |   |
|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| s.                              | d.             | p.            | s.                                  | d.                                      | p.  |
| 1 { <i>áyāni</i><br><i>áyā</i>  | <i>áyāva</i>   | <i>áyāma</i>  | <i>āsāi</i>                         | { <i>āsāvahāi</i><br>[ <i>āsāvahe</i> ] | { <i>āsāmahāi</i><br>[ <i>āsāmahe</i> ]       |
| 2 { <i>áyasi</i><br><i>áyas</i> | <i>áyathas</i> | <i>áyatha</i> | { <i>āsase</i><br>[ <i>āsāsāi</i> ] | [ <i>āsāitha</i> ]                      | { <i>āsadhve</i><br>[ <i>āsādhvāi</i> ]       |
| 3 { <i>áyati</i><br><i>áyat</i> | <i>áyatas</i>  | <i>áyan</i>   | { <i>āsate</i><br>[ <i>āsātāi</i> ] | <i>āsāite</i>                           | { [ <i>āsante</i> ]-nta<br>[ <i>āsāntāi</i> ] |

615. The RV. has no middle forms in *āi* except those of the first person. The 1st. sing. act. in *ā* occurs only in RV., in *ayā*, *bravā*, *stāvā*. The 2d and 3d sing. act. with primary endings are very unusual in the Brāhmaṇas. Forms irregularly made with long *ā*, like those from present-stems in *a*, are not rare in AV. and B.: thus, *ayās*, *ayāt*, *áyān*; *āsāt*, *brāvāt*; *bravāthas*; *asātha*, *ayātha*, *bravātha*, *hanātha*; *ādān*, *dohān*. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found *hānanta*, 3d pl., and *ḡcata*, 3d sing. (after *mā* prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in *āite* is *brāvāite*.

## 3. Present Optative.

616. The personal endings combined with the mode-signs of this mode (या *yā* in act., ई *ī* in mid.) have been given in full above (566). The stem-form is the unaccented and unstrengthened root.

| active.         |                   |                | middle.            |                        |                    |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| s.              | d.                | p.             | s.                 | d.                     | p.                 |
| 1 इयाम्<br>iyām | इयाव<br>iyāva     | इयाम्<br>iyāma | आसीय<br>āsīya      | आसीवद्<br>āsivahi      | आसीमद्<br>āsīmahi  |
| 2 इयास्<br>iyās | इयातम्<br>iyātam  | इयात<br>iyāta  | आसीथास्<br>āsīthās | आसीयाथाम्<br>āsīyāthām | आसीधम्<br>āsīdhvam |
| 3 इयात्<br>iyāt | इयाताम्<br>iyātām | इयुस्<br>iyūs  | आसीत<br>āsīta      | आसीयाताम्<br>āsīyātām  | आसीरन्<br>āsīran   |

a. In the same manner, from √*dviṣ*, *dviṣyām* and *dviṣīyā*; from √*duh*, *duhyām* and *duhīyā*; from √*lih*, *lihyām* and *lihīyā*. The inflection is so regular that the example above given is enough, with the addition of *dviṣīyā*, to show the normal accentuation in the middle: thus, sing. *dviṣīyā*, *dviṣīthās*, *dviṣītā*; du. *dviṣīvāhi*, *dviṣīyāthām*, *dviṣīyātām*; pl. *dviṣīmāhi*, *dviṣīdhvam*, *dviṣīran*.

b. The RV. has once *tana* in 2d pl. act. (in *syātana*).

## 4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with *अताम् atām* in 3d pl. mid.) directly to the root-stem. The stem is accented and strengthened in 3d sing. act.; elsewhere, the accent is on the ending and the root remains unchanged. The first persons, so called, of the later language are from the old subjunctive, and have its strengthened stem and accent; they are repeated here from where they were given above (614a). In the 2d sing. act., the ending is regularly (as in the two following classes) धि *dhi* if the root end with a consonant, and हि *hi* if it end with a vowel. As examples we take the roots already used for the purpose.

a. Thus, from the roots इ i and आस् ās:

|   | active.        |               |                | middle.          |                    |                    |
|---|----------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
|   | s.             | d.            | p.             | s.               | d.                 | p.                 |
| 1 | अयानि<br>āyāni | अयाव<br>āyāva | अयाम<br>āyāma  | आसै<br>āsai      | आसावहै<br>āsāvahai | आसामहै<br>āsāmahai |
| 2 | इहि<br>ihī     | इतम्<br>itām  | इत<br>itā      | आस्व<br>āssva    | आसाथाम्<br>āsāthām | आद्धम्<br>āddhvam  |
| 3 | एतु<br>ētu     | इताम्<br>itām | यन्तु<br>yāntu | आस्ताम्<br>āstām | आसाताम्<br>āsātām  | आसताम्<br>āsatām   |

b. From the roots दृश् dviṣ and दुह duh and लिह lih:

|   |                       |                     |                       |                     |                         |                            |
|---|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | द्वेषाणि<br>dvēṣāṇi   | द्वेषावा<br>dvēṣāva | द्वेषामा<br>dvēṣāma   | द्वेषै<br>dvēṣai    | द्वेषावहै<br>dvēṣāvahai | द्वेषामहै<br>dvēṣāmahai    |
| 2 | द्विषद्भि<br>dviṣḍbhī | द्विषतम्<br>dviṣtām | द्विषता<br>dviṣtā     | द्विषस्व<br>dviṣsvā | द्विषाथाम्<br>dviṣāthām | द्विषद्धवाम्<br>dviṣḍdhvām |
| 3 | द्विषन्तु<br>dviṣantu | द्विषतम्<br>dviṣtām | द्विषन्तु<br>dviṣāntu | द्विषतम्<br>dviṣtām | द्विषातम्<br>dviṣātām   | द्विषातम्<br>dviṣātām      |
| 1 | दोहानि<br>dohāni      | दोहावा<br>dohāva    | दोहामा<br>dohāma      | दोहै<br>dohai       | दोहावहै<br>dohāvahai    | दोहामहै<br>dohāmahai       |
| 2 | दुग्धभि<br>dugdhbhī   | दुग्धतम्<br>dugdhām | दुग्धता<br>dugdhā     | दुहस्व<br>dhuṣsvā   | दुहाथाम्<br>duhāthām    | दुग्धद्धवाम्<br>dugdhḍhvām |
| 3 | दोग्धन्तु<br>dogdhu   | दुग्धतम्<br>dugdhām | दुहन्तु<br>duhāntu    | दुग्धतम्<br>dugdhām | दुहातम्<br>duhātām      | दुहातम्<br>duhātām         |
| 1 | लेहानि<br>lēhāni      | लेहावा<br>lēhāva    | लेहामा<br>lēhāma      | लेहै<br>lēhai       | लेहावहै<br>lēhāvahai    | लेहामहै<br>lēhāmahai       |
| 2 | लिषद्भि<br>liṣḍbhī    | लिषतम्<br>liṣhām    | लिषता<br>liṣhā        | लिषस्व<br>liṣsvā    | लिषाथाम्<br>liṣāthām    | लिषद्धवाम्<br>liṣḍhvām     |
| 3 | लेधन्तु<br>lēdhu      | लिषतम्<br>liṣhām    | लिहन्तु<br>lihāntu    | लिषतम्<br>liṣhām    | लिषातम्<br>liṣātām      | लिषातम्<br>liṣātām         |

618. The 2d sing. act. ending tāt is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, vittāt, vitāt, brūtāt, hatāt, yātāt, stutāt. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending ām: thus, duhām (only RV. case), vidām, çayām; and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has duhrām and duhratām. The use of tana for ta in 2d pl. act. is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, itana, yātana, attana, etc. And in stota, éta étana, bravītana, çastāna, hantana, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

### 5. Present Participle.

619. a. The active participle has the ending यन्त् ānt (weak stem-form यन् at) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final इ i. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are यन्त् yānt, दुहन्त् duhānt, द्विषन्त् dviṣānt, लिहन्त् lihānt. The feminine stem ends usually in यती atī: thus, यती yatī, दुहती duhatī, द्विषती dviṣatī, लिहती lihatī: but, from roots in ā, in आन्ती āntī or आती atī (449g).

(-ant<sup>m</sup> ∞ -at<sup>f</sup>) ∞ -atī

844

2741

418

fem. 4

b. The middle participle has the ending आन ānā, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, इयान iyānā, दुहान duhānā, दिषाण dviṣāṇā, लिहान lihānā.

c. The root ās forms the anomalous and isolated āsina (in RV. also āsānā).

d. But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, iṣānā and iṣāna, ohānā and ohāna, duhānā and dūhāna (also dūghāna), rihāṇā and rīhāṇa, vidānā and vīdāna, suvānā and sūvāna, stuvānā and stavānā and stāvāna — the last having in part also a strong form of the root.

### 6. Imperfect.

620. This tense adds the secondary endings to the root as increased by prefixion of the augment. The root has the guṇa-strengthening (if capable of it) in the three persons of the singular active, although the accent is always upon the augment. Examples of inflection are:

a. From the roots ṛi and आस् ās:

|        | active. |      |         | middle. |         |
|--------|---------|------|---------|---------|---------|
|        | s.      | p.   |         | s.      | p.      |
| 1 आयम् | ऐव      | ऐम   | आसि     | आस्वहि  | आस्महि  |
| āyam   | āiva    | āima | āsi     | āsvahi  | āsmahi  |
| 2 ऐम्  | ऐतम्    | ऐत   | आस्थास् | आसाथाम् | आद्धम्  |
| āis    | āitam   | āita | āsthās  | āsāthām | āddhvam |
| 3 ऐत्  | ऐताम्   | आयन् | आस्त    | आसाताम् | आसत     |
| āit    | āitām   | āyan | āsta    | āsātām  | āsata   |

b. From the roots dviṣ and duh and lih:

|   |         |          |         |           |            |            |
|---|---------|----------|---------|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1 | ādveṣam | ādviṣva  | ādviṣma | ādviṣi    | ādviṣvahi  | ādviṣmahi  |
| 2 | ādveṭ   | ādviṣtam | ādviṣta | ādviṣthās | ādviṣāthām | ādviṣdhvam |
| 3 | ādveṭ   | ādviṣtām | ādviṣan | ādviṣta   | ādviṣātām  | ādviṣata   |
| 1 | ādoham  | āduhva   | āduhma  | āduhi     | āduhvahi   | āduhmahi   |
| 2 | ādhok   | ādugdham | ādugdha | ādugdhās  | āduhāthām  | ādugdhvam  |
| 3 | ādhok   | ādugdhām | āduhan  | ādugdha   | āduhātām   | āduhata    |
| 1 | āleham  | ālihva   | ālihma  | ālihi     | ālihvahi   | ālihmahi   |
| 2 | āleṭ    | āliḍham  | āliḍha  | āliḍhās   | ālihāthām  | āliḍhvam   |
| 3 | āleṭ    | āliḍhām  | ālihan  | āliḍha    | ālihātām   | ālihata    |

621. a. Roots ending in ā may in the later language optionally take us instead of an in 3d pl. act. (the ā being lost before it); and

in the older they always do so: thus, *áyus* from *√yā*, *ápus* from *√pā protect*, *abhus* from *√bhā*. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants: namely *vid know*, *cakṣ*, *dviṣ*, *duh*, *mṛj*. RV. has *atviṣus*.

b. The ending *tana*, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in *áyātana*, *ásastana*, *áítana*, *ábravītana*. A strong stem is seen in the 1st pl. *homa*, and the 2d pl. *abravīta* and *ábravītana*.

c. To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root *ad* inserts *a*: thus, *ádas*, *ádat*; the root *as* inserts *i*: thus, *ásis*, *ásit* (see below, 636); compare also 631—4.

622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, has been noticed above (587). Augmentless imperfects of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, *hán*, *vés*, 2d sing.; *han*, *vet*, *stāut*, *dán* (?), 3d sing.; *bruvan*, *duhús*, *cakṣus*, 3d pl.; *vasta*, *sūta*, 3d sing. mid.

623. The first or root-form of aorist is identical in its formation with this imperfect: see below, 629 ff.

624. In the Veda (but hardly outside of the RV.) are found certain 2d sing. forms, having an imperative value, made by adding the ending *si* to the (accented and strengthened) root. In part, they are the only root-forms belonging to the roots from which they come: thus, *jóṣi* (for *jóṣṣi*, from *√juṣ*), *dhákṣi*, *pársi* (*√pr pass*), *prāsi*, *bhakṣi*, *ratsi*, *sátsi*, *hoṣi*; but the majority of them have forms (one or more) of a root-present, or sometimes of a root-aorist, beside them: thus, *kṣéṣi* (*√kṣi rule*), *jéṣi*, *dárṣi*, *nakṣi* (*√naṣ attain*), *néṣi*, *mátsi*, *māsi* (*√mā measure*), *yákṣi*, *yáṁsi*, *yāsi*, *yótsi*, *rāsi*, *vákṣi* (*√vah*), *véṣi*, *çróṣi*, *sakṣi*. Their formal character is somewhat disputed; but they are probably indicative persons of the root-class, used imperatively.

625. Forms of this class are made from nearly 150 roots, either in the earlier language, or in the later, or in both: namely, from about 50 through the whole life of the language, from 80 in the older period (of Veda, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra) alone, and from a few (about 15) in the later period (epic and classical) only\*. Not a few of these roots, however, show only sporadic root-forms, beside a more usual conjugation of some other class; nor is it in all cases possible to separate clearly root-present from root-aorist forms.

a. Many roots of this class, as of the other classes of the first conjugation, show transfers to the second or a-conjugation, forming a conjugation-stem by adding *a* to their strong or weak stem, or

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\* Such statements of numbers, with regard to the various parts of the system of conjugation, are in all cases taken from the author's Supplement to this grammar, entitled "Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language", where lists of roots; and details as to forms etc., are also given.

even to both: thus, from  $\sqrt{mrj}$ , both *mārja* (627) and *mrja*. Such transfers are met with even in the oldest language; but they usually become more frequent later, often establishing a new mode of present inflection by the side of, or in substitution for, the earlier mode.

b. A number of roots offer irregularities of inflection; these are, in the main, pointed out in the following paragraphs.

### Irregularities of the Root-class.

626. The roots of the class ending in *u* have in their strong forms the  $\sqrt{ddhi}$  instead of the *guṇa*-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from  $\sqrt{stu}$ , *stāumi*, *ástaut*, and the like: but *ástavam*, *stāvāni*, etc.

a. Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are *kṣṇu*, *yu unite*, *su* (or *sū*) *impel*, *sku*, *stu*, *snu* (these in the earlier language), *nu*, *ru*, and *hnu*. RV. has once *stoṣi*, and *anāvan*. Compare also 633.

627. The root  $\sqrt{mrj}$  also has the  $\sqrt{ddhi}$ -vowel in its strong forms: thus, *mārjmi*, *ámārjam*, *ámārṭ* (150b); and the same strengthening is said to be allowed in weak forms before endings beginning with a vowel: thus, *mārjantu*, *amārjan*; but the only quotable case is *mārjita* (LṚS). Forms from *a*-stems begin to appear already in AV.

a. In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation,  $\sqrt{mrj}$  shows often the  $\sqrt{ddhi}$  instead of the *guṇa*-strengthening.

628. A number of roots accent the radical syllable throughout, both in strong and in weak forms: thus, all those beginning with a long vowel, *ās*, *īḍ*, *īr*, *īḥ*; and also *caḥṣ*, *takṣ*, *trā*, *niḥs*, *vas clothe*, *ḡiḥj*, *ḡi lie*, and *sū*. All these, except *takṣ* and *trā* (and *trā* also in the Vedic forms), are ordinarily conjugated in middle voice only. Forms with the same irregular accent occur now and then in the Veda from other verbs: thus, *mátsva*, *yákṣva*, *sákṣva*, *sákṣva*, *ḡdhat*. Middle participles so accented have been noticed above (619d).

413 629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, *ḡi lie* has the *guṇa*-strengthening throughout: thus, *ḡáye*, *ḡéṣe*, *ḡáviya*, *ḡáyāna*, and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already noticed) are the 3d pl. persons *ḡérate* (AV. etc. have also *ḡére*), *ḡeratām*, *áḡerata* (RV. has also *áḡeran*), the 3d sing. pres. *ḡáye* (R.) and impv. *ḡáyām*. The isolated active form *áḡayat* is common in the older language; other *a*-forms, active and middle, occur later.

630. Of the same roots, *īḍ* and *īḥ* insert a union-vowel *i* before certain endings: thus, *īḥiṣe*, *īḥidhve*, *īḥiṣva* (these three being the only forms noted in the older language); but RV. has *īḥṣe* beside *īḥiṣe*; the  $\sqrt{vU}$ . has once *īḥite* for *īṣte*. The 3d pl. *īḥire* (on account of its accent) is also apparently present rather than perfect. The MS. has once the 3d sing. impf. *āiḥa* (like *aduha*: 635).



631. The roots *rud weep*, *svap sleep*, *an breathe*, and *çvas blow* insert a union-vowel *i* before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the *s* and *t* of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either *a* or *i*: thus, *svápimi*, *çvásiṣi*, *ániti*, and *ánat* or *ánīt*. And in the other forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, *svápantu* and *çvásantu* (AV.), or *svapántu* etc. The AV. has *sváptu* instead of *svápitu*.

a. In the older language, *√vam* makes the same insertions: thus, *vamiti*, *avamīt*; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, *jániṣva*, *vasiṣva* (*√vas clothe*), *çnathihi*, *stanihi* (all RV.), *yamiti* (JB.), *çocimi* (MBh.). On the other hand, *√an* early makes forms from an *a*-stem: thus, *ánati* (AV.); pple *ánant* (ÇB.); opt. *anet* (AB.).

632. The root *brū speak, say* (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel *i* after the root when strengthened, before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, *brávīmi*, *bráviṣi*, *brávīti*, *ábravīs*, *ábravīt*; but *brúmās*, *brüyām*, *ábravam*, *ábruvan*, etc. Special occasional irregularities are *brūmi*, *bravihi*, *abruvam*, *abruvan*, *bruyāt*, and sporadic forms from an *a*-stem. The subj. dual *brávāite* has been noticed above (615); also the strong forms *abravīta*, *ábravītana* (621a).

633. Some of the roots in *u* are allowed to be inflected like *brū*: namely, *ku*, *tu*, *ru*, and *stu*; and an occasional instance is met with of a form so made (in the older language, only *tavīti* noted; in the later, only *stavīmi*, once).

634. The root *am* (hardly found in the later language) takes *i* as union-vowel: thus, *amīṣi* (RV.), *amīti* and *āmīt* and *amīṣva* (TS). From *√cam* occur *çamiṣva* (VS.; TS. *çamiṣva*) and *çamidhvam* (TB. etc.).

635. The irregularities of *√duh* in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. *duhaté*, *duhré*, and *duhráte*; 3d sing. impv. *duhām*, pl. *duhrām* and *duhratām*; impf. act. 3d sing. *áduhat* (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. *aduhran* (beside *áduhan* and *duhús*); the mid. pple *dúghāna*; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms *duhīyāt* and *duhīyān* (RV. only). The MS. has *aduha* 3d sing. and *aduhra* 3d pl. impf. mid., apparently formed to correspond to the pres. *duhe* (613) and *duhre* as *adugdha* and *aduhata* correspond to *dugdh* eand *duhate*: compare *āiça* (630), related in like manner to the 3d sing. *içe*.

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

636. The root *अस्* as *be* loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment). Its 2d sing. indic. is *असि* *ási* (instead of *assi*); its 2d sing. impv. is *एधि* *edhi* (irregularly from *asdhi*). The insertion of

3.14

common

?

ई १ in 2d and 3d sing. impf. has been noticed already above.

a. The forms of this extremely common verb are, then, as follows:

| Indicative.      |                |                | Optative.      |                    |                |
|------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| s.               | d.             | p.             | s.             | d.                 | p.             |
| 1 अस्मि<br>āsmi  | स्वस्<br>svās  | स्मस्<br>smās  | स्याम्<br>syām | स्याव<br>syāva     | स्याम<br>syāma |
| 2 असि<br>āsī     | स्थस्<br>sthās | स्थ<br>sthā    | स्यास्<br>syās | स्यातम्<br>syātām  | स्यात<br>syāta |
| 3 अस्ति<br>āsti  | स्तस्<br>stās  | सन्ति<br>sānti | स्यात्<br>syāt | स्याताम्<br>syātām | स्युस्<br>syūs |
| Imperative.      |                |                | Imperfect.     |                    |                |
| 1 असाणि<br>āsāni | असाव<br>āsāva  | असाम<br>āsāma  | आसम्<br>āsam   | आस्व<br>āsva       | आस्म<br>āsma   |
| 2 एधि<br>edhī    | स्तम्<br>stām  | स्त<br>stā     | आसीम्<br>āsīms | आस्तम्<br>āstām    | आस्त<br>āsta   |
| 3 अस्तु<br>āstu  | स्ताम्<br>stām | सन्तु<br>sāntu | आसीत्<br>āsīt  | आस्ताम्<br>āstām   | आसन्<br>āsan   |

Participle सत् सन्त (fem. सती satī).

b. Besides the forms of the present-system, there is made from this root only a perfect, āsa etc. (800), of wholly regular inflection.

c. The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem āsa. They are in frequent use, and appear (asat especially) even in late texts where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution siām etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. As 2d and 3d sing. impf. is a few times met with the more normal ās (for ās-s, ās-t). Sthāna, 2d pl., was noted above (613).

d. Middle forms from √as are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (vi+ati), but they are not quotable; smahe and syāmahe (!) occur in the epics, but are merely instances of the ordinary epic confusion of voices (529a). Confusions of primary and secondary endings — namely, sva and sma (not rare), and, on the other hand, syāvas and syāmas — are also epic. A middle present indicative is said to be compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the *nomen agentis* in tr (tar) to form a periphrastic future in the middle voice (but see below, 947). The 1st sing. indic. is he; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., se, dhve, sva, dhvam, with total loss of the root itself).

637. The root *han* *smite, slay* is treated somewhat after the manner of noun-stems in *an* in declension (421): in weak forms, it loses its *n* before an initial consonant (except *m* and *v*) of a personal ending (not in the optative), and its *a* before an initial vowel — and in the latter case its *h*, in contact with the *n*, is changed to *gh* (compare 402). Thus, for example:

| Present Indicative. |        |         | Imperfect. |        |        |
|---------------------|--------|---------|------------|--------|--------|
| s.                  | d.     | p.      | s.         | d.     | p.     |
| 1 hánmi             | hanvás | hanmás  | áhanam     | áhanva | áhanma |
| 2 háñsi             | hathás | hathá   | áhan       | áhatam | áhata  |
| 3 hánti             | hatás  | ghnánti | áhan       | áhatām | ághnan |

a. Its participle is *ghnánt* (fem. *ghnatī*). Its 2d sing. impv. is *jahí* (by anomalous dissimilation, on the model of reduplicating forms).

b. Middle forms from this root are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, and those that occur are formed in general according to the same rules: thus, *hate*, *hanmahe*, *ghnate*; *ahata*, *aghnātām*, *aghnata* (in AB., also *ahata*); *ghnīta* (but also *hanīta*). Forms from transfer-stems, *hana* and *ghna*, are met with from an early period.

638. The root *vaç* *be eager* is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to *uç* (as in the perfect: 794b): thus, *uçmāsi* (V.: once apparently abbreviated in RV. to *çmasi*), *uçánti*; pple *uçánt*, *uçāná*. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as *āuçva*, *āuṣtam*, etc.

a. RV. has in like manner the participle *uṣāná* from the root *vas* *clothe*.

639. The root *çās* *order* shows some of the peculiarities of a reduplicated verb, lacking (646) the *n* before *t* in all 3d persons pl. and in the active participle. A part of its active forms — namely, the weak forms having endings beginning with consonants (including the optative) — are said to come from a stem with weakened vowel, *çiṣ* (as do the aorist, 854, and some of the derivatives); but, excepting the optative (*çiṣyām* etc., U. S. and later), no such forms are quotable.

a. The 3d sing. impf. is *açāt* (555 a), and the same form is said to be allowed also as 2d sing. The 2d sing. impv. is *çādhí* (with total loss of the *a*); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. *çāstāna* (with anomalous accent); and *a*-forms, from stem *çāsa*, occasionally occur.

b. The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (*çāste*, *çāsate*, *çāsāna*).

c. The root *dāç* *worship* has in like manner (RV.) the pple *dāçat* (not *dāçant*).

640. The double so-called root *jakṣ* *eat, laugh* is an evident reduplication of *ghas* and *has* respectively. It has the absence of *n* in act.

3d persons pl. and pple, and the accent on the root before vowel-endings, which belong to reduplicated verbs; and it also takes the union-vowel *i* in the manner of *rud* etc. (above, 631). For its forms and derivatives made with utter loss of the final sibilant, see 233f.

641. Certain other obviously reduplicated verbs are treated by the native grammarians as if simple, and referred to this conjugation: such are the intensively reduplicated *jāgr* (1020 a), *daridrā* (1024 a), and *vevī* (1024 a), *dīdhī* etc. (676), and *cakās* (677).

## II. Reduplicating Class (third, hu-class).

642. This class forms its present-stem by prefixing a reduplication to the root.

643. a. As regards the consonant of the reduplication, the general rules which have already been given above (590) are followed.

b. A long vowel is shortened in the reduplicating syllable: thus, *दा* *dadā* from *दा* *dā*; *बिभी* *bibhī* from *भी* *bhī*; *जुहु* *juhū* from *हु* *hū*. The vowel *ऋ* *r* never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by *इ* *i*: thus, *बिभृ* *bibhr* from *भृ* *bhr*; *पिपृच्* *piprc* from *पृच्* *prc*.

c. For verbs in which *a* and *ā* also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by *i*, see below, 660. Thero ot *वृत्* (V. B.) makes *vavartti* etc.; *cakrānt* (RV.) is very doubtful.

d. The only root of this class with initial vowel is *र* (or *ar*); it takes as reduplication *i*, which is held apart from the root by an interposed *y*: thus, *iyar* and *iyṛ* (the latter has not been found in actual use).

644. The present-stem of this class (as of the other classes belonging to the first or non-a-conjugation) has a double form: a stronger form, with gunated root-vowel; and a weaker form, without *guṇa*: thus, from *हु* *hu*, the two forms are *जुहो* *juho* and *जुहु* *juhu*; from *भी* *bhī*, they are *बिभे* *bibhe* and *बिभी* *bibhī*. And the rule for their use is the same as in the other classes of this conjugation: the strong stem is found before the unaccented endings (552), and the weak stem before the accented.

645. According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the root-syllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in *hu*, *bhī* (no test-forms in the older language), *hrī* (no test-forms found in the older language), *mad* (very rare), *jan* (no forms of this class found to occur), *ci* *notice* (in V.), *yu* *separate* (in older language only), and in *bhṛ* in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has *bibhārti* once, and AV. twice; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the *Brāhmaṇas*); and RV. has once *iyārṣi*. In all the rest — apparently, by a recent transfer — it rests upon the reduplicating instead of upon the radical syllable. And in both classes alike, the accent is anomalously thrown back upon the reduplication in those weak forms of which the ending begins with a vowel; while in the other weak forms it is upon the ending (but compare 666a).

a. Apparently (the cases with written accent are too few to determine the point satisfactorily) the middle optative endings, *īya* etc. (566), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.

646. The verbs of this class lose the *न्* in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have *उस्* instead of *अन्* — and before this a final radical vowel has *guṇa*.

### 1. Present Indicative.

647. The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: a. *√हु hu sacrifice*: strong stem-form, *हुहो juhó*; weak form, *हुहु juhu* (or *júhu*).

| active.            |                     |                    | middle.          |                     |                      |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| s.                 | d.                  | p.                 | s.               | d.                  | p.                   |
| 1 हुहोमि<br>juhómi | हुहुवस्<br>juhuvás  | हुहुमस्<br>juhumás | हुह्वे<br>júhve  | हुहुवहे<br>juhuváhe | हुहुमहे<br>juhumáhe  |
| 2 हुहोषि<br>juhóṣi | हुहुथस्<br>juhuthás | हुहुथ<br>juhuthá   | हुहुषे<br>juhuṣé | हुहुथे<br>júhväthe  | हुहुध्वे<br>juhudhvé |
| 3 हुहोति<br>juhóti | हुहुतस्<br>juhutás  | हुहुति<br>júhvati  | हुहुते<br>juhuté | हुहुते<br>júhvāte   | हुहुते<br>júhvate    |

b. Root भृ *bhr* *bear* (given with Vedic accentuation):  
strong stem-form, बिभ्र बिभ्र; weak, बिभृ बिभृ (or बिभृ).

- |   |          |            |           |          |           |            |
|---|----------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|
| 1 | बिभर्मि  | बिभ्रवस्   | बिभ्रमस्  | बिभ्रे   | बिभ्रवहे  | बिभ्रमहे   |
|   | bíbharṃi | bibhrvās   | bibhrmās  | bíbhre   | bibhrvāhe | bibhrmāhe  |
| 2 | बिभर्षि  | बिभ्रथस्   | बिभ्रथ    | बिभ्रथे  | बिभ्रथे   | बिभ्रथे    |
|   | bíbharṣi | bibhr̥thās | bibhr̥thá | bibhr̥ṣé | bíbhrāthe | bibhr̥dhvé |
| 3 | बिभर्ति  | बिभ्रतस्   | बिभ्रति   | बिभ्रते  | बिभ्रते   | बिभ्रते    |
|   | bíbharti | bibhrtās   | bíbhrati  | bibhrté  | bíbhrāte  | bíbhrate   |

c. The u of hu (like that of the class-signs nu and u: see below, 697a) is said to be omissible before v and m of the endings of 1st du. and pl.: thus, juhvās, juhvāhe, etc.; but no such forms are quotable.

## 2. Present Subjunctive.

648. It is not possible at present to draw a distinct line between those subjunctive forms of the older language which should be reckoned as belonging to the present-system and those which should be assigned to the perfect — or even, in some cases, to the reduplicated aorist and intensive. Here will be noticed only those which most clearly belong to this class; the more doubtful cases will be treated under the perfect-system. Except in first persons (which continue in use as “imperatives” down to the later language), subjunctives from roots having unmistakably a reduplicated present-system are of far from frequent occurrence.

649. The subjunctive mode-stem is formed in the usual manner, with the mode-sign a and guṇa of the root-vowel, if this is capable of such strengthening. The evidence of the few accented forms met with indicates that the accent is laid in accordance with that of the strong indicative forms: thus, from √hu, the stem would be juháva; from √bhr̥, it would be bíbhara (but bibhára later). Before the mode-sign, final radical ā would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus, dáda from √dā, dádha from √dhā (all the forms actually occurring would be derivable from the secondary roots dad and dadh).

650. Instead of giving a theoretically complete scheme of inflection, it will be better to note all the examples quotable from the older language (accented when found so occurring).

a. Thus, of 1st persons, we have in the active juhávāni, bibharāni, dadāni, dadhāni, jahāni; juhavāma, dádhamā, jáhāma; — in the middle, dadhāi, mimāi; dadhāvahāi; juhavāmahāi, dadāmahe, dadāmahāi, dadhāmahāi.

b. Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active bibharāsi (with double mode-sign: 580 e), dádhatas, juhavātha (do.)

and juhavatha; in the middle, dádhasē; dádhate, rárate, dádhatāi, dadātāi; — with secondary endings, dádhas, víveṣas, juhavat, bibharat, yuyávat, dádhat, dadhānat, babhasat; dadhan, yuyavan, juhavan.

### 3. Present Optative.

651. To form this mode, the optative endings given above (566a), as made up of mode-sign and personal endings, are added to the unstrengthened stem. The accent is as already stated (645a). The inflection is so regular that it is unnecessary to give here more than the first persons of a single verb: thus,

| active.    |          |          | middle. |           |           |
|------------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| s.         | d.       | p.       | s.      | d.        | p.        |
| 1 जुहुयाम् | जुहुयाव  | जुहुयाम् | जुह्वीय | जुह्वीवहि | जुह्वीमहि |
| juhuyām    | juhuyāva | juhuyāma | júhvīya | júhvīvahi | júhvīmahi |
| etc.       | etc.     | etc.     | etc.    | etc.      | etc.      |

### 4. Present Imperative.

652. The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is हि hi after a vowel, but धि dhi after a consonant: ऊ hu, however, forms जुहुधि juhudhi (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of ह h in two successive syllables): and other examples of धि dhi after a vowel are found in the Veda.

#### 653. a. Example of inflection:

| active.    |          |          | middle.  |             |             |
|------------|----------|----------|----------|-------------|-------------|
| s.         | d.       | p.       | s.       | d.          | p.          |
| 1 जुह्वानि | जुह्वानि | जुह्वाम  | जुह्वै   | जुह्वानि    | जुह्वामि    |
| juhávāni   | juhávāva | juhávāma | juhávai  | juhávāvahai | juhávāmahai |
| 2 जुहुधि   | जुहुतम्  | जुहुत    | जुहुष    | जुहुथाम्    | जुहुषम्     |
| juhudhí    | juhutám  | juhutá   | juhuṣvá  | júhvāthām   | juhudhvám   |
| 3 जुह्वीतु | जुहुताम् | जुहुतु   | जुहुताम् | जुहुताम्    | जुहुताम्    |
| juhótu     | juhutám  | júhvatu  | juhutám  | júhvātām    | júhvātām    |

b. The verbs of the other division differ here, as in the indicative, in the accentuation of their strong forms only: namely, in all the

first persons (borrowed subjunctives), and in the 3d sing. act.: thus, (in the older language) *bībharāṇi* etc., *bībhartu*, *bībharai* etc.

654. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, *yuyodhī*, *çiçādhi* (beside *çiçīhī*); *yuyotam* (beside *yuyutām*); *īyarta*, *dādāta* and *dadātana*, *dādhāta* and *dādhātana* (see below, 668), *pipartana*, *juhōta* and *juhōtana*, *yuyota* and *yuyotana*; *rārāsva* (666); 2. the use of *dhi* instead of *hi* after a vowel (only in the two instances just quoted); 3. the ending *tana* in 2d pl. act.: namely, besides those just given, in *jigātana*, *dhattana*, *mamāttana*, *vivaktana*, *didīṣṭana*, *bibhītana*, *jujuṣṭana*, *juhutana*, *vavṛttana*: the cases are proportionally much more numerous in this than in any other class; 4. the ending *tāt* in 2d sing. act., in *dattāt*, *dhattāt*, *pipṛtāt*, *jahītāt*.

### 5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pl. indic. by dropping *ṛ i*: thus, *जुह्वत् jūhvat*, *बिभ्रत् bibhrat*. In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (444). The feminine stem ends in *अती atī*. The middle participles are regularly made: thus, *जुह्वान jūhvāna*, *बिभ्रान bibhrāna*.

a. RV. shows an irregular accent in *pipānā* (*vpā drink*).

### 6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending *उस् us*, and a final radical vowel has *guṇa* before it. The strong forms are, as in present indicative, the three singular active persons.

657. Examples of inflection:

|   | active.             |                       |                       | middle.                |                        |                        |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
|   | s.                  | d.                    | p.                    | s.                     | d.                     | p.                     |
| 1 | अजुहवम्<br>ájuhavam | अजुहव<br>ájuhuva      | अजुहुम<br>ájuhuma     | अजुह्वि<br>ájuhvi      | अजुह्वहि<br>ájuhuvahi  | अजुहुमहि<br>ájuhumahi  |
| 2 | अजुहोस्<br>ájuhos   | अजुहुतम्<br>ájuhutam  | अजुहुत<br>ájuhuta     | अजुहुथास्<br>ájuhuthās | अजुहुथां<br>ájuhvāthām | अजुहुधम्<br>ájuhudhvam |
| 3 | अजुहोत्<br>ájuhot   | अजुहुताम्<br>ájuhutām | अजुहुवुस्<br>ájuhavus | अजुहुत<br>ájuhuta      | अजुहुताम्<br>ájuhvātām | अजुहुत<br>ájuhvata     |



a. From  $\gamma\mu$  bhr̥, the 2d and 3d sing. act. are अबिभ्र *ábibhar* (for *abibhar-s* and *abibhar-t*) — and so in all other cases where the strong stem ends in a consonant. The 3d pl. act. is अबिभ्रस् *ábibharus*; and other like cases are *ábibhayus*, *acikayus*, *asusavus*.

b. In MS., once, *abibhrus* is doubtless a false reading.

658. The usual Vedic irregularities in 2d pl. act. — strong forms, and the ending *tana* — occur in this tense also: thus, *ádadāta*, *ádadhāta*; *ádattana*, *ájahātana*. The RV. has also once *apiprata* for *apipṛta* in 3d sing. mid., and *abibhran* for *abibharus* in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are *çīcās*, *vivés*, *jīgāt*; *jīhīta*, *çīçīta*, *jihata*; and, with irregular strengthening, *yuyoma* (AV.), *yuyothās*, *yuyota*.

659. The roots that form their present-stem by reduplication are a very small class, especially in the modern language; they are only 50, all told, and of these only a third (16) are met with later. It is, however, very difficult to determine the precise limits of the class, because of the impossibility (referred to above, under subjunctive: 648) of always distinguishing its forms from those of other reduplicating conjugations and parts of conjugations.

a. Besides the irregularities in tense-inflection already pointed out, others may be noticed as follows.

### Irregularities of the Reduplicating Class.

660. Besides the roots in  $\gamma$  or  $\alpha\gamma$  — namely,  $\gamma$ ,  $gh\gamma$  (usually written *ghar*),  $t\gamma$ ,  $p\gamma$ ,  $bhr$ ,  $s\gamma$ ,  $h\gamma$ ,  $p\gamma c$  — the following roots having  $a$  or  $\bar{a}$  as radical vowel take  $i$  instead of  $a$  in the reduplicating syllable: *gā go*, *mā measure*, *mā bellow*, *çā*, *hā remove* (mid.), *vac*, *sac*; *vaç* has both  $i$  and  $a$ ; *rā* has  $i$  once in RV.; for *sthā*, *pā drink* *ghrā*, *han*, *hi*, see below (670—4).

661. Several roots of this class in final  $\bar{a}$  change the  $\bar{a}$  in weak forms to  $\bar{i}$  (occasionally even to  $i$ ), and then drop it altogether before endings beginning with a vowel.

a. This is in close analogy with the treatment of the vowel of the class-sign of the *nā*-class: below, 717.

These roots are:

662. *çā sharpen*, act. and mid.: thus, *çīçāti*, *çīçimasi*, *çīçihī* (also *çīçādhi*: above, 654), *çīçātu*, *açīçāt*, *çīçīte*, *çīçīta*.

663. *mā bellow*, act., and *mā measure*, mid. (rarely also act.): thus, *mimāti*, *mimīyāt*; *mīmīte*, *mimate*, *āmimīta*; *mimīhi*, *mīmātu*. RV. has once *mimanti* 3d pl. (for *mimati*).

664. *hā remove*, mid.: thus, *jīhīte*, *jihīdhve*, *jīhate*; *jihīṣva*, *jihatām*; *ājihīta*, *ajihata*. ÇB. has *jihīthām* (for *jihāthām*).

665. *hā quit*, act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the *i* to *i*: thus, *jahāti*, *jahīta*, *jahītāt* (AV.); *jahimas* (AV.), *jahitas* (TB.), *jahitam* (TA.), *ajahitām* (TS. AB.). In the optative, the radical vowel is lost altogether; thus, *jahyām*, *jahyus* (AV.). The 2d sing. impv., according to the grammarians, is *jahihi* or *jahihi* or *jahāhi*; only the first appears quotable.

a. Forms from an *a*-stem, *jaha*, are made for this root, and even derivatives from a quasi-root *jah*.

666. *rā give*, mid.: thus, *rarīdhvam*, *rarīthās* (impf. without augment); and, with *i* in reduplication, *ririhi*. But AV. has *rarāsva*.

a. In these verbs, the accent is generally constant on the reduplicating syllable.

667. The two roots *dā* and *dhā* (the commonest of the class) lose their radical vowel altogether in the weak forms, being shortened to *dad* and *dadh*. In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively *dehí* and *dhehí*. In combination with a following *t* or *th*, the final *dh* of *dadh* does not follow the special rule of combination of a final sonant aspirate (becoming *ddh* with the *t* or *th*: 160), but — as also before *s* and *dhv* — the more general rules of aspirate and of surd and sonant combination; and its lost aspiration is thrown back upon the initial of the root (155).

668. The inflection of *√dhā* is, then, as follows:

#### Present Indicative.

| active.          |                 |                | middle.       |                 |                 |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| s.               | d.              | p.             | s.            | d.              | p.              |
| 1 <i>dádhāmi</i> | <i>dadhvás</i>  | <i>dadhmás</i> | <i>dadhé</i>  | <i>dádhvāhe</i> | <i>dádhmahe</i> |
| 2 <i>dádhāsi</i> | <i>dhatthás</i> | <i>dhatthá</i> | <i>dhatsé</i> | <i>dadhāthe</i> | <i>dhaddhve</i> |
| 3 <i>dádhāti</i> | <i>dhattás</i>  | <i>dádhati</i> | <i>dhatté</i> | <i>dadhāte</i>  | <i>dádhate</i>  |

#### Present Optative.

|                  |                 |                 |                |                  |                  |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1 <i>dadhyām</i> | <i>dadhyāva</i> | <i>dadhyāma</i> | <i>dádhiya</i> | <i>dádhiyahi</i> | <i>dádhimahi</i> |
| etc.             | etc.            | etc.            | etc.           | etc.             | etc.             |

#### Present Imperative.

|                   |                 |                 |                |                    |                    |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1 <i>dádhnāni</i> | <i>dádhnāva</i> | <i>dádhnāma</i> | <i>dádhnāi</i> | <i>dádhnāvahāi</i> | <i>dádhnāmahāi</i> |
| 2 <i>dhehí</i>    | <i>dhattām</i>  | <i>dhattá</i>   | <i>dhatsva</i> | <i>dadhāthām</i>   | <i>dhaddhvam</i>   |
| 3 <i>dádhatu</i>  | <i>dhattām</i>  | <i>dádhatu</i>  | <i>dhattām</i> | <i>dadhātām</i>    | <i>dadhatām</i>    |

#### Imperfect.

|                  |                 |                |                 |                   |                  |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1 <i>ádadhām</i> | <i>ádadhva</i>  | <i>ádadhma</i> | <i>ádadhi</i>   | <i>ádadhvahi</i>  | <i>ádadhmahi</i> |
| 2 <i>ádadhās</i> | <i>ádhattam</i> | <i>ádhatta</i> | <i>ádhattās</i> | <i>ádadhāthām</i> | <i>ádaddhvam</i> |
| 3 <i>ádadhāt</i> | <i>ádhattām</i> | <i>ádadhus</i> | <i>ádhatta</i>  | <i>ádadhātām</i>  | <i>ádadhata</i>  |

Participles: act. *dádhat*; mid. *dádhāna*.

a. In the middle (except impf.), only those forms are here accented for which there is authority in the accentuated texts, as there is discordance between the actual accent and that which the analogies of the class would lead us to expect. RV. has once *dhátse*: *dadhé* and *dadhāte* might be perfects, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents *dadhītā* once (*dádhitā* thrice); several other texts have *dádhitā*, *dádhiran*, *dádita*.

b. The root *dā* is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of (radical) *dh* to *d*.

669. The older language has irregularities as follows: 1. the usual strong forms in 2d pl., *dádihāta* and *ádadhāta*, *dádāta* and *ádadāta*; 2. the usual *tana* endings in the same person, *dhattana*, *dádātana*, etc. (654, 658); 3. the 3d sing. indic. act. *dadhé* (like 1st sing.); 4. the 2d sing. impv. act. *daddhī* (for both *dehi* and *dhehi*). And R. has *dadmi*.

670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the *a-* or *bhū-*class (below, 749), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of *a*-stems. These roots are as follows:

671. In all periods of the language, from the roots *sthā* *stand*, *pā* *drink*, and *ghrā* *smell*, are made the presents *tīṣṭhāmi*, *pībāmi* (with irregular sonantizing of the second *p*), and *jīghrāmi* — which then are inflected not like *mīmāmi*, but like *bhāvāmi*, as if from the present-stems *tīṣṭha*, *pība*, *jīghra*.

672. In the Veda (especially; also later), the reduplicated roots *dā* and *dhā* are sometimes turned into the *a*-stems *dāda* and *dādha*, or inflected as if roots *dad* and *dadh* of the *a*-class; and single forms of the same character are made from other roots: thus, *mimanti* (*√mā* *bellow*), *rārate* (*√rā* *give*: 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary stem, *jighna*, is made from *√han* (with omission of the radical vowel, and conversion, usual in this root, of *h* to *gh* when in contact with *n*: 637); and some of the forms of *saçc*, from *√sac*, show the same conversion to an *a*-stem, *saçca*.

674. In AB. (viii. 28), a similar secondary form, *jighya*, is given to *√hi* or *hā*: thus, *jighyati*, *jighyatu*.

675. A few so-called roots of the first or root-class are the products of reduplication, more or less obvious: thus, *jakṣ* (640), and probably *çās* (from *√ças*) and *cakṣ* (from *√kāç* or a lost root *kas* *see*). In the Veda is found also *saçc*, from *√sac*.

676. The grammarians reckon (as already noticed, 641) several roots of the most evidently reduplicate character as simple, and belonging to the root-class. Some of these (*jāgr*, *daridrā*, *vevi*) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under Intensives (1020a, 1024a); *dīdhī* *shine*, together with Vedic *dīdī* *shine* and *pīpī* *swell*, are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of

such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplicating vowel.

a. Of pres. indio. occurs in the older language only *dīdyati*, 3d pl., with the pples *dīdyat* and *dīdhyat*, and mid. *dīdye*, *dīdhye*, *dīdh-yāthām*, with the pples *dīdyāna*, *dīdhyāna*, *pīpyāna*. The subj. stems are *dīdāya*, *dīdhaya*, *pīpāya*, and from them are made forms with both primary (from *dīdāya*) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented *dīdayat* and *dīdāyat* and *dīdhayan*). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have *dīdihī* (and *dīdihī*) and *pīpihī*, and *pipyatam*, *pipyatām*, *pipyata*. In impf., *adīdes* and *pīpes*, *ādidet* and *ādīdhet* and *apīpet* (with augmentless forms), *apīpema* (with strong form of root), and *adīdhayus* and (irregular) *apīpyan*.

b. A few forms from all the three show transfer to an a-inflection: thus, *dīdhaya* and *pīpaya* (impv.), *āpīpayat*, etc.

c. Similar forms from *√mī* *bellow* are *amīmet* and *mīmayat*.

677. The stem *cakās* *shine* (sometimes *cakāç*) is also regarded by the grammarians as a root, and supplied as such with tenses outside the present-system — which, however, hardly occur in genuine use. It is not known in the older language.

678. The root *bhas* *chew* loses its radical vowel in weak forms, taking the form *baps*: thus, *bābhasti*, but *bāpsati* (3d pl.), *bāpsat* (pple). For *babdhām*, see 233 f.

679. The root *bhī* *fear* is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, *bibhīmas* or *bibhīmas*, *bibhīām* or *bibhīyām*; and *bibhīyāt* etc. are met with in the later language.

680. Forms of this class from *√jan* *give birth*, with added *i* — thus, *jajñiše*, *jajñidhve* — are given by the grammarians, but have never been found in use.

681. The roots *ci* and *cit* have in the Veda reversion of *c* to *k* in the root-syllable after the reduplication: thus, *cikéçi*, *cikéthe* (anomalous, for *cikyāthe*), *cikitām*, *aciket*, *cīkyat* (pple); *cikiddhi*.

682. The root *vyac* has *i* in the reduplication (from the *y*), and is contracted to *vio* in weak forms: thus, *viviktās*, *āviviktām*. So the root *hvar* (if its forms are to be reckoned here) has *u* in reduplication, and contracts to *hur*: thus, *juhūrthās*.

### III. Nasal Class (seventh, rudh-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable ँ *ná*, which has the accent.

a. In a few of the verbs of the class, the nasal extends also into other tense-systems: they are añj, bhañj, hiñs: see below, 694.

### 1. Present Indicative.

684. Examples of inflection: a. the root युञ् yuj join: strong stem-form, युनञ् yunáj; weak, युञ्ज् yuñj.

For the rules of combination of final j, see 219.

| active.                     |          |                   | middle.  |    |    |
|-----------------------------|----------|-------------------|----------|----|----|
| s.                          | d.       | p.                | s.       | d. | p. |
| 1 युनञि युञ्चस् युञ्मस्     | युञ्जे   | युञ्चहे           | युञ्महे  |    |    |
| yunájmi yuñjváś yuñjmás     | yuñjé    | yuñjváhe yuñjmáhe |          |    |    |
| 2 युनन्ति युङ्क्थस् युङ्क्थ | युङ्क्ते | युङ्क्थे          | युङ्क्थे |    |    |
| yunákṣi yuñkthás yuñkthá    | yuñkṣé   | yuñjáthe yuñgdhvé |          |    |    |
| 3 युनन्ति युङ्क्स् युञ्जति  | युङ्क्ते | युञ्जते           | युञ्जते  |    |    |
| yunákti yuñktás yuñjánti    | yuñkté   | yuñjáte yuñjáte   |          |    |    |

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b. the root रुन् rudh obstruct; bases रुणध् ruṇadh and रुन्ध् rundh.

For rules of combination of final dh, see 153, 160.

|                             |         |                     |         |  |  |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|--|--|
| 1 रुणध्मि रुन्धस् रुन्धस्   | रुन्धे  | रुन्धहे             | रुन्धहे |  |  |
| ruṇádhmi rundhvás rundhmás  | rundhé  | rundhváhe rundhmáhe |         |  |  |
| 2 रुणत्सि रुन्धस् रुन्ध     | रुन्धे  | रुन्धे              | रुन्धे  |  |  |
| ruṇátsi runddhás runddhá    | rundtsé | rundháthe runddhvé  |         |  |  |
| 3 रुणद्धि रुन्धस् रुन्धति   | रुन्धे  | रुन्धते             | रुन्धते |  |  |
| ruṇáddhi runddhás rundhánti | runddhé | rundháte rundháte   |         |  |  |

c. Instead of yuñkthas, yuñgdhve, and the like (here and in the impv. and impf.), it is allowed and more usual (231) to write yuñthas, yuñdhve, etc.; and, in like manner, rundhas, rundhe, for runddhas, runddhe; and so in other like cases.

685. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the ordinary use of a 3d sing. mid. like the 1st sing., as वृण्जे; 2. the accent on té of 3d pl. mid. in añjaté, indhaté, bhuñjaté.

a. Yunañkṣi, in BhP., is doubtless a false reading.

### 2. Present Subjunctive.

686. The stem is made, as usual, by adding a to the strong present-stem: thus, yunája, ruṇádha. Below are given as if made

from *yuj* all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occurring in the older language.

| active.           |                  |                 | middle.         |    |                    |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----|--------------------|
| s.                | d.               | p.              | s.              | d. | p.                 |
| 1 <i>yunājāni</i> | <i>yunājāva</i>  | <i>yunājāma</i> | <i>yunajāi</i>  |    | <i>yunājāmahāi</i> |
| 2 <i>yunājas</i>  |                  |                 |                 |    | <i>yunajādhvāi</i> |
| 3 <i>yunājat</i>  | <i>yunājatas</i> | <i>yunājan</i>  | <i>yunājate</i> |    |                    |

687. The RV. has once *añjatas*, which is anomalous as being made from the weak tense-stem. Forms with double mode-sign are met with: thus, *ṛṇāhān* (AV.), *rādhnavāt* and *yunajān* (ÇB.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides *añjatas*) is *hināsātas* (ÇB.). ÇB. has also *hināsāvas* as 1st du. act.: an elsewhere unexampled form.

### 3. Present Optative.

688. The optative is made, as elsewhere, by adding the compounded mode-endings to the weak form of present-stem. Thus:

| active.                    |                             |                 | middle.        |                  |                  |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| s.                         | d.                          | p.              | s.             | d.               | p.               |
| 1 युञ्याम् युञ्याव युञ्याम | युञ्जीय युञ्जीवहि युञ्जीमहि |                 |                |                  |                  |
| <i>yuñjyām</i>             | <i>yuñjyāva</i>             | <i>yuñjyāma</i> | <i>yuñjīyā</i> | <i>yuñjīvāhi</i> | <i>yuñjīmāhi</i> |
| etc.                       | etc.                        | etc.            | etc.           | etc.             | etc.             |

a. AB. has once the anomalous 1st sing. act. *vrñjīyam*. And forms like *bhuñjīyām -yāt*, *yuñjīyāt*, are here and there met with in the epics (*bhuñjīyātām* once in GGS.). MBh., too, has once *bhuñjītam*.

### 4. Present Imperative.

689. In this class (as the roots all end in consonants) the ending of the 2d sing. act. is always *धि dhi*.

| active.                       |                               |                 | middle.        |                    |                    |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| s.                            | d.                            | p.              | s.             | d.                 | p.                 |
| 1 युनञ्जानि युनञ्जाव युनञ्जाम | युनञ्जै युनञ्जावहै युनञ्जामहै |                 |                |                    |                    |
| <i>yunājāni</i>               | <i>yunājāva</i>               | <i>yunājāma</i> | <i>yunājāi</i> | <i>yunājāvahāi</i> | <i>yunājāmahāi</i> |
| 2 युङ्गधि युङ्गम् युङ्क्त     | युङ्क्त्व युञ्जाम् युङ्गधम्   |                 |                |                    |                    |
| <i>yuṅgdhī</i>                | <i>yuñktām</i>                | <i>yuñktā</i>   | <i>yuñkṣvā</i> | <i>yuñjāthām</i>   | <i>yuṅgdhvām</i>   |
| 3 युनक्तु युङ्गम् युञ्जतु     | युङ्गम् युञ्जाताम् युञ्जताम्  |                 |                |                    |                    |
| <i>yunāktu</i>                | <i>yuñktām</i>                | <i>yuñjāntu</i> | <i>yuñktām</i> | <i>yuñjātām</i>    | <i>yuñjātām</i>    |

690. There is no occurrence, so far as noted, of the ending *tāt* in verbs of this class. The Veda has, as usual, sometimes strong forms, and sometimes the ending *tana*, in the 2d pl. act.: thus, *unátta*, *yunákta*, *anaktana*, *pinaṣṭana*.

### 5. Present Participle.

691. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. *युञ्जत्* *yuñjāt* (fem. *युञ्जती* *yuñjatī*); mid. *युञ्जान्* *yuñjānā* (but RV. has *indhāna*).

### 6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

|   | active.                    |                                 |                              | middle.                          |                                   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
|   | s.                         | d.                              | p.                           | s.                               | d.                                | p.                               |
| 1 | अयुनजम्<br><i>áyunajam</i> | अयुञ्ज्व<br><i>áyun̄jva</i>     | अयुञ्जम<br><i>áyun̄jma</i>   | अयुञ्जि<br><i>áyun̄ji</i>        | अयुञ्ज्वहि<br><i>áyun̄jvahi</i>   | अयुञ्जमहि<br><i>áyun̄jmahi</i>   |
| 2 | अयुनक्<br><i>áyunak</i>    | अयुङ्क्तम्<br><i>áyun̄ktam</i>  | अयुङ्क्ता<br><i>áyun̄kta</i> | अयुङ्क्थास्<br><i>áyun̄kthās</i> | अयुञ्जाथाम्<br><i>áyun̄jāthām</i> | अयुङ्ग्धम्<br><i>áyun̄gdhvam</i> |
| 3 | अयुनक्<br><i>áyunak</i>    | अयुङ्क्ताम्<br><i>áyun̄ktām</i> | अयुञ्जन्<br><i>áyun̄jan</i>  | अयुङ्क्ता<br><i>áyun̄kta</i>     | अयुञ्जाताम्<br><i>áyun̄jātām</i>  | अयुञ्जत<br><i>áyun̄jata</i>      |

a. The endings *s* and *t* are necessarily lost in the nasal class throughout in 2d and 3d sing. act., unless saved at the expense of the final radical consonant: which is a case of very rare occurrence (the only quotable examples were given at 555 a).

693. The Veda shows no irregularities in this tense. Occurrences of augmentless forms are found, especially in 2d and 3d sing. act., showing an accent like that of the present: for example, *bhinát*, *pr̥nák*, *vṛnák*, *piṇák*, *riṇák*.

a. The 1st sing. act. *atr̥nam* and *acchinam* (for *atr̥nadam* and *acchinadam*) were noted above, at 555 a.

694. The roots of this class number about thirty, more than half of them being found only in the earlier language; no new ones make their first appearance later. Three of them, *añj* and *bhañj* and *hiñs*, carry their nasal also into other tense-systems than the present. Two, *ṛdh* and *ubh*, make present-systems also of other classes having a nasal in the class-sign: thus, *ṛdhnoti* (nu-class) and *ubhnāti* (nā-class).

a. Many of the roots make forms from secondary a-stems: thus, from añja, unda, umbhá, chinda, tṛhjá, piṇṣa, pṛicá, bhuñja, rundha, çinṣá, etc.

### Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

695. The root tṛh combines tṛṇah with ti, tu, etc. into tṛṇēdhi, tṛṇēdhu; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as tṛṇehmi: see above, 224 b.

696. The root hiñs (by origin apparently a desiderative from √han) accents irregularly the root-syllable in the weak forms: thus, hiñsanti, hiñste, hiñsāna (but hinásat etc. and hiñsyāt ÇB.).

### IV. Nu- and u-classes (fifth and eighth, su- and tan-classes).

697. A. The present-stem of the nu-class is made by adding to the root the syllable नु nu, which then in the strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to नो nó.

B. The few roots of the u-class (about half-a-dozen) end in न् n, with the exception of the later irregular कृ kr (or kar) — for which, see below, 714. The two classes, then, are closely correspondent in form; and they are wholly accordant in inflection.

a. The u of either class-sign is allowed to be dropped before v and m of the 1st du. and 1st pl. endings, except when the root (nu-class) ends in a consonant; and the u before a vowel-ending becomes v or uv, according as it is preceded by one or by two consonants (129 a).

#### 1. Present Indicative.

698. Examples of inflection: A. nu-class; root सु su *press out*: strong form of stem, सुनो sunó; weak form, सुनु sunu.

| active.            |                     |                    | middle.          |                       |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| s.                 | d.                  | p.                 | s.               | d.                    | p.                  |
| 1 सुनोमि<br>sunómi | सुनुवस्<br>sunuvás  | सुनुमस्<br>sunumás | सुन्वे<br>sunvé  | सुनुवहे<br>sunuváhe   | सुनुमहे<br>sunumáhe |
| 2 सुनोषि<br>sunóṣi | सुनुयस्<br>sunuthás | सुनुय<br>sunuthá   | सुनुषे<br>sunuṣé | सुनुवाथे<br>sunuváthe | सुनुधे<br>sunudhvé  |



|   |        |         |          |        |          |         |
|---|--------|---------|----------|--------|----------|---------|
| 3 | सुनोति | सुनुतम् | सुन्वति  | सुनुते | सुन्वाते | सुन्वते |
|   | sunóti | sunutás | sunvánti | sunuté | sunvāte  | sunvāte |

a. The forms *sunvás*, *sunmás*, *sunváhe*, *sunmáhe* are alternative with those given here for 1st du. and pl., and in practice are more common. From *√āp*, however (for example), only the forms with *u* can occur: thus, *āpnuvás*, *āpnumáhe*; and also only *āpnuvánti*, *āpnuvé*, *āpnuvāte*.

B. u-class; root *तन् tan stretch*: strong form of stem, *तनो tanó*; weak, *तनु tanu*.

|   |        |        |        |       |         |         |
|---|--------|--------|--------|-------|---------|---------|
| 1 | तनोमि  | तन्वस् | तन्मस् | तन्वे | तन्वहे  | तन्महे  |
|   | tanómi | tanvás | tanmás | tanvé | tanvāhe | tanmāhe |
|   | etc.   | etc.   | etc.   | etc.  | etc.    | etc.    |

b. The inflection is so precisely like that given above that it is not worth writing out in full. The abbreviated forms in 1st du. and pl. are presented here, instead of the fuller, which rarely occur (as no double consonant ever precedes).

699. a. In the older language, no strong 2d persons du. or pl., and no *thana*-endings, chance to occur (but they are numerous in the impv. and impf.: see below). The RV. has several cases of the irregular accent in 3d pl. mid.: thus, *kṛṇvaté*, *tanvaté*, *manvaté*, *vṛṇvaté*, *sprṇvaté*.

b. In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in *ire* from present-stems of this class: thus, *invire*, *ṛṇvire*, *pinvire*, *ṣṇvire*, *sunvire*, *hinvire*. Of these, *pinvire* and *hinvire* might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots *pinv* and *hinv* (below, 716). The 2d sing. mid. (with passive value) *ṣṇviṣé* (RV.) is of anomalous and questionable character.

## 2. Present Subjunctive.

700. The subjunctive mode-stem is made in the usual manner, by adding *a* to the gunated and accented class-sign: thus, *sunáva*, *tanáva*. In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class; some of them are quite numerously represented there.

|   | active.  |          |           | middle.                |             |             |
|---|----------|----------|-----------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|
|   | s.       | d.       | p.        | s.                     | d.          | p.          |
| 1 | sunávāni | sunávāva | sunávāma  | sunávāi                | sunávāvahāi | sunávāmahāi |
| 2 | sunávas  |          | sunávatha | sunávase               | sunávaithe  |             |
| 3 | sunávat  |          | sunávan   | {sunávate<br>sunávātāi |             | sunávanta   |

701. Of the briefer 1st sing. act., RV. has *kṛṇavā* and *hinavā*. Forms with double mode-sign occur (not in RV.): thus, *kṛṇāvāt* and *karavāt* (AV.); *aṇavātha* (K.), *kṛṇavātha* (VS.; but -vatha in Kāṇva-text), *karavātha* (ÇB.). On the other hand, *aṇavatāi* is found once (in TS.). Forms like *āpnuvāni*, *ardhnūvat*, *aṇuvāt*, met with now and then in the older texts, are doubtless to be regarded as false readings. RV. has in a single passage *kṛṇvāite* (instead of *kṛṇāvāite*); the only form in *āithe* is *aṇāvāithe*.

### 3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings (566) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

| active.    |          |          | middle. |           |           |
|------------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| s.         | d.       | p.       | s.      | d.        | p.        |
| 1 सुनुयाम् | सुनुयाव  | सुनुयाम  | सुन्वीय | सुन्वीवहि | सुन्वीमहि |
| sunuyām    | sunuyāva | sunuyāma | sunvīyā | sunvīvāhi | sunvīmāhi |
| etc.       | etc.     | etc.     | etc.    | etc.      | etc.      |

a. From *yāp*, the middle optative would be *āpnuvīyā* — and so in other like cases.

### 4. Present Imperative.

703. The inflection of the imperative is in general like that in the preceding classes. As regards the 2d sing. act., the rule of the later language is that the ending *हि* *hi* is taken whenever the root itself ends in a consonant; otherwise, the tense- (or mode-) stem stands by itself as 2d person (for the earlier usage, see below, 704). An example of inflection is:

| active.   |          |          | middle.  |              |             |
|-----------|----------|----------|----------|--------------|-------------|
| s.        | d.       | p.       | s.       | d.           | p.          |
| 1 सुनवानि | सुनवाव   | सुनवाम   | सुनवै    | सुनवावहे     | सुनवामहे    |
| sunāvāni  | sunāvāva | sunāvāma | sunāvāi  | sunāvāvahai  | sunāvāmahai |
| 2 सुनु    | सुनुतम्  | सुनुत    | सुनुष्व  | सुन्वाश्राम् | सुनुधम्     |
| sunú      | sunutām  | sunutā   | sunuṣṡvā | sunvāthām    | sunudhvām   |
| 3 सुनोतु  | सुनुताम् | सुन्वतु  | सुनुताम् | सुन्वाताम्   | सुन्वताम्   |
| sunótu    | sunutām  | sunvāntu | sunutām  | sunvātām     | sunvātām    |

a. From *√āp*, the 2d sing. act. would be *āpnuhí*; from *√aç*, *açnuhí*; from *√dhr̥ṣ*, *dhr̥ṣnuhí*; and so on. From *√āp*, too, would be made *āpnuvántu*, *āpnuvāthām*, *āpnuvātām*, *āpnuvātām*.

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of *hi* after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as *inuhi*, *kṛnuhí*, *cinuhí*, *dhūnuhi*, *çṛnuhí*, *spṛnuhi*, *hinuhi*, and *tanuhi*, *sanuhi*, are nearly thrice as frequent in use as *inū*, *çṛnu*, *sunū*, *tanu*, and their like; in AV., however, they are only one sixth as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically: even *çṛnudhí* (with *dhi*) occurs several times in RV. RV. has the 1st sing. act. *hinavā*. The ending *tāt* is found in *kṛnutāt* and *hinutāt*, and *kurutāt*. The strong stem-form is found in 2d du. act. in *hinotam* and *kṛnotam*; and in 2d pl. act. in *kṛnóta* and *kṛnótana*, *çṛnóta* and *çṛnotana*, *sunóta* and *sunótana*, *hinóta* and *hinotana*, and *tanota*, *karóta*. The ending *tana* occurs only in the forms just quoted.

### 5. Present Participle.

705. The endings *अत्* *ánt* and *आन* *āná* are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from *√su* *su* come act. *सुवत्* *sunvánt* (fem. *सुवती* *sunvatī*), mid. *सुवान* *sunvāná*; from *√tan* *tan*, *तन्वत्* *tanvánt* (fem. *तन्वती* *tanvatī*), *तन्वान* *tanvāná*. From *√āp* *āp*, they are *आपुवत्* *āpnuvánt* and *आपुवान* *āpnuvāná*.

### 6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

|   | active.             |                       |                     | middle.                |                           |                        |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
|   | s.                  | d.                    | p.                  | s.                     | d.                        | p.                     |
| 1 | असुनवम्<br>ásunavam | असुनुव<br>ásunuva     | असुनुम<br>ásunuma   | असुन्वि<br>ásunvi      | असुनुवहि<br>ásunuvahi     | असुनुमहि<br>ásunumahi  |
| 2 | असुनोस्<br>ásunos   | असुनुतम्<br>ásunutam  | असुनुत<br>ásunuta   | असुनुथास्<br>ásunuthās | असुन्वाथाम्<br>ásunvāthām | असुनुधम्<br>ásunudhvam |
| 3 | असुनोत्<br>ásunot   | असुनुताम्<br>ásunutām | असुन्वन्<br>ásunvan | असुनुत<br>ásunuta      | असुन्वाताम्<br>ásunvātām  | असुन्वत<br>ásunvata    |

a. Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms *ásunva*, *ásunma*, *ásunvahi*, *ásunmahi* are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as *dhr̥ṣ*: which makes, for example, always *ádhr̥ṣnuma* etc., and also *ádhr̥ṣnuvan*, *ádhr̥ṣnuvi*, *ádhr̥ṣnuvāthām*, *ádhr̥ṣnuvātām*, *ádhr̥ṣnuvata*.

707. Strong stem-forms and *tana*-ending are found only in RV., in *akṛṇota*, *akṛṇotana*. Augmentless forms with accent are *minván*, *ṛṇutá*.

708. About fifty roots make, either exclusively or in part, their present-forms after the manner of the *nu*-class: half of them do so only in the older language; three or four, only in the later.

a. As to transfers to the *a*-conjugation, see below, 716.

709. The roots of the other division, or of the *u*-class, are extremely few, not exceeding eight, even including *ṭṛ* on account of *taruté* RV., and *han* on account of the occurrence of *hanomi* once in a Sūtra (PGS. i. 3.27). BR. refer the stem *inu* to *in* of the *u*-class instead of *i* of the *nu*-class.

### Irregularities of the *nu* and *u*-classes.

710. The root *ṭṛ* *be pleased* is said by the grammarians to retain the *n* of its class-sign unlingualized in the later language — where, however, forms of conjugation of this class are very rare; while in the Veda the regular change is made: thus, *ṭṛṇu*.

711. The root *ṣru* *hear* is contracted to *ṣṛ* before the class-sign, forming *ṣṛṇó* and *ṣṛṇu* as stem. Its forms *ṣṛṇviṣé* and *ṣṛṇviré* have been noted above (699b).

712. The root *dhū* *shake* in the later language (and rarely in B. and S.) shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms *dhunó* and *dhunu* (earlier *dhūnó*, *dhūnu*).

713. The so-called root *ūrṇu*, treated by the native grammarians as dissyllabic and belonging to the root-class (I.), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root *vṛ* (or *var*). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the *nu*-class; but in the Brāhmaṇa language are found sometimes such forms as *ūrṇāuti*, as if from an *u*-root of the root class (626); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. act. is *ūrṇu* or *ūrṇuhi*; its impf., *āūrṇos*, *āurṇot*; its opt. mid., *ūrṇuvīta* (K.) or *ūrṇvītá* (TS.).

714. The extremely common root *ṛṇ* *kṛ* (or *kar*) *make* is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the *u*-class (being the only root of that class not ending in *ṛṇ*). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the *guṇa*-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is

changed to kur, so that the two forms of stem are करो karó and कुरु kuru. The class-sign उ u is always dropped before व् v and म् m of the 1st du. and pl., and also before य् y of the opt. act. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

|                   | active.             |                       |                  | middle.              |                    |    |
|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----|
|                   | s.                  | d.                    | p.               | s.                   | d.                 | p. |
| 1 करोमि<br>karómi | कुर्वस्<br>kurvás   | कुर्मस्<br>kurmás     | कुर्वे<br>kurvé  | कुर्वहे<br>kurváhe   | कुर्महे<br>kurmáhe |    |
| 2 करोषि<br>karóṣi | कुरुथस्<br>kuruthás | कुरुथ<br>kuruthá      | कुरुषे<br>kuruṣé | कुर्वाथे<br>kurvāthe | कुरुधे<br>kurudhvé |    |
| 3 करोति<br>karóti | कुरुतस्<br>kurutás  | कुर्वन्ति<br>kurvánti | कुरुते<br>kuruté | कुर्वते<br>kurvāte   | कुर्वते<br>kurvāte |    |

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2. Present Optative.

|                              |                            |                            |                            |                                |                                |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 कुर्याम्<br>kuryām<br>etc. | कुर्याव<br>kuryāva<br>etc. | कुर्याम<br>kuryāma<br>etc. | कुर्वीय<br>kurviyá<br>etc. | कुर्वीवहि<br>kurvívahi<br>etc. | कुर्वीमहि<br>kurvimáhi<br>etc. |
|------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|

3. Present Imperative.

|                       |                     |                       |                     |                         |                         |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 कर्वाणि<br>karávāṇi | कर्वाव<br>karávāva  | कर्वाम<br>karávāma    | कर्वै<br>karávāi    | कर्वावहै<br>karávāvahai | कर्वामहै<br>karávāmahai |
| 2 कुरु<br>kurú        | कुरुतम्<br>kurutám  | कुरुत<br>kurutá       | कुरुध<br>kuruṣvá    | कुर्वायाम्<br>kurvāthām | कुरुधम्<br>kurudhvám    |
| 3 करोतु<br>karótu     | कुरुताम्<br>kurutám | कुर्वन्तु<br>kurvántu | कुरुताम्<br>kurutám | कुर्वताम्<br>kurvātām   | कुर्वताम्<br>kurvātām   |

4. Present Participle.

कुर्वन्त् kurvánt (fem. कुर्वती kurvatí) कुर्वाण kurvāṇá

5. Imperfect.

|                       |                       |                     |                        |                           |                        |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 अकारवम्<br>ákaravam | अकुर्व<br>ákurva      | अकुर्म<br>ákurma    | अकुर्वि<br>ákurvi      | अकुर्वहि<br>ákurvahi      | अकुर्महि<br>ákurmahí   |
| 2 अकरोस्<br>ákaros    | अकुरुतम्<br>ákurutam  | अकुरुत<br>ákuruta   | अकुरुथाम्<br>ákuruthás | अकुर्वायाम्<br>ákurvāthām | अकुरुधम्<br>ákurudhvam |
| 3 अकरोत्<br>ákarot    | अकुरुताम्<br>ákurutām | अकुर्वन्<br>ákurvan | अकुरुत<br>ákuruta      | अकुर्वताम्<br>ákurvātām   | अकुर्वत<br>ákurvata    |

715. In RV., this root is regularly inflected in the present-system according to the *nu*-class, making the stem-forms *kṛṇó* and *kṛṇu*; the only exceptions are *kurmas* once and *kuru* twice (all in the tenth book); in AV., the *nu*-forms are still more than six times as frequent as the *u*-forms (nearly half of which, moreover, are in prose passages); but in the Brāhmaṇa language and later, the *u*-forms are used to the exclusion of the others.

a. As 1st sing. pres. act. is found *kurmi* in the epos.

b. What irregular forms from *kṛ* as a verb of the *nu*-class occur in the older language have been already noticed above.

c. The isolated form *taruté*, from *√tṛ*, shows an apparent analogy with these *u*-forms from *kṛ*.

716. A few verbs belonging originally to these classes have been shifted, in part or altogether, to the *a*-class, their proper class-sign having been stereotyped as a part of the root.

a. Thus, in RV. we find forms both from the stem *inu* (*√i* or *in*), and also from *inva*, representing a derivative quasi-root *inv* (and these latter alone occur in AV.). So likewise forms from a stem *ṛṇva* beside those from *ṛṇu* (*√ṛ*); and from *hinva* beside those from *hinu* (*√hi*). The so-called roots *jinv* and *pinv* are doubtless of the same origin, although no forms from the stem *pinu* are met with at any period — unless *pinvire* (above, 699b) be so regarded; and AV. has the participle *pinvánt*, f. *pinvatī*. The grammarians set up a root *dhinv*, but only forms from *dhi* (stem *dhinu*) appear to occur in the present-system (the aorist *adhinvit* is found in PB.).

b. Occasional *a*-forms are met with also from other roots: thus, *cinvata* etc., *dunvasva*.

## V. Nā-class (ninth or *kṛī*-class).

717. The class-sign of this class is in the strong forms the syllable *नā* *nā́*, accented, which is added to the root; in the weak forms, or where the accent falls upon the ending, it is *नी* *nī*; but before the initial vowel of an ending the *ई* *ī* of *नी* *nī* disappears altogether.

### 1. Present Indicative.

718. Example of inflection: root *क्री* *kṛī* *buy*: strong form of stem, *क्रीणा* *kṛīṇā́*; weak form, *क्रीणी* *kṛīṇī* (before a vowel, *क्रीण्* *kṛīṇ*).

| active.                        |                              |        | middle.                      |            |    |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------|------------------------------|------------|----|
| s.                             | d.                           | p.     | s.                           | d.         | p. |
| 1 क्रीणामि क्रीणीवस् क्रीणीमस् | क्रीणे क्रीणीवहे क्रीणीमहे   | क्रीणि | क्रीणिवहे क्रीणीमहे          | क्रीणिमहे  |    |
| क्रिणामी क्रिणिवस क्रिणिमस     | क्रिणे क्रिणिवहे क्रिणिमहे   |        |                              |            |    |
| 2 क्रीणसि क्रीणीयस् क्रीणीथ    | क्रीणीषे क्रीणीये क्रीणीधे   | क्रीणि | क्रीणीषे क्रीणीये क्रीणीधे   | क्रीणीधे   |    |
| क्रिणसी क्रिणिथस क्रिणिथ       | क्रिणिषे क्रिणीथे क्रिणिध्वे | क्रिणि | क्रिणिषे क्रिणीथे क्रिणिध्वे | क्रिणिध्वे |    |
| 3 क्रीणाति क्रीणीतस् क्रीणाति  | क्रीणीते क्रीणाते क्रीणाते   | क्रीणि | क्रीणीते क्रीणाते क्रीणाते   | क्रीणाते   |    |
| क्रिणाति क्रिणितस क्रिणान्ति   | क्रिणिते क्रिणाते क्रिणाते   | क्रिणि | क्रिणिते क्रिणाते क्रिणाते   | क्रिणाते   |    |

719. In the Veda, the 3d sing. mid. has the same form with the 1st in *gr̥né*; the peculiar accent of 3d pl. mid. is seen in *punaté* and *riṇaté*; and *vṛṇimahé* (beside *vṛṇimáhe*) occurs once in RV.

## 2. Present Subjunctive.

720. The subjunctive forms which have been found exemplified in Veda and Brāhmaṇa are given below. The subjunctive mode-stem is, of course, indistinguishable in form from the strong tense-stem. And the 2d and 3d sing. act. (with secondary endings) are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects.

| active.    |          |         | middle.  |          |            |
|------------|----------|---------|----------|----------|------------|
| s.         | d.       | p.      | s.       | d.       | p.         |
| 1 क्रिणानि | क्रिणामा | क्रिणै  | क्रिणवहै | क्रिणमहै |            |
| 2 क्रिणस   | क्रिणथा  | क्रिणसै |          |          |            |
| 3 क्रिणत   | क्रिणान  | क्रिणतै |          |          | क्रिणान्तै |

## 3. Present Optative.

721. This mode is formed and inflected with entire regularity; owing to the fusion of tense-sign and mode-sign in the middle, some of its persons are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects. Its first persons are as follows:

| active.                          |                             |         | middle.                     |           |      |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|-----------|------|
| s.                               | d.                          | p.      | s.                          | d.        | p.   |
| 1 क्रीणीयाम् क्रीणीयाव क्रीणीयाम | क्रीणीय क्रीणीवहि क्रीणीमहि | क्रीणीय | क्रीणीय क्रीणीवहि क्रीणीमहि | क्रीणीमहि |      |
| क्रिणीयाम क्रिणीयाव क्रिणीयाम    | क्रिणीय क्रिणीवहि क्रिणीमहि | क्रिणीय | क्रिणीय क्रिणीवहि क्रिणीमहि | क्रिणीमहि |      |
| etc.                             | etc.                        | etc.    | etc.                        | etc.      | etc. |

## 4. Present Imperative.

722. The ending in 2d sing. act., as being always preceded by a vowel, is *हि hi* (never *पि dhi*); and there are no examples of an omission of it. But this person is forbidden

to be formed in the classical language from roots ending in a consonant; for both class-sign and ending is substituted the peculiar ending **अन āna**.

|   | active.             |                        |                     | middle.                |                         |                         |
|---|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|   | s.                  | d.                     | p.                  | s.                     | d.                      | p.                      |
| 1 | क्रीणानि<br>kṛiṇāni | क्रीणाव<br>kṛiṇāva     | क्रीणाम<br>kṛiṇāma  | क्रीणी<br>kṛiṇāi       | क्रीणावहै<br>kṛiṇāvahai | क्रीणामहै<br>kṛiṇāmahai |
| 2 | क्रीणीहि<br>kṛiṇīhi | क्रीणीतम्<br>kṛiṇītām  | क्रीणीत<br>kṛiṇītā  | क्रीणीध<br>kṛiṇīṣvā    | क्रीणाथाम्<br>kṛiṇāthām | क्रीणीधम्<br>kṛiṇīdhvam |
| 3 | क्रीणातु<br>kṛiṇātu | क्रीणीताम्<br>kṛiṇītām | क्रीणतु<br>kṛiṇāntu | क्रीणीताम्<br>kṛiṇītām | क्रीणाताम्<br>kṛiṇātām  | क्रीणताम्<br>kṛiṇātām   |

a. Examples of the ending **āna** in 2d sing. act. are **aṇāna**, **gṛhṇāna**, **badhāna**, **stabhāna**.

723. The ending **āna** is known also to the earliest language; of the examples just given, all are found in AV., and the first two in RV.; others are **iṣāna**, **muṣāna**, **akabhāna**. But AV. has also **gṛbhṇīhi** (also AB.), and even **gṛhṇāhi**, with strong stem; BhP. has **badhnihi**. Strong stems are further found in **gṛṇāhi** and **stṛṇāhi** (TS.), **prṇāhi** (TB.), and **ṛiṇāhi** (Āpast.), and, with anomalous accent, **punāhi** and **ṛṇāhi** (SV.); and, in 2d pl. act., in **punāta** (RV.). The ending **tāt** of 2d sing. act. occurs in **gṛhṇītāt**, **jānītāt**, **punītāt**. The ending **tana** is found in **punītana**, **prṇītana**, **ṛiṇītana**.

### 5. Present Participle.

724. The participles are regularly formed: thus, for example, act. **क्रीणत् kṛiṇāt** (fem. **क्रीणती kṛiṇatī**); mid. **क्रीणान kṛiṇāna**.

### 6. Imperfect.

725. There is nothing special to be noted as to the inflection of this tense: an example is —

|   | active.              |                          |                      | middle.                   |                           |                           |
|---|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
|   | s.                   | d.                       | p.                   | s.                        | d.                        | p.                        |
| 1 | अक्रीणाम्<br>ākṛiṇām | अक्रीणीव<br>ākṛiṇīva     | अक्रीणीम<br>ākṛiṇīma | अक्रीणी<br>ākṛiṇi         | अक्रीणीवहि<br>ākṛiṇīvahi  | अक्रीणीमहि<br>ākṛiṇīmahi  |
| 2 | अक्रीणास्<br>ākṛiṇās | अक्रीणीतम्<br>ākṛiṇītām  | अक्रीणीत<br>ākṛiṇītā | अक्रीणीथास्<br>ākṛiṇīthās | अक्रीणाथाम्<br>ākṛiṇāthām | अक्रीणीधम्<br>ākṛiṇīdhvam |
| 3 | अक्रीणात्<br>ākṛiṇāt | अक्रीणीताम्<br>ākṛiṇītām | अक्रीणन्<br>ākṛiṇan  | अक्रीणीत<br>ākṛiṇīta      | अक्रीणाताम्<br>ākṛiṇātām  | अक्रीणत<br>ākṛiṇata       |



**726.** It has been pointed out above that augmentless persons of this tense are in part indistinguishable in form from subjunctive and optative persons. Such as certainly belong here are (in V.) *kṣiṇām*; *aṇnan*, *riṇān*; *gṛbhṇata*, *vṛṇata*. The AV. has once *minīt* instead of *mināt*. MBh. has *aṇnīs* after *mā*.

a. AB. has the false form *ajānīmas*, and in AA. occurs *avṛṇīta* as 3d plural.

**727.** The roots which form their present-systems, wholly or in part, after the manner of this class, are over fifty in number: but, for about three fifths of them, the forms are quotable only from the older language, and for half-a-dozen they make their first appearance later; for less than twenty are they in use through the whole life of the language, from the Veda down.

a. As to secondary a-stems, see 731.

### Irregularities of the nā-class.

**728. a.** The roots ending in *ū* shorten that vowel before the class-sign: thus, from *√pū*, *punāti* and *punité*; in like manner also *jū*, *dhū*, *lū*.

b. The root *vlī* (B.S.) forms either *vlīnā* or *vlinā*.

**729.** The root *grabh* or *grah* (the former Vedic) is weakened to *gṛbh* or *gṛh*.

a. As the perfect also in weak forms has *gṛbh* or *gṛh*, it is not easy to see why the grammarians should not have written *ṛ* instead of *ra* in the root.

**730. a.** A few of the roots have a more or less persistent nasal in forms outside the present-system; such are without nasal before the class-sign: thus, *grath* or *granth*, *badh* or *bandh*, *math* or *manth*, *skabh* or *skambh*, *stabh* or *stambh*.

b. The root *jñā* also loses its nasal before the class-sign: thus, *jānāti*, *jānité*.

**731.** Not rarely, forms showing a transfer to the a-conjugation are met with: thus, even in RV., *minati*, *minat*, *aminanta*, from *√mi*; in AV., *ṛṇa* from *√ṛ*; later, *gṛhṇa*, *jāna*, *prīṇa*, *mathna*, etc. And from roots *pr* and *mṛ* are formed the stems *prṇā* and *mṛṇā*, which are inflected after the manner of the ā-class, as if from roots *prṇ* and *mṛṇ*.

**732.** In the Veda, an apparently denominative inflection of a stem in *āyá* is not infrequent beside the conjugation of roots of this class: thus, *gṛbhāyá*, *mathāyāti*, *aṛathāyas*, *skabhāyāta*, *astabhāyat*, *pruṣāyānte*, *muṣāyát*, and so on. See below, 1066 b.

### Second or a-Conjugation.

733. We come now to the classes which compose the Second or a-Conjugation. These are more markedly similar in their mode of inflection than the preceding classes; their common characteristics, already stated, may be here repeated in summary. They are: (1) A final a in the present-stem; (2) a constant accent, not changing between stem and ending; (3) a briefer form of the optative mode-sign in the active, namely ī instead of yā (combining in both voices alike with a to ē); (4) the absence of any ending (except when tāt is used) in 2d sing. impv. act.; (5) the conversion of initial ā of the 2d and 3d du. mid. endings to e; (6) the use of the full endings ante, anta, antām in 3d pl. mid. forms; (7) the invariable use of an (not us) in 3d pl. impf. act.; (8) and the use of māna instead of āna as ending of the mid. pple. Moreover, (9) the stem-final a becomes ā before m and v of 1st personal endings — but not before am of 1st sing. impf.: here, as before the 3d pl. endings, the stem-final is lost, and the short a of the ending remains (or the contrary): thus, bhāvanti (bhāva+anti), bhāvante (bhāva+ante), ābhavam (ābhava+am).

a. All these characteristics belong not to the inflection of the a-present-systems alone, but also to that of the a-, reduplicated, and sa-aorists, the s-future, and the desiderative, causative, and denominative present-systems. That is to say, wherever in conjugation an a-stem is found, it is inflected in the same manner.

### VI. A-class (first, bhū-class).

734. The present-stem of this class is made by adding अ a to the root, which has the accent, and, when that is possible (235, 240), is strengthened to guṇa. Thus, भव bhāva from √भू bhū; जय jāya from √जि ji; बोध bódha from √बुध् budh; सर्प sárpa from √सृप् sṛp; — but वद váda from √वद् vad; क्रीड krīḍa from √क्रीड् krīḍ.

## 1. Present Indicative.

735. The endings and the rules for their combination with the stem have been already fully given, for this and the other parts of the present-system; and it only remains to illustrate them by examples.

a. Example of inflection: root भू bhū be; stem भव bháva (bho + a: 131).

| active. |           |          | middle. |           |           |
|---------|-----------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| s.      | d.        | p.       | s.      | d.        | p.        |
| 1 भवामि | भवावस्    | भवामस्   | भवे     | भवावहे    | भवामहे    |
| bhāvāmi | bhāvāvas  | bhāvāmas | bhāve   | bhāvāvahe | bhāvāmahe |
| 2 भवसि  | भवथस्     | भवथ      | भवसे    | भवथे      | भवथे      |
| bhāvāsi | bhāvāthas | bhāvātha | bhāvase | bhāvethe  | bhāvādhve |
| 3 भवति  | भवतस्     | भवन्ति   | भवते    | भवन्ते    | भवन्ते    |
| bhāvāti | bhāvatas  | bhāvānti | bhāvate | bhāvete   | bhāvante  |

b. The V. has but a single example of the thana-ending, namely vādathana (and no other in any class of this conjugation). The 1st pl. mid. manāmahé (RV., once) is probably an error. RV. has çóbhe once as 3d singular.

## 2. Present Subjunctive.

736. The mode-stem is bhāvā (bháva + a). Subjunctive forms of this conjugation are very numerous in the older language; the following scheme instances all that have been found to occur.

| active.    |           |          | middle.   |            |            |
|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------------|------------|
| s.         | d.        | p.       | s.        | d.         | p.         |
| 1 bhāvāni  | bhāvāva   | bhāvāma  | bhāvāi    | bhāvāvahāi | bhāvāmahāi |
| 2 {bhāvāsi | bhāvāthas | bhāvātha | {bhāvāse  |            | bhāvādhvāi |
| {bhāvās    |           |          | {bhāvāsāi |            |            |
| 3 {bhāvāti | bhāvātas  | bhāvān   | {bhāvāte  | bhāvāite   | {bhāvānta  |
| {bhāvāt    |           |          | {bhāvātāi |            | {bhāvāntāi |

737. The 2d du. mid. (bhāvāithe) does not chance to occur in this class; and yātāite is the only example of the 3d person. No such pl. mid. forms as bhāvādhve, bhāvānte are made from any class with stem-final a; such as bhāvānta (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brāhmaṇas (especially ÇB.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in āsi and the 3d in āt. AB. has the 3d sing. mid. haratāi; and a 3d pl. in antāi (vartantāi KB.) has been noted once. RV. has examples, arcā and madā, of the briefer 1st. sing. act.

## 3. Present Optative.

738. The scheme of optative endings as combined with the final of an a-stem was given in full above (566).

|   | active.            |                     |                     | middle.                |                          |                      |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
|   | s.                 | d.                  | p.                  | s.                     | d.                       | p.                   |
| 1 | भवेयम्<br>bháveyam | भवेव<br>bháveva     | भवेम<br>bhávema     | भवेय<br>bháveya        | भवेवहि<br>bhárevahi      | भवेमहि<br>bhávemahi  |
| 2 | भवेस्<br>bháves    | भवेतम्<br>bhávetam  | भवेत<br>bháveta     | भवेद्यास्<br>bhávethās | भवेयायाम्<br>bháveyāthām | भवेधम्<br>bhávedhvam |
| 3 | भवेत्<br>bhávet    | भवेताम्<br>bhávetām | भवेयुस्<br>bháveyus | भवेत<br>bháveta        | भवेयाताम्<br>bháveyātām  | भवेरन्<br>bháveran   |

a. The RV. has once the 3d pl. mid. *bharerata* (for one other example, see 752b). AV. has *udeyam* from *yvad*.

b. A few instances are met with of middle 3d persons from a-stems in *īta* and (very rarely) *īran*, instead of *eta* and *eran*. For convenience, they may be put together here (excepting the more numerous causative forms, for which see 1043 c); they are (so far as noted) these: *nayīta* S. and later, *ṇāṣīta* S., *ṇayīta* S.; *dhayīta* S., *dhyāyīta* U., *hvayīta* AB. S. and *hvayīran* S., *dhmāyīta* U. An active form *ṇāṣīyāt* C. is isolated and anomalous.

## 4. Present Imperative.

739. An example of the imperative inflection is:

|   | active.          |                    |                    | middle.            |                       |                       |
|---|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
|   | s.               | d.                 | p.                 | s.                 | d.                    | p.                    |
| 1 | भवानि<br>bhāvāni | भवाव<br>bhāvāva    | भवाम<br>bhāvāma    | भवे<br>bhāvāi      | भवावहे<br>bhāvāvahai  | भवामहे<br>bhāvāmahai  |
| 2 | भव<br>bháva      | भवतम्<br>bhāvatam  | भवत<br>bhāvata     | भवस्व<br>bhāvasva  | भवेयाम्<br>bhāvetthām | भवधम्<br>bhāvadhvam   |
| 3 | भवतु<br>bhāvatu  | भवताम्<br>bhāvatām | भवन्तु<br>bhāvantu | भवताम्<br>bhāvatām | भवेताम्<br>bhāvetām   | भवन्ताम्<br>bhāvantām |

740. The ending *tana* in 2d pl. act. is as rare in this whole conjugation as is *thana* in the present: the V. affords only *bhajatana* in the a-class (and *nahyatana* in the ya-class: 760 c). The ending *tāt* of 2d sing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has *avatāt*, *oṣatāt*, *dahatāt*, *bhavatāt*, *yacchatāt*, *yācatāt*, *rākṣatāt*, *vahatāt*; to which AV. adds *jinvatāt*, *dhāvatāt*; and the Brāhmaṇas bring other examples. MS. has twice *svadātu* (parallel texts both times *svadāti*): compare similar cases in the ā-class: 752 c.

## 5. Present Participle.

741. The endings <sup>act</sup>अन्त and <sup>mid</sup>मान māna are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. भवत् bhávant (fem. भवती bhávanti); mid. भवमान bhávamāna. cf w61

a. A small number of middle participles appear to be made from stems of this class (as of other a-classes: see 752e, 1043f) by the suffix āna instead of māna: thus, namāna, pacāna, çikṣāna, svajāna, hvayāna (all epic), majjāna and kaṣāna (later); and there are Vedic examples (as cyāvāna, prathānā, yātāna or yatānā, çūmbhāna, all RV.) of which the character, whether present or aorist, is doubtful: compare 840, 852.

## 6. Imperfect.

742. An example of the imperfect inflection is:

| active. |           |          | middle.    |            |             |
|---------|-----------|----------|------------|------------|-------------|
| s.      | d.        | p.       | s.         | d.         | p.          |
| अभवम्   | अभावा     | अभवाम    | अभवे       | अभाववहि    | अभवामहि     |
| ábhavam | ábhavāva  | ábhavāma | ábhave     | ábhavāvahi | ábhavāmahi  |
| अभवत्   | अभवतम्    | अभवत     | अभवद्यात्  | अभवेद्याम् | अभवद्यम्    |
| ábhavas | ábhavatam | ábhavata | ábhavathās | ábhavethām | ábhavadhvam |
| अभवत्   | अभवताम्   | अभवन्    | अभवत       | अभवेताम्   | अभवत्       |
| ábhavat | ábhavatām | ábhavan  | ábhavata   | ábhavetām  | ábhavanta   |

743. No forms in tana are made in this tense from any a-class. Examples of augmentless forms (which are not uncommon) are: cyāvam, ávas, dáhas, bódhat, bhárat, cáran, náçan; bádhatas, várdhata, çócanta. The subjunctively used forms of 2d and 3d sing. act. are more frequent than those of either of the proper subjunctive persons.

744. A far larger number of roots form their present-system according to the a-class than according to any of the other classes: in the RV., they are about two hundred and forty (nearly two fifths of the whole body of roots); in the AV., about two hundred (nearly the same proportion); for the whole language, the proportion is still larger, or nearly one half the whole number of present-stems: namely, over two hundred in both earlier and later language, one hundred and seventy-five in the older alone, nearly a hundred and fifty in the later alone. Among these are not a few transfers from the classes of the first conjugation: see those classes above. There are no roots ending in long ā — except a few which make an a-stem in some anomalous way: below, 749a.

### Irregularities of the a-class.

745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,

a. *ūh* consider has *guṇa*-strengthening (against 240): thus, *óhate*.  
 b. *kṛp* (or *krap*) lament, on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, *kṛpate*.

c. *guh* hide has prolongation instead of *guṇa*: thus, *gūhati*.

d. *kram* stride regularly lengthens its vowel in the active, but not in the middle: thus, *krāmati*, *krámate*; but the vowel-quantities are somewhat mixed up, even from the oldest language down; — *klam* tire is said to form *klāmati* etc., but is not quotable; — *cam* with the preposition *ā* rinse the mouth forms *ācāmati*.

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from *mrj* wipe; and they show the same *vṛddhi* (instead of *guṇa*) which belongs to the root in its more proper inflection (627): thus, *mārjasva*.

f. The grammarians give a number of roots in *urv*, which they declare to lengthen the *u* in the present-stem. Only three are found in (quite limited) use, and they show no forms anywhere with short *u*. All appear to be of secondary formation from roots in *r* or *ar*. The root *murch* or *murch* coagulate has likewise only *ū* in quotable forms.

g. The onomatopoetic root *ṣṭhiv* *spew* is written by the grammarians as *ṣṭhiv*, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system: compare 240 b.

746. The roots *dañç* bite, *rañj* color, *sañj* hang, *svañj* embrace, of which the nasal is in other parts of the conjugation not constant, lose it in the present-system: thus, *dāçati* etc.; *sañj* forms both *sajati* and *sajjati* (probably for *sajyati*, or for *sasajati* from *sasa-jati*); *math* or *manth* has *mathati* later. In general, as the present of this class is a strengthening formation, a root that has such a nasal anywhere has it here also.

747. The roots *gam go* and *yam reach* make the present-stems *gáčcha* and *yáčcha*: thus, *gáčchāmi* etc.: see 608.

748. The root *sad sit* forms *sída* (conjectured to be contracted from *sisda* for *sisada*): thus, *sídāmi* etc.

749. Transfers to this class from other classes are not rare, as has been already pointed out above, both throughout the present-system and in occasional forms. The most important cases are the following:

a. The roots in *ā*, *sthā* stand, *pā* drink, and *ghrā* smell, form the present-stems *tisṭha* (*tisṭhāmi* etc.), *píba* (*píbāmi* etc.), and *jighra* (*jighrāmi* etc.): for these and other similar cases, see 671—4.

b. Secondary root-forms like *inv*, *jinu*, *pinu*, from simpler roots

of the nu-class, are either found alongside their originals, or have crowded these out of use: see 716.

750. On the other hand, the root *dham* or *dhmā blow* forms its present-stem from the more original form of the root: thus, *dhāmati* etc.

## VII. Accented á-class (sixth, tud-class).

751. The present-stem of this class has the accent on the class-sign ञ् अ, and the root remains unstrengthened. In its whole inflection, it follows so closely the model of the preceding class that to give the paradigm in full will be unnecessary (only for the subjunctive, all the forms found to occur will be instanced).

752. Example of inflection: root विष् *viç enter*; stem विश *viçá*:

### 1. Present Indicative.

|   | active.       |                |                | middle.     |                 |                 |
|---|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|   | s.            | d.             | p.             | s.          | d.              | p.              |
| 1 | विशामि        | विशावम्        | विशामस्        | विशे        | विशावहे         | विशामहे         |
|   | <i>viçāmi</i> | <i>viçāvas</i> | <i>viçāmas</i> | <i>viçé</i> | <i>viçāvahe</i> | <i>viçāmahe</i> |
|   | etc.          | etc.           | etc.           | etc.        | etc.            | etc.            |

### 2. Present Subjunctive.

|   |                  |         |         |                    |           |           |
|---|------------------|---------|---------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | viçāni           | viçāva  | viçāma  | viçāi              | viçāvahāi | viçāmahāi |
| 2 | {viçāsi<br>viçās |         | viçātha | {viçāse<br>viçāsāi | viçāithe  |           |
| 3 | {viçāti<br>viçāt | viçātas | viçān   | {viçāte<br>viçātāi | viçāíte   | viçāntāi  |

a. A single example of the briefer 1st sing. act. is *mṛkṣā*. The only forms in *āithe* and *āite* are *prṇāithe* and *yuvāíte*.

### 3. Present Optative.

|   |                |               |               |               |                 |                 |
|---|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1 | विशेयम्        | विशेव         | विशेम         | विशेय         | विशेवहि         | विशेमहि         |
|   | <i>viçéyam</i> | <i>viçéva</i> | <i>viçéma</i> | <i>viçéya</i> | <i>viçévahi</i> | <i>viçémahi</i> |
|   | etc.           | etc.          | etc.          | etc.          | etc.            | etc.            |

b. The RV. has the ending *tana* once in *tīretana* 2d pl. act., and *rata* in *juṣerata* 3d pl. mid.

no guv  
but 1/10

## 4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

|   |      |         |        |         |          |           |
|---|------|---------|--------|---------|----------|-----------|
| 2 | विश  | विशतम्  | विशत   | विशस्व  | विशेयाम् | विशध्वम्  |
|   | viçá | viçátam | viçáta | viçásva | viçéthām | viçádhvam |
|   | etc. | etc.    | etc.   | etc.    | etc.     | etc.      |

c. The ending *tāt* is found in RV. and AV. in *mṛḍatāt*, *vṛhatāt*, *suvatāt*; other examples are not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, *khidatāt*, *chyatāt*, *pr̥chatāt*, *viçatāt*, *sr̥jatāt*; and later, *spṛçatāt*. The 3d sing. act. *nudātu* and *muñcātu* occur in Sūtras (cf. 740).

## 5. Present Participle.

The active participle is *विशत् विशंतः*; the middle is *विशमानः*.

d. The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, *viçantī*; but sometimes from the weak: thus, *siñcantī* and *siñcatī* (RV. and AV.), *tudantī* and *tudatī* (AV.): see above, 449 d, e.

e. Middle participles in *āna* instead of *māna* are *dhuvāná*, *dhṛṣāná*, *liçāna*, *çyāna*, in the older language; *kṛçāna*, *muñcāna*, *spṛçāna* in the later (cf. 741 a).

## 6. Imperfect.

|   |        |         |         |       |           |           |
|---|--------|---------|---------|-------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | अविशम् | अविशाव  | अविशाम  | अविशे | अविशावहि  | अविशामहि  |
|   | áviçam | áviçāva | áviçāma | áviçe | áviçāvahi | áviçāmahi |
|   | etc.   | etc.    | etc.    | etc.  | etc.      | etc.      |

f. Examples of augmentless forms accented are *sr̥jās*, *sr̥jāt*, *tirānta*.

g. The a-aorist (846 ff.) is in general the equivalent, as regards its forms, of an imperfect of this class.

753. Stems of the *ā*-class are made from nearly a hundred and fifty roots: for about a third of these, in both the earlier and the later language; for a half, in the earlier only; for the remainder, nearly twenty, only in the later language. Among them are a number of transfers from the classes of the non-*a*-conjugation.

a. In some of these transfers, as *pr̥ṇ* and *mr̥ṇ* (731), there takes place almost a setting-up of independent roots.

b. The stems *icchá*, *ucchá*, and *ṛcchá* are reckoned as belonging respectively to the roots *iṣ* *desire*, *vas* *shine*, and *ṛ* *go*.

c. The roots written by the Hindu grammarians with final *o* — namely, *cho*, *do*, *ço*, and *so* — and forming the present-stems *chyá*,



*dyá*, *çyá*, *syá*, are more properly (as having an accented *á* in the stem) to be reckoned to this class than to the *ya*-class, where the native classification puts them (see 761 g). They appear to be analogous with the stems *kaya*, *sva*, *hva*, noted below (755).

754. The roots from which *á*-stems are made have certain noticeable peculiarities of form. Hardly any of them have long vowels, and none have long interior vowels; very few have final vowels; and none (save two or three transfers, and *√lajj* *be ashamed*, which does not occur in any accented text, and is perhaps to be referred rather to the *a*-class) have a as radical vowel, except as this forms a combination with *r*, which is then reduced with it to *ṛ* or some of the usual substitutes of *ṛ*.

### Irregularities of the *á*-class.

755. The roots in *i* and *u* and *ū* change those vowels into *iy* and *uv* before the class-sign: thus, *kaiyá*, *yuvá*, *ruvá*; *suvá*, etc.; and *sva*, *hva* occur, instead of *suva* and *huva*, in the older language, while TS. has the participle *kayánt*. K. has *dhūva* from *√dhū*.

756. The three roots in *ṛ* form the present-stems *kirá*, *girá* (also *gila*), *tirá*, and are sometimes written as *kir* etc.; and *gur*, *jur*, *tur* are really only varieties of *gr*, *jṛ*, *tṛ*; and *bhur* and *sphur* are evidently related with other *ar* or *ṛ* root-forms.

a. The common root *prach ask* makes the stem *prechá*.

757. As to the stems *-driyá* and *-priya*, and *mriyá* and *dhriyá*, sometimes reckoned as belonging to this class, see below, 773.

758. Although the present-stem of this class shows in general a weak form of the root, there are nevertheless a number of roots belonging to it which are strengthened by a penultimate nasal. Thus, the stem *muñcá* is made from *√muc release*; *siñcá* from *√sic sprinkle*; *vindá* from *√vid find*; *kṛntá* from *√kṛt cut*; *piñçá* from *√piç adorn*; *tṛmpá* from *√tṛp enjoy*; *lumpá* from *√lup break*; *limpá* from *√lip smear*; and occasional forms of the same kind are met with from a few others, as *tundá* from *√tud thrust*; *bṛñhá* from *√bṛh strengthen*; *dṛñhá* (beside *dñha*) from *√dṛh make firm*; *çumbhá* (beside *çumbha*) from *√çubh shine*; TS. has *çṛnthati* from *√çrath* (instead of *çrathnāti*); *uñcha*, *vindhá*, *sumbha*, are of doubtful character.

a. Nasalized *á*-stems are also in several instances made by transfer from the nasal class: thus, *unda*, *umbha*, *ṛñjá*, *piñṣá*, *yuñja*, *run-dha*, *çiñṣa*.

### VIII. *Ya*-class (fourth, div-class).

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759. The present-stem of this class adds *ṽ ya* to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also pre-

cisely like that of the a-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the á-class.

760. Example of inflection: root नह् *nah bind*; stem नह्य *náhya*.

### 1. Present Indicative.

|   | active. |          |          | middle. |           |           |
|---|---------|----------|----------|---------|-----------|-----------|
|   | s.      | d.       | p.       | s.      | d.        | p.        |
| 1 | नह्यामि | नह्यावम् | नह्यामस् | नह्ये   | नह्यावहे  | नह्यामहे  |
|   | náhyāmi | náhyāvas | náhyāmas | náhye   | náhyāvahe | náhyāmahe |
|   | etc.    | etc.     | etc.     | etc.    | etc.      | etc.      |

### 2. Present Subjunctive.

|   |                     |          |          |            |            |
|---|---------------------|----------|----------|------------|------------|
| 1 | náhyāni             | náhyāma  | náhyāi   | náhyāvahāi | náhyāmahāi |
| 2 | { náhyāsi<br>náhyās |          | náhyāsāi |            | náhyādhvāi |
| 3 | { náhyāti<br>náhyāt | náhyātas | náhyān   | náhyātāi   | náhyāntāi  |

a. A 3d pl. mid. in antāi (jāyantāi) occurs once in TS.

### 3. Present Optative.

|   |          |         |         |         |           |           |
|---|----------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | नह्येयम् | नह्येव  | नह्येम  | नह्येय  | नह्येवहि  | नह्येमहि  |
|   | náhyeyam | náhyeva | náhyema | náhyeya | náhyevahi | náhyemahi |
|   | etc.     | etc.    | etc.    | etc.    | etc.      | etc.      |

b. For two or three 3d sing. mid. forms in ita (for eta), see 738 b.

### 4. Present Imperative.

|   |       |          |         |          |           |            |
|---|-------|----------|---------|----------|-----------|------------|
| 2 | नह्य  | नह्यतम्  | नह्यत   | नह्यस्व  | नह्येथाम् | नह्यध्वम्  |
|   | náhya | náhyatam | náhyata | náhyasva | náhyethām | náhyadhvam |
|   | etc.  | etc.     | etc.    | etc.     | etc.      | etc.       |

c. Of the ending tana, RV. has one example, nahyatana; the ending tāt is found in asyatāt, khyāyatāt, naçyatāt.

### 5. Present Participle.

The active participle is नह्यत् *náhyant* (fem. नह्यती *náhyantī*); the middle is नह्यमान *náhyamāna*.

### 6. Imperfect.

|   |         |          |          |        |            |            |
|---|---------|----------|----------|--------|------------|------------|
| 1 | अनह्यम् | अनह्याव  | अनह्याम  | अनह्ये | अनह्यावहि  | अनह्यामहि  |
|   | ánahyam | ánahyāva | ánahyāma | ánahye | ánahyāvahi | ánahyāmahi |
|   | etc.    | etc.     | etc.     | etc.   | etc.       | etc.       |

d. Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are *gāyat*, *pācyat*, *pācyan*, *jāyathās*.

761. The *ya*-class stems are more than a hundred and thirty in number, and nearly half of them have forms in use in all periods of the language, about forty occurring only in the earlier, and about thirty only in the modern period.

a. Of the roots making *ya*-stems, a very considerable part (over fifty) signify a state of feeling, or a condition of mind or body: thus, *kup* be angry, *klam* be weary, *kṣudh* be hungry, *muh* be confused, *lubh* be lustful, *cuṣ* be dry, etc. etc.

b. A further number have a more or less distinctly passive sense, and are in part evident and in part presumable transfers from the passive or *yā*-class, with change of accent, and sometimes also with assumption of active endings. It is not possible to draw precisely the limits of the division; but there are in the older language a number of clear cases, in which the accent wavers and changes, and the others are to be judged by analogy with them. Thus, *√muc* forms *mūcyate* once or twice, beside the usual *mucyāte*, in RV. and AV.; and in the Brāhmaṇas the former is the regular accent. Similar changes are found also in *ya*-forms from other roots: thus, from *kṣi* destroy, *jī* or *jyā* injure, *tap* heat, *dr̥h* make firm, *pac* cook, *pr̥* fill, *mī* damage, *ric* leave, *lup* break, *hā* leave. Active forms are early made from some of these, and they grow more common later. It is worthy of special mention that, from the Veda down, *jāyate* is born etc. is found as altered passive or original *ya*-formation by the side of *√jan* give birth.

c. A considerable body of roots (about forty) differ from the above in having an apparently original transitive or neuter meaning: examples are *as* throw, *nah* bind, *paç* see, *pad* go, *çliṣ* clasp.

d. A number of roots, of various meaning, and of somewhat doubtful character and relations, having present-stems ending in *ya*, are by the native grammarians written with final diphthongs, *āi* or *e* or *o*. Thus:

e. Roots reckoned as ending in *āi* and belonging to the *a*- (or *bhū*-) class, as *gāi* sing (*gāyati* etc.). As these show abundantly, and for the most part exclusively, *ā*-forms outside the present-system, there seems to be no good reason why they should not rather be regarded as *ā*-roots of the *ya*-class. They are *kṣā* burn, *gā* sing, *glā* be weary, *trā* save, *dhyā* think, *pyā* fill up, *mlā* relax, *rā* bark, *vā* be blown, *çyā* coagulate, *çrā* boil, *styā* stiffen. Some of them are evident extensions of simpler roots by the addition of *ā*. The secondary roots *tāy* stretch (beside *tan*), and *cāy* observe (beside *ci*) appear to be of similar character.

f. Roots reckoned as ending in *e* and belonging to the *a*- (or *bhū*-) class, as *dhe* suck (*dhāyati* etc.). These, too, have *ā*-forms, and sometimes *i*-forms, outside the present system, and are best regarded as *ā*-roots, either with *ā* weakened to *a* before the class-sign of this class, or with *ā*

weakened to *i* or *i* and inflected according to the *a*-class. They are *dhā* *suck*, *mā* *exchange*, *vā* *weave*, *vyā* *envelop*, *hvā* *call* (secondary, from *hū*). As of kindred form may be mentioned *day* *share* and *vyay* *expend* (probably denominative of *vyaya*).

g. A few roots artificially written with final *o* and reckoned to the *ya*-class, with radical vowel lost before the class-sign: thus, *do* *cut*, *bind*, pres. *dyāti* etc. These, as having an accented *á* in the sign, have plainly no right to be put in this class; and they are better referred to the *á*-class (see above, 753c). Outside the present-system they show *ā*- and *i*-forms; and in that system the *ya* is often resolved into *ia* in the oldest language.

762. The *ya*-class is the only one thus far described which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning. In this tendency, as well as in the form of its sign, it appears related with the class of distinctly defined meaning which is next to be taken up — the passive, with *yá*-sign. Though very far from being as widely used as the latter beside other present-systems, it is in some cases an intransitive conjugation by the side of a transitive of some other class.

#### Irregularities of the *ya*-class.

763. The roots of this class ending in *am* lengthen their vowel in forming the present-stem: they are *klam*, *tam*, *dam*, *bhram*, *çam* *be quiet*, *çram*: for example, *tāmyati*, *çrāmyati*. From *kşam*, however, only *kšamyate* occurs; and *çam* *labor* makes *çamyati* (B.).

764. The root *mad* has the same lengthening: thus, *mādyati*.

765. The roots in *iv* — namely, *dīv*, *sīv*, *srīv* or *çrīv*, and *ṣṭhīv* (from which no forms of this class are quotable) — are written by the grammarians with *iv*, and a similar lengthening in the present-system is prescribed for them.

a. They appear to be properly *dīū* etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always *ū*; *dīv* is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root *div* *shine*, which changes to *dyu* (361d): compare 240b.

766. From the roots *jṛ* and *tṛ* (also written as *jur* and *tir* or *tur*) come the stems *jīrya* and *tīrya*, and *jūrya* and *tūrya* (the last two only in RV.); from *pṛ* comes *pūrya*.

767. The root *vyadh* is abbreviated to *vidh*: thus, *vidhyati*. And any root which in other forms has a penultimate nasal loses it here: thus, *dṛhya* from *dṛñh* or *dṛh*; *bhraçya* from *bhrañç* or *bhraç*; *rajya* from *rañj* or *raj*.

### IX. Accented yá-class: Passive conjugation.

middle suffi  
passive mea

768. A certain form of present-stem, inflected with middle endings, is used only in a passive sense, and is formed from all roots for which there is occasion to make a passive conjugation. Its sign is an accented  $\bar{y}$  yá added to the root: thus, हन्य *hanya* from  $\sqrt{\text{हन्}}$  *han* *slay*, आप्य *āpyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{आप्}}$  *āp* *obtain*, गृह्य *gr̥hya* from  $\sqrt{\text{गृह्}}$  *gr̥h* (or *grah*) *seize*: and so on, without any reference to the class according to which the active and middle forms are made.

769. The form of the root to which the passive-sign is added is (since the accent is on the sign) the weak one: thus, a penultimate nasal is dropped, and any abbreviation which is made in the weak forms of the perfect (794), in the aorist optative (922b), or before *ta* of the passive participle (954), is made also in the passive present-system: thus, अय्य *ajyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{अञ्ज}}$ , बध्य *badhya* from  $\sqrt{\text{बन्ध}}$ , उच्य *ucyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{वच्}}$ , इज्य *ijyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{यज}}$ .

770. On the other hand, a final vowel of a root is in general liable to the same changes as in other parts of the verbal system where it is followed by *y*: thus —

a. Final *i* and *u* are lengthened: thus, मिय *miyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{मि}}$ ; सुय *sūyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{सु}}$ ;

b. Final  $\bar{a}$  is usually changed to  $\bar{i}$ : thus, दीय *dīyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{दा}}$ ; हिय *hiyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{ह्}}$ ; but ज्ञाय *jñāyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{ज्ञा}}$ , and so *khyāyá*, *khāyá*, *mnāyá*, etc.;

c. Final  $\bar{r}$  is in general changed to *ri*: thus, क्रिय *kriyá* from  $\sqrt{\text{क्र}}$ ; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root  $\bar{r}$ ), it has instead the *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, स्मर्य *smaryá* from  $\sqrt{\text{स्मर}}$  (the only quotable case); — and in those roots which show a change of  $\bar{r}$  to *ir* and *ur* (so-called  $\bar{r}$ -verbs: see 242), that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, चिर्य *chiryá* from  $\sqrt{\text{चर}}$ ; पुर्य *puryá* from  $\sqrt{\text{प्रर}}$ .

771. The inflection of the passive-stem is precisely like that of the other a-stems; it differs only in accent from that of the class last given. It may be here presented, therefore, in the same abbreviated form:

a. Example of inflection: root कृ *kr̥* *make*; passive-stem क्रिय *kriyá*:

## 1. Present Indicative.

|   | s.     | d.        | p.        |
|---|--------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | क्रिये | क्रियावहे | क्रियामहे |
|   | kriyé  | kriyávahe | kriyāmahe |
|   | etc.   | etc.      | etc.      |

## 2. Present Subjunctive.

b. The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

|   | s.                     | d. | p.          |
|---|------------------------|----|-------------|
| 1 | क्रियाँ                |    | क्रियामाहीं |
| 2 |                        |    | क्रियाध्वाँ |
| 3 | { क्रियाते<br>क्रियातै |    | क्रियान्तै  |

c. The 3d pl. ending *antāi* is found once (*ucyantāi* K.).

## 3. Present Optative.

|   |         |           |           |
|---|---------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 | क्रियेय | क्रियेवद् | क्रियेमद् |
|   | kriyéya | kriyévaḥi | kriyémaḥi |
|   | etc.    | etc.      | etc.      |

d. No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found, however, in the Brāhmaṇas. ChU. has once *dhmāyīta*.

## 4. Present Imperative.

|   |          |            |            |
|---|----------|------------|------------|
| 2 | क्रियस्व | क्रियेथाम् | क्रियधम्   |
|   | kriyāsva | kriyéthām  | kriyādhvam |
|   | etc.     | etc.       | etc.       |

## 5. Present Participle.

e. This is made with the suffix मान *māna*: thus, क्रियमाण *kriyamāṇa*.

f. In use, this participle is well distinguished from the other passive participle by its distinctively present meaning: thus, *kṛtā done*, but *kriyā-māṇa in process of doing, or being done*.

## 6. Imperfect.

|   |         |            |            |
|---|---------|------------|------------|
| 1 | अक्रिये | अक्रियावद् | अक्रियामद् |
|   | ákriye  | ákriyāvahi | ákriyāmaḥi |
|   | etc.    | etc.       | etc.       |

g. The passive-sign is never resolved into *ia* in the Veda.

772. The roots *tan* and *khan* usually form their passives from parallel roots in *ā*: thus, *tāyāte, khāyāte* (but also *tanyate, khan-*

yate); and dham, in like manner, makes either *dhamyate* or *dhmāyāte*. The corresponding form to *√jan*, namely *jāyate* (above, 761 b), is apparently a transfer to the preceding class.

773. By their form, *mriyāte dies*, and *dhriyāte maintains itself, is steadfast*, are passives from the roots *mṛ* *die* and *dhṛ* *hold*; although neither is used in a proper passive sense, and *mṛ* is not transitive except in the derivative form *mṛṇ* (above, 731). With them are to be compared the stems *ā-driyā heed* and *ā-priyā be busy*, which are perhaps peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots *dr* *pierce* and *pr* *fill*.

774. Examples of the transfer of stems from the *yā-* or passive class to the *ya-* or intransitive class were given above (761 b); and it was also pointed out that active instead of middle endings are occasionally, even in the earlier language, assumed by forms properly passive: examples are *ā dhmāyati* and *vy āpruṣyat* (ÇB.), *bhūyati* (MāiU.). In the epics, however (as a part of their general confusion of active and middle forms: 529 a), active endings are by no means infrequently taken by the passive: thus, *çakyati*, *çrūyanti*, *bhriyantu*, *ijyant-*, etc.

#### The so-called Tenth or *cur*-Class.

775. As was noticed above (607), the Hindu grammarians — and, after their example, most European also — recognize yet another conjugation-class, coördinate with those already described; its stems show the class-sign *āya*, added to a generally strengthened root (for details as to the strengthening, see 1042). Though this is no proper class, but a secondary or derivative conjugation (its stems are partly of causative formation, partly denominative with altered accent), an abbreviated example of its forms may, for the sake of accordance with other grammars, be added here.

a. Example: root *cint* *think, meditate*; stem *cintāya*:

|              | active.           | middle.            |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Pres. Indic. | <i>cintāyāmi</i>  | <i>cintāye</i>     |
| Subj.        | <i>cintāyāni</i>  | <i>cintāyāi</i>    |
| Opt.         | <i>cintāyeyam</i> | <i>cintāyeya</i>   |
| Pple.        | <i>çintāyant</i>  | <i>cintāyamāna</i> |
| Impf.        | <i>ācintayam</i>  | <i>ācintaye</i>    |

b. The inflection, of course, is the same with that of other forms from *a*-stems (733 a).

c. The middle participle, in the later language, is more often made with *āna* instead of *māna*: thus, *cintayāna*: see 1043 f.

### Uses of the Present and Imperfect.

776. The uses of the mode-forms of the present-system have been already briefly treated in the preceding chapter (572 ff.). The tense-uses of the two indicative tenses, present and imperfect, call here for only a word or two of explanation.

777. The present has, besides its strictly present use, the same subsidiary uses which belong in general to the tense: namely, the expression of habitual action, of future action, and of past action in lively narration.

a. Examples of future meaning are: *imāñ céd vā imé cinváte tāta evā no 'bhībhavanti* (ÇB.) *verily if these build this up, then they will straightway get the better of us*; *agnir ātmabhavam prādād yatra vāñchati nāīśadhañ* (MBh.) *Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhan should desire*; *svāgatañ te 'stu kiñ karomi tava* (R.) *welcome to thee; what shall I do for thee?*

b. Examples of past meaning are: *úttarā sūr ādharah putrá āsīd dānuḥ çaye sahvātsā ná dhenūḥ* (RV.) *the mother was over, the son under; there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf*; *prahasanti ca tāñ kecīd abhyasūyanti cā 'pare akurvata dayāñ kecīt* (MBh.) *some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her*; *tato yasya vacanāt tatrá 'valambitās tañ sarve tiraskurvanti* (H.) *thereupon they all fall to reproaching him by whose advice they had alighted there.*

778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:

a. With *purā* formerly: thus, *saptarṣīñ u ha sma vāī purā rkṣā ity ācakṣate* (ÇB.) *the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears*; *tanmātram api cen mahyañ na dadāti purā bhavāñ* (MBh.) *if you have never before given me even an atom.*

b. With the asseverative particle *sma*: thus, *çrámeṇa ha sma vāī tát devā jayanti yád eṣāñ jáyyam āsá rṣayaç ca* (ÇB.) *in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won*; *āviṣṭaḥ kalinā dyūte jīyate sma nalaś tadā* (MBh.) *then Nala, being possessed by Kali, was beaten in play.*

c. No example of this last construction is found in either RV. or AV., or elsewhere in the metrical parts of the Veda. In the Brāhmaṇas, only habitual action is expressed by it. At all periods of the language, the use of *sma* with a verb as pure asseverative particle, with no effect on the tense-meaning, is very common; and the examples later are hardly to be distinguished from the present of lively narration — of which the whole construction is doubtless a form.

779. The imperfect has remained unchanged in value through the whole history of the language: it is the tense of narration; it expresses simple past time, without any other implication.

a. Compare what is said later (end of chap. X. and chap. XI.) as to the value of the older past tenses, the perfect and aorist.



## CHAPTER X.

strong vs weak  
causes problems

## THE PERFECT-SYSTEM.

780. THE perfect-system in the later language, as has been seen above (535), consists only of an indicative tense and a participle — both of them in the two voices, active and middle.

a. In the oldest language, the perfect has also its modes and its augment-preterit, or pluperfect, or is not less full in its apparatus of forms than is the present-system (see 808 ff.).

781. The formation of the perfect is essentially alike in all verbs, differences among them being of only subordinate consequence, or having the character of irregularities. The characteristics of the formation are these:

1. a stem made by reduplication of the root;
2. a distinction between stronger and weaker forms of stem, the former being used (as in presents of the First or non-a-conjugation) in the singular active, the latter in all other persons;
3. endings in some respects peculiar, unlike those of the present;
4. the frequent use, especially in the later language, of a union-vowel  $\text{इ}$   $i$  between stem and endings.

782. Reduplication. In roots beginning with a consonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is of the same character with that which forms the present-stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (see 643) — but with this exception, that radical अ  $a$  and आ  $\bar{a}$  and इ  $i$  (or अर  $ar$ ) have only अ  $a$ , and never  $\text{इ}$   $i$ , as vowel of the reduplicating syllable: thus, from  $\sqrt{\text{प}} \text{ p}$   $\text{fall}$  comes the present-stem पिप्  $\text{pipr}$ , but the perfect-stem पपप्  $\text{papr}$ ; from  $\sqrt{\text{म}} \text{ m}$

मिप्  
मपप्

*measure* comes the present-stem मिमा *mimā*, but the perfect-stem ममा *mamā*; and so on.

a. Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, 784.

783. For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:

a. A root with initial अ *a* before a single final consonant repeats the अ *a*, which then fuses with the radical vowel to आ *ā* (throughout the whole inflection): thus, आद् *ād* from √अद् *ad eat*; and in like manner आञ् *āj*, आन् *ān*, आस् *ās*, आह् *āh*. The root ऋ *r* forms likewise throughout आर् *ār* (as if from अर् *ar*).

b. A root with इ *i* or उ *u* before a single final consonant follows the same analogy, except in the strong forms (sing. act.); here the vowel of the radical syllable has *guṇa*, becoming ए *e* or ओ *o*; and before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from √इष् *iṣ* comes इष् *iṣ* in weak forms, but इयेष् *īyeṣ* in strong; from √उच् *uc*, in like manner, come उच् *ūc* and उवोच् *uvoc*. The root इ *i*, a single vowel, also falls under this rule, and forms इय् *iy* (*y* added before a vowel) and इये *īye*.

c. Roots which begin with vowels long by nature or by position do not in general make a perfect-system, but use instead a periphrastic formation, in which the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb is added to the accusative of a verbal noun (see below, chap. XV.: 1070 ff.).

d. To this rule, however, √āp *obtain* (probably originally *ap*: 1087f) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem āp (as if from *ap*: above, a). Also are met with īdé (RV.) and īdire from √īd, and īiré (V.) from √īr.

e. For the peculiar reduplication ān, belonging to certain roots with initial vowels, see below, 788.

784. A number of roots beginning with *va* and ending with a single consonant, which in various of their verbal forms and derivatives abbreviate the *va* to *u*, do it also in the perfect, and are treated like roots with initial *u* (above, 783b), except that they retain

the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from *√vac speak* come *ūc* and *uvac*; from *√vas dwell* come *ūṣ* and *uvas*; and so on.

a. The roots showing this abbreviation are *vac*, *vap*, *vad*, *vaç*, *vas*, *vah*; and *vā weave* is said to follow the same rule.

b. A single root beginning with *ya*, namely *yaj offer*, has the same contraction, forming the stems *iyaj* and *ij*.

c. Occasional exceptions are met with: as, *vavāca* and *vavakṣé* (RV.); *vavāpa* and *vavāha* and *vavāhatus* (E. and later); *yejé* (V.).

785. A number of roots having *ya* after a first initial consonant take *i* (from the *y*) instead of *a* in the reduplicating syllable: thus, from *√vyac* comes *vivyac*; from *√pyā* comes *pipyā*.

a. These roots are *vyac*, *vyath*, *vyadh*, *vyā*, *pyā*, *syand*; and, in the Veda, also *tyaj*, with *cyu* and *dyu*, which have the root-vowel *u*. Other sporadic cases occur.

b. A single root with *va* is treated in the same way: namely *svap*, which forms *susvap*.

c. These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, 794.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

a. Thus, of roots reduplicating with *ā*: *kan*, *kīp*, *gṛdh*, *tṛp*, *tṛṣ*, *dṛh*, *dhṛ*, *dhṛṣ*, *nam*, *mah*, *mṛj*, *mṛç*, *ran*, *radh*, *rabh*, *vañc*, *van*, *vaç*, *vas clothe*, *vāç*, *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *vṛṣ*, *çad prevail*, *sah*, *skambh*. Some of these occur only in isolated cases; many have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but *dādhāra* is common also in the Brāhmaṇa language, and is even found later. As to *jāgr*, see 1020a.

b. Of roots reduplicating with *ī*: the so-called roots (676) *dīdhī* and *dīdī*, which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, *dīdétha*, *dīdāya*; *dīdhima*, *dīdhyus* (also *dīdhiyus*, *dīdiyus*). But *pīpī* has *pipye*, *pipyus*, etc., with short *i*. In AV. occurs once *jīhiḍa*, and in AB. (and AA.) *bībhāya*.

c. Of roots reduplicating with *ū*: *tu*, *jū*, and *çū* (or *çvā*).

787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative: 42) palatal mutes and aspiration show a reversion to the more original guttural in the radical syllable after the reduplication: thus, *√ci* forms *ciki*; *√cit* forms *cikit*; *√ji* forms *jigi*; *√hi* forms *jighi*; *√han* forms *jaghan* (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots: 2161). A root *dā protect* is said by the grammarians to form *digi*; but neither root nor perfect is quotable.

788. A small number of roots with initial *a* or *ṛ* (*ar*) show the anomalous reduplication *ān* in the perfect.

a. Thus (the forms occurring mainly in the older language only):

✓  
revers  
guna

√añj or aj, which forms the pres. anákti, has the perfect ānañ-ja and ānajé etc. (with anajā and anajyāt);

√aṣ attain (from which comes once in RV. anáṣamahāi), has the weak forms ānaṣma etc. (with opt. ānaṣyām), ānaṣé etc. (and LQS. has ānaṣadhve), and the strong forms ānāṣa and ānāṣa — along with the regular āṣa etc.;

√ṛdh (from which comes once ṛnádhat) has ānrđhús and ānrđhe;

√rc or arc has ānrćús and ānrćé, and later ānarca and ānarcus;

√arh has (in TS.) ānrđhús;

anāha (RV., once) has been referred to a root ah, elsewhere unknown, and explained as of this formation; but with altogether doubtful propriety.

b. The later grammar, then, sets up the rule that roots beginning with a and ending with more than one consonant have ān as their regular reduplication; and such perfects are taught from roots like akṣ, arj, and añc or ac; but the only other quotable forms appear to be ānarchat (MBh.) and ānarṣat (TA.); which are accordingly reckoned as "pluperfects".

789. One or two individual cases of irregularity are the following:

a. The extremely common root bhū be has the anomalous reduplication ba, forming the stem babhū; and, in the Veda, √sū forms in like manner sasū.

b. The root bhṛ bear has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication ja (as also in intensive: 1002); but RV. has once also the regular babhre, and pple babhrāṇá.

c. The root ṣṭhīṣ spew forms either tiṣṭhīṣ (ÇB. et al.) or ṭiṣṭhīṣ (not quotable).

d. Vivakvān (RV., once) is doubtless participle of √vac, with irregular reduplication (as in the present, 660).

790. Absence of reduplication is met with in some cases. Thus:

a. The root vid know has, from the earliest period to the latest, a perfect without reduplication, but otherwise regularly made and inflected: thus, véda, véttha, etc., pple vidváṇs. It has the meaning of a present. The root vid find forms the regular vivéda.

b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are takṣathus and takṣus, yamátus, skambhátus and skambhus, nindima (for ninidima?), dhīṣe and dhīre (P √dhā), and vidré and arhire (P see 613). And AV. VS. have cetatus. The participial words dāqvāṇs, mīdhvāṇs, sāhvāṇs are common in the oldest language; and RV. has once jānúṣas (√jñā), and khidvas (voc.), perhaps for cikhidvas.

c. A few sporadic cases also are quotable from the later language, especially from the epics: thus, karṣatus, ceṣṭa and ceṣṭatus, bhrā-jatus, sarpa, ṣaṇsus and ṣaṇsire, dhvaṇsire, sraṇsire, jalpire, edhire; also the pples ṣaṇsivāṇs and darṣivāṇs, the latter being not infrequent.

791. For an anomalous case or two of reduplicated preposition, see below, 1087 f.

792. Strong and weak stem-forms. In the three persons of the singular active, the root-syllable is accented, and exhibits usually a stronger form than in the rest of the tense-inflection. The difference is effected partly by strengthening the root in the three persons referred to, partly by weakening it in the others, partly by doing both.

793. As regards the strengthening:

a. A final vowel takes either the *guṇa* or *vr̥ddhi* change in 1st sing. act., *guṇa* in 2d, and *vr̥ddhi* in 3d: thus, from √भी *bhi*, 1st बिभे *bibhé* or बिभै *bibhāi*; 2d बिभे *bibhé*; 3d बिभै *bibhāi*; from √क्त् *kr̥*, 1st चकार *cakár* or चकार *cakār*, 2d चकार *cakár*, 3d चकार *cakār*.

b. But the *ū* of √bhū remains unchanged, and adds *v* before a vowel-ending: thus, *babhūva* etc.

c. Medial अ before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or *vr̥ddhi*ed in the 3d. sing., and optionally in the first: thus, from √तप् *tap*, 1st ततप् *tatáp* or तताप् *tatāp*, 2d ततप् *tatáp*, 3d तताप् *tatāp*.

d. In the earlier language, however, the weaker of the two forms allowed by these rules in the first person is almost exclusively in use: thus, 1st only *bibhāya*, *tatāpa*; 3d *bibhāya*, *tatāpa*. Exceptions are *cakāra* and *jagrāha* (doubtful reading) in AV., *cakāra* in AÇS. and BAU. (QB. *cakara*), *jigāya* in AÇS., as first persons.

e. A medial short vowel has in all three persons alike the *guṇa*-strengthening (where this is possible: 240): thus, from √दृह् *druh* comes दृद्रोह् *dudrôh*; from √विष् *viç* comes विवेष् *vivéç*; from √कृत् *kṛt* comes चकृत् *cakárt*.

f. An initial short vowel before a single final consonant is to be treated like a medial, but the quotable examples are very few: namely, *iyēṣa* from √िष् *seek*, *uvocitha* and *uvoca* from √uc, *uvoṣa* from √uṣ. As to roots *i* and *ṛ*, whose vowels are both initial and final, see above, 783 a, b.

g. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple *tha* as ending; if it has *itha* (below, 797 d),

the accent is allowed to fall on any one of the syllables of the word, and the root-syllable if unaccented has sometimes the weak form (namely, in contracted stems with *e* for medial *a*: below, 794e; and in certain other verbs, as *vivijitha*). The earlier language, however, affords no example of a 2d sing., whatever its ending, accented on any other than the radical syllable, or failing to conform to the rules of strengthening as given above (in *a*, *c*, *e*).

h. Occasional instances of strengthening in other than the singular persons are met with: thus, *yuyopima* and *viveçus* (RV.), *pasparçus* (KeU.), and, in the epics, *cakartus* and *cakartire*, *cakarçatus*, *jugū-hire*, *nanāmire*, *bibhedus*, *vavāhatus*, *viveçatus*, *vavarçus*. The roots *ḍṛ*, *pr*, and *çṛ*, and optionally *jṛ*, are said by the grammarians to have the strong stem in weak forms; but no examples appear to be quotable. AV., however, has once *jaharus* (probably a false reading); and in the later language occur *caskare* (*√kr* scatter) and *tastare*.

i. The root *mṛj* has (as in the present-system: 627) *ṛddhi* instead of *guṇa* in strong forms: thus, *māmārja*; and *√guh* (also as in present: 745c) has *ū* instead of *o* (but also *juguhe* E.).

794. As regards the weakening in weak forms:

a. It has been seen above (783b) that roots beginning with *i* or *u* fuse reduplicating and radical syllable together to *ī* or *ū* in the weak forms; and (784) that roots contracting *va* and *ya* to *u* or *i* in the reduplication do it also in the root in weak forms, the two elements here also coalescing to *ū* or *ī*.

b. A few roots having *ya* and *va* after a first initial consonant, and reduplicating from the semivowel (785), contract the *ya* and *va* to *i* and *u*: thus, *vivic* from *√vyac*, *vividh* from *√vyadh* (but *vivyadhus* MBh.), *suçup* from *√svap*. The extended roots *jyā*, *pyā*, *vyā*, *çvā*, *hvā* show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots *jī*, *pī*, *vī*, *çū*, *hū*, while *hvā* must and *çvā* may get their strong forms also from the same (and only *jijyāū* is quotable from the others).

c. The root *grabh* or *grah* (if it be written thus: see 729a) contracts to *grh*, making the three forms of stem *jagrāh* (1st and 2d sing. act.), *jagrāh* (3d), and *jagṛh*; but *prach* (if it be so written: see 756a) remains unchanged throughout.

d. Some roots omit in weak forms of this tense, or in some of them, a nasal which is found in its strong forms: thus, we have *cakradé* etc. (RV.) from *√krand*; *tatasré* (RV.) from *√tañs*; *dadaçvāñs* (RV.) from *√dañç*; *bedhús*, *bedhé*, etc. (AV.) from *√bandh*; *sejus* (ÇB.) from *√sañj*; *caskabhāná* (AV.) from *√skambh*; *tastabhús* etc. (V.), *tastabhāná* (V.B.), from *√stambh*. Compare also 788a.

e. A number of roots having medial *a* between single consonants drop that vowel. These are, in the later language, *gam*, *khan*, *jan*,

han, ghas; they form the weak stems jagm, cakhn, jajñ, jaghn (compare 637), jakṣ (compare 640): but RV. has once jajanús.

f. In the old language are found in like manner mamnāthe and mamnāte from √man; vavné from √van; tatne, tatniṣe, tatnire from √tan (beside tatane, and tate, as if from √tā); paptimā and paptús and paptivāñs from √pat (beside pet-forms; below, g); papné from √pan; saçcima and saçcus, saçce and saçcisé, from √sac.

g. Roots in general having medial a before a single final consonant, and beginning also with a single consonant that is repeated unchanged in the reduplication — that is, not an aspirate, a guttural mute, or h — contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having e as its vowel: thus, √sad forms the weak stem sed, √pac forms pec, √yam forms yem; and so on.

h. Certain roots not having the form here defined are declared by the grammarians to undergo the same contraction — most of them optionally; and examples of them are in general of very rare occurrence. They are as follows: rāj (E.C.) and rādh (radh?), notwithstanding their long vowel; phap, phal (phelire C.), bhaj (occurs from RV. down), though their initial is changed in reduplication; trap, tras (tresus E.C.), çrath, syam, svan, though they begin with more than one consonant; dambh (debhús, RV., from the weaker dabh), though it ends with more than one; and bhram (bhremus etc. KSS.), bhrāj, granth, svañj, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary. And ÇB. has sejus from √sañj, and KB. has çremus from √çram. On the other hand, RV. has once rarabh-má, and R. has papatus, for petus, from √pat.

i. This contraction is allowed also in 2d sing. act. when the ending is itha: thus, tenitha beside tatantha (but no examples are quotable from the older language).

j. The roots çaç and dad (from dā: 672) are said to reject the contraction; but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.

k. From √tṛ (or tar) occurs terus (R.); and jerus from √jṛ is authorized by the grammarians — both against the general analogy of roots in ṛ.

l. Roots ending in ā lose their ā before all endings beginning with a vowel, including those endings that assume the union-vowel i (796) — unless in the latter case it be preferred to regard the i as a weakened form of the ā.

795. Endings, and their union with the stem. The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (553 c); an dit has also been pointed out (543 a) that roots ending in आ ā have औ āu in 1st and 3d sing. active.

a. The ending *mas* instead of *ma* is found in *ḡuḡumas* (E.C.). For the alleged occurrence of *ḡhve* instead of *dhve* in 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant — namely *थ* *tha*, *व* *va*, *म* *ma* in active; *से* *se*, *वहे* *vahe*, *महे* *mahe*, *धे* *dhve*, *रे* *re* in middle — are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel *इ* *i*.

a. The union-vowel *i* is found widely used also in other parts of the general verbal system: namely, in the sibilant aorist, the futures, and the verbal nouns and adjectives (as also in other classes of derivative stems). In the later language, a certain degree of correspondence is seen among the different parts of the same verb, as regards their use or non-use of the connective; but this correspondence is not so close that general rules respecting it can be given with advantage; and it will be best to treat each formation by itself.

b. The perfect is the tense in which the use of *i* has established itself most widely and firmly in the later language.

797. The most important rules as to the use of *इ* *i* in the later language are as follows:

a. The *रे* *re* of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except *थ* *tha* of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

c. But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely *kr* *make*, *bhṛ* *bear*, *sṛ* *go*, *vṛ* *choose*, *dru* *run*, *ḡru* *hear*, *stu* *praise*, *sru* *flow*; and it is allowably (not usually) rejected by some others, in general accordance with their usage in other formations.

d. In 2d sing. act., it is rejected not only by the eight verbs just given, but also by many others, ending in vowels or in consonants, which in other formations have no *इ* *i*; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, including those in *आ* *ā* (of which the *आ* *ā* is lost when the ending is *इथ* *itha*), and most of those in *इ* *i*, *ई* *ī*, and *उ* *u*.

e. The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of *tha* or *itha*, run out into infinite detail, and are not wholly consistent with one another; and, as the forms are very infrequent, it is not possible to criticise the statements made, and to tell how far they are founded on the facts of usage.



f. With this *i*, a final radical *i* or *ī* is not combined, but changed into *y* or *iy*. The *ū* of *√bhū* becomes *ūv* throughout before a vowel.

798. In the older language, the usage is in part quite otherwise. Thus:

a. In the RV., the union-vowel *i* is taken by roots ending in consonants provided the last syllable of the stem is a heavy one, but not otherwise: thus, *āsitha*, *uvōcitha*, *vivēditha*, but *tatānthā* and *vivyāktha*; *ūcimā*, *paptima*, *sedima*, *yuyopimā*, but *jaganma*, *jaḡrbhmā*, *yuyujma*; *ūciśé*, *jajñiśé*, *sasāhiśé*, but *vivitse* and *dadṛkśé*; *bubhujmāhe* and *çāçadmahe* etc. (no examples of *ivahe* or *imahe* chance to occur, nor any of either *idhve* or *dhve*); *ijiré*, *jajñiré*, *yetiré*, *tataksiré*, but *cākṣpré*, *vividré*, *duduhré*, *pasṣṛdhré*, *tatasré* (and so on: twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV. is *véttha* from *√vid*, without *i* (in Br., also *āttha* from *√ah*: below, 801 a). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brāhmaṇas 3d pl. forms in *ire* are made after light syllables also: thus, *saṣṛjire*, *bubudhire*, *yuyujire*, *rurudhire*.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more nearly like the later. Thus: for roots in *ā* the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing. in *itha* is met with), as *dadhimā*, *dadhiśé*, *dadhidhvé*, *dadhiré* (the only persons with *i* quotable from RV. and AV.; and RV. has *dadhre* twice); — roots in *ṛ* appear also to follow the later rule: as *cakṛśé*, *papṛśé*, *vavṛśé*, *vavṛmāhe*, but *dadhriśé* and *jabhriśé*, and in 3d pl. mid. both *cakriré* and *dadhrire*; — *√bhū* has both *babhūtha* (usually) and *babhūvitha*, but only *babhūvimā* (AV.). But there are found, against the later rules, *suşuma*, *cicyuṣé*, *juhuré*, and *juhūré*, without *i*: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending *riré* of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, *cikitrire*, *jaḡrbhriré*, *dadrire*, *bubhujriré*, *vividrire*, *saṣṛjire*; to which SV. adds *duduhrire*, and TB. *dadṛçrere*.

800. Examples of inflection. By way of illustration of the rules given above may be given in full the perfect indicative inflection of the following verbs:

a. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final consonant, we take the root *बुध्* *budh* *know*: its strong form of perfect-stem is *बुबोध्* *bubódh*; weak form, *बुबुध्* *bubudh*.

| active. |           |          | middle. |           |            |
|---------|-----------|----------|---------|-----------|------------|
| s.      | d.        | p.       | s.      | d.        | p.         |
| 1 बुबोध | बुबुधिव   | बुबुधिम् | बुबुधे  | बुबुधिवहे | बुबुधिम्हे |
| bubódha | bubudhivá | -dhimá   | bubudhé | -dhiváhe  | -dhimáhe   |

1 - a - ima

2 - itha - a

3 - a - is

|   |                       |                      |                   |                       |                     |                      |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| 2 | बुबोधिथ<br>bubódhitha | बुबुधुस्<br>-dháthus | बुबुध<br>-dhá     | बुबुधिषे<br>bubudhiṣé | बुबुधाथे<br>-dháthe | बुबुधिधे<br>-dhidhvé |
| 3 | बुबोध<br>bubódha      | बुबुधतुस्<br>-dhátus | बुबुधुस्<br>-dhús | बुबुधे<br>bubudhé     | बुबुधाते<br>-dháte  | बुबुधिरे<br>-dhiré   |

b. The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing. act. (above, 793 g) needs to be noted both in this and in the remaining paradigms.

c. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final i or u-vowel, we may take the root नी *nī* lead: its forms of stem are निनय् *nináy* or निनाय् *nináy*, and निनी *ninī*.

|   |  |                               |                           |                            |                               |                               |
|---|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | निनय, निनाय<br><i>nináya, nināya</i>       | निन्यिव<br><i>ninyivá</i>     | निन्यिम<br><i>ninyimá</i> | निन्ये<br><i>ninyé</i>     | निन्यिवहे<br><i>ninyiváhe</i> | निन्यिमहे<br><i>ninyimáhe</i> |
| 2 | निनैथ, निनयिथ<br><i>ninétha, nináyitha</i> | निन्यथुस्<br><i>ninyáthus</i> | निन्या<br><i>ninyá</i>    | निन्यिषे<br><i>ninyiṣé</i> | निन्याथे<br><i>ninyáthe</i>   | निन्यिधे<br><i>ninyidhvé</i>  |
| 3 | निनाय<br><i>nináya</i>                     | निन्यतुस्<br><i>ninyátus</i>  | निन्युस्<br><i>ninyús</i> | निन्ये<br><i>ninyé</i>     | निन्याते<br><i>ninyáte</i>    | निन्यिरे<br><i>ninyiré</i>    |

d. The root *kri* would make (129 a) in weak forms *cikriyivá*, *cikriyátus*, *cikriyús*, etc.; and *√bhū* is inflected as follows in the active (middle forms not quotable):

|   |                             |                    |                  |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| 1 | <i>babhūva</i>              | <i>babhūvivá</i>   | <i>babhūvimá</i> |
| 2 | <i>babhūtha, babhūvitha</i> | <i>babhūváthus</i> | <i>babhūvá</i>   |
| 3 | <i>babhūva</i>              | <i>babhūvátus</i>  | <i>babhūvús</i>  |

Other roots in *ū* or *u* change this to *uv* before the initial vowel of an ending.

e. As example of the inflection of a root ending in *ā*, we may take दा *dā* give: its forms of stem are ददा *dadā* and दद *dad* (or ददि *dadi*: see above, 7941).

|   |                                       |                           |                       |                        |                           |                           |
|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | ददौ<br><i>dadāu</i>                   | ददिव<br><i>dadivá</i>     | ददिम<br><i>dadimá</i> | ददे<br><i>dadé</i>     | ददिवहे<br><i>dadiváhe</i> | ददिमहे<br><i>dadimáhe</i> |
| 2 | ददाथ, ददिथ<br><i>dadātha, dadithá</i> | ददथुस्<br><i>dadáthus</i> | ददा<br><i>dadá</i>    | ददिषे<br><i>dadiṣé</i> | ददाथे<br><i>dadáthe</i>   | ददिधे<br><i>dadidhvé</i>  |
| 3 | ददौ<br><i>dadāu</i>                   | ददतुस्<br><i>dadátus</i>  | ददुस्<br><i>dadús</i> | ददे<br><i>dadé</i>     | ददाते<br><i>dadáte</i>    | ददिरे<br><i>dadiré</i>    |

f. The RV. has once *paprā* for *paprāu* (and *jahā* for *jahāu*?).

g. As example of a root with medial **अ** showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial **ए**, in the weak forms (794g), we may take **तन्** *tan stretch*: its forms of stem are **ततन्** *tatán* or **ततान्** *tatán*, and **तेन्** *ten*.

|   |                   |          |        |        |          |          |
|---|-------------------|----------|--------|--------|----------|----------|
| 1 | ततन्, ततान        | तेनिव    | तेनिम  | तेने   | तेनिवहे  | तेनिमहे  |
|   | tatána, tatána    | tenivá   | tenimá | tené   | teniváhe | tenimáhe |
| 2 | ततन्थ, तेनिथ      | तेनथुस्  | तेन    | तेनिषे | तेनाथे   | तेनिधे   |
|   | tatántha, tenithá | tenáthus | tená   | tenişé | tenáthe  | tenidhvé |
| 3 | ततान              | तेनतुस्  | तेनुस् | तेने   | तेनाते   | तेनिरे   |
|   | tatána            | tenátus  | tenús  | tené   | tenáte   | teniré   |

h. The root **jan**, with the others which expel medial **अ** in weak forms (794e), makes **जान्** *jantha* or **जान्थ** *jantha*, **जान्** *jantha*, **जान्** *jantha*; **जान्** *jantha*, **जान्** *jantha*; and so on.

i. As example of a root with initial **व** *va* contracted to **उ** *u* in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to **ऊ** *ū* in weak forms (784), we may take **वच्** *vac speak*: its forms of stem are **उवच्** *uvác* or **उवाच्** *uvác*, and **ऊच्** *ūc*.

|   |                   |         |       |       |         |         |
|---|-------------------|---------|-------|-------|---------|---------|
| 1 | उवच्, उवाच        | ऊचिव    | ऊचिम  | ऊचे   | ऊचिवहे  | ऊचिमहे  |
|   | uváca, uváca      | ūcivá   | ūcimá | ūcé   | ūciváhe | ūcimáhe |
| 2 | उवक्थ, उवचिथ      | ऊचथुस्  | ऊच    | ऊचिषे | ऊचाथे   | ऊचिधे   |
|   | uváktha, uvácitha | ūcáthus | ūcá   | ūcişé | ūcáthe  | ūcidhvé |
| 3 | उवाच              | ऊचतुस्  | ऊचुस् | ऊचे   | ऊचाते   | ऊचिरे   |
|   | uváca             | ūcátus  | ūcús  | ūcé   | ūcáte   | ūciré   |

j. In like manner, **यज** forms **यिजा** or **यिजा**, **यिजा** or **यिजा**; **यिजा**, **यिजा**, and so on; **युज** has **युवाच** and **युवाचि** in the strong forms, and all the rest like **वच्**.

k. Of the four roots in **ऋ** *r* mentioned at 797c, the inflection is as follows:

|   |                |           |         |        |          |          |
|---|----------------|-----------|---------|--------|----------|----------|
| 1 | चक्र, चकार     | चकृव      | चक्रम   | चक्रे  | चकृवहे   | चक्रमहे  |
|   | cakára, cakára | cakṛvá    | cakṛmá  | cakré  | cakṛváhe | cakṛmáhe |
| 2 | चक्रथ          | चक्रथुस्  | चक्र    | चकृषे  | चक्राथे  | चक्रधे   |
|   | cakártha       | cakráthus | cakrá   | cakṛşé | cakráthe | cakṛdhvé |
| 3 | चकार           | चक्रतुस्  | चक्रुस् | चक्रे  | चक्राते  | चक्रिरे  |
|   | cakára         | cakrátus  | cakrús  | cakré  | cakráte  | cakriré  |

1. Of the roots in ऋ ण in general, the first persons are made as follows:

|   |      |      |     |        |        |
|---|------|------|-----|--------|--------|
| 1 दधर, दधार   | दधिव | दधिम | दधे | दधिवहे | दधिमहे |
| dadhára, dadhāra dadhrivá dadhrimá dadhré dadhriváhe dadhrimáhe |      |      |     |        |        |

m. We may further add here, finally, the active inflection (the middle is not in use) of the perfect of *as be*, which (like *babhūva* and *cakāra*, given above) is frequently employed as an auxiliary.

|          |         |       |
|----------|---------|-------|
| 1 āsa    | āsivá   | āsimá |
| 2 āsitha | āsáthus | āsá   |
| 3 āsa    | āsátus  | āsús  |

801. A few miscellaneous irregularities call still for notice:

a. The root *ah speak* occurs only in the perfect indicative, and only in the 3d persons of all numbers and in the 2d sing. and du., in active (and in 2d sing. the *h* is irregularly changed to *t* before the ending): thus, *āttha*, *āha*; *āhathus*, *āhatus*; *āhús* (in V., only *āha* and *āhús* are met with).

b. From *√vā weave*, the 3d pl. act. *ūvus* occurs in RV., and no other perfect form appears to have been met with in use. It is allowed by the grammarians to be inflected regularly as *vā*; and also as *vay* (the present-stem is *váya*: 761 f), with contraction of *va* to *u* in weak forms; and further, in the weak forms, as simple *u*.

c. The root *vyā envelop* has in RV. the perfect-forms *vivyathus* and *vivyé*, and no others have been met with in use; the grammarians require the strong forms to be made from *vyay*, and the weak from *vī*.

d. The root *i go* forms in RV. and AV. the 2d sing. act. *iyátha* beside the regular *iyétha*; and beside *īriré* from *√ír*, RV. has several times *eriré*.

e. RV. has an anomalous accent in *dádr̥çe* and *dádr̥çre* (beside *dadr̥k̐sé*) and the pple *dádr̥çāna*. And *cíketa* (once, beside *cikéta*) is perhaps a kindred anomaly.

f. Persons of the perfect from the *ir*-forms of roots in changeable ण (242) are *titirus* and *tistire* (both RV.); and they have corresponding participles.

g. The bastard root *ūr̥ṇu* (713) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem *ūr̥ṇunu*; the roots *majj* and *naç* are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing. active, when the ending is simple *tha*: thus, *ma-maṅktha*, *nanaṅṣtha* (also *mamajjitha* and *neçitha*).

h. Further may be noted *sasajjatus* (MBh.: *√sañj*, which has in passive the secondary form *sajj*), *rurundhatus* (R.), and *dudūhus* (BhP).

i. The anomalous *ajagrabhāṣam* (AB. vi. 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for *ajigrabhāṣan*, desid.?).

## Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is वास् *vāns* (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उष् *uṣ* in the weakest, and replaced by वत् *vát* in the middle forms: see above, 458 ff.). It is added to the weak form of the perfect stem — as shown, for example, in the dual and plural of the active inflection of the given verb; and, mechanically, the weakest participle-stem is identical with the 3d pl. active. Thus, बुबुधास् *bubudhvāns*, निनीवास् *ninivāns*, चक्रवास् *cakṛvāns*.

803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel इ *i* (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तेनिवास् *tenivāns*, ऊचिवास् *ūcivāns*, जज्ञिवास् *jajñivāns*, आदिवास् *ādivāns* (from √अद् *ad*: 783a), and so on; ददिवास् *dadivāns* and its like, from roots in आ *ā*, are to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view the इ *i* as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (7941).

a. But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, *vidvāns*, and in V., *dāqvāns* (SV. *dāqivāns*), *miḍhvāns*, *sāhvāns*, *khidvāns* (?); and RV. has also *dadvāns* (AV. *dadivāns* and once *dadāvāns*) from √दा *dā* (or *dad*: 672); and *án-āqvāns* (√अच् *eat*) occurs in TS. and TB. But AV. has *viqivāns* and *varjivāns* (in negative fem. *ávarjuṣī*).

804. Other Vedic irregularities calling for notice are few. The long vowel of the reduplication (786) appears in the participle as in the indicative: thus, *vāvṛdhvāns*, *sāsavhvāns*, *jūjuvāns*. RV. and AV. have *sasavāns* from √सान् *sā*. RV. makes the participial forms of √तृ *or tar* from different modifications of the root: thus, *titirvāns*, but *tataruṣas*. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 462c.

805. a. From roots *gam* and *han* the Veda makes the strong stems *jaganvāns* (as to the *n*, see 212a) and *jaghanvāns*; the later language allows either these or the more regular *jagmivāns* and *jaghnivāns* (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere *jagmūṣ* and *jaghnūṣ*). RV. has also *tatanvāns*.

b. From three roots, *vid find*, *viç*, and *drç*, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, *viviçivāṁs* or *viviçvāṁs*; *dadṛçivāṁs* occurs in KṛthU. PB. has once *cicchidivāṁs*.

806. The ending of the middle participle is *ānā*. It is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, बुबुधान *bubudhānā*, निन्यान *ninyānā*, ददान *dadānā*, तेनान *tenānā*, जज्ञान *jajñānā*, उचान *ucānā*.

a. In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, *vāvṛdhānā*, *vāvasānā*, *dādṛhānā*, *tūtujānā*, etc. RV. has *çaçayānā* from *ṽçī* (with irregular *guṇa*, as in the present-system: 629); *tistirānā* from *ṽstṛ*; and once, with *māna*, *sasṛmānā* from *ṽsṛ*. A few participles with long redupl. vowel have it irregularly accented (as if rather intensive: 1013): thus, *tūtujāna* (also *tūtujānā*), *bābadhāna*, *çāçadāna*, *çūçujāna*, *çūçuvāna*.

807. In the later language, the perfect participles have nearly gone out of use; even the active appears but rarely, and is made from very few verbs, and of the middle hardly any examples are quotable, save such as the proper name *yuyudhāna*, the adjective *anūcāna* *learned in scripture*, etc.

### Modes of the Perfect.

808. Modes of the perfect belong only to the Vedic language, and even are seldom found outside of the Rīg-Veda.

a. To draw the line surely and distinctly between these and the mode-forms from other reduplicated tense-stems — the present-stem of the reduplicating class, the reduplicated aorist, and the intensive — is not possible, since no criterion of form exists which does not in some cases fail, and since the general equivalence of modal forms from all stems (582), and the common use of the perfect as a present in the Veda (823), deprive us of a criterion of meaning. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that a considerable body of forms are to be reckoned here; optatives like *ānaçyām* and *babhūyās* and *babhūyāt*, imperatives like *babhūtu*, subjunctives like *jabhārat*, show such distinctive characteristics of the perfect formation that by their analogy other similar words are confidently classed as belonging to the perfect.

809. The normal method of making such forms would appear to be as follows: from a reduplicated perfect-stem, as (for example) *mumuc*, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be *mumóca* (accented after the analogy of the strong forms

of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be *mumucyā* in the active, and *mumucī* (accent on personal endings) in the middle.

And the great majority of the forms in question (about three quarters) are made in these ways. Thus:

**810.** Examples of the regular subjunctive formation are:

a. with secondary endings, active: 2d sing., *paprāthas*, *cākānas*, *māmāhas*, *piprāyas*, *bubodhas*, *rārāpas*; 3d sing., *cākānat*, *jabhārat*, *rārānat*, *sāsāhat*, *paspārçat*, *piprāyat*; 1st pl., *cākānāma*, *tatānāma*, *çūçāvāma*; 3d pl., *tatānan*, *paprāthan* (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only *dadhārçati* and *vavārtati*: compare the formation with different accent below, 811a.

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. *tatāpate*, *çaçāmate*, *yuyójate*, *jújóçate* (SV.; RV. has *jújóçate*); and the 3d pl. *cākānanta*, *tatānanta* (and perhaps two or three others: below, 811b, end).

**811.** But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur; thus:

a. With strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, 645). Here the forms with primary endings, active, preponderate, and are not very rare: for example, *jújóçasi*, *jújóçati*, *jújóçathas*, *jújóçatha* (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, *jújóças*, *jújóçat*, and *jújóçan* are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since *dádāças* and *sūsūdas* etc. are perhaps rather aorists). And there is no middle form but *jújóçate* (RV.: see above, 810c).

b. With unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accented on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, *mumucas*; *vavṛtat*, *vividat*, *çūçuvat*; the only middle forms are *dadhṛçate*, *vāvṛdhate*, 3d sing.; and *cākramanta*, *dádḥṛçanta*, *rúrucanta* (with *dadabhanta*, *paprathanta*, *māmahanta*, *juhuranta*, which might also belong elsewhere: 810c).

c. Accented on the ending are *vāvṛdhānta* and *cakṛpānta* (which are rather to be called augmentless pluperfects).

d. As to forms with double mode-sign, or transfers to an a-conjugation, see below, 815.

**812.** Examples of the regular optative formation are:

a. In active: 1st sing., *ānaçyām*, *jagamyām*, *papṛeyām*, *riricyām*; 2d sing., *vavṛtyās*, *viviçyās*, *çuçrūyās*, *babhūyās*; 3d sing., *jagamyāt*, *vavṛtyāt*, *tutuyāt*, *babhūyāt*; 2d du., *jagmyātam*, *çuçrūyātam*; 1st pl., *sāsahyāma*, *vavṛtyāma*, *çuçuyāma*; 3d pl., *tatanyus*, *vavṛjyús*, *vavṛtyus*. The forms are quite numerous.

b. In middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing, *vavṛtiya*; 2d sing., *vāvṛdhithās*, *cakṣamithās*; 3d sing., *jagrasīta*, *vavṛtita*, *māmrjita*, *dudhuvita*, *çuçucita*; 1st pl., *vavṛtimahi*. And *sāsa-hiṣṭhās* and *ririṣiṣṭa* appear to furnish examples of precative optative forms.

c. There is no irregular mode of formation of perfect optatives. Individual irregularities are shown by certain forms: thus, *cakriyās*, *papiyāt*, *çuçrūyās* and *çuçrūyātām*, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign *yā* (770); *anajyāt* with short initial; *çiçṛitā* from *ṽçri*; *jakṣiyāt* is anomalous: *ririṣes* is the only form that shows a union-vowel *a* (unless also *siṣet*, from *ṽsā*).

813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted: namely, active, *cākandhi*, *rārandhī*, *cikiddhi*, *titigdhi*, *mumugdhī*, *çuçugdhī*, and *piprihī*; *cākantu*, *rārantu*, *mumoktu*, and *babhūtu*; *mumuktam* and *vavṛktam*; *jujuṣṭana* and *vavṛttana* (unless we are to add *mamaddhī*, *mamattu*, *mamāttana*); — middle, *vavṛtsva* and *vavṛddhvam*. AV. has once *dadṛçrām*.

814. As irregular imperatives may be reckoned several which show a union-vowel *a*, or have been transferred to an *a*-conjugation. Such are, in the active, *mumócatam* and *jujoṣatam* (2d du.), and *mumócata* (2d pl.); in the middle, *pipráyasva* (only one found with accent), and *māmahasva*, *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛṣasva* (2d sing.), and *māmahantām* (3d pl.: probably to be accented *-āsva* and *-ántām*).

815. Such imperatives as these, taken in connection with some of the subjunctives given above (and a few of the "pluperfect" forms: below, 820), suggest as plausible the assumption of a double present-stem, with reduplication and added *a* (with which the desiderative stems would be comparable: below, 1026 ff.): for example, *jujoṣa* from *ṽjuṣ*, from which would come *jújoṣasi* etc. and *jújoṣate* (811a) as indicative, *jújoṣas* etc. as subjunctively used augmentless imperfect, and *jujoṣatam* as imperative. Most of the forms given above as subjunctives with primary ending lack a marked and constant subjunctive character, and would pass fairly well as indicatives. And it appears tolerably certain that from one root at least, *ṽṛdh*, such a double stem is to be recognized; from *vāvṛdha* come readily *vāvṛdhate*, *vāvṛdhánta*, and from it alone can come regularly *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛdhéte* and *vāvṛdhāti* (once, RV.) — and, yet more, the participle *vavṛdhánt* (RV.; AV. *vāvṛdhánt*: an isolated case): yet even here we have also *vāvṛdhithās*, not *vāvṛdhéthās*. To assume double present-stems, however, in all the cases would be highly implausible; it is better to recognize the formation as one begun, but not carried out.

a. Only one other subjunctive with double mode-sign — namely, *papṛcāsi* — is found to set beside *vāvṛdhāti*.

816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from *ṽmuc*, the subjunctives *mumócas*, *múmo-*



cati, and mumucas; from  $\sqrt{\text{dhr̥ṣ}}$ , dadhárṣati and dadhṛṣate; from  $\sqrt{\text{pr̥i}}$ , the imperatives piprihí and pipráyasva.

### Pluperfect.

**817.** Of an augment-preterit from the perfect-stem, to which the name of pluperfect is given on the ground of its formation (though not of its meaning), the Veda presents a few examples; and one or two forms of the later language (mentioned above, 788 b) have also been referred to it.

a. There is much of the same difficulty in distinguishing the pluperfect as the perfect modes from kindred reduplicated formations. Between it and the aorist, however, a difference of meaning helps to make a separation.

**818.** The normal pluperfect should show a strong stem in the singular active, and a weak one elsewhere — thus, *mumoc* and *mumuc* — with augment prefixed and secondary endings added (*us* in 3d pl. act., *ata* in 3d pl. mid.).

a. Of forms made according to this model, we have, in the active: 1st sing., *ajagrabham* and *acacakaṣam* (which, by its form, might be aorist: 860); 2d sing. *ajagan*; 3d sing., *ajagan* and *aciket*; 2d du., *amumuktam*; 2d pl. *ajaganta*, and *ajagantana* and *ajabhartana* (a strong form, as often in this person: 556 a); 3d pl. (perhaps), *ama-mandus* and *amamadus*. To these may be added the augmentless *cākān* and *rārān*, *cikētam* and *cakaram*. In the middle, the 3d pl. *acakrīran* and *ajagmīran* (with *iran* instead of *ata*), and the augmentless 2d sing. *jugūrthās* and *suṣupthās*, are the most regular forms to be found.

**819.** Several forms from roots ending in consonants save the endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. by inserting an *ī* (555 b): thus, *ábubhojīs*, *aviveçīs*; *arirecīt*, *ajagrabhīt* (*avāvarīt* and *avāvaçītām* are rather intensives); and the augmentless *jīhiṁsis* (accent?) and *dadharṣīt* belong with them.

**820.** A few forms show a stem ending in *a*: they are, in the active: 3d sing., *asasvajat*, *acikitat*, *acakrat*; in the middle: 3d sing., *āpip-rata*; 2d du., *āpaspr̥dhethām*; 3d pl., *atitviṣanta* (which by its form might be aorist), *ādadh̥ranta*; and *cakradat*, *cakr̥pānta*, *vāv̥r̥dhānta*, *juhuranta*, would perhaps be best classified here as augmentless forms (compare 811, above).

### Uses of the Perfect.

**821.** Perfects are quotable as made from more than half the roots of the language, and they abound in use at every period and in almost all branches of the literature, though not always with the same value.

a. According to the Hindu grammarians, the perfect is used in the

narration of facts not witnessed by the narrator; but there is no evidence of its being either exclusively or distinctively so employed at any period.

b. In the later language, it is simply a preterit or past tense, equivalent with the imperfect, and freely interchangeable or coördinated with it. It is on the whole less common than the imperfect, although the preferences of different authors are diverse, and it sometimes exceeds the imperfect in frequency (compare §27).

c. The perfects *veda* and *āha* are everywhere used with present value. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, also others, especially *dādhāra*, also *dīdāya*, *bibhāya*, etc.

§22. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, the distinction of tense-value between perfect and imperfect is almost altogether lost, as in the later language. But in most of the texts the imperfect is the ordinary tense of narration, the perfect being only exceptionally used. Thus in PB., the imperfects are to the perfects as more than a hundred to one; in the *Brāhmaṇa* parts of TS. and TB., as over thirty-four to one; and in those of MS. in about the same proportion; in AB., as more than four to one, the perfect appearing mostly in certain passages, where it takes the place of imperfect. It is only in ÇB. that the perfect is much more commonly used, and even, to a considerable extent, in coördination with the imperfect. Throughout the *Brāhmaṇas*, however, the perfect participles have in general the true "perfect" value, indicating a completed or proximate past.

§23. In the Veda, the case is very different. The perfect is used as past tense in narration, but only rarely; sometimes also it has a true "perfect" sense, or signifies a completed or proximate past (like the aorist of the older language: §28); but oftenest it has a value hardly or not at all distinguishable in point of time from the present. It is thus the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present; and it occurs coördinated with them all.

a. Examples are: of perfect with present, *ná çrāmyanti ná ví muñcanty éte váyo ná paptuḥ* (RV.) *they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds*; *sé 'd u rájā kṣayati carṣaṇínām arān ná nemíḥ pári tã babbhūva* (RV.) *he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes*; — of perfect with aorist, *úpo ruruce yuvatír ná yóṣā... ábhūd agníḥ samídhe mānuṣāṇām ákar jyótír bādh- amānā támāñsi* (RV.) *she is come beaming like a young maiden; Agni hath appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving away the darkness*; — of perfect with imperfect, *áhann áhim ánv apás ta- tarda* (RV.) *he slew the dragon, he penetrated to the waters*. Such a coördination as this last is of constant occurrence in the later language: e. g. *mumude 'pūjayac cāi 'nām* (R.) *he was glad, and paid honor to her*; *vastrānte jagrāha skandhadeçe 'sṛjat tasya srajam* (MBh.) *she took hold of the end of his garment, and dropped a garland on his shoulders*.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE AORIST SYSTEMS.

824. UNDER the name of aorist are included (as was pointed out above, 532) three quite distinct formations, each of which has its sub-varieties: namely —

I. A SIMPLE AORIST (equivalent to the Greek "second aorist"), analogous in all respects as to form and inflection with the imperfect. It has two varieties: 1. the root-aorist, with a tense-stem identical with the root (corresponding to an imperfect of the root-class); 2. the a-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in अ á, or with union-vowel अ a before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the á-class).

II. 3. A REDUPLICATING AORIST, perhaps in origin identical with an imperfect of the reduplicating class, but having come to be separated from it by marked peculiarities of form. It usually has a union-vowel अ a before the endings, or is inflected like an imperfect of one of the a-classes; but a few forms occur in the Veda without such vowel.

III. A SIGMATIC OR SIBILANT AORIST (corresponding to the Greek "first aorist"), having for its tense-sign अ s added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary इ i; its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel अ a; a very few roots also are increased by स s for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel अ a before endings: 4. s-aorist, with स s alone added to the root; 5. is-aorist, the same with interposed इ i; 6. sis-aorist, the same as the preceding with स s added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel अ a, 7. sa-aorist.

825. All these varieties are bound together and made into a single complex system by certain correspondences of form and meaning. Thus, in regard to form, they are all alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply preterits, exchangeable with imperfects and perfects, they all alike have in the older language the general value of a completed past or "perfect", translatable by *have done* and the like.

826. The aorist-system is a formation of infrequent occurrence in much of the classical Sanskrit (its forms are found, for example, only twenty-one times in the Nala, eight in the Hitopadeśa, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gītā and Çakuntalā, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2600 lines, of the Rāmāyaṇa: compare 927b), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 579; and the so-called precative: see 921 ff.); in the older language, on the other hand, it is quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.

827. a. In the RV., nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms, of one or another class; in the AV., rather less than one third; and in the other texts of the older language comparatively few aorists occur which are not found in these two.

b. More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make aorist forms of more than one class (not taking into account the reduplicated or "causative" aorist); but no law appears to underlie this variety; of any relation such as is taught by the grammarians, between active of one class and middle of another as correlative, there is no trace discoverable.

c. Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, *adhām* and *dhāsus* from *√dhā*, *ayuḥ* and *ayukṣata* from *√yuj*; — of 1 and 5, *agrabham* and *agrabhiṣma* from *√grabh*, *mṛsthās* and *mārṣiṣthās* from *√mṛṣ*; — of 1 and 2, *ārta* and *ārat* from *√ṛ*; — of 2 and 4, *avidam* and *avitsi* from *√vid*, *anijam* and *anāikṣit* from *√nij*; — of 2 and 5, *sanēma* and *asāniṣam* from *√san*; — of 2 and 7, *aruham* and *arukṣat* from *√ruh*; — of 4 and 5, *amatsus* and *amādiṣus* from *√mad*; — of 4 and 6, *hāsmahi* and *hāsiṣus* from *√hā*; — of 1 and 2 and 4, *atnata* and *atanat* and *atān* from *√tan*; — of 1 and 4 and 5, *abudh-ran* and *ābhutsi* and *bōdhiṣat* from *√budh*, *āstar* and *stṛṣṭiya* and

astaris from *ystr*. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.

### I. Simple Aorist.

828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the *ā*-class, without a corresponding present indicative, but with (more or less fragmentarily) all the other parts which go to make up a complete present-system.

#### 1. Root-aorist.

829. a. This formation is in the later language limited to a few roots in *आ ā* and the root *भू bhū*, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the *s*-aorist (4), or the *iṣ*-aorist (5).

b. The roots in *आ ā* take *उस् us* as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their *आ ā* before it; *भू bhū* (as in the perfect: 793a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting *व् v* after it before the endings *अम् am* and *अन् an* of 1st sing. and 3d pl. Thus:

|   | s.            | d.                | p.            |                   | s.                 | d.                | p. |                 |
|---|---------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|----|-----------------|
| 1 | अदाम्<br>ádām | अदाव<br>ádāva     | अदाम<br>ádāma | अभूवम्<br>ábhūvam | अभूव<br>ábhūva     | अभूम्<br>ábhūma   |    | <i>bhū ~ bh</i> |
| 2 | अदास्<br>ádās | अदातम्<br>ádātam  | अदात<br>ádāta | अभूस्<br>ábhūs    | अभूतम्<br>ábhūtam  | अभूत<br>ábhūta    |    |                 |
| 3 | अदात्<br>ádāt | अदाताम्<br>ádātām | अडुस्<br>ádus | अभूत्<br>ábhūt    | अभूताम्<br>ábhūtām | अभूवन्<br>ábhūvan |    |                 |

For the classical Sanskrit, this is the whole story.

830. In the Veda, these same roots are decidedly the most frequent and conspicuous representatives of the formation: especially the roots *gā*, *dā*, *dhā*, *pā* *drink*, *sthā*, *bhū*; while sporadic forms are made from *jñā*, *prā*, *sā*, *hā*. As to their middle forms, see below, 834a.

a. Instead of *abhūvam*, RV. has twice *abhuvam*. BHP. has *agan*, 3d pl., instead of *agus*.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in *र*, and a few in *i*- and *u*-vowels (short or long) —

with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, *guṇa*-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

a. Thus (in the active), from *√ṣru*, *āṣravam* and *āṣrot*; from *√ṣri*, *āṣres* and *āṣret*; from *√kṛ* *make*, *ākaram* and *ākar* (for *akars* and *akart*); from *√ṛ* *enclose*, *āvar* (585 a); and so *āstar*, *aspar*. Dual and plural forms are much less frequent than singular; but for the most part they also show an irregular strengthening of the root-vowel: thus (including augmentless forms), *ākarma* and *karma* and *ākarta*, *vartam*, *spartam*, *āhema* and *āhetana*, *bhema*, *aṣṛavan*; regular are only *avran*, *ākran*, *ahyan*, and *ācṛiyan*.

832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of *guṇa*-strengthening and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

a. Thus, *ābhedam* and *abhet* from *√bhid*; *āmok* from *√muc*; *yojam* from *√yuj*; *rok* (VS.) from *√ruj*; *arodham* and *arudhma* from *√rudh*; *avart* from *√vṛt*; *vārk* from *√vṛj* (AV. has once *avṛk*); *adarṣam* from *√dṛṣ*; *ārdhma* from *√rdh*; and *adṛṣan*, *avṛjan*, *aṣvitan*. But *chedma*, with *guṇa*, from *√chid*, and *adarṣma* (TS.) from *√dṛṣ*.

833. Again, from a larger number of roots with *a* as radical vowel:

a. Of these, *gam* (with *n* for *m* when final or followed by *m*: 143 a, 212 a) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, *āgamam*, *āgan* (2d and 3d sing.), *āganma*, *aganta* (strong form), *āgman*. The other cases are *akran* from *√kram*; *ātan* from *√tan*; *abhrāt* from *√bhrāj*; *askan* from *√skand*; *asrat* from *√sraṇs* (? VS.); *dhak* and *daghma* from *√dagh*; *ānaṭ* (585 a) and *anaṣṭām* from *√naṣ*; *āghas* or *aghat*, *āghastām*, *aghasta*, and *ākṣan* (for *aghsan*, like *agman*) from *√ghas*; and the 3d pl. in us, *ākramus*, *ayamus*, *dabhūs*, *nṛtus* (pf.?), *mandūs*.

834. So far only active forms have been considered. In the middle, a considerable part of the forms are such as are held by the grammarians (881) to belong to the *s*-aorist, with omission of the *s*: they doubtless belong, however, mostly or altogether, here. Thus:

a. From roots ending in vowels, we have *adhithās*, *adhita* (also *ahita*), and *adhīmahi*; *adithās*, *adita*, and *adimahi* (and *adīmahi* from *√dā cut*); *āṣita* (?); *sīmāhi*; *āsthithās* and *āsthita* and *āsthiran*, forms of *ā*-roots; — of *ṛ*-roots, *akri*, *ākṛthās*, *ākṛta*, *akrātām*, *ākṛata* (and the anomalous *krānta*); *avri*, *avṛthās*, *avṛta*; *ārta*, *ārata*; *mṛthās*, *amṛta*; *dhṛthās*; *adṛthās*; *astṛta*; *ahṛthās*; *gūrta*; — of *i* and *u* roots, the only examples are *ahvi* (? AV., once), *āhūmahi*, and *āci-dhvam*. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a *s* in such forms, and the occurrence of *avri* and *akri* and *ākṛata*, show that their reference to the *s*-aorist is probably without sufficient reason.

b. As regards roots ending in consonants, the case is more questionable, since loss of *s* after a final consonant before *thās* and *ta* (and, of

course, *dhvam*) would be in many cases required by euphonic rule (233 c ff.). We find, however, such unmistakable middle inflection of the root-aorist as *ayuji*, *áyukthās*, *áyukta*, *ayujmahi*, *áyugdhvam*, *áyujran*; *āṣṭa* and *āṣata*; *nāñci*; *apadi* (1st sing.) and *apadmahi* and *apadran*; *āmanmahi*; *gānvahi* and *āganmahi* and *āgmata*; *atnata*; *ājani* (1st sing.) and *ājñata* (3d pl.); from *√gam* are made *agathās* and *agata*, from *√tan*, *atathās* and *ātata*, and from *√man*, *amata*, with treatment of the final like that of *han* in present inflection (637). The ending *ran* is especially frequent in 3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which have no other middle person of this aorist: thus, *agṛbhran*, *āṣṛgran*, *adrṣran*, *abudhran*, *āvṛtran*, *ajuṣran*, *akṛpran*, *aspṛdhran*, *avasran*, *āviṣran*; and *ram* is found beside *ran* in *adrṣram*, *ābudhram*, *āṣṛgram*.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with *s* to *ks*, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing *k* (instead of *ṣ*) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are *amukthās* (and *āmugdhvam*), *apṛkthās* and *apṛkta*, *ābhakta*, *avṛkta*, *asakthās* and *asakta*, *rikthās*, *vikthās* and *vikta*, *arukta*; *apraṣṭa*, *ayaṣṭa*, *āspaṣṭa*, *asṛṣṭhās* and *āṣṛṣṭa*, and *mṛṣṭhās* would be the same in either case.

d. There remain, as cases of more doubtful belonging, and probably to be ranked in part with the one formation and in part with the other, according to their period and to the occurrence of other persons: *chitthās*, *nutthās* and *ānutta* and *ānuddhvam*, *patthās*, *bhitthās*, *amatta*, *atapthās*, *alipta*, *asṛpta*; and finally, *ārabdha*, *alabdha*, *aruddha*, *abuddha*, *ayuddha*, and *drogdhās* (MBh.: read *drugdhās*): see 883.

### Modes of the Root-aorist.

835. Subjunctive. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the augmentless indicative of this aorist are much more frequent than the more proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in detail.

836. a. Of true subjunctives the forms with primary endings are quite few. In the active, *kārāṇi*, *gāni*, *gamāni* (for *bhuvāni*, see below, c); *kāraṣi*; *sthāti*, *dāti* and *dhāti* (which are almost indicative in value), *karati*, *joṣati*, *padāti*, *bhédati*, *rādhati*, *varjati*; *sthāthas*, *karathas* and *karatas*, *darṣathas*, *ṣravathas* and *ṣrāvatas*; and (apparently) *karanti*, *gāmanti*. In the middle, *joṣase*; *idhaté* (?), *kārate*, *bhójate*, *yojate*, *vārjate*; *dhēthe* and *dhāithe*; *karāmahe*, *dhāmahe*, *gāmamahāi*.

b. Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, *dārṣam*, *bhojam*, *vojam*; *kāras*, *tārdas*, *pārcas*, *yāmas*, *rādhās*, *vāras*; *karat*, *gāmat*, *garat*, *jōṣat*, *daghat*, *padāt*, *yamat*, *yodhat*, *rādhāt*, *vārat*, *vārtat*, *ṣrāvāt*, *sāghat*, *spārat*; *kārāma*, *gamāma*, *rādhāma*; *gāman*,

garan, dārṇan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

c. The series *bhuvam*, *bhúvas*, *bhúvat*, *bhúvan*, and *bhuvāni* (compare *abhuvam*: 830a), and the isolated *ṇrúvat*, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a *guṇa*-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of *guṇa* in the aorist indicative and the perfect of *√bhū*).

837. Optative. The optative active of this aorist constitutes, with a *s* interposed between mode-sign and personal endings (567), the precativ active of the Hindu grammarians, and is allowed by them to be made from every verb, they recognizing no connection between it and the aorist. But in the 2d sing. the interposed *s* is not distinguishable from the personal ending; and, after the earliest period (see 838), the ending crowds out the sibilant in the 3d sing., which thus comes to end in *yāt* instead of *yās* (compare 555a).

a. In the older language, however, pure optative forms, without the *s*, are made from this tense. From roots in *ā* occur (with change of *ā* to *e* before the *y*: 250d) *deyām*, *dheyām* and *dheyus*, and *stheyāma*; in *u*-vowels, *bhūyāma*; in *ṛ*, *kriyāma*; in consonants, *aṇyām* and *aṇyāma* and *aṇyus*, *vṛjyām*, *ṇakyām*, *yujyāva* and *yujyātām*, *sāhyāma*, and *ṛdyus*.

b. The optative middle of the root-aorist is not recognized by the Hindu grammarians as making a part of the precativ formation. The RV. has, however, two precativ forms of it, namely *padīṣṭā* and *mucīṣṭa*. Much more common in the older language are pure optative forms: namely, *aṇiya* and *aṇimāhi* (this optative is especially common), *indhīya*, *gmīya*, *muriya*, *ruciya*; *arīta*, *uhīta*, *vurīta*; *idhimahi*, *naṇimahi*, *nasīmahi*, *ṇṇimahi*, *mudīmahi*, *yamīmahi*; and probably, from *ā*-roots, *sīmāhi* and *dhīmahi* (which might also be augmentless indicative, since *adhīmahi* and *adhītām* also occur). All these forms except the three in 3d sing. might be precativ according to the general understanding of that mode, as being of persons which even by the native authorities are not claimed ever to exhibit the inserted sibilant.

838. Precativ active forms of this aorist are made from the earliest period of the language. In RV., they do not occur from any root which has not also other aorist forms of the same class to show. The RV. forms are: 1st sing., *bhūyāsam*; 2d sing., *avyās*, *jñeyās*, *bhūyās*, *mṛdhyās*, *sahyās*; 3d sing. (in *-yās*, for *-yāst*; RV. has no 3d sing. in *yāt*, which is later the universal ending), *avyās*, *aṇyās*, *ṛdhyās*, *gamyās*, *daghyās*, *peyās*, *bhūyās*, *yamyās*, *yūyās*, *vṛjyās*, *ṇrūyās*, *sahyās*; 1st pl., *kriyāma* (beside *kriyāma*: 837a). AV. has six 1st persons sing. in *-yāsam*, one 2d in *-yās*, one 3d in *-yāt* (and one in *-yās*, in a RV. passage), three 1st pl. in *-yāma* (beside one in *yāma*, in a RV. passage), and the 2d *bhūyāstha* (doubtless a false reading: TB. has *-sta* in the corresponding passage). From this time on, the pure optative forms nearly



disappear (the exceptions are given in 837a). But the precative forms are nowhere common, excepting as made from *ybhū*; and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only *bhūyāsva* and *bhūyāstām* being wanting; and these two persons have no representative from any root). All together, active optative or precative forms are made in the older language from over fifty roots; and the epic and classical texts add them from hardly a dozen more: see further 925.

**839. Imperative.** Imperative forms of the root-aorist are not rare in the early language. In the middle, indeed, almost only the 2d sing. occurs: it is accented either regularly, on the ending, as *kṛṣvā*, *dhiṣvā*, *yukṣvā*, or on the root, as *mātsva*, *yākṣva*, *vāṁsya*, *rāsva*, *sākṣva*; *diṣva* and *māsva* are not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by *kṛdham*, *voḍham*. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., *kṛdhī*, *vṛdhī*, *ṣagdhī*, *ṣrudhī*, *gadhi*, *yañdhī*, *gahi*, *māhi*, *sāhi*, *mogdhi*; 3d sing., *gañtu*, *dātu*, *aṣtu*, *ṣrōtu*, *sōtu*; 2d du., *dātām*, *jitām*, *ṣaktām*, *ṣrutām*, *bhūtām*, *spṛtām*, *gatām*, *riktām*, *voḍham*, *sitām*, *sutām*; 3d du., only *gañtām*, *dātām*, *voḍhām*; 2d pl., *gātā*, *bhūtā*, *ṣruta*, *kṛta*, *gata*, *dāta*, *dhātana*; 3d pl., only *dhāntu*, *ṣruvantu*. These are the most regular forms; but irregularities as to both accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are *yañtām*, *varktām*, *vartām*; *kārtā*, *gāntā* (once *gañtā*), *yañta*, *vartta*, *heta*, *ṣrōta*, *sōta*; and, with *tana*, *kārtana*, *gāntana*, *yañtana*, *sotana*, and the irregular *dhetana* (*ydhā*); in 3d du., *gāntām*. Much more irregular are *yōdhi* (instead of *yuddhī*) from *yudh*, and *bodhī* from both *ybudh* and *ybhū* (instead of *buddhī* and *bhūdhī*). A single form (3d sing.) in *tāt* is found, namely *ṣastāt*. We find *kṛdhi* also later (MBh. BhP.).

a. As to 2d persons singular in *si* from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, 624.

### Participles of the Root-aorist.

**840.** In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation.

a. In the active, they are extremely few: namely, *krānt*, *citānt* (?), *gmānt*, *sthānt*, *bhidānt*, *vṛdhānt*, *dyutant*- (only in composition), and probably *ṛdhānt*. And BhP. has *mṛṣant* (but probably by error, for *mṛṣyant*).

b. In the middle, they are in RV. much more numerous. The accent is usually on the final of the stem: thus, *arāṇā*, *idhāṇā*, *krāṇā*, *juṣāṇā*, *ṛṣāṇā*, *nidāṇā*, *piṣāṇā*, *ṛcāṇā*, *prathāṇā*, *budhāṇā*, *bhiyāṇā*, *manāṇā*, *mandāṇā*, *yujāṇā*, *rucāṇā*, *vipāṇā*, *vṛāṇā*, *urāṇā*, *ṣubhāṇā*, *sacāṇā*, *suvāṇā* or *svāṇā*, *sṛjāṇā*, *spṛdhāṇā*, *hiyāṇā*; — but sometimes on the root-syllable: thus, *cītāna*, *cyāvāna*, *rūhāṇa*, *ūhāna* (pres.?), *vāsāna*, *ṣumbhāna*; — while a few show both accentuations

(compare 619d): thus, *dr̥ṣṇā* and *dr̥ṣāna*, *dyutānā* and *dyūtāna*, *yatānā* and *yātāna*; and *cetāna* and *hrayāna* occur only in composition. A very few of these are found once or twice in other texts, namely *ci-tāna*, *dyutāna*, *ruhāna*, *vasāna*, *suvāna*; and *-kupāna* occurs once in *Āpast.* (xiv. 28. 4).

841. All together, the roots exhibiting in the older language forms which are with fair probability to be reckoned to the root-aorist-system are about a hundred and thirty; over eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

#### Passive Aorist third person singular.

842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevailingly passive meaning, is made from many verbs in the older language, and has become a regular part of the passive conjugation, being, according to the grammarians, to be substituted always for the proper third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense.

843. This person is formed by adding  $\text{३ i}$  to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened.

a. The ending *i* belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in *i* as *do*, in the middle voice, the regular 3d sing. perfect, and also the frequent Vedic 3d sing. present of the root-class (613), which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost off is extremely improbable; and hence, as an aorist formation from the simple root, this is most properly treated here, in connection with the ordinary root-aorist.

844. Before the ending  $\text{३ i}$ , a final vowel, and usually also a medial  $\text{३ a}$  before a single consonant, have the *vṛddhi*-strengthening; other medial vowels have the *guṇa*-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final  $\text{३ ā}$  is added  $\text{३ y}$ .

a. Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in *ā*, *ājñāyi*, *ādhāyi*, *āpāyi*; in other vowels, *ācṛāyi*, *āstāvi*, *āhāvi*, *ākāri*, *āstāri*; — from roots with medial *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *aceti*, *ācchedi*, *açeṣi*, *ābodhi*, *āmoci*, *āyoji*, *ādarṣi*, *asarji*, *varhi*; from roots with medial *a* strengthened, *agāmi*, *āpādi*, *ayāmi*, *avāci*, *vāpi*, *āsādi* (these are all the earlier cases); with *a* unchanged, only *ājani* (and RV. has once *jāni*), and, in heavy syllables, *āmyakṣi*, *vandi*, *çaṅsi*, *syandi*; with medial *ā*, *ābhrāji*, *ārādh*; — from roots with initial vowel, *ārdhi* (only case).

b. According to the grammarians, certain roots in *am*, and *√vadh*, retain the *a* unchanged: quotable are *ājani* (or *ājāni*), *agami* (or *agāmi*),

asvani, avadhi, also araci; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, *adañçi*, *arambhi*, *arandhi*, *ajambhi*, *abhañji* or *abhāji*, *alambhi* (always, with prepositions) or *alābhi*, *astambhi*; ÇB. has *asañji*.

c. Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already given) are: *dhāyi*, *çrāvi*, *bhāri*, *reci*, *vēdi*, *roci*, *jāni*, *pādi*, *sādi*, *ardhi*. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable (SV. *dhāyī* is doubtless a false reading).

845. These forms are made in RV. from forty roots, and all the other earlier texts combined add only about twenty to the number; from the later language are quotable thirty or forty more; in the epics they are nearly unknown. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, as *gam*, *pad*, *sad*, *bhrāj*, *rādh*, *ruc*, *sañj*, they have (like the so-called passive participle in *ta*: 952) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3 [?]; VS. xxviii. 15; TB. ii. 6. 10<sup>2</sup>) they appear even to be used transitively.

## 2. The a-aorist.

846. a. This aorist is in the later language allowed to be made from a large number of roots (near a hundred). It is made in both voices, but is rare in the middle, most of the roots forming their middle according to the s-class (878 ff.) or the iṣ-class (898 ff.).

b. Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the *ā*-class (751 ff.); its inflection is the same with that in all particulars; and it takes in general a weak form of root — save the roots in *ṣṛ* (three or four only), which have the *guṇa*-strengthening.

c. As example of inflection may be taken the root *सिच्* sic *pour*. Thus:

| active.                          |                                    |                                 | middle.                             |                                      |                                     |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| s.                               | d.                                 | p.                              | s.                                  | d.                                   | p.                                  |
| 1 <i>असिचम्</i><br><i>ásicam</i> | <i>असिचाव</i><br><i>ásicāva</i>    | <i>असिचाम</i><br><i>ásicāma</i> | <i>असिचे</i><br><i>ásice</i>        | <i>असिचावहि</i><br><i>ásicāvahi</i>  | <i>असिचामहि</i><br><i>ásicāmahi</i> |
| 2 <i>असिचस्</i><br><i>ásicaṣ</i> | <i>असिचतम्</i><br><i>ásicatam</i>  | <i>असिचत</i><br><i>ásicata</i>  | <i>असिचथास्</i><br><i>ásicathās</i> | <i>असिचेथाम्</i><br><i>ásicethām</i> | <i>असिचधम्</i><br><i>ásicadhvam</i> |
| 3 <i>असिचत्</i><br><i>ásicat</i> | <i>असिचताम्</i><br><i>ásicatām</i> | <i>असिचन्</i><br><i>ásican</i>  | <i>असिचत</i><br><i>ásicata</i>      | <i>असिचेताम्</i><br><i>ásicetām</i>  | <i>असिचत</i><br><i>ásicanta</i>     |

847. The a-aorist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the root-aorist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of aorist which is made from more verbs in AV. than in RV.); and in Veda and Brāhmaṇa together about eighty roots exhibit the formation more or less fully. Of these a large number (fully half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the ā-class, having a vowel capable of guṇa-strengthening before a final consonant (754): thus, with i, *chid*, *bhid*, *nij*, *ric*, *riṣ*, *lip*, *vid*, *īṣiṣ* (ṣās), 2 *ṣiṣ*, *ṣriṣ*, *ṣliṣ*, *sic*, *sridh*; — with u, *krudh*, *kṣudh*, *guh*, *duṣ*, *dyut*, *druh*, *puṣ*, *budh*, *bhuḥ*, *muc*, *mruc*, *yuj*, *ruc*, *rud*, *rudh*, *muh*, *ruh*, *ṣuc*; — with ṛ, *ṛdh*, *kṛt*, *gṛdh*, *gṛh*, *tṛp*, *tṛṣ*, *tṛh*, *dṛp*, *dṛṣ*, *dhṛṣ*, *nṛt*, *mṛdh*, *mṛṣ*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *vṛṣ*, *sṛp*, *hṛṣ*. A small number end in vowels: thus, ṛ, *kṛ*, *sṛ* (which have the guṇa-strengthening throughout), *hi* (? *ahyaṭ* once in AV.), and several in ā, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their ā to a: thus, *khyā*, *hvā*, *vyā*, *ṣvā*, and *dā* and *dhā*; and *āsthat*, regarded by the grammarians as aorist to *vas* *throw*, is doubtless a like formation from *ṽsthā*. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this aorist is lost: thus, *bhraṇṣ*, *taṇs*, *dhvaṇs*, *sraṇs*, *krand*, *randh*. Of less classifiable character are *aṣ*, *kram*, *gam*, *ghas*, *tam*, *ṣam*, *ṣram*, *tan*, *san*, *sad*, *āp*, *das*, *yas*, *ṣak*, *dagh*. The roots *pat*, *naṣ*, *vac* form the tense-stems *papta*, *neṣa*, *voca*, of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication; but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated aorists from the same roots (see below, 854).

a. Many of these aorists are simply transfers of the root-aorist to an a-inflection. Conspicuous examples are *akarāt* etc. and *agamāt* etc. (in the earliest period only *akar* and *agan*).

848. The inflection of this aorist is in general so regular that it will be sufficient to give only examples of its Vedic forms. We may take as model *avidam*, from *ṽvid find*, of which the various persons and modes are more frequent and in fuller variety than those of any other verb. Only the forms actually quotable are instanced; those of which the examples found are from other verbs than *vid* are bracketed. Thus:

| active.         |                |                    |                      | middle.              |                  |
|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| s.              | d.             | p.                 | s.                   | d.                   | p.               |
| 1 <i>ávidam</i> | <i>ávidāva</i> | <i>ávidāma</i>     | <i>ávide</i>         | [ <i>ávidāvahi</i> ] | <i>ávidāmahi</i> |
| 2 <i>ávidas</i> |                | [ <i>ávidata</i> ] | [ <i>ávidathās</i> ] |                      |                  |
| 3 <i>ávidat</i> |                | <i>ávidan</i>      | [ <i>avidata</i> ]   | [ <i>avidetām</i> ]  | <i>ávidanta</i>  |

a. The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have *áhve* etc., *ákhye* etc., *ávide* (?) and *avidanta*, *avocathās* and *avocāvahi* (and *avidāmahe* GB. and *asicāmahe* KB. are doubtless to be amended to *-mahi*).

b. Augmentless forms, with indicative or subjunctive value, are not infrequent. Examples, showing accent on the tense-sign, according to the general analogies of the formation, are: *ruhám, sr̥pas, bhuját, vidát, aratām, vocata, çakan; vidata* and *vyáta* (3d sing.), *arāmahi, çīṣāmahi, vidánta, budhánta, mṛṣanta* (for exceptions as regards accent, see below, 853).

### Modes of the a-aorist.

849. The subjunctive forms of this aorist are few; those which occur are instanced below, in the method which was followed for the indicative:

|   |                  |          |            |
|---|------------------|----------|------------|
| 1 | [vidáva]         | vidāma   | [vidāmahe] |
| 2 | {vidāsi<br>vidās | vidāthas | vidātha    |
| 3 | vidāt            |          | [vidātāi?] |

a. The ending *thana* is found once, in *riṣāthana*. Of middle forms occur only *çīṣātāi* (AV.: but doubtless misreading for *çīṣyātāi*) and *çīṣāmahe* (AV., for RV. *çīṣāmahi*). The form *sádathas* seems an indicative, made from a secondary present-stem.

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brāhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, *bhideyam, vidéyam, sanéyam* (TB. once *sanem*); *vidés, games; gamet, vocet; gametam; gaméma, çakéma, sanéma; vareta*; in middle, (only) *videya; gamemahi, vanemahi; ruhethās* etc. in the epics must be viewed rather as present forms of the á-class.

a. A single middle precative form occurs, namely *videṣṭa* (AV., once); it is so isolated that how much may be inferred from it is very questionable.

851. A complete series of active imperative forms are made from *ṽsad* (including *sadatana*, 2d pl.), and the middle *sadantām*. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, *sána, sára, ruha, vidá; ruhátam, vidátam; khyáta*. TS. has once *ṽrdhātu* (compare 740).

### Participles of the a-aorist.

852. a. The active participles *tr̥pánt, riṣant* or *riṣant, ṽrdhánt, çīṣánt, çucánt, sádant*, and (in participial compounds, 1309) *kṛtant-, guhant-, vidant-* (all RV.), are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

b. Likewise the middle participles *guhámāna, dhr̥ṣámāna, dása-māna* (?), *nṛtámāna, çucámāna*, and perhaps *ṽrdháná, sridháná*.

### Irregularities of the a-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here.

The roots in *ṛ*, which (847) show a strengthening like that of the

present of the unaccented *a*-class, have likewise the accent upon the radical syllable, like that class: thus, from *√ṛ*, *áranta* (augmentless 3d pl.), *sárat* and *sára*. The root *sad* follows the same rule: thus, *sáda-tam*; and from *√san* are found *sánas* and *sánat* and *sánema* and *sána*, beside *sanéyam* and *sanéma*. It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the *bhū*-class (unaccented *a*-class) present-system. On the other hand, *rúhat* (beside *ruhám*, *ruháva*, *ruhátam*), *çíṣat* and *çíṣātāi* (?), and *riṣant* or *riṣant* are more isolated cases. In view of such as these, the forms from the stem *bhúva* and *çrúva* (836c) are perhaps to be referred hither. From *√vac*, the optative is accented *vocéyam*, *vocéś*, *vocéma*, *vocéyus*; elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable: thus, *vóce*, *vócat*, *vócati*, *vócanta*.

854. a. The stem *voc* has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in RV. especially far outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from *√vac*. Besides those already given, we find *vocā* (1st sing. impv.) and *vocāti*, *vocāvahāi*; *voces*, *voceya*, *vocemahi*; *vocatāt* (2d sing.), *vocatu*, *vocatam*, *vocata*.

b. Of the stem *neça* from *√naç* only *neçat* occurs.

c. The root *çās* (as in some of its present forms: 639) is weakened to *çiṣ*, and makes *açiṣam*.

855. Isolated forms which have more or less completely the aspect of indicative presents are made in the oldest language from some roots beside the aorist-systems of the first two classes. It must be left for maturer research to determine how far they may be relics of original presents, and how far recent productions, made in the way of conversion of the aorist-stem to a root in value.

a. Such forms are the following: from *√kṛ* *make*, *kárṣi*, *kṛthas*, *kṛtha*, *kṛṣe*; from *√gam*, *gathá*; from *√ci* *gather*, *ceti*; from *√dā* *give*, *dāti*, *dātu*; from *√dhā* *put*, *dhāti*; from *√pā* *drink*, *pāthás*, *pānti*; from *√bhr*, *bharti*; from *√muc*, *mucānti*; from *√rudh*, *rudh-mas* (?); from *√vṛt*, *vartti*.

## II. (3) Reduplicated Aorist.

856. The reduplicated aorist is different from the other forms of aorist in that it has come to be attached in almost all cases to the derivative (causative etc.) conjugation in *अय áya*, as the aorist of that conjugation, and is therefore liable to be made from all roots which have such a conjugation, beside the aorist or aorists which belong to their primary conjugation. Since, however, the connection of

the two is not a formal one (the aorist being made directly from the root, and not from the causative stem), but rather a matter of established association, owing to kinship of meaning, the formation and inflection of this kind of aorist is best treated here, along with the others.

857. Its characteristic is a reduplication of the radical syllable, by which it is assimilated, on the one hand, to the imperfect of the reduplicating class (856 ff.), and, on the other hand, to the so-called pluperfect (817 ff.). But the aorist reduplication has taken on a quite peculiar character, with few traces left even in the Veda of a different condition which may have preceded this.

858. a. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the reduplication, it follows the general rules already given (590). And the quality of the reduplicated vowel is in general as in the formations already treated: it needs only to be noted that an a-vowel and ʀ (or ar) are usually (for exceptions, see below, 860) repeated by an i-vowel — as they are, to a considerable extent, in the reduplicated present also (860).

b. But in regard to quantity, this aorist aims always at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllables, making the one heavy and the other light. And the preference is very markedly for a heavy reduplication and a light root-syllable — which relation is brought about wherever the conditions allow. Thus:

859. If the root is a light syllable (having a short vowel followed by a single consonant), the reduplication is made heavy.

a. And this, usually by lengthening the reduplicating vowel, with i for radical a or ʀ or ɿ (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, arīriṣam, adūduṣam, ajījanam, avivṛdham, acīkṛpam. The great majority of reduplicated aorists are of this form.

b. If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vow-

el, the vowel remains short: thus, *acikṣipam*, *acukrudham*, *atitrasam*, *apispṛṣam*.

860. If the root is a heavy syllable (having a long vowel, or a short before two consonants), the vowel of the reduplication is short: and in this case अ a or आ ā, and इ i (if it occurs), are reduplicated by अ a.

a. Thus, *adidikṣam*, *abubhūṣam* (not quotable), *adadakṣam*, *adadhāvam*, *atataṁsam*. And, in the cases in which a root should both begin and end with two consonants, both syllables would be necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former: thus, *apapraccham*, *acaskandam* (but no such forms are found in use).

b. A medial र r is allowed by the grammarians to retain the strengthening of the causative stem, together with, of course, reduplication by a: thus, *acakarṣat*, *avavartat* (beside *acikṛṣat*, *avivṛtat*); but no such forms have been met with in use.

c. These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817 ff.).

861. a. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in *arīradham* from √rādh, *avivaṣam* from √vāṣ, *asiṣadham* from √sādh, *ajīvivam* from √jīv, *adīdipam* (K. and later: RV. has *didīpas*) from √dīp, *abībhiṣam* from √bhīṣ, *asūsucam* from √sūc; or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in *acikradam* from √krand, *asiṣyadam* from √syand.

b. In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in āp, the ā is abbreviated to i: thus, *atiṣṭhipam* etc., *ajīñipat* (but KSS. *ajīñāpat*), *jīhipas*, *ajījipata* (but VS. *ajījapata*); but from ṣrap comes *aṣiṣrapāma* (ÇB.).

862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only *āmamat* (or *amamat*) from √am, *āpipan* (ÇB.: BAU. *āpipipat*) from √āp, and *aripam* (augmentless) from the causative stem arp of √r — in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as *ārīcam* from √arc, *āubjījam* from √ubj, *ārjīham* from √arh, *ācīkṣam* from √īkṣ, *ārdidham* from √rdh. Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029 b.

863. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:

a. From √dyut is made (V.B.) the stem *didyuta*, taking its reduplicating vowel from the radical semivowel. From √gup, instead of *jūgupa* (B.S.), JB. has *jugūpa*, and some texts (B.S.) have *jugupa*; and *jihvara* (B.) is met with beside the regular *jihvara* (V.B.). In *caccha-*



da (Nir.), and the more or less doubtful *paprātha* and *çaçvacā* and *sasvaja* (RV.) we have a instead of i in the reduplication.

b. In support of their false view of this aorist as made from the causative stem instead of directly from the root, the native grammarians teach that roots ending in an u-vowel may reduplicate with i, as representing the ā of the strengthened stem: thus, *bībhava* from *bhāv-aya*, as well as *būbhuva* from *bhū*. No example of such a formation, however, is met with except *āpiplavam* (QB., once); against it we find *dudruva*, *būbhuva*, *rūruva*, *çuçruva*, and others.

c. As to *apaptam*, *avocam*, and *aneçam*, see above, 847.

864. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation: that is to say, it has *अ* a as final stem-vowel, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions (733a). Thus, from *जन्* *jan* give birth (stem *jijana*):

| active.            |                    |                  | middle.            |                    |                     |
|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| s.                 | d.                 | p.               | s.                 | d.                 | p.                  |
| 1 <i>अजीजिन्म्</i> | <i>अजीजिनाव</i>    | <i>अजीजिनाम</i>  | <i>अजीजिने</i>     | <i>अजीजिनावहि</i>  | <i>अजीजिनामहि</i>   |
| <i>ājījanam</i>    | <i>ājījanāva</i>   | <i>ājījanāma</i> | <i>ājījane</i>     | <i>ājījanāvahi</i> | <i>ājījanāmahi</i>  |
| 2 <i>अजीजिन्स्</i> | <i>अजीजिनतम्</i>   | <i>अजीजिनत्</i>  | <i>अजीजिनथास्</i>  | <i>अजीजिनथाम्</i>  | <i>अजीजिनधम्</i>    |
| <i>ājījanas</i>    | <i>ājījanatam</i>  | <i>ājījanata</i> | <i>ājījanathās</i> | <i>ājījanethām</i> | <i>ājījanadhvam</i> |
| 3 <i>अजीजिनत्</i>  | <i>अजीजिनाताम्</i> | <i>अजीजिनन्</i>  | <i>अजीजिनत्</i>    | <i>अजीजिनेताम्</i> | <i>अजीजिनत्</i>     |
| <i>ājījanat</i>    | <i>ājījanatām</i>  | <i>ājījanan</i>  | <i>ājījanata</i>   | <i>ājījanetām</i>  | <i>ājījananta</i>   |

865. The middle forms are rare in the older language (the 3d pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all, both active and middle, are quotable except 1st and 2d du. middle and 1st du. active.

a. *Atitape* appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.

866. A final *र* has the *guṇa*-strengthening before the endings: thus, *acikarat*, *apiparam*, *atitaras*, *didaras*, *adīdharat*, *amīmarat*, *avīvaran*, *jihvaras*. Of similar strengthened forms from i and u-roots are found *apiprayan* (TS.), *abībhayanta* (RV.), *apiplavam* (QB.), *acucyavat* (K.), *açuçravat* (MS.), *atuṣṭavam* (RV.). Not many roots ending in other vowels than *र* make this aorist: see below, 868.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, *सिष्यप* (2d sing., augmentless) from *यस्यप*, and *अचिणत्* from *यचिणत्*; from roots in *र* or *ar*, *दिदhar* (2d sing.), and *अजिगर* (2d and 3d sing.); for roots in i- and u-vowels, see 868. Of 3d pl. in *us* are found almost only a form

or two from *i-* and *u-*roots, with *guṇa* before the ending: thus, *açıçrayus*, *ácucyavus*, *açuçravus*, *asuşavus*; but also *abībhajus* (ÇB.), and *nīnaçus* (MBh.).

868. In the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this aorist as a part of their primary conjugation: they are *çri* and *çvi*, *dru* and *sru*, *kam*, and *dhā* *suck* (*çvi* and *dhā* optionally).

a. In the older language are found from *√çri* *açıçret* and *açiç-rayus* (noticed in the preceding paragraph) and *açiçriyat* (ÇB.); from *√dru*, *adudrot* and *adudruvat* (TB.: not used as aorist); from *√sru*, *asusrot* and (augmentless) *susros* and *susrot*; from *√kam*, *açika-metām* and *-manta* (B.S.). Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in *u* or *ū*: thus, *anūnot* and *nūnot* from *√nu*; *yūyot* from *√yu* *separate*; *dūdhot* from *√dhū*; *apupot* from *√pū*; *tūtos* and *tūtot* from *√tu*; *asuşot* from *√sū*; — and one or two from roots in *i* or *ī*: thus, *sişet* from *√si* (or *sā*) *bind*; *amīmet* from *√mā* *bellow*; *apipres* (with *apiprayan*, noticed above) from *√prī* (and the "imperfects" from *dīdhī* etc., 876, are of corresponding form). And from *√cyu* are made, with union-vowel *ī*, *acucyavīt* and *acucyavītana*. Few of these forms possess a necessarily causative or a decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not be assigned to the perfect-system.

b. From the later language are quotable only *açiçriyat* etc. (3d pl., *-yan* or *-yus*) and *adudruvat*.

### Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

869. a. As in other preterit formations, the augmentless indicative persons of this aorist are used subjunctively, and they are very much more frequent than true subjunctives.

b. Of the latter are found only *rīradhā* (1st sing.); *tītapāsi*; *cīkīpāti* and *sişadhāti*, and *pişpṛçati* (as if corresponding to an indicative *apişpṛk*, like *açiçnat*); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. *çaçvacāl*.

c. The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, *dīdharas*, *nīnaças*; *jījanat*, *pīparat*; *jījanan*; also *sişvap*; but, on the other hand, we have also *pīparat*, *çiçrāthas* and *çiçnāthat*, and *dudrávat* and *tuştávat* (which may perhaps belong to the perfect: compare 810). According to the native grammarians, the accent rests either on the radical syllable or on the one that follows it.

870. Optative forms are even rarer. The least questionable case is the middle "precativ" *rīrişīṣṭa* (*rīrişīṣṭa* has been ranked above with *sāsahīṣṭa*, as a perfect: 812b). *Cucyuvimahi* and *cucyavīrata* belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of imperatives, we have the indubitable forms *pūpurantu* and *çiçrathantu*. And *jigṛtām* and *jigṛtā*, and *didhṛtam* and *didhṛtā*,

and jajastám (all RV. only), and perhaps suṣūdáta (AV.), are to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) ajīgar and adīdhar: their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated imperfects (856 ff.), with which we are probably to regard this aorist as ultimately related.

872. No participle is found belonging to the reduplicated aorist.

873. The number of roots from which this aorist is met with in the earlier language is about a hundred and twenty. In the later Sanskrit it is unusual; in the series of later texts mentioned above (826) it occurs only twice; and it has been found quotable from hardly fifty roots in the whole epic and classical literature.

### III. Sigmatic or Sibilant Aorist.

874. a. The common tense-sign of all the varieties of this aorist is a स् s (convertible to ष ṣ: 180) which is added to the root in forming the tense-stem.

b. This sibilant has no analogues among the class-signs of the present-system; but it is to be compared with that which appears (and likewise with or without the same union-vowel i) in the stems of the future tense-system (932 ff.) and of the desiderative conjugation (1027 ff.).

c. To the root thus increased the augment is prefixed and the secondary endings are added.

875. In the case of a few roots, the sibilant tense-stem (always ending in क् कṣ) is further increased by an अ a, and the inflection is nearly like that of an imperfect of the second or a- conjugation.

876. a. In the vast majority of cases, the sibilant is the final of the tense-stem, and the inflection is like that of an imperfect of the first or non-a-conjugation.

b. And these, again, fall into two nearly equal and strongly marked classes, according as the sibilant is added immediately to the final of the root, or with an auxiliary vowel इ i, making the tense-sign इष् iṣ. Finally, before this इष् iṣ the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a स् s, making the whole addition सिष् siṣ.

877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:

4. with स् s simply after the root: s-aorist;
5. with इ i before the स् s: iṣ-aorist;
6. the same, with स् s at end of root: siṣ-aorist.

B. With अ a added to the sibilant before the endings:

7. with sibilant and अ a: sa-aorist.

a. As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary i in the aorist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay down any strict rules as to this accordance. Compare 903.

#### 4. The s-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding स् s to the augmented root, of which also the vowel is usually strengthened.

879. The general rules as to the strengthening of the root-vowel are these:

a. A final vowel (including ऋ ॠ) has the वृद्धि-change in the active, and (excepting ऋ ॠ) guṇa in the middle: thus, from √नी *lead*, active stem अनैष् anāiṣ, middle stem अनेष् aneṣ; from √श्रु *hear*, अश्रौष् aśrāuṣ and अश्रोष् aśroṣ; from √कृ *make*, अकार्ष् akārṣ and अकृष् akṛṣ.

b. A medial vowel has the वृद्धि-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from √चन्द *seem*, active stem अच्चात्स् aochānts, middle stem अचक्षत्स् aochants; from √रिच् *leave*, अरैत् arāikṣ and अरित् ariṣ; from √रुध् *obstruct*, अरौत् arāuts and अरुत् aruts; from √सृज् *pour out*, अस्रात् asrākṣ and असृत् asṛṣ.

880. a. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उस् us (not अन् an) in 3d pl. act., and अत ata (not अन् anta) in 3d pl. mid.

b. But before स् s and त् t of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an ई i, making the endings ईस् Is and ईत् It.

c. This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.): see below, 888.

881. a. Before endings beginning with t or th, the tense-sign s is (233 c—e) omitted after the final consonant of a root — unless this be r, or n or m (converted to anusvāra).

b. The same omission is of course made before dhvam after a consonant; and after a vowel the sibilant is either omitted or assimilated (the equivalence of dhv and ddhv in the theories of the grammarians and the practice of the manuscripts makes it impossible to say which: 232); and then the ending becomes qhvam, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been ण (226 c): thus, astoqhvam and avṛqhvam (beside astoṣata and avṛṣata); drḍhvam (√dr regard: ÇB., once), which is to drthās (2d sing.) as avṛqhvam and avṛṣata to avri and avṛthās; and kṛqhvam (M.).

c. According to the grammarians, the omission of s before t and th takes place also after a short vowel (the case can occur only in the 2d and 3d sing. mid.); but we have seen above (834 a) that this is to be viewed rather as a substitution in those persons of the forms of the root-aorist. Neither in the earlier nor in the later language, however, does any example occur of an aorist-form with s retained after a short vowel before these endings.

d. After the final sonant aspirate of a root, the sibilant before the same endings is said by the Hindu grammarians to disappear altogether, the combination of the aspirate with the th or t of the ending being then made according to the ordinary rule for such cases (160): thus, from the stem arāuts, for arāudh-s, is made arāuddha, as if from arāudh+ta directly. No example of such a form is quotable from the literature; but the combination is established by the occurrence of other similar cases (233 f). In the middle, in like manner, aruts+ta becomes aruddha, as if from arudh+ta; but all such forms admit also of being understood as of the root-aorist. Those that have been found to occur were given above (834 d); probably they belong at least in part to this aorist.

e. From the three nasal roots gam, tan, man are made the 2d and 3d sing. mid. persons agathās and agata, atathās and atata, and amata (amathās not quotable), reckoned by the native grammarians as s-aorist forms, made, after loss of their final root-nasal, with loss also of the sibilant after a short vowel. They are doubtless better referred to the root-aorist. But JB. has a corresponding 1st sing. atasi from √tan.

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of

sibilant aorist we may take the roots नी *nī lead*, and किद् *chid cut off*. Thus:

| active.              |                       |                    | middle.               |                          |                        |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| s.                   | d.                    | p.                 | s.                    | d.                       | p.                     |
| 1 अनैषम्<br>ánāiṣam  | अनैष<br>ánāiṣva       | अनैष्म<br>ánāiṣma  | अनेषि<br>áneṣi        | अनेषहि<br>áneṣvahi       | अनेष्महि<br>áneṣmahi   |
| 2 अनैषीम्<br>ánāiṣis | अनैष्टम्<br>ánāiṣtam  | अनैष्टा<br>ánāiṣṭa | अनेष्टास्<br>áneṣṭhās | अनेष्टायाम्<br>áneṣāthām | अनेष्टुम्<br>áneṣṭhvam |
| 3 अनैषीत्<br>ánāiṣit | अनैष्टाम्<br>ánāiṣtām | अनैषुस्<br>ánāiṣus | अनेष्ट<br>áneṣṭa      | अनेषाताम्<br>áneṣātām    | अनेषत<br>áneṣata       |

| active.                   |                         |                         | middle.                     |                                 |                            |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| s.                        | d.                      | p.                      | s.                          | d.                              | p.                         |
| 1 अचैत्सम्<br>áčchāitsam  | अचैत्स्व<br>áčchāitsva  | अचैत्सम्<br>áčchāitsma  | अचिक्त्सि<br>áčchitsi       | अचिक्त्स्वहि<br>áčchitsvahi     | अचिक्त्समहि<br>áčchitsmahi |
| 2 अचैत्सीम्<br>áčchāitsis | अचैत्तम्<br>áčchāittam  | अचैत्ता<br>áčchāitta    | अचिक्त्स्याम्<br>áčchitthās | अचिक्त्स्यायाम्<br>áčchitsāthām | अचिक्त्सुम्<br>áčchiddhvam |
| 3 अचैत्सीत्<br>áčchāitsit | अचैत्ताम्<br>áčchāittām | अचैत्सुस्<br>áčchāitsus | अचिक्त्त<br>áčchitta        | अचिक्त्साताम्<br>áčchitsātām    | अचिक्त्सत<br>áčchitsata    |

a. From *√rudh obstruct*, the 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl. act. and the 2d and 3d sing. mid. would be *árāuddham*, *árāuddhām*, *árāuddha*, *áruddhās*, *áruddha*; from *√srj pour out*, *ásrāṣtam*, *ásrāṣtām*, *asrāṣṭa*, *asrṣṭhās*, *asrṣṭa*; from *√dr̥ṣ see*, *ádrāṣtam* etc. (as from *srj*). But from *√kr̥ do* the same persons in the active are *ákārṣtam*, *ákārṣtām*, *ákārṣṭa*; from *√tan stretch* they are *átāṇstam*, *átāṇstām*, *átāṇsta*.

883. The omission of *s* in the active persons (*áčchāittam*, *áčchāittām*, *áčchāitta*) is a case of very rare occurrence; all the quotable examples were given above (233 e). As to the like omission in middle persons, see 881. The ChU. has twice *ávāstam* for *avāts-tam* (*√vas dwell*): this may be viewed as another case of total disappearance of the sibilant, and consequent restoration of the final radical to its original form.

884. Certain roots in *ā* weaken the *ā* in middle inflection to *i* (as also in the root-aorist: above, 834a): these are said to be *sthā*, *dā*, and *dhā*; in the older language have been noted *ādīṣi* and *adīṣata* from *√dā give* (and *adīṣi* perhaps once from *√dā bind*), *adhiṣi* and *adhiṣata* (with the optative *dhiṣiṃya*) from *√dhā put*, and *asthiṣata*; also *agiṣṭhās* and *agiṣata* from *√gā go* (with *adhi*).

a. The middle inflection of the aorist of *√dā* would be, then, according to the grammarians: *ādīṣi*, *ādithās*, *ādita*; *ādīṣvahi*, *ādīṣāthām*, *ādīṣātām*; *ādīṣmahi*, *ādīṣhvam*, *ādīṣata*.

885. Roots ending in changeable *ṛ* (so-called roots in *ṛ*: 242) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to *īṛ* in middle forms: thus, *astīṛṣi*, *astīṛṣṭhās* etc. (from *√str*); of such forms, however, has been found in the older language only *akīṛṣata*, PB.

886. The s-aorist is made in the older language from about a hundred and forty roots (in RV., from about seventy; in AV., from about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.); and the epic and classical literature adds but a very small number. It has in the Veda certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and also the full series of modes — of which the optative middle is retained also later as a part of the "precative" (but see 925 b).

887. Irregularities of stem-formation are as follows:

a. The strengthening of the root-syllable is now and then irregularly made or omitted: thus, *ayokṣīt* (AB.), *chetsis* (B.S.; also occurs in MBh., which has further *yotsis*), *rotsis* (KU.); *amatsus* (RV.); *ayām-si* and *arāutsi* (AB.), *asākṣi* etc. (V.B.: *√sah*), *māṇsta* (AV.) and *māṇstām* (TA.); *lopsiya* (U.); and MBh. has *drogdhās*. From *√saj* is made *sāṅkṣīt* (U. etc.), and from *√majj*, *amāṅkṣīt* (not quotable). The form *ayunṅkṣmahi* (BhP.) is doubtless a false reading.

b. A radical final nasal is lost in *agasmahi* (RV.) and *gasāthām* (TA.) from *√gam*, and in the optatives *masiṃya* and *vasīmahi* (RV.) from *√man* and *van*.

c. The roots *hū*, *dhū*, and *nū* have *ū* instead of *o* in the middle: thus, *ahūṣata*, *adhūṣata*, *anūṣi* and *anūṣātām* and *anūṣata*; *√dhur* (or *dhūrv*) makes *adhūrṣata*.

d. ÇB. has once *atrāsātām* for *atrāstām* (*√trā*).

888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard to inflection is the frequent absence of *ī* in the endings of 2d and 3d sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-finals (150). The forms without *ī* are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, *adrāk*, occurs in GB.; one, *ayāt*, in KB.; and two, *adrāk* and *ayāt*, in ÇB.; PB. has none).

889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, *aprās* (for both *aprās-s* and *aprās-t*) from *√prā*; and in like manner *ahās* from *√hā*; — *ajāis* (for *ajāis-t*) from *√ji*; and in like manner *acāis* from *√ci*, and *nāis* (augmentless) from *√ni*; — and *yāus* (for *ayāus-t*) from *√yu*.

a. But (as in other like cases: 555 a) the ending is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have in 3d sing. *ajāit* (beside *ajāis* and *ajāisīt*) from *√ji*; and in like manner *acāit*, *aqrāit*, *ahāit*, *nāit* (no examples have been noted except from roots in *i* and *ī*): compare *ayās* and *srās*, 2d sing., 890 a.

890. a. If the root (in either its simple or strengthened form) ends in a consonant, the tense-sign is lost with the ending. Thus, *abhār* (for *abhārṣ-t*: beside *abhārṣam*, *abhārṣām*) from *√bhṛ*; other like cases are *ahār*, and (from roots in *ar*) *akṣār*, *atsār*, *asvār*, *hvār*. Further, *ārāik* (585 a: for *ārāikṣ-t*) from *√ric*; like cases are *aqvāit* from *√qvīt*, and (from roots with medial *u*) *adyāut* from *√dyut*, *arāut* from *√rudh*, and *māuk* from *√muc*. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and *h*, *aprāk* from *√pṛc*, *asrāk* from *√srj*, *abhāk* from *√bhaj*, *adrāk* from *√dṛc*, *adhāk* from *√dah*; but, with a different change of the final, *ayāt* from *√yaj*, *aprāt* from *√pṛch*, *avāt* from *√vah*, and *asrāt* from *√srj*; and (above, 146 a) *srās* appears to stand twice in AV. for *srās-s* from *√srj*; RV. has also twice *ayās* from *√yaj*. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, *atān* from *√tan*, *khān* from *√khan*, *ayān* and *anān* from *√yam* and *nam* (143 a).

b. If, again, the roots end in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, *acchān* (for *acchānts-t*; beside *acchāntta* and *acchāntsus*) from *√chand*; and other like cases are *akrān*, *askān*, and *asyān*.

891. A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. *bhāis*, from *√bhī*.

#### Modes of the s-aorist.

892. The indicative forms without augment are used in a subjunctive sense, especially after *mā* prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only *vāṁsi*, middle; judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.

893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Brāhmaṇas. They are regularly made with *guṇa*-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.



a. The forms with primary endings are: in active, *stoṣāṇi*; *darśasi*; *neṣati*, *parṣati*, *pāsati*, *matsati*, *yoṣati*, *vakṣati*, *sakṣati*; *dāsathas*, *dhāsathas*, *pārṣathas*, *vakṣathas*, *varṣathas*; *pāsatas*, *yaṁsatas*, *yakṣatas*, *vakṣatas*; *dhāsatha*, *neṣatha*, *pārṣatha*, *māt-satha*; — in middle, *naṁsāi*, *māṁsāi*; *māṁsase*; *kraṁsate*, *trāsate*, *darṣate*, *māṁsate*, *yakṣate*, *rāsate*, *vaṁsate*, *sakṣate*, *hāsate*; *trāsāthe* (not *trāsāithe*, as we should rather expect); *nāṁsante*, *māṁsante*: and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., *māsātāi*.

b. The forms with secondary endings are (active only): *jéṣas*, *vák-ṣas*; *dárṣat*, *néṣat*, *pákṣat*, *párṣat*, *préṣat*, *yákṣat*, *yóṣat*, *vaṁsat*, *vákṣat*, *véṣat*, *sátsat*, *chantsat*, etc. (some twenty others); *yakṣatām*; *vāṁsāma*, *sákṣāma*, *stoṣāma*; *parṣan*, *yaṁsan*, *yoṣan*, *rāsan*, *vak-ṣan*, *céṣan*, *cróṣan*. Of these, *yakṣat* and *vakṣat* are found not rarely in the *Brāhmaṇas*; any others, hardly more than sporadically.

894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:

a. The forms *dīkṣase* and *prkṣase* (2d sing. mid.) lack the *guṇa*-strengthening.

b. *Jeṣam*, *stoṣam*, and *yoṣam* (AV. *yūṣam*, with *ū* for *o* as in *anūṣata* etc.) appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the *vṛddhi*-strengthening: in which case *jeṣma* is to be compared with them (we should expect *jāiṣma* or *jeṣāma*).

c. From roots in *ā* are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, *yeṣam* (only case in RV.), *khyeṣam*, *jñeṣam*, *geṣam* and *geṣma*, *deṣma*, *seṣam* and *set*, *stheṣam* and *stheṣus*. Their value is optative. The analogy of *jeṣam* and *jeṣma* suggests the possibility of their derivation from *i*-forms of the *ā*-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precativ character (thus, *yā-i-s-am*). That they really belong to the *iṣ*-aorist appears highly improbable.

d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in *se*, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, *kṛṣe*, *hiṣe* (and *ohiṣe*?), *stuṣé*; 2. from present-stems, *arcase*, *rñjase*, *yajase*, *gāyīṣe*, *grñīṣe* and *puniṣé*. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, 897 b.

895. Optative forms of this aorist are made in the middle only, and they have in 2d and 3d sing. always the precativ *s* before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: *dīṣiṃya*, *dhiṣiṃya*, *bhak-ṣiṃya*, *masiṃya* (for *maṁsiṃya*), *mukṣiṃya*, *rāsiṃya*, *lopsiṃya*, *sākṣiṃya*, *strṣiṃya*; *maṁsiṣṭhās*; *darṣiṣṭa*, *bhakṣiṣṭa*, *maṁsiṣṭa*, *mṛkṣiṣṭa*; *bhakṣimāhi*, *dhukṣimāhi*, *maṁsimāhi*, *vaṁsimāhi*, *vasimāhi*, *sakṣimāhi*; *maṁsirata*. PB. has *bhukṣiṣiṃya*, which should belong to a *siṣ*-aorist. The RV. form *trāsithām* (for *trāsiyāthām* or *trāsāthām*) is an isolated anomaly.

a. This optative makes a part of the accepted "precativ" of the later language: see below, 923, 925 b.

896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find the 2d sing. act. *neṣa* and *paṣa* and the 2d pl. *yaṁsata* (from *a*-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. *rāsātām* and pl. *rāsantām* (of which the same may be said).

### Participles of the s-aorist.

897. a. Active participles are *dākṣat* or *dhākṣat*, and *sākṣat* (both RV.).

b. If *ṛñjase* (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an s-aorist form, *ṛñjasānā* is an s-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are *arçasānā*, *óhasānā*, *jrayasānā*, *dhiyasānā*, *mandasānā*, *yamasānā*, *rabhasānā*, *vṛdhasānā*, *sahasānā*, *çavasānā*, all in RV.; with *namasānā*, *bhiyāsānā*, in AV. In RV. occurs also once *dhīṣamāṇa*, apparently an *a*-form of an s-aorist of *√dhī*.

### 5. The iṣ-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign *स्* *s* by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel *इ* *i*, making *इष्* *iṣ*, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.

899. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:

a. A final vowel has *वृद्धि* in the active, and *गुण* in the middle: thus, *अपाविष्* *apāviṣ* and *अपविष्* *apaviṣ* from *√पू* *pū* *cleanse*; *अतारिष्* *atāriṣ*, act., from *√तृ* *tr* *pass*; *अशयिष्* *açayiṣ*, mid., from *√शी* *ṣī* *lie*.

b. A medial vowel has *गुण*, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, *अलेशिष्* *aleṣiṣ*, act. and mid., from *√लिम्* *liç* *tear*; *अरोचिष्* *arociṣ* from *√रुच्* *ruc* *shine*; *अवर्षिष्* *avarṣiṣ* from *√वृष्* *vṛṣ* *rain*; but *अजीविष्* *ajīviṣ* from *√जीव्* *jīv* *live*.

c. Medial *अ* *a* is sometimes lengthened in the active; but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.

d. The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are *kan*, *tan*, *ran*, *stan*, *svan*, *han*, *vraj*, *sad*, *mad*, *car*, *tsar*, *svar*, *jval*, *das*, *tras*. From *ran*, *san*, *kram*, *vad*, *rakṣ*, and *sah* occur forms of both kinds. From *√math* or *manth* are made the two stems *mathiṣ* and *manthiṣ*.

900. a. Of exceptions may be noted: *√mrj* has (as elsewhere: 627) *vrddhi* instead of *guṇa*: thus, *amārjiṣam*; *√str* has *astariṣa*, and *√qr* has *açarit* (also *açarait* in AV.), with *guṇa* in active.

b. The root *grabh* or *grah* has (as in future etc., below, 936e, 956) long *ī* instead of *i* before the sibilant: thus, *agrabhiṣma*, *agrabhiṣta*, *agrabhiṣata*. The roots in changeable *r* (so-called roots in *r̄*: 242), and *√vr* are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long *ī* from such roots have been found quotable. A *Sūtra* (PGS.) has once *anayīṣta* from *√nī* (doubtless a false reading).

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उस् *us* and अत *ata* in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combinations *iṣ-s* and *iṣ-t* are from the earliest period of the language contracted into *ईस्* *īs* and *ईत्* *it*.

a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in *idhvam* (or *idḍhvam*, from *iṣ-dhvam*: 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable, namely *ajaniḍhvam*, *artiḍhvam*, *āndhiḍhvam*, *vepiḍhvam*; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 226c.

902. As examples of the inflection of the *iṣ-aorist* may be taken the roots *पृ* *pū* *cleanse*, and *बुध्* *budh* *wake*. Thus:

| active.                 |                          |                       | middle.                   |                            |                           |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| s.                      | d.                       | p.                    | s.                        | d.                         | p.                        |
| 1 अपाविषम्<br>āpāviṣam  | अपाविष्व<br>āpāviṣva     | अपाविष्म<br>āpāviṣma  | अपाविषि<br>āpaviṣi        | अपाविष्वहि<br>āpaviṣvahi   | अपाविष्महि<br>āpaviṣmahi  |
| 2 अपावीस्<br>āpāvis     | अपाविष्टम्<br>āpāviṣṭam  | अपाविष्टा<br>āpāviṣṭa | अपाविष्टास्<br>āpaviṣṭhās | अपाविषाथाम्<br>āpaviṣāthām | अपाविढुम्<br>āpaviḍhum    |
| 3 अपावीत्<br>āpāvīt     | अपाविष्टाम्<br>āpāviṣṭām | अपाविषुस्<br>āpāviṣus | अपाविष्टा<br>āpaviṣṭa     | अपाविषाताम्<br>āpaviṣātām  | अपाविषत<br>āpaviṣata      |
| 1 अबोधिषम्<br>ābodhiṣam | अबोधिष्व<br>ābodhiṣva    | अबोधिष्म<br>ābodhiṣma | अबोधिषि<br>ābodhiṣi       | अबोधिष्वहि<br>ābodhiṣvahi  | अबोधिष्महि<br>ābodhiṣmahi |
| etc.                    | etc.                     | etc.                  | etc.                      | etc.                       | etc.                      |

903. The number of roots from which forms of this aorist have been noted in the older language is nearly a hundred and fifty (in RV., about eighty; in AV., more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.); the later texts add less than twenty. Among these are no roots in *ā*; but otherwise they are of every variety of form (rarest in final *i* and *ī*). Active and middle persons are freely made, but sparingly from the same root; only about fifteen

roots have both active and middle forms in the older language, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other.

a. No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the *iṣ-* and the *s-*aorist; and in no small number of cases the same root shows forms of both classes.

904. Irregularities are to be noticed as follows:

a. The contracted forms *akramīm*, *agrabhīm*, and *avadhīm* (with augmentless *vādhīm*) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For *ācarīt* occurs in AV. *ācarāit*; also (in a part of the manuscripts) *ṣarāis* for *ṣaris*; *agrahāiṣam* is found in AB. (also the monstrous form *ajagrabhāiṣam*: see 801i). *Ajayit*, with short *i* in the ending, occurs in TS.

c. AV. has once *nudiṣṭhās*, without *guṇa*.

d. The forms *atārima* (RV.), *avādiran* (AV.), and *bādhithās* (TA.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist: compare *avitā*, 908. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, *jānithās*, *mādithās*, *varthithās*, *ṣaṅkithās*, and (the causative: 1048) *aghātayithās*. *Agṛhītām* and *gṛhithās* and *gṛhīta*, if not false readings for *gṛhṇī-*, are probably irregular present-formations.

### Modes of the *iṣ*-aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: *ṣāṇsiṣam*, *vādhīm*; *māthīs*, *vādhīs*, *yāvīs*, *sāvīs*; *āvit*, *jūrvīt*, *māthit*, *vādhīt*, *veçit*; *mardhiṣtam*, *doṣiṣtam*, *hiṇsiṣtam*; *aviṣtam*, *jāniṣtam*, *bādhīṣtam*; *ṣramiṣma*, *vādiṣma*; *vadhiṣta* and *vadhiṣtana*, *mathiṣtana*, *hiṇsiṣta*; *hvāriṣus*, *grahiṣus*; — in the middle: *rādhiṣi*; *jāniṣṭhās*, *marṣiṣṭhās*, *vyathiṣṭhās*; *krāmiṣta*, *jāniṣta*, *paviṣta*, *prāthiṣta*, *māndiṣta*; *vyathiṣmahī*. The accent is on the root-syllable (*tāriṣus*, AV. once, is doubtless an error).

906. a. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. *daviṣāni*, and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened *e*) *yāciṣāmahe* and *saniṣāmahe*.

b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: *aviṣas*, *kāniṣas*, *tāriṣas*, *rakṣiṣas*, *vādhīṣas*, *vādiṣas*, *veṣiṣas*, *ṣāṇsiṣas*; *kāriṣat*, *jambhiṣat*, *jōṣiṣat*, *takṣiṣat*, *tāriṣat*, *nīndiṣat*, *pāriṣat*, *bōdhiṣat*, *mārdhiṣat*, *yāciṣat*, *yodhiṣat*, *rakṣiṣat*, *vaniṣat*, *vyathiṣat*, *ṣāṇsiṣat*, *saniṣat*, *sāviṣat*. They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding *a* to the tense-stem in *iṣ* before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. *saniṣan* and mid. *sāniṣanta* (and TS. has *vaniṣanta*,

for the problematic *vanuṣanta* of RV.), which are also regular. *Bhaviṣāt* (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign; *cāniṣ-ṭhat* (RV.; SV. instead *jāniṣṭhat*) seems hopelessly corrupt. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative: but we have *san-* in the subjunctive against *asāniṣam* (as to *cay-* and *ran-*, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language (923, 925b). It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other *iṣ*-forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: *janiṣiya*, *indhiṣiya*, *edhiṣiyá*, *ruciṣiya* and *rociṣiya*, *gmiṣiya*; *modiṣiṣṭhās*; *janiṣiṣṭa*; *vaniṣiṣṭa*; *sahiṣivahi*; *idhiṣimahi*, *edhiṣimáhi*, *janiṣimahi*, *tāriṣimahi*, *mandiṣimahi*, *vandiṣimáhi*, *vardhiṣimáhi*, *sahiṣimahi* and *sāhiṣimáhi*. The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule. The forms *janiṣeyam* and *-ya*, from a secondary *a*-stem, occur in K.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from *√av* a series: namely, *avidḍhi*, *aviṣtu*, *aviṣtām*, *avitá* (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for *aviṣṭá*) and *aviṣṭāna*; two of these are of unmistakably imperative form. Other forms occur only in 2d du. and 2d pl., and are accordingly such as might also be subjunctives used imperatively (which is further made probable for two of them by their accentuation on the root-syllable): they are *kramiṣtām*, *gamiṣtām*, *caniṣtām*, *cayiṣtām* (against *acāyiṣam*), *tāriṣtām*, *yodhiṣtām*, *vadhiṣtām*, *ṇathiṣtām*; *rāniṣṭāna* (against *arāniṣus*), *ṇathiṣṭāna*.

909. No words having a participial ending after *iṣ* are found anywhere to occur.

910. This is the only aorist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, 1035, 1048, 1068.

## 6. The *siṣ*-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in *श्रा ā* (including *मि mi fix*, *मि mi* (or *mī*) *damage* and *ली li cling*, which substitute forms in *ā*), and from *न्म् nam bow*, *यम् yam reach*, and *रम् ram be content*, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the *s*-form (878 ff.). Its inflection is precisely like that of the *iṣ*-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than

its first persons, which we may form from the roots या *yā* go and नम् *nam* bow. Thus:

| s.  | d.   | p.   | s.   | d.   | p.   |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|
| 1 अयासिषम् अयासिष्व अयासिष्व अनासिषम् अनासिष्व अनासिष्व |      |      |      |      |      |
| āyāsiṣam āyāsiṣva āyāsiṣma ānaṣiṣam ānaṣiṣva ānaṣiṣma   |      |      |      |      |      |
| etc.  | etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. |

912. The *siṣ*-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the *iṣ*-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added *s*. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots *gā* sing and *yā* go, and in AV. only from *hā* leave, and doubtless also from *pyā* fill up and *van* win (see below, 914b); the remaining older texts add *jñā* know (B.), *jyā* over-power, *dhyā* think (ÇB. once: the edition reads -dhā-), and *ram* be content (SV.: a bad variant for RV. *rāsiya*); other Brāhmaṇa forms which might be also of the *s*-aorist are *adrāsīt*, *avāsīt*, and *ahvāsīt*; and *bhuk-ṣiṣiṣya* (PB. S.) must be regarded as an anomalous formation from *√bhuj*, unless we prefer to admit a secondary root *bhukṣ*, like *bhakṣ* from *bhaj*. In the later language have been found quotable from other roots only *glāsīs*, *adhmāsīt*, *anaṣiṣīt*, *apāsīt*, *mlāsīs*, and *amnāsīṣus*.

a. The participle *hāsamāna* and causative *hāsayanti* (RV.) show that *hās* had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside *hā* for other forms than the aorist.

913. The whole series of older indicative forms (omitting, as doubtful, the 2d and 3d sing.) is as follows: *agāsiṣam*, *ajñāsiṣam*, *ayāsiṣam*, *adhyāsiṣam*; *ajyāsiṣtām*, *ayāsiṣtām*; *ajñāsiṣma*; *ajñāsiṣta*, *āyāsiṣta*; *agāsiṣus*, *ayāsiṣus* (*ākṣiṣus* is from *√akṣ* attain).

a. Forms without augment are these: *jñāsiṣam*, *raṁsiṣam*, *hāsiṣam*; *hāsiṣtām*; *hāsiṣtām*; *hāsiṣta*; *hāsiṣus*, *gāsiṣus*, *jñāsiṣus*. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. a. Of proper subjunctives are found two, *gāsiṣat* and *yāsiṣat* (both RV.).

b. Optatives are not less rare: namely, *yāsisīṣthās* and *pyāsiṣīmahi* (for which the AV. manuscripts read *pyāciṣīmahi*, altered in the edition to *pyāyiṣ-*); and doubtless *vañciṣiṣya* (AV., twice) is to be corrected to *vaṁsiṣiṣya*, and belongs here. As to *bhukṣiṣiṣya*, see above, 912.

c. The accent of *yāsiṣtām* (like *aviṣtām*, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and *yāsiṣta* (RV., once) is doubtless the same, with anomalous *i* for *i*.

915. Middle forms of this aorist, it will be noticed, occur from the optative only; but, considering the great rarity of the whole formation, we are hardly justified in concluding that in the ancient language the middle persons in *-siṣi*, *-siṣthās*, etc., were not allowable, like those in *-iṣi*, *-iṣthās*, and the others of the *iṣ*-aorist.

## 7. The sa-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this aorist end in  $\text{प्र} \text{ç}$ ,  $\text{ष्} \text{s}$ , or  $\text{ह} \text{h}$  — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make  $\text{त्} \text{kṣ}$ ; and they have  $\text{इ} \text{i}$ ,  $\text{उ} \text{u}$ , or  $\text{ऋ} \text{ṛ}$  as radical vowel.

a. They are as follows:  $\text{दिç}$ ,  $\text{रिç}$ ,  $\text{लिç}$ ,  $\text{विç}$ ,  $\text{क्लिç}$ ,  $\text{क्रुç}$ ,  $\text{रुç}$ ,  $\text{मृç}$ ,  $\text{स्पृç}$ ;  $\text{त्विç}$ ,  $\text{द्विç}$ ,  $\text{çलिç}$ ,  $\text{विç}$ ,  $\text{क्ष}$ ;  $\text{दिह}$ ,  $\text{लिह}$ ,  $\text{गुह}$ ,  $\text{दुह}$ ,  $\text{रुह}$ ,  $\text{तृह}$ ,  $\text{वृह}$ ,  $\text{स्थ}$ ; from about half of them sa-forms, earlier or later, are quotable. Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take aorists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel  $\text{a}$  in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-aorist.

917. As the tense-stem ends in  $\text{अ} \text{a}$ , the inflection is in the main like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation. But (according to the grammarians: the forms unfortunately have not been found quotable) the 1st sing. mid. ends in  $\text{इ} \text{i}$  instead of  $\text{ए} \text{e}$ , and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in  $\text{आथाम्} \text{āthām}$  and  $\text{आताम्} \text{ātām}$ , as in imperfects of the other conjugation. Both active and middle inflection is admitted. The root is throughout unstrengthened.

918. As example of inflection we may take the root  $\text{दिष्} \text{diç}$  *point*. Thus:

| active.                                 |   |  | middle.                                    |   |  |
|---|---|--|--|---|--|
| s.                                      | d.  | p.                                     | s.   | d.  | p.   |
| 1 $\text{अदिक्षम्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣam}$ | $\text{अदिक्षाव}$<br>$\text{ádikṣāva}$    | $\text{अदिक्षाम}$<br>$\text{ádikṣāma}$ | $\text{अदिक्षि}$<br>$\text{ádikṣi}$        | $\text{अदिक्षावहि}$<br>$\text{ádikṣāvahi}$  | $\text{अदिक्षामहि}$<br>$\text{ádikṣāmahi}$   |
| 2 $\text{अदिक्षस्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣas}$ | $\text{अदिक्षतम्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣatam}$  | $\text{अदिक्षत}$<br>$\text{ádikṣata}$  | $\text{अदिक्षथाम्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣathās}$ | $\text{अदिक्षāthām}$<br>$\text{ádikṣāthām}$ | $\text{अदिक्षध्वम्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣadhvam}$ |
| 3 $\text{अदिक्षत्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣat}$ | $\text{अदिक्षताम्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣatām}$ | $\text{अदिक्षन्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣan}$  | $\text{अदिक्षत}$<br>$\text{ádikṣata}$      | $\text{अदिक्षताम्}$<br>$\text{ádikṣātām}$   | $\text{अदिक्षन्त}$<br>$\text{ádikṣanta}$     |

919. In the earlier language, the forms of the sa-aorist are hardly more than sporadic. They are made in RV. from seven roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add ten more, making nineteen in all (the later language makes no additions to this number). As later, all have  $\text{i}$  or  $\text{u}$  or  $\text{ṛ}$  as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with  $\text{s}$  to  $\text{kṣ}$ ; but there are in the list also two

ending in *j*, namely *mṛj* and *vṛj*. All the examples noted are given below.

a. So far as the middle forms are concerned, this aorist would be fully explained as a transfer of certain *s*-aorists to an *a*-inflection. The marked difference in the strength of radical vowel in the active, however, stands in the way of the successful application of such an explanation to the active forms.

920. a. In the indicative, we find, in the active: *avṛkṣam*; *adrukṣas*, *adhukṣas*, *arukṣas*, *akrukṣas*, *asṛkṣas* (and MBh. adds *amṛkṣas*); *adikṣat*, *amikṣat*, *alikṣat*, *avikṣat*, *ākrukṣat*, *aghukṣat*, *adukṣat* and *ādhukṣat*, *ārukṣat*, *avṛkṣat*, *akṛkṣat*, *āmṛkṣat*, *āsṛkṣat*; *aghukṣatām*; *arukṣāma*, *amṛkṣāma*, *avṛkṣāma*; *ādhukṣan*, *apikṣan* (*√piṣ*), *arukṣan*, *asṛkṣan*; — in the middle, only *akṛkṣathās* (*√krṣ*), *ādhukṣata*, and *amṛkṣanta* (and MBh. adds *amṛkṣata*?).

b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: *ḍṛkṣam*, *mṛkṣam*; *dukṣas*, *rukṣas*, *mṛkṣas*; *dvikṣat*; *mṛkṣata*; *dhukṣān* and *dukṣān*; — in the middle, *dvikṣata*, *dukṣata* and *dhukṣata*, *dhukṣānta*.

c. There are no optative forms.

d. Imperative are: in the active, *mṛkṣatam*; in the middle, *dhukṣāsva*.

e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign *sā*, in analogy with the *a*-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the *ā*-class: a single exception is *dhūkṣata*, which probably needs emendation to *dhukṣāta*.

f. The aspiration of initial *d* and *g*, after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots *duh* and *guh*, but not from *druh* (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also *adukṣat* and *dukṣas*, *dukṣān*, *dukṣata*.

### Precative.

921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.

922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:

a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign *yā*: 770), *i* and *u* are lengthened; *ṛ* is usually changed to *ri*, but to *ir* and *ūr* in those roots which elsewhere show *ir*- and *ur*- forms (so-called *ṛ*-roots: 242), and to *ar* in *ṛ* and *smṛ*; *ā* is changed to *e* in the roots *dā*, *dhā*, *sthā*, *pā* *drink*, *gā* *sing*, and a few others, in part optionally.



b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in *badhyāsam* from *√bandh*; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in *ucyāsam*, *ijyāsam*, *vidhyāsam*, *supyāsam*, *grhyāsam*; *√çās* forms *çiṣyāsam* (compare 639, 854c): and so on.

c. It has been pointed out above (837) that the active precative is an optative of the root-aorist, with a problematic insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending.

923. a. The precative middle is made by adding the middle precative endings (above, 568) to the root increased by *स्* or *इष्* *ि* — that is, to the tense-stem of an *s*-aorist or of an *iṣ*-aorist (but without augment).

b. The root is strengthened according to the rules that apply in forming the middle-stem of the *s* and of the *iṣ*-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before *इष्* *ि*.

c. As was pointed out above (567) the middle precative is really the optative of certain aorists, with the insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending only (so far as authenticated by use) in the 2d and 3d singular. In the older language, such forms are oftenest made from the *s*-aorist (895) and the *iṣ*-aorist (907); but also from the root-aorist (837 b), the *a*-aorist (850a), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the *siṣ*-aorist (914b); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root *भू* *bhū* *be*, which is said (no middle aorist or precative from it is quotable) to form its middle on the *iṣ*-stem. Thus:

|   | active.             |                         |                      |
|---|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
|   | s.                  | d.                      | p.                   |
| 1 | भूयासम्<br>bhūyāsam | भूयास्व<br>bhūyāsva     | भूयास्म<br>bhūyāsma  |
| 2 | भूयास्<br>bhūyās    | भूयास्तम्<br>bhūyāstam  | भूयास्त<br>bhūyāsta  |
| 3 | भूयात्<br>bhūyāt    | भूयास्ताम्<br>bhūyāstām | भूयासुम्<br>bhūyāsus |

|               | s.           | middle.<br>d.  | p.           |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1 भविषीय      | bhaviṣīyá    | भविषीवद्भि     | भविषीमद्भि   |
|               |              | bhaviṣīváhi    | bhaviṣīmáhi  |
| 2 भविषीष्टास् | bhaviṣīṣṭhās | भविषीयास्थास्  | भविषीढ्वम्   |
|               |              | bhaviṣīyāsthām | bhaviṣīḍhvām |
| 3 भविषीष्ट    | bhaviṣīṣṭá   | भविषीयास्ताम्  | भविषीरन्     |
|               |              | bhaviṣīyāstām  | bhaviṣīrān   |

a. The forms given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the sibilant. Those persons, and the 2d pl., have never been met with in use. For the question respecting the ending of the 2d pl., as *dhvam* or *ḍhvam*, see 226 c.

925. a. The precative active is a form of very rare occurrence in the classical language. In each of the texts already more than once referred to (Mann, Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeça) it occurs once and no more, and not half-a-dozen forms have been found quotable from the epics. As to its value, see 573 c.

b. The precative middle is virtually unknown in the whole later literature, not a single occurrence of it having been brought to light. The BhP. has once *ririṣīṣṭa*, which is also a RV. form, belonging probably to the reduplicated aorist: see 870.

### Uses of the Aorist.

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: 582) appear to accord with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after *mā* was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (579).

a. The tense-value of the aorist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.

927. The aorist of the later language is simply a preterit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.

a. Thus, *tataḥ sa gardabhaṁ laguḍena tāḍayāmāsa; tenā 'sāu pañcatvam agamat* (H.) *thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died; tataḥ sã vidarbhān agamat punaḥ; tāñ tu bandhujanāḥ samapūjayat* (MBh.) *thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence; prītimān abhūt, uvāca*

cāi 'nam (MBh.) he was filled with affection, and said to him; tam adahat kāṣṭhāḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā (R.) he burned him with wood, and he became then a heavenly form.

928. The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary *have*. In general, it indicates what has just taken place; and oftenest something which the speaker has experienced.

a. Examples from the Veda are: pāri 'mé gām aneṣata pāry agnīm ahr̥ṣata, devéṣv akrata ṛávaḥ ká imān ā dadhar̥ṣati (RV.) these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods — who shall venture anything against them? yām āichāma mānasā sò 'yām ā 'gāt (RV.) he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come; yéné 'ndro haviṣā kṛtv̥y ābhavad dyumny ūttamāḥ, idām tād akri devā asapatnāḥ kīlā 'bhuvam (RV.) that libation by which Indra, making it, became (impf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies.

b. Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: sā hā 'smiñ jyóg uvāsa... tato ha gandharvāḥ sām ūdire: jyóg vā iyām urvāḇi manuṣyēṣv avātsīt (ÇB.) she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvāḇi, forsooth, hath dwell a long time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: tam ho 'vāca: apat-sata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.) his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"; indrasya vṛtrām jaghnūṣa indriyām vīryam pṛthivīm ānu vy ārchat tād oṣadhayo vīrúdhō 'bhavan sā prajāpatim ūpā 'dhāvad vṛtrām me jaghnūṣa indriyām vīryam pṛthivīm ānu vy ārat tād oṣadhayo vīrúdhō 'bhūvann íti (TS.) of Indra, when he had slain Vritra, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants; he ran to Prajāpati, saying: "my force and might, after slaying Vritra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"; svayām enam abhyudétya brūyād vrātya kvā 'vātsiḥ (AV., in prose passage) going up to him in person, let him say: "Vrātya, where hast thou abode"? yād idānīm dvāu vivāda-mānāv eyātām ahām adar̥ṣam ahām aṇrāuṣam íti yā evā brūyād ahām adar̥ṣam íti tasmā evā ṛāddadhyāma (ÇB.) if now twō should come disputing with one another, [the one] saying "I have seen", [the other] "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".

929. a. This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the Brāhmaṇa language (including the older Upanishads and the Sūtras), and is closely observed; violation of it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin.

b. In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained; many passages would admit an

interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

930. The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evanescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected. Thus: *svāsasthe bhavatam indave na iti somo vāi rāje 'nduḥ somā-yāi 'vāi 'ne etad rājña āsade 'cikṣpat* (AB. i. 29. 7) "*be ye comfortable seats for our Indu*", he says; *Indu is king Soma*; by this means he has made them (instead of makes them) suitable for king Soma to sit upon; *vāruṇīr āpo yād adbhīr abhiṣiñcāti vāruṇam evāi 'nam akar* (MS. iv. 3. 10) *the waters are Varuna's; in that he depours him with waters, he has made him Varuna*; *pañcābhir vyāghārayati pāṅkto yajñó yāvān evā yajñās tām ālabdhā 'tho yāvān evā yajñās tasmād rākṣāṅsy āpahanti* (MS. iii. 2. 6) *he smears with five; fivefold is the offering; as great as is the offering, of it he has [thereby] taken hold; then, as great as is the offering, from it he smites away the demons*. This idiom is met with in all the Brāhmaṇas; but it is especially frequent in the MS.

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## CHAPTER XII.

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### THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS.

931. THE verb has two futures, of very different age and character. The one has for tense-sign a sibilant followed by *ya*, and is an inheritance from the time of Indo-European unity. The other is a periphrastic formation, made by appending an auxiliary verb to a derivative noun of agency, and it is a recent addition to the verb-system; its beginnings only are met with in the earliest language. The former may be called the *s-future* (or the old future, or simply the future); the latter may be distinguished as the *periphrastic future*.

I. The s-future. -स्या ∞ -िष्या

932. The tense-sign of this future is the syllable स्य syá, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel इ i (in the latter case becoming इष्य iṣyá). The root has the guna-strengthening. Thus, from √दा dā give is formed the future tense-stem दास्य dāsyá; from √इ i go, the stem एष्य eṣyá; from √दुह duh milk, the stem धोक्ष्य dhokṣyá; from √भू bhū be, the stem भविष्य bhaviṣyá; from √क्ष्ण् ṛdh thrive, the stem अर्धिष्य ardhīṣyá; and so on.

a. But from √जिव live the stem is जिविष्यá, from √वृक्ष sprinkle it is वृक्षिष्यá, and so on (240).

b. There are hardly any Vedic cases of resolution of the tense-sign sya into sia; RV. has कृषीántas once.

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in अ a (second general conjugation: 733a). We may take as models of inflection the future of √दा dā give, and that of √कृ kr make. Thus:

| active.   |           |            | middle.    |                  |                         |
|---|-----------|------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| s.  | d.        | p.         | s.         | d.               | p.                      |
| 1 दास्यामि दास्यावस् दास्यामस् दास्ये दास्यावहे दास्यामहे       | dāsyāmi   | dāsyāvas   | dāsyāmas   | dāsyé            | dāsyāvahe dāsyāmahe     |
| 2 दास्यसि दास्यथस् दास्यथ दास्यसे दास्येथे दास्यध्वे            | dāsyāsi   | dāsyāthas  | dāsyātha   | dāsyāse dāsyéthe | dāsyādhve               |
| 3 दास्यति दास्यतस् दास्यन्ति दास्यते दास्येते दास्यन्ते         | dāsyāti   | dāsyátas   | dāsyānti   | dāsyāte dāsyéte  | dāsyānte                |
| 1 करिष्यामि करिष्यावस् करिष्यामस् करिष्ये करिष्यावहे करिष्यामहे | kariṣyāmi | kariṣyāvas | kariṣyāmas | kariṣyé          | kariṣyāvahe kariṣyāmahe |
| etc.  | etc.      | etc.       | etc.       | etc.             | etc.                    |

a. In the epics are found occasional cases of 1st du. and pl. in va and ma: e. g. राक्षस्यāva (R.), भक्षयिष्यāva (causative: MBh.); ऐष्यāma (MBh.), वत्स्यāma (R.).

934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel i before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accord between this tense and the other future and the desiderative; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist (s-

aorist on the one side, or iā-aorist on the other), any correspondence is still less traceable. Practically, it is necessary to learn, as a matter of usage, how any given root makes these various parts of its conjugational system.

935. Below is added a statement of the usage, as regards the auxiliary vowel, of all the roots found quotable — for the most part, in the form of a specification of those which add the tense-sign directly to the root; in brackets are further mentioned the other roots which according to the grammarians also refuse the auxiliary vowel.

a. Of roots ending in vowels, the great majority (excepting those in *ṛ*) take no *i*. Thus, all in *ā* (numerous, and unnecessary to specify: but compare *c* below); — those in *i*, as *kṣi* *possess*, *ci* *gather*, *ci* *note*, *mi*, *si* or *sā* *bind* (*siṣya*), *hi*; from *i*, *kṣi* *destroy*, and *ji* occur forms of both classes; *ṛi* [and *ṣvi*] has *i*; — those in *ī*, as *kṛī*, *bhī*, *mī*, *vī*; but *qī* *lie* and *nī* have both forms [and *qī* takes *i*]; — those in *u*, as *cyu*, *dru*, *plu*, *ṛru*, *hu*; but *su* *press out* and *stu* have both forms [and *kṣu*, *kṣnu*, *nu*, *yu*, *ru*, *snu* take *i*]; — of those in *ū*, *dhū* and *bhū* take *i*; *sū* has both forms. But all in *ṛ* (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take *i* [those in changeable *ṛ*, for so-called *ṛ*-roots (242), are said by the grammarians to take either *i* or *ī*; no *ī*-forms, however, are quotable].

b. Of roots ending in mutes, about half add the tense-sign directly. Thus, of roots ending in gutturals, *ṣak*; — in palatals: in *c*, *pac*, *muc*, *ric*, *vac*, *vic*, *vraṣc*, *sic* (but *yāc* takes *i*); in *ch*, *prach*; in *j*, *bhañj*, *mṛj* (*mārṣya* and *mraṣya*), *yaj*, *bhuj*, *yuj*, *vṛj*, *sṛj* [also *bhrajj*, *rañj*, *sañj*, *svañj*, *nij*, *ruj*], while *tyaj*, *bhaj*, and *majj* (*mañṣya* and *majjiṣya*) have both forms, and *viḥ* (*vijṣya* and *vejiṣya*) and *vraḥ* take *i*; — in dentals: in *t*, *kṛt* *cut* and *vṛt* [also *cṛt* and *nṛt*] make both forms; in *d*, *ad*, *pad*, *ṣad* *fall*, *skand*, *syand*, *chid*, *bhid*, *vid* *find*, *nud* [also *had*, *khid*, *svid*, *kṣud*, *tud*]; while *sad* (*satsya* and *sidiṣya*) and *vid* *know* make both forms [also *chṛd* and *tṛd*], and *vad* has *i*; in *dh*, *vyadh* (*vetsya*), *rādh*, *sidh* *succeed*, *budh*, *yudh*, *rudh*, *vṛdh* [also *sādh*, *krudh*, *kṣudh*, *ṣudh*], and *bandh* and *sidh* *repel* have both forms; in *n*, *tan*, while *man* and *han* have both forms; — in labials: in *p*, *āp*, *kṣip*, *gup*, *tṛp*, *sṛp* (*srapsya* and *sarpsya*) [also *ṣap*, *lip*, *lup*], while *tap*, *vap*, *svap*, *dṛp*, and *kṛp* have both forms; in *bh*, *yabh* and *rabh*, *labh* having both forms; in *m*, *ram*, while *kram*, *kṣam*, *nam*, and *yam* make both forms.

c. Of the roots reckoned by the grammarians as ending in semivowels (761 d—g) all take *i*. And *vā* or *vi* *weave*, *vyā* or *vī* *envelop*, and *hvā* or *hū* *call* take a *y*-form, as in their present-system, to which then *i* is added: thus, *vayiṣya*, *vyayiṣya*, *hvayiṣya* (but also *hvāsyā*).

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in *ṣ*, *diṣ*, *viṣ*, *dṛṣ* (*drakṣya*), *sprṣ* (*sprakṣya*) [also *dañṣ*, *riṣ*, *liṣ*, *kruṣ*, *mṛṣ*], while *naṣ* *be lost* has both forms (*nañṣya* and *naṣiṣya*); — in *ṣ*, *piṣ*, *viṣ*, *ṣiṣ* [also

tviṣ, dviṣ, çliṣ, tuṣ, duṣ, puṣ, çuṣ], while *krṣ* has both forms (*krakṣya* and *karṣiṣya*); — in *s*, *vas shine*, *vas clothe* [also *ghas*], while *vas dwell* has both forms; — in *h*, *mih*, *duh*, *druh* [also *nah*, *dih*, *lih*], while *dah*, *vah*, *sah*, and *ruh* have both forms.

e. In the older language, a majority (about five ninths) of simple roots add the *sya* without auxiliary *i*; of the futures occurring in the later language only, nearly three quarters have the *i*, this being generally taken by any root of late origin and derivative character — as it is also uniformly taken in secondary conjugation (1019, 1036, 1050, 1068).

936. As the root is strengthened to form the stem of this future, so, of a root that has a stronger and a weaker form, the stronger form is used: thus, from *√bandh* or *badh bind*, *bhantsya* or *bandhiṣya*.

a. By an irregular strengthening, *nañkṣya* (beside *naçṣiya*) is made from *√naç* *be lost*, and *mañkṣya* (beside *majjiṣya*) from *√majj* *sink*.

b. But a few roots make future-stems in the later language without strengthening: thus, *likhiṣya*, *miliṣya* (also TS.), *vijiṣya* (also *vejiṣya*), *siṣya* (*√sā* or *si*), *sūṣya* (939 b), *sphuṭiṣya*; and *√vyadh* makes *vetsya* from the weaker form *vidh*.

c. The ÇB. has once the monstrous form *açnuviṣyāmahe*, made upon the present-stem *açnu* (697) of *√aç* *attain*. And the later language makes *sīdiṣya* and *jahiṣya* from the present-stems of *√sad* and *√hā*. Compare further *hvayiṣya* etc., 935 c. Also *khyāiṣya* from *√khyā* (beside *khyāṣya*) appears to be of similar character.

d. A number of roots with medial *r* strengthen it to *ra* (241): thus, *krakṣya*, *trapsya*, *drapsya*, *drakṣya*, *mrakṣya* (beside *mārṣya*), *sprakṣya*, *srakṣya*, *srapṣya* (beside *sarṣya*), and *mradiṣya* (beside *mardiṣya*); and *√kṛp* forms *klapsya* (beside *kalpiṣya*).

e. The root *grah* (also its doublet *glah*) takes *ī* instead of *i*, as it does also in the aorist and elsewhere.

937. This future is comparatively rare in the oldest language — in part, apparently, because the uses of a future are to a large extent answered by subjunctive forms — but becomes more and more common later. Thus, the RV. has only seventeen occurrences of personal forms, from nine different roots (with participles from six additional roots); the AV. has fifty occurrences, from twenty-five roots (with participles from seven more); but the TS. has occurrences (personal forms and participles together) from over sixty roots; and forms from more than a hundred and fifty roots are quotable from the older texts.

### Modes of the s-future.

938. Mode-forms of the future are of the utmost rarity. The only example in the older language is *kariṣyās*, 2d sing. subj. act., occurring once (or twice) in RV. (AB. has once *notsyāvahāi*, and GB. has *eṣyāmahāi*, *taṁsyāmahāi*, *sthāsyāmahāi*, but they are doubtless false read-

ings for -he. Two or three optative forms are found in the epics: thus, *dhakṣyet* and *maṁsyeran* (MBh.), and *drakṣyeta* (R.); also an imperative *patsyantū* (Har.). And several 2d pl. mid. in *dhvam* are quotable from the epics: thus, *vetsyadhvam*, *saviṣyadhvam*, and (the causative) *kālayiṣyadhvam* (PB.) and *jivayiṣyadhvam* (MBh.: and one text has *mokṣyadhvam* at i. 133.13, where the other reads *mokṣayadhvam*), and *bhaviṣyadhvam* (MBh. R.): it is a matter of question whether these are to be accounted a real imperative formation, or an epic substitution of secondary for primary endings (compare 542a).

### Participles of the s-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in *अ a*: namely, by adding in the active the ending *न् nt*, in the middle the ending *मान māna*; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, *दास्यन्* *dāsyānt* and *दास्यमान* *dāsyā-māna*, *करिष्यन्* *kariṣyānt* and *करिष्यमाण* *kariṣyāmāna*.

a. According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in *āntī* or in *atī*; but only the former has been noted as occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare: see above, 449 e, f.

b. In RV. occurs once *sūṣyantī*, from *√sū*, with anomalous accentuation.

### Preterit of the s-future: Conditional.

940. From the future-stem is made an augment-preterit, by prefixing the augment and adding the secondary endings, in precisely the same manner as an imperfect from a present-stem in *अ a*. This preterit is called the conditional.

a. It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional *aurais* to the future *aurai*, or as the English *would have* to *will have* — nearly as the German *würde haben* to *werde haben*.

b. Thus, from the roots already instanced:

| active.    |          |          | middle. |            |            |
|------------|----------|----------|---------|------------|------------|
| s.         | d.       | p.       | s.      | d.         | p.         |
| 1 अदास्यम् | अदास्याव | अदास्याम | अदास्ये | अदास्यावहि | अदास्यामहि |
| ádāsyam    | ádāsyāva | ádāsyāma | ádāsyē  | ádāsyāvahi | ádāsyāmahi |



- 2 अदास्यत् अदास्यतम् अदास्यत अदास्यथास् अदास्येथाम् अदास्यध्वम्  
 ādāsyas ādāsyatam ādāsyata ādāsyathās ādāsyethām ādāsyadhvam
- 3 अदास्यत् अदास्यताम् अदास्यन् अदास्यत अदास्येताम् अदास्यन्त  
 ādāsyat ādāsyatām ādāsyān ādāsyata ādāsyetām ādāsyanta
- 1 अकारिष्यम् अकारिष्याव अकारिष्याम अकारिष्ये अकारिष्यावहि अकारिष्यामहि  
 ākariṣyam ākariṣyāva ākariṣyāma ākariṣye ākariṣyāvahi ākariṣyāmahī  
 etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, *ābharīṣyat* *was going to carry off*, and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brāhmaṇas it is hardly more common — except in ÇB., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, or Hitopadeṣa; only one in Manu; and two in Çakuntalā. In the whole MBh. (Holtzmann) it is found about twenty-five times, from thirteen roots. The middle forms are extremely few.

## II. The Periphrastic Future.

942. a. This formation contains only a single indicative active tense (or also middle: see 947), without modes, or participle, or preterit.

b. It consists in a derivative *nomen agentis*, having the value of a future active participle, and used, either with or without an accompanying auxiliary, in the office of a verbal tense with future meaning.

943. The noun is formed by the suffix तृ tr (or तर tar); and this (as in its other than verbal uses: see 1182) is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary vowel इ i, the root itself being strengthened by guṇa, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, दातृ dātृ from √दा dā *give*; कर्तृ kartृ from √कृ kr *make*; भवितृ bhavitृ from √भू bhū *be*.

a. As regards the presence or absence of the vowel i, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the s-future from the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in र take no i: thus, कर्तृ (against kariṣya); roots han and gam show the same difference; while वृत्, वृध, and syand have i here, though

not in the s-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (373), is used without auxiliary: thus, भविता bhavitā *he or she or it will be*; भवितारौ bhavitārau *both will be*; भवितारम् bhavitāras *they will be*. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of √अस् as *be* (636) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun.

a. Thus, from दा दā *give*:

|   | active.             |                        |                       |
|---|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
|   | s.                  | d.                     | p.                    |
| 1 | दातास्मि<br>dātāsmi | दातास्वम्<br>dātāsvas  | दातास्मम्<br>dātāsmas |
| 2 | दातासि<br>dātāsi    | दातास्यम्<br>dātāsthas | दातास्य<br>dātāstha   |
| 3 | दाता<br>dātā        | दातारौ<br>dātārau      | दातारम्<br>dātāras    |

b. Occasionally, in the epics and later (almost never in the older language), the norm of the tense as given above is in various respects departed from: thus, by use of the auxiliary in the 3d person also; by its omission in the 1st or 2d person; by inversion of the order of noun and auxiliary; by interposition of other words between them; by use of a dual or plural nom. with the auxiliary; and by use of a feminine form of the noun. Examples are: vaktā 'sti (MBh.) *he will speak*; nihantā (MBh.) *I shall or thou wilt strike down*, yoddhā 'ham (R.) *I shall fight*, ahaṁ draṣṭā (MBh.) *I shall see*, kartā 'ham te (BhP.) *I will do for thee*, tvam bhavitā (MBh. Megh.) *thou wilt be*; asmi gantā (MBh.) *I shall go*; pratigrahītā, tām asmi (MBh.) *I will receive her*, hantā tvam asi (MBh.) *thou wilt slay*; kartārau svaḥ (MBh.) *we two shall do*; draṣṭry asmi (MBh.) *I (f.) shall see*, udbhavitṛī (Nāṣ.) *she will increase*, gantrī (Y.) *she will go*. AB. has once sotā as 2d sing., *thou wilt press*; JUB. makes the combination ṣmaçānāni bhavitāras *the cemeteries will be*.

c. An optative of the auxiliary appears to be once used, in yoddhā syām *I would fight* (R. i. 22. 25 Peterson; but the Bombay edition reads yoddhum yāsyāmi).

945. The accent in these combinations, as in all the ordinary cases of collocation of a verb with a preceding predicate noun or

adjective (592), is on the noun itself; and, unlike all the true verbal forms, the combination retains its accent everywhere even in an independent clause: thus, *tārhi vā atināṣṭrō bhavitāsmi* (ÇB.) *then I shall be out of danger* (where *bhaviṣyāmi*, if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (595), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verb-form: 1083b), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the *nomina agentis* in *tr̥* or *tar*, like various other derivative nouns (271), but with especial frequency, are used in participial construction, governing the accusative if they come from roots whose verbal forms do so (1182). Often, also, they are used predicatively, with or without accompanying copula; yet without any implication of time; they are not the beginnings, but only the forerunners, of a new tense-formation. Generally, when they have a participial value, the root-syllable (or a prefix preceding it) has the accent. The tense-use begins, but rather sparingly, in the Brāhmaṇas (from which about thirty forms are quotable); and it grows more common later, though the periphrastic future is nowhere nearly so frequent as the *s*-future (it is quotable later from about thirty additional roots).

947. a. A few isolated attempts are made in the Brāhmaṇas to form by analogy middle persons to this future, with endings corresponding after the usual fashion to those of the active persons. Thus, TS. has once *prayoktāse I will apply* (standing related to *prayoktāsmi* as, for example, *çāse to çāsmi*); ÇB. has *çayitāse thou shalt lie* (similarly related to *çayitāsi*); and TB. has *yaṣṭāmahe we will make offering*. But in TA. is found (i.11) *yaṣṭāhe* as 1st sing., showing a phonetic correspondence of a problematic character, not elsewhere met with in the language.

b. On the basis of such tentative formations as these, the native grammarians set up a complete middle inflection for the periphrastic future, as follows:

|   | s.     | d.        | p.       |
|---|--------|-----------|----------|
| 1 | dātāhe | dātāsvahe | dātāmahe |
| 2 | dātāse | dātāsāthe | dātādhe  |
| 3 | dātā   | dātārāu   | dātāras  |

c. Only a single example of such a middle has been brought to light in the later language, namely (the causative) *darçayitāhe* (Nāiṣ.).

### Uses of the Futures and Conditional.

948. As the *s*-future is the commoner, so also it is the one more indefinitely used. It expresses in general what is going to take place at some time to come — but often, as in other languages, adding on the one hand an implication of will or intention, or on the other hand that of promise or threatening.

a. A few examples are: *varṣiṣyáty āiṣāmaḥ parjanya vṛṣṭimān bhaviṣyati* (ÇB.) *it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year; yás tán ná véda kím ṛcā kariṣyati* (RV.) *whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? á vāi vayám agní dhāsyāmahé 'tha yūyám kím kariṣyatha* (ÇB.) *we are going to build the two fires; then what will you do? tám índro 'bhyádudrāva haniṣyān* (ÇB.) *him Indra ran at, intending to slay; yády evā kariṣyátha sākām devāir yajñīyāso bhaviṣyatha* (RV.) *if ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dāntās te ṇatsyanti* (AV.) *thy teeth will fall out; ná mariṣyasi mā bibheḥ* (AV.) *thou shalt not die; be not afraid; brūhi kva yāsyasi* (MBh.) *tell us; where are you going to go? yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi viṣam āsthāsyē* (MBh.) *if you shall reject me, I will resort to poison. As in other languages, the tense is also sometimes used for the expression of a conjecture or presumption: thus: ko 'yaṁ devo gandharvo vā bhaviṣyati* (MBh.) *who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva; adya svapsyanti* (MBh.) *they must be sleeping now.*

b. The spheres of future and desiderative border upon one another, and the one is sometimes met with where the other might be expected. Examples of the future taken in a quasi-desiderative sense are as follows: *yád dāṇuṣe bhadraṁ kariṣyāsi távé 't tát satyám* (RV.) *what favor thou wilt bestow on thy worshiper, that of thee cometh actual (is surely brought about); yáthā 'nyád vadiṣyánt sò 'nyád vádet* (ÇB.) *as if, intending to say one thing, one were to say another.*

949. The periphrastic future is defined by the grammarians as expressing something to be done at a definite time to come. And this, though but faintly traceable in later use, is a distinct characteristic of the formation in the language where it first makes its appearance. It is especially often used along with *çvās tomorrow*.

a. A few examples are: *adya varṣiṣyati ... çvó vraṣṭā* (MS.) *it is going to rain today; it will rain tomorrow; yatarān vā ime çvaḥ kamitāras te jetāras* (K.) *whichever of the two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; prātār yaṣṭāsmāhe* (TB.) *we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning; ityahé vaḥ paktāsmi* (ÇB.) *on such and such a day I will cook for you; tán ma ékāṁ rātrim ānte çayitāse jātā u te 'yām tārhi putró bhavitā* (ÇB.) *then you shall lie with me one night, and at that time this son of yours will be born. In other cases, this definiteness of time is wanting, but an emphasis, as of special certainty, seems perhaps to belong to the form: thus, bibhr̥hí mā pārayiṣyāmi tvé 'ti: kásmān mā pārayiṣyāsi 'ty āughā imāḥ sārvaḥ prajā nirvodhā, tátas tvā pārayitāsmi 'ti* (ÇB.) *support me and I will save you, said it. From what will you save me? said he. A flood is going to carry off all these creatures; from that I will save you, said it; paridevayām cakrire mahac chokabhayam prāptāsmāḥ* (GB.) *they set up a lamentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"; yaje 'yakṣi yaṣṭāhe ca* (TA.) *I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifice. In yet other cases,*

in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, *prajāyām enaṁ vijñātāsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā* (AB.) *in his children we shall know him, whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge; vak-tāsmo vā idaṁ devebhyaḥ* (AB.) *we shall tell this to the gods; yadi svārtho mamā 'pi bhavitā tata evaṁ svārthaṁ kariṣyāmi* (MBh.) *if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair; kathaṁ tu bhavitāsy eka iti tvāṁ nṛpa ṣocimi* (MBh.) *but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you.*

950. The conditional would seem to be most originally and properly used to signify that something *was going to* be done. And this value it has in its only Vedic occurrence, and occasionally elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.

a. Thus, *yó vṛtrāya śínam átrā 'bharíṣyat prá táṁ jānitṛi vidúṣa uvāca* (RV.) *him, who was going here to carry off Vṛtra's wealth, his mother proclaimed to the knowing one; ṣatāyurñ gām akariṣyam* (AB.) *I was going to make (should have made) the cow live a hundred years* (in other versions of the same story is added the other clause, in which the conditional has a value more removed from its original: thus, in GB., *if you, villain, had not stopped [prāgrahīṣyaḥ] my mouth); táta evā 'sya bhayám vī 'yāya kásmād dhy ábheṣyad dvitíyād vāi bhayám bhavati* (ÇB.) *thereupon his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person; útpapāta cirám tán mene yád vāsaḥ paryádhasyata* (ÇB.) *he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment; sá tád evá ná 'vindat prajāpatir yátrā 'hoṣyat* (MS.) *Prajapati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice; evaṁ cen ná 'vakṣyo mūrdhā te vyapatiṣyat* (GB.) *if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off; sá yád dhāi 'tāvad evā 'bhaviṣyad yāvatyo hāi 'vā 'gre prajāñ sṛṣṭās tāvatyo hāi 'vā 'bhaviṣyan ná prā 'janiṣyanta* (ÇB.) *if he had been only so much, there would have been only so many living creatures as were created at first; they would have had no progeny; kim vā 'bhaviṣyad aruṇas tamasām vibhettā taṁ cet sahasrakiraṇo dhuri ná 'kariṣyat* (Ç.) *would the Dawn, forsooth, be the scatterer of the darkness, if the thousand-rayed one did not set her on the front of his chariot?*

## CHAPTER XIII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS: PARTICIPLES,  
INFINITIVES, GERUNDS.

951 a. THOSE verbal adjectives, or participles, which are made from tense-stems, and so constitute a part of the various tense-systems, have been already treated. It remains to describe certain others, which, being made directly from the root itself, belong to the verbal system as a whole, and not to any particular part of it.

b. The infinitive (with a few sporadic exceptions in the older language) also comes in all cases from the root directly, and not from any of the derived tense-stems.

c. The same is true of the so-called gerunds, or indeclinable participles.

*past*  
(Passive) Participle in *tá* or *ná*.

952. By the accented suffix त *tá* — or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न *ná* — is formed a verbal adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्त *dattá given*; उक्त *uktá spoken*. Hence it is usually called the passive participle; or, to distinguish it from the participle belonging to the passive present-system (771), the past passive participle.

a. When made from an intransitive or neuter verb, the same participle, as in other languages, has no passive but only an indefinite past sense: thus, गत *gatá gone*; भूत *bhūta been*; पतित *patitá fallen*. *one who has gone*

953. In general, this participle is made by adding त *tá* to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

a. Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel *i* to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add *ná* instead of *tá*, see below, 956, 957.

*formed directly from root = does not belong to tense system*

b. As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085a.

954. The root before ढ *tá* has usually its weakest form, if there is anywhere in the verbal system a distinction of weak and strong forms. Thus:

a. A penultimate nasal is not seldom dropped: examples are *aktá* (√*añj*), *baddhá* (√*bandh*), *ṣrabdha* (√*ṣrambh*), *daṣṭá* (√*dañṣ*), *srasta* (√*srañs*), *bāḍha* (√*bañh*).

b. Roots which are abbreviated in the weak forms of the perfect (794) suffer the same abbreviation here: examples are *uktá* (√*vac*), *uṣṭá* (√*vas shine*), *uptá* (√*vap*: also *vapta*), *ūḍhá* (√*vah*), *suptá* (√*svap*), *iṣṭá* (√*yaj*), *viddhá* (√*vyadh*); — and, by a similar procedure, √*prach* (or *praç*) makes *prṣṭá*, √*bhrañṣ* makes *bhrṣṭa* (beside the regular *bhraṣṭá*), and √*ṣrā* *boil* makes *ṣṛtá* (beside *ṣrātá*).

c. Final *ā* is weakened to *ī* in *gītá* (√*gā sing*), *dhītá* (√*dhā suck*), *pītá* (√*pā drink*), *sphītá*; and *jītá*, *vītá*, *ṣītá* are made from the roots *jyā*, *vyā*, *ṣyā*, (or *jī* etc.); — and further to *i* in *chitá* (beside *chātá*), *dita* (√*dā divide* and *dā bind*), *drita* (? √*drā sleep*), *hitá* (√*dhā put*: with *h* for *dh*; but *dhita* also occurs in V.), *mitá* (√*mā measure*), *ṣitá* (also *ṣāta*), *sitá*, *sthitá*. ✓

d. A final *m* is lost after *a* in *gatá*, *natá*, *yatá*, *ratá* (from √*gam* etc.); and a final *n* in *kṣata*, *tatá*, *matá*, *hatá*. As to the other roots in *am* and *an* taking *ta*, see 955 a, b. yam ००  
1.9

e. More isolated cases are *-ūta* (RV.: √*av*), *utá* or *ūta* (√*vā weave*), *ṣiṣṭá* (also *ṣāsta*: √*ṣās*), *mūrtá* (referred to √*murch*). As to *-gdha* and *jagdhá*, see 233 f.

f. On the other hand, √*svad* makes *svāttá*.

955. Of more irregular character are the following:

a. A number of roots ending in *am* retain the nasal, and lengthen the radical vowel (as also in some others of their verbal forms): thus, *kāmta*, *krāmtá*, *klāmtá*, *kṣāmta*, *cāmta*, *tāmtá*, *dāmtá*, *bhrāmta*, *vāmtá*, *ṣāmtá* (√*gam be quiet*), *ṣrāmtá* (from √*kam* etc.); and one in *an*, *dhvan sound*, makes *dhvāntá*.

b. A few roots in *an* make their participle from another root-form in *ā*: thus, *khātá*, *jātá*, *-vāta*, *sātá*; *dham* has both *dhamitá* and *dhmātá*.

c. Certain roots in *iv* take their *yū*-form (765 a): thus, *dyūtá* (√*div play*), *ṣṭhyūtá*, *syūtá*; but √*miv* makes *-mūta*.

d. From roots in changeable *ṛ* (generally taking *na*: 957 b) are made also *pūrtá* (√*pr fill*: beside *prṭa*), *ṣṛta* and *ṣūrtá* (√*ṣṛ crush*); and *ṣṛta* is further made from √*ṣrī mix*.

e. Double forms are *mugdhá* and *mūḍha*, *sāḍhā* and *soḍha*, *dhūrta* and *dhruta*, *hṛṣṭa* and *hrutá*.

f. The root *dā* give makes *dattá* (from the secondary root-form *dad*; but *dāta* also in V.). But the anomalously contracted form *-tta* (as if for *dāta*, with the radical vowel lost) is also frequent in composition, especially with prepositions: thus, *ātta*, *ānutta*, *pāritta*, *prātta*, *prātitta*; rarely with other elements, as *devātta*, *punartta*, *marūtta* (?). And the same abbreviated form comes from *√dā* divide in *āvatta*.

g. The roots making participles in both *ta* and *ita*, or *ta* and *na*, or in all three, will be noted in the next two paragraphs.

956. The suffix with  $\text{३ i}$ , or in the form  $\text{३i ita}$ , is used especially with roots having finals that are only with difficulty, if at all, combinable with  $\text{३ t}$  according to the usual analogies of the language, and often with roots of a secondary, derivative, or late character; but also not seldom with original roots.

a. Thus, of roots presenting difficulties of combination: — 1. all that end in two consonants (save those of which one consonant is lost by a weakening process: 954 a, b): e. g. *ṣaṅk*, *valg*, *vāñch*, *lajj*, *ubj*, *ceṣṭ*, *ghūrṇ*, *katth*, *nind*, *jalp*, *cumb*, *umbh*, *khall*, *pinv*, *ṣaṅs* (also *ṣastá*), *rakṣ*, *hiṅs*, *garh* (in all, over fifty); but *takṣ* makes *taṣṭá*; — 2. all that end in linguals (including  $\text{ṣ}$  after *a* or *ā*): e. g. *aṭ*, *truṭ*, *paṭh*, *luṭh*, *īḍ*, *vruḍ*, *bhaṇ*, *kaṣ*, *bhāṣ*; — 3. all that end in surd spirants: e. g. *likh*, *grath*, *nāth*, *kuth*, *riph*, *guph*; — 4. all that end in *l*: e. g. *cal*, *gil*, *mīl*, *lul*, *khel*: — 5. all that end in other persistent semi-vowels: namely, *carv* (also *cūrṇa*), *jīv* (for the other roots in *iv*, see 955 c), *dhāv* *run*, *sev*, *day*, *vyay*, *pūy*; — 6. *ujh*. — This class includes more than half of the whole number that take only *ita*.

b. Of other roots ending in consonants: — 1. in gutturals, *cak*, *ḍhāuk* (*ṣak* has both *ta* and *ita*); *ḍlāgh*; — 2. in palatals, *ac* (also *akná*), *uc*, *kuc*, *khac*, *yāc*, *ruc*; *ajp*, *kūj*, *vraj*, also *tyaj* and *mṛj* in late texts (usually *tyaktá* and *mṛṣṭá*); — 3. in dentals, *at*, *pat*, *ṣcut*, also *yat* in epos (elsewhere only *yattá*); *krad*, *khād*, *gad*, *cud*, *nad*, *mud*, *mṛd*, *rad*, *rud*, *vaḍ*, *vid* *know*, *hrād*; also *nud* in epos (elsewhere *nuttá* and *nunna*); *mad* has both *mattá* and *maditá* (the majority of roots in *d* take *na*: 957 d); *edh*, *kṣudh*, *gadh*, *dudh*, *nādh*, *bādh*, *spardh*; *an*, *in*, *kvan*, *dhvan*, *pan*, *ran* *ring*, *van*, *stan*, *svan*, and *dhvan* (also *dhvāntá*); — 4. in labials *cup*, *yup*, *rup*, and usually *kup* (*kupta* late) and *lap* (*lapta* epic), occasionally *kṣip*, *gup*, *tap*, *ḍṛp*, *vap*, *ṣap*, while *jap* has both *ta* and *ita*; *grabh* (*grbhītá*), *ṣubh*, *skabh*, and occasionally *lubh*, while *kṣubh* and *stabh* have both forms; *tim*, *dham*, *ṣam* *labor*, *stim*, and *kṣam* in epos (also *kṣānta*); — 5. in spirants, *aṣ* *eat*, *īṣ*, *kāṣ*, *kṛṣ*, *vāṣ*, *ṣaṣ*,



while *piç* has both forms, and *mṛç* takes *ita* only late; *iç* *send*, *iç*, *kuç*, *tṛç*, *tviç*, *pruç*, *miç*, *rūç*, *heç*, *hreç*, also *muç* except late, while *dhṛç*, *ruç*, and *hrç* show both forms; *ās*, *bhas*, *bhās*, *ras*, *las*, *vas* *shine*, *has*, also *as* *throw* occasionally, while *kas*, *gras*, *yas*, *vas* *shine*, *vas* *dwell*, *çās* (with *çiṣṭá* and *çāsta*), *çvas*, and *hras* make both forms; *ih*, *grah* (*gr̥hītá*), *jah* (secondary form of *hā*), *mah*, *rah*, and occasionally *ūh* *remove*, while *gāh* has both forms.

c. Of roots ending in vowels, only *çī* *lie*, which makes *çayita* (with *guṇa* of root, as elsewhere: 620).

d. In general, a root maintains its full form before *ita*; but there are a few exceptions: thus, *gr̥bhītá* and *gr̥hītá* (the root being reckoned as *grabh* and *grah*: see 720), *uditá* (also *vadita* in the later language), *uṣita* (*vas* *shine*; beside *uṣṭá*), *uṣita* (*vas* *dwell*: also sporadically *vasita* and *uṣṭa*), *ukṣitá* (*vakṣ* *increase*), *çṛthitá* (*çṛath*). From *ṽmrj* are made both *mṛjita* and *mārjita* (with strengthening as in present and elsewhere: 627), beside *mṛṣṭá*.

e. Instead of *i*, long *ī* is taken in *gr̥bhītá* and *gr̥hītá*.

957. The suffix *न ना* (always without auxiliary *ङ* *i*) is taken instead of *त ता* by a number of roots (about seventy). Thus:

a. Certain roots in *ā*: thus, *kṣā*, *glā*, *drā* *run*, *drā* *sleep*, (also *drita*?), *mlā* (also *mlātá*), *vā* *blow* (also *vāta*), *çyā* (also *çinā*), *styā*, *hā* *leave* (also *hīnā* and *hāta*), *hā* *go forth*; and *dā* *divide* makes *dinā* (also *dita* and *-tta*). Further, certain roots in *i*- and *u*-vowels: thus, *kṣi* *destroy* (*kṣīna*; also *kṣitá*), *çī*, *pī*, *lī* *cling*, *vī*, *çī* or *çyā* *coagulate* (beside *çyāna* and *çīta*), *hrī* (beside *hrīta*); *dū* *burn* (also *duta*), *lū*, *çū*; and *dīv* *lament* makes *dyūna* (compare 765).

b. Roots in *ṛ*, which before the suffix becomes *ir* or *ūr*: the forms are, *aṛṇa* (late; beside *ṛtá*), *kīṛṇa* (*ṽkr* *scatter*), *gīṛṇá* (*ṽgr* *swallow*), *jīṛṇá* and *jūrṇá* (*ṽjr* *waste away*), *tīṛṇá* and *tūrṇa* (also *tūrtá*), *dīṛṇá* (*ṽdṛ* *pierce*: also *dṛta*), *pūrṇá* (*ṽpṛ* *fill*: also *pūrtá* and *pṛta*), *mūrṇá* (*ṽmr* *crush*), *çīṛṇá* (*ṽçṛ* *crush*: also *çīrta* and *çūrtá*?), *stīṛṇá* (also *stṛta*). Of like character with these are *īṛṇá* from *ṽir*, *cīṛṇa* (beside *carita*) from *ṽcar*, *gūrṇa* (beside *gūrtá*) from *ṽgur*, a secondary form of *gr̥*, and *cūrṇa* (beside *carvita*) from *ṽcarv*, which is also plainly a secondary root.

c. A few roots ending in *j* (which becomes *g* before the suffix, against the usual rule of internal combination: 216f): thus, *bhagna* (*ṽbhañj*), *bhugna* (*ṽbhuj* *bend*), *magná* (*ṽmajj*), *ruṅná*, *vigna* (beside *vikta*). Further, two or three ending in *c* (similarly treated): thus, *akná* (*ṽac* or *añc*: also *acita* and *añcita*), *ṽṛkṇá* (*ṽvraçc*), and apparently *-pṛṅṇa* (RV., once: with doubly irregular change of root-final, from *ṽpṛc*). And one root in *g*, *lagna*.

d. A considerable number, some of them very common ones, of roots in d (which, against ordinary rule, becomes n before the suffix: 157b). The forms are: unna (also utta), arṇṇa?, klinna, kṣuṇṇa, kṣviṇṇa, khinna, channa, chinṇá, chṛṇṇá, tunná, tṛṇṇá, nunna (also nuttá and nudita), panná, bhinná, vinna (√vid find: also vittá), ṣanna (√ṣad fall), sanná (also sattá), skanná (√skand), syanná (√syand), svinná, hanna. And ánna food, in spite of its different accent, appears to be a like formation from √ad eat.

958. The native grammarians reckon as participles of this formation a few miscellaneous derivative adjectives, coming from roots which do not make a regular participle: such are kṣāma burnt, kṛṣá emaciated, pakvá ripe, phullá expanded, ṣūṣka dry.

#### Past Active Participle in tavant (or navant).

959. From the past passive participle, of whatever formation, is made, by adding the possessive suffix क्तवन्त, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, तत् कृतवान् *tát kṛtāvān having done that*; ताम् निगिर्नावान् *taṁ nigīrnavān having swallowed him down*. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (452 ff.); its feminine ends in वती vatī; its accent remains on the participle.

960. Derivative words of this formation are found in RV., but without anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example, with participial meaning: अ॒र्चि॒ता॒व॒त्य॒ अ॒ति॒थ॒हो॒ one's guest having eaten (loc. abs.). In the Brāhmaṇas also it is hardly met with. In the later language, however, it comes to be quite common. And there it is chiefly used predicatively, and oftenest without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb-form in a past tense: primarily, and not seldom, signifying immediate past, or having a true "perfect" value; but also (like the old perfect and the old aorist in later use) coming to be freely used for indefinite time, or with the value of the imperfect (779). For example: मा॒म॒ न॒ क॒ा॒चि॒द॒ द॒र्श॒ता॒व॒न् *no one has seen (or saw) me*; सा॒ न॒कु॒ला॒न् व्य॒प॒ा॒दि॒ता॒व॒न् *he destroyed the ichneumon*; or, with copula, मा॒हा॒त॒ क॒ृ॒च॒र॒म॒ प्रा॒प॒ता॒व॒त्य॒ अ॒सि॒ *thou hast fallen upon great misery*. Although originally and properly made only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in ta stands in the relation of an objective predicate), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, *cūtena saṁcṛitavatī* (Ṣ.) *has become united with the mango-tree*; *gatavatī* (ib.) *she has gone*.

a. The same participle is also made in the secondary conjugations:

e. g. darṣitavant *having shown*, prabodhitavant *having awakened*.

b. Possessives also in in made from passive participles are sometimes found used in an analogous manner, nearly as perfect active participles: e. g. *iṣṭīn having sacrificed*, *vijitino manyamānāḥ* (AB.) *thinking themselves to have conquered*.

### Future Passive Participles: Gerundives.

961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in the language a value as qualifying something which is to, or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root from which they come; and they are allowed to be made from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper participles, sometimes treated as a part of the general verbal system, and called future passive participles, or gerundives (like the Latin forms in *ndus*, to which they correspond in meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely *य ya*, *तव्य ta-* *व्य*, and *अनीय anīya*.

a. Derivatives in *ya* having this value are made in all periods of the language, from the earliest down; the other two are of more modern origin, being entirely wanting in the oldest Veda (RV.), and hardly known in the later. Other derivatives of a similar character, which afterward disappear from use, are found in the Veda (966).

963. The suffix *ya* in its gerundive use has nothing to distinguish it from the same suffix as employed to make adjectives and nouns of other character (see below, 1213). And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.

a. The original value of the suffix is *ia*, and as such it has to be read in the very great majority of its Vedic occurrences. Hence the conversion of e and o to ay and av before it (see below).

b. Thus: 1. Final *ā* becomes *e* before the suffix: *dēya*, *dhyeya*, *khyēya*, *mēya* (perhaps *dā-ia* etc., with euphonic *y* interposed); but RV. has once *-jñāya*. — 2. The other vowels either remain unchanged, or have the *guṇa* or the *vṛddhi* strengthening; and *e* usually and *o* always are treated before the *ya* as they would be before a vowel: thus, *-kṣāya*, *jāya*, *bhāya*, *lāya*; *nāya*, *bhāya*, *hāya*, *bhāvya*; *vāya*: and, in the later language, *nīya*, *jeya*, *dhūya* (such cases are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds t

always

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before the suffix: thus, *itya*, *mitya*, *ṛútya*, *stútya*, *kṛtya* (the only Vedic examples): — 3. Medial *a* remains unchanged or is lengthened: thus, *dábhya*, *vándya*, *sádyā*; *mādyā*, *vācyā*. — 4. Medial *i*, *u*, and *ṛ*-vowels are unchanged or have the *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *īḍya*, *gúhya*, *dhṛṣya*; *dvēṣya*, *yódhya*, *márjya*.

c. The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds half as many more. Except in *bhāviā* (once), the accent in RV. is always on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the *i* of the suffix (hence written *ādyā*, *ācyā*, *-vyādhyā*, *-dharṣyā*). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed: always the former, if the *ya* follow a vowel.

964. a. The suffix *tavya* is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in *tu* (below, 968), made by adding the suffix *ya* (properly *īa*, whence the accent *yā*), before which the final *u*, as usual (1203 a), has *guṇa*-strengthening, and is resolved into *av*.

b. Hence, as regards both the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel *i* before the *tavya*, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, 968).

c. No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, *janitavyā* and *hiṁsitavyā*. In the Brāhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and from the derived conjugational stems (next chapter); in the classical language it is still more frequent. According to the grammarians, the accent of the word is either circumflex on the final or acute on the penult: thus, *kartavyā* or *kartāvya*; in the accentuated texts, it is always the former (the accent *tāvya* given to certain gerundives in the Petersburg lexicons is an error, growing out of the ambiguous accentuation of ÇB.: 88c).

965. a. The suffix *anīya* is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix *īya* (1215) to a *nomen actionis* formed by the common suffix *ana*.

b. It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix *ana* (below, 1150).

c. This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in *upajīvaniya* and *āmantranīya* (in both of which, moreover, its distinct gerundive value admits of question). In the Brāhmaṇas (where less than a dozen examples of it have been noted), and in the later language, it is less common than the gerundive in *tavya*. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix *īya*, is on the penult: thus, *karāṇīya*.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in *tua* or *tva*, apparently made from the infinitival noun in *tu* with the added suffix *a* (1209). They are *kártua* (in two occurrences *kártva*), *-gaṁtva*, *jántua*, *jétua*, *nántua*, *váktua*, *sótua*,

snātua, hāntua, hétua, hótva; and, with auxiliary i (or I), jānitva, sānitva, bhāvītva.

b. Gerundives in enia or enya (compare 1217): they are ikṣēṇia, idēṇia, carēṇia, dṛṣēṇia, -dviṣēṇia, bhūṣēṇia, yudhēṇia, vāreṇia (and bhajenya BhP.); with one example from an apparent aorist-stem, yaṁsēṇia, and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, 1019, 1038, 1068a).

c. Gerundives in āyia (once āyya: compare 1218): they are dakṣāyia, panāyia, vidāyia, ṣṛavāyia, hnavāyia; with a few from secondary conjugation-stems (below, 1019, 1038, 1051, 1068a); and stuṣṭyāyia is of close kindred with them.

d. A few adjectives in elima, as pancelima, bhidelima (only these quotable), are reckoned as gerundives by the grammarians.

967. The division-line between participial and ordinary adjectives is less strictly drawn in Sanskrit than in the other Indo-European languages. Thus, adjectives in u, as will be seen later (1178), from secondary conjugational stems, have participial value; and in the Brāhmaṇas (with an example or two in AV.) is found widely and commonly used a participial adjective formed with the suffix uka (1180).

### Infinitives.

968. The later language has only a single infinitive, which is the accusative case of a verbal noun formed by the suffix तु tu, added to the root usually directly, but often also with aid of the preceding auxiliary vowel इ i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is तुम् tum or इतुम् itum. The root has the guṇa-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, एतुम् étum from √इ i; कर्तुम् kártum from √कृ kr; चरितुम् cárítum from √चर car; भवितुम् bhávitum from √भू bhū.

a. As regards the use or omission of i, the infinitive (as also the gerund in tvā: 991) follows in general the analogy of the passive participle (956). Examples are (with the gerund added) as follows: dagdhá, dagdhum, dagdhvā from √dah; bhinná, bhéttum, bhittvā from √bhid; matá, mántum, matvā from √man; ūdhá, vódhum, ūdhvā from √vah; patitá, pátitum, patitvā from √pat; yācitá, yācitum, yācitvā from √yāc; ṣayitá, ṣayitum, ṣayitvā from √ṣi. But certain exceptions and special cases require notice. Thus:

b. Of roots having no quotable participle, infinitive stems in tu are made from ad, sagh; in itu from uñch, ūh consider, kṣap, lunṭh, lok, svar; and in both from yabh.

c. Of roots making participles of both forms, an infinitive stem in *tu* only is quotable for *kṣip*, *kṣubh*, *tap*, *tyaj*, *mṛṣ*, *lubh*, *vas* *shine*, *ṣak*, *stabh*; only in *itu* for *gāh*, *carv*, *jap*, *mad*, *yat*, *van*, *ṣaṇh*, *ṣvas*; in both for *as* *throw*, *ūh* *remove*, *gup*, *car*, *mṛj* (*mārṣtu*, *mār-jitu*), *lap*, *vas* *dwelt*, *ṣap*, *ṣās*.

d. Also in a number of other cases (besides those already noticed) an infinitive stem is made both with and without *i*. Thus, in addition to the more regular form, a stem in *itu* is occasionally met with from roots *aç* *attain*, *iṣ* *seek*, *bandh*, *bhaj*, *yaj* (*ījitum*), *rudh* *obstruct*, *ruh*, *vṛṣ*, *sad* (*sīditum*), *sah*, *han*, *hṛ*; and one in *tu* from roots *ās*, *bhāṣ*, *vid* *know*. Both forms occur also from certain *am*-roots, namely *nam*, *yam*, *ram*, and, with *ā* before *tu* as in the *p*ple, *kram* and *bhram* (*kṣam* has only *kṣamtu*, against the analogy of *kṣāmāta*); further, from certain roots in variable *ṛ*, namely *tṛ* (*tartu*, *tarītu*), *vṛ* *cover* (*vārtu*, *varītu*), and *stṛ* (*stārtu*, *starītu*, *stārītu*) (but from *ṣṛ* *crush* occur only *ṣārītu*, *ṣarītu*, and from *vṛ* *choose* only *varītu*; while *gr* *swallow* and *pr* *fill* make their infinitive from other root-forms, namely *giritum*, *pūritum*); further, from a few vowel-roots, namely *nī*, *cyu*, *sū* (*sūtu*); and finally from *kṛṣ*, *nṛt*, *ṣuc*.

e. Against the analogy of the participle, infinitive-stems in *itu* after a final consonant are made from the roots *av*, *kṣan*, *khan* and *jan* (the *p*ples coming from *khā* and *jā*), *guh*, *jabh*, *tam*, *div* *play* and *div* *lament* (both *devitu*), *majj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *sṛp*; and after a final vowel, from roots in *ū*, namely *pū*, *bhū*, *sū* (also *sūtu*), and from *ṣṛi* and *ṣvi*; as to roots in variable *ṛ*, see just above, d.

f. As the infinitive is made from the (accented and) strengthened root, so it naturally has, as a rule, the stronger or fuller root-form where a weaker or contracted form is taken by the participle (and gerund in *tvā*): e. g. *vāktu* against *uktā* (and *uktvā*), *yāṣtu* against *iṣtā* (and *iṣtvā*), *banddhum* against *baddhā* (and *baddhvā*), and so on. Deserving special notice are *gātu* (*√gā* *sing*) against *gītā*, and *dhātu* (*√dhā* *suck*) against *dhītā*; and so from *dā* *give* and *hā* *leave* are made only *dātu* and *hātu*; but *dhā* *put*, *mā* *measure*, and *sthā* add to the regular *dhātu*, *mātu*, *sthātu* the late forms *-dhītu*, *-mitu*, *-sthitu*; and *sā* or *si* has *sātu*, *sētu*, and *-sītu*; *vā* *weave* (*p*ple *utā*) has both *vātu* and *ōtu*; *hū* or *hvā* has *havītu*, *hvāyītu*, and *hvātu*. The root *vyadh* makes its only quotable infinitive, *veddhum*, from its *vidh*-form; from *sañj* or *saj* occur both *sañktu* and *saktu*. The anomalous epic forms *ījitum* (*√yaj*) and *sīditum* (*√sad*), were mentioned above. The root *grah* makes *grāhītum*.

g. In the later language, the infinitive-stem forms possessive compounds with *kāma* and *manas* (especially the former): e. g. *svapṭu-kāma* *having the wish to sleep*, *yaṣṭukāma* *desirous of sacrificing*, *vaktu-manas* *mindful to speak*.

h. In very rare instances, dative infinitives in *tave* or *tavāi* are

made from the infinitive stem in the later language (as abundantly in the earlier: 970b): thus, *pratihartave* (BhP.). And *jivase* (973a) is once found in MBh. (1. 3. 67 = 732), in a quasi-Vedī chymn to the Aṣvins.

969. In the Veda and Brāhmaṇa, however, a number of verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages — although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind.

970. The nouns thus used infinitively are the following:

a. The root-noun, without derivative suffix, is so used in its accusative in *am*, its dative in *e* or (from ā-roots) *āi*, its genitive and ablative in *as*, and its locative in *i*.

b. The verbal noun in *tu* is so used in its accusative in *tum*, its dative in *tave* or *tavāi*, and its ablative and genitive in *tos*.

Of other nouns only single cases, generally datives, are reckoned as used with infinitive value; thus:

c. From the verbal noun in *as*, the dative in *ase*; and also, in an extremely small number of instances, a dative in *se* (or *ṣe*), from a noun formed with *s* simply.

d. From nouns in *man* and *van*, datives in *mane* and *vane*.

e. From nouns in *ti*, datives in *taye*, or (from one or two verbs) in *tyāi*.

f. From nouns in *i*, datives in *āye*.

g. From nouns in *dhi* and *ṣi*, datives in *dhyāi* and *ṣyāi*.

h. A few infinitives in *ṣaṇi* are perhaps locatives from nouns in *an* added to a root increased by *s*.

i. From a single root, *dhṛ*, are made infinitively used forms in *tāri*, of which the grammatical character is questionable.

j. Among all these, the forms which have best right to special treatment as infinitives, on account of being of peculiar formation, or from suffixes not found in other uses, or for both reasons, are those in *ṣe*, *ṣaṇi*, *tari*, *dhyāi*, and *tavāi*.

k. Except the various cases of the derivative in *tu*, and of the root-noun, these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the Rīg-Veda.

l. Other suffixes and forms than those noticed above might be added; for it is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as infinitive and the ordinary case-uses: thus, *prajāpatim praçnām āitām* (TS.) *they went to ask Prajāpati*; *vīçvaṁ jivām prasuvāntī carāyāi* (RV.) *quickening every living being to motion*; *apāḥ sarmāya codāyan* (RV.) *impelling the waters to flow*; *çaknuyād grāhaṇāya* (instead of the usual *grāhitum*: ÇB.) *may be able to apprehend*; *ā tamanāt* (instead of the usual *tamitoḥ*: S.) *until exhaustion*. And the so-called infinitives

are found coördinated in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns: e. g. *cāritave... ābhogāya iṣṭāye rāyē* (RV.) *to go abroad, to enjoy, to seek wealth; ārtatrāṇāya na prahartum anāgasi* (Ç.) *for the rescue of the distressed, not for hurling at the innocent.*

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form (except that it does not take an added *t*: 383f), and the same accent, both when simple and when combined with prepositions, as in its other uses. In the very great majority of instances, it is made from roots ending in a consonant; but also from a few in *ā* (*khyā, dā, dhā, pāp, mā, yā*), from two or three in *i*- and *u*-vowels (*hī, mī, bhū*), and from one or two in changeable *ṛ*, which takes the *ir*-form (*tir, stir*).

a. The roots in *ā* form the accus. in *ām*, the dat. in *āi*, the abl. in *ās* (understanding *avasā* before *ā* as for *avasās* and not *avasāi* in RV. iii. 53.20), and the locative in *e* (only two examples, of which one is perhaps better understood as dative).

972. The infinitive noun in *tu* is made freely from roots of every form. The root takes the *guṇa*-strengthening, if capable of it, and often adds the auxiliary vowel *i* before the suffix (according to the rules already stated, 968). The root is accented, unless the noun be combined with a preposition, in which case the latter has the accent instead: thus, *kārtum, étave, hāntos*; but *nīkartum, nīretave, nīrhantos*.

a. The dative in *tavāi* is in two respects anomalous: in having the heavy feminine ending *āi* along with a strengthened *u*; and in taking a double accent, one on the root or on the prefixed preposition, and the other on the ending *āi*: thus, *étavāi, hāntavāi, ātyetavāi, āpabhartavāi*.

973. a. The infinitive in *ase* is made in RV. from about twenty-five roots; in AV. and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In near three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: e. g. *ṛñjāse, jivāse, bhiyāse, tujāse*; the exceptions are *cākṣase*; *dhāyase* (with *y* inserted before the suffix: 258); and *āyase, bhārāse, spārāse, hārāse* (with *guṇa*-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by *javāse, dohāse, bhojāse, çobhāse*. In *puṣyāse* is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

b. The ending *se* is extremely rare, being found only in *jiṣé* and perhaps *stuṣé*, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in *mane* are made from only five roots: thus, *trāmane, dāmane, bhārmane, and* (with different accent) *vidmane*. From *ṽdā* comes *dāvāne*; *turvāne* may come directly from *ṽtṛ*, or through the secondary root *turv*; *dhūrvāne* is rather from *ṽdhūrv* than from *ṽdhvṛ*.

975. a. The infinitives in *taye* are *iṣṭāye* (*ṽiṣ*), *pītāye* (*ṽpā drink*), *vītāye, sātāye*, and perhaps *ūtāye* (*ūtāye nīn to help his men*:



(RV.). In *tyāi*, the only examples noted are *ityāi* (RV.) and *sāḍhyāi* (MS. AB.).

b. With *aye* are formed *iṣāye*, *tujāye*, *ḍṛṣāye*, *mahāye*, *yudhāye*, *sanāye*; and *citāye* (VS.), *gṛhāye* (K.).

976. The ending *dhyāi* is, more than any other, irregular and various in its treatment. It has always an *a* before it; and in the majority of cases it is accented upon this *a*, and added to a weak form of root: thus, *qucādhyaī*, *prṇādhyaī*, *dhiyādhyaī*, *huvādhyaī*. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, *ṣayādhyaī*, *stavādhyaī*, *tarādhyaī*, *jarādhyaī*, *mandādhyaī*, *vandādhyaī*. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, *kṣarādhyaī*, *gāmadhyaī*, *yājadhyaī* (but once or twice also *yajādhyaī*), *vāhadhyaī*, *sāhadhyaī*, *bhāradhyaī*. In a single instance, *pībadhyaī*, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, *vāvṛdhādhyaī*, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in *ay*: thus, *mādayādhyaī*, *riṣayādhyaī*, etc.

a. This infinitive is by no means rare in RV., being made in thirty-five different forms (with seventy-two occurrences). But it is hardly known outside of the RV.; the AV. has it but once (in a passage found also in RV.); and elsewhere half-a-dozen examples have been noticed, in *mantra*-passages (one of them TS. falsely reads *gāmadhye*); in the *Brāhmaṇa* language proper it appears to be entirely wanting.

977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in *ṣyāi*: thus, *rōhiṣyāi* (TS.), *avyathīṣyāi* (K. Kap.; MS. *avyāthīṣe*; VS. *vyathīṣat*), and perhaps *-dhāsyāi* (PGS.).

978. The infinitives in *ṣāṇi* are: *iṣāṇi* (?) from *ṣiṣ send*, *-bhūṣāṇi* from *ṣbhū*; *ṣūṣāṇi* from *ṣcū* or *ṣvā*; *neṣāṇi* from *ṣnī*; *sakṣāṇi* from *ṣah*; *parṣāṇi* from *ṣpr*, *tariṣāṇi* from *ṣtr*; and *gṛṇiṣāṇi* and *-stṛṇiṣāṇi* from *ṣgr* and *stṛ* — the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. *gṛṇiṣe*, 804 d).

979. The only infinitive in *tari* is *dhartāri* (with its compound *vidhartāri*), from *ṣdhr*.

### Uses of the Infinitives.

980. The uses of the so-called infinitives are for the most part closely accordant with those of the corresponding cases from other abstract nouns. Thus:

981. The accusative, which is made only from the root-noun and the noun in *tu*, is used as object of a verb.

a. Especially, of forms from the root *ṣak be able*, and *arh be worthy*, have the right or the power. Thus, *ṣakéma tvā samīdham* (RV.) *may we accomplish thy kindling*; *mā ṣakan pratidhām iṣum* (AV.) *may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string*; *māno vā imāṁ sadyāḥ pāry-*

āptum arhati mānaḥ pāribhavitum (TS.) *the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her*; kó hy ètāsyā 'rhati gúhyaṁ nāma grāhitum (ÇB.) *for who is worthy to take his secret name?* In the Veda, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brāhmaṇa, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases).

b. Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, dākṣiṇāni hótum eti (TS.) *he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts*; índram pratíram emy āyuh (RV.) *I go to Indra for (i. e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life*; — of √dhṛ persist in, undertake: as, sá idāṁ jātāḥ sárvam evā dāgdhuṁ dadhre (ÇB.) *he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe*; — of verbs meaning desire, hope, notice, know, and the like: as, páçān vicītaṁ vettha sárvān (AV.) *thou knowest how to loosen all bonds*; tasmād agnīm ná "driyeta párihantum (ÇB.) *therefore one should not be careful to smother the fire*; — and of others.

982. Of the infinitive datives, the fundamental and usual sense is that expressed by *for, in order to, for the purpose of*.

Examples are: víçvaṁ jivāṁ carāse bodháyantī (RV.) *awakening every living creature to motion*; tán ūpa yāta píbadhyāi (RV.) *come to drink them*; nāi 'tām te devā adadur áttave (AV.) *the gods did not give her to thee for eating*; prāi "d yudháye dāsyum índraḥ (RV.) *Indra went forward to fight the demon*; cákṣur no dhehi vikhyāi (RV.) *give us sight for looking abroad*.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cakāra sūryāya pānthāṁ ānvetavā u (RV.) *he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following)*; çíçite çñge rákṣobhyo viníkṣe (RV.) *he whets his horns to pierce the demons*; rudrāya dhánur ā tanomi brahmadviṣe çarave hāntavā u (RV.) *I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater*; asmābhyam dṛçāye sūryāya púnar dātām ásum (RV.) *may they grant life again, that we may see the sun*.

b. An infinitive with √kr̥ make is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prā 'ndhām çronāṁ cákṣasa étave kr̥thaḥ (RV.) *ye make the blind and lame to see and go*; agnīm samídhe cakārtha (RV.) *thou hast made the fire to be kindled*. Of similar character is an occasional construction with another verb: as, yád im uçmāsi kártave kárat tát (RV.) *what we wish to be done, may he do that*; kavīñr icchāmi samdīçe (RV.) *I desire to see the sages*.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes

with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, *agnir iva ná pratidhīṣe bhavati* (TS.) *like fire, he is not to be resisted*; *mahimā te anyēna ná saṁnāṣe* (VS.) *thy greatness is not to be attained by another*; *nākim indro nīkartave ná çakráḥ páriçaktave* (RV.) *Indra is not to be put down, the mighty one is not to be overpowered*.

d. Sometimes an infinitive so used without a copula has quite nearly the value of an imperative: thus, *tyā me yaçāsā... āuçijō huvā-dhyāi [asti]* (RV.) *these glorious ones shall the son of Uçij invoke for me*; *sūktébhir vaḥ... indrā nv agnī ávase huvādhyāi [staḥ]* (RV.) *with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid*; *vandādhyā agnīm námobhiḥ [asmi]* (RV.) *let me greet Agni with homage*; *asmākāsaç ca sūrāyo víçvā āçās tariṣāṇi* (RV.) *and let our sacrificers cross all regions*; *tān nāi 'vām kártavāi* (MS.) *that must not be done so*; *brahmadviṣaḥ çārave hāntavā u* (RV.) *let the arrow slay the brahmataters*. The infinitives in *dhyāi* and *gaṇi* (which latter is in all its uses accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras (especially in ÇB.) the dative in *tavāi* is not seldom used with a verb signifying *speak* (*brū, vac, ah*), to express the ordering of anything to be done: thus, *tāsmād oṣadhīnām evā mūlāny ūcchettavāi brūyāt* (ÇB.) *therefore let him direct the roots of the plants to be cut up (speak in order to their cutting up: cf. yé vaçāyā ádānāya vādanti who dissuade from giving the cow: AV.)*.

983. The ablative infinitive — which, like the accusative, is made only from the root-noun and that in *tu* — is found especially with the prepositions *ā until* and *purā before*.

a. Thus, *ā tāmitoḥ* (TS. etc.) *until exhaustion*; *purā vācāḥ prāvaditoḥ* (TS.) *before utterance of the voice*. In the Brāhmaṇa language, this is the well-nigh exclusive construction of the ablative (it occurs also with *prāk, arvāk*, etc.); in the Veda, the latter is used also after *ṛté without*, and after several verbs, as *trā* and *pā protect, yu separate, bhī*, etc.

b. In a few instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated above for the dative (982a), a noun dependent on this infinitive is put in the ablative beside it: thus, *purā vāgbhyaḥ sampravaditoḥ* (PB.) *before the utterance together of the voices*; *trādhvaṁ kartād avapádaḥ* (RV.) *save us from falling down into the pit*; *purā dakṣiṇābhyo netoḥ* (Āpast.) *before the gifts are taken away*.

984. The genitive infinitive (having the same form as the ablative) is in common use in the Brāhmaṇa language as dependent on *īçvarā lord, master*, employed adjectively in the sense of *capable* or *likely* or *exposed* to.

a. Examples are: *tā [devātāḥ] īçvarā enam pradāhaḥ* (TS.) *they are likely to burn him up*; *átha ha vā īçvarō 'gnūḥ citvā kīncid dāuritām āpattor ví vā hvālitoḥ* (ÇB.) *so in truth he is liable*,

after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger; *īṣvaram vāi rathantaram udgātuḥ cakṣuḥ pramathitoḥ* (PB.) *the rathantara is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter.*

b. The dative is used in ÇB. instead of the genitive in a single phrase (*īṣvarāu jānayatavāi*); and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in tum. In a case or two the masc. sing. nom. *īṣvaraḥ* is used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies: thus, *tāsyē "ṣvarāḥ prajā pāpiyasī bhāvitoḥ* (ÇB.) *his progeny is liable to deteriorate.* And in a very few instances the word *īṣvara* is omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, *dve madhyamdinam abhi pratyetoh* (AB.) *two may be added to the noon libation; tāto dikṣitāḥ pāmanō bhāvitoḥ* (ÇB.) *then the consecrated is liable to get the itch.*

c. This construction with *īṣvara*, which is the only one for the genitive infinitive in the Brāhmaṇa, is unknown in the Veda, where the genitive is found in a very small number of examples with *madhyā*, and with the root *īṣ*: thus, *madhyā kārtoḥ* (RV.) *in the midst of action; īṣe rāyō dātoḥ* (RV.) *he is master of the giving of wealth; īṣe yōtoḥ* (RV.) *is able to keep away.*

985. Unless the infinitives in *ṣaṇi* and *tari* are locative in form (their uses are those of datives), the locative infinitive is so rare, and has so little that is peculiar in its use, that it is hardly worth making any account of. An example is *uśāso budhī* (RV.) *at the awakening of the dawn.*

986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences are twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and the accusative in tum is rare (only four forms in RV., only eight in AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas, the accusative has risen to much greater comparative frequency (its forms are nearly twice as many as those of the dative); but the ablative-genitive, which is rare in the Veda, has also come to full equality with it. The disappearance in the classical language of all excepting the accusative in tum (but see 968h) is a matter for no small surprise.

987. The later infinitive in tum is oftenest used in constructions corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus, *na vāṣpam aṣakat soḍhum* *he could not restrain his tears; taṁ draṣṭum arhasi* *thou oughtest to see it; prāptum icchanti* *they desire to obtain; saṁkhyātum ārabdham* *having begun to count.* But also, not infrequently, in those of the other cases. So, especially, of the dative: thus, *avasthātum sthānāntaram cintaya* *devise another place to stay in; tvām anveṣṭum ihā "gataḥ* *he has come hither to seek for thee; — but likewise of the genitive: thus, samartho gantum* *capable of going; saṁdhātum īṣvaraḥ* *able to mend.* Even a construction as nominative is not unknown: thus, *yuktaṁ tasya mayā samāṣvā-*

sayitum bhāryām (MBh.) *it is proper for me to comfort his wife*; na naptāraṁ svayaṁ nyāyāṁ çaptum evam (R.) *it is not suitable thus to curse one's own grandson*; tad vaktum na pāryate (Çatr.) *it is not possible to say that*.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, kartum ārabdhaḥ *begun to be made*; çrotuṁ na yujyate *it is not fit to be heard (for hearing)*. This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of yçak: thus, tyaktuṁ na çakyate *it cannot be abandoned*; çakyāv iha "netum *they two can be brought hither*; na ca vibhūtaḥ çak-yam avāptum ūrjitāḥ *nor are mighty successes a thing capable of being attained*.

-tvā ∞ itvā ∞ ya ∞ -tra

Gerunds.

no relation to Lat. gerund, either form or syntax

989. The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally as adjunct to the logical subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes.

3.6

a. Thus, for example: çrutvāi 'va cā 'bruvan *and hearing (or having heard) they spoke*; tebhyaḥ pratiññāyā 'thāi 'tān pariprapraccha *having given them his promise, he then questioned them*.

990. The gerund is made in the later language by one of the two suffixes त्वा tvā and या ya, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix — or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.

a. To this distribution of uses between the two suffixes there are occasional exceptions. Thus, gerunds in ya from simple roots are not very rare in the epic language (e. g. gṛhya, uṣya [ivas dwell], arcya, ikṣya, cintya, tyajya, lakṣya; also from causatives and denominatives, as vācya, yojya, plāvya), and are not unknown elsewhere (e. g. arcya and ikṣya M., prothya AGS., sthāpya ÇvU.). And gerunds in tvā from compounded roots are met with in considerable numbers from AV. (only pratyarpayitvā) down: e. g. samīrayitvā MS., virocayitvā TA., utkṣiptvā U., pratyuktvā E., pratyasitvā S., prahasitvā MBh., saṁdarçayitvā MBh., vimuktvā R., nivedayitvā R., proktvā Pañc., anupītvā VBS.: the great majority of them are made from the causative stem.

Sam  
gatvā

āsamya

in general  
no gerund

b. The prefixion of the negative particle, *a* or *an*, does not cause the gerund to take the form in *ya*: thus, *akṛtvā*, *anīrayitvā* (but *R.* has *acintya*). Of compounds with other than verbal prefixes, *RV.* has *punardāya*, *karnagṛhya*, *pādagṛhya*, *hastagṛhya*, *aramṅkṛtya*, *akkhalikṛtya*, *mithaspṛdhya*; *AV.* has further *namaskṛtya*.

991. The suffix त्वा *tvā* has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but often also with interposition of the auxiliary vowel *ṛ* i — with regard to which, as well as to the form of the root before it, the formation nearly agrees with that of the participle in ता *ta* (952 ff.).

a. Examples of the general accordance of passive participle, infinitive, and gerund in regard to the use of *i* were given above, 968 a; further specifications are called for, as follows:

b. The quotable roots in variable *ṛ* (242) change it to *īr*: thus, *tīrtvā*, *stīrtvā* (also *stṛtvā*); and *car* makes also *cīrtvā* (like *cīrṇa*); — roots in *ā* show in general the same weakening as in the participle; but from *dhā* *put* is quotable only *dhitvā*, from *mā* *measure* *mitvā* and *mītvā*, from *dā* *give* only *dattvā*, from *chā* *chāyitvā*; — of roots in *am*, *kram* and *bhram* and *yam* make forms both with and without *i* (as in the infinitive), but *ram* has *ratvā* and *raṁtvā*, and *dam* and *vam* make *damitvā* and *vamitvā*.

c. The auxiliary vowel is taken by roots *gras*, *muṣ*, *ṣap*, and *ṣās* (*ṣāsītṛvā*) (whose participles have both forms); also by *cāy*, *nṛt* (*nartitvā*), *lag*, and *svaj* (against analogy of *p*ple); and *ṣuc* makes *ṣocitvā*. On the other hand, from *ruj* (*rugṇa*) and *vraṣ* (*vṛkṇa*) come *ruktvā* and *vṛṣṭvā*. And both forms are made (as also in infinitive or participle) from *car*, *vas* *dwell* (*uṣṭvā*, *uṣitvā*), *nī* (*nītvā*, *nayitvā*), and *mṛj* (*mṛṣṭvā*, *mārjitvā*).

d. While the formation is in general one requiring, like the passive participle (e. g. *uptvā*, like *uptā*; *uditvā*, like *uditā*), a weak or weakened root, there are some cases in which it is made from a strong or strengthened root-form. Thus (besides the instances already given: *chāyitvā*, *raṁtvā*, *ṣāsītṛvā*, *cāyitvā*, *ṣocitvā*, *nayitvā*, *mārjitvā*), we find *charditvā* (*Āpast.*), *daṅṣṭvā*, and *spharītṛvā*, and, from a number of roots, a second strong form beside the more regular weak one: namely, *aṅktvā*, *bhaṅktvā*, *bhuṅktvā*, *syanttvā* (beside *aktvā* etc.); *cayitvā*, *smayitvā*, *smarītṛvā* (beside *citvā* etc.); *roditvā* (beside *ruditvā*), and *siñcitvā* (beside *siktṛvā*). The last shows the influence of the present-stem; as do also *mārjitvā* (above) and *jighṛitvā* (*yghrā*). The form *ṣṭhutvā* (*Āpast.*) is doubtless a false reading, for *ṣṭhyūtṛvā*.

992. The suffix या *ya* is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending

in a short vowel takes *त्य* *tya* instead of *य* *ya*: thus, *जित्य* -*jitya*, *स्तुत्य* -*stútya*, *कृत्य* -*kṛtya*.

a. Roots in variable *र* (242) change that vowel to *ir* or *ūr*: thus, *kirya*, *gírya*, *tírya* (and *túrya*), *dírya*, *pūrya*, *çírya*, *stírya* (also *stṛtya*); — roots in *ā* have for the most part -*āya*; but *dhā* *suck* makes *dhiya*, and double forms are found from *gā* *sing* (*gāya*, *giya*), *pā* *drink* (*pāya*, *piya*), *dā* *give* (*dāya*, *dādyā*), *dā* *divide* (*dāya*, *ditya*), *mā* *measure, exchange* (*māya*, *mitya*), *sā* *bind* (*sāya*, *syā*); *li* *cling* has *lāya* or *liya*, as if an *ā*-verb; and *khan* and *dham* make *khāya* and *dhmāya*, from their *ā*-forms; — the roots in *an* and *am* making their participle in *ata* (954 d) make the gerund in *atya*, but also later in *anya*, *amya* (e. g. *gātya*, *gamya*; *hātya*, *hanya*; but *tan* makes as second form *tāya*, and from *ram* only *ramya* is quotable); — the roots in *iv* add *ya* to their *iv*-form: thus, *ṣṭhivya*, *sivya*; — a few roots in *i* and *u* add *ya* to the lengthened vowel besides adding *tya*: thus, *i* *go* (*iya*, *itya*; also *ayya*), *ci* *gather* (*cīya*, *cītya*), and *plu*, *yu* *unite*, *su*, *stu* (*plūya*, *plutya*, etc.); while *kṣi* *destroy* has only *kṣīya*.

b. This gerund, though accented on the root-syllable, is generally a weakening formation: thus are made, without a strengthening nasal found in some other forms, *ācya*, *āja*, *idhya*, *údya*, *ubhya*, *grathya*, *tācya*, *daçya*, *bādhyā*, *bhājya*, *lípya*, *lúpya*, *vlágya*, *çrabhya*, *sājya*, *skābhyā*, *stābhyā*, *syadya*, *svājya*; with weakening of other kinds, *gṛhya* and *gṛbhyā*, *pr̥cchya*, *úcya*, *udya*, *úpya*, *úçya* (*vas dwell*), *úhya*, *vidhya*, *vīya*, *vṛçcya*, *spṛdhyā*, *hūya*; — but from a number of roots are made both a stronger and a weaker form: thus, *manthya* and *māthya*, *mārjya* and *mṛjya*, *rundhya* and *rúdhya*, *çaṁsya* and *čas-ya*, *çāsyā* and *çiçya*, *skāndya* and *skādyā*, *srāṁsya* and *srasya*; — and only strong forms are found from roots *arc*, *av*, *cāy*, *çī* (*çayya*), as well as from certain roots with a constant nasal: e. g. *uñch*, *kamp*, *nand*, *lamb*, *çaṅk*; isolated cases are *oçya* (*vuç burn*), *prothya* (also *prúthya*).

c. Other special cases are *úhya* and *ūhya* (*vūh remove*), *gurya* and *gúrya*, *gúhya* and *gūhya*, *rúhya* and *rūhya*, *bhramya* and *bhrāmya*, *āyya* (beside *itya*, *iya*), *ghrāya* and *jighrya*; and *ūr̥ṇutya* (beside *vṛtya*).

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In RV., however, the final of *ya* is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in *i* or *ti*). In AV., long *ā* appears only once in a RV. passage.

b. Instead of *tvā* alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely *tvā*, *tvāya*, and *tvī*. Of these three, *tvī* is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of *tvā*); but it is un-

known in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; *tvāya* is found nine times in RV. (only once outside the tenth Book), twice in AV., and but half-a-dozen times elsewhere (in ÇB., once from a causative stem: *spāçayitvāya*). The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

c. Two other gerund suffixes, *tvānam* and *tvīnam*, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found to occur.

994. The use of this gerund, though not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.

a. Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gītā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.

b. In general, the gerund is an adjunct to the subject of a sentence, and expresses an act or condition belonging to the subject: thus, *vajreṇa hatvā nīr apāḥ sasarja* (RV.) *smiting with his thunderbolt, he poured forth the waters*; *pītvī sōmasya vāvṛdhe* (RV.) *having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong*; *tē yajñāsya rāsaṁ dhītṛvā vidūhya yajñāṁ yūpēna yopayitvā tirō 'bhavan* (ÇB.) *having sucked out the sap of the offering, having milked the offering dry, having blocked it with the sacrificial post, they disappeared*; *çrutvāi 'va cā 'bruvan* (MBh.) *and having heard, they said*; *taṁ ca dūre dṛṣtvā gardabhi 'yam iti matvā dhāvitaḥ* (H.) *and having seen him in the distance, thinking 'it is a she-ass', he ran*.

c. But if the logical subject, the real agent, is put by the construction of the sentence in a dependent case, it is still qualified by the gerund: thus, *striyaṁ dṛṣtvāya kitavāṁ tatāpa* (RV.) *it distresses the gambler* (i. e. the gambler is distressed) *at seeing a woman*; *taṁ hāi 'naṁ dṛṣtvā bhīr viveda* (ÇB.) *fear came upon him* (i. e. he was afraid) *when he saw him*; *vidhāya proṣite vṛttim* (M.) *when he stays away after providing for her support*; *kiṁ nu me syād idaṁ kṛtvā* (MBh.) *what, I wonder, would happen to me if I did this*; — and especially, when a passive form is given to the sentence, the gerund qualifies the agent in the instrumental case (282a): thus, *tataḥ çabdād abhijñāya sa vyāghreṇa hataḥ* (H.) *thereupon he was slain by the tiger, who recognized him by his voice*; *tvayā sa rājā çakuntalām puraskṛtya vaktavyaḥ* (Ç.) *presenting Çakuntalā, thou must say to the king*; *haṁsānāṁ vacanaṁ çrutvā yathā me* (gen. for instr.) *nāiṣadho vṛtaḥ* (MBh.) *as the Ni-shadhan was chosen by me on hearing the words of the swans*: this construction is extremely common in much of the later Sanskrit.

d. Occasionally, the gerund qualifies an agent, especially an indefinite one, that is unexpressed: thus, *tadā 'trāi 'va paktvā khāditavyaḥ* (H.) *then he shall be eaten [by us] cooking him on the spot*; *yad anyasya pariññāya punar anyasya diyate* (M.) *that, after being promised* (lit. *when one has promised her*) *to one, she is given again to another*; *sucintya co 'ktaṁ suvicārya yat kṛtam* (H.) *what one says after mature thought*,



and does after full deliberation. Hence, still more elliptically, after *alam*: thus, *alam vicārya* (Ç.) *enough of hesitation*; *tad alam te vanam gatvā* (R.) *so have done with going to the forest*.

e. Other less regular constructions are met with, especially in the older language: thus, in the manner of a participle with *man* and the like (268a), as *tām hiṁsitvè 'va mene* (ÇB.) *he thought he had hurt him*; *tā adbhir abhiṣicya nijāsyāi 'vā 'manyata* (AB.) *having sprinkled them with water, he believed himself to have exhausted them*; — in the manner of a participle forming a continuous tense with *√i* (1075a), as *indram evāi 'tair ārabhya yanti* (AB.) *by means of them they keep taking hold of Indra*; — as qualifying a subordinate member of the sentence, as *puro-ḍācam evā kūrām bhūtvā śārpantam* (ÇB.) *to the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise*; *ayodhyām . . . sapthenām sa-svanām bhūtvā jalormim iva* (R.) *into Ayodhyā, like a surge that had been foamy and roaring*; — even absolutely, as *ātithyēna vāi devā iṣṭvā tānt samād avindat* (ÇB.) *when the gods had sacrificed with the guest-offering, strife befel them*.

f. As in the two examples before the last, a predicate word with *bhūtvā* is put in the same case with the subject: thus, further, *tād iyām evāi 'tad bhūtvā yajati* (ÇB.) *so having thus become this earth he makes offering*; *yena vāmanenā 'pi bhūtvā* (Vet.) *by whom, even when he had become a dwarf*. The construction is a rare one.

g. A number of gerunds have their meaning attenuated sometimes to the semblance of a preposition or adverb: such are *adhikṛtya* *making a subject of*, i. e. *respecting, of*; *ādāya*, *upāgrhya* *taking*, i. e. *with*; *ud-diṣya* *pointing toward*, i. e. *at*; *āsādyā*, *arriving at*, i. e. *along, by*; *ārabhya* *beginning*, i. e. *from*; *sambhūya* *being with*, i. e. *with*; *samhatya* *striking together*, i. e. *in unison*; *prasaḥya* *using force*, i. e. *violently*; *tyaktvā*, *parityajya*, *muktvā*, *vihāya*, *uddhṛtya*, *varjayitvā* *leaving out etc.*, i. e. *excepting, without*; and others. Examples are: *ṣakuntalām adhikṛtya bravāmi* (Ç.) *I am speaking of Ṣakuntalā*; *tam uddiṣya kṣiptalagudaḥ* (H.) *having thrown the cudgel at him*; *nimittam kiñcid āsādyā* (H.) *for some reason or other*.

h. The gerund is in the later language sometimes found in composition, as if a noun-stem: e. g. *prasahyahaṛaṇa* *taking with violence*; *pretyabhāva* *existence after death*; *vibhajyapāṭha* *separate enunciation*; *sambhūyagamana* *going together*. It is also often repeated (1260), in a distributive sense: e. g. *sā vāi sammṛjya-sammṛjya pratāpya-pratāpya prā yacchati* (ÇB.) *in each case, after wiping and warming them, he hands them over*; *grhītvā-grhītvā* (KÇS.) *at each taking*; *unnamyo-'nnamya* (Pañc.) *every time that they arise*.

#### Adverbial Gerund in am.

995. The accusative of a derivative *nomen actionis* in *a*, used adverbially, assumes sometimes a value and construction so accord-

ant with that of the usual gerund that it cannot well be called by a different name.

a. No example of a peculiar gerundial construction with such a form occurs either in RV. or AV., although a dozen adverbial accusatives are to be classed as representing the formation: thus, *abhyākṛāmam, pratāṅkam, prapōdam, nilāyam, abhiskādam*, etc. This gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, where it is not rare; in the epics it is extremely infrequent; later, also, it occurs very sparingly.

b. A final vowel has *vṛddhi*-strengthening before the suffix: thus, *nāyam, çrāvam, kāram*; final *ā* adds *y*: thus, *khyāyam, yāyam*; a medial vowel has *guṇa* (if capable of it: 240): thus, *kṣepam, kroçam, vartam* (but *ikṣam, pūram*); a medial *a* before a single consonant is lengthened: thus, *krāmam, cāram, grāham, svādam* (but *grantham, lambham*). The accent is on the radical syllable. No uncompound examples are found in the older language, and extremely few in the later.

c. Examples are: *kāmaṁ vā imāny āṅgāni vyatyāsaṁ çete* (ÇB.) *he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure*; *ūttarām-uttarāṁ çākhāṁ samālāmbhaṁ rôhet* (ÇB.) *he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb*; *aparīṣu mahānāgām ivā 'bhisam-sāraṁ didṛkṣitāraḥ* (ÇB.) *hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him*; *nāmāny āsām etāni nāmagrāham* (ÇB.) *with separate naming of these their names*; *yō viparyāsam avagūhati* (ÇB.) *whoever buries it upside down*; *bāhūtkṣepaṁ kranditum pravṛttā* (Ç.) *she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing)*; *navacūtapallavāni darçam-darçam madhukarāṇāṁ kvanitāni çrāvaṁ-çrāvam paribabhrāma* (DKC.) *he wandered about, constantly seeing the young shoots of the mango, and hearing the humming of the bees*. Repeated forms, like those in the last example, are approved in the later language; they do not occur earlier (but instead of them the repeated ordinary gerund: 994 h).

## CHAPTER XIV.

### DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

996. SECONDARY conjugations are those in which a whole system of forms, like that already described as made from the simple root, is made, with greater or less completeness, from a derivative conjugation-stem; and is also

usually connected with a certain definite modification of the original radical sense.

a. We have seen, indeed, that the tense-systems are also for the most part made from derivative-stems; and even that, in some cases, such stems assume the appearance and value of roots, and are made the basis of a complete conjugational system. Nor is there any distinct division-line to be drawn between tense-systems and derivative conjugations; the latter are present-systems which have been expanded into conjugations by the addition of other tenses, and of participles, infinitives, and so on. In the earliest language, their forms outside of the present-system are still quite rare, hardly more than sporadic; and even later they are — with the exception of one or two formations which attain a comparative frequency — much less common than the corresponding forms of primary conjugation.

997. The secondary conjugations are: I. Passive; II. Intensive; III. Desiderative; IV. Causative; V. Denominative.

a. The passive is classed here as a secondary conjugation because of its analogy with the others in respect to specific value, and freedom of formation, although it does not, like them, make its forms outside the present system from its present-stem.

### I. Passive.

998. The passive conjugation has been already in the main described. Thus, we have seen that —

a. It has a special present-system, the stem of which is present only, and not made the basis of any of the remaining forms: this stem is formed with the accented class-sign  $\bar{u}$   $yá$ , and it takes (with exceptions: 774) the middle endings. This present-system is treated with the others, above, 768 ff.

b. There is a special passive 3d sing. of the aorist. ending in  $\xi$  i: it is treated above, 842 ff.

c. In the remaining tenses, the middle forms are used also in a passive sense.

d. But the passive use of middle forms is not common; it is oftenest met with in the perfect. The participle to a great extent takes the place of a past passive tense, and the gerundive that of a future. On the other

hand, in the oldest language (RV.), middle forms of other present-systems are in a considerable number of cases employed with passive meaning.

e. According to the grammarians, there may be formed from some verbs, for passive use, a special stem for the aorist and the two future systems, coinciding in form with the peculiar 3d sing. aorist.

f. Thus, from  $\sqrt{dā}$  (aor. 3d sing. *adāyi*), beside *ādāsi*, *dāsyé*, *dātāhe*, also *ādāyīṣi*, *dāyīṣyé*, *dāyitāhe*. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to *grah*, *ṛç*, and *han*. No such passive forms occur in the older language, and not half-a-dozen are quotable from the later (we find *adhāyīṣi* and *asthāyīṣi* in DKC., and *anāyīṣata* in Kuval.).

g. As to the alleged passive inflection of the periphrastic perfect, see below, 1072.

h. Besides the participle from the present tense-stem (771. 5), the passive has a past participle in  $\overline{\text{त}} \text{ta}$  (952), or  $\overline{\text{न}} \text{na}$  (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.

999. As already pointed out (282 a), the language, especially later, has a decided predilection for the passive form of the sentence. This is given in part by the use of finite passive forms, but oftener by that of the passive participle and of the gerundive: the participle being taken in part in a present sense, but more usually in a past (whether indefinite or proximate past), and sometimes with a copula expressed, but much oftener without it; and the gerundive representing either a pure future or one with the sense of necessity or duty added. A further example is: *tatrāi 'ko yuvā brāhmaṇo dṛṣṭaḥ: taṁ dṛṣṭvā kāmēna pīḍitā saṁjātā: sakhyā agre kathitam: sakhi puruṣo 'yaṁ gṛhītvā mama mātuh samīpam ānetavyaḥ* (Vet.) *there she saw a young Brahman; at sight of him she felt the pangs of love; she said to her friend: 'friend, you must take and bring this man to my mother'*. In some styles of later Sanskrit, the prevailing expression of past time is by means of the passive participle (thus, in Vet., an extreme case, more than nine tenths).

a. As in other languages, a 3d sing. passive is freely made from intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, *ihā 'gamyatām come hither; tvayā tatrāi 'va sthīyatām do you stand just there; sarvāir jālam ādāyo 'dḍīyatām* (H.) *let all fly up with the net*.

## II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive (sometimes also called frequentative) is that one of the secondary conjugations which is least removed from the analogy of formations already de-

scribed. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (642 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem, but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened reduplication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits of a present-system than any other of the derivative conjugations.

a. The intensive conjugation signifies the repetition or the intensification of the action expressed by the primary conjugation of a root.

1001. According to the grammarians, the intensive conjugation may be formed from nearly all the roots in the language — the exceptions being roots of more than one syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, 1056), and in general those beginning with a vowel.

a. In fact, however, intensives in the later language are very rare, so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the rules of the native grammar respecting them. Nor are they at all common earlier, except (comparatively) in the RV., which contains about six sevenths of the whole number (rather over a hundred) quotable from Veda and Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra-texts; AV. has less than half as many as RV., and many of them in RV. passages; from the later language are quotable about twenty of these, and about forty more, but for the most part only in an occurrence or two.

b. Hence, in the description to be given below, the actual aspect of the formation, as exhibited in the older language, will be had primarily and especially in view; and the examples will be of forms found there in use.

1002. The strong intensive reduplication is made in three different ways:

I. a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the consonant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect reduplication (590); but the vowel is a heavy one, radical *a* and *ṛ* (or *ar*) being reduplicated with *ā*, an *i*-vowel by *e*, and an *u*-vowel by *o*.

Examples are: *vāvad*, *bābadh*, *çāçvas*, *rārāndh*; *dāḍṛ*, *dāḍṛṣ*; *cekit*, *tetij*, *nenī*, *vevli*; *çoçuc*, *popruth*, *çoçku*, *johū*.

II. b. The reduplicating syllable has a final consonant, taken from the end of the root. With an exception or two, this consonant is either *r* (or its substitute *l*) or a nasal.

Examples are: *carcar*, *calcal*, *sarsr*, *marmrj*, *jarhr̥*; *cañkram*, *jañghan*, *tañstan*, *dandaç* (ʔdañç or daç), *jañjabh* (ʔjambh or jabh), *tantas* (ʔtañs or tas), *nannam* (ʔnam), *yañyam* (ʔyam). The nasal is assimilated to the initial consonant.

c. Only roots having a or ʔ as vowel make this form of reduplication, but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.

d. Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than r or n in the reduplication, *badbadh*; with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, *jañgah* (RV.), *jañjap* (ÇB.; and *jañgüyat* PB. is perhaps from ʔgu; the later language has further *dandah*); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, *jarbhur* from ʔbhur (compare the Vedic perfect *jabhāra* from ʔbhr̥, 789b), *galgal* from ʔgal; with various treatment of an ʔ or ar-element, *dardar* and *dardir*, *carkar* and *carkir*, *tartar* and *tartur*, *carcar* and *carcur*, *jargur* and *jalgul*.

e. The roots i and ʔ are the only ones with vowel initial forming an intensive stem: i makes *iyāy* (? PU., once); ʔ makes the irregular *alar* or *alr̥*. As to the stem *īya*, see below, 1021b.

III. f. The reduplication is dissyllabic, an i-vowel being added after a final consonant of the reduplicating syllable. This i-vowel is in the older language short before a double consonant, and long before a single.

Examples are: *ganigam* (but *gánigmatam*), *varivrt̥*, *vanivāh*, *caniṣkad*, *sanisvan*; *navinu*, *dauidyut* (and the participles *dávidhvāt* but *távītuat*). A single exception as to the quantity of the i is *davidhāva*.

g. This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by about thirty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate n (once m), and n in the reduplicating syllable, *pan*, *phan*, *san*, *svan*, *han*; *gam*; *krand*, *çand*, *skand*, *syand*; of roots having final or medial ʔ, and r in the reduplicating syllable, *kṛ make*, *tṛ*, *bhr̥*, *vṛ*, *mṛj*, *mṛç*, *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *sṛp*; also *mluc* (*malimluc*); — further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only *vah* (ÇB.: the grammarians allow also *kas*, *pat*, *pad*; and *pañipad* is quotable later; and AÇS. has *canikhudat*, for which TB. reads *kánikhunat*); finally, of roots having u or ū as radical vowel, with av before the i-vowel, *tu*, *dhū*, *nu*, *dyut*.

h. In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (590) are violated in the case of *ghanighan* and *bharibhr̥*, and of *ganigam*, *karikṛ* (but the regular *carikṛ* also occurs), *kani-krand*, and *kaniṣkand* (but also *caniṣkand* occurs); also in *kanikhun*.

i. The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in *cekit*, and *jañghan* and *ghanighan*, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (2161).

1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, *dādr* and *dardṛ*; *dādhṛ* and *dardhṛ*; *cācal* and *carcar* (and *carcur*); *tartar* (and *tartur*) and *taritr*; *jaṅgam* and *gaṇigam*; *jaṅghan* and *ghanighan*; *pamphan* and *paṇiphan*; *marmṣj* and *marimṣj*; *marmṣṣ* and *marimṣṣ*; *varvṛt* and *varivṛt*; *jarbhṛ* and *bharibhṛ*; *dodhū* and *davidhū*; *nonu* and *navinu*; *bābadh* and *badbadh*.

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (842 ff.); and this is indeed to a considerable extent followed, in respect to endings, strengthening of stem, and accent. But deviations from the model are not rare; and the forms are in general of too infrequent occurrence to allow of satisfactory classification and explanation.

a. The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an *i* between the stem and ending. According to the grammarians, this is allowed in all the strong forms before an ending beginning with a consonant; and before the *i* a final vowel has *guṇa*-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

#### Present-System.

1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.

1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root *विद्* *vid* *know*, of which the intensive stem is *वेविद्* *vevid*, or, in strong forms, *वेवेद्* *véved*.

a. Neither from this nor from any other root are more than a few scattering forms actually quotable.

#### 1. Present Indicative.

|   | s.                 | d.       | p.        |
|---|--------------------|----------|-----------|
| 1 | वेवेद्मि, वेविदीमि | वेविदस्  | वेविद्वस् |
|   | vévedmi, vévidīmi  | vevidvās | vevidmās  |

|   |                    |           |          |
|---|--------------------|-----------|----------|
| 2 | वेवेत्सि, वेविदीषि | वेवित्यस् | वेवित्य  |
|   | vévetsi, vévidīṣi  | vevitthás | vevitthá |
| 3 | वेवेत्ति, वेविदीति | वेवित्तस् | वेविदति  |
|   | vévetti, vévidīti  | vevittás  | vévidati |

b. From  $\sqrt{\text{hū}}$  hū, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be  $\text{जोहवीमि } jōhavīmi$ ,  $\text{जोहवीषि } jōhavīṣi$ ,  $\text{जोहवीति } jōhavīti$ .

1007. a. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., *carkarmi, veveṣmi*; 2d sing., *alarṣi, dārdarṣi*; 3d sing., *ālartī, dādhartī, vevetī, nenektī, jāṅghantī, kánikrantī, ganīgantī*; 3d du., *jarbhṛtás*; 1st pl., *nonumas*; 2d pl., *jāgratha*; 3d pl., *dādhṛatī, nānadatī, bharibhṛatī, vārvṛtatī, dávidyutatī, nénijatī*, and, irregularly, *veviṣantī*; and, with the auxiliary vowel, *jōhavīmi, cākaṣīmi; cākaṣīti, nōnavīti, dardarīti, jarbhurīti*. No stem with dissyllabic reduplication takes the auxiliary *i* in any of its forms.

b. A single dual form with *i* and strong stem occurs: namely, *taritarithas*.

c. The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., *jōguve, nenije*; 3d sing., *nenikté, sarsṛte*; and, with irregular accent, *tétikte, dédiṣte*; with irregular loss of final radical nasal, *nānnate*; with ending *e* instead of *te*, *cékite, jāṅgahe, jōguve, yoyuve, bābadhe*, and (with irregular accent) *badbadhé*; 3d du., *sarsrāte*; 3d pl., *dédiṣate*.

## 2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. a. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only *jāṅghānāni, jāgarāsi* (AV.); and, in the middle, *tantasāte* (3d du.).

b. Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., *jāṅghanas, jalgulas*; 3d sing., *jāgarat, cékitat, bobhavat, cārkrṣat, jāṅghanat, bārbrhat, mārmrjat, mārmrjat, parpharat, dardirāt, canīṣkadat, dávidyutāt, sanīṣvanāt*; 1st du., *jāṅghanāva*; 1st pl., *carkirāma, vevidāma*; 3d pl., *pāpatan, cōcucan, carkiran*; and, with double mode-sign, *cākaṣān* (AV.). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, *jāṅghananta, jarhṛṣanta, marmrjanta, nonuvanta, cōcucanta*.

## 3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (566), accented. Thus:



| s.                               | d.                             | p.                             |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 वेविद्याम्<br>vevidyām<br>etc. | वेविद्याव<br>vevidyāva<br>etc. | वेविद्याम<br>vevidyāma<br>etc. |

a. The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language: thus, active, **veviṣyāt** (AV.), **jāgryās** (KB.), **jāgriyāt** (AB.), **jāgryāma** (VS. MS.; but **jāgriyāma** TS.); RV. has only **cākanyāt** (pft. ?); middle, **nenijīta** (K.).

#### 4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

| s.  | d.                     | p.                  |
|---|------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 वेविदानि<br>vévidāni                    | वेविदाव<br>vévidāva    | वेविदाम<br>vévidāma |
| 2 वेविद्धि<br>veviddhi                    | वेवित्तम्<br>vevittām  | वेवित्त<br>vevittā  |
| 3 वेवेत्तु, वेविदीतु<br>vévettu, vévidītu | वेवित्ताम्<br>vevittām | वेविदतु<br>vévidatu |

1011. a. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (**jānghānāni**, the only accented example, does not correspond with the model, but is in conformity with the subjunctive of the reduplicating present); the proper imperatives are: 2d sing., **dādrhi**, **dardrhi**, **carkṛdhi**, **jāgrhi**, **nenigdhi**, **rāranddhi**; the ending **tāt** is found in **carkṛtāt** and **jāgrtāt**; and the latter (as was pointed out above, 571 b) is used in AV. as first person sing.; **barbṛhi** shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of **h** before the ending **hi**; 3d sing., **dādhartu**, **veveṣtu**, **dardartu**, **marmarttu**; 2d du., **jāgrtam**; 3d du., **jāgrtām**; 2d pl., **jāgrtā**; **caṅkramata** (RV., once) has an anomalous union-vowel. In the middle voice is found only **nenikṣva** (QB.).

b. Of imperative forms with auxiliary **ī**, RV. has none; AV. has **vāvādītu** and **johavītu**, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmaṇas; AV. has also, against rule, **taṅstanīhi** and **jaṅghanīhi**; VS. has **cākaçīhi**.

#### 5. Present Participle.

1012. The intensive participles, both active and middle, are comparatively common in the older language. They are formed and inflected like those of the reduplicating present, and have the accent on the reduplicating syllable.

Examples are: active, *cākaçát*, *nānadat*, *cékitat*, *mémyat*, *çóçu-cat*, *róruvat*, *dárdrat*, *mármṛjat*, *jānghanat*, *nānnamat*, *pāni-phanat*, *kānikradat*, *dávidyutat*; — middle, *bābadhāna*, *mémyāna*, *cékitāna*, *yóyuvāna*, *rórucāna*, *jārbhurāṇa*, *sārsrāṇa*, *jañjabhāna*, *nānnamāna*, *dāndaçāna*. No middle participle shows the dissyllabic reduplication.

1013. a. On account of their accent, *rārahāṇá*, *rārakṣāṇá*, and *jāhrṣāṇá* (beside *jāhrṣāṇa*) are probably to be regarded as perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with heavy reduplication from the same roots occur. The inference is, however, rendered uncertain by the unmistakably intensive *badbadhāna* and *marmṛjāna* (beside *mármṛj-āna*). As to *çūçucāna* etc., see 806 a.

b. The RV. has once *jānghnatas*, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; *kānikrat* appears to be used once for *kānikradat*; if *cākát* is to be referred to *√kā* (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in *ā*, and its accent is anomalous. *Marmṛçantas* (AB.) is perhaps a false reading; but forms with the nasal irregularly retained are found repeatedly in the epics and later: thus, *lelihan*, *dedipyantīm* (MBh.), *jājvalant* (MBh. R.), *sarisṛpantāu* (BhP.), *rāraṇtānti* (R.).

### 6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

|   | s.                                     | d.                       | p.                    |
|---|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | अवेदिम्<br>áveidam                     | अवेदिह<br>áveidva        | अवेदिम<br>áveidma     |
| 2 | अवेवेत्, अवेविदीम्<br>ávevet, ávevidis | अवेवित्तम्<br>ávevittam  | अवेवित<br>ávevitta    |
| 3 | अवेवेत्, अवेविदीत्<br>ávevet, ávevidit | अवेवित्ताम्<br>ávevittām | अवेविदुस्<br>ávevidus |

1015. The imperfect forms found in the earlier texts are not numerous. They are, including those from which the augment is omitted, as follows: in active, 1st sing., *acākaçam*, *dediçam*; 2d sing., *ajāgar*, *adardar*, *dárdar*; 3d sing., *adardar*, *adardhar*, *avarivar*, *dardar*, *kāniṣkan*, *dávidyot*, *návinot*; 2d du., *adardṛtam*; 1st pl., *marmṛjmá*; 3d pl., *anannamus*, *adārdirus*, *acarkṛṣus*, *ājohavus*, *anonavus*; and, with auxiliary *ī*, in 3d sing., *avāvacit*, *ávāvaçit*, *ávāvarit*, *áyoyavīt*, *āroraravīt*, *ājohavīt*; and, irregularly, in 3d du., *avāvaçitām*. The middle forms are extremely few: namely, 3d sing., *ádediṣṭa*, *ānanata* (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl. *marmṛjata*, and *avāvaçanta* (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an a-stem).

1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign  $\Upsilon$  *yá*, along with middle endings only. It has not, however, a passive value, but is in meaning and use indistinguishable from the simpler conjugation.

a. A final vowel before this *ya* is treated as before the passive-sign *ya* (770).

b. The inflection is precisely like that of any other stem ending in *a* in the middle voice: thus, from  $\sqrt{\text{mrj}}$ , intensive stem *marmrj*, is made the present indicative *marmrjyé*, *marmrjyáse*, *marmrjyáte*, etc.; optative *marmrjyéya*, *marmrjyéthās*, *marmrjyéta*, etc.; imperative *marmrjyásva*, *marmrjyátām*, etc.; participle *marmrjyámāna*; imperfect *ámarmrjye*, *ámarmrjyathās*, *ámarmrjyata*, etc.; subjunctive forms do not occur.

c. In a very few sporadic cases, these *yá*-forms are given a passive value: thus, *jañghanyamāna* in *MdU.*; *bambhramyate*, *dādhmāyamāna*, *pepiyamāna* in the later language. And active participles (529 a) are not unknown: thus, *dedīpyantīm* (*MBh.*), *dodhūyant* (*MBh. BhP.*).

1017. This kind of intensive inflection is more common than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

a. In *RV.*, *yá*-forms are made from eight roots, five of which have also forms of the simpler conjugation; the *AV.* adds one more; the other earlier texts (so far as observed) about twenty more, and half of them have likewise forms of the simpler conjugation. Thus: from  $\sqrt{\text{mrj}}$ , *marmrjyáte* etc., and *marimrjyeta*; from  $\sqrt{\text{tr}}$ , *tartūryante*; from  $\sqrt{\text{car}}$ , *carcūryámāna*; from  $\sqrt{\text{nī}}$ , *neniyéran*, etc.; from  $\sqrt{\text{vi}}$ , *veviyate*; from  $\sqrt{\text{rih}}$ , *rerihyáte* etc.; from *vij*, *veviyáte*; from  $\sqrt{\text{sku}}$ , *coṣkūyáse* etc.; from  $\sqrt{\text{diç}}$ , *dediçyate*; from  $\sqrt{\text{kāç}}$ , *cākaçyáte* etc.; from  $\sqrt{\text{vad}}$ , *vāvadyámāna*; from  $\sqrt{\text{nam}}$ , *nannamyadhvam*; from  $\sqrt{\text{vah}}$ , *vanivāhyéta* etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from  $\sqrt{\text{krand}}$ , *kanikradyámāna*; from  $\sqrt{\text{vrt}}$ , *varivartyámāna* (*ÇB.*: should be *varivṛty-*); from  $\sqrt{\text{mrç}}$ , *amarimrçyanta* (*ÇB.*? the text reads *amarimṛtsyanta*); from  $\sqrt{\text{yup}}$ , *yoyupyánte* etc.; from  $\sqrt{\text{nud}}$ , *anonudyanta*; from  $\sqrt{\text{vli}}$ , *avevliyanta*; from  $\sqrt{\text{jabh}}$ , *jañjabhyáte* etc.; from  $\sqrt{\text{jap}}$ , *jañjapyámāna*; and so on.

**Perfect.**

1018. The grammarians are at variance as to whether a perfect may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a periphrastic perfect (below, 1070 ff.) is to be admitted.

a. No example of an intensive periphrastic perfect has anywhere come to light (except from **jāgr**: 1020a). A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.: namely, **davidhāva** and **nónāva**, 3d sing., and **nonuvus**, 3d pl.; and there occur further **dodrāva** (TS.), **yoyāva** and **lelāya** (MS.), and **lelāya** (? ÇB.), all used in the sense of presents. To them may be added **jāgara** 1st sing. and **jāgāra** 3d sing.: but as to these, see below, 1020a.

**Aorist, Future, etc.**

1019. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, also, the grammarians are not agreed (occurrences of such forms, apparently, being too rare to afford even them any basis for rules); in general, it is allowed to treat the intensive stem further as a root in filling up the scheme of forms, using always the auxiliary vowel  $\xi$  i where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

a. Thus, from  $\gamma$ vid, intensive stem **vevid**, would be made the aorist **avevidiṣam** with precative **vevidyāsam**, the futures **vevidiṣyāmi** and **veviditāsmi**, the participles **vevidita**, **veviditavya**, etc., the infinitive **veviditum**, and the gerunds **veviditvā** and **-vevidya**. And, where the intensive conjugation is the derivative middle one, the aorist and futures would take the corresponding middle form.

b. Of all this, in the ancient language, there is hardly a trace. The RV. has **cārkrṣe**, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like **hiṣe** and **stuṣé** (894d), and the gerundives **vitantasāya**, and **marmṛjēnya** and **vāvṛdhēnya**; and ÇB. has the participle **vanivāhitā**, and the infinitive **dēdiyitavāi**. As to **jāgarisyānt** and **jāgaritā**, see the next paragraph.

1020. There are systems of inflection of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:

a. The root **gr** (or **gar**) *wake* has from the first no present-system save one with intensive reduplication; and its intensive stem, **jāgr**, begins early to assume the value of a root, and form a completer conjugation; while by the grammarians this stem is reckoned as if simple and belonging to the root-class, and is inflected throughout accordingly. Those of its forms which occur in the older language have been given along with

the other intensives above. They are, for the present-system, the same with those acknowledged as regular later. The older perfect is like the other intensive perfects found in RV.: namely, *jāgara* etc., with the participle *jāgrvāns*; and a future *jāgarisyā-*, a passive participle *jāgaritā*, and a gerundive *jāgaritavyā*, are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. The old aorist (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist: thus, *ājigar*. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with additional reduplication, *jajāgāra* etc., an iṣ-aorist, *ajāgarīṣam*, with precativē *jāgaryāsam*, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation. The perf. *jajāgāra* is quotable from the epics and later, as also the periphrastic *jāgarām āsa*. And MBh. has the mutilated *jāgrmi*, and also a-forms, as *jāgarati* and *jāgramāna*.

1021. a. The stem *irajya* (active only) *regulate*, from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from *√raj* or *ṛj*. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of *iradh propitiate* (only *iradhanta* and *irādhyāi*, apparently for *iradhadhyāi*).

b. The middle stem *īya*, not infrequent in the oldest language, is often called an intensive of *√i go*, but without any propriety, as it has no analogy of form whatever with an intensive. The isolated 1st pl. *īmahe*, common in RV., is of questionable character.

1022. The root *li totter*, with constant intensive reduplication, *lelī*, is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., *lelāyati* and *lelāyate*, pples *lelāyāntī* and *lelāyatas* (gen. sing.) and *lelāyamāna*, impf. *alelāyat* and *aleleṭ* and *aleliyata*, perf. *lelāya* and *lelāya* (?).

1023. The RV. anomalous form *dart* (or *dard*), 2d and 3d sing. from *√dṛ* or *dar*, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from *dardar*. RV. has once *avarīvus* (or *-vur*) where the sense requires a form from *√vṛt*, as *avarīvṛtus*. The form *rarāṇātā* (RV., once) seems corrupt.

1024. A marked intensive or frequentative meaning is not always easily to be traced in the forms classed as intensive; and in some of them it is quite effaced. Thus, the roots *cit*, *nij*, *viṣ* use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with *gr* (*jāgr*). The grammarians reckon the inflection of *nij* and *viṣ* as belonging to the reduplicating present-system, with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way *vic* and *vij*; *jāgr*, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

a. Also *daridrā*, intensive of *√drā run*, is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugational forms: as *dadaridrāu*; *adaridrāsīt*, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language (unless *dāridrat* TS., for which VS. MS. read *dāridra*). The so-called root *vevi* *flutter* is a pure intensive.

1025. It is allowed by the grammarians to make from the intensive stem also a passive, desiderative, causative, and so on: thus, from *vevid*, pass. *vevidyē*; desid. *vēvidiṣāmi*; caus. *vevidāyāmi*; desid. of causative, *vēvidayiṣāmi*. But such formations are excessively rare; quotable are *varīvarjāyanti* AV., *jāgarāyant* TB. etc.; *dādhārayati* JB., *dandaçayitvā* DKC.

### III. Desiderative.

1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root: thus, *पिबामि pibāmi I drink*, desid. *पिपासामि pīpāsāmi I wish to drink*; *जीवामि jīvāmi I live*, desid. *जिज्ञीविषामि jijīviṣāmi I desire to live*. Such a conjugation is allowed to be formed from any simple root in the language, and also from any causative stem.

a. The desiderative conjugation, although its forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language, is earlier and more fully expanded into a whole verbal system than the intensive. Its forms are also of increasing frequency: much fewer than the intensives in RV., more numerous in the Brāhmaṇas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots (about a hundred) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brāhmaṇa have such in RV.

1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics. 1. a reduplication, which always has the accent; 2. an appended *स sa* — which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel *इ i*, becoming *इष iṣa*.

a. A few instances in the concluding part of ÇB. in which the accent is otherwise laid — thus, *tiṣṭhāset*, *yiṣāsāntam*, *vividiṣānti*, *ipsāntas* — must probably be regarded as errors.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final *i* or *u* is lengthened before *sa*: thus, *cikṣāṣa*, *cikīṣa*, *jigīṣa*; *çuçrūṣa*, *juhūṣa*, *cukṣūṣa*.

b. A final *ṛ* becomes *īṛ* or *ūr* before *sa*: thus, *cikīṛṣa*, *titīṛṣa* (also irregularly *tūtūrṣa* RV.), *didhīṛṣa*, *sisīṛṣa*, *tistīṛṣa* (also *tutūrṣa*), *jihīṛṣa*; *bubhūrṣa*, *mumūrṣa* (the only examples quotable).

c. Before *iṣa*, a final *i*- or *u*- or *ṛ*-vowel necessarily, and a penultimate *i* or *u* or *ṛ* optionally, have the *guṇa*-strengthening; no examples are quotable from the older texts; later occur *çīçayiṣa*, *çīçariṣa*; *cikartiṣa*, *ninartiṣa*, *mimardiṣa*, *vivarṣiṣa*, *çuçobhiṣa*; but *rurudiṣa*.

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in *ā* weaken this vowel to *i* or even *i*: thus, *jigīṣa* from *ṽgā go*; *pipīṣa* (beside *pipāsa*) from *ṽpā drink*, *jihīṣa* (AV.) from *ṽhā remove* (*jihīte*: 664); *didhiṣa* (beside *dhitsa*) from *ṽdhā*.

e. A few roots in *an* or *am* lengthen the vowel: thus, *jigāṇsa* (beside *jigamiṣa*) from *ṽgam*; *jighāṇsa* from *ṽhan*; *mīmāṇsa* from *ṽman*; and *titāṇsa* from *ṽtan*.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in *cikīṣa* from *ṽci*, *cikitsa* from *ṽcit*, *jigīṣa* from *ṽji*, *jighāṇsa* from *ṽhan*; and *ṽhi* is said to make *jighīṣa* (no occurrence).

g. The roots *van* and *san* make *vivāsa* and *siṣāsa*, from the root-forms *vā* and *sā*.

h. The root *jīv* forms *jujyūṣa* (ÇB.: *jijīviṣa*, VS.); and the other roots in *iv* (765) are required to make the same change before *sa*, and to have *guṇa* before *iṣa*: thus, *susyūṣa* or *siseviṣa* from *ṽsiv*. *Svap* forms *suṣupsa*. *Dhūrv* forms *dudhūrṣa*.

i. Initial *s* is usually left unchanged to *ṣ* after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has *ṣ* (184e): thus, *sisaṇkṣa* (ÇB.: *ṽsañj*), and *susyūṣa* and *sisaniṣa*, according to the grammarians; but *tuṣṭūṣa* is met with.

j. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: *ninaṇkṣa* (or *ninaçīṣa*) from *ṽnaç be lost*; *mimaṇkṣa* from *ṽmajj* (occurs in *mimaṇkṣu*); *mimārjīṣa* (or *mimṛkṣa*) from *ṽmrj*.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590); the vowel is *ṣ i* if the root has an *a*-vowel, or *ṛ ṛ*, or an *i*-vowel; it is *ṣ u* if the root has an *u*-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, *bibhatsa* from *ṽbadh* or *bādh*; *mīmāṇsa* from *ṽman*; and *tūtūrṣa* (RV.) from *ṽtur*; *dadhiṣu* (AV.) and *dadaṇkṣu* (C.) are probably false forms.

b. From *ṽaç* is made (ÇB.) *açīçīṣa*, and from *ṽedh* (VS.) *edidhiṣa* (with a mode of reduplication like that followed sometimes in the reduplicating aorist: 862). In the older language, these are the only roots with initial vowel which form a desiderative stem, except *āp* and *ṛdh*, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph. In the later language occur further *eṣiṣiṣa* (*ṽiṣ seek*) and *īcīkṣiṣa* (*ṽīkṣ*); and the grammarians add others, as *arjīhiṣa* (*ṽarh*), *undidiṣa* (*ṽund*), *ardidhiṣa* (*ṽrdh*).

c. RV. has the stems *ínakṣa* and *íyakṣa*, regarded as desideratives from *√/naç* *attain* and *yaj*, with mutilated reduplication.

✓ 1030. A number of roots, including some of very common use, form an abbreviated stem apparently by a contraction of reduplication and root together into one syllable: thus, *इप्स* *ipsa* from *√आप* *āp*; *दित्स* *ditṣa* from *√दा* *dā*.

a. Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: *dhitṣa* (beside *didhiṣa*) from *√dhā*; *ditṣa* (beside *didāsa*) from *√dā*; *dipsa* (*dhīpsa* JB.) from *√dabh*; *çikṣa* from *√çak*; *sīkṣa* from *√sah*: these are found in RV.; in AV. are added *īpsa* from *√āp* (RV. has *apsa* once), and *īrtṣa* from *√rdh*; the other texts furnish *lipṣa* (ÇB.) or *lipṣa* (TB.) from *√labh*, *ripṣa* (GB.) from *√rabh*, *pīṣa* (ÇB.) from *√pad*, and *dhīkṣa* (ÇB.) from *√dah* (not *√dih*, since no roots with *i* as medial vowel show the contracted form). In the later language are further found *pīṣa* from *√pat* also, *jñīpsa* from the causative quasi-root *jñap* (below, 1042j), and the anomalous *mitṣa* from *√mā* *measure* (allowed also from roots *mī* and *mī*); and the grammarians give *ritṣa* from *√rādh*. Also *mokṣa* is (very questionably) viewed as a desiderative stem from *√muc*.

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel *ṛ* *i* is quite rare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not been found in actual use.

a. It is declared to follow in general, though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures (934, 943 a).

b. No example of the use of *i* is found in RV., and only one each in AV. (*pipatiṣa*), VS. (*jījiviṣa*), and TS. (*jīgamiṣa*). The other examples noted in the early texts are *açīçiṣa*, *cikramiṣa*, *jigrahīṣa* (with *ī* for *i*, as elsewhere in this root), *cicariṣa*, *edidhiṣa*, *jijaniṣa*, *didīkṣiṣa*, *bibādhīṣa*, *ruruciṣa*, *vivadiṣa*, *vividiṣa*, *çiçāsiṣa*, *tiṣṭighiṣa*, *jihīṣiṣa*: most of them are found only in ÇB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots *gam*, *grah*, *car*, *jīv*, *pat*, *bādh*, *vid*.

1032. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other *a*-stems (733 a), in both voices, in all the modes (including, in the older language, the subjunctive), and with participles and imperfect. It will be sufficient to give here the first persons only. We may take



as active model *इप्स* *īpsa* *seek to obtain*, from *वप्* *āp* *obtain*;  
as middle, *तितिक्ष* *tītikṣa* *endure*, from *वतिज्* *tij* *be sharp* (see  
below, 1040).

### 1. Present Indicative.

| active.          |                 |                 | middle.         |                    |                    |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| s.               | d.              | p.              | s.              | d.                 | p.                 |
| 1 <i>इप्सामि</i> | <i>इप्सावस्</i> | <i>इप्सामस्</i> | <i>तितिक्षे</i> | <i>तितिक्षावहे</i> | <i>तितिक्षामहे</i> |
| <i>īpsāmi</i>    | <i>īpsāvas</i>  | <i>īpsāmas</i>  | <i>tītikṣe</i>  | <i>tītikṣāvahe</i> | <i>tītikṣāmahe</i> |
| etc.             | etc.            | etc.            | etc.            | etc.               | etc.               |

### 2. Present Subjunctive.

|                  |               |               |                 |                     |                     |
|------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1 <i>इप्सानि</i> | <i>इप्साव</i> | <i>इप्साम</i> | <i>तितिक्षै</i> | <i>तितिक्षावहै</i>  | <i>तितिक्षामहै</i>  |
| <i>īpsāni</i>    | <i>īpsāva</i> | <i>īpsāma</i> | <i>tītikṣai</i> | <i>tītikṣāvahai</i> | <i>tītikṣāmahai</i> |
| etc.             | etc.          | etc.          | etc.            | etc.                | etc.                |

### 3. Present Optative.

|                   |               |               |                  |                    |                    |
|-------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1 <i>इप्सेयम्</i> | <i>इप्सेव</i> | <i>इप्सेम</i> | <i>तितिक्षेय</i> | <i>तितिक्षेवहि</i> | <i>तितिक्षेमहि</i> |
| <i>īpseyam</i>    | <i>īpseva</i> | <i>īpsema</i> | <i>tītikṣeya</i> | <i>tītikṣevahi</i> | <i>tītikṣemahi</i> |
| etc.              | etc.          | etc.          | etc.             | etc.               | etc.               |

### 4. Present Imperative.

|               |                |               |                   |                     |                     |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 2 <i>इप्स</i> | <i>इप्सतम्</i> | <i>इप्सत</i>  | <i>तितिक्षस्व</i> | <i>तितिक्षेयाम्</i> | <i>तितिक्षधम्</i>   |
| <i>īpsa</i>   | <i>īpsatam</i> | <i>īpsata</i> | <i>tītikṣasva</i> | <i>tītikṣethām</i>  | <i>tītikṣadhvam</i> |
| etc.          | etc.           | etc.          | etc.              | etc.                | etc.                |

### 5. Present Participle.

*इप्सन्त्* *īpsant* (f. *इप्सन्ती* *īpsantī*) *तितिक्षमाणा* *tītikṣamāṇa*

### 6. Imperfect.

|                 |                |                |                  |                     |                     |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1 <i>ऐप्सम्</i> | <i>ऐप्साव</i>  | <i>ऐप्साम</i>  | <i>अतितिक्षे</i> | <i>अतितिक्षावहि</i> | <i>अतितिक्षामहि</i> |
| <i>āipsam</i>   | <i>āipsāva</i> | <i>āipsāma</i> | <i>ātītikṣe</i>  | <i>ātītikṣāvahi</i> | <i>ātītikṣāmahi</i> |
| etc.            | etc.           | etc.           | etc.             | etc.                | etc.                |

a. There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in *masi*, or 2d pl. in *thana* or *tana*, is met with; of the impv. in *tāt*, only *īpsatāt*. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in *sāni*, *sāt* and *sat*, *sān*, and *santa*. KBU. has *jijñāsita* (cf. 738b). But the fem. pple *siṣāsati* (instead of *siṣāsantī*) occurs once or twice in the older texts; and RV. has *dīdhiṣāṇa*.

b. In the epics and later are found sporadic forms of the non-a-

conjugation: thus, *sirṣkṣmas* (BhP.), *titikṣmahe* and *bubhūṣate* 3d pl. (MBh.); and the fem. participles *lipsati* and *cikīrṣati* (MBh.: against 449b). The anomalous *jighāṁsiyāt* occurs also in MBh. and Vas.

1033. a. Desiderative forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language. The RV. has only perfect forms from a stem *mimikṣ* — thus, *mimikṣāthus*, *mimikṣātus*, *mimikṣūs*; *mimikṣe*, *mimikṣire* — along with the present forms *mimikṣati*, *mimikṣa* etc., *mimikṣant* (pple): they show that *mimikṣ* or *mikṣ* has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, *irtsīs* and *acikitsīs*, and a participle or two from *mīmāṁsa* (see below, 1037 a, 1039 a) — all of them from stems which have lost their distinct desiderative meaning, and come to bear an independent value. The forms noted from the other earlier texts will be given in full below.

b. In the later language, a complete system of verbal forms is allowed to be made in the desiderative conjugation, the desiderative stem, less its final vowel, being treated as a root. Thus:

1034. Perfect. The desiderative perfect is the periphrastic (1070 ff.).

a. Thus, *ipsām cakāra* etc.; *titikṣām cakre* etc. Such forms are made in ÇB. from  $\sqrt{\text{v}}\text{kram}$ , *dhūrv*, *bādh*, *ruh*; and in ChU. from *man*.

b. Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from *mimikṣ* in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21. 10) has once *didāsitha* *thou hast desired to give*.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the *iṣ*-form: thus, ऐप्सिषम् *āipsiṣam*, अतितित्षि *átitikṣiṣi*.

a. The AV. has *acikitsīs*, and *irtsīs* (augmentless, with *mā* prohibitive: 579). TB. has *āipsīt*; ÇB. *āirtsīt*, *ācikīrṣīs* and *ajighāṁsīs*, and *amīmāṁsiṣṭhās*; KB. *jijñāsiṣi*; JUB. *āipsiṣma*; and AA. *adhitiṣam*. No examples have been found in the later language.

b. A precative is also allowed — thus, *ipsyāsam*, *titikṣiṣiṣya*; but it never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel *ṛ i*: thus, ईप्सिष्यामि *īpsiṣyāmi* and ईप्सितास्मि *īpsitāsmi*; तितित्ष्ये *titikṣiṣyē* and तितित्षताहे *titikṣitāhe*.

a. The ÇB. has *titikṣiṣyate* and *didṛkṣitāras*. Such forms as *jijñāsyāmas* (MBh.), *didhakṣyāmi* (R.), and *mīmāṁsyant* (GGS.) are doubtless presents, with *-sya-* blunderingly for *-sa-*.

1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel  $\xi$  i, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

a. In the older language have been noted: participle in ta, *mīmāṇsitá* (AV., GB.), *jijyūṣita* (AB.), *çuçrūṣitá* and *dhikṣitá* (ÇB.); — gerundive in *tavya*, *lipsitavya* (AB.), *didhyāsitavyā* (ÇB.); in *ya*, *jijñāsyā* (ÇB.); — gerund in *tvā*, *mīmāṇsitvā* (K.).

1038. Of other declinable stems derived from the desiderative stem, by far the most common are the adjective in *ú* — e. g. *titikṣu*, *dipsú*, *bībhatsú*, *siṣāsú* (RV. once *didṛkṣu*) — and the abstract noun in *ā* — e. g. *īpsā*, *bībhatsā*, *mīmāṇsā*, *çuçrūṣā* — both of which are made with increasing freedom from an early epoch of the language: especially the former, which has the value and construction (271 a) of a present participle. A few adjectives in *enya* (having a gerundive character: 966 b) occur in the earlier language: thus, *didṛkṣēnya* (RV.), *çuçrūṣēnya* (TS.), *niniṣēnya* (PB.), *jijñāsenya* (AB.), and, with irregular reduplication (apparently) *papṛkṣēnya* (RV.), *dadhiṣēnya* (JB.); and *didṛkṣēya* (RV.) is a similar formation. RV. has also *siṣāsāni* and *rurukṣāni*, and *siṣāsātu* (P.). In the later language, besides some of the formations already instanced (those in *u* and *ā*, and in *sya* and *sitavya*), are found a few derivatives in *aka*, as *cikitsaka*, *bubhūṣaka*; in *ana*, as *jijñāsana*, *didhyāsana*; and, very rarely, in *anīya* (*cikitsanīya*) and *ṭṛ* (*çuçrūṣitr*); further, secondary derivatives (doubtless) in *in* from the noun in *ā*, as *īpsin*, *jigīṣin* (one or two of these occur in the older language). And of an adjective in *a* we have an example in *bībhatsā* (B.S., and later), and perhaps in *avalipsa* (AVP.); such words as *ajugupsa*, *duçcikitsa*, are rather to be understood as possessive compounds with the noun in *ā*. As to noun-stems in *is*, see 392 d.

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign  $\Upsilon$  *yá* to the desiderative root (or stem without final a): thus,  $\text{इप्स्यते}$  *īpsyáte* *it is desired to be obtained*; — and a causative, by adding in like manner the causative-sign  $\text{अय}$  *áya* (1041): thus,  $\text{इप्सयामि}$  *īpsáyāmi* *I cause to desire obtainment*.

a. Of these formations in the older language are found *mīmāṇsyā-māna* (doubtless to be read for *-sāmāna*, AV.), *lipśyāmāna* (ÇB.), and *rurutsyamāna* (K.). Half-a-dozen such passives are quotable later, and one or two causatives: e. g. *cikitsyate*, *vivakṣyate*, *jijñāsyate*; *cikīrṣayant*, *cikitsayigṣyati*.

b. For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas, see below, 1052 b.

1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are *cikits cure*, *jugups despise*, *titikṣ endure*, *bibhats abhor*, *mīmāṃs ponder*, *çuçrūṣ obey*. Doubtless some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin: e. g. *çikṣ*, desiderative of *çak*.

a. On account of the near relation of desiderative and future (cf. 948 b), the former is occasionally found where the latter was rather to be expected: thus, *rājānam prayiyāsantam* (ÇB.) *a king about to depart*; *prāṇa uccikramiṣan* (ChU.) *the breath on the point of expiring*; *mu-mūrṣur ivā 'bhavat* (H.) *he was fain to die*.

#### IV. Causative.

1041. a. In the later language is allowed to be made from most roots a complete causative conjugation. The basis of this is a causative stem, formed by appending the causative-sign *अय* *aya* to the, usually strengthened, root.

b. But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign *अय* *aya* are of causative value; and the grammarians regard a part of them as constituting a conjugation-class, the tenth or cur-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others (775).

c. In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, 1056).

d. The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the desiderative. It is made from more than three hundred roots in the early language (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: 1046) exceedingly few.

1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign *अय* *aya* is as follows:

a. Medial or initial *i, u, r, l* have the *guṇa*-strengthening (if capable of it: 240); thus, *vedaya* from *√vid*, *codaya* from *√cud*, *tarpaya* from *√trp*; and *kalpaya* from *√kṛp* (only example): but *cintaya*, *gulphaya*, *ḍṛhaya*. 115

b. But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, *cit* (*citaya* and *cetaya*), *iṣ*, *il*, *riṣ* (*riṣaya* and *reṣaya*), *vip* (*vipaya* and *vepaya*), *tuj*, *tur*, *tuṣ* (*tuṣaya* and *toṣaya*), *dyut* (*dyutaya* and *dyotaya*), *ruc* (*rucaya* and *rocaya*), *ṣuc* (*ṣucaya* and *ṣocaya*), *ṣubh* (*ṣubhaya* and *ṣobhaya*), *kṛp*, *mṛḍ*, *spṛh*; and *grabh* makes in RV. *gr̥bhaya*. *Duṣ* and *guh* lengthen the vowel instead. *Mṛj* sometimes has *vr̥ddhi*, as in other forms: thus, *mārjaya* (beside *marjaya*). On the other hand, *guṇa* appears irregularly (240b) in *srevaya* (beside *ṣrivaya*), *heḍaya*, *mekṣaya*. Similar irregularities in the later language are *giraya*, *tulaya* (also *tolaya*), *churaya* (also *choraya*), *muṣaya*, *sphuraya*. No forms without strengthening have a causative value made in the older language.

c. A final vowel has the *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening: thus, *cāyaya*, *ṣāyaya*, *cyāvaya*, *bhāvaya*, *dhāraya*, *sāraya*. 2.20

d. But no root in *i* or *ī* has *vr̥ddhi* in the Veda (unless *pāyaya* [*k*, below] comes from *pī* rather than *pā*) — as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly quotable: only RV. has *kṣayaya* (beside *kṣepaya*) from *√kṣi* *possess*; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, l. In B. and S., however, occur *ṣāyaya* and *sāyaya* (*√si* or *sā*); and later *-āyaya*, *cāyaya*, *smāyaya*, *ḍāyaya*, *nāyaya*.

e. A few roots have a form also with *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *cyu*, *dru*, *plu*, *yu* *separate*, *ṣru*, *pū*, *stu*, *sru*; *jṛ* *waste away*, *ḍṛ* *pierce*, *sr̥*, *smṛ*, *hr̥*; *vr̥* *choose* makes *varaya* later (it is not found in V.; epic also *vāraya*).

f. A medial or initial *a* in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, *bhājaya*, *svāpaya*, *ādaya*; *janaya*, *ṣrathaya*, *anaya* (but *mandaya*, *valgaya*, *bhakṣaya*).

g. The roots in the older language which keep their short *a* are *jan*, *pan*, *svan*, *dhan*, *ran*, *stan*, *gam* (*gāmaya* once in RV.), *tam*, *dam*, *raj* (usually *rañjaya*), *prath*, *ṣrath*, *ṣnath*, *vyath*, *svad*, *chad* *please* (also *chandaya*), *nad*, *dhvas* (also *dhvaṇsaya*), *rah*, *mah* (also *mañhaya*), *nabh* (also *nambhaya*), *tvar*, *svar*, *hval*. In the later language, further, *kvaṇ*, *jvar*, *trap*, *day*, *paṇ*, *rac*, *ran* *ring*, *vadh*, *val*, *vaṣ*, *ḥlath*, *skhal*, *sthaḡ*. Both forms are made (either in the earlier or in the later language, or in both taken together) by *ad*, *kal*, *kram*, *kṣam*, *khan*, *ghaṭ*, *cam*, *cal*, *jval*, *tvar*, *dal*, *dhvan*, *nad*, *nam*, *pat*, *bhram*, *math*, *mad*, *yam*, *ram*, *lag*, *lal*, *vam*, *vyadh*, *ṣam* *be quiet*, *ṣram*, *ṣvas*, *svap*. The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous.

h. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: e. g. *dambhaya*, *dañṣaya*, *indhaya*,

limpaya, rundhaya, çundhaya, kṛntaya, dṛñhaya. From a number of roots, stems both with and without the nasal are made: thus (besides those mentioned above, g), kuñcaya and kocaya, granthaya and grathaya, bṛñhaya and barhaya, bhrañçaya and bhrāçaya, çundhaya and çodhaya, sañjaya and sajjaya, siñcaya and secaya. In a few of these is seen the influence of present-stems.

i. Most roots in final ā, and the root ṛ, add p before the conjugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, dhāpaya, sthāpaya; arpayā.

j. Such stems are made in the older language from the roots kṣā, khyā, gā sing (also gāyaya), glā, ghrā, jñā, dā give, dā divide, drā run, dhā put and dhā suck, mā measure, mlā, yā, vā blow, sthā, snā, hā remove; the later language adds kṣmā, dhmā, and hā leave. From jñā and snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms jñapaya and snapaya, and from çrā only çrapaya (not in RV.). Also, in the later language, glā forms glapaya, and mlā forms mlapaya.

k. Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, gāyaya (also gāpaya) from √gā sing, chāyaya, pāyaya from √pā drink (or pī), pyāyaya from √pyā or pyāy; sāyaya from √sā (or si); also, later, hvāyaya from √hvā (or hū); — and further, from roots vā weave, vyā, and çā (or çī), according to the grammarians.

l. The same p is taken also by a few i- and ī-roots, with other accompanying irregularities: thus, in the older language, kṣepaya (RV., beside kṣayaya) from √kṣi possess; jāpaya (VS. and later) from √ji; lāpaya (TB. and later; later also lāyaya) from √lī cling; çrāpaya (VS., once) from √çri; adhyāpaya (S. and later) from adhi+√i; — in the later, kṣapaya (beside kṣayaya) from √kṣi destroy; māpaya from √mī; smāpaya (beside smāyaya) from √smi; hrepaya from √hri; — and the grammarians make further krāpaya from √kri; cāpaya (beside cāyaya) from √ci gather; bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhīçaya) from √bhī; repaya from √rī, and vlepaya from √vli. Moreover, √ruh makes ropaya (B. and later) beside rohaya (V. and later), and √knū makes knopāya (late).

m. More anomalous cases, in which the so-called causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun, are: pālaya from √pā protect; prīṇaya from √prī; linaya (according to grammarians) from √li; dhūnaya (not causative in sense) from √dhū; bhīçaya from √bhī; ghātaya from √han; sphāvaya from √sphā or sphāy.

n. In the Prakrit, the causative stem is made from all roots by the addition of (the equivalent of) āpaya; and a number (about a dozen) of like formations are quotable from Sanskrit texts, mostly of the latest period; but three, kṛṇāpaya, jīvāpaya, and dīkṣāpaya, occur in the epics; and two, açāpaya and kṣālāpaya, even in the Sūtras.

1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other

stems in अ a (733a): it will be sufficient to give here in general the first persons of the different formations, taking as model the stem धारय dhārāya, from धृ dhr̥. Thus:

### 1. Present Indicative.

| active.                        |                                 |                                 |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| s.                             | d.                              | p.                              |
| 1 धारयामि<br>dhārāyāmi<br>etc. | धारयावस्<br>dhārāyāvas<br>etc.  | धारयामस्<br>dhārāyāmas<br>etc.  |
| middle.                        |                                 |                                 |
| s.                             | d.                              | p.                              |
| 1 धारये<br>dhārāye<br>etc.     | धारयावहे<br>dhārāyāvahe<br>etc. | धारयामहे<br>dhārāyāmahe<br>etc. |

a. The 1st pl. act. in masi greatly outnumbers (as ten to one) that in mas in both RV. and AV. No example occurs of 2d pl. act. in thana, nor of 3d sing. mid. in e for ate.

### 2. Present Subjunctive.

For the subjunctive may be instanced all the forms noted as occurring in the older language:

|   |              |              |                               |
|---|--------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
|   | active.      |              |                               |
| 1 | dhārāyāṇi    | dhārāyāva    | dhārāyāma                     |
| 2 | { dhārāyāsi  | dhārāyāthas  | dhārāyātha                    |
|   | { dhārāyās   |              |                               |
| 3 | { dhārāyāti  | dhārāyātas   | dhārāyān                      |
|   | { dhārāyāt   |              |                               |
|   | middle.      |              |                               |
| 1 | dhārāyāi     | dhārāyāvahāi |                               |
| 2 | dhārāyāse    |              | { dhārāyādhve<br>dhārāyādhvāi |
| 3 | { dhārāyāte  | dhārāyāite   |                               |
|   | { dhārāyātāi |              |                               |

b. Only one dual mid. form in āite occurs: mādāyāite (RV.). The only RV. mid. form in āi, except in 1st du., is mādayādhvāi. The primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

### 3. Present Optative.

| active.                          |                             |                             |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 धारयेयम्<br>dhārāyeyam<br>etc. | धारयेव<br>dhārāyeva<br>etc. | धारयेम<br>dhārāyema<br>etc. |

middle.

|           |             |             |
|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| १ धारयेय  | धारयेवहि    | धारयेमहि    |
| dhārāyeya | dhārāyevahi | dhārāyemahi |
| etc.      | etc.        | etc.        |

c. Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (four in RV., two in AV.); they become more common in the Brāhmaṇas. A 3d sing. mid. in *īta* instead of *eta* (cf. 738 b) occurs once in B. (*kāmayīta* AB.), is not very rare in S. (a score or two of examples are quotable), and is also found in MBh. and later. Of a corresponding 3d pl. in *īran* only one or two instances can be pointed out (*kāmayīran* AÇS., *kalpayīran* AGS.).

## 4. Present Imperative.

active.

|         |            |           |
|---------|------------|-----------|
| २ धारय  | धारयतम्    | धारयत     |
| dhārāya | dhārāyatam | dhārāyata |
| etc.    | etc.       | etc.      |

middle.

|            |             |              |
|------------|-------------|--------------|
| २ धारयस्व  | धारयेध्वम्  | धारयध्वम्    |
| dhārāyasva | dhārāyethām | dhārāyadhvam |
| etc.       | etc.        | etc.         |

d. Imperative persons with the ending *tāt* occur: *dhārāyatāt* (AV.) and *cyāvayatāt* (ÇB.) are 2d sing.; *pātayatāt* (ÇB.) is 3d sing.; *gama-yatāt* and *cyāvayatāt* (K. etc.), and *ṽarayatāt* (TB.) are used as 2d pl. *Vārayadhvāt* (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only known example of such an ending (see above, 549 b).

## 5. Present Participle.

धारयन् dhārāyant    धारयमाण dhārāyamāṇa.

e. The feminine of the active participle is regularly and usually made in *antī* (449 c). But a very few examples in *atī* are met with (one in the older language: *namayatī* Āpast.).

f. The middle participle in *māna* is made through the whole history of the language, from RV. (only *yātāyamāna*) down, and is the only one met with in the earlier language (for *īrayānas* [sic!], MS. ii. 7. 12, is evidently a false reading, perhaps for *īrayā nas*). But decidedly more common in the epics and later is one formed with *āna*: e. g. *kāmayāna*, *cintayāna*, *pālayāna*, *vedayāna*. It is quotable from a larger number of roots than is the more regular participle in *māna*. As it occurs in no accentuated text, its accent cannot be given.



## 6. Imperfect.

active.

|           |            |            |
|-----------|------------|------------|
| 1 अधारयम् | अधारयव     | अधारयाम    |
| ādhārayam | ādhārayāva | ādhārayāma |
| etc.      | etc.       | etc.       |

middle.

|          |              |              |
|----------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 अधारये | अधारयावहि    | अधारयामहि    |
| ādhāraye | ādhārayāvahi | ādhārayāmahi |
| etc.     | etc.         | etc.         |

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem in *aya* outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in *syāmi*, one passive participle (*coditā*), and ten infinitives in *dhyāi*; also one or two derivative nouns in *tr* (*bodhayitr̥*, *codayitr̥*), five in *iṣṇu*, seven in *itnu*, and a few in *a* (*atipārayā*, *nidhārayā*, *vācamīṅkhayā*, *viṣvamejaya*), and in *u* (*dhārayū*, *bhāvayū*, *mandayū*). In AV., also two s-future forms and four gerunds in *tvā*; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (*gamayāṁ cakāra*). In the Brāhmaṇas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (1071a); a derivative noun in *ā* is made from the causative stem, and to its accusative, in *ām*, is added the auxiliary: thus,

धारयां चकार *dhārayāṁ cakāra* (or *āsa*: 1070b)

धारयां चक्र *dhārayāṁ cakre*

a. Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — *gamayāṁ cakāra* — in AV., and but half-a-dozen in all the various texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, and these not in the *mantra*-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, except in ÇB. (where they abound: chiefly, perhaps, for the reason that this work uses in considerable part the perfect instead of the imperfect as its narrative tense).

1046. Aorist. The aorist of the causative conjugation is the reduplicated, which in general has nothing to do with the causative stem, but is made directly from the root.

a. It has been already fully described (above, 856 ff.).

b. Its association with the causative is probably founded on an original intensive character belonging to it as a reduplicated form, and is a matter of gradual growth; in the Veda it is made from a

considerable number of roots (in RV., more than a third of its instances; in AV., about a fifth) which have no causative stem in *aya*.

c. The causative aorist of  $\sqrt{\text{dhr}}$ , then, is as follows:

|           |              |              |
|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| १ अदीधरम् | अदीधराव      | अदीधराम      |
| ádīdharam | ádīdharāva   | ádīdharāma   |
| etc.      | etc.         | etc.         |
| १ अदीधरे  | अदीधरावहि    | अदीधरामहि    |
| ádīdhare  | ádīdharāvahi | ádīdharāmahi |
| etc.      | etc.         | etc.         |

An example was inflected in full at 864.

1047. In a few cases, where the root has assumed a peculiar form before the causative sign — as by the addition of a *p* or *ṣ* (above, 1042 i ff.) — the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, *atiṣṭhipam* from *sthāp* (stem *sthāpaya*), for  $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$ . Aorist-stems of this character from quasi-roots in *āp* are *arpipa* ( $\sqrt{\text{r}}$ ), *jījapa* or *jījipa*, *jījāpa* or *jījāipa*, *ṣṣrapa*, *tiṣṭhipa*, *jīhipa*; the only other example from the older language is *bībhiṣa* from *bhīṣ* for  $\sqrt{\text{bhī}}$ .

1048. But a few sporadic forms of an *iṣ*-aorist from causative conjugation-stems are met with: thus, *dhvanayīt* (RV.; TS. has instead the wholly anomalous *dhvanayit*), *vyathayīs* and *ālayīt* (AV.), *pyāyayīṣṭhās* and *avādayīṣṭhās* (KBU.), in the older language (RV. has also *ūnayīs* from a denominative stem); in the later, *ahlādayīṣata* (DKC.), and probably *aghātayīthās* (MBh.; for *-iṣṭhās*: cf. 904 d). The passive 3d sing. *aropi*, from the causative *ropaya*, has a late occurrence (Çatr.).

1049. A precativè is of course allowed by the grammarians to be made for the causative conjugation: in the middle, from the causative stem with the auxiliary *i* substituted for its final *a*; in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

धार्यासम् dhāryāsam etc. धारयिषीथ dhārayiṣīya etc.

This formation is to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary  $\sqrt{\text{i}}$ , which takes the place of its final *a*. Thus:

#### S-Future.

धारयिष्यामि dhārayiṣyāmi etc. धारयिष्ये dhārayiṣyē etc.  
धारयिष्यन्त dhārayiṣyānt धारयिष्यमाण dhārayiṣyāmāṇa

## Conditional.

अधारयिष्यम् ādhārayiṣyam etc. अधारयिष्ये ādhārayiṣye etc.

## Periphrastic Future.

धारयितास्मि dhārayitāsmi etc.

a. It has been mentioned above that RV. and AV. contain only two examples each of the *s*-future, and none of the periphrastic. The former begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas more numerously, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only *adhārayiṣyat* ÇB.; *alāpayiṣyathās* ChU.); of the latter, ÇB. affords two instances (*pārayitāsmi* and *janayitāsi*). Examples of both formations are quotable from the later language (including the middle form *darṣayitāhe*: 947c).

1051. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These are made in two different ways: either 1. from the full causative stem (in the same manner as the futures, just described); or 2. from the causatively strengthened root-form (with loss of the causative-sign).

a. To the latter class belong the passive participle, as *dhārīta*; the gerundive and gerund in *ya*, as *dhārya*, *-dhārya*; and the gerund in *am*, as *dhāram*; also, in the older language, the root-infinitive, as *-dhāram* etc. (970a). To the former class belong the infinitive and the gerund in *tvā*, as *dhārayitum*, *dhārayitvā*, and the gerundive in *tavya*, as *dhārayitavya* (also, in the older language, the infinitives in *tavāi* and *dhyāi*, as *janayitavāi*, *īrayādhyāi*, etc.). The auxiliary *i* is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

b. Examples of the passive participle are *īritā*, *vāsita*, *çrāvitā*. But from the quasi-root *jñap* (1042j) is made *jñapta*, without union-vowel.

c. Examples of the infinitive and gerund in *tvā* are *jōṣayitum*, *dhārayitum*; *kalpayitvā*, *arpayitvā*. But in the epics, and even later, infinitives are occasionally made with loss of the causative-sign: e. g. *çeṣitum*, *bhāvītum*, *dhāritum*, *mocitum*.

d. Examples of the gerunds in *ya* and *am* are *-bhājya*, *-ghārya*, *-pādyā*, *-vāsyā*, *nāyya*, *-sthāpya*; *-bhājam*, *-sthāpam*. But stems showing in the root-syllable no difference from the root retain *ay* of the causative-sign in the gerund, to distinguish it from that belonging to the primary conjugation: e. g. *-kramāyya*, *-gamāyya*, *-janāyya*, *-jvalāyya*, *-kalayya*, *-çamayya*, *-racayya*, *-āpayya*.

e. Examples of the gerundive in *tavya* are *tarpayitavyā*, *gamayitavyā*, *hvāyayitavyā*; of that in *ya*, *sthāpya*, *hārya*, *yājya*; of that in *aniya*, *sthāpaniya*, *bhāvaniya*.

f. Examples of other formations occurring in the older language are as follows: root-infinitive, -sthāpam, -vāsas; — infinitive in tu, other cases than accusative, -janayitave; jānayatavāi, pāyayitavāi, -çcot-ayitavāi; çamayitos; — infinitive in dhyāi, iṣayādhyāi, irayādhyāi, taṁsayādhyāi, nāçayādhyāi, mandayādhyāi, mādayādhyāi, riṣ-ayādhyāi, vartayādhyāi, vājayādhyāi, syandayādhyāi (all RV.); — gerundive in āyya, panayāyya, sprhayāyya, trayayāyya (P /trā).

g. Other noun-derivatives from the causative stem are not infrequent, being decidedly more numerous and various than from any other of the secondary conjugation-stems. Examples (of other kinds than those instanced in 1044) are: ārpaṇa, dāpaṇa, prīṇana, bhīṣaṇa; jñāpaka, ropaka; patayālū, sprhayālū; jānayati, jñapti.

h. All the classes of derivatives, it will be noticed, follow in regard to accent the analogy of similar formations from the simple root, and show no influence of the special accent of the causative-stem.

### 1052. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations.

From the causative stem are made a passive and a desiderative conjugation. Thus:

a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual passive-sign ण या to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, धारयति dhāryāte.

b. Such passives are hardly found in the Veda (only bhājya- AV.), but some thirty instances are met with in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras: examples are jñāpya- (TS.), sādya- (K.), pādya- (AB.), vādya- (TB.), sthāpya- (GB.); and they become quite common later.

c. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign इष षा, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, दिधारयिषति dīdhāryaiṣati.

d. These, too, are found here and there in the Brāhmaṇas and later (about forty stems are quotable): examples are pipāyayiṣa (K.), bibhāvayiṣa and cikalpayiṣa and lulobhayiṣa (AB.), dīdrāpayiṣa and rirādhayiṣa and āpipayiṣa (GB.), and so on.

e. As to causatives made from the intensive and desiderative stems, see above, 1025, 1039.

### V. Denominative. = "made from noun"

1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.

a. It is a view now prevallying held that most of the present-systems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations analogous with a

verb < noun  
many examples

present-system, are in their ultimate origin denominative; and that many apparent roots are of the same character. The denominatives which are so called differ from these only in that their origin is recent and undisguised.

1054. The grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted, without other addition than that of an ए a (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.

a. But such formations are rare in actual use. The RV. has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is *bhiṣákti* *he heals*, from *bhiṣáj* *physician*; it is made like a form of the root-class; *abhiṣṇak* seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class; and *pátyate* *he rules* appears to be a denominative of *páti* *master*; other possible cases are *iṣaṇas* etc., *kṛpánanta*, *taruṣema* etc., *vanuṣanta*, *bhuraṇanta*, *vānanvati*. From the other older texts are quotable *kavyánt* (TS.), *áḥlonat* (TB.), *unmūlati* (SB.), *svadhāmahe* (ÇÇS.). And a considerable number of instances, mostly isolated, are found in the later language: e. g. *kalahant* (MBh.), *arghanti* (Pañc.), *abjati* (Çatr.), *gardabhati* (SD.), *utkaṇṭhate* (SD.), *jagannetrati* (Pras.), *keliçvetasahasrapattrati* (Pras.).

1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign उ या, which has the accent.

a. The identity of this *ya* with the *ya* of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final *a* of a noun-stem the causative-sign *aya*, is hardly to be questioned. What relation it sustains to the *ya* of the *ya*-class (759), of the passive (768), and of the derivative intensive stem (1016), is much more doubtful.

1056. Intermediate between the denominative and causative conjugations stands a class of verbs, plainly denominative in origin, but having the causative accent. Examples, beginning to appear at the earliest period of the language, are *mantráyate* *speaks, takes counsel*, (from *mantra*,  $\sqrt{\text{man}}$  + *tra*), *kirtáyati* *commemorates* (from *kirti*,  $\sqrt{\text{kṛ}}$  *praise*), *artháyati* or *-te* *makes an object of, seeks* (from *ártha* *goal, object*), *varṇáyati* *depicts* (from *varṇa* *color*), *kathayati* or *-te* *gives the how of anything, relates* (from *katham* *how?*), and so on. These, along with like forms from roots which have no other present-system (though they may make scattering forms outside that system from the root directly), or which have this beside other present-systems without causative meaning, are reckoned by the grammarians as a separate conjugation-class, the *cur*-class (above, 807, 775).

katham 'how' > kathaya 'tell' 3.3

1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.

a. They are frequent in RV., which contains over a hundred, of all varieties; AV. has only half as many (and personal forms from hardly a third as many: from the rest, present participles, or derivative nouns); AB., less than twenty; ÇB., hardly more than a dozen; and so on. In the later language they are quotable by hundreds, but from the vast majority of stems occur only an example or two; the only ones that have won any currency are those that have assumed the character of "cur-class" verbs.

1058. The denominative meaning is, as in other languages, of the greatest variety; some of the most frequent forms of it are: *be like, act as, play the part of; regard or treat as; cause to be, make into; use, make application of; desire, wish for, crave* — that which is signified by the noun-stem.

a. The modes of treatment of the stem-final are also various; and the grammarians make a certain more or less definite assignment of the varieties of meaning to the varieties of form; but this allotment finds only a dubious support in the usages of the words as met with even in the later language, and still less in the earlier. Hence the formal classification, according to the final of the noun-stem and the way in which this is treated before the denominative sign *yá*, will be the best one to follow.

1059. From stems in a. a. The final a of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, *amitráyāti plays the enemy, is hostile; devayāti cultivates the gods, is pious.*

b. But final a is also often lengthened: thus, *aghāyāti plans mischief; priyāyāte holds dear; aqvāyāti seeks for horses; aqanāyāti desires food.*

c. While in the Veda the various modes of denominative formation are well distributed, no one showing a marked preponderance, in the later language the vast majority of denominatives (fully seven eighths) are of the two kinds just noticed: namely, made from a-stems, and of the form *aya* or *āya*, the former predominating. And there is seen a decided tendency to give the denominatives in *aya* an active form and transitive meaning, and those in *āya* a middle form and intransitive or reflexive meaning. In not a few cases, parallel formations from the same stem illustrate this distinction: e. g. *kaluṣayati makes turbid, kaluṣāyate is or becomes urbid; taruṇayati rejuvenates, taruṇāyate is rejuvenated; çithilayati loosens, çithilāyate grows loose.* No distinct traces of this distinction are

recognizable in the Veda, although there also corresponding forms with short *a* and with long *ā* sometimes stand side by side.

d. Final *a* is sometimes changed to *ī* (very rarely *i*): thus, *adhvari-yāti* performs the sacrifice; *taviṣi-yāti* is mighty; *putri-yāti* or *putriyāti* desires a son; *māṁsi-yāti* craves flesh; *sajji-yate* is ready; *candrakānti-yati* is moonstonelike. Not fifty stems of this form are quotable.

e. It is occasionally dropped (after *n* or *r*): thus, *turaṇ-yāti* is rapid; *adhva-yāti* performs the sacrifice.

f. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of *s*, as in *stanas-yati* seeks the breast; the change of *a* to *e*, as in *vare-yāti* plays the wooer.

1060. From stems in *ā*. Final *ā* usually remains, as in *gopā-yāti* plays the herdsman, protects; *pṛtanā-yati* fights; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an *a*-stem: thus, *pṛtanyati* fights; *tilottamī-yati* acts *Tilottamā*.

1061. From stems in *i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū*. Such stems are (especially those in *u*, *ū*) very rare. They show regularly *ī* and *ū* before *ya*: thus, *arāti-yāti* (also *-tiy-*) plots injury; *janī-yāti* (also *-niy-*) seeks a wife; *sakhi-yāti* desires friendship; *nāri-yate* turns woman; — *çatrū-yāti* acts the foe; *ṛjū-yāti* is straight; *vasū-yāti* desires wealth; *asū-yāti* grumbles, is discontented: with short *u*, *gātuyāti* sets in motion.

a. More rarely, *i* or *u* is treated as *a* (or else is gunated, with loss of a *y* or *v*): thus, *dhunayāti* comes snorting; *laghayati* makes easier. Sometimes, as to *a* (above, 1059f), a sibilant is added: thus, *aviṣ-yāti* is vehement; *uruṣ-yāti* saves. From *dhi*, RV. makes *dhiyā-yāte*.

1062. From other vowel-stems. a. Final *ṛ* is changed to *rī*: thus, *mātri-yāti* treats as a mother (only quotable example).

b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, *gavyāti* seeks cattle, goes a-raiding.

1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before *ya*: thus, *bhiṣaj-yāti* plays the physician, cures; *ukṣaṇ-yāti* acts like a bull; *apasyāti* is active; *namasyāti* pays reverence; *sumanasyāte* is favorably disposed; *taruṣ-yāti* fights.

a. But a final *n* is sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, *rājā-yāte* or *rājī-yāti* is kingly, from *rājan*; *-karmayati* from *-karman*; *svāmī-yati* treats as master, from *svāmin*: *vṛṣā-yāte* from *vṛṣan* is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, *ojā-yāte* from *ojas*, *-manā-yate* from *-manas*; — while, on the other hand, an *a*-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before *ya*: thus, *iṣa-yāti* from *iṣ*, *satvanā-yati* from *satvan*.

1064. The largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a *s* before the *ya*; and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denominative-sign virtually *sya*

— or even, with *a* also added after an *i*- or *u*-vowel, *asya*; and this comes to be recognized by the grammarians as an independent sign, forming denominatives that express desire: thus, *sumakhasyāte* is *merry*; *jīvanasya* (in *-syā* *love of life*); *vṛṣasyati* *desires the male* (the only quotable examples); *madhuṣyati* or *madhvasyati* *longs for honey*; *kṣīrasyati* *craves milk*.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in *kāmya* what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having *kāma* as its final member: thus, *rathakāmyati* *longs for the chariot* (K.: only example found in the older language); *arthakāmyati* *desires wealth*; *putrakāmyati* *wishes a son* (the only quotable examples); coming from the possessive compounds *rathakāma* etc. And *arthāpāyati* *treats as property* is a (sole quotable) example of a stem having the Prakritic causative form (1042n).

a. Stems of anomalous formation are *drāghaya* from *dīrgha*, *draḍhaya* from *ḍṛḍha*, and perhaps *mradaya* from *mṛḍu*.

1066. a. A number of denominative stems occur in the Veda for which no corresponding noun-stems are found, although for all or nearly all of them related words appear: thus, *añkūyā*, *stabhūyā*, *iṣudhya*; *dhiṣanyā*, *riṣanyā*, *ruvanya*, *huvanya*, *iṣanyā*; *ratharyā*, *ṣratharyā*, *saparyā*; *iyasya* (ÇB.), *irasyā*, *daṣasyā*, *makhasyā*, *panasyā*, *sacasyā*. Those in *anya*, especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in *āya*, which in general have allied themselves to present-systems of the *nā*-class (732), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, *gr̥bhāyāti* beside *gr̥bhñāti*. Of such, RV. has *gr̥bhāyā*, *mathāyā*, *pruṣāyā*, *muṣāyā*, *ṣrathāya*, *skabhāyā*, *stabhāyā*. A few others have no *nā*-class companions: thus, *damāyā*, *ṣamāyā*, *tudāyā* (AV.); and *panāya*, *naṣāya*, *vṛṣāya* (√*vṛṣ* *rain*), *vasāyā* (√*vas* *clothe*), and perhaps *aṣāya* (√*aṣ* *attain*).

c. Here may be mentioned also quasi-denominatives made from onomatopoeic combinations of sounds, generally with repetition: e. g. *kiṭaktāya*, *thatathatarāya*, *miṣamiṣāya*, *ṣaraṣarāya*.

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. *añkhāya*, *arthāya*, *iṣāya* (also *iṣayā*), *ūrjāya*, *ṛtāya*, *kṛpāya*, *mantrāya*, *mṛgāya*, *vavṛāya*, *vājāya* (also *vājayā*), *vilāya*, *suṣvāya* (also *suṣvayā*); AV. adds *kirtāya*, *dhūpāya*, *pālāya*, *vīrāya*, *sabhāgāya*.

a. The accent of *ānniya* and *hāstaya* (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in *ṣa* (733a) throughout the present-system. Forms outside of



that system — except from the stems which are reckoned to the causative or cur-class, and which follow in all respects the rules for that class — are of the utmost rarity.

a. In RV. occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, except *ūnayis* (with *mā* prohibitive), an *iṣ*-aorist 2d sing. (cf. 1048). Further examples of this aorist are *āsūyīt* (ÇB.), *pāpayiṣṭa* (TS.: pl., with *mā* prohibitive), and *avṛṣāyīṣṭa* (VS. etc.). The form *āsaparyāit* (AV. xiv. 2. 20), with *āi* for *i* (555c), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; *amanasyāit*, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (ii. 3. 83). Other forms begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas: e. g. the futures *gopāyīṣyati* (ÇB.), *meghāyīṣyānt*, *kaṇḍūyīṣyānt*, *çikāyīṣyānt* (TS.), the participles *bhiṣajyitā* (? JB. -jita) and *iyasitā* (ÇB.), *kaṇḍūyitā*, *çikitā*, and *meghitā* (TS.), the gerund *saṃçlākṣṇya* (ÇB.), and so on. In the later language, also, forms outside the present-system (except the participle in *ta*) are only sporadic; and of tertiary conjugation forms there are hardly any: examples are the causatives *dhūmāyaya* and *asūyaya* (MBh.), and the desiderative *abhiṣiṣenayīṣa* (Çç.).

b. Noun-derivatives from denominative stems follow the analogy of those from causative stems (1051g). In the older language, those in *u* and *ā* (especially the former) are much the most numerous; later, that in *ana* prevails over all others.

## CHAPTER XV.

### PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1069. ONE periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (942 ff.), since it has become in the later language a recognized part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is —

### The Periphrastic Perfect.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brāhmaṇas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.

† 364 a. It is made by prefixing the accusative of a derivative noun-stem in आ ई (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of √कृ *kṛ* *make*, more often of √अस् *as* *be*, and very rarely of √भू *bhū* *be*.

b. In the older language (see below, 1073 d), *kṛ* is almost the only auxiliary used in making this tense, *as* occurring very few times, and *bhū* never. Later, also, *bhū* is quite rare (it is found nine times in MBh., six times in Rgh., and a few times elsewhere), but *as* gains very greatly in currency, having become the usual auxiliary, while *kṛ* is only exceptional.

c. Somewhat similar formations with yet other auxiliaries are not absolutely unknown in the later language: thus, *varayām pracakramus* (MBh.), *pūrayām* (etc.) *vyadhus* (Viracaritra), *mṛgayām avāsīt* (ib.).

1071. The periphrastic perfect occurs as follows:

a. It is the <sup>only</sup> (accepted) perfect of the derivative conjugations: intensive, desiderative, causative, and denominative; the noun in आ ई being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from √बुध् *budh*, intensive बोबुधाम् *bobudhām*, desiderative बुभुत्साम् *bubhutsām*, causative बोधयाम् *bodhayām*; denominative मन्त्रयाम् *mantrayām*.

b. The formation from causative stems (including those denominatives which have assumed the aspect of causatives: 1056) is by far the most frequent. Only a few desideratives are quotable (1034 a), and of intensives only jāgarām āsa (1020 a; beside jajāgāra).

c. Most roots beginning with a vowel in a heavy syllable (long by nature or long by position) make this perfect only, and not the simple one: thus, आसाम् *āsām* from √आस् *ās* *sit*, ईक्षाम् *ikṣām* from √ईक्ष् *ikṣ* *see*; उज्जाम् *ujjhām* from √उक् *ujh* *forsake*; एधाम् *edhām* from √एध् *edh* *thrive* (the only examples quotable).

d. Excepted are the roots *āp* and *āñch*, and those beginning with *a* before two consonants (and taking *ān* as reduplication: 788).

e. The roots (that is, stems reckoned by the grammarians as roots) of more than one syllable have their perfect of this formation: thus, *cakāśām*. But *ūrṇu* (713) is said to form *ūrṇonāva* only; while *jāgr* (1020) makes a perfect of either formation, and *daridrā* (1024 a) is said to do the same.

f. A few other roots make the periphrastic in addition to the usual reduplicated perfect. Thus, in the older language only are found the stems *cāyām*, *tāyām*, *nilayām*, *vāsām* (*√vas dwell*), *vidām* (*√vid know*), *vyayām*, and the reduplicated stems *bibhayām* and *juhavām*; the later language adds *ayām*, *jayām*, *dayām*, *nayām*, *smayām*, *hvayām*, and the reduplicated *bibharām*; and the grammarians teach like formations from *uṣ*, *kās*, and the reduplicating *hrī*. The stem is made in every case from the present-stem, with *guṇa* of a final vowel.

1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is made with the middle inflection of *√क् कृ*. For passive use, the auxiliaries *अस् as* and *भू bhū* are said to be allowed to take a middle inflection.

a. One or two late examples of *bhū* with middle inflection have been pointed out, but none of *as*.

b. It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their independent use: for that of *√क् कृ*, see 800 k; of *√भू भू*, see 800 d; of *√as*, see 800 m.

c. The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that other words are not occasionally allowed to come between them: thus, *mīmāṃsām evā cakré* (ÇB.) *he merely speculated*; *vidām vā idam ayaṃ cakāra* (JB.) *he verily knew this*; *prabhrañçayām yo naghūṣaṃ cakāra* *who made Naghusha fall headlong* (Rgh.).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation with a derivative noun in *ām* as it appears especially in the later language; earlier, its aspect is rather that of a more general, but quite infrequent, combination of such a noun with various forms of the root *कृ*. Thus:

a. Of the periphrastic perfect occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, *gamayām cakāra* (AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas examples from causative stems begin to appear more freely, but are everywhere few in number, except in ÇB. (which has them from twenty-four roots, and a few of these in several occurrences). From desiderative stems they are yet rarer (only seven occurrences, five of them in ÇB.: see 1034 a); and from intensives they are unknown. The periphrastic perfects of primary conjugation were noted above (1071 f: in ÇB.,

eight stems and about eighty occurrences, chiefly from *ikṣ*, *bhī*, and *vid*; that from *vid* is found in the greatest number of texts).

b. Forms with the aorist of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brāhmaṇas as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with *akar* occur *ramayām* (K.), *janayām* and *sādayām* and *svadayām* and *sthāpayām* (MS.); and with *akran*, *vidām* (TS. TB. MS.). With the aorist optative or precative has been found only *pāvayām kriyāt* (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are not entirely unknown: thus, *juhavām karoti* (ÇÇS.). So also in the later language, where have been found quotable half-a-dozen such cases as *vidām karoti* (Pañc.), *vidām karotu* and *kurvantu* (Pañc. etc.).

d. Only two or three cases of the use of *as* instead of *kṛ* as auxiliary are met with in the older language: they are *mantrayām āsa* (AB. GB.), *janayām āsa* (ÇvU.), and *ikṣām āsa* (ÇÇS.).

e. A single example of an accented auxiliary is met with in the accentuated texts: namely, *atirecayām cakrūs* (ÇB.). As was to be expected, from the nature of the combination, the noun also retains its accent (compare 945).

### Participial Periphrastic Phrases.

1074. The frequent use, especially in the later language, of a past or a future passive participle with the copula (or also without it) to make participial phrases having a value analogous to that of verb-tenses, has been already noticed (999). But other similar combinations are not unknown in any period of the language, as made with other auxiliaries, or with other participles.

a. They occur even in the Veda, but are far more common and conspicuous in the Brāhmaṇas, and become again of minor account in the later language.

1075. Examples of the various formations are as follows:

a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb *i* go. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus: *āyajvano vibhājann éti védaḥ* (RV.) *he ever gives away the wealth of the non-offerer*; *yathā sūcyā vāsaḥ saṁdadhad iyād evam evāi 'tābhīr yajñasya chidraṁ saṁdadhad eti* (AB.) *just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice*; *agnir vā idam vāiçvānaro dahann āit* (PB.) *Agni Vaiçvānara kept burning this creation*; *té 'surāḥ parā-jitā yānto dyāvāpṛthivī ūpāçrayan* (TB.) *those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth*; *té 'sya gṛhāḥ paçāva upamūryā-māṇā iyuh* (ÇB.) *the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed*.

b. The same with the verb *car go* (continually or habitually), signifying still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: *agnāv agniṇ carati praviṣṭaḥ* (AV.) *Agni is constantly present in the fire*; *adaṇḍyaḥ daṇḍena ghnantaḥ caranti* (PB.) *they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment*.

c. The same with the verbs *ās sit* and *sthā stand*, with a like meaning. Thus, *juhvata āsate* (K.) *they continue sacrificing*; *te 'pakramya pratīvādato 'tiṣṭhan* (AB.) *they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing*. In the later language, *sthā* is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A present or future or perfect participle with *as* and *bhū be*. The participle is oftenest a future one; *as* only is used in the optative, *bhū* usually in other forms. Thus: *yaḥ pūrvam anijānaḥ syāt* (AB.) *whoever may not have made sacrifice before*; *samāvad eva yajñe kurvāṇā āsan* (GB.) *they did the same thing at the sacrifice*; *parikrīḍanta āsan* (MS.) *they were playing about*; *yātra suptvā pūnar nā 'vadrā-syān bhāvati* (ÇB.) *when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again*; *havyam hi vakṣyan bhavati* (AB.) *for he is intending to carry the sacrifice*; *dāsyant syāt* (K.) *may be going to give*; *yéna vāhanena syantsyānt syāt* (ÇB.) *with what vehicle he may be about to drive*. True expressions for perfect and pluperfect and future perfect time are capable of being made by such means, and now and then are made, but in no regular and continued fashion.

### Composition with Prepositional Prefixes.

1076. All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation — of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as the denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) — occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character (see the next chapter), the so-called prepositions (according to the original use of that term), or the verbal prefixes.

a. Practically, in the later language, it is as if a compounded root were formed, out of root and prefix; from which then the whole conjugation (with derivatives: below, chap. XVII.) is made, just as from the simple root. Yet, even there (and still more in the older language: 1081 a—c), the combination is so loose, and the members retain so much of their independent value, that in most dictionaries (that of Sir Monier Williams is an exception) the conjugation of each root with prefixes is treated under the simple root, and not in the alphabetic order of the prefix. Derivative words, however,

are by universal agreement given in their independent alphabetic place, like simple words.

1077. Those verbal prefixes which have value as such throughout the whole history of the language are given below, in alphabetic order, with their fundamental meanings:

- अति *āti* across, beyond, past, over, to excess;  
 अधि *ādhi* above, over, on, on to;  
 अनु *ānu* after, along, toward;  
 अन्तर *antār* between, among, within;  
 अप *āpa* away, forth, off;  
 अपि *āpi* unto, close upon or on;  
 अभि *abhi* to, unto, against (often with implied violence);  
 अव *āva* down, off;  
 आ *ā* to, unto, at;  
 उद् *ūd* up, up forth or out;  
 उप *ūpa* to, unto, toward;  
 नि *ni* down; in, into;  
 निम् *nis* out, forth;  
 परा *pārā* to a distance, away, forth;  
 परि *pāri* round about, around;  
 प्र *prā* forward, onward, forth, fore;  
 प्रति *prāti* in reversed direction, back to or against,  
 against, in return;  
 वि *vi* apart, asunder, away, out;  
 सम् *sām* along, with, together.

a. Some of these, of course, are used much more widely and frequently than others. In order of frequency in the older language (as estimated by the number of roots with which they are found used in RV. and AV.), they stand as follows: *pra*, *ā*, *vi*, *sam*, *abhi*, *ni*, *ud*, *pāri*, *anu*, *upa*, *prati*, *ava*, *nis*, *ati*, *apa*, *pārā*, *ādhi*, *api*, *antar*. *Api* is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, too, also.

b. The meanings given above are only the leading ones. In combinations of root and prefix they undergo much modification, both literal and figurative — yet seldom in such a way that the steps of transition from the fundamental sense are not easy to trace. Sometimes, indeed, the value of a

root is hardly perceptibly modified by the addition of the prefix. An intensive force is not infrequently given by pari, vi, and sam.

1078. Prefixes essentially akin with the above, but more distinctly adverbial, and of more restricted use, are these:

**ācha** (or **āchā**) *to, unto*: tolerably frequent in RV. (used with over twenty roots), but already unusual in AV. (only two roots), quite restricted in B., and entirely lost in the later language;

**āvis** *forth to sight, in view*: used only with the roots **bhū**, **as**, and **kṛ**;

**tirās** *through, crossways; out of sight*: hardly used except with **kṛ**, **dhā**, **bhū** (in RV., with three or four others);

**purās** *in front, forward*: used with only half-a-dozen roots, especially **kṛ**, **dhā**, **i**;

**prādūs** *forth to view*: only with **bhū**, **as**, **kṛ**.

a. A few others, as **bahis** *outside*, **vinā** *without*, **alam** (with **bhū** and **kṛ**) *sufficiently; properly*, **sākṣāt** *in view*, are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of yet more limited use, and of noun-rather than adverb-value, are:

**grad** (or **ṣrath**?), only with **dhā** (in RV., once also with **kṛ**): **ṣraddhā** *believe, credit*;

**hiñ**, only with **kṛ** (and obsolete in the classical language): **hiñkṛ** *make the sound, hing low, murmur*.

a. And beside these stand yet more fortuitous combinations: see below, 1091.

1080. More than one prefix may be set before the same root. Combinations of two are quite usual; of three, much less common; of more than three, rare. Their order is in general determined only by the requirements of the meaning, each added prefix bringing a further modification to the combination before which it is set. But **आ** **ā** is almost never allowed, either earlier or later, to be put in front of any of the others.

a. The very rare cases of apparent prefixion of **ā** to another prefix (as **āvihanti** MBh., **āvitānvānāḥ** BhP.) are perhaps best explained as having the **ā** used independently, as an adverb.

1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix stands immediately before the verbal form.

a. In the earlier language, however (especially in the Veda; in the Brāhmaṇa less often and more restrictedly), its position is quite

free: it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even come after the form to which it belongs; it may also stand alone, qualifying a verb that is understood, or conjointly with another prefix one that is expressed.

b. Thus, *sá devān é 'há vakṣyati* (RV.) *he shall bring the gods hither*; *prá ṇa āyūṇṣi tāriṣat* (AV.) *may he lengthen out our lives*; *tāv ā yātam ūpa dravāt* (RV.) *do ye two come hither quickly*; *gāmad vājebhir ā sá naḥ* (RV.) *may he come with gifts hither to us*; *pāri mām pári me prajā́m pári naḥ páhi yád dhānam* (AV.) *protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own*; *yātaḥ sadyā ā ca párá ca yānti* (AV.) *from whence every day they advance and retire*; *vy āháṁ sárveṇa pāpmāná [avṛtam] ví yákṣmeṇa sám āyuṣā* (AV.) *I have separated from all evil, from disease, [I have joined myself] with life*; *vi hy enena paçyati* (AB.) *for by it he sees*; *ví vā eṣá prajāyā paçúbhir r̥dhyate* (TB.) *he is deprived of progeny and cattle*.

c. Three or four instances have been cited from the later language of a prefix separated from, or following, a verb; perhaps the prefix in every such case admits of being regarded as an adverb.

1082. As regards the accent of verb-forms compounded with prefixes, only the case needs to be considered in which the prefix stands (as always in the later language) immediately before the verb; otherwise, verb and prefix are treated as two independent words.

1083. a. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above (592), is ordinarily unaccented: before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.

b. If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.

c. That is, in every case, the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent.

d. Examples are: *páre 'hi nāri púnar é 'hi kṣiprám* (AV.) *go away, woman; come again quickly*; *áthā 'staṁ vipáretana* (RV.) *then scatter ye away to your home*; *samācinuṣvā 'nusamprāyāhi* (AV.) *gather together, go forth together after*; *yád gṛhān upodā́ti* (AV.) *when he goes up to the house*; *evā ca tvā́m sarama ājagā́nta* (RV.) *now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither*; *yénā 'viṣṭitaḥ pravivēçitā 'pāḥ* (RV.) *enveloped in which thou didst enter the waters*.

1084. A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction, or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term), belonging to and governing a noun; in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound, but has its own accent. The two kinds of use shade into one another, and are not divisible by any distinct and fixed line.



a. There is in RV. a considerable number of cases (some thirty) in which the *pada*-text gives unnecessarily, and probably wrongly, an independent accent to a prefix before an accented verb (or other prefix): resolving, for example, *ārūhat* into *ā āruhat*, *vyācet* into *vī ācet*, *abhyāvarṣit* into *abhi āvarṣit*, *vyāsarat* into *vī ā asarat* (instead of *ā-ārūhat* etc.).

1085. In combination with the non-personal parts of the verb-system — with participles, infinitives, and gerunds — the general rule is that the prefix loses its accent, in favor of the other member of the compound. But the prefix instead has sometimes the accent: namely, when combined —

a. with the passive participle in *ta* or *na*: thus, *pāreta gone forth*; *antārḥita concealed*; *āvapanna fallen*; *sāmpūrṇa complete* (cf. 1284).

b. But some exceptions to this rule are met with: e. g., in RV., *nicitā*, *niṣṭṛtā*, *praçastā*, *niṣattā*, etc.; in AV., *apakṛitā*.

c. with the infinitive in *tu* (972), in all its cases: thus, *sāmhartum to collect*; *āpidhātave to cover up*; *āvagantos of descending*. The doubly accented dative in *tavāi* retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, *ānvetavāi for following*; *āpabhartavāi for carrying off*.

1086. The closeness of combination between the root and the prefix is indicated not only by their unity of accent, but also by the euphonic rules (e. g. 185, 192), which allow the mutual adaptations of the two to be made to some extent as if they were parts of a unitary word.

1087. A few special irregularities call for notice:

a. In the later language, *api*, *adhi*, and *ava*, in connection with certain roots and their derivatives, sometimes lose the initial vowel: namely, *api* with *nah* and *dhā*, *adhi* with *sthā*, *ava* with *gāh* etc.: e. g. *pinaddha*, *pihita*, *dhiṣṭhita*, *vagāhya*, *vataṇsa*, *vadānya*, *vaṣṭabhya*, *vamajjana*, *veṣṇa*, *valepana*. In the Veda, on the other hand, *iṣ* is in a few cases found instead (apparently) of *niṣ* with *√kr*.

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an *i*, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: e. g. *pratīkāra*, *nīvṛt*, *parīhāra*, *vīrūdh*, *adhīvasā*, *āpīvṛta*, *abhīvartā*; *anūrūdh*; *avāyati*, *prāvṛṣ*, *ūpāvasu*. In the Veda, the initial of *anu* is sometimes lengthened after negative *an*: e. g. *anānudā*, *anānukṛtyā*.

c. In combination with *yi* *go*, the prefixes *parā*, *pari*, and *pra* sometimes change their *r* to *l*. In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem *palāy* *flee*, inflected according to the *a*-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brāhmaṇas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it sometimes takes the augment prefixed: thus, *apalāyīṣṭhās* (ÇS.), *apalāyata* (R.), *apalāyanta* (MBh.); it makes

the periphrastic perfect **palāyāñ cakre**. The stem **palyay**, similarly inflected, occurs only in one or two texts (ÇB. JB. JUB.); and **plāy** has been found nowhere except in MS. Also the imperfect **nīlāyata** (TS. TB.: not separated in the *pada*-text) and perfect **nilayāñ cakre** (ÇB.) are doubtless a corresponding formation from  $\sqrt{i}$  with **nis**, though nearly akin in form and meaning with forms from  $\sqrt{li} + ni$ . So also **pari** becomes **pali** in the combination **palyaṅg** (ÇB. ÇÇS.), whether viewed as a denominative formation or as  $\sqrt{aṅg} + \text{pari}$ . And MS. has once **plākṣārayan** (iii. 10. 2; in an etymology).

d. The root **kṛ** *make* sometimes assumes (or retains from a more original condition) an initial **s** after the prefixes **saṃ**, **pari**, **nis**, and **upa**: thus, **saṃskurute**, **saṃskurvan**, **saṃskṛta**, etc.; **pariṣkṛvanti**, **pariṣkṛta**, etc.; **nir askṛta**; **upaskṛta**. And  $\sqrt{kṛ}$  *scatter* is said by the grammarians to add **s** in the same manner, under certain circumstances, after **apa** and **prati** (only **apaskiramāṇa**, **praticaskare**, both late, are quotable).

e. The passive participle of the roots **dā** *give* and **dā** *cut* has often the abbreviated form **tta** after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if **i**, is lengthened (compare 955 f, and the derivative in **ti**, below, 1157 c).

f. In a few sporadic cases, the augment is taken before a prefix, instead of between it and the root: thus, **avaṣaṭkāṣīt** (GB.); **udaprapatat** (AB.); **anvasaṃcarat**, **pratyasaṃharat**, **pratyavyūhat**, **anvavikṣetām**, **aprāiṣīt**, **asambhramat** (MBh.); **abhyanimantrayat** (Har.); **vyāvasthāpi** (SDS.); compare also the forms from **palāy**, above,

c. And AB. has once **niniyoja** (for **niyuyoja**, as read in the corresponding passage of ÇÇS.). Some of the apparent roots of the language have been suspected of being results of a similar unification of root and prefix: e. g. **āp** from  $\bar{a} + \text{ap}$ , **vyac** from **vi** + **ac**, **tyaj** from **ati** + **aj**.

g. The loss of the initial **s** of **sthā** and **stambh** after the prefix **ud** has been noticed above (233 c). Also (137 a, c), certain peculiarities of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1088. As to the more general adverbial uses of the prefixes, and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1089. As to the combination of the particles **a** or **an** privative, **dus** *ill*, and **su** *well*, with verb-forms, see 1121 b, g, i. As to the addition of the comparative and superlative suffixes **tarām** and **tamām** to verbs, see above, 473 c.

### Other Verbal Compounds.

1090. It has been seen above that some of the prepositional prefixes are employed in combination with only very small classes of roots, namely those whose meaning makes them best fitted for auxiliary and periphrastic uses — such as **kṛ** *make*, **bhū** and **as** *be*, **dhā** *put*, **i** *go* — and that the first of these are widely used in com-

bination with a derivative in *ām* to make a periphrastic conjugation. Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

1091. a. The older language has a number of (mostly) reduplicative onomatopoeic compounds with roots *kṛ* and *bhū*, the prefixed element ending in *ā* or *i* (generally the former): thus, in RV., *akkhalikṛtya* *croaking*, *jañjanābhāvant* *flimmering*, *alalābhāvant* *making merry*, *kikirā kṛṇu* *tear*; in AV., *maṣmaṣā* *'karam I have crushed*; in VS., *masmasā* (also TS.; MS. *mṣmṣā*) *kuru*; in TS., *malmalābhāvant*; in K., *manmalābhāvant*, *kikkitākāra*; in MS., *bibibābhāvant*, *bharbharā* *'bhavat*; in AB., *bababākurvant*. The accentuation, where shown, is like that of a verb-form with accompanying prefix.

b. Further, combinations with *√kṛ* of utterances used at the sacrifice, and mostly ending in *ā*: thus, *svāhā*, *svadhā*, *svagā*; also *vāṣaṭ*. In these, too, the accentuation is generally that of a verb with prefix: e. g. *svagākarōti* (ÇB.; but *svadhā karōti* [?] TA.), *vāṣaṭkuryāt* (MS.); and, with another prefix, *anuvāṣaṭkaroti* (ÇB.).

c. An instance or two also occur of ordinary words in such combinations, put in corresponding form: thus, *ṣūlā kuryāt* (ÇB.) *may roast on a spit* (*ṣūla*); *anṛṇākartos* (AB.) *of getting clear of debt*; *āikyābhāvayant* (AA.) *uniting*.

1092. a. The noun *namas* *obeisance, homage*, in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with *√kṛ*: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in *namaskṛtya* (beside *hastagṛhya* and *karnagṛhya*: above, 990 b).

b. A solitary combination with *√i* *go* is shown by the accusative *āstam* *home*; which, appearing only in ordinary phrases in RV., is in AV. compounded with the participles — in *astamīyānt*, *astameṣyānt*, *āstamita* (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix) — and in the Brāhmaṇas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix: thus, *astamēti* (ÇB.).

c. Other ordinary accusative forms of adjectives in combination with verbal derivatives of *kṛ* and *bhū* are found here and there in the older language: thus, *ṣṛtamkṛtya* and *nagnamkṛtya* (TS.); *nagnambhāvuka*, *pāmanambhāvuka* etc. (TS. et al.); *ānaruṣkaroti* (ÇB.).

1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with *kṛ* or *bhū* (and very rarely with *as*), in verbal nouns and ordinary derivatives, and then also in verbal forms, begins to assume a constant ending *i* (of doubtful origin).

a. There is no instance of this in RV., unless the *i* of *akkhalikṛtya* (above, 1091a) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure

*vāṭikṛta* and *vāṭikārā*, is found only *phalikāraṇa*. In the Brāhmaṇa language, examples begin to occur more often: thus, in TS., *çyetī*, *mithunī*, *muṣṭī*; in TB., further, *phalī*, *krūrī*, *udvāsī*; in ÇB., besides some of these, also *ekī*, *kālvālī*, *tivrī*, *daridrī*, *brāhmaṇī*, *mithunī*, *svī*; and *açvābhidhānī*, of which (as of *muṣṭī*) the *ī* might be that of an ordinary grammatical form; in K., *dvi*; in GB., *pravaṇī*; in SB., *vajrī*; in AB., *matī* (from *matya*). From Upanishad and Sūtra are to be added *dvāitī* (MU.), *samī* (KÇS.), *navī* and *kuçalī* (AGS.). The accent is in general like that of the similar combinations treated above (1091): e. g. *krūrīkurvānti*, *svikṛtya*, *brāhmaṇībhūya*, *mithunībhāvāntyāu*, *phalikartavāī*, *krūrīkṛta*; but sometimes a mere collocation takes place: thus, *mithunī bhāvāntis* (TS.), *phalī kriyāmāṇānām* (TB.), *vajrī bhūtṛvā* (TA.). The *ī* is variously treated: now as an un-combinable final, as in *çyetī akuruta* and *mithunī abhavan* (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in *mithuny énayā syām*, *mithuny ābhiḥ syām*, and *svyakurvata* (ÇB.).

b. Out of such beginnings has grown in the later language the following rule:

1094. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots  $\sqrt{\text{क्}}$  *kr* and  $\sqrt{\text{भू}}$  *bhū* (and of  $\sqrt{\text{अस्}}$  *as* also; but such cases are extremely rare), in the manner of a verbal prefix. If the final of the stem be an *a*- or *i*-vowel, it is changed to  $\text{ई}$  *ī*; if an *u*-vowel, it is changed to  $\text{ऊ}$  *ū*.

a. Examples are: *stambhībhavati* becomes *a post*; *ekacittībhūya* becoming of one mind; *upahārīkaroṣi* thou makest an offering; *nakhaprahārajarjarīkṛta* torn to pieces with blows of the claws; *çithilībhavanti* become loose; *kuṇḍalīkṛta* ring-shaped; *surabhīkṛta* made fragrant; *ādihikarāṇa* pawning; *ṛjūkṛtya* straightening; *hetūkarāṇa* taking as cause. As in the case of the denominatives (1059 c), the combinations with *a*-stems are the immense majority, and occur abundantly (hardly less than a thousand are quotable) in the later language, but for the most part only once or twice each; those made with *i*- and *u*-stems are a very small number. In a few instances, stems in *an* and *as*, with those finals changed to *ī*, are met with: e. g. *ātmī-kṛ*, *yuvī-bhū*; *unmanī-kṛ*, *amanī-bhū*; final *ya* after a consonant is contracted to *ī*: e. g. *kāṁsī-kṛ*; and anomalous cases like *kāṁdīçī-bhū* occur. Final *ṛ* is said to become *rī*, but no examples are quotable. The combinations with *kr* are about twice as frequent as those with *bhū*, and examples with *as* do not appear to have been brought to light.

b. Similar combinations are occasionally made with elements of questionable or altogether obscure character: e. g. *urārī-kṛ*, *urī-kṛ*.

c. Examples are not altogether wanting in the later language of *ā* as

final of the compounded noun-stem (cf. 1091): thus, *duḥkhā-kṛ*, *niṣkulā-kṛ*, *ṣambā-kṛ*, and one or two others.

1095. Of all the forms which constitute or are attached to the verbal system, the passive participle is the one most closely assimilated in its treatment as a combinable element to an ordinary adjective. Next to it come the gerund and the gerundives. Combinations of the kind above treated of are quite common with passive participles and gerunds.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### INDECLINABLES.

1096. THE indeclinable words are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech in Sanskrit than is usual elsewhere in Indo-European language — especially owing to the fact that the class of prepositions hardly has a real existence, but is represented by certain adverbial words which are to a greater or less extent used prepositionally. They will, however, be briefly described here under the usual heads.

#### Adverbs.

1097. Adverbs by Suffix. Classes of adverbs, sometimes of considerable extent, are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems.

a. There is no ultimate difference between such suffixes and the case-endings in declension; and the adverbs of this division sometimes are used in the manner of cases.

1098. With the suffix *tas* are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:

a. From pronominal roots, in *átas*, *itás*, *tátas*, *yátas*, *kútas*, *amútas*, *svatas* (not found earlier); from the pronominal stems in *t* or

2.21

d (494) of the personal pronouns: thus, *mattás* (only example in V.), *tvattas*, *asmattas*, *yuṣmattas*; and from pronominal derivatives: thus, *itarátas*, *katarátas*.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: e. g. *mukhatás*, *agratás*, *ṛbhutás*, *ṛktás*, *hṛttás*, *çirṣatás*, *janmatas*, *nastás*, *yajuṣtas*, *pārátas*, *anyátas*, *anyatarátas*, *sarvátas*, *dakṣiṇatás*, *abhīpatás* (once, in RV., from a case-form: *patsutás*).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, *abhítas*, *parítas*, *ántitas*.

d. Examples of ablative construction are: *áto bhúyaḥ* (RV.) *more than that*; *tátaḥ ṣaṣṭhāt* (AV.) *from that sixth*; *áto 'nyéna* (QB.) *with any other than this*; *sarvato bhayāt* (AGS.) *from all fear*; *kutaḥ cid deçāḍ āgatya* (H.) *arriving from some region or other*; *purāḍ itaḥ* (R.) *from this city*; *tasmāt pretakāyataḥ* (KSS.) *from that dead body*.

e. But the distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced, and the adverb has a more general, especially a locative, value: thus, *agratás* *in front*; *asmatsamīpatas* *in our presence*; *dharmatas* *in accordance with duty*; *chāgatas* (H.) *with reference to the goat*; *guṇato 'dhikaḥ* (M.) *superior in virtue*.

1089. With the suffix *tra* (in the older language often *trā*) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.

a. These adverbs are very few, compared with those in *tas*. They are formed chiefly from pronominal stems, and from other stems having a quasi-pronominal character: namely, in *tra*, *átra*, *tátra*, *yátra*, *kútra*, *amútra*, *anyátra*, *viçvátra*, *sarvátra*, *ubhayátra*, *aparatra*, *uttara-tra*, *itarátra*, *anyataratra*, *pūrvatra*, *paratra*, *samānátra*, *ekatra*, *anekatra*, *ekāikatra*; in *trā*, *asmatrā*, *satrā*, *purutrā*, *bahutrā*, *dakṣiṇatrā*. But a few in *trā* come from ordinary nouns: thus, *devatrā*, *martyatrā*, *puruṣatrā*, *manuṣyatrā*, *pākatrā*, *çayutrā*, *kurupañcālitrā*. Those in *trā* are distinguished from the others by their accent.

b. Examples of locative construction are: *hāsta ā dakṣiṇatrā* (RV.) *in the right hand*; *yátrā 'dhi* (RV.) *in which*; *ekatrā puruṣe* (MBh.) *in a single man*; *atra mārātmake* (H.) *in this murderous creature*; *prabhutvaṁ tatra yuyjate* (H.) *sovereignty befits him*. And, as the locative case is used also to express the goal of motion (304), so the adverbs in *tra* have sometimes an accusative as well as a locative value: thus, *tatra gaccha* *go there or thither*; *pathó devatrā yānān* (RV.) *roads that go to the gods*.

1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. *ha*, in *ihá* *here*, *kúha* *where?* and the Vedic *viçvāha* (also *viçvāhā*, *viçvāhā*) *always* (compare below, 1104b); and *ihá* (like *átra* etc.:

1099b) is sometimes used with locative-case value: e. g. *iha samaye* (H.) *at this conjuncture*.

b. *tāt*, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, *prāktāt*, *údaktāt*, *tāvattāt*; to adverbial ablatives, *ārāttāt*, *uttarāttāt*, *parākāttāt*; and to prepositional adverbs, *paṇcātāt*, *adhāstāt*, *avāstāt*, *parāstāt*, *purāstāt*, *bahīṣṭāt*. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has the form *stāt* in *upāriṣṭāt* (and BhP. has *udastāt*).

c. *hi*, in *uttarāhi* (ÇB.) and *dakṣiṇāhi* (not quotable).

1101. By the suffix *thā* are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

a. Thus, *tāthā*, *yāthā*; *kāthā* and *itthā* (by the side of which stand *kāthām* and *itthām*; and ÇB. has *itthāt*); and the rare *imāthā* and *amūthā*. And *ātha* (V. often *āthā*) so then doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems, mostly of quasi-pronominal character: thus, *viṣvāthā*, *sarvāthā*, *anyāthā*, *ubhayāthā*, *aparāthā*, *itarāthā*, *yatarāthā*, *yatamāthā*, *katarāthā*, *katamāthā*, *pūrvāthā*, *pratnāthā*, *ūrdhvāthā*, *tiraṣcāthā*, *ekāthā* (JB.), *ṛtuthā*, *nāmāthā* (once, AV.); and *evāthā*.

b. *Yāthā* becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of *iva* after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, *tāyāvo yāthā* (RV.) *like thieves*.

1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:

a. *ti*, in *īti* thus, very commonly used, from the earliest period, especially as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

b. Examples are: *brahmajāyē 'yām īti céd āvocan* (RV.) *if they have said "this is a Brahman's wife"*; *tām devā abruvan vrātya kīm nū tiṣṭhasi 'ti* (AV.) *the gods said to him: "Vrātya, why do you stand?"* Often, the *iti* is used more pregnantly: thus, *yāḥ ṇaddadhāti sānti devā īti* (AV.) *whoever has faith that the gods exist*; *tām vyāghram munir mūṣiko 'yam iti paṇyati* (H.) *the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse*; *yūyañ kim iti sīdatha* (H.) *why (lit. alleging what reason) do you sit?*

c. But *iti* is sometimes used in a less specialized way, to mark an onomatopoeia, or to indicate a gesture: e. g. *bahīṣ ṭe astu bāl īti* (AV.) *let it come out of you with a splash*; *īty āgre kṛṣāty āthē 'ti* (ÇB.) *he ploughs first this way, then this way*; or it points forward to something to be said: e. g. *yan nv ity āhur anyāni chandāṁsi varṣiyāṁsi kas-mād bṛhaty ucyata iti* (PB.) *when now they say thus: "the other metres are greater; why is the bṛhatī spoken?"* It also makes a number of derivatives and compounds: e. g. *ititha* the so-many-eth; *itivat* in this fashion; *ityartham* for this purpose; *itihāsa* a story or legend (lit. thus forsooth it was). As to the use of a nominative with *iti* as predicate to an accusative, see 268 b.

d. With the suffix of *īti* is to be compared that of *tāti* etc. (519). The word is abbreviated to *ti* two or three times in ÇB.

e. *va* in *iva* (toneless) like, as, and *evā* (in V. often *evā*), earlier *thus*, later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for *thus* is used later the related *evām*, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with *vid*: as, *evām vidvān knowing thus*.

f. In later Vedic (AV. etc., and the later parts of RV.) *iva* more often counts for only a single syllable, 'va.

1103. a. By the suffix *dā* are made adverbs of time, but almost only from pronominal roots.

b. Thus, *tadā*, *yadā*, *kadā* (in RV. also *kādā*), *idā* (only in V.); and *sādā*, beside which is found earlier *sādam*. Besides these, in the older language, only *sarvadā*; later a few others, *anyadā*, *ekadā*, *nit-yadā*. A quasi-locative case use is seen occasionally in such phrases as *kadācid divase* (R.) *on a certain day*.

c. By the perhaps related *dānīm* are made *idānīm*, *tadānīm*, *viçvadānīm*, *tvadānīm* (toneless). *Viçvadāni* occurs as adjective in TB.

d. With *rhi* are made, from pronominal roots, *tārhi*, *etārhi*, *yārhi*, *kārhi*, *amūrhi*.

e. The suffix *di*, found only in *yādi if*, is perhaps related with *dā*, in form as in meaning. *Sadadī* (MS.) is of doubtful character.

1104. By the suffix *dhā* are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying *-fold*, *times*, *ways*, etc.

a. Thus, *ekadhā*, *dvidhā* (also *dvidhā* and *dvedhā*), *trīdhā* (in the older language usually *tredhā*), *ṣaḍdhā* (also *ṣoḍhā* and *ṣaḍdhā*), *dvādaçadhā*, *ekānaviṇçatidhā*, *sahasradhā*, and so on. Also, naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, *anekadhā*, *katidhā*, *tatidhā*, *bahudhā*, *purudhā*, *viçvādhā*, *çaçvadhā*, *aparimitadhā*, *yāvaddhā*, *etāvaddhā*, *māsadhā*. In a very few cases, also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, *mitradhā* (AV.), *priyadhā* (TS.; *predhā*, MS.), *ṛjudhā* (TB.), *urudhā* and *citradhā* (BhP.); and from one adverb, *bahirdhā*.

b. The particle *ādhā* or *ādhā*, a Vedic equivalent of *ātha*, probably belongs here (*purudhā* and *viçvādhā*, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.); also *addhā* *in truth*; and perhaps *sahā* *with*, which has an equivalent *sadha-* in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in *ha* (1100a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with *s*: namely, *dvīs*, *trīs*, and *catūr* (probably, for *catūrs*): 489a.

a. The corresponding word for *once*, *sakṛt*, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to *pañcakṛtvas*, *navakṛtvas*, *aparimitakṛtvas*, etc., though *kṛt* and *kṛtvas* are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes; the earlier



texts (AV. ÇB. MS.) have *saptá kṛtvas*, *dāça kṛtvas*, *dvādaça kṛtvas*, *aṣṭāv evā kṛtvas*, etc. AB. has the redundant combination *triṣ kṛtvah*.

b. The quasi-suffix *dyus*, from a case-form of *div* *day*, is in a similar manner added to various determining words, generally made to end in *e*: e. g. *anyedyūs* *another day*, *ubhayedyus* (AV. *-yadyūs*) *on either day*, *pūrvedyūs* *the day before*.

1106. By the suffix *çās* are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, many adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively.

a. Examples are: *ekaçās* *one by one*, *çataçās* *by hundreds*, *ṛtuçās* *season by season*, *pacçhas* *foot by foot*, *akṣaraçās* *syllable by syllable*, *gaṇaçās* *in crowds*, *stambaçās* *by bunches*, *paruççās* *limb by limb*, *tāvacçhās* *in such and such number or quantity*: and, in a more general way, *sarvaçās* *wholly*, *mukhyaçās* *principally*, *kṛçhraçās* *stingily*, *manmaçās* *as minded*.

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1107. By the suffix *vāt* are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying *after the manner of*, *like*, etc.

a. Thus, *aṅgirasvāt* *like Angiras*, *manuṣvāt* (RV.) *as Manu did*, *jamadagnivāt* *after the manner of Jamadagni*; *pūrvavāt* or *pratnavāt* or *purānavāt*, *as of old*, *kākatāliyavat* *after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit*.

b. This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111g) of the suffix *vant* (1233f), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, *tvāvant* *like thee*, *māvant* *of my sort*, etc.

1108. By the suffix *sāt* are made from nouns quasi-adverbs signifying *in or into the condition or the possession of* what is indicated by the noun; they are used only with verbs of being, of becoming, and of making: namely, oftenest *kṛ* and *bhū*, but also *as*, *gam*, *yā*, and *nī* (and, according to the grammarians, *sam-pad*). Some twenty-five examples are quotable from the later literature; but none from the earlier, which also appears to contain nothing that casts light upon the origin of the formation. The *s* of *sāt* is not liable to conversion into *ṣ*. The connection with the verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in *ya* instead of that in *tvā* (990); and other words are sometimes interposed between the adverb and verb.

a. Examples are: *sarvakarmāpi bhasmasāt kurute* (MBh.) *reduces all deeds to ashes*; *loko 'yam dasyusād bhaved* (MBh.) *this world would become a prey to barbarians*; *yasya brāhmaṇasāt sarvaṁ vittam āsīt* (MBh.) *whose whole property was given to Brahmins*; *niyataṁ bhasmasād yāti* (Har.) *it is inevitably reduced to ashes*; *agnīn ātmasāt kṛtvā* (Y.) *having taken the fires to one's self*.

1109. a. Suffixes, not of noun-derivation or of inflection, may be traced with more or less plausibility in a few other adverbs. Thus, for

example, in *prātār* *early*, and *sanutār* *away*; in *dakṣiṇī* *with right hand*, and *cikītvī* *with consideration*; in *nūnām* *now*, and *nānānām* *variously*. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be worth notice here.

b. In the epics begin to be found a small class (about a dozen are quotable) of adverbs having the form of a repeated noun-stem with its first occurrence ending in *ā* and its second in *i*: e. g. *hastāhasti* *hand to hand*, *rathārathi* *chariot against chariot*, *karnākarni* *ear to ear*.

c. The adverbs thus far described are almost never used propositionally. Those of the next division, however, are in many instances so used.

1110. Case-forms used as Adverbs. A large number of adverbs are more or less evidently cases in form, made from stems which are not otherwise in use. Also many cases of known stems, pronominal or noun or adjective, are used with an adverbial value, being distinguished from proper cases by some difference of application, which is sometimes accompanied by an irregularity of form.

1111. The accusative is the case most frequently and widely used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, *yād* *if, when, that, etc.*; *tād* *then etc.*; *kīm* *why, whether, etc.*; *idām* *now, here*; *adās* *yonder*; and so on. Of like value, apparently, are the (mostly Vedic) particles *kād*, *kām* and *kam(P)*, *íd*, *cíd* (common at every period), *smād* and *sumād*, *īm* and *sīm* (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), *-kīm*. Compounds with *íd* are *céd* *if*, *néd* *lest*, *éd*, *svid*, *kuvíd*; with *cíd*, *kūcid*; with *-kīm*, *nākīm* and *mākīm*, and *ākīm*.

b. Of noun-stems: as, *nāma* *by name*; *súkham* *happily*; *kāmam* *at will, if you please*; *nāktam* *by night*; *rāhas* *secretly*; *oṣām* *quickly* (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in unlimited numbers: as, *satyām* *truly*; *cīrām* *long*; *pūrvam* *formerly*; *nītyam* *constantly*; *bhūyas* *more, again*; *viçrabdham* *confidently*; *prakāçam* *openly*; and so on.

d. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way; and it is so used especially as made from great numbers of compound adjective stems, often from such as hardly occur, or are not at all found, in adjective use. Certain of these adverbial compounds, having an indeclinable as prior member, are made by the Hindu grammarians a special class of compounds, called *avyayībhāva* (1313).

e. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used, especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, *tarām* and *tamām*, which are attached to particles (cf. 1110), and even (473c) to verb-forms:

e. g. *natarām*, *kathamtarām*, *uccaistarām*, *ṣanāistarām*, *jyoktamām*. In the oldest language (RV. and AV.), the neuter instead of the feminine form of these suffixes is almost alone in use: see 1119.

f. Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples are *tūṣṇīm* in *silence*; *sāyām* at *evening*; *sākām* together, with (prep.); *āram* or *ālam* sufficient (in the later language used with  $\sqrt{kṛ}$  in the manner of a prefix: 1078 a); *prāyas* usually; *iṣāt* somewhat; *amnās* unexpectedly; *bahis* outside; *mīthu* and *mīthās*, *mūhu* and *mūhus*, *jātu*, and so on. *Madrīk* etc., and *nirīk* (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having  $\sqrt{ac}$  or *añc* as their final (407 ff.). The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for *uṣādhak*, *ānuṣāk* and *āyusāk*, *anuṣṭhū* and *suṣṭhū*, *yugapāt*, etc. Compare also the forms in *am* beside those in *ā*, above, 1101 a, 1102 e, 1103 b.

g. In (Vedic) *dravāt* quickly is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (pple *drāvānt* running); and *drahyāt* stoutly (RV., once) may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, e) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the derivatives with *vāt* (1107).

1112. The instrumental is also often used with adverbial value: generally in the singular, but sometimes also in the plural. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, *enā* and *ayā*, *kāyā*, *anā*, *amā*, *amuyā*.

b. Of noun-stems: as, *kṣaṇena* instantly; *aṣeṣeṇa* completely; *viṣeṣeṇa* especially; *dīvā* by day; *diṣṭyā* fortunately; *sāhasā* suddenly; *aktubhis* by night; and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, *akhilena* wholly; *prāyeṇa* mostly; *dākṣiṇena* to the south; *uttareṇa* to the north; *āntareṇa* within; *cireṇa* long; — *ṣanāis* and *ṣanakāis* slowly; *uccāis* on high; *nīcāis* below; *parācāis* afar; *tāviṣṭibhis* mightily; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: *tiraṣcātā*, *devātā*, *bāhūta*, and *sasvartā* (all RV.), homonymous instrumentals from nouns in *tā*; *dvitā*, *tādītā*, *irmā*, *mṛṣā*, *vṛthā*, *sācā*, *asthā* (P), *mudhā* (not V.), *adhunā* (B. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, *amā* and *dīvā* (given above); perhaps *gūhā*; *apākā*, *āsayā*, *kuhayā* (P); *naktayā*, *svapnayā*, *samanā*; *adatrāyā*, *ṛtayā*, *ubhayā*, *sumnayā* (P); *dakṣiṇā*, *madhyā*, *nīcā*, *prācā*, *uccā*, *paṣcā*, *tiraṣcā*; *vasāntā*; — in a few u-stems, by a *y* inserted before the ending, which is accented: thus, *amuyā* (given above), *ācuyā*, *sādhuyā*, *raghuyā*, *dhṛṣṇuyā*, *anuṣ-*

ṭhuyā, mithuyā; — and urviyā (for urvyā) and vīṣvyā (properly vīṣvayā) are more slightly irregular.

1113. The dative has only very seldom an adverbial use.

a. Examples are *aparāya* for the future (RV.; with changed accent); *cirāya* long; *arthāya* for the sake of; *ahnāya* presently.

1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, *kāsmāt* why? *akasmāt* casually, unexpectedly; *āt, tāt, yāt* (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal *asmāt* etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: as, *āsāt* near; *ārāt* afar; *balāt* forcibly; *kutūhalāt* emulously; *sakācāt* on the part of.

c. Oftenest, of adjective stems: as, *dūrāt* afar; *nīcāt* below; *paṇcāt* behind; *sākṣāt* plainly, actually; *samantāt* completely; *acirāt* not long; *pratyakṣatamāt* (AB.) most obviously; *pratyantāt* (S.) to the end.

d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, *apākāt* from afar; *amāt* from near by; *sanāt* from of old (but instr. *sānā*); *uttarāt* from the north; *adharāt* below.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.

a. In the older language occur *aktós* by night, and *vástos* by day; later, *cirasya* long.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value. Thus:

a. From noun and adjective stems: *āké* near; *āré* and *dūré* afar; *abhisvaré* behind; *astamīké* at home; *ṛté* without (prep.); *āgre* in front; *sthāne* suitably; *sapadi* immediately; *-arthe* and *-kṛte* (common in composition) for the sake of; *aparīṣu* in after time; *ādāu* first; *rahasi* in secret.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) *kis*, interrogative particle, and its compounds *nākis* and *mākis*, negative particles. And masc. nominatives from *añc*-stems (as *parāñ* AB., *nyañ* Āpast.) are sometimes found used by substitution for neuters.

1118. Verbal Prefixes and kindred words. The verbal prefixes, described in the preceding chapter (1076 ff.), are properly adverbs, having a special office and mode of use in connection with verbal roots and their more immediate derivatives.

a. Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (1084). In the value of general adverbs, however,

they only rarely occur (except as *ápi* has mainly changed its office from prefix to adverb or conjunction in the later language); but their prepositional uses are much more frequent and important: see below, 1125b.

b. In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements) not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, 1281 ff., 1305.

1119. Several of the prefixes (as noticed above, 473—4) form comparative and superlative adjectives, by the suffixes *tara* and *tama*, or *ra* and *ma*: thus, *úttara* and *uttamá*, *ádharma* and *adhamá*, *ápára* and *apamá*, *ávára* and *avamá*, *úpara* and *upamá*, and *prathamá* is doubtless of the same character; also, *ántara* and *ántama*. And accusatives of such derivative adjectives (for the most part not otherwise found in use) have the value of comparatives, and rarely superlatives, to the prefixes themselves: thus, *sámñcitam cit samtarám sám çiqādhī* (AV.) *whatever is quickened do thou still further quicken*; *vitaram ví kramasva* (RV.) *stride out yet more widely*; *prá tam naya pratarám vásyo ácha* (RV.) *lead him forward still further toward advantage*; *úd enam uttarám naya* (AV.) *lead him up still higher*.

a. Besides those instanced, are found also *nitarám*, *apatarám*, *abhitarám*, *avatarám*, *parātarám*, *parastarám*. In the Brāhmaṇas and later (above, 1111e), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, *atitarám* and *atitamām*, *abhitarám*, *anutamām*, *ātamām*, *pratitarám*, *nitarám*, *uttarám*, *pratarám* and *pratamām*, *vitaram*, *samtaram* (also RV., once).

1120. Kindred in origin and character with the verbal prefixes, and used like them except in composition with verbs, are a few other adverbs: thus, *avás* *down*; *adhás* *below* (and *adhastarám*); *parás* *far off* (and *parastarám*); *purá* *before*; *antarā* (apparently, *antár + ā*) *among, between*; *ánti* *near*; *upári* *above*; and *śahá* (already mentioned, 1104b) *along, with*, and *sácā* *together, with*, may be noticed with them. *Vinā* *without*, and *viṣu-* *apart*, appear to be related with *ví*.

1121. Inseparable Prefixes. A small number of adverbial prefixes are found only in combination with other elements. Thus:

a. The negative prefix *a* or *an* — *an* before vowels, *a* before consonants.

b. It is combined especially with innumerable nouns and adjectives; much more rarely, with adverbs, as *akūtra* and *ápunar* (RV.), *áneva* (AV.), *ánadhas* (TB.), *akasmāt*, *asakṛt*; in rare cases, also with pronouns (as *atad*, *akimcit*); and even, in the later language, now and then with verbs, as *asprṇhayanti* (BhP. Çiç.) *they do not desire*, *alokayati* (SD.) *he does not view*. Now and then it is prefixed to itself: e. g. *anakāmamāra*, *anaviprayukta*, *anavadya* (?).

c. In a very few cases, the negative *a* appears to be made long: thus, *āsat non-existent*, *ādeva godless*, *ārāti enemy*, *āçāuca impurity*, *ātura ill(?)*.

d. The independent negative adverbs, *ná* and *mā*, are only in exceptional instances used in composition: see below, 1122e.

e. The comitative prefix *sa*, used instead of the preposition *sám*, and interchangeably with *sahá*, before nouns and adjectives.

f. The prefix of dispraise *dus ill*, *badly* (identical with *√duṣ*: 225a).

g. It is combined in the same manner as *a* or *an*. Of combinations with a verbal form, at least a single example appears to be quotable: *duçcaranti* (R.) *behave ill*.

h. The corresponding laudatory prefix *su well* is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here, though it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.

i. The particle *su* sometimes appears in B. and later before a verb-form, and considering its rapid loss of independent use in V., and the analogy of *a* and *dus* (above, b, g) it is probably at least in part to be regarded as in composition with the verb. The *pada*-text of AV. xix. 49. 10 reads *su-āpāyati*, but its testimony is of little or no value. K. has *na su vijñāyete* and *na vāi su viduḥ*, and KeU. has *su veda*; TB. has *susámbo dhāyati(?)*; MBh. and BhP. have *sūpatasthe*; R. has *suçakyante*.

j. The exclamatory and usually depreciative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (506) are most analogous with the inseparable prefixes.

1122. Miscellaneous Adverbs. Other words of adverbial character and office, not clearly referable to any of the classes hitherto treated, may be mentioned as follows:

a. Asseverative particles (in part, only in the older language): thus, *aṅgá*, *hánta*, *kíla*, *khálu*, *tú* (rare in older language), *vái*, *vāvá* (in Brāhmaṇa language only), *hi*, *hiná*, *u*, *áha*, *ha*, *gha*, *samaha*, *sma*, *bhala*.

b. Of these, *hánta* is a word of assent and incitement; *hí* has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595e); *sma* sometimes appears to give a past meaning to a present tense (778b); *u* is often combined with the final *a* of other particles: thus, *átho*, *nó*, *mó*, *utó*, *úpo*, *pró*; but also with that of verb-forms, as *dattó*, *vidmó*. The final *o* thus produced is *pragṛhya* or uncombinable (138c). Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above,

are *íd, kām* or *kam, cid, jātu, evá*. Some of the asseverative particles are much used in the later artificial poetry with a purely expletive value, as devices to help make out the metre (*pādapūraṇa verse-fillers*); so especially *ha, hi, tu, sma*.

c. Negative particles are: *ná*, signifying simple negation; *mā*, signifying prohibition.

d. As to the construction of the verb with *mā*, see above, 579. In the Veda, *nū* (or *nū́*: 248 a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic *ná* of comparison, see below, g, h.

e. In *nahí*, *ná* is combined with *hí*, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with *íd* in *néd test*. It is perhaps present in *nanú* and *caná*, but not in *hiná* (RV., once). In general, neither *ná* nor *mā* is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix *a* or *an* (1121a): exceptions are the Vedic particles *nákis* and *mákis*, *nákīm* and *mákīm*; also *naciram* and *mā-ciram*, *napuṇsaka*, and, in the later language, a number of others.

f. Interrogative particles are only those already given: *kád, kim, kuvíd, svid, nanú*, of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.

g. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless *iva*, and *yathā* (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also *ná*, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

h. Examples of the *ná* of comparison are: *ṛṣidvíṣa iṣuṁ ná sṛjata dvīṣam* (RV.) *let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer*; *váyo ná vṛkṣám* (AV.) *as birds to the tree*; *gāuró ná tṛṣitāḥ piba* (RV.) *drink like a thirsty buffalo*. This use is generally explained as being a modification or adaptation of the negative one: thus, [*although, to be sure*] *not [precisely] a thirsty buffalo*; and so on.

i. Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *kvà where?* (in V., always to be read *kúa*).

j. Particles of time are: *nū now* (also *nū́*: *nūnám* was mentioned above, 1109 a), *adyá* and *sadyás* and *sadīvas* (RV., once) *today, at once* (all held to contain the element *div* or *dyu*), *hyás yesterday*, *çvás tomorrow*, *jyók* (also related with *dyu*) *long*; *púnar again*.

k. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *nānā variously* (for *nānānám*, its derivative, see 1109 a); *sasvár* (RV.) *secretly*.

l. In the above classifications are included all the Vedic adverbial words, and most of those of the later language: for the rest, see the dictionaries.

## Prepositions.

separate class

with

21 syntax

1123. There is, as already stated, no proper class of prepositions (in the modern sense of that term), no body of words having for their prevailing office the "government" of nouns. But many of the adverbial words indicated above are used with nouns in a way which approximates them to the more fully developed prepositions of other languages.

a. If one and another of such words — as *vinā*, *ṛte* — occurs almost solely in prepositional use, this is merely fortuitous and unessential.

1124. Words are thus used prepositionally along with all the noun-cases excepting the dative. But in general their office is directive only, determining more definitely, or strengthening, the proper case-use of the noun. Sometimes, however, the case-use is not easy to trace, and the noun then seems to be more immediately "governed" by the preposition — that is, to have its case-form more arbitrarily determined by its association with the latter. This is oftenest true of the accusative; and also of the genitive, which has, here as elsewhere (294b), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use.

1125. a. The adverbs by derivative form (1097 ff.) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix *tas*: 1098).

b. Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are *ud*, *ni*, *parā*, *pra*; and *ava* and *vi* are almost such) have their prepositional or quasi-prepositional uses with cases; but much more widely in the older time than in the later: in the classical language the usage is mainly restricted to *prati*, *anu*, and *ā*.

c. Most of the directive words akin with the more proper prefixes are used prepositionally: some of them — as *saha*, *vinā*, *upari*, *antarā*, *purā* — freely, earlier and later.

d. The case-forms used adverbially are in many instances used prepositionally also: oftenest, as was to be expected, with the genitive; but frequently, and from an early time, with the accusative; more rarely with other cases.

e. We will take up now the cases for a brief exposition, beginning with those that are least freely used.

1126. The Locative. This case is least of all used with words that can claim the name of preposition. Of directives, *antār* and its later derivative *antarā*, meaning *within*, *in*, are oftenest added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are *ā* and *ādhi*: thus, *mārtyeṣv ā* among mortals; *ṛṥhivyām ādhy oṣadhīḥ* the plants upon the earth; *tējo māyī dhārayā 'dhi* (AV.) establish glory



*in me*; — *ápi* and *úpa* are much rarer: thus, *yá apám ápi vraté [sánti]* (RV.) *who are in the domain of the waters*; *amūr yá úpa sūrye [sánti]* (RV.) *who are up yonder in the sun*; — *sácā* along with is not rare in RV.; but almost entirely unknown later: thus, *pitróḥ sácā satí* *staying with her parents*.

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pronominal root *sa*: as *sahá* (most frequent), *sākám*, *sārdhám*, *samám*, *samáyā*, *sarátham*; and, in the Veda, the prefix *sám*: as, *te sumatibhiḥ sám pátnibhir ná vīṣaṇo nasīmahi* (RV.) *may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses*. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (283a), *vinā* without (not Vedic) takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, *avás* down and *parás* beyond, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And *ádhi*, in RV., is used with the instrumentals *snúnā* and *snúbhis*, where the locative would be expected.

1128. The Ablative. In the prepositional constructions of the ablative (as was pointed out and partly illustrated above, 293), the ablative value of the case, and the merely directive value of the added particle, are for the most part clearly to be traced. Many of the verbal prefixes are more or less frequently joined in the older language with this case: oftenest, *ádhi* and *pári*; more sporadically, *ánu*, *ápa*, *áva*, *práti*, and the separatives *nís* and *ví*. The change of meaning of the ablative with *á* *hither*, by which it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (293c). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many — as *bahís*, *purás*, *avás*, *adhás*, *parás*, *purá*, *viná*, and *tirás* *out of knowledge of* — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms *arvák*, *prák*, *paçcát*, *úrdhvám*, *pūrvam*, *páram*, and *ṛté* *without*, of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier.

1129. The Accusative. Many of the verbal prefixes and related words take an accompanying accusative. Most naturally (since the accusative is essentially the *to*-case), those that express a motion or action toward anything: as *abhí*, *práti*, *ánu*, *úpa*, *á*, *áti* and *ádhi* in the sense of *over on to*, or *across*, *beyond*, *tirás* *through*, *antár* and *antarā* when meaning *between*, *pári* *around*. Examples are: *yāḥ pradiço abhí sūryo vicāṣte* (AV.) *what quarters the sun looks abroad unto*; *ábodhy agnīḥ práty āyatīm uṣāsam* (RV.) *Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn*; *gacchet kadācit svajanam prati* (MBh.) *she might go somehowither to her own people*; *imam prakṣyāmi nṛpatim prati* (MBh.) *him I will ask with reference to the king*; *māma cittām ānu cittébhir é 'ta* (AV.) *follow after my mind with your minds*; *é 'hy á naḥ* (AV.) *come hither to us*; *úpa na é 'hy arvān* (RV.) *come hither unto us*; *yó devó mártyañ áti* (AV.) *the god who is beyond mortals*; *adhiṣṭhāya vārcasā 'dhy anyān* (AV.) *excelling above others in glory*. Also *abhítas* and *parítas*, which have a like value with the simple *abhí* and *pári*;

and upāri above (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with adhas, paras, puras, vinā, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbial case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instrumentals of situation or direction: as yé 'vareṇā "dityām, yé páreṇā "dityām (TB.) *those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun*; ántareṇa yónim (ÇB.) *within the womb*; te hī 'dam antareṇa sarvam (AB.) *for all this universe is between them*; úttareṇa gārhapatyam (ÇB.) *to the north of the householder's fire*; dākṣiṇena védim (ÇB.) *to the south of the sacrificial hearth*; dakṣiṇena vṛkṣavāṭikām (Ç.) *to the right of the orchard*; nikāṣā yamunām (Har.) *near the Yamunā*. Similarly, ūrdh-vam and pūrvam have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of ṛte. Abhimukham toward has a more natural right to construction with this case.

1130. The Genitive. The words which are accompanied by the genitive are mostly case-forms of nouns, or of adjectives used substantively, retaining enough of the noun-character to take this case as their natural adjunct. Such are the locatives agre in front of, abhyāṇe near, arthe and kṛte for the sake of, nimitte and hetāu by reason of, madhye in the midst of; and other cases, as arthāya, kāraṇāt, sakācāt, hetos. And really, although less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed): as adhareṇa, uttareṇa and uttarāt, dakṣiṇena and dakṣiṇāt, paçcāt, ūrdhvam, anantaram, samakṣam, sākṣāt. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative paritas, paratas, and antitas, and parastāt and purastāt (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, saiṃhvatsarasya parastāt after a year; sūktasya purastāt before the hymn [AB.]); with anti, adhas, avas, puras; with upari above (common later); and with antar.

### Conjunctions.

1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words, are almost wanting.

a. The combination of clauses is in Sanskrit in general of a very simple character; much of what in other Indo-European languages is effected by subordinating conjunctions is here managed by means of composition of words, by the use of the gerunds (994), of iti (1102), of abstract nouns in case-forms, and so on.

1132. The relative derivative adverbs, already given

(1098 ff.), may properly be regarded as conjunctions; and a few other particles of kindred value, as *céd* and *néd* (1111a).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are *च* *ca* *and*, and *च* *vā* *or* (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).

a. Of copulative value, along with *ca*, is in the older language especially *utā* (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and *āpi*, *tātas*, *tāthā*, *kīṃ* *ca*, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

b. Adversative is *tú* *but* (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, *u* (toneless).

c. Of illative value is *hī* *for* (originally, and in great part at every period, asseverative only): compare above, 1122 b.

d. To *ca* (as well as to its compound *céd*) belongs occasionally the meaning *if*.

e. It is needless to enter into further detail with regard to those uses which may be not less properly, or more properly, called conjunctive than adverbial, of the particles already given, under the head of Adverbs.

### Interjections.

1134. The utterances which may be classed as interjections are, as in other languages, in part voice-gestures, in part onomatopœias, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.

1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: *ā*, *hā*, *hāhā*, *ahaha*, *he*, *hāī* (AV.), *ayi*, *aye*, *hayé* (RV.), *aho*, *bāt* (RV.), *bata* (RV.) or *vata*, and (probably) *hīruk* and *hurūk* (RV.).

b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): *ciçcā* *whiz* (of an arrow: RV.); *kikirā* (palpitation: RV.); *bāl* and *phāt* (*phās*?) or *phāl* *splash* (AV.); *bhūk* *bow-wow* (AV.); *çāl* *pat* (AV.); *ās*, *hīṣ*, *as*, and *has* (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots *kṛ* and *bhū*, above, 1091.

c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjectional character are, for example: *bhos* (for the vocative *bhavas*, 456); *are* or *re* (voc. of *ari* *enemy*); *dhik* *alas!* (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with *√dih*); *kaṣṭam* *woe is me!* *diṣṭyā* *thank heaven!* *svastī* *hail!* *suṣṭhu*, *sādhu* *good, excellent!* None of these are Vedic in interjectional use.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

1136. THE formation from roots of conjugable stems — namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) — was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation (not essentially different from case-formation), in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems — namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles — which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was reserved for a special chapter.

a. Of course, only a brief and compendious exhibition of the subject can be attempted within the here necessary limits: no exhaustive tracing out of the formative elements of every period; still less, a complete statement of the varied uses of each element; least of all, a discussion of origins; but enough to help the student in that analysis of words which must form a part of his labor from the outset, giving a general outline of the field, and preparing for more penetrating investigation.

b. The material from accented texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be had especially in view (nothing that is Vedic being intentionally left unconsidered); and the examples given will be, so far as is possible, words found in such texts with their accent marked. No word not thus vouched for will be accented unless the fact is specifically pointed out.

1137. The roots themselves, both verbal and pronominal, are used in their bare form, or without any added suffix, as declinable stems.

a. As to this use of verbal roots, see below, 1147.

b. The pronominal roots, so-called, are essentially declinable; and hence, in their further treatment in derivation, they are throughout in accordance with other declinable stems, and not with verbal roots.

1138. Apart from this, every such stem is made by a suffix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:

theory of derivation: all words < roots

R + prim suf > prim stem

Prims + sec suf > Sec Stem

A. Primary suffixes, or those which are added directly to roots;

B. Secondary suffixes, or those which are added to derivative stems (also to pronominal roots, as just pointed out, and sometimes to particles).

a. The division of primary suffixes nearly corresponds to the *kṛt* (more regular) and *unādi* (less regular) suffixes of the Hindu grammarians; the secondary, to their *taddhita*-suffixes.

1139. But this distinction, though one of high value, theoretically and practically, is not absolute. Thus:

a. Suffixes come to have the aspect and the use of primary which really contain a secondary element — that is to say, the earliest words exhibiting them were made by addition of secondary suffixes to words already derivative.

b. Sundry examples of this will be pointed out below: thus, the gerundival suffixes, *tavya*, *aniya*, etc., the suffixes *uka* and *aka*, *tra*, and others. This origin is probable for more cases than admit of demonstration; and it is assumable for others which show no distinct signs of composition.

c. Less often, a suffix of primary use passes over in part into secondary, through the medium of use with denominative "roots" or otherwise: examples are *yu*, *iman*, *iyas* and *iṣṭha*, *ta*.

1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only to more original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation — and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.

a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (968 ff.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly earlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.

b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causative conjugation: see below the suffixes *a* (1148j, k), *ā* (1149 c, d), *ana* (1150m), *as* (1151 f), *ani* (1159b), *u* (1178 g—i), *ti* (1157 g), *tr* (1182e), *tnu* (1196b), *snu* (1194b), *uka* (1180 d), *āku* (1181 d), *ālu* (1192b), *tu* (1161 d).

gam      gacchati  
gata      part.  
gati-      going

c. From tense-stems the examples are far fewer, but not unknown: thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in *a* (1148j), *ā* (1149d,e), *ana* (1150n), *i* (1155d), *u* (1178f), *ta* (1176e), *tu* (1161d), *uka* (1180d), *tra* (1185e), *ti* (1157g), *vin* (or *in*: 1232b, 1183a); from stems in *a* apparently of aoristic character (besides infinitives and gerundives), occasional derivatives in *a* (1148j), *ana* (1150j), *ani* (1159b), *an* (1160a), *āna* (1175), *as* (1151c), *ī* (1156b), *iṣṭha* (1184a), *u* (1178f), *us* (1154a), *ṭṛ* (1182e), *in* (1183a).

1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.

a. Whatever, namely, may have been originally and strictly the mode of production of the derivatives with prefixes, it is throughout the recorded life of the language as if the root and its prefix or prefixes constituted a unity, from which a derivative is formed in the same manner as from the simple root, with that modification of the radical meaning which appears also in the proper verbal forms as compounded with the same prefixes.

b. Not derivatives of every kind are thus made; but, in the main, those classes which have most of the verbal force, or which are most akin in value with infinitives and participles.

c. The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their accent, will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in *a*, in *ana*, in *ti*, in *tar* and *tra*, and in *in*, *ya*, *van* and *man*, *i* and *u*, *as*, and a few others.

1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel — that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our ignorance or uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and those deserving to be ranked as of organic suffixal character cannot be sharply drawn.

Each of the two great classes will now be taken up by itself, for more particular consideration.

### A. Primary Derivatives.

1143. Form of root. The form of root to which a primary suffix is added is liable to more or less variation. Thus:

a. By far the most frequent is a strengthening change, by *guṇa*- or *vr̥ddhi*-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where *guṇa*-change is in general forbidden: 235, 240): thus, *vēda* from *√vid*, *mōda* from *√mud*, *vārdha* from *√vr̥dh*;

áyana from /i, sávana from /su, sárana from /sṛ; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long ā as the resulting vowel: that is to say, with non-final a, and with a final i- or u-vowel and ṛ before a vowel: thus, nādá from /nad, grābhá from /gṛbh or grabh, vāhā from /vah, nāyá from /ni, bhāvá from /bhū, kārā from /kṛ; such strengthening as would make vāida and mānda does not accompany primary derivation.

b. Strengthening in derivation does not stand in any such evident connection with accent as strengthening in conjugation; nor can any general rules be laid down as to its occurrence; it has to be pointed out in detail for each suffix. So also with other vowel-changes, which are in general accordance with those found in inflection and in the formation of tense- and mode-stems.

c. The reversion of a final palatal or h to a guttural has been already noticed (216). A final n or m is occasionally lost, as in formations already considered.

d. After a short final vowel is sometimes added a t: namely, where a root is used as stem without suffix (1147d), and before a following y or v of van (1169), vara and varī (1171), yu once (1165a), and ya (1213a). The presence of t before these suffixes appears to indicate an original secondary derivation from derivatives in ti and tu.

e. The root is sometimes reduplicated: rarely in the use without suffix (1147c,e); oftenest before a (1148k), i (1155e), u (1178d); but also before other suffixes, as ā (1149e), ana (1150m), vana (1170a), van and varī (1169d, 1171a,b), vani (1170b), vi (1193), vit (1193b), ani (1159b), in (1183a), tnu (1196a), ta (1176a), ti (1157d), tha (1163a), tṛ (1182b), tra (1185f), ūka (1180f), aka (1181a), ika (1186c), ma (1166b).

1144. Accent. No general laws governing the place of the accent are to be recognized; each suffix must in this respect be considered by itself.

a. In connection with a very few suffixes is to be recognized a certain degree of tendency to accent the root in case of a *nomen actionis* or infinitival derivative, and the ending in the case of a *nomen agentis* or participial derivative: see the suffixes a, ana, as, an, and man, below, where the examples are considered. Differences of accent in words made by the same suffix are also occasionally connected with differences of gender: see the suffixes as and man.

1145. Meaning. As regards their signification, the primary derivatives fall in general into two great classes, the one indicating the action expressed by the verbal root, the other the person or thing in which the action appears, the agent or actor — the latter, either substantively or adjectively. The one class is more abstract, infinitival; the other is more concrete, participial. Other meanings

Nouns { agent  
           { action ~ result of action

may in the main be viewed as modifications or specializations of these two.

a. Even the words indicating recipience of action, the passive participles, are, as their use also as neuter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (961 ff.), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only *concerned with the action*.

1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which action-nouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter. In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.

a. To facilitate the finding of the different suffixes is given the following list of them, in their order as treated, with references to paragraphs:

|               |      |                |      |             |        |
|---------------|------|----------------|------|-------------|--------|
| —             | 1147 | yu             | 1165 | in          | 1183   |
| a             | 1148 | ma             | 1166 | iyas, iṣṭha | 1184   |
| ā             | 1149 | mi             | 1167 | tra         | 1185   |
| ana           | 1150 | man            | 1168 | ka          | 1186   |
| as            | 1151 | van            | 1169 | ya          | 1187   |
| tas, nas, sas | 1152 | vana, -ni, -nu | 1170 | ra          | 1188   |
| is            | 1153 | vara           | 1171 | la          | 1189   |
| us            | 1154 | ant            | 1172 | va          | 1190   |
| i             | 1155 | vāṅs           | 1173 | ri          | 1191   |
| ī             | 1156 | māna           | 1174 | ru          | 1192   |
| ti            | 1157 | āna            | 1175 | vi          | 1193   |
| ni            | 1158 | ta             | 1176 | snu         | 1194   |
| ani           | 1159 | na, ina, una   | 1177 | sna         | 1195   |
| an            | 1160 | u              | 1178 | tnu         | 1196   |
| tu            | 1161 | ū              | 1179 | sa          | 1197   |
| nu            | 1162 | uka            | 1180 | asi         | 1198   |
| tha           | 1163 | aka            | 1181 | abha        | 1199   |
| thu           | 1164 | ṭṛ or tar      | 1182 | sundries    | 1200—1 |

1147. Stems without suffix; Root-words. These words and their uses have been already pretty fully considered above (323, 348 ff., 383 ff., 400, 401).

a. They are used especially (in the later language, almost solely) as finals of compounds, and have both fundamental values, as action-nouns (frequently as infinitives: 971), and as agent-nouns and adjectives (often governing an accusative: 271e). As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (384: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).



b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.

c. The Vedic cases are: with simple reduplication, *sasyád*, *cikít*, *dadṛh*, *didyú* and *didyút*, *juhú*, and perhaps *gāṅgā* and *qíṇu*; with intensive reduplication, *-není*, *malimluc*, *yaviyúdh*, and *jógū* and *vánivan* (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In *dáridra* is seen a transfer to the a-declension. *Asūsú* is probably to be understood as a compound, *asū-sū*.

d. If the root end in a short vowel, a t is regularly and usually added (383f—h).

e. Examples have been given at the place just quoted. In *jágat* the t is added to the mutilated form of *√gam* reduplicated, and *ṛṇayāt* (TS., once) appears to put it after a long vowel. In a single instance, *ṛútkarṇa* (RV.) of *listening ears*, a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.

f. Words of this form in combination with verbal prefixes are very numerous. The accent rests (as in combination of the same with other preceding elements) on the root-stem.

g. A few exceptions in point of accent occur: thus, *ávasā*, *úpastut*; and, with other irregularities of form, *párijri*, *upásthā*, *uparísthā*.

1148. ऋ a. With the suffix ऋ a is made an immensely large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: *guṇa*-strengthening, *vṛddhi*-strengthening, retention unchanged, and reduplication.

In good part, they are classifiable under the two usual general heads; but in part they have been individualized into more special senses.

1. a. With *guṇa*-strengthening of the root (where that is possible: 235, 240). These are the great majority, being more than twice as numerous as all others together.

b. Many *nomina actionis*: *as*, *ṛāma* weariness, *grāha* seizure, *āya* movement, *véda* knowledge, *háva* call, *kródha* wrath, *jóṣa* enjoyment, *tāra* crossing, *sārga* emission.

c. Many *nomina agentis*: *as*, *kṣamā* patient, *svajā* constrictor, *jivā* living, *meghá* cloud, *codá* inciting, *plavá* boat, *sará* brook, *sarpá* serpent, *bhojá* generous, *khādá* devouring.

d. Of the examples here given, those under b accent the radical syllable, and those under c the ending. And this is in perhaps a majority of cases the fact as regards the two classes of derivatives; so that, taken in connection with kindred facts as to other suffixes, it hints at such a difference of accent as a general tendency of the language. A few sporadic

instances are met with of the same form having the one or the other value according to its accent: thus, *éṣa haste*, *eṣá hasting*; *çāsa order*, *çāsá orderer* (other examples are *coda*, *çāka*, *çoka*: compare a similar difference with other derivatives in *as*, *ana*, *an*, *man*). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, *jayá*, *javá*, *smará*, action-nouns; *çráva*, *mógha*, *stáva*, agent-nouns — and the subject calls for a much wider and deeper investigation than it has yet received, before the accentuation referred to can be set up as a law of the language in derivation.

2. e. With *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening of the root — but only where *ā* is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial *a*, and of final *r̥* (most often), *u* or *ū*, *i* or *ī* (rare).

f. Examples of action-nouns are: *kāma love*, *bhāgá share*, *nādá noise*, *dāvá fire*, *tārá crossing*. Very few forms of clear derivation and meaning are quotable with accent on the root-syllable.

g. Examples of agent-nouns are: *grābhá seizing*, *vāhā carrying*, *nāyá leading*, *jārā lover*.

3. h. With unstrengthened root, the examples are few: e. g. *kṛçá lean*, *turá rapid*, *yugá yoke*, *sruvá spoon*, *priyá dear*, *vr̥á troop*, *çucá bright*.

i. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in composition, are doubtless results of the transfer of root-stems to the *a*-declension: e. g. *-ghuṣa*, *-sphura*, *-tuda*, *-dṛçā*, *-vida*, *-kira*.

j. A few *a*-stems are made, especially in the older language, from conjugation-stems, mostly causative: thus, *-āmaya*, *ilaya*, *-īṅkhaya*, *-ejaya*, *-dhāraya*, *-pāraya*, *-mṛḍaya*, *-çamaya* (compare the *ā*-stems, 1149 c, d); also desiderative, as *bībhatsa* (compare 1038). Occasional examples also occur from tense-stems: thus, from *nu*-stems, or secondary stems made from such, *hinvá*, *-inva*, *-jinva*, *-pinva*, *-sinva*, *-sunva*, *-aṇuva*; from others, *-pṛṇa*, *-mṛṇa*, *-str̥ṇa*, *-puna*, *-jāna*, *-paçya*, *-manya*, *-dasya*, *-jurya*, *-kṣudhya*, *-sya*, *-tiṣṭha*, *-jighra*, *-piba*; from future-stems, *kariṣya* (JB.), *janiṣya*, *bhaviṣya*, *ruciṣya* (P); apparently from aorist-stems, *jeṣá*, *nēṣa*, *parṣá*, *pṛkṣá* (P), *-hoṣa*.

4. k. Derivatives in *a* from a reduplicated root-form are a considerable class, mostly occurring in the older language. They are sometimes made with a simple reduplication: thus, *cacará*, *cikita*, *dṛdhrá*, *dadhr̥ṣá*, *babhasa*, *-babhra*, *vavrá*, *çiçayá*, *çiçnátha* (an action-noun), *sasrá*; but oftener with an intensive reduplication: thus, merely strengthened, *cākṣmá*, *-cācala*, *jāgara*, *nānada*, *lālasa*, *vivadhá* (?), *-memiṣa*, *rerihá* and *leliha*, *vevijá*, *nonuva*, *momughá*, *-roruda*, *lolupa*; with consonant added, *-cañkaça*-, *-cañkrama*, *jaṅgama*, *cañcala*, *-jañjapa*, *dandhvana*, *-nannama*, *-jarjalpa*, *jarjara*, *-tartura*, *-dardira*, *múrmura*, *gadgada*; dissyllabic, *-karikra*, *kanikradá*, *carācará* and *calācalá*, *marimṛçá*, *malimlucá*, *varivṛtá*, *sariṣpá*, *paniṣpadá*, *saniṣyadá*, *sanisrasá*, *patāpata*, *madāmada*, *-vadāvada*, *ghaná-*

ghaná. Many of these are to be regarded as from an intensive conjugation-stem; but some of them show a form not met with in intensive conjugation.

5. 1. Derivatives with this suffix from roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes are quite common, in all the modes of formation (in each, in proportion to the frequency of independent words): constituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent is, with few exceptions, on the ending — and that, without any reference to the value of the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.

m. Examples are: *saṃgamá assembly*, *nimeṣá wink*, *abhidrohá enmity*, *anukará assistance*, *udāná inspiration*, *pratyācṛavá response*; — *paricará wandering*, *saṃjayá victorious*, *vibodhá wakeful*, *atiyājá over-pious*, *udārá inciting*, *uttudá rousing*, *saṃgirá swallowing*, *ādarīrá crushing*, *adhicañkramá climbing*.

n. The only definite class of exceptions in regard to accent appears to be that of the adverbial gerunds in *am* (above, 995), which are accented on the root-syllable. A very few other stems have the same tone: for example, *utpāta portent*, *ācṛeṣa plague*. A few others, mostly agent-nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, *vyōṣa* (i. e. *vī-ōṣa*) *burning*, *prátiveṣa neighbor*, *ābhaga sharing*; but also *sāñkāṣa appearance*.

o. For the remaining compounds of these derivatives, with the inseparable prefixes and with other elements, see the next chapter. It may be merely mentioned here that such compounds are numerous, and that the a-derivative has often an active participial value, and is frequently preceded by a case-form, oftenest the accusative.

p. Many words in the language appear to end with a suffix *a*, while yet they are referable to no root which can be otherwise demonstrated as such.

1149. ऋ ā. The vast majority of stems in ऋ ā are feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters in अ a (332, 334). But also many suffixes ending in अ a have corresponding feminine forms in long ऋ ā, making a greater or less number of action-nouns. These will be given under the different suffixes below.

a. There is further, however, a considerable body of feminine action-nouns made by adding ā to a root, and having an independent aspect; though they are doubtless in part transfers from the root-noun (1147). Usually they show an unstrengthened form of root, and (such as occur in accented texts) an accented suffix.

b. Examples are *īṣā* lordship, *kṛiḍā* play, *dayā* pity, *nindā* reproach, *ṣaṅkā* doubt, *hiṁsā* injury, *kṣamā* patience, *kṣudhā* hunger, *bhāṣā* speech, *sevā* service, *spṛhā* eagerness.

c. But especially, such nouns in *ā* are made in large numbers, and with perfect freedom, from secondary conjugation-stems.

d. Thus, especially from desiderative stems, as *jigīṣā*, *bhikṣā*, *vīrtsā*, *bībhatsā*, etc. (see 1038); in the formation of periphrastic perfects, especially from causative stems, but also from desiderative and intensive, and even from primary present-stems (1071c—f); from denominative stems, in the older language, as *aṣvayā*, *sukratūyā*, *apasyā*, *uruṣyā*, *asūyā*, *aṣanayā*, *jīvanasyā*, etc., and quite rarely in the later, as *mṛgayā*.

e. The only example from a reduplicated stem is the late *paspacā*; for *sūṣā*, *jāṅghā*, and *jihvā*, which have a reduplicated aspect, are of doubtful origin. From present-stems come *icchā* and probably *-rechā*.

1150. *अन* *ana*. With this suffix (as with *अ* *a*) are formed innumerable derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has oftenest *gūṇa*-strengthening, but not seldom *vr̥ddhi* instead; and in a few cases it remains unstrengthened. Derivatives of this formation are frequent from roots with prefixes, and also in composition with other elements.

a. The normal and greatly prevalent accent is upon the root-syllable, without regard to the difference of meaning; but cases occur of accented final, and a few of accented penult. The action-nouns are in general of the neuter gender. The feminine of adjectives is made either in *ā* or in *ī* (for details, see below). And a few feminine action-nouns in *anā* and *anī* occur, which may be ranked as belonging to this suffix.

1. b. With strengthened and accented root-syllable. Under this head fall, as above indicated, the great mass of forms.

c. With *gūṇa*-strengthening: examples of action-nouns are *sādāna* seat, *rākṣaṇa* protection, *dāna* giving, *cāyana* collection, *védana* property, *hāvana* call, *bhōjana* enjoyment, *kāraṇa* deed, *vārdhana* increase; — of agent-nouns, *tāpāna* burning, *cétana* visible, *códana* impelling.

d. With *vr̥ddhi*-strengthening (only in such circumstances that *ā* remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples are *-cātana*, *nāṣana*, *mādana*, *-vācana*, *-vāsana*, *-vāhana*, *sādāna*, *-spācana*, *svādāna*, *-āyana*, *-yāvana*, *-srāvana*, *-pāraṇa*.

e. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are very numerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the

suffix a (above, 11481, m). A few examples are: *ākramaṇa* striding on, *udyāna* upgoing, *nidhāna* receptacle, *prāṇana* expiration, *vimōcana* release and releasing, *saṃgāmana* assembly and assembler, *adhivikārtana* cutting off, *avaprabhrāṇana* falling away down. For other compounds of these derivatives, showing the same accent (and the same feminine stem), see the next chapter (below, 1271). A few exceptions occur: *vicakṣaṇā*, *upariṣayana*, and the feminines *pramandaṇī* and *nirdahaṇī*.

f. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in ī: thus, *cōdanī*, *pēcaṇī*, *spāraṇī*, *jāmbhaṇī*; *prajāṇī*, *prōkṣaṇī*, *saṃgrāhaṇī*, *abhiśavaṇī*, *vidhāraṇī* (*cetani* is of doubtful meaning: below, i). An adjective compound, however, having a noun in *ana* as final member, makes its feminine in ā: thus, *sūpasarpaṇā* of easy approach, *ṣāḍvidhānā* of sextuple order, *anapavācana* not to be ordered away.

2. The more irregular formations may be classed as follows:

g. With accent on the final: a number of agent-nouns and adjectives, as *karaṇā* active (against *kāraṇa* act), *kṛpaṇā* miserable (against *kṛpāna* misery), *tvaraṇā* hustling, *rocaṇā* shining, *kroṣaṇā* yelling, *svapaṇā* sleepy, *kṣayaṇā* habitable.

h. These, unlike the preceding class, make their feminine in ā: e. g. *tvaraṇā*, *spandaṇā*. A few feminine action-nouns in the older language have the same form: thus, *aṇaṇā*, *asaṇā*, *mananā*, *dyotanā*, *rodhanā*, *ṇvetanā*, *hasanā* (and compare *kapaṇā*, *raṇaṇā*); those of the later language in *anā* (rather numerous) are doubtful as regards accent.

i. Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in *anī*, of more or less doubtful character: *aṇaṇī*, *cetani* (to *cētana*), *tapanī* (to *tāp-ana*), *pṛṇaṇī*, *vṛjaṇī* (with *vṛjana*), *rajanī*, *tedaṇī*.

j. With accent on the penult: a small number of adjectives: as *turaṇa* hustling, *dohāna* milking, *manāna* considerate, *bhaṇāna* and *maṇāna* rejoicing, *sakṣāna* overcoming, and perhaps *vakṣāṇā* carrying (the last two with aoristic s); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: *daṇṣāna* great deed, *vṛjāna* enclosure, town, *veṣāna* service, *kṛpāna* misery (against *kṛpaṇā* miserable), with the masculine *kirāṇa* dust.

k. The only noticed example of a feminine is in ā: *turaṇā*. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: *arhāṇā*, *jarāṇā*, *barhāṇā*, *bhaṇāṇā*, *maṇhāṇā*, *mehāṇā*, *vadhāṇā*, *vanāṇā*, *vakṣāṇā*. (And compare the anomalous masc. name *uṇāṇā*: 355a.)

l. Without strengthening of the root are made a small number of derivatives: thus (besides those already noted, *kṛpāna* and *kṛpaṇā*, *vṛjāna* and *vṛjaṇī*, *kirāṇa*, *turaṇa*), further accented examples are *ūraṇa*, *dhūvana*, *pṛcana*, *bhūvana*, *vṛjana*, *vṛṣaṇa*, *-sūvana*; and later are found *sphuraṇa*, *sphuṭana*, *sprhaṇa*, *-hnuvana*, *likhana*, *rudana*, etc. RV. makes denominatives from *riṣaṇa*-, *ruvaṇa*-, *vipana*-, *huvana*-.

m. Stems in *ana* are made also from secondary conjugation-stems: thus, from desideratives, *jaś cikitsana* (see 1038); from causatives, as *hāpana*, *bhīṣaṇa* (see 1051 g); from denominatives, with great freedom, in the later language, as *ākaraṇa*, *unmūlana*, *ṣṭakṣaṇa*, *cihnana*; from intensives and other reduplicated stems, only *caṅkramaṇa*, *jaṅgamana*, *jāgaranā*, *yoyupana*.

n. A few isolated cases may be further mentioned: from tense-stems, *-jighraṇa*, *-ūrṇavana*, *-paṣyana*, *yacchana*, *-siñcana*; from prepositions, *antaraṇa* and *sāmana*; *astamana* from the quasi-prefix (1002 b) *astam*. Feminines in *anā* of doubtful connection are *yōṣaṇā* woman (beside *yōṣan*, *yōṣā*, etc.) and *pīṭanā*.

1151. अस (as). By this suffix are made (usually with *guṇa*-strengthening of the root-vowel) especially a large class of neuter nouns, mostly abstract (action-nouns), but sometimes assuming a concrete value; and also, in the older language, a few agent-nouns and adjectives, and a considerable number of infinitives.

a. The accent in words of the first class is on the root, and in the second on the ending; and in a few instances words of the two classes having the same form are distinguished by their accent; the infinitives have for the most part the accent on the suffix.

1. b. Examples of the first and principal class are: *āvas aid*, favor, *tāpas warmth*, *prāyas pleasure*, *tējas splendor*, *ṣrāvas fame*, *dōhas milking*, *kāras deed*, *prāthas breadth*, *cētas* and *mānas mind*, *cākṣas eye*, *sāras pond*, *vācas speech*.

c. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: thus, without strengthening of the root, *jūvas quickness* (beside *jāvas*), *ūras breast*, *mīdhas contempt*; and *iras-* (*irasy-*) and *vipas-*, and the adverbs *tirās*, *mithās*, *huras-*, also *ṣīras head*, are to be compared; — with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *-vācas*, *vāsas*, *vāhas*, *-svādas*, and, of doubtful connections, *pājas*, *pāthas*, and *-hāyas*; — perhaps with an aoristic *s*, *hēṣas missile*; — *pīvas* contains a *v* apparently not radical.

d. After final *ā* of a root is usually inserted *y* before the suffix (258): thus, *dhāyas*, *-gāyas*. But there are in the oldest language apparent remains of a formation in which *as* was added directly to radical *ā*: thus, *\*bhās* and *-dās* (often to be pronounced as two syllables), *jñās*, *mās*; and *-dhas* and *-das*, from the roots *dhā* and *dā*.

2. e. The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an action-noun are: *āpas work*, and *apās active*; *yācas beauty*, and *yaṣas beauteous*; *tāras quickness*, and *tarās* (VS., once) quick; *tāvas strength*, and *tavās strong*; *dūvas worship*, and *duvās lively*(?); *māhas greatness*, and *mahās great*; between *rākṣas* n. and

*rakṣās* m., both meaning *demon*, and between *tyājas* n. *abandonment*(?) and *tyajās* m. *descendant*(?), the antithesis is much less clear.

f. Adjectives in *ās* without corresponding abstracts are: *toṣās* *bestowing*, *yajās* *offering*, *vedhās* *pious*, probably *āhanās* *heady*; and a few other words of isolated occurrence, as *veṣās*, *dhvarās*. From a denominative stem is made *mṛgayās* *wild animal* (RV., once).

g. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter, accented on the ending: thus, *jarās* *old age*, *bhiyās* *fear*; and doubtless also *havās* *call*, and *tveṣās* *impulse*. The feminine *uṣās* *dawn*, and *doṣās* *night*, might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

h. Apparently containing a suffix *as* are the noun *upās* *lap*, and certain proper names: *āṅgiras*, *nodhās*, *bhalānās*, *arcanānās*, *naciketas*. The feminine *apsarās* *nymph* is of doubtful derivation.

i. The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.

3. j. The infinitives made by the suffix *as* have been explained above (973): they show various treatment of the root, and various accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that between *sāhas* and *jarās*).

4. k. The formation of derivatives in *as* from roots compounded with prefixes is very restricted — if, indeed, it is to be admitted at all. No infinitive in *as* occurs with a prefix; nor any action-noun; and the adjective combinations are in some instances evidently, and in most others apparently, possessive compounds of the noun with the prefix used adjectively: the most probable exceptions are *-nyòkas* and *vīṣpardhas*. As in these examples, the accent is always on the prefix.

l. Certain Vedic stems in *ar* may be noticed here, as more or less exchanging with stems in *as*, and apparently related with such. They were reported above, at 169 a.

In connection with this, the most common and important suffix ending in *s*, may be best treated the others, kindred in office and possibly also in origin, which end in the same sibilant.

1152. तस् *tas*, नस् *nas*, सस् *sas*. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With *tas* are made *rétas* *seed*, and *srótas* *stream*.

b. With *nas* are made *āpnas* *acquisition*, *ārṇas* *wave*, *-bhārṇas* *offering*, *rékṇas* *riches*; and in *dráviṇas* *wealth*, and *páriṇas* *fulness*. It is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of *dāmūnas* *house-friend*, and *fjūnas* (RV.) n. pr., *uṣānas* (or *-nā*) n. pr.

c. With *sas* is perhaps made *vāpsas* *beauty*; and *tárūṣas* may be mentioned with it (rather *tarus-a*?).

1153. ३५ is. With the suffix is is formed a small number (about a dozen) of nouns.

a. They are in part nouns of action, but most are used concretely. The radical syllable has the *guṇa*-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in *vyāthis*, and *āmis*, *raw meat*). Examples are: *arcis*, *rocis*, and *çocis* *light*, *chadis* or *chardis* *cover*, *barhis* *straw*, *vartis* *track*, *sarpis* *butter*, *havis* *oblation*, *dyotis* *light*, and *kravis* *raw flesh*. *Avis-*, *pāthis*, *bhrājis-*, and *māhis-* are isolated variants of stems in *as*; and *tūvis-*, *çucis-*, and *surabhis-* appear inorganically for *tuvi* etc. in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. ३५ us. With this suffix are made a few words, of various meaning, root-form, and accent.

a. They are words signifying both action and agent. A few have both meanings, without difference of accent: thus, *tāpus* *heat* and *hot*; *ārus* *wound* and *sore*; *cākṣus* *brightness* and *seeing*, *eye*; *vāpus* *wonderful* and *wonder*. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable: thus, *āyus*, *tārus*, *pūrus*, *mūhus* (? only adverbial), *mīthus* (do.), *yājus*, *çāsus*; exceptions are: in regard to accent, *janūs* *birth*; in regard to gender, *mānus* *man*, and *nāhus*, proper name. Of adjectives, are accented on the ending *jayūs*, *vanūs*, and *dakṣūs* *burning* (which appears to attach itself to the aorist-stem).

1155. ३ i. With this suffix are formed a large body of derivatives, of all genders: adjectives and masculine agent-nouns, feminine abstracts, and a few neuters. They show a various form of the root: strong, weak, and reduplicated. Their accent is also various. Many of them have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.

1. a. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, *rūci* *brightness*, *tvīṣi* *sheen*; *kṛṣi* *ploughing*, *nṛti* *dance*; — with *guṇa*-strengthening (where possible), *rōpi* *pain*, *çocī* *heat*, *vanī* and *sanī* *gain*; — with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *grāhi* *seizure*, *dhrāji* *course*, *ājī* *race*; from *√duṣ* comes *dūṣi* (compare *dūṣayati*, 1042 b). The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given. The few infinitively used words of this formation (above, 975 b) have a weak root-form, with accent on the ending.

2. b. The adjectives and masculine agent-nouns exhibit the same variety. Thus:

c. With unstrengthened root: *çūci* *bright*, *bhṛmi* *lively* (*√bhram*), *gṛbhi* *container*.



d. With unstrengthened root (or root incapable of *guṇa*-change): *ari* enemy, *māhi* great, *arci* beam, *granthi* knot, *kriḍi* playing; with *vṛddhi*-increment, *kārṣi*, *jāni*, *-dhāri*, *ṇāri*, *sāci*, *sādi*, *-sāhi*, and a few words of obscure connections: thus, *drāpi* mantle, *rāci* heap, *pāpi* hand, etc. The isolated *-ānaḥ* appears to come from the perfect-stem (788) of *√aṇ*.

e. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a considerable class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, *cākri*, *jāghri* (*√ghar*), *pāpri*, *sāsri*, *-amri*, *babhri*, *vavri*, *jāgmi*, *-jājñi* (*√jan*), *-tatni*, *jāghni*, *sāsni*, *sūṣvi*, *-ṇiṣvi*; and, with displacement of final *ā* (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), *dadī*, *papī*, *yayī* (with a case or two from *yayī*), *-jājñi*, *dādhi*; — from the ur-form of roots in changeable *ṛ*, *jāguri*, *tāturi*, *pāpuri* (*pūpuri* SV.); — with simple reduplication, *cikiti*, *yūyudhi*, *vīvici*; — with strengthened reduplication, *-cācāli*, *tātṛpi*, *dādhrṣi*, *vāvahi*, *sāsahī*, *tūtuji* and *tūtūji*, *yūyuvī*, *yūyudhi*; and *jarbhāri* and *bāmbhāri*. And *karkarī* lute and *dundubhī* drum have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoeic. The accent, it will be noticed, is most often on the reduplication, but not seldom elsewhere (only once on the root). It was noticed above (271f) that these reduplicated derivatives in *i* not seldom take an object in the accusative, like a present participle.

f. Formations in *i* from the root compounded with prefixes are not at all numerous. They are accented usually on the suffix. Examples are: *āyaji*, *vyānaḥi*, *nijaghni*, *parādadi*, *viśāsahī*; but also *ājāni*, *āmūri*, *vīvavri*. As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or agent-nouns in *i* are not rare, and are regularly accented on the root: see the next chapter, 1276.

g. From *√dhā* comes a derivative *-dhi*, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with prefixes, *antardhī*, *uddhī*, *nidhī*, *paridhī*, etc. From *√dā* is made in like manner *ādi* beginning, and from *√sthā*, *pratiṣṭhī* resistance. Opinions are at variance as to whether such forms are to be regarded as made with the suffix *i*, displacing the radical *ā*, or with weakening of *ā* to *i*.

3. h. Neuter nouns in *i* are few, and of obscure derivation: examples are *ākṣi* eye, *āsthi* bone, *dādhi* curds, etc.

1156. *ḥ ī*. Stems in *ḥ ī* (like those in *ḥ ā*, above, 1149) are for the most part feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters of other terminations.

a. Thus, feminines in *ī* are made from *a*-stems (332, 334: and see also the different suffixes), from *i*-stems (344, 346), from *u*-stems (344 b), from *ṛ*-stems (376 a), and from various consonant-stems (376 a).

b. But there are also a few stems in *ī* wearing the aspect of independent derivatives. Examples are *dakṣī*, *dehī*, *nadī*, *nāndī*, *pēṣī*,

*vakṣī* (apparently with aoristic *s*), *veçī*, *çākī*, *çácī*, *çámī*, *çímī*, *tari*, *vāpī*; they are either action-nouns or agent-nouns. In the later language (as noticed at 344a) there is very frequent interchange of *i*- and *ī*-stems and the forms from them.

c. In the oldest language there are even a few masculines in *ī*. They were noticed, and their inflection illustrated, above, at 355 b, 356.

1157. ति *ti*. This suffix forms a large class of frequently used feminine nouns of action; and also a few agent-nouns (masculine) and adjectives. The root has in general the same form as before the suffix त *ta* of the passive participle (952 ff.) — that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.

a. The accent ought, it would appear, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; but in the recorded condition of the language it does so only in a minority of cases: namely, about fifty, against sixty cases of accent on the radical syllable, and a hundred and forty of undetermined accent; a number of words — *iti*, *ṛti*, *citti*, *ṛpti*, *pakti*, *puṣti*, *bhūti*, *bhṛti*, *vṛṣti*, *çakti*, *çruṣti*, *sṛṣti*, *sthiti* — have both accentuations.

1. b. Examples of the normal formation are: *rātī* *gift*, *ūtī* *aid*, *rītī* *flow*, *stutī* *praise*, *bhaktī* *division*, *viṣṭī* *service*, *stutī* *praise*, *kīrtī* *fame*, *pūrtī* *bestowal*, *matī* *thought*, *pītī* *drink* (*√pā*; pple *pīta*), *dhāutī* *stream* (*√dhāv*; pple *dhāuta*); — and with accented root, *gātī* *motion*, *çāntī* *repose*, *dītī* *division* (*√dā*; pple *dītā*), *dīṣṭī* *sight*, *iṣṭī* *offering* (*√yaj*; pple *iṣṭā*), *ūkti* *speech* (*√vac*; pple *uktā*), *vṛddhi* *increase*.

c. The roots which form their participle in *ita* (956) do not have the *i* also before *ti*: thus, only *gūpti*, *-drpti*. A few roots having their participle in *na* instead of *ta* (957) form the abstract noun also in *ni* (below, 1158). And from the roots *tan* and *ran* occur *tantī* and *rāntī*, beside the more regular *tati* and *rāti*; also *āhanti* (once; VS.) beside *āhati*. From roots having the form *dā*, the derivative in composition is sometimes *-tti* (for *dāti*, with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form *-tta*, above, 955 f): thus, *niravatti* (K.), *samprātti* (ÇB.), *pāritti* (TB.), *vāsutti*, *bhāgatti*, *maghātti* (all RV.).

d. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, *carkṛtī*, *dīdhiti* and *-dīditi*, *jīgarti*, and perhaps the proper name *yayāti*; also *jāgdhi* from *√jakṣ* (233 f).

e. Derivatives from roots with prefixes are numerous, and have (as in the case of the participles in *ta*, and the action-nouns in *tu*) the accent on the prefix: examples are *ānumati*, *abhīti*, *āhuti*, *nīrṛti*, *vyāpti*, *sāṅgati*. The only exceptions noticed are *āsaktī* and *āsutī*, and *abhi-*

*ṣṭī* (beside *abhiṣṭī*). In other combinations than with prefixes, the accentuation is in general the same: see the next chapter (1274).

2. *f*. The adjectives and agent-nouns — which, as masculines, are to be connected with these rather than with the feminine abstracts — are very few: thus, *pūti* *putrid*, *vāṣṭi* *eager*, *dhūti* *shaker*, *jñāti* *relative*, *pattī* *footman*, *pāti* *master*; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.

3. *g*. A few words show the suffix *ti* preceded by various vowels, union- or stem-vowels. The ordinary intermediate *i* of the *ta*-participle etc. is seen in *sāniti*, *ujhiti*, *-gr̥hiti* (*i*, as usual with this root: 900 b), *paṭhiti*, *bhaṇiti*; and with them may be mentioned the adjective *ṣṭiti*, the proper names *turvīti* and *dabhīti*, and *sn̥hiti* and *sn̥hiti*, notwithstanding their long final. With *ati* are made a few derivatives, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns *añhati*, *ḍṛṣṭi*, *pakṣati*, *mithati*, *vasati*, *ramati*, *vratati*, *amati* and *amati*, *-dhrajaṭi*; and the agent-words *arati*, *khalati*, *vṛkati*, *rāmati*, *dahati*. In some of these is to be seen with probability a stem-vowel, as also in *jānayati* and *rasayati* (and RV. has *gopayātya*). The grammarians' method of representing a root by its 3d sing. pres. indic., declining this as a *ti*-stem, begins in the older language: e. g. *étivant* (TB.), *kṣetivant* (AB.), *yajati* and *juhoti* and *dadāti* (S.), *nandati* (MBh.). The feminine *yūvati* *young*, *maiden* is of isolated character.

*h*. In some of the words instanced in the last paragraph, *ti* is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, *kāti*, *tāti*, *yāti*, and from numerals, as *daṣati*, *viṇṣati*, *ṣaṣṭi*, etc., with *pañkti* (from *pāñca*); in *padāti*; and in *addhātī*, from the particle *addhā*.

1158. *ni*. This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a very much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.

*a*. As was noticed above (1157 c), a few verbs (ending in vowels) making their passive participle in *na* instead of *ta* make their action-noun in *ni* instead of *ti*. From the older language are quotable *jyāni* *injury*, *jūrni* *heat*, *hāni* *abandonment* (and the masculines *ghṛni* and *jṛni*); later occur *glāni*, *-mlāni*, *sanni*-.

*b*. Words of the other class are: *aṇi* *eating*, *-uṣṇi* *burning*, *vāhni* *carrying*, *jūrni* *singing*, *tūrni* *hasty*, *bhūrni* *excited*, *dhārni* *sustaining*, *preṇi* *loving*, *vṛṣṇi* and *vṛṣṇi* *virile*; and with them may be mentioned *pṛṇi* *speckled*.

*c*. In *preṇi*, *yōni*, *menī*, *ṇṇi*, *ṇṇi* is seen a strengthening of the radical syllable, such as does not appear among the derivatives in *ti*.

*d*. Derivatives in *ni* from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur.

e. In *hrādūni* and *hlāduni* we have a prefixed *u*. In the words ending in *ani*, the *a* has probably the same value with that of *ati* (above, 1157g); but *ani* has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. *अनि ani*. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding suffixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with concentered meaning: as, *iṣāṇi impulse*, *ṣarāṇi injury*, *dyotāṇi brightness*, *kṣipāṇi blow*, *aṣāṇi missile*, *varṭanāṇi track*; and *-arṣani*, *udani*-, *jarāṇi*-.

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are: *arāṇi fire-stick*, *carāṇi movable*, *cakṣāṇi enlightener*, *tarāṇi quick*, *dhamāṇi pipe*, *dhvasāṇi scattering*, *vakṣāṇi strengthener*, *sarāṇi track*. *Dharaṇi* and one or two other late words are probably variants to stems in *anī*. From a reduplicated root-form comes *-paptani*. From desiderative stems are made *ruruḥṣāṇi*, *siṣāsāṇi*, and (with prefix) *ā-ṣuṣuḥṣāṇi*. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an *s*-aorist stem: thus, *parṣāṇi*, *sakṣāṇi*, *carṣāṇi*.

c. It is questionable whether the infinitives in *ṣāṇi* (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in *ani*, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in *an*, from roots and stems increased by an aoristic *s*.

1160. *अन् an*. Not many words are made with a suffix of this form, and of these few are plainly to be connected with roots. Certain rare neuters (along with the doubtful infinitives) are nouns of action; the rest are masculine and neuter agent-nouns. The accent is various.

a. The infinitives which admit of being referred to this suffix, as locative cases, are those in *ṣāṇi*, of which the sibilant may be the final of a tense-stem. They are all given above (978).

b. The other action-nouns in *an* are *mahān greatness*, *rājān authority* (RV., once: compare *rājan*; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and *gāmbhan depth* (VS., once); and PB. has *kṣepṇā* once.

c. Agent-nouns (in part of doubtful connection) are: *ukṣān ox*, *cakṣan eye*, *takṣan carpenter*, *dhvasān proper name*, *pūṣān name of a god*, *majjān marrow*, *rājān king*, *vīṣan virile*, *bull*, *sāghan*, *snihān* (snūhan Āpast.); also *-gman*, *jmān*-, *-bhvan*-, *-ṣvan*-, with *ṣvān*, *yūvan*, *yōṣan*, and the stems *āhan*, *ūdhan*, etc. (430—4), filling up the inflection of other defective stems.

d. With prefixes occur *pratidīvan* and *ātīdīvan*, *vibhvān*, *nīkāman*.

1161. *ñ tu.* The great mass of the words of this formation are the infinitives — accusatives in the later language, in the earlier likewise datives and ablative-genitives; see above, 970b, 972. But a few are also used independently, as action-nouns or with concreted meaning; and an extremely small number, of somewhat questionable character, appear to have the value of agent-words. They are of all genders, but chiefly masculine. The root has the *guṇa*-strengthening.

a. The infinitive words are accented on the radical syllable when simple, and most of the others have the same accent; but a few have the tone on the ending.

b. Examples are: of the regular formation, masc. *dātu share*, *jātu birth*, *dhātu element*, *tāntu thread*, *māntu counsel*, *ōtu west*, *sātu receptacle*, *sētu tie*, *sōtu pressure*; also *krātu capacity*, and *sāktu grits*; fem. *vāstu morning*; neut. *vastu thing*, *vāstu abode*; — with accent on the ending, *aktū ray*, *jantū being*, *gātū way and song*, *yātū (?) demon*, *hetū cause*, *ketū banner* (all masc.); — with unstrengthened root, *ṛtū season*, *pitū drink*, *sūtu birth*, and apparently *kṛtu* (in *kṛtvās times*); with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *vāstu* (above). Agent-nouns appear to be *dhātu drinkable* and *kroṣṭu jackal*.

c. The infinitives in *tu* have (968) often the union-vowel *i* before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to *ī*. In other use occur also *-stāritu* and *-dhāritu* (both with *dus*), *-hāvitu* (with *su*); *turphāritu* seems of the same formation, but is obscure.

d. In a few instances, the suffix *tu* appears to be added to a tense- or conjugation-stem in *a*; thus, *edhatū* and *vahatū*; *tamyatū* and *tapyatū*; and *siṣāsātū*. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of *jīvātū life*, which is further exceptional in showing a long *ā*; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1162. *ñ nu.* This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.

a. The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.

b. Thus: *kṣepnū jerk*, *bhānū light* (later *sun*), *vagnū sound*, *sūnū son*, *dānū* (with irregular accent) m. f. *demon*, n. *drop*, *dhenū* f. *cow*; — *grāhnū hasty*, *tapnū burning*, *trasnū fearful*, *dhṛṣṇū bold*; — and *viṣṇu* *Vishnu*, and perhaps *sthānū pillar*. Compare also suffix *tnu*, 1196a.

c. This also (like *tu*) appears sometimes with a prefixed *a*: thus, *kṣipañú* missile, *krandanú* and *nadanú* roaring, *nabhanú* (and *-nú*, *f.*) fountain, *vibhañjanú* (only instance with prefix) breaking to pieces; and perhaps the proper names *dāsanu* and *kṛṣṇanu* belong here.

1163. *ṭha*. The words made with this suffix are almost without exception action-nouns (though some have assumed a concrete value). They are of all genders. The root is of a weak (or even weakened) form, and the accent usually on the suffix.

a. Thus: masc., *-itha* going, *ārtha* goal, *-kr̥tha* making, *gāthā* song, *pakthā* n. pr., *bhṛthā* offering, *-yātha* road, *-ṇitha* lying down, *ṣoṭha* swelling, *siktha* sediment; and, of less clear connections, *yūthā* herd, *rātha* chariot; — neut., *ukthā* saying, *tīrthā* ford, *nīthā* song, *rikthā* heritage, and apparently *pr̥sthā* back; — fem. (with *ā*), *gāthā* song, *nīthā* way. Radical *ā* is weakened to *ī* in *gītha* song and *-pītha* drink and *-pītha* protection; a final nasal is lost in *-gatha* going and *hātha* slaying. In *vijigīthā* (ÇB.; but BAU. *-īta*) is apparently seen a formation from a reduplication of *√ji*, victorious.

b. A few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with accent on the final: thus, *nir̥thā* destruction, *saṁgathā* union, etc.

c. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an *ā*, which is probably of thematic origin, though become a union-vowel. Thus: *-anātha* breathing, *ayātha* foot, *carātha* mobility, *tveṣātha* vehemence, and so *prothātha*, *yajātha*, *ra-vātha*, *vakṣātha*, *ucātha*, *vidātha*, *ṣaṁsatha*, *ṣapātha*, *ṣayātha*, *ṣvayātha*, *ṣvasātha*, *sacātha*, *stanātha*, *stavātha*, *sra-vātha*, and, with weak root-form, *ruvātha*; the later language adds *karatha*, *taratha*, *ṣamatha*, *savatha*. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, *āvasathā* abode, *pravasathā* absence; but *prāṇātha* breath is treated as if *prān* were an integral root.

d. Isolated combinations of *tha* with other preceding vowels occur: thus, *vārūtha* protection, *jārūtha* wasting (?); and *matūtha* (*√man*?).

1164. *ṭhu*. This suffix (like *ṭha*, above) has an *ṭā* attached to it, and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as *ṭṭhu* *āthu*.

a. The only Vedic examples are *ejāthu* quaking, *vepāthu* trembling, *stanāthu* roaring. Later cases are *nandāthu* (TS.), *nadathu* (U.), *kṣavathu* (S.), *davathu*, *bhrañçathu*, *majjathu*, *vamathu*, *ṣvayathu*, *sphūrjathu*.

1165. *ṭyu*. With this suffix are made a very few nouns,

both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (masc.) are *manyú* *wrath*, *mṛtyú* *death* (with *t* added to the short final of the root).

b. Adjectives etc. are *druhyú* n. pr., *bhujoyú* *pliable*, *mucyu* (GB. i. 1. 7), *ṇundhyú* *pure*; *yáyu* *pious*, *sáhyu* *strong*, *dásyu* *enemy*; and, with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *jāyú* *victorious*.

c. For other derivatives ending in *yu*, see the suffix *u*, below, 1178h,i.

1166. ण *ma*. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.

a. Examples of action-nouns are: *ajmá* *course*, *gharmá* *heat*; *éma* *progress*, *bhāma* *brightness*, *sárma* *flow*, *stóma* *song of praise*.

b. Examples of agent-nouns etc. are: *tigmá* *sharp*, (*bhīmá* *terrible*), *ṇagmá* *mighty*, *idhmá* *fuel*, *yudhmá* *warrior*. A single instance from a reduplicated root is *tūtumá* *powerful*. *Sarāmá* f., with *a* before the suffix, is of doubtful connection. l. 11

c. A number of stems in *ma* have stems in *man* beside them, and appear, at least in part, to be transfers from the *an-* to the *a*-declension. Such are *ajma*, *oma*, *ema*, *arma*, *tókma*, *darmá*, *dharma*, *narmá*, *yāma*, *yugma*, *vema*, *ṇuṣma*, *sóma*, *sárma*, *hóma*.

1167. णि *mi*. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with *mi*, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus, from *ṛ*-roots, *ūrmí* *wave*, *-kūrmí* *action*, *sūrmí* f. *tube*; from others, *jāmí* *relation*, *bhūmí* or *bhūmí* f. *earth*, *lakṣmí* *sign*; also probably *raçmí* *line*, *ray*; and the adjective *krúdhmi* (? RV., once).

1168. मन् *man*. The numerous derivatives made with this suffix are almost only action-nouns. The great majority of them are neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; a much smaller number are masculine, and accented on the suffix. The few agent-words are, if nouns, masculine, and have the latter accent: in several instances, a neuter and a masculine, of the one and the other value and accent, stand side by side. The root has in general the *ṇu*-strengthening.

1. a. Examples of regularly formed neuters are: *kárman* *action*, *jánman* *birth*, *nāman* *name*, *vártman* *track*, *vēṇman* *dwelling*, *hóman* *sacrifice*, *-dyótman* *splendor*.

b. Examples of masculine abstracts are: *omán* favor, *ojmán* strength, *jemán* conquest, *svādmán* sweetness, *hemán* impulse.

c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are: *bráhmaṇ* worship and *brahmán* priest; *dāmaṇ* gift and *dāmán* giver; *dhármaṇ* rule and *dharmaṇ* orderer; *sádmaṇ* seat and *sadmán* sitter. But *ómaṇ* friend stands in the contrary relation to *omán* m. favor. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except *brahmán*, are of rare occurrence.

d. On the other hand, *jemaṇ* and *varṣmaṇ* and *svādmaṇ* (and *varimaṇ*) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

e. The noun *ácmaṇ* stone, though masculine, is accented on the radical syllable; and two or three other questionable cases of the same kind occur.

f. The derivatives in *maṇ* used as infinitives (974) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is *vidmáne*.

g. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus, *údmaṇ*, *uśmaṇ* or *uṣmaṇ*, *bhúmaṇ* earth, *bhūmaṇ* abundance, *syúmaṇ*, *símaṇ*, *bhujmán*, *vidmán*, *çíkmaṇ*, *çuṣmaṇ*, *sidhmaṇ*; and *kárṣmaṇ*, *bhármaṇ*, *çákmáṇ*.

h. Derivatives in *maṇ* from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, *prábharmaṇ* forthbringing, *práyamaṇ* departure; *ánuvartmaṇ* following after: the exceptions, *vijámaṇ*, *prativartmán*, *visarmán*, are perhaps of possessive formation.

2. i. The same suffix, though only with its abstract-making value, has in a number of cases before it a union-vowel, *i* or *ī*; and *imán* comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns (masculine) from a considerable number of adjectives.

j. The neuters in *imaṇ* and *īmaṇ* are primary formations, belonging almost only to the older language: thus, *jánimaṇ*, *dharmaṇ* (M.), *várimaṇ* (beside *varimán*, as noticed above); and *dárīmaṇ*, *dhárīmaṇ*, *párimaṇ* (and *páremaṇ* SV., once), *bhárīmaṇ*, *várīmaṇ*, *sárīmaṇ*, *stárīmaṇ*, *sávīmaṇ*, and *hávīmaṇ*. Those in *īmaṇ* are hardly met with outside the Ríg-Veda.

k. The masculines in *imán* are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are *tánimaṇ* (?), *jarimán*, *prathimán*, *mahimán*, *varimán* (beside the equivalent *várimaṇ* and *vári-maṇ*), *varṣimán* (beside the equivalent *várṣmaṇ* and *varṣmán*), *hari-mán*, and *drāghimán* (VS.) beside *drāghmán* (V.B.). Some of these, as well as of the derivatives in simple *maṇ*, attach themselves in meaning, or in form also, to adjectives, to which they seem the accompanying abstracts: compare the similar treatment of the primary comparatives and superlatives (above, 468): such are *pāpmán* (to *pāpá*, *pāpiyas* etc.); *drāghmán* etc. (to *dirghá*, *drāghiyas*, etc.); *várimaṇ* etc. (to *urú*,



*vāriyas*, etc.); *prāthiman* (to *pr̥thú*, *prāthiṣṭha*); *harimán* (to *hári* or *hárita*); *vārṣman* etc. (to *vārṣi*yas etc.); *svāḍman* etc. (to *svādú*, *svādi*yas, etc.). Then in the Brāhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, *dhūmrímán* (TS. K.), *draḍhimán* (MS. K.: to *dr̥dhá*, *drāḍhi*yas, etc.), *ānimán* (ÇB.; and *āniman* n. *bit*), *sthémán*, *sthāviman* (n. *big piece*), *taruṣiman* (K.), *paruṣiman* (AB.), *abaliman* (ChU.), *lohitiman* (KB.); and still later such as *laghiman*, *kṛṣṇiman*, *pūrṇiman*, *madhuriman*, *ṇṇiman*, etc., etc.

1169. वन् *van*. By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter chiefly masculines. The root is unstrengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a न् *t* before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.

a. The insertion of *t* is an intimation that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of *an* to derivatives in *u* and *tu*; yet *van* has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.

b. Examples of the usual formation are: masc. *yājvan* *offering*, *drūhvan* *harming*, *ṇṇakvan* *capable*, *-rīkvan* *leaving*, *-jītván* *conquering*, *sūtvan* *pressing*, *kṛtván* *active*, *-gátvan* (like *-gat*, *-gatyā*) *going*, *sátvan* (*ysan*) *warrior*; neut. *pārvan* *joint*, *dhānvan* *bow*. Irregular, with strengthened root, are *árvan* *courser*, *-yāvan* (? AV.) *driving off*; and, with accent on the suffix, *dr̥ván* (? VS.) and *vidván* (? AV.).

c. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: *atitvan* *excelling*, *upahāsvan* *reviler*, *sambhṛtván* *collecting*; and perhaps *vivāsvan* *shining*: *abhīsatvan* is a compound with governing preposition (1310). For the compounds with other elements, which, except in special cases, have the same accent, see below, 1277.

d. The stems *muṣīván* *robber* and *sanítvan* (each RV., once) are the only ones with a union-vowel, and are perhaps better regarded as secondary derivatives — of which a few are made with this suffix: see below, 1234. From a reduplicated root are made *rārāvan* and *cikitván* (and possibly *vivāsvan*).

e. Action-nouns made with the suffix *van* are only the infinitival words mentioned at 974 — unless *bhurvánī* (RV., once) is to be added, as locative of *bhurván*.

f. The feminines corresponding to adjectives in *van* are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from *vara*, and end in *vari*; see below, 1171b.

1170. वन *vana*, वनि *vani*, वनु *vanu*. The very few words

made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in connection with वन् *van* (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

a. With *vana* are made *vagvaná talkative*, *satvaná warrior* (beside *sátvan*, above); and, from a reduplicated root, *çuçukvaná shining*.

b. With *vani* are made from simple roots *turváni excelling*, and *bhurváni restless*, and, from reduplicated roots, *çuçukváni shining*, *da-dhṣváni daring*, *tuturváni striving after*, and *jugurváni praising*; *ar-hariṣváni* is obscure.

c. With *vanu* is made only *vagvanú tone, noise*.

1171. वर *vara*. With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives. Much more common are the feminine stems in वरी *varī*, which, from the earliest period, serve as corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in वन् *van*.

a. A few masculine adjectives in *vará* occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, *itvará going*, *-advara eating*; and so, further, in the older language, *içvará*, *-jāvara*, *phārvara*, *bhārvará*, *bhāsvará*, *vyadhvará* (?), *-sadvara*, *sthāvará*, and doubtless with them belongs *vidvalá*; later, *-kasvara*, *gatvara*, *ghasvara* (also *ghasmara*), *-jítvara*, *naçvara*, *pīvara*, *madvara*, *-sṛtvara*; from a reduplicated root, *yāyāvará* (B. and later). Many of these have feminines in *ā*.

b. The feminines in *varī* accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in *van* to which they correspond: thus, *yāj-varī*, *-jítvarī*, *sṛtvarī*, *-çivari*, *-yāvarī*, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, *-çiçvarī*.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, *kārvara deed*, *gāhvara* (later also *gabhvara*) *thicket*; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: *urvārā field*, and *urvārī tow* (both of doubtful etymology).

We take up now the suffixes by which are made only stems having the value of agent-nouns and adjectives; beginning with a brief mention of the participial endings, which in general have been already sufficiently treated.

1172. ण्त *ant* (or णत् *at*). The office of this suffix, in making present and future participles active, has been fully explained above, in connection with the various tense-stems and conjugation-stems (chaps. VIII.—XIV.), in combination

with which alone it is employed (not directly with the root, unless this is also used as tense-stem).

a. A few words of like origin, but used as independent adjectives, were given at 450. With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots *īyant* and *kīyant* (451, 517a). And *ādvayant* *not double-tongued* (RV., once), appears to contain a similar formation from the numeral *dvi* — unless we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.

1173. *वाँस् vāṅs* (or *वस् vas*). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, 802—6, and 458 ff.

a. A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at 462, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form *us* or *uṣa*. RV. vocalizes the *v* once, in *jujuruṣān*.

b. The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in *vas*, of doubtful relations: *ṛbhvas* and *ṛkvas* *skilful* (beside words in *va* and *van*), and perhaps *khidvas* (*ṽkhād*). The neuter abstract *vāriivas* *breadth*, *room* (belonging to *urū* *broad*, in the same manner with *vāriyas* and *varimān*), is quite isolated. MBh. makes a nominative *pīvān*, as if from *pīvāṅs* instead of *pīvan*.

1174. *मान māna*. The participles having this ending are, as has been seen (584 b), present and future only, and have the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in general to the stems to which the suffix is attached.

1175. *आन āna*. The participles ending in *आन āna* are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form *सान sāna*: above, 897 b) aorist.

a. A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives *tākavāna*, *bhīga-vāna*, *vāsavāna*, *ūrdhvasānā*, apparently made on the model of participial stems. Also the proper names *āpnavāna*, *pṛthavāna*, and *cyāvāna* and *cyāvatāna*. *Pārçāna* *abyss* is doubtful; *rujānā* (RV., once) is probably a false reading; *āpnāna* is of doubtful character.

1176. *त ta*. The use of this suffix in forming participles directly from the root, or from a conjugational (not a tense) stem, was explained above, 952—6. The participles thus made are in part intransitive, but in great part passive

० ता

in value (like those made by the two preceding suffixes, but in much larger measure, and more decidedly).

a. A few general adjectives, or nouns with concrete meaning, are adaptations of this participle. Examples are: *tr̥ṣṭá* rough, *ṣṭá* cold, *dṛ-ḡhá* (for *dṛḡhá*: 224 a) firm; *dūtá* messenger, *sūtá* charioteer; *ṛtá* right, *ḡṛtá* ghee, *jātá* kind, *dyūtá* gambling, *nṛttá* dance, *jīvitá* life, *caritá* behavior, *smitá* smile. The adjective *tigitá* (RV.) sharp shows anomalous reversion of palatal to guttural before the *i* (216 d). *Vāváta* dear is a single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denominative stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Veda — unless *bhāmita* RV.), derivatives in *ita* are in the later language made directly from noun and adjective-stems, having the meaning of *endowed with, affected by, made to be*, and the like (compare the similar English formation in *ed*, as *horned, barefooted, bluecoated*). Examples are *ra-thita* furnished with a chariot, *duḡkhita* pained, *kusumita* flowered, *durbalita* weakened, *niḥsaṃḡayita* indubitable, etc. etc.

c. A few words ending in *ta* are accented on the radical syllable, and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful: such are *āsta* home, *mārta* mortal, *vāta* wind; and with them may be mentioned *ḡarta* high seat, *nākta* night, *hāsta* hand. *Vratá* is commonly viewed as containing a suffix *ta*, but it doubtless comes from *√vṛt* (*vrat-á*, like *tradá, vrajá*) and means originally *course*.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in *ita*, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, *palitá* gray, *āsita* black, *rōhita* and *lōhita* red, *hārita* green; akin with them are *éta* variegated, *ṡyetá* white. The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus, *énī* and *ṡyénī*; *rōhiṇī* and *lōhinī*, and *hāriṇī* (but the corresponding masc. *hāriṇa* also occurs); and *āsiknī, páliknī, and hāriknī*.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in *ata* are not to be separated from the participial words in *ta*, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: *pacatá* cooked, *darṡatá* and *paṡyata* seen, to be seen, worth seeing; and so *yajatá, haryatá, bharatá*. The *y* of *paṡyata* and *haryatá* indicates pretty plainly that the *a* also is that of a present tense-stem. *Rajatá* silvery is of more obscure relation to *√raj* color; *pārvata* mountain must be secondary.

1177. न na (and इन् ina, उन una). The use of the suffix न na in forming from certain roots participles equivalent to those in त ta, either alongside the latter or instead of them, was explained above, at 957.

a. With the same suffix are made a number of general adjectives, and of nouns of various gender (fem. in *nā*). The accent is on the suffix

or on the root. A few examples are: *uṣṇā* *hot*, *ṣunā* *fortunate*, *āṣṇa* *ravenous*, *ṣvītṇa* *white*; *masc.*, *praṇā* *question*, *yajñā* *offering*, *ghṛṇā* *heat*, *vārṇa* *color*, *svāpṇa* *sleep*; *neut.*, *parṇā* *wing*, *rātṇa* *jewel* (?); *fem.* *tṛṣṇā* *thirst*, *yācñā* *supplication*. But many of the stems ending in *na* are not readily connectible with roots. An antithesis of accent is seen in *kārṇa* *ear* and *karṇā* *eared*.

b. The few words ending in *ina* are of doubtful connection, but may be mentioned here: thus, *aminā* *violent*, *vṛjinā* *crooked*, *dāksṇiṇa* *right*, *drāvīṇa* *property*, *druhiṇa*, *-ṣreṣṇiṇa*, *hariṇā*; and *kanīna* may be added.

c. The words ending in *una* are of various meaning and accent, like those in *ana*: they are *ārjuna*, *karūṇa*, *-cetūna*, *tāruṇa*, *dāruṇā*, *dharūṇa*, *narūṇa*, *pīṣuṇa*, *mithuṇā*, *yatūna*, *vayūna*, *varuṇa*, *ṣalūna*, and the feminine *yamūnā*; and *bhṛūṇā* may be added.

d. These are all the proper participial endings of the language. The gerundives, later and earlier, are in the main evident secondary formations, and will be treated under the head of secondary derivation.

We take up now the other suffixes forming agent-nouns and adjectives, beginning with those which have more or less a participial value.

1178. 3 *u*. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character — adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives with the value of present participles; and in such use it wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.

a. The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vriddhied; least often (when capable of *guṇa*), it has the *guṇa*-strengthening — all without any apparent connection with either accent or meaning or gender. After final radical *ā* is usually added *y* (258) before the suffix. A few derivatives are made from the reduplicated root. But many words ending in *u* are not readily, or not at all, connectible with roots; examples will be given especially of those that have an obvious etymology.

b. Examples of ordinary adjectives are: *urū* *wide*, *ṛjū* *straight*, *pṛthū* *broad*, *mṛdū* *soft*, *sādhū* *good*, *svādū* *sweet*, *tāpu* *hot*, *vāsu* *good*; *jāyū* *conquering*, *dārū* *bursting*; *ṣayū* *lying*, *rēku* *empty*; *dhāyū* *thirsty*, *pāyū* *protecting*. Final *ā* appears to be lost before the suffix in *-sthu* (*suṣṭhū*, *anuṣṭhū*), and perhaps in *yū*, *-gu* (*agregū*), and *-khu* (*ākhu*).

c. Examples of nouns are: *masc.*, *aṅṣū* *ray*, *ripū* *deceiver*, *vāyū*

*wind-god*, ásu *life*, **mánu** *man*, *Manu*; fem., íṣu (also masc.) *arrow*, síndhu (also masc.) *river*, tanú or tanú *body*; neut., kṣú *food*.

d. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: cikitú, jágmu, jigýú, jījñu, siṣṇu, -tatnu (unless this is made with nu or tnu), didyu (?), dadru, yáyu or yayú and yíyu (with final ā lost), pípru (proper name), -dīdhayu; and títāu, babhrú, -raru (aráru), malimlú (?) have the aspect of being similar formations.

e. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, upáyú *on-coming*, pramayú *going to destruction*, viklīndu a certain disease, abhīṣu *rein (directer)*, sáñvasu *dwelling together*.

f. From tense-stems, apparently, are made tanyú *thundering*, bhīndú *splitting*, -vindu *finding*, and (with aoristic s) dákṣu and dhákṣu (all RV.).

g. Participial adjectives in ú from desiderative "roots" (stems with loss of their final a) are sufficiently numerous in the ancient language (RV. has more than a dozen of them, AV. not quite so many) to show that the formation was already a regular one, extensible at will; and later such adjectives may be made from every desiderative. Examples (older) are: ditsú, dipsú, cikitsú, titikṣú, pipīṣu, mumukṣú, iyakṣú, çiklikṣú; with prefix, abhidipsú; with anomalous accent, didḥṣu. These adjectives, both earlier and later, may take an object in the accusative (271 a).

h. A few similar adjectives are made in the older language from causatives: thus, dhārayú (*persistent*), bhājayú, bhāvayú, mañhayú, mandayú, çramayú; and mṛgayú from the caus.-denom. mṛgāya.

i. Much more numerous, however, are such formations from the more proper denominatives, especially in the oldest language (RV. has toward eighty of them; AV. only a quarter as many, including six or eight which are not found in RV.; and they are still rarer in the Brāhmaṇas, and hardly met with later). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms from the same denominative stem are in use: thus, for example, to aghāyú, arātīyú, ṛjūyú, carayú, manasyú, saniṣyú, uruṣyú, saparyú; in others, only the present participle in yánt, or the abstract noun in yā (1149 d), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns: thus, tvāyú (beside tvāyánt and tvāyā), yuvayú or yuvāyú, asmayú, svayú, and the more anomalous ahañyú and kiñyú. Especially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this has often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix yu, either with a meaning of *seeking* or *desiring*, or with a more general adjective sense: thus, yavayú *seeking grain*, varāhayú *boar-hunting*, stanasyú *desiring the breast*; ūṇāyú *woolen*, yuvanyú *youthful*, bhīmayú *terrible*. And so the "secondary suffix yu" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in ahañyú and kiñyú, above, and doubtless some others, even of the RV. words). In three RV. cases, the final as of a noun-stem is even changed to o before it: namely, añhoyú, duvoyú (and duvoyā; beside duvasyú), áskṛdhoyú.

j. The words in *yu* do not show in the Veda resolution into *iu* (except *dhāsius* AV., once).

1179. उ ū. Stems in उ ū are very few, even as compared with those in ई i (1156). They are for the most part feminines corresponding to masculines in u (344b), with half-a-dozen more independent feminines (see 355c).

a. To those already mentioned above are to be added *karṣū pit*, -calū (in *puṇṇecalū*), -janū (in *prajanū*), *ṣumbhū*.

1180. उक् uka. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction (271g) of a present participle. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.

a. The derivatives in *uka* are hardly known in the Veda; but they become frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, of whose language they are a marked characteristic (about sixty different stems occur there); and they are found occasionally in the older language. In all probability, they are originally and properly obtained by adding the secondary suffix *ka* (1222) to a derivative in *u*; but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an *u*-word from which they should be made.

b. The root is only so far strengthened that the radical syllable is a heavy (79) one; and it has the accent, whether the derivative is made from a simple root or from one with prefix.

c. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are: *vāduka*, *nāṣuka*, *upakrāmuka*, *prapāduka*, *upasthāyuka* (258), *vyāyuka*, *vēduka*, *bhāvuka*, *kṣódhuka*, *hāruka*, *vārṣuka*, *samārdhuka*, *dāṇṣuka*, *ālambuka*, *ṣikṣuka* (GB.: RV. has *ṣikṣū*), *pramāyuka* (SB. has *pramāyu*).

d. Exceptions as regards root-form are: *nirmārguka* (with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, as is usual with this root: 627), -*kasuka*, *ṛdhnuka* (from a tense-stem; beside *ārdhuka*). AV. accents *sāmkaśuka* (CB. has *samkāsuka*) and *vīkasuka*; RV. has *sānuká* (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also *ghātuka* from *ghan*, and *āpramāyuka*); *vasuká* (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. *Aṣanāyuka* (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

e. Of later occurrence are a few words whose relation to the others is more or less doubtful: *kārmuka* and *dhārmuka*, *tsāruka*, *tarkuka*, *nānduka*, *pādukā*, *pecuka*, *bhikṣuka*, *lāṣuka*, *seduka*, *hiṇḍuka*, *hreṣuka*. Of these, only *lāṣuka* appears like a true continuer of the formation; several are pretty clearly secondary derivatives.

f. A formation in *ūka* (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with *uka*) may be mentioned here: namely, *indhūka*, *majjūka*, and, from redu-

plicated roots, *jāgarūka* *wakeful*, *jañjapūka* (later) *muttering*, *danda-ṣūka* *biting*, *yāyajūka* *sacrificing much*, *vāvadūka* (later) *talkative*; *salatūka* is questionable.

1181. अक *aka*. Here, as in the preceding case, we doubtless have a suffix made by secondary addition of क *ka* to a derivative in अ *a*; but it has, for the same reason as the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than that of *uka*; it has very few examples in the older language.

a. In RV. is found (besides *pāvaka*, which has a different accent, and which, as the metre shows, is really *pavāka*) only *sāyaka* *missile*: AV. adds *pīyaka* and *vādḥaka*, and VS. *abhikrōṣaka*. But in the later language such derivatives are common, more usually with raising of the root-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus, *nāyaka*, *dāyaka* (258), *pācaka*, *grāhaka*, *bodhaka*, *jāgaraka*; but also *janaka*, *khanaka*. They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of the same root: thus, *bhakṣyabhakṣaka* *atable and cater*, *vācyavācaka* *designated and designation*, and so on.

b. That the derivatives in *aka* sometimes take an accusative object was pointed out above (271c).

c. The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in *akā* or in *akī*, but more usually in *ikā*: thus, *nāyikā* (with *nāyakā*), *pācikā*, *bodhikā*; compare secondary *aka*, below, 1222.

d. Derivatives in *āka* are made from a few roots: thus, *jalpāka*, *bhikṣāka*; but very few occur in the older language: thus, *pavāka* (above, a), *nabhāka*, *smayāka*, *jāhāka*(?), *-calāka*, *patākā*. With *āku* is made in RV. *mṛḍayāku*, from the causative stem: *pṛdāku* and the proper name *īkṣvāku* are of obscure connection.

e. Derivatives in *ika* and *īka* will be treated below, in connection with those in *ka* (1186c).

1182. तृ *tr* (or तृ *tar*). The derivatives made by this suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their uses, have been the subject of remark more than once above (see 369 ff., 942 ff.). Agent-nouns are freely formed with it at every period of the language; these in the oldest language are very frequently used participially, governing an object in the accusative (271d); later they enter into combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future



meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (942). Their corresponding feminine is in trī.

a. The root has regularly the guṇa-strengthening. A union-vowel i (very rarely, one of another character) is often taken: as regards its presence or absence in the periphrastic future forms, see above (943 a).

b. Without guṇa-change is only ūṣṭṛ *plough-ox* (no proper agent-noun: apparently ūka-tṛ: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root *grah* has, as usual, ī — thus, *grahitṛ*; and the same appears in *-taritṛ*, *-pavitṛ*, *-maritṛ*, *-varitṛ*, *-savitṛ*. An u-vowel is taken instead by *tārutṛ* and *tarutṛ*, *dhānutṛ*, and *sānutṛ*; long in *varūtṛ*; strengthened to o in *manótṛ* and *manotṛ*. From a reduplicated root comes *vāvātṛ*.

c. The accent, in the older language, is sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the root; or, from roots combined with prefixes, sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the prefix.

d. In general, the accent on the root or prefix accompanies the participial use of the word; but there are exceptions to this: in a very few instances (four), a word with accented suffix has an accusative object; very much more often, accent on the root appears along with ordinary noun value. The accent, as well as the form, of *manótṛ* is an isolated irregularity. Examples are: *jētā dhānāni winning treasures*; *yūyam mārtaṁ grótāraḥ ye listen to a mortal*; but, on the other hand, *yaṁtā vāsūni vidhaté bestowing good things on the pious*; and *jētā jānānām conqueror of peoples*.

e. The formation of these nouns in tṛ from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brāhmaṇas. is met with but once or twice in the Veda (*bodhayitṛ* and *codayitrī*, RV.). In *néṣṭṛ* a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the aoristic s.

f. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in tṛ, are *pitṛ*, *mātṛ*, *bhrātṛ*, *yātṛ*, *duhitṛ*, *nāptṛ*, *jāmātṛ*. Of these, only *mātṛ* and *yātṛ* are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in tṛ.

g. Instead of tṛ is found tur in one or two RV. examples: *yaṁtūr*, *sthātūr*.

h. Apparently formed by a suffix ṛ (or ar) are *uṣṛ*, *savyaṣṭṛ*, *nānāndṛ*, *devṛ*, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in ṛ, see 369.

1183. *ṛn* in. This is another suffix which has assumed a primary aspect and use, while yet evidently identical in real character with the frequent secondary suffix of the same form denoting possession (below, 1230).

a. How far it had gained a primary value in the early language is not easy to determine. Most of the words in *in* occurring in RV. and AV. are explainable as possessives; in many the other value is possible, and in a few it is distinctly suggested: thus, *kevalādín*, *bhadravādín*, *nitodín*, *āçārāiṣín*, *ānāmin*, *vivyādhín*; from a tense-stem, *-açuvin*, *-paçyin* (late); with aoristic *s*, *-saksín*; and, with reduplication, *niyayín*, *vadā-vadin*. As the examples indicate, composition, both with prefixes and with other elements, is frequent; and, in all cases alike, the accent is on the suffix.

b. Later, the primary employment is unquestionable, and examples of it, chiefly in composition, are frequent. The radical syllable is usually strengthened, a medial *a* being sometimes lengthened and sometimes remaining unchanged. Thus, *satyavādín* *truth-speaking*, *abhibhāṣín* *addressing*, *manohārin* *soul-winning*. In *bhāvin* has established itself a prevaillingly future meaning, *about to be*.

c. The use of an accusative object with words in *in* was noticed above (271 b).

1184. *इयम्* *iyas* and *इष्ट* *iṣṭha*. These suffixes, which, from forming intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of root-form, have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suffixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treated above, under the head of comparison (466—470).

a. It may be further noticed that *jyēṣṭha* has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, *jyēṣṭhá*, and that its correlative also is *kaniṣṭhá* in the oldest language; *pārṣiṣṭha* is made from a secondary form of root, with aoristic *s* added.

b. When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form *yas* (470 a), its *y* is never to be read in the Veda as *i*.

c. No other suffixes make derivatives having participial value otherwise than in rare and sporadic cases; those that remain, therefore, will be taken up mainly in the order of their frequency and importance.

1185. *त्र* *tra*. With this suffix are formed a few adjectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the *guṇa*-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.

a. Here, as in certain other cases above, we have doubtless a suffix

originally secondary, made by adding *a* to the primary *ṭṛ* or *tar* (1182); but its use is in great part that of a primary suffix.

b. Examples of neuter nouns are: *gātra* limb, *pātra* wing, *pātra* cup, *yōktra* bond, *vāstra* garment, *qrótra* ear; *astrá* missile, *stotrá* song of praise, *potrá* vessel; of more general meaning, *dāttra* gift, *kṣétra* field, *mūtra* urine, *hotrá* sacrifice. The words accented on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, *kṣatrá* authority, *rāṣṭrá* kingdom, *qāstrá* doctrine, *satrá* sacrificial session (also *jñātra* knowledge).

c. Masculines are: *dāṅṣṭra* tusk, *māntra* prayer, *atrá* (or *atrá*: 232) devourer, *ūṣṭra* buffalo, camel, and a few of questionable etymology, as *mitrá* friend, *putrá* son, *vṛtrá* foe. *Mitrá* and *vṛtrá* are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and *mitra* comes later to be regularly of that gender.

d. Feminines (in *trā*) are: *āṣṭrā* goad, *mātrā* measure, *hótrā* sacrifice (beside *hotrá*), *daṅṣṭrā* (later, for *dāṅṣṭra*); *nāṣṭrā* destroyer.

e. Not seldom, a "union-vowel" appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with *ṭṛ* (above, 1182a). For the words in *itra* have the accent on *i*: thus, *aritra* (*ári-tra* AV., once) impelling, oar, *khanitra* shovel, *pavitra* sieve, *janitra* birth-place, *sanitra* gift; and so *-avitra*, *aqitra*, *caritra*, *-taritra*, *dhamitra*, *dhavitra*, *bhavitra*, *bharitra*, *vāditra* (with causative root-strengthening), *vahitra*: the combination *itra* has almost won the character of an independent suffix. The preceding vowel is also in a few cases *a* (sometimes apparently of the present-stem): thus, *yājatra* venerable, *kr̥ntáttra* shred, *gāyatrā* (f. *-trī*) song, *-damatra*, *pátatra* wing; but also *āmatra* violent, *vādhatra* deadly weapon; and *varatrā* f. *strap*. *Tārutra* overcoming corresponds to *tarutṛ*. *Nákṣatra* asterism is of very doubtful etymology. *Samskṛtatrá* (RV., once) seems of secondary formation.

f. The words still used as adjectives in *tra* are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is *johūtra* crying out.

g. A word or two in *tri* and *tru* may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in *tra*: thus, *áttri* devouring, *arcátri* beaming, *rātri* or *rātrī* night; *qátru* (*qáttru*: 232) enemy.

1186. ऋ *ka*. The suffix ऋ *ka* is of very common use in secondary derivation (below, 1222); whether it is directly added to roots is almost questionable: at any rate, extremely few primary derivatives are made with it.

a. The words which have most distinctly the aspect of being made from roots are *puṣka-*, *-meka* (*√mi fix*), *yaska* n. pr., *qúṣka* dry, *qlóka* (*√gru hear*) noise, report, etc., and *-sphāka* teeming; and *stúkā* flake and *stoká* drop seem to belong together to a root *stu*; *raká* f., n. pr., may be added.

b. But *ka* enters, in its value as secondary, into the composition of certain suffixes reckoned as primary: see *aka* and *uka* (above, 1180, 1181).

c. A few words in which *ika* and *ika* seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, *vṛṣcika* (√*vraçc*) *scorpion*; *ānika* (?) *face*, *dṛṣika* *aspect*, *dṛbhika* n. pr., *mṛḍikā* *grace*, *vṛdhikā* *increaser*, *ācarika* and *vīcarika* *gripes*, *-ṛjika* *beaming*, *ṛṣika*; *ṛkṣikā*; and, from reduplicated root, *parpharika* *scattering* (?). Compare secondary suffix *ka* (below, 1222).

1187. *Ṭ ya*. It is altogether probable that a part of the derivatives made with this suffix are not less entitled to be ranked as primary than some of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, 1210—13).

1188. *ṛ ra*. With this suffix are made a large number of adjectives, almost always with weak root-form, and usually with accent on the suffix. Also, a few words used as nouns, of various gender. In some cases, the suffix is found with a preceding vowel, having the aspect of a union-vowel.

a. Examples of adjectives in *ra* are: *kṣiprā* *quick*, *chidrā* *split*, *turā* *strong*, *bhadrā* *pleasing*, *ṣakrā* *mighty*, *ṣukrā* *bright*, *hiṁsrā* *injurious*; — with accent on the root, only *gṛdhra* *greedy*, *tūmra* *stout*, *dhīra* *wise* (secondary?), *vīpra* *inspired*, *tūgra* n. pr.

b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two: thus, *nicirā* *attentive*, *nīmṛga* *joining on*.

c. Nouns in *ra* are: masc., *ājra* *field*, *vīrā* *man*, *vājra* *thunderbolt*, *gūra* *hero*; neut., *āgra* *point*, *kṣīrā* *milk*, *rāndhra* *hollow*, *ripṛā* *defilement*; fem., *dhārā* *stream*, *ṣiprā* *jaw*, *sūrā* *intoxicating drink*.

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly or quite gained the value of independent endings. Thus:

d. With *ara* are made a few rare words: the adjectives *dravarā* *running*, *patarā* *flying*, (with prefix) *nyocarā* *suiting*; and the nouns *gambhāra* *depth*, *tāsara* and *trasara* *shuttle*, *sānara* *gain*, *-ṛkṣara* *thorn*: *bhārvarā* and *vāsarā* are doubtless of secondary formation; and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others. As made with *āra* may be mentioned *mandāra* a tree, *mārjāra* cat.

e. With *ira* are made a few words, some of which are in common use: thus, *ajirā* *quick*, *khadirā* a tree, *timira* *dark*, *dhvasirā* *stirring up*, *madirā* *pleasing*, *mudira* *cloud*, *badhirā* *deaf*, *rucira* *bright*, *iṣirā*

*lively*, *ásira* missile, *sthávira* firm; and *sthira* hard, and *sphirá* fat, with displacement of final radical ā; also *sarirá* wave (usually *salilá*). With *ira* are made *gabhirá* or *gambhirá* profound and *çávira* mighty, and perhaps *çārīra* body.

f. With *ura* are made a few words, of some of which the secondary character is probable: thus, *añhurá* (*añhu-ra*?) narrow, *ásura* (*ásu-ra*?) living, *chidura* tearing, *bhañgurá* breaking, *bhāsura* shining, *bhidura* splitting, *medura* fat, *yādura* uniting, *vithura* tottering, *vidura* knowing, *vidhura* lacking. With *ūra*, apparently, are made *sthūrá* stout (compare *sthávira*), *kharjūra* a tree, *mayūra* peacock (or imitative?).

1189. ऌ la. This suffix is only another form of the preceding, exchanging with it in certain words, in others prevalently or solely used from their first appearance.

a. Conspicuous examples of the interchange are *çuklá*, *sthūlá*, *-miçla*, *çithilá*, *salilá*.

b. Examples of the more independent use are: *pālá* protecting, *ánila* (or *aníla*) wind, *trpála* joyous; later *capala* and *tarala* (said to be accented on the final), and *harṣula* (the same). Many words ending in *la* are of obscure etymology.

1190. ए va. Very few words of clear derivation are made with this suffix — too few to be worth classifying. They are of various meaning and accent, and generally show a weak root-form.

a. Thus: *rkvá* praising, *ṛṣvá* lofty, *takvá* quick, *dhruvá* fixed, *pakvá* ripe, *padva* going, *yahvá* quick (?), *çarvá* n. pr., *hrasvá* short, *çikvá* artful, *raṇvá* joyful, *ūrdhvá* lofty, *vákva* twisting, *ūrvá* stall; *éva* quick, course, *āçva* horse, *srákva* or *sr̥kva* corner; and perhaps *úlba* caul; a feminine is *prúṣvā* (TS. *pṛṣvā*, AV. *pruṣvā*); with union-vowel are made *saciva* companion, *ámīva* disease, and *vidhāvā* widow.

b. The words in *va* exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into *ua*.

1191. ऋ ri. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding *u*, a small number of derivatives.

a. Thus: *āñhri* or *añhri* foot, *āçri* edge, *úsri* dawn, *tandri* or *-drí* weariness, *bhūri* abundant, *vāñkri* rib, *sūrí* patron, *-takri* quick, *vádhi* eunuch, *çubhrí* beautiful, *sthūri* single (team); and, with *uri*, *jásuri* exhausted, *dāçuri* pious, *bhāguri* n. pr., *sāhuri* mighty; *añgūri* (or *añgūl*) finger.

1192. ॠ ru. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.

a. Thus: *áçru* *tear*, *cāru* *dear*, *dhārú* *sucking*, *bhīrú* *timid*; — with preceding a-vowel: *arāru* *inimical*, *patāru* *flying*, *vandāru* *praising*, *píyāru* *scoffing*, *çarāru* *harming*; — with preceding e, *tameru* *relaxed*, *maderú* *rejoicing*, *sanéru* *obtaining*, *himerú* *chilly*, the evidently secondary *mitréru* *ally*, and *péru* (of doubtful meaning).

b. The secondary suffix *lu* (see 1227 b) is apparently added to certain nouns in *ā* from conjugation-stems, making derivatives that have a primary aspect: thus, *patayālú* *flying*, *sp̥hayālu* *desiring*.

1193. वि vi. By this suffix are made:

a. Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: *jāgr̥vi* *awake*, *dādhr̥vi* *sustaining*, *dīdivi* *shining*; and a very few other words; *gh̥r̥ṣvi* *lively*, *dhruvī* *firm*, *jīrvī* *worn out* (AV.; elsewhere *jīvri*); *-pharvī* is doubtful.

b. Here may be mentioned *cikitvīt* (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix *vit* from a reduplicated root-form.

1194. ण̣ snu. With this suffix, with or without a union-vowel, are made a few adjective derivatives from roots, but also from causative stems.

a. From simple roots: direct, *k̥ṣeṣṇú* *perishable*, *-glāsnu* *sick*, *jiṣṇú* *victorious*, *dañkṣṇú* *biting*, *bhūṣṇu* *thriving*, *ni-ṣatsnú* *sitting down*, *sthāsnu* *fixed*; with union-vowel *i*, *kariṣṇu*, *kāciṣṇu*, *kṣayiṣṇu*, *gamiṣṇú*, *grasiṣṇu*, *grahiṣṇu*, *cariṣṇú*, *-janiṣṇu*, *jayiṣṇu*, *tapiṣṇu*, *-trapiṣṇu*, *-patiṣṇu*, *-bhaviṣṇu*, *bhrājiṣṇu*, *madiṣṇu*, *-maviṣṇu*, *yajiṣṇu*, *yāciṣṇu*, *-vadiṣṇu*, *vardhiṣṇu*, *-sahiṣṇu*.

b. From secondary conjugation-stems: *kopayiṣṇu*, *kṣapayiṣṇu*, *cyāvayiṣṇú*, *janayiṣṇu*, *tāpayiṣṇu*, *namayiṣṇu*, *patayiṣṇu*, *poṣayiṣṇú*, *pārayiṣṇú*, *bodhayiṣṇu*, *mādayiṣṇu*, *yamayiṣṇú*, *ropayiṣṇu*, *-vārayiṣṇu*, *-çocayiṣṇú*; and *jāgarīṣṇu*. An anomalous formation is *ulbaniṣṇu*.

c. These derivatives are freely compounded with prefixes: e. g. *niṣatsnú*, *prajaniṣṇú*, *abhiçocayiṣṇú*, *saṁvārayiṣṇu*.

d. It is not unlikely that the *s* of this suffix is originally that of a stem, to which *nu* was added. Such a character is still apparent in *kra-viṣṇú* *craving raw flesh* (*kravis*); and also in *vadhasnú*, *v̥dhasnú* (?), and *prathasnu* (?).

1195. ण̣ sna. Extremely few words have this ending.

a. It is seen in *tikṣṇá* *sharp*, and perhaps in *çlakṣṇá*, *-rūkṣṇá*, *-mārtsna*; and in *geṣṇa* and *deṣṇá* (usually trisyllabic: *daiṣṇa*) *gift*. Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by *i*; but it has (like *snu*, above) *a* before it in *vadhasná* *deadly weapon*, *karásna* *fore-arm*; *na-diṣṇa* *skilled* seems to be secondary. Feminines are *m̐rtsnā* *loam*, *jyot-snā* *moonlight*.

1196. **तु tnu.** This suffix is used in nearly the same way with **सु snu** (above, 1194).

a. As used with simple roots, the *t* is generally capable of being considered the adscititious *t* after a short root-final, to which *nu* is then added: thus, **कर्तुः active**, **गतुः (? RV.)**, **हतुः deadly**, **-ततनु (?) stretching**; and, from reduplicated roots, **जिगतुः hasting**, and **जिगतुः harming**; but also **दधतुः bursting**. Also, with union-vowel, **द्रवितुः running**, **दधितुः (? LṣS.)**.

b. With causative stems: for example, **द्रवयितुः hasting**, **पोषयितुः nourishing**, **मादयितुः intoxicating**, **तनयितुः** and **स्तनयितुः thunder**, **सुदयितुः flowing**, **-आमयितुः sickening**.

c. With preceding *a*, in **पियतुः scoffing**, **मेहतुः a river**, **आरुजतुः breaking into**; and **कावतुः misery** (obscure derivation).

1197. **स sa.** The words ending in suffixal **स sa**, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. Thus:

a. With *sa* simply: **गृत्सा clever**, **जेषा winning** (rather, aoristic *s*? 1148j), **-द्रक्षसा looking**, **रुक्षसा shining**, **रुक्षसा rough**; **उत्सा n. fountain**; **भृक्षसा f. fear** (or from the secondary root **भृक्ष**).

b. With preceding *i*-vowel: **तविषा (f. तविषी) strong**, **महिषा (f. महीषी) mighty**, **भरिषा (?) seeking booty**; **रृक्षसा rushing**, **पूरिषा rubbish**, **मनिषा f. devotion**; and compare **रयिषा (f. रयिषी) (? SV.)**.

c. With preceding *u*-vowel: **अरुषा (f. अरुषी) red**, **अरुषा ravenous**, **तारुषा overcomer**, **पूरुषा** and **मानुषा (-us-aP) man**; **पियिषा biestings**.

1198. **असि asi.** A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps produced by the addition of *i* to *as*).

a. Thus, **आसि vagabond**, **धर्मासि firm**, **सर्मासि winning**; and **धर्मासि m. drink**, **f. station**, **सर्मासि (?) pool**.

1199. **अभ abha.** A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

a. Thus, **वृषाभः and ऋषाभः bull**, **शराभः a certain fabulous animal**, **शराभः a certain snake**, **गर्दाभः and रसाभः ass**; further, **कानाभः**, **काराभः** and **कालाभः**, **लाताभः**, **चालाभः**; and, with other union-vowels, **तुण्डिभः**, **नुण्डिभः**, and **कुक्कुभः**. The feminine, if occurring, is in *i*; and **काताभः** is found without corresponding masculine. **AV.** has the adjective **स्थूलाभः**, equivalent to **स्थूला**.

1200. A few words ending in the consonants *t*, *d*, *j*, etc., and for the most part of doubtful root-connections, were given above, at 383k (3-5,7); it is unnecessary to repeat them here. Certain of those in *at* are perhaps related to the participles in *ant* (1172).

1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by

the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or are doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.

a. A few such may be mentioned here: *aṇḍa* in *karaṇḍa* and *vā-ṛaṇḍa* and certain unquotable words (prakritized *a*-forms from the present participle); *era* and *ora* in unquotable words, and *elima* (above, 966 d: perhaps a further derivative with secondary *ima* from *era*); *mara* (*ma* or *man* with secondary *ra* added) in *ghasmara*, *sṛmarā*, etc.; — *sara* in *matsarā*, *kara* in *pūṣkara* and other obscure words, *pa* in *pūṣpa*, *stupā*, *stūpa*, and a number of other obscure words; and so on.

### B. Secondary Derivatives.

1202. Words of secondary derivation are made by the addition of further suffixes to stems already ending in evident suffixes.

a. But also, as pointed out above (1137 b), to pronominal roots.

b. Further, in exceptional cases, to indeclinables, to case-forms, and to phrases: e. g. *antarvant*, *apitvā*, *paratastva*, *sahatva*, *sārva-trika*, *āikadhya*, *māmaka*, *āmuṣmika*, *āmuṣyāyaṇā*, *apsumānt*, *apsavyā*, *kiṁcanya*, *kiṁkartavyatā*, *kvācitka*, *nāstika*, *akiṁchein-maya*.

1203. Changes of the stem. The stem to which the suffix is added is liable to certain changes of form.

a. Before a suffix beginning with a vowel or with *y* (which in this respect is treated as if it were *i*), final *a*- and *i*-vowels are regularly lost altogether, while a final *u*-vowel has the *guṇa*-strengthening and becomes *av*; *ṛ* and *o* and *āu* (all of rare occurrence) are treated in accordance with usual euphonic rule.

b. An *u*-vowel also sometimes remains unstrengthened: see 1208 e.

c. A final *n* is variously treated, being sometimes retained, and sometimes lost, even along with a preceding *a*; and sometimes an *a* is lost, while the *n* remains: thus, *vṛṣṇvant*, *vṛṣṇa*, *vṛṣa*, *vṛṣatva*, *vṛṣṇya*, from *vṛṣan*. Of a stem ending in *ant*, the weak form, in *at*, is regularly taken: thus, *vāivasvata* (*vivasvant*).

d. In general, the masculine form of a primitive stem is that from which a further secondary derivative is made. But there are not very rare cases in which the feminine is taken instead; examples are *satitva*, *bhāryātva*, *pranītātvā*, *bhārativant*, *rakṣāvant*, *priyāvant*. On the other hand, a final long vowel — *ī*, much more rarely *ā* — generally of a feminine stem, is sometimes shortened in derivation: thus, *yājyāvant*, *praçākḥavant*, *goṣātama*, *vaçātamā*, *sadhanitvā*, *jaratikā*, *annā-*



dítamā (cf. 471 b), rohinitvá (TB.; -nítvá ÇB.), pr̥thivítvá, pratipatnivat, sárasvativant.

e. As was pointed out above (111 c, d), the combination of a secondary suffix with a stem is sometimes made according to the rules of external combination. Such cases are pointed out under the suffixes *iya* (1215 e), *ka* (1222 m), *maya* (1225 a), *min* (1231 b), *vin* (1232 c), *vant* (1233 i), *van* (1234 c), *mant* (1235 f), *tva* (1239 c), *taya* (1245 a), *tya* (1245 c), *tana* (1245 i).

1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the vr̥ddhi-strengthening of an initial syllable of the stem to which a suffix is added.

a. The strengthened syllable may be of any character: radical, of a prefix, or of the first member of a compound: thus, āçvínā (açvín), sāumyá (sóma), pāṛthiva (pr̥thiví), āmitrá (amítṛa), sām-rājya (samrāj), sākṛtya (sukṛtá), maitrāvaruṇá (mitrāvāruṇā), āuccāiḥçravasá (uccāiḥçravas). As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.

b. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by *y* or *v*, the semi-vowel is sometimes vr̥ddhied, as if it were *i* or *u*, and the resulting *āi* or *āu* has *y* or *v* further added before the succeeding vowel.

c. This is most frequent where the *y* or *v* belongs to a prefix — as *ni*, *vi*, *su* — altered before a following initial vowel: thus, nāiyāyika from nyāya (as if niyāya), vāiyaçvā from vyāçva (as if viyaçva), sāvyaçvya from svāçva (as if suvaçva); but it occurs also in other cases, as sāvvará from svāra, çāuva from çvan, against svāyambhuva (svayambhū), and so on. AV. has irregularly kāveraká from kúvera (as if from kvēra, without the euphonic *y* inserted).

d. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes *a* and *ya*; also regularly before *i*, āyana, eya (with ineya), and later *iya*; before the compound *aka* and *ika*, and later *aki*; and, in single sporadic examples before, *na*, *ena*, *ra*, and *tva* (?): see these various suffixes below.

e. Sometimes an unstrengthened word is prefixed to one thus strengthened, as if the composition were made after instead of before the strengthening: e. g. indradāivatya having Indra as divinity (instead of āindradevatya), caramaçaīrṣika with head to the west, jīvalāukika belonging to the world of the living, antarbhāuma within the earth, somā-rāudra, gurulāghava (cf. tāmasaṁ guṇalakṣaṇam M. xii. 35). But especially when the first word is of numeral value: as çatāçārada of a hundred years, pañcaçāradiya, trisāmvatsara, bahuvārṣika, aṣṭavārṣika, anekavarṣasāhasra, daçaasāhasra, trisāhasrī, tripāuruṣa, caturādhyāyī or -yikā of four chapters, etc. etc.

f. More often, both members of a compound word have the initial strengthening: e. g. *sāumāpāuṣṇá*, *kāúrupāñcāla*, *cāturvāidya*, *āihālāukika*, *āikabhāutika*, *trāiṣṭubjāgata*, *yājurvāidika*. Such cases are not rare.

g. The *guṇa*-strengthening (except of a final *u*-vowel: 1203 a) is only in the rarest cases an accompaniment of secondary derivation. Exceptions are *dvayá* and *trayá* and *náva* (1209 i), *bheṣajā* and *devá* (1209 j), *dróna* (1223 g), *ṣekhara* (1226 a).

1205. Accent. a. The derivatives with initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable. And usually it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be furthest removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix *eya*: 1216).

b. No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial *vṛddhi*); and in a single case (*tā*: 1237) it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.

1206. Meaning. a. The great mass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But, as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality expressed attributively by the adjective; and neuter abstracts are with the same suffixes made from adjectives. There are also special suffixes (very few) by which abstracts are made directly, from adjective or noun.

b. A few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminution and comparison), or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered.

1207. The suffixes will be taken up below in the following order. First, the general adjective-making suffixes, beginning with those of most frequent use (*a*, *ya* and its connections, *i*, *ka*); then, those of specific possessive value (*in*, *vant* and *mant*, and their connections); then, the abstract-making ones (*tā* and *tva*, and their connections); then, the suffixes of comparison etc.; and finally, those by which derivatives are made only or almost only from particles.

a. For convenience of reference, a list of them in their order as treated is here added:

|               |         |                 |      |            |      |
|---------------|---------|-----------------|------|------------|------|
| a             | 1208—9  | maya            | 1225 | tva, tvatā | 1239 |
| ya            | 1210—13 | ra, ira, etc.   | 1226 | tvana      | 1240 |
| iya           | 1214    | la, lu          | 1227 | tara, tama | 1242 |
| iya           | 1215    | va, vala, vaya, |      | ra, ma     | »    |
| eya, eyya     | 1216    | vya             | 1228 | tha        | »    |
| enya          | 1217    | ça              | 1229 | titha      | »    |
| āyya          | 1218    | in              | 1230 | taya       | 1245 |
| āyana         | 1219    | min             | 1231 | tya        | »    |
| āyī           | 1220    | vin             | 1232 | ta         | »    |
| i, aki        | 1221    | vant            | 1233 | na         | »    |
| ka, aka, ika  | 1222    | van             | 1234 | tana, tna  | »    |
| na, āna, ina, |         | mant            | 1235 | vat        | »    |
| ina, ena      | 1223    | tā              | 1237 | kaṭa       | »    |
| ma, ima, mna  | 1224    | tāti, tāt       | 1238 | vana, āla  | »    |

1208. ऌ a. With this suffix are made an immensely large class of derivatives, from nouns or from adjectives having a noun-value. Such derivatives are primarily and especially adjectives, denoting *having a relation or connection* (of the most various kind) *with* that denoted by the more primitive word. But they are also freely used substantively: the masculine and feminine as appellatives, the neuter, especially and frequently, as abstract. Often they have a patronymic or gentile value.

a. The regular and greatly prevailing formation is that which is accompanied with *vrddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word, simple or compound. Examples of this formation are:

b. From primitives ending in consonants: with the usual shift of accent, āyasā of metal (āyas), mānasā relating to the mind (mānas), sāumanasā friendliness (sumānas), brāhmanā priest (brāhman), hāimavatā from the Himalaya (himāvant), āṅgirasā of the Angiras family (āṅgiras); hāstina elephantine (hastin), māruta pertaining to the Maruts (marūt); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, çāradā autumnal, vāirājā relating to the virāj, pāuṣṇā belonging to Pūshān; gāiriksītā son of Girikshīt; — with accent unchanged, mānuṣa descendant of Mānus.

c. The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in vant; it is added to the weakest in māghona and vātraghna; the ending in remains unchanged; an usually does the same, but some-

times loses its *a*, as in *pāuṣṇá*, *trāivṛṣṇá*, *dācarājñá*; and sometimes its *n*, as in *brāhmá*, *āukṣá*, *bārhaṭsāma*.

d. From primitives in *ṛ*: *jāitra* *victorious* (*jetṛ* or *jéṭṛ* *conqueror*), *tvāṣṭrá* *relating to Tvāṣhtar*, *sāvitrá* *descendant of the sun* (*savitṛ*), *āudbheta*, *pāitra*.

e. From primitives in *u*: usually with *guṇa*-strengthening of the *u*, as *vāsavá* *relating to the Vāsus*, *ārtavá* *concerning the seasons* (*ṛtú*), *dānavá* *child of Dānu* (*dānu*), *sāindhavá* *from the Indus* (*síndhu*); — but sometimes without, as *mādhva* *full of sweets* (*mádhu*), *pārçvā* *side* (*pārçu* *rib*), *pāidvá* *belonging to Pedú*, *tánva* *of the body* (*tanú*), *yádva* of *Yādu*.

f. From primitives in *i* and *ī*, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: *pārthiva* *earthly* (*pr̥thivī*), *sārasvatá* *of the Sārasvatī*, *āindrāgná* *belonging to Indra and Agni* (*indrāgnī*); *pāñkta* *five-fold* (*pañktī*), *nāirṛtá* *belonging to Nīrṛti*, *pārthuraçmá* *of Pr̥thuraçmi*, *pāçupatá* *of Paçupatī*.

g. From primitives in *ā*, which in like manner disappears: *yāmuná* *of the Yamúnā*, *sāraghá* *honey* etc. (*sarāghā* *bee*), *kāníná* *natural child* (*kanínā* *girl*).

h. A large number (more than all the rest together) from primitives in *a*, of which the final is replaced by the suffix: for example, with the usual shift of accent, *āmitrá* *inimical* (*amítṛa* *enemy*), *vāruná* *of Vāruṇa*, *vāiçvadevā* *belonging to all the gods* (*viçvādeva*), *nāirhastá* *handlessness* (*nīrhasta*), *vāiṇyaçvā* *descendant of Vyūçva*; *gārdabha* *asinine* (*gardabhá*), *dāiva* *divine* (*devá*), *mādhyaṁdina* *meridional* (*madhyāṁdina*), *pāutra* *grandchild* (*putrá* *son*), *sāubhaga* *good fortune* (*subhága*), *vādhryaçva* *of Vadhryaçvā's race*; with unchanged accent (comparatively few), *vāsantá* *vernal* (*vasantá* *spring*), *māitrá* *Mitrá's*, *ātithigvā* *of Atithigvā's race*, *dāivodāsa* *Dívodāsa's*. In a few instances, *ya* is replaced by the suffix: thus, *sāura*, *pāuṣá*, *yājñavalka*.

i. The derivatives of this last form are sometimes regarded as made by internal change, without added suffix. Considering, however, that other final vowels are supplanted by this suffix, that *a* disappears as stem-final also before various other suffixes of secondary derivation, and that no examples of derivation without suffix are quotable from primitives of any other final than *a*, it seems far too violent to assume here a deviation from the whole course of Indo-European word-making.

j. Adjectives of this formation make their feminines in *ī* (see 332a).

1209. The derivatives made by adding ऋ *a* without *vṛddhi*-change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of the transfer to an *a*-declension of words of other finals.

a. A number of examples of stems in *a* made by transfer were noticed above (399). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition (1315): thus, further, *apa-* (for *ap* or *āp* *water*), *-ṛca*, *-nara*, etc.; from stems in *an*, *-aha*, *-vṛṣa*, etc., but also *-ahna* and *-vṛṣṇa* and *vṛṣṇa*; from stems in *i*, *-aṅgula*, *-rātra*, etc.; from the weakest forms of *añc*-stems (407) *uccā*, *nīcā*, *parācā*, etc.

b. Also occurring especially in composition, yet likewise as simple words often enough to have an independent aspect, are derivatives in *a* from nouns in *as* (rarely *is*, *us*): thus, for example, *tamasā*, *rajasā*, *payasā*, *brahmavarcasā*, *sarvavedasā*, *devāinasā*, *paruṣā*, *tryāyuṣā*, and probably *mānuṣa*.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in *in* are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix *ina*: thus, *malina* *polluted*, *parameṣṭhina* etc. (see 441 b).

d. A number of words formed with the so-called suffix *anta* are evident transfers from stems in *ant*. A few of them are found even from the earliest period: thus, *pānta* *draught*, *ḡvāntā* (?), *vasantā* *spring*, *hemantā* *winter*, *veçantā* etc. *tank*, *jīvantī* a certain healing plant; and others occur later, as *jayanta*, *taranta*, *madhumanta*, etc. They are said to be accented on the final.

e. From *añc*-stems (407) are made a few nouns ending in *k-a*: thus, *ānūka*, *āpāka*, *upāka*, *prātika*, *parākā*, etc.

f. From stems in *ṛ*, *hotrá*, *netrá*, *neṣṭrá*, *potrá*, *praçāstrá*, etc., from titles of priests; also *dhātrá*, *bhrātrá*, etc.

g. Other scattering cases are: *savidyutā*, *āvyuṣā*, *vīrudha*, *kākuda*, *kakubhā*, *açūṣa*, *bhūmyā*, *sakhyā*, *ādhipatyā*, *jāspatyā*, *araṭvā*, *pāṇḍvā*.

h. The Vedic gerundives in *tva* (*tua*), made by addition of *a* to abstract noun-stems in *tu*, have been already (966 a) fully given.

i. *Trayā* and *dvayā* come with *guna*-strengthening from numeral stems; *nāva* *new* in like manner from *nū* *now*; and *āntara* apparently from *antār*.

j. *Bheṣajā* *medicine* is from *bhiṣaj* *healer*, with *guna*-change; and probably *devā* *heavenly*, *divine*, *god*, in like manner from *div* *sky*, *heaven* (there is no "root *div* shine" in the language).

1210. *Ṭ ya*. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.

a. The derivatives in *ya* exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a *ya*-element — *iya*, *iya*, *eya*, *āya*, *eyya*, *enya* — are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the *ya* when it follows a consonant is dissyllabic in

metrical value, or is to be read as *ia*. Thus, in RV., 266 words (excluding compounds) have *ia*, and only 75 have *ya* always; 46 are to be read now with *ia* and now with *ya*, but many of these have *ya* only in isolated cases. As might be expected, the value *ia* is more frequent after a heavy syllable: thus, in RV., there are 188 examples of *ia* and 27 of *ya* after such a syllable, and 78 of *ia* and 96 of *ya* after a light syllable (the circumflexed *yā* — that is to say, *īa* — being, as is pointed out below, 12121, more liable to the resolution than *ya* or *yā*). It must be left for further researches to decide whether in the *ya* are not included more than one suffix, with different accent, and different quantity of the *i*-element; or with an *a* added to a final *i* of the primitive. It is also matter for question whether there is a primary as well as a secondary suffix *ya*; the suffix at least comes to be used as if primary, in the formation of gerundives and in that of action-nouns: but it is quite impossible to separate the derivatives into two such classes, and it has seemed preferable therefore to treat them all together here.

b. The derivatives made with *ya* may be first divided into those which do and those which do not show an accompanying *vṛddhi*-increment of the initial syllable.

c. Adjectives in *ya*, of both these divisions, make their feminines regularly in *yā*. But in a number of cases, a feminine in *i* is made, either alone or beside one in *yā*: e. g. *cāturmāsī*, *āgniveçī*, *çāṇḍilī*, *ārī* (and *āryā*), *dāivī* (and *dāivya*), *sāumī* (and *sāumyā*); *dhīrī*, *çīrṣaṇī*, *svarī*, etc.

1211. Derivatives in *ya* with initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in *a* (above, 1208). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).

a. Examples are: with the usual shift of accent, *dāivya* *divine* (*devā*), *pālitya* *grayness* (*palitā*), *grāivya* *cervical* (*grīvā*), *ārtvijya* *priestly office* (*ṛtvij*), *gārhapatya* *householder's* (*grhāpati*), *jānarājya* *kingship* (*janarāj*), *sāṅgrāmajitya* *victory in battle* (*saṅgrāmajit*), *sāūvaçvya* *wealth in horses* (*svāçva*), *āupadraçtrya* *witness* (*upa-draçṭṛ*); *ādityā* *Aditya* (*āditi*), *sāumyā* *relating to soma*, *ātithyā* *hospitality* (*ātithi*), *prājāpatyā* *belonging to Prajāpati*, *vāimanasyā* *mindlessness* (*vīmanas*), *sāhadevya* *descendant of Sahādeva*; — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, *lāukyā* *of the world* (*lokā*), *kāvya* *of the Kavi-race*, *ārtvyā* *descendant of Rītā*, *vāyavyā* *belonging to the wind* (*vāyū*), *rāivatya* *wealth* (*revānt*); — with unchanged accent (very few), *ādhipatya* *lordship* (*ādhipati*), *çrāiṣṭhya* *excellence* (*çrēṣṭha*), *vāiçya* *belonging to the third class* (*vīç people*), *pāūmsya* *manliness* (*pūms*).

b. The AV. has once *nāirbādhyā*, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through *nāirbādha*; *vāisṇavyāu* (VS. i. 12) appears to be dual fem. of *vāisṇavī*.

1212. Derivatives in *ya* without initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in *ya*, feminine) abstract nouns. They are made from every variety of primitive, and are very numerous (in Veda, three or four times as many as the preceding class).

a. The general mass of these words may be best divided according to their accent, into: 1. Words retaining the accent of the primitive; 2. Words with retracted accent; 3. Words with acute *yā* (*īā*); 4. Words with circumflexed *yā* (*īā*). Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.

1. b. Examples of derivatives in *ya* retaining the accent of their primitives are: *āçya* equine (*āçva*), *āṅgya* of the limbs (*āṅga*), *mūkhya* foremost (*mūkha* mouth), *āvya* ovine (*āvi*), *gāvya* bovine (*gó*), *viçya* of the people (*viç*), *dūrya* of the door (*dūr*), *nārya* manly (*nṛ*), *vīṣṇya* virile (*vīṣṇa*), *svarājya* autocracy (*svarāj*), *suvírya* wealth in retainers (*suvīra*), *viçvājanya* of all men, *viçvādevya* of all the gods (*viçvādeva*), *mayūraçepya* peacock-tailed.

c. In the last words, and in a few others, the *ya* appears to be used (like *ka*, 1222h: cf. 1212m) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound: and so further *suhástya* (beside the equivalent *suhásta*), *mádhuhastya*, *dāçamāsyā*, *miçrádhānya*, *anyódarya*, *samānodarya*.

2. d. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with *vṛddhi*-increment) are: *kāṇṭhya* guttural (*kāṇṭhá*), *skāndhya* humeral (*skandhá*), *vratya* of a ceremony (*vratá*), *mégghya* in the clouds (*meghá*), *pítrya* of the Fathers (*pitṛ*), *prátijanya* adverse (*pratijaná*). *Hiraṇyāya* of gold (*híraṇya*), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward and in retaining the final *a* of the primitive; and *gavyāya* and *avyāya* (also *avyaya*) are to be compared with it as to formation.

3. e. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are: *divyá* heavenly (*dív*), *satyá* true (*sánt*), *vyāghryá* tigrine (*vyāghrá*), *kavyá* wise (*kaví*), *grāmyá* of the village (*grāma*), *somyá* relating to the *sóma*, *anenasyá* sinlessness (*anenás*), *adakṣiṇyá* not fit for *dákṣiṇā*.

4. f. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed *yā* (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:

g. From consonant-stems: *viçyà* of the clan (RV.: *vīç*), *hṛdyà* of the heart (*hṛd*), *vidyutyà* of the lightning (*vidyút*), *rājanyà* of the royal class (*rājan*), *doṣanyà* of the arm (*doṣán*), *çirṣanyà* of the head (*çirṣán*), *karmanya* active (*kárman*), *dhanvanya* of the plain (*dhánvan*), *namasyà* reverend (*námas*), *tvacasyà* cuticular (*tvácas*), *barhiṣyà* of barhts, *āyusyà* giving life (*āyus*), *bhasadyà* of the buttocks (*bhasád*), *prācyà* eastern (*prāñc*), etc. Of exceptional formation is *aryamyà* intimate (*aryamán*), with which doubtless belong *sātmya* (*sātman*) and *sākṣya* (*sākṣin*).

h. From u-stems: *hanavyà* of the jaws (*hānu*), *vāyavyà* belonging to *Vāyú*, *paçavyà* relating to cattle (*paçú*), *iṣavyà* relating to arrows (*iṣu*), *madhavyà* of the sweet (*mádhu*), *apsavyà* of the waters (*apsú* lo.), *rajavyà* of rope (*rájju*); *çaravyà* f. arrow (*çáru*, do.); and there may be added *nāvyà* navigable (especially in fem., *nāvyà* navigable stream: *nāú* boat). The RV. has *prāçavyà* to be partaken of (*pra+yaç*), without any corresponding noun *prāçu*; and also *ūrjavyà* rich in nourishment (*ūrj*), without any intermediate *ūrju*.

i. Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (964), the so-called gerundives in *tavyà*, as made by the addition of *yà* to the infinitive noun in *tu*. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later *tavya* wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous verbal derivatives.

\*j. From i- and ī-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS. has *dundubhyà* from *dundubhí*.

k. From a-stems: *svargyà* heavenly (*svargá*), *devatyà* relating to a deity (*devátā*), *prapathyà* guiding (*prapathá*), *budhnyà* fundamental (*budhná*), *jaghanya* hindmost (*jaghána*), *varuṇyà* *Váruna's*, *vīryà* might (*vīrá*), *udaryà* abdominal (*udára*), *utsyà* of the fountain (*útsa*); and from ā-stems, *urvaryà* of cultivated land (*urvára*), *svāhyà* relating to the exclamation *svāhā*.

l. The circumflexed *yà* is more generally resolved (into *íā*) than the other forms of the suffix: thus, in RV. it is never to be read as *ya* after a heavy syllable ending with a consonant; and even after a light one it becomes *íā* in more than three quarters of the examples.

m. There are a few cases in which *yà* appears to be used to help make a compound with governing preposition (next chapter, 1310: cf. 1212c): thus, *apikakṣyà* about the arm-pit, *upapakṣyà* upon the sides, *udāpyà* up-stream; and perhaps *upatrṇyà* lying in the grass (occurs only in voc.). But, with other accent, *ānvāntrya* through the entrails, *ūpamāsyà* in each month, *abhinabhyà* up to the clouds, *antaḥparçavyà* between the ribs, *ádhigartya* on the chariot seat; of unknown accent, *adhīhastya*, *anupṛṣṭhya*, *anunāsikya*, *anuvāñçya*.

~ -iya 1213. The derivatives in *ṭya* as to which it may be



questioned whether they are not, a least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, 963) comes to be practically a primary one.

a. In RV. occur about forty instances of gerundives in *ya*, of tolerably accordant form: the root usually unstrengthened (but *cétya*, *bhávya*, *-hávyā*, *márjya*, *yódhya*; also *-mādyā*, *-vācyā*, *bhāvvyā*); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, *praçáśya*, *upasádyā*, *vihávyā* (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, *anāpyā*, *anapavṛjyā*) — exceptions are only *bhāvvyā* and the doubtful *ākāyā*; the *ya* resolved into *ia* in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by *t* (in *-ityā*, *-krtyā*, *-çrútyā*, *-stútyā*, and the reduplicated *carkṛtyā*, beside *carkṛti*: not in *návyā* and *-hávyā*), and *ā* changed to *e* (in *-deyā* only). If regarded as secondary, they might be made with *ya*, in accordance with other formations by this suffix, in part from the root-noun, as *anukṛt-ya*, in part from derivatives in *a*, as *bhāvvyā* (from *bhāva*).

b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about twenty-five) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in *yā* with the same value: thus, for example, *ādyā* *eatable*, *kār-yā* *to be done*, *samāpyā* *to be obtained*, *atitāryā* *to be overpassed*, *nīvibhāryā* *to be carried in the apron*, *prathamavāsyā* *to be first worn*. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as *parivargyā* *to be avoided*, *avimokyā* *not to be gotten rid of*, where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitives in *ga* and *ka* (216 h).

c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence neuter abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition (in AV., only *cītyā* and *stēyā* as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: *brahmajyēyā*, *vasudēyā*, *bhāgadhēyā*, *pūrvapēyā*, *çatasēyā*, *abhibhūyā*, *devahūyā*, *mantraçrútyā*, *karmakṛtyā*, *vṛtratūryā*, *hotṛvūryā*, *ahihātyā*, *sattrasādyā*, *çirṣa-bhīdyā*, *brahmacāryā*, *nṛṣāhya*. Of exceptional form are *ṛtōdyā* (*vṛad*) and *sahaçēyā* (*vṛī*); of exceptional accent, *sadhástutya*. And AV. has one example, *raṇyā*, with circumflexed final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a smaller class of feminines in *yā*: thus, *krtyā*, *vidyā*, *ityā*, *agnicityā*, *vājajityā*, *muṣṭihatyā*, *devayajyā*, etc.

e. There remain, of course, a considerable number of less classifiable words, both nouns and adjectives, of which a few from the older language may be mentioned, without discussion of their relations: thus, *sūrya* (with

fem. *sūryá*), *ájya*, *púṣya*, *nábhya*; *yújya*, *gḍhya*, *írya*, *aryá* and *árya*, *márya*, *mádhya*.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with *ya* may best be next taken up.

1214. *ṣṭi ya*. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of *ṭi ya* would create a combination of difficult utterance. It has the same variety of accent with *ya*. Thus:

a. With accent *íya* (= *íá* or *yà*): for example, *abhriya* (also *abh-riyá*) from the clouds (*abhrá*), *kṣatriya* having authority (*kṣatrá*), *yajñiya* reverend (*yajñá*), *hotriya* libational (*hótrā*), *amitriya* inimical (*amitra*).

b. With accent *iyá* (= *íá* or *yá*): for example, *agriya* (also *agriya*) foremost (*ággra*), *indriya* Indra's (later, sense: *índra*), *kṣetriyá* of the field (*kṣétra*).

c. With accent on the primitive: *çrótriya* learned (*çrótra*), *ṛtviya* (also *ṛtviya*) in season (*ṛtú*).

1215. *ṣṭi ya*. This suffix also is apparently by origin a *ya* (*íá*) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic *y*. It is accented always on the *i*.

a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only *ārjikiya* and *grhame-dhiya*, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. *parvatiya* mountainous (AV., beside RV. *parvatyá*). In the Brāhmaṇas are found a number of adjectives, some of them from phrases (first words of verses and the like): thus, *anyarāṣṭriya*, *pañcavātiya*, *mārjāliya*, *kayā-çubhiya*, *svāduṣkiliya*, *āpohiṣṭhiya*, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (965) that derivative adjectives in *iya* from action-nouns in *ana* begin in later Veda and in Brāhmaṇa to be used gerundivally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language. But adjectives in *aniya* without gerundive character are also common.

c. Derivatives in *iya* with initial *vṛddhi* are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. *pārvatiya*, *pāitāputriya*, *āparapakṣiya*, *vāirakiya*.

d. The pronominal possessives *madiya* etc. (516 a) do not occur either in Veda or in Brāhmaṇa; but the ordinals *dvitriya* etc. (487 b, c: with fractionals *tṛttriya* and *tūtriya*: 488 a) are found from the earliest period.

e. The possessives *bhagavadiya* and *bhavadiya*, with the final of the primitive made sonant, have probably had their form determined by the pronominal possessives in *-diya*.

1216. *यु eya*. With this suffix, accompanied by *vr̥ddhi*-increment of an initial syllable, are made adjectives, often having a patronymic or metronymic value. Their neuter is sometimes used as abstract noun. The accent rests usually on the final in adjectives of descent, and on the first syllable in others.

a. Examples are: *ār̥ṣeyá* descendant of a sage (*ṛ̥ṣi*), *jānaçruteyá* son of *Jānaçruti*, *sār̥ameyá* of *Sarāmā*'s race, *çātavaneyá* *Çatavani*'s descendant, *rāthajiteyá* son of *Rathajit*; *āsneya* of the blood (*asán*), *vāsteya* of the bladder (*vastí*), *pāūruṣeya* coming from man (*pūruṣa*), *pāitṛsvaseya* of a paternal aunt (*pitṛsvasṛ*), etc.

b. A more than usual proportion of derivatives in *eya* come from primitives in *i* or *ī*; and probably the suffix first gained its form by addition of *ya* to a gunated *i*, though afterward used independently.

c. The gerundive etc. derivatives in *ya* (above, 1213) from *ā*-roots end in *éya*; and, besides such, RV. etc. have *sabhéya* from *sabhā*, and *didṛkṣéya* worth seeing, apparently from the desiderative noun *didṛkṣā*, after their analogy. M. has once *adhyeya* as gerund of *y*.

d. Derivatives in the so-called suffix *ineyá* — as *bhāgineyá*, *jyāis̥ṭhineya*, *kānis̥ṭhineya* — are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in *-inī* (fem.).

e. In *eyya* (i. e. *eyia*) end, besides the neuter abstract *sahaçéyya* (above, 1213 c), the adjective of gerundival meaning *stuṣéyya* (with aoristic *s* added to the root), and *çapatheyya* curse-bringing (or *accursed*), from *çapátha*.

1217. *यया enya*. This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition of *या ya* to derivatives in a *na*-suffix; but, like others of similar origin, it is applied in some measure independently, chiefly in the older language, where it has nearly the value of the later *anīya* (above, 1215 b), as making gerundival adjectives.

a. The *y* of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in *vārenya*) on the *e*: thus, *-énia*.

b. The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (966 b, 1019 b, 1038). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, *vīrénya* manly (*vīrá*), and *kīrténya* famous (*kīrtí*), and TS. has *anabhiçastenyá* (*abhiçastí*); *vijenya* (RV.) is a word of doubtful connections; *çikṣenya* instructive is found in a Sūtra; *prāvr̥ṣenya* of the rainy season occurs later.

1218. **आय्य** *āyā*. With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives, almost only in RV. They have been noticed above (986 c). The ending is everywhere to be read as *āyā*.

a. A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur: thus, *bahupāyā* *protecting many*, *nṛpāyā* *men-guarding*; *kuṇḍapāyā*, and *purumāyā*, proper names; *pūrvapāyā* *first drink*, *mahayāyā* *enjoyment*; — and *rasāyā* *nervous*, and *uttamāyā* *summit*, contain no verbal root. *Alāyā* is doubtful; also *ākāyā*, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with *prahāyā* (AV.: *ṽhi*) *messenger*, and *pravāyā* (AV.), of doubtful value.

1219. **आयन** *āyana*. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, patronymics made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in *अ*, and have *vṛddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

a. In RV., the only example of this formation is *kāṇvāyana* (voc.: *kāṇva*); AV. has in metrical parts *dāksāyaṇā* and the fem. *rāmāyaṇī*; and *āmuṣyāyaṇā* *son of so-and-so* (516) in its prose; ÇB. has *rājastambāyana* beside *-bāyanā*. The RV. name *ukṣaṇyāyana* is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. **आयि** *āyī*. Only a very few words are made with this suffix, namely *agnāyī* (*agnī*) *Agni's wife*, *vṛṣākapyāyī* *wife of Vṛishākapi*; and later *pūtakratāyī*, and *manāyī* *Manu's wife* (but *manāvī* ÇB.).

a. They seem to be feminines of a derivative in *a* made with *vṛddhi*-increment of the final *i* of the primitive.

1221. **इ** *i*. Derivatives made with this suffix are patronymics from nouns in *a*. The accent rests on the initial syllable, which has the *vṛddhi*-strengthening.

a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronymics in *i*: for example, *āgniveçi*, *pāúrukutsi*, *prātardani*, *sāmvaraṇi*; AV. has but one, *prāhrādi*; in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, in AB., *sāuyavasi*, *jānaṁtapi*, *āruṇi*, *jānaki*, etc. A single word of other value — *sārathi* *charioteer* (*sarātham*) — is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix *aki* — as *vāilyāsaki* *descendant of Vyāsa* — are doubtless properly derivatives in *i* from others in *ka* or *aka*. That the secondary suffix *ika* is probably made by addition of *ka* to a derivative in *i* is pointed out below (1222 j).

c. RV. has *tāpuṣi*, apparently from *tāpus* with a secondary *i* added, and the n. pr. *çucantī*; *bhuvantī* is found in B., and *jivantī* later.

1222. **क** *ka*. This is doubtless originally one of the class of suffixes forming adjectives of appurtenance. And

that value it still has in actual use; yet only in a small minority of occurrences. It has been, on the one hand, specialized into an element forming diminutives; and, on the other hand, and much more widely, attenuated into an element without definable value, added to a great many nouns and adjectives to make others of the same meaning — this last is, even in the Veda, and still more in the later language, its chief office.

a. Hence, *ka* easily associates itself with the finals of derivatives to which it is attached, and comes to seem along with them an integral suffix, and is further used as such. Of this origin are doubtless, as was seen above (1180, 1181), the so-called primary suffixes *uka* and *aka*; and likewise the secondary suffix *ika* (below; *j*).

b. The accent of derivatives in *ka* varies — apparently without rule, save that the words most plainly of diminutive character have the tone usually on the suffix.

c. Examples (from the older language) of words in which the suffix has an adjective-making value are: *āntaka* (*ānta*) *end-making*, *bālhika* (*bālhi*) *of Balh*, *āṇḍika* (*āṇḍā*) *egg-bearing*, *sūcika* (*sūcī*) *stinging*, *urvārukā* *fruit of the gourd* (*urvārū*), *paryāyikā* (*paryāyā*) *strophic*; from numerals, *ekakā*, *dvakā*, *trikā*, *āṣṭaka*; *tṛtīyaka* *of the third day*; from pronoun-stems, *asmāka* *ours*, *yuṣmāka* *yours*, *māmaka* *mine* (516d); from prepositions, *āntika* *near*, *ānuka* *following*, *āvakā* *a plant* (later *adhika*, *utka*); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides *āṣṭaka* and *tṛtīyaka*, already given), *rūpaka* (*rūpā*) *with form*, *bābhruka* (*babhrū* *brown*) *a certain lizard*. *Bhāvatka* *your worship's* has an anomalous initial *vṛddhi*.

d. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: *aṣvakā* *nag*, *kanīnaka* and *kumārakā* *boy*, *kanīnakā* or *kanīnikā* *girl*, *pāḍakā* *little foot*, *putrakā* *little son*, *rājakā* *princeling*, *ṣakuntakā* *birdling*. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from pronominal stems, see above, 521; other examples are *anyakā* (RV.), *ālakam* (RV.: from *ālam*), and even the verb-form *yāmaki* (for *yāmi*: KB.).

e. The derivatives in *ka* with unchanged meaning are made from primitives of every variety of form, simple and compound, and have the same variety of accent as the adjective derivatives (with which they are at bottom identical). Thus:

f. From simple nouns and adjectives: *āstaka* *home*, *nāsikā* *nostril*, *mākṣikā* *fly*, *avikā* *ewe*, *iṣukā* *arrow*, *dūrakā* *distant*, *sarvakā* *all*, *dhēnukā* (*dhēnū*) *cow*, *nāgnaka* (*nagnā*) *naked*, *bāddhaka* (*baddhā*) *captive*, *abhinnatarakā* *by no means different*, *anastamitakē* *before sun-*

*set, vamrakā ant, arbhakā small, çikukā young, aṇiyaska finer, ejatkā trembling, abhimādyatkā intoxicated, patayişṇukā flying.* Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable; from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in *ka* or *kā* (according to the gender).

g. From compound primitives: *svalpakā very small, vīmanyuka removing wrath, vikṣiṇatkā destroying, pravartamānakā moving forward, vikṣiṇakā destroyed.*

h. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, *ka* is often added to a possessive adjective compound (1307), sometimes redundantly, but usually in order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, *anaksīka eyeless, atvākka skinless, aretāska without seed, vyasthaka boneless, saçiraska along with the head, ekagāyatrika containing a single gāyatri-verse, grhitāvasatīvarika one who has taken yesterday's water, sapatnīka with his spouse, bahuastika having many elephants, sadikṣopasātka with dikṣā and upasāda, āhitasamitka with his fuel laid on, abhinavavayaska of youthful age, aṅguṣṭhamātraka of thumb size.*

i. The vowel by which the *ka* is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in *ikā* is so common beside a masculine in *aka* as to be its regular correspondent (as is the case with the so-called primary *aka*: above, 1181). In RV. are found beside one another only *iyattakā* and *iyattikā*; but AV. has several examples.

j. Two suffixes made up of *ka* and a preceding vowel — namely, *aka* and *ika* — are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless originally made by addition of *ka* to a final *i* or *a*, though coming to be used independently.

k. Of *vṛddhi*-derivatives in *aka* no examples have been noted from the older language (unless *māmakā mine* is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, *āvaçyaka necessary, vārdhaka old age, rāmaṇiyaka delightfulness.*

l. Of *vṛddhi*-derivatives in *ika*, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: *vāsantika vernal, vārṣika of the rainy season, hāimantika wintry* (none of them in RV.); AV. has *kāirātikā of the Kīrūtas*, apparent fem. to a masc. *kāirātaka*, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: *vāidika relating to the Vedas, dhārmika religious, āhnikā daily, vāinayika well-behaved, dāuvārika doorkeeper, nāiyāyika versed in the Nyāya.*

m. Before the suffix *ka*, some finals show a form which is characteristic of external rather than internal combination. A final sonant mute, of course, becomes surd, and an aspirate loses its aspiration (117 a, 114): cf. *-upasatka, -samitka*, above, h. So also a palatal becomes guttural (as before *t* etc.: 217): e. g. *-srukka, -rukka, -tvakka, anykka*. A *s* remains after *ā*, and becomes *ṣ* after an alterant vowel (180): e. g. *sadyaska, jyotiṣka, dirghāyuṣka*. But the other sibilants take the form

they would have in composition: thus, *adikka* (diç), *ṣaṭka*, *-viṭka*, *-tviṭka* (ṣaṣ etc.). *Anāçirka* (TS.: *āçis*) is anomalous; and so is *parutka* (Āpast.), if it comes from *parus*.

1223. Several suffixes, partly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a ण् n as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here.

a. A few derivatives in *āna* in RV. were given above (1175 a).

b. With *ānī* (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a small number of words, chiefly wife-names: thus, *indrānī*, *varuṇānī* (these, with *uçinārānī*, *purukūtsānī*, *mudgalānī*, *ūrjānī*, are found in RV.), *rudrānī*, *mātulānī* *maternal uncle's wife*, *çarvānī*, *bhavānī*, *içānānī*, *çakrānī*, *upādhyāyānī*, *mṛḍānī*, *brahmānī*; and *yavānī*.

c. The feminines in *nī* and *knī* from masculine stems in *ta* have been already noticed above (1176 d). From *pāti* *master*, *husband* the feminine is *pātnī*, both as independent word, *spouse*, and as final of an adjective compound: thus, *devāpatnī* *having a god for husband*, *sīndhupatnī* *having the Indus as master*. And the feminine of *paruṣā* *rough* is in the older language sometimes *pāruṣṇī*.

d. With *īna* are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final *añc* (407 ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, *apācīna*, *nīcīna*, *prācīna*, *arvācīna* and *arvācinā*, *praticīna* and *praticinā*, *samīcīnā*. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later: examples are *samhivatsarīna* *yearly*, *prāvṛṣṭīna* *of the rainy season*, *viçvajanīna* *of all people*, *jñātakulīna* *of known family*, *adhvanīna* *traveller (ādhvan way)*, *āçvīna* *day's journey on horseback (āçva horse)*. RV. has once *mākīna* *mine*.

e. With *ena* is made *sāmīdhenā* (f. *-nī*), from *samīdh*, with initial strengthening.

f. As to a few words in *ina*, compare 1209 c.

g. The adjectives made with simple *na* fall partly under another head (below, 1245 f); here may be noted *çūraṇa* *heroic* (?), *phālguna*, *çmaçruṇā*, *dadrūṇa*, and, with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *strāṇīna* *woman's* (its correlative, *pāuṃsna*, occurs late) and *cyāutnā* *inciting*. If *droṇa* comes from *dru* *wood*, it has the anomaly of a *guṇa*-strengthening.

1224. Certain suffixes containing a ण् m may be similarly grouped.

a. With *ima* are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in *tra*: thus, *khanītrima* *made by digging*, *kṛtrīma* *artificial*, *dattrima*, *paktrima*, *pūtrima*; in other finals, *kuṭṭīma*, *gaṇima*, *talima*, *tulima*, *pākima*, *udgārīma*, *vyāyogima*, *samvyūhima*, *nirvedhima*, *āsaṅgima*, all late. In *agrima* (RV.) *foremost* the *ma* has perhaps the ordinal value.

b. The uses of simple *ma* in forming superlatives (474) and ordinals (487 d, e) have been already noticed, and the words thus made specified.

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c. A few neuter abstracts end in *mna*: thus, *dyumná* *brightness*, *nṛmṇá* *manliness*; and, from particles, *nimná* *depth* and *sumná* *welfare*. The suffix comes perhaps from *man* with an added *a*.

d. For the words showing a final *min*, see below, 1231.

1225. **मय** *maya*. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying *made* or *composed* or *consisting of*, also *abounding in*, that which is denoted by the primitive.

a. The accent is always on the *má*, and the feminine is regularly and usually in *máyī*. In the oldest language (V.), final *as* remains unchanged before the suffix: thus, *manasmáya*, *nabhasmáya*, *ayasmáya*; but *d* is treated as in external combination: thus, *mṛṇmáya*; and in the Brāhmaṇas and later, finals in general have the latter treatment: e. g. *tejomáya*, *adomáya*, *āpomáya*, *jyotirmaya*, *yajurmáya*, *etanmáya*, *aśṛṇmáya*, *vāṇmáya*, *ammaya*, *prāvṛṇmáya*. RV. has *açmanmáya* (later *açmamaya*). In *hiraṇmáya* (B. and later) the primitive (*hiraṇya*) is peculiarly mutilated. RV. has *sūmáya* of *good make*, and *kim-máya* *made of what*?

b. A very few examples of a feminine in *yā* occur in the later language.

1226. **र** *ra*. A few derivative adjectives are made with this suffix. Accent and treatment of the primitive are various.

a. With simple addition of *ra* are made, for example: *pāṇsurá* *dusty*, *-çrīra* (also *-çlīla*) in *açrīrá* *ugly*, *dhūmrá* *dusky* (*dhūmá* *smoke*), *madhura* (late) *sweet*. In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, *āgnīdhra* of the *fire-kindler* (*agnīdh*), *çāṅkūrá* *stake-like* (*çāṅkú*); and in *çekhara* (also *çikhara*), a *guṇa-strengthening*.

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, *médhira* *wise*, *rathirá* in a *chariot*; *karmāra* *smith*; *dantura* (late) *tusked*; *acchéra* (? MS.), *çrāmaṇera*, *saṅgamanera*.

c. The use of *ra* in forming a few words of comparative meaning was noticed above (474), and the words so made were given.

1227. **ल** *la*. This and the preceding suffix are really but two forms of the same. In some words they exchange with one another, and *ल* *la* is usually, but not always, the later form in use.

a. Examples are: *bahulá* *abundant*, *madhulá* (later *madhura*) and *madhūla* *sweet*, *bhīmala* *fearful*, *jīvalá* *lively*, *açlīlá* (and *açrīrá*) *wretched*; with *ā*, *vācāla* *talkative* (late); with *i*, *phenila* *foamy* (late:



*phéna*); with *u*, *vātula* and *vātūla* *windy* (late: *vāta*); and *mātula* *maternal uncle* is a somewhat irregular formation from *mātṛ* *mother*.

b. In the later language are found a few adjectives in *lu*, always preceded by *ā*; examples are: *kṛpālu* and *dayālu* *compassionate*, *irṣyālu* *jealous*, *uṣṇālu* *heated*, *çayālu* and *svapnālu* *sleepy*, *lajjālu* *modest*, *lālālu* *drooling*, *çradhālu* *trusting*, *krodhālu* *passionate*. One or two such derivatives having a primary aspect were noticed at 1102b.

1228. ँ *va*. A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Examples are: *aṇṇavā* *billowy*, *keçavā* *hairy*; *rāsnāvā* *girded*; *añjivā* *slippery*, *çantivā* *tranquillizing*, *çraddhivā* *credible*, *amaṇivā* *jewelless*, *rājivā* *striped*.

b. There are a very few adjectives in *vala* and *vaya* which may be noticed here: thus, *kṛṣīvalā* *peasant* (*kṛṣi* *ploughing*), *ūrṇāvalā* *wooly*, *rajasvala*, *ūrjasvala*, *payasvala*, *çādvala*, *naḍvala*, *çikhāvala*, *dan-tāvala*; *druvāya* *wooden dish*, *caturvaya* *fourfold*.

c. With *vya* are made two or three words from names of relationship: thus, *pīṭṛvya* *paternal uncle*, *bhrātṛvya* *nephew*, *enemy*.

1229. ञ् *ça*. A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

a. Thus, *romaçā* or *lomaçā* *hairy*, *étaça* (also *etaçā*) *variegated*, *arvaçā* or *ārvaça* *hasting*, *babhluçā* or *babhruçā* and *kapiça* *brownish*, *kṛṣṇaça* *blackish*, *yuvaçā* *youthful*, *bāliça* *childish*, *karkaça* *harsh*, *kar-maça* (?) *n. pr.*; and *giriça*, *vāriça* (?), *vṛkṣaça* are doubtless of the same character (not containing the root *çī*). The character of *harīmaçā*, *kāçmaça*, *kalāça* is doubtful.

b. Many of the adjective derivatives already treated have sometimes a possessive value, the general meaning of *being concerned with*, *having relation to* being specialized into that of *being in possession of*. But there are also a few distinctively possessive suffixes; and some of these, on account of the unlimited freedom of using them and the frequency of their occurrence, are very conspicuous parts of the general system of derivation. These will be next considered.

1230. इन् *in*. Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in ऌ *a* or ड *ā*, and are sometimes (but very rarely) made from stems with other finals.

a. A final vowel disappears before the suffix. The accent is on the suffix. As to the inflection of these adjectives, see above, 438 ff. They are to be counted by hundreds in the older language, and are equally or more numerous in the later.

b. Examples from a-stems are: *açvín* possessing horses, *dhanín* wealthy, *pakṣín* winged, *balín* strong, *bhagín* fortunate, *vajrín* wielding the thunderbolt, *çikhaṇḍín* crested, *hastín* possessing hands, *ṣoḍaçín* of sixteen, *gardabhanāḍín* having an ass's voice, *brahmavarcasín* of eminent sanctity, *sādhudevín* having luck at play, *kūcidarthín* having errands everywhither; — from ā-stems, *manīṣín* wise, *çikhín* crested, *ṛtāyín* pious.

c. Derivatives from other stems are very few in comparison: thus, from i-stems, *atithín* (?), *abhimātín*, *arcín*, *açanín*, *ūrmin*, *kālanemin*, *khādín*, *-pāṇín*, *marīcin*, *mauñjin*, *māulín*, *-yonín*, *venín*, *saṁdhín*, *saṁḍdhín*, *surabhín* (of those found only at the end of a possessive compound the character is doubtful, since case-forms of i- and in-stems are not seldom exchanged); — from u-stems, *gurvín*, *çatagvín* (?), *veṇavin* (with guna of the u); — from stems in an, *varmín*, *karmin*, *carmin*, *-chadmin*, *janmin*, *dhanvin*, *-dharmin*, *nāmin*, *brahmin*, *yakṣmin*, *çarmin*, and *çvanín*; — in as, *retín* rich in seed, and probably *varcin* n. pr.; also (perhaps through stems in -sa) *çavasín* and *sahasín*, *manasín*, *-vayasín*; — isolated are *parisrajín* garlanded, and *hiraín* (*hirānya*).

d. It was pointed out above (1183) that derivatives in in have assumed on a large scale the aspect and value of primary derivatives, with the significance of present participles, especially at the end of compounds. The properly secondary character of the whole formation is shown, on the one hand, by the frequent use in the same manner of words bearing an unmistakably secondary form, as *praçnín*, *garbhín*, *jūrṇín*, *dhūmín*, *snānin*, *homin*, *matsarín*, *paripanthín*, *pravepanín*, *saṁgatin*; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (216) before the in, which could only be as in replaced a: thus, *arkín*, *-bhaṅgín*, *-saṅgín*, *-rokín*.

e. In a few cases, there appears before the in a y preceded by an ā of inorganic character: thus, *dhanvāyín*, *tantrāyín*, *çvetāyín*, *srkāyín*, *ātatāyín*, *pratihitāyín*, *marāyín*, *ṛtāyín*, *svadhāyín* (VS.: TB. -vín). The y in all such words is evidently the inserted y after ā (258a), and to assume for them a suffix yin is quite needless.

f. The accentuation *pravrajín*, *prasyāndín*, in the concluding part of ÇB., is doubtless false; and the same is to be suspected for *çāki*, *sāri*, *īri* (RV., each once).

g. A very few words in in have not suffered the possessive specialization. Such are *vanín* tree, *hermit*, *kapotín* dovelike, *aṇḍín* scrotumlike (cf. 1233 f).

1231. *मिन्* min. With this suffix are made an extremely small number of possessive adjectives.

a. In the old language, the words in min have the aspect of derivatives in in from nouns in ma, although in two or three cases — *iṣmín*

and *ṛgmín* in RV., *vāgmín* in ÇB. — no such nouns are found in actual use beside them. In the later language, *min* is used as independent element in a very few words: thus, *gomin* *possessing cattle*, *svāmín* (Sūtras and later) *master, lord (sva own)*, *kakudmin* *humped*.

b. The two words *ṛgmín* and *vāgmín* show not only reversion but also sonantizing of an original palatal.

1232. *विन् vin*. The adjectives made with this suffix are also not numerous. They have the same meanings with those in *इन् in*. The accent is on the suffix.

a. The RV. has ten adjectives in *vin*; they become rather more common later. Though for them may be suspected a similar origin to those in *yin* and *min* (above), signs of it are much less clearly traceable.

b. The great majority have *vin* added after *as*: e. g. *namasvín* *reverential*, *tapasvín* *heated*, *tejasvín* *brilliant*, *yaçasvín* *beautiful*, and so *retasvín*, *enasvín*, *harasvín*, etc.; and *çatasvín*, *çrotrasvín*, *rūpasvin* have an inserted *s*, by analogy with them. Most others have *ā* (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, *glāvín*, *medhāvín*, *māyāvín*, *sa-bhāvín*, *aṣṭrāvín* *obedient to the goad*, *dvayāvín* *double-minded*, *ubhayāvín* *possessing of both kinds*, *dhanvāvín*, *tandrāvín*, *āmayāvín*, *ātātāvín*. More rarely, *vin* is added after another consonant than *s*: thus, *vāgvín*, *dhṛṣadvín*, *ātmanvín*, *kumudvin*, *sragvin*, *yajvin*, *ajvin*. The doubtful word *vyaçnuvín* (VS., once: TB. *vyāçniya*) appears to add the ending (or *in*, with euphonic *v*) to a present tense-stem.

c. An external form of combination is seen only in *vāgvín* and *dhṛṣadvín* (both Vedic), with the common reversion of a palatal in *sragvin*.

1233. *वन् vant*. Very numerous possessive adjectives are made by this suffix, from noun-stems of every form, both in the earlier language and in the later.

a. The accent generally remains upon the primitive, without change; but an accent resting on a stem-final, if this be anything but *ā* or *ā*, is in the majority of cases thrown forward upon the suffix. As to inflection, formation of feminine, etc., see 452 ff.

b. A final vowel — oftenest *a*, very rarely *u* — is in many words lengthened in the older language (247) before this ending, as in composition. Nouns in *an* more often retain the *n*.

c. Examples of the normal formation are: with unchanged accent, *kéçavant* *hairy*, *putrávant* *having a son*, *prajānanavant* *procreative*, *punḍárikavant* *rich in lotuses*, *híraṇyavant* *rich in gold*, *apūpávánt* *having cakes*, *rājanyávánt* *allied with a kshatriya*; *prajāvánt* *having progeny*, *ūrṇávánt* *wooly*, *dákṣiṇávánt* *rich in sacrificial gifts*; *sákhivant* *having friends*, *saptarṣivant* *accompanied by the seven sages*; *çácivant* *powerful*, *táviṣivant* *vehement*, *pátnīvant* *with spouse*, *dhīvant* *devoted*,

**dyāvāprthivīvant** (94b) with *heaven and earth*; **viṣṇuvant** accompanied by *Vishnu*; **hāritvant** *golden*, **āvītavant** *hither turned*, **ācīrvant** *mixed with milk*, **svārvant** *splendid*, **ṣarādvant** *full of years*, **pūṁśvant** *having a male*, **pāyasvant** *rich*, **tāmasvant** *dark*, **brāhmaṇvant** accompanied with *worship*, **rōmaṇvant** *hairy* (but also *romavant*, *lōmavant*, *vṛtrahavānt*, etc.), **kakūbhvant** containing a *kakūbh*; — with accent on the suffix, **agnivānt** *having fire*, **rayivānt** *wealthy*, **nṛvānt** *manly*, **padvānt** *having feet*, **nasvānt** *with nose*, **āsanvānt** *having a mouth*, **ṣīṣaṇvānt** *headed* (also **ṣīṣavānt**).

d. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, **ācāvānt** (beside **ācāvānt**) *possessing horses*, **sutāvant** *having soma expressed*, **vṣṣṇyāvant** *of virile force* (about thirty such cases occur in V.); **ṣāktivānt** *mighty*, **avādhītivānt** *having axes*, **ghṛṇivānt** *hot*; **viṣūvānt** *dividing* (*viṣu* apart).

e. Certain special irregularities are as follows: an inserted *s* in **īndrasvant**, **māhiṣvant**; inserted *n* in **vānanvant**, **būdhanvant**, **vādhanvant**, **gartanvānt**, **māṁsanvānt**; shortening of a final of the primitive in **māyāvant**, **yājyāvant**, **puruṇvākyavant**, **āmīkṣavānt**, **sarasvativānt**; abbreviation in **hiraṇvant**; inserted *ā* in **ṣavasāvant**, **sahasāvant**, and the odd **mahimāvant**; anomalous accent in **kṛṣṇāvant** (if from *kṛṣṇa* *pearl*); derivation from particles in **antārvānt** *pregnant*, **viṣūvānt** (above, d).

f. Instead of the specialized meaning of *possessing*, the more general one of *like to*, *resembling* is seen in a number of words, especially in the derivatives from pronominal stems, **māvānt** *like me* etc. (517: add **ivānt**, **kivānt**). Other examples are **īndrasvant** *like Indra*, **nīdāvant** *nestlike*, **nīlavānt** *blackish*, **nṛvānt** *manly*, **pṛṣadvānt** *speckled*, **kṣāitavānt** *princely*; compare the later **paravānt** *dependent*. It was pointed out above (1107) that the adverb of comparison in **vāt** is the accusative neuter of a derivative of this class.

g. In a few words, **vānt** has the aspect of forming primary derivatives: thus, **vivāsvānt** (or **vīvasvānt**) *shining*, also *n. pr.*, **ānupa-dasvānt**, **ārvānt**, **pīpiṣvānt** (?), **yahvānt**.

h. For the derivatives in **vāt** from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see 1245j.

i. While this suffix is generally added to a primitive according to the rules of internal combination (see examples above, c), treatment also as in external combination begins already in RV., in **pṛṣadvānt** (**pṛṣat**), and becomes more common later: thus, **tapovānt**, **tejovānt**, **aṅgirovānt** (beside **tāpasvānt** etc.); **vidyūdānt** (beside **vidyutvānt**), **bṛhadvānt**, **jagadvānt**, **sadvānt**, etc.; **triṣṭubvānt** (against **kakūbhvānt**), **samidvānt**, **vimṛdvānt**; **vāgvānt** (against **ṛkvānt**); **svarādvānt**; **havyavādvānt**; **ācīrvānt**.

j. None of the suffixes beginning with **v** show in the Veda resolution of **v** to **u**.



c. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: *asimánt* with knives, *agnimánt* having fire, *iṣudhimánt* with a quiver, *paçumánt* possessing cattle, *vāyumánt* with wind, *pitṛmánt* (AV. *pittṛmant*) accompanied by the Fathers, *mātṛmánt* having a mother; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this division, and only once a consonant, in *dasmát* (RV., once).

d. Protraction of a final vowel is seen in *tvīṣimánt*, *dhṛājimánt*, *hīṛimánt*; in *jyótiṣimánt* is irregularly inserted an *i* (after the analogy of *táviṣimánt*); in *çuciṣmant*, *mahiṣmant*, an *s*; *suṣumánt* (RV., once) appears to be primary.

e. The adverb *āçumát* appears to be related to adverbs in *vát* as the suffix *mant* to *vant*.

f. By the side of derivatives made with internal combination appears *vidyúnmant* even in RV.; and other like cases occur later: thus, *parisrúnmant*, *kakunmant*, *kṣunmant*, *purorúnmant*, *vāñmant*, *kakummant*, *gudaliñmant*, *yaçomant*.

1236. It has been seen above (especially in connection with the suffixes *a* and *ya*) that the neuter of a derivative adjective is frequently used as an abstract noun. There are, however, two suffixes which have in the later language the specific office of making abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns; and these are found also, more sparingly used, in the oldest language, each having there one or two other evidently related suffixes beside it.

a. For derivatives of the same value made with the suffix *iman*, see above, 1168i—k.

1237. तति *tā*. With this suffix are made feminine abstract nouns, denoting *the quality of being so and so*, from both adjectives and nouns.

a. The form of the primitive is unchanged, and the accent is uniformly on the syllable preceding the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language) are: *devatā* divinity, *vīratā* manliness, *puruṣatā* human nature, *agnitā* firehood, *apaçutā* cattle-lessness, *bandhūtā* relationship, *vasūtā* wealth; *nagnatā* nakedness, *suviratā* wealth in retainers, *anapatyātā* lack of descendants, *agotā* poverty in cattle, *abrahmatā* lack of devotion, *aprajastā* absence of progeny; also doubtless *sūnītā* (from *sūnāra*), although the word is a few times used as an adjective (like *çamātāti* and *satyatātī*: see next paragraph).

c. Of special formation are *mamātā* selfishness, *trētā* triplicity, *astitā* actuality. RV. has *avīratā*, with exceptional accent. In *ekapatnitā* is seen a shortened final vowel of the primitive. *Janātā* has acquired a concrete meaning, *people, folk*; also *grāmatā* (once) *villages* collectively.

1238. तति *tāti*, तात् *tāt*. These suffixes are Vedic only, and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the preceding is

evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature. The accent is as in the derivatives with tā.

a. The quotable examples in tāti are: *ariṣṭātāti uninjuredness*, *ayaḥśmātāti freedom from disease*, *grbhītātāti the being seized*, *jyeṣṭhātāti supremacy*, *devātāti divinity*, *vasūtāti wealth*, *çāntātāti good-fortune*, *sarvātāti completeness*; and, with exceptional accent, *āstatātāti home*, and *dākṣātāti cleverness*; *çivatātāti* and *çubhatātāti* occur (once each) in the later language. Two words in tāti are used adjectively (inorganically, by apposition?): *çāntātāti* (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 1, in manuscripts), and *satyatātāti* (RV., once: voc.).

b. The words in tāt (apparently made by abbreviation from tāti) occur in only one or two cases-forms; they were all mentioned above (383 k. 2).

1239. त्वा tva. With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in ता tā (above, 1237).

a. The neuter abstracts in tva are in the older language considerably more common than the feminines in tā, although themselves also not very numerous. The accent is without exception on the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language) are: *amṛtatvá immortality*, *devatvá divinity*, *subhagatvá good-fortune*, *ahamuttaratvá struggle for precedence*, *çucitvá purity*, *patitvá husbandship*, *taranitvá energy*, *dirghāyutvá long life*, *çatrutvá enmity*, *bhrātṛtvā brotherhood*, *vṛṣatvá virility*, *sātimatvá sculfulness*, *maghavattvá liberality*, *rakṣatvá sorcery*. In *anāgāstvá* and *-prajāstvá* there is a lengthening of the final syllable of the primitive; and in *sāuprajāstvá* (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial *vṛddhi* (*sāubhagatvá* is doubtless from *sāubhaga*, not *subhāga*); and in these and *pratyanastvá* there is an apparent insertion of *s*. In *sadhanitvá* (RV.), *vasativaritvá* (TS.), *rohiṇitvá* (TB.), there is shortening of final feminine *ī* before the suffix. Of peculiar formation are *astitva actuality* and *sahatva union*. The apparent feminine datives *yūthatvāyāi* and *gaṇatvāyāi* (KS.) are doubtless false forms.

c. Besides the usual guttural reversions in *samyaktva*, *sayuktva*, we have external combination in *samittva* (-idh-) and *pūrvavāṭtva* (-vah-).

d. In *iṣitatvātā* (RV., once) *incitedness*, and *puruṣatvātā* (RV., twice) *human quality*, appears to be a combination of the two equivalent suffixes *tva* and *tā*.

e. The *v* of *tva* is to be read in Veda as *u* only once (*rakṣastuā*).

1240. त्वान tvana. The derivatives made with this suffix are, like those in *tva*, neuter abstracts. They occur almost only in RV., and, except in a single instance (*martyatvanā*), have beside them equivalent derivatives in *tva*. The accent is on the final, and the *tva* is never resolved into *tua*.

a. The words are: kavitvaná, janitvaná, patitvaná (also JB.), martyatvaná, mahitvaná, vasutvaná, vṛṣatvaná, sakhitvaná.

1241. A few suffixes make no change in the character as part of speech of the primitive to which they are added, but either are merely formal appendages, leaving the value of the word what it was before, or make a change of degree, or introduce some other modification of meaning.

1242. The suffixes of comparison and ordinal suffixes have for the most part been treated already, and need only a reference here.

a. तॄ tara and तम tama are the usual secondary suffixes of adjective comparison: respecting their use as such, see above, 471—473; respecting the use of tama as ordinal etc. suffix, see 487—8; respecting that of their accusatives as adverbial suffixes to prepositions etc., see 1111 e.

b. In वॄत्रतारा and पुरुतामा (RV.) the accent is anomalous; in मॄदयतमामा, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1309); षा॒ण्वतमामा (RV.) has the ordinal accent; सा॒हव॒त्स॒रा॒तमामा (ÇB.) is an ordinal; दि॒व॒ा॒त॒रा (RV., once: an error?) is an ordinary adjective, of the day; सु॒रा॒भ॒षि॒ष॒त॒मा and तु॒वि॒ष॒त॒मा insert a s; का॒रो॒त॒रा and का॒व॒लि॒त॒रा are probably वृद्धि-derivatives in a. In वा॒त्स॒ता॒रा (f. -री) weanling, अ॒व॒ता॒रा mule, and धे॒नु॒ष्ठा॒री cow losing her milk, the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; so also in रा॒था॒न्त॒रा, name of a certain sāman.

c. तॄ ra and तम ma, like tara and tama, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals: see above, 474, 487.

d. तॄ tha, like tama and ma, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see 487 c; also (with fem. in -थी) from tati, kati, yati, iti: thus, त॒ति॒थ॒ा so-many-eth etc.

e. Apparently by false analogy with त॒ति॒थ॒ा etc. (above, d), the quasi-ordinals त॒वा॒ति॒थ॒ा, य॒वा॒ति॒थ॒ा, बा॒हु॒ति॒थ॒ा are made, as if with a suffix titha (also क॒ति॒ति॒थ॒ा, late, for क॒ति॒थ॒ा); and, it is said, from other words meaning a number or collection, as 'gaṇa, pūga, saṁgha; but none such are quotable.

1243. Of diminutive suffixes there are none in Sanskrit with clearly developed meaning and use. The occasional employment of ka, in a somewhat indistinct way, to make diminutives, has been noticed above (1222).

1244. Of the ordinary adjective-making suffixes, given above, some occasionally make adjectives from adjectives, with slight or imperceptible modification of value. The only one used to any considerable extent in this way is ka: as to which, see 1222.



1245. A few suffixes are used to make derivatives from certain limited and special classes of words, as numerals and particles. Thus:

a. तय taya makes a few adjectives, meaning *of so many divisions or kinds* (used in the neuter as collectives), from numerals: thus, ékataya (MS.), dvitaya, tritaya, cátuṣṭaya (AV.), ṣaṭtaya (KB.: with external combination), saptátaya, (ÇB.), aṣṭátaya (AB.), dácataya (RV.), bahútaya (TS.). Their fem. is in -yī.

b. त्वा tya makes a class of adjectives from particles: e. g. nítaya *own*, níṣṭya *foreign*, amátya *companion*, etc. As the examples show, the accent of the primitive is retained. The fem. is in -tyā.

c. The other quotable examples are ápatya, áviṣṭya, sánutya, antastya, anyatastya-, tatastya, kutastya, atratya, tatratya, yatranya, kutratya, ihatya, upatya, adhitya, prāstastya, dakṣiṇātya (instead of which, the regular form, is generally found dākṣiṇātya, apparently a further vṛddhi-derivative from it: as if *belonging to the southernners*), and pāṇcātya and pāurastya (of a similar character: these three last are said by the grammarians to be accented on the final, as is proper for vṛddhi-derivatives); aptyā and āptyā perhaps contain the same suffix. In antastya and prāstastya is seen external combination.

d. The y of tya is in RV. always to be read as i after a heavy syllable.

e. त ta forms ekatá, dvitá, and tritá, also muhūrtá *moment*, and apparently avatá *well* (for water).

f. With न na are made purāná *ancient*, víṣṇa *various*, and perhaps samāná *like*.

g. With तन tana or (in a few cases) त tna are made adjectives from adverbs, nearly always of time: e. g. prātná *ancient*, nūtna or nūtna *present*, sanātána or sanátna *lasting*, divātana *of the day*, qvástana *of tomorrow*, hyastana *of yesterday*. The accent is various. The feminine is in nī.

h. The other quotable examples are: agretana, adyatana, adhūnātána, idam̐tana, idānīm̐tana, etarhitana, ciram̐tana, tadānīm̐tana, doṣātana, purātana, prāktana, prāstātána, sadātana, sāyam̐tána; from adverbs of place, adhastana, arvāktana, uparītana, kutastana; — with tna, parastāttna, purastāttna. A further vṛddhi-derivative, with equivalent meaning, nāutana (cf. above, c), occurs late. In PB. is once found tvattana *belonging to thee*.

i. Besides the obvious cases of an assimilated final m before this suffix, we have external combination in prāstātána.

j. वत् vat makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (383k. 1).

k. कट kaṭa, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the

grammarians as a suffix, in *utkaṭa*, *nikaṭa*, *prakaṭa*, *vikaṭa* (RV., once, voc.), and *saṁkaṭa* (all said to be accented on the final).

l. A suffix *vana* is perhaps to be seen in *nivanā*, *pravaṇa*; — and *āla* in *antarāla*.

m. Occasional derivatives made with the ordinary suffixes of primary and secondary derivation from numerals and particles have been noted above: thus, see *ana* (1150n), *ti* (1157h), *ant* (1172a), *u* (1178i), *a* (1209i), *ka* (1222c), *mna* (1224c), *maya* (1225a), *vant* (1233e).

## CHAPTER XVIII.

vs. tactic forms

### FORMATION OF COMPOUND STEMS.

1246. THE frequent combination of declinable stems with one another to form compounds which then are treated as if simple, in respect to accent, inflection, and construction, is a conspicuous feature of the language, from its earliest period.

a. There is, however, a marked difference between the earlier and the later language as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, it is quite rare that more than two stems are compounded together — except that to some much used and familiar compound, as to an integral word, a further element is sometimes added. But the later the period, and, especially, the more elaborate the style, the more a cumbrous and difficult aggregate of elements, abnegating the advantages of an inflective language, takes the place of the due syntactical union of formed words into sentences.

1247. Sanskrit compounds fall into three principal classes :

I. a. Copulative or aggregative compounds, of which the members are syntactically coördinate: a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction *and* (rarely *or*).

the red - white - and - blue

additive

blackbird

b. Examples are: *indrāvaruṇāu* *Indra and Varuna*, *satyāṇṛte* *truth and falsehood*, *kṛtākṛtām* *done and undone*, *devagandharvamaṇuṣoragarakṣasās* *gods and Gandharvas and men and serpents and demons*.

c. The members of such a compound may obviously be of any number, two or more than two. No compound of any other class can contain more than two members — of which, however, either or both may be compound, or decompound (below, 1248).

II. d. Determinative compounds, of which the former member is syntactically dependent on the latter, as its determining or qualifying adjunct: being either, 1. a noun (or pronoun) limiting it in a case-relation, or, 2. an adjective or adverb describing it. And, according as it is the one or the other, are to be distinguished the two sub-classes: A. Dependent compounds; and B. Descriptive compounds. Their difference is not an absolute one.

e. Examples are: of dependent compounds, *amitrasenā* *army of enemies*, *pādodaka* *water for the feet*, *āyurdā* *life-giving*, *hastakṛta* *made with the hands*; of descriptive compounds, *maharṣi* *great sage*, *priya-sakhi* *dear friend*, *amitra* *enemy*, *sukṛta* *well done*.

f. These two classes are of primary value; they have undergone no unifying modification in the process of composition; their character as parts of speech is determined by their final member, and they are capable of being resolved into equivalent phrases by giving the proper independent form and formal means of connection to each member. That is not the case with the remaining class, which accordingly is more fundamentally distinct from them than they are from one another.

III. g. Secondary adjective compounds, the value of which is not given by a simple resolution into their component parts, but which, though having as final member a noun, are themselves adjectives. These, again, are of two sub-classes: A. Possessive compounds, which are noun-compounds of the preceding class, with the idea of *possessing* added, turning them from nouns into adjectives; B. Compounds in which the second member is a noun syntactically dependent on the first: namely, 1. Prepositional compounds, of a governing preposition and following noun;

## 2. Participial compounds (only Vedic), of a present participle and its following object.

h. The sub-class **B.** is comparatively small, and its second division (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Vedic.

i. Examples are: *vīrasena* possessing a hero-army, *prajākāma* having desire of progeny, *tigmācṛṅga* sharphorned, *hāritasraj* wearing green garlands; *atimātrā* excessive; *yāvayāddveṣas* driving away enemies.

j. The adjective compounds are, like simple adjectives, liable to be used, especially in the neuter, as abstract and collective nouns, and in the accusative as adverbs; and out of these uses have grown apparent special classes of compounds, reckoned and named as such by the Hindu grammarians. The relation of the classification given above to that presented in the native grammar, and widely adopted from the latter by the European grammars, will be made clear as we go on to treat the classes in detail.

1248. A compound may, like a simple word, become a member in another compound, and this in yet another — and so on, without definite limit. The analysis of any compound, of whatever length (unless it be a copulative), must be made by a succession of bisections.

N.B.  
a. Thus, the dependent compound *pūrvajanmakṛta* done in a previous existence is first divisible into *kṛta* and the descriptive *pūrvajanman*, then this into its elements; the dependent *sakalanītiçāstratattvajña* knowing the essence of all books of behavior has first the root-stem *jñā* (for *√jñā*) knowing separated from the rest, which is again dependent; then this is divided into *tattva* essence and the remainder, which is descriptive; this, again, divides into *sakala* all and *nītiçāstra* books of behavior, of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (*sa* and *kalā* having its parts together).

1249. a. The final of a stem is combined with the initial of another stem in composition according to the general rules for external combination: they have been given, with their exceptions, in chap. III., above.

b. If a stem has a distinction of strong and weak forms, it regularly enters into composition as prior member in its weak form; or, if it has a triple distinction (311), in its middle form.

c. That is, especially, stems in *ṛ* or *ar*, *at* or *ant*, *ac* or *añc*, etc., show in composition the forms in *ṛ*, *at*, *ac*, etc.; while those in *an* and in usually (exceptions sometimes occur, as *vṛṣaṇaṇvā*, *vṛṣaṇvasú*) lose their final *n*, and are combined as if *a* and *i* were their proper finals.

d. As in secondary derivation (1203 d), so also as prior member of a compound, a stem sometimes shortens its final long vowel (usually *ī*, rarely *ā*): thus, in *V.*, *rodasīprā*, *ṛṭhiviṣṭhā*, *ṛṭhiviṣād*, *dhārapūta*, *dhāravākā*; in *B.*, *ṛṭhivī-dā*, *-bhāga*, *-lokā*, *sarasvatikṛta*, *senā-nigrāmaṇyāū*; in *S.*, *garbhiniṣṛāyaçcitta*, *sāmidheniprāṣa*, *vasativaripariharāṇa*, *ekādaçiniliṅga*, *prapharvidā*, *devatalakṣaṇa*, *devatapradhānatva*; later, *devakinandana*, *lakṣmivardhana*, *kumāridatta*, *muhūrtaja*, *iṣṭakacita*, etc.

e. Occasionally, a stem is used as prior member of a compound which does not appear, or not in that form, as an independent word: examples are *mahā great* (apparently used independently in *V.* in accusative), *tuvi mighty (V.)*, *dvi two*.

f. Not infrequently, the final member of a compound assumes a special form: see below, 1315.

1250. But a case-form in the prior member of a compound is by no means rare, from the earliest period of the language. Thus:

a. Quite often, an accusative, especially before a root-stem, or a derivative in *a* of equivalent meaning: for example, *patanḡā going by flight*, *dhanamjayā winning wealth*, *abhayaṃkarā causing absence of danger*, *puṣṭimbharā bringing prosperity*, *vācamāṅkhayā inciting the voice*; but also sometimes before words of other form, as *āçvamiṣṭi horse-desiring*, *çubhamyāvan going in splendor*, *subhāgaṃkaraṇa making happy*, *bhayaṃkartṛ causer of fear*. In a few cases, by analogy with these, a word receives an accusative form to which it has no right: thus, *hr̥daṃsāni*, *makṣūṅgama*, *vasum̐dhara*, *ātmambhari*.

b. Much more rarely, an instrumental: for example, *girāv̐dh increasing by praise*, *vācāstena stealing by incantation*, *krāt̐vāmagha gladly bestowing*, *bhāsāketu bright with light*, *vidmanāpas active with wisdom*.

c. In a very few instances, a dative: thus, *nareṣṭhā serving a man*, *asmēhiti errand to us*, and perhaps *kiyedhā* and *mahev̐dh*.

d. Not seldom, a locative; and this also especially with a root-stem or a derivative: for example, *agregā going at the head*, *divikṣṭ dwelling in the sky*, *vaneṣāh prevailing in the wood*, *aṅgeṣṭhā existing in the limbs*, *proṣṭheçayā lying on a couch*, *sutēkara active with the soma*, *divīcara moving in the sky*; *āreçatru having enemies far removed*, *sumnā-āpi near in favor*, *māderaghu hasting in excitement*, *yudhiṣṭhira firm in battle*, *antevāsin dwelling near*; *apsujā born in the waters*, *hr̥tsvās hurling at hearts*.

e. Least often, a genitive: thus, *rāyāskāma desirous of wealth*,

*akasyavid* knowing no one. But the older language has a few examples of the putting together of a genitive with its governing noun, each member of the combination keeping its own accent: see below, 1267 d.

f. Ablative forms are to be seen in *balātkāra* violence and *balāt-kṛta*, and perhaps in *parātpriya*. And a stem in *ṛ* sometimes appears in a copulative compound in its nominative form: thus, *pitāputrāu* father and son, *hotāpotārāu* the invoker and purifier. *Anyonya* one another is a fused phrase, of nominative and oblique case.

g. In a very few words, plural meaning is signified by plural form: thus, *apsuj*<sup>2</sup> etc. (in derivation, also, *apsu* is used as a stem), *hr̥tsvās*, *nṛ̥ṇhpranetra* conducting men, *rujaskara* causing pains, (and dual) *hanūkampa* trembling of the two jaws.

h. Much more often, of words having gender-forms, the feminine is used in composition, when the distinctive feminine sense is to be conveyed: e. g. *gopīnātha* master of the shepherdesses, *dāsīputra* son of a female slave, *mṛgīdṛç* gazelle-eyed, *pranītāpranāyana* vessel for consecrated water.

1251. The accent of compounds is very various, and liable to considerable irregularity even within the limits of the same formation; and it must be left to be pointed out in detail below. All possible varieties are found to occur. Thus:

a. Each member of the compound retains its own separate accent. This is the most anomalous and infrequent method. It appears in certain Vedic copulative compounds chiefly composed of the names of divinities (so-called *devatā-dvandvas*: 1255 ff.), and in a small number of aggregations partly containing a genitive case-form as prior member (1267 d).

b. The accent of the compound is that of its prior member. This is especially the case in the great class of possessive compounds; but also in determinatives having the participle in *ta* or *na* as final member, in those beginning with the negative *a* or *an*, and in other less numerous and important classes.

c. The accent of the compound is that of the final member. This is not on so large a scale the case as the preceding; but it is nevertheless quite common, being found in many compounds having a verbal noun or adjective as final member, in compounds beginning with the numerals *dvi* and *tri* or the prefixes *su* and *du*s, and elsewhere in not infrequent exceptions.

d. The compound takes an accent of its own, independent of that of either of its constituents, on its final syllable (not always, of course, to be distinguished from the preceding case). This method is largely followed: especially, by the regular copulatives, and by the great mass of dependent and descriptive noun-compounds, by most possessives beginning with the negative prefix; and by others.

e. The compound has an accent which is altered from that of one of its members. This is everywhere an exceptional and sporadically occurring

case, and the instances of it, noted below under each formation, do not require to be assembled here. Examples are: *medhāsāti* (*médha*), *tilāmiçra* (*tīla*), *khādhasta* (*khādī*), *yāvayāddveṣas* (*yāvāyant*); *çakadhūma* (*dhūmā*), *amṛta* (*mṛtā*), *suvīra* (*vīrā*), *tuvigrīva* (*grīvā*). A few words — as *vīçva*, *pūrva*, and sometimes *sārva* — take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

### I. Copulative Compounds.

1252. Two or more nouns — much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs — having a coördinate construction, as if connected by a conjunction, usually *and*, are sometimes combined into compounds.

a. This is the class to which the Hindu grammarians give the name of *dvandva pair*, *couple*; a *dvandva* of adjectives, however, is not recognized by them.

b. Compounds in which the relation of the two members is alternative instead of copulative, though only exceptional, are not very rare: examples are *nyūnādhika* *defective or redundant*, *jayaparājaya* *victory or defeat*, *kṛitotpanna* *purchased or on hand*, *kāṣṭhaloṣṭasama* *like a log or clod*, *pakṣimṛgatā* *the condition of being bird or beast*, *triṇṇad-viṇṇa* *numbering twenty or thirty*, *catuspañcakṛtvas* *four or five times*, *dvyeḥkāntara* *different by one or two*. A less marked modification of the copulative idea is seen in such instances as *priyasatya* *agreeable though true*, *prārthitadurlabha* *sought after but hard to obtain*; or in *çrāntāgata* *arrived weary*.

1253. The noun-copulatives fall, as regards their inflective form, into two classes:

1. a. The compound has the gender and declension of its final member, and is in number a dual or a plural, according to its "logical value," as denoting two or more than two individual things.

b. Examples are: *prāṇāpānāu* *inspiration and expiration*, *vrihīyavāu* *rice and barley*, *ṛksāmē* *verse and chant*, *kapotolūkāu* *dove and owl*, *candrādityāu* *moon and sun*, *hastyaçvāu* *the elephant and horse*, *ajāvāyas* *goats and sheep*, *devāsuraś* *the gods and demons*, *atharvāṅgirāśas* *the Atharvans and Angirases*, *sambādhātandryās* *anxieties and fatigues*, *vidyākarmāṇī* *knowledge and action*, *hastyaçvās* *elephants and horses*; of more than two members (no examples quotable from the older language), *çayyāsanabhogās* *lying, sitting, and eating*, *brāhmanakṣatriyaviṭçūdrās* *a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra*,

*rogaçokaparitāpabandhanavyasanāni* disease, pain, grief, captivity, and misfortune.

2. c. The compound, without regard to the number denoted, or to the gender of its constituents, becomes a neuter singular collective.

d. Examples are: *iṣṭāpūrtām* what is offered and bestowed, *aho-rātrām* a day and night, *kṛtākṛtām* the done and undone, *bhūtabhavyām* past and future, *keçaçmaçrū* hair and beard, *oṣadhivanaspatī* plants and trees, *candratāarakām* moon and stars, *ahinakulam* snake and ichneumon, *çirogrīvam* head and neck, *yūkamaççikamatkuṇam* lice, flies, and bugs.

1254. a. That a stem in *ṛ* as prior member sometimes takes its nominative form, in *ā*, was noticed above, 1250f.

b. A stem as final member is sometimes changed to an *a*-form to make a neuter collective: thus, *chattropānaham* an umbrella and a shoe.

c. The grammarians give rules as to the order of the elements composing a copulative compound: thus, that a more important, a briefer, a vowel-initial member should stand first; and that one ending in *a* should be placed last. Violations of them all, however, are not infrequent.

1255. In the oldest language (RV.), copulative compounds such as appear later are quite rare, the class being chiefly represented by dual combinations of the names of divinities and other personages, and of personified natural objects.

a. In these combinations, each name has regularly and usually the dual form, and its own accent; but, in the very rare instances (only three occurrences out of more than three hundred) in which other cases than the nom.-acc.-voc. are formed, the final member only is inflected.

b. Examples are: *īndrāsómā*, *īndrāvīṣṇū*, *īndrābṛhaspatī*, *agnī-śómāu*, *turvāçāyādū*, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, *uṣāsānāktā* (and, with intervening words, *nāktā... uṣāsā*), *sūryāmāsā*. The only plural is *īndrā-marutas* (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are *mitrā-vāruṇābhyām* and *mitrāvāruṇayos* (also *mitrāyor vāruṇayoḥ*), and *īndrāvāruṇayos* (each once only).

c. From *dyāvāpṛthivī* is made the very peculiar genitive *divāspr-thivyós* (4 times: AV. has *dyāvāpṛthivībhyām* and *dyāvāpṛthivyós*).

d. In one compound, *parjanya-vātā*, the first member (RV., once) does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (*indranā-satyā*, voc., is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present: thus, *īndrāpūṣṇós* (beside *īndrāpūṣāṇā*), *somāpūṣābhyām* (*somāpūṣāṇā* occurs only as voc.), *vātāparjanya*, *sūryācandramāsā*, and *īndrāgnī* (with *īndrāgnībhyām* and *īndrāgnyós*): *somārudrāu* is accented only



in ÇB. And in one, *indravāyū*, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.

e. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural *ajāvāyas*, the duals *ṛksāmé*, *satyānṛté*, *sācanānaçané*; also the neuter collective *iṣṭāpūrtām*, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective, *nilalohitām*. Further, the neuter plurals *ahorātrāṇi nycthemera*, and *ukthārkā* *praises and songs*, of which the final members as independent words are not neuter. No one of these words has more than a single occurrence.

1256. In the later Vedic (AV.), the usage is much more nearly accordant with that of the classical language, save that the class of neuter singular collectives is almost wanting.

a. The words with double dual form are only a small minority (a quarter, instead of three quarters, as in RV.); and half of them have only a single accent, on the final: thus, besides those in RV., *bhavārudrāū*, *bhavāçarvāū*; *agnāviṣṇū*, voc., is of anomalous form. The whole number of copulatives is more than double that in RV.

b. The only proper neuter collectives, composed of two nouns, are *keçaçmaçrū* *hair and heard*, *āñjanābhyañjanām* *salve and ointment*, and *kaçipūpabarhaṇām* *mat and pillow*, unified because of the virtual unity of the two objects specified. Neuter singulars, used in a similar collective way, of adjective compounds, are (besides those in RV.): *kṛtākṛtām* *what is done and undone* (instead of *what is done and what is undone*), *cittākūtām* *thought and desire*, *bhadrāpāpām* *good and evil*, *bhūtabhavyām* *past and future*.

1257. Copulative compounds composed of adjectives which retain their adjective character are made in the same manner, but are in comparison rare.

a. Examples are: *çuklakṛṣṇa* *light and dark*, *sthalajāudaka* *terrestrial and aquatic*, *dāntarājatasāuvarṇa* *of ivory and silver and gold*, used distributively; and *vṛttapīna* *round and plump*, *çāntānukūla* *tranquil and propitious*, *hr̥ṣṭasragrajoḥina* *wearing fresh garlands and free from dust*, *niṣekādiçmaçānānta* *beginning with conception and ending with burial*, used cumulatively; *nā 'tiçitoṣṇa* *not over cold or hot*, used alternatively; *kṣaṇadṛṣṭanaṣṭa* *seen for a moment and then lost*, *cintitopasthita* *at hand as soon as thought of*, in more pregnant sense.

b. In the Veda, the only examples noted are the cumulative *nilalohitā* and *iṣṭāpūrtā* etc., used in the neut. sing. as collectives (as pointed out above), with *tāmradhūmrā* *dark tawny*; and the distributive *dakṣiṇasavyā* *right and left*, *saptamāṣṭamā* *seventh and eighth*, and *bhadrāpāpā* *good and bad* (beside the corresponding neut. collective). Such combinations as *satyānṛté* *truth and falsehood*, *priyāpriyāṇi* *things*

*agreeable and disagreeable*, where each component is used substantively, are, of course, not to be separated from the ordinary noun-compounds.

c. A special case is that of the compound adjectives of direction: as *uttarapūrva north-east, prāgdakṣiṇa south-east, dakṣiṇapaścima south-west*, etc.: compare 1291 b.

1258. In accentuated texts, the copulative compounds have uniformly the accent (acute) on the final of the stem.

a. Exceptions are a case or two in AV., where doubtless the reading is false: thus, *vātāparjanya* (once: beside -*nyāyos*), *devamanuṣyās* (once: ÇB. -*syā*), *brahmarājanyābhyām* (also VS.); further, *vāko-pavākya* (ÇB.), *açanāyāpipāse* (ÇB.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives: thus, *āhardivi day by day, sāyāmprātar at evening and in the morning*. They have the accent of their prior member. Later occur also *bāhyantar, pratyagdakṣiṇā, pratyagudak*.

1260. Repeated words. In all ages of the language, nouns and pronouns and adjectives and particles are not infrequently repeated, to give an intensive, or a distributive, or a repetitional meaning.

a. Though these are not properly copulative compounds, there is no better connection in which to notice them than here. They are, as the older language shows, a sort of compound, of which the prior member has its own independent accent, and the other is without accent: hence they are most suitably and properly written (as in the Vedic *pada-texts*) as compounds. Thus: *jahy eṣāṁ vāraṁ-varam* *slay of them each best man*; *divé-dive* or *dyāvi-dyavi* *from day to day*; *āṅgād-aṅgāl lómno-lomnaḥ* *pārvaṇi-parvaṇi* *from every limb, from every hair, in each joint*; *prā-pra yajñāpatiṁ tira* *make the master of the sacrifice live on and on*; *bhūyo-bhūyaḥ qvāḥ-qvāḥ* *further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow*; *ékayāi-kayā* *with in each case one*; *vayāṁ-vayam* *our very selves*.

b. Exceptional and rare cases are those of a personal verb-form repeated: thus, *pībā-piba* (RV.), *yājasva-yajasva* (ÇB.), *véda-veda* (? ÇB.); — and of two words repeated: thus, *yāvad vā-yāvad vā* (ÇB.), *yatamé vā-yatame vā* (ÇB.).

c. In a few instances, a word is found used twice in succession without that loss of accent the second time which makes the repetition a virtual composite: thus, *nū nū* (RV.), *sām sām* (AV.), *ihé 'há* (AV.), *anāyā- 'nāyā* (ÇB.), *stuhí stuhí* (RV., acc. to *pada-text*).

d. The class of combinations here described is called by the native grammarians *āmreṣita added unto* (?).

1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, *ékādaça 11, dvāviṅcati 22, tríçata 103, cátuḥsahasra 1004*, and so on (476 ff.), as a special and primitive class of copulatives. They are accented on the prior member.

## II. Determinative Compounds.

1262. A noun or adjective is often combined into a compound with a preceding determining or qualifying word — a noun, or adjective, or adverb. Such a compound is conveniently called determinative.

1263. This is the class of compounds which is of most general and frequent occurrence in all branches of Indo-European language. Its two principal divisions have been already pointed out: thus, A. Dependent compounds, in which the prior member is a substantive word (noun or pronoun or substantively used adjective), standing to the other member in the relation of a case dependent on it; and B. Descriptive compounds, in which the prior member is an adjective, or other word having the value of an adjective, qualifying a noun; or else an adverb or its equivalent, qualifying an adjective. Each of these divisions then falls into two sub-divisions, according as the final member, and therefore the whole compound, is a noun or an adjective.

a. The whole class of determinatives is called by the Hindu grammarians *tatpuruṣa* (the term is a specimen of the class, meaning *his man*); and the second division, the descriptives, has the special name of *karmadhāraya* (of obscure application: the literal sense is something like *office-bearing*). After their example, the two divisions are in European usage widely known by these two names respectively.

### A. Dependent Compounds.

1264. Dependent Noun-compounds. In this division, the case-relation of the prior member to the other may be of any kind; but, in accordance with the usual relations of one noun to another, it is oftenest genitive, and least often accusative.

a. Examples are: of genitive relation, *devasenā* *army of gods*, *yamadūtā* *Yama's messenger*, *jīvalokā* *the world of the living*, *indra-*

*dhanús* Indra's bow, *brahmagavī* the Brahman's cow, *viṣagirī* poison-mount, *mitralābha* acquisition of friends, *mūrkhacatāni* hundreds of fools, *vīrasenasuta* Vīrasena's son, *rājendra* chief of kings, *asmat-putrās* our sons, *tadvacas* his words; — of dative, *pādodaka* water for the feet, *māsanīcaya* accumulation for a month; — of instrumental, *ātmasādṛcya* likeness with self, *dhānyārtha* wealth acquired by grain, *dharma-patnī* lawful spouse, *pitr-bandhū* paternal relation; — of ablative, *apsaraḥsambhava* descent from a nymph, *madviyoga* separation from me, *cāurabhaya* fear of a thief; — of locative, *jalakriḍā* sport in the water, *grāmavāsa* abode in the village, *puruṣānṛta* untruth about a man; — of accusative, *nagaragamana* going to the city.

**1265. Dependent Adjective-compounds.** In this division, only a very small proportion of the compounds have an ordinary adjective as final member; but usually a participle, or a derivative of agency with the value of a participle. The prior member stands in any case-relation which is possible in the independent construction of such words.

a. Examples are: of locative relation, *sthālipakva* cooked in a pot, *açvakovida* knowing in horses, *vayaḥsama* alike in age, *yudhiṣṭhira* steadfast in battle, *tanūcubhra* beautiful in body; — of instrumental, *māṛṣadṛça* like his mother; — of dative, *goḥita* good for cattle; — of ablative, *bhavadanya* other than you, *garbhāṣṭama* eighth from birth, *dr̥çyetara* other than visible (i. e. invisible); — of genitive, *bharataçreṣṭha* best of the Bharatas, *dvijottama* foremost of Brahmins: — with participial words, in accusative relation, *vedavīd* Veda-knowing, *annāda* food-eating, *tanūpāna* body-protecting, *satyavādīn* truth-speaking, *patragata* committed to paper (lit. gone to a leaf); — in instrumental, *madhupū* cleansing with honey, *svayāṁkṛta* self-made, *īndragupta* protected by Indra, *vidyāhīna* deserted by (i. e. destitute of) knowledge; — in locative, *hṛdayāvīdh* pierced in the heart, *ṛtvīj* sacrificing in due season, *divīcara* moving in the sky; — in ablative, *rājyabhraṣṭa* fallen from the kingdom, *vṛkabhīta* afraid of a wolf; — in dative, *çaraṇāgata* come for refuge.

**1266.** We take up now some of the principal groups of compounds falling under these two heads, in order to notice their specialities of formation and use, their relative frequency, their accentuation, and so on.

**1267.** Compounds having as final member ordinary nouns (such, namely, as do not distinctly exhibit the character of verbal nouns, of action or agency) are quite common. They are regularly and usually accented on the final syllable, without reference to the accent of either constituent. Examples were given above (1264 a).

a. A principal exception with regard to accent is *pāti master, lord* (and its feminine *pātnī*), compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, *prajāpati, vāsupati, ātithipati, gōpati, grhāpatnī*, etc. etc. (compare the verbal nouns in *ti*, below, 1274). But in a few words *pāti* retains its own accent: thus, *viṣpāti, rayipāti, paṣupāti, vasupātnī*, etc.; and the more general rule is followed in *apsarāpatī* and *vrājapatī* (AV.), and *nadīpatī* (VS.), *citpatī* (MS.; elsewhere *citpāti*).

b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, *janarājan, deva-vārman, hiraṇyatéjas, pṛtanāhāva, godhūma* and *çakadhūma* (but *dhūmā*); *vācāstena*.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are *dīvodāsa, vācāstena, uccāñṣravas, uccāñṣhoṣa, dūrēbhās* (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accented on both members: thus, *çacīpāti, sādaspāti, bṛhaspāti, vānaspāti, rāthaspāti, jāspāti* (also *jāspati*), *nārāçāṇsa, tánūnāptṛ, tánūnāpāt* (*tanū* as independent word), *çūnaḥçēpa*. And ÇB. has a long list of metronymics having the anomalous accentuation *kāutsīpūtra, gārgīpūtra*, etc.

1268. The compounds having an ordinary adjective as final member are (as already noticed) comparatively few.

a. So far as can be gathered from the scanty examples occurring in the older language, they retain the accent of the prior member: thus, *gāviṣṭhira* (AV. *gaviṣṭhira*), *tanūçubhra, maderaghu, yajñādhira, sāmavipra, tilāmiçra* (but *tīla*); but *kṛṣṭapacyā* *ripening in cultivated soil*.

1269. The adjective dependent compounds having as final member the bare root — or, if it end in a short vowel, generally with an added *t* — are very numerous in all periods of the language, as has been already repeatedly noticed (thus, 383f—h, 1147). They are accented on the root.

a. In a very few instances, the accent of words having apparently or conjecturally this origin is otherwise laid: thus, *āṇsatra, ānarviç, svāvṛj, pratyākṣadṛç, pūramdhi, oṣadhi, āramiç, uçādagh, vatsāpa, ābda*.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, *patamgā, girāvīdh, dhiyājūr, akṣṇayādrūh, hrdispṛç, divispṛç, vanesāh, diviçād, aṅgeṣṭhā, hrtsvās, pṛtsutūr, apsuajā*.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, *manoyūj* *yoked (yoking themselves) by the will*, *hrdayāvīdh* *pierced to the heart*, *manuja* *born of Manu*.

1270. Compounds made with verbal derivatives in *a*, both of action and of agency, are numerous, and take the accent usually on their final syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1148m).

a. Examples are: *hastagrābhā* hand-grasping, *devavandā* god-praising, *havidradā* devouring the offering, *bhuvanacyavā* shaking the world, *vrātyabruvā* calling one's self a *vrātya*; *akṣaparājayā* failure at play, *vaṣaṭkārā* utterance of *vashaṭ*, *gopoṣā* prosperity in cattle, *aṅgajvarā* pain in the limbs.

b. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives: above, 1268) that of the prior member: thus, *marūdvr̥dha*, *sutékara*, *divícara* (and other more questionable words). And *dúgha* milking, yielding is so accented as final: thus, *madhudúgha*, *kāmadúgha*.

c. Case-forms are especially frequent in the prior members of compounds with adjective derivatives in *a* showing *guṇa*-strengthening of the root: thus, for example, *abhayaṁkarā*, *yudhiṁgamā*, *dhanam̐jayā*, *puram̐darā*, *viṣvambharā*, *divākarā*, *talpeçayā*, *diviṣṭambhā*.

1271. Compounds with verbal nouns and adjectives in *ana* are very numerous, and have the accent always on the radical syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1150e).

a. Examples are: *keçavārdhana* hair-increasing, *āyuspratāraṇa* life-lengthening, *tanūpāna* body-protecting; *devahēḍana* hatred of the gods, *pumsūvana* giving birth to males.

b. A very few apparent exceptions as regards accent are really cases where the derivative has lost its verbal character: thus, *yamasādanā* Yama's realm, *āchādvidhāna* means of protection.

c. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in *ana*: thus, *sarūpaṁkārāṇa*, *ayakṣmaṁkārāṇa*, *subhāgaṁkārāṇa*, *vanam̐kārāṇa*.

1272. a. The action-nouns in *ya* (1213) are not infrequent in composition as final member, and retain their own proper accent (as in combination with prefixes). Sufficient examples were given above (1213).

b. The same is true of the equivalent feminines in *yā*: see above, 1213d.

c. The gerundives in *ya* (1213) hardly occur in the older language in combination with other elements than prefixes. The two *nīvibhāryā* and *prathamavāsyā* (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; *balavijñāyā* and *āçvabudhya* (?) are inconsistent with these and with one another.

1273. Compounds made with the passive participle in *ta* or *na* have the accent of their prior member (as do the combinations of the same words with prefixes: 1085a).

a. Examples are: *hástakṛta* made with the hand, *vīrājāta* born of a hero, *ghoṣabuddha* awakened by noise, *prajāpatiaṣṭa* created by *Prajūpati*, *devātta* given by the gods; and, of participles combined with prefixes, *īndraprasūta* incited by *Indra*, *bṛhaspātipraṇutta* driven away by *Bṛhaspati*, *ulkābhihata* struck by a thunderbolt, *vājraivihata*, *saṁvat-*

*sarásammita commensurate with the year. AV. has the anomalous apśú-samñcita quickened by the waters.*

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, *agnitaptá, indrotá, pitṛvittá, rathakritá, agnidagdhá* (beside *agnídagdha*), *kaviçastá* (beside *kaví-çasta*), *kavipraçastá*.

c. One or two special usages may be noticed. The participle *gata*, gone to, as final of a compound, is used in a loose way in the later language to express relation of various kinds: thus, *jagatigata* existing in the world, *tvadgata* belonging to thee, *sakhigata* relating to a friend, *citra-gata* in a picture, *putragataṁ sneham* affection toward a son, etc. The participle *bhūta* been, become is used in composition with a noun as hardly more than a grammatical device to give it an adjective form: thus, *idaṁ tamobhūtam* this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness); *tām ratnabhūtaṁ lokasya* her, being the pearl of the world; *kṣetrabhūtā smṛtā nārī* bijabhūtaḥ smṛtaḥ pumān a woman is regarded as a field; a man, as seed; and so on.

d. The other participles only seldom occur as finals of compounds: thus, *prāsakārmukabibhrat* bearing javelin and bow, *açāstravidvāṅs* not knowing the text-books, *arjunadarçivāṅs* having seen Arjuna, *apriya-çañsivāṅs* announcing what is disagreeable, *gāutamabruvāṇā* calling himself Gautama.

1274. Compounds with derivatives in *ti* have (like combinations with the prefixes: 1157e) the accent of the prior member.

a. Examples are: *dhānasāti* winning of wealth, *sómapiṭi* soma-drinking, *devāhūti* invocation of the gods, *nāmaūkti* utterance of homage, *havyādāti* presentation of offerings; and so *tokāsāti, devāhiti, rudráhūti, sūktókti, svagākṛti, dívīṣṭi*.

b. In *nemádhi, medhásāti, vanádhi* (all RV.), the accent of the prior member is changed from penult to final.

c. Where the verbal character of the derivative is lost, the general rule of final accent (1267) is followed: thus, *devahetí* weapon of the gods, *devasumatí* favor of the gods, *brahmacití* Brahman-pile. Also in *sar-vajyānī* entire ruin, the accent is that of compounds with ordinary nouns.

1275. Compounds with a derivative in *in* as final member have (as in all other cases) the accent on the *in*.

a. Thus, *ukthaçañśin* psalm-singing, *vratacārīn* vow-performing, *ṛṣabhadāyīn* bullock-giving, *satyavādīn* truth-speaking, *çronipratodīn* thigh-pounding.

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in *i*, having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.

a. Thus, *pathirákṣi* road-protecting, *havirmáthi* sacrifice-disturbing, *átmadūṣi* scul-larning, *pathiṣádi* sitting in the path, *sahobhári* strength-

bearing, *vasuvāni* winning good-things, *dhanasāni* gaining wealth, *manomūṣi* mind-stealing, *phalagrāhi* setting fruit; and, from reduplicated root, *urucākri* making room. Compounds with *-sāni* and *-vāni* are especially frequent in Veda and Brāhmaṇa; as independent words, nouns, these are accented *sāni* and *vāni*. In many cases, the words are not found in independent use. Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient numbers to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (1155f).

b. From *yhan* are made in composition *-ghni* and *-ghnī*, with accent on the ending: thus, *sahasraghni*, *ahighni*, *ṣvaghni*; *-dhi* from *ydhā* (1155g) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, *iṣudhī*, *garbhadhī*, *pucchadhī*.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in *van* have (like combinations with prefixes: 1169 c) the accent of the final member: namely, on the radical syllable.

a. Thus, *somapāvan* soma-drinking, *baladāvan* strength-giving, *pāpakṣtvan* evil-doing, *bahusūvan* much-yielding, *talpaṣivan* lying on a couch, *rathayāvan* going in a chariot, *drugaḍvan* sitting on a tree, *agrētvarī* f. going at the head. The accent of the obscure words *mātarīṣvan* and *mātarībhvan* is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final *man* appear to follow the same rule as those with *van*: thus, *svāduḥśādman* sharing out sweets, *āḥuhēman* steed-impelling.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence, may be briefly noticed: thus, in *u*, *rāṣṭradipsū*, *devapiyū*, *govindū*, *vanargū* (?): compare 1178 e; — in *nu* or *tnu*, *lokakṛtnū*, *surūpakṛtnū*: compare 1196; — in *tr*, *nṛpātī*, *mandhātī*, *haskartī* (*vasudhātara*s, AV., is doubtless a false reading). The derivatives in *as* are of infrequent occurrence in composition (as in combination with prefixes: above, 1151 k), and appear to be treated as ordinary nouns: thus, *yajña-vacās* (but *hiraṇyatéjas*, AV.).

## B. Descriptive Compounds.

1279. In this division of the class of determinatives, the prior member stands to the other in no distinct case-relation, but qualifies it adjectively or adverbially, according as it (the final member) is noun or adjective.

a. Examples are: *nīlotpala* blue lotus, *sarvagūṇa* all good quality, *priyasakha* dear friend, *maharṣi* great-sage, *rajatapātrā* silver cup; *ājñāta* unknown, *sūkṛta* well done, *duḥkṛt* ill-doing, *puruṣtutā* much praised, *pūnarṇava* renewed.

b. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun, or



an adverb before an adjective; other parts of speech are sometimes used adjectively and adverbially in that position.

c. The boundary between descriptive and dependent compounds is not an absolute one; in certain cases it is open to question, for instance, whether a prior noun, or adjective with noun-value, is used more in a case-relation, or adverbially.

d. Moreover, where the final member is a derivative having both noun and adjective value, it is not seldom doubtful whether an adjective compound is to be regarded as descriptive, made with final adjective, or possessive, made with final noun. Sometimes the accent of the word determines its character in this respect, but not always.

e. A satisfactorily simple and perspicuous classification of the descriptive compounds is not practicable; we cannot hold apart throughout the compounds of noun and of adjective value, but may better group both together, as they appear with prefixed elements of various kinds.

1280. The simplest case is that in which a noun as final member is preceded by a qualifying adjective as prior member.

a. In this combination, both noun and adjective may be of any kind, verbal or otherwise. The accent is (as in the corresponding class of dependent noun-compounds: 1267) on the final syllable.

b. Thus, *ajñātayakṣmā* unknown disease, *mahādhanā* great wealth, *kṣipracyenā* swift hawk, *kṛṣṇaṇakunī* black bird, *dakṣiṇāgnī* southern fire, *urukṣitī* wide abode, *adharahanū* lower jaw, *itarajanā* other folks, *sarvātmān* whole soul, *ekavirā* sole hero, *saptarṣi* seven sages, *tṛtīya-savanā* third libation, *ekonaviṇṣatī* a score diminished by one, *jāgrat-svapnā* waking sleep, *yāvayatsakhā* defending friend, *apakṣīyamāṇa-pakṣā* waning half.

c. There are not a few exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with *viṣva* (in composition, accented *viṣvā*), which itself retains the accent: thus, *viṣvādevās* all the gods, *viṣvāmānuṣa* every man. For words in *ti*, see below, 1287 d. Sporadic cases are *madhyāṃdina*, *vṛṣākapi*, both of which show an irregular shift of tone in the prior member; and a few others.

d. Instead of an adjective, the prior member is in a few cases a noun used appositionally, or with a quasi-adjective value. Thus, *rājayakṣmā* king-disease, *brahmarṣi* priest-sage, *rājarṣi* king-sage, *rājadanta* king-tooth, *devajana* god-folk, *duhitṛjana* daughter-person, *ṣāmitatā* creeper named *ṣāmī*, *muṣikākhyā* the name "mouse", *jaya-ṣabda* the word "conquer", *ujhitaṣabda* the word "deserted"; or, more figuratively, *ghānaraka* house-hell (house which is a hell, *ṣāpāgni* curse-fire (consuming curse).

e. This group is of consequence, inasmuch as in possessive application

it is greatly extended, and forms a numerous class of appositional compounds: see below, 1302.

f. This whole subdivision, of nouns with preceding qualifying adjectives, is not uncommon; but it is greatly (in AV., for example, more than five times) exceeded in frequency by the sub-class of possessives of the same form: see below, 1298.

1281. The adverbial words which are most freely and commonly used as prior members of compounds, qualifying the final member, are the verbal prefixes and the words of direction related with them, and the inseparable prefixes, *a* or *an*, *su*, *dus*, etc. (1121). These are combined not only with adjectives, but also, in quasi-adjectival value, with nouns; and the two classes of combinations will best be treated together.

1282. Verbal adjectives and nouns with preceding adverbs. As the largest and most important class under this head might properly enough be regarded the derivatives with preceding verbal prefixes. These, however, have been here reckoned rather as derivatives from roots combined with prefixes (1141), and have been treated under the head of derivation, in the preceding chapter. In taking up the others, we will begin with the participles.

1283. The participles belonging to the tense-systems — those in *ant* (or *at*), *māna*, *āna*, *vāns* — are only rarely compounded with any other adverbial element than the negative *a* or *an*, which then takes the accent.

a. Examples are: *ānadant*, *ādadat*, *ānaçnant*, *āsravant*, *ālubbh-yant*, *ādāsyant*, *āditsant*, *ādevayant*; *āmanyamāna*, *āhiṁsāna*, *āchidyamāna*; *ādadivāns*, *ābibhīvāns*, *atasthāna*; and, with verbal prefixes, *ānapasphurant*, *ānāgamiṣyant*, *ānabhyāgamiṣyant*, *āvirādhayant*, *āvicācalat*, *āpratimanyūyamāna*.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: *arundhatī*, *ajārantī*, *acodānt* (RV., once: doubtless a false reading; the simple participle is *cōdant*); AV. has *anipādyamāna* for RV. *ānipadyamāna* (and the published text has *asaṁyānt*, with a part of the manuscripts); ÇB. has *akāmāyamāna*.

c. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been noted in the Veda *-punardiyamāna* (in *āpunard-*) and *sūvidvāns*. In *alalābhāvant* and *jañjanābhāvant* (RV.), as in *astamīyānt* and *astameṣyānt* (AV.), we have participles of a compound conjugation (1091), in which, as has been pointed out, the accent is as in combinations with the verbal prefixes.

1284. The passive (or past) participle in *ta* or *na* is much more variously compounded; and in general (as in the case of the verbal prefixes: 1085a) the preceding adverbial element has the accent.

a. Thus, with the negative *a* or *an* (by far the most common case): *ākṛta*, *ādabdhā*, *āriṣṭa*, *ānādhṛṣṭa*, *āparājita*, *āsaṁkhyāta*, *āna-bhyārūḍha*, *āparimitasamṛddha*; — with *su*, *sūjāta*, *sūhuta*, *sūsaṁ-ṣita*, *svāraṁkṛta*; — with *dus*, *dūṣcarita*, *dūrdhita* and *dūrhita*, *dūḥṣṭa*; — with other adverbial words, *dāṁsujāta*, *nāvajāta*, *sāna-ṣruta*, *svayāṁkṛta*, *trīpratīṣṭhita*: *āraṁkṛta* and *kakajākṛta* are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with *a* or *an*, *anāçastā*, *apra-çastā*, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, *amṛta*, *adīṣṭa*, *acīta*, *ayūta* *myriad*, *atūrta* (beside *ātūrta*), *asūrta* (? beside *sūrta*); — with *su* (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), *subhūta*, *sūktā*, *supraçastā*, *svākta*, *sukṛtā* and *sujātā* (beside *sūkṛta* and *sūjāta*), and a few others; with *dus* (quite as numerous as the regular cases), *duritā* (also *dūrta*), *duruktā*, *duṣkṛtā* (also *dūṣkṛta*), *durbhūta*; with *sa*, *sajātā*; with other adverbs, *amotā*, *ariṣṭutā*, *tuvijātā*, *prācīnopavitā*, *tadānīṁdugdhā*, *prātardugdhā*, etc., and the compounds with *puru*, *purujātā*, *puruprajātā*, *purupraçastā*, *puruṣtutā*, etc., and with *svayam*, *svayāṁkṛtā* etc. The proper name *aṣāḍhā* stands beside *āṣāḍha*; and AV. has *abhinnā* for RV. *ābhinna*.

1285. The gerundives occur almost only in combination with the negative prefix, and have usually the accent on the final syllable.

a. Examples are: *anāpyā*, *anindyā*, *abudhyā*, *asahyā*, *ayodhyā*, *amokyā*; *adviṣeṇyā*; *ahnavāyyā*; and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are *asaṁkhyeyā*, *apramṛṣyā*, *anapavṛjyā*, *anatyudyā*, *anā-dhṛṣyā*, *avimokyā*, *anānukṛtyā* (the accent of the simple word being *saṁkhyeyā* etc.).

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: *ānedyā*, *ādābhya*, *āgohya*, *ājoṣya*, *āyabhya*. The two *anavadharṣyā* and *anativyādhyā* (both AV.) belong to the *yā*-division (1213b) of gerundives, and have retained the accent of the simple word. And *āghnya* and *aghnyā* occur together.

c. The only compounds of these words with other adverbial elements in V. are *sūyabhya* (accented like its twin *āyabhya*) and *prathamavāsyā* (which retains the final circumflex), and perhaps *ekavādyā*.

d. The neuter nouns of the same form (1213c: except *sadhāstutya*) retain their own accent after an adverbial prior member: thus, *purvapāyāya*, *pūrvapēya*, *amutrābhūya*; and *sahāçēyya*. And the negated gerundives instanced above are capable of being viewed as possessive compounds with such nouns.

e. Some of the other verbal derivatives which have rules of their own as to accent etc. may be next noticed.

1286. The root-stem (pure root, or with *t* added after a short final vowel: 1147 d) is very often combined with a preceding adverbial word, of various kinds; and in the combination it retains the accent.

a. Examples are: with inseparable prefixes, *adrūh* not harming, *asū* not giving birth, *arūc* not shining; *sukṣt* well-doing, *suṣrūt* hearing well; *duṣkṣt* ill-doing, *dūdāc* (199 d) impious; *sayūj* joining together, *samād* conflict; *sahajā* born together, *sahavāh* carrying together; — with other adverbs, *amājūr* growing old at home, *upariṣpṣ* touching upward, *punarbhū* appearing again, *prātaryūj* harnessed early, *sadyahkṛi* bought the same day, *sākamvīdh* growing up together, *sadaṁdī* ever-binding, *viṣūvṣt* turning to both sides, *vṛthāsāh* easily overcoming; — with adjectives used adverbially, *uruvyāc* wide-spreading, *prathamajā* first-born, *raghuṣyād* swift-moving, *navasū* newly giving birth, *ekajā* only born, *ṣukrapīc* brightly adorned, *dvijā* twice born, *trivṛt* triple, *svarāj* self-ruling; — with nouns used adverbially, *ṣambhū* beneficent, *sūryaṣvīt* shining like the sun, *iṣānakṣt* acting as lord, *svayambhū* self-existent; and, with accusative case-form, *patamgā* going by flight.

b. When, however, a root-stem is already in composition, whether with a verbal prefix or an element of other character, the further added negative itself takes the accent (as in case of an ordinary adjective: below, 1288 a): thus, for example, *ānakṣit* not abiding, *ānāvṛt* not turning back, *āvidviṣ* not showing hostility, *āduṣkṛt* not ill-doing, *ānaṣvadā* not giving a horse, *āpaṣuhan* not slaying cattle (*anāgās* would be an exception, if it contained *ṽgā*: which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with *su* seem to retain the radical accent: thus, *supratūr*, *svābhū*, *svāyūj*: *svāvṛj* is an unsupported exception.

c. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as *prātiprāc*, *sadhāstha*, *ādhṛigu*, and the words having *añc* as final member (407 ff.: if this element is not, after all, a suffix): compare 1269 a.

1287. Other verbal derivatives, requiring to be treated apart from the general body of adjectives, are few and of minor importance. Thus:

a. The derivatives in *a* are in great part of doubtful character, because of the possibility of their being used with substantive value to make a possessive compound. The least ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (1148 j), which have the accent on the suffix: thus, *asunvā*, *apaṣyā*, *akṣudhyā*, *avidasyā*, *anāmṛnā*, *sadāpṛnā*, *punarmanyā*; and with them belong such cases as *atṛpā*, *avṛdhā*, *araṅgamā*, *urukramā*, *evāvadā*, *satṛāsahā*, *punaḥsarā*, *puraḥsarā*; and the nouns *sāyam-bhavā*, *sahacārā*, *prātaḥsāvā*, *mithoyodhā*. Differently accented, on the other hand, although apparently of the same formation, are such as *ānapasphura*, *ānavahvara* (compare the compounds noticed at 1286 b), *sadāvṛdha*, *sūbharva*, *nyagródha*, *puroḍācā*, *sadhamāda*, *sudūgha*, *supācā*, *suhāva*, and others. Words like *adābha*, *durhāṇa*, *sukāra*, *suyāma*, are probably possessives.

b. The derivatives in *van* keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare 1169 c, 1277): thus, *ācupátvan* and *raghupátvan* *swift-flying*, *puroyāvan* *going in front*, *sukṣ́tvan* *well-doing*; and *sutárman* and *suváhman* and *raghuyáman* are probably to be classed with them. But the negative prefix has the accent even before these: thus, *áyajvan*, *ārāvan*, *āprayutvan*; and *satyámadvan* (if it be not possessive) has the accent of its prior member.

c. A few words in *i* seem to have (as in dependent compounds: 1276) the accent on the radical syllable: thus, *durgṛ́bhi*, *ṛjuváni*, *tuviṣ́váni*.

d. The derivatives in *ti* are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them: as, *ácitti*, *ábhūti*, *ánāhūti*; with *su* and *dus*, the compound is accented now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on either (*súnīti* and *sunítí*, *dúṣṭuti* and *duṣṭutí*); with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails: thus, *sáhuti*, *sadhástuti*, *puróhiti*, *pūrvápīti*, *pūrvyástuti*.

e. The derivatives in *in* have, as in general, the accent on the suffix: thus, *pūrvásín*, *bahucárín*, *sādhudevín*, *savásín*, *kevalā́dín*. But, with the negative prefix, *ánāmin*, *ávitārin*.

f. Other combinations are too various in treatment, or are represented by too few examples in accentuated texts, to justify the setting up of rules respecting them.

1288. Of the remaining combinations, those made with the inseparable prefixes form in some measure a class by themselves.

1. a. The negative prefix *a* or *an*, when it directly negatives the word to which it is added, has a very decided tendency to take the accent.

b. We have seen above (1283) that it does so even in the case of present and perfect and future participles, although these in combination with a verbal prefix retain their own accent (1085: but there are exceptions, as *avadánt*, *apaçyánt*, etc. ÇB.); and also in the case of a root-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (1286 b). And the same is true of its other combinations.

c. Thus, with various adjective words: *átandra*, *ádapḥra*, *ádāçuri*, *ánṛju*, *ádevayu*, *átṛṇaj*, *átavyāns*, *ánāmin*, *ádvaýāvin*, *āpracetas*, *ānatyavant*, *ānupadasvant*, *āpramāyuka*, *āmamri*, *āprajāñi*, *ávididhayu*, *ánagnidagdha*, *ákāmakarçana*, *āpaçcāddagḥvan*. Further, with nouns, *āpati*, *ákumāra*, *ābrāhmaṇa*, *ávidyā*, *āçraddhā*, *āvratya*.

d. But there are a number of exceptions, in which the accent is on the final syllable, without regard to the original accentuation of the final member: thus, for example, *acitrá*, *açrírā*, *aviprá*, *ayaññiyá*, *anāsmāká*, *asthūrí*, *anáçú*, *ajarayú*, *anāmayitnú*; and in *amítṛa* *enemy*, and *avíra* *unmanly*, there is a retraction of the accent from the final syllable of the final member to its penult.

2. e. The prefixes *su* and *dus* have this tendency in a much less degree, and their compounds are very variously accented, now on the prefix, now on the final syllable, now on the accented syllable of the final member; and occasionally on either of two syllables.

f. Thus, for example, *súbhadra*, *súvipra*, *súpakva*, *súbrāhmaṇa*, *súbhīṣaj*; *sutīrthá*, *suvasaná*, *suśārathí*, *supāçá*, *sucitrá*; *suçéva*, *suhótṛ*: *suvíra* is like *avíra*; — *durmitrá*, *duṣvápnya*; and *ducchúná* (168b), with irregular retraction of accent (*çuná*).

3. g. The compounds with *sa* are too few to furnish occasion for separate mention; and those with the interrogative prefix in its various forms are also extremely rare in the Veda: examples are *kucará*, *katpayá*, *kábandha*, *kunannamá*, *kumará*, *kúyava*, *kuśáva*.

1289. The verbal prefixes are sometimes used in a general adverbial way, qualifying a following adjective or noun.

a. Examples of such combinations are not numerous in the Veda. Their accentuation is various, though the tone rests oftenest on the preposition. Thus, *áhipati* *over-lord*, *áparūpa* *mis-form*, *prātiçatru* *opposing foe*, *prápada* *fore part of foot*, *prāṇapāt* *great-grandchild*, *vīpakva* *quite done*, *sāmpriya* *mutually dear*; *upajīhvikā* *side tongue* (with retraction of the accent of *jihvā*); *antardeçá* *intermediate direction*, *pradīv* *forward heaven*, *prapitāmahá* (also *prāpitāmaha*) *great-grandfather*, *pratiñanā* *opponent*, *vyadhvā* *midway*. These compounds are more frequent with possessive value (below, 1305).

b. This use of the verbal prefixes is more common later, and some of them have a regular value in such compounds. Thus, *ati* denotes excess, as in *atidūra* *very far*, *atibhaya* *exceeding fear*, *átipūruṣa* (ÇB.) *chief man*; *adhi*, superiority, as in *adhidanta* *upper-tooth*, *adhistrī* *chief woman*; *abhi* is intensive, as in *abhinamra* *much incliving*, *abhinava* *span-new*, *abhirucira* *delightful*; *ā* signifies somewhat, as in *ākuṣila* *somewhat crooked*, *ānila* *bluish*; *upa* denotes something accessory or secondary, as in *upapurāṇa* *additional Purāṇa*; *pari*, excess, as in *paridurbala* *very weak*; *prati*, opposition, as in *pratipakṣa* *opposing side*, *pratipustaka* *copy*; *vi*, variation or excess, as in *vidūra* *very far*, *vipāṇdu* *greyish*, *vikṣudra* *respectively small*; *sam*, completeness, as in *sampakva* *quite ripe*.

1290. Other compounds with adverbial prior members are quite irregularly accented.

Thus, the compounds with *puru*, on the final (compare the participles with *puru*, 1284b): as, *purudasmá*, *purupriyá*, *puruçandrá*; those with *púnar*, on the prior member, as *púnarṇava*, *púnarmagha*, *púnar-yuvan*, *púnarvasu* (but *punaḥsará* etc.); those with *satás*, *satíná*, *satyá*, the same, as *satómahant*, *satínámanyu*, *satyámugra*; a few combinations of nouns in *tr* and *ana* with adverbs akin with the prefixes, on the final syllable, as *puraētṛ*, *poraḥsthātṛ*, *upariçayaná*, *prātaḥsavaná*; and miscellaneous cases are *mithóavadyapa*, *háriçandra*, *álpaçayu*, *sādhvaryá*, *yācchreṣṭhá* and *yāvachchreṣṭhá*, *jyógamayāvin*.

1291. One or two exceptional cases may be noted, as follows:

a. An adjective is sometimes preceded by a noun standing toward it in a quasi-adverbial relation expressive of comparison or likeness: e. g. *çukababhru* (VS.) *parrot-brown*, *ūrṇāmṛdu* (TB.) *soft as wool*, *prāṇa-priya* *dear as life*, *kuçeçayarajomṛdu* *soft as lotus-pollen*, *bakālina* *hidden like a heron*, *mattamātaṅgagāmin* *moving like a maddened elephant*.

b. An adjective is now and then qualified by another adjective: e. g. *kṛṣṇāita* *dark-gray*, *dhūmrāroḥita* *grayish red*: and compare the adjectives of intermediate direction, 1257 c.

2.13 c. The adjective *pūrva* is in the later language frequently used as final member of a compound in which its logical value is that of an adverb qualifying the other member (which is said to retain its own accent). Thus, *dr̥ṣṭapūrva* *previously seen*, *pariṇītapūrva* *already married*, *aparijñātapūrva* *not before known*, *somapītapūrva* *having formerly drunk soma*, *striṭpūrva* *formerly a woman*.

### III. Secondary Adjective Compounds.

1292. a. A compound having a noun as its final member very often wins secondarily the value of an adjective, being inflected in the three genders to agree with the noun which it qualifies, and used in all the constructions of an adjective.

b. This class of compounds, as was pointed out above (1247. III.), falls into the two divisions of A. Possessives, having their adjective character given them by addition of the idea of *possessing*; and B. those in which the final member is syntactically dependent on or governed by the prior member.

#### A. Possessive Compounds.

1293. The possessives are noun-compounds of the preceding class, determinatives, of all its various subdivisions, to which is given an adjective inflection, and which take on an adjective meaning of a kind which is most conveniently and accurately defined by adding *having* or *possessing* to the meaning of the determinative.

a. Thus: the dependent *sūryatejās* *sun's brightness* becomes the

1 desc. compd | + 1 x 1 > poss. compd

possessive *sūryatejas* possessing the brightness of the sun; *yajñakāmā* desire of sacrifice becomes *yajñākāma* having desire of sacrifice; the descriptive *bṛhadratha* great chariot becomes the possessive *bṛhadratha* having great chariots; *āhasta* not hand becomes *ahastā* handless; *durgandhi* ill savor becomes *durgāndhi* of ill savor; and so on.

b. A copulative compound is not convertible into an adjective directly, any more than is a simple noun, but requires, like the latter, a possessive suffix or other means: e. g. *vāgghastavant*, *doṣagunin*, *rajaṣtamaska*, *ācīrogrīva*, *anṛgyajus*. A very small number of exceptions, however, are found: thus, *somendrá* (TS.), *stómapṛṣṭha* (VS. TS.), *hastyṛṣabha* (ÇB.), *dāśiṇiṣka* (ChU.), and, later, *cakramusala*, *śadānanda*, *saccidānanda*, *sāṅkhyayoga* (as n. pr.), *balābala*, *bhūtabhāutika*.

c. The name given by the native grammarians to the possessive compounds is *bahuvrīhi*: the word is an example of the class, meaning *possessing much rice*.

d. The name "relative", instead of possessive, sometimes applied to this class, is an utter misnomer; since, though the meaning of such a compound (as of any attributive word) is easily cast into a relative form, its essential character lies in the possessive verb which has nevertheless to be added, or in the possessive case of the relative which must be used: thus, *mahākavi* and *āyurdā*, descriptive and dependent, are "relative" also, *who is a great poet*, and *that is life-giving*, but *bṛhadratha*, possessive, means *who has a great chariot*, or *whose is a great chariot*.

1294. a. That a noun, simple or compound, should be added to another noun, in an appositive way, with a value virtually attributive, and that such nouns should occasionally gain by frequent association and application an adjective form also, is natural enough, and occurs in many languages; the peculiarity of the Sanskrit formation lies in two things. First, that such use should have become a perfectly regular and indefinitely extensible one in the case of compounded words, so that any compound with noun-final may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a simple noun must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adapt it to adjective use: for example, that while *hasta* must become *hastin* and *bāhu* must become *bāhumant*, *hiraṇyahasta* and *mahābāhu* change from noun to adjective value with no added ending. And second, that the relation of the qualified noun to the compound should have come to be so generally that of possession, not of likeness, nor of appurtenance, nor of any other relation which is as naturally involved in such a construction: that we may only say, for example, *mahābāhuḥ puruṣaḥ* *man with great arms*, and not also *mahābāhur maṇiḥ* *jewel for a great arm*, or *mahābāhavaḥ ṇākhāḥ* *branches like great arms*.

b. There are, however, in the older language a few derivative adjective compounds which imply the relation of appurtenance rather than that of possession, and which are with probability to be viewed as survivals of a state of things antecedent to the specialization of the general class as



possessive (compare the similar exceptions under possessive suffixes, 1230g, 1233f). Examples are: *viçvānara* of or for all men, belonging to all (and so *viçvākṛṣṭi*, -*carṣaṇi*, -*kṛṣṭi*, -*gotra*, -*manuṣ*, -*āyu*, and *sarvāpaçu*, *saptāmānuṣa*), *viçvāçārada* of every autumn, *vipathā* for bad roads, *dvirājā* [battle] of two kings, *āçvapṛṣṭha* carried on horseback, *vīrāpastya* abiding with heroes, *pūrṇamāsa* at full moon, *adévaka* for no divinity, *bahudevata* or -*tyā* for many divinities, *aparisaṃhvatsara* not lasting a full year, *ekādaçakapāla* for eleven dishes, *somendrā* for Soma and Indra. And the compounds with final member in *ana* mentioned at 1296b are probably of the same character. But also in the later language, some of the so-called *dvigu*-compounds (1312) belong with these: so *dvigu* itself, as meaning worth two cows, *dvinaū* bought for two ships; also occasional cases like *devāsura* [*saṃgrāma*] of the gods and demons, *narahaya* of man and horse, *çakramusala* with discus and club, *gurutalpa* violating the teacher's bed.

1295. The possessive compound is distinguished from its substrate, the determinative, generally by a difference of accent. This difference is not of the same nature in all the divisions of the class; but oftenest, the possessive has as a compound the natural accent of its prior member (as in most of the examples given above).

1296. Possessively used dependent compounds, or possessive dependents, are very much less common than those corresponding to the other division of determinatives.

a. Further examples are: *mayūraroman* having the plumes of peacocks, *agnītejas* having the brightness of fire, *jñātīmukha* wearing the aspect of relatives, *pātikāma* desiring a husband, *hastipāda* having an elephant's feet, *rājanyābandhu* having kshatriyas for relatives.

b. The accent is, as in the examples given, regularly that of the prior member, and exceptions are rare and of doubtful character. A few compounds with derivatives in *ana* have the accent of the final member: e. g. *indrapāna* serving as drink for Indra, *devasādana* serving as seat for the gods, *rayisthāna* being source of wealth; but they contain no implication of possession, and are possibly in character, as in accent, dependent (but compare 1294b). Also a few in *as*, as *nṛçākṣas* men-beholding, *nṛvāhas* men-bearing, *kṣetrasādhas* field-prospering, are probably to be judged in the same way.

1297. Possessively used descriptive compounds, or possessive descriptives, are extremely numerous and of every variety of character; and some kinds of combination which are rare in proper descriptive use are very common as possessives.

a. They will be taken up below in order, according to the char-

acter of the prior member — whether the noun-final be preceded by a qualifying adjective, or noun, or adverb.

1298. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are (as pointed out above, 1280f) very much more common than descriptives of the same form.

a. They regularly and usually have the accent of their prior member: thus, *anyārūpa* of other form, *ugrābāhu* having powerful arms, *jivāputra* having living sons, *dirghācmaṣru* longbearded, *bṛhācchra* of great renown, *bhūrimūla* many-rooted, *mahāvadha* bearing a great weapon, *viçvārūpa* having all forms, *çukrāvarṇa* of bright color, *çivābhi-marçana* of propitious touch, *satyāsaṁdha* of true promises, *sārvāṅga* whole-limbed, *svāyaça* having own glory, *hāritasraj* wearing yellow garlands.

b. Exceptions, however, in regard to accent are not rare (a seventh or eighth of the whole number, perhaps). Thus, the accent is sometimes that of the final member; especially with derivatives in *as*, as *tuvirādhas*, *purupéças*, *prthupákṣas*, and others in which (as above, 1296b) a determinative character may be suspected: thus, *urujráyas* beside *urujrí*, *uruvyáças* beside *uruvyác*, and so on; but also with those of other final, as *ṛjuhāsta*, *çitikákṣa* etc., *kṛṣṇakārṇa*, *citradiçika*, *tuvicūṣma*, *ṛjukrátu*, *prthupárçu*, *puruvártman*, *raghuyāman*, *viḍupátman*. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final to the first syllable of the second member: thus, *aṁhubhēda*, *tuvigríva*, *puruvíra*, *pururūpa*, *çitibāhu* (also *çitibāhú*). The largest class is that of compounds which take the accent upon their final syllable (in part, of course, not distinguishable from those which retain the accent of the final member): for example, *bahvanná*, *nilanakhá*, *puruputrá*, *viçvāṅgá*, *svapatí*, *tuvipratí*, *prçniparní* f., *darçataçrí*, *pūtirajjú*, *asitajjú*, *prthugmán*, *bahuprajás*.

c. The adjective *viçva* all, as prior member of a compound (and also in derivation), changes its accent regularly to *viçvá*; *sārva* whole, all does the same in a few cases.

1299. Possessive compounds with a participle preceding and qualifying the final noun-member are numerous, although such a compound with simple descriptive value is almost unknown. The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior member.

a. The participle is oftenest the passive one, in *ta* or *na*. Thus, *chinnápakṣa* with severed wing, *dṛtárāṣṭra* of firmly held royalty, *hatāmātr* whose mother is slain, *iddhāgni* whose fire is kindled, *uttānā-hasta* with outstretched hand, *práyatadakṣiṇa* having presented sacrificial gifts; and, with prefixed negative, *āriṣṭavīra* whose men are unharmed, *átaptatanu* of unburned substance, *ánabhimlātavarṇa* of untarnished color. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: there have been noticed only *paryastākṣá*, *vyastakeçí* f., *achinnaparná*.

b. Examples occur of a present participle in the same situation. In about half the (accentuated) instances, it gives its own accent to the compound: thus, *dyutádyāman*, *dhṛṣádvarṇa* etc., *ṣucódratha*, *rúṇad-vatsa* etc., *bhrā́jajanman* etc., *saṁyád-vīra*, *stanáyadama*, *sádhad-iṣṭi*; in the others, the accent is drawn forward to the final syllable of the participle (as in the compounds with governing participle: below, 1309): thus, *dravát-pāṇi* etc. (*dravát* also occurs as adverb), *rapádūdhan*, *svanádratha*, *arcáddhūma*, *bhandádiṣṭi*, *krandádiṣṭi*. With these last agrees in form *jarádaṣṭi* *attaining old age*, *long-lived*; but its make-up, in view of its meaning, is anomalous.

c. The RV. has two compounds with the perfect middle participle as prior member: thus, *yuyujánásapti* *with harnessed coursers* (perhaps rather *having harnessed their coursers*), and *dadṛṇánápavi* (with regular accent, instead of *dádṛṇāna*, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle) *with conspicuous wheel-rims*.

d. Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in *ṇrútkarṇa* (RV.) *of listening ear*; and with this are perhaps accordant *didyagni* and *sthāraçman* (RV., each once).

1300. Possessive compounds having a numeral as prior member are very common, and for the most part follow the same rule of accent which is followed by compounds with other adjectives: excepted are those beginning with *dvi* and *tri*, which accent in general the final member.

Num. + r

a. Examples with other numerals than *dvi* and *tri* are: *ékacakra*, *ékaçirṣan*, *ékapad*, *cáturaṅga*, *cátuṣpakṣa*, *pāñcānguri*, *pāñcāudana*, *ṣádaçva*, *ṣátpad*, *saptájihva*, *saptámātr*, *aṣṭāpad*, *aṣṭāputra*, *návapad*, *návadvāra*, *dáçaçākha*, *dáçaçirṣan*, *dvádaçāra*, *triñçád-ara*, *çatáparvan*, *çatáðant*, *sahásraṇāman*, *sahásramūla*.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are but few, and have the tone on the final syllable, whatever may be that belonging originally to the final member; they are mostly stems in final *a*, used by substitution for others in *an*, *i*, or a consonant: thus, *caturakṣá* etc. (*akṣán* or *ákṣi*: 431), *ṣaḍahá* etc. (*áhan* or *áhar*: 430a), *daçavṛṣá* etc. (*vṛṣan*), *ekarātrá* etc. (*rātri* or *rātri*), *ekarcá* etc. (*ṛc*); but also a few others, as *ṣaḍ-yogá*, *aṣṭāyogá*, *çatārghá*, *sahasrārghá*, *ekapará* (P).

c. The compounds with *dvi* and *tri* for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, *dvijánman*, *dvidhāra*, *dvibāndhu*, *dvivartaní*, *dvipád*; *tritántu*, *trinābhi*, *triçóka*, *trivárūtha*, *tricakrá*, *triçirṣán*, *tripád*. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral: thus, for example, *dvípakṣa*, *dvíçavas*, *dvýāśya*, *tríṣandhi*, *tryāra*, *tryāçir*, and sometimes *dvípad* and *trípad* in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, a substituted stem in *a* is apt to take the accent on the final: thus, *dvivṛṣá* and *trivṛṣá*, *dvirajā*, *dvirātrá*, *tryāyuṣá*, *tridivá*; and a few of other

character with tri follow the same rule: thus, trikaçá, trināká, tri-bandhú, tryudhán, tribarhís, etc.

d. The neuter, or also the feminine, of numeral compounds is often used substantively, with a collective or abstract value, and the accent is then regularly on the final syllable: see below, 1312.

1301. Possessive compounds having as prior member a noun which has a quasi-adjective value in qualifying the final member are very frequent, and show certain specialities of usage.

a. Least peculiar is a noun of material as prior member (hardly to be reckoned as possessive dependents, because the relation of material is not regularly expressed by a case: 295): thus, híraṇyahasta *gold-handed*, híraṇyasraja *with golden garlands*, áyaḥsthūṇa *having brazen supports*, rajatánābhi *of silver navel*.

1302. Especially common is the use of a noun as prior member to qualify the other appositionally, or by way of equivalence (the occasional occurrence of determinatives of this character has been noticed above, 1280 d). These may conveniently be called appositional possessives. Their accent is that of the prior member, like the ordinary possessive descriptives.

a. Examples are: áçvaparna *horse-winged*, or *having horses as wings* (said of a chariot), bhūmigṛha *having the earth as house*, indrasakhi *having Indra for friend*, agnihotra *having Agni as priest*, gandharvāpatnī *having a Gandharva for spouse*, çūrāputra *having hero-sons*, jarāmṛtyu *having old age as mode of death*, living till old age, agnīvāsa *fire-clad*, tadanta *ending with that*, cāracakṣus *using spies for eyes*, viṣṇuçarmanāman *named Vishnuçarman*; and, with pronoun instead of noun, tvādūta *having thee as messenger*, tādapa *having this for work*. Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation: thus, agnijihvá, vṛṣaṇaçvā, dhūmaçikhā, pavīnasā, asāunāma, tatkāla, etc.

b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, indrajyeṣṭha *having Indra as chief*, mānaḥ-ṣaṣṭha *having the mind as sixth*, sōmaçreṣṭha *of which soma is best*, ekaparā *of which the ace is highest* (?), ásthibhūyas *having bone as the larger part*, chiefly of bone, abhirūpabhūyiṣṭha *chiefly composed of worthy persons*, daçāvāra *having ten as the lowest number*, cintāpara *having meditation as highest object or occupation*, devoted to meditation, niḥçvāsa-parama *much addicted to sighing*.

c. Certain words are of especial frequency in the compounds here described, and have in part won a peculiar application. Thus:

d. With ādi *beginning* or ādika or ādya *first* are made compounds signifying the person or thing specified along with others, such a person or thing *et cetera*. For example, devā indrādayaḥ *the gods having Indra as first*, i. e. the gods Indra etc., marīcyādīn munīn *Marici and the other*

sages, svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptāi 'te manavaḥ those seven Manus, Svāyambhuva etc., agniṣṭomādikaṁ the sacrifices Agnishtoma and so on. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in annapānendhanādīni food, drink, fuel, etc., dānadharmādikaṁ caratu bhavān let your honor practise liberality, religious rites, and the like. The particles *evam* and *iti* are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members: thus, *evamādi vacanam* words to this and the like effect; *ato 'ham bravīmi kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityam ityādi* hence I say "accumulation is ever to be made" etc.

e. Used in much the same way, but less often, is *prabhṛti* beginning: thus, *viçvāvasuprabhṛtibhir gandharvāiḥ* with the Gandharvas *Viçvāvasu* etc.; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time, as *tatprabhṛti* or *tatahprabhṛti* thenceforward.

f. Words meaning *foregoer*, *predecessor*, and the like — namely, *pūrva*, *pūrvaka*, *purahsara*, *puraskṛta*, *purogama* — are often employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, but for the most part to denote accompaniment, rather than antecedence, of that which is designated by the prior member of the compound: e. g. *smitapūrvam* with a smile, *anāmayapraçnapūrvakam* with inquiries after health, *pitāmahapurogama* accompanied by the Great Father.

g. The noun *mātrā* measure stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of *mere*, *only*: thus, *jalamātreṇa vartayan* living by water only (lit. by that which has water for its measure or limit), *garbhacyutimātreṇa* by merely issuing from the womb, *prāṇayātrikamātraḥ syāt* let him be one possessing what does not exceed the preservation of life; *uktamātre tu vacane* but the words being merely uttered.

h. The noun *artha* object, purpose is used at the end of a compound, in the adverbial accusative neuter, to signify for the sake of or the like: thus, *yajñasiddhyartham* in order to the accomplishment of the sacrifice (lit. in a manner having the accomplishment of the sacrifice as its object), *damayantyartham* for Damayanti's sake (with *Damayanti* as object).

i. Other examples are *ābhā*, *kalpa*, in the sense of *like*, *approaching*: thus, *hemābha* gold-like, *mṛtakalpa* nearly dead, *pratipannakalpa* almost accomplished; — *vidhā*, in the sense of *kind*, *sort*: thus, *tvadvidha* of thy sort, *pūruṣavidha* of human kind; — *prāya*, in the sense of *mostly*, *often*; and the like: thus, *duḥkhaprāya* full of pain, *trṇaprāya* abounding in grass, *nirgamanaprāya* often going out; — *antara* (in substantive neuter), in the sense of *other*: thus, *deçāntara* another region (lit. that which has a difference of region), *janmāntarāṇi* other existences, *çākḥāntare* in another text.

1303. In appositional possessive compounds, the second member, if it designates a part of the body, sometimes logically signifies that part to which what is designated by the prior member belongs, that on or in which it is.

a. Thus, *ghṛtāpṛṣṭha* butter-backed, *mādhujihva* honey-tongued, *niṣkāgrīva* and *maṇigrīva* necklace-necked, *pātrahasta* vessel-handed, *vājrabāhu* lightning-armed, *āsrṇmukha* blood-faced, *kilālodhan* mead-uddered, *vājajathara* sacrifice-bellied, *vāspakaṇṭha* with tears in the throat, *ṣṛaddhāmanas* with faith in the heart; with irregular accent, *dhūmakṣī* f. smoke-eyed, *aṣrumukhī* f. tear-faced; and *khādīhastā* ring-handed (*khādī*). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning hand: thus, *ṣastrapāṇi* having a sword in the hand, *laguḍahasta* carrying a staff.

1304. Of possessive compounds having an adverbial element as prior member, the most numerous by far are those made with the inseparable prefixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. In compounds with the negative prefix *a* or *an* (in which the latter logically negatives the imported idea of possession), the accent is prevailingly on the final syllable, without regard to the original accent of the final member. For example: *anantā* having no end, *abalā* not possessing strength, *arathā* without chariot, *aṣṛaddhā* faithless, *amanī* without ornament, *aṣatrū* without a foe, *avarman* not cuirassed, *adānt* toothless, *apād* footless, *atejās* without brightness, *anārambhaṇā* not to be gotten hold of, *apratimānā* incomparable, *aducchunā* bringing no harm, *apakṣapucchā* without sides or tail.

b. But a number of examples (few in proportion to those already instanced) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptives: 1288 a): thus, *ākṣiti* indestructible, *āgu* kineless, *āgopā* without shepherd, *ājivana* lifeless, *ānāpi* without friends, *āciṣvi* f. without young, *āmṛtyu* deathless, *ābrahman* without priest, *avyacas* without extension, *āhavis* without oblation, and a few others; AV. has *āprajas*, but ÇB. *aprajās*. A very few have the accent on the penult: namely, *aṣeṣas*, *ajāni*, and *avira* (with retraction, from *vīrā*), *apūtra* (do., from *putrā*); and AV. has *abhrātṛ*, but RV. *abhrātṛ*.

c. In compounds with the prefixes of praise and dispraise, *su* and *du*, the accent is in the great majority of cases that of the final member: thus, *sukālpa* of easy make, *subhāga* well portioned, *sunākṣatra* of propitious star, *suputrā* having excellent sons, *sugopā* well-shepherded, *sukīrti* of good fame, *sugāndhi* fragrant, *subāhū* well-armed, *suyāmtu* of easy control, *sukrātu* of good capacity, *suhārd* good-hearted, *susrāj* well-garlanded, *suvārman* well-cuirassed, *suvāsas* well-clad, *suprāṇīti* well guiding; *durbhāga* ill-portioned, *durdṛṣṭika* of evil aspect, *durdhāra* hard to restrain, *durgāndhi* ill-savored, *durādhi* of evil designs, *durdhātu* hard to restrain, *duṣṭārītu* hard to excel, *duratyētu* hard to cross, *durdhūr* ill-yoked, *durnāman* ill-named, *durvāsas* ill-clad.

d. There are, however, a not inconsiderable number of instances in which the accent of these compounds is upon the final syllable: thus, *suçiprā* well-lipped, *svapatyā* of good progeny, *susaṃkāçā* of good aspect, *svaṅgurī* well-fingered, *sviṣṭū* having good arrows, *supīvās* well fattened;

and compounds with derivatives in *ana*, as *suviññāṇā* of easy discernment, *sūpasarpaṇā* of easy approach, *duḥcyavanā* hard to shake; and AV. has *suphalā* and *subandhū* against RV. *suphāla* and *subāndhu*. Like *avīra*, *suvīra* shows retraction of accent. Only *dūrāçir* has the tone on the prefix.

e. On the whole, the distinction by accent of possessive from determinative is less clearly shown in the words made with *su* and *dus* than in any other body of compounds.

f. The associative prefix *sa* or (less often) *sahā* is treated like an adjective element, and itself takes the accent in a possessive compound: thus, *sákratu* of joint will, *sánāman* of like name, *sárūpa* of similar form, *sáyoni* having a common origin, *sávācas* of assenting words, *sátoka* having progeny along, with one's progeny, *sábrāhmaṇa* together with the Brahmins, *sámūla* with the root, *sāntardeça* with the intermediate directions; *sahágopa* with the shepherd, *sahávatsa* accompanied by one's young, *sahāpatnī* having her husband with her, *sahāpūruṣa* along with our men.

g. In RV. (save in a doubtful case or two), only *saha* in such compounds gives the meaning of *having with one, accompanied by*; and, since *saha* governs the instrumental, the words beginning with it might be of the prepositional class (below, 1310). But in AV. both *sa* and *saha* have this value (as illustrated by examples given above); and in the later language, the combinations with *sa* are much the more numerous.

h. There are a few exceptions, in which the accent is that of the final member: thus, *sajóṣa*, *sajóṣas*, *sadṛça*, *sapráthas*, *sabādhās*, *samanyú* and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in *sāṅgá* (ÇB. *sāṅga*) and the substantivized (1312) *savidyutá*.

i. Possessive compounds with the exclamatory prefixes *ka* etc. are too few in the older language to furnish ground for any rule as to accent: *kābandha* is perhaps an example of such.

1305. Possessive compounds in which a verbal prefix is used as prior member with adjective value, qualifying a noun as final member, are found even in the oldest language, and are rather more common later (compare the descriptive compounds, above, 1288; and the prepositional, below, 1310). They usually have the accent of the prefix.

a. Most common are those made with *pra*, *vi*, and *sam*: thus, for example, *prāmahas* having exceeding might, *prāçravas* widely famed; *vīgrīva* of wry neck, *vyāṅga* having limbs away or gone, limbless, *vījāni* wifeless, *vīparva* and *vīparus* jointless, *vyādhvan* of wide ways, *vīmanas* both of wide mind and mindless, *vīvācas* of discordant speech; *sāmpatnī* having one's husband along, *sāmmanas* of accordant mind, *sāmsahasra* accompanied by a thousand, *sāmokas* of joint abode. Examples of others are: *átyūrmi* surging over, *ādhivastra* having a garment on, *ādhyardha* with a half over, *ādhyaçsa* overseer, *āpodaka* without water, *abhīrūpa*

vbl + r

of adapted character, *āvatoka* that has aborted, *āmanas* of favorable mind, *ūdojas* of exalted power, *nīmanyu* of assuaged fury, *nīrmāya* free from guile, *nīrhasa* handless.

b. In a comparatively small number of cases, the accent is otherwise, and generally on the final: thus, *avakeṣā*, *upamanyū*, *viṣaphā*, *viṣikhā* (AV. *viṣikha*), *vikarṇā*, *sammāṭī*, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member: thus, *saṃcīcvarī* having a common young.

1306. Possessive compounds with an ordinary adverb as prior member are also found in every period of the language. They usually have the accent which belongs to the adverb as independent word.

a. Examples are: *āntyūti* bringing near help, *avōdeva* calling down the gods, *itāūti* helping on this side, *ihācitta* with mind directed hither, *dakṣiṇatāskaparda* wearing the braid on the right side, *nānādharmān* of various character, *purudhāpratīka* of manifold aspect, *viṣvatomukha* with faces on all sides, *sadyāūti* of immediate aid, *viśurūpa* of various form, *smādūdhan* with udder, *adhastāllakṣman* with mark below, *ekatomukha* with face on one side, *tāthāvidha* of such sort.

b. An instance or two of irregular accent are met with: thus, *puro-rathā* whose chariot is foremost, *evamkratū* so-minded.

1307. a. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter (1222 h) that the indifferent suffix *ka* is often added to a pure possessive compound, to help the conversion of the compounded stem into an adjective; especially, where the final of the stem is less usual or manageable in adjective inflection.

b. Also, the compound possessive stem occasionally takes further a possessive-making suffix: thus, *yaçobhagīn*, *suçiprin*, *varavarṇin*, *dīrghasūtrin*, *puṇyavāgbuddhikarmin*, *sutāsomavant*, *tādgrūpavant*, *trayodaçadvīpavant*, *nārakapālakuṇḍalavant*, *amṛtabuddhimant*.

c. The frequent changes which are undergone by the final of a stem occurring at the end of a compound are noticed further on (1315).

1308. The possessive compounds are not always used in the later language with the simple value of qualifying adjective; often they have a pregnant sense, and become the equivalents of dependent clauses; or the *having* which is implied in them obtains virtually the value of our *having* as sign of past time.

a. Thus, for example, *prāptayāuvana* possessing attained adolescence, i. e. *having arrived at adolescence*; *anadhigataçāstra* with unstudied books, i. e. *who has neglected study*; *kṛtaprayatna* possessing performed effort, i. e. *on whom effort is expended*; *aṅguliyakadarçanāvasāna* having the sight of the ring as termination, i. e. *destined to end on sight of the ring*; *uddhṛtaviṣādaçalyaḥ* having an extracted despair-arrow, i. e. *when I shall have extracted the barb of despair*; *çrutavistāraḥ kriyatām* let him be made with heard details, i. e. *let him be informed of the details*; *dṛṣṭavīryo me rāmaḥ Rāma* has seen my prowess, *bhagnabhāṇḍo dvijo yathā* like



*the Brahman that broke the pots, ukhāṇṭam ṛṣim yathā like a sage that has spoken falsely.*

### B. Compounds with Governed Final Member.

**1309. Participial Compounds.** This group of compounds, in which the prior member is a present participle and the final member its object, is a small one (toward thirty examples), and exclusively Vedic — indeed, almost limited to the oldest Vedic (of the Rig-Veda). The accent is on the final syllable of the participle, whatever may have been the latter's accent as an independent word.

a. Examples are: *vidādvasu winning good things, kṣayādvira governing (kṣāyant) heroes, tarāddveṣas overcoming (tārant) foes, ābhārādvasu bringing good things, codayānmati inciting (codāyant) devotion, mandayātsakha rejoicing friends, dhārayātkavi sustaining sages, mañhayādrayi bestowing wealth.*

b. In *sādādyoni sitting in the lap* (sādat quite anomalously for sīdat or sadat), and *spṛhayādvarna emulous of color*, the case-relation of the final member is other than accusative. In *patayān mandayātsakham* (RV. I. 4. 7), *patayāt*, with accent changed accordingly, represents *patayātsakham*, the final member being understood from the following word. *Vidādaçva* is to be inferred from its derivative *vāidadaçvi*. Of this formation appear to be *jamādagni*, *pratādvasu* (prathād?), and *trasādasyu* (for trasāddasyu?). It was noticed above (1299 c) that *yuyujānāsapti* is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle; *sādhadiṣṭi*, on account of its accent, is probably possessive.

**1310. Prepositional Compounds.** By this name may be conveniently called those combinations in which the prior member is a particle having true prepositional value, and the final member is a noun governed by it. Such combinations, though few in number as compared with other classes of compounds, are not rare, either in the earlier language or in the later. Their accent is so various that no rule can be set up respecting it.

a. Examples are: *ātyavi passing through the wool, atirātrā overnight, atimātrā exceeding measure; ādhiratha lying on the chariot, adhigavā belonging to the cow; adhaspadā under the feet, adhoakṣā below the axle; ānupatha following the road, anupūrvā following the one preceding, one after another, anuṣatyā in accordance with truth, anukūla down stream, etc.; āntaspatha (with anomalously changed accent of antār), within the way, antardāvā within the flame (?), antarhastā in the hand; āntigrha near the house; apiprāṇa accompanying the breath (prāṇā), āpivrata concerned with the ceremony, apiçarvarā bordering on night, apikarṇā next the ear; abhiñū reaching to the knee, abhīvira and abhīsatvan overcoming heroes; āpathi on the road, ādeva going to the gods, ājarasā*

reaching old age, *ādvādaṣā* up to twelve; *upakakṣā* reaching to the arm-pits, *upottamā* next to last, *penultimate*; *upāribudhna* above the bottom, *upārimartya* rising above mortals; *tirojanā* beyond people; *niḥsalā* out of the house; *paripād* (about the feet) *snare*, *parihastā* about the hand, *bracelet*; *parókṣa* out of sight, *parómātra* beyond measure, *parogavyūṭī* beyond the fields, *paraḥsahasrá* (*pāraḥsahasra*, (B.) above a thousand; *purokṣā* in front of the eyes; *pratidosā* toward evening, *pratilomā* against the grain, *pratikūla* up stream, *pratyākṣa* before the eyes; *bahiḥ-paridhī* outside the enclosure; *vīpathi* outside the road; *samakṣā* close to the eyes, in sight.

b. Compounds of this character are in the later language especially common with *adhi*: thus, *adhyātma* relating to the soul or self, *adhi-yajña* relating to the sacrifice, etc.

c. A suffixal *a* is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in *upānasā* on the wagon, *āvyuṣā* until daybreak. In a few instances, the suffix *ya* is taken (see above, 1212m); and in one word the suffix *in*: thus, *pari-panthín* besetting the path.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to adverbial use: see below, 1313b.

### Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs.

1311. Compound adjectives, like simple ones, are freely used substantively as abstracts and collectives, especially in the neuter, less often in the feminine; and they are also much used adverbially, especially in the accusative neuter.

a. The matter is entitled to special notice only because certain forms of combination have become of special frequency in these uses, and because the Hindu grammarians have made out of them distinct classes of compounds, with separate names. There is nothing in the older language which by its own merits would call for particular remark under this head.

1312. The substantively used compounds having a numeral as prior member, along with, in part, the adjective compounds themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called *dvigu*.

a. The name is a sample of the class, and means of *two cows*, said to be used in the sense of *worth two cows*; as also *pañcāgu* bought for five cows, *dvinaū* worth two ships, *pañcakapāla* made in five cups, and so on.

b. Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are: *dvirājā* [combat] of two kings, *triyugā* three ages, *triyojanā* space of three leagues, *tridivā* the triple heaven, *pañcayojanā* space of five leagues, *ṣaḍahā* six days' time, *daṣāṅgulā* ten fingers' breadth; and, with suffix *ya*, *sahasrāhnyā* thousand days' journey. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the same character, are, for example: *anamitrā* freedom from enemies, *nikilbiṣā* freedom from guilt, *savidyutā* thunderstorm, *vīhrdaya* heartlessness, and

sāhṛdaya heartiness, sudivā prosperity by day, sumṛgā and suçakunā prosperity with beasts and birds. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as triçatī three hundred (481), trilokī the three worlds, pañcamūlī aggregate of five roots.

c. As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more prevallying on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.

1313. Those adverbially used accusatives of secondary adjective compounds which have an indeclinable or particle as prior member are reckoned by the Hindu grammarians as a separate class of compounds, and called by the name *avyayībhāva*.

a. This term is a derivative from the compound verb (1094) made up of *avyaya* uninflected and *√bhū*, and means *conversion to an indeclinable*.

b. The prepositional compounds (1310) are especially frequent in this use: thus, for example, *anuṣvadhām* by one's own will, *abhipūrvām* and *parovarām* in succession, *ādvādaçām* up to twelve, *pratidoṣām* at evening, *samakṣām* in sight. Instances given by the grammarians are: *adhihari* upon *Hari*, *uparājam* with the king, *upanadam* or *upanadi* near the river, *pratyagni* toward the fire, *pratiniçam* every night, *nir-makṣikam* with freedom from flies.

c. A large and important class is made up of words having a relative adverb, especially *yathā*, as prior member. Thus, for example, *yathavaçām* as one chooses (*vāça* will), *yathākṛtām* as done [before], according to usage, *yathānāmā* by name, *yathābhāgām* according to several portion, *yathāṅgām* and *yathāparū* limb by limb, *yatrakāmam* whither one will, *yāvanmātrām* in some measure, *yāvajjivām* as long as one lives, *yāvat-sābandhu* according to the number of relations.

d. These compounds are not common in the old language; RV. has with *yathā* only four of them, AV. only ten; and no such compound is used adjectively except *yācchreṣṭha* RV., *yāvacchreṣṭhā* AV. as good as possible. ŪB. has *yathākārīn*, *yathācārīn*, *yāthākāma*, *yāthākratu* as adjectives (followed in each case by a correlative *tāthā*). The adjective use in the later language also is quite rare as compared with the adverbial.

e. Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental, as *yathāsaṁkhyena*, *yathāçaktyā*, *yathepsayā*, *yathāpratiguṇāis*; and ablative, as *yathāucityāt*.

f. A class of adverbs of frequent occurrence is made with *sa*: e. g. *sakopam* angrily, *sādaram* respectfully, *sasmitam* with a smile, *saviçam* especially.

g. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, *ṛtekarmām* without work, *nānārathām* on different chariots, *ubhayadyūṣ* two days in succession, *citrapadakramam* with wonderful progress, *pradānapūrvam* with accompaniment of a gift; etc.

### Anomalous Compounds.

1314. As in every language, compounds are now and then met with which are of anomalous character, as exhibiting combinations of elements not usually put together, or not after such a method, or for such a purpose. Some of these, especially of those occurring in the old language, may well be noticed here.

a. Compounds having a particle as final member: as, *apratī* having no equal, *tuvipratī* mightily opposing, *ātathā* refusing, *vitatha* false, *yathātathā* as it really is, *sūsaha* prosperity in companionship, *aniha* and *anamutra* having no here and no yonder, etc.

b. Agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases: thus, *aham-pūrvā* eager to be first, *ahamuttarā* contest for preëminence, *mamasatyā* contest for possession, *itihāsā* legend (*iti hā* "sa thus, indeed, it was"), *naghamārā* and *naghāriṣā* not, surely, dying or coming to harm, *kuvītsa* some unknown person, *tadīdartha* having just that as aim, *kūcidarthīn* having errands in every direction, *kācitkarā* doing all sorts of things, *kuhacidvid* wherever found, *akutaṣṭidbhaya* out of all danger, *yadbhaviṣya* What-is-to-be, etc.

c. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form: as, *anyonya* and *paraspara* one another, *avaraspara* inverted.

d. Aggregations with the natural order inverted: e. g. *pitāmahā* and *tatāmahā* grandfather, *putrahata* with his sons slain, *jānvāknā* and *-jānvakta* with bended knee, *dantajāta* provided with teeth, *somāpahṛtā* deprived of soma, *pañktīrādhas* having groups of gifts, *gojara* old bull, *agrajihvā*, *agranāsikā*, etc. tip of the tongue, of the nose, etc. Compare also 1291 c.

e. Aggregations of particles were pointed out above (1111 a); also (1122 e) cases in which *nā* and *mā* are used in composition.

f. In late Sanskrit (perhaps after the false analogy of combinations like *tad anu*, viewed as *tadanu*, with *tad* as stem instead of neuter accusative), a preposition is sometimes compounded as final member with the noun governed by it: e. g. *vṛkṣādhas* or *vṛkṣādhasat* under the tree, *dantāntaḥ* between the teeth, *bhavanopari* on top of the house, *satyavinā* without truth.

### Stem-finals altered in Composition.

1315. Transfers to an a-form of declension from other less common finals, which are not rare in independent use, are especially common in the final members of compounds. Thus:

a. A stem in an often drops its final consonant (compare 429 a, 437): examples are *akṣa*, *adhva*, *arva*, *astha*, *aha*, *takṣa*, *brahma*, *mūrdha*, *rāja*, *loma*, *vṛṣa*, *çva*, *saktha*, *sāma*.

b. An i or ī is changed to a: examples are aṅgula, aṅjala, aṅra, kukṣa, khāra, nada, nābha, bhūma, rātra, sakha.

c. An a is added after a final consonant, and sometimes after an u-vowel or a diphthong (compare 399): examples are ṛca, tvaca; uda, pada, ṣarada; apa; dhura, pura; ahna, aṣmana, ūdhna, rājña; anasa, ayasa, āyusa, urasa, enasa, tamasa, manasa, yajuṣa, rajasa, rahasa, varcasa, vedasa, ṣreyasa, sarasa; bhruva, diva, gava, gāva, nāva.

d. More sporadic and anomalous cases are such as: apanna-da (-dant), pañca-ṣa (-ṣaṣ), ajāika-pa (-pad), ṣata-bhiṣā (-bhiṣaj), vipaṣ-ci (-cit), yathā-pura (-puras).

### Loose Construction with Compounds.

1316. In the looseness of unlimited and fortuitous combination, especially in the later language, it is by no means rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon or qualifying it alone, rather than the compound of which it forms a part.

a. Examples are: rāyāskāmo viṇvāpsnyasya (RV.) *desirous of all-enjoyable wealth*; aṅhōr urucākriḥ (RV.) *causing relief from distress*; mahādhané ārbhe (RV.) *in great contest and in small*; svāhāṁ ṣrāiṣṭhyakāmaḥ (AṢ.) *desiring superiority over his fellows*; brāhmaṇāṁ chrutaṣṭilavṛttasampannān ekena vā (AGS.) *Brahmans endowed with learning, character, and behavior, or with one [of the three]*; cittapramāthinī bālā devānām api (MBh.) *a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods*; vasiṣṭhavacanād ṛṣyaṣṛṅgasya co 'bhayoḥ (R.) *at the words of both Vasishtha and Rishyaṣṛinga*, sītādravyāpaharaṇe ṣastrāṇām āuṣadhasya ca (M.) *in case of stealing ploughing implements or weapons or medication*; jyotiṣām madhyacārī (H.) *moving in the midst of the stars*; dāru-pātraṁ ca mṛṇmayam (M.) *a wooden and an earthen vessel*; syandane dattadrṣṭiḥ (Ç.) *with eye fixed on the chariot*; tasminn ullambitamṛtaḥ (KSS.) *dead and hanging upon it*.

## APPENDIX.

A. The following text is given (as proposed above, 3) in order to illustrate by an example the variety of Sanskrit type in use. It is given twice over, and a transliteration into European letters follows. The text is a fable extracted from the first book of the Hito-padeśa.

The Hunter, Deer, Boar, and Jackal.

आसीत्कल्याणकटकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः । स चै-  
कदा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्याटवीमध्यं गतः । तत्र तेन  
मृग एको व्यापादितः । मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन घोराकृतिः  
सूकरो दृष्टः । ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः शरेण हतः ।  
सूकरेणाप्यागत्य प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे  
हतश्छिन्नद्रुम इव पपात । यतः ।

जलमयिं विषं शस्त्रं क्षुब्धाधी पतनं गिरेः ।

निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥

अत्रान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिभ्रमन्नाहारार्थी तान्मृ-  
तान्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत् । आलोक्याचिन्तयदसौ । अहो  
भाग्यम् । महद्भोज्यं समुपस्थितम् । अथवा ।

अचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवायान्ति देहिनाम् ।

सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये दैवमत्रातिरिच्यते ॥

भवतु । एषां मांसेर्मांसत्रयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति । ततः प्रथमनुभु-  
चायां तावदिमानि खादूनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलपं स्नायुबन्धं खा-  
दामीत्युक्ता तथाकरोत् । ततश्छिन्ने स्नायुबन्धे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा हृदि  
भिन्नः स दीर्घरावः पञ्चत्वं गतः । अतो ऽहं ब्रवीमि ।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसंचयः ।

अतिसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः ॥

आसीत्कल्याणकटकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चैकदा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्याठवीमध्यं गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको व्यापादितः। मृगमादाय गृह्ता तेन घोराकृतिः सूकरो दृष्टः। ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः शरेण हृतः। सूकरेणाप्यागत्य प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे हृतश्चिन्नदुम इव पपात। यतः।

जलमग्निं विषं शस्त्रं क्षुद्धाधी पतनं गिरेः।

निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाय देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥

अत्रान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिभ्रमन्नाह्वारार्थी तान्मृता न्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत्। आलोक्याचिन्तयदसौ। अहो भाग्यम्। महद्भोज्यं समुपस्थितम्। अवथा।

अचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवायान्ति देहिनाम्।

सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये दैवमन्त्रातिरिच्यते ॥

भवतु। एषां मांसैर्मांसत्रयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रथममुभुक्षायां तावदिमानि स्वादूनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलग्नं स्नायुबन्धं खादामीत्युक्त्वा तथाकरोत्। ततश्चिच्छेदे स्नायुबन्धे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा हृदि भिन्नः स दीर्घरावः पञ्चत्वं गतः। अतो ऽहं ब्रवीमि।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसंचयः।

अतिसंचयदीयेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः ॥

āsīt kalyāṇakataṭakavāstavyo bhāiravo nāma vyādhaḥ. sa cāi 'kadā māṁsalubdhaḥ san dhanur ādāya vindhyāṭavīmadyaṁ gataḥ. tatra tena mṛga eko vyāpāditaḥ. mṛgam ādāya gachatā tena ghorākṛtiḥ sūkaro dṛṣṭaḥ. tatas tena mṛgam bhūmāu nidhāya sūkaraḥ çareṇa hataḥ. sūkareṇa 'py āgatya pralayagha-naghoragarjanaṁ kṛtvā sa vyādho muṣkadeṣe hataḥ çinnadruma iva papāta. yataḥ:

jalam agniṁ viṣaṁ çastraṁ kṣudvyādhiḥ patanaṁ gireḥ,  
nimittaṁ kiñcid āsādyā dehī prāṇāir vimucyate.

atrāntare dīrgharāvo nāma jambukaḥ paribhramann āhār-  
ārthī tām mṛtām mṛgavyādhāsūkarān apaçyat. ālokyā 'cintayad  
asāu: aho bhāgyam. mahad bhojyaṁ samupasthitam. athavā:

acintitāni duḥkhāni yathāi 'vā 'yānti dehinām,  
sukhāny api tathā manye dāivam atrā 'tiricyate.

bhavatu; eṣām māṁsāir māsatrayaṁ samadhikam bhojanam  
me bhavisyati. tataḥ prathamabubhuksāyām tāvad imāni svā-  
dūni māṁsāni vihāya kodaṇḍāṭanilagnaṁ snāyubandhaṁ khādāmi  
'ty uktvā tathā 'karot. tataç chinne snāyubandhe drutam utpa-  
titena dhanuṣā hṛdi bhinnāḥ sa dīrgharāvaḥ pañcatvaṁ gataḥ.  
ato 'ham bravīmi:

kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityaṁ kartavyo nā 'tisaṁcayaḥ;  
atisaṁcayadoṣeṇa dhanuṣā jambuko hataḥ.

B. The following text is given in order to illustrate by a suffi-  
cient example the usual method of marking accent, as described  
above (87). In the manuscripts, the accent-signs are almost invariably  
added in red ink. The text is a hymn extracted from the tenth or  
last book of the Rig-Veda; it is regarded by the tradition as uttered  
by Vāc voice (i. e. the Word or Logos).

#### Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda.

श्रुक् रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्चराम्यृक्मोदित्यैरुत विश्वेदेवैः ।

श्रुक् मित्रावरुणोभा बिभर्म्यृक्मिन्द्राग्नी श्रुक्मृश्चिन्तोभा ॥ १ ॥

श्रुक् सोममाकुनसे बिभर्म्यृक् वष्टारमुत पूषणं भगम् ।

श्रुक् देधमि ऋविणं कृविष्मते सुप्राव्येऽ यज्ञमानाय सुन्वते ॥ २ ॥

श्रुक् राष्ट्री संगमनी वसूनां चिकितुषी प्रथमा युक्षियानाम् ।

तां मा देवा व्येदधुः पुरुत्रा भूरिस्थात्रां भूर्यविशयस्तीम् ॥ ३ ॥

मया सो अन्नमन्ति यो विप्रश्यन्ति यः प्राणिति य ईं ऋणोत्युक्तम् ।

अमृतवो मां त उपेत्यन्ति श्रुधि श्रुत अद्विवं ते वदामि ॥ ४ ॥

श्रुक्मेव स्वयमिदं वदामि जुष्टं देवेभिरुत मानुषेभिः ।

यं कामये ततंमुग्रं कृणोमि तं ब्रह्माणं तमृषिं तं मुमेधाम् ॥ ५ ॥

श्रुक् रुद्राय धनुरा तनोमि ब्रह्मदिपे शरवे कृत्वा उ ।



अहं जनाय समदं कृणोम्यहं द्यावापृथिवी आ विवेश ॥ ६ ॥

अहं सुवे पितरमस्य मूर्धन्मम योनिरुप्स्वपुनः समुद्रे ।

ततो वि तिष्ठे भुवनानु विश्वेतामूं द्यां वर्ष्मणोपे स्पशामि ॥ ७ ॥

अहमेव वार्त इव प्र वाम्यारभमाणा भुवनानि विश्वा ।

परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्यैतावती महिना सं बभूव ॥ ८ ॥

ahám rudrébhir vásubhiḥ carāmy ahám ādityāir utá viśvá-devāih, ahám mitrávárūṇo 'bhā bibharmy ahám indrāgnī ahám aṣvīno 'bhā. 1.

ahám sómam āhanāsam bibharmy ahám tvāṣṭāram utá pūṣāṇam bhāgam, ahám dadhāmi drāviṇaṁ haviṣmate suprāvyē yāja-mānāya sunvaté. 2.

ahám rāṣṭrī saṁgāmanī vāsūnāṁ cikitūṣī prathamā yajñīyānām, tām mā 'devā vy ādadhuḥ purutrā bhūristhātrām bhūry āveçāyantīm. 3.

māyā só ānnam atti yó vipāçyati yāḥ prāṇiti yā īm çṛṇóty uktām, amantāvo mām tā úpa kṣiyanti çrudhī çruta çradddhivāṁ te vadāmi. 4.

ahám evā svayām idām vadāmi juṣṭaṁ devébhir utá mānuṣebhiḥ, yām kāmāye tām-tam ugrām kṛṇomi tām brahmāṇaṁ tām ṣṣim tām sumedhām. 5.

ahám rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmadviṣe çārave hāntavā u, ahám jānāya samādaṁ kṛṇomy ahám dyāvāpṛthivī ā viveça. 6. ahám suve pitāram asya mūrdhān máma yónir apsv āntāḥ samudré, táto ví tiṣṭhe bhúvanā 'nu víçvo 'tā 'mūm dyām varṣ-māno 'pa sprçāmi. 7.

ahám evā vāta iva prá vāmy ārabhamāṇā bhúvanāni víçvā, paró divā parā enā pṛthivyāi 'tāvātī mahinā sām babhūva. 8.

C. On the next page is given, in systematic arrangement, a synopsis of all the modes and tenses recognized as normally to be made from every root in its primary conjugation, for the two common roots *bhū be* and *kṛ make* (only the precative middle and periphrastic future middle are bracketed, as never really occurring). Added, in each case, are the most important of the verbal nouns and adjectives, the only ones which it is needful to give as part of every verb-system.

| <i>V bhū be.</i>  | Present-system. | Perfect-system.   | Aorist-system.   | Future-systems.        |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Active:           |                 |                   |                  |                        |
| Indic.            | bhāvāmi         | babhūva           | bhūyāsam         | bhaviṣyāmi             |
| Opt.              | bhāveyam        |                   |                  | bhavitāsmi             |
| Impv.             | bhāvāni         |                   |                  |                        |
| Ple.              | bhāvānt         | babhūvāṅs         |                  | bhaviṣyānt             |
| Augm.-Pret.       | ābhavam         |                   | ābhūvam          | ābhaviṣyam             |
| Middle:           |                 |                   |                  |                        |
| Indic.            | bhāve           | babhūvé           |                  | bhaviṣyé               |
| Opt.              | bhāveya         |                   | [bhaviṣyā]       | [bhavitāhe]            |
| Impv.             | bhāvāi          |                   |                  |                        |
| Ple.              | bhāvamaṇa       | babhūvāṇā         |                  | bhaviṣyāmaṇa           |
| Augm.-Pret.       | ābhave          |                   | ābhaviṣi         |                        |
| <i>V kṛ make.</i> |                 | Pass.ple bhūtā; — | Inf. bhāvītum; — | Gerunds bhūtṛ, -bhūṛ.  |
| Active:           |                 |                   |                  |                        |
| Indic.            | karōmi          | cakāra            |                  | karisyāmi              |
| Opt.              | kuryām          |                   | kriyāsam         | kartāsmi               |
| Impv.             | karāvāṇi        |                   |                  |                        |
| Ple.              | kurvānt         | cakurvāṅs         |                  | karisyānt              |
| Augm.-Pret.       | ākaravam        |                   | ākāṛgam          | ākarīṣyam              |
| Middle:           |                 |                   |                  |                        |
| Indic.            | kurvé           | cekre             |                  | karisyé                |
| Opt.              | kurviyā         |                   | [kṛṣiyā]         | [kartāhe]              |
| Impv.             | karāvāi         |                   |                  |                        |
| Ple.              | kurvāṇā         | cekrvāṇā          |                  | karisyāmaṇa            |
| Augm.-Pret.       | ākurvi          |                   | ākṛṣi            |                        |
|                   |                 | Pass.ple kṛtā; —  | Inf. kṛtum; —    | Gerunds kṛtvā, -kṛtvā. |

## SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs. In this one, many abbreviations are used; but it is believed that they will be found self-explaining. For example, "pron." is pronunciation; "euph." points out anything relating to phonetic form or euphonic combination; "pres.", to present-system; "int." is intensive; "des." is desiderative; and so on. A prefixed hyphen denotes a suffix; one appended, a prefix.

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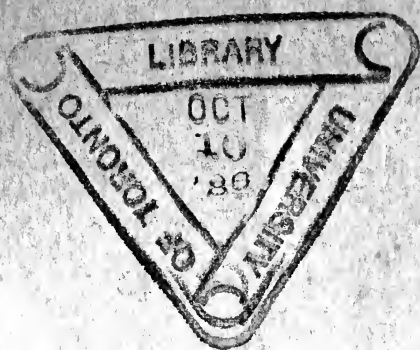
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## ERRATA.

A few entirely obvious misprints are passed without notice.

|   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| p. 5, 10c, last l. — for क  | read की                        |
| 42, 125b, 1. 3 — for (for prayuga)  | » (for prayuga?).              |
| 67, 199c, 1. 3 — for IB.  | » JB.                          |
| 92, 276a, 1. 2 — for <i>ledgues</i>   | » <i>leagues</i> .             |
| 94, 281b, 1. 4 — read 'kṣaṇḍayaṁ dātā rājā 'cvaṇḍ-  |                                |
| 99, 296b, 1. 10 — for <i>deceiving</i>  | read <i>deceiving</i> .        |
| 297b, 1. 5 — » <i>mpart</i>   | » <i>impart</i> .              |
| 100, 1. 2 — » <i>preceive</i>   | » <i>perceive</i> .            |
| 112, 324, 1. 4 — » <i>prajākāmā</i>   | » <i>prajākāmā</i> .           |
| 128, margin — » 356-]   | » 354-].                       |
| 131, 361e, 1. 6 — » 314   | » 314b.                        |
| f, 1. 4 — » <i>bor hugú</i> (f. -gú, JB.)   | » <i>bahugú</i> (f. -gú, TB.). |
| 144, 383k. 1, 1. 3 — » n  | » in                           |
| 147, 391f, 1. 1 — » <i>milki</i>  | » <i>milking</i> .             |
| 148, 391g, 1. 2 — » <i>çāmam</i>  | » -çāmam.                      |
| 169, 458, 1. 5 — » i  | » is.                          |
| 195, 509, 1. 8 (accus. sing. masc.) for yām   | » yām.                         |
| 209, 555a, last l. — for <i>urther</i>  | » <i>further</i> .             |
| 213, 568, 1. 7 — » <i>iḍhvam</i>  | » <i>iḍhvám</i> .              |
| 261, 718, 1. 7 (3d pl. mid.) for क्रीणाते   | » क्रीणते                      |
| 263, 731, 1. 3 — for ymi  | » ymī.                         |
| 261, 733a, 1. 4 — for -systems  | » -stems.                      |
| 281, 785a, 1. 2 — » <i>dyu</i>  | » <i>dyut</i> .                |
| 355, 990a, 1. 9 — » E.  | » S.                           |
| 357, 992c, 1. 2 — » <i>gúhya</i>  | » <i>guhya</i> .               |
| 379, 1042b, 1. 11 — read No forms made without strengthening have a<br>causative value in the older language. |                                |
| 383, 1045, 1. 6 — for चक्र  | read चक्रे.                    |
| 396, 1077, 1. 10 — » <i>abhi</i>  | » <i>abhí</i> .                |
| 397, 1079, 1. 6 — read the sound <i>hiṅg</i> , low, <i>murmur</i> .   |                                |
| 399, 1084a, 1. 4 — for āruhat   | read āruhat.                   |
| 431, 1155e, 1. 3. — » -amri   | » -mamri.                      |
| 467, 1222c, 1. 7 — » 516d   | » 516b.                        |
| 472, 1230g, 1. 3 — » <i>ike</i>   | » <i>like</i> .                |
| 477, 1238b, 1. 2 — » <i>cases-forms</i>   | » <i>case-forms</i> .          |
| 500, 1288g, 1. 1 — » <i>sa</i>  | » <i>sa</i> .                  |
| 511, 1308a, 1. 1 — » <i>ukhāṇṛtam</i>   | » <i>uktāṇṛtam</i> .           |





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