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A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, INCLUDING BOTH THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, AND THE OLDER DIALECTS, OF VEDA AND BRAHMANA

BY WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

LEIPZIG,
DRUCK UND VERLAG VON BREITKOPF UND HÄRTEL.
1879.
A

SANSKRIT GRAMMAR,

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

BY

WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY,

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PREFACE.

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:

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 predecessors; 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.

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.

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.

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 external 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 Alt-
indisches Verbun and his various syntactical contribu-
tions. Former pupils of my own, Prof. Avery and Dr.
Edgren, have also helped me, in connection with this sub-
ject 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. (print-
ing 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 un-
published texts of the Brāhmaṇa period, not otherwise access-
ible 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. Schröder is due whatever use I have been able
to make (unfortunately a very imperfect one) of the import-
ant Mātrīyānī-Sanhitā.

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 mak-
ing it a more efficient help to the study of the Sanskrit
language and literature.

Gotha. July 1879.

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" (saṁskṛta, सांस्कृत, '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 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 (cākhās, lit’ly ‘branches’), phonetic and other, was zealously and effectively followed in the Brahmanic schools; this is attested by our possession of a number of phonetico-grammatical treatises, prāti-cākhāyas (pratī cākhām, ‘belonging to each several text’), one having for subject each 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 Mahābhāṣṣya, 'great comment', in which Kātyāyana's strictures on his rules are examined and discussed by Patanjali.

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 very strong regulative influence, leading to the avoidance more and more of what was, even if lingering in use, inconsistent with his teachings, and also, in the constant reproduction of texts, to the gradual effacement of whatever they might contain that was unapproved. Thus the whole more modern literature of India has been Paninized, so to speak, pressed into the mould prepared by him and his school. What are the
INTRODUCTION.

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

By the term "classical" or "later" language, then, as constantly used below in the grammar, is meant the language of those literary monuments which are written in conformity with the rules of the native grammar: virtually, the whole proper Sanskrit literature. For although parts of this are doubtless earlier than Pāṇini, it is impossible to tell just what parts, or how far they have escaped in their style the levelling 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, 103) 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 (except in the commentaries) hardly has an existence. Of linguistic history there is next to nothing in it all; but only a history of style, and this
for the most part showing a gradual depravation, an increase of artificiality and an intensification of certain more undesirable features of the language — such as the use of passive constructions and of participles instead of verbs, and the substitution of compounds for sentences.

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

The results of the very earliest literary productiveness of the Indian people are the hymns with which, when they had only crossed the threshold of the country, and when their geographical horizon was still limited to the river-basin of the Indus with its tributaries, they praised their gods, the deified powers of nature, and accompanied the rites of their comparatively simple worship. At what period these were made and sung cannot be determined with any approach to accuracy: it may have been as early as 2000 B.C. They were long handed down by oral tradition, preserved by the care, and increased by the additions and imitations, of succeeding generations; the mass was ever growing, and, with the change of habits and beliefs and religious practices, was becoming variously applied — sung in chosen extracts, mixed with other material into liturgies, adapted with more or less of distortion to help the needs of a ceremonial which was coming to be of immense elaboration and intricacy. And, at some time in the course of this history, there was made for preservation a great collection of the hymn-material, mainly its oldest and most genuine part, to the extent of over a thousand hymns and ten thousand verses, arranged according to traditional authorship and to subject and length of hymn: this collection is the Rīg-Veda, 'Veda of verses (re) or 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 Vajasaneyi-Saṁhitā (in two slightly discordant versions, Madhyandina and Kaṇva), sometimes also called the White Yajur-Veda; and the various and considerably differing texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, namely the Taśtrīya-Saṁhitā, the Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā, 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 Atharvā-Veda, 'Veda of the Atharvans (a legendary priestly family)'; it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the Rig-Veda, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the name of Veda; but for us it is the most interesting of all, after the Rig-Veda, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or mantra, as it is called, in distinction from the prose brāhmaṇa), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them only in a single known manuscript.

A not insignificant body of like material, and of various period (although doubtless in the main belonging to the latest time of Vedic productiveness, and in part perhaps the imitative work of a yet more modern time), is scattered through the texts to be later described, the Brāhmaṇas and
the Sūtras. To assemble and sift and compare it is now one of the pressing needs of Vedic study.

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

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

Along with the verses and sacrificial formulas and phrases in the texts 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 saṃhitā or text of verses and formulas, and is called the Cātapatru-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 Aitareya and Kaushitaki-Brāhmaṇas, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the Pañcaviṃśa and Śaṭeviṃśa-Brāhmaṇas and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, to the Atharva-Veda; and a Jaimini-Brāhmaṇa, to the Sāma-Veda, has just (Burnell) been discovered in India; the Tāittrīya-Brāhmaṇa is a collection of mingled mantra and brāhmaṇa, like the saṃhitā 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 saṃhitās, 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 Āranyakas ('forest-sections'): as the Aitareya-Āranyaka, Tāittrīya-Āranyaka, Brhad-Āranyaka, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the Brāhmaṇas, are extracted the earliest Upānishads ('sittings, lectures on sacred subjects') — which, however, are continued and added to down to a comparatively modern time. The Upānishads are one of the lines
by which the Brāhmaṇa literature passes over into the later theological literature.

Another line of transition is shown in the Sūtras (‘lines, rules’). The works thus named are analogous with the Brāhmaṇas in that they belong to the schools of Vedic study and are named from them, and that they deal with the religious ceremonies: treating them, however, in the way of prescription, not of dogmatic explanation. They, too, contain some mantra or hymn-material, not found to occur elsewhere. In part (grāuta or kalpa-sūtras), they take up the great sacrificial ceremonies, with which the Brāhmaṇas have to do; in part (grhya-sūtras), they teach the minor duties of a pious householder; in some cases (sā-mayācārīka-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-gāstras), 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, of the Mānava Vedic school); to which are added that of Yājnavalkya, 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 is variously assigned, to periods from six centuries before Christ to soon 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 Bhagavat-Gītā, are two of the most noted of its episodes. The Rāmāyana, 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 Rāghuvaṇa (ascribed to the dramatist Kalidāsa), the Māgha-kāvya, the Bhaṭṭikāvya (the last, written chiefly with the grammatical intent of illustrating by use as many as possible of the numerous formations which, through taught by the grammarians, find no place in the literature).

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

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

The drama is a still more noteworthy and important branch. The first indications of dramatical inclination and capacity on the part of the Hindus are seen in certain hymns of the Veda, where a mythological or legendary situation is conceived dramatically, and set forth in the form of a dialogue — well-known examples are the dialogue of Saramā and the Pānis, 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, Kalidāsa is incomparably the chief, and his Čakuntalā as distinctly his masterpiece. His date has been a matter of much inquiry and controversy; it is doubtless some centuries later than our era. The only other work deserving to be mentioned along with Kalidāsa's is the Mrchakaṭi of Čūdraka, 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 Hitopadeśa (‘salutary instruction’).

Two of the leading departments of Sanskrit scientific literature, the legal and the grammatical, have been already sufficiently noticed; of those remaining, the most important by far is the philosophical. The beginnings of philosophical speculation are seen already in some of the later hymns of the Veda, more abundantly in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, and then especially in the Upanishads. The evolution and historic relation of the systems of philosophy, and the age of their text-books, are matters on which much obscurity still rests. There are six systems of primary rank, and reckoned as orthodox, although really standing in no accordance with approved religious doctrines. All of them seek the same end, the emancipation of the soul from the
necessity of continuing its existence in a succession of bodies, and its unification with the All-soul; but they differ in regard to the means by which they seek to attain this end.

The astronomical science of the Hindus is a reflection of that of Greece, and its literature is of recent date; but as mathematicians, in arithmetic and geometry, they have shown more independence. Their medical science, although its beginnings go back even to the Veda, in the use of medicinal plants with accompanying incantations, is of little account, and its proper literature by no means ancient.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chap.</th>
<th>CONTENTS.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td><strong>NUMERALS</strong> . . . . . . . . . . . . 160—167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cardinals, 160; Ordinals etc., 166.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td><strong>PRONOUNS</strong> . . . . . . . . . . . . 168—181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal, 168; Demonstrative, 171; Interrogative, 176; Relative, 177;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emphatic, 179; Nouns used pronominally, 179; Pronominal Derivatives,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Possessives 179; Adjectives declined pronominally, 181.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td><strong>CONJUGATION</strong> . . . . . . . . . . . . 182—206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voice, Tense, Mode, Number, Person, 182; Verbal Adjectives and Nouns,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>185; Secondary Conjugation, 185; Personal Endings, 186; Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mode, 191; Optative, 193; Imperative, 195; Uses of the Modes, 196;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participles, 201; Augment, 201; Reduplication, 202; Accent of the Verb,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>203.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td><strong>THE PRESENT-SYSTEM</strong> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 207—255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General, 207; Conjugations and Conjugation Classes, 208; I. Root-class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(second or ad-class), 211; II. Reduplicating Class (third or hu-class),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>224; III. Nasal Class (seventh or rudh-class), 229; IV. Nu and u-Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(fifth and eighth, or su and tan-classes), 232; V. Nā-Class (ninth or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>krī-class), 238; VI. a-Class (first or bhū-class), 241; VII. Accented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ā-Class (sixth or tud-class), 245; VIII. Ya-Class (fourth or div-class),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>248; IX. Accented yā-Class or Passive Conjugation, 252; Uses of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Present and Imperfect, 254.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td><strong>THE PERFECT-SYSTEM</strong> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 255—270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect Tense, 255; Perfect Participle, 266; Modes of the Perfect, 267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>; Pluperfect, 269; Uses of the Perfect, 270.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI.</td>
<td><strong>THE AORIST-SYSTEMS</strong> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 271—299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Classification, 271; I. Simple Aorist: 1. Root-aorist, 273; Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aorist 3d sing., 277; 2. the a-Aorist, 278; II. 3. Reduplicated Aorist,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>281; III. Sibilant Aorist, 285; 4. the s-aorist, 286; 5. the is-Aorist,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>290; 6. the s-is-aorist, 293; 7. the sa-Aorist, 294; Precative, 296;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uses of the Aorist, 298.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII.</td>
<td><strong>THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS</strong> . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 299—307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I. The s-future, 300; Modes of the s-future, 302; Participles of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s-future, 302; Preterit of the s-future: Conditional, 303; II. The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Periphrastic Future, 303; Uses of the Futures and Conditional, 303.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chap.</th>
<th>Page.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XIII.</td>
<td>307—321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal Adjectives and Nouns: Participles, Infinitives, Gerunds</td>
<td>Page.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive Participle in <em>tā</em> or <em>nā</em>, 307; Past Active Participle in <em>tavant</em>, 310; Future Passive Participle: Gerundives, 310; Infinitives, 313; Uses of the Infinitives, 315; Gerunds, 319; Adverbial Gerund in <em>am</em>, 321.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| XIV. | 321—347 |
| Derivative or Secondary Conjugation | Page. |
| I. Passive, 322; II. Intensive, 323; Present-System, 325; Perfect, Aorist, Future, etc., 329; III. Desiderative, 331; Present-System, 334; Perfect, Aorist, Future, etc., 335; IV. Causative, 337; Present-System, 339; Perfect, Aorist, Future, etc., 340; V. Denominative, 343. |

| XV. | 347—357 |
| Periphrastic and Compound Conjugation | Page. |
| The Periphrastic Perfect, 347; Participial Periphrastic Phrases, 349; Composition with Prepositional Prefixes, 350; Other Verbal Compounds, 355. |

| XVI. | 357—370 |
| Indeclinables | Page. |
| Adverbs, 358; Prepositions, 366; Conjunctions, 369; Interjections, 369. |

| XVII. | 370—424 |
| Derivation of Declinable Stems | Page. |
| A. Primary Derivatives, 373; B. Secondary Derivatives, 403. |

| XVIII. | 424—456 |
| Formation of Compound Stems | Page. |
| Classification, 425; I. Copulative Compounds, 428; II. Determinative Compounds, 431; A. Dependent Compounds, 432; B. Descriptive Compounds, 437; III. Secondary Adjective Compounds, 443; A. Possessive Compounds, 443; B. Compounds with Governed Final Member, 452; Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs, 453; Anomalous Compounds, 455; Stem-finals altered in Composition, 455; Irregular Construction with Compounds, 456. |

| Appendix | 457—460 |
| Examples of Varines Sanskrit Type 457; B. Example of Accentuated Text, 459. |

| Sanskrit Index | 461—475 |
| General Index | 476—485 |
ABBREVIATIONS.

AB. Aitareya-Brāhmana.
APr. Atharva-Prātiṣākhya.
AV. Atharva-Veda.
BR. Böhtlingk and Roth (Petersburg Lexicon).
Ç or Çak. Çakuntalā.
CB. Čatapatya-Brāhmaṇa.
ÇGS. Čānkhāyana-Grihya-Sūtra.
GB. Gopatya-Brāhmaṇa.
H. Hitopadeśa.
K. Kāthaka.
KB. Kāushitaki-Brāhmaṇa.
KSS. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara.
M. Manu.
MBh. Mahābhārata.
Megh. Meghadūta.
MS. Māitrīya-Śanhitā.
PB. Pancavinca-Brāhmaṇa.
R. Rāmāyana.
Ragh. Rāghuvanśa.
RPr. Rigveda-Prātiṣākhya.
RV. Rig-Veda.
SB. Shadvinca-Brāhmaṇa.
SV. Sāma-Veda.
TA. Tāttirīya-Aranyaka.
TB. Tāttirīya-Brāhmaṇa.
TPr. Tāttirīya-Prātiṣākhya.
Tribh. Tribhāṣyaratna.
TS. Tāttirīya-Śanhitā.
V. Veda.
VPr. Vājasaneyi-Prātiṣākhya.
VS. Vājasaneyi-Śanhitā.
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*.

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 Açoka or Piyadasi, of about the middle of the third century B. C. They are in two different systems of characters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitic source, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the same origin (Burnell). From the latter, the *Lāth*, or Southern Açoka 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*, Bengāli, Guzerātī, and others, are varieties of its northern derivatives; and with them are related some of the alphabets of peoples outside of India — as in Tibet and Farther India — who have adopted Hindu culture or religion.

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 Whitney, Grammar.
I. Alphabet.

in Weber's catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., in Rājendralāla Mitra's notices of MSS. in Indian libraries, in the published fac-similes of inscriptions, and so on); and these are in some measure reflected in the type prepared for printing, both in India and in Europe. But a student who makes himself familiar with one style of printed characters will have little difficulty with the others, and will soon learn, by practice, to read the manuscripts. A few specimens of types other than those used in this work will be given in an Appendix.

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

4. The student may be advised to try to familiarize himself from the start with the devanāgari mode of writing. At the same time, it is not necessary 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 devanāgari alphabet, and the European letters which will be used in transliterating them, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels:</th>
<th>short.</th>
<th>long.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>ḍ a</td>
<td>ḍā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ṛ i</td>
<td>ṛi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>ṭ u</td>
<td>ṭū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>ḍ l</td>
<td>ḍl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diphthongs</td>
<td>ṛ e</td>
<td>ṛi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ṭi o</td>
<td>ṭiū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visarga</td>
<td>ḍh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anusvāra</td>
<td>ḍ, ḍ̄ n or ṁ (see 73)</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mutes</th>
<th>surd</th>
<th>surd asp.</th>
<th>sonant</th>
<th>son. asp.</th>
<th>nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guttural</td>
<td>ḍ k</td>
<td>ḍ kh</td>
<td>ḍ g</td>
<td>ḍ gh</td>
<td>ḍ ṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>ḍ c</td>
<td>ḍ ch</td>
<td>ḍ j</td>
<td>ḍ jh</td>
<td>ḍ ṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>ḍ ṭ</td>
<td>ḍ ṭh</td>
<td>ḍ ṭ</td>
<td>ḍ ṭh</td>
<td>ḍ ṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>ḍ t</td>
<td>ḍ ṭh</td>
<td>ḍ ṭ</td>
<td>ḍ ṭh</td>
<td>ḍ ṇ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ḍ p</td>
<td>ḍ ph</td>
<td>ḍ b</td>
<td>ḍ bh</td>
<td>ḍ m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>46</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>य</td>
<td>र</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>घ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>ट</td>
<td>ॠ</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>घ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>त</td>
<td>ॠ</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>घ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ठ</td>
<td>ॠ</td>
<td>ल</td>
<td>व</td>
<td>घ</td>
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</table>

Sibilants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>49</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>छ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>स</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>स</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspiration

| 50  |
| ख   |

To these may be added a lingual ज, which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of ट 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, 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).

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 (aksara); and further, as the substantial part of the syllable, the consonant (or the consonants) preceding 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
alphabetic 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 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.

Ordinary Hindu usage does not divide the words of a sentence, any more than the syllables of a word; a final consonant is combined into one syllable with the initial vowel or consonant of the next following word.

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 ए a has no written sign at all: the consonant-sign itself implies a following ए 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 ए a is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, का kā, धा dhā, ठा hā.

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

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

* Thus, originally की ki, की ki; 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, कु; दु, दु. On account of the necessities of combination, दु and दु are somewhat disguised: thus, द, द; and the forms with र र and ल ल are still more irregular: thus, रु, रु; हु, हु.

e. The r-vowels, short and long, are written by a subjoined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, क्र, क्र; द्र, द्र. In the ल-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, ल्र, ल्र.

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

f. The l-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, कल: the corresponding long has no real occurrence (23), 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 ओ o and ा ा, with the अ-sign after the consonant: thus, के ke, के kā; को ko, को kā.

In some devanāgarī MSS. (as in the Bengāli alphabet), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the अ-sign before the consonant: thus, के ke, के kā, को ko, को kā.

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, क k, द d, ल l.

Since, as was pointed out above, the Hindus write the words of a sentence continuously, like one word (9, end), 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; and it is used freely in published texts which for the convenience of beginners have their words printed separately.

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 some 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.

Examples of the side-by-side arrangement are: ॐ gga, ं jja, ः pja, ज nma, ट ttha, भ bhya, ढ ska, ण sna, त्त tka.

Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क kka, च cca, छ ṭja, य dda, भ ptta, भ tna.

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

Thus, of क k in क kta, क kla; and in वण kṇa etc.;
of त t in त tta;
of ड d in ड dga, ड dna, etc.;
of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, क kya, क kma, श ṭma, छ ṭya, च dma, छ dya, ज hma, ज hya, ध chya, ध ṭhya;
of च c, which generally becomes छ when followed by a consonant: thus, च cca, च cna, च cva, च cya. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below: thus, च cṭu, छ cṛ.

Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are श nna, च lla, छ ddha, छ dbha, च ṭṭa, छ ṭṭha; and the compounds of च h: as ह hna, ह hna.

In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognisable: thus, क kṣa, ज jña.

14. The semivowel र r, in making combinations with
other consonants, is treated in a wholly peculiar manner, analogous with that of the vowels. If pronounced before another consonant (or consonant-combination), it is written with a hook above, opening to the right (like the subjoined sign of r: 10e): thus, ṛ ṛka, Ṛ ṛṣa (ṛṣṇa). If pronounced after another consonant (alone or in combination), it is written with a slanting stroke below: thus, ṛ ṛgra, Ṛ ṛpra, Ṛ ṛsra (and ṛ ṛgra, Ṛ ṛṣra); and, with modifications of the preceding consonant-sign like those noted above, ṛ ṛtra, Ṛ ṛgra, Ṛ ṛdra.

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

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

of three consonants, Ṛ ṛtṛva, Ṛ ṛddhya, Ṛ ṛdvya, Ṛ ṛdrya, Ṛ ṛdhṛya, Ṛ ṛpsva, Ṛ ṛṛṣya, Ṛ ṛṭṛya, Ṛ ṛḥṛya;

of four consonants, Ṛ ṛkṛtya, Ṛ ṛṅkṣya, Ṛ ṛṛṣṭya, Ṛ ṛṭṛṇy;

of five consonants, Ṛ ṛṛṛṛnṛṣṭya.

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 (many of them excessively rare) which are provided for in any given type-font, or even in all. There is nothing which due familiarity with the simple signs and with the above rules of combination will not enable the student to analyse and explain.

16. A sign called the avagraha (‘separator’) — namely, Ṣ — is used in the manuscripts, sometimes in the manner of a hyphen, sometimes as a mark of hiatus, sometimes to mark the elision of initial Ṛ a after final Ṛ e or Ṛ ṛo (135). In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily limited
to the use last mentioned: thus, \textit{ते श्रुवन्ते} te 'bruvan, \textit{नो जनकी} so 'bravit, for \textit{ते अब्रुवन} so abràvít.

The sign ° is used to mark an omission of something. In some texts, it has also the value of a hyphen.

Signs of punctuation are I and II.

17. The numeral figures are

\begin{align*}
1, & \quad 2, & \quad 3, & \quad 4, & \quad 5, & \quad 6, & \quad 7, & \quad 8, & \quad 9, & \quad 0.
\end{align*}

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way with European digits: thus,

\begin{align*}
\text{ष०२५}, & \quad \text{३२३०}, & \quad \text{००००} 1000, & \quad \text{१८७९}.
\end{align*}

18. The Hindu grammarians call the different sounds, and the characters representing them, by a \textit{kara} ('maker') added to the sound of the letter, if a vowel, or to the letter followed by \textit{a}, if a consonant. Thus, the sound or character \textit{a} is called \textit{akāra}; \textit{k} is \textit{kakāra}; and so on. But the \textit{kāra} is also omitted, and \textit{a}, \textit{ka}, etc. are used alone. The \textit{r}, however, is never called \textit{rakāra}, but only \textit{ra} or \textit{repha} ('snarl': the only example of a specific name for an alphabetic element of its class). The \textit{aṃsvāra} and \textit{visarga} are also known by these names alone.

\section*{CHAPTER II.}

\begin{center}
SYSTEM OF SOUNDS: PRONUNCIATION.
\end{center}

\section*{I. Vowels.}

19. The \textit{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 — घा \textit{a} and घा \textit{ā}, ङ \textit{i} and ङ \textit{i}, ङ \textit{u} and ङ \textit{u}. They are to be pronounced in the "Continental" or "Italian" manner — as in \textit{far} or \textit{father}, \textit{pin} and \textit{pique}, \textit{pull} and \textit{rule}.

20. The \textit{a} is the openest vowel, an utterance from the ex-
panded throat; it stands, therefore, in no relation of kindred with any of the classes of consonantal sounds. The \( i \) and \( u \) are close vowels, made with marked approach of the articulating organs to one another: \( i \) is palatal, and shades through \( y \) into the palatal and guttural consonant-classes; \( u \) is similarly related, through \( v \), to the labial class, as involving in its utterance a narrowing and rounding of the lips.

The Paninean scheme (commentary to Pāṇini's grammar, i. 1. 9) classes \( a \) as guttural, but apparently only in order to give that series as well as the rest a vowel: no one of the Prātiṣṭhākhyas 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 \( \hat{\alpha} \), 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 Prātiṣṭhākhyas (APr. i. 36; VPr. i. 72), which call the utterance sanvrta, 'covered up, dimmed'. It is, however, of course not original; and it is justly wont to be ignored by Western scholars (except those who have studied in India).

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

For more precise estimates of frequency, of these and of the other alphabetic elements, and for the way in which they were obtained, see below, 75.

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

Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long \( l \); 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 \( \varepsilon r \) 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 ɪ in is an l-sound similarly uttered — like the English l-vowel in such words as able, angle, addle.

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

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

25. Like their corresponding semivowels, r and l, these vowels belong respectively in the general lingual and dental classes; the euphonic influence of r and l (180) shows this clearly. They are so ranked in the Paninean scheme; but the Prātiṣṭākhyas in general strangely class them with the jihvāmūliya sounds, our "gutturals".

26. The short r is found in every variety of word and of position, and is not rare, being just about as frequent as long ū. Long r is very much more unusual, occurring only in certain plural cases of noun-stems in r (374, 378). The l is met with only in some of the forms and derivatives of a single not very common verbal root (klp).

27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the e and 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 i and u respectively; and they are called the corresponding guna-vowels to the latter (see below, 235). The other two, ai and au, are by the prevalent and preferable opinion held to be of peculiar Sanskrit growth (there is no certain trace of them to be found even in the Zend); they are also in general results of another and higher increment of i and u, to which they are called the corresponding vrddhi-vowels (below, 235). But all are likewise sometimes gene-
rated by euphonic combination (127); and ੷ o, especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final ੴ as (175).

28. The ੴ e and ੷ 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.

Such they apparently already were to the authors of the Prātiṣṭhākhyas, which, while ranking them as diphthongs (sandhyākṣara), 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, āi (a + i) and au (a + u). From them, on the same evidence, the heavier or vrddhi diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their a-element, as āi (ā + i) and āu (ā + u).

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

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

30. The general name given by the Hindu grammarians to the vowels is suara, 'tone'; the simple vowels are called samāṇākṣara, 'homogeneous syllable', and the diphthongs are called sandhyākṣara, 'combination-syllable'.

The position of the organs in their utterance is defined to be one of openness, or of non-closure.

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

II. Consonants.

31. The Hindu name for 'consonant' is evaṁjana, 'manifest'. The consonants are divided by the grammarians into sparça, 'contact' or 'mute', antāṭhā, 'intermediate' or 'semivowel', and uṣman, 'spirant'. They will here be taken up and described in this order.

32. Mutes. The mutes, sparça, are so called as involving a complete closure or contact sparça, 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 for-
ward 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, त p and त्र ph, व b and బ bh, and మ m.
The members are by the Hindu grammarians called respectively ‘first’,
‘second’, ‘third’, ‘fourth’, and ‘last’ or ‘fifth’.
The surd consonants are known as aghosa, ‘toneless’, and the sonants
as ghosavant, ‘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 saṁvāra, ‘closure’ (of the glottis), is also recognised
by them.

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

36. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful.
What म m is to प p and ब b, or न n to त t and द d, that
is also each other nasal to its own series of mutes: a sonant
expulsion into and through the nose, while the mouth-
organs are in the mute-contact.
The Hindu grammarians give distinctly this definition. The nasal
(anunāsika, ‘passing through the nose’) sounds are declared to be formed by
mouth and nose together; or their nasality (anunāsikya) to be given them
by unclosure of the nose.

37. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates:
thus, beside the surd mute त k we have the corresponding
surd aspirate न्ह, and beside the sonant ि, the corresponding sonant aspirate न्ध. Of these, the precise character is more obscure and difficult.

That the aspirates, all of them, are real mutes or contact sounds, and not fricatives (like European थ and घ and च, etc.), is beyond question.

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

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

By the Prātiṣākhya, the aspirates of both classes are called sośman: which might mean either 'accompanied by a rush of breath' (taking उśman in its more etymological sense), or 'accompanied by a spirant' (below, 59). And some authorities define the surd aspirates as made by the combination of each surd non-aspirate with its own corresponding surd spirant; and the sonant aspirates, of each sonant non-aspirate with the sonant spirant, the झ-sound (below, 65). But this would make the two classes of aspirates of quite diverse character, and would also make थ the same as त, थ as घ, च as छ — which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to ि.1.9) attributes to them mahāprāṇa, 'great expiration', and to the non-aspirates alpaprāṇa, 'small expiration'.

It is usual among European scholars to pronounce both classes of aspirates as the corresponding non-aspirates with a following झ: for example, ढ th nearly as in English boat-hook, ण ph as in haphazard, ध dh as in madhouse, and so on. This is (as we have seen above) confessedly 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 generally regarded as a special Indian development. The former are more than twice as common as the latter. The unaspirated (non-nasal) mutes are very much more frequent (5 times) than the aspirates (for the special frequency of bh and original gh, see 50 and 66); and among them the surds are more numerous (2½ times) than the sonants. The nasals (chiefly n and m) are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series.

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

The gutturals are defined by the Prātiṣṭhākhyas as made by contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw, and they are called, from the former organ, jihvāmuliya, ‘tongue-root sounds’. The Paninean scheme describes them simply as made in the throat (kaṇṭha). From the euphonic influence of a k on a following s (below, 180), we may perhaps infer that in their utterance the tongue was well drawn back into the hinder 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 series, is found only as final (after the loss of a following k), and in a very small number of words.

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 are proved to have begun in the Indo-European period, since the same words exhibit connected changes also in other languages of the family, the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant c, and the aspiration h, have come from gutturals. See these various sounds below.

42. Palatal series: च c, छ ch, ज j, झ jh, न n. This whole 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 c (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 c (see below, 219; in the Zend, these two degrees are held distinctly apart). The c is somewhat more common than the j (about as four to three). The aspirate ch is very much less frequent (a tenth of c), and comes from the original group sk. The sonant aspirate jh is excessively rare (occurring but once
in the Vedic texts, and not half-a-dozen times in the Brāhma-ṇas); where found, it is either onomatopoetic or of anomalous or not Indo-European origin (in the so-called root ujh, it comes from j and h). The nasal, ṅ, never occurs except immediately before — or, in a small number of words, also after (201) — one of the others of the series.

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

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

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

45. Lingual series: ṭ t, ṭh th, ṭ̄ d, ṭ̄ḥ dh, ṭ̄n n. 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 mūrāhanyas, 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: ṭ t is pronounced like ṭ̄ t, ṭ̄ d like ṭ̄ d, and so with the rest.
46. The linguals are another non-original series of sounds, coming mainly from the phonetic alteration of the next series, the dentals, but also in part occurring in words that have no traceable Indo-European connection, and are perhaps derived from the aboriginal languages of India. The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighboring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these: a. ʂ comes from ɕ, much more rarely from ɡ, j, kʂ, in euphonic circumstances stated below (180, 218, etc.); b. a dental mute following ʂ is assimilated to it, becoming lingual [ʃ, ʈʰ, ɳ]; c. ɳ is often changed to ɨ after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word (189 etc.); d. dh, which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after ʂ (198 a) or h (222); e. t and ɖ come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final (142, 145). 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.

In a certain number of passages numerically examined (below, 75), the abnormal occurrences of lingual mutes were less than half of the whole number (74 out of 159), and most of them (43) were of ɳ: all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal t; only 6, such a ʈʰ; only 1, such a ɖh; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal ɖ, besides 9 that have ɳd; and 30 (including 1 root) show a ɳ.

Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes (about 11½ per cent. of the alphabet) — hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.

47. Dental series: तू 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.

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

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

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

51. Semivowels: र r, ल l, द d, व v. The name given to this class of sounds by the Hindu grammarians is antahstā, '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.

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" (iṣatsṛṣṭa), or "in imperfect contact" (duḥsṛṣṭa).

52. The र r is clearly shown by its influence in the euphonic processes of the language to be a lingual sound, or one made with the 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.

The Paninean scheme reckons r as a lingual. None of the Prātiṣṭākhyaṇas, 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 ṟ; but no authority hints at a vibration as belonging to it.

Whitney, Grammar.
II. System of Sounds.

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

53. The \( \text{i} \) \( l \) is a sound of dental position, and is so defined and classed by all the native authorities.

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

It is a disputed question whether \( r \) and \( l \) were distinguished from one another in Indo-European speech; in the Sanskrit, at any rate, they are very widely interchangeable, both in roots and in suffixes: there is hardly a root containing an \( l \) which does not show also forms with \( r; \) words written with the one letter are found in other texts, or in other parts of the same texts, written with the other. In the later periods of the language they are more separated, and the \( l \) becomes decidedly more frequent, though always much rarer than the \( r \) (only as 1 to 7 or 8 or 10).

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

55. The \( \tilde{\text{U}} \) \( y \) in Sanskrit, as in other languages generally, stands in the closest relationship with the vowel \( \tilde{\zeta} \) \( i \) (short or long); the two exchange with one another in cases innumerable.

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

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

57. The \( \text{\`O} \) \( v \) is pronounced as English or French \( v \) (German \( w \)) by the modern Hindus — except when pre-
ceded by a consonant in the same syllable, in which case it has the sound of English w; and European scholars follow the same practice (with or without the same exception).

By its whole treatment in the euphony of the language, however, the v stands related to an u-vowel precisely as y to an i-vowel. It is, then, a v only according to the original Roman value of that letter — that is to say, a w-sound in the English sense: though (as was stated above for the y) it may well have been less markedly separated from u than English w, more like French ou in oui etc. But, as the original w has in most European languages been changed to v (English), so also in India, and that from a very early time: the Paninean scheme and two of the Prātičākhyaśas (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. V is classed as a labial semivowel by the Hindu phonetical authorities. It has a somewhat greater frequency than the y.

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

59. Spirants. Under the name āṣman (literally ‘heat, steam, flatu’s’), 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.

The term is not found in the Paninean scheme; by different treatises the guttural and labial breathings, these and the visarga, or all these and anusvāra, are called āṣman (see APr. i. 31 note). The organs of utterance are described as being in the position of the mute-series to which each spirant belongs respectively, but unclosed, or unclosed in the middle.

60. The ṣ s. Of the three sibilants, or surd spirants, this is the one of plainest and least questioned character:
II. SYSTEM OF SOUNDS.

it is the ordinary European s — a hiss expelled between the tongue and the roof of the mouth directly behind the upper front teeth.

It is, then, dental, as it is classed by all the Hindu authorities. It is the one primitive Indo-European sibilant. 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 झ. 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 reversed into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of $h$-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.

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 some people's $sh$. Yet the general and normal $sh$ is palatal (see below, 63); and therefore the sign $s$, marked in accordance with the other lingual letters, is the only unexceptionable transliteration for the Hindu character.

In modern pronunciation in India, $s$ is much confounded with $kh$; and the MSS. are apt to exchange the characters. Later grammatical treatises, too, take note of the relationship (see Weber's Prātiṣṭhā, p. 84).

62. This sibilant (as was noticed above, 46, and will be more particularly explained below, 180ff.) is no original sound, but a product of the lingualization of $s$ under certain euphonic conditions. The exceptions are extremely few (9 out of 145 noted occurrences: 75), and of a purely sporadic character. The Rig-Veda has (apart from य sah, 182) only twelve words which show a $s$ under other conditions.

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

63. The \( \dot{\eta} \varphi \). 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 \( sh \).

The two \( sh \)-sounds, \( s \) and \( \varphi \), are made in the same part of the mouth (the \( s \) probably rather further back), but with a different part of the tongue; and they are doubtless not more unlike than, for example, the two \( t \)-sounds, written \( t \) 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 \( s \) and \( \varphi \) is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of \( s \) and \( \varphi \) 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 \( \varphi \), like \( c \), comes from the corruption of an original \( k \)-sound, by loss of mute-contact as well as forward shift of the articulating point. In virtue of this derivation, it sometimes (though less often than \( c \)) "reverts" to \( k \) — that is, the original \( k \) appears instead of it; while, on the other hand, as a \( sh \)-sound, it is to a certain extent convertible to \( s \). In point of frequency, it slightly exceeds the latter.

65. The remaining spirant, \( \varphi h \), is ordinarily pronounced like the usual European surd aspiration \( h \).

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

— 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 \( i \to h \) from \( dh \) (54), and by the treatment of initial \( h \) after a final mute (163).

66. The \( h \), as already noticed, is not an original sound, but comes in nearly all cases from an older \( gh \) (for the few instances of its derivation from \( dh \) and \( bh \), see below, 223). 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 \( g \); see below, 223, for the roots belonging to the two classes respectively. Like the other sounds of guttural derivation, it sometimes exhibits "reversion" to its original.

67. The : \( h \), or visarga (visarjaniya, as it is uniformly called by the Prātiçākhyaas and by Pāṇini, probably as 'belonging to the end' of a word), 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.

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

68. The visarga is not original, but always only a substitute for final \( s \) or \( r \), neither of which is allowed to maintain itself unchanged. 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 \( h \) is a necessary substitute, and how far a permitted one, alternative with a sibilant, before a following initial surd.

69. Before a surd guttural or labial, respectively, some of the native authorities permit, while others require, conversion of final \( s \) or \( r \) into the so-called jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya spirants. It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions, devised (like the long \( l \)-vowel: 23) in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. At any rate, neither printed texts nor manuscripts (except in the rarest and most sporadic cases) make any 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 \( \chi \) and \( \varphi \).

70. The \( \textit{anusvāra}, \hat{n} \) or \( \hat{m} \), is a nasal sound lacking that closure of the organs which is required to make a nasal mute (36); in its utterance there is nasal resonance along with some degree of openness of the mouth.

71. There is discordance of opinion both among 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.

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

The Atharva-Prātiṣākhya 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.

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

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

There are, however, certain cases and classes of cases where these other
II. System of Sounds.

authorities also acknowledge a nasal vowel. So, especially, wherever a final 
\( n \) is treated (208) as if it were \( ns \) (its historically older form); and also in 
a small number of specified words. They also mention the doctrine of nasal 
vowel instead of anusvāra as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsis-
tent in its choice between the one and the other).

In Pāṇini, finally, the prevailing doctrine is that of anusvāra every-
where; and it is even allowed in many cases where the Prātiśākhya pres-
scribe only a nasal mute. But a nasal semivowel is also allowed instead be-
fore a semivowel, and a nasal vowel is allowed in the cases (mentioned above) 
where some of the Prātiśākhya require it by exception.

It is evidently a fair question whether this discordance and uncertainty 
of the Hindu phonetists is owing to a real difference of utterance in differ-
ent classes of cases and in different localities, or whether to a different scho-
lastic analysis of what is really everywhere the same utterance. If anu-
vāra 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 
nasalised bit of neutral-vowel sound (in the latter case, however, the altering 
influence of an \( i \) or \( u \)-vowel on a following \( s \) ought to be prevented, which 
is not the case: see 188).

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).

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

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

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).

It is convenient also in transliteration to distinguish the assimilated $m$ by a special sign, $\dot{m}$, from the anusvāra of more independent origin, $\tilde{n}$; and this method will be followed in the present work.

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

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

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II. SYSTEM OF SOUNDS.

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 10 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, Čakuntalā, Hitopadeśa, and Vasavadatta.*

III. Quantity of sounds and syllables.

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

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

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

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

Examples are: adhāh svīd āsī3d upārī svīd āsī3t (RV.), 'was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above?' idām bhūyā3 idā3m tiği (AV.), 'saying, is this more, or is that?' āgnā3i pātīvā3h sōmam pība (TS.), 'oh Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma'.

A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or a-element: thus, e to ā3i, o to ā3u.

* See J. A. O. S., vol. X.
The sign of protraction is also sometimes written as the result of accentual combination, when so-called kampa occurs: see below, 90b.

79. For metrical purposes, syllables (not vowels) are distinguished by the grammarians as 'heavy' (guru) or 'light' (laghu). A syllable is heavy if its vowel is long, or short and followed by more than one consonant ("long by position"). Anusvāra and visarga count as full consonants in making a heavy syllable. The last syllable of a pāda (primary division of a verse) is reckoned as either heavy or light. 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 retained.

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: 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.

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, $ā$, acute, $yā$ or $vā$, circumflex.

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

a. Kṣāipra (‘quick’), when an acute $i$ or $u$-vowel (short or long) is converted into $y$ or $v$ before a dissimilar vowel of grave tone: thus, vyāpta from vi-āpta, apsuṁtār 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 a word in all circumstances of its occurrence: thus, kuṇ (from kūṇa), swār (śūār), nyūk (nīuk), budhnyā (budhnīa), kanyā (kanīā), nadyās (nādī-ās), tanvā (tanū-ā).

The words of both these 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, śūār, nadyās, etc. In some texts, part of them are written correspondingly: thus, sūvar, tanvā, budhnyā.

c. Pratiṣṭha, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (128): thus divi ‘va (RV. and AV.), from dīv iva; sūḍgātā (TS.), from sū-udgātā; naī ’vā ‘cniyāt (ÇB.), from nā evā acniyāt.

d. Abhinihita, when an initial grave $a$ is absorbed by a final acute $c$ or $o$ (135): thus, tē ‘bravan, from tē abravan; sō ‘bravīt, from sō abravīt.

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

Thus, in tēna and tē ca, the syllable na and word ca are regarded and marked as circumflex; but in tēna tē and tē ca svār they are grave.
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: a. 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; b. 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, c. 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 different Vedic texts, in two of the Brāhmaṇas (Tāittrīya and Çatapatha), and in the Tāittrīya-Aranyaka. There are a number of methods of writing accent, more or less different from one another; the one found in MSS. of the Rig-Veda, which is most widely known, and of which most of the others are only slight modifications, is as follows: the acute syllable is left unmarked; the circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, has a brief perpendicular stroke above; and the grave next preceding an acute or (independent) circumflex has a brief horizontal stroke below. Thus,

\[ \text{agnim}; \text{juhoti}; \text{tanva}; \text{kvा.} \]

The introductory grave stroke below, however, cannot be given if an acute syllable is initial, whence 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,

\[ \text{indra}; \text{te}; \text{kariyati}; \text{tuvi-rātā.} \]

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,

\[ \text{sudferkasamdrg}; \]

but

\[ \text{sudferkasamdrg gavām.} \]
88. The other methods it is not worth while to attempt to set forth. They may be found illustrated in the different texts, and explained by the editors of them. In part, their peculiarities consist in other forms or places given to the grave and circumflex signs. In some methods, the acute is itself marked, by a slight stroke above. In several, the independent circumflex is distinguished from the enclitic. The most peculiar systems are the scanty and imperfect one of the Ĉatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, with a single sign, written below; and the highly intricate one of the Sāma-Veda, with a dozen different signs, written above.

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

\[ इङ्र्या indra, द्र्यो अग्ने, स्त्राः svār, नद्यन्य nadyas. \]

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

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

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

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

This last case, of an independent circumflex followed by acute or circumflex, receives peculiar written treatment. In the Rig-Veda method, a figure 1 or 3 is set after the circumflexed vowel, according as it is short or long, and the signs of accent are thus applied:

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* Introduced by Böhtlingk, and used in the Petersburg lexicon and elsewhere.
The other methods, more or less akin with this, need not be given. In the scholastic utterance of such a syllable is made a peculiar quaver or rouleau of the voice, which is called kampa or vikampana.

c. Pāṇini gives the ambiguous name of ekaśrutī (‘monotone’) to the prae-
cita syllables, and says nothing of the uplifting of the circumflex to a higher plane: he teaches, however, a depression below the grave pitch for the marked grave syllable before acute or circumflex, calling it sanñatara (otherwise anudāttatara).

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

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

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

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

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

a. The particles ca, vā, u, sīma, īva, cid, svid, ha, are always without accent.

b. The same is true of certain pronouns and pronominal stems: mā, me,
nā, nas, tvā, te, vān, vas, ena-, tva-.

c. The cases of the pronominal stem a are sometimes accented and sometimes accentless.

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

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

a. Dual collective compounds: as īndrāvāruṇāu.

b. A few other compounds, in which each member irregularly retains its own accent: as tānūnīpūt, vānaspūtī, bṛhaspūtī. In a rare case or two, also their further compounds, as bṛhaspūtīpranutta.

c. Infinitive datives in tavāt: as ētavāt.

d. A word naturally barytone, but having its final syllable protracted: see above, 78.

e. The particle vāvā (in the Brāhmaṇas).

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

Thus, indre, aṅgū, indrena, aṅginā, aṅginām, bāhucyuta, ānapacyuta, parjānyajinīvita, abhimātiṣāhā, ānabhīmlātavarṇa, abhiṣasticāṭana, hirāņyavāśimattama.

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

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

RULES OF EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

Introductory.

98. The individual elements composing a language as actually used are its words. These are in part uninflected vocables (indeclinables, particles); in the main, they are inflected forms.

99. The inflected forms are analysable into inflective endings, of declension or of conjugation, and inflected stems to which those endings are added.

100. The inflected stems, again, are for the most part — as are also in part the uninflected words — analysable into derivative endings or suffixes, and roots, to which, either directly or through more primary stems, those endings are added.

But, not a few stems and particles are irreducible to roots; and, on the other hand, roots are often used directly as inflected stems, in declension as well as in conjugation.

101. The roots are, in the condition of the language as it lies before us, the ultimate attainable elements; to a great extent not actually ultimate, but, where otherwise, the result of processes of development too irregular and obscure to be made the subject of treatment in a grammar.

102. The formative processes by which both inflectional forms and derivative stems are made, by the addition of endings to bases and to roots, are more regular and transparent in Sanskrit than in any other Indo-European language, and the grammatical analysis of words into their component elements is correspondingly complete. Hence it became the method of the native grammarians, and has continued to be that of their European successors, to teach the language by presenting the endings and stems and roots in their analysed forms, and laying down the ways in which these are to be combined together to make words. And hence a statement of the euphonic rules which govern the combination of elements occupies in Sanskrit grammar a more prominent and important place than in other grammars.

103. Moreover, the formation of compound words, by the putting together of two or more stems, is a process of very exceptional frequency in Sanskrit; and this kind of combination also has its own euphonic rules. And once more, in the form

Whitney, Grammar.
in which the language is handed down to us by the literature, the words composing a sentence or paragraph are adapted to and combined with each other by nearly the same rules which govern the making of compounds, so that it is impossible to take apart and understand the simplest sentence in Sanskrit without understanding those rules. Hence also a greatly added degree of practical importance belonging to the subject of euphonic combination.

This euphonic interdependence of the words of a sentence, which is unknown to any other language in anything like the same degree, is shown to be at least in considerable measure artificial, implying an erection into necessary and invariable rules of what in the living language were only optional practices, by the evidence of the older dialect of the Vedas and the younger Prakrit dialects, in both of which these rules (especially as regards hiatus: 113) are very often violated.

104. We have, therefore, in the first place to consider the euphonic principles and laws which govern the combination of the elements of words (and the elements of the sentence); and then afterward to take up the subject of inflection, under the two heads of declension and conjugation; to which will succeed some account of the classes of uninflected words.

105. The formation of conjugational stems (tense and mode-stems, etc.) 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 for a brief presentation; and it will be followed by an account of the formation of compound stems.

Although, namely, the general plan of this series of grammars excludes the subject of derivation, yet, because of the comparative simplicity and regularity of the principal processes of derivation in Sanskrit, and the importance to the student of accustoming himself from the beginning to trace those processes, in connection with the analysis of derived forms, back to the root, an exception will be made in regard to the subject in the present work.

106. We assume, then, for the purposes of the present chapter, the existence of the material of the language in a grammatically analysed condition, in the form of roots, stems, and endings.

107. What is to be taken as the proper form of a root or stem is not in all cases clear. Very many of both classes show in a part of their derivatives a stronger and in a part a weaker form (260). This is, in most cases, the only difficulty affecting
stems—whether, for example, we shall speak of derivatives in *mat* or in *mant*, of comparatives in *yas* or in *yāṁs*, of a perfect participle in *vat* or in *vāṁs* or in *us*. 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 adopt the one form and some the other: the question is an unessential one, giving rise to no practical difficulty.

108. As regards the roots, the difficulty is greater, partly because complicated with other questions, arising from practices of the Hindu grammarians, which have been more or less widely followed by their European successors. Thus:

a. More than half of the whole number of roots given by the Hindu authorities (which are over 2000) have never been found actually used in the literature; 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 claimed to be their derivatives, and in part for other and perhaps unexplainable reasons. Of the roots unauthentically by traceable use no account will be made in this grammar—or, if at all considered, they will be carefully distinguished from the authenticated.

b. Those roots of which the initial न and श are regularly converted to न and श after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with न and श: no European authority follows this example.

c. A number of roots ending in आ which is irregularly treated in the inflection of the present-system are written in the Hindu lists with diphthongs — ए or आ or ऊ; and so, after this example, by many Western scholars. Here they will be regarded as आ-roots: compare below, 251. The ऊ of such roots, especially, is purely arbitrary; no forms made from the root justify it.

d. The roots showing interchangeably र, आर, and इर and वर and उर forms are written by the Hindus with र, or with आर, or with both. Here also the आर is arbitrary and indefensible. As between र and आर, even the latest European authorities are at variance, and it may be left to further research to settle whether the one or the other is alone worthy to be accepted. Here (mainly as a matter of convenience: compare below, 237) the र-forms will be used.

e. In the other cases of roots showing a stronger and a weaker form, choice is in great measure a matter of minor consequence—unless further research and the settlement of pending phonetic questions shall show that the one or the other is decidedly the truer and more original. From the point of view of the Sanskrit alone, the question is often impossible to determine.

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

g. But it is impossible to draw any definite line between these cases
and others in which root-forms evidently of secondary origin have attained a degree of independent value in the language which almost or quite entitles them to rank as individual roots. Even the weak and strong forms of the same root — as vad and vand, cit and cint, man and mañh — may have such a difference of use that they count as two; or a difference of inflection combined with a difference of meaning in a root has the same effect — as in vr ṣṝṅṭi and vr ṣṝṅṭe, in hā jahāti and hā jihāte; or an evident present-stem becomes a separate root — as finv and pinv. Not a few roots occur in more or less clearly related groups, the members of which are of various degrees of independence. Thus, a considerable class of roots show an added ā; and such as mnā and dhmā are reckoned only as side-forms of man and dhām; while trā, prā, pyā, psā, and others, presumably made in the same manner, figure as separate from their probable originals. Many final consonants of roots have the value of "root-determinatives", or elements of obscure or unknown origin added to simpler forms. A class of derivative roots show signs of reduplication, as caks, jaks, dudh; or of a desiderative development, as bhaks and bhiks, ḍrus, aks, naks. Yet another class seem to contain a preposition fused with a root, as vyac, āp, and the later uṣ and vyas.

With most of such cases it is not the part of a Sanskrit grammar, but rather of a general Indo-European comparative grammar, to deal according to their historical character. 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; with due recognition of authorized differences of opinion on many points, as well as of the fact that further knowledge will set many things now doubtful in a clearer light.

Principles of Euphonic Combination.

109. The rules of combination 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.

Hence they are usually divided into rules of internal combination (or sandhi, 'putting together'), 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 much 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 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 will be given below in connection with one another.

111. Moreover, before case-endings beginning with bh and s (namely, bhis, bhyas, bhyam, 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. And with some of the suffixes of derivation the same is the case.

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

112. The leading rules of internal combination are those which are of highest and most immediate importance to a beginner in the language, since his first task is to master the principal paradigms of inflection; the rules of external combination may better be left untouched until he comes to dealing with words in sentences, or to translating. Then, however, they are indispensable, since the proper form of the words that compose the sentence is not to be determined without them.

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

113. Hiatus. A hiatus is avoided.

There are but two or three words in the language which in their accepted written form exhibit successive vowels forming different syllables: they are titāti, 'sieve' (perhaps for titasu, BR.) and prāyug, 'wagon-pole' (for prayuga?); and, in RV., sūti. For the not infrequent instances of composition and sentence combination where the recent loss of s or y or v leaves a permanent hiatus, see below, 132ff., 175b, 177.
It has been already noticed that in the Veda, as the metrical form of
the hymns plainly shows, there is no avoidance of hiatus, either as between
the stem-finals and endings of words, between the members of compounds,
or between the words composing a sentence. In cases innumerable, a y
and v (especially after two consonants, or a long vowel and consonant) are
to be read as i and u. But also a long vowel is sometimes to be resolved into
two syllables — oftenest, a into a-a: this resolution is sometimes historical,
but ordinarily purely metrical. For details, see below. It is with regard
to the hiatus that the rules of the grammatically regulated classical Sanskrit
are most demonstrably and conspicuously different from the more living usages
of the sacred dialect.

\[114.\] 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 incompat-
able.

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

117. Of changes within the series, the most frequent and
important occur in the adaptation of surd and sonant sounds to
one another; but the nasals and l have also in certain cases
their special assimilative influence. Thus:

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

A mute, surd or sonant, is assimilated by being changed to its corres-
donent of the other kind; of the spirants, the surd s is the only one having
a sonant correspondent, namely r, to which it is convertible in external
combination.

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

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

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

But
d. In composition and sentence-collocation, initial vowels and semivowels and nasals also require the preceding final to be sonant. And
e. Before a nasal and l, the assimilative process is sometimes carried further, by the conversion of a final mute to a nasal or l respectively.

118. Of conversions involving a change of articulate position, the most important are those of dental sounds to lingual, and, less often, to palatal. Thus:
a. The dental s and n are very frequently converted to ś and ṅ by the assimilating influence of contiguous or neighboring lingual sounds: the s, even by sounds — namely, i and u-vowels and k — which have themselves no lingual character.
b. A non-nasal dental mute is (with a few exceptions in external combination) made lingual when it comes into collision with a lingual sound.
c. The dental mutes and sibilant are made palatal by a contiguous palatal.

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

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); 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 z, a more sibilant and lingual character.

120. The lingual sibilant ž, also of derivative character (from dental s), shows as radical final a peculiar and problematic mode 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 cer-

* In conformity with general phonetic law: see Sievers, Lautphysiologie, p. 140.
tain 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 $\tilde{\epsilon}$), 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 somewhat 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 followed 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 farther treatment of final consonants in external combination).
3. Rules for loss of aspiration of an aspirate mute.
4. Rules of surd and sonant assimilation, including those for final $s$ and $r$.
5. Rules for the conversion of dental sounds to lingual and palatal.
6. Rules for the changes of final nasals, including those in which a former final following the nasal reappears in combination.
7. Rules regarding the special changes of the derivative sounds — the palatal mutes and sibilant, the aspiration, and the lingual sibilant.
8. Rules as to extension and abbreviation of consonant groups.

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

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

The texts of the older or Vedic dialect are written according to the euphonic rules of the later, although in them (as was pointed out above, 113) the hiatus is really of very frequent occurrence. Hence they are not to be read as written, but with almost constant reversal of the processes of vowel combination which they have artificially undergone.

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

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

स चाप्रज: sa cā 'prajah (ca + aprajah);
अतीव atī 'va (ati + iva);
सूक्तम sūktam (su-uktam);
राजासीत् rājā "sit (rājā + āsit);
अधिश्रङ्ग: adhiçvaraḥ (adhi-çvaraḥ).

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

127. An a-vowel combines with a following i-vowel to ए e; with an u-vowel, to ऋ o; with र r, to ऋर ar; with
III. Euphonic Combination.

In some of the Vedic texts, the vowel \( \dot{r} \) is written unchanged after the \( a \)-vowel, which, if long, is shortened: thus, maharsi\( \dot{r} \) instead of maharsi\( \dot{r} \). The two vowels, however, are usually pronounced as one syllable.

When successive words like indra \( \dot{a} \) \( \ddot{a} \) are to be combined, the first combination, to indra, is made first, and the result is indre "hi (not indrai "hi)."

As regards the accent of these vowel combinations, it is to be noticed that, a. 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; b. 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, c. 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 (CB.), 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 \( i \), which becomes \( i \): thus, divi \( \ddot{a} \)va, from divi \( \ddot{a} \)va; in the Taṇṭiriya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while \( u \) and \( u \), instead, make \( \ddot{u} \): thus, sūdga\( \ddot{a} \) from sū-udgā\( \ddot{a} \).

The \( e \)-vowels, the \( u \)-vowels, and \( \ddot{r} \), before a dissimilar vowel or a diphthong, are regularly converted each into its own corresponding semivowel, \( r \) \( y \) or \( r \) \( v \) or \( r \) \( r \). Examples are:
Vowel Combination.

In internal combination (never in external) 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.

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

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

\[\text{vyuśṭi (vi-uṣṭi); abhyārcati; nadyāu (nadi-āu); sviṣṭa (śu-ṭṣṭa); tanvās (tanū-as).}\]

Of a similar combination of acute i with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, vijnātr ētāt (QB. xiv. 6. 8\textsuperscript{11}): 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, ē or a, before any vowel or diphthong; thus, ē e (really a\textsuperscript{i}: 28) becomes ēay, and ē o (that is, au) becomes ēav; ē āi becomes ēay, and ē āu becomes ēav.

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

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

\[\text{naya (ne-a); nāya (nāi-a); bhava (bho-a); bhāva (bhāu-a).}\]

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 ऋ e (by far the most frequent case) becomes simply ऋ a before an initial vowel (except ऋ a: see 135, below), and both then remain unchanged; and a final ऋ ऋ, in like manner, becomes (everywhere) ऋ. Thus,

त घामतः: ta āgatāḥ (te+āgatāḥ);
नगर ऋऽ nagara iha (nagare+iha);
तम्य ऋऽऽ tumā adadat (tasmai+adadat);
श्रीया उक्तम् striyā uktam (striyā+uktam).

The later grammmarians allow the ऋ in such combinations to be either retained or dropped; but the uniform practice of the MSS., of every age, in accordance with the strict requirement of the Vedic grammars (Prātiṣṭhākyas), is to omit the semivowel and leave the hiatus.

The persistence of the hiatus caused by this omission is a plain indication of the comparatively recent loss of the intervening consonantal sound. Instances of the combination of the remaining final and initial are not unknown, but they are of sporadically rare occurrence.

134. The diphthong o (except as phonetic alteration of final as: see 175a) is an unusual final, appearing only in the stem go (356), in the voc. sing. of u-stems, in words of which the final a is combined with the particle u, as atho, and in a few interjections. In the last two classes it is uncombinable (below, 138); the vocatives sometimes retain the ऋ and sometimes lose it (the practices of different texts are too different to be briefly stated); go (in composition only) does not 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).

The ऋ ऋ of ऋव ऋव from ऋ ऋ is usually retained: thus,

तावः tāv eva (tāu+eva);
उभाव indrāgni (ubhau+indrāgni).

In some texts, however, it is lost before an u-vowel, the ऋ alone remaining, with hiatus; in at least one text (Kāṭhaka), it is dropped before every vowel. The later grammarians allow it to be either retained or dropped.

135. After final ऋ e or ऋ o, an initial ऋ a disappears.

The resulting accent is as if the ऋ were not dropped, but rather absorbed into the preceding diphthong, having its tone
duly represented in the combination. If, namely, the e 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:

\[
\text{te} \, \text{Frbruvan} \, \text{te} \, \text{bruvan} (\text{te} \, \text{abruxvan}) ;
\]

\[
\text{n1} \, \text{8Frbruvin} \, \text{s0} \, \text{brav1t} (\text{s1h} \, \text{abrav1t}) ;
\]

\[
\text{kh1sin1t1v1yo} \, \text{gn1h} (\text{kh1sin1ty1h} \, \text{agn1h}) ;
\]

\[
\text{y1d} \, \text{ind1ro} \, \text{brav1t} (\text{y1d} \, \text{indr1h} \, \text{abrav1t}) ;
\]

\[
\text{y1d} \, \text{r1j1n1yo} \, \text{brav1t} (\text{y1d} \, \text{r1j1ny1h} \, \text{abrav1t}).
\]

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

This elision or absorption of initial a after final e or o, which in the later language is the invariable rule, is in the Veda only an occasional occurrence; and there is no close accordance with regard to it between the written and the spoken form of the Vedic texts. In the Atharvan, for example, the a is omitted in writing in about one third of the cases, but is to be omitted in reading in less than one fifth (including a number in which the written text preserves it). See APr. iii. 54, note.

To the rules of vowel combination, as above stated, there are certain exceptions. Some of the more isolated of these will be noticed where they come up in the processes of inflection etc.; a few require mention here.

136. In internal combination:

a. The augment a makes with the initial vowel of a root the combinations āi, āu, ār (vrddhi-vowels), instead of e, o, ar (guna-vowels), as required by 127.

b. The final o of a strengthened stem (238b) becomes av before the suffix ya (originally ia);

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

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

137. In external combination:

a. The final a or ā of a preposition, with initial r of a root, makes ār instead of ar.

b. The final a of a preposition before roots beginning with e or o is usually omitted.

c. A final a in composition may be cut off before oṭu and oṣṭha.

d. The form ūḥ from ṣvah sometimes makes the heavier (vrddhi)
diphthongal combination with a preceding $a$; thus, prāuha. prāuqha, aksāukhiṇī (from pra-ūha etc.).

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

a. The vowels $i$, $ū$ and $e$ as dual endings, both of declen-
sional and of conjugational forms. Thus, bandhū āsāte ināu;
giri ārohatam.

b. The pronoun amī (nom. pl.); and the Vedic pronom-
inal forms asmē, yuṣmē, tvē.

c. A final $o$ made by combination of a final $a$-vowel with the particle $u$:
thus, atho, mo, no.

d. A final $i$ or $ū$ of a Vedic locative case.

e. A protracted final vowel (78).
f. The final, or only, vowel of an interjection, as aho, he, ā, i, u.

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.

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.

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

Thus, indra, cīvāyā, ákāri, nadī, dātu, camā, janayitī, ágne,
cīvāyāi, 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*, *suḥīṭ* for *suḥīḍ*, *vīrūṭ* for *vīrūḍh*.

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

Thus, *dagh* becomes *dhak*, *budh* becomes *bhut*, and so on.

The roots exhibiting this change are stated below, 155.

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 MSS., favor the surd.

142. The palatals, however, form here (as often elsewhere) an exception to the rules for the other mutes. No palatal is allowed as final. The ः c reverts to its original ः k: thus, वात् vāk, घृतमुखः anhōmak. The ः ch (extremely rare: perhaps only in the root प्रक्ष prach) becomes ः t: thus, प्रात् prāṭ. The ः j either reverts to its original guttural or becomes ः t, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations (219): thus, भिषक् bhīsak, vīrāṭ. The ः jh does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to ः t.

143. Of the nasals, the ः m and ः n are extremely common, especially the former (� m and ः s are of all final consonants the most frequent); the ः n is allowed, but is quite rare; ः n is found (remaining after the loss of a following ः k) in a very small number of words; ः n never occurs.

But the final m of a root is changed to n (compare 212, below): thus, अग म from gam, अन म from nam.

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

145. Of the sibilants, none may stand unaltered at the end of a word. The ः s (which of all final consonants
would otherwise be the commonest) is like $r$ changed to a breathing, the visarga. The $c$ either reverts to its original $k$, or, in some roots, is changed to $t$ (in accordance with its changes in inflection and derivation; see below, 218). The $s$ is likewise changed to $t$.

The change of $s$ to $t$ is of very rare occurrence: see below, 226.

Final radical $s$ is said by the grammarians to be changed to $t$: thus, $dhvat$ from $dhvas$: but no example of the conversion appears to occur: see 168.

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

In the only RV. cases where the $ks$ has a quasi-radical character — namely $an\dot{a}k$ from $an\dot{a}ks$, and $\dot{a}nyak$ from $\dot{a}nyaks$ — the conversion is to $k$. Also of forms of the s-aorist (see this aorist below) we have $adh\dot{a}k$, $asr\dot{a}k$, $ar\dot{a}ik$, etc. for $(adh\dot{a}ks-t$ etc.); but also $apr\dot{a}t$, $abhr\dot{a}t$, $ay\dot{a}t$ (for $apr\dot{a}ks-t$ etc.). And AV. has in two cases $sr\dot{a}h$ (i. e. srś), apparently for $asr\dot{a}ks-s$, from $\dot{a}rsj$ (wrongly referred by BR. to $\dot{a}rsaks$).

The numeral $sa$, 'six', is perhaps better to be regarded as $saks$, with its $ks$ treated as $s$, according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration $h$ is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like $j$ and $c$) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as $k$, or is changed to $t$ — 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 155) reappears when their final thus becomes unaspirated. Where the $h$ is from original $dh$ (223), it becomes $t$.

148. The visarga and anusvāra are nowhere etymological finals; the former is only the substitute for an original final $s$ or $r$; the latter occurs as final only so far as some later grammarians allow it to be substituted for $m$.

149. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals, nearly in the order of their frequency, are: $h$, $m$, $n$,
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.

Thus, *tudants* becomes *tudant*, and this *tudan*; *udaṇe*-s becomes *udaṅk*, and this *udaṅ*; and *achāntst* (*s*-aor., 3d sing., of *Vchand*) is in like manner reduced to *achān*.

But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after r: thus, *ūṛk* from *ūṛj*, *vārk* from *vṛj*, *āṁrīt* from *vṛj*, *suhīrt* from *suhārd*. The case is not a common one.

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

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

**a.** Of final *t* to *k*, in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles: thus, *jyōk*, *tājāk* (beside *tājāt*), *prṭhak*, *ṛṭhak*; — but also now and then in a verbal form, as *sāvīṣak* (AV. and VS. Kāṇ.), *avīṣyak* (Pārask.); — and in the feminines in *knī* (as *asiknī* beside *asita*). SV. has once *prkṣū* for *prṭsnī*.

**b.** Of *k* or *j* to *t*, in an isolated example or two, as *samyāt* and *āṣṛt* (TS., K.).

**c.** In Tāttviriya texts, of the final of *anuṣṭābh* and *triṣṭābh* to a guttural: as, *anuṣṭāk ca*, *triṣṭābhīs* (Weber, Ind. St., xiii. 109 ff.).

**d.** Of a labial to a dental: in *kakūḍ* for and beside *kakūbh*; in *samsṭābhīs* (TS.) from *vṛṣṛp*; and in *adbhīs*, *adbhīyās*, from *ap* or āp (chap. V). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination *bbh* are not unknown in the older language: thus, *kakubbhyām*, *triṣṭubbhis*, *anuṣṭub bhi*.

152. For all the processes of external combination — that is to say, in composition and sentence-collocation — a stem-final or word-final is in general to be regarded as having, not its etymological form, but that given it by the rules as to permitted finals. From this, however, are to be excepted the *s* and *r*: the various transformations of these sounds have nothing to do with the *visarga* to which as finals before a pause they have come — doubtless at a comparatively recent period of phonetic history — to be reduced. Words will everywhere in this work be written with final *s* or *r* instead of *h*; and the rules of combination will be stated as for the two more original sounds, and not for the *visarga*.

Whitney, Grammar.
Deaspiration.

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

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

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

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

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

155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate (ṛ gh, ṛ dh, ṛ bh; also ṛ ḫ h, as representing an original ṛ gh) thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant (ṛ g or ṛ d or ṛ b) becomes aspirate.

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.

The roots which show this peculiar change are:

in gh — daṅgh;
in ḫ (for original ḫh) — dāh, dih, duh, dṛdh, dṛñh, guh; and graḥ (in the later desiderative jīghṛkṣa);
in dh — bāndh, būdh, budh;
in bh — dabh (but only in the later desiderative dhīpsa, for which the older language has dipṣa).

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.

But from dāh, duh, and guh are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, daksat; adukṣat, dudukṣa etc.; jugukṣa.

The same analogy is followed by dadh, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stem dadhā, from ṣdhā, in some of the forms of conjugation; thus, dhatthas from dadh + ṭhas, adhatta from adadh + ta, etc.
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. In internal combination, the initial vowel or semivowel or nasal of an ending of derivation or inflection exercises no altering influence upon a final consonant of the root or stem to which it is added.

To this rule there are a few exceptions only: thus, a reverted palatal sometimes before a nasal (216, 4, 5); d before the participle-suffix na (161); a final consonant before māya (161).

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.

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

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

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

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.

Thus, in internal combination: átsi, átti, utthás, attá (vād + si etc.); śagdhi, śagdvām (Vēk + dhi etc.); — in external combination, ábhūd ayām, jyōg jīva, sād aṣitāyāḥ, triśūb ēpi; diggaja, saḍahā, brhādbhānu, ahjā.

160. If, however, the final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by त t or थ th of an ending, the assimilation is in
the other direction: 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 be-
comes dādh, as baddhā (vbadh + ta), runddhās (v rundh + thas or
tas); bh with the same becomes bdh, as labdhā (v labh + ta),
labhvā (v labh + tvā).

Moreover, h, as representing original gh, is treated in the
same manner: thus, dugdhd, dogdhum from duh — and compare
ṛūḍhā and liḍhā from ṛuh and ḫh etc., 222.

In this combination, as the sonant aspiration is not lost but transferred,
the restoration of the initial aspiration (155) does not take place.
In dadh from ṛḍhā (155, end), the more normal method is followed; the
dh is made surd, and the initial aspirated: thus, dhathas, dhattas. And RV.
has dhaktam instead of dagdham from ṛdagh.

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

Thus, either tād nāmas or tān nāmas, vāg me or vān me,
bāḍ mahāṁ or bān mahāṁ, triṣṭūb nūnām or triṣṭūm nūnām.

In practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in
the MSS., as, indeed, it is by the Prātiṣākhyaas required and not permitted
merely. Even by the general grammarians it is required in the compound
śāṃsvati, and before mātrā, and the suffix maya (really a noun in com-
position): thus, vāṁmāya, mṛmmāya.

Even in internal combination, final d of a root becomes n before the
participle-suffix na: thus, bhinnā, sannā, tunnā.

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

163. Before ṛ h (the case occurs only in external com-
bination), a final mute is made sonant; and then the h may
either remain unchanged or be converted into the sonant
aspirate corresponding with the former: thus, either ṛād
tād ḥi or ṛād tād dhi.

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

Examples are: vāg ghutāḥ, sāḍghotā (ṣat + hotā), tad-
dhita (tatt + hita), anuṣṭūb bhi.
Combinations of final s and r.

164. The euphonic changes of तस and तर may best be 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 तस becomes तर in situations requiring or favoring the occurrence of a sonant; and, less often, तर becomes तस where a surd is required.

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

165. Final र 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, पिपर्सि, चतर्थह, चतैर्सु, पुर्सु.

166. Final radical s remains before a surd in general, and usually before s, as in गसि, गस्व, अचिशु (but the last is also written अशिशु: 172); it is however dropped in असि (for असि: वसि—सि). Before a sonant (that is, भ) in declension, it is treated as in external combination: thus, अशिर्ब्हि. Before a sonant (that is, ध) in conjugation, it is dropped: thus, गाधि, अध्वांम (but cases like the latter may be by abbreviation [232] for अध्वाम): in एधि (as—धि), the preceding vowel is anomalously altered.

167. In a very few cases, final radical s before s is changed to त (perhaps by dissimilation): they are, from वस, the future वत्स्यामि and aorist वत्साम; from वास, the desiderative stem जिगहात्सा.

168. According to the grammarians, the final s of certain other roots, used as noun-stems, becomes त at the end of the word, and before भ and द्व: thus, ध्वत, ध्वध्भि, सर्वध्भ्यस, स्रत्स. But genuine examples of such change do not appear to have been met with in use.

Sporadic cases of a like conversion are found in the Veda: namely, माध्भि and माध्भ्यस from मस; उसाध्भि from उस; सवातवध्भ्यस from सवातवस; सवाभ्यस etc. (not found in use), from सवास. But the reality of the conversion here is open to grave doubt; it rather seems the substitution of a त-stem for a भ-stem. The same is true of the change of वान्स to वत in the declension of perfect participles (chap. V.).

In the compounds दुसोचनाः (दुस-सुनाः) and पारुचेपा (पारुस-सेपा), the final s of the first member is treated as if a त (203).

For त as apparent ending of the 3d sing. in भ-verbs, see chap. VIII.

169. As the final consonant of derivative stems and of inflected forms, both of declension and of conjugation, s is extreme-
ly frequent; and its changes form a subject of first-rate importance in Sanskrit euphony. The ṛ, on the other hand, is quite rare, being found only in certain forms of ṛ-stems and in a few particles.

The euphonlic treatment of s and ṛ 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 ṛ, and opinions differ respecting them. Such are us (or ur) of the gen.-abl. sing. of ṛ-stems, and us (or ur) of the 3d plur. of verbs.

170. a. The ृ s, as already noticed (145), becomes *visarga* before a pause.

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

c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes — च c and छ ch, ṛ t and ṛ ṛth — it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely ृ c or ृ s.

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

Examples are: to b. *tatas* te, *caksus* te; to c. *tatac* ca, ta-syāc chāyā; to d. *nalah* kāmam, *puruṣāḥ* khanati; *yācāḥ* prāpa, *vrksāḥ* phalavān.

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

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

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 *ykr*, before *pati*, before *kalpa* and *kāma*, and so on. Examples are *namaskāra*, vācaspati, āyuskāma, payaskalpa.

The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the Prātiṣṭhākyas. The chief classes of cases are: a. the final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form; b. of a genitive before a governing noun: as *divās* putrāḥ, *idās* podē; c. of an ablative before *pāri*: as
himāvatas pūri; d. of other less classifiable cases: as dyāus pītā, trīṣ pūtvā
vas pāṭiḥ, paridhīś pāṭāli, etc.

172. Before an initial sibilant — Ṛ ṣ, Ṣ s, ĺ s — ĺ s is
either assimilated, becoming the same sibilant, or it is
changed into visarga.

The native grammarians are in some measure at variance (see APR. ii. 40,
note) as to which of these changes should be made, and in part they allow
either at pleasure. The usage of the MSS. is also discordant; the conversion
to visarga is the prevalent practice, though the sibilant is also not infre-
quently found written. European editors generally write visarga; but the
later dictionaries and glossaries make the alphabetic place of a word the
same as if the sibilant were read instead.

Examples are: manuh svaYam or manus svaYam; indrah āṇaraḥ
or indraç āṇaraḥ.

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

a. If the initial sibilant has a surd mute after it, the final s may be
dropped altogether — and by some authorities is required to be so dropped.
Thus, vāyava stha or vāyavah stha; caṭaSTanām or caṭauśṭanām.

With regard to this point the usage of the different MSS. 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 (ex-
cept ṛ r: see 179), Ṣ s is changed to the sonant ṛ r —
unless, indeed, it be preceded by Ṛ a or Ṛ ā.

Examples are: devapatiṁ iva, grīr iva; manur gacchati; tanur
apsu; tavor adṛṣṭakāmāḥ; sarvār guṇāḥ; agner manve.

For a few cases like dūṇaṣa, dūṇāṣa, see below, 199.

The endings Ṛṇū as and Ṛṇū ās (both of which are ex-
tremely common) follow rules of their own, as follows:

175. a. Final Ṛṇū as, before any sonant consonant and
before short Ṛ a, is changed to Ṛṛ o — and the Ṛ a after
it is lost.

The resulting accentuation, and the fact that the loss of a is only oc-
casional in the older language of the Veda, have been pointed out above, 135.

Examples are: nalo nāma, brahmāṇyo vedavit; hantavo ṣmi.

b. Final Ṛṇū as before any other vowel than Ṛ a loses
its Ṣ s, becoming simple Ṛ a; and the hiatus thus occa-
sioned remains.
That is to say, as is treated as an original o, or an e, would be treated in the same situation: see 132-4.

Examples are: vrhadacva uvaca, aditya iva, nāmaikti.

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

a. The pronouns sas and eshas (also syas in the Veda) lose their s before any consonant: thus, sa dadarca, esha purusah; but sada tu sah, so 'bravi. The exclamation bhos loses its s before all vowels and all sonant consonants.

b. In the Veda, and more rarely in the later language, the rule for the maintenance of the hiatus is sometimes violated, and the remaining contiguous vowels are combined into one: for example, se 'd agne, se 'mām, sau 'sadhiḥ (for sa id agne, sa imām, sa osadhīh).

c. A few instances are found (almost all Vedic) of s apparently changed to r after a, as after other vowels: but in nearly every case there is to be assumed, rather, a stem in ar beside that in as, evidences of the former being sometimes found in the kindred languages: thus, in forms of ādhas and āhas (see chap. V.); in amnas (no occurrence); in bhūvas (second of the trio bhūs, bhūvas, svar), except in its oldest occurrences; in avās (once, in RV.); in uṣās (voc., and in uṣarbudh); in vādhar and vadhary (RV.); in vanarṣā, ānarvi, vavarhān, sābardāgha, and one or two other more doubtful words; and in a series of words in a single passage of TS. and K., viz. jinvār, ugrā, bhāmār, tveṣār, crutār, bhūtār, and (K. only) pūtār.

In aharpātī (VS.), and vanarṣād and vanarṣād (RV.), we see the same change even before a surd consonant.

d. Final as is once changed to o in RV. before a surd consonant: thus, ado pito.

177. Final ग्राम अ is before any sonant, whether vowel or consonant, loses its न s, becoming simple ग्र अ; and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.

The maintenance of the hiatus in these cases, as in that of o and e and āī (above, 133-4), seems to indicate a recent loss of the intermediate sound. Opinions are divided as to what this should have been. Some of the native grammarians assimilate the case of ās to that of āi, assuming the conversion to āy in both alike — but probably only as a matter of formal convenience in rule-making.

178. Final य r, in general, shows the same form which न s would show under the same conditions. But

a. Original final r, after a or ā, maintains itself unchanging before a sonant: thus, pūnar eti, prātar-jit, āhār dāmnā, ākar jyotīḥ.

b. Also before a surd, r is preserved in a few Vedic compounds: thus, svārcanās, svārcaśas, svārpati, svārṣā, svārṣāti; dhūrṣād, dhūrṣāḥ; pūrpati,
vārkāryā, ācārpa, punartta. In some of these, the r is optionally retained even in the later language.

c. On the other hand, r is lost, like s, in one or two Vedic cases: aksā īndū, 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.

In some Vedic texts, however (Yajur-Veda), ar becomes o before initial r: thus, svō rohāva.

**Conversion of ṣ s to ṣ s.**

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

The assimilating influence of the preceding lingual vowels and semi-vowel 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.

The general Hindu grammar prescribes the same change after a ṣ also; but the Prātiṣākhyaśas give no such rule, and phonetic considerations, the ṣ being a dental sound, are decidedly against it. Actual cases of the combination, if they occur at all, are excessively rare.

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

As a consequence of this rule,

181. 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 ṛ prevents the conversion: thus, usra, tīras, tamisra. And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an ṛ-element (whether ṛ or r), whatever the position of that element: thus, sisarti, sisrtam, sarīşpa, tistire, parasrītī. To this rule there are a few exceptions, as visērā, nisīṣta, vispardhas, gāvīṣṭhira, etc. In ajusran the final ṣ of a root is preserved even immediately before ṛ.

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

b. The recurrence of ṣ in successive syllables is sometimes avoided by
leaving the former s unchanged: thus, sisakṣi, but sisakti; yāsisāḥthās, but yāsisāṁahā. Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see below, 184c.

c. Other cases are sporadic: RV. has the forms sisice and sisicus (but sisicatus), and the stems ṛbīṣa, kīṣā, bīṣa, busā, ṛbṣaya; a single root pis, with its derivative pesuka, is found once in CB.; for puṇs and the roots niḥs and hiḥs, see below, 183.

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

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

b. Further, in RV., āṣa, kavāṣa, caṣāla, cāṣa, jāṭāṣa, pāṣā, bāṣkāya, vāṣat (for vakṣat?), kāṣṭhā (for kakṣa, Fick); and, by anomalous alteration of original s, -sāḥ (turāṣāḥ, etc.), ṣāṅṣa, upaṣṭūt, and probably apāṣṭhā and aṣṭhivānt. Such cases grow more common later.

The numeral ṣaṣ, as already noted, is more probably ṣakṣ.

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

But the s of puṇs (chap. V.) remains unchanged, apparently on account of the retained sense of its value as puṃs; also that of vhiṅs, because of its value as hiṃs (hinasti etc.); vniṅs (RV. only) is more questionable (perhaps niṃs, from nam).

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

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

b. The final s of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus, havīṣa, havīṣas, etc., from havis; čaṅuṣmanta, čociṣka, mānusa, manuṣya.

Roots having a final sibilant (except ś) after an alterant vowel are — with the exception of fictitious ones and pis, niḥs, hiḥs — regarded as ending in s, not s; and concerning the treatment of this s in combination, see below, 225ff.
c. The initial $s$ of a root after a reduplication: thus, $s$-
$\text{syade}$, $s\text{u}\text{v}\text{\i}p\text{a}$, $s\text{i}\text{s}\text{a}\text{sati}$, $\text{co}\text{\i}\text{k}\text{\u}\text{yate}$, $s\text{a}\text{n}\text{\i}\text{\v}\text{\a}n\text{\u}$.

Excepted is in general an initial radical $s$ in a desiderative stem, when
the desiderative-sign becomes $s$: thus, $s\text{a}\text{n}\text{i}\text{\v}\text{\a}t\text{i}$ from $\text{\v}\text{\s}\text{an}$, $s\text{i}\text{\s}\text{a}\text{n}\text{\i}\text{\v}\text{\a}t\text{i}$ from $\text{\v}\text{\s}\text{an}\text{\i}$.

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

Both in verbal forms and in derivatives, the final $i$ or $u$ of a preposition or other like prefix ordinarily lingualizes the initial $s$ of the root to which it is prefixed; since such combinations are both of great frequency and of peculiar intimacy, analogous with those of root or stem and affix: thus, $\text{a}\text{bhi}\text{\i}\text{s}\text{\v}\text{\a}$, $\text{prati}\text{\i}\text{\v}\text{\a}$, $\text{n}\text{i}\text{sikta}$, $\text{\v}\text{i}\text{\s}i\text{\a}$: $\text{a}\text{n}\text{\i}\text{\u}\text{\v}\text{\a}\text{\t}\text{h\d}\text{\m}$, $\text{s\u}\text{\s}k\text{\a}$.

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.

In a few cases, the initial $s$, usually altered after a certain prefix, retains the altered sibilant even after an interposed $a$ of augment or reduplication: thus, $\text{ab\i} \text{\a} \text{\s}\text{\h}\text{\a}$, $\text{p\y}\text{\a} \text{\a}$, $\text{\v} \text{\a}$, $\text{\a}\text{\s}\text{\a}\text{\h}\text{\a}$, $\text{\a} \text{\b}\text{\h}\text{\e}$, $\text{\v} \text{\a}\text{\s}\text{\h}\text{\a}$; $\text{\v}\text{\a}\text{\s}\text{\h}\text{\a}$; $\text{\v}\text{\a}\text{\s}\text{\h}\text{\a}$.

Much more anomalous is the occasional alteration of initial radical $s$
after an $a$-element of a prefix. Such cases are $\text{\a} \text{\a}$, $\text{\a}$, $\text{\a}$
and (according to the grammarians) $\text{\a} \text{\a}$.

186. In other compounds, the final alterant vowel of the first member not infrequently (especially in the Veda) lingualizes the initial $s$ of the second: for example, $\text{\u}$, $\text{\p\i}\text{\r}\text{\s}\text{\v}\text{\a}$, $\text{\g}\text{\o}\text{\s}\text{\h}\text{\a}$, $\text{\a}\text{\n\s}\text{\i}\text{\m}\text{\o}\text{\n}\text{\a}$, $\text{\a}$, $\text{\t}\text{\i}\text{\r}\text{\a}\text{\n}\text{\d}$, $\text{\d}\text{\i}\text{\v}\text{\i}\text{\d}$, $\text{\p}\text{\a}\text{\m}\text{\e}\text{\m}\text{\\s}\text{\h}\text{\i}\text{\n}\text{\a}$, $\text{\a}\text{\b}\text{\h}\text{\e}$, $\text{\p}\text{\r}\\s\text{\\s}$, $\text{\p}\text{\r}\\s\text{\\s}$.

A very few cases occur of the same alteration after an $a$-element: thus, $\text{\s}\text{\a}\text{\v}\\s\text{\h}\text{\a}$, $\text{\a}\text{\p}\\s\text{\h}\text{\a}$, $\text{\u}\text{\p}\\s\text{\h}\text{\a}$; also $\text{\v}\text{\s}\text{\a}$, when its final, by 146, becomes $t$: thus; $\text{\s}\text{\a}\text{\r}\text{\a}\text{\t}$ (but $\text{\s}\text{\a}\text{\r}\text{\a}\text{\t}\text{\a}\text{\h}$).

187. The final $s$ of the first member of a compound often becomes $s$ after an alterant vowel: thus, the $s$ of a prepositional prefix, as $\text{\n}\text{\i}\text{\s}\text{\\d}\text{\h}\text{\a}$, $\text{\d}\text{\u}\\s\text{\a}$ (for $\text{\d}\text{\u}\\s\text{\a}$), $\text{\a}\text{\i}\text{\v}\text{\s}\text{\t}$; and, regularly, a $s$ retained instead of being converted to $\text{\v}\text{\a}\text{\r}\text{\a}$ before a labial or guttural mute (171), as $\text{\h}\text{\a}\text{\v}\text{\s}\text{\p}\text{\a}$, $\text{\j}\text{\y}\text{\o}\text{\t}\text{\i}\text{\s}\text{\k}\text{\r}\text{\a}$; $\text{\t}\text{\a}\text{\p}\text{\u}\text{\s}\text{\p}\\d$.

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

a. The initial $s$, especially of particles: as $\tilde{\text{u}} \text{\h}\text{\i}$, $\text{\h}\text{\i} \text{\s}\text{\m}\text{\a}$, $\k\text{\a}\text{\m} \text{\u}$;
— also of pronouns: as ha ṣōha; — of verb-forms, especially from Yās: as ha ṣṭhā, duṣṭha; — and in other scattering cases: as u ṣṭhūhi, nū ṣṭhirām, trī guthāstha.

b. A final s, oftenest before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as agnaś tvā, mē te, ūyus te, cuscis tvām, sādhis tāva; — but also in other cases, and wherever a final s is preserved, instead of being turned into visarga, before a guttural or labial (171): as trīs pūtvā, āyus kṛṇotu, vāstoḥ pāṭih, dyuṇaś pîlā.

Conversion of n to n.

189. The dental nasal ṇ n, when immediately followed by a vowel or by ṇ n or ṇ m or ṇ y or ṇ v, is turned into the lingual Ṛ ṣ if preceded in the same word by the lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels — that is to say, by ṇ s, Ṛ r, or ṇ r or ṇ ṛ —: and this, not only if the altering letter stands immediately before the nasal, but at whatever distance from the latter it may be found: unless, indeed, there intervene (a consonant moving the front of the tongue: namely) a palatal (except ṛ y), a lingual, or a dental.

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

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

190. The rule has force especially

a. When suffixes, of inflection or derivation, are added to roots or stems containing one of the altering sounds: thus, rudrēṇa, rudrēṇām, vārīṇe, vārīṇi, vārīṇi, dāṭhiṇi, kārūni, dvēśhāni, kriṇāmi, cṛṇāti, kṣubhāṇā, ghrṇā, kārṇa, vṛkṣa, rugṇā, drāvīṇa, ivaṇi, purāṇa, vṛkṣas, cākṣaṇa, oṣkṣaṃāṇa, kīpamāṇa.
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 \( \text{vṛ} \text{ran} \), \( \text{rāṇ} \text{anti} \), \( \text{rāṇ} \text{yat} \), \( \text{rārāṇ} \), \( \text{arāṇiś} \); from brahma, brahmāṇā, brahmāṇi, brahmāṇḍa, brahmāṇḍa, brahmāṇḍa, brahmāṇḍa-vanta.

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

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

a. The initial \( n \) of a root is usually and regularly so altered, in all forms and derivatives, after \( \text{par} \text{ā} \), \( \text{par} \), \( \text{pra} \), \( \text{νr} \) (for \( \text{nīś} \)), \( \text{antar} \), \( \text{dur} \) (for \( \text{dus} \)): thus, \( \text{pār} \text{ā} \text{naya} \), \( \text{pār} \text{i niyate} \), \( \text{pā} \text{r} \text{nudasva} \); \( \text{parā} \text{nuttī} \), \( \text{parānā} \), \( \text{praṇava} \), \( \text{nīrā} \), \( \text{durmā} \).

Roots suffering this change are written with initial \( n \) in the native root-lists. The only exceptions of importance are \( \text{nṛt} \), \( \text{nabh} \), \( \text{nad} \) (very rare), and \( \text{na} \) when its \( c \) becomes \( s \) (as in \( \text{prānasī} \)).

b. The final \( n \) of a root is lingualized in some of the forms of \( \text{an} \) and \( \text{han} \): thus, \( \text{prā} \text{'nīti} \), \( \text{prānā} \), \( \text{prā hanyate} \), prahāṇama.

c. The class-signs \( \text{nu} \) and \( \text{nā} \) are altered after the roots \( \text{hī} \) and \( \text{mi} \): thus, \( \text{pār} \text{ī hinomī} \), \( \text{prā miṇa} \) (but the latter not in the Veda).

d. The 1st sing. impv. ending \( \text{āni} \) is sometimes altered: thus, \( \text{prā bho} \text{vāṇī} \).

e. Derivatives by suffixes containing \( n \) sometimes have \( n \) by influence of a preposition: thus, \( \text{prāyā} \text{ṇa} \).

f. The \( n \) of the preposition \( \text{ni} \) is sometimes altered, like the initial of a root, after another preposition: thus, \( \text{prāni} \text{pāta} \), \( \text{prāni} \text{dhi} \).

193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes lingualizes a \( n \) of the next following member — either its initial or final \( n \), or \( n \) in its inflectional or derivative ending. The exercise of the altering influence can be seen to depend in part upon the closeness or frequency of the compound, or its integration by being made the base of a derivative. Examples are: \( \text{grāmaṇī}, \text{tripāmaṇa}, \text{urūṇasā}; \text{vṛtrahāna} \text{ṃ etc. (but} \text{vṛtraghna} \text{tc.: 195),} \text{nrmānas, drugaṇa; pravāhana, nṛpaṇa, pūryaṇa, pūryaṇa; svargēṇa, durgāṇī, uṣvāyāṃne, tryaṅgāṇāṃ.}

194. Finally, in the Veda, a \( n \) (usually initial) is lingualized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns \( \text{nās} \) and \( \text{ena} \) are oftenest thus affected: thus, \( \text{pār} \text{i nās} \), \( \text{pūr} \text{'nān}, \text{nādā} \text{ṃ} \); but also the particle \( \text{nā}, \text{'like'}: \text{thus}, \text{vār nā}; and a few other cases, as \( \text{vār nāma}, \text{pānār nayāmasi}, \text{agnēr āveṇa}.\)
195. The immediate combination of a \( n \) with a preceding guttural or labial seems in some cases to hinder the conversion to \( n \): thus, \( \text{vrtraghn} \) etc. \( \text{ksubhn} \), \( \text{trgn} \) (but in Veda \( \text{trgn} \)).

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

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

The cases are the following:

197. A dental surd mute or nasal, or the dental sibilant, when immediately preceded by a \( s \), is everywhere converted into the corresponding lingual.

Under this rule, the combinations \( sh \), \( s\text{th} \), and \( sn \) are very common; \( ss \) is rarely so written, the \( \text{visarga} \) being put instead of the former sibilant: thus, \( \text{vrito} \) instead of \( \text{vrito} \).

Those cases in which final \( s \) becomes \( t \) before \( su \) (226b) do not, of course, fall under this rule.

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

a. A \( dh \) after \( d \) from \( s \) of a root or stem (226b): as \( \text{dadvdhwam} \) etc.

b. Only a very few other instances occur: \( \text{di} \) and \( \text{dt} \) from \( \text{v} \)\( \text{d} \); \( \text{sddh} \) (also \( \text{sdh} \) and \( \text{sd} \)), and \( \text{snm} \) (\( \text{sa} + \text{nm} \): anomalous gen. pl. of \( \text{sa} \)); \( \text{trn} \) (\( \text{trd} + \text{na} \)).

A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, 199.

But \( \text{tdhi} \) (Vedic: \( \text{vd} + \text{dhi} \)) shows loss of the final lingual after assimilation of the dental, and compensatory lengthening.

Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of \( d \) are explained in a similar way, as results of a lingualized and afterward omitted sibilant before \( d \): thus \( \text{nd} \) from \( \text{nsd} \), \( \text{p} \text{id} \) from \( \text{psd} \), \( \text{m} \text{rd} \) from \( \text{m} \text{sd} \) (Zend \( \text{marshd} \)).

For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, 199b.

199. In external combination,

a. A final \( t \) is directed to be assimilated to an initial lingual mute: thus, \( \text{ta} + \text{tk} \), \( \text{ta} \text{d} \text{y} \text{ate} \), \( \text{ta} + \text{th} \text{l} \text{n} \), \( \text{ta} + \text{d} \text{h} \text{uk} \text{ate} \): but the case never occurs in the older language, and very rarely in the later. For final \( n \) before a lingual, see 205.

b. An initial dental after a final lingual usually remains unchanged; and \( su \) of the loc. pl. follows the same rule: thus, \( \text{a} \text{s} \text{s} \), \( \text{r} \text{f} \text{s} \).

Exceptions are: a few compounds with \( \text{sa} \), 'six': namely, \( \text{s} \text{dn} \text{v} \text{a} \text{t} \text{i} \), \( \text{s} \text{nn} \text{b} \) (and one or two others not quotable from the literature).
In a few compounds, moreover, there appears a lingualized dental, with compensatory lengthening, after a lost lingual sibilant or its representative: namely, in certain Vedic compounds with dus: dūḍāḥḥa, dūḍāc, dūḍhī, dūndaca; and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of gus, with change of its vowel to an alterant quality (as in voḍhum and suḍhum: 224 b): śoḍaça, suḍhā (also saḍḍhā and saḍḍhā), soḍanta.

Between final t and initial s, the insertion of a t is permitted — or, according to some authorities, required: thus, śat saḥāsrāḥ or śatt saḥāsrāḥ.

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, yācāṇā (the only instance after c), yajñā, jajné, ajñata, rājña, rājñī.

202. An final n t before an initial palatal mute is assimilated to it, becoming c c before c c or ch, and j before j (jhk does not occur).

A final n n is assimilated before j, becoming n.

All the grammarians, of every period, require this assimilation of n; but it is more often neglected, or only sporadically made, in the MSS.

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

203. Before the palatal sibilant ā c, both t t and n n are assimilated, becoming respectively c c and ā n; and then the following ā c may be, and in practice almost always is, converted to ch.

Some authorities regard the conversion of c to ch as everywhere obligatory, others as only optional; some except, peremptorily or optionally, a c followed by a mute. And some require the same conversion after every mute save m, reading also vipāḥ chutudrī, ānaṭ chuci, anusṭup chāradi, cuk chuici. The MSS. generally write ch, instead of cch, as result of the combination of t and c.

Combinations of final n.

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

Thus, váṃśi, váṃśva, váṃsāt, maṃsyāte, jīghāṃsati.

According to the grammarians, it is treated before bh and su in declen-
sion as in external combination. But the cases are extremely rare, and RV. 
has ṛaṃṣu and ṛaṇṣu (the only Vedic examples).

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.

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

The remaining cases are those of external combination.

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

The n is also declared to be assimilated (becoming ṇ) be-
fore a sonant lingual (c, ṇh, ṇ), but the case hardly ever 
occurs.

206. A n is also assimilated to a following initial l, be-
coming (like m: 213 c) a nasal l.

The MSS. in general attempt to write the combination in accordance 
with this rule.

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

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

208. Before the surd palatal, lingual, and dental mutes, 
there is inserted after final n a sibilant of each of those class-
es respectively, before which the n becomes anusvāra: thus, 
ṅc c; ṃc ṇh; ṃt t; ṃṭ ṇh; ṃs s; ṃṭ th.

This rule, which in the classical language has established itself in the 
form here given, as a phonetic rule of unvarying application, really involves 
a historic survival. The large majority of cases of final n in the language 
(not far from three quarters: see APr. ii. 26, note) 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.

Practically, the rule applies only to n before c and t, since cases in-
volved 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 Prātiṣākhyaśas; in general,
it is less frequent in the older texts. When the ç does not appear between n and c, the n is assimilated, becoming ṅ (as before j: 202).

209. The same retention of original final s after a nasal, and consequent treatment of (apparent) final ān, īn, ān, ṛn as if they were āṅs, āṅs, āṅs, ṛṅs (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 āṅ (nasalized ā) before a following vowel: thus, āṅs, with nasal vowel, is treated like āṅs, with pure vowel (177): thus, devāṅ ē 'hā, ṛpabaddhān ihā, mahāṅ asi. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the s appears as h before p: thus, svātavāṅḥ pāyāḥ.

b. In like manner, s is treated after nasal ā, ī, ḷ as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming r before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) ḷ before a surd (170): thus, raṃiṅr iva, sūṅṅr yuvanyūṅr út, Ṛṅr abhiḥ; Ṛṅh pātram.

210. The nasals n, ṇ, ṇ, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, pratyaṅṅ ǔd eṣi, udāṃm ādityāḥ.

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 MSS., although the Vedic metre seems to show* that the duplication was sometimes omitted.

211. The nasal ṇ and ṇ before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively k and t — as n (207) inserts t: thus, pratyaṅṅk 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 anusvāra; in the former, becoming the nasal of the same class with the mute.

Before m or n (as when final: 143), it is changed to n: thus, from vgam, ṣagama, ṣagamahi, 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, praṃbhīs, praṃsnu (from praṃ: pra + vgam). No derived noun-stem ends in m.

CB. has once the anomalous kānvant, from the particle kāṃ.

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

* Kuhn, in his Beiträge etc., iii. 125.

Whitney, Grammar.
a. It remains unchanged only before a vowel or a labial mute.

But also, by an anomalous exception, before र of the root रस in समर्प and its derivatives समर्प्य and समर्प्या.

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

c. Before the semivowels य, ल, व it becomes, according to the Hindu grammarians, a nasal semivowel, the nasal counterpart of each respectively (see 71).

d. Before र, a sibilant, or द, it becomes anusvāra (see 71).

The MSS. and the editions in general make no attempt to distinguish the nasal tones arising from the assimilation of म before a following semivowel from that before a sibilant.

e. But if द be immediately followed by another consonant (which can only be a nasal or semivowel), the म is allowed to be assimilated to that following consonant.

This is because the द has no position of the mouth-organ peculiar to itself, but is uttered in the position of the next sound. The Prātiṣṭhānas do not take any notice of the case.

It has been pointed out above (73) that the assimilated म is generally represented in texts by the anusvāra-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by म (instead of a nasal mute or द). Also, that the general grammarians allow म to be pronounced before any and every consonant as anusvāra.

The palatal mutes and sibilant, and द.

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

215. The palatails and द 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:

1. Before a of suffix a, final ए becomes k in aṅkā, arkā, pākā, vākā, parka, markā, vṛka, prātika etc., reka, sēka, moka, rokā, cōka, tokā, mrokā, vṛskā: — final ज becomes g in tyāgā, bhāga, bhāgā, yāga, bhangā, sāṅga, vṛgā, mṛgā, mṛgyā, sṛgā, vṛga, bhōga, yuṛgā, yōgā, roṛgā: — final द becomes gh in aṅghā, maṅghā, arghā, dīrgā (and dṛḍghyās, dṛḍghistha), meghā, dōgha, drōgha, mōgha; and in dōghāna.

In another series of derivatives with ए, the altered sound appears: examples are ajā, yāja, cuccā, coca, vṛajā, vevijā, yuṣā, ūrjā, dōha.
Before the suffixes as and anā, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in ánka, óka, róka, ókas, bhárasy; and in rogaṇa.

2. Before an i-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in the doubtful abhogā): e. g. ajī, tujī, vāci, vācī, vīcī, rocīṇā.

3. Before u, the guttural reappears, as a rule (the cases are few): thus, aṅku, vaṅkā, rekā, bhīgu.

4. Before n, the examples of reversion are few, except of j (becoming g) before the participle ending na: thus, rēkṇa, vagnā (with the final also made sonant); and participles bhagnā, rughnā, etc.; and apparently prgna from vṛṇa.

5. Before m (of ma, man, mīn), the guttural generally appears: thus, rukmā, tigmā, vagnā (with sonant change); vākmān, sākmān, rukmān; ṛgmān and vāgmān (with sonant change): — but ājmān, ojmān, bhujmān.

6. Before y, the altered sound is used: thus, pacya, yajya, yajya, yujya, bhujya. Such cases as bhogyā and yogya are doubtless secondary derivatives from bhoga and yoga.

7. Before r, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided: thus, čukrā, ugrā, mṛgṛa; but vājra and pajrā (?).

8. Before v (of the suffixes va, van, vin, etc., and participle vāṁś) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, rkvā, pakvā; ṭkvā, ṛkvān, cukvān, mṛgvān, yugvān; vāgvān (with further sonant change); rivikvān, rurukvān, cuscukvān; cuscukvānd, cuscukvāni: also before the union-vowel i in oktvān (RV., once). An exception is yājvan.

The reversion of h in derivation is exhibited only before the suffix a (and in the participle dāghāna, RV.). The final j which is analogous with c (219) shows much less proclivity to reversion than that which corresponds with c.

9. 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 of the roots ci, cit, ji, hī, han; and han becomes ghn on the elision of a. The RV. has vivakmi from vac. And before ran etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have g for radical j in asgṛman, asgṛman, asasgṛman (all in RV.).

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

Thus, vāktī, uvāktha, vākṣī, vakṣyāmi, vagdhi; vāgbhis, vākṣū; uktā, ukthā, vaktār.

And, as final c becomes k (above, 142), the same rule applies also to c in external combination: thus, vāk ca, vāg āpi, vān me.
Examples of $c$ remaining unchanged in inflection are: *ucyáte, rirircé, vací, mumucmadhe.*

218. Final $\mathfrak{a} c$ reverts to its original $\mathfrak{a} k$, in internal combination, only before the $\mathfrak{s}$ of a verbal stem or ending (whence, by 180, $\mathfrak{n} k\mathfrak{s}$); before $\mathfrak{t} t$ and $\mathfrak{th}$, it everywhere becomes $\mathfrak{s} s$ (whence, by 197, $\mathfrak{st}$ and $\mathfrak{s} s\mathfrak{h}$); before $\mathfrak{d} d$, $\mathfrak{bh}$, and $\mathfrak{n} su$ of the loc. pl., as when final (145), it regularly becomes the lingual mute ($t$ or $d$).

Thus, *ákṣata, veksyámi; váṣṭi, vishtá, didíṣṭu; dididáḥki, vidbhís.*

But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final $c$ to $k$ before $bh$ and $su$, and also when final (145): they are $\mathfrak{di} c, \mathfrak{dr} c, \mathfrak{sp} r c$, and optionally $\mathfrak{na} c$ (always, in V.); and $\mathfrak{vi} c$ has in V. always $váksu$, loc. pl., but $\mathfrak{v} i t$, $\mathfrak{vi} dbhís, \mathfrak{etc.}$ Examples are *diksamcents, dgrbhís, hrdispkt, nák.*

Examples of $c$ remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: $\mathfrak{vi} c, \mathfrak{vivicyas}, \mathfrak{avicran}, \mathfrak{agnomi}, \mathfrak{va} cni, \mathfrak{ucmási}.

A $c$ remains irregularly unchanged before $p$ in the compound *vicpáti.*

219. Final $\mathfrak{n} j$ is in one set of words treated like $\mathfrak{n} c$, and in another set like $\mathfrak{n} c$.

Thus, from *yuj: áyukthás, áyuktá, yuňkté, yuktí, yóktra, yoksyámi, yusú; yuńgdhi, áyugdhwam, yugbhís.*

Again, from *mraj etc.: ámrksat, sraksyámi; máṛṣi, mṛṣá, sṛṣi, rāśrrá; mṛḍhi, mṛḍhvwám, rāḍbhís, rāṭsú, rāt.*

To the former or *yuj-class* belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, *bhaj, saj, tyaj (not V.), raj* 'color', *svaj, màyj, nij, tij, vij, 1 and 2bhuj, yuj, ruj, vrj, anj, bhañj, ciñj; úrij, svraj, bhíṣáj, dṣrj; — also, stems formed with the suffixes *aj or *i j (383. 5), as triṣnáj, vanjí: and *rtvíj, though containing the root yaj.*

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

A considerable number of *j-roots* are not placed in circumstances to exhibit the distinction; but such roots are in part assignable to one or the other class on the evidence of the related languages*.

The distinction appears, namely, only when the *j* occurs as final, or is followed, either in inflection or in derivation, by a dental mute ($t$, *dh*), or, in noun-inflection, by $bh$ or $su$. In derivation (above, 216) we find a *g* sometimes from the *mraj-class: thus, märga (in apiśärka) and sarga; and before *r* of Vedic 3d pl. mid. endings, *aspran, aspram, asaspym (beside saspýre) — while from the *yuj-class* occur only *yujyre, ayujran, búbujyre, with *j.*

* See Höhschmann, in KZ. xxiii. 384ff.
220. Final \( \text{ch} \) falls under the rules of combination almost only in the root \( \text{prach} \), in which it is treated as if it were \( \text{c} \) (and \( \text{prac} \) is perhaps its more original form): thus, \( \text{praksyāmi} \), \( \text{prastā} \); and also the derivative \( \text{pracnā} \). As final and in noun-inflection (before \( \text{bh} \) and \( \text{su} \), it is directed to be changed to the lingual mute.

\( \text{Mūrtā} \) is called the participle of \( \text{mūrch} \), and a gerund \( \text{mūrtvā} \) is given to the same root. They (with \( \text{mūrti} \)) must doubtless come from a simpler form of the root.

Of \( \text{jh} \) there is no occurrence: the grammarians declare it to be treated like \( \text{c} \).

221. The compound \( \text{kṣ} \) is not infrequent as final of a root (generally of demonstrably secondary origin), or of a tense-stem (\( \text{s-aorist} \): see below, chap. XI.); and, in the not very frequent cases of its internal combination, it is treated as if a single sound, following the rules for \( \text{c} \): thus, \( \text{cākṣe} \) (\( \text{cakṣ} + \text{se} \)), \( \text{cākṣva} \); \( \text{cāṣte} \), \( \text{ācaṣṭa} \), \( \text{āsrāṣtam} \), \( \text{āṣrāṣṭa} \), \( \text{trāṣṭar} \). As to its treatment when final, see 146. We are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as \( \text{gorāt} \), \( \text{gorādhis} \), \( \text{gorāṣu} \) (from \( \text{gorāks} \)); and we actually have \( \text{ṣāḷ} \), \( \text{ṣādhis} \), \( \text{ṣāṭu} \) from \( \text{ṣakṣ} \) or \( \text{ṣaṣ} \) (146, end).

In the single anomalous root \( \text{vraca} \), the compound \( \text{cē} \) is said to follow the rule for simple \( \text{c} \): thus, \( \text{vrakṣyāti} \), \( \text{āvrāṣam} \); \( \text{vrāṣṭum} \), \( \text{vrāṣṭā} \). Its \( \text{c} \) reverts to \( \text{k} \) in \( \text{vraskā} \). Its participle is \( \text{vrknā} \); it has a Vedic gerund \( \text{vrktiv} \).

222. The roots in final \( \text{c} \), \( \text{h} \), like those in \( \text{ji} \), fall into two classes, exhibiting a similar diversity of treatment, appearing in the same kinds of combination.

In the one class, as \( \text{duḥ} \), we have a reversion of \( \text{h} \) (as of \( \text{c} \)) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original \( \text{gh} \): thus, \( \text{āduḥkṣaṃ} \), \( \text{dhokṣyāmi} \); \( \text{dugdham} \), \( \text{dugdhā} \); \( \text{ādhek} \), \( \text{dhūk} \), \( \text{dhugbhīs} \), \( \text{dhuṣu} \).

In the other class, as \( \text{ruḥ} \) and \( \text{sah} \), we have a guttural reversion (as of \( \text{c} \)) only before \( \text{s} \) in verb-formation and derivation: thus, \( \text{āruksat} \), \( \text{roksyāmi} \), \( \text{sāksya} \), \( \text{saksāni} \). As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before \( \text{bh} \) and \( \text{su} \), the \( \text{h} \) (like \( \text{c} \)) becomes a lingual mute: thus, \( \text{turāṣṭa} \), \( \text{prtauṇāṣṭa} \) \( \text{ayodhyāḥ} \), \( \text{turāṣṭdbhis} \), \( \text{turāṣṭṣu} \). But before a dental mute (\( \text{t}, \text{th}, \text{dh} \)) in verb-inflection and in derivation, its euphonic effect is peculiarly complicated: it turns the dental into a lingual (as would \( \text{c} \)); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would \( \text{dh} \): see 160); and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened by way of compensation: thus, from \( \text{ruḥ} \) with \( \text{ta} \) comes \( \text{ruḍhā} \), from \( \text{leḥ} \) with \( \text{ti} \) comes \( \text{lēḍhi} \), from \( \text{guḥ} \) with \( \text{tar} \) comes \( \text{guḍhār} \), from \( \text{meh} \) with \( \text{tum} \) comes \( \text{medham} \), from
lih with tas or thas comes liṅhāś, from lih with dhvan comes liṅhvāṁ, etc.

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

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

of the first or duh-class: dah, dīh, duh, druḥ, muḥ, snih (and the final of usnīḥ is similarly treated);

of the second or ruh-class: vah, saḥ, mih, rih or līh, guḥ, ruḥ, ṛṭṛh, ṛṭṛh, bṛḥ, bāṅḥ, spṛḥ (?)

But muḥ forms also (not in RV.) the participle mūḍha and agent-noun mūḍhār, as well as mugeḍhā and mugeḍhār; and druḥ and snih are allowed by the grammarians to do likewise: such forms as drūḍha and snīḍha, however, do not appear to have been met with in use.

From roots of the ruḥ-class we find also in the Veda the forms gartārīk, nom. sing., and praṇadhāk and daḍhāk; and hence puruspīk (the only occurrence) does not prove ṛ/sṛḥ to be of the duh-class.

A number of other ṭ 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*.

In derivation, before the suffix a, we have (216.1) meghā and dīṛghā from roots of the ruḥ-class. Before the r verb-endings, we have examples only from duh, with ṭ: thus, duduhre etc.

The root naḥ comes from original dh instead of gh, and its reversion is accordingly to a dental instead of a guttural mute: thus, natsyāmi, naddhā, upāndbhīs, upāṇad-yuga.

224. Irregularities of combination are:

a. The vowel ṛ is not lengthened to compensate for the loss of the h-element: thus, ṛṛṛhā, ṛṛṛhā, ṛṛṛhā (the only cases; and in the Veda their first syllable has metrical value as heavy or long).

b. The roots vah and saḥ change their vowel to o instead of lengthening it: thus, voṛṛhāṁ, voṛṛhāṁ, voṛṛhār, sōḍhum. But from saḥ in the older language forms with ā are more frequent: thus, sāṛṛhā, āsāṛṛhā (also later), sāṛṛhar. The root ṛṛḥ changes the vowel of its class-sign na into e instead of lengthening it: thus, ṛṛṛṛṛṛḥi, ṛṛṛṛṛṛḥu, aṭṛṛṛṛṛet (the grammarians teach also ṛṛṛṛṛṛḥmi and ṛṛṛṛṛṛksi: if such forms are actually in use, they must have been made by false analogy with the others).

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

* See Hübschmann, as above.
alterant vowel (180) comes before the lingualised sibilant representative of the h. Compare śōḍaça etc.

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

The lingual sibilant s.

225. Since the lingual sibilant, in its usual and normal occurrences, is (182) the product of lingualization of s after certain alterant sounds, we might expect final radical s, 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 only true in a very few instances.

Namely, in the prefix dus (evidently identical with y/duṣ); in sajūś (adverbially used case-form from y/juṣ); in (RV.) vivēs and dvīves, from y/viṣ; in āyēs (RV.), from y/iṣ; and in ācūṣ, from cīṣ as secondary form of y/cūṣ. All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

226. In general, final lingual अः is treated in the same manner as palatal यः. Thus:

a. Before t and th it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated: e. g. devṣtas, dvīṣthas, dvēṣṭum.

This is a common and perfectly natural combination.

b. Before dh, bh, and su, as also in external combination (145), it becomes a lingual mute; and dh is made lingual after it: thus, pīṇḍiki, vidīḍhi, vivīḍḍhi, dvīḍḍham, dvīḍbhis, dvīṭṣu.

The same holds good of the altered s of a tense-sign: thus, āstoḍḍham (from astoṣ-tham).

The conversion of s to ṭ (or ṭ) as final and before bh and su is parallel with the like conversion of c, and of j and h in the meṣ and ruḥ 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 saṣ) only once in RV. and once in AV. (-dvit and -prut), although those texts have more than 40 roots with final s; in the Brāhmaṇas, moreover, has been noticed further only -citi. From pīṇaṣ, RV. has the irregular form pīṇak (2d and 3d sing., for pīnas-s and pīnas-t).

c. Before s in internal combination (except su of loc. pl.) it becomes k: thus, dvēkṣi, dvēkṣyāmi, ādvikṣam.

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 pīnak, above) are vivekṣi, from y/viṣ, and the desid. stem vīrīkṣa from y/viṣ; AV. has only dvīkṣat and dvīkṣata, and the desid. stem cīṣṭikṣa from y/ciṣ. Other examples are quotable from y/ṣyaḥ (CB. etc.), cīṣ (CB.), and pīṣ (Khāṇḍ. Up.); and they are by the Hindu grammarians prescribed to be formed from about half-a-dozen other roots.
III. EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

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 cch (which the MSS. sometimes write chch).

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 Prātiṣṭhakhyas. The Kāṭhaka writes for original ch (not ch from combination of t and n with ρ: 203) after a vowel everywhere cch.

Opinions are still at variance as to how far this duplication has an etymological ground, and how far it is only an acknowledgment of the fact that ch makes a heavy syllable even after a short vowel (makes "position": 79).

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).

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

A doubled consonant after r is very common in MSS. 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.

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.

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

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

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

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

c. Between r and a following consonant the Prātiṣṭhakhyas teach the insertion of a svarūpbhakti or ‘vowel-fragment’: see APṛ. i. 101—2, note.

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
ABBREVIATION OF CONSONANT-GROUPS.

— 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 \( r \) (or \( l \)).

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

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

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, *yuddhi* for *yudghi*, *yudhvām* for *yudghvām*, *āntām* for *ānkṭām*, *chintām* for *chinttām*, *bhīnthā* for *bhīntthā*, *indhē* for *inddhē*.

This abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇīni, is required by APr. (the other Prātiṣṭhākhyas take no notice of it). It is the usual practice of the MSS., though the full group is also often written.

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

That is to say, the ordinary usage of the MSS. 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 *datvā* and *tattvā* may be, and almost invariably are, written as *datvā* and *tattvā*. As *körtana* is also properly *körttana*, so *körttika* (from *kṛtti*) is written as *körttika*. So in inflection, we have always, for example, *majiṅñā* etc., not *majiynā*, from *majijnān*. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abbreviations are made: thus, *hrdyotā* for *hrādyotā*; *chintāy asya* for *chintāty asya*. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard *ādhvam* or *āddhvam* (from *yās*), *ādvīḍhvam* or *ādvīḍghvam* (from *yādevi*) as the true form of a second person plural.

233. Among occasional omissions of an etymologically justified member of a consonant-group, is of importance enough to be here noticed: that

A *s* is sometimes lost (perhaps after assimilation) between two surd mutes: thus,

a. The initial *s* of the roots *sthā* and *stabh* after the preposition *ut*: thus, *utthātum* for *utsthātum*, *ūṭṭabhnoti* for *ūṭṭabhnoti*.

b. The tense-sign *s* of the -s-aorist (chap. XI.) after a final consonant of a root before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, *achāntta* (and for this, by 231, *achānta*) for *achāntssta*, *cāpta* for *cāpsta*, *tāptam* for *tāpstam*.

c. Other instances are only sporadic: thus, the compound *sēkhā* (*ṛc + sthā*: PB.); the collocations *tasmāt tuṭe* (for *stute*) and *puroruk tuṭa*- (for *stuta*-: K.).

**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.

**Guna and Vṛddhi.**

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

A *guna*-vowel 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, by the further prefixion of *a* to the *guna*-vowel. Thus, of ः i or ः ः the corresponding *guna* is (a+ः=) ः e; the corresponding *vṛddhi* is (a+ः=) ः ः ः ः. But in all gunating processes ः ः ः ः ः remains unchanged — or, as it is sometimes expressed, ः ः ः ः ः ः, of course, remains unchanged for both *guna* and *vṛddhi*.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Vowel</th>
<th>ः ः</th>
<th>ः ः</th>
<th>ः ः</th>
<th>ः ः</th>
<th>ः ः</th>
<th>ः ः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guna</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛddhi</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
<td>ः ः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 ः, ः, ः, ः to be raised to *guna* or *vṛddhi* respectively, under specified conditions. But ः is so clearly seen to come by abbreviation or weakening from an earlier *a* (or *ai*) that many European grammarians prefer to treat the *guna*-form as the original and the other as the derivative. Thus, for example: instead of assuming certain roots to be *bhr* and *vṛdh*, and making from them *bharati* and *vardhati*, and *bhrta* and *vṛddha*, by the same rules which from *bhū* and *nī* and from *budh* and *cit* form *bhavati* and *nayati*, *bodhati* and *cetati*, *bhūta* and *nīta*, *buddha* and *citta* — they assume
bhur and vardh to be the roots, and give the rules of formation for them in reverse. Both methods have their advantages, and the question between them is one of minor consequence, which may fairly be settled by considerations of convenience. Mainly from such considerations, the \( r \)-form is generally assumed in this work, though not without constant recognition of the other.

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 đvěsti from \( \sqrt{dev} \), đóhmí from \( \sqrt{dυh} \); or in derivation, as đvěśa, đóhas, đvěśum, đógḍhum.

b. In formative elements: either conjugational class-signs, as tanomí from tanu; or suffixes of derivation, in further derivation or in inflection, as agnáye from agni, bẖáṇavas from bẖáṇú, piṭāram from piṭ, hantavyā from hṝntu.

239. The vrddhi-increment is specifically Indian (being unshared, save in a few doubtful cases, even by the Zend), and its occurrence is more infrequent and irregular. It is found:

a. In root and suffix-syllables, instead of guṇa: thus, stāūti from \( \sqrt{st}u \), sāḵhāyam from sākhi, ūṁāṣam from ūṁi, ākārsam and kārṇyati and kārṇyā from \( \sqrt{kṛ} \) (or kṛ), ṃāṭāram from ṃāṭ.

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, māṇasā from māṇas, vāidyutā from vāidyut, bẖāvā from bẖūmi, pārthiva from prthivī.

But

240. The guṇa-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing guṇa in processes of derivation and inflection do not apply to a short vowel which is "long by position", nor to a long vowel unless it be final: thus, cētati from \( \sqrt{cεt} \), but nindati from \( \sqrt{nind} \); náyati from \( \sqrt{nī} \), but jīvati from \( \sqrt{jīv} \).

The vrddhi-increment is not liable to this restriction.

Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, dīdeva from \( \sqrt{dv} \); hēdas from \( \sqrt{hδ} \); ṛhate from \( \sqrt{ṛh} \).

And a few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment: thus, dūṣāyatī from \( \sqrt{ḍuṣ} \), gūhati from \( \sqrt{ṛguh} \).

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 \( ār \): namely, especially, where by such reversal a difficult combination of consonants is avoided: thus, from \( \sqrt{ḍṛṛ} \), drakṣyāmi and drākṣaṃ; but also prthi and prthī, prch and prach, krpā and ákrapiṣṭa.
242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in \( r \) (for more original \( ar \) ), the \( r \) exchanges both with \( ar \), and, more irregularly, in a part of the forms, with \( ir \) — or also with \( ur \) (especially after a labial, in \( pr, mpr, vfr \), sporadically in others): which \( ir \) and \( ur \), again, are liable to prolongation into \( ir \) and \( ur \). Thus, for example, from \( tr \) (or \( tar \) ), we have \( tarati, titartii, tatāra, atārisam, \) by regular processes; but also \( tirati, tiryati, tirvā, -tīya, tīra, \) and even \( V. \) \( turyāma, tuturyāt, tar-turāma. \) The treatment of such roots has to be described in speaking of each formation.

For the purpose of artificially indicating this peculiarity of treatment, such roots are by the Hindu grammarians written with long \( r \), or with both \( r \) and \( r \): no \( r \) actually appears anywhere among their forms.

The (quotable) \( r \)-roots are \( 3kr \) 'strew', \( 1gr \) 'praise', \( 2gr \) 'swallow', \( 1jr \) 'wear out', \( tr, 1 gr \) 'crush'

The (quotable) \( r \) and \( r \)-roots are \( 1r \) 'burst', \( 1pr \) 'fill', \( 2mr \) 'die', \( 2vr \) 'choose', \( str, hvr \).

243. In a few cases, \( r \) comes from the contraction of other syllables than \( ar \) and \( ra \) : thus, in \( trla \) and \( trliya \) from \( ri \); in \( spru \) from \( ru \); in \( trca \), even from \( vir \) (or \( vyr \).

Vowel-lengthening.

244. Vowel-lengthening has regard especially to \( i \) 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 \( ar \): chap. \( V. \) ). 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 \( r \)-roots: 242) are liable to prolongation before all consonants except those of personal endings: namely, before \( y \) and \( tvā \) and \( na \): and in declension before \( bh \) and \( s \) (392). Radical \( is \) and \( us \) have the same prolongation in declension.

246. Compensatory lengthening, or absorption by a vowel of the time of a lost following consonant, is by no means common. Certain instances of it have been pointed out above (179, 198b, 199b, 222). Perhaps such cases as \( pilā \) for \( pitars \) and \( dhanī \) for \( dhanins \) (chap. \( V. \)) 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

* Numbers prefixed to roots denote the order in which, there being more than one of the same form, the root intended is given in the Petersburg lexicon.
frequent; but cases are found of every variety. Examples are deva, vayundva, prav, riwasu, indicant, sudanu, cakamaga, vijnana, ekidaca; api, parinadh, virudh, tuvimagha, tevisant, sakivant; vasuj, anuradha, sumaya, puruvasu.

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 APR. iii. 16 note, Benfey, Abh. Gött. Ges. xix.—xxi. [1874—6], and the various Prachākhyas). Words of which the finals are thus treated are:

a. Particles: namely, atha, adha, eva, uta, gh, ha, ik, ic, ca, sma, anga, kila,atra, yatra, tatra, katra, anyatra, ubhayatra, adya, ach, apa, pra; yadi, nahi, abhi; u, tu, na, su, maksh.

b. Case-forms: especially instr. sing., as en, tena, yena, ven, and others; rarely gen. sing., as asya, harinasya. Cases besides these are few: so stma (voc.); tanvi (loc.), and uru and (not rarely) puru.

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 pib, sya, gamaya; — 2d pl. act. in ta and th, as stha, atta, bharta, jaya, cnuata, anadatal, nayath, jivayath (and one in tana: avishan); — 1st pl. act. in ra, as vidma, riham, rhyam, ruhem, vanuyam, cakrm, marmrma; — 2d sing. impv. mid. in sva, as yuka, idiva, dadi, vaasa; — 1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as ved, viveca, jagrabb; 2d sing. perf. act., vetth; — 2d pl. perf. act., anaj, cakr. Of verb-forms ending in i, only the 2d sing. impv. act., as cudihi, cnuhi, citha, jahi.

To these may be added the gerund in ya, as abhigurya, acya.

Vowel-lightening.

249. The alteration of short a to an i or u-vowel in the formative processes of the language, except in r or ar roots (as explained above), is a sporadic phenomenon only.

250. But the lightening of a long a especially to an i-vowel (as also its loss), is a frequent process: no other vowel is so unstable.

a. Of the class-sign na (of the kri-class of verbs: chap. IX.), the a is in "weak" forms changed to i, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final a of one or two roots is treated in the same manner: thus ma, ha. And from some roots, a and i or i-forms so interchange that it is difficult to classify them or to determine the true character of the root.

b. Radical a is weakened to the semblance of the union-vowel i in certain verbal forms: as perfect dadima from yda etc.; aorist adhitahas from ydh etc.; present jahimas from yha etc.

c. Radical a is shortened to the semblance of stem-a in a number of
reduplicated forms, as tiṣṭha, piṇa, dada, etc.: see chap. IX.; also in a few aorists, as āhvan, ākhyam, etc.: see chap. XI.

251. Certain ā-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with ī and ī-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in ē or āī or o. Thus, from 2dāḥ ‘suck’ (dhe) come the present dhāyati and participle and gerund dhītā, dhītvā; the other forms are made from dhā, as dadhūs, dadhāt, dhāśyati, dhātave, dhāpayati. From 2gā ‘sing’ (gā) come the present gāyati, the participle and gerund gītā and gītvā, and passive gīyāte, and the other forms from gā. From 3dā ‘cut’ (do) come the present dyātī and participle ditā or dinā, and the other forms from dā. The irregularities of these roots will be treated below, under the various formations.

252. By a process of abbreviation essentially akin with that of ar or ra to ē, 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, ukṭvā, ukṭa, ukṣi, ukṣthā, etc.; from yaj come iyāja, iyāśam, iṣṭvā, iṣṭā, iṣṭi, etc. See below, under the various formations.

To this change is generally given by European grammarians the name of samprasārana, 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, ghnaṁti, ṣhaptam, jagmūs, jajnūs, ājñata; in noun-forms, rājne, rājñī.

254. Union-vowels. All the simple vowels come to assume in certain cases the aspect of union-vowels, or insertions between root or stem and ending of inflection or of derivation.

That character belongs oftenest to ī, which is very widely used: a. before the s of aorist and future and desiderative stems, as in ājīvīṣam, ījīvīṣāmi, ījīvīṣāmi; b. in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as ījīvīṁā; occasionally also present, as āniti, rōditi; c. in derivation, as ījīvatā, kūṁita, ānītī, rociṣṇā, etc. etc.

Long ā is used sometimes instead of short: thus, āgraḥiṣam, grahamyāmi; bṛaviti, vāvadīti; tārītī, savītī; it is also often introduced before s and t of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs: thus, āsīs, āsīt.

For details respecting these, and the more irregular and sporadic occurrences of ā 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, 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.

Examples are, of roots: ac and aṅc, grath and granth, vid and vind, duṅ and daṅc, sras and sraṅs, ḍrh and ḍṛṅḥ: of endings, bhārantam and bhāratā, mānasī and mānāṃsi.

256. A final n, whether of stem or of root, is less stable than any other consonant, where a weaker form is called for: thus, from rājan we have rājā and rājabhis, and in composition rāja; from dhanī, dhanī and dhanībhis and dhanī; from ṣvan we have ṣhā and ṣhā, etc. A final radical m (m does not occur as final of a stem) is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from ṣvan, gahī, gatā, gāti.

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 aṅt, aṅtnā and aṅtnām; from mādhhu, mādhunas, mādhunī, mādhunī; from cīvā, cīvēna, cīvāni, cīvānām.

258. Inserted y. After long ū, a y is not very infrequently found as apparently a mere union-consonant before another vowel: thus, in derivation, yūyā, svadhāyā, dhāyas, sthāyuka; in inflection, ādāyi, rāgyati, and perhaps cīvāyās and gāyati.

Reduplication.

259. Reduplication of a root (originating doubtless in its complete repetition) has come to be a method of radical increment or strengthening in various formative processes: namely,

a. in present-stem formation: as dādāmi, bibhārmi;

b. in aorist-stem formation: as ādāhram, ācucyavam;

c. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally: as tatāna, dadhāi, cakāra;

d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout: as jāṅghanti, jāhāti, marmṛjyēte, pīpasati, jīghāṇṣati;

e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems: as pāpri, cārcara, sāsahī, cikītā, malimblucā.

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, the pronouns, which exhibit many peculiarities, will be best dealt with in a separate chapter; and the words designating number, or numerals, also form a class peculiar enough to require to be presented by themselves.

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.

The only words which show no sign of gender-distinction are the personal pronouns of the first and second person (along with the numerals above 'four': chap. VI.).

264. Number. The numbers are three — singular, dual, and plural.

A few words are used only in the plural: as dārūś, 'wife', āpas, 'water'; the numeral dvā, '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 found without the addition of the numeral dvā, 'two', wherever the duality of the objects spoken of is a thing well understood: thus, aṛvināu, 'the two (horsemen) Aṛvins'; indrasya hārī, 'Indra's (two) bays'; devadattasya hastāu, 'Devadatta's two hands'; but devadattasya dvāv aṛvāu stah, 'Devadatta has two horses'.

266. Case. The cases are (including the vocative) eight: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative.

The order in which they are here mentioned is that established for them by the Hindu grammarians, and accepted from these by Western scholars. The Hindu names of the cases are founded on this order: the nominative is called prathamā, 'first'; the accusative dvitiyā, 'second'; the genitive saṣṭhī, 'sixth' (see. 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 brief compendious statement of the uses of the cases is given in the following paragraphs:

267. Uses of the Nominative. The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, and of any word qualifying the subject, whether attributively, in apposition, or as predicate.

268. As somewhat peculiar constructions may be mentioned a predicate nominative with manyē etc., 'think one's self to be', and with bruve etc., 'call one's self': thus, sōnam manyate papivān (RV.), 'he thinks he has been drinking soma'; sā manyeta puraṃvā (AV.), 'he may regard himself as wise in ancient things'; īndro brāhmaṇo brāviṇāh (TS.), 'Indra calling himself (pretending to be) a Brahman'; — and with rūpān kṛ: thus, kṛṣṇo rūpān kṛtvā (TS.), 'taking on a black form' (making shape for himself as one that is black).

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 more indirect object, the accusative is construed especially with verbs of approach and address. It is found used yet 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

Whitney, Grammar.
and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration: an example or two are: aγνίμ ἓδε, 'I praise Agni'; námo bhárantuḥ, 'bringing homage'; bháyá dátum ariṣái, 'thou shouldst give more'. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is táṁ ugrám kṛṇomi táṁ brāhmāṇam (RV.), 'him I make formidable, him a priest'.

271. Of verbal derivatives having so far a participial character that they share the construction of the verb, the variety is considerable: thus,

a. Derivatives in u from desiderative stems have wholly the character of present participles: thus, damayántim abhipṣavah (MBh.), 'desiring to win, Damayanti'; rújúnam didṛkṣuḥ (MBh.), 'desiring to see the king'.

b. So-called primary derivatives in in have the same character: thus, mám kāminī (AV.), 'loving me'; enam abhibbāṣiṇī (MBh.), 'addressing him'.

c. Derivatives in aka, in the later language: as, bhavantam abhivādakāh (MBh.), 'intending to salute you'.

d. Nouns in tar, very frequently in the older language, and as periphrastic future forms (chap. XII.) in the later: thus, hántā yó vytrām sānito 'tā vájam dūlā mahānī (RV.), 'who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesses'.

e. The root itself, in the older language, used with the value of a present participle at the end of a compound: thus, yāṁ yaśnām paribhār āsi (RV.), 'what offering thou surroundest [protectest]'.

f. The derivative in i from the (especially the reduplicated) root, in the older language: thus, bābhīr vijram papiḥ sōmām dādīr gāḥ (RV.), 'bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine'.

g. Derivatives in aka, very frequently in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, vatsāṅc ca ghatuko vīkah (AV.), 'and the wolf destroys his calves'; vēduko vāso bhavati (TS.), 'he wins a garment'.

h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in a, as indro dṛḍhā cid ārujāḥ (RV.), 'Indra breaks up even what is fast'; in atnu, as viḍu cid ārujatnābhāḥ (RV.), 'with the breakers of whatever is strong'; in ana, as táṁ nivarāṇe (MBh.), 'in restraining him'.

272. Examples of an accute with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: anuvrata is so used: thus, damayāntim anuvrataḥ (MBh.), 'devoted to Damayanti'; and kāma, as màṁ kāmena (AV.), 'through loving me'.

273. The direct construction of cases with prepositions is comparatively restricted in Sanskrit (see the subject of Prepositions, chap. XVI.). With the accusative is oftenest found prati, 'opposite to, in reference to', etc.; also anu, 'after, in the course of; antar or antarā, 'between'; rarely ati, 'across'; abhi, 'against, to'; and others. Case-forms which have assumed a prepositional value are also often used with the accusative: as antareṇa, uttareṇa, daksin-enā, avarāṇa, ārdhvam, etc.

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, bring-
ing, sending, and the like: thus, vidarbhāν agaman (MBh.), ‘they went to Vidarbha’; dīvam yayuh (MBh.), ‘they went to heaven’; vanogulmān dhāvantah (MBh.), ‘running to woods and bushes’; āpo dīvam úḍ vahanti (AV.), ‘they carry up waters to the sky’; devn yaje (AV.), ‘I make offering to the gods’.

With verbs meaning ‘go’, this is an extremely common construction; and the use of such a verb with an abstract noun makes peculiar phrases of ‘becoming’: thus, samatām ēti, ‘he goes to equality’ (i.e. ‘becomes equal’); sa gached badhyatām mama (MBh.), ‘he shall become liable to be slain by me’; sa pañcatvam āgatah (H.), ‘he was resolved into the five elements’ (underwent dissolution, died).

b. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, tam ābravīt, ‘he said to him’; prākroṣad uccār nāśadham (MBh.), ‘she cried out loudly to the Nishadhan’; yās tvo ‘vāca (AV.), ‘who spoke to thee’.

275. The cognate accusative, or accusative of the implied object, is, of course, found also in Sanskrit: as, capatham čepe, ‘he swore an oath’.

276. As a yet more adverbial adjunct to a verb, the accusative is used to denote space traversed: as yojanacatam gantum (MBh.), ‘to go a hundred leagues’; much more often, duration of time: as tīsro rātrir dīkṣītāh syāt (TS.), ‘let him be consecrated three nights’; sā savatsārsām ārthāv ‘tīṣṭhat (AV.), ‘he stood upright for a year’; gatvā trīn ahorūtrān (MBh.), ‘having travelled three complete days’. But the point of place or time also is occasionally found represented by the accusative (instead of the locative).

The same case is used adverbially to express manner or accompanying circumstance; and many adverbs have the accusative form (see Adverbs, chap. XVI.): this is especially true of compound words, even to such an extent as to form a class of adverbial compounds (below: chap. XVIII.).

277. The accusative is freely used alone with other cases as objects of the same verb, wherever the sense admits. And when it is usable with a verb in two different constructions, the verb may take two accusatives, one in each construction. Thus, especially, verbs of having recourse, appealing, asking: as, tvām vayam saraṇam gatāh (MBh.), ‘we have resorted to thee for succor’; apō yacāmi bhṛṣajām (RV.), ‘I ask the waters for medicine’; — and verbs of sending, bringing, imparting, saying: as, gurutvam naraṁ nayanti (H.), ‘conduct a man to respectability’; tām idam abravīt (MBh.), ‘she said this to her’; — other less usual cases are, for example, tāṁ viśāṁ evā ‘dhok (AV.), ‘he milked from her poison’; jītvā rājyaṁ nalam (MBh.), ‘having won the kingdom from [i.e. by beating] Nala’.

A causative verb, naturally, takes a double accusative: thus, tāṁ gṛham praveṣayaṁ, ‘he makes her enter the house’.

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 our prepositions with and by).
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, agnir devēbhir & gamat (RV.), 'may Agni come hither along with the gods'; dvāpareṇa sabāyena kvo yāsyasi (MBh.), 'whither wilt thou go, with Dvāpara for companion?' kathayan nāisādhena (MBh.), 'talking with the Nishadhan'. But the relation of simple accompaniment is more often helped to plainer expression by prepositions.

280. The instrumental of means or instrument or agent is yet more frequent: thus, bhadrāṁ kārṇebhik śṛṇuyāma (AV.), 'may we hear with our ears what is propitious'; castraṇa nidhamam (MBh.), 'death by the sword'; kecit padbhyaṁ hatā gajāḥ (MBh.), 'some were slain by the elephants with their feet'. And this passes easily over into the expression of occasion or reason (for which the ablative is more frequent): thus, kṛpayā, 'through pity'; tena satyena, 'by reason of that truth'.

281. Of special applications, the following may be noticed:

a. Accordance, equality, likeness, and the like: thus, samāṁ fyōṭih sūryena (AV.), 'a brightness equal with the sun'; yeshāṁ na pādarajasya turyāḥ (MBh.), 'to the dust of whose feet I am not equal'.

b. Price (by which obtained): thus, daçābhīr kṛṇāti dhenābhiḥ (RV.), 'he buys with ten kine'; gavāṁ sahasreṇa vikṛṇiye, 'he sells for a thousand cattle'.

c. Medium, also space or distance or road, traversed; and hence also time passed through: thus, udnā nā vávam anayanta (RV.), 'they led [him] as it were a ship through the water'; ē 'hā yūtam pathiḥbhīr devayānaḥ (RV.), 'come hither by god-travelled paths'; jagmr vihāyasā (MBh.), 'they went off through the air': — visadbhān yūtam ichāmy ekāhā (MBh.), 'I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day'; kiyatā kāleṇa pradhānātām labhante (H.), 'in how long time do they obtain chief rank?' But the expression of 'within the space of', for time, is also sometimes made by the accusative or locative.

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

282. The construction of a passive verb (or participle) with an instrumental of the agent is common from the earliest period, and becomes decidedly more so later, the passive participle with instrumental taking to no small extent the place of an active verb with its subject. Thus, yamēna dattāḥ (RV.), 'given by Yama'; Ṛṣibhir īdyāḥ (RV.), 'to be praised by sages'; vyādheṇa jīdanḥ visīrṇam (H.), 'by the hunter a net [was] spread'; teno 'ktam, 'by him [it was] said'; mayā gantavyam (H.), = 'I shall go'.

The second object of a causative verb is sometimes put in the instrumental instead of the accusative: as, paksibhiḥ pindaṁ khādayati, 'he causes the cakes to be eaten by the birds'.

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.

More anomalously, however, the instrumental is used interchangeably with the ablative with words signifying separation: thus, vatsūr vīyutāh (RV.), 'separated from their calves'; mā 'hām ātmānā vi rādhiṣi (AV.), 'let me not be severed from the breath of life'; sa tayā vyayujyata (MBh.), 'he was parted from her' (compare English parted with).

284. The prepositions taking the instrumental are those signifying 'with' and the like: thus, saha, with the adverbial words containing sa as an element, as sūkam, sārdham, saratham; — and, in general, a word compounded with sa, sam, saha takes an instrumental as its regular and natural complement.

But also the preposition vinā, 'without' (along with the compounds of vi spoken of in the preceding paragraph), takes sometimes the instrumental.

285. Uses of the Dative. The dative is the case of the indirect object — of that toward or in the direction of or in order to or for which anything is or is done (either intransitively or to a direct object).

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 '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 sākhya (RV.), 'who gives not to a friend'; yāchā 'smūi cārma (RV.), 'bestow upon him protection'.

b. Words signifying show, announce, declare, and the like: thus, āvār ebhyo abhavat sūryaḥ (RV.), 'the sun was manifested to them'; rtuparnam bhumāya pratyavedayan (MBh.), 'they announced Rituparna to Bhima'; tebhyaḥ pratijñāya (MBh.), 'having promised to them'.

c. Words signifying give attention, have a regard or feeling, and the like: thus, nivesṭāya mano dadhuk (MBh.), 'they set their minds upon encamping'; māte 'va putrebhya mṛda (AV.), 'be gracious as a mother to her sons'; kīm asmābhyaṁ hṛṣīye (RV.), 'why art thou angry at us?'

d. Words signifying inclination, obeisance, and the like: thus, mādhyāṁ namanāṁ pratiṣeṣ cātasaṁ (RV.), 'let the four quarters bow themselves to me'; devabhyaṁ namaskṛtya (MBh.), 'having paid homage to the gods'.

e. Words signifying hurling or casting: as yēna dūḍīçe āsyasi (AV.), 'with which thou hurlest at the impious'.

In some of these constructions the genitive and locative are also used: see below.

287. In its more distinctive sense, as signifying for, for the benefit of, with reference to, and the like, the dative is used freely, and in a great variety of constructions. And this use passes over into that of the dative of
end or purpose, which is extremely common. Thus, ēṣāṁ kṛṇāṇāṁ āsanāya (AV.), ‘making an arrow for hurling’; grīṅāmaṁ te sāvabhāgadvatāṁ kāstam (RV.), ‘I take thy hand in order to happiness’; rāṣṭroya māhyam badhyatāṁ sa- pūtnebhyāḥ parābhive (AV.), ‘be it bound on in order to royalty for me, in order to destruction for my enemies’. 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, upadeśo mūrkhāṇāṁ prakopaya na cāntaye (H.), ‘good counsel [tends] to the exasperation, not the conciliation, of fools’; sa ca tasyāṁ som- toṣāya nā 'bhavat (H.), ‘and he was not to her satisfaction’; sugopā asi nā dābhāya (RV.), thou art a good herdsman, not one for cheating’ (i. e. not to be cheated).

These uses of the dative are in the older language especially illustrated by the dative infinitives, for which see chap. XIII.

288. The dative is not used with prepositions.

289. Uses of the Ablative. The ablative is the ‘from’-case, in the various senses of that preposition: it is used to express removal, separation, distinction, issue, and the like.

290. The ablative is used where expulsion, removal, distinction, release, protection, and other kindred relations are expressed: thus, tē sedhantī pathō vīkam (AV.), ‘they drive away the wolf from the path’; mā prā gāma pathāḥ (RV.), ‘may we not go away from the path’: ārē asmād astu hetāḥ (AV.), ‘far from us be your missile’; pātāṁ no vīkāt (RV.), ‘save us from the wolf’.

291. The ablative is used where procedure or issue from something as from a source or starting-point is signified: thus, śukrāḥ kṛṣṇād ajaniṣṭa (RV.), ‘the bright one has been born from the black one’; lobbhāḥ krodhaḥ prabhavati (Mbh.), ‘passion arises from greed’; vālīt te prāṇām avidam (AV.), ‘I have won thy life-breath from the wind’; yē prācyā diśo abhidhāsantu asmān (AV.), ‘who attack us from the eastern quarter’; tac chrutvā sakhiyaṁ- āt (Mbh.), ‘having heard that from the troop of friends’; vāyur antarikṣād abhāṣata (MBh.), ‘the wind spoke from the sky’.

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 gāṣṇād dadāra (RV.), ‘from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he burst asunder’; yasya daṇḍabhayāt sarve dharmam anuruddhyanti (Mbh.), ‘from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty’; akā- ramiṣṭita-vād ekārasya (Tribh.), ‘because e contains an element of a’.

Perhaps by a further modification of this construction (the effect following the cause), the ablative also in technical language signifies ‘after’: thus, śakārāt, ‘after y’.

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,
tasya jatayuh sarvan abihet (AV.), 'everything was afraid of her at her birth'; yasmad rejanta kshayah (RV.), 'at whom mortals tremble'; yugmad bhigvi (RV.), 'through fear of you'.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, prā ririce diva indraḥ prthivyāḥ (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, svādōh svādiyāḥ (RV.), 'sweeter than the sweet'; kim tasmād daśkharaṇam (MBh.), 'what is more painful than that?' mitrād anyah (H.), 'any other than a friend'; nāśadhād anyam (MBh.), 'another than the Nishadhan'; sa matto mahān, 'he is greater than I'; tād anyātra tvan ni dadhmasi (AV.), 'we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee'; pruvā viṃvasmād bhāvanāt (RV.), 'earlier than all beings'.

Occasionally, a partitive genitive is used with the comparative (as with the superlative); or an instrumental (of holding together the things compared).

283. The ablative is used with a variety of prepositions and words sharing a prepositional character; but all these have rather an adverbial value, as strengthening or defining the 'from'-relation, than any proper governing force. Thus:

a. In the Veda, ādhi and pāri are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative: as, jatō himāvatas pāri (AV.), 'born from the Himalaya (forth)'; samudrādhi yajñīse (AV.), 'thou art born from the ocean'; cāruntam pāri tasthāsah (RV.), 'moving forth from that which stands fast'.

b. Also purā (and purās), in the sense of 'forward from', and hence 'before': as, purā jārasah (RV.), 'before old age': and hence also, with words of protection and the like, 'from': as, caṣamānāḥ purā nidāh (RV.), 'setting in security from ill-will'.

c. Also ā, in the sense of 'hither from, all the way from': as, ā mūlād anu cūṣyatu (AV.), 'let it dry completely up from the root'; tāsmād ā nādvā nāma atha (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, ā 'syā yajñāsyo 'dri'caḥ (VS.), 'until the end of this sacrifice'; ā gaḍacāt (M.), 'till the sixteenth year'; ā praddhānāt (U.), 'until her marriage'.

d. Other prepositional constructions offer little subject for remark: vinā takes the ablative as well as instrumental (284); rte in the older language usually has the ablative, in the later the accusative.

284. Uses of the Genitive. 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 adjectival or 'verb or preposition, appear to arise out of this by a more or less distinctly traceable connection.

The use of the genitive has become much extended, espe-
cially 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, locative.

295. The genitive in its normal adjective construction is classifiable into the usual varieties, as: genitive of possession or appurtenance, including the complement of implied relation — this is, as elsewhere, the commonest of all; the so-called partitive genitive; the subjective and objective genitives; and so on. Genitives of appellation (‘city of Rome’), material, and characteristic (‘man of honor’), do not occur. Examples are: āndrasya vājraḥ, ‘Indra’s thunderbolt’; pitaḥ putrāṇām, ‘father of sons’; putraḥ pitaḥ, ‘son of the father’; pitaḥ kāmaḥ putrasya, ‘the father’s love of the son’; ke nāḥ, ‘which of us’; catāṁ dāśinām, ‘a hundred female slaves’.

The expression of possession etc. on the part of pronouns is made almost entirely by the genitive case. and not by a derived possessive adjective (516).

296. The genitive is dependent on an adjective:

a. In part, by a construction similar to that of verbs which take a genitive object: thus, abhijñā rājadharmāṇām, ‘understanding the duties of a king’.

b. In great part, by a transfer of the possessive genitive from noun to adjective, the adjective being treated as if it had noun-value: thus, tasya samōḥ or anurūpaḥ or sadṛṣaḥ, ‘resembling him’ (i. e. his like); tasya priyā, ‘dear to him’ (his dear one); tasyāḥ ‘viditam, ‘unknown to him’ (his unknown thing); hāvyāc carṣaṇāṁ (RV.), ‘to be sacrificed to by mortals’ (their object of sacrifice); īpsito navaṇārināṁ (MBh.), ‘desired of men and women’ (their object of desire); yasya kasya prasūtaḥ (H.), ‘of whomsoever born’ (his son).

c. The so-called partitive genitive with a superlative, or another word of similar value, is a matter of course: thus, gṛṣṭham vīrāṇāṁ, ‘best of heroes’; vīrūdhāṁ viyāvatā (A. V.), ‘of the mighty [mightiest] one’.

d. Adjectives meaning ‘capable’, ‘worthy’, ‘full’, and a few others, take the genitive by a more original and proper right.

297. The genitive as object of a verb is:

a. A possessive genitive of the recipient, by pregnant construction, with verbs signifying give, impart, communicate, and the like: thus, varāḥ pra-dāyā ṣya (MBh.), ‘having bestowed gifts upon him’ (made them his by bestowal); rājña niveditām (H.), ‘it was made known to the king’ (made his by knowledge).

This construction, by which the genitive becomes substitute for a dative or locative, abounds in the later language, and is extended sometimes to problematic and difficult cases.

b. A (in most cases, probably) partitive genitive, as a less complete or less absolute object than an accusative: thus, with verbs meaning partake (eat, drink, etc.), as pīḍa sutāsya (A. V.), ‘drink (of) the Soma; mūḍhvah pāyaya (RV.), ‘cause to drink the sweet draught’; — with verbs meaning
impart (or the thing imparted) etc., as dādātu no amṛtasya (RV.), ‘bestow upon us immortality’; — with verbs meaning enjoy, be satisfied or filled with: as mātasya āndhasā (RV.), ‘do thou enjoy the juice’; — with verbs meaning to perceive, note, care for, regard with feelings of various kinds: as, vāṣṣiḥkasya stuvatā āndro aćrot (RV.), Indra listened to Vasishtha who was praising him; yāthā māma smārīt (AV.), ‘that he may think of me’; tasya eukopa (MBh.), ‘he was angry at him’; bibhiṃas tava (MBh.), ‘we are afraid of thee’.

c. A genitive of more doubtful character, with verbs meaning to rule or have authority, as tvām īcīṣe vāsūnām (RV.), ‘thou art lord of good things’; yāthā ‘hām eṣāṁ virājāni (AV.), ‘that I may rule over them’; — with verbs meaning throw at, injure, as yās ta āsyat (AV.), ‘whoever hurl-ed at thee’; — and with some others.

298. A genitive in its usual possessive sense is often found as predicate, and not seldom with the copula omitted: thus, yāthā ‘so māma kēcatalah (AV.), ‘that thou mayest be wholly mine’; sarvāḥ sampattayasya tasya samṭustam yasya mānasam (H.), ‘all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind’.

299. The prepositional constructions of the genitive are for the most part with such prepositions as are really noun-cases, and have the government of such: thus, agre, arthe, kṛte, and the like; also with other prepositional words which, in the general looseness of use of the genitive, have become assimilated to these. A few more real prepositions take the genitive: either usually, like upāri, ‘above’, or occasionally, like adhās, antār, āti.

A genitive is used in the older language with certain adverbs of time: thus, sakṛd āhnaḥ (RV.), ‘once a day’; trīḥ sanvatsaraśaya, ‘thrice a year’; idānām āhnaḥ (RV.), ‘at this time of the day’.

300. The genitive is used adverbially hardly at all; a few genitives of time occur in the older language: as aktos, ‘by night’, vastos, ‘by day’.

A genitive of accompanying circumstance, with a qualifying word, is sometimes used absolutely, instead of a locative (303b); but this construction is unknown in the earlier language, and rare in the later. It is said by the grammarians to convey an implication of contempt: thus, vīdarbhyaḥ prekṣamūrayāḥ paṇakūlam omanyata (MBh.), ‘he thought it a time for staking at play, while the Vidarban was looking on’ (or, in spite of it); but it is found without any such implication: thus, sarvāhāryāyāmi phalāny asya pacyatas te (MBh.), ‘I will count its fruits while you look on’.

301. Uses of the Locative. 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.

Unimportant variations of the sense of ‘in’ are those of ‘among’ or ‘amid’, ‘on’, and ‘at’. Of course, also, situation in time as well as place is indicated by the case; and it is applied
IV. DECLENSION.

[301—

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.

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. The locative of situation in space hardly needs illustration. An example or two are: ye devā divī sthā (AV.), ‘which of you gods are in heaven’; na deveṣu na yakṣēṣu tāḍāk (MBh.), ‘not among gods or Yakshas is such a one’; pārvatasya pratī (RV.), ‘on the ridge of the mountain’; vidātho santu devāḥ (RV.), ‘may the gods be at the assembly’; daçame pade (MBh.), ‘at the tenth step’.

The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything takes place: thus, asyā pāṇāsyo vyāṣṭī (RV.), ‘at the shining forth of this dawn’; etasmin eva kāle (MBh.), ‘at just that time’; dvādase varṣe (MBh.), ‘in the tenth year’. But the accusative is occasionally used in this sense, instead of the locative.

303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus, māde āhīm āndro jagāṇa (RV.), ‘in fury Indra slew the dragon’; mitrāya sumatūḥ syāma (RV.), ‘may we be in favor of Mitra’; te vacane ratam (MBh.), ‘delighted in thy words’.

a. This construction is, on the one hand, generalized into an expression for ‘in the matter or case of’, or ‘with reference to, respecting’, and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, e ’mām bhāja gāmat āvēṣu gūṣu (AV.), ‘be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle’; tām āt sakhitvā īmahe (RV.), ‘him we beg for friendship’; nyāyo ‘yam mayā dṛṣṭā ānaye tava (MBh.), ‘this was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither’; satīve kāraṇaṁ striyāḥ (H.), ‘the cause of (in the case of) a woman’s chastity’; na çakto ‘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 śūra údite hāve madhyāndine divāḥ (RV.), ‘I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day’; aparādhe kṛte ‘pi ca na me kopah (MBh.), ‘and even in case of an offense committed, there is no anger on my part’.

The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, stīrṇe barhīṣi saṃyukhāṇe agnītu (RV.), ‘when the barhiṣ is strewn and the fire kindled’; kūle cūbe prāpte (MBh.), ‘a propitious time having arrived’; avasannāyāṁ rātrūv astācalacūḍāvalambini can-
dramasi (H.), 'the night having drawn to a close, and the moon resting on the summit of the western mountain'.

But the noun may be wanting, or may be replaced by an adverbial substitute (as evam, tathā, iti): thus, asmābhīṁ samanụjaṁ (MBh.), '[it] being fully assented to by us'; evam ukte kalinā (MBh.), 'it being thus spoken by Kali'; tathā 'nuṣṭhite (H.), 'it being thus accomplished'. So likewise the participle may be wanting (a copula sati or the like being to be supplied): thus, dhūre 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'.

c. The locative is frequently used adverbially or prepositionally: thus, arthe or kṛte, 'in the matter of, for the sake of'.

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, 297a) might be looked for, and exchangeable with them: thus, sā īd devēṣu gachati (RV.), 'that, truly, goes to (to be among) the gods'; imāṁ no yajñāṁ amṛteṣu dhehi (RV.), 'set this offering of ours among the immortals'; yā āśiṅcānti rāsam oṣadhiṣu (AV), 'who pour in the juice into the plants' (or, the juice that is in the plants); mā prayache 'vare dhānam (H.), 'do not offer wealth to a lord'; papāta medināṁ (MBh.), 'he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth'; skandhe kṛteḥ (H.), 'putting on the shoulder'; saṃcrutya 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, 303a): thus, dayā sarvabẖūṭeṣu, 'compassion toward all creatures'; anurāgaṁ nāiśadhe (MBh.), 'affection for the Nishadhan'; rājā samyagṛṭṭhaḥ sadā tvayi (MBh.), 'the king always behaved properly toward thee'.

305. The prepositions construed with the locative stand to it only in the relation of adverbial elements strengthening and directing its meaning.

In the Veda, such locative constructions are most frequent with ā and ādhi: thus, mārtyeṣu ā, 'among mortals'; prthivyāṁ ādhy āṣadhiḥ, 'the plants upon the earth'; tējō māyā dhārayā 'dhi (AV.), 'establish glory in me': — less often, āpa and āpi are used in the same way. In all ages of the language, antār, 'within, among', is construed with the locative.

306. Declensional forms are made by the addition of endings to the stem, or base of inflection.

The stem itself, however, in many words and classes
of words, is liable to variation, especially as assuming a stronger form in some cases and a weaker in others.

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).

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 give a brief general view of them.

307. Endings: Singular. In the nominative, the usual masc. and fem. ending is s — which, however, is wanting in derivative ā and ī-stems; it is also euphonically lost (150) by consonant-stems. Neuters in general have no ending, but show in this case the bare stem; a-stems alone add m (as in the accus. masc.). Among the pronouns, am is a frequent masc. and fem. nom. ending (and is found even in du. and pl.); and neuters show a form in d.

In the accusative, m or am is the masc. and fem. ending — am being added after a consonant and r and after ī and ā in the radical division, and m elsewhere after vowels. The neuter accusative is like the nominative.

The instrumental ending for all genders alike is ā. With final ĕ and u-vowels, the ā is variously combined, and in the older language it is sometimes lost by contraction with them. Stems in a make the case end in ena (sometimes enā in V.), and those in ā make it end in ayā; but instances occur, in the early language, of immediate addition of ā to both a and ā.

The dative ending is in general e; and with it likewise the modes of combination of ĕ and u final are various (and disappearance by contraction not unknown in the oldest language). The a-stems are quite irregular in this case, making it end in āya — excepted is the pronominal element sma, which combines (apparently) with e to smāi. In the personal pronouns is found bhya (or hyam).

A fuller ending āi (like gen.-abl. ās and loc. ām: see below) belongs to feminine stems only. It is taken (with interpolated y) by the great class of those in derivative ā; also by those in derivative ĕ, and (as reckoned in the later language) in derivative āi. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical ī and āi, and even by those in ē and u: such have it in the earliest language in only rare and exceptional instances.

The ablative has a special ending, d (or ē), only in
\(a\)-stems, masc. and neut., the \(a\) being lengthened before it (except in the personal pronouns of 1st and 2d person; and these have the same ending in the pl., and even, in the old language, in the dual. Everywhere else, the ablative is identical with the genitive.

The genitive of \(a\)-stems (and of one pronominal \(u\)-stem, \textit{an}u) adds \(\text{sy}a\). 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 \(as\) respectively. With \(r\) (or \(ar\)) it yields \(us\) (or \(ur\): 169, end').

The fuller \(as\) is taken by feminine stems precisely as \(\text{i}i\) is taken in the dative: see above.

The locative ending is \(i\) in consonant and \(r\) and \(a\)-stems (fusing with \(a\) to \(e\) in the latter). The \(i\) and \(u\)-stems (unless the final vowel is saved by an interposed \(n\)) make the case end in \(\text{aiu}\); but the Veda has some relics or traces of the older forms \(\text{ay}i\) (?) and \(\text{au}i\) out of which this appears to have sprung. Vedic locatives from \(i\)-stems end also in \(\text{ai}\) and \(\text{i}\). The pronominal element \(s\text{ma}\) makes the locative \(\text{smin}\). Stems in \(an\) in the older language often lose the \(i\), and use the bare stem as locative.

The ending \(\text{am}\) is the locative correspondent to dat. \(\text{ai}\) and abl.-gen. \(\text{as}\), and is taken under the same circumstances: see above.

The vocative (unless by accent: 314) is distinguished from the nominative only in the singular, and not quite always there. In \(a\)-stems, it is the unaltered stem; and so also in most consonant-stems: but neuters in \(an\) and \(in\) may drop the \(n\); and the oldest language has sometimes a vocative in \(s\) from stems in \(nt\) and \(ns\). Stems in \(r\) change this to \(ar\). In masc. and fem. \(i\) and \(u\)-stems, the case ends respectively in \(e\) and \(o\); in neuters, in the same or in \(i\) and \(u\). Stems in \(\text{ai}\) change \(\text{ai}\) to \(e\); derivative \(i\) and \(u\) are shortened; radical stems in long vowels use the nominative form.

308. Dual. The dual has — except so far as the vocative is sometimes distinguished from nom. and accus. 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. (occasional confusion of the uses of the second and third is seen earlier).

But the pronouns of 1st and 2d person in the older language distinguish five dual cases: see 492.

The masc. and fem. ending for nom. - accus. - voc. is in the later language usually \(\text{aiu}\); but instead of this the Veda has prevailinglly \(\text{ai}\). Stems in \(\text{ai}\) make the case end in \(e\). Stems in \(i\) and \(u\), masc. and fem., lengthen those vowels; and derivative \(i\) in
the Veda remains regularly unchanged, though later it adds āu. The neuter ending is only ī; with final a this combines to e.

The universal ending for the instr.-dat.-abl. is bhīṃ, before which final a is made long. In the Veda, it is often to be read as two syllables, bhīm.

The universal ending of gen.-loc. is os: before this, a and ā alike become e (ai).

309. Plural. In the nominative, the general masc. and fem. ending is as. The old language, however, often makes the case in āsas instead of ās from a-stems, and in a few examples also from  scarc-stems. From derivative i-stems, is instead of yas is the regular and usual Vedic form. Pronominal a-stems make the masc. nom. in e.

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, ēni, āmī are frequently abbreviated by loss of the ni, and sometimes by further shortening of the preceding vowel.

The accusative ending is also as in consonant-stems and in the radical division of ī and ā-stems (and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those vowels and add in the masculine n (for ns, of which abundant traces remain), and in the feminine s. In the neuter, this case is like the nominative.

In the instrumental, the case-ending is everywhere bhīs except in a-stems, where in the later language the case always ends in āis, but in the earlier either in āis or the more regular ebhis (ābhīs in the two personal pronouns; and the pronominal stem a [501] makes ebhis only).

The dative and ablative have in the plural the same form, with the ending bhīas (in Veda often bhīs), 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 bhīam (almost never in V. bhīam), which they extend also into the singular.

Of the genitive, the universal ending is ām; which (except optionally after radical ī and ā, and in a few scattering Vedic instances) takes after final vowels an inserted consonant, s in the pronominal declension, n elsewhere; before n, a short vowel is lengthened; before s, a becomes e. In the Veda, it is very frequently to be pronounced in two syllables, as a-am.

The locative ending is su, without any exceptions, and the only change before it is that of a to e.
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:

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It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems, and by the radical division of ī and ū-stems; by other vowel-stems, with more or less considerable variations and modifications. The endings which have almost or quite unbroken range, through stems of all classes, are bhyām and os of the dual, and bhis, bhyas, ām, and su of the plural.

311. Variation of Stem. By far the most important matter under this head is the distinction made in large classes of words (chiefly those ending in consonants) between strong and weak stem-forms — a distinction standing in evident connection with the phenomena of accent. In the nom. and accus. sing. and du. and the nom. pl. (the five cases whose endings are never accented: 316a), the stem often has a stronger or fuller form than in the rest: thus, for example: राजानम् rājān-am, राजानी rājān-āu, राजानम् rāj-ān-as, against राजी rājī-ā and राजमित् rāja-bhis; or महातम् mahānt-am and तुदत्तम् tudant-am against महत् mahat-ā and तुदत्ता tudat-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. to loc. sing.,
gen.-loc. du., gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (inst.-
dat.-abl. du., instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).

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. belong to the weakest class, and the same
cases sing. to the middle: thus, for example, compare प्रत्यःसि
pratyānc-ī, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यःचन्द pratyānc-as,
nom. pl. masc.; प्रतिमी prātic-ī, nom.-acc. du. neut., and
प्रतीचोम prātic-os, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यः pratyak, nom.-acc.
sing. neut., and प्रत्यःभिः pratyag-bhis, instr. pl.

Even in words which exhibit no variation of stem, it is often
convenient to distinguish the same groups of cases by the names strong and
weak and so on.

312. Other variations concern chiefly the final vowel of a stem, and may
be mainly left to be pointed out in detail below. Of consequence enough
to mention here is only the guṇa-strengthening of a final i or u, which in
the later language is always made before ās of nom. pl. and e of dat. sing.
in masc. and fem.; in the Veda, it does not always take place; nor is it
forbidden in dat. sing. neut. also; and it is seen sometimes in loc. sing.
Final य has guṇa-strengthening in loc. sing.

313. Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems,
an added n often makes its appearance before an ending. This appendage
is of least questionable origin in nom.-acc. pl. neut., where the interchange
in the old language of the forms of a and i-stems with those of an and in-
stems is pretty complete; and the u-stems follow their analogy. Elsewhere,
it is most widely and firmly established in the gen. pl., where in the great
mass of cases, and from the earliest period, the ending is virtually nām after
a vowel. In the i and u-stems of the later language, the instr. sing. of
masc. and neut. is separated by its presence from the fem., and it is in the
other weakest cases made a usual distinction of neuter forms from mas-
culine; but the aspect of the matter in the Veda is very different; there
the appearance of the n is everywhere sporadic; the neuter shows no special
inclination to take it, and it is not excluded even from the feminine. In the
ending ena from a-stems (later invariable, earlier predominating), its presence
appears to have worked the most considerable transformation of original shape.

The place of n before gen. pl. ām is taken by s in pronominal a and ā-stems.
The y after ā before the endings āi, ās, and ām is most probably an
insertion, such as is made elsewhere (258).
Accent in Declension.

314. As a rule without exception, the vocative, if accented at all, is accented on the first syllable.

And in the Veda (the case is a rare one), whenever a syllable written as one is to be pronounced as two by restoration of a semivowel to vowel form, the first element only has the vocative accent, and the syllable as written is circumflex (by 84a): thus, dyāūs (l. e. dīāus) when dissyllabic, but dyāūs when monosyllabic; āyāke when for ārāke.

But the vocative is accented only when it stands at the beginning of a sentence — or, in verse, at the beginning also of a metrical division or pāda; elsewhere it is accentless or enclitic: thus, āgna yān yajñam paribhār āsi (RV.), 'O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest'; but īpa tvā 'gna ē 'masi (RV.), 'unto thee, Agni, we come'.

A word qualifying a vocative — usually an adjective, but not seldom also a noun in the genitive (very rarely in any other case) — constitutes, so far as accent is concerned, a unity with it: thus, sākhe vāso or vāso sākhe, 'excellent friend'; sūno sahasah or sāhasah sūno, 'oh son of might'; and sudītī sūno sahaso didīhi (RV.), 'with excellent brightness, son of might, shine forth'.

Two coordinate vocatives, whether noun or adjective, have usually the same accent; but the Vedic texts furnish not a few irregular exceptions to this rule.

For brevity, the vocative dual and plural will be given in the paradigms below along with the nominative, without taking the trouble to specify in each instance that, if the latter be accented elsewhere than on the first syllable, the accent of the vocative is different.

315. As regards the other cases, rules for change of accent in declension have to do only with monosyllables and with stems of more than one syllable which are accented on the final; for if a stem be accented on the penult, or any other syllable further back — as in sārpant, vāri, bhāga, sumānas, sahāsravāja — the accent remains upon that syllable through the whole inflection (except in the vocative, as explained in the preceding paragraph).

The only exceptions are a few numeral stems: see below, chap. VI.

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 to draw the accent forward upon themselves. Thus:

a. The endings of the nominative and accusative singular and dual and of the nominative plural 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 dattā (dattā + āu) and dattās (= dattā + as); but from nadi come nadyāū (nadi + āu) and nadyāūs (= nadi + as).

Whitney, Grammar.
b. All the other endings sometimes take the accent; but those beginning with a vowel do so more readily than those beginning with a consonant. Thus, from nāūs come nāvā and nāubhis; from mahānt, however, come mahatā but mahādbhis.

The general rules of accent, then, may be thus stated:

317. In the declension of monosyllabic stems, the accent falls upon the ending in all the weak cases (without distinction of middle and weakest): thus, nāvā, nāubhyām, nāvām, nāusū; vāci, vāgbhis, vācām, vāksū.

But some monosyllabic stems retain the accent throughout: thus, gābhis, gāvām, gōsū. For such cases, see below, 350, 361c, d, 375, 390, 427.

318. Of polysyllables 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 ānt or āt: thus, from tudānt, tudatā and tudatōs and tudatūm; but tudādbhūṃ and tudāstu.

b. A few adjectives having the form of such participles, as mahatā, bṛhatās.

c. Bases of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncopation of the vowel: thus, mājjā́, mūrdhne, dūmnās (from mājjā́n etc.: 423).

Other sporadic cases will be noticed under the different declensions.

Case forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent: see chap. XVI. (1110 ff.).

319. Of polysyllabic stems ending in accented short vowels, the final of the stem retains the accent if it retains its syllabic identity: thus, dattāṇa and dattā́ya from dattā́; agnīnā and agnīyāe from agnī; and also dattēbhyaś, agnībhīs, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in dattā́is, dhenā́u, agnīn, dhenā́s, and so on; or whether the final is changed into a semi-vowel before the ending: thus, dhenā́, pitrā.

But āṁ of the gen. pl. from stems in ī and ā and ī may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by n from the stem: thus, agnīṁāṁ, dhenūṁāṁ, pitṛṇāṁ. In RV., even derivative ī-stems show usually the same shift: thus, bakhvīnāṁ. Of stems in ā, only numerals (chap. VI.) follow this rule: thus, saptāṁāṁ, dāśūṁāṁ.

320. Root-words in ī and ā as final members of compounds retain the accent throughout, not shifting it to any of the endings. And in the older language there are polysyllabic words in long final vowels which follow in this respect as in others the analogy of the root-declension (below, 355 ff.). Apart from these, the treatment of stems in derivative long vowels is, as regards accent, the same as of those in short vowels — save that the tone is not thrown forward upon the ending in gen. plural.
CHAPTER V.

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

321. The accordance in inflection of substantive and adjective stems is so complete that the two cannot be separated in treatment from one another.

They may be classified, for convenience of description, as follows:

I. Stems in ग a;
II. Stems in र i and त u;
III. Stems in ध उ, ज व, and द उ: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems;
IV. Stems in श र (or श र ar);
V. Stems in consonants.

There is nothing absolute in this classification and arrangement; it is merely believed to be open to as few objections as any other. No general agreement has been reached among scholars as to the number and order of Sanskrit declensions. The stems in a are here treated first because of the great predominance of the class.

322. The division-line between substantive and adjective, always an uncertain one in early Indo-European language, is even more wavering in Sanskrit than elsewhere. There are, however, in all the declensions as divided above — unless we except the stems in र or र — 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 bases 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: thus, su-dīrgha, ‘well-looking’; pra-budha, ‘foreknowing’; a-drūha, ‘not hating’; veda-vid, ‘Veda-knowing’; vrtra-han, ‘Vritra-slaying’; upastha-sad, ‘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 (XVIII.).

This class is originally and 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. Thus, prajākāma, 'desire of progeny', becomes an adjective meaning 'desirous (i.e., having desire) of progeny'; sabhārya (sa + bhāryā), 'having one's wife along'; and so on.

In a few cases, also, the final noun is syntactically object of the preceding member: thus, atimātra, 'immoderate' (ati mātram, 'beyond measure'); yavayaddvesas, '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.

As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that a monosyllabic word ending a compound loses the peculiarity of monosyllabic accentuation, and does not throw the tone forward upon the ending.

Declension I.

Stems (masculine and neuter) in a.

326. This declension contains the majority of all the declined stems of the language.

Its endings deviate more widely than any others from the normal.

327. Endings: Singular. The nom. masc. has the normal ending a.

The acc. (masc. and neut.) adds m (not am); and this form has the office also of nom. neuter.

The instr. changes a to ena uniformly in the later language; and even in the oldest Vedic this is the predominant ending (in RV., eight ninths of all cases). Its final is in Vedic verse not infrequently made long (enā); where favored by the metre. But the normal ending ā — thus, yajñā, sūlāvā, mahītvā (for yajñēna etc.) — is also not rare in the Veda.

The dat. has āya (as if by adding aya to a), alike in all ages of the language.

The abl. has t (or more probably d: 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, but only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

The gen. has \(sy\)a added to the final \(a\); and this ending is also limited to \(a\)-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun \(amūgya\): chap. VII.). Its final \(a\) is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its \(y\) is vocalized (\(asya\)) almost as rarely.

The loc. ends in \(e\) (as if by combining the normal ending \(i\) with the final of the stem), without exception.

The voc. is the bare stem.

328. Dual. The dual endings in general are the normal ones.

The nom., acc., and voc. masc. end in the later language always in \(āu\). In the Veda, however, the usual ending is simple \(ā\) (in RV., in seven eighths of the occurrences). The same cases in the neut. end in \(e\), which appears to be the result of fusion of the stem-final with the normal ending \(i\).

The instr., dat., and abl. have \(bhyām\) (in only one or two Vedic instances resolved into \(bhīm\)), with the stem-final lengthened to \(ā\) before it.

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 \(yōs\)), \(os\) is substituted for the final \(a\).

329. Plural. The nom. masc. has in the later language the normal ending as combined with the final \(a\) to \(ās\). But in the Veda the ending \(āsas\) instead is frequent (one third of the occurrences in RV., but only one twenty-fifth in the peculiar parts of AV.).

The acc. masc. ends in \(ān\) (for earlier \(āns\), of which abundant traces are left in the Veda, and, under the disguise of apparent euphonous combination, even in the later language: see above, 208 ff.).

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).

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).

The dat. and abl. have \(bhyas\) as ending, with \(e\) instead of the final \(a\) before it (as in the Vedic instr. \(ebhis\), the loc. pl., the gen. loc. du. [?], and the instr. sing.). The resolution into \(ebhīas\) is not infrequent in the Veda.

The gen. ends in \(ānām\), the final \(a\) being lengthened and having \(n\) inserted before the normal ending. The \(ā\) of the ending is not seldom (in less than half the instances) to be read as two syllables, \(aam\): opinions are divided as to whether the resolution is historical or metrical only. A very small number (half-a-dozen) of examples of simple \(ām\) as ending instead of \(ānām\) occur in RV.
The loc. ends in \( \text{esu} \) — that is to say, with the normal ending, before which the stem-final is changed to \( e \) (with consequent change of \( s \) to \( z \) : 180).

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 काम, m., 'love'; देव देव, m., 'god'; ग्रास्य ग्रास्य, n., 'mouth'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>कामम्</th>
<th>देवम्</th>
<th>ग्रास्यम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. कामम्</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवम्</td>
<td>ग्रास्यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmas</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devās</td>
<td>āsyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. कामम्</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवम्</td>
<td>ग्रास्यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>कै</td>
<td>devām</td>
<td>āsyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. कामेन</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवन</td>
<td>ग्रास्यन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmena</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devēna</td>
<td>āsyēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. कामाय</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवय</td>
<td>ग्रास्याय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmāya</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devāya</td>
<td>āsyāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. कामाल्</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवत</td>
<td>ग्रास्यात्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmal</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devāt</td>
<td>āsyāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. कामस्य</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवस्य</td>
<td>ग्रास्यस्य</td>
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<td>कै</td>
<td>devāsyā</td>
<td>āsyāsyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. कामे</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवे</td>
<td>ग्रास्ये</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāme</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devē</td>
<td>āsyē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. काम</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देव</td>
<td>ग्रास्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāma</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>deva</td>
<td>āsyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual:</th>
<th>कामान्</th>
<th>देवान्</th>
<th>ग्रास्यान्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V. कामान्</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवान्</td>
<td>ग्रास्यान्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmān</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devān</td>
<td>āsyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab. कामाभ्-याम्</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवाभ्-याम्</td>
<td>ग्रास्याभ्-याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmaḥbhyaṃ</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devābhyaṃ</td>
<td>āsyābhyaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L. कामायोस्</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवायोस्</td>
<td>ग्रास्यायोस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmayos</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devāyos</td>
<td>āsyāyos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural:</th>
<th>कामास्</th>
<th>देवास्</th>
<th>ग्रास्यानि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. V. कामास्</td>
<td>से</td>
<td>देवास्</td>
<td>ग्रास्यानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmas</td>
<td>कै</td>
<td>devās</td>
<td>āsyānī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A. कामान्
   kāmān
devān
   āsyāṇi

I. कामाण
   kāmāṇis
devāis
   āsyāis

D. Ab. कामे-याम
   kīmēbhya
devēbhya
   āsyēbhya

G. कामानाम
   kāmānām
devānām
   āsyānām

L. कामेय
   kīmēsu
devēsu
   āsyēsu

Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:
Sing.: instr. ravaṭhenā, yajnā (such genitive forms as ācvasiā are purely sporadic).
Du.: nom. etc. masc. devā; gen.-loc. pastyos (stem pastyā).
Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. devāsas; neut. yugā; instr. devēbhis; gen. caratham, devānām.

331. Among nouns, there are no irregularities in this declension. For irregular numeral bases in a (or an), see the next chapter. 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.

Adjectives.

332. Original adjectives in a are an exceedingly large class, probably the 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 devi (365). An example of the complete declension of an adjective a-stem in the three genders will be given below (371).

333. There are no verbal roots ending in a. But a is sometimes substituted for the final ā of a root (and, more rarely, for final an or am), and it is then inflected like an ordinary adjective in a (see below, 354).

334. 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.

On the other hand, a feminine noun ending in derivative ā shortens its final to a to form a masculine and neuter base.
V. Nouns and Adjectives.

Declension II.

Stems (of all genders) in \(i\) and \(u\).

335. The stems in \(i\) and \(u\) 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 \(i\) more numerous than those in \(u\), especially in the feminine (there are more neuters in \(u\) than in \(i\)).

The endings of this declension also differ frequently and widely from the normal, and the Vedic irregularities are numerous.

336. Endings: Singular. 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 (248b): thus, \(urū, purū\).

The acc. masc. and fem. adds \(m\) to the stem. Vedic forms in \(i\text{am}\) and \(u\text{am}\), and, with \(n\), \(i\text{nam}\) and \(u\text{nam}\), are excessively rare, and doubtful.

The instr. fem. in the later language takes the normal ending \(ā\) simply, while the masc. and neut. insert \(n\) before it, making \(inā\) and \(unā\). But in the Veda, forms in \(yā\) and \(vā\) (or \(iā\) and \(uā\)) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also; while \(inā\) is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, fem. \(yā\) is often (in two thirds of the occurrences) contracted to \(i\); and this is even sometimes shortened to \(i\). An adverbial instr. in \(uyā\) from half-a-dozen stems in \(u\) occurs.

The dat, masc. and fem. gunates the final of the stem before the ending \(e\), making \(aye\) and \(ave\). These are the prevailing endings in the Veda likewise; but the more normal \(ye\) and \(ve\) also occur; and the fem. has in this case, as in the instr., sometimes the contracted form \(i\). 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 \(ue, ave, aye\), like the other genders.

The abl. and gen. masc. and fem. have regularly, both earlier and later, the ending \(s\) with gunated vowel before it: thus, \(es, os\); and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way; although \(unas\), required later, is also not infrequent (\(inas\) does not occur). But the normal forms \(yas\) (or \(i\text{as}\)) and \(vas\) (or \(u\text{as}\)) are also frequent in both masc. and neut. As masc. ending, \(unas\) occurs twice in RV.

The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language \(āu\), replacing both finals, \(i\) and \(u\). And this is in the Veda also the most frequent ending; but, beside it, the \(i\)-stems form (about half as often in RV.) their loc. in \(ā\): thus, \(agnā\); and this is found once even in the neut.
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 avi from i-stems. Half-a-dozen locatives in ā (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as pratyhyā or uncombilable: 138 d) are made from i-stems. The later language requires the neuter locatives to be made ini and uni; but the former never occurs in the oldest texts, and the latter only very rarely.

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, āṁ. Such forms are quite rare in the older language even from i-stems (less than 40 occurrences altogether in RV.; three times as many in AV.); and from u-stems they are almost unknown (five in RV. and AV.).

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 of the same form or the unaltered stem: and this was probably the usage in the older time also; not instances enough are quotable to determine the question (AV. has u once, and VS. o once).

337. Dual. 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 uni; 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 uni once; RV. has uī from one u-stem, and ā, once shortened to i, from one or two i-stems.

The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is bhyāṁ added to the unchanged stem.

The gen.-loc. of all ages adds os to the stem in masc. and fem.; in neut., the later language interposes, as elsewhere in the weakest cases, a n; probably in the earlier Vedic the form would be like that of the other genders; but the only occurrence noted is one unos in AV.

338. Plural. 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 uni (like amī from a: 329); but the Veda has ā and i (about equally frequent) much oftener than ini; and u and (more usually) u, more than half as often as āni.

The accus. masc. ends in in and un, for older ins and uns, of which plain traces remain in the Veda in nearly half the instances of occurrence, and even not infrequently in the later language, in the guise of phonetic combination (208 ff.). The accus. fem. ends in is and us. But both masc. and fem. forms in ias and uas are found sparingly in the Veda.

The inst. of all genders adds bhis to the stem.

The dat.-abl. of all genders adds bhyas (in V., almost never bhias) to the stem.

The gen. of all genders is made alike in inām and ānām (of which the
a 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.

The loc. of all genders adds $su$ (as $su$: 180) to the stem-final.

The accent is in accordance with the general rules already laid down, and there are no irregularities calling for special notice.

339. Examples of declension. As models of $i$-stems may be taken अग्नि $agni$, m., 'fire'; गति $gati$, f., 'gait'; वारि $vāri$, n., 'water'.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>अग्नि</th>
<th>गति</th>
<th>वारि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agni$</td>
<td>$gati$</td>
<td>$vāri$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>अग्निम्</td>
<td>गतिम्</td>
<td>वारिणा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agnim$</td>
<td>$gatim$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>अग्निना</td>
<td>गत्या</td>
<td>वारिणा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agninā$</td>
<td>$gatyā$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>अग्नये</td>
<td>गतये, गतयेः</td>
<td>वारिणेः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agnaye$</td>
<td>$gatyē, gatyēḥ$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>अग्न्यस्</td>
<td>गतेस्, गत्यास्</td>
<td>वारिणास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agnēs$</td>
<td>$gates, gatyās$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>अग्नी</td>
<td>गती, गतयाम्</td>
<td>वारिणा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agnī$</td>
<td>$gatī, gatyām$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>अग्ने</td>
<td>गते</td>
<td>वारि, वारे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agnē$</td>
<td>$gate$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>अग्नि</th>
<th>गति</th>
<th>वारिणी</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agni$</td>
<td>$gati$</td>
<td>$vāринi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>अगन्य-याम्</td>
<td>गतिभयाम्</td>
<td>वारिण-याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agnibhyām$</td>
<td>$gatibhyām$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>अग्न्योस्</td>
<td>गतीयोस्</td>
<td>वारिणोस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>$gatyōs$</td>
<td></td>
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Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>अगनयास्</th>
<th>गतयास्</th>
<th>वारिणि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$agnayās$</td>
<td>$gatyās$</td>
<td>$vāринi$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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.

**Singular.** Nom. *agni* etc., as above.

Acc.: masc. *agniḥ, yaṇḍ, utṛṃṇam(?)*; fem. and neut. as above.

Instr.: masc. *agninā, rayā and utrī;* fem. *ācittī, utī, anuvṛktī,*

dhāśīṇā; neut. wanting.


Loc.: masc. *agni, agra, ājāyayi(?);* fem. *āgatau, udātā, dhānasālayi(?),

vēdi, bhūmyām;* neut. *aprata, saptāraṇāmū.*

Voc.: as above (neut. wanting).


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


Plural: Nom.: masc. *agnayās;* fem. *matayās, bhūmis;* neut. *cuchi,

bhāri, bhārini.*

Accus.: masc. *agnin;* fem. *kṣitis, cūcayās(?).*

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

Gen.: masc. *kavinām, ōśaṇam* etc.

### 341. As models of *u*-stems may be taken *shru* cātru, m., *enu* dhenū, f., *cow*; *mū madhu,* n., *honey*.

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>श्रुः</th>
<th>चात्रु</th>
<th>मधु</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ṣr̥uḥ</em></td>
<td><em>cātruḥ</em></td>
<td><em>madhu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.</th>
<th>श्रुः</th>
<th>चेनु</th>
<th>मधु</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ṣr̥uḥ</em></td>
<td><em>dhenuḥ</em></td>
<td><em>madhu</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C.</th>
<th>श्रुः</th>
<th>चेनु</th>
<th>मधु</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ṣr̥uḥ</em></td>
<td><em>dhenuḥ</em></td>
<td><em>madhu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Nouns and Adjectives.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>शत्रवि</td>
<td>शत्रवि, शत्रि</td>
<td>मुनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>शत्रोम्</td>
<td>शत्रोम्, शत्राम्</td>
<td>मुनम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>शत्रू</td>
<td>शत्रू, शत्राम्</td>
<td>मुनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>शत्रो</td>
<td>शत्रो, शत्राम्</td>
<td>मुदु, माहो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A. V.</td>
<td>शत्र</td>
<td>शत्र, शत्राम्</td>
<td>मुदु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>शत्र-याम्</td>
<td>शत्र-याम्</td>
<td>मुद्र-याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>शत्रोम्</td>
<td>शत्रोम्</td>
<td>मुद्रम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>शत्रवम्</td>
<td>शत्रवम्</td>
<td>मुनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>शत्रन्</td>
<td>शत्रन्</td>
<td>मुनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>शत्रपि</td>
<td>शत्रपि</td>
<td>मुनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>शत्र-याम्</td>
<td>शत्र-याम्</td>
<td>मुद्र-याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>शत्रणाम्</td>
<td>शत्रणाम्</td>
<td>मुद्राम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>शत्रुष्</td>
<td>शत्रुष्</td>
<td>मुद्रु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

342. The forms of Vedic occurrence are given here for the u-stems in the same manner as for the i-stems above.

Singul. Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. uru, uru.

Accus.: masc. ketu, abhiru, sucatu(?) fem. dhenum.

Instr.: masc. ketina, paça and kratu; fem. ádhenu and panu, açu; neut. mādhunā, mādhvā.

Dat.: masc. ketave, ciçe; fem. cārave, śvāi; neut. uruve, mādhunē.

Abl.-gen.: masc. manyos, pitvās, sāmunas; fem. sāndhos, śvās; neut. mādhvas and mādhunās, mādhos, mādhunās.
Loc.: masc. pūrāṇ, sāñvi; fem. sīndhāu, rājjuṃ; neut. sāñu, sāñvi, sāno, sāñuni.
Voc.: as above.
Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urname, játunā. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.
Gen.-loc.: as above (but -vos or -uos).
Plural. Nom.: masc. ṛhbānas, mādhwas and mādhvas; fem. dhenāvas, cakrātas; neut. purāṇi, purū, purū.
Accus.: masc. rfwn, pafvds; fern, ṛfus, mddhvas.
Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above; also gen. (but with the resolution -unanm in part).

343. Irregular declension. There are no irregular u-stems, and only a very few i-stems.

a. Sākhi, m., ‘friend’, has for the five strong cases a peculiarly strengthened base (vridhied), namely sākha, which in the nom. sing. is reduced to sākhā (without ending), and in the other cases takes the normal endings. The instr. and dat. sing. have the normal endings simply, without inserted n or guna; the abl.-gen. sing. adds us; and the loc. sing. adds ān: the rest is like agni. Thus:

Sing. sākha, sākhyam, sākhyā, sākhyus, sākhyu, sākhe; Du. sākhyāu, sākhyāyam, sākhyos; Pl. sākhyas, sākhi, etc. etc.

The Veda has usually sākhyā du., and often resolves the y to i, in sākhi, sākhius, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the simple word, unless sakha be substituted.

b. Pāti, m., is declined regularly in composition, and when it has the meaning ‘lord, master’; when uncompounded and meaning ‘husband’, it is inflected like sākhi in the instr., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., forming pātyā, pātye, pātyus, pātyau.

There are occasional instances of confusion of the two classes of forms.

c. Jāni, f., ‘wife’, has the gen. sing. jānyus in the Veda.

d. Arī, ‘eager, greedy, hostile’, has in the Veda aryās in pl. nom. and accus., masc. and fem.

e. Vi, ‘bird’, has in RV. the nom. vēs (beside vēs).


g. The stem pathī, ‘road’, is used to make up part of the inflection of pānthan: see below, 433.

h. Kṛoṣṭu, m., ‘jackal’, lacks the strong cases, for which the corresponding forms of kroṣṭē are substituted.

Adjectives.

344. Original adjective stems in i are few; those in u are much more numerous (many derivative verb-stems forming a
participial adjective in \( u \)). Their inflection is like that of nouns, and has been included in the rules given above; the stem is in general the same in all the three genders. 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.

But adjectives in \( u \) preceded by one consonant sometimes form a derivative feminine stem by adding \( i \): thus, \( balvi \), \( urvi \), \( prthvi \), \( vibhvi \), and so on. More rarely, the \( u \) is prolonged to \( u \) to make a feminine-stem, which is then inflected like \( vadhu \) (below, 365). Some adjectives form their feminine in two of these ways, or even in all the three: thus, \( bibhatsu \) and \( bibhatsu \); \( tanu \), \( tanu \), and \( tanvi \).

345. Roots ending in \( i \) or \( u \) (or, \( r \) : 380) 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.

Yet, in the Veda, a few words ending in a short radical \( u \) are declined as if this were suffixal: thus, \( asmrdhru \), \( susit \); and the AV. has \( ptnuj \) (once). Roots in \( a \) sometimes also shorten \( u \) to \( u \) thus, \( prbh \), \( vih \), etc. (354); \( go \) (361) becomes \( gu \) in composition; and \( re \) perhaps becomes \( ri \) (362); while roots in \( a \) sometimes apparently weaken \( a \) to \( i \) (in -\( dhi \) from \( ydhi \)).

346. Compound adjectives having nouns of this declension as final member are inflected like original adjectives of the same endings.

Declension III.

Stems in long vowels: \( \bar{u} \), \( \bar{i} \), \( \bar{u} \).

347. The stems ending in long vowels fall into two well-marked classes or divisions: A. monosyllabic stems — mostly bare roots — and their compounds, with a comparatively small number of others inflected like them; B. derivative feminine stems in \( \bar{u} \) and \( \bar{i} \), with a small number in \( \bar{u} \) which in the later language have come to be inflected like them. The latter division is by far the larger and more important, since most feminine adjectives, and considerable classes of feminine nouns, ending in \( \bar{u} \) or \( \bar{i} \), belong to it.
A. Root-words, and those inflected like them.

348. The inflection of these stems is by the normal endings throughout, or in the manner of consonant-stems (with यम am, not म 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 subclasses:

1. Root-words, or monosyllables having the aspect of such. Those in अ are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use; those in इ and उ 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 bases, mostly of irregular inflection, ending in diphthongs.

349. Monosyllabic stems. Before the endings beginning with vowels, final इ is changed to य and उ to व; while final अ is dropped altogether, except in the strong cases and in the acc. pl., which is like the nominative (according to the grammarians, अ is lost here also: no instances of the occurrence of such a form appear to be quotable). Stems in इ and उ are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings अ, आ, आम in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except bhīyāi [?], RV., once). Before आम of gen. pl., न may or may not be inserted; in the Veda it is regularly inserted, with a single exception (dhiyām, once). The vocative is like the nominative in the singular as well as the other numbers; but instances of its occurrence in uncompounded stems are not found in the Veda, and must be extremely rare everywhere. The earlier Vedic dual ending is अ instead of आ.

350. To the इ and उ-sterms, 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 जाः, f., 'progeny'; धि dhi, f., 'thought'; and भु bhū, f., 'earth'.

The first of these is rather arbitrarily extended from the four cases which actually occur: of the loc. sing. and gen. etc. du., no Vedic examples of ā-stems are found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Ab. G.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>नाम्</td>
<td>जाम्</td>
<td>जा</td>
<td>लि</td>
<td>जान्</td>
<td>लि</td>
<td>जान्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing</td>
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<td>jāṁ</td>
<td>jā</td>
<td>jē</td>
<td>jās</td>
<td>jī</td>
<td>jās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>धीम्</td>
<td>dhiṃ</td>
<td>पिया</td>
<td>पिये, पियै</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>धीम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>भुस्</td>
<td>bhūs</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>पिये, पियै</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>भुस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur</td>
<td>नाम्</td>
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<td>जा</td>
<td>लि</td>
<td>जान्</td>
<td>लि</td>
<td>जान्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>जाः</td>
<td>jāं</td>
<td>जा</td>
<td>jē</td>
<td>jās</td>
<td>jī</td>
<td>jās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>धीस्</td>
<td>dhis</td>
<td>पियाः</td>
<td>पिये, पियै</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>धीस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>भुवो</td>
<td>bhūva</td>
<td>पियाः</td>
<td>पिये, पियै</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>पियम्</td>
<td>भुवो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>जाइ</th>
<th>पियै</th>
<th>पियाः</th>
<th>पिये, पियै</th>
<th>पियम्</th>
<th>पियम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>जाइ</td>
<td>dhiyāu</td>
<td>dhiyās, dhiyā</td>
<td>dhiyā, dhiyāi</td>
<td>bhuvā, bhuvā</td>
<td>bhuvā, bhuvā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>जाम्</th>
<th>पियाः</th>
<th>पियाः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>जाः</td>
<td>dhiyas</td>
<td>bhuvās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. जाम् (आम्?)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>जाम् (आम्?)</th>
<th>पियाः</th>
<th>पियाः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>जाः, जाः</td>
<td>dhiyas</td>
<td>bhuvās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Declension III. A, Radical ā-, ī-, and ū-stems.

### 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. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>ā-</th>
<th>-dhis</th>
<th>-bhās</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>-dhyām</td>
<td>ā-</td>
<td>-bhāvām</td>
<td>-bhāvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>-dhyā</td>
<td>ā-</td>
<td>-bhāvā</td>
<td>-bhāvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>-dhyē</td>
<td>ā-</td>
<td>-bhūvā</td>
<td>-bhūvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>-dhyās</td>
<td>-dhyēs</td>
<td>-bhūvas</td>
<td>-bhūvas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>-dhyēi</td>
<td>ā-</td>
<td>-bhūvi</td>
<td>-bhūvi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to the admissibility of the fuller endings āī, āś, 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.

If two consonants precede the final ī or ū, the dissyllabic forms, with iy and uv, are regularly written; after one consonant, the usage is varying. The grammarians prescribe iy and uv when the monosyllabic stem has more
the character of a noun, and y and v when it is more purely a verbal root with participial value. No such distinction, however, is to be seen in the Veda — where, moreover, the difference of the two forms is only graphic, since the ṣā and vā forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: ṭā or ṭā and Ṽā or Ṽā, and so on.

353. A few further Vedic irregularities or peculiarities may be briefly noticed.

Of the ā-stems, the forms in ās, ām, ā (du.) are sometimes to be read as dissyllables, aas, aam, aa. The dative of the stem used as infinitive is in āt (as if ā+e): thus, prakṣhayāt, pratimāt, parādāt.

Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, avadyabhiyā (RV.), ādhīdā (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 stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative ā-class (below, 365) as feminine; the ī and ū shortened to i and u, and inflected as of the second declension.

Thus, compound stems in -ya, -ja, -da, -tha, -bhu, and others, are found even in the Veda, and become frequent later; and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, ātripān, vayodhātis and ratnadābhīthi, dhanaśātis (all RV.); and, from ī and ū compounds, vyaścī (TS.), ābraya (RV.), yanacī (RV.), ātanbhīgas (RV.) and senānībhīgas (VS.) and grāmāṇābhīs (TB.), suśānā (AV.), citibhrāvī (TS.). Still more numerous are the feminines in ā which have lost their root-declension: examples are prajā (of which the further compounds in part have root-forms), svadā, craddhā, pratimā, and others.

355. Polysyllabic Stems. Stems of this division 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: pāṅthā, māṅthā, and ṛbhuṣād are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, 433—4; ucaṅā (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing, ucaṅā (and loc. as well as dat. ucaṅe); mahā, 'great', is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition: ātā, 'frame', has only ātāsu not 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), purūṣī (m. pūrusa); others show no change of accent: thus, yamī (m. yamā); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, nādi, lekṣmī, sūmī. The masculines are about ten in number: for example, rathā, prāvi, starī, ahī, āpatī.
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 ā or u (above, 344): thus, caraṇyū, caraṇā, jihatsū, madhu. A few are nouns in ū, with change of accent: thus, agrū (āgru), prāḍākū (pṛḍāku), cvasrū (cvaścura); or without change, as nṛtū. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, tanū, vadhū, camū. The masculines are only two or three; namely, prācū, kṛkadamū. maksū (?) 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’; nadi, f., ‘stream’; tanū, f., ‘body’.

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 nadi 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: nadi is later the model of derivative inflection.

Singular:

N. rathīs nadiś tanūs
A. rathīam nadiām tanūām
I. rathā nadiā tanūā
D. rathē nadiē tanūē
Ab. G. rathās nadiās tanūās
L. ..... ..... tanūi
V. rathī (?) nādi tānu

Dual:

N. A. V. rathū nadiā tanūā
I. D. Ab. [rathībhūm] nadibhūm [tanūbhūm]
G. L. [rathīs] nadiōs tanūōs

Plural:

N. A. rathīas nadiās tanūas
I. [rathībhīs] nadibhīs tanūbhīs
D. Ab. [rathībhīs] nadibhās tanūbhās
G. rathēnūm nadinūm tanūnūm
L. [rathīs] nadiśu tanūśu.

The cases — nadiām, tanūam, etc. — are written above according to their true phonetic form, almost invariably belonging to them in the Veda: in the written text, of course, the stem-final is made a semivowel, and the resulting syllable is circumflexed: thus, nadyūm, tanvūm, etc.; only, as usual, after two consonants the resolved forms iy and uv are written instead; and also where the combination yv would otherwise result: thus, cakrīyā, [agrāvāī], and mitrāyūvas. The RV. really reads staryūm etc. twice, and tanvūs 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 s 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: *camu* as loc. sing. (instead of *camvi*) occurs a few times; and there is another doubtful case or two of the same kind; the final *u* is regarded as *praghyā* or uncombinable (138); *tanu* is lengthened to *tanvi* in a passage or two; -yūvas is once or twice abbreviated to -yūs.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of *i* and *ū*-declension (below, 363 ff.), which has nearly extinguished this category of words in the later language, has its beginnings in the Veda; but in RV. they are excessive-ly scanty: namely, *dutiām*, loc. sing., once, and *vaçruām*, do., once, and *dravitnuā*, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, wo find the acc. sing. *kuhām*, *tanām*, *vañām*; the instr. sing. *palātād* and one or two others; the dat. sing. *vañvāt*, *vaçruāt*, *açruād*; the abl.-gen. sing. *punarbhavās*, *prɗakuās*, *vaçruās*; and the loc. sing. *tanvām* (with anomalous accent). The accusatives plural in *i* and *ū* are nowhere met with.

359. Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, *hṛapaçavācis* and *sañāsrastarīs*, *ātaptatanūs* and *sārvatanūs*, all nom. sing. masculine.

Stems ending in diphthongs.

360. There are certain monosyllabic stems ending in diphthongs, which are too few and too diverse in inflection to make a declension of, and which may be most appropriately disposed of here, in connection with the stems in *i* and *ū*, with which they have most affinity. They are:

- stems in *āu*: *nāu* and *glāu*;
- stems in *āi*: *rāi*;
- stems in *o*: *gó* and *dyó* (or *dyu*, *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: *nāus*, *nāvam*, *nāvā*, *nāvē*, *nāvās*, *nāvī*; *nāvāu*, *nāubhyām*, *nāvōs*; *nāvas*, *nāvaś*, *nāubhīs*, *nāubhyās*, *nāvām*, *nāusū*.

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*, *raÿam*, *raÿā*, *raÿē*, *raÿās*, *rāyī*; *rāyāu*, *raûhyām*, *raûyōs*; *raûyas*, *raûyās*, *raûbhiś*, *raûbhīs*, *raûbhīs*, *raûyām*, *raûsī*. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either *raûyas* or *raûyas*; for accus. sing. and pl. are also used the briefer forms *rām*
(which alone is of Vedic occurrence) and rās; and the gen. sing. is sometimes anomalously accented rāyas.

**c.** The stem go, m. or f., ‘bull’ or ‘cow’, is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except accus. sing., it is strengthened to gāū, forming (like nāū) gāūs, gāvāu, gāvas. In accus. sing. and pl. it has (like rāi) the brief forms gām and gās. The abl.-gen. sing. is gós (as if from gu). The rest is regularly made from go, with the normal endings, but with accent always remaining irregularly upon the stem: thus, gāvā, gāve, gāvi; gāvos; gāvām; gōbhyaṁ, gōbhis, gōbhyas, gōṣu. In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is gōnām; the nom. etc. du. is (as in all other such cases) also gāvā; and gām, gós, and gās are not infrequently to be pronounced as dissyllables.

**d.** The stem dyō, f. (but in V. usually m.), ‘sky, day’, is yet more anomalous, having beside it a simpler stem dyu, which becomes div before a vowel-ending. The native grammarians treat the two as independent words, but it is more convenient to put them together. The stem dyō is inflected precisely like go, as above described. The complete declension is as follows (with forms not actually met with in use bracketed):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyāus</td>
<td></td>
<td>dyāvas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dēvam</td>
<td>dyām</td>
<td>dyāvau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvē</td>
<td>[dyāvā]</td>
<td>dyābhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvē</td>
<td>[dyābhyaṁ dyōbhyaṁ]</td>
<td>dyōbhyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvās</td>
<td>dyōs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvās</td>
<td>dyōs</td>
<td>[divām dyāvam]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīvī</td>
<td>[divōs dyōvos]</td>
<td>dyōsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dat. sing. dyāve is not found in the early language. Both dīvās and divās occur as accus. pl. in V. As nom. etc. du., dyāvā is, as usual, the regular Vedic form: once occurs dyāvī (du.), as if a neuter form; and dyāus is found once used as ablative. The cases dyāus, dyām, and dyōn (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accent vocative then becomes dyāus (i.e. dīāus: see 314).

**e.** Adjective compounds having diphthongal stems as final member are not numerous. For go we have gu in such a position in āgu, sugū, and a few others; and, correspondingly, rāt seems to be reduced to ri in brhādāy and rādārayas (RV.). In revānt (unless this is for rayivánt), rāt becomes ré. In a few compounds, dyu or dyo is anomalously treated as first member: thus, dyāusamcitā (AV.), dyāurdā (K.), dyāurloka (CB.).

**B. Derivative stems in ā, ī, ū.**

362. To this division belong all the ā and ī-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 ī and ū-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:

a. The great mass of derivative feminine ā-stems, substantive and adjective.

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.

b. The great mass of derivative feminine ī-stems.

This class is without exception in the later language. In the earlier, it suffers the exception pointed out above (355 b): that feminines made with change of accent follow this mode of declension only when the accent is not on the ī: thus, tāvisī, pārusṇī, pālikṇī, rōhīṇī.

The ī-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, 364, end.

Very few derivative stems in ī 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.

A very small number of masculine ī-stems (half-a-dozen) are in the Veda declined as of the derivative division: they are a few rare proper names, mātālī etc.; and rāṣṭrī and sirī (only one case each).

c. The ū-stems are few in number, and are transfers from the other division, assimilated in inflection to the great class of derivative ī-stems (except that they retain the ending s of the nom. sing.).

363. Endings. The points of distinction between this and the other division are as follows:

In nom. sing. the usual s-ending is wanting: except in the ū-stems and a very few ī-stems — namely, lakṣmī, tarī, tantrī — which have preserved the ending of the other division.

The accus. sing. and pl. add simply m and s respectively.

The dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing. take always the fuller endings āi, ās, ām; and these are separated from the final of the ā-stems by an interposed y.

Before the endings ā of instr. sing. and os of gen.-loc. du., the final of ā-stems is treated as if changed to e; but in the Veda, the instr. ending ā very often (in nearly half the occurrences) blends with the final to ā. The yā of ī-stems is in a few Vedic examples contracted to ī, and even to i. A loc. sing. in ī occurs a few times.
In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an i or ū-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., a n is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (in RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in i and u-stems).

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

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 ūu is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is ū (a corresponding dual of ū-stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending as has only a doubtful example or two in RV., and a very small number in AV.; the case there (and it is one of very frequent occurrence) adds s simply; and though yas-forms occur in the Brāhmaṇas, along with ûs-forms, both are used indifferently as nom. and accus. Of ū-stems, the du. nom. etc. ends in e, both earlier and later; in pl., of course, s-forms are indistinguishable from as-forms. The RV. has a few examples of āsas for ās.

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., 'goddess'; वधु vadhū, f., 'woman'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th>न.</th>
<th>आ.</th>
<th>इ.</th>
<th>द.</th>
<th>अ. ग.</th>
<th>ल.</th>
<th>व.</th>
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<td>वधु</td>
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<td>vadhū</td>
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<td>sēnām</td>
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Dual:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
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<th>वद्वी</th>
<th>कन्ये</th>
<th>देव्यो</th>
<th>वद्वी</th>
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<td>devyाू</td>
<td>vadhuाः</td>
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<td>kanyे</td>
<td>devyाू</td>
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<td>kanyायाम्</td>
<td>deviायाम्</td>
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<td>deviायाम्</td>
<td>vadhuायाम्</td>
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<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>सेनयोस</td>
<td>kanyयोस</td>
<td>devyोस</td>
<td>kanyयोस</td>
<td>devyोस</td>
<td>vadhuोस</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>कन्यास</th>
<th>देव्यास</th>
<th>वद्वास</th>
<th>कन्यास</th>
<th>देव्यास</th>
<th>वद्वास</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सेनास</td>
<td>kanyास</td>
<td>devyास</td>
<td>vadhuास</td>
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<td>kanyास</td>
<td>devyास</td>
</tr>
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<td>devyास</td>
<td>kanyास</td>
<td>devyास</td>
<td>vadhuास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
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<td>deviाभिस</td>
<td>vadhuाभिस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
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<td>deviाभियास</td>
<td>kanyाभियास</td>
<td>deviाभियास</td>
<td>vadhuाभियास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
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<td>kanyानाम</td>
<td>deviानाम</td>
<td>kanyानाम</td>
<td>deviानाम</td>
<td>vadhuानाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>सेनानु</td>
<td>kanyानु</td>
<td>deviु</td>
<td>kanyानु</td>
<td>deviु</td>
<td>vadhuु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Veda, vadhu is a stem belonging to the other division (like tan्, above, 356).

365. Examples of Vedic forms are:

1. ā-stems: instr. sing. manīṣā (this simpler form is especially common from stems in ā and ē); nom. pl. vačāsas (about twenty examples: Lanman, p. 362); accus. pl. arāngamāsas (a case or two). Half the bhyās-cases are to be read as bhās; the ām of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into aam; and the ā and ēm of nom. and accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

2. ī-stems: instr. sing. cāmī, cāmī; loc. gaurī; nom. etc. du. devī; nom. pl. devis; gen. pl. bharīnām. The final of the stem is to be read as a vowel (not y) frequently, but not in the majority of instances: thus, deviā, deviās, deviām, vōdaisos.

The sporadic instances of transfer between this division and the preceding have been already sufficiently noticed.

3. In the language of the Brāhmaṇas, the abl.-gen. sing. ending ās is almost unknown, and instead of it is used the dat. ending ā. The assumption of the same substitution is suggested, but not required, in a few RV.
passages; and it is necessary once in AV. (iv. 5. 6): svāpante asyāī jñātāyah, 'let her relatives sleep'. Brāhmaṇa examples are: tāṣyāī dīṃḥ (TS.), 'from that direction'; striyāī payah (AB.), 'woman's milk'; dhenvāi vā etād rētah (TB.), 'that, forsooth, is the seed of the cow'; jyāyāśi yājyāyāśi (AB.), 'superior to the yājyā'.

366. The noun stri, f., 'woman' (probably contracted from sūṭrī, 'gene-

ratress'), follows a mixed declension: thus, stri, striyam or stri, striyā,

striyāt, striyās, striyām, stri; striyāu, stribhyām, striyās; striyas, striyas or

stri, stribhā, stribhās, striṃām, striṣ (but the accusatives striṃ and striṣ

are not found in the older language, and the voc. stri is not quotable). The

accentuation is that of a root-word; the forms (conspicuously the nom. sing.)

are those of the other 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 ī or u (339, 341).

Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost

unknown. Of neuters from ī-stems have been noted in the Veda only

hariśryam, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and suādhyās, gen. sing. (same as

masc. and fem.); from ā-stems, only a few examples, and from stem-forms

which might be masc. and fem. also: thus, viḥā, subhā, etc. (nom.-acc.

sing.: compare 364); supūr and mayobhāvā, instr. sing.; and mayobhā, acc.

pl. (compare purū: 342); from ā-stems occur only half-a-dozen examples

of a nom. sing. in ās, like the masc. and fem. form.

b. Compounds having nouns of the second division as

final member are common only from derivatives in ā; and these

shorten the final to a in both masculine and neuter: thus, from

a, 'not', and praṇā, 'progeny', come the masc. and neut. stem

apraṇa, fem. apraṇā, 'childless'. Such compounds with nouns

in ī and ā are said to be inflected in masc. and fem. like the

simple words (only with īn and ān in acc. pl. masc.); but the

examples given by the grammarians are fictitious. The stem

stri is directed to be shortened to -stri for all genders.

368. It is convenient to give a complete paradigm,

for all genders, of an adjective-stem in ṣa. We take for

the purpose pāṇ pāṇā, 'evil', of which the feminine is usu-

ally made in ṣa ā in the later language, but in ṣā ī in the

older.
## V. Nouns and Adjectives

### Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Ab.</th>
<th>G.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>pāpāś</td>
<td>pāpām</td>
<td>pāpā</td>
<td>pāpāya</td>
<td>pāpāt</td>
<td>pāpāsyā</td>
<td>pāpē</td>
<td>pāpā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
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<td>pāpām</td>
<td>pāpāyā</td>
<td>pāpāyāi</td>
<td>pāpāyāi</td>
<td>pāpāyās</td>
<td>pāpāyām</td>
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<td>pāpām</td>
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<td>pāpāyāi</td>
<td>pāpāyāi</td>
<td>pāpāyā</td>
<td>pāpāyām</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>pāpi</td>
<td>pāpi</td>
<td>pāpi</td>
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<td>pāpi</td>
<td>pāpi</td>
<td>pāpi</td>
<td>pāpi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>I. D. Ab.</th>
<th>G. L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>pāpāū</td>
<td>pāpābhyām</td>
<td>pāpāyos</td>
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<tr>
<td>n.</td>
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<td>pāpēbhyām</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
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<td>pāpēbhyām</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
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<td>pāpi</td>
</tr>
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### Plural:

<table>
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<td>pāpi</td>
<td>pāpi</td>
<td>pāpi</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:
- Singular forms include noun (N), adjective (A), and dual (D) forms.
- Plural forms include noun (N), adjective (A), and dual (D) forms.
- Gender markers (m., n., f.) are included for specific forms.
Declension IV.

Stems in ṛ (or ar).

369. This declension is a comparatively limited one, being almost entirely composed of derivative nouns formed with the suffix ṛ ṛ (or ṛṛ ṛar), which makes masculine nomina agentis (used also participially), and a few nouns of relationship.

But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely devṛ, m., svāṛ and nānāndṛ, f.; and, besides these, nṛ, m., stṛ (in V.), m., usṛ (in V.), f., savyaṣṭṛ, m., and the feminine numerals tīṛ and cātāṛ (for which, see chap. VI.). The feminines in ṛ are only māṭṛ, duḥiṭṛ, and yāṭṛ.

The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in i and u (second declension); its peculiarity, as compared with them, consists mainly in the treatment of the stem itself, which has a double form, fuller in the strong cases, briefer in the weak ones.

370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is ṛ, which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to r (129). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them — which is very much the larger, containing all the nomina agentis, and also the nouns of relationship nāḍṛ and svāṛ, and the irregular words stṛ and savyaṣṭṛ — the r is vṛddhi, or becomes ār; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with nṛ and usṛ, the r is gunated, or changed to ar. In both classes, the loc. sing. has ar as stem-final.

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

The nom. sing. (masc. and fem.) ends always in ā (for original ars).

The voc. sing. ends in ar.

The accus. sing. adds am to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. pl. has (like i and u-stems) n as masc. ending and s as fem. ending, with the r lengthened before them.
The abl.-gen. sing. changes r to ur (or us: 169, end).
The gen. pl. (as in i and u-stems) inserts n before ām, and lengthens
the stem-final before it. But the r of nī may also remain short.

The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents cer-
tain deviations from them. Thus:

The ending in nom. etc. du. is (as universally in the Veda) regularly ā
instead of āu (only ten āu-forms in RV.).

The i of loc. sing. is lengthened to i in a few words: thus, kartári.

In the gen. pl., the RV. has once svāsrām, without inserted n; and
narām instead of nṝṇām is frequent.

Other irregularities of nī are the sing. dat. narc, gen. ndras, and loc.
ndri. The Veda writes always nṝṇām in gen. pl., but its r is in a majority
of cases metrically long.

The stem usṛ, f., ‘dawn’, has the voc. sing. usar, the gen. sing. usrās;
and the accus. pl. also usrās, and loc. sing. usrām (which is metrically
trisyllabic: usṛām), as if in analogy with i and u-stems. Once occurs usrī
in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form, usārī
(for the exchange of s and z, see 181 a).

From sī come only tāras (apparently) and stṛbhis.

In the gen.-loc. du., the r is almost always to be read as a separate
syllable, r, before the ending os: thus, pitrōs, etc. On the contrary, nāṅāndari
is once to be read nāṅāndri.

For neuter forms, see below, 378.

372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for i and u-stems: if on the final of the stem, it continues, as
acute, on the corresponding syllable throughout, except in the
gen. pl., where it may be (and in the Veda always is) thrown
forward upon the ending; where, in the weakest cases, r becomes
r, the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, nī
and stṛ, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the
forms already given above), nībhis, nīśu.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this
mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with
वर ar in the strong forms) the stems दत्र dāṭr, m., ‘giver’,
and स्वस्त svāsṛ, f., ‘sister’; from the second class (with वर
ar in the strong forms) the stem पित ru pītṛ, m., ‘father’.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>दत्र</th>
<th>स्वस्त</th>
<th>पिता</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>दत्रा</td>
<td>dāṭr</td>
<td>svāsā</td>
<td>pītā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>दत्रार्म्</th>
<th>स्वस्तार्म्</th>
<th>पितार्म्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>दत्रार्म</td>
<td>dāṭāram</td>
<td>svāsāram</td>
<td>pītāram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>दात्रा</td>
<td>स्वारा</td>
<td>पित्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>दात्रे</td>
<td>स्वास्रे</td>
<td>पित्रे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>दातुर</td>
<td>स्वासुर</td>
<td>पितुर</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>दातारि</td>
<td>स्वासरि</td>
<td>पितारि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>दातर</td>
<td>स्वासर</td>
<td>पितर</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>दातरावी</th>
<th>स्वासराव</th>
<th>पितराव</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>दात्र-याम</td>
<td>स्वास-याम</td>
<td>पित्र-याम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>दात्रोम्</td>
<td>स्वास्रोम्</td>
<td>पित्रोम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>दात्रास</th>
<th>स्वासरास</th>
<th>पितरास</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>दात्रोन</td>
<td>स्वास्रोन</td>
<td>पित्रोन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>दात्रभिस</td>
<td>स्वास्रभिस</td>
<td>पित्रभिस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>दात्र-याम</td>
<td>स्वास्र-याम</td>
<td>पित्र-याम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>दात्रणाम</td>
<td>स्वास्रणाम</td>
<td>पित्रणाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>दात्रसु</td>
<td>स्वास्रसु</td>
<td>पित्रसु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feminine stem मात्र mātṝ, 'mother', is inflected precisely like पित्र pitṛ, excepting that its accusative plural is मात्रस्त mātṛs.
The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the
only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. daṭārā,
svāsārā, pitārā, and the gen. pl. of ṇṛ, nārām.

374. The stem kroṣṭṛ, m., 'jackal' (litly 'howler'), substi-
tutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of krōṣṭu.

375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a com-
plete neuter declension also for bases in ṇ, precisely accordant
with that of vāri or māḍhu (above, 339, 341). Thus, for ex-
ample:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Sing.} & \text{Du.} & \text{Plur.} \\
\hline
\text{N. A.} & \text{dhāṭṛ} & \text{dhāṭṛṇi} & \text{dhāṭṛṇi} \\
\text{I.} & \text{dhāṭṛṇā} & \text{dhāṭṛbhṛyām} & \text{dhāṭṛbhṛis} \\
\text{G.} & \text{dhāṭṛṇas} & \text{dhāṭṛṇos} & \text{dhāṭṛṇāṃ} \\
\text{V.} & \text{dhāṭṛ, dhāṭar} & \text{dhāṭṛṇi} & \text{dhāṭṛṇi} \\
\end{array}
\]

The weakest cases, however (as of i and u-stems used ad-
jectively: 344), are allowed also to be formed like the corre-
sponding masculine cases: thus, dhāṭrā etc.

No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to
appear in the Brāhmanas, under influence of the common tendency (compare
Germ. Retter, Retterin; Fr. menteur, menteuse) to give the nomen agentis a
more adjective character, making it correspond in gender with the noun
which it (appositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. bharṭṛ and janayitṛ,
qualifying antārikṣam; and bharṭṛṇi and janayitṛṇi, qualifying nāksatṛṇi; as,
in M., graḥāṭṛṇi, qualifying indriyāṇi.

When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual
feminine derivative in i is employed: thus, in TB., bhartriyas and bhartriyāu,
janayitryiyas and janayitryāu, qualifying dāpah and akṣarātre; and such in-
stances are not uncommon.

The RV. shows the same tendency very curiously once in the accus.
pl. māṭṛṇ, instead of māṭṛs, in apposition with masculine nouns (RV. x. 35.2).

Other neuter forms in RV. are sthāṭar, gen. sing., dhmāṭṛi, loc. sing.;
and for the nom. sing., instead of -ṭṛ, a few more or less doubtful cases,
sthātar, sthāṭar, dhartāri (Lanman, p. 422).

Adjectives.

376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension:
for the quasi-adjectival character of the nouns composing it, see
above (378). The feminine stem is made by the suffix i: thus,
daṭrī, dhāṭrī.

b. Roots ending in ṇ (like those in i and u: 345) add
a t to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member
of a compound: thus, karmakṛt (vṛkṛ), vajrabhṛt (vṛbṛṛ), baliḥṛt
(vṛhṛ). From some ṇ-roots, also, are made stems in ir and ur:
see below, 383 a, b.
c. Nouns in \( i \) 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.

**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 precisely alike; and neuters are peculiar (as usually in the other declensions) only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

The majority of consonantal stems, however, are not inflected in the feminine, but form a special feminine derivative stem in \( \breve{i} \) (never in \( \breve{a} \)), by adding that ending to the weak form of the masculine.

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.

The peculiar neuter forms, according to the usual rule (311), 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.

As in the case of stems ending in short vowels (\( \text{asyāni}, \text{vārīni}, \text{mādhūni}, \text{dāṭṇi}, \) etc.), a nasal sometimes appears in the
special neuter plural cases which is found nowhere else in inflection. Thus, from the stems in as, is, us, the nom. etc. pl. in -āni, -ini, -ūni 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 neutrals are of excessive rarity in the older language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the Brāhmaṇas have been noted only -huni (AB. vii.2), -vuni (PB. xvi.2.7 et al.), and -bhuni (KB. xxvii.7): it may be questioned whether they are not late analogical formations.

380. The endings are throughout those given above (310) as the "normal".

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.

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 few of the compounds of the root aṅ or ac show an irregular shift of accent in the oldest language: see below, 410.

382. For convenience and clearness of presentation, it will be well to separate from the general mass of consonantal stems certain special classes which show kindred peculiarities of inflection, and may be best described together. Thus:

B. Derivative stems in as, is, us;
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 vāṅs;
G. Comparatives in yas.

There remain, then, to constitute division A, especially radical stems, or those identical in form with roots, together with a comparatively small number of others which are inflected like these.

They will be taken up in the order thus indicated.
A. Root-stems, and those inflected like them.

383. The stems of this division may be classified as follows:

a. Root-stems, having in them no demonstrable element added to a root: thus, \( \text{\textipa{\textit{rc}}, \textit{verse}} \); \( \text{\textipa{\textit{gir}}, \textit{song}} \); \( \text{\textipa{\textit{p\text{\text dag}}}}, \textit{foot}} \); \( \text{\textipa{\textit{d\text{\text ip}}, \textit{direction}} \); \( \text{\textipa{\textit{mdh}}} \) (V.), \textit{great}}.

Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, \( \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text dac}}} from \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text vac}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{s\text{\text ra}}} from \text{\textipa{\textit{s\text{\text ra}}} \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text a}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{m\text{\text as}}} from \text{\textipa{\textit{m\text{\text mus}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{m\text{\text r}}} from \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text ra}}} (?)}, \text{\textipa{\textit{\=s}}} from \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text as}}} \textit{shine}} ; \text{and from roots in final} \text{\textipa{\textit{r}}} \text{come stems in} \text{\textipa{\textit{i}}} \text{and} \text{\textipa{\textit{ur}}} : \text{thus, \text{\textipa{\textit{g\text{\text r}}, \textit{\=d\text{\text ac}}, \textit{st\text{\text r}} \text{; \textit{f\text{\text r}}, \textit{\=t\text{\text ur}}, \textit{\=h\text{\text ur}}, \textit{p\text{\text ur}}, \textit{m\text{\text ur}}, \textit{st\text{\text r}} \text{; and \text{\textipa{\textit{psur}}} from \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text psur}}}}}}}

With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as \( \text{\textipa{\textit{c\text{\text ik\text{\text ft}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{y\text{\text av\text{\text yi}}} \text{\textipa{\textit{d}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text an\text{\text ivan}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{s\text{\text sy\text{\text d}}}}} \text{.}}

Words of this division in uncompounded root are tolerably frequent in the older language: thus, in RV. are found more than a hundred of them; in AV., about sixty; but in the classical Sanskrit the power of using any root at will in this way is lost, and the examples are comparatively few. In all periods, however, the adjective use as final of a compound is very common (see below, 401).

b. Stems made by the addition of \( \text{\textipa{\textit{t}}} \) to a final short vowel of a root.

No proper root-stem ends in a short vowel, although there are (above, 354) examples of transfer of such to vowel-declensions; but \( i \) or \( u \) or \( r \) adds a \( t \) to make a declinable form: thus, \( -j\text{\text at}, -\text{\textipa{\textit{c\text{\text r\text{\text ut}}}}, -\text{\textipa{\textit{k\text{\text r}}}} \). Roots in \( r \), however, as has just been seen, also make stems in \( i \text{r} \) or \( u \text{r} \).

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 (\( \text{\textipa{\textit{m\text{\text ut}}} \text{, \textit{r\text{\text ft}}} \text{, \textit{st\text{\text ut}}} \text{, \textit{hr\text{\text rt}}} \text{, \textit{v\text{\text ft}}} \text{, and \text{\textipa{\textit{d\text{\text yut}}} \text{if this is taken from \text{\textipa{\textit{d\text{\text yu}}} \text{in independent use}}}} \)). Roots in \( r \), \( k\text{\text r}, \text{\textipa{\textit{d\text{\text hr}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{d\text{\text vr}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{b\text{\text hr}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{v\text{\text r}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{s\text{\text r}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{s\text{\text pr}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{h\text{\text r}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{h\text{\text vr}}}}} \text{add the} \text{\textipa{\textit{t}}. The roots \text{\textipa{\textit{g\text{\text a}}} \text{(or} \text{\textipa{\textit{g\text{\text am}}} \text{)} \text{and} \text{\textipa{\textit{h\text{\text an}}} \text{also make} \text{\textipa{\textit{g\text{\text at} and \text{\textipa{\textit{h\text{\text at}}} \text{by addition of the} \text{\textipa{\textit{t}}} \text{to an abbreviated form in} \text{\textipa{\textit{a}}} \text{\text{(thus, \text{\textipa{\textit{ad\text{\text h\text{\text vag\text{\text at}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{dy\text{\text ug\text{\text at}}}}, \text{\textipa{\textit{n\text{\text av\text{\text vag\text{\text at}}}}, and \text{\textipa{\textit{s\text{\text an\text{\text h\text{\text at}}}}}}}}})

As to the infinitive use of various cases of the root-noun in these two forms, see chap. XIII.

c. Monosyllabic (also 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, \( \text{\textipa{\textit{tv\text{\text ac}}} \text{, \textit{skin}} \text{; \textit{p\text{\text ath}}, \textit{road}} \text{; \textit{h\text{\text yd}}, \textit{heart}} \text{; \textit{\=p}}, \textit{water}} \text{; \textit{\=\text{\textipa{\textit{\=s}}}}, \textit{mouth}} \text{; \textit{kak\text{\text uh}} \text{and \textit{kak\text{\text id}}, \textit{summit}} \text{.}

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.

d. Stems more or less clearly derivative, but made with suffixes of rare or even isolated occurrence. Thus:

\text{Whitney, Grammar.}
1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix vat: arvāvāt, āvāt, udvāt, nivāt, parāvakat, pravāt, sarvāt;
2. derivatives (V.) in tāt (perhaps abbreviated from tātī), in a few isolated forms: thus, uparātāt, devātāt, vṛkātāt, satyātāt, sarvātāt;
3. other derivatives in t, preceded by various vowels: thus, vahāt, vahāt, svarāt, saccāt, vāghāt; nāpāt; taḍāt, divāt, yoṣāt, rohāt, sarāt, harāt; marāt; yākṛt, vākṛt; and the numerals for '30, 40, 50', triṇātāt etc. (475);
4. stems in ad: thus, dhṛṣād, dhṛṣād, bhasād, vanād, carād;
5. stems in j, preceded by various vowels: thus, trṣṇāj, dhṛṣṇāj, sanāj; uṣṣi, vamāj, bhurāj, nihāj(?); āṣrj;
6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative: thus, jāṇas, -dās, bhās, mās, bhās;
7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as vīṣṭāp, vīṣās, kāppth, āurād, isticāh, prkṣūdāh, vaghāt(?).

384. Gendere. 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., druha f. (V/druh, 'be iminimal') 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.

The independent neuter stems are hīḍ (also -hārḍ), dām, vār, svār, mās 'flesh', ās 'mouth', bhās, dās, and the indeclinables cām and yōs: also the derivatives yākṛt, vākṛt, āṣrj.

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:

a. Compounds having as final member the root ac or ańć: see below, 407 ff.; — b. The stem yuv, sometimes (V.): thus, nom. sing. yūnī (for yūnī), accus. yūnjam, du. yūnjā (but also yujam and yujū); — c. The stem -dṛ, as final of a compound (V.); but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, anuvadṛn, idṛn, kidṛn, sadṛn and pratisadṛn: but also idṛk, tāḍṛk, svardṛk, etc.; — d. For path and puns, which substitute more extended stems, and for dant, see below, 394—6.

387. The vowel a is lengthened in strong cases as follows:
a. Of the roots vac, sac, sap, nabh, cas, in a few instances (V.), at the end of compounds; — b. Of the roots vah and sah, but irregularly: see below, 403—5; — c. Of ap 'water' (see 393); also in its compound ritiyap; — d. 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 -pát, while -pādbhīs and -pātus occur in the Brāhmaṇas; — e. Of nas, 'nose'; — f. Sporadic cases (V.) are: yāj (?), voc. sing.; pāthās and -rāpas, accus. pl.; vānivānas, nom. pl. The strengthened forms bhāj and rāj are constant, through all classes of cases.

388. Other modes of differentiation, by elision of a or contraction of the syllable containing it, appear in a few stems:

a. In -han: see below, 402; — b. In kṣam (V.), along with prolongation of a: thus, kṣāmā du., kṣāmas pl.; kṣaṁa instr. sing., kṣāmi loc. sing., kṣmās abl. sing.; — c. In dvār, contracted (V.) to dur in weak cases (but with some confusion of the two classes); — d. In svār, which becomes (RV.) sūr in weak cases: later it is indeclinable.

389. The endings are as stated above (380).

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.

Attention may be called to a few exceptional cases of combination (V.): mādbhīs and mādbhyās from mās 'month'; the wholly anomalous padbhīs (RV. and VS.: AV. has always padbhīs) from pād; and sarāt and sarādbhyās corresponding to a nom. pl. sarāghas (instead of sarāhas: 222). Dāṁ is apparently for dām, by 143, end. Agnādḥ is abbreviated from aghni-tūḥ.

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

390. Monosyllabic stems have the regular accent of such, throwing the tone forward upon the endings in the weak cases.

But the accusative plural has its normal accentuation as a weak case, upon the ending, in only a minority (hardly more than a third) of the stems: namely in dattās, pathās, padās, nidās, apās, uṣās, jñāsās, punāsās, māsās, mahās; and sometimes in vācās, srucās, hrutās, śrīdhās, kṣapās, vipās, durās, iṣās, dviṣās, druḥās (beside vācas etc.).

Exceptional instances, in which a weak case has the tone on the stem, occur as follows: sādā, nādbhyās, tānā (also tanā) and tāne, rāne and rāhnu, vānās, svānā, vipās, kṣāmi, sūrā and sūras (but sūrē), iṁhas, and vānas and bṛhas (in vānaspāti, bṛhapsāti). On the other hand, a strong case is accented
391. Examples of inflection. As an example of normal monosyllabic inflection, we may take the stem वाचः vac, f., 'voice' (from वच्च vac, with constant prolongation); of inflection with strong and weak stem, पदः pad, m., 'foot'; of polysyllabic inflection, मरुत marut, m., 'wind' or 'wind-god'; of a monosyllabic root-stem in composition, त्रिवृत् trivṛt, 'three-fold', in the neuter. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>प्रढः pad</th>
<th>मरुत marut</th>
<th>त्रिवृत् trivṛt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>वाचम् vacam</td>
<td>पदाम padām</td>
<td>मरुतम marutam</td>
<td>त्रिवृता trivṛtā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>वाचा vacā</td>
<td>पादा padā</td>
<td>मरुता marutā</td>
<td>त्रिवृता trivṛtā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>वचि vaci</td>
<td>पादे padē</td>
<td>मरुते marute</td>
<td>त्रिवृते trivṛtē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>वाचम् vacās</td>
<td>पादस padās</td>
<td>मरुतास marutās</td>
<td>त्रिवृतास trivṛtās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>वचि vaci</td>
<td>पादि padī</td>
<td>मरुति marūti</td>
<td>त्रिवृति trivṛtī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual:</td>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>पादौ padāu</td>
<td>मरुतौ marūtāu</td>
<td>त्रिवृती trivṛtī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>वाच्याम् vāgbhyām</td>
<td>पाद्व्याम padāvṛyām</td>
<td>मरुत्व्याम marūtāvṛyām</td>
<td>त्रिवृत्याम trivṛtāvṛyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>वाचोन् vacōs</td>
<td>पादोऽन् padōśan</td>
<td>मरुतोऽन marūtośan</td>
<td>त्रिवृतोऽन trivṛtośan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>पादं padāṃ</td>
<td>मरुतं marūtāṃ</td>
<td>त्रिवृतं trivṛtāṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>वाचस vacas</td>
<td>पादस padās</td>
<td>मरुतस marūtās</td>
<td>त्रिवृतिः trivṛtī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note on the ending in mahās, nom. pl., and kāsam (A.V.; perhaps a false reading). And preṣā, instr. sing., is accented as if preṣ were a simple stem, instead of pra-ṛṣ. Vīmṛdhāk is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in ac or añc, see 410.
392. The stems in *ir* and *ur*, and *is* and *us*, lengthen their vowel (245 b) when their final is followed by another consonant, and also in the nom. sing. (where the following *s* is lost): thus, from *gir*, f., *song*, *gir* (*gih*), *giram*, *girâ* etc.; *girâu*, *girbhìyâm*, *girös*; *giras*, *girbhìs*, *girbhìyâs*, *girâm*, *girsu* (165) and so *pûr*, *pùram*, *pùrbhìs*, *pùrsû*; and *âcîs*, *âcîsam*, *âcîsâ*, *âcîrbhìs*, *âcîsû*; and so on.

393. The stem *áp*, f., *water*, is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before *bh* to *d* (151 d): thus, *ápas*, *ápâs*, *âdhibhìs*, *âdhibhyâs*, *ápâm*, *ápâs*.

But RV. has the sing. instr. *ápâ* and gen. *ápâs*. In AV. often, and in an instance or two in RV., the nom. and accus. pl. forms are confused in use, *ápas* being employed as accus., and (in an instance or two) *ápâs* as nominative.

394. The stem *pûns*, m., *man*, is very irregular, substituting *pûmbhâs* in the strong cases, and losing its *s* (necessarily) before initial *bh* of a case-ending, and likewise (by analogy with this, or by an abbreviation akin with that noticed at 231) in the loc. plural. The vocative is (in accordance with that of the somewhat similarly inflected perfect participles: below, 462 a) *pûman* in the later language, but *pûmas* in the earlier. Thus: *pûmân*, *pûmânsam*, *pûnsâ*, *pûnsé*, *pûnsâs*, *pûnsî*, *pûman*; *pûmbhânsa*, *pûmbhyaìm*, *pûnsâs*; *pûmânsas*, *pûnsâs*, *pûmbhîs*, *pûmbhyaìs*, *pûnsâm*, *pûnsâs*.

The accentuation of the weak forms, it will be noticed, is that of a true monosyllabic stem. The forms with *bh*-endings nowhere occur in the older language, nor do they appear to have been cited from the later. As to the retention of *s* unilingualized in the weakest cases (whence necessarily follows that in the loc. pl.), see 183.

395. The stem *path*, m., *road*, is defective in declension, forming only the weakest cases, while the strong are made from *pânthâ* or *pânthan*, and the middle from *pathi*: see under an-stems, below, 433.
The stem dānt, m., ‘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, dadbhis, dadbhyās. In nom. pl. occurs also -datas instead of -dantas. By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from dānta.

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

Thus, hīd, n., ‘heart’, māhs or más, n., ‘meat’, más, m., ‘month’, nās, f., ‘nose’, nīc, 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 neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from hīdaya, mānsā, māsa, nāsikā, nīcā, pītanā. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find más, ‘flesh’, accus. sing.; más, ‘month’, nom. sing.; and nāsā, ‘nostrils’, du. From pīt occurs only the loc. pl. pṛtsū and (RV., once) the same case with double ending, pṛtsūṣu.

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

Thus, āśrī, n., ‘blood’, pākṛt, n., ‘ordure’, yākṛt, n., ‘liver’, dōs, n. (also m.), ‘fore-arm’, have beside them defective stems in an: see below, 432. Of none of them, however, is anything but the nom.-acc. sing. found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.

Of ās, n., ‘mouth’, and ād, ‘water’, only a case or two are found, in the older language, beside āsān and āsyā, and udān and ādaka (432).

Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, dānta, māsa. A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language, more commonly in the later. Such are pāda, -māda, -dāca, bhrājā, viśṭāpa, dvāra and durā, pura, dhura, -dṛṣa, nāsā, nīdā, kṣipā, kṣapā, ācā, and perhaps a few others.

A few irregular stems will find a more proper place under the head of Adjectives.

Adjectives.

Original adjectives having the root-form are comparatively rare even in the oldest language.

About a dozen are quotable from the RV., for the most part only in a few scattering cases. But mah, ‘great’, is common in RV., though it dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, mahī, which continues in use, as meaning ‘earth’ etc.
401. But compound adjectives, having a root as final member, with the value of a present participle, are abundant in every period of the language.

Possessive adjective compounds, also, of the same form, are not very rare: examples are yatásruci, ‘with offered bowl’; sūryatvac, ‘sun-skinned’; cátipad, ‘four-footed; suhārd, ‘kind-hearted, friendly’; r̥tiyop (i. e. r̥ti-ap), ‘having streaming waters’; sahāsradvār, ‘furnished with a thousand doors’.

The inflection of such compounds is like that of the simple root-stems, masculine and feminine being throughout the same, and the neuter varying only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

Only rarely is a derivative feminine stem in ī formed: in the older language, only from the compounds with ac or aṅc (407 ff.), those with han (402), and those with pad, as ēkapadī, dvipadī.

Irregularities of inflection appear in the following:

402. The root han, ‘slay’, as final of a compound, is inflected somewhat like a derivative noun in an (below, 420 ff.), becoming ā in the nom. sing., and losing its n in the middle cases and its a in the weakest cases (but only optionally in the loc. sing.). Further, when the vowel is lost, h in contract with following n reverts to its original gh. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>vṛtrahā</td>
<td>vṛtrahānāu</td>
<td>vṛtrahānās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>vṛtrahānam</td>
<td>vṛtrahānāu</td>
<td>vṛtrahānāsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnā</td>
<td>vṛtrahābhyaṁ</td>
<td>vṛtrahābhyaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnā</td>
<td>vṛtrahābhyaṁ</td>
<td>vṛtrahābhyaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
<td>vṛtraghnām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
<td>vṛtraghnsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnī, -hāni</td>
<td>vṛtraghnsō</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>vṛtrahan</td>
<td>vṛtrahanāu</td>
<td>vṛtrahanās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to the change of n to ā, see 183, 195.

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

An accus. pl. -hānas (like the nom.) also occurs. Vṛtraghnīs (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 -hā (RV., AV.), -ghnā (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 ūḥ, which with a preceding a-vowel becomes āu (137 d): thus, from havyavāh, ‘sacrifice-bearing’ (epithet of Agni), havyavāt, havyavāham, havyāūhā, etc.; havyavāhāu, havyavādbhyaṁ, havyāūhos; havyavāhas, havyāūhas, havyavādbhis, etc. And ēvāvādāh (not quot-
able) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in \( \text{vās} \) and the vocative in \( \text{vas} \) or \( \text{vās} \).

In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with \( \text{vah} \) have been found to occur: namely, \(-\text{vṛt}, -\text{vāham}, -\text{vāhau} \) or \(-\text{vāhā}, \) and \(-\text{vāhas} \). TS. has the irregular nom. sing. \( \text{paśṭhavāt} \).

404. Of very irregular formation and inflection is one common compound of \( \text{vah} \), namely \( \text{anadvāh} \) (\( \text{an} \) + \( \text{vah} \), ‘burden-bearing’ or ‘cart-drawing’; i.e. ‘ox’). Its stem-form in the strong cases is \( \text{anadvāh} \), in the weakest \( \text{anadvā} \), and in the middle \( \text{anadvād} \) (perhaps by dissimilation from \( \text{anadvād} \)). Moreover, its nom. and voc. sing. are made in \( \text{vān} \) and \( \text{van} \) (as if from a \( \text{vant}-\)stem). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. ( \text{anadvān} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhāu} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhas} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. ( \text{anadvāham} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. ( \text{anadvā} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvābhāyām} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvābhāyas} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. ( \text{anadvāhe} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. ( \text{anadvāhas} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. ( \text{anadvāhi} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. ( \text{anadvāvan} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
<td>( \text{anadvāhā} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{Anadvābhāyas} \) (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language.

The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either \( \text{anadvāhi} \) (\( \text{CB.} \)) or \( \text{anadvāhā} \) (\( \text{K.} \)).

405. The root \( \text{sah} \), ‘overcome’, has in the Veda a double irregularity: its \( s \) is changeable to \( s \) even after an \( a \)-vowel — as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (\( \text{RV.}, \text{tvām sāt} \) — 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: \(-\text{sāt}, -\text{sāham} \) or \(-\text{sāham} \) or \(-\text{sāham}, -\text{sāhā}, -\text{sāhe} \) or \(-\text{sāhe}, -\text{sāhas} \) or \(-\text{sāhas} \) or \(-\text{sāhas} \) or \(-\text{sāhas} \).

406. The compound \( \text{avayāj} \) (\( \text{yāj} \), ‘make offering’), ‘a certain priest’ or (\( \text{BR.} \) ‘a certain sacrifice’, is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. \( \text{avayās} \), and to make its middle cases from \( \text{avayās} \).

Its only quotable form is \( \text{avayās} \), f. (\( \text{RV.} \) and AV., each once). If the stem is a derivative from \( \text{ava} + \text{yāj} \), ‘conciliate’, \( \text{avayās} \) is probably from \( \text{ava} + \text{yā} \), which has the same meaning.

407. Compounds with \( \text{aṅc} \) or \( \text{ac} \). The root \( \text{ac} \) or \( \text{aṅc} \) 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 part of these adjectives have only two stem-forms: a strong in \( \text{aṅc} \) (yielding \( \text{aṅ} \), from \( \text{aṅks} \), in nom. sing. masc.),
and a weak in ac; others distinguish from the middle in ac a weakest stem in c, before which the a is contracted with a preceding i or u into i or u.

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 prāṇe, ‘forward, east’; pratyāṇe, ‘backward, west’; visvaṇe, ‘going apart’.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Ab. G.</th>
<th>L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prāṇam</td>
<td>prāk</td>
<td>prācū</td>
<td>prāce</td>
<td>prācas</td>
<td>prāci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pratyāṇam</td>
<td>pratyāk</td>
<td>praticā</td>
<td>praticē</td>
<td>praticās</td>
<td>praticē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visvaṇa</td>
<td>visvak</td>
<td>visūcā</td>
<td>visūcē</td>
<td>visūcas</td>
<td>visūci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>I. D. Ab.</th>
<th>G. L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prāṇeau</td>
<td>prābhyyām</td>
<td>prācos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pratyāṇeau</td>
<td>praticē</td>
<td>praticēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visvaṇeau</td>
<td>visūci</td>
<td>visūcos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D. Ab.</th>
<th>G.</th>
<th>L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>prāṇcas</td>
<td>prāṇci</td>
<td>prāgabhhi</td>
<td>prāgabhhi</td>
<td>prācūm</td>
<td>prākṣu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pratyāṇcas</td>
<td>pratyāṇci</td>
<td>praticās</td>
<td>praticās</td>
<td>praticām</td>
<td>praticākṣu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>visvaṇcas</td>
<td>visvaṇci</td>
<td>visvaṇcas</td>
<td>visvaṇci</td>
<td>visvaṇcām</td>
<td>visvaṇkṣu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feminine stems are prāci, pratićē, visūci, respectively.

No example of the middle forms excepting the nom. etc. sing. neut. (and this generally used as adverb) is found either in RV. or AV. In the same texts is lacking the nom. etc. pl. neut. in ēci; but of this a number of examples occur in the Brāhmaṇas: thus, prānci, pratyānci, arvānci, samyānci, sadhyānci, anvānci.

409. a. Like prāṇe are inflected āpāne, āvāne, pārānc, arvānc, adharānc, and others of rare occurrence.

b. Like pratyānc are inflected nyānc (i.e. niṁc), samyānc (sam + añe, with irregularly inserted i), and údānc (weakest stem údic: ud + añe, with i inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.

c. Like visvaṇe is inflected anvānc, also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.

d. Still more irregular is tiryānc, of which the weakest stem is tirāṇe (tirās + ac: the other stems are made from tir + añe or ac, with the inserted i).

410. The accentuation of these words is irregular, as regards both the stems themselves and their inflected forms. Sometimes the one element has
the tone and sometimes the other, without any apparent reason for the difference. If the compound is accented on the final syllable, the accent is shifted in RV. to the ending in the weakest cases provided their stem shows the contraction to ī or ē; thus, prācā, arvācā, adharićcas, but pratīcā, anūcās, samīcī. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, pratīcā, samīcī, anūcā (RV. has pratīcim once). The change of accent to the endings, and even in polysyllabic stems, is against all usual analogy.

B. Derivative stems in as, is, us.

411. The stems of this division are prevailing ly neuter; but there are also a few masculines, and a single feminine.

412. The stems in ग्म as are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix ग्म as (a small number also with तम tas and नम nas, and some are obscure); the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes तम is and उम us.

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

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनस् मनस्, n., 'mind'; आंगिरस् आंगिरस्, m., 'An-giras'; हविस् हविस्, n., 'libation'.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N. मनस् मनस्</th>
<th>आंगिरस् आंगिरस्</th>
<th>हविस् हविस्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>मनस् मनस्</td>
<td>आंगिरस् आंगिरस्</td>
<td>हविस् हविस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>मनस् मनस्</td>
<td>आंगिरसम् आंगिरसम्</td>
<td>हविस् हविस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>मनसा मनसा</td>
<td>आंगिरसा आंगिरसा</td>
<td>हविसा हविसा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>मनसे मनसे</td>
<td>आंगिरसे आंगिरसे</td>
<td>हविशे हविशे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.G.</td>
<td>मनसस् मनसस्</td>
<td>आंगिरसस् आंगिरसस्</td>
<td>हविसस हविसस</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
L. मनासि द्वादशिः हविष्य
मनासि द्वादशिः हविष्य

V. मनस् द्वादशस् हविष्
mánasa ángiras hávis

Dual:
N. A. V. मनासि द्वादशिः हविष्य
mánasí ángirasáu hávisi
I. D. Ab. मनोभ्याम् द्वादशायाम् हविर्भ्याम्
mánobhyaṃ ángirobhyaṃ havirbhyaṃ
g. L. मनसाम् द्वादशाम् हविष्
mánasas ángirasos hávisos

Plural:
N. A. V. मनासि द्वादशिः हविष्य
mánasí ángirasás hávisi
I. मनोभ्याम् द्वादशायाम् हविर्भ्याम्
mánobhyāṃ ángirobhyaṃ havirbhyaṃ
g. मनसाम् द्वादशाम् हविष्
mánasas ángirasám hávisám
L. मनस्तु द्वादशस् हविष्
mánahsu ángiraḥsu hávishu

In like manner, चन्द्र, चन्द्रयाम् चन्द्रस्त्रुः, चन्द्रस्त्रुः, चन्द्रस्त्रुः and so on.

415. Vedic irregularities. a. The masc. and fem. du. ending त instead of डु is as usual elsewhere; — b. The fem. उस्स, ‘dawn’, often prolongs its a in the other strong cases (besides nom. sing.): thus, उस्स, उस्स, उस्स. In instr. pl. occurs (RV., once) उस्स्मव्यत्ति instead of उस्स्मव्यत्ति (only quotable example of a middle case). From उस्स is once found (RV.) in like manner the du, तोस्; — c. जन्यक has the nom. sing. masc. जन्यक, like an as-stem; — d. From सवास and सवास occur in RV. nom. sing. masc. in वास; — e. One or two apparently contracted forms — thus, वेदिं क for वेदिं क, and सुवास for सुवास, nom. pl. — are met with.

416. The grammarians regard उस्स, m., as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (355 a), but give it the irregular nom. उस्स and the voc. उस्स or उस्स or उस्स. Forms from the as-stem, even nom., are sometimes met with in the later literature.
As to forms from as-stems to áhan or áhar and údhan or údhar, see below, 430.

Adjectives.

417. A few neuter nouns in as with accent on the radical syllable have corresponding adjectives or appellatives in ás, with accent on the ending: thus, for example, ápas, ‘work’, apás, ‘active’; táras, ‘quickness’, tarás, ‘quick’; yácas, ‘beauty’, yáras, ‘beauteous’. A few other similar adjectives — as tavás, ‘mighty’, vedhás, ‘pious’ — are without corresponding nouns.

Original adjectives in is do not occur. But in us are found as many adjectives as nouns (about ten of each class); and in several instances adjective and noun stand side by side, without difference of accent such as appears in the stems in as: e. g. tápus, ‘heat’ and ‘hot’; vápus, ‘wonder’ and ‘wonderful’.

418. Adjective compounds having nouns of this division as final member are very common: thus, sumánas, ‘favorably minded’; dirgháyus, ‘long-lived’; cukrápocis, ‘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 ás (like ángirás, above). Thus, from sumánas, the nom. and accus. are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. F.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>m. f.</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>sumánás -nas</td>
<td>sumánásam -nas</td>
<td>sumánasas -nánsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>sumánasam -nas</td>
<td>sumánasam -nas</td>
<td>sumánasas -nánsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the other cases (save the vocative) are alike in all genders.

From dirgháyus, in like manner:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. F.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>m. f.</td>
<td>n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>dirgháyus</td>
<td>dirgháyusam -yus</td>
<td>dirgháyusas -yúnsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>dirgháyusam -yus</td>
<td>dirgháyusam -yus</td>
<td>dirgháyusas -yúnsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>dirgháyusá</td>
<td>dirgháyurbyām</td>
<td>dirgháyurbhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

419. The stem anehás, ‘unrivalled’ (defined as meaning ‘time’ in the later language), forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. anehá.

C. Derivative stems in an.

420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes ग्रन्त an, मन्त man, and तन van, together with a few of more questionable etymology which are inflected like them. They are masculine and neuter only.

421. The stem has a triple form. In the strong cases of the masculine, the vowel of the ending is prolonged to
\( \text{ā} \); 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 \( \text{n} \) is dropped. The \( \text{n} \) is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving \( \text{ā} \) as final in the masculine, \( \text{a} \) in the neuter).

The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual analogy (311): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening to \( \text{ā} \), as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of \( \text{a} \) — but this only optionally, not necessarily.

In the loc. sing. also, the \( a \) may be either rejected or retained (compare the corresponding usage with \( r \)-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.

\( \text{422.} \) 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.

\( \text{423.} \) As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that when, in the weakest cases, an acute \( ' \) of the suffix is lost, the tone is thrown forward upon the ending.

\( \text{424.} \) Examples of declension. As such may be taken \( \text{rājan} \) \( rājan \), m., ‘king’; \( \text{ātmān} \) \( ātmān \), m., ‘soul, self’; \( \text{nāman} \) \( nāman \), n., ‘name’. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N.} & \text{N.} & \text{N.} \\
\text{raja} & \text{ātmā} & \text{nāma} \\
\text{atman} & \text{atman} & \text{nāma} \\
\text{I.} & \text{I.} & \text{I.} \\
\text{raja} & \text{ātmā} & \text{nāma} \\
\text{atman} & \text{atmanā} & \text{nāmnā} \\
\text{D.} & \text{D.} & \text{D.} \\
\text{rajne} & \text{ātmāne} & \text{nāmnē} \\
\text{Ab. G.} & \text{Ab. G.} & \text{Ab. G.} \\
\text{rajnas} & \text{ātmānas} & \text{nāmnas}
\end{array}
\]
### V. Nouns and Adjectives

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D. Ab.</th>
<th>G. L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>राजानी</td>
<td>ग्रामानी</td>
<td>ग्रामानी</td>
<td>ग्रामानी</td>
<td>ग्रामानी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>राजन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>राजमिनि</td>
<td>ग्राममिनि</td>
<td>ग्राममिनि</td>
<td>ग्राममिनि</td>
<td>ग्राममिनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>राज-याम्</td>
<td>ग्राम-याम्</td>
<td>ग्राम-याम्</td>
<td>ग्राम-याम्</td>
<td>ग्राम-याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>राजनौ</td>
<td>ग्रामनौ</td>
<td>ग्रामनौ</td>
<td>ग्रामनौ</td>
<td>ग्रामनौ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D. Ab.</th>
<th>G.</th>
<th>L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>राजनम्</td>
<td>ग्रामनम्</td>
<td>ग्रामनम्</td>
<td>ग्रामनम्</td>
<td>ग्रामनम्</td>
<td>ग्रामनम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>राजन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
<td>ग्रामन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>राजमि</td>
<td>ग्राममि</td>
<td>ग्राममि</td>
<td>ग्राममि</td>
<td>ग्राममि</td>
<td>ग्राममि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>राज-यस्</td>
<td>ग्राम-यस्</td>
<td>ग्राम-यस्</td>
<td>ग्राम-यस्</td>
<td>ग्राम-यस्</td>
<td>ग्राम-यस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>राजम्</td>
<td>ग्रामम्</td>
<td>ग्रामम्</td>
<td>ग्रामम्</td>
<td>ग्रामम्</td>
<td>ग्रामम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>राजसु</td>
<td>ग्रामसु</td>
<td>ग्रामसु</td>
<td>ग्रामसु</td>
<td>ग्रामसु</td>
<td>ग्रामसु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weakest cases of mūrdhān, m., 'head', would be accented mūrdhānā, mūrdhānē, mūrdhānos, mūrdhānas (acc. pl.), mūrdhānām, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., mūrdhāni or mūrdhānī).

425. Vedic Irregularities. **a.** Here, as elsewhere, the ending of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. masc. is usually ā instead of āu.

**b.** The briefer form (with ejected ā) of the loc. sing., and of the neut. nom. etc. du., is almost unknown to the older language. RV. writes once cataddāvāni, but it is to be read cataddāvani; and a few similar cases occur in AV. In the Brāhmaṇas also, such forms as dhāmani and sāmani are much more common than such as ahni 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 common (in RV., of considerably more frequent occurrence than the regular form): thus, mūrdhān, kārman, ādhvān, beside mūrdhānī etc.
d. In the nom.-acc. pl. neut., also, an abbreviated form is common, ending in ā or (twice as often) a, instead of ānī: thus, brāhma and brāhmā, beside brāhmāni: compare the similar series of endings from a-stems, 329.

e. From a few stems in man is made an abbreviated inst. sing., with loss of m as well as of a: thus, mahinā, prathinā, varinā, dānā, preṇā, bhūnā, for mahimnā etc. And drūghmā (RV., once) is perhaps (Grassmann) for drūghmāṇā.

f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes found with the a of the suffix retained: thus, for example, bhūmanā, dāmane, yāmanas, uksanās (accus. pl.), etc. In the infinitive datives — trāmane, vidmāne, dāvāne, etc. — the a always remains. Still more 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, 453 b), is found also from a few in van, perhaps by a transfer to the vant-declension: thus, vtāvas, evayāvas, khidvas (?), prātarītvas, mātārīcvas, vibhāvas.

For words of which the a is not made long in the strong cases, see the next paragraph, b.

426. A few stems do not make the regular lengthening of a in the strong cases (except the nom. sing.). Thus:

a. The names of divinities, puṣān and aryamān: thus, puṣā, puṣānam, puṣaṇa, etc.

b. In the Veda, uksan, 'bull' (but RV. uksānam once); yōsan, 'maiden'; vīsan, 'virile, bull' (but vīṣanām and vīṣānas are also met with); tānā, abbreviation of ātmān; and two or three other scattering forms: anarvaṇam, jēmanā. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre seems to demand a where ā is written.

427. The stems ćvān, m., 'dog', and yūvan, 'young', have in the weakest cases the contracted form ćūn and yūn (with retention of the accent); in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, ćvā, ćvānam, ćūnā, ćūne, etc., ćvāḥyām, ćvāḥhis, etc.

In dual, RV. has once yūnā for yuvānā.

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

The RV. has once the weak form maghōnas in nom. pl.

Parallel with this is found the stem maghāvant (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, maghāvadhīs, maghāvatsu, etc. (not maghāvabhis etc.).

429. A number of an-stems are more or less defective, making a part of their forms from other stems. Thus:
430. a. The stem áhan, n., 'day', is in the later language used only in the strong and weakest cases, the middle (with the nom. sing., which usually follows their analogy) coming from áhar or áhas: namely, áhar nom.-acc. sing., áhobhyām, áhabhis, etc. (PB. has aharbhīs); but áhnā etc., áhni or áhanī, áhnī or áhanī, áhāni (and, in V., áhā). In composition, only áhar or áhas is used as preceding member; as final member, áhar, áhas, áhan, or the derivatives aha, ahna.

In the oldest language, the middle cases áhabhis, áhabhyas, áhasu also occur.

b. The stem údhan, n., 'udder', exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with údhar and údhas, but has become later an as-stem only (except in the fem. údhni of adjective compounds): thus, údhar or údhas (so RV.: AV. only the latter), údhanas, údhan or údhani, ûdhabhis, údhoṣu.

431. The neuter stems aksāṇ, 'eye', asthān, 'bone', dadhān, 'curd', sakthān, 'thigh', form in the later language only the weakest cases, aksṇā, asthānā, dadhānā, sakthāṁ or sakthānī, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in i, āksi etc.: see above, 343f.

In the older language, other cases from the an-stems occur: thus, aksāṇī and aksābhīs; asthānī, asthābhīs, and asthābhīyas; sakthānī.

432. The neuter stems asāṃ, 'blood', yakān, 'liver', cakān, 'ordure', āsān, 'mouth', udān, 'water', doṣān, 'fore-arm', yuṣān, 'broth', are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems āṣaj, yākṛt, cākṛt, āṣyā, udāka (in older language udakā), dōs, yuṣa, which are fully inflected.

Earlier occurs also the dual doṣāṇī.

433. The stem pānthān, 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 pathī, and the weakest from path. Thus:

- from pānthān — pānthās, pānthānam; pānthānāu; pānthānas;
- from pathī — pathābhīyām; pathābhīs, pathābhīyas, pathāsu;
- from path — pathā, pathē, pathās, pathī; pathōs; pathās (accus.), pathām.

In the oldest language (RV.), however, the strong stem is only pānthā: thus, pānthās, nom. sing.; pānthām, acc. sing.; pānthās, nom. pl.; and even in AV., pānthānam and pānthānas are rare compared with the others. From pathī occur also the nom. pl. pathāyas and gen. pl. pathānām. RV. has once pathās, acc. pl., with long ā.

434. The stems mānthān, m., 'stirring-stick', and ṣbhukṣān, m., an epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with pānthān; but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from
the former the acc. sing. māṇthām, and gen. pl. mathūndām (like the corresponding cases from pāṇthān); from the latter, the nom. sing. rūhuksās and voc. pl. rūhuksās, like the corresponding Vedic forms of pāṇthān; but also the acc. sing. rūhuksānam and nom. pl. rūhuksānas, which are after quite another model.

Adjectives.

435. Original adjective stems in an are almost exclusively those in van, as yājvan, ‘sacrificing’, sūtvan, ‘pressing the soma’, jītvan, ‘conquering’. The stem is masc. and neut. only (two or three sporadic cases of its use as fem. occur in RV.); the corresponding fem. stem is made in varī: thus, yājvarī, jītvarī.

436. Adjective compounds having a noun in an as final member are inflected after the model of noun-stems; and the masculine forms are said to be allowed in use also as feminine; but usually a special feminine is made by adding i to the weakest form of the masculine stem: thus, dūrṇāmni, sōmarājīnī.

437. But nouns in an occurring as final members of compounds often lose the n, or substitute a stem in a for that in an: thus, -rāja, -adhva, -aha; the corresponding feminine is in ā. And feminines in ā, replacing an, are allowed to be widely formed in the compounds of this division.

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 in, min, and vin. They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine being made by adding i.

The stems in in are numerous, since almost any noun in a in the language may form a possessive derivative adjective with this suffix: thus, bālā, ‘strength’, balin, m. n., balini, f., ‘possessing strength, strong’. Stems in vin, however, are very few, and those in min still fewer.

439. Their inflection is quite regular, except that they lose their final n in the middle cases (before an initial consonant of the ending), and also in the nom. sing., where the masculine lengthens the ī by way of compensation. The voc. sing. is in the masculine the bare stem; in the neuter, either this or the nominative.

Whitney, Grammar.
In all these respects, it will be noticed, the in-declension agrees with the an-declension; it differs from the latter only in never losing the vowel of the ending.

440. Example of inflection. As such may be taken बलिन balin, 'strong'. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. बली बलि</td>
<td>बलिनी बलिनी बलिनस बलिनि</td>
<td>balināu balini balinas balini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. बलिनम् बलि</td>
<td>balinam bali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. बलिना</td>
<td>बलिनिस्</td>
<td>balibhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. बलिने</td>
<td>बलिन-याम्</td>
<td>balibhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. बलिनस्</td>
<td>balibhyās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. बलिनि</td>
<td>balinas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. बलिनि</td>
<td>balinām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. बलिन् बलिन् बलि बलिनी बलिनि बलिनिस् बलिनि</td>
<td>bālin bālin, bāli bālināu bālini bālinas bālini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derived feminine stem in īnī is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative ī (365).

441. There are no irregularities in the inflection of in-stems, in either the earlier language or the later — except the usual Vedic dual ending in ā instead of āu.

E. Derivative stems (adjective) in ant (or at).

442. These stems fall into two sub-divisions: 1. those made by the suffix न्त ant (or न्त at), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes मान्त mant and वान् vant (or वान mat and वान vat). They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ī ै.
1. Participles in ant or at.

443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in घृत् ant and घृत् 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.

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 á-class (752), and of verbs of the ad-class or root-class ending in á, are by the grammarians allowed to make the nom.-acc.-voc. du. from either the stronger or the weaker stem; and the present participles from all other present-stems ending in a are required to make the same from the strong stem.

444. Those verbs, however, which in the 3d pl. pres. active lose न n of the usual ending लि nti (550) lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem.

Such are the verbs forming their present-stem by reduplication without added a: namely, those of the reduplicating or hu-class (655) and the intensives (1012): thus, from y/hu, present-stem juhu, participle-stem jāhvat; intensive-stem johu, intensive participle-stem jōhvat. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, cākṣat, dāçat, dāsat, pāçat, sāçat; and the aorist participle dhākṣat. Vāyurdhānt (RV., once), which has the n notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in a: compare vāyurdhānta, vāyuradhāsa.

Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. in anti.

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in घृन् an by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form घृत्न् ants. The vocative of each gender is like the nominative.

446. Stems accented on the final syllable throw the accent forward upon the case-ending in the weakest cases (not in the middle also).

In the dual neut. (as in the feminine stem) from such participles, the accent is anti if the n is retained, ati if it is lost.

447. Examples of declension. As such may serve
**V. Nouns and Adjectives.**

bhāvant, 'being'; adānt, 'eating'; jūhvat, 'sacrificing'. Thus:

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>Ab. G.</th>
<th>L.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhāvan</td>
<td>bhāvat</td>
<td>adān</td>
<td>adāt</td>
<td>jūhvat</td>
<td>jūhvat</td>
<td>jūhvat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>bhāvat</td>
<td>adāntam</td>
<td>adāt</td>
<td>jūhvatam</td>
<td>jūhvatam</td>
<td>jūhvatam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
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<td>jūhvatā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
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<td>ādātē</td>
<td>jūhvate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>bhāvatas</td>
<td>ādātās</td>
<td>jūhvatas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
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<td>ādāti</td>
<td>jūhvati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>I. D. Ab.</th>
<th>G. L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhāvantāu</td>
<td>bhāvanti</td>
<td>bhāvadbhyaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adāntāu</td>
<td>ādāti</td>
<td>ādābhyaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jūhvatāu</td>
<td>jūhvati</td>
<td>jūhvadbhyaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>bhāvadbhyaṃ</td>
<td>ādābhyaṃ</td>
<td>jūhvadbhyaṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>bhāvatos</td>
<td>ādātos</td>
<td>jūhvatos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D. Ab.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhāvantas</td>
<td>bhāvanti</td>
<td>bhāvadbhhis</td>
<td>bhāvadbhyaḥṣas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>adāntas</td>
<td>adānti</td>
<td>adābhhis</td>
<td>adābhhyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jūhvatas</td>
<td>jūhvati</td>
<td>jūhvadbhhis</td>
<td>jūhvadbhhyas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
449. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding ⅁ 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 ⅁ to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in ānti.

Such are the bhū or unaccented a-class and the dīv or ya-class of present-stems [chap. IX.], and the desideratives and causatives [chap. XIV.]: thus, from यभु (stem bhāva), bhāvantī; from यद (stem dīva), dīvyantī; from बिघ्य and बिहय (desid. and caus. of यः, बिहः and बिष्यांति and बिष्यांति.

Exceptions to this rule are rare. RV. has मेताति and माति; Bopp (Gr., 530) quotes a few cases from the Nala. The AV. जिवाति, with irregular accent, is doubtless to be regarded as a proper name.

b. Participles from tense-stems in accented a may add the feminine-sign either to the strong or to the weak stem-form, or may make their feminines in ānti or in āti (with accent as here noted).

Such are the present-stems of the tud or accented a-class [chap. IX.], the s-futures [chap. XII.], and the denominatives [chap. XIV.]: thus, from यत (stem tudā), tudāntī or tudāti; from बिलय (fut. of यभु), बिलयान्ती or बिलयाति; from देव (nom. of देव), देवान्ती or देवाति.
The forms in ánti from this class are the prevailing ones. No future fem. participle in áti is quotable from the older language. From pres.-stems in á are found there rūjaṭi and śīncati (RV.), tudati and pinaṭi (AV.). From denominatives, devayati (RV.), durasyati and catrāyati (AV.).

Verbs of the ad or root-class (chap. IX.) ending in ā are given by the grammarians the same option as regards the feminine of the present participle: thus, from yā, yānti or yāti. The older language affords no example of the former, so far as noted.

c. 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 áti (or, if the stem be otherwise accented than on the final, in ati) only.

Thus, adati from yad; jāvati from yhu; yuṇjati from yuyu; survali from ysu; kurvati from ykṛ; kṛṣati from ykṛ; dējati from dēj (intens. of yāj).

Exceptions are occasionally met with in the later language, as ādīṣanti (M.), rudānti and kurvanti (N.). And AV. has yānti once.

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

a. brhānt (often written vrhānt in the later language), 'great': it is inflected like a participle (with brhaṭi and brhānti 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; mahāntāu (neut. mahāti); mahāntas, mahānti: instr. mahāti etc.

c. pīṣant, 'speckled', and (in Veda only) rūṣant, 'shining'.

d. jāgat, 'movable, lively' (in the later language, as neuter noun, 'world'), a reduplicated formation from ygaṃ, 'go'; its nom. etc. neut. pl. is allowed by the grammarians to be only jāganti.

e. rāhant, 'small' (only once, in RV., rhatē).

All these form their feminine in ati only: thus, brhaṭi, mahāti, pīṣati and rūṣati (contrary to the rule for participles), jāgati.

For dānti, 'tooth', which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 396.

451. The pronominal adjectives iyant and kiyant are inflected like adjectives in mant and vant, having (452) iyān and kiyān as nom. masc. sing., iyāti and kiyāti as nom. etc. du. neut. and as feminine stems, and iyanti and kiyanti as nom. etc. plur. neut.

But the neut. pl. iyānti and the loc. sing. (?) kiyāti 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 घृं ant. From the latter they differ only by lengthening the घ a in the nom. sing. masc.

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 atī (or atī), and in the plural anti (or anti).

The feminine is always made from the weak stem; thus, mātī, vatī (or mātī, vatī).

The accent, however, is never (as in the participle) thrown forward upon the case-ending or the feminine ending.

< 453. To illustrate the inflection of such stems it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of पञ्मग्न् paçumánt, 'possessing cattle', and भ्रंगवत् bhāgavant, 'fortunate, blessed'. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumánt</td>
<td>paçumánt</td>
<td>paçumánt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumántam</td>
<td>paçumántam</td>
<td>paçumántam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumán</td>
<td>paçumát</td>
<td>paçumán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumánta</td>
<td>paçumánta</td>
<td>paçumánta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumántas</td>
<td>paçumántas</td>
<td>paçumántas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
<td>पञ्मग्न्तम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
<td>paçumánti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, adhvīnas, harivās, bhānumas, havīnas. 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 bhayos are met with, even in the later language); and in their reproduction of RV. passages the as is usually changed to an.

It was pointed out above (425 g) that the RV. makes the voc. in as also apparently from a few an-stems.

c. In RV., the nom. etc. pl. neut., in the only two instances that occur, ends in ānti instead of anti: thus, ghrṇānti, paśumānti. No such forms have been noted elsewhere in the older language: the SV. reads anti in its version of the corresponding passages, and a few examples of the same ending are quotable from the Brāhmaṇas: thus, tāvanti, etāvanti, yāvanti, pravanti, rtumanti, yugmanti. Compare 448, 451.

d. In a few (eight or ten) more or less doubtful cases, a confusion of strong and weak forms of stem is made: they are too purely sporadic to require reporting. The same is true of a case or two where a masculine form appears to be used with a feminine noun (see Lanman).

455. The stem ārvant, 'running, steed', has the nom. sing. ārvā, from ārvan; and in the older language also the voc. ārvan and accus. ārvānam.

456. Besides the participle bhāvant, there is another stem bhāvant, frequently used in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person (but construed, of course, with a verb in the third person), which is formed with the suffix vant, and so declined, having in the nom. sing. bhāvān; and the contracted form bhos of its old-style vocative bhavas is a common exclamation of address: 'you, sir!' Its origin is variously explained; it is most probably a contraction of bhāgavant.

457. The pronominal adjectives tāvant, etāvant, yāvant, and the Vedic tīvant, māvant, tvāvant, etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

F. Perfect Participles in vāns.

458. The active participles of the perfect tense-system are quite peculiar as regards the modifications of their stem. In the strong cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut., the form of their suffix is vāns, which becomes, by regular process (150), vān in the nom. sing., and which is
shortened to वन van in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into उष us. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to वत vat.

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 ो to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in उषी usī.

< 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 vidvāns, ‘knowing’ (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from विद् vid; and तस्थितः tathivas, ‘having stood’, from त्था sthā.

Singualr:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>विद्वान्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
<td>तस्थितान्</td>
<td>तस्थितात्</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>vidvān</td>
<td>vidvat</td>
<td>tasthivān</td>
<td>tasthivāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>विद्वानसम्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
<td>तस्थितानसम्</td>
<td>तस्थितात्</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidvānsam</td>
<td>vidvat</td>
<td>tasthivānsam</td>
<td>tasthivāt</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>विदुष्य</td>
<td>तत्पुष्य</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidūṣya</td>
<td>tasthūṣa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>विदुष्य</td>
<td>तत्पुष्य</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidūṣye</td>
<td>tasthūṣe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>विद्वप्त</td>
<td>तत्पुष्प</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidūpam</td>
<td>tasthūpas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>विदुष्य</td>
<td>तत्पुष्य</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidūṣi</td>
<td>tasthūṣi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>विद्वन्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
<td>तस्थिवन्</td>
<td>तस्थिवत्</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidvan</td>
<td>vidvat</td>
<td>tāsthivan</td>
<td>tāsthivat</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>म.</th>
<th>n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>विद्वानसैै</td>
<td>तस्थिवानसैै</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidvānsāu</td>
<td>tāsthivānsāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>विदुष्य</td>
<td>तत्पुष्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidūṣi</td>
<td>tasthūṣi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The feminine stems of these two participles are विद्यपी विद्यसि and तस्थुपी तस्थुसि.

Other examples of the different stems are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Adjective Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.D. Ab.</td>
<td>विद्या</td>
<td>तस्थिवद्या</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.L.</td>
<td>विद्यपी</td>
<td>तस्थुपी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.V.</th>
<th>विद्याम्</th>
<th>तस्थिवद्याम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>विद्यपी</td>
<td>तस्थुपी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>विद्यपी</td>
<td>तस्थिवद्यपी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.Ab.</td>
<td>विद्याम्</td>
<td>तस्थिवद्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>विद्यपी</td>
<td>तस्थुपी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>विद्यपी</td>
<td>तस्थिवद्यपी</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

462. a. In the oldest language (RV.), the vocative sing. masc. (like that of van and mant-stems: above, 454 b) has the ending vos instead of van: thus, cikitvas (changed to -van in a parallel passage of AV.), titirvas, didivas, mādhas.

b. Forms from the middle stem, in vot, are extremely rare earlier: only three (tattavāt and vaootvāt, neut. sing., and jagrādbhās, instr. pl.), are found in RV., and not one in AV. And in the Veda the weakest stem and not the middle one, as later, is made the basis of comparison: thus, vidāṣṭara, mādhasa.

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 cakrāsam, acc. sing., and abibhyās, nom. pl.; emusām, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem emusā: and CB. has proseṣam. Similar instances, especially from vidvāns, are now and then met with later (see BR., under vidvāns).
d. The AV. has once bhaktivāṇsas, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage bhaktivāṇas; cakravāṇsam (RV., once) is of doubtful character; okīvāṇsā (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of yuc, elsewhere unknown.

G. Comparatives in yas.

463. The comparative adjectives of primary formation (below, 467) have a double form of stem for masculine and neuter: a stronger, ending in यास् yāns (usually श्याः श्याः iyāns), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in यस् yas (or श्याः iyas), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in यन् yan (but for the older language see below, 465a).

The feminine is made by adding य to the weak masc.-neut. stem.

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of श्रेयस् creyas, ‘better’, and of गरीयस् gāriyas, ‘heavier’. Thus:

**Singular:**
N. श्रेयाः श्रेयाः गरीयाः गरीयाः
creyān creyas gāriyān gāriyas
A. श्रेयासम श्रेयाः गरीयासम गरीयाः
creyānsam creyas gāriyānsam gāriyas
I. श्रेयसा गरीयसा
creyasa gāriyasā etc.
V. श्रेयाः श्रेयाः गरीयाः गरीयाः
creyan creyas gāriyan gāriyas

**Dual:**
N. श्रेयासी गरीयासी
creyāsāu creyāsī gāriyāsāu gāriyāsī etc.

**Plural:**
N. श्रेयासस श्रेयानि गरीयासस गरीयानि
creyāsansa creyānsi gāriyāsansa gāriyānsi etc.
A. वृष्णस् वृष्णी गृहलस् गृहलीति ।

I. वृष्णभिः गृहलभिः ।

c. The feminine stems of these adjectives are वृष्णी वृष्णी and गृहलीति गृहलीति.

465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions: 454 b, 462 a) is in यास instead of यान: thus, ओऽयास, जैयास (RV.: no examples elsewhere have been noted).

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

c. In the later language are found a few apparent examples of strong cases made from the weaker stem-form: thus, कणियासम, acc. masc., कणियासू दु. They are perhaps rather to be viewed as transition-forms to an a-declension.

**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).

The subject of comparison belongs properly to the chapter of derivation; but it stands in such near relation to inflection that it is, in accordance with the usual custom in grammars, conveniently and properly enough treated briefly here.

467. The suffixes of primary derivation are र्यास r̥yas for the comparative and र्ष is̥tha 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.

Thus, from \(\sqrt{kship}\), 'hurl', come \(kshipyas\) and \(kship\), which belong in meaning to \(kshipra\), 'quick'; from \(ver\), 'enccompass', come \(vriyas\) and \(vristha\), which belong to \(ur\), 'broad'; while, for example, \(kaniyas\) and \(kani\) are attached by the grammarians to \(yic\), 'young', or \(dpa\), 'small'; and \(vriyas\) and \(vristha\) to \(vrddha\), 'old'.

468. From Veda and Brähmana together, rather more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in \(iyas\) and \(istha\) (in many cases only one of the pair actually occurring) are to be quoted. 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 \(vtop\), 'burn', comes \(top\), 'excessively burning'; from \(vyaj\), 'offer', come \(yiyas\) and \(yistha\), 'better and best (or very well) sacrificing'; from \(yudh\), 'fight', comes \(ydh\), 'fighting better'; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, \(j\), 'hasty, rapid', with \(jiv\) and \(jist\). In a little class of instances (eight), the root has a preposition prefixed, which then takes the accent: thus, \(agami\), 'especially coming hither'; \(vic\), 'best clearing away'; — in a couple of cases ('acramistha, aparacapi\), the negative particle is prefixed; — in a single word ('ambhavistha), an element of another kind. The words of this formation often take an accusative object: thus, \(nabhas tary\) (RV.), 'traversing rapidly the cloud'; \(vtr\) 'best slayer of Vritra'.

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. Besides the examples that occur also later, others are met with like \(vristha\), 'choicest' (\(vra\), 'choice'), \(vristha\), 'greatest' (\(phant\), 'great'), \(vristha\), 'quickest' (\(sam\), '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, \(krh\) (K.) from \(krh\), \(sth\) and \(sth\) from \(sth\), \(ghy\) (RV.) from \(gh\), \(ani\) (AV.) and \(ani\) (TS.) from \(ap\); and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes \(y\) and \(istha\) are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, \(ci\) from \(c\) (RV.: only case), \(k\) (AV.) from \(k\), \(br\) and \(br\) (TS.) from \(br\), \(dhr\) (T.A.) from \(dhr\), \(dhr\) (TB. :
instead of dárhiṣṭha) from ḍr̥ḍhā, rághiyaḥ (TS.) from raghu. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.

In nāviyaḥ or nāvyas and nāvistha, from nāva, 'new', and in sānyaḥ from sana, 'old' (all RV.), we have also formations unconnected with verbal roots.

469. The stems in īṣṭha are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, making their feminines in ā; those in īyas have a peculiar declension, which has been described above (463 ff.).

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

The suffix ĭyas has in a few instances the briefer form yas, generally as alternative with the other: thus, ṭāviyaḥ and ṭāvyas, nāviyaḥ and nāvyas, vāsiyaḥ and vāsyaḥ, pāniyaḥ and pānyaḥ; and so from rābh and sah; sānyaḥ occurs alone. From bhu come bhāyaḥ and bhūyistha, beside which RV. has also bhāviyaḥ.

Of roots in ā, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to e: thus, stēyaḥ, dhēṣṭha, yēṣṭha; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as dhāiṣṭha, yāiṣṭha. The root ṣyā forms ṣyēṣṭha, but ṣyāyaḥ (like bhūyaḥ).

The two roots in ī, pri and crī, form prēyaḥ and prēṣṭha and crēyaḥ and crēṣṭha.

From the root of ṣya come, without strengthening, ṣyiyaḥ and ṣyiṣṭha; but in the older language also, more regularly, rājyaḥ and rājiṣṭha.

471. The suffixes of secondary derivation are तार tara and ताम tama. They are of almost unrestricted application, being added to adjectives of every form, simple and compound, ending in vowels or in consonants — and this from the earliest period of the language until the latest. The accent of the primitive remains (with rare exceptions) unchanged; and that form of stem is generally taken which appears before an initial consonant of a case-ending (weak or middle form).

Examples (of older as well as later occurrence) are: from vowel-stems, priyātara, vāhṇitama, rathitara and rathitama (RV.), cārutara, potṛtama; — from consonant-stems, cāṁtama, čaṇvattama, tavāstara and tavāṣṭama, tuviṣṭama, vāpuṣtarā, tapasvitarā, bhāga-vattara, hiranya-vaścitama; — from compounds, ratnadātama, abhibhūtara, sukṛtara, pūrbhittama, bhūridāvattara, ṣucīvratatama, strikāmatama.
But in the Veda the final n of a stem is regularly retained: thus, madāntara and madāntama, viśāntama; and of a perfect participle the weakest stem is taken: thus, vidāntara, mūdhāntama. A feminine final i is shortened: thus, devitāma (RV.), tejasvinitāmā (K.).

In the older language, the words of this formation are not much more frequent than those of the other: thus, in RV. the stems in tara and tama are to those in īyas and iṣṭha as three to two; in AV., only as six to five: but later the former win a great preponderance.

472. These comparatives and superlatives are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, forming their feminine in ā.

473. 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 mūtātama, nātama, marūtātama, and others.

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 ut; and the adverbial accusative (older, neuter; later, feminine) of a comparative in tara from a preposition is used to make a corresponding comparative to the preposition itself (below, 1111 c).

The Hindu grammarians even allow the suffixes of comparison in the adverbial accusative feminine, tarīm and tamīm, to be appended to conjugational forms: thus, pacati, 'he cooks', pacatitarīm, 'he cooks better': but such are barbarous combinations, having no warrant in the earlier uses of the language.

The suffixes of secondary comparison are occasionally added to those of primary, forming double comparatives and superlatives: thus, gariyastara, śrēṣṭhatama.

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

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes ra and ma: thus, adhara and adhamā, ápāra and apamā, ávara and avamā, úpara and upamā, āntara, āntama, paramā, madhyamā, caramā. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>एक</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>दश</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>शत</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>द्वार</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>विषय</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>महास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>त्री</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>त्रिशत्</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>युत</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4 | चतुर  | 40 | चतुशःशषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषषष�...
with regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from ayúta on.

Thus, in the TS., we find ayúta, níyúta, prayúta, árbuda, nyárbuda, samudrā, mádhya, ánta, parárdhā; K. reverses the order of níyúta and prayúta, and inserts bádeva after nyárbuda (reading nyárbudā); these are probably the oldest recorded series.

In modern time, the only numbers in practical use above ‘thousand’ are lakṣa (‘lac’ or lakh) and koṭi (‘core’); and an Indian sum is wont to be pointed thus: 123,45,67,890, to signify ‘123 crores, 45 lakhs, 67 thousands, eight hundred and ninety’.

As to the stem-forms pañcan etc., see below, 484. As to the form saks instead of sas, see above, 146 end. The stem déva appears in composition and derivation also as dévā and dévi; catúr in composition is accented catūr. The older form of aṣṭa is aṣṭā: see below, 483. Forms in -cat and -cati for the tens are occasionally interchanged.

The other numbers are expressed by the various composition and syntactical combination of those given above. Thus:

476. The odd numbers between the even tens are made by prefixing the (accented) unit to the ten to which its value is to be added: but with various irregularities. Thus:

eka in ‘11’ becomes ekā, but is elsewhere unchanged;

dva becomes everywhere dvā; but in ‘42’—’72’ and in ‘92’ it is interchangeable with dvī, and in ‘32’ dvī alone is used;

for tri is substituted its nom. pl. masc. trāyas; but tri itself is also allowed in ‘43’—’73’ and in ‘93’, and in ‘83’ tri alone is used;

sas becomes so in ‘16’, and makes the initial d of daca lingual (199 b); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (226 b) to t or d or n; and in ‘96’ the n of navatī is assimilated to it (199 b);

aṣṭa becomes aṣṭā (483) in ‘18’—’38’, and has either form in the succeeding combinations. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
11 & ékāḍaça & 31 & ékatrīṇcat \\
12 & dvāḍaça & 32 & dvāṭrīṇcat \\
13 & trāyodāça & 33 & trāyastrīṇcat \\
14 & cāturdaça & 34 & cātuṣṭrīṇcat \\
15 & pāñcadāça & 35 & pāñcātraṇ cat \\
16 & sōḍaça & 36 & sāṭrīṇcat \\
17 & saptādaça & 37 & saptātraṇ cat \\
18 & aṣṭaḍaça & 38 & aṣṭātraṇ cat \\
19 & nāvadaça & 39 & nāvātraṇ cat \\
\end{array}
\]

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’.

Whitney, Grammar.
The forms made with dva 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 asta (instead of asta) are alone found in the older literature (483), and are usual in the later.

477. The above are the normal expressions for the odd numbers. But equivalent substitutes for them are also variously made. Thus:

a. By use of the adjectives una, 'deficient', and adhika, 'redundant', in composition with lesser numbers which are to be subtracted or added, and either independently qualifying or (more usually) in composition with larger numbers which are to be increased or diminished by the others: thus, trijuna-asta, 'sixty deficient by three' (i.e. '57'); astadhikanavati, 'ninety increased by eight' (i.e. '98'); ekadhikam catam, 'a hundred increased by one' (i.e. '101'); pañeconom catam, '100 less 5' (i.e. '95'). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as ekonavinçati, '20 less 1', or '19', are not uncommon; and later the eka, '1', is left off, and unavinçati etc. have the same value.

b. A case-form of eka, 'one', is connected by ná, 'not', with a larger number from which one is to be deducted: thus, ekayá ná triñçat (PB. KB.), 'not thirty by one' (i.e. '29'); ekasmany ná pañçapat (in ordinal, '49' (TS.); ekasyá (abl. fem.: 366.3) ná pañçapat, '49' (TS.); most often, ekān (i.e. ekāt, irregular abl. for ekasmany) ná vinçat, '19'; ekān ná catam, '99'. This last form is admitted also in the later language: the others are found in the Brāhmaṇas.

c. Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with: thus, triñçaptá, 'thrice seven'; triñnapá, 'thrice nine'; triñdacá, 'thrice ten'.

d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent words, with connecting 'and': thus, náva ca navatīc ca, or náva navatīn ca, 'ninety and nine'; dva ca vīntīc ca, 'two and twenty'. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, navatīr náva, '99'; triñçatam trīn, '33'; aṣṭīr aṣṭāū, '88'.

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

a. The added number is prefixed to the other, and takes the accent: for example, ekacatam, '101'; astācatam, '105'; triñçachatam, '130'; astā-vinçatipatam, '148'; cātuḥsahasram (RV.: unless the accent is wrong), '1004'.

b. Or, the number to be added is compounded with adhika, 'redundant', and the compound is either made to qualify the other number or is further compounded with it: thus, pañcādhikam catam or pañcādhikapatam, '105'.

Of course, una, 'deficient' (as also other words equivalent to una or adhika), may be used in the same way: thus, pañeconom catam, '95'.

c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example, dāca catām ca, '110'; catam ekām ca, '101'.

479. Another usual method (beginning in the Brāhmaṇas) of forming the odd numbers above 100 is to qualify the larger
number by an adjective derived from the smaller, and identical with the briefer ordinal (below, 487): thus, dvādaśaṁ catām, '112' (lit.'a hundred of a 12-sort, or characterised by 12'); caṭucatavārīṇacām catām, '124'; saṣṭaṣaṭam catām, '166'.

480. To multiply one number by another, among the higher or the lower denominations, the simplest and least ambiguous method is to make of the multiplied number a dual or plural, qualified by the other as any ordinary noun would be; and this method is a common one in all ages of the language. For example: pāṇca pāṇcaṭātas, five fifties ('250'); nāva navatāyas, 'nine nineties' ('810'); aĉīthibhis tiśibhis, 'with three eighties' ('240'); pāṇca catānī, 'five hundreds'; trīni sahasraṁī, 'three thousands'; saṣṭīṁ sahasrāṇi, '60,000'; daça ca sahasrāṇy aṣṭāṁ ca catāmī, '10,800': and, combined with addition, trīni catānī ṛtvastrīṇcaṭam ca, '333'; sahasre dvē paṇconam catām eva ca, '2095'.

By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as trīni saṣṭiṣncaṭāṁ, which ought to signify '480' (3×100 + 60), is frequently used in the Brāhmansas to mean '360' (3×100 + 60); so also dvē catuṣṭriṇc catē, '234' (not '268'); and other like cases.

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 ē) singular is used substantively: thus, daçaṭatās, '1000'; saṣṭaṭaṁ padatībhiḥ (MBh.), 'with 600 foot-soldiers'; ṛtvastrīṇc catīpataṁ saṣṭaṭasraḥ (AV.), '6333'; dvicatām or dvicati, '200'; aṣṭaḍaṭacati, '1800'.

In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether aṣṭaṭacatām, for example, is aṣṭaṭacatām, '108', or aṣṭaṭacatām, '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, '1', 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.

Occasional forms of the ordinary declension are met with: thus, ēke (loc. sing.), ēkāt.

In the late literature, eka is used in the sense of 'a certain', or even sometimes almost of 'a', as an indefinite article. Thus, eko vyāghraḥ (H.), 'a certain tiger'; ekasmin dine, 'on a certain day'; haste daṇḍam ekam ādaya (H.), 'taking a stick in his hand'.

11*
b. Dva, ‘2’, is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N. A. V. dvāu (V. dvē), m., dvē, f. n.; I. D. Ab. dvābhyaṁ; G. L. dvāyos.

c. Trī, ‘3’, is in masc. and neut. nearly regular, like an ordinary stem in i; but their genitive is as if from trayā (only in the later language: the regular trīnām occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem tisṛ, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>trāyas</td>
<td>trīni</td>
<td>tirsās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>trīn</td>
<td>trīni</td>
<td>tirsās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>tribhās</td>
<td>tisṛbhās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>trībhyaṣ</td>
<td>tisṛbhyaṣ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>trayānām</td>
<td>tisṛṇām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>trīṣū</td>
<td>tisṛṣū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. trī. The accentuation tisṛbhās, tisṛbhyaṣ, tisṛṇām, and tisṛṣū is said to be also allowed in the later language.

The stem tisṛ occurs in composition in tisṛdhanaṇvā (Br.), ‘a bow along with three arrows’.

d. Catīr, ‘4’, has catvār (the more original form) in the strong cases; in the fem. it substitutes the stem catāṣṛ, apparently akin with tisṛ, and inflected like it (but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, 483). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>catvāras</td>
<td>catvāri</td>
<td>catātras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>catāras</td>
<td>catvāri</td>
<td>catātras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>catārbhās</td>
<td>catāṣṛbhās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>catārbhyaṣ</td>
<td>catāṣṛbhyaṣ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>caturnām</td>
<td>catāṣṛṇām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>catāṛṣu</td>
<td>catāṣṛṣu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of n before ām of the gen. masc. and neut. after a final consonant of the stem is (as in ṣaṣ: below, 483) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. catāṣṛṇām also sometimes occurs. In the later language, the accentuation of the final syllable instead of the penult is allowed in inst., dat.-abl., and loc.

483. The numbers from ‘5’ to ‘19’ have no distinction of gender, nor any generic character. They are inflected, somewhat irregularly, as plurals, save in the nom.-acc., where they have no proper plural form, but show the bare stem instead. Of ṣaṣ (as of catīr), nām is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (198b) of stem–final and initial of the termination. Aṣṭā (as
accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, astā, which is almost exclusively used in the older literature (V. and Br.), both in inflection and in composition (but some compounds with asta are found as early as the AV.); its nom.-acc. is astā (usual later: found in RV. once, and in AV.), or astā (RV.), or astāū (most usual in RV.; also in AV., Br., and later).

The accent is in many respects peculiar. In all the accented texts, the stress of voice lies on the penult before the endings bhis, bhyas, and su, from the stems in a, whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, pāṇcābhis from pāṇca, navābhyas from nāva, daçasu from dāca, navadačābhis from nāvadaça, ekādačābhyas from ekādaça, dvādačāsu from dvādaça; according to the grammarians, either the penult or the final is accented in these forms in the later language. In the gen. pl., the accent is on the ending (as in that of i, u, and r-stems). The cases of ąṣ, and those made from the stem-form astā, have the accent throughout upon the ending.

Examples of the inflection of these words are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>pāṇca</th>
<th>śaṭ</th>
<th>astāū</th>
<th>astā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>pāṇcābhis</td>
<td>śaḍbhīs</td>
<td>astābhīs</td>
<td>astābhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>pāṇcābhyas</td>
<td>śaḍbhīyas</td>
<td>astābhīyas</td>
<td>astābhīyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>pāṇcānām</td>
<td>śaṇnām</td>
<td>astānām</td>
<td>astānām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>pāṇcāsu</td>
<td>śatsū</td>
<td>astāsū</td>
<td>astāsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Saptā (in the later language sápta, as ásta for astā) and nāva and dāca, with the compounds of dāca (‘11—‘19’), are declined like pāṇca, and with the same shift of accent (or with alternative shift to the endings, as pointed out above).

484. The Hindu grammarians give to the stems for ‘5’ and ‘7—‘19’ a final n: thus, pāṇcan, saptan, astan, navan, daçan, and ekādaçan etc. This, however, has nothing to do with the demonstrably original final nasal of ‘7’, ‘9’, and ‘10’ (compare septem, novem, decem; seven, nine, ten); it is only owing to the fact that, starting from such a stem-form, their inflection is made to assume a more regular aspect, the nom.-acc. having the form of a neut. sing. in an, and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc. that of a neut. or masc. pl. in an: compare nāma, nāmabhīs, nāmabhīyas, nāmasu — the gen. alone being like that, rather, of a a-stem: compare daçaṇām with ēndraṇām and nāṃnām or ēṃnām. No trace whatever of a final n is found anywhere in the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these words.

485. The tens, viṇcāti and triṇcāt etc., with their compounds, are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, and in all numbers.

Čatā and sahāsra are declined regularly, as neuter (or, rarely, in the later language, as masculine) stems of the same final, in all numbers.
The like is true of the higher numbers — which have, indeed, no proper numeral character, but are ordinary nouns.

**486. Construction.** As regards their construction with the nouns enumerated by them:

a. The words for '1' to '19' are used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns: thus, daçābhīr virāhi, 'with ten heroes'; yē devā divy ēkādaṣṭa sthā (AV.), 'what eleven gods of you are in heaven'; paṇcāsu jāneṣu, 'among the five tribes'; catasībhīr gīrbhih, 'with four songs'.

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, catam dasih, or catam dasmam, 'a hundred slaves' or 'a hundred of slaves'; miwatyn Mrib/iis, 'with twenty bays'; sastyam cardtsu, 'in 60 autums'; catena, pācāiḥ, 'with a hundred fetters'; catam purbhih, 'with a hundred strongholds'.

Occasionally they are put in the plural, as if used more adjectively: thus, paṇcācaudbhīr vāṇīḥ, 'with fifty arrows'.

c. In the older language, the numerals for '5' and upward are sometimes used in the nom.-acc. form (or as if indeclinably) with other cases also: thus, paṇca krśtsu, 'among the five races'; saptā rśinām, 'of seven bards'; sahasram pśhibhiḥ, 'with a thousand bards'; catām pūrbhiḥ, 'with a hundred strongholds'.

**487. Ordinals.** Of the classes of derivative words coming from the original or cardinal numerals, the ordinals are by far the most important; and the mode of their formation may best be explained here.

Some of the first ordinals are irregularly made: thus, ēka, '1', forms no ordinal; instead is used prathamā (i.e. prā-tama, 'foremost'); ādi is rare in the Brāhmaṇas, and ādyā even in the Sūtras;

from dvā, '2', and trí, '3', come dvīhyā and trīhyā (secondarily, through dvīta and abbreviated trīta);

catur, '4', sās, '6', and saptā, '7', take the ending tha: thus, caturthā, sasthā, saptātha; but for 'fourth' are used also trīrya and tūrya, and saptātha belongs to the older language only: pancaśthā, for 'fifth', is excessively rare;

the numerals for '5' and '7' usually, and for '8', '9', '10', add ma, forming paṇcamā, saptamā, aṣṭamā, navamā, daśamā;
for '11th' to '19th', the forms are ekādaśa, dvādaśa, and so on (the same with the cardinals, except change of accent);

for the tens and intervening odd numbers from '20' onward, the ordinal has a double form — one made by adding the full (superlative) ending tamā to the cardinal: thus, vinātatamā, triṇaṭtamā, acaṭītamā, etc.; the other, shorter, in a, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, vinā, '20th'; triṇā, '30th'; ca-

tvāriṇā, '40th'; paṇcāśa, '50th'; šaṣṭā, '60th'; saptā, '70th'; acaṭā, '80th': navatā, '90th'; and so likewise ekaviṇā, '21st', catuṣtriṇā, '34th'; asṭaṭvaśaṇā, '48th'; dvāpaṇcāśa, '52d'; ekaṣaṣṭā, '61st'; and ekāṇnaviṇā and ūnnaviṇā and ekonaviṇā, '19th'; — and so on. Of these two forms, the latter and briefer is by far the more common, the other being not quotable from the Veda, and extremely rarely from the Brāhmaṇas. From '50th' on, the briefer form is allowed by the grammarians only to the odd numbers, made up of tens and units; but it is sometimes met with, even in the later language, from the simple ten.

Of the higher numbers, gatā and sahsra form catatamā and sahasratamā; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus, ekaśatā, '101st'.

Of the ordinals, prathamā (and ādya), dvītya, triṭiya, and tvṛitya (with tūrtya) form their feminine in ā; all the rest make it in ī.

488. The ordinals, as in other languages, have other than ordinal offices to fill; and in Sanskrit especially they are general adjectives to the cardinals, with a considerable variety of meanings, as fractionals, as signifying 'composed of so many parts' or 'so-many-fold', or 'containing so many', or (as was seen above, 479) 'having so many added'.

In a fractional sense, the grammarians direct that their accent be shifted to the first syllable: thus, dvāśaya, 'half'; triṭiya, 'third part'; cāturthā, 'quarter', and so on. But in accented texts only tvṛitya, 'third', and tūrtya, 'quarter', are found so treated; for 'half' occurs only ardāḥ; and caturthā, paṇcamā, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

489. Other numeral derivatives — thus,

multiplicative adverbs, as dvīs, trīs, caṭūs, 'twice', thrice',

'four times';

adverbs with the suffixes dhā and ēs: for example, ekadāḥ, 'in one way', caṭadhā, 'in a hundred ways'; ekačas, 'one by one', caṭačas, 'by hundreds';

collectives, as dvītaya or dvayā, 'a pair', dačataya or dačāt, 'a decade' —

belong rather to the dictionary, or to the chapter of 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 also 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.

Their inflection in the later language is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2d pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>अहम् ahām</td>
<td>तवम् tvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>माम्, मा mām, mā</td>
<td>तान् ता tvām, tvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>मयाः māyā</td>
<td>त्या tvāyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>मध्यम् मे māhyam, me</td>
<td>तुध्यम् ते tūbhyam, te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>मत् māt</td>
<td>तत् tvāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

The ablative mat is accentless in one or two AV. passages (xi. 4. 26; xii. 3. 46).

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.

Thus, the Veda (RV.) has a few times the instr. sing. tvāt (like maniṣṭa for maniṣṭya); further, the loc. sing. tvē, the dat. pl. (less often loc.) asmē, and the loc. pl. yuṣmē: the final e of these forms is uncombinable (or pragṛhya: 138b). The datives in bhya are in RV. not seldom to be read as if in bhya, with loss of the final nasal; asmākam and yuṣmākam suffer the same loss only in a rare instance or two. The usual resolutions of semivowel to vowel are made, and are especially frequent in the forms of the second person (tuām for tvām, etc.).

But the duals, above all, wear a very different aspect earlier. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, the nominatives are āvāṃ and yuvaṃ, and only the accusatives āvāṃ and yuvāṃ (but in RV. the dual forms of 1st pers. chance not to occur, unless in vāṃ?], once, for āvāṃ); the instr. in RV. is either yuvābhyāṃ (not elsewhere found) or yuvābhyaṃ; an abl. yuvāt appears once in RV., and āvāt twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) yuvaś instead of yuvāyos. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases by endings, in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Peculiar endings. The ending am, appearing in the nom. sing. and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The bhyaṃ (or hyam) of dat. sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the bhyām, bhyaś, bhīs of the ordinary declension is palpable. The t (or d) of the abl., though here preceded by a short vowel, is doubtless the same with that of the a-declension of nouns and adjectives. That the nom., dat., and abl. endings should be the same in sing. and pl. (and in part in the earlier du. also), only the stem to which they are added being different, is unparalleled elsewhere in the language. The element sma appearing in the plural forms will be found frequent in the inflection of the singular in other pronominal words: in fact, the compound stem asma which underlies the plural of ahām seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of ayam (501), and its value of ‘we’ to be a specialisation of the meaning ‘these persons’. The genitives singular, māma and tāva, have no analogies elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives māmaka and tāvaka (below, 516) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen. pl., asmākam and yuṣmākam, are certainly of this character: namely, neuter sing. case-forms of the adjective stems asmāka and yuṣmāka, other cases of which are found in the Veda.

494. Stem-forms. To the Hindu grammarians, the stems of the personal pronouns are mad and asmad, and tvad and yuṣmad, because these are forms used to a certain extent, and allowed to be indefinitely used, in derivation and composition (like tad, kad, etc.; see below, under the other pronouns). Words are thus formed from them even in the older language.
— namely, mātkta, mātsakhi, asmātsakhi, tvādyoni, mattōs (AV.), tvātpīr (TS.), yuvāddevatya (CB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in a, or with the a lengthened to ā: thus, māvantī; asmatrā, asmadrīh, etc.; tvādatta, tvānīd, tvāvasu, tvāhata, etc.; yuṣmādatta, yuṣmēsita, etc.; yuvādhita, yuvādatta, yuvānīta, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as mādrī.

The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, tvānkāma, māmpacyā, mamasatyā, asmēhīti, ahampūrvā, ahamsātā, aham-uttārā, ahānyā, ahamśana.

From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives madīya, tvadīya, asmadiya, yuṣmadiya, having a possessive value: see below, 516.

For sva and svayum, see below, 513.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, त tu, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be taken as model of a mode of declension usual in so many pronouns and pronominal adjectives that it is fairly to be called the general pronominal declension.

But this root has also the special irregularity that in the nom. sing. masc. and fem. it has sās (for whose peculiar euphonic treatment see 176a) and sā, instead of tās and tā (compare Gr. ὅ, ἦ, το, and Goth. sa, so, thata). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>mānuš</td>
<td>tānu</td>
<td>māna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sās</td>
<td>tāt</td>
<td>sā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>tānu</td>
<td>tānu</td>
<td>tānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>tāt</td>
<td>tām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>tēna</td>
<td>tāya</td>
<td>tēya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>tāsmāi</td>
<td>tāsyāi</td>
<td>tāsyāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>tāsmāt</td>
<td>tācyān</td>
<td>tāsyās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Vedas show no other irregularities of inflection than those which belong to all stems in a and ā: namely, tēnā sometimes; usually tā for tāu, du.; often tā for tāni, pl. neut.; usually tēbhīṣ for tēṣ, instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root sa, namely sāṁmin (occurring nearly half as often as tāsam).

496. The peculiarities of the general pronominal declension, it will be noticed, are these:

In the singular, the use of t (properly d) as ending of nom.-acc. neut.; the combination with the root of another element sma in masc. and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of sy in fem. dat., abl.-gen., and loc.; and the masc. and neut. loc. ending inā, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous yādṛćmin, RV., once).

The dual is precisely that of noun-stems in a and ā.
In the plural, the irregularities are limited to tē for tās in nom. masc., and the insertion of s instead of n before ām of the gen., the stem-final being treated before it in the same manner as before su of the loc.

497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as tād; and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective tadēya, with tatvā, tatvat, tanmaya; and numerous compounds, such as tacchila, tajña, tatkara, tadavantara, tanmātra, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so tadanna, tadvid, tadvaṣā, etc. But derivatives from the true root ta are also many: especially adverbs, as tātas, tātra, tāthā, tādā; the adjectives tāvant and tāti; and the compound tāḍṛṣ etc.

498. Though the demonstrative root ta is prevalingly 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, sō ‘hām, ‘this I’, or ‘I here’; sā tvāṃ, ‘thou there’; te vayam, ‘we here’; 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, tyā, is tolerably common (although only a third of its possible forms occur) in RV., but rare in AV., and almost unknown later: its nom. sing., in the three genders, is syās, syā, tyāt, and it makes the accusatives tyām, tyāṁ, tyāt, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as ta. It has in RV. the instr. fem. tyā (for tyāyā).

b. The other is the usual demonstrative of nearer position, ‘this here’, and is in frequent use through all periods of the language. It prefixe s e to the simple root, forming the nominatives eṣās, eṣā, etāt — and so on through the whole inflection.

The stem tya has neither compounds nor derivatives. But from etā are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple ta, only much less numerous: thus, etaddā (QB.), etaddartha, etc., from the so-called stem etat; and etāḍṛṣ and etāvant from etā.

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,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. A.</td>
<td>enam</td>
<td>enat</td>
<td>enām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>enena</td>
<td></td>
<td>enayā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VII. Pronouns.

The RV. has enos instead of enayos, and in one or two instances accents a form; thus, enäm, enâu(?)

This stem forms neither derivatives nor compounds.

501. Two other demonstrative declensions are so irregularly made up that they have to be given in full. The one, ग्रहम् ayâm etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, ‘this’ or ‘that’; the other, ग्रस्वा asāu etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, ‘yon’ or ‘yonder’.

They are as follows:

### Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्रहम्</td>
<td>ayâm</td>
<td>idâm</td>
<td>iyâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रस्वा</td>
<td>imâm</td>
<td>idâm</td>
<td>inâm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रनेन</td>
<td>anêna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रस्य</td>
<td>asmâï</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रस्य</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रस्य</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>asmin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.A.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्रम्</td>
<td>amû</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.D.Ab.</th>
<th>m.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्राह्याम</td>
<td>amâbhyâm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G. L.</th>
<th>m.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्रनयोस</td>
<td>amûyos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural:

N.  
imē  imānī  imās  amī  amānī  amās

A.  
imān  imānī  imās  amān  amānī  amās

I.  
ebhīs  ābhīs  ambhīs  amubhīs

D. Ab.  
ebhīyas  ābhīyas  ambhīyas  amubhīyas

G.  
esām  āsām  amūsām  amūsām

L.  
esū  āsū  amūsū  amūsū

The same forms are used in the older language, without variation, except that imā occurs for imān and imānī, and amā for amānī; amuya when used adverbially is accented on the final, amunā; asau (with accent, of course, on the first, āsau) is used also as vocative.

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

The Veda has from the root a also the instrumentals enā and ayā (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. ayās; from ima, imāsya occurs once in RV. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation āsmā, āṣya, ābhīs.

In analogy with the other pronouns, idām is by the grammarians regarded as representative stem of this pronominal declension; and it is actually found so treated in a very small number of compounds (idammāya and idāmrūpa are of Brāhmaṇa age). As regards the actual stems, ana furnishes nothing further; from ima comes only the adverb imāthā (RV., once); but a and i furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, ātas, ātra, ātha; itās, id (Vedic particle), ādā, ihā, itāra, īm (Vedic particle), īdī, perhaps eva and evām, and others.
VII. Pronouns.

503. The other pronoun, asāū etc., has amū for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the a-stems, the element sma (f. sy), and which shifts to amī in part of the masc. and neut. plural. In part, too, like an adjective u-stem, it lengthens its final in the feminine. The gen. sing. amūśya is the only example in the language of the ending sya added to any other than an a-stem. The nom. pl. amī is unique in form; its ī is (like that of a dual) pragrīya, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138b). Asāū and adās are also without analogies as regards their endings.

The grammarians, as usual, treat adās as representative stem of the declension, and it is found in this character in an extremely small number of words, as adomūla; adomāya is of Brāhmaṇa age. The ČB. has also asāunāman. But most of the derivatives, as of the cases, come from amu: thus, amūtas, amūtra, amūthā, amūrhi, amuvāt, amuka.

In the older language occurs the root tva (accentless), meaning ‘one, many a one’; it is oftenest found repeated, as ‘one’ and ‘another’. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension.

Fragments of another demonstrative root or two are met with: thus, ānas, ‘he’, occurs in a formula in AV. and in Brāhmaṇas etc.; avōs as gen.-loc. dual is found in RV.; the particle u points to a root u.

Interrogative Pronoun.

504. The characteristic part of the interrogative pronominal root is क k; it has the three forms क ka, लि ki, ल kū; but the whole declensional inflection is from क ka, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from लि ki, and has the anomalous form लि kīm (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter i-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

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<th>m.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>कम्</td>
<td>किम्</td>
<td>का</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दस</td>
<td>सीम</td>
<td>काः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>कम्</td>
<td>किम्</td>
<td>काम्</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दम</td>
<td>दम</td>
<td>दम</td>
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and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of तत ta (above, 495).

The Veda has its usual variations, kā and kebbhis for kāni and kāts. It also has, along with kīm, the pronominally regular neuter kād; and kām.
(or kam) is a frequent particle. The masc. form kis, corresponding to kim, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations 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 — kimśaya, kimkārā, kimkāmyā, kimdevata, and the peculiar kimyū — go back even to the Veda and Brāhmana. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form kād, a couple of times in the Veda (katpayā, kādārtha), 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, kāṭa, kathā, kathām, kada, katarā, katamā, kārhi; kiyant, kīdrī; kūtas, kūtra, kūha, kvā, kucarā, kukarman, kumantrin, etc.

506. Various forms of this pronoun, as kād, kim, and ku (and, rarely, ko), at the beginning of compounds, have passed from an interrogative meaning, through an exclamatory, to the value of prefixes signifying an unusual quality — either something admirable, or, oftener, something contemptible. This use begins in the Veda, but becomes much more common in later time.

507. The interrogative pronoun, as in other languages, turns readily in its independent use also to an exclamatory meaning. Moreover, it is by various added particles converted to an indefinite meaning: thus, by ca, canā, cit, āpi, vā, either alone or with the relative ya (below, 511) prefixed: thus, kāṇ caṇā, ‘any one’; nā kō ‘pi, ‘not any one’; yānī kānī cit, ‘whatever’. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

Relative Pronoun.

508. The root of the relative pronoun is त या, 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,

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<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>D. m.</th>
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<th>f.</th>
<th>P. m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यन्</td>
<td>या</td>
<td>ये</td>
<td>यांनि</td>
<td>यान्</td>
<td>यस्</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yām</td>
<td>yāt</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>yē</td>
<td>yānī</td>
<td>yān</td>
<td>yās</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यन्</td>
<td>याम्</td>
<td>यान्</td>
<td>यांनि</td>
<td>यान्</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yām</td>
<td>yāt</td>
<td>yām</td>
<td>yē</td>
<td>yānī</td>
<td>yān</td>
<td>yās</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

*Whitney, Grammar.* 12
The Veda shows its usual variations of these forms: yā for yānī and for yāmī, and yābhīs for yāls; yōs for yāvos also occurs once; yēnā, with prolonged final, is in RV. twice as common as yēna. Resolutions occur in yābhīs, and yēsam and yāsam.

510. The use of yāt as representative stem begins very early: we have yātkāma in the Veda, and yatkarin, yaddevatyā in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: yātas, yāti, yātra, yāthā, yādā, yādi, yāvani, yatarā, yatamā; and the compound yādṛś.

511. The combination of ya with ka to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (507). Its own repetition — as yād-yat — gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the distributive.

512. One or two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of the relative may be here briefly noticed:

a. A very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates: thus, yāḥ sunwatāḥ sākha tāmā īndrāya gāyata (RV.), 'who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye'; yān yañām paribhūr āsi sā ād devēṣu gachati (RV.), 'what offering thou protectest, that in truth goes to the gods'; yē triṣaptāḥ paryānti bālā tēsāṁ dādhātu me (AV.), 'what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me'; asāt yō adharād gṛhas tātra santu arāyāh (AV.), 'what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be'; sahā yān me āsti tēna (TB.), 'along with that which is mine'; haṃsānāṁ vacanaṁ yat tu tan māṁ dāhati (MBh.), 'but what the words of the swans were, that burns me'; sarvasya lōcanāṁ cāstrāṁ yasya nā 'sty anādha eva saḥ (H.), 'who does not possess learning, the eye of everything, blind indeed is he'. The other arrangement is comparatively unusual.

b. A frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause: thus, mē 'mām prām pātrārṣeayo vadhō yāḥ (AV.), 'may there not reach him a human deadly weapon' (litly, 'what is such a weapon'); pārī no pūhi yād dhānam (AV.), 'protect of us what wealth [there is]'; apāmārgo 'pa mārṣu kṣetriyāṁ cāpatāc ca yāḥ (AV.), 'may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse'; pūṣkarendra hṛtam vāyayān yac ca 'nyad vasu kimcana (MBh.), 'by Pushkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was]'.
Emphatic Pronoun.

513. The isolated and uninflected pronominal word स्वयम् svayam (from the root sva) signifies 'self, own self'. By its form it appears to be a nom. sing., and it is oftenest used as nominative, but along with words of all persons and numbers; and not seldom it represents other cases also.

Svayam is also used as a stem in composition: thus, svayamīṣṭa, svayambhū. But sva itself (usually adjective: below, 516) has the same value in composition: and even its inflected forms are (in the older language very rarely) used as reflexive pronoun.

Nouns used pronominally.

514. The noun ātmān, 'soul', is widely employed, in the singular, as reflexive pronoun of all three persons.

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. From the representative stems mad etc. are formed the adjectives madika, asmadika, tvadika, yusmadika, tadika, and yadika, which are used in a possessive sense: 'relating to me, mine', and so on.

Other possessives are māmakā (also māmaka, RV.) and tāvakā, from the genitives mama and tava.

An analogous derivative from the genitive amūyasa is amūṣyayanā (AV. etc.), 'descendant of such a one'.

It was pointed out above (493) that the "genitives" asmākam and yusmākam are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.
Corresponding to svayām (513) is the possessive sva, meaning ‘own’, as relating to all persons and numbers. The RV. has once the corresponding simple possessive of the second person, tvā, ‘thy’.

For the use of sva as reflexive pronoun, see above, 513, end.

All these words form their feminines in ā.

Other derivatives of a like value have no claim to be mentioned here. But (excepting sva) the possessives are so rarely used as to make but a small figure in the language, which prefers generally to indicate the possessive relation by the genitive case of the pronoun itself.

517. By the suffix vant are formed from the pronominal roots, with prolongation of their final vowels, the adjectives māvant, tvāvant, yusmāvant, yuvāvant, tāvant, etāvant, yēvant, meaning ‘of my sort, like me’, etc. Of these, however, only the last three are in use in the later language, in the sense of ‘tantus’ and ‘quantus’. They are inflected like other adjective stems in vant, making their feminines in vati (452 ff.).

Words of similar meaning from the roots i and ki are iyant and kiyant, inflected in the same manner: see above, 451.

518. The pronominal roots show a like prolongation of vowel in combination with the root dr̥, ‘see, look’, and its derivatives dīca and (quite rarely) dr̥kṣa: thus, mādr̥, mādīca; asmādīca: tvādr̥ etc.; yusmādr̥ etc.; tādr̥ etc.; etādr̥, etādīca, etādṛkṣa (VS.); yādr̥ etc.; idr̥ and kidr̥ etc. They mean ‘of my sort, like or resembling me’, and the like, and the last five are not uncommon, with the sense of ‘talis’ and ‘qualis’. The forms in dr̥ are unvaried for gender; those in dīca (and dr̥kṣa?) have feminines in ī.

519. From ta, ka, ya come tāti, ‘so many’, kāti, ‘how many?’ yāti, ‘as many’. They have a quasi-numeral character, and are inflected (like the numerals pānca etc.: above, 483) only in the plural, and with the bare stem as nom. and accus.: thus, N.A. tāti; I. etc. tātibhis, tātibhyas, tātīnām, tātisu.

520. From ya (in V. and Br.) and ka come the comparatives and superlatives yatārā and yatāmā, and katarā and katāmā; and from i, the comparative itāra. For their inflection, see below, 523.

521. Derivatives with the suffix ka, sometimes conveying a diminutive or a contemptuous meaning, are made from certain of the pronominal roots and stems (and may, according to the grammarians, be made from them all): thus, from ta, takām,
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 to, 495). Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, कतारा and कतमा, यतारा and यतमा, and इतारा; also अन्याः, ‘other’, and its comparative अन्यातारा — are declined like त throughout. Their feminine stems are in ओ.

But even from these words forms made according to the adjective declension are sporadically met with (e.g. इतात्याम, K.).

524. Others words are so inflected except in the nom.-acc.-voc. sing. neut., where they have the ordinary adjective form अम, instead of the pronominal at (ad). Such are सूर्य, 'all', विश्वा, 'all, every', एका, 'one'.

These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e.g. विश्वाय, विश्वात, RV.; एके 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.

Such are the comparatives and superlatives from prepositional stems: अधारा and अधमा, अंतारा and अंतमा, अपारा and अपमा, अवारा and अवमा, अतारा and अतमा, अपारा and अपमा. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.

Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) भार्मा, भार्माः, भार्माः; and also अन्यातामा (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: 523).

Further, the words पारा, ‘distant, other’; पुर्वा, ‘prior, east’; दक्षिणा, ‘right, south’; उभया (t. उभयी or उभयिः), ‘of both kinds or parties’; and the rare समा (accentless), ‘any or every one’, सिंमा, ‘each, all’, नेमा, ‘the one, half’; and the possessive स्वा.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e.g. प्रत्यासीयस्य, तत्प्रथयस्यम; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, अल्पा, ‘few’; एर्धाः, ‘half’; केवला, ‘all’; द्वेष्य, ‘of the two kinds’ — and others.
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.

Then, besides the simpler or ordinary conjugation of a verbal root, there are certain more or less fully developed secondary or derivative conjugations.

528. Voice. There are (as in Greek) two voices, active and middle, distinguished by a difference in the personal endings. This distinction is a pervading one: there is no active personal form which does not have its corresponding middle, and vice versa; and it is extended also in part to the participles (but not to the infinitive).

529. An active form is called by the Hindu grammarians parasmāi padam, 'a word for another', and a middle form is called ātmane padam, 'a word for one's self': the terms might be best paraphrased by 'transitive' and 'reflexive'. And the distinction thus expressed is doubtless the original foundation of the difference of active and middle forms: in the recorded condition of the language, however, the antithesis of transitive and reflexive meaning is in no small measure blurred, or even altogether effaced.

530. Some verbs are conjugated in both voices, others in one only; sometimes a part of the tenses are inflected only in one voice, others only in the other or in both; of a verb usually inflected in one voice sporadic forms of the other occur; and sometimes the voice differs according as the verb is compounded with certain prepositions.

531. The middle forms outside the present-system (for which there is a special passive inflection: see below, 768),
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. 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).

The tenses here distinguished (in accordance with prevailing usage) as imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and aorist receive those names from their correspondence in mode of formation with tenses so called in other languages of the family, especially in Greek, and not at all from differences of time designated by them. In no period of the Sanskrit language is there any expression of imperfect or pluperfect time — nor of perfect time, except in the older language, where the "aorist" has this value; later, imperfect, perfect, and aorist (of rare use) are so many undiscriminated past tenses or preterits: see below, under the different tenses.

533. Mode. In respect to mode, the difference between the classical Sanskrit and the older language of the Veda — and, in a less degree, of the Brāhmaṇas — is especially great.

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).

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 subjunc-
tive. 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: a. the old or sibilant future, with its accompanying preterit, the conditional, and its participle; and b. 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, prevailingly 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. Gerund. 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 latter. In the Veda it has a somewhat various form; in the later language, 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 prevailingly past tense-character.

A second gerund, an adverbially used accusative in form, is found, but only rarely, both earlier and later.

540. Secondary conjugations. The secondary or derivative conjugations are as follows: a. the passive; b. the intensive; c. the desiderative; d. 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.

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, instead of to the pure root, the personal endings are appended.

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 in detail.

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 condensed statement of all the varieties of ending for each person and number here follows.
543. Singular: First person. The primary ending in the active is \textit{mi}. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has \textit{ni} instead; and in the oldest Veda this \textit{mi} is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in \textit{ā} (as if the \textit{mi} of \textit{āni} were dropped). The secondary ending is \textit{m}; and to this \textit{m} an \textit{a} has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing always where the tense-stem does not itself end in \textit{a} (\textit{vam} for \textit{varm} or \textit{varam} in RV., once, is an isolated anomaly), that it is necessary to reckon \textit{am} as ending, alternate with \textit{m}. But the perfect tense has neither \textit{mi} nor \textit{m}; its ending is simply \textit{a} (sometimes \textit{ā}: 248 c): or, from \textit{ā}-roots, \textit{āu}.

The primary middle ending, according to the analogy of the other persons, would be regularly \textit{me}. But no tense or mode, at any period of the language, shows any relic whatever of a \textit{m} in this person: the primary ending, present as well as perfect, from \textit{a}-stems and others alike, is \textit{e}; and to it corresponds \textit{i} as secondary ending, which blends with the final of an \textit{a}-stem to \textit{e}. The optative has, however, \textit{a} instead of \textit{i}; and in the subjunctive (later imperative) appears \textit{āi} for \textit{e}.

544. Second person. In the active, the primary ending is \textit{si}, which is shortened to \textit{s} as secondary: as to the loss of this \textit{s} after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably \textit{tha} (or \textit{thā}, 248 c). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is \textit{dhi}; which, however, is more often reduced to \textit{hi}; and in the great majority of verbs (including all \textit{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) \textit{āna} is the ending. The Veda has also an ending \textit{tāt}; and this is even used sporadically in other persons of the imperative (see below, 570—1).

In the middle voice, the primary ending, both present and perfect, is \textit{se}. The secondary stands in no apparent relation to this, being \textit{thās}; and in the imperative is found only \textit{sva} (or \textit{svā}: 248 c), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as \textit{su}. In the older language, \textit{se} is sometimes strengthened to \textit{sāi} in the subjunctive.

545. Third person. The active primary ending is \textit{ti}; the secondary, \textit{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 \textit{tu}; and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.
The primary middle ending is *te*, with *ta* as corresponding secondary. In the older language, *te* is often strengthened to *tāi* in the subjunctive. In the perfect, the middle third person has, like the active, the same ending with the first, namely *e* simply; and in the older language, the third person present also often loses the distinctive part of its termination, and comes to coincide in form with the first. To this *e* perhaps corresponds, as secondary, the *i* of the aorist 3d pers. passive (§842 ff.). The imperative has *tām* (or, in the Veda, rarely *ām*) for its ending.

546. **Dual:** First person. Both in active and in middle, the dual first person is in all its varieties precisely like the corresponding plural, only with substitution of *v* for the *m* of the latter: thus, *vas* (no *vasi* has been found to occur), *va*, *vahe*, *vahi*, *vahāi*. The person is, of course, of comparatively rare use, and from the Veda no form in *vas*, even, is quotable.

547. **Second and Third persons.** In the active, the primary ending of the second person is *thas*, and that of the third is *tas*; and this relation of *th* to *t* appears also in the perfect, and runs through the whole series of middle endings. The perfect endings are primary, but have *u* instead of *a* as vowel; and an *a* has become so persistently prefixed that their forms have to be reckoned as *athus* and *atus*. The secondary endings exhibit no definable relation to the primary in these two persons; they are *tam* and *tām*; and they are used in the imperative as well.

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. The primary endings, present and perfect, are *āthe* and *āte*; the secondary (and imperative) are *āthām* and *ātām* (or, with stem-final *a*, *ēthe* etc.).

The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in *āthe* and *ēthe*, apparently from *ēthe* and *ēte* with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed below: see 615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1008, 1043).

548. **Plural:** First person. The earliest form of the active ending is *masi*, which in the oldest language is more frequent than the briefer *mas* (in RV., as five to one; in AV., however, only as three to four). In the classical Sanskrit, *mas* is the exclusive primary ending; but the secondary abbreviated *ma* belongs also to the perfect and the subjunctive (imperative). In the Veda, *ma* often becomes *mā* (248 c), especially in the perfect.

The primary middle ending is *mahe*. This is lightened in the secondary form to *mahi*; and, on the other hand, it is regu-
larly (in the Veda, not invariably) strengthened to mahāi in the subjunctive (imperative).

549. Second person. The active primary ending is tha. The secondary, also imperative, ending is ta (in the Veda, tā only once in impv.). But in the perfect any characteristic consonant is wanting, and the ending is simply a. In the Veda, the syllable na, of problematic origin, is not infrequently added to both forms of the ending, making thana (rarely thanā) and tana. The forms in which this occurs will be detailed below, under the different formations: the addition is very rarely made excepting to persons of the first general conjugation.

The middle primary ending is dhve, which belongs to the perfect as well as the present. In the subjunctive of the older language it is sometimes strengthened to dhvāi. The secondary (and imperative) ending is dhvam (in RV., once dhva); and dhvāt is once met with in the imperative (570). In the Veda, the v of all these endings is sometimes resolved into u, and the ending becomes dissyllabic.

550. Third person. The full primary ending is anti in the active, with ante as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is anta, to which should correspond an active ant; but of the t only altogether questionable traces are left, in the euphonic treatment of a final n (207); the ending is an. In the imperative, antu and antām take the place of anti and ante. The initial a of all these endings is like that of am in the 1st sing., disappearing after the final a of a tense-stem.

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 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.

Further, for the secondary active ending an there is a substitute us (or ur: 169, end), which is used in the same reduplicating verbs that change anti to ati etc., and which accordingly appears as a weaker correlative of an. The same us is also used universally in the perfect, in the optative (not in the subjunctive), in those forms of the aorist whose stem does not end in a, and in the imperfect of roots whose ending in ā, and a few others (621).

The perfect middle has in all periods of the language the peculiar ending re, and the optative has the allied ran, in this person. In the Veda, a variety of other endings containing a r as distinctive consonant are met with: namely, re (and ire) and rate in the present; rata in the optative (both of present and of
190 VIII. Conjugation. | 550—

aorist); rire in the perfect; ranta, ran, and ram in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); rám and ratám in the imperative. The three rate, ratam, 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. |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | mi | vás | más | é | váhe | māhe |
| 2 | si | thás | thá | sē | āthe | dhvé |
| 3 | ti | tás | ānti, āti | té | āte | ānte, āte |

| b. Secondary Endings. |  |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | am | vá | má | ī, ā | váhi | māhi |
| 2 | s | tám | tā | thás | āthám | dhvám |
| 3 | t | tám | án, ús | tá | ātám | ánta, āta, rán |

| c. Perfect Endings. |  |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | a | vá | má | é | váhe | māhe |
| 2 | tha | áthus | á | sē | āthe | dhvé |
| 3 | a | átus | ús | é | āte | ré |
d. Imperative Endings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>āni</th>
<th>āva</th>
<th>āma</th>
<th>āi</th>
<th>āvahāi</th>
<th>āmahāi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dhē, hē, — tām</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>sva</td>
<td>āthām</td>
<td>dhvām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>āntu, ātu</td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>ātām</td>
<td>āntām, ātām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if disyllable, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant union-vowels are regarded, in this respect, as integral parts of the endings. But the 3d pl. ending ate of the pres. indic. middle has in RV. the accent ate in a number of verbs (see 613, 685, 699, 718); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings: thus, mahē (see 719, 735).

555. The secondary endings of the second and third persons singular, as consisting of an added consonant without vowel, should regularly (150) be lost whenever the root or stem to which they are to be added itself ends in a consonant. And this rule is in general followed; yet not without exceptions. Thus:

a. A root ending in a dental mute sometimes drops this final mute instead of the added s in the second person; and, on the other hand, a root or stem ending in s sometimes drops this s instead of the added t in the third person — in either case, establishing the ordinary relation of s and t in these persons, instead of s and s, or t and t. A similar loss of any other final consonant before the ending is exceedingly rare. For instances, see below, 692.

b. Again, a union-vowel is sometimes introduced before the ending, either a or ī: see below, 621, 631, 819, 880.

In a few isolated cases in the older language, this ī is changed to āi: see below, 904 b, 1088.

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.

Of the endings marked as accented in the scheme, the ta of 2d pl. is not infrequently in the Veda treated as unaccented, the tone resting on the stem, which is strengthened. Much less often, the tam of 2d du. is treated in the same way: other endings, only sporadically.

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 (580)
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 Brāhmaṇas it becomes comparatively rare. Its varieties of form are considerable, and sometimes perplexing.

558. In its most 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 (Vduh) is made the subjunctive-stem dōha; from juhō (Vhu), juhāva; from yunāj (Vyu), yunāja; from bhāva (Vbhū), bhāvā; from tudā (Vtud), tudā; from ucyā (pass., Vvac), 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) — but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:

560. In the active, the 1st sing. has ni as ending: thus, dōhāni, yunājānti, bhāvāni. But in the Rig-Veda sometimes ā simply: thus, āyā, brāvā.

In 1st du., 1st pl., and 3d pl., the endings are always the secondary: thus, dōhāva, dōhāma, dōhan; bhāvāva, bhāvāma, bhāvān.

In 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., the endings are always primary: thus, dōhathas, dōhatas, dōhatha; bhāvāthas, bhāvātas, bhāvātha.

In 2d and 3d sing., the endings are either primary or secondary: thus, dōhasi or dōhas, dōhati or dōhat; bhāvāsi or bhāvās, bhāvāti or bhāvāt.

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, āśātha from as; āyās, āyāt, āyān from e (V ā).

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.

The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of e to ā in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In 1st sing., āi alone is found as ending, even in RV.; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only āvahāi is met with. In 1st pl., āmahāi prevails in RV. and AV. (āmahē is found a few times), and is alone known later. In 2d sing., sūi for se does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d sing., tāi for te occurs once in RV., and is the predominant form in AV., and the only one later. In 2d pl., dūvāi for dhve is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d pl., nūtī for nte is the Brāhmaṇa form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in RV. nor AV. No such
dual endings as thāi and tāi, for the and te, are anywhere found; but RV.
has in a few words (nine: above, 527, end) āithe and āite, which appear
to be a like subjunctive strengthening of ethe and ete (although found in one
indicative form, kṛṇvāite). Before the āi-endings the penultimate vowel is
regularly long ā; but antdi instead of antdi is two or three times met with,
and once (TS.) atdi for dtdi.

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

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>āni</td>
<td>āva</td>
<td>āma</td>
<td>āi</td>
<td>āvahāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>athas</td>
<td>atha</td>
<td>ase</td>
<td>aithhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ati</td>
<td>atas</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>āite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>at</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ātāi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.: āsī or ās, āthas, ātha, āse, ādhwec.

563. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple
form — with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary end-
ings — there is in the older language another, without mode-sign and with
secondary endings, or in all respects coinciding with the forms of an augment-
tense (imperfect or aorist) save for the absence of the augment. Subjunc-
tives of this character are frequent in RV., decidedly less common in later
Vedic, and very little used in the Brāhmaṇas except after mā prohibitive
(580) — after which they stand also in the later language.

These forms are sometimes called "imperfect subjunctive", but the
appellation is an evident misnomer: "improper subjunctive" is preferable.
Since (below, 587) the forms of augmented tenses are also freely used in
an indicative sense without augment in the oldest Veda, the distinction of
the two classes of use is often difficult to make.

As to the uses of the subjunctive, see below, 572ff.

Optative Mode.

564. As has been already pointed out, the optative is of
comparatively rare occurrence in the language of the Vedas;
but it gains rapidly in frequency, and already in the Brāhmaṇas
greatly outnumbers the subjunctive, which still later it comes
almost entirely to replace.

Its mode of formation is the same in all periods of the
language.

Whitney, Grammar.
565. 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 in some other final. In the latter case, it is yā, accented; this yā is appended to the weaker form of the tense-stem, and takes the regular series of secondary endings, with, in 3d plur., us instead of an, and loss of the ā before it. After an a-stem, it is i, unaccented; this i blends with the final a to e (which then is accented or not according to the accent of the a); and the e is maintained unchanged before a vowel-ending (am, us), by means of an interposed euphonic y.

In the middle voice, the mode-sign is i throughout, and takes the secondary endings, with a in 1st sing., and ran in 3d pl. After an a-stem, the rules as to its combination to e, the accent of the latter, and its retention before a vowel-ending with interposition of a y, are the same as in the active. After any other final, the weaker form of stem is taken, and the accent is on the ending (except in one class of verbs, where it falls upon the tense-stem: see 645); and the i (as when combined to e) takes an inserted y before a vowel-ending.

It is, of course, impossible to tell from the form whether i or ī is combined with the final of an a-stem to e; but no good reason appears to exist for assuming i, rather than the ī which shows itself in the other class of stems in 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:

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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yām</td>
<td>yāvā</td>
<td>yāmā</td>
<td>īyā</td>
<td>īvāhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yās</td>
<td>yātām</td>
<td>yāta</td>
<td>īthās</td>
<td>īyāthām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yāt</td>
<td>yātām</td>
<td>yās</td>
<td>ītā</td>
<td>īyātām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. combined with the final of a-stems.

| 1  | eyām | evā | ema | eyā | evāhi | emāhi |
| 2  | es  | etām | eta | ethās | eyāthām | edhvām |
| 3  | et  | etām | eyus | eta | eyātūm | ēran |

The yā is in the Veda not seldom resolved into īā.

The Vedic 3d pl. middle forms in rāta will be detailed below, under the various formations.

567. Preca tive. 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.

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 from the older literature only for the 2d and 3d sing. In the 2d sing. act., the precative form, by reason of the necessary loss of the added s, is not distinguishable from the simple optative; in the 3d sing. act., the same is the case in the later language, which (above, 555) saves the personal ending t instead of the precative-sign s; but the RV. usually, and the other Vedic texts to some extent, have the proper ending yās (for yāst).

The accent is as in the simple optative.

568. The precative endings, then, accepted in the later language (including, in brackets, those which are identical with the simple optative), are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yāsam</td>
<td>yāsva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yās]</td>
<td>yāstam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yāt]</td>
<td>yāstām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to the uses of the optative, see below, 572 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.

Hence, in 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., its forms are indistinguishable from those of the augment-preterit from the same stem with its augment omitted.

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. This is nowhere a frequent form, though found from the earliest period of the language, and allowed to be made in the latest; in the five leading Vedic texts it is formed from nearly fifty verbs, and has less than seventy occurrences. Its usual value is that of a second person singular; but it occurs as 1st sing. once, in AV. (ācyut-sām jaṅgtaḥ āhām, 'let me watch till day-break'); as 3d sing., toward a dozen times (e. g. pūnar mā "vijatād rayāh, TS., 'let wealth come again to me'; ayān tyāsyā rājā mūrdhānam vi pāta-yātāt, CB., 'the king here shall make
his head fly off); and as 2d pl. several times in TŚ. (e. g. āpah... devēsu
nah sukīto brūtāt, 'ye waters, announce us to the gods as well-doers'), and
many times in a Brāhmaṇa passage (repeated in K. xvi. 21, TB. iii. 6.4, and
AB. ii. 6.7) — in which, moreover, two authorities (K. and AB.) have once
vārayadhvāt for vārayatāt: no other occurrence of dhvāt has been noted.

571. As regards its meaning, this form has been shown
(Delbrück) to have prevailingly 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.

Examples are: ikā ˈva mā tiṣṭhantam abhyēki 'ti brūhi tāṁ tū na āgatām
pratiprābrūtāt (QB.), 'say to her "come to me as I stand just here", and
[afterward] announce her to us as having come'; yād ārdhvās tiṣṭhā drāvīņe
ˈhā dhattāt (RV.), 'when thou shalt stand upright, [then] bestow riches here'
(and similarly in many cases); utkūlam udvahō bhavo 'dāhya prāti dhāvātāt
(AV.), 'be a carrier up the ascent; after having carried up, run back again';
vānaspaṭār ādhi tvā sthāsyati tāsyā vittāt (TS.), 'the tree will ascend thee,
take [then] note of it'.

According to the grammarians, the form in tāt may be used when bene-
diction is intended.

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 signi-
fies a command or injunction — an attempt at the exercise
of the speaker's will upon some one or something outside
of himself.

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 as-
sumption or concession; and occasionally, by pregnant construc-
tion, it becomes the expression of something conditional or
contingent; but it does not acquire any regular use in depend-
ent-clause-making.

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.
The so-called precative forms (567) are restricted to this use, but are not otherwise distinguished from the simple optatives.

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.

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.

574. The subjunctive, as has been pointed out, becomes nearly extinct at an early period in the history of the language; there are left of it in classical usage only two relics; the use of its first persons in an "imperative" sense, or to signify a necessity or obligation resting on the speaker, or a peremptory intention on his part; and the use of its other persons, with the negative particle मा, in a prohibitive or negative imperative sense.

And the general value of the subjunctive from the beginning was what these relics would seem to indicate: its fundamental meaning is perhaps that of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, more so than the optative. But this meaning is liable to the same modifications and transitions with that of the optative; and subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent. And instead of their being (as in Greek) both maintained in use, and endowed with nicer and more distinctive values, the subjunctive gradually disappears, and the optative assumes alone the offices formerly shared by both.

575. The difference, then, between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree: command, requisition, wish: and no sharp line of division exists between them; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in coordinate clauses.
Thus, in AV., we have in impv.: 

\[ \text{catām jīva ārādaḥ, 'do thou live a hundred autumns'}; \]

\[ \text{ubhāyā tu ājīvām jārādaṣṭi, 'let them both live to attain old age'}; \]

— in subj., \[ \text{adyā jīvāni, 'let me live this day'}; \]

\[ \text{catām jīvāti ārādaḥ, 'he shall live a hundred autumns'}; \]

— in opt., \[ \text{jīvema ārādaṁ catāni, 'may we live hundreds of autumns'}; \]

\[ \text{sārvam āyur jīveṣām (prec.), 'I would fain live out my whole term of life'} . \]

Here the modes would be interchangeable with a hardly perceptible change of meaning.

Examples, again, of different modes in coordinate construction are: 

\[ \text{syāṁ ane nārī pāṭin viḍēṣṭa ... svānaṁ putrāṁ māhiṣī bhvāti gatvā pāṭin subhāgā vi rājatu (AV.), 'may this woman, O Agni! find a spouse; giving birth to sons she shall become a chieftainess; having attained a spouse let her rule in happiness';} \]

\[ \text{gopāyā naḥ svastāye prabūdhe naḥ pūnar dadaḥ (TS.), 'watch over us for our welfare, grant unto us to wake again';} \]

\[ \text{syān naḥ sūnīḥ ... sā te sumātir bhūtv asmē (RV.), 'may there be to us a son; let that favor of thine be ours'.} \]

It is not very seldom the case that versions of the same passage in different texts show different modes as various readings.

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: 

\[ \text{ā gḥā tā gachāṁ uttaraḥ yugāni (RV.), 'those later ages will doubtless come'; yād ... nā marā iti mānyase (RV.), 'if thou thinkest 'I shall not die'';} \]

\[ \text{nā tā nācanti nā dabhāti tāskaraḥ (RV.), 'they do not become lost; no thief can harm them'; kāsmā devāya haviṣā vidhema (RV.),} \]

\[ \text{'to what god shall we offer oblation...? aṅginā rayim aṅjavat... dīvē-dīve (RV.), 'by Agni one may gain wealth every day'; utāt 'nāṁ brahmāne dadyāt tāthā syonā čivā syāt (AV.), 'one should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious and favorable'; āhar-āhar dadyāt (CB.), 'one should give every day'.} \]

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: 

\[ \text{uḍhiṣṭam nāi 'va bhūjīyaṁ na kuryāṁ pūsādāvānam, 'I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation';} \]

\[ \text{ṛṇāṁ vrajet, 'let her go to her relations'; nāi vam sā karhīcit kuryāt, 'she should not act thus at any time';} \]

\[ \text{kathāṁ vidyāṁ nalam utsarge saṁcayaḥ syāt tu} \]
vindetā 'pi sukhāṁ kvacit, 'but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere'; katham vaiśo vikarberyah na ca budhyeta me priyā, 'how can I cut off the garment and my beloved not wake?'

578. The later use of the first persons subjunctive as so-called imperative involves no change of construction from former time, but only restriction to a single kind of use: thus, divyaśca, 'let us two play'; kim karavāṇ te, 'what shall I do for thee?''

579. The subjunctive with mā is in the oldest language almost the sole form of prohibitive expression, and is very common. The kind of subjunctive employed is that which corresponds to the augmentless forms of a past tense; and in the great majority of cases (five sixths in RV., nine tenths in AV.) it is the augmentless aorist that is chosen. Thus: prā pata me 'hā raṅstāh (AV.), 'fly away; do not stay here'; divyāṃ ca mā-hyaṁ rádhyatu mā cā 'hāṁ divsa'te radham (AV.), 'both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe'; uev acyām abhayaṁ jyotir indra mā no dirghā abhi naṣan tamisyāḥ (RV.), 'I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the long darknesses come upon us'; mā na āyuḥ prā moṣiḥ (RV.), 'do not steal away our life'; mā bībher (impf.) nā mārisyasi (RV.), 'do not fear; thou wilt not die'; mā smāi 'tānt sākhin kuruthāḥ (AV.), 'do not make friends of them'.

Only one optative (bhujema) is used prohibitively with mā in RV., and only once (in a probably corrupted passage) an imperative; neither construction is found in AV.; and the cases in the later language are rare.

580. This very definite and peculiar construction, of an augmentless past tense with mā, has preserved itself in use, and is occasionally met with in the later language: thus, samāvavasihi mā ācakā, 'be comforted, do not grieve'; mā bhaiḥ, 'do not fear' (both MBh.).

But the use of the optative with nā, 'not', in a prohibitive sense appears even (very rarely) in the Veda, and becomes later the prevalent construction; thus, nā risyema kaḍā caṇḍā (RV.), 'may we suffer no harm at any time'; nā ca 'tisṛjena nā jahayāt (AV.), 'and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice'; tād u tathā nā kuryāt (CB.), 'but he must not do that so'; na divā caṣṭita (ÇGS.), 'let him not sleep by day'; na tvāṁ vidyur janaḥ (MBh.), 'let not people know thee'. This in the later language is the correlative of the prescriptive optative, and both are extremely common; so that in a text of prescriptive character the optative forms may come to outnumber the indicative and imperative together (as is the case, for example, in Manu).

581. In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even
in the oldest language to establish a distinction between subjunctive and optative: a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent — and then, in the later language, such uses are represented by the optative alone. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this:

a. After relative pronouns and conjunctions in general: yā vyūchīr yāt ca nānām vyuchān (RV.), 'which have shone forth [hitherto], and which shall hereafter shine forth'; yō 'to jāyātā asmākam sā ēko 'sat (TS.), 'whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us'; yō vaī tān vidyāt pratyākṣaṁ sā brahmā vēditā syāt (AV.), 'whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest'; putrāṁāṁ... jätānāṁ janayāc ca yān (AV.), 'of sons born and whom thou mayest bear'; yāsya... atithir grhaṁ āgāchet (AV.), 'to whosesoever house he may come as guest'; yatamāthā kāmāyeta táthā kuryāt (CB.), 'in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it'; yārhi hōta yājāmanasya nāma grhmīyāt tārhi bruyāt (TS.), 'when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak'; svarūpaṁ yātā draśṭum iĉehāḥ (MBh.), 'when thou shalt desire to see thine own form'.

b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: yājāma devān yādi caṅkāvāma (RV.), 'we will offer to the gods if we shall be able'; yād agne syāṁ ahāṁ tvām tvāṁ vā ghā syā ahāṁ syās te satyā ēhā "cīṣah (RV.), 'if I were thou, Agni, or if thou wert I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot'; yō dyāṁ atisārpāt parāstāṁ nā sā mucyātaṁ varūṇasya rājnah (AV.), 'though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna'; yād anācavān uparāṣṭ kṣodhakah syād yād acniyād rudrō 'eya paĉān abhi manayata (TS.), 'if he should continue without eating, he would starve; if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle'; prārthayad yadi māṁ kaścid daṇḍyaḥ sa me punāṁ bhavet (MBh.), 'if any man soever should desire me, he should suffer punishment'. These and the like constructions, with the optative, are very common in the Brāhmaṇas and later.

c. In final clauses: yāthā 'hāṁ caṭraṅhō 'sāni (AV.), 'that I may be a slayer of my enemies'; grnāṁ yāthā pibātho āndhah (RV.), 'that being praised with song ye may drink the draught'; urāṁ yāthā tāra cārman mādema (RV.), 'in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection'; upa jānita yāthe 'yāṁ pīmar āgāchet (CB.), 'contrive that she come back again'; kṛpāṁ kuryād yathā mayi (MBh.), 'so that he may take pity on me'. This is in the Veda one of the most frequent uses of the subjunctive; and in its correlative negative form, with nēd, 'in order that not' or 'lest', it continues not rare in the Brāhmaṇas.
The indicative is also used in final clauses after yathā: thus, yathā 'yam naṣyatī tathā vidheyaṁ (H.), 'it must be so managed that he perish' (and thus usually in H.).

With the conditional use of subjunctive and optative is further to be compared that of the so-called "conditional" tense: see below, chap. XII.

582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-system and those (in the older language) of the perfect and aorist-systems.

Participles.

583. Participles, active and middle, are made from all the tense-stems — except the periphrastic future, and, in the later language, the aorist (and aorist participles are rare from the beginning).

584. The general participial endings are खल्क ant (weak form खल्क at; fem. खल्कi anti or खल्कi ati: see above, 449) for the active, and खाना āna (fem. खाना ānā) for the middle. But:

a. After a tense-stem ending in a, the active participial suffix is virtually ni, 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.

c. The perfect has in the active the peculiar suffix vāṅs (weakest form uṅ, middle form vat; fem. uṣi: see, for the inflection of this participle, above, 458 ff.).

For details, as to form of stem etc., and for special exceptions, see the following chapters.

Augment.

585. The augment is a short 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 (138a). It is always (without any exception) the accented element in the verbal form of which it makes a part.

In the Veda, the augment is in a few forms long ā: thus, ānač, āvar, āṛṇi, āṛṇak, āṇidhyat, āyunak, āyukta, āṛṇak, āṛūkik.

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 older language (mainly in the Veda; the usage is a rare one in the Brāhmaṇa) the augment is often lost, and the augmentless forms have the same value as if they were complete; or, rather more often, they are used as subjunctives (above, 563).

The accentuation of the augmentless forms is throughout accordant with that of the corresponding unaugmented tense — that is to say, where such a tense exists (which is not the case with the varieties of sibilant aorist).

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, प्रफँपँफँ paprach from प्रफँ prach; श्रियः cिलिस from ह्रियः cिलिस; बुबुदः bubudh from बुबु बुबु. But:

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, दाधाः dadhā from दधा; बिबि bibhr from भवत्र bhr.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for ष्ठ h: thus, चक्र cakhr from च्र kṛ; चिक्क्र cikhid from ह्रिब्द khid; जाग्राभः jagrabh from ज्रम् grabh; जाह्र jahr from ज्र hṛ.

The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (216.9).

c. Of two initial consonants, the second, if it be a non-nasal mute preceded by a sibilant, is repeated instead of the first: thus, तस्तः tasthā from स्तः sthā; चस्तः caskand form स्तः skand; पस्पः pasprdh from स्पः sprdh: — but ससः sasmr from स्पः.

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.

But, according to the grammarians, and according to the invariable practice in accentuated texts, the verb is in the great majority of its occurrences unaccented or toneless.

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 पुद्य पुद्य pāda.

For the accent of the verb, as well as for that of the vocative case (above, 314), the beginning of a पुद्य pāda counts as that of a sentence, whatever be the logical connection of the pāda with what precedes it.

Examples of the unaccented verb are: अग्निः ते पुरोहितम्, 'I praise
VIII. CONJUGATION.

592—

Agni, the house-priest; sā īd devēṣu gachati, ‘that, truly, goes to the gods'; āgne sūpāyanō bhava, ‘O Agni, be easy of access'; idām īndrā ērṇuhi somapa, ‘hear this, O Indra, soma-drinker'; nāmas te rudra kṛṇmas, ‘homage to thee, Rudra, we offer'; yājamānasya paṇṭīn pāḥi, ‘protect the cattle of the sacrificer'.

Hence, there are two principal situations in which the verb retains its accent:

593. First, the verb is accentuated when it stands at the beginning of a clause — or, in verse, of a pāda.

Examples of the verb accentuated at the head of the sentence are, in prose, cūndhādvaṁ dāśvāya kārmane, ‘be pure for the divine ceremony'; āpnoti 'māṁ lokām, ‘he wins this world'; — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, syāṁ ‘d īndrasya cārmanī, ‘may we be in Indra's protection'; dārčāya mā yātudhānāṁ, ‘show me the sorcerers'; gāmad vājēbhīr ā sā naḥ, ‘may he come with good things to us'; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the pāda, tēsām pāḥi ērṇuḥ hāvam, ‘drink of them, hear our call'; sāstu mātā sāstu pitā sāstu cvā sāstu vicpāṭīḥ, ‘let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep'; vīcvaκarman nāmas te pāḥy āsāmān, ‘Vācvakarman, homage to thee; protect us!’

yavām... rājña ुce duhiṭā prēḥe vāṁ narā, ‘the king's daughter said to you ‘I pray you, ye men’; vayāṁ te vāyā īndra viddhī śu naḥ prā bharānāme, ‘we offer thee, Indra, strengthening; take note of us'.

Examples of the verb accentuated at the head of the pāda when this is not the head of the sentence are: áthā te āntamānāṁ vidyāṁ sumātāṁ, ‘so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors'; dhūtā ‘syā agrvāi pātinā ḍādhātu praṭikānyām, ‘Dhātar bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish'; yātudhānāsya somapa jahī praṭām, ‘slay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer'.

594. Certain special cases under this head are as follows:

a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accentuated, as if it were itself initial in the clause or pāda: thus, ācṛturkīṇa ērṇuḥ hāvam, ‘O thou of listening ears, hear our call!’ sīte vāndāmahe ētvā, ‘O Sītā, we reverence thee'; vīcve devā vāsavo rākṣate ‘māṁ, ‘all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man’; utā ‘gaḥ cakṛūṣam devā devā jīvāyathā pānāḥ, ‘likewise him, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live again’.

b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, tarānir īj jayati kṣetī pūṣyati, ‘successful he conquers, rules, thrives; amitrūn... pūricēā īndra prā mṛṇā jahī ca, ‘our foes, Indra, drive far away and slay'; asmdāḥyaṁ īṣi yōtsi ca, ‘for us conquer and fight'; āgnīsomā havēṣaḥ prāṣṭhitasya vītaṁ hāyataṁ vṛṣaṇā jujēthāṁ, ‘O Agni and Soma, of the oblation set forth partake, enjoy, ye mighty ones, take pleasure'.
c. In like manner (but much less often), an adjunct, as subject or object, standing between two verbs and logically belonging to both, is reckoned to the first alone, and the second has the initial accent: thus, jahé praýáh náyásva ca, 'sly the progeny, and bring [it] hither'; epnétvat naḥ subhágyá bódhítu tmána, 'may the blessed one hear us, [and may she] kindly regard [u-].

d. As to cases in which a single verb standing between two adjuncts has the initial accent perhaps as being in the division of the sentence reckoned to the second rather than the first, see below, 597.

595. Second, the verb is accented, whatever its position, in a dependent clause.

a. The dependency of a clause is in the very great majority of cases conditioned by the relative pronoun ya, or one of its derivatives or compounds. Thus: yán yajñám paribhúr āsti, 'what offering thou protectest'; ō té yanti yé aprájá puṣyám, 'they are coming who shall behold her hereafter'; sañá yán me āsti téná, 'along with that which is mine'; yátra naḥ pärvé pitáraḥ pareyñá, 'whither our fathers of old departed'; adyá muriyá yádi yávadáno āsmí, 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer'; yathá 'hámy anupúrváṃ bhávanti, 'as days follow one another in order'; yávad idám bhúvanah vëcvaṃ āsti, 'how great this whole creation is'; yátkámás te juhuHM tán no astu, 'what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours'; yatamás tārpsát, 'whichever one desires to enjoy'.

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 tyé tāyavo yathá yanti, 'they make off like thieves (as thieves do)'; yát sthá jágac ca rejate, 'whatever [is] movable and immovable trembles'; yathá-káman ná padyate, 'he lies down at his pleasure'.

b. The particle ca when it means 'if', and céd (ca+íd), 'if', give an accent to the verb: thus, brahmá céd dhústam ágrahit, 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand'; tván ca soma no váco jivátuṁ ná marámahe, 'if thou, Soma, willest us to live, we shall not die'; á ca gáčhān mirám ená da-đháma, 'if he will come here, we will make friends with him'.

c. 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 ácçarparñá cáranti no náro 'smákam indra ratháno jayantu, 'when our men, horse-winged, come into conflict, let the chariot-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory'. Rarely, too, an imperative so following another imperative that its action may seem a consequence of the latter's is accented: thus, tāyam á gahi káνvëśu sú sáča pída, 'come hither quickly; drink along with the Kanvas' (f. e. in order to drink).

d. A few other particles give the verb an accent, in virtue of a slight subordinating force belonging to them: thus, especially hi (with its negation naḥ), 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, vi té muñcántam vimtico hi sánti, 'let them release him, for they are releasers'; yác cid dhé... adásastá iva smási, 'if we, forsooth, are
as it were unrenowned'; — also nēd (nārī-īd), meaning 'lest, that not'; thus, nēt tvā tāpāti śūro areṣā, 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam'; vīrājaṁ nēd vičinaudāni 'ti, 'saying to himself, "lest I cut off the vīrāj"'; — and the interrogative kuvid, 'whether?,' thus, ukthēbhīḥ kuvid āgānat, 'will he come hither for our praises?'

596. But further, the verb of a prior clause is not infrequently accented in antithetical construction.

Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of being regarded as that of protasis and apodosis; but often, also, such a relation is very indistinct; and the cases of antithesis shade off into those of ordinary coordination, the line between them appearing to be rather arbitrarily drawn.

In the majority of cases, the antithesis is made distinct by the presence in the two clauses of correlative words, especially anya—anya, eka—eka, vā—vā, ca—ca: thus, prā-prā nyē yānti pāry anyā āsate, 'some go on and on, others sit about' (as if it were 'while some go etc.'); ād vā siṁcādhvam āpa vā prṇadhvam, 'either pour out, or fill up'; sām ce 'ḍhyāsōd 'gne prā ca yavdhyae 'mān, 'both do thou thyself become kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person.' But it is also made without such help: thus, prā 'jātāḥ prajā janayati pāri prājāta gṛṇāti, 'the unborn progeny he generates, the born he embraces'; āpa yāṣmād ākrāmin nā ' śmān upśevarate, '[though] she has gone away from you, she does not come to us'; nā 'ndhō dhvaryaṁ bhavati nā yajñāṁ rākṣaṇi ghnantī, 'the priest does not become blind, the demons do not destroy the sacrifice'.

597. Where the verb would be the same in the two antithetical clauses, it is not infrequently omitted in the second: thus, beside complete expressions like utvī cā 'si vāsvī cā 'si, 'both thou art broad and thou art good', occur, much oftener, incomplete ones like agnīr amāśmiḥ lokā āśīd yamā 'smān, 'Agni was in yonder world, Yama [was] in this'; astnā 'nyāḥ prajāḥ pratītīṭhanti māṁsēṇā 'nyāḥ, 'by bone some creatures stand firm, by flesh others'; dvīpāc ca sūvam no rākṣa cātuspād yāc ca naḥ svām, 'both protect everything of ours that is dipped, and also whatever that is quadruped belongs to us'.

Examples from the Brāhmaṇas like the first of those here given (with the second verb expressed), and like the third (in composition with a preposition), show that this explanation of the verbal accent is preferable to the one formerly given — namely, that the verb is to be regarded as understood in the first clause and initial in the second.

598. In a very small number of more or less doubtful cases, the verb appears to be accented for emphasis.

Thus, before caṇā, 'in any wise'; in connection with the asseverative particles tā, āha, kīta, aṅyā, evā, but sporadically; and so on. The detail and examination of the cases is not worth while here*.

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, along 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:

These forms generally 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 comparable with that of present-stems.

600. Practically, the present-system is the most prominent and important part of the whole conjugation, since, from the earliest period of the language, its forms are very much more frequent than those of all the other systems together.

Thus, in the Veda, the occurrences of personal forms of this system are to those of all others about as three to one; in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as five to one; in the Hitopadeśa, as six to one; in the Çakuntalā, as eight to one; in Manu, as thirty to one.

601. And, as there is also great variety in the manner in which different roots form their present-stem, this, as being their most conspicuous difference, is made the basis of their principal classification; and a verb is said to be of this or of that conjugation, or class, according to the way in which its present-stem is made.
602. In a small minority of verbs, the present-stem is identical with the root. Then there are besides (excluding the passive and causative) eight more or less different ways of forming a present-stem from the root, each way 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 pointed out); 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 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, एद ad, 'eat'; र i, 'go'; या yā, 'go'; दिव dvis, 'hate'; दुह duh, 'milk'.

II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, सुद्र juhu from जु hu, 'sacrifice'; ददा dadā from ददा, 'give'; बिध bibhr from विध, 'bear'.

III. The nasal class (seventh or rudh-class); a nasal, extended to the syllable न na in strong forms, is inserted before the final consonant of the root: thus, सुन्द रुद (or सुपुरुष रुनध) from सु पुष रुध; सुज्ञ युन्य (or सुज्ञ युन्य) from सुज्ञ युन्य.

IV. a. The nu-class (fifth or su-class); the syl-
lable नु nu is added to the root: thus, नु sunu from यः ग्राम अप्नु from यः ग्राम अप.

b. A very small number (only half-a-dozen) of roots ending already in न n, and also one very common and quite irregularly inflected root not so ending (क kṛ, 'make'), add द 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 यः तन tan.

V. The nā-class (ninth or krī-class); the syllable ना nā (or, in weak forms, नी ni) is added to the root: thus, क्रीणा krīnā (or क्रीणी krīnī) from यः क्री krī, 'buy'; स्तथा stabhānā (or स्तथी stabhānī) from यः स्तथ 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, and their 3d pl. middle, in a different manner from the others.

605. In the classes of the SECOND CONJUGATION, the present-stem ends in a, and the accent has a fixed place, remaining always upon the same syllable of the stem, and never shifted to the endings. Also, the optative, the 2d sing. impv., and the 3d pl. middle 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
IX. Present-system.

or bhū-class); the added class-sign is a simply; and the root, which has the accent, is strengthened by guṇa throughout: thus, भवः bhāva from यभः bhū, 'be'; नयः nāya from यनी ni, 'lead'; बोधः bōdha from यबूः budh, 'wake'; वदः vāda from यवद vād, 'speak'.

VII. The á-class, or accented a-class (sixth or tud-class); the added class-sign is a, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, तुदः tudā from यतुदः tud, 'thrust'; क्षुरः srjā from यक्षूरः srj, 'let loose'; तुषः suvā from यतुषः su, 'give birth'.

VIII. The ya-class (fourth or div-class); ya is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, रीत्यः divya from यरीत्यः div (more properly रीत्यः div: see 765); नायः nāhya from यन्नायः nah, 'bind'; कृत्यः krūḍhya from यकृत्यः krūdh, '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 (only) from all transitive verbs. Its inflection may therefore best be treated next to that of the ya-class, with which it is most nearly connected, differing from it as the á-class from the a-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented yá to the root: thus, यदः adyā from यदः ad; यरूः rudhyā from यरूः rudh; यबूः budhyā from यबूः budh; यतुः tudyā from यतुः tud.

607. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or cur-class, having a class-sign áya added to a strengthened root (thus, corāya from यकरः cur), and an inflection like that of the other a-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-system, but extends also into the rest of the conjugation — while it also has to a great extent a causative value, and may
be formed in that value from a large number of roots — it will be best treated along with the derivative conjugations (chap. XIV.).

608. A small number of roots add in the present-system a cha, or substitute a ch for their final consonant, and form a stem ending: in cha or chá, which is then inflected like an 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 partly 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.

Roots adding ch are r and yu, which make the stems rchá and yácha.

Roots substituting ch for their final are Íṣ, us (or vas ‘shine’), gam, yam, which make the stems ichá, uchá, yácha, yácha.

Of so-called roots ending in ch, several are more or less clearly stems, whose use has been extended from the present to other systems of tenses.

609. Roots are not wholly limited, even in the later language, to one mode of formation of their present-stem, but are sometimes reckoned as belonging to two or more different conjugation-classes. And such variety of formation is especially frequent in the Veda, being exhibited by a considerable proportion of the roots there occurring; already in the Brāhmaṇas, however, a condition is reached nearly agreeing in this respect with the classical language. The different present-formations sometimes have differences of meaning; yet not more important ones than are often found belonging to the same formation, nor of a kind to show a difference of value as originally belonging to the separate classes of presents. If anything of this kind is to be established, it must be from the derivative conjugations, which are separated by no fixed line from the present-systems.

610. We take up now the different classes, in the order in which they have been arranged above, to describe more in detail, and with illustration, the formation of their present-systems, and to notice the irregularities belonging under each class.

I. Root-class (second, ad-class).

611. In this class there is no class-sign; the root itself is also present-stem, and to it are added directly the personal endings — but combined in subjunctive and optative with the respective mode-signs, and in the imperfect taking the augment prefixed to the root.

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 guna-strengthening.

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.

1. Present Indicative.

612. The endings are the primary (with थङ्गङ्गे थङ्गङ्गे in 3d pl. mid.), added to the bare root. The root takes the accent, and has guna, if capable of it, in the three persons sing. act.


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b. root थङ्गङ्गे, ‘hate’: strong stem-form, थङ्गङ्गे; weak, थङ्गङ्गे.

For rules of combination for the final थङ्गङ्गे, see 226.

1 थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे

2 थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे

3 थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे

For rules of combination for the final थङ्गङ्गे, and for the conversion of the initial to थङ्गङ्गे, see 222, 155, 160.

1 थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे, थङ्गङ्गे

*Used in the middle with the preposition adhi, to signify ‘go over for one’s self’, i. e. ‘repeat, learn, read’.
I. Root-class (second, ad-class).

2 धीक्षि दुग्धस् दुग्ध धुते दुक्षिये दुधे
   dhóksi dugdhas dugdhá dhukšé duháthe dhugdhevé
3 दोषाः दुग्धस् दुक्षिये दुग्धे दुक्षिते दुहाते
   dósáhi dugdhas duhánti dugdhé duháte duháte

613. Examples of the 3rd sing. mid. coincident in form with the 1st sing. are not rare in the older language (both V. and Br.): the most frequent examples are ṭ̄pe, duhē, vidē, ṭ̄gye: more sporadic are citē, bruve, huvē. The irregular accent of the 3rd pl. mid. is found in RV. in rihāte, duhāte. Examples of the same person in re and rate also occur: thus (besides those mentioned below, 629–30, 635), vidrē, and, with auxiliary vowel, arhire (unless these are to be ranked, rather, as perfect forms without reduplication: 790 b).

2. Present Subjunctive.

614. Subjunctive forms of this class are not uncommon in the older language, and nearly all those which the formation anywhere admits are quotable, from Veda or from Brāhmaṇa. A complete paradigm, accordingly, is given below, with the few forms not actually quotable for this class enclosed in brackets. We may take as models, for the active the root i, ‘go’, and for the middle the root āś, ‘sit’, of 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).

The mode-stems are āya (i→a) and āsa respectively.

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615. The RV. has no middle forms in āi except those of the first person. The 1st sing. act. in ā occurs only in RV., in ayā, bravā, stāvā. The 2d and 3d sing. act. with primary endings are very unusual in the Brāhmaṇas. Forms irregularly made with long ā, like those from present-stems in a, are not rare in AV. and Br.: thus, ayās, ayāt, ayām; āśāt, bravāt; asāthā, bravāthā, hanāthā; ādān, dohān. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found kāntā, 3d pl., and icāta, 3d sing. (after ma prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in āīte is bravāīte.

3. Present Optative.

616. The personal endings combined with the mode-signs of this mode (M yā in act., ṭī in mid.) have been
given in full above (566). The stem-form is the unaccented and unstrengthened root. The whole formation is so regular that a single example of inflection will be enough.

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So likewise, from वि, वियाम and वियाय; from युह, युहाम and युहाय; and so on.

The RV. has once tana in 2d pl. act. (in स्याताना).

4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with अताम 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 (614). In the 2d sing. act., the ending is regularly (as in the two following classes) धि धिः if the root end with a consonant, and हि हिः if it end with a vowel. As examples we take some of the roots already used for the purpose.

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The 2d sing. act. ending तृत is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, विदत, विदत, ब्रतत. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending अम: thus, दुहाम (only RV. case), द्वियाम, द्वियाम, and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has दुह्राम and दुह्रात्म. The use of तान for ता in 2d pl. act. is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, इतान, यात्ता, हंताना, etc. And in stota, श्वता, श्वता, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle has the ending अन्त (weak stem-form अन्त at) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final आ. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are यात्त अन्त, दुहात अन्त, दियात द्वियात. The feminine stem ends usually in अन्त at: thus, यात अती, दुहात अती, दियात द्वियात. The middle participle has the ending अन्त अन्त, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, इयान इयान, दुहान दुहान, दियाना द्वियाना.

But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, दुहाना and दुहाना (also दुहाना), दियाना and दियाना, दुहाना, दुहाना, दुहाना, दुहाना, दुहाना — the last having also a stronger form of the root when accented. The root अस, 'sit', forms the unique अस्त (along with, in the Veda, असान).
the singular, although the accent is always upon the augment.

Examples of inflection are:

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<td>अित</td>
<td>अताम</td>
<td>आयन</td>
<td>आसि</td>
<td>आसातामि</td>
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and, from the root डूः दुः:

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<td>आधोहम</td>
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<td>आधूहवाहि</td>
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<td>आधोक</td>
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<td>आधुग्धमाविं</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>रेदोक्ष</td>
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<td>आधुग्धमाविं</td>
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621. 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, āyus from Vya, dpus from Vpā ‘protect’. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants: namely vid, ‘know’, caks, devi, duh, mer.

The ending तान, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in āyūtana, āsastana, āītana.

To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root ad inserts a: thus, ādas, ādat; the root as inserts i: thus, āsīs, āsīt (see below, 636).

622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, either in the same sense as with augment, or as subjunctives, has been noticed above (587). Augmentless imperfects of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, hān, ves, 2d sing.; hān, vet, stāut, dān (?), 3d sing.; bruvan, duhās, caksus, 3d pl.; vāsta, 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 almost limited to RV.) are found certain second persons singular, made by adding the ending ei to the (accented and strengthened) root, and having an imperative value. There is some difference of view as to their formal character; but the most acceptable opinion regards them as isolated indicative persons of this class, used imperatively. They
are: ksēsi (1ksī ‘rule’), jēsi, jōsi (for jōssī, from j/yuṣ), dārsī, dhakṣi, nakṣi (2naç ‘attain’), nēsi, pārsī (2pr ‘set across’), prāsi, bhakṣi, mātsi, māsi (2mā ‘measure’), yāksi, yānsi, yāsi, yōtsi, rātsi, rāsi, vāksī, vēsi (1vī ‘strive after’), crōsi, sakṣi, sātsi, hōsi.

Irregularities of the Root-class.

625. It is impossible (at least at present) to determine with accuracy how many of the actually used roots of the language are inflected in the present-system according to this class, or according to any of the other classes, because the older language especially, and the later in less degree, has sporadic forms which are either of doubtful classification or too isolated to determine the character of the root to which they belong. The root-class may be said, however, to include from seventy to ninety roots. A considerable number of them present irregularities of inflection, a brief account of which (not claiming exhaustive completeness) is given in the following paragraphs.

626. The roots of the class ending in ū have in their strong forms the vrddhi instead of the guna-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from āstu, stāumi, āstaut, and the like: but āstavam, stāvāni, etc.

Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are kṣnu, yu, sku, stu, snu (these five in the earlier language), nu, ru, su ‘impel’, and hnu.

627. The root mṛj also has the vrddhi-vowel in its strong forms: thus, mārjmi, āmārjam, āmārt; and the same strengthening is allowed in weak forms before endings beginning with a vowel: thus, mārjamu, amārjan: but this is not found to occur in the older language.

In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation, mṛj 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, īd, īr, īc; and also vākṣ, tākṣ, trā, nīs, vas ‘clothe’, cīṣy, cī, and sū ‘generate’. All these, except takṣ and trā (and trā in the only Vedic forms), are ordinarily conjugated in middle voice only. Forms with the same irregular accent occur now and then in the Veda from other verbs: thus, mātsva, ḍhat. Middle participles so accented have been noticed above (619).

629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, cī has the guna-strengthening throughout: thus, cāye, cēse, cāyīya, cāyāna, and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already noticed) are the 3d pl. persons cērate (AV. etc.
have also चेरे, चेरता, आचेरा (RV. has also आचेर), the 3d sing. pres. चाये (R.) and impv. चायम्. The isolated active form आतयत is common in the older language.

630. Of the same roots, इङ and इङ insert a union-vowel इ before endings beginning with s, sv, th: thus, इचे, इचध्वे, इच्या (these three being the only forms noted in the older language); but RV. has इके beside इचे. The 3d pl. इचे (on account of its accent) is also apparently present rather than perfect.

631. The roots रुड (not in Veda), सवप, अन, and चवस insert a union-vowel इ before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the s and t of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either a or इ: thus, सवपिमि, चवसिशि, अनिति, and अनवत or अनित. And in the remaining forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, सवपांतु and चवसांतु (AV.), or सवपांतु etc.

In the older language, यवम makes the same insertions: thus, वामिति, अवामिति; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, जानिष्वा, वासिष्वा (यवस ‘aim’), सनाथि, सणाथि (all RV.). On the other hand, अन sometimes makes forms from an a-stem: thus, अनति (AV.); प्पल अनंत (CB.); opt. अनेत (AB.).

632. The root ब्रु (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel इ after the root when strengthened, before the initial vowel of an ending: thus; ब्राविमि, ब्राविशि, ब्राविति, ब्राविशि, ब्राविति; but ब्रुमास्, ब्रुयाम, ब्रावाम, ब्रुवान, etc. Special occasional irregularities are ब्रुमि, ब्राविमि, ब्रावाम, ब्रुवान, ब्रुवाति, and sporadic forms from an a-stem. The subj. dual ब्रा०ि is has been noticed above (615).)

633. Some of the roots in उ are allowed to be inflected like ब्रु: namely, कु, तु, रु, and स्तु; and an occasional instance is met with of a form so made (in V., only तविति noted).

634. The root अम (hardly found in the later language) takes इ as union-vowel: thus, अमिषि (RV.), अमिठि and अमिनि and अमिष्वा (TS). From यवम occur चमिष्वा (VS.: TS. चमिष्वा) and चमिधवम (TB. etc.).

635. The irregularities of यदुह in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. दुहते, दुह्रे, and दुह्रते; 3d sing. impv. दुहाम्, pl. दुह्राम्य and दुह्रातम्; impf. act. 3d sing. दुहत (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. दुह्रान (beside दुहान and दुहास); the mid. pple दाघाना; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms दुहियात and दुहियय्यन (RV. only).

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

636. The root ग्रेस as, ‘be’, loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment).
I. Root-class (second, ad-class).

Its 2d sing. indic. is गौ औ (instead of assi); its 2d sing. impv. is युद्ध edhi (irregularly from asdhi). The insertion of े in 2d and 3d sing. impf. has been noticed already above.

The forms of this extremely common verb are, then, as follows:

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<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Optative</th>
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<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>भूमिम s्वाम् s्माम् s्याम् s्यावा s्याम्</td>
<td>भूमिम s्वाम् s्माम् s्याम् s्यावा s्याम्</td>
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<td>d.</td>
<td>जर शाधृ s्वास s्मास s्यास s्यावा s्याम्</td>
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Imperative.

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<td>जर शाधृ s्वास s्मास s्यास s्यावा s्याम्</td>
<td>जर शाधृ s्वास s्मास s्यास s्यावा s्याम्</td>
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<td>d.</td>
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Participle मत्संत (fem. मती sति).

The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem असा. They are in frequent use, and appear (asat especially) even in late Brāhmaṇas where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution sidम etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. In 2d and 3d sing. impf. is a few times met with the more normal अस (for अस-s, अस-t).

Middle forms from य as are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (सि-तो), but they do not appear to have been met with in use. A middle present indicative is compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the nomen agentis in tr (tar) to form the periphrastic future in the middle voice (see below, 942 ff.). The 1st sing. indic. is हे; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., दे, द्वे, sवा, ध्वाम, with total loss of the root itself).

The only other tense of this verb in use is the perfect, which is entirely regular in its inflection.

637. The root han, 'strike, slay', is treated somewhat after the manner of noun-stems in an in declension (421): in weak
forms, it loses its n before an initial consonant (except m and v) of an ending, and its a before an initial vowel — and in the latter case its k, in contact with the n, is changed to gh (compare 402). Thus, for example:

Present Indicative. Imperfect.

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<tr>
<td>1 hánmi  hanvás  áhanam  áhanva</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 hánśi  hathás  áhan  áhatam  áhata</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 hānti  hatás  ghnánti  áhan  áhatán  ághnan</td>
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Its participle is ghnánti (fem. ghnati). Its 2d sing. impv. is jahí (by anomalous dissimilation, on the model of reduplicating forms).

Middle forms from this root are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, and those that occur are formed according to the same rules: thus, hate, hanmahe, ghnate; ahata, aghnátm, aghnata (in AB., also ahata); ghnita (but also hanita).

638. The root vaç, 'wish', is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to uč (as in the perfect: see chap. X.): thus, ucmási (V.: once apparently abbreviated in RV. to cmási), uçánti; pple uçánt, uçáná. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as añeva, añṣtam, etc.

RV. has in like manner the participle uṣāná from the root vas 'clothe'.

639. The root cás, 'command', shows some of the peculiarities of a reduplicated verb, lacking (646) the n before t in all 3d pers. pl. and in the active participle. A part of its active forms — namely, the weak forms having endings beginning with consonants (including the optative) — come from a stem with weakened vowel, cis (as do the aorist, 854, and some of the derivatives). Thus, for example:

Present Indicative. Imperfect.

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<tr>
<td>1 cásmi  cisvás  ácásam  ácīṣva</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 cásśi  cisthás  ácás  ácīṣṭam  ácīṣṭa</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 cāsti  cīstás  cāstati  ácāt  ácīṣṭām  ácāsus</td>
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</table>

In 2d sing. impf., açāt is said to be also allowed. If it is actually so used, the t must be the sporadic conversion of final radical s to t (167); and then it would be open to question whether the t of 3d sing. is radical or of the ending (according to 555). The optative is cīṣṭām etc. The 2d sing. impv. is cādhi (with total loss of the s); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. cāstána (with anomalous accent). But no cis-forms of the present-system occur in the Veda.

The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (pple cāśāna, RV. etc.).

The root dūc, 'worship', has in like manner (RV.) the pple dācat (not dāchant).
II. Reduplicating Class (third, *hu*-class).

640. The double so-called root jaks, 'eat, laugh', is an evident reduplication of ghas and has. It has the absence of n in act. 3d pers. 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). A 2d pers. impv. jagdhi from it occurs.

641. Other obviously reduplicated verbs are treated by the native grammarians as if simple, and referred to this conjugation: such are the intensively reduplicated jagr, daridra, and vevi (chap. XIV.), didhi etc. (676), and cakas (677).

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, ददा dadā from यदा dā; बिबही bibhi from यबही bhī; जुजु juhu from यजु hū. The vowel य r never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by य i: thus, बिबह्र bibhr from यबह्र bhī; दिप्र pipṛc from यप्र prc.

For verbs in which a and a also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by i, see below, 660.

c. The only root of this class with initial vowel is r (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 conjugation) has a double form: a stronger form, with gunated root-vowel; and a weaker form, without guna: thus, from यजु hu, the two forms are जुजु juho and जुजु juhu; from यबही bhī, they are बिबही bibhe and बिबही 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 (552), and the weak stem before the accented.
According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the rootsyllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in hu, bhī (no test-forms in the older language), hṛī (not found in the older language), mad and dhan (both very rare), jan (no forms of this class found to occur), ci ‘notice’ (in V.), yu ‘separate’ (in older language only), and in bhr in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has bibhārti once; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the Brāhmanas). 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.

Apparently (the cases with written accent are too few to determine the point satisfactorily) the middle optative endings, iya etc. (566), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.

The verbs of this class lose the n in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have us instead of an — and before this a final radical vowel has guna.

1. Present Indicative.

The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: a. V kṣā hu, ‘sacrifice’: strong stem-form, बुको जुहो; weak form, बुक juhu (or jūhu).

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<td>1</td>
<td>जुहो</td>
<td>जुहवास</td>
<td>जुहमास</td>
<td>जुह</td>
<td>जुहवा</td>
<td>जुहमाहе</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>जुहोवि</td>
<td>जुहुथास</td>
<td>जुहुथा</td>
<td>जुहसे</td>
<td>जुहवा</td>
<td>जुहुवाहе</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>जुहोति</td>
<td>जुहुरास</td>
<td>जुहुरा</td>
<td>जुहवेठे</td>
<td>जुहवाठे</td>
<td>जुहवाठे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Root m bhr, ‘bear’ (given with Vedic accentuation): strong stem-form, विभार bibhar; weak, बिभः bibhr (or bibhr).
II. Reduplicating Class (third, hu-class).

1. the same

2. the same

3. the same

The u of hu (like that of the class-signs nu and u: see below, 697) is said to be omissible before v and m of the endings of 1st du. and pl.: thus, juhvas, juhvâhe, etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

648. It is not possible (at least, 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 — even, in some cases, to the reduplicated aorist and intensive. Here will be noticed only those which most clearly belong to this class; the more doubtful cases will be treated under the perfect-system. Except in first persons (which continue in use as “imperatives” down to the later language), subjunctives from roots having unmistakably a reduplicated present-system are of far from frequent occurrence.

649. The subjunctive mode-stem is formed in the usual manner, with the mode-sign a and gyna 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 yhu, the stem would be juhâva; from ybr, it would be bibhara (but bibhâra later). Before the mode-sign, final radical a would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus dâda from ydâ, dâdha from ydâhâ (all the forms actually occurring would be derivable from secondary roots, as dad and dadh).

650. Instead of giving a theoretically complete scheme of inflection, it will be better to note all the examples quotable from the older language (accented when found so occurring).

Thus, of 1st persons, we have in the active juhâvâni, bibharâni, dadâni, dadhâni, jahâni; juhavâmâ, dâdhâmâ, jâhâmâ; — in the middle, dadhai, mimâi, dadhâvahâi; juhavâmâkâi, dadâmâhe, dadâmâkâi, dadhâmâkâi.

Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active bibharâsi (with double mode-sign: 560, end), dâdhaâsas, juhavâsâ (do.) and juhavâsâ; in the middle, dâdhâse; dâdhatâ, rârâte, dâdhâtaî, dadâtaî: — with secondary endings, dâdhas, vîrâsas, juhavat, bibharat, yuyâvat, dâdhat, dadhânat, babhasat; dadhan, yuyavan, juhavan.
3. Present Optative.

To form this mode, the optative endings given above (566), as made up of mode-sign and personal endings, are added to the unstrengthened stem. The accent is as already stated (645). The inflection is so regular that it is unnecessary to give here more than the first persons of a single verb: thus,

For example:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>juhuyām</td>
<td>juhuyāva</td>
<td>juhuyāma</td>
<td>juhvīya</td>
<td>juhvīvahī</td>
<td>juhvīmahī</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4. Present Imperative.

The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is ः hi after a vowel, but ः dhi after a consonant: ḷu hu, however, forms ḷu ḷu dhi (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of ḷu k in two successive syllables): and other examples of ः dhi after a vowel are found in the Veda.

Examples of inflection:

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<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>juhvānī</td>
<td>juhvāva</td>
<td>juhvāma</td>
<td>juhvāi</td>
<td>juhvāvahī</td>
<td>juhvāmahāi</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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The other division of this class differ here, as in the indicative, in the accentuation of their strong forms only: namely, in all the first persons (borrowed subjunctives), and in the 3d sing. act.: thus (in the older language) bibharāni etc., bibhartu, bibhāri etc.

Vedic irregularities of inflection are: a. the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, yuyodhi, ciṣādhi (beside ciṣāhi); yuyotam (beside yuyutām); tyaṛa, dādāta, dādhāta and dādātana (see below, 673).
5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pl. indic. by dropping यः: thus, वधत् जुहवत्, विधत् बिख्रत्. In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (444). The feminine stem ends in घनी अति. The middle participles are regularly made: thus, जुहान जुहवान, विधान बिख्राना.

6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending उस, and a final radical vowel has गुना before it. The strong forms are, as in pres. indic., the three sing. act. persons.

657. Example of inflection:

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<th>s.</th>
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<th>s.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ज्ञुहावम्</td>
<td>ज्ञुहावम्</td>
<td>ज्ञुहावम्</td>
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<td>ज्ञुहावम्</td>
<td>ज्ञुहावम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From न्यूं ब्रह्म, the 2d and 3d sing. act. are घ्रीविन्द्र ज्ञुहावर (for ज्ञुहावर-स and ज्ञुहावर-ि) — and so in all other cases where the strong stem ends in a consonant. The 3d pl. act. is घ्रीविन्द्र ज्ञुहावरस; and from न्यूं ब्रह्म, it is घ्रीविन्द्र ज्ञुहावरस.

658. The usual Vedic irregularities in 2d pl. act. — strong forms, and the ending तान — occur in this tense also: thus, अदादात, अदाहाता; अदात्तान, अजागांतान, अजाखाताना. The RV. has also once अपिप्रत्ता for अपिप्रत् in 3d sing. mid., and अपिक्रम for अपिक्रास in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are पिताः, विवेश, जिगु; जिहाता, चितु, जिहाता.

Whitney, Grammar.
Irregularities of the Reduplicating Class.

659. It is still more difficult to determine the precise limits of this class than of the root-class, because of the impossibility (referred to above, under subjunctive: 648) of always separating its forms from those of other reduplicating conjugations and parts of conjugations. In the RV., about forty roots may be confidently assigned to it; in the AV., less than thirty; many of them have irregularities (besides those in tense-inflection already pointed out).

660. Besides the roots in ɣ or ɣr — namely, ɣ, ghr (usually written ghar), tr, pr, bhṛ, sr, prc — the following roots having ą or ā as radical vowel take i instead of ą in the reduplicating syllable: gā 'go', 3pā 'rise', mā 'measure', mā 'bellow', ṣā, hā 'remove' (mid.), vac, sac; vac has both i and ā; rā has i once in RV.: for sthā, pā 'drink', ḡhrā, han, see below (670—4).

661. Several roots of this class in final ā change the ā in weak forms to ī (occasionally even to ī), and then drop it altogether before endings beginning with a vowel.

This is in close analogy with the treatment of the vowel of the class-sign of the nā-class: below, 717.

These roots are:

662. ɣā, act. and mid.: thus, ɣiçāti, ɣiçimasi, ɣiçihī (also çihādi: above, 654), ciçātu, ačiçāt, ɣiçīle.

663. mā 'bellow', act., and mā 'measure', mid. (rarely also act.): thus, mimāti, mimānti, mimiyāt; mimāte, mimāte, amimāta; mimī, mimātū.

664. hā 'remove', mid.: thus, jihīle, jihādkve, jihāte; jihīpva, jihālām; ajihīta, ajihāta.

665. hā 'quit', act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the ī to i: thus, jahāti, jahīta, jahūtā (AV.); jahīmas (AV.), jahītas (TB.), jahītam (T.A.), ajahītam (TS.). In the optative, the radical vowel is lost altogether; thus, jahyām, jahyus (AV.). The 2d sing. impv. is jahihi or jahihi.

Compare with this the forms in dhī from ɣdḥā (below, 669).

666. rā 'give', mid.: thus, raridhwam, rarīthās (impf. without augment): and, with i in reduplication, rirūhi.

In all these verbs, the accent is 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 dadḥ. In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively deḥt and deḥṭ. In combination with a following t or th, the final dh of dadḥ does not follow the special rule of combination of a final sonant aspirate (becoming ddh with the t or th: 160), but — as also before s and dhv — the
more general rules of aspirate and of surd and sonant combination; and its lost aspiration is thrown back upon the initial of the root.

668. The inflection of \( \text{ध} \) is, then, as follows:

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ध</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धमस</td>
<td>धेः</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धव:िाहे</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धमस</td>
<td>धेः</td>
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<td>धा</td>
<td>धम:िाहे</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धमस</td>
<td>धेः</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धा</td>
<td>धम:िाहे</td>
</tr>
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</table>

In the middle (except impf.), only those forms are here accented for which there is authority in the accentuated texts, as there is discordance between the actual accent and that which the analogies of the class would lead us to expect. RV. has once धातःे: धेः and धाते might be perfect, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents धातःा once (धातःा thrice); TS. and TB. have धाहिरान.

The root ध is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of ध to ध.

669. The older language has irregularities as follows: a. the usual strong forms in 2d pl., धा and धा; b. the usual ता endings in the same person, धा, धा, धा, etc.; c. the 3d sing. indic. act. धेः (like 1st sing.); d. the 2d sing. impv. act. धातिः (for both धेः and धेः); e. the middle forms धातिः; धिः, धिः, धिः, धिः, धिः (in RV.), with vowel weakened to ि instead of being dropped.

670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the र class (class VI., below, 709), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of र-stems. These roots are as follows:

671. In all periods of the language, from the roots र 'stand', पा 'drink', and ग्र 'smell', are made the presents
tḷṣṭhāmi, pībāmi (with irregular sonantizing of the second p: later often written pīvāmi), and jighrāmi — which then are inflected not like mīmāmi, but like bhāvāmi, as if from the present-stems tḷṣṭha, pība, jighra.

672. In the Veda, the reduplicated roots dā and dhā are also sometimes turned into the a-stems dāda and dādha, or inflected as if roots dād and dādh of class VI.; and single forms of the character are made from other roots: thus, mimantī (yīmā ‘bellow’), rrāte (yīrā ‘give’: 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary root, jigha, is made from yha (with omission of the radical vowel, and conversion, usual in this root, of h to gh when in contact with n); and some of the forms of sāc, from yas, show the same conversion to an a-stem, sācea.

674. In AB. (viii. 28), a similar secondary form, jighy, is given to yhi: 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, jāks (640), and probably pūs (from yas) and caks (from yēc or a lost root kas, ‘see’). In the Veda is found also sāce, from yas.

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 (jāyē, daridrā, vevē) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under Intensives (chap. XIV.); dēhi, ‘shine’, along with Vedic dēdī ‘shine’ and pīpi ‘swell’, are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplicating vowel.

Of pres. indic. occurs in the older language only dēyati, 3d pl., with the pples dēyat and dēhyat, and mid. dēye, dēhye, dēhyāth, with the pples dēyāna, dēhyāna, pīpyāna. The subj. stems are dēyāya, dēhaya, pīpāya, and from them are made forms with both primary (from dēyāya) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented dēyat and dēhyat and dēhayan). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have dēdēh (and dēdēhi) and pīpēhi, and pīpyatam, pīpyātām, pīpyata. In impf., adeis and ṣibes, adēdēhet and apēpet (with augmentless forms), apēpema (with strong form of root), and adēdēyasan and (irregular) apēpyan.

A few forms from all the three show transfer to an a-inflection: thus, dēhaya and pīpaya (impr.), ṣibeyat, etc.

Similar forms from yīmā ‘bellow’ are amēmet and mimayat.

677. The stem cakūs (sometimes cakūc) is also regarded by the grammarians as a root, and supplied as such with tenses outside the present-system — which, however, hardly occur in genuine use. It is not known in the older language.

678. The root bhas, ‘chew’, loses its radical vowel in weak forms, taking the form baps: thus, bāhastī, but bàpsati (3 pl.), bàpsat (ppl).

679. The root bhī, ‘fear’, is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, bhīmās or bīhīmās, bhīhiyām or bhīhiyām.
II. Reduplicating Class (third, ḫu-class).

680. Forms of this class from ṣjan, ‘give birth’, with added i — thus, jaṅi, jaṅh — are given by the grammarians, but do not appear to have been found in use.

681. The roots ci and cit have in the Veda reversion of c to k in the root-syllable after the reduplication: thus, cikṣi, cikṣe (anomalous, for cikṣē), cikṣī, acikṣa, acikṣa (pple); cikṣī.

682. The root vac has i in the reduplication (from the y), and is contracted to vic in weak forms: thus, viviktas, ćviniktam. So the root hvar (if its forms are to be reckoned here) has u in reduplication, and contracts to hur: thus, jhūrthas.

III. Nasal Class (seventh, rudh-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable na, which has the accent.

In a few of the verbs of the class, the nasal extends also into other tense-systems: they are aṅj, bhaṅj, hīṇs: see below, 694.

1. Present Indicative.


For the rules of combination of final j, see 219.

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<td>yuṅjvāhe</td>
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</table>

b. the root rudh rudh, ‘obstruct’; bases ṛuṇadh ṛunadh and ṛuṇadh ṛunadh.

For rules of combination of final dh, see 153, 160.
PRESENT-SYSTEM.

Instead of yūnāthas, yūndhve, and the like (here and in the impv. and impf.), it is allowed and more usual (231) to write yunāthas, yundhve, etc.; and, in like manner, rundhas, rundhe, for runddhas, runddhe; and so in other like cases.

685. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: a. the ordinary use of a 3d sing. mid. like the 1st sing., as vṛṇje; b. the accent on té of 3d pl. mid. in aṁjaté, indhaté, bhuṁjaté.

2. Present Subjunctive.

686. The stem is made, as usual, by adding a to the strong present-stem: thus, yunājā, runādha. Below are given as if made from vṛṇj the all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occurring in the older language.

active.                     middle.
1 yunājāni yunājāva yunājāma yunajāi yunājāmahāi
2 yunājās  yunajādva
3 yunājat  yunajātast  yunajājan  yunajājate

687. The RV. has once aṁjatās, which is anomalous as being made from the weak tense-stem. Forms with double mode-sign are met with: thus, trnahan (AV.), yunajān (Q.B.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides aṁjatās) is hinasdtās (Q.B.). ÇB. has also hinasavas as 1st du. act.: an elsewhere unexampled form.

3. Present Optative.

688. The optative is made, as elsewhere, by adding the compounded mode-endings to the weak form of present-stem. Thus:

active.                     middle.
1 yunjjyām yunjjyāva yunjjyāma yunjjyā yunjjyāhā yunjjyāmāhi
2 etc.   etc.   etc.   etc.   etc.   etc.

4. Present Imperative.

689. In this class (as the roots all end in consonants) the ending of the 2d sing. act. is always यि dhi.
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, prṇāk, vṛṇāk, pīṇāk, riṇak.
Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

694. The roots which thus expand a penultimate nasal in the strong forms of the present-system into a syllable ná are about twenty-five: namely, tact, pre, ric, vie, anlj, bhanj, vrj, bhuj, yuj, krl ‘spin’, chrd, tpd, chid, bhid, ud, rdh, idh, rudh, ubh, ac (anacâmaka!, once, RV.), pis, cis, hihs, hins, tyh. Those here written with the nasal — namely anlj, bhanj, hihs — have that addition also in the other tense-systems. Two, rdh and ubh, make present-systems also of other classes with nasal class-signs: thus, rdhnoti (cl. IV.), ubhnati (cl. V.). Several have a-stems with penultimate nasal: thus, prlncl, cihsd, trhhd, umbhd; and occasional a-forms, especially in the later language, are met with from others: thus, bhujet, chindeta, apinsat, arundhat (compare the nasalized roots of the á-class, below, 758).

695. The root tyh combines trnah with ti, tu, etc. into trnedhi, trnedhu; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as trnehmi: see above, 224b.

696. The root hins (by origin apparently a desiderative from yhan) accents irregularly the root syllable in the weak forms: thus, hinsanti, hinsite (but hinésat etc.).

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 ñ nu, which then in the strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to ñnó.

B. The few roots of the u-class (about half-a-dozen) end in ñ n, with the exception of the later irregular k k: (or kar) — for which, see below, 714. The two classes, then, are closely correspondent in form; and they are wholly accordant in inflection.

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).

1. Present Indicative.

698. Examples of inflection: A. nu-class; root ñ su, 'press out': strong form of stem, ñnó sunó; weak form, ñn su nu.
IV. *Nu-* and *u-* (Fifth and Eighth, *su-* and *tan*-) Classes.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सुनोमि</td>
<td>सुनुनः</td>
<td>सुनुमः</td>
<td>सुनेः</td>
<td>सुनुवः</td>
<td>सुनुमः</td>
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<td>सुनोषि</td>
<td>सुनुथः</td>
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</table>

The forms वसः, मः, वः, मः are alternative with those given here for 1st du. and pl., and in practice are more common (no examples of the fuller forms have been noted from the older language). From यः, however (for example), only the forms with *u* can occur: thus, अः, अः; and also only अः, अः.

B. *u*-class; root तन 'stretch': strong form of stem, तनः *tanó; weak, तनु *tanu.*

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<td>तनुभः</td>
<td>तनोषि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>तनोति</td>
<td>तनवः</td>
<td>तनवः</td>
<td>तनः</td>
<td>तनवः</td>
<td>तनवः</td>
<td>तनवः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. In the older language, no strong 2d pers. du. or pl., and no thana-endings, chance to occur (but they are numerous in the impv. and impf.: see below). The RV. has several cases of the irregular accent in 3d pl. mid.: thus, तनवः, मनवः, सप्नवः.

In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in *īr* from present-stems of this class: thus, वः, वः, वः, वः, वः. Of these, वः and वः might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots *piv* and *hin* (below, 716). The 2d sing. mid. (with passive value) वः (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, सुना, tanà. In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class: some of them are quite numerously represented there.
IX. Present-system.

701. Of the briefer 1st sing. act., RV. has krṇavā and hinavā. Forms with double mode-sign occur (not in RV.): thus, krṇavāt and karavāt (AV.); aṅnavātha (K.), krṇavātha (VS.; but -vātha in Kāṇva-text), karavātha (QB.). On the other hand, aṅnavāti is found once (in TS.). RV. has in a single passage krṇavāte (instead of krṇavātē): the only form in āūte is aṅnavāitē.

3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings (566) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

From yāp, the middle optative would be āṇuvāyā — 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 क्षि 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). Example of inflection is:

<s|d|p|s|d|p>
1 sunāvāni sunāvāva sunāvāma sunāvāi sunāvāvahāi sunāvāmahāi
2 sunāvas sunāvatha sunāvase sunāvāthe
3 sunāvat sunāvan

{s|d|p|s|d|p>
1 sunuyl sunuyava etc.
2 sunutam sunutd
3 sunotu sunutom sunuvtu

etc.

etc.

sunutd

etc.

etc.

etc.
From \(\sqrt{\text{ap}}\), the 2d sing. act. would be \(\text{āpunuhi}\); from \(\sqrt{\text{ac}}\), \(\text{acnuhi}\); from \(\sqrt{\text{dhṛ}}\), \(\text{dhṛnuhi}\); and so on. From \(\sqrt{\text{ap}}\), too, would be made \(\text{āpnuvántu}, \text{āpnuvāthām}, \text{āpnuvātām}, \text{āpnuvātām}\).

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of \(hi\) after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as \(\text{inuhi}, \text{krnuhf}, \text{cinuhf}, \text{dhunuhi}, \text{hinuhi}, \text{tanuhi}, \text{sanuhi}\), are thrice as frequent in use as \(\text{inu}, \text{prnu}, \text{sunn}, \text{tanu}, \text{and their like}; \) in AV., however, they are not more than one third as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically; even \(\text{srnuhif} (\text{with dhī})\) occurs several times in RV. The ending \(tāt\) is found in \(\text{krnutat} \) and \(\text{hinuítat,} \) and \(\text{kurutāt}. \) The strong stem-form is found in 2d du. act. in \(\text{hinotam}; \) and in 2d pl. act. in \(\text{knóta and kbnótana,} \) \(\text{srnota and srnotana,} \) \(\text{suhnóta and suhnótana,} \) \(\text{hinóta and hinnótana,} \) and \(\text{tanota, karóta}. \) The ending \(tana\) occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings \(\text{ṛstra} \) \(\text{ánt} \) and \(\text{ṛstra} \) \(\text{āná} \) are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from \(\sqrt{\text{su}}\) \(\text{su come act.} \) \(\text{suṇvat} \) \(\text{sunvánt} \) (fem. \(\text{sunvati}\)), mid. \(\text{suṇwána}; \) from \(\sqrt{\text{tan}}, \text{tanvánt} \) \(\text{tanvánt} \) (fem. \(\text{tumavati}\)), \(\text{tanvánta}. \) From \(\sqrt{\text{grap}} \) \(\text{āp}, \) they are \(\text{āṇuva}t \) \(\text{āpnuvánt} \) and \(\text{āṇuva}n \) \(\text{āpnuvāná}. \)

6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \text{g.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} \\
\hline
\text{suṇavam} & \text{suṇeva} & \text{suṇema} & \text{suṇvi} & \text{suṇuvahi} & \text{suṇumahi} \\
\text{suṇoṣ} & \text{suṇutam} & \text{suṇuta} & \text{suṇuthás} & \text{suṇvāthām} & \text{suṇudvām} \\
\text{suṇot} & \text{suṇutām} & \text{suṇvān} & \text{suṇvātām} & \text{suṇvātām} & \text{suṇvātām}
\end{array}
\]

Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms \(\text{suṇeva, suṇema, suṇuvahi, suṇumahi} \) are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as \(dhṛṣ; \) which makes, for example, always \(\text{adhṛṣṇuma} \) etc., and also \(\text{adhṛṣṇvan, adhṛṣṇwi, adhṛṣṇvāthām, adhṛṣṇuvātām, adhṛṣṇuvātām}. \)

707. Strong stem-forms and \(tana\)-ending are found only in RV., in \(\text{akrnota, akrnotana}. \) Augmentless forms with accent are \(\text{minvān, hinvān, pṛutā}. \)
Irregularities of the \textit{nu} and \textit{u}-classes.


709. The root \textit{trp}, ‘enjoy’, is said by the grammarians to retain the \textit{n} of its class-sign unilingualized in the later language — where, however, forms of conjugation of this class hardly occur; while in the Veda the regular change is made: thus, \textit{trṇu}.

710. The root \textit{çru}, ‘hear’, is contracted to \textit{ç} before the class-sign, forming \textit{çṇō} and \textit{çṇu} as stem. Its forms \textit{çṇvire} and \textit{çṇwirē} have been noted above (699).

711. The root \textit{dhu} in the later language shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms \textit{dhunō} and \textit{dhunu} (earlier \textit{dhūnō}, \textit{dhūnu}).

712. The so-called root \textit{ūrnu}, treated by the native grammarians as dissyllabic and belonging to the root-class (I.), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root \textit{vr} (or \textit{var}). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the \textit{nu}-class; but in the Brāhmaṇa language are found sometimes such forms as \textit{ūrnūuti}, as if from an \textit{u}-root of cl. I. (626); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. act. is \textit{ūrnu} or \textit{ūrnui}; its impf., \textit{ūrnos}, \textit{ūrnot}; its opt. mid., \textit{ūrnwīta} (K.) or \textit{ūrnwītā} (TS.).

713. The roots of the other division, or of the \textit{u}-class, are extremely few: they are \textit{tan}, \textit{man}, \textit{van}, \textit{san}; also \textit{ksan} (not in V.: in ÇB., and very rarely later), and \textit{kr} ‘make’ (in late Vedic and later); and BR. assume \textit{in} of the \textit{u}-class instead of \textit{i} of the \textit{nu}-class.

714. The extremely common root \textit{kṛ} (or \textit{kar}), ‘make’, is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the \textit{u}-class (being the only root of that class not ending in \textit{n}). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the \textit{guna}-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is changed to \textit{kur}; so that the two forms of stem are \textit{kṛ} and \textit{kaṛ} and \textit{kṛ} \textit{kuru}. The class-sign \textit{u} is always dropped before \textit{v} and \textit{m} of the 1st du. and pl., and also before \textit{y} of the opt. act. Thus:
such as bhāvanta (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brāhmanas (especially ČB.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in āsī and the 3d in āt. A 3d pl. in antā (vartantāti, KB.) has been noted once. RV. has an example, arcā, of the briefer 1st sing. act.

3. Present Optative.

738. The scheme of optative endings as combined with the final of an a-stem was given in full above (566).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāvayam</td>
<td>bhāveva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāves</td>
<td>bhāvetam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāvet</td>
<td>bhāvetām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The RV. has once the 3d pl. mid. bharerata (for one other example, see 752).

4. Present Imperative.

739. An example of the imperative inflection is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāvani</td>
<td>bhāvīva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāva</td>
<td>bhāvatam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāvatu</td>
<td>bhāvatam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

740. The ending tana in 2d pl. act. is as rare in this whole conjugation as is thana in the present: the V. affords only bhajatana in the a-class (and nabhajatana in the ya-class: 760). The ending tāt of 2d sing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has avatāt, oṣatāt, dhatatāt, bhavatāt, yachatāt, yacatāt, rākṣatāt, vahatāt; to which AV. adds jinvatāt, ṭhavatāt; and the Brāhmanas bring other examples.

5. Present Participle.

741. The endings गत् ant and मान māna are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. गत् bhāvant (fem. गत्ति bhāvanti); mid. गत्मान bhāvamāna.
IX. Present-system.

6. Imperfect.

742. An example of the imperfect inflection is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active</th>
<th>middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ábhavam</td>
<td>ábhaváva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ábhavam</td>
<td>ábhaváma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ábhave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

743. No forms in tana are made in this tense from any a-class. Examples of augmentless forms (which are not uncommon) are: eyávam, ávas, dásas, bódhat, bhárat, cáram, nágan; bádhathás, várkhata, pécanta. The subjunctively used forms of 2d and 3d sing. act. are more frequent than those of either of the more proper subjunctive persons.

Irregularities of the a-class.

744. A far larger number of roots form their present-system according to the a-class than according to any of the other classes: in the RV., they are about two hundred and forty (nearly two fifths of the whole body of roots); in the AV., about two hundred (nearly the same proportion); to tell precisely, or very nearly, how many they are in the later language is not possible (of the number "about a thousand", as usually stated, the greater part are fictitious: see 108a). Among them are no roots ending in long ā — except a few which make an a-stem in some anomalous way: below, 749a.

745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,

a. uh 'notice' has guna-strengthening (against 240): thus, ñáte.

b. krpa (or krap), 'lament', on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, krpa-te.

c. guh, 'hide', has prolongation instead of guna: thus, gúháti.

d. kram, 'stride', lengthens its vowel in the active, but not in the middle: thus, kรามati, kรามate; klam, 'tire', is said to form klámati etc., but hardly occurs; cam with the preposition ā, 'rinse the mouth', forms ácāmati.

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from mrj, 'wipe'; and they show the same vrddhi (instead of guna) which belongs to the root in its more proper inflection (627): thus, márjasva.

f. The grammarians give a number of roots in ura, which they declare to lengthen the u in the present-stem. Only three are found in (quite
VI. A-CLASS (FIRST, bhū-CLASS).

limited] use, and they show no forms anywhere with short u. All appear
to be of secondary formation from roots in r or ar. The root murch or
mūrch, 'coagulate', has likewise only ū in quotable forms.

g. The onomatopoetic root śṭhīv, 'spew', is written by the grammarians
as śṭhīv, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system.

746. The roots daṁc, 'bite', raṁj, 'color', saṁj, 'hang',
svaṁj, 'embrace', of which the nasal is in other parts of the
conjugation not constant, lose it in the present-system: thus,
dācati etc.; saṁj forms both sajati and sajjati (probably for sajjyati,
or for saśjati from sasajati); math or manth has mathati later.
In general, as the present of this class is a strengthening form-
ation, a root that has such a nasal anywhere has it here also.

747. The roots gam, 'go', and yam, 'furnish', make the
present-stems gācha and yācha: thus, gāchāmi etc.: see 608.

748. The root sad, 'sit', forms sīda (conjectured to be
contracted from sisd for sisad): thus, sīdāmi 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 noticeable
cases are the following:

a. The roots in ā, stā, 'stand', pā, 'drink', and ghrā,
'smell', form the present-stems tīśṭha (tīśṭhāmi etc.), pībā or (later)
pīva (pībāmi etc.), and jīghra (jīghrāmi etc.); and, in the Veda,
dā, 'give', and dīhā, 'place', form sometimes dāda and dādha,
han, 'slay', forms sometimes jīghna, and hi, 'impel', forms jīghya —
all these by transfer from the reduplicating class: see 671—4.

b. Secondary root-forms like inv, jinv, pinv, from simpler
roots of the nu-class, are either found alongside their originals,
or have crowded these out of use: see 716.

750. On the other hand, the root dham or dhmā, 'blow',
forms its present-stem from the more original form of the root:
thus, dhāmati etc.

VII. Accented ā-class (sixth, tud-class).

751. The present-stem of this class has the accent on
the class-sign आ अ, and the root remains unstrengthened. In
its whole inflection, it follows so closely the model of the
preceding class, that to give the paradigm in full will be
unnecessary (only for the subjunctive, all the forms found
to occur will be instanced).
Example of inflection: root विप्न विप्न, 'enter'; stem, विप्न विप्न:

1. Present Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. vipāni</td>
<td>vipāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. vṛtva</td>
<td>vṛtva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. vīcāma</td>
<td>vīcāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s. vētva</td>
<td>vētva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. vēcēti</td>
<td>vēcēti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p. vēcēthāna</td>
<td>vēcēthāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A single example of the briefer 1st sing. act. is mṛksā. The only forms in āthe and āte are pṛṣāthe and yuvāte.

2. Present Subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st sing.</th>
<th>2nd sing.</th>
<th>3rd sing.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vēpāni</td>
<td>vēpāva</td>
<td>vēpāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēpāri</td>
<td>vēpātha</td>
<td>vēpāsūre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēpātis</td>
<td>vēpātas</td>
<td>vēpātis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vēpār</td>
<td>vēpār</td>
<td>vēpār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Present Optative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vēpyāma</th>
<th>vēpyēva</th>
<th>vēpyēma</th>
<th>vēpyēva</th>
<th>vēpyēmahī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The RV. has the ending tana once in tirētana 2d pl. act., and rata in jūṣerata 3d pl. mid.

4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vēcāva</th>
<th>vēcētam</th>
<th>vēcēta</th>
<th>vēcēsva</th>
<th>vēcēthāma</th>
<th>vēcēdhvam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ending tāt is found in RV. and AV. in mṛṣata, vṛṣata, suvṛṣata; other examples are not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, khidatāt, srjatāt.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is विप्न विप्न; the middle is विप्न विप्न.

The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, vēcānti; but sometimes from the weak: thus, sīncānti and sīncati (RV. and AV.), tudānti and tudati (AV.): see above, 449 b.
6. Imperfect.

\[ \text{āvićam} \quad \text{āvićāva} \quad \text{āvićāma} \quad \text{āviće} \quad \text{āvićāvahi} \quad \text{āvićāmahi} \]

etc.  
eetc.  
eetc.  
eetc.  
eetc.  
eetc.

Examples of augmentless forms accented are svjās, svjāt, tirānta.

The a-aorist (846ff.) is in general the equivalent, as regards its form, of an imperfect of this class.

Irregularities of the ā-class.

753. It is impossible to determine closely the limits of this class, partly because of the occurrence of forms unaccented, or in unaccentuated texts, which might belong either to it or to the preceding class, partly because its modes and imperfect are accordant in form with those of the a-aorist (below, chap. XI.), and their separation is not always practicable, and partly for other reasons. With considerable confidence may be reckoned as belonging to it about seventy roots: namely, kṣi, yu 'join', ru 'roar', su (or sū) 'stir up', dhū, hū, kr 'strew', gr 'swallow', tr, rikh or likh, sic, ich, vij, khid, vid 'find', vidh, kṣip, līp, riph, dię, pię, rię, vię, ię, tieś, mięś, muc, uch, uįj, tųj, ryę, khud, tud, nud, rud, lęp, ubh, sudh, gur, jur, tur, brḥ, srhur, jsu, prų, ruų, cąs, ukś, węc (or węće), ręh, pręh (or pręch), ręj, suj, bhřij (or ṛhṛją), mṛḥ, prṛ, mrṛ, kṛt 'cut', cṛt, rd, trp, mṛc, sprc, rs 'push', kṛṣ 'plough', mṛks, vṛṣ, drḥ, vṛḥ or bṛḥ. Some even of these have either only isolated or very rare occurrences of ā-forms. The roots ich, uch, and ręh are reckoned as substitutes in the present-system for iṣ 'wish', vāṣ 'shine', and r 'go to' (608). Prṛ and mrṛ have been noticed above (731) as secondary roots from present-stems of the nā-class (V.).

754. Certain peculiarities of this body of roots are very noticeable: it contains only one or two roots with long vowels, and none with long interior vowels; very few with final vowels; and none with a as radical vowel, except as this forms a combination with r, which is then reduced in the present-system, as in the weak forms generally, to r or some of the usual substitutes of r.

755. The roots in i and u and ā change those vowels into ię and uę before the class-sign: thus, kṣiįjāti, swuāti (sva instead of swa occurs in AV.; and the Brāhmaṇas have forms in kṣya from kṣi).

756. The three roots in r form the present-stems kirā, girā, tirā, and they are sometimes written as kiv etc.; and gur, jur, tur are really only varieties of gr, jř, tr; and brḥur and srhur are evidently related with other ar or r root-forms.
IX. Present-system.

757. Two other roots which are used only in middle forms, and in combination with the preposition अ (sometimes further combined), make the present-stems अ-द्रिया and अ-प्रिया, and are reckoned as र or अ roots: द्र, 'regard', and प्र, 'be busy' (neither is found in व.). It is a question whether they are more properly reckoned to this class or as passives; and the same question arises as to the stems म्रिया and ध्रिया, from the roots म्र, 'die', and ध्र, 'hold': 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 मुङ्का is made from यमुङ्क, 'release'; सिङ्का from यसिङ्क, 'sprinkle'; विङ्का from यविङ्क, 'find'; क्रंता from यक्रंत 'cut'; पिङ्का from यपिङ्क, 'adorn'; त्रम्पा from यत्र्म्प, 'enjoy'; लम्पा from यलम्प, 'break'; लिंपा from यलिंप, 'smear'; and occasional forms of the same character are met with from a few others, as तुंडा from यतुंद, 'thrust'; उम्ब्हा from यउम्ब्ह, 'hold'; ब्रुङ्का from यब्रुङ्क 'strengthen'; द्रंता (beside द्रंता) from यद्रंत, 'make firm'; उम्ब्हा (beside उम्ब्हा) from यउम्ब्ह, 'shine'. TS. has क्रन्तहति from यक्रन्त (instead of क्रन्तहति).

VIII. Ya-class (fourth, द्व-class).

759. The present stem of this class adds या to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also precisely like that of the अ-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the अ-class.

760. Example of inflection: root नाह् nah, 'bind'; stem नाह्य nāhya.

1. Present Indicative.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>नाह्यामि</td>
<td>नाह्यावास्</td>
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<td>नाह्यावाहे</td>
<td>नाह्यामाहे</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>नाह्यामि</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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<td>nāhyāmi</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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<td>nāhyāvas</td>
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<td>nāhye</td>
<td>nāhyāvahe</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

2. Present Subjunctive.

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<td>nāhyās欢喜</td>
<td>nāhyādhyāvai</td>
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<td>nāhyāस</td>
<td>nāhyās欢喜</td>
<td>nāhyādhyāvai</td>
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<td>nāhyāस</td>
<td>nāhyādhyāvai</td>
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<tr>
<td>nāhyāस</td>
<td>nāhyās欢喜</td>
<td>nāhyādhyāvai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A 3d pl. mid. in antai (जायताय) occurs once in TS.
3. Present Optative.

náhyeyam náhyeva náhyema náhyeya náhyevahí náhyemahi
etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

4. Present Imperative.

náhya náhyatam náhyata náhyasva náhyethám náhyadhvam
etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

Of the ending tana, RV. has one example, náhyatana; the ending tát is found in asyatát, chyatát.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is náhyant (fem. nákṣatá náhyantá); the middle is nákyam náhyamána.

6. Imperfect.

ánahyam ánähýáva ánahýáma ánahye ánahýaváhi ánahýamahi
etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are gáyat, pácyat, pácyan, jáyathás.

Irregularities of the ya-class.

761. The roots of the ya-class are more than a hundred in number. They may be grouped as follows:

a. Roots signifying a state of feeling, or a condition of mind or body. These are nearly half the whole class. They are (alphabetically) as follows: uc, 'be pleased'; kup, 'be angry'; kṛ, 'be lean'; káma, 'be weary'; krudh, 'be angry'; kṣam, 'be patient'; kṣudh, 'be hungry'; kṣubh, 'be agitated'; gṛdh, 'be greedy'; jás, 'be worn out'; tam, 'be exhausted'; tus, 'be satisfied'; tṛ, 'be pleased'; tṛṣ, 'be thirsty'; tás, 'be alarmed'; dam, 'be submissive'; dus, 'be spoiled'; drṣ, 'be crazed'; druh, 'be hostile'; pusu, 'be in good condition'; budh, 'be awake'; bhram, 'be unsteady'; mad, 'be excited'; man, 'be minded'; muk, 'be confused'; mṛṣ, 'be forgetful'; mrit, 'be in ill condition'; med, 'be fat'; yas, 'be ardent'; yudh, 'be hostile'; rāj, 'be colored'; rādh, 'be subject'; ran, 'be happy'; rādhi, 'be successful'; rīṣ, 'be hurt'; rup, 'be in pain'; lubh, 'be lustful'; čam, 'be quiet'; juc, 'be in pain'; jus, 'be dry'; cram, 'be weary'; har, 'be gratified'; hṛṣ, 'be excited'; and we may perhaps add das, 'be deficient', and nac, 'be missing'. Some of these are of only early use, some only of later; and some have only sporadic forms of this class, made perhaps under the influence of the analogy of the others.
b. Roots which have a more or less distinctly passive sense, and which 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, or determine in all cases where passive form and meaning pass into intransitive; but there are a number of clear cases, where in the older language the accent wavers and changes, and the others are to be judged by their analogy. Thus, muc forms miṣyate once or twice, beside usual mucyate, in RV. and AV.; and in the Brāhmaṇas the former is the regular accent: and similar changes are found in other verbs: thus, jī or jyā, kṣi ‘destroy’, hā ‘leave’, pacc, dr ‘burst’, chid, bhid. Cases closely analogous with these are mīyate etc. from yami or mī, ‘lessen’; rīyate etc. from yrie, ‘leave’; viyate etc. from yōi, ‘impregnate’; cīyante from ycyā, ‘coagulate’; ċyate etc. from yčis, ‘leave’; dṛhyasva from dṛdh, ‘make firm’; pūryate etc. from ypr, ‘fill’; and lūpyate, tūpyate, tūryate, kliyate, ṛdhya, may be ranked along with them. Active forms are early made sporadically from some of these — thus, dṛhya (RV.), kṣiyati and pūryati (TA.); and dīryati, kliyati, and other like cases, are found later. The AV. has jīryati, ‘grows old’ (later also jīryate); and CB. has aprasyat, ‘was sprinkled’. And from the earliest period jāyate etc., ‘is born’, is either altered passive or original ya-formation from yjā, serving as complement to yjan, ‘give birth’.


d. A body of roots, of various meaning, and of somewhat questionable character and relations, which are by the native grammarians reckoned as ending with diphthongs: thus,

1. Roots reckoned as ending in āi and belonging to the a-class: thus, gāyati from ygāi. As these show abundantly (and in most cases exclusively) ā-forms outside the present-system, there seems no reason why they should not be regarded as ā-roots of the ya-class. They are: gā ‘sing’; giā, ‘be wearied or disgusted’; dhyā, ‘think’; pyā, ‘swell’; mā, ‘wither’; rā, ‘bark’; vā, ‘droop’; cyā, ‘coagulate’; ṇrā, ‘cook’; rāyā, ‘be coagulated’; and, in one or two sporadic forms, kṣā, ‘burn’; dā ‘cleanse’; stā, ‘be hidden’; spā, ‘be fat’. Trā, ‘save’, was given in the preceding division. Many of these are evident extensions of simpler roots with added ā. With them may be mentioned tāy, ‘extend’ (compare pass. tāyate from ytan: 772), and cāy, ‘be shy or anxious’ (which connects itself with uses of yei).

2. Roots reckoned as ending in e and belonging to the a-class: thus, ḍhāyati from yāhe. These, too, have ā-forms, and sometimes i-forms, outside the present-system, and must be regarded as ā-roots, either with ā weakened to e before the class-sign of this class, or with ā weakened to r or i and
inflected according to the a-class. They are: dhū, 'suck'; vā, 'weave'; vyā, 'hide'; ṛvā, 'call' (one of the forms of ṛhū); and a late example or two are found from mā, 'exchange'. With them may be mentioned day, 'share, sympathize, pity'; vya, 'be wasted' (denom. of vya?); cay, 'visit with retribution' (probably a form of ci).

3. Roots artificially marked with a final o (108c) and reckoned to this class, the radical vowel being declared dropped before the class-sign: thus, dyāti from do. They have, as showing an accented ya, no real right to be classed here at all, but seem more accordant in formation with the present-stems sva and kṣya, noticed under the preceding class (755). Outside these present-systems, they show ā and i-forms; and the ya in the only RV. occurrence, and in most of the AV. occurrences, is resolved into ia — which in the true class-sign ya is the case only in very rare and purely sporadic instances. They might, then, perhaps be best viewed as ā-roots with ā weakened to i, and inflected by the a-class, but without the usual conversion of i to iy (755). They are: dā 'cut', dā 'bind'; cā, 'sharpen'; sā, 'bind'; chā, 'cut off'.

762. The ya-class is the only one thus far described which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning. In this tendency, as well as in the form of its sign, it appears related with the class of distinctly defined meaning which is next to be taken up — the passive, with ya-sign. Though very far from being as widely used as the latter beside other present-systems, it is in no very small number of cases an intransitive conjugation by the side of a transitive of some other class.

763. The roots of this class ending in am lengthen their vowel in forming the present-stem: they are tam, dam, bhram (but bhrami also occurs), ĝam, ĝram, kḷam (hardly found in use), and kṣam (but kṣamyate also): for example, ĝamyati, ĝrāmyati.

764. The root mad has the same lengthening: thus, mādyati.

765. The roots in īv — namely, dīv, sīv, sṛīv (or ĝrīv) — are written by the grammarians with īv, and a similar lengthening in the present-system is prescribed for them.

They appear to be properly dīu etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always ū: dīv is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root dīv, 'shine', which changes to dyu (361d): compare also the desiderative stem jujuṣa from yjīv (1028h).

766. From the roots jr and tr (also written as jur and tir or tur) come the stems jṝya and iṝya, and jṝya and tṝya (the last two only in RV.); from pr comes pṝya.

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, ḍṛhya from ḍṛṇḥ or ḍṛḥ; bhrācyā (also bhṛcyā) from bhrāṇiṣ or bhraṣ; rṣya from raṇḍ or rạj.
IX. Accented यां-class: Passive conjugation.

768. A certain form of present-stem, inflected with middle endings, is used only with a passive meaning, and is formed from all roots for which there is occasion to make a passive conjugation. Its sign is an accented यां added to the root: thus, जन्य hanyā from वहन han, जाप्य āpyā from वाजप āp, गृह्यā grhyā from वश्र्क ग्रह (or grah): and so on, without any reference to the class according to which the active and middle forms are made.

769. The form of the root to which the passive-sign is added is (since the accent is on the sign) the weak one: thus, a penultimate nasal is dropped, and any abbreviation which is made in the weak forms of the perfect (794), in the aorist optative (922b), or before ta of the passive participle (954), is made also in the passive present-system: thus, ajyā from वाजू, badhya from वबंध, ucyā from वअ, iyyā from वयाज.

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 य: thus,

a. ए and य final are lengthened: thus, māyā from वमि; sūyā from वसु;

b. ए final is usually changed to ए: thus, diyā from वदा; hīyā from वही; but jnāyā from वज्ना, khīyā from वख्या;

c. ए final is in general changed to ए: thus, kriyā from वकी; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root ज), it has instead the guna-strengthening: thus, smaryā from वस्मर, staryā from वस्त्र; — and in those roots which show a change of ए to ए and ए (so-called ए-verbs: see 242), that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, cīryā from वची; pūryā from वपु.

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:

Example of inflection: root कर, 'make'; passive-stem क्रिय क्रियां:

1. Present Indicative.

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<th>स.</th>
<th>द.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>क्रिय</td>
<td>क्रियावेके</td>
<td>क्रियामाहे</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kriyā</td>
<td>kriyāvāhe</td>
<td>kriyāmāhe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
2. Present Subjunctive.

The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kriyā</td>
<td>kriyāmahā</td>
<td>kriyādhvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>kriyāte</td>
<td>kriyāntā</td>
<td>kriyāntā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3d pl. ending antā is found once (ueyantāi, K.).

3. Present Optative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kriyā</th>
<th>kriyēvahi</th>
<th>kriyēmahi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found, however, in the Brāhmaṇas.

4. Present Imperative.

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kriyāsva</th>
<th>kriyētām</th>
<th>kriyādhvam</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

5. Present Participle.

This is made with the suffix म ा: thus, क्रयमाण kriyāmāṇa.

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.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ākriyā</th>
<th>ākriyāvahi</th>
<th>ākriyāmahi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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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, tāyā, khāyā (but also tanyāte, khanyāte). The corresponding form to ज ा, namely jāyate (above, 761b), is apparently a transfer to the preceding class.

773. By their form, mriyāte, 'he dies', and dhriyāte, 'he maintains himself, is steadfast', are passives from the roots mṛ, 'die', and dhr, 'hold'; although neither is used in a proper passive sense, and mṛ is not transitive except in the derivative form mṛn (above, 731). With them are to be compared the stems ā-driyā and ā-priyā (above, 757), which may possibly be
peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots \textit{pr}, 'fill', and \textit{dr}, 'scatter'.

774. Instances are occasionally found in the later language of an apparent assumption of active instead of middle endings by passive persons of the present-system. Probably, however, these are rather to be regarded as examples of transfer to the \textit{ya}-class, such as were considered above (761b).

775. As was pointed out above (607), the formation and inflection of stems in \textit{āya} (the tenth or \textit{cur}-class of the Hindu grammarians) will be treated under the head of secondary conjugation (chap. XIV.), along with the intensive and desiderative formations, because, in all alike, the stem is not a present-stem merely, but has been extended also into other tense-systems.

**Uses of the Present and Imperfect.**

776. The uses of the mode-forms of the present-system have been already briefly treated in the preceding chapter (572ff.). 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 side-uses which belong in general to the tense: namely, the expression of habitual action, of future action, and of past in lively narration.

a. Examples of future meaning are: \textit{abruvan hr̥ṣṭā gachūmo vayam api} (MBh.), 'they said with gladness, "we will go too"'; \textit{agnir ātmabhavam prādūd yatra vānchati nāiṣadhah} (MBh.), 'Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhan should desire'.

b. Examples of past meaning are: \textit{ūttāra sūr ādharah putrā āśid dānuḥ çaye sahāvatā nā dhenāḥ} (RV.), 'the mother was over, the son under; there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf'; \textit{prahasanti ca tāṁ kecid abhayaśuṇyanti cā 'pare akurvata dayāṁ kecit} (MBh.), 'some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her'; \textit{tato yasya vacanāt tatrā 'valambītās taṁ sarve tiraskurvanti} (H.), 'thereupon they all fall to reproaching him by whose advice they had alighted there'.

778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:

a. With \textit{purā}, 'formerly': thus, \textit{saptāryāṁ u ha sma vāt purā rkṣā āty ācakṣate} (CB.), 'the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears'; \textit{tan-mātram api cen mahyam na dadāti purā bhavān} (MBh.), 'if you have never before given me even an atom'.

b. With the asseverative particle \textit{smā}: thus, \textit{cramena ha sma vāt tād devā jayanti yād ēṣām āgṛyaṁ āsā rṣaya ca} (CB.), 'for, in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what to be won'; \textit{āviṣṭāh kalīnā dyūte fiyate sma nalaś tadā} (MBh.), 'then Nala, being possessed by Kali, was beaten in play'.

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** IX. Present-system.**

[773—]
No example of this construction is found in either RV. or AV., or elsewhere in the metrical parts of the Veda. In the Brāhmaṇas, only habitual action is expressed by it (Delbrück). In all periods of the language, the use of sama 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. 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.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERFECT-SYSTEM.

780. The perfect-system in the later language, as has been seen above (535), consists only of an indicative tense and a participle — both of them in the two voices, active and middle.

In the oldest language, the perfect has also its modes and its augment-preterit, or pluperfect, or is not less full in its apparatus of forms than is the present-system.

781. The formation of the perfect is essentially alike in all verbs, differences among them being of only subordinate consequence, or having the character of irregularities. The characteristics of the formation are these:

a. a stem made by reduplication of the root;

b. a distinction between stronger and weaker forms of stem, the former being used (as in presents of the First conjugation) in the singular active, the latter in all other persons;

c. endings in some respects peculiar, unlike those of the present;

d. the frequent use, especially in the later language, of a union-vowel \( \xi \) between stem and endings.
Reduplication. In roots beginning with a consonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is of the same character with that which forms the present-stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (II.; see 643) — but with this exception, that radical ण a and ण a and ण r (or यु ar) have only ण a, and never श i, as vowel of the reduplicating syllable: thus, from यु pr, 'fill', comes the present-stem जप ppr; but the perfect-stem यप papr; from य म, 'measure', comes the present-stem मिमा mimā, but the perfect-stem ममा mamā; and so on.

Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, 784.

For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:

a. A root with initial ण a before a single final consonant repeats the ण a, which then fuses with the radical vowel to ण a (throughout the whole inflection): thus, घट ad from य घद ad; and in like manner घाट अण, घान an, घान as, घाल ah.

The root ण r forms likewise throughout घार ar (as if from घर ar).

b. A root with श i or श u before a single final consonant follows the same analogy, except in the strong forms (sing. act.), where the vowel of the radical syllable has gupa, becoming श e or श o; before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from यु is comes यु is in weak forms, but यो is in strong; from य उच uc, in like manner, come उच uc and उच uc.

The root श i, a single vowel, falls under this rule, and forms य य iye and यक iy.

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.).

To this rule, however, \(V\ddh) (probably originally \(ap\): 1087f) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem \(ap\) (as if from \(ap\): above, a).

For the peculiar reduplication \(\ddh\), belonging to certain roots with initial vowels, see below, 788.

784. A number of roots beginning with \(va\) and ending with a single consonant, which in various of their verbal forms and derivatives abbreviate the \(va\) to \(u\), do it also in the perfect, and are treated like roots with initial \(u\) (above, 783b), except that they retain the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from \(\ddh\) come \(\ddh\) and \(\ddh\); from \(\ddh\) come \(\ddh\) and \(\ddh\); and so on.

The roots showing this abbreviation are \(\ddh\), \(\ddh\), \(\ddh\), \(\ddh\), \(\ddh\); and \(\ddh\), 'weave' (so-called \(\ddh\): 761d, 2), is said to follow the same rule.

A single root beginning with \(ya\), namely \(ya\), 'offer', has the same contraction, forming the stems \(\ddh\) and \(\ddh\).

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 \(\ddh\ddh\) comes \(\ddh\ddh\); from \(\ddh\ddh\) comes \(\ddh\ddh\).

These roots are \(\ddh\), \(\ddh\), \(\ddh\), \(\ddh\); and, in the Veda, also \(\ddh\), with \(\ddh\) and \(\ddh\), which have the root-vowel \(u\).

A single root with \(va\) is treated in the same way: namely \(\ddh\), which forms \(\ddh\).

These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, 794.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

Thus, of roots reduplicating with \(\ddh\): \(kan\), \(klp\), \(gr\) 'wake', \(g\ddh\), \(tan\), \(trp\), \(t\ddh\), \(dhr\), \(dhrs\), \(nam\), \(mah\), \(mrj\), \(mr\), \(ran\), \(r\ddh\), \(r\ddh\), \(vak\), \(van\), \(vac\), \(vas\) 'attack', \(v\ddh\), \(v\ddh\), \(cad\), \(sah\), \(skamb\). Some of these occur only in isolated cases; some have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but \(\ddh\ddh\) is common also in the Brāhmaṇa language, and is even found later. For \(j\ddh\), see 1020 below.

Of roots reduplicating with \(\ddh\): the so-called roots (676) \(\ddh\ddh\) and \(\ddh\ddh\), which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, \(\ddh\ddh\), \(\ddh\ddh\); \(\ddh\ddh\), \(\ddh\ddh\). But \(\ddh\ddh\) has \(\ddh\ddh\), \(\ddh\ddh\), \(\ddh\ddh\), \(\ddh\ddh\), etc., with short \(i\). In AV. occurs once \(j\ddh\).

Of roots reduplicating with \(\ddh\): \(\ddh\) and \(\ddh\) (or \(\ddh\)).

787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative: 42) palatal mutes and aspiration show a reversion to the more original guttural in the radical

Whitney, Grammar.
syllable after the reduplication: thus, \( \text{vč} \) forms \text{ciki}; \( \text{včt} \) forms \text{cikit}; \( \text{vji} \) forms \text{jigi}; \( \text{vhi} \) forms \text{jighi}; \( \text{vhan} \) forms \text{jahgan} (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots). A root \( \text{dā} \), 'protect', is said by the grammarians to form \text{digi}: but neither root nor perfect is quotable.

788. A small number of roots with initial \( a \) or \( r \) (ar) show the anomalous reduplication \( ān \) in the perfect.

Thus, in the Veda:

\( \text{vāñj} \) or \( \text{aj} \), which forms the pres. \text{anākti} (cl. III.), has the perfect \( ānajē \) etc. (with \text{anajā} and \text{anajyāt});

\( \text{vace} \), 'attain' (from which comes once \text{anacāmahāī}), has the weak forms \( ānacma \) etc. (with opt. \text{anacyām}), and the strong forms \( ānānca \) and \( ānāca \) — along with the regular \( aça \) etc.;

\( \text{vṛd} \) (from which comes once \text{ṛdhat}) has \( ānṛde \);

\( \text{vṛc} \) or \( \text{arc} \) has \( āṅrcus \) and \( āṅrcē \);

\( \text{vnrh} \) has (in TS.) \( āṅrhus \);

\( \text{anūha} \) (RV., once) has been referred to a root \( ah \), elsewhere unknown,

and explained as of this formation; but with altogether doubtful propriety.

The later grammar, then, sets up the rule that roots beginning with \( a \) and ending with more than one consonant have \( ān \) as their regular reduplication; and such perfects are taught from roots like \( akṣ, arj, \) and \( aṅe \) or \( ac \); but the only other quotable forms appear to be \( ānarchat \) (MBh.) and \( ānaryat \) (TA.), which are accordingly reckoned as "pluperfects".

789. One or two individual cases of irregularity are the following:

a. The extremely common root \( bhū \), 'be', has the anomalous reduplication \( ba \), forming the stem \( babhū \); and, in the Veda, \( \text{v}sū \) forms in like manner \( sasū \).

b. The root \( bhṛ \), 'bear', has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication \( ja \) (as also in intensive: 1002b); but RV. has once also the regular \( babhre \).

c. The root \( śthīv \), 'spew', forms either \( tiśṭhīv \) (C.B. et al.) or \( tiśṭhīv \).

d. \( \text{Vivakvān} \) (RV., once) is doubtless participle of \( \text{vvoac} \), with irregular reduplication (as in the present, 660).

790. Absence of reduplication is met with in the following cases:

a. The root \( \text{vid} \) 'know' has, from the earliest period to the latest, a perfect without reduplication, but otherwise regularly made and inflected: thus, \( \text{vēda}, \text{vettha}, \) etc., pple \( \text{vidvāns} \). It has the meaning of a present. The root \( \text{vid} \) 'find' forms the regular \( \text{vivēda} \).

b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are \( \text{takṣathus}, \text{yamātus}, \text{skambhāthis} \) and \( \text{skambhus} \), \( \text{nindima} \) (for \( \text{nindima} \)?), \( \text{dhise} \) and \( \text{dhire} \) (\( \text{vdhō} \)), and \( \text{vidrē} \) and \( \text{arhīre} \) (\( \text{vṛddhō} \)). And AV. has \( \text{cetatus} \). The participial words \( \text{dācvaṇs}, \text{miḍhaṇs}, \text{ṣahvaṇs} \) are common in the oldest language.
793. **Strong and Weak Stem-forms.** In the three persons of the singular active, the root-syllable is accented, and exhibits usually a stronger form than in the rest of the tense-inflection. The difference is effected partly by strengthening the root in the three persons referred to, partly by weakening it in the others, partly by doing both.

793. As regards the strengthening:

a. A final vowel takes either the _guna_ or _vrddhi_ change in 1st sing. act., _guna_ in 2d, and _vrddhi_ in 3d: thus, from _yḍhī_ _bhū_, 1st बिभेति or बिभेत; 2d बिभेत; 3d बिभेत; from _yadr_ _kṛ_, 1st चकार _cakar_ or चकार _cakár_, 2d चकार _cakár_, 3d चकार _cakár_.

But the उ of _yḍhū_ remains unchanged, and adds व before a vowel-ending: thus, _babhava_ etc.

b. Medial अ before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or _vriddhid_ in the 3d. sing., and optionally in the first: thus, from _yadv_ _tap_, 1st तत्प _tatāp_ or तताप _tatāp_, 2d तत्प _tatāp_, 3d तताप _tatāp_.

In the Veda, however, the weaker of the two forms allowed by these rules in the first person is almost exclusively in use: thus, 1st only _bibhāya_, _tatāpa_, 3d _bibhāya_, _tatāpa_. The only exceptions noticed are _cakāra_ and _jagrāha_ (doubtful reading) in AV.

c. A medial short vowel has in all three persons alike the _guna_-strengthening (where this is possible: 240): thus, from _yadr_ _druh_ comes द्वेष्टु दुद्रोह; from _vīṣ_ _vīc_ comes विशेष _viveç_; from _yadr_ _kṛ_ comes चकार _cakārt_.

d. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple _tha_ as ending; if it has _itha_ (below, 797), 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, 794 _e_; and in certain other verbs: thus, _vivijithā_).
The earlier language, however, appears to afford no example of a 2d sing., whatever its ending, accented on any other than the radical syllable, or failing to conform to the rules of strengthening as given above (in a, b, c).

e. Sporadic instances of a strengthening in other than the singular persons are found in RV.: thus, yuyopimá, viveçus. And the roots ğṛ, āṛ, and ēṛ 'tear' are said by the grammarians to have the strong stem in the weak forms; and ēṛ 'decay' to be allowed to do the same.

f. The root mrj has (as in the present-system: 627) vṛddhi instead of guṇa in strong forms: thus, mamārja; and āguḥ (also as in present: 745 c) has ū instead of o.

794. As regards the weakening in weak forms:

a. It has been seen above (783 b) that roots beginning with i or u fuse reduplicating and radical syllable together to ī or ā in the weak forms; and (784) that roots contracting va and ya to u or i in the reduplication do it also in the root in weak forms, the two elements here also coalescing to ā or ī.

b. A few roots having ya and va after a first initial consonant, and reduplicating from the semivowel (785), contract the ya and va to i and u: thus, vivic from vṛyaç, vivīdha from vṛyādhī, suṇap from ṣuṇap. The extended roots ṣyū, ṣyā, ṣyū, ṣyā, hoū show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots ji, vi, ci, ṛū, while hoū must and ṣyā may get their strong forms also from the same (and it is questionable whether from the others strong forms occur).

c. The root grābh or grah (if it be written thus) contracts to grḥ, making the three forms of stem jagrāh (1st and 2d sing, act.), jagrāh (3d), and jagṛḥ; but prach (if it be so written) remains unchanged throughout.

d. A number of roots having medial a between single consonants drop that vowel. These are, in the later language, gam, khan, jan, han, ghas: they form the weak stems jagm, jakhn, jaṇu, jaghn (compare 637), jakṣ (compare 640): but RV. has once jaṇānus.

In the old language found in like manner mamnāthe and mamnādev from ṭaman; vavne from ṭavan; tatiṇe, tatiṇe, tatiṇe from ṭan (beside tatane, and tate, as if from ṭaṇ); paptima and paptās and paptivās from ṭpat (beside peta-forms; below, e); saccima and saccus, sacce and sacce from ṭeac.

e. 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 ā — contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having e as its vowel: thus, āsod forms the weak stem sed, āpae forms ṭee, āyam forms yem; and so on.

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 all are of rare occurrence (of one only, bhaj, quotable from the older language). They are as follows: rāj (occurs in MBh.) and rādh (radh?), notwithstanding their long vowel; phañ, phal, bhaj (occurs in RV. etc.), though their initial is changed in reduplication; trap, trus (occurs in MBh.), syam, svaṃ, though they begin with more than one consonant; dambh (forming debh from the weaker dbh), though it ends with more than one; and bhram (occurs in KSS.), bhṛaj, granth, granth, svaṇj, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary.

This contraction is allowed also in 2d sing. act. when the ending is ithā: thus, tenitha beside tatantha (but no examples are quotable from the older language).

The roots caç and dad (from dā: 672) are said to reject the contraction: but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.

From ṭṛ (or tar) occurs terus (R.); and jerus from ṭṛ is authorized by the grammarians — both against the general analogy of roots in ṭ.

f. Roots ending in ā lose their ā before all endings beginning with a vowel, including those that assume the union-vowel i (796) — unless in the latter case it be preferable to regard the i as a weakened form of the ā.

< 795. Endings, and their union with the stem.
The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (553); and it has also been pointed out (543) that roots ending in ॠ ā have ॠ āu in 1st and 3d sing. active.

< 796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant — namely थ tha, व va, म ma in active; स se, कः vahe, मः mahe, ध dhve, र re in middle — are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel र i.

The union-vowel i is found widely used also in other parts of the general verbal system: namely, in the sibilant aorist, the futures, and the verbal nouns and adjectives (as also in other classes of derivative stems). In the later language, a certain degree of correspondence is seen among the different parts of the same verb, as regards their use or non-use of the connective; but this correspondence is not so close that general rules respecting it can be given with advantage; and it will be best to treat each formation by itself.

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 र i in the later language are as follows:
a. The रे of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except था of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely करे 'make', भरे 'bear', श्र 'go', वरू 'choose', द्रु 'run', ग्रु 'hear', स्त्रु 'praise', स्रु 'flow'; and it is allowable (not usually) rejected by some others, in general accordance with their usage in other formations.

c. 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 ः ः; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, including those in या अ (of which the या अ is lost when the ending is या लहा, and most of those in ः ः, ः ः, and र ड.

The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of था or लहा, run out into infinite detail, and रे are not wholly consistent with one another; and, as the forms are by no means frequent, it is not possible at present to criticise the statements made, and to tell how far they are founded on the facts of usage.

With this ः, a final radical ः or ः is not combined, but changed into य or य. The ऊ of य्भु becomes य्भ throughout before a vowel.

798. In the older language, the usage is in part quite otherwise.

Thus:

a. In the RV., the union-vowel ः is taken by roots ending in consonants provided the last syllable of the stem is a heavy one, but not otherwise: thus, द्विधा, वृविधा, विवृद्धिः, but द्विधां and विवृद्धिः; उष्मा, पोप्तिस्मा, शेदिमा, युष्मिन्ना, but जागग्नमा and युष्मिनमा; इौसे, जांशिसे, साौथि, but विवृति and दाद्धसे; हच्छव्यम्भे and चाचत्तमहे etc. (no examples of विवहे or दाद्ध चाच इौसे to occur, nor any of either इौसे or दाद्धे); इविरे, जांशिसे, अति, तात्सिरे, but चाचत्तमहे, चाचत्तमहे, चाचत्तमहे (and so on: twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV. is वेद्था from य्विद्धा, without ः (in Br., also अथा from य्वह: below, 801a). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brāhmaṇas 3d pl. forms in रे are made after light syllables also: thus, साश्ले, बुबुधि.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more nearly like the later. Thus: for roots in अ the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing. in था is met with), as दौङिधा, दांशिसे, दौङिधि, दांशि (the only persons with ः in Br. and A.V.); — roots in र appear also to follow
the later rule: as cakṛṣe, papṛṣe, vauṛṣe, vauṛmāhe, but dadvṛṣe and jadvṛṣe, and in 3d pl. mid. both cakṛre and dadvṛre; — ṭbhu has both babhūtha (usually) and babhūvitha, but only babhūvimā (AV.). But there are found against the later rules, suṣuma, eciyṛṣe, jukurē, and jukurē, without i: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending ṛire of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, cikṛtrire, jagyṛhrirē, dadṛre, buphrūrē, vīvirdrīre, sasṛfrīre; to which SV. adds dudhrīre.

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 सुध buḍh, 'know': its strong form of perfect-stem is सुध buḍh; weak form, सुध buḍh.

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The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing. act. (above, 793d) needs to be noted both in this and in the remaining paradigms.

b. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final i or u-vowel, we may take the root नी ni, 'lead': its forms of stem are निय niy or निय niy, and नी ni.

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The root क्रि� kri would make in weak forms cikriyivā, cikriyātus, cikriyus, etc.; ṭbhu makes babhāva, babhātha (V.) or babhāvitha,
babhūvivā, babhūvus; babhūvē, babhūvire, etc.; other roots in ū or u change this to uv before the initial vowel of an ending.

c. As example of the inflection of a root ending in गा, we may take दा dā, 'give': its forms of stem are ददा dadā and दद ad (or दद dādā): see above, 794f.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cccc}
1 & ददा & ददिव & ददिम & ददिके & ददिने \\
   & dadā & dadivā & dadimā & dadike & dadinā \\
2 & ददा, ददिय & ददुम & दद & ददिये & ददिघि \\
   & dadātha, dadithā & dadithus & dadā & dadise & dadidhvē \\
3 & ददा & ददुम & दद & दद & ददिघि \\
   & dadā & dadā & dadā & dadā & dadidhvē \\
\end{array}
\]

The RV. has once papṛt for papṛṭ (and jahā for jahā?)

d. As example of a root with medial ग a showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial र e, in the weak forms (794e), we may take तन् tan, 'stretch': its forms of stem are ततत् tatān or ततत् tatān, and तेन ten.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cccc}
1 & ततन, ततन & तेनिव & तेनिम & तेन & तेनिविदे & तेनिमः \\
   & tatāna, tatāna & tenivā & tenimā & tenē & tenivāhe & tenimāhe \\
2 & ततन्न, तेनिव & तेनिम & तेन & तेनिविदे & तेनिमः \\
   & tatānth, tenithā & tenāth & tenē & tenath & tenidhvē \\
3 & ततन & तेनिन & तेनिम & तेन & तेनिमः \\
   & tatāna & teniū & tenimā & tenē & tenimāhe \\
\end{array}
\]

The root jān, with the others which expel medial a in weak forms (794d), makes jajāntha or jajīnithā, jajīnivā, jajīnūs; jajīnē, jajīnāhe, jajīnīrē; and so on.

e. As example of a root with initial व va contracted to उ u in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to उ उ in weak forms (784), we may take वच् vac, 'speak': its forms of stem are उवच् uvāc or उवच uvāc, and उच् uć.

\[
\begin{array}{c|cccc}
1 & उच्, उवच् & उचिव & उचिम & उचिके & उचिनें \\
   & uvāca, uvāca & ućivā & ućimā & ućike & ućinē \\
2 & उच्छ, उवच्छ & उच्छुम & उच & उचिये & उचिधि \\
   & uvāktha, uvācitha & ućāt & ućā & ućise & ućidhvē \\
\end{array}
\]
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, āṭha, āha; āḥathus, āḥatus; āhus (in V., only āha and āhus are met with).

b. From vyā 'weave', the 3d pl. act. uvus occurs in RV., and no other perfect form appears to have been met with in use. It is allowed by the grammarians to be inflected regularly as vā; and also as vay (the present-stem is vāya: 761 a, 2), with contraction of va to u in weak forms; and further, in the weak forms, as simple u.

c. The root vyā, 'hide', has in RV. the perfect-forms vivyathus and vivyē, and no others appear to 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. iyātha beside the regular iyētha.

e. The AV. has once vāvrdhēte (for -dhāte), and once jaharus (for jahrus): both are perhaps false readings.

f. Persons of the perfect from the ir-forms of roots in changeable r (242) are titirus and tistire (both RV.); and they have corresponding participles.

g. The bastard root ārnu (712) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem ārṇu.

h. The roots majj and nac are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing.
active, when the ending is simple tha: thus, mamanktha, nanāṇṭha (also mamajjitha and necitha).

1. The anomalous ajagrabhāṣan (AB. vi. 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for ajigrabhisan, desid.?).

Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is वान्‍स (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उष in the weakest, and replaced by वात 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, बुबुधवान्‍s, निनीवान्‍s, चववान्‍s.

803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel ज (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तेनवान्‍s, उचवान्‍s, कतवान्‍s, जतवान्‍s, तदवान्‍s (from जद ad: 783a), and so on; तदवान्‍s and its like, from roots in गा a, is to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view its ज as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (794f).

But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, विदवान्‍s, and, in V., धवान्‍s, मिदवान्‍s, सुहवान्‍s; and RV. has also ददवान्‍s (AV. दिदवान्‍s and once ददवान्‍s) from यद (or dad: 672) and AV. has विदवान्‍s and वर्जवान्‍s (in negative fem. अवर्जस). 804. Other Vedic irregularities calling for notice are few. The long vowel of the reduplication (786) appears in the participle as in the indicative: thus, वार्जवान्‍s, ससावान्‍s, जुजुवान्‍s. RV. and AV. have सासवान्‍s from यद or सा. RV. makes the participial forms of विर or तर from different modifications of the root: thus, ततिर्वान्‍s, but ततार्जस. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 462 c.

805. From roots गम and हन the Veda makes the strong stems jagamvān्‍s (as to the न, see 212) and jaghmanvān्‍s; the later language allows either these or the more regular jagmivān्‍s and jaghnivān्‍s (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere jagmūs and jaghnūs).
806. From three roots, ṣīd 'find', viṣ, and āṛ, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, vivivarvāṁ or vivivarvāṁ. PB. has once cīkīdivāṁ.

807. The ending of the middle participle is ānā. It is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, बुधवान būduḍhānā, निन्यान ninyānā, द्रान dadānā, तेनान tenānā, जफ्नान jajñānā, उचान ucānā.

In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, vāryānā, vāvasānā, dāṣhānā, cūcūvānā, etc. RV. has caṣayānā from ṝrī (with irregular guna, as in the present-system: 829); tistirānā from ṝstr; and once, with muṇa, saṣrmānā from ṝsr.

Modes of the Perfect.

808. Modes of the perfect belong only to the Vedic language, and are even rarely found outside of the Rig-Veda.

To draw the line surely and distinctly between these and the mode-forms from other reduplicated tense-stems — the present-stem of class II., 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 अन्यायम and babhāyās and babhāyāt, imperatives like babhātu, 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) mūmuc, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be mūmocā (accented after the analogy of the strong forms of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be mūmucyā in the active, and mūmucē (accent on personal endings) in the middle.

And the great majority of the forms in question (about three quarters) are made in these ways. Thus:

810. Examples of the regular subjunctive formation are:

a. with secondary endings, active: 2d sing., paprāthas, māmāhas, pīrāyas, bubodhas; 3d sing., jabhārat, sūnāhat, pasparçat, pīrāyat, cikētāt;
1st pl., tatánāma, cūcūyāma; 3d pl., tatánan, papráthan (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only dadhárshati and vavārtaḥi: compare the formation with different accent below, 811a.

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. tatāpate, caṣāmate, yuṣyate, jujōsate (SV.; RV. has jājōsate); and the 3d pl. tatānanta (and perhaps two or three others: below, 811b, end).

811. But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur; thus:

a. with strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, 645). Here the forms with primary endings, active, preponderate, and are not very rare: for example, jājōsasi, jājōsati, jājōsathas, jājōsatha (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, jājōsas, jājōsat, and jājōsan are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since dādācas and sūsūdas etc. are perhaps rather aorists). And there is no middle form but jājōsate (RV.: see above, 810c).

b. with unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accentuated on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, mumucaṣ; vavṛṭat, vividat, āṇuṣvat; the only middle forms are dadhṛṣate, vārvāhate, 3d sing.; and cākramanta, dādhrṣanta, rārucanta (with dadabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, juhranta, which might also belong elsewhere: 810c).

c. accentuated on the ending are vārvṛdhanta and cakṛpanta (which are rather to be called augumentless pluperfects).

As to forms with double mode-sign, or transfers to an a-conjugation, see below, 815.

812. Examples of the regular optative formation are:

a. in active: 1st sing., āṇacṣyāṃ, jagamyāṃ, papṛṣyāṃ, riricyaṃ; 2d sing., vavṛṭyas, viviṣyāṣ, cūrṇyāṣ, babhūyāṣ; 3d sing., jagamyāt, vavṛṭyat, tutuṣyat, babhūyat; 2d du., jagamyātam, cūrṇyātam; 1st pl., sāṣahyāma, vavṛṭyāma, cūcūyāma; 3d pl., tatanyus, vavṛtyus. The forms are quite numerous.

b. in middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing., vavṛṭiya; 2d sing., vāvṛdhiḥāṣ, caṅśamāḥāṣ; 3d sing., jagraṣita, vavṛṭita, māṃṛṣita, cūcūṣita; 1st pl., vavṛtimaḥi. And sāṣahṣṭhiṣāḥ and ririsiṣṭa appear to furnish examples of precative optative forms.

There is no irregular mode of formation of perfect optatives. Individual irregularities are shown by certain forms: thus, cakṛyiṣāḥ, papṛṣyāḥ, cūrṇyāḥ and cūrṇyāṭam, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign yā (770); anaḥyāt with short initial; jaksyāt is anomalous; ririges is the only form that shows a union-vowel a.

813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted: namely, active, cikiddhit, mumugdhit, cūcugdhit, and pipröhit; mumoktu and babhūtu; mumuktam and vavṛktam; jujūṣṭana and vavṛttana (unless we
are to add mamaddhi, mamattu, mamattana); — middle, vavrtṣva and vavṛḍhavam.

814. As irregular imperatives may be reckoned several which show a union-vowel a, or have been transferred to an a-conjugation. Such are, in the active, mumocatam and jujoṣatam (2d du.), and mumocata (2d pl.); in the middle, piprāyasva (only one found with accent), and māmhasva, vāypadhasva, vā posYasva (2d sing.), and māmahantām (3d pl.: probably to be accented -āsa 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, chap. XIV.): for example, jujoṣa from ṣyus, from which would come jijoṣati etc. and jijoṣate (811 a) as indicative, jijoṣas etc. as subjunctively used augmentless imperfect, and jijoṣatam 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 vāypoḥ come readily vāypoḥate, vāypoḥaṭta, and from it alone can come regularly vāypoḥasva, vāypoḥēte (above, 801 e), and vāypoḥāti (once, RV.) — and, yet more, the participle vāypoḥaṭa (once, RV.: an isolated case): yet even here we have also vāypoḥaṭha, not vāypoḥaṭhā. 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.

Only one other subjunctive with double mode-sign — namely, papṛcūsi — is found to set beside vāypoḥāti.

816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from y’muc, the subjunctives mumocas, mumocati, and munucas; from vāḥṛṣ, dadhāṛṣati and dadhṛṣate; from y’pri, the imperatives pipṛhi and pipṛyasya.

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, end) have also been referred to it.

There is something 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., aṭa in 3d pl. mld.).
Of forms made according to this model, we have, in the active: 1st sing., ajagrabham and acacakṣam (which, by its form, might be aorist: 860); 2d sing. ājagan; 3d sing., ājagan and aciḳet; 2d du., anumuktam; 2d pl. ajaganta, and ajagantana and ajabhartana (a strong form, as so often in this person: 550); 3d pl. (perhaps), amamanḍus and amamanḍus. To these may be added the augmentless cikētam and cakaram. In the middle, the 3d pl. acakriran and ajagmiran (with ivaṇ instead of ata), and the augmentless 2d sing. jugūṭhōs and susūṭhōs, 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 ā (555 b): thus, ābubhojīs, aviveśīṣ; avirecit, ājagrabhīt (avāvarīt and avāvaśītām are rather intensives); and the augmentless jāhīṇīṣ (accent?) and dadharmiṣ belong with them.

820. A few forms show a stem ending in a: they are, in the active: 3d sing., avaṣvajat, acakrat; in the middle: 3d sing., āpipraṇa; 2d du., āpaspṛstdhēṁ; 3d pl., atitōṣjanta (which by its form might be aorist), ādāṭhanta; and cakradat, cakṛpāṇa, vārūḍhāṇa, juhuranta, would perhaps be best classified here as augmentless forms (compare 811, above).

Uses of the Perfect.

821. In the later language, the perfect is simply a preterit or past tense, equivalent to the imperfect, and interchangeable with it. Except as coming from a few often used verbs (especially āha and uvāca), it is much more rarely employed than the imperfect.

822. In the Brāhmaṇa language, very nearly the same thing is true. In most Brāhmaṇas, the imperfect is the usual tense of narration, and the perfect only occasional; in the Catapatha Brāhmaṇa, the perfect is much more widely used.

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 past; but oftentimes it has a value not distinguishable in point of time from the present. It is thus the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present; and it occurs coördinated with them all.

Examples are: of perfect with present, nā prāṁyatant nā vi muñcantaṃ ēte vāyo nā paptuk (RV.), ‘they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds’; sē ’d u rājā kṣayati carṣāṇīḍhm arāṅ nā nemēḥ pārī tā babhūva (RV.), ‘he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes’; — of perfect with aorist, āpo ruruce yuvatīr nā yōsā... ābhūd agnīḥ somāḥ māṁsuṣāṅm ākar jyūtir bādhamāṇā tāmāṅsī (RV.), ‘she is come beaming like a young maiden; Agnī has appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving away the darkness’; — of perfect with imperfect, āhann āḥin ānv apāḥ tatārda (RV.), ‘he slew the dragon, and penetrated to the waters’. This last combination is of constant occurrence in the later language.
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, I.); 2. the a-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in र a, or with union-vowel ए a before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the ए-class, VII.).

II. 3. A reduplicated aorist, perhaps in origin identical with an imperfect of the reduplicating class (II.), but having come to be separated from it by marked peculiarities of form. It usually has a union-vowel ए 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 sibilant-aorist (corresponding to the Greek "first aorist"), having for its tense-sign a न s added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary द i; its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel ए a; a very few roots also are increased by न s for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel ए a before endings: 4. s-aorist, with न s alone added to the root; 5. iṣ-aorist, the same with interposed द i; 6. siṣ-aorist, the same as the preceding with न s added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel ए a, 7. sa-aorist.
825. All these varieties are bound together and made into a single complex system by certain correspondences of form and meaning. Thus, in regard to form, they are all alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply preterits, exchangeable with imperfects and perfects, they all alike have in the older language the general value of a completed past or "perfect", translatable by 'have done' and the like.

826. The aorist-system is a formation of very infrequent occurrence in the classical Sanskrit (its forms are found, for example, only twenty-one times in the Nala, eight in the Hitopadeśa, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gītā and Čākuntalā), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 580; and the so-called preceptive: see 921 ff.); in the older language, on the other hand, it is quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.

827. 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.

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.

Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, adhām and dhāsus from ῳδά, ayuji and ayukṣata from ἦγυ; — of 1 and 5, agrabham and agrabhīṣma from ἠγράβ, mrṣṭhās and marṣṣṭhās from ῥ�μπ; — of 1 and 2, ārta and ārat from ῥτ; — of 2 and 4, avidam and avitsi from ῭ωίδει, antijam and anāikṣṭ from Ῥνίζ; — of 2 and 5, saṃēma and asaṃniṣam from Ῥσά; — of 2 and 7, arukham and arukṣat from Ῥρή; — of 4 and 5, amatsus and amadiṣus from Ῥμάδ; — of 4 and 6, hāsmahi and hāsiṣus from Ῥά; — of 1 and 2 and 4, atanata and atanat and atān from Ῥάν; — of 1 and 4 and 5, abudhran and abutsi and bodhiṣat from Ῥβύδα, astar and strṣyā and astarīs from Ῥστ. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.
828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the ü-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. This formation is in the later language limited to a few roots in ग्रा a and the root भु bhū, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the s-aorist (4), or the ış-aorist (5).

The roots in ग्रा a take उम् us as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their ग्रा a before it; भु bhū (as in the perfect: 793 a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting ग्र v after it before the endings ग्र am and ग्र an of 1st sing. and 3d pl. Thus:

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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 ग्रा, व्रा, भ्रा, प्रा, 'drink', द्रा, भु; while sporadic forms are made from ज्ञा, प्रा, सा, हा. As to their middle forms, see below, 834 a.

Instead of abhuvam, RV. has twice abhuwam.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in ग्र, and a few in त and य (short or long) — with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, gua-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

Thus (in the active), from ग्रु, agravam and acrot; from ग्रि, agram and acrot; from ग्रक 'make', akaram and akar (for akars and akar-t); from Whitney, Grammar.
vr 'enclose', āvar (585); and so adar, astrar, aspar. Dual and plural forms are much less frequent than singular; but for the most part they also show an irregular strengthening of the root-vowel: thus (including augmentless forms); akarma and akarta, vartam, spartam, ahema and ahetana, bhema, homa, acravan; regular are only avran, akrvan, akhan, and anitam.

832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of guṇa—strengthening, and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

Thus, abhet (2d and 3d sing.) from ybhid; amok (3d sing.) from ymuce; avari from yvert; vark from yvṛj (AV. has once avre); adarçam from ydṛç; and adrçam, averjan, avertis. But chedma, with guṇa, from ychid.

833. Again, from a larger number of roots with a as radical vowel:

Of these, gam (with ṳ for ṁ when final or followed by ā: 148, 212) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, agamam, ayan (2d and 3d sing.), agamma, agamta (strong form), agman. The other cases are akram from ykrám; atan from ytan; askan from yskam; āsrat from ysrāṇs (VS.); dhak und doghma from ydgh; anāt (585) and anātām from vnaç(?); aksan (for agh-san, like agman) from yghas; and the 3d pl. in us, ákrampus, kramus, yamus, yamus, abāḍhus, dabhus, nṛtus (impf.?): mandūs and takṣus are perhaps rather to be reckoned as perfect forms without reduplication (790 b).

834. So far only active forms have been considered. In the middle, a considerable part of the forms are such as are held by the grammarians (881) to belong to the s-aorist, with omission of the s: they doubtless belong, however, mostly or altogether, here. Thus:

a. From roots ending in vowels, we have adhiṭhās and adhiṭa; adita and adimahi (and adimahi from ydā 'cut';) asthiṭhās and asthīta and asthiraman, forms of ā—roots (araṭhaṃ is doubtless for araśdhvam); — of r—roots, akri, akṛṭhās, akṛṭa, akṛṭām, akṛrata; avri, avṛṭhās, avṛṭa; ārta (with augmentless arta), ārata; mṛṭhās, mṛṇta; dhṛṭhās; dhṛṭa; asṛṭa; gūṛta; — of i and u roots, the only examples are ahvi (?AV., once) and aciḍhvam. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a s in such forms, and the occurrence of avri and akri and akṛrata, show that their reference to the s—aorist is without sufficient reason.

b. As regards roots ending in consonants, the case is more questionable, since loss of s after a final consonant before thās and ta (and, of course, dhvam) would be in many cases required by euphonic rule (233). We find, however, such unmistakable middle inflection of the root—aorist as ayuvī, ayukṭhās, ayukta, ayujmahī, ayugdṭhavam, ayuvṛṇ; āṣṭa and āṣata; apadi (1st sing.) and apadmahi and apadrāṇ; amanmahī; aghanmahī and agman; atman; ajani (1st sing.) and ajñata (3d pl.); from ygam are made agathās and agata, and from yman, amata, with treatment of the final like that of han in present inflection (637). The ending ran is especially frequent in
3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which have no other person of this aorist: thus, agrirhan, aśrigran, aḍṛṣṭran, abudhran, ąvṛtran, ajuṣṭran, akrpan, aprdhran, avasran, avičran; and ran is found beside ran in ḍṛṣṭram, ābudhran, aśṛgran.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with s to kṣ, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing k (instead of ṣ) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are amukthas (and amugdhwam), aprkthas and aprkta, abhakta, aṛvktas, asakthas and asakta, rikthas, vikthas and vikta; ṛṣṭa, aṣṭa, mṛṣṭhas would be the same in either case.

d. There remain, as cases of doubtful belonging: amatta, arabdha, aṣṛpta, atapṭhas, cittthās, patthās, and nutthās.

Modes of the Root-aorist.

835. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the augmentless indicative of this aorist are much more frequent than the more proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in detail.

836. Of true subjunctives, the forms with primary endings are quite few. In the active, gāṇi is the only example of 1st sing. (as to bhuvāni, see below); of 3d sing. occur sthāṇi, and dōṭi and dhāṭi, which are almost indicative in use; of dual persons, sthāthas, darcathas, cravathas and cra-vatas. In the middle, 3d sing. idhatē (but anomalous accent), 2d du. dhēthe and dhāithe, and 1st pl. dhāmake.

Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, dārcaṃ; tārdas, pārcas, yāmas; karat, garat, daghat, yamat, yodhat, ṛvaṭat, sāpāṭ; dārcaṇ, garan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

The series bhuvam, bhāvas, bhāvat, bhāvan, and bhāvīni (compare abhuvam: 830, end), and the isolated cravat, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a guṇa-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of guṇa in the aorist indicative and the perfect of ybhū).

837. As regards the optative, we have to distinguish between pure optatives and optatives with s inserted before the endings, or precatives.

Pure optative forms, both active and middle, are made from a number of roots. From roots in ā occur in the active, with change of ā to e before the y, deyām, dheyām and dheyus, stheyāma, and jheyūs (which might also be precative); in the middle, only simaki and dhimaki (which might be augmentless preterit, as adhimahi also occurs once, and adhitāṃ once: but ydṛśa shows nowhere else conversion of its ā to long ī). From bhū, bhūṣās and bhūyat (possible precatives), and bhūyaṃa. From roots in r, the middle forms arīta, mūrīya, vurīta. From roots ending in consonants, acyām and acyāma and acyus act., and aciya and acimāhi mid. (this optative is especially common in the older texts); vrjyāṃ; mrtyṣās, sahyās, gamyās and gamyāt (possible precatives), and sāhyāma; indiśya, gmiya, ruśiya, vasiya; idhimahi, naśimahi, nasimahi, prćimahi, mudimahi, yamimahi. And ṛdhyām etc. and ṛdhimāhi belong perhaps here, instead of to a present-system (cf. I.).
838. Precative optative forms of this aorist active are in the later language allowed to be made from every verb (922). In RV., however, they do not occur from a single root which does not show also other aorist forms of the same class. They are, indeed, of very limited use: thus, in 3d sing. act. (ending in -yās for -yāṣt), we find anavyās, acyās, ṛaghyās, bhūyās, yamyās, yūyās, vrjyās, ṛṛyās, saḥyās (RV. has no 3d sing. in -yāt); and besides these and the 2d sing. in yās (given in the preceding paragraph), which might be of either formation, occur in the active only bhūyāsām (beside bhūyāma) and kriyāsma, each once. In the middle, RV. furnishes the three formsgrabhyāṣa, padāṣṭā, muciṣṭa; nothing additional is found in any other text. From the AV. on, the active precative forms are more frequent than the pure optative (which are not wholly unknown, however); they are nowhere common, excepting as made from yābhū; and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only bhūyāsva and bhūyāṣṭām being wanting; and these persons having no representative from any root). Including the cases already given, they have been noticed as made from about twenty roots, as follows: ṛṛyāṣaṃ etc., kriyāṣaṃ etc., priyāṣaṃ, bhṛṛyāṣaṃ, saḥhyāṣaṃ, bhṛṛyāṣaṃ, udhyāṣaṃ etc. (yvād), ṛṛḥyāṣaṃ etc., ṛṛḥyāṣaṃ etc., badhyāṣaṃ etc., ṛṛṛyāṣaṃ, ṛṛṛyāṣaṃ, ādhyāṣaṃ etc. AV. has once bhūyāṣṭha, with primary ending, but it is doubtless a false reading (TB. has -sta in the corresponding passage). TS. has didyāṣaṃ, from the quasi-root didi (676).

839. Imperative forms of the root-aorist are not rare in the early language. In the middle, indeed, almost only the 2d sing. occurs: it is accented either regularly, on the ending, as kṛṣvā, dhīṣvā, yuṣvā, or on the root, as māṭsva, yākṣva, vāṁsva, rāsva, sākṣva; mūsva is not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by kṛḍhwam, voḍhwam. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., kṛḍhi, ṛṛḍhi, ṛṛṛdhi, yanḍhi, gahi, māhi, moṛṛdhi; 3d sing., dātu, ṛṣṭu, sōtu; 2d du., dātām, jītām, cṛutām, bhūtām, sṛṭām, gatām, riktām; 3d du., only gantām, voḍḥām; 2d pl., gūtā, bhūtā, cṛutā, kṛta, gata, dhātana; 3d pl., only dhāntu, cṛuvantu. These are the most regular forms; but irregularities both as to accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are vartkam, vartam; kārta, gānta, yanta, vartta, heta, cṛota, sōta; and, with tana, kārtana, gantana, yantana, sotana. Much more irregular are yodhi (instead of yuddhi) from yuṛdh, and bodhi from both yuṛudh and ybhū (instead of buddhi and bhuddhi). A single form (3d sing.) in tāt is found, namely casti.t.

As to 2d persons singular in si from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, 624.

Participles of the Root-aorist.

840. In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation.

In the active, they are extremely few: namely krānt, sthānt, and bhidānt, and probably ṛḍhānt.
In the middle, they are much more numerous: examples are arāṇā, idhānā, krāṇā, jusāṇā, ṭṛṇā, prēṇā, bhīyāṇā, vrāṇā, sṛdhanā, hiyāṇā.

Such formations are extremely rare in the later Veda and in the Brāhmaṇa.

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 very nearly a hundred (more than ninety); about eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

**Passive Aorist third person singular.**

842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevalingly passive meaning, is made from many verbs in the older language, and has become a recognized part of the passive conjugation, being, according to the grammarians, to be substituted always for the regular third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense.

843. This person is formed by adding Ṣ i to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened.

The ending i belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in i as do, in the middle voice, the regular 3d sing. perfect, and the frequent Vedic 3d sing. present, which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost off is extremely improbable; and hence, as an aorist formation from the simple root, this is most properly treated here, in connection with the ordinary root-aorist.

844. Before the ending Ṣ i, a final vowel, and usually also a medial vably a before a single consonant, have the vṛddhī-strengthening; other medial vowels have the guna-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final ovy y is added ovy y.

Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in a, ajnāyi, adhāyi, āpāyi; in other vowels, āḷāyi, āśāvi, abhāvi, aklāi, āśāri; — from roots with medial i, u, r, aceti, āchedi, aṣeṣi, ābodhi, aṁoṣi, āyoji, ādarṣi, aṣarṣi, varhi; from roots with medial a strengthened, agāmi, āpādi, ayāmi, avāci, vāpi, āśādi (these are all the earlier cases): with a unchanged, only ajāni (and RV. has once jāni), and, in heavy syllables, ōṇyakṣi, vandi, ṛṇṣi; with medial ā, ābhṛāji, ārūdhī; — from roots with initial vowel, ārdhi (only case).

According to the grammarians, certain roots in am, and ṽbadh, retain the a unchanged: thus, adami, abadhi; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, arambhī, arandhī, ajambhī, abhaṃjī or ābhāji, alambhī (always, with prepositions) or abābhi: QB. has asaṃjī.

Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

278

given) are: dhāyi, crāvi, bhāri, reci, vēdi, roci, jāni, pādi, sādi, ardhi. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable.

845. These forms are made in RV. from forty roots, and all the other earlier texts combined add only about fifteen to the number; in the later language they are (like all the kinds of aorist) very rare. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, like gam, pad, bhrāj, sañj, etc., they have (like the so-called passive participle in ta: 952) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3[?]; VS. xxviii. 15) they appear even to be used transitively.

2. The $a$-aorist.

846. 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 (4) or the $i$s-class (5).

Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the $a$-class (VII.); its inflection is the same with that in all particulars; and it takes in general a weak form of root — save the roots in न (three or four only), which have the guna-strengthening.

As example of inflection may be taken the root सिच, 'pour': thus,

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847. The $a$-aorist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the root-aorist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of aorist which is made from more verbs in AV. than in RV.); and in Veda and Brāhmaṇa together about seventy roots exhibit the formation more or less fully. Of these a large number (fully half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the $a$-class (VII.), having a vowel capable of guna-strengthening before a final consonant (753): thus, with $i$, chid, bhid, nif, pis,
riṣ, vid, 1cīṣ (cāṣ), 2cīṣ, cvīt, sic, sridh; — with u, krudh, ksudh, dus, dyut, druḥ, puṣ, budh, bhuj, muc, muṣ, yuṣ, rudh, muḥ, ruḥ, cuc; — with r, yṛḥ, kṛt, yṛḥ, trṇ, ṭṛṇ, ṭṛṇ, drṛṇ, ṛṇ, ṛṇ, ṛṛṇ, ṝṛṇ, ṝṝṇ. A small number end in vowels: thus, r, kṛ, ṣr, sr (which have the guṇa-strengthening throughout), hi (? ahyāt once in AV.), stu (? stuvatām, 3d sing. impv. mid., once in AV.); and several in ā, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their ā to a: thus, khyā, hoī, vyā, cvā, and (in RV. only) dā and dhā. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this aorist is lost: thus, bhrāṇe, sraṁs, krand, manth, randh. Of less classifiable character are kram, gam, tam, ām, ćram, tam, van, van, sad, rād, dabh, sap, āp, īr, das, čak. The anomalous āsthām is the aorist of as ‘throw’. The roots pat, nac, voc form the tense-stems papa, neca, voca, of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication; but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated aorists (3) from the same roots (see below, 854).

848. The inflection of this aorist is in general so regular that it will be sufficient to give only examples of its Vedic forms. We may take as model avidam, from ṣvid ‘find’, of which the various persons and modes are more frequent and in fuller variety than those of any other verb. Only the forms actually quotable are instanced; those of which the examples found are from other verbs than vid are bracketed. Thus:

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<td>1 āvidam</td>
<td>āvidāva</td>
<td>āvidāma</td>
<td>āvide</td>
<td>[āvidāvahi]</td>
<td>āvidāmahi</td>
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<td>2 āvidas</td>
<td>[āvidata]</td>
<td>[āvidathās]</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 āvidat</td>
<td>āvidan</td>
<td>[āvidata]</td>
<td>[āvidetām]</td>
<td>āvidanta</td>
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The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have āhve etc., ākhye etc., āvide (?) and avidanta, avocathās and avocāvahi (and avidāmahe GB, and asicēmahe KB, are doubtless to be amended to mahi).

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 rukhāṁ, sṛpas, bhujāt, vidāt, aratām, vocata, čakān; vidata (3d sing.), arāmahi, čiṣāmahi, vidānta, budhānta, mṛṃanta (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] | vidāthas | vidātha |
| 3 | vidāt | [vidātā?] |

The ending thana is found once, in riṣāthana. Of middle forms occur only čiṣātāi (AV.: but doubtless misreading for čiṣūyātāi) and čiṣāmahe (AV., for RV. čiṣāmahi).
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brahmāṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, vidēyam, sanēyam; vidēs, games; gamet, vocet; gametam; cakéma, sanēma; varēta; in middle, (only) vidēya; gamemahi, vanemahi.

A single middle preceptive form occurs, namely videsṭa (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 yasad (including sadatana, 2d pl.), and the middle sadantām. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, sāra, ruha; ruhātam, vidātam; khyāta; and, in middle, stuvatām (?).

Participles of the α-aorist.

852. The active participles trpaṇt, rudhānt, vrddhānt, cīsānt, vocānt, huvānti, sāvant, and (in participial compounds, 1309) kṛṣṭant-, ghatant-, vidant- (all RV.) are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

Likewise the middle participles vrddhānā, sridhānā, huvānā; and perhaps also vipānā and cughānā, although no personal forms corresponding to them occur.

Irregularities of the α-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here.

The roots in r, which (847) show a strengthening like that of the present of the sixth or unaccented a-class, have also the accent on the radical syllable, like that class: thus, from yṛ, āranta (augmentless 3d pl.), sārat and sāra. The root sad follows the same rule: thus, sādatam; and from ysan are found sānas and sānat and sānema, beside sanēyam and sanēma. It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the sixth-class (unaccented a-class) present-system. On the other hand, riḥat (beside ruhām, ruhāva, ruhātam) and riṣat (only accented form) are anomalies. From yvac, the optative is accented vocēyam, vocēma, vocēyus; elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable: thus, vocē, vocēt, vocēti, vocēta.

854. The stem voc has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in RV. especially far outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from yvac. Besides those already given, we find vocā (1st sing. impv.) and vocāt, vocāvahūi; voces, vocēya, vocemahi; vocatāt (2d sing.), vocatu, vocatam, vocata.

Of the stem neca from yvac only necat occurs.

The root pās (as in some of its present forms: 639) is weakened to cīṣ, and makes aṭīṣam.

855. Isolated forms which have more or less completely the aspect of indicative presents are made 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.
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 या yā, 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 no 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 (II.), and, on the other hand, to the so-called pluperfect. 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. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the reduplication, it follows the general rules already given (590). And the quality of the reduplicated vowel is in general as in the formations already treated: it needs only to be noted that an a-vowel and 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).

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.

And this, usually by lengthening the reduplicating vowel, with \( i \) for radical \( a \) or \( r \) or \( j \) (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, \( ariri\text{ṣam}, adudu\text{ṣam}, aj\text{janam}, avivr\text{dham}, acik\text{lpam}. \) The great majority of aorists are of this form.

If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vowel, the vowel remains short: thus, \( aciksipam, acukrudham, atitrasam, apispr\text{çam}. \)

860. If the root is a heavy syllable (having a long vowel, or a short before two consonants), the vowel of the reduplication is short: and, in this case \( \text{ra} \ a \) or \( \text{ra} \ ̄\ a \), and \( \text{ra} \ r \) (if it occurs), are reduplicated by \( \text{ra} \ a \).

Thus \( adidik\text{ṣam}, abubhi\text{ṣam}, adadaksam, adadhavam, alata\text{ñsam}. \) And, in the rare cases in which a root both begins and ends with two consonants, both syllables are necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former: thus, \( apaprace\text{çam}, acaskandam \) (neither, apparently, found in use).

These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817ff.).

861. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in \( aviva\text{çam} \) from \( \text{vāc} \), \( asisadham \) from \( \text{śād} \), \( adidipam \) (K. and later: RV. has \( didipas \)) from \( \text{dīp} \), \( abibhi\text{ṣam} \) from \( bh\text{ṣ} \), \( asucam \) from \( s\text{uc} \); or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in \( acikradam \) from \( \text{krand} \), \( asiyadam \) from \( syand \).

In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in \( \text{āp} \), the \( \text{ā} \) is abbreviated to \( i \): thus, \( ati\text{ṣhipam} \) etc., \( aj\text{jipat}, jihipas, aj\text{jipata} \) (but VS. \( aj\text{japata} \)); but from \( \text{crap} \) comes \( acicrap\text{āma} \) (\( \text{CB}. \)).

862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only \( amamat \) (or \( amamat \)) from \( \text{am} \), and \( ar\text{pipam} \) (augmentless) from the causative stem \( ar\text{p} \) of \( \text{yṛ} \) — in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as \( \text{ārci} \text{am} \) from \( \text{vare} \), \( ab\text{ṣi} \text{jam} \) from \( \text{vubj} \), \( ar\text{ji} \text{ham} \) from \( \text{varh} \), \( ōci\text{ksam} \) from \( \text{viks} \), \( ārd\text{idham} \) from \( \text{yṛdh} \). Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029b.

863. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:
From $v\text{dyut}$ is made $\text{adidyutam}$ (taking its reduplicating vowel from the $y$ instead of the $u$); $\text{yplu}$ makes $\text{apiplavam}$ (CB. etc.).

Some verbs with radical $a$ or $r$ are by the grammarians allowed to reduplicate with either $i$ ($i$) or $a$, or even with $a$ only. Others are allowed either to retain or shorten a long root-vowel. Details are unnecessary, the whole formation being so rare, and the forms instanced having never been met with in use.

As to $\text{apaptam}$, $\text{avocam}$, and $\text{anepam}$, see above, 847.

864. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation: that is to say, it has the union-vowel $\text{a}$ before the endings, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions. Thus, from $\text{y\text{an}jan}$, 'give birth':

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
\text{s.} & \text{p.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} \\
\hline
$\text{djijanam}$ & $\text{djijanava}$ & $\text{djijanama}$ & $\text{djyane}$ \\
$\text{djijanamahi}$ & $\text{djijanathas}$ & $\text{djyanatham}$ & $\text{djyadhvam}$ \\
$\text{djijanat}$ & $\text{djyanatam}$ & $\text{djyanata}$ & $\text{djijanan}$ \\
$\text{djijananta}$ & $\text{djijanathas}$ & $\text{djyanetham}$ & $\text{djyanadhvam}$ \\
$\text{djijanat}$ & $\text{djyanatam}$ & $\text{djyanata}$ & $\text{djijanan}$
\end{tabular}

865. The middle forms are quite rare in the older language (the 3d pi. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all are quotable except 1st and 2d du. — and of the 1st du. no active example occurs.

\text{Atitape} appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.

866. A final $r$ has the $\text{guna}$-strengthening before the endings: thus, $\text{apiparam}$, $\text{atitaras}$, $\text{adidharat}$, $\text{avivarun}$. Of similar strengthened forms from $i$ and $u$-roots are found $\text{apiprayan}$ (TS.), $\text{abibhayanta}$ (RV.), $\text{apiplavam}$ (CB.), $\text{acucyavat}$ (K.); of un strengthened, $\text{acucruvat}$ (GB.). Few roots ending in other vowels than $r$ make this aorist: see below, 868.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, $\text{si\text{vap}}$ (2d sing., augmentless) from $\text{vasvap}$, and $\text{acisnata}$ from $\text{v\text{enath}}$; from roots in $r$ or $ar$, $\text{dida}$ (2d sing.), and $\text{afigaru}$ (2d and 3d sing.). Of 3d pl. in $us$ are found almost only a form or two from $i$ and $u$-roots, with $\text{guna}$ before the ending: thus, $\text{aci\text{rayus}}$, $\text{acucyavus}$, $\text{acucravus}$, $\text{asusavus}$ (? AB.); but also $\text{abibhajus}$ (CB.). And the 3d pl. mid. $\text{ava\text{rtran}}$ and $\text{ava\text{rtranta}}$ and $\text{asasdram}$ seem to belong here rather than to the pluperfect.
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 āri and āvi, dru and sru, kam, and āhā 'suck' (āvi and āhā optionally).

In the older language are found from yāri aśiṣr̥et and aśiṣrayus (noticed in the preceding paragraph); from yādru, adudrot and adudr̥vat (TB.: not used as aorist); from yāsru, aśuṣrot and (augmentless) suṣrot and suṣrot. Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in ū or ū: thus, anūnot and niūnot from yūnu; īyūg̣ot from yūyū 'repel'; īyuḍhot from yūdhū; ayp̣ot from yūp̣u; tūṭos and tūṭot from yūtu; and one or two from roots in i or ī: thus, siṣet from ȳi (or sā) 'bind'; apipres (with apiprayan, noticed above) from ȳpri (and the "imperfects" from dīdhī etc., 676, are of corresponding form). And from yāvyu are made, with union-vowel ī, acucyāvīt and acucyāvītana. None of these forms possess a necessarily causative or a decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not all be assigned to the perfect-system.

Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

869. 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.

Of the latter are found only rīrādhū (1st sing.); titapiśi; ciklpāti and sīgadhāti, and pispr̥cati (as if corresponding to an indicative apispr̥k, like aśiṣrat); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. caucvācāt.

The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, dīdharas, niṇačas; jījanat, pīparat; jījanan; also śīvap; but, on the other hand, we have cīc̣r̥thas and cīc̣ṇathat; and dudr̥vat, cūc̣r̥vat, tuṣ́ṭvat (which perhaps belong rather to the perfect: compare 810). According to the native grammarians, the accent rests either on the radical syllable or on the one that follows it.

870. Optative forms are even rarer. The least questionable case is the middle "preceptive" rīrisiṣṭa (rīrisiṣṭa has been ranked above sūsahīṣṭa, as a perfect: 812b). Cucyuvimahi and cucyavirata belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of imperatives, we have the indubitable forms pūpurantu and cīc̣rathantu. And jīgṛtām and jīgṛتā, and dīdhrtam and dīdhṛtā (all RV. only), are doubtless to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) ajīgar and adidhar: their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated imperfects (cl. II.), 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 ninety. In the classical Sanskrit it is very unusual; in the whole series of later texts mentioned above (826) it occurs only once.
III. Sibilant-Aorist.

874. The common tense-sign of all the varieties of this aorist is a न s (convertible to य $) which is added to the root in forming the tense-stem.

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 (chap. XII.) and of the desiderative conjugation (chap. XIV.).

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 न $) is further increased by an य a, and the inflection is nearly like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation.

876. 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 general conjugation.

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 द i, making the tense-sign द्य i$$. Finally, before this द्य i$ the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a न s, making the whole addition द्य्य satis.

877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:
   4. with न s simply after the root: $-aorist;
   5. with द i before the न s: i$-aorist;
   6. the same, with न s at end of root: si$-aorist.

B. With य a added to the sibilant before the endings:
   7. with sibilant and य a: sa-aorist.

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
4. The s-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding स 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 र r) has the vrddhi-change in the active, and (excepting र r) graha in the middle: thus, from य नी, active stem घनिय अनाय, middle stem घनिय अनेस; from य मु स्रु, रायिय अरायस and रायिय अरोस; from य क्र क्र, रायिय अकायस and रायिय अक्रस.

b. A medial vowel has the vrddhi-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from य क्रन्दैंच चन्द, active stem ग्रहयात् अचांत्स, middle stem ग्रहयात् अचांत्स; from य सिं रिः रिः अरिक्ष and रिः अरिक्ष; from य स्य रुद्ध, ग्रहयात् अराउट्स, and ग्रहयात् अरुट्स; from य मु स्र्य, ग्रहानात् अस्राक्ष and ग्रहानात् अस्राक्ष.

880. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उम् us (not उम् an) in 3d pl. act., and ग्रन्त ata (not ग्रन्त anta) in 3d pl. mid.

But before स s and त t of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an ठ it, making the endings ठम् is and ठन् it.

This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.): see below, 888.

881. Before endings beginning with t or th, the tense-sign s is (233 b) omitted after the final consonant of a root — unless this be र r, or न n or म (converted to anusvára).

The same omission is of course made before dhwam, after either vowel or consonant; and the ending becomes dhwam, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been s: thus, astodhwam and avrđhwam (beside astosata and avrśata), but arādhwam (beside arūṣata). These three are the only test-cases for the form of the ending which have been noted in the older language,
except *drdhvam* (*vdr* ‘regard’: ṇB., once), which is to *drthās* (2d sing.) as *avrdhvam* and *avṛṣata* to *avri* and *avṛthās*.

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 (834a) 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.

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of sibilant aorist we may take the roots रुधि *rudh*, ‘obstruct’, and नी *nī*, ‘lead’. ‘Thus:

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883. The omission of *s* in the active forms is a case of very rare occurrence. In the older language have been noted only *achāntta* (RV.; written *achānta*, by 231), *abhakta* (AB.), and the augmentless *táptam* and *cápta* (repeatedly in the Brāhmaṇas). The middle forms with omission are indistinguishable from the corresponding ones of the root-aorist; and whether, in the older language, a given form is to be assigned to the one aorist or to the other is a question difficult to settle. Above (834b—d) were given all the older forms of belongings; thus questionable.

884. Certain roots in ā weaken the ā in middle inflection to i (as also in the root-aorist: above, 834a): these are said to be *sthā, dā* (dā ‘give’, and dā ‘cut’ and ‘share’), and *dhā* (dhā ‘put’, and dhā ‘suck’); in the older language have been noted only *ādiṣṭ* and *ādiṣṭā* (from dā ‘give’) and *asthiṣṭā*. TA. has *āgiṣṭā* from *vga* ‘sing’.

The middle inflection of the aorist of *vğā* would be, then,
according to the grammarians; ādisi, ādīthās, ādīta; ādisvahi, ādisāthām, ādisātām; ādismahi, ādisēvam, ādisāta.

885. Roots ending in changeable r (so-called roots in r: 242) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to īr in middle forms: thus, āstṛṣi, āstṛṣṭhās, etc. (from yāstr): hardly any such forms, however, have been found in the older language (only akṛṣata, PB.; and, on the contrary, astṛṣi occurs once, AB.).

886. The s-aorist is made in the older language from somewhat over a hundred roots (in RV., from about seventy; in A.V., from about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.; and the other texts add about twenty more — not counting in any case those of which the forms may be from the root-aorist). It has there certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and also the full series of modes — of which the optative middle is retained also in the later language as "precative".

887. Irregularities of stem-formation are:

a. The roots āhu, dīhu, and nū have ū instead of ō in the middle: thus, adhisata, adhūṣata, anūsi and anūṣātām and anūṣāta; ydhur (or dhu) makes adhūṛṣata.

b. From ymad occurs amatsus (RV., once), with unstrengthened vowel.

c. From ygam occurs agasmahi, apparently for agaṁsmahi (compare masiya, below, 895).

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 sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-finals (150). The forms without i are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in A.V. and TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, adrāk, occurs in GB. and CB.; PB. has none).

889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, aprūs (for both aprūs-s and aprūs-t) from yprū: and in like manner ahu from yhū; — ajūs (for ajūś-t) from yjī; and in like manner acūs from yci, and nāūs (augmentless) from ynī; — and yūs (for ayūs-t) from yyu.

But (as in other like cases: 555) in 3d sing. the ending t is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have ajūt (beside ajūś and ajūśūt) from yjī; and in like manner acūt, acrūt, ahūt, nāūt: no examples have been noted except from roots in i and ā.

890. 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 abhāṛs-t: beside abhāṛṣam, abhāṛṣām) from ybrh; other like cases are ahr, and (from roots in ar) akṣār, astār, aṣvār, hvār. Further, ārūk (585, end: for arūks-t) from yric; like cases are acvūt from yvūt, and (from roots with medial u) adyūt from ydyut, arūt from yrudh, and māuk from ymuc. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and h, aprāk from yprē, aṣrāk from yṣṛf,
abhāk from ṣvḥaj, adrāk from ṣṛpr, adhāk from ṣddah; but, with a different change of the final, ayāt from ṣyaj, aprāt from ṣprch, and avāt from ṣvah; and (above, 148) sṛṣṭ appears to stand twice in AV. for sṛṣ-t from ṣṛj: RV. has also twice ayūs from ṣyaj. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, atān from ṣtan, khān from ṣkhan, ayān and anān from ṣyvjam and nam (143).

If, again, the root ends in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, achn (for achn-t; beside achnatta and achantsus) from ṣchand; and other like cases are akrūn, askūn, and asyān.

A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. bhāts, from ṣbhī.

891. Irregularities of inflection do not occur further: anvesam from ṣvi is too great an anomaly to be accepted.

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 vānśi, middle: judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.

893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Brāhmaṇas. They are regularly made with ṣuṇa-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.

The forms with primary endings are: in active, stōṣaṁ; darṣaṁ; nēsaṁ, pārṣaṁ, pūṣaṁ, mātsaṁ, vākṣaṁ, sūkṣaṁ; dāṣaṁ, dhūṣaṁ, pārṣaṁ, vākṣaṁ, vākṣaṁ, vākṣaṁ, dhūṣaṁ, nēsaṁ, pārṣaṁ, mātsaṁ; — in middle, maṁsaṁ, maṁsaṁ; maṁsaṁ; kramṣaṁ, trūṣaṁ, dārṣaṁ, māṁsaṁ, vākṣaṁ, rāṣaṁ, vāṁsaṁ, sūkṣaṁ, hāṣaṁ; trūṣaṁ (not trūṣaṁ, as we should rather expect); māṁsaṁ, māṁsaṁ: and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., maṁsaṁ.

The forms with secondary endings are (active only): jēgas, vākṣas; dārṣat, nēgaṁ, pākṣaṁ, yākṣaṁ, vānṣaṁ, vākṣat, vēṣat, sāṁs, chansaṁ, etc. (14 other); yākṣāṁ; stōṣaṁ; parṣaṁ, yāṁsaṁ, yōṣaṁ, rāṁsaṁ, vākṣaṁ, cēsaṁ, cṛōṣaṁ. Of these, yākṣat and vākṣat 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 dṛkṣaṁ and pṛkṣaṁ (2d sing. mid.) lack the ṣuṇa-strengthening.

b. Jēsaṁ, stōsaṁ, and yōsaṁ (AV. yūṣaṁ, with ū for o as in anūṣaṭa

Whitney, Grammar.
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

894. The tense-sactem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign त s by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel त i, making त त i, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.

895. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:

Participles of the s-Aorist.

897. Active participles are दाक्षत or दहाक्षत, and साक्षत (both RV.).

If रजास (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an s-aorist form, रजासानि is an s-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are आरसानि, ओकासानि, ज्रयासानि, धियासानि, मन्दासानि, यमासानि, राभासानि, व्रद्धासानि, शहासानि, कवासानि, all in RV.; with नामासानि, भियासानि, in AV.

5. The is-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign त s by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel त i, making त त i, 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:

etc. appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the वृद्धि-strengthening: in which case जेस्मा is to be compared with them (we should expect जैस्मा or जेस्मा).

c. From roots in अ are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, जेस्म (only case in RV.), खयेस्म, ज्ञेस्म, ज्ञेस्म and जेस्म, देस्म, अत्सेस्म and अत्सेस्म. Their value is optative. The analogy of जेस्म and जेस्म suggests the possibility of their derivation from इ-forms of the अ-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precative character (thus, याइ-ऋ-ऋ). That they are to be reckoned to the is-aorist appears highly improbable.

d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in से, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, क्रसे, हिसे (and खिसे?); सुसे; 2. from present-stems, अरसे, रजासे, याजासे, गुदेरे, गुदेरे and गुरी. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, 897.

895. Optative forms of this aorist are made in the middle only, and they have in 2d and 3d sing. always the precative स before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: दिसे, दिसे, भख्सिः, घमसिः (for मासिः), मकसीस, रकसीस, श्रसिः; मासिः; दरसिः, भख्सिः, घमसिः, मरसिः; भख्सिः, घमसिः, मरसिः, साकसिः; मासिः. PB. has भख्सिः, which should belong to a sге-аorist. The RV. form त्रसिः (for त्रसिः or त्रसिः) is an isolated anomaly.

This optative makes a part of the accepted “precative” of the later language: see below, 921 ff.

896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find only the 2d sing. act. ने in and पार्ष (both from a-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. रुसलम and pl. रुसनत (of which the same may be said).
a. A final vowel has vrddhi in the active, and guṇa in the middle: thus, ध्र्यविघ्य apāvis and ध्र्यविघ्य apavis from \(\sqrt{\text{पु}}\) pū; अतारिष्य atāris, act., from \(\sqrt{\text{ल} \ \text{स्र}}\) tr; ध्र्यविघ्य apayis, mid., from \(\sqrt{\text{शी} \ \text{शि}}\) śi.

b. An interior vowel has guṇa, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, ध्र्यविघ्य alicas, act. and mid., from \(\sqrt{\text{लिङ्ग} \ \text{लङ्ग}}\) liç; ध्र्यविघ्य arcīs from \(\sqrt{\text{हु} \ \text{हू} \ \text{हू}}\) ruc; ध्र्यविघ्य avaris from \(\sqrt{\text{वू} \ \text{वू} \ \text{वू}}\) vṛṣ; but ध्र्यविघ्य apāvis from \(\sqrt{\text{वीर} \ \text{जी}}\) jiv.

c. Medial य य a is sometimes lengthened in the active; but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.

The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are kan, san, ran, stan, tānś, vraś, vad, mad, car, tsar, hvar, jval, das. From svas and saḥ occur forms of both kinds.

900. Of exceptions may be noted: \(\sqrt{\text{मच्छ}} \ \text{मच्छ}\) mṛj has (as elsewhere: 627) vrddhi instead of guṇa: thus, amārjīsam; \(\sqrt{\text{स्त्र}} \ \text{स्त्र}\) stṛ has astarīs, and \(\sqrt{\text{र्त}} \ \text{र्त}\) tr has acarīt (also acarāti in AV.), with guṇa in active.

The root grabh or graḥ has (as in future etc., below, 935d, 956) long ī instead of ī before the sibilant: thus, agrabhīśma, agrahiśa, agrabhīṣata. The roots in changeable r (so-called roots in r: 242), and \(\sqrt{\text{वर}} \ \text{वर} \ \text{वर}\) vṛ are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long ī from such roots are found in the older language.

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उम् us and यत् ata in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combination is-s and is-t are from the earliest period of the language contracted into इम् is and इत् it.

The 2d pl. mid. should end always in idhēvaṁ (or iddēvaṁ, from is-dhvam: 232); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable from the older language, namely ajanīḍhvam and artidhvam and anīḍhvam; but the grammarians give rules by which the lingual dh is optional only, and that after i preceded by g, r, l, v, h.

902. As examples of the inflection of the is-aorist may be taken the roots पू pu, ‘purify’, and बुध budh, ‘awake’. Thus:
XI. Aorist-systems.

903. The number of roots from which forms of this aorist have been noted in the older language is about a hundred and twenty (in RV., about eighty; in AV. more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.; in the other texts, nearly thirty more). 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 very sparingly from the same root (only about fifteen roots have both active and middle forms, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other).

No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the īṣ and the s-aorist; and in no small number of cases (more than a fifth of all), the same root shows forms of both classes.

904. Irregularities of the older language are to be noticed as follows:

a. The contracted forms akramīm, agrabhīm, and avadhiṃ (with augmentless vadhīm) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For ācarīt occurs in AV. ācarāit; also (in a part of the MSS.) čarāis for čarīs: agrabhāṣam is found in AB. (also the monstrous form ajagrabhāṣam: see 801i).

c. From yvad is found vadiṃsa (once, AB.), with short root-vowel. AV. has nudisthās, without guṇa.

d. The forms atārima (RV.) and avādiran (AV.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist.

e. Ajayit, with short i in the ending, occurs in TS.

Modes of the īṣ-aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: śāṁśiṃ, vadhīm; māthīs, vadhīs, yāvīs, sāvīs; āvīt, jārvit, māthīt, vadhīt, većit; marāhiṃsām, dōṣiṃsām, hīṃskiṃsām; avāṣām, īṃskiṃsām, bādhōṣiṃsām; crāṃsām, vāḍśiṃsām; vadhīṣṭa and vadhīṣṭana, māthīṣṭa, hīṃskiṃṣṭa; hūrīṣṭa, grahīṣṭa; — in the middle: rādiṣī; jāniṃsiḥsū, marṣiṃsiḥsū, vyādiṃsiḥsū; krāṃsiṭa, jāniṣṭa, paviṣṭa, pāṭhiṣṭa, māṇiṣṭa; vyāthiṃsiḥsū. The accent is on the root-syllable (ṇārīṣūs, AV. once, is probably an error).
906. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. davasiṣṭi, and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened e) yacisāmahe and sanisāmahe.

Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: avisās, kānisās, tūrisaṣa, raksiṣaṣa, vādhiṣaṣa, vādiṣaṣa, vēsiṣaṣa; kārisaṭa, jambhiṣaṭa, jōsiṣaṭa, tūrisaṭa, mādiṣaṭa, pāriṣaṭa, bōdiṣaṭa, mārādiṣaṭa, yacisāṭa, yodhiṣaṭa, raksiṣaṭa, vanisāṭa, vyathisāṭa, caṇisāṭa, sanisāṭa, sāviṣaṭa. They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding a to the tense-stem in ḫs before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. sanisas and mid. sāniṣanta, which are also regular. Bhaviṣaṭ (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign. 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 avanṣam (as to caṛy- and raṇ-, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted “precative” of the later language. 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 ḫs-forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: janīṣiṣya, ānāhīṣiṣya, edhiṣirya, ruciṣiṣya, janīṣiṣya, maniṣiṣya; modiṣiṣṭāṭa; janīṣiṣṭa, vaniṣiṣṭa; sahīṣiṭa; edhiṣimāḥi, janīṣīmaḥi, tārīṣīmaḥi, māndiṣīmaḥi, vanīṣīmaḥi, vardhiṣīmaḥi, sahīṣīmaḥi and saḥiṣīmaḥi. 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.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from yav a series: namely, avisedhī, avisṭu, avisṭām, avitā (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for avisṭā) and avisṭāna: 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 kramiṣṭam, gamiṣṭam, caṇiṣṭam (against cēyīṣam), tārīṣṭam, yodhiṣṭam, vaḍhiṣṭam, cnaṭhiṣṭam; raṇiṣṭana (against arāṇiṣu), cnaṭhiṣṭana.

909. No words having a participial ending after ḫs are found anywhere to occur.

910. This is the only aorist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, chap. XIV. (1019, 1035, 1048, 1068).

6. The sis-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in ḡa ā (including ni mi ‘establish’, ni mi ‘diminish’, and li li ‘cling’, which substitute forms in ā), and
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

from नम् nam, यम् yam, and रम् ram, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the s-form (4). Its inflection is precisely like that of the iṣ-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than its first persons, which we may form from the roots या yā, 'go', and नम् nam, 'bend'. Thus:

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<tr>
<th>s.</th>
<th>अयुसिसम</th>
<th>अयुसिसवा</th>
<th>अयुसिसमा</th>
<th>अनायसिसम</th>
<th>अनायसिसवा</th>
<th>अनायसिसमा</th>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>अयुसिसम</td>
<td>अयुसिसवा</td>
<td>अयुसिसमा</td>
<td>अनायसिसम</td>
<td>अनायसिसवा</td>
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<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>अयुसिसम</td>
<td>अयुसिसवा</td>
<td>अयुसिसमा</td>
<td>अनायसिसम</td>
<td>अनायसिसवा</td>
<td>अनायसिसमा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

912. The siṣ-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the iṣ-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added si. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots īya and yā, and in AV. only from īya, and probably from pyā and van (see below, 914): the remaining texts add jñā (TB.) and dā (CB.); the forms adṛṣīt (K.) and ahvāsit (GB.) might be either from this or from the si-aorist.

The participle हसमाः and causative हसयांति (RV.) show that īya had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside īya for other forms than the aorist.

913. The whole series of quotable indicative forms is as follows: अयुसिसम, अदहुसिसम; अगड़स; अगड़स, अयुसिस (and adṛṣīt and ahvāsit?); अयुसिसां; अयुसिसमा; अयुसिसा, अयुसिसा; अगड़स, अगड़स (ूक्षिसु is from याक्ष)

Forms without augment are these: हसिसम; हसिस; हसिस, यसिस; हसिसां; हसिसां; हसिस, गसिस। The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. Of proper subjunctives are found two, गसिसत and यसिसत (both RV.). Optatives are not less rare: namely, यायसिसीम and पयायसिसम (for which the AV. manuscripts read पयायसिसम, altered in the edition to पयायस); and doubtless वायसिसय (AV., twice) is to be corrected to वायसिसय, and belongs here.

The accent of यायसिसां (like अविसां, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and यायसिस (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 -ṣiṣ, -ṣiṣṭhas, etc., were not allowable, like those in -iṣi, -iṣṭhas, and the others of the iṣ-aorist.

7. The sa-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form
this aorist end in Ṛṣ, Ṛṣ; or Ṛ kṣ — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make Ṛ kṣ; and they have Ṛ i, Ṛ u, or Ṛ r as radical vowel.

They are: diq, viś, lig, viś, klīc, klīc, ruṣ, mṛc, svṛc; tviṣ, dviṣ, cliṣ, viṣ, kṛṣ; diḥ, mih, liḥ, guḥ, guḥ, ruḥ, ṛḥ, vṛḥ, sṛḥ (Kielhorn). Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take aorists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel a in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-aorist (1).

917. As the tense-stem ends in Ṛ 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 in the older language) the 1st sing. mid. ends in Ṛ i instead of Ṛ e, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in ग्रहन अथाम and ग्रहन अताम, 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 दिः diq, ‘point out’. Thus:

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<th>active</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रहितम   ग्रहिताय  ग्रहितम   ग्रहितिः  ग्रहिताकि स ग्रहितामि</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ग्रहितास   ग्रहिताय  ग्रहिताः  ग्रहितामि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रहितस   ग्रहिताय  ग्रहितस    ग्रहितामि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रहितत   ग्रहिताय  ग्रहितत    ग्रहितामि</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

919. In the earlier language, the forms of the sa-aorist are hardly more than sporadic, and are with much probability to be regarded as transfers of the s-aorist to an inflection after the manner of an a-stem. They are made in RV. from eight roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add six more, making sixteen in all. As later, all have i or u or r as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with s to kṣ; but there are in the list also two ending in j (unless the forms ascribed to mṛj and ṛṛj be forced under mṛc and ṛṛc). All the examples noted are given below.

920. In the indicative, we find, in the active: avṛksam; adruksas, aruksas, asvṛksas; adikṣat, amikṣat, avikṣat, āruksat, aghukṣat, aduksat and
XI. Aorist-systems.

Although there are no true subjunctives occur are, in the active:

\[ \text{active forms:} \]

\[ \text{ddhrksam, mfrksam; dhrksas, rukras, mfrksas; dviksat; mfrksata; dhukrsan and duksan;} \]

\[ \text{in the middle, dviksata, dhrksata and dhukrsata, dhukrsanta.} \]

There are no optative forms.

Imperative are: in the active, mfrksatam; in the middle, dhukrsasva.

The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign sá, in analogy with the a-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the á-class (VII.): a single exception is dhukrsata, which probably needs emendation to dhukrsana. 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 dhr and guh, but not from dru (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also adhukrsat and dukras, dukrsan, dukrsata.

Precative.

\[ \text{921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.} \]

\[ \text{922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:} \]

\[ \text{a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign yá: 770),} \]

\[ \text{i and u are lengthened; r is usually changed to ri, but to ir and ur in those roots which elsewhere show ir and ur forms (so-called r-roots: 242), and to ar in r and smr; ā is changed to e in the roots dā, dhā, sthā, pā 'drink', gā 'sing', and a few others, in part optionally.} \]

\[ \text{b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in badhysam from ybandh; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in ucysam, jyysam, vidhysam, supyysam, grhyysam; yças forms cisyysam (compare 639, 854): and so on.} \]

\[ \text{In the older language also, as has been seen above (838), precative optative forms are made in the active only for the root-aorist, and in a manner accordant with that here described.} \]

\[ \text{923. The precative middle is made by adding the middle precative endings (above, 568) to the root increased by s} \]
or ऋषि — that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an is-aorist (but without augment).

The root is strengthened according to the rules that apply in forming the middle-stem of the s and of the is-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before ऋषि.

Other minor rules it is unnecessary to repeat here.

In the older language, as has been pointed out in detail above, precative optative forms of the middle voice are oftens most made from the s-aorist (895) and the is-aorist (907); but also from the root-aorist (838), the a-aorist (850), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the s-s-aorist (914); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root भु "be", which is said (no middle aorist or precative is made from it in the older language) to form its middle on the is-stem. Thus:

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<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
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<td>s.</td>
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<td>p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>p.</td>
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<tr>
<td>bhuyasam</td>
<td>bhuyāsa</td>
<td>bhuyāsma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhuyās</td>
<td>bhuyāstam</td>
<td>bhuyāsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhuyat</td>
<td>bhuyāstām</td>
<td>bhuyāsas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the grammarians, the dental or lingual character of the initial of the middle ending dhvam depends upon how the aorist tense-sign is preceded: in the s-form, it is dhvam if the s is preceded by any other vowel than a or ā; in the is-form, it may be optionally dhvam if the is is preceded by y, r, l, v, or h. This seems wholly irrational: the true question is, whether the precative s is to be regarded as really present in 2d pl. mid., as in all other 2d persons of both voices: if so — which is altogether probable, but in the absence of quotable forms from the older language cannot be pronounced certain — the ending is necessarily and always dhvam.

925. The precative is a form of rare occurrence in the classical language. In each of the texts already more than once referred to (Manu, Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, Čakuntalā, Hitopadeśa)
it occurs once and no more. Its value, as already stated (573), is purely optative: thus, sarvarāṣṭreśva idāṁ vace brūyāsta (Nala), ‘[I beg that you] speak these words in all kingdoms’.

**Uses of the Aorist.**

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: 582) appear to accord in general with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after mā was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (579).

The tense-value of the aorist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.

927. The aorist of the later language is simply a pret-erit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.

Thus, tataḥ sa gardabham laguvina tādayāmāsa; tenā 'śāu pañcatvam agamat (H.), ‘thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died’; tataḥ sā vidarbhan agamat punah; tāṁ tu bandhujanaṁ samapājyatyat (MBh.), ‘thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence’; prītimān abhūt: uvāca cai ‘nam (MBh.), ‘he was filled with affection, and said to him’.

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.

Examples from the Veda are: pāri 'me gām anesata pāry agrīnāh ahrṣata, devēṣe akraτa ṣravāḥ kā imāṁ 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?’ yāṁ utsāhāṁ mánasā sū ‘yāṁ ā ‘gūt (RV.), ‘he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come’; yēnē ‘nāro havṣā kṛtyā abhavat dyuṁny tattamāḥ, idāṁ tād akri devā asapataḥ kālā ‘bhūvatam (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’.

Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: sā hā 'smiṁ jyōg uvāsa... tāto ha gardharvāḥ sāṁ udiśe: jyōg vā iyāṁ uvācī manusyāvējī avātśit (CB.), ‘she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, “this Urvacī, forsooth, hath dwelt a long time among mortals”; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: taṁ ho ‘vāca: apatsata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.), ‘his teeth fell
out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"; \textit{indrasya vrtr\textquotesingle{}am jaghn\textquotesingle{}a indriy\textquotesingle{}a\ viry\textquotesingle{}am prthviv\textquotesingle{}m \textit{\textasciitilde{}nu vy \textit{\textasciitilde{}rchat \textit{\textasciitilde{}d \textit{\textasciitilde{}shad\textit{\textasciitilde{}ayo vir\textit{\textasciitilde{}do \textit{\textasciitilde{}bh\textit{\textasciitilde{}van s\textit{\textasciitilde{} praj\textit{\textasciitilde{}patim \textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}d\textit{\textasciitilde{} vrtr\textquotesingle{}am me jaghn\textquotesingle{}a indriy\textquotesingle{}a\ viry\textquotesingle{}am prthviv\textquotesingle{}m \textit{\textasciitilde{}nu vy \textit{\textasciitilde{}r\textit{}at \textit{\textasciitilde{}d \textit{\textasciitilde{}shad\textit{\textasciitilde{}ayo vir\textit{\textasciitilde{}dho \textit{\textasciitilde{}bh\textit{\textasciitilde{}wam \textit{\textasciitilde{}ti (TS.), \textit{\textasciitilde{}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 Praj\textit{\textasciitilde{}pati, saying: "my force and might, after slaying Vritra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"; svay\textit{\textasciitilde{}m enam abhyud\textit{\textasciitilde{}tya bruy\textit{\textasciitilde{}d vr\textit{\textasciitilde{}y\textit{}a kv\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}v\textit{\textasciitilde{}ts\textit{\textasciitilde{}h (AV., in prose passage), 'going up to him in person, let him say: "Vr\textit{\textasciitilde{}tya, where hast thou abode"? y\textit{\textasciitilde{}d id\textit{\textasciitilde{}n\textit{\textasciitilde{}m dv\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}viv\textit{\textasciitilde{}d\textit{\textasciitilde{}m\textit{\textasciitilde{}n\textit{\textasciitilde{}v ey\textit{\textasciitilde{}t\textit{\textasciitilde{}m ah\textit{\textasciitilde{}m adar\textit{\textasciitilde{}cm ah\textit{\textasciitilde{}m acr\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}u\textit{\textasciitilde{}m \textit{\textasciitilde{}ti y\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{}a ev\textit{\textasciitilde{}a bruy\textit{\textasciitilde{}d ah\textit{\textasciitilde{}m adar\textit{\textasciitilde{}cm \textit{\textasciitilde{}ti t\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}m ev\textit{\textasciitilde{}a \textit{\textasciitilde{}r\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}ddadhy\textit{\textasciitilde{}\textit{\textasciitilde{}ma (QB.), '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. This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the Br\textit{\textasciitilde{}hma\textit{\textasciitilde{}nas, and is closely observed: neglect of it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin.

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 (especially of the simple aorist: Delbr\textit{\textasciitilde{}ck) are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

930. The boundary between that which has just been and that which now is is occasionally overstepped, and the aorist becomes nearly the equivalent of a present. Not very rarely, in the Veda, it is convenient to render the former as if it were the latter; and in the Br\textit{\textasciitilde{}hma\textit{\textasciitilde{}na the same is true especially of the aorist akar.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS.

931. The verb has two futures, of very different age and character. The one has for tense-sign a sibilant followed by \textit{\textasciitilde{}\\textasciitilde{}ya, and is an inheritance from the time of Indo-European unity. The other is a periphrastic formation, made by appending an auxiliary verb to a derivative noun of
agency, and it is a recent addition to the verb-system; its beginnings only are met with in the earliest language. The former may be called the s-future (or the old future, or simply the future); the latter may be distinguished as the periphrastic future.

I. The s-future.

932. The tense-sign of this future is the syllable स्थ syā, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel ए i (in the latter case becoming एष्य isyā). The root has the guna-strengthening. Thus, from य दा dā is formed the future tense-stem दास्य dāsyā; from य ए i, the stem एष्य esyā; from य ऊ dū hu, the stem धक्ष्य dhokṣyā; from य भ ह bhū, the stem भविष्य bhavisyā; from य र ध rdh, the stem धर्मिष्य ardhisyā; and so on.

But from य जिव jīv the stem is jīvisyā, from य उक्ष it is ukṣisyā, and so on (240).

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in ए a (second general conjugation). We may take as models of inflection the future of य दा dā, 'give', and that of य क kṛ, 'make'. Thus:

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<td>dāsyāmi</td>
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<td>दास्यातस</td>
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<td>dāsyāti</td>
<td>dāsyātas</td>
<td>dāsyānti</td>
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934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel i before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accord-
tive; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist (s-aorist on the one side, or is-aorist on the other), any correspondence is still less traceable. Practically, it is necessary to learn, as a matter of usage, how any given root makes these various parts of its conjugational system.

935. Below is added a statement of the usage, as regards the auxiliary vowel, of the roots observed to form the s-future in the older language (more than a hundred and fifty: the collection is believed to be tolerably complete) — for the most part, in the form of a specification of the roots 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 ṭ) take no i. Thus, all in ā (numerous, and unnecessary to specify); all in i — i, ksi, ci, ji — except cṛi [and cuṇ]; all in i — kṛī, ni, bhī, mī, vi — except cī [and dī]; all in u — cuṇ, dru, plu, cru, dru — except su ‘press’, and stu, which follow either method, as stōṣyāmi and stāvīṣyāmi [and except kṣu, kṣṇu, nu, yu, ru, snu]. But all in ṭ (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take i [and those in changeable ṭ, or so-called ū-roots (242) are said to take either i or ū; no ū-forms, however, are found in the older language]; and likewise those in ū — namely bhū, dhū.

b. Of roots ending in mutes, two thirds add sya directly. Thus, of roots in k, cak; — in c (all but yāc: namely), muci, ric, vac, vaṣce, Sic [and pac, vic]; — in ch, prach (only case); — in j (all but vraj: namely), bhaj, majj (maṅkṣya), meṛ (maṅkṣya), yaj, yuj, vṛj, srj [also tyaj, bhrājī, bhaṅjī, raṅjī, saṅjī, svaṅjī, niṅjī, vijī, rujī, bhujī]; in ṭ, kṛṭ and vṛṭ [kṛṭ, vṛṭ optionally]; — in ṅ, ad, pad, cād, sad, skand, syand, chid, bhid, vid ‘find’, nud [also had, khid, svid, kṣud, tud, and chṛd and trd optionally]: only observed exceptions, vad, and vid ‘know’; — in dh, bandh, ṛādh, budh, yuddh, rudh [also vyadh, sādh, sidh, krudh, kṣudh, cūdh, vṛdh]: only observed exceptions, ṛdh and grdh; — in n, tan and man (but man forms sometimes manīṣya); — in p, tap, vapr, āp, gup, deṛ, sṛp, klp [also cap, kṣip, klp, lup]: svap forms both svapṣya and svapiṣya; — in bh, yabh and labh [also ṛabh]: no exceptions observed; — in m, nam, yam, ram: kram follows either method.

c. Of roots ending in semivowels, all (they are very few) take the auxiliary i. The roots vā or vi (‘ve’) ‘weave’ and hvā or hu (‘hwe’) ‘call’ take the forms vay and hvay, as before the a of their present-stem: thus, vayiṣya, hvaiṣya.

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in ṣ, vic, ṍṛ (ṝkṣya), mṛṛ (mrākṣya) [also ṭaṛ, ṛṇ, r, ṭuṛ, ṭuṇ, ṭuṇ, ṭuṇ, ṭuṇ]; — in s, ṣis, ṛṛ (ṝkṣya) [also ṭiṣ, ṭiṣ, ṭiṣ, ṭiṣ, ṭiṣ, ṭiṣ, ṭiṣ, ṭuṣ, ṭuṣ, ṭuṣ, ṭuṣ]; — in s, vas ‘dwell’ (vasṭya:
187) [also ghas]; — in h, dah, vah, mih, duh, ruh [also nah, dih, lth]: exceptions are grah (grahisyā) and muh.

In the older language, a decided, though not a large, majority of simple roots add the sya without auxiliary i; in the classical Sanskrit, doubtless the contrary is the case, as i is generally taken by any root of late origin and derivative character — as it is also uniformly in secondary conjugation (chap. XIV.).

936. As the root is strengthened in forming the stem of this future, so, of a root that has a strong and a weak form, the strong form is used: thus, from vnaç or nañç is made nañkṣya; from vsras or srañs, srañsisya, and the like.

Special irregularities in forming stems from certain roots have been noted in connection with those roots above (see majj, mṛj, vay and ḫvay, grah).

The ÇB. has once the monstrous form acñnuvisyāmahe, made upon the present-stem acñu (cl. IV.) of vnaç.

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); the TS. has occurrences (personal forms and participles together) from over sixty roots; and (as has been noticed above) 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 occur only sporadically. The sole Vedic example is karisyāś, 2d sing. subj. act. (in RV., once or twice); GB. has esyāmahāi, taṁsyāmahāi, sthāsyāmahāi, all 1st pl. subj. mid.; and bhavisyadhvam, vetsyadhvam, savisyadhvam, 2d pl. impv. mid., are quoted (Bopp) from MBh.

Participles of the s-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in Ś a: namely, by adding in the active the ending śnt, in the middle the ending māna; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, rāsyāś dāsyānt and rāsyānā dāsyāmāna, kārīṣyāś kārīṣyānt and kārīṣyānā kārīṣyāmāna.

According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in āntī or in ātī; but only the former has been noted as occur-
ring in the older language, and the latter, if met with at all, is very rare: see above, 449.

In RV. occurs once sāsyanti, from yśū, 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 ṣ a. This preterit is called the conditional.

It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional aurais to the future aurai, or as the English would have to will have — nearly as the German würde haben to werde haben.

Thus, from the roots already instanced:

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<td>ādāsyan</td>
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941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, ābhārisyat, ‘was going to carry off’, and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brāhmaṇas it is hardly more common (fifteen occurrences, of which several are in repetitions of the same passage) — except in CB., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, or Hitopadeśa; only one in Manu; and two in Čakuntalā.

II. The Periphrastic Future.

942. This formation contains only a single indicative tense, active and middle, without modes, or participle, or preterit.

Its 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 त्र (or तव) and this (as in its other than verbal uses: see chap. XVII.) is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary वowel अ औ र, the root itself being strengthened by गुना, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, दात्र from दा; कर्त्र kartṛ from कर्त्र; भवित्र bhavitṛ from भू bhū.

As regards the presence or absence of the vowel अ, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the s-future from the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in य take no अ: thus, kartṛ (against karṣya); roots han and gam show the same difference; while vṛt, vrdh, and syand have अ here, though not in the s-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons of both voices, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (373), is used without auxiliary: thus, भवित bhavitā, 'he or she or it will be'; भवितार bhavitārau, 'both will be'; भवितार bhavitāras, 'they will be'. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of य य as 'be' (636) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun. As an independent verb, य as has no middle forms; but for this auxiliary use middle persons have been made by analogy, आ he being used in 1st sing.

Thus, from दात्र dā, 'give':

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Very rarely, other persons than the third are used without the auxiliary verb: thus, aham draśṭā, 'I shall see' (MBh.); trayam bhavitā (MBh. Megh.), 'thou shalt be'; and examples are not unknown of the auxiliary in the 3d person: thus, vaktā 'sti (MBh.), 'he will speak'; and of the use in dual and plural of the proper number-form with the auxiliary: thus, karturāu svah (MBh.), 'we two shall do'.

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 atināstrō bhavitāsmi (CB.), '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 (598), 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), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the nōmina agentis in tr 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. 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. The tense-use begins, but rather sparingly, in the Brāhmaṇas (from which over thirty occurrences are quotable), and grows more common later, though the periphrastic future is nowhere so frequent as the s-future.

947. Middle forms are extremely few in the older language. TS. has once prayōktāse, which seems to be 1st sing. (the usual ending e added to the abbreviated root 's); but TA. (i.11) has once the later form yāṣṭāhe; caṇitāse in CB. is clearly 2d sing.; TB. has once yāṣṭāsmahē, 1st pl.

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 few examples are: varṣiyaṭyā āisūmaḥ parjanyo viṣṭimān bhaviṣyati (CB.), 'it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year'; yās tāṁ nā veda kīṁ roṇ karisyati (RV.), 'whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? ā vāt vayaṁ agni dhāṣyāmaḥ ātha yūyāṁ kūṁ karisyatha (CB.), 'we are going to build the two fires; then what will you do?' tāṁ ś NATO bhyāudṛiva haniṣyān (CB.), 'him Indra ran at, intending to slay'; yādy eva kariṣyātha sūkāṁ devāṁ vajāyūso bhaviṣyatha (RV.), 'if

Whitney, Grammar.
ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dántās te catasyanti (AV.), 'thy teeth will fall out'; nā marīṣyati mā bibheḥ (AV.), 'thou shalt not die; be not afraid'; brūhi kva yāsyati (MBh.), 'tell us; where are you going to go?' yadi mām pratyākhṣyasi viṣam āsthāsyē (MBh.), 'if you shall reject me, I will resort to poison'. As in other languages, the tense is also sometimes used for the expression of a conjecture: thus: ko 'yāh devo gandharva vā bhavisyati (MBh.), 'who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva'.

949. The periphrastic future is defined by the grammarians as expressing something to be done at a definite time to come. And this, though but faintly traceable in later use, is a distinct characteristic of the formation in the language where it first makes its appearance (Delbrück). It is especially often used along with āvās, 'tomorrow'.

A few examples are: yatārūn vā ime āvās kamitāras te jetāras (K.), 'whichever of the two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; prātar yaṣṭāsmahe (TB.), 'we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning'; ityāhē vāh paktāmi (QB.), 'on such and such a day I will cook for you'; tān ma ēkāṁ viṛtrim ante ca yatītē jātā u te 'yāṁ tārhi putro bhavitā (QB.), '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, bibhrīt mā pārājīṣyāmi tvē 'ti: kāsman mā pārājīṣyati 'ty āughā ēmaḥ sārvāḥ prajā nirvādhā, tātās tvē pārājītāmi 'ti (QB.), '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'; paridevayāṁ cakhire mahac chokabhayam prāptāsma (GB.), 'they set up a lamentation: 'we are going to meet with great pain and dread''; yaje 'yakṣi yaṣṭāhe ca (TA.), 'I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifice'. In yet other cases, in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, prajāyāṁ enam viṁśāsthmo yadi vidvān vā juyatī avidvān vā (AB.), 'we shall know him in his children whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge'; vaktaṁ vā idāṁ devebhyaḥ (AB.), 'we shall tell this to the gods'; yadi svārtho mamā 'pi bhavitā tata evāṁ svārthah kariṣyāmi (MBh.), 'if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair'; kathah tu bhavitāsy eka iti tvāṁ nrpa cecimi (MBh.), 'but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you'.

950. The conditional would seem to be most originally and properly used to signify that something 'was going to' be done. And this value it has in its only Vedic occurrence, and occasionally elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.
Thus, yo vrtraya stnam atrā bhariṣyat prā tānm jānitrī vidūṣa uṣaça (RV.), 'him, who was going here to carry off Vritra's wealth, his mother pro-
claimed to the knowing one'; caṭāyam gām akariṣyam (AB.), 'I was going to
make (should have made) the cow live a hundred years' (in other versions
of the same story is added the other clause, in which the conditional has a
value more removed from its original: thus, in GB., 'if you, villain, had not
stopped [prāgrahasyah] my mouth'); tātā eva śya bhayām vā 'yāya kāsmūd
dhy ābhēṣyad dvitiyād vāḥ bhayām bhavati (QB.), 'thereupon his fear departed;
for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second
person'; ātpapāta cirām tān mene yād vāsāḥ paryādāhīṣyata (QB.), 'he leaped
up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment'; sa tād eva nā
vindat praajasatīr yātrā 'hosyat (MS.), 'Prajapati, verily, did not then find
where he was to (should) sacrifice'; evam cen nā 'vaksyo mūrdhā te vyapatiṣyant
(GB.), 'if he had been only so much, there
would have been only so many living creatures as were created at first; they
would have had no progeny'; kim vā 'bhaviṣyad aroṇas tamasāṁ vibhettā
tam cet sahasrakriṇo dhuri nā 'kariṣyat (Çak.), '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. 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 partic-
ular part of it.

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.

The same is true of the so-called gerunds, or indeclinable
participles.

Passive Participle in tā or nā.

952. By the accented suffix न ता — or, in a compar-
avatively small number of verbs, न नाः — is formed a verbal
adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्त dattā, ‘given’; उक्त uktā, ‘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.

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 gatā, ‘gone’; भूत bhūtā, ‘been’; पतित patitā, ‘fallen’.

953. In general, this participle is made by adding त to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel i to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add न to instead of त, see below, 956, 957.

As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085 a.

954. The root before त 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 dropped: e. g. अक्ता aktā from वा अष्ट, बद्धता from न बान्ध, स्राष्ट्व from न स्राष्ट्व or sras.

b. Roots which in the weak forms of the perfect are abbreviated (794) suffer the same abbreviation here: thus, उक्ता from वा व, उष्टा from वा यज्ञ, सुपत्ता from वा सव, विद्धता from वा वध, प्रस्तांत from वा प्राच.

c. Final अ is weakened to इ in गिता from व ग ‘sing’, पिता from व प ‘drink’, धिता from व ध ‘suck’, स्पिता, विता from व याय, िता from व चर; — and it is weakened to इ in स्थिता, हिता from व ध ‘put’ (with ध also changed to ह: but धिता is found also in compounds in V.), दिता from व ध ‘cut’ and यद्ध ‘bind’; सिता, बिता from व म ‘measure’, िता (or चिता), चित्त (or चीत्त).

d. A final m or n is lost after a in गता, नता, यता, रता (from ग गम etc.); हता, मता, धता, तता, वता (from व हम etc.).

e. More isolated cases are: उता from व व, उता from व ‘weave’, िता from व ‘स, िता िता referred to व ‘मुख, िता from व ‘स, िता from व ‘नव ‘play’, मुता from व ‘म, धूता from व ‘ध ‘cleanse’ (RV. has also धुता).
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 in others of their verbal forms): thus, kāṇṭā, krāṇṭā, tāṇṭā, sāṅṭā, grāṇṭā, from V kram etc.; V dhvān ‘be covered’ forms in like manner dhvāṇṭā.

b. Three roots in an make the participle from parallel roots in ā: thus, jāṭā, khāṭā, sāṭā, from V jān etc.

c. The root dā ‘give’ forms dattā (from the derivative form dāda), but dāla also is found in composition in V. The contracted tta (as if for dāta, with the radical vowel lost) is widely found in composition, especially with prepositions (1087e), but also with other elements: thus, devatā (RV.); punartta (PB. vi. 5.12); and, according to the grammarians, sūṭa. The root jaks (derivative of ghas: 675) forms jagdha, as if from jagh (once apparently abbreviated in composition to gāha in TS.: thus, agdhād); V svad makes in Veda svāttā (beside svaditā).

956. The suffix with i, or in the form ṭī, itā, is regularly used with the derivative verb-stems in secondary conjugation (chap. XIV.), also often with roots of a derivative character (as जिन्य jīne, हिन्स hīns), and not infrequently with original roots (as पत्त pat, चर car, मन्त manth, शी cī).

In RV. and AV., the participles in āta from simple roots are more than a sixth of the whole number. Among them, uditā (V vad) is the only case of abbreviation of va to u. From grath comes grhita (once). Jahīta from yhā (by substitution of the present-stem as shown in jahāmi) is an isolated irregularity. Čayita shows the same strengthening which appears in the present-system (629).

A few roots form the participle either with or without the auxiliary i: thus, guptā and gupitā, ěptā and ěptitā, dhṛṣṭā and dhṛṣītā, maddā and maditā, vittā (also vinnā) and viditā.

The root grabh or grah has, as elsewhere, long i: thus, grbhītā, grhītā.

957. The suffix Nā (always without auxiliary ṭī i) is taken instead of N āta by a number of roots. Thus:

a. Certain roots in ā, and in i and u-vowels: namely, cyānā or cyānā from cyā, crānā from crā, jīnā (beside jītā) from jyā or jē, cūnā from cvā or cē, hānā and hīnā from yhā, dinā from ydā ‘bind’ and ‘cut’, kṣānā (beside kṣitā) from kṣi ‘destroy’, pīnā from ypyā or pē, vīnā from yvē, tinā from yī, dūnā from ydu, dyānā from ydvē or dev ‘lament’, lānā from yth — and some others.

b. The roots in variable r (so-called r-roots: 242), which before the suffix becomes īr or ēr: thus, kṛṇā, gūṇā, jīrṇā, tīrṇā, dīrṇā, cīrṇā, stīrṇā (beside stṛtā); pūrṇā, mūrṇā; and jūrṇā.
A few participial forms in tā from such roots are met with in the older language: thus, guṛtā, pūrtā, cūrtā.

c. A few roots ending in i (which becomes e before the suffix: 216.4): thus, bhagnā from ṭbhaj, bhugnā from ṭbhuj, magnā from ṭmaji, ruṣā from ṭruj. Also, one or two others that show a guttural before the na: thus, lagnā from ṭlag, vṛkṇā from ṭvra, aṅkā from ṭac.

d. A number of roots, some of them very common ones, in d (which becomes n before the suffix: 161, end): thus, channā, chinā, bhinnā, vinnā (beside vittā and viditā), skannā, syannā, svinnā, tunnā, pannā, sannā (beside sattā, which alone is found in V.); and hlannā (according to the grammarians) from ṭhlād; also ṭṛṇā from ṭṛd and ṭṛṇā from ṭkṛd, which show an irregular lingualization of the nasal; and others.

958. The 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’, kṛṣṇā, ‘emaciated’, pakvā, ‘ripe’, phullā, ‘expanded’, cūṣka, ‘dry’.

Past Active Participle in tavant.

959. From the past passive participle is made, by adding the possessive suffix तत्र vant, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, तत्र त्रतवान् tāt kṛtāvan, ‘having done that’. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (452 ff.); its feminine ends in यति vati; 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: açićāvata átithāu, ‘one’s guest having eaten’ (loc. abs.). In the Brāhmaṇas also it is extremely rare. In the later language, however, it comes to be quite common. And there it is almost always used predicatively, and generally without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb-form in the perfect tense (like the derivative in tā in the future: 942 ff.). For example: māṁ na kaceid drśṭavān, ‘no one has seen me’; sa nakulam vyopādītavān, ‘he destroyed the ichneumon’; or, with copula, māḥat kṛcchram prāptavatasy asi, ‘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 or factitive predicate), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, cūtena sanskritavati (Çak.), ‘has become united with the mango-tree’; gatavati (ib.), ‘she has gone’.

Future Passive Participles: Gerundives.

961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part
more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in
the language a value as qualifying something which is to,
or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root
from which they come; and they are allowed to be made
from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper par-
ticiples, usually treated as a part of the general verbal sys-
tem, and called future passive participles, or gerundives
(like the Latin forms in _ndus_, to which they correspond in
meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regu-
larly and ordinarily made are three: namely _ya_, _ta-
vya_, and _anīya_.

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.

963. The suffix _ya_ in its gerundive use has nothing to
distinguish it from the same suffix as employed to make adject-
ives and nouns of other character (see below, chap. XVIII.: 1213).
And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.

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).

Thus: a. Final _ā_ becomes _e_ before the suffix: _dēya_, _khēya_,
_mēya_ (probably _dā-ia_ etc., with euphonic _y_ interposed): but RV.
has once _-jīnāya_. — b. The other vowels either remain unchanged,
or have the _guna_ or the _vrddhi_ strengthening; and _e_ usually and
_ō_ always are treated before the _ya_ as they would be before a
vowel: thus, _jāya_, _bāya_, _śāya_; _nāya_, _bāya_, _śāya_, _bāvāya_; _vāya_:
and, in the later language, _nīya_, _jēya_, _dūya_ (such cases
are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds _t_
before the suffix: thus, _tiya_, _mīya_, _śrūtya_, _stūya_, _kṛtya_ (the
only Vedic examples). — c. Medial _a_ remains unchanged or is
lengthened: thus, _dābhya_, _vāndya_, _śādyā_; _mādyā_, _vēcya_. —
d. Medial _i_, _u_, and _r_-vowels are unchanged or have the _guna-
strengthening_: thus, _īdya_, _gūhyā_, _dhṛṣya_; _dvēsya_, _yādhyā_, _mājya_.

The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds
half as many more. Except in _bhūvitā_ (once), the accent in RV. is always
on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the i of the suffix (hence written ṛdyā, ṛcyā, -vyādhyā, -dharyā). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed: always the former, if the ya follow a vowel.

964. The suffix tavya is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in tu (below, 972), made by adding the suffix ya (properly ia, whence the accent ya), before which the final u, as usual, has āṇa-strengthening, and is resolved into av.

Hence, both as regards the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel i before the tavya, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, 968).

No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, jānitavya and hīnitaivyā. In the Brāhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and the derived conjugational stems (next chapter); in the classical language it is still more frequent. According to the grammarians, the accent of the word is either circumflex on the final or acute on the penult: thus, kartavyā or kartāvyā; in the accentuated texts, it is always the former.

As to the impersonal use of this gerundive, see below, under Passive (999).

965. The suffix anīya is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix īya (1215) to a nomen actionis formed by the common suffix ana.

It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix ana (below, chap. XVIII.: 1150).

This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in upājanīya 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 much less common than the gerundive in tavya. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix īya, is on the penult: thus, karaṇīya.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in tua or tvā, apparently made from the infinitival noun in tu with the added suffix a (1209). They are kārtua (in two occurrences kārta), jāntua, jētu, nāmtua, vāktua, sōtua, snātua, hāntua, hētu; and, with auxiliary i (or ì), jānitua, sāntua, bhāvītua.

b. Gerundives in enia or enya (compare 1217): they are idēnia, carēnia, drēnia, bhūśēnya, yudhēnia, vāreṇia; with one example from an apparent aorist-stem, yamśēnya, and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, 1038).

c. Gerundives in āhya (once āhya: compare 1218): they are daksāhya, panāhya, vidāhya, crenāhya, hnavāhya; with a few from causative secondary conjugation-stems (below, chap. XIV.); and stūṣēya is of close kindred with them.
d. A few adjectives in elima, as sacelima, bhidelima (apparently not found in use) 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 (chap. XVII.: 1178), from secondary conjugational stems, have participial value; and in the Brâhmaṇas (with an example or two in AV.) is found widely and commonly used a participial adjective formed with the suffix *ukena (ibid., 1180).

Infinitives.

968. The later language has 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 र् ṛ i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is तुम tum or सतुम itum. The root has the guna-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, श्लुम्भ० étum from यः ॐ i; क्षरः kārtum from क्रः kṛ; चारितम् cāritum from चार car; भावितम् bhāvitum from भू म bhū.

The rules as to the use or omission of the auxiliary i are the same as those that apply to the formation of the periphrastic future-noun in त्र tr or तार tār (943).

The same form, in a like use, is found also in the older language, back to its earliest recorded period; but it is there only one of a whole body of related formations, an account of which is in brief as follows:

969. In the Veda and Brâhmaṇa, 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 अम am, its dative in ओ e (from अ-roots) ओि ai, its genitive and ablative in अस as, and its locative in आ i.
   b. The verbal noun in तु tu is so used in its accusative in तुम tum, its dative in तावे tave or तावै tavaï, and its ablative and genitive in तोस tos.
Of other nouns, only single cases, generally datives, are reckoned as
used with infinitive value; thus:

c. From the verbal noun in as, the dative in ase; and also,
in an extremely small number of instances, a dative in se (or
še), 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 tyai.
f. From nouns in i, datives in aye.
g. From nouns in dhi and śi, datives in dhyai and syai.
h. A few infinitives in saṇi are perhaps locatives from nouns
in an added to a root increased by s.
i. From a single root, dhr, are made infinitively used forms
in tārī, of which the grammatical character is questionable.

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 both, are those in se, saṇi, tari, dhyai, and tavaii.

Except the various cases of the derivative in tu, and of the root-noun,
these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the Rig-Veda.

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; and the so-called infinitives are found coördinated
in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns.

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form, 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, pā?, 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).

The roots in ā form the accus. in ām (pratidhām, AV.), the dat. in āt,
the abl. in ās (understanding avasā before ā as for avasās and not avasāt
in RV. iii.53.20), and the locative in e (only two examples, of which one
is 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 rule already stated, 968).
The root is accented, unless the noun be combined with a preposition, in
which case the latter has the accent instead: thus, kārtum, étave, hāntos,
but nīkratum, nīretave, nīrhandos.

The dative in tavaii 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, étavāt, hāntavāt, ātyetavāt, āpabhartavāt.

The root grah makes (as in other kindred formations) grahitu; and long i
is shown also by cāritu, stāritu, hávitu (and compare bhāvitva, 968 a).
973. The infinitive in _ase_ is made in RV. from about twenty-five roots; in AV. and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In near three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: thus, _rajase_, _jivase_, _bhigyase_, _tujase_; the exceptions are _cakṣase_; _dhyase_ (with _y_ inserted before the suffix); and _ayase_, _bhārase_, _spārase_, _hārase_ (with _guna_-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by _javase_, _dohase_, _bojase_, _cobbhase_. In _putuṣyaṣe_ is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

The ending _se_ is extremely rare, being found only in _jise_ and perhaps _stuśe_, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in _mane_ are made from only five roots: thus, _trāmaṇe_, _dāmaṇe_, _dhāmaṇe_, _bhāmaṇe_, and (with different accent) _vidmaṇe_. From _y/dā_ comes _dāvāṇe_; _tuvāṇe_ may come directly from _y/ṭr_, or through the secondary root _turu_; _dhārvāṇe_ is rather from _y/ḍhur_ than from _y/ḍhvr_.

975. The infinitives in _taye_ are _istāye_ (_y/ṭi_), _pitāye_ (_y/pā_ `drink'), _vītāye_, _sātāye_. In _tyāi_, the only examples noted are _ityāi_ (RV.) and _sādhyaīi_ (AB.).

With _aye_ are formed _tujaye_, _ḍṛcaye_, _mahāye_, _yudhya_, _sandye_.

976. The ending _dhīyi_ 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, _cucādhīyi_, _pṛṇādhīyi_, _dhyādhīyi_, _huvādhīyi_. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, _cayādhīyi_, _stavādhīyi_, _tarādhīyi_, _farādhīyi_, _mandādhīyi_, _vandādhīyi_. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, _kṣāradhīyi_, _gāmadhīyi_, _yājadhīyi_ (but once or twice also _yajādhīyi_), _vāhadhīyi_, _sāhadhīyi_, _bhāradhīyi_. In a single instance, _pṛbadhīyi_, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, _vāvṛadhādhīyi_, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in _ay_: thus, _mādāyādhīyi_, _rīṣāyādhīyi_, etc.

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 in the branches of the Yajur-Veda but two or three examples have been noticed (one of them TS. falsely reads _gāmadhya_); in the Brāhmaṇa language it appears to be entirely wanting.

977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in _ṣyāi_: thus, _roḥiṣyāi_ (TS.), _avathishyāi_ (K.).

978. The infinitives in _ṣaṇi_ are: _bhūṣāni_ from _ybhū_; _cūṣāni_ from _y/ṛū_ or _cūa_; _nēṣāni_ from _y/nī_; _sakṣāni_ from _y/sah_; _pāraṣāni_ from _y/pr_; _tarṣāni_ from _y/ṛ_; and _grṇiṣāni_ and _ṣṭriṣāni_ from _y/ṛ/ṛ_ and _ṣṭṛ_ — the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. _grṇiṣé_, 894d).

979. The only infinitive in _tart_ is _dhartār_ (with its compound _vidhartaṛ_), from _y/ḍhr_.

**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.

Especially, of forms from the roots çak, 'be able', and arh, 'be worthy, have the right or the power'. Thus, cañkama tvā samādham (RV.), 'may we accomplish thy kindling'; mā çakan pratidham ēṣum (AV.), 'may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string'; māno vā imān sadyāḥ pāryāptam arhati māṁ māṁ pāribhavatim (TS.), 'the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her'; kō hy ētabhy ērhati gāhyam nāma grāhitum (CB.), '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).

Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, datāśiṁāni hātum eti (TS.), 'he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts'; āndram pratīram āmy dūryah (RV.), 'I go to Indra for (1. e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life'; — of ydhṛ, 'persist in, undertake': as, sā ādān jatāḥ sārvam eva dāgdkum dadhre (CB.), 'he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe'; — of verbs meaning 'desire, hope, notice, know', and the like: as, pācān viśīrān vēthā sārvān (AV.), 'thou knowest how to loosen all bonds'; tāsmād agnān nā "driyeta pāriḥantum (CB.), '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: viṣṭivaḥ ājīvān carāse bodhāyantī (RV.), 'awakening every living creature to motion'; tān ēva yāta pībadhyāi (RV.), 'come to drink them'; nāt 'tāṁ te devā adadur āttave (AV.), 'the gods did not give her to thee for eating'; prāṛ ḍyaudyā dāsyum ēndrah (RV.), 'Indra went forward to fight the demon'; cāksur no dīhe viṇhyāi (RV.), 'give us sight for looking abroad'.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cañkāra sūryāya pāṇthām āvētavā u (RV.), 'he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following)'; pītāte gṛīṛe ṛākṣobhya vimīṣe (RV.), 'he whets his horns to pierce the demons'; rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmadṛṣṭye cārave hántavā u (RV.), 'I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater'; asmābhayaṃ dṛṣṭaye sūryāya pūnar dātām āsum, 'may they grant life again, that we may see the sun'.

b. An infinitive with ykr, 'make', is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prā ṛnāhāṁ çroṇām cākṣasa ētave kṛtyah (RV.), 'ye make the blind and lame to see and go'; agnān samātāhe cañkārtha (RV.), 'thou hast made the fire to be kindled'. Of similar character is an occasional
construction with another verb: as, याद इम uṣmāsī कर्तवे करत् तत् (RV.), 'what we wish to be done, may he do that'.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, अग्नि इव ना प्रतिद्धे भवति (TS.), 'like fire, he is not to be resisted'; mahimā ते अन्येना ना साविनंदे (VS.), 'thy greatness is not to be attained by another'; nādīm इंद्रो मात्रतत्वे ना चक्राः पारिकात्त्वे (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 pretty clearly the value of an imperative: thus, त्या में याचारी ... आजित्या हुवड़ह्याति [ast] (RV.), 'these glorious ones shall the son of Uṣij invoke for me'; सूक्लेहिर वा ... इन्द्र इव अग्नि अवसे हुवड़ह्याति [stā] (RV.), 'with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid'; वान्दद्ध्याति अग्निम् नामोहिः [asmī] (RV.), 'let me greet Agni with homage'; अस्नाकासस एव शुरुयो विवा ध्यास तारिदनि (RV.), 'and let our sacrificers cross all regions'. The infinitives in द्व्याति and यो (which latter is in all its uses accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the ČB. (with only a sporadic case or two elsewhere) the dative in तवाति is frequently used with a verb signifying 'speak' (brū, vac, ak), to express the ordering of anything to be done: thus, त्वस्माद इष्टद्धिना एवा मायाम् निश्चेत्तवाति धुः, 'therefore let him direct the roots of the plants to be cut up (speak in order to cutting up).

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 अ, 'until', and वर्म, 'before'.

Thus, अ तमितो स (TS. etc.), 'until exhaustion'; पुरावावः प्रवादितो स (TS.), 'before utterance of the voice'. In the Brāhmaṇa language, this is the well-nigh exclusive construction of the ablative; in the Veda, the latter is used also after भ्रेत, 'without', and after several verbs, as त्राण and पा, यु, भी।

In two or three instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated above for the dative (982a), a noun dependent on this infinitive is put in the ablative beside it: thus, पुरावावः प्राबोधकम् समप्रवादितो (PB.), 'before the utterance together of the voices'; त्राधवान् करूति अवपादा (RV.), 'save us from falling down into the pit'.

984. The genitive infinitive (having the same form as the ablative) is in common use in the Brāhmaṇa language as depend-ent on िववा, 'lord, master', employed adjectively in the sense of 'capable' or 'likely' or 'exposed to'.

Examples are: ता [देवाता] इववाम इम प्रकाया (TS.), 'they are likely to burn him up'; अथा हि इववाम ग्नित्या किते दाविलि अप्यातोर वि वा नूलित्स (CB.), 'so in truth he is liable, after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger'; िववाम वा राढान्तारम् उद्गवतुष चासुह प्रमोधितो (PB.), 'the rathantar is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter'.
The dative is once used in CB. instead of the genitive (in īcvarāḥ jā-
naayitavāḥ); and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in tum. Occasionally the masc. sing. nom. īcvarāḥ is used, without regard to the gen-
er or number of the word which it qualifies: thus, tāsye āncvarāḥ pra[j]ā
pāpiyasā bhāvitoḥ (CB.), ‘his progeny is liable to deteriorate’. And in a few
instances the word īcvara is omitted, and the genitive has the same value
without it: thus, dvē madhyandinan abhi pratyetos (AB.), ‘two may be added
to the noon libation’; tāto dīkṣitāḥ pāmanā bhāvitoḥ (CB.), ‘then the con-
cerated is liable to get the itch’.

This construction with īcvara, which is the only one for the genitive
infinite in the Brähmana, is unknown in the Veda, where the genitive is
found in a very small number of examples with madhyā, and with the root
īc: thus, madhyā kārtoḥ (RV.), ‘in the midst of action’; īce rāyo dātoḥ (RV.),
‘he is master of the giving of wealth’.

985. Unless the infinitives in gaṇi and tari are locative in form (their
uses are those of datives), the locative infinitive is so rare, and has so little
that is peculiar in its use, that it is hardly worth making any account of.
An example is uṣāso budhī (RV.), ‘at the awakening of the dawn’.

986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much
more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences
are twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and
the accusative in tum is rare (only four forms in RV., only
eight in AV.). In the Brähmanas, the accusative has risen to
much greater comparative frequency (its forms are nearly twice
as many as those of the dative); but the ablative-genitive, which
is rare in the Veda, has also come to full equality with it. The
complete disappearance in the classical language of all except-
the accusative in tum is a matter for no small surprise.

987. The later infinitive in tum is oftenest used in con-
structions corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus,
na vāspam açakat soḍhum, ‘he could not restrain his tears’; tāṁ
draśṭum arhasi, ‘thou oughtest to see it’; prāptum ichanti, ‘they
desire to obtain’; saṁkhyātum ārabdhāṁ, ‘having begun to count’.
But also, not infrequently, in those of the other cases. So,
especially, of the dative: thus, avasthātum sthānāntaraṁ cintaya,
‘devise another place to stay in’; tvāṁ anmeṣṭum ihā “gataḥ, ‘he
has come hither to seek for thee’; — but likewise of the geni-
tive: thus, samarthe gantum, ‘capable of going’; saṁdhanātum īc-
varāh, ‘able to mend’. Even a construction as nominative is
not unknown: thus, yaktaṁ tasya mayā samācēvārayitum bhā-
ryāṁ [MBh.], ‘it is proper for me to comfort his wife’; na
naptārāṁ svayam nyāyyam caṣṭum evam (R.), ‘it is not suitable
thus to curse one’s own grandson’.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain
connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, kartum ārabdhāḥ,
'begun to be made': crotum na yajyaite, 'it is not fit to be heard (for hearing)'. This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of y'cak: thus, tyaktum na cakyate, 'it cannot be abandoned'; cakyaiv ihā 'netum, 'they two can be brought hither'; na ca vibhūtayāḥ cakyam avāptum īrōtīḥ, 'nor are mighty successes a thing capable of being attained'.

Gerunds.

989. The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally, but in the later language not exclusively, as logical adjunct to the subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (usually) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes:

Thus, for example: grutvai 'va cā 'bruvan, 'and hearing (or having heard) they spoke'; tebhyaḥ pratiyāyah 'thai 'tān paripa-pracha, 'having given them his promise, he then questioned them'.

990. The gerund is made in the later language by one of the two suffixes त्व and य, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix — or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.

Exceptions to this distribution of uses between the two suffixes are very rare: examples of simple roots with य are arcya, grhya, usya (yvas 'dwell'); of compounded roots with त्व are anudhyātva, apatyaktva, pratyarpayitvā (AV.: only case noticed in the Veda: TA. has -rocayitvā). The gerund in त्व, however, may have the negative particle prefixed to it: thus, akrtva, anīrayitvā.

Of compounds of the gerund in य with other elements than the usual verbal prefixes, RV. has punardāya, karnagrhya, pādogrhya, hastagrhya, aravikṛtya, akkhaliṅkṛtya, mithaspāḍhya; AV. has further namaskṛtya.

991. The suffix त्व has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but sometimes with interposition of the auxiliary vowel ə i — with regard to which, as well as to the form of the root before it, this formation closely agrees with that of the participle in त (above, 952 ff.).
When \( i \) is used, the disposition to take a weak form of root is less marked. Roots which have \( na \) instead of \( ta \) as participial suffix usually reject the \( i \).

992. The suffix \( \text{a} \text{ya} \) is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending in a short vowel takes \( \text{r} \text{y} \text{a} \) instead of \( \text{a} \text{ya} \): thus, \( \text{trity} \text{-jitya}, \text{v} \text{rit} \text{-kitya} \).

Roots in \( am \) and \( an \) whose passive participle ends in \( \text{ata} \) (954d) form this |gerund also in \( \text{aty} \): thus, \( \text{-gaty} \), \( \text{-haty} \). But such \( am \)-roots are allowed in the later language to preserve their nasal in the gerund: thus, \( \text{-gamya} \) (no such form occurs in the Veda). Final changeable \( r \) becomes \( \text{ir} \) or \( \text{ur} \): thus, \( \text{-girya}, \text{-pyrya} \). Final \( \text{a} \) remains unaltered: thus, \( \text{-gaya}, \text{-sthaya}; \) and \( \text{mi} \) ‘establish’ and \( \text{mi} \) ‘diminish’ take the form \( \text{ma} \); \( \text{u} \) ‘cling’ is allowed to do the same.

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In RV., however, the final of \( ya \) is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in \( i \) or \( ti \)). In AV., long \( a \) appears only once, in a RV. passage.

b. Instead of \( tv\) alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely \( tv\), \( tv\)\(\)ya, and \( tv\)\(\)i. Of these three, \( tv\) is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of \( tv\)); but it is unknown in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; \( tv\)\(\)ya is found nine times in RV. (only once outside the tenth Book), twice in AV., and but few times elsewhere. The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

c. Two other gerund suffixes, \( tv\)\(\)n\(\)am and \( tv\)\(\)n\(\)am, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found actually to occur.

994. The use of this gerund, through not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.

Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gītā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.

Early examples are: \( \text{vājreṇa hatvā nīr apāḥ sasaṣrja} \) (RV.), ‘striking with his thunderbolt, be poured forth the waters’; \( \text{strṣyaṁ ṅṛṣṭvāya kitavāṁ tatāpa} \) (RV.), ‘the gambler is distressed when he sees a woman’; \( \text{pīvō sōmasya vāyrdhe} \) (RV.), ‘having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong’. In the older language almost without exception, and in the later usually, it expresses an action or condition belonging to the subject of the sentence; but it is in some texts more loosely construed: thus, \( \text{tataḥ cābād abhiyāṇaya sa vāyghṛṇa hataḥ} \) (H.), ‘thereupon he was slain by the tiger, the latter having recognized him by his noise’; \( \text{kiṁ nu me syād idāṁ kṛtvā} \) (MBh.), ‘what, I wonder,
would happen to me, having done this? sucintya co 'ktaṁ suvicārya yat kṛtam (H.), 'what is said after mature thought, and done after full deliberation'.

Adverbial Gerund in am.

995. The accusative of a derivative nomen actionis in a, used adverbially, assumes sometimes a value and construction so accordant with that of the usual gerund that it cannot well be called by a different name.

No example of a peculiar gerundial construction with such a form occurs either in RV. or AV., although a few adverbial accusatives are probably to be classed as representing this formation: thus, abhyākṛtamam, pratāṅkam, prañodam, nilāyam, abhiskāndam. The gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas (much oftenest in ÇB.), and sparingly later. In the classical language it is quite rare.

A final vowel has vrddhi-strengthening before the suffix; final ā adds y; a medial vowel has guna; but medial a is usually lengthened. The accent is on the radical syllable.

Examples are: kāmaṁ vā imāny āṅgūni vyatyāsaṁ čete (ÇB.), 'he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure'; āttarāṁ-uttarāṁ čākāṁ samālāmbabhauḥ rōhet (ÇB.), 'he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb'; aparīṣu mahānāgāṁ ivā 'bhisaṁśatrāṁ dīṅkṣitāraṁ (ÇB.), 'hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him'; nāmaṁ āsāṁ etāṁ nāmagrāham (ÇB.), 'with separate naming of these their names'; yō viparyāsam avagūhati (ÇB.), 'whoever buries it upside down'. As in these examples, the form is almost always a compound one. In the later language, it it said to be used most often repeated: thus, pāyaṁ-pāyaṁ vrajati, 'he goes after drinking repeatedly'; prathamam bhajaṁ vrajati, 'having first eaten, he goes'; bāḥūkhṣepam kranditum pravṛttā (Çak.), 'she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing).

CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

996. Secondary conjugations are those in which a whole system of forms, like that already described as made from the simple root, is made, with greater or less completeness, from a derivative conjugation-stem; and is also usually connected with a certain definite modification of the original radical sense.

Whitney, Grammar.
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.

The passive is classed here rather as a matter of convenience and of general usage than because it is of the same kind with the others.

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 ג' י, and it takes the middle endings. It is treated above, 768 ff.

b. In the other tenses, the middle forms are used also in a passive sense. But:

c. There is a special passive 3d sing. of the aorist, ending in זי: it is treated above, 842 ff. And:

d. 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.

Thus: from יד (aor. 3d sing. adāyi), beside ādāsi, dāsyē, dātāhe, also ādāyiši, dāyišyē, dāyišāhe. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to grah, dṛ, and han. The duplicate forms have not been noticed in the older language, and they are, at the best, extremely rare in the later.

As to the prescribed passive inflection of the periphrastic perfect, see below, 1072.
e. Besides the participle from the present tense-stem (771.5), the passive has a past participle in नत (952), or ना (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.

999. The passive construction, with the logical subject in the instrumental case, is a frequent and favorite one, especially in the later language: thus, evam uktvā tena sarveśāṁ bandhanāṇī chittāṇī (H.), 'thus saying, he cut the bonds of them all'. And, extremely frequently, an impersonal passive in the third person is used; and it may (as in other languages) be formed from intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, cūyatāṁ, 'let it be heard' (i.e. hear ye!), śā 'gamyatāṁ, 'come hither'; sarvāṁ jālam uḍāyo 'ḍḍiyatāṁ (H.), 'let all fly up, taking the net with them'; tae chrutā āradgaveno 'ktam, 'hearing that, Jaradgava said'; kathāṁ jīvitaṇyaṁ, 'how is one to live?' yāvad anena muninā sthātavyam (H.), 'as long as that sage shall exist'. The predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental: thus, adhunā tavā 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitaṇyaṁ (H.), 'henceforth I shall always be thy companion'; tena tvayā yā- vajjīvāṁ sukhiṇā bhavitaṇyaṁ (H.), 'with that thou shalt be happy as long as thou livest'. The gerundive is common in this construction, and not seldom it has a purely future sense.

II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive (sometimes also called frequentative) is that one of the secondary conjugations which is least removed from the analogy of formations already described. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (642 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem, but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened reduplication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits of a present-system than any other of the derivative conjugations.

The intensive conjugation signifies the repetition or 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
XIV. Secondary Conjugation.

syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, 1056), and in general those beginning with a vowel.

In fact, however, intensives in the later language are extremely rare, so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the rules of the native grammar respecting them. Nor are they at all common earlier, except (comparatively) in the RV., which contains about six sevenths of the whole number (rather over a hundred) quotable from Veda and Brāhmaṇa-texts (AV. has less than half as many as RV., and many of these in RV. passages).

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:

a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the consonant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect reduplication (590); but the vowel is a heavy one, radical a and r (or ar) being reduplicated with ā, an i-vowel by e, and an u-vowel by o.

Examples are: vāvad, bābadh, cācvas, rārandh; dāḍṛ, dāḍhṛ; cekit, tetij, nenī, vevū; ṭoçue, popruth, coṣku, johū.

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: carkar, caleal, sarṣṛ, marmṛj, jarḥṛṣ; caṅkram, jaṅghan, taṅstān, dandac (ydanḥ or daç), jaṅjabh (yjamḥ or jabh), tantas (ytaṁs or tas), namam (ynam).

Only roots having a or r as vowel make this form of reduplication, but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.

Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than r or n in the reduplication, badbadh; with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, jaṅgah (RV.), jaṅjap (CB.: and the later language has dandah); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, jarbhur from ybhṛ (compare the Vedic perfect jahbhāra, 789 b); with various treatment of an r or ar-element, dardar and dardir, carkar and carkir, tartar and tartur, cacechar and cacecur, jaryur and jargur and galgul.

The root r is the only one with vowel initial forming an intensive stem in the older language: it makes the irregular alar or alṛ.

c. 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: ganiyam (but gānigmatam), varviṛt, vaṅvāh, canisked,
sanisvan; navinu, davidyut (and the participles dâvidhvat but tâvituat).
A single exception as to the quantity of the i is davidhâva.

This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by over twenty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate n (once m), and n in the reduplicating syllable, pan, phan, san, svan, han; gam; krând, čeand, skand, syand; of roots having final or medial r, and r in the reduplicating syllable, kr 'make', tr, bhât, vr, mrd, vrâ, vrâ; — further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only cah (Q.B.: the grammarians allow also kas, pat, pad); finally, of roots having u or ū as radical vowel, with av before the i-vowel, tu, dhû, nu, dyut.

In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (590) are violated in the case of ghanîghan and bharîbhî, and of ganîgam, karîkîr (but the regular carîkîr also occurs), kanîkîrând, and kanîskand (but also canîskand occurs).

The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in cekît, and jañghan and ghanîghan, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (216.9).

1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, dâdr and dardr; dâdhîr and dardhîr; cêcal and carcar (and careur); tartar (and tartur) and tarâr; jañghan and ghanîghan; varârît and varâîrît; jarbhar and bharîbhîr; dodhû and davidhû; nonu and navinu; bôbadh and badbadh.

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (II.); 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.

The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an \( \tilde{i} \) 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 \( \tilde{i} \) a final vowel has guna-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 \( \text{vid} \), of which the intensive stem is \( \text{vevid} \), or, in strong forms, \( \text{ved} \).

Neither from this nor any other root are more than a few scattering forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{s.} & \quad \text{ved} & \text{ved} & \text{ved} \\
\text{ved} & \quad \text{ved} & \text{ved} & \text{ved} \\
\text{ved} & \quad \text{ved} & \text{ved} & \text{ved} \\
\text{ved} & \quad \text{ved} & \text{ved} & \text{ved} \\
\text{ved} & \quad \text{ved} & \text{ved} & \text{ved} \\
\text{ved} & \quad \text{ved} & \text{ved} & \text{ved} \\
\end{align*}
\]

From \( \text{hu} \), the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be \( \text{javavi} \), \( \text{javavij} \), \( \text{javavati} \).

1007. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., \( \text{carkarmi} \), \( \text{vevesmi} \); 2d sing., \( \text{alarshi} \), \( \text{dararshi} \); 3d sing., \( \text{averti} \), \( \text{veveti} \), \( \text{nenekti} \), \( \text{janghanti} \), \( \text{khanikrantti} \), \( \text{ganlgamti} \); 3d du., \( \text{jarbhrti} \); 1st pl., \( \text{nonumas} \); 3d pl., \( \text{nadamati} \), \( \text{bharibhrati} \), \( \text{varvrtati} \), \( \text{dividyutati} \), \( \text{nemijati} \); and, with the auxiliary vowel, \( \text{johavimci} \), \( \text{cakaacimi} \); \( \text{cakaciti} \), \( \text{nunaviti} \), \( \text{darariti} \), \( \text{jarbhuriti} \). No stem with dissyllabic reduplication takes the auxiliary \( i \) in any of its forms. AV. has \( \text{jagurti} \), with irregular accent.

A single dual form with \( i \) and strong stem occurs: namely, \( \text{tartarithas} \).

The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., \( \text{jogwe} \), \( \text{nenije} \); 3d sing., \( \text{nenikte} \), \( \text{sarsrte} \); and, with irregular accent, \( \text{titkte} \), \( \text{dediste} \); with irregular union-vowel, \( \text{nannate} \); with ending \( e \) instead of \( \text{te} \), \( \text{jngahe} \), \( \text{jogwe} \), \( \text{yoywe} \), \( \text{babadhe} \), and (with irregular accent) \( \text{badbadhe} \); 3d du., \( \text{sarsrte} \); 3d pl., \( \text{dedicate} \).

2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only \( \text{jaaghvanuni} \), \( \text{jaagarasi} \) (AV.); and, in the middle, \( \text{tantaastite} \) (3d du.).

Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., \( \text{ja}\)
ghanas, jalgulas; 3d sing., jāgarat, cārkṣat, jāṅghanat, bārbṛhat, mārmṛṣat, mārmṛṣat, parpharat, dardirat, canisadat, davidyuta, saniśvanat; 1st du., jāṅghanavā; 1st pl., carkirāma, vevidāma; 3d pl., pāpata, cōpecan, carkiran; and, with double mode-sign, cākačān (AV.). Besides these, rārāṇas and rārāṇat, cākānas and cākānat and cākānāma, which their accent assimilates rather to perfect mode-forms with long reduplication, like māmāhas and sāsāhat etc. (810a). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, jāṅghananta, jārkṛṣanta, marmrjanta, nonuvanta, cōpecanta; and cākānanta (and eakananta once).

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (566), accented. Thus:

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vevidām</td>
<td>vevidāvā</td>
<td>vevidām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vevidyām</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language: thus, active, vevisyāt (AV.), jāgryāt (AB.); RV. has only cākanyāt (pft.?); middle, nenijita (K.).

4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

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<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>vevidānī</td>
<td>vevidāvā</td>
<td>vevidām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vevidāni</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>vevidāhī</td>
<td>vevidām</td>
<td>vevidāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vevidāhi</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>vevidītu, vevidītū</td>
<td>vevidām</td>
<td>vevidātu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>veviditu</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1011. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (jaṅghānāni, 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, cākṛṛhi, jāgṛṛhi, nenigṛṛhi, and rārāndṛḥ, rārāndṛḥ, cākṛṛdṛḥ, vāvṛṛdṛḥ; the ending āt is found in carkṛṛāt and jāgṛṛāt; and the latter (as was pointed out above, 570) is used in AV. as first person sing.; bārbṛṛhi shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of h before the ending hi; 3d sing., veveṣṭu, dardartu, marmarttu, and rārantu; 2d du., jāgṛt̄am; 3d du., jāgṛt̄ām; 2d pl., jāgṛt̄ā, and rārantu; cānkarmanata (RV., once) has an anomalous union-vowel; 3d pl., only the anomalous cākantu (RV., once), apparently for cākanatu. In the middle voice is found only nenikṣva (QB.).
Of imperative forms with auxiliary ī, RV. has none; AV. has vāvadītu and johavītu, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmaṇas; AV. has also, against rule, taṅstanīhi and jaṅghanīhi.

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, cākacat, nānadat, cēkitat, mémyat, cōcuca, rōruvar, dārdrat, mārıṛjat, jāṅghanat, nānnamat, pāṇiphanat, kānıkradat, dāvidyutat; — middle, bābadhāna, mémyāna, cēkitāna, yōyuva, rōruca, jārbhurvāna, sārsrāna, nānnamāna, dāndaçāna. No middle participle shows the dissyllabic reduplication.

1013. On account of their accent, rārahāṇa, rārakṣāṇa, and jāḥṛṣāṇa (beside jāṛṛṣāṇa) 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 badbadhāṇa and mārrṛjāna (beside māṛṛjāna).

The RV. has once jāṅghhatas, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; kānıkrat appears to be used once for kānıkradat; if cākāt is to be referred to y/kā (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in ā, and its accent is anomalous. Mārrṛçantas (AB.) is probably a false reading.

6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>आवेदिदम</td>
<td>आवेदिध</td>
<td>आवेदिभ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>आवेदिदम</td>
<td>आवेदिध</td>
<td>आवेदिभ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>आवेदित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>आवेदित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>आवेदित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>आवेदित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
<td>आवेदित्रित्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, cākān; 3d sing., adardar, adardhar, avarīva, dārdar, kāniskan, dāvidyot, nāvinott, and cākān and rārān; 2d du., adardatam; 1st pl., mārrṛjṁā; 3d pl., arāraus, anannamus, adardīrus, acarkṛṣus, ājohavus, anonavus: and, with auxiliary ī, in 3d sing., āvāvaçīt, āvāvaçīrt, āyoyavīt, āroravīt, ājohavīt; and, irregularly, in 3d du., āvāvaçītam. The middle forms are
INTENSIVE.

extremely few: namely, 3d sing., ádediṣṭa, ánannata (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl. marmṛjata, and avāvaśanta (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an a-stem).

1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign ṣa, along with middle endings only. It has not, however, a passive value, but is in meaning and use indistinguishable from the simpler conjugation.

A final vowel before this ya is treated as before the passive-sign ya (770).

The inflection is precisely like that of any other stem ending in a in the middle voice: thus, from ymṛj, intensive stem marmṛj, is made the present indicative marmṛjye, marmṛjyāse, marmṛjyāte, etc.; optative marmṛjyēga, marmṛjyēthās, marmṛjyēta, etc.; imperative marmṛjyāsva, marmṛjyātām, etc.; participle marmṛjyāmāṇa; imperfect ámarmṛjye, ámarmṛjyathās, ámarmṛjyata, etc.; subjunctive forms do not occur.

1017. This kind of intensive inflection is said to be much more usual than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

In RV., yā-forms are made from eight roots, five of which have also forms of the simpler conjugation; the AV. adds one more; the other earlier texts (so far as observed) only twelve more, and half of them have likewise forms of the simpler conjugation. Thus: from ymṛj, marmṛjyāte etc., and mārimṛjyeta; from tṛ, tartūryante; from car, carecūryāmāṇa; from nī, nenīyēran etc.; from vi, veviyate; from riḥ, rertiḥyāte etc.; from viḥ, veviyate; from sku, cōṣkūyāse etc.; from dic, dedicyate; from kāc, cōkaµyate; from vad, vāvadyāmāṇa; from nam, nannamyadhvan; from vah, vanivāhyēta etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from krand, kanikramyāmāṇa; from vṛt, variṇaryāmāṇa (CB.: should be varīṛty-); from mṛc, amārimṛcyanta (CB.: the text reads amārimṛcyanta); from ṣap, ṣaṇapīyānte etc.; from nud, anoṇudyanta; from vē, aveniyanta; from ṣah, jaṇjabhyāte etc.; from ṣap, jaṇjabpyāmāṇa.

Perfect.

1018. The grammarians are at variance as to whether a perfect may be formed directly from the intensive stem,
or whether only a periphrastic perfect (below, 1070 ff.) is to be admitted.

In the older language, no example of an intensive periphrastic perfect has come to light. A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.: namely, davidhāva and nōnāva, 3d sing., and nonuus, 3d pl., and TS. has once dodrīva. To these may be added jāgara 1st sing. and jāgāra 3d sing.: but as to these, see below, 1020.

**Aorist, Future, etc.**

1019. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, also, the grammarians are not agreed (occurrences of such forms, apparently, being too rare to afford even them any basis for rules); in general, it is allowed to treat the intensive stem further as a root in filling up the scheme of forms, using always the auxiliary vowel ṣi where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

Thus, from ṣ/vid, intensive stem vevid, would be made the aorist avevidiśam with preceptive vevidyasam, the futures vevidiṣyāmi and veviditāsma, the participles vevidita, veviditavya, etc., the infinitive veviditem, and the gerunds vevidita and -vevidya. And, where the intensive conjugation is the derivative middle one, the aorist and futures would take the corresponding middle form.

Of all this, in the ancient language, there is hardly a trace. The RV. has cārīrī, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like hiṣe and stusē (894 d), and the gerundives vitantasya, and marmṛjēnya and vāyṛdhēnya; and CB. has the participle vanīvāhitā, and the infinitive dīḍīyita. As to jāgariṣyānt and jāgaritā, see the next paragraph.

1020. There are systems of inflection of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:

The root gr (or gar) ‘wake’ has from the first no present-system save one with intensive reduplication; and its intensive stem, jāgr, begins early to assume the value of a root, and form a completer conjugation; while by the grammarians this stem is reckoned as if simple and belonging to the root-class (I.), and is inflected throughout accordingly. Those of its forms which occur in the older language have been given along with the other intensives above. They are, for the present-system, the same with those acknowledged as regular later. The older perfect is like the other intensive perfects found in RV.: namely, jāgara etc., with the participle jāgrvāna; and a future, jāgarisya, and a passive participle jāgaritā are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. The old aorist (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist: thus, ājīgar. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with
additional reduplication, jajāgūra etc., an is-aorist, ajāgarisam, with preceptive jāguryāsam, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation.

1021. The stem irajya (active only), 'regulate', from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from yraj or y. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of iradh, 'propitiate' (only iradhanta and irādhāyi, apparently for irādhyāyi).

The middle stem iya, not infrequent in the oldest language, is usually called an intensive of yi 'go', but with very doubtful propriety, as it has no analogy of form with any intensives. The isolated 1st pl. ḫmahe, common in RV., is also of questionable character.

1022. The root lī 'totter', with constant intensive reduplication, lelī, is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., lelāyati and lelāyate; pples lelāyati and lelāyatas (gen. sing.) and lelāyamāna, impf. aletāyat, alelet and alelīyata.

1023. The RV. anomalous form dart (or dard), 2d and 3d sing. from ydr or dar, is 'doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from dardar. RV. has once avarīvus (or -cur) where the sense requires a form from yort, as avarīvus. The form rarāntī (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, niy, viṣ use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with randh, ran, kan (of which, as noticed above, the forms admit of being referred to the perfect-system), and with gr (jāgr). The grammarians reckon the inflection of niy and viṣ as belonging to the reduplicating present-system (II.), with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way vic and vij; jāgr, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

Also daridrā, intensive of ydrā 'run', is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugalional forms: as dadaridrāvū; adaridrāsit, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language. The so-called root vevī 'flutter' is a pure intensive.

1025. It is allowed by the grammarians to make from the intensive stem also a passive, desiderative, causative, and so on: thus, from vevid, pass. vevidyē; desid. vevidyāmi; caus. vevidyāmi; desid. of causative, vevidyāsīmi. But such formations are not found in the older language, and, if they occur at all, are excessively rare in the later.

III. Desiderative.

1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root:
thus, निवामि pibāmi, ‘I drink’, desid. निवासामि pipāsāmi, ‘I wish to drink’; निवामि jīvāmi, ‘I live’, desid. निविवायामि jīvi-viśāmi, ‘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.

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 Brāhmanas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots (about ninety) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brāhmaṇa have such in RV.

1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics: a. a reduplication, which always has the accent; b. an appended स sa—which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel इ i, becoming इष iṣa.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final i or u is lengthened before sa: thus, cikṣiṣa, cikiṣa, jigiṣa; ṣuṣrūṣa, juhūṣa.

b. A final r becomes īr or īr before sa: thus, cikirṣa, sisirṣa, jihirṣa; bubhūrṣa, tustūrṣa (the only examples noted from the older texts).

c. Before iṣa, the same finals necessarily, and a penultimate i or u or r optionally, have the guṇa-strengthening (no examples are quotable from the older texts).

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in a weaken this vowel to i or even i: thus, pipiṣa (beside pipāsa) from यपā ‘drink’, jihīṣa (AV.) from यहā ‘remove’ (jihāte: 664); didhiṣa (beside dhiṭṣa) from यधā.

e. A few roots in an or am lengthen the vowel: thus, jigāṁsa (beside jigamīṣa) from यगाम; jighāṁsa from यहान; māmāṁsa from यमान; and यि is said to make titāṁsa.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in cikiṣa from येल, cikīṭsa from येलित, jigiṣa from यजी, jighāṁsa from यहान; and यि is said to make jighiṣa.
g. The roots van and san make vivūsa and sisūsa, from the root-forms vā and sā.

h. The root jīv forms jujyūga (CB.: jijīvīsa, VS.); and the other roots in īv (or i̯v: 765) are required to make the same change before īsa, and to have guṇa before i̯sa: thus, susyūga or siseviša. Soap forms susūrpasa. Dhūro forms dudhūrā.

i. Initial s is usually left unchanged to z after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has s (184c): thus, sisaṃkṣa (CB.: ysanj), and susyūga and sisaniša, according to the grammarians.

k. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: ninaṅkṣa (or ninaćiša) from ynač, 'perish'; mimaṅkṣa from ymaği; mimār-jīṣa (or mimrķ̄ṣa) from ymrj.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590); the vowel is 3 i if the root has an a-vowel, or 3 r; or an i-vowel; it is 3 u if the root has an u-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, bībhatṣ-a from ybadh or bādh; mimānṣa from yman; and tūṭurṣa (RV.) from ytur.

b. From ynač is made (in CB.). aṇićiša (with a mode of reduplication like that followed sometimes in the reduplicating aorist: 862). The grammarians give other cases of the same kind: thus, arjihīṣa from yarh, ica-kīṣa from yikṣ, undidīṣa from yund, ardidīṣa from yrdh. In the older language, ač is the only root with initial vowel which forms a desiderative stem, except āp and r̥dh, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph.

c. RV. has the stems īnakṣa and ivaṇa, regarded as desideratives from yyač 'attain' and yaj, with mutilated reduplication.

1030. A number of roots, including some of very common use, form an abbreviated stem apparently by a contraction of reduplication and root together into one syllable: thus, īpṣ īpa from yga āp; dītṣa dīta from ydā dā.

Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: dītṣa (beside didhiṣa) from ydā; dītṣa (beside didāsa) from ydā; dīpsa from ydabh; sīksa from ygāk; sīksa from ysaḥ: these are found in RV.; in AV. are added īpsa from yāp (RV. has apsa once), and īrtsa from yṛdh: the other texts furnish lipsa (CB.) or lipsa (TB.) from ylabh, ripsa (GB.) from yrabh, pitsa (CB.) from ypad, and dīkṣa (CB.) from ydih (or, rather, dāh). The grammarians prescribe dhīpsa or dīhpsa from ydabh, instead of dīpsa; they form pitsa from ypat as well as pad; and they add ritsa from yraḥ, jāipsa (beside jīṇapayīṣa) from the causative quasi-root jāṇap (below, 1042a), and mītsa from yymā and mī and mī: this last could be only an anomalous
formation, made after the analogy of the others. Also mokṣa is reckoned as a desiderative stem from ।muc (it is denominative, rather).

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel इ i is quite rare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not yet been found in actual use.

It is declared to follow in general, though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures (९३४, ९४३).

No example of the use of i is found in RV., and only one each in AV. (पिपतिः, VS. (जिजिः), and TS. (जिगमिः). The other examples noted in the early texts are असिः, तिक्रमिः, जिग्राहिः (with य for इ, as elsewhere in this root), सिक्रिः, जिजैस, दिदिक्षिः, बिबाधिः, रिराधिः, विदिः, जिहिः: most of them are found only in CB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots गम, जिव, बाध, विद.

1032. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other a-stems, in both voices, in all the modes (including, in the older language, the subjunctive), and with participles and imperfect. It will be sufficient to give here the first persons only. We may take as active model ईस्म ईः, ‘seek to obtain’, from यः अः; as middle तितित तितिः, ‘endure’, from यः तिः तिः, ‘be sharp’ (see below, ९०४०).

1. Present Indicative.

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2. Present Subjunctive.

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3. Present Optative.

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4. Present Imperative.

\[ \text{\textit{\textbf{\texttt{ipsa}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{ipsat}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titikasv}}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titiksetham}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titiksadhvam}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{etc.}}} \]

5. Present Participle.

\[ \text{\textit{\textbf{\texttt{ipsant}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{f. ipsati}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{ipsanti}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titiksamana}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titiksamaha}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{etc.}}} \]

6. Imperfect.

\[ \text{\textit{\textbf{\texttt{ipsam}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{ipsava}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titikse}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titiksavahi}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{titiksamahi}}} \text{\textit{\texttt{etc.}}} \]

There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in \textit{masi}, or 2d pl. in \textit{thana} or \textit{tana}, or impv. in \textit{tā}, is met with. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in \textit{sāni}, \textit{sāt} and \textit{sān}, and \textit{santa}.

But the fem. pple \textit{sisasati} (instead of \textit{sisāsanti}) occurs once or twice in the older texts.

1033. Desiderative forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language. The RV. has only perfect forms from a stem \textit{mimikṣ} — thus, \textit{mimikṣāthuṣ}, \textit{mimikṣātuṣ}, \textit{mimikṣuṣ}; \textit{mimikṣe}, \textit{mimikṣire} — along with the present forms \textit{mimikṣati}, \textit{mimikṣa} etc., \textit{mimikṣant} (pple): they show that \textit{mimikṣ} or \textit{mikṣ} has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, \textit{ārtṣis} and \textit{acikitsis}, and a participle or two from \textit{mimānsa} (see below, 1037, 1039) — 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.

In the later language, the 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.).

Thus, \textit{ipsāṁ cakāra} etc.; \textit{titikṣāṁ cakre} etc. Such forms are made in CB. from \textit{y/y krm}, \textit{dhūrv}, \textit{bādh}, \textit{ruh}.

Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from \textit{mimikṣ} in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21) has once \textit{didāśīthā}, ‘thou hast desired to give’.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the \texti{iṣ}-form (5): thus, \textit{āipsiṣam}, \textit{ātitikṣiṣi}.
The AV. has acikitsis, and ïrtsis (augmentless, with mA prohibitive: 579). TB. has ãipsit; and ÇB. ãïrtsit, acikïrsis and ajighãnsis, and om- mãnsïthãs.

A precative is also allowed — thus, ïpsyãsam, titikïsiya, but it probably never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel ë i: thus, ëpsiyãmi and ëpsitãsmi; titikïsiyã and titikïtahã.

The ÇB. has titikïsiyate and didrïsitãras.

1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel ë i, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

In the older language have been noted: participle in ta, mîmãnsitã (AV., GB.), jïgïsita (AB.), ççrupitã and ðhikshitã (ÇB.); — gerundive in tavya, ëpsitavyã (AB.), didhïsityavyã (ÇB.); — gerund in tvã, mîmãnsitvã (K.).

1038. A desiderative adjective in ù — for example, ìpsit, bîbhatsit, siçãs — is of frequent occurrence, and has the meaning and construction of a present participle. An abstract noun in å — for example, jïgïsã — is also a usual appendage to the desiderative conjugation. Adjectives in enya (having a gerundive character: 966 b) are occasionally met with from the earliest time: thus, didrksiya (RV.), ççrupenya (TS.), ninççnya (PB.); also, with irregular reduplication (apparently) paprksiya (RV.). RV. has also didhïsityya (966 c).

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign ã yã to the desiderative root (or stem without final a): thus, ñpsytãte, 'it is desired to be obtained'; — and a causative by adding in like manner the causative-sign ãyã ãyã (1041): thus, ñpsiyãmi ñpsàyãmi, 'I cause to desire obtaining'.

The only trace of such formations noticed in the older language is the participle mîmãnsyãmãna (apparently to be read instead of mîmãnsâmãna, AV. ix. 6. 24).

For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brähmana, see below, 1052 b.

1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are cîhîs, 'cure', jûgups, 'despise', titîs, 'endure', bîbhats, 'abhor', mîmãns, 'ponder'. Doubtless
some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin.

IV. Causative.

1041. In the later language is allowed to be made from every root a complete causative conjugation. The basis of this is a causative stem, formed by appending the causative-sign स्वय ाya to the, usually strengthened, root.

But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign स्वय ाya are of causative value; and the grammarians regard them as a conjugation-class, the tenth or cur-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others.

In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, 1055).

The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the desiderative. It is made from more than two hundred and fifty roots in the early language (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: 1046) exceedingly few.

1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign स्वय ाya is as follows:

a. Medial or initial i, u, r, l have the guna-strengthening (if capable of it): thus, vedaya from योड, codaya from योड, tarpaya from योप; and kalpaya from योप (only example).

But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, cit (citäya and cetaya), vip (vipaya and vepaya), iś, iḷ and iḷ, riś (risaya and repsaya), tuj, tur, dyut (dyutaya and dyotaya), mar, sprh; and grabh makes in RV. grbhaya. Dus and guh lengthen the vowel instead. Mrj sometimes has vṛddhi, as in other forms: thus, mārjaya (beside marjaya).

b. A final vowel has the vṛddhi-strengthening: thus, cyuva, bhāvaya, dārāya, sāraya.

Whitney, Grammar.
But no root in i or ī has ṭṛddhi in the older language (unless pāyaya [d, below] comes from pī rather than pū) — as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly quotable: only RV. has ksāyaya from ṣikṣi ‘dwell’; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, e.

A few roots have (generally in the older language only) a form also with guṇa-strengthening; thus, dru, ṣū ‘ward off’, cṛu, pū, ṽṛ ‘decay’, ṽṛ ‘burst’, eṃ, ṛ; ṭṛ ‘choose’ makes varaya later (it is not found in V. or Br.).

c. A medial or initial a in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, bhāyaya, svāpaya, adaya; janaya, prathaya, anaya.

The roots in the older language which keep their short a are an, jan, pan, svan, dhan, ran, stan, dhvan, gam (gāmaya once in RV.), tam, dom, nam, prath, crath, crnth, vyath, svad, mad, das, dhvas, mah, nabh, tvar, svar. Some have both forms: namely, pāt, chad, mad, ram, gam; rāj has rājaya (AV., once) and ṛājaya. The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: thus, ṛandhaya, lambhaya, rambhaya, skandaya.

d. Most roots in final ā, and the root r, add p before the conjugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, dūpaya, sthāpaya; ṛarpaya.

Such stems are made in the older language from the roots khīṣa, glā, ghrā, jīṅa, dā ‘give’, drā ‘run’, dū ‘put’ and dū ‘suck’, mū ‘measure’, mlā, vā ‘blow’, and vā ‘tire’, sthā, snā, hā ‘remove’ and hā ‘leave’. From jīṅa and snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms ṣnāpaya and ṣnapaya, and from crā only ṭrapaya (not in RV.). Also glā forms in the later language glapaya.

Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, pāyaya from ṣṛpā ‘drink’ (or pī), ṭṛyāyaya from ṭṛyā or ṭṛyā; sāyaya from ṣyā (or sī); also, later, ṭyāyaya from ṭṛyā, ṭṛyāyaya from ṭṛvā; — and further, from roots chā, vā ‘weave’, and vyā, according to the grammarians.

e. The same p is taken also by a few i and ī-roots, with various accompanying irregularities: thus, kṛṣpaya from ṣikṣi ‘dwell’ (RV., beside kṣayaya); kṣāpaya (AV.) and kṣāpaya and kṣayaya from ṣikṣi ‘destroy’; jāpaya (VS. and later) from ṣi; lāpaya (TB. and later) from ṣi; adhya- paya from adhi-ṛ; snāpaya (beside snāyaya, which does not occur) from ṣān; kṛṣpaya from ṭṛī; — and, according to the grammarians. ṭeṣpaya from ṭṛī, ṭeṇpaya from ṭṛi, kṛṣpaya from ṭṛi, bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhāyaya) from ṭṛi, and ṭarpaya (beside ṭarpaya) from ṭṛi. Moreover, ṭr̥uh forms later ṭopaya (earlier ṭopaya), and ṭknū or ṭnūy is said to form knopaya.

f. More anomalous cases, in which the so-called causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun, are: pāṭaya from ṭṛpā ‘protect’; ṭṛṇa from ṭṛṇi; ṭīnaya (according to grammarians) from ṭi; dhānaya (not causative in sense) from ṭṛdhū; bhāyaya from ṭṛhī; ṭhātaya from ṭhan; ṭṭhāvaya (according to grammarians) from ṭṛṭṭṛ or ṭṭhāy.
Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other stems in \( \overline{\text{y}} \ a \). It will be sufficient to give here in general the first persons of the different formations, taking as model the stem धारा य dhāraya, from \( \sqrt{\text{y}} \text{dh} \). Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

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<tr>
<th>Active</th>
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<td>s. d. p.</td>
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1. धारयायमि धारयावस्त्र धारयांस्त्र धारये धारयाक्ते धारयामके

 dhārayāmi dhārayāvas dhārayāmas dhāraye dhārayāvahi dhārayāmahe
e etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

The 1st pl. act. in māsi greatly outnumber (as 10 to 1) those in mās 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:

1. dhārayāni dhārayāva dhārayāma dhārayāt dhārayāvahāī
dhārayāsi dhārayāthas dhārayātha dhārayāse
dhārayādhe dhārayādhvāī
dhārayāta dhārayātas dhārayān
dhārayāte dhārayātāī dhārayāīte

Only one dual mid. form in āīte occurs: mādāyāīte (RV.). The only RV. mid. form in āī, except in 1st du., is mādayādhvāī. The primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

3. Present Optative.

1. dhārayeyam dhārayeva dhārayema dhārayeyai dhārayemahi
dhārayeyam dhārayeyevahāī
dhārayaya dhārayeya dhārayeyahi dhārayeymahāi
e etc. etc. etc. etc.

Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (four in RV., two in AV.); they become more common in the Brāhmaṇas. AB. has once kāmayīta.

4. Present Imperative.

2. dhāraya dhārayatam dhārayata dhārayasva dhārayathām dhārayadhvam
dhāraya dhārayadas dhārayatā dhārayadhvāī
e etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

Imperative persons with the ending tāt occur: dhārayatāt (AV.) is 2d sing.; gamayatāt and eqāyatāt (K., etc.), and vārayatāt (TB.) are used as 2d pl.; vārayadhvāt (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only noted example (see above, 570).
5. Present Participle.

धार्यांत् dhārayant (f. घर्ती -yanti) धार्यमाण dhārayamāṇa.

6. Imperfect.

1 धारेर्यम् धारेर्यच् धारेर्यान् धारेर्ये धारेर्यविक् धारेर्यामकि

udhārayam udhārayāva udhārayāma udhārayaye udhārayāvahi udhārayāmahī etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

For a few forms in is and it which perhaps belong to the imperfect, see below.

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem in aya outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in syāmi, and ten infinitives in dhāyā; also one or two derivative nouns in tr (bodhayitr, codayitrī), five in isnu, seven in inu, and a few in a (atipārayā, nidhārayā, vācamīkkhayā, viśvamejaya). In AV., also two s-future forms and four gerunds in toā; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (gamayeṇ cakāra). In the Brāhmaṇas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (1070), the derivative noun in धा ā, in accusative form, to which the auxiliary is added, being formed from the causative stem: thus,

धार्यां चकार dhārayāṁ cakāra धार्यां चक्रे dhārayāṁ cakre.

Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — gamayeṇ cakāra — in AV., and but two or three in all the various texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, and these not in the mantra-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, except in ÇB. (where they abound: chiefly, perhaps, for the reason that this work uses in considerable part the perfect instead of 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.

It has been already fully described (above, 856ff.).

Its association with the causative is doubtless founded on an original intensive character belonging to it as a reduplicated form, and is a matter of gradual growth: in the Veda it is made from a considerable number of roots (in RV., more than a third of its instances; in AV., about a fifth) which have no causative stem in aya.
The causative aorist of $\sqrt{\text{dhr}}$, then, is as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{ddidharam} & \quad \text{ddidharava} \\
\text{ddldharam} & \quad \text{ddidhare} \\
\text{ddidharama} & \quad \text{ddidharavahi} \\
\text{adidharamahi} & \quad \text{etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.}
\end{align*}

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 s (above, 1042 d ff.) — the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, atisthipam from sthap (stem sthapaya) for $\sqrt{\text{sth}}$. Aorist-forms of this character from quasi-roots in āp are made from sthap, jnāp, ḫāp, jāp, and ḥāp (above, 861); the only other example from the older language is bibhīṣas etc. from bhīṣ for $\sqrt{\text{bh}}$.

1048. A small number of Vedic forms having is and īt after y of the causal stem are apparently sporadic attempts at making an īs-aorist: thus, ṝyathayīs (AV.), dhvanayīt (RV.; TS. has instead the anomalous dhvanayīt), and āiśayīt (AV.). The two former are augmentless forms, used with mā prohibitive (compare the denom. ūnayīs, RV., also with mā).

1049. A precative is of course allowed by the grammarians to be made for the causative conjugation: in the middle, from the causative stem with the auxiliary ṣ ā substituted for its final ī a; in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

\begin{align*}
\text{dhāryasam} & \quad \text{dhāryīsam etc.} \\
\text{dhāriyīsya} & \quad \text{dhāriyīsyā etc.}
\end{align*}

This formation is doubtless to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary ṣ ā, which takes the place of its final ī a. Thus:

\text{S-Future.}

\begin{align*}
\text{dhāriyīsyāmi} & \quad \text{dhāriyīsyē etc.} \\
\text{dhāriyīsyē} & \quad \text{dhāriyīsyē etc.}
\end{align*}

\text{Conditional.}

\begin{align*}
\text{ādhāriyīsyam} & \quad \text{ādhāriyīsyē etc.} \\
\text{ādhāriyīsyē} & \quad \text{ādhāriyīsyē etc.}
\end{align*}

\text{Periphrastic Future.}

\begin{align*}
\text{dhāriyītāsīmi} & \quad \text{dhāriyītāhe etc.} \\
\text{dhāriyītāhe} & \quad \text{dhāriyītāhe etc.}
\end{align*}

The s-future participles are made regularly: thus, dhāriyīsyānt (fem. -yāntī or -yātī), dhāriyīsyāntāna.
It has been mentioned above that RV. and AV. contain only two examples each of the s-future, and none of the periphrastic. The former begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas more numerously, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only adhārayisyat, ČB.); of the latter, ČB. affords two examples (pārayítāsmi and janayitāsi).

1051. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These are in part formed from the causative stem in the same manner as the futures; in part — namely, the passive participle in ता ta and the gerundive and gerund in या ya (and the root-infinitive) — from the causatively strengthened root-form. The auxiliary इ i is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

Thus, of formations permitted in the later language (but the examples taken from the earlier):

- participle in ता ta: इरित, वासित, ग्रावित;
- gerundive in तवा tavya: तारपायितवा, कालपायितवा, गमायितवा, भक्षा०यितवा;
- gerundive in या ya: स्थाय्या, याय्या;
- infinitive in तुम tum: जोसायितम, धारायितम, जनायितम, पारायितम;
- gerund in तवā tavya: कालपायितवा, सादायितवा, -रपायितवा (AV.: see 990), -रोसायितवा (TA.), -रापायितवा (AB.);
- gerund in या ya: -गहाय्या, -पाद्या, -वास्या, -साद्या, -स्थाय्या;
- gerund in अम am: -स्थापम (ČB.).

Further, of formations found only in the older language:

- root-infinitive, accusative: -स्थापम (PB.);
- infinitive in तवाती जनायितवात, तारपायितवात, पायितवात, -कालपायितवात, -पायितवात (all ČB.);
- infinitive in अध्याय: इसायाध्याय, इत्रायाध्याय, तासायाध्याय, नासायाध्याय, मन्दायाध्याय, मादायाध्याय, रिसायाध्याय, वर्तायाध्याय, वायाध्याय, स्यायाध्याय (all RV.);
- gerundive in अय्या panyāyāya, sparyāyāya, travyāyāya (Vīrā: ?).

All these, it will be noticed, follow the same rule as to accent with the similar formations from the simple root, showing no trace of the special accent of the causative stem.

1052. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. From the causative stem may be made a passive and a desiderative conjugation. Thus:

a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual passive-sign या ya to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, धाय्यते dhāryāte.
Such passives are not found in the Veda, but they are met with here and there throughout the Brāhmaṇa language: examples are jñāpyā- (TS.), sādya- (K.), pādya- (AB.), vādya- (TB.), sthāpya- (GB.), and so on.

b. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign इषा, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, दियारपिति didhārayiṣati.

These, too, are found here and there in the Brāhmaṇas and later: examples are pīpāyīṣa (K.), bibhāvayīṣa and cikālpayīṣa and lulobhāyīṣa (AB.), didrāpayīṣa and virādḥayīṣa and ṣipapayīṣa (CB.), and so on.

As to causatives made from the desiderative stem, see above, 1039.

V. Denominative.

1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.

It is a view now prevailingly held that most of the present-systems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations analogous 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 undisguised.

1054. The grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted, without other addition than that of an य a (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.

As examples of what is allowed in this way, are given kṛṣṇati, 'acts like Krishna'; mālāti, 'is like a garland (māla)'; kavayati, 'plays the poet (kavi)'; bhavati, 'is like the earth (bhū)'; ċrayati, 'resembles Ćri (goddess)'; pitarati, 'acts the father'; rājanati, 'is kingly'. But such formations are at the best of extreme rarity in actual use. The RV. has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is bhiṣākti, 'he heals', from bhiṣād, 'physician'; it is made like a form of the root-class; abhiṣaṇak 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 (Delbrück) iṣanas etc., kṛpāṇanta, taruṣena etc., vanuṣanta, bhurajanta, vānanvati. None of the other Veda or Brāhmaṇa texts has anything additional of the same character.

1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation
XIV. SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign या, which has the accent.

The identity of this या with the या of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final a of the noun-stem the causative-sign या, is altogether probable. What relation it sustains to the या of the या-class (VIII.), of the passive, and of the derivative intensive stem, is more open to question.

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 मन्त्रयाते (from mantra, यमन-) and किर्तयति (from किर्ति, यक्र ‘praise’). 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 (above, 607).

1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.

They are most 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 in general, they are far from numerous; and most of those which occur are "eur-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.

The modes of treatment of the stem-final are also various; and the grammarians make a certain more or less definite assignment of the varieties of meaning to the varieties of form; but this allotment finds only a dubious support in the usages of the words as met with even in the later language, and still less in the earlier. Hence the formal classification, according to the final of the noun-stem, and the way in which this is treated before the denominative sign या, will be the best one to follow.
1059. From stems in \(a\). a. The final \(a\) of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, amitrayā́ti, ‘plays the enemy, is hostile’; devayā́ti, ‘cultivates the gods, is pious’.

b. Final \(a\) is lengthened: thus, aghāyā́ti, ‘plans mischief’; priyāyā́te, ‘holds dear’; aevāyā́ti, ‘seeks for horses’; acanāyā́ti, ‘desires food’.

In the Veda, forms of the same verb with short and long \(a\) before \(ya\) sometimes exchange with one another.

c. It is changed to \(i\), or rarely \(i\); thus, adhvāriyā́ti, ‘performs the sacrifice’; taviśiyā́ti, ‘is mighty’; putriyā́ti or putriyā́ti, ‘craves flesh’.

Denominatives of this form show a special proclivity toward the meaning ‘desire’.

d. It is dropped (after \(n\) or \(r\)): thus, turanyā́ti, ‘is rapid’; adhvaryā́ti, ‘performs the sacrifice’.

e. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of \(s\), as in stanasyā́ti, ‘seeks the breast’; the change of \(a\) to \(e\), as in vareyā́ti, ‘plays the wooer’.

1060. From stems in \(ā\). Final \(ā\) usually remains, as in gopāyā́ti, ‘plays the herdsman, protects’; prtanāyā́ti, ‘fights’; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an \(a\)-stem: thus, prtanyā́ti, ‘fights’.

1061. From stems in \(i, i, \) and \(u, u\). Such stems are (especially those in \(u, u\)) much less common. They show regularly \(i\) and \(ū\) before \(ya\): thus, arātiyā́ti (also -tiy-), ‘plots injury’; janīyā́ti (also -niy-), ‘seeks a wife’; sakhiyā́ti, ‘desires friendship’; — čatruyā́ti, ‘acts the foe’; ṭyūyā́ti, ‘is straight’; vasuśyā́ti, ‘desires wealth’; asuśyā́ti, ‘grumbles, is discontent’: with short \(u\), gātuśyā́ti, ‘sets in motion’.

More rarely, \(i\) is treated as \(a\) (or else is gunated, with loss of a \(y\)): thus, dhunayā́ti, ‘comes snorting’. Sometimes, as to \(a\) (above, e), a sibilant is added: thus, avisū́ti, ‘is vehement’; urusū́ti, ‘saves’. From dhī, RV. makes dhū́yū́tāte.

1062. From other vowel-stems. a. Final \(r\) is said to be changed to \(rī\): thus, pitriyā́ti, ‘is fatherly’: no example in use has been noted.

b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, gavyā́ti, ‘seeks cattle, goes a-raiding’.

1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before \(ya\): thus, bhīṣajyā́ti, ‘plays the physician, cures’; uksanyā́ti, ‘acts like a bull’; apasyā́ti, ‘is active’; namasyā́ti, ‘pays reverence’; sumanasyā́te, ‘is favorably disposed’; tarasyā́ti, ‘fights’.
But a final *n* is said to be sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, *råjñāyate* or *råjñāyāti*, ‘is kingly’, from *råjñan*: *vrśāyāte* from *vrśan* is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, *ojāyāte* from *ojas*; — while, on the other hand, an *a*-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before *ya*: thus, *iṣayāti* from *iṣ*, *satvanāyati* from *satvan*.

1064. By far the largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a *s* before the *ya*; and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denominative-sign virtually *sya* — even, with *a* also added after an *i* or *u*-vowel, *asya*; and this comes to be recognised in the later language as an independent sign, forming denominatives that express desire: thus, *madhuvati* or *madhvasyati*, ‘longs for honey’; *kṣirasyati*, ‘craves milk’.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in *kāmya* what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having *kāma* as its final member: thus, *rathakāmyati*, ‘longs for the chariot’ (K.: only example noted from the older language); *putrakāmyati*, ‘desires a son’ — coming from the possessive compounds *rathakāma*, *putrakāma*. And *satyāpayati*, ‘declares true’ (from *satya*), is an example of yet another formation declared to occur.

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, *añkūya*, *stabhūya*, *iṣudhyā*; *dhīsanya*, *visanya*, *ruvanya*, *huvanya*, *iṣanya*; *ratharya*, *cratharya*, *sāparya*; *īrasya*, *dacasya*, *makhasya*, *panasya*, *sacasya*. 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 (V.), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, *grbhnāyīti* beside *grbhnāṭi*. Of such, RV. has *grbhāya*, *mathāya*, *pruśāya*, *mūśāya*, *crathāya*, *skabbhāya*, *stabhāya*. A few others have no *nā*-class companions: thus, *damāya*, *camāya*, *tudāya* (AV.); and *panāya*, *naṣāya*, *vṛṣāya* (V/ṛṣ ‘rain’), *vasāya* (V/vas ‘clothe’), and perhaps *acāya* (V/āc ‘attain’).

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. *añkhāya*, *arthāya*, *iṣāya* (also *iṣayā*), *ūrīya*, *ṛtāya*, *kṛpāya*, *mantrāya*, *mrṛghāya*, *vaṇrāya*, *vājāya* (also *vājāyā*), *vīḍāya*, *svaṣāya* (also *svaṣayā*); AV. adds *kirtāya*, *dhūpāya*, *pālāya*, *vīrāya*, *sabhāgāya*.

The accent of *ānmiya* and *hāstaya* (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in *a* throughout the present-system. Forms outside of that sys-
tem — 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.

In RV, occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, unless (as seems most likely) ūṇayīs (with mā prohibitive) is to be regarded as 2d sing. of the īṣ-aorist. Unquestionable examples of this aorist are āsūyīt (桂B.), pāpayīṣa (TS. iii. 2. 83: pl., with mā prohibitive) and avṛśūyīṣa (VS.). The form āsaparyāiīt (AV. xiv. 2. 20), with āi for ā (桂5桂5桂b), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; aśmanasyīl, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (ii. 3. 83).桂B. has the future gopāyīṣyati, and TS. the participles kaṇḍūyīṣyānt and kaṇḍūyīṣītā. From roots assimilated to the causatives occur in the older language mantrayāṁ āśa (AB., GB.), mantrayāṁ cakratus and cakre (桂B.), mantritā (桂B., TA.), -mantrya (TB.), and one or two other like forms. The gerundival adjectives saparyēnya and atasāyya also are met with.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1069. One periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (桂4桂2桂ff.), since it has become in the later language a necessary part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is

The Periphrastic Perfect.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brähmaṇas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.
It is made by prefixing the accusative of a derivative noun-stem in घा (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of वृक्ष कृ ‘make’, more often of वृण ‘be’, and very rarely of वृहु ‘be’. In the older language, as is pointed out below, कृ is used as auxiliary almost alone, and ब्हु not at all. Even in MBh., ब्हु hardly ever occurs (Holtzmann).

1071. The periphrastic perfect occurs as follows:

a. It is the perfect of the derivative conjugations: intensive, desiderative, causative, and denominative; the noun in घा being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from युध बुध, intensive बौध्यायम् बबुधाम्, desiderative बुध्यासम् बब्हुत्साम्, causative बौध्यायम् बोधयाम्; denominative मद्यायम् मन्त्रयाम.

The formation from causative stems, and from those denominatives which are assimilated to causatives, is by far the most frequent.

b. Most roots beginning with a vowel in a heavy syllable (long by nature or long by position) make this perfect only, and not the simple one: thus, गात्रम् असाम from गात्र अस, इत्साम इक्षाम from इत्स इक्ष; उद्याम् उज्राम from उद्य उज्र.

Excepted are the roots अप and आन्ध, and those beginning with a before two consonants (and taking अन as reduplication: 788).

c. The roots (that is, stems reckoned by the grammarians as roots) of more than one syllable have their perfect of this formation: thus, चक्रायम् चकासाम.

But उर्नु (712) is said to form उर्जनवः only, and जावर and दार्द्र (1020, 1024) to have a perfect of either formation.

d. A few other scattering roots: namely, अय, दय, and कस, and optionally विद and उस, and a few roots of the reduplicating class, भि, ब्रह, हु, and ह्रि. All these make the derivative noun from their present-stem: thus, दयाम्, विदाम्, ओशम्, बिहायम्, जुहायम्, बिबहायम्, जीहायम् (these with गु of the final vowel before the अ).

An occasional example is met with from other roots: thus, नयाम from न (pres.-stem नया); हवायम् from वायु (pres.-stem हवा).

1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is
made only with the middle inflection of $\sqrt{\Delta}$ kr; that of
the active, with any one of the three auxiliaries. For pas-
sive use, the auxiliaries प्रथम as and प्र bhū are also allowed
to take a middle inflection.

It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as
the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their indepen-
dent use (for that of $\sqrt{kr}$, see 800f); of $\sqrt{bhū}$, see 800 b; of $\sqrt{as}$,
see 636).

The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that
other words are not sometimes allowed to come between them: thus, tām pātayām
prathamam āsa, ‘him he first made to fall’; prabhraṇcayām yo naghusāṁ
cakāra, ‘who made Naghusha fall headlong’ (both Raghuvanča).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic forma-
tion with a derivative noun in ām as it appears in the later
language; earlier, its aspect is quite different: namely, as that
of a more general, but quite infrequent, combination of such a
noun with various forms of the root kr. Thus:

a. Of forms with the perfect of the auxiliary occurs only a single
example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, gamayām
cakāra (AV. xviii.). In the brāhmaṇa parts of the Black Yajus texts are
found vidāṁ cakāra (TS., K., MS.) and vidāṁ cakrama (K.), and yājayām
ca kāra (K.). In the Brāhmaṇas, examples from causative etc. stems in aya
begin to prevail over others, and in CB. they are rather frequent. Examples
from desiderative stems have been noted only from CB.: they are ekramiṣyām,
ruruṣām, adhakārām, bībhatsām. From simple roots having the same for-
amation in the later language, occur vidām (TB., CB., GB.), āsām (CB., GB.),
īkṣām (CB., GB.), edhām (CB.), jūhavām (AB., TB., CB.), bībhāyām (CB.);
and also layām (nītayām) from $\sqrt{ī}$ (CB.).

b. Forms with the aorist of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brāhmaṇas
as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with aker occur ramayām
(K.), janaṇyām and sūdayām and svadayām and sthāpayām (MS.); and with
akram, vidām (TS., MS., TB.). With the aorist optative or preceptive has
been noted only pāvayāṁ kriyāt (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are excessively rare, but not
entirely unknown: so, jūhavāṁ karotī (Čānkha. Čr. Sā.).

d. With any other auxiliary than $\sqrt{kr}$ appears only mantrayām āsa
(AB., GB.; in CB. the same noun is combined with $\sqrt{kr}$ in mantrayāṁ
cakratus and mantrayāṁ cakre).

As the examples show, the noun (as in the case of the periphrastic future: 945) has its independent accent.

Participial Periphrastic Phrases.

1074. Combinations of participles with auxiliary verbs,
of condition or motion, forming phrases which have an office
analogous with that of verb-tenses, are not unknown in any period of the language.

They occur even in the Veda, but are far more common and conspicuous in the Brāhmaṇas, and become again of little account in the later language.

1075. Examples of the various formations are as follows:

a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb i, 'go'. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus: yathā sūcyā vāsah saṇḍadhad iyād evam evūi 'tābhir yajñasya chidraṁ saṇḍadhad eti (AB.), 'just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice'; agnir vā idām vāiśvānaro dahann āit (PB.), 'Agni Vaiśvanara kept burning this creation'; tē 'sūraḥ pārājita yānto dyāvāppthivī ṣūryaṣrayan (TB.), 'those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth'; tē 'ṣya gṛhā pačāva upaṃrīyāmāṇā iyuh (CB.), 'the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed'.

b. The same with the verb car, 'go (continually or habitually)', signifying still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: agnīd agnīc carati prāvīṣṭāḥ (AV.), 'Agni is constantly present in the fire'; odāṇyam daṇḍena ghnantaḥ caranti (PB.), 'they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment'.

c. The same with the verbs ās, 'sit', and sthū, 'stand', with a like meaning. Thus, juhvata āsate (K.), 'they continue sacrificing'; te 'pakramaḥ pratīcāvadato 'tīṣhan (AB.), 'they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing'.

In the later language, sthū is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A participle with as and bhū, 'be'. The participle is oftenest a future one; as only is used in the optative, bhū usually in other forms. Thus: yāḥ pūrveṃ anījānāḥ syāt (AB.), 'whoever may not have made sacrifice before'; saṃvād eva yajñe kurvāṇā āsān (GB.), 'they did the same thing at the sacrifice'; parikrīṣṭāna āsān (MS.), 'they were playing about'; itarā me kena devatā upāptā bhaviṣyanti (AB.), 'wherewith shall the other deities be won by me? yātra suptvā pānar nā vadrāṣṭān bhāvati (CB.), 'when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again'; havyah hi vaksyaṃ bhāvati (AB.), 'for he is intending to carry the sacrifice'; dāsyant syāt (K.), 'may be going to give'; yēna vādhamena syant syāt (CB.), 'with what vehicle he may be about to drive'.

Composition with Prepositional Prefixes.

1076. All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation — of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as the
denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) — occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character (see the next chapter), the so-called prepositions, according to the original use of that term, or the verbal prefixes.

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 many derivatives: below, chap. XVII.) is made, just as from the simple root. Yet, even there (and still more in the older language: 1081), the combination is so loose, and the members retain so much of their independent value, that in most dictionaries (that of Monier Williams is an exception) the conjugation of each root with prefixes is treated under the simple root, and not in the alphabetic order of the prefix. Derivative words, however, are by universal agreement given in their independent alphabetic place, like simple words.

1077. Those verbal prefixes which have value as such throughout the whole history of the language are given below, in alphabetic order, with their fundamental meanings:

- द्वि आति, 'across, beyond, past, over, to excess';
- द्वित आधि, 'above, over, on, on to';
- द्वित आनु, 'after, along, toward';
- द्वित अन्तर, 'between, among, within';
- द्वित ओपा, 'away, forth, off';
- द्वित ओपि, 'unto, close upon or on';
- द्वित अभि, 'to, unto, against' (often with implied violence);
- द्वित अवा, 'down, off';
- द्वित ओ, 'to, unto, at';
- द्वित ओड, 'up, up forth or out';
- द्वित ओपा, 'to, unto, toward';
- द्वित ओ नि, 'down; in, into';
- द्वित ओ निस, 'out, forth';
- द्वित पारा, 'to a distance, away, forth';
- द्वित पारि, 'round about, around';
- द्वित प्रां, 'forward, onward, forth, fore';
pra, 'in reversed direction, back to or against, against, in return';

vi, 'apart, asunder, away, out';
sām, 'along, with, together'.

a. Some of these, of course, are used much more widely and frequently than others. In order of frequency in the older language (as estimated by the number of roots with which they are found used in RV. and AV.), they stand as follows: pra, ā, vi, sam, abhi, ni, ud, pari, anu, upa, prati, ava, nis, ati, apa, parā, adhi, api, antar. Api is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, 'too, also'.

b. The meanings given are only the leading ones. In combination with the roots 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 very rare in AV. (only two roots), and entirely lost in the later language;
āvis, '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);
purās, 'in front, forward': used with only half-a-dozen roots, especially kr, dhā, i;
prādūs, 'forth to view': only with bhū, as, kr.

A few others, as bhās, 'outside', vinā, 'without', sāksāt, 'in view', are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of still more limited use, and of noun rather than adverb-value are:
caṛā (or caṛath?), only with dhā (in RV., once also with kr): caṛaddhā, 'believe, credit';
hīnā, only with kr (and obsolete in the classical language): hīṅkr, 'make the sound hing, low, murmur'.

And beside these stand yet more fortuitous combinations: see below, 1091.

1080. More than one prefix may be set before the same root. Combinations of two are quite usual; of three, much less common; of more than three, rare. Their order is in general determined only by the requirements of the meaning,
each added prefix bringing a further modification to the combination before which it is set. But ग्रञ्जा is never allowed in the later language, and only extremely rarely in the older, to be put in front of any of the others.

1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix always stands immediately before the verbal form.

In the older language, however, of both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, its position is quite free: it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even (much less often) 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.

Thus, सा देवान् ए ’हा वाक्ययाति (RV.), ‘he shall bring the gods hither’; प्रां ना धुणि तुरित (AV.), ‘may he lengthen out our lives’; तेन ए यातम उपा द्रवत (RV.), ‘do ye two come hither quickly’; गामद वाजेबिर ए सा नाह (RV.), ‘may he come with gifts hither to us’; पद्रि मैम पारि मे प्रजाम पारि नाह पाहि याद द्रह्मन (AV.), ‘protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own’; यातह सदया ए ए पद्राए का यान्ति (AV.), ‘from whence every day they advance and retire’; भ धुमह सर्वेना पुष्मनाः [avartam] विय याक्षेना साम धुणि (AV.), ‘I have separated from all ill-luck, from disease, [I have joined myself] with life’.

The separation of the prefix from a verbal noun or adjective is very much more difficult, and of quite rare occurrence.

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 entirely independent words.

1083. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above [592], is ordinarily unaccented: before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.

If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.

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.

Examples are: पारे ‘हि नौ युनार् ए ‘हि क्षीप्रम (AV.), ‘go away, woman; come again quickly’; एतह ‘साम विपुङ्कत (RV.), ‘then scatter ye away to your home’; समावेशस्य (विपुङ्कत (AV.), ‘gather together, go forth together after’; याद ग्रहन उपोदसी (AV.), when he goes up to the

Whitney, Grammar.
house; evā ca tvāṁ saramā ājagāṇtha (RV.), 'now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither'; yênā 'vīṣtādh pravivecitīthā 'pāḥ (RV.), 'enveloped in which thou didst enter the waters'.

1084. A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction, or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term), belonging to and governing a noun: in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound, but has its own accent. The two kinds of use shade into one another, and are not divisible by any distinct and fixed line.

1085. In combination with the non-personal parts of the verb-system, with participles, infinitives, and gerunds, the general rule is that the prefix loses its accent, 'in favor of the other member of the compound. But the prefix instead has sometimes the accent: namely, when combined —

a. with the passive participle in ta or na: thus, pāreta, 'gone forth'; antārhitā, 'concealed'; ávapanna, 'fallen'; sāmpūrṇa, 'complete'.

b. with the infinitive in tu (972), in all its cases: thus, sāṁhartum, 'collect'; āpiḍhātave, 'to cover up'; āvagantos, 'of descending'; the doubly accented dative in tavāi retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, ánvetavāi, 'for following'; āpabhartavāi, 'for carrying off'.

1086. The closeness of combination between the root and the prefix is indicated not only by their unity of accent, but also by the euphonic rules (e.g. 185, 192), which allow the mutual adaptations of the two to be made to some extent as if they were parts of a unitary word.

1087. A few special irregularities call for notice:

a. In the later language, api, adhi, and ava, in connection with certain roots, sometimes lose their initial vowel: namely, api with nah and dhā, adhi with sthā, ava with gāh. In the Veda, on the other hand, is is in a few cases found instead of nis with ykṛ.

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an i, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: thus, pratikāra, nīrt, pariḥāra, virūdhi, adhvaṣā, āpīrta, abhīvantā; anūrūdh; prāvīṣ, ṣpāvasu.

In the Veda, the initial of anu is sometimes lengthened after negative an: thus, anānudā.

c. In combination with yī 'go', the prefixes parā, pari, and pra sometimes change their r to l.

In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem palāy, 'flee', inflected according to the a-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brāhmaṇas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it takes
the augment prefixed: thus, apalāyīṣṭhaś; it makes the periphrastic perfect palāyāṁ ca ḍre. The stem palay, similarly inflected, seems to occur only in ČB.; and plāy has been found nowhere except in MS.

d. The root kr 'make' sometimes assumes (or retains a more original condition) an initial s after the prefixes sam, pari, and upa: thus, samskurute, samaskurvan, saniskṛta, pariśkrṇvanti, pariśkṛta, upaskṛta. And vkr 'scatter' is said by the grammarians to add s in the same manner, under certain circumstances, after upa and prati.

e. The passive participle of the roots dā 'give' and dā 'cut' has often the abbreviated form ṭta after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if i, is lengthened (compare the similar contraction with other elements, above, 955 c, and that of the derivative in ti, below, chap. XVII.). Thus, in AV. are found from dā 'give', vyāṭta, pūrītta, ṣāṝatita; in Brāhmaṇas, from the same, āṭṭa, ṣāṭṭa, ṭāṭṭa; from dā 'cut', āvatta, nirāvatta, samāvatta.

f. The AB. has once niṃiyojya (instead of ni-ṇyojya) from ni+Vyuj, and udaprapatat; and in MBh, are found a few cases like viyāṣa from vi+Yaṣ (where, however, an intentional play on the word may be assumed: Delbrück); and anvasaṃacarat (instead of anusamacarat). Such unifications of prefix and root, with treatment of the result after the manner of a simple root, are extremely rare.

Some hold, however, that certain of the apparent roots of the language are results of this unification: thus, āp from ā+ap, vyac from vi+ac, tyaj from ati+aj, etc. (see Weber, Ind. Stud., xiii. 61).

g. The loss of the initial s of sthā and stambh after the prefix ud has been noticed above (233 a).

Also (137 a, b), certain peculiarities of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1088. As to the more general adverbal uses of the prefixes, and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1089. The adverbal prefixes su, 'well', and dus, 'ill', are said to be sometimes combined with verbal forms; but no examples of such combination are quotable from accentuated texts.

As to the addition of the comparative and superlative suffixes tarūm and tamām to verbs, see above, 473.

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', dhā, 'put', i, 'go' — and that the first three of these are widely used in combination with a derivative in ām to make a periphrastic conjugation. Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with
other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

1091. Most analogous with hiṁ + y/kr (1079) are a few other onomatopoetic compounds in the Veda: akkhalīkṛtya (RV.), 'making a crackling sound', jarjānjābhatvant (RV.), 'timmering', and alalābhavant (RV.), 'making merry'; and (in AB.) bababākurvan, 'crackling'. And AV. has masmasā with y/kr (TS. and VS., masmasā), 'crush'.

Further, combinations of y/kr with terms used at the sacrifice, as vāṣat, svāhā, svadā, svagā: at first phrases only, and noun-compounds, but becoming verbal combinations in which the prefixed word is treated like a prepositional prefix: thus, svagākaroti (CB.: but svadā karoti, TA.); and other prefixes are set before them, as anuvāṣatkuryāt.

1092. a. The noun namas, 'obeisance, 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 karṇagṛhya: above, 990.).

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 āstamyānt, āstamesyānt, āstamita (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix) — and in the Brāhmaṇas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix: thus, astamēti (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, ċṛtamkṛtya and nagnāmkṛtya (TS.); nagnambhāvuka, pāmanambhāvuka, etc. (TS. et al.).

1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with kṛ or bhū, in verbal nouns and ordinary derivatives, and then also in verbal forms, begins to assume a constant ending ī (of doubtful origin).

There is no instance of this in RV., unless the ī of akkhalīkṛtya (above, 1091) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure vāṭikṛta and vāṭikāraṇa. In the Brāhmaṇa language, examples begin to occur occasionally — cyetī and mithunī in TS.; these and phalī, krūrī, udvāsī in TB.; the first three, with suphalī, eki, svi, brāhmaṇī, and daridrī in CB.; and so on. The accent of the combination is in general accordance with the accent of compounds with the usual prefixes; and if the prefixed stem takes the tone, this rests upon the final ī. Sometimes a mere collocation takes place: thus, mithunī bhāvantis (TS.), phalī kriyāmāṇānām (TB.), vajrī bhutvā (TA.). The ī is variously treated: now as an uncombinable final, as in cyetī akuruta and mithunī abhavan (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in mithunī ēṇayā syām and savyākuryata (CB.).

The examples in accentuated texts, and especially those in which the
1094. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots \( \sqrt{k} \) and \( \sqrt{bhu} \) (and, it is said, of \( \sqrt{as} \) also; but such cases, if they occur, are at least 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 \( \bar{\imath} \); if an \( u \)-vowel, it is changed to \( \bar{\imath} \).

It is prescribed also that a final \( r \) become \( \bar{r} \), and that \( as \) and \( an \) be changed to \( \bar{i} \); but no genuine examples appear to be quotable.

Examples are: stambhibhavati, 'becomes a post'; ekacittibhuya, 'becoming of one mind'; upahārikarṣi, 'thou makest an offering'; nakhaprahārajjararjarikṛta, 'torn to pieces with blows of the claws'; āthīthībhavanti, 'become loose'; kudalikṛta, 'ring-shaped.'

1095. Of all the forms which constitute or are attached to the verbal system, the passive participle is the one most closely assimilated in its treatment as a combinable element to an ordinary adjective. Next to it come the gerund and the gerundives. Combinations of the kind here treated of are especially common with passive participles and gerunds.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDECLINABLES.

1096. The indeclinable words are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech in Sanskrit than is usual elsewhere in Indo-European language — especially owing to the fact that the class of prepositions hardly has a real existence, but is represented by certain adverbial words which are to a greater or less extent used prepositionally. They will, however, be briefly described here under the usual heads.
Adverbs.

1097. Adverbs by Suffix. Classes of adverbs, sometimes of considerable extent, are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems.

There is no ultimate difference between these suffixes and the case-endings in declension; and the adverbs of this division sometimes are used in the manner of cases.

1098. With the suffix *tas* are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:

a. From pronominal roots, in átas, itáts, tátas, yátas, amútás, svátas (not found earlier); and from the pronominal stems in *t* or *d* (494) of the personal pronouns: thus, mattás (only example in V.), tvattas, asmattas, yusmattas.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: thus, mukhatás, agratás, bhútás, hríttás, círsátás, nástás, yaujuštas, párátas, anyátas, sarvátas, daksíñatás, abhípatás (once, in RV., from a case-form: *patsútás*).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, abhítás, parítás, ántítás.

Examples of ablative construction are: tátah saññhatí (AV.), ‘from that sixth’; tátó jyáyän (AV.), ‘older than they’; kutoç cid deçúd agatyà (H.), ‘arriving from some region or other’.

But the distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced, and the adverb has a more locative value: thus, agratás, ‘in front’; asmatasamípatas, ‘in our presence’; dharmatas, ‘in accordance with duty’; chágatas (H.), ‘with reference to the goat’.

1099. With the suffix *tra* (in V. often *trā*) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.

These adverbs are formed from pronominal roots, namely átra, tátra, yátra, kútra, amútra, asmátra, satrā; and also from noun and adjective stems, as anyátra, vícvátra, samántára, marýatrā, daksíñatrā, devatrā, purutrā, bahutrā.

The words in (accented) *trā* are Vedic only, except satrā, ‘altogether’ (of which satram is also given as an alternative form).

Examples of quasi-locative or locative construction are: hástá d daksíñatrá (RV.), ‘in the right hand’; tatrā ‘ntare (H.), ‘in that interval’; prabhútvam tatra yujujate (H.), ‘sovereignty is suited to him’; ekatra puruṣe (MBh.), ‘in a single man’.

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 gacha, ‘go there or thither’; pathó devatrá yánän (RV.), ‘roads that go to the gods’.
1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:
   a. ha, in īhā, 'here', kīhā, 'where?' and the Vedic vićvāha (also vićvāhā, vićvāhā), 'always' [compare below], 1104, end.
   b. tāt, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, as práktāt, ādaktāt; to adverbial ablatives, as ārāttāt, uttarāttāt, parākkāttāt; and to prepositional adverbs, as adhāstāt, avāstāt, parāstāt, purāstāt, bahāstāt. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has occasionally the form stāt: thus, upārīstāt.
   c. hi, in uttarāhi (C.B.) and daksināhi (no occurrence).

1101. By the suffix thā are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

   Thus, tāthā, yathā; kathā and itthā [by the side of which stand kathām and itthām]; and the rare imāthā and amāthā. And ādha (V. often āthā), 'so then', doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems: as, vićvāthā, sarvāthā, anyāthā, urbhayāthā, itarāthā, yatamāthā, ārd̥nvāthā, r̥thā, nāmāthā (once, AV.).

Yathā becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of iva after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, tāyāvo yathā (RV.), 'like thieves'.

1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:

   a. ti, in īti, 'thus', very commonly used, from the earliest period, as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

   Examples are: brahmajāyē 'yām īti cēd āvocan (RV.), 'if they have said "this is a Brahman's wife"'; tāthā devā abruvan vrātya klin nū tiṣṭhasi 'ti (AV.), 'the gods said to him: "Vratya, why do you stand?"'. Often, the īti is used more pregnantly: thus, yāh āraddādhāti sānti devā īti (AV.), 'whoever has faith that the gods exist'; taṁ vidgṛhram munir mūṣiko 'yam īti prayati (H.), 'the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse'; yīyām kim īti sidatthā (H.), 'why (lit.'ly, alleging what reason) do you sit?' Or the īti marks an onomatopoea, or indicates a gesture: thus, bahīs te astu bāl īti (AV.), 'let it come out of you with a "splash"'; īty āgṛte kṛṣatā āthā 'ti (C.B.), 'he ploughs first this way, then this way'. A word made by īti logically predicate to an object is usually nominative: thus, svargō lokā īti yāh vādantī (AV.), 'what they call "the heavenly world"'; vidarbhājanātanāyām damayantī īti vīdāthi mām (MBh.), 'know me for the Vidarba-king's daughter, Damayanti by name'; but ajñām bālam īty āhū (M.), 'they call an ignorant man a child'.

   With the suffix of īti is to be compared that of tāti etc. (519).
   b. va in iva (toneless), 'like, as', and eva (in V. often evā), earlier 'thus', later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for 'thus' is used later the related evām, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with vid: as, evām vidvān, 'knowing thus'.

   In later Vedic (AV. etc.) iva more often counts for only a single syllable.

1103. a. By the suffix dā are made adverbs of time, but almost only from pronominal roots.
Thus, tadā, yadā, kadā, idā (only in V.); and sādā, beside which is found earlier sādam. Besides these, in the older language, only sarvadā; later a few others, as anyadā, ekadā, nityadā.

b. By the perhaps related dānim are made idānim, tadānim, vipavānim.

c. With ṛhi are made, from pronominal roots, tārhi, etārhi, yārhi, kārhi, amārhi.

d. The suffix ḍi, found only in yādī, ‘if’, is perhaps related with dā, in form as in meaning.

1104. By the suffix dhā are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying ‘-fold, times, ways’, etc.

Thus, ekadhā, dvadhā (also dvitdhā and dvedhā), tridhā (in the old language usually tredhā), ṣadhā (also ṣadhā and ṣadhdā), dvādacadhā, sahasradhā, and so on. Also, naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, tatidhā, bahudhā, purudhā, vipvādhā, gatvādhā, etvāvādhā. In a very few cases, also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, mitradhā (AV.), priyadhā (TS.), ṣudhā (TB.), pariṣṭubdhā (PB.).

The particle ḍāha or ḍādha, a Vedic equivalent of ātha, probably belongs here (purudhā and vipvādhā, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.); also addhā, ‘in truth’; and perhaps sahā, ‘with’, which has an equivalent sadha- in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in ḍa (1100a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with s: namely, dvāṣ, trāṣ, and catār (probably, for catārs).

The corresponding word for ‘once’, sakṣ, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to paṅcaṅkaṭvas, navakṛṭvas, aparimikitvās, etc., though kṛt and kṛṭvas are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes (AV. has daṇca kṛṭvas and saptā kṛṭvas).

1106. By the suffix čās are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively.


1107. By the suffix vāt are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying ‘after the manner of, like, etc.

Thus, aṅgirasvāt, ‘like Angiras’, manusvāt (RV.), ‘as Manu did’, jamadagnivāt, ‘after the manner of Jamadagni’; pūrvvāt or pratnavāt or puruṣavāt, ‘as of old’, kākatāliyavat, ‘after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit’.

This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111e) of the suffix vant (next chapter), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, tvāvant, ‘like thee’, māvant, ‘of my sort’, etc.
1108. By the suffix sāt are made adverbs signifying 'into the condition of', which are used along with verbs of becoming and of making.

Thus, aṁiṣāt + ṣākr, 'reduce to fire, burn up'; bhasmasāt + ṣbhū, 'turn to ashes'; ātmāsūṭkṛta, 'made one's own'.

These derivatives are unknown in the earlier language, and not common in the later. The s of sāt is not liable to conversion into ʂ. The connection with the following verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in ya: thus, bhasmasūṭkṛtvā (not -kṛtya: above, 990).

1109. Suffixes, not of noun-derivation or inflection, may be traced with more or less plausibility in a few other adverbs. Thus, for example, in prātār, 'early', and sanulār, 'away'; in daṅgaṁ, 'with right hand', and cikītvāt, 'with consideration'; in nūnām, 'now', and nānānām, 'variously'. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be worth notice here.

The adverbs of this division are almost never used prepositionally. 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 adjectival, 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.; kām, 'why, whether', etc.; idām, 'now, here'; adās, 'yonder'; and so on. Of like value, apparently, are the (mostly Vedic) particles kād, kām and kān(?) tā, cīd (common at every period), smūd and sumūd, īm and īm (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), -kām.

Compounds with tā are cēd, 'if', nēd, 'lest', svid, kuvīd; with cīd, kucīd; with -kām, nākām and mākām, and ākām.

b. Of noun-stems: as, nāma, 'by name'; sūkham, 'happily'; kāmam, 'at will, if you please'; nāktam, 'by night'; rāhas, 'secretly'; osām, 'quickly' (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in great numbers: as, satyām, 'truly'; cīrām, 'long'; nātyam, 'constantly'; bhūyas, 'more, again'; and so on.

1. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way; and it is formed and used adverbially from a large class of compound stems which do not occur in adjective use (the so-called avayābhāva-compounds: below, chap. XVIII.).
2. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used; especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, tarām and tamām, which are attached to particles, and even, as it is claimed (473), to verb-forms: thus, pratārām, pratamām, uccāistarām, cānāistarām, 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.

d. Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples are tūṣñīm, 'in silence'; sāyām, 'at evening'; ṛlakam, 'tainly'; sākām, 'together, with (prep.)'; āram or ālam, 'sufficient' (in the later language used with yṛk in the manner of a prefix); prāyus, 'usually'; īṣāt, 'somewhat'; amnās, 'unexpectedly'; bahīts, 'outside'; māhu and māthās, māhu and mākus, jātu, and so on. Madrīk etc., and nīrīk (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having yac or anō as their final (407 ff.); and visunāk and vṛthak, with pṛthag and ṛdhat, may be of the same character. The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for uccādhak, anuvāk and āyusāk, anuṣṭhā and suṣṭhā, yugapāt, etc. Compare also the forms in am beside those in ā, above, 1099, 1101, 1103a.

e. In (Vedic) drauāt, 'quickly', is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (pple drāvanta, 'running'); and drāhyāt, 'stoutly' (RV., once), may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, e) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the derivatives with vāt (1107).

1112. The instrumental is also very often used with adverbial value: generally in the singular, but sometimes also in the plural. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, end and ayā, kāyā, anā, sānā, amā, amūyād.

b. Of noun-stems: as, kṣaṇena, 'instantly'; acceṣena, 'completely'; viçeṣena, 'especially'; dīvā, 'by day'; dīṣṭyā, 'fortuitously'; sāhasā, 'suddenly'; akkubhīs, 'by night'; and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, dākṣaṇena, 'to the south'; uḍāretena, 'to the north'; utāretena, 'within'; ciraṇa, 'long'; — cānāis and ānakaśāis, 'slowly'; uccās, 'on high'; parācās, 'afar'; tāvājībhis, 'mightily'; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: tiraṣcūtā, devātā, bāhūtā, and sasvātā (all RV.), homonymous instrumental from nouns in tā; dvitā, tāḍītnā, īrma, mṛṣā, vṛthā, sācā, asthā (9), mugdā (not V.), adhunā (Br. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumental are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumental by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, amā and dīvā (given above); perhaps gāhā; apākā, āsvā, kuhāyā (?); naktyāyā, svapnāyā, samānā; adatrāyā, tṛtāyā, udbhāyā, sumnāyā (?); daksīṇā, madhyā; nīcā, prācā, uccā, paścā, tiraṣcā; — in a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending,
which is accented: thus, amuyā (given above), ācuyā, sādhuṣyā, raughyā, dhruṣuṣyā, anuṣṭhuṣyā, mithuyā; and unruṣyā (for uruṣyā) and viṣṣuṣyā (properly viṣṭāṣuṣyā) are more slightly irregular.

1113. The dative has only very seldom an adverbial use.
Examples are (from the later language only): cirāya, 'long'; arthāya, 'for the sake of'; ahnāya, 'presently'.

1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially. Thus:


b. Of noun-stems: as, āsāt, 'near'; ārāt, 'afar'; balāt, 'forcibly'; kutūhāt, 'emulously'; sakācāt, 'on the part of'.

c. Oftest, of adjective stems: as, dūrāt, 'afar'; nicāt, 'below'; paṣcāt, 'behind'; sāksāt, 'plainly, actually'; samantāt, 'completely'; acirāt, 'not long'.

d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, apakāt, 'from afar'; amāt, 'from near by'; samāt, 'from of old' (but instr. sānā); uttarāt, 'from the north'; adharāt, 'below'.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.
In the older language occur aktōs, 'by night'; and vāstos, 'by day'; later, cirāsya, 'long'.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value. Thus:

From noun and adjective stems: ākē, 'nearer'; ārē and dūrē, 'afar'; abhisvārę, 'behind'; astamikē, 'at home'; rtē, 'without (prep.)'; āgṛē, 'in front'; sthānē, 'suitably'; sapādi, 'immediately'; -arthe and -krte (common in composition), 'for the sake of'; aparīṣṭu, 'in after time'.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) kōś, interrogative particle, and its compounds nākis and mākis, negative particles.

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.

Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (1084). In the value of general adverbs, however, they only very 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.
In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements) not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, chap. XVIII.

1119. Several of the prefixes (as noticed above, 473—4) form comparative and superlative adjectives, by the suffixes tara and tama, or ra and ma: thus, úttara and uttama; ādharā and adhamā, āpara and apamā, āvaramā, āpārā 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, sarhantarm sām ciṇḍādi (AV.), ‘whatever is quickened, do thou still further quicken’; vitarām vi kramasva (RV.), ‘stride out yet more widely’; prá tāṁ naya pratarm vāsya ācha (RV.), ‘lead him forward still further advantage’; ud enam uttarāṁ naya (AV.), ‘lead him up still higher’.

Besides those instanced, are found also nitarāṁ, avatarm, paratarāṁ, parantarām. In the Brāhmaṇas and later (above, 1111c), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, pratitarāṁ, saṁtarāṁ, nitarāṁ, uttarāṁ, pratarāṁ and pratamāṁ (and saṁtarāṁ, 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, avās, ‘down’; adhās, ‘below’; parās, ‘far off’; purā, ‘before’; antarā (apparently, antār + ā), ‘among’; ānti, ‘near’; upārī, ‘above’: and sahā (already mentioned, 1104), ‘along, with’, and sācā, ‘together, with’, may be noticed with them. Vinā, ‘without’, and viṣu-, ‘apart’, appear to be related with viṭ.

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.

It is combined especially with innumerable nouns and adjectives; much more rarely, with adverbs, as akūtra and āpunar (RV.), ānadhās (TB.), akasmāt, asakṛt; and, according to the grammarians, sometimes also with pronouns (āsas, anēsas), and with verbs (apacati, ‘does not cook’), but no such combinations appear to be quotable.

The independent negative adverbs, nā and mad, are only in rare and exceptional instances used in composition: see below, 1122b.

b. The comitative prefix sa, used instead of the preposition sām, and exchangeably with sahā, before nouns and adjectives.

c. The prefix of dispraise dus, ‘ill, badly’ (identical with vādus: 225).

It is combined in the same manner as a or an. Of combinations with a verbal form, at least a single example appears to be quotable: duṣčavati (R.), ‘behaves ill’ (BR.).
d. The corresponding laudatory prefix su, 'well', is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here, through it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.

No combination of su with a verbal form appears to be quotable from any accentuated text (though the worthless pada-text of AV. xix. reads su-āpāyati at 49.10). K. has na su viṣṭāyete and na vāi su viduh (or su-viṣṭāyete?).

e. The exclamatory and usually depreciative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (506) are most analogous with the inseparable prefixes.

1122. Miscellaneous Adverbs. Other words of adverbial character and office, not clearly referable to any of the classes hitherto treated, may be mentioned as follows:

a. Asseverative particles (in part, Vedic only): thus, angha, hánta, kila, khátu, tú (rare in older language), vāt, vāvā (in Brāhmaṇa language only), hi, hiná, u, āha, ha, gha, samaha, sma, bhala.

Of these, hánta is a word of assent; āt has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595d); sma sometimes gives a past meaning to a present tense (778b); u is often combined with the final a of other particles: thus, átho, nó, mó, útō, úpo, pró; but also with that of verb-forms, as dattó, vidmó. The final o thus produced is praṣṭhyá or uncombinable (138c).

Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above, are ād, kám or kam, cid, jātu, evá.

Some of the asseverative particles are much used in the later artificial poetry with a purely expletive value, as devices to help make out the metre (pādāpūrana, 'verse-fillers'); so especially ha, hi, tu, sma.

b. Negative particles are: ná, signifying simple negation; má, signifying prohibition.

As to the construction of the verb with má, see above, 579—80.

In the Veda, ná (or ná: 248a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic ná of comparison, see below, d.

In nāhí, ná is combined with hí, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with ád in nád, 'lest'. It is perhaps present in námá and caná, but not in hiná (RV., once). In general, neither ná nor má is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix a or an (1121a): exceptions are the Vedic particles nákis and mákis, nákám and mákám; also naciram and máciram, and a few others.

c. Interrogative particles are only those already given: kád, kim, kuvid, svíd, naná, of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.
Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless īva, and yathā (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also ná, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

Examples are: "let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer"; uṣo ná vrksám (AV.), as birds to the tree; gāvro ná tṛṣitāh 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.

Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed kvā (in V., always to be read kā). Of particles of time are: nū, 'now' (also nū: nūnām was mentioned above, 1109) adyā and sadyās and sadivas (RV., once), 'today, at once' (all held to contain the element div or dyu), hyās, 'yesterday', civa, 'tomorrow', jyok (also related with dyu), 'long'; pūnar, 'again'.

Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed nānā, 'variously' (for nānānām, its derivative, see 1109); sasvār (RV.), 'secretly'.

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 exclusive 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.

If one and another of such words — as vinā,nte — occurs almost solely in prepositional use, this is merely fortuitous, and of no consequence.

1124. Words are 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 of the
genitive, which has, here as elsewhere \(^{294}\), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use.

1125. The adverbs by derivative form \(^{1097 ff.}\) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix *tas*: \(^{1098}\)).

Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are *ud*, *ni*, *parā*, *pra*: and *ava* and *ni* are almost such) have their prepositional or quasi-prepositional uses with cases; but much more widely in the older time than in the later: in the classical language the usage is mainly restricted to *prati*, *anu*, and *ā*.

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.

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.

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, *antarā* 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 *adhi* (illustrated above, \(^{305}\)); — *api* and *upa* are much rarer: thus, *yā* *apām* *āpi* *vratē* [sānti] (RV.), *'who are in the domain of the waters'*, *aman* *yā* *upa* *sūrye* [sānti] (RV.), *'who are up yonder in the sun'*. — *sacā*, *'along with'*, is not rare in RV., but almost entirely unknown later: thus, *pitroḥ* *sacā* *satī*, *'staying with her parents'*.  

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pronominal root *sa*: as *saha* (most frequent), *sākam*, *sārdham*, *saman*, *samaγā*, *saraham*; and, in the Veda, the prefix *sam*: as, *te* *sumatībhiḥ* *sām* *paññhīḥ* *nā* *viśaṇo* *nasimahi* (RV.), *'may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses'*. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation \(^{283}\), *vinā*, *'without'* (not Vedic), takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, *avas*, *'down'*, and *paras*, *'beyond'*, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And *adhī*, in RV., is used with the instrumentals *smunā* and *smuhhis*, 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, *adhī* and *pari*; more sporadically, *anu*, *apa*, *ava*, *prati*, and the separatives *nis* and *vi*. 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 (293c). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many — as bahis, puras, avas, adhas, paras, purā, vinā, and tiras, 'out of knowledge of' — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms arvāk, prāk, paścāt, ārdhvaṁ, pūrvam, param, pareṇa, prābhṛti; and ṛte, 'without', of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier. Antikam, 'near', is said to take the ablative as well as its more normal companion the genitive.

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, prati, anu, upa, ā, ati and adhi in the sense of 'over on to' or 'across, beyond', tiras, 'through', antar and antarā when meaning 'between', pari, 'around'. Examples are: yāh prādiço abhi sāryo vioaṣte (AV.), 'what quarters the sun looks abroad unto'; ābodhy agnīḥ prāty āyatim uśāsam (RV.), 'Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn'; gacheḥ kādāeit svaajanam prati (MBh.), 'she might go somewhither to her own people'; imaṃ prakṣyāmi nṛpatim prati (MBh.), 'him I will ask with reference to the king'; māma cīttāṁ ānu cīttēbhīr ē 'ta (AV.), 'follow after my mind with your minds'; ē 'hy ē nah (AV.), 'come hither to us'; úpa na ē 'hy arvān (RV.), 'come hither unto us'; yō devō mārtyaḥ āti (AV.), 'the god who is beyond mortals'; adhiṣṭhāya vārcaśā 'dhy anyān (AV.), 'excelling above others in glory'. Also abhitas and paritas, which have a like value with the simple abhi and pari; and upari, 'above' (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with adhas, paras, puras, vinā, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbial case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instrumentalss of situation or direction: as ye 'vareṇa "dityām, ye pāreṇa "dityām (TB.), 'those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun'; antareṇa yōnim (CB.), 'within the womb'; te hī 'dam antareṇa sarvam (AB.), 'for all this universe is between them'; āttareṇa gārhapatyam (CB.), 'to the north of the householder's fire'; dākṣiṇena vēdīm (CB.), to the south of the sacrificial hearth'; dākṣiṇena vrkṣāvālikām (Çak.), 'to the right of the orchard'; nikaśā, 'near to'. Similarly, ārdhvaṁ and pūrvam have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of ṛte. Abhimukham, 'toward', has a more natural right to construction with this case; and samāyā (later samayā), 'through between', is analogous with antarā and tiras.

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', abhyāce, 'near', arthe and kṛte, 'for the sake of', nimitte and hetāu, 'by reason of', madhye, 'in the midst of'; and other cases, as artham and arthāya, antikam and abhimukham (which have also other constructions), kāraṇāt, sakācāt, hetos. And really, although
less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed): as adhāreṇa, uttarena and uttarit, daksīṇena and daksīṇāt, paścāt, īrḍhvaṁ, anantarām, samākṣam, sākṣāt. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative parītas, paratas, and antitas, and parasāt and purasāt (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, saṁvatsaraśya parasāt, ‘after a year’; sūktasya purasāt, ‘before the hymn’ [AB.]); with anti, adhas, avas, puras; with upāri, ‘above’ (common later); and with antar.

Conjunctions.

1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words, are almost wanting.

The combination of clauses is in Sanskrit in general of a very simple character; much of what in other Indo-European languages is effected by subordinating conjunctions is here managed by means of composition of words, by the use of the gerunds (994), and of iti (1102a), 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 ced and ned (1111a).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are ca, ‘and’, and vā, ‘or’ (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).

Of copulative value, along with ca, is in the older language especially utā (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and api, tatas, tathā, kim ca, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

Adversative is tu, ‘but’ (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, u (toneless).

Of illative value is hi, ‘for’ (originally, and in great part at every period, asseverative only): compare above, 1122a.

To ca (as well as to its compound ced) belongs occasionally the meaning ‘if’.

It is needless to enter into detail with regard to those uses which may be not less properly, or more properly, called conjunctive than adverbial, of the particles already given, under the head of Adverbs.

Interjections.

1134. The utterances which may be classed as interjections are, as in other languages, in part voice-gestures,
in part onomatopoeias, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.

1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: ā, hā, hāhā, ahaha, he, hāi (AV.), ayi, aye, hayé (RV.), aho, bāt (RV.), bata (RV.) or vata, and (probably) hiruk and huruk (RV.).

b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): cīcā, ‘whiz’ (of an arrow: RV.); kīkā (palpitation: RV.); bāl and phāt (phāś?) or phāl, ‘splash’ (AV.); bhūk, ‘bow-wow’ (AV.); cāl, ‘pat’ (AV.); aś, hīś, aś, and has (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots kr 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’); dhiṅk, ‘alas!’ (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with ṣāṅj); kāstam, ‘woe is me!’ distya, ‘thank heaven!’ svasti, ‘hail!’ susṭhu, sādhu, ‘good, excellent!’ None of these are Vedic in interjectional use.

CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEM S.

1136. The formation from roots of conjugable stems — namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) — was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation (not essentially different from case-formation), in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems — namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles — which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was best reserved for a special chapter.

Of course, only a brief and compendious exhibition of the subject can be attempted within the here necessary limits: no exhaustive tracing out of the formative elements of every period; still less, a complete statement of the varied uses of each element; least of all, a discussion of origins; but enough to help the student in that analysis of words which must form a part
of his labor from the outset, giving a general outline of the field, and preparing for more penetrating investigation.

The material from accented texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be had especially in view (nothing that is Vedic being intentionally left unconsidered); and the examples given will be, so far as is possible, words found in such texts with their accent marked. No word not thus vouched for will be accented unless the fact is specifically pointed out.

1137. The roots themselves, both verbal and pronominal, are used in their bare form, or without any added suffix, as declinable stems.

As to this use of verbal roots, see below, 1147.

The pronominal roots, so-called, are essentially declinable; and hence, in their further treatment in derivation, they are in accordance with other declinable stems, and not with verbal roots.

1138. Apart from this, every such stem is made by a suffix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:

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).

The division of primary suffixes nearly corresponds to the krt (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.

Sundry examples of this will be pointed out below: thus, the gerundival suffixes, tavya, anīya, etc., the suffixes uka and aka, tra, and others. This origin is probable for more cases than admit of demonstration; and it is possible for others which show no distinct signs of composition.

b. Less often, a suffix of primary use passes over in part into secondary, through the medium of use with denominative "roots" or otherwise: examples are yu, iman, iyas and istha.

1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only
to original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation — and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.

a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (968 ff.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly earlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.

b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causative conjugation: see below the suffixes a, ā, as, ani, u, ti, tr, tru, stnu.

c. From tense-stems, the examples are far fewer, but not unknown: thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in a (1148.3b), ā (1148), u (1178e, g, h), ta (1178e), tu (1161c), tra (1185d), ru (1192), vin (or in: 1232, end); from stems in a s apparently of aoristic character (besides infinitives and gerundives), occasional derivatives in a (1148.3b), ana (1150.2b), ani (1159b), an (1160a), āna (1175), as (1151.1b), istsba (1184), u (1178e), us (1154), tr (1182c), in (1183).

1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.

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.

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.

The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their accent, will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in a, in ana, in ti, in tar and tra, and in in, ya, van and man, i and u, as, and a few others.

1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel — that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and such as de-
serve 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, veda from /vid, mod from /mud, vardha from /vrddh: ayana from /i, savana from /su, Sarana from /sr; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long a as the resulting vowel: that
is, with non-final a, and with a final i or u-vowel and r, before a vowel: thus, nad from /nad, grabh from /grbh or grabh, vah from /vah, nay from /n, bhar from /bh, krd from /kr; such strengthening as would make vaida and muda is entirely unknown in primary derivation.

No general rules can be given as to the occurrence of strengthening in derivation; it must be left to be pointed out for each suffix.

b. Other vowel changes are more sporadic, and will be noticed in detail below: thus, occasional abbreviation of a root, as in ukti from /vac; change of final r to ir and ur; the loss of final a, or its conversion to an i-vowel; and so on.

c. The reversion of a final palatal or h to a guttural has been already noticed (216). A final n or m is occasionally lost, as in formations already considered.

d. After a short final vowel is sometimes added a t: namely, where a root is used as stem without suffi x (1147), and before a following y or v of van (1169), vara and vari (1171), yu once (1165a), and ya (1213).

The presence of t before these suffixes indicates an original secondary derivation from derivatives in ti and tu.

e. The root is sometimes reduplicated: rarely in the use without suffix: oftenest before i, a, u; in only a few cases each, also before other suffixes (ana, vana, van and vari, vani, vi, vit, ani, in, atu, tnu, ta, ti, tr, tra, uka and ika, ma, ya).

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.

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 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 abstract, infinitival; the other is concrete, participial. All other meanings may be viewed as modifications or specializations of these two.

Even the words indicating recipience of action, the passive participles, are, as their use also as neuter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (961), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only 'concerned with the action'.

1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which action-nouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter. In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.

To follow an alphabetical arrangement, although in some respects more practically convenient, seems too artificial, and destructive of all natural connection. The Index will give what help is needed toward finding any particular suffix which is sought.

1147. Stems without suffix: Root-words. These words and their uses have been already pretty fully considered above (323, 348 ff., 383 ff., 400, 401).

a. They are used especially (in the later language, almost solely) as finals of compounds, and have both fundamental values, as action-nouns (frequently as infinitives: 971), and as agent-nouns and adjectives (often governing an accusative: 271c). As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (384: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).

b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.

The Vedic cases are: with simple reduplication, sasyād, cikā, sasrūt (irregular, for susrūt), didyā and didyāt, jukā, and perhaps cīṇu; with in-
tensive reduplication, -nenī, jogū, yavyādh, vānīvan (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In dāridra is seen a transfer to the a-declension. Asūsū is probably to be understood as a compound, asū-sū.

c. If the root end in a short vowel, a t is regularly and usually added (383b).

Examples, and the exceptions found to occur, have been given at the place just quoted.

d. 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.

e. In a single instance, črūḍkarna (RV.), 'of listening ears', a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.

1148. A a. With the suffix A a is made a very 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. 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.


c. Of the examples here given, those under a accent the radical syllable, and those under b the ending. And this is in 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 indicates such a difference of accent as a general tendency of the language. A few sporadic instances are met with of the same form having the one or the other value according to its accent: thus, ēsā, 'haste', esā, 'hasting'; cāsa, 'order', cāsā, 'orderer' (other examples are kāma, cāka, cōka): compare a similar difference with other derivatives as, ana, an, man). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, jayā, javā, smarā, action-nouns; crōva, mōgha, hiṃsa, agent-nouns — and the subject calls for a much wider and deeper investigation than it has yet received, before the accentuation referred to can be set up as a law of the language in derivation.

2. With vrddhi-strengthening of the root — but only where
ā is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial ə, and of
final r (most often), u or ū, i or ī (rare).

a. Examples of action-nouns are: kāma, ‘love’, bhāgā, ‘share’, nādā,
and meaning are quotable with accent on the root-syllable.

b. Examples of agent-nouns are: grābhā, ‘seizing’, vāhā, ‘carrying’,
nāyā, ‘leading’, jārā, ‘lover’.

3. With unstrengthened root, the examples are quite few: thus, krā,

a. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in com-
position, are probably results of the transfer of root-stems to the a-declension:
thus, -ruja, -ghuṣa, -sphura.

b. A few Vedic examples are made from conjugational stems: thus,
from the causative stem, kūpaya and tānaya and mṛgaya(?), -īnkhaya,
egjaya, -dhūrayā, -pārayā; from present-stems of the nu-class (IV.), or sec-
ondary roots made from them (716), hinā, -inā, -jinā, -piṇā, -sinvā,
-sunvā; from others, -ṛṇā, -ṛṇā, -pacyā, -manya, -dasya, -jurya, -kṣudhya,
-tṛṣya, -jīghrā, -pibo; from aorist-stems(?), ḫeṣā, ḫeṣa (in nēsatama, RV., once).

4. With reduplicated root, the derivatives in the older language are a
class of some extent. They are made in a few instances with the simple
vavṛā, ‘hiding’; much more often, with the intensive reduplication: thus,
vavṛṭā, ‘rolling’.

Only a single example of an action-noun has been noticed, namely
ciṇnātha, ‘attack’, with accent on the root. Other examples of accent else-
where than on the suffix are only the stems (of doubtful meaning or derivation)
cāṛaṛa and gāṛagarā.

5. 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-
ent 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 end-
ing — and that, without any reference to the value of the stem
as action-noun or agent-noun.

Examples are: saṃgamā, ‘assembly’, niṃesā, ‘wink’, abhidroḥā, ‘enmity’,
anukarā, ‘assistance’, udānā, ‘wandering’, pratyā克拉vā, ‘response’; — pariacarā,
udārā, ‘inciting, elevated’, uttudā, ‘rousing’, saṃgirā, ‘swallowing’, adardirā,
‘crushing’, adhicaṇkramā, ‘climbing’.

The only definable class of exceptions in regard to accent appears to
be that of the adverbal gerunds in am (above, 985), which are accented
on the root-syllable. A very few other stems have the same tone: for ex-
ample, *utpāta*, ‘portent’; *ācṛṣa*, ‘plague’. A few others, mostly agent-nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, *vṛṣa* (i.e. *vṛ-ṣa*), ‘burning’, *prātiṣa*, ‘neighbor’, *ābhaga*, ‘sharing’; but also *sāṅkūcā*, ‘appearance’.

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.

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. या a. This suffix has, for the most part, the subordinate office of making corresponding feminines (especially adjective) to masculines in यो a — in which use, of course, it might be open to question whether we should not regard it rather as an element of secondary character. It is comparatively little employed independently.

There are, however, a considerable number of feminine nouns in या in the language to which no corresponding masculines exist; and many of them are distinctly traceable to roots. The latter are especially action-nouns, accented on the suffix: and such derivatives in या form a distinct class, being made sometimes from simple roots, but especially, and at will, from conjugational stems, desiderative, causative, and denominative.

Examples from simple roots are: *īcā*, ‘lordship’, *krīdā*, ‘play’, *jarā*, ‘old age’, *nindā*, ‘reproach’.

Examples from desiderative stems are very few in the oldest language, but common later: thus, *jīgōsa* and *bhikṣā* (RV.); the latter and *vīrdā* (AV.); *bhūkhā* (VS.); in Brāhmaṇa language, *pīpāsa*, *bubhukṣā*, *nāmānāsa*, *cīkṣā* or *cīkṣā*, etc.

From causative stems, the only Vedic example is *gamayā* (compare the derivatives in -āya, above, 1148. 3b); but the formation becomes common later, in the making-up of the periphrastic perfect (above, 1070ff.). The derivatives from present-stems — thus, *vidā*, *edhā*, *jukavā*, etc. — made for a similar office, have been mentioned in connection with this perfect (1073).

From denominative stems, the older instances are more numerous: for example, *acayā*, *sukratīyā*, *apasyā*, *urusyā*, *asūyā*, *aṣanayā*, *jīvanasyā*. Their *y* is not resolved into *i*.

1150. अन ana. With this suffix (as with या a) are formed many derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has
usually *guna*-strengthening, but sometimes *vrddhi* 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.

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 (which last are possibly to be referred to another suffix of the same form but of a different origin).

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 are to be ranked as belonging to this suffix.

1. With strengthened and accented root-syllable. Under this head fall, as above indicated, the great mass of forms.


   The derivatives dāsāna and -mārjana have the same irregular strengthening which appears in their present-systems (627, 1042a), and other formations from the same roots.

   b. With *vrddhi*-strengthening (only in such circumstances that ā remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples (all that have been noted in the older language) are -cētana, nāčana, médana, -vēcana, -vāsana, -vāhana, sādāna, -spācana, sveddana, -āyana, -yāvana, -sāvāna, -pāraṇa, vāraṇa.


   For other compounds of these derivatives, showing the same accent (and the same feminine stem), see the next chapter (below, 1272).

   A few exceptions occur: vicakṣāṇā, upariçayāṇā, and the feminines pramandaṇī and nirdahanī.

   d. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in ī: thus, cōdāni, pēcāni, spārṇāni, jāmbhāni; prajñāni, prākṣāni, saṅgrāhāni, abhisāvanī, vidhārṇī (cetanī is of doubtful meaning: below, 2a).

   An adjective compound, however, having a noun in anā as final member, makes its feminine in ā: thus, sūpasarpāṇa, ‘of easy approach’, sāvvidhānā, ‘of sextuple order’, anapavācanā, ‘not to be ordered away’.

   2. The more irregular formations may be classed as follows:
a. With accent on the final: a small number of agent-nouns and adjectives, as karāṇa, 'active' (against karāṇa, 'act'); tvaranā, 'hasting'; rocanā, 'shining', krocāṇa, 'yelling', svapāṇa, 'sleepy', kṣayāṇa, 'habitable'. These, unlike the more regular class, make their feminines in ā: thus, tvarāṇi, spandāṇi, etc. And a very few feminine action-nouns have the same form: jaraṇa, dyotanā (RV. i. 129. 4), cveṭanā (and compare kapanā, rocanā).

Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in anī, of more or less doubtful character: arsanaī, cetanaī (to cētana, tapanaī (to tāpana, vṛjanī (with vṛjana), hāyanī (with hāyanā), rajanī, tedanī.

b. With accent on the penult: a very small number of adjectives: as dohāna, 'milking', manāna, 'considerate', manāna, 'rejoicing', sakṣāna, 'overcoming', and perhaps vakṣāṇā, 'carrying' (with aoristic s); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: daṇsāna, 'great deed', vṛjāna, 'enclosure, town', kṛpāna, 'misery' (against kṛpāṇā, 'miserable'), with the masculine kirāṇa, 'dust'.

The only noticed example of a feminine is in ā: turaṇā. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: as jaraṇaī, bhāṇaī, kanyāṇā, vakṣaṇā, etc. (and compare the anomalous masc. name ucānā: 355 a).

c. Without strengthening of the root are made a very small number of derivatives: namely (besides those already noted, kṛpāṇā and kṛpāṇā, vṛjāna and vṛjanī, kirāṇa, turaṇā), bhuranaī, -śivana and bhāvana (compare the perfects of the same roots, asūva and babhūva, without the usual strengthening: 789 a): kṛcana, pṛcana, vṛṣaṇa are doubtful.

d. A few isolated cases may be here mentioned: jūgaraṇa and pūlpulana from reduplicated root-forms; sāmana apparently from the prefix 'sam; aṇhūraṇa apparently from aṇhurā; yōsana, 'woman' (beside yōṣan, yōṣa, etc.), and pṛtena, 'fight', are the only feminines with accented root-syllable.

1151. अन्न as. By this suffix are made (usually with guna-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.

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.


b. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: thus, without
strengthening of the root, jāvas, ‘quickness’ (beside jāvas), úras, ‘breast’, mādhas, ‘contempt’; and cīras, ‘head’, is to be compared; — with vrāddhi-strengthening, -vācas, vāsas, vāhas; -svādas, -bāyas; — perhaps with an aoristic s, hēgas, ‘missile’.

c. 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), jānas, mās; and -jas and -dās and -dās, from the roots jā and dhā and dā (Benfey, Abh. Gött. Ges. xxiii., 1878).


b. Adjectives in ās without corresponding abstracts are: tavās, ‘strong’, vedhās, ‘pious’, probably āhanās, ‘heady’; and a few other words of isolated occurrence, as veçās, dhvarās. From a denominative stem is made mṛgayās, ‘wild animal’ (RV., once).

c. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter, accented on the ending: thus, jārās, ‘old age’, bhīyās, ‘fear’; and doubtless also havās, ‘call’, and tveṣās, ‘impulse’. The feminine uṣās, ‘dawn’, might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

d. Apparently containing a suffix as are the noun upās, ‘lap’, and certain proper names: āṅgiras, nodhās, bhalāmās, arcanānās. The feminine apsarās, ‘nymph’, is of doubtful derivation.

The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.

3. The infinitives made by the suffix as have been explained above (973): they show various treatment of the root, and various accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that between sāhas and jārās).

4. 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 -nyākas and viṣpardhas. As in these examples, the accent is always on the prefix.

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 syllable.
1152. तम् *tas, नम् *nas, सम् *sas. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With *tas are made rétas, ‘seed’, and srótas, ‘stream’.

b. With *nas are made úpnas, ‘acquisition’, árṇas, ‘wave’, -bharnas, ‘offering’, rékñas, ‘riches’; and in drávīṇas, ‘wealth’, and párīṇas, ‘fullness’, is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of dámūnas, ‘house-friend’.

c. With *sas is perhaps made vòpsas, ‘beauty’(?); and tárūṣas may be mentioned with it (rather tarus-a?).

1153. इस. With the suffix is is formed a small number (about a dozen) of nouns.

They are in part nouns of action, but most are used concretely. The radical syllable has the guṇa-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in jyobis, ‘light’, vyāthis (?), and ámīs, ‘raw meat’). Examples are: arçis, roçis, and çočis, ‘light’, hāvīs, ‘oblation’, vartīs, ‘track’.

The forms tuvi- and surabhīs- appear inorganically for tuvi and surabhī in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. उस. With this suffix are made a few words, of various meaning, root-form, and accent.

They are words signifying both action and agent. A few have both meanings, without difference of accent: thus, tápus, ‘heat’ and ‘hot’; árus, ‘wound’ and ‘sore’; cākṣus, ‘brightness’ and ‘seeing, eye’; vāpus, ‘wonderful’ and ‘wonder’. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accentued on the root-syllable; exceptions are: in regard to accent, janās, ‘birth’; in regard to gender, mānus, ‘man’, and nāhus, proper name. Of adjectives, are accentued on the ending fajūs, vanus, vīdūs (which alone shows an unstrengthened root), and daksūs, ‘burning’ (which appears to attach itself to the aorist-stem).

1155. इ. With this suffix are formed a considerable 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 words in ই have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.

1. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, rūci, ‘brightness’, tvāsi, ‘sheen’; kṣī, ‘ploughing’, nīt,
'dance', yudhi, 'fighting'; — with guna-strengthening (where possible), ropi, 'pain', randhi, 'subjection', coc, 'heat', vanfi and sanf, 'gain'; — with vrddhi-strengthening, grahi, 'seizure', dhraj, 'course', ajt, 'race'; from ydus comes dusi (compare dusayati, 1042 a). The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given.

The few infinitively used words of this formation (above, 975) have a weak root-form, with accent on the ending.

2. The adjectives and masculine agent-nouns exhibit the same variety. Thus:

a. With unstrengthened root: cuci, 'bright', bhmi, 'lively' (ybram), gfbhi, 'container'.


c. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a considerable class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, cdkri, jgrhi (yghar), pdpri, sarsi, -mnnri, babhrf, vavrt, jagmi, jghni, sarsi, jsrv, -tsvi; and, with displacement of final a (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), dadi, papi, yay with a case or two from yay, -jgn, ddhi; — from the ur-form of roots in changeable r, jaguri, ttturi, pdpri; — with simple reduplication; yuydhi, vevci; — with strengthened reduplication, -caci, ttpr, ddhs, vsvh, ssrh, tttju and ttts, yuyv, yuydhi; and jrb. And karkrt, 'lute', and dundh, 'drum', have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoetic. 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 (271 f) that these reduplicated derivatives in i especially often take an object in the accusative, like a present participle.

d. Formations in i from the root compounded with prefixes are not at all numerous. They are accented usually on the suffix. Examples are: abhidroh, ayaj, vyca, njaghn, pradd, vsaha; but also ajct, amvri, vsavri.

As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or agent-nouns in i are not rare, and are regularly accented on the root: see the next chapter, 1276.

e. From ydh comes a derivative -dhi, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with pre-fixes, antardh, uddh, nihdi, paridh, etc. Opinions are divided as to whether it is to be regarded as formed with the suffix i, displacing the radical a, or with weakening of a to i.

3. Neuter nouns in i are few, and of obscure derivation: examples are kski, 'eye', sthi, 'bone', dthi, 'curds', etc.

1156. j. The suffix j, like ya a (above, 1149), has in general the office of making a feminine from a masculine stem. Thus:
Especially, from consonant-stems in general; — from stems in r (or ar): 376 a; — from some stems in u: 344; — from many stems in (for details, see the various suffixes ending in a): — stems in i very rarely have corresponding feminines in ɨ: an example is kṛm̐i (masc. kṛmī).

In the oldest language, a few masculines also are made in final ɨ: they have been noticed, and their inflection described, above (355 ff.).

1157. ɨt ɨti. 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 ɨt īta of the passive participle (952 ff.) — that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.

The accent ought, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; and it does so in the (small) majority of words quotable from accented texts; but the exceptions are numerous. In the few words used as infinitives (975), the accent is on the suffix only.


b. The roots which form their participle in īta (956) do not have the i also before ti: thus, only gūptī, -drptī (but AV. has once udīti, beside udītā, from yvād). A few roots having their participle in na instead of ta (957), form the abstract noun also in ni (below, 1158). And from the roots tan and ran occur tānti and rānti, beside the more regular tāti and rāti; also ākunti (once, VS.) beside ākati. From roots having the form dā, the derivative in composition is sometimes -tī (for dāti with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form -tta, above, 955 c): thus, niravatti (K.), vāsuttī, bhāgattī, maghātī (all RV.).

c. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, carkṛtī, dīḍhīti and -dīḍīti, jīgarīti, and perhaps the proper name yañḍīti.

d. 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 ānumatti, abhūti, āhūti, nāṛtī, yādhīti, sāṅgattī. The only exceptions noticed are āśaktī and āsūtī.

In other combinations than with prefixes, the accentuation is in general the same: see the next chapter.

2. The adjectives and agent-nouns — which, as masculines, are to be
connected with these instead of with the feminine abstracts — are very few: thus, pātī, ‘putrid’, vāṣṭī, ‘eager’, dhātī, ‘shaker’, jñātī, ‘relative’, pattī, ‘footman’; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.

3. A few words show the same suffix ti preceded by a vowel, in which no organic character seems recognizable, and which may therefore pass for a “union-vowel”. One, udīti, has been quoted above; another with i is sānīti (RV., once); and smītī and snēhitī, notwithstanding their long final, may be mentioned with them. With ati are made a few, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns aṅhatī, dṛcatī, vasatī ‘nest’, ramāti, vratāti, amāti and āmati, -dhrajaṭi; and the agent-words aratī, khalatī, vṛkātī, rāmatī. With iti, ūṣīti and dāhītī. In the Brāhmaṇas appear occasional derivatives from conjugational stems, like jānayati (TS.) and āgamayiti (K. xxviii. 6). The feminine yuvatī, ‘young (adj.),’ 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 numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, kātī, tātī, yātī, and from numerals, as vinchatī, paṣṭī, etc.; with pāṅktī (from pāṅka); and in addhātī, from the particle addhā.

1158. नि ni. This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.

1. As was noticed above (1157.1b), a few verbs (ending in vowels) making their passive participle in na instead of ta make their action-noun in ni instead of ti. From the Veda are quotable only -jyāni, ‘injury’, and jūryāti, ‘heat’; later occur glāni, jīrni, and others. Certain other feminine nouns of concrete meaning occur: thus, jāni, ‘woman’, etc.


In preṇi, yōṇi, meni, creni, creni is seen a strengthening of the root, such as does not appear among the derivatives in ti.

Derivatives in ni from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur.

In the words ending in ani, the a has probably the same value with that of ati (above, 1157.3); but ani has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. अनि ani. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding ones. Their accent is various. Thus:

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are such as carâṇi, 'movable', caksâṇi, 'enlightener', vakrâṇi, 'strengthener'. From a reduplicated root-form comes -paptani. From desiderative stems are made ruruksâṇi, siṣāṇâni, and (with prefix) ã-çukâṇi. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an s-aorist stem: thus, parśâni, sakṣâni, carsâni.

3. It is questionable whether the infinitives in sâni (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in anī, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in an, from roots and stems increased by an aoristic s.

1160. \( \text{अन्} \) an. Not many words appear to be made with a suffix of this form, and of these still fewer 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 sâni, of which the sibilant appears to be the final of a tense-stem. They are all given above (978).

b. The other action-nouns in an are mahâṇ, 'greatness', mamhâna (?), 'liberality', râjâ, 'authority' (RV., once: compare râjan; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and gâmbhân, 'depth' (VS., once).

c. Examples of agent-nouns are: masc. tâkṣan, 'carpenter', râjan, 'king', vyâjan, virile, bull, ukâsan, 'ox'; neut. udân, 'water', câkṣan, 'eye': — with prefixes, pratidîvan, 'antagonist at play' (âtîdîvan, AV., is perhaps a bad reading), vibhvân, 'superior'.

d. A few stems in an, running parallel with those in other suffixes and filling out their declension, were mentioned above (428 ff.).

1161. \( \text{तु} \) tu. The great mass of the words of this formation are the infinitives — accusatives in the later language, in the earlier likewise datives and ablative-genitives: see above, 970b, 972. But a few are also used independently, as action-nouns or with concreted meaning; and an extremely small number, of somewhat questionable character, appear to have the value of agent-words. They are of all genders, but chiefly masculine. The root has the gunâ-strengthening.

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.

a. Examples are: of the regular formation, masc., gântu, 'way', dhâtu, 'element', mântu, 'counsel'; fem. vâstu, 'morning'; neut. vâstu, 'abode'; —

Whitney, Grammar.

b. The infinitives in tu have (972) often the union-vowel i before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to ī. In other use occur also -itátu and -dháritu (both with dus); turpháritu seems of the same formation, but is obscure.

The infinitives, when made from roots with prefixes, have (as was pointed out above, 972) the accent on the prefix. But the same words, when used (not infinitively) in further combination (with su and dus), retain the radical accent which belongs to the simple word: thus, duratyétu, durniyántu, dusparíhántu, suprāntu.

c. In a few instances, the suffix tu appears to be added to a tense- or conjugation-stem in a: thus, edhatá and vahatá; tanyatá and tapyatá; and siṣasatū. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of jivátu, ‘life’, which is further exceptional in showing a long ā; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1162. Ṣnu. This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.

The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.


This also (like tu), appears sometimes with a prefixed a: thus, krandanú and nádanú, ‘roaring’, nábaná (and -ná, f.), ‘fountain’, vibhañjánu (only instance with prefix), ‘breaking to pieces’; and perhaps kṛjánu belongs here.

1163. Ṣtha. 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 few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with accent on the final: thus, nírítáthá, ‘destruction’, samgáthá, ‘union’, etc.

b. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an ā, which is probably of thematic origin, though

c. Isolated combinations of tha with other preceding vowels occur: thus, faydatha, ‘couch’, tvesdtha, ‘vehemence’. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, avasathd, ‘abode’, pravasathd, ‘absence’; prandtha, ‘breath’, is treated as if pran were an integral root.

c. Isolated combinations of tha with other preceding vowels occur: thus, vdrutha, ‘protection’, with another doubtful case or two; and matutha (yman?).

1164. भ्य थु. This suffix has an य अ attached to it (like य था, above), and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as क्रृ थु.

The only Vedic examples are ejdthu, ‘quaking’, vepāthu, ‘trembling’, stanāthu, ‘roaring’. Later cases are nandāthu (TS.), vamathu, cvayathu, etc.

1165. प्य यु. With this suffix are made a very few nouns, both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (masc.) are manyu, ‘wrath’, mṛtyu, ‘death’ (with t added to the short final of the root).


For other derivatives ending in yu, see the suffix u, below, 1178g,h.

1166. न्य मा. 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.


1167. म्य मि. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with mi, may be conveniently noticed here.


1168. मन् मान. The 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 guṇa-strengthening.


On the other hand, varṣman and svādman (and varimān) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

The noun ācman, ‘stone’, though masculine, is accented on the radical syllable; and two or three other questionable cases of the same kind occur.

The derivatives in man used as infinitives (974) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is viḍmāne.

d. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus, bhūman ‘earth’, sūman; bhūmān ‘abundance’, sīmān, bhujmān, viḍmān; and kārṣman, bhārman, ṣākman.

e. Derivatives in man from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, prabhārman, ‘forthbringing’, prāyāman, ‘departure’; ānuvartman, ‘following after’: the exceptions, viḍāman, prativartmān, visarmān, are perhaps of possessive formation.

2. 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 imān comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns (masculine) from a certain number of adjectives.

a. The neuters in iman and imān are all primary formations, belonging to the older language: thus, jānīman and vārīman (beside varimān, as noticed above); and dārīman, dhārīman, pārīman (and pārīman, SV., once), bhārīman, vārīman, sārīman, stārīman, sāvīman, and hāvīman. Those in īman are hardly met with outside the Rig-Veda.

b. The masculines in imān are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are jarīmān, prathīmān, mahīmān, varimān (beside the equivalent vārīman and vārīman), varṣimān (beside the equivalent vārṣman and varṣmān), harimān, and drāghimān (VS.) beside drāghmān (RV.). Some of these, as well as of the derivatives in simple man, attach themselves in meaning, or in form also, to adjectives, to which they seem the accompanying abstracts: compare the similar treatment of the primary comparatives and superlatives (above, 468): such are pāpāmān (to pāpā,
papīyas, etc.; drāghmān etc. (to dirghā, drāghiyas, etc.); vārīman etc. (to urā, vāriyas, etc.); prāthīman (to prthu, prāthiṣṭha); harimān (to hāri or hārita); vārīman etc. (to vārīyas, etc.); svādman etc. (to svādā, svādiyas, etc.). Then in the Brāhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, dhūmri-
mān (TS., K.), drāghimān (K.: to drēha, drāghiyas, etc.), taruṇīman (K.), lokitīman (KB.); and still later such as laghīman; while kṣepīman (to kṣiprā, kṣēpiyas, etc.) and kṣṛṇīman, and so on, are allowed by the grammarians.

1169. van. By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter mostly masculines. The root is unstrengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a t before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.

The insertion of t is an indication that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of an to derivatives in v and tu; yet van has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.


b. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: atītvvan, ‘excelling’, upahāsvvan, ‘reviler’, sambhātvvan, ‘collecting’; and probably vivāsvvan, ‘shining’: abhāsātvvan 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.

c. The stem muśīvvan, ‘robber’ (RV., once), is the only one with a union-vowel, and is perhaps better regarded as a secondary derivative — of which a few are made with this suffix: see below, 1234.

d. From a reduplicated root are made rārīvan and cikītvvan (and possibly vivāsvvan).

2. The number of action-nouns made with the suffix van is extremely small: namely, dātvvan, ‘giving’, and turvvan, ‘overcoming’, both used as infinitives (974), and bhurvvan, ‘unrest’ (?); likewise dhurvvan, ‘injury’, also used as infinitive (unless this is rather dhūrv-an).

The feminines corresponding to adjectives in van are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from vara, and end in varī; see below, 1171b.

1170. vana, vanī, vanu. The very few words made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in con-
connection with \textit{van} (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

a. With \textit{vana} are made \textit{vagvan}, 'talkative', \textit{satvan}, 'warrior' (beside \textit{savan}, above); and, from a reduplicated root, \textit{cucukvan}, 'shining'.

b. With \textit{vani} are made from simple roots \textit{turvdni}, 'excelling', and \textit{bhurvdni}, 'restless' (compare \textit{turvd} and \textit{bhurvd}, just above); and, from reduplicated roots, \textit{cucukvdni}, 'shining', \textit{dahysvdni}, 'daring', \textit{tuturvdni}, 'striving after', and \textit{jugurvdni}, 'praising': \textit{arhavisvdni} is obscure.

c. With \textit{vanu} is made only \textit{vagvanti}, 'tone, noise'.

1171. वर \textit{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 \textit{vari}, which, from the earliest period, serve as the corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in वर \textit{van}.

a. A few masculine adjectives in \textit{var} occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, \textit{itvar}, 'going', -\textit{advvar}, 'eating', -\textit{sadvvar}, 'sitting', \textit{icvar}, 'ruler, lord'; and with them doubtless belongs \textit{vidvar}, 'knowing' (with \textit{l} for \textit{r}).

b. The feminines in \textit{vari} accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in \textit{van} to which they correspond: thus, \textit{yajvari}, -\textit{jitvari}, \textit{sitrvari}, -\textit{citrvari}, -\textit{yavvari}, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in \textit{RV.}); from a reduplicated root, -\textit{civvari}.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, \textit{kavrara}, 'deed', \textit{gahvara}, 'thicket'; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: \textit{urvar}, 'field', and \textit{urvar}, 'tow' (both of doubtful etymology).

We take up now the suffixes by which are made only stems having the value of agent-nouns and adjectives; beginning with a brief mention of the participial endings, which in general have been already sufficiently treated.

1172. अंत \textit{ant} (or अत \textit{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).

With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots \textit{tyant} and \textit{klyant} (517). And \textit{advayant}, 'not double-tongued' (\textit{RV.}, once), appears to contain a similar form-
ation from the numeral devi — unless we are to assume a de-
nominative verb-stem as intermediate.

Here may also be best mentioned the words made with
the so-called suffix anta (fem. antā or antī), being evident trans-
fers (Prakritīte) of stems in ant to the a–declension.

Extremely few such words occur in the oldest language: namely, pánta,
‘draught’ (RV.), vasantā, ‘spring’ (RV.: beside it also hemantā, ‘winter’);
veçantā or veçantī, ‘tank’ (AV.; ČB. veçantā); jīvantā, a certain healing
plant (RV.); and probably the proper name tāvantā (RV.). A few others are
instanced as admitted later: thus, nandanta and nandayanta, gadayanta,
jayanta, joranta, prāṇanta, etc.; all are said to be accented on the final.

A different extension of the same suffix is exhibited in the proper
names dhvasdnti and pucantf (RV.), with which may be mentioned purusdnti.

1173. वान vāns (or वन vas). For the (perfect active) par-
ticiples made with this suffix, see above, chaps. X. and XIV., and 458ff.

A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at
462, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form us or uṣa.

The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in vas, of doubtful relations: ṣvhas, ‘seizing’, and ṣikvas, ‘skilful’ (beside words in va and
van), and perhaps khidvas (ykhād). The neuter abstract vārvvas, ‘breadth,
room’ (belonging to urā, ‘broad’, in the same manner with vāriyas and varimān),
is quite isolated.

The unique tatanustī (RV., once) is possibly to be divided tatanūs-ṭi,
and connected with this suffix.

1174. मान māna. The participles having this ending
are, as has been seen, present and future only, and have
the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in gen-
eral to the stems to which the suffix is attached.

1175. āna. The participles ending in āna are
of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and
either present, perfect, or (partly with the form māna sāna:
above, 897) aorist.

A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may
be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives vāsavāna, ‘well-endowed’,
and vārdhasvanā, ‘uplifted’, evidently made on the model of participial stems.
Also the proper names āpnavāna, prīthavāna, and cyāvāna and cyāvatāna.
Pārśvāna, ‘abyss’, is doubtful.

1176. तa. The use of this suffix in forming parti-
ciples directly from the root, or from a conjugational (not
a tense) stem, was explained above, chap. XIII. 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).

For the frequent use of the connecting vowel $i$ with the suffix, making its form $ita$, see also chap. XIII.

a. A few general adjectives, or nouns with concrete meaning, are adaptations of this participle. Examples are: $tṛṣṭa$, 'rough', $cītā$, 'cold', $ḍṛghā$ (for $ḍṛghā$: 224a), 'firm'; $dūtā$, 'messenger', $sūtā$, 'charioteer'; $ṛtā$, 'right', $gṛtā$, 'ghee', $jūtā$, 'kind', $ḍyūtā$, 'gambling', $nrītā$, 'dance', $jīvītā', 'life', $caṛitā$, 'behavior'. The adjective $tīgītā$ (RV.), 'sharp', shows anomalous reversion of palatal to guttural before the $i$ (216). $Vāvātā$, 'dear', is a single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denominative stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Veda), derivatives in $ita$ are in the later language made directly from noun and adjective-stems, having the meaning of 'endowed with, affected by, made to be', and the like (compare the similar English formation in ed, as horned, barefooted, bluecoated). Examples are $raṭḥita$, 'furnished with a chariot', etc.

c. A few words ending in $ta$ are accented on the radical syllable, and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful: such are $āstā$, 'home', $mārta$, 'mortal', $vāta$, 'wind'; and with them may be mentioned $gārta$ (?), $nākta$, 'night', $hāsta$, 'hand'.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in $ita$, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, $paliṭa$, 'gray', $āsita$, 'black', $roḥita$ and $loḥita$, 'red', $hārīta$, 'green'; akin with them are $ēta$, 'variegated', $cyeṭā$, 'white'.

The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus, $ēnī$ and $cyēnī$; $roḥinī$ and $loḥinī$, and $hārīnī$ (but the corresponding masc. $hārīṇa$ also occurs); and $āsiknī$, $pālīknī$, and $hārīknī$.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in $ata$ are not to be separated from the participial words in $ta$, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: $paacatā$, 'cooked', $darṣatā$ and $paṣyaṭa$, 'seen, to be seen, worth seeing'; and so $yajatā$, $haryatā$, $bhāratā$. The $y$ of $paṣyaṭa$ and $haryatā$ indicates pretty plainly that the $a$ also is that of a present tense-stem. $Rajatā$, 'silvery', is of more obscure relation to $vraṇj$ 'color'.

1177. न $na$ (and नन $ina$, नन $una$). 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, chap. XIII. (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', čuṇā, 'fortunate', āṣṇa, 'ravenous', cṛḍṇa, 'white'; masc. praṇā, 'question', yajñā, 'offering', ghrṇā, 'heat', vārṇa, 'color', svāpna, 'sleep'; neut. parṇā, 'wing', rātṇa, 'jewel' (?); fem. tīṇā, 'thirst', yācṇā, 'supplication'. But many of the stems ending in na are not readily connectible with roots. An antithesis of accent is seen in kārṇa, 'ear', and karnā, 'eared'.

b. The very few words ending in ina are perhaps related with these (perhaps rather with those in ama): thus, aminā, 'violent', urjīnā, 'crooked', dākṣīṇa, 'right', and one or two others of questionable etymology.

c. Of the words in una, few are clearly referable to roots: thus, karāṇa, 'action', dhārana, 'bearing', -cetūna, 'showing'; ārjuna, 'white', tārūṇa, 'young', vārūṇa, 'Varuna'. In meaning and in accent they vary like the derivatives in ama.

These are all the proper participial endings of the language. The gerundives, later and earlier, are in so great part evident secondary formations, that they will be noticed farther on, under the head of secondary derivation.

We will take up now the other suffixes forming agent-nouns and adjectives, beginning with those which have more or less a participial value.

1178. 3 u. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character — adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugal 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.

The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vridhied; least often (when capable of guṇa), it has the guṇa-strengthening — all without any apparent connection with either accent or meaning or gender. After final radical ā is usually added y (258) before the suffix. A few derivatives are made from the reduplicated root.

Many words ending in u are not readily, or not at all, connectible with roots; examples will be given only of those that have an obvious etymology.

b. Examples of nouns are: masc. añçã, 'ray', ripû, 'deceiver', vâyû, 'wind-god', āsu, 'life', mânû, 'man, Manu'; fem. īṣu (also masc.), 'arrow', śîndhu (also masc.), 'river'; tanû, 'body'.

c. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: cikitû, jîgyû, sînsû, -tatu (unless this is made with nu or tnu), yâyu or yaya and yâyu (with final ā lost), pîprû (proper name), -dîdhasû; and babhrû, -raru (arâru), malinî (?) have the aspect of being similar formations.

d. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, upâyû, 'on-coming', pramayû, 'going to destruction', vikliðdu, a certain disease, abhîçu, 'rein (director)', sănwasu, 'dwelling together'.

e. From tense-stems, apparently, are made tanyû, 'thundering', and (with aoristic s) dâksu and dhâksu (all RV.).

f. Participial adjectives in a from desiderative "roots" (stems with loss of their final a) are sufficiently numerous in the ancient language (RV. has more than a dozen of them, AV. not quite so many) to show that the formation was already a regular one, extensible at will; and later such adjectives may be made from every desiderative. Examples (older) are: dîtsû, dîpsû, cikitsû, tîükîsû, pipîsû, mumukṣû, cîçikîsû; and, with prefix, abhidîpsû. These adjectives, both earlier and later, may take an object in the accusative (271a).

g. A few similar adjectives are made in the older language from causatives: thus, dhârayû ('persistent'), bhâjayû, bhâvayû, maṇhâyû, mandâyû, cramañû; and mrgayû from the caus.-denom. mrgâya.

h. 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 Brâhmaṇas). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms from the same denominative stem are in use: thus, for example, to aghâyû, arûtyû, jîyû, caramyû, manasyû, saniṣyû, urusyû, saparyû; in others, only the present participle in yânî, or the abstract noun in yâ (1149), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns: thus, tvâyû (beside tvâyânti and tvâyê), yuwayû or yuvâyû, asmayû, svayû, and the more anomalous ahamyû and kirhyû. Especially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this has often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix yû, either with a meaning of 'seeking or desiring', or with a more general adjective sense: thus, yuvâyû, 'seeking grain', varähayû, 'boat-hunting', stanasyû, 'desiring the breast'; ùrnyû, 'woolen', yuvanyû, 'youthful', bhûmayû, 'terrible'. And so the "secondary suffix yû" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in ahamyû and kirhyû, above, and doubtless some others, even of the RV. words). In three RV. cases, the final as of a noun-stem is even changed to o before it: namely, ahîhyû, dâcôyû (and duvôyû; beside duvanyû), ûkδðhyû.

None of the words in yû show in the Veda resolution into iu.
1179. उ उ. The long उ is a vastly rarer suffix than the other long simple vowels, already described (1149, 1155). It makes a small number of feminines corresponding to masculines in उ, a very few independent feminines, and two or three very rare masculines: as to all which, see above, 355c.

1180. उक्त uka. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction (271g) of a present participle. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.

The derivatives in उक्त are hardly known in the Veda; but they become frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, of whose language they are a marked characteristic; and they are found occasionally in the later language. In all probability, they are originally and properly obtained by adding the secondary suffix क as (1222) to a derivative in उ; but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an उ word from which they should be made.

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.

a. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are: वेदुक्त, नागुक्त, उपक्रामुक्त, रूपादुक्त, उपस्थतायुक्त (258), व्यायुक्त, वेदुक्त, भवुक्त, षोडुक्त, हारुक्त, वारुक्त, सानारुक्त, दानुक्त, अलंबुक्त, चितुक्त (GB: RV. has चितु), प्रामयुक्त (SB. has प्रमायु).

b. Exceptions as regards root-form are: निर्मायुक्त (with योधि-strengthening, as is usual with this root: 627), -कसुक्त. AV. accents सार्किसुक्त (CB. has सार्किसुक्त) and विकसुक्त: RV. has सार्किसु (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one); AV. has also ग्धतुक्त from यहन, and अप्रमायुक्त); वसुक्त (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. अचानकुक्त (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

c. A formation in उक्त (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with उक्त) may be mentioned here: namely, from reduplicated roots, जागरुक्त, 'wakeful', दाँडाचित्क, 'biting', यायित्तका, 'sacrificing much', वावदुक्त (later), 'talkative'; सालातिका is questionable.

1181. ऑक् aκa. Here, as in the preceding case, we seem to have a suffix made by secondary addition of ऑ ka to a derivative in ऑ 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 उक्त; it has very few examples in the older language.
a. In RV. is found (besides पवाक, which has a different accent, and which, as the metre shows, is usually to be pronounced पवाक) only स्याक, 'missile'; AV. adds प्याक and श्याक, and VS. श्य्क्रोकाका. But in the later language such derivatives are common, usually with raising of the root-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus, नयाक, दयाका (258), पाक, ग्राह, वक, श्याक, बोधका; but also जाका, खानाका. They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of the same root: thus, भक्ष्याभक्ष, 'eatable and eater', वाचवाचका, 'designated and designation', and so on.

That the derivatives in आक sometimes take an accusative object was pointed out above (271c).

The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in आक or in आक, but more usually in इक: thus, नयिक (with नयाक), पाइक, बोधक, श्याका; compare secondary आक, below, 1222d.

b. Derivatives in आक are said to be made from a few roots: thus, जलपाक, श्याका; but they are not found in the Veda (unless in "पवाक": see above), and appear to be very rare at every period. With आक is made in RV. न्रदया, from the causative stem: प्याक and the proper name आव आका are of obscure connection.

Derivatives in इक and इक will be treated below, in connection with those in आ (1186).

1182. त्र त्र (or तर तर). 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 369ff., 942ff.). Agent-nouns are formed with it at every period of the language; these in the oldest language are very frequently used participially, governing an object in the accusative (271d); later they enter into combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (942).

Their corresponding feminine is in त्र.

a. The root has uniformly the गुना-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).

Without गुना-change is only उस्त्र, 'plough-ox' (no proper agent-noun: apparently उक्त्र: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root ग्रह has, as usual, i — thus, ग्रहित्र; and the same appears in -तरित्र and -मारित्र. An u-vowel is taken instead by तरित्र and त्र, द्वानुत्र, and सानुत्र; long in वारित्र; strengthened to o in मानत्र and मनोत्र. From a reduplicated root comes वृम्भ.
b. 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.

In general, the accent on the root or prefix accompanies the participial use of the word; but there are exceptions to this: in a very few instances (four), a word with accented suffix has an accusative object; very much more often, accent on the root appears along with ordinary noun value. The accent, as well as the form, of manótṛ is an isolated irregularity.

Examples are: jētā dhāmāṇi, ‘winning treasures’; yūyām mārtāṁ cṛotārāḥ, ‘ye listen to a mortal’; but, on the other hand, yanūtā vāsūṇi vidhātē, ‘bestowing good things on the pious’; and jētā jānāṇam, ‘conqueror of peoples’.

c. The formation of these nouns in ṭṛ from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brāhmaṇas, is met with but once or twice in the Veda (bodhayitrī and codayitrī, RV.). In nēṣṭṛ, a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the aoristic s.

d. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in ṭṛ, are pitṛ, mātṛ, bhrātṛ, yātṛ, dūhitṛ, nāpṛ, jāmātṛ. Of these, only mātṛ and yātṛ are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in ṭṛ.

e. Instead of ṭṛ is found tūr in one or two RV. examples: yanṭūr, sthātār.

f. Apparently formed by a suffix ṛ (or ar) are usṛ, savyaśtriṇ, nānānḍṛ, devṛ, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in ṛ, see 369.

1183. ॠ 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).

How far it had gained a primary value in the early language, is not easy to determine. Most of the words in in occurring in RV. and AV. are explainable as possessives; in many the other value is possible, and in a few it is distinctly suggested: thus, kevalādāṁ, bhadravidāṁ, nitodāṁ, acārāśiṇ, ānāmin, vivyādhān; with aoristic s, sakṣin; and, with reduplication, niyayīn. 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.

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, satyavidāṁ, ‘truth-speaking’, abhibhāṣīn, ‘addressing’, manohārīn, ‘soul-winning’. In bhāvin has established itself a prevailing future meaning: ‘about to be’.
The use of an accusative object with words in in was noticed above
(271 b).

1184. यस iyas and इस्तha isṭha. These, which, from forming
intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of root-form,
have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suf-
fixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treat-
ed above, under the head of comparison (466—470).

It may be further noticed that isṭha has in the older language
(only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, jyeṣṭhā; and that
पार्सिस्तha is made from a secondary from of root, with aoristic s added.

When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form yas (470), its y
is never to be read in the Veda as i.

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 fre-
cquency and importance.

1185. त्र tra. With this suffix are formed a very few
adjectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly
neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signi-
fying the means or instrument of the action expressed by
the root. The latter has usually the guṇa-strengthening, but
sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but
more often on the radical syllable.

Here, as in certain other cases above, we have probably a suffix origi-
ally secondary, made by adding a to the primary त्र or तर (1182); but its
use is like that of a primary suffix.

a. Examples of neuter nouns are: gātra, ‘limb’, pātra, ‘wing’, pātra,
‘song of praise’, potrā, ‘vessel’; of more general meaning, dātra, ‘gift’,
kṣetra, ‘field’, mātra, ‘urine’, hotrā, ‘sacrifice’. The words accented on the
final have often an abstract meaning: thus, kṣatrā, ‘authority’, rāstrā,
‘kingdom’, čāstrā, ‘doctrine’, satrā, ‘sacrificial session’ (also jnātrā, ‘know-
ledge’).

b. Masculines are: dāṇstra, ‘tusk’, mātra, ‘prayer’, atrā (or atrā: 232),
‘devourer’, ṣṭra, ‘buffalo, camel’, and a few of questionable etymology, as
mitrā, ‘friend’, putrā, ‘son’, vrtrā, ‘foe’. Mitrā and vrtrā are sometimes
neuters even in the Veda, and mitra comes later to be regularly of that
gender.

c. Feminines (in tra) are: ṣṭra, ‘goad’, mātrā, ‘measure’, hōtrā, ‘sac-
cifice’ (beside hōtrā), dāṇstrā (later, for dāṇstra); nāstrā, ‘destroyer’.

d. Not seldom, a “union-vowel” appears before the suffix; but this is
not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with tr (above, 1182a).

The words still used as adjectives in ķra are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is johātra, ‘crying out’.

e. A word or two in tri and tru may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in ķra: thus, ātrī, ‘devouring’, areṇātri, ‘beaming’; śātr (śātrū: 232), ‘enemy’.

1186. ḫ ka. The suffix ḫ ka is of very common use in secondary derivation (below, 1222); whether it is directly added to roots is almost questionable: at any rate, extremely few primary derivatives are made with it.

The words which have most distinctly the aspect of being made from roots are gūṣka, ‘dry’, ālōka (vṛt, ‘hear’), ‘noise, report’, etc., and -spāka, ‘teeming’; and stūkā, ‘flake’, and stokā, ‘drop’, seem to belong together to a root stu. Other words in ka are of obscure connections, for the most part.

But ka enters, in its value as secondary, into the composition of certain suffixes reckoned as primary: see aka and uka (above, 1180, 1181).

A few words in which īka and īka seem added to a root, though they are a kindred of a secondary formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, vṛṣeika (vṛtec, ‘scorpion’; ānīka (?), ‘face’, dṛṣṭika, ‘aspect’, mṛḍikā, ‘grace’, vṛddhikā, ‘increaser’, ācarika and vścarika, ‘gripes’, -ṛjika, ‘beaming’; and, from reduplicated root, parpharīka, ‘scattering’ (?). Compare secondary suffix ka (below, 1222).

1187. y 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 many of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, 1210—13).

1188. ṛ ra. With this suffix are made a considerable 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.


b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two: thus, nicirā, 'attentive', nēmṛgra, 'joining on'.

c. Nouns in ra are, for example: masc. vīrā, 'man', vājra, 'thunderbolt', āura, 'hero'; neut. kṣirā, 'milk', rīprā, 'defilement'; fem. dhārā, 'stream', sārā, 'intoxicating drink'.

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly gained the value of independent endings. Thus:

d. With ara are made a few rare words: the adjectives dravāra, 'running', patarā, 'flying', (with prefix) nyočara, 'suiting'; and the neuters gambhāra, 'depth', tāsara, 'shuttle', sānara, 'gain': bhārvāra and vāsāra are doubtless of secondary formation; and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others.

e. With ira are made a few words, some of which are in common use; thus, ajirā, 'quick', īṣirā, 'lively', maḍirā, 'pleasing', dhvasirā, 'stirring up', badhirā, 'deaf'; perhaps sthavirā, 'firm'; and sthirā, 'hard', and sphirā, 'fat', with displacement of final radical ā; also sarirā, 'wave' (usually salilā), and one or two other words of obscure derivation.

With īra are made gahhirā or gambhirā, 'profound', and cāvira, 'mighty' and perhaps cārīra, 'body'.

f. With ura are made a few words, of which the secondary character is still more probable: thus, aḥurā (aṅhu-ra?), 'narrow', āsura (āsu-ra?), 'living', viṭurā, 'tottering', yāṭura, 'embracing'.

With ūra, apparently, is made sthūrā, 'stout' (compare sthavira).

1189. त 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.

Conspicuous examples of the interchange are āuklā, sthulā, -mielā, cithilā, salilā.

Examples of the more independent use are: pālā, 'protecting', ānīla (or anīla), 'wind', trpālā, 'joyous'; later capala and tarala (said to be accented on the final), and harṣula (the same). Many words ending in la are of obscure etymology.

1190. त 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.

The words in *va exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into *ua.

1191. रि रि. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding *u, a small number of derivatives.

Thus, for example: *cubhrī, 'beautiful', bhūrī, 'abundant'; and, with uri, jāsuri, 'exhausted', dācuri, 'pious', sāhuri, 'mighty'; aṅgūrī (or aṅgūlī), 'finger'.

1192. रु रु. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.

Thus: dhārū, 'sucking', bẖūrī, 'timid', cārū, 'pleasant'; — with preceding *a-vowel: patārū, 'flying', vandārū, 'praising', piyārū, 'scoffing', and (from causative stem, with *l for *r) patayālū, 'flying', sprhayālū, 'desiring' (late); — with preceding *e, maderū, 'rejoicing', sanerū, 'obtaining', and perū (of doubtful meaning).

1193. वि वि. By this suffix are made:

Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: jāgrī, 'awake', dākhrī, 'sustaining', dīdīrī, 'shining'; and a very few other words: ghīrī, 'lively', dhruvrī, 'firm' (and perhaps jīrī, 'worn out', for jīrī: BR.).

Here may be mentioned cikivūlī (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix *vit from a reduplicated root-form.

1194. स्नु स्नु. With this suffix, with or without a union-vowel, are made a few adjective derivatives from roots, but still more from causative stems.


b. From causative stems: for example, cṝavasyaṣṇā (AV.), 'setting in motion', pāraṇiṣṇā, 'rescuing', poṣaṣṇā, 'causing to thrive', abhi-ṣocayiṣṇā, 'attacking with heat', pra-jaṇayiṣṇu (K.), 'generating'.

c. It seems not unlikely that the *s of this suffix is originally that of a stem, to which *nu is added. Such a character is still apparent in kraṇiṣṇu, 'craving raw flesh (kravis); and also in vadhasṇu, 'murderous', and vṛdh-ahṣṇu (?)?, 'thriving'.

1195. ना स्नु. Extremely few words have this ending.

It is seen in tīkṣṇā, 'sharp', and perhaps in claksṇā, and -rīktśṇa; and in desā (usually trisyllabic: dāṣṇa), 'gift'. Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by *i; but it has (like *snu, above) *a before it in vṛdh-ahṣṇu, 'deadly weapon', karāsṇa, 'fore-arm'.

Whitney, Grammar.
1196. तृनु. This suffix is used nearly in the same way with तृ nu (above, 1194).

a. As used with simple roots, the t is generally capable of being considered the adscriptitious t after a short root-final, to which nu is then added: thus, क्रतृ, ‘active’, हतृ, ‘deadly’, ततृ, ‘stretching’; and, from reduplicated roots, जगत्तृ, ‘hasting’, and जिगहतृ, ‘harming’; but also दर्तृ, ‘bursting’. Also, with union-vowel, द्रवितृ, ‘running’.


1197. ल sa. The words ending in suffixal ल sa, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. A few examples are:


1198. नसतृ asi. A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps made by the addition of i to as).


1199. यन abha. A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

Thus, य्राहभा and य्राभा, ‘bull’, चराभा, a certain fabulous animal, चराभा, a certain snake, गरदष्ट्वा and रासभा, ‘ass’. AV. has the adjective स्थुलाभा, equivalent to स्थुला.

1200. a. यन at, यर it, यन ut, यन rt. All the words with these endings were mentioned above (383d). They have traceable root-connection only in part: those in at are probably related to the participles in ant.

b. यदृ ad. The words in ad are also given above (ibid.).

c. यन aj, यज vj, उज vj. The words with these endings were given at the same place (to be added is भ्रस्ति, ‘healer’, of which the etymology is disputed): त्रिजृ appears to be a secondary derivative, from त्रिजृ, ‘thirst’.

1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.
A few such may be mentioned here: anđa in karađa and vāranđa and certain unquotable words (prakritized a-forms from the present participle); era and ora in unquotable words, and elīna (above, 966a: perhaps a further derivative with secondary ima from era); mara (ma or man with secondary ra added) in ghasmara etc.; — sara in matsārā, kara in pāskara and other obscure words, pa in pūṣpa 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.

But also, as pointed out above (1137—8), to pronominal roots, and to verbal prefixes and a few other indeclinable words.

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 guns—strengthening and becomes au; r and o and āu (all of rare occurrence) are treated in accordance with usual euphonic rule.

An u-vowel also sometimes remains unstrengthened.

b. 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, vrṣanvant, vrṣana, vrṣa, vrṣatlva, vrṣya, from vrṣan. Of a stem ending in ant, the weak form, in at, is regularly taken: thus, vāivasvata (vivasvant).

Other alterations of a final are sporadic only.

1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the vrddhi—strengthening of an initial syllable of the stem to which a suffix is added.

The strengthened syllable may be of any character: radical, of a prefix, or of the first member of a compound: thus, aśvinā (aśvin), śaumya (śōma), pārthiva (pṛthivā), āmitra (āmitra), sāmrājya (samrāj), sāskṛtya (sukṛtā), māitrāvaruṇā (mitrāvaruṇā), āuccālṛgravasā (uccālṛgravas). As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.

a. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by y or v, the semi-vowel is usually vrddhied, as if it were i or u, and the resulting āi or āu has y or v further added before the succeeding vowel.

This is most frequent where the y or v belongs to a prefix — as ni, vi, su — altered before a following initial vowel: thus, nāṭyāyika from
nyāya (as if niyāya), vāyavā from vyāva (as if vyāva), sāvavasya from svācva (as if sāvaca); but it occurs also in other cases, as sāvavrā from svāra, cāvva from cwan, against svāvambhava (svayambhū), and so on.

AV. has irregularly kāverakā from kūvera (as if from kvēra, without the euphonic y inserted).

b. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes a and ya; also regularly before i, āyana (with āyanī and kāyami), eya (with ineya), and later iya; before the compound aken and ika, and later aki; and, in single sporadic examples, before na, ena, īna, ra, and tva(?): see these various suffixes below.

c. In a few exceptional cases, both members of a compound word have the initial vṛddhi-strengthening: thus, for example, sāumāpāusā (VS.; somāpāsan), kāturpāncāla (CB., GB: kurupaṅcāla), cāturvādiya (caturveda), āhilātiukika (āhaloka). Again, the second member of a compound instead of the first is occasionally thus strengthened: for example, cātācārada (RV., AV.), pañcačārādiya (TB. etc.), 'somārāudra (TS.), triśāhasri, daçasāhasra, pūrva-vārśika (not quotable), caturādhyāya, gurulāghava.

The guna-strengthening (except of a final u-vowel: above, 1203a) is nowhere an accompaniment of secondary derivation: for an apparent exception or two, see 1209h,i.

1205. Accent. The derivatives with initial vṛddhi-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable. And usually, it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be further removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix eya: 1216).

No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial vṛddhi); and in a single case (tā: 1237), it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.

1206. Meaning. The great mass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But, as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality
expressed attributively by the adjective; and neuter abstracts are with the same suffixes made from adjectives. There are also special suffixes (very few) by which abstracts are made directly, from adjective or noun.

A few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminution and comparison), or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered.

1207. The suffixes will be taken up below in the following order. First, the general adjective-making suffixes, beginning with those of most frequent use (a, ya and its connections, i, ka); then, those of specific possessive value (in, vant and mant, and their connections); then, the abstract-making ones (tā and tva, and their connections); then, the suffixes of comparison etc.; and finally, those by which derivatives are made only or almost only from particles.

1208. a. With this suffix are made a very 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.

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:

a. From primitives ending in consonants: with the usual shift of accent, āyasā, ‘of metal’ (āyas), mānasā, ‘relating to the mind’ (mānas), sāumanasā, ‘friendliness’ (sūmanas), brāhmaṇā, ‘priest’ (brāhmaṇ), hāṁavatā, ‘from the Himalaya’ (himāvant), āṅgirasā, ‘of the Angiras family’ (āṅgiras); hāṁśīna, ‘elephantine’ (haṁśīn), māruta, ‘pertaining to the Maruts’ (mārūṭ); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, pūraṇā, ‘autumnal’, vārūṇā, ‘relating to the vīraṇ’, pūṣṇā, ‘belonging to Pushāṇ; gairīkṣitā, ‘son of Girikṣit; — with accent unchanged, mānuṣa, ‘descendant of Mānuṣa’.

The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in vant; it is added to the weakest in māghoṇa and vāṛtraghna; the ending in remains unchanged; an usually does the same, but sometimes loses
its a, as in pāṇi, trāyus, dācarājñā; and sometimes its u, as in brāhṇa, āukṣā, bārhatsaṁa.


c. From primitives in u: usually with guṇa-strengthening of the u, as vāsuvā, ‘relating to the Vāsus’, ārtvā, ‘concerning the seasons’ (ṛtu), dānavā, ‘child of Danu’ (dānu), sāṃdhavā, ‘from the Indus’ (śindhu); — but sometimes without, as māḍhava, ‘full of sweets’ (māḍhū), pāṛcva, ‘side’ (pāṛcśu, ‘rib’), pāṇḍvā, ‘belonging to Pead’, tānva, ‘of the body’ (tanū).

d. From primitives in i and ī, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: pārthiva, ‘earthly’ (prthivī), sārasvatā, ‘of the Śarasvatī’, āindrāṇā, ‘belonging to Indra and Agni’ (indrāṇī); pāṃkta, ‘five-fold’ (pāṃkṣ), nāirṛtā, ‘belonging to Nṛṛti’: — but āvaḍa, ‘barrenness’ (if from a-ō).

e. From primitives in ā, which in like manner disappears: yāmunā, ‘of the Yamuna’, sāraghā, ‘honey’ etc. (sāraghā, ‘bee’), kāñnā, ‘natural child’ (kāñṇā, ‘girl’).

f. A large number (nearly as many as 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, āṃitrā, ‘inimical’ (āmītra, ‘enemy’), vārunā, ‘of Vārūṇa’, vāṭvedvā, ‘belonging to all the gods’ (vīṭvedeṇa), nārḥastā, ‘bandlessness’ (nārḥaṣṭa), vāīyaṇā, ‘descendant of Vyāṇa’; gārdabha, ‘asinine’ (gārdabhā), dāīva, ‘divine’ (dēvā), māḍhyāntā, ‘meridional’ (māḍhyānta), pāṭra, ‘grandchild’ (pūrṭa, ‘son’), saṇbhaga, ‘good fortune’ (saṇbhaga), vādhyācyā, ‘of Vadhryaṇâ’s race’; — with unchanged accent (comparatively few, vāsanta, ‘vernal’ (vāsantā, ‘spring’), māitrā, ‘Mitrâ’s’, ālīthigō, ‘of Atithigvâ’s race’, dāīvadāsa, ‘Dīvadosa’s’.

The derivatives of this 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.

1209. The derivatives made by adding ह a without vyṛddhi-
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: thus, further, apa- (for ap or āp, ‘water’), -rca, -nara, -patha, -gava, -diva; from stems in an, -adhva, -astha, -aha, -vṛṣa, but also -ahna and -vṛṣa and vṛṣa; from stems in i, -aṅгula and -rātra; from the weakest forms of aṅc-stems (407) ucca, nicā, paricā.

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, *tamasá*, *rajasá*, *payasá*, *brahmavar-casá*, *sarvasedasá*, *devānasá*, *paruṣá*, *tryāyuṣá*.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in *in* are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix *ina*: thus, *malina*, ‘polluted’, *ṣrīnīna*, ‘horned’ (not quotable). The only Vedic instance noted is *parameṣṭhīna* (*AV*).

d. From *aṇe*-stems (407) are made a few nouns in *ka*: thus, *ānūka*, *āpāka*, *upāka*, *prāṭika*, *parākā*, etc.

e. From stems in *r*, *neṣṭrā*, *potrā*, *praṇāstrā*, from titles of priests.

f. Other scattering cases are: *sacīdūtā*, *āvyuṣā*, *vīrudha*, *kākuda*, *kakubhā*.

g. The Vedic gerundives in *tvā* (*tua*) have been already (966 a) pointed out as made by addition of *a* to abstract noun-stems in *tu*.

h. *Traya* and *dvaya* come with *guna*-strengthening from numeral stems; *nava*, ‘new’, perhaps in like manner from *na*, ‘now’; and *ántara* from *antār* (?).

i. *Bhesajā*, ‘medicine’, is from *bhīṣajj*, ‘healer’, with *guna*-change; and perhaps *devā*, ‘heavenly, divine, god’, in like manner from *div* (compare *āvayā*, above, 1208 d).

One or two cases have been noticed above, in which the addition of *a* to another suffix has made a seemingly independent suffix.

1210. *U* *ya*. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.

The derivatives in *ya* exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a *ya*-element — *iya*, *iya*, *eya*, *āyya*, *esya*, *enya* — are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the *ya* when it follows a consonant is dissyllabic in metrical value, or is to be read as *ia*. Thus, in *RV.*, 266 words (excluding compounds) have *ia*, and only 75 have *ya* always; 46 are to be read now with *ia* and now with *ya*, but many of these have *ya* only in isolated cases. As might be expected, the value *ia* is more frequent after a heavy syllable: thus, in *RV.*, there are 188 examples of *ia* and 27 of *ya* after such a syllable, and 78 of *ia* and 96 of *ya* after a light syllable (the circumflexed *yā* — that is to say, *iā* — being, as will be pointed out below, 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: 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.

The derivatives made with *ya* may be first divided into those which do and those which do not show an accompanying *erddhi*-increment of the initial syllable.
1211. Derivatives in य a with initial vrddhi-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in य a (above, 1208). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).


The AV. has once nā́irbādhyā, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through nā́irbādha; vā́śnavyā (VS. i. 12) appears to be dual fem. of vā́śnavī.

1212. Derivatives in य a without initial vrddhi-strengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in य a, 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).

The general mass of these words may be best divided according to their accent, into: a. Words retaining the accent of the primitive; b. Words with retracted accent; c. Words with acute य a (iā); d. Words with circumflexed य a (la). Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.

a. Examples of derivatives in य a retaining the accent of their primitives are: á́cvya, ‘equine’ (ácvā), á́ngya, ‘of the limbs’ (áṅga), mā́khya, ‘foremost’ (mukha, ‘mouth’), á́vya, ‘ovine’ (ávā), gā́vya, ‘bovine’ (gō), vī́cya, ‘of the people’ (vīc), dū́rva, ‘of the door’ (dūr), nā́rva, ‘manly’ (nī), vī́śnva, ‘virile’ (vīśan), svarā́jya, ‘autocracy’ (svardj), suvī́rva, ‘wealth in retainers’ (suvīra), vī́cvádevya, ‘of all the gods’ (vīcvádea), mayā́raçepyā, ‘peacock-tailed’.

In the last word, and in a few others, the य a appears to be used (like ka, 1222 c, 2; य a, 1212 d, 5) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound: so suhā́stya (beside the equivalent suhā́sta), mā́dhahastya, dá́ca-

mā́ṣya, mā́rādhā́naya.
b. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with vṛddhā-increment) are: kāṇṭha-, 'guttural' (kaṇṭha), skāndhya, 'humeral' (skāndhā), vrātya, 'of a ceremony' (vrātā), méghya, 'in the clouds' (meghā), pṛṣṭya, 'of the Fathers' (pitrī), pṛātiṣṭhya, 'adverse' (pratiṣṭha). Hiranyāya, 'of gold' (hīranya), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward, and in retaining the final a of the primitive.

c. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are: dīvya-, 'heavenly' (divī), satyā-, 'true' (sāntī), vīyāghrya, 'tigrine' (vīyāghrā), kavya, 'wise' (kavi); grūnya, 'of the village' (grāma), somya, 'relating to the sōma', bhūmya, 'earthly' (bhūmi), sakhyā, friendship' (sākhyā), jāspatya, 'headship of a family' (jāspati).

d. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed yā (which in the Veda are considerably more than the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:

1. From consonant-stems: viṣyā, 'of the clan' (RV.: vic), ṭṛṇyā, 'of the heart' (ṛtṛ), vidyutya, 'of the lightning' (vidyutā), ṛṣijaya, 'of the royal class' (ṛṣijjan), dosanyā, 'of the arm' (dosān), cīṛṣyā, 'of the head' (cīṛṣān), karmanyā, 'active' (kārman), dhanvanyā, 'of the plain' (dhānvān), namasyā, 'reverend' (nāmas), tvacasya, 'cuticular' (tvācacs), barhīṣya, 'of barhīś', āyasyā, 'giving life' (āyas), hṛṣadāya, 'of the buttocks' (hṛṣādā), rācīya, 'eastern' (prācī), etc. Of exceptional formation is aryamīya 'intimate' (aryamān).

2. From u-stems: hantya, 'of the jaws' (hānu), vāyavya, 'belonging to Vāyu', paçaṇya, 'relating to cattle' (paçaṇ), ivaṇya, 'relating to arrows' (īṣu); śaravya, i.e., 'arrow' (śāru, do.); and there may be added nāvaṇya, 'navigable' (especially in fem., nāvīya, 'navigable stream': nū, 'boat').

Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (chap. XIV., 964), the so-called gerundives in tavya (later tāvya), as made by the addition of yā to the infinitive noun in tu. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later tāvya wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous derivatives. The RV. has prácaṇya, 'to be partaken of' (pra + āca), without any corresponding noun prácu; and also úrjavya, 'rich in nourishment' (ūrj), without any intermediate ūrjū.

3. From i and i-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS. has dundubhyā from dundubhā.

4. From a-stems: svargya, 'heavenly' (svargā), devatya, 'relating to a deity' (devatā), prapathyā, 'guiding' (prapathā), budhyā, 'fundamental' (budhnā), jaghanyā, 'hindmost' (jaghāna), varunyā, 'Vāruna's', viryā, 'might' (vīrā), udaryā, 'abdominal' (udārā), utseyā, 'of the fountain' (ūtsa); and from ā-stems, urvarya, 'of cultivated land' (urvārā), svāhyā, 'relating to the exclamation svāhā.

The circumflexed yā is more generally resolved (into ā) 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 ā in more than three quarters of the examples.

5. There are a few cases in which yā appears to be used to help make
a compound with governing preposition (next chapter, 1310): thus, *apikaksya*, 'about the arm-pit', *upapaksya*, 'upon the sides', *udapyt*, 'up stream'; and perhaps *upaṭṭiya*, 'lying in the grass' (occurs only in voc.). But, with other accent, *ānvāntrya*, 'through the entrails', *ūpamāsya*, 'on each month'; *abhinnabhyā*, 'up to the clouds', *ādhigārtya*, 'on the chariot floor'.

1213. The derivatives in */ya* as to which it may be questioned whether they are not, a least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, 963) comes to be practically a primary one.

a. In RV. occur about 40 instances of gerundives in */ya*, of tolerably accordant form: the root usually unstrengthened (but *cētya*, bhāvyā, -hāvyā, mārjya, yōdhyā; also -mādyā, -vāyā, bhāvyā); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, *praçaśya*, *upasādya*, *vihāvyā* (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, *anāpyā*, *anaparṣya*) — exceptions are only bhāvyā and the doublet *ākāyā*; the */ya* resolved into */ia* in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by */t* (in *-cētya*, -krtya, -crutyā, -stūtya, and the reduplicated carkṛtya, beside carkṛti: not in nāvyā and -hāvyā), 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 *anuśṛtya*, in part from derivatives in */a*, as bhāvyā (from bhāvā).

b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about 25) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in */d* with the same value: thus, for example, */ūdya*, 'eatable', */kārya*, to be done', *samāpya*, 'to be obtained', *aṭṭārya*, 'to be overpassed', nivibhārya, 'to be carried in the apron', *prathama viśasya*, 'to be first worn'. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as *parivārya*, 'to be avoided', *avimokṣya*, 'not to be gotten rid of', where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitives in */a* and */ka* (216.6).

c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence neuter abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition (in AV., only *cētya* and *stēya* as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: *brahmaṇyēya*, *vasudēya*, bhāgaḥdēya, *pūrvapēya*, *cataśēya*, abhibhāya, *devahūya*; *mantrasrūtya*, *karmaśṛtya*, *vratārtya*, *hātvṛtya*, *ahīhātya*, *sattrasādya*, *sīrābhādyā*, *brahmačārya*, *nṛsāhya*. Of exceptional form are *tūḍyā* (*/vad*) and *sahaśēya* (*/vī*); of exceptional accent, *sadhāstutya*. And AV. has one example, *ranyā*, with circumflexed final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a small class of feminines in */d*: thus, *kṛtyā*, *vidyā*, *ityā*, *muṣṭihatuṣyā*, *devayājayā*, and a few others.
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, सुर्य (with fem. सुर्या, दिया, पुष्या, नाभ्या; युज्या, श्रध्या, च्या, अध्या and द्र्या, माध्या.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with या may best be next taken up.

1214. श्रृ ia. 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 या would create a combination of difficult utterance.

It has the same variety of accent with या. Thus:

a. With accent िया (== िा or या): for example, आह्रिया, 'from the clouds' (ाह्रा), क्षत्रिया, 'having authority' (क्षत्राः), याज्ञिया, 'reverend' (याज्ञाः), हो-ऽ्रिया, 'libational' (होऽ्रा).

b. With accent िया (== या): for example, अग्रिया, 'foremost' (ाग्रा), इऽ्रिया, 'Indra's' (later, 'sense': इऽंद्रा), क्षेत्रिया, 'of the field' (क्षेत्रा).

With accent on the primitive: चृोऽ्रिया, 'learned' (चृोऽ्रा).

1215. चृ iyia. This suffix also is apparently by origin a या (िा) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic य. It is accentuated always on the ि.

a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only ऊर्ज्या and ग्रहमेड्या, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. परवत्या, 'mountainous' (AV., beside RV. परवत्या). In the Brāhmanaś, a number of adjectives from phrases (first words of verses and the like) are made in िया: thus, राजसुक्लिया, सवृशुक्लिया, अपोस्टिया, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (965) that derivative adjectives in िया from action-nouns in ा begin in later Veda and in Brāhmana to be used gerundivally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language.

c. Derivatives in िया with initial व्र्द्धि are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. स्वार्द्धिया, पार्वत्या.

d. The pronominal possessives मादि etc. (516) do not occur either in Veda or Brāhmana; but the ordinals द्वदि etc. (487: with fractionals त्रि and तारि: 488), are found from the earliest period.

1216. या eya. With this suffix, along with व्र्द्धि-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. Thus, ārṣeya, ‘descendant of a sage’ (ṛṣi), sārumeya, ‘of Sarāmā’s race’, pātavaneya, ‘Čatavani’s descendant’, rāthajitey, ‘son of Rathajit’; āsneya, ‘of the blood’ (asān), vāsteya, ‘of the bladder’ (vāst); pāruruseya, ‘coming from man’ (pūruse), etc.

A more than usual proportion of derivatives in eya come from primitives in i; and possibly the suffix first gained its form by addition of ya to a gunated i, though afterward used independently.

The gerundive etc. derivatives in ya (above, 1213) from ā-roots end in ēya; and, besides such, RV. etc. have sabhēya from sabhā, and didrksēya, ‘worth seeing’, apparently from the desiderative noun didrks, after their analogy.

b. Derivatives in the so-called suffix ineyā — as sāubhāgineyā, kātyān-ineyā (neither quotable) — are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in -inī (fem.).

c. In eya (i.e. eyia) end, besides the neuter abstract sabhačeyya (above, 1213c), the adjective of gerundival meaning stusēyya (with aoristic s added to the root), and çapatheyya, ‘curse-bringing’ (or ‘accursed’), from çapūtha.

1217. ृण enya. This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition of ृ ya to derivatives in a na-suffix; but, like others of like origin, it is applied in some measure independently, chiefly in the older language, where it has nearly the value of the later aniya (above, 1215b), as making gerundival adjectives.

The y of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in vārenya) on the e: thus, -enia.

The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (1019, 1038, 1088); except īdēnya, ‘praiseworthy’, and vārenya, ‘desirable’, they are of only isolated occurrence (once or twice each). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, vīrēnya, ‘manly’ (vīrā), and kirtēnya, ‘famous’ (kirti), and TS. has anabhičastenyā (abhicastī); vijenyā (RV.) is a word of doubtful connections.

1218. घाण ayya. With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives, almost only in RV. They have been noticed above (966c). The ending is everywhere to be read as ayya.

1219. आयन आयना. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, patronymics made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in य a, and have vrddhi-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

In RV., the only example of this formation is kānvāyana (voc.: kānva); AV. has in metrical parts dāṅśāyana and the fem. rāmāyani; and āmus- yāyana, 'son of so-and-so' (518), in its prose. The RV. name ukṣāyāyana is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. आयि आयि. Only one or two words are made with this suffix, namely agrāyī (agnī), 'Agni's wife', and vrśākapāyī, 'wife of Vrishākapi'.

They seem to be feminines of a derivative in a made with vrddhi-increment of the final i of the primitive.

1221. य 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, āgniveci, pā urbukti, prātrādani, sāmvarani; AV. has but one, prāhrādi; in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, in AB., sāuyavasi, jānahtapi, ārani, jānaki, etc. A single word of other value — sārathi, 'charioteer' (sārātham) — is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix aki — as vāyūsaki, 'descendant of Vyāsa', are doubtless properly derivatives in i from others in ka or aka.

That the secondary suffix ika is probably made by addition of ka to a derivative in i is pointed out below (1222 e).

c. RV. has tāpusi, apparently from tāpus with a secondary i added.

1222. क ka. This is doubtless originally one of the class of suffixes forming adjectives of appurtenance. And that value it still has in actual use; yet only in a small minority of occurrences. It has been, on the one hand, specialized into an element forming diminutives; and, on the other hand, and much more widely, attenuated into an element without definable value, added to a great many nouns and adjectives to make others of the same meaning — this last is, even in the Veda, and still more in the later language, its chief office.

Hence, ka easily associates itself with the finals of deriv-
atives 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, e).

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.

a. Examples (from the older language) of words in which the suffix has an adjective-making value are: ántaka (*ánta*), ‘end-making’, báthika (*báthi*), ‘of Bakh’, áṇḍika (*áṇḍā*), ‘egg-bearing’, súcika (*súcī*), ‘stinging’, urváruká, ‘fruit of the gourd’ (*urváru*), paryáyiká (*paryáyá*), ‘strophic; from numerals, ekaká, dováka, triká, áśtaka; ttríyaká, ‘of the third day’; from pronoun-stems, asmáka, ‘ours’, yuṣmdka, ‘yours’, mánaka, ‘mine’ (516); from prepositions, ánika, ‘near’, ánuka, ‘following’ (later, ádhika, átka, ávaká); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides áśtaka and ttríyaká, already given), rúpaka (rúpá), ‘with form’, bábhruka (bábhrá, ‘brown’), a certain lizard.

b. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: ačvaká, ‘nag’, kanínaka and kumáráká, ‘boy’, kanínáká or kaníniká, ‘girl’, pādaká, ‘little foot’, putraká, ‘little son’, rājaká, ‘princeling’, čakuntaká, ‘birdling’. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from pronominal stems, see above, 521; another example is anyaká (RV.).

The diminutives in *ka* have the gender of their primitives.

c. 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:


Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable: from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in *ka* or *ká* (according to the gender).


d. The vowel by which the *ka* is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in *iṅka* is common beside a masculine in *aka* (as is the case with the so-called primary *aka* : above, 1181).

In RV. are found beside one another only *iyattakā* and *iyattikā*; but AV. has several examples, and they become much more numerous later.

e. Two suffixes made up of *ka* and a preceding vowel — namely, *aka* and *iṅka* — are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial *vyṛddhi*-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless in reality made by addition of *ka* to a final *i* or *a*, though coming to be used independently.

1. Of *vyṛddhi*-derivatives in *aka* no examples have been noted from the older language (unless *mānakā*, 'mine', is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, *āmaka* (not quotable), *flaxen*, *mānośṣaka* (not quotable), 'attractiveness', *rāmaṇīyaka*, 'delightfulness'.

2. Of *vyṛddhi*-derivatives in *iṅka*, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: *vāsantika*, 'vernal', *vārṣika*, 'of the rainy season', *hūmāntika*, 'wintry' (none of them in RV.); AV. has *kairātikā*, 'of the Kirātas', apparent fem. to a masc. *kīrātaka*, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: *vādika*, 'relating to the Vedas', *dhūrnikā*, 'religious', *āhnikā*, 'dally', *vāinayika*, 'well-behaved', *dāuvārikā*, 'doorkeeper', *nāiyāyika*, 'versed in the Nyāya'.

1223. Several suffixes, mostly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a n as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here.

a. With *āna* are made, apparently, a pair of derivatives in RV. from primitives in *u*: thus, *bhīgavāṇa*, *vāsavāṇa*.

b. With *ānī* (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a number of wife-names: thus, *indrāṇi*, *vāruṇāṇi* (these, with *ucīnārāṇi*, *pu-ruktāṇī*, *mudgalāṇī*, are found in RV.), *rūdrāṇi*, *mātulāṇī*, 'maternal uncle's wife', *ksaṭriyāṇī*, 'wife of a kṣatriya' (not quotable).

c. The feminines in *nī* and *knī* from masculine stems in *ta* have been already noticed above (1176 d). From *pāti*, 'master, husband', the feminine is *pātnī*, both as independent word, 'spouse', and as final of an adjective compound: thus, *devāpatnī*, 'having a god for husband', *sīndhupatnī*, 'having the Indus as master'. And the feminine of *parusā*, 'rough', is in the older language sometimes *pāruṣīṇī*.

d. With *iṅa* are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final *aṅc* (407 ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, *apācīna*, *niecīna*, *prācīna*, *arvācīna*, *arvācīna* and *pratīcīna* and *pratīcīna*, *samīcīnā*. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later: examples are *samvatsarīna*, 'yearly', *prāvṛṣīna*, 'of the rainy season', *vicevajanīna*, 'of all people', *fūtakūlīna*, 'of known family', *adhvanīna*, 'traveller' (*adhvan*, 'way'), *ācīna*, 'day's journey on horseback' (*ācva*, 'horse').

e. With *ena* is made *sāmidhenā*, from *samīdha*, with initial strengthening.
f. A few words in ina, having possessive meaning— as malina, grīñīma, (said to be accented on the final) — are doubtless transfers of adjectives in in (1230) to the a-declension; compare 1209 c.

g. The adjectives made with simple na fall under another head (below, 1245 d), except the almost isolated strūna, 'woman's', from strī, with initial strengthening [its correlative, pāumisna, occurs late].

1224. Certain suffixes containing a m may be similarly grouped.

a. With ina are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in tra: thus, khanitrīma, 'made by digging', kpitrīma, 'artificial', pūtrīma, 'purified'. Also agrimā, 'foremost', (RV.: the ma having perhaps an ordinal value).

b. The uses of simple ma in forming superlatives (474) and ordinals (487) have been already noticed, and the words thus made specified; ādimā is further given by the grammarians, but is not quotable until a very recent period.

c. A few neuter abstracts end in mna: thus, dyumna, 'brightness', nṛmna, 'manliness'; and, from particles, nimna, 'depth', and sumna, 'welfare'. The suffix comes perhaps from man with an added a.

d. For the words showing a final m, see below, 1231.

1225. मय maya. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying 'made or composed or consisting of'.

The accent is always on the penult. Before the m, the final of the primitive is in general treated as in external combination: thus, mṛmnaya, 'made of earth' (mṛd), vāmnaya, consisting of utterance' (vāc), tejomaya, 'made up of brightness', adomaya, 'of the nature of what is yonder' (CB.); but in the Veda are found manasmaya and nabhasmaya, with ayasmaya, which is allowed in the later language alongside ayomaya. RV. has sūmaya, 'of good make' (sū, 'well'), and kimmaya, 'made of what?'

The suffix maya is perhaps by origin a derivative noun (y'ma) in composition, but it has at any rate the full value of a suffix from the earliest period of the language.

1226. रa ra. A few derivative adjectives are made with this suffix. Accent and treatment of the primitive are various.

a. With simple addition of ra are made, for example: pānsurā, 'dusty', -cīra (also -cīka) in acīrā, 'ugly', dhūmrā, 'dusky' (dhūmā, 'smoke'), madhura (late), 'sweet'.

In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, āgnidhra, 'of the fire-kindler' (agnīdh), caṅkurā, 'stake-like' (caṅkā).

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, mēdhi̯ra, 'wise', rathirā, 'in a chariot'; karmāra, 'smith'; dantura (late), 'tusks'; and others of obscure connections.
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.

Examples are: *bahulā*, 'abundant', *madhulā* (later *madhura*) and *madhūla*, 'sweet', *bhūmala*, 'fearful', *jīvalā*, 'lively', *aḍālā* (and *aḍirā*), 'wretched'; with *ā*, *vācāla*, 'talkative' (late); with *i*, *phemīla*, 'foamy' (late: *phēna*); with *u*, *vātūla* and *vāṭūla*, 'windy' (late: *vāta*); and *mātula*, 'maternal uncle', is a somewhat irregular formation from *māṭi*, 'mother'.

The later language has a few adjectives in *lu*, as *krpalū* and *dayalu*, 'compassionate'.

1228. व va. A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Thus, *arṇavā*, 'billowy', *kecavā*, 'hairy'; *rāṣravā*, 'shrecked'; *añjivā*, 'slippery', *cāntivā*, 'tranquillizing', *craddhivā*, 'credible'.

b. There are a very few adjectives in *vala* and *vaya* which may be noticed here: thus, *krṣivalā*, 'peasant' (*krṣi*, 'ploughing'), *śikhāvala* and *dantāvala* (late); *drvāva*, 'wooden dish'.

c. With *vya* are made two or three words from names of relationship: thus, *prtrvya*, 'paternal uncle', *bhrdtrvya*, 'nephew, enemy'.

1229. ग ga. A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

Thus, *romagā* or *lomagā*, 'hairy', *etaga*, 'hasting', *bhāluguca* or *bhāhruca*, 'brownish', *yuvagā*, 'youthful'.

Many of the adjective derivatives already treated have sometimes a possessive value, the general meaning of 'being concerned with', having relation to' being specialized into that of 'being in possession of'. But there are also a few distinctively possessive suffixes; and some of these, on account of the unlimited freedom of forming them and the frequency of their occurrence, are very conspicuous parts of the general system of derivation. These will be next considered.

1230. इ in. Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in ॲ *a* or ॲ *ā*, and are sometimes (but very rarely) made from stems with other finals.

A final vowel disappears before the suffix. The accent is.
always in. 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. The examples from other stems are only sporadic: thus, from i-stems, abhimātśn, ‘plotting against’, arvśn, ‘gleaming’, ūrmśn, ‘billowy’, klūśn, ‘spangled’, and perhaps atihśn, ‘wandering’; in surabhīntara, the nasal is rather a euphonic insertion, to break the succession of light syllables; — from stems in an, varmśn, ‘cuirassed’; — from stems in as, retśn, ‘rich in seed’, probably varcśn, n. pr.: and cāvasśn and sahasśn (unless these come through stem-forms in -sa).

c. It was noticed above (1183) that derivatives of this form often have a value equivalent to that of present participles; and that the suffix is used, both earlier and later, in the manner of a primary suffix, making words of such value directly from roots. The originally 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 praṃśn, garbhśn, jūrṇśn, dhūṃśn, pariparthśn, pravepanśn, māsārṇ; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (218) before the in, which could only be as in replaced a: thus, arkśn, -bhaṅgśn, -saṅgśn, and -roṅśn.

d. In three or four sporadic cases, a y, preceded by a, appears before in: thus, suddhāyin (VS.: TB. -vēn; the y is here evidently an insertion: 258), svāyin, dhanvāyin, and ātalāyin (VS.: TS. -vēn), which is found also in the later language. RV. has only maṛāyin (value?) and ṛṭāyin (apparently through a ṛṭāyā [1149] from the denominative ṛṭāy). To assume for these a suffix yin is quite needless.

1231. मिन min. With this suffix are made an extremely small number of possessive adjectives.

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 — iṣmin, ṛgmīn, krudhmīn in RV., vāgmīn in CB. — 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, gomīn, ‘possessing cattle’, svāmīn (Sūtras and later), ‘master, lord’ (sva, ‘own’).

1232. विन vin. The adjectives made with this suffix are also not at all numerous. They have the same meanings with those in सन in.

The RV. has ten adjectives in vin (ayudhvin, so-called, is doubtless a
gerund in ṛvī: a-yudh-ṛvī); 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.

The majority have vin added after as: thus, namasvīn, ‘reverential’, tapasvīn, ‘heated’, tejasvīn, ‘brilliant’, yaçasvīn, ‘beautiful’; and catasvīn, ‘possessing hundreds’ (RV.), has an inserted s, by analogy with them. Others have a (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, medhāvīn, māyāvīn, aṣṭāvīn, ‘obedient to the goad’, dvayāvīn, ‘double-minded’, uhbhayāvīn, ‘possessing of both kinds’. More rarely, vīn is added after another consonant than s; thus, vāgīn, dhṛṣadvīn. The doubtful word vyacnūvīn (VS., once: TB. vyācniya) appears to add the ending (or in, with euphonic v) to a present tense-stem.

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.

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.

A final vowel — oftenest a, very rarely u — is in many words lengthened in the older language (247) before this ending, as in composition. Nouns in an retain the n.


c. A few special irregularities are: indrāvant, with s added to the primitive; kṛṣṇāvant, with anomalous accent (if from kṛṣnā, ‘pearl’); and, from particles, antāvant, ‘pregnant’, and viṣūvant (just quoted).

d. By the same suffix are made from pronominal roots and stems adjectives in which is shown another specialized meaning, that of ‘like to, resembling’. They were given above (517: to be added are ṛvant and kīvant).
And derivatives from nouns in the older language are perhaps occasionally to be understood in the same way: e. g. Indravan, 'like Indra'.

It has also been pointed out (1107) that the adverb of comparison in vat is doubtless to be understood as accusative neuter of a derivative of this class.

e. In vivāsavant or vivāsvant, 'shining' (also proper name), is seen a side-formation to vivāsvan (1169), having the aspect of a primary derivative.

f. For the derivatives in vat from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see below, 1245 f.

None of the suffixes beginning with v show in the Veda resolution of v to u.

1234. वनः 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.

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: 1169, end) is in vari.

The Vedic examples are: from a-stems, ṛṇāvān or ṛṇavān, ṛtāvan (and f. -vari), ṛghāvan, dhītāvan, satyāvan, sumnāvārī, and maghāvān; from ā-stems, sūṅtāvārī, svadhāvan (and f. -vari); from i-stems, amatīvān, arātīvān, cṛuṣṭīvān, muṣīvān, and kṛṣīvān (only in the further derivative kāṛśīvāṇā); from consonant-stems, āṭharvān, samādvan, sāhovān (bad AV. variant to RV. sahāvan). Somewhat anomalous are sahāvan and sahasāvan, īndhanavan (for īndhanavan?), and sanūtvan (for sūṅtīvan?). The only words of more than sporadic occurrence are ṛtāvan, maghāvān, āṭharvān.

1235. मन्त् mant. This is a twin-suffix to वं वन (above, 1233); their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives i मन्त mant are much less frequent (in the older language, about a third as many), and are only very rarely made from a-stems.

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:

a. With the accent of the primitive unchanged: kāṃvamant, and yāvamant, 'rich in barley' (these alone from a-stems, and the former only occurring once), āvimant, 'possessing sheep', aćānimant, 'bearing the thunderbolt', ṭadhimant, 'rich in herbs', vācīmant, 'carrying an axe', vāsumant,
'possessing good things', mādhumant, 'rich in sweets', tvāṣṭrmanit, 'accom-
powered by Tvashitar', hātramant, 'provided with priests', āyuṣmanit, 'long-lived',
jyottimanit, 'full of brightness'; — ukkusımant, 'accompanied with meteors',
pitūmanit (?), praśūmanit, 'having young shoots', gōmanit, 'rich in kine', ka-
kūdmanit, 'humped', vidyūmanit (with irregular assimilation of t: VS. has
also kakāmnant, 'gleaming', virākmanit, 'shining', hariṣmanit, 'with libations).
b. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: agnimant, 'having
fire', ışuddhmant, 'with a quiver', pacumnant, 'possessing cattle', vāyumant,
'with wind', pitṛmanit (AV. pitṛmanit), 'accompanied by the Fathers', mātramant,
'having a mother'; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this
division, and only once a consonant, in dasmāt (RV., once).
c. Protraction of a final vowel is seen in tvēśmanit, dhrājmanit, hērim-
manit; in jyottiṣmanit is irregularly inserted an i (after the analogy of tāviṣ-
manit).

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.

For derivatives of the same value made with the suffix iman, see above,
1168.2.

1237. Nā tā. With this suffix are made feminine ab-
stract nouns, denoting 'the quality of being so and so', from
both adjectives and nouns.

The form of the primitive is unchanged, and the accent is
uniformly on the syllable preceding the suffix.

Examples (from the older language) are: devatā, 'divinity', viratā, 'man-
liness', purusatā, 'human nature', bandhitā, 'relationship', vasatā, 'wealth';
nagratā, 'nakedness', svīrata, 'wealth in retainers', anapatyatā, 'lack of
descendants', agotā, 'poverty in cattle', abrahamatā, 'lack of devotion', apra-
jastā, 'absence of progeny'; also doubtless sunētā (from sunāra), although
the word is a few times used as an adjective (like caṅtāti and satyatāti: see
next paragraph). In RV. is found avṛratā, with exceptional accent.

1238. Nātī tāti, Nātā tātā. These suffixes are Vedic only,
and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the pre-
ceding is evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature.
The accent is as in the derivatives with tā.

The quotable examples in tātī are: arīṣkatātī, 'uninjuredness', aya-
ksamātātī, 'freedom from disease', grbhitātātī, 'the being seized', īṣṭhatātī,
'supremacy', devatātī, 'divinity', vasatātī, 'wealth', caṅtātī, 'good-fortune',
XVII. SECONDARY DERIVATION.

sarvatāti, 'completeness'; and, with exceptional accent, āstatāti, 'home', and dākṣatāti, 'cleverness'. Two words in tātī are used adjectively (inorganically, by apposition?): čāntāti (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 1, in MSS.), and satyātāti (RV., once: voc.).

The words in tāt (apparently made by abbreviation from tātī) occur only in a case or two: they were all mentioned above (383d. 2).

1239. त्वा tvā. With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in त्वा tā (above, 1237).

The neuter abstracts in tvā 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.

Examples (from the older language) are: amṛtatvā, 'immortality', devatvā, 'divinity', subhagatvā, 'good-fortune', ahamuttaratvā, 'struggle for precedence', cuciṭvā, 'purity', patitvā, 'husbandship', taraṇitvā, 'energy', dīrghāyutvā, 'long life', caturutvā, 'enmity', bhūtītvā, 'brotherhood', vṛṣatvā, 'virility', satmatvā, 'soulfulness', maghavatvā, 'liberality', rakṣastvā, 'sorcery'. In anāgastvā and aprajāstvā, there is a lengthening of the final syllable of the primitive; and in sāuprajāstvā (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial vṛddhi (sāubhagatvā is doubtless from sāubhaga, not subhāga). In vaśatīvarītvā (TS.) there is shortening of final feminine ī before the suffix.

In isītātvā (RV., once), 'incitedness', and purusātvā (RV., twice), 'human quality', appears to be a combination of the two equivalent suffixes tvā and tā.

The v of tvā is to be read in Veda as u only once (rakṣastuād).

1240. त्वान tvana. The derivatives made with this suffix are, like those in tvā, neuter abstracts. They occur only in RV., and, except in a single instance (martiatvanā), have beside them equivalent derivatives in tvā. The accent is on the final, and the tvā is never resolved into tua.

The words are: kavitvanā, jānitvanā, patitvanā, martiatvanā, mahitvanā, vasutvanā, vṛṣatvanā, sakhiṭvanā.

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. तः tara and तम tama are the usual secondary suffixes of adjective comparison: respecting their use as such, see above,
471—3; respecting the use of tama as ordinal etc. suffix, see 487; respecting that of their accusatives as adverbial suffixes to prepositions etc., see 1111c.

In vrtratāra (RV., once: perhaps an error) the accent is anomalous; in mṛdayātātama, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1309); caçvatātma (RV.) has the ordinal accent; saṁvatsara- tāma (CB.) is an ordinal; dēvātara (RV., once: an error?) is an ordinary adjective, 'of the day'; in acvatarā, 'mule', and dhenuṣṭari, 'cow losing her milk', the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; in rathāntara, name of a certain sāman, it is the same.

b. र ra and न ma, like tara and tama, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals: see above, 474, 487.

c. थ tha, like tama and ma, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see 487.

d. तिथि titha forms words of an ordinal character from bahu (bahutitha, 'many-eth') and tāvant (with loss of a t in the combination: tāvaititha, 'so-many-eth'); and, it is said, from other words meaning 'a number or collection' (gana, pūga, saṁgha).

1243. Of diminutive suffixes there are none in Sanskrit with clearly developed meaning and use. The occasional employment of ka, in a somewhat indistinct way, to make diminutives, has been noticed above (1222).

1244. Of the ordinary adjective-making suffixes, given above, some occasionally make adjectives from adjectives, with slight or imperceptible modification of value. The only one used to any considerable extent in this way is ka: as to which, see 1222.

1245. A few suffixes are used to make derivatives from certain limited and special classes of words, as numerals and particles. Thus:

a. तय taya makes a few adjectives, meaning 'of so many divisions or kinds' (used in the neuter as collectives), from numerals: thus, dvitaya, tritaya, cātuṣṭaya (AV.), saptātaya (CB.), asṭātaya (AB.), dācātaya (RV.).

b. त्य tyā makes a few adjectives from particles: thus, nitya, 'own', niṣṭya, 'strange', amātya, 'companion', ēpatsya (as neut. noun), 'descendants', ēvīṣṭya, 'evident', sānutyā, 'distant', tatrātya (late), 'belonging there'; and, according to the grammarians, ītātya and kvātya.

The y of tyā is in RV. always to be read as i after a heavy syllable.

c. त ta forms dvitā and tritā, also mukhūta, 'moment', and apparently avatā, 'well (for water).
d. With न na are made पुरान, 'ancient', विश्वा, 'various', and perhaps समान्, 'like'.

e. With तन tana or न tna are made adjectives from adverbs, especially of time: thus, प्रत्यतस्त, 'ancient', नुतन or नूता, 'present', रात्रि or रात्रि, 'lasting', प्रततस्त, 'early', दिवातना [late], 'of the day', चास्ताना [late], 'of the morrow'; PB. has also त्वत्तना, 'belonging to thee'. In the late language the suffix is used sometimes with an adjective of time: thus, चिरतना.

f. वत vat makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (383d. 1).

g. का ka, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the grammarians as a suffix in उका, निका, प्रका, विका (RV., once, voc.), and साका (all said to be accented on the final).

h. Occasional derivatives made with the ordinary suffixes of primary and secondary derivation from numerals and particles have been noted above: thus, see अन (1150.2d), ति (1157.4), अंत (1172), उ (1178h), एया (1218), का (1222a), मन (1224), माया (1225), वट (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.

There is, however, a marked difference between the earlier and the later language as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, it is quite rare that more than two stems are compounded together — except that to some much used and familiar compound, as to an integral word, a further element is sometimes added. But the later the period, and, especially, the more elaborate the style, the more a cumbrous and difficult aggregate of elements, abnegat-
ing 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. Copulative or aggregative compounds, of which the members are syntactically coördinate: a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction ‘and’.


The members of such a compound may obviously be of any number, two or more than two. No compound of any other class can contain more than two members — of which, however, either or both may be compound, or decompound (below, 1248).

II. Determinative compounds, of which the former member is syntactically dependent on the latter, as its determining or qualifying adjunct: being either, 1. a noun limiting it in a case-relation, or, 2. an adjective or adverb describing it. And, according as it is the one or the other, may be distinguished the two sub-classes: A. Dependent compounds; and B. Descriptive compounds; their difference is not an absolute one.


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. 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.

The sub-class B. is comparatively quite small, and its second division (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Vedic.

Examples are: *vīrasena, 'possessing a hero-army', prañākāma, 'having desire of progeny', tiṃḍaṛīṇa, 'sharphorned', hārītaśrauj, 'wearing green garlands'; atimātrā, 'excessive'; yāvayāddveṣas, 'driving away enemies'.

The adjective compounds are, like simple adjectives, liable to be used, especially in the neuter, as abstract and collective nouns, and in the accusative as adverbs; and out of these uses have grown apparent special classes of compounds, reckoned and named as such by the Hindu grammarians. The relation in detail 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 single word, become a member in another compound, and this in yet another — and so on, without definite limit. The analysis of any compound, of whatever length (unless it be a copulative), must be made by a succession of bisections.

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 *sakalāṁitiśāstratattvajñāna, 'knowing the essence of all books of behavior*', has first the root-stem *jñā* (for *yjñā*), 'knowing', separated from the rest, which is again dependent; then this is divided into *tattva, 'essence', and the remainder, which is descriptive; this, again, divides into *sakala, 'all', and nitiśāstra, 'books of behavior', of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (*sa* and *kalā, 'having its parts together').
1249. 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.

a. 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.

That is, especially, stems in r or ar, at or ant, ac or ač, etc., show in composition the forms in r, at, ac, etc.; while those in an and in usually lose their final n, and are combined as if a and i were their proper finals.

b. 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’.

c. 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:


d. Least often, a genitive: thus, rāyāskāma, ‘desirous of wealth’. But the older language has a few examples of the putting together of a genitive with its governing noun, both members of the combination keeping their own accent: see below, 1267.d.

e. Excepting occasionally, where case-forms are used, there is no designation of plural meaning by plural form; but a feminine word, where clearness requires it, sometimes keeps its distinctive feminine form.

1251. The accent of compounds is very various, and liable to considerable irregularity even within the limits of the same
formation; and it must be left to be pointed out in detail below. All possible varieties are found to occur. Thus:

a. Each member of the compound retains its own separate accent. This is the most anomalous and infrequent method. It appears in certain Vedic copulative compounds chiefly composed of the names of divinities (so-called devatā-dvandvas: 1255 ff.), and in a small number of aggregations partly containing a genitive case-form as prior member (1267 d).

b. The accent of the compound is that of its prior member. This is especially the case in the great class of possessive compounds; but also in determinatives having the participle in ta or na as final member, in those beginning with the negative a or an, and in other less numerous and important classes.

c. The accent of the compound is that of the final member. This is not on so large a scale the case as the preceding; but it is nevertheless quite common, being found in many compounds having a verbal noun or adjective as final member, in compounds beginning with the numerals dvi and tri or the prefixes su and dus, 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 those having a root-stem as final, 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: medhāsūti (médha), tilāmiśra (tīla), khādihasta (khādī), yāvayādvēṣus (yāvāyant); çakdhūma (dhūma), amṛta (mṛtā), suvīra (vīrā), tuvigrīva (grīvā). A few words — as vīra, pūrva, and sometimes sārva — take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

I. Copulative Compounds.

1252. Two or more nouns — much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs — having a coordinative construction, as if connected by ‘and’, are sometimes combined into compounds.

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.

1253. The noun-copulatives fall, as regards their inflective form, into two classes:
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.

Examples are: prañāpānā, 'inspiration and expiration', vrīhiyavā, 'rice and barley', ṭksāmē, 'verse and chant', kapotolukā, 'dove and owl', candrādityā, 'moon and sun', hastyaçvā, 'the elephant and horse'; ajāvāyas, 'goats and sheep', devāsuras, 'the gods and demons', atharvāngirās, 'the Atharvans and Angirases', sambādhatandryās, 'anxieties and fatigues', hastyaçvās, 'elephants and horses'; of more than two members (no examples quotable from the older language), çayāsanabhogās, 'lying, sitting, and eating', brāhmaṇakṣatriyāviçudrās, 'a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiçya, and Çudra', rogaçokaparitāpabandhanavyasanāni, 'disease, pain, grief, captivity, and misfortune'.

b. The compound, without regard to the number denoted, or to the gender of its constituents, becomes a neuter singular collective.

Examples are: istapurādam, 'what is offered and bestowed'; ahorātrans, 'a day and night', kṛtākṛtam, 'the done and undone'; bhūtabhavyām, 'past and future', kēçāmaçrū, 'hair and beard', ahinakulam, 'snake and ichneumon', yūkāmakṣikamatkunam, 'lice, flies, and bugs'.

1254. a. A stem in r as prior member sometimes takes its nominative form, in ā: thus, pitāpurā, 'father and son'; hotāpotāru, 'the invoker and purifier (priests)'.

b. A consonant-stem as final member sometimes adds an a to make a neuter collective: thus, chattropānaham, 'an umbrella and a shoe'.

c. The grammarians give rules as to the order of the elements composing a copulative compound: thus, that a more important, a briefer, a vowel-initial member should stand first; and that one ending in a should be placed last. Violations of them all, however, occur.

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 3 occurrences out of more than 300) in which other cases than the nom.-acc.-voc. are formed, the final member only is inflected.
Examples are: indrāśāna, indrāvīśa, indrābhāspaṭi, agnīśāmaū, tur-
vācaṇādā, dyāvāprthivi, usāsānākta, sūryānāsā. The only plural is indrā-
marutā (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are mitrāvārṇūbhhyām
and mitrāvārṇuṇyāgos, and indrāvārṇuṇyāgos (each once only).

From dyāvāprthivi is made the very peculiar genitive divāspṛthivyōs
(4 times; AV. has dyāvāprthivyō and dyāvāprthivyō).

b. In one compound, parjāṇyavatā, the first member does not have the
dual ending along with the double accent (indranīsātyā, voc., is doubtful as
to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double
designation of number is present; thus, indrāpūṣā (beside indrāpūṣānā),
somāpūṣābhyyām (somāpūṣānā occurs only as voc.), vātāparjanyā, sūryācaṇḍra-
māsā, and indrāgnī (with indrāgnībhhyām and indrāgnīyō): somārdrānū is
accented only in CB. And in one, indrāvāyā, 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 piṣumē, satyānṛtā, sācanāmaṇatā; also the neuter
collective iṣṭāpūrtāṁ, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective,
nīlalohitām. Further, the neutral plurals ahorātrāṇi, 'nychemera', and
ukthārkā, 'praises and songs', of which the final members as independent
words are not neuter. No one of these words has more than a single oc-
currence.

1256. In the later Vedic (AV.), the usage is much more
accordant with that of the classical language, save that
the class of neuter singular collective 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., bhavvārdrānū, bhavācarvānā;
agnīvīṣa, voc., is of anomalous form. The whole number of copulatives is
more than double that in RV.

b. The only proper neuter collective, composed of two nouns, are
kecaṃmaṭrā, 'hair and beard', āṇjanābhyaāṇjanām, 'salve and ointment', and
kucipūpaṭavaṇṭānām, 'mat and covering', unified because of the virtual unity
of the two objects specified. Neuter singulars, used in a similar collective
way, of adjective compounds, are (besides those in RV.): kṛtākṛtām, 'what
is done and undone' (instead of 'what is done and what is undone'), cītākītām,
'thought and desire', bhadrāpaṇām, '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 very rare.

Examples are: čuklākṛṣṇa, 'light and dark', sthalajāudaka,
'terrestrial and aquatic', used distributively; and vṛttapīna, 'round
and plump', pāntānuklī, 'tranquil and propitious', hṛṣītrāsragra-
johina, 'wearing fresh garlands and free from dust', niṣekādi-
COPULATIVE COMPOUNDS.

1258. In accentuated texts, the copulative compounds have uniformly the accent (acute) on the final of the stem.

Exceptions are only a case or two in AV., where doubtless the reading is false: thus, vāltaparjanyā (once: beside -nyāyos), devamanusyaś (once), brahmardajanyābhyām (once: part of the MSS.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives: thus, dhardivi, 'day by day', sdydmprdtar, 'at evening and in the morning'. They have the accent of their prior member.

1260. Repeated words. In all ages of the language, nouns and adjectives and particles are not infrequently repeated, to give an intensive, or a distributive, or a repetitional meaning.

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. Thus: Jahy ēsānḥ vārāṁ-vāram, 'slay of them each best man'; dvē-dive or dyāvi-dyavi, 'from day to day'; prā-pra yajñāpatim tira, 'make the master of the sacrifice live on and on'; bhuyā-bhuyāḥ cvāh-cvāh, 'further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow'; ēkayāi-kayā, 'with in each case one'.

Such combinations are called by the native grammarians āmreṇiṭa, 'repeated'.

1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, ēkūdaṛa, '11', dvāviṁcati, '22', tričata, '103', cāuḥsaḥsram, '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.

The whole class of determinatives is called by the Hindu grammarians tatpurusa (the term is a specimen of the class, meaning 'his man'); and the second division, the descriptives, has the special name of karmadharaya (of obscure application: the literal sense is something like 'office-bearing'). After their example, the two divisions are in European usage generally 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.


1265. **Dependent Adjective-compounds.** In this division, only a very small proportion of the compounds have an ordinary adjective as final member; but usually a participle or a derivative of agency with the value of a participle. The prior member stands in any case-relation which is possible in the independent construction of such words.


1266. We take up now some of the principal groups of compounds falling under these two heads, in order to notice their specialities of formation and use, their relative frequency, their accentuation, and so on.

1267. Compounds having as final member ordinary nouns (such, namely, as do not distinctly exhibit the character of verbal nouns, of action or agency) are quite common. They are regularly and usually accented on the final syllable, without reference to the accent of either constituent. Examples were given above (1264).

a. A principal exception with regard to accent is pati, ‘master, lord’, compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, prajapatati, visupati, attithipati, gobati (compare the verbal nouns in ti, below, 1274). But in a few words pati retains its own accent: thus, vispati, parupati, etc.; and the more general rule is followed in apsarupati and vrjapati (in AV.).

*Whitney, Grammar.*
b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, janarâyâjan, devavârman, hiranyatâjas, prtanâhava, cakadâma (but dhûmâ); vâdâstena.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are vâcâstena, uccâhârâvâs, uccâhârâghosa, dûrêbhâs (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accented on both members: thus, gîcâpâti, sâdaspâti, bhâspâti, vânaspâti, râthaspâti, jâspâti (also jâspâti), nârâcânsa, tânânâpât (tanû as independent word), gûnâhâcâpa.

1268. The compounds having an ordinary adjective as final member are (as already noticed) comparatively few.

So far as can be gathered from the scanty examples occurring in the older language, they retain the accent of the prior member: thus, gâvîsthîra (AV. gavîsthîra), mâderaghu, yajñâdîhra, sâmavipra, tilâmicra (but tîla); but krîtâpacyâ, ‘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 ff., 1147). They are accented on the root.

a. In a very few instances, the accent of words having apparently this origin is otherwise laid: thus, ânsatra, ânarviç, svârâj.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, patanâgâ, girîvâdh, dhiyâjîr, akṣanâyâdrâh, hîdîspîç, divîspîç, vaneśât, diviśâd, aṅgeśţiḥâ, hîtâvâs, prâsûtûr, aprujâ.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, manovûj, ‘yoked (yoking themselves) by the will’, hîdayîvîdh, ‘pierced to the heart’.

1270. Compounds made with verbal derivatives in a, both of action and of agency, are numerous, and take the accent usually on their final syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1148. 5).


a. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives: above, 1268) that of the prior member: thus, marûdorâda, sutçkara (and other more questionable words). And dûgha, ‘milking, yielding’, is so accented as final: thus, madhudâgha, kâmâdâgha.

b. 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, abhayâmûkârâ, yudhînghamâ, dhanañjâyâ, purândârâ, vîsvam-bharâ, divîkârâ, talpeçayâ, diviśâmbhâ.
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. 1 c).

Examples are: _kṣavārthāna_, 'hair-increasing', _āyuṣpratāraṇa_, 'life-lengthening', _tanūpāṇa_, 'body-protecting', _devahēḍana_, 'hatred of the gods', _puṃśivāna_, 'giving birth to males'.

a. A very few apparent exceptions as regards accent are really cases where the derivative has lost its verbal character: thus, _yamasūdanā_, 'Yama's realm', _āchādvidhāna_, 'means of protection'.

b. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in _ana_: thus, _sarūpanākāraṇa_, _ayakṣānākāraṇa_, _subhāganākāraṇa_, _vanaṅkāraṇa_.

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 _prathamavāsyā_ (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; _balavijnayā_ and _ācavuttya_ (?) are inconsistent with these and with one another.

1273. Compounds made with the passive participle in _ta_ or _na_ have the accent of their prior member (as do the combinations of the same words with prefixes: 1085 a).

Examples are: _hāstakṛta_, 'made with the hand', _vīrājāta_, 'born of a hero', _ghoṣabuddha_, 'awakened by noise', _prajāpatīśṛṣṭa_, 'created by Prajāpati'; and, of participles combined with prefixes, _āndraprasūta_, 'incited by Indra', _bhaspatipranutta_, 'driven away by Brihaspati', _ulkābhikāta_, 'struck by a thunderbolt'.

a. AV. has the anomalous _apāsaṇčita_.

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, _agnitaptā_, _indrotā_, _pitṛvittā_, _ratha-kṛtā_, _kaviṇaprutā_.

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, _jagatīgata_, 'existing in the world', _tvādīgata_, 'belonging to thee', _sakkhiyāgata_, 'relating to a friend', 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 tamohbhūtam_ 'this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness)'; _tāṃ ratnabhūtaṃ lokasya_, 'her, being the pearl of the world'; and so on.
1274. Compounds with derivatives in \( t \) have \( [\text{like combinations with the prefixes: } 1157.1d] \) the accent of the prior member.

Examples are: \( \text{dhánasāti}, \) ‘winning of wealth’, \( \text{sómapitī}, \) ‘soma-drinking’, \( \text{devāhūti}, \) ‘invocation of the gods’, \( \text{námaūktī}, \) ‘utterance of homage’, \( \text{havyādāti}, \) ‘presentation of offerings’.

In \( \text{namādāti}, \) \( \text{medhásāti}, \) \( \text{vanādāti} \) (all RV.), the accent of the prior member is changed from penult to final.

Where the verbal character of the derivative is lost, the general rule of final accent (1267) is followed: thus, \( \text{devahetf}, \) ‘weapon of the gods’, \( \text{devasumaf}, \) ‘favor of the gods’.

In \( \text{sarvajyanf}, \) ‘loss of everything’, the accent is that of compounds with ordinary nouns.

1275. Compounds with a derivative in \( in \) as final member have \( [\text{as in all other cases}] \) the accent on the \( in \).

Thus, \( \text{uktacaṁsīnī}, \) ‘psalm-singing’, \( \text{vratacārīnī}, \) ‘vow-performing’, \( \text{ṣabhadāyīnī}, \) ‘bullock-giving’, \( \text{satyavādīnī}, \) ‘truth-speaking’, \( \text{cronipratodīnī}, \) ‘thigh-pounding’.

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in \( i \), having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.


Compounds with \( -sānī \) and \( -vānī \) are especially frequent in Veda and Brāhmaṇa. As independent words, nouns, these are accented \( sanī \) and \(Vanī \). Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient numbers to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (1155.2d).

From \( \text{yhan} \) are made in composition \( -ghnī \) and \( -ghnī, \) with accent on the ending: thus, \( \text{saḥasraghntī}, \) \( \text{āhīghnī}, \) \( \text{svaghntī}; \) \( -dhi \) from \( \text{ydhā} \) (1155.2e) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, \( \text{īsadhī}, \) \( \text{garbhadhī}, \) \( \text{puchadī}: \) \( \text{ōsadhi} \) and \( \text{pūrānadhī} \) are probably of other derivation.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in \( van \) have \( [\text{like combinations with prefixes: } 1169.1b] \) the accent of the final member — namely, on the radical syllable.

Thus, \( \text{somapāvan}, \) ‘soma-drinking’, \( \text{baladāvan}, \) ‘strength-giving’, \( \text{pāpākefīvan}, \) ‘evil-doing’, \( \text{bahusūvan}, \) ‘much-yielding’, \( \text{talpācīvan}, \) ‘lying on a couch’, \( \text{drusādīvan}, \) ‘sitting on a tree’, \( \text{agretvarī}, \) \( \text{ī}, \) ‘going at the head’.

a. The accent of the (somewhat obscure) words \( \text{mūtarīfvan} \) and \( \text{mūtarihvan} \) is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final \( mon \) appear to follow the same rule
as those with van: thus, svādukṣādman, ‘sharing out sweets’, āçuheśan, ‘steed-impelling’.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence, may be briefly noticed: thus, in u, rāṣṭradipsā, devapiyā, govindā, vanargū (?): compare 1178d; — in nu or tnu, lokakṛtā, surūpakṛtā: compare 1196; — in ṭ, nṛpatī, mandhātī, haskartī (vasudhātaras, AV., is doubtless a false reading). The derivatives in as are of infrequent occurrence in composition (as in combination with prefixes: above, 1151.4), and appear to be treated as ordinary nouns: thus, yajñavačā (but hiranyatejas, 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. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun, and an adverb before an adjective; other parts of speech are sometimes used adjectively and adverbially in that position.

b. 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.

c. 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.

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.

In this combination, both noun and adjective may be of any kind. The accent is (as in the corresponding class of dependent noun-compounds: 1267) on the final syllable.

Thus, ajñātayaksma, ‘unknown disease’, mahādhanā, ‘great

a. There are some exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with vṛṣa (in composition, accented vṛṣa), which itself retains the accent: thus, vṛṣaṇeva, 'all the gods', vṛṣaṇamūsa, 'every man'. For words in ti, see below, 1287d. Sporadic cases are madhyāndina, vṛṣadīki, both of which show an irregular shift of tone in the prior member; and a few others.

b. Instead of an adjective, the prior member is in a few cases a noun used appositionally, or with a quasi-adjective value. Thus, rājāyaksma, 'king-disease', brahmarsī, 'priest-sage', rājarsī, 'king-sage', rājadanta, 'king-tooth', devajana, 'god-folk', dūhitr-jana, 'daughter-person', cāmitatā, 'creeper named cāmi', jayaṇacabda, 'the word “conquer”', ujjhitaṇacabda, 'the word “deserted”'.

This group is of consequence, inasmuch as in possessive application it is greatly extended, and forms a numerous class of appositional compounds: see below, 1302.

c. This whole subdivision, of nouns with preceding qualifying adjectives, is not uncommon; but it is greatly (in AV., for example, more than five times) exceeded in frequency by the sub-class of possessives of the same form: see below, 1298.

1281. The adverbial words which are most freely and commonly used as prior members of compounds, qualifying the final member, are the verbal prefixes and the words of direction related with them, and the inseparable prefixes, a or an, su, dus, etc. (1121). These are combined not only with adjectives, but also, in quasi-adjectival value, with nouns; and the two classes of combinations will best be treated together.

1282. Verbal adjectives and nouns with preceding adverbs. As the largest and most important class under this head might properly enough be regarded the derivatives with preceding verbal prefixes. These, however, have been here reckoned rather as derivatives from roots combined with prefixes (1141), and have been treated under the head of derivation, in the preceding chapter. In taking up the others, we will begin with the participles.

1283. The participles belonging to the tense-systems — those in ant (or at), māna, āna, vāns — are only very rarely
compounded with any other adverbial element than the negative a or an, which then takes the accent.

Examples are: ānādant, ādadat, ānaçnant, āsrayant, ādūbyant, ādīsant, ādevayant; āmanyaṁaṇā, āhīṁsāṇa, āchidyamāṇa; ādadivīṇas, ābhivyāṁś; and, with verbal prefixes, ānapasphurat, ānāgamisyant, āvirādhayant, āvīcēcatal, āpratimānyāyanāṇa.

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: arundhatī, ajāranti, acodant (RV., once: doubtless a false reading; the simple participle is cōdant); AV. has anipādyamāṇa for RV. ānīpādyamāṇa (and the published text has asaṁyānt, with a part of the MSS.).

b. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been noted in the Veda -punardīyamāṇa (in āpunard-) and śūdīvīṇaṃ. In alāṭībbhavant and jaṅjanabhbhavant (RV.), as in astaṁyānt and astameṣyant (AV.), we have participles of a compound conjugation (1081), 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.

Thus, with the negative a or an (by far the most common case): ākṛta, ādabdha, āriṣṭa, ānādhṛṣṭa, āparājīta, āsārhkhyāta, ānābhyārūḍha; — with su, sūjāta, sāhuta, sūsahcitā, sūvarāṅkṛta; — with dus, dūccarita, dūrdhita and dārhit; — with other adverbial words, dānsūjita, dāvajāta, sāncṛuta, svayāṁkṛta, trīpratiṣṭhita: āraṅkṛta and kaka-jākṛta are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with a or an, anācaṣṭa, apra-caṣṭa, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, anjita, adīṣṭa, aṣṭita, aṣṭa 'myriad', atārta (beside atūrta), aṣūrta (?beside sūrta); — with su (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), subhūtā, sūktā, supra-cāṣṭa, svākta, sukṛta and sujātā (beside sūkṛta and sūjāta), and a few others; with dus (quite as numerous as the regular cases), durūtā, durukta, duṣkrta, durbhūtā; with sa, sajātā; with other adverbs, anotā, ariṣṭutā, tuviṣātā, prācinopacitā, and the compounds with puru, puruṣātā, puruprājata, purupraṣṭa, puruṣutā, etc. The proper name asāḏḥa stands beside āsāḏha; and AV. has abhinnā for RV. ābhinā.

1285. The gerundives occur almost only in combination with the negative prefix, and have usually the accent on the final syllable.

Examples are: anāpyā, anindya, asahyā, ayodhyā, amokya; adviṣėnyā; ahnavīyyā; and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are asamkhyeyā, a-pramṛṣyā, anaparśyā, anatuydya, anādhṛṣyā, avimokya, anānuķṛtyā (the accent of the simple word being saṁkhyēya etc.).

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are: ānedya, ādabhya, āgohya, ājōṣya, āyabhya. The two anavadhārśyā and anatityādhyā (both AV.) belong to the
VIII. Composition.

The yā-division (1213b) of gerundives, and have retained the accent of the simple word. And āghnya and aghanā occur together.

b. 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.

c. The neuter nouns of the same form (1213c: except sadhyaśtutya) retain their own accent after an adverbial prior member: thus, purvapāṭhya, pūrvaśe, amutrabhyā; and sahaśe. And the negated gerundives instanced above are capable of being viewed as possessive compounds with such nouns.

Some of the other verbal derivatives which have rules of their own as to accent etc. may be next noticed.

1286. The root-stem (pure root, or with t added after a short final vowel: 1147) is very often combined with a preceding adverbial word, of various kinds; and in the combination it retains the accent.


a. When, however, a root-stem is already in composition, whether with a verbal prefix or an element of other character, the further added negative itself takes the accent (as in case of an ordinary adjective: below, 1288a): thus, for example, anavṛt, 'not turning back', avadvig, 'not showing hostility', ādust, 'not ill-doing', ānaśvada, 'not giving a horse', āpaśuha, 'not slaying cattle' (anagās would be an exception, if it contained yga: which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with su seem to retain the radical accent: thus, suprāt, svabh, svayaj: svfr is an unsupported exception.

b. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as sadha-āṣtha, ādh trigu, and the words having aṇe as final member (407 ff.: if this element is not, after all, a suffix).

1287. Other verbal derivatives, requiring to be treated apart from the general body of adjectives, are few and of minor importance. Thus:
1288. Of the remaining combinations, those made with the inseparable prefixes form in some measure a class by themselves.

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.

We have seen above (1288) 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 (1068); and also in the case of a root-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (1286 a). And the same is true of its other combinations.

Thus, with various adjective words: átandra, ádabhra, ádācuri, ánṛju, ádevayu, átpañj, átasyāns, ánāmin, ádevayāvin, ápracetas, ánapatyajvant, ánupadasyant, ápramāyuka, ánamrī, áprajayñī, avidīdhayu, ánanādīgadhā,
The verbal prefixes are sometimes used in a general adverbial way, qualifying a following adjective or noun.


b. This use of the verbal prefixes is more common later, and some of them have a regular value in such compounds. Thus, ati denotes excess, as in atilūra, ‘very far’, atibhaya, ‘exceeding fear’, atipūrṣa (CB), ‘chief man’; adhi, superiority, as in adhidanta, ‘upper tooth’, adhistri, ‘chief woman’; ā signifies ‘somewhat’, as in ākuṭila, ‘somewhat crooked’, ānīla, ‘bluish’; upa denotes something accessory or secondary, as in upapuruṣa, ‘additional Purusa’; 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’, viśāndu, ‘greyish’, viśuddra, ‘respectively small’; sam, completeness, as in sampakṣa, ‘quite ripe’.

1290. Other compounds with adverbial prior members are quite irregularly accentuated. Thus, the compounds with puru, on the final (compare the participles
with puru, \textbf{1284a}; as, purudasmá, purupriyá, puruçcaná; those with pünar, on the prior member, as pūnarnava, pūnarvasu; those with satás, satíná, satýá, the same, as satámahant, satínámantu, satýámugra; a few combinations of nouns in tṛ and ana with adverbs akin with the prefixes, on the final syllable, as puraétá, purahstañ, uparifáyand, prátahsaván; and miscellaneous cases are mithúvadyapa, háricandra, álpaçayu, südhvarya, and yáuchreñthá and yávadchreñthá.

\textbf{1291.} The adjective púrva 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, drśtapúrva, 'previously seen', parmitapúrva, 'already married', somapítapúrva, 'having formerly drunk soma', stripúrva, 'formerly a woman'.

\textbf{III. Secondary Adjective Compounds.}

\textbf{1292.} 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.

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.

\textbf{A. Possessive Compounds.}

\textbf{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.

Thus: the dependent súryatejás, 'sun's brightness', becomes the possessive súryatejas, 'possessing the brightness of the sun'; yajñakámá, 'desire of sacrifice', becomes yajñákáma, 'having desire of sacrifice'; the descriptive bhadratha, 'great chariot', be-
comes the possessive bhādartha, 'having great chariots', āhasta, 'not hand', becomes āhastā, 'handless', durgandhi, 'ill savor', becomes durgandhi, 'of ill savor'; and so on.

a. Compounds of the copulative class do not appear to assume a possessive value — unless (as has been suggested with some plausibility) we are to regard those of singular collective form as neuters of secondary adjectives.

b. The name given by the native grammarians to the possessive compounds is bahurīhi: the word is an example of the class, meaning 'possessing much rice'.

c. The name "relative", instead of possessive, sometimes applied to this class, is evidently not to be approved; since, though the meaning of such a compound (as of any attributive word) is easily cast into a relative form, its essential character lies in the possessive verb which has nevertheless to be added, or in the possessive case of the relative which must be used: thus, bhādartha, 'who has a great chariot', or 'who's is a great chariot'.

1294. That a noun, simple or compound, should be added to another noun, in an appositive way, with a value virtually attributive, and that such nouns should occasionally gain by frequent association and application an adjective form also, is natural enough, and common in many languages; the peculiarity of the Sanskrit formation lies in two things. First, that such use should have become a perfectly regular and indefinitely extensible one in the case of compounded words, so that any compound with noun-final may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a simple noun must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adapt it to adjective use: for example, that while hasta must become hastin and bāhu must become bāhumant, hiranyahasta and mahābāhu change from noun to adjective value with no added ending. And second, that the relation of the qualified noun to the compound should have come to be so generally that of possession, not of likeness, nor of appurtenance, nor of any other relation which is as naturally involved in such a construction: that we may only say, for example, mahābāhuḥ puruṣah, 'man with great arms', and not also mahābāhir maniḥ, 'jewel for a great arm', or mahābāhavah cākhāh, 'branches like great arms'.

There is, however, in the older language a little group of derivative adjectives involving the relation of appurtenance rather than of possession: thus, vicvānara, 'of or for all men, belonging to all'; and so vicvākṣṭi, vicvācārṣaṇi; also vicvācārda, 'of every autumn', vipathā, 'for bad roads', dvirājā, '[battle] of two kings'. And some of the so-called dvigu-compounds, as dvigu itself in the adjective sense 'worth two cows', dvinau, 'bought for two ships' (1312), may be compared with them (compare also the words in ana, 1296, end). It is at least open to question whether these are not survivals of an application independent of the possessive, and originally of an equal rank with it, rather than instances of a possessive modified to its opposite.

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.

Further examples are: mayūraroman, 'having the plumes of peacocks', agnɪtejas, 'having the brightness of fire', jñātimukha, 'wearing the aspect of relatives', pākáma, 'desiring a husband', hastipāda, 'having an elephant's feet'.

The accent is, as in the examples given, regularly that of the prior member, and exceptions are few and of doubtful character. A few compounds with derivatives in ana have the accent of the final member: thus, indrapāna, 'serving as drink for Indra', devasādana, 'serving as seat for the gods', rayiṣṭhīna, 'being source of wealth'; but they contain no implication of possession, and are perhaps in character, as in accent (1271), dependent. Also a few in as, as nṛcākṣas, 'men-beholding', nṛvāhas, 'men-bearing'; kṣetrasādhas, 'field-prospering', are probably to be judged in the same way.

1297. Possessively used descriptive compounds, or possessive descriptives, are extremely numerous and of every variety of character; and some kinds of combination which are rare in proper descriptive use are very common as possessives.

They will be taken up below in order, according to the character of the prior member — whether the noun-final be preceded by a qualifying adjective, or noun, or adverb.

1298. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are (as pointed out above, 1280c) 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', ugrābhāhu, 'having powerful arms', jīvāptra, 'having living sons', dirghādemačru, 'long-bearded', bhīdhēchravas, 'of great renown', bhūrīmūla, 'many-rooted', mahāvadhā, 'bearing a great weapon', viçvārūpa, 'having all forms', gukrāvarṇa, 'of bright color', dhīḍḥhimarçana, 'of propitious touch', satyāsāṁdha, 'of true promises', sārvāṅga, 'whole-limbed', svāya-ças, 'having own glory', hārītasraja, '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 tuvīrādhas, pruvrūpāc, and others in which (as above, 1296, end) a determinative character may be suspected: thus, uruvrāyas beside uruvrī, uruvvyācas beside uruvvāc, and so on; but also with those of other final, as jyāhasta, citikākṣa, kṛṣnakārṇa, citradṛṣṭva/ tuvīcīṣṭa, jyukrātu, prthupūrca, puruvārman, raghuyāman, vidūpātman. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final to the first syllable of the second member: thus, anhubhēda, tuvīrgīva, puruvīra, puruvūpa, citidhīhu (also citibāhū). The largest class is that of compounds which take the accent upon their final syllable (in part, of course, not distinguishable from that of those which retain the accent of the final member): for example, bahvannā, nilanakhā, puruvāna, vīcvānā, svapattā, tuviprattā, pṛṇiparnī f., darṣatacī, pūtirajā, asitajānā, prthugṁān, bahuprajās.

c. The adjective vīcīva, ‘all’, as prior member of a compound (and also in derivation), changes its accent regularly to vīcīvā; sārva, ‘whole, all’, does the same in a few cases.

1299. Possessive compounds with a participle preceding and qualifying the final noun-member are numerous, although such a compound with simple descriptive value is almost unknown.

The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior member.


Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: there have been noticed only paryastākṣa, vyastakeṛī f., achinnāpānā.

b. A few examples occur of a present participle in the same situation. In about half the instances, it gives its own accent to the compound: thus, dyutādyāman, dhṛsādevarṇa etc., ādugrathā, rācadvatśa etc., bhṛkjajjanman etc., sanyādvīra, stanāyadama, sādhanadīśi; 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, dravātāṛṇi etc. (dravāt also occurs as adverb), rapcādūdhan, svanādṛṣṭa, varcāddhāma, bhandaḍāśi, krandaḍāśi. With these last agrees in form jardadāśi, ‘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, yuṣyaṇādaspitī, ‘with harnessed coursers’ (perhaps rather ‘having harnessed their coursers’), and davṛṇādāpavī (with regular accent, instead of dādrṛṣṇa, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle), ‘with conspicuous wheel-rims’.

d. Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in grātkārṇa (RV.), ‘of listening ear’; and with this are perhaps accordant dādrṛṣṇi and sthāraṃman (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 in general those beginning with dvi and tṛi, which accent the final member.

a. Examples with other numerals than dvi and tṛi are: ekacakra, eka-čiśan, ekapad, caturaṅga, cāyuspakṣa, paňcaṅguri, paňcauḍana, sādača, satpad, saptaśija, saptāpad, astāpad, nāvapad, nāvadvāra, dācaṣāka, dācaśiśan, dvādaśa, triṇaḍara, catāparvan, catādant, sahas- raṇāman, sahasraṇula.

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, caturakṣa etc. (aṇa or aṣi: 431), ṣaḍaḥā etc. (aṇa or aṣṭa: 430), daśāvṛṣa etc. (viṣāṇ), ekāvastra etc. (vṛīti or vṛātri), ekara etc. (āve); but also a few others, as śaḍyogā, aṣṭāyogā, catārghā, sahasrārghā, ekapāra (?).

c. The compounds with dvi and tṛi for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, dvijāman, dvīdhāra, dvībāndhu, dvīvaratamī, dvīpad, trīlānta, trīnābhi, trīcāka, trīvarūha, trīcakrā, trīcārsan, trīpad. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral: thus, for example, dvīpāka, dvīcāvas, dvīṣāya, trīṣandhi, tryīra, tryācīr, and sometimes dvīpad and trīpad in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, a substituted stem in a is apt to take the accent on the final: thus, dvīṣa and trīṣa, dvīrījā, dvīrātrā, trīyugā, trīdivā; and a few of other character with tṛi follow the same rule: thus, trikačā, trīnākā, trībandhā, tryudhān, trībarhā, etc.

d. The neuter, or also the feminine, of numeral compounds is often used substantively, with a collective or abstract value, and the accent is then regularly on the final syllable: see below, 1312.

1301. Possessive compounds having as prior member a noun which has a quasi-adjective value in qualifying the final member are very frequent, and show certain specialities of usage.

Least peculiar is a noun of material as prior member (hardly to be reckoned as regular possessive dependents, because the relation of material is not expressed by a case): thus, hiraṇyahasta, ‘gold-handed’, hiraṇyasraja, ‘with golden garlands’, āyakṣṭhāṇa, ‘having brazen supports’, rajatāṇūbhi, ‘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, 1280b). These may conveniently be called appositional possessives. Their accent is that of the prior member, like the ordinary possessive descriptives.

a. Examples are: āvaparṇa, ‘horse-winged’, or ‘having horses as wings’

Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation: thus, agnijñāvī, ṛṣyaṇtāvī, dhūmacikā, pavinox, etc.

b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, ēndrajyeśṭha, ‘having Indra as chief’, mānalisaṭṭha, ‘having the mind as sixth’, somaṃṛṣṭha, ‘of which soma is best’, ekarāha, ‘of which the ace is highest’ (?), āsthībīṣya, ‘having bone as the larger part, chiefly of bone’, abhirūpabhūyista, ‘chiefly composed of worthy persons’, dācāvara, ‘having ten as the lowest number’, cintāpara, ‘having meditation as highest object or occupation, devoted to meditation’, niḥkṣoṣaparama, ‘much addicted to sighing’.

c. Certain words are of especial frequency in the compounds here described, and have in part won a peculiar application.

1. Thus, with ādi or ādikā or ādyā, ‘first’, are made compounds signifying the person or thing designated along with others, such a person or thing et cetera. For example, devā īndrādayaḥ, ‘the gods having Indra as first’, that is, ‘the gods Indra etc.’, maricāyādī muniṇī, ‘Marici and the other sages’, svāyambhuvaṭāyīh saptābh ‘those seven Manus, Svayambhuva etc.’, agnīṣṭomābhikān makhān, ‘the sacrifices Agnishastra and so on’. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in annapāṇendhanādīni, ‘food, drink, fuel, etc.’, dānakaraṇākān caratu bhavān, ‘let your honor practise liberality, religious rites, and the like’. The particles evam and iti are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members: thus, evamādi vacanam, ‘words to this and the like effect’; āt ‘ham bravimi kartavyāḥ savāayo nityam ityūdi, ‘hence I say “accumulation is ever to be made” etc.’

Used in much the same way, but less often, is prabhṛti, ‘beginning’; thus, viṣṇu-vaṃḍaprabhṛtidhir gandharvāḥ, ‘with the Gandharvas Viṣṇuvasu etc.’; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time, as tatprabhṛti, ‘thenceforward’.

2. Words like pūrva, pūrvaṅka, purāḥsara, purogama, meaning ‘foregoer, predecessor’, are employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, to denote accompaniment.

3. The noun mātra, ‘measure’, stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of ‘mere, only’: thus, jala-mātraṇa vaṛtayān, ‘living by water only’ (lit., ‘by that which has water for its measure or limit’), garbhagyutimātraṇa, ‘by merely issuing from the womb’, prāṇayātrikamātrāḥ syāt, ‘let him be one possessing what does not exceed the preservation of life’; utkamātre tu vacane, ‘but the words being merely uttered’.
4. The noun artha, 'object, purpose', is used at the end of a compound, oftenest in the substantive neuter, to signify 'for the sake of' or the like: thus, yajñasiddhyartham, 'in order to the accomplishment of the sacrifice', damayantyarthat, 'for Damayanti's sake'.

5. Other examples are abhū, kalpa, in the sense of 'like, approaching': thus, hemābha, 'gold-like', mṛtyakalpa, 'nearly dead', pratipannakalpa, 'almost accomplished'; — vidhā, in the sense of 'kind, sort': thus, tvadhā, 'of thy sort', puruṣāvidhā, 'of human kind'; — prāya, in the sense of 'mostly, often', and the like: thus, duḥkhaprayā, 'full of pain', trupraprayā, 'abounding in grass', nirgamanaprayā, 'often going out'; — antara (in substantive neuter), in the sense of 'other': thus, deśāntara, 'another region' (litly, 'that which has a difference of region'), janmāntarāṇi, 'other existences', cākhāntare, '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 is designated by the prior member belongs, that on or in which it is.

Thus, ghrāṇḍrṣṭha, 'butter-backed', mādhujivha, 'honey-tongued', niśkāgrīva and maṇigrīva, 'necklace-necked', pāṭrāhasta, 'vessel-handed', vājrabāhu, 'lightning-armed', āśīrāmukha, 'blood-faced', kūḍāloḍhan, 'mead-uddered', vāyajāthara, 'sacrifice-bellied'; with irregular accent, dhūmāksī f., 'smoke-eyed', acrūmukhī f., 'tear-faced'; and khāḍhikāhasta, 'ring-handed' (khāḍḍī). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning 'hand': thus, castrāṇḍi, 'having a sword in the hand', laguḍahasta, 'carrying a staff'.

1304. Of possessive compounds having an adverbial element as prior member, the most numerous by far are those made with the inseparable prefixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. In compounds with the negative prefix a or an (in which the latter logically negatives the imported idea of possession), the accent is prevalently on the final syllable, without regard to the original accent of the final member. For example: ananta, 'having no end', abalta, 'not possessing strength', arathā, 'without chariot', acraddhā, 'faithless', anapā, 'without ornament', acātra, 'without a foe', avarman, 'not cuirassed', adant, 'toothless', apād, 'footless', atejās, 'without brightness', anārambhanā, 'not to be gotten hold of', apratimānā, 'incomparable', aduchahā, 'bringing no harm'.

But a number of examples (few in proportion to those already instanced) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptive: 1288 a): thus, ṛkṣiti, 'indestructible', āgu, 'kinless', āgopā, 'without shepherd', ājivana, 'lifeless', ānāpi, 'without friends', ācīvī f., 'without young', āṁnayu, 'deathless', ābrahun, 'without priest', āvyaca, 'without extension', āhavī, 'without oblation', and a few others: AV. has aprajas. but CB. aprajās. A very few have the accent on the penult: namely, açeśas, ajanī, and avīra (with retraction, from vīrā); and AV. has abhrāṭṛ, but RV. abhrāṭṛ.

b. In compounds with the prefixes of praise and dispraise, su and dus,

There are, however, a not inconsiderable number of instances in which the accent of these compounds is upon the final syllable: thus, suciprā, 'well-lipped', svapatiyā, 'of good progeny', susahākā, 'of good aspect', svāṅguri, 'well-fingered', svipā, 'having good arrows', suvās, 'well fattened'; and compounds with derivatives in ana, as suvijñānā, 'of easy discernment', sūpa-sarpanā, 'of easy approach', duṣṭavacanā, 'hard to shake'; and AV. has suphalā and subandhā against RV. suphala and subandhu. Like avīra, suvīra shows retraction of accent. Only dārācīr has the tone on the prefix.

On the whole, the distinction by accent of possessive from determinative is less clearly shown in the words made with su and dus than in any other body of compounds.

c. 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', sānūman, 'of like name', sārūpa, 'of similar form', sāyoni, 'having a common origin', sāvācas, 'of assenting words', sātoka, 'having progeny along, with one's progeny', sābrāhmanā, 'along with the Brahmins', sāmūla, 'with the root', sāntardeca, 'with the intermediate directions'; sahāgopa, 'with the shepherd', sahāvatra, 'accompanied by one's young', sahā-patni, 'having her husband with her', sahāpūrṣa, 'along with our men'.

In RV. (save in a doubtful case or two, only saha in such compounds gives the meaning of 'having along with one, accompanied by'; and, since saha governs the instrumental, the words beginning with it might be of the prepositional class (below, 1310). But in AV. both sa and saha have this value (as illustrated by examples given above); and in the later language, the combinations with sa are much the more numerous.

There are a few exceptions, in which the accent is that of the final member: thus, sājōsa, sājōsas, sādīṛa, sāprāthas, sabādhas; and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in sāṅgā (B. sāṅga) and the substantivized (1312) sāvidyutā.

d. Possessive compounds with the exclamatory prefixes ka etc. are too few in the older language to furnish ground for any rule as to accent: kā-bandha 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.


In a comparatively small number of cases, the accent is otherwise; and generally on the final: thus, avākecā, upamanyā, vī✈phā, vī✈ikā (AV. vi✈chika), vi السورية، samṁa=t, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member; thus, sam✈cicarī, ‘having a common young’.

1306. Possessive compounds with an ordinary adverb as prior member are also found in every period of the language. They usually have the accent which belongs to the adverb as independent word.


An instance or two of irregular accent are met with; thus, purorathā, ‘whose chariot is foremost’.

1307. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter (1222 c. 2) that the indifferent suffix ka is often added to a pure possessive compound, to help the conversion of the compounded stem into an adjective; especially, where the final of the stem is less usual or manageable in adjective inflection.

Also, the compound possessive stem occasionally takes further a possessive-making suffix, in (1230).

The frequent changes which are undergone by the final of a stem occurring at the end of a compound will be 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.

Thus, for example, prāptayāvāna, 'possessing attained adolescence', i. e. 'having arrived at adolescence'; anadhiyugāstra, 'with unstudied books', i. e. 'who has neglected study'; kṛtapravatna, 'possessing performed effort', i. e. 'on whom effort is expended'; aṅguśayakaḍāvānvasāna, 'having the sight of the ring as termination', i. e. 'destined to end on sight of the ring'; uddhrtaviśādaṣalya, 'having an extracted despair-arrow', i. e. 'when I shall have extracted the barb of despair'; cṛutavistārah kṣṛyatiṃ, 'let him be made with heard details', i. e. 'let him be informed of the details'.

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.

Examples are: vidādvasu, 'winning good things', kṣayādvira, 'governing (kṣayant) heroes', tārūddveṣas, 'overcoming (tūrant) foes', abharādvasu, 'bringing good things', codayānnati, 'inciting (codayant) devotion', mandayātsakha, 'rejoicing friends', dhūrayātkavi, 'sustaining sages', maṅhayādrayi, 'bestowing wealth'.

In sūdādyoni, 'sitting in the lap' (sūdat quite anomalously for sīdat or sadat), and spṛhayādvārna, 'emulous of color', the case-relation of the final member is other than accusative. In patayāṁ mandayātsakham (RV. i. 4.7), patayāt, with accent changed accordingly, represents patayātsakham, the final member being understood from the following word. Vidādaṣva is to be inferred from its derivative vādadaṣvi. Of this formation appear to be jambādagni, pratādvasu (prathād?), and trasādasyu (for trasāḍāsyu?). It was noticed above (1299c) that yuyuḥjānasapti is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle; sūdādāyiti, on account of its accent, is probably possessive.

1310. Prepositional Compounds. By this name may be conveniently called those combinations in which the prior member is a particle having true prepositional value, and the final member is a noun governed by it.

Such combinations, though few in number as compared with other classes of compounds, are not rare, either in the earlier language or the later.

Their accent is so various that no rule can be set up respecting it.
a. Examples are: átyavī, 'passing through the wool', atirūtrā, 'overnight'; atimātrā, 'exceeding measure'; adhiratha, 'lying on the chariot'; adhi-gavā, 'belonging to the cow'; adhaspadā, 'under the feet'; adhoaksā, 'below the axle'; ánupatha, 'following the road'. ánuvrata, 'according to direction' (but perhaps possessive?), anupūrvā, 'following the one preceding, one after another', anusatyā, 'in accordance with truth', anukūta, 'down stream', etc.; ántaspatha (with anomalously changed accent of antār), 'within the way', antardīvā, 'within the flame' (?), antarhastā, 'in the hand'; ánīghha, 'near the house'; āpavrata, 'out of due course' (possessive?); apiśrāna, 'accompanying the breath', apiśvratā, 'concerned with the ceremony', apiśvarā, 'bordering on the night', apiśarpā, 'next the ear'; abhijñā, 'reaching to the knee', abhīvīra and abhīśatvan, 'overcoming heroes'; āpāthi, 'on the road', ādeva, 'going to the gods'; ājarasā, 'reaching old age'; ādvādaśā, 'up to twelve'; upakāsā, 'reaching to the arm-pits'; upottamā, next to last, penultimate; upāribudhna, 'above the bottom', upārimartya, 'rising above mortals'; tirojanā, 'beyond people'; niḥsālā, 'out of the house'; paripād, '(about the feet) 'snare'; parihastā, 'about the hand, bracelet'; parokṣa, 'out of sight', parōnte, 'beyond measure', parogavyātī, 'beyond the fields', parahsahasra (pārah-sahasra, CB.), 'above a thousand'; pratidśa, 'toward evening', pratiloma, 'against the grain', pratikūla, 'up stream', pratyākṣa, 'before the eyes'; bahiḥparidhi, 'outside the enclosure'; vīpathi, 'outside the road'; samaksā, 'close to the eyes, in sight'.

b. Compounds of this character are in the later language especially common with adhi: thus, adhyatma, 'relating to the soul or self'; adhīyaṇa, 'relating to the sacrifice', etc.

c. A suffixal a is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in upānasā, 'on the wagon', āvayuṣā, 'until daybreak'. In a few instances, the suffix ya is taken (see above, 1212d.5); and in one word the suffix in: thus, paripanths, 'besetting the path'.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to adverbial use: see below, 1313a.

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.

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 Veda which by itself would call for particular remark under this head.

1312. The substantively used compounds having a numerla as prior member, along with, in part, the adjective compounds
themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called dvīgu.

The name is a sample of the class, and means 'of two cows', said to be used in the sense of 'worth two cows'; as also pañcagu, 'bought for five cows', deinātu, 'worth two ships', pañcakapāla, 'made in five cups', and so on.

Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are: deinvā, '[combat] of two kings'; tryugā, 'three ages', tryojaṇā, 'space of three leagues', tridīvā, 'the triple heaven', pañcayojaṇā, 'space of five leagues', śaḍahā, 'six days' time', daḍaṅgula, 'ten fingers' breadth'; and, with suffix ya, sahasrāṇya, 'thousand days' journey'. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the same character, are, for example, anamitrā, 'freedom from enemies', nikīlīṣa, 'freedom from guilt', savidyutā, 'thunderstorm', vīrdaya, 'heartlessness', and sāhrdaya, 'heartiness', sudīvā, 'prosperity by day', sumrā and sućakunā, 'prosperity with beasts and birds'. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as triçaṭi, 'three hundred' (481), triloki, 'the three worlds', pañcagamū, 'aggregate of five roots'.

As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more prevalingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.

1313. Those adverbially used accusatives of secondary adjectival 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 avyaṣṭābhava.

This term is a derivative from the compound verb (1094) made up of avayya, 'uninfllected', and ybhū, and means 'conversion to an indeclinable'.

a. The prepositional compounds (1310) are especially frequent in this use: thus, for example, anuṣadhām, 'by one's own will', abhipūrvām, 'in succession', adādaçaṭām, 'up to twelve', pratidōṣām, 'at evening', samakṣām, 'in sight'. Instances given by the grammarians are: adhikari, 'upon Hari', uparājaṃ, 'under the king', upanadam or upanadi, 'near the river', pratyagmi, 'toward the fire', pratinicam, 'every night', nirmakṣikam, 'free from flies'.

b. A large and important class is made up of words having a relative adverb, especially yathā, as prior member. Thus, for example, yathāvaśām, 'as one chooses' (vāca, 'will'), yathākṛtām, 'as done [before], according to custom', yathānāmā, 'by name', yathābhāgā, 'according to several portion', yathānāgā and yathāparā, 'limb by limb', yatrakāmām, 'whither one will', yāvanmātrām, 'in some measure', yāvajjivā, 'as long as one lives', yāvatsābandhā, 'according to the number of relations'.

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 yācraṣṭā RV., yāvačraṣṭā AV., 'as good as possible'. CB. has yathākāṛīn, yathācārīn, yathākāma, yathākratu as adjectives (followed in each case by a correlative tatha). The adjective use in the later language also is quite rare as compared with the adverbial.

Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental,
as yathāsoṅkhyena, yathācaktyā, yathēpśayā, yathāpratigunāśi; and ablative, as yathāvaṇīyāt.

c. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, rtekarmām, ‘according to sacrificial use’, nānāratām, ‘on different chariots’, ‘ubhayadhyās, ‘two days in succession’; citropadakramam, ‘with wonderful progress’, pradūnapūrca, ‘with accom-
pansion 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 com-
binations 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.

thātathā, ‘as it really is’, sūṣaha, ‘prosperity in companionship’, etc.

b. Agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases: thus, aham-
pūrṇā, ‘eager to be first’, ahamuttārā, ‘contest for preëminence’, mamasatī, ‘contest for possession’, itiḥāsā, ‘legend’ (iti hū “sa, ‘thus, indeed, it was’), naghamārā and naghāriṣṭā, ‘not, surely, dying or coming to harm’, kuviṭeṣa, ‘some unknown person’, tadādartā, ‘having just that as aim’, kucidārthān, ‘having errands in every direction’, kucitkarā, ‘doing all sorts of things’, ku-
hatāṃvīd, ‘wherever found’, yadhavāyī, ‘What-will-be’, etc.

c. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form: as, anyonya and paraspara, ‘one another’.

d. Aggregations with the natural order inverted: as, pitāmahā and tatāmahā, ‘grandfather’.

e. Aggregations of particles were pointed out above (1111a); also (1122b) cases in which nā and mā are used in composition.

f. In the later language, a preposition is occasionally preceded in com-
position by a case dependent on it: thus, dantāntaḥ, ‘between the teeth’, tadābhīs, ‘outside of it’, satavānīnā, ‘without truth’.

Stem-finals altered in Composition.

1315. In all classes of compounds, certain changes of final are liable to appear in the concluding member; generally, they have the effect of transferring the compound to the a-declension. Thus:

a. A stem in ān often drops its final consonant: examples are akṣa, adhva, arca, astha, aha, takṣa, brahma, mūrdha, rāja, loma, ēṣa, ēva, saktha, sāma.

b. An ā or ō is changed to a: examples are āṅgula, āñjala, aṣra, kukṣa, khāra, nada, nābha, bhūma, rūtra, sakha, hala.
c. An a is added after a final consonant, and sometimes after an u-vowel or a diphthong: examples are rea, tvaca; uda, pada, carada; opa; dhura, pura; ahna, açmana, ùdhna, rähna; anasa, ayasa, āyusa, urasa, enasa, tamasa, manasa, yajusa, rajasa, rahasa, varcasa, vedasa, çreyusa, sarasa; bhruva, diva, gava, gäva, nāva.

Irregular Construction with Compounds.

1316. In the looseness of unlimited and fortuitous combination, in the later language, it is not rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon it alone, rather than upon the compound of which it forms a part.

A few examples are: cittapramāthinī bālā devānām api (MBh.), 'a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods'; jyotiśam madhyacāri (H.), 'moving in the midst of the stars'; bhagavatā kṛtasasmāre 'smin (G.), 'in him, whose sacraments have been performed by the blessed one'; syandane dattadṛṣṭiḥ (G.), 'with his eye fixed on the chariot'.

Similar evidences of the looseness of composition are: na drṣṭapurvā 'thavā ċrutā, 'not seen nor heard of before'; dārupātram ca mṛmnayam, 'a wooden and an earthen vessel'.
APPENDIX.

A. The following text is given (as promised 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 Hitopadeśa.

The Hunter, Deer, Boar, and Jackal.

ἁäänआीक्ष्यािाक्ख्वािात्चो भेिवो नाम व्याधः। स चे-कदा मांसलुब्धः सन्ध्वरादाय विद्यात्वीमध्यं गतः। तत्च तेन मृग एको व्यापादितः। मृगमादाय गठता तेन धोराकृति: सूक्रो हद्दः। तत्स्थे न मृग भूमि निधाय सूकरः शरेर्ष हन्तः। सूक्रोणाध्यागतः प्रत्ययनवधोरगजनेन कृता स व्याधो मुख्द्वेशे हतश्चान्त्रुम इव पपात। यतः।

जलमापिं विषष्य शल्सु सुझायी पतनं गिरेः।
निमित्तं किंचिदासाधा देही प्रायेर्विमुच्यते॥

ञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञञ�性ञञ�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性�性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性属性सर्वसत्त्वम्। महाब्रह्मां समुपस्थितम्। ऊष्ठवा।

चरित्राखं दुःखानि चरित्याबार्यं रूपनाम।
सुखायपि तथा मयः दैवभावितिरिच्चते॥

भवतु। यह समस्तद्विखण्डं सम्पूर्णं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रयत्नवृषभां च तावधिर्मानि स्वाभृति मांसानि चिरियां बीताद्वानीलयं चायुवचं च शादामीदुःखा तथाकरोत्। ततश्राणं क्षायुवचं दुःखमं च जित्वतत्त्वमितं धनुषा हद्दि भिमः स दौर्ष्यारात्रः पदलं गतः। ऊष्ठो तदं प्रकीर्तिः।

कर्त्तव्यः: संध्वियो निध्वं कर्त्त्यो नातिसंचयः।

चरितसंचयदेशिष्य धनुषा जमुको हन्तः॥
श्रातिशक्तिल्याणककपक्षवास्तवथेः भैरवो नाम व्याधः। सौ चेकदा
मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुराग्नाय विन्ध्याघवीमध्ये गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको
व्यापारिः। मृगमाराय गक्ता तेन घोराकृति: सूक्रो दशः।
ततस्तेन मृगं भूमी निधाय सूक्रं: श्रेरण क्तः। सूक्रेणावागतः
प्लायथनतीर्वर्गमनं कृवा स व्याधो मुक्तेः रुत्सिन्कन्न्तुम र्व
प्यात। यतः।

जलमायं विषं श्राङ्ग चुल्याधी रतनं गिरे।
निमितं किंचिद्रासाय देष्टी प्राणेवर्मुच्यते।
श्रात्रामि दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिश्रमवात्साराघि तान्मुता
न्मुग्व्याधसुकरार्यज्ञवतु। श्रालोक्यायचिन्तयः। श्राहो भाग्यम्
मद्व्रीवर्यं समुवपास्यतम। प्रयवा।

श्राचितिर्तानि हुः। खानि वर्षीवायानि देविनाम।
सुखान्यपि तथा मने देवमनातिरिच्यते।

भवतु। यया मांसिकस्त्रथं समधंकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रयवम्युस्ववायं
तावदिमानि स्वादुविनि मांसानि विश्वाय कोद्वधाटानीलानि सायुक्तः
व्हादमिमी स्वकतवा
तत्तिलकः सायुक्तः सुमुत्तितितनं धनुः दुर्दि भिचः स दीर्घा: पश्चां
गतः। यतो ज्ञे ग्रहेम।

कर्त्तव्यः संवधो निर्यं कर्त्तव्यो नानिसंपचः।

श्रानिमन्द्विश्रणेण प्रयवा जल्लखो हसतः।

äśit kalyāñakañatakavāstavyo bhāiravo nāma vyādhaḥ. sa cāi 'kadā
mānsalubdhāḥ san dhānur ādāya vindhāyātvāmadvīhaṁ gataḥ. tatra
tenā mrgha eko vyāpādiaṁ. mrgham ādāya gachathā tena ghorākṛtiḥ
śūkaro dṛṣṭaḥ. tatas tena mrgham bhūmau nidhāya śūkaraḥ carena
hatah. śūkareṇa 'py āgyaṇa pralayaghanaghoraγarjanāṁ kṛtvā sa
vyādho muskadece hatas śāhmadṛma iva papāta. yataḥ:

jalam agniṁ viṣānau gastraṁ kṣudvāyādhi patanaṁ gireḥ,
nimittāṁ kīnicid āśāyā dehi prāṇaṁ virucayate.
B. The following text is given in order to illustrate by a sufficient example the usual method of marking accent, as described above (87, 90). In the MSS., the accent-signs are almost invariably added in red ink. The text is a hymn extracted from the tenth or last book of the Rig-Veda; it is regarded by the tradition as uttered by Vāc, 'voice' (i.e. the Word or Logos).

_Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda._

\[
\text{Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda.}
\]
ahāṁ rudrēbhīr vāsūbhīc carāmy ahāṁ ādityātir utā viśvādevaḥ, ahāṁ mitrāvārṇino 'bhā bibharmy ahāṁ indrāgni ahāṁ aṣvīna 'bhā. 1. ahāṁ sōnam āhanāsam bibharmy ahāṁ tvāḍāram utā pūṣānam bhāgam, ahāṁ dadvēmī drāviṇāṁ haviṣmate uprāvyē yājamānāṇyā suncatē. 2. ahāṁ rāṣṭri saṅgāmanī vāsūnāṁ cikitiṣi prathamaṁ yajñēyānam, tām mā devā vy ādaduh bhavārām bhūry āveṣāyanīṃ. 3. māyā so ānnam atī yō vipācyati yāḥ prāṇiti yā in śṛṅṭy uktām, amantavo māṁ tā upan kṣiyanti śrudhi śruta śraddhivām te vādāmi. 4. ahāṁ evā svayām iva māṁ vaṁdām jūṣṭāṁ devēbhīr utā mānūṣēbhīk, yāṁ kāmāye tām-tām ugrāṁ kṛṣṇomi tām brahmāṇaṁ tām īśams tāṁ sumedhām. 5.

ahāṁ rudrāya dhamur ā tanomī brahma-deviṣe śārave hāntavā u, ahāṁ jānāya samādaṁ kṛṣṇomy ahāṁ dyāvāpṛthivī ā viśeva. 6. ahāṁ swē pictāram āṣya mūrdhān māma yōnir apsv āntāḥ samudrē, tātō vi tiṣṭhe bhūvanā nu viśeva 'tā 'nuṁ dyāṁ varṣmānā 'pa sprśāmī. 7. ahāṁ evā vāta iva prá vāmy ārābhāmāṇaḥ bhūvanāni viśvā, parō divā parā enā prthivyāḥ 'tāvatī mahīnā śāṁ babhūva. 8.
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.

a, pron. etc., 19—22; combination with following vowel, 126—7; loss of initial after e and o, 135, 175 a; resulting accent, 135; not liable to guna, 235; lightened to i or u, 249; in weakened syllable, 253.

-a, prmy, 1143; scdry, 1208—9; —a-stems, dcln, 326—34; from rdcl a-st., 333, 354; in comps., 1270, 1283 ff., 1287 a.

a- or an-, negative, 1121 a; in comps., 1288 a, 1304 a.

-aka, prmy, 1181; scdry, 1222 e.

-aki, see 1221 b.

Vakṣ, 108 e; pres., 708; pt., 788.

aśāra, 8.

ākṣaṇ, āksi, 343 r, 431.

aghoṣa, 34.

Vāc or aṅc, pt., 788; pple, 957 c; stems ending with, 407—10.

Vāñc, see ac.

Vāñj or aj, euph., 219; pres., 694, 687; pt., 788.

-an, 1201.

-at, 383 d. 3, 1200 a — and see -ant.

-ata, see 1176 e.

-ati, see 1157. 3.

-atau, see 1161 c.

-atnu, see 1196 c.

-atra, see 1185 d.

-atha, see 1163 b.

-athu, see 1164.

Vad, impf., 621.

-ad, 383 d. 4, 1200 b.

-adhi, loss of initial, 1087 a.

-adhi-kā, in odd numbers, 477 a, 478 b.

-an, euph., 192 b; pres., 631.

-an, 1160.

-an-, see a-

-anā, 1150; stems in comps., 1271.

anadvāh, dcln, 224 b, 404.

-anā, 1150.

-an, 1159.

-anī, 1150.

-anīya, 962, 965, 1215 b.

-anu, see 1162.

anudāttā, 81.

anudāttātāra, 90 c.

anunāsika, 36, 73.

anuvrata, with acc., 272.

anuvratā, euph., 151 e.

anusvāra, pron. etc., 70—3; transliteration, 73.

anvāha, dcln, 419.

-ant or -at, of pple., 584, 1172; their dcln, 443 ff.

-anta, 1172.

-antahsthā, 31, 51.

antarā, in comps., 1302 c. 5.

-anti, see 1172.

anuvā, dcln, 523.

ap or āp, dcln, 151 d, 393.

api, loss of initial, 1087 a.

-abha, 1199.

abhānikata—circumflex, 84 d.
\textit{yam}, pres., 634; aor., 862.
\textit{-am}, infin. in, 970a, 971; gerund, 995.
\textit{amnas}, euph., 176 c.
\textit{aye}, infin. in, 970f, 975.
\textit{ar}, see 1184d.
\textit{art}, dcln, 343 d.
\textit{aru}, see 1192.
\textit{yaj}, pt., 788.
\textit{yarih}, so-called, 108 f, 1067.
\textit{arth}, in compsn., 1302 c.4.
\textit{aryamán}, dcln, 426 a.
\textit{ārvan}, ārvant, 455.
\textit{yarih}, pres., 613; pt., 788.
\textit{-ala}, see 1189.
\textit{alaprapāna}, 37.
\textit{vā}, aor., 838, 908; pple, 954 e.
\textit{ava}, loss of initial, 1057 a.
\textit{avagraha}, 16.
\textit{avavadhir}, so-called, 108 f.
\textit{awayāj, awayā}, 406.
\textit{avyagbijava}, 1313.
\textit{vac 'attain', pres., 694, 708; pt., 788; aor., 834 b, 837-9; fut., 936.
\textit{vāc 'enjoy', pres., 727; des., 1029 b, 1031.
\textit{vās 'be', pres., 636, 621; in periphr. conjn., 1070-2, 1073 d; in ppiat periphr. phrases, 1075 d; in cmpd conjn., 1094.
\textit{vās 'throw', pres., 761 c; aor., 847.
\textit{-as}, 1151; dcln of stems in, 411 ff.
\textit{-as}, infin. in, 970 a, 971.
\textit{asān, āṣā}, 383, 432.
\textit{-asi}, 1198.
\textit{āṣaj, euph., 219; and see asān.
\textit{-ase}, infin. in, 970 c, 973.
\textit{asthān, āsthī}, 343 f, 431.
\textit{-asma}, see 1195.
\textit{vah 'say', pt., 801 a.
\textit{vah 'connect' (?), 788.
\textit{āhan, āhar, āhas}, 430 a.

\textit{ā}, pron. etc., 19-20, 22; combination of final, 126-7; \\textit{vyuddhi} of a, 235 ff.; lightened to \textit{i} or \textit{I}, 250; to \textit{a}, 250 c; in pres., 661-6, 761 d.2, 3; in aor., 884; in pple, 954 c; in des., 1028 d.
\textit{ā}, with ablative, 293 c.
\textit{-ā}, 1149.
\textit{-ā-stems, dcln, 347 ff.
\textit{-āka}, see 1181 b.
\textit{-āku}, see 1181 b.
\textit{-ātu}, see 1161.
\textit{ātman}, used reflexively, 514.
\textit{ātmane padam}, 529.
\textit{ādī, ādikā, ādya}, in compsn., 1302 c.1.
\textit{-āna}, 1223 a; in pple, 584, 1175.
\textit{-āni}, see 1223 b.
\textit{ānunāśikya}, 36.
\textit{vāp}, 108 g, 1087 f; pres., 708, 727.
\textit{pt.}, 783 c; aor., 847; des., 1030.
\textit{ābha}, in compsn., 1302 c.5.
\textit{āmṛtīta}, 1260.
\textit{-āyana}, 1219.
\textit{-āyī}, 1220.
\textit{-āya}, 966 c, 1218.
\textit{āra}, see 1226 b.
\textit{-āru}, see 1192.
\textit{-āt}, see 1227.
\textit{-ātu}, see 1192, 1227.
\textit{ās}, āsān, āsyā, 393, 432.

\textit{i}, pron. etc., 19-20, 22; \textit{i} and \textit{y}, 50; combinations of final, 126, 129; from \textit{ya}, 252, 784, 769, 922 b, 954 b.
\textit{i}, union-vowel, 254; in pres., 630, 634; in pt., 796-8, 803; in aor., 876-7; in fut., 934-5, 943; in pple, 956; in infn., 968; in des., 1031.
\textit{i-stems, dcln, 335-46; from rdcl \textit{i-st.}, 354; in compsn., 1276, 1287 c.
\textit{yī 'go', pres., 612 note; pt., 783 b, 801 d; int. (?), 1021; caus., 1042 e; in ppial periphr. phrases, 1075; in cmpd conjn., 1092 b.
\textit{yī (in, inv) 'send', 708, 716.
\textit{-i}, prmy, 1150; scdy, 1221.
\textit{-ika}, prmy, 1180; scdy, 1222 e.
\textit{-ikā}, fem. to -aka, 1181 a, 1222 d.
\textit{vich}, 608, 753.
\textit{-ij}, 219, 383 d.5, 1200 c.
\textit{-it}, 383 d.3, 1200 a; advbl, 1109.
\textit{-ita}, 1176 b, d.
\textit{-ti}, uses of, 1102 a.
\textit{-itu}, see 1161 b.
\textit{-itū, see 1196.
\textit{-itra}, see 1185 d.
\textit{vīd or indh, pres., 694; aor., 836-7.
\textit{yin (or inv), 708, 713, 716, 749 b.
\textit{-in}, 1183, 1230; in-stems, dcln, 438 ff.; in compsn., 1275, 1287 e.
\textit{-ina}, see 1177 b, 1209 c, 1223 f.
\textit{nyaka}, 1029 c.
\textit{-inya}, see 1216 b.
\textit{yin, see in.
\textit{-ima}, 1224 a.
\textit{-iman}, see 1168.2.
\textit{-iya}, 1214.
\textit{iyakṣa}, 1029 c.
\textit{iyanti, dcln, 451.
\textit{ir-stems, dcln, 392.
-ira, see 1188 e, 1226 b.
-irāya, iradhā, 1021.
-ito, see 1189, 1227.
-iva, euph., 1102 b.
V is 'desire', pres., 608, 753.
V is 'send', euph., 225; pres., 727, 761 c.
-īsa, see 1197 b.
-ītha, 467—70, 1184.
-īnu, 1194.
-īs, 1153; ī-stems, dcln, 411 ff.
ī, pron. etc., 19—20, 22; combinations
of final, 126, 129; circumflexed,
128 c; uncombinable in dual, 138 a;
in locative sing., 138 d; ī as final
of stem in verbal comps., 1093—4.
ī, union-vowel, 254; in inflection, 555 b;
of pres., 632—4; of impf., 621,
631—4; of s-aor., 880, 888—90; of
int., 1004 ff.; ī for i, 900, 935 a, 972.
ī-stems, dcln, 347—68.
-ī, 1156; to ī before added sfx, 471,
1239.
-īka, see 1186.
-īd, pres., 628, 630.
-īti, see 1157.3.
-ītu, see 1161 b.
-īna, 1223 d.
-īman, see 1168.2.
īya, conj.-stem, 1021.
-īya, 1215.
-īyas, 467—70, 1184; stems in, dcln,
463 ff.
-īr, pres., 628; aor., 847.
-īra, see 1188 e.
-īc, pres., 628, 630.
īcvara, with gen. infin., 984.
-īga, see 1197.
ū, pron. etc., 19—20, 22; u and v,
57; combinations of final, 126, 129;
from va, 252, 784, 769, 922 b,
954 b, 956.
ū-stems, dcln, 335—46; from rdel
ū-st., 354.
-ū, 1178.
-ūka, 1180.
-ūkuś 'sprinkle', pres., 753.
-ūc, pres., 761 a.
-ūch, 608, 753.
-ūjāh, 42, 108 g.
uāddi-suffixes, 1138.
-ut, 383 d.3, 1200 a.
-utra, see 1185 d.
-ūd or und, pres., 694.
ūd, āda, udān, 398, 432.
udāta, 81.
-una, see 1177 c.
-ubj, pres., 753.
-ubb or umbh, pres., 694, 727, 753, 758.
ur-stems, dcln, 392.
-ura, see 1188 f, 1226 b.
-urī, 1191.
-utra, see 1189, 1227.
urānas, urānā, dcln, 355 a, 416.
-ūṣ, pres., 608, 753, 727.
-ūs, see 1197.
ūsās, euph., 168; dcln, 415 b.
-ūsī, see 1221 e.
ūṣāḥ, euph., 223.
-ūs, 1154; us-stems, dcln, 411 ff.
us?, 371.
ū, pron. etc., 19—20, 22; combinations
of final, 126, 129; circumflexed,
128 c; uncombinable in dual, 138 a;
in locative, 138 c.
ū-stems, dcln, 347—68.
-ū, 1179.
-ūka, see 1180.
-ūtha, see 1163 c.
ūdhān, ādhār, ādhās, 430 b.
ūna, in odd numbers, 477 a, 478 b.
-ūra, see 1188 f.
-ūṛj, euph., 219.
-ūṛṇa, so-called, 108 f, 712; pf., 801 g,
608, 727.
-ūṣa, see 1197.
ūśman, 31, 59.
-ūḥ 'notice', euph., 240, 745 a.
r, pron. etc., 23—6; transliteration,
24; question of r or ar in roots
and stems, 108 d, 237; retention
after a final vowel, 127; combinations
of final, 126, 129; impedes
change of preceding s to ȝ, 181 a;
changes succeeding n to ṇ, 189 ff.;
guna and vṛddhi increments of, 235 ff.;
irregular changes, 241, 243; variable
final r of roots (so-called r̥), 242.
-r-roots, root-nouns from, 383 b, a.
-r-stems, dcln, 369—76.
-ṛ, variable (so-called ṛ), roots in,
242, 245 b; their passive, 770 c; aor.,
885, 900; pres., 922 a; fut., 935 a; pple,
957 b; root-infin., 971; gerund in ya,
992.
-ṛr, euph., 242; pres., 608, 753, 643 c,
708, 716; passive, 770 c; pf., 785 a;
aor., 834 a, 837, 847, 862; int.,
1002 b.
-r, see 1182 ff.
Ve or ar, pf., 788; aor. 894d, 897.
Ve, 608, 753; pf., 788.
-rj, 383d, 3, 1200 c.
Vṛṇi or rj 'stretch out', pres., 753, 761 c; aor., 894d, 897.
Vṛə, 716.
-ṛt, 383d, 3, 1200 a.
ṛnu, euph., 219.
ṛd, pres., 753.
Vṛdh, pres., 694, 708, 761 b; pf., 788; aor., 837—8, 840, 847; des., 1030.
ṛdhusān, dcln, 434.
Vṛṣ 'push', pres., 753; pf., 788.
ṛḥant, dcln, 450 a.
ṛ, pron. and occurrence, 23—6; as alleged final of roots, 108 a, 242 (and see ṛ, variable); changes succeeding n to ṛ, 189 ff.
ṝ, pron. and occurrence, 23—6; its guṇa-increment, 236.
ṝ, 23 end.
e, pron. etc., 27—9; combinations of final, 134—3, 135; uncombinable in dual, 138 a; guṇa of i and ṛ, 235 ff.; as alleged final of roots, 251, 761 d. 2.
e, infin. in, 970 a, 971.
ēka, dcln, 482 a; used as article, 482 a; in making ṛ's, 477 b.
ēkṛ, 90 c.
-ena, 1223 e.
-ena, 966 b, 1217.
-eyu, 1216.
-eyṛ, 1216 c.
-era, see 1201.
-eru, see 1192.
-elima, 966 d, 1201.
esās, euph., 176 a.
āi, pron. etc., 27—9; combinations of final, 131—3; vṛddhi of i and ā, 235 ff.; as alleged final of roots, 251, 761 d. 1; for i in inflection, 555 b; for e in subj. endings, 561.
o, pron. etc., 27—9; combinations of final, 131—2, 134—5; before suffix ya, 136 b; uncombinable, 138 c; for final as, 175 a; ar, 179 end; guṇa of u and ū, 235 ff.; as alleged final of roots, 251, 761 d. 3. oṭa and oṣṭha, euph., 137 c.
-ora, see 1201.
ōṣṭhya, 49.
au, pron. etc., 27—9; combinations of final, 131—2, 134; vṛddhi of u and ū, 235 ff.
h, pron. etc., 67—9; makes heavy syllable, 79; occurrence as final, 143, 170 a; for the labial and guttural spirants, 170 d; from final s, 145, 170 a, 172; r, 144, 178; allows change of s to ṡ, 183.
ṇ or nh, pron. etc., 70—3; makes heavy syllable, 79; occurrence as final, 148; allows change of s to ṡ, 183; occurrence, 204, 212, 243 d.
k, pron. etc., 39—40; relation to c, 42; to c, 64; s to s after, 180 ff.; added to final n, 211; from c, by reversion, 214 ff.; as final, and in internal combination, 142, 217; from c, do., 145, 218; from s, 226 c.
-ka, prn, 1186; scdny, 1222.
-kaṭa, see 1245 g.
-vk, pf., 786; aor., 899 c; int., 1008 ff.
-vka, aor., 868; pple, 955 a.
kampa, 90 b.
kāṃvant, euph., 212.
-kara, 1201.
karmadhāraya, 1263.
kalpa in compsn, 1302 c. 5.
-vkas, int., 1002 c.
-vkū, int. (?), 1013.
kāma, with accus., 272.
kāra, in sound-names, 18.
-vkāc, int., 1007, 1017.
kīyant, dcln, 451.
-vkīr, 756.
-vku, pres., 633.
-vkup, pres., 761 a.
-vkumār, so-called, 108 f.
-vkūś, pres., 727.
-vkṛ 'make', pres., 708, 713—5; pf., 717 b; aor. 831, 834 a—40, 847, 894 d; int., 1002 c; prefixes s, 1087 d; in periphr. conjn, 1070—3; in compd conjn, 1091—4; special constructions, 268.
-vkṛ 'praise', int., 1002 b.
-vkṛ 'scatter', 242; pres., 753, 756; aor., 885; prefixes s, 1087 d.
-vkṛt 'cut', pres., 753, 758; aor., 847.
-vkṛt 'spin', pres., 694.
-kṛt, see 1105.

-kṛt-suffixes, 1138.

-kṛtvās, see 1105.

-vkṛṣ, euph., 226 c; pres., 753; aor., 916, 920; int., 1008.

-vkṛṣ-pa, 26; pf., 786.

-kṛṣ-pa, see 1176 d.

-vkṣu or knū, caus., 1042 e.

-vkṣand or krod, aor., 847, 890; int., 1002 c; des., 1031.

-vkṛṣ, pres., 727; caus., 1042 e.

-vkṛṣ-pa, pres., 761 a; aor., 847.

-vkṛṣ, aor., 916, 920.

-vkroṣṭa, kroṣṭt, 343 b, 374.

-vklam, pres., 745 d; aor., 761 a; aor., 916.

-ks, combinations of, 146, 221.

-vkṣam, pres., 713; pple, 954 d.

-vkṣam, pres., 761 a, 763.

-vkṣar, pres., 890.

-vkṣā, pres., 761 d 1.

-vkṣā, pres., 761 c, 758.

-vkṣi 'dwell', pres., 753; 755; caus., 1042 e.

-vkṣi 'destroy', pres., 703; 727; 761 b; pple, 957 a; caus., 1042 e.

-vkṣip, pres., 763.

-vkṣūdh, pres., 761 a; aor., 847.

-vkṣuh, pres., 761 a.

-ksāipa-circumflex, 84 a.

-vksau, pres., 626.

-kh, pron. etc., 39; relation to ː, 61.

-vkhan, pass., 772; pf., 794 d; aor., 890; pple, 955 b.

-vkhid, pres., 753.

-vkhu, pres., 753.

-vkhyā, aor., 847, 894 c; caus., 1042 d.

-g, pron. etc., 39; relation to ː, 42; from ː by reversion, 214 ff.

-yāta, in compsn, 1273 c.

-vgām, pres., 608, 747; aor., 833, 834 b, 837-9, 847, 887 c; pf., 794 d, 803; fut., 943; pple, 954 d; int., 1002 c; des., 1028 e, 1031; root-noun, 383 b.

-vgā 'go', pres., 660; aor., 830, 836 ff, 894 c.

-vgā 'sing', 251; pres., 761 d 1.

Whitney, Grammar.

-aor., 884, 894 d, 912; pple, 954 c.

-vgāh or gah, int., 1002 b.

-vgir, 766.

-vgu, int., 1007.

-yuna, 27, 230 ff.

-vgup, des., 1040.

-vgur, pres., 753, 756; aor., 834 a.

-vgūth, euph., 155, 223, 240; pres., 745 c; pf., 793 f; aor., 892, 916, 920; caus., 1042.

-vgr 'praise', euph., 242; pres., 727; aor., 894 d.

-vgr 'swallow', euph., 242; pres., 727, 753, 756; aor., 836, 847; int., 1002 b.

-vgr (or jagr) 'wake', 1020; pf., 786; aor., 867, 871.

-vgrāh, pres., 761 a; pf., 786; aor., 847.

-gō, euph., 134; dcln, 361 c, e.

-vgrath or granth, pres., 727, 730; pf., 794 e.

-vgrabh or grah, euph., 155; pres., 727, 729, 732, 1066 b; pf., 794 c, 801 i; aor., 834 b, 838, 900, 904 a, b; fut., 935 d; pple, 956; inttn., 972; pass., 998 d; des., 1031.

-vgrā, pres., 761 d 1; caus., 1042 d.

-glā, dcln, 361 a.

-gh, pron. etc., 39; ʰ derived from, 66; from ʰ, by reversion, 214 ff.

-vghas, euph., 167; jaks from, 640; pf., 794 d; aor., 833.

-ghosavant, 34.

-vghrā, pres., 671, 749 a; caus., 1042 d.

-nā, pron. etc., 39; occurrence as final, 143, 386 b, c, 407; duplication as final, 210; adds ʰ before sibilant, 211.

-c, pron. etc., 42-4; as final, 142; from ʰ before a palatal, 202-3; ʰ to ʰ before it, 208 end; internal combinations of, 217; reversion to ʰ, 216 ff.; in pres., 681; pf., 787; int., 1002 end; des., 1023 f.

-vcaukō or caukō, so-called, 677.

-vcaukō, 108 g; pres., 444, 621, 628, 675.

-vcaum, pres., 745 d.

-vcauy, pres., 761 d 2.

-vcar, aor., 899 e; int., 1002 b, 1017; des., 1031; in ppial periphr. phrases, 1075 b.

-vcaul, int., 1002 b, 1003.
Sanskrit Index.

वचाय, pres., 761 d.1.
वैि 'gather', reversion of c to k, 216.9, 681, 787, 1028 f; pres., 708; aor., 889; caus., 1042 e.
वैि 'notice', pres., 645; aor., 834 a.
वैिि, 108 g; reversion of c to k, 216.9, 681, 787, 1002 c, 1028 f; int., 1002 a, 1024 d; des., 1040.
वैििि, 108 g.
वै्रि, pres., 753.
वैयु, pf., 785; aor. (?), 868, 870.
चि, pron. etc., 42—4; as final, 142; from c after t or n, 203; after other mutes, 203 end; in internal combination, 220; duplication between vowels, 227.
वचांदि, aor., 883, 890.
वचा, pres., 761 d.3; pf., 806; pple, 954 c; caus., 1042 d.
वचालि, pres., 694, 761 b; aor., 832, 834 d, 847.
वचारि, pres., 694; pple, 957 d.
जि, pron. etc., 42—4; as final, 142; in internal combination, 219; n to न before it, 202; from t before sonant palatal, 202; reversion to g, 215 ff.; in pf., 787; in des., 1028 f; before na of pple, 957 c.
वजकि, so called, 108 g; pres., 640; pple, 955 c.
जागि, dcln, 450 d.
वजि, pres., 631, 645, 680, 761 b, 772; pf., 794 d; aor., 834 b; pple, 955 b; des., 1031.
जानि, dcln, 343 c.
वजपि, int., 1002 b, 1017.
वजभि or जम्भि, int., 1002 b, 1017.
वजसि, pres., 761 a.
वजज्ञि, so-called, 108 f, 1020.
जज्ञायिक्ष्मफ्लि, 84 b.
वजि 'conquer', reversion of j to g, 216.9; in pf., 787; in des., 1028 f; aor., 839, 889, 894 b, 904 e; caus., 1042 e; caus. aor., 1047, 861.
वजिि or जि 'injure' — see जयि.
वजवि, 108 g, 716, 749 b.
जिजिविमुद्यि, 39, 69.
वजः, aor., 888; des., 1028 h, 1031.
वजि, pres., 753, 766, 766.
वजसि, pres., 753; aor., 834 b; in सजः, 253.
वजः, pres., 727; pf., 786.
वज्र 'decay', euph., 242; pres., 761 b, 756, 766; pf., 793 e, 794 e.
वज्ञा, pres., 727, 730; aor., 830, 837, 894 c, 912; caus., 1042 d; caus. aor., 1047, 861; caus. des., 1030.
विज्ञा (or जि, जि), pres., 727, 761 b; pf., 785, 794 b; pple, 954 c, 957 a.
विज्ञालि, aor., 899 c.
जि, pron. and occurrence, 42; as final, 142; in internal combination, 220.
नि, pron. etc., 42; from n after a palatal, 201; before j, 202; र, 203; c, 208 end.
ति, pron. etc., 45—6; from a final palatal, 142; र, 145, 218; ग, 145; h, 147; adds f before s, 199 c; added to final न before sibilant, 211; from j in internal combination, 219; चि, 220; ks, 221; h, 222; g, 226 b.
थि, pron. etc. 45—6.
दि, pron. etc., 45—6; t used for, 54; from d with preceding sibilant, 198 end, 199 b.
धि, pron. etc., 45—6; ठ used for, 54; from dh with preceding sibilant, 199 a; from h with following t or th, 222.
ध्वम for ध्वम, 881, 901, 924.
वि, pron. etc., 45—6; as final, 143; change of n to, 189—95; from n with preceding sibilant, 199 b; doubled as final, 210; adds f before a sibilant, 211.
टि, pron. etc., 47—8; from final radicals, 145, 639; do. in internal comb., 167—8; with preceding sonant aspirate, 160; assim. to following l, 162; added after ठ before s, 199 c; after n before s or ब, 207; to palatal before palatal, 202; before c, 203.
-टि, added after short final vowel of root, 345, 376 b, 383 b, 1143 d, 1147 c, 1196 a.
-टा, of pple, 952—6, 1176; टा-stems in comspn, 1273, 1284; scdry, 1245 c.
वताँसि or तांसि, aor., 899 c; int., 1002 b.
वताखि, pres., 628, 708.
वताचि, pres., 694.
वतावि, euph., 198 b.
तत्पुरसि, 1283.
तद्धिता-सुफ्येक्स, 1138.
वतः 'stretch', pres., 713; pass., 772; pf., 786, 794 d; aor., 833, 834 b;
ttt for dāta, 1157. 1b.

-tma, 1245 e.
-tma, 1196.
-tya, for-yā, 992; scdry, 1245 b.
-tyaj, euph., 219; pf., 785.
-tyā, infin. in, 970 e, 975.
-trā, 1185; or trā, advbl, 1099.
-trap, pf., 794 e.
-tram, advbl, 1099.
-trā, pres., 761 a; pf., 794 e.
-trā, 108 g; pres., 628, 761 c; aor., 893, 895.
-trā, see -tra.
-tri, see -tra.
-trī, 376 a, 1182.
-tru, see 1185 e.
-trītāb, euph., 151 c.
-trī, 376 a, 1182.
-tru, see 1185 e.
-tva, gerundival, 966 a, 1209 g; scdry, 1239.
-tvā, 1230.
-tvā, 1240.
-tvā, 990—1, 993.
-tvā, 993 c.
-tvāya, 993 b.
-tvā, pres., 753; aor., 916.
-tvā, 993 b.
-tvā, 993 c.
-tvā, aor., 890, 899 c.

th, pron. etc., 47—8; with preceding sonant aspirate, 160.
-tha, 1163; ordinal, 487; or thā, advbl, 1101.
-tham, advbl, 1101.
-thā, see tha.
-thu, 1164.

d, pron. etc., 47—8.
-vag, euph., 155, 160 end; aor., 833—8.
-vād, 672; pf., 794 e.
-vād, 672; euph., 155, 160 end.
-dād, dādi, 343 f., 431.
-dān, euph., 389.
-dānt, dcln, 396.
-dantya, 47.
-vād, euph., 155; pres., 708; pf., 794 e; aor., 833, 847; des., 1030.
-vād, pres., 761 a, 763.
-dā, advbl, 1103 a.
-vād, pres., 761 d, 2.
-vād, so-called, 108 f., 1024.
-vāc or vač, pres., 746; int., 1002 b.
-vās, pres., 761 a; aor., 847, 899 c.
-vā, euph., 155, 223; aor., 890, 897, 444; int., 1002 b; des., 1030.
-vā ‘give’, pres., 667—9, 672, 749 a;

30*
Sanskrit Index.

pf., 803; aor., 830, 834 a, 836—9, 847, 884, 894 c; pple., 955 e, 1087 e, 1157 b; des., 1030, 1034; caus., 1042 d.

ydr̥, aor., 912; int., 1024; caus., 1042 d.

ydr̥u, pf., 797 b; aor., 868; int., 1018.

ydr̥uh, euph., 155, 223; pres., 761 a; aor., 847, 920.

ydr̥u, pres., 727.

dvandva, 1252.
dvdr̥, dcln., 388 e.
dvigu, 1312.

dviṣ, euph., 226 b, e; pres., 621; aor., 916, 920.

dh, pron. etc., 47—8; from t or th after sonant aspirate, 160.

-dha, see -dhā.

ydhã, pres., 643.

ydhãm or dhmā, 750.

ydhā 'put', pres., 667—9, 672, 749 a; aor., 830, 834—9, 847, 884; pple., 954 e; des., 1028 d, 1030; caus., 1042 d.

ydhā 'suck', 251; pres., 761 d 2; aor., 868, 884, 912; pple., 954 e; caus., 1042 d.

-dhā or -dha, advbl., 1104.

ydhāv, pple., 954 e.

ydhī or dhīn, 708, 716.

dhī, final of compds, 1155.2 e, 1276.

ydhū, pres., 708, 711, 753; aor. 868, 887 a; int., 1002 c, 1003; caus., 1042 f.

ydhūv, aor., 887 a; des., 1028 h.

ydr̥, pres., 757, 773; pf., 786; aor., 834 a, 867, 871; int., 1002 a, 1003.

ydhṛṣ, pres., 708; pf., 786.

ydhmā or dhām, 108 g, 750.

ydhṛṣ, pres., 761 d 1.

-yhāi, infin. in., 970 g, 976.

ydhvaṇ, pple., 955 a.

ydvau, euph., 168.

n, pron. etc., 47—8; as final, 143; for final rdel m, 143, 212; change to n, 189—95; to ṅ after and before palatals, 201—3, 208 end; combinations as root-final, 204; loss as stem-final, 204; assim. to palatals and linguals, 205; to l, 206; before sibilants, 207; treated as ns, 208—9; duplication of final, 210; instability as final, 256, 1203 b; used as union-con., 257, 313, 482 d; question of final of paṇeṣ, etc., 484.

nā, comparative, 1122 d.

-na, of pples, 952, 957, 1177; euph., 161 end; sedy, 1223 g, 1245 d.

yṅkaṣ, 108 g.
ν/νάτ, int., 1007.
ν/νάν, euph., 192a.
ν/νάθ, euph., 192a.
ν/ναν, pf., 766; aor., 890, 911; pple., 954d; int., 1002b, 1017.
-ναν, advbl, 1109.

ν/νάς, euph., 192a; pres., 761a; aor., 847, 854; des., 1028k.
ν/νάς ‘attain’, euph., 218; pf., 801h; aor., 833, 837; des., 1029c.
ν/να, aor., 837.
ν/νά, dcln, 367c, 397.

ν/να, euph., 223; pres., 761c.
ν/νά, euph., 192f.
-ν, 1152.
ν/νά, euph., 183; pres., 628.
ν/νί, euph., 219; aor., 847; int., 1007, 1024.

nitya-circumflex, 84b.
नित्य and नित्य, 397.
nit, loss of initial of, 1087a.

ν/ν, aor., 831, 889, 896; int., 1002a, 1017; periph. pf., 1071d.

निदा, euph., 198b.

ν/ν, pres., 626; aor., 868, 887a; int., 1002c, 1003.
-νυ, 1162.

ν/νु, pres., 753; aor., 834d, 904c; int., 1047.
ν/ν, dcln, 371.

ν/ν, euph., 192a; pres., 761c.

ν/ν, aor., 833.

ν/ν, dcln, 361a.

p, pron. etc., 49–50.
-प, caus.-sign, 1042d, e; aor. from such caus., 1047.
-पा, 1201.

पक्वा, 958.

ν/ν, pres., 761b.

ν/ν, pf., 794d; aor., 847; int., 1002c; des., 1030, 1031.

प/प, dcln, 343b; in d̤ndt compsn, 1267a.

प/प, path, path, pāṇthan, dcln, 343g, 433.

ν/ν, pres., 761c; aor., 834b, d, 888; int., 1002c; des., 1030.

प/प, dcln, 387d, 389.

प/प, int., 1002c.

प/प, see path.

परास्मात padam, 529.

प/प, euph., 168.

पलय, quasi-root, 1087c.

प/प, quasi-root, 1087c.

प/प, pres., 761c.

प/प, 'drink', pres., 671, 749a; aor., 830; pple., 954c; des., 1028d; caus., 1042d.

प/प, 'protect', caus., 1042f.

प/प, 'rise', pres., 660.

प/प, 79, 93.

प/प, dcln, 1122a.

प/प or प/प, euph., 226b, c; pres., 694; aor., 847, 920.

प/प, pres., 753, 758.

प/प, euph., 181c.

प/प, euph., 198b.

प/प, conj.-stem, 676, 786.

प/प, pāmāṇa, euph., 183; dcln, 394.

प/प, in past sense with, 778a.

प/प, pres., 727, 761a; aor., 838, 847.

प/प, pres., 727, 728; aor. (?), 868, 894d.

प/प, in compsn, 1251e, 1291; 1302c, 2.

प/प, dcln, 426a.

प/प 'fill', euph., 242; pres., 727, 731, 761b, 766; pf., 793e; aor., 838.

प/प 'cross', pf., 793e; aor., 896.

प/प 'be busy', pres., 757, 773.

प/प, pres., 694; aor., 834c, 836–7, 890.

प/प, 731, 755.

प/प, पति, 397.

प/प, पति, dcln, 450c.

प/प or प/प, 108g; pres., 761d, 1; pf., 765, 794b; aor., 912, 914; pple., 957a; caus., 1042d.

प/प, prācaya or praecita accent, 90a.

प/प or प/प, euph., 220; pres., 753; pf., 794e; aor. 890.

प/प, prabhrti in compsn, 1302c, 1.

प/प, praśasta-circumflex, 84c.

प/प, 108g; aor., 830, 889.

प/प, in compsn, 1302c, 5.

प/प, pres., 727; aor. (?), 868; caus., 1042f.

प/प, int., 1002a.

प/प, in compn, 1302c, 1.

प/प, quasi-root, 1087c.

प/प, aor., 863.

प/प, 78.

प/प, 108g.

p, pron. etc., 49–50.

प/प, euph., 226b; pres., 708, 727, 732, 1066b, 753, 761b.

प/प, quasi-root, 1087c.

प/प, int., 1002c.

प/प, int., 1002c.
bhrí, pres., 727.
m, pron. etc., 49—50; as final, 143; as final rdvel, 143, 212, 256; in extrnl combn, 213; before rāj, 213a.
-ma, prmy, 1166; sedy, 474, 487, 1224b, 1242b.
maṅk, 108g; pf., 786.
mahāvān, dcln, 428.
maṛ, euph., 249; pf., 801h; fut., 935b; des., 1028k.
math or manth, pres., 727, 730, 732, 1006b, 746; aor., 847.
mad, pres., 645, 761a, 764; aor., 834d, 839, 887b, 899c.
man, pres., 713, 761a; pf., 794d; aor., 834b, pple, 904d; des., 1028e, 1029a, 1040; special construction, 268.
man, 1168; man-stems in compsn, 1277.
mane, infin. in, 970d, 974.
man, 1235.
man, so-called, 105f, 1067, 1073d. māṇthan, dcln, 434.
maya, 161, 1225.
mara, 1201.
māṅg, 108g.
mah, mahi, 400.
mahānt, dcln, 450b.
mahā, 355a.
mahāprāṇa, 37.
mā ‘measure’, pres., 660, 663; aor., 839; pple, 904c; des., 1030; caus., 1042d.
mā or mi ‘bellow’, pres., 660, 663, 672, 676end.
mā ‘exchange’, pres., 761d. 2.
māṅs, māṅsā (and mā), 397.
mātṛā in compsn, 1302e. 3.
māna, 584b, 1174.
māṅs, euph., 168; dcln, 389, 397: and see māṅs.
mṛ ‘establish’, pres., 192c, 708; aor., 911; gerd, 992; des., 1030.
mī or mī ‘diminish’, pres., 727, 731, 761b; aor., 911; gerd, 992; int., 1012; des., 1030.
mī, 1167.
mīkaś, 1083.
mīttṛā, 1185b.
mūn, 1231.
mī, see mā and mi.
mīs, pres., 753.
mīh, euph., 223; pf., 790b; aor., 916, 920.
mīv, pple, 954e.
muc, pres., 753, 758, 761b; aor.,
Sanskrit Index.

471

832, 834 c, 838—9, 847, 890; des., 1030.

\( \sqrt{mud} \), aor., 837.

\( \sqrt{mus} \), pres., 727, 732, 1066 b; aor., 847.

\( \sqrt{muh} \), euph., 223; pres., 761 a; aor., 847.

\( \sqrt{murech} \), 220; pres., 745 f; pple, 954 e.

\( \sqrt{m} \) 'destroy', pres., 727, 731.

\( \sqrt{my} \) 'die', euph., 242; pres., 757, 773; aor., 834 a, 837.

\( \sqrt{myk} \), pres., 753.

\( \sqrt{my} \), euph., 219; pres., 621, 627, 745 e; pf., 786, 793 f; aor., 900, 920; fut., 935 b; int., 1002 b, 1017; des., 1028 k; caus., 1042.

\( \sqrt{my} \), euph., 198 b; pres., 727, 753.

\( \sqrt{my} \), 731, 753.

\( \sqrt{my} \), int., 1002 c, 1011.

\( \sqrt{mydr} \), aor., 837.

\( \sqrt{my} \), pres., 753; pf., 786; aor., 916, 920; int., 1008, 1017.

\( \sqrt{my} \), pres., 761 a; aor., 834 c, 847.

\( \sqrt{med} \), pres., 761 a.

-mna, 1224 c.

\( \sqrt{mn} \), 108 g.

\( \sqrt{m} \), pres., 761 a.

\( \sqrt{ml} \), 764 d.1; caus., 1042 d.

y, pron. etc., 51, 55—6; relation to i-vowels, 55; nasal y, 71, 213 c; y as union-consonant, 258, 313, 844, 1112 e, 1151.1 c, 1230 d, 995; resolved to i, 55, 119; y of sfx treated as i, 1203.

-ya (or yā) of gerund, 990, 992—3; of gerundive, 962—3, 1218.

-ya, prnmy, 1187, 1219; ya-stems in compsn, 1272; sdry, 1210—12.

yakān, yākṛt, 398, 432.

\( \sqrt{yv} \), euph., 219, 784; pf., 784; aor., 839, 890, 894 d; des., 1029 c.

\( \sqrt{yy} \), accent, 1101; in compsn, 1313 b.

\( \sqrt{vyam} \), pres., 608, 747; aor., 833, 836—9, 890, 911; pple, 954 d.

yama, 230 a.

\( \sqrt{yy} \), pres., 761 a.

-yas for -yās, 470.

\( \sqrt{yy} \), aor., 894 c, 912.

-yya, 1213 d.

-yyi, s see 1230 d.

\( \sqrt{yu} \), euph., 219; pres., 626, 753.

\( \sqrt{yu} \) 'join', pres., 626, 753.

\( \sqrt{yu} \) 'repel', pres., 608, 645; aor., 838, 868, 889, 894 b.

-yu, 1165; s see 1178 g, h.

\( \sqrt{vy} \), euph., 219; pres., 694; aor., 834 b, 839, 847; root-noun, 386 b.

\( \sqrt{vyudh} \), pres., 761 a; aor., 836, 839.

\( \sqrt{ynp} \), int., 1017.

yuvan, dcln, 427.

yūsa, yūsān, 432.

r, pron. etc., 51—2; r and l, 53; r and s as sonant and surd, 117 a, 164; final, 144, 169; combination as final rdcl, 165; as other, 173; avoidance of double, 179; s or r as final of certain forms, 169 end; from s after a, 176 c; s to s after, 180—5; but not before, 181 a; changes succeeding n to n, 189 ff.; duplication of consonant after, 228; svarabhākti after, 230 c.

-ra, prnmy, 1188; sdry, 474, 1226, 1242 b.

\( \sqrt{vr} \), euph., 219; pres., 748, 761 a, 767.

\( \sqrt{vrdh} \) or randh, pres., 761 a; pf., 786; aor., 847; int., 1002 a; des., 1030.

\( \sqrt{vran} \), pres., 761 a; pf., 786; aor., 899 c; int., 1008 ff.

\( \sqrt{vabh} \), pf., 786; aor., 834 d; des., 1030.

\( \sqrt{vram} \), pres., 727; aor., 911; pple, 954 d.

\( \sqrt{vr} \) 'give', pres., 660, 666, 672; aor., 839, 896.

\( \sqrt{vr} \) 'bark', pres., 761 d.1.

\( \sqrt{vraj} \), euph., 213 a, 219; pf., 794 e.

\( \sqrt{vrdh} \), pres., 761 a; pf., 794 e; aor., 838, 847; des., 1031.

\( \sqrt{vri} \) or rī, pres., 727, 761 c; caus., 1042 e.

-ri, 1191.

\( \sqrt{vrikh} \), pres., 753.

\( \sqrt{vric} \), pres., 694, 761 b; aor., 834 c, 839, 890.

\( \sqrt{vriph} \), pres., 753.

\( \sqrt{vric} \), pres., 753; aor., 916.

\( \sqrt{vris} \), euph., 226 c; pres., 761 a; aor., 847.

\( \sqrt{vrih} \), euph., 223; int., 1017.

\( \sqrt{vri} \), s see rī.

\( \sqrt{vru} \), pres., 626, 633, 753.

-ru, 1192.

\( \sqrt{vru} \), aor., 837.

\( \sqrt{vru} \), euph., 219; pres., 753.

\( \sqrt{vru} \), pres., 631, 753.

\( \sqrt{vru} \), pres., 694; aor., 847, 890.

\( \sqrt{vrup} \), pres., 761 a.

\( \sqrt{vru} \), aor., 916.
INDEX.

vācan, dcln, 450c.
vṛus, pres., 753.
vṛuh, euph., 223; aor., 847, 916, 920; caus., 1042e.
repha, 18.
ṛī, dcln, 361b,e.
-ṛhi, advbl, 1103c.

l, pron. etc., 51, 53; l and r, 53; nasal l, 71; as final, 144; assim. to, 117; of t, 162; of n, 206; of m, 213c; asserted s to ś after, 180; duplication of consonant after, 228; svarabhakti after, 230c.
-la, prmy, 1189; sedy, 1227.
ḷag, pple, 957e.
ḷabh, des., 1030.
ḷik, pres., 753.
ḷip, pres., 753, 758.
ḷic, aor., 916.
ḷik, euph., 223; aor., 916.
ḷi ḍ ‘cling’, aor., 911; pple, 957a; gerund, 992; caus., 1042e,f; periphr. pf., 1073a.
ḷi ‘totter’, int., 1022.
ḷup, pres., 753, 758, 761b.
ḷubh, pres., 761a.
ḷiū, pres., 727; pple, 957a.

l, pron. etc., 54.

v, pron. etc., 51, 57—8; relation to u-vowels, 57; nasal v, 71, 213c; resolved to u, 58, 113; duplication of consonants after, 228.
-va, prmy, 1190; sedy, 1228; advbl, 1102b.

vav, pf., 786.
vāc, euph., 216.9; pres., 660; pf., 784, 789d; aor., 847, 854.

vād, advbl, 1107, 1233d; sedy, 383d.1, 1245f.

vādh, see badh.

vān, pres., 713; pf., 786, 794d; aor., 839, 847, 912, 914; pple, 954d; int., 1011; des., 1028g.
vān, prmy, 1169; sedy, 1234; van-stems in compsn, 1277, 1287b.
vāna, -vāni, -vānu, 1170.
vāne, infin. in, 970d, 974.
vānt, 517, 959, 1233.
vānd, 108g.
vāp, pf., 784.
vav, pres., 631.
vam (from vr), 543.

vam, advbl, 1102b.
vaya, 1228b.
vara, 1171.
varī, fem. to van, 1169, 1171, 1234.
varga, 32.

vāla, 1228b.
vāc, pres., 638, 660; pf., 784, 786.
vās ‘shine’, pres., 608; pf., 784; aor., 834b.
vās ‘dwell’, euph., 167; pf., 784.
vās ‘clothe’, pres., 628, 638.
vās ‘attack’, pres., 631; pf., 786.
vās, 1173: and see vāns.
vāh, euph., 137d, 223, 224b; pf., 784; aor., 839, 890; int., 1002c, 1017; at end of compsn, 403.
vā ‘blow’, caus., 1042d.
vā ‘drop’, pres., 761d.1; caus., 1042d.
vā or vi ‘weave’, pres., 761d.2; pf., 784, 801b; fut., 935c; pple, 954e; caus., 1042d.
vāns (or -vās), of pples, 584, 802.
vāc, pres., 761c; aor., 861.
v, dcln, 343c.
v, 1193.
vikampana, 90b.
vīc, pres., 694; int., 1024.
vīj, euph., 219; pres., 753; aor., 834c; int., 1017, 1024.
vit, see 1193.
vīd, pres., 613, 618, 621; pf., 790a; int., 1006; des., 1031; periphr. pf. etc., 1073.
vīd ‘find’, pres., 753, 758; pf., 806; aor., 847.
vīd, pres., 753.
vīdā, in compsn, 1302c.5.
vīn, 1232.
vīpa, aor., 852.
virāma, 11.
vīc, euph., 218; pres., 753; pf., 803, 806; aor., 834b, 916, 920.
vīc, dcln, 524; in compsn, 1251c, 1281a, 1298c.
vīs, euph., 225, 226c; aor., 916; int., 1007, 1024.
vīsarga, visarjaniya, 67.
vī ‘impregnate’, pres., 761b; int., 1007.
vī ‘flutter’, int., 1017, 1024.
vīr ‘cover’, 108g; pres. (ūrnū), 708, 712, 727; aor., 831, 834a, 839, 900; int., 1002c.
s, pron. etc., 59, 61—2, 46, 120, 182; as final, 145; s changed to, 180—8; recurrence avoided, 181b, 184c, 1028i; as root final, '18a, 184b, 225—6; changes succeeding n to n, 189 ff.; assim. of dental after, 197; from s, 218.

-santi (or -sani), infin. in, 970 h, 978, 1159 c, 1160 a.

saś, euph., 146 end, 199 b.

-se (or -se), infin. in, 970 c, 973.

svarī, pres., 745 g; pf., 789 c.

-svā (or -svā), infin. in, 970 g, 977.

s, pron. etc., 59, 60; s and r as surd and sonant, 117 a, 164; s or r as final of certain forms, 169 end; as final, 140, 169, 170 a, 639; combinations of final r̥d s, 145, 166—8, 833; of other, 170—7; final as, 175—6; ās, 177; s to s, 180—8; t adds t before, 199 c; final n adds (retains) s, 208—9; s lost between mutes, 233; in s-aor., 834, 881, 883; s before ām of gen. pl., 313, 496; in aor., 874 ff.; in fut., 931 ff.; in desid., 1027 ff.
SANSKRIT INDEX.

\( vs\text{vad, pple, 955 c.} \)
\( vs\text{van, pf., 794 e; aor., 899 c; int., 1002 c.} \)
\( vs\text{wap, pres., 631; pf., 785, 794 b; aor., 867; des., 1028 h.} \)
\( vs\text{var, aor., 890.} \)
\( sv\text{dr, deln, 388 d.} \)
\( sv\text{ara, 30, 81.} \)
\( sv\text{arabhakti, 230 c.} \)
\( sv\text{arita, 81.} \)
\( sv\text{āvas, euph., 168, 415 d.} \)

\( ḷ, \text{pron. etc., 59, 65—6, 119; as final, 147; compensating aspiration of initial, 147, 155; with following or th, 160; with preceding mute, 163; m before ḷ and another cons., 213 e; reversion to gh, 214 ff., 222; in inflection, 402, 637; in pf., 787; in int., 1002 end; in des., 1028 f; internal combn, 222—4; duplication of a cons. after, 228; loss before ḷ, 1011.} \)
\( ḷ-a, \text{advbl, 1100 b, 1104 end.} \)
\( ḷ\text{han, euph., 192 b, 216. 9, 402, 637, 787; pres., 637, 673, 749 a; pf., 794 d, 805; fut., 943; pass., 998 d; pple, 954 d; int., 1002 b, c; des., 1028 e, f; caus., 1042 f; root-noun, 383 b, 402.} \)
\( ḷ\text{har, pres., 761 a.} \)
\( ḷ\text{has, jaks from, 640.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hā 'move', 105 g; pres., 660, 664; des., 1028 d; caus., 1042 d.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hā 'leave', 105 g; pres., 665, 761 b; aor., 830, 889, 912; pple, 956, 957 a; caus., 1042 d; caus. aor., 861, 1047.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hi, euph., 192 c, 216. 9, 674, 749 a, 787; pres., 708, 716; aor., 831, 839, 847, 889, 894 d; des., 1028 f.} \)
\( ḷ-r, 595 d, 1122 a.} \)
\( -ḥi, \text{advbl, 1100 c.} \)
\( ḷ\text{iniṣ, euph., 183; pres., 687, 692, 694, 696; des., 1031.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hinv, 716.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hīd, euph., 240; pf., 786.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hu, pres., 645, 647 b end, 652; aor., 831; periphr. pf. etc., 1071 d, 1073 a, c.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hi, \text{euph., 192 c, 216. 9, 674, 749 a, 787; pres., 708, 716; aor., 831, 839, 847, 889, 894 d; des., 1028 f.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hi, \text{euph., 192 c, 216. 9, 674, 749 a, 787; pres., 708, 716; aor., 831, 839, 847, 889, 894 d; des., 1028 f.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hi, \text{euph., 192 c, 216. 9, 674, 749 a, 787; pres., 708, 716; aor., 831, 839, 847, 889, 894 d; des., 1028 f.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hi, \text{euph., 192 c, 216. 9, 674, 749 a, 787; pres., 708, 716; aor., 831, 839, 847, 889, 894 d; des., 1028 f.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hi, \text{euph., 192 c, 216. 9, 674, 749 a, 787; pres., 708, 716; aor., 831, 839, 847, 889, 894 d; des., 1028 f.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hi, \text{euph., 192 c, 216. 9, 674, 749 a, 787; pres., 708, 716; aor., 831, 839, 847, 889, 894 d; des., 1028 f.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hīd, euph., 240; pf., 786.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hu, pres., 645, 647 b end, 652; aor., 831; periphr. pf. etc., 1071 d, 1073 a, c.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hū, s e e hūā.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hr 'seize', aor., 890.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hr 'be angry', pres., 727.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hā, hrdaya, 397.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hr, pres., 761 a; int., 1002 b.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hnu, pres., 626.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hūā or hū, pres., 761 d, 2, 753; pf., 794 b; aor., 834 a, 847, 852, 887 a, 912; fut., 935; pass., 998 d; pple, 954 d; int., 1002 b, c; des., 1028 e, f; caus., 1042 f; root-noun, 383 b, 402.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hūru, pres., 727.} \)
\( ḷ\text{hr or hvar, euph., 242; pres., 682; aor., 890, 899 c.} \)
GENERAL INDEX.

α-aorist (simple aorist, 2), 846—54: in the later language, 846; roots forming it in the older language, 847; inflection, 848; modes, 849—51; participles, 852; irregularities, 853—4. 

α-class (first, bhū-class) of verbs, 734—50: formation of stem, 734; inflection, 735—43; roots of the class, 744; irregularities, 745—50. 

α-class or accented a-class (sixth, tūd-class) of verbs, 751—8: formation of stem, 751; inflection, 752; roots of the class, 753—4; irregularities, 755—8. 

ablative case, uses of, 289—99; ablative of comparison, 292b; with prepositions, 293, 1128; used adverbially, 1114; abl. infinitive, 983; abl. use of adverbs in τος, 1098. 

absolute use of genitive, 300; of locative, 309b. 

abstract nouns, secondary derivation of, 1206, 1230—40. 

accent, general, 80—97: its varieties, 80—6; modes of designating, 87—9; illustration of RV. method, p. 459; over-refinements of Hindu theory, 90; modern delivery of ancient accented texts, 91; no sentence accent, 92; accentless words, 93; words doubly accented, 94, 1255—6, 1267d; freedom of place of accent 95; — changes of accent in vowel combination, 128, 130, 135; — accent in declension, 314—20; of vocative, 314; change of accent in monosyllabic etc. declension, 316—8; in numeral, 482—3; of fractions, 485; of case-forms used as adverbs, 1111e, 1112e, 1114d; different accent of action-nouns and agent-nouns, 1144; of determinative and possessive compounds, 1295; — accent of personal endings, 552 —4; of personal verb-forms in the sentence, 591—8; of periphrastic formations, 945, 1073; of compound-ed verb-forms, 1082—5; — accent in primary derivation, 1144; in secondary, 1205; in composition, 1251. 

accusative case, uses of, 269—77: with verbs, 270—4; with nouns and adjectives, 271—2; with prepositions, 273, 1129; cognate, 275; adverbial, 276, 1111; double, 277; accus. infinitive, 981, 986—8; gerund, 995; accus. as prior member of compound, 1250a. 

action-nouns and agent-nouns, chief classes of primary derivatives. 1145—6. 

active voice, in verbs, 528—9. 

acute (udāṭa) accent, 81. 

ad-class of verbs — see root-class. 

adjective, its distinction from noun, 322; formation of compound adj., 323—5, 1292f.; inflection of adj., 321—465; comparison, 466—74; adj. pronominally inflected, 522—6. 

adjective compounds, secondary, 1247, 1292—1310; of other than possessive value, 1294; adj. copulative compounds, 1257. 

adverbs, 1097—1122: adv. by derivation, 1097—1109; case-forms used as adv., 1110—17; adverbial compounds, 1313; verbal prefixes etc. as adv., 1118—20; inseparable prefixes, 1121; other miscellaneous adv., 1122; adv. used prepositionally, 1123f.; adv. copulative compounds, 1259. 

agent-nouns — see action-nouns. 

aggregative compounds — see copulative compounds. 

alphabets used for writing Sanskrit, 1; older Irdian, 2; the Devanā-
garī alph., 1—17; characters and transliteration, 5; arrangement, 7; theory of use, 8—9; vowel-writing, 10; consonant combinations, 12—15; other signs, 11, 16; numeral figures, 17; names of characters, 18; signs and transliteration of anusvāra, 73.

alphabet, spoken — see system of sounds.

alterant vowels, changing following s to s, 180.

analysis of language into its elements, 98—106; anal. of compound words, 1248.

antithetical construction, its influence on accent of verb, 596—7.

anusvāra, its pronunciation etc., 70—2; signs and transliteration, 73; see also ā, ō, th.

aorist tense, 592; its uses, 926—30; in prohibitive expression, 579—80; — aor. system, 535, 824—930; classification of forms of aor., 824; character and occurrence, 825—7; simple aor., 824, 828: 1. root-aor., 829—41; passive aor. 3d sing., 842—5; 2. a-aor., 846—34; 3. re-duplicated or causative aor., 856—73; sibilant-aor., 874—920: 4. s-aor., 878—97; 5. is-aor., 898—910; 6. sis-aor., 911—15; 7. sa-aor., 916—20; aor. optative or preceptive of later language, 924—5; aor. in secondary conjugation, 1019, 1035, 1046, 1068; periphrastic aor., 1073; — aor. stem in derivation, 1140.

appositional possessive compounds, 1302.

ar or r in root and stem forms, 108 ff., 237.

article, indefinite, represented later by eka, 482.

aspirate mutes, phonetic character etc. of, 37—8; their deaspiration, 114, 153—5; restoration of lost aspiration to, 141, 147, 155; derivation of h from, 66; sonant aspirate with following t, th, 160: — and see the different letters.

aspiration (h), its pronunciation etc., 59, 65—6: — and see h.

asseverative particles, 1122.

assimilation in euphonic combination, 115—20; with or without change of articulate position, 116; surd and sonant, 117, 156—64; nasal, 117 e, 198 b, 199 b; l, 117 e, 206; dental to lingual and palatal, 118; other cases, 118—20.

dental, 656: — its omission, 587; uses of augmentless periphris.

tive aorist, 579—80.

avayābhāva compounds, 1313.

bahuṛṣṭi compounds — see possessive compounds.

directive — see preceptive.

bhū-class of verbs — see a-class.

cardinal numerals, 475; their combinations, 476—81; inflection, 482—5; construction, 486; derivatives, 487—9.

case-endings — see endings of declension.

case-forms used as adverbs, 1110—17; change of accent in such, 1111 e, 1112 e, 1114 d; their prepositional uses, 1125; case-forms in composition, 1250.

cases, 266; their order of arrangement, 266; uses, 267—305: — and see the different cases.

causative conjugation, 540, 607, 775, 856 ff., 1041—52; relation to so-called tenth or eur-class, 607, 1041; to denominative, 1041, 1056; formation of stem, 1041—2; inflection, present-system, 1043; perfect, 1045; attached reduplicated aorist, 1046—7, 856 ff.; other aorist forms, 1048—9; future etc., 1050; verbal nouns and adjectives, 1051; derivative or tertiary conjugations from caus. stem, 1052; declinable stems from do., 1140 b.

cerebral mutes — see lingual.

circumflex (svarīta) accent, 81—6, 90 b; independent, 81—4; its varieties, 84; enclitic, 85; their difference, 86; designation, 87—90; occurrence from vowel combinations, 128 c, 130, 135.

clauses, simplicity of combination of, 1131; dependent clauses, mode in, 581, 950; accent of verb in, 595.

collective singular form of copulative compounds, 1253 b; in Veda, 1255 c, 1256 b.

combination of elements, 102—4;
euphonic rules, 109—260; distinction of internal and external, 109—12; general arrangement of rules, 124.

comparison of adjectives etc., 406—74; primary, in īyas and īṣṭha, 467—70, 1184; secondary, in tāra and tāma, 471—3, 1242; in ra and ma, 474; inflection of comparatives in īyas, 463—5; comp. of nouns, pronouns, prepositions, 473—4, 520, 1119; of verbs, 473, 1111 c. 2; particles of comp., 1101, 1102 b, 1107, 1122 d.

compensatory vowel-lengthening, 246, composition of stems — see compound stems.

compound conjugation, 540, 1076—95: roots with verbal prefixes and like elements, 1076—89; accent of comp. forms, 1082—6; irregularities, 1087; roots with inseparable prefixes, 1089, 1121; with noun and adjective stems, 1090—5.

compound stems, formation of, 103, 1246—1316: difference of earlier and later language as to composition, 1246: classification of compounds, 1247; their analysis, 1248; rules of phonetic combination, 1249; case-forms as prior member, 1250; accent, 1251; copulative comp., 1252—61; determinative: dependent, 1262—78; descriptive, 1279—91; secondary adjective: possessive, 1292—1308; participial, 1309; prepositional, 1310; adjective comp. as nouns and as adverbs, 1311—3; anomalous comp., 1314; stem-finals altered in comp., 1315; irregular construction of comp., 1316.

conditional tense, 532, 940—1; its uses, 950; conditional uses of optative and subjunctive, 581 b.

conjugation, verbal infusion, 527—1095; general, 527—98: voice, 528—31; tenses and their uses, 532, 776—9, 821—3, 926—30, 948—50; modes and their uses, 533, 557—52, 921—5; tense-systems, 535; present-system, 599—779; perfect-system, 780—823; aorist-systems, 824—930; future-systems, 931—50; number and person, 536; personal endings, 541—56; verbal adjectives and nouns, 537—9, 951—95; secondary con-

jugations, 540, 996—1068; periphrastic and compound conjugation, 540, 1069—95.

conjunctions, 1131—3.

consonants, pronunciation etc., 31—75: mutes, 32—50; semivowels, 51—8; spirants, 59—60; visarga and anusūra etc., 67—73; quantity, 76; cons. allowed as finals, 122, 139 f.; occurring at end of stems and endings, 139: and see the different classes and letters.

consouant combinations, extension and abbreviation of, 121, 227—33.

consonant-groups, how written in devanāgarī, 9, 12—5.

consonantal stems, declension of, 377—465; their classification, 382.

contemptuous prefix, 506, 1121 b; do. suffix, 521, 1222 b.

copulative compounds, 1247, 1252—61; of nouns, 1253—6; adjectives, 1257; adverbs, 1259; numerals, 1261; copulatives in later language, 1253—4; in Rig-Veda, 1255; in Atharva-Veda, 1256; accent, 1258; question of possessives from cop., 1293 a.

cur-class of verbs, 607, 1041, 1056: and see causative conjugation.


dative case, uses of, 285—8; dat. infinitive, 982, 986; dat. used adverbially, 1113.

deaspiration of aspirate mutes, 114, 153—5; consequent re-aspiration of initial, 141, 147, 155.

decletion, in general, 261—320: gender, 263; number, 264—5; case, 266; uses of the cases, 267—305; endings of decl., 306—10; variation of stem and insertions, 311—3; accent, 314—20; — decl. of nouns and adjectives, 321—46: I.a-stems, 326—34; II. i and u-stems, 335—46; III. ā, ī, and ū (and diphthongal) stems, 347—68; IV. r-stems, 369—76; V. consonant-stems, 377—465: A. root-stems etc., 389—410; B. derivative stems in as, is, us, 411—9; C. in an, 420—37; D. in in, 435—41; E. in ant, 442—57; F. in vānā, 458—62; G. in yā, 463—5; — decl. of numerals, 482—5; of
pronouns, 491–521; of adjectives inflected nominally, 522–6.
Declinable stems, derivation of — see derivation.
Decompound compounds and their analysis, 1248.
Demonstrative pronouns, 495–503.
Denominative conjugation, 540, 1053—68; formation without sign, 1054; with sign ya, from stems of various final, 1055–63; relation to causative, 1056, 1067; with signs sya, kámya, 1064—5; with āya, beside na-class verbs etc., 1066; inflection, 1068; declinable stems from desid. stem, 1140 b, 1149, 1159 b, 1161 c, 1178 f.
Determinative compounds, 1247, 1262—91; dependent. 1264—78; descriptive, 1279—91; in possessive adjective use, 1293 ff.
Devatā-dvandva compounds, 1251 a, 1255.
Diminutives, secondary derivation of, 1206, 1222, 1243.
Diphthongs (e, āi, o, āu), pronunciation etc., 27—30; protraction of, 78; euphonic combination as finals, 131—5; and see the different letters.
Diphthongal stems, declension of, 360—4.
Div-class of verbs — see yu-class.
Double stems, present, 815; aorist, 894 d, 897.
Doubling of aspirate mutes, 154; of a final nasal, 210; of ch, 227; of first consonant of a group, 229; of a consonant after r (and h, t, v), 228.
Dual number, its use, 265; its forms, 303; in personal pronoun, 492.
Dual finals e, ī, ō uncombining, 138 a.
dvandva compounds — see copulative.
dvīgu compounds, 1312.
eighth class of verbs — see u-class.
Emphasis, accent of verb for, 598.
Emphatic pronoun, 513.
Endings, of inflection and derivation, 99, 100; of declension, 306—10; of singular, 307; dual, 308; plural, 309; normal scheme, 310; end. of a-stems, 327—9; of i and u-stems, 336—8; of radical ā, ī, ū-stems, 349; of derivative do., 363; of r-stems, 371; of personal pronouns, 492—3; of general pronominal declension, 496; — end. of conjugation, 541 ff.; of 1st sing., 543; 2d, 544; 3d, 545; of 1st du., 546; 2d and 3d, 547; of 1st pl., 548; 2d, 549; 3d, 550; normal schemes,
GENERAL INDEX.

553, accent, 552—4; irregularities, 555; end. of subjunctive combined with mode-sign, 560—2; of optative, 566; of precative, 568; tāt of imperative, 570—1; end. of derivation — see suffixes.

euphonic combination of elements, 102—4; rules respecting it, 109—226. exclamatory prefix from interrogative pronoun, 506, 1121 c.

fifth class of verbs — see nu-class.

finals, permitted, 122, 139—52; final consonants of stems and endings, 139.

final clauses, modes used in, 581 c.

first class of verbs — see a-class.

first general conjugation of verbs, its characteristics, 604.

forms, stronger and weaker, of roots and stems, 107—8: — and see variation of stem.

fourth class of verbs — see ya-class.

fractional use of ordinals, 488.

frequentative conjugation — see intensive.

future passive participles — see gerundives.

future tenses, 532; their uses, 948—9; fut. systems, 535, 931—50; s-future and conditional, 932—41; periphrastic future, 942—7.

gender in declension, 262—3.

and special tenses, 599.

genitive case, uses of, 294—300: with prepositions, 299, 1130; gen. absolute, 300; loss of accent of gen. with vocative, 314; gen. infinitive, 984; gen. used adverbially, 1115; as prior member of compound, 1250 d.

gerunds, 539, 989—95; their use, 989, 994; ger. in te, 990, 991, 993; in ya or yā, 990, 992—3; in tvāya and te, 993 b; in tvānam and tvānam, 993 c; in am, 995.

gerundives, or future passive participles, 961—6, 1212—8; ger. in ya, 962—3, 1213; in tvāya, 962, 964, 1212 d, 2; in anīya, 962, 965, 1215 b; in tvā, 966 a, 1209 g; in enya, 966 b, 1217; in āgya, 966 c, 1218; in elima, 966 d, 1201; ger. in composition, 1285.

graat (anudātta) accent, 81.

gupa-strengthening, character and occurrence of, 235—43, and passim; in primary derivation, 1143 a; in secondary, 1203 a, 1204 end.

guttural series of mutes (k, kh, g, gh, ṇ), pronunciation etc., 39—41; asserted gutt. character of a, 20; of h, 65; palatals from original gutt., 41—3; c and h do., 64, 66; reversion of palatals etc. to gutt. form, 43, 64, 142, 145, 147, 214 ff.: — and see the different letters.

heavy and light syllables, 79.

hiatus, avoidance of, 113, 125—38; not avoided in Veda, 113, 125; its occurrence as result of euphonic processes, 132—4, 175 b, 177.

hu-class of verbs — see reduplicating class.

imperative mode, 533, 569, 572 ff.; scheme of its endings, 553; its 1st persons old subjunctive, 533, 574, 578; impv. form in tāt and its uses, 570—1; Vedic 2d sing. in si, 624; impv. use of infinitives, 982 d.

imperfect tense, 592; its use, 779.

imperfect time, no designation of, 592.

increment and decrement of elements, 123, 234 ff.

indeclinables, 98, 1096—1135: adverbs, 1097—1122; prepositions, 1123—30; conjunctions, 1131—3; interjections, 1134—5; derivative stems from indeclinables, 1138, 1240.

indefinite use of interrogative and relative pronouns, 507, 511.

infinitives, 538, 968—88; later, 968; earlier, 969—79; uses, 980—8.

inseparable prefixes, 1121; in descriptive composition, 1283 ff., 1288; in possessive, 1304.

insertions between stem and ending in declension, 313.

instrumental case, uses of, 278—84; of separation, 283; with prepositions, 284, 1127; gerundial, 989; used adverbially, 1112; as prior member of compound, 1250 b.

intensive (or frequentative) conjugation, 540, 1000—23; character and occurrence, 1000—1; reduplication, 1002—3; inflection, present-system, 1004—17; derivative middle inflection, 1016—7; forms outside present-system, 1018—9, 1025;
doubtful intens. formations, 1020—4; derivative or tertiary conjugations from intens. stem, 1025.
interjections, 1134—5; their final vowel uncombinable, 138f.
internal and external combination, distinction of, 109—12.
internal change, question of derivation by, 1205 end.
interrogative particles, 1122 c.
interrogative pronoun, 504—7; its indefinite use, 507; exclamatory prefix from it, 506, 1121 c.
is-aorist, 898—910: formation of stem, 898—900; inflection, 901—2; roots making it, 903; irregularities, 904; modes, 905—8; from secondary conjugations, 1019, 1035, 1048, 1068.
jihvamuliya—spirant, 69, 170 d.
karmadharaya compounds—see descriptive compounds.
kri—class of verbs—see ná—class.
labial series of mutes (p, ph, b, bh, m), pronunciation etc., 49—50; lab. character of u, ū, 20; of v, 51, 57—58: and see the different letters.
lengthening of vowels in formation and inflection, 244—6; of final vowel in composition, 247; in the sentence in Veda, 248.
light and heavy syllables, 79.
lightening of a or ā to an i or u—vowel, 249 ff.
lingual series of mutes (t, th, d, dh, n), pronunciation etc., 45—6; non—originality, 46; ling. character of r, 25; of r, 51—2; ling. l, 5 end, 54; ling. character of s, 61; assimilation of dentals to ling., 118, 196 ff.; lingualization of s and n, 180—90: and see the different letters.
locative case, uses of, 301—5; loc. absolute, 303; of goal of action, 304; with prepositions, 303, 1126; used adverbially, 1116; loc. infinitive, 985; loc. use of adverbs in tra, 1099; loc. as prior member of compound, 1250 c.
long and short quantity, 76—9.
manner, particles of, 1101—2, 1122 g.
middle stem—form in declension, 311.

middle voice, 528—30; its use as passive, 531.
mode in verbal inflection, 533; subjunctive, 557—63; optative, 564—8; imperative, 569—71; uses of the modes, 572—82.
multiplicative numeral adverbs, 489, 1104—6.
mutes, series of, their pronunciation etc., 32—50; classification, 32—8; guttural series, 39—41; palatal, 42—4; lingual, 45—6; dental, 47—8; labial, 49—50; mutes permitted as finals, 141—3; anomalous conversions from one series to another, 151: and see the different series.
ná—class (ninth, kri—class) of verbs, 717—32: formation of stem, 717; inflection, 718—26; roots of the class, 727; irregularities, 728—32; accompanying denominative in áya, 792, 1066 b.
nasal assimilation, 117, 161, 198 b, 199 b.
nasal class (seventh, rudh—class) of verbs, 683—96: formation of stem, 683; inflection, 684—93; roots of the class, 694; irregularities, 695—6.
nasal increment in strong forms, 255.
nasal mutes (รก, รก, รก, รก), 34, 36;
their occurrence as finals, 143; duplication, 210; assimilation of preceding mute, 161, 198 b, 199 b;
nasal spirant or anusvára, 70—3;
nasal semivowels, 71, 206, 213 c;
nasal vowels, 71.
negative particles, 1122 b; neg. prefix, 1121 a.
ninth class of verbs—see ná—class.
nominative case, uses of, 267; nom. use of infinitive, 987; nom. form as particle, 1117.
noun and adjective, distinction of, 322; inflection of nouns—see declension.
nu—class (fifth, su—class) of verbs, 697—716: formation of stem, 697; inflection, 698—707; roots of the class, 708; irregularities, 709—12, 716.
number in declension, 264—5; in conjugation, 536.
numerals, 475—89: simple cardinals, 475; their combinations for odd
numbers, 476—81; inflection, 482—5; construction, 486; ordinals, 487—8; other num. derivatives, 489; num. figures, 17; possessive compounds with num., 1300; num. or drigu compounds, 1312.

omission, sign indicating, 16.
onomatopoetic words, 1091, 1135.b.
opptive mode, 533, 564—5; its formation, 564—5; scheme of endings combined with mode-sign, 566; precative, 567, 921—5; scheme of prec. endings, 568; uses of opt., 573—82.

ordinal numeral adjectives, 487—8.

pada-endings in declension, 111.

palatals series of muters (r, ch, j, fh, nh), pronunciation etc., 42—4; derived from original gutturals, 42; reversion to guttural form, 214 ff.; euphonic combinations, 118—9, 214—20; treatment as finals, 142; pal. character of i, ï, 20; of y, 51, 56; of e, 63—4; — and see the different letters.

participial compounds, 1247, 1309.

participle, 534, 537, 583—4, 1172—7; of present-systems, 619 etc. etc.; of perfect, 802—7; of aorist, 840, 852, 872, 897, 909; of future, 939; passive part., 952—8, 1176—7; active, in tavan, 959—60; future passive, 961—7; of secondary conjugations, 1012—3, 1019, 1032, 1057, 1043, 1050—1, 1068; part. in possessive composition, 1299; — inflection of part. in ant, 443—9; in vâms, 458—62; — parti-phrases, periphrastic, 1074—5.

passive conjugation, 531, 540, 998; present-system (yâ-class), 708—74; aorist 3d sing., 842—5; periphrastic perfect, 1072; participle in ta or na, 952—7, 1176—7; future participles, 961—6 (and see gerundives); pass. use of infinitive, 988; pass. of secondary conjugations, 1025, 1039, 1052.a; pass. constructions, 282, 999.

perfect tense, 532; scheme of its endings, 553; uses, 821—3; — perf.-system, 535, 780—823; formation of stem, 781—94; reduplication, 782—91; strong and weak stem-forms, 792—4; endings and their combination with stem, 795 ft.; union-vowel i, 796—8; inflection, 800; irregularities, 801; participle, 802—7; its inflection, 458—82; modes, 808—16; pluperfect, 817—20; — periphrastic perf., 1070—73.

perfect time, expressed by so-called aorist, 532, 928.

periphrastic conjugation, 1069—75; future, 931, 942—7; its uses, 949; perfect, 1070—3, 1018, 1034, 1045, 1068; aorist and precative, 1073 b; present, 1073 c; perip. participial phrases, 1074—5.

person in verbal inflection, 536.

personal endings — see endings of conjugation.

personal pronouns, 491—4; nouns used as such, 514.

place, particles of, 1099, 1100, 1122 e.

pluperfect tense, 532, 817—20; plup. time, no designation of, 532.

position, length of syllable by, 79.

possessive adjectives, 1206, 1230—35; pronominal, 516.

possessive compounds, 1247, 1293—1308; poss. dependents, 1296; poss. descriptives, 1297 ff.; with ordinary adjective as prior member, 1298; with participle, 1299; with numeral, 1300; with appositive noun, 1301—3; with adverb, 1304—6; added suffixes, 1307; pregnant use, 1308.

precative optative, 533; its formation, 507; scheme of endings, 568; prec. in later language, 921—5; use, 573.

prepositions, 1123—30; words used as such, 1123—5; cases constricted with them, 1126—30; — prep. in composition with roots — see verbal prefixes.

prepositional compounds, 1247, 1310.

depth tense, 532; its uses, 777—9; — pres.-system, 535, 599—779; prominence as part of verb-system, 600; varieties of form and their classification, 601 ff.; conjugations and conjugation-classes, 602—10; first conjugation: I. root-class, 611—41; II. reduplicating class, 642—82; III. nasal class, 683—96; IV. nu and u-class, 697—716; V. nă-class, 717—32; second conjugation: VI. a-class, 734—50;
VII. accented á-class, 751—8; VIII. ya-class, 759—67; IX. yá-class, or passive conjugation, 768—74; uses of tenses, 776—9; of modes, 572—81; — pres. stems, derivatives from, 1140c.

primary and secondary personal endings, 542 ff.; normal schemes, 553.

primary derivation, 1135—1201: relation to secondary, 1139; from what made, 1140—1; union-vowels, 1142; form of root, 1143; accent, 1144; meaning, 1145—6; prim. suffixes and the derivatives made with them, 1148—1201.

prohibitive expression, 574, 579—80. pronominal roots, 490; their character, in inflection and derivation, 1157—8; adverbs from them, 1097 ff.

pronouns, 490—521: personal, 491—4; demonstrative, 495—503; interrogative, 504—7; relative, 508—12; emphatic, 513; nouns used pronominally, 514; pron. derivative adjectives, 515—21; adjectives declined pronominally, 522—6.

pronunciation — see system of sounds.

protracted (pluta) quantity, 78; protr. final vowel uncombinable, 138 e.

punctuation, signs of, in devanāgarī, 16.

quantity of consonants and vowels, 76—8; of syllables, 79.

radical stems — see root-stems.

reduplicated (or causative) aorist, 824, 856—73, 1046; formation of stem, 857—63; inflection, 864—7; use in primary conjugation, 868; in causative, 1046; modes, 869—71.

reduplicating class (third, hu-class) of verbs, 642—82; reduplication and accent, 642—6; inflection, 647—58; irregularities, 659—82.

reduplication, occurrence of, 259; general rules for forming, 558—90; present red., 643, 660 ff.; perfect, 782—91; aorist, 857—63; intensive, 1002; desiderative, 1029; in derivation, 1143 e; anomalous, 1087 f.

relationship, nouns of, in r, 309 ff., 1152 d.

relative clauses, peculiarities of, 512.

relative compounds (possessive), 1293 c.

relative pronoun, 508—42.

repeated words, 1260.

resolution, in Veda, of semivowels into vowels, and of vowels into two syllables, 113.

reversion of palatal mutes and sibilant, and of h, to guttural form, 43, 64, 142, 145, 147, 214 ff., 1176 a.

roots of a language, 100—1, 106; forms of root, 107; roots and root-forms according to the native grammarians, 108.

root-aorist, 829—45: in later language, 829; in older, 830 ff.; modes, 835—9; participles, 840; passive aor. 3d sing., 842—5.

root-class (second, ad-class) of verbs, 611—41; inflection, 612—23; irregularities, 625—41.

root-stems, their occurrence and use, 325, 353, 1137, 1147; as infinitives, 970 a, 971; in dependent composition, 1269; in descriptive, 1286; inflection of such stems in ā, ī, ā, 349 ff.; in consonants, 833 ff.

rudh-class of verbs — see nasal class.

s-aorist, 875—97: formation of stem, 875—9; endings and combination with stem, 880—1; question of loss of s in certain forms, 834, 881; inflection, 882—3; irregularities, 884—91; absence of ī in 2d and 3d sing. in older language, 888—90; modes, 892—6; participles, 897; — s-aor. stem in derivation, 1140 c.

s-futnre, 931—9: formation of stem, 932, 936; use of union-vowel i, 934—5; occurrence, 937; modes, 938; participles, 939; its preterit, the conditional, 940—1; uses, 943.

sa-aorist, 945—20: roots allowed later to make it, 916; occurrence in older language, 919—20; formation of stem, 917; inflection, 918.

second class of verbs — see root-class.

second general conjugation of verbs, its characteristics, 605, 733.

secondary adjective compounds, 1247, 1292 ff.

secondary conjugations, 540, 996—1068: passive, 998—9; intensive, 1000—1025; desiderative, 1026—40; causative, 1041—52; denominative, 1053—68.

secondary derivation, 1135—9, 1202—45; relation to primary, 1139 ff.;

31*
forms of stem, 1203—4; accent, 1205; meaning, 1206; see. suffixes and the derivatives made with them, 1208—45.

secondary personal endings, 542 ff.;

normal scheme, 553.

semivowels (y, r, l, v), pronunciation etc., 51—8; nasal semiv., 71, 206, 213c: — and see the different letters.

sentence, rules of euphonic combination in, 103.

seventh class of verbs — see nasal class.

sh-sounds (ś and ṣ), 61, 63.

short and long quantity, 76—9.

sibilants (ś, s, ṣ), pronunciation etc., 60—4: — and see the different letters.

sibilant-aorist, 824, 874—920: formation and classification, 874—7; 4. s-aorist, 878—97; 5. is-aorist, 898—910; 6. sīs-aorist, 911—5; 7. sā-aorist, 916—20; its stem in derivation, 1140c.


sīs-aorist, 911—5; formation of stem, 911; inflection, 911; forms in older language, 912—13; modes, 914; middle forms, 915.

sixth class of verbs — see ā-class.

sonant and sord sounds, 34; mutes, 34—5; aspirates, 37—3; question as to character of h, 65; of final mute, 141 end; euphonic assimilation of the two classes, 117, 156—78.

special and general tenses, 599.

spirants, 59 ff.: sibilants, 59—64; aspiration, 65; other breathings, 67—9.

stems, inflexible, 99—100, 105; their derivation — see derivation. strengthening and weakening processes, 234—60.

strong and weak, or strong, middle, and weakest, forms of stems in declension, 311; of roots and stems in general, 107—8.

su-class of verbs — see nu-class.

subjunctive mode, 553; formation and endings, 557—62; its first persons used later as imperative, 553, 574, 578; subj. use of augmentless pre-
terit forms, 563, 587; uses of subj. mode, 574—82.

suffixes forming adverbs, 1097—1109; do. declinable stems — see derivation.

surd and sonant sounds — see sonant.

syllables, quantity of, 79.

system of sounds, 19—70: vowels and diphthongs, 19—30; consonants, 31 ff.; mutes, 32—50; semivowels, 51—8; sibilants, 59—64; aspiration, 65—6; visarga and other breathings, 68—9; anuvṛṣa, 70—3; unwritten sounds defined by Hindu grammarians, 230; scheme of spoken alphabet, with notice of comparative frequency of the sounds, 75; quantity, 76—9; accent and its designation, 80—97.

tan-class of verbs — see u-class.

tatpurusā-compounds — see determinatives.

tense in verbal inflection, 532; tense-systems, 585; present-system, 599—779; perfect-system, 780—823; aorist-systems, 824—930; future-systems, 931—950.

tenth class of verbs — see causative conjugation.

third class of verbs — see reduplicating class.

time, particles of, 1103, 1122 f.

transliteration, general method of, 5; of sign of elision, 16, 135; of combined final and initial vowels, 126; of anuvṛṣa, 73; of accent, 83, 89.

tud-class of verbs — see ā-class.

u-class (eighth, tan-class) of verbs, 697—716; formation of stem, 697; inflection, 698—707; roots of the class, 713; irregular root kṛ or kṣṛ, 714—5; other irregularities, 716.

uncombinable (pragṛtha) final vowels, 138.

uninflected words — see indeclinables.

union-vowels, 254; i in present inflection, 630—4, 640; in perfect, 736—8, 603; in aorist, 876—7; in s-future, 934—5; in periphrastic future, 943; in desiderative, 1031; in passive participle, 956; in infinitive and gerund, 968, 991; in derivation, 1142; — i in present inflection, 632—4; in 2d and 3d
sing., 555 b; in intensive, 1004 ff.;
i for i, 900; āi for i, 555 b.
upadhmāniya-spirit, 69, 170 d.

variation of stem-form in declension,
311—2; in r-stems, 370; in con-
sonantal stems, 379, 385—8, 421,
443—4, 458, 463; — in con-
jugation, 556; in present-stem, 604;
in perfect, 792—4; in aorist, 831 ff.,
879, 899; in intensive, 1004; in
primary derivation, 1143; in secondary,
1203—4; in composition, 1249.

voice in verbal inflection, 528—31.

vowels, how written in devanāgarī,
10; sign of absence of, 11; —
their pronunciation etc., 19—29:
a, i, u-vowels, 19—22; r, l-vowels,
23—6; diphthongs, 27—9; quan-
tity, 77—8; accent, 80 ff.; nasal
vowels, 71; rules of vowel-com-
bination, 125—38; resulting accent,
128, 130, 135; exceptional cases,
136—8.

vṛddhi-strengthening, character and
occurrence of, 235—43, and passim;
in primary derivation, 1143 a; in
secondary, 1204.

w-sound, belonging to v, 57.

weak, or weakest, form of stem in
declension, 311.

weakening and strengthening pro-
cesses, 234—60.

ya-class (fourth, div-class) of verbs,
759—67: formation of stem, 759;
inflection, 760; roots of the class
and their classification, 761—2;
irregularities, 763—7.

yā-class of verbs, or passive present-
system, 768—74; formation of
stem, 768—70; inflection, 771;
irregularities, 772—4; yā-formation
from intensive stem, 1016—7.
ERRATA.

The remark at the end of 721 belongs instead under 688.

At 612a, last line of paradigm, restore the lost i of itās; and, at 1156, l. 5, the lost a at end of line.

Read i at 65, last line but one; vāvā at 94e; eṣas and eṣa at 176, ll. 2, 3; svit at 188, l. 5; gorātsu at 221, l. 8; brāvānaḥ at 268, l. 5; tīryate at 761b, l. 15; dyut at 785, l. 5; āmoci at 844, l. 8; arāṇiṣus at 908, l. 8; tanyū at 1178e, l. 1; dāṃcuka at 1180a, l. 3; rj (for uṣ) at 1200c, l. 1.

References to the paragraphs 361—76 are (owing to an unfortunately necessary renumbering) in several instances wrong by a difference of one to five. Also other references as follows; read 454 at 425g, l. 2; 547 at 561, l. 5 from end; 672 at 654, l. 3; 1042d at 1030, l. 13; and 1271 at 1150c, l. 8.