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SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

WHITNEY



===== GIFT OF =====

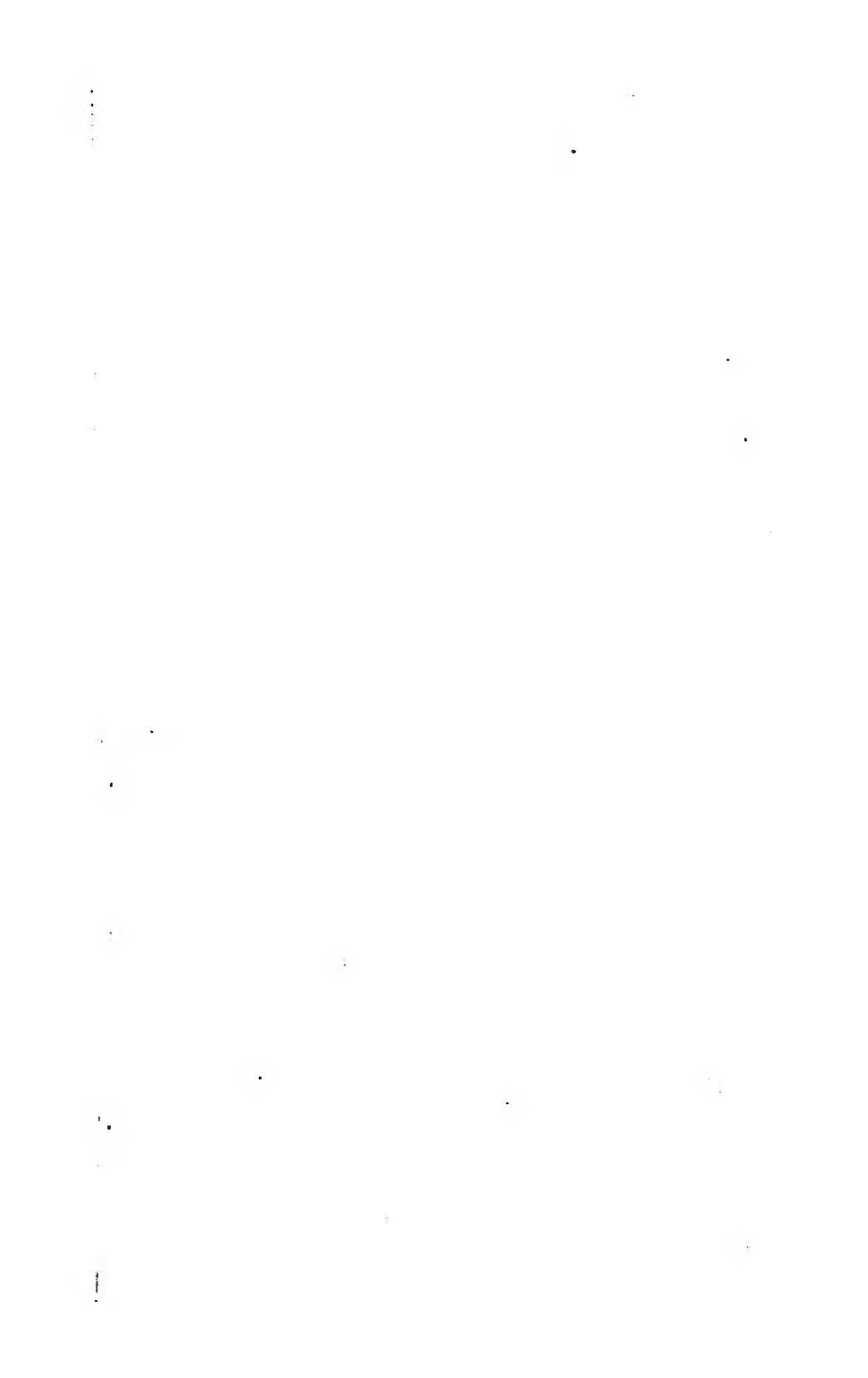
Arthur Garfield Kennedy
in memory of
Bertha Miller Kennedy

=====

Arthur G. Kennedy

Norfolk, Nebraska

Sept. 27, 1906.



BIBLIOTHEK

INDOGERMANISCHER GRAMMATIKEN

BEARBEITET VON

F. BÜCHELER, B. DELBRÜCK, K. FOY, H. HÜBSCHMANN,
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BAND II.

A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, INCLUDING BOTH THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, AND
THE OLDER DIALECTS, OF VEDA AND BRAHMANA
BY WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

THIRD EDITION.

LEIPZIG,
DRUCK UND VERLAG VON BREITKOPF & HÄRTEL.
1896.

A
SANSKRIT GRAMMAR,

INCLUDING BOTH THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, AND THE
OLDER DIALECTS, OF VEDA AND BRAHMANA.

BY

WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY,
LATE PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AND COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN YALE COLLEGE,
NEW-HAVEN.



THIRD EDITION.

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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 Brahmana. 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 Brahmana 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-

* It was published, as vol. XII. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, in 1881.

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.* printed 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 Brahmana 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 *Maitrāyaṇī-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

* 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 Böttlingk's similar collection from the larger half of the *Rāmāyana*.

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.

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" (*samaskṛta*, 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 Prakrit, 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 Pali, a Prakritic dialect which became the sacred language of Buddhism in Ceylon and 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 — *çākhās*, litly *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, *prātiçākhya*s (*prati çākhām 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 unambiguousness, 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 *Mahābhāṣya* *great comment*, by Patañjali.

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 Pāṇinized, 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 unratiſied 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, 101 a) 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 *Dāśakumāracarita* 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 2900 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 (ṛc)* 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-Samhitā* (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 *Taittirīya-Samhitā*, the *Maitrāyaṇī-Samhitā*, the *Kapishthala-Samhitā*, and the *Kāthaka* 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 *brūhmaṇa*), 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 time¹, is scattered through the texts to be later described, the Brūhmaṇas and the Sātras. 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 texts, 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 *Ṣatpatha-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 *Pañcaviṃśa* and *Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇas* and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, to the Atharva-Veda; and a *Jāiminīya-* 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 *Upaṇiṣads* (*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 Brahmana 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 Brahmanas 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 (*śrāuta* or *kalpa-sūtras*), they take up the great sacrificial ceremonies, with which the Brahmanas have to do; in part (*grhya-sūtras*), they teach the minor duties of a pious householder; in some cases (*bhāmayācārika-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 *Manava* 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 Valmiki; 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 Raghavaṇṣa (ascribed to the dramatist Kalidasa), the Māghakāvya, the Dhātṭikāvya the last, written chiefly with the grammatical intent of illustrating by use as many as possible of the numerous formations which, though taught by the grammarians, find no place in the literature¹.

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 Gītogovinda, 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 Sarama and the Pāyis, that of Yama and his sister Yami, 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, Kalidasa is incomparably the chief, and his *Çakuntalā* is 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 Kalidasa's is the *Mṛcchakatikā* of Çudraka, 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 *Hitopadoṣa* (*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 *Brāhmanas* 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. Ācārya-Ācārya.	AC. Ācārya-Upaniṣad.
AB. Ācārya-Brahmana.	AGS. Ācārya-Grhya-Sūtra.
AG. Ācārya-Grhya-Sūtra.	M. Manu.
AGS. Ācārya-Grhya-Sūtra.	MAU. Maitri-Upaniṣad.
Apoc. Apocrypha-Sūtra.	MBh. Mahābhārata.
APr. Aṣṭa-Prātiśākhya.	ML. Mīmāṃsā-Upaniṣad.
AV. Atharva-Veda.	Mgh. Mārgha.
B. or Be. Brāhmaṇa.	MS. Māṇḍūkya-Samhitā.
BAC. Bṛhat-Ācārya-Upaniṣad.	Nā. Nāṭya.
BhG. Bhagavad-Gītā.	Nr. Nṛsiṃha.
BhP. Bhagavata-Purāṇa.	Paic. Pañcatantra.
BR. Bṛhatīśaṅk and Rich. Peters- burg Lexicon.	PB. Pañcaviṅśa or Pañcya-Brah- mana.
C. Classical Sanskrit.	PGS. Pāraskara-Grhya-Sūtra.
C. Chakrāntak.	PC. Praṇa Upaniṣad.
Catr. Catramajya-Mahātmya.	R. Rāmāyaṇa.
CB. Catapatha-Brahmana.	Rgh. Raghavaṇa.
CH. Chāṅkhāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.	RPr. Rigveda-Prātiśākhya.
CHS. Chāṅkhāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.	RT. Rāja-Taraṅgini.
ChU. Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.	RV. Rig-Veda.
CvU. Cvetāvatara-Upaniṣad.	S. Sāras.
DKC. Dāya-Kumāra-Carita.	SB. Śadvīṅśa-Brahmana.
E. Epā. MBh. and R.	Spr. Indische Sprüche Böhlingk.
GB. Gopatha-Brahmana.	SV. Sama-Veda.
GGH. Gobhiliya-Grhya-Sūtra.	TA. Taittiriya-Ācārya.
H. Hitopadeśa.	TB. Taittiriya-Brahmana.
Har. Harivaṅśa.	TPr. Taittiriya-Prātiśākhya.
JB. Jaiminiya (or Talavakāra) Brāh- mana.	Tribh. Tribhāgyaratna comm. to TPr.).
JUB. Jaiminiya-Upaniṣad-Brāh- mana.	TS. Taittiriya-Samhitā.
K. Kāṭhaka.	U. Upaniṣada.
Kap. Kapisthala-Samhitā.	V. Vedas (RV., AV., SV.).
KB. Kauṣītaki- (or Chāṅkhāyana-) Brahmana.	Vas. Vasiṣṭha.
KBU. Kauṣītaki-Brahmana-Upani- ṣad.	VBS. Varāha-Bṛhat-Samhitā.
KCH. Kātyāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.	Vet. Vetālapañcaviṅśati.
KH. Kauṣika-Sūtra.	Vikr. Vikramorvaṣi.
KHS. Katha-Sarit-Sāgara.	VPr. Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya.
Kaśha Upaniṣad.	VS. Vājasaneyi-Samhitā.
	V8. 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 Piysadai, 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 Laṭh, 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, Guzeratī, 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 Rajendralāla 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
Vowels: simple	{	palatal १ अ a	२ आ ā
		labial ३ इ i	४ ई ī
		lingual ५ उ u	६ ऊ ū
		lingual ७ ऋ ṛ	८ ॠ ṝ
		dental ९ लृ ḷ	१० ॡ ḹ
diphthongs	{	palatal ११ ए e	१२ ऐ āi
		labial १३ ओ o	१४ औ ōu
Visarga		१५ ः ḥ	
Anusvāra		१६ ँ ṁ, ṡ ṅ or ṅh (see 73 c).	

		surd	surd asp.	sonant	son. asp.	nasal
Mutes	{	guttural १७ क k	१८ ख kh	१९ ग g	२० घ gh	२१ ङ ṅ
		palatal २२ च c	२३ छ ch	२४ ज j	२५ झ jh	२६ ञ ṇ
		lingual २७ ट ṭ	२८ ठ ṭh	२९ ड ḍ	३० ढ ḍh	३१ ण ṇ
		dental ३२ त t	३३ थ th	३४ द d	३५ ध dh	३६ न n
		labial ३७ प p	३८ फ ph	३९ ब b	४० भ bh	४१ म m

Semivowels	{	palatal	" ऋ ४
		lingual	" ॠ ५
		dental	" ए ६
		labial	" ओ ७
Sibilants	{	palatal	" ष ८
		lingual	" श ९
		dental	" स १०
Aspiration			" ह ११

a. To these may be added a lingual ! ऋ, which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of ३ ण 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 rudrebhīr vasubhīr carāmy aham ādityāir uta viśvadevāḥ* Rīg-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 dro bhi rva su bhi ṣca 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 रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्च ताम्यरुमादित्यै
रुतबिभ्रदैः । अहं मित्रावरुणोभा
विश्वानर्यकुन्तिश्रियाप्रकृतिश्रियोभा ॥

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

अहं रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्च ताम्यरुमादित्यै

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,

घट् रुद्रिन् वसुभिन् चराम् घटन् घादित्येत् उत विष्टेदेः ।

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

घट् नित्रायसो भा विगन् घटम् रुद्रासी घटन् घमिनो 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 nī, 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, की 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, डु, डू; and the forms with र r and ह h are still more irregular: thus, रु ru, रू rū; डु hu, डू hū.

e. The r-vowels, short and long, are written by a subjoined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, kr , kr̥ ; dr , dr̥ . In the h-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, hr , hr̥ .

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

f. The l-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, kl ; the corresponding long has no real occurrence (23 a), 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 ko and kāu , with the ā-sign after the consonant: thus, ke , kāi ; ko , kāu .

h. In some devanāgarī manuscripts (as in the Bengālī alphabets), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the ā-sign before the consonant: thus, ke , kāi , ko , 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, k , d , h .

a. Since, as was pointed out above, the Hindus write the words of a sentence continuously like one word (9 a, 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,

लिङ्गः liṅghih , लिङ्ग liṅg , अङ्ग aṅgva ;

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

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: गग gga, ज्ञ jja, प्य pya, न्य nma, त्थ ttha, भ्य bhya, स्क् ssa, ण्ण ãña, त्क् tka.

b. Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्क kka, क्क kva, छ्छ cca, च्च cja, द्द dda, प्प pta, त्त् tna, त्त् tra.

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 क्क kta, क्क kla; and in क्ण kpa etc.

b. Of त t in त्त् tta;

c. Of द d in द्द dga, द्द dna, etc.;

d. Of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, क्क kya, क्क kma, ण्ण ãma, ण्ण ãya, द्द dma, द्द dya, त्त् hma, त्त् hya, च्च cbya, च्च cbya.

e. Of ण ã, which generally becomes ण्ण when followed by a consonant: thus, ण्ण cca, ण्ण cna, च्च cya, च्च cya. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below; thus, ण्ण cca, ण्ण cca.

f. Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are ण्ण ãña, ण्ण ãña, ण्ण ãña, ण्ण ãña; and the compounds of ह h: as ह्ण hpa, ह्ण hna.

g. In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognizable: thus, क्क kja, ज्ञ 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: 10c : thus, *rkā*, *rṣā*, *rtva*, *rtva*, *rtva*.

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 *anusvāra*: 70, 71, written above the line, the *r*-sign is placed furthest to the right: thus, *rke*, *rkaṇ*, *rki*, *rki*, *rko*, *rkiṇ*, *rkoṇ*.

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, *pra*, *dhra*, *gra*, *sra*, *ddhra*, *ntra*, *grya*, *srva*, *ntrya*; and, with modifications of a preceding consonant-sign like those noted above 13, *tra*, *dra*, *gra*, *hra*.

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

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

of three consonants, *ttva*, *ddhya*, *dva*, *dya*, *dhya*, *dhya*, *pa*, *qya*, *ṣhya*, *hya*;

of four consonants, *ktrya*, *ṣkya*, *ṣhya*, *temya*;

of five consonants, *rtanya*.

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 sample

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 ॑ — 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 द० or घा० (135). In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily applied to the use last mentioned, and to that alone: thus, ने॑ ङ्रुन् to 'bruvan, मो॑ ङ्रवीन् so 'bravIt, for te abruvan , so abravIt .

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 so ॑ṇumān , from so aṇṇumān , either सो॑ ङ्रुगान् or सो॑ ङ्रुगान् .

c. The sign ॑ is used in place of something that is omitted, and to be understood from the connection: thus, $\text{वीरमेनमुग्रन् ॑न् ॑नेन॑ vīrasenasutas -tam -tena}$.

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, ॥ २० ॥ .

17. The numeral figures are

$\text{१ १, २ २, ३ ३, ४ ४, ५ ५, ६ ६, ७ ७, ८ ८, ९ ९, ० ०}$

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way as European digits: thus, $\text{२५ २५, ६३० ६३०, ८८८० ८८८०, १८९६ १८९६}$.

18. The Hindu grammarians call the different sounds, and the characters representing them, by a *kāra* (*marker*) 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* (*enari*). 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 Paninian scheme (commentary to Pāṇini's grammar 1. 1. 9) classifies *a* as guttural, but apparently only in order to give that series as well as the rest a vowel; no one of the Prātiśākhya's 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 *a*, 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 Prātiśākhya's 'APr i. 36: VPr i. 72, which call the utterance *sambhṛta*, *covered up*, *dummed*. 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 (2½ 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, 76.

23. The \bar{r} - and \bar{l} -vowels. To the three simple vowels already mentioned the Sanskrit adds two others, the \bar{r} -vowel and the \bar{l} -vowel, plainly generated by the abbreviation of syllables containing respectively a \bar{r} or \bar{l} along with another vowel: the \bar{r} coming almost always (see 237, 241-3) from $\bar{r}a$ or $\bar{r}a$, the \bar{l} from $\bar{l}a$.

a. Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long \bar{l} : 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 \bar{r} 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 \bar{l} 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 \bar{r} , \bar{r} , \bar{l} or even \bar{l} , 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 \bar{r} , \bar{r} , \bar{l} . There is no real difficulty in the way of acquiring and practising the true utterance.

b. Some of the grammarians (see Apr. 1. 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 to the general lingual and dental classes; the euphonic influence of \bar{r} and \bar{l} 189 shows this clearly. They are so ranked in the Paninian scheme; but the Prāticakhyas in general strangely class them with the *jihvāmūliya* sounds, our “gutturals” 39.

26. The short \bar{r} is found in every variety of word and of position, and is not rare, being just about as frequent as long \bar{a} . Long \bar{r} is very much more unusual, occurring only in certain plural cases of nouns in \bar{r} 371b, d, 375. The \bar{l} is met with only in some of the forms and derivatives of a single not very common verbal root $\bar{l}p$.

27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the $\bar{r}o$ and $\bar{l}o$, are in great part original Indo-European

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

28. The $\text{इ } e$ and $\text{औ } o$ 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 *Pratīkhyas*, which, while ranking them as diphthongs *samdhyaṅṣara*, 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 *Leavies* or *vrddhi* diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their a -element, as ai ($\bar{a} + i$), and au ($\bar{a} + u$).

b. The recognizable distinctness of the two elements in the *vrddhi*-diphthongs is noticed by the *Pratīkhyas* (see *APr.* I, 40, note), but the relation of these 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 *vrddhi*-diphthongs, and the e and ai than the o and au 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 *avaraṇa* *tone*, the simple vowels are called *samānākṣara* *homogeneous syllable*, and the diphthongs are called *samdhyaṅṣara* *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, 78 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*, *antahatha, intermediate* or *semivowel*, and *hīman 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 mutes are by the Hindu grammarians called respectively *first*, *second*, *third*, *fourth* and *last* or *fifth*.

b. The surd consonants are known as *aghosa touches*, 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 *samivāra closure* (of the glottis), is also recognized 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 भ *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.

with a following *h*: for example, क् *th* nearly as in English *boothook*, फ् *ph* as in *haphazard*, ब् *dh* as in *madhouse*, भ् *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 *sibilants* are more numerous 2½ times than the sonants. The nasals especially *m* and *ṃ* are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series

39. Guttural series: क् *k*, क् *kh*, ग् *g*, ग् *gh*, ङ् *ṅ*. 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 Pratiśākhya as made by contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw and they are called, from the former organ, *jihvāmūhya* *tongue-root sounds*. The Pāṇinian scheme describes them simply as made in the throat (*kanṭha*). From the euphonic influence of a *k* on a following *a* (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* 388, 407 in a very small number of words, and as product of the assimilation of dual *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*, च् *ch*, ज् *j*, ज् *jh*, ञ् *ṇ*.

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 *ak*. 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 onomatopoeic 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 sord 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 *talavya 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 *tau* (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: ढ, ढ्ह, ढ, ढ्ह, ण. 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. त t is pronounced like त t , द like द 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 neighbouring 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. श comes from स , much more rarely from ज , क . In euphonic circumstances stated below 180, 218 ff.; 2. a dental mute following श is assimilated to it, becoming lingual त , थ , न 197; 3. न is often changed to य after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word 169 ff.; 4. ध , which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after श 198 a or ह 222; 5. त and द come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final 142, 146-7. 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 169), and most of them (13) were of य : all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal त ; only 6, such a थ ; only 1, such a ध ; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal द , besides 9 that have यद ; and 3 (including 1 root) show a य .

b. Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes about 14 per cent. of the alphabet — hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.

47. Dental series: त t , थ th , द d , ध dh , न 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, ph, ब, bh, म. These sounds are called *oghya 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 sord. The nasal *m* (notwithstanding its frequent euphonic mutations when final, 213 ff.) occurs just about as oft *n* as all the other four members of the series together.

a. From an early period in the history of the language (but increasing later), *b* and *v* exchange with one another, or fail to be distinguished in the manuscripts. Thus, the double root-forms *bṛh* and *vṛh*, *badh* and *vadh* and so on. In the General manuscript *v* is well written instead of more or final *b*.

51. Semivowels: य, र, ल, व.

a. The name given to this class of sounds by the Hindu grammarians is *antahetha* 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 *spatapṛṣṭa*, or in imperfect contact *dubhapṛṣṭa*.

52. The र 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 Pantheon scheme reckons *r* as a lingual. None of the Pratiśākhya, 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 *ṛ*.

53. The *ṛ* 1 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 expansion at the side of the tongue along with contact at its tip is not noticed by any Hindu phonetist.

b. The semi-vowels *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, 5a, which is substituted for a lingual *ḷ* as also the same followed by *h* for a *ḷh*, 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 *ईळे* ilo, for *ईले* ilo, but *ईय* idya; *मीळुये* mīḷuḡe, for *मीलेये* mīleḡe, but *मीहान्* mīhān. It is especially in the Rig-Veda and its auxiliary literature that this substitution is usual.

55. The *ṛ* *y* in Sanskrit, as in other languages generally, stands in the closest relationship with the vowel *ṛ* 1 (short or long; the two exchange with one another in cases innumerable.

a. And in the Veda (as the metre shows) an *ṛ* is very often to be read where, in conformity with the rules of the later Sanskrit euphony, a *y* is written. Thus the final *ṛ*-vowel of a word remains *ṛ* before an initial vowel, that of a stem manifests itself unchanged before an ending; and an ending of derivation — as *ya* *tya* — has *ṛ* instead of *y*. Such cases will be noticed in more detail later. The existence, 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 *l*-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 *ṡ* *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 *w* 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 Paninian scheme and two of the *Prātiçākhyas* (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 Paninian 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 1, 31 not *h*). The organs of utterance are described as being in the position of the *ante-series* to which each spirant belongs respectively, but unloosed, or unclasped in the middle.

60. The ण *a*. 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 ण *q*. 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 *q*, marked in accordance with the other lingual letters, is the only unexceptionable transliteration for the Hindu character.

b. In modern pronunciation in India, *q* 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: 76, and of a purely sporadic character. The Rîg-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 (325-6).

63. The ण *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 *sh*-sound. By European scholars it is variously pronounced — more often, perhaps, as *s* than as *sh*.

a. The two *sh*-sounds, *ṣ* and *ṣ*, are made in the same part of the mouth (the *ṣ* probably rather farther 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 *sh* 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 *sh*-sound, it is to a certain extent convertible to *ṣ*. In point of frequency it slightly exceeds the latter.

65. The remaining spirant, ञ *h*, 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 also 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 Pāṇinian scheme ranks it as guttural, as it does also *a* — this means nothing. The Pratyakhyas 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" (IPr. I, 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 *anant* aspirate — 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 *gh* (54), and by the treatment of *l + l* *h* after a final root (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, 223 g. 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 Pratiśākhya and by Pāṇini, probably as *belonging 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 Pratiśākhya (TP. 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 *jihvamūliya* and *upadhmāniya* spirants. It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions, devised like the long *i*-vowel: 23 a' 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 *x* and *γ*.

70. The *anuvāra*, *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 disagreement 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 *nasally* 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 an *un* closed mouth-organ. The question is, now, whether this nasal utterance becomes merely a nasal inflection of the preceding vowel, turning it into a nasal vowel (as in French *ou, 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 Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini are briefly as follows:

b. The Atharva-Prātiśākhya 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 Prātiśākhya 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-Prātiśākhya acknowledges a nasal vowel—namely, before *r* and the spirants—the others lack the intervention after the vowel of a distinct nasal element, called the *anuvāra 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 (iPr) to be nasal like the nasal mutes, it is held by some (RPr) to be the *sequent tone* of the nasal mutes; in its formation, as in that of *vow l* 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 *ṇ* (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 Prātiśākhya 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 Prātiśākhya 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 clearing influence of an *i* or *u*-vowel on a following *a* 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 Prātiśākhya (VPr., BPr.) 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, ॐ and ॑, 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 (Sama- 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 ॑ where a nasalized *anunāsika* vowel is to be recognized, and elsewhere the ॐ; 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.

c. It is convenient also in transliteration to distinguish the assimilated *m* by a special sign, *m̐*, from the *anusvāra* of more independent origin, *ṁ*; and this method will be followed in the present work.

74. This is the whole system of sounds recognized by the written character; for certain other transitional sounds, more or less widely recognized in the theories of the Hindu phonetists, see below, 230.

75. The whole spoken alphabet, then, may be arranged in the following manner, in order to show, so far as is possible in a single scheme, the relations and important classifications of its various members:

		a, ā 12-75 2-16				Vowels	
		ai, ē 4-35 1-13		o, au 1-4 3-15			
Son.	{	i, ī 4-35 1-13	ṛ, ṝ 7-1 -61	l, u, ū -91 2-61 -73		Semivowels	
		y 4-35	r 1-95		v 4-99		
		ṇ -72	ṇ -35	ṇ 1-63	m 4-61		4-34
		ṇ -48					
Surd	{	h 1-67				Aspiration	
		ḥ 1-61					Visarga
		Sibilants					
Son.	{	gh -15	jh -61	ḍh -63	dh -63	bh asp. 1-77	Mutes
		g -68	j -34	ḍ -21	d 2-63	b unasp. -46	
		kh -18	ch -17	ṭh -66	th -58	ph asp. -63	
		k 1-99	c 1-25	ṭ -26	t 6-65	p unasp. 2-66	
		Gutt.	Pal.	Ling.	Dent.	Lab.	

a. The figures set under the characters give the average percentage of frequency of each sound, found by counting the number of times which it occurred in an aggregate of 10,000 sounds of continuous text, in ten different passages, of 1,000 sounds each, selected from different epochs of the literature: namely, two from the *Rig-Veda*, one from the *Atharva-Veda*, two from different *Brāhmaṇas*, and one each from *Manu*, *Bhagavad-Gītā*, *Çakuntalā*, *Hitopadeça*, and *Vāsa-vadattā* (*J.A.O.S.*, vol. X., p. cl).

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 *dīrgha* vowel or diphthong as twice that of a short *brahva* vowel – making no distinction in this respect between the *guṇa*- and the *vr̥ddhi*-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, *ॐ३* *āi*.

a. The protracted vowels are practically of rare occurrence in RV, three cases; in AV, fifteen, in the Bṛahmaṇa 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 *anuvāra*, or is made nasal.

b. Examples are: *adhāh evid aśīd upāri evid aśī t* (RV) *was at forth, below? was it, forth, above? idām bhuyāt idām it* (AV) *saying, is this more, or is that? āgnā d patnīvāś sōmam piba* (IS) *O Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma.*

c. A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or a-clement; thus, *ai* to *āi*, *o* to *ōu*.

d. The sign of protraction is also sometimes written as the result of *anuvāra* combination, when so-called *kampa* occurs: see below, 87 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". *Anuvāra* 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

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 *vi-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* (*nīak*), *budhnyā* (*budhnīa*), *kanyā* (*kanīa*), *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*, *budhnyā*.

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-udgātā*; *nāl 'vā 'ṇiyāt* (ÇB.), from *nā evā aṇiyāt*.

e. *Abhinīhita*, when an initial grave a is absorbed by a final acute é or ó (135 a): thus, *tē 'bruvan*, from *té abruvan*; *sō 'bravit*, from *só 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 *téna* and *té ca*, the syllable *na* and word *ca* are regarded and marked as circumflex; but in *téna té* and *té ca svar* 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 *Brahmaṣas* Taittirīya and Śatapatha, in the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka, in certain passages of the Āitareya-Āraṇyaka, and in the *Suparṇadāyāya*. 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 *agnim*; जुहोति *juhóti*; तन्वां *tanvā*: क्व *kva*.

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 *īndrah*; ते *té*; करिष्यामि *karishyāsi*; तुविज्ज्ञाता *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 *sudṛśīkasandṛk*;

but सुदृशीकसंदग्गवाम् *sudṛśīkasandṛg 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:

अप्स्व॑न्तः *apsv antāḥ* (from *apsū antāḥ*);

रायो॑श्च॒निः *rāyōśchāniḥ* (from *rāyō avāniḥ*).

The rationale of this mode of designation is not well understood; the Pratiśāhikas 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*.

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

83 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 Vajasaneyi-Saṁhitā and of the Taittiriya-Saṁhitā, Brahmana, 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 Maitrayani-Saṁhitā, 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 Śatapatha-Brahmana 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 preceding syllable. To mark an independent circumflex, it is put under the preceding syllable. The method is an imperfect one, allowing many ambiguities.

d. The Sama-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 any one 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 devanagari 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 udatta) above the syllable: thus,

इन्द्रा, अग्ने, एवम्, नद्यः

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

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 creation 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 Venae 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 having been found in the root-lists of the Hindu grammarians (103). But also of the rest, some are plainly secondary, while others are questionable; and yet a few are variations or differentiated forms of one another. Thus, there are roots showing respectively *r* and *l*, as *rāb* and *labh*, *mruc* and *mluc*, *kaṛ* and *kaḷ*; roots with and without a strengthening nasal, as *vand* and *vād*, *mand* and *mad*; roots in *a* and in a nasal, as *kha* and *khan*, *gā* and *gam*, *jā* and *jan*; roots made by an added *ā*, as *trā* from *tr*, *mā* from *man*, *pā* from *bhas*, *yā* from *l*; roots the product of reduplication, as *jakṣ* from *ghas*, *dudh* from *dhd*; roots with a final syllable of formative origin, as *bhaks* and *bhiks* from *bhaj*, *naḥ* from *naḥ*, *gruḥ* from *gru*, *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*, *vṛ* *enlarge* and *vṛ* *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 triceable 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 *n* and *s*; no western authority follows this example.

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

c. A number of roots ending in an *a* which is irregularly treated in the present-system are written in the Hindu lists with diphthongs — *e* or *ai* or *o*; here they will be regarded as *a*-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 *r* and *ir* and *ir* or *ur* and *ūr* (242) are written by the Hindus with *r* or with *ṛ*, or with both. The *r* 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 *r*.

e. The roots, on the other hand, showing a variation between *r* and *ar* (rarely *ra*) as weak and strong forms will be here written with *r*, 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 *qi*, in *mud* and *bhu*, and their like, consistency seems to require that we write it in *arj* and *kr* 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 combination

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.).

105. 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.

106. The rules of combination (*samādhi 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 a 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 al, sva, etc., especially after palatal sounds and ȳ.

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 (va, the suffix of material maya, 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.), dhṛṣadvān (beside namasvān, etc.) ȳagmā (beside ajmā, idhmā, etc.), mṛṇmaya (beside manasmayā, etc.), and śaśhyū, kṛhyū, ȳahyū, and aśhoyū, duroyū, āśkṛdhoyū (beside namasyū, vacasyū, etc.), and the AV. only śāhovan (RV. śāhavan).

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: and his first task is to master the principal parallels 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., *vāryānām* has to be read as *vāri-i-ṇa-ām*, *svaṣṭyam* as *su-aṣ-vi-am*, and so on. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, also, we find *tvac*, *svac*, *dyāus* described as dissyllables, *vyāna* and *satyam* as trisyllables, *rājanya* as of four syllables, and the like. See further 129 c.

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, sord and sonant are wholly incompatible; no sord of either class can either precede or follow a sonant of either.

b. A mute, sord or sonant, is assimilated by being changed to its correspondent of the other kind; of the spirants, the sord *h* is the only one having a sonant correspondent, namely *r*, to which it is convertible in external combination (161 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 sord 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 sord mute.

d. A semivowel has still less connecting 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 sord correspondent *g*.

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 *g* and *n* are very frequently converted to *g* and *ṇ* by the assimilating influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds: the *g*, 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 *ç*, 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 ṛ 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 sord and sonant assimilation, including those for final *a* and *r*.

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 (C.B.) 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 *i* and *ī*, which becomes *ī*. thus, *divī* 'va, from *divī* *iva*; in the Taittiriya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while *ū* and *u*, instead, make *ū* thus, *śūdgata* from *sū-udgata*.

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

इत्याह *ity āha* (*iti* + *āha*);

मध्व *madhv* *iva* (*madhu* + *iva*);

दुहितरर्थे *duhitrarthe* (*duhitr*-*arthe*);

अस्य *asya* (*asī* + *asya*);

वध्वै *vadvhāi* (*vadhū*-*ai*).

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*), *vīyanga* (*vī* + *anga*), *suviṭa* (*su* + *ṭa*) compare 1204 b, 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 treatment

of an *i-* or *u-*vowel: e. g. *svār* or *sūvar*, *tanvè* or *tanūve*, *budhnyā* or *budhniyā*, *rātryāi* or *rātriyaī*. For the most part, doubtless, these are only two ways of writing the same pronunciation, *sū-ar*, *budhniā*, 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.

c. 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 semi-vowel. 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 233 a.

130. As regards the *a* cent—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); अभ्यारोति abhyāroati;

नादि nadyāu (nadi-āu);

स्विष्टा sviṣṭa (sū-iṣṭa); तन्वन् tanvās (tanū-as)

a. Of a similar combination of acute *i* with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, *viṣṭātr étāt* (l. a. *viṣṭātṛ étāt*: CB. xiv. 6. 8¹¹); 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, *इ* o (really ai: 28 a. becomes *य* ay, and *औ* o (that is, au: 28 a.) becomes *व* av; *ई* āi becomes *य* ay, and *औ* āu becomes *व* av.

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), नय nāya nāi-a;

भव bhava bho-a; भव 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 \ddot{r} e the most frequent case, becomes simply य a before an initial vowel except य a: see 135, below, and both then remain unchanged; and a final \ddot{r} ai, in like manner, becomes everywhere यā ā. Thus,

त ऋगताः ta āgatāḥ (te + āgatāḥ),

नगर इह nagara iha (nagare + iha);

तस्मा अददात् tasmā adadāt (tasmāi + adadāt),

स्त्रिया उक्तम् striyā uktam (striyāi + uktam).

a. The later grammarian allow the \ddot{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 grammar (Pratishkhyas), 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 final ā, 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 361 o, 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. 128 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 \bar{v} of घाव् &v from औ &u is usually retained: thus,

नायेव tār eva tāu + eva :

आविन्द्राग्नी ubhāv indrāgnī ubhāu + indrāgnī'.

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

135. After final ङ o or औ o, an initial अ a disappears.

a. The resulting accent is as if the a were not dropped, but rather absorbed into the preceding diphthong, having its tone duly represented in the combination. If, namely, the o or o is grave or circumflex and the a acute, the former becomes acute, if the e or o is acute and the 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

ने ब्रुवन् to 'bruvan to abruvan :

नो ब्रवीन् so 'bravīt sāh abravīt ;

हिंसितव्यो ऽग्निः hiṁsitavyō 'gnīh (hiṁsitavyāh agnīh ;

यद् इन्द्रो ब्रवीन् yād indrō 'bravīt yād indrah abravīt ;

यद् राजान्यो ब्रवीन् yād rājanyō 'bravīt yād rājanyāh abravīt .

b. As to the use of the avagraha sign in the case of such an elision, see above, 16. In trans'lation, the reversed apostrophe, ' rough breath-mark' will be used in this work to represent it.

c. This elision or absorption of that a after final e or 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 430 instances of such an initial 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 1000. 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 a is (or 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 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

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 *ṛ* nor *ḷ* ever actually occurs; and *ṛ* is rare (only as neuter sing. of a stem in *ṛ* or *ar*, or as final of such a stem in composition).

Thus, *indra*, *çivāyā*, *ākāri*, *nadī*, *dātu*, *camū*, *janayitṛ*, *agne*, *çivāyāl*, *vāyo*, *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, *agnimāt* for *agnimāth*, *suhṛt* for *suhṛd*, *virūt* for *virūdḥ*, *triṣṭūp* for *triṣṭūbh*.

a. In a few roots, when their final (sonant aspirate) thus loses its aspiration, the original sonant aspiration of the initial reappears: compare *ḍh*, below, 147.

Thus, *dagh* becomes *dhak*, *budh* becomes *bhūt*, 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.

— 104 —

— 105 —

— 106 —

— 107 —

— 108 —

— 109 —

— 110 —

— 111 —

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 555 a.

146. The compound कृक् is prescribed to be treated as simple कृक् not becoming कृक् 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 *ts* कृक् has a quasi-radical character — namely *anāk* from *anāks*, and *āmyak* from *īmyaks* — the conversion is to *k*. Also, of forms of the *s*-aorist (see 890), we have *adhāk asrāk*, *arāk*, etc. (for *adhaks-t* etc.); but also *apraṭ*, *ayāṭ*, *avaṭ*, *asraṭ* (for *apraṅs-t* etc.). And RV. has twice *ayās* from *īyaj*, and AV. twice *arās* from *īrj* (wrongly referred by Bt to *īraṅs*), both 2d sing., where the personal ending has perhaps crowded out the root-final and *s*-sign.

b. The numeral *śaś* *śir* is perhaps better to be regarded as *śaks*, with *ts* कृक् treated as *ś* according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration कृह is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like कृज and कृघ) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as कृक्, or is changed to कृङ — 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 कृह is from original कृध (223 g), it becomes कृत.

148. The *visarga* and *anusvāra* are nowhere etymological finals; the former is only the substitute for an original final कृस or कृर; the latter occurs as final only so far as it is a substitute for कृम (213 h).

149. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals, nearly in the order of their frequency, are : कृ, कृम, कृन, कृत्, कृक्, कृप, कृङ; those of only sporadic occurrence are कृद्, कृल्, कृण; and, by substitution, कृम्.

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, *tudante* becomes *tudant*, and this *tudan*; *udañe-s* becomes *udñak* (142), and this *udan*; and *achāntet* (s-aor, 3d sing. of *achand* [890 b]) is in like manner reduced to *achān*.

b. But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after *r*: thus, *ūr* from *ūrj*, *vār* from *vrj*, *avart* from *vrt*, *āmart* from *mrj*, *suhart* from *suhard*. 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 H.

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

a. Of final *t* to *k* there, 1. in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles, as *fyók*, *taják* (beside *táját*), *fdhak* (beside *fdhat*), *pfthak*, *drak*; and of kindred character is *khādagdānt* (IA.), 2. in here and there a verbal form, as *sāviṣak* (AV. and VS. *Kaṇ*) *dumbhīṣak* (Āpast), *aviṣyak* (Purash), *ahalak* (VS MS.; = *āharat*), 3. in root-finals or the *t* added to root-stems (383 e), as *-dhṛk* for *-dhṛt* (Sotras and later) at the end of compounds, *suqrūk* (TB), *prkṣu* (SV); and 4. we may further note here the anomalous *enḡva* (AB) for *intsva*, *ḡdh* and *avākṣam* (AB), and the feminines in *knī* from masculines in *ts* (1170 d).

b. Of final *d* or *t* to a lingual: thus, *pad* in Vedic *paḡbhīś*, *paḡḡbhī*, *paḡbhīḡa*; *upānāḡbhīḡam* (IB), *vy avat* (MS. in 4 9, *vas āhne*) and perhaps *āpa 'rat* (MS., or *'raj*?).

c. Of *k* or *j* to *t* in an isolated example or two, as *samyāt*, *āsṛt*, *viḡvāṣṭ* (IS *k*), and *prayāteu* (VS, IS.; AV. *-kṣu*).

d. In Taittiriya texts, of the final of *anuḡṡūbh* and *triḡṡūbh* to a dental as, *anuḡṡūk* ca, *triḡṡūgbhīś*, *anuḡṡūgbhīḡas*.

e. Of a labial to a dental: in *kakūd* for and beside *kakūbh* in *anubhūdbhīś* (IS) from *ḡpp*, and in *adbhīś*, *adbhīḡas*, from *ap* or *ap* (303). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation, yet examples of the combination *bbh* are not very rare in the older language: *kakūbbhīḡam*, *triḡṡūbbhīś*, *kakūbbhāḡā*, *anuḡṡūb bhī*.

f. The forms *pratidhūḡas*, *-ḡā* (Taittiriya texts) from *pratidūh* are reduced analogies.

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 *a* and *r*: the various transformations of these vowels 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 *ḥ*; 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 sord (152).

b. Practically, also, the rules as to changes of aspirates concern almost only the sonant aspirates, since the sord, 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.) *akhkhali*, *jājhjhati*

155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate *घ* *gh*, *द* *dh*, *भ* *bh*; also *ह*, as representing an original *घ* *gh* thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant *ग* *g* or *द* *d* or *ब* *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.

i. *gh* — *dagh*;

ii. *h* (for original *gh*) — *dah*, *dih*, *dūh*, *druh*, *drūh*, *guh*, and *grah* (in the later desiderative *jighṛkṣa*);

iii. *dh* — *bandh*, *badh*, *budh*;

iv. *bh* — *dabb* (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*, *dah*, *druh*, and *guh* are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, *dukṣat*; *adukṣat*; *dudukṣa* etc.; *jugukṣa*; *mitradrūk*.

e. The same analogy is followed by *dadh*, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stem *dadhā*, from *dhā* (987), 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. imper. 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 111 d, final *d* of a root before the participial suffix *na* (957 d); and the forms noted below, 161 b.

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 initial *s*'s.

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

a. The *r*, however, has a corresponding surd in *ṣ*, 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 *ātsi*, *ātti*, *atthās*, *attā* (√ad + ai etc.), *ṣagdhī*, *ṣagdhvām*; *ṣak* + *dhi* etc. — in external combination, *ābhud aśām*, *jyōg jiva*, *ṣād aśitāya*, *triṣṭūb āpi*, *dig-gaja*, *ṣaḍ-ahā*, *arcād-dhuma*, *bṛhād-bhanu*, *ab-jā*.

160. If, however, a final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by *ṭ* or *ṭh* 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 *buddhā* (√budh + *ta*), *ruddhās* (√rundh + *thas* or *tas*), *bh* with the same becomes *bḍh*, as *labdhā* (√labh + *ta*), *labdhvā* (√labh + *tvā*).

a. Moreover, *h*, as representing original *gh*, is treated in the same manner thus, *dugdhā*, *dōgdhum* from *duh* — and compare *rūdhā* and *liḍhā* from *ruh* and *lih*, etc., 323 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 √dha (155 c), 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 *inddām* 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 *tād nāmas* or *tān nāmas*, *vaḡ me* or *vān me*, *baḍ mahān* or *bāp mahān*, *triṣṭūb nūnām* or *triṣṭūm nūnām*.

a. In practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in the manuscripts, as, indeed, it is by the Pratiśākhya required and not permitted merely. Even by the general grammarians it is required in the compound *śāṇṇavati*, and before *mātra*, and the suffix *māya* (1225) thus, *vānmāya*, *mṛnmāya*.

b. Even in internal combination, the same assimilation is made in some of the derivatives noted at 111 d, and in the na-participles (857 d) and a few sporadic instances are met with even in verb-inflection: thus,

stinnoti, stinnuyat (MS.; for stighn-), mnnnita (L.S.; for mndn-),
janmayana (KS; for jagm-); these, however (like the doubtful aspirate
154 a), 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, *tāl labhato*, *ulluptam*.

163. Before ह the case occurs only in external combination, a final mute is made sonant; and then the ह may either remain unchanged or be converted into the sonant aspirate corresponding with the former: thus, either तदिह तद् हि or तदिह तद् धि.

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

Examples are: *vāg ghutāḥ*, *śāddhotā* (*śat + hotā*) *taddhita* (*tat + hita*), *anustūb bhī*.

Combinations of final \bar{r} e and \bar{r} r.

164. The euphonic changes of *ṛ s* and *ṛ 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 *ṛ s* becomes *ṛ r* in situations requiring or favoring the occurrence of a sonant; and, much less often, *ṛ r* becomes *ṛ 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.

185. 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, *pîpărei*, *căturthă*, *oăturău*, *părău*.

166. Final radical *a* remains before a surd in general, and usually before *s*, as in çássi, çassva, asse, açiggu the last is also written açiggu 172: but it is lost in ási yaa+ai 636. Before a sonant (that is, bh in declension, it is treated as in external combination, thus, açirbhás. Before a sonant that is, dh in conjugation it appears to be dropped, at least after long *a*, thus çadha, çaçadh cakadhí the only quotable cases, in odhí ças r-dhi 636 the root syllable is irregularly altered, but in 21 pers. pl. m. *dh* *dhvam*, as *adhvam*, *çadhvam*, *aradhvam* 881 *a* *varthmanam* 1000

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, KV. twice, both 2d pers. sing.) treats *āghas* from *īghas* 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-c.

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

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 *√*-stems, becomes *t* at the end of the word, and before *bh* and *su*: thus, *dhvas*, *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*; *uśādbhis* from *uśās*; *svātavadbhyas* from *svātavas*; *svāvadbhis* etc. (not quotable) from *svāvas*. 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 *vāns* to *vat* in the declension of perfect participles (458). The stem *anuṣvah* (404, from *anas-vah*, is anomalous and isolated.

b. In the compounds *duccūṇā* (*duc-gūṇā*) and *pāruccēpa* (*parus-ṣepa*), 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 *r* or *ar* (369 ff.), in root-stems in *ir* and *ur* from roots in *r* (383 b), in a small number of other stems, as *svār*, *āhar* and *ūdhār* (beside *āhan* and *ūdhan*: 430), *dvār* or *dur*, and the Vedic *vādhār*, *uṣār*, *vasar*-, *vanar*-, *ṣṭar*-, *sapar*-, *sabar*-, *athar*- (cf. 176 c), in a few particles, as *antār*, *prātār*, *pūnār*; and in the numeral *catūr* (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 *r*-stems (371 c), and *us* (or *ur*) of the 3d plur. of verbs (550 c).

170. a. The η a, as already noticed 145, becomes visarga before a pause.

b. It is retained unchanged only when followed by η t or η th, the surd mutes of its own class.

c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes — η c and η ch, η t and η th—it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely η q or η s.

d. Before the guttural and labial surd mutes — η k and η kh, η p and η ph—it is also theoretically assimilated, becoming respectively the *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmanīya* spirants (69); but in practice these breathings are unknown, and the conversion is to visarga.

Examples are. to b. *tatas te*, *cakras te*; to c. *tataq ca*, *tasyaq chayā*; *padaq śalati*; to d. *nalah kāmam*, *purushah khanati*; *yaqah prāpa*, *vrkṣah phalavan*.

171. The first three of these rules are almost universal; to the last one there are numerous exceptions, the sibilant being retained (or, by 160, converted into η), 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 η kṛ, before *pati*, before *kalpa* and *kāma*, and so on. Examples are *namaskāra*, *vācāpati*, *āyushkāma*, *payaskalpa*.

c. The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the Pratiśakhyas. 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 *divān putrah*, *idān padē*. 3. of an attributive before *pāri*: as *himāvatān pāri*. 4. of other less characteristic cases: as *dyāuṣ pitā*, *triṣ pūtvā*, *yān pātiḥ*, *paridhīḥ pātāti*, etc.

172. Before an initial sibilant — η q, η s, η s — η s is either assimilated, becoming the same sibilant, or it is changed into visarga.

a. The assimilation is not made in all cases, but in some instances at variance (are there any?) with the general rule, it should be made, and in

part they allow either at pleasure. The usage of the manuscripts is also dissonant; 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 manuḥ svayam; indraḥ quraḥ or indraḥ qūrah; tāḥ ṣaṭ or tāḥ ṣaṭ.

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

a. If the initial sibilant has a sord 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 ॠ r: see 179, ॠ s is changed to the sonant ॠ r — unless, indeed, it be preceded by ऋ a or ॠ ā.

Examples are: devapatir iva, çrīr iva; manur gacchati, tanur apsu; avasṭr ajanayat; tayor adṛṣṭakāmaḥ; sarvair guṇāḥ; agner manve.

a. For a few cases like duḍḍaḥ, dūḍḍaḥ, see below, 199 d.

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

c. The endings ण्स and ण्स both of which are extremely common follow rules of their own, namely:

175. a. Final ण्स, before any sonant consonant and before short ऋ a, is changed to ॠ o — and the ऋ 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 nama, brahmanyō vedavit; manobhava; hantavyo 'smi; anyonya (anyas + anya), yaçortham (yaças + artham).

c. Final ण्स before any other vowel than ऋ a loses its ण्स, becoming simple ऋ 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 *bṛhadācva uvāca*, *aditya iva*, *nāmaṁkti*, *vānyaṁṣi*.

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

a. The nominative masculine pronouns *sān* and *eqās* and (Vedic) *syās* (495 a, 499 a, b) lose the *e* before any sonant thus, *sa dadarṣa he saw*, *eqa puruṣaḥ the man*, but so 'bravit *he said*, *puruṣa eqaḥ*.

b. Instances are met with, both in the earlier and in the later language of affacement of the hiatus after alteration of *as* by combination of the remaining final *a* with the following initial vowel thus, *tato 'vān* (*tatas + uvāca*), *payoṁṣi* (*payas + uṣṣi*), *adhāsana iadhas + 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 *as* in RV is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel *e* or *a*, so 'd for *sa id*, *sā 'smāi* for *sā asmāi*, *māi 'gadhiḥ* for *mā opadhīḥ*, 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 *arās*, once in SV in *āras* (RV *āyo*), once in MS in dactylicness in *bhuvas* (second of the two of sacred utterances *bhās*, *bhuvas*, *svar*) except in its earliest occurrences, in a series of words in a Brahmana passage (TS K.), viz. *jinvār*, *ugrār*, *bhinvār*, *trevār*, *grutār*, *bhūtār*, and (K. only) *putār*; 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 sibilic consonant, and *sās* twice, and *yās* once, retains its final syllable in a *hā* position.

d. In MS, the final *a* left before hiatus by alteration of either *ao* or *o* (133) is made long if itself unaccented and if the following initial vowel is accented thus, *sūrā ēti* (from *sūras + eti*), *nirupyāta indraya* (from *-yāto + ind-*), and also *kāryā eka-* (from *kāryās*, because virtually *karīas*); but *adityā indraḥ* (from *adityās + indraḥ*), *etā itaro* (from *etā + itaro*).

177. Final *am* *as* before any sonant, whether vowel or consonant, loses its *ṣ*, becoming simple *am* *ā*; and a hiatus thus occasioned remains.

a. The maintenance of the hiatus in these cases, as in that of *o* and *u* and *ai* (above, 133-4), seems to indicate a recent loss of the intermediate *ṣ*. We are divided as to what this should have been. Some of the grammarians assimilate the case of *as* to that of *ai*, assuming

the conversion to *ay* 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 *ai* and *o*: 133 c, 170 b), there are examples to be found, both earlier and later, of effacement of the hiatus.

178. Final *ṛ*, in general, shows the same form which *ṛ* *e* 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*, *dras tat*, *evāc oa*, *catūcatvarīṇat*; and (111 c, d) *pratastāna*, *antastya*, *catuṣṭaya*, *dhastva*, *prataḥ karoti*, *antahpata*.

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

c. The *r* is preserved unchanged even before a surd in a number of Vedic compounds: thus, *aharpātī*; *svārcannas*, *svārcakṣas*, *svārpātī*, *svārṣā*, *svārṣātī*; *dhūrṣād*, *dhūrṣah*; *pūrpatī*, *vārkāryā*, *ācīrpada*, *punarṛta*; and in some of these the *r* is optionally retained in the later language. The RV also has *āvar tāmah* 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 indub*, *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*, *matū rihān*, *jyotiratha*, *durohara*.

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

Conversion of *ṛ* *s* to *ṛ* *ṣ*.

180. The dental sibilant *ṛ* *s* is changed to the lingual *ṛ* *ṣ*, if immediately preceded by any vowel save *ṛ* *a* and *ṛ* *ā*, or by *ṛ* *k* or *ṛ* *r* — unless the *ṛ* *s* be final, 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 *Pratishāhyas* 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, *uara*, *tīraśa*, *tāmīra*. And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an *r*-element whether *r* or *r'*, whatever the position of that element: thus, *śisarti*, *śīrtam*, *śarīṣpā*, *tīrtire*, *parīrūt*. To this rule there are a few exceptions, as *viṣṭīr*, *viṣṭārā*, *nīṣṭā*, *vīṣpārhas*, *gāvīṣṭhira*, etc. In *ajūraṇ* 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, *śisakṣi*, but *śiṣakti*; *yāśiṣṭhās*, but *yāśiṣmahī*. Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see below, 184 c.

d. Other cases are sporadic. RV. has the forms *śisice* and *śisious* (but *śisicatus*), and the stems *ṛbīsa*, *kīrtā*, *bīsa*, *bucā*, *bīṣaya*; a single root *pis*, with its derivative *posuka*, is found once in (B; MS has *mṛsmṛṣā*; *mūsala* begins to be found in AV.; and such cases grow more numerous; for *pūṣa* and the roots *nīṣa* and *hīṣa* 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 *ṣ* or *kṣ* before a dental, as is *draṣṭum*, *caṣṭe*, *evāṣṭar*: 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 *Brahmaṇas*.

b. Further, in RV, *āṣa*, *kavāṣa*, *caṣāla*, *cāṣa*, *jālāṣa*, *pāṣyā*, *baṣkāya*, *vāṣat* (for *vakṣat*?), *kāṣṭhā*; and, by anomalous alteration of originals, *-ṣaṇ* (*turāṣaṇ* etc.), *āṣaḍhu*, *upaṣṭūt*, and probably *apāṣṭhā* and *aṣṭhivānt*. Such cases grow more common later.

c. The numeral *ṣaṣ*, as already noted (149 b), is more probably *ṣakṣ*

183. The nasalization of the alternant vowel — or, in other words, its being followed by anusvara — does not prevent its altering effect upon the sibilant: thus, *haviṣṣi*, *paruṣṣi*. 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 visarga: 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 *ṣ hīns*, because of its value as *hins* (*hīnasti* etc.); *ṣ nīns* (RV. 8.1) 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-sonant, future, and desiderative; suffixes *ana*, *enu*, *aya*, etc. — after a final alternant vowel or consonant of root or stem, or a unbranched vowel: thus *juhosi*, *ṣeṣe*, *anāṣam*, *bhaviṣyāmi*, *cuṣṣṣe*, *doṣṣa*, *jiṣṣu*, *vikṣu*, *akaraṣam*.

b. The final s of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus *haviṣa*, *haviṣas*, etc., from *haviṣ*; *ṣakṣuṣmant*, *ṣociṣka*, *manuṣa*, *manuṣya*, *ṣyotiṣva*.

c. Roots having a final sibilant (except ṣ) after an alternant vowel are — with the exception of *śiṣious* ones and *piś*, *nīś*, *hīś* — regarded as ending in ṣ, not s, and concerning the treatment of this ṣ in combination, see below, 225-8.

d. The initial s of a root after a reduplication: thus, *aiṣyade*, *suṣvapa*, *siṣṣeati*, *coṣkuyate*, *suṣiṣvapāt*.

e. Excepted is in general an initial radical s in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes ṣ: thus, *aiṣirṣati* from *ṣṛ*, *aiṣaṣkṣati* from *ṣaṣṣ*. And there are other scattering cases, as *treṣua* (perf. from *ṣṛas*), 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 nasalizes 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 suffix: thus *ubhiṣāc*, *pratiṣṭhā*, *niṣikta*, *viṣita*; *anuṣvadhām*, *suṣeka*; 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.

lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels—that is to say, by *य* *ॠ*, *उ* *ॠ*, or *इ* *ॠ* or *ऋ* *ॠ*—: 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 *य* *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 *a* 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 *a*).

b. This is a rule of constant application; and as was pointed out above, 46¹ the great majority of occurrences of *ṇ* in the language are the result of it.

180. 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, *rudrōṇa*, *rudrāṇam*, *vāriṇo*, *vāriṇī*, *vāriṇī*, *dātṇī*, *hārāṇī*, *dvēṇī*, *kṛpāṇī*, *ṣṛṇōti*, *kṛbhaṇā*, *ghṛṇā*, *kārṇa*, *vṛkṇā*, *ruṇṇā*, *drāvīṇa*, *iṣṇī*, *purāṇā*, *rēkṇas*, *cākṇa*, *cikṛṣamāṇa*, *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 *ṛan*, *rāṇanti*, *rāṇyati*, *rāṇa*, *arāṇīṣu*; from *brahman*, *brāhmaṇā*, *brāhmāṇī*, *brāhmaṇā*, *brahmaṇyā*, *brāhmaṇvant*.

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

181. This rule (like that for the change of *a* to *ṇ*) 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.

namely, in certain Vedic compounds with *das*: *dūḍābha*, *duḍāḥ*, *duḍhī*, *dūḍāḥa*, *dūḍāḥa* (compare the anomalous *puroḍāḥ* and *-ḍāḥa*: *puras + yḍāḥ*); and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of *ṣaṣ*, with change of its vowel to an a-tarant quality (as in *voḍhum* and *soḍhum* 224 b): *ṣoḍāḥa*, *ṣoḍhā* (also *ṣaḍḍhā* and *ṣaḍdhā*), *ṣoḍant*.

c. Between final *t* and initial *a*, the insertion of a *t* is permitted—or, according to some authorities, required thus, *ṣāṭ saḥāśraḥ* or *ṣāṭṭ saḥāśraḥ*.

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 *n* coming to follow a palatal mute in internal combination is itself made palatal.

Thus, *yācānā* the only instance after *c*, *yajñā*, *jaññā*, *ajñāta*, *rājñā*, *rājñā*.

202. a. A final *n* before an initial palatal mute is assimilated to it, becoming *ṇc* before *ṇc* or *ṇch*, and *ṇj* before *ṇj* *ṇjh* does not occur.

Thus, *uo carati*, *etac chattram*, *vidyuj jayate*; *yatayājñana*, *vidyujñihva*, *bṛhācchandas*, *saccarita*.

b. A final *n* is assimilated before *ṇj*, becoming *ṇñ*.

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 *ṣ*, both *n* and *ṇ* are assimilated, becoming respectively *ṇc* and *ṇñ*; and then the following *ṣ* may be, and in practice almost always is, converted to *ṇch*.

Thus, *vedavio churāḥ* (-vit *cū*-), *tao chrutvā*, *hṛcchaya* (*hṛt + çaya*); *bṛhāñ chasāḥ* or *çasāḥ*, *svapañ chote* or *çote*.

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 *vīpaṭ chutudrī*, *ānuṭ chūci*, *anuṭup chāradi*, *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 *ñç*: e.g. *tañ çatām*, *otāvāñçās*.

Combinations of final न् n.

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

Thus, vāṇsi, vāṇsya, vāṇsat, māṇsyāte, jighāṇsati.

a. According to the grammarians, it is treated before bh and su in declension as in external combination. But the cases are, at best, exceedingly rare, and RV. has vāṇsu and vāṇsu (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.

Thus 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 ç, çh, 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 incorrect, and a better way would be to separate the two l's, writing the first with virāma and a nasal sign above. Thus (from trīṇ lokān)

manuscripts त्रीलोकान् or त्रीलोकान्, better त्रील् लोकान्

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

207. Before the lingual and dental sibilants, ç and s, final n remains unchanged; but a t may also be inserted between the nasal and the sibilant: thus, tān çāt or tānt çāt; māhān sām or māhānt sām.

a. According to most of the grammarians of the Pratiśākhya (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 sibilant and nasal to non-nasal utterance — although the not infrequent cases in which final n stands for original nt (as bharaṇ, abharaṇ, agnimān) may have aided to establish it as a rule. Its analogy with the conversion of n ç into ṇçh (203) is palpable.

208. Before the sord 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, *devaṇc on*, *bhvaṇc chidyato*, *kumārāṇs trin*, *abharāṇs tataḥ*, *dadhaṇc* (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 historical 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 *Pratyaṅkhyas*, in general, it is less frequent in the older texts. When the *q* does not apply 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*, *in*, *ūn*, *ṛn* as if they were *ās*, *īs*, *ūs*, *ṛs* (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 *āñ* (nasalized *ā*) before a following vowel: that is to say, *āñs* with nasal vowel, is treated like *ān* with pure vowel (177) thus, *devāñ o'ha*, *ūpabaddhāñ ihā*, *mahāñ asti*. This is an extremely common case especially in RV. Once or twice, the *s* appears as *h* before *p* thus, *svātavāñh pāyūh*.

b. In like manner, *s* is treated after nasal *i*, *u*, *ṛ* as it would be after these vowels when pure, becoming *r* before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) *h* before a sord (170). Thus, *raçmīñr iya*, *sunūñr yuvanyūñr ūt*, *nṛñr abhi*; *nṛñh pātram* (and *nṛñs p-* MS).

c. RV has once *-āñ* before *y*. MS usually has *āñ* instead of *āñ*.

210. The nasals *n*, *ṇ*, *ṇ*, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel thus, *pratyāññ ūd eṣi*, *udyāññ udityāh*, *anōññ-īṇ*.

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 *vr̥ṣaṇaṇva*.

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

Combinations of final *m*.

212. Final radical *m*, in internal combination, is assimilated to a following mute or spirant – in the latter case, becoming *anuvāra*; 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 *ṭgam* 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* + *ṭçam*). No derived nouns end in *m*.

b. The *Ṭ* and *KṢ* have *kāmvant* and *çāmvant*.

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 *samrājñi* and *samrājya*.

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 *anuvāra* (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 the position of the mouth-organ peculiar to itself, but is uttered in the position of the next sound. The Pratyakhyas 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, *samvānana bhayaṅkarām* (RV. st. 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 *anuvāra*-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by *dh* instead of a nasal mute or *ṇ*.

The palatal mutes and sibilant, and ञ h.

214. These sounds show in some altitudes 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 e becomes k in *aṅkā*, *qvaṅka*, *arkā*, *pakā*, *vakā*, *ṣūka*, *parka*, *markā*, *vṛka*, *prātika* etc., *reka*, *soka*, *moka*, *rokā*, *ṣoka*, *tokā*, *mrokā*, *vraśkā*;—final j becomes g in *tyāgā*, *bhāgā*, *yāga*, *aṅga*, *bhaṅgā*, *saṅga*, *evanga*, *ṛṅga*, *tuṅga*, *yunga*, *varga*, *mārga*, *mṛgā*, *varga*, *sarga*, *negā*, *vega*, *bhōga*, *yugā*, *yōga*, *loga*, *rōga*;—final h becomes gh in *aghā*, *maghā*, *arghā*, *dirghā* (and *drāghiyas*, *drāghīṣṭha*), *deggha*, *megghā*, *oggha*, *doggha*, *drōgha*, *mōgha*; and in *dūghāna* and *mōghamāna*. In *neka* (yni) we have further an anomalous substitution of a surd for the final *e*uant of the root.

b. In another series of derivatives with a, the altered sound appears: examples are *ajā*, *yājā*, *ṣacā*, *ṣoca*, *vrajā*, *vorijā*, *yujā*, *urjā*, *doha*.

c. Before the suffixes *as* and *ana*, the guttural only rarely appears, namely, in *āṅkas*, *ōkas*, *rōkas*, *ṣōkas*, *bhārgas*, and in *rogaṇa*; also in *ābhogāya*.

d. Before an *i*-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in *ābhogī*, *ōgiyaṇs*, *tigīṭā*, *mokī*, *sphigī*); thus, *ājī*, *tuḷī*, *rūci*, *ṣāci*, *vivici*, *rociṣṇū*.

e. Before *u*, the guttural reappears, as a rule (the cases are few); thus, *aṅku*, *vaṅkū*, *rekū*, *bhṛḡu*, *mārguka*, *raghū* (and *rāghiyaṇs*).

f. Before *n*, the examples of reversion are few, except of *j* (becoming *g*) before the participial ending *na* (957 c): thus, *rōkṇas*, *vagṇū* (with the final also made sonant); and participles *bhagnā*, *rugṇā*, etc.; and apparently *prṇa* from *j* *pro*.

g. Before *m* (if *ma*, *man*, *mant*, *min*), the guttural generally appears: thus, *rukṃā*, *tigṃā*, *yusṃa*, *ṛḡma* (with sonant change); *tak-mān*, *vākman*, *sākman*, *yugmān*; *rūkmant*; *ṛḡmān* and *vagmān* (with sonant change);—but *ājman*, *ojmān*, *bhujmān*.

h. Before *y*, the altered sound is used: thus, *paoya*, *yajya*, *yajyu*, *yujya*, *bhujyu*. Such cases as *bhogyā*, *yogyā*, *negyā*, *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*, *viçrá*, *ugrá*, *túgra*, *mýgra*, *vañkri*; but *vájra* and *pájra* (v).

j. Before *v* (of the suffixes *va*, *van*, *vín*, etc., and particularly *vāha*) the guttural is regularly preserved thus, *ṛkvá*, *pakvá*, *vákva*; *vákvan*, *ṛkvan*, *rikvan*, *çukvan*, *mṛgvan*, *túgvan*, *yugvan*; *ṛkvant*, *pṛkvant*; *vāgvín*, *vagvaná*, *vagvanú* (with further sonant change); *vivakvāha*, *riṛikvāha*, *vivikvāha*, *rurukvāha*, *çuçukvāha*; *çuçukvaná*, *çuçukvání* also before the unon-vowel *i* in *okivāha* (RV. one). 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*, *oit*, *ji*, *hi*, *han*, and in *jāguri* (jgr) and *han* becomes *gha* on the elision of *a* (402, 637). The RV has *vivakmi* from *yvac* and *vāvakre* from *yvañc*; and SV. has *asapṛgmahe* (RV -apṛ-) 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 *ṛ* *k* would show in the same situation

Thus, *vákṣi*, *uvákṣa*, *vákṣi*, *vakṣyāmi*, *vagḍhi*; *vāgbhīa*, *vākṣū*; *uktá*, *ukthá*, *vaktár*.

a. And, as final *c* becomes *k* above 142, the same rule applies also to *ç* in external combination: thus, *vák ca*, *vāg ápi*, *vān me*.

Examples of *c* remaining unchanged in inflection are, *ucyáte*, *riṛicrá*, *váci*, *mumucmáhe*.

218. Final *ṣ* *ç* reverts to its original *ṛ* *k*, in internal combination, only before the *ṣ* *a* of a verbal stem or ending (whence, by 180, *ṣ* *ka*); before *ṣ* *t* and *ṣ* *th*, it everywhere becomes *ṣ* *ṣ* whence, by 197, *ṣ* *ṣ* *t* and *ṣ* *ṣ* *th*; before *ṣ* *dh*, *ṣ* *bh*, and *ṣ* *su* of the loc. pl., as when final (145), it regularly becomes the lingual mute *ṣ* *t* or *ṣ* *ḍ*.

Thus, *āvikaṣata*, *vekṣyāmi*; *vákṣi*, *viṣṭá*, *dideṣṭu*; *didiḍḍhi*, *vidḍhi*.

a. But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final *q* to *k* before *bh* and *su*, and also when final (145: they are *diq*, *drq*, *sprq*, and optionally *naq*, and *viq* has in V. always *vikṣā*, loc. pl. but *viṭ*, *viḍbhā*, etc. Examples are *dīksamḥita*, *drḥbhā*, *hṛdispṛk*, *nāk* or *naṭ*.

Examples of *q* remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are *viṇi*, *viviṇyās*, *aviṇran*, *aṇnomi*, *vaṇmi*, *uṇmāsi*.

b. A *q* remains irregularly unchanged before *p* in the compound *viṇpāti*.

219. Final *ṭj* is in one set of words treated like *ṭc*, and in another set like *ṭq*.

Thus, from *yuj*: *āyukthās*, *āyukta*, *yunktō*, *yukti*, *yōktra*, *yokṣyāmi*, *yukṣā*; *yungdhī*, *āyugdhvam*, *yugbhā*.

Again, from *mrj* etc.: *āmṛkṣat*, *araksyāmi*; *māraṭi*, *mṛṣṭa*, *asṛṭi*, *rāṣṭrā*; *mṛddhī*, *mṛddhvām*, *rāḍbhā*, *rāṣṭā*, *rāṭ*.

a. To the former or *yuj*-class belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, *bhaj*, *su*, *tyaj* (not V), *raḥ* color, *evaj*, *majj*, *nij*, *tij*, *vij*, 1 and 2 *bhuj*, *yuj*, *raḥ*, *vrij*, *añj*, *bhañj*, *ṇij*; *ūrij*, *erāj*, *bhiṣāj*, *āsrj*; — also, stems formed with the suffixes *aj* and *ij* (383. IV), as *trāpāj*, *vanij*; and *rtvṇj*, though containing the root *yaj*.

b. To the latter or *mrj*-class belong only about one third as many, namely, *yaj*, *bhraj*, *vraj*, *raḥ*, *bhraj*, *mrj*, *asj*.

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 soute (*t*, *th*, *dh*), or, in noun-inflection, by *bh* or *su*. In derivation (above, 218) we find a *g* sometimes from the *mrj*-class, thus, *mārga*, *sārga*, etc.; and (218.1) before Vedic *mit* endings, *asargmahe*, *asargran*, etc. (beside *asargjro*) — while from the *yuj*-class occur only *yuyujire*, *ayujran*, *bubhujire*, with *j*. And MS. has *viṇvanṛk* from *yerj*.

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

a. *Mūrtā* is called the participle of *murch*, 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 *ka* 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 *cākṣo* (*cakṣ* + *so*, *cākṣva*; *cākṣe*, *ācākṣa*, *āsrākṣam*, *āsrākṣa*, *tvākṣar*. As to its treatment when final, see 148

a. Thus, we are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as *gorāt*, *gorādbhis*, *gorāṣu* (from *gorākṣ*), and we actually have *gāt*, *gādbhis*, *gāṣu* from *gākṣ* or *gās* (148 b). For *jagdhā* etc. from *jagṣ*, see 233 f

b. In the single anomalous root *vraço*, the compound *ço* is said to follow the rules for simple *ç*. From it are quotable the future *vraçyati*, the gerunds *vraçvā* (AV) and *vraçvī* (RV), and the participle (857 c) *vraçā*. Its *ç* reverts to *k* in the derivative *vraçka*.

222. The roots in final *ç*, *h*, like those in *ç*, *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 *ç*) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original *gh*: thus, *ādhuḥam*, *dhokṣām*; *dugdhām*, *dugdhā*; *ādhuḥ*, *dhūk*, *dhugbhis*, *dhukṣu*.

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, *arukṣat*, *roḥṣāmi*, *sakṣiṣā*, *sakṣiṣi*). As final in external combination, and in noun-inflection before *bh* and *su*, the *h* like *ç* becomes a lingual mute: thus, *turāṣāt*, *prtanāṣād*, *ayodhyāḥ*, *turāṣādbhis*, *turāṣāṣu*. 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 *dh*: see 160. and farther, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel if short, is lengthened: thus from *ruh* with *ta* comes *ruḥhā* from *leh* with *ti* comes *leḥhi*, from *gub* with *tar* comes *gūḥhār*, from *meh* with *tum* comes *mēḥhum*, from *lih* with *tas* or *thas* comes *liḥhās* from *lih* with *dhyam* comes *liḥhām*, etc.

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

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

of the first or *duh*-class *dah*, *dih*, *duh*, *druh*, *muh*, *snih*
the *h* is similarly treated.

b. of the second or ruh-class. *vah*, *sah*, *mih*, *rih* or *lih*, *guh*, *ruh*, *ḍr̥h*, *ṭr̥h*, *br̥h*, *bañh*, *ap̥h* (?)

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

d. From roots of the ruh-class we find also in the Veda the forms *gertārūk*, nom. sing., and *prāpadhīk* and *dadhīk*; and hence *puruṣp̥k* (the only occurrence) does not certainly prove *ṣp̥h* 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 *nab* comes from original *dh* instead of *gh*, and its reversion is accordingly to a dental mute: thus, *natayāmi*, *naddhā*, *upānādbhis*, *upānadyoga*, *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 *ṛdhā* *pu*; and further analogous facts are the stem *kakubhā* 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, *ḍṛḡhā*, *ṭṛḡhā*, *br̥ḡhā* (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, *voḡhām*, *voḡhām*, *voḡhār*, *sōḡhum*. But from *sah* in the older language forms with *a* are more frequent: thus, *sāḡhā*, *śāḡḡha* (also later), *sāḡhar*. The root *ṭr̥h* changes the vowel of its class-sign *na* into *o* instead of lengthening it: thus, *ṭr̥eḡhi*, *ṭr̥eḡhu*, *at̥r̥et* (the grammarians teach also *ṭr̥ehmi* and *ṭr̥ekai*: 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 *ṣōḡḡa* etc.

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

The lingual sibilant η .

225. Since the lingual sibilant, in its usual and normal occurrences, is 162 the product of lingualization of s after certain alternant sounds, we might expect final radical η , when in rare cases it comes to stand where a s cannot maintain itself, to revert to its original, and be treated as a s would be treated under the same circumstances. That, however, is true only in a very few instances.

a. Namely, in the prefix *duṣ* (evidently identical with η *duṣ*), in *śajḍa* (adverbially used case-form from η *śajḍa*); in (RV.) *vivós* and *śvivos*, from η *viś*, in *śīves* (RV.), from η *viś*; and in *śāś*, from η *śāś* as secondary form of η *śāś*. All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

226. In general, final lingual η , in internal combination, is treated in the same manner as palatal η η . Thus:

a. Before *t* and *th* it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated. e. g. *dvīṣṭas*, *dvīṣṭhas*, *dvīṣṭam*.

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 (by 199 after it). e. g. *piṇḍḍhi*, *viḍḍhi*, *viviḍḍhi*, *dviḍḍhvam*, *dviḍḍhis*, *dviḍḍu*; *bhinnaviṣka*.

c. So also the *dh* of *dhvam* as ending of 2d pl. mid. becomes *ḍh* after final η of a tense-stem, whether the η be regarded as lost or as converted to η before it (the manuscripts write simply *ḍhv*, not *ḍḍhv*; but this is ambiguous see 232). Thus, after η of s -aorist stems (881 a), *astōḍhvam*, *avṛḍhvam*, *cyōḍhvam* (the only quotable cases), from *astōḥ* + *dhvam* etc., but *arāḍhvam* from *arāḥ* + *dhvam*. Further, after the η of $iḡ$ -aorist stems (901 a), *āindhiḍhvam*, *artihḍhvam*, *ajanihḍhvam*, *vepiḍhvam* (the only quotable cases), from *ajanīḥ* + *dhvam* etc. Yet again, in the precatore (924), as *bhaviḍhvam*, if, as is probable (unfortunately, no example of this person is quotable from any part of the literature), the precatore-sign η (η) is to be regarded as present in the form. According, however, to the Hindu grammarians, the use of *ḍh* or of *dh* in the $iḡ$ -aorist and precatore depends on whether the i of $iḡ$ or of $iḡi$ 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 *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 *ḍhve* in the 2d pl. perf. has been pointed out in the literature.

d. The conversion of η to η (or η) as final and before *bh* and *su* is parallel with the like conversion of η , 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. (-*diviṣ* and -*pruṣ*), although these texts have more than 40 roots with final *ṣ*; in the Brahmanas, moreover, have been noticed further only -*pruṣ* and *viṣ* (113), and -*ṣliṣ* (K). From *piṣa*, RV. has the anomalous form *piṣak* (2d and 3d sing., for *piṣaṣ-a* and *piṣaṣ-t*).

e. Before *s* in internal combination (except *su* of loc. pl.) it becomes *k*, thus, *dveṣṣi*, *dveṣyāmi*, *ādvikṣam*.

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 *piṣak*, above) are *viveṣṣi*, from *vīviṣ*, and the dead stem *riṣikṣa* from *ṛiṣ*, AV. has only *dvikṣat* and *dvikṣata*, and the dead stem *ṣiṣikṣa* from *ṣṣiṣ*. Other examples are quotable from *ṛiṣ* *krṣ* and *piṣ* and *viṣ* (113 etc.), and *ṣiṣ* (113); 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 *chch*, 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 Pratiśakhya. The Kathaka writes for original *ch* (not *ch* from combination of *t* or *n* with *ç*, 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", 78). 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:

रर्क arka, or रर्क्क arkka रार्क kārya or रार्क्क kāryya;

रर्त्त artha or रर्त्तर्त्त arttha, रर्द्रिś dirśa, or रर्द्रिś dirggha

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 Prātiśākhya in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiśākhya; 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* (*forms*), or nasal counterparts, is taught by the Prātiśākhya (and assumed in Pāṇini's commentary): see APr. I. 9th, note.

b. Between *h* and a following nasal mute the Prātiśākhya teach the insertion of a nasal sound called *nāsikya*: see APr. I. 10th, note.

c. Between *r* and a following consonant the Prātiśākhya teach the insertion of a *svarabhakti* or *vowel-fragment*: see APr. I. 10th 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 KPr. puts a *svarabhakti* also between a sonant consonant and a following mute or spirant; and APr. introduces an element called *aphoṣaṇa* (*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 Prātiśākhya.

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, *yundhī* for *yungdhī*, *yundhvām* for *yungdhvām*, *āntām* for *āṅktām*, *pañtī* for *paṅktī*, *chintām* for *chinttām*, *bhīntā* for *bhīntthā*, *indho* for *inddho*.

a. The abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇini, is required by APr. (the other Prātiśākhya 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 consonant 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 *dattvá* and *tattvá*. As *kártana* is also properly *kárttana*, so *kártika* (from *krtti*) is written as *kártika*. So in Inflection, we have always, for example, *majñá* etc., not *majññá*, from *majñán*. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abbreviations are made: thus, *hṛdyotá* for *hṛddyotá*; *chináty asya* for *chináty asya*. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard *adhvam* or *ádhvam* (from *yās*), *ádvīḍhvam* or *ádvīḍḍhvam* (from *ydvig*), 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 Brahmanas, *tú* and *nú* with following *vái* etc., often make *tvái*, *nvái* (also *tvāvái*, *ánvái*), and other examples from the older language are *anvart-* (*anu + yvart*); *paryan*, *paryanti*, *paryáyat*, *paryāṇa* (*pari + yan*, etc.); *abhyārti* (*abhi + iyarti*); *antaryāt* (*antar + iyāt*); *cārvác*, *cārvāka*, *cārvadana* (*cāru + vác*, etc.). *kyānt* for *kiyant*; *dvyoga* (*dvi + yoga*); *anvā*, *anvānana* (*anu + vā*, etc.); probably *vyūnoti* for *vī yunoti* (RV), *urvāḍi* (*uru + vāḍi*), *ḍīḍvari* for *ḍīḍu + vari* (RV), *vyāmá* (*vi + yama*); and the late *svarṇa* for *suvarṇa*. More anomalous abbreviations are the common *tṛca* (*tri + pen*); and *dvṛca* (*dvi + roa* S), and *treṇi* (*tri + eṇi*: Aṣṭad)

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

b. According to the Hindu grammarians, the *s* of *s-*acrist stems is lost after a short vowel in the 2d and 3d sing middle: thus, *adithās* and *adita* (1st sing. *adīṣi*), *akṛthās* 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, *ūt* thus, *ūsthta*, *ut thāpaya*, *ūtthabha*, etc.

d. The same omission is now and then made in other similar cases, thus *cit kambhanona* (for *akāmbh-*: RV); *tasnāt tute* (for *stute*) and *puroruk tuta* (for *stuta*: h.), the compounds *ṛkthā* (*ṛk + sthā*: PB) and *utphulūga*; the derivative *utphala* (*yaphal*). On the other hand, we have *vidyūt stanāyanti* (RV), *utathala*, *kakutatha*, etc.

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

for *ta*, by 231, *achānta*) for *achāntata*, *çāpta* for *çāpsta*, *tāptam* for *tāpstatam*, *abhākta* for *abhāksta*, *amāuktam* for *amāukstatam*. 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 *gha-ta*: 3d sing. mid.), the participle *gdha* (in *agdhād*), and the derivative *gdhi* (for *gha-ti*; in *sā-gdhi*); and further, from the reduplicated form of the same root, or *jaks*, we have *jagdha*, *jagdhum*, *jagdhivā*, *jagdhi* (from *jagha-ta* etc.); also, in like manner, from *baps*, reduplication of *bhas*, the form *babdhām* (for *babha-tām*). According to the Hindu grammarians, the same utter loss of the earliest-sign *s* takes place after a final sonant aspirate of a root before an ending beginning with *t* or *th*; thus, from *jru*dh, *s*-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.

Gūṇa and Vṛddhi.

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

a. A *gūṇa*-vowel (*gūṇa 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 *gūṇa*-vowel. Thus, of *ṛi* or *ṛī* the corresponding *gūṇa* is *a+ī=* *ṛē*; the corresponding *vṛddhi* is *a+ē=* *ṛāi*. But in all gunating processes aged—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	ai	au	ār	

a. There is nowhere any occurrence of ṛ in a situation to undergo either guṇa or vṛddhi-change; nor does ḷ (28) 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 (381 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 vṛdh̥, and making from them bharati and vardhati, and bhr̥ta and vṛddha, by the same rules which from bhu and ni and from budh and cit form bhavati and nayati, bodhati and oetati, bhūta and nita, 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 c), 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 dveṣṭi 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, pitaram from pitṛ or pitār, hantavyā from hāntu.

239. The vṛddhi-increment is specially Indian, and its occurrence is less frequent and regular. It is found —

a. In root and suffix-syllables, instead of *gupa*: thus, *staúti* from *ṣtu*, *sákhayam* from *sákhī*, *ánaiṣam* from *ṣnl*, *ákaraṣam* and *kárayati* and *kárya* from *ṣkr* (or *kar*), *dātáram* from *datṭ* (or *datár*).

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, *mánasá* from *mānas*, *váidyutá* from *vidyút*, *bhāumá* from *bhūmi*, *páṛthiva* from *pṛthivī* 1204.

But—

240. The *gupa*-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing *gupa* 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 *ṣcit*, but *níndati* from *ṣnind*; *náyati* from *ṣnl*, but *jívati* from *ṣjiv*.

a. The *vyddhi*-increment is not liable to this restriction.

b. Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, *chá*, *chas* from *ṣh*, *heḥáyami*, *heḥas*, etc., from *ṣhiḥ*, *oḥa* etc. from *ṣoḥ*; *óhate* etc. from *ṣūh* *consider*; and especially, from roots in *iv*: *didéva* *deviṣyati*, *dévana*, etc., from *ṣdiv*; *tiṣṭheva* from *ṣṣthiv*; *ereváyami*, *erevuka*, from *ṣariv*—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 *duṣáyati* from *ṣduṣ*, *gūhati* from *ṣguh*.

The changes of *r* (more original *ar* or *ra*, are so various as to call for further description.

241. The increments of *r* are sometimes *ra* and *rā*, instead of *ar* and *ár*: namely, especially, where by such reversal a difficult combination of consonants is avoided: thus, from *ṣdrṣ*, *drakṣámi* and *ádrakṣam*; but also *pṛthú* and *prath*, *pṛch* and *prach*, *kṛpá* and *ákrapiṣṭa*.

242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in *r* for more original *ar*, the *r* changes 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 *ir* and *úr*. Thus, for example, from *ṣr* (or *tar*), we have *tarati*, *titarti*, *tatára*, *atarikṣam*, by regular processes; but also *tirati*, *tiryati*, *tirtvá*, *-tirya*, *tirpa*, and even (V.) *turyáma*, *tuturyat*, *tarturáṇa*. 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 *ṛ*, or with both *r* and *ṛ*: no *ṛ* actually appears anywhere among their forms.

b. The (quotable) *r*-roots are 2 *kr* *steer*, 1 *gr* *sing*, 2 *gr* *swallow*, 1 *gr* *wear out* *tr*, 1 *gr* *crush*.

c. The (quotable) *r* and *r*-roots are *r*, 1 *dr* *pieces*, 1 *pr* *fill*, 1 *mr* *die*, 2 *vr* *choose*, *hr*, *hvr*.

d. Forms analogous with these are sometimes made also from other roots thus, *cirna*, *cirtvā*, *carcuryā*, from *car*; *spūrdhān* and *spūrdhāno* from *yāp*dh.

243. In a few cases *r* comes from the contraction of other syllables than *ar* and *ra*, thus, in *trīta* and *trītya*, from *ri*, in *ṣṣru*, from *ru*, in *bhṛkūṭi*, from *rū*.

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 *a* and consonants except those of personal endings, namely, before *y* and *tvā* and *na*, and in declension before *bh* and *s* (392). Radical *ia* 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 (178, 198 c, d, 199 d, 222 b). Perhaps such cases as *pīta* for *pīṭara* (371 a) and *dhanī* for *dhanīra* (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 *devāvi*, *vayunāvid*, *prāviṣṭa*, *ṛtāvāsu*, *indrāvant*, *sadanāśād*, *ṣatāmagha*, *viśvānara*, *ēkādaśa*; *apījū*, *parīśāh*, *virūdh*, *tuvimaghā*, *tvīśmant*, *ṣaktivant*; *vraujū*, *anurūdh*, *mūmāya*, *puruvāsu*.

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 *Pratishākhya*s).

Words of which the finals are thus treated are:

a. Particles: namely, *āthā*, *ādihā*, *evā*, *utā*, *ghā*, *hā*, *ihā*, *iva*, *cā*, *smā*, *nā*, *angā*, *kilā*, *ātrā*, *yātrā*, *tātrā*, *kūtrā*, *anyātrā*, *ubhay-ātrā*, *adyā*, *ācchā*, *āpa*, *prā*; *āti*, *nī*, *yādi*, *nahī*, *abhi*, *vi*; *ū*, *tū*, *nū*, *śū*, *mākṣū*

b. Case-forms especially 1 str. sing., as *enā*, *tēnā*, *yēnā*, *uvenā*, and others, rarely gen. sing., as *asya*, *haripāsya*, (also besides these are few: so *sīmā*, *vṛṣabhā*, *hariyojanā* (voc.) *tanvī* (loc.); and *uru* 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*, *aya*, *gamayā*, *dhārāyā*; — 2d pl. act. in *ta* and *tha*, as *ethā*, *atta*, *bibhṛta*, *jayata*, *ṣṛutā*, *anudatā*, *nayatha*, *jivayatha* (and one or two in *tann* *aviṣṭanā*, *hantanā*) — 1st pl. act. in *ma*, as *vidmā*, *riṣmā*, *ṛdhyāmā*, *ruhemā*, *vanuyāmā*, *cakṛmā*, *marimṛma*; — 2d sing. impv. med. in *sva*, as *yukṣvā*, *idhṣva*, *dadhiṣva*, *vahaṣvā*; — 1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as *veda*, *viveḍa*, *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, *kṛdhi*, *kṛṇuhi*, *kaṣṭhi*, *ṣṛudhi*, *ṣṛudhi*, *ṣṛuhi*, *didhi*, *jahi*.

d. To these may be added the gerund in *ya* (§§ 3 a), as *abhiḡdṛya*, *ācṛya*.

Vowel-lightening.

248. 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 (and also its loss), is a frequent process, no other vowel is so unstable.

a. Of the class-*ṣṣu* *nā* (of the *kṛi*-class of verbs, 717 f) the *ā* in weak forms changed to *i*, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final *ā* of certain roots is treated in the same manner: thus, *mā*, *hā*, etc. (§§ 2-8). And from some roots, *ā*- and *i*- or *u*-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 *dadīma* from *yāda* etc. (784 k); aorist *adhithās* from *yadhā* etc. (834 a), present *jahimas* from *yahā* etc. (863 i).

c. Radical *ā* is shortened to the semblance of stem-*a* in a number reduplicated forms, as *tiṣṭha*, *piba*, *dada*, etc.; see 671-4; also in a few nouns, as *āhvam*, *ākhyam*, etc.; see 847.

d. Radical *ā* sometimes becomes *o*, especially before *y* as *athoyāsam*, *deya*.

251. Certain *ā*-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with *i* and *i*-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in *e* or *ai* or *o*. Thus, from 2 *dhā suck* (*dhē*) come the present *dhāyati* and participle and gerund *dhātā*, *dhātā*; the other forms are made from *dhā*, as *dadhuḥ*, *adhāt*, *dhāsyati*, *dhātave*, *dhāpayati*. From 2 *gā sing* (*gai*) come the present *gāyati*, the participle and gerund *gātā* and *gītā*, and passive *giyāte*, and the other forms from *gā*. From 3 *dā cut* (*do*) come the present *dyāti* and participle *dītā* or *dindā*, and the other forms from *dā*. The irregularities of these roots will be treated below, under the various formations (see especially 781 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*, *ukti*, *ukthā*, etc., from *yaj* come *iyāju*, *ijyāsam*, *iṣtvā*, *iṣṭā*, *iṣṭi*, 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*, *āpāptam*, *jagmūs*, *jajñūs*, *ājñata*; in noun-forms, *rājñe*, *rājñi*.

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 noun and future and denominative stems, as in *ājivīṣam*, *jivīṣyāmi*, *jīvivīṣāmi*; 2. in tense-inflection, especially perfect as *jijīviṃś*; occasionally also present, as *āniti*, *rōditi*; 3. in derivation, as *jivitā*, *khānitum*, *janitṛ*, *rociṣṭū*, etc. etc.

b. Long *i* is used sometimes instead of short thus, *āgrahīṣam*, *grahīṣyāmi*; *bravīti*, *vāvaditi*; *taritṛ*, *savitṛ*; it is also often introduced before *a* and *i* of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs, thus, *āsīḥ*, *āsīt*.

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*, *bras* and *brāñs*, *dṛh* and *dṛñh* of endings, *bhārantam* and *bhāratā*, *mānasi* and *mānāñsi*.

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 *rāja* and *rājāñsi*, and in composition *rājañ*; from *dhanā*, *dhanī* and *dhanīñsi* and *dhanī*, from *phan* we have *hathā* and *hathāñ*, etc. A final radical *m* is sometimes treated in the same way: thus from *gani*, *gahī*, *gatām*, *gatā*, *gātī*.

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 *agnī*, *agninā* and *agninām*; from *mādhū*, *mādhunas*, *mādhunī*, *mādhūñi*; from *çivā*, *çivena*, *çivāñi*, *çivāñām*.

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, *ādhyāi* etc. (844), *çayāyati* etc. (1042), *çivāyās* etc. (383 c), *gāyati* etc. (761 c), further, in derivation, *-gūya*, *-yāyam*, *dāyaka* etc.; *-athāyika*; *pāyana*, *-gayanu*; *dhāyas*, *-hāyas*; *athāyin* etc. (many cases). *-hitāyin*, *-tatāyin*; *athāyuka*.

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 (566) — 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,

- in present-stem formation 842 ff.: as *dādāmi*, *bibhārmī*;
- in perfect-stem formation, almost universally 782 ff.: *astatāna*, *dadhau*, *cakāra*, *çireca*, *lulōpa*;
- in aorist-stem formation 838 ff.: as *ādadharam*, *āucyavam*;
- in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout 1000 ff. 1026 ff.: as *jāghanti*, *jōhavīti*, *marmjyāte*; *pīpāsati*, *līghaṇsati*;
- in the formation of derivative noun-stems 1143 e: as *pāpri*, *carcara*, *çasahī*, *cikiti*, *malimlucā*.

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 *dāras* 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, *give to dyāvāpṛthivi ubhē stam* may heaven and earth both be propitious to thee; *dāivam ca mānugam ca hoteran vjāva* *to the divine and the human sacrificers, pathor doreyananta pitryānāya 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, *açvīnau* *the two Acvins*: *Indrasya hīri* *Indra's two boys*, but *tasya dvāv açvāu stah* *he has two horses*. But now and then the dual stands alone pregnantly thus, *vedām vedāu vedān vā* *one Veda or two or more than two* *ekasāṣṭo* *quite two hundred and sixty-one*.

286. 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 *prathama* *first*, the accusative *dvitīyā* *second*, the genitive *ṣaṣṭhi* *sixth* (i.e. *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:

287. 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.

288. 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, *sōmam manyate papivān* (RV) *he thinks he has been drinking soma*: *sā manyeta purāṇavīt* (AV) *he may regard himself as wise in ancient things*, *durgād vā āhartā 'voentah* (MS) *thou hast claimed to be a savior out of trouble*, *Indro brāhmaṇo brūvaṇaḥ* (TS) *Indra pretending to be a Brahman*: *katthase satyavādī* (Ī) *thou boastest thyself truthful*. Similarly with the phrase *rūpaṁ kṛ* thus, *kṛṇṇō rūpāṁ kṛivā* (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 relative to an object is ordinarily nominative, thus, *svargō lokā iti yām vūdanti* (AV) *what they call the heavenly world*, *tam agniṣṭoma ity acakṣate* (AB) *it they style agniṣṭoma*; *vidarbharājatanayām damayanti 'ti viddhi mām* (MBh.) *know me for the Vidarbha-king's daughter*, *Damayanti* by

name. Both constructions are combined in *ajñān hi bālam ity ahuṣ 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, *indraḥ ca sōman pibatām bṛhaspate* (RV.) *together with Indra, do ye two drink the soma, O Bṛhaspati!* *viśve devā yajumanaḥ ca vidatā* (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 *to* a 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: *agnim idō* *I praise Agni*, *nāmo bharantaḥ* *bringing homage*; *bhūyo dātum arhasi* *thou shouldst give more*. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is *tām ugrām kṛṇomi tām brahmāṇam* (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, *damayantim abhipsaṇaḥ* (Mbh.) *desiring to win Damayanti*, *didṛkṣur janakātmaḥ* (R.) *desiring to see Janaka's daughter*. Rarely, also, the verbal noun in *a* from *su* has a force thus, *svargam abhikāṅkṣayā* (R.) *with desire of paradise.*

b. So-called primary derivatives in *in* have the same character: thus, *mām kāmīni* (AV.) *loving me*; *enam abhibhūṣiṇi* (Mbh.) *addressing him*. Even the obviously secondary *garbhīn* has in (B.) 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*, *mithilam avarodhakaḥ* (R.) *besieging Mithila.*

d. Nouns in *tar*, very frequently in the older language, and as periphrastic future forms (842 f.) in the later, thus, *hap:*

sānīto 'tā vājam datā maghāni (RV) *who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesse*; tau hi 'dau sarvaṁ hartārau (JB) *for they seize on this universe, tyaktarāḥ samyuge prāṇan (Mh) 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 yajām paribhūrasi (RV.) *what offering thou surroundest protectest*; āhim apāḥ pariṣṭhām (RV.) *the dragon compassing the waters.* Also a superlative of a root-stem (468, 471): thus, tvām vāsu devayato vāniṣṭhaḥ (RV.) *thou art chief winner of wealth for the pious*, tā sōmaṁ somapātama (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 vājam papīḥ sōmaṁ dadīr gāḥ (RV) *bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing line, yajām stāniḥ (RV) extending the sacrifice.*

g. Derivatives in ūka, very frequently in the Itanvāsa language, thus, vatsūḥ ca ghātuko vīkaḥ (AV) *and the wolf destroys his calves*, veduko vāso bhavati (IS) *he wears 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 indro drghā cid arujāḥ (RV) *Indra breaks up even what is fast*, nāi 'vā 'rhaḥ pātṛkaṁ riktham (M) *by no means entitled to his father's estate*, — in atnu, as vidū cid aruṇatnūbhīḥ (RV) *with the breakers of whatever is strong*, — in atha, as yajāthaya devān (RV.) *to make offering to the gods*; — in ana, as taṁ nivāraṇe (Mh) *in restraining him*, svamāṁsam iva bhojane (S) *as if in eating one's own flesh*, in ant, as samātsu turvūpiḥ pṛtanyūn (RV.) *overcoming foes in combats*; — in ti, as nā tām dhūrtīḥ (RV) *there is no injuring him*, in van, as āpaṇēddaghvā 'nuam bhavati (MS) *he does not come short of food*, — in enu, as ethirā cin namayisṇavaḥ (RV) *bowing even firm things.*

272. Examples of an accusative with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: such words as ānuvata *faithful to*, prātirupa *corresponding to*, abhidhṛṇu *daring to cope with*, pratyāṅc *opposite to* may be regarded as taking an accusative in virtue of the preposition they contain, also ānuka, as ānuka devā vārunam (MS) *the gods are inferior to Varuna*. 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 ana *after, in the course of*, antar or antarā *between rarely at 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, dakṣiṇeṇa, avareṇa, ūrdhvaṁ, &c.

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, *vidarbhan agaman* (MBh.) *they went to Vidarbha*, *divam yayuh* (MBh.) *they went to heaven*, *vanagulman dhavantuh* (MBh.) *running to woods and bushes*; *apô divam ud vahanti* (AV.) *they carry up waters to the sky*; *devân 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, *samatâm eti* *he goes to equality* (i. e. *becomes equal*) *sa gacched badhyastam mama* (MBh.) *he shall become foolish to be slain by me*, *sa pañcatvam agatah* (II.) *he was resolved into the five elements* (underwent dissolution, died).

c. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, *tam abravît* *he said to him*, *prâkroçad uccâir nâlgadham* (MBh.) *she cried out loudly to the Nishadha*, *yâs tvo 'vâca* (AV.) *who spoke to thee*.

d. The assumption of an accusative object is exceptionally rare in Sanskrit, and such an object is often taken by a verb or phrase which is strictly of intransitive character: thus, *sâhasâ prâ'sy anyân* (RV.) *in might thou exulted (lit. art ahead) others*, *devâ vâi brâhma sâm avadanta* (MS.) *the gods were discussing* (lit. *were talking together*) *brahman*; *antâr vâi mû yajñâd yanti* (MS.) *surely they are cutting me off* (lit. *are going between*) *from the offering*, *tâm sahi babbhûva* (VB.) *he had intercourse with her*.

275. Examples of the cognate accusative or accusative of implied object, are not infrequent: thus, *tâpas tapyamâho* (AV.) *we do penance*, *tâ hâi 'tâm edhatûm edhâtûm cakrire* (VB.) *they prospered with that prosperity*, *uçitva sukhavâsam* (R.) *abiding happily*.

276. The accusative is often used in more adverbial constructions. Thus,

a. Occasionally, to denote measure of space: thus, *yojanaçatauh gantum* (Mbh.) *to go a hundred leagues*, *çad uccrito yojanânî* (MBh.) *six leagues high*.

b. Much more often, to denote measure or duration of time, thus *sâ sahvatsarâm ūrdhvô 'tiçthât* (AV.) *he stood a year upright*, *tisarô râtrir dikṣitâh syât* (TS.) *let him be consecrated three nights*, *gatvâ trin ahorâtrân* (MBh.) *having traveled three complete days*.

c. Sometimes, to denote the point of space, or, oftenest, of time: thus *yâm asya dîçam dâsyuh syât* (VB.) *whatever region his enemy may be in*; *tênai 'tâm râtrîm sahi* " *jaçama* (VB.) *he arrived that night at a hour*; *imâm rojanûh vyuṣṭâm* (Mbh.) *the current in it*.

d. Very often, to denote manner or accompanying circumstances. Thus, the neuter accusative of the

(1111), is used adverbially, while certain kinds of compounds are used to such an extent that the Hindu grammarians have made of them a special adverbial class (1313).

c. Special cases are occasionally met with: thus, *brahmacāryam uvāsa* (13) *he kept a term of studentship*, *phalaṁ paryānte* (MS) *they ripen their fruit*, *gāṁ divyadhvam* (M^c, 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 cleft 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 *apō yacāmi bhogaṁ* (RV) *I ask the waters for medicine*, *tvāṁ ahaṁ satyaṁ iecāmi* (R) *I desire truth from thee*, *tvāṁ vayasā carapaṇiṁ gataḥ* (MBh) *we have resorted to thee for succor*; — with verbs of *bringing, sending, following, importing, carrying*: as, *gaurivaṁ naraṁ nayanti* (R) *they bring a man to respectability*; *sita ca 'nvotu maṁ vanam* (R) *and let Sita accompany me to the forest*, *supṛcāsaṁ mā 'va epṇanti* (RV) *they let me go home well adorned*, *tam idam abravat* (MBh) *this he said to her*; — and in other less common cases, as, *vṛkṣāṁ pakvāṁ phalaṁ dhunuhī* (RV) *shake ripe fruit from the tree*; *tām viṣāṁ evā 'dhok* (AV.) *poison he milked from her*; *jitva rājyaṁ nalam* (MBh) *having won the kingdom from Nala*, *āmuṣṣitāṁ paṇiṁ gāḥ* (RV) *ye robbed the Pani of the kine*; *draṣṭum iecāvaḥ putraṁ paṇḍimadar-ṇanam* (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, *devāṁ uṇatāḥ pāyayā havīḥ* (RV.) *make the eager gods drink the oblation*; *ogadhīr evā phalaṁ grāhayaṭi* (MS) *he makes the plants bear fruit*; *vaṇījo 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 devābhīr ā gamat* (RV) *may Agni come hither along with the gods*, *marūdbhī rudrāṁ huvema* (RV) *we would call Rudra with the Maruts*, *dvāpareṇa sahāyena kva yāsyasi* (MBh) *whither wilt thou go, with Drapara for companion?* *kathayan nūṣadhena* (MBh) *talking with the Nubadhan*. 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 kārpebhīḥ śṛṇuyāma* (RV.) *may we hear with our ears what is propitious*; *castrēṇa nidhanam* (MBh.) *death by the sword*, *kecit padbhyām hatā gajāḥ* (MBh.) *some were slain by the elephants with their feet*, *prthak paṇibhyām darbhatarunakāir navaṇitēṣā 'ṅuṣṭhopakaniṣṭhikābhyām akṣipī ājya* (AGS.) *mounting 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*, *tona 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*, *yoṣam ahaṁ na padarajasaḥ tulyaḥ* (MBh.) *to the dust of whose feet I am not equal*.

b. Price (by which obtained), thus, *daṣābhīḥ kṛṇāti dhonūbhīḥ* (RV.) *he buys with ten line, gavām śataśahasreṇa diyatām śabalā mama* (R.) *let Śabalā be given me for a hundred thousand cows*, *sa to 'kṣahṛdayaḥ datā rājā 'gvaḥṛdayeṇa vai* (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*, *o 'hā yātām pathibhir devayānāḥ* (RV.) *come hither by god-travelled paths*, *jagmour viḥayaṣā* (MBh.) *they went off through the air*.

d. Time passed through, or by the lapse of which anything is brought about: thus, *vidarbhaṁ yātum icchāmy ekāhna* (MBh.) *I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day*; *te ca kalena mahatā yauvanam pratipedire* (R.) *and they in a long time attained adolescence*; *tatra kalena jāyante manavā dirghajivinaḥ* (M.) *there in time are born men long-lived*. This use of the instrumental borders upon that of the prepositional and allative.

e. The part of the body on (or by) which anything is borne is usually expressed by the instrumental as, *kukkurāḥ skandheno 'hyate* (R.) *a dog is carried on the shoulder*, and this construction is extended to such cases as *tulayā kṛtam* (R.) *put on* (i. e. *so as to be carried by*) *a balance*.

f. Not infrequent are such phrases as *bahunā kim pralāṣaṇa* (R.) *what is the use of* (i. e. *is gained by*) *much talking?* *ko nu me jiviteṇa 'rthaiḥ* (MBh.) *what object is life to me?* *nirujas tu kim auśadhaiḥ* (R.) *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 adpositive: thus, *na tvayā 'tra mayā 'vasthiteṇa kā 'pi cintā kāryā* (Pāṇ.) *with me at hand, thou needst 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, yamónā dattāḥ (RV.) *given by Yama: ṣaḥbhir idyaḥ* (RV.) *to be praised by sages: vyādhonā jālaṁ vistṛṇam* (II.) *by the hunter a net [was] spread: tas chrutvā jaradgavēno 'ktam* (II.) *Jaradgava, hearing this, said: mayā gantavyam* (II) *I shall go.* A predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental thus, adhunā tava 'nucaṛeṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam (II.) *henceforth I shall always be thy companion, avahitair bhavitavyaṁ bhavadbhiḥ* (Vikr) *you must be attentive.*

b. A causative verb sometimes takes an instrumental instead of an accusative as second object: thus, tām ṣvabhīḥ khādayed rāja (VI) *the king should have her decoyed by dogs; tā vāruṇā 'grāhaya* (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, vatsākṛ vīyutāḥ (RV.) *separated from their calves; mā 'hām ātmānā vī rādhiṣi* (AV.) *let me not be severed from the breath of life; sa tayā vyanujyata* (Mbh) *he was parted from her; pāpmānāi 'vāi 'nam vī 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 vīyogaḥ (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, *sa sākam, sārđham, 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. 283 a).

285. Uses of the Dative. The dative is the case of the indirect object—or 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, *yō nā dādāti sākhye* (RV.) *who gives not to a friend: yācōha 'smāi qārma* (RV) *bestow upon him protection*

b. Words signifying *show, announce, declare, and the like* thus, dhanur darçaya rāmāya (I.) *show the bow to Rāma; āvir ebhya abhavat sūryaḥ* (RV) *the sun was manifested to them; ṛtuparṇā bhīmāya pratyavedayan* (Mbh) *they announced Rātaparṇa to bhīma; tebhyaḥ pratijñāya* (Mbh) *having promised to them*

c. Words signifying *give attention, have a regard or feeling, inspire, and the like* thus, niveçaya mano dadhuḥ (Mbh.) *they set their minds upon encompassing* mātē 'va putrebhyaḥ mṛḍa (AV) *he grasps as a mother to her sons. kim asmābhyāḥ hr̥ṣiḥ* (RV) *why art thou angry at us? kāmāya sphrayaty ātma* (Sp.) *the soul longs for love*

d. Words signifying *please, suit, conduce, and the like* thus, yadyad rocato viprebhyaḥ (V) *whatever is pleasing to Brahmana, tad anantyaḥ kalpate* (KU) *that makes for immortality*

e. Words signifying *inclination, obedience, and the like* thus, māhyam namantaṁ pradīçag cātasaḥ (RV.) *let the four quarters bow themselves to me, dovebhyo namaakṛtya* (Mbh.) *having paid homage to the gods*

f. Words signifying *hurling or casting* as *yena duḍāḇe aśyasi* (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 *lative* of end or purpose, which is extremely common. Thus, *iṣum kṛpvanā āsanāya* (AV.) *making an arrow for hurling* gṛhṇāmi te saubhagatvāya hāstam (RV.) *I take thy hand in order to happiness, raṣṭrāya māhyam badhyataṁ sapātnebhyasḥ parabhrūve* (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 murkhaṇaṁ prakopāya na çantaye* (H) *good counsel tends to the exasperation, not the consolation, of fools, an en tasyaḥ saṁtoçāya nā bhavati* (H) *and he was not to her satisfaction* *eugopā aśi nā 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, i. e. and the like

290. The ablative is used where explicit removal, distinction, separation, &c. are intended. Thus *lośodhanti patho yā* *'I from the path-* mā prā

gama pathāḥ (RV.) *may we not go away from the path*; *aii vā epa vajñamukhāt* (MBh.) *he verily goes away from the face of the sacrifice*; *arō asmād astu hotiḥ* (AV) *far from us be your missile*; *patāḥ no vṛkāt* (RV.) *save us from the wolf*; *ṛstabhnaḍ dyām avasrāsah* (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, *śukrā kṛpṇād aja-niṣṭa* (RV) *the bright one has been born from the black one*; *lobhāt krodhah prabhavati* (MBh.) *passion arises from greed*; *vātāt to praṇāmavidam* (AV) *I have won thy life-breath from the wind*; *yē prācya diśo abhidāsanty asmān* (AV) *who attack us from the eastern quarter*; *tac chrutvā sakhiganāt* (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, *vājrasya cūṣṇād dadāra* (RV) *from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he hurled asunder*; *yaśya daṇḍabhyāt sarve dharmam unurudhyanti* (MBh.) *from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty*; *akāramicritatvād akārasya* (Trith) *because it contains an element of a*.

b. Very rarely, an ablative has the sense of *after*: thus, *agacchann ahorātrāt tirtham* (MBh.) *they went to the shrine after a whole day*; *takarat sakāre takāreṇa* (APr) *after 3, before 2, is inserted 1*.

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, *tasyā jātāyāḥ sarvam abibhet* (AV) *everything was afraid of her at her birth*; *yāmad rojanta kṛṣṇāyāḥ* (RV.) *at whom mortals tremble*; *yugmād bhiyā* (RV) *through fear of you*; *yasmān no 'dvijate lokah* (Bṛh.) *of whom the world is not afraid*.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, *prā ririce divā indrah 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, *svādōḥ svādīyāḥ* (RV) *sweeter than the sweet, kinṁ tasmād duḥkhataram* (MBh.) *what is more painful than that?* *ko mitrād anyah* (H.) *who else than a friend* *ga avṛṇithā mat* (AR.) *thou hast chosen the hinc rather than me*; *śāṣṭhyo granthinaḥ cṛeṣṭhā granthibhyo dhariṇo varah* (M) *possessors of books are better than ignorant men, rememblers are better than possessors* *tād anyātra tvān nī dadhimasi* (AV.) *we set this down elsewhere (away) fr m thee* *pūrvā vīgasamād 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,

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nā 'sti dhanyataro mama (R.) *there is no one more fortunate than I* (i. e. my superior in fortune): *putraṃ mama prāpāi 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, *ādhi* and *pāri* are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative as, *jātó himāvatas pāri* (AV.) *born from the Himalaya (forth):* *samudrad ādhi jajñiṣe* (AV.) *thou art born from the ocean:* *cārantāḥ pāri tasthūṣaḥ* (RV.) *moving forth from that which stands fast.*

b. Also *purā* (and *purās*), in the sense of *forward from*, *antecedent before*: as, *purā jārasaḥ* (RV.) *before old age* and hence also with words of protection and the like, *from*, as *caṣamānāḥ purā nidāḥ* (RV.) *securing from ill-will.*

c. Also *ā* in the sense of *hither from*, *all the way from*: as, *ā mūlād ānu caṣyatu* (AV.) *let it dry completely up from the root.* *tāsmad ā nadyō nāma etha* (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 *yatī girībhya ā samudrāt* (RV.) *going from the mountains to the ocean:* *ā 'syā yajñasyo 'dheṣu* (VS.) *until the end of this sacrifice.* *ā ṣoḍaśāt* (M.) *till the sixteenth year.* *ā pradānāt* (C.) *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 adjectival connection with a noun or pronoun is distinguishable into the *true*, *strict* as genitive of possession or appertenance, including the complement of *being* or *relation*—this is as elsewhere, the commonest of all the so-called *primary* genitives, the subjective and objective genitives, and even the possessive and apper-

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 vājrah* *Indra's thunderbolt*, *pitā putrāṇām* *father of sons* *putraḥ pituḥ* *son of the father*, *pituh kamaḥ putrasya* *the father's love of the son*, *ko naḥ* *which of us*, *śataś dāśinām* *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 (§10).

b. Exceptional cases like *nagarasya mārgaḥ* *the road to the city* (i. e. *le chemin de Paris*), *yaśā 'haṁ dūta īpsitaḥ* (MBh) *as messenger to whom I was 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, *śreṣṭhāṁ virāṇām* *best of heroes* *virūḥṁ 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, *taśya saṁaḥ* or *anurūpaḥ* or *sadṛśaḥ* *resembling him* (i. e. *his like*), *taśya priyā* *dear to him* (*his dear one*), *taśyā 'viditam* *unknown to him* (*his unknown thing*), *havyaś caranāpinām* (RV) *to be sacrificed to by mortals* (*their object of sacrifice*); *īpsito naranārīṇām* (MBh) *desired of men and women* (*their object of desire*); *yasya kaśya prasūtaḥ* (H.) *of whomsoever born* (*his son*), *hanlavjo 'smi na te* (MBh) *I am not to be slain of thee*, *kim arthināś vañcayitavyam aśtī* (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, *abhiññā rājadharmāṇām* (S) *understanding the duties of a king*.

297. The genitive as object of a verb is

a. A possessive genitive of the recipient, by present construction, with verbs signifying *give*, *impart*, *communicate*, and the like: thus *varāṁ pradāyā 'ya* (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 dīyate* (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, &c.) as *pību sūtāśya* (AV) *drink (of) the soma*, *mādhvaḥ pāyaya* (RV) *cause to drink the sweet draught* - with verbs meaning *impart* (teach, &c.) as *śiśūḍāta no amṛtāśya* (RV) *bestow immortality* - with verbs meaning *enjoy*, *be satisfied* or *filled*

with *is*, *māmy āndhasaḥ* (RV) *do thou enjoy the juice*; *ajasya pūrayanti* (S) *they fill with butter*; — with verbs meaning *perceive*, *note*, *care for*, *regard* with feeling of various kinds, as, *vāsiṣṭhasya stuvatā indro agrot* (RV) *Indra listened to Vasiṣṭha who was praising him*; *yāthā mama 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 tām eṣāṁ virājāni* (AV.) *that I may rule over them*; *katham mṛtyuḥ prabhavati vedaśāstravidām* (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 rājāṇaḥ pratigṛhṇāti lubdhasya* (M.) *whoever accepts a gift from a greedy king*; *ṣṣu 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 'eo māma kevalaḥ* (AV.) *that thou mayest be wholly mine*, *sarvaḥ saṁpattayas tasya saṁtugṣṭaḥ yasya mānasaḥ* (H) *all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind*: — as objective predicate, *bhartuḥ putraṁ 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 those. A few more real prepositions take the genitive: either usually, like *upāri* *above*, or occasionally, like *adbās*, *antār*, *ūti*.

b. A genitive is occasionally used in the older language with an adverb, either of place or of time: thus, *yātra kvā ca kurukṣetrasya* (CB.) *in whatever part of Kurukṣetra*; *yātra tū bhūmer jāyeta* (MS) *on what spot of earth he may be born*; *idānim āhnaḥ* (RV) *at this time of the day*; *yāsyā rātryāḥ prātāḥ* (MS) *on the morn of what night*; *dvīḥ sarvātaraṁsya* (R) *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* (1) *after a certain time*; *tataḥ kālasya mahataḥ prayayān* (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. Form such cases as the following — *paçyato bakamürkha-sya nakulair bhakṣitāḥ sutāḥ* (H.) *of the foolish heron, while he looked on, the young were eaten by the fishermen*, or *gato 'rdharātrah kathāḥ kathayato mama* (Kṣ.) *half my night was passed in telling stories*, or *kartavyasya karmāṇaḥ kaipram akriyamāṇasya kālāḥ piboti tadrasam* (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 jagama muniraṁ paçyatāṁ tadā* (R.) *he went then to heaven, the ascetics looking on* — *evam lalapatā tasya devadūtas tadā bhyetya vākyam āha* (MBh.) *as he thus lamented, a divine messenger coming addressed him*; *iti vādina eva 'sya dhenur āvavṛte vanāt* (Rag.) *while he thus spoke, the cow came from the forest*. The genitive always indicates a living actor, and the particle, 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 despot — and such is often to be recognized in it, though not positively.

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 divī sthā* (AV.) *which of you gods are in heaven*; *na doveṇu na yakṣeṇu tādṛk* (MBh.) *not among gods or Yakshas is such a one*; *pārvatasya pṛsthé* (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, *asāḥ 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 (276 c).

c. The person with whom, instead of the place at which, one is concerned is put in the locative; thus, *tiṣṭhanty aamin paçāvah* (M.) *animals abide with him*, *gurāu vasan* (M.) *living at a teacher's*, and, pregnant, *tāvat tvaṣi bhaviṣyāmi* (MBh.) *so long will I cleave to thee*.

303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus *mādo āhim īndro jaghāna* (RV.) *in fury Indra slew the dragon*; *mitrāsya sumatāu ayāma* (RV.) *may we be in the favor of Mitra*; *to vacasvī tatam* (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, *ō 'mām bhaja grāmo ācveṣu 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 ānayano tava* (MBh.) *this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither*; *satitvo kārṇaṁ striyāḥ* (II.) *the cause of (in the case of) a woman's chastity*, *na cakto '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 madhyāhne 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 offence committed, there is no anger on my part*.

c. The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, *astirpē barhiḥi samidhanē agnāu* (RV.) *when the barhis is strewn and the fire kindled*; *kāle cubhe prāpte* (MBh.) *a propitious time having arrived*, *avasannāyāṁ rātrāv astācala-udāvalambiniḥ candramasī* (II.) *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 dīḥyamāne* (S.) *while there is seen (a rise part) of the sun*, *ity ardhokte* (V.) *with these words half uttered*; *asmabhiḥ samanujāte* (MBh.) *it being fully assented to by us*; *evam ukte kalnā* (MBh.) *it being thus spoken by Kalnā*; *tathā 'nuṣṭhito* (II.) *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*; *rite* *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 devéṣu gacchati* (RV) *that, truly, goes to (to be among) the gods*; *imám no yajñám amṛteṣu dhehi* (RV.) *set this offering of ours among the immortals*; *yá āsiñcānti rásam óṣadhīṣu* (RV) *who pour in the juice into the plants (or, the juice that is in the plants)*; *mā prayaccho 'ṣvare dhanam* (II) *do not offer wealth to a lord*; *papata medinyám* (MBh.) *he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth*; *skandhe kṛtvā* (II) *putting on the shoulder*; *samṣrutya 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 nāiśadho* (MBh.) *affection for the Nishadha*; *rājā samyag vṛtitaḥ 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 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 euphonicaly lost (160) 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 *y*, *au* 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 *onā* (in V), and those in *ā* make it end in *aya*; 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 *aya* — excepted is the pronominal element *-sina*, which combines apparently with *e* to *-amāi*. In the personal pronouns is found *bhyam* (or *hyam*).

e. A fuller ending *ai* (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 *i*, and as reckoned in the later language in derivative *u*. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical *i* and *u*, and even by those in *i* and *u*: these last have it in the earliest language in only exceptional instances. For the substitution of *ai* for abl.-gen. *as*, 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 *aya*. 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 *y* (or *ar*) it yields *ur* (or *us*: 169 b).

h. The fuller *ās* is taken by feminine stems precisely as *ai* is taken in the dative: see above. But in the language of the Brahmins and Sātras, the dative-ending *ai* 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 *y*- 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 come. Vedic locatives

from i-stems end also in ā and ī. The pronominal element -ama makes the locative -amin. Stems in an in the older language often lose the ī, and use the bare stem as locative.

j. The ending am is the locative correspondent to dat ai and abl-gen as, 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 ī and ū. Stems in ā change ā to e, derivative ī and ū are shortened, radical stems in long vowels use the nominative form.

309. 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 492 b.

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 a make the case end in e. Stems in ī and ū, 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, bhīām.

e. The universal ending of gen.-loc is os; before this, a and ā alike become o 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 as from a-stems, and in a few examples also from ā-stems. From derivative i-stems, īs 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 ī, 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, īni, ūni are frequently abbreviated by loss of the ni, and sometimes by further shortening ending vowel.

c. The accusative ending is also as in consonant-stems and in the radical division of *i*- and *ū*-stems and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those vowels and add in the masculine *n* 'for *na*, 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 languages the case always ends in *his*, but in the earlier either in *ais* or the more regular *ebhis* (*abhis* 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 *bhis*, 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 *bhiām*), which they extend also into the singular.

f. Of the genitive, the universal ending is *ām*; which except optionally after radical *i* and *ū*, and in a few scattering Vedic instances, takes after final vowels an inserted consonant, *a* in the pronominal declension, *n* elsewhere; before *n*, a short vowel is lengthened; before *e*, *a* becomes *o*. 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 —	su i	as i
A.	am —	au ī	as i
I.	a	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 *i*- 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: 318a, the stem often has a stronger or fuller form than in the rest: thus, for example (424) राजानम् *rājān-am*, राजानो *rājān-āu*, राजानन् *rājān-as*, against राजा *rājā-ā* and राजानि *rājā-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.; acc. and gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (instr.-dat.-abl. du.; instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).

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) प्रत्यङ् *pratyāṅg-i*, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यङ् *pratyāṅg-as*, nom. pl. masc.; प्रतीचि *pratic-ī*, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रतीचीन् *pratic-ōs*, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यङ् *pratyāṅg*, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रत्यङ्गिन् *pratyāṅg-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 *guna*-strengthening of a final *i* or *u* which in the later language is always made before *as* of nom. pl. and *o* 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 the sing. Final *y* has *guna*-strengthening in loc. sing.

313. Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems, an added *n* often makes its appearance before an ending. The 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 a really *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 case made a usual function of neuter forms from *n*-stems; 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 *ām* from *n*-stems (later invariable, earlier predominant) 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 *a* for pronom. *a* *n* and *a* stems.

b. The *y* after *n* before the endings *āi*, *ās*, and *ām* is most probably not inserted, such as it 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 *anuvāca* (83-4) thus, *dyāus* (i. e. *dīāus*) when dissyllabic, but *dyāus* 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 unaccented or enclitic: thus, *āgno yān yajñām paribhūr āsi* RV. *O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest*, but *ūpa tva 'gna é 'masi* (RV., *unto thee, Agni, we come*).

d. A word, or more than one word, qualifying a vocative — usually an adjective or appellative noun, but sometimes a dependent noun in the vocative (very rare 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 brātāḥ* *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 girvanāḥ* *the somas, O long-loving Indra!* *tāv aqvinā bhadrastaṣṭā supaṇi* *ye, O Aqvinas propitious and beautiful hands!* *ā rajanā maha ṛtaṣya 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, *pitar mātāḥ* (*O father! O mother!*) *āgna indra varuṇa mitra dēvāḥ* *Agni! Indra! Varuna! Mitra! gods!* *çātamuto çātakrato* *thou of a hundred aids! of a hundred arts!* *vāsiṣṭha çūkra didivaḥ pāvaka* *best, bright, shining, cleansing one!* *ūrjo napāt bhādraçoco* *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 first; for, if a stem be accented on the penult, or any other syllable further back — as is *sarpant*, *vāri*, *bhāgavant*, *sumānas*, *sahasravāja* — 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 *dattā* come *dattāu* (= *dattā + āu*) and *dattās* (= *dattā + ās*); but from *nadī* come *nadyāu* (= *nadī + āu*) and *nadyās* (= *nadī + ās*).

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 *nāḥ* come *nāvā* and *nāubhis*, from *mahānt*, however, come *mahatā* but *mahādubhis*.

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 *nává*, *naubhyám*, *návám*, *naugú*; *váci*, *vāgbhis*, *vácám*, *vukṣú*.

a. But some monosyllabic stems retain the accent throughout, thus, *gobhis*, *gávām*, *góṣu*. For such cases, see below, 350, 381 c, d, 372, 380, 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*, *tudatá* and *tudatós* and *tudatám*; but *tudádbhyām* and *tudátesu*.

b. A few adjectives having the form of such participles as *mahatá* *bhratás*.

c. Stems of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncope of the vowel, thus *majjhá*, *mūrdhná*, *dāmnā* (from *majjan* etc., 423).

d. Other special cases will be noticed under the different declensions.

e. Case-forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent; see 1110 n.

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 *dattá*; *agnínā* and *agnāye* from *agní*; and also *dattóbhyas*, *agníbbhis*, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending, and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in *dattāis*, *dhenāú*, *agnāim*, *dhenús*, and so on; or whether the final is changed into a semivowel before the ending, thus *dhenvá*, *pitrá*, *jāmyos*, *bāhvós*, etc.

a. But final of the gen. pl. from stems in *í* and *ú* and *ý* may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by *n* from the stem, thus, *agnínām*, *dhenúnām*, *pitṛnām*. In RV, even derivative *i*-stems show usually the same shift; thus, *bāhvínām*. Of stems in *á*, only numerals (483 a) follow this rule; thus, *saptānām*, *daśanām*.

320. Root-words in *í* and *ú* 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 well as the analogy of the root-declension (below, 355 n.). 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 final is not thrown forward upon the ending in gen. plur.

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 य a;

II. Stems in इ i and उ u;

III. Stems in आ ā, ई ī, and ऊ ū: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems,

IV. Stems in ए r (or एर ar);

V. Stems in consonants.

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 preponderance 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 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, सु-दृक् well-looking, प्र-बुद्ध foreknowing; अ-द्रुह not hating, वेदा-विद् Veda-knowing, व्यू-हन् Vātra-clothing; उपस्था-सद् 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 *prajākāmā*, meaning *desirous* i. e. *having desire of progeny*; *sambhārya* (*sa+bhārya*) *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* (*atimātram 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 *ṛ 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 *a*.

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 *enā* 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 *ā* in Vedic verse frequently made long (*enā*). But the normal ending *ā*—thus, *yajñā*, *suhāvā*, *māhitvā* (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 *at*) added; it is impossible from the evidence of the Sanskrit to tell which is the original form of the ending).

before which *a* 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 *syn* added to the final *a*, and this ending is also limited to *a*-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun *amūgya* 301). Its final *a* is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its *y* is vocalized (*śaisa*) almost as rarely.

g. The loc. ends in *a* (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 *ān*. 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-dual with the normal ending *i*.

c. The instr., dat., and abl. have *bhīām* (in only one or two Vedic instances resolved into *bhīāṃ*), with the stem-dual 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 *enōs* 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 *ānas* 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 *bhīas* 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 *ebhīas* 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, *āam* (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 *āṣu*—that is to say, with the normal ending before which the stem-final is changed to *ṣ* (with consequent change of *ā* 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*; *घास्य* *āsyā* n. *mouth*.

Singular:

N.	कामम् kāmas	देवन् devāṣ	घास्यन् āsyām
A.	कामम् kāmam	देवन् devam	घास्यन् āsyām
I.	कामेन kāmena	देवेन devena	घास्येन āsyēna
D.	कामाय kāmayā	देवाय devāya	घास्याय āsyāya
Ab.	कामात् kāmat	देवात् devāt	घास्यात् āsyāt
G.	कामाय kāmaśya	देवाय devāśya	घास्याय āsyāśya
L.	कामे kāme	देवे devo	घास्ये āsyē
V.	काम kāma	देव deva	घास्य āsyā

Dual:

N. A. V.	कामौ kāmau	देवौ devāu	घास्ये āsyē
I. D. Ab.	कामाभ्याम् kāmābhyām	देवाभ्याम् devābhyām	घास्याभ्याम् āsyābhyām
G. L.	कामयोः kāmayoḥ	देवयोः devāyoḥ	घास्योः āsyāyoḥ

Plural:

N. V.	कामान् kāmas	देवान् devās	घास्यानि āsyāni
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A.	कामान् kāman	देवान् devān	आस्यमान् āsyañi
I.	कामैन् kāmaīs	देवैन् devāīs	आस्यैन् āsyaīs
D. Ab.	कामेभ्यन् kāmebhyaś	देवेभ्यन् devēbhyaś	आस्येभ्यन् āsyebhyaś
G.	कामानाम् kāmanām	देवानाम् devānām	आस्यमानाम् āsyañām
L.	कामेभ्यु kāmeḥu	देवेभ्यु devēḥu	आस्येभ्यु āsyeḥu

Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

a. Sing. Instr. *ravāthenā*, *yajñā* (such genitive forms as *āqvāñā* are purely sporadic).

b. Du. : nom. etc. masc. *devā*; gen.-loc. *pastyōś* (stem *pastyā*)

c. Pl. : nom.-voc. masc. *devāsas*; neut. *yugā*; instr. *devēbhīś*. gen. *carāthām*, *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 *i*; 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 *i* is a question to be determined in great part only by actual usage, and not by grammatical rules. Certain important classes of words, however, can be pointed out which take the less common ending *i* for the feminine: thus, 1. the (very numerous) secondary derivatives in *a* with *vyddhi* of the first syllable (1204): e.g. *amitrā -trī*, *mānuṣa -ṣī*, *pāvamānā -nī*, *pāurṇamāsā -sī*; 2. primary derivatives in *ana* with accent on the radical syllable (1150): e.g. *codana -nī*, *sahgrāhapa -ṣī*, *subhāgarahkārapa -nī*; 3. primary derivatives in *a*, with strengthening of the radical syllable, having a quasi-preticipial meaning: e.g. *divākara -rī*, *avakramā -mī*.

rathavāhā -hi (but there are many exceptions), 4 secondary derivatives in *maya* (1223) and *tana* (1243 c); e. g. *ayasmāya -yi*; *adyatana -ni*; 5. most ordinal numerals (487 b) e. g. *pañcamā -mī*, *navadaśā -qi*, *triṅcattamā -mī*. Not a few words make the feminine in either *ā* or *i*. e. g. *kévulā* or *-li*, *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 *ā* (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 *i* 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, *i* instead. Some of the commonest of these are as follows: *akṣa eye* (e. g. *lohitaṁṣi*, *dvyakṣi*, *gavakṣi*), *parṇa leaf* (e. g. *tilaparṇi*, *śaptaparṇi*; but *ekaparṇā*), *mukha face* (e. g. *kṣṣṇamukhi*, *durmukhi*; but *trimukhā* etc.) *aṅga limb, body* (e. g. *anavadyāṅgi*, *sarvāṅgi*; but *caturāṅgā* etc.), *keśa hair* (e. g. *śukeṣi*, *muktakeṣi* or *-ṣā*, etc.), *karna ear* (e. g. *mahākarpī*; but *gokarṇa* etc.), *udara belly* (e. g. *lambodarī*), *mūla root* (e. g. *pañcamūli*; but oftener *ṣaṭāmūlā* etc.) The very great majority of such nouns (as the examples illustrate) 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 \tilde{z} i and \tilde{z} u.

335. The stems in \tilde{z} i and \tilde{z} 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 \tilde{z} i more numerous than those in \tilde{z} u, especially in the feminine there are more neuters in \tilde{z} u than in \tilde{z} 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, *urū*, *purū*.

b. The acc. masc. and fem. adds *m* to the stem. Vedic forms in *īam* and *uam*, and, with *n*, *īnam* 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 *īnā* and *unā*. But in the Veda, forms in *yā* and *vā* (or *lā* and *uā*) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also, while *īnā* is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, *yā* is often (in two thirds of the occurrences) contracted to *i*, and this is even sometimes shortened to *ī*. An adverbial instr. in *uyā* 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 *āye* and *āve*. 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 *i* for *ī*. 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 *āye*, *ve*, *āve*, 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, *os*, *os̄*; and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way, although *unas*, required later, is also not infrequent (*īnas* does not occur). But the normal forms *yas* (or *las*) 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* A., *didivās* MS.) is of doubtful character.

f. The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language *āu*, replacing both finalis, *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, *agnā*, 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 *i* (regarded by the Vedic grammar as *praghyā* 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 Bṛhadgana etc. *āi* is substituted. 307 h), *ām*. Such forms are quite rare in the oldest language even from *i*-stems (less than 10 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).

387. 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 *ini* and *ūni*, but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence); AV. has *ini* twice (RV. perhaps once); VS. has *ūni* once, RV. has *ūi* from one *u*-stem, and *i*, 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 add *on* 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.

388. 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 *ini* and *ūni* (like *āni* from *a*: 329 c); but the Veda has *i* and *ī* (about equally frequent) much oftener than *ini*; and *u* and (more usually) *ū*, 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 a). The accus. fem. ends in *is* and *īs*. But both masc. and fem. forms in *ias* and *uas* are found sparingly in the Veda.

c. The instr. 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 *qu*: 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.

389. Examples of declension. As models of *i*-stems may be taken अग्नि *agni* m. *fire*; गति *gati* f. *quit*, वारि *vāri* n. *water*.

Singular			
N	अग्निन् agnis	गतिन् gātis	वारी vāri
A	अग्निम् agnim	गतिम् gātim	वारी vāri
I	अग्निना agninā	गत्या gātya	वारिणा vāriṇa
D.	अग्ने agnāye	गतये. गत्ये. gātaye, gātyai	वारिणे vāriṇe
Ab. G.	अग्नेम् agnēs	गतेन् गत्यान् gātea, gātyās	वारिणान् vāriṇas
L.	अग्ने agnāu	गती. गत्याम् gātāu, gātyām	वारिणि vāriṇi
V.	अग्ने agne	गते gāte	वारी. वारे vāri, vāre
Dual:			
N. A. V.	अग्नी agni	गती gāti	वारिणी vāriṇi
I D. Ab.	अग्निभ्याम् agnibhyām	गतिभ्याम् gātibhyām	वारिभ्याम् vāribhyām
O. L.	अग्नो agnyo	गत्यो gātyo	वारिणो vāriṇo
Plural:			
N. V.	अग्नयम् agnāyas	गतयम् gātayas	वारिणि vāriṇi
A.	अग्निम् agnim	गतिम् gātis	वारिणि vāriṇi
I.	अग्निभिम् agnibhis	गतिभिम् gātibhis	वारिभिम् vāribhis
O. Ab.	अग्निभ्यम् agnibhyas	गतिभ्यम् gātibhyas	वारिभ्यम् vāribhyas
G.	अग्निनान् agninām	गतिनान् gātinām	वारिणान् vāriṇām
L.	अग्निषु agnīṣu	गतिषु gātīṣu	वारिषु 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. *agnis* etc., as above

b. Acc. masc. *agnīm, yayām, ūrmiṇām* (?), fem. and neut. as above

c. Instr. masc. *agnīnā, rayyā* and *urmiā*, fem. *ācittī, utiā, matyā, suryaktī, dhāminā*; neut. wanting.

d. Dat. masc. *agnāyo*; fem. *tujāyo, ūtī, turyāi*; neut. *çucaye*.

e. Gen.-abl. masc. *agnos, āvyas, ariās*; fem. *ādites, hotyās* and *bhūmīās*; neut. *bhūres*

f. Loc. masc. *agnāu, agnā, ajāyi* (?); fem. *āgatau, ūdita, dhānasūtai* (?), *vedi, bhūmyām*; neut. *apratā, saptāraçmāu*.

g. Voc.: as above (neut. wanting)

h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc. masc. *hāri*, fem. *yuvati*; neut. *çuci, māhi, hāriṇi* (?).

i. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.

j. Gen.-acc. masc. *hārios*; fem. *yuvatyōs* and *jāmiōs*, neut. wanting

k. Plural. Nom. masc. *agnāyas*; fem. *matāyas, bhūmīs*; neut. *çuci, bhūri, bhūriṇi*.

l. Accus. masc. *agnin*, fem. *ksitīn, çucayas* (?).

m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc.: as above.

n. Gen.: masc. fem. *kavinām, fṛṣṇaam* etc. (neut. wanting).

341. As models of u-stems may be taken *धनुः çātru m. enemy*; *धेनु dhenū f. cow*; *मधु mādhu n. honey*.

Singular:

N.	धनुम् çātrus	धेनुम् dhenus	मधु mādhū
A.	धनुम् çātruṃ	धेनुम् dhenūṃ	मधु mādhū
I.	धनुम्ना çātrunā	धेनुवा dhenvā	मधुना mādhunā
II.	धनुवे çātrave	धेनुवे, धेनुवे dhenāve, dhenvāi	मधुने mādhune
III.	धनुम çātron	धेनुम्, धेनुवान् dhenōs, dhenvās	मधुनम् mādhunas
I.	धनुम् çātruṃ	धेनुम्, धेनुवाम् dhenāu, dhenvām	मधुनि mādhuni
V.	धनु çātru	धेनु dhenō	मधु, मधो mādhū, mādho

Dual:

N. A. V.	शत्रु çâtrû	धेनु dhenû	मधुनि mâdhuni
I. D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्याम् çâtrubhyâm	धेनुभ्याम् dhenûbhyâm	मधुभ्याम् mâdhubhyâm
G. L.	शत्रवो çâtrvos	धेनवो dhenvos	मधुनो mâdhunos

Plural:

N. V.	शत्रवन् çâtravas	धेनवन् dhenâvas	मधुनि mâdhuni
A.	शत्रून् çâtrûn	धेनून् dhenûs	मधूनि mâdhuni
I.	शत्रुभिन् çâtrubhis	धेनुभिन् dhenûbhis	मधुभिन् mâdhubhis
D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्याम् çâtrubhyas	धेनुभ्याम् dhenûbhyas	मधुभ्याम् mâdhubhyas
G.	शत्रूणाम् çâtrûṇām	धेनूणाम् dhenûṇām	मधूणाम् mâdhūṇām
L.	शत्रूषु çâtrûṣu	धेनूषु dhenûṣu	मधूषु mâdhūṣu

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. urû, urû.

b. Accus. : masc. ketûm, âbhiruam, sacetûpam; fem. dhenûm.

c. Instr. : masc. ketûnâ, paçvâ and krâtuâ; fem. âdhenûs and paçvâ, âçuyâ; neut. mâdhunâ, mâdhvâ.

d. Dat. : masc. ketâvo, çievo; fem. çarave, çavâi; neut. paçve (), urâvo, madhune.

e. Abl.-gen. : masc. manyôs, pitvâs, çârûpas; fem. sîndhos, çavâs; neut. mâdhvas and mâdhvas, mâdhos, mâdhunas.

f. Loc. : masc. pûrâû, sînâvi; fem. sîndhâû, râjyâm; neut. mândau, sînâvi, sâno, sânuni.

g. Voc. as above.

h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc. : masc. and fem. as above, neut. urvî, jânuni.

i. Instr.-dat.-abl. as above.

j. Gen.-loc. as above (but vos et uos).

k. Plural. Nom. : masc. pñhâvas, mâdhvas and mâdhvas; fem. vas, çatakratvas; neut. purûpi, purû, purû.

adjective 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 *i* standing (sometimes with changed accent) beside a masculine in *i*: thus, *krimí* m., *krimí* f.; *sákhi* (343 a) m., *sakhí* f.; *dundubhí* m., *dundubhi* f., *dhūni* m., *dhuní* f.; *ṣakūni* m., *ṣakuní* or *-ni* f. In the later language, especially, there is a very frequent interchange of *i* and *ī* as finals of the same stems. 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 into two of these three ways, or even in all the three. thus, *kārū*, *-dipsū*, *qundhyū*, *carigū*, *vacaśyū*; *-anvī*, *urvī*, *gurvī*, *pūrvī* (with prolongation of *u* before *r* compare 246 b), *bahvī*, *prabhvī*, *raghvī*, *sādhvī*, *svādvī*; — *prthū* and *prthvī*, *vibhū* and *vibhvī*, *mrđū* and *mrđvī*, *laghu* and *laghvī*, *vāsu* and *vāsvī*; *babhrū* and *babhrvī*, *bibhataū* and *bibhataś*, *bhīrū* and *bhīrvī*; — *tanū* and *tanū* and *tanvī*, *phalgū* and *phalgū* and *phalgvī*, *mādhū* and *madhū* 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.; *gūggulu* m., *guggulū* f.; *jatū* m., *jatū* f.; *pṛdāku* m., *pṛdākū* f.

345. Roots ending in *i* or *u* (or *r*: 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 *ra* perhaps becomes *ri* (361 e); while roots in *ā* sometimes apparently weaken *ā* to *i* (in *-dhi* from *y'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, *suçroṇī*, *svayonī* or *-nī*, *-gātrayaṣṭī* or *-ṣṭī*; *vāmora* or *-ru*, *durhaṇī* or *-ṇī*, *varatanū*, *mātrbandhū*; and RV. has *āçiqvī* from *çiqv*.

Declension III.

Stems in long vowels: ए॒ ण॒ ण॒, ई॒ ण॒, ऊ॒ ण॒.

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 ए॒ ण॒ and ई॒ ण॒, with a small number in ऊ॒ ण॒ 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 ए॒ ण॒ or ई॒ ण॒, 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 ए॒ ण॒ am, not ए॒ ण॒ 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 ए॒ ण॒ are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use, those in ई॒ ण॒ and ऊ॒ ण॒ 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 *i* 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 *i* and *ū* are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings *āi*, *ām*, *ām* in the singular (lat., abl.-gen. loc.), but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except *bhityāi* ?), 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 (*dhityām*, 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 *i*- 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 *जा जाँ f. progeny*; *धी धीँ f. thought*; and *भू भूँ 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.	जाँ jā́	धीँ dhī́	भूँ bhū́
A.	जाम् jām	धियम् dhīyam	भुवम् bhuvam
I.	जा jā	धिया dhīyā	भुवा bhuvā
D.	जे je	धिये, धिये dhīyé, dhīyā́i	भुवे, भुवे bhuvé, bhuvā́i
ab G.	जाम् jā́m	धियाम्, धियाम् dhīyā́m, dhīyā́m	भुवाम्, भुवाम् bhuvā́m, bhuvā́m
L.	जि ji	धियि, धियाम् dhīyi, dhīyā́m	भुवि, भुवाम् bhuvī, bhuvā́m
V.	जान् jān	धीन् dhīn	भून् bhūn

Dual.

N. A. V.	द्वौ jāū	द्विगौ dhīyāu	भूयौ bhūvāu
I D. AB.	द्विभ्याम् jābhyām	द्विभ्याम् dhībhyām	भूभ्याम् bhūbhyām
G I.	द्वौ jās	द्विगौ dhīyōs	भूयौ bhuvōs

Plural.

N.	जान् jās	द्विगन् dhīyas	भूयन् bhūvas
A.	जान् (जम्) jās, jās	द्विगम् dhīyas	भूयन् bhūvas
I	जानिम् jābhis	द्विनिम् dhībhis	भूनिम् bhūbhis
D. AB.	जान्भ्याम् jābhyas	द्विगन्भ्याम् dhībhyās	भूयन्भ्याम् bhūbhyās
G.	जानान् (जान्) jānām, jān	द्विगान्, द्विनिम् dhīyām, dhīnām	भूयान्, भूनिम् bhūvām, bhūnām
I.	जानु jāsu	द्विगु dhīgū	भूयु bhūgū

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:

More, and few, Singular:

N. V.	-dbis	-bhās
A	-dhīyam -dhyām	-bhūvam -bhvam
I	-dhīyā -dhyā	-bhūvā -bhvā
D	-dhīyo -dhyō	-bhūve -bhve
AB G.	-dhīyas -dhyās	-bhūvas -bhvas
I.	-dhīyi -dhyi	-bhūvi -bhvi

Dual

N. A. V.	-dhyāu	-dhyāu	-bhūvāu	-bhvāu
I. D. Ab.		-dhībhyam		-bhūbhyam
G. L.	-dhyōs	-dhyōs	-bhūvos	-bhvōs

Plural

N. A. V.	-dhyas	-dhyas	-bhūvas	-bhvas
I.		-dhībhis		-bhūbhis
D. Ab.		-dhībhyas		-bhūbhyas
G.	{-dhyām	-dhyām	{-bhūvām	-bhvām
	{-dhyām		{-bhūvām	
I.		-dhyū		-bhūū

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 disyllabic *i* true, 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 disyllabic: *iā* or *iā* and *uā* or *ūā*, and so on.

c. As to neuter stems for such adjectives see 367

363. 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 disyllables, *as*, *am*, *a*. 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 even 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 form yet others occur: for example *ṣṭapān*, *vayodhūā* and *ratnadhēbhis*, *dhanaśūā* (all AV.): and, from *i* and *ū* compounds, *voṣaṣṭrīā* (TS.), *āhṛayā* (RV.), *gaṇaṣṭrībhis* (RV.), *karmaṇīā* (I. P.) and *ṛtanībhyas* (RV.) and *senānībhyas* (VS) and *grāmaṇībhis* (TB), *mupūā* (AV.), *ṣṭibhrāva* (TS.).

b. Still more numerous are the feminine nouns in *ā* which have lost their

post-declension: examples are *prajā* (of which the further compounds in part have lost-forms), *svadhā*, *ṣradhdhā*, *pratimā*, and others.

c. Then, in the later language, a few feminines in *i* are made from the stems in *a* shortened from *ā*: thus, *gopī*, *goṣṭhī*, *pannagī*, *pañkajī*, *bhujagī*, *bhujāṅgī*, *surāpī*.

355. Poly syllabic 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; *uṣānā* (nom. pl.) has the anomalous nom. sing. *uṣānā* (and loc. as well as dat. *uṣāne*); *mahā great* is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition; *ātā frame* has only *ātān* and derivable from *āta*.

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*, *prāvi*, *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, 344 b) thus, *caranyū*, *carīṣṭū*, *jighatū*, *madhū*. A few are nouns in *ū*, with change of accent: thus, *agrū* (*āgru*), *prdākū* (*pṛdāku*), *ṣvaṣṭū* (*ṣvāṣṭa*); or without change, as *nyū*. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, *tanū*, *vadhū*, *camū*. The masculines are only two or three, namely, *prāṇū*, *kṛkṣadāṇū*, *makedū* (?); 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 *i*-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 *i*-stems.

Singular:

N.	rathis	nadis	tanús
A.	rathíam	nadíam	tanúam
I.	rathíā	nadíā	tanúā
D.	rathíos	nadíós	tanúós
Ab. G.	rathíās	nadíās	tanúās
L.	tanuí
V.	rathí(?)	nadí	tanu

Dual:

N. A. V.	rathíā	nadíā	tanúā
I D. Ab	[rathibhyām]	nadibhyam	[tanúbhyām]
G. L.	[rathíos]	nadíós	tanúós

Plural:

N. A.	rathíās	nadíās	tanúās
I	[rathibhis]	nadibhis	tanúbhis
D. Ab	[rathibhyas]	nadibhyas	tanúbhyas
G.	rathínām	nadínām	tanúnām
L.	[rathíṃ]	nadíṃ	tanúṃ

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 *ā* made a semi-vowel, and the resulting syllable is circumflexed: thus, *nadyām*, *tanvām*, etc.; only, as usual, after two consonants the resolved forms *īy* and *ūy* are written instead; and also where the combination *yv* would otherwise result: thus, *calakrīyā*, [*agrūvāi*], 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.-voc. du. is the equivalent of the later *āu*. The nom. sing. in *u* from *i*-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: *camū* 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 *praghyā* or uncombining (136); *tanuí* is lengthened to *tanvi* in a passage or two; *-yúvas* is once or twice abbreviated to *-yūs*.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of *i*- and *ū*-declension (below, 362-3), 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, *duṭiām*, loc. sing., once, and *ṣvaṣruām*, do, once, and *dravituā*, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharva, we find the acc. sing. *kutūm*, *tandūm*, *vadhūm*; the instr. sing. *palāliā* and one or two others; the dat. sing. *vadhvāi*, *ṣvaṣruāi*, *agrūvāi*; the abl.-gen. sing. *punarbhūvas*, *pyākuśā*, *ṣvaṣruś*; and the loc. sing. *tanūām* (with anomalous accent). Accusatives plural in *is* 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, *hiraṇyavāṇis* and *sahasraṇtarin*, *āptatantus* and *sarvatanus*, all fem. 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 *i* and *u*, with which they have most affinity. They are:

- a. stems in *āu*: *nāu* and *glāu*;
- b. stems in *āi*: *rāi*;
- c. stems in *o*: *gô* and *dyô* or *dyû*, *div*.

361. a. The stem *nāu* 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: *nāis*, *nāyam*, *nāvā*, *nāvā*, *nāvās*, *nāvi*; *nāvāu*, *naubhyām*, *nāvōa*; *nāvās*, *nāvās*, *naubhis*, *naubhyās*, *nāvām*, *nāvū*. The stem *glāu* m. *ball* is apparently inflected in the same way, but few of its forms have been met with in use.

b. The stem *rāi* 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*, *rāye*, *rāyās*, *rāyī*; *rāyau*, *rābhyām*, *rāyōa*; *rāyas*, *rāyas*, *rābis*, *rābhyās*, *rāyām*, *rāyū*. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either *rāyās* 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 *gô* m. or f. *bull* or *cow* is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except the accus. sing., it is strengthened to *gāu*, forming like *nāu* *gāis*, *gāvau*, *gāvās*. In accus. sing. and pl. it has like *rāi* the brief forms *gām* and *gās*. The abl.-gen. sing. is *gōa* (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*, *gāvōa*, *gāvām*; *gōbhyām*, *gōbis*, *gōbhyās*, *gōḡu*. In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is *gonām*; the nom. acc. du. is as in all other such cases also *gāvā*; and *gām*, *gōs*, and *gās* are not infrequently to be pronounced as dissyllables. As acc. pl. is found a few times *gāvas*.

d. The stem *dyô* f. (but in V. usually m. *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 *dyô* is inflected precisely like *gô*, as above described. The complete declension is as follows, with forms not actually met with in use bracketed.

	Singular.	Dual.	Pural.
N.	<i>dyâus</i>		<i>dîvas</i> <i>dyâvas</i>
A.	<i>divam dyâm</i>	[<i>dîvân</i>] <i>dyâvân</i>	<i>divas, dyân</i> [<i>dyâs</i>]
I.	<i>divâ</i> [<i>dyâvâ</i>]		<i>dyubhis</i> [<i>dyôbhis</i>]
D.	<i>divê dyâve</i>	[<i>dyûbhyâm dyôbhyam</i>]	[<i>dyâbhyas dyôbhyas</i>]
Ab.	<i>divâm dyôs</i>		
G.	<i>divas dyôs</i>		[<i>divâm dyâvâm</i>]
L.	<i>divî dyâvi</i>	[<i>divôs dyavos</i>]	<i>dyûṣu</i> [<i>dyôṣu</i>]

e. The dat. sing. *dyâve* is not found in the early language. It is *dîvas* and *divas* occur as accus. pl. in V. As nouns etc. *du*, *dyâva* is, as usual, the regular Vedic form; once occurs *dyâvi* (du), as if a neuter form; and *dyâus* is found once used as ablative. The cases *dyâus*, *dyâm* and *dyân* (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accented vocative then becomes *dyâus* (i. e. *dîaus*, see 314 b).

f. Adjective compounds having a diphthongal stem as final member are not numerous, and tend to shorten the diphthong to a vowel. Thus, from *nau* we have *bhinnaṇu*, from *go*, several words like *âgu*, *saptagu*, *âgu*, *bahugû* (f. -*gû* IB.); and, correspondingly, *râi* seems to be reduced to *ri* in *bṛhâdrâya* and *râhâdrâyas* (RV.). In derivation, *go* maintains its full form in *gotra*, *agotâ*, -*gava* (f. -*gavi*), etc.; as first member of a compound, it is variously treated, thus, *gâvâçir*, *gâviçî* (but *gâçir*, *gâçî* K.), etc.; *goçvâ* or *goçva*, *gôçjika*, *gôçapaça*, etc. In certain compounds, also, *dyu* or *dyo* takes an anomalous form: thus, *dyaurdâ* (K.), *dyaurlokâ* (I.B.), *dyâusamçita* (AV). In revânt (unless this is for *rayivant*) *râi* becomes *re* RV. has *âdhrigâvas* from *âdhrigu* (of questionable import); and AV. has *ghṛtaçâvâs*, apparently accus. pl. of *ghṛtaçû* or -*stô*.

B. Derivative stems in â, i, u.

382. To this division belong all the â 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 u-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:

1. a. The great mass of derivative feminine â-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 the mode of declension only when the accent is not on the i: thus, *táviṣi*, *páruṣi*, *pálikni*, *rohinī*.

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, *mūṭali* etc.; and *rāṣṭri* and *siri* (only one case each).

3. h. The u-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 *a* 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 *a*-ending is wanting except in the u-stems and a very few i-stems—namely, *lakṣmi*, *tari*, *tantri*, *tandri*—which have preserved the ending of the other division.

b. The accus. sing. and pl. add simply *m* and *a* respectively.

c. The dat., abl., gen., and loc. sing. take always the fuller endings *āi*, *āḥ*, *āni*; and these are separated from the final of the ā-stems by an interposed *y*. In Brāhmaṇa etc., *āi* is generally substituted for *āḥ* (307 b).

d. Before the endings *ā* of instr. sing. and *as* of gen.-loc. du., the final of ā-stems is treated as if changed to *a*; but in the Veda, the instr. ending *ā* very often (in nearly half the occurrences) blends with the final to *āi*. The *yā* of i-stems is in a few Vedic examples contracted to *i*, and even to *ī*. A loc. sing. in *i* occurs a few times.

e. In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an i- or u-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 u-stems).

f. In voc. sing., final *ā* becomes *e*; final *i* and *ū* are shortened.

g. In nom.-acc.-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in *i* (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 *i* (a corresponding dual of u-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 \bar{s} simply; and though yas-forms occur in the Brāhmaṇas, along with īs-forms, both are used rather indifferently as nom. and accus. (as, indeed, they sometimes interchange also in the epics). Of \bar{a} -stems, the du nom. etc. ends in \bar{e} , both earlier and later; in pl., of course, \bar{s} -forms are indistinguishable from as-forms. The RV. has a few examples of $\bar{āsas}$ for $\bar{ās}$.

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* *sēnā* f. *army*; *कन्या* *kanyā* f. *girl*; *देवी* *devī* f. *godless*; *वधू* *vadhū* f. *woman*.

Singular:

N	सेना sēnā	कन्या kanyā	देवी devī	वधू vadhū
A.	सेनाम् sēnām	कन्याम् kanyām	देवीम् devīm	वधूम् vadhūm
I.	सेनया sēnayā	कन्याया kanyāyā	देव्या devyā	वधूया vadhvā
D.	सेनायै sēnayai	कन्यायै kanyayai	देव्यै devyai	वधूयै vadhvai
Ab. G.	सेनायाम् sēnayāṁ	कन्यायाम् kanyāyāṁ	देव्याम् devyāṁ	वधूयाम् vadhvāṁ
L.	सेनायाम् sēnayām	कन्यायाम् kanyāyām	देव्याम् devyām	वधूयाम् vadhvām
V.	सेने sēne	कन्ये kanye	देवि devi	वधु vadhū

Dual:

N. A. V.	सेने sēne	कन्ये kanye	देव्यौ devyau	वधूयौ vadhvau
I. D. Ab.	सेनाभ्याम् sēnābhyām	कन्याभ्याम् kanyābhyām	देवीभ्याम् devībhyām	वधूभ्याम् vadhūbhyām
G. L.	सेनयोः sēnayos	कन्ययोः kanyayos	देव्योः devyos	वधूयोः vadhvos

Plural

N. V.	मेताम् sénās	कन्याम् kanyās	देव्यान् devyās	वध्वन् vadhvās
A.	मेताम् sénās	कन्याम् kanyās	देवीन् devīs	वधून् vadhūs
I.	मेताभिन् sénābhis	कन्याभिन् kanyābhis	देवाभिन् devībhis	वधाभिन् vadhābhis
I. Acc.	मेताभ्यान् sénābhyas	कन्याभ्यान् kanyābhyas	देवाभ्यान् devībhyas	वधाभ्यान् vadhābhyas
G.	मेतानाम् sénānām	कन्यानाम् kanyānām	देवीनाम् devīnām	वधूनाम् vadhūnām
L.	मेतासु sénāsu	कन्यासु kanyāsu	देवासु devīsu	वधूषु 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. manīṣā (this simpler form is especially common from stems in īā and īā); nom. pl. vaqūsas (about twenty examples); accus. pl. arambamāsas (a case or two). Half the bhyas-cases are to be read as bhis; the am of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into sam; and the ā and ām of nom. accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

b. ī-stems: Instr. sing. qāmi, qāmi; loc. qāuri; 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, devīā, devīās, devīām, ródasīas.

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 h. 336 g, 303 c) of the dat. sing. ending āi for the gen.-acc. ending ās, in all classes of words admitting the latter ending, a few examples may be given here. abhībhutyaī rupam (AB) a sign of overpowering, triṣṭubhaq ca jagatyāī ca (AB) of the metres triṣṭubh and jagati; vāco dāivyaī ca mānuṣyaī ca (AA) of speech, both divine and human, atriyaī payah (AB) woman's milk, dhencāī vā etād rētaḥ (IB) that, forsooth is the seed of the cow; jīṃṣāyaī tvacah (AB) of dead skin, jyāsaī yāyāsa (AB) superior to the yāyā; asyāī divo 'smād antarikṣāt (AA) from this heaven on from this atmosphere. The most striking instance is in the AV. tva, svapantv asyāī jhātayah let her continue sleep.

366. The noun *atrī* f. *woman* (probably contracted from *sutrī* *generatrix*), follows a mixed declension: thus, *atrī*, *atrīyam* or *strīm*, *atrīyā*, *atrīyāī*, *atrīyās*, *atrīyām*, *atrī*; *atrīyāu*, *strībhyām*, *atrīyōs*; *atrīyas*, *atrīyas* or *strīs*, *strībhis*, *strībhyās*, *atrīyām*, *atrīqu* (but the *accusatives* *strīm* and *atrīs* are not found in the older language, and the voc. *atrī* 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 \bar{i} or \bar{u} [336, 341, 344].

b. Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost unknown. Of neuters from \bar{i} -stems have been noted in the Veda only *hariṣṛīyam*, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and *suadhis*, gen. sing. (same as masc. and fem.); from \bar{u} -stems, only a few examples, and from stem-forms which might be masc. and fem. also: thus, *vibhū*, *subhū*, etc. (nom.-acc. sing. compare 354); *supū* and *mayobhāvā*, instr. sing., and *mayobhū*, acc. pl. (compare *purū*: 342 k), from \bar{u} -stems occur only half-a-dozen examples of a nom. sing. in *as*, like the masc. and fem. form.

c. Compounds having nouns of the second division as final member are common only from derivatives in \bar{a} ; and these shorten the final to *a* in both masculine and neuter: thus, from *a n t* and *prajā* *progeny* come the masc. and neut. stem *apraja*, fem. *aprajā* *childless*. Such compounds with nouns in \bar{i} and \bar{u} are said to be inflected in masc. and fem. like the simple words only with *in* 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, *ekapātnī*, *āttalakṣmī*; and such adverbs (neut. sing. accus.) as *upabdhāmi*, *abhyujjayāmi*. The stem *atrī* is directed to be shortened to *atrī* for all genders.

368. It is convenient to give a complete paradigm, for all genders, of an adjective-stem in \bar{a} . We take for the purpose $\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}$ *pāpā evil*, of which the feminine is usually made in $\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}$ \bar{a} in the later language, but in $\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}\overline{\text{प}}$ \bar{i} in the older.

Singular:				
	म.	n.	f.	f.
N.	पापम् pāpam	पापम् pāpam	पापा pāpā	पापी pāpī
A.	पापम् pāpam	पापम् pāpam	पापम् pāpam	पापिन् pāpin
I.	पापेन pāpēna	पापेन pāpēna	पापया pāpāya	पाप्या pāpyā
D.	पापाय pāpāya	पापाय pāpāya	पापायै pāpāyai	पाप्यै pāpyai
Ab.	पापान् pāpāt	पापान् pāpāt	पापायान् pāpāyaś	पाप्यान् pāpyāś
G.	पापान्य pāpānya	पापान्य pāpānya	पापायान् pāpāyaś	पाप्यान् pāpyāś
L.	पापे pāpe	पापे pāpe	पापायाम् pāpāyām	पाप्याम् pāpyām
V.	पाप pāpa	पाप pāpa	पापे pāpe	पापि pāpi
Dual:				
N. A. V.	पापी pāpāu	पापे pāpē	पापे pāpe	पाप्या pāpyāu
I. D. Ab.	पापाभ्याम् pāpābhyām	पापाभ्याम् pāpābhyām	पापाभ्याम् pāpābhyām	पापिभ्याम् pāpibhyām
G. L.	पापयोन् pāpāyoś	पापयोन् pāpāyoś	पापयोन् pāpāyoś	पाप्योन् pāpyōś
Plural:				
N.	पापान् pāpāś	पापानि pāpāni	पापान् pāpāś	पाप्यान् pāpyāś
A.	पापान् pāpān	पापानि pāpāni	पापान् pāpāś	पापिन् pāpīś
I.	पापिन् pāpāni	पापिन् pāpāni	पापिन् pāpāni	पापिन् pāpāni
D. Ab.	पापेभ्यः pāpēbhyas	पापेभ्यः pāpēbhyas	पापेभ्यः pāpēbhyas	पापेभ्यः pāpēbhyas

G	पापानाम् pāpānām	पापानाम् pāpānām	पापानाम् pāpānām
L.	पापेयु pāpēyu	पापानु pāpānu	पापेयु pāpēyu

Declension IV.

Stems in \bar{r} (or \bar{ar}).

369. This declension is a comparatively limited one, being almost entirely composed of derivative nouns formed with the suffix \bar{r} \bar{tr} (or \bar{tar}), which makes masculine *nomina agentis* (used also participially), and a few nouns of relationship.

a. But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely \bar{dov} \bar{m} , $\bar{svār}$ and $\bar{nānān}$ \bar{f} .; and, besides these, \bar{n} \bar{f} \bar{m} , \bar{st} \bar{f} (in V.) \bar{m} ., \bar{us} \bar{f} (in V.) \bar{f} ., \bar{savyas} \bar{th} \bar{r} \bar{m} ., and the feminine numerals \bar{tis} \bar{r} and \bar{catas} \bar{r} (for which, see 482 e, g. The feminines in \bar{tr} are only \bar{mat} \bar{f} , \bar{dhit} \bar{f} , and $\bar{yāt}$ \bar{f}).

b. The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in \bar{i} and \bar{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.

370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is \bar{r} , which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to \bar{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 $\bar{nāp}$ \bar{tr} and $\bar{svār}$, and the irregular words \bar{st} \bar{f} and \bar{savyas} \bar{th} \bar{r} —the \bar{r} is vriddhied, or becomes \bar{ar} ; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with \bar{n} \bar{f} and \bar{us} \bar{f} , the \bar{r} is gunated, or changed to \bar{ar} . In both classes, the loc. sing. has \bar{ar} as stem-final.

371. Endings. These are in general the normal, but with the following exceptions:

a. The nom. sing. (masc. and fem.) ends always in $\bar{ā}$ (for original \bar{ars} or $\bar{ārā}$). The voc. sing. ends in \bar{ar} .

b. The accus. sing. adds \bar{am} to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. pl. has (like \bar{i} - and \bar{u} -stems) \bar{n} as masc. ending and $\bar{ā}$ as fem. ending, with the \bar{r} lengthened before them.

- c. The abl-gen sing changes \bar{r} to ur (see 169 b).
- d. The gen pl. (as in i and u-stems) inserts n before \bar{am} , and lengthens the stem-final before it. But the \bar{r} of $n\bar{r}$ 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-sing. \bar{du} is (as universally in the Veda) correctly \bar{d} instead of \bar{du} (only ten \bar{du} -forms in RV).
- g. The \bar{r} of the sing. is lengthened to \bar{i} in a few words: thus, $kart\bar{u}r\bar{i}$.
- h. In the gen. pl., the RV. has once $sv\bar{a}r\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$, without inserted n , and $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$ instead of $n\bar{r}\bar{a}m$ is frequent.
- i. Other irregularities of $n\bar{r}$ are the sing. dat. $n\bar{a}r\bar{e}$, gen. $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}n$, and $n\bar{a}r\bar{i}$. The Veda writes always $n\bar{r}\bar{a}m$ in gen. pl., but its \bar{r} is in a majority of cases metrically long.
- j. The stem $us\bar{r}$ f. $\bar{u}r\bar{a}n$ has the voc. sing. $us\bar{a}r$, the gen. sing. $us\bar{a}r\bar{a}$; and the accus. pl. also $us\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, and loc. sing. $us\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$ (which is metrically tri-syllable, $us\bar{a}r\bar{a}m$), as if in analogy with i and u-stems. Once occurs $us\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular tri-syllabic form, $us\bar{a}r\bar{i}$ (for the exchange of \bar{a} and \bar{e} , see 181 a).
- k. \bar{i} in $us\bar{r}$ come only $\bar{i}r\bar{a}n$ (apparently) and $at\bar{i}bhis$.
- l. In the gen-sing. the \bar{r} is almost always to be read as a separate syllable \bar{r} before the ending \bar{a} ; thus, $pit\bar{r}\bar{a}n$, etc. On the contrary, $n\bar{a}n\bar{a}ndri$ is to be read $n\bar{a}n\bar{a}ndri$.
- m. For center 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 final in the Veda always is thrown forward upon the ending, where in the weakest cases, \bar{r} becomes r , the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, $n\bar{r}$ and $us\bar{r}$, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus besides the forms already given above, $n\bar{a}r\bar{a}$, $n\bar{a}r\bar{u}$.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with $n\bar{r}$) to be the strong forms the stems $d\bar{a}n\bar{r}$ $d\bar{a}n\bar{r}$ m. *giver* and $as\bar{v}a\bar{r}$ $as\bar{v}a\bar{r}$ f. *aster*, from the second class (with $us\bar{r}$) as the strong forms, the stem $pit\bar{r}$ $pit\bar{r}$ m. *father*.

as $n\bar{r}$ $n\bar{r}$

	$d\bar{a}n\bar{r}$	$as\bar{v}a\bar{r}$	$pit\bar{r}$
	$d\bar{a}n\bar{a}$	$as\bar{v}a\bar{a}$	$pit\bar{a}$
	$d\bar{a}n\bar{r}\bar{a}$	$as\bar{v}a\bar{r}\bar{a}$	$pit\bar{r}\bar{a}$
	$d\bar{a}n\bar{r}\bar{a}m$	$as\bar{v}a\bar{r}\bar{a}m$	$pit\bar{r}\bar{a}m$

I.	दात्रा datrá	स्वदा svásrá	पित्रा pitrá
D.	दात्रे dātré	स्वमे svásro	पित्रे pitro
Ab. G.	दानुर dātūr	स्वनुर svásur	पितुर pitūr
L.	दानरि dātāri	स्वनरि svāsari	पितरि pitāri
V.	दानर dātar	स्वनर svāsar	पितर pitar

DUAL

N A V	दानारौ dātārāu	स्वनारौ svāsārāu	पितारौ pitārāu
I D Ab.	दानृभ्याम् dātṛbhyām	स्वनृभ्याम् svāṛbhyām	पितृभ्याम् pitṛbhyām
G L.	दात्रोस् dātrós	स्वमेस् svāsroa	पित्रोस् pitros

PLURAL.

N V.	दानारान् dātāran	स्वनारान् svānāras	पितारान् pitāras
A.	दानान् datṛn	स्वनान् svāṛṇa	पितृान् pitṛṇa
I.	दानृभिन् dātṛbhis	स्वनृभिन् svāṛbhis	पितृभिन् pitṛbhis
D Ab	दानृभ्याम् dātṛbhyas	स्वनृभ्याम् svāṛbhyas	पितृभ्याम् pitṛbhyas
G.	दानृणाम् dātṛṇām	स्वनृणाम् svāṛṇām	पितृणाम् pitṛṇām
L.	दानृषु dātṛṣu	स्वनृषु svāṛṣu	पितृषु pitṛṣu

a The feminine stem मातृ mātṛ, *mother*, is inflected precisely like पितृ pitṛ, excepting that its accusative plural is मानृन् mātṛṇa.

b. The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above, the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. *dātūrā*, *svānārā*, *pitārā*, and the gen. pl. of *nr*, *narām*.

c. The nom. pl. forms *pitaras* and *mātaras* etc. are found used also as accus. in the epics.

374. The stem *krōṣṭṭ* in *jaḥśat* (lily *houler*) substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of *krōṣṭu* (343 k).

375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a complete neuter declension also for *baṇas* in *ṭṛ*, precisely accordant with that of *vāri* or *mādhu* above, 339, 341. Thus, for example,

	Sing.	Du.	Pler.
N. A.	<i>dhātṭ</i>	<i>dhātṭpi</i>	<i>dhātṭpi</i>
I.	<i>dhātṭā</i>	<i>dhātṭbhyām</i>	<i>dhātṭbhis</i>
G.	<i>dhātṭas</i>	<i>dhātṭnos</i>	<i>dhātṭnām</i>
V.	<i>dhātṭ</i> , <i>dhātār</i>	<i>dhātṭpi</i>	<i>dhātṭpi</i> .

a. The weakest cases, however as of *i*- and *u*-stems used adjectively: 314, are allowed also to be formed like the corresponding masculine cases: thus, *dhātūrā* 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 Grimm, *Retter*, *Retterin*; Fr. *menteur*, *menteuse*) to give the *nomen agentis* a more adjective character making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (oppositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. *bhartṭ* and *janayitṭ*, qualifying *antārikṣam*, and *bhartṭpi* and *janayitṭpi*, qualifying *nāḥṣatrāpi*, as, in M. *grahitṭpi*, qualifying *Indriyāpi*.

c. When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in *i* is employed, thus, in TB. *bhartryās* and *bhartryāḥ*, *janayitryās* and *janayitryāḥ*, qualifying *āpas* and *ahorātré*; and such instances are not uncommon.

d. The RV. shows the same tendency very curiously once in the accus. pl. *mātṭn*, instead of *mātṭs*, in apposition with masculine nouns (RV. 6. 67).

e. Other neuter forms in RV. are *athātūr* gen. sing., *dhmātāri* loc. sing., and for the nom. sing., instead of *-ṭṛ*, a few more or less doubtful *athātār*, *athātūr*, *dhātāri*.

Adjectives.

376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension, for the qualifying character of the nouns composing it, see above 375. The feminine stem is made by the suffix *i*, thus, *dātri*, *dhātri*.

b. Its qualifying in *ṭṛ* like those in *i* and *u*: 345, add a *t* to make *dhātṭ*, *janayitṭ*, when occurring as final member of a compound:

thus, *karmakṣṭ* कर्मक्ष, *vajrabhṣṭ* वज्रभक्ष, *balibhṣṭ* बलिभक्ष. From some *r*-roots, also, are made stems in *ir* and *ur*: see below, 383 a, b.

c. Nouns in *r* 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 *tvātpitaras*, nom. pl, *having them 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 *ṣī* (never in *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 (311 b'), 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 *āyāni*, *vāruṇi*, *mādhunī*, *datṛṇi*, etc., a nasal sometimes appears in the special neuter plural cases which is found nowhere else in inflection. Thus, from the stems in *na*, *is*, *us*, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. in *-ānāi*, *-īnāi*, *-ūnāi* 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 Brāhmanas and Sūtras have been noted only *-hanti* AB. vii. 2. 3), *-vrnti* PB. xvi. 2. 7 et al., *-bhañji* KB. xviii. 7, *-bhṇti* CB. vol. 1. 31, and *-yudhji* LCS. ii. 1. 6, while in the later language is found here and there a case, like *-ṇrnti* (Ragh.), *-puṇṇi* (Cig.), 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 *ānt* accented on the final. For details, see below, under divisions A and E.

a. But a few of the compounds of the root *āic* 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 *na*, *is*, *us*;
- C. Derivative stems in *an* (*an*, *man*, *van*);
- D. Derivative stems in *in* (*in*, *min*, *vin*);
- E. Derivative stems in *ant* (*ant*, *mant*, *vant*);
- F. Perfect active participles in *vāns*;
- G. Comparatives in *yāns* or *yas*.

b. There remain, then, to constitute division A, especially radical stems, or those identical 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* *vers*, *gīr* *song*, *pād* *foot*, *dīc* *direction*, *māh* (V) *great*.

b. Such stems however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, *vāc* from *√ vac*, *brāj* from *√ parj*, *māṣ* from *√ muṣ*, *vrīc* from *√ vrac* (?), *ūṣ* from *√ vas* *stare*; -- from roots in final *r* come stems in *ir* and *ur*: thus, *gīr*, *ā-gīr*, *stīr*; *jār*, *tār*, *dhār*, *pār*, *mār*, *stūr*, *ophūr*; and *psār* from *√ psar*.

c. With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root as *ekāt*, *yavayūd*, *vānivan*, *śanyād*.

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 Aṣ, 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 *śac* as final of a compound is very common (see below, 401).

e. As to the infinitive use of various cases of the root-stems, see 371.

II. f. Stems made by the addition of *t* to a final short vowel of a root.

g. No proper *ṛ*-stem ends in a short vowel, although there are (354) examples of transfer of such to short-vowel-declension, but *i* or *u* or *ṛ* adds a *t* to make a declensible form: thus, *-jīt*, *-ṛūt*, *-kṛt*. 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 (*mīt*, *rīt*, *stūt*, *hrūt*, *vīt*, and *dyūt* if this is taken from *dyu*) in independent use. Of roots in *ṛ* *t* is added by *kṛ*, *dhṛ*, *dhvṛ*, *bhṛ*, *vṛ*, *spṛ*, *apṛ*, *bhṛ*, and *hṛṛ*. The roots *gā* (= *gam*) and *han* also make *-gāt* and *-hāt* by addition of the *t* to an abbreviated form in *a* (thus, *adhvagāt*, *dyugāt*, *dvigāt*, *navagāt*, and *śamhāt*).

III. 1. 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, tváo *skin*, páth *road*, hfd *heart*, áp and vár *water*, dvár *door*, ás *mouth*, kakúbh and kakúd *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: arvát, ávát, udvát, nivát, parávát, pravát, samvát; — 2. derivatives (V.) in tát (perhaps abbreviated from tātī), in a few isolated forms: thus, uparátat, darátat, vpkátat, satyátat, sarvátat; — 3. other derivatives in t preceded by various vowels: thus, daçát, vehát, vahát, sraçát, saççát, vaghát; nápat; taçít, divít, yogít, rohít, sarít, harít; marít; yáçt, çáçt; and the numerals for 30, 40, 50, triñçát etc. (475). — 4. stems in ad: thus, dyaád, dhyaád, bhaçád, vanaád, çarád, samád; — 5. stems in j preceded by various vowels: thus, tyaçáj, dhyaçáj, sañaçáj, bhiaçáj; uçj, vaçj, bhurj, nirj(?); áçj; — 6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative: thus, jñaç, -dñaç, bhñaç, máç, bhiaç; — 7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as viçtáp, vípaç, káçrth, çurúdh, iñdh, pñkñdh, raghaç(?), sarágh, visruh, uññh, kavñaç.

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., druñ f. 'ydruñ *he mimical* 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 hfd (also -hárð), dām, vár, svár, máç *fish*, ás *mouth*, bhñaç, dñaç (with which may be mentioned the substantives çām and yóm); also the apparent derivatives yáçt, çáçt, káçrth, áçj.

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 v añç: see below, 407 f., and RV. has also uruñyāñcam from root vyac; — 2. The

stem *yuj*, sometimes, in the older language: thus, nom. sing. *yūn* (for *yūnk*), accus. *yūñjam*, du. *yūñā* (but also *yūjam* and *yūjā*); — 3. The stem *-drq*, as final of a compound in the older language; but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, *anyādñ*, *idñ*, *kidñ*, *tādñ*, *etadñ*, *asadñ* and *pratisadñ*: but also *idñk*, *tadñk*, *avardñk*, etc., — 4. For *path* and *puma*, 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*, *ṣan*, 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 *rityāp*; — 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 *pād̐bhis* and *pātau* occur in the Brahmanas; — 5. Of *nas* *nose* (‘ *nāsa* nom. du. fem., RV., once); — 6. Sporadic cases (V) are: *yāj* (‘), voc. sing.: *pathās* and *-rāpas*, accus. pl.; *vānīvānas*, n. m. 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., *kṣāmas* att. sing.; — 3. In *dvār*, contracted (V.) to *dūr* in weak cases (but with some confusion of the two classes). — 4. In *svār*, which becomes, in RV., *vūr* in weak cases, later it is indelible.

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 *pad̐bhis* (RV. and VS; AV. has always *pad̐bhis*) from *pād*; and *sarāt* and *sarāḍbhyas* corresponding to a nom. pl. *sarāghas* (instead of *sarāhas*; 322) *Dān* is apparently for *dām*, by 143a.

c. According to the grammarians, neuter stems, unless they end in a *rad* or a semivowel, take in nom.-acc.-voc. pl. a strengthening nasal before the final consonant. But no such cases from neuter nouns-stems appear ever to have been met with in use; and as regards adjective stems ending in a *rad*, see above, 379b.

yielding: -dhūk, -dūham, -dhūgbhis, -dhūkeṇ; — ruh-class (223 b, 147, -līh *yielding*: -lī, -līham, -līgbhis, -līṣau.

g. Stems in m (143 a, 212 a: only praṇu, nom. sing., quotabl.).
-ṇam *quieting*: -ṇa, -ṇamam, -ṇāubhis, -ṇānu.

392. The root-stems in *ir* and *ur* 383 b lengthen their vowel when the final *r* is followed by another consonant (243 b), and also in the nom. sing. (where the case-ending *s* is lost).

a. Thus, from *gīr* f. *song* come *gīr* gīḥ, *gīram*, *gīrā* etc., *gīrau*, *gīrbhyām*, *gīrōn*; *gīras*, *gīrbhis*, *gīrbhyās*, *gīrām*, *gīrāu* 163. and, in like manner, from *pūr* f. *stranghold* come *pūr* pūḥ, *pūram*, *pūrā*, etc.; *pūrau*, *pūrbhyām*, *pūros*; *pūras*, *purbhis*, *purbhyās*, *pūram*, *pūrāu*.

b. There are no roots in *ia* (except the excessively rare *piśa*) or in *us*, but from the root *qīśa* with its *a* weakened to *i* (250) comes the noun *āqīśa* f. *bleasing*, which is inflected like *gīr*: thus, *āqīśa* (āqīḥ), *āqīśam*, *āqīśā*, etc.: *āqīśāu*, *āqīrbhyām*, *āqīśos*; *āqīśas*, *āqīrbhis*, *āqīrbhyās*, *āqīśām*, *āqīṣau*. And *sojās* *together* is apparently a stereotyped nomenclative of like formation from the root *jup*. The form *sojāprūṣ* (18), from the root-stem *prug*, is isolated and anomalous.

c. These stems in *ir*, *ur*, *is* show a like prolongation of vowel also in composition and derivation: thus, *gīrvāṇa*, *purbhīd*, *dhūrgata*, *dhustva*, *āqīrśā*, *āqīrvant*, etc. (but also *gīrvan*, *gīrvānan*).

d. The native grammar sets up a class of quasi-tactical stems like *jigamīśa* *desiring to go*, made from the desiderative conjugation-stem (1027), and precribes for it a declension like that of *āqīśa*: thus, *jigamīśa*, *jigamīśam*, *jigamīrbbhis*, *jigamīṣau*, 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 *jigamīśa* than a causative stem *gamay*.

393. The stem *āp* f. *water* is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before *bh* to *d* 151 o: thus, *āpas*, *āpās*, *adbhis*, *adbhyās*, *āpām*, *āpāu*.

a. But RV. has the sing. instr. *āpā* and gen. *āpās*. In the earlier language (especially AV.), and even in the epic, the nom. and accus. pl. forms are occasionally confused in use, *āpas* being employed as accus., and *āpās* as nominative.

b. Besides the stem *āp*, case-forms of this word are sometimes met in composition and derivation: thus, for example, *abjā*, *āpodevata*, *āpamāya*, *āpaumant*.

394. The stem *pūmā* m. *man* is very irregular, substituting *pūmāḥ* in the strong cases, and losing its *a* [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 *pūman*, *pūmāsam*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*; *pūmāsam*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*; *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*, *pūmā*.

a. The accentuation of the weak forms, it will be noted, is that of a true monosyllabic stem. The forms with hh-endings nowhere occur in the older language, nor do they appear to have been cited from the later languages of the confusion of strong and weak forms are occasionally met with. As to the retention of s unfricativized in the weakest cases (where none clearly follows that in the loc. pl.), see 183 a.

b. This stem appears under a considerable variety of forms in compounds and derivation, thus, as *pumi* in *pumiçali*, *pumiäva*, *pumiävant*, *-pumiäka*, etc.; as *pum* in *püdväta*, *pümrüpa*, *pümvat*, *pumārtha*, etc.; as *pumiä* in *pumiävant*; — at the end of a compound, either with its final inflection, as in *stripümiä* etc.; or as *pumiä*, in *stripümiä*, *mahäpümiä*; or as *puma* in *stripuma* (S. TA.).

395. The stem path m. *road* is defective in declension, forming only the weakest cases, while the strong are made from *pānthā* or *pānthau*, and the middle from *pathā*: see under *an-stems*, below, 433

399. The stem *dānt* in *tooth* is perhaps of participial origin, and has like a participle, the forms *dānt* and *dāt*, strong and weak: thus V., *dān*, *dāntam*, *datā*, etc.; *datās* acc. pl etc. But in the middle cases it has the monosyllabic and not the participial accent thus, *daddhīś*, *daddhīś*. In nom. pl. occurs also *-datus* instead of *-dantas*. By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from *dānta*.

397. A number of other words of this division are defective, making part of their inflection from stems of a different form.

a. *hēd*, *hēd heart*, *māns* or *mān* a *month*, *mās* in *month*, *nās* (*nas*, *niq* f. *night* (not found in the older language) *pīt* f. *army*, are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the *accus.*, *sing.* and *du.* (the *accus.*, of course, the *acc. pl.* also) making them respectively from *hīdaya*, *mānsā*, *māsa*, *nānsā*, *niqā*, *pītānā*. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus we find *mās* *fish* *accus. sing.*; *mās* *month* *nom. sing.*, and *nāsā* *night* *du.* From *pīt* occurs only the *acc. pl.* *pītsū* and (RV. once) the same case with double ending, *pītsūsu*.

398. On the other hand, certain nouns of this division, allowed by the grammarians a full inflection, are used to fill up the deficiencies of those of another form.

432 Of none of these, however, is anything but the non-acc. sing found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.

b. *śānta* 'peaceful' and *śānta* 'only a few' (100) are found, to the same meaning, *śānta* and *śānta* and *śānta* and *śānta* (439).

399. Some of the alternative forms mentioned above are instances of variation from the consonant to a vowel (consonant) form, *danta*, *māsa*. A number of other similar cases occur, especially in the later language, more commonly in the later. Such are *-pāda*, *-māda*, *-dāpa*, *bhāra*, *rasāpa*, *dvāra* and *dura*, *pura*, *dhura*, *-dya*, *nāsa*, *nuda*, *knipa*, *kappa*, *āpa*, and perhaps a few others.

a. A few similar cases will find a more proper place under the 1-4-5-6-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14-15-16-17-18-19-20-21-22-23-24-25-26-27-28-29-30-31-32-33-34-35-36-37-38-39-40-41-42-43-44-45-46-47-48-49-50-51-52-53-54-55-56-57-58-59-60-61-62-63-64-65-66-67-68-69-70-71-72-73-74-75-76-77-78-79-80-81-82-83-84-85-86-87-88-89-90-91-92-93-94-95-96-97-98-99-100-101-102-103-104-105-106-107-108-109-110-111-112-113-114-115-116-117-118-119-120-121-122-123-124-125-126-127-128-129-130-131-132-133-134-135-136-137-138-139-140-141-142-143-144-145-146-147-148-149-150-151-152-153-154-155-156-157-158-159-160-161-162-163-164-165-166-167-168-169-170-171-172-173-174-175-176-177-178-179-180-181-182-183-184-185-186-187-188-189-190-191-192-193-194-195-196-197-198-199-200-201-202-203-204-205-206-207-208-209-210-211-212-213-214-215-216-217-218-219-220-221-222-223-224-225-226-227-228-229-230-231-232-233-234-235-236-237-238-239-240-241-242-243-244-245-246-247-248-249-250-251-252-253-254-255-256-257-258-259-260-261-262-263-264-265-266-267-268-269-270-271-272-273-274-275-276-277-278-279-280-281-282-283-284-285-286-287-288-289-290-291-292-293-294-295-296-297-298-299-300-301-302-303-304-305-306-307-308-309-310-311-312-313-314-315-316-317-318-319-320-321-322-323-324-325-326-327-328-329-330-331-332-333-334-335-336-337-338-339-340-341-342-343-344-345-346-347-348-349-350-351-352-353-354-355-356-357-358-359-360-361-362-363-364-365-366-367-368-369-370-371-372-373-374-375-376-377-378-379-380-381-382-383-384-385-386-387-388-389-390-391-392-393-394-395-396-397-398-399-400-401-402-403-404-405-406-407-408-409-410-411-412-413-414-415-416-417-418-419-420-421-422-423-424-425-426-427-428-429-430-431-432-433-434-435-436-437-438-439-440-441-442-443-444-445-446-447-448-449-450-451-452-453-454-455-456-457-458-459-460-461-462-463-464-465-466-467-468-469-470-471-472-473-474-475-476-477-478-479-480-481-482-483-484-485-486-487-488-489-490-491-492-493-494-495-496-497-498-499-500-501-502-503-504-505-506-507-508-509-510-511-512-513-514-515-516-517-518-519-520-521-522-523-524-525-526-527-528-529-530-531-532-533-534-535-536-537-538-539-540-541-542-543-544-545-546-547-548-549-550-551-552-553-554-555-556-557-558-559-560-561-562-563-564-565-566-567-568-569-570-571-572-573-574-575-576-577-578-579-580-581-582-583-584-585-586-587-588-589-590-591-592-593-594-595-596-597-598-599-600-601-602-603-604-605-606-607-608-609-610-611-612-613-614-615-616-617-618-619-620-621-622-623-624-625-626-627-628-629-630-631-632-633-634-635-636-637-638-639-640-641-642-643-644-645-646-647-648-649-650-651-652-653-654-655-656-657-658-659-660-661-662-663-664-665-666-667-668-669-670-671-672-673-674-675-676-677-678-679-680-681-682-683-684-685-686-687-688-689-690-691-692-693-694-695-696-697-698-699-700-701-702-703-704-705-706-707-708-709-710-711-712-713-714-715-716-717-718-719-720-721-722-723-724-725-726-727-728-729-730-731-732-733-734-735-736-737-738-739-740-741-742-743-744-745-746-747-748-749-750-751-752-753-754-755-756-757-758-759-760-761-762-763-764-765-766-767-768-769-770-771-772-773-774-775-776-777-778-779-780-781-782-783-784-785-786-787-788-789-790-791-792-793-794-795-796-797-798-799-800-801-802-803-804-805-806-807-808-809-810-811-812-813-814-815-816-817-818-819-820-821-822-823-824-825-826-827-828-829-830-831-832-833-834-835-836-837-838-839-840-841-842-843-844-845-846-847-848-849-850-851-852-853-854-855-856-857-858-859-860-861-862-863-864-865-866-867-868-869-870-871-872-873-874-875-876-877-878-879-880-881-882-883-884-885-886-887-888-889-890-891-892-893-894-895-896-897-898-899-900-901-902-903-904-905-906-907-908-909-910-911-912-913-914-915-916-917-918-919-920-921-922-923-924-925-926-927-928-929-930-931-932-933-934-935-936-937-938-939-940-941-942-943-944-945-946-947-948-949-950-951-952-953-954-955-956-957-958-959-960-961-962-963-964-965-966-967-968-969-970-971-972-973-974-975-976-977-978-979-980-981-982-983-984-985-986-987-988-989-990-991-992-993-994-995-996-997-998-999-1000-1001-1002-1003-1004-1005-1006-1007-1008-1009-1010-1011-1012-1013-1014-1015-1016-1017-1018-1019-1020-1021-1022-1023-1024-1025-1026-1027-1028-1029-1030-1031-1032-1033-1034-1035-1036-1037-1038-1039-1040-1041-1042-1043-1044-1045-1046-1047-1048-1049-1050-1051-1052-1053-1054-1055-1056-1057-1058-1059-1060-1061-1062-1063-1064-1065-1066-1067-1068-1069-1070-1071-1072-1073-1074-1075-1076-1077-1078-1079-1080-1081-1082-1083-1084-1085-1086-1087-1088-1089-1090-1091-1092-1093-1094-1095-1096-1097-1098-1099-1100-1101-1102-1103-1104-1105-1106-1107-1108-1109-1110-1111-1112-1113-1114-1115-1116-1117-1118-1119-1120-1121-1122-1123-1124-1125-1126-1127-1128-1129-1130-1131-1132-1133-1134-1135-1136-1137-1138-1139-1140-1141-1142-1143-1144-1145-1146-1147-1148-1149-1150-1151-1152-1153-1154-1155-1156-1157-1158-1159-1160-1161-1162-1163-1164-1165-1166-1167-1168-1169-1170-1171-1172-1173-1174-1175-1176-1177-1178-1179-1180-1181-1182-1183-1184-1185-1186-1187-1188-1189-1190-1191-1192-1193-1194-1195-1196-1197-1198-1199-1200-1201-1202-1203-1204-1205-1206-1207-1208-1209-1210-1211-1212-1213-1214-1215-1216-1217-1218-1219-1220-1221-1222-1223-1224-1225-1226-1227-1228-1229-1230-1231-1232-1233-1234-1235-1236-1237-1238-1239-1240-1241-1242-1243-1244-1245-1246-1247-1248-1249-1250-1251-1252-1253-1254-1255-1256-1257-1258-1259-1260-1261-1262-1263-1264-1265-1266-1267-1268-1269-1270-1271-1272-1273-1274-1275-1276-1277-1278-1279-1280-1281-1282-1283-1284-1285-1286-1287-1288-1289-1290-1291-1292-1293-1294-1295-1296-1297-1298-1299-1300-1301-1302-1303-1304-1305-1306-1307-1308-1309-1310-1311-1312-1313-1314-1315-1316-1317-1318-1319-1320-1321-1322-1323-1324-1325-1326-1327-1328-1329-1330-1331-1332-1333-1334-1335-1336-1337-1338-1339-1340-1341-1342-1343-1344-1345-1346-1347-1348-1349-1350-1351-1352-1353-1354-1355-1356-1357-1358-1359-1360-1361-1362-1363-1364-1365-1366-1367-1368-1369-1370-1371-1372-1373-1374-1375-1376-1377-1378-1379-1380-1381-1382-1383-1384-1385-1386-1387-1388-1389-1390-1391-1392-1393-1394-1395-1396-1397-1398-1399-1400-1401-1402-1403-1404-1405-1406-1407-1408-1409-1410-1411-1412-1413-1414-1415-1416-1417-1418-1419-1420-1421-1422-1423-1424-1425-1426-1427-1428-1429-1430-1431-1432-1433-1434-1435-1436-1437-1438-1439-1440-1441-1442-1443-1444-1445-1446-1447-1448-1449-1450-1451-1452-1453-1454-1455-1456-1457-1458-1459-1460-1461-1462-1463-1464-1465-1466-1467-1468-1469-1470-1471-1472-1473-1474-1475-1476-1477-1478-1479-1480-1481-1482-1483-1484-1485-1486-1487-1488-1489-1490-1491-1492-1493-1494-1495-1496-1497-1498-1499-1500-1501-1502-1503-1504-1505-1506-1507-1508-1509-1510-1511-1512-1513-1514-1515-1516-1517-1518-1519-1520-1521-1522-1523-1524-1525-1526-1527-1528-1529-1530-1531-1532-1533-1534-1535-1536-1537-1538-1539-1540-1541-1542-1543-1544-1545-1546-1547-1548-1549-1550-1551-1552-1553-1554-1555-1556-1557-1558-1559-1560-1561-1562-1563-1564-1565-1566-1567-1568-1569-1570-1571-1572-1573-1574-1575-1576-1577-1578-1579-1580-1581-1582-1583-1584-1585-1586-1587-1588-1589-1590-1591-1592-1593-1594-1595-1596-1597-1598-1599-1600-1601-1602-1603-1604-1605-1606-1607-1608-1609-1610-1611-1612-1613-1614-1615-1616-1617-1618-1619-1620-1621-1622-1623-1624-1625-1626-1627-1628-1629-1630-1631-1632-1633-1634-1635-1636-1637-1638-1639-1640-1641-1642-1643-1644-1645-1646-1647-1648-1649-1650-1651-1652-1653-1654-1655-1656-1657-1658-1659-1660-1661-1662-1663-1664-1665-1666-1667-1668-1669-1670-1671-1672-1673-1674-1675-1676-1677-1678-1679-1680-1681-1682-1683-1684-1685-1686-1687-1688-1689-1690-1691-1692-1693-1694-1695-1696-1697-1698-1699-1700-1701-1702-1703-1704-1705-1706-1707-1708-1709-1710-1711-1712-1713-1714-1715-1716-1717-1718-1719-1720-1721-1722-1723-1724-1725-1726-1727-1728-1729-1730-1731-1732-1733-1734-1735-1736-1737-1738-1739-1740-1741-1742-1743-1744-1745-1746-1747-1748-1749-1750-1751-1752-1753-1754-1755-1756-1757-1758-1759-1760-1761-1762-1763-1764-1765-1766-1767-1768-1769-1770-1771-1772-1773-1774-1775-1776-1777-1778-1779-1780-1781-1782-1783-1784-1785-1786-1787-1788-1789-1790-1791-1792-1793-1794-1795-1796-1797-1798-1799-1800-1801-1802-1803-1804-1805-1806-1807-1808-1809-1810-1811-1812-1813-1814-1815-1816-1817-1818-1819-1820-1821-1822-1823-1824-1825-1826-1827-1828-1829-1830-1831-1832-1833-1834-1835-1836-1837-1838-1839-1840-1841-1842-1843-1844-1845-1846-1847-1848-1849-1850-1851-1852-1853-1854-1855-1856-1857-1858-1859-1860-1861-1862-1863-1864-1865-1866-1867-1868-1869-1870-1871-1872-1873-1874-1875-1876-1877-1878-1879-1880-1881-1882-1883-1884-1885-1886-1887-1888-1889-1890-1891-1892-1893-1894-1895-1896-1897-1898-1899-1900-1901-1902-1903-1904-1905-1906-1907-1908-1909-1910-1911-1912-1913-1914-1915-1916-1917-1918-1919-1920-1921-1922-1923-1924-1925-1926-1927-1928-1929-1930-1931-1932-1933-1934-1935-1936-1937-1938-1939-1940-1941-1942-1943-1944-1945-1946-1947-1948-1949-1950-1951-1952-1953-1954-1955-1956-1957-1958-1959-1960-1961-1962-1963-1964-1965-1966-1967-1968-1969-1970-1971-1972-1973-1974-1975-1976-1977-1978-1979-1980-1981-1982-1983-1984-1985-1986-1987-1988-1989-1990-1991-1992-1993-1994-1995-1996-1997-1998-1999-2000-2001-2002-2003-2004-2005-2006-2007-2008-2009-2010-2011-2012-2013-2014-2015-2016-2017-2018-2019-2020-2021-2022-2023-2024-2025-2026-2027-2028-2029-2030-2031-2032-2033-2034-2035-2036-2037-2038-2039-2040-2041-2042-2043-2044-2045-2046-2047-2048-2049-2050-2051-2052-2053-2054-2055-2056-2057-2058-2059-2060-2061-2062-2063-2064-2065-2066-2067-2068-2069-2070-2071-2072-2073-2074-2075-2076-2077-2078-2079-2080-2081-2082-2083-2084-2085-2086-2087-2088-2089-2090-2091-2092-2093-2094-2095-2096-2097-2098-2099-2100-2101-2102-2103-2104-2105-2106-2107-2108-2109-2110-2111-2112-2113-2114-2115-2116-2117-2118-2119-2120-2121-2122-2123-2124-2125-2126-2127-2128-2129-2130-2131-2132-2133-2134-2135-2136-2137-2138-2139-2140-2141-2142-2143-2144-2145-2146-2147-2148-2149-2150-2151-2152-2153-2154-2155-2156-2157-2158-2159-2160-2161-2162-2163-2164-2165-2166-2167-2168-2169-2170-2171-2172-2173-2174-2175-2176-2177-2178-2179-2180-2181-2182-2183-2184-2185-2186-2187-2188-2189-2190-2191-2192-2193-2194-2195-2196-2197-2198-2199-2200-2201-2202-2203-2204-2205-2206-2207-2208-2209-2210-2211-2212-2213-2214-2215-2216-2217-2218-2219-2220-2221-2222-2223-2224-2225-2226-2227-2228-2229-2230-2231-2232-2233-2234-2235-2236-2237-2238-2239-2240-2241-2242-2243-2244-2245-2246-2247-2248-2249-2250-2251-2252-2253-2254-2255-2256-2257-2258-2259-2260-2261-2262-2263-2264-2265-2266-2267-2268-2269-2270-2271-2272-2273-2274-2275-2276-2277-2278-2279-2280-2281-2282-2283-2284-2285-2286-2287-2288-2289-2290-2291-2292-2293-2294-2295-2296-2297-2298-2299-2300-2301-2302-2303-2304-2305-2306-2307-2308-2309-2310-2311-2312-2313-2314-2315-2316-2317-2318-2319-2320-2321-2322-2323-2324-2325-2326-2327-2328-2329-2330-2331-2332-2333-2334-2335-2336-2337-2338-2339-2340-2341-2342-2343-2344-2345-2346-2347-2348-2349-2350-2351-2352-2353-2354-2355-2356-2357-2358-2359-2360-2361-2362-2363-2364-2365-2366-2367-2368-2369-2370-2371-2372-2373-2374-2375-2376-2377-2378-2379-2380-2381-2382-2383-2384-2385-2386-2387-2388-2389-2390-2391-2392-2393-2394-2395-2396-2397-2398-2399-2400-2401-2402-2403-2404-2405-2406-2407-2408-2409-2410-2411-2412-2413-2414-2415-2416-2417-2418-2419-2420-2421-2422-2423-2424-2425-2426-2427-2428-2429-2430-2431-2432-2433-2434-2435-2436-2437-2438-2439-2440-2441-2442-2443-2444-2445-2446-2447-2448-2449-2450-2451-2452-2453-2454-2455-2456-2457-2458-2459-2460-2461-2462-2463-2464-2465-2466-2467-2468-2469-2470-2471-2472-2473-2474-2475-2476-2477-2478-2479-2480-2481-2482-2483-2484-2485-2486-2487-2488-2489-2490-2491-2492-2493-2494-2495-2496-2497-2498-2499-2500-2501-2502-2503-2504-2505-2506-2507-2508-2509-2510-2511-2512-2513-2514-2515-2516-2517-2518-2519-2520-2521-2522-2523-2524-2525-2526-2527-2528-2529-2530-2531-2532-2533-2534-2535-2536-2537-2538-2539-2540-2541-2542-2543-2544-2545-2546-2547-2548-2549-2550-2551-2552-2553-2554-2555-2556-2557-2558-2559-2560-2561-2562-2563-2564-2565-2566-2567-2568-2569-2570-2571-2572-2573-2574-2575-2576-2577-2578-2579-2580-2581-2582-2583-2584-2585-2586-2587-2588-2589-2590-2591-2592-2593-2594-2595-2596-

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	vṛtrahá	} vṛtrahāṇau	vṛtrahāṇas
A.	vṛtrahāṇam		vṛtraghnás
I.	vṛtraghná	} vṛtrahābhyám	vṛtrahābhis
D.	vṛtraghné		vṛtrahābhyas
Ab.	} vṛtraghnás	} vṛtraghnós	vṛtraghnám
G.			
L.	vṛtraghni, -hāni	} vṛtrahāsu	vṛtrahāsu
V.	vṛtrahan		vṛtrahāṇas.

a. As to the change of n to p, see 193, 195.

b. A feminine is made by adding ī to, as usual, the stem-form shown in the weakest cases: thus, vṛtraghni.

c. An accu. 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 au (137 c): thus, from havyavāh *sacrifice-bearing* epithet of Agni, havyavāt, havyavāham, havyāúhā, etc.; havyavāhau, havyavāqbhyām, havyāúhos; havyavāhas, havyāúhas, havyavāqbhis, etc. And evatavāh 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, -vāhau or -vāho, and -vāhas. But feminines in ī, from the weakest stem — as turyāuhi, dityāuhi, paṣṭhāuhi — 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 anadvāh anas + vah *burden-bearing* or *cart-drawing*, i. e. ox). Its stem-form in the strong cases is anadvāh, in the weakest anadūh, and in the middle anadūd perhaps by dissimilation from anadūd. Moreover, its nom. and voc. sing. are made in vān and van as if from a vant-stem. Thus:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	anadvān	} anadvāhau	anadvāhas
A.	anadvāham		anadūhas
I.	anadūhā	} anadūdbyām	anadūdbyas
D.	anadūhe		anadūdbyas
Ab.	} anadūhas	} anadūhos	anadūhām
G.			
L.	anadūhi	} anadvāsu	anadvāsu
V.	anadvan		anadvāhas

a. Anadūddhyan (AV, once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. But compounds showing the middle stem — as *anaduechata*, *anadudarha* — are met with in Brahmanas etc.

b. The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either *anadūhi* (I B) or *anadvāhi* (R. MS.).

405. The root *anā* *to come* has in the Veda a double irregularity. Its *a* is changeable to *ā* even after an *a*-vowel — as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV, *tvām gāt*) — 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 — *gāt*, *-gāham* or *-sāham* or *-sāham*, *-āhā*, *-sāhe* or *-sāhe*, *-gāhas* or *-gāhas* or *-sāhas*; *-sāhā* (du); *-gāhas* or *-sāhas*.

406. The compound *avayā* (1 ya) *make offering* a certain priest or (IR) a certain sacrifice is said to form the num. and voc. sing. *avayā*, and to make its middle cases from *avayā*.

a. Its only quotable form is *avayā*, 1 (RV. and AV. each once). If the stem is a derivative from *ava* + *ya* *conciliate*, *avayā* is very probably from *ava* + *ya*, which has the same meaning. But *sadhama* (RV once) and *purodā* (RV. twice) show a similar apparent substitution in the num. sing. of the corresponding *a* after long *a* for a final root-consonant (*d* and *ç* respectively). Compare also the alluded *çvetavā* (above, 403).

407. Compounds with *anē* or *ac*. The root *ac* or *anē* 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 *anē* yielding *an*, from *anā*, in num. sing. masc., and a weak in *ac*, others distinguish from the middle in *ac* a weakest stem in *o*, before which the *a* is contracted with *o* preceding *i* or *u* into *i* or *u*.

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*, *viśvāñc* *any apart*.

Singular:

N. V.	prāñc	prāk	pratyāñc	pratyāk	viśvan	viśvak
A.	prāñcam	prāk	pratyāñcam	pratyāk	viśvāñcam	viśvak
I.	prācā		pratyācā		viśvacā	
D.	prāce		pratyāce		viśvace	
Ab. G.	prācā		pratyācā		viśvacā	
I.	prāci		pratyāci		viśvacī	

Dual

N. A. V.	prāñcāu	prāci	pratyāñcāu	pratyāci	viśvāñcāu	viśvacī
I. D. Ab.	prāñgbhyām		pratyāgbhyām		viśvāgbhyām	
G. I.	prāce		pratyāce		viśvace	

Plural

N. V.	prāñcas	prāñci	pratyāñcas	pratyāñci	viśvañcas	viśvañci
A.	prācas	prāñci	praticās	pratyāñci	viśvacas	viśvañci
I.	prāgbhis		pratyāgbhis		viśvagbhis	
D. Ab	prāgbhyas		pratyāgbhyas		viśvagbhyas	
U.	prācām		praticām		viśvacām	
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 in lacking the nom. etc. pl. neut. in *ñci*, but of this a number of examples occur in the Brahmanas: thus, *prāñci*, *pratyāñci*, *arvāñci*, *samyāñci*, *sadhryāñci*, *anvāñci*.

409. a. Like *prāñc* are inflected *āpāñc*, *āvañc*, *pārāñc*, *arvāñc*, *adharāñc*, and others of rare occurrence.

b. Like *pratyāñc* are inflected *nyāñc* (i. e. *nīāñc*, *samyāñc* *cam* + *añc*, with irregularly inserted *i*, and *ūdañc* weakest stem *ūdio* *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 *tirāge* *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 *i* or *ū*: thus, *prācā*, *arvācā*, *adharācās*, but *praticā*, *anvācā*, *samici*. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, *praticī*, *samici*, *anūci* (RV. has *praticim* *anūci*). The shift of accent to the end here, and even in polysyllabic stems, is against all usual analogy.

B. Derivativo stems in *as*, *is*, *us*.

411. The stems of this division are prevailingly neuter: but there are also a few masculines, and one or two feminines.

412. The stems in *as* are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix *as* a small number also

with तन् tas and नन् nas, and some are obscure; the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes रन् is and उन् us.

413. Their inflection is almost entirely regular. But masculine and feminine stems in मन् as lengthen the vowel of the ending in nom. sing.; and the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. make the same prolongation of य a or इ i or उ u before the inserted nasal (anusvāra).

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनन् mānas n. *mind*; अङ्गिरन् āṅgīras m. *Angiras*; हविन् havis n. *oblation*.

Singular.

N.	मनन् mānas	अङ्गिरान् āṅgīrās	हविन् havis
V.	मनन् mānas	अङ्गिरान् āṅgīrasam	हविन् havis
I.	मनसा mānasā	अङ्गिरसा āṅgīrasā	हविषा haviṣā
D.	मनसे mānase	अङ्गिरसे āṅgīrase	हविषे haviṣe
Ab. G.	मनसम् mānasas	अङ्गिरसम् āṅgīrasas	हविषम् haviṣas
L.	मनसि manasi	अङ्गिरसि āṅgīrasai	हविषि haviṣi
V.	मनन् manas	अङ्गिरान् āṅgīras	हविन् havis

Dual.

N. A. V.	मनो mānasi	अङ्गिरौ āṅgīrasāu	हविषौ haviṣi
I. D. Ab.	मनोभ्याम् mānobhyām	अङ्गिरोभ्याम् āṅgīrobyām	हविर्भ्याम् haviṛbhyām
G. L.	मनसोम् manasos	अङ्गिरसोम् āṅgīrasos	हविषोम् haviṣos

Plural:

N. A. V	मनांसि mānaṁsi	अङ्गिरसन् āṅgirasas	हवीषि haviṁṣi
I	मनोभिम् mānobhis	अङ्गिरोभिन् āṅgirobhis	हवीर्भिन् haviṛbhis
D. AB.	मनोभ्यन् mānobhyas	अङ्गिरोभ्यान् āṅgirobhyas	हवीर्भ्यान् haviṛbhyas
G.	मनसां mānasām	अङ्गिरसां āṅgirasām	हवीषां haviṣām
L.	मनसु mānapsu	अङ्गिरसु āṅgirasau	हवीषु haviṣu

In like manner, चक्षु *cākṣus* n. *eye* forms चक्षुषा *cākṣuṣā*, चक्षुर्वाग् *cākṣurbhāg*, चक्षुर्वाग् *cākṣurbhāg*, चक्षुर्वाग् *cākṣurbhāg*, and so on.

415. Vedic etc. Irregularities. a. In the older language, the endings *-asam* (voc. 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. *ācām*, *vedhām*; *surādhas*, *ānāgās* — and out of such forms grow, both earlier and later, substitute-stems in *a*, as *ācā*, *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 *au*; — 2. *uṣās* f. *dawn* often prolongs its *a* in the other strong cases, as in the nom. sing.; thus, *uṣāsam*, *uṣāḥ*, *uṣāsa* (and once in a weak case, *uṣāsas*); and in its instr. pl. occurs once (RV.) *uṣādubhis* instead of *uṣōbhis*; — 3. from *toṣas* is once (RV.) found a similar dual, *toṣāḥ*; — 4. from *svāvas* and *avātavas* occur in RV. a nom. sing. masc. in *vān*, as if from a stem in *vant*, and in the Brāhmapāra is found the dat.-abl. pl. of like formation *avātavadbhyas*.

c. The stems in *is* and *us* also show transitions to stems in *i* and *u*, and in *iṣa* and *uṣa*. From *janūs* is once (RV.) made the nom. sing. *janūs*, after the manner of an *as* stem (cf. also *janurvāsas* § 11).

416. The grammarians regard *uṣānas* m. as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (§ 355 n) but give it the irregular nom. *uṣānā* and the voc. *uṣānas* or *uṣānā* or *uṣānan*. Forms from the *as*-stem, even *uṣās*, 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 *as*, with accent on the ending, thus, for example, *āpas work*, *apās active*, *tāras quickness*, *tarās quick*, *yāgas glory*, *yaḡas 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 *an*, e. g. *tapus heat* and *hṛ; vāpus cooler* 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 *as* like *āçiras*, above. Thus, from *sumānas*, the nom. and accent, are as follows.

Singular.			Dual.		Plural		
m	f	n	m	f	m	f	n
N. <i>sumānās</i>	-nas	}	<i>sumānaśu</i>	-naḥ	<i>sumānānas</i>	-nānai	
A. <i>sumānāsam</i>	-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 *as*, like the other genders.

b. From *dirghāyus*, in like manner

N. <i>dirghāyus</i>	}	<i>dirghāyusāu</i>	-yusāi	<i>dirghāyusās</i>	-yūṇṇai
A. <i>dirghāyusam</i>					
I. <i>dirghāyusā</i>		<i>dirghāyurbhīyam</i>		<i>dirghāyurbhis</i>	
etc.		etc.		etc.	

419. The stem *anchās* *moribund* (I find as meaning *fine* in the later language) forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. *anchā*.

C. Derivative stems in *an*.

420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes *अन् an*, *इन् inan*, and *उन् 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 masculinae, the vowel of the ending is prolonged to ा ङ; 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 ा ङ as final in the masculine, ा 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 ा ङ, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of ा 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 *ṛ*-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 *rājan* m. *king*; आत्मन् *ātmān* m. *soul, self*; नामन् *nāman* n. *name*. Thus:

Sing. Acc.

S.	राजा rājā	आत्मा ātmā	नाम nāma
A.	राजान् rājānam	आत्मानम् ātmānam	नाम nāma
I.	राजा rājā	आत्मा ātmanā	नामा nāmna
D.	राजे rājāne	आत्मने ātmāne	नामे nāme

Ab. G.	राज्ञन् rājñas	आत्मन् ātmānas	नामन् nāmdas
L.	राज्ञे, राजनि rājñi, rājani	आत्मनि ātmāni	नामि, नामनि nāmi, nāmāni
V.	राज्ञन् rājñan	आत्मन् ātman	नामन्, नाम nāman, nāma

Dual

N. A. V.	राज्ञौ rājñāu	आत्मौ ātmānau	नामौ, नामनी nāmni, nāmāni
I. D. Ab.	राज्ञ-याम् rājñabhyām	आत्म-याम् ātmābhyām	नाम-याम् nāmabhyām
G. L.	राज्ञोन् rājños	आत्मोन् ātmānos	नामोन् nāmnos

Plural:

N.	राज्ञान् rājñānas	आत्मानन् ātmānas	नामानि nāmāni
A.	राज्ञन् rājñas	आत्मन् ātmānas	नामानि nāmāni
I.	राज्ञिन् rājñibhis	आत्मिन् ātmābhis	नामिन् nāmabhis
D. Ab.	राज्ञ-यन् rājñabhyas	आत्म-यन् ātmābhyas	नाम-यन् nāmabhyas
G.	राज्ञान् rājñān	आत्मनान् ātmānām	नामान् nāmnām
L.	राज्ञु rājñasu	आत्मन् ātmāsu	नामन् nāmasu

a. The weakest cases of mūrdhān in *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 ejective 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 ṣatadāvni; and similar cases occur in AV. (but also several times -mni). In the Brahmanas, too, such forms as dhāmani and sāmāni are very much more common than such as ahoi and lomni.

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, *murdhān*, *kārmān*, *ādhvan*, beside *mūrdhāni* etc. The *n* has all the usual combinations of a final *n*: e. g. *mūrdhann asya*, *mūrdhant sa*, *murdhāṇa tvā*.

d. In the nom.-acc. pl. neut., also, an abbreviated form is common, ending in *a* or (twice as often) *ā*, 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 instr. sing., with loss of *m* as well as of *a*: thus, *mahinā*, *prathinā*, *variṇā*, *danā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, for *mahimnā* etc. And *draghmā* and *raçmā* (RV, each once) are perhaps for *draghmāṇā*, *raçmāṇā*.

f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes *i* and with the *a* of the suffix retained: thus, for example, *bhūmanā*, *dānane*, *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* (RV), *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. singl. Thus:

a. The names of divinities, *pūṣān*, *aryamān*: thus, *pūṣā*, *pūṣāṇam*, *pūṣā*, etc.

b. In the Veda, *ukṣān*, *bull* (but also *ukṣāṇam*); *yōṣan* *maiden*, *vṛṣān* *circle, bull* (but *vṛṣāṇam* and *vṛṣāṇas* are also met with), *ātmān*, abbreviation of *ātman*; and two or three other scattering forms: *anarvāṇam*, *jēmanā*. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre seems to demand a whole *ā* is written.

427. The stems *çvān* *m. dog* and *yūvan* *young* have in the weakest cases the contracted form *çvān* and *yūn* with retention of the accent; in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, *çvā*, *çvānam*, *çvānā*, *çvāne*, etc. *çvābhyām*, *çvābhis*, etc.; *yūvā*, *yūvānam*, *yūvānā*, *yūvāne*, etc. *yūvābhis*, etc.

a. In dual. RV. but once *yūnā* for *yūvānā*.

428. The stem *maghāvan* *generous* (later, almost exclusively a name of Indra) is contracted in the weakest cases to *maghōn*: thus, *maghāvā*, *maghāvānam*, *maghōnā*, *maghōne*, etc.

a. The RV. has once the weak form *maghónam* 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, *maghavaddhis*, *maghavatsu*, etc. (not *maghavabhis* etc.).

429. a. Stems in *a*, *ma*, *va*, parallel with these 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., *áhobhyám*, *áhobhis*, etc. PB. has *aharbhis*; but *áhna* etc., *áhni* or *áhni* (or *áhan*, *áhni* or *áhni*, *áhni* and in V, *áhā*).

b. In the oldest language, the middle cases *áhabbis*, *áhabbhas*, *áhassu* also occur.

c. In composition, only *ahar* or *ahas* is used as preceding member, as final member, *ahar*, *aham*, *ahan*, or the derivatives *aha*, *ahna*.

d. The stem *údhān* n. *udder* exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with *údhār* and *údhās*, but has become later an *an*-stem only (except in the form *údhāni* of adjective compounds); thus, *údhār* or *údhās*, *údhānas*, *údhān* or *údhāni*, *údhabbis*, *údhassu*. As derivatives from it are made both *údhānyā* and *údhāsyā*.

431. The neuter stems *akṣān* *eye*, *asthān* *bone*, *dadhān* *curds*, *sakthān* *strength*, form in the later language only the weakest cases, *akṣāṇā*, *asthāṇā*, *dadhāṇā*, *sakthī* or *sakthāni*, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in *i*, *āksi* etc.: see above, 343 i.

a. In the older language, other cases from the *an*-stems occur: thus, *akṣāṇi*, *akṣābbis*, and *akṣasu*; *asthāni*, *asthābbis*, and *asthābhyas*; *sakthāni*.

432. The neuter stems *asān* *blood*, *yakān* *liver*, *ṣakān* *ordure*, *asān* *nault*, *udān* *water*, *doṣān* *fore-arm*, *ṣuṣān* *broth*, are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems *āpi*, *yākti*, *ṣākti*, *āsyā*, *údaka* in older language *udakā*, *dós*, *yusā*, which are fully inflected.

a. Earlier occurs also the dual *doṣāpi*.

433. The stem *pānthan* 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 *pathi*, and the weakest from *path*. Thus:

from *pánthan* — *pánthaa*, *pánthanam*; *pánthānu*; *pánthāna*;

from *pathí* — *pathibhyām*; *pathibhīa*, *pathibhya*, *pathīyū*;

from *path* — *pathā*, *pathé*, *pathās*, *pathī*; *pathós*; *pathāa* or *pāthaa* 'uccus', *pathām*.

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 *pánthāna* are rare compared with the others. From *pathí* occur also the nom. pl. *pathāyas* and gen. pl. *pathibām*. RV. has once *pāthās*, acc. pl., with long ā.

434. The stems *mánthan* m. *stirring-stick*, and *rbhukṣān* 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. *mántham*, and gen. pl. *mathinām* (like the corresponding case from *pánthan*), from the latter the nom. sing. *rbhukṣā* and voc. pl. *rbhukṣā*, like the corresponding Vedic forms of *pánthan*; but also the acc. sing. *rbhukṣānam* and nom. pl. *rbhukṣāna*, which are after quite another model.

Adjectives.

435. Original adjective stems in an are almost exclusively those made with the suffix *van*, as *yávan* *overlapping*, *útvān* *pressing the soma*, *jítvan* *conquering*. The stem is made and neut. only but sporadic cases of its use as fem. occur in RV., the corresponding fem. stem is made in *vari*: thus, *yájvari*, *jítvari*.

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 *i* to the weakest form of the masculine stem, thus, *sómarājī*, *kilālodhī*, *ekamurdhī*, *durpāmnī*.

437. But (as was pointed out above 420 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, *vivāśvan* and *vivāśvant*.

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-

a. The derived feminine stem in *ini* is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative i 384.

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 *a* instead of *au*.

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. *çākina* (RV.) *çugmina* (B.), *barhina*, *bhajina*.

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 $\frac{2}{3}$ I.

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-classes ending in *ā*, are by the grammarists 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 *ā* 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 *न्ति* *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 *n*—namely, those of the reduplicating or *hu*-class (855) and the *lata*-class (1012) thus from *phu*, present-stem *jūhu*, participle-stem *jūhvat*, intensive-stem *johu*, intensive participle-stem *jōhvat*. Further, the participle of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication—namely, *cakṣat*, *dāṣat*, *dāsat*, *ṣāsat*, *śāṣat*; the aorist participle *dhākṣat*, and *raghāt* (?). *Vayrdhāt* (RV., once), which has the *n* notwithstanding its reduplication, causes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in *n* compare *vayrdhānta*, *vayrdhāsva*.

b. Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the stem acc-see plural in *anti*.

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in *न्* *an* by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form *न्* *anta*. 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 *ānti* if the *n* is retained, *ati* if it is lost.

447. Examples of declension. As such may serve *भवन्* *bhavant* *being*, *अदन्* *adant* *eating*, *जुह्वन्* *jūhvat* *sacrificing*. Thus:

Singular:						
N.	भवन्	भवन्	अदन्	अदन्	जुह्वन्	जुह्वन्
	bhāvan	bhavat	adān	adat	jūhvat	jūhvat
A	भवन्तम्	भवन्	अदन्तम्	अदन्	जुह्वन्तम्	जुह्वन्
	bhāvantam	bhavat	adantam	adat	juhvatam	jūhvat
I	भवता		अदता		जुह्वता	
	bhāvata		adata		jūhvata	
II	भवते		अदते		जुह्वते	
	bhavate		adate		juhvate	
Att. G	भवन्तम्		अदन्तम्		जुह्वन्तम्	
	bhāvatas		adatas		juhvasas	
III	भवति		अदति		जुह्वति	
	bhāvati		adati		jūhvati	

V.	भवन्	भवत्	यदन्	यदत्	जुह्वन्	
	bhāvan	bhāvat	ādan	ādat	jūhvat	
	Dual:					
N. A. V.	भवन्तौ	भवन्तौ	यदन्तौ	यदन्तौ	जुह्वन्तौ	जुह्वन्तौ
	bhāvantau	bhāvanti	adāntau	adati	jūhvatau	jūhvati
I D. Ab.	भवद्भ्याम्		यदद्भ्याम्		जुह्वद्भ्याम्	
	bhāvadbhyām		adādbhyām		jūhvadbhyām	
G. I	भवतो		यदतो		जुह्वतो	
	bhāvato		adātō		jūhvato	
	Plural:					
N. V.	भवन्तम्	भवन्ति	यदन्तम्	यदन्ति	जुह्वन्तम्	जुह्वन्ति
	bhāvantas	bhāvanti	adāntas	adānti	jūhvatas	jūhvati
A.	भवतम्	भवन्ति	यदन्तम्	यदन्ति	जुह्वन्तम्	जुह्वन्ति
	bhāvatas	bhāvanti	adātās	adānti	jūhvatas	jūhvati
I.	भवद्भिः		यदद्भिः		जुह्वद्भिः	
	bhāvadbhis		adādbhis		jūhvadbhis	
D. Ab.	भवद्भ्याम्		यदद्भ्याम्		जुह्वद्भ्याम्	
	bhāvadbhyas		adādbhyas		jūhvadbhyas	
G.	भवताम्		यदताम्		जुह्वताम्	
	bhāvātām		adātām		jūhvātām	
L.	भवतु		यदतु		जुह्वतु	
	bhāvatsu		adātsu		jūhvatsu	

a. The future participle *bhaviṣyānt* may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either *bhaviṣyānti* or *bhaviṣyanti*; *tudānt*, either *tudānti* or *tudati*; *yānt* *īyā*, either *yānti* or *yāti*. And *jūhvat*, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also *jūhvanti* beside *jūhvati*, as given in the paradigm above.

b. But these strong forms (as well as *bhāvanti*, *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 derivations from the model as above given are few. The dual ending *āu* is only one sixth as common as *ā*. Anomalous accent is a *eu* in a case or two: *acodāte*, *rathirāyātām*, and *vāghādbhis* (if this is a participle). The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. acc. is *sānti*, with lengthened *ā* (compare the forms in *anti*, below, 451a, 454c) one or two examples in *anti* are quotable from B.

440. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding \ddot{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 \ddot{i} to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in anti .

b. Such are the bhū of unaccented a -class and the div or ya -class of present-stems (chap. IV.), and the desideratives and causatives (chap. XIV.) thus from ybhū (stem bhāva), bhāvanti ; from ydiv (stem divya) divyanti , from būbhāsa and bhāvāya (desid. and caus. of ybhū), būbhāṣanti and bhāvāyanti .

c. Exceptions to this rule are now and then met with, even from the earliest period. Thus, RV has jāṛati , and AV, the desiderative ajāṇati . 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 \acute{a} 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 \acute{a} -class (751 ff.), the s -futures (932 ff.), and the denominatives (1053 ff.): thus, from y'tud (stem tudā) tudanti or tudati , from bhaviṣyā (fut. of y'bhū), bhaviṣyanti or bhaviṣyati from devayā (denom. of devā), 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 \acute{a} are found these ṛñjati and aiñcati (RV.), tudati and pinvati (AV.). From denominatives, devayati (RV.), durasyati and çatruyati (AV.) In BHP occurs dhakṣyati .

g. Verbs of the ad or root-class (811 ff.) ending in \acute{a} are given by the grammarians the same option as regards the feminine of the present participle; thus, from y'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.

Thus adati from y'ad ; jūhvati from y'hu ; guñjati from y'yuj , ñi from y'ñu , kurvati from y'kr , krināti from y'kri , dedicāti lēdiq (intens. of y'diq).

j. Feminine stems of this class are occasionally (but the case is much less frequent than its opposite: above, c) found with the nasal *thant*, *yānti* (AV., once), *undānti* (ÇB., but probably from the secondary ā-stem) *gyhānti* (S), and, in the epics and later, such forms as *bruvānti*, *radānti*, *cinvānti*, *kurvānti*, *jānānti*, *mugānti*.

450. A few words are participial in form and inflection, though not in meaning. Thus:

a. *bṛhānt* often written *vṛhānt* *great*, it is inflected like a participle (with *bṛhāti* and *bṛhānti* in du. and pl. neut.)

b. *mahānt* *great*; inflected like a participle, but with the irregularity that the *a* of the ending is lengthened in the strong forms: thus, *mahān*, *mahāntam*; *mahāntau* neut. *mahatī*; *mahāntas*, *mahānti*, instr. *mahatā* etc.

c. *pīṣant* *sprinkled*, and (in Veda only) *rūṣant* *shining*

d. *jāgat* *moveable*, *lively* (in the later language, as neuter noun, *scabid*) a reduplicated formation from *gam* *go*; its nom. etc. neut. pl. is allowed by the grammarians to be only *jāgati*.

e. *ṛhānt* *small* (only once in RV, *ṛhato*)

f. All these form their feminine in *anti* only: thus, *bṛhātī*, *mahātī*, *pīṣātī* and *rūṣātī* (contrary to the rule for participles, *jāgātī*).

g. For *dānt* *tooth*, which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 398.

451. The pronominal adjectives *īyant* and *kīyant* are inflected like adjectives in *mant* and *vant*, having 452, *īyān* and *kīyān* as nom. masc. sing., *īyati* and *kīyati* as nom. etc. du. neut. and as feminine stems, and *īyanti* and *kīyanti* as nom. etc. plur. neut.

a. But the neut. pl. *īyānti* 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 *ānti*.

b. The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus *mātī*, *vātī* or *māti*, *vāti*. One or two cases of *ni* instead of *i* are met with: thus *antārvaⁿⁱ* B. and later, *pativaⁿⁱ* C.

c. The accent, however, is never thrown forward as in the participle on 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 *bhāgavān* *fortunate, blessed*. Thus:

Singular:			
	m.	n.	m.
N.	पशुमान् <i>paṣumān</i>	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāt</i>	भगवान् <i>bhāgavān</i>
A.	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāntam</i>	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāt</i>	भगवन् <i>bhāgavāntam</i>
I.	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāta</i>	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāt</i>	भगवन् <i>bhāgavāta</i>
	etc.		etc.
V.	पशुमन् <i>pāṣuman</i>	पशुमन् <i>pāṣumat</i>	भगवन् <i>bhāgavan</i>
	Dual:		
N. A. V.	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāntāu</i>	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāti</i>	भगवन् <i>bhāgavāntāu</i>
	etc.		etc.
	Plural:		
N. V.	पशुमान् <i>paṣumāntas</i>	पशुमन् <i>paṣumānti</i>	भगवान् <i>bhāgavāntas</i>
A.	पशुमन् <i>paṣumāntas</i>	पशुमन् <i>paṣumānti</i>	भगवन् <i>bhāgavāntas</i>
I.	पशुमन् <i>paṣumādbhis</i>	पशुमन् <i>paṣumādbhis</i>	भगवन् <i>bhāgavādbhis</i>
	et		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, *adriivas*, *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 not with, even in the later language); and in their protection of RV.

passes the AS to VĀS. In the AS, it was possible that the HV. makes the voc. as 48 also accordingly from a few AS cases.

c. In KV the form, etc. pl. tant. is the only two (three) that occur, and in AS it is not of all three. In the HV. there are no such forms have been found. In the AS, the HV. has the AS in its own of the corresponding passage and a few examples of the same ending are given from the HV. (see, for example, etāvantī, yāvantī, gāyāvantī, prāvantī, pūrvāvantī, yugāvantī, etc. page 438, 451).

d. In a few (eight or ten) cases of the HV. there is a confusion of strong and weak forms of stem in root. They are two parallel species in respect to repetition. The same is true of a case or two where a transition form appears to be used with a feminine stem.

456. The stem ARVANT running, steel has the form sing. arva, from arvan, and in the other language also the voc. ARVAN and avan- arvanam.

457. Besides the participle bhāvant, there is another stem bhavānt, frequently used in respectful address as a substitute for the present of the second person (but constructed, of course, with a verb in the third person, which is formed with the suffix vant, and so declined, having in the nom. sing. bhavānt; and the contracted form bhos of its old-stem vocative bhavās is a common exclamation of address; see, etc. Its origin has been variously explained, but it is doubtless a contraction of bhāgevant.

458. The present participles tāvant, etāvant, yāvant, and the Vedic ivant, mivant, tvāvant, etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

F. Perfect Participles in vāns.

459. 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 वान् vāns, which becomes, by regular process 150, vān in the nom. sing., and which is shortened to वान van in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into वान् us. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to वान् vat.

a. A union-vowel i, if present in the strong and middle cases, disappears in the weakest, before us.

459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding \ddot{u} to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in \ddot{u} \ddot{u} \ddot{u} .

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 विद्वान् vidvān *knowing* (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning from विद् vid , and तस्थिवान् tasthivān *having stood* from स्था sthā .

Singular				
	m.	n.	m.	n.
N	विद्वान् vidvān	विद्वान् vidvāt	तस्थिवान् tasthivān	तस्थिवान् tasthivāt
V.	विद्वान्सु vidvānsu	विद्वान् vidvāt	तस्थिवान्सु tasthivānsu	तस्थिवान् tasthivāt
I.	विदुषा viduṣā		तस्थुषा tasthuṣā	
D.	विदुषे viduṣe		तस्थुषे tasthuṣe	
Ab G.	विदुष्यन् viduṣyaṇ		तस्थुष्यन् tasthuṣyaṇ	
L.	विदुषि viduṣi		तस्थुषि tasthuṣi	
V.	विद्वान् vidvān	विद्वान् vidvāt	तस्थिवान् tasthivān	तस्थिवान् tasthivāt
Dual:				
N A V	विद्वानौ vidvānsau	विद्वानौ vidvānī	तस्थिवानौ tasthivānsau	तस्थुषौ tasthuṣī
I. D. Ab	विद्वद्भ्याम् vidvādbhyām		तस्थिवद्भ्याम् tasthivādbhyām	
G. L.	विदुषोः viduṣoḥ		तस्थुषोः tasthuṣoḥ	

Plural:				
N. V	विद्वान्	विद्वानि	तन्विद्वान्	तन्विद्वानि
	vidvāṇas	vidvāṇai	tasthivāṇas	tasthivāṇai
A.	विदुषम्	विदुषि	तन्नुषम्	तन्नुषि
	vidūṣas	vidūṣai	tasthūṣas	tasthivāṇai
I	विद्वद्भिः		तन्विद्वद्भिः	
	vidvādbhis		tasthivādbhis	
D	विद्वद्भ्यः		तन्विद्वद्भ्यः	
	vidvādbhyas		tasthivādbhyas	
Ab. G	विदुषाम्		तन्नुषाम्	
	vidūṣam		tasthūṣam	
L.	विद्वत्सु		तन्विद्वत्सु	
	vidvātsu		tasthivātsu	

a. The feminine stems of these two participles are *विदुषी* *vidūṣī* and *तन्नुषी* *tasthūṣī*.

b. Other examples of the different stems are:

from *ṣkr* — *cakṣvāṇs*, *cakṣvāt*, *cakṣūṣ*, *cakṣūṣi*;

from *ṣni* — *ninivāṇs*, *ninivāt*, *ninūṣ*, *ninūṣi*;

from *ṣbhu* — *babhūvāṇs*, *babhūvāt*, *babhūvūṣ*, *babhūvūṣi*;

from *ṣtan* — *tenivāṇs*, *tenivāt*, *tenūṣ*, *tenūṣi*.

462. a. In the oldest language (RV.), the weakest stem-form (the that of *vant* and *mant*-stems, above, 454 b) has the ending *vas* instead of *van*, thus, *cikīvas* (changed to *-van* in a parallel passage of AV), *tītirvas*, *didivas*, *mīdhvas*.

b. Forms from the middle stem, in *vat*, are extremely rare: earlier only three (*tatanvāt* and *vayītvāt*, neut. sing., and *jāgrvādbhis*, Inst. 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, *vidūṣtara*, *āśāṣtara*, *mīdhūṣtama*, *mīdhūṣmant*.

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 *cakṣūṣam*, acc. sing., and *ābībhyaṣas*, nom. pl.: *emūṣam*, by its accent (unless a error) is rather from a derivative stem *emūṣā*; and CB has *proṣūṣam*. Similar instances, especially from *vidvāṇs*, are now and then met with later (see FK., under *vidvāṇs*).

d. The AV. has once *bhaktivāṇas*, as if a participle form from a noun, but A. and TB. give in the corresponding passage *bhaktivāṇas*, *cakṣvāṇsam* (RV., once) is of doubtful character; *okivāṇsā* (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the dual of *ṣuc*, elsewhere unknown.

G. Comparatives in *yāhs* 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 *yāhs* usually *īyāhs*), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in *yas* or *īyas*), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in *yan* but for the older language see below, 465 a).

a. The feminine is made by adding ई I to the weak masc-neut. stem.

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of *अग्र्यन्* *gréyas* *better*, and of *गरीयन्* *gáriyas* *heavier*. Thus:

Singular.				
N	अग्र्यन् gréyan	अग्र्यन् gréyas	गरीयान् gáriyan	गरीयन् gáriyas
A	अग्र्यान् gréyāṇam	अग्र्यन् gréyas	गरीयान् gáriyāṇam	गरीयन् gáriyas
L	अग्र्या gréyasā etc.		गरीयाना gáriyasā etc.	
V.	अग्र्यन् gréyan	अग्र्यन् gréyas	गरीयन् gáriyan	गरीयन् gáriyas
Dual:				
N. A. V.	अग्र्यान् gréyāṇāu etc.	अग्र्या gréyasi etc.	गरीयान् gáriyāṇāu etc.	गरीयान् gáriyasi etc.
Plural:				
N. V.	अग्र्यान् gréyāṇān	अग्र्या gréyāṇai	गरीयान् gáriyāṇān	गरीयान् gáriyāṇai
A	अग्र्यान् gréyasān	अग्र्या gréyāṇai	गरीयान् gáriyasān	गरीयान् gáriyāṇai
I	अग्र्योभिन् gréyobhis etc.		गरीयोभिन् gáriyobhis etc.	

a. The feminine stems of these adjectives are **प्रेयसी** *préyasī* and **गरीयसी** *gáriyasī*

465. a. The Vedic voc. case (as in the two pieces or divisions 454 b, 462 a) is in *yas* instead of *yan*, that, *otīyas*, *jyāyas* (RV.) — no examples elsewhere have been noted)

b. No example of a middle case occurs in LV. or AV.

c. In the later language are found a very few apparent examples of strong case made from the weaker stem-form: thus *kāriyasam* acc. masc., *kāriyasāu* du., *yaviyasam* acc. masc., *yaviyasāu* du., *yaviyasam* 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 close relation to inflection, that it is in accordance with the usual custom in grammar, conveniently and suitably enough treated briefly here.

467. The suffixes of primary derivation are **ईयस्** *īyas* or **ईयस्** *īyās* for the comparative and **ईष्ठा** *īṣṭha* 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 **यक्षि** *kṣi* come *kṣīyas* and *kṣīṣṭha*, which belong in meaning to *kṣiprā* *quick*; from **वृ** *vr* *encompass* come *vāriyas* and *vāriṣṭha*, which belong to *urū* *broad*, while, for example,

kariyas and kariṣṭha are attached by the grammarians to yuvan *young*, or āpa *small*, and varṣiyas and varṣiṣṭha to vṛddhā *old*.

468. From Veda and Brahmana together, considerably more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in iyas 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 *tap* burn comes tāpiṣṭha *excessively burning*; from *vyaj* offer comes yajiyas and yajīṣṭha *better and best (or very well) sacrificing*, from *yudh* fight comes yōdhiyas *fighting better*; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, *jā* hasty, rapid with jāviyas and jāviṣṭha.

b. In a little class of instances (eight), the root has a preposition prefixed, which then takes the accent: thus, āgamiṣṭha *especially coming hither*, vicayīṣṭha *best clearing away*; — in a couple of cases (āgramiṣṭha, āparāvapiṣṭha, āstheyas), the negative particle is prefixed — in a single word (śambhaviṣṭha), an element of another kind.

c. The words of this formation sometimes take an accusative object (see 271e).

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* (brhānt *great*), oṣiṣṭha *quickest* (oṣam *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 kṛdhū, athāviyas and athāviṣṭha from ethurā, śāciyas (RV.) from śācqvant, āpiyas (AV.) and āpiṣṭha (TS.) from apū; and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases the suffixes iyas and iṣṭha are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivatives: thus, āciṣṭha from ācū (RV.: only case), takṣiyas (AV.) from takṣā, brāhmīyas and brāhmīṣṭha (TS. etc.) from a brāhman, dhārmīṣṭha (TA.) from dhārman, drāḍhiṣṭha (TA.: instead of dārhiṣṭha) from drḍhū, rāghīyas (TS.) from raghu. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.

f. I. nāviyas or nāvyas and nāviṣṭha, from nāva *new*, and in nānyas from nāna *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 iyas have a peculiar declension which has been described above 463d.

470. Of peculiarities and irregularities of formation, the following may be noticed:

a. The suffix *īyas* has in a few instances the earlier form *yas*, generally as alternative with the other: thus, *tāviyas* and *tāvyaś*, *tāviyaś* and *nāvyas*, *vāsiyas* and *vāsyas*, *pāsiyas* and *pānyas*, and so forth; *rābh* and *suh*; *sānyas* occurs alone. From *bhū* come *bhūyas* and *bhūyīṣṭha*, beside which RV. has also *bhaviyas*.

b. Of roots in *ā*, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to *e* thus, *sthēyas*, *dhēṣṭha*, *yēṣṭha*; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as *dhāiṣṭha*, *yāiṣṭha*. The root *jyā* forms *jyēṣṭha* but *jyāyas* (like *bhūyas*).

c. The two roots in *i*, *prī* and *qri*, form *preyas* and *preṣṭha* and *creyas* and *creṣṭha*.

d. From the root of *ṛjū* come, without strengthening, *ṛjiyas* and *ṛjiṣṭha*; but in the older language also, more regularly, *rājiyas* and *rājiṣṭha*.

471. The suffixes of secondary derivation are *तम्* *tam* and *तमम्* *tamam*. 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, *priyātara*, *vāhmitama*, *rathītara* and *rathītama* (RV); *cārutara*, *potṭama*, *sasiraktatara*; — from consonant-stems, *camitama*, *çāqvattama*, *mṛdayāttama*, *tavaatara* and *tavāstama*, *tuvīṣṭama*, *vāpuṣṭara*, *tapaavitara*, *yaçnavitama*, *bhāgavattara*, *hiraṇyavāçumattama*; — from compounds, *ratnadhātama*, *abhibhātara*, *sukṣṭara*, *pūrbhātama*, *bhūyīṣṭhabhātama*, *bhūridāvattara*, *çucivratatama*, *strikamatama*.

b. But in the Veda the final *n* of a stem is regularly retained: thus, *madīntara* and *madīntama*, *vṛṣāntama*; and a few stems even add a nasal: thus, *surabhīntara*, *rayīntama*, *madhūntama*. In a case or two, the strong stem of a present participle is taken: thus, *vṛādhanttama*, *sāhanttama*; and, of a perfect participle, the weakest stem: thus, *vidvātara*, *vidhūṣṭama*. A feminine final *ī* is shortened: thus, *devitamā* (RV). *tojaavinitamā* (A).

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 *lyas* and *lyāha* 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 *virātara*, *virātama*, *vahnitama*, *mātṛtama*, *ṛtama*, *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*, *katharītaram*, *kutastaram*, *addhatamām*, *nīcāstaram*, 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, *śīdatetarām* (R: the only case noted in the epics) is more dependent, *vyathayatitarām* disturbs more, *alabhatatarām* obtained in a higher degree, *hasiṣyatitarām* will laugh more. No examples of the use of *-tamām* are quotable.

d. The suffixes of secondary comparison are not infrequently added to those of primary, forming 1st and 2nd comparatives and superlatives: thus, *gariyatatara*, *griṣṭhatara* and *griṣṭhatama*, *pāpīyastara*, *pāpīṣṭhatara* and *-tama*, *bhūyastaram*, etc.

e. The use of *tama* as ordinal suffix is noted below (487f), with this value, it is accented on the final, and makes its feminine in *ī*: thus, *ṣatataṁā* m. n., *ṣatataṁī* f., *hundredth*.

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes *ra* and *ma*: thus, *ādharā* and *adhamā*, *āpara* and *apamā*, *āvāra* and *avamā*, *ūpara* and *upamā*, *āntara*, *āntama*, *paramā*, *madhyamā*, *caramā*, *antima*, *ādima*, *paçenna*. 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:

1 एक éka	10 दश dáśa	100 शत śatá
2 द्व dvá	20 विंशति viñçatí	1000 सहस्र sahásra
3 त्रि trí	30 त्रिंशत् triñçát	10,000 अयुत ayúta
4 चतुर् catúr	40 चत्वारिंशत् catvāriñçát	100,000 लक्ष lakṣá
5 पञ्च pañca	50 पञ्चाशत् pañcāṣát	1,000,000 प्रयुत prayúta
6 षष् ṣaṣṭ	60 षष्टि ṣaṣṭí	10,000,000 कोटि kóṭi
7 सप्त saptá	70 सप्तति saptatí	10 ⁸ अर्बुद arbudá
8 अष्ट aṣṭá	80 अशीति aṣṭí	10 ⁹ महाबुद mahārbuda
9 नव náva	90 नवति navatí	10 ¹⁰ खर्व kharvá
10 दश dáśa	100 शत śatá	10 ¹¹ निखर्व nikharva

a. The accent *saptá* and *aṣṭá* is that belonging to these words in all accentuated texts; according to the grammarians, they are *sápta* and *áṣṭa* 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

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 almost exclusively used in the older literature (483), and are not infrequent 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 *una* *deficient* and *adhika* *redundant*, i. composition with 1 over 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, *tryunaṣaṣṭiḥ* *sixty deficient by three* (i. e. 57); *aṣṭadhikanaṣaṭiḥ* *namely increased by eight* (i. e. 98); *ekādhikam ṣaṭam* *a hundred increased by one* (i. e. 101); *pañconam ṣaṭam* *ten less 5* (i. e. 95). For the name, especially, such substitutes as *ekonaviṃśatiḥ* *ten less 1*, or 19, are not uncommon; and later the *eka* 1 is left off, and *ūnaviṃśati* 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 triṃśat* (1 B. PB. hB) *not thirty by one* (29), *dvābhyām nā 'ṣṭim* (1 B) *not eighty by two* (78), *pañcābhir nā catvāri ṣaṭau* (1 B) *not four hundred by five* (395), *ekasman na pañcāśat* (1 B. orthog.) 49 (TS.); *ēkasyai* (abl. fem. 307 h. *nā pañcāśat* 49 (TS.); most often *ēkām* (i. e. *ekāt*, irregular abl. for *ekasmāt*) *nā viṃśatiḥ* 19, *ekām nā ṣaṭam* 99. This last form is admitted also in the later language, the others are found in the *brahmaṇas*.

c. Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with: thus, *triṣaṣṭā* *three seven*; *triṣaṣṭā* *three nine*, *tridaśā* *three 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 viṃśatiḥ ca* *two and twenty*. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted, thus, *navatīr nāva* 99; *triṃśatām triṇ* 33; *aṣṭīr aṣṭāu* 68.

478. The same methods are also variously used for forming the odd numbers above 100. Thus

a. The odd number is prefixed to the other, and takes the accent; for example, *ekāṣṭam* 101, *aṣṭāṣṭam* 108, *triṃśacchatam* 139; *aṣṭaviṃśatīṣṭam* 178, *catuṣṣaṣṭam* (RV. unless the accent be wrong) 1214, *aṣṭisaṣṭam* 1682.

b. Or, the number so denoted is compounded with *adhika* redundant, and the compound is either made to qualify the other number or is further compounded with it: thus, *pañcādhikam śatam* or *pañcādhikaśatam* 155. Of course, this *adhika* (as are other words equivalent to *ūna* or *adhika*) may be used in the same way: thus, *pañconam śatam 25* *śaṣṭi pañcavarjita 30* *śatam abhyadhikam śaṣṭitaḥ 150*.

c. Syncretical combinations are made at convenience: for example *dāśa śatam* or *100* *śatam ekam* or *101*.

479. Another usual method beginning in the Brahmanas of forming the odd numbers above 100 is to qualify the larger number by an adjective derived from the smaller, and identical with the higher ordinal below, 488: thus, *dvādaśam śatam*, 122 *lit. a hundred of a 12-sort*, or *characterised by 12*, *catuṣcatvāriṅgaḥ śatam* 144; *śaṣṭiśam śatam* 155.

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: *pāñca pañcāśatam* *five fifties* 250; *nāva navatāyas* *nine nineties* 810; *aṣṭibhis triṣbhis* *with three eighths* 240; *pañca śatāni* *five hundreds*, *trīpi sahasrāṇi* *three thousands*; *śaṣṭi sahasrāṇi* *60,000*; *dāśa ca sahasraṇy aṣṭau ca śatāni* *10,000*; and, combined with addition, *trīpi śatāni trayaśtriṅgaśam* or *333*, *sahasra dve pañconam śatam eva* or *2,255*.

a. In an exceptional case or two, the ordinal form appears to take the place of the cardinal in multiplied and in a like combination: thus, *śaṣṭriṅgaḥ ca catuṣaḥ* (RV) 3×4 (*lit. four of the thirty-six kind*), *trīṣṭri ekādaśa* (RV) or *traya ekādaśaśaḥ* (YB. vii. 21. 1) 11×3 .

b. By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as *trīpi śaṣṭiśatāni*, which ought to signify 480 ($3 \times 160 + 60$), is repeatedly used in the Brahmanas to mean 360 ($3 \times 100 + 60$), so also *dve catuśtriṅgaśaśaḥ* or *catu* 720 (not 720), *dvāśaśatāni trīpi śatāni* 360; and other like cases. And even *Ekam trayaś catuścatardhaśaḥ* 360.

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 *i* singular is used substantively: thus, *dāśaśatās* 1000; *śaṣṭiśatāḥ padatibhiḥ* (MBh.) *with 600 foot-men*; *trayaśtriṅgaśaśaḥ triśatāḥ śaśasahasrāḥ* (AV.) 6333, *dvīgaśatām* or *dvīgaśati* 200, *aśādaśaśatā* 1800.

a. In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether *aśādaśatām* (for example), is *aśaśatām* 100 or *aśaśatām* 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, *eka* (loc. sing.), *ōkāt* (477 b).

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 vyāghrah* (H) *a certain tiger*, *ekasmin diue* on a *certain day*; *hrato dardam ekam adāya* (I) *taking a stick in his hand*.

d. *Dva* *two* is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N A V *dvāu* (dvā, Veda) m., *dvā* f. v.; I D. Ab. *dvābhyām*; G. I. *dvāyos*.

e. *Tri* *three* is in masc. and neut. nearly regular, like an ordinary stem in *i*; but the genitive is as if from *trayā* only in the later language the regular *tripām* occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem *tiś*, which is inflected in general like an *r* stem, but the nom. and accus. are alike, and show no strengthening of the *r*; and the *r* is not prolonged in the gen. (excepting in the Veda). Thus

	m.	n.	f.
N	<i>trāyas</i>	<i>tripi</i>	<i>tiśrās</i>
A	<i>trin</i>	<i>tripi</i>	<i>tiśrās</i>
I.	<i>tribhīs</i>		<i>tiśbhīs</i>
D. Ab.	<i>tribhyām</i>		<i>tiśbhyaḥ</i>
G.	<i>trayāpām</i>		<i>tiśpām</i>
L.	<i>tripū</i>		<i>tiśpū</i>

f. The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. *tri*. The reconstruction *tiśbhīs*, *tiśbhyaḥ*, *tiśpām*, and *tiśpū* is said to be also allowed in the later language. The stem *tiś* occurs in composition in *tiśrddhanvā* (R) *a hero with three arrows*.

g. *Catūr* *four* has *cātvar* the more original form, in the strong cases. In the fem. it substitutes the stem *cātaś*, apparently akin with *tiś*, and inflected like it but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, 483. Thus

	m.	n.	f.
N.	<i>cātvaras</i>	<i>cātvarī</i>	<i>cātaśras</i>
A.	<i>cāturas</i>	<i>cātvarī</i>	<i>cātaśras</i>
I.	<i>cāturbhīs</i>		<i>cātaśbhīs</i>
D. Ab.	<i>cāturbhyaḥ</i>		<i>cātaśbhyaḥ</i>
G.	<i>caturpām</i>		<i>cātaśpām</i>
L.	<i>cāturpū</i>		<i>cātaśpū</i>

bhyas, nāmanu - the gen. alone being, rather like that of an a-stem: compare daśanām with indraśām and nāmām or ātmanām. 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 Ṛ. has twice daśanīdaśin, for the usual daśadāśin).

485. n. The tens, viṅśatī and triṅśat etc., with their compounds are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same ending, and in all numbers.

b. Śatā 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 18 are in the main used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns, thus, daśābhir virāṣī with *ten heroes*; yā devā divyā ekādaśa ethā (AV.) *what eleven gods of you are in heaven*; pañcannu jāneṣu among the five tribes; catasābhir giribhī with *four songs*. Rarely occur such combinations as daśa kalaśānām RV. *ten pitchers*, rītūnām śat 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, śatām daśī or śatām dāśinām *a hundred slaves or a hundred of slaves*; viṅśatyā hārībhiḥ with *twenty hairs*; ṣaṣṭyāḥ śarāṭsu or 6) autumn; śatena pāśūḥ with *a hundred fetters*; śatām sahasraṁ ayūtam nyārbudaḥ jaghāna cakrō dasyunām 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, pañcaśatābhir bāṇaḥ with *fifty arrows*.

c. In the older language, the numerals for 3 and upward are sometimes used in the nom.-acc. form or as if indeclinably, with other cases also, thus, pañca kṛtṛīṇu among the five races, sapta rāṣṭrāḥ of seven lands; sahasraṁ ṣṣṭibhiḥ with *a thousand birds*; śatāḥ pūrbbhiḥ 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.

only *ardhā*; and *caturthā* (MS etc.) *pañcamā*, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

489. There are other numeral derivatives: thus -

a. multiplicative adverbs, as *dvīs twice*, *trīs three*, *catur four times*;

b. adverbs with the suffixes *dhā* (1104) and *ṣas* (1108): for example, *ekadhā in one way*, *ṣatadhā in a hundred ways*; *ekaṣas one by one*, *ṣataṣas by hundreds*.

c. collectives, as *dvīṭaya or dvayā a pair*, *dāṣṭaya or daṣāt 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.

Ab.	अस्मत् asmát	युष्मत् yuṣmát
G.	अस्मान्, वम् asmākam, naṣ	युष्मान्, वम् yuṣmākam, vaṣ
L.	अस्माु asmāsu	युष्माु yuṣmāsu

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 " *g* to jāyatah of thee when a conqueror, *vo vṛtābhyah* for you that were confined, *naṣ tribhyah* 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 *manīṣāya*); further, the loc. or dat. sing. *mé* (only VS.) and *tvó*, and the dat. or loc. pl. *asmé* (which is by far the commonest of these e-forms) and *yuṣmé* (their final *e* is uncombined (*r* *pragya*: 138b)). The VS. makes twice the acc. pl. form *yuṣmās* (as if *yuṣmán* were too distinctly 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 semi-vowel 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 Brāhmana 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*["], rare, for *āvām*); the instr. in RV. is either *yuvābhyām* (accused once in AṠ) or *yuvābhyām*; an abl. *yuvāt* appears once in RV., and *Avat* twice in TS; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) *yuvós* instead of *yuvayos*. Thus we have here a distinction (somewhere unknown) of five different dual cases, by endings in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Particular endings. The ending *am*, appearing in the nom. and pl. (and Vedic *da*) of these pronouns, will be found often, not only in sing. among the other pronouns. The *bhyam* (or *hyam*) in sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the *bhya*, *bhis* of the ordinary declension is palpable. The *t* (or

d) of the *ab-* though here preceded by a short vowel, it 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 *ama* 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 *see* to be a specialisation of the meaning *these persons*. The genitives singular, *māma* and *tāva*, have no analogues elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives *māmaka* and *tāvaka* (below, 518 b) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen. pl., *asmākam* and *yusmākam*, are certainly of this character: namely, neuter sing. case-forms of the adjective stems *asmāka* and *yusmāka*, 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 *yusmad*, 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, *mātākṛta* and *mātsakhi* and *asmātsakhi* RV., *tvādyoni* and *mattās* (AV., *tvātpity* and *tvādvivācana* TS), *tvātprasūta* and *tvaddavatya* and *yuvaddavatya* and *yusmaddevatya* (B., *asmaddevatya* 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.; *yusmādatta*, *yusmēṣita*, etc.; *yuvāvanta*, *yuvāku*, *yuvādhita*, *yuvadatta*, *yuvānita*, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as *mādr̥c*.

a. The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms thus: *tvāmākāma*, *tvāmahuti*, *māmpagṛā*, *mamaśatyā*, *asmēhiti*, *ahampūrvā*, *ahamuttarā*, *ahamyū*, *ahamāsana*.

b. From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives *madiya*, *tvadiya*, *asmadiya* *yusmadiya*, having a possessive value—see below, 518 a.

c. For *ava* and *avayām*, see below, 513.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, *ṣṭ ta*, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be tal

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 176a, b) and *sá*, instead of *tás* and *tá* (compare Gr. *ὁ*, *ἡ*, *τό*, and Goth. *sa*, *so*, *thata*). Thus:

Singular:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	सम् sás	तत् tát	सा sá
A.	तम् tám	तत् tát	ताम् tām
I.	तेन téna		तया táyā
D.	तस्मै tásmāi		तस्यै tásyāi
Ab.	तस्मात् tásmāt		तस्यास् tásyās
G.	तस्य tásya		तस्यास् tásyās
L.	तस्मिन् tásmín		तस्याम् tásyām

Dual:

N. A. V.	तौ tāu	ते té	ते té
I. D. Ab.	ताभ्याम् tābhyām		ताभ्याम् tābhyām
G. L.	तयोस् tāyos		तयोस् tāyos

Plural:

N.	ते té	तानि tāni	ताम् tās
A.	तान् tān	तानि tāni	ताम् tās
I.	तैस् tāis		ताभिस् tābhis

D. AB.	तेभ्यन् tebhyas	तभ्यन् tābhyas
G.	तेषाम् tēṣām	तानाम् tāsām
I.	तेषु tēṣu	तानु tānu

b. The Vedas show no other irregularities of inflection than those which belong to all stems in a and ā: namely, *tonā* sometimes; usually *tā* for *tāu* du.; often *tā* for *tāni*, pl neut; usually *tēbhis* for *tāis*, instr pl; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root *an*, namely *sāmin* (occurring nearly half as often as *tāmin*); and 'bū' has once *sasmit*.

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 *ama* with the root in masc. and neut. dat., acc., and loc., and of *sy* in fem. dat., abh-geṇ, and loc.; and the masc. and neut. loc. ending *in*, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous *yadṛcmin* RV., once). The substitution in B. of *āi* for *ās* as fem. ending (307h) was illustrated at 385d.

b. The dual is precisely that of noun-stems in a and ā.

c. In the plural, the irregularities are limited to *tē* for *tās* in nom. masc., and the insertion of *a* instead of *n* before *ām* of this gen., the stem-dual being treated before it in the same manner as before *au* 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 *tadīya*, with *tattvā*, *tadvat*, *tanmaya*; and numerous compounds, such as *tacchila*, *tajña*, *tatkara*, *tadanantara*, *tanmātra*, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so *tādanna*, *tadvīd*, *tadvagā*, etc. But derivatives from the true root *ta* are also many especially adverbs, as *tātas*, *tātra*, *tātha*, *tadā*; the adjectives *tāvāt* and *tāti*; and the compound *tādṛc* 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, *ad 'hām*, *this I*, or *I here*; *sā* or *sā tvām* *thou there*; *te vāyam*, *we here*; *tasya mama* *of me here*, *tasminā tvayī* *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 *tyaa*, *tyā*, *tyāt*, and it makes the accusatives *tyām*, *tyāṃ*, *tyāt*, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as *ta*. It has in RV the instr. fem. *tyā* for *tyāya*. Instead of *tyā* 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 *eqās*, *eqā*, *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* (ll. *etadarthā*, etc. from the so-called stem *etad*; and *etadīc* and *etāvant* from *eta*. And *eqa*, like *ea* 498, is used to qualify pronouns of the 1st and 2d persons, e. g. *eqā* 'ham, etc. *vayam*.

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>eno</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* (499b).

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, *अस्मै* *asū* etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, *you* or *yonder*.

a. They are as follows:

Singular						
	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
N.	अयम्	इदम्	एवम्	अनौ	अदम्	अमौ
	ayám	idám	iyám	asáu	adás	asáu
A.	एवम्	इदम्	एवम्	अमुम्	अदम्	अमम्
	imám	idám	imám	amúm	adás	amúm
I.	अनेन	अनया		अमुना	अमुया	
	anena	anaya		amúna	amúya	
II.	अस्मै	अस्मै		अमुस्मै	अमुयै	
	asmaí	asyaí		amúsmái	amúsyai	
AI.	अस्मान्	अस्यान्		अमुस्मान्	अमुस्याम्	
	asmát	asyás		amúsmát	amúsyás	
CI.	अस्य	अस्यान्		अमुया	अमुस्यान्	
	asyá	asyás		amúya	amúsyás	
I.	अस्मिन्	अस्यान्		अमुस्मिन्	अमुस्यान्	
	asmín	asyám		amúsmín	amúsyám	
Dual						
N. A.	एवौ	एवौ	एवौ	अमु		
	imáu	imó	imó	amú		
I. II. AB.	आभ्याम्			अमुभ्याम्		
	abhyám			amúbhyám		
CI. I.	अनयोन्			अमुयोन्		
	anáyos			amúyos		
Plural						
N.	एते	एतानि	एतान्	अनौ	अस्मूनि	अस्मून्
	imó	imānti	imás	amí	amúni	amús
A.	एतान्	एतानि	एतान्	अमून्	अमूनि	अमून्
	imān	imānti	imás	amún	amúni	amús
I.	एभिः	एभिः		अमूभिः	अमूभिः	
	ebhis	ebhis		amúbhis	amúbhis	
II. AB.	एभ्यः	एभ्यः		अमूभ्यः	अमूभ्यः	
	ebhya	ebhya		amúbhya	amúbhya	
CI.	एषाम्	एषाम्		अमूषाम्	अमूषाम्	
	epām	epām		amúṣām	amúṣām	
I.	एषु	एषु		अमूषु	अमूषु	
	epu	epu		amúṣu	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*; *amūyā* when used adverbially is accented on the final, *amūyā́*, *asau* (with accent of course, on the first, *ásau*, or without accent *asāu* 314) is used also as relative; *amī*, too, occurs as relative.

602. a. The former of these two pronouns, *ayām* etc., plainly shows itself to be pieced together from a number of defective stems. The *ana*, *ni* of forms come from the root *a*, with which, as in the ordinary pronominal declension *ama* (f. *ay*) is combined in the singular. All these forms too, *a* have the peculiarity that in their substantive use they are either accented, as in the paradigm, or accentedless (like *ena* and the second forms from *ahām* and *tvām*). The remaining forms are always accented. From *anā* come, with entire regularity *anena*, *anāyā*, *anāyos*. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem *ina*. And *ayām*, *iyām*, *idām* are evidently to be referred to a simple root *i* (*idam* being apparently a double form *id* like *tad* etc. with ending *am*).

b. The Veda has from the root *a* also the instrumentals *ena* and *ayā* (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. *du ayōs*; from *ina* *imāśya* occurs once in RV. *imasmāi* in A4., and *imāis* and *imegu* later. The RV. has in a small number of instances the first *idam* as a construction *asmāi*, *āśya*, *ābhia*.

c. In analogy with the other pronouns, *idam* 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 *idamrūpa* are of Brahmana age. As regards the actual stems, *ana* furnishes nothing further, from *ina* 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-dhāt*, *ītas*, *id* Vedic particle, *ida*, *idā*, *īdāna*, *im* Vedic particle, *idīṣe*, perhaps even *evā* and *evam* and others.

603. The other pronoun, *asāu* etc., has *amū* for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the *a*-stems, the element *ama* (f. *ay*), and which shifts to *amī* in part of the mass and dual plural. In part, too, like an adjective *u* stem, it furthens its dual in the feminine. The gen. sing. *amūśya* is the only example in the language of the ending *śya* added to any other than an *a*-stem. The nom. pl. *amī* is unique in form, its *i* is (like that of a dual) *praghyā* or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138 b). *Asāu* and *adāa* 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 Brahmana age. The TB has also *asāunāma*. But most of the derivatives, as of

the cases, come from *anu* thus, *amūtas*, *amūtra*, *amūthā*, *amudā*, *amūchi*, *amuvat*, *amuka*.

b. In the older *la garga* occurs the root *eva* (accertains), meaning *one, nearly a one*; it is a root found repeated, as *one and another*. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension. From it is made the (also accertains) adverb *tvadanim* (38).

c. Fragments of another demonstrative root or two are met with thus, *amue* he occurs in a formula in AV. and in Brahmanas etc., *avos* as *am* or 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 *ṭk*, it has the three forms *ṭ ka*, *ṭ ki*, *ṭ ku*, but the whole declensional inflection is from *ṭ ka*, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from *ṭ ki*, and has the anomalous form *ṭ kim* (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter *i*-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

	ṛ.	ṇ.	ṛ.
N.	ṭṛṇ	ṭṛṇ	ṭṛ
	kās	kīm	kā
A.	ṭṛṇ	ṭṛṇ	ṭṛṇ
	kām	kīm	kām

and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of *ṭ ta* above, 495.

n. The *Veda* has its usual variation, *ka* and *kebhis* for *kāni* and *kāis*. In the *la garga*, along with *kīm* the pronominally regular neuter *kād*, and *kum* (or *kam*) is a frequent particle. The neut. form *kis*, corresponding to *kim*, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combination *nākis* and *mākis*.

505. The grammarians treat *kim* 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—*kimnāya*, *kimkāra*, *kimkāmya*, *kimdevata*, *kimyā*, and the peculiar *kimyū*—go back even to the *Veda* and *Brahmanas*. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form *kād*, a couple of times in the *Veda* (*katpayā*, *kadartha*), 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*,

kathá, katham, kadá, katará, katama, káru; kiyant, kidṛc; kátan, kútra, kúha, kvā, kucari, kukarman, kumantran, 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 times.

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*, *cana*, *cid*, *ápi*, *vā*, either alone or with the relative *ya* below, 511 prefixed thus, *kāc canā any one*; *nā kó 'pi not any one* *yāni kani eit whatever*; *yatamāt katamae ca whatever one*. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

Relative Pronoun.

508. The root of the relative pronoun is *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	u	f	m	u	f	m	u	f
N.	यन्	यत्	या	यौ	यौ	यौ	यान्	यानि	यान्
	yau	yāt	yā	yāu	yāu	yāu	yān	yāni	yān
A.	यन्	यन्	यान्	यान्	यौ	यौ	यान्	यानि	यान्
	yām	yāt	yām	yām	yāu	yāu	yān	yāni	yān
I.	येन		यया				येन		यानिन्
	yēna		yayā				yāis		yābhis
II.	यानो		ययो			yābhyam	येन		यान्
	yānau		yāyau			yābhyam	yebhya		yibhya
	etc.		etc.			etc.	etc.		etc.

3. The Veda shows the usual variant of *yā* for *yāu* and *yāi* for *yāni*, and *yābhis* for *yāis* *yāu* for *yāyau* as *yāyau* here, *yāyau* with prefixed *ya* is left by twice as common as *yēna* however.

itions occur in *yāthīas*, and *yegaam* 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 *yātkārīn*, *yaddovatya* in the Brahmana, later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: *yāta*, *yāti*, *yātra*, *yāthā*, *yādu*, *yādi*, *yārhi*, *yāvant*, *yātara*, *yātama*; and the compound *yādīc*.

511. The combination of *ya* with *ka* to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above 607. Its own repetition — as *yād-yāt* — gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the disjunctive.

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, *yāñ sunvatañ sākha tāsmā indrāya gayata* (RV) *who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye*; *yam yajñām paribhūr āsi sū id deveṣu gacchati* (RV) *what offering thou protectest, that in truth goest to the gods*; *yō triṣaptāñ pariyānti bālā tēṣāñ dadhātu me* (AV) *what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me*, *asāu yō adharād gṛhās tātra santv arāyayā* (AV) *what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be*; *sahā yān me asti tena* (IB) *along with that which is mine*; *haṁsūnām vacanañ yat tu tau māñ dabati* (MBh.) *but what the words of the swans were that burns me*, *sarvasya locanañ cāstram yasya nā 'sty andha ova sañ* (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, *mō 'māñ prā 'pat pāu-ruseyo vadho yañ* (AV) *may there not reach him a human deadly weapon* (idly, *what is such a weapon*); *pāri ṇo pāñi yād dhānam* (AV) *protect of us what wealth* (there is), *apāmārgo 'pa māraṣu kṣetrigāñ cāpathaḥ ca yañ* (AV.) *may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse*; *puṣkareṇa bṛtañ rāyañ yac cā 'nyad vasu kīñcana* (MBh) *by Puskara was taken away the kingdom and whatever else property* (there was).

Other Pronouns: Emphatic, Indefinite.

513. a. The isolated and uninflected pronominal word *एवम्* *evam* from the root *eva* 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, 516c) 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 *śimā* *every, all*.

Nouns used pronominally.

514. a. The noun *ātmān* *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. *bhavati*, 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 *madīya*, *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 *mūkina*.

c. An analogous derivative from the genitive *amūṣya* is *Amuṣyā-yapā* (AV. etc.) *descendant of such and such a one*.

d. It was pointed out above (483) that the "genitives" *asmākam* =! *yuṣmākam* are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.

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 *ā*. Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, *katara* and *katamā*, *yatara* and *yatamā*, and *īlara* also *anyā* *other*, and its comparative *anyatara* — are declined like *ta* throughout.

a. But even from these words forms male according to the adjective declension are sporadically met with (e.g. *īlaraṣām* *h*).

b. *Anyā* takes occasionally the form *anyat* in composition; thus *anyatkāma*, *anyatathāna*.

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*, *viśva* *all*, *every*, *eka* *one*.

a. These also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e.g. *viśvāya*, *viśvat*, *viśvo* RV. — *eka* 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: *ādharma* and *adhamā*, *āntara* and *āntamā*, *āpara* and *apamā*, *āvara* and *avamā*, *ūtara* and *uttamā*, *ūpara* and *upamā*. Of these, pronominal forms are declined; e or *am* nouns from the comparative; *am* from the superlatives.

b. Further the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) *parama*, *caramā*, *madhyamā*; and also *anyatama* (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned 523).

c. Further, the words *pāra* *distinct other*, *pūrva* *prior, east*, *dakṣiṇa* *right, south*, *paścima* *behind, western*; *ubhāya* (f. *ubhāyi* or *ubhuyi*) *of both kinds or parties*, *nema* *the one, half*, and the possessive *avā*.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: a. e. *prathamasya*, *tṛtīyasāyam*; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus *alpa* *few*, *ardha* *half*, *kevala* *all*, *dvitaya* *of the two kinds*, *bāhya* *outside* — and others. RV. has once *saṁānāmāt*.

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 Greek¹ 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 *parasmaī padam* a word for another, and a middle form is called *atmanē 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. A verb usually inflected in one voice sometimes forms of the other occur; and sometimes the voice of the verb is compounded with *ma-*.

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 these 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 undiscriminated past tenses or preterites: 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 Brahmanas — 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, as 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*, *ya*, *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 *abhum* 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 *a 248 c*, or, from *ā*-roots, *āu*.

b. The primary middle ending, according to the analogy of the other persons, would be regularly *mā*. 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 *o*. The optative has, however, *a* instead of *i*, and in the subjunctive later imperative appears *ai* for *e*.

544. Second person. a. In the active, the primary ending is *si*, which is shortened to *e* as secondary, as to the loss of this *e* 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 248 c*). The imperative is far less regular. The earliest 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 *thāa*; and in the imperative is found only *eva* or *evā 248 c*, which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as *āua*. 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 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 *aduhā* for *adugdhā*. 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* to *vasi* has been found to occur, *va*, *vahe*, *vahi*, *vahai*. 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 *i* 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: *didhitham* AV., and *jihitham* VB, are isolated anomalies. The primary endings present and perfect, are *āthe* and *āte*; the secondary and imperative are *āthām* and *ātam* or, with stem-final *a*, *ēthe* etc.

c. The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in *āithe* and *āite*, apparently from *āthe* and *āte* with subjunctive strengthening (the, are as 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 later *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 *mahai* in the subjunctive-imperative.

549. Second person. a. The active primary ending is *tha*. The secondary also imperative is *tā*. In the Veda *tā* only

once to *mapy*. 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 *thana* 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 gender conjugation.

b. The middle primary ending is *dhve* which belongs to the perfect as well as to 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 571 d. In the Veda, the *v* of all these endings is sometimes to be resolved into *u*, and the ending becomes *dhvū* like. As to the change of *dh* of these endings to *gh*, see above, 220 c.

550. Third person a. The full primary ending is *anti* in the active, with *ante* as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is *ants*, 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 *u* of all these endings is like that of *am* in the 1st sug., 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. Farther, for the secondary active ending *an* there is a substitute *us* for *ur* 169 b; the evidence of the Avestan 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 but in the subjunctive, in those forms of the aorist whose stems does not end in *a*, and in the imperfect of root-stems ending in *a*, 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 affix *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; *raita*, *ran*, and *ram* in aorists and in an imperfect or two; *rām* and *ratām* in the imperative; *ra* in the imperfect of *dah* (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.	p.
1	mī	vās	mās	ē	vāhe
2	sī	thās	thās	sē	āthe
3	ti	tās	ānti, āti	tē	ānte, āte

b. Secondary Endings.

1	am	vā	mā	ī, ā	vāhi	māhi
2	ṣ	taṃ	tā	thās	ātham	dhvām
3	t	tām	ān, ūn	tā	ātām	ānta, āta, rān

c. Perfect Endings.

1	a	vā	mā	ē	vāhe	māhe
2	tha	āthas	ā	sē	āthe	dhvō
3	a	ātus	us	ē	āte	re

d. Imperative Endings.

1	āni	ava	āma	si	avahai	amahai
2	dhī, hī, —	tām	tā	svā	ātham	dhvām
3	tu	tām	āntu, ātu	tām	ātām	āntām, ātām

554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if dissyllabic, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant unaccented 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 *atô* in a number of verbs (see 613, 685, 699, 719); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings, thus, *mahô* (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*, and *t* and *t*. The examples noted are, 2d sing. *avos* (to 3d sing. *avet*), *vid*, AB.; 3d sing. *akut*, *kr*, (B. *aghat*, *ghas*, JB. A. S.; *akonkât*, *konkâs*, RT.; *agât*, *gâs*, AB. MBh. R.; *asrat*, *varas*, VS.; *ahinat*, *ghîhâs*, (B. TB. GB. Compare also the *s*-accent forms *ayâs* and *aras* (148 a), in which the same influence is to be seen; and further, *ajât* etc. (889 a), and preterite *yât* for *yâs* (837). A similar loss of any other final consonant is excessively rare; AV. has once *abhanas*, for *-nak*, *ybhuhj*. There are also a few cases where a 1st sing. is irregularly modeled after a 3d sing.: thus *atryam* (to *atryat*), *ytrd*, K.; *acchinam* (to *acchinat*), *ychid*, MBh. compare farther the 1st sing. in *m* instead of *am*, 543 a.

b. Again, a union-vowel is sometimes introduced before the ending, either a *u* or *i* or *î*: see below, 621 b, 631, 819, 880, 1004 a, 1068 a.

c. In a few isolated cases in the older language this *i* is changed to *ai*: see below, 904 b, 936, 1068 a.

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 ds. 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 Rig-Veda, and nearly the same in the Atharvan; but already in the Brahmanas 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* (yduh) is made the subjunctive-stem *dōha*; from *juhó* yhu, *juháva*; from *yuná* yu, *yunáya*; from *sunó* ysu, *sunáva*; from *bháva* ybhu, *bhávā*; from *tudá* ytud, *tudā*; from *ucyá* pass., yvac, *ucyā*; 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 f. — but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:

560. a. In the active, the 1st sing. has *ni* as ending: thus, *dōhāni*, *yunājanī*, *bhāvanī*. But in the Rig-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*, *bhāvan*.

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 *dōhāsi* or *dōhas*, *dōhāti* or *dōhnt*; *bhāvāsi* or *bhāvas*, *bhāvāti* or *bhavat*.

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, *ānātha* from *as*; *āyās*, *āyāt*, *āyan* from *e* (31).

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 *neyāthās*).

a. The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of *e* to *ai* 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 *āyāhāi* is met with. In 1st pl., *āmayāhāi* prevails in RV. and AV. (*āmayā* is found a few times), and is alone known later. In 2d sing., *ai* for *se* does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brahmanas. 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, *dhvai* for *dhve* is found in one word in RV, and a few times in the Brahmanas. In 3d pl, *ntai* for *nte* is the Brahmana form (of far from frequent occurrence). It occurs neither in RV, nor AV. No such dual endings as *thai* and *tai*, for *the* and *te*, are anywhere found; but RV. has in a few words (none above, 547 c) *āitho* and *āite*, which appear to be a like subjunctive strengthening of *ethe* and *ete* (although found in one indicative form, *kṛvāite*). Before the *ai*-endings, the vowel is regularly long *ā*; but *antāi* instead of *antāi* is two or three times met with, and once or twice (TS. AB) *ātāi* for *āitāi*.

562. The subjunctive endings, then, in combination with the subjunctive mode-sign, are as follows:

	active.				middle.	
	s	i	p	t	i.	p
1	āni	āva	āma	āi	śavahāi	śamahāi
					lavaho	lamaho
2	āsi	athaa	atha	āse	āitho	ādihve
	āsai			āsai		ādihvāi
3	āti	ataa	an	āte	āito	ānto, anta
	āt			ātāi		āntāi

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., *ani* or *as*, *athaa*, *atha*, *ase*, *ādihve*.

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 argument omitted, in a modal sense (below, 587): such use being quite common in RV., but rapidly dying out, so that in the Brahmana language and later it is hardly met with except after *mā* prohibitive.

a. As to the general uses of the subjunctive, see below, 571 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 Brahmanas 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 *a* 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 648; and the *i* as when combined to *e* takes an inserted *y* before the vowel-endings *a*, *atham*, *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	yām	yāva	yāma	iyā	ivāhi	imāhi
2	yās	yātām	yāta	ithās	iyāthām	idhvām
3	yāt	yātām	yūn	itā	iyātām	iran

b. combined with the final of *a*-stems.

	s	d	p	s	d	p
1	oyam	eva	ema	eya	evahi	emahi
2	es	etām	eta	ethās	eyāthām	edhvām
3	et	etām	eyus	eta	eyātām	eran

c. The *yā* is in the Veda not seldom resolved into *iā*.

d. The contracted *sanem*, for *saneyam*, is found in TB. and Apast. 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 precativ 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 precativ-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.

569. The precativ 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	yāva	yāma	[iyā]	[ivāhi]	[imāhi]
2	[yās]	yāstam	yāsta	iṣthās	iyāstham	iḥvām
3	[yāt]	yāstam	yāus	iṣā	iyāstam	[irān]

a. Respecting the precativ, see further 621 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-present 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*; *piptāt*, *jahit* '. *dhattāt*; *kṛtāt*, *kurutāt*; *gṛhṇitāt*, *janitāt*; *āyatāt*, *rākṣatāt*. *vasatāt*; *viṇtāt*, *ṣjatāt*; *asyatāt*, *naṣyatāt*, *chyatāt*; *kriyatāt*.

gamayātāt, cyāvayātāt, vārayātāt; īpsātāt; jāgṛtāt. 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 prevailing 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: thāl 'va mā tseṣhantam abhyēhi 'ti brūhi tam tū na āgatām pratiprābrūtāt (V.B.) *say to her "come to me as I stand just here," and [afterward] announce her to us as having come.* yād urdhvāś tīṣṭhā drāvīṣe 'hā dhattāt (RV) *when thou shalt stand upright, [then] bestow riches here* (and similarly in many cases); utkūlam udvaho bhavo 'dūhya prāti dhavatāt (AV) *be a carrier up the ascent; after having carried up run back again*, vānaspatīr ādhi tva sṭhasyati tasya vītāt (TS.) *the tree will ascend ther [then] take note of it*

b. Examples of its use as other than 2d sing. are as follows: 1st sing., āvyuṣāḥ jāgṛtād abām (AV, only case) *let me watch till day-break*, as 3d sing., pūnar mā 'viṣatād rayīḥ (TS) *let wealth come again to me*, ayām tyāyā rājā mūrdhānāḥ vī pātayātāt (V.B.) *the king here shall make his head fly off*, as 2d du., nāsatyāv abruvan devāḥ pūnar ā vahatād iti (RV) *the gods said to the two Aśvins "bring them back again"*; as 2d pl. āpaḥ ... devēṣu nah sukṛto brātāt (TS) *ye unfortunates announce us to the gods as well-doers*. In the later language, the prevailing value appears to be that of a 1d sing.; thus, bhavān prasādāḥ kurutāt (MBh.) *may your worship do the favor* enaḥ bhavān abhiraṅgatāt (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 an appears to be quotable

d. In a certain passage repeated several times in different Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, and containing a number of forms, e. g. 1st and 2d pl., vārayadhvāt is read instead of vārayātāt in some of the texts (K. Ah. AtS (V.S.)). No other occurrence of the form vārayadhvāt has been 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, *bravihi ko 'dyai 'va mayā viyujyatām* (R) *speak! who shall now be separated by me?* *katham ete guṇavantaḥ kriyantām* (D) *how are they to be made virtuous?* *kasmāi piṇḍaḥ pradīyatām* (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* (RbG) *for I do not perceive what should dispel my grief*, *yad bhūyasur vibhūṭayaḥ* (RbP.) *that there should be changes*. Also rarely with mā. see 578 b.

steal away our life, samāśvasahi mā queaḥ MBh. be comforted, do not grieve, mā bhāṣiḥ or bhāṣ 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 nā marisyasi RV. do not fear; thou wilt not die, mā smāi 'tānt sākhiḥ kuruthaḥ AV. do not make friends of them mā putram anutapyathaḥ 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 precativ (bhūyāt, R. Pañ.) 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 *ṛpa*, TA. I. 14, doubtless a bad reading for *ṛpas*), but in the epics and later the construction begins to appear, and becomes an ordinary form of prohibition: thus, *mā prayacche 'ṣvare dhanam (U) do not bestow wealth on a lord ankhi māi 'vaṁ vada (Vet) friend, do not speak thus.*

d. The QR (xi 6 11) appears to offer a single example of a true subjunctive with *mā*, *nī padyāsāi*; there is perhaps something wrong about the reading.

e. In the epics and later, an aorist form not deprived of argument is occasionally met with after *mā*: thus, *mā tvam kalo 'tyagāt (MBh) let not the time pass thee, mā vālipatham anv agāḥ (R) do not follow Kali's road. But the same anomaly occurs also two or three times in the older language: thus, vyāpūptat (QB), agām (TA) anaṣat (KS).*

580. But the use also of the optative with *nā* *not* in a prohibitive sense appears in the Veda, and becomes later a familiar construction: thus, *nā riṣyema kadā canā RV. may we suffer no harm at any time; nā ca 'tiapen nā juhuyāt AV. and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice tād u tāthā nā kuryāt (B) but he must not do that so; na diva śayita (GS) let him not sleep by day nā tvam vidyur janāḥ MBh. let not people know thee. Thus 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—

our welfare; grant unto us to wake again; *syān naḥ sanuḥ* . . . *sā* to *sumatīr bhūtv namó* 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: *ā gha tā gacchān ūttara yuganī* RV. *those later ages will doubtless come*; *yād . . . nā marā īti mānyase* RV. *if thou thinkest "I shall not die"*; *nā tā naçanti nā dabbhāti tāskarāḥ* RV. *they do not become lost; no thief can harm them*, *kāsmāi devāya haviṣa vidhema* RV. *to what god shall we offer oblation?* *agnīna rayim aṇavat . . . divé-dive* RV. *by Agni one may gain wealth every day*, *utāi 'naḥ brahmāno dadyāt tātha syonā cīvā ayaḥ* AV. *one should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious and favorable*, *āhar-āhar 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: *uechiṣṭam nāi 'va bhūñjīyam na kuryām pādadhāvanam* *I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation*, *jāstin vrajet* *let her go to her relatives*; *nāi 'vam sā karhicit kuryāt* *she should not act thus at any time*, *katham vidyam nalam nṛpam* *how can I know king Nala?* *utsarge samṛqayah ayaḥ tu vindeta 'pi sukham kvacit* *but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere*; *katham vāno vikartayām na ca budhyeta me priyā* *how can I cut off the garment and my beloved not wale?*

578. The later use of the first person's subjunctive as so-called imperative involves to change of construction from former time, but only restriction to a single kind of use, thus, *divyāva* *let us two play*, *kim karavaṇi 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 *mā* with an argumentless past form, prevalently aorist.

a. Thus, *prā pata mó 'hā ramethāḥ* AV. *fly away, do not stay here*, *dviṣāṇe ca māhyam radhyatu mā cā 'kām dviṣate radham* AV. *both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe*; *urv aṇyam ābhayam jyōtir indra mā no dirghā abhī naçan tamisrāḥ* RV. *I would see broad fearless light, O Indra, let not the darkneases come upon us*; *mā na āyuh prā moçyḥ* RV. *do not*

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 exact without exception.

582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-stem 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 *घन्* ant weak form *घन्* at; fem. *घन्ती* anti or *घन्ती* ati: see above, 449 for the active, and *घान* āna (fem. *घाना* ānā for the middle. But—

a. After a tense-stem ending in *a*, the active participial suffix is virtually not 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 *vañs* (weakest form *ug*, middle form *vat*; fem. *uṣṭ*: 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 *vrddhi* 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, *ānaṣ*, *āvar*, *āvṛṇi*, *āvṛṇak*, *āvidhyat*, *āyunak*, *āyukta*, *āyukṣṇtam*, *āripak*, *āraik*, (and *yās ta āvidhat*, RV. II. 1. 7. 97).

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 3000), 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 prevalently (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 Brahmanas (not including the mantra-material which they contain), the loss of augment is, save in occasional special 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).

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, पप्रच्छ paprach from प्रच्छ prach; गिगिरी gīgiri from गिरी gīri; बुबुध् bududh from बुध् budh. But —

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, ददध् dadh from दा; बिभ्र् bibhr from भ्र् bhr.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for ह h.

thus, चकृ cakṛ from चकृ kṛ; चिखिद् cikhiḍ from चिद् khid; जग्रब् जगṛbh from ग्रब् grabh; जहृ jahṛ from हृ hr.

c. The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (216, 1).

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; तस्थā tasthā from स्था sthā; तस्कन्द caskand from स्कन्द skand; तस्कल caskhal from स्कल skhal; त्सुप्त cuspūt from सुप्त śupṭ; त्सप्रध paṣprdh from स्प्रध sprdh, त्सप्रधुṣ paṣpṛdh from स्प्रधुṣ sprdh; — but तसाṣ saṣṇ from साṣ ṣaṣ; तसम् saṣm from सम् sm; त्सुसु suṣru from सुसु śuśu; त्सिचिष् cīcīṣ from चिष् cīṣ.

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 accented 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, 314 c), 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 iḍe purōhitam *Agni I praise, the house-priest*; na id dōvēṣu gacchati *that, truly, goes to the gods*; āgno sūpayanō bhava *O Agni, be easy of access*; idām indra ṣṛpuhi somapa *this, O Indra, soma-drinker, hear*; nāmas te rudra kṛpmaḥ *homage to thee, Rudra, we offer*; yājñamanasya paśūn pāhi *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, *çundhadhvaṃ daivyāya kārmaṇe* *he pure for the divine ceremony: apnoti māh lokām* *he wins this world*, — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, *ayamē 'd indraaya çārmaṇi may we be in Indra's protection, darçāya mā yātudhānān ahoie me the sorcerers, gāmad vājebhīr d sā nah may he come with good things to us*; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the pāda, *toṣāṃ pāhi çrudhī hāvam drink of them, hear our call, sāstu matā sāstu pitā sāstu çvā sāstu viçpātīḥ let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep: viçvakarman nāmas te pāhy ksmān 'vīvakarman, homage to thee: protect us! yuvām...rājāna uce dubitā pṛeçhē vām narā the king's daughter said to you "I pray you, ye men"; vayām te vāya indra viddhī ṣu paḥ 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 śntamānāḥ vidyāma sumatinām so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors: dhātā 'syā agrūvai pātīḥ dādhatu pratikāmyām Dhātā bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish: yātudhānāya somapa jahī prajām slay. (1) 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, *āçrutkarṇa çrudhī hāvam O thou of listening ears, hear our call' sīte vāndāmahe tvā O Sītī, we reverence thee, viçve deva vāsavo rākṣate 'mām all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man: utā "gaç cakrūṣaṃ devā devā jīvāyathā pūnaḥ hīçvīac 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 iḥ jayati kṣēti pūçyati successful he conquers, rules, thence: amitrān... pārāca indra prā mṛpā jahī ca our foes, Indra, drive far away and slay, asmābhyam jesi yotsi ca for us conquer and fight: āgniçomā haviṣaḥ prāsthitaaya vitām hāryatām vṛṣaṇā juçēthām (1) Agni and Soma of the oblation set forth partake, enjoy, ye mighty ones, take pleasure*

c. In like manner (but much less often) an adverb, as *etā*, just or object standing between two verbs and logically belonging to both, is accented to the first alone, and the second has the final stress, thus, *jahī prā 'mā nāyaeva ca slay the progeny and bring (it) to the ground nah subh -iga bōdhatu tmāna may the blessed one have - 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 upáste paryáto prajáyá paqúbhī* (11.) *whoever worships him thus is filled with offering 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 *yá*, or one of its derivatives or compounds. Thus *yáñ yajñám paribhúr ási* *what offering thou protectest*, *ó té yanti yé aparīṣu páqyān* *they are coming who shall behold her hereafter*, *sahá yān mo ásti tēna* *along with that which is mine*, *yátra nañ púrve pitáraḥ pareyáñ* *whether our fathers of old departed*, *adyá muriya yádi yátudhīno ámi* *let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer*, *yáthā 'hāny anupárvāñ bhāvanti* *as days follow one another in order*, *yávad idám bhúvanam víqvam ásti* *how great this whole creation is*; *yátkamás te juhumā tān no astu* *what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours*; *yatamás tityuāt* *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, *ápa tye táyávo yathā yanti* *they make off like thieves (as thieves do)*; *yát sthā jágae ca rejate* *whate'er [is] immovable and movable trembles*, *yathākāmam ní padyate* *he lies down at his pleasure*.

c. The particle *ca* when it means *if*, and *oéd* (*ca + id*) *if*, give an accent to the verb: thus, *brahmā oéd dhástam ágrahit* *if a Brahman has grasped her hand*; *tvám ca soma no vágo jivátum ná maramuhe* *if thou, Soma, wiltst us to live, we shall not die* *á ca gáechān mītrām 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 *sám áqvaparnāc cāranti no náro 'smákam 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 act on may seem a consequence of the latter is accented: thus, *táyam ā gahi kápveṣu sú sácā píva* *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 muñcantam vimúco hí vānti* *let them release him, for they are releasers*; *yác cid dhí . . . anācstá iva smási* *if we, forsooth, are as it were unrenowned*, — also *néd* (*ná + id*), meaning *lest, that not*, thus, *nét tvá tápati súro aroṣā* *that the sun may not burn thee with his beam*; *virájam néd vicchinádāni 'ti* *saying to himself*,

"lead I out of the river" (such cases are frequent in the Hindi area). — and the most genuine kuvid whether? thus, ukthébbhi kuvid agámat will he come hither for our prayers?

890. But farther, the verb of a prior clause is not infrequently repeated in anathetical construction.

a. Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of being regarded as that of protest and apology; but often, also, such a relation is very distinct; and the cases of another shade off into some of ordinary coordination, 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*, *va-va* *āna*, *prā-prā* 'ye *gānti* *pāry* *anyā* *asato* *come go on and on, others sit about* (as if it were *while some go* etc.), *ud va* *śiṣṭhādhvam* *ūpa va* *pryadhvam* *either pour out, or fill up*, *sām co* 'dhyantva' 'gno *pra* *ca vardhaye* 'mām *both do then thyself become loosed, I gain, and do thou increase this person*. But it is also made without such help thus, *prā* 'jatāḥ *prajā* *janāyati* *pārī* *prajāta* *gṛhṇati* 'he *when en progeny he generates, the born he embraces*; *āpa* *yugmad* *ākra-* *u* *in* *nā* 'mān *upavarātato* 'though she has gone away from you, she does not come to us, *nā* 'ndhō 'dhvanyur *bhāvati* *na* *yajāṁ* *rākṣāṁ* *ghṇati* 'the great thou not become blind, the demons do not destroy the good'; *kṇu* *mām* *gṛhṇāsi* *kṇu* *huyante* *by u* *hom* [on the one hand] *are the words* *uttered out*?' *by whom* *on the other hand* *are they uttered*?

317. Where the verb *was* be the same in the two antithetical clauses, it is not necessary to use it in the second; thus, beside complete expressions like *tuvi cā 'si vāsvi cā 'si* 'both thou art broad and thou art good, and such others, the apter ones like *agnir amūṣmā lokā auid yamō 'būla* 'Agni was in yonder world, I am (was) in this, aśtinā 'nyāḥ pra-śi prattiṣṭhanti māṁsena 'nyāḥ 'by long some creatures eat not flesh, by flesh others dvipāc ca sūravāḥ no rāḡa catuṣpād vāc ca māḥ svamāḥ 'both protect everything of ours that is biped, and what whatever that is quadruped belongs to us.

a. A variation of the verb in the former of two antithetical clauses
is clearly more directly followed in the Brahmapada than in the Veda, and
not only so; thus, in RV., abhi dyāni mahinō bhuvam
(or bhuvan) abhi mīni pṛithivīm mahim I am superior to the sky
as well as to this great earth, and even Indro vidur āngirasaq
as much as Indra himself, and the terrible Angiras.

AND there are certainly more or less doubtful cases in which a
 verb form is perhaps accounted for emphasis.

a little especially before ORNÁ in any case, and in connection
with a negative particle, as kŕša, angš, ovd, and (in D., regularly)
táda tūm, hvato 'māh pŕtativān vībhajāmahai come on! let us
go on this path

CHAPTER IX.

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 grammar 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 compared 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.

b. 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 *Ātaraṇya Brāhmaṇa*, as five to one; in the *Hippicra*, as six to one; in the *Jakuntala*, as eight to one, in *Mānu*, 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:

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; *गच्छ* go; *आस* as sit; *याय* ya go; *द्विष* dvish hate; *दुह* duh milk.

II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class; the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, *जुहु* juhu from *हु* hu sacrifice; *ददा* dada from *दा* da give; *बिभृ* bibhr from *भृ* bhṛ bear.

III. The nasal class (seventh or rudh-class; a nasal, extended to the syllable *नु* na in strong forms, is prefixed before the final consonant of the root: thus, *रुद्* rudh or *रुदन्* rudan from *रुद्* rudh abstract; *युज्* yuj from *युज्* yuj join.

IV. a. The *nu*-class (fifth or *su*-class; the syllable नु *nu* is added to the root: thus, मुनु *sunu* from √नु *su* *press out*; आपु *āpu* from √आप् *āp* *obtain*.

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 *kṛī*-class); the syllable ना *nā* (or, in weak forms, नी *nī*) is added to the root; thus, क्रीणा *kṛīṇā* (or क्रीणी *kṛīṇī*) from √क्री *kṛī* *buy*; स्तभ्ना *stabhnā* or स्तभ्नी *stabhnī* from √स्तभ् *stabh* *establish*.

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. impr., the 3d pl. middle, and the middle

participle, 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 gupa throughout: thus, भव bhāva from भू bhū be; नाय nāya from नी nī lead; बोध bōdha from बुध् budh wake; वद vāda from वद् vad speak.

VII. The ā-class, or accented a-class (sixth or tud-class); the added class-sign is ā, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, तुद tudā from तुद् tud thrust, मृज sṛjā from मृज् sṛj let loose; सुव sūvā from वृन् sū give birth.

VIII. The ya-class fourth or div-class); ya is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, दीव्य dīvyā from दिव् div (more properly दीव् dīv: see 765) play; नह्य nāhya from नह् nah bind; क्रुध्य krūdhya 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 ā-class from the a-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented yā to the root: thus, अद्य adyā from अद् ad eat; रुध्य rudhyā from रुह् ruh obstruct; बुध्य budhyā from बुध् budh wake; तुद्य tudyā from तुद् tud thrust.

807. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or *our-class*, having a class-sign *āya* added to a strengthened root (thus, *corāya* from *yur*), and an inflection like that of the other *a*-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-stem, 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.).

808. 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 *ṣu*, which make the stems *rochā* and *yūcha*.

b. Roots substituting *ch* for their final are *ig*, *uṇ* (or *vas shine*), *gam*, *yam*, which make the stems *lechā*, *uechā*, *gāchā*, *yāchā*.

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.

809. 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 Brahmanas, 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.

810. 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-stems, and to notice the irregularities belonging under each class.

I. Root-class (second, *ad-class*).

811. 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 *अतो* *áto* in 3d pl. mid.¹, 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, *इँ é*; weak form, *इ i*; middle, root *ās* *sit*, stem *ās* irregularly accented throughout: 628).

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 इमि émi	इमम् ivás	इमन् imás	ग्रामे ásē	ग्राम्यहे ásyáhe	ग्राम्यहे ásmahe
2 इमि épi	इमन् ithás	इम ithá	ग्राम्ये ásse	ग्राम्यथे ásathe	ग्राम्ये áddhve
3 इति óti	इतस् itás	यन्ति yánti	ग्राम्ये ásste	ग्राम्यन्ते ásānte	ग्राम्यन्ते ásate

b. root *द्विṣ hate*, strong stem-form, *द्वेṣ*; weak, *द्विṣ*. For rules of combination for the final *ṣ*, see 228.

1 द्वेṣमि dvéṣmi	द्विṣवस् dviṣvás	द्विṣमस् dviṣmás	द्विṣे dviṣé	द्विṣवाहे dviṣváhe	द्विṣमाहे dviṣmáhe
2 द्वेṣमि dvéṣpi	द्विṣथस् dviṣthás	द्विṣथ dviṣthá	द्विṣ्ये dviṣye	द्विṣ्यथे dviṣyathe	द्विṣ्यध्वे dviṣyadhve
3 द्वेṣति dvéṣti	द्विṣतस् dviṣtás	द्विṣन्ति dviṣánti	द्विṣ्ये dviṣye	द्विṣ्यन्ते dviṣyānte	द्विṣ्यन्ते dviṣyate

c. root *दुह milk*: strong stem-form, *दोह*; weak, *दुह*. For rules of combination for the final *h*, and for the conversion of the initial to *dh*, see 222a, 155, 160.

1 दोहमि dóhmi	दुहवस् duhvás	दुहमस् duhmás	दुहे duhé	दुहवाहे duhváhe	दुहमाहे duhmáhe
2 दोहमि dhókpi	दुग्धस् dugdhás	दुग्ध dugdhá	दुह्ये dhukye	दुह्यथे duhýathe	दुह्यध्वे dhugdhvhe
3 दोग्धि dógdhi	दुग्धतस् dugdhtás	दुहन्ति duhánti	दुग्धे dugdhe	दुह्यन्ते duhýante	दुह्यन्ते duhýate

d. root *lih* *lick*; strong stem, *léh*; weak, *lih*. For rules of combination of the final *h*, see 222 b.

1	<i>lôhmī</i>	<i>lihvas</i>	<i>lihmās</i>	<i>lihé</i>	<i>lihváho</i>	<i>lihmáho</i>
2	<i>lôkai</i>	<i>liqhās</i>	<i>liqhā</i>	<i>liqé</i>	<i>liqhāho</i>	<i>liqhvé</i>
3	<i>lôdhi</i>	<i>liqhās</i>	<i>lihānti</i>	<i>liqhé</i>	<i>lihāte</i>	<i>lihāte</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 *īce*, *duhé*, *vidé*, *qāye*; more sporadic are *cité*, *bruve*, *huvé*. To the of the 2d pl. is added *na* in *sthāna*, *pāthāna*, *yāthāna*. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in *rihāté*, *dubāté*. 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 Brahmanya. 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* *eat*, 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 *āya é + a* and *āsā ās + a*, respectively.

active			middle		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 { <i>āyāni</i> <i>āyā</i>	<i>āyāva</i>	<i>āyama</i>	<i>āsai</i>	{ <i>āsāvahāi</i> [<i>āsāvaho</i>]	{ <i>āsāmahāi</i> [<i>āsāmahe</i>]
2 { <i>āyasi</i> <i>āyas</i>	<i>āyathas</i>	<i>āyatha</i>	{ <i>āsaso</i> [<i>āsāsai</i>]	[<i>āsaithe</i>]	{ <i>āsadhve</i> [<i>āsādhvāi</i>]
3 { <i>āyanti</i> <i>āyat</i>	<i>āyatas</i>	<i>āyan</i>	{ <i>āsate</i> [<i>āsātāi</i>]	<i>āsāite</i>	{ <i>āsānte</i> }-nta [<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 *aya*, *bravā*, *stāvā*. The 2d and 3d sing. act. with primary endings are very unusual in the Brahmanas. Forms irregularly made with long *ā*, like those from present-stems in *a*, are not rare in AV. and B.: thus, *ayās*, *ayat*, *āyān*; *āsāt*, *brāvāt*; *bravāthas*; *asātha*, *ayātha*, *bravātha*, *hanātha*; *ādān*, *dohān*. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found *hānanta*, 3d pl., and *īqata*, 3d sing. (after *mā* prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in *āite* is *bravāite*.

3. Present Optative.

616. The personal endings combined with the mode-signs of this mode यी yā in act., ई I 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	स्याम् syām	स्याव syāva	स्याम syāma	घानीय āsiya	घानीयहि āsiyahi	घानीमहि āsimahi
2	स्यान् syān	स्यातन् syātam	स्यात syāta	घानीष्यान् āsiyān	घानीष्यातन् āsiyātam	घानीध्वम् āsidhvam
3	स्यात् syāt	स्याताम् syātām	स्युन् syūn	घानीत āsita	घानीयताम् āsiyatām	घानीरन् āsiran

a. In the same manner, from ydviṣ, dviṣyām and dviṣyā; from yduh, duhyām and duhiyā; from ylih, lihyām and lihiyā. The inflection is so regular that the example above given is enough, with the addition of dviṣyā, to show the normal accentuation in the middle; thus, sing dviṣyā, dviṣyāthās, dviṣyātā; du. dviṣyāvāhi, dviṣyāthām, dviṣyātām; pl. dviṣimāhi, dviṣidhvām, dviṣirān.

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 यताम् 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 आन् ās:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 आयाणि	आयाव	आयात	आनि	आनायक्ते	आनागक्ते
āyāṇi	āyāva	āyāta	āsai	āsāvahāi	āsāmahāi
2 ईरि	इतम्	इत	आन्व	आनायान्	आद्भुम्
ihī	itām	itā	āsva	āsāthām	āddhvam
3 एतु	इतम्	यन्तु	आस्तान्	आनातान्	आनतान्
ētu	itām	yāntu	āstām	āsātām	āsātām

b. From the roots द्विṣ dvīṣ and दुह duh and लिह lih

1 द्वेष्णि	द्वेष्वा	द्वेष्मा	द्वेष्	द्वेष्वाह	द्वेष्माह
2 द्विद्धि	द्विष्ठम्	द्विष्ठा	द्विक्वा	द्विष्ठाम	द्विद्धवम्
3 द्वेष्टु	द्विष्ठम्	द्विष्ठान्तु	द्विष्ठम्	द्विष्ठाम	द्विष्ठाम
1 दौहनि	दौहवा	दौहमा	दौह	दौहवाह	दौहमाह
2 दुग्धि	दुग्धम्	दुग्धा	दुक्वा	दुह्थाम	दुग्धवम्
3 दोग्धु	दुग्धम्	दुहन्तु	दुग्धम्	दुह्थाम	दुह्थाम
1 लेहनि	लेहवा	लेहमा	लेह	लेहवाह	लेहमाह
2 लिधि	लिधम्	लिधा	लिक्वा	लिध्थाम	लिध्वम्
3 लेधु	लिधम्	लिहन्तु	लिधम्	लिध्थाम	लिध्थाम

618. The 2d sing. act. ending *tāt* is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, *vittāt*, *vitāt*, *brūtāt*, *hutāt*, *yātāt*, *stutāt*. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending *ām*: thus, *duhām* (only RV. case), *vidām*, *ṣayām*, and in 2d 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*, *yātāna*, *attana*, etc. And in *stōta*, *ēta* *stāna*, *bravitāna*, *ṣastāna*, *hantāna*, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

619. a. The active participle has the ending *न् ānt* (weak stem-form *न् 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 *यन् yānt*, *दुहन् duhānt*, *द्विषन् dviṣānt*, *लिहन् lihānt*. The feminine stem ends usually in *यती atī*: thus, *यती yatī*, *दुहती duhatī*, *द्विषती dviṣatī*, *लिहती lihātī*: but, from roots in *ā*, in *याती āntī* or *यानो atī* (449 g.

b. The middle participle has the ending घान ānā, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, र्यान iyanā, दुहान duhanā, द्विषाण dviṣāṇā, लिहान lihāṇā.

c. The root ण forms the anomalous and isolated णिना in RV. also णिना.

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, iṣanā and iṣāna, ohanā and ohāna, duhanā and dūhāna (also dūghāna, rihāṇā and rihāpa, vidānā and vidāna, sūvānā 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 gupa-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 इ i and घान् ās:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	घायन् āyam	ऐव āiva	ऐन āima	घाति āti	घास्वहि āsvahi	घामहि āmahi
2	ऐन् āis	ऐतम् āitam	ऐत āita	घान्यान् āsthān	घान्यान् āsthān	घातुन् ādhdvam
3	ऐत् āit	ऐतम् āitam	घायन् āyan	घात āta	घातान् āstām	घात āta

b. From the roots दृष् and दुह and लिह:

1	ádveṣam	ádviṣva	ádviṣma	ádviṣi	ádviṣvahi	ádviṣmahi
2	ádvoṣ	ádviṣtam	ádviṣta	ádviṣthas	ádviṣatham	ádviṣdhvam
3	ádveṣ	ádviṣtām	ádviṣan	ádviṣta	ádviṣtām	ádviṣata
1	ádoham	ádubva	ádubma	ádubi	ádubvahi	ádubmahi
2	ádhoḥ	ádugdham	ádugdha	ádugdhas	ádugdatham	ádugdhvam
3	ádhoḥ	ádugdham	ádugan	ádugdha	ádugdatham	ádugata
1	áliham	álihva	álihma	álihi	álihvahi	álihmahi
2	áliḥ	áliḥham	áliḥha	áliḥhas	áliḥatham	áliḥdhvam
3	áliḥ	áliḥham	áliḥan	áliḥha	áliḥatham	áliḥata

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 *yā* protect, *abhus* from *ybhā*. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants, namely *vid* know, *cakṣ*, *duṣ*, *dub*, *myj*. RV has *atviqua*.

b. The ending *tana*, 2d pl act., is found in the Veda in *áyātana*, *ásastana*, *áitana*, *ábravitana*. A strong stem is seen in the 1st pl. *homa*, and the 2d pl. *abravita* and *ábravitana*.

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, *ásais*, *ásait* (see below, 626); compare also 631-4.

622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, has been noticed above (687). Augmentless Imperfects of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, *hān*, *vés*, 2d sing; *han*, *vet*, *stānt*, *dān* (?), 3d sing; *bruvan*, *dubús*, *cakṣus*, 3d pl. *vanta*, *sūta*, 3d sing mid.

623. The first or root-form of aorist is identical in its formation with this imperfect: see below, 829 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 (weakened and strengthened) root. In part, they are the only root-forms belonging to the roots from which they come: thus, *jóṣi* (for *jóṣsi*, from *yjua*), *dhákṣi*, *pārṣi* (*ypr* pass), *prāsi*, *bhákṣi*, *ratsi*, *sātsi*, *hoṣi*; but the majority of them late forms (one or more) of a root-present, or sometimes of a root-aorist, beside them: thus, *kṣēṣi* (*ykṣi* *val*), *jōṣi*, *dārṣi*, *nuṣi* (*y naṣ* *attam*), *neṣi*, *mātsi*, *māsi* (*y mā* *measure*), *yákṣi*, *yāṁsi*, *yāsi*, *yōtsi*, *rāsi*, *vákṣi* (*y vah*), *vēṣi*, *grōṣi*, *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 130 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 50 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

* 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 *marj*, both *mārja* 627, and *marja*. 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 *vrddhi* instead of the *guna*-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from *stā*, *stāumi*, *stāntu*, and the like; but *astavam*, *stāvāni*, etc.

a. Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in act of use are *kāṇu*, *yū* *unite*, *su* (or *sū*) *impel*, *aku*, *stu*, *anu* (these in the earlier language), *nu*, *ru*, and *hnu*. RV. has once *atoṣi* and *anāvan*. Compare also 633.

627. The root *mrj* also has the *vrddhi*-vowel in its strong forms: thus, *mārjmi*, *āmārjam*, *āmārt* (150 b); and the same strengthening is said to be allowed in weak forms before endings beginning with a vowel: thus, *marjantu*, *amarjan*; but the only quotable case is *marjita* LUS. Forms from *a*-stems begin to appear already in AV.

a. In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation, *mrj* shows often the *vrddhi* instead of the *guna*-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*, *iḍ*, *ir*, *iḥ*; and also *caḥ*, *taḥ*, *trā*, *niḥ*, *van* *clothe*, *qiṇj*, *ḥi*, and *āḥ*. All these, except *taḥ* and *trā* and *trā* also in the Vedic forms, are ordinarily conjugated in middle voice only. Forms with this same irregular accent occur now and then in the Veda from other verbs: thus, *māteya*, *yākeva*, *sākeva*, *sākeva*, *ḥdhat*. Middle participles so accented have been noticed above 619 d.

629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, *ḥi* has the *guna*-strengthening throughout: thus, *ḥāyo*, *ḥēḥ*, *ḥāsiya*, *ḥāyāna*, and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection in part already noticed are the 3d pl. persons *ḥarato* (AV. etc. have also *ḥēre*, *ḥeratām*, *ḥerata* RV. has also *ḥeran*, the 3d sing. pres. *ḥāye* (R) and impv. *ḥāyām*. The isolated active form *ḥayat* is common in the older language; other *a*-forms, active and middle, occur later.

630. Of the same roots, *iḍ* and *iḥ* insert a unvoiced *i* before certain endings: thus, *iḍiḥ*, *iḍidhvo*, *iḍiḥva* (these three being the only forms noted in the older language), but RV. has *īkeḥ* beside *iḥiḥ*; the *ḥv* has once *iḥito* for *iḥto*. The 3d pl. *iḥire* (on account of its accent) is also apparently present rather than perfect. The MS. has once the 3d sing. impv. *āḥa* (like *aduba*. 635).

631. The roots *rud* *sleep*, *svap* *sleep*, *an* *breathe*, and *çvas* *blow* insert a union-vowel *i* before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the *a* and *t* of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either *a* or *i* thus, *svāpimī*, *çvāsiṣi*, *āniti*, and *ānat* or *ānit*. And in the other forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, *svāpantu* and *çvāsantu* (IV), or *svapāntu* etc. The AV. has *svāptu* instead of *svāpitu*.

a. In the older language, *yvam* makes the same insertions: thus, *yamiti*, *avamit*; and other cases occasionally occur: thus *jāniṣva*, *vasiṣva* (*yvas* *clothe*), *gnathihī*, *stanihī* (all RV.) *yamiti* (JB.), *çocimi* (MBh.). On the other hand, *y*an early makes forms from an *a*-stem: thus, *ānati* (AV.); *pple ānant* (CB.), *opt anot* (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 *brāvimi*, *brāviṣi*, *brāviti*, *ābravis*, *ābravit*; but *brumās*, *bruyām*, *ābravam*, *ābruvan*, etc. Special occasional irregularities are *brāmi*, *bravihī*, *abruyam*, *abruvan*, *bruyāt*, and sporadic forms from an *a*-stem. The aulj dual *brāvāte* has been noticed above 615; also the strong forms *abravita*, *ābravitana* 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 *taviti* noted, in the later only *stavimi*, once).

634. The root *am* (hardly found in the later language) takes *i* as union-vowel: thus, *amīṣi* (RV.), *amiti* and *āmit* and *amiṣva* (TS.) From *yçam* occur *çamiṣva* (VS.; TS. *çamiṣva*) and *çamidhvam* (TB etc.).

635. The irregularities of *yduh* in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. and *duhato*, *duhré*, and *duhrâte*; 3d sing. impv. *duhām*, pl. *duhrām* and *duhratām*; impf. act. 3d sing. *āduhat* (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. *aduhran* (beside *āduhan* and *duhūṣ*); the m. d. ppe. *dūghāna*; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms *duhiyāt* and *duhiyān* (RV. only). The MS. has *aduha* 3d sing. and *aduhra* 3d pl. impf. m. d., apparently formed to correspond to the pres. *duhe* (613) and *duhro* as *adugdha* and *aduhata* correspond to *dugdho* and *duhato* compare *āṣa* (630), related in like manner to the 3d sing. *iço*.

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

636. The root *घृ* as *be* loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment). Its 2d sing. indic. is *घृमि* *āsi* instead of *assi*; its 2d sing. impv. is *घृति* *edhi* irregularly from *asdhi*). The insertion of

इ I 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 āsmi	स्वस् svās	स्मन् smān	स्यान् syān	स्यात् syāta	स्यान् syān
2	सि āsi	स्वस् sthās	स्व sthā	स्यान् syān	स्यात् syāta	स्यान् syān
3	अस्ति āsti	स्वस् sthās	मन्ति mānti	स्यान् syān	स्यात् syāta	स्यान् syān
Imperative			Imperfect.			
1	अस्मिन् āsmi	स्वस् sthās	स्मन् smān	स्यान् syān	स्यात् syāta	स्यान् syān
2	सि odhi	स्वस् sthās	स्व sthā	स्यान् syān	स्यात् syāta	स्यान् syān
3	अस्तु āstu	स्वस् sthās	मन्ति mānti	स्यान् syān	स्यात् syāta	स्यान् syān

Participle मत् सन्त fem मन्ती sntī.

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 (f r ās-s, ās-t) Sthāna, 2d 11, was noted above (613).

d. Middle forms from yas are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (vi + ati), but they are not quotable; amāhe and syāmahe (') occur in the epics, but are merely instances of the ordinary epic confusion of voices (528 a). Confusions of primary and secondary endings—namely, āva and āma (not rare), and, on the other hand, syāva and syāmas—are also epic. A middle present indicative is said to be compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the *nomen agentis* in tī (tur) to form a periphrastic future in the middle voice (but see below, 647). The 1st sing. midle is he; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., sc, dhve, āva, dhvam, with total loss of the root itself).

637. The root *han* *smile, stay* 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. hānmi	hanvās	hanmās	āhanam	āhanva	āhanma
2. hānsi	hathās	hathās	āhan	āhatam	āhata
3. hānti	hatās	ghnānti	āhan	āhatām	āghnan

a. Its participle is *ghnānt* f.m. *ghnāti*. Its 2d sing. impv. is *jahi* by anomalous dissimilation on the model of reduplicating forms).

b. Middle forms from this root are frequent in the *Brahmanas*, and those that occur are formed in general according to the same rule: thus, *hate*, *hanmahe*, *ghnate*; *ahata*, *aghnatām*, *aghnata* (in *AB*, also *ahata*); *ghrita* (but also *hanita*). 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. 791b: thus, *uçmāgi* (V once apparently abbreviated in RV to *çmāgi*, *uçānti*; ppl *uçant*, *uçāna*). Middle forms except the ppl do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as *auçva*, *auçtam*, etc.

a. RV. has in like manner the participle *uçāna* from the root *van* *clothe*.

639. The root *ças* *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, *çis* as do the nomst, 854, and some of the derivatives; but, excepting the optative *çisyām* etc. U. S. and later, no such forms are quotable.

a. The 3d sing. impf. is *açāt* (555a), and the same form is said to be allowed also as 2d sing. The 2d sing. impv. is *çadhī* (with total loss of the *a*); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. *çāstāna* (with anomalous accent); and *a*-forms, from stem *çāna*, occasionally occur.

b. The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (*çāste*, *çāsate*, *çāsana*).

c. The root *dāç* *worship* has in like manner (RV) the ppl *dāçat* (not *dāçant*).

640. The double so-called root *jaky* *eat, laugh* is an evident reduplication of *ghas* and *has* respectively. It has the absence of *n* in act.

31 persons pl. and ppl., 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 233 f.

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 *jāgṛ* (1020 a, *daridrā* 1024 a), and *vevi* 1024 a, *didhi* 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, *dadā* from *√dā* *dā*; *bibhi* from *√bhi* *bhi*; *juhū* from *√hū* *hū*. The vowel *ṛ* never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by *ṛ* *i*: thus, *bibhiṛ* from *√bhiṛ*; *pitṛo* from *√pṛo*.

c. For verbs in which *a* and *ā* also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by *i*, see below, 680. The root *vṛt* (V. B) makes *vavartti* etc., *cakrānt* (RV.) is very doubtful.

d. The only root of this class with initial vowel is *ṛ* 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 *guna*: thus, from *√hū* *hū*, the two forms are *juhō* and *juhū*; from *√bhi* *bhi*, they are *bibhō* and *bibhi*. 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 (532), 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*, *bhl* (no test-forms in the older language), *hri* (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 *bhy* 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 Brahmanas); and RV. has once *tyāraṭi*. 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 606 a!

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 *n* in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have *उन्* us instead of *घन्* an — 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, *हुते* *juhó*; weak form, *हुहु* *juhu* or *júhu*).

	active.			middle.		
	a.	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.
1 हुतेति	हुहुवन्	हुहुमन्		हुते	हुहुवरे	हुहुमरे
	juhómi	juhuvás	juhumás	júhvo	juhuváhe	juhumáhe
2 हुतायि	हुहुथन्	हुहुथ		हुहुये	हुहुथे	हुहुथे
	juhóṣi	juhuthás	juhuthá	juhúṣe	júhváthe	juhuthvé
3 हुतानि	हुहुतन्	हुहुति		हुहुते	हुहुते	हुहुते
	juhóti	juhutás	júhvati	juhutó	júhváte	júhvate

b. Root $\bar{b}h\bar{r}$ *bear* 'given with Vedic accentuation; strong stem-form, बिभर् बिभर्; weak, बिभर् बिभर् or बिभर्).

1	बिभर्मि	बिभर्स्	बिभर्न्	बिभ्रे	बिभर्वाहे	बिभर्महे
	bībharmi	bībhṛvās	bībhṛmās	bībhre	bībhṛvāhe	bībhṛmāhe
2	बिभर्षि	बिभर्षन्	बिभर्ष	बिभर्षे	बिभर्षाथे	बिभर्षध्वे
	bībhārṣi	bībhārṣhās	bībhārṣhā	bībhārṣhe	bībhārṣathe	bībhārṣdhve
3	बिभर्ति	बिभर्तन्	बिभर्ति	बिभर्ते	बिभर्ताथे	बिभर्ताथे
	bībharti	bībhṛtās	bībhṛati	bībhṛte	bībhṛtāthe	bībhṛtāthe

c. The u of hu (like that of the class-signs nu and u, see below, 897 a) 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.

848. 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 the 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.

849. 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 $\bar{j}hu$, the stem would be juhāvā; from $\bar{b}h\bar{r}$, it would be bībhāra but bībhāra later. Before the mode-sign, final radical ā would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus, dāda from $\bar{d}ā$, dādha from $\bar{y}dhā$ all the forms actually occurring would be derivable from the secondary roots dad and dadh.

850. 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 juhāvāni, bībhārāni, dadāni, dadhāni, jāhāni; juhāvāma, dādhamā, jāhāma; — in the middle, dadhāi, mīmāi; dudhāvahāi; juhāvāmāhāi, dadāmāhe, dadāmāhāi, dadhāmāhāi.

b. Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active bībhārāsi (with $\bar{b}h\bar{r}$ in $\bar{b}h\bar{r}$ 880 c), dādhatas, juhāvātha (to)

and juhavatha; in the middle, dādhase; dādhate, rārate, dādhātāi, dadātāi; — with secondary endings, dādhās, vīṣas, juhavat, bibharat, yuyāvat, dādhat, 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 जुहुयाम जुहुयि जुहुयिहि जुहुमिहि					
juhuyām juhuyāva juhuyāma juhuyi juhuyihi juhumihi					
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: जु हु, 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 जुह्वामि जुह्वाय जुह्वाम जुह्वे जुह्वावहे जुह्वामहे					
juhāvāmi juhāvāva juhāvāma juhāvai juhāvavahi juhāvamahai					
2 जुहुयि जुहुतन् जुहुत जुहुय जुहुयान् जुहुयन्					
juhudhi juhutām juhutā juhuy juhuyān juhudhvām					
3 जुहोतु जुहुताम् जुहुत जुहुताम् जुह्वताम् जुह्वताम्					
juhōtu juhutām juhvatu juhutām juhvātām juhvatām					

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

664. *hā* *remote*, mid.; thus, *jihīte*, *jihīdhvo*, *jihate*; *jihīṣva*, *jihatām*; *ājihita*, *ājihata*. (B. has *jihichām* for *jihāthām*).

665. *hā* *quit*, act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the *i* to *ī*: thus, *jahāti*, *jahita*, *jahitāt* (AV.); *jahimas* (AV), *jahitas* (TB.), *jahitam* (TA.), *majahitam* (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 *jahahi*; only the first appears quotable.

a. Forms from an *a*-stem, *jaha*, are made for this root, and even derivatives from a quad-root *jah*.

666. *rā* *give*, mid.; thus, *raridhvam*, *rarithās* (impf. without augment); and, with *i* in reduplication, *ririhi*. But AV. has *rarāva*.

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 *deshi* and *dhehi*. 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 sord and sonant combination; and its lost aspiration is thrown back upon the initial of the root (155).

668. The Inflection of *ydā* is, then, as follows:

Present Indicative.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 <i>dādhami</i>	<i>dadhvās</i>	<i>dadmās</i>	<i>dadhó</i>	<i>dādhvahe</i>	<i>dādhmahe</i>
2 <i>dādhasi</i>	<i>dhatthās</i>	<i>dhatthā</i>	<i>dhatso</i>	<i>dadhāthe</i>	<i>dhaddhve</i>
3 <i>dādhati</i>	<i>dhattās</i>	<i>dādhati</i>	<i>dhattò</i>	<i>dadhāte</i>	<i>dādhatē</i>

Present Optative.

1 <i>dādhyām</i>	<i>dādhyāva</i>	<i>dādhyāma</i>	<i>dādhiya</i>	<i>dādhiyahi</i>	<i>dādhimahi</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Present Imperative.

1 <i>dādhami</i>	<i>dādha</i>	<i>dādhamā</i>	<i>dādhai</i>	<i>dādharahai</i>	<i>dādhamahai</i>
2 <i>dhehi</i>	<i>dhattām</i>	<i>dhattā</i>	<i>dhatso</i>	<i>dadhātham</i>	<i>dhaddhvam</i>
3 <i>dādhatu</i>	<i>dhattām</i>	<i>dādhatu</i>	<i>dhattām</i>	<i>dadhātām</i>	<i>dadhātām</i>

Imperfect

1 <i>ādadhām</i>	<i>ādadhva</i>	<i>ādadhma</i>	<i>ādadhí</i>	<i>ādadhí</i>	<i>ādadhimahi</i>
2 <i>ādadhās</i>	<i>ādhattām</i>	<i>ādhattā</i>	<i>ādhattso</i>		<i>dhaddhvam</i>
3 <i>ādadhāt</i>	<i>ādhattām</i>	<i>ādadhāt</i>	<i>ādhattām</i>		<i>dadhātā</i>

Participles: act. *dādhat*; mid. *dādhāna*.

a. In the middle (except *impf.*), only those forms are here accented for which there is authority in the accentuated texts, as there is dissonance between the actual accent and that which the analogies of the class would lead us to expect. RV. has once *dhātse*: *dadhé* and *dadhāto* might be perfects, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents *dadhita* once (*dādhita* thrice); several other texts have *dādhita*, *dādhiran*, *dādita*.

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., *dādhāta* and *ādadhāta*, *dādāta* and *ādadāta*; 2. the usual *tana* endings in the same person, *dhattana*, *dādātana*, etc. (654, 658); 3. the 3d sing. indie act. *dadhé* (like 1st sing.); 4. the 2d sing. *impv.* act. *daddhi* (for both *dchi* and *dhohi*). 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 *stīṣhāmi*, *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 *stīṣha*, *pība*, *jīghra*.

672. In the Veda (especially, also later), the reduplicated roots *dā* and *dha* 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* (*ymā bellare*), *rārāte* (*yrā give* 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary stem, *jighna*, is made from *yhan* (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 *naqe*, from *ynac*, show the same conversion to an a-stem, *saqa*.

674. In AB. (vii 28), a similar secondary form, *jighya*, is given to *yhi* 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 *qās* (from *yqas*) and *cakṣ* (from *ykāṣ* or a lost root *kas see*). In the Veda is found also *saqa*, from *yṣac*.

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*, *vovī*) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under intensives (1020a, 1024a). *didhi shine*, together with Vedic *didī shine* and *pipī smell*, are sometimes also classed as intensives, but they have not the proper reduplication of

from *y'uy* 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>yunajādhvai</i>
3 <i>yunājat</i>	<i>yunājatas</i>	<i>yunājan</i>	<i>yunājato</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, *tṛpāhān* (AV), *rādhnāvāt* and *yunajan* (ÇB); and the only quotable example of 3i du. act. (besides *añjatas*) is *hināsatas* (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-stems. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 <i>युज्यान्</i>	<i>युज्याव</i>	<i>युज्याम</i>	<i>युज्यीय</i>	<i>युज्यीवहि</i>	<i>युज्यीमहि</i>
<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 CGS.) 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*.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 <i>युनक्तानि</i>	<i>युनक्ताय</i>	<i>युनक्ताम</i>	<i>युनक्ते</i>	<i>युनक्तावहे</i>	<i>युनक्तानहे</i>
<i>yunāktāni</i>	<i>yunāktāya</i>	<i>yunāktāma</i>	<i>yunākti</i>	<i>yunāktāvahai</i>	<i>yunāktāmahai</i>
2 <i>युङ्मिथ - युङ्मन्</i>	<i>युङ्म</i>		<i>युङ्मन्व</i>	<i>युङ्मायान्</i>	<i>युङ्मगमन्</i>
<i>yuṅgmbī</i>	<i>yunktām</i>	<i>yunktā</i>	<i>yunktvā</i>	<i>yunjamān</i>	<i>yuṅgubvām</i>
3 <i>युनक्तु</i>	<i>युक्तान्</i>	<i>युक्तान्</i>	<i>युक्तान्</i>	<i>युक्तानान्</i>	<i>युक्तानान्</i>
<i>yunāktu</i>	<i>yunktām</i>	<i>yunjantu</i>	<i>yunktān</i>		<i>yū</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, *unātta*, *yuṇākta*, *anaktana*, *pīnaṣṭana*.

5. Present Participle.

691. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. युज्जन् *yuṇjānt* fem. युज्जन्ती *yuṇjātī*; mid. युज्जान *yuṇjānā* but RV. has *indhāna*.

6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

	active.			middle.	
	a.	d.	p.	d.	p.
1	ययुनजन्	ययुनज	ययुनज	ययुनजि	ययुनजि
	áyunaJam	áyunaJva	áyunaJma	áyunaJvahi	áyunaJmahi
2	ययुनक्	ययुनक्तम्	ययुनक्ता	ययुनक्तवाम्	ययुनक्तवाम्
	áyunak	áyunaktam	áyunakta	áyunakthās	áyunajāthām
3	ययुनक्	ययुनक्तम्	ययुनजन्	ययुनक्त	ययुनक्तानाम्
	áyunak	áyunaktām	áyunaJan	áyunakta	áyunajātām

a. The endings *n* 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 655a).

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, *bhināt*, *prpāk*, *vṛpāk*, *pīpāk*, *riṇāk*.

a. The 1st sing. act. *atpnam* and *aachinam* (for *atpnam* and *aachinadam*) were noted above, at 655a.

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, *rdh* and *ubh*, make present-systems also of other classes having a nasal in the class-sign: thus, *rdhuoti* (nu-class) and *ubhnāti* (nu-class).

a. Many of the roots make forms from secondary a-stems: thus, from *añja*, *unda*, *umbhá*, *chinda*, *tṛáhá*, *piñsa*, *prácá*, *bhuñja*, *rundha*, *ciñgá*, etc.

Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

695. The root *tṛh* combines *tṛneh* with *ti*, *tu*, etc. into *tṛnehī*, *tṛnehu*; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as *tṛnehmi*. See above, 224 b.

696. The root *hiñs* (by origin apparently a desiderative form; *han*) accents irregularly the root-syllable in the weak forms: thus, *hiñsanti*, *hiñsato*, *hiñsāna* (but *hiñsāt* etc. and *hiñsāt* (B)).

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 मु *su* *press out*; strong form of stem, मुनो *sunó*; weak form, मुनु *sunu*.

	active.			middle.		
	a.	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.
१ मुनोमि sunómi	मुनुयन् sunuvás	मुनुमन् sunumás	मुन्वे sunvé	मुनुवरे sunuváho	मुनुमरे sunumáho	
२ मुनोयि sunóṣi	मुनुयन् sunuthás	मुनुय sunuthá	मुनुये sunuṣé	मुनुवाये sunváttho	मुनुघे sunudhvé	

3	सुनोति	सुनुगन्	सुन्यति	सुनुते	सुनुवते	सुनुवते
	sunóti	sunutás	suvánti	sunutó	sunvátó	sunvátó

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 *yáp*, however (for example), only the forms with *u* can occur: thus, *ápnuvás*, *ápnumáhe*; and also only *ápnuvánti*, *ápnuvó*, *ápnuvátó*.

B. *u*-class; root *तन्* *tan* *stretch*: strong form of stem, *तनो* *tanó*; weak, *तनु* *tanu*.

1	तनोमि	तन्वन्	तन्मन्	तन्वे	तन्वहे	तन्महे
	tanómí	tanvás	tanmás	tanvé	tanváhe	tanmáhe
	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 persona du. or pl., and no *thana*-ending, 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, *kṛvátó*, *tanvátó*, *manvátó*, *vṛvátó*, *ápnvátó*.

b. In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in *tre* from present-stems of this class: thus, *invire*, *ṛpvire*, *pinvire*, *ṛṇvire*, *sunvire*, *hinvire*. Of these, *pinvire*, and *hinvire* might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots *pinv* and *hinv* (below, 719). The 2d sing mid. (with passive value) *ṛṇviṣé* (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 numerous and represented there

active.			middle.		
s	d.	p	s.	d	p
sunávanti	sunávāva	sunávāma	sunávai	sunávāvaḥai	sunávāmahai
sunávās		sunávatha	sunávase	sunávāithe	
sunávati	sunávan	{	sunávato		sunávanta
			sunávātāi		

701. Of the broader 1st sing. act., RV. has *kṛpāva* and *hinavā*. Forms with double *moda-siga* occur (not in RV.) thus *kṛpāvāt* and *karavāt* (AV), *aṇavātha* (K.), *kṛpavātha* (VS, but *-vatha* in Kṛpva-text), *karavātha* (EB). On the other hand, *aṇavatai* is found once (a Th.) Forms like *apnuvāni*, *ardhnūvat*, *aṇuvat*, met with now and then in the older texts, are doubtless to be regarded as false readings. RV. has in a single passage *kṛpavāite* (instead of *kṛpāvaito*), the only form in *āithe* is *aṇavāithe*.

3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings 568) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 मुनुयाम्	मुनुयान्	मुनुयान	मुन्वीयि	मुन्वीयहि	मुन्वीमहि
<i>sunuyām</i>	<i>sunuyāva</i>	<i>sunuyāma</i>	<i>sunviyā</i>	<i>sunvivāhi</i>	<i>sunvimāhi</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

a. From *yap*, the middle optative would be *apnuviyā* — 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 मुनवानि	मुनवाय	मुनवान	मुन्वी	मुनवायहि	मुनवामहि
<i>sunāvāni</i>	<i>sunāvāva</i>	<i>sunāvāma</i>	<i>sunāvāi</i>	<i>sunāvāvāhi</i>	<i>sunāvāmahāi</i>
2 मुनु	मुनुतान्	मुनुत	मुनुव	मुन्वायान्	मुनुधाम्
<i>sunū</i>	<i>sunutām</i>	<i>sunutā</i>	<i>sunuṣvā</i>	<i>sunvātām</i>	<i>sunudhivām</i>
3 मुनोतु	मुनुतान्	मुन्वतु	मुनुतान्	मुन्वातान्	मुन्वतान्
<i>sunōtu</i>	<i>sunutām</i>	<i>sunvātu</i>	<i>sunutām</i>	<i>sunvātām</i>	<i>sunvātām</i>

a. From ṣap , the 2d sing. act. would be ṣṇuhī , from ṣaḥ ṣṇuhī , from ṣdhṛṣ ṣdhṛṣuhī ; and so on. From ṣap , too, would be made ṣṇuvāntu , ṣṇuvātham , ṣṇuvātām , ṣṇuvātām .

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 inuhī , kṛṇuhī , cinuhī , dhanuhī , ṣṛṇuhī , spṛṇuhī , hinuhī , and tanuhī , sanuhī , are nearly three as frequent in use as inú , ṣṛṇu , sunú , tanu , and their like; in AV., however, they are only one sixth as frequent, and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically even ṣṛṇudhī (with dhi) occurs several times in RV. RV. has the 1st sing. act. hinavā . The ending tāt is found in kṛṇutāt and hinutāt , and kurutāt . The strong stem-form is found in 2d du act. in hinotām and kṛṇotām ; and in 2d pl act. in kṛṇóta and kṛṇótana , ṣṛṇóta and ṣṛṇótana , sunóta and sunótana , hinóta and hinótana , and tanóta , karóta . The ending tana occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings ṣṇánt and ṣṇānā are added to the weak form of tense stem; thus, from ṣu come act. ṣṇvánt (fem. ṣṇvānī ṣṇvatī), mid. ṣṇvān ṣṇvānā ; from tan , ṣṇvánt (fem. ṣṇvānī ṣṇvatī), ṣṇvān ṣṇvānā . From ṣap , they are ṣṇvánt and ṣṇvānā .

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	ṣṇuvam	ṣṇuva	ṣṇuma	ṣṇuvi	ṣṇuvahi	ṣṇumahi
2	ṣṇuot	ṣṇutām	ṣṇuta	ṣṇuthas	ṣṇuvatham	ṣṇudhvam
3	ṣṇuot	ṣṇutām	ṣṇuvan	ṣṇuta	ṣṇvatām	ṣṇvata

a. Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms ṣṇuva , ṣṇuma , ṣṇuvahi , ṣṇumahi are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as dhṛṣ which makes, for example, always ṣṇuma etc., and also ṣṇuvam , ṣṇuvi , ṣṇuvatham , ṣṇudhvam , ṣṇvata .

707. Strong stem-forms and *tapa-ending* are found only in RV., in *akṛpota*, *akṛpotana*. Augmentless forms with accent are *minván*, *ṛputá*.

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 *tr* on account of *taruté* RV., and *han* on account of the occurrence of *hanomi* once in a Sutra 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 *trp* *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, *trppu*.

711. The root *ṣru* *hear* is contracted to *ṣr* before the class-sign, forming *ṣṛṇó* and *ṣṛṇu* as stem. Its forms *ṣṛṇvīṣé* and *ṣṛṇvīṣe* have been noted above (608 b).

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 *dhunó*, *dhunu*).

713. The so-called root *ṛṇu*, treated by the native grammarians as dissyllabic and belonging to the root-class (1), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root *vr̥* (or *var*). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the *nu*-class; but in the Brahmana language are found sometimes such forms as *ṛṇvūti*, as if from an *u*-root of the root class (628); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. act. is *ṛṇu* or *ṛṇuhi*; its impf., *áṛṇos*, *áṛṇot*; its opt. mid., *ṛṇuvita* (K) or *ṛṇvítá* (TS).

714. The extremely common root *ṛ̥* *kr̥* 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 *ṛ̥n*). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the *gupa*-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 न् m of the 1st du and pl., and also before य y of the opt. act. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 करोमि	karómi	कुरुवम्	कुरुमम्	कुरि	कुरुवहि	कुरुमहि
		kurvám	kurumám	kurve	kurváho	kuramáho
2 करोषि	karóṣi	कुरुथम्	कुरुथ	कुरुषे	कुरुषेहि	कुरुध्वे
		kuruthám	kuruthá	kuruşé	kurváthe	kurudhvé
3 करोति	karóti	कुरुतम्	कुरुयति	कुरुते	कुरुयते	कुरुते
		kurutám	kurvánti	kurute	kurváte	kurváte

2. Present Optative.

1 कुर्याम्	कुर्याव	कुर्याम	कुर्यायि	कुर्यायिहि	कुर्यामहि
kuryám	kuryáva	kuryáma	kurviyá	kurviváhi	kurvímáhi
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

3. Present Imperative.

1 कर्तव्यम्	कर्तव्य	कर्तव्यम्	कर्तव्ये	कर्तव्यमहि	कर्तव्यमहि
karávāṃ	karávāva	karávāma	karávái	karávāmahí	karávāmahí
2 कुरु	कुरुतम्	कुरुत	कुरुष्व	कुरुष्वाम्	कुरुध्वम्
kura	kurutám	kurutá	kuruşvā	kurvāthám	kurudhvám
3 कुरुतु	कुरुतान्	कुरुतु	कुरुतान्	कुरुतान्	कुरुतान्
karótu	kurutām	kurvāntu	kurutām	kurvátam	kurvátam

4. Present Participle.

कुर्यन् kurvánt fem. कुर्यन्ती kurvati कुर्याण kurvāṇá

5. Imperfect.

1 अकरोम	अकुरुवम्	अकुरुमम्	अकुरि	अकुरुवहि	अकुरुमहि
ákaravam	ákurva	ákurma	ákurvi	ákurvahi	ákurmahí
2 अकरोष	अकुरुथम्	अकुरुथ	अकुरुष्व	अकुरुष्वाम्	अकुरुध्वम्
ákaros	ákurutam	ákuruta	ákuruthas	ákurvāthám	ákurudhvám
3 अकरोति	अकुरुतम्	अकुरुयति	अकुरुते	अकुरुयते	अकुरुते
ákaroti	ákurutám	ákurvan	ákuruta	ákurvátam	ákurvata

715. In RV, this root is regularly inflected in the present-system according to the *nu*-class, making the *a*-forms *kṛpo* and *kṛpu*, 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 Brahmana language and later, the *u*-forms are used to the exclusion of the others.

a. As 1st sing. pres. *a* it 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 *tarutá*, from *ṭṛ*, 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* (*ṛi* 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 *ṛva* beside those from *ṛu* (*ṛ*), and from *hinva* beside those from *hinu* (*hi*). The so-called roots *jinu* and *pinu* are doubtless of the same origin, although no forms from the stems *pinu* are met with at any period — unless *pinvire* (above, 689 b) be so regarded, and AV. has the participle *pinvati*, *pinvati*. The grammarians set up a root *dhinv*, but only forms from *dhi* (stem *dhinu*) appear to occur in the present-system (the aorist *adhinvi* is found in PB).

b. Occasional *a*-forms are met with also from other roots: thus, *cinvata* etc., *dunvava*.

V. Nā-class (ninth or *kṛi*-class).

717. The class-sign of this class is in the strong forms the syllable *nā* *nā*, accented, which is added to the root; in the weak forms, or where the accent falls upon the ending, it is *nī* *nī*; but before the initial vowel of an ending the *ī* of *nī* *nī* disappears altogether.

1. Present Indicative.

718. Example of inflection: root *क्रि* *kṛi* buy, strong form of stem, *क्रिया* *kṛiā*, weak form, *क्रिणी* *kṛiṇī* before a vowel, *क्रिप्* *kṛip*.

	active			middle		
	s.	d.	f.	s.	d.	p.
1	क्रीणांमि	क्रीणीयन्	क्रीणीनन्	क्रीणि	क्रीणीयर्ह	क्रीणीनर्ह
	kriṇāmi	kriṇivās	kriṇimās	kriṇe	kriṇivāhe	kriṇimāhe
2	क्रीणासि	क्रीणीथस्	क्रीणीथि	क्रीणीथि	क्रीणीथे	क्रीणीथि
	kriṇāsi	kriṇithās	kriṇithā	kriṇāṭh	kriṇātho	kriṇidhve
3	क्रीणानि	क्रीणीन्त	क्रीणीन्ति	क्रीणीने	क्रीणीने	क्रीणीने
	kriṇāti	kriṇitas	kriṇānti	kriṇātē	kriṇāte	kriṇāte

719. In the Veda, the 3d sing. mid. has the same form with the 1st in gṛhe, the peculiar accent of 3d pl. mid. is seen in punatē and riṇatē, and vṛṇimāhē (beside vṛṇimāhe) occurs once in RV.

2. Present Subjunctive.

720. The subjunctive forms which have been found exemplified in Veda and Brahmana 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.	f.	s.	d.	p.
1	क्रीणामि	क्रीणामा	क्रीणामि	क्रीणवाहामि	क्रीणमहामि
2	क्रीणा	क्रीणाथा	क्रीणासी		
3	क्रीणात	क्रीणा	क्रीणात		क्रीणान्त

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.	f.	s.	d.	p.
1	क्रीणीयाम्	क्रीणीयाय	क्रीणीयाम	क्रीणीय	क्रीणीयर्हि	क्रीणीनर्हि
	kriṇiyam	kriṇiyāya	kriṇiyāma	kriṇiyā	kriṇivāhi	kriṇimāhi
	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 ङि 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 *क्रान् ānā*.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 क्रीणानि क्रीणान् क्रीणान् क्रीणे क्रीणावहे क्रीणामहे					
kṛiṇāni kṛiṇāva kṛiṇāma kṛiṇai kṛiṇāvahē kṛiṇāmahē					
2 क्रीणीहि क्रीणीन् क्रीणीन् क्रीणीन् क्रीणान् क्रीणान्					
kṛiṇīhi kṛiṇītām kṛiṇīta kṛiṇīva kṛiṇātham kṛiṇīdhvam					
3 क्रीणान् क्रीणीन् क्रीणन् क्रीणीन् क्रीणान् क्रीणान्					
kṛiṇātu kṛiṇītām kṛiṇāntu kṛiṇītām kṛiṇātām kṛiṇātām					

a. Examples of the ending *ānā* in 2d sng. act are *aṇāna*, *gṛhāṇā*, *badhāṇā*, *stabhāṇā*.

723. The ending *ānā* 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 *iṇāṇa*, *mugāṇa*, *akabhāna*. But AV. has also *gṛbhṇīhi* (also AB.), and even *gṛhṇāhi*, with strong stem; LEP. has *badhāhi*. Strong stems are further found in *gṛhāhi* and *stṛhāhi* (TS), *prhāhi* (TB), and *ṣṛhāhi* (Apsat), and, with animal as accent, *punāhi* and *ṣṛhāhi* (SV), and, in 2d pl act, in *punāta* (RV). The ending *tāt* of 2d sng act occurs in *gṛhṇītāt*, *jānitāt*, *punītāt*. The ending *tana* is found in *punītāna*, *prhītāna*, *ṣṛhītāna*.

5. Present Participle.

724. The participles are regularly formed: thus, for example, act. *क्रीणन् kṛiṇant* fem. *क्रीणती kṛiṇatī*; mid *क्रीणन् kṛiṇān*.

6. Imperfect.

725. There is nothing special to be noted as to the inflection of this tense: an example is —

active.			middle.		
s.	1	2	s.	d.	p.
1 अक्रीणाम् अक्रीणीम् अक्रीणीम् अक्रीणि अक्रीणीवहे अक्रीणामहे					
ākṛiṇām ākṛiṇīva ākṛiṇīma ākṛiṇi ākṛiṇīvahē ākṛiṇāmahē					
2 अक्रीणान् अक्रीणीन् अक्रीणीन् अक्रीणीन् अक्रीणान् अक्रीणान्					
ākṛiṇāa ākṛiṇītām ākṛiṇīta ākṛiṇīthā ākṛiṇāthām ākṛiṇīdhvam					
3 अक्रीणान् अक्रीणीन् अक्रीणन् अक्रीणीन् अक्रीणान् अक्रीणान्					
ākṛiṇāt ākṛiṇītām ākṛiṇan ākṛiṇīta ākṛiṇātām ākṛiṇāta					

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) *keṇām*; *aṇan*, *riṇān*; *gṛbhṇata*, *vṛṇata*. The AV. has once *minīt* instead of *mināt*. VBh. has *aṇis* after *mā*.

a. AB. has the false form *aṇānuṣas*, and in AA. occurs *avṛṇāta* 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 *ā* shorten that vowel before the class-sign: thus, from *ṣpū*, *punāti* and *punitē*, in like manner also *ju*, *dhū*, *lū*.

b. The root *vli* (B.S.) forms either *vlinā* or *vlinā*.

729. The root *grabh* or *grah* the former Velle is weakened to *gṛbh* or *grh*.

a. At the perfect also in weak forms has *gṛbh* or *grh*. 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 *staubh*.

b. The root *jñā* also loses its nasal before the class sign thus, *janāti*, *janitē*.

731. Not rarely, forms showing a transfer to the a-conjugation are met with: thus, even in RV, *minati*, *minat*, *aminanta*, from *ṣmi*, in AV., *ṣṛṇa* from *ṣṛ*; later, *gṛhṇa*, *jāna*, *prīṇa*, *mathna*, etc. And from roots *py* and *mṛ* are formed the stems *pyā* and *mṛā*, which are inflected after the manner of the ā-class, as if from roots *pyā* and *mṛā*.

732. In the Veda, an apparently denominative inflection of a stem in *ayā* is not infrequent beside the conjugation of roots of this class: thus, *gṛbhāyā*, *mathayāti*, *agrathāyae*, *skabhāyata*, *astabhāyat*, *pruṣāyānte*, *muṣāyāt*, 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 *i* instead of *yā* (combining in both voices alike with *a* to *e*); 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 with final *a* of the stem to *e*; 6. the use of the full endings *anto*, *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-system alone, but also to that of the a-, reduplicated, and an-aorists, the a-future, and the desiderative, causative, and demonstrative present-stems. 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 *a* to the root, which has the accent, and, when that is possible (235, 240), is strengthened to *guṇa*. Thus, *भू* *bhāva* from *भू* *bhū*; *जय* *jāya* from *जि* *ji*; *बोध* *bōdha* from *बु* *budh*; *सर्प* *sārpa* from *सर्प* *sarp*;—but *वद* *vāda* from *वद* *vad*; *क्रि* *krīḍa* from *क्रि* *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 भृ bhū be; stem भव bháva bho+a: 131.

	3. LIVE.			middle.		
	s	d.	p	s	d.	p
1	भवामि	भवामन्	भवामन्	भवे	भवामहे	भवामहे
	bhāvāmi	bhāvāman	bhāvāman	bhāve	bhāvamahe	bhāvamahe
2	भवसि	भवसन्	भवस	भवसे	भवसे	भवसे
	bhāvasi	bhāvasthan	bhāvastha	bhāvase	bhāvasthe	bhāvasthe
3	भवति	भवन्	भवन्ति	भवते	भवते	भवते
	bhāvati	bhāvatas	bhāvanti	bhāvate	bhāvate	bhāvate

b. Th. V. has but a single example of the thanu ending, namely vādathana (and no other in any class of this conjugation). The 1st pl. mid. manamahé (RV, once) is probably an error. RV. has qóbhe once in 11 singular.

2. Present Subjunctive.

736. The note-stem is bháva 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	bhāvāmi	bhāvava	bhāvama	bhāvai	bhāvavahi	bhāvamahi
2	bhāvāsi	bhāvasthan	bhāvastha	bhāvase		bhāvasthai
	bhāvāse			bhāvāsai		
3	bhāvāti	bhāvatas	bhāvān	bhāvate	bhāvāite	bhāvānta
	bhāvāt			bhāvātsai		bhāvāntai

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 imperatives. The Brahmanas (especially ŚR.) prefer the 2d sing. act in aai and the 3d in at. AB. has the 3d sing. mid. haratāi, and a 3d pl. in antāi (variantāi AB.) has been noted once. RV. has examples, arcā and mada, of the briefer 1st sing. act.

Irregularities of the a-class.

745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,

a. *uh* consider has *gupa*-strengthening (against 240), thus, *ôhate*

b. *kyp* (or *krap*) lament, on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, *kypate*.

c. *guh* hide has prolongation instead of *gupa*, thus, *gûhati*.

d. *kram* stride regularly lengthens its vowel in the active, but not in the middle, thus, *krâmati*, *krâmato*; but the vowel-quantities are somewhat mixed up, even from the oldest language down: *klam* tire is said to form *klâmati* etc., but is not quotable; — *cam* with the preposition *â* raise the mouth forms *âcamati*

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from *mṛj* wipe, and they show the same *vyddhi* (instead of *gupa*) which belongs to the root *i* in its more proper inflection (627): thus, *mārjaya*.

f. The grammarians give a number of roots in *uv*, 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 a secondary formation from roots in *ṛ* or *ar*. The root *murch* or *mûrch* congregate has likewise only *û* in quotable forms.

g. The onomatopoeic root *âthiv* *apete* is written by the grammarians as *âthiv*, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system: compare 240 b

746. The roots *dañ* 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, *dâçati* etc.; *sañj* forms both *sajati* and *sajjati* probably for *sajyati*, or for *sasjati* 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 *gaocha* and *yaocha*: thus, *gaochâmi* etc., see 608.

748. The root *sad* sit forms *sida* conjectured to be contracted from *sisda* for *sisada*: thus, *sidâmi* 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 *a*, *etha* stand, *pa* drink, and *ghrâ* melt, form the present-stems *tiçtha* *tiçthâmi* etc., *piçva* *piçvâmi* etc., and *jighra* *jighrâmi* 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 718

750. On the other hand the root *dham* or *dhma* *Now* 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 *अ á*, 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 *विच्* *enter*; stem *विच्* *viçá*:

1. Present Indicative.

active.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 विजानि	विजानम्	विजानम्	विजे	विजानदे	विजानदे
viçāmi	viçāvas	viçāmas	viçe	viçāvāhe	viçāmāhe
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1	viçāni	viçāva	viçāma	viçai	viçāvahāi	viçāmahāi
2	{viçāsi		viçātha	{viçāsa	viçāithe	
	{viçān			{viçāsāi		
3	{viçāti	viçātas	viçān	{viçāte	viçāite	viçāntai
	{viçāt			{viçātāi		

a. A single example of the brevier 1st sing. act. is *mṛkṣā*. The only forms in *āithe* and *āite* are *pṛpāithe* and *yuvāite*.

3. Present Optative.

1	विजेयम्	विजेय	विजेन	विजेय	विजेयदे	विजेयदे
	viçeyam	viçeva	viçēma	viçeya	viçēvahi	viçēmahi
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

b. The RV. has the enbug *tana* once in *tiretana* 2d pl. act., and *rata* in *jagerata* 3d pl. mid.

4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

1	विज	विजानम्	विजान	विजान्य	विजियान्	विजान्यम्
	viçá	viçátam	viçáta	viçásva	viçótham	viçádhyam
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

c. The ending *tāt* is found in EV. and AV. in *mṛdatāt*, *vṛhatāt*, *suvatāt*; other examples are not infrequent in the Brahmana language thus, *khīdatāt*, *chyatāt*, *prechatāt*, *viçatāt*, *arjatāt*; and later, *apṛçatāt*. The 3d sing. act. *nudātu* and *muñcātu* occur in Śātras (cf. 740).

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is *विजान्* *viçānt*; the middle is *विजमान* *viçāmāna*.

d. The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus *viçāntī*; but sometimes from the weak: thus, *siñcāntī* and *siñcati* (RV and AV.), *tudāntī* and *tudatī* (AV). see above, 449 d, e.

e. Middle participles in *āna* instead of *māna* are *dhuvāna*, *dhṛvāna*, *liçāna*, *qṛāna*, in the older language; *kṛçāna*, *muñcāna*, *apṛçāna* in the later (cf. 741 a).

6. Imperfect.

1	अविजानम्	अविजान	अविजानम्	अविजे	अविजायति	अविजानति
	āviçam	āviçāva	āviçāma	āviçe	āviçāvahi	āviçamahi
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

f. Examples of augmentless forms accented are *spjās*, *spjāt*, *tirānta*.

g. The a-sonant (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-ā-conjugation.

a. In some of these transfers, as *prp* and *mṛp* (731), there takes place almost a set-back of the perfect roots.

b. The stems *icçhā*, *uocçhā*, and *ṛocçhā* are reckoned as belonging respectively to the roots *iç* *desire*, *vas* *shine*, and *ṛ* *go*.

c. The roots written by the Hindu grammarians with final *o*—namely, *cho*, *do*, *ço*, and *no*—and forming the present-stems *chayā*,

dyá, *çyá*, *eyá*, 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 *kəya*, *əva*, *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 *ɣlaj* *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 *ɣ* or some of the usual substitutes of *ɣ*.

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, *kəiyá*, *yuvá*, *ruvá*; *əuvá*, etc., and *əva*, *hva* occur, instead of *əuva* and *huva*, in the older language, while TS. has the participle *kəyánt*. K. has *dhuva* from *ɣdhū*.

756. The three roots in *ɣ* 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 *gɣ*, *jɣ*, *tɣ*; and *bhur* and *əphur* are evidently related with other *ar* or *ɣ* 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 *ɣ muc release*; *stñcá* from *ɣstic sprinkle*, *vindá* from *ɣvid find*, *kɣntá* from *ɣkɣt cut*, *piñcá* from *ɣpiç adorn*, *tɣmpá* from *ɣtɣp enjoy*, *lumpá* from *ɣlup break*; *lɣmpá* from *ɣlip smear*, and occasional forms of the same kind are met with from a few others, as *tundá* from *ɣtud thrust*; *bɣñhá* from *ɣbɣñ strengthen*; *dɣñhá* (beside *dɣñha*) from *ɣdɣñ make firm*; *çumbhá* (beside *çumbha*) from *ɣçubh shine*, TS. has *çɣñthati* from *ɣçrath*, instead of *çrathnati*; *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*, *numbha*, *rājá*, *piñhá*, *yañja*, *rundha*, *çlñga*.

VIII. *Ya*-class fourth, *div*-class.

759. The present-stem of this class adds *ɣ 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* (*ind*); stem नह्य *náhya*.

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	नह्यामि	नह्यामस्	नह्यामन्	नह्ये	नह्यावहे	नह्यामहे
	<i>náhyāmi</i>	<i>náhyāvas</i>	<i>náhyāmas</i>	<i>náhye</i>	<i>náhyāvāhe</i>	<i>náhyāmāhe</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1	náhyāni	náhyāma	náhyai	náhyāvahai	náhyāmahai
2	{ náhyāsi náhyāsa		náhyāssi		náhyādhvai
3	{ náhyāti náhyāt	náhyātas	náhyān	náhyātāi	náhyāntāi

a. A 3d pl mid in *antāi* (*jāyantāi*) occurs once in TS.

3. Present Optative.

1	नह्येयम्	नह्येय	नह्येम	नह्येय	नह्येयहि	नह्येमहि
	<i>náhyeyam</i>	<i>náhyeya</i>	<i>náhyema</i>	<i>náhyeya</i>	<i>náhyevahi</i>	<i>náhyemahi</i>
	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	नह्येथम्	नह्यध्वम्
	<i>náhya</i>	<i>náhyatam</i>	<i>náhyata</i>	<i>náhyasva</i>	<i>náhyetham</i>	<i>náhyadhvam</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

c. Of the ending *tana*, RV has one example, *náhyatana*; the ending *tāt* is found in *ayātāt*, *khyāyātāt*, *naçyātāt*.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is नह्यन् *náhyant* (fem. नह्यन्ती *náhyanti*); the middle is नह्यमान *náhyamāna*.

6. Imperfect.

1	अनह्यन्	अनह्याव	अनह्याम	अनह्ये	अनह्यावहि	अनह्यामहि
	<i>ánahyam</i>	<i>ánahyāva</i>	<i>ánahyāma</i>	<i>ánahye</i>	<i>ánahyāvahi</i>	<i>ánahyāmahi</i>
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

d. Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are *gáyat*, *páçyat*, *páçyan*, *jáyathās*.

781. 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, *keudh* be hungry, *muh* be confused, *lubb* be lustful, *çug* 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, *muç* forms *müçyate* once or twice, beside the usual *mucyate*, in A.V. and A.V., and in the Brishmanas the former is the regular accent. Similar changes are found also in ya-forms from other roots: thus, from *kai* destroy, *ji* or *jyā* injure, *tap* heat, *dph* make firm, *pac* cook, *pr* fill, *mi* damage, *rio* leave, *lup* break, *hā* leave. Active forms are easily made from some of these, and they are 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 *ñjan* 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, *çliç* 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 *ē* or *o*. These

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 a-stems of the ya-class. They are *kāā* burn, *gā* sing, *glā* be weary, *trā* cure, *dhyā* think, *pyā* fill up, *mīā* relax, *rā* bark, *vā* be blown, *çyā* coagulate, *çrā* boil, *çtyā* stiffen. Some of them are evident extensions of earlier roots by the addition of *ā*. The secondary roots *tīy* stretch (beside *tan*), and *cāy* observe (beside *ci*) appear to be of similar character.

f. Roots reckoned as ending in *ē* 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 a-stems, either with *ā* weakened to *ē* before the disjuncture of this class, or with *ā*

weakened to *i* or *ī* and inflected according to the *a*-class. They are *dhā* such, *mā* exchange, *vā* create, *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*, *pre*, *dyāti* etc. These, as having an accented *ā* in the sign, have plainly no right to be put in this class; and they are better referred to the *ā*-class (see above, 753 c). Outside the present-system they show *a*- 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 *pi*-tive, with *yā*-sign. Though very far from being so 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*, *ṣam* be quiet, *ṣram*: for example, *tāmyati*, *ṣrāmyati*. From *kṣam*, however, only *kṣamyate* occurs; and *ṣam* labor makes *ṣamyati* B.

764. The root *mad* has the same lengthening: thus, *mādyati*.

765. The roots in *iv*—namely, *div*, *slv*, *ariv* or *ṣriv*, and *ṣhiv* 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 *diu* etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always *ū*, *div* is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root *div* share, which changes to *dyu* (361 d): compare 240 b.

766. From the roots *jr* and *tr* (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 *pr* 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 *dṛh* or *dṛh*; *bhraqya* from *bhraq* or *bhraq*, *rajya* from *rañj* or *raj*.

IX. Accented yá-class: Passive conjugation.

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 य yá added to the root: thus, हन्य हन्यá from हन् han *slay*, आप्य आप्यá from आप् āp *obtain*, ग्रह्य ग्रह्यá from गृह् grh (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 922 b, or before the of the passive participle 954, is made also in the passive present-system: thus, अज्यá from अज् aj, बध्याá from बन्ध bandh, उच्यá from उच uac, क्षिज्यá from क्षिज् kṣij.

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, मियá from मि mi, सुयá from सु su;

b. Final a is usually changed to i: thus, दियá from दा da, भियá from भा bhā: but ज्ञायá from ज्ञā, and so क्थायá, क्थायá, मन्थायá, etc.

c. Final r is in general changed to ri: thus, क्रियá from क्र r, but if preceded by two consonants and also, it is claimed, in the root r, it has instead the guṇa-strengthening: thus, स्मर्यá from स्म r the only quotable case;—and in those roots which show a change of r to ir and ur (so-called r-verbs: see 242, that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, क्षिर्यá from क्ष r, पुर्यá from प r.

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 kr *make*; passive-stem क्रिय kriyá:

1. Present Indicative.

१.	२.	३.
क्रिये	क्रियावहे	क्रियामहे
kriyē	kriyāvāhe	kriyāmāhe
etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

b. The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

१.	२.	३.
क्रियाँ		क्रियामहौ
kriyāi		kriyāmahāi
२		क्रियद्धवौ
		kriyādhvāi
३	{क्रियाते	
	{क्रियातौ	क्रियान्तौ
		kriyāntāi

c. The 3d pl. ending *antāi* is found once (*ucyantāi* ४).

3. Present Optative.

१.	२.	३.
क्रियेय	क्रियेवहि	क्रियेमहि
kriyēya	kriyēvahi	kriyēmahi
etc.	etc.	etc.

d. No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found however, in the Brahmanas. Chl. has once *dhmāyite*.

4. Present Imperative.

१.	२.	३.
क्रियस्व	क्रियेथम्	क्रियध्वम्
kriyāsva	kriyētham	kriyādhvam
etc.	etc.	etc.

5. Present Participle.

e. This is made with the suffix मान *māna*, thus, *क्रियमाण* *kriyāmāṇa*.

f. In use, this participle is well distinguished from the other passive participle by its distinctively present meaning (thus, *kṛtā* *done*, but *kriyāmāṇa* *in process of doing*, or *being done*).

6. Imperfect.

१.	२.	३.
अक्रिये	अक्रियावहि	अक्रियामहि
ākriye	ākriyāvahi	ākriyāmahi
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, *tayāte*, *khayāte* but also *tanyate*, *khan-*

yate, and dham, in like manner, makes either dhamyate or dhmayāte. The corresponding form to १jan, 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 *mṛṣ* (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 *dṛ* *pierce* and *pṛ* *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 dhmayati* and *vy āpruṣyat* (QB), *bhūyati* (Matl.). 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 our-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>cintāyai</i>
Opt.	<i>cintāyeyam</i>	<i>cintāyeya</i>
Pple.	<i>cintāyant</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 middle-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: *imām céd vā imō cinvāte tāta evā no 'bhībhavanti* (ÇB.) *verily if these build this up, then they will straightway get the better of us*, *agnir ātmabhavān prādād yatra vañobhūti nāiqadhaḥ* (MBh.) *agni gave his own presence wherewith the Nishadha should desire*; *svāgatān te 'stu kiñ karomi tava* (K.) *welcome to thee; what shall I do for thee?*

b. Examples of past meaning are: *ūtārā sūr ādharāḥ putrā āsīd dānuḥ çaye sahāvataḥ nā dhenūḥ* (RV.) *the mother was over, the son under, there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf*; *prahasanti ca tān kecid abhyasūyanti ca 'pare akurvata dayam kecid* (MBh.) *some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her; tato yasya vacanāt tatrā 'valambitās tān sarve tīrṣakurvanti* (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, *saptarṣin u ha sma vai purā rṣṇā ity ānakaṣate* (ÇB.) *the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears*, *tanmātram api con mahyaṁ na dadāti purā bhavān* (MBh.) *if you have never before given me even an atom*.

b. With the asseverative particle *sma* thus, *grāmeṇa ha sma vai tad devā jayanti yād eṣāṁ jāyām āsā rṇayaç ca* (ÇB.) *in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won*; *aviṣṭaḥ kalina dyūto jīyato sma nalas 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 Brahmanas, 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 other past tenses, the perfect and aorist.

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 *आन्* *ān*, *आन्* *ās*, *आह्* *āh*. The root *हृ* *r* forms likewise throughout *आहृ* *ār* as if from *अहृ* *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 *gupa*, 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 *इस्* *is* comes *इयस्* *iyas* in weak forms, but *ह्येयस्* *hyeyas* in strong; from *उच्* *uc*, in like manner, come *उच्यते* *ucyate* and *उच्यते* *ucyate*. The root *इ* *i*, a single vowel, also falls under this rule, and forms *इयि* *iyi* *y* added before a vowel and *ह्ये* *hye*

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, *प* *p* *obtain* (probably originally *ap*: 1087 ff.) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem *प* *p* (as if from *ap*: above, a). Also are met with *इद* *id* (RV) and *इदि* *idi* (fr in *विद*), and *इरि* *iri* (V) from *पृ* *r*.

e. For the peculiar reduplication *आ* *ā*, 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, 783 b), except that they retain

the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from *√vac* *vac* *vac* come *ūc* and *uvac*, from *√vas* *vas* *vas* come *as* and *uvas*, and so on.

a. The roots showing this abbreviation are *vac*, *vap*, *vad*, *vaç*, *vas*, *vah*; and *va* *vacare* 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 *vavakçe* (RV), *vavāpa* and *vavāha* and *vavāhatus* (E. and later), *yoje* (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 *vynac*, *vyath*, *vyadh*, *vyā*, *jyā*, *pyā*, *syand*; and, in the Veda, also *tyaj*, with *cyu* and *dyut*, which have the root-vowel *u*. Other sporadic cases occur.

b. A single root with *va* is treated in the same way, namely *avap*, which forms *evavap*.

c. These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms; see below, 784.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

a. Thus, of roots reduplicating with *a* *kan*, *kṛp*, *grdh*, *trp*, *trṣ*, *dṛh*, *dhṛ*, *dhṛṣ*, *nam*, *māh*, *mṛj*, *mṛç*, *ran*, *radh*, *rabb*, *vañc*, *van*, *vaç*, *vas* *clothe*, *vāç*, *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *vṛç*, *çad* *proceed*, *sañ*, *akambh*. Some of these occur only in isolated cases. Many have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but *dadhāra* is common also in the Brahmana language, and is even found later. As to *jagṛ*, see 1020 a.

b. Of roots reduplicating with *i* the so-called roots (876) *didhi* and *didhi*, which make the perfect from the same stem with the present thus, *didetha*, *didāya*; *didhima*, *didhyus* (also *didhiyus*, *didiyus*). But *pīpi* has *pīpye*, *pīpyus*, etc. with short *i*. In AV. occurs once *jihṛṣa*, and in AB. and AA. *bibhāya*.

c. Of roots reduplicating with *ū* *tu*, *ju*, and *çu* (or *çva*).

787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative 42) palatal *maṭra* and aspirated show a reversion to the more original guttural in the reduplicated syllable after the reduplication thus, *√ci* forms *ciki*; *√cit* forms *cikit*; *√ji* forms *jigi*; *√hit* forms *jighi*; *√han* forms *jaghan* (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots, 216, 1). A root *da* *protect* is said by the grammarians to form *digi*; but neither root nor perfect is quoted.

788. A small number of roots with initial *a* or *ṛ* do show the anomalous reduplication *an* in the perfect.

a. Thus (the forms occurring mainly in the older language only)

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 704 c, and in certain other verbs, as *vivijithu*). The earlier language, however, affords no example of a 21 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 present are met with, thus, *yuyopima* and *viveṣus* (RV.) *pasparṣus* (Ael.) and, in the epics, *cakartus* and *cakartire*, *cakargatus*, *jugūhīro*, *nanūmīro*, *bibhedus*, *vavāhatas*, *viveṣatus*, *vavarṣus*. The roots *ḍṛ*, *pr*, and *ṣṛ*, and *optāna* & *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* (*ṣṣṛ* *scatter*) and *tastare*

i. The root *mṛj* has (as in the present-system 627) *vrddhi* instead of *gūṇa* in strong forms: thus, *mamérja*; and *jguh* (also as in present, 745 c) has *ū* instead of *o* (but also *juguhe* E).

704 As regards the weakening in weak forms

a. It has been seen above (703 b) that roots beginning with *i* or *u* fuse reduplicating and radical syllable together to *i* or *ū* in the weak forms, and 704 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 *i*.

b. A few roots having *ya* and *va* after a first initial consonant, and reduplicating from the semivowel (703), contract the *ya* and *va* to *i* and *u* thus *vivic* from *yvyac*, *vividh* from *yvyadh* (but *vivyadhus* MBh.), *supup* from *yavup*. The extended roots *jyā*, *pyā*, *vyā*, *ṣvā*, *hṛā* show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots *jī*, *pī*, *vī*, *ṣū*, *hū*, while *hṛā* must and *ṣvā* may get their strong forms also from the same (and only *jījyāū* is quotable from the others)

c. The root *grabh* or *grah* (if it be written thus: see 729 a) contracts to *grh*, making the three forms of stem *jagrāh* (1st and 2d sing. act.), *jagrāh* (3d), and *jagrḥ*; but *prach* (if it be so written: see 760 a) 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 *y'krand*; *tataśre* (RV.) from *y'taśe*; *dadaṣvāśe* (RV.) from *y'daṣṣ*; *bedhūs*, *bedhó*, etc. (AV.) from *y'bandh*; *aejus* (LB) from *y'saṇj*; *caskabhāná* (AV) from *y'akambh*; *tastabhūs* etc. (V.), *tastabhāná* (VB), from *y'atambh*. Compare also 708 a

e. A number of roots having medial *a* between single consonants drop that vowel. These are, in the later language, *gam*, *khan*, *jan*,

nan, ghas; they form the weak stems jagm, cakm, jañ, jaghn compare 637, jak compare 640; but RV. has once jajanus

f. In the old language are found in like manner mamnâthe and mamnâte from yman; vavnô from yvan; tatne, tatniçe, tatnire from ytan (beside tatane, and tate, as if from yta), paptima and paptûs and paptivâns from ypat (beside pet-forms, below, g), papnô from ypan, saçcima and saçcus, saçce and saçcîrô, from ysaç

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 o as its vowel: thus, ysad forms the weak stem sed, ypac forms pec, yyam 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 rādhi (radh?), notwithstanding their long vowel; phañ, phal (pholiro C), bhaj (occurs from RV. down), though their initial is changed in reduplication; trap, tras (tronus E.C.), grath, syam, avan, though they begin with more than one consonant; dambh (debhus, RV., from the weaker dabhi), though it ends with more than one, and bhram (bhremus etc. KSS), bhraj, granth, svañ, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary. And ÇB. has sejus from ysañ and KB has çremus from yçram. On the other hand, RV. has once rarabh-mâ, and R. has papatus, for petus, from ypat

i. This contraction is allowed also in 21 sing. act. when the ending is itha: thus, tenitha beside tatantha (but no examples are quotable from the older language).

j. The roots çaq and dad (from dâ: 672) are said to reject the contraction, but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.

k. From ytr (r tar) occurs terus (R), and jerus from yjr is authorized by the grammarians—both against the general analogy of roots in r

l. Roots ending in â lose their â 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 â

796. Endings, and their union with the stem.

The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (553 c; and it has also been pointed out (543 a) that roots ending in ण् â have ण् âu in 1st and 3d sing. active.

a. The ending *mas* instead of *ma* is found in *ṣuṣṛumas* (E C). For the alleged occurrence of *ḍhve* instead of *dhve* in 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant — namely *ṭha*, *va*, *ṇma* in active; *ṣe* 3d. *ṣe* *vahe*, *ṣe* *mahe*, *ḍhve*, *ṛe* *re* in middle — are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel *ṛi*.

a. The union-vowel *i* is found widely used also in other parts of the general verbal system — namely, in the infinitive, 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 *ṛi* in the later language are as follows:

a. The *ṛe* of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except *ṭha* of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

c. But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely *kr* *make*, *bhṛ* *bear*, *ṣṛ* *go*, *vr* *choose*, *dru* *run*, *ṣru* *hear*, *stu* *praise*, *ṣru* *flour*, 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 *ṛi*; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, including those in *ṣṛi* of which the *ṣṛi* is lost when the ending is *ṛi* *itha*, and most of those in *ṛi*, *ṛi* I, and *ṛi* u.

e. The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of the *ṛi* *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 *ībhū* becomes *ūv* throughout before a vowel.

798. In the older language the usage is in part quite otherwise. Thus:

a. In the RV., the unan-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*, *urōcitha*, *viweditha*, but *tatānthā* and *viryāktha*; *ucimā*, *paptima*, *sedima*, *yuyopimā*, but *jaganma*, *jagṛbhā*, *yuyujma*; *deigē*, *jañhiḡe*, *śasāhiḡe*, but *vivitse* and *dadrḡke*; *bubhujmāhe* and *ṣaṣadmahe* etc. (no examples of *īvahe* or *īmahe* chance to occur nor any of either *īdhve* or *dhve*); *ūiro*, *jañhīrē*, *yeṭirē* *tataḡgiro*, but *caḡḡprē*, *viwidre*, *duduhre*, *paṣṣṛdhre*, *tataṣrē* (and so on twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV is *vettha* from *vid* without *i* (in IR, also *ātitha* from *pāh* below, 801 a). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brahmanas 3d pl. forms in *īre* are made after light syllables also: thus, *saṣṣjire*, *bubudhīre*, *yuyujīre*, *ruṛadhīre*.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more treaty like the later. Thus, for roots in *ā* the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing in *ītha* is met with) as *dadhīmā*, *dadhigē*, *dadhīdhvē*, *dadhīre* (the only persons with *i* variable from RV. and AV.; and RV. has *dadhre* twice).—roots in *ṛ* appear also to follow the later rule: as *caḡḡrō*, *paṣṣṛḡe*, *vavṛḡē*, *vavṛmāhe*, but *dadhriḡe* and *jañhriḡe*, and in 3d pl. mid. both *caḡḡrīrē* and *dadhriḡe*.—*ībhū* has both *babhūtha* (usually) and *babhūvītha*, but only *babhūvimā* (AV.). But there are found, against the later rule: *supuma*, *cicyuṣe*, *juhure*, and *juhūre*, without *i*: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending *rīrē* of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely *oḡḡrīre*, *jagṛbhīrē*, *dadrīre*, *bubhujīre*, *viwidrīre*, *saṣṣjīre*; to which SV. adds *duduhīre* and IR. *dadrḡrīre*.

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 *बुधोत्* *bubódh*; weak form, *बुधुत्* *bubudh*.

s.	active			middle		
	d.	p.	a.	d.	p.	
1. बुधोत्	बुधुयि	बुधुमि	बुधु	बुधुयिष्ये	बुधुमिष्ये	
bubódha	bubudhivā	-dhimā	bubudhe	-dhivāhe	-dhimāhe	

१	बुबोधित्	बुबुधुम्	बुबुध	बुबुधिर्	बुबुधात्	बुबुधिः
	bubódhitha	-dháthus	-dhá	bubudhíṣe	-dhátḥ	-dhidhve
२	बुबो	बुबुधुम्	बुबुधुम्	बुबुधे	बुबुधानि	बुबुधिर्
	bubódha	-dhátus	-dhús	bubudhé	-dháte	-dhire

b. The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing. act. (above 703 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 निनाम् *nináya* or निनाम् *nináya*, and निनी *niní*.

१	निनाय	निनाय	निनिय	निनियम्	निन्ये	निनियर्हे	निनियर्हे
	nínāya	nínāya	nínivá	nínivám	ninye	ninyiváḥ	ninyimáḥ
२	निनाय	निनाय	निन्यधुम्	निन्य	निन्ये	निन्यात्	निन्यध्वे
	nínātha	nínāyitha	ninyáthus	ninyá	ninyāṣe	ninyathe	ninyidhve
३	निनाय	निन्यधुम्	निन्यधुम्	निन्ये	निन्यात्	निन्यर्	
	nínāya	ninyátus	ninyús	ninye	ninyāte	ninyiré	

d. The root *kri* would make 120 a in weak forms *ekriyivá*, *ekriyátus*, *ekriyús*, etc.; and *ṛbhū* is inflected as follows in the active (middle forms not quotable)

१	babhūva	babhūvivá	babhūvimá
२	babhūtha	babhūvitha	babhuváthus
३	babhūva	babhūvátus	babhuvá
	babhūva	babhūvátus	babhuvás

(Other roots in *ā* 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, 704, 1).

१	ददे	ददिव	ददिम्	ददे	ददिवर्हे	ददिवर्हे
	dadāu	dadivá	dadimá	dadé	dadiváḥ	dadimáḥ
२	ददात्	ददिव	ददधुम्	दद	ददिवे	ददिवे
	dadātha	dadithá	dadáthus	dadá	dadiváṣe	dadiváḥ
३	ददौ	ददधुम्	ददधुम्	ददे	ददिवे	ददिवे
	dadāu	dadátus	dadús	dadé	dadiváte	dadiváre

f. The KV. has once *paprā* for *paprāu* (and *jahā* for *jahāu*?).

g. As example of a root with medial घ a showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial ट् a, in the weak forms 794 g), we may take तन् *tan stretch*: its forms of stem are ततन् *tatán* or तवान् *tatán*, and तेन् *ten*.

1 तवन्, तवान्	तेनिव	तेनिम	तेने	तेनिवहे	तेनिमहे
<i>tatana, tatána</i>	<i>teniva</i>	<i>tenimá</i>	<i>tené</i>	<i>teniváhe</i>	<i>tenimáhe</i>
2 तनन्थ, तेनिथ	तेनधुन्	तेन	तेनिथे	तेनाथे	तेनिधे
<i>tatántha, tenithá</i>	<i>tenáthus</i>	<i>tená</i>	<i>tenigé</i>	<i>tenáthe</i>	<i>tenidhve</i>
3 ततान्	तेनतुन्	तेनुन्	तेने	तेनाने	तेनिरे
<i>tatána</i>	<i>tenátus</i>	<i>tenús</i>	<i>tené</i>	<i>tenáto</i>	<i>teniré</i>

h. The root jan, with the others which expel medial a in weak forms 794 e, makes jajántha or jajáithá, jajáivá, jajáús; jajáé, jajáimáhe, jajáiré; 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 उवान् *uvác*, and ऊच् *uo*.

1 उवच्, उवान्	ऊचिव	ऊचिम	ऊचे	ऊचिवहे	ऊचिमहे
<i>uváca, uváca</i>	<i>ucivá</i>	<i>ucimá</i>	<i>ucé</i>	<i>uciváhe</i>	<i>ucimáhe</i>
2 उवचथ, उवचिथ	ऊचधुन्	ऊच	ऊचिथे	ऊचाथे	ऊचिथे
<i>uváktha, uvácitha</i>	<i>ucáthus</i>	<i>ucá</i>	<i>ucigé</i>	<i>ucáthe</i>	<i>ucidhve</i>
3 उवाच	ऊचतुम्	ऊचुन्	ऊचे	ऊचाने	ऊचिरे
<i>uváca</i>	<i>ucátus</i>	<i>ucús</i>	<i>ucé</i>	<i>ucáto</i>	<i>uciré</i>

j. In like manner, yaj forms iyája or iyája, iyáqtha or iyáqitha; jé, jige, and so on; j uc has uvóca and uvóciha in the strong forms, and all the rest like vac.

k. Of the four roots in क् k mentioned at 797 c, the inflection is as follows:

1 ककर, ककार	ककव	ककम	कक्रे	ककवहे	ककमहे
<i>cakára, cakára</i>	<i>cakvá</i>	<i>cakmá</i>	<i>akré</i>	<i>cakváhe</i>	<i>cakmáhe</i>
2 ककर्थ	ककथुम्	कक्र	ककथे	कक्राथे	ककथे
<i>cakártha</i>	<i>cakráthus</i>	<i>akrá</i>	<i>akvágé</i>	<i>akráthe</i>	<i>cakvdhve</i>
3 ककार	ककतुम्	ककुन्	कक्रे	कक्राने	कक्रीरे
<i>cakára</i>	<i>akrátus</i>	<i>akrús</i>	<i>akré</i>	<i>akráto</i>	<i>akriré</i>

1. Of the roots in \mathfrak{H} \mathfrak{F} in general, the first persons are made as follows:

1 दध० दधा०	दधिव	दधिम	दधे	दधिवहे	दधिमहे
dadhāra, dadhāra	dadhivā	dadhrimā	dadhré	dadhriwāhe	dadhrimāhe

m. We may farther add here, finally, the active inflection (the middle is not in use) of the perfect of $\text{an } \text{de}$, which (like babhūva and cakāra , given above) is frequently employed as an auxiliary

1 āsa	āsivā	āsimā
2 āstha	āsthus	āsā
3 āsa	āstus	āsūs

301. 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 ; āstha , āstus ; āhūs in V., only āha and āhūs are met with)

b. From yva *sever* 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 va , and also as vay (the present-stem is vāya 701 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 viviyathus and viviyé , and no others have been met with in use, the grammarians require the strong forms to be made from vyay , and the weak from vi .

d. The root i *go* forms in RV. and AV. the 2d sing. act. iyatha beside the regular iyétha ; and beside iriré from yir , RV. has several times eriré .

e. RV. has an anomalous accent in dādṛce and dādṛce (beside dadṛkṣé) and the ppl. dādṛcāna . And ciketa (once, beside cikéta) is perhaps a kindred anomaly.

f. Persons of the perfect from the ir -forms of roots in $\text{changeable } \mathfrak{F}$ (242) are titirus and tiatire (both RV.), and they have corresponding participles

g. The histari root urpu (713) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem urpunu ; the roots majj and naq are said to lower a nasal in the 2d sing. act., when the ending is simple tha thus, mamaktha , nanaṅṅtha (also mamajjitha and neqitha)

h. Further may be noted asaajjatus (Mbh. y'saāj , which has 1o passive the secondary form sajj), rurundhatus (R.), and duduhus (Bhāṣ.)

i. The anomalous ajagrabhāṣam (AR. vi. 17) seems a formation of the perfect-stem (but perhaps for ajigrabhiṣan , desid. ?)

Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is याम् vāms (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उय् úy 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, बुबुधाम् bubudhvāms, निनीयाम् ninivāms, चकृवाम् cakrīvāms.

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, तेनियाम् tenivāms, जगियाम् jagivāms, जजियाम् jajivāms, घादियाम् ādivāms (from घृद् ad: 793 a), and so on; ददियाम् dadivāms and its like, from roots in घा 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 794, 1.

a. But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, विद्वाम्, and in V, दाक्वाम् (SV, dāqvāms), मिध्वाम्, सह्वाम्, क्षिद्वाम् (?), and R has also दद्वाम् (AV dadivāms and once dadāvāms) from दद् (or dad: 672), an ān-āqvāms (V'āq eat) occurs in TS. and TB. But AV. has विक्वाम् and varjivāms (in negative fem. āvarjūḥ).

804. Other Vedic irregularities calling for notice are few. The long vowel of the reduplication (786) appears in the participle as in the infinitive: thus, ववृध्वाम्, ससह्वाम्, जुजुवाम्. RV. and AV. have ससवाम् from yean or sá. RV. makes the participial forms of पृष्ट or tar from different modifications of the root: thus, तितिवाम्, हत तatarūḥ. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 462 c.

805. a. From roots gam and han the Veda makes the strong stems jagamvāms (as to the n, see 2.2a) and jaghamvāms; the later language allows either these or the more regular jagmivāms and jaghnivāms (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere jagmūḥ and jaghnūḥ). RV. has also tatanvāms.

b. From three roots, *vid* *śud*, *viç*, and *drç*, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the unacc-suffix, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, *viviçivāṇs* or *viviçvāṇs*; *dadrçivāṇs* occurs in Kth.I. PR has once *cicchidivāṇs*.

806. The ending of the middle participle is *āṇa*. It is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, *बुबुधान* *bubudhāṇa*, *निनान* *ninyāṇa*, *ददान* *dadāṇa*, *तेनान* *tenāṇa*, *जज्ञान* *jajñāṇa*, *दृचान* *dṛcāṇa*.

a. In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, *vāyvdhāṇa*, *vāvasāṇa*, *dādḥhāṇa*, *tutujāṇa*, etc. RV. has *çaçayāṇa* from *çç* (with irregular *guṇa* as in the present-system 829), *tstirāṇa* from *çstṛ*, and once, with *māna*, *saçmaçma* from *çay*. A few participles with long redupl. vowel have it irregularly accented (as if rather intensive 1013): thus, *tūtujāṇa* (also *tutujāṇa*), *bābadhāṇa*, *çāçadāṇa*, *çūçujāṇa*, *çūçuvāṇa*.

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 *anucāna* *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 R̥g-Veda.

a. To draw the line surely and distinctly between these and the modal-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 *anacçyām* and *babhūyas* 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 *mumoca* accented after the analogy of the strong forms

of the perfect indicative, and would take either primary or secondary endings, and the optative mod-stems would be *mumucyā* in the active, and *mumuci* accented 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. *papráthas, cākānas, māmāhas, pipráyas, bubodhas, rārāṇas*; 3d sing., *cākānat, jabharat, rārāṇat, sāsāhat, poṣpārçat, pipráyat*; 1st pl. *cākānāma, tatānāma, çuçuṇāma*; 3d pl. *tatānan, papráthan* (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only *dadhār-anti* and *vavārtati*: compare the formation with different accent below, 811 a.

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. *tatāpate, çuçuāmata, yuyoçate, jujoçate* (RV. has *jūjoçate*), and the 3d pl. *cākānanta, tatānanta* (and perhaps two or three others below, 811 b, 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 845). Here the forms with primary endings, a live, preponderate, and are not very rare, for example, *jūjoças, jūjoçati, jūjoçathas, jūjoçatha* (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, *jūjoças, jūjoçat, and jūjoçan* are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since *dādāças* and *sūçudnas* etc. are perhaps rather artificial). And there is no middle form but *jūjoçate* (RV. see above, 810 c).

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; vavrtat, vividat, çuçuvat*; the only middle forms are *dadhṛçate, vavṛdhate*, 3d sing., and *cākramanta, dādṛçanta, rūrucanta* (with *dādabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, juhuranta*, which might also belong elsewhere 810 c).

c. Accented on the ending are *vavṛdhanta* and *cakṛpānta* (which are rather to be called argumentless pluperfects).

d. As to forms with double mode-sign, or transfers to an other system, see below, 815.

812. Examples of the regular optative formation are:

a. In active 1st sing. *āsaçyām, jagamyām, papçeyām, riric-
yām*; 2d sing. *vavṛtyās, vivṛtyās, çuçuṛyās, babhūyās*; 3d sing., *jagamyāt, vavṛtyāt, tutuyāt, babhūyāt*; 2d du., *jagmyātam, çuçuṛ-
yātam*; 1st pl. *āsahyāma, vavṛtyāma, çuçuṇyāma*; 3d pl. *tatanyus, vavṛtyūs, vavṛtyus*. The forms are quite numerous.

b. In middle, the forms are few; namely, 1st sing., *vāvṛtiya*; 2d sing., *vāvṛdhithās, cakṣamithās*; 3d sing., *jagrāsita, vāvṛtita, māṃṛita, dudhuvita, cūcūcita*; 1st pl. *vāvṛtimahi*. And *śāsa-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, *cakṛiyās, papiyat, cūcṛuyās* and *cūcṛuyātam*, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign *yā* (770), *anajyāt* with short initial, *çīçṛitā* from *yçr*, *jakṣiyāt* is anomalous; *ririṣas* in the only form that shows a unaccented *a* (unless also *siçot*, from *yās*).

813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted, namely, active, *cakandhi, rārandhi, cākiddhi, titigdhī, mumugdhī, cūcugdhī*, and *piprihī*; *oṅkantu, rārantu, mumoktu*, and *babhūtu*; *mumuktam* and *vāvṛktam*; *jujuṣṭana* and *vāvṛttana* (unless we are to add *mamaddhi, mamattu, mamāttana*) — middle, *vāvṛtsva* and *vāvṛddhvam*. AV. has once *dudṛçram*.

814. As irregular imperatives may be reckoned several which show a unaccented *a*, or have been transferred to an *a*-conjugation. Such are in the active, *mumōcatam* and *jujoṣatam* (2d du pl. and *mumōcata* (2d pl.)), in the middle, *pipṛāyasva* (only one form with accent), and *māmahaṣva, vāvṛdhaṣva, vāvṛṣasva* (2d sing.), and *māmahantām* (3d pl.; probably to be accented *-āsva* and *-āntām*).

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, 1028 ff.), for example, *jujoṣa* from *yjug*, from which would come *jūjoṣasi* etc. and *jūjoṣate* (811a) as indicative, *jūjoṣas* 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, *vṛdh*, such a double stem is to be recognized, from *vāvṛdha* come readily *vāvṛdhato, vāvṛdhanta*, and from it alone can come regularly *vāvṛdhaṣva, vāvṛdhete* and *vāvṛdhāti* (in c, RV.) — and, yet more, the participle *vāvṛdhant* (RV., AV. *vāvṛdhant*: an isolated case), yet even here we have a so *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, *papṛcasi* — is found to set beside *vāvṛdhāti*.

816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from *yṃuc*, the subjunctives *mumōcas, mūmo-*

cati, and mumucas, from ḍhr̥ṣ , dadhāṛṣati and dadhāṛṣate ; from ṣpri the Imperatives piprihī and piprāyasva .

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 acacakeṣam (which, by its form, might be aorist 860). 2d sing. ājagan , 3d sing. ājagen and aciket , 2d du., amumuktam , 2d pl ājaganta , and ājagantana and ajabhartana (a strong form, as often in this person 868 a), 3d pl (perhaps) ama-mandus and amamadus . To these may be added the augmentless cakān and rārān , cikētam and cakaram . In the middle, the 3d pl acakrīran and ajagmīran (with īran 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 i (855 b): thus, ābubhojīs , avivocīs ; anirecit , ājagrabhit (avāvarit and avāvacitām are rather intensive), and the augmentless jihīhās (accent^v) and dadharsit belong with them.

820. A few forms show a stem ending in a they are in the active 1st sing., asasvajat , acikitat , acakrat ; in the middle 3d sing., āpip-rata ; 2d du., āpaappdhethām ; 3d pl., atitvīṇanta (which by its form might be aorist), ādadhānta , and cakradat , cakrānta , cāvdpdhānta , 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 proterit or past tense, equivalent with the imperfect, and freely interchangeable or co-ordinated 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 927.

c. The perfects *veda* and *aha* are everywhere used with present value. In the Brāhmaṇas, also others, especially *dādāra*, also *didāya*, *bibhaya*, etc.

822. 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 TV and TB., as over thirty-four to one; and in those of MS. is 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 1.1 that the perfect is much more commonly used, and even, to a considerable extent, in combination with the imperfect. Throughout the Brāhmaṇas however, the perfect participles have in general the true "perfect" value, indicating a completed or proximate past.

823. 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 *a* first of the older language, 928), but oftener 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 co-ordinated with them all.

a. Examples are of perfect with present, *nā grāmyanti nā vi muñcanti éte váyo ná paptuḥ* (RV.) *they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds*; *sé 'd u rájā kṣayati carṣapinām arāṇ nā nemih pāri tā babhūva* (RV) *he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes*; — of perfect with aorist, *ūpo ruruce yuvatir nā yóṣā ... ābhūd agnih samidho mānuṣāṇām āker jyōtir bādhamanā tāmaṇai* (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, *āhann āhim ānv apās tatarda* (RV) *he slew the dragon, he penetrated to the waters*. Such a combination as this last is of constant occurrence in the later language: e.g. *mumudo 'pujayaś cāi 'nām* (R) *he was glad, and paid honor to her*; *vastrānto jagrāba skandhadeṣe 'erjat 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 SIMILANT AORIST corresponding to the Greek "first aorist", having for its tense-sign a *त्* *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 *त्* *s* *a* 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 *त्* *s* alone added to the root, 5. *is*-aorist, the same with interposed *इ* *i*; 6. *sis*-aorist, the same as the preceding with *त्* *s* added at the end of the root. B. with union-vowel *अ* *a* 7. *sa*-aorist

825. All these varieties are found 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-präterita to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply præterita, 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 Hitopadesa, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gita and Lakṣaṇa, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2000 lines, of the Rāmāyaṇa, compare 827 b) and it possesses no participle, nor any mode resembling in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 570; and the so-called precativæ see 821 g); 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, *adham* and *dhāvas* from √dhā, *ayuj* and *ayukṣata* from √yuj; — of 1 and 5, *agrabham* and *agrabhiṣma* from √grabh, *marṣhās* and *marṣiṣthas* from √mṛṣ; — of 1 and 2, *āra* and *ārata* from √r; — of 2 and 4, *avidam* and *avital* from √vid, *śind*, *anijam* and *anaiṣṣit* from √nij; — of 2 and 5, *śanoma* and *śanaiṣam* from √śan, — of 2 and 7, *aruham* and *arukṣat* from √ruh; — of 4 and 5, *amātsus* and *amāṣiṣus* from √mad, — of 4 and 6, *hānuhi* and *hāniṣus* from √hā, — of 1 and 2 and 4, *atnata* and *atanat* and *atān* from √tan — of 1 and 4 and 5, *abudhan* and *ābhutai* and *bodhiṣat* from √budh, *āstar* and *astṛiṣya* at 1

ataris from *yatr*. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.

1. Simple Aorist.

826. 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 *या ā* and the root *भू bhū*, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the *a*-aorist 1. or the *iā*-aorist 5.

b. The roots in *या ā* take *उन् us* as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their *या ā* before it; *भू bhū* as in the perfect: 793 a. retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting *न् v* after it before the endings *याम am* and *यन् an* of 1st sing. and 3d pl. Thus.

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अदाम् ādam	अदाव ādava	अदाम ādama	अभूवम् ābhūvam	अभूव ābhūva	अभूव ābhūva
2	अदात् ādas	अदातम् ādātam	अदात् ādāt	अभूव ābhūv	अभूवम् ābhūtām	अभूव ābhūta
3	अदात् ādāt	अदाताम् ādātām	अदुस् ādus	अभूत् ābhut	अभूताम् ābhutām	अभूव ābhuvan

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* *dehā*, *sthā*, *bhū*; while sporadic forms are made from *jñā*, *prā*, *sā*, *hā*. As to their middle forms, see below, 834 a.

a. Instead of *ābhūvam*, RV. has twice *ābhuvam*. BHP. has *agan*, 3d pl., instead of *egus*.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in *y*, and a few in *i*- and *u*-vowels short or long —

garau, dārçan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

c. The aortes *bhuvam*, *bhūvas*, *bhūvat*, *bhūvan*, and *bhuvāni* (compare *abhuvam* 830 a) and the isolated *grūvat*, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a *gupa*-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of *gupa* in the aorist indicative and the perfect of *ṛbhū*).

837. Optative. The optative active of this aorist constitutes, with a *s* interposed between mode-sign and personal endings (567), the precative 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 836), the ending crowds out the sibilant in the 3d sing. which thus comes to end in *yāt* instead of *yās* (compare 553 a).

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* 250 d) *deyām*, *dheyām* and *dheyas*, and *atheyāma*; in *u*-vowels *bhūyāma*; in *ṛ*, *kriyāma*; in consonants, *açyām* and *açyāma* as *i* *açyas*, *vriyām*, *çakyām*, *yuyāva* and *yuyātām*, *sahya-ma*, as *i* *tydyas*.

b. The optative middle of the root-aorist is not recognized by the Hindu grammarians as making a part of the precative formation. The RV. has, however, two precative forms of it, namely *padīṣā* and *mucīṣā*. Much more common in the older language are pure optative forms, namely, *açiyā* and *açimāhi* (this optative is especially common) *indhiya*, *gmīya*, *muriya*, *ruciya*; *arita*, *uhita*, *varita*; *idhimahi*, *naçimahi*, *naamahi* *preimahi*, *mudimahi*, *yaminahi*; and probably, from *ā*-roots *simāhi* and *dhimahi* (which might also be augmentless indicative, since *adhimahi* and *adhītām* also occur). All these forms except the three in 3d sing. might be precative 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. Precative 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. *avyā*, *jñeyā*, *bhūyā*, *mr̥dhyā*, *sahyā*; 3d sing. (in *-yās* for *-yāst*, RV. has no 3d sing. in *yāt* which is later the universal ending), *avyā*, *açyā*, *ṛdhyā*, *gamyā*, *daghyā*, *peyā*, *bhuyā*, *yamyā*, *yuyā*, *vriyā*, *çrūyā*, *sahyā*; 1st pl. *kriyāma* (beside *kriyāma*, 837 a). 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 *bhūyastha* (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 837 a). 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 *bhūyāntām* 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 farther 925.

839. Imperative. Imperative forms of the root-aorist are not free 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 *mātsava*, *yāḥṣva*, *vāḥṣva*, *rāṣva*, *sāḥṣva*; *dīṣva* and *māṣva* are not found with accent: the 2d pl. is represented by *kṛdhvam*, *voḍhvam*. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use, examples are: 2d sing., *kṛdhī*, *vṛdhī*, *ṣaḍdhī*, *ṣṛudhī*, *gaḍhī*, *yaṁdhī*, *gaḥī*, *māhī*, *śāhī*, *mogdhī*; 3d sing. *gaṁtu*, *datu*, *aṣtu*, *ṣṛōtu*, *śōtu*; 2d du., *datam*, *jitam*, *ṣaktam*, *ṣrutām*, *bhutam*, *spṛtām*, *gatām*, *riktām*, *voḍham*, *sitam*, *śutām*; 3d du., only *gaṁtām*, *datām*, *voḍhām*; 2d pl., *gātā*, *bhūtā*, *ṣṛutā*, *kṛtā*, *gata*, *data*, *dhatana*, 3d pl., only *dhāntu*, *ṣṛuvantu*. 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 *yaṁtām*, *vartām*, *vartam*; *kārta*, *gāṁta* (once *gaṁtā*), *yāṁta*, *vartta*, *heṭa*, *ṣṛōta*, *śōta*, and, with *taṇa*, *kārtana*, *gāṁtana*, *yāṁtana*, *śōtana*, and the irregular *dhetana* (*ydhā*); in 3d du., *gaṁtām*. Much more irregular are *yōdhī* (instead of *yuddhī*) from *yudh*, and *bodhī* from both *ybudh* and *ybhū* (instead of *buddhī* and *bhuddhī*). A single form (3d sing.) in *tāt* is found, namely *ṣastāt*. We find *kṛdhī* also later (MBh BHP).

a. As to 2d persons singular in *si* from the stative 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 *mṛṣyanti*).

b. In the middle, they are in RV. much more numerous. The accent is usually on the final of the stem: thus, *arāṇā*, *idhānā*, *krāṇā*, *juṣṭāṇā*, *ṛṣāṇā*, *nidānā*, *piṣāṇā*, *ṛcāṇā*, *prathānā*, *budhānā*, *bhiyānā*, *manāṇā*, *mandānā*, *yujānā*, *rucānā*, *vipāṇā*, *vraṇā*, *urāṇā*, *qubhānā*, *śacānā*, *suvānā* or *avānā*, *spṛjānā*, *spṛdhānā*, *hiyānā*;—but sometimes on the root-syllable: thus, *citāna*, *crāvāna*, *rūhāṇa*, *ūhāṇa* (poet.), *vāsāna*, *qumbhāna*;—while a few show both accentuations:

(compare 819 d) thus, *dṛṣṇā* and *dṛṣṇa*, *dyutānā* and *dyutāna*, *yatanā* and *yātana*; and *cetāna* and *hrayāṇa* occur only in composition. A very few of these are found once or twice in other texts, namely *citāna*, *dyutāna*, *ruhāna*, *vasāna*, *suvāna*; and *-kupaṇa* occurs once in *Apast* (xii. 25. 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 prevaillingly 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 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 ३d sing. perfect, and also the frequent Vedic ३d sing. present of the root-class (813), which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost 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 ३ i , a final vowel, and usually also a medial ३ a before a single consonant, have the *vrddhi*-strengthening; other medial vowels have the *gūṇa*-strengthening if capable of it (240), after final ३ a is added ३ y .

a. Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are from roots ending in ā , *ājñāyi*, *ādhāyi*, *āpāyi*; in other vowels, *ācāyi*, *āstavi*, *āhāvi*, *ākāri*, *āstāri*; — from roots with medial i , u , ṛ , *aceti*, *ācchedi*, *āceṣi*, *ābodhi*, *amoci*, *āyoji*, *ādarṣi*, *asarjī*, *varhi*; from roots with medial a strengthened, *agāmi*, *āpadi*, *ayami*, *avāci*, *vāpi*, *āsadi* (these are all the earlier cases), with a unchanged, only *ājani* (and RV has once *jāni*) and, in heavy syllables, *āmyakṣi*, *vandi*, *caṇṣi*, *syandi*; with medial ā , *ābhraji*, *ārādhi*; — from roots with initial vowel, *ārdhi* (only case).

b. According to the grammarians, certain roots in *am*, and ३ vadh retain the a unchanged; quotable are *ājani* (or *ājāni*), *agāmi* (or *agāmāni*).

asvani, avadhi, also araci; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, adañci, arambhi, arandhi, ajambhi, abhañji or abhāji, alambhi (always, with prepositions) or alābhi antambhi; ÇH 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, grāvi, bhāri, reci, vēdi, roci, jāni, pādi, sādi, ardhi. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable. (V. dhāyi is doubtless a false reading)

846. 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, all the copies they are nearly unknown. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, as gñu, pad, sad, bhrañ, rādh, ruo, sañj, they have (like the so-called passive participles in ta 862) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3^b; VS xviii 15; TB ii. 6. 10²) and 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 iq-class (898 ff.).

b. Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the á-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 ऋ ऋ (three or four only, which have the gups-strengthening).

c. As example of inflection may be taken the root निन् sic pour. Thus:

active			middle		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1. निनिवन्	निनिवाय	निनिवाम	निनिने	निनिवायत्	निनिवामत्
ásicam	ásicāva	ásicāma	ásice	ásicāvahi	ásicamahi
2. निनिवन्	निनिवन्	निनिवन्	निनिवन्	निनिवन्	निनिवन्
ásicas	ásicātām	ásicātā	ásicathās	ásicethām	ásicadhvam
3. निनिवन्	निनिवान्	निनिवन्	निनिवन्	निनिवान्	निनिवन्
ásicat	ásicatām	ásican	ásicata	ásicotām	ásicanta

Whitney, Grammar 3. 64

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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: ruhām, रूपम्, bhujāt, विद्āt, aratam, vocata, चक्रे; vidata and vyāta (3d sing), arāmaḥ, चिक्कमहि, vidanta, budhanta, 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	[vidāva]	vidāma	[vidāmahe]
2	[vidāsi]	vidāthās	vidātha
2	[vidās]		
3	vidāt		[vidātāi]

a. The ending *thana* is found once, in *riṣāthana*. Of middle forms occur only *ṣiṣātāi* (AV., but doubtless misreading for *ṣiṣyātāi*) and *ṣiṣamaho* (AV., for RV *ṣiṣamahi*). The form *sādathna* 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*, *vidēyam*, *saneyam* (TB. once *sanem*); *vides*, *gamos*; *gamet*, *voceṭ*; *gamotam*; *gamēma*, *ṣakēma*, *sanēma*; *varēta*; in middle, (only) *videya*; *gamomahi*, *vanemahi*; *ruhetthās* etc. In the optics must be viewed rather as present forms of the ā-class.

a. A single middle precativ form occurs, namely *vidōṣṭa* (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 *ṣad* (including *sadatana* 2d pl.), and the middle *sadantām*. Other imperatives are very rare, namely, *sāna*, *sāra*, *ruha*, *vidā*; *ruhātām*, *vidātām*; *khyāta*. TS. has once *vydhātu* (compare 740)

Participles of the a-aorist.

852. a. The active participles *trpānt*, *riṣant* or *riṣant*, *vydhānt*, *ṣiṣant*, *qucānt*, *sādant*, and (in participial compounds, 1309) *kṛpant*, *guhant*, *vidant* (all RV.), are to be assigned with probability to this aorist.

b. Likewise the middle participles *guhāmāna*, *dhṛṣāmāna*, *dāsa-māna* ('), *ṣṭāmāna*, *qucāmāna*, and perhaps *vydhānā*, *aridhānā*.

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 *ṣṛ*, *āraṇta* (augmentless 3d pl.) *sārat* and *sāra*. The root *sad* follows the same rule, thus, *sādaṭam*, and from *ṣan* are found *sānas* and *sānat* and *sanema* and *sāna*, beside *sanēyam* and *sanema*. It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the *bhū*-class (unaccented *a*-class) present-system. On the other hand, *rūhat* (beside *ruhām*, *ruhāva*, *ruhātām*), *ṣīṣat* and *ṣīṣātī* (?), and *riṣant* or *riṣant* are more isolated cases. In view of such as these, the forms from the stem *bhūva* and *grūva* (838 c) are perhaps to be referred hither. From *ṣvac*, the optative is attested *vocēyam*, *vocēs*, *vocēma*, *vocēyas*; elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable, thus, *vōce*, *vōcat*, *vōcati*, *vōcanta*.

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 for *outnumbering* in occurrences all other forms from *ṣvac*. Besides those already given, we find *vocā* (1st sing. impv.) and *vocāti*, *vocāvahat*; *voces*, *voceya*, *vocemahi*; *vocatāt* (3d sing.), *vocatu*, *vocatam*, *vocata*.

b. Of the stem *neṣa* only *neṣat* occurs.

c. The root *ṣan* (as in some of its present forms, 839) is weakened to *ṣiṣ*, and makes *aṣiṣam*.

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 *ṣṛṣ* *mahe*, *kārṣi*, *kṛṣhas*, *kṛṣha*, *kṛṣe*; from *ṣgam*, *gathā*; from *ṣeti* *gather*, *ceti*; from *ṣdā* *gīce*, *dāti*, *dātu*; from *ṣdha* *put*, *dhāti*; from *ṣpa* *drum*, *pathāa*, *pānti*; from *ṣbhr*, *bharti*; from *ṣmuc*, *mucānti*; from *ṣrudh*, *rudhmaa* (?); from *ṣvrt*, *varṭti*.

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 *āya*, 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 500. 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 *r* 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 660.

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 *r* or *i* in the single root containing that vowel: thus, *arirīṣam*, *adūduṣam*, *ajījanam*, *avivṛdham*, *acīkṛdham*. 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 vowel,

or two from *l-* and *u-*roots, with *guṇa* before the ending: thus, *açiqrayas*, *acucayavus*, *açuqrayus*, *asuṇavus*; but also *abibhajus* (VB), and *ninaṇas* (VEb).

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 *aru*, *kam*, and *dhā suck* (*çvi* and *dhā* optionally).

a. In the older language are found from *yçri* *açiqrot* and *açiqrayus* (noticed in the preceding paragraph) and *açiqriyat* (VB); from *ydru*, *adudrot* and *adudruvat* (TB; not used as aorist); from *yaru*, *asusrot* and (augmentless) *asusros* and *asusrot*; from *ykam*, *acikametām* and *-manta* (BS). Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in *u* or *ū*: thus, *anunot* and *nūnot* from *ynu*; *yuyot* from *y'yu* *separate*; *dūdhot* from *ydhū*, *apupot* from *ypu*, *tutot* and *tutot* from *y'tu*; *asuṇot* from *y'su*; — and one or two from roots in *i* or *ī*: thus *siṇet* from *y'si* (or *sā*) *bind*; *amīmet* from *y'ma* *follow*; *apipres* (with *apiprayas*, noticed above) from *y'pri* (and the "imperfects" from *didhi* etc., 878, are of corresponding form). And from *y'çyu* are made, with union-vowel *i*, *acucayavit* and *acucayavitana*. 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 *açiqriyat* etc. (8d 11, *-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.), *ūtapāsi*; *oikipāti* and *siṇadhāti*, and *piapṛçati* (as if corresponding to an indicative *apiapṛk*, like *açiqnat*); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. *çaçvachi*.

c. The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, *didharas*, *ninaṇas*; *jījanat*, *pīparat*; *jījanan*; and *siṇvap*, but, on the other hand, we have also *pīparat*, *çiqrāthas* and *çiqnāthas*, and *dudrāvat* and *tuṣṭāvat* (which may perhaps be' us 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 mid. 1st "precativ" *rīriṣiṣa*, *rīriṣiṣa* has been ranked above with *sānahiṣa*, as a perfect (812 b). *Cucuyvimahi* and *cucyavirata* belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of imperatives, we have the indubitable forms: *pūpurantu* and *çiqrathantu*. And *jigṛtām* and *jigṛtā*, and *didhṛtam* and *didhṛtā*,

and *jajantām* (all RV. only), and perhaps *sugādāta* (AV.), are to be referred hither, as corresponding to the inchoatives (without under-vowel) *ajigar* and *adidhar* their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated imperfects (956 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 त्सः convertible to त्सः 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 (832 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 त्सः is further increased by an मः , 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 त्सिः . Finally, before this त्सिः the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a त्सः , making the whole addition त्सित्सिः .

877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:

1. with न् s simply after the root: s-aorist;
5. with इ i before the न् s: is-aorist;
6. the same, with न् s at end of root: sis-aorist.

B. With य a added to the sibilant before the endings:

7. with sibilant and य 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 न् 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 अ r has the वृद्धि-change in the active, and (excepting अ r gupā in the middle, thus, from गृही lead, active stem ग्रहेन् anāṣ, middle stem ग्रहेन् aneṣ; from शृष् hear, ग्रश्रेन् agraṣ and ग्रश्रेन् aṣroṣ; from कृ make, ग्रकार् akāṣ and ग्रकृन् akṛṣ.

b. A medial vowel has the वृद्धि-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from चन्द seem, active stem ग्रच्छन् aochānta, middle stem ग्रच्छन् aochānta; from री leave, ग्रैन् arāṣ and ग्रैन् ariṣ; from रुद् obstruct, ग्रैन् arāṣ and ग्रैन् aruṣ; from र्ग pour out, ग्रैन् asrāṣ and ग्रैन् asṛṣ.

880. a. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उन् us (not ग्रन् an) in 3d pl act, and ग्रन् ata (not ग्रन् anta) in 3d pl. mid.

b. But before स् s and त् t of 2d and 3d sing. aor. is in the later language always inserted an ई I, making the endings स्तृ Is and तृ It.

c. This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV) see bel v. 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 dhvam, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been s (228 c) thus, astodhvam and avrdhvam (beside astosata and avrsata); dṛdhvam (vdr regard: B, once), which is to dṛthās (2d sing.) as avrdhvam and avrsata to avri and avrthās, and kṛdhvam (4).

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 word cases (180) thus, from the stem arāuta, 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, ani smata (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 ytan.

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of

sibilant aorist we may take the roots नी *ni lead*, and हिट् *chid cut off*. Thus:

act. ve.			middle.		
s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 घनैषम् ānāṣam	घनैष ānāṣva	घनैष्य ānāṣma	घनैषि āneṣi	घनैषवहि āneṣvahi	घनैषमहि āneṣmahi
2 घनैषीन् ānāṣis	घनैषाम् ānāṣām	घनैष्यत ānāṣta	घनैष्यन् āneṣṭhas	घनैष्याथान् āneṣāthām	घनैष्यन् āneṣdhvam
3 घनैषीन् ānāṣit	घनैष्यान् ānāṣān	घनैष्यन् ānāṣus	घनैष्य āneṣta	घनैष्याथान् āneṣāthām	घनैष्यन् āneṣata

active.

s.	d.	p.
1 घच्छैषाम् ācchāṣtam	घच्छैष्य ācchāṣta	घच्छैषान् ācchāṣma
2 घच्छैषीन् ācchāṣis	घच्छैषाम् ācchāṣām	घच्छैष्यन् ācchāṣdhvam
3 घच्छैषीन् ācchāṣit	घच्छैष्यान् ācchāṣān	घच्छैष्यन् ācchāṣus

middle.

1 घच्छिषीन् ācchitsi	घच्छिष्यवहि ācchitsvahi	घच्छिष्यमहि ācchitsmahi
2 घच्छिष्यान् ācchitthās	घच्छिष्याथान् ācchitsāthām	घच्छिष्यन् ācchiddhvam
3 घच्छिष्यन् ācchitta	घच्छिष्याथान् ācchitsāthām	घच्छिष्यन् ācchitsata

a. From *r* *rudh obstruct*, the 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl. act. and the 2d and 3d sing. mid. would be ārauddham, ārauddhām, ārauddha, āruddhas, āruddha; from *r* *erj pour out*, āraṣṭam, āraṣṭām, āraṣṭa, āreṣṭhas, āreṣṭa; from *r* *dr̥c see*, ādraṣṭam etc. (as from *erj*). But from *r* *kr̥ do* the same persons in the active are ākaraṣam, ākaraṣām, ākaraṣa; from *r* *tan stretch* they are ātāṣam, ātāṣām, ātāṣa.

883. The omission of *s* in the active persons (ācchāṣtam, ācchāṣtām, ācchāṣta) 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 'Hl' has taken āvāṣtam for avāṣa-tam (*syvas 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 *a* weaken the *a* in middle inflection to *i* as also in the root-aorist: above, 834 a. These are said to be *athā*, *dā*, and *dhā*; in the older language have been noted *ādīṣi* and *ādīṣta* from *ṛdā gīr* (and *ādīṣi* perhaps once from *ṛdā bind*), *adhīṣi* and *adhīṣata* (with the optative *dhīṣiṣya* from *ṛdhā pāt*, and *asthīṣata*; also *agīṣthās* and *agīṣata* from *ṛgā gō* with *adhi*).

a. The middle inflection of the aorist of *ṛdā* would be, then, according to the grammarians: *ādīṣi*, *ādīthās*, *ādīta*; *ādīṣvahi*, *ādīṣatham*, *ādīṣātām*; *ādīṣmahi*, *ādīṣhvam*, *ādīṣata*.

885. Roots ending in changeable *r* (so-called roots in *ṛ*, 242) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to *ir* in middle forms: thus, *astīṣi*, *astīṣthās* etc. (from *ṣṭṛ*); of such forms, however, has been found in the older language only *akīṣata*, 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 mutes of which the optative middle is retained also later as a part of the "precatif" 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, *ayokṣit* (AB), *ohetai* (B.S.; also occurs in MBh. which has further *yotsai*), *rotai* (KU.), *amataim* (RV.), *ayāñhai* and *arāñtsi* (AB) *asākṣit* etc. (V.B. *ṣakh*), *māñsta* (AV) and *māñstām* (TA.), *lopsiya* (U.), and MBh. has *drogdhās*. From *ṛṣoj* is made *sāñkṣit* (U. etc.) and from *ṛmajj*, *amāñkṣit* (not quotable). The form *ayunkṣmahi* (BBP.) is doubtless a false reading.

b. A radical final nasal is lost in *agaamahi* (RV.) and *gañāthām* (TA.) from *ṛgam*, and in the optatives *mañiya* and *vañimahi* (RV.) from *ṛman* and *van*.

c. The roots *hū*, *dhū*, and *nū* have *ū* instead of *o* in the middle: thus, *ahūṣata*, *adhūṣata*, *anuṣi* and *anuṣatām* and *anuṣata*; *ṛdhur* (or *dhūrv*) makes *adhūṣata*.

d. *ṚB* has once *atrasatām* for *atrasatām* (*ṛtrā*).

888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard to inflection is the frequent absence of *i* in the endings of 2d and 3d aor. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-final *s* (150). The forms without *i* are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and TS.; in the Brahmanas they grow rarer only one, *adrāk*, occurs in GB; one, *ayāṣ*, in KB.; and two, *adrāk* and *ayāṣ*, in *ṚB*; PB has none.

888. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, *apraś* (for both *apraś-a* and *apraś-t*) from *ṣ'praś*; and in like manner *ajāś* from *ṣ'hā*, — *ajāś* (for *ajāś-t*) from *ṣ'ji*, and in like manner *acāś* from *ṣ'ci*, and *nāś* (augmented) from *ṣ'ni*; — and *yāś* (for *yāś-t*) from *ṣ'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 *ajāś* and *ajāśit*) from *ṣ'ji*, and in like manner *acāit*, *acāit*, *ajāit*, *nāit* (no examples have been noted except from roots in *i* and *ī* compare *ayāś* and *arāś*, 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 *abhār-t*; beside *abhārām*, *abhārām*) from *ṣ'bhṛ*; other like cases are *ahār*, and (from roots in *ar*) *akṣār*, *atsār*, *asvār*, *hvar*. Further, *ārāk* (885 a; for *ārāk-t*) from *ṣ'ric*; like cases are *aśvāt* from *ṣ'vit*, and (from roots with medial *u*) *adyāt* from *ṣ'dyut*, *arāt* from *ṣ'rudh*, and *māuk* from *ṣ'muc*. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and *h*, *aprāk* from *ṣ'pro*, *narāk* from *ṣ'raj*, *abhāk* from *ṣ'bhaj*, *adrāk* from *ṣ'drṣ*, *adhāk* from *ṣ'dah*, but, with a different change of the final, *ayāt* from *ṣ'yaj*, *apāt* from *ṣ'preh*, *avāt* from *ṣ'vah*, and *narāt* from *ṣ'raj*; and (above, 146 a) *arāś* appears to stand twice in AV, for *arāś-a* from *ṣ'raj*; RV has also twice *ayāś* from *ṣ'yaj*. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, *atān* from *ṣ'tan*, *kān* from *ṣ'khan*, *ayān* and *anān* from *ṣ'vyam* 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 *acchānta-t*, beside *acchānta* and *acchāntous*) from *ṣ'chand*, and other like cases are *akrān*, *ankān*, and *asvān*.

891. A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. *bhāś*, from *ṣ'bhi*.

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 *vāśai*, 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 Brāhmanas. They are regularly made with *gānā*-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 *stogāpi; dargāsi; neṣati, parṣati, pāsati, mātsati, yōṣati, vakṣati, anṣati; dhānāthas, pārgāthas, vakṣāthas, varṣāthas; pāsatas, yāmsātas, yakṣātas, vakṣātas; dhānātha, neṣātha, pārgātha, mātsātha; —* in middle, *naṁsai, māṁsai; māṁsase; kramānte, trāsate, dargate, māṁsate, yakṣate, rāsate, vaṁsate, śakṣate, hāsate; trāsātha* (not *trāsātho*, as we should rather expect), *nāṁsante, māṁsante* and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., *māṁsātāi*.

b. The forms with secondary endings are (active only): *jōṣas, vakṣas; dārgat, neṣat, pākṣat, pārgat, prēṣat, yakṣat, yōṣat, vāṁsat, vakṣat, vōṣat, sūtsat, chantat*, etc. (some twenty others); *yakṣatām; vāṁsāma, śakṣāma, pargan, yamān, yōṣan, rāsan, vakṣan, ṣōṣan, ṣroṣan*. 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 *dfkṣase* and *prkṣaṣe* (2d sing. mid.) lack the *gūṇa*-strengthening.

b. *Jegam, stogam, and yōgam* (AV *yūgam*, with *ū* for *o* as in *anūgata* etc.) appear to be first person forms under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the *vyddhi*-strengthening in which case *jogma* is to be compared with them (we should expect *jaiṣma* or *jegāma*).

c. From roots in *ā* are made a few forms of problematic character, namely *yegam* (only case in RV), *khyegam, jōṣam, gōṣam* and *geṣma, deṣma, neṣam* and *not, athegam* and *athogus*. Their value is optative. The analogy of *Jegam* and *Jegma* suggests the possibility of their derivation from *i*-forms of the *ā*-roots, or the element might be of a precative character (thus *yā-i-sam*). That they really belong to the *in*-series appears highly improbable.

d. The RV has a few different first persons middle in *so*, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root *kṛṣe, hīṣe* (and *ohiṣe*?), *stugō; 2. from present-stems, arcase, rāḥase, yajase, gayiṣe, gṛhiṣe* and *puniṣe*. 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 3d and 3d sing. always the precative *s* before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: *diṣiya, dhiṣiya, bhakṣiya, māsiya* (for *maṁsiya*), *mukṣiya, rāsiya, lopsiya, sākṣiya, stṛsiya; māṁsiṣthas; darṣiṣṭa, bhakṣiṣṭa, māṁsiṣṭa, mṛkṣiṣṭa; bhukṣimāhi, dhukṣimāhi, māṁsimāhi, vāṁsimāhi, vaṁsimāhi, anṣimāhi; māṁsirata*. I.B. has *bhukṣiṣiya* which should belong to a separate. The RV form *trāsātham* (for *trāsīyātham* or *trāsātham*) is an isolated anomaly.

a. The optative makes a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language (see below, 923, 925 b).

896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare, we find the 21 sing. act. *neṣa* and *parṣa* and the 2d pl. *yadisa* (from a-stem, and pl. w. *ṇs* rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 31 sing. mid. *rāsātām* and pl. *rāsantām* (of which the same may be said).

Participles of the a-aorist.

897 a. Active participles are *dākṣat* or *dhākṣat*, and *māṣṣat* (both RV.)

b. If *rūṣase* (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an a-aorist form, *rūṣanānā* is an a-aorist participle, and of a kindred character, apparent *y.* are *arqasānā*, *śhasānā*, *ṛayasānā*, *dhīyasānā*, *mandasānā*, *yamasānā*, *rabhasānā*, *vr̥dhasānā*, *sahasānā*, *śvasasānā*, all in RV., with *namasānā*, *bhīyasānā*, in AV. In RV. occurs also once *dhīṣamāṇa* apparently an a-form of an a-aorist of *ḍhi*.

5. The iṣ-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign *ṛ* s by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel *ṛi*, making *ṛṣi* 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 *vr̥ddhi* in the active, and *gūṇa* in the middle: thus, *अपविष्व* *apāviṣ* and *अपविष्व* *apaviṣ* from *ṛṣ* *pū* *cleanse*; *अतारिष्व* *atāriṣ*, act., from *ṛṣ* *tr* *pass*; *अपयिष्व* *apayīṣ*, mid., from *ṛṣ* *ṣi* *lie*.

b. A medial vowel has *gūṇa*, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, *अलेशिष्व* *aleṣiṣ*, act. and mid., from *ṛṣ* *liṣ* *tear*; *अरोचिष्व* *arociṣ* from *ṛṣ* *ru* *shine*, *अवराशिष्व* *avarāṣiṣ* from *ṛṣ* *vr̥ṣ* *rain*; but *अजीविष्व* *ajiviṣ* from *ṛṣ* *ji* *live*.

c. Medial *ṛ* 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*, *śvan*, *han*, *vr̥aj*, *śad*, *mad*, *car*, *tear*, *avar*, *jval*, *das*, *trās*. From *ran*, *śan*, *kram*, *vad*, *raks*, and *sah* occur forms of both kinds. From *ṣ* *math* or *manth* are made the two stems *mathiṣ*

900. a. Of exceptions may be noted *yāp* has (as elsewhere: 827) *vyddhi* instead of *guṇa*: thus, *amārjīṣam*, *yāp* has asteris, and *yāp* has *açarit* (also *açarait* in AV), with *guṇa* in active.

b. The root *grabh* or *grah* has (as in future etc., below, 936 c, 956) long *i* instead of *i* before the sibilant: thus, *agrabhiṣma*, *agrahīṣta*, *ograbhiṣata*. The roots in changeable *r* (so-called roots in *r̥*: 242), and *yāp* are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long *i* from such roots have been found quotable. A Sutra (P63) has once *anayīṣta* from *yāp* (doubtless a false reading).

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उन् us and यन् ata in 2d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing. the combinations *iṣ-a* and *iṣ-t* are from the earliest period of the language contracted into *īṣ* and *īt*.

a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in *iḍhvam* (or *iḍdhvam*, from *iḍ-dhvam* 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable, namely *ājanīḍhvam*, *artīḍhvam*, *śindhīḍhvam*, *vepīḍhvam*; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 226 c.

902. As examples of the inflection of the *iṣ*-aorist may be taken the roots १ *pā* *cleanse*, and २ *budh* *wake*. Thus:

active.			middle.		
s.	i.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1. <i>प्रापियन्</i> <i>āpāviṣam</i>	<i>प्रापिय</i> <i>āpāviṣva</i>	<i>प्रापियम</i> <i>āpāviṣma</i>	<i>प्रापियि</i> <i>āpaviṣi</i>	<i>प्रापियिद्</i> <i>āpaviṣahi</i>	<i>प्रापियिन्न</i> <i>āpaviṣmahi</i>
2. <i>प्रापिन्</i> <i>āpāvis</i>	<i>प्रापिदन्</i> <i>āpāviṣtam</i>	<i>प्रापिद</i> <i>āpāviṣta</i>	<i>प्रापिद्वान्</i> <i>āpaviṣthās</i>	<i>प्रापियान्</i> <i>āpaviṣāthām</i>	<i>प्रापिद्वन्</i> <i>āpaviḍhvam</i>
3. <i>प्रापिन्</i> <i>āpāvit</i>	<i>प्रापिद्वान्</i> <i>āpāviṣtam</i>	<i>प्रापियुन्</i> <i>āpāviṣus</i>	<i>प्रापिद</i> <i>āpaviṣta</i>	<i>प्रापियान्</i> <i>āpaviṣāthām</i>	<i>प्रापियन्</i> <i>āpaviṣata</i>
1. <i>प्रबोधियन्</i> <i>ābodhiṣam</i>	<i>प्रबोधिय</i> <i>ābodhiṣva</i>	<i>प्रबोधियम</i> <i>ābodhiṣma</i>	<i>प्रबोधियि</i> <i>ābodhiṣi</i>	<i>प्रबोधियिद्</i> <i>ābodhiṣahi</i>	<i>प्रबोधियिन्न</i> <i>ābodhiṣmahi</i>
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 *i*). 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 *a*-aorist; and in no small number of cases the same root shows forms of both classes.

804. 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 *ācarit* occurs in AV. *ācarāt*; also (in a part of the manuscript) *carāis* for *caris*; *agrahāṣam* is found in AB. (also the monstrous form *ajagrabhāṣam*: see 801 i). *Ajayit*, with short *i* in the ending, occurs in TS.

c. AV. has once *nudīṣṭhās*, without *guṇa*.

d. The forms *atārīma* (RV.), *avādiran* (AV.), and *bādhiṭhās* (TA.), though they lack the *i*-inflect, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist: compare *avitā*, 808. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, *jānithās*, *mādithās*, *varithās*, *ṣaṅkithās*, and (the causative: 1048) *aghātayithās*. *Agṛhītām* and *gṛhithās* and *gṛhīta*, if not false readings for *gṛhīti*, are probably irregular present-formations.

Modes of the *iṣ*-aorist.

805. 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, *ṣaṅṣiṣam*, *vādhīm*; *māthis*, *vādhis*, *yāvis*, *sāvis*; *āvit*, *jūrvit*, *māthit*, *vādhit*, *veṣit*; *mardhiṣām*, *doṣiṣām*, *hiṁsiṣām*; *aviṣām*, *jāniṣām*, *badhiṣām*; *gramiṣma*, *vādiṣma*; *vadhiṣta* and *vadhiṣtana*, *mathiṣtana*, *hiṁsiṣta*; *hvariṣus*, *grihiṣus*; in the middle: *rādhigī*; *jāniṣṭhās*, *marṣiṣṭhās*, *vyathiṣṭhās*; *krāmiṣta*, *jāniṣta*, *paviṣta*, *prāthiṣta*, *māndiṣta*; *vyathisiṣmaḥ*. The accent is on the root-syllable (*tāriṣus*, AV. once, is doubtless an error).

806. a. *iṣ* subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. *daviṣāṇi*, and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened *e*) *yāciṣāmahe* and *sāniṣāmahe*.

b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found *aviṣas*, *kāniṣas*, *tāriṣas*, *rakṣiṣas*, *vādh-ṣas*, *vādiṣas*, *veṣiṣas*, *ṣaṅsiṣas*; *kāriṣat*, *jambhiṣat*, *ṣoṣiṣat*, *takaṣiṣat*, *tāriṣat*, *nīndiṣat*, *pāriṣat*, *bōdhiṣat*, *mārdhiṣat*, *yāciṣat*, *yodhiṣat*, *rakṣiṣat*, *vanṣat*, *vyathiṣat*, *ṣaṅsiṣat*, *sāniṣat*, *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. *sāniṣan* and mid. *sāniṣanta* (and TS. has *vanṣanta*,

for the problematic *vanuṣanta* (cf RV.), which are also regular. *Bhaviṣāt* (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double *māde-siṣ*; *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 *ray-* and *ran-*, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted "preterite" of the later language (923, 925 b). 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: *janiṣiṣya*, *indhiṣiṣya*, *edhiṣiṣya*, *ruṣiṣiṣya* and *roṣiṣiṣya*, *gmiṣiṣya*; *modiṣiṣṭhas*; *janiṣiṣṭa*; *vanṣiṣṭa*; *sahiṣiṣvahi*; *idhiṣimahi*, *edhiṣimahi*, *janiṣimahi*, *tāriṣimahi*, *mandiṣimahi*, *vandiṣimahi*, *vardhiṣimahi*, *sahiṣimahi* and *sāhiṣimahi*. 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 *yav* a series, namely, *avidṣhi*, *aviṣtu*, *aviṣtām*, *avitā* (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for *aviṣtā*) and *aviṣtāna*; 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*, *gamṣtām*, *camiṣtām*, *cayṣtām* (against *acāyiṣam*), *tāriṣtām*, *yodhiṣtām*, *vadhiṣtām*, *ṇathiṣtām*; *rāpiṣtāna* (against *arāpiṣus*), *ṇathiṣtāna*.

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, 1038, 1048, 1068.

6. The *siṣ*-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in *ṣi* including *ṣi* *mi* *ṣi*, *ṣi* *mi* or *mi* *ṣi* *damage* and *ṣi* *li* *cling*, which substitute forms in *ṣi*, and from *ṣi* *nam* *bow*, *ṣi* *yam* *reach*, and *ṣi* *ram* *be content*, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the *s*-form '879 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 गृ yā go and नम् nam bow. Thus:

a	d.	p	a.	d.	p.
ययागिनियम् ययागिन् ययागिन्म यननियम् यननिन् यननिन्म					
āyāsiṣam āyāsiṣva āyāsiṣma ānaniṣam ānaniṣva ānaniṣma					
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

912. The sig-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the iq-aorist, having the tenac-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, 914 b), the remaining older texts add jñā *know* (B.), jyā *overpower*, dhyā *think* (CB. 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 adṛāsit, avāsit, and ahvāsit; and bhukṣiṣya (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 glāṣis, adhmāsit, anameit, apāsit, mlāṣis, and amnāsiṣus.

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; ajyāsiṣam, ayāsiṣam; ajñāsiṣma; ajñāsiṣiṣa, āyāsiṣta; agāsiṣus, ayāsiṣus (āksīṣus is from *akṣ attain*)

a. Forms without augment are these jñāsiṣam, ramasiṣam, hāsiṣam; hāsiṣam; hāsiṣam; 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, yāsiṣiṣthās and pyāsiṣimahi (for which the AV manuscripts read pyāṣiṣimahi, altered in the edition to pyāyīṣ-; and doubtless vañṣiṣiṣya (AV., twice) is to be corrected to vañṣiṣiṣya, and belongs here. As to bhukṣiṣiṣya, see above, 912.

c. The accent of yāsiṣam (like aviṣam, 909) 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 -niṣi, -niṣthān, etc., were not allowable, like those in -iṣi, -iṣthās, and the others of the iq-aorist.

7. The sa-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this aorist end in क् q , प् p , or ह् h — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make क् k ; and they have इ i , उ u , or ऋ r as radical vowel.

a. They are as follows: दिक् diq , रिक् riq , लिक् liq , विक् viq , क्लिक् kliq , क्रुक् kruq , रुक् ruq , मृक् mṛq , स्पृक् spṛq ; त्विक् tviq , द्विक् dviq , क्लिक् qliq , विक् viq , क्पृक् kṣṛq ; दिह् dih , मिह् mih , लिह् lih , गुह् guh , दुह् duh , रुह् ruh , तृह् tṛh , अथ् ath ; 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 unlong-vowel 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 अ 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 इ i instead of ए e , and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in आत्तम् āthām and आत्तम् 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 दिक् diq point. Thus:

active.			middle		
s.	j.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 अदिक्तम् ādikṣam	अदिक्ताव ādikṣāva	अदिक्तान् ādikṣāma	अदिक्षि ādikṣi	अदिक्तावहि ādikṣāvahi	अदिक्षामहि ādikṣāmahi
2 अदिक्तम् ādikṣas	अदिक्षताम् ādikṣatam	अदिक्षता ādikṣata	अदिक्षताह् ādikṣathā	अदिक्षताहम् ādikṣathām	अदिक्षताह्वम् ādikṣadhvam
3 अदिक्तम् ādikṣat	अदिक्षताम् ādikṣatām	अदिक्षन् ādikṣan	अदिक्षन्ता ādikṣanta	अदिक्षताम् ādikṣatām	अदिक्षन्ता ādikṣanta

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 thirteen in all (the later language makes no additions to this number). As later, all have i or u or r as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with a to kṣ , but there are in the list also two

ending in *j*, namely *mpj* and *vrj*. 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 *a*-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, *avrkṣam*; *adrukṣas*, *adhukṣas*, *arukṣas*, *akrukṣas*, *asprkṣas* (and MBh. adds *amrkṣas*); *adikṣat*, *amikṣat*, *alikṣat*, *avikṣat*, *ākrukṣat*, *aghukṣat*, *adukṣat* and *ādhukṣat*, *ārukṣat*, *avrkṣat*, *akrkṣat*, *āmrkṣat*, *āsprkṣat*; *aghukṣatam*; *arukṣama*, *amrkṣama*, *avrkṣama*; *ādhukṣan*, *apikṣan* (*ypiṣ*) *arukṣan*, *asprkṣan*; — in the middle, only *akrkṣathas* (*ykrṣ*), *ādhukṣata*, and *amrkṣanta* (and MBh. adds *amrkṣata*?).

b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active *ḍrkṣam*, *mrkṣam*; *dukṣas*, *rukṣas*, *mrkṣas*; *dvikṣat*; *mrkṣata*; *dhukṣān* and *dukṣān*; — in the middle, *dvikṣata*, *dukṣata* and *dhukṣata*, *dhukṣanta*.

c. There are no optative forms.

d. Imperative are, in the active, *mrkṣatam*; in the middle, *dhukṣāsva*.

e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign *ā*, in analogy with the *a*-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the *ā*-class: a single exception is *dhūkṣata*, which probably needs emendation to *dhukṣata*.

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 *ṛ* or *ar* to *ṛ* and *amṛ*, *ā* is changed to *o* 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 (784) have the same abbreviation here, as in *ucyāsam*, *ijyāsam*, *vidhyāsam*, *supyāsam*, *grhyāsam*; *ṛṣā* forms *ṛṣyāsam* (compare 639, 854 c). 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* s or *स्* *ि* *स्* — that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an *ि* *स्*-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 *ि* *स्*-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before *स्* *ि* *स्*.

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 (885) and the *ि* *स्*-aorist (807); but also from the root-aorist (837 b), the a-aorist (850 a), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the *ि* *स्*-aorist (814 b); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root *भृ* *bhū* *be*, which is said no middle aorist or precative from it is quotable) to form its middle on the *ि* *स्*-stem. Thus:

	active.		
	s	d	p
1	भृयान् bhūyāsam	भृयान्व bhūyāsva	भृयारन bhūyāsma
2	भृयान् bhūyās	भृयान्वन् bhūyāstam	भृयान्व bhūyāsta
3	भृयान् bhūyāt	भृयान्वान् bhūyāstām	भृयान्वन् bhūyāsu

	middle		
	s.	j.	p.
1 भविषीय	भविषीयहि	भविषीमहि	
bhaviṣiṃyá	bhaviṣiṃváhi	bhaviṣimáhi	
2 भविषीयान्	भविषीयास्तान्	भविषीध्वम्	
bhaviṣiṣṭhás	bhaviṣiṣṭhám	bhaviṣiḍhvám	
3 भविषीष्ट	भविषीयास्तान्	भविषीरन्	
bhaviṣiṣṭá	bhaviṣiṣṭám	bhaviṣirán	

a. The forms given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the *si* *Hant*. These 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 820 c.

825. 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 (*Manu*, *Nala*, *Bhagavad-Gita*, *Īakuntala*, *Hitopaleśa*) it occurs once and no more, and not half-a-dozen forms have been found quotable from the epics. As to its value, see 873 a.

b. The precative middle is virtually unknown in the whole later literature, not a single occurrence of it having been brought to light. The BLP has once *virigīṣṭa*, which is also a RV form, belonging probably to the reduplicated aorist; see 870.

Uses of the Aorist.

826. The uses of the aorist mode-forms as has been already pointed out: 582, appear to accord with those of the mole-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.

827. 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 laḡuḍena tāḍayāmasa; tenā sau pañcatvam agamat* (H) *thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hence of the latter died*, *tataḥ sã vidarbhañ agamat punnah; tãñ tu bandhujanañ samapūjayat* (MBh.) *thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence*, *pritiṃāñ abhūt, uvāca*

cāi 'nam (MH) *he was filled with affection, and said to him; tam adahat kaṣṭhāḥ so 'bhūd divyavapuḥ 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 'mā gām aneṣata pāry agnīm ahṛṣata, devēṣv akṛata cṛavāḥ ká imān ā dadharṣati (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 āśichāma mānasā sō 'yām ā 'gāt (RV)* *he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, act.) come, yona 'ndro haviṣā kṛtvā ābhavad dyumny ūttamāḥ, idān tād akri deva 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 Brahmana language are: *sā hā 'smiḥ jyōg urvāna... tāto ha gandharvāḥ sām ūdīre: jyōg vā iyām urvācī manuṣyēṣv avāteit (Ṛ)* *she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvaci, forsooth, has dwelt a long time among mortals"; tanya ha dantāḥ pedīre: tam ho 'vāca: apat-sata vā asya dantāḥ (AB)* *his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out", Indrasya vṛtrāḥ jaghnūṣa indriyāḥ viryāḥ pṛthivīm ānu vy ārcat tād oṣadhayo virūdho 'bhavan sā prajāpatim ūpā 'dhāvad vṛtrāḥ me jaghnūṣa indriyāḥ viryāḥ pṛthivīm ānu vy ārat tād oṣadhayo virūdho 'bhuvann itī (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"; evayām enam abhyudētya brūyad vṛātya kvā 'vātāḥ (AV, in prose passage)* *going up to him in person, let him say: "Vṛātya, where hast thou abode"? yād idānīm dvāu virāda-mānāv eyātām ahām adarṣam ahām agraṇam itī yā evā brūyād ahām adarṣam itī tasmā evā cṛaddadhyāma (Ṛ)* *if now two 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 Brahmana 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. *evāsanthe bhavataṃ indave na iti somo vā rāje 'nduḥ somā-yāt 'vāi 'no etad rājña āsade 'cikṣpat* (AB. I. 29. 7) "*he 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: *varuṇīr āpo yād adbhīr abhiṣiñcātī varuṇam evāi 'nam akar* (MS. IV. 3. 19) *the waters are V'aruna's*; in that he bestows him with waters, he has made him V'aruna, *pañcābhīr vyāgharayati pāñkto yajñō yāvān evā yajñas tām ālabdhā 'tho yāvān evā yajñas tasmād rākeṣṭhey āpahanti* (MS. III. 2. 6) *he amcars with fire*; *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 demon. This idiom is met with in all the Brahmanas; but it is especially frequent in the MS.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS.

931. This 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.

1. The s-future.

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 इय्य *isyá*. The root has the guṇa-strengthening. Thus, from √दा *dā* give is formed the future tense-stem दास्य *dāsyá*; from √इ *i* go, the stem इय्य *isyá*; from √दुह *duh* milk, the stem धोस्य *dhoksyá*; from √भू *bhū* be, the stem भविष्य *bhaviṣyá*; from √अर्ध् *rdh* thrice, the stem अर्धिष्य *ardhiṣyá*; and so on.

a. But from √जि *jiv* live the stem is जिष्य *jivisyá*, from √उक्ष *ukṣ* sprinkle it is उक्षिष्य *ukṣiṣyá*, and so on (240).

b. There are hardly any Vedic cases of resolution of the tense-sign *syá* into *sia*; RV has *kṣepiántas* once.

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in य *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:

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1 दास्यानि	दास्यावन्	दास्यामन्	दास्ये	दास्यावहे	दास्यामहे	
	<i>dāsyāmi</i>	<i>dāsyāvas</i>	<i>dāsyāmas</i>	<i>dāsyé</i>	<i>dāsyāvāhe</i>	<i>dāsyāmahe</i>
2 दास्यसि	दास्यथ	दास्यथ	दास्यसे	दास्यथे	दास्यथे	
	<i>dāsyāsi</i>	<i>dāsyāthas</i>	<i>dāsyātha</i>	<i>dāsyāse</i>	<i>dāsyāthe</i>	<i>dāsyādhe</i>
3 दास्यति	दास्यन्त	दास्यन्ति	दास्यन्ते	दास्यन्ते	दास्यन्ते	
	<i>dāsyāti</i>	<i>dāsyātas</i>	<i>dāsyānti</i>	<i>dāsyāte</i>	<i>dāsyēte</i>	<i>dāsyānte</i>
1 करिष्यामि	करिष्यावन्	करिष्यामन्	करिष्ये	करिष्यावहे	करिष्यामहे	
	<i>kariṣyāmi</i>	<i>kariṣyāvas</i>	<i>kariṣyāmas</i>	<i>kariṣyé</i>	<i>kariṣyāvāhe</i>	<i>kariṣyāmahe</i>
	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. *raṁsyāva* (R.), *bhakṣyāva* (causative. MBh.), *oṣyāma* (MBh.), *vatsyāma* (R.).

934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel *i* before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance 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

a-oriast on the one side, or iḡ-oriast 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 ƒ) take no i. Thus, all in ā (numerous, and unnecessary to specify, but compare c below); — those in i, as *kpi possess*, *ci gather*, *ci note*, *mi*, *ai* or *ai hind* (*siḡya*), *hi*; from i, *kpi destroy*, and *ji* occur forms of both classes, *ḡri* [and *ḡvi*] has i. — those in ī, as *kri*, *bhī*, *mī*, *vī*; but *ḡi lie* and *nī* have both forms [and *ḡi* takes i], — those in u, as *cyu*, *dru*, *plu*, *ḡru*, *hu*; but *su press out* and *stu* have both forms [and *kḡu*, *kḡpu*, *nu*, *yu*, *ru*, *ḡnu* take i]; — of those in ū, *dhū* and *bhū* take i, *sū* has both forms. But all in ƒ (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take i [those in changeable ƒ, or so-called ƒ-roots (242), are said by the grammarians to take either i or ī; no ƒ-forms, however, are quotable]

b. Of roots ending in mutes, about half add the tense-sign directly. Thus, of roots ending in gutturals, *qak*; — in palatals in *c*, *pac*, *muc*, *ric*, *vac*, *vic*, *vraḡo*, *sio* (but *yac* takes i), in *ch*, *prach*; in *j*, *bhañj*, *mṛj* (*maṛḡya* and *mraḡya*), *yaḡ*, *bhuḡ*, *yuj*, *vṛj*, *spj* [also *bhrajj*, *rañj*, *sañj*, *ḡvañj*, *nij*, *ruj*], while *tyaḡ*, *bhaḡ*, and *maḡj* (*maṛḡya* and *maḡḡya*) have both forms, and *viḡ* (*viḡya* and *veḡya*) and *vraḡ* take i. — in dentals in *t*, *kṛt cut* and *vṛt* [also *cṛt* and *nṛt*] make both forms; in *d*, *ad*, *pad*, *ḡad fall*, *skand*, *syand*, *chid*, *bhid*, *vid find*, *nud* [also *had*, *khid*, *avid*, *kḡud*, *tud*], while *sad sateya* and *sidiḡya* and *vid know* make both forms [also *chṛd* and *tṛd*], and *vad* has i, in *dh*, *vyadh* (*vetaya*), *radh*, *siddh succeed*, *budh*, *yudh*, *rudh*, *vṛdh* [also *sādh*, *krudh*, *kḡudh*, *ḡudh*], and *bandh* and *siddh repel* have both forms; in *n*, *tan*, while *man* and *han* have both forms; — in labials in *p*, *ap*, *kḡip*, *gup*, *tṛp*, *ḡp* (*ḡropaya* and *sarpaya*) [also *ḡap*, *lip*, *lup*], while *tap*, *vap*, *ḡvap*, *ḡdṛp*, and *kṛp* have both forms; in *bh*, *yabh* and *rabh*, *labh* having both forms, in *m*, *ram*, while *kram*, *kḡam*, *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, *vayiyā*, *vyayiyā*, *hwayiyā* (but also *hvasya*)

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are, roots in *q*, *diq*, *viq*, *ḡq* (*drakya*), *spṛḡ* (*sprakya*) [also *dañḡ*, *riḡ*, *liḡ*, *kruḡ*, *mṛḡ*], while *naḡ be lost* has both forms (*nañḡya* and *naḡiyā*); — in *ḡ*, *piḡ*, *viḡ*, *ḡḡ* [also

twiṣ, dviṣ, cṣiṣ, tuṣ, duṣ, puṣ, cuṣ], while *kṛṣ* has both forms (*krakṣya* and *kariṣya*); — in *s*, *vas shine*, *vas clothe* [also *ghas*], while *van dwell* has both forms; — in *h*, *mih*, *dah*, *druh* [also *nah*, *dih*, *lih*], while *dah*, *vah*, *sah* and *ruh* have both forms.

c. In the older language, a majority (about five ninths) of simple roots add the *aya* 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 *ybandh* or *badh bind*, *bhantaya* or *bandhiṣya*.

a. By an irregular strengthening, *nankaya* (beside *naṣiṣya*) is made from *ynaç* *be lost*, and *maṅkaya* (beside *majjiṣya*) from *y majj sink*.

b. But a few roots make future-stems in the later language without strengthening, thus, *likhiṣya*, *miliṣya* (also *TS*), *viṣiṣya* (also *vejiṣya*), *siṣya* (*isā* or *ai*), *sūṣya* (939 b), *sphuṣiṣya*; and *yvyadh* makes *vetaya* from the weaker form *vidh*.

c. The *VB* has once the monstrous form *açnuviṣyāmaho*, made upon the present-stem *açnu* (997) of *yaç attain*. And the later language makes *sidigya* and *jahigya* from the present-stems of *y sad* and *y hā*. Compare further *hvayiyāya* etc., 935 c. Also *khyāyiyāya* from *ykhya* (beside *khyāya*) appears to be of similar character.

d. A number of roots with medial *ṛ* strengthen it to *ra* (241): thus, *krakeṣya*, *trapaya*, *drapaya*, *drakeṣya*, *mrakeṣya* (beside *mākeṣya*), *eprakeṣya*, *srakeṣya*, *srapaya* (beside *sarapaya*), and *mradiṣya* (beside *mārdiṣya*); and *y kṛp* forms *klapaya* (beside *kalpiṣya*).

e. The root *grah* (also its doublet *glah*) takes *i* 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*, 21 *manu*, subj. art., occurring once (or twice) in *RV*. (*AB*, has once *notsyāvanhāi*, and *GB* has *çyāmahāi*, *taṇṣyāmahāi*, *sthāyāmahāi*, but they are doubtless false

readings for -he. Two or three optative forms are found in the epics; thus, *dhakṣyet* and *maṇṣyeran* (Mbh.), and *drakṣyeta* (R.); also an imperative *patṣyantu* (Har.). And several 2d pl. mid. in *dhvam* are quotable from the epics; thus, *voṭṣyadhvam*, *saviṣyadhvam*, and (the causative) *kalāṣiṣyadhvam* (PB) and *jivayīṣyadhvam* (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 842 a).

Participles of the s-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in ॥ a: namely, by adding in the active the ending *न्त*, in the middle the ending *मान* *māna*; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, *दास्यन्* *dāsyānt* and *दास्यमान* *dāsyāmāna*, *करिष्यन्* *kariṣyānt* and *करिष्यमान* *kariṣyāmāna*.

a. According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in *āntī* or in *antī*, but only the former has been noted as occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare; see above, 449 c, f.

b. In RV. occurs once *sūṣyanti*, from *ṣu*, 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 ॥ a. This preterit is called the conditional.

a. It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional *aurait* to the future *aura*; 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.
१ ददास्यन्	ददास्यन्	ददास्यन्	ददासे	ददास्याहे	ददास्यामहे
ādāsyam	ādāsyāva	ādāsyāma	ādāsyē	ādāsyāvahi	ādāsyāmahī

- 2 घदास्यन् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम्
 ādāsyañ ādāsyañtam ādāsyañtam ādāsyañthā ādāsyañthām ādāsyañdhvam
- 3 घदास्यन् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम्
 ādāsyañ ādāsyañtam ādāsyañtam ādāsyañtam ādāsyañtam ādāsyañtam
- 1 घदास्यन् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम् घदास्यन्तम्
 ākariṣyam ākariṣyāva ākariṣyāma ākariṣyo ākariṣyāvahi ākariṣyāmahi
 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, ābhariṣyat *was going to carry off*, and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brahmanas it is hardly more common — except in Ṛg., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nāṭya, Bhagavad-Gītā, or Hitopadeśa; only one in Mānu; and two in Ākuntala. 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 नृत् or नृत्tar; and this as in its other than verbal uses see 1152 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 dātṛ from दा dā *give*; कर्तृ kartṛ from कृ kṛ *make*; भवितृ bhavitṛ from भू bhū *be*.

a. As regards the presence or absence of the vowel i, the usage is not by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the S-future (on the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in प (take no i thus, कर्तृ (against kariṣya), roots हन and गम show the same difference: while वृत्, वृद्ध, and ग्याद have i thus, वृत्तृ

not in the s-future. The few forms which occur in the other 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*; भवितारन् bhavitāras *they will be*. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of दाम् *as be* (336) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun.

a. Thus, from दा dā *give*:

	s.	d.	p.
1	दातास्मि datāsmi	दातास्वम् datāsvas	दातामन् datāmas
2	दातासि datāsi	दातास्वम् datāsthas	दातास्य datāstha
3	दाता datā	दातारौ datārau	दातारन् datāras

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 'ati (MBh) *he will speak*; nihantā (MBh) *I shall or thou wilt strike down*, yoddhā 'ham (R.) *I shall fight*, ahañ draṣṭā (MBh) *I shall see*, kartā 'ham te (LhP) *I will do for thee*, tvam bhavitā (Mbh Megh.) *thou wilt be*, asmi gantā (MBh) *I shall go*; pratigrabitā tām asmi (MBh) *I will receive her*, hantā tvam asi (MBh) *thou wilt slay*; kartārau svah (MBh) *we two shall do*; draṣṭry asmi (Mbh) *I (s.) shall see*, udbhavitṛi (Nal.) *she will increase*, gantri (Y.) *she will go*. AB. has once sotā as 2d sing., *thou wilt press*, MB. makes the combination cmaçānāni bhavitāras *the comitresses will be*.

c. An optative of the auxiliary appears to be once used in yoddhā syām *I would fight* (R. 1 22 25 Peterson; but the Bombay edition reads yoddhum yasyami).

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* ५.3, *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: 1083 b), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the *nomina agentis* in *ṭṛ* 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 Brahmanas (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 Brahmanas 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 *prayoktāmi* as, for example, *çāse* to *çāsmi*), (B. 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

	a.	d.	p.
1	<i>dātāhe</i>	<i>dātāsvahe</i>	<i>dātāmahe</i>
2	<i>dātāse</i>	<i>dātāsāthe</i>	<i>dātādhe</i>
3	<i>dātā</i>	<i>dātārān</i>	<i>dātāras</i>

c. Only a single example of such a middle has been brought to light in the later language, namely (the causative) *darçayitāhe* (Nāṣ.).

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: *varṣiṣyaty aśvāmaḥ parjanyaḥ viṣṭimāṇaḥ bhaviṣyati* (IB) *it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year, yān tān nā veda kīm poś kariṣyati* (RV) *whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? ā vai vayāṁ agni dhasyamāhe 'tha yūyān kīm kariṣyatha* (IB) *we are going to build the two trees, then what will you do? tān indro 'bhyādudrāva haniṣyān* (IB) *hūn Indra ran at, intending to slay, yādy evā kariṣyāthe sākān devāir yajūṣyaso bhaviṣyatha* (RV) *if ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dāntās te cāsyanti* (AV) *thy teeth will fall out, mā mariṣyasi mā bibheḥ* (AV) *thou shalt not die, he not afraid; brūhi kva yāsyasi* (MBh) *tell us: where are you going to go? yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi viṣam āsthāsy* (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 'yam devo gandharvo vā bhaviṣyati* (MBh) *who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva; adya avapasyanti* (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: *yād dāguṣe bhadrām kariṣyāmi tāvō 't tāt satyām* (RV) *what favor thou willest to bestow on thy worshiper, that of thee becometh actual is surely brought about; yāthā 'nyād vadiṣyānt sō 'nyād vādet* (IB) *as if, intending to say one thing, one were to say another*

849. 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 *cvās tomorrow*

a. A few examples are: *adyā varṣiṣyati ... cvō vṛaṣṭā* (MS) *it is going to rain today; it will rain tomorrow; yatarān vā ime cvaḥ kamitāras te jotāras* (K) *whichever of two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; prātār yaṣṭāmahe* (IB) *we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning; ityahō vaḥ paktāmi* (IB) *on such and such a day I will cook for you; tān ma śkāmī rātrim ānte cāyitān jātā u te 'yān tārhi putrō bhavitā* (IB) *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, bibhṛhī mā pārayiṣyāmi tvō 'ti: kasmān mā pārayiṣyāsi 'ty aughā imāḥ sārvaḥ prajā nirvoḍhā, tātas tvā pārayitāmi 'ti* (IB) *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, paridvayam cakrire mahac chokabhayaṁ prāptāmaḥ* (GB) *they set up a lamentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"; yajō 'yakeṣi 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, *prajāyam onam viñātāsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā* (AH) *in his children we shall know him, whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge, vak-tāsmo vā idam devobhyaḥ* (AB.) *we shall tell this to the gods; yadi svārtho mamā 'pi bhavitā tata evaṁ svārtham kariṣyāmi* (Mh) *if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair; katham tu bhavitāsy eka iti tvām nṛpa ṣocimi* (Mh) *but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you.*

850. 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 sinam ātrā 'bharīṣyat prā tān jānītri vidvān uvāca* (RV.) *him, who was going here to carry off Vritras' wealth; his mother proclaimed to the knowing one; ṣatāyuh gam 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, tāta evā 'sya bhayān vi 'yāya kāmād dhy ābhegyad dvitīyād vā bhayān bhavati* (CB.) *thereupon his fear departed, for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person, ūtpapāta cirān tān mone yād vāsaḥ paryādhāsyata* (CB.) *he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment; sá tād evā nā 'vindat prajāpatir yātrā hoṣyat* (MS) *Pragapati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice; evaṁ cen nā 'vakyo mūrdhā te vyapatiṣyat* (GB.) *if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off, sá yād dhātī tāvad evā 'bhaviṣyat yāvatyo hāi 'vā 'gre prajāḥ apējā tāvatyo hāi 'vā 'bhaviṣyun nā prā 'janiṣyanta* (CB.) *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 'bhaviṣyat aruṇas tamasān vibhettā tam oot sahasrakirano dhuri nā 'kariṣyat* (I) *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

Passive Participle in *tá* or *ná*.

952. By the accented suffix त्त *tá* — or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न्त *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 *bhūtá* *been*; पतित *patitá* *fallen*.

953. In general, this participle is made by adding त्त *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.

b. As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085 a.

954. The root before *ṭ* *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* *yañj*, *baddhá* *ṭybandh*, *ṣrabdhá* *ṭṣrambh*, *daṣṭá* *ṭdaṇṣ*, *śraṣṭá* *ṭśraṇṣ*, *bāḍhá* *ṭybañh*.

b. Roots which are abbreviated in the weak forms of the perfect 784; suffer the same abbreviation here: examples are *uktá* *ṭvac*, *uṣṭá* *ṭvas* *shine*, *uṣṭá* *ṭvap*; also *vapta*, *ūḍhá* *ṭvah*, *suptá* *ṭṣrap*, *lṣṭá* *ṭṣyaj*, *viddhá* *ṭṣyadh*; — and, by a similar procedure, *ṭpraoh* or *praḥ* makes *ṭpraṣṭá*, *ṭbhraḥ* makes *ṭbhṛṣṭá* (beside the regular *bhraṣṭá*, and *ṭṣṛā* *boil* makes *ṭṣṛá* (beside *ṭṣṛátá*).

c. Final *a* is weakened to *i* in *gitá* (*ṭgá* *sing*), *dhítá* (*ṭdha* *suck*), *pítá* (*ṭpá* *drink*), *sphítá*; and *jítá*, *vitá*, *ṣítá* are made from the roots *jya*, *vya*, *ṣyá*, (or *ṣi* etc.); — and further to *i* in *chítá* (beside *chatá*), *dítá* (*ṭdā* *divide* and *dā* *bind*), *drítá* (*ṭdrā* *sleep*), *hitá* (*ṭdhā* *put* with *h* for *dh*; but *dhita* also occurs in V.), *mítá* (*ṭmā* *measure*), *ṣítá* (also *ṣāta*), *sítá*, *sthítá*.

d. A final *m* is lost after *a* in *gatá*, *natá*, *yatá*, *ratá* (from *ṭgam* etc.); and a final *n* in *kṣata*, *tatá*, *matá*, *hatá*. As to the other note in *am* and *an* taking *ta*, see 955 a, b.

e. More isolated cases are *-ūta* (RV.: *ṭav*), *utá* or *ūta* (*ṭvā* *seize*), *ṣiṣṭá* (also *ṣāsta*: *ṭṣāṣ*), *mūrtá* (referred to *ṭmūrch*). As to *-gdha* and *ṭagdhá*, see 233 f.

f. On the other hand, *ṭsvad* makes *avāttá*.

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, *kāntá*, *krāntá*, *klāntá*, *kṣāntá*, *cāntá*, *tāntá*, *dāntá*, *bhrāntá*, *vāntá*, *ṣāntá* *ṭṣam* *be quiet*, *ṭṣrāntá* (from *ṭkam* etc.); and one in *an*, *dhvan* *sound*, makes *dhvāntá*.

b. A few roots in *an* make their participle from another root-form in *a*: thus, *khátá*, *jātá*, *-vāta*, *śātá*; *dhām* has both *dhāmítá* and *dhmātá*.

c. Certain roots in *iv* take their *yū*-form (785 a); thus, *dyatá* (*ṭdiv* *play*), *ṣṭhyatá*, *syūtá*; but *ṭniv* makes *-mūta*.

d. From roots in changeable *ṣ* (generally taking *na*: 857 b) are made also *pūrtá* (*ṭpṛ* *fill* beside *pṛta*), *ṣṛta* and *ṣūrtá* (*ṭṣṛ* *crush*); and *ṣṛta* is further made from *ṭṣṛi* *mix*.

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while *piç* has both forms, and *mçç* takes *ita* only late, *iç zand*, *iç*, *kuç*, *trç*, *tviç*, *pruç*, *miç*, *ruç*, *heç*, *hreç*, also *muç* except late, while *dhuç*, *ruç*, and *huç* show both forms; *ās*, *bhas*, *bhās*, *raç*, *laç*, *vaç* *clothe*, *has*, also *as* *throw* occasionally, while *kas*, *gras*, *yas*, *vaç* *shine*, *vaç* *die*, *çās* (with *çiçā* and *çāsta*), *çvaç*, and *hvaç* make both forms, *ih*, *grah* (*grhitā*), *juh* (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: 629).

d. In general, a root maintains its full form before *ita*; but there are a few exceptions: thus, *grbhitā* and *grhitā* (the root being reckoned as *grabh* and *grah*: see 729), *uditā* (also *vadita* in the later language), *uṣita* (*yvas* *shine*; beside *uṣā*), *uṣita* (*yvas* *dwell*: also sporadically *vanita* and *uṣā*), *ukṣitā* (*yvakṣ* *increase*), *qrthitā* (*yqrath*). From *ympj* are made both *mṛjita* and *mārjita* (with strengthening as in present and elsewhere: 627), beside *mṛjā*.

e. Instead of *i*, long *ī* is taken in *grbhitā* and *grhitā*.

957. The suffix *ṛ nā* (always without auxiliary *ṛ i* is taken instead of *ṛ tā* by a number of roots (about seventy). Thus:

a. Certain roots in *ā*: thus, *kāṣ*, *glā*, *drā* *run*, *drā* *sleep*, (also *drita*?), *mā* (also *māstā*), *vā* *blow* (also *vāta*), *çyā* (also *çinā*), *styā*, *hā* *leave* (also *hinā* and *hāta*), *hā* *go forth*, and *dā* *divide* makes *dinā* (also *dita* and *-tta*). Further, certain roots in *i*- and *u*-vowels: thus, *kei* *destroy* (*kṣiṇa*; also *keitā*), *çī*, *pī*, *lī* *cling*, *vī*, *çī* or *çyā* *conglute* (beside *çyāna* and *çita*), *hri* (beside *hrita*), *dū* *burn* (also *duta*), *lū*, *çū*; and *dīv* *lament* makes *dyūna* (compare 765).

b. Roots in *r*, which before the suffix becomes *ir* or *ūr*, the forms are, *arṇa* (late; beside *ṛtā*), *kirṇa* (*ykr* *scatter*), *gīrṇa* (*ygr* *swallow*), *jīrṇa* and *jūrṇa* (*yjy* *scaste away*), *tīrṇa* and *tūrṇa* (also *tūrtā*), *dīrṇa* (*ydr* *pierce*; also *dṛta*), *pūrṇa* (*ypr* *fill*; also *pūrtā* and *pṛta*), *mūrṇa* (*ymr* *crush*), *çīrṇa* (*yçr* *crush*; also *çīrta* and *çūrtā*?), *stīrṇa* (also *stīrta*). Of like character with these are *īrṇa* from *yir*, *oirṇa* (beside *carita*) from *y'car*, *gūrṇa* (beside *gūrtā*) from *y'gur*, a secondary form of *gr*, and *cūrṇa* (beside *carvita*) from *y'carv*, 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* (*ybhahj*), *bhugoa* (*ybhuj* *bend*), *magna* (*y'majj*), *rugṇa*, *vigna* (beside *vikta*). Further, two or three ending in *o* (similarly treated), thus, *akṇa* (*y'ac* or *añc* also *acita* and *añcīta*), *vṛkṇa* (*y'vraçc*), and apparently *-pṛṇa* (RV., once: with doubly irregular change of root-final, from *y'pṛc*). 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. 157 b). The forms are: unna (also utta), arṇṇa, kṛinna, kṣṛṇṇa, kṣvṛṇṇa, khinna, channa, chinna, chṛṇṇa, tunna, tṛṇṇa, nunna (also nutta and nudita), panna, bhinna, vinna (p'vid *fund*: also vittā), ṣanna (p'cad *fall*), sanna (also satta), skanna (yakand), syanna (ṣyandi), svinna, hanna. And āna *food*, in spite of its different accent, appears to be a like formation from y'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*, kṣā emaciated, pakva *ripe*, phulla *expanded*, śūka *dry*.

Past Active Participle in tavant (or navant).

959. From the past passive participle, of whatever formation, is made, by adding the possessive suffix वन्त, vant, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, तत् कृतवान् tāt kṛtāvān *having done that*; तम् अगृह्णवान् tam agṛhṇavān *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, agītāvaty ātithāu *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 oftener 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 (778). For example: mān na kaścīd dṛṣṭavān *no one has seen (or said) me*; sa nakulaṁ vyāpāditavān *he destroyed the ichneumon*; or, with copula, mahat kṛcchraṁ prāptavaty aśi *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 preteritive), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, cūṭena saṁgṛitavati (ṣ.) *has become united with the mango-tree*; gatavati (ib.) *she has gone*.

a. The same participle is also made in the secondary conjugations: e. g. darśitavant *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. *iṣṭāṁ* *having sacrificed*, *viśitino manyamāṇāḥ* (AB) *thinking themselves to have conquered*.

Futuro Passivo Participles: Gerundives.

861. 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).

862. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely *या* *ya*, *तव्या* *tavya*, and *नीया* *niya*.

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 (866).

863. 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*, *dhṛēya*, *khyēya*, *mēya* perhaps *dā-ia* etc., with euphonic *y* interposed; but RV. has once *-jāya*. — 2. The other vowels either remain unchanged, or have the *guṇa* or the *vrddhi* strengthened, and *e* usually and *o* always are treated before the *ya* as they would be before a vowel: thus, *-kṣāya*, *jāya*, *bhāya*, *lāya*; *nāya*, *bhāvya*, *hāvya*, *bhāvya*; *vāya*; and, in the later language, *nīya*, *jēya*, *dhōya* such cases are wanting earlier. In a few instances, a short vowel adds *t*

before the suffix: thus *itya*, *mitya*, *crūtya*, *stūtya*, *kṛtya* (the only Vedic examples — 3. Medial *a* remains unchanged or is lengthened: thus, *dābhya*, *vāndya*, *sādya*; *mādyā*, *vādyā*. — 4. Medial *i*, *u*, and *r*-vowels are unchanged or have the *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *īdyā*, *ūdyā*, *dhṛgyā*; *dvēgyā*, *yōdhyā*, *māriyā*.

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 *ādya*, *āgyā*, *-vyādhyā*, *-dharāgyā*). 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.

984. a. The suffix *tavya* is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in *tu* below, 988, made by adding the suffix *ya* (properly *ia*, 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, 988.

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, *kartavya* or *kartāvyā*; in the accentuated texts, it is always the former (the accent *tāvyā* given to certain gerundives in the Petersburg lexicons is an error, growing out of the ambiguous accentuation of ÇB.: 88 c).

985. a. The suffix *aniya* is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix *īya* (1216) 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 *upajivaniya* and *āmantraniya* (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*.

986. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in *tva* or *tva*, apparently made from the infinitival noun in *tu* with the allied suffix *a* (1209). They are *kārtva* (in two occurrences *kārtva*) *-gāṁtva*, *jāntva*, *jetva*, *nāntva*, *vāktva*, *śotva*,

snātva, bāntva, hōtva, hōtva; and, with auxiliary *i* (or *i*), jānitva, śānitva, bhāvitva.

b. Gerundives in *onīa* or *onya* (compare 1217): they are *ikṣonīa*, *idēnīa*, *carēnīa*, *dr̥cēnīa*, *-diviṣonīa*, *bhūṣonīa*, *yudhēnīa*, *vareṇīa* (and *bhājēnīa* BbP.); with one example from an apparent *arist-stem*, *yamaēnīa*, and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, 1019, 1038, 1068 a).

c. Gerundives in *āyīa* (once *āyīa*, compare 1218): they are *dakṣāyīa*, *panāyīa*, *vidāyīa*, *grāvāyīa*, *hnavāyīa*; with a few from secondary conjugation-stems (below, 1019, 1038, 1061, 1068 a); and *stuṣāyīa* is of close kindred with them.

d. A few adjectives in *clīma*, as *pacclīma*, *bhidclīma* (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 Brahmanas 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 *guna*-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, *इतुम्* *étum* from *इ* *i*; *कर्तुम्* *kártum* from *कृ* *kr*; *चरितुम्* *cáritum* from *च* *car*; *भवितुम्* *bhāvitum* from *भू* *bhū*.

a. As regards the use or omission of *i*, the infinitive (as also the gerund in *tvā*, 981) follows in general the analogy of the passive participle 958. Examples are with the gerund added as follows: *dagdhā*, *dāgdhum*, *dagdhvā* from *द* *dah*; *bhinnā*, *bhēntum*, *bhittvā* from *भ* *bhid*; *matā*, *māntum*, *matvā* from *म* *man*; *ūdhā*, *vōdhum*, *ūdhvā* from *व* *vah*; *patitā*, *pātatum*, *patitvā* from *प* *pat*; *yācitā*, *yācitum*, *yācivā* from *य* *yāo*; *ṣayitā*, *ṣayitum*, *ṣayitvā* from *श* *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*, *ugh*; in *itu* from *uñch*, *uñ* *consider*, *kṣap*, *lupñh*, *lok*, *avar*; and in both from *yabh*.

c. Of roots making participles of both forms, an infinitive stem in *tu* only is quotable for *kāp*, *kāubh*, *tap*, *tyaj*, *mṛ*, *lubh*, *vas adane*, *çak*, *stabh*; only in *itu* for *gāh*, *carv*, *jap*, *mad*, *yat*, *van*, *çāṇs*, *çvas*; in both for *as throw*, *ūh remove*, *gup*, *car*, *mṛj* (*māṛṣu*, *mar-jitu*), *lap*, *vas dwell*, *çap*, *çṣa*.

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 attant*, *iç seed*, *bandh*, *bhuj*, *yaj* (*ijitum*), *rudh obstruct*, *ruh*, *vṛ*, *śad* (*sīditum*), *sah*, *han*, *hṛ*; and one in *tu* from roots *as*, *bhāṣ*, *vid know*. Both forms occur also from certain *am*-roots, namely *nam*, *yam*, *ram*, and, with *a* before *tu* as in the *pic*, *kram* and *bhram* (*kṣam* has only *kṣamtu*, against the analogy of *kṣānta*), further, from certain roots in variable *r*, namely *tṛ* (*tartu*, *taritu*), *vṛ cover* (*vārtu*, *varitu*), and *stṛ* (*stārtu*, *stāritu*, *stāritu*) (but from *çṛ* *erud* occur only *çāritu*, *çāritu*, and from *vṛ choose* only *varitu*, while *gr* *scallow* and *pṛ* *fill* make their infinitive from other root-forms, namely *giritum*, *pūritum*); further, from a few vowel-roots, namely *ai*, *cyu*, *sū* (*sūtu*); and finally from *kṛ*, *nṛ*, *çuc*.

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 *pics* coming from *kha* and *ja*), *gub*, *jabh*, *tam*, *div play* and *div lament* (both *devitu*), *majj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *çṛ*; and after a final vowel, from roots in *u*, namely *pū*, *bhū*, *sū* (also *sūtu*), and from *çri* and *çvi*; as to roots in variable *r*, see just above, d.

f. As the infinitive is made from the (separated 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 *iṣṭa* (and *iṣṭvā*), *banddhum* against *baddhā* (and *baddhvā*), and so on. Deserving special notice are *gātu* (*gā sing*) against *gitā*, and *dhātu* (*dha 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 *-dhitu*, *-mitu*, *-sthitu*; and *ā* or *ai* has *ātu*, *sātu*, and *-astu*; *vā* *erare* (*pic* *utā*) has both *vātu* and *ōtu*; *hū* or *hvā* has *havitu*, *hvāyitu*, and *hvātu*. The root *vyadh* makes its only quotable infinitive, *veddhum*, from its *vidh* form; from *sañ* or *çaj* occur both *sañtu* and *saktu*. The anomalous *pic* forms *ijitum* (*yaj*) and *sīditum* (*śad*), were mentioned above. The root *grah* makes *grāhitum*.

g. In the later language, the infinitive-stem forms possessive compounds with *kāma* and *manas* (especially the former); e. g. *svāptu-kāma* *having the wish to sleep*, *yajñukāma* *desirous of sacrificing*, *vaktumanas* *minded to speak*.

h. In very rare instances, native infinitives in *tave* or *tavāi* are

made from the infinitive stem in the later language (as abundantly in the earlier: 970 b). thus, *pratibhartave* (R&P.) And *jivase* (973 a) is once found in MDh. (1. 3. 67 = 732), in a quasi-Vedic hymn to the Agvins.

980. In the Veda and Brahmana, 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 *a*-roots: *ai*, 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 dative, 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 *gi*, datives in *dhyāi* and *gyāi*.

h. A few infinitives in *ṣaṇi* are perhaps locatives from nouns in *an* added to a root increased by *n*.

i. From a single root, *dhy*, 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 Rîg-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 *prajāpatiṃ praṇām ātām* (TS.) *they went to ask Prajāpati*; *viśvam jivāṃ prasuvānti carāyāi* (RV.) *quickening every living being to motion*; *apāḥ sārṃyāya codāyān* (RV.) *impelling the waters to flow*; *ṣaknuyād grāhaṇāya* (instead of the usual *grāhitum*: I.B.) *may be able to apprehend*; *a tamanāt* (instead of the usual *tamitoḥ*: S.) *until exhaustion*. And the so-called infinitives

are found co-ordinated 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, ārtatrāṅāya na prahartum anāgaṁ* (Q) *for the rescue of the distressed, not for hurrying 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*: 383 f), 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 (*hi*, *mi*, *bhū*), and from one or two in changeable *r*, 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 *avaaā* before *ā* as for *avaaās* and not *avaaāi* in RV. III. 53. 20), and the locative in *o* (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, 388). 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 nearly three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: e. g. *rñjāse*, *jivāse*, *bhijāse*, *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*, *ṣobhāse*. In *puṣyāse* is even, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

b. The ending *se* is extremely rare, being found only in *jige* and perhaps *stuṣe*, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in *mane* are made from only five roots: thus, *trāmane*, *dāmane*, *dārmāne*, *bhārmāne*, and (with different accent) *vidmāne*. From *yā* comes *dāvāne*; *turvāne* may come directly from *yṭṛ*, or through the secondary root *turv*; *dhūrvāne* is rather from *yḍhūr* than from *yḍhvr*.

975. a. The infinitives in *tay* are *iṣṭāye* (*yṣṭ*), *pītāye* (*yṣā* *drink*), *vītāye*, *sātāye*, and perhaps *ūtāye* (*ūtāye nṛṇ t. help his men*).

RV.) In *tyāi*, the only examples noted are *ityāi* (RV.) and *sādhyaī* (MS. AR.).

b. With *aye* are formed *īṣāye*, *tujāye*, *dr̥ṣāye*, *maḥāye*, *yudhāye*, *śanāye*; and *citāye* (VS), *gr̥hāye* (K.).

978. 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, *śucādhyaī*, *pr̥ṣādhyaī*, *dhiyādhyaī*, *huvādhyaī*. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, *ṣayādhyaī*, *stāvādhyaī*, *tarādhyaī*, *jarādhyaī*, *mandādhyaī*, *vandadhyaī*. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, *kṣārādhyaī*, *gāmādhyaī*, *yājādhyaī* (but once or twice also *yajādhyaī*), *vāhādhyaī*, *sāhādhyaī*, *bhārādhyaī*. In a single instance, *pībādhyaī*, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, *vāṇydhādhyaī*, 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 *gāmādhya*); in the *Brahmana* language proper it appears to be entirely wanting.

977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in *gyāi*—thus, *rōhīgyāi* (TS), *avyāthīgyāi* (K. Kap. MS. *avyāthīgo*; VS *vyāthīgat*), and perhaps *-dhāsyāi* (PSS).

978. The infinitives in *gāṇi* are: *īṣāṇi* (?) from *īṣ* *end*, *-bhūṣāṇi* from *ībhū*; *qūṣāṇi* from *īqū* or *qūā*; *neṣāṇi* from *īni*; *sakṣāṇi* from *īśah*; *pareṣāṇi* from *īpr̥*; *tariṣāṇi* from *ītr̥*; and *gr̥ṇīṣāṇi* and *-str̥ṇīṣāṇi* from *īgr̥* and *str̥*—the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. *gr̥ṇīṣō*, 884 d).

979. The only infinitive in *tari* is *dhartāri* (with its compound *vidhartāri*), from *īdhr̥*.

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, *ṣakema tvā samidham* (RV) *may we accomplish thy kindling*; *mā ṣakan pratidhām īṣum* (AV) *may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string*, *māno vā imāṁ sadyaḥ pary-*

aptum arhati manas pāribhavitum (TS) *the mind, farsooth, can at once attain and surpass her*; kó hy étasá rhati gúhyam náma grāhitum (QB) *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, dukṣipāni hótum eti (TS) *he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts*, indram pratīram emy áyuh (RV.) *I go to Indra for (— c. bereach of him) the lengthening out of life*; —*et* ydhr perant m, undertake *as, as idám jatáh sárvam evá dagdhum dadhre* (QB) *he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe*, —*et* verbs meaning *desire, hope, notice, know*, and the like *as, pácān vicītaṁ vottha sárvan* (AV) *thou knowest how to loosen all bonds*, tāmān agnirb ná "driyeta párihantum (AB) *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: víśvaṁ jivāṁ carāse bodhāyanti (RV.) *awakening every living creature to motion*, tūn ūpa yāta píbadhyai (RV.) *come to drink there*; náí tām te dovā adadur áttave (AV.) *the gods did not give her to thee for eating*; práí "d yudháye dāsyum índrah (RV.) *Indra went forward to fight the demon*; cākṣur no dhoḥi víkhyai (RV.) *give us sight for looking abroad*.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun with 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 pāṇiham ānvetavá u (RV.) *he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following)*; śléṣito śtṛṅge rákṣobhyo viníṣṭe (RV) *he wheels his horns to pierce the demons*; rudráya dhānūr ā tanomi brahmadvíṣe śārave hāntavá u (RV) *I stretch the bow for Indra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater*; āsmábhyam drṣṭvā sūryāya pūnar datam āsum (RV.) *may they grant life again, that we may see the sun*.

b. An infinitive with *ky* make is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb (thus, prá "ndhām cṛopām oākṣasa étave kṛthah (RV) *ye make the blind and lame to see and go*; agnirb samídhe cakārtha (RV.) *thou hast made the fire to be kindled*. Of similar character is an occasional construction with another verb: *as, yád im uqmāei kártave kárat tát* (RV.) *what we wish to be done, may he do that*; kavīnr ícchāmi samídṣe (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 nā pratidhīṣe bhavati* (TS) *like fire, he is not to be resisted*, *mahimā te anyēna nā samāntaḥ* (VS) *thy greatness is not to be attained by another*; *nākim indro nīkartave nā cakrāḥ pāriṣaktave* (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 yaśāsā . . . āuṣijō huvādhyāi* [asti] (RV.) *these glorious ones shall the son of Uṣj invoke for me*, *sūktobhir vah . . . indrā nv agni āvase huvādhyāi* [stah] (RV) *with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid*; *vandādhyā agnīm nāmobhīḥ* [asmī] (RV.) *let me greet Agni with homage*, *samākāśaḥ ca surāyo vīṣvā āśās tariṣāṇi* (RV.) *and let our sacrificers cross all regions*, *tān nāi vām kīrtavāi* (MS) *that must not be done so*, *brahmadviṣaḥ cārave hantavā u* (RV) *'let the arrow slay the brahma-haters*. The infinitives in *dhyāi* and *gāṇi* (which latter is in all its cases accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the Brahmana and Sūtras (especially in VB) 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 ōṣadhinām evā mūlāny ūchettavāi brūyāt* (VB) *therefore let him direct the roots of the plants to be cut up* (*speak in order to their cutting up* cf. *yē vaśāyā ādanāya 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 Brahmana 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 *ṛtē* without, and after several verbs, as *trā* and *pā* *protect, ye separate, bhī*, etc.

b. In a few instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated above for the dative (982 a), 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*, *trādhvarā kartū avapādaḥ* (RV) *save us from falling down into the pit*, *purā dakṣiṇābhyo netoḥ* (Apast.) *before the gifts are taken away*.

984. The genitive infinitive having the same form as the ablative is in common use in the Brahmana language as dependent on *īṣvarā* lord, master, employed adjectively in the sense of *capable or likely or exposed to*.

a. Examples are: *tā* [devātāḥ] *īṣvarā enaṁ pradāhaḥ* (TS.) *they are likely to burn him up*; *ātha ha vā īṣvarō* 'guṇim citvā kīrtid dāuritam āpattoḥ vī vā hvālitōḥ' (VB.) *so in truth he is liable*,

b. The prefix of the negative particle, *na* or *an*, does not cause the gerund to take the form in *ya* thus, *akṛtvā*, *anirayitvā* (but *k*, has *acintya*). Of compounds with other than verbal prefixes, *RV* has *punardaya*, *karnagṛhya*, *pādagṛhya*, *hastagṛhya*, *arambhṛtya*, *akṣhahṛtya*, *mithasṛdhyā*; *AV* has further *namaskṛtya*.

991. The suffix *तृ* *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 *तृ* *ta* (§52 ff.).

a. Examples of the general accordance of passive participle, infinitive, and gerund in regard to the use of *i* were given above, §88 a, further specifications are called for, as follows:

b. The quotable roots in variable *ṛ* (§42) change it to *ir*: thus, *tirtvā*, *stirtvā* (also *stīrvā*); and *car* makes also *cirtvā* (like *cirṇa*; — roots in *ā* show in general the same weakening as in the participle, but from *dha* put is quotable only *dhritvā* (*hitvā*), from *mā* measure *mitvā* and *mītvā*, from *dā* give only *dattvā*, from *chā* *chayitvā*, — cf roots in *am*, *kram* and *bhram* and *yam* make forms both with and without *i* (as in the infinitive) but *ram* has *ratvā* and *rañtvā*, and *dam* and *vam* make *danitvā* and *vamitvā*.

c. The auxiliary vowel is taken by roots *gras*, *muṣ*, *ṣap*, and *ṣās* (*ṣāsitvā*) (whose participles have both forms), also by *cāy*, *nṛt* (*nartitvā*), *lag*, and *svaj* (agat at analogy of pple); and *quo* makes *ṣocitvā*. On the other hand, from *ruj* (*rugya*) and *vraṣ* (*vyṣya*) come *ruktvā* and *vṛṣtvā*. And both forms are made (as also in infinitive or participle) from *car*, *vas* *decē* (*uṣtvā*, *uṣitvā*), *nī* (*nitvā*, *nayitvā*), and *mṛj* (*mṛṣtvā*, *māṛjitvā*).

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 (beside the instances already given *chāyitvā*, *rañtvā*, *ṣāsitvā*, *cāyitvā*, *ṣocitvā*, *mayitvā*, *māṛjitvā*), we find *charditvā* (*āpast*) *dañṣtvā*, and *spharitvā*, and, from a number of roots, a second strong form beside the more regular weak one: namely, *śṅktvā*, *bhañktvā*, *bhūktvā*, *syantvā* (beside *aktvā* etc.); *caṣitvā*, *amayitvā*, *smaritvā* (beside *citvā* etc.); *roditvā* (beside *ruditvā*), and *śīñcitvā* (beside *śīktvā*). The last shows the influence of the present-stem, as do also *māṛjitvā* (above) and *ṣighritvā* (*ṣghrā*). The form *ṣṭhutvā* (*āpast*) is doubtless a false reading, for *ṣṭhyūtva*.

992. The suffix *तृ* *ya* is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending

in a short vowel takes *य्या* *tya* instead of *या* *ya*: thus, *जित्या* -*jitya*, *स्तुत्या* -*stūtya*, *कृत्या* -*kṛtya*

a. Roots in variable *ṛ* (242) change that vowel to *ir* or *ūr*: thus, *kirya*, *gīrya*, *tīrya* (and *tūrya*), *dirya*, *purya*, *qīrya*, *stīrya* (also *stītya*); — roots in *ā* have for the most part -*āya*; but *dhā* *suck* takes *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*, *mītya*), *sā bind* (*sāya*, *śya*); *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* (254 d) make the gerund in *atya*, but also later in *anya*, *amya* (e.g. *gātya*, *gamya*; *hātya*, *hanya*; but *tan* makes as gerund form *tāya*, and from *ram* only *ramya* is quotable) — the roots in *iv* add *ya* to their *iv*-form: thus, *āthīvyā*, *śivya*; — a few roots in *i* and *u* add *ya* to the lengthened vowel besides adding *tya* thus, *i go* (*iya*, *ītya*; also *ayya*), *ei gather* (*oīya*, *cītya*), and *plu, yu unite, su, stu* (*plūya*, *plutya*, etc.); while *kai destroy* has only *kātya*.

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*, *ājya*, *idhya*, *ūdyā*, *ubhya*, *grathya*, *tācya*, *daçya*, *bādhyā*, *bhājya*, *līpya*, *lūpya*, *vlāgya*, *çrabhya*, *cajya*, *skābhyā*, *stābhyā*, *syadyā*, *svajya*; with weakening of other kinds, *gīhya* and *gībhya*, *pṛcchya*, *ūcya*, *udya*, *ūpya*, *ūçya* (*was dwell*), *ūhya*, *vidhya*, *viya*, *vṛçya*, *spṛdhya*, *hūya*; — but from a number of roots are made both a stronger and a weaker form: thus, *manthya* and *māthya*, *māṛjya* and *mṛjya*, *rundhya* and *rūdhyā*, *çañhya* and *çāçya*, *qāçya* and *qlāya*, *skāndya* and *skādya*, *srāṇhya* and *srāçya*; — and only strong forms are found from roots are, *av*, *cāy*, *çi* (*çayya*), as well as from certain roots with a constant nasal: e.g. *uñch*, *kamp*, *nand*, *lamb*, *çañk*; isolated cases are *oçya* (*burn*), *prothya* (also *prūthya*).

c. Other special cases are *ūhya* and *ūhya* (*remove*), *gurya* and *gūrya*, *guhya* and *gūhya*, *rūhya* and *rūhya*, *bhramya* and *bhrāmya*, *āyya* (beside *ītya*, *iya*), *ghrāya* and *gighrya*; and *ūṛputya* (also *vṛtya*).

893. 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* at no. 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 unknown

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—*spāṣayitvāya*). 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 Bhāradvāja-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, *vājreṇa hatvā nīr apāh saasrja* (RV.) *smelting with his thunderbolt, he poured forth the waters*; *pitvī sōmasya vāvṛdhe* (RV.) *having drunk of the soma, he ceased strong*; *tē yajñāsya rāsam dhritvā vidūhya yajñam yupēna yopayitvā tirō 'bhavan* (ÇB.) *having sucked out the sap of the offering, having milked the offering dry having blacked it with the sacrificial post, they disappeared*, *śrutvāi 'va oā 'bruvan* (MBh.) *and having heard, they said*, *tām ca dūre dṛṣṭvā 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, *striyam dṛṣṭvāya kitavām tatāpa* (RV.) *it distressed the gambler (i. e. the gambler is distressed) at seeing his wife*; *tām hai 'nam dṛṣṭvā bhīr viveda* (ÇB.) *fear came upon him (i. e. he was afraid) when he saw him*; *vidhaya proṣite vṛttim* (M.) *when he stays away after providing for her support*; *kim nu me syād idam 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 (282 a): thus, *tataḥ ca bādā abhiñāya sa vyāghreṇa hataḥ* (H.) *thereupon he was slain by the tiger, who recognized him by his voice*; *tvayā sa rājā cakuntalāḥ puraskṛtya vakṣevyaḥ* (Ç.) *presenting Çakuntalā, thou must say to the king*; *haṁsānām vacanāt śrutvā yathā me* (gen. for instr.) *nāigadho vṛtaḥ* (MBh.) *as the Nishadhaṇ 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, *tada 'trai 'va paktvā khādītavyaḥ* (H.) *then he shall be eaten [by us] cooking him on the spot*, *yaś anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya diyate* (M.) *that, after being promised (i. e. when one has promised her) to one, she is given again to another*; *śucintya co 'ktam sūvicārya yat kṛtam* (H.) *what one says after mature thought*,

and does after full deliberation. Hence, still more elliptically after *alam* thus, *alam vicārya* (1') *enough of hesitation*; *tad alam te vanash zalvā* (B) *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 (268 a), as *tām hiṁsitvā 'va meno* (1'B) *he thought he had hurt him*, *tā adbhir abhiṣṭeya nīṣasyāi 'va 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 *ī* (1075 a), as *indram evai 'tair ārabhya yanti* (AB) *by means of them they keep taking hold of Indra*; — as qualifying a subordinate member of the sentence, as *puroḍāṣam evā kūrmaṁ bhūtvā śārpantam* (1'B) *to the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise*; *ayodhyā . . . sapthaṁ saśvanāṁ bhūtvā jalormim iva* (B) *into Ayodhyā, like a surge that had been foamy and roaring*. — even absolutely, as *ātithyēna vāi devā iṣtvā tānt samād avindat* (1'B) *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, *tad iyām evai 'tad bhūtvā yajati* (1'B) *so having thus become this earth he makes offering*, *yena vāmanena '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-ḍiṣya* *pointing toward*, i. e. *at*; *āsādyā*, *arriving at*, i. e. *along, by*, *ārabhya* *beginning*, i. e. *from*; *sambhūyā* *being with*, i. e. *with*; *sādhātya* *striking together*, i. e. *in unison*; *prasahya* *using force*, i. e. *violently*, *tyaktvā*, *parityajya*, *muktivā*, *vihāya*, *uddhṛtya*, *varjayitvā* *leaving out etc.*, i. e. *excepting, without*; and others. Examples are *śakuntalāṁ adhikṛtya bravīmi* (1') *I am speaking of Śakuntalā*, *tam udḍiṣya kṣiptalagudāḥ* (B) *having thrown the cudgel at him*; *nimittam kimcid 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. *prasahyāharāṇa* *taking with violence*, *pretyabhāva* *existence after death*; *vibhajyapaṭha* *separate enumeration*, *sambhūyagamana* *going together*. It is also often repeated (1260), in a distributive sense: e. g. *sā vāi sammījya-sammījya pratāpya-pratāpya prā yacchati* (1'B) *in each case, after wiping and warming them, he hands them over*, *gṛhitva-gṛhitvā* (H, 4) *at each taking*, *unnamyo-'nnamya* (Pāṇ.) *every time that they arise*.

Adverbial Gerund in am.

295. 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, *abhyākṛānam*, *pratār-kam*, *praṇōdam*, *nilāyam*, *abhiskādam*, etc. This gerund is found especially in the Brahmanas 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 *vyddhi*-strengthening before the suffix: thus, *nāvam*, *grāvam*, *kāram*; final *a* adds *y*: thus, *khyāyam*, *yāyam*; a medial vowel has *guṇa* (if capable of it: 340) thus, *kṣepam*, *kroṣam*, *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 un-compounded examples are found in the older language, and extremely few in the later.

c. Examples are *kāmam vā imāny āngāni vyatyāsam cete* (1.B.) *he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure*, *uttaram-uttarām śākhaṁ samālambhaṁ rōhet* (1.B.) *he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb*; *aparigu mahānāgām ivā bhīṣmaśāraṁ didṛkṣitārah* (1.B.) *hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him*; *nāmāny āsam otāni nāmegrāham* (1.B.) *with separate naming of these their names, ye 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: 394b)

CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

396. 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 *ū yā*, 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 *ī*: 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.

c. 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 *ḡdā* (aor. 3d sing. *adāyi*) beside *ādāsi*, *dānye*, *datāhe*, also *ādāyīṣi*, *dāyīṣyē*, *dāyītāhe*. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to *grah*, *dr̥ṣ*, and *han*. No such passive forms occur in the older language, and not half-a-dozen are questionable 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. 3, the passive has a past participle in *ṛta* (952, or *ṛna* 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 in *tatrāi 'ko yuvā brāhmaṇo dṛṣṭaḥ: tādā dṛṣṭvā kamena pīḍita saṁjāta: sakhyā agro kathitam: sakhi puruṣo 'yam gṛhītvā mama mātuh samīpam anetavyaḥ* Vet. *there she saw a young Brahman: at sight of him she felt the pang 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: *thā 'gamyatam come hither: tvayā tatrāi 'va sthiyatam do you stand just there: sarvāir jalam ādayo 'ddiyatam* (R) *let all fly up with the net*

11. 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

described. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (842 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 Brhmana and Sutra-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, 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 580; but the vowel is a heavy one, radical *a* and *y* or *ar*, being reduplicated with *ā*, an *i*-vowel by *e*, and an *u*-vowel by *o*.

Examples are, *vāvad*, *bābadh*, *çāçvas*, *rārāndh*; *dādṛ*, *dādṛḥ*; *cekṣit*, *tetaj*, *nenī*, *vevli*; *çoçuc*, *popruth*, *coçku*, *johu*.

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*, *sarṣ*, *marṃj*, *jarhṣ*; *cankram*, *jaṅghan*, *taṇetan*, *dandaṣ* (𑀧 *daṇṣ* or *daṣ*), *jaṇjabh* (𑀧 *jaṃbh* or *jabh*), *taṇṭa* (𑀧 *taṇa* or *taṇ*), *nannam* (𑀧 *nam*), *yaṇyam* (𑀧 *yam*). The nasal is assimilated to the initial consonant.

c. Only roots having a or ṛ 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 reduplicating syllable, *badbadh* with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, *jaṅgah* (RV), *jaṇjap* (CB; and *jaṅguyat* FB, is perhaps from 𑀧 *gu*, the later language has further *dandah*); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, *jarbbur* from 𑀧 *bbur* (compare the Vedic perfect *jabhāra* from 𑀧 *bhr*, 789 b), *galgal* from 𑀧 *gul*; with various treatment of an ṛ or ar-suffix, *dardar* and *dardir*, *carkar* and *carkir*, *tartar* and *tartur*, *carcar* and *car-our*, *jargur* and *jaigul*.

e. The roots *i* and *ṛ* are the only ones with vowel initial forming an intensive stem: *i* makes *iyāy* (? PUL, once); *ṛ* makes the irregular *alar* or *alp*. As to the stem *iya*, see below, 1021 b.

III. f. The reduplication is disyllabic, 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 *gānigmatam*), *varivṛt*, *vanivan*, *caniṣkad*, *caniṣvan*; *navinu*, *davidyut* (and the participles *dāvidhvat* but *tāvituat*). A single exception as to the quantity of the *i* is *davidhava*.

g. This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by about thirty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate n (see m), and n in the reduplicating syllable, *pan*, *phan*, *san*, *evan*, *han*; *gam*; *krand*, *qand*, *skand*, *syand*; of roots having final or medial ṛ and r in the reduplicating syllable, *kṛ mṛke*, *ṛṣ*, *bhr*, *vṛ*, *mṛj*, *mṛṣ*, *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *arp*; also *mluc* (*malimluc*),—further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only *vah* (CB; the grammarians allow also *kas*, *pat*, *pad*; and *panipad* is quite late; and Aṣṭ. has *canikhudat*, for which TB reads *kānikhunat*); 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 *bharibhr*, and of *ganigam*, *karikṛ* (but the regular *carikṛ* also occurs), *kani-krand*, and *kaniṣkad* (but also *caniṣkad* occurs); also in *kaniikhun*.

i. The reversion to more original guttural forms after the reduplication in *cokit*, and *jaṅghan* and *ghanighan*, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (216, 1).

1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, *dādṛ* and *dardṛ*; *dādṛ* and *dardṛ*; *cācal* and *cācar* (and *cācar*); *tartar* (and *tartur*) and *taritṛ*; *jangam* and *ganigam*; *janghan* and *ghanighan*; *pamphan* and *paniphan*; *marmṛ* and *marimṛ*; *marmṛ* and *marimṛ*; *varvṛ* and *varivṛ*; *jarbhṛ* and *bharibhṛ*; *dodhu* and *dauidhū*; *nonu* and *navinu*; *bābadh* and *badbadh*.

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (642 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 *gūṇa*-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 *वेदिद्* *vevid*, or, in strong forms, *वेद* *véd*.

a. Neither from this nor from any other root are more than a few scolding forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

	३	४	५
1.	वेदिमि, वेदिमि	वेदिम	वेदिम
	vevidmi, vevidmi	vevidm	vevidm

२ वेवेति, वेवेदीति	वेवेतिन्	वेवेति
veveti, vēvidīti	vevitthā	vevitthā
३ वेवति, वेवेदीति	वेवतिन्	वेवति
veveti, vēviditi	vevitthā	vēvidati

b. From $\sqrt{\text{bh}}$, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be जोहयिमी *jōhavimī*, जोहयिषि *jōhaviṣi*, जोहयिषीति *jōhavīṣi*.

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., *ālarṣi*, *dādhartṣi*, *veveti*, *nenekti*, *jaṅghanti*, *kānikrantṣi*, *ganigantṣi*; 3d du., *jarbhṛtās*; 1st pl. *nonumas*; 2d pl. *jāgratha*; 3d pl. *dādhrati*, *nānadati*, *bharibhrati*, *vārvṛtati*, *dāvidyutati*, *nenijati*, and, irregularly, *veviṣanti*; and, with the auxiliary vowel, *jōhavimī*, *cākaṣimī*; *cākaṣiṣi*, *nonaviti*, *dardariti*, *jarbhuriti*. 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*, *neniḥe*; 3d sing., *nenikṭe*, *sarṣṭe*; and, with irregular accent, *tēlikṭe*, *dēdikṭe*; with irregular loss of final radical nasal, *nānnate*, with ending *e* instead of *te*, *cōkṭe*, *jāngahē*, *jōguve*, *yoyuve*, *bābadhē*, and (with irregular accent) *bābadhē*; 3d du., *sarṣṛate*; 3d pl., *dēdikṭe*.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. a. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare; there have been noticed only *jaṅghānani*, *jagarasi* (AV); and, in the middle, *tantasaṣṭe* (3d du.).

b. Forms with secondary endings are more frequent thus, 2d sing., *jaṅghanas*, *julgulus*; 3d sing., *jagarat*, *cēkitat*, *bobhavat*, *cārṣṣat*, *jaṅghanat*, *barbṛhat*, *mārmṣat*, *mārmṣat*, *parpharat*, *dardirāt*, *caniṣkadat*, *davidyutat*, *sanīṣavat*; 1st du., *jaṅghanāva*; 1st pl. *carkirāma*, *vevidāma*; 3d pl., *pāpatan*, *cōṣcan*, *carkiran*; and, with double mode-sign, *cākaṣan* (AV). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: *thā*, *jaṅghananta*, *jarhṣanta*, *mārmṣanta*, *nonuvanta*, *cōṣcanta*.

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (566), accented. Thus.

s	d	p
वेदिमान्	वेदिमान	वेदिमान
vevidyām	v. vidyāva	vevidyāma
etc.	etc	etc.

a. The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language, thus, active, *veviśyāt* (AV.), *jāgryās* (KB), *jāgriyāt* (AB), *jāgryāma* (VS MS.; but *jāgriyāma* T^s), RV has only *cāṅkanyāt* (pf. v): middle, *nenijita* (K.).

4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

s	d	p
वेदिमि	वेदिम	वेदिम
vevidāmi	vevidāva	vevidāma
वेदिमि	वेदिमन्	वेदिम
veviddhi	vevittām	vevittā
वेदिमन्, वेदिमिन्	वेदिमान्	वेदिमन्
vevettu, veviditu	vevittām	vevidatu

1011. a. Other imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (*janghānāni*, 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., *dādṛhi*, *dardṛhi*, *carkṛdhi*, *jāgṛhi*, *nenigdhi*, *rāranddhi*; the ending *tāt* is found in *carkṛtāt* and *jāgṛtāt*, 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., *jāgṛtam*; 3d du., *jāgṛtam*; 2d pl., *jāgṛtā*; *cāṅkramata* (RV, once) has an anomalous unsonorowel. In the middle voice is found only *nenikṣva* (KB).

b. Of imperative forms with auxiliary *i*, RV. has none, AV. has *vāvaditu* and *johavitu*, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmanas, AV. has also, against rule, *taṇṣtanhi* and *janghanhi*, VS. has *cakṣhi*.

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, *cākaçat*, *nānadat*, *cakītar*, *memyat*, *çöçucat*, *roruvat*, *dardrat*, *marmjāt*, *jāghnat*, *nannamat*, *pāniphānat*, *kānikradat*, *dauidyut*; — middle, *bābadhāna*, *mēmyāna*, *cakītāna*, *yoyuvāna*, *rōrucāna*, *jārbhurāna*, *sararāna*, *jañjabhāna*, *nānnamāna*, *dāndaçāna*. No middle participle shows the double reduplication.

1013. a. The accents of these accents, *rārahānā*, *rārakṣānā*, and *jāghrānā* (beside *jāghrānā*) 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 *bābadhānā* and *marmjānā* (beside *marmjāna*) as to *çūçucāna* etc. see 806 a.

b. The RV. has once *jāghnatas* gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out, *kānikrat* appears to be used once for *kānikradat*, if *cakāt* is to be referred to *çk* (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in *ā*, and its accent is anomalous. *Marmjantas* (AB) is perhaps a false reading, but forms with the nasal irregularly retained are found repeatedly in the epics and later; thus, *lelihan*, *dedipyantim* (MPH), *jajvalant* (MBA R), *sarīppantāu* (BEP) *rārānti* R)

8. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

	a.	d.	p.
1	अवेदिम् āveidam	अवेदिद āveidva	अवेदिम। āveidma
2	अवेदिन्, अवेदिनीम् āveet, āveidiā	अवेदिन्म् āvevittam	अवेदिन्। āvevitta
3	अवेदिन्, अवेदिनीम् āvevet, āvevidit	अवेदिनीन्म् āvevittām	अवेदिदुन् āvevidus

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*, *dārdar*; 3d sing., *adardar*, *adardhar*, *avarivar*, *dardar*, *kāniçkan*, *dāvidyot*, *nāvinot*; 2d du., *adardītam*; 1st pl., *marmjīmā*; 3d pl., *anannamus*, *adardīrus*, *acarkṣus*, *ājohavus*, *anonavus*; and, with auxiliary *i* in 3d sing., *avāvacīt*, *āvāvaçit*, *āvāvarit*, *āvoyavit*, *āvoravit*, *ājohavit*; and, irregularly, in 3d du., *āvāvaçitam*. The middle forms are extremely few; namely, 3d sing., *ādēdiṣṭa*, *ānannata* (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl. *marmjāta*, and *āvāvaçanta* (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an *a*-stem.)

Section.

1001. The grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed.

A. 1001. The grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed. The grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed. The grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed.

Apostrophe, etc.

1002. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, the grammarians are not agreed concerning the form of the verb, being in fact in almost every case in variance. As regards the form of the verb, the grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed.

1. The form of the verb, being in fact in almost every case in variance. As regards the form of the verb, the grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed.

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1003. There are several instances of the verb, being in fact in almost every case in variance. As regards the form of the verb, the grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed.

1. The form of the verb, being in fact in almost every case in variance. As regards the form of the verb, the grammarians are in variance as to whether a person may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a participial perfect before 1000 is to be allowed.

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. names, *jāgara* etc., with the participle *jāgrváns*; and a future *jāgarisyā-*, a passive participle *jāgaritā*, and a gerundive *jāgaritavyā*, are met with in the *Bṛishmaṇas*. The old scribe (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist; thus, *ājagar*. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with additional reduplication, *ajāgāra* etc., an *ig-a* first, *ajāgarisam*, with precative *jāgaryasam*, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation. The perf. *ajāgāra* is quotable from the epics and later, as also the periphrastic *jāgarām āsa*. And Mith. has the mutilated *jāgrmi*, and also *a*-forms, as *jāgarati* and *jāgramāṇa*.

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 *iraj* or *ṛj*. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of *iradh* *profuse* (only *iradhanta* and *iradhyañi*, apparently for *iradhadyañi*).

b. The middle stem *īya*, not infrequent in the oldest language, is often called an intensive of *ṣi* *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* *toiler*, with constant intensive reduplication, *leli*, is quite irregular in inflection and accent, thus, pres., *lelāyati* and *lelāyate*, 1pl. *lelayānti* and *lelayatan* (see *work*.) and *lelayamana*, impf. *alelāyat* and *alelet* and *alelyata*, perf. *lelāya* and *lelāya* (*).

1023. The RV. anomalous form *dar* (or *dard*), 2d and 3d sing. from *ṛd* or *dar*, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from *dardar*. RV. has once *avarivus* (= *-vur*) where the sense requires a form from *ṛ*, *vṛt*, as *avarivṛtus*. The form *rārāpātā* (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*, *viq* 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 *viq* as belonging to the reduplicating present-system, with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way *vie* and *viq*; *jāgr*, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

a. Also *daridra* intensive of *ṛdrā* *poor* is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugational forms: *daridrarāu*; *adaridrāsū*, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language (unless *dāridrat* TS., for which VS. MS. read *dāridra*). The so-called root *voṣi* *flatter* 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 *veid-*, pres. *vevidyē*, desid. *vevidiṣāmi*, caus. *vevidāyāmi*; desid. of causative, *vevidayiṣāmi*. But such formations are excessively rare, quotable are *varivarjayanti* AV., *jagarāyanti* IB. etc. *dādharoyati* JB., *dandaçayitva* 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. *पिबामि pipāsāmi I wish to drink*; *जीवामि jīvāmi I live*, desid. *जीविष्यामि jivīṣyāmi 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 Brahmanas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots about a hundred noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brahmanas 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 *sa* — which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future, sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel *ṛ* i, becoming *ṛsa* *ṛsa*).

a. A few instances in the present-part of § 3 in which the accent is otherwise laid — thus, *tiṣṭhāset*, *yiyāsāntam*, *vividīṣānti*, *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, *cikīṣa*, *cikīṣa*, *jigīṣa*; *çuçuṣa*, *juhuṣa*, *cukṣuṣa*.

b. A final *r* becomes *ir* or *ur* before *sa* — thus, *cikīṣa*, *tiṣṭīṣa* also irregularly *tutīṣa* RV, *didhīṣa*, *siṣaṣa*, *tiṣṭīṣa* also *tutīṣa*, *jihīṣa*; *bubhūṣa*, *mamūṣa* (the only examples quotable).

c. Before *iga* a final *i-* or *u-* or *y-vowel* necessarily, and a penultimate *i* or *u* or *y* optionally, have the *guna-strengthening*; no examples are quotable from the older texts, later occur *ciṇyāga*, *ciṇariga*; *cikartiga*, *ninartiga*, *mimardiga*, *vavarāga*, *cuṇobhiga*; but *ruṇudiga*.

More special exceptions are

d. A few roots in *ā* weaken the vowel to *i* or even *i* thus, *jigīga* from *ṣgā* g, *pipīga* (beside *pipāga*) from *ṣpā* drink, *jihiga* AV I from *ṣhā* remove (Jibhite: 894), *dhīga* (beside *dhīga*) from *ṣdha*.

e. A few roots in an or am lengthen the vowel thus *jigāṇsa* (beside *jigamīga*) from *ṣgam*, *jigāṇsa* from *ṣhan*, *mimāṇsa* from *ṣman*, and *titāṇsa* from *ṣtan*.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in *cikīga* from *ṣci*, *cikīsa* from *ṣci*, *jigīga* from *ṣji*, *jigāṇsa* from *ṣhan*, and *ṣhi* is said to make *jigīga* (no counterexample).

g. The roots *van* and *san* make *viṇḍa* and *siṇḍa*, from the root-forms *vā* and *sā*.

h. The roots *ṣiv* forms *juyyūga* (cf. *juyvīga* VS), and the other roots *ṣiv* (765) are required to make the sound change before *na*, and to have *guna* before *iga* thus, *eusyūga* or *ninevīga* from *ṣiv*. *Ṣvop* forms *eusyūga*. *Dhūrv* forms *dudhūga*.

i. Initial *n* is usually lost or changed to *q* after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has *q* (184e) thus, *siṇḍāṇḍa* (cf. *ṣaṇḍi*) and *eusyūga* and *ninevīga*, according to the grammarians; but *tuyūga* is not weak.

j. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians *nināṇḍa* (or *ninaṇḍa*) from *ṣnaḍ* *he lost*, *mimāṇḍa* from *ṣmajj* (lost in *mimāṇḍa*), *mimāṇḍa* (or *mimāṇḍa*) from *ṣmjj*.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules 300, the vowel is *ṣi* if the root has an *a*-vowel, or *ṣu*, or an *i*-vowel, it is *ṣu* if the root has an *u*-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicate *ga* etc. thus, *biddhīsa* from *ṣbadh* or *bādhi*, *mimāṇsa* from *ṣman* or *ṣtataga* (RV) from *ṣtur* *dadhiṇa* (AV) and *dadāṇḍa* (S) are probably from forms.

b. From *ṣaḍ* is made (cf. *ṣaḍiṇa*), and from *ṣadh* (VS) *adhiḍhiṇa* (with a modification of reduplication like that of *ṣhōd* *śhōdhiṇa*), *ṣaḍiṇa* (with a modification of reduplication like that of *ṣhōd* *śhōdhiṇa*). In the older language there are no other roots with initial vowel which form a desiderative stem except *āp* and *ṣāh* which have abbreviated stems, see the next paragraph. In the later language occur further *ṣaḍiṇa* (*ṣaḍiṇa*) and *ṣaḍiṇa* (*ṣaḍiṇa*) and the grammarians add others, as *arjhiṇa* (*ṣarhi*), *undāḍiṇa* (*ṣundi*), *ardhiḍhiṇa* (*ṣādh*).

as active model ईप्सा *īpsa* *seek to obtain*, from ईप् *āp* *obtain*;
as middle, तिक्षा *tīkṣa* *endure*, from तिक् *tī* *be sharp* (see
below, 1040).

1. Present Indicative.

	active,			middle	
s	d	p.	s	d.	1.
1 ईप्सामि	ईप्सावन्	ईप्सामन्	तिक्षते	तिक्षावहे	तिक्षामहे
<i>īpsāmi</i>	<i>īpsāvas</i>	<i>īpsāmas</i>	<i>tīkṣe</i>	<i>tīkṣāvaho</i>	<i>tīkṣāmaho</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

s	d	p.	s	d.	1.
1 ईप्सामि	ईप्साव	ईप्साम	तिक्षे	तिक्षावाह	तिक्षामाह
<i>īpsāmi</i>	<i>īpsāva</i>	<i>īpsāma</i>	<i>tīkṣai</i>	<i>tīkṣāvahai</i>	<i>tīkṣāmahai</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

3. Present Optative.

s	d	p.	s	d.	1.
1 ईप्सेयम्	ईप्सेव	ईप्सेम	तिक्षेय	तिक्षेवाह	तिक्षेमहि
<i>īpsēyam</i>	<i>īpsēva</i>	<i>īpsēma</i>	<i>tīkṣeya</i>	<i>tīkṣevahi</i>	<i>tīkṣemahi</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

4. Present Imperative.

s	d	p.	s	d.	1.
1 ईप्स	ईप्सामन्	ईप्सत	तिक्षस्व	तिक्षेध्वन्	तिक्षध्वम्
<i>īpsa</i>	<i>īpsatam</i>	<i>īpsata</i>	<i>tīkṣasva</i>	<i>tīkṣedhām</i>	<i>tīkṣadhvam</i>
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

5. Present Participle.

ईप्सन् *īpsant* f. ईप्सन्ती *īpsanti*; तिक्षमान् *tīkṣamāṇa*

6. Imperfect.

s	d	p.	s	d.	1.
1 ईप्साम्	ईप्साव	ईप्साम	अतिक्षे	अतिक्षावाह	अतिक्षामाह
<i>āipsām</i>	<i>āipsāva</i>	<i>āipsāma</i>	<i>ātīkṣe</i>	<i>ātīkṣāvahi</i>	<i>ātīkṣāmahi</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*, *on*, *īpsatāt*. The quotable subjunctive forms are these in *sami*, *sat* and *sat*, *san*, and *santa*. KLU. has *jijñāsita* (cf 738 b). But the fem. ppie *siṅhasati* (instead of *siṅhasanti*) occurs once or twice in the older texts, and RV has *dīdhiṣṣa*.

b. In the epics and later are found sporadic forms of the pres-a-

conjugation thus *śiṣṭkṣmas* (MB), *tītikṣmahe* and *bubhuṣate* (MB) and the four participles *lipsati* and *cikīrṣati* (MB against 449 b). The aorist *jighāṣyat* occurs also in MBh and Vā.

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, *mimikṣāthas*, *mimikṣātus*, *mimikṣūs*; *mimikṣe*, *mimikṣure*—along with the present forms *mimikṣati*, *mimikṣas* etc., *mimikṣant* etc. They show that *mimikṣ* or *mikṣ* has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV are found two aorist forms, *irīsis* and *acikītsis* and a participle or two from *mimāṣas* (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, *ipsān cakāra* etc., *tītkṣam cakre* etc. Such forms are made in (B from *y* *ṣkram*, *dhūrv*, *bādh*, *ruh*; and in (B' from *man*.

b. Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from *mimikṣ* in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AV (vid 21. 10) has once *didāsit* *thou hast desired to give*.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the 19 form, thus *इप्सिषन्* *ūpsīṣam*, *अतिक्षिषन्* *ātītkṣīṣi*.

a. The AV. has *acikītsis*, and *irīsis* (commonness, with *mā* pre-lative 578). IB has *āpsit*, (B, *āpsit*, *acikīrṣis* and *ajighāṣis*, and *amīmāṣṣṭhās*, KB, *jīḡṣṣiḡi*, JB, *āpsīṣma*, and AA *adhit-ṣyam*. No examples have been found in the later language.

b. A preterite is also allowed—thus, *ipsyāsam*, *tītkṣīṣya*, but it never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel *i*: thus, *इप्सिष्यामि* *Ipsīṣyāmi* and *इतिक्षिष्यामि* *Ipsitāsmi*, *तिक्षिष्ये* *tītkṣīṣyē* and *तिक्षिष्याहे* *tītkṣtāhe*.

a. The (B. has *tītkṣīṣyate* and *didṣkṣtāras*. Such forms as *jīḡṣṣayamas* (MB), *didhākṣyāmi* (B), and *mimāṣsyant* (608) are future presents, with *-aya-* denotingly for *-sa-*.

1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel \tilde{e} i, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken

a. In the older language have been noted: participle in \tilde{e} ta, *mimāṣitā* (AV. GB.), *jijyūṣitā* (AI.), *cuṣṛūṣitā* and *dhikṣitā* (IB.), *gāṇitā* in *tavya*, *lipitavya* (A.), *didhyāsitavya* (IB.) in *ya*, *jijñāsyā* (IB.), — *gāṇitā* in *tva*, *mimāṣitva* (A.)

1038. Of other factually stems derived from the desiderative stem, by far the most common are the adjectives in \tilde{u} — *ṛ *titikṣu*, *dipsu*, *bibhatsū*, *siṣṣu* (AV. once *didṛkṣu*) — and the abstract noun in \tilde{a} — *ṛ *ipṣā*, *bibhatsā*, *mimāṣā*, *cuṣṛā* — both of which are made with increasing freedom from an early epoch of the language (especially the former, which has the value and construction (271a) of a present participle). A few adjectives in *onyā* (having a stem-like character 986b) occur in the earlier language. Thus, *didṛkṣṇyā* (RV.), *cuṣṛṇyā* (IS.), *mimṇyā* (PB.), *jijñāṣṇyā* (AP.) and with irregular reduplication (apparently *papṛkṣṇyā* (RV.) *dadhikṣṇyā* (JB.), and *didṛkṣṇyā* (RV.)) is a similar formation. AV. has also *siṣṣāni* and *rurukṣāni*, and *siṣṣāntu* (?). In the later language besides some of the formations already mentioned (but in \tilde{u} and \tilde{a} and in *sya* and *s.tavya*), are found a few derivatives in *aka*, as *cikitsaka*, *bubhukaka*; in *ana*, as *jijñāṣana*, *didhyāṣana*; and in *ṛ* *ṛṇi* (*ṛṇi*), *ṛṇi* (*cikitsaṇi*) and *ṛ* (*cuṣṛṇi*). Further secondary derivatives (doublets) is in form the noun in \tilde{a} as *ipṣin*, *jijṇin* (one or two of these occur in the older language). And of an adjective in \tilde{a} we have an example in *bibhatsā* (IS. and later), and perhaps in *avalipṣā* (AVP.), such words as *ajukṣṇa*, *duṣkṛṣṇa*, or rather to be considered as possessive compounds with the noun in \tilde{a} . An example is in *ṛ*, see 382d**

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign \tilde{y} *yā* to the desiderative root or stem without final \tilde{a} : thus, \tilde{y} *ipsayāte* *it is desired to be obtained*; — and a causative, by adding in like manner the causative-sign \tilde{y} *āyā* 1041: thus, \tilde{y} *ipsāyāmi* *I cause to desire obtained*

a. Of these formations in the older language are (1) *mimāṣyāmāna* (1042a) to be read for *-samāna*. AV., *lipayāmāna* (1042b), and *rurutsyāmāna* (K). Half-a-dozen such passives are quoted later, and one or two causal verbs as *cikitsyate*, *vivakṣyate*, *jijñāsyate*; *cikṛṣyati*, *cikitsayīṣyati*.

b. For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brahmanas see below, 1062b

a. Medial or initial i, u, ṣ, ḷ have the guṇa-strengthening if capable of it: 240 : *lhaḥ*, *vedaya* from *vid*, *codaya* from *vid*, *tarpaya* from *ṭrp*, and *kalpaya* from *ḷkp* only example: *lūt cintaya*, *gulphaya*, *dṛbhaya*.

b. But a few roots lack the strengthening, these are, in the older language, *cit* (*citaya* and *cotaya*), *iḡ*, *il*, *riḡ* (*riḡaya* and *reḡaya*), *vip* (*vipaya* and *vepaya*), *tuj*, *tur*, *tup* (*tujaya* and *toḡaya*), *dyut* (*dyutaya* and *dyotaya*), *ruc* (*rucaya* and *rocaya*), *ḡuc* (*ḡucaya* and *ḡocaya*), *ḡubh* (*ḡubhaya* and *ḡobhaya*), *kṛp*, *myḡ*, *apṛh*; and *grabh* makes in RV. *grbhaya*. *Duḡ* and *guh* lengthen the vowel instead. *Mṛj* sometimes has *vpddhi*, as in other forms: thus *mārjaya* (beside *marjaya*). On the other hand, *guṇa* appears irregularly (240 b) in *srevaya* (beside *srivaya*), *heḡaya*, *mekḡaya*. Smaller irregularities in the later language are *giraya*, *tulaya* (also *tolaya*), *churaya* (also *choraya*), *muḡaya*, *apluraya*. No forms made without strengthening have a causative value in the older language.

c. A final vowel has the *vpddhi*-strengthening: thus, *cāyaya*, *ḡāyaya*, *cyāvaya*, *bhāvaya*, *dharaya*, *sāraya*.

d. But no root in i or ī has *vpddhi* in the Veda (unless *payaya* [k, below] comes from *pī* rather than *pā*) — as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly possible: only RV. has *kṣayaya* (beside *kṣepaya*) from *ḡkṣi* *possess*; for a few alternatively permitted forms see below, l. In B. and S., however, occur *ḡāyaya* and *śāyaya* (*ḡai* or *śā*) and later *-āyaya*, *cūyaya*, *śūḡyaya*, *ḡāyaya*, *nāyaya*.

e. A few roots have a form also with guṇa-strengthening: thus, *cyu*, *dru*, *plu*, *yu* *separate*, *ḡru*, *pū*, *stu*, *ḡru*; *ḡr* *caste away*, *dṛ* *pierce* *ḡr*, *smṛ*, *hṛ*; *vr* *choose* makes *varaya* later (it is not found in V; epic also *varaya*).

f. A medial or initial a in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, *bhājaya*, *avāpaya*, *śḡaya*; *janaya*, *ḡrathaya*, *anaya* but *mandaya*, *vaḡaya*, *bhakṣaya*.

g. The roots in the older language which keep their short a are *jan*, *pan*, *avan*, *dhan*, *ran*, *ston*, *gom* (*gāmaya* — in RV), *tam*, *dam*, *raḡ* (usually *raḡjaya*), *prath*, *ḡrath*, *ḡnath*, *vyath*, *avad*, *chud* *please* (also *chandaya*), *nad*, *dhvas* (also *dhvaḡsaya*), *rah*, *mah* (also *maḡbhaya*), *nabh* (also *nambhaya*), *tvar*, *svar*, *hval*. In the later language, further *kvan*, *jvar*, *trap*, *day*, *paḡ*, *rac*, *ran* *ring* *vadh*, *val*, *vaḡ*, *ḡlath*, *skhal*, *sthag*. Both forms are made (either in the earlier or in the later language, or in both taken together) by *ad*, *kal*, *kram*, *kṣam*, *khan*, *ghaḡ*, *cam*, *cal*, *jval*, *tvar*, *dal*, *dhvan*, *nad*, *nam*, *pat*, *bhram*, *math*, *mad*, *yam*, *ram*, *lag*, *lal*, *vam*, *vyadh*, *ḡam* *be quiet* *ḡram*, *ḡvas*, *avap*. 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*, *daḡḡaya*, *indhaya*.

lūpaya, rūndhaya, cūndhaya, kṛtaya, dṛūhaya. From a number of roots, stems both with and without the nasal are made thus (besides those in italics above): *gā* kuṣaya and kocaya, grābhaya and grābhaya, hrūhaya and barhaya, bhrāṇaya and bhrāṇaya, cūndhaya and cūdhaya, sañjaya and sajjaya, sūcaya and secaya. In a few of these is even the inflection of present-stems.

i. Most roots in final *ā*, and the *ṛ* and *ṅ*, add *p* before the conjugation-sign; thus, *dāpaya*, *dhāpaya*, *sthāpaya*; *arpaya*.

j. Such stems are made in the older language from the roots *kṛā*, *khyā*, *gā* *etc.* (also *gāyaya*), *glā*, *ghrā*, *jñā*, *dā* *gāṇ*, *dā* *dhī*, *drā* *nan* *dhā* *pad* and *dhā* *nach*, *mā* *measure*, *mā*, *yā*, *vā* *blow*, *sthā*, *snā*, *hā* *conceal*; the later language adds *kṛmā*, *dhmā*, and *hā* *harm*. From *jñā* and *snā* are found in AV. and later the shortened forms *jñāpaya* and *snāpaya* and from *qrā* only, *qrāpaya* (not in RV). Also, in the later language *glā* forms *glāpaya* and *mā* forms *māpaya*.

k. Stems from *ā*-roots showing no *p* are, earlier, *gāyaya* (also *gāpaya*) from *gā* *sing.*, *chāyaya*, *pāyaya* from *pā* *drink* (or *pl.*, *pyāyaya* from *pyā* or *pyay*, *sayaya* from *sā* (or *si*), also, later, *hrāyaya* from *hrvā* (= *hū*), — and farther, from roots *vā* *seize*, *vyā*, and *qā* (or *qi*), according to the grammarians.

l. The same *p* is taken also by a few *i-* and *i-*roots, with either accented *yog* irregularities; thus, in the older language, *kṛpaya* (RV, beside *kṛayaya*) from *kṛi* *possess*, *jāpaya* (VS, and later) from *ji*, *lāpaya* (TB and later; later also *lāyaya*) from *li* *sing.*, *qrāpaya* (VS, orce) from *qri*, *adhyāpaya* (S, and later) from *adhi* + *i*; — in the later, *kṛapaya* (beside *kṛayaya*) from *kṛi* *double y*, *māpaya* from *mi*, *smāpaya* (beside *smāyaya*) from *smi*, *hrāpaya* from *hri*, — and the grammarians make (either *kṛāpaya* from *kṛi*, *cāpaya* (beside *cāyaya*) from *cai* *gather*; *bhāpaya* (beside *bhāyaya* and *bhāyaya*) from *bhi*, *repaya* from *ri*, and *vlepayaya* from *vli*. Moreover, *vrūh* makes *ropaya* (B and later) beside *rohaya* (V and later) and *kṛnū* makes *knopaya* (late).

m. More anomalous cases in which the so-called causative is palpably the lenientative of a fixed stem, are *pālāyaya* from *pā* *protect*, *prīṇāyaya* from *pri* *inayaya* (according to grammarians) from *pli* *dhunaya* (not causative in sense) from *dhū*, *bhīṇāyaya* from *bhi* *ghātaya* from *han*, *aphāyaya* from *yaphā* or *aphāy*.

n. In the Present, the causative stem is made from all roots by the addition of (the equivalent of) *āpaya* and a number (about a dozen) of late formations are quotable from Sanskrit texts, mostly of the later period, but three *kṛiāpaya*, *jivāpaya*, and *dikāpaya*, occur in the epic, and two, *aṇāpaya* and *kṛiāpaya*, even in the *Sūtras*.

1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other

stems in ष a (733 a): 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 dhṛ. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

active.		
s.	d.	p.
1 धारयामि dhārāyāmi etc.	धारयावस् dhārāyāvas etc.	धारयामस् dhārāyāmas etc.
middle.		
s.	d.	p.
1 धारये dhārāye etc.	धारयावहे dhārāyāvahe etc.	धारयामहे dhārāyāmahe 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 { dhārāyāṣi dhārāyāṣ	dhārāyāthaṣ	dhārāyātha
3 { dhārāyāṣti dhārāyāṣ	dhārāyātaṣ	dhārāyān
middle.		
1 dhārāyāi	dhārāyāvahāi	
2 dhārāyāse		{ dhārāyādhve dhārāyādhvāi
3 { dhārāyāte dhārāyātai	dhārāyāite	

b. Only one dual mid. form in *āite* occurs: *mādayāite* (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 dhārāyeyam etc.	धारयेव dhārāyeva etc.	धारयेम dhārāyema etc.

middle		
१ धारयेय	धारयेयहे	धारयेयहे
dhārāyeya	dhārāyevahi	dhārāyemahi
etc.	etc.	etc.

c. Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (scar in RV., none in AV.), they become more common in the Brahmanas. A 31 sing and its plural of eta (cf. 739 b) occurs once in B. (kāmayita 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 31 pl in Iran only one or two instances can be pointed out (kāmayīran AṭS, kulpayīran AṬS).

4. Present Imperative.

active.		
२ धारय	धारयन्	धारयन्
dhārāya	dhārāyatam	dhārāyata
etc.	etc.	etc.
middle		
२ धारयेय	धारयेयाम्	धारयेयम्
dhārāyasva	dhārāyethām	dhārāyadhvam
etc.	etc.	etc.

d. Imperative persons with the ending tat occur: dhārayatāt (AV) and cyāvayatāt (B) are 2d sing, patayatāt (AB) is 3d sing, gamayatāt and cyavayantāt (K etc.), and vārayatāt (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	धारयमान dhārāyamāna.
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e. The feminine of the active participle is regularly and usually met in anti (449 c). But a very few examples in ati are met with (one in the oldest language: namayati 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 irayāna [sic]). MS. II. 7. 12 is evidently a false reading, perhaps for irayāna. But decidedly more common in the epics and later is one formed with āna: e.g. kāmayāna, cintayāna, palayāna, vedayāna. It is quotable from a larger number of texts than is the more regular participle in māna. As it occurs in no accentuated text, its accent cannot be given.

8. Imperfect.

active.		
धारयम्	धारयान्	धारयान्
ādhārayam	ādhārayān	ādhārayān
etc.	etc.	etc.
middle.		
धारय	धारयामि	धारयामि
ādhāraye	ādhārayāmi	ādhārayāmi
etc.	etc.	etc.

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem *nya* 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 *īṣṭu*, seven in *itnu*, and a few in *a* (*atiparayā*, *nidhārayā*, *vacaminkhoyā*, *viśvamejaya*), and in *u* (*dhārayū*, *bhārayū*, *mandayū*). In AV., also two a-future forms and four gerunds in *trā*, and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (*gamayān cakāra*). In the Brahmanas, 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 धारयाम् dhārayān cakāra (1070b)

धारयां चकार dhārayān cakre

a. Of this perfect no example occurs in RV, or SV or VS, only one — *gamayān cakāra* — in AV., and but half-a-dozen in all the various texts of the Śākhā Yajur-Veda, and these not in the mantra-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brahmanas, except in CB. (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, 858 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 the instances, in AV, about a fifth) which have no causative stem in *aya*.

c. The causative aorist of धृ dhṛ, then, is as follows:

१ धृदिधम्	धृदिधा	धृदिधान
ādidharam	ādidharāva	ādidharāma
etc.	etc.	etc.
१ धृदिभि	धृदिधानाक	धृदिधानाक
ādidharo	ādidharāvahi	ādidharāmahi
etc.	etc.	etc.

An example was inflected in full at 804.

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 *q* above, 1042 d fl.—the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, atigṛhipam from atṛhāp stem atṛhāpaya for *ṛathā*. Aorist-stems of this character from quadri-roots in *ap* are arpipa *ṛṛ*, jṛjapa or jṛjipa, jṛjāpa or jṛjāpā, ṣṣṛapa, tṛṛhipa, jṛhipa; the only other example from the older language is bibhāpa from bhīṣ for *ṛbhi*.

1048. But a few sporadic forms of an *iq*-aorist from causative conjugation-stems are met with: thus, dhvanayit (RV; *ṛṇ* has instead the wholly anomalous dhvanayit), vyathayis and ālayit (AV), pyayayis-*thās* and avādayis-*thās* (Kl¹), in the older language (RV has also ānayis from a denominative stem), in the later, āhlādayis-*ata* (Bh¹) and probably aghātayis-*thās* (VBl.; for *-is-*thās**: cf. 804 d). The passive *ṛṇ* ang. *aropi*, from the causative *ropaya*, has a late occurrence (Kl¹).

1049. A preterite 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,

धायानम् dhāyāsam etc. धायिषीथ dhārayiṣiṭha 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 *ṛ* i, which takes the place of its final *a*. Thus:

S-Future.

धायिष्यामि dhārayiṣyāmi etc. धायिष्ये dhārayiṣye etc.
 धायिष्यन् dhārayiṣyānt धायिष्यन्नाम dhārayiṣyāmāṇa

Conditional.

अधारायिष्यम् ādhārayiṣyam etc. अधारायिष्ये ādhārayiṣye etc.

Periphrastic Future.

धारयितुम् dhārayitūmi etc.

n. 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 numerous, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only ādhārayiṣyat {B.; alapsyīṣyathās {CU}), of the latter, CR affords two instances (pārayitūmi and jāyitāst). 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 dhārita, 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, dhārayitra, and the gerundive in tavya, as dhārayitavya, also, in the older language, the infinitives in tavaī and dhyai, as jāyayitavai, irayādhyai, etc.). The auxiliary *i* is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

b. Examples of the passive participle are: ititā, vāsita, grāvitā. But from the quasi-root jānp (1042j) is made jānpa, without under-vowel.

c. Examples of the infinitive and gerund in tvā are: jōṣayitum, dhārayitum; kalpayitvā, arpayitvā. But in the *s*-plex, and even later infinitives are occasionally made with loss of the causative-sign: e.g. cēṣitum, bhāvitum, dhāritum, mocitum.

d. Examples of the gerunds in ya and am are: -bhājya, -ghārya, -pādyā, -vāśya, 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, -kalāyya, -gamāyya, -racāyya, -apāyya.

e. Examples of the gerundive in tavya are: tarpayitavyā, gamayitavyā, hvāyayitavyā; of that in ya, sthāpya, hārya, yājya; of that in anīya, sthāpanīya, bhāvanīya.

f. Examples of other formations occurring in the older language are as follows: root-infinitive, -sthāpam, -vāas; — infinitive in tu, other cases than accusative, -janayitavo; jānayitavāi, pāyayitavāi, -ṣcot-ayitavāi; cāmāyitos; — infinitive in dhyāi, iṣayādhyāi, trayādhyāi, taṇṇayādhyāi, nāṣayādhyāi, mandayādhyāi, madayādhyāi, riṣayādhyāi, vartayādhyāi, vajayādhyāi, ayandayādhyāi (all RV); — gerundive in āyya, panayāyya, apṣhayāyya, trayayāyya (?; tra).

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 instances in 1044) are: ārapa, dāpāna, priṣāna, bhīṣāṇa; jñāpaka, ropaka; patayālū, apṣhayālū; 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 $\sqrt{yā}$ to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, धारयन्ते dhāryāte.

b. Such passives are hardly found in the Veda (only bhājyā- AV. 1 but some thirty instances are met with in the Brahmanas and Sūtras: examples are jñāpyā- (TS.), sādya- (k.), pādya- (AB), vādya- (TB.) sthāpyā- (GB), and they become quite common later.

c. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign $\sqrt{yā}$, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, दिक्षारयिष्यन्ति didhārayiṣati.

d. These, too, are found here and there in the Brahmanas and later (about forty stems are quotable) examples are pipāyayīṣa (K.), bibhārayīṣa and cikalpayaīṣa and lulobhayīṣa (AB), dīdrapayīṣa and riradhayīṣa (TB), and so on.

e. As to causatives made from the intensive and desiderative stems see above, 1025, 1038.

V. Denominative.

1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.

a. It is a view now prevailingly held that most of the present-systems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations anal-
gous with a

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 undoubted.

1054. The grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted, without other addition than that of an Π 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 *bhiṣakti* *he heals*, from *bhiṣāj* *physician*; it is made like a form of the root-class, *abhiṣṇak* seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class, and *pātyate* *he rules* appears to be a denominative of *pāti* *master*; other possible cases are *iṣṇas* etc., *kṛpānanta*, *taruṇema* etc., *vanuṣanta*, *bhuraṇanta*, *vānanvati*. From the other older texts are quotable *kavyānt* (IS.), *āḥṇat* (TB.), *unmūlati* (SB.), *svadhāmahe* (YV.). And a considerable number of instances, mostly isolated, are found in the later language, e. g. *kalahant* (MBh.), *arghanti* (Pañc.), *abjati* (Vitr.), *gardabhati* (SD.), *utkaṇṭhate* (SD.), *jagannetrati* (Piss.), *kelivotasahaara-patratati* (Pras.).

1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign Π *ya*, 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-suffix *aya*, is hardly to be questioned. What relation it sustains to the *ya* of the *ya*-class (759), of the passive (766), 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 *mantrāyate* *speaks*, *takes counsel*, from *mantra*, (man + tra), *kirtāyati* *commemorates* from *kirti*, (kr *praise*), *arthāyati* or *-to makes an object of*, *seeks* from *ārtha* *goal*, *object*, *varṇayati* *depicts* (from *varṇa* *color*), *kathayati* or *-to 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, 607, 775.

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; CB, 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 has 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, kaluṣayate is or becomes turbid, taruṇayati rejuvenates, taruṇayate is rejuvenated, qithilayati looses, qithilayate 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 *i* (very rarely *y*)—thus, *adhvariṇīyāti* performs the sacrifice, *taviṣṭiyāti* is mighty, *putriyāti* or *putriyāti* desires a son; *māṁsiyāti* craves flesh, *sajjīyate* is ready, *candrakāntiyāti* is moonstonelike. Not fifty stems of this form are quotable.

e. It is occasionally dropped (after *n* or *r*)—thus, *turaṇyāti* is rapid, *adhvaryāti* performs the sacrifice.

f. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of *a*, as in *stanasyati* seeks the breast; the change of *a* to *e*, as in *varoyāti* plays the wooer.

1080. From stems in *ā*. Final *ā* usually remains, as in *gopayāti* plays the herdsman, protects; *pṛtanāyati* fights; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an *a*-stem; thus, *pṛtanyati* fights; *tilottamiyāti* acts *Tilottama*.

1081. From stems in *i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū*. Such stems are (especially those in *u*, *ū*) very rare. They show regularly *i* and *ū* before *ya*: thus, *arātīyāti* (also *-tiy-*) plots injury; *janīyāti* (also *-niy-*) seeks a wife, *sakhīyāti* desires friendship; *nārīyate* turns woman; -- *catrūyāti* acts the foe; *pṛūyāti* is straight; *vanūyāti* desires wealth; *anūyāti* 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, 1069f), a sibilant is added—thus, *avīgyāti* is vehement; *urugyāti* saves. From *dhl*, RV. makes *dhiyāyate*.

1082. From other vowel-stems: a. Final *r* is changed to *ri* thus, *mātriyāti* treats as a mother (only quotable example).

b. The *d* phthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, *gavyāti* seeks cattle, goes a-rauding.

1083. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before *ya*—thus, *bhīṣajyāti* plays the physician, cures, *ukṣanyāti* acts like a bull; *apasyāti* is active, *namasyāti* pays reverence; *sumanasyāte* is favorably disposed, *tarugyāti* fights.

a. But a final *n* is sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final—thus, *rājayāte* or *rājyāti* is kingly, from *rājan*; *-karmayati* from *-karmen*; *svāmīyati* treats as master, from *svāmin*; *vṛṣāyāte* from *vṛṣan* is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated—thus *ojāyāte* from *ojas*, *-manāyate* from *-manas*; while, on the other hand an *a*-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before *ya*—thus *īguyāti* from *īg*, *satvanāyati* from *satvan*.

1084. The largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a *n* 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 *syn*

—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 *marry*, *jīvanasya-* (in *-asyā* *love of life*), *vr̥ṣasyati* *desires the male* (the only quotable examples); *maddhūyati* or *maddhvasyati* *longs for honey*; *kāraṣyati* *cre. is milk*.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives or *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 *arthapāyati* *treats as property* is a (sole quotable) example of a stem having the Prakritic causative form (1042 n).

a. Stems of anomalous formation are *draghaya* from *dirgha*, *dradhaya* from *dr̥dha*, and perhaps *mrādaya* from *mṛda*.

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, *ankuyā*, *stabhūyā*, *īudhya*; *dhiṣanyā*, *riṣanyā*, *ruvanya*, *huvanya*, *īṣanyā*; *ratharyā*, *qratharyā*, *saparyā*; *īyasya* (I.R.), *īrasyā*, *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 *gr̥bhṇāti*. Of such, KV. has *gr̥bhāyā*, *mathāyā*, *pruṣayā*, *muṣayā*, *qrathāyā*, *akabhāyā*, *stabhāyā*. A few others have no *nā*-class companions: thus, *damāyā*, *ṣamāyā*, *tudāyā* (AV), and *panāyā*, *naṣāyā*, *vr̥ṣāyā* (√ *vr̥ṣ* *rain*), *vasāyā* (√ *vas* *abide*), and perhaps *aṣāyā* (√ *aṣ* *attain*).

c. Here may be mentioned also quasi-denominatives made from onomatopoeic combinations of sounds, generally with repetition, e. g. *kīṭakīṭāyā*, *thutathatarāyā*, *miṣamīṣāyā*, *ṣaraṣarāyā*.

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. *ankhāyā*, *arthāyā*, *īṣāyā* (also *īṣayā*), *ūrjāyā*, *ṛtāyā*, *kṛpāyā*, *mantrāyā*, *mṛgāyā*, *vatrāyā*, *vājāyā* (also *vājayā*), *vīlāyā*, *suṣṭāyā* (also *suṣṭayā*); AV. also *kīrtāyā*, *dhupāyā*, *palāyā*, *virāyā*, *sabhāṣāyā*.

a. The accent of *ānnīyā* and *hāstāyā* (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in *ā* § 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 *ānāyis* (with *mā* prohibitive), an *ig-ionist* 2d sing. (cf. 1048). Further examples of this aorist are *āsuyit* (CB), *papayīṣṭa* (TS: pl. with *mā* prohibitive), and *avṛyāyīṣṭa* (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. (A. J 83). Other forms begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas; e.g. the futures *gopāyīṣyati* (CB), *meghāyīṣyānt*, *kaṇḍūyīṣyānt*, *cikāyīṣyānt* (TS.), the participles *bhīṣajyitā* (? JB. -jita) and *lynasitā* (CB.), *kaṇḍuyitā*, *çikitā*, and *meghitā* (TS.), the gerund *sambhīṣṭavyā* (CB.), 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* (VBh.), and the desiderative *abhiṣīṣayīṣa* (Vṛ).

b. Noun-derivatives from denominative stems follow the analogy of those from causative stems (1051g). In the older language, those in *u* and *a* (especially the former) are much the most numerous; later, that in *ana* prevails over all others.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1060. 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 —

eight stems and about eighty occurrences chiefly from *ikṣ*, *bhi*, and *vid*; that from *vid* is found in the greatest number of texts).

b. Forms with the *ari* of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brahmanas as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with *akar* occur *ramayām* (K) *janayām* and *sādayām* and *evadayām* and *sthāpayām* (M⁺), and with *akran*, *vidām* (TS, TB, MS). With the *ari* optative or preterite has been found only *pāvayāb kriyāt* (MS).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are not entirely unknown. Thus, *juhavām karoti* (TS), do also in the later language, where have been found quite half-a-dozen such cases as *vidām karoti* (Pāṇ.), *vidām karotu* and *kurvantu* (Pāṇ., etc.).

d. Only two or three cases of the use of *as* instead of *kr* as auxiliary are met with in the older language; they are *montrayām āsa* (AP, GB), *janayām āsa* (TS), and *ikṣām āsa* (TS).

e. A striking example of an accented auxiliary is met with in the accented texts—namely, *atiracayām onkrūs* (TB). As was to be expected, from the nature of the combination, the noun also retains its accent (compare 946).

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 Brahmanas, 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 *ī* go. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus *āyajvano vibhājann eti vedaḥ* (RV) *he ever gives away the wealth of the non-offerer*; *yathā sucyā vasaḥ saṁdadhad iyad evam evāi 'tabhir yajñasya chidraṁ saṁdadhad eti* (AB) *just as one would mend' [literally, a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice]*; *agnir vā idam vāicvānaro dahann at* (PB) *Agni Pāṇanara kept burning this creation, to 'surah pārājita yānto dyāvāpṛthivī ūpācṛayan* (TB) *these Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth*; *tē 'sya gṛhāḥ paçāva upamāryā-mānā iyuh* (TB) *the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed*.

b. The *stam* with the verb *car go* (continually or habitually) signify as still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: *agnāṁ agniṁ carati praviṣṭaḥ* (AV) *Agni is constantly present in the fire*; *adaṇḍyaṁ daṇḍena ghaṇṇatīḥ caranti* (IR) *they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment*.

c. The same with the verbs *ās it* and *sthā stand* with a like meaning. Thus, *juhvata āsate* (k) *they continue sacrificing*; to **pakramya prativāvadato 'tigṣṭhan* (AB) *they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing*. In the later language, *sthā* is the verb oftener used, with prepositions of various kinds, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A present or future or perfect participle with *as* and *bhu* &c. The participle is oftener a future one, *as* only is used in the optative, *bhu* usually in other forms. Thus, *yah purvam anīḥanah syāt* (AB) *whoever may not have made sacrifice before*, *samēvad eva yajñe kurvaṇa āsan* (GB) *they did the same thing at the sacrifice*, *parikriḍanta āsan* (MS.) *they were playing about*, *yātra svptvā pūnar nā 'vadrayān bhāvati* (CB.) *when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again*, *haryām hi vakeṣyan bhavati* (AB) *for he is intending to carry the sacrifice*; *dānyant syāt* (k) *may be going to give*; *yena vāhanena syantsyāt syāt* (CB.) *with what vehicle he may be about to drive*. These 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.

1078. 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 prefix 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 *antár* between, among, within;

अप *āpa* away, forth, off;

अपि *āpi* unto, close upon or on;

अभि *abhi* to, unto, against (often with implied violence);

अवा *āva* down, off;

अ *ā* to, unto, at;

उ *ud* up, up forth or out,

उप *ūpa* to, unto, toward;

नि *ni* down; in, into;

निम् *nis* out, forth;

पर *parā* 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, 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*, *sām*, *abhi*, *ni*, *ud*, *pāri*, *anu*, *upa*, *prati*, *ava*, *nis*, *āti*, *apa*, *parā*, *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 combination 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;

avis *forth to sight, in view*: used only with the roots *bhū*, *as*, and *kr*;

tīrās *through, crossways; out of sight*: hardly used except with *kr*, *dhā*, *bhū* in RV., with three or four others;

purām *in front, forward*: used with only half-a-dozen roots especially *kr*, *dhā*, *i*;

prādūś *forth to view*: only with *bhū*, *as*, *kr*.

a. A few others, as *bahis* *outside*, *viṇā* *without*, *alam* (with *bhu* and *kr*) *sufficiently, properly*, *śākṣāt* *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 *grath*?), only with *dhā* (in RV., once also with *kr*): *graddha* *believe, credit*;

hīṇ, only with *kr* (and obsolete in the classical language): *hinkr* *make the sound hing, low, murmur*.

a. And beside these stand yet more fantastic combinations see below, 1081.

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 एतद् *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., *āvitanvānah* 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 Brahmanā less often and more restrictively, its position is quite

1080. 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. *Ibhi, ná devūā é 'hā vakeyati* (1.V.) *he shall bring the gods hither*; *prā ṇa āyudhā tarigat* (A.V.) *may we lengthen out our lives*, *tāv ā yatam ūpa dravāt* (R.V.) *do ye two come hither quickly*; *gāmad vājebhir ā sā nuh* (R.V.) *may he come with gifts hither to us*; *pāri mām pāri me prajāṁ pāri paṇ pahi yād dhānam* (A.V.) *protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own*; *yātasy adyā ā ca pāra ca yātu* (A.V.) *from whence every day they advance and retire*, *vy āhām sārveṇa pāpmānā [asṛtam] ví yāksmeṇa sām āyudhā* (A.V.) *I have separated from all evil, from disease, [I have freed myself] with life*, *vi hy anena paçyati* (A.R.) *for by it he sees*; *ví vá eṣā prajāyā paçubhir ṛdhyate* (T.B.) *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 582 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, *pāro 'hi nāri pūnar é 'hi keprām* (A.V.) *go away, woman; come again quickly*; *āthā 'stañ vipāretana* (R.V.) *then scatter ye away to your home*; *samācinugvā 'nusaṁprāyāhi* (A.V.) *gather together, go forth together after*; *yād gṛhān upodātī* (A.V.) *when he goes up to the house*; *evā ca tvāṁ sarama ājagātha* (R.V.) *now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither*, *yenā 'viṣṭitaṁ praviveçītha 'pāp* (R.V.) *entered 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, *áruhat* into *á áruhat*, *vyacet* into *ví acet*, *abhyávarṣit* into *abhi ávarṣit*, *vyásarat* into *ví á asarat* (instead of *a-áruhat* 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, *páreta gone forth*; *antárhita concealed*, *ávapanna fallen*; *sámpūrṇa complete* of 1284

b. But some exceptions to this rule are met with: e.g., in RV., *nícitá*, *niśkrítá*, *praṇastá*, *niṣattá*, etc.; in AV., *apakrítá*

c. with the infinitive in *tu* 372, in all its cases thus, *sámhartum to collect*, *ápidhátave to cover up*; *ávagantós of descending*. The doubly accented dative in *tavái* retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix, thus, *ánvetavái for following*; *ápabbhartavái 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. 186, 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 *dha*, *adhi* with *sthā*, *ava* with *gāh* etc.: e. g. *pínaddha*, *píhita*, *dhiśṣhita*, *vagāhya*, *vataṣṣa*, *vadānya*, *vaṣṭabhya*, *vamajjana*, *vekṣṇa*, *valepana*. In the Veda, on the other hand, *is* is in a few cases found instead (apparently) of *nis* with *ṣkr*

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an *i*, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: e. g. *pratikāra*, *nivṛt*, *parihāra*, *virūdh*, *adhivāsá*, *ápiṛta*, *abhivartá*; *anūrūdh*; *avāyati*, *prāvṛṣ*, *úpāvasu*. In the Veda, the initial of *anu* is sometimes lengthened after negative *an*: e. g. *anánudá*, *anuánukṛtyá*.

c. In combination with *śi* *go*, the prefixes *pará*, *pari*, and *pra* sometimes change their *r* to *l*. In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem *paláy* *śice*, inflected according to the *a*-class, on middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brahmanas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it sometimes takes the augment prefixed, thus, *apaláyinṭhás* (C.S.), *apaláyata* (R.), *apaláyanta* (M.B.) It makes

the periphrastic perfect *palāyān cakre*. The stem *palyay*, similarly indicated, occurs only in one or two texts (JB. JB. JI. B.), and *plāy* has been found nowhere except in MS. Also the imperfect *nīlāyān* (18. 7B. not separated in the padu-text) and perfect *nīlāyān cakre* (18) are doubtless a corresponding formation from *pl* with *nis*, though nearly akin in form and meaning with *lana* from *l* + *ni*. So also *pari* becomes *pali* in the combination *palyang* (1. B. 1. 5) whether viewed as a denominative formation or as *pari* + *ang* + *pari*. And MS. has once *plākṣarayan* (11. 10. 2, in an asyndeton).

d. The root *kr* *make* sometimes assumes (or retains from a more original condition) an initial *s* after the prefixes *eam*, *pari*, *nis*, and *upa* thus, *samaskurute*, *samaskurvan*, *samaskṛta*, etc.; *pariskṛvanti*, *pariskṛta*, etc.; *nir askṛta*; *upaskṛta*. And *ṣkr* *scatter* is said by the grammarians to add *s* in the same manner, under certain circumstances, after *apa* and *prati* (only *apaskiramāṇa*, *pratisaskare*, both later, are quoted).

e. The passive participle of the roots *dā give* and *dā eat* has often the abbreviated form *ttā* after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if *i*, is lengthened (compare 955 f, and the derivatives in ti. below, 1137c).

f. In a few sporadic cases, the augment is taken before a prefix, instead of between it and the root — thus, *avagatākāṣit* (GE), *udaprapatāt* (AB), *anvasamharat*, *pratyasamharat*, *pratyaryuhāt*, *anvavikṣatam*, *aprasaṣit*, *asambhramat* (MBh) *abhyantmantrayāt* (Har), *vyāvasthāpi* (SOS) — compare also the forms from *palāy*, above, c. And AB has once *niniyoja* (for *niyuyoja*, as read in the corresponding passage of 1. 5. 1). Some of the apparent roots of the language have been suspected of being results of a similar unification of root and prefix: e. g. *ap* from *ā* + *ap*, *vyao* from *vi* + *ao*, *tyaj* from *ati* + *aj*.

g. The loss of the initial *s* of *sthā* and *stambh* after the prefix *ud* has been noticed above (233c). Also (137a, 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, *duḥ* ill, and *eu* well, with verb-forms, see 1121b, g, i. As to the addition of the comparative and superlative suffixes *tarām* and *tamām* to verbs see above, 473c.

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 *kr make*, *bhū* and *as be*, *dā put*, *l go* — and that the first of these are widely used in com-

bination with a derivative in *am* 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, *akkhalikṣtya* *croaking*, *jaṭṭjanābhāvant* *plumnering*, *alalābhāvant* *making merry*, *kikirā kṛṇu* *tear*; in AV., *maṣmaṣā karam* *I have crushed*; in VS., *maṣmaṣā* (also TS.; MS. *mṣmṣā*) *kuru*; in TS., *māmalābhāvant*; in K., *manmalābhāvant*, *kikkikāra*; in MS., *bibābhāvant*, *bharbharā bhavat*; in AB., *babākurvant*. The accentuation, where shown, is like that of a verb-form with accompanying prefix.

b. Further, combinations with *y/kr* of utterances used at the sacrifice, and mostly ending in *ā*: thus, *svāhā*, *svadhā*, *svagā*; also *vagāṣ*. In these, too, the accentuation is generally that of a verb with prefix: e. g. *svagākarōti* (CB.; but *svadhā karōti* ['] TA.), *vagāṣkuryāt* (MS.); and, with another prefix, *anuvāṣakṛoti* (CB.).

c. An instance or two also occur of ordinary words in such combinations, put in corresponding form: thus, *ṣūlā kuryāt* (CB.) *may roast on a spit* (*ṣūla*); *anṛpākṛto* (AB.) *of getting clear of debt*, *bikyābhāvayant* (AA.) *uniting*.

1092. a. The noun *namas* *obsequence, homage*, in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with *y/kr*: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in *namaskṛtya* (beside *hastagṛhya* and *karnagṛhya* above, 990 b).

b. A solitary combination with *y/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 *astamīyāt*, *astamegyāt*, *āstamita* (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix) — and in the Brahmanas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix: thus, *astamēti* (CB.).

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, *ṣṭamkṛtya* and *nagnamkṛtya* (TS.); *nagnambhāvuka*, *pāmanambhāvuka* etc. (TS. et al.); *ānarupkaroti* (CB.).

1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with *kṛ* or *bhū* and very rarely with *na*, 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 *akkhalikṣtya* (above, 1091 a) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure

vatikṛta and vātikarā, is found only phalikarāṇa. In the Brahman language, examples begin to occur more often: thus, in TS., *gyeti*, *mithuni*, *muṣṭi*; in TB., *lunher*, *phali*, *krūrī*, *udvāsi*; in CB., besides some of these, also *eki*, *kālvāli*, *tivri*, *daridri*, *brāhmaṇi*, *mithuni*, *avi*; and *āgyābhidhāni*, of which (as of *muṣṭi*) the *i* might be that of an ordinary grammatical form, in K., *dvi*, in GB., *pravaṇi*, in SB., *vajri*, in AB., *mati* (from *matya*). From Upanishad and Sūtra are to be added *dvānti* (MU.) *sami* (KṛS.), *navi* and *kuṣali* (AGS.). The accent is in general like that of the similar combinations treated above (1091): e. g. *krūrīkurrānti*, *avikṛtya*, *brāhmaṇibhūya*, *withunibhāvantiyāu*, *phalikartavaḥ*, *krurikṛta*; but sometimes a metrical collation takes place, thus, *mithuni bhāvanti* (TS.), *phali kriyāmapānam* (TB.), *vajri bhutvā* (TA.). The *i* is variously treated: now as an uncombable final, as in *gyeti akuruta* and *mithuni abhavan* (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary converseness, as in *mithuny ānaya āyam*, *mithuny ābbhi āyam*, and *svyākurvata* (CB.).

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 कृ *kr* and भू *bhū* (and of भृ *bhṛ* 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 *ī*; if an *u*-vowel, it is changed to *ū*.

a. Examples are: *stambhībhavati* becomes a post; *ekacittibhūya* becoming of one mind; *upaharikaroṣi* thou makest an offering, *nakhaprahārajarjarikṛta* torn to pieces with blows of the claws; *ṣiṭhībhavanti* become loose, *kuṇḍalikṛta* ring-shaped; *surabhikṛta* made fragrant, *ādhikarāṇa* paving, *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 *an*, with those finals changed to *ī*, are met with, e. g. *ātmi-kr*, *yuvi-bhū*; *unmanikṛ*, *amanī-bhū*; final *ya* after a consonant is contracted to *i*, e. g. *kāśai-kr* and analogous cases like *kāṁdiṣi-bhū* occur. Final *r* 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. *urari-kr*, *uri kr*.

c. Examples are not altogether wanting in the later language of *ā* as

End of the compounded noun-stem (cf. 1081) thus, *duḥkhā-kr*, *nīṣkūḥ-kr*, *gambhī-kr*, and one or two others.

1085. 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.

1086. 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.

1087. 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.

1088. With the suffix *tan* are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made.

a. From pronominal roots, in *ātān*, *itān*, *tātān*, *yātān*, *kātān*, *amūtān*, *svatān* (not found earlier); from the pronominal stems *ā* or

d (494) of the personal pronouns, thus, *mattās* (only example in V), *tvattās*, *asmattās*, *yusmattās*; and from pronominal derivatives: *itnā*, *itarātās*, *katarātās*.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: e. g. *mukhatās*, *agratās*, *ṛbhatās*, *ṛktās*, *hṛttās*, *qirṣatās*, *janmatās*, *nastās*, *yajusṭās*, *pārātās*, *anyātās*, *anyatarātās*, *sarvātās*, *dakṣinatās*, *abhipatās* (once, in RV., from a case-form *patsutās*).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, *abhītas*, *parītas*, *āntītas*.

d. Examples of ablative construction are *āto bhūyaḥ* (RV) *more than that*; *tātaḥ śaṣṭhāt* (AV.) *from that sixth*; *āto 'nyēna* (B.) *with any other than this*; *sarvato bhayaṭ* (AGS.) *from all fear*; *kutaḥ cīd deṣād āgatyā* (H.) *arriving from some region or other*; *purāḍ itaḥ* (R.) *from that dead body*; *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, *agratān* *in front*; *namatnamipatas* *in our presence*; *dharmaṭas* *in accordance with duty*; *ohagatān* (H.) *with reference to the goat*; *gūṇato 'dhikāḥ* (W) *superior in virtue*.

1099. 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*, *ātra*, *tātra*, *yātra*, *kūtra*, *amūtra*, *anyātra*, *viśvātra*, *sarvātra*, *ubhayātra*, *aparātra*, *uttara-tra*, *itarātra*, *anyatarātra*, *pūrvātra*, *parātra*, *samanātra*, *ekatra*, *anekatra*, *ekāṅkatra*; in *trā*, *asmatrā*, *satrā*, *purutrā*, *bahutrā*, *dakṣinatrā*. But a few in *trā* come from ordinary nouns: thus, *dovatrā*, *martyatrá*, *puruṣatrā*, *manuṣyatrá*, *pakatrá*, *ṣayutrā*, *kurupañcalatrā*. Those in *trā* are distinguished from the others by their accent.

b. Examples of locative construction are: *hāsta ā dakṣinatrá* (RV) *in the right hand*; *yātrā 'dhi* (RV.) *in which*; *ekatra puruṣe* (MBh) *in a single man*; *ātra mārātmake* (H.) *in this murderous creature*, *prabhuṭvaṁ tatra yujyate* (H.) *sovereignly he fits 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 dovatrā yānan* (RV) *roads that go to the gods*.

1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. *ha*, in *ihā here*, *kūha where?* and the Vedic *viśvāha* (also *viśvāha*, *viśvāha*) *always* (compare below, 1104 b); and *ihā* (like *ātra* etc.

1099 b) is sometimes used with locative-case value e. g. *tha samaye* (H.) *at this conjuncture*.

b. *tāt*, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, *prāktāt*, *ūdaktāt*, *tāvattāt*, to adverbial ablatives, *ārāttāt*, *uttarāttāt*, *parakāttāt*; and to prepositional adverbs, *paścātāt*, *adhmātāt*, *avāstāt*, *parāstāt*, *purāstāt*, *bahīṣātāt*. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has the form *stāt* in *upāriṣtāt* (and BbP. has *udastāt*).

c. *hi*, in *uttarāhi* (QB.) and *dakṣiṇāhi* (not quotable).

1101. By the suffix *thā* are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

a. Thus, *tāthā*, *yāthā*; *kathā* and *itthā* (by the side of which stand *kathām* and *itthām*; and QB. has *itthāt*), and the rare *imāthā* and *amūthā*. And *ātha* (V. often *āthā*) so then doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjectives and noun stems, mostly of quasi-pronominal character: thus, *viśvāthā*, *sarvāthā*, *anyāthā*, *ubhayāthā*, *aparāthā*, *itarāthā*, *yatarāthā*, *yatamāthā*, *katarāthā*, *katamāthā*, *purvāthā*, *pratnāthā*, *ardhvāthā*, *tiraścāthā*, *ekathā* (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 *iti* *thus*, very commonly used, from the earliest period, especially as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

b. Examples are. *brahmanajayē 'yam iti cēd āvocan* (RV.) *if they here said "this is a Brahman's wife"*; *tām devā abruvan vrātya kim nū tiṣṭhasi 'ti* (AV.) *the gods said to him "Vratya, why do you stand?"* Often, the *iti* is used more pregnantly: thus, *yāṁ ṛaddadhāti sánti devā iti* (AV.) *whosoever has faith that the gods exist*; *tām vyaghrāṁ munir mūṣiko 'yam iti paçyati* (H.) *the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse*; *yūyaṁ kim iti eīdatha* (H.) *why (it) 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. *bahīṣe astu bāl iti* (AV.) *let it come out of you with a splash*; *ity āgre kṛṣṭy āthē 'ti* (QB.) *he ploughs first this way, then this way*, or it points forward to something to be said e. g. *yan nv ity āhur anyāni chandāṇāi varṣiṇāṇi 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 208 b.

d. With the suffix of *iti* is to be compared that of *tāti* etc. (519). The word is abbreviated to *ti* two or three times in TB.

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 *yvid* *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, nityadā*. A quasi-locative case use is seen occasionally in such phrases as *kadacid divase* (R.) *on a certain day*.

c. By the perhaps related *dānim* are made *idānim, tadānim, viśvadānim, tvadānim* (toneless). *Viśvadāni* occurs as adjective in TB.

d. With *rhi* are made, from pronominal roots, *tārhi, otārhi, yārhi, kārhi, amūrhi*.

e. The suffix *di*, found only in *yādī* if, is perhaps related with *dā*, in form as in meaning. *Sādadi* (MS) is of doubtful character.

1104. By the suffix *dhā* are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying *-fold, times, ways, etc*.

a. Thus, *ekadhā, dvīdhā* (also *dvidhā* and *dvedhā*), *trīdhā* (in the older language usually *tredhā*), *ṣaḍdhā* (also *ṣoḍhā* and *ṣaḍdhā*), *dvādaśadhā, ekānaviṃśatidhā, sahasradhā*, and so on. Also, naturally from words having a quasi-numeral character thus, *anekadhā, katidhā tatidhā, bahudhā, purudhā, viśvadhā, ṣaṣvadhā, aparimitadhā, yāvaddhā, etāvaddhā, māśadhā*. 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 *ādha* or *ādhā*, a Vedic equivalent of *átha*, probably belongs here (*purudhā* and *viśvadhā*, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.), also *addhā* in *truth*; and perhaps *sahā* *with*, which has an equivalent *sadhā* in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in *ha* (1100 a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with a suffix, *dvīś, trīś, and catūr* (probably, for *catūra*): 489 a.

a. The corresponding word for *once*, *śakṣt*, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to *pañcakṣtvā, navakṣtvā, aparimitakṣtvā*, etc., though *kṣt* and *kṣtvā* are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes; the earlier

texts (AV. ÇB MS) have *anptá kṛtvā*, *dāṣa kṛtvā*, *dvādaṣa kṛtvā*, *aṣṭāv evā kṛtvā*, etc. AB. has the redundant combination *triṣ kṛtvā*.

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. *anyedyus* *another day*, *ubhayedys* (AV. *-yadyus*) *on either day*, *pūrvedyus* *the day before*.

1106. By the suffix *śās* are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, many adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively

a. Examples are: *ekaśās* *one by one*, *śataśās* *by hundreds*, *ṛtuśās* *season by season*, *pacchaś* *foot by foot*, *akṣaraśās* *syllable by syllable*, *gaṇaśās* *in crowds*, *atambaśās* *by bunches*, *parucṣāś* *limb by limb*, *tāvaccāś* *in such and such number or quantity*; and, in a more general way, *sarvaśās* *wholly*, *mukhyaśās* *principally*, *kṣhiraśās* *stingily*, *manmaśās* *as minded*.

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, *aṅgīrasvāt* *like Angīras*, *manuṣvāt* (RV.) *as Manu did*, *jamadagnivāt* *after the manner of Jamadagni*, *pūrvavāt* or *pratnavāt* or *purāṇavāt* *as of old*, *kākatālīyavāt* *after the fashion of the crook and the palm-fruit*.

b. This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111 g) of the suffix *vant* (1233 f), 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 *āst* are made from nouns quasi-adverbs signifying *in or into the condition or the posse sign of what is indicated by the noun*; they are used only with verbs of being, of becoming, and of making: namely, *astonest* *kṛ* and *bhū*, but also *as*, *gam*, *yā*, and *ni* (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 this formation. The *a* of *āst* is not liable to conversion into *g*. 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 bhasmasat kurute* (MBh.) *reduces all deeds to ashes*; *loko 'yam dasyusād bhaved* (MBh.) *this world would become a prey to barbarians*; *yasya brāhmaṇasāt sarvaṁ vittam āst* (MBh.) *whose whole property was given to Brahmins*, *niyatam bhasmasād yāti* (Har.) *it is inevitably reduced to ashes*, *agnin 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

examples in *prātār early*, and *sanūtār away*, in *dakṣiṇīt with right hand*, and *cikīṭvīt with consideration*; in *nūnām none*, and *nānānām variously*. but the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be worth notice here.

b. In the epic 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*, *karṣākarpī 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* (?), *id*, *cīd* (common at every period), *suād* and *sumād*, *im* and *cīm* (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), *-kīm*. Compounds with *id* are *ced if, not lest*, *ōd*, *svid*, *kuvid*; with *cīd*, *kūcīd*; with *-kīm*, *nākim* and *mākim*, and *ākīm*.

b. Of noun-stems as, *nāma by name*; *sūkham happily*, *kāmam at will, if you please*; *nāktam by night*, *rāhas secretly*; *opām quickly* (V.), and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in unlimited numbers. as, *satyām truly*, *cīram long*, *pūrvam formerly*; *nityam constantly*; *bhūyā more, again*; *viśrabdham confidently*, *prakāṣam 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 *avyayībhava* (1313).

e. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used, especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, *tarām* and *tanām*, which are attached to particles (cf. 1110), and even (473 c) to verb-forms:

८ ५ natarām, kathanitarām, uccāistarām, çanaistaram, 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 tūṣṭīm *in silence*; sayām *at evening*; sākām *together, with* (prep.), āram or ālam *sufficient* (in the later language used with yk in the manner of a prefix: 1078 a); prayam *usually*, iṣāt *somewhat*, amnām *unexpectedly*, bahis *outside*, mīthu and mīthas, mūhu and mūhus, jātu, and so on. Madrik etc., and nīṣik (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having yac or añc as their final (407 n.). The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for uṣādhak, ānuṣāk and āyusāk, anuṣthū and suṣthū, yugapāt, etc. Compare also the forms in am beside those in a, above, 1101 a, 1102 a, 1103 b.

g. In (Vedic) dravāt *quickly* is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (pp. ८ dravant *running*); and dravyāt *stoutly* (RV., nec) 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, suā, amā, amuyā.

b. Of noun-stems: as, kṣaṇena *instantly*, aṣṣṇena *completely*, viṣṇena *especially*; divā *by day*; diṣṭyā *fortunately*; sāhasa *suddenly*; aktubhis *by night*, and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, akhileṇa *wholly*; prayeṇa *mostly*; dākṣiṇeṇa *to the south*; ūttareṇa *to the north*, āntareṇa *within*; cīreṇa *long*, — çānais and çānakāis *slowly*, uccāis *on high*, nīcāis *below*, parācāis *afar*, tāviṣṭhis *mightily*; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: tiraççātā, devātā, bāhūtā, and sasvartā (all RV.), homonymous instrumentals from nouns in tā; dvitā, tādītā, irmā, mṛçā, vṛthā, sācā, aethā (?), mudhā (101 v.), adhunā (B. and later)

e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), often more than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent as, amā and divā (given above), perhaps gūhā; apākā, asayā, kuhayā (?); naktayā, svapnayā, samanā; adatrayā, ṛtayā, ubhayā, sumnayā (?); dakṣiṇā, madhyā; nīcā, prācā, uccā, paçcā, tiraççā; vasāntā; — in a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending, which is accented: thus amuyā (given above), ācuyā, sadhuyā, raghuyā, dhṛṣṇuyā, anu-

chuyā, mithuyā;—and urviyā (for urreyā) and vicvyā (properly vicvayā) 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, kasmāt *why?* akasmāt *casually, unexpectedly*; āt, tāt, yāt (V: normal forms, instead of the pronominal asmāt etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: as, ānāt *near*; ārāt *afar*; balāt *forcibly*, kutūhalāt *emulously*, sakācāt *on the part of*.

c. Oftenest, of adjective stems: as, dūrāt *afar*, nīcāt *below*, paścāt *behind*, sakācāt *plainly, actually*; samantāt *completely*; acirāt *not long*; pratyakṣatāmāt (AK) *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 later, sánā); uttarāt *from the north*, adharāt *below*.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.

a. In the older language occur aktā *by night*, and vastos *by day*, later, cirasya *long*.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value
Thus:

a. From noun and adjective stems: ākē *near*; āre and dūrē *afar*; abhisvarē *behind*; astamīkē *at home*; rto *without* (prep.); āgre *in front*, sthāne *mutually*; sapadi *immediately*; -arthe and -krte (common in composition) *for the sake of*; aparigu *in after time*; ādāu *first*; rahasi *in secret*.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) kīś, interrogative particle, and its compounds nākīś and mākīś, negative particles. And masc. nominatives from añ- stems (as pārāñ AB, nyāñ Āpast.) are sometimes found used by substitution for neuter.

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 *āpi* 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, 1125 b).

b. In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements) not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, 1281 ff., 1303.

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, *uttara* and *uttamā*, *ādharma* and *adhamā*, *āpara* and *apamā*, *āvāra* and *avamā*, *ūpara* and *upamā*, and *prathamā* is doubtless of the same character; also, *āntara* and *āntama*. 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, *sāmāñcitam oit samitarām sām cīcādhī* (AV.) *whatever is quickened do thou still further quicken*, *vitarām vī kramasva* (RV.) *stride out yet more widely*; *prā tām naya pratarām vāsyo ācha* (RV.) *lead him forward still further toward advantage*; *ūd enam uttarām naya* (AV.) *lead him up still higher*.

a. Besides those instanced, are found also *nitarām*, *apatarām*, *abhitārām*, *avatarām*, *parātarām*, *parastarām*. In the Brahmanas and later (above, 1111 e), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, *atitarām* and *atitamām*, *abhitārām*, *anutamām*, *ātamām*, *pratitarām*, *nitarām*, *uttarām*, *pratarām* and *pratamām*, *vitarām*, *samitarām* (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, *avāś* down; *adhās* below (and *adhaśtarām*; *parāś* far off and *parastarām*; *purā* before; *antarā* apparently. *antār + ā* among, between; *āntī* near; *upāri* above; and *sahā* (already mentioned, 1104 b *along, with*, and *sāca* together, with, may be noticed with them. *Vinā* without, and *viśu-* apart, appear to be related with *vī*.

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 *āpunar* (RV.), *āneva* (AV.), *ānadhas* (TB.), *akasmāt*, *anakyt*; in rare cases, also with pronouns (as *atad*, *akimicit*); and even, in the later language, now and then with verbs, as *aspyhayanti* (BhP. 5.3) *they do not desire*, *alokayati* (SD) *he does not view*. Now and then it is prefixed to itself: e. g. *anakamamāra*, *anaviprayukta*, *anavadya* (P.).

c. In a very few cases, the particle *a* appears to be made use of as a connective particle, as in *śānta yānti śānta śānta*, *śānta śānta śānta śānta*.

d. The independent negative particle *na* and *mā* are also in certain instances used in composition, see below 1122 e.

e. The connective particle *ca*, used instead of the preposition *śam* and interchangeably with *saha*, before nouns and adjectives.

f. The particle *śu* appears *dus* in many identical with *śu* *dus* 925 a.

g. It is combined in the same manner as *a* or *ca* with combinations with a verbal form: at least a single example appears to be questionable, *dugantanti* (8.) before *śu*.

h. The corresponding locative particle *śu* 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 (to LV., more than two hundred times, in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times, and even occasionally later).

i. The particle *śu* sometimes appears in B. and later before a verb-form, and considering its rigid 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 *padānta* of AV. xix. 4. 12 reads *śu-āpayati*, but its testimony is of little or no value. *k* has *na śu vijāyete* and *na vā śu viduḥ*, and *h* has *śu veda*, *ṭ* has *śuśambodhayati* (?); MBh. and Bṛh. have *śuśambodhayati*; *R* has *śuśakyante*.

j. The exclamatory and usually depreciative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (508) are most analogous with the temporal-pronouns.

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. Answerative particles. In part, only in the older language: thus, *angā*, *hanta*, *kīla*, *khālu*, *tū* rare in older language, *vāi*, *vāvā* in Brahmin language only, *hi*, *hinā*, *u*, *āha*, *ha*, *gha*, *śamāha*, *śma*, *bhala*.

b. Of these, *hanta* is a word of assent and incitement, *hi* has won also an relative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595 e), *śma* sometimes appears to give a past meaning to a present tense (778 b); *u* is often combined with the final *m* of other particles: thus, *ūtho*, *nó*, *mó*, *utó*, *ūpo*, *pro*; but also with that of verb-forms as *dattó*, *vidmó*. The final *o* thus produced is *praghyā* or un-estimable (138 c). Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above,

are *id*, *kām* or *kam*, *cīd*, *jātu*, *evā*. 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*, *hī*, *tu*, *sma*.

c. Negative particles are: *nā*, signifying simple negation; *mā*, signifying prohibition.

d. As to the construction of the verb with *mā*, see above, 570. In the Veda, *nū* (or *nū*: 248 a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic *nā* of comparison, see below, g, h.

e. In *nahī*, *nā* is combined with *hī*, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with *id* in *néd* *lest*. It is perhaps present in *nanú* and *caná*, but not in *hiná* (RV., once). In general, neither *nā* nor *mā* is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix *a* or *an* (1122 a): exceptions are the Vedic particles *nákis* and *mákis*, *núkīm* and *múkīm*; also *nacīram* and *macīram*, *napūṃśaka*, and, in the later language, a number of others.

f. Interrogative particles are only those already given: *kād*, *kim*, *kuvíd*, *avid*, *nanú*, of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.

g. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless *iva*, and *yatha* also toneless when used in the same way. Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also *nā*, having without loss of accent the same position and value as the preceding.

h. Examples of the *nā* of comparison are *ṛṣidvīṣa* (*quā* *nā* *arjāta dvīṣam* (RV.) *let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer*; *vāyo nā vykṣām* (AV) *as birds to the tree*; *gaurō nā tṛṣṭātāḥ 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 *kvā* *where?* in V., always to be read *kūa*.

j. Particles of time are: *nū* *now* also *nū*: *nūnām* was mentioned above, 1109 a, *adyā* and *nadyās* and *nadīvas* (RV., once) *today*, *at once* (all held to contain the element *div* or *dyu*, *hyās* *yesterday*, *qvās* *tomorrow*, *jyók* also related with *dyu* *long*; *pūnar* *again*).

k. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *nānā* *variously* (for *nānānām*, its derivative, see 1109 a; *nasvār* (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.

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*, *īto*—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 (294 b), 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 range 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*, *uparī*, *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, *antar* 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, *mārtveṣv ā among mortals*, *prthivyām ādhy ōṣadhīḥ the plants upon the earth*, *tājo māyī dhāranyā'dhi (AV) establish glory*

in me; — *āpi* and *ūpa* are much rarer: thus, *yā apām āpi vrato [sānti]* (RV.) *who are in the domain of the waters*, *amūr yā ūpa sūrye [sānti]* (RV.) *who are up yonder in the sun*; — *sācā* along with is not rare in RV, but almost entirely unknown later: thus, *pitroḥ sācā antī śrīyāṃ* *with her parents*.

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pronominal root *sa*: as *sahā* (most frequent), *sakām*, *sārdhām*, *samām*, *saṁyā*, *saśātham*; and, in the Veda, the prefix *sām*: as, *to sumatībhiḥ sām pātnibhir nā vīṣṇo nasimahi* (RV) *may we be united with thy factors as men with their spouses*. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (293 a), *vinā without* (not Vedic) taken sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, *avās down* and *parās beyond*, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And *ādhi*, in RV., is used with the instrumentals *anūnā* and *anubhiḥ*, 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, *ādhi* and *pāri*; more sporadically, *ānu*, *āpa*, *āva*, *prāti*, and the separatives *nās* and *vī*. The change of meaning of the ablative with *ā* *hither*, by which it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (293 c). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many — as *bahis*, *purās*, *avās*, *adbās*, *parās*, *purā*, *vinā*, and *tirās out of knowledge of* — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms *arvāk*, *prāk*, *paścāt*, *ūrdhvām*, *pūrvam*, *pāram*, and *itē 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 *abhi*, *prāti*, *ānu*, *āpa*, *ā*, *āti* and *ādhi* in the sense of *over on to*, or *across*, *beyond*, *tirās through*, *antār* and *antarā* when meaning *between*, *pāri* *around*. Examples are *yāḥ pradīḡo abhi sūryo vicāṣṭo* (AV) *what quarters the sun looks abroad unto*; *ābodhy agnīḥ prāty āyatim uḡāsani* (RV.) *Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn*; *gacchet kadācit evajanuḥ prati* (Mbh) *she might go somewhereither to her own people*; *imaṁ prakṣyāmi nṛpatim prati* (Mbh) *him I will ask with reference to the king*, *māma cittam ānu cittebbhir o 'ta* (AV) *follow after my mind with your minds*, *o 'hy ā nah* (AV) *come hither to us*, *ūpa na o 'hy arvān* (RV.) *come hither unto us*; *yo devō mārtyān āti* (AV.) *the god who is beyond mortals*; *adhiṣṭhaya vāreṇā dhy anyān* (AV) *excelling above others in glory*. Also *abhāta* and *parīta*, which have a *like* value with the simple *abhi* and *pāri*.

and upāri *above* (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with *adhaa*, *paraa*, *puraa*, *viṇā*, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of these 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 pāreṇā 'dityām* (TB) *those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun*, *āntareṇa yōnim* (CB) *within the womb*, *to hi 'dam antareṇa sarvaṃ* (AB) *for all this universe is between them*, *ūttareṇa gārhapatyam* (CB) *to the north of the householder's fire*; *dakṣiṇeṇa vēdim* (CB) *to the south of the sacrificial hearth*; *dakṣiṇeṇa vṛkṣavāṣikām* (L) *to the right of the orchard*; *nīkṣā yamunām* (Hu) *near the Yamunā*. Similarly *ūrdhvaṃ* and *pūrvam* have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of *ete*. *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*, *abhyāgo* *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*, *sakṣāt*, *hatoḥ*. 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*, *dakṣiṇeṇa* and *dakṣiṇāt*, *paścāt*, *ūrdhvaṃ*, *anantaram*, *samakṣam*, *sākṣāt*. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of the use of the genitive are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with bare proper words of direction: thus, with the derivatives *paritas*, *paratas*, and *antitas*, and *parastāt* and *purestāt* (these found in the Brahmanic language, as, *sahvataarasya parastāt* *after a year*; *suktasya purestāt* *before the hymn* [AB.]); with *anti*, *adhaa*, *avas*, *puraa*; with *upāri* *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 1004, 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 *oéd* and *ned* (1111a).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are *et* *ca* *and*, and *et* *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*, *tātha*, *kim* *ca*, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

b. Adversative is *tū* *but* rare in the older language; also, less strongly, *u* *toneless*.

c. Of illative value is *hi* *for* originally, and in great part at every period, *assuervative* only: compare above, 1122b.

d. To *ca* (as well as to its compound *oéd*) belongs occasionally the meaning *if*.

e. It is needless to enter into further detail with regard to those cases which may be not less properly or more properly, called conjunctive than adversarial, 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. *a*, *hā*, *hahā*, *ahaha*, *he*, *hāi* AV, *ayi*, *aye*, *hayé* RV, *aho*, *bāt* RV), *bata* RV. or *vata*, and probably *hīruk* and *hurūk* RV.

b. Onomatopœic or imitative utterances are, for example in the older language *ciçed* *whiz* of an arrow: RV: *kikirā* palpitation RV), *bāl* and *phāt* *phāq* or *phāl* *splash* AV, *bhūk* *bow-wow* AV., *gāl* *pat* AV), *āḥ*, *hiḥ*, *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*: *dhuk* *alas!* may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with *dih*, *kaṣṭam* *woe is me!* *diṣṭyā* *thank heaven!* *svasti* *hail!* *aṣṭhu*, *sadhu* *good, excellent!* None of these are Vedic in interjectional use.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRINCIPLES OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

1135. The Sanskrit verb form is composed of a root, a personal ending, and a tense sign. The root is the essential part of the verb, and is the source of all the other parts. The personal ending is added to the root to indicate the person and number of the subject. The tense sign is added to the personal ending to indicate the time of the action. The root is the essential part of the verb, and is the source of all the other parts. The personal ending is added to the root to indicate the person and number of the subject. The tense sign is added to the personal ending to indicate the time of the action.

a. Of these only a brief and superficial treatment of the subject can be attempted within the bare necessary limits. An exhaustive treatment of the Sanskrit verb form is beyond the scope of this work. The aim of this chapter is to give a general outline of the subject, and to point out the main principles of the Sanskrit verb form.

b. The material from several texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be laid especially in view, showing that the Vedic form is essentially different from the classical form, and the examples given will be so far as is possible, words found in each text with their accents marked. No word not thus marked 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 fix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:

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 *upādi* (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*, *īman*, *īyas* and *īṣṭha*, *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 (§§8 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 entries *a* (1148), *k*, *ā* (1149 c, d), *ana* (1150 m), *as* (1161 f), *ani* (1169 b), *u* (1178 g-1), *ti* (1167 g), *tr* (1182 e), *tnu* (1190 b), *snu* (1194 b), *uka* (1180 d), *aku* (1181 d), *alu* (1192 b), *tu* (1191 d).

c. From *tanu*-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), *ana* (1175), *as* (1151c), *i* (1156b), *iqtha* (1184a), *u* (1178f), *us* (1154a), *tr* (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*, *an*, *ana*, *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 *guna*- or *vrddhi*-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where *guna*-change is in general forbidden 235, 240): thus, *vēda* from *√vid*, *mōda* from *√mud*, *vārdha* from *√vrddh*;

áyana from ;i, sávana from ;su, sarana from ;sar; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long a as the resulting vowel; that is to say, with non-final a, and with a final i- or u-vowel and r before a vowel of the ending: thus, nadá from ;nad, grabhá from ;grbh or grabh, váhá from ;vah, nayá from ;ni, bháva from ;bhū, kárá from ;kr; such strengthening as would make váida and máida 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 (218). 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 varí (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); oftener before a (1148k, i (1155e), u (1178d); but also before other suffixes, as a (1149e), ana (1160m), yana (1170a), van and varí (1169d, 1171a, b), vani (1170b), vi (1193), vit (1193b), ani (1159b), in (1183a), inu (1196a), ta (1176a), ti (1157d), tha (1163a), tr (1182b), tra (1185f), úka (1180f), aka (1181a), úka (1186e), 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

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, *śaśyād*, *cikīṭ*, *dadāh*, *didyū* and *didyūt*, *juhū*, and perhaps *gāṅgā* and *çicu*; with intensive reduplication, *-nēti*, *malimluc*, *yaviyūdh*, and *jōgu* and *vānivan* (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In *dāridra* is seen a transfer to the a-declension. *Asūti* is probably to be understood as a compound, *asū-sti*.

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 *jāgat* 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, *çrūtkaṛṇa* (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, *āvāsa*, *ūpastut*; and, with other irregularities of form, *pārijī*, *upāstha*, *upariçtha*.

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, *vrddhi*-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, *grāma* *neariness*, *grāha* *seizure*, *āya* *movement*, *vēda* *knowledge*, *hāva* *call*, *krōdha* *wrath*, *jōga* *enjoyment*, *tāra* *crossing*, *sārga* *emission*.

c. Many *nomina agentis* as, *kṣamā* *patient*, *svajā* *constructor*, *śivā* *living*, *meghā* *cloud*, *codā* *inciting*, *plavā* *boat*, *sarā* *brook*, *sarpā* *serpent*, *bhojā* *generous*, *khādā* *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

ghaṇā. 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 saṅgamā *assembly*, nīmeṣā *wink*, abhidrohā *enmity*, anukarā *assistance*, udānā *inspiration*, pratyaśrāvā *response*; — paricarā *scandering*, saṁjoyā *victorious*, vibodhā *wakeful*, atyāśā *over-pious*, udārā *inciting, elevated*, uttadā *rousing*, saṁgirā *scallowing*, ādardirā *crushing*, adhoanḱramā *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, utpātā *portent*, āgrōṣā *plague*. A few others, mostly agent-nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, vyōṣā (i. e. vi-ōṣā), *burning*, prāṭiveṣa *neighbor*, ābhaga *sharing*; but also sūhṛkṣa *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. एतद् a. The vast majority of stems in एतद् a are feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters in एतद् a (332, 334). But also many suffixes ending in एतद् a have corresponding feminine forms in long एतद् 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 *iqā lordship*, *kriṣā play*, *dayā pity*, *cindā reproach*, *ṣaṅkā doubt*, *bhīṣā injury*, *kṣamā patience*, *laghūṣā hunger*, *bhāṣā speech*, *sevā service*, *āpṣhā 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*, *virtṣā*, *bibhatsā*, 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 (1071 c-f); from denominative stems, in the older language, as *āṣṇayā*, *aukratīyā*, *apāsyā*, *urūyā*, *asūyā*, *āṣṇayā*, *jīvanāsyā*, etc., and quite rarely in the later, as *mṛṣayā*.

e. The only example from a reduplicated stem is the late *pāpāṣā*, for *sūṣā*, *jāṅghā*, and *jihvā*, which have a reduplicated aspect, are of doubtful origin. From present stems come *lecchā* and probably *-ṛecchā*.

1150. *ṇā* ana. With this suffix as with *ṇā* a) are formed innumerable derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has oftenest guṇa-strengthening, but not seldom vṛddhi 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 reckoned 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 guṇa-strengthening: examples of action-nouns are *sādāna* seat, *rākṣaṇa* protection, *dāna* giving, *cāyana* collection, *védāna* properly, *hāvāna* call, *bhōjana* enjoyment, *kāraṇa* deed, *vārdhana* increase; — of agent-nouns, *tāpāna* burning *cētāna* visible, *cōdāna* impelling.

d. With vṛddhi-strengthening (only in such circumstances that ā remains as vowel of the radical syllable) examples are *-cātāna*, *nāṇāna*, *mādāna*, *-vācāna*, *-vāṇāna*, *-vāhāna*, *-sādāna*, *-spāṣāna*, *svādāna*, *-āyāna*, *-yāvāna*, *-srāvāna*, *-pārāna*.

e. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are very numerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the suffix

ā (above, 1148 l, m). A few examples are *ākramaṇa* striding on, *udyaṇa* upgoing, *nidhāna* receptacle, *prāṇa* expiration, *vimōcana* release and releasing, *saṅgāmaṇa* assembly and assembler, *adhivikārtana* cutting off, *avaprabhṛkṣāna* falling away down. For other components of these derivatives showing the same accent (and the same feminine stem), see the next chapter (below, 1271). A few exceptions occur: *vicakṣaṇā*, *upariṣayaṇā*, and the feminines *pramandani* and *nirdahani*.

f. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, take the feminine usually in ī thus, *cōdani*, *peṇani*, *apāraṇi*, *jāmbhani*; *prajāñāni*, *prōkṣaṇi*, *saṅgrāhaṇi*, *abhiṣāvaṇi*, *vidhāraṇi* (*cetani* is of doubtful meaning, below, l). An adjective compound, however, having a noun in *ana* as final member, makes its feminine in ā, thus, *sūpasarpaṇā* of easy approach, *śāḍvidhāna* of septuple 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 *kṛpaṇā* *actice* (against *kāraṇa* act) *kṛpaṇā* *miserable* (against *kṛpāṇa* *miserly*), *tvaraṇā* *hastily*, *rocaṇā* *shining*, *kroṣaṇā* *grinding*, *avapaṇā* *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 *aṇā*, *asaṇā*, *mananā*, *dyotanā*, *rodhanā*, *śvetanā*, *hasanā* (and compare *kapanā*, *raṣanā*); those of the later language in *anā* (rather numerous) are doubtful as regards accent.

i. Besides these may be mentioned a few feminines in *ani*, of more or less doubtful character: *aṣaṇi*, *cetani* (so *cōtana*), *tapani* (so *tāp-ana*), *pṛṣani*, *vṛjani* (with *vṛjāna*), *rajanī*, *tedani*.

j. With accent on the penult: a small number of adjectives: as *turāṇa* *hastily*, *doḥāna* *milking*, *maṇāna* *considerate*, *bhandāna* and *mandāna* *rejoicing*, *sakṣāṇa* *overcoming*, and perhaps *vakṣāṇā* *carrying* (the last two with *sonantics*): and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns *daḥṣāna* *great deed*, *vṛjāna* *enclosure*, *toḥa*, *voṣāṇa* *service*, *kṛpāna* *miserly*, (against *kṛpaṇā* *miserable*), with the masculine *kirāṇa* *dust*.

k. The only noticed example of a feminine is in ā *turāṇā*. And a few feminine nouns have the same form *arhāṇā*, *jarāṇā*, *barhāṇā*, *bhandāṇā*, *maḥhāṇā*, *mohāṇā*, *vadhāṇā*, *vanāṇā*, *vakṣāṇā*. (And compare the anomalous *maṣe*, name *uṣāṇā*. 355a.)

l. Without strengthening of the root are made a small number of derivatives: thus (besides those already noted, *kṛpāṇa* and *kṛpaṇā*, *vṛjāna* and *vṛjani*, *kirāṇa*, *turāṇa*), further accented examples are *ūraṇa*, *dhūvaṇa*, *pṛṣaṇa*, *bhūvaṇa*, *vṛjāna*, *vṛṣāṇa*, *-sūvaṇa*; and later are found *aphuraṇa*, *aphuṣāṇa*, *aphāṇa*, *-hnuvaṇa*, *likhāṇa*, *rudāṇa*, etc. RV. makes denominatives from *riṣāṇa*-, *ruvaṇa*-, *vipāṇa*-, *huvāṇa*-.

m. Stems in *ana* are made also from secondary conjugation-stems, thus, from desideratives, as *cikitsana* (see 1039), from causatives, as *hapana*, *bhīṣaṇa* (see 1051g); from denominatives, with great freedom. In the later language as *ākaraṇa*, *unmulana*, *clakṣaṇa*, *cibhāna*; from intensives and other reduplicated stems, only *cankramaṇa*, *jan-gamaṇa*, *jagaraṇa*, *yoyupana*.

n. A few isolated cases may be further mentioned from *tra-s*-stems, -*ghrāṇa*, -*ūrṇavana*, -*paṇyana*, *yacchana*, -*siṣcana*; from prepositional, *antarāṇa* and *sāmāna*; *natamāna* from the quasi-préfix (1032b) *natam*. Feminines in *anā* of doubtful connection are *yoṣaṇā* woman (beside *yōṣan*, *yoṣā*, etc.) and *pīṭanā*.

1151. **ङ्गान्**. 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* and *śavaḥ*, *tāpas* *zeal*, *prāyas* *pleasure*, *tejas* *splendor*, *grāvas* *sound*, *dōhas* *milk*, *kāras* *deed*, *prāthas* *breath*, *cōtas* and *manas* *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 *īras* (*irasy*-) and *vipas*-, and the adverbs *tīras*, *mīthās*, *huras*-, also *śīras* *head*, are to be compared, — with *ṛddhi*-strengthening, -*vācas*, *vāsas*, *vāhas*, -*avādas*, and, of doubtful connections, *pājas*, *pāthas*, and -*hāyas*; — perhaps with an *as* before s, *hējas* *miseric*, — *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*, *mñās*; and -*dhas* and -*dus*, from the roots *dha* 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*; *tavas* *strength*, and *tavās* *strong*; *dūvas* *worship*, and *duvās* *lovely* (?), *māhas* *greatness*, and *mahās* *great*; between *rākṣas* a and

rakṣās m., both meaning *demon*, and between *tyājas* = *abandonment* () and *tyajās* m. *descendant* (?), the antithesis is much less clear.

f. Adjectives in *ās* without corresponding abstracts are: *toṣas* *bestowing*, *yajās* *offering*, *vedhās* *pious*, probably *Ahanās* *ready*; and a few other words of isolated occurrence, as *veçās*, *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 *jarām* *old age*, *bhiyās* *fear*; and doubtless also *havās* *call*, and *tveçās* *impulse*. The feminine *upās* *dawn*, and *doçās* *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*, *bhalanās*, *arcananās*, *naciketas*. The feminine *apuarās* *nymph* is of doubtful derivation.

i. The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.

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 *sahas* and *jarām*.

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 *-nyōkas* and *vīspardhas*. 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. तन् *tas*, नन् *nas*, सन् *sas*. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With *tas* are made *rōtas* *seed*, and *erōtas* *stream*.

b. With *nas* are made *āpnas* *acquisition*, *ārpnas* *vow*, *-bhārnas* *offering*, *rōknas* *riches*; and in *drāvīnas* *wealth*, and *pārīpnas* *fulsome*. It is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of unfin-vowels. Probably the same is true of *dāmūnas* *house-friend*, and *śjūnas* (RV.) n. pr., *uçānas* (or *-nā*) n. pr.

c. With *sas* is perhaps made *vāpnas* *beauty*; and *tārūnas* may be mentioned with it (rather *tarus-as*?)

1153. ङ 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 guna-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in *dyotis light*, *vyāthis*, and *āmis rose meat*). Examples are: *arcis*, *rocis*, and *qocis light*, *chadis* or *chardis cover*, *barkis straw*, *vartis track*, *sarpis butter*, *havis oblation*, *dyotis light*, and *kravis rose flesh*. *Avi-*, *pāthis*, *bhrājin-*, and *māhis-* are isolated variants of stems in *as*; and *tūvis-*, *queis-*, and *aurabhis-* appear inorganically for *tuvi* etc. in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. ञ 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*; *cākus brightness* and *seeing, eye*; *vāpus wonder* and *wonder*. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable thus, *āpus*, *tārus*, *pārus*, *muhus* ('only adverbial'), *mīthus* (de), *yājus*, *qājus*; exceptions are in regard to accent, *janūs birth*, in regard to gender, *mānus man*, and *nāhus n. pr.* Of adjectives, are accented on the ending *jayūs*, *vanūs*, and *dukūs burning* (which appears to attach itself to the *as*-stem).

1155. ञ 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*, *tvīci dawn*, *kṛci ploughing*, *uṛci dance*; — with guna-strengthening (where possible), *rōpi pain*, *qoci heat*, *varci* and *sarci gum*, — with *vrddhi*-strengthening, *grāhi seizure*, *dhṛāci course*. *Āci race*, from *paduq* comes *dūci* (compare *dūṇayati*, 1043b). The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given. The few intuitively used words of this formation (above, 978b) 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, *qūci bright* *bhṛmi hoary* (ḥ *bhram*) *gṛbhi container*.

d. With unstrengthened root (or root incapable of guṇa-change) *ari* enemy, *māhi* great, *arāi* beam, *granthī* knot, *kriṣi* playing; with *vṛddhi*-increment, *kāṛai*, *jāni*, -*dhāri*, *ṣāri*, *sāci*, *sādi*, *sāhi*, and a few words of obscure connections: thus, *drāpi* mantle, *rāci* heap, *pāci* hand etc. The isolated -*ānaṣi* appears to come from the perfect-stem (788) *et yaṣ*.

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*, (1 *ghar*), *pāpri*, *sāpri*, -*mamri*, *babhrī*, *vavri*, *jāgmī*, -*jājāi* (1 *jan*), -*tatni*, *jāghni*, *sāsni*, *sūgvi*, -*qievi*; and, with displacement of final *ā* (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), *dādī*, *papī*, *yayī* (with a case or two from *yayī*), -*jājhi*, *dādhi*;—from the ur-form of roots in changeable *r*, *jāguri*, *tāturi*, *pāpuri* (*pūpuri* SV.),—with simple reduplication, *cikiti*, *yūyudhi*, *vīvici*;—with strengthened reduplication, -*cācali*, *tātpi*, *dādhrī*, *vāvahi*, *sāsahi*, *tūtūji* and *tūtūji*, *yūyuvī*, *yūyudhi*; and *jurbhāri* 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 is *ī* 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*, *vyānaṣi*, *rijaṅhi*, *paraṇadi*, *viṇasahi*; 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, 1270.

g. From *ydhā* comes a derivative -*dhi*, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with prefixes, *antardhi*, *uddhi*, *nidhi*, *pamdhi*, etc. From *yās* is made in like manner *ādī* beginning, and from *yethā*, *pratiṣṭhi* 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*.

h. Neuter nouns in *i* are few, and of obscure derivation. examples are *ākṣi* eye, *āsthi* bone, *dādhi* curd, etc.

1150. $\frac{1}{2}$ I. Stems in $\frac{1}{2}$ I like those in $\frac{1}{2}$ ā, above, 1149' are for the most part feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters of other terminations.

a. Thus, feminines in *i* are made from *a*-stems (332, 334, and see also the different suffixes), from *i*-stems (344, 346), from *u*-stems (344b), from *r*-stems (378a), and from various consonant-stems (378a).

b. But there are also a few stems in *i* wearing the aspect of independent derivatives. Examples are: *dakṣi*, *dehi*, *nadi*, *nandi*, *peṣi*,

vakeṣi (apparently with nominative *si*), veṣi, cāki, cāci, cāmi, cāmi, tari, vapi; they are either action-nouns or agent-nouns. In the later language (as noticed at 344a) there is very frequent interchange of *i-* and *i-stems* and the forms from them.

c. In the oldest language there are even a few masculines in *i*. They were noticed, and their inflection illustrated, above, at 355b, 356.

1157. *ṭi 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 *ṭi 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*, *ṭṛpti*, *pakti*, *puṣṭi*, *bhūti*, *bhṛti*, *vṛṣṭi*, *çakti*, *çruṣṭi*, *oreṣi*, *ethiti* — have both accentuations.

b. Examples of the normal formation are *rati* *gift*, *utī* *and rūṭi* *flow*, *stuti* *praise*, *bhakti* *devotion*, *viṣṭi* *service*, *kīrti* *song*, *pūti* *bestial*, *matī* *thought*, *pīti* *drink* (*ypa*; pplc *pita*), *dhauti* *stream* (*y dhav*; pplc *dhāuta*); — and with accented root, *gāti* *motion*, *cānti* *repose*, *dīti* *division* (*y dā*; pplc *dītā*), *dīṣṭi* *night* (*ṣṭi offering* *y yaj*; pplc *iṣṭā*), *ūkti* *speech* (*y vac*; pplc *uktā*), *vṛddhi* *increase*.

c. The roots which form their participle in *ita* (956) do not have the *i* also before *tī*, thus, only *gūpti*, *dṛpti*. A few roots having their participle in *na* instead of *ta* (957) form the abstract *ṭi* as in *ni* (below, 1158). And from the roots *tan* and *ran* occur *tanṭi* and *rānti* beside the more regular *tati* and *rāti*; also *āhanti* (once, VS) *āhanti*. From the two roots *dā* *give* and *dā* *divide*, the derivative in composition is sometimes *-ṭi* (for *dāti*, with loss of radical vowel; compare the participle-form *-tta*, above, 955f) thus, *niravattī* (K), *samprāṭti* (B), *pārīṭti* (TB), *vāsuttī*, *bhāgattī*, *māghattī* (all RV.).

d. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, *carkṛtī*, *dīdhiti* and *-dīditi*, *jīgartī*, and perhaps the proper name *yayāṭi*; also *jāgdhī* from *yjakṣ* (233f).

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 *ānumatī*, *abhīti*, *āhūtī*, *nīṛṣṭi*, *vyāṇṭi*, *sāmgatī*. The only exceptions noticed are *ānakṭi* and *ānutī*, and *abhī-*

gñi (beside *abhiññi*). 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*, *vāññi* *eager*, *dhūti* *shaker*, *jāññi* *relative*, *pattī* *footman*, *pūti* *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, noun- or stem-vowels. The ordinary intermediate *i* of the *ta*-participle etc. is seen in *adñiti*, *ujñiti*, *-gñiti* (*i*, as usual with this root — 800b), *paññiti*, *bhaññiti*; and with them may be mentioned the adjective *ññiti*, the proper names *turñiti* and *dabñiti*, and *snñiti* and *snñiti* notwithstanding their long dual. With *ati* are made a few derivatives, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns *anñati*, *drñati*, *paññati*, *mith-ati*, *vaññati*, *ramñati*, *vrññati*, *amñati* and *āmñati*, *-dhraññati*; and the agent-words *arñati*, *khaññati*, *vññati*, *rāmñati*, *dahñati*. In some of these is to be seen with probability a stem-vowel, as also in *jāññati* and *rasaññati* (and RV. has *gopaññati*). The grammarians' method of representing a root by its 3d sing. pres. indic., denoting this as a *ti*-stem, begins in the older language: e. g. *śrivant* (IB.) *kṣetivant* (AB.) *yajati* and *juhoti* and *dadati* (S.), *nandati* (MBh.). The feminine *yuvati* *young*, *maiden* is of isolated character.

4. 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 internal derivatives from pronominal roots, *kāñti*, *tāñti*, *yāñti*, and from numerals, as *daññati*, *viññati*, *paññati*, etc., with *paññati* (from *pañca*), *ti* *padāñti*; and in *adññati*, from the participle *adññā*.

1159. *ñi*. 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 *vañ*) making their passive participle in *na* instead of *ta* make their action-noun in *nī* instead of *ti*. From the older language are *gñāñi* *injury*, *jñāñi* *heat*, *hñāñi* *abandonment* (and the masculines *gñāñi* and *jñāñi*), later *gnāñi*, *-ulāñi*, *sanñi*.

b. Words of the other class are: *aññi* *eating*, *-uññi* *burning*, *vāññi* *carrying*, *jññi* *smoking*, *tññi* *hardy*, *bhññi* *erected*, *dhññi* *autumn*, *gññi* *loving*, *vññi* and *vññi* *carile*, and with them may be mentioned *pññi* *speckled*.

c. In *preñi*, *yōñi*, *menñi*, *gññi*, *gññi* is seen a strengthening of the radical syllable, such as does not appear among the derivatives in *ti*.

d. Derivatives in *nī* from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur.

e in *hrādāni* and *hlādāni* we have a prefixed u. In the words ending in *āni*, the a has probably the same value with that of *āti* (above 1157g); but *āni* has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. *अनि* *āni*. 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 conereted meaning: *icāni* impulse, *ṣarāni* injury, *dyotāni* brightness, *kāpāni* blow, *aṣāni* misdeed, *vartāni* track; and -*aṣāni*, *udāni*-, *jaraṇi*-.

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are: *arāni* fire-stick, *carāni* movable, *cakṣāni* enlightener, *tarāni* quick, *dhamāni* pipe, *dhvasāni* scattering, *vakṣāni* strengthener, *sarāni* track. *Dharāni* and one or two other late words are probably variants to stems in *āni*. From a reconstructed root-form comes -*paptāni*. From desiderative stems are made *rurukṣāni*, *siṅṣāni*, and (with prefix) *ā-ṣuṣukṣāni*. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an a-actist stem thus: *parṣāni*, *sakṣāni*, *carṣāni*.

c. It is questionable whether the infinitives in *ṣāni* (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in *āni*, or under the next suffix as locatives of a formation in *an*, from roots and stems increased by an a-stem a.

1160. *अन* *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 *ṣāni*, of which the abundant may be the end 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 *gāmbhān* depth (VS., once); and PE. has *kṣepṣān* once.

c. Agent-nouns (in part of doubtful connection) are, *ukṣān* ox, *cakṣān* eye, *takṣān* carpenter, *dhvasān* proper name, *pṛṣṭān* name of a god, *majjān* marrow, *rājān* king, *vṛjān* ewe, bull, *sāghān*, *snihān* (*snūhān* Apast.); also -*gman*, *jmān*-, -*bhvan*-, -*ṣvan*-, with *ṣvān*, *yāvan*, *yōṣān*, and the stems *āhan*, *ūdhan*, etc. (430-4), filling up the fraction of other defective stems.

d. With prefixes occur *pratidivān* and *ātidivān*, *vibhvan*, *nīkaman*.

1181. *ṛ 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, 970 b, 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 guna-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, *maśe dātu s'arr*, *jātu-birth*, *dhātu element*, *tāntu thread* *māntu counsel*, *ōtu crest*, *sātu receptacle*, *sātu lie*, *sōtu pressure*, also *krātu capacity*, and *sāktu grida*; fem *vāntu morning*, neut. *vāntu thing*, *vāntu 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*, *sātu birth*, and apparently *kṛtū* (in *kṛtvān times*); with *vyddhi*-strengthening, *vīśtu* (above). Agent-nouns appear to be *dhātu drinkable* and *kroṣṭu jackal*.

c. The infinitives in *tu* have (988) often the unlen-vowel *i* before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to *ī*. In other use of *tu* also *-stāritu* and *-dhāritu* (both with *dus*), *-hāvitu* (with *eu*), *turpharitu* 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 *eiṣāsātu*. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of *jivātu life*, which is further exceptional in showing a long *ā*; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1182. *ṛ 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 *kṛpnū jerā*, *bhānū light* (later *sun*), *vagnū sound*, *sunū son*, *dānū* (with *tree* for a *cert*) m. f. *demon*, n. *deep*, *dear*, *dhonū f. cone*; — *gydhnū hosty*, *tapnū burning*, *trāsnū fearful*, *dhṛṣṇū bold*; — and *vīṣṇū Vishnu*, and perhaps *athāṇū pillar* (*ṛ* for *ā* and *ṣ* for *ś*), 1189 a.

c. *ṭṣa* also (like *ṭu*) appears sometimes with a prefixed *a*—*ṭṣa*, *kṣapaṇū* *muscle*, *kṛandanu* and *nadanū* *roaring*, *nabhanū* and *-nā*, [] *ṣantānu*, *vibhaṇjanū* (only instance with prefix) *breaking to pieces*; and perhaps the proper names *daṇḍu* and *kṛṣṇu* 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, *maṭ*, *-iṭha* *going*, *arṭha* *goal*, *-kṛṭha* *making*, *gāṭha* *song*, *paktā* *a pot*, *bhṛṭhā* *offering*, *-yāṭha* *road*, *-ṣiṭha* *lying down*, *ṣoṭha* *spelling*, *sikṭha* *sediment*; and, of less clear connection, *yutha* *herd*, *rāṭha* *chariot*, *neṭ* *ukṭhā* *saying*, *tīrṭhā* *ford*, *nīṭhā* *song*, *rikṭhā* *herd*, and apparently *prāṭhā* *back*; — *ṭam* (with *ā*), *gāṭha* *song*, *nīṭhā* *way*. Radical *ā* is weakened to *i* in *giṭha* *song* and *-piṭha* *drink* and *-piṭha* *protection*; a final nasal is lost in *-gāṭha* *going* and *hāṭha* *slaying*. In *viṣiṭhā* (V.B.; but *ṭat* *-iṭa*) is apparently seen a formation from a reduplication of *ṣi*, *victorious*.

b. A few examples of combination with prefixes occur with accent on the final thus, *nīrṭhā* *destruction*, *saṃgāṭhā* *union*, etc.

c. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an *h*, which is probably of thematic origin though become a non-vowel. Thus *-anāṭha* *breathing*, *ayāṭha* *foot*, *carāṭha* *mobility*, *īvepāṭha* *vehemence*, and so *prothāṭha*, *ṣajāṭha*, *ra-vāṭha*, *vakṣāṭha*, *ucāṭha*, *vidāṭha*, *ṣaṇṣāṭha*, *ṣapāṭha*, *ṣayāṭha*, *ṣvayāṭha*, *ṣvaśāṭha*, *śacāṭha*, *śanāṭha*, *śavāṭha*, *śravāṭha*, &c. with weak root-form *ruvāṭha*; the later language adds *karāṭha*, *tarāṭha*, *ṣamāṭha*, *śavāṭha*. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final thus, *āvasāṭhā* *abode*, *pravasāṭhā* *absence*; but *prāpāṭha* *breath* is treated as if *prān* were an integral root.

d. Isolated combinations of *ṭha* with other preceding vowels occur thus, *vārūṭha* *protection*, *jārūṭha* *warning* (?); and *matūṭha* (is man?)

1164. *ṭu*. This suffix like *ṭha*, above) has an *ā* attached to it, and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as *ṭuā*.

a. The only Vedic examples are *ojāṭhu* *quaking*, *vepāṭhu* *trembling*, *śanāṭhu* *roaring*. Later cases are *nandāṭhu* (T.), *nadāṭhu* (U), *kṣavāṭhu* (?), *davāṭhu*, *bhrāṇṣāṭhu*, *majjāṭhu*, *vamāṭhu*, *ṣvayāṭhu*, *sphurjāṭhu*.

1165. *ṭu*. With this suffix are made a very few nouns.

both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (nase) are *manyú scrath*, *mṛtyú death* (with *t* added to the short final of the root).

b. Adjectives etc. are *druhyú n. pr.*, *bhujyú pinable*, *mucyu* (GB : 17), *ṇundhyú pure*, *yājyu pious*, *sāhyu strong*, *dāsyu enemy*, and, with *vyddhi*-strengthening, *jāyú victorious*.

c. For other derivatives ending in *yu* see the s. *ṣṣu*, below, 1178 b, i.

1166. *ṣ 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*, *ema progress*, *bhāma brightness*, *sārma flow*, *stōma song of praise*.

b. Examples of agent-nouns etc. are: *tigmá sharp*, *bhīmá terrible*, *ṣagmá mighty*, *idhmá fuel*, *yudhmá warrior*. A single instance from a reduplicated root is *tātumá powerful*. *Sarāmá* f, with *a* before the suffix, is of doubtful connection.

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-*derivation. Such are *ajma*, *oma*, *ema*, *arma*, *tókma*, *darmá*, *dharma*, *narmá*, *yāma*, *yugma*, *vema*, *ṣagma*, *sōma*, *sārma*, *hōma*.

1167. *ṣ mi*. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with *mi*, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus from *r-*roots, *armí care*, *-karmí action*, *sūrmí f. tube*; from others, *jāmí relation*, *bhūmí* or *bhūmí f earth*, *lakāmí sign*; also probably *raqmí line, ray*, and the signifier *krúdhmí* (: RV., once).

1168. *ṣ 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 *gupa*-strengthening.

1. a. Examples of regularly formed neuters are *kāрман action*, *jāрман birth*, *nāमान name*, *vāрман track*, *vōqman darling*, *hōमान sacrifice*, *-dyōtman splendor*.

b. Examples of *mān*-nouns abstracta are *omān* favor, *ojumān* strength, *jomān* conquest, *svādmān* sweetness, *homān* impulse.

c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are *brahman* worship and *brahmān* priest, *dāman* gift and *dāmān* giver, *dhārman* rule and *dharmān* orderer, *sādmān* seat and *sādmān* sitter. But *ōmān* friend stands in the contrary relation to *omān* in favor. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except *brahmān*, are of rare occurrence.

d. On the other hand, *joman* and *varṣman* and *svādmān* (and *varimān*) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

e. The noun *ācman* 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 *man* used as infinitives (874) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is *vidmāno*.

g. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus *ūdmān*, *ugmān* or *ugman*, *bhūdmān* earth, *bhūdmān* abundance, *ayūdmān*, *śimān*, *bhujmān*, *vidmān*, *çikman*, *çaçman*, *śiçman*; and *kīrṣman*, *thārman*, *çākman*.

h. Derivatives in *man* from roots with preface are not neuters. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, *prābhāman* forthbringing, *prāyāman* departure, *ānuvartman* following after, the exceptions, *viñman*, *prativartmān*, *viñmān*, 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 *iman* comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns masculine from a considerable number of adjectives.

j. The centers in *iman* and *īman* are primary formations, belonging almost only to the older language: thus, *jāniman*, *dhāriman* (V) *varimān* (beside *varimān*, as noticed above); and *dāriman*, *dhāriman*, *pāriman* (and *pāreman* V. cases), *bhāriman*, *varimān*, *sāriman*, *stāriman*, *sāviman*, and *hāviman*. These in *iman* are hardly met with outside the Rig-Veda.

k. The masculines in *iman* are in the older language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are *taniman* (V), *jarimān*, *prathimān*, *mahimān*, *varimān* (beside the equivalent *vāriman* and *vārimān*), *varṣimān* (beside the equivalent *vārṣman* and *vārṣmān*), *hartimān*, and *draghiman* (VS) beside *draghmān* (VB). Some of these as well as of the derivatives in simple *man*, attach themselves in masculine or in feminine also, to adjectives, to which they seem the accompanying attributes: compare the similar treatment of the primary comparatives and superlatives (above, 408): such are *pāpman* (to *pāpā*, *pāpiyas* etc.), *draghmān* etc. (to *dirghā*, *drāghiyas*, etc.); *vāriman* etc. (to *urū*,

vāriyas, etc.). *prāthiman* (to *prthū*, *prāthiṣṭha*); *harimān* (to *hāri* or *hārita*); *vārṣman* etc. (to *vārṣiyan* etc.); *svādman* etc. (to *svādū*, *svādiyas*, etc.) Then in the Brahmana language are found further examples, thus, *dhutrimān* (TS. A.), *draḡhimān* (MS. K., to *dr̥ghā*, *drāḡhiyas*, etc.), *apimān* (VB; and *āpiman* n. *bū*), *sthēmān*, *sthāviman* (a *big piece*), *taruṣiman* (K.), *paruṣiman* (AB), *abaliman* (Ch.), *lohittiman* (KB); and still later such as *laghiman*, *kṛṣṣiman*, *purṣiman*, *madhuriman*, *ṣoṇiman*, etc., etc.

1169. *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 *ṇ* 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: *yajvan* *offering*, *drūhvan* *harming*, *śākvan* *capable*, *-rikvan* *leaving*, *-jītvān* *conquering*, *sūtvān* *pressing*, *kṣītvān* *striking*, *-gātvan* (like *-gat*, *-gatyā*) *going*, *sātvan* (j. *san*) *warrior*, *neṣṭ pūrvan* *joint*, *dhānvan* *bow*. Irregular, with strengthened root, are *ārvan* *courser*, *-yāvan* (° AV) *driving off*, and with accent on the suffix, *dr̥vān* (° VB) and *vidvān* (° AV).

c. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are, *atitvan* *exceeding*, *upahāsvān* *resister*, *sambhṣṭvan* *collecting*; and perhaps *vivāsvān* *shining*; *abhisatvan* 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 *muṣivān* *robber* and *sanītvān* (see L 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 *eikitvān* (and possibly *vivāsvān*)

e. Action-nouns made with the suffix *van* are only the infinitival words mentioned at 974 — unless *bhurvāṇi* (RV., once) is to be added, as locative of *bhurvān*.

f. The feminines corresponding to adjectives in *van* are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from *vara*, and end in *vāri*, see below, 1171 b

1170. *van* *vana*, *vāni* *vāni*, *vanu* *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 *vagvanā* *talkative*, *satvana* *warrior* (*bestia satvan*, above); and, from a reduplicated root, *çuçukvana* *shining*.

b. With *vani* are made from simple roots *turvāni* *exciting*, and *bhurvāni* *restless*, and, from reduplicated roots, *çuçukvāni* *shining*, *da-dhṛavāni* *daring*, *tuturvāni* *driving after*, and *jugurvāni* *praising*, *arharigvāni* is obscure.

c. With *vanu* is made only *vazvanū* *four hoars*.

1171. *व* *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 *varā* occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines, thus, *itvarā* *going*, *-advāra* *edible*, and so, further, in the older language, *igvarā*, *-jāvara*, *phārvāra*, *bhārvarā*, *bhāsvarā*, *vyadhvarā* (), *-sadvara*, *ethāvarā*, and so. These with them belong *vidvalā*, later, *-kasvara*, *galvara*, *ghasvara* (also *ghasmarā*), *-jītvāra*, *naçvara*, *pivāra*, *madvara*, *-aptvara*, from a reduplicated root, *yāyāvarā* (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, *yā-varī*, *-jītvārī*, *aptvārī*, *-çivārī*, *-yāvārī*, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, *-çiqvārī*.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root, thus, *kārvāra* *deed*, *gāhvara* (later also *gabhvara*) *thicket*, and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult, *urvārā* *field*, and *urvārī* *tree* (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. *वन्त* *ant* (or *वन्त* *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 (*iyant* and *kiyant* (451, 517 a) And *ādrayant* not double-tongued (RV., once), appears to contain a similar formal *n* from the numeral *dvi* — hence we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.

1173. *वाञ्* *vāns* (or *वन्* *vas*). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, 802-3, 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. *varuṣ* like the *v* once, in *jujuruṣ*.

b. The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in *vas*, of doubtful relations: *fbhvas* and *qikvas* *skilful* (beside words in *va* and *van*), and perhaps *khidvas* (*pkhād*). The rarer abstract *vāriyas* *breadth*, *room* (belonging to *urū* *broad*, in the same manner with *vāriyas* and *varimān*) is quite isolated. MBh. makes a nominative *pivān*, as if from *pivāns* instead of *pivan*.

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. *ज्ञान* *ṇa*. The participles ending in *ज्ञान ṇa* are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form *ज्ञान sūna*: 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*, *bhṛgavāna*, *vāsavāna*, *ūrdhvasāna*, apparently made on the model of principal stems. Also the proper nouns *āpnavāna*, *pīthavāna*, and *cyāvāna* and *cyāvatāna*. *Pārçāna abys* is doubtful, *rujāna* (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, 852-3. The participles thus made are in part intransitive, but in great part passive

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 *tr̥ṣṭā* rough, *ṣṭhā* cold, *dr̥ghā* (for *dr̥ghā*, 224 a) firm, *datā* messenger, *vātā* charioteer, *ṛtā* right, *ghṛtā* ghee, *jātā* kind, *dyātā* gambling, *ṛptā* dance, *jivitā* life, *caritā* behavior, *smitā* smile. The adjective *tigītā* (KV.) sharp shows an anomalous reversion of palatal before the *i* (216 d). *Vāvatā* dear is a single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Particles after the example and model of participles from *lāt* and *lā* stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Veda — unless *bhāmīta* KV.), derivatives in *itā* 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 *hīritā* formation in *ed*, as *horned*, *barefooted*, *bluecoated*). Examples are *rathitā* furnished with a chariot, *duḥkhitā* pained, *kusumitā* flowered, *durbalitā* weakened, *nīḥaribhāṣitā* indubitable, etc. etc.

c. A few words ending in *itā* are accounted on the rational syllable and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful. such are *anta* home, *māta* mortal, *vāta* wind, and with them may be mentioned *gāta* high seat, *nāta* night, *hāta* hand. *Vratā* is commonly viewed as containing a suffix *tā*, but it doubtless comes from *vr̥t* (*vr̥t-ā*, like *tr̥ṣṭā*, *vrajā*) and means original course.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in *itā*, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, *palitā* gray, *āsitā* black, *rōhitā* and *lōhitā* red, *hārītā* green, akin with them are *ēta* variegated, *cyetā* white. The feminines of these stems are in part irregular, *tas-*ent and *cyenī*; *rōhīṇī* and *lohini*, and *hārīṇī* (but the corresponding masculine *hārīṇa* also occurs), and *āśiknī*, *pāliknī*, and *hārīknī*.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in *itā* are not to be separated from the participial words in *itā*, although their specific meaning is in part passive. They are *pacatā* cooked, *darṣatā* and *paṣyātā* seen, *to be seen*, *worth seeing*, and so *yajātā*, *haryātā*, *bharātā*. The *y* of *paṣyātā* and *haryātā* illustrates pretty plainly that the *n* also is that of a present tense-stem. *Rajātā* silvery is of more obscure relation to *yraj* color, *pārvata* mountain must be secondary.

1177. न na (and न् na, न् 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*, *ṣuṇā fortunate*, *āṣṇa ravenous*, *śvītṇa white*, *māsc*, *praṇā question*, *yajñā offering*, *ghṛṇā heat*, *vārṇa color*, *svāpṇa sleep*; *deuṣ*, *parṇā wing*, *rātṇa jewel (?)*, *tsṇā 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 car* and *karṇā eared*.

b. The few words ending in *ina* are of doubtful connection, but may be mentioned here, thus, *aminā violent*, *vṛjinā crooked*, *dākṣiṇa right*, *drāvīṇa property*, *druhiṇa*, *-creṣiṇa*, *hariṇā*; and *kanina* may be added.

c. The words ending in *una* are of various meaning and accent, like those in *ana*. They are *ārjuna*, *karūṇa*, *-cotūna*, *tāruṇa*, *daruṇā*, *dharuṇa*, *narūṇa*, *pīṣuṇa*, *mithuṇā*, *yatūna*, *vayūna*, *vāruṇa*, *qalūna*, and the feminine *yamūna*; and *bhruṇā* 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. Ξ *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 vridhied, least often when capable of *guna*; it has the *guna*-strengthening — all without any apparent connection with either accent or meaning or gender. After final radical *a* 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*, *pṛṣṭhū straight*, *pṛthū broad*, *mṛdū soft*, *sādhū good*, *svādū sweet*, *tāpu hot*, *vāsu good*, *jayū conquering*, *dārū burning*; *qayu hungry*, *rēku empty*; *dhayū thirsty*, *payū protecting*. Final *a* appears to be lost before the suffix in *-sthu* (*susṭhū*, *anuṣṭhū*), and perhaps in *yū*, *-gu* (*agregū*), and *-khu* (*akhū*).

c. Examples of nouns are *māsc*, *aṅṣu ray*, *ripū deceiver*, *vayū*

vīndu, *śau* life, *mānu* man, *Mānu*, fem., *īgu* (also masc.) arrow, *vīndhu* (also masc.) river, *tanū* or *tanū* body; *oṃ*, *kṣū* food

d. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: *cikīṭū*, *jagmu*, *jigyū*, *jijāu*, *siṣṇu*, *-tatnu* (unless this is made with *nu* or *tnu*), *didyu* (1) *dadru*, *yāyu* or *yagū* and *yīyu* (with final *a* lost), *pīpru* (per par name), *-dīdhayu*; and *tīṭau*, *babhrū*, *-raru* (*arāru*), *malimū* () have the aspect of being similar formations

e. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, *npāyū* *on-coming*, *pramayū* *going to destruction*, *vikīṇdu* a certain disease, *abhiṣu* *aim (director)* *sāmhvanu* *drawing together*.

f. From *tenso-stem* *ś*, apparently, are made *tanyū* *thundering*, *bhīndu* *spitting*, *-vīndu* *finding*, and (with aoristic *s*) *dākṣu* and *dhākṣu* (all RV.)

g. Participial adjectives in *ū* from desiderative "roots" (some 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, *dīṭau*, *dīpsū*, *cikīṭsū*, *tīṭṣū*, *pīpīṣu*, *mumukṣū*, *īyākṣū*, *ṣīṣīṣṣū*; with prefix, *abhidīpsū*; with anomalous accent, *didṛṣṣu*. 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, *dhārayū* (*persistent*), *bhājayū*, *bhāvayū*, *madhayū*, *mandayū*, *ṣramayū*; and *mṛgayū* from the caus-denom *mṛgaya*

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 Brahmanas, 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 aghayū*, *aratiyū*, *pūyū*, *caranyū*, *manasyū*, *sanīṣyū*, *uruṣyū*, *śaparyū*; or where only the present participle in *yānt*, or the abstract noun in *yā* (1149 d), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns, thus, *tvāyū* (beside *tvāyānt* and *tvāyā*), *yuvayū* or *yuvayū*, *asmayū*, *svayū*, and the more anomalous *ahanyū* and *kīṇyū*. Especially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this has often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix *yū*, either with a meaning of *seeking* or *desiring*, or with a more general adjective sense: thus, *yavayū* *seeking grain*, *varāḥayū* *hoar-hunting*, *śtanasyū* *desiring the breast*; *ūrpayū* *woolen*, *yuvanyū* *youthful*, *bhimayū* *terrible*. And so the "secondary suffix *yū*" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in *ahanyū* and *kīṇyū*, above, and doubtless some others, even of the RV. words). In three RV. cases, the final *a* of a noun-stem is even changed to *o* before it: namely, *āh-hoyū*, *duvoyū* (and *duvōyā*, beside *duvayū*) *āśkrdhoyū*

J. The words in *yu* do not show in the Veda translation into *lu* (except *dhāsiu* AV, once).

1179. Ξ u. Stems in Ξ u are very few, even as compared with those in Ξ i (1156). They are for the most part feminines corresponding to masculines in u 344 b, with half-a-dozen more independent feminines see 355 c.

a. To those already met in and above are to be added *karṣṇi* *piś* -*caid* (in *piśṇacaid*), -*janu* (in *prajanū*), *ṣumbhū*.

1180. Ξ ūka. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction 271 g 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 Pratinipats, of whose language they are a marked characteristic (about sixty different stems occur there), and they are found occasionally in the later languages. 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 Prahmansa language, are *vāduka*, *nāṣuka*, *upakrāmuka*, *prapāduka*, *upasthāyuka* (258), *vyāyuka*, *veduka*, *bhāvuka*, *kṣōdhuka*, *hāruka*, *vārṣuka*, *samārdhuka*, *dāṣuka*, *ālambuka*, *ṣikṣuka* (118: RV. has *ṣikṣā*), *pramāyuka* (16: has *pramāya*).

d. Exceptions as regards root-form are *nirmāṅgurka* (with *vyddhi*-strengthening, as is usual with this root 627), -*kaṣuka*, *ṛdhnuka* (from a *ṛdhn-*stem; beside *ārdhuka*) AV. accents *sāṅkasuka* (118 has *saṅkāsuka*) and *vikasuka*, RV has *sānukā* (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one, AV. has also *ghātuka* from *ghan*, and *āpramāyuka*); *vasuka* (18: et al.) is probably of another character. *Aṣanāyuka* (118 et al.) is the only example noted from a conjugation-stem.

e. Of later occurrence are a few words whose relation to the others is more or less doubtful. *kārmuka* and *dharmuka*, *tearuka*, *tarkuka*, *nānduka*, *paduka*, *pecuka*, *bhikṣuka*, *lāṣuka*, *veduka*, *hipṣuka*, *hṛṣuka*. Of these, only *lāṣuka* appears like a true continuer of the formation; several are pretty clearly secondary derivatives.

f. A formation in *uka* is suffix of like origin, perhaps with *uka* may be mentioned here, namely, *indhuka*, *maṣuka*, and from *ṛdhn-*

planted roots, *jagaruka* *scakeful*, *jañjapuka* (later) *muttering*, *danda-śūka* *biting*, *yāyajūka* *sacrificing much*, *vāvaduka* (later) *tailates*, *salalūka* 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 *pāvakā*, which has a different accent and which, as the metre shows, is really *pavāka*) only *nāyaka* *manee*, AV. adds *piyaka* and *vādhaka*, and VS. *abhihrōṣaka*. But in the later language such derivatives are common, more usually with raising of the root-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus *nayaka*, *dāyaka* (258), *pācaka*, *grāhaka*, *bodhaka*, *jāgaraka*; but also *janaka*, *khanaka*. They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the root-syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of the same root, thus, *bhakṣyabhakṣuka* *eatable and eat-er*, *vācyavācaka* *designated and designation*, and so on.

b. That the derivatives in *aka* sometimes take an accusative case was pointed out above (271 c).

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 *aka* are made from a few roots: thus, *jalpaka*, *bhikṣaka*; but very few occur in the older language: thus, *pavaka* (above a), *nabhāka*, *smayāka*, *jūhāka* (?), *-calāka*, *patākā*. With *aka* is made in RV *mrdayāku*, from the causative stem *prdaya* and the proper name *ikavāku* are of obscure connection.

e. Derivatives in *ika* and *ika* will be treated below, in connection with those in *ka* (1186 c).

1182. **तृ** *tr* or **तर** *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 309 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 271 d.; 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 ūtṛ *plough-or* (no proper agent-noun apparently ūka-tṛ; compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root grah has, as usual, i—thus, grahitṛ; and the same appears in -taritṛ, -pavitṛ, -maritṛ, -varitṛ, -savitṛ. An u-vowel is taken instead by tātṛ and tarutṛ, dhānutṛ, and sānutṛ; long in varutṛ; strengthened to o in manotṛ and manotṛ. From a reduplicated root comes vāvutṛ.

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 a cented 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 manotṛ is an isolated irregularity. Examples are: jātā dhānāni *winning treasures*; yūyām mātān grōtārāṇ ye *listen to a mortal*; kut, on the other hand, yajātā vāsūni vidhatō *bestowing good things on the pious*; and jātā jānānām *conquerer of peoples*.

e. The formation of these nouns is tṛ from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brāhmaras, is met with but once or twice in the Veda (bodhayitṛ and codayitṛ, RV.). In nēṣṭṛ a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the vestige 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: yajitūr athātūr.

h. Apparently formed by a suffix ṛ (or ar) are usṛ, savyasṛ, nānandṛ, devṛ, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in ṛ, see 369.

1183. *ṛ* 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 its 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 *kevalādin*, *bhadravādin*, *nītodin*, *ācāraṣin*, *ānāmin*, *vivādhin*; (from a *locus-ness*, -*aṇuvin*, -*paṇin* (late); with *accrue* *a*, -*anṣin*; and, with reduplication, *nīyayin*, *vadāvin*. 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, *antavādin* *truth speaking*, *abhibhāsin* *addressing*, *manohārin* *enthralling*. In *bhāvin* has established itself a prevarious future meaning *about to be*.

c. The use of an accusative object with words in *in* was noticed above (271 b).

1184. *īyān* and *igān*. 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 468-470.

a. It may be further noted that *jyēṣṭha* has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, *jyēṣṭha* and that its correlative also is *kaniṣṭhā* in the oldest language; *paraṣṭha* is made from a secondary form of root, with *accrue* *a* added.

b. When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form *yas* (470a) 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. *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 *gupa*-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 *lar* (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, *grōtra* ear, *astrā* muscle, *stotrā* song of praise, *potrā* camel; of more general meaning, *dātra* gift, *kṣātra* field, *mūtra* urine, *hotrā* sacrifice. The words accented on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, *kṣātra* authority, *rāṣṭra* kingdom, *gāstra* doctrine, *satirā* sacrificial season (also *jñātra* knowledge).

c. Masculines are: *dāṅṣṭra* tusk, *mātra* prayer, *atṛā* (or *atrā*, 232) devourer, *ūṣṭra* buffalo, camel, and a few of questionable etymology, as *mītrā* friend, *putrā* son, *vṛtrā* foe. *Mītrā* and *vṛtrā* are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and *mitra* comes later to be regularly of that gender.

d. Feminines (in *trā*) are: *śāṣṭrā* goad, *mātrā* measure, *hōtrā* sacrifice (beside *hotrā*) *dāṅṣṭrā* (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, 1182 a). For the words in *itra* have the accent on *i*: thus, *aritra* (*āritra* AV., once) impelling, ear, *khanitra* shovel, *pavitra* sieve, *janitra* birth-place, *śanitra* gift; and so *-avitra*, *aṣitra*, *caritra*, *-taritra*, *dhamitra*, *dhavitra*, *bhevitra*, *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, *kṛtātra* shred, *gāyatrā* (f. *-trī*) song, *-damātra*, *pātātra* wing; but also *āpnātra* violent, *vādhātra* deadly weapon; and *varatrā* f. *strap*. *Tārutra* overcoming corresponds to *tarutṛ*. *Nāṣṭra* adverb is of very doubtful etymology. *Sambhṛtatrā* (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 *trī* and *trū* may be added here, as perhaps of limited formation with those in *tra*: thus, *āttrī* devouring, *arcātrī* beaming, *rātrī* or *rātrī* night, *qātru* (*qātrū* 232) enemy.

1180. *ṛka*. The suffix *ṛka* 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* (p. *mī* fix), *yaska* n. pr. *qūṣka* dry, *qlōka* (p. *qru* hear) noise, report, etc., and *-sphāka* *teeming*; and *stūkā* *shale* and *stokā* *drop* seem to belong together to a root *stu*. *rākā* f., name of a goddess, 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, *vṛṣolka* (*vṛaṣe*) *scorpion*, *āntika* (*ā*) *face*, *dṛṣika* *aspect*, *dṛbhika* *n. pr.*, *mṛḍikā* *grace*, *vṛdhikā* *increaser*, *ācarika* and *vīcarika* *gripes*, *-ṛjika* *beaming*, *ṛjika*, *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. *Ṭ 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*, *tūrā* *strong*, *bhadrā* *pleasing*, *ṣukrā* *mighty*, *ṣukrā* *bright*, *hiṣārā* *injurious*, — with accent on the root, only *gṛdhra* *greedy*, *tūmra* *stout*, *dhīra* *wise* (secondary?), *vīpra* *inspired*, *tūgra* *n. pr.*

b. From roots with preface come only an example or two, thus, *micra* *attentive*, *nīmṛga* *joining on*.

c. Nouns in *ra* are: masc., *ājra* *field*, *virā* *man*, *vājra* *thunderbolt*, *ṣūra* *hero*, neut., *āgra* *point*, *kṣirā* *milk*, *rāndhra* *hollow*, *riprā* *defilement*, fem., *dhārā* *stream*, *ṣīprā* *juice*, *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 *dravara* *running*, *patarā* *flying*, (with prefix) *nyocarā* *suiting*; and the nouns *gambhāra* *depth*, *tāsara* and *trāsara* *shuttle*, *śānara* *gain*, *-ṛkṣara* *thorn*: *bharyarā* 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*, *māṇjāra* *cat*.

e. With *ira* are made a few words, some of which are in common use: thus, *ajirā* *quick*, *khadirā* *a tree*, *timira* *dark*, *dhvāsirā* *stirring up*, *mudirā* *pleasing*, *mudira* *cloud*, *badhira* *deaf*, *rucira* *bright*, *isira*

licely, *śaira nurse*, *sthāvira firm*, and *sthira lord*, and *sphirā fat*, with displacement of final radical *ś*; also *śrirā cure* (usually *śalilā*). With *ira* are made *gabhirā* or *gambhirā profound* and *çāvira mighty*, and perhaps *çāira body*.

f. With *ura* are made a few words, of some of which the secondary character is probable: thus, *añburā* (*añhu-ra?*) *narrow*, *śura* (*śu-ra?*) *living*, *chidura tearing*, *bhaṅgurā breaking*, *bhāśura shining*, *bhidura splitting*, *medura fat*, *yādura uniting*, *vithura tottering*, *vidura knowing*, *vidhura lacking*. With *ura*, apparently, are made *sthūrā stout* (compare *sthāvira*), *kharjūra a tree*, *mayūra peacock* (or imitative?).

1189. ञ *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 *çuklā*, *sthulā*, *-mīçla*, *çithilā*, *śalilā*.

b. Examples of the more independent use are: *palā protecting*, *ānīla* (or *anīla*) *wind* *trpāla joyous*, later *capala* and *tarala* (*sail* to be accented on the final), and *harçula* (the same). Many words ending in *la* are of obscure etymology.

1190. ञ *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 *çkvā prating*, *çāvā lofty*, *takvā quick*, *dhruvā fixed*, *pakvā ripe*, *padvā going*, *yahvā quick(?)*, *çurvā n. pr.* *hrasvā short*, *çikvā artful*, *raçvā joyful*, *urdhvā lofty*, *vākvā twisting*, *urvā stall*, *ēva quick*, *çaurac*, *āçva horse*, *brākvā* or *erkvā corner*, and perhaps *ūlba coul*, a *femulac* is *prūçvā* (TS. *pṛçvā*, AV. *pruçvā*); with uniconsonant are made *śaciva companion*, *āmīva disease*, and *vidhāvā widow*.

b. The words in *va* exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into *ua*.

1191. ञ *ri*. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding *u*, a small number of derivatives.

a. Thus *āṅghri* or *āṅhri foot*, *āçri edge*, *ūçri dawn*, *tandri* or *-dri weariness*, *bhūri abundant*, *vāṅkri rib*, *çūrī patron*, *-takri quick*, *vādhri cunuch*, *çubhri beautiful*, *sthūri angle (team)*, and, with *uri* *jāçuri exhausted*, *dāçuri pious*, *bhaguri n. pr.*, *śāhuri mighty*; *āṅgūri* (or *āṅgūl*) *finger*.

1192. ञ *ru*. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.

a. Thus: *āgru* *tear*, *oāru* *dear*, *dharu* *suckling*, *bharu* *timid* — with preceding a-vowel. *arāru* *inimical*, *patāru* *flying*, *vandāru* *praising*, *piyāru* *scolding*, *ṣarāru* *laughing*, — with preceding e. *tameru* *relaxed*, *maderu* *rejoicing*, *śauēru* *obtaining*, *himeru* *chilly*, the evidently secondary *mitrēru* *ally*, and *peru* (of doubtful meaning).

b. The secondary suffix *lu* (see 1227 b) is apparently added to certain nouns in & from conjugation-stems, making derivatives that have a primary aspect: thus, *patayālu* *flying*, *apṛhayālu* *desiring*.

1103. $\overline{\text{f}}\text{ vi}$. By this suffix are made:

a. Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: *jāgrvi* *awake*, *dādhrvi* *sustaining*, *dīdivi* *shining*; and a very few other words: *ghṛṣvi* *lusty*, *dhruvī* *firm*, *jīvī* *worn out* (AV. elsewhere *jivri*), -*pharvī* is doubtful.

b. Here may be mentioned *eikitrī* (RV, once), apparently made with a suffix *trī* from a reduplicated root-form.

1104. $\overline{\text{f}}\text{ anu}$. 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, *kṣepñu* *perishable*, -*glānu* *sick*, *jignu* *victorious*, *dañkñu* *biting*, *bhūñu* *thriving*, *ni-gatsnu* *sitting down*, *sthānu* *fixed*; with union-vowel i, *kariñu*, *kāciñu*, *keayīñu*, *gam-ñu*, *grasiñu*, *grahiñu*, *carīñu*, -*janīñu*, *jayīñu*, *tapīñu*, -*trapīñu*, -*patiñu*, -*bhaviñu*, *brājiñu*, *madīñu*, -*maviñu*, *yajīñu*, *yāciñu*, -*vadiñu*, *vardhiñu*, -*sahiñu*.

b. From secondary conjugation-stems: *kopayīñu*, *kṣepayīñu*, *cyāvayīñu*, *janayīñu*, *tapayīñu*, *namayīñu*, *patayīñu*, *poṣayīñu*, *parayīñu*, *bodhayīñu*, *mādayīñu*, *yamayīñu*, *ropayīñu*, -*vārayīñu*, -*rocayīñu*; and *jāgarīñu*. An anomalous formation is *ulbañīñu*.

c. These derivatives are freely compounded with prefixes: a *ni-gatanu*, *prajantiñu*, *abhiṣocayīñu*, *sahivārayīñu*.

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 *kraviñu* *craving raw flesh* (*kravis*); and also in *vadhasnu*, *vṛdhasnu* (‘), and *prathasnu* (‘).

1105. $\overline{\text{f}}\text{ ana}$. Extremely few words have this ending

a. It is seen in *tikāṇa* *sharp*, and perhaps in *glakāṇa*, -*rukāṇa*, -*mārtana*; and in *geṇa* and *deṇa* (usually trisyllabic, *dalāṇa*) *gift*. (In case in the last, it is not found preceded by i; but it has (like *anu* above) a *b* before it in *vadhasāṇa* *deadly weapon*, *karāṇa* *fore-arm*; *na-dīṇa* *skilled* seems to be secondary. Feminines are *mṛtāṇa* *woman*, *hyot-āṇa* *moonlight*.)

1198. $\overline{\text{तु}}$ *tnu*. This suffix is used in nearly the same way with $\overline{\text{अनु}}$ *anu* (above, 1194).

a. As used with simple roots, the *t* is generally capable of being considered the adscriptious *t* after a short root-final, to which *nu* is then added: *ātna*, *kṛtnū* *artise*, *gāttnū* (? *KV*), *hāttnū* *dearly*, *-tatnu* (?) *stretching*, and, from reduplicated roots, *jigattnū* *hasting*, and *jighattnū* *harming*; but also *darttnū* *bursting*. Also, with union-vowel, *dravittnū* *running*, *dayittnu* (? *LCS*).

b. With causative stems for example, *drāvayittnū* *hasting*, *poṣayittnū* *nourishing*, *mādayittnū* *intoxicating*, *tanayittnū* and *stanayittnū* *thunder*, *sūdayittnū* *flowing*, *-amayittnū* *sickening*.

c. With preceding *a*, in *piyattnū* *scoffing*, *mehattnū* *a river*, *a-rujattnū* *breaking into*; and *kavattnū* *maulerly* (obscure derivation).

1197. $\overline{\text{सा}}$ *sa*. The words ending in suffixal $\overline{\text{सा}}$ *sa*, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. Thus:

a. With *sa* simply *gṛtsa* *clever*, *joṣā* *winning* (rather, *acrobatic* a? 1148 j), *-dṛkṣa* *looking*, *rukṣā* *shining*, *rūkṣā* *rough*, *ūtsa* n. *fountain*; *bhīṣā* f. *fear* (or from the secondary root *bhīṣ*).

b. With preceding i-vowel: *taviṣā* (f. *tāviṣā*) *strong*, *mahiṣā* (f. *māhiṣā*) *mighty*, *bhariṣā* (?) *seeking booty*; *ṛjīṣā* *ruddish*, *pūriṣa* *rubbiṣh*, *manīṣā* f. *devotion*; and compare *rayiṣin* (? *SV*).

c. With preceding u-vowel: *aruṣā* (f. *āruṣā*) *red*, *aṣūṣa* *ravenous*, *tāruṣa* *overcome*, *pūruṣa* and *mānuṣa* (-us-a? *man*; *piyūṣa* *distilling*).

1196. $\overline{\text{आसी}}$ *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, *ataśi* *ragaband*, *dharmāśi* *firm*, *sānāśi* *winning*, and *dhāśi* m. *drunk*, f. *station*, *sarāśi* (?) *pool*.

1199. $\overline{\text{अभा}}$ *abha*. A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

a. Thus, *vṛṣabhā* and *ṛṣabhā* *bull*, *ṣarabhā* a certain fabulous animal, *ṣerabhā* a certain snake, *gāradabhā* and *rāsabhā* *ass*; further, *kanabhā*, *karabhā* and *kalabhā*, *laṭabhā*, *ṣalabhā*; and, with other union-vowels, *tupdibha*, *nupdibha*, and *kukkubha*. The feminine, if occurring, is in *i*; and *kaṭabhā* is found without corresponding masculine. AV has the adjective *sthūlabhā*, equivalent to *sthūlā*.

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 363 k 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: *anḍa* in *karandḍa* and *vāraṇḍa* and certain unquotable words (praktized *a*-forms from the present participle), *era* or *ora* in unquotable words, and *elima* (stove, 968 d perhaps a further derivative with secondary *ima* from *era*), *mara* (*ma* or *man* with secondary *ra* added) in *ghammara*, *symarā*, 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*, *paratstva*, *sahatva*, *sārvatrika*, *śikadhya*, *māmaka*, *amuṣmika*, *amuṣyāyana*, *apsamānt*, *apsavyā*, *kiṁcanya*, *kiṁkartavyatā*, *kvācitra*, *nāstika*, *akimcīmaya*.

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 *gūḥya*-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* (*vivaśvant*).

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*, *bhārgātva*, *prapitvā*, *bhārativant*, *rakṣāvant*, *priyāvant*. On the other hand, a final long vowel — *ī*, much more rarely *ā* — generally *y* of a feminine stem, is sometimes shortened in derivation: thus, *yājyāvant*, *praçākhavant*, *goçātama*, *vaçātama*, *sadhanitvā*, *jaratukā*, *anna-*

dītamā (cf. 471 b), rohiṇitvā (TR; -ṇitvā १B), prthivitvā, pratīpatnivat, sārāvatīvant.

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 *īya* (1215 c), *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).

1201. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the *vyddhi*-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, āqvīnā (āqvīn), sāumyā (sōma), pāṛthivā (prthivī), āmitrā (amitra), sāmrajya (samraj), sākṛtya (sukṛtā), mātṛāvaruṇā (mītrāvaruṇā), uccāḥṣravasā (uccāḥṣravas). 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 *vyddhi*ed, as if it were *i* or *u*, and the resulting *ai* or *au* 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, nālyāyika from *nyāya* (as if *niyāya*), vālyaqvā from *vyāqva* (as if *viyāqva*), sāvūvaqva from *svāqva* (as if *suvaqva*), but it occurs also in other cases, as sāuvarā from *svāra*, ṣāuva from *ṣvan*, against *svāyambhuva* (svayambhū), and so on. AV. has irregularly kāverakā from *kūvera* (as if from *kvēra*, without the euphonic *v* inserted).

d. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes *a* and *ya*; also regularly before *i*, āyana, oya (with *inoya*), and later *īya*; 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. *indrādāivatya* having *Indra* as divinity (instead of *āindradovatya*), *caramaṇairṣika* with *head* to the west, *jīvalāukika* belonging to the world of the living, *antarbhāuma* within the earth, *comārāndra*, *gurulāghava* (cf. *tāmasaḥ guṇalakṣaṇam* M. xii. 36). Not especially when the first word is of numeral value — as *śatāṣṭarāda* of a hundred years, *pañcaṣṭaradiya*, *trīsāṭhvatsara*, *bahuvārṣika*, *aṣṭavārṣika*, *anekavarṣasāhasra*, *daśasāhasra*, *trīsāhasri*, *tripāuṣa*, *caturādhyayi* or *yikā* of four chapters, etc. etc.

f. More often, both members of a compound word have the initial strengthening e. g. *śhumāpāuṣṣā*, *kāsurapāñcāla*, *cāturvāidyā*, *āhalāukika*, *āikabdhātika*, *traiśubjāgata*, *yājñervaidika*. Such cases are not rare.

g. The gūṇa-strengthening (except of a final u-vowel 1203 a) is only in the rarest cases an accompaniment of secondary derivation. Exceptions are *dvayā* and *trayā* and *nāva* (1209 i), *bhogaṇā* and *deva* (1209 j), *drōṇa* (1223 g), *gekhara* (1228 a).

1205. Accent. a. The derivatives with initial *vrddhi*-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 *aya*: 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 *vrddhi*); and in a single case (ā. 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 masculine and feminine 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 *atā* and *tvā*, 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	mayā	1225	tva, tvatā	1239
ya	1210-13	ra, ira, etc	1226	tvana	1240
iya	1214	la, lu	1227	tara, tama	1242
iya	1215	ra, vala, vaya,		ra, ma	"
eya, eyya	1216	vya	1228	tha	"
enya	1217	ça	1229	titha	"
āya	1218	in	1230	taya	1245
āyana	1219	min	1231	tya	"
āyi	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. **ṛ 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 *vṛddhi*-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, āyasa of metal (āyas), mānasa relating to the mind (manas), saumanaśa friskiness (sumānaś), brāhmanā priest (brāhman), haimavatā from the Himalaya (himāvant), āṅgiraśa of the Angiras family (āṅgiras); hāstina elephantine (hastin), māruta pertaining to the Maruts (marūt); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, çaradā autumnal, vāirāja relating to the virāj, pāuṣpā belonging to Pushpa; çairikṣitā son of Çirikṣit, — with accent unchanged, mānuṣa descendant of Mānu.

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-

names loses its *a*, as in *pāṣṣṇā*, *trāivṛṣṇā*, *daṣarajñā*; and sometimes its *n*, as in *brāhmā*, *aukṣā*, *bārhaṣama*.

d. From primitives in *ṛ*. *jāitra* victorious (*jetṣ* or *jētṣ* conqueror), *tvāṣṭrā* relating to *Tvāṣṭar*, *savitṛā* descendant of the sun (*savitṛ*), *sūdbhotra*, *pattra*.

e. From primitives in *u*: usually with *guṇa*-strengthening of the *u* as *vasavā* relating to the *Vāc*s, *Artavā* concerning the seasons (*ṛtu*), *dānavā* child of *Indu* (*dānu*), *sāindhavā* from the *Indu* (*sīndhu*) — but sometimes without, as *mādhva* full of sweets (*mādhū*), *pārṣvā* side (*pārṣu* rib), *pāidvā* belonging to *Pedū*, *tāva* of the body (*tarū*, *yadvā* of *Yidu*).

f. From primitives in *i* and *ī*, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix *pārthiva* earthily (*pṛthivī*), *sarasvatā* of the *Sarasvatī*, *sindragṇā* belonging to *Indra* and *Agni* (*indrāgni*); *pāṅkta* fire-fall (*pāṅktī*), *nāirṛtā* belonging to *Nirrtī*, *parthuraçmā* of *Pṛthuraçm*, *pāçupatā* of *Iacupa*’s.

g. From primitives in *ā*, which in like manner disappears *yāmurā* of the *Yamūnā*, *saragḥā* honey et. (*saragḥā* bee), *kāninā* natural child (*kaninā* 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, *amitrā* inimical (*amitra* enemy), *vāruṣā* of *Vāruṇa*, *viçvadevā* belonging to all the gods (*viçvadeva*), *nāirhastā* handlessness (*nirhastā*), *vālyaçvā* descendant of *Yāçva*; *gārdabha* ass (ass), *gārdabhā* (ass), *dāiva* divine (*devā*), *mādhyaṁdīna* meridional (*madhyāṁdīna*), *pāutra* grandchild (*putrā* son), *sāubhaga* good fortune (*subhaga*), *vādhryaçvā* of *Vadhryaçva*’s race, with unchanged accent (comparatively few), *vāsantā* vernal (*vasantā* spring), *māitrā* *Mitra*’s, *ātithigrā* of *Atithigra*’s race, *dāivodasa* *Dirodasa*’s. In a few instances *ya* is replaced by the suffix: thus, *sāura*, *pauçā*, *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 332 a).

1209. The derivatives made by adding *ḥ* *a* without *vrddhi*-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 icater*), *-pa*, *-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*, *nicā*, *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, *tamaśā*, *rajaśā*, *payasā*, *brahmayaracasā*, *sarvavedasā*, *devāinasā*, *paruṣā*, *tryāyuṣa*, 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*, *cvāntā* (?), *vasantā* *spring*, *hemantā* *winter*, *veçantā* etc. *tank*, *jivantī* a certain healing plant; and others occur later, as *jayanta*, *taranta*, *mādhumanta*, 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*, *āpaka*, *upāka*, *prātika*, *parākā*, etc.

f. From stems in *r*, *hotrā*, *netrā*, *neṣṭrā*, *potrā*, *praçastrā*, etc., from titles of priests; also *dhātrā*, *bhrātrā*, etc.

g. Other scattering cases are, *savidyutā*, *avyuṣā*, *virudha*, *kākuda*, *kakubhā*, *açūṣa*, *bhūmyā*, *sakhyā*, *āhipatya*, *jaspatyā*, *araṭvā*, *pāṇḍvā*.

h. The Vedic geruntives in *tva* (*tua*), made by addition of *a* to abstract noun-stems in *tu*, have been already (888 a) fully given.

i. *Trayā* and *divayā* come with *gūṇa*-strengthening from numeral stems; *nāva* *now* in like manner from *nū* *now*; and *āntara* apparently from *antār*.

j. *Bheṣajā* *medicine* is from *bhiṣaj* *healer*, with *gūṇa*-change; and probably *devā* *heavenly*, *divine*, *god*, in like manner from *div* *sky*, *heaven* (there is no "root *div* shine" in the language).

1210. *ṛ 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—*īya*, *īya*, *eya*, *āyya*, *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 disyllabic in

metrical value, or is to be read as *ia*. Thus, in RV. 256 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 185 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 *ia*—being, as is pointed out below 1212, 1, 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 *vrddhi*-increment of the initial syllable.

a. Adjectives in *ya*, of both these divisions, make their feminine regularly in *yā*. But in a number of cases, a feminine in *i* is made either alone or beside one in *yā*: e. g. *ośturmāsi*, *āgniveṣi*, *ṣāṇḍāli*, *ārī* (and *āryā*), *dāivī* (and *dāivyā*), *sāumī* (and *sāumyā*); *dhīrī*, *ṣīrṣāṇī*, *svarī*, etc.

1211. Derivatives in *ya* with initial *vrddhi*-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in *ya* 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 (grivā), *ārtivīja* priestly office (rtivī), *gārhapatya* householder's (gṛhāpati), *jānarāja* kingship (janarāj), *sāṃgrāmajitya* victory in battle (sāṃgrāmajit), *sāuvāqvyā* wealth in horses (evāqva), *śūpadraṣṭrya* ugliness (upa-draṣṭf); *ādityā* *āditya* (āditi), *sāumyā* relating to soma, *atithyā* hospitality (ātithi), *prajāpatyā* belonging to Prajāpati, *vaimannasyā* mindlessness (vīmanas), *sāhadavya* descendant of Sāhadeva;—with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, *laukyā* of the world (lokā), *kāvyā* of the Kāvī-race, *ārtvyā* descendant of Ritū, *vāyavyā* belonging to the wind (vayū), *rāivatyā* wealth (revant);—with unchanged accent (very few), *ādhipatyā* lordship (ādhipati), *śrāṣṭhyā* excellence (śrēṣṭha), *vāṣṭya* belonging to the third caste (vīṣ people), *pāṃshya* mudiness (pūṃsa).

b. The AV. has once *nāirbādhyā*, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through *nāirbādha*; *vāigṇavyāu* (VS. I. 12) appears to be dual fem. of *vāigṇavī*.

1212. Derivatives in *ya* without initial *vrddhi*-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* *ā*; 4. Words with circumflexed *yā* *ā*. 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. *ācya* equine (*ācva*), *ānya* of the limbs (*ānga*), *mūkha* of the foremost (*mūkha* mouth), *āya* ovine (*āvi*), *gāya* horne (*gō*), *vīcya* of the people (*vīc*), *dūya* of the door (*dūr*), *nāya* manly (*nā*), *vīcya* virile (*vīcān*), *avarāya* anterracy (*avarā*), *svavira* wealth in *svavira* (*svavira*), *vīcāyanya* of all men, *vīcādevya* of all the gods (*vīcādeva*), *mayāraṇya* peacock-tailed.

c. In the last words, and in a few others, the *ya* appears to be used (like *ka*, 1222 h. cf. 1212 m) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound, and so further *subastya* (beside the equivalent *subāsta*), *mādhubastya*, *dācamāya*, *micrādhāya*, *anyōdarya*, *samānodarya*.

2. d. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with *vrddhi*-increment) are. *kāṇṭhya* guttural (*kāṇṭhā*), *akāṇḍhya* humeral (*akāṇḍhā*), *vrātya* of a ceremony (*vrātā*), *meghya* in the clouds (*meghā*), *pītrya* of the Fathers (*pītṛ*), *prātijanya* utterer (*prātijānā*). *Hiraṇyāya* of gold (*hiraṇya*), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward and in retaining the final *a* of the primitive; and *gavyāya* and *avyāya* (also *āvyaya*) are to be compared with it as to formation.

3. e. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are. *divyā* heavenly (*dīv*), *satyā* true (*sānt*), *vyāghryā* tigrine (*vyāghrā*), *kavyā* verse (*kavī*), *grāmyā* of the village (*grāma*), *somyā* relating to the soma, *anēnasyā* amleanness (*anēnās*), *adakṣinya* not fit for *dukṣiṇā*.

4. f. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed *ya* (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:

g. From CONSONANT-STEMS: *viçyâ* of the clan (RV. *viç*), *hṛdyâ* of the heart (*hṛd*), *vidyatyâ* of the lightning (*vidyûti*), *rājanyâ* of the royal class (*rājan*), *doganyâ* of the arm (*dogān*), *çirṣanyâ* of the head (*çirṣān*), *karmanyâ* action (*kārman*), *dhanvanyâ* of the plain (*dhanvan*), *naṇasyâ* reverend (*nāmas*), *tvacasyâ* cuticular (*tvācas*) *barhiçyâ* of barhis, *āyusyâ* giving life (*āyus*), *bhasadyâ* of the butter, (*bhañd*), *prāçyâ* eastern (*prāñe*), etc. Of exceptional formation is *aryamyâ* intimate (*aryamān*), with which doubtless belong *sātimyâ* (*sātiman*) and *sākṣyâ* (*sākṣin*).

h. From u-stems: *hanavyâ* of the jaws (*hānu*), *vāyavyâ* belonging to Vīryi, *paçavyâ* relating to cattle (*paçû*), *içavyâ* relating to arrows (*içu*), *madhavyâ* of the mead (*mādhu*), *apsavyâ* of the waters (*apsu*), *rajavyâ* of rope (*rājju*); *çaravyâ* of arrow (*çāru*, *çar*); and there may be added *nāvyyâ* navigable (especially in fem., *nāvyyâ* navigable stem, *nāu* boat). The RV. has *prāçavyâ* to be partaken of (*pra* + *ç* *aç*) without any corresponding noun *prāçu*; and also *ūrjavyâ* rich in nourishment (*ūrj*), without any intermediate *ūrju*.

i. Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (364), the so-called gerundives in *tavyâ*, as made by the addition of *yâ* to the infinitive form in *tu*. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later *tavya* was the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous verbal derivatives.

j. From i- and ī-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. 18 L. *duṇḍubhyâ* from *duṇḍubhī*.

k. From a-stems: *svargyâ* heavenly (*svargā*), *dovatyâ* relating to a deity (*devātā*), *prapathyâ* guiding (*prapathā*), *budhnyâ* furrow mental (*budhnā*), *jaghanyâ* hindmost (*jaghāna*), *varupyâ* Varuna's, *viryyâ* might (*virā*), *udaryâ* abdominal (*udara*), *utasyâ* of the union (*ūtsa*); and from ā-stems, *urvaryâ* of cultivated land (*urvārā*), *svāhyâ* relating to the exclamation *svāhā*.

l. The circumflexed *yâ* is more generally resolved (into *īa*) 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 *īa* in more than three quarters of the examples.

m. There are a few cases in which *yâ* appears to be used to help make a compound with governing preposition (next chapter, 1310 et 1212 c) thus, *apikakṣyâ* about the arm-pit, *upapakṣyâ* upon the neck, *udāpyâ* up-streams, and perhaps *upatṛṇyâ* lying in the grass (occurs only in *v* c). If *i*, with other accent, *ānvāstryâ* through the entrance, *ūpamāsyâ* in each month, *abhinabhyâ* up to the close, *antahpāṇçavyâ* between the ribs, *kḍhigartyâ* on the chariot seat, of unknown accent, *adhihaastyâ*, *anuprāthyâ*, *anunsaikyâ*, *anuvāṇçyâ*.

1213. The derivatives in *īyâ* as to which it may be

questioned whether they are not, at 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, §63) comes to be practically a primary one.

a. In RV occur about fifty instances of gerundives in *ya*, of tolerably accented form: the root usually unstrengthened (but *cētya*, *bhāvya*, *-hāvya*, *mārjya*, *yódhya*; also *-mādya*, *-vācya*, *bhāvya*); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple or compounded with prepositions: thus, *praçānya*, *upasādyā*, *vihāvya* (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, *anāpyā*, *anapavṛjyā*) — exceptions are only *bhāvya* and the doubtful *akāryā*, the *ya* resolved into *ia* in the very great majority of occurrences, a final short vowel followed by *t* (in *-itya*, *-kṛtya*, *-çrūtya*, *-stūtya*, and the reduplicated *carkṛtya*, beside *carkṛti*, not in *nāvya* and *-hāvya*), and *ā* changed to *e* (in *-deya* 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 *bhāvya* (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, *ādya* *entable*, *kāryā* *to be done*, *saṁāpyā* *to be obtained*, *atitāryā* *to be overpassed*, *nivibhāryā* *to be carried in the opan*, *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* (§16 h).

c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence number abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition. (In AV. only *cītya* and *atēya* as simple), and are often used in the dative after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: *brahmayjēya*, *vasudēya*, *bhāgadhōya*, *pūrvapēya*, *çatasēya*, *abhibhūya*, *devahūya*, *mantraçrūtya*, *karmakṛtya*, *vṛtratūrya*, *hoṭpūrya*, *shihātya*, *sattvasādyā*, *çirga-bhīdyā*, *brahmacārya*, *apṛāhya*. Of exceptional form are *çrūtōdyā* (*ṛvad* and *sahaççīrya* (*ççī*); of exceptional accent, *sadhāstūtya*. And AV. has one example *raṇya* with encliticized final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a smaller class of feminines in *yā*. thus, *kṛtyā*, *vidyā*, *ityā*, *agnicītyā*, *vajajityā*, *muçāhatyā*, *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

(as *sūryā*), *ājya*, *pūya*, *nūbhya*; *yujya*, *gḍhya*, *īrya*, *arya* and *ārya*, *mārya*, *mādhya*.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with *ya* may best be next taken up.

1214. *ṛya*. 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 *ya* would create a combination of difficult utterance. It has the same variety of accent with *ya*. Thus:

a. With accent *īya* (= *īa* or *īā*) for example, *abhrīya* (also *abn-riyā*) from the clouds (*abhrā*), *kṣatriya* having authority (*kṣatra*), *yajñīya* reverend (*yajñā*), *hotriya* libational (*hōtrā*), *amitriya* inimical (*amitra*).

b. With accent *iyā* (= *īā* or *yā*) for example, *āgriyā* (also *agriya*) foremost (*āgra*), *indriyā* Indra's (later, sense *indra*), *kṣetriyā* of the field (*kṣetra*).

c. With accent on the primitive. *grōtriya* learned (*grōtra*), *ṛtvīya* (also *ṛtvīya*) in season (*ṛtū*).

1215. *īya*. This suffix also is apparently by origin a *ya* (in 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 *ājīkiya* and *gṛhama-dhiya*, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. *parvatīya* mountainous (AV.), beside RV. *parvatyā*). In the Brahmanas are found a number of adjectives, some of them from phrases (first words of verses and the like) thus, *anyarāṣṭriya*, *pañcavāṭiya*, *mārjāliya*, *kayā-cubhiya*, *svādugāliya*, *apohiṣṭhiya*, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (965) that derivative adjectives in *īya* from action-nouns in *ana* begin in later Veda and in Brahmanas to be used generally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language. But adjectives in *āniya* without gerundive character are also common.

c. Derivatives in *īya* with initial *vṛddhi* are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. *pārvatiya*, *pāitāputriya*, *āparapakṣiya*, *vāirakiya*.

d. The pronominal possessives *madiya* etc. (518 a) do not occur either in Veda or in Brahmanas, but the ordinals *dvitīya* etc. (467 b, c with fractional *tṛtiya* and *tūriya* 488 a) are found from the earliest period.

e. The possessives *bhagavadiya* and *bhavadīya*, with the final of the primitive made sonant, have probably had their form determined by the pronominal possessives in *-diya*.

1216. *या* *eya*. With this suffix, accompanied by *vyddhi*-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. *Āraṇḍha* and *āṇḍya* descendant of a sage (*ṣai*), *jāṇacruteya* son of *Janacruti*, *sārameya* of *Sarima*'s race, *ṣāṭavaneya* *ṣāṭavani*'s descendant, *rāthajiteya* son of *Rathajit*; *āsanya* of the blood (*asān*), *vāsteya* of the bladder (*vasti*), *pāruṣeya* coming from man (*pāruṣa*), *pāitṛya* of a paternal aunt (*pitrvaṣṭ*), 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 penultimate *i*, though afterward used independently.

c. The gerundive etc. derivatives in *ya* (above, 1213) from *A*-roots end in *eya*; and, besides such, RV. etc. have *anbhēya* from *sambhā*, and *didṛkṣeya* worth seeing, apparently from the desiderative noun *didṛkṣā*, after their analogy. M. has once *adhyeya* as gerund of *ji*.

d. Derivatives in the so-called suffix *ineya* — as *bhaginēya*, *jyāṣṭhineya*, *kāṣṭhineya* — are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in *-ini* (fem.).

e. In *eyya* (i. e. *eyia*) end, besides the neuter abstract *sahāṇḍeya* (above, 1213c), the adjective of gerundival meaning *stugeya* (with *st-* added to the root), and *ṣapathēya* *curse-bringing* (or *accursed*), from *ṣapātha*.

1217. *या* *onya*. This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition *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 *anya* (above, 1215b), as making gerundival adjectives

a. The *y* of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in *vāreṇya*) on the *e*: thus, *-ēnia*.

b. The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (988b, 1019b, 1038). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, *vīreṇya* *manly* (*virā*), and *kīrtēya* *famous* (*kīrti*), and TS. has *anabhiṣantēya* (*abhiṣanti*); *vijēya* (RV) is a word of doubtful connection; *ṣikṣēya* *instructive* is found in a *Sūtra*; *prāvṛṣēya* of the rainy season occurs later.

1218. **अय्या** *āya*. With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives almost only in RV. They have been noticed above 806 c. The ending is everywhere to be read *āya*.

a. A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur; thus, *bahupāyā* *protecting many*, *nṛpāyā* *men-guarding*; *kundapāyā*, and *purumāyā* proper names; *pūrvapāyā* *first drink*; *mahāyāyā* *enjoyment*; — and *rasāyā* *nervous*, and *uttamāyā* *excellent* contain no verbal root. *Alāyā* is doubtful; also *ākāyā*, which as accent refers to a different formation, along with *prahāyā* (AV. *phā* *messenger*, and *pravāyā* (AV.), of doubtful value.

1219. **आयाना** *āyana*. In the Brāhmanas and later, patronymics made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in *ā*, and have *vrddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

a. In RV., the only example of this formation is *kārvāyana* (*trō kāva*); AV. has in metrical parts *dākāyana* and the (*son* *rāmāya*) and *ānuṣyāyana* *son of so-and-so* (B16) in its proto; (B. has *raja-stambāyana* beside *-bāyana*). The RV. name *ukāpyāyana* is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. **आयि** *āyi*. Only a very few words are made with the suffix, namely *agnāyi* (*agni*) *Agni's wife* *vr̥ṣākāpāyi* (*vr̥ṣa*) *Kāpi*; and later *putakratāyi* and *manāyi* *Manu's wife* (but *manāvi* (B).

a. They seem to be feminines of a derivative *a* made with *vrddhi*-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 *vrddhi*-strengthening.

a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronymics in *i*: for example *āgniveṣi*, *pārukatēṣi*, *prātardanti*, *sāhvarāṇi*; AV. has but one, *prāhrādi*; in the Brāhmanas they are more common; thus, in AB., *anuyavanti*, *jānātāpi*, *arūṇi*, *jānaki*, etc. A single word of other value — *sārāthi* *charioteer* (*sarātham*) — is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix *aki* — as *vaiśyāsaki* *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 (1222f).

c. RV. has *tāpusi*, apparently from *tāpus* with a secondary *i* added, and the n. pr. *quoanti*; *bhuvanti* is found in B., and *jivanti* later.

1222. **इका** *ika*. 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 finale 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*, *bāhika* (*bāhi*) of *Baikh*, *andika* (*andā*) *egg-bearing*, *sūcika* (*sūci*) *stinging*, *urvārukā* *fruit of the gourd* (*urvārū*), *paryāyikā* (*paryāyā*) *serpentic*, from numerals, *ekakā*, *dvakā*, *trikā*, *aṣṭakā*; *īrtiyakā* of the *third day*, from prepositional stems, *asamūka* *ours*, *yusamūka* *yours*, *māmaka* *mine* (516b) from prepositions, *āntika* *near*, *ānuka* *following*, *āvakā* a *plant* (later *adbhika*, *utka*), and, with accent extracted to the initial syllable (besides *āṣṭakā* and *īrtiyakā*, already given), *rūpaka* (*rūpā*) *with form*, *bābhruka* (*bābhrū broken*) a *certain lizard*. *Bhāvatka* *your worship* has an anomalous initial *vyddhi*.

d. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: *aṣṭakā* *nag*, *kaninaka* and *kumārakā* *boy*, *kaninakā* or *kaninikā* *girl*, *pādukā* *little foot*, *putrakā* *little son*, *rājakā* *princeling*, *śakuntakā* *birdling*. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from problematical stems, see above, 521; other examples are *anyakā* (KV), *ālakam* (LV, 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, *āntaka* *home*, *nācika* *musical*, *māṇṭika* *dry*, *avikā* *raw*, *igukā* *error*, *durakā* *distant*, *śarvaka* *ail*, *dhenukā* (*dhenū*) *cow*, *nāgnaka* (*nagnā*) *naked*, *bāddhaka* (*baddha*) *captured*, *abhinnataraka* *by no means different*, *anastamitaka* *before*

small, *vamrakā ant*, *arbhakā small*, *çiqukā young*, *apiyaska* *jumping*, *ejatkā trembling*, *abhimādyatkā intaricated*, *patayiqukā flying*. Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable, from almost any primitive noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in *ka* or *kā* (according to the gender).

g. From compound primitives: *evalpakā very small*, *vīmanyuka* *removing scratch*, *vikṣipatkā destroying*, *pravartamānakā moving forward*, *vikṣipakā destroyed*.

h. In the Brahmanas and later, *ka* is often added to a primitive adjective compound (1307), sometimes redundantly, but usually to order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, *anaksika* *childless*, *atvāka* *childless*, *aretāka* *without seed*, *vyasthaka* *boneless*, *saçiranka* *along with the head*, *ekagāyatrika* *containing a single gāyatri-verse*, *grhitāvasativarika* *one who has taken yesterday's water*, *saçatnika* *with his spouse*, *bahubastika* *having many elephants*, *sadikṣopasatka* *with dikṣa and upasād*, *āhitasamitka* *with his fuel laid on*, *abhinavayaska* *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 or other 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 *vrddhi*-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless originally made by addition of *ka* to a final *i*; a though coming to be used independently.

k. Of *vrddhi*-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, *avaçyaka* *necessary*; *vārdhaka* *old age*, *raṇayaka* *delightfulness*.

l. Of *vrddhi*-derivatives in *ika*, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: *vāsantika* *vernal*, *vṛṣṭika* *of the rainy season*, *hāimantika* *winter* (more of them in RV.); AV. has *kāirātikā* *of the Kīratas*, apparent too to a mass, *kāirātaka*, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: *vāldika* *relating to the Vedas*, *dhārmika* *religious*, *āhnikā* *daily*, *vaiṇayika* *well-behaved*, *dāuvārika* *doorkeeper*, *nāyāyika* *cerned in the Nyaya*.

m. Before the suffix *ka*, some finals show a form which is characteristic of external rather than internal combination. A final consonant mute of course, becomes surd, and an aspirate loses its aspiration (117a, 114) *et. -upasatka*, *-samitka*, above, h. So also a palatal becomes guttural (as before *t* etc. 217) *e. g. -rukka*, *-rukka*, *-tvakka*, *-arṇka*. A *s* remains after *ā*, and becomes *ṣ* after an alternate vowel (180) *e. g. -sadyaska*, *-jyotiṣka*, *-dirghāyuska*. But the other sibilants take the form

they would have in composition: thus, adikka (diq), gaṭka, -viṭka, -tviṭka (gaṣ etc). Anāqirka (TS: āqis) is anomalous, and so is parutka (Apist) if it comes from parua.

1223. Several suffixes, partly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a \tilde{n} as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here

a. A few derivatives in āna in RV were given above (1175a)

b. With āni (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a small number of words, chiefly wife-names: thus, indrāni, varuṇāni (these, with uṇnārāni, purukūtsāni, mudgalāni, ūrjāni, are found in RV), rudrāni, mātulāni *maternal uncle's wife*, çarvāni, bhavāni, iṇanāni, çakrāni, upādhyāyāni, mṛdāni, brahmāni; and yavāni.

c. The feminine in ni and kni from masculine stems in ta have been already noticed above (1176d). From pāti *master, husband* the feminine is pāni, both as independent word, *spouse*, and as final of an adjective compound: thus, devāpatni *having a god for husband*, sindhupatni *having the Indus as master*. And the feminine of paruṣā *rough* is in the older language sometimes pāruṣāni.

d. With ina are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final āho (407 ff), they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents. For example, apācina, nicina, prācina, arvācina and arvācinā, pratricina and pratricinā, samīcina. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later, examples are saṁvatsarīṇa *yearly*, pravṛṣṭīṇa *of the rainy season*, viçvajanīna *of all people*, jñātakulīna *of known family*, adhvanīna *traveller (ādhvan way)*, āçvīna *days journey on horseback (āçva horse)*. RV. has once mākina *mine*.

e. With ena is made samidhenā (s. -ni), 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 qūraṇa *heroic* (?), phalguṇa, çmaçruṇā, dadruṇa, and, with vṛddhi-strengthening, strāṇa *woman's* (its correlative, pāmūṇa occurs late) and çyāutnā *inciting*. If drōṇa comes from dru *wood* it has the anomaly of a guṇa-strengthening.

1224. Certain suffixes containing a \tilde{n} m may be similarly grouped.

a. With ima are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in tra: thus, khañitrima *made by digging*, kṣtrima *artificial*, dattrima, paktrima, putrima; in other stems, kuṣṭrima, gaṇima, talima, tulima, pākima, udgārima, vyāyogima, saṁvyūhima, nirvedhima, saṁgima, all late. In açrīma (RV.) *foremost* the ima has perhaps the ordinal value.

b. The uses of simple ma in forming superlatives (474) and ordinals (487d, e) have been already noticed, and the words thus made specified.

c. A few newer abstracts end in *mā*, thus, *dyumnā brightness*, *nymanā mendacious*; and, from particles, *nimnā depth* and *suprā welfare*. The suffix comes perhaps from *man* with an added *a*.

d. For the words showing a dual *man*, see below, 1231.

1225. *मा* *mā*. 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 *mā*, and the feminine is regularly and usually in *māyī*. In the oldest language (V.), *ś* and *ṣ* seldom or changed before the suffix. Thus, *manasmāya*, *nabhasmāya*, *nyasmāya*, but *d* is treated as in external combination. Thus, *nṛpmāya*, and in the Brahmanas and later, *ś* and *ṣ* in general have the latter treatment. *v*, *ṣ* to *jomāya*, *adomāya*, *āpomāya*, *jyotirmāya*, *yajurmāya*, *etanmāya*, *aspmāya*, *vaomāya*, *ammāya*, *prāṇmāya*. RV. has *aśmanmāya* (later *aśmanmāya*). In *hiraṇmāya* (B. and later) the primitive (*hiraṇya*) is peculiarly mutilated. RV. has *sūlmāya* of *good male*, and *kirmāya* *made of what*?

b. A very few examples of a feminine in *yā* occur in the late language.

1226. *र* *ra*. A few derivative adjectives are made with this suffix. Accent and treatment of the primitive are various.

a. With simple elision of *ra* are made, for example: *pāṇsra dusky*, *-ṣṛira* (also *-ṣṛīra*) in *aṣṛirā ugly*, *dhūmrā dusky* (*dhūmā smoky*), *madhura* (late) *sweet*. In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, *agnidhra* of *the fire-kindler* (*agnidhr*); *ṣāṇkurā stake-like* (*ṣāṇkū*); and in *ṣekhara* (also *ṣikhara*), *a guru-strengthening*.

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example: *mēdhira wise*, *rathirā in a chariot*, *karmāra mith*, *dantura* (late) *crushed*, *aochēra* (? MS.), *grāmanera*, *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: *bahulā abundant*, *madhulā* (later *madhura*) *sweet*, *bhīmalā fearful*, *jīvalā lively*, *aṣṭilā* (and *aṣṭira*) *stretched*, with *ā*, *vācīlā talkative* (late). with *ī*, *phenīlā foamy* (late).

phēna); with *u*, *vātula*, and *vātula* *wandy* (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*, *irg-yālu* *jealous*, *ugrālu* *heated*, *ṣayalu* and *svapnālu* *sleepy*, *lajjālu* *modest*, *lālālu* *drooling*, *ṣradhālu* *trusting*, *krodhālu* *passionate*. One or two such derivatives having a primary aspect were noticed at 1192b.

1228. *ṛ va*. A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Examples are: *arpavā* *bulwary*, *keṣavā* *hairy*; *rūṣālvā* *girded*; *aśjivā* *slippery*, *ṣantivā* *tranquillizing*, *ṣradhivā* *credulic*, *amaṣivā* *jewellless*, *rājivā* *striped*.

b. There are a very few adjectives in *vala* and *vaya* which may be noticed here: thus, *kṛpāvalā* *poorant* (*kṛpī* *ploughing*), *ūrpavālā* *wooly*, *rajasvala*, *ūrjasvala*, *payasvala*, *ṣadvāla*, *naḍvala*, *ṣikhāvala*, *dan-tavāla*; *druvāya* *wooden dish*, *caturvaya* *fourfold*.

c. With *vya* are made two or three words from names of relationship, thus, *pitr̥vya* *paternal uncle*, *bhrātṛvya* *nephew, enemy*.

1229. *ṭi ṣa*. A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

a. Thus, *romaṣā* or *lomaṣā* *hairy*, *śtaṣa* (also *etaṣā*) *corrugated*, *arvaṣa* or *ārvaṣa* *hasting*, *babhuṣā* or *babhruṣā* and *kapiṣa* *brownish*, *kṛṣṇaṣa* *blackish*, *yuvaṣā* *youthful*, *bālīṣa* *childish*, *karkaṣa* *harsh*, *karmaṣa* (?) *n. pr.*; and *giriṣa*, *vāriṣa* (?), *vṛkṣaṣa* are doubtless of the same character (not containing the root *ṣi*). The character of *harimaṣa*, *kāṣmaṣa*, *kalaṣa* 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 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. *ṭi in*. Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in *ṭi* or *ṭi 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*, *haastín possessing hands*, *çoḍaçaín of sixteen*, *gardabhanadín having an ass's voice*, *brahmavarçasia of eminent sanctity*, *sādhudavín having luck of play*, *kūcidarthín having errands everywhere*; — from a-stems, *manṣín wise*, *çikḥín crested*, *ṛtāyín pious*.

c. Derivatives from other stems are very few in comparison: three from i-stems, *atithín(?)*, *abhimatiín*, *arçín*, *açanín*, *urmin*, *kalanemin*, *khādín*, *-pāçín*, *maricín*, *mauṣṣín*, *māulín*, *-yonín*, *venín*, *sādhín*, *sampādhín*, *surabhin* (if these find 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*, *catagvín(?)*, *veṇavín* (with guna of the u); — from stems in an, *varmin*, *karmin*, *carmin*, *-chadmin*, *janmin*, *dhanvín*, *-dharmin*, *nāmin*, *brahmin*, *yukṣmin*, *çarmin*, and *çvanín*; — in aa, *rotín rich in seed* and probably *varçín* n. pr.; also (perhaps through stems in -aa) *çavāçín* and *sahasín*, *manasín*, *-vayasín*; — isolated are *pariarajín garlanded* and *hiraṇjín (hiraṇya)*.

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 *praçṇín*, *garbhín*, *jūrṣín*, *dhūmín*, *anānin*, *homin*, *matsarín*, *paripanthín*, *pravepanín*, *saṃgātín*; and on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted pāntala (218) before the in, which could only be aa in replaced a: thus, *arkín*, *-bhaḍgín*, *-sāṅgín*, *-rokín*.

e. In a few cases, there appears before the in a y preceded by an a of inorganic character: thus, *ḍhanvāyín*, *tantrāyín*, *çvetāyín*, *çṛkāyín*, *ātātāyín*, *pratihitāyín*, *marāyín*, *ṛtāyín*, *svadhāyín* (V: TB. -vín). The y in all such words is essentially the inserted y after a (258a), and to assume for them a suffix yin is quite needless.

f. The accentuation *pravrájín*, *prasyāndín*, in the concluding part of TB, is doubtless false; and the same is to be suspected for *çākī*, *çārī*, *frī* (RV. each once).

g. A very few words in in have not suffered the possessive specialization. Such are *vanín tree*, *hermit*, *kapotín dove-like*, *aṇḍín acrotome-like* (cf. 1233f.).

1231. *मिṇ 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 — *igmin*

and *rgmín* 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*, *svamin* (Śātras and later) *master, lord* (sva own), *kakudmin* *humped*.

b. The two words *rgmín* 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. *namasvin* *reverential*, *tapasvin* *heated*, *tojasvin* *brilliant*, *yaçasvin* *beautiful*, and so *retasvin*, *enasvin*, *harasvin*, etc., and *çatasvin*, *çrotasvin*, *rut-pasvin* have an inserted *n*, by analogy with them. Most others have *ā* (sometimes, by lengthening), thus, *glāvin*, *medhāvin*, *māyāvin*, *sa-bhāvin*, *asītrāvin* *obedient to the god*, *dvaṣāvin* *double-minded*, *ubha-yāvin* *possessing of both kinds*, *dhanvāvin*, *tandrāvin*, *āmayāvin*, *ātātāvin*. More rarely, *vin* is added after another consonant than *s*: thus *vāgvīn*, *dhr̥gādvin*, *ātmanvin*, *kumudvin*, *eragvin*, *yajvin*, *ajvin*. The doubtful word *vyaçnuvin* (VS., once; TB. *vyaçniya*) 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 *vāgvīn* and *dhr̥gādvin* (both Vedic), with the common reversion of a palatal in *eragvin*.

1233. *वन्त* *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 — at least *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, *keçavant* *hairy*, *putrāvant* *having a son*, *prajānanavant* *procreative*, *pundarikāvant* *rich in lotuses*, *hiraṇyāvant* *rich in gold*, *apupāvant* *having cakes*, *rājanyāvant* *allied with a kshatriya*, *prajāvant* *having progeny*, *ūrṇāvant* *wooly*, *dākṣiṇāvant* *rich in sacrificial gifts*, *sākhīvant* *having friends*, *naptarjīvant* *accompanied by the seven wives*; *çācīvant* *powerful*, *tāvisīvant* *vehement*, *pātnīvant* *with spouse*, *dhr̥ivānt* *derided*.

dyāvāpṛthivīvant (84 b) with *heaven and earth*; vīṣṇuvant accompanied by *Viṣṇu*, hāritvant *golden*, āvṛtvant *hither turned*, āśīrvant *mixed with milk*, svārvant *splendid*, çaradvant *full of years*, pūhsvant *having a male*, pāṇsvant *rich*, tāmāsvant *dark*, brāhmaṇsvant *accompanied with worship*, rōmaṇsvant *hairy* (but also *romevant*, lōmaṇsvant, vṛtrahsvant, etc.), kakūbhvant *containing a kakūbh*; — with accent on the suffix, agnīvant *having fire*, rajīvant *wealthy*, nṛvant *manly*, padvant *having feet*, naṣvant *with nose*, āṣāsvant *having a mouth* çīraṇsvant *headed* (also çīraṇsvant).

d. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, āçvāvant (beside āçvavant) *possessing horses*, eutāvant *having soma expressed*, vṛṣṇyāvant *of cattle force* (about thirty such cases occur in V); çāktīvant *mighty*, svādhitīvant *having axes*, ghṛīvant *hot*; viçūvant *dividing*; vīṣu apavati.

e. Certain special irregularities are as follows: an inserted *s* in indrasvant, māhīsvant; inserted *n* in vācuvant, būdhasvant, vāchanvant, gartānvant, māṇsānvant; shortening of a final of the primitive in māyīvant, yājñīvant, pūronuvākyāvant, āmīkēsvant, sarasvatīvant; abbreviation in hiraṇsvant; inserted *ā* in çavaśāsvant, sahasāsvant, and the odd mahīmāsvant; anomalous accent in kṛçṇāsvant (if from *kṛçṇa* *pearl*); derivation from particles in anīrāsvant *pregnant*, vīquvant (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, nīvant *like me* etc. (817: add īvant, kīvant). Other examples are indrasvant *like Indra*, nīçāvant *metallic*, nīlavant *blackish*, nṛvant *manly*, pīçadvant *sparkled*, kṣātīvant *princely*; compare the later paravānt *dependent*. It was pointed out above (1107) that the adverb of comparison in vāt is the accusative member of a derivative of this class.

g. In a few words, vant has the aspect of forming primary derivatives: thus, vivāsvant (or vīvanvant) *shining*, also *n*, *pr*, ānupa-dasvant, ārvant, pīpīsvant(?), yāvānt.

h. For the derivatives in vāt from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see 1245 j.

i. While this suffix is generally added to a primitive according to the rules of internal combination (see examples above, c), treatment also in external combination begins already in RV., in pīçadvant (pīçat), and becomes more common later: thus, tapovant, tejavant, āngīrovant (beside tāpaśvant etc.); vidyūdvant (beside vidyutvant), bṛhadvant, jagadvant, sedvant, etc.; triçubvant (against kakūbhvant), samīdvant, vimpīdvant; vāgvant (against ṛkvant); svarādvant; havya-vādvant; āçuvant.

j. None of the suffixes beginning with *v* show in the Veda resolution of *v* to *u*.

1234. **वन् van.** The secondary derivatives in this suffix belong to the older language, and are a small number of which extremely few have more than an occurrence or two.

a. They have the aspect of being produced under the joint influence of primary *van* and secondary *vant*. A final short vowel is usually lengthened before the suffix. The accent is various, but oftenest on the penult of the stem. The feminine (like that of the derivatives in primary *van*. 1169f) is in *vari*.

b. The Vedic examples are: from *a*-stems, *ṛṇvān* or *ṛṇvān*, *ṛtāvan* (and *f*. -*vari*), *ṛghāvan*, *dhītāvan*, *satyāvan*, *sumnavāri*, and *maghāvan*; from *ā*-stems, *sūnptāvari*, *svadhāvan* (and *f*. -*vari*), from *i*-stems, *amatīvān*, *arātīvān*, *ṛṣṣivān*, *muṣivān*, and *kṛṣivān* (only in the further derivative *kāṛṣivāṇa*); *dhīvan*; from consonant-stems, *ātharvan*, *śamādvān*, *sāhovan* (bad AV. variant to RV *sahāvan*); *hārdvān* (TA also *hārdīvan*). Somewhat anomalous are *sahāvan*, *indhanvan* (or *indhanavan*?), and *śaṣtvān* (for *śaṣtīvān*?). The only words of more than sporadic occurrence are *ṛtāvan*, *maghāvan*, *ātharvan*.

c. *Sāhovan* (see b) is the only example of external combination with this suffix.

1235. **मन् mant.** This is a twin-suffix to *वन्* *vant* above, 1233; their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives in *मन्* *mant* are much less frequent (in the older language, about a third as many), and are only very rarely made from *a*-stems.

a. If the accent of the primitive word is on the final, it is in the great majority of instances (three quarters) thrown forward upon the added suffix, otherwise, it maintains its place unchanged. A final vowel before the suffix is in only a few cases made long. Examples are

b. With the accent of the primitive unchanged: *kāṇvamant*, *yāvamant* *rich in barley*, and *vibhavamant* n. pt. (these none from *a*-stems, and the first only occurring once), *śvīmant* *possessing sheep*, *acūntmant* *bearing the thunderbolt*, *śpedhīmant* *rich in herbs*, *vāṣṇant* *carrying an axe*, *vasūmant* *possessing good things*, *mādhūmant* *rich in seeds*, *tvāṣṭmant* *accompanied by Tvāṣṭar*, *hōtṛmant* *provided with priests*, *dyūṣmant* *long-lived*, *jyōtiṣmant* *full of brightness*, — *ulkuṣmant* *accompanied with ulcers*, *pūḍmant* (?), *prasūmant* *having young shoots*, *gōmant* *rich in kine*, *garūtmant* *winged*, *vihūtmant* *with libation*, *kakūdmant* *hungry*, *vidyūmant* (with irregular assimilation of *t*, VS has also *kakūnmant*) *gleaming*, *virūkmant* *shining*, *haviṣmant* *with libations*, *vipruṣmant* *with drops*.

c. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending *asimánt* with *Asura*, *agnimánt* having *fire*, *igudhmánt* with a *quiver*, *paçumánt* possessing *cattle*, *váyumánt* with *wind*, *pitṛmánt* (RV *pitṛmánt*) accompanied by the *Fathers*, *mātmánt* having a *mother*; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this division, and only once a consonant, in *dasmát* (RV., *ośm*).

d. Protraction of a final vowel is even in *tvīṣimánt*, *dhrájamánt*, *hīrimánt*; in *īyōtiṣimánt* is irregularly inserted an *i* (after the analogy of *tāvīṣimánt*), in *çucimánt*, *mahimánt*, an *m*; *suçumánt* (RV. *oç*) appears to be primary.

e. The adverb *agumát* 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 *vidyúrnmánt* even in RV.; and other like cases occur later: thus, *parirúnmánt*, *kakunmánt*, *kṣunmánt*, *purorúnmánt*, *vānmánt*, *kakum-mánt*, *gudalimánt*, *yaçománt*.

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 *īman*, see above, 1168i-k.

1237. *तृ ता*. 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: *devātā* *divinity*, *virātā* *manliness*, *puruṣātā* *human nature*, *agnītā* *firehood*, *apaçūtā* *cattlelessness*, *bandhūtā* *relationship*, *vasūtā* *wealth*; *nagnātā* *nakedness*, *suvirātā* *wealth in retainers*, *anapatyātā* *lack of descendants*, *agōtā* *poverty in cattle*, *abrahmātā* *lack of devotion*, *aprajñātā* *absence of progeny*, also doubtless *sunṣtā* (from *śunāra*), although the word is a few times used as an adjective (like *çamātā* and *satyatātā*: see next paragraph).

c. Of special formation are *mamātā* *selfishness*, *trētā* *triplicity*, *antitā* *actuality*. RV. has *avirātā*, with exceptional accent. In *ekapatnītā* is seen a shortened final vowel of the primitive. *Janātā* has acquired a concrete meaning, *people, folk*: also *grāmātā* (once) *villages collectively*.

1238. *तानि तान्*, *तान् तान्*. 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 tati are: *ariṣṭātati uninjuredness*, *ayakṣmātati freedom from disease*, *grbhītātati the being seized*, *jyeṣṭhātati supremacy*, *devātātati divinity*, *vasūtātati wealth*, *śāntātati good-fortune*, *sarvatātati completeness*; and, with exceptional accent, *ātatātati home*, and *dākṣātātati cleverness*; *śivatātati* and *śubhatātati* occur (once each) in the later language. Two words in tati are used adjectively (inorganically, by apposition): *śāntātati* (RV., twice; and AV xix. 44. 1, in manuscripts), and *antyatātati* (RV., once: voc.).

b. The words in tāt (apparently made by abbreviation from tati) occur in only one or two case-forms, they were all mentioned above (383k. 2).

1239. $\overline{\text{tva}}$. With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in $\overline{\text{tā}}$ 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: *amṛtatvā immortality*, *devatvā diemity*, *subhagatvā good-fortune*, *ahamuttaratvā struggle for precdency*, *śucitvā purity*, *pativā husbandship*, *tarāṇitvā energy*, *dirghayutvā long life*, *śatrutvā enmity*, *bhrātṛtvā brotherhood*, *vṛṣṭtvā civility*, *sāmatvā soulfulness*, *maghavatvā liberality*, *rakṣastvā sorcery*. In *anagastvā* and *-prajastvā* there is a lengthening of a final syllable of the primitive; and in *sāuprajastvā* (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial *vṛddhi* (*sāubhagatvā* is doubtless from *sāubhaga*, not *subhāga*); and in these and *pratyanastvā* there is an apparent insertion of *a*. In *sadhunitvā* (RV.), *vanativarītvā* (TB.), *rohīṇītvā* (TB.), there is shortening of final feminine *i* before the suffix. Of peculiar formation are *astitva actuality* and *sahatva union*. The apparent feminine datives *gūthatvayai* and *gapatvayai* (Kd.) are doubtless false forms.

c. Besides the usual guttural reversions in *samyuktva*, *śayuktva*, we have external combinations in *samīttva* (-idh-) and *purvavaṣṭva* (-vāh-).

d. In *īpitatvātā* (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. $\overline{\text{tvana}}$. 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: kavītvānā, janītvānā, patītvānā (also JB. mārīyatvānā, mahītvānā, vasūtvānā, vṛjatvānā, sakṣītvānā).

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. तार 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 1111e.

b. In व्यतारा and पुरुतमा (RV) the accent is anomalous. In मृषायतमा , it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1308); चक्षवतमा (RV) has the ordinal accent; सदिवसनरतमा (CB) is an ordinal; दिवतारा (RV., once an error) is an ordinary adjective, *of the day*, सुराभिश्रमा and तुवश्रमा must be; करोतरा and कौलतरा are probably vyddhi -derivatives in a तृ रातरा (f. - रि) according, अग्रतरा made, and धेनुगतरा *cow-lung* *her milk*, the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; so also is रथगतरा , name of a certain *gaman*.

c. रा ra and मा ma, like tara and tama, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals see above 474, 487.

d. तथा tha, like tama and ma, forms ordinals from a few numerals see 487c; also with fem in - तृ from तति , कति , यति , etc. thus ततितृ *so-many- तृ* etc.

e. Apparently by false analogy with ततितृ etc. (above, d) the quasi-ordinals तवतितृ , यवतितृ , बहुतितृ are made, as if with a suffix तितृ (also कतितृ , late, for कतितृ); and, it is said, from other words meaning a *number* or *collection*, as गण , पुंगव , सङ्घ ; but none such are quotable.

1243. Of diminutive suffixes there are none in Sanskrit with clearly developed meaning and use. The occasional employment of का , in a somewhat indistinct way, to make diminutives, has been noticed above 1223.

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 का ; 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, sapṭataya ÇB., aṣṭataya AB., dáṣataya (RV.), bahútaya (TS.). Their fem. is in -yī.

b. त्वा tya makes a class of adjectives from particles: e. g. ástya own, níṣṭya foreign, amātya 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, éśnutyā, antastya, anyantastya-, tatastya, kutastya, átratyā, tátatya, yatratya, kutratya, íhatya, upatya, adhitya, prāstastya, dáḥṣipātya (instead of which, the regular form, is generally found dáḥṣipātya, apparently a further vṛddhi-derivative from it as if belonging to the southernners), and páṣcātīya and pāurnastya (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 áptyā 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 ekatā, dvitā, and tritā, also muhūrtā moment, and apparently avatā well for water.

f. With त na are made purāṇā ancient, vīṣṇuṇā curious, and perhaps samāṇā like.

g. With त्वा tana or in a few cases त tna are made adjectives from adverbs, nearly always of time: e. g. pratnā ancient, nūṭana or nūṭna present, sanātāna or sanātna lasting, divātana of the day, cīvātana of tomorrow, hynātana of yesterday. The accent is various. The feminine is in nī.

h. The other quotable examples are: agrotana, adyutana, adhinātāna, idāntana, idānūntana, etarhitana, cirāntana, tadānūntana, dopātana, purātana, prāktana, prāstātāna, sadātana, añyāntāna; from adverbs of place, adhastana, arvāktana, uparītana, kutastana; — with tna, parastātāna, purastātāna. A further vṛddhi-derivative, with equivalent meaning, nāntana (cf. above, c), occurs here. In PB. is once found tvātāna belonging to thee.

i. Besides the obvious cases, of an assimilated final m before this suffix, we have external combination in prāstātāna.

j. वत् vat makes from particles of direction the feminine nonna mentioned above 383k, 1.

k. क्वा kaṭa, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the

grammarians as a suffix, in *utkaṣa*, *nikāṣa*, *prakāṣa*, *vikaṣa* RV; once, voc., and *saṁkaṣa* all said to be accented on the final.

l. A suffix *vana* is perhaps to be seen in *nivanā*, *pravapa*;—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* 1208i, *ka* 1222c, *mna* 1224c, *maya* 1225a, *vant* 1233c.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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 Brahmayā, 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 farther 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 syntically coordinate: a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction *and* rarely *or*.

b. Examples are: *indrāvaruṇāu* *Indra and Varuna*, *satyāṃṛtē* *truth and falsehood*, *kṛtākṛtām* *done and undone*, *devagandharvamaṇuṣoragarākṣasās* *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 decomposed (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, *amitrasonā* *army of enemies*, *pādodaka* *water for the feet*, *ayurdā* *life-giving*, *bhastakṛta* *made with the hands*; of descriptive compounds, *maharṣi* *great sage*, *prīyasaṁhī* *dear friend*, *amītra* *enemy*, *sūkṛta* *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 doublet (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Veda.

i. Examples are: *virasena*, possessing a hero-army, *prajākama* having desire of progeny, *ligmācra* sharp-horned, *hārītaśra* wearing green garlands, *atimātrā* excessive, *yāvayāddvāsa* 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 *guh* 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 is 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.

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 *sakalanitiṣāstratattvajā* knowing the essence of all books of behavior has first the root-stem *jā* (for *jñā*) knowing separated from the rest, which is again dependent, then this is divided into *tattva* essence and the remainder, which is *śāstratattva*, this, again, divides into *sakala* all and *nitiṣāstra* books of behavior — of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (as *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 *r* or *ar*, *at* or *ant*, *ao* or *año*, etc. show in composition the forms in *r*, *at*, *ao*, etc.; while those in *an* and in usually exceptions sometimes occur, as *vr̥ṣapaçvā*, *vr̥ṣapaçvā*, 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 *i*, rarely *ā*): thus, in *V*, *rodasiprā*, *pr̥thiviṣṭhā*, *pr̥thiviṣād*, *dhārapūta*, *dhāravākā*; in *B*, *pr̥thivi-dā*, *-bhāga*, *-lokā*, *sarasvatikṛta*, *sonā-nigrāmaṇyāū*; in *S*, *garbhiniṣṭhā*, *sāmidheniprāṇa*, *vasattivariparibarāṇa*, *okādaçinilāṇa*, *prapharvidā*, *devatalakṣaṇa*, *devataprādhanatva*; later, *devakinandana*, *lakṣmivardhana*, *kumāriddatta*, *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, *dhanañjaya* winning wealth, *abhayañkara* causing absence of danger, *puṣṭimbharā* bringing prosperity, *vācamākhaya* inviting the voice, but also sometimes before words of other form, as *āçvamiṣṭi* horse-desiring, *qubhāmyāvan* going in splendor, *subhāgañkāraṇa* making happy, *bhayañkartṛ* causer of fear. In a few cases, by analogy with these, a word receives an accusative form to which it has no right: thus, *hydāmbāni*, *mākṣūṅgama*, *vasuñdhara*, *ātmanambhari*.

b. Much more rarely, an instrumental, for example, *girāvḡdh* increasing by praise, *vācāṭana* stealing by incantation, *krātvāmagha* gladly bestowing, *bhāsāketu* bright with light, *vidmanāpas* active with wisdom.

c. In a very few instances, a dative: thus *nareṣṭhā* serving a man, *asmāhiti* errand to us, and perhaps *kiyedhā* and *mahevḡdh*.

d. Not seldom, a locative, and this also especially with a root-stem or a derivative: for example, *agregā* going at the head, *divikāit* dwelling in the sky, *vaneṣāh* prevailing in the wood, *aṅgeṣṭhā* existing in the limbs, *proṣṭheçayā* lying on a couch, *autākara* acting with the arms, *divicara* moving in the sky, *krēçatru* having enemies far removed, *sumāāpi* near in favor, *māderagha* hastening in excitement, *yudhiṣṭhira* firm in battle, *antovāsin* dwelling near; *apsujā* born in the waters, *hṛtsvās* hurling of hearts.

e. Least often, a genitive: thus, *rāyāskāma* desirous of wealth,

akanyavid 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 *balatkāra violence* and *balāt-kṛta*, and perhaps in *parātpriya*. And a stem in *ṛ* sometimes appears in a copulative compound in its nominative form: thus, *pitāputrau father and son*, *hotāpotarāu 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, *apsuṣā* etc. (in derivation, also, *apsu* is used as a stem). *hṛtavān, nṛōhprapetra conducting men*, *rujaakāra 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*, *dāśiputra son of a female slave*, *mṛgīdṛṣṭy gazelle-eyed*, *prapitṛprapāyana 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 prepositive 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 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 *dvī* and *tri* or the prefixes *su* and *du*, 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*), *tilāmiṣṭra* (*tīla*), *khādihasta* (*khādī*), *yāvayāddveṣas* (*yāvāyant*); *ṣakadhūma* (*dhūmā*), *amṣṭa* (*mṣṭā*), *suvīra* (*vīra*), *tuvigriṣa* (*grīṣā*). A few words — as *vīṣṭra*, *pūrva*, and sometimes *sārva* — take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

1. 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*, *pakṣiṃṣṭā* *the condition of being bird or beast*, *triṃśadvīṃśa* *numbering twenty or thirty*, *catuṣpañcākṛtvā* *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 *grānta-gata* *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*, *vṛthi-yavāu* *rice and barley*, *ṛkṣamā* *verse and chant*, *kapotolūkāu* *duck and owl*, *candradityau* *moon and sun*, *hastyaśvau* *the elephant and horse*, *ajāvāyas* *goats and sheep*, *devāsuras* *the gods and demons*, *atharvāṅgirāṇas* *the Atharvans and Angirases*, *sambādhatandryās* *anxieties and fatigues*, *vidyākarmāpi* *knowledge and action*, *hastyaśvās* *elephants and horses*; of more than two members no examples quotable from the older language, *ṣaṣṭhāsanabhogās* *lying, sitting, and eating*, *brāhmaṇakṣatriyaviṣṭvādrās* *a Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Čudra*,

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, *ijāpūrtām* *what is offered and bestowed*, *ahorātrām* *a day and night*, *krīākṛtām* *the done and undone*, *bhūtabhavyām* *past and future*, *koçāmaçrū* *hair and beard*, *oçadhivanaspati* *plants and trees*, *candratarakām* *moon and stars*, *ahinakulam* *snail and ichneumon*, *çirogrivam* *head and neck*, *yūkāmakṣikamatkupaṃ* *lice, flies, and bugs*.

1254. a. That a stem in *r* as *pīr* number sometimes takes its nominative form, in *ā*, was noticed above, 1250 f.

b. A stem as final member is sometimes changed to an *a*-form to make a neuter collective: thus, *çhattropanaham* *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 higher, 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: *indrāsōmā*, *indrāvīṇū*, *indrābhaṣpāti*, *agnigomāu*, *turvaçyādū*, *dyāvāpṛthivī*, *uṣāsānāktā* (and with intervening words, *nāktā ... uṣāsā*), *sūryāmānū*. The only plural is *indrāmaruṭas* (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are *mitrāvārunabhyām* and *mitrāvārunayos* (also *mitrāyor vārunayoḥ*), and *indrāvārunayos* (each once only).

c. From *dyāvāpṛthivī* is made the very peculiar genitive *divāspṛthivyōs* (1 times: AV. has *dyāvāpṛthivībhyām* and *dyāvāpṛthivyos*).

d. In one compound, *parjanya-vātā*, the first member (RV, once) does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (*indranantīyā*, voc. is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present: thus, *indrāpūṣṇōs* (beside *indrāpūṣṇā*), *somāpūṣṇābhyām* (*somāpūṣṇā* occurs only as voc.), *vātāparjanya*, *suryacandramāsa*, and *indragni* (with *indrāgnībhyām* and *indragnyōs*): *somarudrā* is a centred only

in ÇB. And in one, *indravāyā*, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.

c. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural *ajāvāyas*, the duals *ṛksāmō*, *satyāntō*, *asācanāṇaṇō*; also the neuter collective *iṣṭāpūrtām*, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective, *nīlalohitām*. Further, the neuter plural's *ahorātrāṇi nycthemera*, and *ukthārkā praves 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*, *bhavāgarvāū*; *agnāvīṣṭū*, 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 *keçaṣmaṇṛā hair and beard*, *āñjanābhyañjanām salve and ointment*, and *kaṣipūpabharṇapām mat and pillow*, uninflected because of the virtual unity of the two objects specified. Neuter singulars, used in a similar collective way, of adjective compounds, are (besides three in RV.): *kṛtākṛtām what is done and undone* (instead of *what is done and what is undone*), *cittā-kutām thought and desire*, *bhadrāpāpam 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 *ṣuklakṛṣṇa light and dark*, *ethalojāudaka terrestrial and aquatic*, *danterājatasaḥvarṇa of ivory and silver and gold* used distributively, and *vṛttapina round and plump*, *ṣāntānukūla tranquil and propitious*, *hṛttasragrajoḥana wearing fresh garlands and free from dust*, *niṣekadiṣmaṇanta beginning with conception and ending with burial*, used cumulatively, *nā 'tīṣṭoṣṇa not over cold or hot*, used alternatively, *kṣapadṛṣṭaṇaṣṭa seen for a moment and then lost*, *cintitopasthita at hand as seen as thought of*, in more pregnant sense.

b. In the Veda, the only examples noted are the cumulative *nīlalohitā* and *iṣṭāpūrtā* etc., used in the next stage as collectives (as pointed out above), with *tāmrādhumrā dark tawny*, and the distributive *dakṣiṇasavyā right and left*, *saptamaṣṭamā seventh and eighth*, and *bhadrāpāpā good and bad* (beside the corresponding dual collective). Such combinations as *satyāntō truth and falsehood*, *priyāpriyaṇi 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*, *dakṣiṇapaccima 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*), *devamanuṣya* (once: ÇB. *-nyā*), *brahmarājanyaḥ* (also VS.); further, *vākopavākya* (ÇB.), *aṇanāpīpaso* (ÇB.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives thus, *āhardivī day by day*, *śāyāmprātāt 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: *jāhy éṣāḥ vārāḥ-varam day of them each heat man*; *divā-diva* or *dyāvī-dyavi from day to day*; *āṅgād-āṅgā lomno-lomnaḥ pārvaṇi-parvaṇi from every limb, from every hair, in each joint*; *prā-pra yajñāpatih tira make the master of the sacrifice live on and on*; *bhūyo-bhūyaḥ evāḥ-evāḥ further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow*; *ékanyāi-kayā with in each case one*; *vayāḥ-vayam our very selves*.

b. Exceptional and rare cases are those of a personal verb-form repeated, thus, *pibā-piba* (RV.), *yājaṣva-yajaṣva* (ÇB.), *veda-veda* (ÇB.);—and of two words repeated: thus, *yāvād vā-yāvād 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.), *thé thá* (AV.), *anáyā-náyā* (ÇB.), *stuhí stuhí* (RV., acc. to pada-text).

d. The class of combinations here described is called by the native grammarians *āmroḍita added unto* (1).

1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, *ekādaśa 11*, *dvāviṃśati 22*, *triṅśata 103*, *cātubhanhara 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*, *yaṃadūtā* *Yama's messenger*, *jīvalokā* *the world of the living*, *indra-*

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*, *grhāpati*, etc. etc. (compare the verbal nouns in ti, below, 1274). But in a few words *pāti* retains its own accent: thus, *viśpāti*, *rayipati*, *paśupāti*, *vasupātnī*, etc., and the more general rule is followed in *apsarāpati* and *vrajapati* (AV), and *nadipati* (VS.), *citpati* (VS., elsewhere *citpāti*).

b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, *janarājan*, *deva-vāman*, *hiraṇyatejas*, *prtanāhava*, *godhūma* and *ṣakadhūma* (but *dhūmā*); *vācāstana*.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are *dīvodāsa*, *vācāstana*, *uccāhṛavan*, *uccāhṛhoṇ*, *dūrebbhās* (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accented on both members: thus, *śācipāti*, *śādasipāti*, *bhāspāti*, *vāspāspāti*, *rāthāspāti*, *jāspāti* (also *jāspati*), *nārūṣāsa*, *tānūnāpti*, *tānūnāpat* (*tānū* as independent word), *gūnatṛṣpa*. And § B. has a long list of metonymies having the anomalous accentuation *kaṁśipūtra*, *gārgipūtra*, 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, *gāvīṣṭhira* (AV *gāvīṣṭhira*), *tanūcubhra*, *maderaghu*, *yajñādhira*, *cāmavipra*, *tīlāmīṣra* (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, 383 f-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, *āśatra*, *anarvic*, *avāvij*, *pratyākandṛc*, *pūramdhi*, *ṣṣadhi*, *āramiṣ*, *ucādagh*, *vataapa*, *ābda*.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, *patanḡā*, *girāvīdh*, *dhīyājūr*, *akṣapādrūh*, *hrdisṛṣc*, *diviṣṛṣc*, *vaneśāh*, *diviśād*, *angeṣṭhā*, *hṛtavās*, *pr̥tsutūr*, *apsujā*.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, *manoyūj* *yoked* (*yoking themselves*) *by the will*, *hṛdayāvīkū* *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 preface. 1148 m.

a. Examples are *hastagrābhā* hand-grasping, *devavandā* god-praising, *hāvīradā* devouring the offering, *bhuvanaśayā* shaking the world, *vrāṭyabruvā* causing one's self a *vrāṭya*; *akṣaparājaya* failure at play, *vaṣaṭkāra* utterance of *vaṣaṭ*, *goparā* prosperity in cattle, *aṅgaśvarā* 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, *marūdrpda*, *sutēkara*, *divicara* (and other more questionable words). And *dūgha* milking, yielding is so accented as final, thus, *madhudūgha*, *kāmādūgha*.

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, *abhayaśūkarā*, *yudhīṅgamā*, *dhanamājayā*, *purah-darā*, *viśvambharā*, *divākara*, *talpeṣayā*, *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 1150 c).

a. Examples are: *koṣavārdhana* hair-increasing, *āyusprataraṇa* life-lengthening, *tanūpāna* body-protecting; *devahodana* hatred of the gods, *pumaśvāna* 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, *yamaśādanā* Yama's realm, *śāhādvidhāna* means of protection.

c. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in *ana*, thus, *sarūpathpāraṇa*, *ayakṣamaṅkārāṇa*, *subhāgaṅkārāṇa*, *vanash-kārāṇa*.

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 1213 d.

c. The gerundives in *ya* (1213) hardly occur in the older language in combination with other elements than prefixes. The two *nivibhārya* and *prathamavāśya* (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; *balavijñāyā* and *āqrabudhya* (?) are inconsistent with them 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: 1085 a.

a. Examples are *hastakṛta* made with the hand, *virājāta* born of a hero, *ghṛṇabuddha* awakened by noise, *prajāpatiṣṭa* created by Prajāpati, *devātta* given by the gods; and, of participles combined with prefixes, *īndraprasūta* invited by *Indra*, *bṛhaspātiprapuṭta* driven away by *Bṛhaspati*, *ulkāśbhīhata* struck by a thunderbolt, *vājrahata*, *saṁhata*.

sarāsammita commensurate with the year. AV has the anomalous apāsamgita quickened by the waters.

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, *agnitaptā, indrotā, pitrvitā, rathakritā, agnidagdā* (beside *agnidagdha*), *kaviçastā* (beside *kaviçasta*), *kavipraçastā*.

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, citragata in a picture, putragataṁ oneham 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, *idam tamobhūtam this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness); tam ratnabhūtaṁ lokasya ker, being the pearl of the world; kṣetrabhūtā smṛtā nārī bījabhūtaṁ smṛtaṁ puṁsā 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, *prāṇakārmukabibhrat having javelin and bow, aṣṭaustravidvāṁs not knowing the text-books, arjunadargṇivāṁs having seen Arjuna, apriya-çāṇivāṁs announcing what is disagreeable, gāutamabruvāṇa calling himself Gautama.*

1274. Compounds with derivatives in *ti* have like combinations with the prefixes. 1167 c, the accent of the prior member.

a. Examples are, *dhānnaṣṭi remaining of wealth, somaṇṣi soma-drinking, devāhūti invocation of the gods, nāmaṅkti utterance of homage, havyādāti presentation of offerings, and so tokāṣṭi, devāhiti, rudrahūti, sūktōkti, avagāṅkti, diviṅti.*

b. In *nemādhiti, medhāṣṭi, vanādhiti* (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, *devaheṣi weapon of the gods, devasumatī favor of the gods, brahmaciṣi Brahman-pile. Also in nar-vajyāni 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, *ukthaçāṇin psalm-singing, vrataçarīn fast-performing, gaubhadāyīn bullock-giving, satyavādīn truth-speaking, gopipratodīn thigh-pounding.*

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in *i*, having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.

a. Thus, *pathirākṣi road-protecting, havirmāthi sacrifice-disturbing, ātmadūṣi soul-harming, pathiṣādi sitting in the path, saḥobhāri strength-*

bearing, *vasuvāni* winning good-things, *dhanasāni* gaining wealth, *mano-mūḍi* mind-stealing, *phalagrāhi* eating fruit; and, from red; heated east, *urucakri* making room. Compounds with *-sāni* and *-vāni* are especially frequent in Veda and Brahmana; 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 number to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (1155 f).

b. From *ghan* are made in composition *-ghni* and *-ghni*, with accent on the ending thus, *sahasraghni*, *ahighni*, *ṣvaḡhni*; *-dhi* from *gha* (1155 g); see the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, *lūdhī*, *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, *balādāvan* strength-giving, *pāpakṣvan* evil-doing, *bahuvāvan* much-yielding, *talpaṣivan* lying on a couch, *rathayāvan* going in a chariot, *drūḡādvan* sitting on a tree, *agretvāri* going at the head. The accent of the obscure words *mātarīqvan* and *mātaribhvan* is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final *man* appear to follow the same rule as those with *van*, thus, *svādukṣādman* sharing out sweets, *āquhōman* steed-impelling.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence may be briefly noted: thus, in *u*, *rāḡradīpsū*, *devapīyū*, *govindā*, *vanargū* (?); compare 1178 a; — in *nu* or *tnu*, *lokakṣtnū*, *surūpakṣtnū*; compare 1168, — in *tr*, *urpātṣ*, *mandhātṣ*, *haskartṣ* (*vasudhātarnas*, 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, *yaḡnasvacās* (but *hirapystéjas*, 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 *nilotpālā* blue lotus, *sarvagūḡa* all good qualities, *prīyasakha* dear friend, *maharṣi* great-sage, *rajaśapatrā* silver cup, *ājñāta* unknown, *sūkṣṭa* well done, *duṣkṣṭ* ill-doing, *puruṣtuta* much-proved, *pūnarṇava* renewed.

b. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun: it

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, *kṣipraḡyenā* swift hawk, *kṣpṛṇākunī* black bird, *dakṣiṇāgnī* southern fire, *urukṣitī* wide abode, *adharahanū* inner jaw, *itarajanā* other folks, *sarvātman* whole soul, *ekavirā* sole hero, *ṣaptarṣi* seven sages, *tṛtīyasaṇā* third libation, *ekonaṇḍī* a score diminished by one, *jāgrat-
evapnā* waking sleep, *yāvayatsakhā* defending friend, *apakṣīyamāṇa-
pakṣa* waning half.

c. There are not a few exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with *viśva* (in composition, accented *viśvā*), which itself retains the accent: thus, *viśvādevās* all the gods, *viśvāmānuṣa* every man. For words in ti, see below, 1287 d. Sporadic cases are *madhyāṃdina*, *vṛṣākapī*, 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, *brahmārṣi* priest-sage, *rājarṣi* king-sage, *rājadanta* king-tooth, *devajana* god-folk, *duhitṛjñā* daughter-person, *ṣāmitā* creeper named ṣami, *muṣikākhyā* the name "mouse", *jaya-
gabdhā* the word "conquer", *ujhitaḡabdhā* the word "deserted"; or, more figuratively, *gṇanaraka* house-hell house which is a hell, *ṣaṇḡgnī* curae-fire consuming curae.

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, 1298.

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.

1291. 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*, *du*, 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.

1292. 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.

1293. The participles belonging to the tense-systems—those in *ant* or *at*, *māna*, *āna*, *vāna*—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*, *ānubhyant*, *ādasyant*, *āditsant*, *ādevayant*; *āmānyamāna*, *āhineāna*, *āchidyamāna*; *ādadivāna*, *ābibhivāna*, *ātasthāna*; and, with verbal prefixes, *ānapasphurant*, *ānāgamīyant*, *ānabhyāgamīyant*, *āvīrādhayant*, *āvīcācalat*, *āpratimanyūyamāna*.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few. *brundhatī*, *ajārantī*, *acodānt* (RV., once: doubtless a false reading, the simple participle being *cōdānt*); AV. has *anipādyamāna* for RV. *ānipadyamāna* (and the published text has *asamhyant*, with a part of the manuscripts); *akamāyamāna*.

c. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been met in the Veds *punardīyamāna* (in *āpunard-*) and *sūvidvāna*. In *alanābhāvant* and *janānābhāvant* RV., as in *astamīyant* and *astamegyant* (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*, *ānadhṛṣṭa*, *āparājita*, *āsamkhyata*, *ānabhyaṛūḍha*, *āparimitasamṛddha*; — with *su*, *sūjata*, *sūhuta*, *sūsam-ṛita*, *svārāṅkṛta*; — with *dus*, *dūṣarita*, *dūrdhita* and *dūrṇita*, *dūḥṛta*; — with other adverbial words, *dāṁsujāta*, *nāvajāta*, *sāna-ṛuta*, *svayāṅkṛta*, *trīpratigṛhita*: *ārāṅkṛta* and *kakajukṛta* are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with *a* or *an*, *anāṣṭa*, *apra-ṣṭa*, and, with the accent of the participle referred to the root, *amṛta*, *adṛṣṭa*, *acitta*, *ayūta* *myriad*, *atūrta* (beside *ātūrta*), *asūrta* (? beside *sūrta*); — with *su* (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), *subhūta*, *euṅta*, *supraṣṭa*, *svākta*, *sukṛta* and *sujāta* (beside *sūkṛta* and *sūjāta*), and a few others; with *dus* (quite as numerous as the regular cases), *durita* (also *dūrita*), *duruktā*, *duḥkṛta* (also *dūḥkṛta*), *durbhūta*; with *sa*, *sajāta*; with other adverbs, *amotā*, *ariṣṭutā*, *tuvijātā*, *prācīnopavitā*, *tadānīndugdhā*, *prāṭardugdhā*, etc., and the compounds with *puru*, *purujātā*, *puruprajātā*, *purupraṣṭa*, *purugṛtā*, etc., and with *svayam*, *svayamkṛta* etc. The proper name *aśādhā* stands beside *āśāḍha*; and AV. has *abhinna* for LV. *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*; *advigopyā*; *anavāyyā*; and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are *asamkhyeyā*, *apramṛṣyā*, *anapavṛjyā*, *anatyudyā*, *anadhṛṣyā*, *avimokyā*, *ananukṛtyā* (the accent of the simple word being *samkhyēya* etc.).

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are. *ānedya*, *ādābhya*, *āgohya*, *ājogya*, *āyabhya*. The two *anavadharayā* and *anativyadhya* (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 *sadhaastutya*) retain their own accent after an adverbial prefix: thus, *pūrvapāyya*, *pūrvapēya*, *amutrabhūya*; and *sahaṣṭēya*. 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: 1147d) is very often combined with a preceding 'prepositional' word, of various kinds; and in the combination it retains the accent.

a. Examples are: with inseparable prefixes *adrúh* not *harming*, *asú* not *giving birth*, *arúh* not *shining*; *sukṣt* well-doing, *suśrut* hearing well, *duṣkṛt* ill-doing, *duṣāc* (199d) suspicious, *sayúj* joining together, *samad* conflict, *sahajá* born together, *sahaváh* carrying together, — with other prepositions *amājúr* growing old at home, *upariśpṣ* touching upon, *punarbhú* appearing again, *prātaryáj* harnessed early, *sadyahkṛt* done the same day, *sākaśvṛtáh* growing up together, *sadamḍí* ever-binding, *viguvṛt* turning to both sides, *vṛthasāh* easily overcoming; — with adjectives used adverbially, *uruvyāc* wide-spreading, *prathamajā* first-born, *çukrapṣ* brightly adorned, *dvijá* twice-born, *trivṛt* triple, *svaráj* self-ruling; — with nouns used adverbially, *çambhú* beneficent, *suryaçv* shining like the sun, *īçānakṛt* acting as lord, *svayambhú* self-existent and, with accusative case-forms, *patangā* 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 affixesive itself takes the accent (as in case of an ordinary adjective; hence 1288a): thus, for example, *ānakṣit* not *shining*, *ānavṛt* not *turning back*, *āvidviç* not *showing hostility*, *ādugṣṭ* not *ill-doing*, *ānaçvadá* not *giving a horse*, *āpaçuhan* not *slaying cattle*. (*ānāçvā* would be an exception, if it contained *ga* which is very unlikely.) Similar combinations with accusatives to retain the radical accent (thus, *supratúr*, *svābhú*, *svāny*, *svāṇṛ*) is an unsupported exception.

c. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as *prātiprāç*, *sadbāstha*, *ādhrigu*, and the words having *āñ* as final member (407 ff. if this element is not, after all, a suffix): compare 1289a.

1287. Other verbal derivatives, requiring to be treated apart from the general body of adjectives, are few and of minor importance. These:

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 'not ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (1148j) which have the accent on the suffix: thus, *asunva*, *apaçyá*, *akṣudhyá*, *avidasyá*, *anāmṛná*, *sadāppná*, *punarmanjá*, and with them belong such cases as *atṛpá*, *avṛdha*, *aratagamá*, *urukrama*, *evāvadá*, *satrasahá*, *punheṇrá*, *pureṣvará*; and the nouns *sāyam-bhavá*, *sahacará*, *pratahsavá*, *mithoyodhá*. Differently accented, or the other kind, although apparently of the same formation, are such as *ānapasaphura*, *ānavahvura* (compare the compounds noticed at 1286b), *sadāvṛdha*, *sūbharva*, *vyagródha*, *puroḍāça*, *sadhamáda*, *sudūgha*, *supáca*, *suháva*, and others. Words like *adabha*, *durháya*, *sukára*, *suyáma*, are probably possessives.

b. The derivatives in *van* keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare 1169c, 1277) thus, ācupatvan and raghupātvan *swift-flying*, puroyāvan *going in front*, sukṣtvān *well-doing*; and sūtārman and sūvāhman and raghuyāman are probably to be classed with them. But the negative prefix has the accent even before these: thus āyajvan, ārāvan, āprayutvan; and satyāmadvan (it is 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, durgṛbhi, ṛjavāni, tuviṇvāni.

d. The derivatives in *ti* are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them, as, acitti, ābhūti, ānāhūti; with *su* and *du*, the compound is accented now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on either (sūniti and suniti, dūṣṭuti and dūṣṭuti); with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails: thus, sāhuti, sādāstuti, purōhiti, purvāpati, purvāstuti.

e. The derivatives in *in* have, as in general, the accent on the suffix: thus, pūrvāsin, bahuvāsin, sādhuboṣin, savasin, kevalādin. But with the negative prefix, ānāmin, āvitārin.

f. Other combinations are too various in treatment, or are represented by too few examples in accented 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 avadānt, apuṣyant, etc. (B)); and also in the case of a test-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (1286b). And therefore is true of its other combinations.

c. Thus, with various adjective words—ātandra, ādabhra, ādaṣṇi, āṅṛu, ādevaya, ātṛṇaj, ātavyāṇs, ānāmin, ādvayāvin, apracetas, ānapatyavant, ānupadasyant, āpramāyuka, ānamri, āprajāṇi, āvididhaya, ānagnidagdhā, ākāmakurṣana, āpuṣṭoddaghyas. Further, with nouns, āpati, ākumāra, ābrahmaṇa, āvidyā, āgraddha, āvrātya.

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, acitrā, acirā, aviprā, ayaśāyā, anāmakā, anthurī, anagū, ajarayū, anāmayatnū; and in amitra *enemy* and avira *unmanly*, there is a retreat of the accent from the final syllable of the final member to its penult.

2 c. The prefixes *su* and *du* have this tendency in a small 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, *sūbhadrā*, *sūviprā*, *sūpakṣa*, *sūbrahmaṇa*, *sūbhīṣaj*; *sutirthā*, *suvasanā*, *suśarathī*, *supāṣa*, *sucitrā*; *suśeva*, *suśōṭṣ*; *suvira* is like *avira*; — *durmitrā*, *duṣṣvāpaya*; and *ducchūna* (1283b), with irregular retraction of accent (*ṇunā*).

3 g. The compounds with *sa* are too few to furnish occasion for separate mention, and those with the intensive prefix in its various forms are also extremely rare in the Vedic examples are *kucarā*, *latpayā*, *kābandha*, *kunannamā*, *kumārā*, *kūyava*, *kuśāva*.

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 true test is fitness in the proposition. Thus *ādhipati* overlord *āparupa* mis-form, *prāṭicatu* appearing for, *prāpada* fore part of foot, *prāṇapat* great-grandchild, *vīpakṣa* quite done, *sampriya* mutually dear, *upajihvika* side tongue (with retraction of the accent of *jihvā*); *antardeśā* intermediate direction, *pradvī* forward heaven, *prapitamahā* (also *prāpitamahā*) great-grandfather, *pratijana* opponent, *vyadhvā* midway. These compounds are more frequent with possessive values (Lohu, 1305).

b. The 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, *ātipūruṣa* (11) chief man, *adhi* superlative, as in *adhidanta* upper tooth *adhistrī* chief woman; *abhi* is intensive, as in *abhinamra* much inclining, *abhinava* sprang-new, *abhirucira* delightful, & signifies somewhat, as in *ākūṭila* somewhat crooked, *ānula* minute; *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, *vīpāṇḍu* greyish, *vikṣudra* respectively small; *sam*, completeness as in *saṃpakva* 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, *purudasmā*, *purupriyā*, *puruścandrā*; those with *pūnar*, on the prior member, as *pūnarṇava*, *pūnarmagha*, *pūnar-yuvan*, *pūnarvasu* (but *punaḥsārā* etc.); those with *satāa*, *satinā*, *satyā*, the same, as *satāmahan*, *satināmanyu*, *satyāmugra*; a few combinations of nouns in *tr* and *ana* with adverbs *atī* with the prefixes on the final syllable as *puraṣṭī*, *puraṣṭhāt*, *upariṣayanā*, *prataḥsavanā*; and miscellaneous cases are *mithōnavadyapa*, *hāriścandra*, *alpa-cayu*, *sādhvaryā*, *yācchroṣṭhā* and *yāvaccchroṣṭhā*, *īyogāmayavin*.

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. *çûkababhrû* (VS) *parrot-brown*, *ûrpâmṛdu* (TB) *soft as wool*, *prânapriya* *dear as life*, *kuççayavajomṛdu* *soft as lotus-pollen*, *bakalina* *hidden like a heron*, *mattamâtangagâmin* *moving like a maddened elephant*.

b. An adjective is now and then qualified by another adjective: e. g. *kṛṣṇâita* *dark-gray*, *dhûmrâroṇita* *grayish red*: and compare the adjectives of intermediate direction, 1257 c.

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, *dṛṣṭapūrva* *previously seen*, *pariṇītapūrva* *already married*, *aparījñatapūrva* *not before known*, *somapītapūrva* *having formerly drunk soma*, *atīpūrva* *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 *sâryatejâs* *sun's brightness* becomes the

possessive *suryate*, so possessing the brightness of the sun; *yajñakāma* desire of sacrifice becomes *yajñākāma* having desire of sacrifice; the descriptive *bhadraratha* great chariot becomes the possessive *bhadraratha* having great chariot; *āhastā* not hand becomes *ahastā* handless, *durgāndhī* ill savor becomes *durgāndhī* 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 negative, like the latter, a possessive suffix or other means: e. g. *vāgghastavan*, *doṣagūṇin*, *rajastamaska*, *aśirogriva*, *anggyajus*. A very small number of exceptions, however, are found: thus, *śomendṛā* (TS.), *stōmaprāṇha* (VS. TS.), *hastīśābha* (CB), *dāśinika* (ChU), and later, *cakramusala*, *sadānanda*, *saccīdānanda*, *sāṅkhyayoga* (as n. pr.), *balābala*, *bhūtabhāntika*.

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 attribute word) is easily cast into a relative form, its essential character lies in the possession 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 *bhadraratha*, 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 opposite 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 a final may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a single noun must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adapt it to adjective use: for example, that while *hastā* must become *hastin* and *bāhū* must become *bāhumant*, *hiranyahastā* and *mahābāhū* 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, *mahābāhuh puruṣaḥ* *man* with great arms, and not also *mahābāhur maṇiḥ* *jewel* for a great arm, or *mahābāhavaḥ śākhāḥ* *branches* like a great arm.

b. There are, however, in the other languages 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, *viśvānara* of or for all men, *belonging to all* (and so *viśvākṣṣi*, *-carṣaṇi*, *-kṣiti*, *-gotra*, *-manuṣ*, *-āyu*, and *sarvāpaṇu*, *saptāmānuṣa*), *viśvācārada* of every custom, *vipathā* for *had roads*, *dvirāś* [battle] of two kings, *agvayajṣṭha* carried on horseback, *virāpastya* abiding with heros, *pūrṇāmāsa* at full moon, *adēvaka* for *no divinity*, *bahudevata* or *-tyā* for *many divinities*, *aparisaṁvatsara* *not lasting a full year*, *ekādaśakapāla* for *eleven dishes*, *śomendrā* 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 (1313) belong with these, so *dvigu* itself, as meaning *worth two cows*, *dvinau* bought for two ships; also occasional cases like *devāsura* [*sarigrāma*] of the gods and demigods, *narahaya* of man and horse, *cakramusala* with diadem of 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, *jñātimukha* wearing the aspect of *relatives*, *pātukāma* desiring a husband, *haastipāda* having an elephant's feet, *rājanyūbandhu* having kinsmen 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, *rayasthāna* being source of wealth, but they contain no implication of possession, and are possibly in character, as in accent, independent (but compare 1294b). Also a few in *as*, as *nṛcākṣas* men-beholding, *nṛvāhas* men-bearing, *kṣetrasūdhas* 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-

actor of the prior member — whether the noun-final be preceded by a qualifying adjective, or noun, or adverb.

1208. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are, as pointed out above, 1200f 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, *jīva-putra* having living sons, *dirghāśmaśru* long-eared, *bhāścchravaṇa* of great renown, *bhūrimūla* many-rooted, *mahāvādha* bearing a great weapon, *viśvārūpa* having all forms, *çukrāvarga* of bright color, *çivābhimarçāna* of propitious touch, *satyāsaṁdha* of true promises, *nārvaḷga* whole-linked, *avāyaçna* having own glory, *hāritāraç* 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 *tuvirādhaṇa*, *purupēçaṣ*, *prthupākṣaṣ*, and others in which (as above, 1200b) a determinative character may be suspected: thus, *urujrāyaṣ* beside *urujri*, *uruvyāçaṣ* beside *uruvyāç*, and so on, but also with those of other finals, as *ṛjuhāsta*, *çitrikākṣaṣ* etc., *kṛṇṇakāṣṇa*, *citrādṛṣṭika*, *tuvirçūçma*, *ṛjukrātu*, *prthupārçu*, *puruvārīman*, *raghuyāman*, *viçupātman*. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final to the first syllable of the second member. Thus, *adhubbhedaṣ*, *tuvirgriva*, *puruvīra*, *pururūpa*, *çitibāhu* (also *çitibāhū*). 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, *bahvannā*, *nīlanakhā*, *puruputrā*, *viçvāṅgā*, *svapatī*, *tuvīpratī*, *prçiparçī* f., *darçataçrī*, *pāuraçjū*, *asitajū*, *prthugmān*, *bahuprajāṣ*.

c. The adjective *viçva* all as prior member of a compound (and also in derivation), changes its accent regularly to *viçvā*; *nārva* whole, all, does the same in a few cases.

1209. 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, *chinuṇpākṣa* with severed wing, *dhṛtārāçira* of firmly held royalty, *hatāmātṛ* whose mother is slain, *iddhāgni* whose fire is kindled, *uttānāhanta* with outstretched hand, *prāyatadakaṣṭha* having presented sacrificial gifts; and, with prefixed negative, *āriṣṭavīra* whose men are unharmed, *ātaptatana* of unburned substance, *ānabhīmatavarga* of unburned color. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: there have been hitherto only *paryantākṣā*, *vyantakeçī* f., *achinnapargā*.

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, *dyutadyāman*, *dhṛṣādvārṇa* etc., *queādratha*, *rūṇadvatea* etc., *bhrājajjanman* etc., *saṁyādvīra*, *stanāyadama*, *sādhadyiṣṭi*; 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, *dravātpani* etc. (*dravāt* also occurs as adverb), *rapṣādūdhan*, *avanādratha*, *arcāddhuma*, *bhandādiṣṭi*, *krandādiṣṭi*. With these last agrees in form *jarādāṣṭi* *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, *yuyujānāsepti* *with harnessed coursers* (perhaps rather *having harnessed their coursers*), and *dādṛṇāpavi* (with regular accent, instead of *dādṛṇā*, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle) *with conspicuous wheel-rims*.

d. Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in *grūtīkarma* (RV.) *of listening ear*; and with this are perhaps accordant *didyagui* and *athāraṣman* (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.

a. Examples with other numerals than *dvi* and *tri* are: *ōkacakra*, *ōkaçirṣan*, *ōkapad*, *cāturaṅga*, *cāturpakṣa*, *pāñcaguri*, *pāñcādāna*, *śāḍaṣva*, *śāṭpad*, *saptāhva*, *saptāmātr*, *aṣṭāpad*, *aṣṭāputra*, *nāvapad*, *nāvadvāra*, *dāçaçakha*, *dāçaçirṣan*, *dvādaçāra*, *triçādāra*, *çatāparvan*, *çatādant*, *sahasraṇāman*, *sahasramula*.

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, *caturakṣā* etc. (*akṣan* or *ākṣi* 431), *gaḍahā* etc. (*āhan* or *āhar* 430 a), *daçavṛṣā* etc. (*vṛṣan*), *okarātrā* etc. (*rātri* or *rātri*), *ekarcā* etc. (*ṛc*); but also a few others, as *gaḍayogā*, *aṣṭayogā*, *çatārgḥā*, *sahasrārgḥā*, *ekaparā* (9).

c. The compounds with *dvi* and *tri* for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, *dvijānman*, *dvidhūra*, *dvibāndhu*, *dvivartanī*, *dvipād*; *tritāntu*, *trinābhi*, *triçoka*, *trivārūtha*, *tricakrā*, *triçirṣan*, *tripād*. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy and accent the numeral: thus, for example, *dvīpakṣa*, *dvīçavaç*, *dvyāyasa*, *triçandhi*, *tryāra*, *tryāçir*, and sometimes *dvīpad* and *tripād* in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, a substituted stem in *a* is apt to take the accent on the final, thus, *dvīvrṣā* and *trivṛṣā*, *dvīrājā*, *dvīrātrā*, *tryāyugā*, *tridivā*; and a few of other

character with tri follow the same rule, thus, trikaśā, trinakā, tri-bandhū, tryudhān, tribarhīś, 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 regular 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 (hasily to be noticed as possessive dependent, because the relation of material is not regularly expressed by a case: 285): *zāṇa*, *hīraṇyahaata* *gold-banded*, *hīraṇyasaṇḍa* *with golden garlands*, *āyāṇḍhāna* *having sixteen supports*, *rajanābhi* *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: *ācāpārṇa* *horse-winged*, or *having horses as wings* (said of a chariot); *bhūmigr̥ha* *having the earth as house*, *īndrasakhī* *having Indra for friend*, *agnīhoṭṣ* *having Agni as priest*, *gandharvāpatni* *having a Gandharva for spouse*, *cūrāputra* *having hero-asms*, *jarāmṛtyu* *having old age as mode of death*, *living till old age*, *agnivāsa* *fire-altar*, *tudanta* *ending with that*, *cāraṇakṛm* *using spurs for eyes*, *vishvācārmanāman* *named Vishvācārman*; and, with person instead of noun, *tvāḍita* *having thee as messenger*, *tādāpā* *having this for work*. Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation, thus, *agnījihvā*, *vṛṣaṇaśvā*, *dhūmaçikhā*, *pavināsā*, *asānāma*, *tatkūla*, etc.

b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, *īndrayoçṭha* *having Indra as chief*, *mānāçṭha* *having the mind as seat*, *śomaçreṣṭha* *of which soma is best*, *ekaparā* *of which the ace is highest* (), *āsthibhūyas* *having bone as the larger part*, *chiefly of bone*, *abhirupabhuyiṣṭha* *chiefly composed of worthy persons*, *daçāvara* *having ten as the lowest number*, *cintāpara* *having meditation as highest object or occupation*, *devōtā* *devoted to meditation*, *nihvāsa-parama* *much addicted to singing*.

c. Certain words are of especial frequency in the compounds here described, and have in part won a peculiar application. Thus:

d. With *ādī* *beginning* or *ādika* or *ādya* *first* are made compounds expressing the person or thing specified along with others, such a person or thing is often. For example, *devā īndradayaḥ* *the gods having Indra as first* i. e. *the gods Indra etc.*, *marīcyādīn munīn* *Marici and the other*

ayaj, arāyambhuvādyāḥ saptaī 'to manavaḥ *their seven Manas, Saptāmbhura etc., agniṣṭomādikaṁ the sacrifice Agniṣṭoma and so on.* Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in *annapānendhanādini* *food, drink, fuel, etc., dānadharmādikaṁ caratu bhavān* *let your honor practice liberality, religious rules, and the like.* The particles *evam* and *iti* are sometimes used by substitution as prior members thus, *evamādi vacanam* *words to this and the like effect*, *ato 'hadi bravimi kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityam ityādi* *hence I say "accumulation is ever to be made" etc.*

c. Used in much the same way, but less often, is *prabhṛti* *beginning*, thus, *viśvāvasuprabhṛtibhir gandharvāḥ* *with the Gandharvas* *Vicetasas etc.*; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time as *tatprabhṛti* or *tatāprabhṛti* *thenceforward*.

f. Words meaning *foregoer, predecessor, and the like*—namely, *pūrva, pūrvaka, pūrvāśara, pūrvakṛta, pūrvagama*—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. *amitapūrvam* *with a smile*, *anamayapraṇapūrvakam* *with inquiries after health*, *pitāmahapūrvagama* *accompanied by the great Father*.

g. The noun *mātrā* *measure* stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive noster to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and denotes thus the virtual value of *mere, only* thus, *jalamātreṇa variṣayan* *living by water only* (*lit. by that which has water for its measure or limit*), *garbhacyuti-mātroṇa* *by merely issuing from the womb*, *prāṇayātrikamātrāḥ 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 intensive noster to signify *for the sake of* or *to the like* thus, *yaḥśasiddhyartham* *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 *ābhū, kalpa*, in the sense of *like, approaching*—thus, *hemābhū* *gold-like*, *mṛtakalpa* *nearly dead*, *pratipannakalpa* *almost accomplished*;—*vidha*, in the sense of *kind, sort*—thus, *tvadvidha* *of thy sort*, *puruṣavidha* *of human kind*—*prāya*, in the sense of *mostly, often*, and the like—thus, *duḥkha-prāya* *full of pain*, *trṇa-prāya* *abounding in grass*, *nirgama-prāya* *often going out*,—*antara* (a substantive noster), in the sense of *other*—thus, *deśāntara* *in other regions* (*lit. that which has a difference of region*), *janmāntarāṇi* *other existences*, *śākhāntara* *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-lacked, *mādhujihva* honey-tongued, *nīlākṛīva* and *maṇṇṛīva* necklace-necked, *pātrahasta* vessel-handed, *vājrabāhu* lightning-armed, *āṣṭāmukha* blood-faced, *kīlālodhan* meat-uddered, *vājañāṭhara* sacrifice-bellied, *vāṣṭapakaṣṭha* with tears in the throat, *śraddhāmanas* with faith in the heart, with intercalary accent, *dhūmākṣi* f. smoke-eyed, *agrāmukhī* f. tear-faced, and *khādihasta* ring-handed (khādī). In the later language, such compounds are not so frequent with words meaning hand: thus, *śastrapāṇi* having a sword in the hand, *laguḥāṣṭa* 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 prevalently 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, *aśraddhā* faithless, *amanā* without ornament, *aśatrū* without a foe, *avarman* not embarrassed, *adant* toothless, *apād* footless, *atejā* without brightness, *anārambhaṇā* not to be gotten hold of, *apratimānā* incomparable, *aduḥkṛunā* bringing no harm, *apakṣapuccha* without sides or tail.

b. But a number of examples (few in proportion to those already tabulated) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptives 1288 a) thus, *ākṣitī* indestructible, *āgu* kindless, *āgopā* without shepherd, *āpīvana* lifeless, *ānūpi* without friends, *āṣṭqvī* f. without young, *āmṛtya* deathless, *ābrahman* without priest, *āvyacas* without extension, *āhavis* without oblation, and a few others; AV. has *āprajās*, but Ṛ. *aprajās*. A very few have the accent on the penult, namely, *acceśas*, *ajāni*, and *avira* (with retraction, from *virā*), *apūtra* (do, from *putrā*), and AV. has *abhrātṛ*, but RV. *abhrātṛ*.

c. In compounds with the prefixes of praise and dispraise, as usual, the accent is in the great majority of cases that of the final member: thus, *sukāḷpa* of easy make, *subhāga* well portioned, *munākaatra* of propitious star, *suputrā* having excellent sons, *sugopā* well-sheep-headed, *sukīrti* of good fame, *sugāndhī* fragrant, *subāhū* well-armed, *suśāntu* of easy control, *sukrātu* of good capacity, *subhṛd* good-hearted, *suvard* well-garlanded, *suvārman* well-embroidered, *suvāsa* well-clad, *suprapīti* well gratifying; *durbhāga* ill-portioned, *durdṛṣṭika* of evil aspect, *durdhāra* hard to restrain, *durgāndhī* ill-scented, *durādhi* of evil designs, *durdhārta* hard to restrain, *duṣṭārītu* hard to excel, *duratyētu* hard to cease, *durdhūr* ill-yoked, *durqāman* ill-named, *durvāsa* 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, *su-ṣiprā* well-fingered, *svapatyā* of good progeny, *suvāṅkṣa* of good aspect, *svaṅgūrī* well-fingered, *aviṣū* having good arrows, *supivās* well-situated,

and compounds with derivatives in *ana*, as *suviśāna* of easy disengagement, *supasarpapā* of easy approach, *duṣcyavanā* hard to shake, and AV. has *suphālā* and *subandhū* against RV. *suphāla* and *subāndhu*. Like *avira*, *suvara* shows retraction of accent. Only *dūrācīr* 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 *du* 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, *sākratu* of joint will, *sānāman* of like name, *sārūpa* of similar form, *sāyoni* having a common origin, *sāvācas* of assenting words, *sātoku* having progeny along, with one's progeny, *sabrahmaṇa* together with the Brahman, *sāmūla* with the root, *sāntardeṇa* with the intermediate directions, *sahagopa* with the shepherd, *sahavatṣa* accompanied by one's young, *sahāpatnī* having her husband with her, *sahāpuruṣa* 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 me, 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, *sājōṇa*, *sājōṇas*, *sādīṣa*, *sapráthas*, *sabādhās*, *samanyū* and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in *sāṅgā* (RV. *sāṅga*) and the substantivized (1312) *savidyutā*.

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, 1289, and the prepositional, below, 1310). They usually have the accent of the prefix.

a. Most common are those made with *pra*, *vi*, and *nam*: thus, for example, *prāmahas* having exceeding might, *prāgravaśa* widely famed; *vīgriva* of very neck, *vyāṅga* having limbs as *any* or *gone*, limbless, *vijāni* wifeless, *vīparva* and *vīparas* jointless, *vyādhvan* of wide wings, *vīmanas* both of wide mind and *mindless*, *vivācas* of discordant speech, *sāmpatnī* having one's husband along, *sāmmanas* of concordant mind, *samsahasra* accompanied by a thousand, *sāmokas* of joint abode. Examples of others are: *āśfūrmi* surging over, *ādhvaseṣṭra* having a garment on, *ādhvārtha* with a half over, *ādhvakaṇ* overver, *āpodaka* without water, *abhirūpa*

of adapted character, *avatoka* that has abated, *āmanas* of scornful mood, *ūdojas* of exalted power, *nīmanyu* of unassuaged fury, *nirmaya* free from guile, *nirhaata* harmless.

b. It is comparatively small number of cases, the accent is otherwise, and generally on the final thus, *avakeśā*, *upamanyū*, *viśaphā*, *viśikha* (AV *viśikha*), *vikarpā*, *sammattī*, etc.: in an instance or two, that of the final member thus, *sahśiśvari* having a common young.

1306. Possessive compounds with an ordinary adverb as first 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 *āntyūṣṭi* bringing near help, *avōdava* calling down the gods, *itānti* helping on their side, *ibācitta* with mind directed hither, *daśapātākāpārda* wearing the breast on the right side, *nānādharman* of various character, *purudhāpratīka* of manifest aspect, *viśvātomaḥka* with faces on all sides, *sadyānti* of immediate aid, *viśarūpa* of various form, *smādādhan* with udder, *adhastallakṣman* with mark below, *ekātominukha* 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 b 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 unusable in adjective inflection.

b. Also, the compound possessive stem occasionally takes further a possessive-making suffix thus, *yaśobhagin*, *suśiprin*, *varavarṣin*, *darśanātrīn*, *pūṇyavagbuddhikarmin*, *śutāsomavant*, *tādṛgṛupavant*, *trayodaśadvipavant*, *nārakapalakupḍalavant*, *smṛtabuddhimant*.

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*, *anadhigatacāstra* with unacquired books i. e. *who has neglected study*; *kṛtaprayatna* possessing performed effort i. e. *on whom effort is expended*, *aṅguliyakadarśanāvasāna* having the sight of the ring as termination, i. e. *destined to end on sight of the ring*, *uddhṛtavigadānālyah* having an extracted despair-urrow, i. e. *when I shall have extracted the burb of despair*, *śrutavistārah kṛyatām* let him be made with heard details i. e. *let him be informed of the details*, *dṛṣṭavīryo jae ramah* Rama has seen my progress, *bhagnabhāṇḍo dvijo yathā* see

the Brahman that broke the pole uktāṅgām rām yathā *like a cow 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 vidādvaṣu *winning good things*, kṣayādvira *governing* (kṣāyant) *heroes*, tarāddveṣas *overcoming* (tārant) *foes*, ābharādvānu *bringing good things*, codayānmatī *meeting* (codāyant) *detention*, mandayātsakha *rejoicing* *friends*, dharayātkavi *celebrating* *ages*, mahayādrayi *bestowing* *wealth*.

b. In śādādyoni *a thing in the lap* (śādat quite anomalously for śīdat or śadat), and aprhayādvārṇa *colorless of color*, the case-relation of the final member is other than objective. In patayān mandayātsakham (ITV. i. 4 7), patayāt, with accent changed accordingly, represents patayātsakham, the final member being understood from the following word. Vidādvaṣu is to be inferred from its derivative vāidadaṣvi (of this formation appear to be jamadagni, pratādvānu (prathād?), and trasādasyu (for trasāddasyu?). It was not until after (1200 c) that yuyujānāṣṭi is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle, śādhadiṣṭi, on account of its accent, a probably possessive.

1310. Prepositional Compounds. By this name may be conveniently called those combinations in which the prior member is a participle 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 ātravi *passing through the wood*, atirātra *overnight*, atimātrā *exceeding measure*, ādhiratha *lying on the chariot*, adhigavā *belonging to the cow*, adhaspadā *under the foot*, adhoakya *below the axle*, ānupatha *following the road*, anupūrvā *following up the one preceding, one after another*, anupatyā *in accordance with truth*, anukūla *down stream, etc.*, ānucapathu (with anomalously changed accent of antār) *within the way*, antardāvā *within the flame (?)*, antarhaatā *in the hand*, āntigṛha *near the house*, āpiprāpa *accompanying the breath* (prāṇā), āpivratu *concerned with the ceremony*, apīcarvarā *bordering on night*, apīkarpā *next the ear*, abhiṣṭu *reaching to the knee*, abhiṣira *and abhisatvaṣu* *accompanying horses*, āpathi *on the road*, ādova *going to the gods*, ājaraṣu

reaching old age, *advadaśā* up to twelve, *upakakṣā* reaching to the arms, *upottamā* next to last, penultimate, *uparibudhna* above the bottom, *upārimartya* rising above mortals, *tiro,anā* beyond people, *niḥśālā* out of the house, *paripād* (about the feet) snare, *parihastā* about the hand bracelet, *purokṣa* out of sight, *paromātra* beyond measure, *parogavyuti* beyond the fates, *paraśśaṣṭarā* (*pāraśśaṣṭara*, ५४) above a thousand, *purokṣā* in front of the eyes, *pratidośā* toward evening, *pratilomā* against the grain, *pratikūla* up stream, *pratyākṣa* before the eyes, *bahya-paridhī* outside the enclosure, *vipathī* 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-rajña* relating to the sacrifice, etc.

c. A suffix *ni* is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in *upāśana* on the weapon, *avyuṣā* until daybreak. In a few instances the suffix *ya* is taken (see above, 1212 m), and in one word the suffix *in-* thus, *paripanthīn* besetting the path.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to a verbal use, see below, 1313 b.

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 *dvija*.

a. The name is a sample of the class, and means *of two cows*, and is to be used in the sense of *worth two cows*, as also *pañcangu* bought *for five cows*, *dvindū* worth two ships, *pañcakapāla* made in five cups, and so on.

b. Vast: examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are, *dvirāja* [combat] of two kings, *triyugā* three ages, *triyojanā* space of three leagues, *tridivā* the triple heaven, *pañcuyojanā* space of five leagues, *śaḍaha* six days' time, *daśaṅgulā* ten fingers' breadth, and, with suffix *ya*, *śaḥśarāhṇya* 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, *vihṛdaya* heartlessness, and

sāhṛdaya heartiness, *eudivā* prosperity by day, *sumyṅā* 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 prevailingly 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 *avyayibhava*.

a. This term is a derivative from the compound verb (1094) made up of *avyaya* uninflected and *ybhū*, 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, *advadaçām* up to twelve, *prati-doçām* 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, *pratinicām* every night, *nir-makṣkam* 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, *yathāvaçām* as one chooses (*vāça* will), *yathākṛtām* as done [before], according to usage, *yathānāmā* by name, *yathabhāgām* according to several portions, *yathāṅgām* and *yathāparū* limb by limb, *yatrakāmam* whither one will, *yāvanmātrām* in some measure, *yāvajjivām* as long as one lives, *yāvatsābandhu* 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 *yācchreṣṭhā* RV., *yāvaccchreṣṭhā* AV. as good as possible. (B. has *yathākārīn*, *yathācārīn*, *yāthākāma*, *yāthākratu* as adjectives [followed in each case by a correlative *tāthā*]). The adjectival 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 *yathāsādhikyena*, *yathāçaktyā*, *yathēpsayā*, *yathāpratiguṇa*; and ablative, as *yathāucityāt*.

f. A class of adverbs of frequent occurrence is made with *sa*: a. g *sakopam* angrily, *sādarām* respectfully, *saamitam* with a smile, *savi-çeṣām* especially.

g. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, *ptekarmām* without work, *nānāratham* 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* sulter, *yathātathā* as it really is, *sūsaha* prosperity in companionship, *anīha* 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* content for possession, *itihāśā* legend (*iti hā* "as thus, indeed, it was"), *naghamārā* and *naghāriṇā* not, surely, dying or coming to harm, *kuvītas* some unknown person, *tadīdartha* having just that as aim, *kūśīdarthin* having errands in every direction, *kacitkarā* doing all sorts of things, *kuhaścidvid* wherever found, *akutaścidbhaya* out of all danger, *yad-bhaviṣya* What-is-to-be, etc.

c. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form as, *anyonya* and *paraśpara* one another, *avaraśpara* inserted.

d. Aggregations with the natural order inverted e. g. *pitāmahā* and *tatāmahā* grandfather, *putrahata* with his sons slain, *janvāknā* and *janvākta* with bended knee, *dantajsta* provided with teeth, *somāpahṛtā* deprived of soma, *paṅktirādhas* having groups of gifts, *gojara* old bull, *agrujihvā*, *ugraṇāsikā*, 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 c) 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. *vrkṣādhas* or *vrkṣādhasatāt* under the tree, *dantantap* between the teeth, *bhavanopari* on top of the house, *satyavina* 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*, *vr̥ṇa*, *ṇva*, *saktha*, *māma*.

b. An *i* or *ī* is changed to *a*. examples are *aṅgula*, *sājala*, *aṅra*, *kukṣa*, *khāra*, *nada*, *nabha*, *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*, *rājāna*; *anasa*, *ayasa*, *āyusa*, *urasa*, *enasa*, *tamasa*, *manasa*, *yajusa*, *rajasa*, *rahasa*, *varcasa*, *vedasa*, *ṣreyasa*, *sarasa*; *dhruva*, *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: *rāyāśkāmo viśvāpsanyasya* (RV) *desirous of all-enjoyable wealth*, *añhōr urucākriḥ* (RV) *causing relief from distress*; *mahādhanō ārbhe* (RV) *in great contest and in small*, *svānāḥ grāṇiḥ śhyakāmaḥ* (AṠ.) *desiring superiority over his fellows*; *brāhmaṇāḥ chrutaṣṭilavṛttasampannān ekena vā* (AṠ.) *Brahmans endowed with learning, character, and behavior, or with one [of the three]*; *cittapramāthini bālā devānām api* (MBh.) *a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods*, *vasiṣṭhavacanād ṛṣyaṣṛṅgasya o bhayoḥ* (It.) *at the words of both Vasiṣṭha and Rishyarringa*; *sītadravyāpaharaṇe ṣastrāṣām āpādhasya ca* (M) *in case of stealing ploughing implements or weapons or medicament*, *jyotiṣāḥ madhyacārī* (H) *moving in the midst of the stars*; *dārupātrāḥ ca mṛmmayam* (M) *a wooden and an earthen vessel*, *syandane dattadrṣṭiḥ* (I) *with eye fixed on the chariot*, *tasminn ullambitamṛtaḥ* (KṢ.) *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 Itiopaṇṇa.

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 प्रलयधनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेष्टो
हतश्छिन्नदुम इव पपात । यतः ।

जलमपि विषं शस्त्रं शुद्धाधी पतनं गिरेः ।

निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥

अत्रान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जघुकः परिभ्रमन्नाहारार्थी तान्मृ-
तान्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत् । आलोकाचिन्तयदसौ । अहो
भाग्यम् । महद्भोज्यं समुपस्थितम् । अथवा ।

अचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवाद्यान्ति देहिनाम् ।

सुखायपि तथा मन्ये दैवमन्त्रातिरिच्यते ॥

भवतु । एषा मांसमांसवयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति । ततः प्रथमवृ-
षायां तावदिमानि स्वादूनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलपं आयुर्वन्धं धा-
दामीत्युक्त्वा तथाकरोत् । ततश्चक्रे स्यायुर्वन्धे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा इति
भिन्नः स दीर्घरावः पञ्चलं गतः । अतो इहं ब्रवीमि ।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिमंचयः ।

अतिसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः ॥

आसीत्कल्याणकटकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चेकहा
मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्यादधीमध्यं गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको
व्यापादितः। मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन घोराकृतिः सूकरो दृष्टः।
ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः शरेण हृतः। सूकरेणाप्यागत्य
प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे हृतश्चिन्नद्रुम इव
पपात। यतः।

जलमग्निं विषं शस्त्रं क्षुद्धाधी पतनं गिरेः।

निमित्तं किञ्चिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥

अत्रान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिभ्रमन्वाहाराधी तान्मृता-
न्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत्। आलोक्याचिन्तयद्दसौ। ग्रहो भाग्यम्।
मरुद्गोत्रं समुपस्थितम्। अथवा।

अर्चिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथेवायान्ति देहिनाम्।

सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये देयमत्रतिरिच्यते ॥

अथतु। एषां मांसमांसत्रयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रथममुभयायां
सायदिमानि स्यादृनि मांसानि यिहाय कौदण्डाटनीमानं क्षायुक्त्वे खादामोत्युक्त्वा
तथाकरोत्। ततश्चिद्वे क्षायुक्त्वे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा हृदि भिद्यः स दीर्घरावः पश्यत्ये
गतः। अतो ऽहं मर्त्यमि।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसंचयः।

अतिसंचयदीपेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः ॥

Āt kalyāṇakaṭakāvāstavyo bhāiravo nāma vyādhaḥ. sa
cāi 'kadā māṁsalubdhaḥ san dhanur ādāya vindhyādvimadhyam
gataḥ. tatra tena mṛga eko vyāpāditaḥ. mṛgam ādāya sacchata
tena ghorākṛtiḥ sūkaro dṛṣṭaḥ. tatas tena mṛgaṁ bhūmau ni-
dhāya sūkaraḥ śareṇa hataḥ. sūkareṇa 'py āgatya pralayaḥha-
naghoragarjanaṁ kṛtvā sa vyādho muṣkadeṣe hataḥ chinnadruma
iva papāta. yataḥ:

jalam agniṁ viṣam castram kauḍvyaḍhi patanaṁ gireḥ.
nimittaṁ kiṁcid ādāya dehi prāṇair vimucyate.

atrāntare dirgharāvo nāma jambukaḥ paribhramann āhār-
ārthi tām mṛtām mṛgavyādhasūkarām apaçyat. ālokyā 'cintayad
asāu: aho bhāgyam. mahad bhojyadh samupasthitam. athava:
acintitāni duḥkhāni yathai 'vā 'yānti dehinām,
sukhāny api tathā manye dāivam atrā 'tiricyate.

bhavatu; eṣāṁ māṁsāir māsatrayaṁ samadhikam bhojanam
me bhaviṣyati. tataḥ prathamabubhukṣāyāṁ tāvad imāni svā-
dāni māṁsāni vihāya kodaḥḥāṣaṇilagnam snāyubandham khadāmi
'ty uktvā tathā 'karot. tataç chinne snāyubandhe drutam utpa-
titeṇa dhanuṣā hrīdi bhinnāḥ sa dirgharāvāḥ paścātvaṁ gataḥ-
ato 'harḥ bravimi:

kartavyaḥ sarhoayo nityaḥ kartavyo na 'tisahcayaḥ;
atisahcayadoṣeṇa 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 R̥g-Veda; it is regarded by the tradition as uttered
by Vāc (voice), i. e. the Word or Logos.

Hymn (X. 125) from the R̥g-Veda.

मृहं रुद्रेभिर्ममिभिराम्यरुनोदित्यैरुन विभेदेभ्यैः ।
मृहं मित्रावरुणोभा विभर्ग्यरुविन्द्रागो मृहमृचिभोभा ॥ १ ॥
मृहं सोमेनारुनसं विभर्ग्यरुं वष्टारमुन पृथगो भगेन् ।
मृहं द्यौमि क्रविणं रुविज्जने सुप्रोद्येष्टं यजोमानाग सुन्वते ॥ २ ॥
मृहं तद्वी मृगमेनी यज्ञानं चिचिनुयी प्रयुना दृदिघानान् ।
ता मो देवा व्येदयुः पुरुत्रा भूरिन्वात्रा भूर्यविजयंस्तेन् ॥ ३ ॥
मया नो यदगेन्ति यो विपन्यन्ति यः प्राणिनि य ईं प्रपोत्पुक्तम् ।
धृमुनशो मा त उप तिगान सुप्रि मुन अद्वि ते यदनि ॥ ४ ॥
मृहमेव च्यगिदं वेदानि वुष्टं देवेभिर्हृत मानुषेभिः ।
यं कृणोते तंतेमुचं नृणामि तं ब्रह्माणं तमपि तं मुनेषाम् ॥ ५ ॥
मृहं रुद्राग धनुरा तंनेमि ब्रह्मद्विष्टं शरैरे दक्ष्मन्ता उ ।

मृतं जनाय नृगदे कृष्णोऽयुक्तं यावाँस्त्रिषी या त्रिषी ॥ ६ ॥

मृतं मुने पित्रोऽस्य मृष्यन्तु योनिर्द्व्युत्तः संमुद्रे ।

ततो वि त्रिषी भुवनान् विद्योतान् याँ वर्मणोपे ह्यसामि ॥ ७ ॥

मृतमेव वातं इत् प्र वीम्यारुमाणा भुवनानि विद्यो ।

परो दिवा य इत्ता पृथिव्यावाँनी मक्तिना सं वभूत् ॥ ८ ॥

ahám rudrebhir vásubhiḥ carāmy ahám adityāir utá viśvá-
devāib, ahám mitrávaruṇo 'bhā bibharmy ahám indrágni ahám
aśvīno 'bhā. 1.

ahám sōmam āhanāsam bibharmy ahám tvāṣṭāram utá pūṣāpāni
bhāgam, ahám dadhami drāvīṇaḥ havīṣmate supravṛye jāja-
mānāya sunvatē. 2.

ahám rāṣṭri saṃgāmani vāsūnām cikittūṣi prathamā yajñīyānām,
tām mā devā vy ādadhuḥ purutrā bhūriśathātrāḥ bhūry
āveśāyantim. 3.

māyā sō ānnam atti yō vipācyati yāḥ prāpiti yā iḥ ṣṣpōty uktām,
amantāvo mām tā ūpa kṣiyanti ṣrudhī ṣruta ṣradbhivāḥ te
vadāmi. 4.

ahám evā svayām idāḥ vadāmi jūṣṭam devebhir utá mānuṣebhiḥ,
yām kāmāye tām-tam ugrāḥ kṣpomi tām brahmāpāḥ tām ṣṣṣṣ
tām sumedhām. 5.

ahám rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmadvīṣo ṣārave hāntavā u,
ahám jānāya samādam kṣpomy ahám dyāvapṛthivī ā viveṣa. 6
ahám suve pitāram aśya mūrdhān māmā yōnir apav āntāḥ sa-
mudrē, tāto vī tiṣṭhe bhūvanā 'nu viśvo 'tā 'mūḥ dyāḥ varṣ-
māṇō 'pa sṣṣṣami. 7.

ahám evā vāta iva prā vāmy ārabhamāṇā bhūvanāni viśvā,
parō divā parā enā pṛthivyā 'tāvati 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 kṣ mate (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.

Vbhu ba.		Future-systems.	
Active:			
Indic.	Present-system.	Perfect-system.	Aorist-system.
Opt.	bhāveṣmi	bhābhūva	bhaviṣyāmi
Impr.	bhāveyam		bhaviṣyāmi
Ple.	bhāvāmi	babhūvāṁs	bhaviṣyānt
Augm.-Prei.	bhāvānt		ābhaviṣyam
Middle:			
Indic.	bhāve	babhūvé	bhaviṣyé
Opt.	bhāveya		[bhaviṣyā]
Impr.	bhāveṣi		
Ple.	bhāvāmiṁs	babhūvāṁs	bhaviṣyāṁsya
Augm.-Prei.	ābhāve		
Vkr māka.		Passive bhitā; — Indic. bhāvritum; — Gerund bhitvā, -bhūya.	
Active:			
Indic.	karōmi	okāra	karisyāmi
Opt.	karāmi		karisyāmi
Impr.	karāveṣi		
Ple.	karvānt	okarvāṁs	karisyānt
Augm.-Prei.	ākaravānt		ākarisyānt
Middle:			
Indic.	kurvé	okāré	karisyé
Opt.	kurviyá		[karisyā]
Impr.	karāveṣi		
Ple.	kurvāmi	okarvāṁs	karisyāṁsya
Augm.-Prei.	ākurvi		
		ākrīṣi	
		Passive kṛtā; — Indic. kārta; — Gerund kṛtvā, -kṛya.	

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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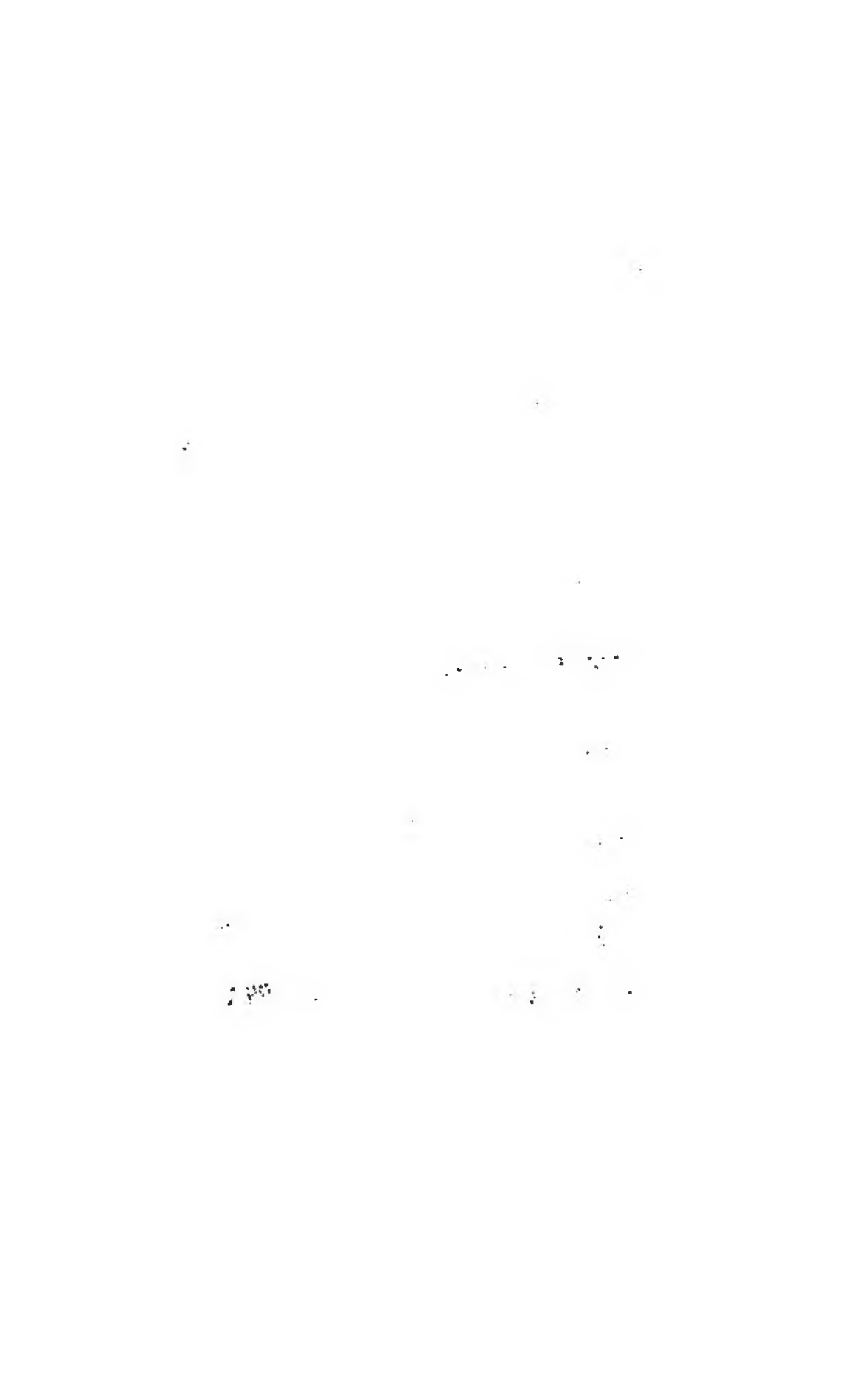
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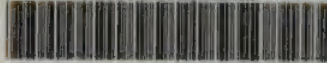
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ERRATA.

p. 147, 391, Plur. Loc.	— for त्रिवत्सु	read त्रिवृत्सु
265, 736, last l.	— " bhāvāntai	" bhāvāntāi.
357, 993c, l. 2	— " guhya	" gūhya.
401, 1091a, l. 3	— " akkhalikṭya	" akkhkhalikṭya.



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