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BAND II.

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

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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1879.

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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 Brāhmaṇa. 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 Brāhmaṇa 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 Verbum and his various syntactical contri-
butions. 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 Mātriāyanī-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" (sanskṛta, 1087 d, ‘adorned, elaborated, perfected’), which is popularly applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India, belongs more properly only to that dialect which, regulated and established by the labors of the native grammarians, has led for the last two thousand years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe, as the written and spoken means of communication of the learned and priestly caste; and which even at the present day fills that office. It is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from the later and derived dialects — as the Prakrit, forms of language which have datable monuments from as early as the third century before Christ, and which are represented by inscriptions and coins, by the speech of the uneducated characters in the Sanskrit dramas (see below), and by a limited literature; the Pali, a Prakritic dialect which became the sacred language of Buddhism in 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. '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, prātičākhyas (prati cākham, '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 Mahābhāṣya, '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
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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 Rig-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 interrelations 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, Mādhyandina and Kāṇva), sometimes also called the White Yajur-Veda; and the various and considerably differing texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, namely the Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, the Māitrāyaṇi-Saṁhitā, and the Kāṭhaka (the two last not yet published). Finally, another historical collection, like the Rig-Veda, but made up mainly of later and less accepted material, and called (among other less current names) the Atharva-Veda, 'Veda of the Atharvans (a legendary priestly family)'; it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the Rig-Veda, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the name of Veda; but for us it is the most interesting of all. after the Rig-Veda, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or mantra, as it is called, in distinction from the prose brāhmaṇa), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them 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
INTRODUCTION.

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 saṁhitā or text of verses and formulas, and is called the Čatapatha-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 Kāushitaki-Brāhmaṇas, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the Pañcaviṇca and Šaḍviṇca-Brāhmaṇas and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, to the Atharva-Veda; and a Jāminī-Brāhmaṇa, to the Sāma-Veda, has just (Burnell) been discovered in India; the Taṁtiriya-Brāhmaṇa is a collection of mingled mantra and brāhmaṇa, like the saṁhitā 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 saṁhitās, 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, Taṁtiriya-Āranyaka, Brhad-Āranyaka, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the Brāhmaṇas, are extracted the earliest Upaṁnishads (‘sittings, lectures on sacred subjects’) — which, however, are continued and added to down to a comparatively modern time. The Upanishads are one of the lines
by which the Brāhmaṇa literature passes over into the later theological literature.

Another line of transition is shown in the Sūtras (‘lines, rules’). The works thus named are analogous with the Brāhmaṇas in that they belong to the schools of Vedic study and are named from them, and that they deal with the religious ceremonies: treating them, however, in the way of prescription, not of dogmatic explanation. They, too, contain some mantra or hymn-material, not found to occur elsewhere. In part (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 (sāmayācārika-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-çāstras), 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
INTRODUCTION.

materials of various character and period have been inwoven, until it has become a heterogeneous mass, a kind of cyclo-
pedia for the warrior-caste, hard to separate into its con-
stituent parts. The story of Nala, and the philosophical poem Bhagavad-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 (Vālmīki); and it is generally believed to be in part allegorical, re-
presenting 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 Raghuvānśa (ascribed to the dramatist Kālidāsa), the Māghakāvya, the Bhaṭṭīkāvya (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 gram-
marians, 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 Panis, 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, Kālidāsa 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 Kālidāsa’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 Paṇcatantra, 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.
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<td>APr.</td>
<td>Atharva-Prātiṣṭhākhyā.</td>
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<td>Çakuntalā.</td>
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<td>ÇB.</td>
<td>Catapatha-Brāhmaṇa.</td>
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<td>Čānkhāyana-Grihya-Sūtra.</td>
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<td>GB.</td>
<td>Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.</td>
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<td>Hitopadeśa.</td>
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<td>K.</td>
<td>Kāthaka.</td>
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<td>KB.</td>
<td>Kāushitaki-Brāhmaṇa.</td>
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<td>KSS.</td>
<td>Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara.</td>
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<td>M.</td>
<td>Manu.</td>
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<td>MBh.</td>
<td>Mahābhārata.</td>
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<td>Megh.</td>
<td>Meghadūta.</td>
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<td>MS.</td>
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<td>PB.</td>
<td>Pancavinca-Brāhmaṇa.</td>
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<td>R.</td>
<td>Rāmāyaṇa.</td>
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<td>Ragh.</td>
<td>Ṛaghuvaṇa.</td>
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<td>RPr.</td>
<td>Rigveda-Prātiṣṭhākhyā.</td>
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<td>RV.</td>
<td>Rig-Veda.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SB.</td>
<td>Shadvinca-Brāhmaṇa.</td>
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<td>SV.</td>
<td>Sāma-Veda.</td>
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<td>Tātttiṛīya-Aranyaka.</td>
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<td>TB.</td>
<td>Tātttiṛīya-Brāhmaṇa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>TPr.</td>
<td>Tātttiṛīya-Prātiṣṭhākhyā.</td>
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<td>Tribh.</td>
<td>Tribhāṣhyaratna.</td>
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<td>TS.</td>
<td>Tātttiṛīya-Saṁhitā.</td>
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<td>V.</td>
<td>Veda.</td>
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<tr>
<td>VPr.</td>
<td>Vājasaneyi-Prātiṣṭhākhyā.</td>
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<td>VS.</td>
<td>Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā.</td>
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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 Aśoka or Piyadasi, of about the middle of the third century B.C. They are in two different systems of characters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitic source, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the same origin (Burnell). From the latter, the Lāth, or Southern Aśoka character (of Girnar), come the later Indian alphabets, both those of the northern Aryan languages, and those of the southern Dravidian languages. The nāgarī, devanāgarī, 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.

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 devānāgarī 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 devānāgarī 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 devānāgarī 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>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>य a</td>
<td>य a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>उ u</td>
<td>उ u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>न n</td>
<td>न n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>त t</td>
<td>त t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diphthongs</td>
<td>ड d</td>
<td>ड d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ओ o</td>
<td>ओ o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anusvāra</td>
<td>ए e</td>
<td>ए e</td>
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<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>क k</td>
<td>ल l</td>
<td>ग g</td>
<td>घ gh</td>
<td>न n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>च c</td>
<td>छ ch</td>
<td>झ j</td>
<td>झ jh</td>
<td>न n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>त t</td>
<td>थ th</td>
<td>द d</td>
<td>ध dh</td>
<td>न n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>न n</td>
<td>न n</td>
<td>भ bh</td>
<td>भ bh</td>
<td>भ bh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ष p</td>
<td>ष p</td>
<td>ष p</td>
<td>ष p</td>
<td>ष p</td>
</tr>
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(see 73)
The Theory of this Mode of Writing.

Palatal \( \text{ ye } \)

Lingual \( \text{ r } \)

Dental \( \text{ l } \)

Labial \( \text{ v } \)

Palatal \( \text{ \text{ sh } } \)

Sibilants

Lingual \( \text{ s } \)

Dental \( \text{ s } \)

Aspiration \( \text{ h } \)

To these may be added a lingual \( \text{ l } \), which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of \( \text{ d } \) 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 (akṣara); 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
I. ALPHABET.

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 preceding 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 \( a \) has no written sign at all: the consonant-sign itself implies a following \( a \), 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 \( ā \) is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, \( Kā, ḍha, ḍā hā \).

c. Short \( i \) and long \( ā \), by a similar stroke, which for short \( i \) is placed before the consonant and for long \( ā \) is placed after it, and in either case is connected with the consonant by a hook above the upper line: thus, \( Kī, Kī; bhī, bhī; ni, nī. \)

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 \( Kī, Kī; \) in the MSS., \( Kī, Kī; \) in print, \( Kī, Kī. \)
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, त्र, त्र; and the forms with र र and ल ल are still more irregular: thus, दु, दु, लु, लु.

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 r with preceding r, see below, 14.

f. The ल-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, क्ल: 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 ओ and ऐ ऐ, with the ऐ-sign after the consonant: thus, के, के, काई; को, को, काउ.

In some devanāgarī MSS. (as in the Bengālī alphabet), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the ऐ-sign before the consonant: thus, के, के, काई, को, को, काउ.

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, क, द, ल.

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: गा gga, ज्ञ ja, प्य pya, न्य nma, त्थ ttha, भ्य bhya, स्का ska, श्य sña, त्क tka.

Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्का kka, छ्छा cca, न्या nja, द्दा dda, प्ता pta, त्ना 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 क्ता kta, क्ला kla; and in ग्ना kña etc.;
of त t in त्ता tta;
of र d in र्गा rga, र्दा dna, etc.;
of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, क्या kya, क्र्मा kma, युष्मा yuma, युष्या yya, द्र्मा dma, द्र्या dya, ह्मा hma, ह्या hya, य्ह्या yhya;
of श c, which generally becomes श when followed by a consonant: thus, च्छा cca, च्ना cña, च्या cya, च्या cya. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below: thus, च्छ cũ, च्य cũ.

Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are न्या nña, ल्ला lla, द्द्हा ddha, द्भ्हा dbha, स्ता st̮a, स्था s̮tha; and the compounds of र h: as ह्ना hna, ह्ना hna.

In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognisable: thus, क्षा k̄sa, ज्ञा j̄na.

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 रः: ठे): thus, ठः rka, ठः rṣa (ठः रत्स). If pro-
ounced after another consonant (alone or in combination), 
it is written with a slanting stroke below: thus, ठः gra, 
ठः pra, ठः sra (and ठः gṛya, ठः srva); and, with modifica-
tions of the preceding consonant-sign like those noted above, 
ठः tra, ठः gra, ठः dra.

When ठः r is to be combined with a following ठः r, it 
is the vowel which is written in full, with its initial char-
acter, and the consonant in subordination to it: thus, 
ठः rr.

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

of three consonants, ठः tvea, ठः ddhya, ठः deva, ठः 
drya, ठः dhrya, ठः ṭṣva, ठः ṭṣya, ठः ṭhya;

of four consonants, ठः ktrya, ठः ṭksya, ठः ṭrya, 
ठः ṭsmya;

of five consonants, ठः ṭsmya.

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 under-
stand. 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, 
ञ — 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 ङ a after final ङ e or ङो (135). 
In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily limited
to the use last mentioned: thus, ते जुवन् te ‘bruvan, मो व्रवत् so ‘bravit, for te abruvian, so abravit.

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 । and ॥.

17. The numeral figures are 

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

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way with European digits: thus, २५ 25, ६३० 630, १००० 1000, १८७९ 1879.

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

CHAPTER II.

SYSTEM OF SOUNDS: PRONUNCIATION.

I. Vowels.

19. The a, i, and u-vowels. The Sanskrit has these three earliest and most universal vowels of Indo-European language, in both short and long form — य a and या ā, र i and रे ē, उ u and उँ ū. They are to be pronounced in the "Continental" or "Italian" manner — as in far or father, pin and pique, pull and rule.

20. The 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 \(\bar{a}\), as its corresponding short, but usually as the "neutral vowel" (English so-called "short \(u\" of \(but, son, blood, etc.\)). This peculiarity appears very early, being acknowledged by Pāṇini and by two of the Prātiṣṭhākhyas (APr. i. 36; VPr. i. 72), which call the utterance sāṁyṛta, '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 \(\bar{r}\) \(r\) or \(\bar{l}\) \(l\) along with another vowel: the \(\bar{r}\) \(r\) coming (almost always: see 237, 241-3) from घरे \(ar\) or र \(ra\), the \(\bar{l}\) \(l\) from घल \(al\).

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 \(\bar{r}\) \(r\) is simply a smooth or untrilled \(r\)-sound, assuming a vocalic office in syllable-making —
II. System of Sounds.

as, by a like abbreviation, it has done also in certain Slavonic languages. The vowel न 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 Prātiṣṭhākhyas in general strangely class them with the ṣjuva 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 ṛ 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 व e and ओ 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 व i and य u respectively; and they are called the corresponding guna-vowels to the latter (see below, 235). The other two, रू āi and ओ अu, 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 व i and य u, to which they are called the corresponding vrddhi-vowels (below, 235). But all are likewise sometimes gene-
rated by euphonic combination (127); and औ औ, especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final घन as (175).

28. The द e and औ o are, both in India and in Europe, usually pronounced as they are transliterated — that is, as long e (English "long a", or e in they) and o-sounds, without diphthongal character.

Such they apparently already were to the authors of the Prātiçākhyaśas, which, while ranking them as diphthongs (sāndhyakṣara), give rules respecting their pronunciation in a manner implying them to be virtually unitary sounds. But their euphonic treatment (131-4) clearly shows them to have been still at the period when the euphonic laws established themselves, as they of course were at their origin, real diphthongs, ai (a + i) and au (a + u). From them, on the same evidence, the heavier or 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 Prātiçākhyaśas (see AP. 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 guna-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 svara, 'tone'; the simple vowels are called sāmanākṣara, 'homogeneous syllable', and the diphthongs are called sāndhyakṣara, '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 vyañjana, 'manifest'. The consonants are divided by the grammarians into sārā, 'contact' or 'muted', antahstha, 'intermediate' or 'semivowel', and uṣman, 'spirant'. They will here be taken up and described in this order.

32. Mutes. The mutes, sārā, are so called as involving a complete closure or contact (sārā), and not an approximation
II. System of Sounds.

only, of the mouth-organs by which they are produced. They are divided into five classes or series (varga), according to the organs and parts of organs by which the contact is made; and each series is composed of five members, differing according to the accompaniments of the contact.

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

34. In each series there are two surd members, two sonant, and one nasal (which is also sonant): for example, in the labial series, $t_p$ and $ph$, $b$ and $bh$, and $m$.

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

The surd consonants are known as aghoṣa, 'toneless', and the sonants as ghoṣavant, 'having tone'; and the descriptions of the grammarians are in accordance with these terms. All alike recognise a difference of tone, and not in any manner a difference of force, whether of contact or of expulsion, as separating the two great classes in question. That the difference depends on vivāra, 'opening', or 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, $k$ and $g$, $t$ and $d$, $p$ and $b$.

36. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful. What $m$ is to $p$ and $b$, or $n$ to $t$ and $d$, 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 (anunāṣika, 'passing through the nose') sounds are declared to be formed by mouth and nose together; or their nasality (ānunāṣikya) to be given them by unclosure of the nose.

37. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates: thus, beside the surd mute $k$ we have the corresponding
surd aspirate अ h, and beside the sonant ज, the corresponding sonant aspirate ज gh. 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 th and ph and ch, etc.), is beyond question.

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

The sonant aspirates are generally understood and described as made in a similar way, with a perceptible h-sound after the breach of sonant mute-closure. But there are insuperable 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 Prātiṣākhyaas, the aspirates of both classes are called soṣman: which might mean either 'accompanied by a rush of breath' (taking īṣman 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 h-sound (below, 65). But this would make the two classes of aspirates of quite diverse character, and would also make th the same as ts, th as tḥ, ch as ṝh — which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to i.1.9) attributes to them mahāprāṇa, 'great expiration', and to the non-aspirates alpaprāṇa, 'small expiration'.

It is usual among European scholars to pronounce both classes of aspirates as the corresponding non-aspirates with a following h: for example, अ th nearly as in English boat- hook, अ ph as in haphazard, अ 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 (21/2 times) than the sonants. The nasals (chiefly n and m) are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series.

39. Guttural series: ॠ k, ॢ kh, १ g, ॢ gh, ॢ 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 Prātiṣṭākhyas as made by contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw, and they are called, from the former organ, jīvāmāliya, '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 ĝ, and the aspiration ĥ, have come from gutturals. See these various sounds below.

42. Palatal series: ऋ c, ॠ ch, ॠ j, ॠ jh, ॠ 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 ĝ (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 ĝ (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 Brähma-
ṇas); where found, it is either onomatopoetic or of anomalous
or not Indo-European origin (in the so-called root \(\text{\textit{ujh}}\), it comes
from \(\text{\textit{j}}\) and \(\text{\textit{h}}\)). The nasal, \(\text{\textit{n}}\), 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 \(\text{\textit{j}}\) is differently treated, according as it represents the one
or the other degree of alteration. And \(\text{\textit{c}}\) and \(\text{\textit{j}}\) (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 \(\text{\textit{ch}}\) and \(\text{\textit{j}}\) (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 \(\text{\textit{tālavya}}, \text{\textit{palatal}}, \text{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) \(\text{\textit{ch}}\) and \(\text{\textit{j}}\)-sounds. The value
of the \(\text{\textit{ch}}\) as making the preceding vowel “long by position” (227), and its
frequent origination from \(\text{\textit{t}} + \text{\textit{c}}\) (203), lead to the suspicion that it, at least,
may have had this character from the beginning: compare 37, above.

45. Lingual series: \(\text{\textit{t}}, \text{\textit{th}}, \text{\textit{d}}, \text{\textit{dh}, \text{\textit{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 \(\text{\textit{r}}\) is pronounced). They are called by the
grammarians \(\text{\textit{mūrdhanya}}, \text{literally ‘head-sounds. capitals,
cephalics’; which term is in many European grammars
rendered by ‘cerebrals’. In practice, among European Sans-
kritists, no attempt is made to distinguish them from the
dentals: \(\text{\textit{t}}\) is pronounced like \(\text{\textit{t}}, \text{\textit{d}}\) like \(\text{\textit{d}}, \text{and so
with the rest.}
II. SYSTEM OF SOUNDS.

46. The linguals are another non-originial 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. $s$ comes from $s$, much more rarely from $c$, $j$, $k$, in euphonic circumstances stated below (180, 218, etc.); b. a dental mute following $s$ is assimilated to it, becoming lingual $t$, $th$, $n$; c. $n$ is often changed to $n$ 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 $s$ (198 a) or $h$ (222); e. $t$ and $d$ 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 $n$: all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal $t$; only 6, such a $th$; only 1, such a $dh$; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal $d$, besides 9 that have $nd$; and 30 (including 1 root) show a $n$.

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

47. Dental series: $t$, $th$, $d$, $dh$, $n$. 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, फ, ब, भ, म. These sounds are called ostrhya, '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: य, र, ल, व. The name given to this class of sounds by the Hindu grammarians is antahstha, '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 is clearly shown by its influence in the euphonic processes of the language to be a lingual sound, or one made with the tip of the tongue turned up into the dome of the palate. It thus resembles the English smooth r, and, like this, seems to have been untrilled.

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

Whitney, Grammar.
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 ल 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 य y in Sanskrit, as in other languages generally, stands in the closest relationship with the vowel य 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 ओ 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 Prātiṣākhya (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, fūtus'), 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 anuvāra, are called āṣman (see AP 1. 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 r'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 reverted into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of sh-sound; and by European Sanskritists it is pronounced as an ordinary sh (French ch, German sch), no attempt being made (any more than in the case of the other lingual sounds: 45) to give it its proper lingual quality.

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 ʃ, marked in accordance with the other lingual letters, is the only unexceptionable transliteration for the Hindu character.

In modern pronunciation in India, ʃ 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 Prātiṣṇa, p. 84).

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

The final ʃ 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 ꞑ ꞑ. 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 ꞑ, 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 ñ; 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 ꞑ is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of s and ꞑ 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 ꞑ, 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, ꞑ 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 Prātiṣākhyaśa bring it into no relation with the guttural class: one of them quotes the opinion of some authorities that "it has the same position with the beginning of the following vowel" (TPr. ii. 47) — which so far identifies it with our h. There is nothing in its euphonic influence to mark it as retaining any trace of gutturally articulated character. By some of the native phonetists it is identified with the aspiration of the sonant aspirates
with the element by which, for example, gh differs from g. This view is supported by the derivation of h from the aspirates (next paragraph), by that of l–h from 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 Prātiśākhyaśas 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 Prātiśākhya (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 \( \text{ anusvāra, } \hat{n} \text{ or } \hat{m}, \) 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 Prātiṣākhyaśa 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 Prātiṣākhyaśa 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 \( \text{ anusvāra, } \) '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 \( \text{nst} \) (its historically older form); and also in a small number of specified words. They also mention the doctrine of nasal vowel instead of \( \text{anusvara} \) as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsistent in its choice between the one and the other).

In Pāṇini, finally, the prevailing doctrine is that of \( \text{anusvara} \) everywhere; and it is even allowed in many cases where the Prātiṣṭhākhyas prescribe only a nasal mute. But a nasal semivowel is also allowed instead before a semivowel, and a nasal vowel is allowed in the cases (mentioned above) where some of the Prātiṣṭhākhyas 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 different classes of cases and in different localities, or whether to a different scholastic analysis of what is really everywhere the same utterance. If \( \text{anusvara} \) is a nasal element following the vowel, it cannot well be anything 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 183).

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

The Prātiṣṭhākhyas \( (VPr., RPr.) \) give determinations of the quantity of the \( \text{anusvara} \) combining with a short and with a long vowel respectively to make a long syllable.

73. Two different signs, \( \hat{a} \) and \( \tilde{a} \), 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 \( (\text{anunasika}) \) vowel. Hence some texts \( (\text{Sāma and Yajur Vedas}) \), when they mean a real \( \text{anusvāra} \), 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 \( \tilde{a} \) where a nasalized \( (\text{anunasika}) \) vowel is to be recognized, and elsewhere the \( \hat{a} \); and this distinction is consistently observed in many European printed texts; and the former is called the \( \text{anunasika} \) 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 \( \text{anusvāra} \)-sign for any nasal following the vowel of a syllable, either before another consonant or as final \( (\text{not before a vowel}) \), without any reference to whether it is to be pronounced as nasal mute, nasal semivowel, or \( \text{anusvāra} \). 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, \( \ddot{m} \), from the anusvāra of more independent origin, \( \hat{n} \); 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \tilde{a} )</th>
<th>( \tilde{a} )</th>
<th>( o, \tilde{u} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vowels</td>
<td>( i, \tilde{i} )</td>
<td>( r, \tilde{r} )</td>
<td>( l )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>( u, \tilde{u} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Son.</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>v</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.25</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>6.69</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>( \tilde{n} )</th>
<th>( \tilde{n} )</th>
<th>( \hat{n} )</th>
<th>( m )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>-35</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>4.81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>( \hat{h} )</th>
<th>1.07</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>( \tilde{\varepsilon} )</th>
<th>( \varepsilon )</th>
<th>s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>3.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mutes</th>
<th>( gh )</th>
<th>( jh )</th>
<th>( dh )</th>
<th>( \hat{b} ) asp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Son.</td>
<td>( g )</td>
<td>( j )</td>
<td>( d )</td>
<td>( b ) unas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-02</td>
<td>-04</td>
<td>-21</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>( kh )</th>
<th>( ch )</th>
<th>( th )</th>
<th>( \hat{p} ) asp.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gutt. Pal.</td>
<td>( k )</td>
<td>( c )</td>
<td>( t )</td>
<td>( p ) unas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dent.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lab.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Brâhmaṇas, and one each from Manu, Bhagavad-Gîtā, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeśa, and Vâsavadatta*.

III. Quantity of sounds and syllables.

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

77. They also define the quantity of a long (dīrgha) vowel or diphthong as twice that of a short vowel — making no distinction in this respect between the guṇa and the cṛddhi-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, गः गः गः.

The protracted vowels are practically of rare occurrence (in RV., three cases; in AV., fifteen; in the Brâhmaṇa 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: adhāḥ svid āsī3d upāri svid āsī3t (RV.), 'was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above?' idám bhûyā3 idā3m īti (AV.), 'saying, is this more, or is that?' ñganā3i pātnivā3ḥ sōmam piba (TS.), 'oh Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma'.

A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or a-element: thus, ē to ē3ī, o to ē3u.

* 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, 80b.

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 (udāttu, '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 svarīta 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 ā or e representing an originally acute ī or u-vowel.

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

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

a. Kṣāipa (‘quick’), when an acute ā or u-vowel (short or long) is converted into ē or u before a dissimilar vowel of grave tone: thus, vṛddha, apsvāntār from apsā antār.

b. Jāitya (‘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, kuṇa (from kūa), svār (svār), nyāk (niāk), budhṇya (budhṇīa), kanyā (kandā), nadya (nadi-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, apsā antār, svār, nadī, etc. In some texts, part of them are written correspondingly: thus, sāvar, tanvāvā, budhṇya.

c. Pratिःṭastā, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (128): thus divī ‘va (RV. and AV.), from diev īva; sūdgātā (TS.), from sū-udgātā; nai ‘vā ’cniyāt (Ç.B.), from nā eva ‘aciṇyāt.

d. Abhinīhitā, when an initial grave a is absorbed by a final acute ē 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 svarīta 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 Brähmana (Taittiriya and Çapattha), and in the Taittiriya-Āranyaka. 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,

\[ \text{अग्निम्} \text{ agnim; जुहोति} \text{ juhoti; तन्वि} \text{ tanvā; क्वा kvā.} \]

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,

\[ \text{इंद्रे} \text{ indre; तेषे} \text{ tē; कुरियाभ्यान्} \text{ kurinyāsi; तुविजाता} \text{ tuvijātā.} \]

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,

\[ \text{सुधिकासामद्रक्} \text{ sudhiśikasāmāndṛk;} \]

but

\[ \text{सुधिकासांग्रन्धम्} \text{ sudhiśikasāṅgrad gāvām.} \]
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 Çatatapatha-Brähmana, with a single sign, written below; and the highly intricate one of the Sàma-Veda, with a dozen different signs, written above.

89. In this work, as everything given in the devanāgāri 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:

\[ \text{इ} \text{न} \text{्रा} \quad \text{अ} \text{ग} \text{न} \quad \text{स्व} \text{र} \quad \text{न} \text{द} \text{य} \text{स} \]

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 Prātiçākhyas, with a number of added features, of a much more questionable character. Thus:

a. The unmarked grave syllables, following a circumflex (either at the end of a sentence, or till the near approach of another acute), are declared to have the same high tone with the (also unmarked) acute. They are called praçaya 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:

* 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 roulade of the voice, which is called kampa or vikampana.

a. Panini gives the ambiguous name of ekacriti (‘monotone’) to the pracita syllables, and says nothing of the uplifting of the circumflex to a higher plane: he teaches, however, a depression below the grave pitch for the marked grave syllable before acute or circumflex, calling it sanmatara (otherwise anudattatara).

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, sma, iva, cid, svid, ha, are always without accent.

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

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.

II. System of Sounds.

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

a. Dual collective compounds: as īndrāvārunāu.

b. A few other compounds, in which each member irregularly retains its own accent: as tānūnāpāt, vānaspatī, bṛhaspatī. In a rare case or two, also their further compounds, as bṛhaspatiprāṇutā.

c. Infinitive datives in tāvā: as ētāvāt.

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

e. The particle vādvā (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, bāhicyuta, ānapacyuta, parjānyajīnīta, abhimātiśāhā, ānabhimālātavārṇa, abhičasticatānā, hiranyavācimattāma.

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 accenteduated 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 Prakritic 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 (280). This is, in most cases, the only difficulty affecting
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 unauthenticated 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 ङ are regularly converted to न and ङ after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with न and ङ: no European authority follows this example.

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

d. The roots showing interchangeably र, अर, and इर or उर and अर forms are written by the Hindus with र, or with य, or with both. Here also the य is arbitrary and indefensible. As between र and अर, 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 दिधि, जाग्य, दारिद्र; present-stems, as उरष्म; and denominative stems, as आवधिक, कुमार, सभाज, मन्त्र, सान्त्व, अर्थ, and the like. These are in European works generally reduced to their true value.

(continued on next page)
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, mah and maṅh — 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 ṛṇoti and vr ṛṇīte, 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
dham; while trā, prā, pyā, psā, and others, presumably made in the same
manner, figure as separate from their probable originals. Many final con-
sonants 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, jakṣ, dudh; or of a desiderative
development, as bhaks and bhāks, crus, aks, naks. Yet another class seem
to contain a preposition fused with a root, as vyac, āp, and the later ujh
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 acci-
dental 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 prin-
ciples 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 (157) vowels and semi-vowels 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, bhym, 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, suv, 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 titā, 'sieve' (perhaps for titasu, BR.) and prāuga, 'wagon-pole' (for prayuga?); and, in RV., suūti. 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.
III. EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

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 u (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 incompatible.

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

117. Of changes within the series, the most frequent and important occur in the adaptation of surd and sonant sounds to one another; but the nasals and I 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 correspondent of the other kind; of the spirants, the surd s is the only one having a sonant correspondent, namely r, to which it is convertible in external combination.

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 anusvara); 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 s and n 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 ç, a more sibilant and lingual character.

120. The lingual sibilant s, 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 ज्ञ), 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 semi-vowel 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 गा ā; two i-vowels, ष ष; two u-vowels, ऋ ऋ; and, theoretically, two r-vowels form रू ṛ, but it is questionable whether the case ever practically occurs. Examples are:

स चाप्रजः: sa cā 'prajāḥ (ca + aprajah);
शताव ati 'va (ati + i va);
सूक्तम् sūktam (su-uktam);
राजायामिनि rājā 'sit (rājā + āsīt);
अधीष्वर: adhiṣṭvarah (adhi-icṣvarah).

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 औ o; with र ṛ, to अर ar; with
III. Euphonic Combination.

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

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

128. As regards the accent of these vowel combinations, it is to be noticed that, \( \text{\textcircled{\( a \)}} \), 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; \( \text{\textcircled{\( a \)}} \), 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, \( \text{\textcircled{\( a \)}} \), 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 \( \text{i} \) and \( \text{i} \), which becomes \( \text{i} \): thus, \textit{divi 'va}, from \textit{divi iva}; in the Tāttiriya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while \( \text{u} \) and \( \text{u} \), instead, make \( \text{u} \): thus, \textit{siudgāṭā} from \textit{si-udgāṭā}.

129. The \( \text{i} \)-vowels, the \( \text{u} \)-vowels, and \( \text{\textcircled{\( a \)}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{\( a \)}} \), before a dissimilar vowel or a diphthong, are regularly converted each into its own corresponding semivowel, \( \text{\textcircled{\( u \}}} \) \( \text{\textcircled{\( y \}}} \) or \( \text{\textcircled{\( e \}}} \) or \( \text{\textcircled{\( r \)}} \). Examples are:
But 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 _ninima_ (ninī-ima).

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

- व्युष्टि vyuṣṭi (vi-uṣṭi); अभ्यार्कति abhyārcati;
- नदयाँ nadyāṇ (nādi-aṇ);
- स्विस्ता svista (sū-istā); तन्मत्त tanvās (tanū-as).

Of a similar combination of acute _i_ with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, _vijñātṛ_ etat (QB. xiv. 6. 8): 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, य _y_ or व _v_, before any vowel or diphthong: thus, Ṛ ē (really _ai_ : 28) becomes अय ṛ₁, and औ _o_ (that is, _au_) becomes ा ṛ₁; Ṛ _āi_ becomes ा _āy_, and औ _āu_ becomes ा _āv_.

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,

- नय _naya_ (ne-a); नय _nāya_ (nāi-a);
- भाव _bhaa_ (bho-a); भाव _bhāva_ (bhāu-a).

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

133. That is to say, a final र e (by far the most frequent case) becomes simply य a before an initial vowel (except य a: see 135, below), and both then remain unchanged; and a final र āi, in like manner, becomes (everywhere) a. Thus,

त यमता: ta āgatāh (te+āgatāh);
नगर र्स्न nagara iha (nagare+iha);
तस्मा घन्तन tasmā adadāt (tasmāi+adadāt);
त्रिया उत्कम् striyā ukṭam (striyāi+uktam).

The later grammarians allow the y 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 (Prātiśākyas), 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 uncombiable (below, 138); the vocatives sometimes retain the v and sometimes lose it (the practices of different texts are too different to be briefly stated); go (in composition only) does not 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 व v of घाव अव from ग्री अव is usually retained: thus,

तव eva (tāu+eva);
उभाव indrāgni (ubhāu+indrāgni).

In some texts, however, it is lost before an u-vowel, the ā 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 र e or य o, an initial य a disappears.

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

\text{ते स्रुवन्} ते 'bruvan (ते abruvan);

\text{मो स्रवीत्} sò 'bra\text{v}it (साह अब्रावित);

\text{तिमितव्यो} s\text{h}i\text{n}i\text{t}a\text{v}yo `gni\text{h} (h\text{i}n\text{s}i\text{t}a\text{v}y\text{a}h a\text{g}ni\text{h});

\text{यहः स्रवीत्} y\text{a}d indrö 'brav\text{it} (y\text{a}d indra\text{h} अब्रावित);

\text{हः स्रवीत्} y\text{a}d r\text{a}\text{j}a\text{ny}o 'brav\text{it} (y\text{a}d r\text{a}\text{j}a\text{ny}a\text{h} अब्रावित).

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 ex-
ample, 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 (vṛddhi-vowels), instead of e, o, ar
(guna-vowels), as required by 127.

b. The final o of a strengthened stem (28b) becomes au 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 (vṛddhi)
diphthongal combination with a preceding a; thus, prāuha, prāuḍha, akṣuhiṇi (from pra-ūha etc.).

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

a. The vowels i, u and e as dual endings, both of declen-sional and of conjugational forms. Thus, bandhū āsāte imāu; girī ārohatam.

b. The pronoun ami (nom. pl.); and the Vedic pronominal 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 ī nor ī never actually occurs; and r is very rare (only as neuter sing. of a stem in r or er, or as final of such a stem in composition).

Thus, indra, cīvāyā, ákāri, nadi, dātu, camū, janayitī, ágne, cīvāyaī, váyo, agnāu.

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*, *suḥṛt* for *suḥṛd*, *vīrūt* for *vīruḍh*.

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

Thus, *dagh* becomes *dhak*, *budh* becomes *vīruṭ*, 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 च c reverts to its original च k: thus, वा न वा k, श्रवणमुक्त अनहोमुक. The च ch (extremely rare: perhaps only in the root प्रच prach) becomes र r: thus, प्रच r c rāṭ. The ज j either reverts to its original guttural or becomes र r, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations 219: thus, भिषक bhisāk, विरूṭ. The ज jh does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to र r.

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

But the final m of a root is changed to n (compare 212. below): thus, अग आ n from गम, अनन्न from नम.

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

145. Of the sibilants, none may stand unaltered at the end of a word. The श s (which of all final consonants
would otherwise be the commonest) is like \( r \) changed to a breathing, the *visarga*. The \( r \) 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 \( an\acute{a}k \) from \( an\acute{a}ks \), and \( \acute{a}myak \) from \( \acute{a}myaks \) — the conversion is to \( k \). Also of forms of the s-aorist (see this aorist below) we have \( adh\acute{a}k \), \( asr\acute{a}k \), \( ar\acute{a}k \), etc. for \( (adh\acute{a}ks-t \etc.) \); but also \( apr\tilde{\acute{a}}t \), \( abhr\tilde{\acute{a}}t \), \( ay\tilde{\acute{a}}t \) (for \( apr\acute{a}ks-t \etc.) \).

And AV. has in two cases \( sr\tilde{\acute{a}} \) (i.e. \( sr\tilde{\acute{s}} \)), apparently for \( asr\acute{a}ks-s \), from \( \acute{s}r\tilde{\acute{j}} \) (wrongly referred by BR. to \( \acute{s}ra\tilde{\acute{a}}s \).

The numeral \( sa\tilde{s} \), 'six', is perhaps better to be regarded as \( sak\tilde{s} \), with its \( k\) 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: \( h \), \( m \), \( n \),
**Permitted Finals.**

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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; udanae-s becomes udan, and this udan; and achants (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, ārk from ārj, vārk from vavrj, āmārt from vavrj, suḥārt 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, jyok, tājāk (beside tājāt), pṛthak, ṭāhak; — but also now and then in a verbal form, as sūvak (AV. and VS. Kān.), avisya (Pārask.); — and in the feminines in knī (as asiknī beside asīta). SV. has once pṛksī for pṛtsī.

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

c. In Tāttiriya texts, of the final of anuṣṭabh and triṣṭabh to a guttural: as, anuṣṭāk ca, triṣṭābhīs (Weber, Ind. St., xiii. 109 ff.).

d. Of a labial to a dental: in kakād for and beside kakābh; in saṃsṭabhīs (TS.) from vṛṛp; and in adbhīs, adbhīs, from ap or āp (chap. V). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination bōrh are not unknown in the older language: thus, kakubhyām, triṣṭubhīs, anuṣṭub bhī.

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.

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III. EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

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 semi-vowel 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.), akkholi, jājhjhati.

155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate (ऋ gh, त đh, भ bh; also ठ h, as representing an original र ṣgh) thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant (ऋ g or ठ d or भ 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 — dagh;
in h (for original gh) — dah, dīh, duh, druḥ, ṛṛḥh, guḥ; and graḥ (in the later desiderative jighṛkṣa);
in dh — bandh, būdh, budh;
in bh — dabh (but only in the later desiderative dhipṣa, 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 dah, duḥ, and guḥ are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, daksat; adukṣat, dudukṣa etc.; jukṣa.

The same analogy is followed by dadh, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stem dadhā, from ydhā, 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 particle-suffix na (161); a final consonant before maya (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 अ / 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: अति, अत्ति, अत्तहस्, अत्ताः (व ad + si etc.); चाग्धि, चाग्धवाम (वचक + dhi etc.); — in external combination, अभुद्याम्, ज्योज्जवा, चद असितायाः, त्रिषुभ अपि; दिग्गाजा, शादहा, ब्रह्मद्धनु, अह्या.

160. If, however, the final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by त or थ 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 ddh, as baddhá (Vbadh + ta), runddhás (Vrundh + thas or
tas); bh with the same becomes bdh, as labdhá (Vlabh + ta),
labdhvá (Vlabh + tvá).

Moreover, h, as representing original gh, is treated in the
same manner: thus, dugdhd, dogdhum from duh and compare
rudhd and lldhd from ruh and lh 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 Vdah (155, end), the more normal method is followed; the
dh is made surd, and the initial aspirated: thus, dhatthas, dhattas. And RV.
has dhaktam instead of dagdham from Vdagh.

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,
bād mahān or bān mahān, triśūb nūnām or triśūm 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
śaṅqavati, and before mātrā, and the initial aspirated: thus, dhatthas, dhattas. And RV.
has dhaktam instead of dagdham from Vdagh.

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

163. Before ē 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 तद्धि
tād hi or तहद्धि 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 ghutāh, sāḍḍhotā (sāt + hota), tad-
dhita (tat + hita), anuṣṭूb bhi.
Combinations of final \( s \) and \( r \).

164. The euphonous changes of \( s \) and \( r \) 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 \( s \) becomes \( r \) in situations requiring or favoring the occurrence of a sonant; and, less often, \( r \) becomes \( s \) 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 \( r \) radical or quasi-radical (that is, not belonging to an ending of derivation) remains unchanged before both surd and sonant sounds, and even before \( su \) in declension: thus, \( p\-\pi\-\textparsi\), \( c\-\textat\-\textth\), \( c\-\textat\-\textrs\), \( \textpur\-\textrs\).

166. Final radical \( s \) remains before a surd in general, and usually before \( s \), as in \( \textg\-\textss\-\textsi\), \( \textg\-\textss\-\textva\), \( \text\textg\-\text\-\textss\-\textsi\) (but the last is also written \( \text\textg\-\text\-\textss\-\textsi\): 172): it is however dropped in \( \textasi \) (for \( \textassi\): \( \textv\-\textass\-\textsi\)). Before a sonant (that is, \( \textbh\)) in declension, it is treated as in external combination: thus, \( \text\textg\-\text\-\textr\-\textbs\). Before a sonant (that is, \( \textdh\)) in conjugation, it is dropped: thus, \( \text\textg\-\text\-\textd\-\texthi\), \( \text\texta\-\text\-\textd\-\texth\-\textm\) (but cases like the latter may be by abbreviation [232] for \( \text\texta\-\text\-\textd\-\texth\-\textcm\)): in \( \texted\-\texthi \) (\( \textass\-\textdh\)) the preceding vowel is anomalously altered.

167. In a very few cases, final radical \( s \) before \( s \) is changed to \( t \) (perhaps by dissimilation): they are, from \( \textv\-\text\-\textas\), the future \( \textv\-\textats\-\textd\-\textmi \) and aorist \( \textv\-\text\-\textats\-\textsam\); from \( \textv\-\text\-\textg\-\text\-\texths\), the desiderative stem \( \textf\-\textgh\-\textts\).

168. According to the grammarians, the final \( s \) of certain other roots, used as noun-stems, becomes \( t \) at the end of the word, and before \( \textbh \) and \( \textsu \): thus, \( \textd\-\texthv\-\textat\), \( \textd\-\texthv\-\textadb\-\textbs\), \( \textsr\-\textadb\-\textby\-\textss\), \( \textsr\-\textat\-\textsu\). 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, \( \textm\-\text\-\textadb\-\textbs\) and \( \textm\-\text\-\textadb\-\textby\-\textss\) from \( \textm\-\text\-\textas\); \( \textu\-\text\-\textadb\-\textbs\) from \( \textu\-\text\-\textas\); \( \texts\-\text\-\textv\-\textt\-\textadb\-\textby\-\textss\) from \( \texts\-\text\-\textv\-\textt\-\textas\); \( \texts\-\text\-\textv\-\textadb\-\textbs\) etc. (not found in use), from \( \texts\-\text\-\textv\-\textt\-\textas\). But the reality of the conversion here is open to grave doubt; it rather seems the substitution of a \( t \)-stem for a \( s \)-stem. The same is true of the change of \( \textv\-\text\-\textas\) to \( \textvat\) in the declension of perfect participles (chap. V.).

In the compounds \( \textd\-\textu\-\textc\-\texth\-\textn\-\textu\) (\( \textd\-\textfu\-\textn\)) and \( \textp\-\text\-\textru\-\textc\-\texthe\-\textp\) (\( \textp\-\textar\-\textus\-\textce\-\textpa\)), the final \( s \) of the first member is treated as if a \( t \) (203).

For \( t \) as apparent ending of the 3d sing. in \( s \)-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 $r$, on the other hand, is quite rare, being found only in certain forms of $r$-stems and in a few particles.

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

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

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

c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes — $\text{च} c$ and $\text{च} ch$, $\text{त} t$ and $\text{ठ} th$ — it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely $\text{च} c$ or $\text{च} s$.

d. Before the guttural and labial surd mutes — $\text{क} k$ and $\text{घ} gh$, $\text{प} p$ and $\text{फ} ph$ — it is also theoretically assimilated, becoming respectively the $\text{ष}jihvāmūliya$ and $\text{प} upadhmānīya$ spirants (69); but in practice these breathings are unknown, and the conversion is to visarga.

Examples are: to $\text{ब} b$. tatus te, caksus te; to $\text{त} c$. tatac ca, tasyaç chāya; to $\text{द} d$. nalak kāmam, puruṣah khanati; yaçaḥ prāpa, vṛksah 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 $\text{क्र} kr$, before $\text{प} pati$, before $\text{क} kalpa$ and $\text{क} kāma$, and so on. Examples are $\text{नाम} namaskāra, vācaspati, āyuskāma, payaskalpa$.

The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the Prātiçākhyas. The chief classes of cases are: $\text{ा}$, the final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form; $\text{ब}$, of a genitive before a governing noun: as $\text{दिवस} divās putrāḥ, iḍās padē; \text{स}$, of an ablative before $\text{प} pari$: as
175. COMBINATIONS OF FINAL s.

himāvalas pūri; d. of other less classifiable cases: as dyāus pitā, trīs pūtvā, yās pātih, paridhīs pātāli, etc.

172. Before an initial sibilant — ś, ṛ, s, ś — this 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 infrequently 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: manuḥ svayam or manus svayam; indraḥ ċūraḥ or indrač ċūraḥ.

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 vāyavōḥ stha; caṭuṭanām or caṭuṭstanām.

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 (except ṛ: see 179), s is changed to the sonant ṛ — unless, indeed, it be preceded by ṛa or ṛa.

Examples are: devapati riva, ṛriva; manuṛ gacchāti, tānūṛ aposu; ṭavṛ ṛṛṣṭakāmaḥ; sarvṛ guṇāḥ; aṅner manve.

For a few cases like ṭuḍaṛṣa, ṭuṇāṛ, see below, 199.

The endings ṛma ṛ and ṛma ṛ (both of which are extremely common) follow rules of their own, as follows:

175. a. Final ṛma ṛ, before any sonant consonant and before short ṛa, is changed to ṛo — and the ṛ a after it is lost.

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

Examples are: nalo nāma, brahmaṇyo vedavit; hantavyo 'smi.

b. Final ṛma ṛ before any other vowel than ṛ a loses its s, becoming simple ṛ a; and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.
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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, namaikti.

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 purushah; but sadā tu saḥ, so ḍravīt. 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, sāu 'sadhīḥ (for sa id agne, sa imām, sa oṣadhiḥ).

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 ūdhas 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 uṣarbadh); in vādhar and vadhary (RV.); in vanargā, ánarāc, vasarhān, sabardāgha, and one or two other more doubtful words; and in a series of words in a single passage of TS. and K., viz. jinvar, ugrā, bīmār, tveṣār, cṛutār, bhūtār, and (K. only) pūtār.

In aharpāti (VS.), and vanarsād and vanarsād (RV.), we see the same change even before a surd consonant: thus, adō pito.

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

177. Final आम as before any sonant, whether vowel or consonant, loses its न s, becoming simple आ a; and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.

The maintenance of the hiatus in these cases, as in that of o and e and āi (above, 133—4), seems to indicate a recent loss of the intermediate sound. Opinions are divided as to what this should have been. Some of the native grammarians assimilate the case of as 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 त 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 unchang- ed 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, svaḥcañnas, svācakṣas, svāpati, svaḥs, svāraṣṭī; dhūrṣād, dhūrṣāḥ; pūrpati,
Conversions of ś to ṣ.

180. The dental sibilant š is changed to the lingual ṣ, if immediately preceded by any vowel save ṣ a and ṣā, or by ṣ k or ṣ r — unless the ś 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 l also; but the Prātiṣṭākhyas give no such rule, and phonetic considerations, the l 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 r prevents the conversion: thus, usra, tisras, tamisra. And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an r-element (whether r or ṣ), whatever the position of that element: thus, sisarti, sisətum, sarisṛpā, tisṭire, parisṛut. To this rule there are a few exceptions, as viṣṭārā, niṣṭīta, viṣpardhas, gāviṣṭhira, etc. In ajūṣran the final ṣ of a root is preserved even immediately before r.

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

b. The recurrence of ṣ in successive syllables is sometimes avoided by
leaving the former s unchanged: thus, sisakṣi, but sīṣakti; yāsisīṣṭhās, but yāsisīṣṭimahi. 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 rbisa, kistā, bīsa, busā, bfsaya; a single root pis, with its derivative pesuka, is found once in CB.; for puṇs and the roots niṅs and hinṣ, see below, 183.

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

a. Four roots, kaś, laś, haś, haś, of which the last is common and is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas.

b. Further, in RV., āṣa, kavāṣa, caṣa, caṇa, jālāṣa, pāṣya, bāṣkāya, vāṣat (for vakṣat?), kāṣṭhā (for kakṣa, Fick); and, by anomalous alteration of original s, sāḥ (tutṣāḥ, etc.), dūṣāka, upaṣṭūt, and probably apāṣṭhā and aṣṭhāvānt. Such cases grow more common later.

The numeral āṣa, as already noted, is more probably ṣaṃkṣa.

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, haviṃśi, paruṃśi. 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 ś or as converted into visarga: thus, haviṃśu or haviḥṣu, paruṃśu 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 yuṃś, because of its value as hinṣ (hinasti etc.); yuṃś (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, ceṣe, anāiṣam, bhaviṣyāmi, ċuṃpruṣe, deṣa, jiṣu, viṣu, alāṣam.

b. The final s of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus, haviṣa, haviṣas, etc., from haviṣ; cakuṣaṃmant, čočiṣa, maṇuṣa, manuṣya.

Roots having a final sibilant (except ā) after an alterant vowel are — with the exception of fictitious ones and pis, niṅs, hinṣ — regarded as ending in š, not s; and concerning the treatment of this ś in combination, see below, 225 ff.
c. The initial $s$ of a root after a reduplication: thus, *si- syade, susvīpa, siśasati, coșkūyate, sanisvanat.*

excepted is in general an initial radical $s$ in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes $\tilde{s}$: thus, *sisaniṣati* from $\sqrt{\text{san}}$, *sisaṅksati* from $\sqrt{\text{saṅ}}$.

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 linguizes 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, *abhiśāc, pratiśthā, niśikta, viṣā; anusvadhām, susēka.*

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, *abhya aṣṭhām, pary aṣavajat, vy aṣahanta, ny aṣadāma, abhy aṣīcanc, vy aṣṭabhāntī; vi taṣṭhe, vi taṣṭhire.*

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

186. In other compounds, the final alterant vowel of the first member not infrequently (especially in the Veda) linguizes the initial $s$ of the second: for example, *yudhiṣṭhira, pitṛvasṛ, gośṭā, agniṣṭomā, anuṣṭūbḥ, triśandhi, diśiṣād, paramesṭhiṁ, abhiṣeṇā, pitṛśād, puruṣṭutā.*

a very few cases occur of the same alteration after an $a$-element: thus, *savyaṣṭāḥ, apūṣṭāḥ, upaṣṭūt;* also $\sqrt{\text{sa}}$, when its final, by 146, becomes $t$; thus, *satrāṣīt (but satrāṣāham).*

187. The final $s$ of the first member of a compound often becomes $\tilde{s}$ after an alterant vowel: thus, the $s$ of a prepositional prefix, as *niśindevan, duṣṭāra (for duśṭāra), āvīkṛta;* and, regularly, a $s$ retained instead of being converted to *visarga* before a labial or guttural mute (171), as *havispa, jyotīṣkṛt; tapuspā.*

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 Prātiṣākhya belonging to each text, and are of very various character. Thus,

a. The initial $s$, especially of particles: as $ū sū, hi śma, kām u svīt;$
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— also of pronouns: as हि गाहः; — of verb-forms, especially from यगस: as हि गाथा, दीविः गाथा; — and in other scattering cases: as उ गुहि, नु गिराम, त्रि सदहास्तः.

b. A final s, oftenest before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as अग्निः तुवा, नेते सिते, इत्यस से, चुचिः त्वाम, सदहिः तावा; — but also in other cases, and wherever a final s is preserved, instead of being turned into विसर्ग, before a guttural or labial (171): as त्रि सुवा, इत्यस क्रन्दु, वास्तो धप्तः, द्युतः पितः.

Conversion of न to न.

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

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 lingualises a s).

This is a rule of constant application: and (as was pointed out above) the great majority of occurrences of न y 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, रुद्रेना, रुद्रेराम, वरिने, वरिनी, वरिन, दाति, हारुनि, दोषानि, क्रियामि, चंद्दि, कुशानाम, गईनाम, कार्न, वक्नाम, रुग्नाम, द्राविणा, इसानि, परमान, रेक्नाम, अक्षानाम, सिकिरसमानाना, क्यपानाना.
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 \( \sqrt{\text{ran}}, \text{rāṇanti}, \text{rāṇyati}, \text{rāraṇa}, \text{arāṇīṣus}; \) from \( \text{brahman}, \text{brahmana}, \text{brahmāṇi}, \text{brahmānand}, \text{brahmāṇavant}. \)

191. This rule (like that for the change of \( s \) to \( s \)) 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 \( \text{parū}, \text{pari}, \text{pra}, \text{nir} \) (for \( \text{nīs} \)), \( \text{antar}, \text{dur} \) (for \( \text{dus} \)): thus, \( \text{pārū} \text{nya}, \text{pāri} \text{niyate}, \text{prā} \text{nudava}; \text{parāṇutti}, \text{parināna}, \text{praṇava}, \text{nisūjī}, \text{durpāca}.

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

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

c. The class-signs \( \text{nu} \) and \( \text{nā} \) are altered after the roots \( \text{hi} \) and \( \text{mi} \): thus, \( \text{pāri hinomi}, \text{prā miṇanti} \) (but the latter not in the Veda).

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

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

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

193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes lingualizes a \( n \) of the next following member — either its initial or final \( n \), or \( n \) in its inflectional or derivative ending. The exercise of the altering influence can be seen to depend in part upon the closeness or frequency of the compound, or its integration by being made the base of a derivative. Examples are: \( \text{grāmaṇī}, \text{trīṇāman}, \text{urūṇasā}; \text{vrtrahānam} \) etc. (but \( \text{vrtraghānā} \) etc.: 195), \( \text{nṛnānas}, \text{drughānā}; \text{pravāhana}, \text{nṛpāna}, \text{pūryāna}, \text{pitrīyāna}; \text{svargena}, \text{durgāni}, \text{usrāyāmne}, \text{tryāṅgānām} \).

194. Finally, in the Veda, a \( n \) (usually initial) is lingualized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns \( \text{nas} \) and \( \text{ena} \) are oftenest thus affected: thus, \( \text{pāri nas}, \text{prāl ‘nān}, \text{indra enam} \); but also the particle \( \text{nā}, \text{‘like}’: thus, \( \text{vār nā}; \) and a few other cases, as \( \text{vār māma}, \text{pūnar nāyāmasi}, \text{agnēr āveṇa} \).
195. The immediate combination of an with a preceding guttural or labial seems in some cases to hinder the conversion to an: thus, utraghāṇā etc. kṣubhānti, ṭṛṇoti (but in Veda ṭṛṇu).

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 ś, is everywhere converted into the corresponding lingual.

Under this rule, the combinations śt, śth, and śn are very common; śg is rarely so written, the visarga being put instead of the former sibilant: thus, vyōtiṣṇu instead of vyōtiṣṣu.

Those cases in which final ś becomes ṭ 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 ṭ from ś of a root or stem (226b): as ādiviṣṭvam etc.

b. Only a very few other instances occur: īṭe and āḍita from yīḍ; ṣaddhā (also ṣaddhā and ṣḍhā), and ṣaṇṇām (ṣaṣ + nām: anomalous gen. pl. of ṣaṣ; ṭṛṇā (vṛṭd + na). A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, 199.

But tāḍhi (Vedic: yṭad + ḍhi) shows loss of the final lingual after assimilation of the dental, and compensatory lengthening.

Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of ṭ are explained in a similar way, as results of a lingualized and afterward omitted sibilant before ṭ: thus niḍā from nisda, vṛṅḍ from ṭisḍ, ṭṛṇḍ from mṛṣḍ (Zend marezhā). For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, 199b.

199. In external combination,

a. A final ṭ is directed to be assimilated to an initial lingual mute: thus, taṭ-ṭikā, taṭ ḍayate, taṭ-ṭhālini, taḍ ṭhāukate: 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, ṣaṣṭu, rāṣṭu.

Exceptions are: a few compounds with ṣaṣ, 'six': namely, ṣāṇṇavatī, ṣāṇṇābkī (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: duṣṭābha, duṣṭāc, duṣṭā, duṇāca, duṇāca; and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of əsə, with change of its vowel to an alterant quality (as in voḍhum and soḍhum: 224b): soḍaça, soḍh (also saḍdha and saḍḍh), soḍant.

c. Between final t and initial s, the insertion of a t is permitted—or, according to some authorities, required: thus, saṭ sahāsrāḥ or saṭṭ sahāsrāḥ.

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

201. A n coming to follow a palatal mute in internal combination is itself made palatal:

Thus, yācñā (the only instance after c), yajñā, jayñe, ajñata, rājñā, rājñī.

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

A final n is assimilated before j, becoming jān.

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 s, both t and n are assimilated, becoming respectively c c and jān; and then the following s may be, and in practice almost always is, converted to ch.

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

Combinations of final n.

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

Thus, vānsi, vánsa, vánsat, mānsyāte, jīghāṇsati.

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 raṅsa and caṅsa (the only Vedic examples).

Final n of a derivative suffix is regularly and usually dropped before a
c 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 ġ have been
already treated (202, 203).

The n is also declared to be assimilated (becoming ṇ) be-
before a sonant lingual (ś, ṣh, 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, ṣ and s, final
n remains unchanged; but a t may also be inserted between
the nasal and the sibilant: thus, tān ṣaṭ or tānt ṣaṭ; mahān sān
or mahānt sān.

According to most of the grammarians of the Prātiṣākhyas (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 ṅ into
ṅch (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-
exes respectively, before which the n becomes anusvāra: thus,
ṅc c; ṅc ṅch; ṅs ṣ; ṅs ṅ th; ṅs t; ṅs 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-
volving 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 Prātiṣākhyas; in general,
it is less frequent in the older texts. When the č does not appear between n and c, the n is assimilated, becoming ḋ (as before j: 202).

209. The same retention of original final s after a nasal, and consequent treatment of (apparent) final āṇ, in, ān, ṝn as if they were āṅs, āṅ, āṅs, ṝṅs (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 āṇ becomes āṅ (nasalized ā) before a following vowel: that is to say, āṅs, with nasal vowel, is treated like āś, with pure vowel (177): thus, devāṅ āḥá, ṛpabhaddhāṅ ihá, mahāṅ asi. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the s appears as ḍ before p: thus, svātavāṅḥ pāyāḥ.

b. In like manner, s is treated after nasal ō, ū, ṝ as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming r before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) ḍ before a surd (170): thus, raśmiṅr iva, sūndūr yuvanyuṅr ūt, nṛṅr abhī: nṛṅḥ pātrāṃ.

210. The nasals n, ŋ, ŋ, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, pratyāṅṅ ād eṣi, uḍyāṅn ādityāḥ.

This is also to be regarded as a historical survival, the second nasal being an assimilation of an original sonant 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 ŋ before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively k and t — as n (207) inserts t: thus, pratyāṅṅk sōmayā.

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 v (as when final: 143), it is changed to n: thus, from ygam, āgama, āgammahi, ganvahi, jagaṁvāṅs (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, praśāṅbhis, praśānsu (from praśāṃ: pra + ygam). No derived noun-stem ends in m.

CB. has once the anomalous kāṁv, from the particle kāṁ.

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 r of the root rāj in sāmrāj and its derivatives sāmrājī and sāmrājya.

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

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

d. Before r, a sibilant, or h, 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 m before a following semivowel from that before a spirant.

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

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

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

The palatal mutes and sibilant, and h.

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

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

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

1. Before a of suffix a, final c becomes k in anukā, arkā, pākā, vākā, parka, markā, vṛka, prátiṅka etc., reka, sēka, moka, rokā, čōka, tokā, nṛkā, vraskā: — final j becomes g in tyāgā, bhāga, bhāgā, yāga, bhangā, saṅga, varga, marga, mrgā, surga, vega, bhōga, yugā, yōga, rōga: — final h becomes gh in aghā, maghā, aṛghā, dṛghā (and dṛghityas, dṛghīṣṭha), meghā, dōgha, drōgha, mōgha; and in dōghāna.

In another series of derivatives with a, the altered sound appears: examples are ajā, yāja, cucā, coca, vrajā, vejjā, yuja, uṛjā, dōha.
Before the suffixes as and ana, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in āṅkas, ṍkas, ṛṅkas, ṫṅkas, bhāryas; and in rogaṇa.

2. Before an i-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in the doubtful abhogy): e. g. ājī, tuṭi, rāci, vāci, vīcī, rećiṇā.

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

4. Before n, the examples of reversion are few, except of j (becoming g) before the participle ending na: thus, rēkṇas, vagṇā (with the final also made sonant); and participles bhagnā, rugṇā, etc.; and apparently pṛγṇa from γρε.

5. Before m (of ma, man, mín), the guttural generally appears: thus, rukmnā, tigmā, pagnā (with sonant change); vākman, sākman, rukmnā; tgmān and vāgmān (with sonant change): — but ājmān, ojmān, bhujmān.

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

7. Before r, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided: thus, cukrā, ugrā, mṛγra; but vājra and paγrā(?).

8. Before v (of the suffixes va, van, vin, etc., and participle vāṅs) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, rkvā, pakvā; ṭkvan, tikvan, cukvan, mṛγvan, yugvan; vāγvān (with further sonant change); ririkvāns, rurukvāns, kucukvāns; kucukvdn, kucukvāni: also before the union-vowel i in okvāns (RV., once). An exception is yāγvān.

The reversion of h in derivation is exhibited only before the suffix a (and in the participle dāghāṇa, 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, cī, ji, hi, han; and han becomes ghm on the elision of a. The RV. has vivakmi from γvac. And before ran etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have g for radical j in asγram, asγram, asuγram (all in RV.).

217. Final utc 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, vakti, wāktia, vāksi, vakṣyāmi, vagāhi, vagbhīs, vāksu; 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 ə remaining unchanged in inflection are: ucyāte, riricē, vāci, mumucmahe.

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

Thus, áviksata, veksyāmi; váṣṭi, viṣṭā, didesṭu; dididṛḍha, vidbhīs.

But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final ə c to ə k before bh and su, and also when final (145): they are diṣ, drṣ, spṛṣ, and optionally nac (always, in V.); and viṣ has in V. always viksū, loc. pl., but viṣ, vidbhīs, etc. Examples are diksamēța, drgbhīs, hrdisprk, nāk.

Examples of ə remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: viṣi, vīciyās; avicrān, acnomi, vaṣmi, ucmāsī.

A ə remains irregularly unchanged before p in the compound viciṭāti.

219. Final ə ḣ is in one set of words treated like ə c,
and in another set like ə ē.

Thus, from yuṭ: āyukthās, āyukta, yuṅktē, yuktī, yōktra, yokṣyāmi, yuksū; yuṅgdhi, āyuṅgdham, yugbhīs.

Again, from mṛj etc.: āmṛkṣat, srakṣyāmi; māṛṣṭi, mṛṣṭā, sṛṣṭī, rāṣṭrā; mṛḍhī, mṛṛḍhāvāṃ, rāḍbhīs, rāśțā, rāṭ.

To the former or yuj-class belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, bhaj, saj, taj (not V.), raj (‘color’, svaj, māj, njīj, tīj, vij, 1 and 2bhuj, yuṭ, ruj, vṛj, aṅj, bhaṅj, ciṅj; arj, vrj, bhiṅjāj, dṛṣj; — also, stems formed with the suffixes aj and i (383. 5), as tyṛṇāj, vaṇīj: and rṭvīj, though containing the root yaj.

To the latter or mṛj-class belong only about one third as many: namely, yaj, bhrajīj, vrj, rāj, bhrāj, 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, th, dh), or, in noun-inflection, by bh or su. In derivation (above, 216) we find a g sometimes from the mṛj-class: thus, mārga (in apāmārga) and sarga; and before r of Vedic 3d pl. mid. endings, asgrām, asgrām, asasgrām (beside asaṣgrīre) — while from the yuj-class occur only yuyujre, ayujran, babhujre, with j.

* See Höchselmann, in KZ. xxiii. 384ff.
220. Final \( ch \) falls under the rules of combination almost only in the root \( prach \), in which it is treated as if it were \( c \) (and \( prac \) is perhaps its more original form): thus, \( praksy\dot{\acute{a}}mi, \) \( pr\acute{\varepsilon}t\acute{\alpha}; \) and also the derivative \( pra\acute{\varepsilon}tu\acute{n}a. \) As final and in noun-inflection (before \( bh \) and \( su \), it is directed to be changed to the linguistic mute.

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

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

221. The compound \( ks \) is not infrequent as final of a root (generally of demonstrably secondary origin), or of a tense-stem (\( s\)-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 \( c \): thus, \( cāks \) (\( caks + se \), \( c\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{s}va \); \( c\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{c}}\acute{\acute{t}}e \), \( ác\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{c}}\acute{\acute{t}}a, ásr\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{t}}am, ásr\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{t}}a, tvā\acute{\acute{c}}\acute{\acute{t}}ar. \) As to its treatment when final, see 146. We are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as \( gor\dot{\alpha}t, \) \( gor\dot{\acute{\varepsilon}d}b\dot{\acute{\varepsilon}}h\dot{\acute{\varepsilon}}s, \) \( gor\dot{\acute{\varepsilon}tsu \) (from \( gor\dot{\acute{\varepsilon}k} \)); and we actually have \( s\acute{\acute{a}}t, \) \( s\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{d}}b\acute{\acute{h}}\dot{\acute{\varepsilon}}s, \) \( s\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{t}}u \) from \( s\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{s} \) or \( s\acute{\acute{s}} \) (146, end).

In the single anomalous root \( vrac\acute{\acute{c}} \), the compound \( c\acute{\acute{c}} \) is said to follow the rule for simple \( c \): thus, \( vraksy\dot{\acute{\acute{a}}}t\acute{\acute{i}}, \) \( ávr\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{s}am; \) \( vr\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{t}}um, \) \( vr\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{t}}\acute{\acute{a}}. \) Its \( c \) reverts to \( k \) in \( vr\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{d}}\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{s}a. \) Its participle is \( vr\acute{\acute{k}}n\acute{\acute{a}}; \) it has a Vedic gerund \( vr\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{\acute{t}}\acute{\acute{v}}t\acute{\acute{r}}. \)

222. The roots in final \( \frac{\acute{\acute{k}}}{\acute{\acute{k}}} \), like those in \( \frac{\acute{\acute{j}}}{\acute{\acute{j}}} \), fall into two classes, exhibiting a similar diversity of treatment, appearing in the same kinds of combination.

In the one class, as \( du\acute{\acute{h}} \), we have a reversion of \( h \) (as of \( c \)) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original \( gh \): thus, \( ádhu\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{\acute{s}}\acute{\acute{a}}m, \) \( dhoks\acute{\acute{y}}\dot{\acute{\acute{a}}}m; \) \( dug\acute{\acute{d}}\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{a}}m, \) \( dug\acute{\acute{d}}\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{a}}; \) \( ádho\acute{k}, \) \( dh\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{\acute{u}}k, \) \( dh\acute{\acute{u}}\acute{\acute{h}}\dot{\acute{\acute{b}}\dot{\acute{\acute{h}}}s, \) \( dh\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{\acute{s}}\acute{\acute{u}}. \)

In the other class, as \( ruh \) and \( sah \), we have a guttural reversion (as of \( c \)) only before \( s \) in verb-formation and derivation: thus, \( ár\acute{\acute{u}}\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{\acute{a}}t, \) \( roks\acute{\acute{y}}\dot{\acute{\acute{a}}}m, \) \( s\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{k}}\acute{\acute{sy}}\acute{\acute{a}}, \) \( saks\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{n}}i. \) As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before \( bh \) and \( su \), the \( h \) (like \( c \)) becomes a lingual mute: thus, \( t\acute{\acute{u}}r\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{s}}\acute{\acute{a}}t, \) \( p\acute{\acute{r}}\acute{\acute{t}}\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{n}}\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{s}}\acute{\acute{a}}d ayod\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{y}}\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{a}} \); \( t\acute{\acute{u}}r\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{s}}\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{d}}\acute{\acute{b}}\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{h}}\dot{\acute{\acute{b}}}\acute{\acute{s}}\acute{\acute{i}}, \) \( t\acute{\acute{u}}r\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{s}}\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{\acute{t}}\acute{\acute{s}}u. \) But before a dental mute (\( t, \) \( th, \) \( dh \)) in verb-inflection and in derivation, its euphonic effect is peculiarly complicated: it turns the dental into a lingual (as would \( c \)); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would \( dh \): see 160); and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened by way of compensation: thus, from \( ruh \) with \( ta \) comes \( r\acute{\acute{u}}\acute{\acute{d}}\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{a}}, \) from \( leh \) with \( ti \) comes \( l\acute{\acute{e}}\dot{\acute{\acute{d}}}h\acute{\acute{h}} \), from \( guh \) with \( tar \) comes \( g\acute{\acute{u}}\dot{\acute{\acute{d}}}h\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{a}}r, \) from \( meh \) with \( tum \) comes \( m\acute{\acute{e}}\dot{\acute{\acute{d}}}h\acute{\acute{h}}\acute{\acute{u}}m, \) from
ḻh with *tas* or *thas* comes *ḻdẖás*, from *ḻh* with *dhvam* comes *ḻdẖv̱ám*, etc.

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

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

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

of the second or *ruh*-class: *vah*, *sah*, *mih*, *rih* or *ḻh*, *guh*, *ruh*, *ḏṟih*, *tṟih*, *bṟh*, *bañh*, *spṟh* (?).

But *muh* forms also (not in RV.) the participle *mūḏha* and agent-noun *mūḏẖār*, as well as *mugḏẖa* and *mugḏẖār*; and *druh* and *snih* are allowed by the grammarians to do likewise: such forms as *drūḍ̱ha* and *sniḍ̱ha*, however, do not appear to have been met with in use.

From roots of the *ruh*-class we find also in the Veda the forms *garṯārik*, nom. sing., and *pṟāṇaḏẖy̱k* and *dadẖy̱k*; and hence *puṟus̱p̱y̱k* (the only occurrence) does not prove *y/spṟh* to be of the *duh*-class.

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

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

The root *nah* comes from original *ḏh* instead of *gh*, and its reversion is accordingly to a dental instead of a guttural mute: thus, *natsyāmi*, *naddẖā*, *upānāḏbhīs*, *upānād-yu̱ga*.

224. Irregularities of combination are:

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

b. The roots *vah* and *sah* change their vowel to *o* instead of lengthening it: thus, *vog̱ẖām*, *vog̱ẖām*, *vog̱ẖār*, *sōḏhum*. But from *sah* in the older language forms with *ā* are more frequent: thus, *sāḏẖā*, *āsāḏẖa* (also later), *sāḏhar*. The root *ṭṛ̱h* changes the vowel of its class-sign *na* into *e* instead of lengthening it: thus, *ṭṛ̱neḏhī*, *ṭṛ̱neḏhu*, *atṟnet* (the grammarians teach also *ṭṛ̱nehmi* and *ṭṛ̱nekṣi*: 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 Häbschmann, as above."
alterant vowel (180) comes before the lingualised sibilant representative of the h. Compare ṣōḍaṣa etc.

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

The lingual sibilant ś.

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 ś, when (in rare cases) it comes to stand where a ś 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/dus); in sajūs (adverbially used case-form from y/jus); in (RV.) vives and dvives, from y/vis; in āγyes (RV.), from y/īs; and in ācīa, from ċiś as secondary form of yṛūs. All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

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

a. Before t and th it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated: e. g. devṣas, dviṣhas, dvēṣum.

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, pindāhi, vidāhi, viridāhi, dvīḍhvam, dvāḍhvis, dvīṣū.

The same holds good of the altered ś of a tense-sign: thus, āstoḍdhvam (from astos-dhvam).

The conversion of ś to t (or d) as final and before bh and su is parallel with the like conversion of c, and of j and h in the merj and ruh classes of roots, and perhaps with the occasional change of s to t (167—8). It is a very infrequent case, occurring (save as it may be assumed in the case of ṣas) only once in RV. and once in AV. (dvīt and -prut), although those texts have more than 40 roots with final ś; in the Brāhmaṇas, moreover, has been noticed further only -ḍlit. From piṇḍ, RV. has the irregular form piṇak (2d and 3d sing., for piṇaś-s and piṇaś-t).

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

This change is of anomalous phonetic character, and difficult of explanation. It is also practically of very rare occurrence. The only RV. examples (apart from piṇak, above) are vivekṣi, from y/vis, and the desid. stem virikṣa from y/ṛis; AV. has only dvikṣat and dvikṣata, and the desid. stem ćīlikṣa from y/ṛīs. Other examples are quotable from y/ykṛṣ (ṣB. etc.), ćiś (ṣB.), and piś (Khānd. Up.); and they are by the Hindu grammarians prescribed to be formed from about half-a-dozen other roots.
III. Euphonic Combination. [227—

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 Prātiṣṭhikhyas. The Kāṭhaka writes for original *ch* (not *ch* from combination of *t* and *n* with *r*: 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 Prātiṣṭhikhyas — in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiṣṭhikhyas: 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 Prātiṣṭhikhyas (and assumed in Pāṇini's commentary): see APr. i. 99, note.

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

c. Between *r* and a following consonant the Prātiṣṭhikhyas teach the insertion of a *svarabhakti* or 'vowel-fragment': see APr. 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.
— namely, a half or a quarter mora before the former, a quarter or an eighth before the latter. One (VPr.) admits it after t as well as r. It is variously described as a fragment of the vowel a or of r (or t).

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 Prātiṣākhyaśas.

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, yuṇḍhi for yuṇḍhi, yuṇḍhāṃ for yuṇḍhāṃ, āṇṭāṃ for āṇṭāṃ, chintāṃ for chintāṃ, bhinṭāḥ for bhinṭāḥ, indhē for indhē.

This abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇini, is required by APr. (the other Prātiṣākhyaśas 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 dattvā and tattvā may be, and almost invariably are, written as datvā and tatvā. As kārtana is also properly kārttana, so kārttika (from kṛtti) is written as kārtika.

So in inflection, we have always, for example, majrīṇā etc., not majjñā, from majjān. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abbreviations are made: thus, ḍṛḍyotā for ḍṛḍyotā; chinīty asya for chinīṭty asya. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard ādvam or āḍḥvam (from yās), ādvigāṃ or āḍvidāṃ (from yādīs) 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, utṭhāṭum for utstṭhāṭum, utṭabhnoti for utṭstabhnoti.

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, achānta (and for this, by 231, achānta) for achāntsta, cāpta for cāpta, tāṭpam for tāṭpam.

c. Other instances are only sporadic: thus, the compound riṣṭhā (ṛc + sthā: PB.); the collocations tasmāṭ tute (for stute) and puroruk tute- (for stute-: 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 चै or चै the corresponding *guna* is (च + त् = ) च ए; the corresponding *vṛddhi* is (च + ए = ) च आ. But in all gunating processes ध a remains unchanged — or, as it is sometimes expressed, ध a is its own *guna*; ध आ, 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>अ</th>
<th>आ</th>
<th>इ</th>
<th>उ</th>
<th>ऋ</th>
<th>ए</th>
<th>ऐ</th>
<th>औ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Guna</em></td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>आ</td>
<td>इ</td>
<td>उ</td>
<td>ऋ</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ऐ</td>
<td>औ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Vṛddhi</em></td>
<td>अ</td>
<td>आ</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>उ</td>
<td>ऋ</td>
<td>ए</td>
<td>ऐ</td>
<td>औ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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 अ, इ, उ, ऋ, ए to be raised to *guna* or *vṛddhi* respectively, under specified conditions. But ऋ is so clearly seen to come by abbreviation or weakening from an earlier ऐ (or ए) 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 भर and यर, and making from them भवरति and वर्धति, and भर्ता and यर्ध्या, by the same rules which from ब्हु and नी and from बुध and चित form भावति and नियति, बोधति and चेतति, भूति and निता, बुध्दा and चित्ता — they assume
238. The *guna*-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 *dvēśī* from *vāhī*, *dōhmī* from *vāhī*; or in derivation, as *dvēśa*, *dōhas*, *dvēśum*, *dōgdhum*.

b. In formative elements: either conjugational class-signs, as *tanōmi* from *tanu*; or suffixes of derivation, in further derivation or in inflection, as *agnāye* from *agni*, *bhānāvas* from *bhānū*, *pitāram* from *pitā*, *hantayāvā* from *hantu*.

239. The *vṛddhi*-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 *guna*: thus, *stāūti* from *vstu*, *sākhāyam* from *sākhi*, *ānāsam* from *vānī*, *ākārasam* and *kārāyati* and *kāryā* from *vkr* (or kar), *dātāram* from *dāṭī*.

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, *mānasā* from *mānas*, *vāidyutā* from *vidyūt*, *bhūmā* from *bhāmī*, *pārthiva* from *prthivi*.

But

240. The *guna*-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing *guna* 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, *cētáti* from *vctī*, but *nindati* from *vṅndī*; *nāyati* from *vnī*, but *jivati* from *vjiv*.

The *vṛddhi*-increment is not liable to this restriction.

Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, *dīdeva* from *vādiv*; *hēdasa* from *vāidēsa*; *dhate* from *vāuh*.

And a few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment: thus, *dāsāyati* from *vāduś*, *gāhati* from *vāguh*.

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 *vāra*, *drakṣāmī* and *adrāksam*; but also *prthī* and *prath*, *prch* and *prach*, *kṛpā* and *ākrapīṣta*.
III. Euphonic Combination.

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 $pr$, $mr$, $vr$, 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 $tarati$, $titari$, $tatāra$, $atārisam$, by regular processes; but also $tirati$, $tirya$, $tirvā$, $−tirya$, $tirya$, 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 $ṛ$: no $ṛ$ actually appears anywhere among their forms.

The (quotable) $ṛ$-roots are $3kr$ ‘strew’, $1gr$ ‘praise’, $2gr$ ‘swallow’, $1jr$ ‘wear out’, $tr$, $1ṛr$ ‘crush’.

The (quotable) $r$ and $ṛ$-roots are $r$, $1dr$ ‘burst’, $1pr$ ‘fill’, $2mr$ ‘die’, $2vr$ ‘choose’, $stṛ$, $hvr$.

243. In a few cases, $r$ comes from the contraction of other syllables than $ar$ and $ra$: thus, in $ṛṭa$ and $ṛṭiya$ from $ṛi$; in $ṛṛu$ from $ṛu$; in $ṛca$, even from $ṛir$ (or $ṛṛṛr$).

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 $ṛ$ is made long only in certain plural cases of stems in $ṛ$ 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 $ṛ$-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, 198 b, 199 b, 222). Perhaps such cases as $pīṭā$ for $pīṭaras$ 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 devāt, vayundvā, pravṝ, rīvasu, ānrtānt, sudanūsād, cakāmāgha, viśvānara, ekādaśa; apījā, parināh, virād, tuvimañgha, teśīmanī, cākīvant; vaśūjā, anūrūdha, sūmāya, purūvāsu.

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 APōr. iii. 16 note, Benfey, Abb. Gōtī. Ges. xix.—xxi. [1874—6], and the various Prātīcākhyas).

Words of which the finals are thus treated are:

a. Particles: namely, āthā, ādhā, evā, utā, ghā, hā, ihā, ivā, cā, smā, aṅgā, kīlā, ātrā, yātrā, tātrā, kātrā, ançātrā, ubhayātrā, adyā, āchā, āpā, prā; yādi, nahi, abhi; ū, tū, nū, sū, makṣū.

b. Case-forms: especially instr. sing., as enā, tēnā, yēnā, svēnā, and others; rarely gen. sing., as asyā, harināsya. Cases besides these are few: so smā (voc.); tanvī (loc.), and urū and (not rarely) purū.

c. Verb-forms ending in a, in great number and variety: thus (nearly in the order of their comparative frequency), 2d sing. impv. act., as pibā, syā, gamayā; — 2d pl. act. in ta and tha, as sthā, attā, bībhṛtā, jayatā, eṛnātā, anadātā, nayathā, jīvayathā (and one in tana: avīṣṭaṇā); — 1st pl. act. in ma, as vidmā, riśāmā, rāhāmā, ruhēmā, vanayāmā, cakṛmā, marneyāmā; — 2d sing. impv. mid. in sa, as yuksē, idēṣē, dadhēṣē, vakasvē; — 1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as vedā, viveṣa, jagṛabhā; 2d sing. perf. act., vetthā; — 2d pl. perf. act., anajā, cakṛā. Of verb-forms ending in i, only the 2d sing. impv. act., as eṛu, eṛnī, didīhī, jahi.

To these may be added the gerund in ya, as abhīgūrya, ācyā.

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 ā especially to an i-vowel (as also its loss), is a frequent process: no other vowel is so unstable.

a. Of the class-sign nā (of the kṛi-class of verbs: chap. IX.), the ā is in “weak” forms changed to i, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final ā of one or two roots is treated in the same manner: thus mā, hā. And from some roots, ā 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 ā is weakened to the semblance of the union-vowel i in certain verbal forms: as perfect dadima from ydā etc.; aorist adhithās from ydhā etc.; present jahimas from yhā etc.

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

d. Radical ā sometimes becomes e, especially before y: as, atheyāsam, deya.

251. Certain ā-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with i and i-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in e or āi or o. Thus, from 2dhā 'suck' (dhe) come the present dhāyati and participle and gerund dhītā, dhītvā; the other forms are made from dhā, as dadhūs, adhāt, dhāsyati, dhātave, dhāpayati. From 2gā 'sing' (gā) come the present gāyati, the participle and gerund gītā and gītvā, and the other forms from gā. From 3dā 'cut' (do) come the present dyātī and participle dītā 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 r, the va (usually initial) of a number of roots becomes u, and the ya of a much smaller number becomes i, in certain verbal forms and derivatives. Thus, from vac come uvācu, ugyāsam, uktvā, uktā, ukṭi, ukthā, etc.; from yaj come iyāju, iyāsam, īṣtvā, īṣṭā, īṣṭi, 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, ghnāntī, āpaptam, jagmūs, jajñūs, ājñata; in noun-forms, rājne, rājni.

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 i, which is very widely used: a. before the s of aorist and future and desiderative stems, as in jīvīṣam, jīviṣyāmi, jīviṣāmi; b. in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as jīvīṣam; occasionally also present, as āniti, rōditi; c. in derivation, as jīvītā, khaṇitum, jānītṛ, rocīṣṇā, etc. etc.

Long i is used sometimes instead of short: thus, āyraḥṣam, grahīṣyāmi; bravīti, vūvadīti; tarīṭ, savīṭ; it is also often introduced before s and t of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs: thus, āsis, āsit.

For details respecting these, and the more irregular and sporadic occurrences of u and a-vowels in the same character, see below.

Nasal Increment.

255. Both in roots and in endings, a distinction of stronger and weaker forms is very often made by the presence or absence of a nasal element, 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: \( \text{ac} \) and \( \text{aṅc} \), \( \text{grath} \) and \( \text{granth} \), \( \text{vid} \) and \( \text{vind} \), \( \text{duṅ} \) and \( \text{daṅc} \), \( \text{sras} \) and \( \text{sraṅs} \), \( \text{ḍṛk} \) and \( \text{ḍṛk}h \): of endings, \( \text{bhārantam} \) and \( \text{bhāratā} \), \( \text{mānasī} \) and \( \text{mānānsi} \).

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 \( \text{rājan} \) we have \( \text{rāj} \) and \( \text{rājabhīs} \), and in composition \( \text{rāj} \); from \( \text{dhanīn} \), \( \text{dhanī} \) and \( \text{dhanībhīs} \) and \( \text{dhanī} \); from \( \text{y} \text{han} \) we have \( \text{hath} \) and \( \text{hat} \); etc.

A final radical \( m \) (\( m \) does not occur as final of a stem) is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from \( \text{ygam} \), \( \text{yaht} \), \( \text{yatd} \), \( \text{yta} \), etc.

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 \( \text{aṅ} \), \( \text{aṅnā} \) and \( \text{aṅnām} \); from \( \text{madhu} \), \( \text{madhum} \), \( \text{madhunī} \), \( \text{madhuni} \); from \( \text{cīvā} \), \( \text{cīvēna} \), \( \text{cīvāni} \), \( \text{cīvānām} \).

258. Inserted \( y \). After long \( ā \), a \( y \) is not very infrequently found as apparently a mere union-consonant before another vowel: thus, in derivation, \( \text{yāy} \), \( \text{svadhāyin} \), \( \text{dhayas} \), \( \text{sthayuka} \); in inflection, \( \text{yāy} \), \( \text{vāy} \), \( \text{yāyati} \), and perhaps \( \text{cīvāyā} \) and \( \text{gāyati} \).

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 \( \text{dadāmi} \), \( \text{bibhārmi} \);

b. in aorist-stem formation: as \( \text{ādiddharam} \), \( \text{ācecyavam} \);

c. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally: as \( \text{hatāna} \), \( \text{dadhāi} \), \( \text{cakāra} \);

d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout: as \( \text{jāṅghanti} \), \( \text{jōhaviti} \), \( \text{marmasyāte} \), \( \text{pipāsati} \), \( \text{jīghāisati} \);

e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems: as \( \text{pāpī} \), \( \text{cārara} \), \( \text{sāsah} \), \( \text{cikittā} \), \( \text{malimluc} \).

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 dārūs, 'wife', ápas, 'water'; the numeral de, '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 de, 'two', wherever the duality of the objects spoken of is a thing well understood: thus, açīṇāu, 'the two (horse-men) Açīns'; indrasya hārī, 'Indra's (two) bays'; devadattasya hastāu, 'Devadatta's two hands'; but devadattasya dvāv açīṇu stāh, '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 gaṣṭhī, 'sixth' (sc. vihātā, '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 manye etc., 'think one's self to be', and with bruve etc., 'call one's self': thus, sōmam manyate papivān (RV.), 'he thinks he has been drinking soma'; sā manyeta purāṇavīt (AV.), 'he may regard himself as wise in ancient things'; īndro brāhmano brāvānāḥ (TS.), 'Indra calling himself (pretending to be) a Brahman'; — and with rūpāṇ kṛ: thus, kyṣṇo rūpāṇ 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

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and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration; an example or two are: agnīṁ ēde, 'I praise Agni'; nāma bhārantaḥ, 'bringing homage'; bhāyo dātum arkaśi, 'thou shouldst give more'. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is tāṁ ugrāṁ kṛṣṇaṁ tāṁ brāhmaṇaṁ (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, damayantim abhipsavaḥ (MBh.), 'desiring to win Damayanti'; rājānāṁ didṛkṣuḥ (MBh.), 'desiring to see the king'.

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

c. Derivatives in aka, in the later language: as, bhavantam abhīvādaṇaḥ (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, hāntā yō vṛtrāṁ sānito 'tā vājaṁ dūtā maghāṇī (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 yaṁnāṁ paribhūr āsi (RV.), 'what offering thou surroundest (protectest)'.

f. The derivative in ē from the (especially the reduplicated) root, in the older language: thus, babhrīr vṛjram pāpiḥ sōmaṁ dadir gāḥ (RV.), 'bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine'.

g. Derivatives in uka, very frequently in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, vatsaṁ ca ghūtuko vīkah (AV.), 'and the wolf destroys his calves'; vēduko vīsō bhavati (TS.), 'he wins a garment'.

h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in a, as ēndro dṛghā cid ārujāḥ (RV.), 'Indra breaks up even what is fast'; in ātu, as viḍū cid ārujanvābhib (RV.), 'with the breakers of whatever is strong'; in ana, as tāṁ nicārayaṇe (MBh.), 'in restraining him'.

272. Examples of an accusative with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: anuvrata is so used: thus, damayantim anuvrataḥ (MBh.), 'devoted to Damayanti'; and kāma, as māṁ 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 oftener 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, utoṭareṇa, daksīṇena, averseṇa, 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, vidarbhūn agaman (MBh.), ‘they went to Vidarbha’; dīvām yauyū (MBh.), ‘they went to heaven’; vanagulmān dhāvantaḥ (MBh.), ‘running to woods and bushes’; āpo dīvām ud vahanti (AV.), ‘they carry up waters to the sky’; devān 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 eti, ‘he goes to equality’ (i. e. ‘becomes equal’); sa gached badhyatām mama (MBh.), ‘he shall become liable to be slain by me’; sa paṇcatvam āgataḥ (H.), ‘he was resolved into the five elements’ (underwent dissolution, died).

b. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, tam abravi, ‘he said to him’; prākrupad uccāsī nāisadham (MBh.), ‘she cried out loudly to the Nishadhan’; yās twe ‘vāca (AV.), ‘who spoke to thee’.

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

276. As a yet more adverbal adjunct to a verb, the accusative is used to denote space traversed: as yojanaçaṭatam gantum (MBh.), ‘to go a hundred leagues’; much more often, duration of time: as tisrō rātrīr diśkīṣṭḥ syāt (TS.), ‘let him be consecrated three nights’; sa satvatsatām ārdhva ‘tiṣṭhat (AV.), ‘he stood upright for a year’; gatvā trīṇ ahorātrān (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 along 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 vayamat sarānash gatāḥ (MBh.), ‘we have resorted to thee for succor’; apā yācami bheṣajam (RV.), ‘I ask the waters for medicine’; — and verbs of sending, bringing, imparting, saying: as, gurutvaṁ naraṁ nayanti (IL.), ‘conduct a man to respectability’; tāṁ idam abravi (MBh.), ‘she said this to her’; — other less usual cases are, for example, tāṁ viṣāṁ evā ‘dhok (AV.), ‘he milked from her poison’; jītvā rājaṁ nalam (MBh.), ‘having won the kingdom from (i. e. by beating) Nala’.

A causative verb, naturally, takes a double accusative: thus, tāṁ grham praveṣayati, ‘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 deductible from this fundamental meaning, and show nothing anomalous or difficult.

279. The instrumental is often used to signify accompaniment; thus, agnir devēbhīr & gamat (RV.), 'may Agni come hither along with the gods'; doāpareṇa sahāyena kva yāsyasi (MBh.), 'whither wilt thou go, with Dvāpara for companion?' kathayan nāśadhena (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, bhadrān kārṇebhīk śṛṇavāma (RV.), 'may we hear with our ears what is propitious'; castreṇa nidham (MBh.), 'death by the sword'; kecīt padbhīṁ 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'; tēna satyena, 'by reason of that truth'.

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

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

b. Price (by which obtained): thus, daucābhīr krīṇūti dhenābhīḥ (RV.), 'he buys with ten kine'; gavrūm sahasreṇa vikriṇīte, 'he sells for a thousand cattle'.

c. Medium, also space or distance or road, traversed; and hence also time passed through: thus, udnā nā nāvam anayanta (RV.), 'they led [him] as it were a ship through the water'; ē 'hā yātum pathibhīr devayānātī (RV.), 'come hither by god-travelled paths'; jagmura vihāyasā (MBh.), 'they went off through the air': — vidarbhaṁ yātum ichāmy ekāṁhā (MBh.), 'I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day'; kiyatā kālena pradhānāmī 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, kukkuraṁ skandheno 'hyate (H.), 'a dog is carried on the shoulder'; and this construction is extended to such cases as tulatā 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'; śīṣibhīr īdyaḥ (RV.), 'to be praised by sages'; vyādhena jātāṁ vistārapam (H.), 'by the hunter a net [was] spread'; tēna 'ktaṁ, 'by him [it was] said'; mayū gantavyam (H.), = 'I shall go'.

The second object of a causative verb is sometimes put in the instrumental instead of the accusative: as, pāksibhīḥ pitṛdāṁ khūdayati, '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, vatsāṅṛ vyuyutāḥ (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, saka, with the adverbial words containing sa as an element, as sākam, sārdham, saratham; — and, in general, a word compounded with sa, sam, saha takes an instrumental as its regular and natural complement.

But also the preposition vinā, 'without' (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 intrinsively 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, yā nā daśāti sākhyā (RV.), 'who gives not to a friend'; yāchā 'smāi cārma (RV.), 'bestow upon him protection'.

b. Words signifying show, announce, declare, and the like: thus, ānīr ebhyo abhavat sūryāḥ (RV.), 'the sun was manifested to them'; ātupārama bhīmāya pratyaṇedayam (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, nīveṣāya mano dudhuh (MBh.), 'they set their minds upon encamping'; mātē 'va putrābhya mṛda (AV.), 'be gracious as a mother to her sons'; kīm asmābhyaṁ hṛṣīse (RV.), 'why art thou angry at us?'

d. Words signifying inclination, obeisance, and the like: thus, māhyāṁ namantām pradīṣṭaḥ cātasraḥ (RV.), 'let the four quarters bow themselves to me'; devo bhya namaskṛtya (MBh.), 'having paid homage to the gods'.

e. Words signifying hurling or casting: as yāna dūḍiçe 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, ivañh krñvñā āsanāya (AV.), ‘making an arrow for hurling’; gṛñhāmi te sūbhagatvāhyā hāstām (RV.), ‘I take thy hand in order to happiness’; rāṣṭrāya māhyam badhyatāṁ sa-pūtnēbhaya parābhava (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, upadeço mūrkhānā prakopāya na cāntyaye (H.), ‘good counsel [tends] to the exasperation, not the conciliation, of fools’; sa ca tasyāṁ sam-toṣāyā 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 sedhanti pathō vākam (AV.), ‘they drive away the wolf from the path’; mā prā γūma pathāḥ (RV.), ‘may we not go away from the path’: ārē asmād astu hetih (AV.), ‘far from us be your missile’; pūtāṁ no vākāt (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, cūkā kṛṣṇād ajaniṣṭa (RV.), ‘the bright one has been born from the black one’; lobhāt krodhaḥ prabhavati [MBh.], ‘passion arises from greed’; vālūt te prāṇām avidam (AV.), ‘I have won thy life-breath from the wind’; ye prācyā dīcā abhidāsanty asmān (AV.), ‘who attack us from the eastern quarter’; tae chrutvā sakhīgan-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, vājraṣya gūsṇād 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-ramiṣritatvād 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, ǔkārāt, ‘after веща’.

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,
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tasya jatayuh sarvam abibhet (AV.), 'everything was afraid of her at her birth'; yasmad rajanta kritayoh (RV.), 'at whom mortals tremble'; yugmad bhiyuh (RV.), 'through fear of you'.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, prda ririce diva indra prthivyuh (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, svudoh svadayah (RV.), 'sweeter than the sweet'; kim tasmad dukkharam (MBh.), 'what is more painful than that?' mirad anyah (H.), 'any other than a friend'; nisadhad anyam (MBh.), 'another than the Nishadhan'; sa matto mahan, 'he is greater than I'; tad anyatra tvan ni dadhmasi (AV.), 'we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee'; purav vitvasmad bhavanat (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).

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

a. In the Veda, dadhi and puri are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative: as, jatuh himaivatas puri (AV.), 'born from the Himalaya (forth)'; samudradad dadi jyati (AV.), 'thou art born from the ocean'; carantam puri tathasah (RV.), 'moving forth from that which stands fast'.

b. Also pur (and puras), in the sense of 'forward from', and hence 'before': as, pura jirasah (RV.), 'before old age': and hence also, with words of protection and the like, 'from': as, cusumah pura nidah (RV.), 'setting in security from ill-will'.

c. Also a, in the sense of 'hither from, all the way from': as, amulud anu casyatu (AV.), 'let it dry completely up from the root'; tasmad ad naduo nama ahva (AV.), 'since that time ye are called rivers'. But usually, and especially in the later language, the measurement of interval implied in a is reversed in direction, and the construction means 'all the way to, until': as, 'syd yajyase daca (VS.), 'until the end of this sacrifice'; sadacai (M.), 'till the sixteenth year'; pradanat (',), 'until her marriage'.

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

294. 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 adjective 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: इंद्रस्य वैज्र, 'Indra's thunderbolt'; पितृ पुत्रनाम, 'father of sons'; पुत्रः पितृ, 'son of the father'; पितृः कामाः पुत्रस्य, 'the father's love of the son'; के नाह, 'which of us'; चतुरं दासिनाम, '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, अभिजञार राजधर्मनामम्, '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, तस्याः समाः or अनुरिपाः or सदः, 'resembling him' (i.e. his like); तस्याः प्रियाः, 'dear to him' (his dear one); तस्याः विदितम्, 'unknown to him' (his unknown thing); हार्याः वर्षानिनाम (RV.), 'to be sacrificed to by mortals' (their object of sacrifice); इप्सतो नारायणिनाम (MBh.), 'desired of men and women' (their object of desire); यास्याः कास्याः प्रसुतः (II.), 'of whomsoever born' (his son).

c. The so-called partitive genitive with a superlativizing, or another word of similar value, is a matter of course: thus, ग्रेश्ताः कार्तिः, 'best of heroes'; विरुऽधाः विर्यावतः (AV.), 'of plants 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, वर्तम प्रदायु स्या (MBh.), 'having bestowed gifts upon him' (made them his by bestowal); राज्याः निवेदितम् (II.), '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 पिताः सुताया (AV.), 'drink (of) the Soma'; मधवाः पायाः (RV.), 'cause to drink the sweet draught'; — with verbs meaning
impart (of the thing imparted) etc., as *dādātā no amātíasya* (RV.), 'bestow upon us immortality'; — with verbs meaning enjoy, be satisfied or filled with: as *mātśy āndhasah* (RV.), 'do thou enjoy the juice'; — with verbs meaning to perceive, note, care for, regard with feelings of various kinds: as, *vāsaṣṭhasya stuvatā ēndro aćroś* (RV.), Indra listened to Vasishtha who was praising him; *yāthā māma smārūt* (AV.), 'that he may think of me'; *tasya cuskopa* (MBh.), 'he was angry at him'; *bibhīmās 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 ēṣāṁ virājadīnī* (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 kēcālaḥ* (AV.), 'that thou mayest be wholly mine'; *suvāl śampaṭṭayas tasya saṁsūṣṭam 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, ātī.*

A genitive is used in the older language with certain adverbs of time: thus, *sukṛt āṁnah* (RV.), 'once a day'; *trīh saṁvatsarasasya,* 'thrice a year'; *idānīm āṁnah* (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 (303 b); 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, *vādārākhyāḥ, prekṣamānāyāḥ, paṇḍakālam 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, *saṁkhīśyāmi phalāṇy 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 'amid' or 'among', 'on', and 'at'. Of course, also, situation in time as well as place is indicated by the case; and it is applied
to yet less physical relations, to sphere of action and feeling and knowledge, to state of things, to accompanying circumstance; and out of this last grows the frequent use of the locative as the case absolute.

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 dīvō sthū (AV.), 'which of you gods are in heaven'; na deveṣu na yaksēṣu tūḍk (MBh.), 'not among gods or Yakshas is such a one'; pārvatasya prṣṭhe (RV.), 'on the ridge of the mountain'; vidāthē santu devāḥ (RV.), 'may the gods be at the assembly'; daṇgame pade (MBh.), 'at the tenth step'.

The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything takes place: thus, asāh uṣāso vaṣṭīau (RV.), 'at the shining forth of this dawn'; etasmin eva kūle (MBh.), 'at just that time'; dvādaśe varṣhe (MBh.), 'in the tenth year'. But the accusative is occasionally used in this sense, instead of the locative.

303. The locative of situation in space or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus, māde āhim āṇḍro jadgāna (RV.), 'in fury Indra slew the dragon'; mitrāsyṛa saddhatiī sūjma (RV.), 'may we be in the favor of Mitra'; te vacane ratam (MBh.), 'delighted in thy words'.

a. This construction is, on the one hand, generalized into an expression for 'in the matter or case of', or 'with reference to, respecting', and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, é 'mām bhāja grāme ṛeva gōṣu (AV.), 'be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle'; tām āt sakhītvā īmahe (RV.), 'him we beg for friendship'; nyāyo 'yam mayā drṣṭa anayane tava (MBh.), 'this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither'; satīte kāraṇam striyāḥ (H.), 'the cause of (in the case of) a woman's chastity'; na āketo 'bhavan nīvāraṇe (MBh.), 'he was not capable of preventing'.

b. On the other hand, the expression by the locative of a condition of things in which anything takes place, or of a conditioning or accompanying circumstance, passes over into a well-marked absolute construction, which is known even in the earliest stage of the language, but becomes more frequent later.

Transitional examples are: hāve tvā sūra uḍīte hāve madhyānōtīna divāḥ (RV.), 'I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day'; aprādhe kṛte 'pi ca na me kopaḥ (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, stīrṣe barhṣi samiddhāṇe agnāć (RV.), 'when the barhīa is strewn and the fire kindled'; kūle cubhe prāpte (MBh.), 'a propitious time having arrived'; avasannāyāṁ rātrāv astācalacūkāvalambī 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, asmābhīḥ samanujñāte (MBh.), 'it being fully assented to by us'; evam ukte kalinā (MBh.), 'it being thus spoken by Kali'; tathā 'nuṣṭhite (H.), 'it being thus accomplished'. So likewise the participle may be wanting (a copula sati or the like being to be supplied): thus, dūre bhaye, 'the cause of fear being remote'; while, on the other hand, the participle sati etc. is sometimes redundantly added to the other participle: thus, tathā kṛte sati, 'it being thus done'.

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 īḍ devēṣu gachati (RV.), 'that, truly, goes to (be among) the gods'; imāṁ no yajñām amṛṭeṣu dhehi (RV.), 'set this offering of ours among the immortals'; yā āśiṅcānti rāsam ōṣadhiṣu (AV.), 'who pour in the juice into the plants' (or, the juice that is in the plants); mā prayache "cvere dhanaṃ (H.), 'do not offer wealth to a lord'; papāta medinyām (MBh.), 'he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth'; skandhe kṛtoḥ (H.), 'putting on the shoulder'; saṃcrutyā pūrvam asmāsū (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 sarvabhūṭeṣu, 'compassion toward all creatures'; anurāgāṁ nāśadhe (MBh.), 'affection for the Nishadhan'; rājā samyagvṛttal saḍa ivayi (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, māṛtyeṣu ā, 'among mortals'; prthivyāṁ ādhy ēṣadhiḥ, 'the plants upon the earth'; tējo māyā dhūrayā 'dli (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 want-
ing in derivative $ā$ and $i$-stems; it is also euphonically lost
(150) by consonant-stems. Neuters in general have no ending,
but show in this case the bare stem; $a$-stems alone add $m$ (as
in the accus. masc.). Among the pronouns, $am$ is a frequent
masc. and fem. nom. ending (and is found even in du. and pl.);
and neuters show a form in $d$.

In the accusative, $m$ or $am$ is the masc. and fem. end-
ing — $am$ being added after a consonant and $r$ and after $i$ 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 $i$ and $u$-vowels, the $ā$ is variously combined, and in
the older language it is sometimes lost by contraction with them.
Stems in $a$ make the case end in $ema$ (sometimes $enā$ in V.),
and those in $ā$ make it end in $ayā$; but instances occur, in the
eyear 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 $i$ and $u$ final are various (and dis-
appearance 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 $smā$, which combines
(apparently) with $e$ to $smāi$. In the personal pronouns is found
$bhyam$ (or $hyam$).

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

The ablative has a special ending, $d$ (or $t$), only in
CASE-ENDINGS.

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 n. o. m. - a c c u s. - v o c. is in the later language usually āu; but instead of this the Veda has prevailing ā. Stems in ā 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 bhyaṁ, 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 ā-stems. From derivative ī-stems, īs 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, īni, ūni 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 bhyas (in Veda often bhias), before which only a is altered, becoming e. But the two personal pronouns distinguish the two cases, having for the ablative the singular ending (as above pointed out), and for the dative the peculiar bhyaṁ (almost never in V. bhiam), 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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<td>A.</td>
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It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems, and by the radical division of ī and u-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: राजपतः rājān-am, राजानी rājān-āu, राजपस्तम् rājān-as, against राजा rājā-ā and राजपत् rāja-bhis; or महात्मम् mahānt-am and तुदत्तम् tudant-am against महत्ता 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 प्रत्यक्ष प्रत्यावेर्-इ, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यक्ष प्रत्यावेर्-अस, nom. pl. masc.; प्रत्यक्ष प्रति-़, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रति प्रत्यक्ष प्रति-़, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यक्ष प्रत्यक, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रत्यक्ष प्रत्यक्ष प्रत्यक-भिस, 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 गुप्त-strengthening of a final i or u, which in the later language is always made before as of nom. pl. and e of dat. sing. in masc. and fem.; in the Veda, it does not always take place; nor is it forbidden in dat. sing. neut. also; and it is seen sometimes in loc. sing. Final र has गुप्त-strengthening in loc. sing.

313. Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems, an added न 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 नम after a vowel. In the i and u-stems of the later language, the instr. sing. of masc. and neut. is separated by its presence from the fem., and it is in the other weakest cases made a usual distinction of neuter forms from masculine; but the aspect of the matter in the Veda is very different; there the appearance of the न 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 न before gen. pl. नम is taken by s in pronominal a and अ-stems.

The य after अ before the endings ौि, ौ, and अम 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 (i.e. dīāūs) when dissyllabic, but dyāūs when monosyllabic; jyāke when for jīāke.

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, ṣgne yām yajñām purībhār āṣi (RV.), 'O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest'; but úpa tvā 'gna e '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, sākhē vaso or vāso sākhē, 'excellent friend'; sūno sahasah or sāhasah sūno, 'oh son of might'; and suditi sūno sahasa 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, bhāgavant, 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 dattāū (dattā + ū) and dattīs (dattī + ās); but from nadi come nadyāū (nadi + ū) and nadyīs (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 nāus come nāvā and nāubhis; from mahānt, however, come mahatā but mahādhīs.

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, nāubhyaṁ, nāvāṁ, nāusū; vāci, vāgbhis, vācām, vākṣū.

But some monosyllabic stems retain the accent throughout: thus, gōbhis, gāvām, gōṣu. For such cases, see below, 350, 361 c, 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 tudatos and tudatām; but tudābhyām and tudātsu.

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

c. Bases of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncope of the vowel: thus, mājjāṁ, mūrdhne, dāmnās (from mājjan 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, dattāna and dattāya from dattā; agnīṁā and agnīyaṁ from agni; and also dattēbhyaṁ, agnībhis, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in dattāsāṁ, dhenāu, agnīṁ, dhenuḥs, and so on; or whether the final is changed into a semi-vowel before the ending: thus, dhenāvā, pitṛā.

But āṁ of the gen. pl. from stems in ī and ē and ī may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by n from the stem: thus, agnīṁāṁ, dhenīṁāṁ, pitṛānām. In RV., even derivative ē-stems show usually the same shift: thus, bhuvināṁ. Of stems in ē, only numerals (chap. VI.) follow this rule: thus, saptānāṁ, daśānām.

320. Root-words in ī and ē 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 य a;
II. Stems in ऋ i and ऋ u;
III. Stems in या a, ऋ i, and ऋ u: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems;
IV. Stems in ष r (or ष 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 य 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 waviering in Sanskrit than elsewhere. There are, however, in all the declensions as divided above — unless we except the stems in r or ar — words which are distinctly adjectives; and, in general, they are inflected precisely like noun-stems of the same final: only, among consonant-stems, there are certain sub-classes of adjective 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, सु-धिय, 'well-looking'; प्र-धिघ, 'foreknowing'; अ-निःन, 'not hating'; वेदाविद, 'Veda-knowing'; व्रत्र-हन, 'Vritra-slaying'; उपासन-सिद, '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, praṭājākāma, 'desire of progeny', becomes an adjective meaning 'desirous (i.e. having desire) of progeny'; sabhārya (śa + bhārya), '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'); yāvayaddveṣa, '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 s.

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, suhāvā, mukhāvā (for yajñēna etc.) — is also not rare in the Veda.

The dat. has āya (as if by adding urya 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 ā is made long; this ending is found in no other noun declension, but only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

The gen. has sṛya added to the final a; and this ending is also limited to a-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun amūṣya: chap. VII.). Its final a is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its y is vocalized (asā) 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 eightths 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 bhīṃ), 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 enos and yos), 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 euphonious 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 ehhis (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. ehhis, the loc. pl., the gen. loc. du. [?], and the instr. sing.). The resolution into ehhias 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 *epu* — that is to say, with the normal ending, before which the stem-final is changed to *e* (with consequent change of *s* to *sː* 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 deva, m., 'god'; आय आय, n., 'mouth'.

### Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>कामम्</th>
<th>देवम्</th>
<th>आयम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>रा</td>
<td>कामस्</td>
<td>देवस्</td>
<td>आयाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>कामम्</td>
<td>देवम्</td>
<td>आयम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>रा</td>
<td>कामम्</td>
<td>देवम्</td>
<td>आयम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>कामेन</td>
<td>देवेन</td>
<td>आयेन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>कामाय</td>
<td>देवाय</td>
<td>आयाय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>कामात्</td>
<td>देवात्</td>
<td>आयात्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>कामस्य</td>
<td>देवस्य</td>
<td>आयस्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>केम्</td>
<td>देवे</td>
<td>आये</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>काम</td>
<td>देव</td>
<td>आय</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>कामाक</th>
<th>देवाक</th>
<th>आयक</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāmau</td>
<td>devāu</td>
<td>आयेक</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>कामायाम्</td>
<td>देवायाम्</td>
<td>आयायाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmābhyaḥम</td>
<td>devābhyaḥम</td>
<td>आयाभyaḥम</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>कामयोम्</td>
<td>देवयोम्</td>
<td>आययोम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāmayos</td>
<td>devāyos</td>
<td>आययोस</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>कामास्</th>
<th>देवास्</th>
<th>आयानि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>कामस्</td>
<td>devās</td>
<td>आयानि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

Sing.: instr. rāvāthinā, yujñā (such genitive forms as ācvasiī are purely sporadic).

Du.: nom. etc. masc. devā; gen.-loc. pastyōs (stem pastyā).

Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. devāsas; neut. yugā; instr. devēbhis; gen. carāthām, 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 devī (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.
Declension II.

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

335. The stems in \( \tilde{z} \) \( i \) and \( \tilde{z} \) \( u \) are inflected in so close accordance with one another that they cannot be divided into two separate declensions. They are of all the three genders, and tolerably numerous — those in \( \tilde{z} \) \( i \) more numerous than those in \( \tilde{z} \) \( u \), especially in the feminine (there are more neuters in \( \tilde{z} \) \( u \) than in \( \tilde{z} \) \( i \)).

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 (248 b): thus, \( ur\ddot{u} \), \( pur\ddot{u} \).

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

The instr. fem. in the later language takes the normal ending \( \ddot{a} \) simply, while the masc. and neut. insert \( n \) before it, making \( i\ddot{m}\ddot{a} \) and \( u\ddot{n}\ddot{a} \). But in the Veda, forms in \( \ddot{y}\ddot{a} \) and \( v\ddot{a} \) (or \( i\ddot{a} \) and \( u\ddot{a} \) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also; while \( i\ddot{m}\ddot{a} \) is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, fem. \( \ddot{y}\ddot{a} \) is often (in two thirds of the occurrences) contracted to \( i; \) and this is even sometimes shortened to \( i \). An adverbial instr. in \( u\ddot{y}\ddot{a} \) 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 \( we \), \( ave \), \( aye \), 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 \( \ddot{u}\ddot{a}n\ddot{s} \), required later, is also not infrequent (\( \ddot{i}\ddot{a}n\ddot{s} \) does not occur). But the normal forms \( yas \) (or \( \ddot{y}\ddot{a}n\ddot{s} \) and \( v\ddot{a}n\ddot{s} \) (or \( u\ddot{a}n\ddot{s} \) are also frequent in both masc. and neut. As masc. ending, \( \ddot{u}\ddot{a}n\ddot{s} \) occurs twice in RV.

The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language \( \ddot{a}u \), 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 \( \ddot{a} \): thus, \( a\ddot{g}n\ddot{a} \); 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 ayi from i-stems. Half-a-dozen locatives in i (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as prayrhyau or uncombinable: 338 d) are made from i-stems. The later language requires the neuter locatives to be made ini and unii; 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 ai, as, am. 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 unin; but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence): AV. has inii twice (RV. perhaps once); VS. has unin once; RV. has uii from one u-stem, and i, once shortened to i, from one or two i-stems.

The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is bhyanm added to the unaltered 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 unin (like unii from a: 329); but the Veda has i and i (about equally frequent) much oftener than ini; and u and (more usually) u, more than half as often as unin.

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 inim and uninm (of which the
ā is not seldom, in the Veda, to be resolved into aam). Stems with accented final in the later language may, and in the earlier always do, throw forward the accent upon the ending.

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 gātī, 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>A.</td>
<td>अग्निम्</td>
<td>गतिम्</td>
<td>वारिम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>अग्निना</td>
<td>गतिना</td>
<td>वारिना</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>अग्निये</td>
<td>गतिये, गतियि</td>
<td>वारिणि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>अग्निस्</td>
<td>गतिस्, गतियास्</td>
<td>वारिणास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>अग्निः</td>
<td>गतिः, गतियाः</td>
<td>वारिणि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>अग्न</td>
<td>गत</td>
<td>वारि, वारे</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>अग्नि</th>
<th>गति</th>
<th>वारिणि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. D. Ab.</td>
<td>अग्नियाम्</td>
<td>गतियाम्</td>
<td>वारियाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>अग्नियोस्</td>
<td>गतियोस्</td>
<td>वारिणोस्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>अग्नियास</th>
<th>गतियास</th>
<th>वारिणि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
### Dec/lnsion II., i- and u-stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>agnīn</td>
<td>gātīs</td>
<td>vārīnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>agnībhis</td>
<td>gātībhis</td>
<td>vārībhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>agnībhaya</td>
<td>gātībyya</td>
<td>vārībyya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>agnīnām</td>
<td>gātīnām</td>
<td>vārīnām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>agniṣu</td>
<td>gātiṣu</td>
<td>vārisu</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. agnī etc., as above.
- Acc.: masc. agnīṃ, yayāṃ, urūṃṛāṃ(?); fem. and neut. as above.
- Instr.: masc. agnīnā, rayā and urmā; fem. ācīti, ātī, anuvṛkti, dhāsiṇā; neut. wanting.
- Dat.: masc. agnīye; fem. tujāye, ūtī, ārtyāī; neut. cācāye.
- Gen.-abl.: masc. agnīs; fem. ādītes, hetyās and bhūmīś; neut. bhūres.
- Loc.: masc. agnāū, agnā, ājāyī(?); fem. āgatāu, ādītā, dhānasaūlayī(?), vēdī, bhūmyāṃ; neut. apratā, saptāraṃśāu.
- Voc.: as above (neut. wanting).

**Dual:**
- Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. ḫārī; fem. yuvatī; neut. cūcī, māhi, hārini(?).
- Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.
- Gen.-loc.: masc. ḫārios; fem. yuvatyōs and jāmīōs; neut. wanting.

**Plural.**
- Nom.: masc. agnāyas; fem. matayās, bhūmīś; neut. cūcī, bhūri, bhūrini.
- Accus.: masc. agnīṇ; fem. kṣītis, cācāyas(?).
- Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above.
- Gen.: masc. kavinām, ḫṣīṇām etc.

#### 341.

As models of u-stems may be taken ज्ञ u-cātrū, m., ‘enemy’; धेन u-dhenū, f., ‘cow’; मध mādhū, n., ‘honey’.

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cātrūs</td>
<td>dhenū</td>
<td>mādhū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cātrum</td>
<td>dhenum</td>
<td>mādhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cātrunā</td>
<td>dhenvā</td>
<td>mādhnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### V. Nouns and Adjectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>D.</th>
<th>शात्रवे</th>
<th>वेदवे, वेदन्वे</th>
<th>मुणि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>शात्रास्</td>
<td>वेदास्, वेदन्वास्</td>
<td>मधुस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>शात्रां</td>
<td>वेदां, वेदन्वाम्</td>
<td>मधुनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>शात्रो</td>
<td>वेदो</td>
<td>मधु, मधो</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.A. V.</th>
<th>शात्र</th>
<th>वेदेन</th>
<th>मधुनि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>शात्र-याम्</td>
<td>वेद-याम्</td>
<td>मधु-याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>शात्रायम्</td>
<td>वेदायम्</td>
<td>मधुनाम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>शात्रवम्</th>
<th>वेदवम्</th>
<th>मधुनि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>शात्रस्</td>
<td>वेदस्</td>
<td>मधुनि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>शात्रमि</td>
<td>वेदमि</td>
<td>मधुमि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>शात्र-घ्यस्</td>
<td>वेद-घ्यस्</td>
<td>मधु-घ्यस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>शात्राम्</td>
<td>वेदाम्</td>
<td>मधुनाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>शात्रुस्</td>
<td>वेदयस्</td>
<td>मधुयस्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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342. The forms of Vedic occurrence are given here for the υ-stems in the same manner as for the i-stems above.

**Singular.** Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urु, urु.

Accus.: masc. ketum, abhirum, suce tum(?); fem. dhenum.

Instr.: masc. ketiina, paçva and krantu; fem. adhentu and panva, açuyā; neut. madhuna, madhvā.

Dat.: masc. ketave, çive; fem. çarave, tsvai; neut. urave, madhune.

Abl.-gen.: masc. manyos, pitvās, sāmunas; fem. sindhos, tsvās; neut. mādhas and mādhunās, mādhas, mādhunās.
Loc.: masc. pūrû, sūnâvi; fem. sindhau, rájju; neut. sānu, sānavi, sâno, sânumi.

Voc.: as above.

Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urvī, jānumi.

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

Gen.-loc.: as above (but -vos or -uos).

Plural. Nom.: masc. rûbhas, mûdhuas and mûdhuas; fem. dhenâvas, cûtrâvas; neut. purûni, purû, purû.

Accus.: masc. vâtu, pâcovâs; fem. jûs, mûdhuas.

Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above; also gen. (but with the resolution -unaam in part).

343. Irregular declension. There are no irregular u-stems, and only a very few i-stems.

a. Sâkhi, m., 'friend', has for the five strong cases a peculiarly strengthened base (vridhied), namely sâkkhây, which in the nom. sing. is reduced to sâkkhâ (without ending), and in the other cases takes the normal endings. The instr. and dat. sing. have the normal endings simply, without inserted n or guṇa; the abl.-gen. sing. adds us; and the loc. sing. adds ān: the rest is like agni.

Sing. sâkkhâ, sâkhâyam, sâkhyâ, sâkhye, sâkhyâs, sâkhýyâ, sâkhey: Du. sâkhâyâ, sâkhâhyâm, sâkhyas; Pl. sâkhâyas, sâkhin, etc. etc.

The Veda has usually sâkhâyâ du., and often resolves the y to i, in sâkhiâ, sâkhius, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the simple word, unless sakha be substituted.

b. Pâti, m., is declined regularly in composition, and when it has the meaning 'lord, master'; when uncompounded and meaning 'husband', it is inflected like sâkhi in the instr., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., forming pâtyâ, pâtye, pâtyus, pâtyau. There are occasional instances of confusion of the two classes of forms.

c. Jâni, f., 'wife', has the gen. sing. jânyus in the Veda.

d. Arit, 'eager, greedy, hostile', has in the Veda aryâs in pl. nom. and accus., masc. and fem.

e. Vî, 'bird', has in RV. the nom. vîs (beside vîs).

f. The stems dksi, 'eye', åsthi, 'bone', dâdhi, 'curds', and sâkthi, 'thigh', are defective, their forms exchanging with and complementing forms from bases in ân (aksân etc.): see the bases in an, below (431).

g. The stem pâthi, 'road'; is used to make up part of the inflection of pânthan: see below, 433.

h. Krosâtu, m., 'jackal', lacks the strong cases, for which the corresponding forms of krośi 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, \( bahv \), \( urv \), \( pṛthv \), \( vibh \), and so on. More rarely, the \( u \) is prolonged to \( ū \) 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, \( bibhats \) and \( bibhats \); \( tanu \), \( tanu \), and \( tanv \).

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, \( āṃśadhr \), \( sus \); and the AV. has \( pṛtanāj \) (once). Roots in \( ā \) sometimes also shorten \( ā \) to \( u \): thus, \( prabh \), \( vibh \), etc. (354); \( go \) (361) becomes \( gu \) in composition; and \( re \) perhaps becomes \( ri \) (362); while roots in \( ā \) sometimes apparently weaken \( ā \) to \( i \) (in \(-dhi \) from \( ydha \)).

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:** \( ā \), \( ī \), \( ū \).

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 \( ē \) \( ā \) and \( ō \) \( ī \), with a small number in \( ō \) \( ū \) 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 \( ē \) \( ā \) or \( ō \) \( ī \), 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 ग्रम 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 sub-classes:

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 ई and उ to उ; 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 आ, आस, आम in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except भियाई (?), 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 (धियाम, 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 अ०.

350. To the इ and उ-stems, the rules for monosyllabic accent apply: the accent is thrown forward upon the endings in all the weak cases except the accus. pl., which is like the
nom. But the ā-stems appear (the instances are extremely few) to keep the accent upon the stem throughout.

351. Examples of declension. As models of monosyllabic inflection we may take जा jā, f., 'progeny'; धि dhi, f., 'thought'; and भू 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.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. jās</th>
<th>A. jām</th>
<th>I. jā</th>
<th>D. jé</th>
<th>Ab. G. jās</th>
<th>L. ji</th>
<th>V. jās</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>jās</td>
<td>dhis</td>
<td>bhūs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>jām</td>
<td>dhiyam</td>
<td>bhuvam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>jā</td>
<td>dhiyā</td>
<td>bhuvā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>jé</td>
<td>dhiyē, dhiyāi</td>
<td>bhuvē, bhuvāi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>jās</td>
<td>dhiyās, dhiyās</td>
<td>bhuvās, bhuvās</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>dhiyī, dhiyām</td>
<td>bhuvī, bhuvām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>jās</td>
<td>dhis</td>
<td>bhūs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. A. V. jāā</th>
<th>L. D. Ab. jābhyām</th>
<th>G. L. jōs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>jāā</td>
<td>dhiyāu</td>
<td>bhuvāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>jābhyām</td>
<td>dhibhyām</td>
<td>bhubhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>jōs</td>
<td>dhiyōs</td>
<td>bhuvōs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. jās</th>
<th>A. jās, jās</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>jās</td>
<td>dhiyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>jās</td>
<td>dhiyas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Declension III. A, Radical a-, i-, and u-stems.

352. Monosyllabic stems in composition. When the nouns above described occur as final member of a compound, or when any root in a or i or u is found in a like position, the inflection of an a-stem is as above. But i and u-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 i and u become y and v, the resulting syllable is circumflex. Thus:

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>-dhis</th>
<th>-bhus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>-dhyam</td>
<td>-dhyām</td>
<td>-bhāvam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>-dhyā</td>
<td>-dhyā</td>
<td>-bhāvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>-dhyē</td>
<td>-dhyē</td>
<td>-bhūve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>-dhyās</td>
<td>-dhyās</td>
<td>-bhūvas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>-dhyi</td>
<td>-dhyi</td>
<td>-bhūci</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

| N. A. V. | -dhyāu | -dhyāu | -bhūvāu | -bhvūu |
| I. D. Ab. | -dhibhyām | -bhūbhīyām |
| G. L. | -dhyōs | -dhyōs | -bhūvōs | -bhvōs |

Plural:

| N. A. V. | -dhyās | -dhyās | -bhūvas | -bhvās |
| I.  | -dhibhis | -dhibhis |
| D. Ab. | -dhibhyas | -dhibhyas |
| G. | -dhyām | -dhyām | -bhāvām | -bhvām |
| L.  | -dhiṣu | -dhiṣu |

As to the admissibility of the fuller endings ai, as, and am 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 i or u, 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

Whitney, Grammar.
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 \( \tilde{y}a \) and \( \tilde{v}a \) forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: \( \tilde{i}a \) or \( \tilde{u}a \) and \( u \) or \( \tilde{u}a \), and so on.

**353.** A few further Vedic irregularities or peculiarities may be briefly noticed.

Of the \( \tilde{a} \)-stems, the forms in \( \tilde{a}s, \tilde{a}m, \tilde{a} \) (du.) are sometimes to be read as dissyllables, \( aas, aam, aa \). The dative of the stem used as infinitive is in \( \tilde{a}t \) (as if \( \tilde{a}+\epsilon \)): thus, \( \text{prakhyāt}, \text{pratimāt}, \text{parādāt} \).

Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, \( \text{avadyabhīyā} \) (RV.), \( \text{ādhīdā} \) (AV.).

**354.** But compounds of the class above described are not infrequently transferred to other modes of inflection: the \( \tilde{a} \) shortened to \( a \) for a masculine stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative \( \tilde{a} \)-class (below, 365) as feminine; the \( i \) and \( \tilde{u} \) shortened to \( i \) and \( u \), and inflected as of the second declension.

Thus, compound stems in \(-ga, -ja, -da, -tha, -bhu\), and others, are found even in the Veda, and become frequent later; and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, \( \text{ṛtapān}, \text{vayodbhāts} \) and \( \text{ṛatnadēbhīs}, \text{dhanaśāts} \) (all RV.); and, from \( i \) and \( \tilde{u} \) compounds, \( \text{vṛṣaśrīs} \) (TS.), \( \text{āhrayas} \) (RV.), \( \text{yamacṛbhīs} \) (RV.), \( \text{ṛtandēbhīs} \) (RV.) and \( \text{senānībhīs} \) (VS.) and \( \text{grīmāṇībhīs} \) (TB.), \( \text{supīnā} \) (AV.), \( \text{ṣītīḥbrāve} \) (TS.). Still more numerous are the feminines in \( \tilde{a} \) which have lost their root-declension: examples are \( \text{prajā} \) (of which the further compounds in part have root-forms), \( \text{svadhā, craddhā, pratimā,} \) 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 \( \tilde{a} \), masculines, half-a-dozen occur in the Veda: \( \text{pānthā, mānthā,} \) and \( \text{ṛbhukṣā} \) are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, 433—4; \( \text{uḍānā} \) (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing. \( \text{uḍānā} \) (and loc. as well as dat. \( \text{uḍānē} \); \( \text{mahā, ‘great’}, \) is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition: \( \text{ātā}, \text{‘frame’}, \) has only \( \text{ātāsu} \) not derivable from \( \text{āta} \).

b. Of stems in \( i \), 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, \( \text{kalyāṇī} \) (m. \( \text{kalyāṇa} \), \( \text{puruṣī} \) (m. \( \text{puruṣa} \)); others show no change of accent: thus, \( \text{yamī} \) (m. \( \text{yamā} \)); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, \( \text{nadī, laksmyī, sûrwī} \). The masculines are about ten in number: for example, \( \text{rathī, prāvī, stārī, ahī, āpathī} \).
c. Of stems in "u, 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 "u to masculines in "u or u (above, 344): thus, caranyū, carisū, jighatsū, madhū. A few are nouns in "u, with change of accent: thus, agrū (āgru), prādikū (prādik), cva agrū (cvācvara); or without change, as nrtū. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, tanū, vadhū, comū. The masculines are only two or three; namely, prācū, kṛkadācū, makṣū(?) and their forms are of the utmost rarity.

356. The mode of declension of these words may be illustrated by the following examples: rathī, m., 'charioteer'; 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 "-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 nadīs tanūs
A. rathūm nadīum tanūam
I. rathā nadī nadī ā
D. rathē nadē tanūc
Ab. G. rathūs nadūs tanūas
L. ..... ..... tanūī
V. rāthī (?) nādi tānu

Dual:

N. A. V. rathū nadī tanū ā
I. D. Ab. [rathībhūm] nadībhūm [tanūbhūm]
G. L. [rathīs] nadīos tanūos

Plural:

N. A. rathūs nadūs tanūas
I. [rathībhīs] nadībhīs tanūbhīs
D. Ab. [rathībhīyas] nadībhīyas tanūbhīyas
G. rathūnūm nadīnūm tanūnūm
L. [rathūsu] nadīsū tanūsū

The cases — nadīum, 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, nadyum, tanvum, 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, [agrāvī,] and mitrāyīvas. The RV. really reads stavyum 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.

8*
357. Irregularities of form, properly so called, are very few in this division: camū as loc. sing. (instead of camvī) occurs a few times; and there is another doubtful case or two of the same kind; the final ā is regarded as prāṛṣya or uncombining (138); tanā is lengthened to tanvē in a passage or two; -yūvas is once or twice abbreviated to -yūs.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of ī 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 excessively scanty: namely, dūtām, loc. sing., once, and cvaṛuřām, do., once, and dravitnūd, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, we find the acc. sing. kuhām, tanām, vadhām; the instr. sing. patātā and one or two others; the dat. sing. vadhvāt, cvaṛuṛāt, ayṛvāi; the abl.-gen. sing. punarbhuvās, pṛdākuḍās, cvaṛurās; and the loc. sing. tanām (with anomalous accent). The accusatives plural in īs and ūs are nowhere met with.

359. Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, hṛtryavīcīs and sahāsrastarīs, ātaptanūs and sārvatatanūs, all nom. sing. masculine.

Stems ending in diphthongs.

360. There are certain monosyllabic stems ending in diphthongs, which are too few and too diverse in inflection to make a declension of, and which may be most appropriately disposed of here, in connection with the stems in ī and ū, with which they have most affinity. They are:

- stems in āu: nāh and glāū;
- stems in āi: rāi;
- stems in o: gō and dyō (or dyū, div).

361. a. The stem nāū, f., 'ship', is entirely regular, taking the normal endings throughout, and following the rules for monosyllabic accentuation (317) — except that the accus. pl. is said (it does not appear to occur in accented texts) to be like the nom. Thus: nāūs, nāvam, nāvā, nāvé, nāvās, nāvī; nāvāu, nāubhyām, nāvōs; nāvas, nāvās, nāubhīs, nāubhyās, nāvām, nāusū.

The stem glāū, m., 'ball', is apparently inflected in the same way; but few of its forms have been met with in use.

b. The stem rāi, f. (or m.), 'wealth', might be better described as rā with a union-consonant y (258) interposed before vowel endings, and is regularly inflected as such, with normal endings and monosyllabic accent. Thus: rās, rāyam, rāyā, rāyē, rāyas, rāyi; rāyāu, rābhṛyām, rāyōs; rāyas, rāyās, rābhīs, rābhṛyās, rāyām, rāsū. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either rāyas or rāyas; for accus. sing. and pl. are also used the briefer forms rām.
DECLENSION III.: DIPHTHONGAL STEMS.

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(which alone is of Vedic occurrence) and rás; and the gen. sing. is sometimes anomalously accented ráyas.

c. The stem gö, m. or f., ‘bull’ or ‘cow’, is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except accus. sing., it is strengthened to gāú, forming (like nāú) gāús, gāvāu, gāvās. 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; gōbhýām, gōbhís, gōbhýas, gōsu. In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is gónām; the nom. etc. du. is (as in all other such cases) also gāvā; and gām, gós, and gās are not infrequently to be pronounced as dissyllables.

d. The stem dyó, f. (but in V. usually m.), ‘sky, day’, is yet more anomalous, having beside it a simpler stem dyu, which becomes div before a vowel-ending. The native grammarians treat the two as independent words, but it is more convenient to put them together. The stem dyó is inflected precisely like gö, as above described. The complete declension is as follows (with forms not actually met with in use bracketed):

---|---|---
N. | dyāús | dyāvāu | dyāvas dyāvas
A. | divam dyám | [divāu] | dyāvāu dyāvān [dyās]
I. | divé [dyāvā] | | dyūbhís [dyūbhís]
D. | divé dyéve | [dyūbhýām dyūbhýām] | [dyūbhýas dyūbhýas]
Ab. | divás dyós | | dyūbhís [dyúbhís]
G. | divás dyós | [divós dyóvos] | [divám dyávám]
L. | divé dyávi | [divús dyóvos] | [dyōsu dyōsu]

The dat. sing. dyáve is not found in the early language. Both divás and divás occur as accus. pl. in V. As nom. etc. du., dyává is, as usual, the regular Vedic form: once occurs dyávi (du.), as if a neuter form; and dyáús is found once used as ablative. The cases dyáus, dyám, and dyún (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accented vocative then becomes dyūts (l.e. dyūs: see 314.

e. Adjective compounds having diphthongal stems as final member are not numerous. For go we have gu in such a position in águ, sugr, and a few others; and, correspondingly, rāt seems to be reduced to ri in bhṛdāraye and rāhādrayas (RV.). In revánt (unless this is for rāyivánt, rāt becomes rē. In a few compounds, dya or dyō is anomalously treated as first member: thus, dyāúsanačita (AV.), dyāurdā (K.), dyāurlokā (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 ā 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, táviśi, pāruṣṇi, pālikni, rōhiṇī.

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, mātalī etc.; and rāṣṭrī and sīrī (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 āī, 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 ē; 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 \( u \)-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., a \( n \) is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (in RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in \( i \) and \( u \)-stems).

In voc. sing., final \( \ddot{a} \) becomes \( e \); final \( i \) and \( u \) are shortened.

In nom.-acc.-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in \( i \) (and \( \ddot{u} \))-stems a marked difference between the earlier and later language, the latter borrowing the forms of the other division. The du. ending \( \ddot{a}u \) is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is \( i \) (a corresponding dual of \( \ddot{u} \)-stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending \( as \) has only a doubtful example or two in RV., and a very small number in AV.; the case there (and it is one of very frequent occurrence) adds \( s \) simply; and though \( yas \)-forms occur in the Brāhmaṇas, along with \( is \)-forms, both are used indifferently as nom. and accus. Of \( \ddot{u} \)-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 \( \ddot{as} \) for \( \ddot{u}s \).

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’.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>कन्या</th>
<th>देवी</th>
<th>वधु</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सेना</td>
<td>kanyā</td>
<td>devī</td>
<td>vadhū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>कन्याम्</th>
<th>देवीम्</th>
<th>वध्रुम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सेनाम्</td>
<td>kanyām</td>
<td>devīm</td>
<td>vadhūm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. Nouns and Adjectives.

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>कण्ये</th>
<th>देव्याू</th>
<th>वाद्वाू</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सेगे</td>
<td>कण्ये</td>
<td>देव्याू</td>
<td>वाद्वाू</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>कण्यायम्</td>
<td>देव्यायम्</td>
<td>वाद्वायम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>कण्यायम्</td>
<td>देव्यायम्</td>
<td>वाद्वायम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>कण्याम्</th>
<th>देव्याम्</th>
<th>वाद्वाम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सेगास</td>
<td>कण्यास</td>
<td>देव्यास</td>
<td>वाद्वास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>कण्याम्</td>
<td>देव्याम्</td>
<td>वाद्वाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>कण्याभिस</td>
<td>देव्याभिस</td>
<td>वाद्वाभिस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>कण्यायम्</td>
<td>देव्यायम्</td>
<td>वाद्वायम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>कण्यानाम्</td>
<td>देव्यानाम्</td>
<td>वाद्वानाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>कण्यासु</td>
<td>देव्यासु</td>
<td>वाद्वासु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Veda, *vadhū* is a stem belonging to the other division (like *tanū*, above, 356).

365. Examples of Vedic forms are:

1. *a*-stems: instr. sing. *māniśā* (this simpler form is especially common from stems in *ū* and *ū*); nom. pl. *vačāsas* (about twenty examples: Lanman, p. 362); accus. pl. *arāṅgamāsas* (a case or two). Half the *bhāyas*-cases are to be read as *bhīas*; the ām of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into *aam*; and the *a* and *ām* of nom. and accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

2. *i*-stems: instr. sing. *cāmī, cāmi*; loc. *gaurī*; nom. etc. du. *devī*; nom. pl. *devīs*; gen. pl. *bhrājīnām*. The final of the stem is to be read as a vowel (not *y*) frequently, but not in the majority of instances: thus, *devīa, devīās, devīām, rōdāios*.

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 *āī*. 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): svāpanto asyāī jñātāyāh, 'let her relatives sleep'. Brāhmaṇa examples are: tāsyāī dīpāh (TS.), 'from that direction'; striyāī payāh (AB.), 'woman's milk'; dhenvāvā ēldā rētāh (TB.), 'that, forsooth, is the seed of the cow'; ājāyāsī yājāyāsī (AB.), 'superior to the yājya'.

366. The noun stri, f., 'woman' (probably contracted from sūtrī, 'gener- ratress'), follows a mixed declension: thus, stri, striyam or strīm, striyā, striyāt, striyās, striyām, stri; striyāu, strībhām, striyās; striyās, stairās or stri, strībhās, strībhās, strīnām, strīs (but the accusatives strīm and strīs 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 i or u (389, 341).

Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost unknown. Of neuters from ĭ-stems have been noted in the Veda only hariyēyam, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and suādhēs, 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, vihā, subhā, etc. (nom.-acc. sing.; compare 354); supā and mayobhāvā, instr. sing.; and mayobhā, acc. pl. (compare purā: 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 praja, 'progeny', come the masc. and neut. stem apraja, fem. aprajā, 'childless'. Such compounds with nouns in ĭ and ā are said to be inflected in masc. and fem. like the simple words (only with ĭn 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 Į a. We take for the purpose पाप pāpā, 'evil', of which the feminine is usually made in Į a in the later language, but in भ i in the older.
### V. Nouns and Adjectives.

#### Singular:

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<tbody>
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<td>m.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>f.</td>
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#### Dual:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.A.V.</td>
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<td>पापक</td>
<td>पापक</td>
<td>पापक</td>
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<td>पापबिह्यम्</td>
<td>पापबिह्यम्</td>
<td>पापबिह्यम्</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.L.</td>
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<td>पापयोस्</td>
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#### Plural:

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>पापानि</td>
<td>पापानु</td>
<td>पापानि</td>
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<tr>
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<td>पापानि</td>
<td>पापानु</td>
<td>पापानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>पापाइस्</td>
<td>पापाइस्</td>
<td>पापाइस्</td>
<td>पापाइस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.Ab.</td>
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<td>पापिब्यम्</td>
<td>पापिब्यम्</td>
<td>पापिब्यम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This declension is a comparatively limited one, being almost entirely composed of derivative nouns formed with the suffix 降水 tr (or 釋 tar), 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 dev’, m., svásr and nánándr, f.; and, besides these, n’r, m., st’r (in V.), m., us’r (in V.), f., savyaṣṭhr, m., and the feminine numerals ēśr and catusr (for which, see chap. VI.). The feminines in tr are only māṭr, duhitr, and yāṭr.

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.

Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is r, which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to r (129). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them — which is very much the larger, containing all the nomina agentis, and also the nouns of relationship náptr and svásr, and the irregular words st’r and savyaṣṭhr — the r is vriddhed, or becomes ār; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with n’r and us’r, the r is gunated, or changed to ār. In both classes, the loc. sing. has ār as stem-final.

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 ār.

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 र to उर (or उ: 169, end).
The gen. pl. (as in इ and उ-sterms) inserts न before आम, and lengthens
the stem-final before it. But the र of उर 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 आ instead of आृ (only ten आृ-forms in RV.).

The अ of loc. sing. is lengthened to अ in a few words: thus, कांतरी.

In the gen. pl., the RV. has once स्वास्राम, without inserted न; and
नराम instead of नरनाम is frequent.

Other irregularities of नर are the sing. dat. नार, gen. नार, and loc.
नारी. The Veda writes always नरनाम in gen. pl., but its र is in a majority
of cases metrically long.

The stem उर, f., 'dawn', has the voc. sing. उसर, the gen. sing. उस्रास; and
the accus. pl. also उस्रास, and loc. sing. उस्राम (which is metrically
trisyllabic: उस्राम), as if in analogy with इ and उ-sterms. Once occurs उस्र in
loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form, उस्री
(for the exchange of ब and भ, see 181 a).

From इर come only तारस (apparently) and स्त्रिब्धिः.

In the gen.-loc. du., the र is almost always to be read as a separate
syllable, र, before the ending ओ: thus, पित्रस, etc. On the contrary, नानांदरी is
once to be read नानांदरी.

For neuter forms, see below, 378.

372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for इ and उ-sterms: 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, र becomes
र, the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, नर
and शत्र, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the
forms already given above), निब्धिः, निरु.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this
mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with
स्वार अर in the strong forms) the stems दत्र dत्र, m., 'giver',
and स्वार svार, f., 'sister'; from the second class (with ग्र पर
ar in the strong forms) the stem पित्र pit्र, m., 'father'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>दत्र</td>
<td>दत्र</td>
<td>दत्राम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>दत्रा</td>
<td>स्वार</td>
<td>स्वाराम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>पिता</td>
<td>पिता</td>
<td>पितारम</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The feminine stem मात्र mātṛ, 'mother', is inflected precisely like पितर pitṛ, excepting that its accusative plural is मात्रस् mātṛs.
The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. dātārā, svāsārā, pitārā, and the gen. pl. of nṛ, narām.

374. The stem kroṣṭī, m., 'jackal' (litly 'howler'), substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of krōṣṭu.

375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a complete neuter declension also for bases in ṭṛ, precisely accordant with that of vāri or mādhū (above, 339, 341). Thus, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>dhāṭī</td>
<td>dhāṭīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>dhāṭīnā</td>
<td>dhāṭībhīyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>dhāṭīnas</td>
<td>dhāṭīnōs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>dhātr, dhātar</td>
<td>dhāṭīnī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The weakest cases, however (as of ĩ and ū-stems used adjectively: 344), are allowed also to be formed like the corresponding masculine cases: thus, dhāṭrā etc.

No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas, under influence of the common tendency (compare Germ. Retter, Retterin; Fr. menteur, menteuse) to give the nomen agentis a more adjective character, making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (appositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. bhartī and janayīṭī, qualifying antārīkṣaṁ; and bhartīnī and janayīṭīnī, qualifying nāksatṛāṇī; as, in M., grahīṭīṇī, qualifying indriyāṇī.

When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in ī is employed: thus, in TB., bhārtryīṇa and bhārtryīṇī, janayīṭyīṇa and janayīṭyīṇī, qualifying āpah and ahorātrē; and such instances are not uncommon.

The RV. shows the same tendency very curiously once in the accus. pl. māṭīṇa, instead of māṭīs, in apposition with masculine nouns (RV. x. 35.2).

Other neuter forms in RV. are sthātār, gen. sing., dhmātārī, loc. sing.; and for the nom. sing., instead of -ṭṛ, a few more or less doubtful cases, sthātar, sthātār, dhartārī (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 ī: thus, dātri, dhātri.

b. Roots ending in ṭ (like those in ĭ and ū: 345) add a t to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member of a compound: thus, karmakṛt (vṛṛ), vajrabhīṭ (vḥṛ), baliḥṛt (vḥṛ). From some ṭ-rootes, also, are made stems in ir and ur: see below, 383a, b.
Nouns in ° 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 र ी (never in या), 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 (asyāni, vārini, mādhuni, dārṣṇi, 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 \(-\text{unsi}, -\text{insi}, -\text{unsi}\) are very common at every period. According to the grammarians, the radical stems etc. (division A) are treated in the same way; but examples of such neuters are of excessive rarity in the older language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the Brāhmans have been noted only \(-\text{huni} (\text{AB. vii.} 2), -\text{vnti} (\text{PB. xvi.} 2.7 \text{ et al.}),\) and \(-\text{bhāaji} (\text{KB. xxvii.} 7)\): 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 \(\text{ant}\) (accented on the final). For details, see below, under divisions A and E.

A few of the compounds of the root \(\text{anc}\) or \(\text{ac}\) 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 \(\text{ant (ant, mant, vant)}\);
F. Perfect active participles in \(\text{vāns}\);
G. Comparatives in \(\text{yas}\).

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, ā, 'verse'; gir, 'song'; pād, 'foot'; diṣ, 'direction'; mdh (V.), 'great'.

Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, vāc from vāc, srāj from vrṣj, mūṣ from vamūṣ, urṣ from vṛuce (?), ǔṣ from v&r̥c 'shine'; — and from roots in final r come stems in īr and ur: thus, gṛr, ā-īr, stīr; jūr, tūr, dhūr, pūr, mūr, stūr; and pūr from vpaṛ.

With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as cikūt, yavīyād, vānivan, sasyād.

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 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, -jīt, -cruṭ, -kṛt. Roots in r, however, as has just been seen, also make stems in īr or ur.

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 (mūt, rūt, stūt, hṛt, vṛt, and dyūt if this is taken from dyut) in independent use. Of roots in r, kṛ, dhṛ, dhrṛ, bhṛ, vṛ, sr, spr, hṛ, hṛr add the t. The roots gū (or gam) and han also make -gūt and -hāt by addition of the t to an abbreviated form in a (thus, advaṛgūt, dyugūt, navagūt, and saṃhāt).

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, tvāc, 'skin'; pāth, 'road'; hīḍ, 'heart'; āp, 'water'; ās, 'mouth'; kakūbh and kakād, 'summit'.

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:

Whitney, Grammar.
1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix vat: arvāvāt, āvāt, udvāt, niṇāt, parāvāt, pravāt, sarvāt;
2. derivatives (V.) in tūt (perhaps abbreviated from tāt), in a few isolated forms: thus, uparātāt, devātāt, vyākātāt, satyātāt, sarvātāt;
3. other derivatives in t, preceded by various vowels: thus, vaḥāt, vahāt, svarāt, saccaḥ, vāghat; nāpāt; tadāt, divāt, yōṣāt, rohāt, sarāt, harāt; marāt; yākṛt, gākṛt; and the numerals for '30, 40, 50', trīṇāt etc. (475);
4. stems in ad: thus, dṛṣṭād, dhrṣṭād, bhāsād, vanād, cārād;
5. stems in j, preceded by various vowels: thus, trṣṇāj, dihrṣāj, sanāj; uṣṭj, vanīj, bhurīj, niṇīj (?); āṣrj;
6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative: thus, jñās, -dās, bhās, mās, bhās;
7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as viṣṭāp, viṣpāc, kāprth, gurūdh, īṣṭāh, prkṣūdh, rāghat (?).

384. Gender. The root-stems are regularly feminine as nomen actionis, and masculine as nomen agentis (which is probably only a substantive use of their adjective value: below, 400). But the feminine noun, without changing its gender, is often also used concretely: e.g., dṛuh f. (v)dhruh, 'be inimical' means 'harming, enmity', and also 'harmer, hater, enemy' — thus bordering on the masculine value. And some of the feminines have a completely concrete meaning. Through the whole division, the masculines are much less numerous than the feminines, and the neuters rarest of all.

The independent neuter stems are hīd (also -hārd), dām, vār, svār, mās 'flesh', ās 'mouth', bhās, ās, and the indeclinables cām and yūs: also the derivatives yākṛt, gākṛt, 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 añc: see below, 407 ff.; — b. The stem yuj, sometimes (V.): thus, nom. sing. yūn (for yūn); accus. yūnjam, du. yūnjā (but also yujam and yujā); — c. The stem -dr, as final of a compound (V.); but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, anyādṛn, idṛn, kīḍṛn, sadṛn and pratisadṛn: but also īḍṛk, tāḍṛk, svardṛk, etc.; — d. For path and puṁs, 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, nabò, ās, 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 rītyap; — 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 -pāt, while -padbhīs and -pās occur in the Brāhmaṇas; — e. Of nas, 'nose'; — f. Sporadic cases (V.) are: yāj (?), voc. sing.; padbhās and -rūpas, accus. pl.; vānīvānas, nom. pl. The strengthened forms bhāj and rāj are constant, through all classes of cases.

388. Other modes of differentiation, by elision of a or contraction of the syllable containing it, appear in a few stems:

a. In -han: see below, 402; — b. In kṣam (V.), along with prolongation of a: thus, kṣāmā du., kṣāmas pl.; kṣamā 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.): mādābhās and mādābhayās from māś 'month'; the wholly anomalous padbhās (RV. and VS.): AV. has always padbhās) from pād; and sarāṭ and sarādabhayās corresponding to a nom. pl. sarāghas (instead of sarāhas: 222). Dān is apparently for dām, by 143, end. Agnādh is abbreviated from agni-tāth.

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 datās, pathās, padās, niḍās, apās, uṣās, jñāsās, pumās, māsās, mahās; and sometimes in vācās, sruṣās, hrutās, sriddhās, kṣapās, vīpās, durās, iṣūs, dviṣūs, druḥās (beside vācās etc.).

Exceptional instances, in which a weak case has the tone on the stem, occur as follows: sādā, nādābhayas, tānā (also tanū) and tāne, rāpe and rāṇaṣu, vāṇaṣu, svāṇi, vīpās, kṣāmī, sūrā and sūrās (but sūrē, ānās, and vānās and bṛhas (in vānāspātī, bṛhaspātī. On the other hand, a strong case is accented
on the ending in mahás, nom. pl., and kásám (A.V.: perhaps a false reading). And presá, instr. sing., is accented as if prés were a simple stem, instead of pra-ś. Vimaldhák is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in ac or añc, see 410.

391. Examples of inflection. As an example of normal monosyllabic inflection, we may take the stem vāc, f., ‘voice’ (from vāc, with constant prolongation); of inflection with strong and weak stem, pād, m., ‘foot’; of polysyllabic inflection, marút, m., ‘wind’ or ‘wind-god’; of a monosyllabic root-stem in composition, trivṛt, ‘three-fold’, in the neuter. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</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>N. V.</td>
<td>vāk</td>
<td>pād</td>
<td>marút</td>
<td>trivṛt</td>
<td>vācām</td>
<td>padām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>vācām</td>
<td>padām</td>
<td>marútam</td>
<td>trivṛtā</td>
<td>vācās</td>
<td>padās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>vācā</td>
<td>padā</td>
<td>marūtā</td>
<td>trivṛtā</td>
<td>vācās</td>
<td>padās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>vācē</td>
<td>padē</td>
<td>marūte</td>
<td>trivṛte</td>
<td>vācēs</td>
<td>padēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>vācās</td>
<td>padēs</td>
<td>marūtes</td>
<td>trivṛtes</td>
<td>vācēs</td>
<td>padēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>vāci</td>
<td>pādi</td>
<td>marūti</td>
<td>trivṛti</td>
<td>vācēs</td>
<td>padēs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I. D. Ab.</th>
<th>G. L.</th>
<th>Plural:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>vācāu</td>
<td>pādāu</td>
<td>marūtāu</td>
<td>trivṛti</td>
<td>vācās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>vāgbyām</td>
<td>padbhjrām</td>
<td>marūdbhjrām</td>
<td>trivṛdbhjrām</td>
<td>vācās, vācās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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* (*gīh*), *giram*, *girā* etc.; *girāu*, *girbhyaṃ*, *girōs*; *giras*, *girbhīs*, *girbhyaṃ*. *girām*, *giru* (165); and so *pūr*, *pūram*, *pūrbhīs*, *pūrusū*; and *ācīs*, *ācīsam*, *ācīṣā*, *ācīrbhīs*, *ācīṣūs*; and so on.

393. The stem *āp*, f., ‘water’, is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before *bh* to *d* *(151 d)*: thus, *āpas*, *ādhis*, *ādhyās*, *āpām*, *apsū*.

But RV. has the sing. instr. *apā* and gen. *apās*. In AV. often, and in an instance or two in RV., the nom. and accus. pl. forms are confused in use, *āpas* being employed as accus., and (in an instance or two) *apās* as nominative.

394. The stem *pūnīs*, m., ‘man’, is very irregular, substituting *pūmāns* 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, 462a) *pūman* in the later language, but *pūmas* in the earlier. Thus: *pūmān*, *pūmānsam*, *puṃsā*, *puṃsē*, *puṃsās*, *puṃsī*, *pūman*; *pūmānsūm*, *pūmbhyāṃ*, *puṃsos*; *pūmānsas*, *puṃsās*, *puṃbhis*, *pūmbhyās*, *puṃsām*, *puṃsūs*.

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* unlingualized 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 *pānthā* or *pāthan*, and the middle from *pathi*: see under an-stems, below, 433.
The stem dánt, m., 'tooth', is perhaps of participial origin, and has, like a participle, the forms dánt and dát, strong and weak: thus (V.), dán, dántam, datā, etc.; datás acc. pl. etc. But in the middle cases it has the monosyllabic and not the participial accent: thus, dadhās, dadbhās. In nom. pl. occurs also -datas instead of -dantas. By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from dánta.

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

Thus, hād, n., 'heart', māṁs or mās, n., 'meat', mās, m., 'month', nās, f., 'nose', niç, f., 'night' (not found in the older language), pṛt, f., 'army', are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the accus. sing. and du. (the neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from hādaya, māṁsā, māsa, nāsikā, niçā, pṛtanā. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find mās, 'flesh', accus. sing.; mās, 'month', nom. sing.; and nāsā, 'nostrils', du. From pṛt occurs only the loc. pl. pṛtsā and (RV., once) the same case with double ending, pṛtsāṣu.

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, āṣaj, n., 'blood', pākrī, n., 'ordure', yākrī, 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 udaka (432).

Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, dánta, māsa. A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language, more commonly in the later. Such are pāda, -māda, -dāca, bhṛṣā, viṣṭāpa, dvāra and dura, pura, ḍhura, -dṛṣa, nāsā, nādā, kṣipā, kṣapā, āḍā, 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 māh, 'great', is common in RV., though it dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, māhī, 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 yatásruc, ‘with offered bowl’; śrīvatrac, ‘sun-skinned’; cátuspad, ‘four-footed; suhârd, ‘kind-hearted, friendly’; rîtyâp (i.e. rîti-ap), ‘having streaming waters’; sahâśradvâr, ‘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 ańc (407 ff.), those with han (402), and those with pad, as ēkapad, dvāpāḍi.

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>vṛtrahānū</td>
<td>vṛtrahānas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>vṛtrahānām</td>
<td>vṛtrahābhīm</td>
<td>vṛtrahābhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnē</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnī, -hāṇī</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnī, -hāṇī</td>
<td>vṛtraghīnas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vṛtrahān</td>
<td>vṛtrahānū</td>
<td>vṛtrahānas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to the change of n to ň, see 183, 195.

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

An accus. pl. -hāṇas (like the nom.) also occurs. Vṛtraghīnīs (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.), -ghā (RV.), -hāna.

403. The root vaḥ, ‘carry’, at the end of a compound is said by the grammarians to be lengthened to vāḥ 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 havyavāḥ, ‘sacrifice-bearing’ (epithet of Agni, havyavāḥi, havyavāham, havyāūhā, etc.; havyavāhā, havyavādbhīyām, havyāūhōs; havyavāhas, havyāūhas, havyavādbhīs, etc. And ēvetavāḥ (not quot-
able) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in vāṣ and the vocative in vāṣ or vāś.

In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with vah have been found to occur: namely, -vāṭ, -vāham, -vāḥau or -vāhā, and -vāhas. TS. has the irregular nom. sing. paśṭhashāt.

404. Of very irregular formation and inflection is one common compound of vah, namely anadvādh (anas + vah, ‘burden-bearing’ or ‘cart-drawing’: i.e. ‘ox’). Its stem-form in the strong cases is anadvādh, in the weakest anadvā think, and in the middle anadvād (perhaps by dissimilation from anadvād). Moreover, its nom. and voc. sing. are made in vān and van (as if from a vant-stem). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. anadvān</td>
<td>anadvāhau</td>
<td>anadvāhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. anadvāham</td>
<td>anadvāham</td>
<td>anadvāhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. anadvāhā</td>
<td>anadvādbhyām</td>
<td>anadvādbhyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. anadvāhe</td>
<td>anadvāḥas</td>
<td>anadvāḥas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. anadvāhas</td>
<td>anadvāhas</td>
<td>anadvāhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. anadvāhā</td>
<td>anadvāhā</td>
<td>anadvāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. anadvāhā</td>
<td>anadvāhā</td>
<td>anadvāhā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. anadvāvan</td>
<td>anadvāhau</td>
<td>anadvāhās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anadvādbhyās (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language.

The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either anadvāhi or anadvāhi (K.).

405. The root sāḥ, ‘overcome’, has in the Veda a double irregularity: its ś is changeable to s even after an a-vowel — as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV., tvām sāṭ) — while it sometimes remains unchanged after an i or u-vowel; and its ā is either prolonged or remains unchanged, in both strong and weak cases. The quotable forms are:

śāṭ, śāham or -śāham or -śāham, -sāḥa, -sāhe or -sāhe, -sāhas or -śāhas or -sāhas; -sāḥa (du.); -śāhas or -sāhas.

406. The compound avayāj (avayāj, ‘make offering’), ‘a certain priest’ or ‘a certain sacrifice’, is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. avayās, and to make its middle cases from avayās.

Its only quotable form is avayās, f. (RV. and AV., each once). If the stem is a derivative from ava + yāj, ‘conciliate’, avayās is probably from ava + yāṣ, which has the same meaning.

407. Compounds with aṅc or ac. The root ac or 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 aṅc (yielding aṅ, from 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 *ū*.

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 * práṇe*, ‘forward, east’; *pratyāṇe*, ‘backward, west’; *visvaṇe*, ‘going apart’.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>práṇ</th>
<th>prák</th>
<th>pratyāṇ</th>
<th>pratyāk</th>
<th>viśvaṇ</th>
<th>viśvak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. práṇa</td>
<td>prák</td>
<td>pratyāṇa</td>
<td>pratyāk</td>
<td>viśvaṇa</td>
<td>viśvak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. práci</td>
<td>práci</td>
<td>pratyāci</td>
<td>pratyāci</td>
<td>viśūci</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. práce</td>
<td>práce</td>
<td>pratyāce</td>
<td>pratyāce</td>
<td>viśuce</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G. prácas</td>
<td>prácas</td>
<td>pratyācas</td>
<td>pratyācas</td>
<td>viśūcas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. práci</td>
<td>práci</td>
<td>pratyāci</td>
<td>pratyāci</td>
<td>viśūci</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V. práṇcāu</th>
<th>práci</th>
<th>pratyāṇcāu</th>
<th>pratyāci</th>
<th>viśvaṇcāu</th>
<th>viśūci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab. prághyām</td>
<td>práci</td>
<td>pratyāghyām</td>
<td>pratyāci</td>
<td>viśvaṇghyām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L. prácos</td>
<td>prácos</td>
<td>pratyācos</td>
<td>pratyācos</td>
<td>viśūcos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V. práncas pránci</th>
<th>pratyāncas pratyānci</th>
<th>viśvaṇcas viśvaṇci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. prácas pránci</td>
<td>pratyācas pratyānci</td>
<td>viśūcas viśvaṇci</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. prághbis</td>
<td>pratyāghbis</td>
<td>viśvaṇghbis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab. prághbyas</td>
<td>pratyāghbyas</td>
<td>viśvaṇghbyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. prácām</td>
<td>pratyācām</td>
<td>viśūcām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. práksu</td>
<td>pratyāksu</td>
<td>viśvaṇksu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The feminine stems are *prāci*, *pratīci*, *viṣūci*, 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 *ṇi*; but of this a number of examples occur in the Brāhmaṇas: thus, *prāṇi*, *pratyāṇi*, *arvaṇi*, *samyaṇi*, *sadhyāṇi*, *arvaṇi*.

409. a. Like *prāṇe* are inflected *āpāṇe*, *āvaṇe*, *pārāṇe*, *arvāṇe*, *adharāṇe*, and others of rare occurrence.

b. Like *pratyāṇe* are inflected *nyāṇe* (i.e. *niṇe*, *samyaṇe* (*sam + aṇe*, with irregularly inserted *i*), and *udāṇe* (weakest stem *ūdīc*: *ud + aṇe*, with *i* inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.

c. Like *visvaṇe* is inflected *anvāṇe*, also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.

d. Still more irregular is *tiryāṇe*, of which the weakest stem is *tirācī* (*tirās + ac*: the other stems are made from *tir + aṇe* or *ac*, with the inserted *i*).

410. The accentuation of these words is irregular, as regards both the stems themselves and their inflected forms. Sometimes the one element has
the tone and sometimes the other, without any apparent reason for the difference. If the compound is accented on the final syllable, the accent is shifted in RV. to the ending in the weakest cases provided their stem shows the contraction to i or u; thus, prācā, arvācā, adharācas, but pratīcā, anūcās, samīcī. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, pratīcī, samīcī, anūcī (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 prevalingly neuter; but there are also a few masculines, and a single feminine.

412. The stems in śn as are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix śn as (a small number also with nam tas and nam nas, and some are obscure); the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes śn is and un us.

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

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take mānas, n., 'mind'; āṅgiras, m., 'An-giras'; havis, n., 'libation'.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. mānas</td>
<td>āṅgiras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. mānas</td>
<td>āṅgirasam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. māñasā</td>
<td>āṅgirasā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. mānase</td>
<td>āṅgirase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.G. mānasas</td>
<td>āṅgirasas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Declension V. B, Derivative Stems in *as, is, us.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L.</th>
<th>मानसि</th>
<th>अंगिरसि</th>
<th>हविषि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>मानसि</td>
<td>अंगिरासु</td>
<td>हविषि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अंगिरासु</td>
<td>हविषि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>मानसि</th>
<th>अंगिरसि</th>
<th>हविषि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>मानसि</td>
<td>अंगिरासु</td>
<td>हविषि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अंगिरासु</td>
<td>हविषि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>मानसि</th>
<th>अंगिरसि</th>
<th>हविषि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>मानसि</td>
<td>अंगिरासु</td>
<td>हविषि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अंगिरासु</td>
<td>हविषि</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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In like manner, चलु स *cākṣus,* n., 'eye,' forms चलु स *cākṣuṣा, चलु न *cākṣur-bhyaṃ, चलु नि *cākṣuṇि, and so on.

### Vedic irregularities.

**a.** The masc. and fem. du. ending *ā* instead of *āu* is as usual elsewhere;  — **b.** The fem. *uśā,* 'dawn,' often prolongs its *a* in the other strong cases (besides nom. sing.): thus, *uśāsam, uśāsā, uśāsas.* In instr. pl. occurs (RV., once) *uṣābhis* instead of *uṣóbhis* (only quotable example of a middle case). From *tācās* is once found (RV.) in like manner the du, *toṇāsā;*  — **c.** Janus has the nom. sing. masc. *janās,* like an as-stem;  — **d.** From *svāvas* and *svātvas* occur in RV. nom. sing. masc. in *vān;*  — **e.** One or two apparently contracted forms — thus, *vedām* for *vedhāsam,* and *urdhāsā* for *surādhasās,* nom. pl. — are met with.

### The grammarians regard *ucānas,* m., as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (355a), but give it the irregular nom. *ucānā* and the voc. *ucānas* or *ucana* or *ucanan.* 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', aprás, 'active'; táras, 'quickness', tarás, 'quick'; yácas, 'beauty', yacás, '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'; våpus, 'wonder' and 'wonderful'.

418. Adjective compounds having nouns of this division as final member are very common: thus, sumánás, 'favorably minded'; dirgháyuśu, 'long-lived'; çukrápcis, '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 ángiras, above). Thus, from sumánás, the nom. and accus. are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular.</th>
<th>dual.</th>
<th>plural.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. f. n.</td>
<td>m. f. n.</td>
<td>m. f. n.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. sumánás -nas</td>
<td>sumánásau -nasi</td>
<td>sumánásas -nánsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. sumánásam -nas</td>
<td>sumánásam -nas</td>
<td>sumánásam -nas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the other cases (save the vocative) are alike in all genders.

From dirgháyuśu, in like manner:

| N. dirgháyuśu | dirgháyuśāu -yuṣi | dirgháyuśas -yuṇi |
| A. dirgháyuśam -yuṣ | dirgháyuśām -yuṣi | dirgháyuśas -yuṇi |
| I. dirgháyuśā | dirgháyuśabhyām | dirgháyuśahis |
| etc. | etc. | etc. |

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 ān an, nān man, and ān 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
\v{g}a \v{a}; 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 \n\n is dropped. The \n\n is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving \v{g}a as final in the masculine, \v{g} a in the neuter).

The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual analogy (311): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening to \v{g}a \v{a}, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of \v{g} 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.

422. The vocative sing. is in masculines the pure stem; in neuters, either this or like the nominative. The rest of the inflection requires no description.

423. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that when, in the weakest cases, an acute \acute a of the suffix is lost, the tone is thrown forward upon the ending.

424. Examples of declension. As such may be taken राजन rājan, m., ‘king’; आत्मन् ātmān, m., ‘soul, self’; नामन् nāman, n., ‘name’. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>ग्राहाम</th>
<th>आत्माम</th>
<th>नामाम</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. राजा</td>
<td>राजाम</td>
<td>नाम</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. राजानाम</td>
<td>आत्मानाम</td>
<td>नामाम</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. राज्या</td>
<td>आत्मण</td>
<td>नामाभ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. राज्ये</td>
<td>आत्मणे</td>
<td>नामभ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G. राज्यम्</td>
<td>आत्मानम्</td>
<td>नामम्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. Nouns and Adjectives.

L. राजनि, राजनि

राजनि, राजनी

ग्रामनि

नामि, नामि

N. राजनास

राजनास

ग्रामानस

नामानि

A. राजनस

राजनस

ग्रामानस

नामानि

I. राजपनि

राजपनि

ग्रामपनि

नामपनि

D. Ab. राजवनि

राजवनि

ग्रामवनि

नामवनि

G. राजनम

राजनम

ग्रामनम

नामाम

L. राजसु

राजसु

ग्रामसु

नामसु

Plural:

N. राजनास

राजनास

ग्रामानस

नामानि

A. राजनस

राजनस

ग्रामानस

नामानि

I. राजपनि

राजपनि

ग्रामपनि

नामपनि

The weakest cases of मुर्धनि, म., ‘head’, would be accented मुर्धनि, मुर्धनि, मुर्धनि, मुर्धनि (acc. pl.), मुर्धनि, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., मुर्धनि or मुर्धनि).

425. Vedic Irregularities. a. Here, as elsewhere, the ending of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. masc. is usually ā instead of āu.

b. The briefer form (with ejected a) of the loc. sing., and of the neut. nom. etc. du., is almost unknown to the older language. RV. writes once चताद्‌वनि, but it is to be read चताद्‌वनि; and a few similar cases occur in AV. In the Brāhmaṇas also, such forms as धामनि and सामनि are much more common than such as अहि and लोमनि.

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, मुर्धनि, कार्मन, अद्वनि, besides मुर्धनि 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 brāhmāṇī: 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, mahīnā, prathīnā, varīnā, dānā, prēnā, bhūnā, for mahimnā etc. And drāghmā (RV., once) is perhaps (Grassmann) for drāghmāṇā.

f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes found with the a of the suffix retained: thus, for example, bhūmanā, dāmāṇe, yāmanas, uksānas (accus. pl.), etc. In the infinitive datives — trāmāṇe, vidmāṇe, 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, rtāvas, evayāvas, khidvās (?), prātarītas, mātariivas, 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, pūṣān and aryamāṇ: thus, pūṣā, pūṣāṇam, pūṣāṇa, etc.

b. In the Veda, uksāṇ, ‘bull’ (but RV. uksāṇam once); yōsān, ‘maiden’; vīṣān, ‘virile, bull’ (but vīṣāṇam and vīṣānas are also met with); tmān, abbreviation of ātmān; and two or three other scattering forms: anarvāṇam, jēmāṇā. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre seems to demand a where ā is written.

427. The stems cūn, m., ‘dog’, and yūvān, ‘young’, have in the weakest cases the contracted form cūn and yūn (with retention of the accent); in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, cūnā, cūnānem, cūnā, cūne, etc., cūbhīyānī, cūbābhīs, etc.

In dual, RV. has once yūnā for yūvānā.

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

The RV. has once the weak form maghōnas in nom. pl.

Parallel with this is found the stem maghāvānt (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, maghāvādbhīs, maghāvātsu, etc. (not maghāvābhīs 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., áhobhīyaśa, áhobhīsa, etc. (PB. has aharbhīs); but áhā, etc., áhāni or áhāni, áhāni or áhānī, 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 áha, áhna.

In the oldest language, the middle cases áhabhīsa, áhabhīyas, áhabhīsu also occur.

b. The stem údhan, n., 'udder', exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with údhār and údhas, but has become later an as-stem only (except in the fem. údhāni of adjective compounds): thus, údhār or údhas (so RV.: AV. only the latter), údhanas, údhan or údhāni, údhabhīs, údhabhīsu.

431. The neuter stems aksūṇ, 'eye', asthān, 'bone', dadhān, 'curd', sakthān, 'thigh', form in the later language only the weakest cases, aksūṇa, asthānā, dadhāna, sakthāni or sakthānī, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in i, áksi etc.: see above, 343f.

In the older language, other cases from the an-stems occur: thus, aksūṇi and aksūbhīs; asthānī, asthābhīs, and asthābhīyas; sakthānī.

432. The neuter stems asāṃ, 'blood', yakāṃ, 'liver', čakāṃ, 'ordure', āsāṃ, 'mouth', udān, 'water', dosāṃ, 'fore-arm', yūsāṃ, 'broth', are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems āsāṃ, yūkṛt, čākṛt, āsāṃ, udāka (in older language udakā), dōs, yūsa, which are fully inflected.

Earlier occurs also the dual dosāṇi.

433. The stem pānthan, m., 'road', is reckoned in the later language as making the complete set of strong cases, with the irregularity that the nom.-voc. sing. adds a s. The corresponding middle cases are made from pathi, and the weakest from path. Thus:

from pānthan — pāthās, pānthānam; pānthānāu; pānthānas;
from pathi — pathībhīyaśa; pathībhīyas, pathīsū;
from path — pathā, pathē, pathās, pathi; 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 pathi occur also the nom. pl. pathāyas and gen. pl. pathānām. RV. has once pathās, acc. pl., with long ā.

434. The stems mānthan, m., 'stirring-stick', and ṛbhukṣān, m., an epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with pānthan; but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from
the former the acc. sing. mānthām, and gen. pl. mathinām (like the corresponding cases from pānthām); from the latter, the nom. sing. rbhukṣās and voc. pl. rbhukṣās, like the corresponding Vedic forms of pānthān; but also the acc. sing. rbhukṣānam and nom. pl. rbhukṣānas, 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, yājvari, jītvari.

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, durnāmni, sōmarājīni.

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 ś in, mīn min, and vīn 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, bāla, ‘strength’, balin, m. n., balīnī, 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 ि i 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 बलिन, 'strong'. Thus:

 m.    n.      m.    n.      m.    n.
N. बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन
   balī balī balī balī balī balī balī balī
A. बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम
   balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam
I. बलिना  बलिना  बलिना  बलिना  बलिना  बलिना  बलिना  बलिना
   balinā balinā balinā balinā balinā balinā balinā balinā
D. बलिनेन  बलिनेन  बलिनेन  बलिनेन  बलिनेन  बलिनेन  बलिनेन  बलिनेन
   baline baline baline baline baline baline baline baline
Ab. बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम  बलिनम
   balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam balinam
G. बलिनास  बलिनास  बलिनास  बलिनास  बलिनास  बलिनास  बलिनास  बलिनास
   balinas balinas balinas balinas balinas balinas balinas balinas
L. बलिनिं  बलिनिं  बलिनिं  बलिनिं  बलिनिं  बलिनिं  बलिनिं  बलिनिं
   balini balini balini balini balini balini balini balini
V. बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन  बलिन
   balin balin balin balin balin balin balin balin

The derived feminine stem in īni is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative i (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 अन्त ant (or अत at), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes मन्त mant and वंत vant (or वत mat and वत vat). They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ī i.
1. Participles in ant or at.

443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in ἄτος ant and ἄτο 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 t̄ūd-class or accented ā-class (752), and of verbs of the ad-class or root-class ending in a, 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 ν 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 j̄ūhu, participle-stem j̄ūhv̄at; intensive-stem j̄ōhu, intensive participle-stem j̄ōhv̄at. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, c̄ūksat, d̄āsat, d̄āvat, p̄āsat, s̄āscat; and the aorist participle dh̄āksat. Vāvṛdhānt (RV., once), which has the n notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in a: compare vāvṛdhānta, vāvṛdhāsva.

Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. in antī.

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in घन an by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form घनन्त antas. 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 antī if the n is retained, atī if it is lost.

447. Examples of declension. As such may serve
bhāvant, ‘being’; adānt, ‘eating’; jūhvat, ‘sacrificing’. Thus:

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>Bhavāt</th>
<th>Bhavat</th>
<th>Advant</th>
<th>Advant</th>
<th>Jūhvat</th>
<th>Jūhvati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavāntam</td>
<td>Bhavatam</td>
<td>Bhavatam</td>
<td>Advantam</td>
<td>Advantam</td>
<td>Jūhvatan</td>
<td>Jūhvatan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>Bhavatā</th>
<th>Advant</th>
<th>Jūhvati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavate</td>
<td>Advatē</td>
<td>Jūhvate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ab. G.</th>
<th>Bhavatas</th>
<th>Advatās</th>
<th>Jūhvatas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavati</td>
<td>Advati</td>
<td>Jūhvati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V.</th>
<th>Bhavān</th>
<th>Advāt</th>
<th>Jūhvati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavānta</td>
<td>Advānta</td>
<td>Jūhvānta</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>Bhavatī Bhavati</th>
<th>Advatī Advatī</th>
<th>Jūhvatī Jūhvati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavantau Bhavantī</td>
<td>Advantān Advatī</td>
<td>Jūhvatāu Jūhvati</td>
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</tr>
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<th>Advābhyām</th>
<th>Jūhvābhyām</th>
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<td>Bhavādbhyām</td>
<td>Advādbhyām</td>
<td>Jūhvādbhyām</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G. L.</th>
<th>Advatos</th>
<th>Advatos</th>
<th>Jūhvatos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavatos</td>
<td>Advatos</td>
<td>Jūhvatos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>Bhavatam</th>
<th>Advatam</th>
<th>Jūhvato</th>
<th>Jūhvatis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavantes Bhavanti</td>
<td>Advantes Adanti</td>
<td>Jūhvates Jūhvati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>Bhavatam</th>
<th>Advatam</th>
<th>Jūhvato</th>
<th>Jūhvatis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavatos Bhavanti</td>
<td>Advatos Adanti</td>
<td>Jūhvatos Jūhvati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>Advādbhis</th>
<th>Advādbhis</th>
<th>Jūhvādbhis</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavādbhis</td>
<td>Advādbhis</td>
<td>Jūhvādbhis</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>D. Ab.</th>
<th>Advādbhyas</th>
<th>Advādbhyas</th>
<th>Jūhvādbhyas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhavādbhyas</td>
<td>Advādbhyas</td>
<td>Jūhvādbhyas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 449. Declension V. E, Derivative Stems in ant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G.</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhāvatām</td>
<td>adatām</td>
<td>jūhvatām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāvatsu</td>
<td>adātsu</td>
<td>jūhvatsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The future participle bhaviṣyānti may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either bhaviṣyānti or bhaviṣyati; tudānt, either tudānti or tudāti; yānt (yā), either yānti or yāti. And jūhvat, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also jūhvanti (beside jūhvat, as given in the paradigm above).

But these strong forms (as well as bhavanīti, du., and its like from present-stems in unaccented a) are quite contrary to general analogy, and of somewhat doubtful character. No Vedic example of them is found; nor have they been noticed anywhere in the older language. The cases concerned, indeed, would be everywhere of rare occurrence.

448. The Vedic deviations from the model as above given are few. The dual ending āu is only one sixth as common as ā. Anomalous accent is seen in a case or two: accolāte and rathirāyātām. The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. neut. is sīnī, with lengthened ā: compare the forms in -mānti and -vānti, below, 454c.

**< 449.** The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding ई 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 ई to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in antī.

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), bhavanīti; from यद्व (stem dīvya), dīvyanī; from būbhūsa and bhāvaya (desid. and caus. of यभु, būbhūsa and bhāvaya.

Exceptions to this rule are rare. RV. has tāksatī and jārati; Bopp (Gr., 530) quotes a few cases from the Nala. The AV. jīvantī, with irregular accent, is doubtless to be regarded as a proper name.

**b.** Participles from tense-stems in accented ā may add the feminine-sign either to the strong or to the weak stem-form, or may make their feminines in antī 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 यतु (stem tudā), tudānti or tudāti; from bhaviṣyā (fut. of यभु, bhaviṣyantī or bhaviṣyatī; from devayā (denom. of devā), devayantī or devayatī.
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 ā are found there rūjati and śiśecati (RV.), tudati and pīnvaṭi (AV.). From denominatives, devayati (RV.), durasyati and cārūyati (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 y/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 ati (or, if the stem be otherwise accented than on the final, in ati) only.

Thus, adati from y/ad; jāwati from y/hu; yunjati from y/yuj; svanvaṭi from y/su; kurvaṭi from y/kṛ; kriṇati from y/kṛ; déśiḍati from déśiḍ (intens. of y/diḍ).

Exceptions are occasionally met with in the later language, as adiṣjantī (M.), rudantī and kurvantī (N.). And AV. has yānti once.

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

a. bṛhat (often written vṛhat in the later language), ‘great’: it is inflected like a participle (with bṛhati androughly bṛhati in du. and pl. neut.).

b. mahānti, ‘great’; inflected like a participle, but with the irregularity that the a of the ending is lengthened in the strong forms: thus, mahān, mahāntam; mahāntau (neut. mahāti); mahān-ántas, mahānti: instr. mahātā etc.

c. pīṣantī, ‘speckled’, and (in Veda only) rūcantī, ‘shining’.

d. jāgantī, ‘movable, lively’ (in the later language, as neuter noun, ‘world’), a reduplicated formation from y/gam, ‘go’; its nom. etc. neut. pl. is allowed by the grammarians to be only jāganti.

e. ṭhantī, ‘small’ (only once, in RV., ṭhatē).

All these form their feminine in ati only: thus, bṛhati, mahati, pīṣati and rūcati (contrary to the rule for participles), jāgati.

For dantī, ‘tooth’, which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 396.

451. The pronominal adjectives iyantī and kiyantī are inflected like adjectives in mantī and vantī, having (452) iyān and kiyān as nom. masc. sing., iyati and kiyati as nom. etc. du. neut. and as feminine stems, and iyanti and kiyanti as nom. etc. plur. neut.

But the neut. pl. iyanti and the loc. sing.(?) kiyāti are found in RV

2. Possessives in mantī and vantī.

452. The adjectives formed by these two suffixes are
inflected precisely alike, and very nearly like the participles in अन्त ant. From the latter they differ only by lengthening the अ 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 ati (or ati), and in the plural anti (or antī).

The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus, mātī, vatī (or māti, vāti).

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 प्रमण paçumānt, 'possessing cattle', and भागवत bhāgavant, 'fortunate, blessed'.

Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>प्रमज्ञ</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumān</td>
<td>paçumāt</td>
<td>bhāgavan</td>
<td>bhāgavat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>प्रमणत</td>
<td>प्रमणत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumāntam</td>
<td>paçumāt</td>
<td>bhāgavantam</td>
<td>bhāgavat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçuman</td>
<td>paçumat</td>
<td>bhāgavan</td>
<td>bhāgavat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual:</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paçumāntā</td>
<td>paçumātī</td>
<td>bhāgavantā</td>
<td>bhāgavati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A.V.</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
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<td>paçumāntā</td>
<td>paçumāti</td>
<td>bhāgavantā</td>
<td>bhāgavati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>paçumāntas</td>
<td>paçumānti</td>
<td>bhāgavantās</td>
<td>bhāgavanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>प्रमण</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
<td>भागवत</td>
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<td>paçumānti</td>
<td>bhāgavata</td>
<td>bhāgavanti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>प्रमणदिप</td>
<td>प्रमणद्भ</td>
<td>भागवदिप</td>
<td>भागवद्भ</td>
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<td>paçumādbhis</td>
<td>bhāgavadbhis</td>
<td>bhāgavadbhis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
V. Nouns and Adjectives.

454. 

Vedic Irregularities. a. In dual masc. nom. etc., ā (for ās) 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, advivas, harivas, bhānumas, havismas. Such vocatives in RV. occur more than a hundred times, while not a single unquestionable instance of one in an is to be found. In the other Vedic texts, vocatives in as are extremely rare (but bhagavas and its contraction bhagos are met with, even in the later language); and in their reproduction of RV. passages the as is usually changed to an.

It was pointed out above (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, gṛtāvānti, 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, praṃvanti, 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. arvan 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 bhágavant.

457. The pronominal adjectives tāvand, etāvand, yāvand, and the Vedic tvand, māvand, tvāvand, 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 वान vāns, which becomes, by regular process (150), vān in the nom. sing., and which is
shortened to वन वन in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into उष उष. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to वत वत.

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

< 459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding र to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in उषि उषि.

< 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 vidvan, ‘knowing’ (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from विद् vid; and तस्थायिन् tasthiivan, ‘having stood’, from तथा stha.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>M.</th>
<th>N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>विद्वान्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>विद्वासम्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>विद्यो</td>
<td>तस्थिषि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>विदुषे</td>
<td>तस्थिषे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>विद्यपि</td>
<td>तस्थिषयि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>विदुषि</td>
<td>तस्थिषि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>विद्वान्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>N.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>विद्वासावृ</td>
<td>विदुषि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>तस्थिषयसावृ</td>
<td>तस्थिषयि</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

Plural:

N. V.  vidusas  vidivansi  tasmivasas  tasmivasisi
A.  vidusas  vidivansi  tasmivas  tasmivasisi
I.  vidvabhais  tasmibhis
D. Ab.  vidvabhias  tasmibhias
G.  vidusam  tasmusam
L.  vidvatsu  tasmibatsu

The feminine stems of these two participles are विद्योमी viduśī and तस्मुषी tasmusī.

Other examples of the different stems are:
from यक्र — cakrvāns, cakrvāt, cakrūs, cakrūśi;
from यनी — ninivāns, ninivāt, ninirūs, ninirūśi;
from यभु — babhūvāns, babhūvāt, babhūvūs, babhūvūśi;
from यतन — tenivāns, tenivāt, tenūś, tenūśi.

462. a. In the oldest language (RV.), the vocative sing. masc. (like that of vant and mant-stems: above, 454 b) has the ending vas instead of van: thus, cikitvas (changed to -van in a parallel passage of AV.), titirvas, didivas, mādhvas.

D. Forms from the middle stem, in vat, are extremely rare earlier: only three (tatanvāt and vatadvāt, neut. sing., and jāguvādhis, 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, vidvastara, mādhvastama.

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 cakrūsām, acc. sing., and ṛtibhyusās, nom. pl.; emusām, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem emušā: and ÇB. has prosāsām. Similar instances, especially from vidvāns, are now and then met with later (see BR., under vidvāns).
d. The AV. has once *bhaktivānas*, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage *bhaktivānas; ca khuivas* (RV., once) is of doubtful character; *okivānas* (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of *yue*, 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 *yāns* (usually *rīyāns*), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in *yas* (or *rīyās*), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in *yan* (but for the older language see below, 465a).

The feminine is made by adding *i* to the weak masc.-neut. stem.

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of *crīyas* (‘better’), and of *gāriyas* (‘heavier’). Thus:

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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
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<th>I.</th>
<th>V.</th>
<th>N.A.V.</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<td>श्रेयन्</td>
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<td>श्रेयासि</td>
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Singular:

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<th><em>gāriyas</em></th>
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<tr>
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<td><em>gāriyan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td><em>crīyānsam</em></td>
<td><em>gāriyānsam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td><em>crīyasa</em></td>
<td><em>gāriyasa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td><em>crīyan</em></td>
<td><em>gāriyan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A.V.</td>
<td><em>crīyānsāu</em></td>
<td><em>gāriyānsāu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural:</td>
<td><em>crīyānsas</em></td>
<td><em>gāriyānsas</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

etc.

etc.

etc.

etc.

etc.

etc.
The feminine stems of these adjectives are ग्रेयसिं ग्रेयाशि and गारियसिं गारियासि.

465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions: 454b, 462a) is in yas instead of yan: thus, ojīyas, jīyas (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, kaniyasam, acc. masc., kaniyasāu du. 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 र्यास् iyas for the comparative and र्थे istha 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, unconnected with them in derivation.

Thus, from \( \sqrt{ksip} \), ‘hurl’, come \( ksēpiyas \) and \( kṣepistha \), which belong in meaning to \( kṣiprā \), ‘quick’; from \( \sqrt{vr} \), ‘encompass’, come \( vāriyas \) and \( vāristha \), which belong to \( urā \), ‘broad’; while, for example, \( kāniyas \) and \( kāniṣṭha \) are attached by the grammarians to \( yuvan \), ‘young’, or \( ālpa \), ‘small’; and \( vārṣiyas \) and \( vārṣistha \) to \( vrddhā \), ‘old’.

468. From Veda and Brāhmaṇa 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 \( \sqrt{tap} \), ‘burn’, comes \( tāpiṣṭha \), ‘excessively burning’; from \( \sqrt{yaj} \), ‘offer’, come \( yājiyas \) and \( yājiṣṭha \), ‘better and best (or very well) sacrificing’; from \( \sqrt{yudh} \), ‘fight’, comes \( yōdhiyas \), ‘fighting better’; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, \( āj \), ‘hasty, rapid’, with \( jāviyas \) and \( jāviṣṭha \). In a little class of instances (eight), the root has a preposition prefixed, which then takes the accent: thus, \( āgamiṣṭha \), ‘especially coming hither’; \( vicayiṣṭha \), ‘best clearing away’; — in a couple of cases (\( ḍṛamīṣṭha, ṭarāvapiṣṭha, āṣtheyas \)), the negative particle is prefixed; — in a single word (\( cāmbhaviṣṭha \)), an element of another kind. The words of this formation often take an accusative object: thus, \( nabhās tāriyān \) (RV.), ‘traversing rapidly the cloud’; \( vṛtrām hāniṣṭhāh \) (RV.), ‘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 \( vāriṣṭha \), ‘choicest’ (\( vāra \), ‘choice’), \( bārhiṣṭha \), ‘greatest’ (\( bhānt \), ‘great’), \( bōṣṭha \), ‘quickest’ (\( bōsam \), ‘quickly’), and so on. Probably by analogy with these, like formations are in a few cases made from the apparently radical syllables of words which have no otherwise traceable root in the language: thus, \( kradhiyas \) and \( kradhiṣṭha \) (K.) from \( kṛdhū \), \( sthāviyas \) and \( sthāviṣṭha \) from \( sthūrā \), \( cāciyas \) (RV.) from \( caevant \), \( āniyas \) (AV.) and \( āniṣṭha \) (TS.) from \( anāt \); and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes \( iyas \) and \( istha \) are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, \( aciṣṭha \) from \( acū \) (RV.; only case), \( tikṣniyas \) (AV.) from \( tikṣṇa \), \( brāhiṇiyas \) and \( brāḥmniṣṭha \) (TS.) from \( brāhman, dhārniṣṭha \) (TA.) from \( dhārman, drāṅhiṣṭha \) (TB.:
instead of dárhiśtha) from dr̥dhá, rághiyas (TS.) from raghu. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.

In nádyas or náviyás and náviśtha, from náwa, ‘new’, and in sányas from sana, ‘old’ (all RV.), we have also formations unconnected with verbal roots.

469. The stems in iṣṭha are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, making their feminines in ā; those in iyas 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 iyas has in a few instances the briefer form yas, generally as alternative with the other: thus, táviyás and távyás, náviyás and návyás, váśiyás and váṣyás, páníyás and pányás; and so from rabh and sah; sányas occurs alone. From bhú come bhúyas and bhúyistha, beside which RV. has also bháyiyás.

Of roots in ā, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to e: thus, sthÉyas, dhÉṣṭha, yÉṣṭha; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as dháṣṭha, yáṣṭha. The root jyá forms jyÉṣṭha, but jyáyas (like bhúyas).

The two roots in ī, pri and crī, form préyas and prÉṣṭha and crÉyas
and crÉṣṭha.

From the root of jú come, without strengthening, jÉyás and jÉṣṭha; but in the older language also, more regularly, ráyáyas and ráṣṭha.

471. The suffixes of secondary derivation are तार का tara
and तम tama. They are of almost unrestricted application, being added to adjectives of every form, simple and compound, ending in vowels or in consonants — and this from the earliest period of the language until the latest. The accent of the primitive remains (with rare exceptions) unchanged; and that form of stem is generally taken which appears before an initial consonant of a case-ending (weak or middle form).

Examples (of older as well as later occurrence) are: from vowel-stems, priyáṭara, váñhitama, ratkrita and ratkítama (RV.), cárutara, potÉtama; — from consonant-stems, cántama, cÉvattama, távästrara and távstrama, tuvistama, vápuṣṭara, tapavistara, bhágavattara, hiranyavágimattama; — from compounds, ratnadháštama, abhibhútara, sukÉttara, púrbhítama, bhúridávattara, cúcivrataśama. strikámattama.
But in the Veda the final \( n \) of a stem is regularly retained: thus, \( mad\hat{a}ntara \) and \( mad\hat{a}ntama \), \( vip\hat{s}ntama \); and of a perfect participle the weakest stem is taken: thus, \( vid\hat{u}ntara \), \( mij\hat{h}nta \). A feminine final \( \tilde{i} \) is shortened: thus, \( dev\hat{v}ntam\hat{a} \) (RV.), \( tej\hat{a}svin\hat{a}ntam\hat{a} \) (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 \( \mathfrak{i}nas \) and \( \mathfrak{i}ntha \) 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 \( \tilde{a} \).

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 \( \mathfrak{m}\hat{a}t\hat{\mathfrak{f}}ntama \), \( \mathfrak{n}\hat{\mathfrak{f}}ntama \), \( \mathfrak{m}ar\hat{u}ntama \), and others.

The suffixes \( tara \) and \( tama \) also make forms of comparison from some of the pronominal roots, as \( \mathfrak{k}a \), \( \mathfrak{y}a \), \( i \) (see below, 520); and from certain of the prepositions, as \( \mathfrak{u}t \); 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, \( \mathfrak{t}ar\hat{\mathfrak{m}} \) and \( \mathfrak{t}am\hat{\mathfrak{m}} \), to be appended to conjugational forms: thus, \( \mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}i \), ‘he cooks’, \( \mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{t}i\mathfrak{t}ar\hat{\mathfrak{m}} \), ‘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, \( \mathfrak{g}ar\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}ara \), \( \mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{g}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{e}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{f}}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{h}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{t}}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{m} \).

The use of \( tama \) as ordinal suffix is noted below (487); with this value, it is accentuated on the final, and makes its feminine in \( \tilde{i} \): thus, \( \mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{g}}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{t}}}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}} \), m. and n., \( \mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{g}}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{f}}}\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}}} \), f., ‘hundredth’.

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{r}} \) and \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}} \): thus, \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{d}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{\mathfrak{h}}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{r}} \) and \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{h}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{p}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}} \) and \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{p}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{v}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}} \) and \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{v}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{p}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{n}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{t}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{t}}\mathfrak{a} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{p}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{h}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{y}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}} \), \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{c}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{r}}\mathfrak{\mathfrak{a}} \). And \( \mathfrak{\mathfrak{m}} \) 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:

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<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
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<td>tri</td>
<td>cit</td>
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<td>das</td>
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<td>tripi</td>
<td>citi</td>
<td>pana</td>
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<td>sapti</td>
<td>api</td>
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<tr>
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<td>sahas</td>
<td>ayuta</td>
<td>laksha</td>
<td>prayuta</td>
<td>koti</td>
<td>arbud</td>
<td>maharbud</td>
<td>kharv</td>
<td>nikharva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The accent saptā and astā is that belonging to these words in all accentuated texts; according to the grammarians, they are saptā and astā in the later language. See below, 483.

The series of decimal numbers may be carried still further; but there are great differences among the different authorities
with regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from ayūta on.

Thus, in the TS., we find ayūta, niyūta, prayūta, ārbuda, nyārbuda, samudrā, mādhyā, ānta, parārdhā; K. reverses the order of niyūta and prayūta, and inserts bādeva after nyārbuda (reading nyārubdha): 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 ('crore'); 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 paṅcan etc., see below, 484. As to the form saks instead of sas, see above, 146 end. The stem dva appears in composition and derivation also as dvā and dvi; catūr in composition is accented cātur. The older form of aṣṭa is aṭṭā: see below, 483. Forms in -caṭ and -caṭi 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 dvi, and in '82' dvi 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 daḍa lingual (199 b); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (226 b) to t or d or ṇ; and in '96' the n of novati is assimilated to it (199 b);
aṣṭa becomes aṣṭā (483) in '18'—'38', and has either form in the succeeding combinations. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>11</th>
<th>31</th>
<th>61</th>
<th>81</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēkādaça</td>
<td>ēkatriṅçat</td>
<td>ēkāsasṭi</td>
<td>ēkāçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dvādaça</td>
<td>dvātriṅçat</td>
<td>dvāsasṭi</td>
<td>dvāçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trāyodaça</td>
<td>trāyastrīṅçat</td>
<td>trāyasasṭi</td>
<td>trāyaçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cāturdaça</td>
<td>cātustrīṅçat</td>
<td>cātuṣasṭi</td>
<td>cāturçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāñcadaça</td>
<td>pāñcatriṅçat</td>
<td>pāñcasasṭi</td>
<td>pāñcaçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>66</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōdaça</td>
<td>sōṭriṅçat</td>
<td>sōṣasṭi</td>
<td>sōḍaçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saptādaça</td>
<td>saptātriṅçat</td>
<td>saptāsasṭi</td>
<td>saptāçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aṣṭādaça</td>
<td>aṣṭātriṅçat</td>
<td>aṣṭasasṭi</td>
<td>aṣṭāçiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāvadaça</td>
<td>nāvatriṅçat</td>
<td>nāvasasṭi</td>
<td>nāvāçiti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
VI. NUMERALS.

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 ānā, '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, triyūna-
saṣṭi, 'sixty deficient by three' (i.e. '57'); asṭādhindrakavati, 'ninety increased by eight' (i.e. '98'); ekādhindrakātā, 'a hundred increased by one' (i.e. '101'); pāṇeconātīrka, '100 less 5' (i.e. '95'). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as ekānaviṅcakātī, '20 less 1', or '19', are not uncommon; and later the ēka, '1', is left off, and ānāviṅcakātī etc. have the same value.

b. A case-form of ēka, 'one', is connected by nā, 'not', with a larger number from which one is to be deducted: thus, ēkayā nā trīṇcāt (P.B. PB. KB.), 'not thirty by one' (i.e. '29'); ēkasmān nā pāṇečāt (in ordinal, '49' (TS.); ēkasyā (abl. fem.: 366.3) nā pāṇečāt, '49' (TS.); most often, ēkān (i.e. ēkā, irregular abl. for ēkasmā), nā viṅcāt, '19'; ēkān nā ātām, '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, triyāptā, 'thrice seven'; triyāvā, 'thrice nine'; triyācā, 'thrice ten'.

d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent words, with connecting 'and': thus, nāva ca navatīrca, or nāva navatīrca, 'ninety and nine'; dvāca ca viṁcātīc ca, 'two and twenty'. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, navatīr nāva, '99'; triyācātām trīn, '33'; aṣṭātī 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, ēkācātām, '101'; aṣṭācātām, '108'; triyācātām, '130'; aṣṭā-
vīṁcātātām, '148'; cātūḥsahasram (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, pāṇečādhindrakātīm or pāṇečādhindrakātīm, '105'.

Of course, ānā, 'deficient' (as also other words equivalent to ānā or adhika), may be used in the same way: thus, pāṇeconā tām, '95'.

c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example, dāca ātān ca, '110'; ātām ēka 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, dvādaśān ca ṭatam, '112' (lit’ly, 'a hundred of a 12-sort, or characterised by 12'); cauḍevaṭārīcān ca ṭatam, '124'; svaśatān ca ṭatam, '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: pāńca pāncācātas, five fifties ('250'); nāva navatāyas, 'nine nineties' ('810'); aćitibhis tisibhis, 'with three eighties' ('240'); pāńca cātāni, 'five hundreds'; trini sahāsṛāṇi, 'three thousands'; svaśatān sahāsṛāṇi, '60,000'; da ca sahasrāṇī aṣātān ca cātāni, '10,500': and, combined with addition, trini cātāni trāyaśtriṅcaṭān ca, '333'; sahasre dvē pāṇconān ca ṭatam eva ca, '2095'.

By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as trini saṭṭaṭcātni, which ought to signify '480' (3×100 + 60), is frequently used in the Brāhmaṇas to mean '360' (3×100 + 60); so also dvē catuṭriṅcāṭe caṭē, '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 i) singular is used substantively: thus, daṛaṇaḍās, '1000'; saṭṭaṭaḥ pāṭatiḥbhiḥ (MBh.), 'with 600 foot-soldiers'; trāyaśtriṅcaṭaḥ triṇaḥ śaṭṭaḥ sahasrāḥ (AV.), '6333'; dviciṭaṁ or dvicati, '200'; aṣṭādaśaṭaḥ, '1800'.

In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether aṣṭaṭaṭaṁ, for example, is aṣṭaṭaṭaṁ, '108', or aṣṭaṭaṭaṁ, '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 sāvra, 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, eke (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 ādāya (H.), 'taking a stick in his hand'.

11*
b. Dva, ‘2’, is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N.A.V. dvā́ū (V. dvā́), m., dvē, f. n.; I.D.Ab. dvā́bhyaṁ; G.L. dvā́yos.

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 trī́nām occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem tisṛ́, 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>trā́yās</td>
<td>trī́ni</td>
<td>tisrā́ś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>trī́n</td>
<td>trī́ni</td>
<td>tisrā́ś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>trī́abhā́s</td>
<td></td>
<td>tisṛbhiś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>trī́bhyás</td>
<td></td>
<td>tisṛbhyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>trayā́nām</td>
<td></td>
<td>tisṛpā́m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>trī́śu</td>
<td></td>
<td>tisṛ́u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. trī́. The accentuation tisṛbhiś, tisṛbhyās, tisṛpā́m, and tisṛśu is said to be also allowed in the later language.

The stem tisṛ occurs in composition in tisṛdhanavā (Br.), ‘a bow along with three arrows’.

d. Catur, ‘4’, has catvā́r (the more original form) in the strong cases; in the fem. it substitutes the stem cā́tāśr, apparently akin with tisṛ́, 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>catvā́ras</td>
<td>catvā́ri</td>
<td>cā́tāsras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>catū́ras</td>
<td>catvā́ri</td>
<td>cā́tāsras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>catā́rbhiś</td>
<td></td>
<td>cā́tāśrhiś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>catā́rhyās</td>
<td></td>
<td>cā́tāśrhyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>caturṇā́m</td>
<td></td>
<td>cā́tāśrṇā́m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>catā́rśu</td>
<td></td>
<td>cā́tāś́rśu</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 pā́ṣ: below, 483) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. cā́tāśrṇā́m 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 śáṣ (as of catū́r), nā́m is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (198 b) of stem-final and initial of the termination. Aṣṭā́ (as
accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, 
\( \text{aśṭ\(a\)} \), which is almost exclusively used in the older literature 
(\( \text{V.} \) and \( \text{Br.} \)), both in inflection and in composition (but some 
compounds with \( \text{aśṭ\(a\)} \) are found as early as the \( \text{AV.} \)); its nom.- 
acc. is \( \text{aśṭ\(a\)} \) (usual later: found in \( \text{RV.} \) once, and in \( \text{AV.} \)), or 
\( \text{aśṭ\(a\)} \) (\( \text{RV.} \), or \( \text{aśṭ\(ā\)} \) (most usual in \( \text{RV.} \); also in \( \text{AV.} \), \( \text{Br.} \), 
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 \( \text{bh\(i\)} \), \( \text{bh\(y\)} \), and \( \text{su} \), 
from the stems in \( \text{a} \), whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, \( \text{paṇḍ\(a\)-\(b\)h\(i\)} \)
from \( \text{pāṇ\(a\)ca} \), \( \text{naṇ\(a\)-\(b\)h\(y\)} \) from \( \text{nā\(a\)va} \), \( \text{da\(c\)\(a\)-\(s\)u} \) from 
\( \text{dā\(c\)\(a\)} \), \( \text{na\(v\)a\(d\)a\(c\)\(a\)-\(b\)h\(y\)} \) from \( \text{ek\(a\)-\(d\)a\(c\)\(a\)-\(b\)h\(y\)} \), \( \text{d\(v\)a\(d\)a\(c\)\(a\)-\(s\)u} \) from 
\( \text{d\(v\)a\(d\)a\(c\)\(a\)} \); 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 \( \text{i} \), \( \text{u} \), and \( \text{r}\)-stems). The cases of \( \text{g\(a\)} \), and those made from the stem-
form \( \text{aśṭ\(a\)} \), 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>( \text{pāṇ(a)} ca )</th>
<th>( \text{s(a)} )</th>
<th>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(ā)} )</th>
<th>( \text{aśṭ(a)} )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>( \text{pāṇ(a)-(c)(b)h(i)} )</td>
<td>( \text{s(a)-(b)h(i)} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(b)h(i)} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(b)h(i)} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>( \text{pāṇ(a)-(c)(b)h(y)} )</td>
<td>( \text{s(a)-(b)h(y)} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(b)h(y)} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(b)h(y)} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>( \text{pāṇ(a)-(n)(ā)m} )</td>
<td>( \text{(s(a))-(n)(ā)m} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(n)(ā)m} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(n)(ā)m} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>( \text{pāṇ(a)-(s)u} )</td>
<td>( \text{s(a)-(s)u} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(s)u} )</td>
<td>( \text{aśṭ(a)-(s)u} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( \text{Sapt\(a\)} \) (in the later language \( \text{s\(a\)-\(p\)\(t\)a} \), as \( \text{aśṭ\(a\)} \) for \( \text{aśṭ\(a\)} \)) and \( \text{n\(a\)\(v\)a} \) and \( \text{d\(a\)\(c\)\(a\)} \), 
with the compounds of \( \text{d\(a\)\(c\)\(a\)} \) (‘11’—‘19’), are declined like \( \text{pāṇ\(a\)ca} \), 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 \( \text{n} \): thus, \( \text{pāṇ\(a\)-\(c\)\(a\)-\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)} \), \( \text{s\(a\)-\(p\)\(t\)\(a\)-\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)} \), \( \text{a\(s\)\(t\)\(a\)-\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)} \), 
\( \text{n\(a\)\(v\)\(a\)-\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)} \), \( \text{d\(a\)\(c\)\(a\)-\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)} \), \( \text{e\(k\)\(a\)-\(d\)\(a\)-\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)} \), etc. This, 
however, has nothing to do with the demonstrably original final nasal of ‘7’, 
‘9’, and ‘10’ (compare \( \text{s\(e\)\(p\)\(t\)\(c\)\(m\)} \), \( \text{n\(o\)\(v\)\(e\)\(m\)} \), \( \text{d\(e\)\(c\)\(e\)} \); 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 \( \text{an} \), and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc. that of a neut. or masc. 
pl. in \( \text{an} \): compare \( \text{n\(ā\)\(m\)\(a\)} \), \( \text{n\(ā\)\(m\)\(a\)-\(b\)\(h\)\(i\)} \), \( \text{n\(ā\)\(m\)\(a\)-\(b\)\(h\)\(y\)} \), \( \text{n\(ā\)\(m\)\(a\)} \) — the gen. alone 
being like that, rather, of a \( \text{a}\)-stem: compare \( \text{d\(a\)-\(c\)\(n\)\(a\)\(m\)} \) with \( \text{\(i\)\(n\)\(d\)\(r\)\(a\)\(n\)\(ā\)m} \) and 
\( \text{n\(ā\)\(m\)\(n\)\(ā\)m} \) or \( \text{\(ā\)-\(m\)\(n\)\(ā\)m} \). No trace whatever of a final \( \text{n} \) is found anywhere in 
the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these 
words.

485. The tens, \( \text{v\(i\)\(n\)\(c\)\(t\)\(i\)} \) and \( \text{t\(r\)\(i\)\(n\)\(c\)\(t\)\(i\)} \) etc., with their compounds, 
are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, 
and in all numbers. 

\( \text{C\(a\)\(t\)a} \) and \( \text{s\(a\)\(h\)\(ā\)\(s\)\(r\)a} \) are declined regularly, as neuter (or, rarely, 
in the later language, as masculine) stems of the same final, in 
all numbers.
VI. Numerals.

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, daçaḥbhīr vīrāḥ, 'with ten heroes'; yē devā diyā ekāḍaça sthā [AV.], 'what eleven gods of you are in heaven'; paṅcāsū jāneṣu, 'among the five tribes'; cataśbhīr gīrbiḥ, '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, paṅcāḍabhīr vānāḥ, 'with fifty arrows'.

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,

ěkā, '1', forms no ordinal; instead is used prathām (i. e. pra-tama, 'foremost'); ādi is rare in the Brāhmaṇas, and ādyā even in the Śūtras;

from dvā, '2', and tri, '3', come dvīthya and tṛṭhya (secondarily, through dvīta and abbreviated tṛṭa);

catur, '4', sāṣ, '6', and saptā, '7', take the ending tha: thus, caturthā, saṣṭhā, saptātha; but for 'fourth' are used also tūriya and tūṛya, and saptātha belongs to the older language only: paṅkcatha, for 'fifth', is excessively rare;

the numerals for '5' and '7' usually, and for '8', '9', '10', add ma, forming paṅcamā, saptamā, aṣṭamā, navamā, daçaṃā;
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, vinçatitamā, trińcattamā, açiśītītamā, etc.; the other, shorter, in a, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, vinā, '20th'; trińcā, '30th'; ca-
vārīṇa, '40th'; pańcācā, '50th'; saśū, '60th'; saptā, '70th';
aśū, '80th'; navā, '90th'; and so likewise ekaviṇīa, '21st',
catustrīṇā, '34th'; aşācātāvinī, '48th'; dvāpańcācā, '52d';
ekaśū, '61st'; and ekānvāniṇīa and änvaṇīṇa and ekonaviṇīa, '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 Brāhmanas. 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, catā and sahdsra form catatamā and sahasratamā; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus, ekcašatā, '101st'.

Of the ordinals, prathāma (and añya), dvītya, tṛītya, and tuītya (with tuīya) 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 fractional, 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, dvātīya, 'half'; tṛītya, 'third part'; cāturthā, 'quarter', and so on. But in accented texts only tṛītya, 'third', and tuītya, 'quarter', are found so treated; for 'half' occurs only ardhā; and caturthā, pańcamā, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

489. Other numeral derivatives — thus,

multiplicative adverbs, as dvis, tris, catús, 'twice', thrice', 'four times';

adverbs with the suffixes ḍhā and ā: for example, ekadāḥā, 'in one way', catadāḥā, 'in a hundred ways'; ekaṣas, 'one by one',

collectives, as dvētāya or dvayā, 'a pair', dācatāya or daçāt, '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 ‘pro-nominal’ 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>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>धन्तम् ahém</td>
<td>तम् tvám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>माम् मा mām, mā</td>
<td>ताम् ता tvām, tvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>मया māyā</td>
<td>तया tvāyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>माहं मे māhyam, me</td>
<td>तुभं मे tuberculosis, te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>मत् māt</td>
<td>तवत् tvāt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
G. मम्, मे
   मामा, me
tब, ते.
tाव, te

L. मयि
māyi
tवयि
tवायि

Dual:

N. A. V. ग्रहाम्
   युवाम्
   āvāṃ
   yuvāṃ

I. D. Ab. ग्राहावाम्
   ग्राहावाम्
   āvāḥbhāyām
   yuvāḥbhāyām

G. L. ग्राहवायोम्
   ग्राहवायोम्
   āvāyos
   yuvāyos

and A. D. G. नी
   वाम्
   nāu
   vām

Plural:

N. वयम्
   vayām
   yuvām

A. ग्रस्मान, नस्
   ग्रस्मान्, वस्
   asmān, nas
   yuṣmāna, vas

I. ग्रस्मापिम्
   ग्रस्मापिम्
   asmābhis
   yuṣmābhīs

D. ग्रस्म-ग्रम्, नस्
   ग्रस्म-ग्रम्, वस्
   asmābhīyām, nas
   yuṣmābhīyam, vas

Ab. ग्रस्मत्
   ग्रस्मत्
   asmāt
   yuṣmāt

G. ग्रस्म-ग्रम्, नस्
   ग्रस्म-ग्रम्, वस्
   asmākam, nas
   yuṣmākam, vas

L. ग्रस्मानू
   ग्रस्मानू
   asmāsu
   yuṣmāsu

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. tvō (like maṇiṣā for maṇiṣṭyā); further, the loc. sing. tvē, the dat. pl. (less often loc.) asmē, and the loc. pl. yuṣmē: the final e of these forms is uncombine (or pragṛhyā: 138b). The datives in bhyam are in RV. not seldom to be read as if in bhyā, 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 āvām and yuṣvām, and only the accusatives āvām and yuṣvām (but in RV. the dual forms of 1st pers. chance not to occur, unless in vām[?], once, for āvām); the instr. in RV. is either yuṣvābhyaṃ (not elsewhere found) or yuṣvābhyaṃ; an abl. yuṣvāt appears once in RV., and āvāt twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) yuṣvōs instead of yuṣvāyos. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases by endings, in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Peculiar endings. The ending am, appearing in the nom. sing. and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The bhyam (or hyam) of dat. sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the bhyām, bhyas, 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 aham seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of aham (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, māṭkṛta, māṭsakhi, asmāṭsakhi, tvādyoni, mattās (AV.), tvātπt (TS.), yuvāddevatya (ÇB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in a, or with the a lengthened to ā: thus, māvant; asmatṝ; asmadrṝḥ, etc.; tvādatta, tvānīd, tvāvasu, tvāhata, etc.; yuṣmādatta, yuṣmēṣīta, etc.; yuvādhitā, yuvādatta, yuvānīta, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as mādraḥ.

The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, tvāṅkāma, māṃpaçyā, mamasatyā, asmēḥiti, ahampurvā, ahamahaṇuttera, ahahyā, ahahusana.

From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives mādiya, tvādiya, asmādiya, yuṣmādiya, having a possessive value: see below, 516.

For sva and svayām, 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 178a) and sā, instead of tās and tā (compare Gr. ὁ, η, το, and Goth. sa, so, thāta). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>mām</td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sās</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>sā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>nām</td>
<td>rām</td>
<td>nām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>rām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>tēn</td>
<td>téna</td>
<td>tēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>téna</td>
<td>tāyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>tāsmī</td>
<td>tāsmāi</td>
<td>tāsmī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tāsmāi</td>
<td>tāsyāi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>tāsmāt</td>
<td>tāsmāt</td>
<td>tāsmāt</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 tāū, du.; often tā for tāṇī, pl. neut.; usually tēbhis for tāēs, instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root sa, namely sāṇī (occurring nearly half as often as tāsmin).

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 sīma in masc. and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of sy in fem. dat., abl.-gen., and loc.; and the masc. and neut. loc. ending in, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous yādṛṣṭīmin, RV., once).

The dual is precisely that of noun-stems in a and ā.
In the plural, the irregularities are limited to te for tâs in nom. masc., and the insertion of a instead of an before ām of the gen., the stem-final being treated before it in the same manner as before su of the loc.

497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as tad; and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective tadāya, with tattvā, tadvat, tanmaya; and numerous compounds, such as tacchāla, tajjña, tatkara, tadavantara, tanmātra, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so tādanna, tadvid, tadvaṣā, etc. But derivatives from the true root ta are also many: especially adverbs, as tatās, tátra, táthā, tadā; the adjectives tāvant and táti; and the compound tāḍṛṇ etc.

498. Though the demonstrative root ta is prevailingly of the third person, it is also freely used, both in the earlier language and in the later, as qualifying the pronouns of the first and second person, giving emphasis to them: thus, sō ‘hām, ‘this I’, or ‘I here’; sā tvām, ‘thou there’; te vayum, ‘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 prefixes 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 etta are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple ta, only much less numerous: thus, etaddā (CB.), etad-arthā, etc., from the so-called stem etat; and etāḍṛṇ and etāvant from etta.

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>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. A.</td>
<td>enam</td>
<td>enat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>enena</td>
<td>enaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VII. Pronouns.

The RV. has enos instead of enayos, and in one or two instances accents a form: thus, enám, enáu(?).

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, ग्रह्यम् ayàm etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, ‘this’ or ‘that’; the other, ग्रहसी asáu etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, ‘yon’ or ‘yonder’.

They are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m. n.</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>ग्रह्यम् िम्म</td>
<td>ग्रह्यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ayàm idàm</td>
<td>iyàm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>िम्म िम्म</td>
<td>िम्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imàd idàm</td>
<td>imàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>ग्रहनेन</td>
<td>ग्रहनया</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anéna</td>
<td>anàyà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>ग्रहसी</td>
<td>ग्रहसी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asmài</td>
<td>asyài</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>ग्रहसमात्</td>
<td>ग्रहस्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asmàt</td>
<td>asyàs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>ग्रहस्य</td>
<td>ग्रहस्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asyàs</td>
<td>asyàs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>ग्रहसमन्</td>
<td>ग्रहस्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asmin</td>
<td>asyàm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>िम्म िम्म</td>
<td>िम्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>imàd idàm</td>
<td>imàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.D.Ab.</td>
<td>ग्रहायाम्</td>
<td>िम्मायाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>abhyàd</td>
<td>amùbhyàd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>ग्रहसयोस्</td>
<td>ग्रहसयोस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anàyàos</td>
<td>amùyàos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural:

N.  
imé  imání  imás  amí  amání  ambís

A.  
imán  imání  imás  amín  amání  ambís

I.  
ebhás  ābhís  amibhís  amubhís

D. Ab.  
ebhýás  ābhýás  amibhyás  amubhyás

G.  
estám  āstám  amísám  amubísám

L.  
esú  āsú  amísú  amubísú

The same forms are used in the older language, without variation, except that imá occurs for imáa and imání, and amá for amání; amuyá when used adverbially is accented on the final, amuyá; asáu (with accent, of course, on the first, āsáu) is used also as vocative.

502. The former of these two pronouns, ayám 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 ahám and tvám). The remaining forms are always accented. From anái come, with entire regularity, anéna, anáyá, anáyos. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem imá. And ayám, iyám, idám are evidently to be referred to a simple root i (idám being apparently a double form: id, like tad etc., with ending an). The Veda has from the root a also the instrumentals ená and ayá (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. ayáś; from imá, imásya occurs once in RV. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation ásmái, ásya, ábhís.

In analogy with the other pronouns, idám 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 (idámmáya and idámrupa are of Bráhmaṇa age). As regards the actual stems, ana furnishes nothing further; from imá comes only the adverb imáthá (RV., once); but a and i furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, átas, átra, átha; itás, id (Vedic particle), idá, ihá, itara, im (Vedic particle), idé, perhaps evá and evám, and others.
503. The other pronoun, *asāū* etc., has *āmū* for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the *a*-stems, the element *sma* (f. *sy*), and which shifts to *āmī* in part of the masc. and neut. plural. In part, too, like an adjective *u*-stem, it lengthens its final in the feminine. The gen. sing. *amūṣya* is the only example in the language of the ending *ṣya* added to any other than an *a*-stem. The nom. pl. *āmī* is unique in form; its *i* is (like that of a dual) *praṇṛhya*, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138b). *Asāū* and *addās* are also without analogies as regards their endings.

The grammarians, as usual, treat *addās* 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 CB. has also *asāunāman*. But most of the derivatives, as of the cases, come from *āmū*: thus, *amūtas*, *amūtra*, *amūthā*, *amūrhi*, *amuvāt*, *amūka*.

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, *āmas*, ‘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 र क; it has the three forms कः किः कु; but the whole declensional inflection is from कः, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from किः किः, and has the anomalous form किः किः (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter *i*-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>कःम्</td>
<td>किःम्</td>
<td>कः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>काः</td>
<td>किः</td>
<td>कः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>कःम्</td>
<td>किःम्</td>
<td>कांम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कांम्</td>
<td>किः</td>
<td>कांम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The Veda has its usual variations, कः and केभिः for कांनि and कांस. It also has, along with किः, the pronominally regular neuter कः; and कांम
(or kam) is a frequent particle. The masc. form kis, corresponding to kim, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations nakis and dkis.

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 — kimdmēya, kimkārā, kimkāmyā, kimdevala, and the peculiar kimyū — go back even to the Veda and Brāhmaṇa. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form kad, a couple of times in the Veda (katpaya, kādartaḥ), 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, kā, kathā, kathām, kādā, katārā, katamā, kārī; kiyant, kūrī; kūtās, kūtra, kūha, kvā, kucarā, kukarman, ku-mantrin, etc.

506. Various forms of this pronoun, as kad, kim, and ku (and, rarely, ko), at the beginning of compounds, have passed from an interrogative meaning, through an exclamatory, to the value of prefixes signifying an unusual quality — either something admirable, or, oftener, something contemptible. This use begins in the Veda, but becomes much more common in later time.

507. The interrogative pronoun, as in other languages, turns readily in its independent use also to an exclamatory meaning. Moreover, it is by various added particles converted to an indefinite meaning: thus, by ca, canā, cit, āpi, vā, either alone or with the relative ya (below, 511) prefixed: thus, kāt ca, ‘any one’; nā kō ‘pi, ‘not any one’; yānī kānī cit, ‘whatsoever’. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

**Relative Pronoun.**

508. The root of the relative pronoun is yā, 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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<td>m.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>yam</td>
<td>yam</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>yam</td>
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Whitney, Grammar.
The Veda shows its usual variations of these forms: yā for yāt and for yā́ni, and yḗbhis for yā́ls; yṓs for yā́tos also occurs once; yēnā́, with prolonged final, is in RV. twice as common as yēnā. Resolutions occur in yḗbhias, and yḗsaam and yā́sam.

510. The use of yā́t as representative stem begins very early: we have yā́tkā́ma in the Veda, and yā́tkā́rin, yā́desaváyā́ in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: yā́tās, yā́tī, yā́tra, yā́thā, yā́dā, yā́dī, yā́vant, yatarā, yatamā́; and the compound yā́diś.

511. The combination of ya with ka to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (507). Its own repetition — as yā́d-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, yā́h sunvátā́h sā́nkhá tā́mā́ īndrā́ya gā́yatā́ (RV.), ‘who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye’; yā́n yajñā́m pariḥbū́́r ā́si sā́ ṣā́ devḗṣu gachati (RV.), ‘what offering thou protectest, that in truth goes to the gods’; yḗ triṣaptā́ḥ paryā́nti bā́lā́ tēśā́ ṣadāhā́tu me (AV.), ‘what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me’; asā́ḥ yṓ adhanā́d gṛhā́s tā́tra santu arā́yā́ḥ (AV.), ‘what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be’; sahā́ yā́n me ā́sti tḗná (TB.), ‘along with that which is mine’; haṁśā́nāṁ vacanāṁ yat tu taṁ māṁ daḥatu (MBh.), ‘but what the words of the swans were, that burns me’; sarvasya lōcanaṁ čāstraṁ yāsyā́ nā́ ‘sty anṛda eva saṁ (II.), ‘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, mḗ ’māṁ prā́ ‚pat pā́trūṣe yo va dhṓ yā́ḥ (AV.), ‘may there not reach him a human deadly weapon’ (litly, ‘what is such a weapon’); pā́rī no pā́hi yā́d dhā́nā́m (AV.), ‘protect of us what wealth [there is]’; apāṁarā́ ‚pa mā́ṛṣṭu kṣetrayā́ḥ gopā́ṭhac ca yā́ḥ (AV.), ‘may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse’; puśkaṁraṇa ḫṛtāṁ rā́jyaṁ yaḥ ca ’mād vasu kīṁcana (MBh.), ‘by Pushkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was]’.

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<tr>
<th>I.</th>
<th>yḗna</th>
<th>yā́yā́</th>
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<td>D.</td>
<td>yā́smā́i</td>
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etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. |
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, svayamityā, 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 madīya, asmadīya, tvadīya, yuṣmadīya, tadīya, and yadīya, which are used in a possessive sense: 'relating to me, mine', and so on.

Other possessives are māmakā (also māmakā, RV.) and tāvakā, from the genitives mama and tava.

An analogous derivative from the genitive amūsya is āmūsyaṇā (AV. etc.), 'descendant of such a one'.

It was pointed out above (493) that the 'genitives' asmākam and yuṣmākam 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*, *yuṃmāvant*, *yuvaṃvant*, *tāvant*, *etāvant*, *yāvant*, 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 *dṛc*, 'see, look', and its derivatives *dṛca* and (quite rarely) *dṛkṣa*: thus, *mādṛc*, *mādṛṣa*; *osmādṛca*: *tvādṛc* etc.; *yuṃmādṛc* etc.; *tādṛc* etc.; *etādṛc*, *etādṛṣa*, *etādṛkṣa* (VS.); *yādṛc* etc.; *idṛc* and *kidṛc* 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 *dṛc* are unvaried for gender; those in *dṛca* (and *dṛkṣa?*) have feminines in *i*.

519. From *ta*, *ka*, *ya* come *tāti*, 'so many', *kāti*, 'how many?' *yāti*, 'as many'. They have a quasi-numeral character, and are inflected (like the numerals *pañca* etc.: above, 483) only in the plural, and with the bare stem as nom. and accus.: thus, N.A. *tāti*; I. etc. *tātibhis*, *tātibhyas*, *tātinām*, *tātisu*.

520. From *ya* (in V. and Br.) and *ka* come the comparatives and superlatives *yatara* and *yatamā*, and *katarā* and *katamā*; and from *i*, the comparative *itiara*. 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 ता, 495). Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, कतारा and कतमाः, यतारा and यतमाः, and इताः; also अन्या, 'other', and its comparative अन्यतारा — are declined like ta throughout. Their feminine stems are in अ.

But even from these words forms made according to the adjective declension are sporadically met with (e.g. इतार्यम्, K.).

524. Others words are so inflected except in the nom.-acc.-voc. sing. neut., where they have the ordinary adjective form अम्, instead of the pronominal अत् (ad). Such are सर्वा, 'all', विष्वा, 'all, every', ēka, 'one'.

These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e.g. विश्वाया, विश्वात्, RV.: एके लोके लोके, 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 अधमाः, अंतारा and अंतमाः, अपरा and अपमाः, अवारा and अवमाः, अत्तारा and अत्तमाः, अपरा and अपमाः. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.

Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) परमाः, चरारा, मद्याराः; and also अन्यतामा (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: 523).

Further, the words पारा, 'distant, other'; पुर्वा, 'prior, east'; दक्षिणा, 'right, south'; उभाया (f. उभायिः, उभायि), 'of both kinds or parties'; and the rare same (accentless), 'any or every one', समा, 'each, all', नेिमा, 'the one, half'; and the possessive स्वा.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e.g. प्रथमास्याः, त्रिभाष्याम; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, अल्पा, 'few'; अर्धा, 'half'; केवला, 'all'; द्वितया, '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 ātmene 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 preceptive (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 "preceptive" 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 *mi*. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has *ni* instead; and in the oldest Veda this *ni* is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in *ā* (as if the *ni* of *āni* were dropped). The secondary ending is *m*; and to this *m* an *a* has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing always where the tense-stem does not itself end in *a* (*vam* for *varm* or *varam* in RV., once, is an isolated anomaly), that it is necessary to reckon *am* as ending, alternate with *m*. But the perfect tense has neither *mi* nor *m*; its ending is simply *a* (sometimes *ā*: 248 e): or, from *ā*-roots, *āu*.

The primary middle ending, according to the analogy of the other persons, would be regularly *me*. But no tense or mode, at any period of the language, shows any relic whatever of a *m* in this person: the primary ending, present as well as perfect, from *a*-stems and others alike, is *e*; and to it corresponds *i* as secondary ending, which blends with the final of an *a*-stem to *e*. The optative has, however, *a* instead of *i*; and in the subjunctive (later imperative) appears *āi* for *e*.

544. **Second person.** In the active, the primary ending is *si*, which is shortened to *s* as secondary: as to the loss of this *s* after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably *tha* (or *thā*, 248 e). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is *dhi*; which, however, is more often reduced to *hi*; and in the great majority of verbs (including all *a*-stems, at every period of the language) no ending is present, but the bare stem stands as personal form. In a very small class of verbs (722) *āna* is the ending. The Veda has also an ending *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 *se*. The secondary stands in no apparent relation to this, being *thās*; and in the imperative is found only *sva* (or *svā*: 248 e), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as *sua*. In the older language, *se* is sometimes strengthened to *sāi* in the subjunctive.

545. **Third person.** The active primary ending is *ti*; the secondary, *t*: as to the loss of the latter after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But in the imperative appears instead the peculiar ending *tu*; and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.
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 _ī_ of the aorist 3d pers. passive (842 ff.). The imperative has _ām_ (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 _vasti_ 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_, _ete_ etc.).

The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in _āithe_ and _āite_, apparently from _ethe_ and _ete_ with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed below: see 615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1008, 1043).

548. Plural: First person. 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_ (248c), 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 dhem (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 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
aorist); *rire* in the perfect; *ranta, ran,* and *ram* in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); *rām* and *ratām* in the imperative. The three *rate, ratām,* and *rata* are found even in the later language in one or two verbs (629).

551. Below are given, for convenience, in tabular form, the schemes of endings as accepted in the classical or later language: namely, **a.** the regular primary endings, used in the present indicative and the future (and the subjunctive in part); and **b.** the regular secondary endings, used in the imperfect, the conditional, the aorist, the optative (and the subjunctive in part); and further, of special schemes, **c.** the perfect endings (chiefly primary, especially in the middle); and **d.** the imperative endings (chiefly secondary). To the so-called imperative endings of the first person is prefixed the *ā* which is practically a part of them, though really containing the mode-sign of the subjunctive from which they are derived.

552. Further, a part of the endings are marked with an accent, and a part are left unaccented. The latter are those which never, under any circumstances, receive the accent; the former are accented in considerable classes of verbs, though by no means in all. It will be noticed that, in general, the unaccented endings are those of the singular active; but the 2d sing. imperative has an accented ending; and, on the other hand, the whole series of 1st persons imperative, active and middle, have unaccented endings (this being a characteristic of the subjunctive formation which they represent).

553. The schemes of normal endings, then, are as follows:

**a. Primary Endings.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active</th>
<th>middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>p.</td>
<td>s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>mi</em></td>
<td><em>vās</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>si</em></td>
<td><em>thās</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>ti</em></td>
<td><em>tās</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Secondary Endings.**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>am</em></td>
<td><em>vā</em></td>
<td><em>mā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>s</em></td>
<td><em>tām</em></td>
<td><em>tā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>tām</em></td>
<td><em>ān, ús</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c. Perfect Endings.**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td><em>vā</em></td>
<td><em>mā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>tha</em></td>
<td><em>āthus</em></td>
<td><em>ā</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td><em>ātus</em></td>
<td><em>ūs</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PERSONAL ENDINGS.

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</td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>svā</td>
<td>āthām</td>
<td>dhvām</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 disyllabic, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant union-vowels are regarded, in this respect, as integral parts of the endings. But the 3d pl. ending ate of the pres. indic. middle has in RV. the accent 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 ā: see below, 621, 631, 819, 880.

In a few isolated cases in the older language, this ā 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 mà 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 doha; from juhó (Vhu), juháva; from yunáj (Vyuj), yunája; from bháva (Vbhū), bhávā; from tudá (Vtud), tudā; from ucyá (pass., Vvāc), 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, yunājāni, 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, āsátha from as; āyās, āyūt, āyān from e (V).  

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., dhvāi for dhvē is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d pl., nāi 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, kṛpāite). Before the āi-endings the penultimate vowel is regularly long ā; but anṭāi instead of anṭāi is two or three times met with, and once (TS.) atāi for ātāi.

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

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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>āni</td>
<td>āva</td>
<td>āma</td>
<td>āi</td>
<td>āvahāi</td>
<td>āmahāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>as</td>
<td>athas</td>
<td>atha</td>
<td>ase</td>
<td>āithe</td>
<td>aḥvāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ati</td>
<td>atas</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ate</td>
<td>āite</td>
<td>antāi</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.: āsi or ās, āthas, ātha, āse, ādhvē.

563. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple form — with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary endings — 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. Subjunctives 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.
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 ĭ is combined with the final of an a-stem to e; but no good reason appears to exist for assuming ĭ, rather than the i which shows itself in the other class of stems in middle voice.

The combined mode-sign and endings of the optative, then, are as follows, in their double form, for a-stems and for others:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. for non-a-stems.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 yāṁ</td>
<td>yāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yās</td>
<td>yātam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yāt</td>
<td>yātam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. combined with the final of a-stems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 eya</td>
<td>eva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 es</td>
<td>etam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 et</td>
<td>etām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The yā is in the Veda not seldom resolved into īā.

The Vedic 3d pl. middle forms in rata will be detailed below, under the various formations.

Precative. Precative forms are such as have a sibilant inserted between the optative-sign and the ending. They are made almost only from the aorist stems, and, though allowed by the grammarians to be formed from every root — the active
precative from the simple aorist, the middle from the sibilant aorist — are practically of rare occurrence at every period of the language, and especially later.

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></th>
<th>s. active</th>
<th>d. active</th>
<th>p. active</th>
<th>s. middle</th>
<th>d. middle</th>
<th>p. middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yāsām</td>
<td>yāsva</td>
<td>yāsma</td>
<td>[iyā]</td>
<td>[iyāhi]</td>
<td>[imāhi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>[yās]</td>
<td>yāstam</td>
<td>yāsta</td>
<td>īṣṭās</td>
<td>īyāsthāṁ</td>
<td>īdhvāṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>[yāt]</td>
<td>yāstāṁ</td>
<td>yāsus</td>
<td>īṣā</td>
<td>īyāstāṁ</td>
<td>[irān]</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. (āryu-śām jāgrtād ahāṃ, ‘let me watch till day-break’); as 3d sing., toward a dozen times (e. g. pūnar mā "vīyatād rāyāḥ, TS., ‘let wealth come again to me’; ayāḥ tyāsya rājā mūrdhānam vī pātayātāḥ, ÇB., ‘the king here shall make
his head fly off); and as 2d pl. several times in TS. (e. g. āpah... deveśu
nah sukito 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. 1, and
AB. ii. 6, 7) — in which, moreover, two authorities (K. and AB.) have once
vārayadhvāt for vārayatūt: no other occurrence of dḥvāt has been noted.

571. As regards its meaning, this form has been shown
(Delbrück) to have prevalingly 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: ihāḥ 'vā mā tiṣṭham abhyēkī 'ti brūhi tāṁ tā na āgatām
pratiprābrūtāt (CB.), 'say to her "come to me as I stand just here", and
[afterward] announce her to us as having come'; yād ārāhvas tiṣṭhā dhrāvīne
'hā dhattūt (RV.), 'when thou shalt stand upright, [then] bestow riches here'
(and similarly in many cases); utkūlam udvahō bhavo 'dāhya prāti dhrāvatūt
(AV.), 'be a carrier up the ascent; after having carried up, run back again';
vānasaptāt ādhi tvā sthāyati tāsya vittūt (TS.), 'the tree will ascend thee,
take [then] note of it'.

According to the grammarians, the form in tūt 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.
USES OF THE MODES.

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 ἢ μᾶ, 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.: \(\text{catāṁ jīva ċaraḍaḥ,}\) 'do thou live a hundred autumns'; \(\text{ubhāī tāu jīvataṁ jāradaṣṭī,}\) 'let them both live to attain old age'; — in subj., \(\text{adyā jīvāni,}\) 'let me live this day'; \(\text{catāṁ jīvāni ċaraḍaḥ,}\) 'he shall live a hundred autumns'; — in opt., \(\text{jīvema ċaraḍaṁ catāṁ,}\) 'may we live hundreds of autumns'; \(\text{sārvam āyur jīveṣam (pre.),}\) '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 coördinate construction are: \(\text{syām agne nārī pāṭīṁ videṣṭa...} \text{sūvānā putrāṁ māhiṣi bhavāti gataṁ pāṭīṁ subhāgā vi rājatu (AV.),}\) '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'; \(\text{gopāyā naḥ svastāye prabūḍhe naḥ pūnār dadaḥ (TS.),}\) 'watch over us for our welfare, grant unto us to wake again'; \(\text{syāṁ naḥ sūnūḥ...} \text{sā te sumatiṁ bhūtv asmē (RV.),}\) '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: \(\text{ā ghaṁ tā gachāṁ uttarā yugāṁ (RV.),}\) 'those later ages will doubtless come'; \(\text{yād... nā marā āti mānyāse (RV.),}\) 'if thou thinkest 'I shall not die''; \(\text{nā tā nāgānti nā dabhāti tāskaraḥ (RV.),}\) 'they do not become lost; no thief can harm them'; \(\text{kāśmāi devāya haviṣā vidhema (RV.),}\) 'to what god shall we offer oblation?' \(\text{agninā rayim aśnavat... dicé-dive (RV.),}\) 'by Agni one may gain wealth every day'; \(\text{utāī nāṁ brahmāne dadyāt tāthā syāṁ cīvā syāt (AV.),}\) 'one should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious and favorable'; \(\text{āhar-āhar dadyāt (CB.),}\) '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: \(\text{uhiṣṭaṁ nai '}va bhūḥjīvaṁ na kuryāṁ pādaḍhāvanam,}\) 'I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation'; \(\text{jñātin vrayet,}\) 'let her go to her relations'; \(\text{nai '}vaṁ sa karvhit kuryāt,}\) 'she should not act thus at any time'; \(\text{kathaṁ vidyāṁ nalam nṛpam,}\) 'how can I know king Nala?' \(\text{utsarge saṁcayāḥ syāt tu}
vindeśā 'pi sukhaṁ kvaṭi, 'but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere'; kathaṁ váso vitarketayāṁ 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, divyāya, 'let us two play'; kiṁ karavāṇi 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: prá pata mé 'hā raṁstāḥ (AV.), 'fly away; do not stay here'; divyāya ca má-hyaṁ rádhyaṭu mā cā 'hāṁ diviṣaté radham (AV.), 'both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe'; urv ácyaṁ ábhayaṁ jyēṁir indra mā no dirghā abhi naṁtan tamisrāḥ (RV.), 'I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the long darknesses come upon us'; mā na áyuḥ prá mosiḥ (RV.), 'do not steal away our life'; mā bībher (impf.) nā marisyasi (RV.), 'do not fear; thou wilt not die'; mā smāi 'tānt sākhiṁ 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, samāvvasihi mā ācakha, 'be comforted, do not grieve'; mā bhāiḥ, '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 prevailent construction; thus, nā risyema kadrā canā (RV.), 'may we suffer no harm at any time'; nā cā 'tisṛṣṇa nā juhuyāt (AV.), 'and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice'; tād u tāthā nā kuryāt (CB.), 'but he must not do that so'; nā dīvā caṣita (ČGS.), 'let him not sleep by day'; na tvāṁ vidyur janañ (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: 
   \[\text{ya vyuchir yad ca nundin vyuchän (RV.}, \text{ ‘which have shone forth [hitherto], and which shall hereafter shine forth’; yó ‘to jáyätä asmákam sā ēko ‘sat (TS.), ‘whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us’; yó vai tän vidyät pratyákśaṁ sā brahmā véditā syāt (AV.), ‘whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest; putrānāṁ ... jātēnāṁ jandāyaś ca yān (AV.), ‘of sons born and whom thou mayest bear’; yásya ... áthir gṛhān āgaḥ cet (AV.). ‘to whosesoever house he may come as guest’; yatamātā kīmāyeta tāthā kuryāt (CB.), ‘in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it’; yārhi hóta yājāmānasya nāma gṛṇiṣyāt tārhi bṛuyāt (TS.), ‘when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak’; svarūpaṁ yadā draśṭum ichetāḥ (MBh.), ‘when thou shalt desire to see thine own form’.

b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: 
   \[\text{yājāma devān yādi caṅkāvāṇa (RV.), ‘we will offer to the gods if we shall be able’; yad agne sylāṁ ahāṁ tvāṁ tvāṁ vā gha sylā ahāṁ syīṣ te satyāṁ iḥā ‘citā (RV.), ‘if I were thou, Agni, or if thou wert I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot; yó dyāṁ atisārpaṁ pārastāṁ nā sā muceyatai vārmasya rājñāḥ (AV.), ‘though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna’; yad anātvān upavāṣet kṣodhakaṁ syād yad acniyād rudrō ‘esyā pacoṁ abhi manyeta (TS.), ‘if he should continue without eating, he would starve; if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle’; prārthayad yadi māṁ kačcīd caṇḍyāḥ sa me pumāṁ 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: 
   \[\text{yathā hāṁ caṭrūhō ‘sāni (AV.), ‘that I may be a slayer of my enemies’; grunāṁ yathā pibāthō andhāḥ (RV.), ‘that being praised with song ye may drink the draught’; urānī yathā tava śarman mādema (RV.), ‘in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection’; upa jaṁita yathē ‘yāṁ pīnār āgaḥ cet (CB.), ‘contribute that she come back again’; kṛpaṁ kuryād yathā maṁ (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 ned, ‘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 nasyati tathā vidheyam (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 ग्रन्त ant (weak form ग्रन्त at; fem. ग्रन्ती antī or ग्रन्ती atī: see above, 449) for the active, and ग्रान āna (fem. ग्राना ānā) for the middle. But:

a. After a tense-stem ending in a, the active participial suffix is virtually ut, 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 vāṇs (weakest form us, middle form vat; fem. usī: 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 (136 a). 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, ānaṣ, āvar, āṛṇī, āṛṇak, āvīdayat, āyuṇak, āyuṇka, āriṇak, ārāik.

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, 583).

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, पप्रच paprach from व प्रच prach; चिलिछिलिस from व चिलिछिलिस; बुबुध bubudh from व बुध. But:

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, दधा dadhā from ध धा; भिभ bīhr from भ म भर.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for ह h: thus, चक्र cakṛ from च च्र kr; चिक्षिद cikhid from चिक्षिद khid; जाग्राब्ह jagraḥ from ज र ग्राब्ह grabh; जाह्र jahr from ज ह र hr.

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, तस्या tasthā from त स्या sthā; चस्कान्तृ caskand form च स कान्तृ skand; पस्प्रध pasprdh from च प्प्रध sprdh: — but सस्म sasmr from स्म.

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 पादा.

For the accent of the verb, as well as for that of the vocative case (above, 314), the beginning of a पादा counts as that of a sentence, whatever be the logical connection of the पादा with what precedes it.

Examples of the unaccented verb are: अग्निम इदे पुरोहितम्, 'I praise
VIII. CONJUGATION.

Examples of the verb accented at the head of the sentence are, in prose, 

"sūndhadhvaṁ dāśvyāya kārmāṇe, ‘be pure for the divine ceremony’; āṁrati ‘māṁ lokāṁ, ‘he wins this world’; — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, syāṁ ‘d ēndrasya cārman, ‘may we be in Indra’s protection’; darçaya mā yātudhānāṁ, ‘show me the sorcerers’; gāmad vājebhir ē sā nah, ‘may he come with good things to us’; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the pāda, tēsāṁ pāṁ śrudhī ēvām, ‘drink of them, hear our call’; sāstu mātā sāstu pītā sāstu ēvā sāstu vīcātuḥ, ‘let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the master sleep; vīcākarman nāmās te pāṁḥ asmān, ‘Viśvākaran, homage to thee; protect us!’ yuvām... rājñā āce duhitā pṛçeḥ vāṁ narā, ‘the king’s daughter said to you “I pray you, ye men”; vayām te vāya ēndra vīdhā ṣu nāḥ ē prā bharānāhe, ‘we offer thee, Indra, strengthening; take note of us’.

Examples of the verb accented at the head of the pāda when this is not the head of the sentence are: ēthā te ēntamānāṁ vīdyāṁ sumatiṁ, ‘so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors’; dhātā ‘syā agrāvāi pātinā dādātuḥ pratiṁyām, ‘Dhātar bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish’; yātudhānāsyā somapa ēahī pṛaṭām, ‘slay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer’.

594. Certain special cases under this head are as follows:

a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accented, as if it were itself initial in the clause or pāda: thus, dēcṛutkarna śrudhī ēvām, ‘O thou of listening ears, hear our call!’ sīte vāndāmahe tva, ‘O Sītā, we reverence thee; vīcē devā vāsavo rāṣate māṁ, ‘all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man’; utā ‘gac cakrūsaṁ devā devā jīvayathā pīnāḥ, ‘likewise him, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live again’.

b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, tarāṇir ē jayati kṣēti pāṣyati, ‘successful he conquers, rules, thrives; amitrān... pāṛicā indra prā mṛṇā jahī ca, ‘our foes, Indra, drive far away and slay’; āsmābhyaṁ jeṣṭi yōtsi ca, ‘for us conquer and fight’; āgnīṣomā harīśah prāsthitasya vītāṁ hāryataṁ vṛṣanā jujēthām, ‘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, jaḥḥ praṇāh nāyaśva ca, 'slay the progeny, and bring [it] hither'; ेर्नौत् nāḥ subhāga bōdhatu tāmānā, '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: yān yajñām paribhūr āsti, 'what offering thou protectest'; ō tē yanti ye aparīṣu paścyăn, 'they are coming who shall behold her hereafter'; salah yān me āsti tēna, 'along with that which is mine'; yātra nāḥ pārve pitāraḥ pareyāh, 'whither our fathers of old departed'; adyā muriya yādi yatudhāno āsī, 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer'; yāthā hāny anupārddvān bhāvantī, 'as days follow one another in order'; yāvad idām bhūwanah viśvaṃ āsti, 'how great this whole creation is'; yātkānās te jukūnas tān no astu, 'what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours'; yatamās tāryṣpāt, '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, āpa tyē tāyāco yathā yanti, 'they make off like thieves [as thieves do]'; yāt sthā jāgac ca rejute, 'whatever [is] movable and immovable trembles'; yathā-kāmām nī padyate, 'he lies down at his pleasure'.

b. The particle ca when it means 'if', and cēd (ca+īd), 'if', give an accent to the verb: thus, brahmā cēd dhāstam āṟghātī, 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand'; tvāṁ ca soma no vāṣo jīvātum nā marāmahe, 'if thou, Soma, wiltest us to live, we shall not die'; ā ca gāchān mitrām enā da-duḥāma, '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, sām ñcāvparpāṅc cāranti no nāro 'sākam indra rathāno 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 ā gahi kāṇveṣu sū sācā pitaḥ, 'come hither quickly; drink along with the Kanvas' (i. 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 ḫ (with its negation nāḥ), 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 tē mañcāntāṁ vīmico ḫī sānti, 'let them release him, for they are releasers'; yāc cēd ḫ... anuṣṭāṭa iva smāsi, 'if we, forsooth, are
as it were unrenowned'; — also nēd (nā-ṇāḥ), meaning 'lest, that not': thus, nēt tvā tāpāti śūrya arṣeṣā, 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam'; vīrājan nēd vichinādāni 'ti, 'saying to himself, 'lest I cut off the vīrāj'; — and the interrogative kuvād, 'whether?' thus, ukthēbbhī kuvād āgāmat, '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 distinguishable by the presence in the two clauses of correlative words, especially anya—anyā, eka—eka, vā—vā, ca—ca: thus, prā-prā 'nye yānti pūry anyā āsate, 'some go on and on, others sit about' (as if it were 'while some go etc.'); ād vā siṅcādhwam ūpa vā pṛṇadhvam, 'either pour out, or fill up'; sāṁ ce 'dhyaśoī 'gne prā ca vardhaye mān, 'both do thou thyself become kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person'. But it is also made without such help: thus, prā 'yātāḥ prajā yanāyati pāri prājātā gṛṇāti, 'the unborn progeny he generates, the born he embraces'; āpa yuṣmād ākramin nā 'smān upāvartate, '[though] she has gone away from you, she does not come to us'; nā 'ndhō 'dhvaryaḥ bhavati nā yajñāṁ rākṣāṁi ghnanti, '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 urvī ca 'si vāsī ca 'si, 'both thou art broad and thou art good', occur, much oftener, incomplete ones like agnir amaṁśmi lokā āśid yamā 'smān, 'Agni was in yonder world, Yama [was] in this'; asthā 'nyāḥ prajāḥ pratītīṣhantā māṁśeṇā 'nyāḥ, 'by bone some creatures stand firm, by flesh others'; dvipaḍ ca sūravaṁ no rākṣa cātūspaḍ yāc ca naḥ svām, 'both protect everything of ours that is biped, and also whatever that is quadruiped 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 ād, āha, kīṭa, aṅgā, evā, but sporadically; and so on. The detail and examination of the cases is not worth while here.*

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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 Čakuntalā, 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.
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.

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, अद ad, 'eat'; इ i, 'go'; या yā, 'go'; विद्विद्विद्विद् devi, 'hate'; तुतुतुतुतु tuk, 'milk'.

II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, सुजु suju from धु hu, 'sacrifice'; ददा dadā from ददा, 'give'; बिबह bikh from बिबह, '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, सुरुङ सुरुङ suρuŋ (or सुरुङ सुरुङ suρuŋ) from सुरुङ suρuŋ; युन युन yun (or युन युन yun) from युन युन yun.

IV. a. The nu-class (fifth or su-class); the syl-
lable नु is added to the root: thus, नु sunu from यु; यु अपु from य ग अप.

b. A very small number (only half-a-dozen) of roots ending already in न, and also one very common and quite irregularly inflected root not so ending (क्र, ‘make’), add उ 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 उ-class: thus, तनु tanu from य तन tan.

V. The नास (nā-class); the syllable ना nā (or, in weak forms, नि ni) is added to the root: thus, क्रिणा krīnā (or क्रिणi krīni) from य क्रि krī, ‘buy’; स्तध्भः stabhnā (or स्तध्भः stabhni) from य स्तध्भः 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 अ, 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 अ-class, or unaccented अ-class (first
or bhū-class); the added class-sign is a simply; and the root, which has the accent, is strengthened by guna throughout: thus, भव bhāva from यभ bhū, 'be'; नयं nāya from यनं ni, 'lead'; बोध bōdha from यबध budh, 'wake'; वदं vāda from यवद vadh, '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, तुदं tudā from यतुद tūd, 'thrust'; मन्त्र srjá from यमन्त्र srj, 'let loose'; मुख sūvā from यमुख sūk, 'give birth'.

VIII. The ya-class (fourth or div-class); ya is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, रीव divya from यरीव div (more properly रीव diw: see 765); नाह nāhya from यनाह nah, 'bind'; कुथ krudhya from यकुथ krudh, 'be angry'.

IX. The passive conjugation is also properly a present-system only, having a class-sign which is not extended into the other systems; though it differs markedly from the remaining classes in having a specific meaning, and in being formable in the middle voice (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 ya to the root: thus, नाह adyā from यनाह ad; कुथ rudhyā from यकुथ rudh; कुथ budhyā from यकुथ budh; तुदं tudyā from यतुद tud.

607. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or cur-class, having a class-sign áya added to a strengthened root (thus, cordaya from यकूर 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 ch, 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 ā and yu, which make the stems ṛchā and yāchā.

Roots substituting ch for their final are īṣ, uṣ (or vas ‘shine’), gam, yam, which make the stems ichā, uchā, gācha, yācha.

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.

I. Present Indicative.

612. The endings are the primary (with शते ở 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.

Examples of inflection: a. root शै, 'go': strong form of root-stem, शै ṏ; weak form, शै शै.

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<td>ḍvāhe</td>
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<td>2 ḍśi</td>
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<td>ṭyānte</td>
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b. root शिय dviś, 'hate'; strong stem-form, शिय dviś; weak, शिय dviś.

For rules of combination for the final š, see 226.

1 ḍrzsni dviśvās dviśmās dviśe dviśvāhe dviśmāhe
dvēśmi dviśvās dviśmās dviśe dviśvāhe dviśmāhe

2 ḍtī dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dvēkši dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dvēkshi dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dviś̄tī dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dvēkṣi dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dvēkṣi dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dvēkṣi dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dvēkṣi dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē
dvēkṣi dviśhās dviśhāte dviśkē dviśkēvē

c. root ṁuḍ duḥ, 'milk': strong stem-form ṁuḍ duḥ; weak, ṁuḍ duḥ.

For rules of combination for the final ḍ, and for the conversion of the initial to ḍh, see 222, 155, 160.

1 ṁuḍm mi ṁuḍm ṁuḍ ṁuḍ ṁuḍm ṁuḍm ṁuḍm

* Used in the middle with the preposition adhi, to signify 'go over for one's self', i.e. 'repeat, learn, read'.

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IX. Present-system.
I. Root-class (Second, ad-class).

Examples of the 3d 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 ēpe, duḥe, vidē, cāye: more sporadic are cītē, bruve, huvē. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in rihate, duhate. 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: 790b).

2. Present Subjunctive.

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 (ē+a) and āṣā respectively.

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<td>āyāt</td>
<td>āyatas</td>
<td>āyan</td>
<td>āsate</td>
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<td>āsānte-nta</td>
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The RV. has no middle forms in āī except those of the first person. The 1st sing. act. in ā occurs only in RV., in āyā, 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, āyūs, āyūt, āyūn; āsūt, brāvūt; āsūthā, bravūthā, hanūthā; ādān, dohān. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found kāntanta, 3d pl., and ñçata, 3d sing. (after mà prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in āīte is brāvūte.

3. Present Optative.

The personal endings combined with the mode-signs of this mode (M yā in act., ḍ ḍī 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.

4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with ाताम 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) दि dhi if the root end with a consonant, and ि hi if it end with a vowel. As examples we take some of the roots already used for the purpose.
I. Root-class (Second, ad-class).

618. The 2d sing. act. ending tāt is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, vittāt, vittāt, brūtāt. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending ām: thus, duhām (only RV. case), viśām, cayām; and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has duhrām and duhratām. The use of tana for ta in 2d pl. act. is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, itana, yātana, hantana, etc. And in stotra, ētana, sotana, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

619. The active participle has the ending आँत (weak stem-form आत at) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final टी. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are यांत, डुहांत, दियांत dviṣānt. The feminine stem ends usually in आतi: thus, यातi yati, डुहातi duhāti, दियातi dviṣati: but, from roots in ā, in आतi ānti or आतi āti (449).

The middle participle has the ending आन ānā, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, यान iyānā, डुहान duhānā, dviṣānā.

But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, duhānā and duhāna (also duğhāna, viśānā and viṣānā, sūvānā and sūvāna, stūvānā and stāvānā — the last having also a stronger form of the root when accented. The root ās, 'sit', forms the unique āsīna (along with, in the Veda, āsānā).

6. Imperfect.

620. This tense adds the secondary endings to the root as increased by prefixion of the augment. The root has the guna-strengthening (if capable of it) in the three persons of
the singular, although the accent is always upon the augment. Examples of inflection are:

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<th>active.</th>
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<td>ग्राम्</td>
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<td>ग्राम्</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ग्राम्</td>
<td>ग्रों</td>
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and, from the root दुः दुह:

1 | दोहतम् | दोहतम् | दोहि | दोहतहि | दोहतहि |
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<td></td>
<td>दोहतम्</td>
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<td>दोहतहि</td>
<td>दोहतहि</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>दोहतम्</td>
<td>दोहि</td>
<td>दोहतहि</td>
<td>दोहतहि</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दोहतम्</td>
<td>दोहि</td>
<td>दोहतहि</td>
<td>दोहतहि</td>
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621. Roots ending in अ may in the later language optionally take us instead of an in 3d pl. act. (the अ being lost before it); and in the older they always do so: thus, अयस् from व्यः, अपस from व्यः ‘protect’. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants: namely, vid, ‘know’, caks, dice, duh, mry.

The ending tana, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in अयतन, असटन, अितन.

To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root ad inserts a: thus, अदतस, अदत; the root as inserts i: thus, असिः, असिः (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, हन, वेस, 2d sing.; हन, वेत, स्ताव, दन (2), 3d sing.; ब्रुवन, दुहस्, कासुस, 3d pl.; वस्त, सुत, 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 si 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: kṣeṣi (1ksi 'rule'), jėṣi, jōṣi (for jōṣi, from y/juṣ), dārṣi, dhakṣi, nukṣi (2naṣ 'attain'), nēṣi, pārṣi (2pr 'set across'), pṛṣi, bhakṣi, mātsi, māṣi (2mā 'measure'), yākṣi, yāṃṣi, yāṣi, yōtsi, rāṣi, vākṣi, vēṣi (1vi 'strive after'), cṛṣi, saks, sāṣi, hoṣi.

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 u have in their strong forms the vrddhi instead of the guna-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from y/stu, stāmi, āstāut, and the like: but āstavam, stāvāmi, etc.

Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are kṣṇu, 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, māṛjmi, āmāṛjam, āmāṛṭ; and the same strengthening is allowed in weak forms before endings beginning with a vowel: thus, māṛjantu, amāṛjan: 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 cakṣ, takṣ, trā. niṅs, vas 'clothe', cīṅj, 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, māṭsva, ṣdhat. 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, cāyāva, cāyāna, and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already noticed) are the 3d pl. persons cērate (AV. etc.
have also ṣeṣe), ṣeṣatām, āṣerata (RV. has also ṣeṣeran), the 3d sing. pres. ṣeṣe (R.) and impv. ṣeṣām. The isolated active form ṣeṣayat is common in the older language.

630. Of the same roots, iḍ and iṣ insert a union-vowel i before endings beginning with s, sv, th: thus, ḍiṣe, ṭiṣihe, ḍiṣiwa (these three being the only forms noted in the older language); but RV. has ḍiṣe beside ḍiṣe. The 3d pl. ṭiṣere (on account of its accent) is also apparently present rather than perfect.

631. The roots rud (not in Veda), svap, an, and ṣvās insert a union-vowel i before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the s and t of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either a or ī: thus, svāpimi, ṣvāsīṣi, āniti, and ānati or āṇi. And in the remaining forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, svāpantu and ṣvāsantu (AV.), or svapāntu etc.

In the older language, ṣvām makes the same insertions: thus, vamiti, avamīt; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, janīṣva, vasiṣva (yvas 'aim'), snathīhi, stanihi (all RV.). On the other hand, an sometimes makes forms from an a-stem: thus, ānati (AV.); pple ānant (CB.); opt. anet (AB.).

632. The root brū (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel i after the root when strengthened, before the initial vowel of an ending: thus, brāvimi, brāviṣi, brāviti, ābravīṣ, ābravīt; but brūmās, brūyām, ābravam, ābruvaṇ, etc. Special occasional irregularities are brūmi, brāvihi, ābravam, ābruvaṇ, brūyāt, and sporadic forms from an a-stem. The subj. dual brāvāīte has been noticed above (615).

633. Some of the roots in u are allowed to be inflected like brū: namely, ku, tu, ru, and stu; and an occasional instance is met with of a form so made (in V., only taviti noted).

634. The root am (hardly found in the later language) takes ī as union-vowel: thus, amiṣi (RV.), amiṣi and āmit and amiṣa (TS). From ṣvām occur ṣamiṣva (VS.: TS. ṣamiṣva) and ṣamīḍaṇa (TB. etc.).

635. The irregularities of ṣudāḥ in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. duhāte, duhāte, and duhātāte; 3d sing. impv. duhām, pl. duhām and duhātām; impf. act. 3d sing. āduhat (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. aduhāran (beside āduhan and duhās); the mid. pple ḍaghāna; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms duhiyāt and duhiyān (RV. only).

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

636. The root वर्त, ‘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 चन्द्रि एसी (instead of अससी); its 2d sing. impv. is ऋधि edhi (irregularly from असद्वि). The insertion of इ in 2d and 3d sing. impf. has been noticed already above.

The forms of this extremely common verb are, then, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th>Optative</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>स्याम्</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>स्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>स्याद्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>स्याद्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>स्याद्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>स्याद्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
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<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Imperfect:

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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>द्वास्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participle मन्त्र sánt (fem. मन्त्र sati).

The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem द्वास्. They are in frequent use, and appear (asat especially) even in late Brāhmaṇās where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution siṃt etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. In 2d and 3d sing. impf. is a few times met with the more normal आस (for आस-स, आस-ट).

Middle forms from द्वास्तव are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (सि-अति), 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 त्र (तर) to form the periphrastic future in the middle voice (see below, 942 ff.). The 1st sing. indic. is he; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., स, द्वेस, सवा, द्वाम, 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 $h$, in contact with the $n$, is changed to $gh$ (compare 402). Thus, for example:

Present Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 hānmi</td>
<td>hanvās</td>
<td>hanmnās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hānsi</td>
<td>hathās</td>
<td>hathā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 hānti</td>
<td>hatās</td>
<td>ghnānti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Its participle is $ghnānti$ (fem. $ghnāti$). Its 2d sing. impv. is $jahī$ (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, $hahā$, $hanmahe$, $ghnate$; $ahata$, $aghnātam$, $aghnata$ (in AB., also $ahata$); $ghnīta$ (but also $hanīta$).

638. The root $vāç$, 'wish', is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to $uc$ (as in the perfect: see chap. X.): thus, $ucmāsi$ (V.: once apparently abbreviated in RV. to $emasi$), $ucānti$; pple $ucānt$, $ucānā$. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as $āucvā$, $āuṭam$, etc.

RV. has in like manner the participle $uṣānā$ from the root $vās$ 'clothe'.

639. The root $cās$, '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, $cī$ (as do the aorist, 854, and some of the derivatives). Thus, for example:

Present Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 cāsmi</td>
<td>cīsvās</td>
<td>cīsmās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cāssi</td>
<td>cīsthās</td>
<td>cīsthā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 cāsti</td>
<td>cīstās</td>
<td>cīṣati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 2d sing. impf., $acāt$ 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 $cīṣām$ etc. The 2d sing. impf. is $cādhī$ (with total loss of the $s$); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. $cāstāna$ (with anomalous accent). But no $cī$-forms of the present-system occur in the Veda.

The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (pple $cāsāna$, RV. etc.).

The root $dāç$, 'worship', has in like manner (RV.) the pple $dāçat$ (not $dāṣant$).
II. Reduplicating Class (third, \textit{hu}-class).

640. The double so-called root \textit{jaks}, 'eat, laugh', is an evident reduplication of \textit{ghas} and \textit{has}. It has the absence of \textit{n} in act. 3d pers. pl. and pple, and the accent on the root before vowel-endings, which belong to reduplicated verbs; and it also takes the union-vowel \textit{i} in the manner of \textit{rud} etc. (above, 631). A 2d pers. impv. \textit{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 \textit{jagr}, \textit{daridrā}, and \textit{vevi} (chap. XIV.), \textit{didhi} etc. (676), and \textit{cakās} (677).

II. Reduplicating Class (third, \textit{hu}-class).

642. This class forms its present-stem by prefixing a reduplication to the root.

643. a. As regards the consonant of the reduplication, the general rules which have already been given above (590) are followed.

b. A long vowel is shortened in the reduplicating syllable: thus, \textit{dādā} from \textit{dā}; \textit{bibhī} from \textit{bhī}; \textit{jūhū} from \textit{hū}. The vowel \textit{r} never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by \textit{i}: thus, \textit{bibhr} from \textit{bhṛ}; \textit{piprc} from \textit{prc}.

For verbs in which \textit{a} and \textit{ā} also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by \textit{i}, see below, 660.

c. The only root of this class with initial vowel is \textit{r} (or \textit{ar}); it takes as reduplication \textit{i}, which is held apart from the root by an interposed \textit{y}: thus, \textit{iyar} and \textit{iyr} (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 \textit{guna}: thus, from \textit{hu}, the two forms are \textit{jūhō} and \textit{jūhu}; from \textit{bhī}, they are \textit{bibhe} and \textit{bibhī}. And the rule for their use is the same as in the other classes of this conjugation: the strong stem is found before the unaccented endings (552), and the weak stem before the accented.
645. According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the root-syllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in ēu, bhū [no test-forms in the older language], ārī (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 bhṛ in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has bhīḥṛti once; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the Brāhmaṇas). 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, īya etc. (566), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.

646. The verbs of this class lose the n in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have ām us instead of ān an — and before this a final radical vowel has guṇa.

1. Present Indicative.

647. The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: a. वक्तः ēu, 'sacrifice':
strong stem-form, अक्तः juhō; weak form, अक्तः juhu (or jūhu).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
<th>Active.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>S.</th>
<th>Middle.</th>
<th>D.</th>
<th>P.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>अक्तः</td>
<td>अक्तम्</td>
<td>अक्तम्</td>
<td>अक्ते</td>
<td>अक्तवे</td>
<td>अक्तम्</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>juhómi</td>
<td>juhuvās</td>
<td>juhumās</td>
<td>juhve</td>
<td>juhuvāhe</td>
<td>juhumāhe</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>अक्तः</td>
<td>अक्तम्</td>
<td>अक्तव्</td>
<td>अक्ते</td>
<td>अक्तवे</td>
<td>अक्तम्</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>juhόści</td>
<td>juhuvās</td>
<td>juhumās</td>
<td>juhve</td>
<td>juhuvāhe</td>
<td>juhumāhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>अक्तः</td>
<td>अक्तम्</td>
<td>अक्तव्</td>
<td>अक्ते</td>
<td>अक्तवे</td>
<td>अक्तम्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>juhóti</td>
<td>juhuvās</td>
<td>juhumās</td>
<td>juhve</td>
<td>juhuvāhe</td>
<td>juhumāhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Root भः bhṛ, 'bear' (given with Vedic accentuation):
strong stem-form, विभः bibhar; weak, विभः bibhr (or bibhr).
II. Reduplicating Class (third, hu-class).

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 guna of the root-vowel, if this is capable of such strengthening. The evidence of the few accentuated forms met with indicates that the accent is laid in accordance with that of the strong indicative forms: thus, from jhum, the stem would be juhāca; from jhūy, it would be bibhāra (but bibhāra later). Before the mode-sign, final radical ā would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus dādā from jhum, dādha from jhū (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 jhumāni, bibhārāni, dadāni, dadhāni, jahāni; jhumāma, dādhāma, jāhāma; — in the middle, dadhāi, mīmāi, dadhāvahāi; jhumāmahāi, dadāmahe, dadāmahāi, dadāmahāi.

Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active bibhārāsi (with double mode-sign: 560, end), dādhathas, jhumāvāha (do.) and jhumavatha; in the middle, dādhase; dādhate, rārāte, dādhātai, dadātai; — with secondary endings, dādhas, vēvēpas, jhumavat, bibhārat, yuṣavat, dādhat, dadhānat, babhasat; dadhan, yuṣavan, jhumavan.

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, jhumās, jhumāhe, etc.
3. Present Optative.

651. To form this mode, the optative endings given above (666), 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,

1. to form this mode, the optative endings given above (666), 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,

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<th>active.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>juhuyām</td>
<td>juhuyāva</td>
<td>juhuyāma</td>
<td>jūhīya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Present Imperative.

652. The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is दि hi after a vowel, but दि dhi after a consonant: छ hu, however, forms नुज़ि juhudhi (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of छ h in two successive syllables): and other examples of दि dhi after a vowel are found in the Veda.

653. Example of inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>juhāvāni</td>
<td>juhāvāva</td>
<td>juhāvāma</td>
<td>juhāvāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>juhudhi</td>
<td>juhutām</td>
<td>juhutā</td>
<td>juhuvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>juhātu</td>
<td>juhutām</td>
<td>juhūtām</td>
<td>juhavātām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) bibhārānī etc., bibhartu, bibharāi etc.

654. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: a. the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, yuyodhi, cīcāḍhi (beside cīc̄iḍhi); yuyotam (beside yuyutām); ṛyartī, dādāta, dādhāta and dādhātama (see below, 673),
II. Reduplicating Class (third, ħu-class).

pipartana, juhāṭa and juhōtana, yuyōtana; b. the use of dhi instead of hi after a vowel (only in the two instances just quoted); c. the ending tana in 2d pl. act. (in the instances just quoted and in others, as mamātattana, jīgātana, dhāttana, etc.); d. the ending tāt in 2d sing. act., in dattāt, dhattāt, pipṛtāt.

5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pl. indic. by dropping ś i: thus, bhrat, bhrat. In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (444). The feminine stem ends in ṣati. The middle participles are regularly made: thus, ṣuḥvāna, bhrāna.

6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending us, and a final radical vowel has guna before it. The strong forms are, as in pres. indic., the three sing. act. persons.

657. Example of inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṣuḥvām</td>
<td>ṣuḥva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ṣuḥvam</td>
<td>ṣuḥvam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ṣuḥvot</td>
<td>ṣuḥvot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From bhṛ, the 2d and 3d sing. act. are bhṛbhṛ (for abibhar-s and abibhar-t) — and so in all other cases where the strong stem ends in a consonant. The 3d pl. act. is bhṛbhṛbhṛbhṛ; and from bhṛ, it is bhṛbhṛbhṛbhṛbhṛbhṛbhṛ.

658. The usual Vedic irregularities in 2d pl. act. — strong forms, and the ending tana — occur in this tense also: thus, ādāṭa, ādāṭa; ādattana, ādajantana, ādahātana. The RV. has also once apiprata for apipṛta in 3d sing. mid., and abibhran for abibharus in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are pīcās, vīvēs, jīgāt; jihāta, cīcīta, jihāta.

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 r or ar — namely, r, ghr (usually written ghar), tr, pr, bhr, sr, pirc — the following roots having a or ā as radical vowel take i instead of a in the reduplicating syllable: gā 'go', 3 pā 'rise', mā 'measure', mā 'bellow', cā, hā 'remove' (mid.), vac, sac; vač has both i and a; rā has i once in RV.: for sthā, pā 'drink', ghrā, han, see below (670—4).

661. Several roots of this class in final ā change the ā in weak forms to i (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. cā, act. and mid.: thus, cīcāti, cīcimasi, cīcīhi (also cīcādhi: above, 654), cīcātu, açcāt, cīcīte.

663. mā 'bellow', act., and mā 'measure', mid. (rarely also act.): thus, mimāti, mimantu, mimāyāt; mimāte, mimate, ānimita; mimīhi, mīmātu.

664. hā 'remove', mid.: thus, jīhite, jīhīhuve, jīhate; jīhīva, jīhātām; ājīhīte, ājīhīta.

665. hā 'quit', act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the ī to i: thus, jahāti, jahīta, jahātā (AV.); jahīnas (AV.), jahīlas (TB.), jahītam (TA.), ajahītam (TS.). In the optative, the radical vowel is lost altogether; thus, jahyām, jahyus (AV.). The 2d sing. impv. is jahīhi or jahīhī.

Compare with this the forms in dhi from y/dhā (below, 669).

666. rā 'give', mid.: thus, rarīdhvam, rarīthās (imperf. without augment): and, with i in reduplication, rirīhi.

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 dod and dadh. In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively dehi and dhehi. In combination with a following t or th, the final dh of dadh does not follow the special rule of combination of a final sonant aspirate (becoming ddd with the t or th: 160), but — as also before s and dv — 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 \( \text{yāhā} \) is, then, as follows:

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dādhāmī</td>
<td>dāadhvās</td>
<td>dādhmās</td>
<td>dādhē</td>
<td>dādhvāhe</td>
<td>dāadhmahe</td>
<td>dāadhvāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dādhūsi</td>
<td>dhatthās</td>
<td>dhatthā</td>
<td>dhatse</td>
<td>dadhūthe</td>
<td>dhaddhvē</td>
<td>dadhūma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dādhūti</td>
<td>dhattās</td>
<td>dādhati</td>
<td>dhattē</td>
<td>dadhāte</td>
<td>dādhvē</td>
<td>dadhūm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Imperfect.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ādadhūm</td>
<td>ādadhva</td>
<td>ādadhma</td>
<td>ādadhī</td>
<td>ādadhvahī</td>
<td>ādadhmahī</td>
<td>ādadhara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ādadhūs</td>
<td>ādhattam</td>
<td>ādhattu</td>
<td>ādhatthūs</td>
<td>ādadhāthum</td>
<td>ādadhāvam</td>
<td>ādadhara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ādadhūt</td>
<td>ādhattām</td>
<td>ādadhus</td>
<td>ādhatta</td>
<td>ādadhātām</td>
<td>ādadhāta</td>
<td>ādadhara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles: act. dādhat; mid. dādhāna.

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 dhatse: dadhē and dadhāte might be perfect, so far as the form is concerned. RV. acccents dadhitā once (dādhīta thrice); TS. and TB. have dādhiran.

The root dā is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of dh to d.

669. The older language has irregularities as follows: a. the usual strong forms in 2d pl., dādhatā and ādadhāta, dādāta and ādadhāta; b. the usual tāna endings in the same person, dhattāna, dādātāna, etc.; c. the 3d sing. indic. act. dadhē (like 1st sing.); d. the 2d sing. impv. act. daddē (for both dehi and dhehi); e. the middle forms dadhidhvē, dadhīyā, dadhidhvam (in RV.), with vowel weakened to ī instead of being dropped.

670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the a-class (class VI., below, 749), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of a-stems. These roots are as follows:

671. In all periods of the language, from the roots sthū ‘stand’, pā ‘drink’, and ghrū ‘smell’, are made the presents
tisṭhāmi, pībāmi (with irregular sonantizing of the second p: later often written pivāmi), and jīghrāmi — which then are inflected not like mimāmi, but like bhāvāmi, as if from the present-stems tisṭha, pība, jīghra.

672. In the Veda, the reduplicated roots dā and dāh are also sometimes turned into the a-stems dāda and dādha, or inflected as if roots dad and dadh of class VI.; and single forms of the same roots: thus, mimantī (vr̩mā 'bellow'), rārate (vr̩rā 'give': 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary root, jīghn, is made from vr̩han (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 sac, from vsac, show the same conversion to an a-stem, sacca.

674. In AB. (viii. 28), a similar secondary form, jīghy, is given to vr̩hi: thus, jīghyati, jīghyatā.

675. A few so-called roots of the first or root-class are the products of reduplication, more or less obvious: thus, jaks (640), and probably pās (from vsas) and caks (from vka or a lost root kas, 'see'). In the Veda is found also sac, from vsac.

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 (jāyṛ, daridrā, veśi) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under Intensives (chap. XIV.); dādhī, 'shine', along with Vedic dīdī 'shine' and pīpī 'swell', are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplicating vowel.

Of pres. indic. occurs in the older language only didyati, 3d pl., with the pples didyat and didhyat, and mid. didye, didhye, didhyāthām, with the pples didyāna, didhyāna, pipīyāna. The subj. stems are didyāya, didhaya, pipāya, and from them are made forms with both primary (from didyāya) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented didyayat and didhyat and didhayan). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have didihī (and didihī) and pipihī, and pipiyatam, pipiyatām, pipiyata. In impf., adides and pipes, adīdhet and apīpet (with augmentless forms), apipema (with strong form of root, and adīdhayās and (irregular) apipyan.

A few forms from all the three show transfer to an a-inflection: thus, didhaya and pīpāya (impr.), apipayat, etc.

Similar forms from vr̩mā 'bellow' are amimet and mimayat.

677. The stem cakās (sometimes cakā) is also regarded by the grammarians as a root, and supplied as such with tenses outside the present-system — which, however, hardly occur in genuine use. It is not known in the older language.

678. The root bhas, 'chew', loses its radical vowel in weak forms, taking the form baps: thus, bābhasti, but bāpsati (3pl.), bāpsat (ppl).

679. The root bhī, 'fear', is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, bibhimās or bibhimās, bibhīyām or bibhīyāṃ.
680. Forms of this class from yjan, 'give birth', with added i — thus, jajniṣe, jajnīḍhve — 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, cikēṣi, cikēthe (anomalous, for cikyēthe), cikīṭām, aciket, cikyat (pple); cikiddhi.

682. The root vyac has i in the reduplication (from the y), and is contracted to vic in weak forms: thus, viviktās, aviviktām. So the root hvar (if its forms are to be reckoned here) has u in reduplication, and contracts to hur: thus, juhūrthās.

III. Nasal Class (seventh, rudh-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable न nā, 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, hīns: see below, 694.

1. Present Indicative.

684. Examples of inflection: a. the root यूज yuj, 'join': strong stem-form, यूनक्त yunākt; wcak, यून yunj.

For the rules of combination of final j, see 219.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.</th>
<th>p.</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>युनमि युनवि युनमान् युज़े युजवे युजमे</td>
<td>युनाक्ति युनक्तस् युनक्तः युज़े युजवे युजमे</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. the root रूढ़ rudh, 'obstruct': bases सुपार्थ runadh and रूढ़ rundh.

For rules of combination of final dh, see 153, 160.
Present-System.

Instead of yunāthis, yundhve, and the like (here and in the impv. and impf.), it is allowed and more usual (231) to write yunāthis, 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 te of 3d pl. mid. in aṇjatē, inđhatē, bhunjatē.

2. Present Subjunctive.

The stem is made, as usual, by adding a to the strong present-stem: thus, yunāja, runāda. Below are given as if made from ṣvyyu all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occurring in the older language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yunājani</td>
<td>yunājāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yunājas</td>
<td>yunājātas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yunājat</td>
<td>yunājatas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

687. The RV. has once aṇjatas, which is anomalous as being made from the weak tense-stem. Forms with double mode-sign are met with: thus, tṛṇahān (AV.), yunajān (CB.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides aṇjatas) is hinasdtas (CB.). CB. has also hinasāvas as 1st du. act.: an elsewhere unexampled form.

3. Present Optative.

The optative is made, as elsewhere, by adding the compounded mode-endings to the weak form of present-stem. Thus:

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<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yuṇjyām</td>
<td>yuṇjyāvā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 4. Present Imperative.

The ending of the 2d sing. act. is always ṝī dhi.
III. Nasal Class (Seventh, rūdh-class).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>s.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yunājānī</td>
<td>Yunājavā</td>
<td>Yunājavāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunājāma</td>
<td>Yunājāvahī</td>
<td>Yunājāvahī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunāvāhī</td>
<td>Yunājāvahī</td>
<td>Yunājāvahī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Yunīghī   Yunātmū   Yunēkta
   Yunēkta   Yunāvtamū   Yungdhrū
   Yunēkta   Yunēkta   Yungdhrū

3. Yunēktū   Yunēktū   Yunēktū
   Yunēktū   Yunēktū   Yunēktū
   Yunēktū   Yunēktū   Yunēktū

690. There is no occurrence, so far as noted, of the ending ātād in verbs of this class. The Veda has, as usual, sometimes strong forms, and sometimes the ending tana, in the 2d pl. act.: thus, unāṭta, yunāktā, anāktana, pīnasṭāna.

5. Present Participle.

691. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. Yunātmū yunjānt (fem. Yunātmī yunjāti); mid. Yunātama yunjānā (but RV. has indhānā).

6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

<table>
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<th>s.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
<td>Yungdhrū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The endings s and t are necessarily lost in the nasal class throughout in 2d and 3d sing. act., unless saved (555) at the expense of the final radical consonant: which is a case of very rare occurrence: in the older language have been noted only ahiṇat (TB.), 3d sing., for ahinaś (vhiṇś), and once in AV. abhanas, 2d sing., for abhanak (vbraṇy); this last is a case of the utmost rarity.

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, bhināṭ, prṇāk, vṛṇāk, pīṇāk, rīṇak.
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, tac, pyc, víc, aňj, bhaňj, yrj, bhuj, yuj, krt 'spin', chrá, trá, chid, bhíd, ud, räh, idh, rudh, ubh, ac (anačámaháī, once, RV.), pis, pis, hiná, thá. Those here written with the nasal — namely aňj, bhaňj, hiná — have that addition also in the other tense-systems. Two, rďh and ubh, make present-systems also of other classes with nasal class-signs: thus, rďhnáti (cl. IV.), ubhnáti (cl. V.). Several have a-forms with penultimate nasal: thus, práca, čińá, tráhá, umbhá; and occasional a-forms, especially in the later language, are met with from others: thus, bháňjet, chindheta, apińsat, arundhat (compare the nasalyzed roots of the á-class, below, 758).

695. The root tráh combines tráh with ti, tu, etc. into tráhdi, tráhdu; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as tráhmi: see above, 224 b.

696. The root hiná (by origin apparently a desiderative from yhan) accents irregularly the root syllable in the weak forms: thus, hinánti, hináste (but hinásat 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 nü nu, which then in the strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to nü nó.

B. The few roots of the u-class (about half-a-dozen) end in n, with the exception of the later irregular kř (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 nü su, 'press out': strong form of stem, nü sunó; weak form, nü sunu.
IV. \( \text{Nu-} \) and \( u- \) (Fifth and Eighth, \( su- \) and \( tan- \)) Classes. 233

### Table: Active and Middle Forms

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>( \text{sunomí} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunuvás} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunumás} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunvé} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunuváhe} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>( \text{sunoji} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunuthás} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunuthá} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunuje} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunuváhe} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>( \text{sunóti} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunutás} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunvítí} )</td>
<td>( \text{munute} )</td>
<td>( \text{sunuváte} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms \( \text{sunvás}, \text{sunumás}, \text{sunuváhe}, \text{sunumáhe} \) 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 \( \text{yap} \), however (for example), only the forms with \( u \) can occur: thus, \( \text{apnuvás}, \text{apnumáhe} \); and also only \( \text{apnuuvánti}, \text{apnuváte} \).

### B. \( u- \) Class; Root \( \text{tan} \), ‘stretch’: strong form of stem, \( \text{tano} \); weak, \( \text{tanu} \).

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>( \text{tanomí} )</td>
<td>( \text{tanuvás} )</td>
<td>( \text{tanumás} )</td>
<td>( \text{tanvé} )</td>
<td>( \text{tanuváhe} )</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 perss. 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, \( \text{tanváté}, \text{manváté}, \text{sprváté} \).

In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in \( \text{ire} \) from present-stems of this class: thus, \( \text{invire}, \text{prvire}, \text{pinvire}, \text{cprvire}, \text{sunvire}, \text{hinvin} \). Of these, \( \text{pinvire} \) and \( \text{hinvin} \) might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots \( \text{pinv} \) and \( \text{hin} \) (below, 716). The 2d sing. mid. (with passive value) \( \text{cprvire} \) (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, \( \text{sunáva}, \text{tanáva} \). In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class: some of them are quite numerously represented there.
901. 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.); aṇavātha (K.), krṇavātha (VS.; but -vātha in Kānva-text), karavātha (Q.B.). On the other hand, aṇavalai is found once (in TS.). RV. has in a single passage krṇavāte (instead of krṇavātte): the only form in āithe is aṇavāithe.

3. Present Optative.

902. The combined endings (566) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>suṇavāni</td>
<td>suṇavāva</td>
<td>suṇavāma</td>
<td>suṇavāi</td>
<td>suṇavāvahāi</td>
<td>suṇavāmāhāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>suṇāvas</td>
<td>suṇāvatha</td>
<td>suṇāvase</td>
<td>suṇāvāithe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>suṇāvat</td>
<td>suṇāvan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

From yāp, the middle optative would be āpnuvāyā — and so in other like cases.

4. Present Imperative.

903. 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 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:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>suṇavāni</td>
<td>suṇavāva</td>
<td>suṇavāma</td>
<td>suṇavāi</td>
<td>suṇavāvahāi</td>
<td>suṇavāmāhāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>suṇā</td>
<td>suṇutām</td>
<td>suṇutā</td>
<td>suṇuśvā</td>
<td>suṇuśvāthām</td>
<td>suṇuśdvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>suṇotu</td>
<td>suṇutām</td>
<td>suṇvāntu</td>
<td>suṇutām</td>
<td>suṇvātām</td>
<td>suṇvātām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From \( \gamma\dot{\alpha}p \), the 2d sing. act. would be \( \ddot{\alpha}pnuhi \); from \( \gamma\alpha\dot{\alpha} \), \( \alpha\ddot{\alpha}nuhi \); from \( \gamma\ddh\dot{\alpha} \), \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nuhi \); and so on. From \( \gamma\dot{\alpha}p \), too, would be made \( \ddot{\alpha}pnuv\ddot{\alpha}ntu \), \( \ddot{\alpha}pnuv\ddot{\alpha}th\ddot{\alpha}m \), \( \ddot{\alpha}pnuv\ddot{\alpha}ntam \), \( \ddot{\alpha}pnuv\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}m \).

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of \( hi \) after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as \( inuhi \), \( kru\ddot{\alpha}hi \), \( cinuhi \), \( dh\dddot{\alpha}nuhi \), \( \ddh\dddot{\alpha}nuhi \), \( h\ddot{\alpha}nuhi \), and \( tanuhi \), \( sanuhi \), are thrice as frequent in use as \( inu \), \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nu \), \( sun\ddot{\alpha} \), \( tanu \), and their like; in AV., however, they are not more than one third as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically; even \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nuhi \) (with \( dh\ddot{\alpha} \)) occurs several times in RV. The ending \( t\ddot{\alpha}t \) is found in \( kr\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}t \) and \( hinu\ddot{\alpha}t \), and \( kur\ddot{\alpha}t \). The strong stem-form is found in 2d du. act. in \( hinotam \); and in 2d pl. act. in \( kr\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}a \) and \( kr\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}an\ddot{\alpha}a \), \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}a \) and \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha}a \), \( \ddh\dddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha}a \), and \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}a \), \( kar\ddot{\alpha}t \). The ending \( t\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} \) occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt \) and \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}n \) \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} \) are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from \( \gamma\ddh\dot{\alpha} \) \( su \) come act. \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt \) \( (fem. \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha}t) \), mid. \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} \); from \( \gamma\ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}tan \), \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} \). The ending \( t\dddot{\alpha}nt \) is found in \( kr\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}t \) and \( hinu\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}t \), and \( kur\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}t \). The ending \( t\dddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} \) occurs only in the forms just quoted.

6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

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<td>( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}n )</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}m )</td>
<td>( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}m )</td>
<td>( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} )</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}m )</td>
<td>( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}m )</td>
<td>( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}va \), \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}ma \), \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}mah\ddot{\alpha}i \) are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as \( dh\ddh\ddot{\alpha} \); which makes, for example, always \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}ma\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}m \) etc., and also \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}v\ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt, \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}v\ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt \), \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}v\ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt \), \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}v\ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} \).

707. Strong stem-forms and \( t\dddot{\alpha}n\ddot{\alpha} \)-ending are found only in RV., in \( \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}t\ddot{\alpha}a, \ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}\ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}a \). Augmentless forms with accent are \( \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}nt, \ddh\ddh\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}nt\ddot{\alpha}nt \).
Irregularities of the nu and u-classes.

708. Less than thirty roots form their present-system in the manner set forth above, by the addition of the class-sign nu to the root: they are aks, ać 'attain', takṣ, dobb, caκ, saγh, āp, dāc, r, kr 'make', vr (ur), stṛ, srṛ, ṛḍh, trṛ, dhrṣ, i 'send' (or in: see below. 710), kṣi 'destroy', ci, dhi, mi 'prop', hi, u, du, cṛu, su, sku, pruṣ, dhu: and of these, several (as takṣ, saγh, dāc, u, sku) have only isolated forms of this class.

709. The root trṛ, 'enjoy', is said by the grammarians to retain the n of its class-sign unlingualized in the later language — where, however, forms of conjugation of this class hardly occur; while in the Veda the regular change is made: thus, trṇu.

710. The root cṛu, 'hear', is contracted to cṛ before the class-sign, forming cṛṇo and cṛnu as stem. Its forms cṛṇi, cṛṇiré and cṛṇiwiré have been noted above (689).

711. The root dhu in the later language shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms dhuno and dhunu (earlier dhūnō, dhūnu).

712. The so-called root Crear, treated by the native grammarians as dissyllabic and belonging to the root-class (1.), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root vr (or var). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the nu-class; but in the Brāhmaṇa language are found sometimes such forms as āṛṇāuti, as if from an u-root of cl. I. (620); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. act. is ūṛṇu or ūṛṇuhi; its opt., āūṛnos, āūṛnot; its opt. mid., āṛṇvita (K.) or āṛṇvita (TS.).

713. The roots of the other division, or of the u-class, are extremely few: they are tan, man, vaṃ, san; also ksān (not in V.: in CB., and very rarely later), and kr 'make' (in late Vedic and later); and BR. assume in of the u-class instead of i of the nu-class.

714. The extremely common root क्र (or kār), 'make', is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the u-class (being the only root of that class not ending in n). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the guṇa-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is changed to kur, so that the two forms of stem are क्रो karō and कुर kuru. The class-sign उ u is always dropped before उ v and म m of the 1st du. and pl., and also before y of the opt. act. Thus:
such as bhāvanta (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brāhmaṇas (especially ČB.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in āsi and the 3d in āt. A 3d pl. in antāi (variantāi, KB.) has been noted once. RV. has an example, areā, 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).

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bhāvyaṁ bhāveva bhāvema bhāveya bhāvevahi bhāvemahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bhāvās bhāvetam bhāveta bhāvethas bhāveyāthām bhāvedhvak</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bhāvet bhāvetām bhāveya bhāvetābhāvam</td>
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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:

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<td>p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bhāvāni bhāvīva bhāvāma bhāvāi bhāvāvahāi bhāvāmahāi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bhāva bhāvatam bhāvata bhāvasca bhāvetām bhāvadhvak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bhāvat bhāvam bhāvatam bhāvām bhāvamahām</td>
<td></td>
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</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 nāhyatana in the ya-class: 760). The ending tāt of 2d sing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has avatāt, oṣatāt, dahatāt, bhavatāt, yachatāt, yācatait, rākṣatāt, vahatāt; to which AV. adds jinvatāt, dhāvatāt; and the Brāhmaṇas bring other examples.

5. Present Participle.

741. The endings यत् ant and मान māna are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. भवत् bhāvant (fem. भवत्ति bhāvantī); mid. भवमान bhāvamāna.
6. Imperfect.

An example of the imperfect inflection is:

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>घनतम् घनवत् घनतम् घनवत् घनमहि घनमाहि</td>
<td>घनतम् घनवत् घनतम् घनवत् घनमहि घनमाहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>घनवहस [dha]</td>
<td>घनवथास [dha]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>घनवत [dha]</td>
<td>घनवास [dha]</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: cyávam, ávas, díhas, bódhat, bhárat, cárán, nágan; bádháthás, váráhata, pócanta. 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. śvah 'notice' has guṇa-strengthening (against 240): thus, śhate.

b. kṛp (or krap), 'lament', on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus,

kṛpate.

c. guh, 'hide', has prolongation instead of guṇa: thus, gūhāti.

d. kram, 'stride', lengthens its vowel in the active, but not in the middle: thus, krāmati, krāmate; kram, 'tire', is said to form kramati etc., but hardly occurs; cām with the preposition ā, 'rinse the mouth', forms ācāmati.

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from mrj, 'wipe'; and they show the same vyādhi (instead of guṇa) which belongs to the root in its more proper inflection (627): thus, mārjasva.

f. The grammarians give a number of roots in urv, which they declare to lengthen the u in the present-stem. Only three are found in (quite
limited) use, and they show no forms anywhere with short u. All appear to be of secondary formation from roots in r or ar. The root mūrck or mūrck, '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 dāuç, 'bite', rañj, 'color', sañj, 'hang', svañj, 'embrace', of which the nasal is in other parts of the conjugation not constant, lose it in the present-system: thus, dáçati etc.; sañj forms both sajati and sajjati (probably for sajyati, or for sajati from sasojati); math or manth has mathati later. In general, as the present of this class is a strengthening formation, a root that has such a nasal anywhere has it here also.

747. The roots gam, 'go', and yam, '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 sisāl for sisad): thus, sidāmi 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, sthā, 'stand', pā, 'drink', and ghrā, 'smell', form the present-stems tistha (tisthami etc.), piba or (later) piva (pibāmi etc.), and jighra (jighrāmi etc.); and, in the Veda, dā, 'give', and dhā, 'place', form sometimes dāda and dādha, han, 'slay', forms sometimes jighna, and hi, 'impel', forms jighya — all these by transfer from the reduplicating class: see 671—4.

b. Secondary root-forms like in, jin, pin, from simpler roots of the nu-class, are either found alongside their originals, or have crowded these out of use: see 716.

750. On the other hand, the root dham or dhmā, 'blow', forms its present-stem from the more original form of the root: thus, dhāmati etc.

VII. Accented á-class (sixth, tud-class).

751. The present-stem of this class has the accent on the class-sign ṗ á, and the root remains unstrengthened. In its whole inflection, it follows so closely the model of the preceding class, that to give the paradigm in full will be unnecessary (only for the subjunctive, all the forms found to occur will be instanced).
IX. Present-system.

752. Example of inflection: root विष्य(viṣ, 'enter'; stem, विष्य viṣā:

1. Present Indicative.

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<td>viṣāmāhe</td>
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<td>viṣāvas</td>
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2. Present Subjunctive.

1. viṣāni viṣāva viṣāma viṣāt viṣāvahai viṣāmahai
2. viṣāsī viṣātha viṣāse viṣāsai viṣāthe
3. viṣātī viṣātus viṣān viṣāte viṣātai viṣāntai

A single example of the briefer 1st sing. act. is mṛkṣā. The only forms in āthe and ātē are prṇāthe and yuvāte.

3. Present Optative.

1. viṣēyam viṣēva viṣēma viṣēya viṣēvahai viṣēmahai

The RV. has the ending tana once in tirētana 2d pl. act., and rata in juśerata 3d pl. mid.

4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

2. viṣā viṣātam viṣāta viṣāsva viṣētham viṣēdhvam

The ending tāt is found in RV. and AV. in mṛdatāt, vṛhatāt, suvatāt; other examples are not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, khidatāt, srjaatāt.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is विषाल viṣānt; the middle is विषामान viṣāmāna.

The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, viṣāntī; but sometimes from the weak: thus, siṇcāntī and siṇcatī (RV. and AV.), tudāntī and tudāti (AV.): see above, 449b.
6. Imperfect.

Examples of augmentless forms accented are srjás, srját, tiránta.
The a-aorist (846ff.) is in general the equivalent, as regards its form, of an imperfect of this class.

Irregularities of the á-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, kṣí, yu 'join', ru 'roar', su (or sū) 'stir up', dhū, hū, kr 'strew', gr 'swallow', ūr, rikh or likh, sic, ich, vij, khid, vid 'find', vidh, kṣip, lip, riph, diç, piç, riç, viç, is, teis, nas, muce, uch, uhj, uñj, ruj, khand, tud, nud, rud, lup, ubh, sudh, gur, jur, tur, bhur, spuru, juj, prus, rus, cus, uks, vrce (or vracé), rch, prch (or prach), vij, sj, bhj (or bhrajj), mrj, pṛn, mṛṇ, kṛt 'cut', cṛt, rd, trp, mṛc, spṛc, rś 'push', kṛṣ 'plough', mṛks, vrś, dṛh, vṛh or bṛh. Some even of these have either only isolated or very rare occurrences of á-forms. The roots ich, uch, and rch are reckoned as substitutes in the present-system for īṣ 'wish', vas 'shine', and ṛ 'go to' (608). Pṛn and mṛṇ 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 iyi and uv before the class-sign: thus, kṣiyáti, suváti (sva instead of suva occurs in AV.; and the Brāhmaṇas have forms in kṣya from kṣi).

756. The three roots in ṛ form the present-stems kirā, girā, tirā, and they are sometimes written as kir etc.; and gur, jur, tur are really only varieties of gr, ār, tr; and bhur and sphur are evidently related with other ar or r root-forms.
757. Two other roots which are used only in middle forms, and in combination with the preposition ā (sometimes further combined), make the present-stems ā-driyā and ā-priyā, and are reckoned as ē or ar roots: drē, 'regard', and prē, 'be busy' (neither is found in V.). 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 mriyā and ḍhiyā, from the roots mṛ, 'die', and ḍhr, '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 mañcā is made from vṃuc, 'release'; sīncā from vście, 'sprinkle'; vindā from vvid 'find'; kṛntā from vRYPT 'cut'; pīncā from vpić 'adorn'; tṛmpā from vṛmp, 'enjoy'; līmpā from vṛlp, 'break'; līmpā from vṛlp, 'smear'; and occasional forms of the same character are met with from a few others, as tundā from vṛtud, 'thrust'; umbhā from vṛubh, 'hold'; brūhā from vṛbrh 'strengthen'; ḍṛṅhā (beside ḍṛṅha) from vṛdrh, 'make firm'; śumbhā (beside śumbha) from vṛsubh, 'shine'. TS. has ḍṛṅthati from vṛrath (instead of ḍṛṛthnāti).

VIII. Ya-class (fourth, div-class).

759. The present stem of this class adds या ya to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also precisely like that of the a-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the a-class.

760. Example of inflection: root नाह nah, 'bind'; stem नाह्या nāhya.

1. Present Indicative.

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<td>nāhyūmahe</td>
<td>nāhyūmahe</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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2. Present Subjunctive.

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<td>1</td>
<td>nāhyāni</td>
<td>nāhyāma</td>
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<td>nāhyūmāhe</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>{nāhyāsi}</td>
<td>nāhyūsūi</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>{nāhyāti}</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>{nāhyāti}</td>
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<td>nāhyūtai</td>
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A 3d pl. mid. in antāi (jāyantāi) occurs once in TS.
3. Present Optative.

1. \( \text{नाह्येयम्} \) \( \text{नाह्येया} \) \( \text{नाह्येमा} \) \( \text{नाह्येयहि} \) \( \text{नाह्येमाहि} \)

\( \text{नाह्येयम्} \) \( \text{नाह्येया} \) \( \text{नाह्येमा} \) \( \text{नाह्येयहि} \) \( \text{नाह्येमाहि} \)

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

4. Present Imperative.

2. \( \text{नाह्या} \) \( \text{नाह्यातम्} \) \( \text{नाह्यत} \) \( \text{नाह्यस्व} \) \( \text{नाह्येशम्} \) \( \text{नाह्याध्यम्} \)

\( \text{नाह्या} \) \( \text{नाह्यातम्} \) \( \text{नाह्यत} \) \( \text{नाह्यस्व} \) \( \text{नाह्येशम्} \) \( \text{नाह्याध्यम्} \)

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

Of the ending \( \text{तन्त} \), RV. has one example, \( \text{नाह्यातना} \); the ending \( \text{तत्} \) is found in \( \text{अस्यतत्} \), chyatAt.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is \( \text{नाह्यात्} \) \( \text{नाह्याति} \); the middle is \( \text{नाह्यात्} \) \( \text{नाह्याति} \).

6. Imperfect.

1. \( \text{अनाह्ययम्} \) \( \text{अनाह्याया} \) \( \text{अनाह्याम्} \) \( \text{अनाह्येयहि} \) \( \text{अनाह्यामाहि} \)

\( \text{अनाह्ययम्} \) \( \text{अनाह्याया} \) \( \text{अनाह्याम्} \) \( \text{अनाह्येयहि} \) \( \text{अनाह्यामाहि} \)

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are \( \text{गायत्} \), \( \text{पायत्} \), \( \text{पायन्} \), \( \text{जायत्तस्} \).

Irregularities of the \( \text{ya}-\text{class} \).

761. The roots of the \( \text{ya}-\text{class} \) 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:

\( \text{uc} \), ‘be pleased’; \( \text{kup} \), ‘be angry’; \( \text{kṛ} \), ‘be lean’; \( \text{klaṃ} \), ‘be weary’; \( \text{krudh} \), ‘be angry’; \( \text{kṣam} \), ‘be patient’; \( \text{kṣudh} \), ‘be hungry’; \( \text{kṣubh} \), ‘be agitated’; \( \text{grdh} \), ‘be greedy’; \( \text{jas} \), ‘be worn out’; \( \text{tam} \), ‘be exhausted’; \( \text{tus} \), ‘be satisfied’; \( \text{trī} \), ‘be pleased’; \( \text{trṣ} \), ‘be thirsty’; \( \text{tras} \), ‘be alarmed’; \( \text{dam} \), ‘be submissive’; \( \text{dus} \), ‘be spoiled’; \( \text{ḍṛ} \), ‘be crazed’; \( \text{druḥ} \), ‘be hostile’; \( \text{puṣ} \), ‘be in good condition’; \( \text{budh} \), ‘be awake’; \( \text{bhram} \), ‘be unsteady’; \( \text{mad} \), ‘be excited’; \( \text{man} \), ‘be minded’; \( \text{muh} \), ‘be confounded’; \( \text{mṛṣ} \), ‘be forgetful’; \( \text{mṛt} \), ‘be in ill condition’; \( \text{med} \), ‘be fat’; \( \text{yas} \), ‘be ardent’; \( \text{yudh} \), ‘be hostile’; \( \text{raja} \), ‘be colored’; \( \text{radh} \), ‘be subject’; \( \text{ran} \), ‘be happy’; \( \text{ṛūdh} \), ‘be successful’; \( \text{ṛis} \), ‘be hurt’; \( \text{rup} \), ‘be in pain’; \( \text{luḥ} \), ‘be lustful’; \( \text{cām} \), ‘be quiet’; \( \text{cuc} \), ‘be in pain’; \( \text{cūs} \), ‘be dry’; \( \text{craṃ} \), ‘be weary’; \( \text{har} \), ‘be gratified’; \( \text{ḥṛṣ} \), ‘be excited’; and we may perhaps add \( \text{dus} \), ‘be deficient’, and \( \text{nač} \), ‘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.
IX. PRESENT-SYSTEM.

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 ya-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 mūcyate 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, ji or jyā, kṣi ‘destroy’, hā ‘leave’, pac, dṛ ‘burst’, chit, bhid. Cases closely analogous with these are mūyate etc. from y'mi or mī, ‘lesser’; rīyate etc. from y'rie, ‘leave’; vīyate etc. from y'vi, ‘impregnate’; cīyante from y'cū, ‘coagulate’; cūyate etc. from y'cī, ‘leave’; ḍhyasva from ṣvṛh, ‘make firm’; pūryate etc. from ṣṛ, ‘fill’; and ṭūyate, ṭūyate, kliyate, ṭdhute, may be ranked along with them. Active forms are early made sporadically from some of these — thus, ṣṛhya (RV.), kṣiyati and pūryati (T.A.); and diryati, kliyati, and other like cases, are found later. The AV. has jīryati, ‘grows old’ (later also jīryate); and CB. has aprusyayi, ‘was sprinkled’. And from the earliest period jīyate etc., ‘is born’, is either altered passive or original ya-formation from y'jā, serving as complement to y'jan, ‘give birth’.


d. A body of roots, of various meaning, and of somewhat questionable character and relations, which are by the native grammersians reckoned as ending with diphthongs: thus,

1. Roots reckoned as ending in āi and belonging to the a-class: thus, gāyati from v'gū. 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: gū ‘sing’; glū, ‘be wearied or disgusted’; dhyū, ‘think’; ṣyū, ‘swell’; mū, ‘wither’; rū, ‘bark’; vū, ‘droop’; cū, ‘coagulate’; crū, ‘cook’; stū, ‘be coagulated’; and, in one or two sporadic forms, kṣū, ‘burn’; dū ‘cleanse’; stū, ‘be hidden’; sphā, ‘be fat’. Trū, ‘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 y'tan: 772), and cāy, ‘be shy or anxious’ (which connects itself with uses of y'cī).

2. Roots reckoned as ending in e and belonging to the a-class: thus, dhāyati from y'dhe. 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 a before the class-sign of this class, or with ā weakened to i or i and
inflected according to the a-class. They are: dhā, ‘suck’; vā, ‘weave’; vyā, ‘hide’; ṭvā, ‘call’ (one of the forms of ṭ/hā); and a late example or two are found from mā, ‘exchange’. With them may be mentioned day, ‘share, sympathize, pity’; vyay, ‘be wasted’ (denom. of vyaya?); 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 svā and kṣaya, noticed under the preceding class (755). Outside these present-systems, they show a 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 a-roots with a 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 bhramyāt also occurs, cām, cram, kram [hardly found in use], and kṣam [but kṣamyate also]: for example, cāmyati, crāmyati.

764. The root mad has the same lengthening: thus, mādyati.

765. The roots in ēv — namely, dīv, sir, sīrīv (or cīrīv) — are written by the grammarians with ēv, and a similar lengthening in the present-system is prescribed for them.

They appear to be properly dīv etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always ū: dīv is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root div, ‘shine’, which changes to dyu (361d): compare also the desiderative stem jujyusā from j/yuv (1028h).

766. From the roots jr and tr (also written as jur and tir or tur) come the stems jīrya and tīrya, and jārya and tārya (the last two only in RV.); from pr comes pārya.

767. The root vyadh is abbreviated to vidh: thus, vidhyati. And any root which in other forms has a penultimate nasal loses it here: thus, dṛhya from dṛṇh or dṛ; bhrācyā (also bhṛcyā) from bhrāṇc or bhrāc; rajya from raṇj or raj.
IX. Accented yá-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 या added to the root: thus, क्ल्या hanyā from वक्ल् han, नाया apya from वना ap, गुख्या grhyā from वगुख् grh (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, aiyā from वायί, badhyā from वबध, ucya from वुत्त, iyd from वैयज.

770. On the other hand, a final vowel of a root is in general liable to the same changes as in other parts of the verbal system where it is followed by y: thus,

a. i and u final are lengthened: thus, mīyā from वमि; sūyā from वसु;

b. ā final is usually changed to ī: thus, diyā from वद, hīyā from वही; but jñāyā from वञ्जयी, khīyā from वखी;

c. r final is in general changed to ri: thus, kriyā from वक्रि; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root r), it has instead the guna-strengthening: thus, smaryā from वस्मर, saryā from वसर;

— and in those roots which show a change of r to ir and ur (so-called र-verbs: see 242), that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, cīryā from वस्रि; pūryā from वप्र.

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 क्र, 'make'; passive-stem क्रिया kriyā:

1. Present Indicative.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kriyē</td>
<td>kriyāvāhe</td>
<td>kriyāmāhe</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Present Subjunctive.

The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

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<th>S.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 kriyāt</td>
<td>kriyāmahāī</td>
<td>kriyādhwāī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 kriyāte</td>
<td>kriyāntāī</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3d pl. ending antāī is found once (uṃyantāī, K.).

3. Present Optative.

1 kriyēya kriyēvahi kriyēmahi

kriyēya kriyēvahi kriyēmahi

e tc. etc. etc.

No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found, however, in the Brāhmaṇas.

4. Present Imperative.

2 kriyāsva kriyēthām kriyādvām

kriyāsva kriyēthām kriyādvām

e tc. etc. etc.

5. Present Participle.

This is made with the suffix māna: thus, kriyamāna.

In use, this participle is well distinguished from the other passive participle by its distinctively present meaning: thus, kītā, 'done'; but kriyamāna, 'in process of doing', or 'being done'.

6. Imperfect.

1 ákriye ákriyāvahi ákriyāmahi

ákriye ákriyāvahi ákriyāmahi

e tc. etc. etc.

The passive-sign is never resolved into ia in the Veda.

772. The roots tan and khan usually form their passives from parallel roots in ā: thus, tāyāte, khāyāte (but also tanyāte, khanyāte). The corresponding form to ājan, namely āyāte (above, 761 b), is apparently a transfer to the preceding class.

773. By their form, mṛiṭyāte, 'he dies', and ākṛiṭyāte, '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-driṭā and ā-priṭā (above, 757), which may possibly be
peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots *pr*, 'fill', and *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 ya-class, such as were considered above (761b).

775. As was pointed out above (607), the formation and inflection of stems in *āya* (the tenth or *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: *abrwan hṛṣṭā gachāmo vayam api* (MBh.), 'they said with gladness, "we will go too"'; *agnir ātmabhavam prāḍād yatra vānchati nāśadhaḥ* (MBh.), 'Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhan should desire'.

b. Examples of past meaning are: *ūttarā nār ādharaḥ putrā āsid dānuḥ gaye sahāvatsā nā dhenāḥ* (RV.), 'the mother was over, the son under; there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf'; *prahasanti ca tāṃ kecid abhyasūyanti cā 'pare akurvata dayāṁ kecit* (MBh.), 'some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her'; *tato yasya vacanaḥ tatrā 'valambitaḥ taṁ sarve tiraskurvanti* (H.), 'thereupon they all fall to reproaching him by whose advice they had slighted there'.

778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:

a. With *purā*; 'formerly': thus, *saptarśin u ha sma vāḥ purā ṛkshā ṛty ācakṣate* (CB.), 'the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears'; *tan-māttram api cen mahyaṁ na dadāti purā bhavān* (MBh.), 'if you have never before given me even an atom'.

b. With the asseverative particle *sma*: thus, *prāmeṇa ha sma vāḥ tād devā jayanti yād eṣāṁ jāyyam āsā rasyaḥ ca* (CB.), 'for, in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won'; *āviṣṭaḥ kalinaḥ dyūte fīyate sma nalaś tādā* (MBh.), 'then Nala, being possessed by Kali, was beaten in play'.

IX. Present-system.
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 *sma* with a verb as pure asseverative particle, with no effect on the tense-meaning, is very common; and the examples later are hardly to be distinguished from the present of lively narration — of which the whole construction is doubtless a form.

779. The imperfect has remained unchanged in value through the whole history of the language: it is the tense of narration; it expresses simple past time, without any other implication.

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.

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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 *ḍ̃* between stem and endings.
782. Reduplication. In roots beginning with a consonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is of the same character with that which forms the present-stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (II.: see 643) — but with this exception, that radical ग अ and ग अ and ध र (or धार ar) have only ग अ, and never ज़ अ, as vowel of the reduplicating syllable: thus, from यूप pr, 'fill', comes the present-stem छिप pr; but the perfect-stem यपाप pr; from यम, 'measure', comes the present-stem मिमामा mimā, but the perfect-stem ममा mamā; and so on.

Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, 784.

783. For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:

a. A root with initial ग अ before a single final consonant repeats the ग अ, which then fuses with the radical vowel to ग अ (throughout the whole inflection): thus, गाद ad from य ग अ ad; and in like manner गाय अ, गान अन, गान अस, गाठ अह.

The root ध र forms likewise throughout धार अर (as if from धार ar).

b. A root with ज़ अ or ज़ ओ before a single final consonant follows the same analogy, except in the strong forms (sing. act.), where the vowel of the radical syllable has गुणa, becoming ज़ ए or ज़ ओ; before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from य र य अ is comes य र य is in weak forms, but य र य अय अय in strong; from य उच उच uc, in like manner, come उच उच uc and उच उच uvoc.

The root ज़ अ, a single vowel, falls under this rule, and forms ज़ य अy and ज़ य अy.

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, $V\bar{a}p$ (probably originally $ap$: 1087f) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem $\bar{a}p$ (as if from $ap$: above, a).

For the peculiar reduplication $\bar{a}n$, 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 $Vva$ come $\bar{u}$ and $uva$; from $Vva$ come $\bar{u}s$ and $u\bar{v}a$s; and so on.

The roots showing this abbreviation are $vac$, $rad$, $vap$, $vaq$, $vas$, $vah$; and $va$, ‘weave’ (so-called $ve$: 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 $i\bar{y}a$ and $i\bar{j}$.

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 $Vvyac$ comes $viya$; from $Vpya$ comes $piya$.

These roots are $vyac$, $vyath$, $vyad$, $vy\bar{a}$, $\bar{y}\bar{a}$, $pya$; and, in the Veda, also $tya\bar{j}$, with $cyu$ and $du\bar{u}$, which have the root-vowel $u$.

A single root with $va$ is treated in the same way: namely $svap$, which forms $su\bar{s}vap$.

These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, 784.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

Thus, of roots reduplicating with $\bar{a}$: $kan$, $k\bar{p}$, $\varphi$ ‘wake’, $\varphi\bar{d}h$, $tan$, $t\bar{r}p$, $tr\bar{s}$, $dhr$, $dhr\bar{s}$, $nam$, $mah$, $mr\bar{f}$, $mr\bar{f}$, $ran$, $rad$, $rab$, $vak$, $van$, $v\bar{a}$, $vas$ ‘attack’, $v\bar{r}f$, $v\bar{r}t$, $\bar{v}\bar{d}h$, $\bar{v}ad$, $sak$, $skambh$. Some of these occur only in isolated cases; some have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but $d\bar{idh}a$ is common also in the Brâhmaṇa language, and is even found later. For $\bar{j}a\bar{r}$, see 1020 below.

Of roots reduplicating with $\bar{i}$: the so-called roots (876) $didh\bar{i}$ and $\bar{d}id\bar{i}$, which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, $d\bar{id}\bar{th}a$, $d\bar{id}\bar{ya}$; $d\bar{idh}ima$, $d\bar{idh}yus$ (also $d\bar{idh}yus$, $d\bar{idiyus}$). But $p\bar{p}i\bar{h}$ has $p\bar{p}i\bar{y}e$, $p\bar{p}i\bar{y}us$, etc., with short $i$. In AV. occurs once $\bar{j}i\bar{h}\bar{a}$.

Of roots reduplicating with $\bar{u}$: $\bar{j}u$ and $\bar{\zeta}$ (or $\varphi\bar{v}u$).

787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative: 42) palatal mutes and aspiration show a reversion to the more original guttural in the radical

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syllable after the reduplication: thus, \( \text{वेन} \) forms \( \text{सिक्क} \); \( \text{विन} \) forms \( \text{सिक्क} \); \( \text{यि} \) forms \( \text{मिज़ि} \); \( \text{य्हि} \) forms \( \text{मिज़ि} \); \( \text{यन} \) forms \( \text{जाग्हन} \) (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots). A root \( \text{दा} \), ‘protect’, is said by the grammarians to form \( \text{दिज़ि} \): but neither root nor perfect is quotable.

788. A small number of roots with initial \( \text{a} \) or \( \text{र} \) (\( \text{र} \) or \( \text{र्र} \)) show the anomalous reduplication \( \text{अन} \) in the perfect.

Thus, in the Veda:

\( \text{वाख्य} \) or \( \text{अख्य} \), which forms the pres. \( \text{अन्भ्यत} \) (cl. \( \text{III} \)), has the perfect \( \text{अन्भ्ये} \) etc. (with \( \text{अन्भ्} \) and \( \text{अन्भ्यत} \);

\( \text{वेस} \), ‘attain’ (from which comes once \( \text{अन्भ्यमहात} \)), has the weak forms \( \text{आन्भ्यम} \) etc. (with opt. \( \text{आन्भ्यम} \)), and the strong forms \( \text{आन्भ्य} \) and \( \text{आन्भ्य} \) — along with the regular \( \text{आ} \) etc.;

\( \text{वर्द्ध} \) (from which comes once \( \text{प्रद्ध} \)) has \( \text{अन्भ्धे} \);

\( \text{व्रेक} \) or \( \text{अर्क} \) has \( \text{अन्भ्धस} \) and \( \text{अन्भ्धेद्} \);

\( \text{वंश} \) has (in TS.) \( \text{अन्भ्रस} \);

\( \text{अन्भ्थ} \) (RV., once) has been referred to a root \( \text{अ} \), 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 \( \text{a} \) and ending with more than one consonant have \( \text{अ} \) as their regular reduplication: and such perfects are taught from roots like \( \text{अक्ष} \), \( \text{अर्ज} \), and \( \text{अन्ध} \) or \( \text{अन्ध} \); but the only other quotable forms appear to be \( \text{अन्भर्णत} \) (MBh.) and \( \text{अन्भर्णत} \) (TA.), which are accordingly reckoned as “pluperfects”.

789. One or two individual cases of irregularity are the following:

a. The extremely common root \( \text{भु} \), ‘be’, has the anomalous reduplication \( \text{बा} \), forming the stem \( \text{बभू} \); and, in the Veda, \( \text{व्यसु} \) forms in like manner \( \text{ससु} \).

b. The root \( \text{भर} \), ‘bear’, has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication \( \text{जा} \) (as also in intensive: 1002b): but RV. has once also the regular \( \text{बभ्रे} \).

c. The root \( \text{स्थिव} \), ‘spew’, forms either \( \text{स्थित्व} \) (\( \text{C.B.} \) et al.) or \( \text{स्थित्व} \).

d. \( \text{विक्वन} \) (RV., once) is doubtless participle of \( \text{वेस} \), with irregular reduplication (as in the present, 660).

790. Absence of reduplication is met with in the following cases:

a. The root \( \text{विद} \) ‘know’ has, from the earliest period to the latest, a perfect without reduplication, but otherwise regularly made and inflected: thus, \( \text{वेदा} \), \( \text{वेष्ठा} \), etc., pple \( \text{विद्वन्स} \). It has the meaning of a present. The root \( \text{विद} \) ‘find’ forms the regular \( \text{विवेदा} \).

b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are \( \text{ताक्ष्ठथस} \), \( \text{यम्भ्स} \), \( \text{स्कम्भथ्स} \) and \( \text{स्कम्भस} \), \( \text{निन्दिमा} \) (for \( \text{निन्दिमा} \)), \( \text{धि} \) and \( \text{ध्हे} \) (? \( \text{ध्हु} \)), and \( \text{विद्रे} \) and \( \text{अर्हरे} \) (? see 613). And AV. has \( \text{सतस्त} \). The participial words \( \text{द्वाणस} \), \( \text{मिद्वानस} \), \( \text{साहवानस} \) are common in the oldest language.
c. One or two sporadic cases have been quoted from the later language: namely, caṇāsas and caṇāsire (MBh.).

791. For an anomalous case or two of reduplicated preposition, see below, 1087f.

792. **Strong and weak stem-forms.** In the three persons of the singular active, the root-syllable is accented, and exhibits usually a stronger form than in the rest of the tense-inflection. The difference is effected partly by strengthening the root in the three persons referred to, partly by weakening it in the others, partly by doing both.

793. As regards the strengthening:

a. A final vowel takes either the guna or vrddhi change in 1st sing. act., guna in 2d, and vrddhi in 3d: thus, from \( \sqrt{\text{bh}} \) bibhē; 1st बिभि, 2d बिभे; 3d बिभै; from \( \sqrt{\text{k}} \) cakār, 1st चकार cakār or चकार cakār, 2d चकार cakār, 3d चकार cakār.

But the उ of \( \sqrt{\text{bhu}} \) remains unchanged, and adds य before a vowel-ending: thus, babhūva etc.

b. Medial \( \sqrt{\text{a}} \) before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or vriddhied in the 3d. sing., and optionally in the first: thus, from जप tap, 1st तत्प tap or तत्प tap, 2d तत्प tap, 3d तत्प tap.

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 जप druḥ comes द्वृड्रोह; from जिप viṣ comes विषेष viṣéṣ; from जप kṛt comes चकार cakārt.

d. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple \( \sqrt{\text{tha}} \) as ending; if it has \( \sqrt{\text{tha}} \) (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 \( \sqrt{\text{a}} \): below, 794e; 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, yuṣopimā, viveṣu. And the roots śṛ, pṛ, and dr ‘tear’ are said by the grammarians to have the strong stem in the weak forms; and jṛ ‘decay’ to be allowed to do the same.

f. The root mṛj has (as in the present-system: 627) vṛddhi instead of guna in strong forms: thus, mamārja; and yṛguḥ (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 i or ū in the weak forms; and (784) that roots contracting va and ya to u or i in the reduplication do it also in the root in weak forms, the two elements here also coalescing to ū or i.

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, vīvīc from vṛVyac, vīvidh from vṛvyadh, susup from vṛṣwap. The extended roots jyū, pyū, vyū, cyū, hoū show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots ji, pi, vi, ci, hu, while hoū must and cvū may get their strong forms also from the same (and it is questionable whether from the others strong forms occur).

c. The root grabh or grah (if it be written thus) contracts to grh, making the three forms of stem jagrāh (1st and 2d sing. act.), jagrāh (3d), and jagn; 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, jaṣu, jaghn (compare 637), jakṣ (compare 640): but RV. has once jajanās.

In the old language are found in like manner māmnāthe and māmnāte from vman; vavāne from vvan; tatne, tatniṣe, tatniṣe from vtan (beside tatane, and tate, as if from vṭu); paptimā and paptās and paṃṭīṇās from vpat (beside pet-forms: below, e); saṭcimā and saṭcus, saṭce and saṭcīrē from vsaac.

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 ḥ — contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having e as its vowel: thus, vṣad forms the weak stem sed, vpaac forms pec, vyan 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, tras (occurs in MBh.), syam, svañ, though they begin with more than one consonant; dambh (forming debh from the weaker dabh), though it ends with more than one; and bham (occurs in KSS.), bhāj, granth, granth, svañ, 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 cāc 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 y/tr (or tar) occurs terus (R.); and jerus from y/jr is authorized by the grammarians — both against the general analogy of roots in r.

f. Roots ending in a lose their a 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 a.

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 aū have θī aū in 1st and 3d sing. active.

796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant — namely θa, va, ma in active; se, vahe, mahe, dhve, re in middle — are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel θ 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 θ i in the later language are as follows:

a. The ॠ re of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except थ a of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely अर ‘make’, भ्र ‘bear’, सर ‘go’, व्र ‘choose’, द्रु ‘run’, च्रु ‘hear’, स्रु ‘praise’, श्रु ‘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 ळ i; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, including those in या ā (of which the या ā is lost when the ending is ॠ Salir), and most of those in ळ i, ळ i, and व u.

The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of tha or 俐ha, run out into infinite detail, and 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 i, a final radical i or ī is not combined, but changed into y or iy. The उ of यभु becomes उv throughout before a vowel.

798. In the older language, the usage is in part quite otherwise. Thus:

a. In the RV., the union-vowel i is taken by roots ending in consonants provided the last syllable of the stem is a heavy one, but not otherwise: thus, दसिथा, उवोिथा, विविदिथा, but ततान्था and विवृक्तिथा; उष्मा, पपित्मा, sādi, युयोपिमा, युग्मा and युयूमा; उर्गि, जाजिष्ठ, sasāhiṣe, but vivitse and dādṛkṣe; बुभुधमाहे and चृणमाहे etc. (no examples of ivāhe or imāhe chance to occur, nor any of either idhve or dhve); इरे, जाजिणे, येतिरे, tatāksirē, but cākówprē, vivirdē, dudūhē, pasprihē, tataśrē (and so on: twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV. is वेळिथा from यविद, without i (in Br., also अथ्था from यह: below, 801a). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brāhmaṇas 3d pl. forms in ेre are made after light syllables also: thus, sasājire, bubudhire.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more nearly like the later. Thus: for roots in ā the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing. in 俐ha is met with), as dādhiṁa, dādhiṣṭa, dādhiḥdvē, dādhiṛé (the only persons with i quotable from RV. and AV.); — roots in r appear also to follow
the later rule: as cakrśe, paprśe, vavrśe, vavrmdhe, but dadhriśe and jadhriśe, and in 3d pl. mid. both cakrirē and dadhrire; — ybhiś has both babhūthā (usually) and babhāvithā, but only babhāvima (AV.). But there are found against the later rules, susuma, cicyuse, juhure, and juhure, without i: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending rirē of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, cikirīre, jagbhhrirē, dadrire, bhhjirīre, vividrire, sasīrīre; to which SV. adds dudhrire.

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 बुध बुध, 'know': its strong form of perfect-stem is बृजाय बुधम्; weak form, बुध बुधम्.

```
1 बुधाय  बुधिय  बुधिम  बुधे  बुधिष्ठे  बुधिमाळे
    बुधोऽ  बुधिवा  बुधिमाब  बुधे  बुधमाहे  बुधमाळे

2 बुधिय  बुधिम  बुधे  बुधिष्ठे  बुधिमाळे
    बुधिः  बुधः  बुधमाले  बुधमाहे  बुधमारे

3 बुधाय  बुधिम  बुधे  बुधिष्ठे  बुधिमाळे
    बुधोऽ  बुधिवा  बुधिमाब  बुधे  बुधमाहे  बुधमारे
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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 ō or ō-vowel, we may take the root नी नी, 'lead': its forms of stem are निनय् निनय or निनाय निनाय, and निन निन.

```
1 निनय, निनाय  निनियत्  निनियम  निने  निनियष्ठे  निनियमाळे
    निनय, निनाय  निनियत्  निनियम  निने  निनियष्ठे  निनियमाळे

2 निनय, निनियत्  निनियत्  निनय  निनियष्ठे  निनाय  निनियष्ठे
    निनय, निनियत्  निनियत्  निनय  निनियष्ठे  निनाय  निनियष्ठे

3 निनय  निनियम  निनिम  निने  निनाय  निनियष्ठे
    निनय  निनिम  निने  निनाय  निनियष्ठे
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The root क्रि would make in weak forms cikriyiva, cikriyatūs, cikriyūs, etc.; ybhiś makes babhāvā, babhātha (V.) or babhāvitha,
babhūvīvā, babhūvās; babhūvē, babhūvirē, etc.; other roots in ā or u change this to uv before the initial vowel of an ending.

c. As example of the inflection of a root ending in धा, we may take दा dā, ‘give’: its forms of stem are ददा dādā and दद dād (or दद dādā); see above, 794f.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>दद</th>
<th>ददिव</th>
<th>ददिम</th>
<th>ददि</th>
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<th>ददिमहे</th>
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<td>dāditë</td>
<td>dādirë</td>
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</table>

The RV. has once paprd for papṛā (and jahā for jahāū?).

d. As example of a root with medial ध a showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial धे, in the weak forms (794e), we may take तन्न tan, ‘stretch’: its forms of stem are ततान्त tatān or ततान tan, and तन ten.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ततान</th>
<th>ततानः</th>
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<th>तनिवके</th>
<th>तनिमहे</th>
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<td>तनिवि</td>
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<td>tenāthus tenā</td>
<td>tenisē tenāthe</td>
<td>tenidhvē</td>
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<td>तनिव</td>
<td>तनिव</td>
<td>तनिव</td>
<td>तनिव</td>
<td>तनिव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tenis</td>
<td>tenē</td>
<td>tenāthe</td>
<td>tenēthe</td>
<td>tenidhvē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The root Jan, with the others which expel medial a in weak forms (794d), makes jajānthā or jajnithā, jajnivā, jajnus; jajnē, jajnīmāhe, jajnirē; and so on.

e. As example of a root with initial ध va contracted to ध u in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to ध u in weak forms (794), we may take वच् vac, ‘speak’: its forms of stem are वच uvāc or वच uvāc, and वच ūc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>वच, वचः</th>
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<td>uvāca, uvāca</td>
<td>ūcivā</td>
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<td>uvāktha, uvācitha</td>
<td>ūcāthus ūcā</td>
<td>ūcisē ūcāthe</td>
<td>ūcidhvē</td>
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A few miscellaneous irregularities call still for notice:

a. The root *ah*, 'speak', occurs only in the perfect indicative, and only in the 3d persons of all numbers and in the 2d sing. and du., in active (and in 2d sing. the *h* is irregularly changed to *t* before the ending): thus, *āttha*, *āha*; *āhatus*, *āhatus*; *āhus* (in V., only *āha* and *āhus* are met with).

b. From *yvā* '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*: 761d,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 *vāvṛdhēte* (for *-dhēte*), 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 *ūṛṇu* (712) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem *ūṛṇunu*.

h. The roots *majj* and *nač* are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing.
active, when the ending is simple tha: thus, mamanktha, nanaṅṣṭha (also mamajjītha and negiṭha).

1. The anomalous ajagrabhāśaṃ (AB, vi, 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for ajigrabhāsan, desid.?).

Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is वानस् vāns (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उष uṣ in the weakest, and replaced by वत vāt 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, बुबुद्धवानं bubudhvāns, निनिवानं ninivāns, चक्रवानं cakrvāns.

803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel इ i (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तेनिवानं tenivāns, उचिवानं ucivāns, जानिवानं jānivāns, आदिवानं ādivāns (from जय ad: 783a), and so on; ददिवानं dadivāns and its like, from roots in य आ, is to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view its इ i as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (794 f).

But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, vidvāns, and, in V., dācvāns, mādvāns, sūhvāns; and RV. has also dadvāns (AV. dadivāns and once dadāvāns) from यद (or dad: 672) and AV. has vīcvāns and varjivāns (in negative fem. वानस्).

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, vārvāvāns, sāsavāns, jājūvāns. RV. and AV. have sasavāns from यस or sā. RV. makes the participial forms of य त or tar from different modifications of the root: thus, titrāvāns, but tātārūsas. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 462 c.

805. From roots gam and han the Veda makes the strong stems jagamvāns (as to the न, see 212) and jaghamvāns; the later language allows either these or the more regular jagmivāns and jaghnivāns (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere jagmās and jaghnās).
806. From three roots, *vid* ‘find’, *vis*, and *dṛś*, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, *vivīcīvāns* or *vivīcīvāns*. PB. has once *cīkīdīvāns*.

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, *bubudhānā, nibhānā*, *ninyānā*, *dadānā*, *tenānā*, *jañānā*, *ucānā*.

In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, *vārdhānā*, *vāvasānā*, *dāḍhānā*, *cīcūvānā*, etc. RV. has *caçayānā* from *yṛś* (with irregular *guna*, as in the present-system: 829); *tistirānā* from *yṣṛ*; and once, with *māna*, *sasṛmānā* from *yṣṛ*.

**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 *ānacyām* and *babhūyās* and *babhūyāt*, 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) *mumuc*, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be *mumōca* (accented after the analogy of the strong forms of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be *mumucyā* in the active, and *mumucī* (accent on personal endings) in the middle.

And the great majority of the forms in question (about three quarters) are made in these ways. Thus:

810. Examples of the regular subjunctive formation are:

a. with secondary endings, active: 2d sing., *paprāthas*, *māmāhas*, *pīrāyas*, *bubodhas*; 3d sing., *jabhārat*, *sānāhat*, *paspārcat*, *pīrāyat*, *cikētāt*;
1st pl., tatānāma, cāçeśāma; 3d pl., tatānan, paprāthān (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only dadhārhati and vavṛtati: compare the formation with different accent below, 811 a.

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. tatāpate, caçāmate, yuyōjate, jujōjate (SV.; RV. has jājojate); and the 3d pl. tatānta (and perhaps two or three others: below, 811 b, end).

811. But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur; thus:

a. with strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, 645). Here the forms with primary endings, active, preponderate, and are not very rare: for example, jājojasi, jājojati, jājojathas, jājojatha (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, jājojas, jājojat, and jājojan are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since dādāças and sūridas etc. are perhaps rather aorists). And there is no middle form but jājojate (RV.; see above, 810 c).

b. with unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accented on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, mumucas; vavṛt, vividat, cūcwat; the only middle forms are dādṛṣate, vāvṛdha, 3d sing.; and cākramanta, dādṛṣanta, rārucanta (with dādabha, paprathanta, māmaha, juhuranta, which might also belong elsewhere: 810 c).

c. accented on the ending are vāvṛdha 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., ānacyām, jagamyām, paprēyām, rīryām; 2d sing., vavṛtyās, vīvīcyās, cūḥīyās, babhīyās; 3d sing., jagamyāt, vavṛtyāt, tutuṣyāt, babhīyāt; 2d du., jagamyātam, cūḥīyātam; 1st pl., sāsahyāma, vavṛtyāma, cūcuyāma; 3d pl., tatanyus, vavṛtyus. The forms are quite numerous.

b. in middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing., vavṛtya; 2d sing., vāvṛdhīthās, caķṣamithās; 3d sing., jagrasita, vavṛtita, māṃṣyīta, cūcui̯īta; 1st pl., vavṛtīmaḥi. And sāsahīthās and rīṛiṣītā 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, cakṛīyās, paṇiṣṭāt, cūrṇīyās and cūṛīyātam, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign yā (770); anyyāt with short initial; jaksīyāt is anomalous; rīṛes 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, eikiddhi, mumuddhi, cūcudhi, and pipriḥ; mumoktu and babhutu; mumuktam and vavṛtka; jujustana and vavṛtana (unless we
are to add mamaddhit, mamattu, mamattana; — middle, vavṛtsva and vavṛdham.

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 jujosatam (2d du.), and mumocata (2d pl.); in the middle, piprāyasva (only one found with accent), and māmahasva, vāyrdhasva, vāyṛvasva (2d sing.), and māmahantām (3d pl.: probably to be accented -āsva and -āntām).

815. Such imperatives as these, taken in connection with some of the subjunctives given above (and a few of the “pluperfect” forms: below, 820), suggest as plausible the assumption of a double present-stem, with reduplication and added a (with which the desiderative stems would be comparable: below, chap. XIV.): for example, jujosa from y/jus, from which would come jujōsati etc. and jujōsatē (811a) as indicative, jujōsas etc. as subjunctively used augmentless imperfect, and jujosatam 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 vāyrdha come readily vāyrdate, vāyṛdhānta, and from it alone can come regularly vāyrdhasva, vāyṛdhete (above, 801e), and vāyṛdhati (once, RV.) — and, yet more, the participle vāyṛdhánt (once. RV.: an isolated case): yet even here we have also vāyṛdhāthās, not vāyṛdh-ethās. 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 vāyṛdhati.

816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from y/muc, the subjunctives mumōcas, mūmocati, and mūmucas; from y/ḥṛṣ, dadhāṛṣati and dadhṛṣate; from y/pṛi, the imperatives pipṛhi and piprāyasva.

Pluperfect.

817. Of an augment-preterit from the perfect-stem, to which the name of pluperfect is given on the ground of its formation (though not of its meaning), the Veda presents a few examples; and one or two forms of the later language (mentioned above, 788, 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. mid.).
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 aciķet; 2d du., anumuktam; 2d pl. ajaganta, and ajagantana and ajabhartana (a strong form, as so often in this person: 556); 3d pl. (perhaps), amamandus and amamadus. To these may be added the augmentless citētam and cakaram. In the middle, the 3d pl. acakriran and ajagmiran (with īran instead of āta), and the augmentless 2d sing. jujūrthās and susuṭhās, are the most regular forms to be found.

819. Several forms from roots ending in consonants save the endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. by inserting an i (555 b): thus, ābubhojīs, avivecīs; arireit, ājagrabbit (avāvarit and avāvaċitām are rather intensives); and the augmentless jhiṇīsī (accent?) and dadhāṣit belong with them.

820. A few forms show a stem ending in a: they are, in the active: 3d sing., asasvajat, acakrat; in the middle: 3d sing., āpiprata; 2d du., āpasprāhethām; 3d pl., aliteōsanta (which by its form might be aorist), ādāḍhanta; and cakradat, cakrapānta, vārādhānta, 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 Qatapatha 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 oftener 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 prāmānti nā vi muničanty ēte vāyo nā paptuḥ (RV.), 'they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds'; se 'd u rājā kṣayati carṣāṇīd arān nā nemī pāri tā bābhūva (RV.), 'he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes'; — of perfect with aorist, úpo ruruce yuvātīr nā yosā... ābhūd agnih somūde māṇusūnām ākar jyotīr bādhamāna tāmānī (RV.), 'she is come beaming like a young maiden; Agni has appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving away the darkness'; — of perfect with imperfect, āhann āhīn ānī apās tatarda (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 ग a, or with union-vowel ग a before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the a-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 ग 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 ग s added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary ग i; its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel ग a; a very few roots also are increased by ग s for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel ग a before endings: 4. s-aorist, with ग s alone added to the root; 5. is-aorist, the same with interposed ग i; 6. siś-aorist, the same as the preceding with ग s added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel ग 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 Čakuntala), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 580; and the so-called prejective: 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 ydhā, ayuji and ayukṣata from yuṣ; — of 1 and 5, agrabhām and agrabhēma from ygrabh, mṛṣṭhās and mṛṣṭhās from ymṛṣ; — of 1 and 2, ārīta and ārat from yṛ; — of 2 and 4, avidam and avītsi from yvid 'find', anijam and anāikṣṭ from ynīj; — of 2 and 5, sanemā and asanīṣam from ysan; — of 2 and 7, aruham and arukṣat from yruh; — of 4 and 5, amatsus and amādisus from ymad; — of 4 and 6, hāsmahi and hāsiṣus from yhā; — of 1 and 2 and 4, ainata and atanat and atān from ytan; — of 1 and 4 and 5, abudhram and abhutsi and bodhiṣat from ybudh, astar and strṣiya and astarīs from ystr. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.
I. Simple Aorist.

828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the á-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 ḍa ā and the root म bhū, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the s-aorist (4), or the iṣ-aorist (5).

The roots in ḍa ā take उम् as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their ḍa ā before it; म bhū (as in the perfect: 793a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting व after it before the endings जम am and जन 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 गा, दा, द्हा, पा ‘drink’, स्था, भु; while sporadic forms are made from ज्ञा, प्रा, सा, हा. As to their middle forms, see below, 834a.

Instead of अभुवम्, RV. has twice अभुवम्.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in r, and a few in i and u (short or long) — with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, guṇa-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

Thus (in the active), from यत्रु, अग्रवाम and अग्रत; from यत्रि, अग्रस and अग्रत; from यक्र ‘make’, अकरम and अकर (for अकरs and अकर-t); from Whitney, Grammar.
vṛ 'enclose', āvar (585); and so adar, astar, aṣpar. 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), akrama and akarta, cartam, spartam, ahema and ahetana, bhema, homa, acravan; regular are only avaran, akran, ahyan, aṣpriyan, and aṇītām.

832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of guna-strengthening, and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

Thus, abhet (2d and 3d sing.) from ybhid; amok (3d sing.) from ymnue; avari from yvrī; vark from yvrī (AV. has once avrī); adarcan from yḍṛ; and aḍṛṣan, aṛjjan, aṣvitan. But chedma, with guna, from ychid.

833. Again, from a larger number of roots with a as radical vowel:

Of these, gam (with n for m when final or followed by m: 143, 212) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, agamam, ajan (2d and 3d sing.), agamna, aganta (strong form), agman. The other cases are akram from ṣkrām; atam from yṭan; askan from yṣkam; āsrat from yṣrāṁ (? VS.); dhak und daghma from yḍogh; ānāt (585) and anāṣṭām from ynaṇ(?); aṣkan (for agh-san, like agman) from yghas; and the 3d pl. in us, ākrāmus, kramus, yamanus, abādhus, dabhūs, nṛtus (impf. ?): manḍās 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 adhithās and adhita; adita and adimahi (and adimahi from ydā 'cut'); asthithās and asthita and āsthiran, forms of ā-roots (arāḍhāvam is doubtless for arāṣḍhāvam); — of r-roots, akri, akṛṭhās, akṛta, akṛtām, akraṭa; avrī, avṛṭhās, avṛṭa; āṛta (with augmentless arta), āṛita; mṛṭhās, mṛṛta; dṛṭhās; dṛṛṭa; āṣṛta; aṣṛta; āṣṭita; āṣṭara; — of i and u roots, the only examples are akrī (? AV., once) and aṣṭikvam. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a s in such forms, and the occurrence of avrī and akri and akṛta, 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 ayūji, ayukthās, ayuktā, ayujmahi, ayugdham, ayujvam; āṣtha and ācata; apadi (1st sing.) and apadmahi and apadrān; amonmahi; agammahi and agmata; atmata; ajāṇi (1st sing.) and ajñāna (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, agrbhran, dgrpan, adgcran, abudhran, dvrtan, ajusran, akrpan, asprhran, avasran, dvircran; and ram is found beside ran in dgrcran, abudhran, dgrpan.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with s to ks, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing k (instead of s) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are amukthas (and amudhlvam), aprkthas and aprkta, abhakta, avrktta, asakthas and asakta, rikthas, vikthas and vikt; d$pa$ta, asrta, m$rthas would be the same in either case.

d. There remain, as cases of doubtful belonging: amatta, arabdha, asrta, ataphthas, chirthas, patthas, and nutthas.

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, g$ni is the only example of 1st sing. (as to bhuvn, see below); of 3d sing. occur sthti, and dhti and dhhti, which are almost indicative in use; of dual persons, stthas, darcathas, cravathas and cravatas. In the middle, 3d sing. idhaté (? anomalous accent), 2d du. dhethi and dhithi, and 1st pl. dhanahe.

Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, dgrcam; tirdas, parcas, yamas; karat, garat, daghat, yamat, yodhat, s$vat, sparat, s$iht; dgrcam, garan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

The series bhwam, bhvas, bhvat, bhvam, and bhvnti (compare abhvwam: 830, end), and the isolated crvat, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a guna-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of guna in the aorist indicative and the perfect of ybh).

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, deyam, dheyam and dheyus, stheyama, and jheyus (which might also be precative); in the middle, only simahi and dhimahi (which might be augmentless preterit, as adhimahi also occurs once, and adhitam once: but ydhä shows nowhere else conversion of its ā to long i. From bhū, bhūyas and bhūyāt (possible precatives), and bhūyama. From roots in r, the middle forms arīta, muriya, virīta. 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); vyām; mṛdhyaś, sahyās, ganyās and gamyāt (possible precatives), and sīhyama; indhiya, gniya, ručiya, vasiya; idhimahi, nacimahi, nasimahi, pṛcimahi, mudimahi, yānīmahi. And ydhyaṃ etc. and ṛdhimāhi belong perhaps here, instead of to a present-system (cl. 1.).
838. Precative optative forms of this aorist active are in the later language allowed to be made from every verb (822). 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 -yāst), we find anyās, acyās, daghyās, bhūyās, yamyaś, yūyās, vṛdyās, cṛuṇyās, sahyās (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 bhūyāsam (beside bhūyāma) and kriyāsma, each once. In the middle, RV. furnishes the three forms grābhīṣṭa, padaśṭa, muṃḍaṣṭa; 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 bhūyāṣtāṃ 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: cṛuṇyāsam etc., kriyāsam etc., priyāsam, bhṛriyāsam, saghyāsam, bhṛṛyāsam, udhyāsam etc. (yavād), ṛḍhyāsam etc., ṛāḍhyāsam etc., badhyāsam etc., ṭṛpyāsam, jīvyāsam, pūṣyāsam etc. AV. has once bhūyāṣtha, with primary ending, but it is doubtless a false reading (TB. has -sta in the corresponding passage). TS. has didyāsam, from the quasi-root didi (876).

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, dhiṣvā, yuksvā, or on the root, as mātseva, yāksva, vānsva, rāsva, sāksva; mūsva is not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by kṛdhvam, voḍhvam. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., kṛdhī, cṛudhī, gadhī, yandhī, gahi, māhī, mogythi; 3d sing., dūtā, sṭu, sōtā; 2d du., dātam, jītam, cṛutam, bhūtām, sprītām, gatam, riktām; 3d du., only gantām, voḍhām; 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 vartām, wartām; kārtā, gānta, yanta, vartta, keta, crotā, sōta; and, with tana, kārtana, gantana, yantana, soṭana. Much more irregular are yodhi (instead of yuddhi) from yuṛuḥ, and bodhi from both yuṛuḥ and yuḥhū (instead of buddhi and bhūdhī). A single form (3d sing.) in tāt is found, namely cālāt.

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 ṛdhānt.
In the middle, they are much more numerous: examples are arāṇā, ādhanā, kṛṣṇā, jujūnā, ṣṛṇā, ṣeṣuṇā, bhīṣṇā, vṛṇā, svṛdhāṇā, 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 prevailing 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 इ to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened.

The ending इ belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in ऐ as do, in the middle voice, the regular ऐć sing. perfect, and the frequent Vedic ऐć 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 इ, a final vowel, and usually also a medial य a before a single consonant, have the vrddhi-strengthening; other medial vowels have the guṇa-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final य a is added य.

Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in ā, ājñāyi, ādhūyā, āpūyā; in other vowels, ārāyī, āśūvī, ābāvī, ākārī, āstūrī; — from roots with medial ऐ, u, r, aceti, áchādī, ácēsī, ábodhī, ámoći, áyōjī, ádarśī, asarjī, varhi; from roots with medial ऐ strengthened, agāmī, ápādī, ayāmi, avācī, vṝpī, āsādī (these are all the earlier cases): with ऐ unchanged, only ājānī (and RV. has once jānī), and, in heavy syllables, ámyākṣī, vandrī, čansī; with medial ā, ábhrājī, ārūdhī; — from roots with initial vowel, árdhī (only case).

According to the grammarians, certain roots in am, and vbadh, retain the ऐ unchanged: thus, adāmī, abadhi; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, arambhī, arandhi, ajambhī, abhañjī or abhājī, alambhī (always, with prepositions) or abābhi: QB. has asarijī.

Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already
given) are: dhāyi, crāvi, bhāri, reći, vēdi, roći, jānī, pādī, sādī, 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 ś-class (5).

Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the ā-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 ṛ (three or four only), which have the guna-strengthening.

As example of inflection may be taken the root सिच् sic, 'pour': thus,

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} \\
\hline
1 & गम्भिरम् & गम्भिराचान् & गम्भिराचाम् & गम्भिरचि & गम्भिराचामकि \\
& ङ्गिस्कम् & ङ्गिस्कवा & ङ्गिस्कामा & ङ्गिस्के & ङ्गिस्कावाहि & ङ्गिस्कामाहि \\
2 & ङ्गिस्कस् & ङ्गिस्कस्तम् & ङ्गिस्कत & ङ्गिस्कवान्त & ङ्गिस्किवाम् & ङ्गिस्कंदम् \\
& ङ्गिस्कास & ङ्गिस्कातम & ङ्गिस्काता & ङ्गिस्काथास & ङ्गिस्काथाम & ङ्गिस्कावहम & ङ्गिस्कावहम \\
3 & ङ्गिस्कतस् & ङ्गिस्कतस्तम् & ङ्गिस्कत & ङ्गिस्कतवान्त & ङ्गिस्कतिवाम् & ङ्गिस्कतं \\
& ङ्गिस्कात & ङ्गिस्कातम & ङ्गिस्काता & ङ्गिस्कातअम & ङ्गिस्कातं & ङ्गिस्कातं \\
\end{array}
\]

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 ā-class (VII.), having a vowel capable of guna-strengthening before a final consonant (753): thus, with i, chid, bhid, nif, pis,
SIMPLE AORIST: 2. \(\alpha\)-AORIST.

\(\text{ri}_s, \text{vid}, 1\text{ci}_s (\text{ci}_s), 2\text{ci}_s, \text{ci}_s, \text{sic, si}_r, \text{sr}_d; \) — with \(u, \text{krudh, kru}_d, \text{du}_s, \text{dy}_u, \text{dru}_d, \text{pu}_s, \text{budh, bhu}_s, \text{muc, ma}_s, \text{yu}_j, \text{rudh, mu}_h, \text{ru}_d, \text{cuc}; \) — with \(r, \text{y}_d, \text{ka}, \text{grd}, \text{tp}, \text{tp}, \text{t}_\text{e}, \text{dpr}, \text{dpr}, \text{ma}_s, \text{y}_f, \text{y}_f, \text{yr}, \text{y}_d, \text{sp}. \) A small number end in vowels: thus, \(\text{r, kr, gr, sp} (\text{which have the gu}_\text{n}_a\text{-strengthening throughout}), \text{hi} (\text{who} \text{once in AV.}, \text{st}u (\text{stuvat}_\text{m}, 3\text{d sing. impv. mid.}, \text{once in AV.}); \text{and several in } \text{a, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their } \text{a} \text{to } \alpha\text{; thus, bhra}_\text{n}_c, \text{sr}_\text{a}_\text{n}_\text{s}, \text{kra}_\text{n}_\text{d, maha}_\text{n}_\text{t, ran}_\text{d}. \text{Of less classifiable character are } \text{kra}_\text{m}, \text{ga}_\text{m}, \text{ta}_\text{m}, \text{ca}_\text{m}, \text{ca}_\text{m}, \text{ta}_\text{n}, \text{va}_\text{n}, \text{sa}_\text{n}, \text{sa}_\text{d}, \text{ra}_\text{d}_\text{h, da}_\text{bh, sap, } \text{ap}, \text{ir, da}_\text{s, ca}_\text{k. The anomalous } \text{a}_\text{stham} \text{is the aorist of } \text{as ‘throw’. } \text{The roots } \text{pa}_\text{t}, \text{na}_\text{c, voca} \text{form the tense-stems } \text{papta, } \text{na}_\text{c}, \text{voca}, \text{of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication}; \text{but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated aorists } (3) \text{from the same roots} \text{(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. \text{We may take as model } \text{avidam, from } \text{y} \text{vid ‘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 } \text{vid are bracketed. Thus:}

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} \\
1 \text{avidam} & \text{avidava} & \text{avidama} & \text{avide} & \text{[avidavahi]} & \text{avidamahi} \\
2 \text{avidas} & \text{[avidata]} & \text{[avidathus]} & \text{[avidata]} & \text{[avidelam]} & \text{avidanta} \\
3 \text{avidat} & \text{avidan} & \text{[avidata]} & \text{[avidata]} & \text{[avidelam]} & \text{avidanta} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have } \text{ahve etc., akhye etc., avide (?) and avidanta, avocathus and avovahi (and avidamahi GB. and asiemamhae KB. are doubtless to be amended to mahti).}

\text{Augmentless forms, with indicative or subjunctive value, are not infrequent. \text{Examples, showing accent on the tense-sign, according to the general analogies of the formation, are } \text{ruh} \text{a}_\text{m}, \text{srpa}_\text{s}, \text{bhujat}, \text{vidat}, \text{aratam}, \text{vocata, ca}_\text{k} \text{a}; \text{vidata} \text{(3d sing.), arama}_\text{hi}, \text{ci}_\text{zamahi}, \text{vidanta}, \text{budhanta, mra}_\text{anta (for exceptions as regards accent, see below, 853).}

\text{Modes of the } \alpha\text{-aorist.}

849. \text{The subjunctive forms of this aorist are few; those which occur are instanced below, in the method which was followed for the indicative:}

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
1 & \text{[vidava]} & \text{vidama} & \text{[vidamahe]} \\
2 \{\text{vidasi} & \text{vidathas} & \text{vidatha} & \text{[vidati (?)]} \\
3 \text{vidat} & \text{[vidati (?)]} & \text{[vidati (?)]} \\
\end{array}
\]

\text{The ending } \text{thana is found once, in } \text{risi}_s\text{thana. Of middle forms occur only } \text{ci}_s\text{thati (AV.: but doubtless misreading for ci}_s\text{yati) and ci}_s\text{amahi (AV., for RV. ci}_s\text{amahi).}
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brâhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, vidéyam, sanéyam; vidēs, games; gamet, vocet; gametam; cakéma, sanéma; vareta; in middle, (only) videya; gamemahi, vanemahi.

A single middle precative form occurs, namely videṣṭa (AV., once); it is so isolated that how much may be inferred from it is very questionable.

851. A complete series of active imperative forms are made from yasad (including sadatana, 2d pl.), and the middle sadantām. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, sóra, ruha; ruhátam, vidátam; khyáta; and, in middle, stuvatām (?).

Participles of the a-aorist.

852. The active participles trpánt, rudhánt, vydhánt, ṣīgánt, ṣucánt, huvánt, sántant, and (in participial compounds, 1309) kṛtánt-, guhánt-, vidánt- (all RV.) are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

Likewise the middle participles vydhānā, srdhānā, huvānā; and perhaps also vipānā and cuyhānā, although no personal forms corresponding to them occur.

Irregularities of the a-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.), sōrat and sōra. The root sad follows the same rule: thus, sādatam; and from ysan are found sānas and sānat and sānema, beside sanéyam and sanéma. It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the sixth-class (unaccented a-class) present-system. On the other hand, rūhat (beside rūhām, rūhāva, ruhátam) and riṣat (only accented form) are anomalies. From yvac, the optative is accented vocéyam, vocéma, vocéyus; elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable: thus, vōce, vōcat, vōcati, vōcanta.

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 vocātī, vocāvahāti; voces, vocēya, vocemahi; vocatāt (2d sing.), vocatu, vocatam, vocata.

Of the stem neca from yvac only necat occurs.

The root cūs (as in some of its present forms: 639) is weakened to cīs, and makes açīsam.

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 mature 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 आय ा, 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 \( \dot { j } \) (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, \( \text{ari}r\text{i}\text{sa}m, \text{a}d\text{udu}\text{sa}m, \text{aj}j\text{janam, avi}v\text{r}dham, \text{a}cik\text{l}pam. \)
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, \( \text{a}cik\text{s}i\text{pam, a}cuk\text{ru}dham, at\text{itra}\text{s}a\text{m, a}pis\text{prc}am. \)

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 \( \text{\textit{a}} a \) or \( \text{\textit{a}} \text{\textit{a}} \), and \( \text{\textit{a}} r \) (if it occurs), are reduplicated by \( \text{\textit{a}} a \).

Thus \( \text{ad}\text{idi}k\text{sa}m, \text{a}b\text{ubh}\text{u}s\text{a}m, \text{ad}d\text{ak}s\text{a}m, \text{ad}d\text{h}\text{a}v\text{a}m, \text{atata}r\text{is}a\text{m}. \)

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, \( \text{a}p\text{appra}c\text{c}a\text{m, a}c\text{aska}k\text{a}nd\text{a}m \) (neither, apparently, found in use).

These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817 ff.).

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 \( \text{a}v\text{iva}c\text{a}m \) from \( \text{v}v\text{a}c, \text{a}si\text{sa}d\text{h}a\text{m} \) from \( \text{s}\text{a}d\text{h}, \text{ad}d\text{ipam} \) (K. and later: RV. has \( \text{di}d\text{ipas} \) from \( \text{d}\text{ip} \), \( \text{a}b\text{ibh}\text{i}\text{sa}m \) from \( \text{b}\text{h\text{i}s} \), \( \text{as}\text{u}\text{su}c\text{a}m \) from \( \text{s}\text{u}\text{c} \); or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in \( \text{a}c\text{ikr}\text{a}d\text{a}m \) from \( \text{v}k\text{ra}n\text{d}, \text{a}si\text{sy}a\text{da}m \) from \( \text{s}\text{y}a\text{n}d \).

In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in \( \text{\textit{a}}p \), the \( \text{\textit{a}} \) is abbreviated to \( i \): thus, \( \text{a}t\text{i}\text{sh}i\text{p}a\text{m} \) etc., \( \text{a}j\text{j}\text{ni}p\text{a}t, \text{jih}\text{a}p\text{a}t, \text{aj}j\text{ja}p\text{a}t \) (but VS. \( \text{aj}j\text{ja}p\text{a}t \)); but from \( \text{crap} \) comes \( \text{a}c\text{i}c\text{rap\text{a}m} \) (\( \text{CB} \)).

862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only \( \text{\textit{a}}m\text{a}m\text{a}t \) (or \( \text{\textit{a}}m\text{a}m\text{a}t \)) from \( \text{v}a\text{m} \), and \( \text{ar}\text{p}\text{ipam} \) (augmentless) from the causative stem \( \text{a}r\text{p} \) of \( \text{v}r \) — in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as \( \text{\textit{a}}r\text{dle}a\text{m} \) from \( \text{v}a\text{r} \), \( \text{\textit{a}}b\text{uj}\text{ja}m \) from \( \text{v}u\text{b} \), \( \text{\textit{a}}r\text{j}\text{ha}m \) from \( \text{v}a\text{h} \), \( \text{\textit{a}}\text{is}k\text{\textit{a}m \) from \( \text{v}k\text{\textit{s}, a}r\text{d}d\text{h}a\text{m} \) from \( \text{v}r\text{\textit{d}h} \). Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029 b.

863. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:
From $\upsilon\delta yut$ is made $a d i d y u t a m$ (taking its reduplicating vowel from the $y$ instead of the $u$); $\upsilon\rho l u$ makes $a p i p l a v a m$ (CB. etc.).

Some verbs with radical $a$ or $r$ are by the grammarians allowed to reduplicate with either $i$ ($\ddot{i}$) 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 $a p a p t a m$, $a v o c a m$, and $a n e c a m$, 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 य a before the endings, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions. Thus, from $\upsilon\nu^a\ddot{n} j a n$, 'give birth':

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>डिज़िज़नाम्य</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नायावम्</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नामावहि</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नामाहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>डिज़िज़नस्य</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नातम</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नातास</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नाथाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>डिज़िज़नात्</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नातम्</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नानं</td>
<td>डिज़िज़नातम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

865. The middle forms are quite rare in the older language (the 3d pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all are quotable except 1st and 2d du. — and of the 1st du. no active example occurs.

$A t i t a p e$ appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.

866. A final r has the guna-strengthening before the endings: thus, $a p i p a r a m$, $a t i t a r a s$, $a d i d h a r a t$, $a c i v a r a n$. Of similar strengthened forms from इ and उ-roots are found $a p i p r a y a n$ (TS.), $a b i b l a h a y a n t a$ (RV.), $a p i p l a v a m$ (CB.), $a c u c y a v a t$ (K.); of unstrengthened, $a c u c r w a t$ (GB.). Few roots ending in other vowels than र make this aorist: see below, 868.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, $s t\delta v a p$ (2d sing., augmentless) from $\gamma s v a p$, and $a c i \ddot{\gamma} n a t$ from $\gamma n a t h$; from roots in र or अर, $d i d h a r$ (2d sing.), and $a \ddot{\gamma} g a r$ (2d and 3d sing.). Of 3d pl. in उs are found almost only a form or two from इ and उ-roots, with guna before the ending: thus, $a c i \ddot{\gamma} r a y u s$, $a c u c y a v a s$, $a c u c r a v a s$, $a s u s a v a s$ (? AB.); but also $a b i b h a j u s$ (CB.). And the 3d pl. mid. $a v a v r t r a n a m$ and $a v a v r t r a n t a$ and $a s a s r g r a m$ seem to belong here rather than to the pluperfect.
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

868. In the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this aorist as a part of their primary con-
jugation: they are cri and cvi, dru and sru, kam, and dhā ‘suck’
(cvi and dhā optionally).

In the older language are found from vri aciśvet and aciśrayus (noticed in
the preceding paragraph); from vrupu, aśutrot and aśudrovat (TB.: not
used as aorist); from vru, aśusrot and (augmentless) aśusros and aśusrot. Of
forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in u or ū: thus,
anūnot and niūnot from ynu; yūgot from yyū ‘repel’; ñudhot from ñdhū;
apupot from ñpū; tūtōs and ūtōt from ñtū; and one or two from roots in i
or ī: thus, sīget from ysi (or sā) ‘bind’; aśipres (with aśiprayan, noticed
above) from yprī (and the “imperfects” from didhī etc., 876, are of corre-
sponding form). And from ycu are made, with union-vowel ī, acucyavīt
and acucyavitana. 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 in-
dicative persons of this aorist are used subjunctively, and they
are very much more frequent than true subjunctives.

Of the latter are found only viradhā (1st sing.); titapūśi; ciklpūti and
śīgadhāti, and pisprcati (as if corresponding to an indicative apipṛk, like
aciśvat); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. caçawaćāt.

The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the re-
duplication: thus, dīdharas, nīnaças; jījanat, pīparat; jījanan; also sīyap;
but, on the other hand, we have cīcṛathas and cīcṇāthat; and dudrāvat,
cuṣrāvat, tuṣṭavat (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 “precative” vīriśīṣṭa (vīriśīṣṭa has been ranked above with sūṣahīṣṭa,
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
cīcṛathantu. And jīṛtam and jīṛtā, and didṛtam and didṛtā (all RV. only),
are doubtless to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without
union-vowel) aśīgar and adidhar: their short reduplicating vowel and their
accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated imperfects (cf. 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 ह s (convertible to य s) 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 ks) is further increased by an ग 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 द्र is. Finally, before this द्र is the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a न s, making the whole addition निय सिः.

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: स-аorist;
   5. with द i before the न s: इस-аorist;
   6. the same, with न s at end of root: सिः-аorist.

B. With ग a added to the sibilant before the endings:
   7. with sibilant and ग a: सा-аorist.

As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary i in the aorist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay
down any strict rules as to this accordance, and also, considering the rarity of aorist-forms in the later language, practically quite useless to attempt the task. See below, 903.

4. The s-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding स 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 ए अ) has the vrddhi-change in the active, and (excepting ए अ) गुणa in the middle: thus, from यन्त्र, active stem यन्त्र अनास, middle stem यन्त्र अनो; from य पुर, य ग्राहय अक्राः and य ग्राहय अक्रो; from य क्र, य क्राः akāra and य क्राळ akra.

b. A medial vowel has the vrddhi-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from य क्रां चन्द, active stem य क्रां चन्द, middle stem य क्रां चन्द; from य यथिर, य यथिर and य यथिर; from य रूढ, य रूढ, य रूढ arūta, and य रूढ arūta; from य मूल srī, य मूल srī and य मूल srī.

880. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उस us (not उन an) in 3d pl. act., and यत at (not यत anta) in 3d pl. mid.

But before न s and त t of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an इ i, making the endings इस is and इत it.

This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.): see below, 884.

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 r, or n or m (converted to anusvāra).

The same omission is of course made before dhvam, after either vowel or consonant; and the ending becomes dhvam, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been s: thus, astodhvam and avrdhvam (beside astoṣata and avṛṣata), but arādhvam (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* (Ved. 'regard': CB., once), which is to *drthās* (2d sing.) as *avrdrdhvam* and *avṛṣata* to *avṛi* 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 *rudh, ‘obstruct’,* and *nī, ‘lead’. ‘Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>श्रीतस्म</td>
<td>श्रीतवः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>द्रृतस्म</td>
<td>द्रृतस्वः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>श्रीतसम</td>
<td>श्रीतमः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>द्रृतसिः</td>
<td>द्रृतस्तम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>श्रीतसीत</td>
<td>श्रीतसः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>द्रृतसित</td>
<td>द्रृतस्तम</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *achántta* by 231), *abhakta* (AB.), and the augmentless *tāptam* and *cāpta* (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 *ādīsi* and *ādīsata* (from dā ‘give’) and *asthiṣata*. TA. has *agīṣata* from *yga ‘sing’.*

The middle inflection of the aorist of *yda* would be, then,
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

885. Roots ending in changeable ṛ (so-called roots in ṛ: 242) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to īr in middle forms: thus, āṣṛṣṭi, āṣṛṣṭiḥ, etc. (from ṛṣṭṛj): hardly any such forms, however, have been found in the older language (only akūṣṭa, PB.; and, on the contrary, āṣṛṣṭi 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 AV., 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 hū, dhū, and nū have ā instead of o in the middle: thus, āhūṣata, adhūṣata, anūsī and anūṣātām and anūṣāta; ṣdhūr (or dhūru) makes adhūṣata.

b. From ṣmad occurs amatsus (RV., once), with unstrengthened vowel.

c. From ṣgam occurs agasmahi, apparently for agaṃsmahi (compare masiṣa, below, 885).

888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard to inflection is the frequent absence of ī in the endings of 2d and 3d sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-finals (150). The forms without ī are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, adṛāk, occurs in GB. and ČB.; PB. has none).

889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, aprās (for both aprās-s and aprās-t) from ṣprā: and in like manner ahās from ṣhāḥ; — ajāis (for ajāiṣ-t) from ṣjī; and in like manner acās from ṣei, and nāis (augmentless) from ṣnī; — and yāus (for ayāuṣ-t) from ṣyu.

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 ajāit (beside ajāis and ajāiṣt) from ṣjī; and in like manner acāit, acrāit, ahāit, nāit: no examples have been noted except from roots in i and ī.

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 abhār̥ṣ-t: beside abhār̥ṣam, abhār̥ṣām) from ṣbhṛ; other like cases are abhārt, and (from roots in ar) aksār, atsār, asvār, hvār. Further, ārāık (585, end: for arāiks-t) from ṣric; like cases are acvāit from ṣvīt, and (from roots with medial u) adyaūt from ṣdyūt, arāūt from ṣrūth, and māuk from ṣmuc. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and h, aprāk from ṣprē, asrāk from ṣṣj,
abhāk from \( \text{Vbhaj} \), adṛk from \( \text{Vdr} \), adhāk from \( \text{Vdah} \); but, with a different change of the final, ayāt from \( \text{Vyaj} \), aprāt from \( \text{Vprch} \), and avāt from \( \text{Vvah} \); and (above, 146) \( \text{sras} \) appears to stand twice in AV. for \( \text{srus-t} \) from \( \text{Vsrj} \). RV. has also twice \( \text{asyūs} \) from \( \text{Vyaj} \). Further, from roots ending in a nasal, \( \text{avān} \) from \( \text{Vtan} \), khān from \( \text{Vkhan} \), ayān and \( \text{anān} \) from \( \text{VVyam} \) 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, \( \text{achān} \) (for \( \text{achānts-t} \); beside \( \text{achāntta} \) and \( \text{achāntsus} \)) from \( \text{Vchand} \); and other like cases are \( \text{akrān} \), \( \text{askān} \), and \( \text{asyān} \).

A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. \( \text{bhāts} \), from \( \text{Vbhī} \).

891. Irregularities of inflection do not occur further: \( \text{avesam} \) from \( \text{Vvi} \) 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 \( \text{mā} \) prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only \( \text{vānśi} \), 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 \( \text{guna-strengthening} \) of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.

The forms with primary endings are: in active, \( \text{stoṣāni} \); \( \text{darsāsi} \); \( \text{nēsati} \), \( \text{parsati} \), \( \text{pāṣati} \), \( \text{matsati} \), \( \text{yoṣati} \), \( \text{vakṣati} \), \( \text{sukṣati} \); \( \text{dōṣathas} \), \( \text{dūṣathas} \), \( \text{pārṣathas} \), \( \text{vakṣathas} \), \( \text{varṣathas} \); \( \text{pāṣtas} \), \( \text{yaṁsatas} \), \( \text{yukṣatas} \), \( \text{vakṣatas} \); \( \text{dūṣathā} \), \( \text{neṣatha} \), \( \text{pārṣatha} \), \( \text{mātsatha} \); — in middle, \( \text{maṁśāi} \), \( \text{maṁśāi} \); \( \text{māṁsate} \); \( \text{kṛuṁsate} \), \( \text{trūsate} \), \( \text{dārṣate} \), \( \text{māṁsate} \), \( \text{yukṣate} \), \( \text{rūsate} \), \( \text{vaṁsate} \), \( \text{sukṣate} \), \( \text{hūsate} \); \( \text{trūsāthe} \) (not \( \text{trūsāthe} \), as we should rather expect); \( \text{maṁsānte} \), \( \text{maṁsānte} \); and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., \( \text{māsātāi} \).

The forms with secondary endings are (active only): \( \text{jēgas} \), \( \text{vākṣas} \); \( \text{dāṛsat} \), \( \text{nēsat} \), \( \text{pākṣat} \), \( \text{yukṣat} \), \( \text{yōsat} \), \( \text{vaṁsah} \), \( \text{vaṁsah} \), \( \text{vēṣat} \), \( \text{sāṣat} \), \( \text{chāntsat} \), etc. (14 others); \( \text{yukṣātāī} \); \( \text{stoṣāma} \); \( \text{parsan} \), \( \text{yaṁsan} \), \( \text{yoṣan} \), \( \text{rāsun} \), \( \text{vakṣan} \), \( \text{cēsan} \), \( \text{cṛōsan} \). Of these, \( \text{yukṣat} \) and \( \text{vakṣat} \) are found not rarely in the Brāhmaṇas; any others, hardly more than sporadically.

894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:

a. The forms \( \text{dīkṣase} \) and \( \text{prkṣase} \) (2d sing. mid.) lack the \( \text{guna-strengthening} \).

b. \( \text{Jeṣam} \), \( \text{stoṣam} \), and \( \text{yoṣam} \) (AV. \( \text{yuṣam} \), with \( \text{u} \) for \( \text{o} \) as in \( \text{anuṣata} \)).

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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 virāddhi-strengthening: in which case āsma is to be compared with them (we should expect jūśma or āśāma).

c. From roots in ā are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, āśam (only case in RV.), kha śam, jhe śam, ā śam and āśma, āśma, theśam and the śus. Their value is optative. The analogy of āśam and āśma suggests the possibility of their derivation from i-forms of the ā-root; or the sibilant might be of a precative character (thus, yā-i-s-am). That they are to be reckoned to the is-aorist appears highly improbable.

d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in se, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, kṛṣa, hīṣe (and ohise?), stujē; 2. from present-stems, arcase, rāja se, yajase, gāyiṣe, gṛṇiṣe and puniṣe. 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 s before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: diśiya, dhishiya, bhakṣi yā, maśiya (for maṇśiya), mukṣiya, rūśiya, sākṣiya, strīṣiya; maṇśisthās; darṣṭa, bhakṣiṣṭa, maṇśiṣṭa, mṛkiṣṭa; bhakṣimā, dhukṣimā, maṇśimā, vaṇśimā, sakṣimā; maṇśrata. PB. has bhukṣiṣiya, which should belong to a sīṣ-aorist. The RV. form trāsāthām (for trāṣyāthām or trāsāthām) 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. neṣa and parṣa (both from a-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. rāṣalām and pl. rāsanta m (of which the same may be said).

Participles of the s-Aorist.

897. Active participles are dākṣat or dhākṣat, and sākṣat (both RV.). If rāja se (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an s-aorist form, rājaśānā is an s-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are arjasānā, oḥasānā, jrayasānā, dhiajasānā, manjasānā, yamasānā, rajasānā, vṛdhasānā, sahasānā, cavasānā, all in RV.; with namasānā, bhiyāsānā, 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 तू त iś, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.

899. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:
a. A final vowel has \( vṛddhi \) in the active, and \( guṇa \) in the middle: thus, घपाविष्य अपाविष्य and घपाविष्य अपाविष्य from \( \sqrt{\text{पु}} \) पु; अतालिष्य ṛतारिष्य, act., from \( \sqrt{\text{त्र}} \) ṛत्र; घपाविष्य अपाविष्य, mid., from \( \sqrt{\text{शी}} \) शी.

b. An interior vowel has \( guṇa \), if capable of it, in both voices: thus, घलेशिष्य आलेशिष्य, act. and mid., from \( \sqrt{\text{लिण्य}} \) लिण्य; घलेशिष्य आरोसिष्य from \( \sqrt{\text{ह्य}} \) ṛत्र; घलेशिष्य अवारसिष्य from \( \sqrt{\text{व्य}} \) ṛत्र; but घलेशिष्य आविष्य from \( \sqrt{\text{वीण्य}} \) वीण्य.

c. Medial गा 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 कृन, सृन, रृन, तृन, वृन, वा, मृद, कृ, त्व, हृव, भव, दा. From स्वन and सह occur forms of both kinds.

900. Of exceptions may be noted: \( \sqrt{\text{म्र}} \) म्र has (as elsewhere: 627) \( vṛddhi \) instead of \( guṇa \): thus, अमुरीष्यम; \( \sqrt{\text{स्त्र}} \) स्त्र has आसारिष्य, and \( \sqrt{\text{स्त्र}} \) has आचारिष्य (also आचारिष्य in AV.), with \( guṇa \) in active.

The root ग्राब्ह has (as in future etc., below, 935d, 956) long \( i \) instead of \( i \) before the sibilant: thus, आृग्राविष्य, आृग्राविष्य, आृग्राविष्य. The roots in changeable \( r \) (so-called roots in \( \tilde{r} \): 242), and \( \sqrt{\text{वर}} \) are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long \( i \) from such roots are found in the older language.

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उन् \( us \) and ग्रान्त \( ata \) in 3d pi.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combination ई-स and ई-त are from the earliest period of the language contracted into ईं-स and ईं-त.

The 2d pi. mid. should end always in \( \text{idhēva} \) (or \( \text{idhēva} \), from ई-\( \text{धि} \) \( \text{ह्य} \) (232); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable from the older language, namely अजन्यद्वे and एरिड्वे and \( \text{आन्दिह्यद्वे} \); but the grammarians give rules by which the lingual ल्ल is optional only, and that after \( i \) preceded by \( g, \text{र, } \text{ल, } \text{व, } \text{ह} \).

902. As examples of the inflection of the ई-अूर्त may be taken the roots \( \sqrt{\text{पु}} \) पु, ‘purify’, and \( \sqrt{\text{वु}} \) वुद्ध, ‘awake’. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} \\
\text{घपाविष्यम्} & \text{घपाविष्यम्} & \text{घपाविष्यम्} & \text{घपाविष्यम्} & \text{घपाविष्यम्} & \text{घपाविष्यम्} \\
\text{अपाविष्यम्} & \text{अपाविष्यम्} & \text{अपाविष्यम्} & \text{अपाविष्यम्} & \text{अपाविष्यम्} & \text{अपाविष्यम्} \\
\text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} \\
\text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} & \text{अपापिष्यम्} \\
\end{array}
\]
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XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

\[ \text{āpāvis} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭam} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭa} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭāḥ} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭāṃ} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭāḥam} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭāḥam} \]

\[ \text{āpāvīt} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭām} \quad \text{āpāviṣuṣu} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭa} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭāṃ} \quad \text{āpāviṣṭāta} \]

\[ \text{ābodhiṣam} \quad \text{ābodhiṣva} \quad \text{ābodhiṣma} \quad \text{ābodhiṣvāḥi} \quad \text{ābodhiṣmaḥi} \quad \text{ābodhiṣmahi} \]

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 iṣ 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 akramim, agrabhim, and avadhim (with augmentless vādhim) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For āparīt occurs in AV. āparīt; also (in a part of the MSS.) čarāis for čarīs: agrabhāṣam is found in AB. (also the monstrous form ajagrabhāṣam: see 801 i).

c. From yvad is found vadiṣma (once, AB.), with short root-vowel. AV. has nudhiṣṭas, 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 iṣ-aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: āṇīṣam, vādhiṃ; māṭhis, vāḍhis, yēvis, sāvis; āvīt, jārvīt, māṭhit, vāḍhit, veṇīt; mardhiṣṭam, dosiṣṭam, hiniṣṭam; avīṣṭam, jāniṣṭam, bāḍhiṣṭam; cramiṣṭa, vāḍiṣṭa; vadhiṣṭa and vadiṣṭana, mathiṣṭana, hiniṣṭa; hūrisus, gṛhāṣus; — in the middle: rāḍhiṣi; jāniṣṭhās, mārṣṭhās, vyathīṣṭhās; krāmīṣṭa, jāniṣṭa, pavīṣṭa, pṛāhiṣṭa, māṇḍiṣṭa; vyathismahi. The accent is on the root-syllable (tārisūs, AV. once, is probably an error).
906. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. daviṣāṇi, 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: aviṣas, kāniṣas, tāriṣas, rakṣīṣas, vādhīṣas, vādiṣas, vēṣīṣas, caṇīṣas; kāriṣat, jambhīṣat, jōṣīṣat, tāriṣat, mānīṣat, pāriṣat, bōdiṣat, māṛājīṣat, yacīṣat, yodhiṣat, rakṣīṣat, vaniṣat, vyaṭhīṣat, caṇiṣat, sanisat, sāviṣat. They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding a to the tense-stem in īṣ before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. sanisam and mid. sanisanta, which are also regular. Bhavisat (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 asanisam (as to cay- and ran-, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language. 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 īṣ-forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: janisiya, indhisiya, edhisiya, ruciṣiya and rociṣiya, gnostiya; modhīṣṭhūs; janisiṣata, vanisiṣata; sahisiṣvihi; edhīṣimāki, janīṣimahi, tāriṣimahi, mantīṣimahi, vanḍīṣimāki, vardhīṣimāki, sahīṣimahi and sahīṣimāki. 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, aviḍḍhi, aviṣṭu, aviṣṭām, avītā (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for aviṣṭā) and aviṣṭāna: two of these are of unmistakably imperative form. Other forms occur only in 2d du. and 2d pl., and are accordingly such as might also be subjunctives used imperatively (which is further made probable for two of them by their accentuation on the root-syllable): they are kramiṣtam, ganiṣṭam, caṇiṣṭam (against acyīṣam), tariṣtam, yodhiṣtam, vadhīṣtam, caṇahiṣṭam; rāniṣṭana (against araniṣus), caṇathiṣṭana.

909. No words having a participial ending after īṣ 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 siṣ-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in ṣra ā (including ni mi ‘establish’, ni mi ‘diminish’, and ni li ‘cling’, which substitute forms in ā, and
from नम्न  nam, यम्य  yam, and रम्न  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 is-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than its first persons, which we may form from the roots या  yā, 'go', and नम्न  nam, 'bend'. Thus:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>एयासिसम</td>
<td>एयासिसवा</td>
<td>एयासिस्माः</td>
<td>एनासिसम</td>
<td>एनासिसवा</td>
<td>एनासिस्माः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

912. The sig-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the is-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added s. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots ्ग and ्य, and in AV. only from ्ह, and probably from pya and van (see below, 914): the remaining texts add jña (TB.) and ्ध (T.B.); the forms adrūṣit (K.) and ahvāṣit (G.B.) might be either from this or from the s-aorist.

The participle hāsamāṇa and causative hāsayanti (RV.) show that hās had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside ्ह for other forms than the aorist.

913. The whole series of quotable indicative forms is as follows: ayāṣiṣam, adhāṣiṣam; agāṣ; agāṣit, ayaṣit (and adṛṣit and ahūṣit?); ayāṣīṣām; ajanāṣiṣa; ajnāṣiṣṭa, ayāṣiṣṭa; agāṣiṣus, ayaṣiṣus (ākṣiṣus is from yaks).

Forms without augment are these: hāṣiṣam; ṣhīṣ; hūṣit, ṣūṣit; hūṣiṣṭam; hūṣiṣṭa; hūṣiṣus, ṣūṣiṣus. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. Of proper subjunctives are found two, ्गुषिष and ्युषिष (both RV.).

Optatives are not less rare: namely, ्युषिष्ठाः and ्पुषिषिमाहि (for which the AV. manuscripts read pyuṣiṣiṁahī, altered in the edition to pyuṣiṣ-); and doubtless vaṇṣiṣya (AV., twice) is to be corrected to vaṇṣiṣya, and belongs here.

The accent of ्युषिष्ठम (like avistām, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and ्युषिषत (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, -ṣiṣṭhaṣ, etc., were not allowable, like those in -ṣi, -ṣṭhaṣ, and the others of the is-aorist.

7. The sa-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form
this aorist end in झ c, झ s, or झ h — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make झ kṣ; and they have झ i, झ u, or झ r as radical vowel.

They are: झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए; झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए, झिए (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 झ 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 झ i instead of झ e, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in घाताम घाताम and घाताम घाताम, as in imperfects of the other conjugation. Both active and middle inflection is admitted. The root is throughout unstrength-ened.

918. As example of inflection we may take the root झिए झिए, ‘point out’. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th></th>
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<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>झिएतम झिएताम</td>
<td>झिएतम झिएताम</td>
<td>झिएति</td>
<td>झिएतामि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>झिएतमालि झिएतामि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
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<td></td>
<td>झिएतमालि झिएतमालि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>झिएतमालि झिएतमालि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>झिएतम झिएताम</td>
<td>झिएतम झिएताम</td>
<td>झिएति</td>
<td>झिएतामि</td>
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<td></td>
<td>झिएतमालि झिएतामि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
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<td>झिएतमालि झिएतमालि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
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<td>झिएतमालि झिएतमालि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>झिएतम झिएताम</td>
<td>झिएतम झिएताम</td>
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<td>झिएतमालि झिएतामि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
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<td>झिएतमालि झिएतमालि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
<td>झिएतमालि हि</td>
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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 mrj and vrj be forced under mṛc and vṛh). All the examples noted are given below.

920. In the indicative, we find, in the active: झिएतम; झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम; झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिएतम, झिए�
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active:

*drksam, mrksam; dukas, rukas, mrkas; dviksat; mrksata; dhuksan and duksan*; — in the middle, *duksan*.

There are no optative forms.

Imperative are: in the active, *mrksatam*; in the middle, *dhukṣāva*.

The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign sa, in analogy with the a-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the a-class (VII.): a single exception is dhukṣata, which probably needs emendation to dhukṣa.

The aspiration of initial d and g, after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots duh and guh, but not from dru (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also adukṣat and dukṣas, dukṣan, dukṣata.

Precative.

921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.

922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:

a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign ya: 770), 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; a is changed to e in the roots dā, dhā, sthā, pā ‘drink’, gā ‘sing’, and a few others, in part optionally.

b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in badhyāsam from ṭ/ bandh; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in uc Vyūsam, jyāsam, vidhyāsam, supyāsam, grhyāsam; Vy ās forms āsīyāsam (compare 639, 854): and so on.

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.

923. The precative middle is made by adding the middle precative endings (above, 568) to the root increased by ṣ
or ॐ is — that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an ॐ- 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 ॐ- aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before ॐ is.

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 oftenest made from the s-aorist (895) and the ॐ-aorist (907); but also from the root-aorist (838), the a-aorist (850), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the ॐ- aorist (914); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root भु ठ, 'be', which is said no middle aorist or precative is made from it in the older language) to form its middle on the ॐ- stem. Thus:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>भुयासाम भुयास्वा भुयास्मा भविष्याय भविष्याहि भविष्याहि</td>
<td>bhuyāsām bhuyāsva bhuyāsma bhaviṣyāya bhaviṣyaḥī bhaviṣyaḥī</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>भुयास भुयास्तम भुयास्ता भविष्यास्तास भविष्यास्तास भविष्यास्तास</td>
<td>bhuyās bhuyāstam bhuyāsta bhaviṣyāstās bhaviṣyāstās bhaviṣyāstās</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>भुयास भुयास्तम भुयास्तम भविष्यास्तम भविष्यास्तम भविष्यास्तम</td>
<td>bhuyās bhuyāstam bhuyāstam bhaviṣyāstam bhaviṣyāstam bhaviṣyāstam</td>
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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 si is preceded by any other vowel than a or ā; in the ॐ-form, it may be optionally dhvam if the ॐ 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, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeśa)
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has 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 laguḍena tāḍayāmaśa; tenā 'sāu pāṇo ātavam agamat (II.), 'thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died'; tataḥ sa vidarbham agamat pūṇah; tām tu bandhujanaḥ sama-pūjayat (MBh.), 'thereupon she went back to Vidarbla; 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: pārī 'mē gām aṁeṣata páṛy aṁgn̄ ahaṣata, devēṣu akrata çrāvah kā imān ē dadharyati (RV.), 'these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods — who shall venture anything against them?'; yām ātēhāma mānasā sō 'yām ē 'gāt (RV.), 'he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come'; yēṇē 'mdro hāvīṣa kṛtya ābhavañ dyumnya tattamaḥ, idām tād akri devā asapattāḥ kītā bhravam (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 'sniṁ jyōg uvāsa... tāto ha gandharvāḥ sām ūdire: jyōg vā iṣām uṇvaṭī manusyaḥ sva va ṣvātmā (CB.), 'she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvaci, forsooth, hath dwelt a long time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: tāṁ ho 'vāca: apatsata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.), 'his teeth fell
out. He said to him: “his teeth truly have fallen out”;

> indrasya vṛtrāṁ jaghnāsa indriyāṁ viryāṁ prthivīṁ ānu vy ārhat tād ēdhahayo vīrādho

> bhavan sā praṣjapatiḥ āpyā dhūvad vṛtrāṁ me jaghnāsa indriyāṁ viryāṁ prthivīṁ ānu vy ārhat tād ēdhahayo vīrādho bhūvam iti (TS.), ‘of Indra, when he had slain Vritra, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants: he ran to Prajāpati, saying: “my force and might, after slaying Vritra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants’;

> svayāṁ enam abhyudētya brūyād vrātya kvā

> vāṭśī (AV., in prose passage), ‘going up to him in person, let him say: “Vṛtya, where hast thou abode”? yād idānāṁ dvāṁ vivādānānāv eyātām ahām adarçam ahām astraśam ātī yā evā brūyād ahām adarçam ātī tāśmā evā śraddadhyāma (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 Brāhmaṇas, 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: Delbrück) 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 Brāhmaṇa 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 ṛ 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 श्य syā, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel इ i (in the latter case becoming इश्य isyā). The root has the गुणa-strengthening. Thus, from य दा dā is formed the future tense-stem दश्य dasyā; from य इ i, the stem इश्य esyā; from य दुह duh, the stem धोक्ष्यā dhokṣyā; from य भू bhū, the stem भविष्यā bhavisyā; from य रध rādh, the stem यर्थिण्य ardhisyā; and so on.

But from य ज्ञ jiv 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 घ a (second general conjugation). We may take as models of inflection the future of य दा dā, 'give', and that of य क kr, 'make'. Thus:

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<th></th>
<th>s. active</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>दाश्यामि दाश्यावस दाश्यामस दाश्ये दाश्यावेदे दाश्यामके दाश्यामि दाश्यावस दाश्यामस दाश्ये दाश्यावेदे दाश्यामके</td>
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<td>dāsyāmi dāsyāvas dāsyāmas dāsyē dāsyāvēde dāsyāmakahe dāsyāmahe</td>
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<td>dāsyādi dāsyādhas dāsyādha dāsyāde dāsyādhe dāsyādhe</td>
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<td>दाश्यालि दाश्यातस दाश्यलि दाश्येते दाश्याते दाश्याते दाश्याते</td>
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<td>dāsyāditi dāsyāditas dāsyādinti dāsyādite dāsyādite dāsyānte</td>
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934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel इ i before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance between this tense and the other future and the desidera-
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 īs-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 ŭ) take no i. Thus, all in ā (numerous, and unnecessary to specify); all in i — i, kṣi, ci, ji — except crī [and crī]; all in i — kṛi, ni, bḥi, mi, vi — except cī [and ṅi]; all in u — cyu, dru, plu, cṛu, dru — except su ‘press’; and stu, which follow either method, as stogyāmi and staviṣyāmi [and except kṣu, kṣṇu, nu, yu, ru, snu]. But all in r (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take i [and those in changeable r, or so-called ṛ-roots [242] are said to take either i or ṛ; no ṛ-forms, however, are found in the older language]; and likewise those in u — namely bhū, dhū.

b. Of roots ending in mutes, two thirds add sva directly. Thus, of roots in k, čak; — in c (all but yāc: namely), muc, ric, vac, vrice, sic [and pae, vic]; — in ch, prach (only case); — in j (all but vraj: namely), bhaj, majj (mahīṣya), mej (mārksya), yaj, yuj, vṛj, sṛj [also tyaj, brvajj, bhaṇj, raṇj, saṇj, svaṇj, nij, vij, rūj, bhuj]. In t, kṛt and vṛt [kṛt, vṛt, nṛt optionally]; — in d, ad, pad, vaid, sad, skand, syand, chid, bhid, vid ‘find’, nud [also had, khid, svid, kṣud, tud, and chṛd and trd optionally]: only observed exceptions, vaid, and vid ‘know’; — in dh, bandh, vadh, budh, yadh, rudd [also vyaadh, sādh, sidh, krudd, kṣudd, vudd, vṛdh]: only observed exceptions, rdh and grdh; — in n, tan and man (but man forms sometimes manīṣya); — in p, tap, svap, āp, gup, drp, sṛp, kāp [also caṇ, kṣip, lip, lōp]: svap forms both svapṣya and svapīṣya; — in bh, yabh and labh [also rabb]: 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 hū (“hve”) ‘call’ take the forms vay and hvay, as before the a of their present-stem: thus, vasya, hvasya.

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in ḍ, vic, ḍṛṣ (drakṣya), mṛṣ (mrakṣya) [also daṅc, dic, riṣ, tiṣ, kruc, ruc, sṛṣ]; — in s, ṝiṣ, kṛṣ (krakṣya) [also ṝiṣ, ṝiṣ, ṝiṣ, ṝiṣ, tuṣ, ṭuṣ, ṭuṣ, puṣ, ṭuṣ]; — in s, vaṣ ‘dwell’ (vatsya:
187) [also गहस]; — in h, dah, vah, mih, duh, ruh [also nah, dih, th]. Exceptions are grah (ग्राहिस्याः) and mih.

In the older language, a decided, though not a large, majority of simple roots add the स्या 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 य/नाच or नाच is made नाभिस्या; from य/sras or srahs, srahsisya, and the like.

Special irregularities in forming stems from certain roots have been noted in connection with those roots above (see माज, मर्ज, वय and हवय, grah).

The CB. has once the monstrous form आचनुविष्यामहे, made upon the present-stem आच (ch. IV.) of य/नाच.

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 करिष्यथे, 2d sing. subj. act. (in RV., once or twice); GB. has एश्यामहु, तास्यामहु, स्थास्यामहु, all 1st pl. subj. mid.; and बहविष्याठ्वम, वेयाठ्वम, सविष्याठ्वम, 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 ग a: namely, by adding in the active the ending च nt, in the middle the ending नान māna; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, रास्यत् dasyant and रास्यमान dasyamaṇa, करिष्यत् karyant and करिष्यमान karyamāna.

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 sāṣyati, from yṣū, 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 गा. This preterit is called the conditional.

It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional aurait to the future aurait, 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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941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, अकारियान्ति, '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 ČB., 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 Čakunāla.

**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 तृ त्र (or तुर

tar); 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 ड i, the root itself being strengthened by गुन, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, रातः
dतिः from य्त र दा; वर् कर्तिः from य्क कर; भवितः भविति from य्भु भु.

As regards the presence or absence of the vowel ड, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the s-future from the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in र take no ड: thus, कर्ति (against करिस्या); roots हन and गम show the same difference; while र्वत, र्वध, and स्यन्त have ड 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, भविता भवित, 'he or she or it will be'; भवितारू भवितारू, 'both will be'; भवितारस भवितारस, 'they will be'. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of य्गम 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, गम as has no middle forms; but for this auxiliary use middle persons have been made by analogy, र् he being used in 1st sing.

Thus, from य्त र दा, 'give':

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Very rarely, other persons than the third are used without the auxiliary verb: thus, aham draṣṭā, ‘I shall see’ (MBh.); tvam 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, kārtarāu 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 in an independent clause: thus, tārhi vā atināṣṭro bhavitaṁśmi (CB.), ‘then I shall be out of danger’ (where bhavitaṁśi, if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (595), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verb-form: 1083), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the nomina agentis in tṛ or tṛ, 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 prayoktaṁ, 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 yaṣṭāhe; caṣṭāse in CB. is clearly 2d sing.; TB. has once yaṣṭāsmahe, 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: varṣiyātya āśāmaḥ parjanyaḥ viṣṭimān bhavishyati (CB.), ‘it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year’; yās tān nā veda kāṁ ṛc̄ kariṣyati (RV.), ‘whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse?’ ā vāc vayāṁ agni dhāśyamaha ātha yuṣm kāṁ kariṣyatha (CB.), ‘we are going to build the two fires; then what will you do?’ tāṁ ēndro bhyaḍudṛśa kariṣyān (CB.), ‘him Indra ran at, intending to slay’; yādy eva kariṣyātha sūkṣm devātā yajñīyaśo bhavishyātha (RV.), ‘if

Whitney, Grammar.
ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dāntās te ćaśyanti (AV.), 'thy teeth will fall out'; nā marīśyasi mā bibheh (AV.), 'thou shalt not die; be not afraid'; bruhi kva yāsyasi (MBh.), 'tell us; where are you going to go?' yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi viṣam āstahṣye (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 'yān devo gandharvo vā bhāviṣyatī (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 cae, 'tomorrow'.

A few examples are: yatarin vā ime cae kāmitāras te jetāras (K.), 'whichever of the two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer'; prātār yaśtāmashe (TB.), 'we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning'; ityāhe vaḥ paktāsi (CB.), 'on such and such a day I will cook for you'; tāṁ ma ekāṁ rātrīṁ ānte caṃtāse jātā u te 'yāṁ tārhi putrō bhavītā (CB.), '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, bibhṛṭi mā pāraśīyāmi tvē 'tī: kāsmān mā pāraśīyātī ty āughā imāḥ sārvāḥ prajā nirvādḥā, tātas tvā pāraśītāsmī 'tī (CB.), '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'; paridevāyāṁ cakrire mahac chokābhayam prāptaṁsas (GB.), 'they set up a lamentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"'; yaje 'yakṣi yāṭihe ca (TA.), 'I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifice'. In yet other cases, in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, prajāyām etah vijñātāsmo yadi vidvān vā juhty avivān vā (AB.), 'we shall know him in his children whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge'; vaktāsmo vā idah devebhyaḥ (AB.), 'we shall tell this to the gods'; yadi svārtho mamā 'pi bhavītā tata evah svārthaṁ karīṣyāmi (MBh.), 'if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair'; kathāṁ tu bhavīṣṣy eka iti tvāṁ nrpa ćoṣim (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 occasion-ally 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 átrá 'bhariyarat prá tāṁ jānitri vidūṣa uvāca (RV.), 'him, who was going here to carry off Vritra’s wealth, his mother pro- claimed to the knowing one'; catāyam gām akariyam (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 [prāgrahisyaḥ] my mouth'); tāta evā 'syā bhayām vi 'yāya kasmūd dhy ābhēsyad dvitīyād vāt bhayām bhavati (CB.), 'thereupon his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person'; utpapāta cirāṁ tāṁ mene yād vāsāḥ paryādāsya vaca (CB.), 'he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment'; sā tād evā nā 'vindat prajāpatir yātrā 'hosa vaca (MS.), 'Prajāpati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice'; evaṁ cen nā 'vakṣyo mūrdhā te vyapatiyata (GB.), 'if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off'; sā yād dāhī 'tāvad evā 'bhaviṣyad yāvatyo āi 'vā 'gre prajāḥ sṛṣṭās tāvatyo hūī 'vā 'bhaviṣya nā prá 'janiṣyanta (CB.), 'if he had been only so much, there would have been only so many living creatures as were created at first; they would have had no progeny'; kim vā 'bhaviṣyad arunaḥ tamasāṁ vibhēttā tan cēt sahasrakirāṇo dhuri nā 'kariṣyata (Cāk.), '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 particular 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 nā — or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न nā — is formed a verbal
adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्त datt, 'given'; उक्त ukt, '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 gat, 'gone'; बुत bhut, 'been'; पतित patit, 'fallen'.

953. In general, this participle is made by adding ता to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel ि to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add ना instead of ता, see below, 956, 957.

As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085 a.

954. The root before ता 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. अक्त akt from अन्ह vañj, बद्ध dadh from सहं srahs or sras.

b. Roots which in the weak forms of the perfect are abbreviated (794) suffer the same abbreviation here: thus, उक्त ukt from वह vah, इष्टा ist from यज yaj, सुप्ता supṭa from स्वप svap, विद्धā viddhā from वियव विष्टा from विध prṣṭa from विध prach.

c. Final अ is weakened to ि in गिता from गा ‘sing’, गिता from गा ‘drink’, धिता from धा ‘suck’, जिता from ज ‘fight’, जिता from ज ‘fight’; — and it is weakened to ि in शिता, धिता from धा ‘put’ (with ि also changed to ः: but धिता is found also in compounds in V.), धिता from धा ‘cut’ and दा ‘bind’; गिता, मिता from म ‘measure’, गिता (or गिता), चिता (or चिता).

d. A final m or n is lost after अ in गता, नता, यता, रता (from गम etc.); भाता, मता, क्षाता, तता, वता (from वन etc.).

e. More isolated cases are: उता from अव uta from अव ‘weave’, चिता from च ‘play’, मुता from विव, धाता from धव ‘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, kānā, krāntā, āntā, rāntā, ārāntā, from /kram etc.; /dhavan 'be covered' forms in like manner dhvāntā.
   b. Three roots in an make the participle from parallel roots in ā: thus, jātā, khātā, sātā, from /jan etc.
   c. The root dā 'give' forms dattā (from the derivative form dad), but dāta 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, devātta (RV.); punarti (PB. vi. 5. 12); and, according to the grammarians, sūṭa. The root jaks (derivative of ghas: 675) forms jagdhā, as if from jagh (once apparently abbreviated in composition to gāhā in TS.: thus, agdhād; /svad makes in Veda svāttā (beside svadītā).

956. The suffix with र i, or in the form यन itā, is regularly used with the derivative verb-stems in secondary conjugation (chap. XIV.), also often with roots of a derivative character (as जिन्य jine, जिन्य hiṃs), and not infrequently with original roots (as पन्न pat, चर car, मन्त्य mant, शी cī).

In RV. and AV., the participles in ita from simple roots are more than a sixth of the whole number. Among them, udītā (/vad) is the only case of abbreviation of va to u. From prath comes prthita (once). Jahitā from /hā (by substitution of the present-stem as shown in jahāmi) is an isolated irregularity. Cāyita 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 gupūtā, dṛptā and dṛpūtā, dhṛṣṭā and dhṛṣūtā, mattā and madītā, vittā (also vinnā) and vidītā.

The root grabh or grah has, as elsewhere, long i: thus, grbhītā, grhītā.

957. The suffix न nā (always without auxiliary र i) is taken instead of तā by a number of roots. Thus:
   a. Certain roots in a, and in i and u-vowels: namely, śyānā or śinā from /cyā, śrānā from /crā, jīnā (beside jītā) from /yjā or jī, śuṇā from /ctvā or cvi, hūnā and hīnā from /hā, dinā from /dvā 'bind' and 'cut', kṣīnā (beside kṣītā) from /kṣi 'destroy', pīnā from /pyā or pī, vīnā from /vī, līnā from /vī, dūnā from /dv, dyānā from /div or dev 'lament', lūnā from /vū — and some others.
   b. The roots in variable ṛ (so-called ṛ-roots: 242), which before the suffix becomes i or ū: thus, kīpā, gīṇā, jīrṇā, tīrṇā, dīrṇā, cīrṇā, sitrṇā (beside stṛtā); pūrṇā, mūrṇā; and jūrṇā.
A few participial forms in ṭā from such roots are met with in the older language: thus, gūrtā, pūrtā, cūrtā.

c. A few roots ending in \(j\) (which becomes \(g\) before the suffix: 216. 4): thus, bhagnā from \(\gamma'bhaj\), bhugnā from \(\gamma'bhuj\), magnā from \(\gamma'ma\), rugnā from \(\gamma'ruj\). Also, one or two others that show a guttural before the \(na\): thus, lagnā from \(\gamma'lag\), vṛkhnā from \(\gamma'vṛc\), aknh from \(\gamma'vēc\).

d. A number of roots, some of them very common ones, in \(d\) (which becomes \(n\) before the suffix: 161, end): thus, chanā, chinnā, bhinnā, vinnā (beside \(vītā\) and \(vīdītā\), skannā, syannā, sīnnā, pannā, sannā (beside \(sattā\), which alone is found in \(V\)); and hlannā (according to the grammarians) from \(\gamma'hld\); also \(tṛṇnā\) from \(\gamma'ṛd\) and \(cṛṇnā\) from \(\gamma'cṛd\), which show an irregular linguization 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 \(ksāma\), 'burnt', \(kṛṣṇa\), 'emaciated', \(pakvā\), 'ripe', \(phullā\), 'expanded', \(śūṣka\), 'dry'.

**Past Active Participle in \(tavant\).**

959. From the past passive participle is made, by adding the possessive suffix \(वत् vant\), a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, \(तत् कृत्वान् tāt kṛtavān\), 'having done that'. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (452 ff.); its feminine ends in \(वति vatī\); its accent remains on the participle.

960. Derivative words of this formation are found in \(RV\), but without anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example, with participial meaning: \(açūtāvati\ \(ātīthāu\), '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: \(mām na kacēd ḍṛṣṭavān\), 'no one has seen me'; \(sa nakulam vyāpādīvatān\), 'he destroyed the ichneumon'; or, with copula, \(maha kṛchram prāptavātasi\), 'thou hast fallen upon great misery'. Although originally and properly made only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in \(tā\) stands in the relation of an objective or factitive predicate), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, \(cūtena saṃkritavati\) (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 nactus, to which they correspond in
meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regu-
larly and ordinarily made are three: namely य ya, तस्य
tavya, and अनिय 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 adjec-
tives 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 अ becomes e before the suffix: déya, khyéya,
méya (probably dā-ia etc., with euphonic y interposed): but RV.
has once -jñāya. — b. The other vowels either remain unchanged,
or have the guna or the vṛddhi strengthening; and e usually and
o always are treated before the ya as they would be before a
vowel: thus, jāyya, bhāyya, ṭāyya; nāyya, bhāya, háya, bhāyā;
vārya: and, in the later language, niya, jeya, dlūya (such cases
are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds t
before the suffix: thus, itya, mitya, śrītya, stātya, kṛtya (the
only Vedic examples). — c. Medial a remains unchanged or is
lengthened: thus, dābhya, vándya, sādyā; mādya, vācya. —
d. Medial i, u, and r-vowels are unchanged or have the guna-
strengthening: thus, idya, ēhyya, dhrṣya; dvēya, ydēya, mārṣya.

The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds
half as many more. Except in bhāvita (once), the accent in RV. is always
on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the i of the suffix (hence written ādyā, ācyā, -vyādhyā, -dhaṇyā). 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 guṇa-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, janitavyā and hiṃsitavyā. 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 kartāvya; 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 āya (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 upajīvanīya 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 āya, is on the penult: thus, karaniya.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in tua or tva, apparently made from the infinitival noun in tu with the added suffix a (1209). They are kārtua (in two occurrences kārtva), jāntua, jētua, nāmtua, vāktua, sōtua, snātua, hāntua, hētua; and, with auxiliary i (or ī, jānīta, sānīta, bhāvīta.

b. Gerundives in enia or enya (compare 1217): they are īdēnīa, carēnīa, dṛṣṭēnīa, bhūṣēnīa, yuddēnīa, vārenīa; with one example from an apparent aorist-stem, yavīsnēnīa, and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, 1038).

c. Gerundives in āyia (once āyya: compare 1218): they are daksāyia, pandāyia, vidāyia, crahāyia, hnaṇāyia; with a few from causative secondary conjugation-stems (below, chap. XIV.); and stuṣēyia is of close kindred with them.
d. A few adjectives in ēlima, 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 Brāhmaṇas (with an example or two in AV.) is found widely and commonly used a participial adjective formed with the suffix 'uṣa (ibid., 1180).

Infinitives.

968. The later language has a single infinitive, which is the accusative case of a verbal noun formed by the suffix ṭu, added to the root usually directly, but often also with aid of the preceding auxiliary vowel Ṣ i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is ṭum tum or ṭum itum. The root has the guna-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, ṭum étum from ṣ i; ṭum kārtum from ṣ kṛ; ḍaritum cāritum from ṣ cār; bhāvitum bhāvitum from ṣ 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 ṭr or tar (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 Brāhmaṇa, a number of verbal nouns, nomina actionis, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages — although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind.

970. The nouns thus used infinitively are the following:

a. The root-noun, without derivative suffix, is so used in its accusative in am, its dative in e or (from ā-roots) āi, its genitive and ablative in as, and its locative in i.

b. The verbal noun in tu is so used in its accusative in tum, its dative in tave or tarāi, and its ablative and genitive in tos.
Of other nouns, only single cases, generally datives, are reckoned as used with infinitive value; thus:

**c.** From the verbal noun in as, the dative in ase; and also, in an extremely small number of instances, a dative in se (or sē), from a noun formed with s simply.

**d.** From nouns in man and van, datives in mane and vane.

**e.** From nouns in tā, datives in taye, or (from one or two verbs) in tyāi.

**f.** From nouns in i, datives in āye.

**g.** From nouns in dhi and sī, datives in dhīyi and sūyi.

**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, dhṛ, 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, tārī, dhīyi, and tāvīi.

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 (khūĭ, dā, dhā, pū?, mā, yā), from two or three in ī 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 āī, the abl. in ās (understanding avasā before ā as for avasās and not avasāt in RV. iii.53.20), and the locative in ē (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, ētave, hāntos, but nikartum, nīretave, nirhantos.

The dative in tavāi is in two respects anomalous: in having the heavy feminine ending āi along with a strengthened u; and in taking a double accent, one on the root or on the prefixed preposition, and the other on the ending āi: thus, ētavāṭ, hāntavāṭ, ātyetavāṭ, āpabhartavāṭ.

The root grah makes (as in other kindred formations) grāhītu; and long ē is shown also by cāritu, stāritu, hāvītu (and compare bhāvīta, 966 a).
973. The infinitive in ae 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, rājāse, jivāse, bhiyāse, tujāse; the exceptions are vākṣaṁe; dhāyase (with y inserted before the suffix); and āyāse, bhārase, spārase, hārase (with gūṇa-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by javāse, dohāse, bhofāse, sōbhāse. In pusyāse is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

The ending se is extremely rare, being found only in jisē and perhaps tusē, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in mane are made from only five roots: thus, trāmane, dāmane, dhārmane, bhārmane, and (with different accent) yiddane. From y/ḍā comes dāvāne; tuvāne may come directly from y/ṛ, or through the secondary root turv; dhūrane is rather from y/ḍhūro than from y/ḍhvr.

975. The infinitives in taye are īṣṭāye (v/iś), pītāye (v/pā ‘drink’), vītāye, sātāye. In tyūi, the only examples noted are ityūi (RV.) and sādhīyāi (AB.).

With aye are formed tuvāye, dṛpāye, mahāye, yudhāye, sandye.

976. The ending dhvāi 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 accent upon this a, and added to a weak form of root: thus, cuci-ādhvāi, pṛṇādhyāi, dhītyādhyāi, huvādhyāi. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, cāyādhyāi, stavādhyāi, tarādhyāi, jarādhyāi, mandādhyāi, vandādhyāi. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, kṣāradhyāi, gāmadhyāi, yājādhyāi (but once or twice also yajādhyāi), vāhadhyāi, sāhadhyāi, bhāradhyāi. In a single instance, prādhyāi, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, vāvṛdādhyāi, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in ay: thus, mūdāvādhyāi, rīṣāvādhyāi, 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 gāmadhye); in the Brāhmaṇa language it appears to be entirely wanting.

977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in śyūi: thus, rohiṣyūi (TS.), avyathiyāi (K.).

978. The infinitives in :ānī are: -bhūsāni from v/ttuḥ; āsāni from v/tu or ṣvā; nēṣāni from v/ni; saksāni from v/sah; parśāni from v/pr, tariṣāni from v/ṛ; and gṛṇiṣāni and -strinīṣāni from v/ṛg and v/ṛ — the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. gṛṇīṣe, 894d).

979. The only infinitive in tari is dhartāri (with its compound vidhartāri), from v/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, cakēma tvā samādham (RV.), 'may we accomplish thy kindling'; mā çakam pratidhām āyuḥ (AV.), 'may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string'; māno vā imāṁ sadyāh pāryāptum arhati mīnāḥ pārihāvānutum (TS.), 'the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her'; kō hy ētāyā rhati gāhayaṁ nāma grāhitum (QB.), 'for who is worthy to take his secret name?' In the Veda, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brāhmaṇa, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases).

Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, dāksiniṁi hūtum eti (TS.), 'he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts'; indram pratāram emy āyuḥ (RV.), 'I go to Indra for (i. e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life'; — of yādṝ̄̄t, 'persist in, undertake': as, sā idāṁ jātāḥ sārvam evā dāgdhum dadhre (QB.), 'he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe'; — of verbs meaning 'desire, hope, notice, know', and the like: as, pācāṁ vieftāṁ vetha sārvān (AV.), 'thou knowest how to loosen all bonds'; tāsmād agnāṁ nā "driyeta pārihāntum (QB.), '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: vyojāṁ jīvāṁ carāsā bodhāyanti (RV.), 'awakening every living creature to motion'; tāṁ āpa yāta pībadhyāi (RV.), 'come to drink them'; nāī tāṁ te devā adadur āttave (AV.), 'the gods did not give her to thee for eating'; prāc 'ād yuddāye dāsyum śndraḥ (RV.), 'Indra went forward to fight the demon'; cāksur no dhehi vikhyāt (RV.), 'give us sight for looking abroad'.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cakāra sūryāya pānthām ānvetau u (RV.), 'he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following)'; āgra te āgra rākṣobhyo vīntēs (RV.), 'he whets his horns to pierce the demons'; rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahm-advaye cārave hāntavau u (RV.), 'I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater'; asmābhyaṁ deṣaye sūryāya pānar dātāṁ āsum, 'may they grant life again, that we may see the sun'.

b. An infinitive with yākr, 'make', is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prā 'nāhāṁ çronām cāksasa ētave kṛtāh (RV.), 'ye make the blind and lame to see and go'; agnīṁ samātāhe cakārtha (RV.), 'thou hast made the fire to be kindled'. Of similar character is an occasional
construction with another verb: as, yād īm uṣmāsī kārtavā kārat tāt (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, āgnīr iva nā pratidhiṣe bhavati (TS.), ‘like fire, he is not to be resisted’; mahāmā te anyeṇa nā savinde (VS.), ‘thy greatness is not to be attained by another’; nākīm īndro nīkarte nā cakrāḥ pārīcaktave (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, tyād yaçaśāḥ . . . āucjīto huvādhyāi [astī] (RV.), ‘these glorious ones shall the son of Ući invoke for me’; sūktēbhīr vah . . . īndrā nu āgni āvase huvādhyāi [stah] (RV.), ‘with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid’; vandādhyā āgniḥ nāmohih [asmi] (RV.), ‘let me greet Agni with homage’; asmākāśaca sūryo vīcva ācās tarīṇā (RV.), ‘and let our sacrificers cross all regions’. The infinitives in dhīyāi and gāṇi (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 CB. (with only a sporadic case or two elsewhere) the dative in tāvāi is frequently used with a verb signifying ‘speak’ (brū, vae, ah), to express the ordering of anything to be done: thus, tāsmād ēṣadhināṁ evā mūlaṁ ācchettavāi brīyāt, ‘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 ā, ‘until’, and purā, ‘before’.

Thus, ā tūmitos (TS. etc.), ‘until exhaustion’; purā vācāḥ prāvaditos (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 tīt, ‘without’, and after several verbs, as trā and pā, yu, bhi.

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, purā vāgghyāḥ sampravaditoh (PB.), ‘before the utterance together of the voices’; trādhvam kartād avapādah (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 dependent on ippavā, ‘lord, master’, employed adjectively in the sense of ‘capable’ or ‘likely’ or ‘exposed to’.

Examples are: tā [devalāh] ippavā enam pradāvah (TS.), ‘they are likely to burn him up’; āthā ha vai ippavā ‘gnānā cittā kāneid dāuritām āpattor vi vā hādito (CB.), ‘so in truth he is liable, after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger’; ippavāh vai rathantaram udgātav caikṣaḥ pramathito (PB.), ‘the rathantara is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter’. 
The dative is once used in ÇB. instead of the genitive (in īṣvarādī jā-
nayitavāt); and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in tum. Occasionally the masc. sing. nom. īṣvarah is used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies: thus, tāsye "īṣvarah prajā pāpiyasi bhāvitoḥ (ÇB.), 'his progeny is liable to deteriorate'. And in a few instances the word īṣvara is omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, duṣ madhyandinaḥ abhi pratyetos (AB.), 'two may be added to the noon libation'; tāto dikṣitāḥ pāmanō bhaṭvītōḥ (ÇB.), 'then the consecrated is liable to get the itch'.

This construction with īṣvara, which is the only one for the genitive infinitive in the Brāhmaṇa, is unknown in the Veda, where the genitive is found in a very small number of examples with madhyā, and with the root īc: thus, madhyā kārtoḥ (RV.), 'in the midst of action'; īce rāyō dātoḥ (RV.), 'he is master of the giving of wealth'.

985. Unless the infinitives in saṇi 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 uḍḍo budhī (RV.), 'at the awakening of the dawn'.

986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences are twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and the accusative in tum is rare (only four forms in RV., only eight in AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas, the accusative has risen to much greater comparative frequency (its forms are nearly twice as many as those of the dative); but the ablative-genitive, which is rare in the Veda, has also come to full equality with it. The complete disappearance in the classical language of all excepting the accusative in tum is a matter for no small surprise.

987. The later infinitive in tum is oftenest used in constructions corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus, na vāspam açakal soḍhum, 'he could not restrain his tears'; tum dreaṣṭum arhasi, 'thou oughtest to see it'; prāptum ichanti, 'they desire to obtain'; svānkhyaṭum ārabdhām, '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'; tvām ameṣṭum īhā ṣataḥ, 'he has come hither to seek for thee'; — but likewise of the genitive: thus, samartha gantum, 'capable of going'; saṁdāhātum īc-
varaḥ, 'able to mend'. Even a construction as nominative is not unknown: thus, yuktaṁ tasya maṁ samācārasyaṁ bhā-
ryāṁ (MBh.), 'it is proper for me to comfort his wife'; na naptāram svayaṁ nyāyaṁ çaptum evaṁ (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, kartaṁ ārabdhah,
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: *crutvāī 'va eśā 'bruwax, 'and hearing (or having heard) they spoke'; *tebhyāḥ pratijñāyā 'thāī '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 *tvā and *ya, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix — or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.

Exceptions to this distribution of uses between the two suffixes are very rare: examples of simple roots with *ya are areya, grhya, uṣya (*yekas 'dwell'); of compounded roots with *tvā are anudhyātvā, apatyaktvā, pratyarpayitvā (AV.: only case noticed in the Veda: TA. has *rocayitvā). The gerund in *tvā, however, may have the negative particle prefixed to it: thus, akrītvā, anirayitvā.

Of compounds of the gerund in *ya with other elements than the usual verbal prefixes, RV. has punardāya, karṇagṛhya, pāda-gṛhya, hastaghṛya, arāṅkṛtya, akkhaliṅkṛtya, mithaspṛḍhya; AV. has further namaskṛtya.

991. The suffix *tvā has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but sometimes with interposition of the auxiliary vowel ṣ 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 *ta (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 \( \text{ya} \) is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending in a short vowel takes \( \text{tya} \) instead of \( \text{ya} \): thus, लित्य जित्या, कुष्क -क्रित्या.

Roots in अम and ऑन whose passive participle ends in अता (954d) form this |gerund also in अत्या: thus, -गत्या, -हत्या. But such अम-roots are allowed in the later language to preserve their nasal in the gerund: thus, -गम्या (no such form occurs in the Veda). Final changeable \( r \) becomes \( īr \) or \( ār \): thus, -गीर्या, -पुर्या. Final अ remains unaltered: thus, -गाया, -शहाया; and मि ‘establish’ and मि ‘diminish’ take the form माः; लु ‘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 गा is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in \( i \) or \( t \)). In AV., long आ appears only once, in a RV. passage.

b. Instead of त्वा alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely त्वा, त्वाया, and त्वि. Of these three, त्वि is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of त्वा); but it is unknown in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; त्वाया 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, त्वैनम and त्विनम, 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: वाज्रेन हत्वा नृर अपाह ससर्जा (RV.), ‘striking with his thunderbolt, be poured forth the waters’; श्रवण द्रेष्ट्वेया किताविन ततच (RV.), ‘the gambler is distressed when he sees a woman’; पित्व सोमसया वापद्वे (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, तताह चाबद्द अभीज्ञाया सा वयाग्रोपा हातह (H.), ‘thereupon he was slain by the tiger, the latter having recognized him by his noise’; किम नु मे स्याध इदाम क्रित (MBh.), ‘what, I wonder,
would happen to me, having done this?" su cintya 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, abhyākrāmam, pratāṅkam, pranōdam, nīdāyam, abhiskāndam. The gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas (much oftenest in CB.), and sparingly later. In the classical language it is quite rare.

A final vowel has vṛddhi-strengthening before the suffix; final ā adds y; a medial vowel has guṇa; but medial a is usually lengthened. The accent is on the radical syllable.

Examples are: kāmaṁ vā imāṁ āṅgāṁ vyatyaśaṁ cete (CB.), 'he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure'; uttārāṁ-uttārāṁ cākāṁ samālāmbbhaṁ rōhet (CB.), 'he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb'; aparīṣu mahānāgāṁ ivā 'bhisaṁsārāṁ didṛkṣitāraṁ (CB.), 'hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him'; nāmaṁ āsām etāṁ nāmagrāham (CB.), 'with separate naming of these their names'; yō viparyāśam avagāhati (CB.), '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, pāyam-pāyam vrajeti, 'he goes after drinking repeatedly'; prathamam bhūjaṁ vrajeti, 'having first eaten, he goes'; bāḥūtkṣepaṁ krandaṁ pravṛtti (Cak.), 'she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing).

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**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 ū yā, 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 antium i: 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 ydā (aor. 3d sing. adāyi), beside ādōsi, ḏāsy, ḍātāhe, also ādāyisi, ḏāisy, ḍāyitāhe. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to grah, ḍṛṛ, 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.
Besides the participle from the present tense-stem (771.5), the passive has a past participle in ता (952), or ना (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.

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 sarveṣāṁ bandhanāni chittāni (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, crūyatāṁ, 'let it be heard' (i. e. hear ye!), ṭhā 'gamyatāṁ, 'come hither'; sarvāīr jālam udāyo 'dīyatāṁ (H.), 'let all fly up, taking the net with them'; tae chruṭvā jarādgaveno 'ktam, 'hearing that, Jaradgava said'; kathāṁ jīvitavyaṁ, 'how is one to live?' yāvad anena muninā sthūtavyaṁ (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 bhavitavyaṁ (H.), 'henceforth I shall always be thy companion'; tena tvayā yāvajītvam sukhnā bhavitavyaṁ (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.

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.

According to the grammarians, the intensive conjugation may be formed from nearly all the roots in the language — the exceptions being: roots of more than one
syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, 1056), and in general those beginning with a vowel.

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; dādr, dādh; cekit, teṭi; nenī, veṭi; cōcume, poprutu, cōsku, 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: carcar, caeleal, sarṣr, marmṛj, jarbhṣ; caṅkram, jaṅghan, taṅstan, dandoś (vḍaṅg or daç), jaṅjah (vjaṃbh or jaḥ), tantas (vṭaṅs or tās), nannam (vṇam).

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 vṛḥṛ (compare the Vedic perfect jaḥhūra, 789b); with various treatment of an r or ar-element, dardar and dardir, carkar and carkir, tartar and tartur, carcar and cairur, jargur and jalgul 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 alr.

c. The reduplication is dissyllabic, an i-vowel being added after a final consonant of the reduplicating syllable. This i-vowel is in the older language short before a double consonant, and long before a single.

Examples are: ganiyam (but gānigmatam), varirr, vaniwāh, canisked,
sanisvan; navinu, davidyut (and the participles dāvidhvat but tāvituat). A single exception as to the quantity of the i is dāvidhāva.

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, sban, han; gam; krând, ceand, skand, syand; of roots having final or medial r, and r in the reduplicating syllable, kṛ 'make', tṛ, bhr, vṛ, mṛd, vṛj, vṛt; — further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only vah (QB.: the grammarians allow also kas, pat, pad); finally, of roots having u or ū as radical vowel, with āv before the i-vowel, tu, dhū, nu, dyut.

In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (590) are violated in the case of ghanīghan and bharībhṛ, and of ganīgam, karīkṛ (but the regular carīkṛ also occurs), kanikrand, and kanīkṣand (but also canīkṣand occurs).

The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in ekkit, and jaṅghan and ghanīghan, 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, dādṛ and dardṛ; dādhṛ and dardḥṛ; cūcal and carcar (and carecar); tartar (and tartur) and tarīt; jaṅghan and ghanīghan; varvṛt and varīvṛt; jarbhur and bharībhṛ; dodhū and davidhū; nonu and navinu; bābadh and badbadh.

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (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 ṭi 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 ṭi a final vowel has guṇa-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

Present System.

1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the
later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.

1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root विद् vid, of which the intensive stem is वेि vevid, or, in strong forms, वेि veved.

Neither from this nor any other root are more than a few scattering forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

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<tr>
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<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>वेि veved, वेि vevidi</td>
<td>वेि vevidas</td>
<td>वेि vevidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>वेि veveti, वेि vevidisi</td>
<td>वेि vevidyas</td>
<td>वेि vevidyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>वेि veved, वेि veviditi</td>
<td>वेि veviditas</td>
<td>वेि veviditas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From खः hū, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be जोि jōhavi, जोि jōhāvī, जोि jōhāvī.

1007. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., carkarmi, vevesmī; 2d sing., alarsi, dārdarsi; 3d sing., ālarti, veveti, nenekti, jaňghanti, kānikrantti, gaňigahti; 3d du., jarbhṛtās; 1st pl., nonumas; 3d pl., nānadati, bharibhṛati, vārṛtati, dāvidyutati, nēnijati; and, with the auxiliary vowel, jōhavīmi, cākačīmi; cākačīti, nōnavitī, dardaritī, jārbhūtī. No stem with dissyllabic reduplication takes the auxiliary i in any of its forms. AV. has jāgrāti, with irregular accent.

A single dual form with i and strong stem occurs: namely, tartarīhas.

The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., jōguve, nenije; 3d sing., nenikte, sarṣete; and, with irregular accent, tētikte, dēdiṣte; with irregular union-vowel, nānate; with ending e instead of te, jāṅgahe, jōguve, yōyuve, bābadhe, and (with irregular accent) badbadhe; 3d du., sarṣate; 3d pl., dēdiṣate.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only jaňghānāmi, jāgarāśi [AV.]; and, in the middle, tantasātte (3d du.).

Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., jań-
ghanas, jalgulas; 3d sing., jägarat, càrkṛṣat, jāṅghanat, bārṛṇhat, mārmṛṣat, mārmṛṣat, parpharat, dardṛṇat, canṛśkatat, dāvidyutat, sanṛśvat; 1st du., jāṅghanāva; 1st pl., carkirāma, vēvidāma; 3d pl., pāpataṇ, cōcucan, 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, jarkṛṣanta, marmrjanta, nonuvanta, cōcucanta; and cākānanta (and cakananta once).

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (566), accented. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & \text{vevidām} & \text{vevidāva} & \text{vevidāma} \\
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \\
\end{array}
\]

The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language: thus, active, vēvisyāt (AV.), jāgṛyāt (AB.); RV. has only cākanyāt (pt. ?); middle, nenijīta (K.).

4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & \text{vevidānī} & \text{vevidāva} & \text{vevidāma} \\
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \\
2 & \text{vevidāḥ} & \text{vevidām} & \text{vevidāt} \\
3 & \text{vevedāt} & \text{vevidāt} \\
\end{array}
\]

1011. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (jaṅghāṇānī, 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., dāḍṛḥ, dardṛḥi, carkṛḍhi, jāgṛḥi, nenigṛḥi, and rurandṛḥi, rurandṛḥi, cākandṛhi, vāvandṛḥ; the ending ūt is found in carkṛṭat and jāgṛṭat; and the latter (as was pointed out above, 570) is used in AV. as first person sing.; barbṛhi shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of h before the ending hi; 3d sing., vēvesṭu, dardarthu, marmartiṇu, and rurantu; 2d du., jāgṛtam; 3d du., jāgṛtām; 2d pl., jāgṛtā, and ruranta; caṅkramata (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.).
XIV. Secondary Conjugation.

Of imperative forms with auxiliary i, RV. has none; AV. has vācaditu and johavītu, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmaṇas; AV. has also, against rule, taṅstanihi and jaṅghanihi.

5. Present Participle.

1012. The intensive participles, both active and middle, are comparatively common in the older language. They are formed and inflected like those of the reduplicating present, and have the accent on the reduplicating syllable.

Examples are: active, cākaçat, nānadat, cēkitat, mēmyat, cōcucañ, rōruvat, dādrat, mārmṛjat, jaṅghanat, nānnamat, pāṇiphanat, kānikaḍat, dāvidyutat; — middle, bābaddhāna, mēmyāna, cēkitāna, yōyuvañā, rōrucāna, jārbhurāna, sārṣrāna, nānnamāna, dāndacāna. No middle participle shows the dissyllabic reduplication.

1013. On account of their accent, rārahāṇa, rārakṣāṇa, and jāhyṣṭāṇa (beside jārhṛṣṭaṇa) 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 marmṛjāṇa (beside mārmṛjāṇa).

The RV. has once jaṅghnatas, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; kānikaḍat appears to be used once for kānikaḍat; if cākāt is to be referred to ykā (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in ā, and its accent is anomalous. Marmṛçantas (AB.) is probably a false reading.

6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्रेविठम्</td>
<td>ग्रेविठ</td>
<td>ग्रेविठम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āvevidam</td>
<td>āvevidha</td>
<td>āvevidma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रेविदून्</td>
<td>ग्रेविदून्</td>
<td>ग्रेविदून्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āvevet, āvevidis</td>
<td>āvevidat</td>
<td>āvevidma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रेविदून्</td>
<td>ग्रेविदून्</td>
<td>ग्रेविदून्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āvevet, āvevidit</td>
<td>āvevidat</td>
<td>āvevidma</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, avarivar, dārdar, kānikaṇa, dāvidyot, nāvīnot, and cākān and rārūn; 2d du., adārdātam; 1st pl., marmṛjāṇa; 3d pl., arāraṇus, anannamus, adādirus, acarkṣus, ājohavus, anonauus: and, with auxiliary i, in 3d sing., āvāvaçit, āvāvarit, āyoyavit, āroravit, ājohavit; and, irregularly, in 3d du., āvāvaçitām. The middle forms are
extremely few: namely, 3d sing., ṛdēṣṭa, ānannata (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 ṛ ya, 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 y/mṛj, intensive stem marmṛj, is made the present indicative marmṛjye, marmṛjyāte, etc.; optative marmṛjyēya, marmṛjyēthās, marmṛjyēta, etc.; imperative marmṛjyāśva, marmṛjyādām, etc.; participle marmṛjyāmāna; imperfect āmarmṛjye, āmarmṛjyathās, āmarmṛjyata, 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 y/mṛj, marmṛjyāte etc., and marimṛjyeta; from y/tr, tartūrīyante; from y/car, careerūyāmāna; from y/nī, neniṃyān, etc.; from y/vē, vevīyate; from y/riḥ, revīyāte etc.; from y/īj, vevījyāte; from y/skū, cōskūyāse etc.; from y/dīc, dedīcyate; from y/kā, cūkācyate; from y/vad, ṛvāvadāmāna; from y/nam, nannamadīvam; from y/vah, vanivāhyāta etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from y/krand, kanikrādyāmāna; from y/vṛt, varivartyāmāna (CB.: should be varivṛt-); from y/mṛc, amarimṛcyanta (CB.? the text reads amarimṛcyanta); from y/gvp, yogāpyānte etc.; from y/nud, anonudyanta; from y/vī, avēvīyanta; from y/jabh, jaṅjabhyāte etc.; from y/jap, jaṅjapyāmāna.

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 *nonuwus*, 3d pl., and TS. has once *dodrīva*. To these may be added *jāgara* 1st sing. and *jāgīra* 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 *ṣ i* where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

Thus, from *y/vid*, intensive stem *vevid*, would be made the aorist *avevidīsām* with precative *vevidyāsām*, the futures *vevidiṣyāmī* and *vevidītāsmī*, the participles *vevidīta*, *vevidītaryā*, etc., the infinitive *vevidītum*, and the gerunds *vevidītyā* and *vevidyā*. 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 *cārīrṣe*, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like *hiṣe* and *stuṣe* (894 d), and the gerundives *vitandasāyya*, and *marmṛjēnya* and *vārvṛdhēṇya*; and CB. has the participle *vamīvāḥītā*, and the infinitive *dīdīyītavāt*. As to *jāgarisvānt* and *jāgarītāt*, 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 *jāgrvāṇa*; and a future, *jāgarīṣyānt*, and a passive participle *jāgarītāt* 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, jajagāra etc., an is-sorist, ajāgarīṣam, with preceptive jāgoryāsam, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation.

1021. The stem iraṭya (active only), 'regulate', from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from yraṭ or yṛ. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of iradh, 'propitiate' (only iradhanta and irāḍhyāi, apparently for irāḍhagṛhyāḥ).

The middle stem ṭya, not infrequent in the oldest language, is usually called an intensive of ṭi 'go', but with very doubtful propriety, as it has no analogy of form with any intensives. The isolated 1st pl. imāhe, common in RV., is also of questionable character.

1022. The root lī 'trotter', with constant intensive reduplication, lelī, is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., lelāyati and lelāyat pople lelāyati and lelāyatās (gen. sing.) and lelāyamāna, impf. alelāyat, alelet and alelīyata.

1023. The RV. anomalous form dart (or dard), 2d and 3d sing. from yṛ̥ or dary, is 'doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from dardar. RV. has once avarīvus (or -cur) where the sense requires a form from yṛt, as avarīvyus. The form rāṇātā (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 cīl, niṣ, viṣ use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with raṅdh, 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 niṣ 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 ydvā 'run', is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjunctival forms: as dadaridrāu; adaridrāsīt, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language. The so-called root vevi 'flutter' is a pure intensive.

1025. It is allowed by the grammarians to make from the intensive stem also a passive, desiderative, causative, and so on: thus, from vevid, pass. vevidyē; desid. vēvidyāmi; caus. vevidyāmi; desid. of causative, vēvidyāyāmi. 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, निःसामि pibāmi, ‘I drink’, desid. निःसामि pipāsāmi, ‘I wish to drink’; निःसामि jsūvāmi, ‘I live’, desid. ज्ञैत्यविषामि jsū-viṣāmi, ‘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 र i, becoming र्य iṣa.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final i or u is lengthened before sa: thus, ciksīṣa, cikiṣa, jigitṣa; चुष्रुṣa, juhūṣa.

b. A final r becomes īr or ār before sa: thus, cikirsā, sisirṣa, jihirsā; 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 gṛṣa-strengthening (no examples are quotable from the older texts).

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in a weaken this vowel to ī or even i: thus, pīṣa (beside pīṣa) from य/पā ‘drink’, jiliṣa (AV.) from य/ह ‘remove’ (jihate: 164); didhiṣa (beside dhiṣa) from य/धā.

e. A few roots in an or am lengthen the vowel: thus, jiguṇaṣa (beside jigamīṣa) from य/ग ‘gamb’, jihghaṇṣa from य/ह ‘ham; māmāṇṣa from य/म; and य/ह is said to make titāhṣa.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in cikiṣa from व/च, cikīṣa from व/च, jigīṣa from व/ज, jihghaṇṣa from य/ह; and य/ह is said to make jighiṣa.
Desiderative.

The roots vam and sam make vivāsa and sīṣāsa, from the root-forms vā and sā.

h. The root jiv forms jujyūsa (CB.: jījivīsa, VS.); and the other roots in īv (or iv: 765) are required to make the same change before sa, and to have guṇa before isa: thus, susyūsa or siseviṣa. Soap forms susupsa. Dhūra forms dudhūrsa.

i. Initial s is usually left unchanged to s after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has s (184e); thus, sisaṅkṣa (CB.: vsaṅ), and susyūsa and sisanīṣa, according to the grammarians.

k. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: ninaṅkṣa (or ninaśīṣa) from vnač, ‘perish’; mimaṅkṣa from vmajj; mimār-jiṣa (or mimāṅkṣa) from vmrj.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590); the vowel is ञ i if the root has an a-vowel, or र r; or an i-vowel; it is उ u if the root has an u-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, bibhatsa from vbadh or bādh; mimāṅsa from vmaan; and tutūrsa (RV.) from vtur.

b. From vnač is made (in CB.). ariṣīṣa (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 vahr, ici- kṣīṣa from vīkṣ, undidiṣa from vund, ardidhiṣa from vrdbh. In the older language, ač is the only root with initial vowel which forms a desiderative stem, except āp and rdh, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph.

c. RV. has the stems īnakṣa and īyakṣa, regarded as desideratives from v/vnač ‘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, Ṛṣpa ipsa from vṛṣpa āp; Ṛtre ditsa from vṛṣa dā.

Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: dhītsa (beside didhiṣa) from vṛdhā; ditsa (beside didāsa) from vṛdā; dipsa from vṛdab; sikṣa from vṛgak; sikṣa from vṛsah: these are found in RV.; in AV. are added ipsa from vṛāp (RV. has apsa once), and īṛtsa from vṛadh: the other texts furnish ipsa (CB.) or īpsa (TB.) from vṛlabh, ṛipsa (GB.) from vṛabh, pītsa (CB.) from vṛpad, and dhikṣa (CB.) from vṛdh (or, rather, dāh). The grammarians prescribe dhīṛpsa or dhīpsa from vṛdab, instead of dīpsa; they form pītsa from vṛpat as well as pad; and they add īrtsa from vṛadh, jnīpsa (beside jīḍapayīṣa) from the causative quasi-root jñāp (below, 1042a), and mitṣa from vṛmā and mī and mi: this last could be only an anomalous
XIV. SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

formation, made after the analogy of the others. Also mokṣa is reckoned as a desiderative stem from vinc (it is denominative, rather).

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel 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 (934, 943).

No example of the use of i is found in RV., and only one each in AV. (pipatiṣa), VS. (jījivaṣa), and TS. (jigemisa). The other examples noted in the early texts are acispisa, cikramisa, jigrāhiṣa (with i for i, as elsewhere in this root), cicariṣa, jijanisa, didikṣiṣa, bibaddhiṣa, rirāhiṣa, vividiṣa, jihim-iṣa: most of them are found only in CB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots gam, jiv, bādh, vid.

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 ṛṣas ipsa, 'seek to obtain', from ṛṣap āp; as middle tītaṅsa, 'endure', from ṛṣatij 'be sharp' (see below, 1040).

1. Present Indicative.

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<td>1</td>
<td>ṛṣam</td>
<td>ṛṣavas</td>
<td>ṛṣamas</td>
<td>ṛṣiṣ</td>
<td>ṛṣavah</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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2. Present Subjunctive.

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<td>2</td>
<td>ṛṣan</td>
<td>ṛṣava</td>
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<td>ṛṣavah</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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3. Present Optative.

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<td>1</td>
<td>ṛṣeyam</td>
<td>ṛseva</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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</table>
4. Present Imperative.

| Root | Imperative | Desiderative | Titivitaksha | Titikśadham \\
|------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| Ṛṣa | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣama | Ṛṣasva | Ṛṣaśam \\
| Ṛṣatam | Ṛṣatam | Ṛṣata | Ṛṣat | Ṛṣadham \\
| Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata \\
| Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata | Ṛṣata \\

5. Present Participle.

| Root | Participle | Common | Titivitaksha | Titikaśamāna \\
|------|------------|--------|--------------|
| Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam \\
| Ṛṣav | Ṛṣav | Ṛṣav | Ṛṣav | Ṛṣav \\
| Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam \\
| Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam \\

6. Imperfect.

| Root | Imperfect | Common | Titivitaksha | Titikaśamāna \\
|------|-----------|--------|--------------|
| Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam \\
| Ṛṣaśa | Ṛṣaśa | Ṛṣaśa | Ṛṣaśa | Ṛṣaśa \\
| Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam \\
| Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam | Ṛṣam \\

There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in masi, or 2d pl. in thana or tana, or impv. in tāt, is met with. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in sāni, sāt, sat, and sānta.

But the fem. pple sīśasati (instead of sīśasanti) 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 mimiks — thus, mimikṣāthus, mimikṣādus, mimikṣās; mimikṣe, mimikṣire — along with the present forms mimikṣati, mimikṣa etc., mimikṣant (pple): they show that mimikṣ or miks has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, īrṣas and acikītīs, and a participle or two from 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, īṣām cakāra etc.; titikśāṁ cakre etc. Such forms are made in CB. from īrṣas kram, dhūrv, bādh, ruh.

Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from mimikṣ in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21) has once didāṣīthā, 'thou hast desired to give'.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the īṣ-form (5): thus, āṁśasam,  社itivitaksha, titivitaksha, titivitaksha.
The AV. has *acikitsis, and *irtsis (augmentless, with *ma prohibitive: 579). TB. has *aipsit; and CB. *aitsit, *acikirsis and *ajighausis, and amimahsathas.

A preceptive is also allowed — thus, *ipsyasam, *titiksisyi, but it probably never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel ſ ſ; thus, ḳpiṣiyāmi and ḳpiṣitāsmi; *titiktīsyē and *titiktītāke.

The CB. has *titiksisyate and didkṣitāras.

1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel ſ ſ, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

In the older language have been noted: participle in ta, mīmāňsitā (AV., GB.), jijyūsita (AB.), cūrūsitā and ḍhīkṣitā (CB.); — gerundive in ta, ḍhīpītavya (AB.), didhāsītavya (CB.); — gerund in tvā, mīmāňsitāva (K.).

1038. A desiderative adjective in u — for example, dipst, bībhatstā, sīŷā — is of frequent occurrence, and has the meaning and construction of a present participle. An abstract noun in ā — for example, jīgīsā — is also a usual appendage to the desiderative conjugation. Adjectives in enya (having a gerundive character: ṭhēb b) are occasionally met with from the earliest time: thus, didṛksēṇya (RV.), cūrūsēṇya (TS.), ninēsēṇya (PB.); also, with irregular reduplication (apparently) papṛksēṇya (RV.). RV. has also didhīsīya (ṭhēc).

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign ywać to the desiderative root (or stem without final a): thus, ḍṛṣṭyate īpsyate, ‘it is desired to be obtained’; — and a causative by adding in like manner the causative-sign ystatechange (1041): thus, ḍṛṣṭyāmi īpsāyāmi, ‘I cause to desire obtaining’.

The only trace of such formations noticed in the older language is the participle mīmāňsyāmāna (apparently to be read instead of mīmāňśāmāna, AV. ix. 6. 24).

For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas, see below, 1052 b.

1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are cikits, ‘cure’, jugups, ‘despise’, titks, ‘endure’, bībhat, ‘abhor’, mīmāns, ‘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 अया अया to the, usually strengthened, root.

But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign अया अया are of causative value; and the grammarians regard them as a conjugation-class, the tenth or कर 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 अया अया is as follows:

a. Medial or initial i, u, r, l have the गुरा-strengthening (if capable of it): thus, vedaya from विद, codaya from वुद, tarpaya from वत्र; and kalpaya from वक्प [only example].

But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, cit (cita and cetaya), vip (vipaya and vepaya), is, it and il, ris (risaya and resaya), tuj, tur, dyut (dyutaya and dyotaya), mrj, sprh; and grabh makes in RV. grbhaya. Dus and guh lengthen the vowel instead. Mrj sometimes has vṛddhi, as in other forms: thus, मर्जया (beside मर्जया).

b. A final vowel has the vṛddhi-strengthening: thus, cyāvaya, bhāvaya, dhāvaya, sāraya.

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XIV. Secondary Conjugation.

But no root in i or i has vrddhi 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 kṣayaya from ṛ/kṣi ‘dwell’; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, e.

A few roots have (generally in the older language only) a form also with guru-strengthening: thus, dṛu, ṝu ‘ward off’, ṛu, pū, ḍṛ ‘decay’, ċṛ ‘burst’, ċṛ, ḍṛ; 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, bhājaya, svāpaya, ādaya; janaya, ṝrathaya, anaya.

The roots in the older language which keep their short a are an, jan, pan, svaṇ, dhaṇ, ṛan. stan, ḍhavan, gam (pāmaya once in RV.), tam, dom, nam, ṛath, ṛnath, vyaṭh, svad, nad, ḍhas, mah, nabhi, tovar, svar. Some have both forms: namely, pat, chaṭ, mad, ram, ṛam; ḍraj has raja (AV., once) and rāṇjaya. 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, ranḍhaya, laṃbhaṇa, raṃbhaṇa, skandaya.

d. Most roots in final ā, and the root ṛ, add p before the conjugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, ḍhāpaya, sthāpaya; arpaya.

Such stems are made in the older language from the roots khṛ, glā, ghrā, jñā, ḍā ‘give’, ḍṛ ‘run’, ḍhā ‘put’ and ḍhā ‘suck’, Ṙm ‘measure’, Ṙlā, vā ‘blow’, and vā ‘tire’, sthā, snā, ṛā ‘remove’ and ṛā ‘leave’. From jñā and snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms jñapaya and snapaya, and from ṛā only ṛrapaya (not in RV.). Also glā forms in the later language glapaya.

Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, pāyaya from ṛ/pā ‘drink’ (or pī, ṭpāyaya from ṛ/pīy or ṭpīy; sāyaya from ṛ/sā (or s); also, later, sāyaya from ṛ/vā, ṭvāyaya from ṛ/vā; — and further, from roots chā, vā ‘weave’, and vṛyā, according to the grammarians.

e. The same ṛ is taken also by a few i and ē-roots, with various accompanying irregularities: thus, kṛpaya from ṛ/kṣi ‘dwell’ (RV., beside kṣayaya); kṣāpaya (AV.) and kṣāpaya and kṣayaya from ṛ/kṣi ‘destroy’; jāpaya (VS. and later) from ṛ/j; ṛāpaya (TB. and later) from ṛ/ṛi; adhyāpaya from adhī + ṛi; śmāpaya (beside śmāyaya, which does not occur) from ṛ/smī; ṭṛapaya from ṭṛī; — and, according to the grammarians. ṛepaya from ṛ/ṛ, ṭlepaya from ṭ/ṛi, kṛāpaya from ṛ/ṛi, bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhāṣaya) from ṛ/bhī, and ēpaya (beside ēpya) from ṛ/ei. Moreover, ṛ/ruh forms later ṛopaya (earlier ṛohaya), and ṛ/nu or ṛuny is said to form knopaya.

f. More anomalous cases, in which the so-called causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun, are: pālaya from ṛ/pā ‘protect’; pṛṇaya from ṭ/prī; ṭṇaya (according to grammarians) from ṭ/ṛi; ḍhānaya (not causative in sense) from ṛ/dhī; bhāṣaya from ṛ/bhī; ṭhāyaya from ṛ/han; sphāvaya (according to grammarians) from ṭ/sphā or sphāy.
1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other stems in य a.: it will be sufficient to give here in general the first persons of the different formations, taking as model the stem धार्य द्धारया, from द्य dhṛ. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

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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. dhārāyāni dhārāyāva dhārāyāma dhārāyāti dhārāyāvahāi
2. (dhārāyāsi dhārāyāsas dhārāyātha dhārāyāse (dhārāyādhve (dhārāyādvāi
3. (dhārāyāti dhārāyātas dhārāyān (dhārāyāte (dhārāyādāti dhārāyāāte

Only one dual mid. form in āite occurs: mādāyāite (RV.). The only RV. mid. form in āi, except in 1st du., is mādayādvāi. The primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

3. Present Optative.

धार्येयमि धार्येव धार्येमि धार्येयि धार्येवति धार्येमति
| dhārāyeyam | dhārāyeva | dhārāyema | dhārāyeva | dhārāyemahi |
| etc. | 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 kāmayita.

4. Present Imperative.

धार्य धार्यतम् धार्यत धार्यस्व धार्येयाम् धार्येयम्
| dhārāya | dhārāyata | dhārāyasva | dhārāyethām | dhārāyadhvam |
| etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. |

Imperative persons with the ending tūt occur: dhārāyatāt (AV.) is 2d sing.; gamayatāt and eṣṭvayatāt (K. etc.), and vārayatāt (TB.) are used as 2d pl.; vārayadhvāt (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only noted example (see above, 570).
XIV. SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

5. Present Participle.

धार्यत् dhārâyant (f. धार्यति -yanti) धारयमाण dhārâyamâṇa.

6. Imperfect.

II

1 द्धारयायम द्धारयावा द्धारयामा द्धारये द्धारयावहि द्धारयामहि

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 dhyyā; also one or two derivative nouns in tr (bodhayitr, codayitri), five in itu, seven in itu, and a few in a (atipārayā, nidhārayā, vācamākkhayā, viyvamejaya). In AV., also two s-future forms and four gerunds in tuā; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (gamyām 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 ध्या a, in accusative form, to which the auxiliary is added, being formed from the causative stem: thus,

धार्यां चक्रार dhārayāṁ cakāra धार्यां चक्रे dhārayāṁ cakre.

Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — gamyāṁ 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, 858ff.).

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 \( \sqrt{dhr} \), then, is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ddidharam, ddidharava, ddidharama, ddidhare, ddidhāravahi, ddidhārāmahi etc.} \\
\text{etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 dff.) — the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, \( atiṣṭhi-pam \) from \( sthāp \) (stem \( sthāpaya \)) for \( \sqrt{sthā} \). Aorist-forms of this character from quasi-roots in \( āp \) are made from \( sthāp, jñāp, ṣāp, jāp, and ārap \) (above, 861); the only other example from the older language is \( bibhāsas \) etc. from \( bhīs \) for \( \sqrt{bhī} \).

1048. A small number of Vedic forms having \( īs \) and \( īt \) after \( y \) of the causal stem are apparently sporadic attempts at making an \( īs \)-aorist: thus, \( vyathāyīs \) (AV.), \( dhvānayīt \) (RV.; TS. has instead the anomalous \( dhvānayīt \)), and \( ādīlayīt \) (AV.). The two former are augmentless forms, used with \( mā \) prohibitive (compare the denom. \( āunāyīs \), 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 \( ī \) substituted for its final \( ā \); in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

\[
\text{dāhāyāsam etc. dhārayiśīya etc.}
\]

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 \( ī \) which takes the place of its final \( ā \). Thus:

\text{S-Future.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dhārayiśāmi etc. dhārayiśē etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{Conditional.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{adhārayiśām etc. dhārayiśē etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{Periphrastic Future.}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dhārayiśāsmi etc. dhārayiśēhe etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

The \( s \)-future participles are made regularly: thus, \( dhārayiśānt \) (fem. \( -yāntī \) or \( -yātī \), \( dhārayiśāmāṇa \).
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 adhārayishyāt, CB.); of the latter, CB. affords two examples (pārayitāsmi 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 佟 ta and the gerundive and gerund in 佟 ya (and the root-infinitive) — from the causatively strengthened root-form. The auxiliary 佟 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 ta: 佟tā, vāsītā, grācitā;
- gerundive in tavya: tarpayitavya, kalpayitavya, gamayitavya, bhakṣayitavya;
- gerundive in ya: sthāpya, yāya;
- infinitive in tum: jōṣayitum, dhārayitum, janayitum, pārayitum;
- gerund in tvā: kalpayitvā, sādayitvā, -arpayitvā (AV.: see 990), -rocayitvā (TA.);
- gerund in ya: -ghārya, -pādyva, -vāsya, -sādyva, -sthāpya;
- gerund in am: -sthāpam (CB.).

Further, of formations found only in the older language:

- root-infinitive, accusative: -sthāpam (PB.);
- infinitive in tavāi: jānayitavā, tarpayitavā, pārayitavā, -kalpayitavā, -coitayitavā (all CB.);
- infinitive in āhāi: īṣayādhyāi, irayādhyāi, taṁsaẏādhyāi, nācayādhyāi, mandayādhyāi, mādayādhyāi, riṣayādhyāi, vartayādhyāi, vājayādhyāi, syandayādhyāi (all RV.);
- gerundive in āhā: panayāhā, sprhayāhā, trayayāhā (Vitrā: ?).

All these, it will be noted, 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 佟 ya to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, धार्यत dhārayate.
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 इ, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, विद्धांतित didhārayiṣati.

These, too, are found here and there in the Brāhmaṇas and later: examples are pipāyaiṣa (K.), bībhāvaiṣa and eikalpayiṣa and tulkhāyīṣa (AB.), didrāpayiṣa and rirāhiṣa and śipāyīṣa (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'; māḷāti, 'is like a garland (māḷa)'; kavyatī, 'plays the poet (kavi)'; bhavati, 'is like the earth (bhū)'; āṛṣayati, 'resembles Čhī (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 bhīṣākti, 'he heals', from bhīṣāyī, 'physician'; it is made like a form of the root-class; abhīṣāk 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] Ḭiṣaṇaśa etc., kṛpāṇaṇa, tarūṣema etc., vanuṣanta, bhurajanta, vānârvati. None of the other Veda or Brāhmaṇa texts has anything additional of the same character.

1055. In general, the base of denominative 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 आ of the noun-stem the causative-sign आया, 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 मन्त्र, य/मन्त्र) and किर्तयाति (from किर्ति, य/किर्ति ‘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, *amitrayāti*, 'plays the enemy, is hostile'; *devayāti*, 'cultivates the gods, is pious'.

b. Final a is lengthened: thus, *aghāyāti*, 'plans mischief'; *priyāyāte*, 'holds dear'; *avāyāti*, 'seeks for horses'; *acanāyāti*, '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 j; thus, *adhvarīyāti*, 'performs the sacrifice'; *taviśīyāti*, 'is mighty'; *putrīyāti* or *putrīyāti*, 'craves flesh'.

Denominatives of this form show a special proclivity toward the meaning 'desire'.

d. It is dropped (after n or r): thus, *turānyāti*, 'is rapid'; *adhvaryāti*, 'performs the sacrifice'.

e. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of s, as in *stanasyāti*, 'seeks the breast'; the change of a to e, as in *vareyāti*, 'plays the wooer'.

1060. From stems in ā. Final ā usually remains, as in *gopāyāti*, 'plays the herdsman, protects'; *prtanāyāti*, 'fights'; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an a-stem: thus, *prtanāyāti*, 'fights'.

1061. From stems in i, i, and u, ū. Such stems are (especially those in u, ū) much less common. They show regularly i and ū before ya: thus, *arātiyāti* (also -tiy-), 'plots injury'; *janiyāti* (also -niy-), 'seeks a wife'; *sakhiyāti*, 'desires friendship'; — *catriyāti*, 'acts the foe'; *piyāti*, 'is straight'; *vasuśyāti*, 'desires wealth'; *asūśyāti*, 'grumbles, is discontent': with short u, *gāhuśyāti*, 'sets in motion'.

More rarely, i is treated as a (or else is gunated, with loss of a y): thus, *dhunāyāti*, 'comes snorting'. Sometimes, as to a (above, e), a sibilant is added: thus, *avisyāti*, 'is vehement'; *urusyāti*, 'saves'. From dhī, RV. makes *dhiyāyāte*.

1062. From other vowel-stems. a. Final r is said to be changed to rī: thus, *pitriyāti*, '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, *gavyāti*, 'seeks cattle, goes a-raiding'.

1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before ya: thus, *bhīṣajyāti*, 'plays the physician, cures'; *uksanyāti*, 'acts like a bull'; *apusyāti*, 'is active'; *namasyāti*, 'pays reverence'; *sumanasyāte*, 'is favorably disposed'; *tarusyāti*, 'fights'.
But a final \(n\) is said to be sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, \(\text{rājāyāte}\) or \(\text{rājīyāti}\), ‘is kingly’, from \(\text{rājan}\): \(\text{vṛṣāyāte}\) from \(\text{vṛṣan}\) is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, \(\text{ojāyāte}\) from \(\text{ojas}\); — while, on the other hand, an \(a\)-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before \(ya\): thus, \(\text{iṣṇayāti}\) from \(\text{iṣ}, \text{satvanayāti}\) from \text{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 \(\text{sya}\) — or even, with \(a\) also added after an \(i\) or \(u\)-vowel, \(\text{asya}\); and this comes to be recognised in the later language as an independent sign, forming denominatives that express desire: thus, \(\text{madhusya}\) or \(\text{madhvasya}\), ‘longs for honey’; \(\text{kṣirasya}\), ‘craves milk’.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in \(\text{kāmya}\) what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having \(\text{kāma}\) as its final member: thus, \(\text{rathakāmyati}\), ‘longs for the chariot’ (K.: only example noted from the older language); \(\text{putракāmyati}\), ‘desires a son’ — coming from the possessive compounds \(\text{rathakāma}, \text{put rakāma}\). And \(\text{satyāpayati}\), ‘declares true’ (from \(\text{satya}\)), 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, \(\text{aṅkūya}, \text{stabhūya}, \text{iṣudhyā}; \text{dhisanya}, \text{risanya}, \text{ruciyna}, \text{hucnya}, \text{iṣaṇya}; \text{ratharya}, \text{cratharya}, \text{saparya}; \text{irasya}, \text{daçasya}, \text{makhasya}, \text{panasya}, \text{saçasya}\). Those in \(\text{anya}\), especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in \(\text{aṅya}\), which in general have allied themselves to present-systems of the \(\text{nā-class}\) (V.), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, \(\text{grbhd̄yāti}\) beside \(\text{grbhnāti}\). Of such, RV. has \(\text{grbhāya}, \text{mathāya}, \text{pruśāya}, \text{muśāya}, \text{crathāya}, \text{shabhāya}, \text{stabhabha}\). A few others have no \(\text{nā-class}\) companions: thus, \(\text{damāya}, \text{camāya}, \text{tudāya}\) (AV.); and \(\text{pandāya}, \text{načāya}, \text{vṛṣāya} (\text{Vṛṣ ‘rain’}), \text{vasāya} (\text{Vas ‘clothe’}),\) and perhaps \(\text{acāya} (\text{Ac ‘attain’}).\)

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. \(\text{aṅkhaña}, \text{arthāya}, \text{iṣāya} (\text{also iṣāya}), \text{urjāya}, \text{rtāya}, \text{kṛpāya}, \text{maṇtrāya}, \text{mprāya}, \text{vavṛśāya}, \text{vājāya} (\text{also vājāya}), \text{viśāya}, \text{suvṛśāya} (\text{also suśvṛśāya});\) AV. adds \(\text{kīrtāya}, \text{dhūpyāya}, \text{pūlāya}, \text{vīrāya}, \text{saḥpūryāya}.\)

The accent of \(\text{ānniña}\) and \(\text{hāstāya}\) (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in \(\text{ṣa}\) 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) unayis (with mā prohibitive) is to be regarded as 2d sing. of the iṣ-aorist. Unquestionable examples of this aorist are āśūyit (CB.), pāpayiṣṭa (TS. iii. 2. 83: pl., with mā prohibitive) and avṛṣāyiṣṭata (VS.). The form āsaparyāit (AV. xiv. 2. 20), with āi for ā (555b), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; amanasyāit, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (ii. 3. 83). CB. has the future gopāyiṣyatī, and TS. the participles kandaṇāyiṣyānti and kandaṇāyitā. From roots assimilated to the causatives occur in the older language mantrayāṁ āsā (AB., GB.), mantrayāṁ cakratus and cakre (CB.), mantritā (CB., TA.), -mantrya (TB.), and one or two other like forms. The gerundival adjectives saparyēṇya and atasāyya also are met with.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brāhmaṇas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.
It is made by prefixing the accusative of a derivative noun-stem in या ए (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of य क्र 'make', more often of य पुन as 'be', and very rarely of य भु 'be'.

In the older language, as is pointed out below, क्र is used as auxiliary almost alone, and भु not at all. Even in MBh., भु 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 या ए being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from य बुध बुध, intensive बोबुधम् बोबुधम्, desiderative बुहभुटस्म बुहभुटस्म, causative बोधयाम् बोधयाम्; denominative मन्त्रयाम् मन्त्रयाम्.

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, ग्रासाम् असाम from य ग्रास अस, इक्षाम् इक्षाम from य इक्ष इक्ष; उज्ञाम् उज्ञाम from य उज्ञ उज्ञ.

Excepted are the roots अष्ट and अष्टक, and those beginning with अ 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, चकासाम् चकासाम्.

But उर्णु (712) is said to form उर्णोवा उर्णोवा only, and जाग्र and दारिद्र (1020, 1024) to have a perfect of either formation.

d. A few other scattering roots: namely, आय, दाॅ, and क, and optionally विॅ and उस, and a few roots of the reduplicating class, भ, भ, हु, and ह्री. All these make the derivative noun from their present-stem: thus, दयाम्, विदाम्, ओताम्, बिहयाम्, जुहाम्, बिहाराम्, जिहाम् (these with गुण of the final vowel before the अ).

An occasional example is met with from other roots: thus, नयाम from न (pres.-stem नय); क्वादम from यव (pres.-stem क्वाद).

1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is
made only with the middle inflection of वा kṛ; that of the active, with any one of the three auxiliaries. For passive use, the auxiliaries ग्राम as and न bḥū 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 independent use (for that of क्र, see 800f); of ब्हु, see 800b; of वा, 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, tāṁ pāṭayāṁ prathamam āsa, 'him he first made to fall'; prabhramacayāṁ yo naghasaṁ cakāra, 'who made Naghusha fall headlong' (both Raghuvançā).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation 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 kṛ. Thus:

a. Of forms with the perfect of the auxiliary occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, gemsayāṁ cakāra (AV. xviii.). In the brāhmaṇa parts of the Black Yajus texts are found vidāṁ cakāra (TS., K., MS.) and vidāṁ cakṛmā (K.), and yājaṁ cakāra (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 cikramisām, ruruksām, dudhārām, bibhatsām. From simple roots having the same formation in the later language, occur vidām (TB., CB., GB.), āsām (CB., GB.), īksām (CB., GB.), edhām (CB.), juhavām (AB., TB., CB.), bibhayām (CB.); and also layām (nīlayām) from वति (CB.).

b. Forms with the aorist of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brāhmaṇas as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with akar occur ramayāṁ (K.), janayām and sādayām and svadayām and sthūpayām (MS.); and with akraṇ, vidām (TS., MS., TB.). With the aorist optative or precative has been noted only pācayāṁ kriyāt (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are excessively rare, but not entirely unknown: so, juhavāṁ karoti (Cāṅkh. Čr. Śū.).

d. With any other auxiliary than क्र appears only mantrayāṁ āsa (AB., CB.; in CB. the same noun is combined with क्र in mantrayāṁ cakṛatus 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 saṁdadhad iyād evam evai tābhīr yajñasya chidram saṁdadhad eti (AB.), ‘just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice’; agnir vā idam vaśvānara daṁhammad āit (PB.), ‘Agni Vaiśvanara kept burning this creation’; té ‘śurāḥ pārājītaḥ yānto dyāvāpythyāḥ ūprāṣrayan (TB.), ‘those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth’; té ‘śya gṛhāḥ paçaṇa upamūryāmāṇā iyāh (ÇB.), ‘the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed’.

b. The same with the verb car, ‘go (continually or habitually)’, signifying still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: agnāv agnīc carati prāvīṣah (AV.), ‘Agni is constantly present in the fire’; adāṇḍyam danḍena ghananç caranti (PB.), ‘they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment’.

c. The same with the verbs ās, ‘sit’, and sthā, ‘stand’, with a like meaning. Thus, juhvata āsate (K.), ‘they continue sacrificing’; te ‘pakramya pratīvadado ‘tiṣṭhan (AB.), ‘they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing’.

In the later language, sthā is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A 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 pūrvam anijānāḥ syāit (AB.), ‘whoever may not have made sacrifice before’; samāvad eva yajñe kurvāṇā āsan (GB.), ‘they did the same thing at the sacrifice’; parikrīḍanta āsan (MS.), ‘they were playing about’; itārā me kena devatā upāptā bhaviṣyanti (AB.), ‘wherewith shall the other deities be won by me?’ yātra suptvā pānar na ‘vadṛṣyān bhāvati (ÇB.), ‘when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again’; havayaṁ hi vaksyaṁ bhāvati (AB.), ‘for he is intending to carry the sacrifice’; dāsyant syāt (K.), ‘may be going to give’; yena vāhanena syantsyānt syāt (ÇB.), ‘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:

- अति ati, 'across, beyond, past, over, to excess';
- अधि adhi, 'above, over, on, on to';
- अनु anu, 'after, along, toward';
- अन्तर antr, 'between, among, within';
- अपा āpa, 'away, forth, off';
- अधि śūrī, 'unto, close upon or on';
- अभि abhi, 'to, unto, against' (often with implied violence);
- ावā āva, 'down, off';
- ा ā, 'to, unto, at';
- उद ud, 'up, up forth or out';
- उपpa, 'to, unto, toward';
- निं ni, 'down; in, into';
- निंस nis, 'out, forth';
- पारा pāra, 'to a distance, away, forth';
- परि pāri, 'round about, around';
- प्र pra, 'forward, onward, forth, fore';
praṭi, '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 sām.

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;
avis, 'forth to sight, in view': used only with the roots bhū, as, and kr;
tirās, '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 bahīs, '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:
grad (or grath?), only with dhā (in RV., once also with kr): graddhā, 'believe, credit';
hīṅ, 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 यः त 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 devāḥ ē ‘hā vakṣyati (RV.), ‘he shall bring the gods hither’; प्रां ना ध्युसी tārīṣa (AV.), ‘may he lengthen out our lives’; तव आ yātab anūd dravāt (RV.), ‘do ye two come hither quickly’; gāmad vājebhīr ā sā naḥ (RV.), ‘may he come with gifts hither to us’; pārī mām pārī me prajām pārī naḥ pāhi yād dhānam (AV.), ‘protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own’; yātab sadyā ā ca pārā ca yānti (AV.), ‘from whence every day they advance and retire’; vy dhābh sārvena pāpmanā (avrtam) vī yādmanen sām ṣyus (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: pāre ‘hi nāri pūnar ē hi kṣīprām (AV.), ‘go away, woman; come again quickly’; āthā ‘stāṁ vipāretana (RV.), ‘then scatter ye away to your home’; samaṁcitusā ‘nusampāyāhī (AV.), ‘gather together, go forth together after’; yād gṛḥāṇ upodāti (AV.), when he goes up to the

Whitney, Grammar.
house; evd ca tvd n sarama ajgânta (RV.), 'now that you, Saramâ, have thus come hither'; yend 'visittah pravicîthâ 'pâh (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, pâreta, 'gone forth'; antârhita, 'concealed'; âvapanna, 'fallen': sâmpûrña, 'complete'.

b. with the infinitive in tu (972), in all its cases: thus, sâmhartum, 'collect': épîdhâtave, 'to cover up'; ávagantos, 'of descending'; the doubly accented dative in tavâi retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, ánvetavâi, 'for following'; âpabhartavâi, '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 dhâ, adhi with sthâ, ava with gâh. In the Veda, on the other hand, is is in a few cases found instead of nis with vr.

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an i, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: thus, pratikâra, nîrt, parihâra, virûdh, adhvîsa, âpiyâta, abhîvartâ; anûrûdh; prâvî, upavasu.

In the Veda, the initial of anu is sometimes lengthened after negative an: thus, anûnudâ.

c. In combination with yâ 'go', the prefixes parâ, pari, and pra sometimes change their r to l.

In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem pahy, 'flee', inflected according to the a-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brâhmañas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it takes
the augment prefixed: thus, apalāyīsthās; it makes the periphrastic perfect palāyāṁ caṅkṛ. The stem palāy, 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 from a more original condition) an initial s after the prefixes sam, pari, and upa: thus, sanskurute, samaskurvan, sanskrita, parīṣkṛṇvanti, parīṣkṛta, 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 tta after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if i, is lengthened (compare the similar contraction with other elements, above, 955c, and that of the derivative in ti, below, chap. XVII.). Thus, in AV. are found from dā 'give', vyātta, pāritta, āpratitā: in Brāhmaṇas, from the same, ātta, pratā, apātta; from dā 'cut', āvatta, nirāvatta, samāvatta.

f. The AB. has once niniyōja (instead of ni-yyoja) from ni + ṣyuj, and udaprapatāt; and in MBh. are found a few cases like vivyāsa from vi + ṣas (where, however, an intentional play on the word may be assumed: Delbrück); and anvasaṁcaarat (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 (233a).

Also (137a, b), certain peculiarities of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1088. As to the more general adverbial uses of the prefixes, and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1089. The adverbial 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 tarām 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 kṛ, '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 kiñ + ykr (1079) are a few other onomatopoetic compounds in the Veda: akkhalikṛtya (RV.), 'making a crackling sound', járijanābhavan (RV.), 'flickering', and alalābhavan (RV.), 'making merry'; and (in AB.) bababākurvan, 'crackling'. And AV. has maṣmaṣa with ykr (TS. and VS., maṣmasa), 'crush'.

Further, combinations of ykr 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, svagākārīti (CB.: but svadā karōti, TA.); and other prefixes are set before them, as anuvāṣṭkuryāt.

1092. a. The noun namas, 'obeisance, homage', in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with ykr: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in namaskṛtya (beside hastagṛhya and karnagṛhya: above, 890).

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 astamāṃt, astameṣyānt, āstamita (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix) — and in the Brāhmaṇas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix: thus, astamēti (CB.).

c. Other ordinary accusative forms of adjectives in combination with verbal derivatives of kr and bhū are found here and there in the older language: thus, cṛtamākṛtya and nagnamākṛtya (TS.); nagnambhāvuka, pāmatamānambhāvuka, etc. (TS. et al.).

1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with kr 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 akkhalikṛtya (above, 1091) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure vāṭikārā, is found only phalikāraṇa. In the Brāhmaṇa language, examples begin to occur occasionally — cyeṭi and mithunī in TS.; these and phalī, krūrī, udvāsī in TB.; the first three, with suphalī, eki, svī, 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 bhāvantīs (TS.), phalī kriyāmāṇānām (TB.), vajrī bhutāvā (TA.). The ī is variously treated: now as an uncombinable final, as in cyeṭi akuruta and mithunī abhavan (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in mithunī ēnāyā syūm and sovākuryā (CB.).

The examples in accentuated texts, and especially those in which the
verb is entitled to the tone, are too few to furnish more than a fragmentary illustration of the formation.

Out of such beginnings has grown in the later language the following rule:

1094. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots \( \sqrt{kr} \) and \( \sqrt{bhū} \) (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 \( r_i \); if an \( u \)-vowel, it is changed to \( u̡ \).

It is prescribed also that a final \( r \) become \( ri \), and that \( as \) and \( an \) be changed to \( i \); but no genuine examples appear to be quotable.

Examples are: stambhiḥbhavati, 'becomes a post'; ekacitiḥbhūya, 'becoming of one mind'; upahārīkarṣi, 'thou makest an offering'; nakhaprahārajjarjarikṛta, 'torn to pieces with blows of the claws'; cīthilīḥbhavanti, 'become loose'; kundalikṛta, '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.

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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, itás, tátas, yátas, kútas, amútas, *svatas* (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, yuṣmattas*.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: thus, *mukhatás, agratás, ṛbhutás, ḍṛttás, čīṛsatás, nastás, yajuṣṭas, pārátas, anyátas, sarvátas, daksinatás, abhīpatás* (once, in RV., from a case-form: *patsutás*).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, *abhítas, parítas, ántitas*.

Examples of ablative construction are: *tataḥ saṃghātī (AV.), 'from that sixth'; tato jñāyān (AV.), 'older than they'; kutoč cid deśād āgaṭya (II.), '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'; asmatsamipatas, 'in our presence'; dharmatas, 'in accordance with duty'; chāgatas (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, asmatrá, satrá; and also from noun and adjective stems, as anyátra, vičátra, samānátra, martyrá, daksinatrá, devatrá, purutrá, bahutrá.

The words in (accented) *trá* are Vedic only, except *satrá, 'altogether' (of which *satram* is also given as an alternative form).

Examples of quasi-locative or locative construction are: *hásta á daksinatrá (RV.), 'in the right hand'; tatrā 'ntare (H.), 'in that interval'; prabhutvāṁ tatra yuyjate (H.), 'sovereignty is suited to him'; ekatra purüşe (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 devatrā yānān (RV.), 'roads that go to the gods'.
1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. ha, in itha, ‘here, katha, ‘where?’ and the Vedic viçvåha (also viçvåh, viçvåhà), ‘always’ (compare below: 1104, end).

b. tåt, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, as pråktåt, udåktåt; to adverbial ablatives, as aûråttåt, uttaråttåt, paråkåttåt; and to prepositional adverbs, as adåhåståt, avåståt, paråståt, puråståt, baåh¥îståt. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has occasionally the form ståt: thus, upårišåt.

c. hi, in uttaråhi (CB.) and daksînåhi (no occurrence).

1101. By the suffix thå are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

Thus, tàthå, yåthå; kathå and itthå (by the side of which stand katham and ittham); and the rare imåthå and amåthå. And åtha [V. often åtha], ‘so then’, doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems: as, viçvåthå, sørvåthå, anyåthå, ubhåyåthå, itaråthå, yatamåthå, urådhåthå, råthå, nâmåthå (once, AV.).

Yathå becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of iva after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, tåya¥o yathå (RV.), ‘like thieves’.

1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:

a. ti, in iti, ‘thus’, very commonly used, from the earliest period, as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

Examples are: brahmajanåf ‘yàm iti céd åvocan (RV.), ‘if they have said “this is a Brahman’s wife”’; tàhå devå abruwan vratya kîn nà tišthåsi iti (AV.), ‘the gods said to him: “Vratya, why do you stand?”’ Often, the iti is used more pregnantly: thus, yàh çraddådhåti sànti devå iti (AV.), ‘whoever has faith that the gods exist’; tàhå vyråhrman munir músiço ‘yam iti paratyati (H.), ‘the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse’; yiyàm kîm iti sîdåtha (H.), ‘why (lit’ly, alleging what reason) do you sit?’ Or the iti marks an onomatopæa, or indicates a gesture: thus, bahîs te astu bål iti (AV.), ‘let it come out of you with a “splash”;’ ity âgre krsaty åthå ‘iti (CB.), ‘he ploughs first this way, then this way’. A word made by iti logically predicate to an object is usually nominative: thus, svårgå lokå iti yâm vâdanti (AV.), ‘what they call “the heavenly world”;’ vidarbhåjåtatanåyåm damayanti ‘iti viddåh mâm (MBh.), ‘know me for the Vidarba-king’s daughter, Damayanti by name’; but ajñåm bålåm ity åhåh (M.), ‘they call an ignorant man a child’.

With the suffix of iti is to be compared that of tåti etc. 519.

b. va in iva (toneless), ‘like, as’, and evå (in V. often evå), earlier ‘thus’, later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for ‘thus’ is used later the related evåm, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with vid: as, evåm vidvån, ‘knowing thus’.

In later Vedic (AV. etc.) iva more often counts for only a single syllable.

1103. a. By the suffix då are made adverbs of time, but almost only from pronominal roots.
Thus, tadá, yadá, kadá, idá (only in V.); and sádá, beside which is found earlier sádam. Besides these, in the older language, only sarvadá; later a few others, as anyadá, ekadá, nityadá.

b. By the perhaps related dánim are made idánim, tadánim, viçvadánim.

c. With rhi are made, from pronominal roots, tárhí, etárhí, yárhí, kárhí, amatírhí.

d. The suffix di, found only in yádi, 'if', is perhaps related with dā, in form as in meaning.

1104. By the suffix dhá are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying ‘-fold, times, ways’, etc.

Thus, ekadhá, dvadhá (also dovadhá and dvedhá), tridhá (in the old language usually tredhá), saadhá (also soghá and sadhá), dvadaçadhá, sahasradhá, and so on. Also, naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, tatidhá, bahudhá, purudhá, viçvadhá, çavadhá, etávadhá. In a very few cases, also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, mitradhá (AV.), priyadhá (TS), rjadhá (TB., pāriñtubdhā (PB.).

The particle ádha or ádhá, a Vedic equivalent of átha, probably belongs here (purudhá and viçvadhá, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.); also addhá, ‘in truth’; and perhaps sadhá, ‘with’, which has an equivalent sadha- in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in ha (1100a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with s: namely, dvits, trits, and catūr (probably, for catūrs).

The corresponding word for ‘once’, sakā, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to pañcakītvās, navakītvās, aparimitakītvās, etc., though kīrt and kītvās are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes (AV. has dāça kītvās and saptā kītvās).

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, angirasvāt, ‘like Angiras’, manusvāt (RV.), ‘as Manu did’, jamadagnivāt, ‘after the manner of Jamadagni’; pūrnavāt or pratnavāt or purāṇavāt, ‘as of old’, kākatalīvyavat, ‘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’, māvāvant, ‘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, agnisāt + yk, 'reduce to fire, burn up'; bhasmasāt + ybhū, 'turn to ashes'; ātmasātkṛta, '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 ṛ. The connection with the following verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in ya: thus, bhasmasātkṛtvā (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 prātṛ, 'early', and sanulār, 'away'; in dakṣipāt, 'with right hand', and cikitvā, '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 kam(?), tād, cōd (common at every period), smād and sumād, im and īm (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), -kām.

Compounds with tād are cōd, 'if', nēd, 'lest', svīd, kuvād; with cōd, kūcād; with -kām, nākām and mākām, and ākām.

b. Of noun-stems: as, nāma, 'by name'; sākham, 'happily'; kāmam, 'at will, if you please'; nāktam, 'by night'; rāhas, 'secretly'; oṣām, 'quickly' (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in great numbers: as, satyām, 'truly'; cīrām, 'long'; nāyam, 'constantly'; bhāyas, '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, ucçāsītarām, canāśītarām, 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 tūṣṇīm, 'in silence'; sāyām, 'at evening'; ālakam, 'rainly'; sākām, 'together, with (prop.)'; āram or ālam, 'sufficient' (in the later language used with yār in the manner of a prefix); prāyas, 'usually'; īṣāt, 'somewhat'; amnās, 'unexpectedly'; bākṣ, 'outside'; māthu and mithās, māhu and māhus, jātu, and so on. **Madrīk** etc., and *nīrīk* (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having yac or a añ as their final (407 ff.); and vṛṣuṇāk and vṛṭhak, with pṛṭhak and ṣāḥak, may be of the same character. The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for uḍāḥak, ānuṛāk and āgya, anuṣṭhā and uṣṭhā, yudopāt, etc. Compare also the forms in am beside those in ā, above, 1098, 1101, 1103a.

e. In (Vedic) dračā, 'quickly', is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (ppl. drāvant, 'running'); and draḥyāt, 'stoutly' (RV., once), may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, c) 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, enā and ayā, kāya, anā, sānā, amā, amuyā.

b. Of noun-stems: as, kṣaṇena, 'instantly'; acesena, 'completely'; udaseṇa, 'especially'; durā, 'by day'; dīṣyā, 'fortunately'; sāhasā, 'suddenly'; akutubhis, 'by night'; and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, dākṣiṇena, 'to the south'; uttareṇa, 'to the north'; āntareṇa, 'within'; cireṇa, 'long'; - cānās and cānākās, 'slowly'; uccās, 'on high'; parācās, 'afar'; tāviṣēbhis, 'mightily'; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: tiraṣeṭṭā, devāṭā, bāhūtā, and sasveṛṭā (all RV.), homonymous instrumental from nouns in tā; devāṭā, tāḍāṭnā, īrnā, mṛṣā, vṛṭhā, sācā, asthā (?), mudhā (not V.), adhunā (Br. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumental are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, amā and dīvā (given above); perhaps gūhā; apākā, āsāyā, kuhāyā (?); nakṣayā, sωparṇayā, samanā; adatrayā, ṛṭayā, uḥhayā, sumnayā (?); daksāṇā, madhyā; niḍā, prīcā, uccā, paccā, tiraṣeṭṭā; — in a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending,
which is accented: thus, amuyd (given above), acuyd, sadhuyd, raghuyd, dhrsnuya, anusthuyd, mithuyd; and urviyd (for urvyd) and vfyvya (properly vfcvayd] 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:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, kāsmāt, 'why?' akasmāt, 'casually, unexpectedly'; āt, tāt, yāt (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal asmāt etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: as, āsāt, 'near'; ārāt, 'afar'; balāt, 'forcibly'; kutūhalāt, 'emulously'; sakācāt, 'on the part of'.

c. Oftest, of adjective stems: as, dūrāt, 'afar'; nīcāt, 'below'; papecāt, '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 aktós, 'by night', and vāstos, 'by day'; later, cirasya, 'long'.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value. Thus:

From noun and adjective stems: ākē, 'near'; ārē and dūrē, 'afar'; abhisvarē, 'behind'; astamikē, 'at home'; rt, 'without' (prep.); āgre, 'in front'; sthāne, 'suitably'; sapadi, 'immediately'; -arthe and -kṛte (common in composition), 'for the sake of'; aparīṣu, 'in after time'.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) kīś, interrogative particle, and its compounds nākīs and mākīs, 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, uttara and uttamā; adhara and adhamā, āpara and apamā, āvara and avamā, tāpara and upamā; and prathamā is doubtless of the same character; also, ântara and ântama. 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, sāṁcitām cit sarhāram sāṁ çicādhi (AV.), ‘whatever is quickened, do thou still further quicken’; vitarām vi kramasva (RV.), ‘stride out yet more widely’; prā tām naya pratārān vāsyo ācha (RV.), ‘lead him forward still further toward advantage’; ud enam uttarām naya (AV.), ‘lead him up still higher’.

Besides those instance, are found also nitarām, avatarām, parātarām, parāstaraṁ. In the Brāhmaṇas and later (above, 1111c), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, pratītaraṁ, saṁtarām, nitarām, uttarām, pratārām and pratamām (and saṁtarām, 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’; prurā, ‘before’; antarā (apparently, antār + ā), ‘among’; ânti, ‘near’; upāri, ‘above’: and saḥā (already mentioned, 1104), ‘along, with’, and sācā, ‘together, with’, may be noticed with them. Vinā, ‘without’, and viṣu-, ‘apart’, appear to be related with vi.

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.), ānadhas (TB.), akas-māt, asālept; and, according to the grammarians, sometimes also with pronouns (asas, aneśas), and with verbs (apacati, ‘does not cook’), but no such combinations appear to be quotable.

The independent negative adverbs, nā and mā, 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: duçcaratī (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-ápáyati_ at 49.10). K. has _na su víjnáyete_ and _na vāi su viduh_ (or _su-víjnáyete_?).

e. The exclamatory and usually deprecative 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, _āṅgā_, _hānta_, _kila_, _khālu_, _tū_ (rare in older language), _vāl_, _vāvā_ (in Brāhmana language only), _hi_, _hinā_, _u_, _āha_, _ha_, _gha_, _samaha_, _sma_, _bhala_.

Of these, _hānta_ is a word of assent; _hē_ 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, _ātho_, _nā_, _mā_, _utō_, _upo_, _prō_; but also with that of verb-forms, as _dattō_, _vidmō_. The final _o_ thus produced is _pragṛhya_ or uncombinable (188c).

Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above, are _ūd_, _kām_ or _kam_, _cid_, _jātu_, _evā_.

Some of the asseverative particles are much used in the later artificial poetry with a purely expletive value, as devices to help make out the metre (pādapūrana, ‘verse-fillers’); so especially _ha_, _hi_, _tu_, _sma_.

b. Negative particles are: _nā_, signifying simple negation; _mā_, signifying prohibition.

As to the construction of the verb with _mā_, see above, 579—80.

In the _Veda_, _nā_ (or _nū_): 248a has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic _nā_ of comparison, see below, d.

In _nāhī_, _nā_ is combined with _hī_, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with _ād_ in _nēd_, ‘lest’. It is perhaps present in _namē_ and _canā_, but not in _hinā_ (RV., once). In general, neither _nā_ nor _mā_ is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix _a_ or _an_ (1121a): exceptions are the Vedic particles _nākis_ and _mākis_, _nākām_ and _mākām_; also _naciram_ and _māciram_, and a few others.

c. Interrogative particles are only those already given: _kād_, _kim_, _kuvid_, _svīd_, _nānā_, of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.
d. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless *iva*, and *yathā* (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also *nā*, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

Examples are: *yṣīdvā ṭṣun nā śṛjata dvīṣum* (RV.), 'let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer'; *vāyō nā vṛksāṁ* (AV.), 'as birds to the tree'; *gāvarō nā tṛṣitāḥ pība* (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.

e. Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *kvā* (in V., always to be read *kiśa*).

f. 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', *cvas*, 'tomorrow', *jyok* (also related with *dyu*), 'long'; *pūnar*, 'again'.

g. 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, ṛte* — 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, upari, 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, antār and its later derivative antarā, meaning ‘within, in’, are oftenest added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are ā and adhi (illustrated above, 305); — api and upa are much rarer: thus, yā apām āpi vratā [sānti] (RV.), ‘who are in the domain of the waters’; amār yā upa sūrye [sānti] (RV.), ‘who are up yonder in the sun’; — sācā, ‘along with’, is not rare in RV., but almost entirely unknown later: thus, pitrōh sācā 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), saham, sārdham, samam, samayā, svatham; and, in the Veda, the prefix sam: as, te sumatābhīḥ sām pātnābhīḥ nā viṣaṇo nasīmah (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 adhi, in RV., is used with the instrumentals snānā and snābhīśa, 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, adhi 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 bahī, puras, avas, adhas, paras, purā, vinā, and tiras, 'out of knowledge of' — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms arūk, prāk, paścāt, ārdhaṃ, pūrvam, parāṃ, pareṇa, prabhṛti; and ēte, '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 prādicō abhi sūryo vieśṭe (AV.), 'what quarters the sun looks abroad unto'; ābodhy agnīḥ prāty āyatīm uṣṣam (RV.), 'Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn'; gached kadācit svajanam prati (MBh.), 'she might go somewhither to her own people'; inam prakṣyāmi nṛpatim prati (MBh.), 'him I will ask with reference to the king'; māma cittām ānu cittēbhīr ē 'ta (AV.), 'follow after my mind with your minds'; ē 'ḥy ā naḥ (AV.), 'come hither to us'; ēpa na ē 'ḥy arvān (RV.), 'come hither unto us'; yō devō mārtiyāṁ āti (AV.), 'the god who is beyond mortals'; adhiśhīḍya vāroasā dhy anyān (AV.), 'excelling above others in glory'. Also abhītas and parītas, 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 instruments of situation or direction: as ye 'pareṇa "dityām, ye pāreṇā "dityām (TB.), 'those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun'; āntareṇa yōnīm (ÇB.), 'within the womb'; te hī 'dām āntareṇa sarvam (AB.), 'for all this universe is between them'; āttareṇa gārhapatyam (ÇB.), 'to the north of the householder's fire'; dākṣiṇena vēdīm (ÇB.), to the south of the sacrificial hearth'; dākṣiṇena vṛksavāṭikām (Çak.), 'to the right of the orchard'; niśkaś, 'near to'. Similarly, ārdhavam and pūrvam have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of ēte. 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', abhyacē, '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), kuraṇū, sakācāt, hetos. And really, although
less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed): as adhareṇa, uttareṇa and uttarat, daksiniṇa and daksiniṇī, pacoṇa, urdhvaṃ, anantarəm, samakṣam, sāksiṇī. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative paritas, paratas, and antitas, and parastat and purastat (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, sarhvatsarasya parastat, 'after a year'; suktasya purastat, 'before the hymn' [AB.]); with anti, adhas, avas, puras; with upari, 'above' (common later); and with antar.

Conjunctions.

1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words, are almost wanting.

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 ḥ ca, 'and', and वा 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 uta (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and api, tatās, 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 cēd) 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: ኍ, ኱, ኦ, ከ, ኪ (AV.), ኲ, ኲ, ኬ (RV.), ah, bat (RV.), bata (RV.) or vata, and (probably) ħiruk and huruk (RV.).

b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): cicca, ‘whiz’ (of an arrow: RV.); kikira (palpitation: RV.); bâl and phât (phâś?) or phât, ‘splash’ (AV.); bhûk, ‘bow-wow’ (AV.); cál, ‘pat’ (AV.); āś, āś, as, and has (PB.) and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots kṛ and bhû, above, 1091.

c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjectional character are, for example: bhos (for the vocative bhaves, 456); are or re (voc. of arî, ‘enemy’); dhîk, ‘alas!’ (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with vâdih); kaśtam, ‘woe is me!’ distya, ‘thank heaven!’ svasti, ‘hail!’ susṭhu, sadhu, ‘good, excellent!’ None of these are Vedic in interjectional use.

CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

1136. The formation from roots of conjugable stems — namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) — was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation (not essentially different from case-formation), in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems — namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles — which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was 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, īman, īyas and istrha.

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-inflexion, 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, ḏ, as, ani, u, ti, ṭr, ṭnu, anu.

c. From tense-stems, the examples are far fewer, but not unknown: thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in a (1148.3b), ḏ (1149), u (1178e,g,h), ta (1176e), 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), isṭha (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 vṛddhī-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where guna-change is in general forbidden: 235, 240): thus, vēda from y/vid, mōda from y/mud, vārdha from y/ṛdh: āyana from y/i, sāvana from y/su, sāṛṇa from y/sr; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long ā as the resulting vowel: that is, with non-final a, and with a final i or u-vowel and r, before a vowel: thus, nādā from y/nad, grābhā from y/grbh or grabh, vāhā from y/val, nāyā from y/ni, bhāvā from y/bhū, kārā from y/kṛ; such strengthening as would make vāida and māuda 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 y/vac; change of final r to ir and ur; the loss of final ā, 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 suffix (1147), and before a following y or u 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: oftener 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, āku and īka, 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: 271e). As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (384: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).

b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.

The Vedic cases are: with simple reduplication, sasyād, cikū, sasrūt (irregular, for susrut), didyā and didyūt, jukū, and perhaps cchū; with in-
tensive reduplication, -renī, jogū, yavīyādhi, vānīvan (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In dāriḍra is seen a transfer to the a-declension. Asūṣū 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, crūtkarna (RV.), 'of listening ears', a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.

1148. a. With the suffix a is made a very large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: guṇa-strengthening, vṛddhi-strengthening, retention unchanged, and reduplication.

In good part, they are classifiable under the two usual general heads; but in part they have been individualized into more special senses.

1. 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, ēṣa, 'haste', epā, 'hasting'; cāsa, 'order', cāṣā, 'orderer' (other examples are kāma, cūka, cōka): compare a similar difference with other derivatives as, ana, an, man). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, jayā, javā, smanā, action-nouns; crāva, mōgha, hīnasa, 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 vṛddhi-strengthening of the root — but only where
a is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial a, and of final r (most often), u or ū, i or ī (rare).


a. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in composition, are probably results of the transfer of root-stems to the a-declension: thus, -ruja, -ghusa, -sphura.

b. A few Vedic examples are made from conjugational stems: thus, from the causative stem, kāpaya and tānaya and mṛgaya(?), -uṇkhaya, -eyaya, -dhūraya, -pūraya; from present-stems of the nu-class (IV.), or secondary roots made from them (716), ḫīnā, -iṇvā, -iṇoḥ, -iṇo, -iṇvā, -iṇvā; from others, -prṇā, -mṛṇā, -pacyā, -marṇa, -dasya, -jurya, -ksudhya, -trṣya, -jīghrā, -pība; from aorist-stems(?), jeśā, nesā (in nēṣatama, RV., once).


Only a single example of an action-noun has been noticed, namely cīvārā, ‘attack’, with accent on the root. Other examples of accent elsewhere than on the suffix are only the stems (of doubtful meaning or derivation) vācara and gārgara.

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 words): constituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent is, with few exceptions, on the ending — and that, without any reference to the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.


The only definable class of exceptions in regard to accent appears to be that of the adverbial 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, vyḍa (i.e. vy-ḍa), 'burning', prāṇiveṣa, 'neighbor', ḍḍhaga, 'sharing'; but also sāṁkṣaṇa, '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, oftentimes 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 य 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 a 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 a 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: icā, 'lordship', ikiḍā, 'play', jarā, 'old age', nindā, 'reproach'.

Examples from desiderative stems are very few in the oldest language, but common later: thus, jīgā and bhikṣā (RV.); the latter and vrīṣā (AV.); bibhatsā (VS.); in Brāhmaṇa language, pipāsā, bubhukṣā, māmaṃśā, cīkṣā or cikṣā, etc.

From causative stems, the only Vedic example is gamaṇḍ (compare the derivatives in -aṇa, above, 1148. 3b); but the formation becomes common later, in the making-up of the periphrastic perfect (above, 1070 ff.). The derivatives from present-stems — thus, vidd, edhā, juhavā, 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, aṣavaṇḍ, sukṛatūṇḍ, apasya, uruṣyā, aṣyā, aṣanavaṇḍ, jīvanavya. Their y is not resolved into i.

1150. अ a. With this suffix (as with य a) are formed many derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has
usually \textit{guna}-strengthening, but sometimes \textit{vṛddhī} 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 \textit{ā} or in \textit{i} (for details, see below). And a few feminine action-nouns in \textit{anā} and \textit{ani}, 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 \textit{dūṣāna} and \textit{-mārjana} have the same irregular strengthening which appears in their present-systems (627, 1042a), and other formations from the same roots.

b. With \textit{vṛddhī}-strengthening (only in such circumstances that \textit{ā} remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples (all that have been noted in the older language) are \textit{-cētana}, \textit{nācana}, \textit{mādana}, \textit{-vācana, -vāsana, -vāhana, sād-ana, -spācana, svādāna, -āyana, -yāvana, -srāvana, -pārana, vārana}.


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: \textit{vīcākṣāṇā}, \textit{uparīcāyanā}, and the feminines \textit{pramandaṇī} and \textit{nīrdaḥaṇī}.

d. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in \textit{i}: thus, \textit{cōdāni}, \textit{pēčāni}, \textit{spāraṇi}, \textit{jāmbhānī}; \textit{praśjānī}, \textit{prākṣāni}, \textit{sāmgraḥaṇī}, \textit{abhijāvaṇī}, \textit{vidhāraṇī} (\textit{cētani} is of doubtful meaning: below, 2a).

An adjective compound, however, having a noun in \textit{ana} as final member, makes its feminine in \textit{ā}: thus, \textit{ṣūpasarpanā}, ‘of easy approach’, \textit{ṣāḍvidhānā}, ‘of sextuple order’, \textit{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 karaṇā, 'active' (against kāraṇa, 'act'), tvāraṇā, 'hasting', rocaṇā, 'shining', krocaṇā, 'yelling', svapana, 'sleepy', kṣayana, 'habitable'.

These, unlike the more regular class, make their feminines in ā: thus, tvāraṇā, spandana, etc. And a very few feminine action-nouns have the same form: jaraṇā, dyotanā (RV. i. 123. 4), veeanā (and compare kapaṇā, rocaṇā).

Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in anī, of more or less doubtful character: arsanī, cetanī (to cētana), tapanī (to tāpana), vrjanī (with vrjana), hāyanī (with hāyanā), rajanī, tedanī.

b. With accent on the penult: a very small number of adjectives: as dohāna, 'milking', manāna, 'considerate', manadāna, 'rejoicing', sakṣāna, 'overcoming', and perhaps vaksāna, 'carrying' (with aoristic s); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: daṁsāna, 'great deed', vṛjāna, 'enclosure', town', kṛpāna, 'misery' (against kṛpaṇā, 'miserable'), with the masculine kirāṇa, 'dust'.

The only noticed example of a feminine is in ā: turāṇā. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: as jaraṇā, bhandāna, kanyāna, vaksāna, etc. (and compare the anomalous masc. name ucānā: 355a).

c. Without strengthening of the root are made a very small number of derivatives: namely (besides those already noted, kṛpāna and kṛpaṇā, vṛjāna and vṛjanī, kirāṇa, turāṇā), bhurana, -sūvana and bhūvana (compare the perfects of the same roots, asūva and babhūva, without the usual strengthening: 789a): kṛcana, pṛcana, vṛṣana are doubtful.

d. A few isolated cases may be here mentioned: jūgaraṇa and pūlpūlana from reduplicated root-forms; sāmanu apparently from the prefix sam; uṣhūraṇa apparently from uṣhura; yosana, 'woman' (beside yosan, yosā, etc.), and pṛṭana, 'fight', are the only feminines with accented root-syllable.

1151. गुण as. By this suffix are made (usually with guṇa—strengthening of the root—vowel) especially a large class of neuter nouns, mostly abstract (action-nouns), but sometimes assuming a concrete value; and also, in the older language, a few agent-nouns and adjectives, and a considerable number of infinitives.

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, júvas, 'quickness' (beside jávas), úras, 'breast', mṛdhás, 'contempt'; and cīras, 'head', is to be compared; — with vṛddhi-strengthening, -vācas, vīcas, vihas, -svādas, -hūyas; — perhaps with an aoristic s, hēgas, 'missile'.

c: After final ā of a root is usually inserted y before the suffix (258): thus, dhāyas, glyas.

But there are in the oldest language apparent remains of a formation in which as was added directly to radical ā: thus, bhās and -dās (often to be pronounced as two syllables), jñās, mās; and -jas and -dhas and -das, from the roots jā and dhā and dā (Benfey, Abh. Gött. Ges. xxiii., 1878).

2. a. The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an action-noun are: āpas, 'work', and apās, 'active'; yācas, 'beauty', and yaçās, 'beauteous'; tāras, 'quickness', and tarās (SV., once), 'quick'; dūvas, 'worship', and dvāvas, 'lively' (?); māhas, 'greatness', and mahās, 'great'; between rākṣas, n., and rākṣās, m., both meaning 'demon', and between tyājas, n., 'abandonment' (?), and tyajās, m., 'descendant' (?), the antithesis is much less clear.

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, dharvās. 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, accent on the ending: thus, jarās, 'old age', bhiyās, '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, bhalānās, arcānānās. 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 jarās).

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 -nyokas and vīspartha. As in these examples, the accent is almost 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 sibilant.
1152. तम् तas, नन् nas, सन् sas. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With *tas are made *rētas, ‘seed’, and srōtas, ‘stream’.

b. With *nas are made ān*nas, ‘acquisition’, ār*nas, ‘wave’, -bh*har*nas, ‘offering’, rēk*nas, ‘riches’; and in drāvina*nas, ‘wealth’, and pārin*nas, ‘fulness’, is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of dāmü*nas, ‘house-friend’.

c. With *sas is perhaps made vāpsas, ‘beauty’; and tārūsas may be mentioned with it (rather tar*us-a?).

1153. ॐ *is. 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 guna-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in jyotis, ‘light’, vyāthis (?), and āmis, ‘raw meat’). Examples are: arc*is, roc*is, and ço*is, ‘light’, hər*is, ‘oblation’, vər*is, ‘track’.

The forms tuvi*- and surabhi*- appear inorganically for tuvi and surabhi in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. ॐ *us. 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, tāpus, ‘heat’ and ‘hot’; ārus, ‘wound’ and ‘sore’; cāk*us, ‘brightness’ and ‘seeing, eye’; vāpus, ‘wonderful’ and ‘wonder’. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; exceptions are: in regard to accent, jan*us, ‘birth’; in regard to gender, mānu*us, ‘man’, and nāhu*us, proper name. Of adjectives, are accented on the ending ja*us, van*us, vid*us (which alone shows an unstrengthened root), and daks*us, ‘burning’ (which appears to attach itself to the aorist-stem).

1155. ॐ i. 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 i 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’, tvē*si, ‘sheen’; kṛṣi, ‘ploughing’, nyti,
'dance', yuddhi, 'fighting'; — with guna-strengthening (where possible), vopi, 'pain', sandhi, 'subjection', coct, 'heat', varti and sand, 'gain'; — with yrddhi-strengthening, grahi, 'seizure', dhraj, 'course', aji, 'race'; from ydus comes dyusi (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', bhimi, 'lively' (ybhram), 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, jadhri (yghar), papri, saisri, -manri, babhr, vowrt, jagmi, jaghni, sasni, saovi, -tivi; and, with displacement of final a (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), dadi, papri, yayf (with a case or two from yayi, -jajji, dadi; — from the ur-form of roots in changeable r, jaguri, taturi, papuri; — with simple reduplication, yuuddhi, vvici; — with strengthened reduplication, -caci, tati, dahi, vvahi, sasahi, tatuj, tati and tatuj, yuyuni, yuuddhi; and jarbhari. And karkar, 'lute', and dundubhi, 'drum', have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoeic. The accent, it will be noticed, is most often on the reduplication, but not seldom elsewhere (only once on the root).

It was noticed above (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: abhidroft, ayaft, vyanaft, nijaght, paraddt, visuahft; but also ajani, amuri, vvavr.

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 -hti, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with prefixes, antardhi, uddhi, nidhi, paridhi, 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 aksi, 'eye', asthi, 'bone', dadi, 'curds', etc.

1156. 3 i. The suffix 3 i, like ri 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 ī: an example is kṛṇī (masc. kṛṇī).

In the oldest language, a few masculines also are made in final ī: they have been noticed, and their inflection described, above (355 ff.).

1157. ति ti. This suffix forms a large class of frequently used feminine nouns of action; and also a few agent-nouns (masculine) and adjectives. The root has in general the same form as before the suffix ता ta 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 ita (956) do not have the i also before ti: thus, only gūpti, -drpti (but AV. has once udīti, beside udūtā, from yādā). 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 tati and rāti; also āhānti (once, VS.) beside āhāti. From roots having the form dā, the derivative in composition is sometimes -tī (for ādī with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form -tta, above, 955 c): thus, niravatti (K.), vāsūti, bhāgatti, maghātī (all RV.).

c. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, carkṛtī, dīdhiti and -dīditī, jīgartī, and perhaps the proper name yavātī.

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 ānuni, abhūti, āhūti, nṛśṛtī, vyāpti, sāṅgati. The only exceptions noticed are āsaktī and āsuttī.

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, pāti, 'putrid', vāṣṭi, 'eager', dbhāti, 'shaker', jñātī, 'relative', patti, '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 sāniti (RV., once); and snihīti and snēhitī, notwithstanding their long final, may be mentioned with them. With ati are made a few, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns añhatī, dṛcatī, vasatī 'nest', ramāti, vratāti, amāti and āmatī, -dhrajatī; and the agent-words aratī, khalatī, vrkatī, rámati. With iti, jītī and dābhāti. In the Brāhmaṇas appear occasional derivatives from conjugational stems, like jānayati (TS.) and āgāmayiti (K. xxviii.6). The feminine yuvatī, 'young (adj.), maiden', is of isolated character.

4. In some of the words instances in the last paragraph, ti is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, kāti, tāti, yāti, and from numerals, as vinchatī, ṣaṣṭī, etc.; with paṅktī (from pāṇca); and in addāḥāti, from the particle addaḥ.

1158. नी 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 no instead of ta make their action-noun in ni instead of ti. From the Veda are quotable only -jyāni, 'injury', and jyṛni, 'heat'; later occur glāni, jirni, and others. Certain other feminine nouns of concrete meaning occur: thus, jāni, 'woman', etc.

2. Examples of words of the other class are: vāhni, 'carrying', tūrni, 'hasty', bhūrni, 'excited', preṇi, 'loving', vrṣṇi and viṛṣṇi, 'virile'.

In preṇi, yóni, meni, creni, cróni 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. अनी ani. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding ones. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with concreted meaning: as, isāni, 'impulse', carāni, 'injury', dyotāni, 'brightness', kṣipāti, 'blow', acāni, 'missile', vartāni, 'track', ājani (ā-ājani: the only example with prefix), 'goad'.
b. Adjectives and other agent-words are such as caráni, 'movable', caksáni, 'enlightener', vakṣáni, 'strengthener'. From a reduplicated root-form comes -paptani. From desiderative stems are made rurukṣáni, sīgāsáni, and (with prefix) a-vyukṣáni. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an s-aorist stem: thus, parṣáni, sakṣáni, carṣáni.

3. It is questionable whether the infinitives in sáni (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in ani, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in an, from roots and stems increased by an aoristic s.

1160. अन 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 sáni, 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 mahán, 'greatness', manhán (?), 'liberality', rājān, 'authority' (RV., once: compare rājan; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and gāmbhān, 'depth' (VS., once).

c. Examples of agent-nouns are: masc. tākṣan, 'carpenter', rājan, 'king', vṛṣan, virile, bull, uksān, 'ox'; neut. udān, 'water', cākṣan, 'eye': — with prefixes, pratidīvan, 'antagonist at play' (ātādīvan, AV., is perhaps a bad reading), vībhān, 'superior'.

d. A few stems in an, running parallel with those in other suffixes and filling out their declension, were mentioned above (429 ff.).

1161. त 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 guna-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., gāntu, 'way', dhātu, 'element', māntu, 'counsel'; fem. vāstu, 'morning'; neut. vāstu, '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 -tárītu and -dhárītu (both with dus); turphárītu 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, duratyētu, durniyāntu, dusparihāntu, suprāītu.

c. In a few instances, the suffix tu appears to be added to a tense- or conjugation-stem in a: thus, edhatá and vakhatá; tonyatá and tapyatá; and sūsātū. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of jivātū, '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.

Examples are: bhānū, 'light' (later 'sun'), vagnū, 'sound', sūnā, 'son', dānu (with irregular accent), m. 'demon', n. 'drop, dew'; dhenū, f., 'cow'; — grāhānū, 'hasty', dhṛṣṇā, 'bold'.

This also (like tu), appears sometimes with a prefixed a: thus, krandanū and nadanū, 'roaring', nabhanū (and -nā, f.), 'fountain', vibhañjanū (only instance with prefix), 'breaking to pieces'; and perhaps krjānu 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. Examples are: masc. bhṛthā, 'offering', -kṛtha, 'making', -itha, 'going'; neut. ukthā, 'saying', nīthā, 'song', tīrthā, 'ford'; fem. (with ā) gāthā, 'song', nīthā, 'way'. Radical ā is weakened to ī in -gīthā and -pīthā. Final m or n is lost in -gathā and hātha (as sometimes in the verbal inflection of the same roots: 637, 834b).

A few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with accent on the final: thus, nirñthā, 'destruction', samgathā, '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, varūtha, ‘protection’, with another doubtful case or two; and matātha (v/man?).

1164. ठu. This suffix has an ठū attached to it (like ठV, above), and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as ठū úthu.

The only Vedic examples are ejāthu, ‘quaking’, veṃāthu, ‘trembling’, stanāthu, ‘roaring’. Later cases are manḍāthu (TS.), vanāthu, cvaṣaṭhū, etc.

1165. यu. 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 manyū, ‘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. म ma. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.


1167. ब mi. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with mi, may be conveniently noticed here.


1168. मन man. 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 guna-strengthening.


b. Examples of masculine abstracts are: ojmán, 'strength', jemán, 'conquest', svádmán, 'sweetness'.

c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are: bráhman, 'worship', and brahmán, 'priest'; dámam, 'gift', and dámán, 'giver'; dhárman, 'rule', and dharmán, 'orderer'; sádmam, 'seat', and sadmán, 'sitter'. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except brahmán, are of rare occurrence.

On the other hand, varsman and svádmán (and variman) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

The noun ácman, '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 vidmáne.

d. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus, bhúman 'earth', svúman; bhúmán 'abundance', simán, bhujmán, vidmán; and kárśman, bhárman, yánman.

e. Derivatives in man from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, prábharmán, 'forthbringing', práyámán, 'departure'; ánúwartman, 'following after': the exceptions, vijáman, prativartmán, visarmán, 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 ì; and imán comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns (masculine) from a certain number of adjectives.

a. The neuters in imán and iman are all primary formations, belonging to the older language: thus, jániman and várimán (beside varimán, as noticed above); and dáriman, dháriman, páriman (and párman, SV., once), bhárman, váriman, sáriman, stáríman, and hácimán. Those in iman are hardly met with outside the Rig-Veda.

b. The masculines in imán are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are jarihám, pratihám, mahimán, varimán (beside the equivalent várimán and várimán), varśimán (beside the equivalent vársman and varsmán), harimán, and drágyhimán (VS.) beside drághmán (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 pápmán (to pácá,
pápiyas, etc.; drúghmán etc. (to dirghá, drághíyas, etc.); váríman etc. (to urá, váriyas, etc.); práthiman (to príthá, práthištá); harimán (to hárí or háríta); várman etc. (to váríyas etc.); svádman etc. (to svádú, svádiyas, etc.). Then in the Bráhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, dhúmri-
mán (TS., K.), drághiman (K.: to dríthá, drádiyas, etc.), tarúнима (K.), lokítima (KB.); and still later such as laghimán; while ksepíman (to ksepírá, ksepíyas, etc.) and kṣpréman, and so on, are allowed by the grammarians.

1169. वन 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 त 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 of u and tu; yet van has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.

1. a. Examples of the usual formation are: masc. yájvan, 'offering', drúhvan, 'harming', cákvan, 'capable', -rikvan, 'leaving', -jítvam, 'conquering', sútvan, 'pressing', kétvan, 'active', -gátvan (like -gat, -gatyå), 'going', sútevan (y'å), 'warrior', árvam (only example with strengthened root, 'courser': — neut. párvam, 'joint', dhánvan, 'bow'.

b. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: atítvam, 'excelling', upahásvan, 'reviler', sambhátvan, 'collecting'; and probably vivás-
van, 'shining'; abhásatvan 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 muśivám, ‘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 rárávan and cikítván (and possibly vivásvan).

2. The number of action-nouns made, with the suffix van is extremely small: namely, díván, ‘giving’, and turú váman, ‘overcoming’, both used as in-
finitives (974); and bhurúvan, ‘unrest’ (?); likewise dhúrvam, ‘injury’, also used as infinitive (unless this is rather dhúrv-an).

The feminines corresponding to adjectives in van are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from vara, and end in varí; see below, 1171b.

1170. वन vana, वनि vani, वनु vanu. The very few words made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in con-
connection with वन van (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

a. With वन a are made वागवन, 'talkative', वात्वान, 'warrior' (beside सावन, above); and, from a reduplicated root, चुचुकवन, 'shining'.

b. With वन a are made from simple roots तुरव्य, 'excelling', and भुरवान, 'restless' (compare तुरवान and भुरवान, just above); and, from reduplicated roots, चुचुकवान, 'shining', धार्मवान, 'daring', तुतुरवान, 'striving after', and ज्युरुवान, 'praising': अर्हारिवान is obscure.

c. With वन u is made only वागवान, 'tone, noise'.

1171. वर var. With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives.

Much more common are the feminine stems in वरी varī, which, from the earliest period, serve as the corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in वन van.

a. A few masculine adjectives in वर ऊ occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, इत्वर, 'going', -अद्वर, 'eating', -सैद्वर, 'sitting', इत्वर, 'ruler, lord'; and with them doubtless belongs विद्वार, 'knowing' (with l for r).

b. The feminines in वर agree in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in वन to which they correspond: thus, याज्वरी, -ज्वर, झवारी, त्वरी, प्रवारी, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, -च्वारी.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, कार्वरा, 'deed', गावारा, 'thicket'; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: उवारा, 'field', and उवारी, '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. अन्त ant (or अन्त 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 त्यां and क्यां (517). And अद्वायां, 'not double-tongued' (RV., once), appears to contain a similar form-
Stems in vara, ant, vāns, māna, āna, ta.

1176. Stems in vara, ant, vāns, māna, āna, ta.

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 (Prakritī) of stems in ant to the a-declension.

Extremely few such words occur in the oldest language: namely, pānta, 'draught' (RV.), vasantā, 'spring' (RV.); beside it also hemantā, 'winter'; veçantā or veçantī, 'tank' (AV.; ČB. veçantā); jīvantī, a certain healing plant (RV.); and probably the proper name tarantā (RV.). A few others are instanced as admitted later: thus, nandanta and nandayanta, gadayanta, jayanta, jaranta, prananta, 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. वांस vāns (or वन vas). For the (perfect active) partic-
iples made with this suffix, see above, chaps. X. and XIV., and 458 ff.

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: jōvas, 'seizing', and cākas, 'skilful' (beside words in va and van), and perhaps khidvas ('ykhād). The neuter abstract vārikas, 'breadth, room' (belonging to urā, 'broad', in the same manner with vāriyas and varimān', is quite isolated.

The unique tatanusṭī (RV., once) is possibly to be divided tatanus-ṭī, 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 मान 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 ūrdhvasāmā, 'uplifted', evidently made on the model of participle stems. Also the proper names āpnavaṇa, pṛthavāṇa, and eyāvāna and eyāvatāna. Pārṣāna, 'abyss', is doubtful.

1176. त ta. 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: trītā, 'rough', ėtā, 'cold', drīḍā (for drīḍā: 224 a), 'firm'; dūtā, 'messenger', sūtā, 'charioteer'; rītā, 'right', gṛtā, 'ghee', jūtā, 'kind', dyūtā, 'gambling', nṛtā, 'dance', jīvītā, 'life', caritā, 'behavior.'. The adjective tigītā (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 rathītā, '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', mārtā, 'mortal', vātā, 'wind'; and with them may be mentioned gārtā (?), nāktā, 'night', hāstā, 'hand'.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in ita, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, palītā, 'gray', āsītā, 'black', rōhītā and lōhītā, 'red', hārītā, 'green'; akin with them are ēta, 'variegated', cyetā, 'white'.

The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus, ēnī and cyēnī; rōhīnī and lōhīnī, and hārīnī (but the corresponding masc. hārīna also occurs); and āsīknī, pāliknī, and hāriknī.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in ata are not to be separated from the participial words in ta, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: paacatā, 'cooked', darṣatā and paacyata, 'seen, to be seen, worth seeing'; and so yajatā, harṣatā, bharatā. The y of paacyata and harṣatā indicates pretty plainly that the a also is that of a present tense-stem. Rajatā, 'silvery', is of more obscure relation to vraj 'color'.

1177. न na (and न ina, न्य 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: uṣṭā, 'hot', āṭunā, 'fortunate', āḍna, 'ravenous', ā[rāṇā, 'white'; masc. praṇā, 'question', yajñā, 'offering', ṣṛṇā, 'heat', vārṇa, 'color', svāpna, 'sleep'; neut. pāṛṇā, 'wing', rāṭna, 'jewel' (?); fem. ṭīṣṇā, '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 ana): thus, aminā, 'violent', uṛjīṇā, 'crooked', dākṣīṇa, 'right', and one or two others of questionable etymology.

c. Of the words in uma, few are clearly referable to roots: thus, karūṇa, 'action', dharūṇa, 'bearing', -cetūṇa, 'showing'; ārjuna, 'white', tāruṇa, 'young', vārṇa, 'Varuna'. In meaning and in accent they vary like the derivatives in ana.

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. Ṣu. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character — adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives with the value of present participles; and in such use it wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.

The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vriddhied; least often (when capable of guna), it has the guna-strengthening — all without any apparent connection with either accent or meaning or gender. After final radical 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. aṅgu, 'ray', rīpu, 'deceiver', vāyu, 'wind-god', āsu, 'life', mānu, 'man, Manu'; fem. ḥṣu (also masc.), 'arrow', śrhdhu (also masc.), 'river'; tanū, 'body'.

c. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: cikitā, jīgā, sīṣu, -tatnu (unless this is made with nu or ṭnu), yāyu or yayu and ṣṭyu (with final ā lost), pīṣu (proper name), -ḍīdhaṣu; and babhrā, -raru (arāru), malimlā (?) have the aspect of being similar formations.

d. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, upāyā, 'on-coming', pramayā, 'going to destruction', vikāṇdu, a certain disease, abhīcu, 'rein (director)', sāṃvasu, 'dwelling together'.

e. From tense-stems, apparently, are made tanyā, 'thundering', and (with aoristic s) dākusu and dhākusu (all RV.).

f. Participial adjectives in ā from desiderative "roots" (stems with loss of their final ā) 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: dītsā, dīpsā, cikitā, tītksā, pipīṣu, mumukṣā, cīcīksā; and, with prefix, abhindipsā.

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, dharayā ('persistent'), bhājayā, bhāvayā, mahāhayā, mandayā, cramayā; and mṛgayā from the caus.-denom. mṛgāya.

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 Brāhmaṇas). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms from the same denominative stem are in use: thus, for example, to aghāyā, arātiyā, rīyā, caraṇyā, maṇasyā, sanisya, urusya, saparyā; in others, only the present participle in yānti, or the abstract noun in yā (1149), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns: thus, tvāyā (beside tvāyānti and tvāyē), yuvayā or yuvāyā, asmayā, savyā, and the more anomalous ahamyā and kīnyā. Especially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this has often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix yu, either with a meaning of 'seeking or desiring', or with a more general adjective sense: thus, yuvayā, 'seeking grain', varāhayā, 'bear-hunting', stanasyā, 'desiring the breast'; ṛṇāyā, 'woolen', yuvanyā, 'youthful', bhīmayā, 'terrible'. And so the "secondary suffix yu" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in ahamyā and kīnyā, 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, aṅhoṣu, duṣṭoṣu (and duṣṭoṣu; beside duṣṭasyu), ṛṣṭroṣu.

None of the words in yu show in the Veda resolution into iu.
1179. \( \dddot{u} \). The long \( \dddot{u} \) 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 \( u \), a very few independent feminines, and two or three very rare masculines: as to all which, see above, 355c.

1180. \( \dddot{u} \) 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 uka are hardly known in the Veda; but they become frequent in the Brāhmanaś, 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 ka (1222) to a derivative in \( u \); but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an \( u \)-word from which they should be made.

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 Brāhmana language, are: vēduka, nāṭuka, upakrāmuka, prapāduka, upasthāyuka (258), vyāyuka, vēduka, bhāvuka, kyōdhuka, hāruka, vāṛuka, samārdhuka, dāṇḍuka, ālaṃbuka, cikṣuka (GB.: RV. has cikṣu), pramāyuṣka (SB. has pramāyu).  

b. Exceptions as regards root-form are: nirmāryuka (with vṛddhi-strengthening, as is usual with this root: 627), -kasuka. AV. accents sāṁkasuka (SB. has sanikāsuka) and vikāsuka: RV. has sāṁkā (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also ghātuka from yākan, and śpramāyu); vasukā (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. Aṣṭādāyuṣka (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

c. A formation in āka (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with uka) may be mentioned here: namely, from reduplicated roots, jāgarāka, 'wakeful', dandačāka, 'biting', vāyajāka, 'sacrificing much', vāvadāka (later), 'talkative'; salātāka is questionable.

1181. \( \dddot{a} \) aka. Here, as in the preceding case, we seem to have a suffix made by secondary addition of \( \dddot{a} \) ka to a derivative in \( \dddot{a} \) a; but it has, for the same reason as the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than that of uka; it has very few examples in the older language.
a. In RV. is found (besides pāvakā, which has a different accent, and which, as the metre shows, is usually to be pronounced pāvāka) only śāyaka, ‘missile'; AV. adds pīyaka and vādhaka, and VS. abhikrōcaka. But in the later language such derivatives are common, usually with raising of the root-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity; thus, nāyaka, dāyaka (258), pācaka, grāhaka, drāvaka, bodhaka; but also janaka, khanaka. They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of the same root: thus, bhaksyabhāksaka, ‘eatable and eater’, vācyavācaka, ‘designated and designation’, and so on.

That the derivatives in aka sometimes take an accusative object was pointed out above (271c).

The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in akā or in akā, but more usually in ikā: thus, nāyikā (with nāyaka), pācikā, bodhikā, drāvikā; compare secondary aka, below, 1222d.

b. Derivatives in āka are said to be made from a few roots: thus, jālpāka, bhikṣāka; but they are not found in the Veda (unless in “pāvakā"; see above), and appear to be very rare at every period. With āku is made in RV. mṛḍayāku, from the causative stem: pṛdāku and the proper name īkṣyāku are of obscure connection.

Derivatives in īka and īka will be treated below, in connection with those in ka (1186).

1182. त्र( or तर tar). The derivatives made by this suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their uses, have been the subject of remark more than once above (see 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 trī.

a. The root has uniformly the guna-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 guna-change is only uṣṭṛ, 'plough-ox' (no proper agent-noun: apparently uks-ṭṛ: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root grah has, as usual, i — thus, -grahīṭṛ; and the same appears in -tarīṭṛ and -marīṭṛ. An u-vowel is taken instead by tāruṭṛ and taruṭṛ, dhānutṛ, and sānutṛ; long in varīṭṛ; strengthened to o in manoṭṛ and manoṭṛ. From a reduplicated root comes vāvāṭṛ.
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 manôt is an isolated irregularity.

Examples are: jétá dhānāni, 'winning treasures'; yūyām mārtain crōtāraḥ, 'ye listen to a mortal'; but, on the other hand, yaṁtā vāsūni vidhatē, 'bestowing good things on the pious'; and jétā jānānām, 'conqueror of peoples'.

c. The formation of these nouns in ṭr 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 (bodhayitr and codayitr, RV.). In nēśtr, 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 ṭr, are pitṛ, mātṛ, bhrāṭṛ, yātṛ, dūhīṛ, nāpitṛ, jāmāṭṛ. Of these, only mātṛ and yātṛ are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in ṭr.

e. Instead of ṭr is found tur in one or two RV. examples: yaṁtur, sthātvār.

f. Apparently formed by a suffix r (or ar) are usṛ, savyāṣṭṛ, nānandr, devṛ, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in r, see 369.

1183. इ 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, kevalādīn, bhadravīdīn, nītādīn, ācārāśīn, ānāmin, vivyādhīn; with aoristic s, sakṣīn; 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, satyavīdīn, 'truth-speaking', abhībhūṣīn, 'addressing', manohārīn, 'soul-winning'. In bhāvin has established itself a prevailingly future meaning: 'about to be'.
The use of an accusative object with words in is was noticed above (271 b).

1184. यस iyas and इषtha. These, which, from forming intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of root-form, have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suffixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treated above, under the head of comparison (466—470).

It may be further noticed that ज्येष्ठा has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, ज्येष्ठा; and that पार्षद्य 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 frequency 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 signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the guṇa-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.

Here, as in certain other cases above, we have probably a suffix originally secondary, made by adding o to the primary ṭr or tar (1182); but its use is like that of a primary suffix.

a. Examples of neuter nouns are: गद्यa, 'limb', पाठra, 'wing', पाठ ra, 'cup', योक्तra, 'bond', वाठra, 'garment', चर्तra, 'ear'; आङ्क, 'missile', स्तोत्रa, 'song of praise', गोत्रa, 'vessel'; of more general meaning, दात्रa, 'gift', क्षेत्रa, 'field', मात्रa, 'urine', होत्रa, 'sacrifice'. The words accented on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, क्षत्रa, 'authority', राण्यa, 'kingdom', याण्यa, 'doctrine', सत्त्रa, 'sacrificial session' (also ज्ञाण्यa, 'knowledge').

b. Masculines are: दाण्यa, 'tusk', माण्यa, 'prayer', अत्रa (or आत्रa: 232), 'devourer', अश्रa, 'buffalo, camel', and a few of questionable etymology, as मित्रa, 'friend', पुत्रa, 'son', व्यत्रa, 'foe'. मित्रa and व्यत्रa are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and मित्रa comes later to be regularly of that gender.

c. Feminines (in tr) are: अश्राह, 'goad', माश्रa, 'measure', होत्रa, 'sacrifice' (beside होत्रa), दाण्यa (later, for दाण्यa); नाश्रa, 'destroyer'.

d. Not seldom, a 'union-vowel' appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with tṛ (above, 1182 a).
For the words in ītra have the accent on i: thus, arītra, 'impelling, oar', khaṇītra, 'shovel', pavītra, 'sieve'; janītra, 'birth-place', saṇītra, 'gift'; etc.; the combination ītra has almost won the character of an independent suffix. The preceding vowel is also sometimes a (sometimes apparently of the present-stem): thus, yājītra, 'venerable', kṛṇītra, 'shred', gāyāṭra (f. -ṭā), 'song', pāṭītra, 'wing'; but also amātra, 'violent', kṛṣṇītra, 'cutting-place', vādhatra, 'deadly weapon', and varāṭrā, 'strap'. Tārūtra, 'overcoming', corresponds to tarūṭ.

The words still used as adjectives in ītra are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is johūtra, 'crying out'.

e. A word or two in tri and tru may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in ītra: thus, āṭtri, 'devouring', arcāṭri, 'beaming'; yāṭru (yāṛtru: 232), 'enemy'.

1186. /firebase ka. The suffix firebase 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 āśīka, 'dry', āṭīka (yāṛu, 'hear'), 'noise, report', etc., and -sphāka, '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 ika and īka seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, viśeika (yeraçe), 'scorpion'; āṇika (?), 'face', ṣeṣika, 'aspect', mṛḍiṭkā, 'grace', vṛddihāka, 'increaser', āṭcharika and vīcārika, 'gripes', -ṛjika, 'beaming'; and, from reduplicated root, parparīka, 'scattering' (?). Compare secondary suffix ka (below, 1222).

1187. firebase 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. firebase 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, nicir, 'attentive', nemgira, 'joining on'.

c. Nouns in ra are, for example: masc. vibra, 'man', vajra, 'thunderbolt', cira, 'hero'; neut. kdir, 'milk', ripra, 'defilement'; fem. dhira, 'stream', sura, '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 dravar, 'running', patara, 'flying', (with prefix) nyocara, 'suiting'; and the neuters gambhara, 'depth', tasa, 'shuttle', sanara, 'gain'; bhavar and vasara 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, ajira, 'quick', isira, 'lively', madira, 'pleasing', dhvasira, 'stirring up', badhira, 'deaf'; perhaps sthavira, 'firm'; and sthir, 'hard', and sphira, 'fat', with displacement of final radical a; also sarira, 'wave' (usually salil), and one or two other words of obscure derivation.

With ira are made gabhir or gambhir, 'profound', and cavira, 'mighty'; and perhaps cirra, 'body'.

f. With ura are made a few words, of which the secondary character is still more probable: thus, anhura (anhu-ra?), 'narrow', asura (asu-ra?), 'living', vithura, 'tottering', yudura, 'embracing'.

With ura, apparently, is made sthur, 'stout' (compare sthavira).

1189. लa. 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 cukla, sthula, -miela, cithila, salil.

Examples of the more independent use are: pula, 'protecting', anila (or anita), 'wind', trpala, 'joyous'; later capala and tarala (said to be accented on the final), and harshula (the same). Many words ending in la are of obscure etymology.

1190. वa. 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. emplates in ri. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding u, a small number of derivatives.

Thus, for example: cuhṛt, ‘beautiful’; bhūrī, ‘abundant’; and, with ursi, jāsuri, ‘exhausted’, dācuri, ‘pious’, sāhuri, ‘mighty’; aṅgūrī (or aṅgūlī), ‘finger’.

1192. ru. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.


1193. vi. By this suffix are made:


Here may be mentioned cikītūṭ (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix vī from a reduplicated root-form.

1194. snu. With this suffix, with or without a union-vowel, are made a few adjective derivatives from roots, but still more from causative stems.


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 kravisnū ‘craving raw flesh (kravis); and also in vadhasnu, ‘murderous’, and vṛdh- asnū (?), ‘thriving’.

1195. sna. Extremely few words have this ending.

It is seen in tikṣṇā, ‘sharp’, and perhaps in clakṣṇā, and -rūkṣṇa; and in desnā (usually trisyllabic: dāśṇa), ‘gift’. Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by i; but it has (like sna, above) a before it in vadhāsnā, ‘deadly weapon’, karāsna, ‘fore-arm’.

Whitney, Grammar.
1196. तनु. This suffix is used nearly in the same way with सनु (above, 1194).

a. As used with simple roots, the त is generally capable of being considered the adscriptitious त after a short root-final, to which नु is then added: thus, करदन, 'active', तनद, 'deadly', -तन, 'stretching'; and, from reduplicated roots, जितन, 'hasting', and जिखन, 'harming'; but also दर्तन, 'bursting'. Also, with union-vowel, दरविन, 'running'.

b. With causative stems: for example, द्राविततन, 'hasting', मुदयतन, 'intoxicating', झाधतन, 'thunder', -अनयतन, 'sickening'.

c. With preceding आ in पियतन, 'scoffing', आ-रुजन, 'breaking into'; and कवतन, 'miserly' (obscene derivation).

1197. सा. The words ending in suffixal सा, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. A few examples are:

a. With सा simply: शेसा, 'winning' (aoristic शेस), रुक्सा, 'shining'; उत्सा, n., 'fountain'; भिसा, f., 'fear' (rather from the secondary root भिस).

b. With preceding त-vowel: ताविशा (ता ताविश), 'strong', माहिशा (ता माहिश), 'mighty', भारिशा (?), 'seeking booty'; मणिशा, f., 'devotion'.

c. With preceding उ-vowel: आरुशा (उ आरुश), 'red', अपिा, 'ravenous', तारुशा, 'overcomer', पुरुशा and मानुषा (-ुस-?), 'man'; पियुषा, 'blisters'.

1198. असि. A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps made by the addition of य to सा).

Thus, असि, 'vagabond', धार्यसि, 'firm', सानसि, 'winning'; and धाषि, m., 'drink', f., 'station'.

1199. अभा. A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

Thus, वरषाभा and रषाभा, 'bull'; गरथाभा, a certain fabulous animal, जराभा, a certain snake, गरधाभा and रासाभा, 'ass'. AV. has the adjective स्थुलाभा, equivalent to स्थुला.

1200. अत, इत, उत, रत. All the words with these endings were mentioned above (1193d). They have traceable root-connection only in part: those in अत are probably related to the participles in अन.

b. एद ad. The words in ए are also given above (ibid.).

c. अज, एज, उज, एज. The words with these endings were given at the same place (to be added is भिसा, 'healer', of which the etymology is disputed): ट्रसाज appears to be a secondary derivative, from ट्रसाज, '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: anḍa in karanda and vāranda and certain unquotable words (prakritized a-forms from the present participle); era and ora in unquotable words, and elima (above, 966 d: perhaps a further derivative with secondary ima from era); mara (ma or man with secondary ra added) in ghasmara etc.; — sara, in matsara, kara in pūṣkara 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 guṇa-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, vṛṣanvant, vṛṣana, vṛṣa, vṛṣalva, vṛṣuya, from vṛsan. Of a stem ending in ant, the weak form, in at, is regularly taken: thus, vāivasvata (vivasvanta).

Other alterations of a final are sporadic only.

1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the vṛddhi-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, acin (açin), sāmyā (sōma), pārthiva (prthivī), āmitra (amitra), sāmrājya (samrāj), saukṣṭya (sukrī), māitrāvarūna (mīitrāvarūṇa), uccāśīgra (uccāśīgra). 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 vṛddhi, 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, nāiyāyika from
nyāya (as if niyāya), vāyacatā from vyācata (as if viyacata), saūvajeyya from svācata (as if suwacata); but it occurs also in other cases, as sāuvard from svāra, cāuva from cavan, against svāyambhava (svayambhū), and so on.

AV. has irregularly kuverakā from kuvera (as if from kuvera, 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 āyani and kāyani), eya (with imeya), and later iya; before the compound aca and ika, and later aki; and, in single sporadic examples, before na, ena, ina, ra, and toa(?): 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, sāumāpāṣṇā (VS.; somāpyāṇān), kāurupāṇcāla (CB., GB.; kurupaṇcāla), cāturväidyā (caturveda), āihalāvikika (ihaloka). Again, the second member of a compound instead of the first is occasionally thus strengthened: for example, cātācārada (RV., AV.), pañcaçārada (TB. etc.), 'somārāudra (TS.), triśāhasri, daçasāhasra, pūrva-vārsīka (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 (iā: 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 toa, 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' (sumānas), brāhmaṇa, 'priest' (brāhman); hāmavatā, 'from the Himalaya' (hīmāvant), āṅgirasā, 'of the Angiras family' (āṅgiras); hāstīna, 'elephantine' (hastān), māruta, 'pertaining to the Maruts' (maruṭ); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, cāradā, 'autumnal', vīrājā, 'relating to the vīrāj', pāuṣṇā, 'belonging to Pushān'; gairikṣitā, 'son of Girikṣit'; — with accent unchanged, mānuse, 'descendant of Mānus'.

The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in vant; it is added to the weakest in māghona and vārtraghna; the ending in remains unchanged; an usually does the same, but sometimes loses
its a, as in pāuṇḍa, trāivaṇḍa, dācarūjñā; and sometimes its n, as in brāhmaṇa, āukṣa, bāhratśaṇa.

b. From primitives in ṛ: jātra, ‘victorious’ (jetṛ or jāṭṛ, ‘conqueror’), tvāṣṭrā, ‘relating to Tvāshtar’, sāvitrā, ‘descendant of the sun’ (sāvityṛ).


d. From primitives in i and i, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: pārthiva, ‘earthy’ (pṛthivī), sāravatā, ‘of the Sāravatī’, āindrāgnā, ‘belonging to Indra and Agni’ (āindrāgni); pāṅkta, ‘five-fold’ (pāṅkti), nāiṛtā, ‘belonging to Nirṛti’: — but āvayā, ‘barrenness’ (if from a-vṛ).  
e. From primitives in ā, which in like manner disappears: yāmunā, ‘of the Yamunā’, sāraghā, ‘honey’ etc. (sāraghā, ‘bee’), kānīṅā, ‘natural child’ (kānīṅā, ‘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, āmirā, ‘inimical’ (amītra, ‘enemy’), vāruṇā, ‘of Vāruṇa’, vāīṇavēva, ‘belonging to all the gods’ (vaiṇavēva), naīrħastā, ‘handlessness’ (nāirṛstā), vāīṇavā, ‘descendant of Vāyūva; gārdabha, ‘asinine’ (gārdabhā), dāva, ‘divine’ (dēvā), mādhyanā, ‘meridional’ (mādhyānā), pāutra, ‘grandchild’ (putrā, ‘son’), sūbhaga, ‘good fortune’ (sūbhāga), vādhryanā, ‘of Vadhryacva’s race’; — with unchanged accent (comparatively few), vāṣantā, ‘vernal’ (vāṣantā, ‘spring’), māitrā, ‘Mitrā’s’, ātithigāva, ‘of Atithigāva’s race’, dātvodāsa, ‘Dīvodasa’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 Ṛ a without vṛddhi-

change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in

considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of

the transfer to an a-declension of words of other finals.

a. A number of examples of stems in a made by transfer were noticed above (399). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition: thus, further, apa- (for ap or āp, ‘water’), -ṛca, -nara, -patha, -gava, -diva; from stems in an, -adhaṇa, -aṣṭa, -aḥa, -ṛṣa, but also -ahna and -veṣa and -vṛṣa; from stems in i, -aṅguṇa and -rātra; from the weakest forms of aṅc-stems (407) uccā, 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, tamasā, rajasā, payasā, brahmavara-
casa, sarvavedasa, devānasa, parusā, tryāyusā.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in in are reckoned by the gram-
marians as made with the suffix ina: thus, malāna, ‘polluted’, ēṛṣṣigāna,
‘horned’ (not quotable). The only Vedic instance noted is parameṣṭhīna (AV).

d. From aṅe-stems (407) are made a few nouns in ka: thus, ānūka, ēpāka, uḍāka, prātikā, parūkā, etc.

e. From stems in ṛ, neṣṭrā, potrā, praṇāstrā, from titles of priests.

f. Other scattering cases are: savidyutā, avyusā, virudha, kākuda, kakubhā.

g. The Vedic gerundives in tvā (tva) have been already (966 a) pointed out as made by addition of a to abstract noun-stems in tu.

h. Trayā and ādayā come with guṇa-strengthening from numeral stems;
nāvā, ‘new’, perhaps in like manner from nā, ‘now’; and āntara from antār (?).


One or two cases have been noticed above, in which the addition of a to another suffix has made a seemingly independent suffix.

1210. Ṛ 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 con-
taining a ya-element — iya, iya, eya, ēyya, eyya, enya — are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest lan-
guage, the ya when it follows a consonant is disyllabic 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, ia — being, as will be pointed out below, more liable to the reso-
lution 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-
icrement of the initial syllable.
1211. Derivatives in या with initial vrddhi-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in या (above, 1208). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).

Examples are: with the usual shift of accent, दृश्या, 'divine' (देव), पालिया, 'grayness' (पालिता), प्राच्या, 'cervical' (प्रवा), अद्वित्या, 'priestly office' (अदुवि), गृहपत्या, 'householder's' (गृहपति), ज्ञानाया, 'kingship' (ज्ञानार्), साध्र्माजित्या, 'victory in battle' (साध्र्माजात), साधनाच्या, 'wealth in horses' (साधनचा), अण्डप्रदश्या, 'witness' (अण्डप्रदश), एदिया, 'Aditya' (एदिति), सृण्या, 'relating to soma', अधिव्युत्त, 'hospitality' (अधिव्युत्त), प्राजापत्या, 'belonging to Prajāpati', वाणिज्याया, 'mindlessness' (विमनास), साहादेव्या, 'descendant of Sahadeva'; — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, लाक्या, 'of the world' (लोका), काव्या, 'of the Kavi-race', अद्र्या, 'descendant of Ritū', वायुव्याया, 'belonging to the wind' (वायु), रावणत्या, 'wealth' (रवाण:); — with unchanged accent (very few), अधिपत्या, 'lordship' (अधिपति), ग्रामिष्ठ्या, 'excellence' (ग्रामिष्ठा), वाच्या, 'belonging to the third class' (वच, 'people'), पार्थ्याया, 'manliness' (पार्थ). The AV. has once नार्ध्या, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through नार्ध्य; नार्ध्या (VS. i. 12) appears to be dual fem. of नार्ध्य.

1212. Derivatives in या without initial vrddhi-strengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in या, 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 या (ia); d. Words with circumflexed या (la). Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.

a. Examples of derivatives in या retaining the accent of their primitives are: आण्या, 'equine' (आण्वा), आण्या, 'of the limbs' (आण्गा), मृक्ख्या, 'foremost' (मृक्ख, 'mouth'), आण्या, 'ovine' (आण्वि), गाव्या, 'bovine' (गॊ), विच्या, 'of the people' (विच), दृष्या, 'of the door' (दृव), नाय्या, 'manly' (नाय), विज्या, 'virile' (विजी), सुर्ध्या, 'autocracy' (सुरधि), सुविर्या, 'wealth in retainers' (सुविरा), विक्वादेव्या, 'of all the gods' (विक्वादेवा), मयुराचेप्या, 'peacock-tailed'.

In the last word, and in a few others, the या appears to be used (like क, 1222 c, 2; या, 1212 d, 6) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound: so सुहास्या (beside the equivalent सुहास्य), माधुहस्या, दाचामस्या, मिराद्धाया.
b. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with vaṛdh-increment) are: kāṇṭhya, 'guttural' (kāṇṭhā), skāndhya, 'humeral' (skāndhā), vṛāya, 'of a ceremony' (vṛatā), méghya, 'in the clouds' (meghā), pṛtrya, 'of the Fathers' (pitrī), pratiṁjaya, 'adverse' (pratijñā). Hiranyāya, 'of gold' (hṛānaya), 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: divyā, 'heavenly' (divē), satyā, 'true' (santā), vyāghrā, 'tigrine' (vyāghrā), kavā, 'wise' (kavī); grāmyā, 'of the village' (grāma), somyā, 'relating to the sōma', bhūmyā, 'earthly' (bhūmi), sakṣāyā, 'friendship' (sākṣāī), jāspatāyā, 'headship of a family' (jāspatāi).

d. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed yā (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:

1. From consonant-stems: vieyā, 'of the clan' (RV.: vīç, hṛṛyā, 'of the heart' (hṛṛd), viḍyutā, 'of the lightning' (viḍyūt), rājanyā, 'of the royal class' (rājān), dosanyā, 'of the arm' (dosān), cīrṣanyā, 'of the head' (cīṛsān), karmanyā, 'active' (kārman), dhanvanyā, 'of the plain' (dhanvān), nanayā, 'reverend' (nāmas), tvacasyā, 'cuticular' (tvācas), barhiṣyā, 'of barhīs', āyuyā, 'giving life' (āyus), bhasadyā, 'of the buttocks' (bhaṣād), brīcyā, 'eastern' (prāncē), etc. Of exceptional formation is aryamāyā 'intimate' (aryamān).

2. From u-stems: kanavāyā, 'of the jaws' (ḥānu), vāyavāyā, 'belonging to Vāyu', paçaṇavāyā, 'relating to cattle' (paçaṇ), iṣavāyā, 'relating to arrows' (iṣu); ṣaravāyā, 'arrow' (ṣāru, do.); and there may be added nāvyā, 'navigable' (especially in fem., nāvāyā, 'navigable stream'; nāu, 'boat').

Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (chap. XIV., 964), the so-called gerundives in tavyā (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 tavya wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous derivatives. The RV. has prācaṇavāyā, 'to be partaken of' (pra+Yaç), without any corresponding noun prācu; and also ūrjavāyā, 'rich in nourishment' (ūrj), without any intermediate ūrjū.

3. From i and ì-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS. hasundubhīya from undubhī.

4. From a-stems: svargyā, 'heavenly' (svargā), devatāya, 'relating to a deity' (devatā), prapathyā, 'guiding' (prapathā), budhnyā, 'fundamental' (budhnā), jaghanyā, 'hindmost' (jaghāna), varunyā, 'Vāruna's', vīryā, 'might' (vīrā), udaryā, 'abdominal' (udāra), utsyā, 'of the fountain' (ūtsa); and from ā-stems, urvārya, 'of cultivated land' (urvārā), svāhyā, 'relating to the exclamation svāhā'.

The circumflexed yā is more generally resolved [into ēa] 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 ēa 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, *apikākyā*, 'about the arm-pit', *upapakṣyā*, 'upon the sides', *udāpya*, 'up stream'; and perhaps *upaṛṇyā*, 'lying in the grass' (occurs only in voc.). But, with other accent, *ānvāṁtya*, 'through the entrails', *āpamāṣya*, 'on each month'; *abhinabhyā*, 'up to the clouds', *ādīgārya*, '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, mārīya, yōḍhya; also -mādyā, -vāḍya, bhāvyā); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, praṃsya, upasādya, vihāvyā (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, anāpyā, anapāryā)—exceptions are only bhāvyā and the doubtful ākāhyā; the *ya* resolved into *ia* in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by *t* (in -cītya, -kṛtya, -cṛātya, -stātya, 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 anukṛtya, in part from derivatives in *a*, as bhāvyā (from bhāva).

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 *ya* with the same value: thus, for example, *ādyā*, 'eatable', *kārya*, to be done', *samāpya*, 'to be obtained', *ātīrya*, 'to be overpassed', *nīvibhāryā*, 'to be carried in the apron', *prathamaṇavāsa*; 'to be first worn'. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as *parivargya*, 'to be avoided', *avimokyā*, 'not to be gotten rid of', where the guttural reverision clearly indicates primitives in *ga* 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: *brahmajñeya*, *vasudēya*, bhāgadēya, *pūrvaśēya*, *cātasaśēya*, abhībhāya, *devahāya*; *mantraśrātya*, *karmakśēya*, *vītratārīya*, *hotrārīya*, ahihātya, *satrasādaya*, *ciśabhādaya*, *brahmacārya*, *nṛśāhya*. Of exceptional form are *ṛṭōḍya* (ṛṛvad) and *sahacēya* (vrṛv); 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 *yā*: thus, *kṛtyā*, *vidyā*, *ityā*, *muṣṭihatyā*, *devaṇāya*, 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, sūrya (with fem. sūryā), diya, pūrya, nābbhyā; yājya, gṛdhya, ṛya, aryā and ṛgya, mārīya, mādhyā.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with ya may best be next taken up.

1214. या iya. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of ya would create a combination of difficult utterance.

It has the same variety of accent with ya. Thus:

a. With accent īya (= ī or yā): for example, abhrīya, ‘from the clouds’ (abhrā), kṣatrīya, ‘having authority’ (kṣatrā), yajñīya, ‘reverend’ (yajñā), hotrīya, ‘libational’ (hāṭrā).

b. With accent iyā (= yā): for example, agriyā, ‘foremost’ (āgra), indriyā, ‘Indra’s’ (later, ‘sense’: īndra), kṣetriyā, ‘of the field’ (kṣetra).


1215. या iya. This suffix also is apparently by origin a ya (iā) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic y. It is accented always on the i.

a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only ārjikiya and gṛhamedhiya, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. parvatiya, ‘mountainous’ (AV., beside RV. pārvatīyā). In the Brāhmaṇas, a number of adjectives from phrases (first words of verses and the like) are made in īya: thus, kāyācūbhiya, svaduskiliya, āpokhiṣṭhiya, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (965) that derivative adjectives in īya from action-nouns in ana begin in later Veda and in Brāhmaṇa to be used gerundivally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language.

c. Derivatives in īya with initial vrddhi are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. svārśīya, pārviṭīya.

d. The pronominal possessives madiya etc. (516) do not occur either in Veda or Brāhmaṇa; but the ordinals dētiya etc. (487: with fractionals tṛtiya and tārīya: 488), are found from the earliest period.

1216. या eya. With this suffix, along with vrddhi-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, अर्जेय, 'descendent of a sage' (अशि), सारमेय, 'of Sarāma's race', पतावनेय, 'Çatavani's descendant', राथजितेय, 'son of Rathajit'; अनेय, 'of the blood' (अन्न), वासेय, 'of the bladder' (वसति), पुरुसेय, 'coming from man' (पुरुष), etc.

A more than usual proportion of derivatives in एय come from primitives in ए; and possibly the suffix first gained its form by addition of ए to a gunated ए, though afterward used independently.

The gerundive etc. derivatives in या (above, 1213) from अ-roots end in एय; and, besides such, RV. etc. have साभेया from साभा, and दिधेया, 'worth seeing', apparently from the desiderative noun दिधेय, after their analogy.

b. Derivatives in the so-called suffix इनेय — as साप्तवाहिनेय, कात्यान-इनेय (neither quotable) — are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in -अमि (fem.).

c. In एया (i.e. एया) end, besides the neuter abstract साहाचेय (above, 1213c), the adjective of gerundival meaning सुवेया (with aoristic s added to the root), and चपातेय, 'curse-bringing' (or 'accursed'), from चपाथा.

1217. य एया. This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition of य या to derivatives in a ना-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 अनीया (above, 1215b), as making gerundival adjectives.

The य of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in वारेया) on the ए: thus, -इनिया.

The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (1019, 1038, 1088); except इदेया, 'praiseworthy', and वारेया, 'desirable', they are of only isolated occurrence (once or twice each). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, विरेया, 'manly' (विरा), and किरेया, 'famous' (किर), and TS. has अनन्दितस्तेय (अनन्दितस्ति); विजेया (RV.) is a word of doubtful connections.

1218. अय्या एय्या. 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 अय्या.

A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur: thus, बहुपाय्या, 'protecting many'; अर्पाय्या, 'men-guarding'; कुपाय्या and पुरुमाय्या, proper names; पुरवाय्या, 'first drink', महाय्या, 'enjoyment'; — and रासाय्या, 'nervous', and उत्तमाय्या, 'summit', contain no verbal root. अलाय्या is doubtful; also अकाय्या, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with प्रहाय्या (AV.: धी, 'messenger', and प्रवाय्या (AV.), of doubtful value.
1219. यायन याया. 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 kāṇḍāyana (voc.: kāṇva); AV. has in metrical parts dāksāyāna and the fem. rāmāyani; and ānuṣāyāna, ‘son of so-and-so’ (510), in its prose. The RV. name ukṣānyāyana is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. याज्ञी यज्ञ. Only one or two words are made with this suffix, namely agnāyī (agni), ‘Agni’s wife’, and vṛṣākapāyī, ‘wife of Vrishākapī’.

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, ṛg-niveci, pāurukuti, prātarani, sāṁvaraṇi; AV. has but one, prāhrādi; in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, in AB., sāuyavasi, jānahtapi, āruṇi, jānaki, etc. A single word of other value — sārathi, ‘charioteer’ (sarātham) — is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix aki — as vāiyāsaki, ‘descendant of Vṛṣṇa’, are doubtless properly derivatives in i from others in ka or a ka.

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 tāpuṣi, apparently from tāpus with a secondary i added.

1222. य 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-
atatives 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 (bálhi), ‘of Bakh’, ándika (ándā), ‘egg-bearing’, súcika (súcī), ‘stinging’, urvārukā, ‘fruit of the gourd’ (urvārū), paryāyikā (paryāyā), ‘strophic; from numerals, ekakā, dvakā, trīkā, āṣṭaka; tīṭyaka, ‘of the third day’; from pronoun-stems, āsmāka, ‘ours’, yuṣmāka, ‘yours’, māmaka, ‘mine’ (516); from prepositions, ántika, ‘near’, ánuka, ‘following’ (later, ádhika, átka, ávakā); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides áṣṭaka and tīṭyaka, already given), rūpaka (rūpā), ‘with form’, bābhruka (babhrā, ‘brown’), a certain lizard.

b. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: acēvakā, ‘nag’, kanīnakā and kumārakā, ‘boy’, kanīnakā or kanīnikā, ‘girl’, pādakā, ‘little foot’, putrakā, ‘little son’, rājakā, ‘princeling’, čakuntakā, ‘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 anyakā (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 kā (according to the gender).


d. The vowel by which the ka is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in ics is common beside a masculine in ake (as is the case with the so-called primary ake: 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, ake and ica — are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial vṛddhi-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 vṛddhi-derivatives in ake no examples have been noted from the older language (unless māmakā, ‘mine’, is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, āmaka (not quotable), ‘flexen’, mānojñaka (not quotable), ‘attractiveness’, rāmanijyaka, ‘delightfulness’.

2. Of vṛddhi-derivatives in ica, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: vāsamīkā, ‘vernal’, vārṣika, ‘of the rainy season’, hāṁmantika, ‘wintry’ (none of them in RV.); AV. has kairātikā, ‘of the Kirāta’s’, apparent fem. to a masc. kārātaka, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: vādika, ‘relating to the Vedas’, dhārmika, ‘religious’, āhnika, ‘daily’, vāmanikā, ‘well-behaved’, dāuvārika, ‘doorkeeper’, nātyāyika, ‘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, bhṛgavāna, vāsavāna.

b. With ōnī (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a number of wife-names: thus, indrānī, varunānī (these, with ucinānī, pu-rukātānī, mudgālānī, are found in RV.), rudrānī, mātulānī, ‘maternal uncle’s wife’, kṣatriyānīi, ‘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 pāruṣnī.

d. With ēna are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final aṁc (407 ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, apūcēna, nīcēna, prācēna, arvācēna and arvācēna, pratičēna and pratičinā, samicēnā. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later: examples are samvatsaraṁa, ‘yearly’, prāvrśiṁa, ‘of the rainy season’, vicvajānēna, ‘of all people’, jñātakulīna, ‘of known family’, adhvaṁnā, ‘traveller’ (ādhvan, ‘way’), ācēna, ‘day’s journey on horseback’ (ūcva, ‘horse’).

e. With ena is made sāmidhenā, from samidhī, with initial strengthening.
f. A few words in ina, having possessive meaning — as malina, çṛṅgina, (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 strāṇa, ‘woman’s’, from strī, with initial strengthening [its correlative, pā́uḥṣaṇa, occurs late].

1224. Certain suffixes containing a ṁ may be similarly grouped.


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.


d. For the words showing a final min, see below, 1231.

1225. ṁ maya. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying ‘made or composed or consisting of’.

The accent is always on the penult. Before the ṁ, the final of the primitive is in general treated as in external combination: thus, mṛṇnāya, ‘made of earth’ (mṛd.), vāṁnāya, consisting of utterance’ (vāc), tejomāya, ‘made up of brightness’, adomāya, ‘of the nature of what is yonder’ (C.B.); but in the Veda are found manasmāya and nabhasmāya, with ayasnovāya, which is allowed in the later language alongside ayomāya. RV. has sūmāya, ‘of good make’ (sū, ‘well’), and kimmāya, ‘made of what’?

The suffix maya is perhaps by origin a derivative noun (ṁā) in composition, but it has at any rate the full value of a suffix from the earliest period of the language.

1226. ṛ 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: pāṁsurā, ‘dusty’, -çīra (also -çīla) in açirā, ‘ugly’, dhūmrā, ‘dusky’ (dhūmā, ‘smoke’), madhura (late), ‘sweet’.

In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, ágnidhra, ‘of the fire-kindler’ (agnidh), çāṅkurā, ‘stake-like’ (çāṅkā).

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, médhira, ‘wise’, rathirā, ‘in a chariot’; karmāra, ‘smith’; dantura (late), ‘tusked’; 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'; bhūmalā, 'fearful'; jīvalā, 'lively'; açtilā (and açrirā), 'wretched; with ā, vācīla, 'talkative' (late); with i, phenīla, 'foamy' (late: phēna); with u, vātula and vātīla, 'windy' (late: vāta); and mātula, 'maternal uncle', is a somewhat irregular formation from māṭī, 'mother'.

The later language has a few adjectives in lu, as kṛpālu and dāyālu, 'compassionate'.

1228. व va. A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Thus, arṇavā, 'billowy'; kecavā, 'hairy'; rāśnāvā, 'girded'; añjivā, 'slippery'; cantirivā, 'transquilizing', craddhivā, 'credible'.

b. There are a very few adjectives in vala and vaya which may be noticed here: thus, kṛśivalā, 'peasant' (kṛṣi, 'ploughing'), cikhaivala and dan-tāvala (late); druvaṇa, 'wooden dish'.

c. With ṛva are made two or three words from names of relationship: thus, pītrvya, 'paternal uncle', bhrātṛvya, 'nephew, enemy'.

1229. छ ca. A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

Thus, romacā or tomacā, 'hairy', ētaca, 'hasting'; babhucā or babhrucā, 'brownish', yuvaṇat, '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 आ a or आ 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, abhimūlīn, 'plotting against', arvīn, 'gleaming', urmīn, 'billowy', hūdīn, 'spangled', and perhaps atithīn, 'wandering'; in surabhīntara, the nasal is rather a euphonic insertion, to break the succession of light syllables; — from stems in an, varmīn, 'cuirassed'; — from stems in as. retīn, 'rich in seed', probably varcīn, n. pr.: and cāvasīn and sahasīn (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 pracānīn, garbhīn, jūrīn, dhūmīn, paripanthīn, pravepanīn, martsārīn; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (216) before the in, which could only be as in replaced a: thus, arkīn, -bhāṅgīn, -saṅgīn, and -rokīn.

d. In three or four sporadic cases, a y, preceded by ā, appears before in: thus, scadhāyān (VS.: TB. -vīn; the y is here evidently an insertion: 258), sekāyān, dhanvāyān, and ātātāyān (VS.: TS. -vīn), which is found also in the later language. RV. has only marāyān (value?) and rtāyān (apparently through a rtāyā [1149] from the denominative rtāy). To assume for these a suffix yin is quite needless.

1231. मीन 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 — iṣmīn, rymīn, krudhīmīn in RV., vāṃmīn 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.
gerund in tvī: a-yudh-tvī); 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, namavṣaṇ, 'reverential', tapaṣaṇ, 'heated', ṭejaṣaṇ, 'brilliant', yaçaṣaṇ, 'beautiful'; and catasaṇ, 'possessing hundreds' (RV.), has an inserted s, by analogy with them. Others have a (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, medhavyaṇ, māyaṇ, aṣṭraṇ, 'obedient to the goad', doṣaṇ, 'double-minded', uhuṇyaṇ, 'possessing of both kinds'. More rarely, vin is added after another consonant than s; thus, vāṇ, dhṛṣṭaṇ. The doubtful word vyaṣṇaṇ (VS., once: TB. vyaṣṇya) appears to add the ending (or in, with euphonic v) to a present tense-stem.

1233. वन्. 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 a 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.


b. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, ācīvaṇ (beside ācīvaṇ), 'possessing horses', sutāvaṇ, 'having soma expressed', viṣṇyaṇ, 'of virile force' (about thirty such cases occur in V.); cātīvaṇ, 'mighty', sādhaṭīvaṇ, 'having axes', gīṛṇaṇ, 'hot'; viṣūvaṇ, 'dividing' (viṣu, 'apart').

c. A few special irregularities are: āṇrasaṇaṇ, with s added to the primitive; kṣaṇīvaṇaṇ, with anomalous accent (if from kṣaṇa, 'pearl'); and, from particles, antāvaṇ, 'pregnant', and viṣūvaṇ (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 evaṇ and kīvaṇ).
And derivatives from nouns in the older language are perhaps occasionally to be understood in the same way: e.g. indrasvant, 'like Indra'.

It has also been pointed out (1107) that the adverb of comparison in vāt is doubtless to be understood as accusative neuter of a derivative of this class.

e. In vivāsvant or vivasvant, 'shining' (also proper name), is seen a side-formation to vivāsvan (1169), having the aspect of a primary derivative.

f. For the derivatives in vāt from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see below, 1245f.

None of the suffixes beginning with v show in the Veda resolution of v to u.

1234. वन् van. The secondary derivatives in this suffix belong to the older language, and are a small number, of which extremely few have more than an occurrence or two.

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, ṭravān or ṭavan, ṭāvan (and f. -vari, ṭghavan, dhāvan, satyāvan, sumnāvāri, and maghāvan; from ā-stems, sānītāvari, seadhāvan (and f. -vari; from i-stems, amatāvan, arātivan, cṛuṣīvān, muṣīvān, and krśivan (only in the further derivative kāṣivāṇa); from consonant-stems, ātharvan, samādvan, sāhovan (bad AV. variant to RV. sahāvan). Somewhat anomalous are sahāvan and sahasāvan, āndhavan (for āndhanavan?), and sanītvan (for sānītvan?). The only words of more than sporadic occurrence are ṭāvan, maghāvan, ātharvan.

1235. मन्त mant. This is a twin-suffix to वन् vant (above, 1233); their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives 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: kāṇvamant, and yāvamant, 'rich in barley' (these alone from a-stems, and the former only occurring once), āvimant, 'possessing sheep', arānimant, 'bearing the thunder-bolt', sādhimant, 'rich in herbs', vāsimant, 'carrying an axe', vāsumant,

b. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: agnimānt, ‘having fire’, iṣudhimānt, ‘with a quiver’, pacamānt, ‘possessing cattle’, viyāmānt, ‘with wind’, pitrīmānt (AV. pitṛmānt), ‘accompanied by the Fathers’, mātṛmānt, ‘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 tvāṣīmānt, dhrājimānt, hērīmānt; in jyotīṣimānt is irregularly inserted an ī (after the analogy of tāvīṣimānt).

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 inman, see above, 1168.2.

1237. ता ताः. With this suffix are made feminine abstract 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.


1238. तैति tāti, तात् tāt. These suffixes are Vedic only, and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the preceding is evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature. The accent is as in the derivatives with tā.

sarvatīti, 'completeness'; and, with exceptional accent, āstatīti, 'home', and dāksatīti, 'cleverness'. Two words in tāti are used adjectively (inorganically, by apposition?): āmrtatī (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 1, in MSS.), and satyatī (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. ṯ tvā. With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in ṯ 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: amṛtavā, 'immortality', devatā, 'divinity', subhagatavā, 'good-fortune', ahumattaratavā, 'struggle for precedence', cucitvā, 'purity', pātitvā, 'husbandship', taranītvā, 'energy', dīrghāyutvā, 'long life', caturītvā, 'enmity', bhṛtītvā, 'brotherhood', vrṣatvā, 'virility', sāimatvā, 'soulfulness', mañavattvā, 'liberality', rakṣastvā, 'sorcery'. In anāgīstvā and aprajāstvā, there is a lengthening of the final syllable of the primitive; and in sātraprāstvā (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial vrddhi (sāsubhagatavā is doubtless from sāubhaga, not subhaga). In vāsatīvarītvā (TS.) there is shortening of final feminine ī before the suffix.

In ṭīcītvātī (RV., once), 'incitedness', and puruṣatvātā (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 (rakṣastuvā).

1240. ṭaṇ tvāna. The derivatives made with this suffix are, like those in tvā, neuter abstracts. They occur only in RV., and, except in a single instance (martatvanā), have beside them equivalent derivatives in tvā. The accent is on the final, and the tvā is never resolved into tvā.

The words are: kavitvanā, janitvanā, pātitvanā, martatvanā, mahitvanā, vasutvanā, vrṣatvanā, sakhitvanā.

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. तर 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 1111 c.

In evratāra (RV., once: perhaps an error) the accent is anomalous; in mṛdayatāma, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1309); caṇvatamā (RV.) has the ordinal accent; saṅvatasaratamā (CB.) is an ordinal; ṛtvātara (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. त 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. य tha, like tama and ma, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see 487.

d. लिः titha forms words of an ordinal character from bahu (bahuṭṭhā, ‘many-eth’) and tāvant (with loss of a t in the combination: tāvatiḥ, ‘so-many-eth’); and, it is said, from other words meaning ‘a number or collection’ (gaṇa, pūga, sāmgha).

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. तथ 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.], aṣṭātaya [AB.], dāçata laya [RV.].


The y of yta is in RV. always to be read as i after a heavy syllable.

c. त ta forms dvitā and tritā, also muhūrtā, ‘moment’, and apparently avatā, ‘well (for water)’.
d. With न na are made पुरान, 'ancient', विभुता, 'various', and perhaps वस्मन, 'like'.

e. With तन tana or त nta are made adjectives from adverbs, especially of time: thus, प्रत्यान, 'ancient', नातना or नातना, 'present', सनातना or सनद्ना, 'lasting', प्रातस्तना, 'early', दिवाताना (late), 'of the day', चस्तना (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, विर्तना.

f. वत् rat makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (383d. 1).

g. कट kaṭa, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the grammarians as a suffix in उक्ता, निक्ता, प्रकाट, विकाट (RV., once, voc.), and सावकाटा (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, अन्त 1172, उ 1178h, अयया 1218, का 1222a, म्ना 1224, मया 1225, वान्त 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'.

Examples are: īndrāvāruṇāu, 'Indra and Varuna'; satyānṛtē, 'truth and falsehood'; kṛtākṛtām, 'done and undone'; deva-gaṅdharvamānuṣoragarakṣasās, 'gods and Gandharvas and men and serpents and demons'.

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.

Examples are: of dependent compounds, āmitrasenē, 'army of enemies'; pūdodaka, 'water for the feet'; āyurīḍā, 'life-giving'; hāstakṛta, 'made with the hands'; of descriptive compounds, ma-harṣi, 'great sage'; priyaśakhi, 'dear friend'; umītra, 'enemy'; sūkṛta, 'well done'.

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: vírasena, 'possessing a hero-army', praýákāma, 'having desire of progeny', tigmáçrīga, 'sharphorned', hārīlasraj, 'wearing green garlands'; atimātrā, 'excessive'; yāvayāddvesas, '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 pūrvajanmakrta, 'done in a previous existence', is first divisible into kṛta and the descriptive pūrvajanman, then this into its elements; the dependent sakalanitigāstratattvajñā, 'knowing the essence of all books of behavior', has first the root-stem jña (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 nitiçāstra, '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 añ, 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.), dvī, '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:

a. Quite often, an accusative, especially before a root-stem, or a derivative in a of equivalent meaning: for example, pataṅga, 'going by flight', dhanamāṅgayá, 'winning wealth', abhayamāṅkarā, 'causing absence of danger', puṣṭimbharā, 'bringing prosperity', vācamāṅkhayā, 'inciting the voice'; but also sometimes before words of other form, as hṛdaṁśānī, 'heart-winning', ācāṃśī, 'horse-desiring', cūhāyāvan, 'going in splendor', subhāyāmāṅkaraṇa, 'making happy'.

b. Much more rarely, an instrumental: for example, girāvīdh, 'increasing by praise', vācāstena, 'stealing by incantation', krātvāmaṇgha, 'gladly bestowing', bhāsāketu, 'bright with light', vidmaṇḍapasya, 'active with wisdom'.

c. Not seldom, a locative; and this also especially with a root-stem or a-derivative: for example, agregā, 'going at the head', dīvekṣā, 'dwelling in the sky', vaṇeṣāḥ, 'prevailing in the wood', añgēṣṭhā, 'existing in the limbs', proṣṭheṣayā, 'lying on a couch', suṭekara, 'active with the soma', dīveṣa, 'moving in the sky'; ārīcātra, 'having enemies far removed', sumuddāpi, 'near in favor', mudderaṇghu, 'lasting in excitement'; aprījā, 'born in the waters', hṛvās, 'hurling at hearts'.

d. Least often, a genitive: thus, rūyāskīma, '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, 1267d.

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 doi 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: medhāsātī (médha), tilāmīcra (tīla), khādihasta (khādī), yāvyādṛsas (yāvāyant); cakadhumā (dhūmā), amṛta (mṛtā), suvīra (vīrā), tuvigrīva (grīvā). A few words — as vīva, pūrva, and sometimes sūrva — take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

I. Copulative Compounds.

1252. Two or more nouns — much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs — having a coördinate construction, as if connected by '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: prāṇāpānā, 'inspiration and expiration', vṛihiyavā, 'rice and barley', pksām, 'verse and chant', kapotulukā, 'dove and owl', candradityā, 'moon and sun', hastyaçvā, 'the elephant and horse'; ajāvāyas, 'goats and sheep', devāsurās, 'the gods and demons', atharvāngiras, 'the Atharvans and Angirases', sambādhatandryās, 'anxieties and fatigues', hastyaçvās, 'elephants and horses'; of more than two members (no examples quotable from the older language), çayāsanabhogā, 'lying, sitting, and eating', brāhmañaksatritvāçvās, 'a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiçya, and Çudra', rogaçokāparitāçvās, '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: istapurdam, 'what is offered and bestowed', ahorastrām, 'a day and night', krtkrtam, 'the done and undone', bhutabhavyām, 'past and future', kecaçrār, 'hair and beard', ahinakulam, 'snake and ichneumon', yukdamaksikamatkunam, 'lice, flies, and bugs'.

1254. a. A stem in r as prior member sometimes takes its nominative form, in ā: thus, pitṛputrā, 'father and son', holiḥputrā, '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: indrásomā, indrāvīṣṭā, indrābhāspāti, agnіśomāu, turvācaṣyādā, dyāvāprthīvī, udāsānakta, stūryāmāsā. The only plural is indrāmarutas (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are mitrāvārunābhyaṁ and mitrāvārunayos, and indrāvārunayos (each one only).

From dyāvāprthīvī is made the very peculiar genitive divāsaprthīvyos (4 times: AV. has dyāvāprthīvyhyām and dyāvāprthīvyos).

b. In one compound, parjanyavatā, the first member does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (indrānāsasyā, voc., is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present; thus, indrāpūṣās (beside indrāpūṣānā), somāpūṣābhyaṁ (somāpūṣanā occurs only as voc.), vātāparjanyā, stūraya-candra-māsā, and indrāgni (with indrāgni-bhyaṁ and indrāgni-yos): somārudrāu is accented only in CB. And in one, indravāyā, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.

c. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural ajāvāyas, the duals ṛkṣumē, satyāmṛtē, sācavāmaṃcetē; also the neuter collective isticpurītām, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective, nyālalohitaṁ. Further, the neuter plurals abhurātrāṇi, ‘nycthemera’, and ukthārākā, ‘praises and songs’, of which the final members as independent words are not neuter. No one of these words has more than a single occurrence.

1256. In the later Vedic (AV.), the usage is much more nearly accordant with that of the classical language, save that the class of neuter singular collectives is almost wanting.

a. The words with double dual form are only a small minority (a quarter, instead of three quarters, as in RV.); and half of them have only a single accent, on the final: thus, besides those in RV., bhavārudrāu, bhavācaṛavāu; agnāviṣṭā, voc., is of anomalous form. The whole number of copulatives is more than double that in RV.

b. The only proper neuter collectives, composed of two nouns, are kecaṃmaṛū, ‘hair and beard’, ānjanābhyaṅjanām, ‘salve and ointment’, and kucipūpabarhānām, ‘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’), cittākutām, ‘thought and desire’, bhadrāpaṭām, ‘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: čuklakṛṣṇa, ‘light and dark’, sthalajāudaka, ‘terrestrial and aquatic’, used distributively; and vṛttapīna, ‘round and plump’, pāntanukula, ‘tranquil and propitious’, hṛṣītasragrajohina, ‘wearing fresh garlands and free from dust’, niṣekādi-
COPULATIVE COMPOUNDS.

1262]  

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, vūlāparjanyā (once: beside -nyāyos), devamanuṣyās (once), brahmājanyābhyyām (once: part of the MSS.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives: thus, dhārdivi, 'day by day', sāyāmprātar, '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 ekṣaṁ vāram-vāram, 'slay of them each best man'; divē-dive or dyāvi-dyāvi, 'from day to day'; prā-pra yaṭānāpatim tiru, 'make the master of the sacrifice live on and on'; bhūgo-bhūyaj evih-eyah, 'further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow'; ekayāi-kaŷā, 'with in each case one'.

Such combinations are called by the native grammarians āmṛedīta, 'repeated'.

1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, ekādaça, '11', dvādeścati, '22', triṣata, '103', cātuḥsaḥsaram, '1004', and so on (476 ff.), as a special and primitive class of copulatives. They are accentuated 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 karmadhāraya (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.

from me', cāurabhaya, 'fear of a thief': — of locative, jalakriḍā, 'sport in the water', grāmavāsa, 'abode in the village'; — of accusative, nagaragamana, 'going to the city'.

1265. **Dependent Adjective-compounds.** In this division, only a very small proportion of the compounds have an ordinary adjective as final member; but usually a participle or a derivative of agency with the value of a participle. The prior member stands in any case-relation which is possible in the independent construction of such words.


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 pāti, 'master, lord', compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, praṇāpati, vāsūpati, āttihipati, gopati (compare the verbal nouns in ti, below, 1274). But in a few words pāti retains its own accent: thus, viśpāti, paryupāti, etc.; and the more general rule is followed in apsarūpātī and vrājapati (in AV.).
b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, janarājan, devavārman, hiranyatājas, pṛtanāhāva, caṅkadhūna (but dhūmā); vācāstena.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are vācāstena, uccāṣṭrayavas, uccāṣṭrayoṣa, dūrēbhās (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accented on both members: thus, caṇḍāpāti, sādaspāti, bhaṇaspāti, vāṇaspāti, rāthaspāti, jāspāti (also jāspatī), nārācasāna, tānūnāpāt (tānū as independent word), cānāçēpa.

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, gāvīṣṭhīra (AV. gāvīṣṭhīra), māderaghī, yajñādīhīra, sāmavīpra, tilāmicīra (but tīla); but kṛṣṭapacyā, 'ripening in cultivated soil'.

1269. The adjective dependent compounds having as final member the bare root — or, if it end in a short vowel, generally with an added t — are very numerous in all periods of the language, as has been already repeatedly noticed (thus, 383 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, ānṣatra, ānaroṣ, svāvṛj.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, pataṁgā, girāvṛdh, dhiyājīr, aksṇayādṛūṅī, hrīḍispṛṭ, diviśśīṛ, vānēṣāh, diviśād, aṅgeśṭhā, hṛtvās, pṛtsutār, āpṣuja.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, manoyāj, 'yoked (yoking themselves) by the will', hrīdayāvīḍh, '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).

Examples are: hastagrābhatta, 'hand-grasping', devavandā, 'god-praising', hāvirāda, 'devouring the offering', bhuvanaeṣavā, 'shaking the world', vṛāntyabrava, 'calling one's self a vrātya'; aksaparājaya, 'failure at play', vaṣatīkāra, 'utterance of vashat', goposā, 'prosperity in cattle', aṅgaṇjanarā, 'pain in the limbs'.

a. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives: above, 1268) that of the prior member: thus, marudvṛdha, sutekkara (and other more questionable words). And dūgha, 'milking, yielding', is so accented as final: thus, madhudāgha, kāmadāgha.

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, abhayaṁkarā, yuddhīṅgamā, dhanaṁjaya, puroṁdarā, viśvam-bhara, divīkarā, talpeṣayā, diviṣṭambhā.
1271. Compounds with verbal nouns and adjectives in ana are very numerous, and have the accent always on the radical syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1150. 1 c). Examples are: kecavārdhana, ‘hair-increasing’, āyuspratārana, ‘life-lengthening’; tanūpāna, ‘body-protecting’, devāhēdana, ‘hatred of the gods’, puṁsāvāna, ‘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’, āchādvidbhūna, ‘means of protection’.

b. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in ana: thus, sarūpasākāraṇa, ayakṣaṁānkāraṇa, subhāganākāraṇa, vanaṁkāraṇa.

1272. a. The action-nouns in ya (1213) are not infrequent in composition as final member, and retain their own proper accent (as in combination with prefixes).

Sufficient examples were given above (1213).

b. The same is true of the equivalent feminines in yā: see above, 1213d.

c. The gerundives in ya (1213) hardly occur in the older language in combination with other elements than prefixes. The two nivīhbhūryā and prathamavāsyā (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; balavājñāyā and ācavādhyā (?) are inconsistent with these and with one another.

1273. Compounds made with the passive participle in ta or na have the accent of their prior member (as do the combinations of the same words with prefixes: 1085a).


a. AV. has the anomalous āpsūṣanācita.

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, agnitāptā, indrotā, pitrivītta, ratha-kritā, kavipruṣastā.

c. One or two special usages may be noticed. The participle gata, ‘gone to’, as final of a compound, is used in a loose way in the later language to express relation of various kinds: thus, jagatigata, ‘existing in the world’, tvadgata, ‘belonging to thee’, sakhigata, ‘relating to a friend’, etc. The participle bhūta, ‘been, become’, is used in composition with a noun as hardly more than a grammatical device to give it an adjective form: thus, idam tamobhūtam, ‘this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness)’; tām ratnabhūtām lokasya, ‘her, being the pearl of the world’; and so on.
The other participles do not occur as finals of compounds except in rare and sporadic cases: thus, gautamabruvāṇā, 'calling himself Gautama'.

1274. Compounds with derivatives in ī have (like combinations with the prefixes: 1157.1d) the accent of the prior member.

Examples are: dhānasāti, 'winning of wealth', sōmapīti, 'soma-drinking', devāhūti, 'invocation of the gods', nāmaśūti, 'utterance of homage', havyādīti, 'presentation of offerings'.

In nemādīti, medhāsāti, vanādīti (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, devahetī, 'weapon of the gods', deva-sūmitī, 'favor of the gods'.

In sarvajyāntī, 'loss of everything', the accent is that of compounds with ordinary nouns.

1275. Compounds with a derivative in in as final member have (as in all other cases) the accent on the in.

Thus, ukthacaṁśī, 'psalm-singing', vratacārīn, 'vow-performing', ṛṣabhadāgīn, 'bullock-giving', satyavādīn, 'truth-speaking', cūnipratoḍīn, 'thigh-pounding'.

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in i, having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.

Thus, pathirākṣī, 'road-protecting', havirmāthī, 'sacrifice-disturbing', ātmadāṣī, 'soul-harming', pathisādī, 'sitting in the path', sahobhāri, 'strength-bearing', vatsuvānī, 'winning good things', dhānasānī, 'gaining wealth'; and, from reduplicated root, urucākri, 'making room'.

Compounds with -sāni and -vāni are especially frequent in Veda and Brāhmaṇa. As independent words, nouns, these are accented sanī and vānī. Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient numbers to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftest accented on the suffix (1155.2d).

From yhan are made in composition -ghni and -ghnī, with accent on the ending: thus, sahasraghni, ahihni, āvaghni; -dhi from ydhā (1155.2e) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, isudhi, garbhadhi, puchadhī: ọsadhi and pāramadhī are probably of other derivation.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in van have (like combinations with prefixes: 1169.1b) the accent of the final member — namely, on the radical syllable.

Thus, somapāvan, 'soma-drinking', baladāvan, 'strength-giving', pāpakītvan, 'evil-doing', bahusūvan, 'much-yielding', talpacīvan, 'lying on a couch', druṣādīvan, 'sitting on a tree', agrētvārī, f., 'going at the head'.

a. The accent of the (somewhat obscure) words mūtarītvan and mūtārībhīvan is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final mon appear to follow the same rule
as those with van: thus, svāduskādman, ‘sharing out sweets’, āçuhéman, ‘steed-impelling’.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence, may be briefly noticed: thus, in u, rāstra|dipsā, devapīyā, govindā, vanargā (?); compare 1178 d; — in nu or tnu, lokakṣīntā, surūpakṣīntā: compare 1196; — in tr, nrpatr, mandhātṛ, haskartr (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, yajnava|cās (but hiranyatējas, 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, ajñātayakṣmā, ‘unknown disease’, maha|dhanā, ‘great

a. There are some exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with vṛtvā (in composition, accented vṛtvā), which itself retains the accent: thus, vṛtvādevās, 'all the gods', vṛtvāmānusa, 'every man'. For words in ti, see below, 1287d. Sporadic cases are madhyāndina, vṛṣaṇāpi, 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, rājayakṣmā, 'king-disease', brahmarsī, 'priest-sage', rājarsī, 'king-sage', rājuḍanta, 'king-tooth', devajana, 'god-folk', duhitr-jana, 'daughter-person', çamitala, 'creeper named çami', jayaçabda, 'the word „conquer”', ujjhitacabda, '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, 1296.

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: ānadant, ādadat, ānačant, āsravant, ālubhyant, ādāsyant, ādītsant, ādevayant; āmānyamāṇa, āhiśāṇa, āchidyamāṇa; ādadīvaṁs, ābhihitāṁs; and, with verbal prefixes, ānapasphurant, ānāgamisyant, āvīrādh-ayant, āvīcēcatāl, āpratimānyāmaṇa.

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: arundhatī, ajaśranti, acodant (RV., once: doubtless a false reading; the simple participle is cōdant); AV. has anipādyāmaṇa for RV. ānipādyāmaṇa (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 -punarādyāmaṇa (in āpunard-) and suvidvāṁs. In alalābhāvant and jaṅjanābhāvant (RV.), as in asaṁyānt and astameṣyant (AV.), we have participles of a compound conjugation (1091), in which, as has been pointed out, the accent is as in combinations with the verbal prefixes.

1284. The passive (or past) participle in ta or na is much more variously compounded, and in general (as in the case of the verbal prefixes: 1085a) the preceding adverbial element has the accent.

Thus, with the negative a or an (by far the most common case): ākṛta, ādabdha, āriśṭa, ānādkṛtya, āparājīta, āsarākhyaṇa, ānapahyāruḍha; with su, sūjīta, sūkta, sūṣaḥcīla, svāraṁkṛta; with dus, dārcaita, dārākīta and dārkīta; with other adverbial words, dāṁsūjīta, nāvajāta, sānaḍruta, svayaṁkṛta, trīpaṭiṣṭhitā: ārāṁkṛta and kakaṁjākṛta are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with a or an, anācaṇṭā, apra- castā, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, anjīta, adīṣṭa, acītta, ayāta 'myriad', atārā (beside atūrā, asūrī (?beside sūrī); — with su (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), subhūtā, sūktā, supraṣastā, svākta, sukṛta and sujātā (beside suṅkṛta and suṅjāta), and a few others; with dus (quite as numerous as the regular cases), durītā, durukīta, duśkrīta, durbūtā; with sa, sajātā; with other adverbs, amotā, ariṣṭutā, tuvijātā, prācinopaṇitā, and the compounds with puru, puruvātā, puruprajātā, purupraṣastā, purupūtutā, etc. The proper name asādāḥ stands beside asādāḥ; and AV. has abhinnā for RV. abhinnā.

1285. The gerundives occur almost only in combination with the negative prefix, and have usually the accent on the final syllable.

Examples are: anāpyā, anindyā, asahyā, ayodhyā, amokyā; adviṣeyyā; ahaṇaivyā; and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are asaṁkhyeyā, apramṛṣyā, anapavṛṣyā, anatyudyā, anādhrṣyā, avimokyā, anānukṛtyā (the accent of the simple word being saṁkhyeyā etc.).

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are: ānedya, ādābhya, āgohya, ājōṣya, āyabhya. The two anavadr̥ṣyā and anatīvyādhyā (both AV.) belong to the
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Thus, svavrj with 1147) and which and other adverbal elements in V. are suyabhya (accented like its twin dyabhya) and prathamavāṣyā (which retains the final circumflex), and perhaps ekavādyā.

c. The neuter nouns of the same form (1213c; except sadhāṣṭutya) retain their own accent after an adverbal prior member: thus, purvapāyya, pūrvapēya, amutrabhāya; and sahaçēya. And the negativated 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, anāvṛt, 'not turning back', ávīdē, 'not showing hostility', aduṣkēt, 'not ill-doing', ānaśvadā, 'not giving a horse', ṣāpaśukan, 'not slaying cattle' (anāgās would be an exception, if it contained ṣāga: which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with su seem to retain the radical accent: thus, supratār, svābhū, svayāj: svāvṛf is an unsupported exception.

b. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as sadhāṣṭha, ádhrigu, and the words having aṅc as final member (407ff.: 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:
The derivatives in a are in great part of doubtful character, because of the possibility of their being used with substantive value to make a possessive compound. The least ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (1148.3b), which have the accent on the suffix: thus, asunmä, apamæ, akṣudhyæ, aṣidasyæ, anāmṛña, sadāṛña, punarnanyæ; and with them belong such cases as ṝṛpä, avardhä, arāṅgamā, urukramā, evāvadā, satrāsahā, punāḥsarā, puroḥsarā; and the nouns sāyambhavā, sahacārā, prātāḥśāvā, mithyodātā. Differently accentuated, on the other hand, although apparently of the same formation, are such as ānapasphura, ānavaḥvara (compare the compounds noticed at 1286a), sadāvṛdda, suḥbhava, nyagrhṅha, puroḍaça, sadhamāda, and others. Words like adābha, durhāṇa, sukāra, are probably possessives.

b. The derivatives in van keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare 1169.1b, 1277): thus, ācīpātvan, 'swift-flying', puroydvan, 'going in front', suktvan, 'well-doing'; and sutārman and suvāhman are probably to be classed with them. But the negative prefix has the accent even before these: thus, āyajvan, ārāvan, āpruyvan; and satyāmadvan (if it be not possessive) has the accent of its prior member.

c. A few words in i seem to have (as in dependent compounds: 1276) the accent on the radical syllable: thus, durgibhi, ṛjūvāni, tuviśvāni.

d. The derivatives in ti are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them: as aciti, ābhūti, ānāhūti; with su and dus, the compound is accentuated now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on both (sāniti and suṇīti, dāṣṭuti and duṣṭuti; with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails: thus, sāhuti, sadhāstutti, purāhiti, pūrvāpiti, pūrvyāstutti.

e. The derivatives in in have, as in general, the accent on the suffix: thus, pūrvāśṭ, bhucāśṭ, sūdhūvāśṭ, sāvāśṭ, kevalāśṭ. But, with the negative prefix, ānāmin, āvītārīn.

f. Other combinations are too various in treatment, or are represented by too few examples in accentuated texts, to justify the setting up of rules respecting them.

1286. 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 (1283): that it does so even in the case of present and perfect and future participles, although these in combination with a verbal prefix retain their own accent (1085); and also in the case of a root-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (1286a). And the same is true of its other combinations.

Thus, with various adjective words: ātandra, ādabhra, ādācūri, ānṛju, ādevaya, āṭṛṇaj, āṭavyāh, ānāmin, ādvāyāvin, āpracetas, ānapatjavant, ānupadavant, āpramāyuka, ānamari, āprajajñi, āvididhayu, ānagnidagdha,
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1289. 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 atidūra, ‘very far’, atibhaya, ‘exceeding fear’, ātipūrusa (ЛЬ.), ‘chief man’; adhi, superiority, as in adhidanta, ‘upper tooth’, adhistri, ‘chief woman’; ā signifies ‘somewhat’, as in ākūṭila, ‘somewhat crooked’, ānīla, ‘bluish’; upa denotes something accessory or secondary, as in upapūrṣa, ‘additional Purāṇa’; pari, excess, as in paridurbala, ‘very weak’; prati, opposition, as in pratipaksa, ‘opposing side’, pratipustaka, ‘copy’; vi, variation or excess, as in vidūra, ‘very far’, vīpīṇdu, ‘greyish’, vikṣudra, ‘respectively small’; sam, completeness, as in sampakva, ‘quite ripe’.

1290. Other compounds with adverbial prior members are quite irregularly accented.

Thus, the compounds with puru, on the final (compare the participles...
with puru, 1284a); as, purudasmā, purupriyā, puruṣeandra; those with pūnar, on the prior member, as pūnarṇava, pūnarvasu; those with satās, satinā, satyā, the same, as satāmahant, satināmanyu, satyāmunya; a few combinations of nouns in ṛ and ana with adverbs akin with the prefixes, on the final syllable, as purantā, purahṣṭā, upariṣayāṇa, prātaḥsavanā; and miscellaneous cases are mithīabdadyapa, hāriṣeandra, āpaçayu, sādhvaryā, and yāuchreṣṭhā and yāupadeṣṭhā.

1291. The adjective pūrva is in the later language frequently used as final member of a compound in which its logical value is that of an adverb qualifying the other member (which is said to retain its own accent). Thus, dṛṣṭapūrva, 'previously seen', pariṇātapūrva, 'already married', somapitapūrva, 'having formerly drunk soma', śripūrva, 'formerly a woman'.

III. Secondary Adjective Compounds.

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.

A. Possessive Compounds.

1293. The possessives are noun-compounds of the preceding class, determinatives, of all its various subdivisions, to which is given an adjective inflection, and which take on an adjective meaning of a kind which is most conveniently and accurately defined by adding 'having' or 'possessing' to the meaning of the determinative.

Thus: the dependent sūryatejās, 'sun's brightness', becomes the possessive sūryatejas, 'possessing the brightness of the sun'; yajñakāmā, 'desire of sacrifice', becomes yajñākāma, 'having desire of sacrifice'; the descriptive byḥadratha, 'great chariot', be-
comes the possessive brhádratha, 'having great chariots', áhasta, 'not hand', becomes āhastá, 'handless', durgandhi, 'ill savor', becomes durgándhi, '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 bahuvrihi: 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, brhádratha, 'who has a great chariot', or 'whose 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 báhu must become báhumont, hiranýahasta and mahábháhu 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, mahábháhu purusáh, 'man with great arms', and not also mahábháhu manihi, 'jewel for a great arm', or mahábháhavačákháh, '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, vicvádnara, 'of or for all men, belonging to all'; and so vicvákršiti, vicvácaṛsaṇi; also vicvágarada, 'of every autumn', vipathá, 'for bad roads', dvirúyá, '[battle] of two kings'. And some of the so-called dvigu-compounds, as dvigu itself in the adjective sense 'worth two cows', dvínáu, '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.
1298. **Possessive Compounds.**

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: *mayúraroman*, 'having the plumes of peacocks', *agnitejas*, 'having the brightness of fire', *jñātimukha*, 'wearing the aspect of relatives', *patikama*, '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', *rajasādana*, '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 *νρεάκας*, 'men-beholding', *νρεάκας*, '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 descriptive of the same form.

a. They regularly and usually have the accent of their prior member: thus, *anyārūpa*, 'of other form', *ugrābhuh*, 'having powerful arms', *jivāputra*, 'having living sons', *dirghāčamrūcru*, 'long-bearded', *bhrācharvas*, 'of great renown', *bhūrimūla*, 'many-rooted', *mahāvadha*, 'bearing a great weapon', *viṣvārūpa*, 'having all forms', *gukrāvarṇa*, 'of bright color', *piyābhimaṛcana*, 'of propitious touch', *satyāsāndha*, 'of true promises', *sārvaṃga*, 'whole-limbed', *svāya-ças*, 'having own glory', *ḥāritasraja*, 'wearing yellow garlands'.

b. Exceptions, however, in regard to accent are not rare (a seventh or eighth of the whole number, perhaps). Thus, the accent is sometimes that
of the final member; especially with derivatives in as, as tuvirādhas, puru-
peśas, prthupākṣas, and others in which (as above, 1296, end) a determinative
character may be suspected: thus, urujrāyas beside urujrī, uruvyācas beside
uruvyāc, and so on; but also with those of other final, as sjuhāsta, citikāka,
kṛṣnakāra, citadīcīka/tvivicśma, sjukrātu, prthupāru, puruvārman, rāghu-
yāman, vidupātman. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the
final to the first syllable of the second member: thus, anhubhāda, tuvirīva,
puruśīra, pururūpa, citīhū (also citīhā). 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, purupātra, vipūngā, svapatī,
tuvipratī, pṛṇiparnī f., darṣatacī, pūtirajjū, asitajñā, prthugmān, bahuprajās.

c. The adjective vīva, 'all', as prior member of a compound (and also
in derivation), changes its accent regularly to vīvā; 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 un-
known.

The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior
member.

a. The participle is oftener the passive one, in ta or na. Thus,
chinnāpakṣa, 'with severed wing', dhiṭārūṣtra, 'of firmly held royalty', hatā-
māṭa, 'whose mother is slain', iddāgni, 'whose fire is kindled', uttānāhasta,
'with outstretched hand', pṛṇyatadakṣina, 'having presented sacrificial gifts;
and, with prefixed negative, āriṣṭavīra, 'whose men are unharmed', ātapat-
tanu, 'of unburned substance', ānabhīmlātavarnā, 'of ununtanned color'.

Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: there have been noticed
only paryastākṣa, vyastakeśī f., achinnāpakṣa.

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, dhiṣādvarṇa etc., cucādṛṭha, rācadvatsa etc., bhrājjajman
etc., saṃyūdvīra, stanaōadama, sādhadiṣṭi; 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, dravātpīni etc. (dravāt also occurs
as adverb), rpačādādhan, svanāḍṛṭha, arcāddhāma, bhandādiṣṭi, krandādiṣṭi.
With these last agrees in form jārādiṣṭi, '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, pṛṣṣajānāsapti, 'with harnessed coursers' (perhaps rather
'having harnessed their coursers'), and dadrāṇāpavi (with regular accent,
instead of dadrāṇa, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle), 'with con-
spicuous wheel-rims'.

d. Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in ċrātkārṇa
(RV.), 'of listening ear'; and with this are perhaps accordant dīdyagnī and
sthāračman (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 tri, which accent the final member.

a. Examples with other numerals than dvi and tri are: ekacakra, ekacirya, ekapad, caturanga, catuspaksa, panchanguri, panchudana, sadaca, satpad, saptajiva, saptamitra, astapad, astapatra, navapad, navadvra, dacaakhya, dacaarya, tricandra, cataparvan, catadant, saharsvanam, sahasradmula.

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, caturaksha etc. (aksan or aksi: 431), sadaha etc. (akh or akh: 430a), dasya etc. (vshan), ekarattra etc. (ratr or ratri), ekara etc. (fic); but also a few others, as sadyog, astyog, catargha, sahasrargha, ekapara (?).

c. The compounds with dvi and tri for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, dvijman, dvibhara, dvibandhu, dvivaranta, dvipada, trilanta, trinabhi, triyoka, trivardhaka, tricakra, tripaya. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral: thus, for example, dvapaka, dvicvas, dvaysa, trisandhi, tryara, tryacir, and sometimes dvapad and tripad in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, a substituted stem in a is apt to take the accent on the final: thus, dvirsha and trimsha, dviraja, dvirastra, tryasu, tridiv; and a few of other character with tri follow the same rule: thus, trikaa, trimkaa, tribandha, tryadhan, tribah, 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, hranahasta, ‘gold-handed’, hranyasraj, ‘with golden garlands’, ayakshtuna, ‘having brazen supports’, rajatanubhi, ‘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: apaparna, ‘horse-winged’, or ‘having horses as wings’
'having Indra as chief', manahsastha, 'having the mind as sixth', soma-grasita, 'of which soma is best', ekaparā, 'of which the ace is highest?', āsthibhūyas, 'having bone as the larger part, chiefly of bone', abhirūpabhūyīṣṭha, 'chiefly composed of worthy persons', dacāvara, 'having ten as the lowest number', cintāpara, 'having meditation as highest object or occupation, devoted to meditation', niḥcvoṣoparama, 'much addicted to sighing'. Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation: thus, agnijīvov, viṣṇuvarman, dhūma-sikhā, pavinasā, etc. b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, indrajyeṣṭha, 'having Indra as chief', mānaḥ-sastha, 'having the mind as sixth', soma-grasita, 'of which soma is best', ekaparā, 'of which the ace is highest?', āsthibhūyas, 'having bone as the larger part, chiefly of bone', abhirūpabhūyīṣṭha, 'chiefly composed of worthy persons', dacāvara, 'having ten as the lowest number', cintāpara, 'having meditation as highest object or occupation, devoted to meditation', niḥcvoṣoparama, '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 aḍī or aḍika or aḍya, 'first', are made compounds signifying the person or thing designated along with others, such a person or thing et cetera. For example, devā indrādyāḥ, 'the gods having Indra as first', that is, 'the gods Indra etc.', maricīyādin munin, 'Marici and the other sages', svāyambhuvarādyāḥ saptāi te manavāḥ, 'those seven Manus, Svayambhuva etc.', agniṣṭomādhitikān makhān, 'the sacrifices Agništoma and so on'. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in annapānendhanādini, 'food, drink, fuel, etc.', dāndharmādikān caratu bhavān, 'let your honor practise liberality, religious rites, and the like'. The particles evam and iti are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members: thus, evamādi vacanam, 'words to this and the like effect'; ato 'ham braviṁ kartavyāḥ saṁcayo nītyam ityādi, 'hence I say "accumulation is ever to be made" etc.' Used in much the same way, but less often, is prabhṛti, 'beginning': thus, viṣṇuvaṣuprabhṛtiḥbhir gandharvāḥ, 'with the Gandharvas Viṣṇuvāsa etc.'; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time, as tatprabhṛti, 'thenceforward'. 2. Words like pūrva, pūrvaka, purāḥsara, purgama, meaning 'foregoer, predecessor', are employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, to denote accompaniment. 3. The noun mātrā, 'measure', stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of 'mere, only': thus, Jalā-mātrāṇa vartayān, 'living by water only' (litly, 'by that which has water for its measure or limit'), garbhacuyutimātrāṇa, 'by merely issuing from the womb', prāṇavāyārikamātrāḥ 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', damayantyartham, 'for Damayanti's sake'.

5. Other examples are ābhā, 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, tvadvidhā, 'of thy sort', pūrvasvidhā, 'of human kind'; — prāya, in the sense of 'mostly, often', and the like: thus, duṣkkhaprāya, 'full of pain', tṛṇaprāya, 'abounding in grass', nirgamanaprāya, 'often going out'; — antara (in substantive neuter), in the sense of 'other': thus, deśantara, 'another region' (litly, 'that which has a difference of region'), jamāntarāṇī, 'other existences', śūkhantare, 'in another text'.

1303. In appositional possessive compounds, the second member, if it designates a part of the body, sometimes logically signifies that part to which what is designated by the prior member belongs, that on or in which it is.

Thus, gṛtāprṣṭha, 'butter-backed', mādhujīvha, 'honey-tongued', nīkāgriva and maṅgigriva, 'necklace-necked', pāthrāhasta, 'vessel-handed', vājrabāhu, 'lightning-armed', āśrūmukha, 'blood-faced', kūlātodhan, 'mead-uddered', vājajathara, 'sacrifice-bellied'; with irregular accent, dhūmākṣī f., 'smoke-eyed', acrumukhī f., 'tear-faced'; and khāḍihasta, 'ring-handed' (khūḍā). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning 'hand': thus, castrapāṇī, 'having a sword in the hand', lagaḍahasta, 'carrying a staff'.

1304. Of possessive compounds having an adverbial element as prior member, the most numerous by far are those made with the inseparable prefixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. In compounds with the negative prefix a or an (in which the latter logically negatives the imported idea of possession), the accent is prevailingly on the final syllable, without regard to the original accent of the final member. For example: anantā, 'having no end', abatā, 'not possessing strength', arathā, 'without chariot', acraddālā, 'faithless', amanī, 'without ornament', aṣṭrū, 'without a foe', avarmāṇ, 'not cuirassed', adānt, 'toothless', apād, 'footless', atejās, 'without brightness', anāraṁbhunā, 'not to be gotten hold of', apra-timūnā, 'incomparable', aducunā, 'bringing no harm'.

But a number of examples (few in proportion to those already instance) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptives: 1288 a): thus, āksiti, 'indestructible', āgu, 'kineless', āgopā, 'without shepherd', ājīvana, 'lifeless', ānāpi, 'without friends', āṛicā f., 'without young', āmṛtyu, 'deathless', ābrahaman, 'without priest', āvyacās, 'without extension', āhavis, 'without oblation', and a few others: AV. has āpraṣas. but CB. apraṣās. A very few have the accent on the penult: namely, ačeṣas, ajāni, and avāra (with retraction, from vīrā); and AV. has abhrāṛt, but RV. abhrālrīt.

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', svapatya, 'of good progeny', susāmākā, 'of good aspect', suvanjuri, 'well-fingered', suśū, 'having good arrows', supivās, 'well fattened'; and compounds with derivatives in ana, as suvijānā, 'of easy discernment', sūpasarpana, 'of easy approach', duṣcepyaṇa, 'hard to shake'; and AV. has suphala and subandha against RV. suphāla and subāndhu. Like avīra, suvīra shows retraction of accent. Only dūrācīr 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', sābrāhmaṇa, 'along with the Brahmins', sāmāla, 'with the root', sāntardeṇa, 'with the intermediate directions'; sahāgopa, 'with the shepherd', sahāvata, 'accompained by one's young', sahāpatni, 'having her husband with her', sahāpūrraṇa, 'along with our men'.

In RV. (save in a doubtful case or two, only sahā 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 sahā 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, sajōsa, sajōsas, sādṛṣṭa, saptāthas, sabādhas; and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in sāṅgā (1304) sāṅgā 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: kābandha is perhaps an example of such.
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, avokeca, upamanyā, vicaphā, vibikā (AV. vi-ciṅka), vikarpā, sammiṭṭ, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member; thus, samcīsvāri, ‘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, praptayāwan, 'possessing attained adolescence', i.e. 'having arrived at adolescence'; anadhigutastra, 'with unstudied books', i.e. 'who has neglected study'; kṛtraprata, 'possessing performed effort', i.e. 'on whom effort is expended'; aṅguḷiyadarcanavasaṇa, 'having the sight of the ring as termination', i.e. 'destined to end on sight of the ring'; uddhṛtavīśālyay, 'having an extracted despair-arrow', i.e. 'when I shall have extracted the barb of despair'; cūtavīśat kriyatam, '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: vidādvau, 'winning good things', kṣayādvira, 'governing (kṣayant) heroes', tārādvēsas, 'overcoming (tārant) foes', ābhārādvau, 'bring- ing good things', codayāmata, 'inciting (codāyant) devotion', mandaayātsakha, 'rejoicing friends', dhārayātkavi, 'sustaining sages', māhāyādṛayi, 'bestow- ing wealth'.

In sūdādyoni, 'sitting in the lap' (sūdat quite anomalously for sīdat or sadat, and sṛphāyādvarṇa, 'emulous of color', the case-relation of the final member is other than accusative. In patayān mandaayātsakham (RV.1.4.7), patayāt, with accent changed accordingly, represents patayātsakham, the final member being understood from the following word. Vidādaṃva is to be inferred from its derivative vādadaṃvi. Of this formation appear to be jumālagni, pratādvau (prathād?), and trasādasyu (for trasādasyu?). It was noticed above (1299c) that yuyujānasapti is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle; sādhadiṣti, 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.

b. Compounds of this character are in the later language especially common with adhi: thus, adhyātmā, ‘relating to the soul or self’, adhiyajña, ‘relating to the sacrifice’, etc.

c. A suffixal a is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in upūnasā, ‘on the wagon’, āvyugā, ‘until daybreak’. In a few instances, the suffix ya is taken (see above, 1212.d.5); and in one word the suffix in: thus, paripāthā, ‘besetting the path’.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to adverbial use: see below, 1313.a.

**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 numerals as prior member, along with, in part, the adjective compounds
themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called deve当做。

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 pańcaagu, ‘bought for five cows’, deimatu, ‘worth two ships’, pańcakapāla, ‘made in five cups’, and so on.

Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are: deirūjā, ‘[combat] of two kings’, triyugā, ‘three ages’, triyojanā, ‘space of three leagues’, tridiva, ‘the triple heaven’, pańcayojanā, ‘space of five leagues’, saḍahā, ‘six days’ time’, daçaṅgulā, ‘ten fingers’ breadth’; and, with suffix ya, sahasrāhmyā, ‘thousand days’ journey’. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the same character, are, for example: anamitrā, ‘freedom from enemies’, nikīlīṣā, ‘freedom from guilt’, savidyutā, ‘thunderstorm’, vaḥṛdaya, ‘heartlessness’, and saḥṛdaya, ‘heartiness’, sudiva, ‘prosperity by day’, sumṛgā and sucaṅkunā, ‘prosperity with beasts and birds’. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as tricaṭī, ‘three hundred’ (481), trilokī, ‘the three worlds’, pańcamālī, ‘aggregate of five roots’.

As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more prevalently 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 avyaṭābhaṇa.

This term is a derivative from the compound verb (1094) made up of avyaya, ‘uninflected’, and ṣbhū, and means ‘conversion to an indeclinable’.

a. The prepositional compounds (1310) are especially frequent in this use: thus, for example, anuṣvadhām, ‘by one’s own will’, abhipūrvaṁ, ‘in succession’, advivādaṁ, ‘up to twelve’, pratidosāṁ, ‘at evening’, samakṣām, ‘in sight’. Instances given by the grammarians are: adhihari, ‘upon Hari’, uparājyaṁ, ‘under the king’, upanadaṁ or upanadi, ‘near the river’, pratyaṇgna, ‘toward the fire’, praṇiṇīcam, ‘every night’, nimakṣīkam, ‘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, yathivādaṁ, ‘as one chooses’ (vāça, ‘will’), yathākṛtām, ‘as done [before], according to custom’, yathāmāmā, ‘by name’, yathābhūga, ‘according to several portion’, yathāṅgā and yathāparā, ‘limb by limb’, yatrakāmam, ‘whither one will’, yāvanmātrom, ‘in some measure’, yāvaṭjivā, ‘as long as one lives’, yāvaṭsābhāmduḥ, ‘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 yācraṭhā RV., yāvachṛṣṭā AV., ‘as good as possible’. (B. has yathākārīṇ, yathācārīṇ, yathākāma, yathākratu as adjectives (followed in each case by a correlative tāthā). The adjective use in the later language also is quite rare as compared with the adverbial.

Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental,
as yathāsāmkhyena, yathācaktyā, yathēpaśya, yathāpratigupāis; and ablative, as yathāaneityāt.

c. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, ṛtekarmām, ‘according to sacrificial use’, nānāratthām, ‘on different chariots’, ‘ubhayadyās, ‘two days in succession’; citrapadakramamam, ‘with wonderful progress’, pradānapūrvam, ‘with accompaniment of a gift’; etc.

**Anomalous Compounds.**

1314. As in every language, compounds are now and then met with which are of anomalous character, as exhibiting combinations of elements not usually put together, or not after such a method, or for such a purpose. Some of these, especially of those occurring in the old language, may well be noticed here.


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, pitāmahd and tatānahd, ‘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 composition by a case dependent on it: thus, dantantah, ‘between the teeth’, tadbhahis, ‘outside of it’, satyavinā, ‘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 an often drops its final consonant: examples are akṣa, adhva, arca, astha, aha, takṣa, brahma, mūrtha, rāja, loma, cīṣa, cva, saktha, sāma.

b. An i or ā is changed to a: examples are āṅgula, āṅjala, 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 ṛṣa, tvaca; āda, pada, ḫarada; apa; dhura, pura; ahna, aṅmana, ūdhna, ṛaṅha; anasa, ayasa, āyuṣa, urasa, enasa, tamasa, manasa, yajusa, rajasa, rahasa, varcasa, vedasa, ḫreyasa, sarasa; bhruva, diva, gava, gāva, 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'; jyotiṣāṁ madhyacārī (H.), 'moving in the midst of the stars'; bhagavatā kṛtasaṁskāre 'smin (ących.), 'in him, whose sacraments have been performed by the blessed one'; syandane dattadṛṣṭih ( achter ), 'with his eye fixed on the chariot'.

Similar evidences of the looseness of composition are: na drṣṭapūrvā 'thavā grutā, 'not seen nor heard of before'; dārupātram ca mṛṇmayam, '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.

The text is a fable extracted from the first book of the Hitopadeśa.
श्रासीतक्ल्याएणकक्कवासत्वों भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चैकदा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुराश्रय विन्धयाथ्वीमध्यं गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको व्यायादितः। मृगमाण्डार्य गक्ता तेन घोराकृतः सूकरो दशः।

ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरं श्रवेण हृतः। सूकरेणावागत्य प्रलयवन्धोगोर्गर्नं कृता स व्याधो मुक्तेश्वरे नतिः निक्षिक्वहुंम स्व प्रपात । यतः।

जलमंगिः विद्य श्रद्धः नुसारी पतनं गिरे।

निमित्तं किंचिदासाय देशं प्राणिविनिप्यते॥

श्रास्तान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिश्रमत्वादाहारी तान्मुता न्युगव्याधसुकरानस्यत्। श्रालोकायाचिन्तयद्दृशः। यहे भागमुरः

मुद्द्रीवयं सुमुसास्यत्तमः। ग्रन्थवा।

श्रचिन्तितानि हुः: खानि यथेवायानि देहिनाम्।

सुवान्यिः तथा मने देवमनालिनिः।

भवतु। यथा मांसस्मास्य समधिं भोजनं में भविष्यति। ततः प्रथमसुमुखः तावदिमानि स्वादुनि मांसानि विशेषः कोदष्टानोत्तरिनं सावयुष्म्य खाद्यामेय्यक्ष्या

तताण्यर्तस। ततस्थितं सावयुष्म्युष्म्यप्रति भुन्या छूले स्वतः भिन्नः स दीर्घरावः विष्तर्वं गतः। यतो जंहे ब्रह्मिः।

कतेर्यः संध्रो नित्यं कर्त्तर्यो नातिसंचयः।

श्रतिसंचययद्दृशः प्रत्युष जयांकु हंसः॥

äsita kalyānakātaśākāvästa-vyāh bhāiravo nāma vyādhāh. sa cāi 'kada mānsalubdhaṁ saha dhanur ādāya vindhyātavimadhyan gataḥ. tatra tena mṛga eko vyāpāditaḥ. mṛgam ādāya gachathā tena ghorakṛtājāh
dūkaro drṣṭāh. tatas tena mṛgam bhūmāu nidhāyā sūkaraḥ śareṇā hataḥ. sūkaraṇā 'py āgatya pralayaghanaghora-ragāraṁ kṛtvā sa vyādho muskadeçe hataḥ chinnadruma iva papāta. yataḥ:

jalam agraṁ viṣāṁ castrāṁ kṣudvyaṭāḥ patanaṁ gireḥ,
nimittāṁ kimecit āśāyā dehi prāṇair vimucyeṇe.
A. 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.

```plaintext
Sūtra

Bhavatu; esam māṁśair māsaṭrayam samadhiyam bhojanam me bhavisyati. tataḥ prathamabubhukṣayāṁ tāvad imāṁ svādūni māṁśāni vihāya kodaṇḍāpanilagnam snāyubandham khādāmi 'ty uktvā tathā 'karot. tataḥ chinne snāyubandhe drutam utpatitena dhanuṣā ḫydī bhinnah sa dirgharāvah pāncacatraṁ gatah. ato 'ham bravimi:

kartavyāḥ suṁcayo nityaṁ kartavyo nā 'tisamecayaḥ;
atisamecayadesaṇa dhanuṣaṁ jambuko hataḥ.
```

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.
ahām rudrēbhīr vāsūbhīc cārāmy ahām ādityāyīr utā viśvādevāih,
ahām mitrāvārūṇo 'bhā bibharmy ahām indrāgni ahām aṭhīno 'bhā. 1.
ahāṁ sōmam āhanāsam bibharmy ahāṁ tvāṣṭāram utā pūṣānam bhāgam,
ahāṁ dadhāmi drāvināṁ hāvismāte suprāvyē yājamanāya suvate. 2.
ahām rāśtri saṅgāmanī vāsūnāṁ cikītāśi prathamā yajñīyānāṁ,
tāṁ mā devā vy ādādhāḥ purutrā bhāurīsthārām bhāry ōvēyāyantīm. 3.
māyā so ānām atī yō viśācyāti yāḥ prāṇiti yā in śrīnātī uktām,
amantāvo māṁ tā āpā kṣīyanti ārudhi śrīta śraddhīvān te vādāmī. 4.
ahāṁ eva svāyām idāṁ vadāmī jūṣṭāṁ devebhīr utā mānūṣēbhīk,
yāṁ kāṁye tāṁ-taṁ ugrāṁ kṛṇomī tāṁ brahmaṇām tāṁ ēśīṁ tāṁ
sumēkhām. 5.

ahām rudrāya dhānur ā tanomī brahmādūte śārave hāntavā u,
ahāṁ jānāya saṁdaṁ kṛṇomy ahāṁ dyāvāpṛthīvā ā vivecā. 6.
ahām suve pītāram asya mūrdhān māmā yōnir apsv āntāḥ samudrē,
tāto vi tiṣṭhe bhūvanā 'nu viśevo 'tā 'māṁ dyāṁ varṣmāṁ 'pa śrīṃ. 7.
ahām eva vātā ievā prā vāmy ārābhamaṇā bhūvanāṁ vihīvā,
parō divā parā ēvā prthīvyāi 'tāvati māhinā sām bābhūva. 8.
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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-explanatory. For example, "pron." is pronunciation; "euph." points out anything relating to phonetic form or euphonic combination; "pres.", to present-system; "int." is intensive; "des." is desiderative; and so on. A prefixed hyphen denotes a suffix; one appended, a prefix.

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ERRATA.

The remark at the end of 721 belongs instead under 688.
At 612a, last line of paradigm, restore the lost i of itás; and, at 1156, l. 5, the lost a at end of line.
Read i at 65, last line but one; vāvā at 94e; egas and ega at 176, ll. 2, 3, svit at 188, l. 5; gorātsu at 221, l. 8; brāvāṇāḥ at 268, l. 5; tīryate at 761b, l. 15; dyut at 785, l. 5; āmoci at 844, l. 8; arāṇīṣus at 908, l. 8; tanyū at 1178e, l. 1; dāṇḍuka at 1180a, l. 3; rj (for uvu) at 1200e, 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.