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A

SANSKRIT GRAMMAR,

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

BY

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PREFACE
TO THE FIRST EDITION.

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

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

1. To make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians. The earliest European grammars were by the necessity of the case chiefly founded on their native prede-
cessors; and a traditional method was thus established which has been perhaps somewhat too closely adhered to, at the expense of clearness and of proportion, as well as of scientific truth. Accordingly, my attention has not been directed toward a profounder study of the grammatical science of the Hindu schools: their teachings I have been contented to take as already reported to Western learners in the existing Western grammars.

2. To include also in the presentation the forms and constructions of the older language, as exhibited in the Veda and the 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.

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

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

* It was published, as vol. XII. of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, in 1881.
ternal euphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading.

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

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

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

Gotha, July 1879.

W. D. W.

**PREFACE**

**TO THE SECOND EDITION.**

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


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

*** Especially deserving of mention is Holtzmann’s collection of material from the Mahābhārata, also published (1884) in the form of a Supplement to this work; also Böhtlingk’s similar collection from the larger half of the Rāmāyaṇa.
very many points relating to the material and usages of
the language.

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

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

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

New-Haven, Sept. 1888.

W. D. W.
INTRODUCTION.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN LITERATURE.

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

The name "Sanskrit" (सांस्कृत, 1087 अ, 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 Pāli, a Prakritic dialect which became the sacred language of Buddhism in Farther India, and is
still in service there as such; and yet later and more altered tongues forming the transition to the languages of modern India. And, on the other hand, it is distinguished, but very much less sharply and widely, from the older dialects or forms of speech presented in the canonical literature, the Veda and Brāhmaṇa.

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

Much in the history of the learned movement is still obscure, and opinions are at variance even as to points of prime consequence. Only the concluding works in the development of the grammatical science have been preserved to us; and though they are evidently the perfected fruits of a long series of learned labors, the records of the latter are lost beyond recovery. The time and the place of the creation of Sanskrit are unknown; and as to its occasion, we have only our inferences and conjectures to rely upon. It seems, however, altogether likely that the grammatical sense of the ancient Hindus was awakened in great measure by their study of the traditional sacred texts, and by their comparison of its different language with that of contemporary use. It is certain that the grammatical study of those texts (śākhās, lit.'ly branches), phonetic and other, was zealously and effectively followed in the Brahmanic schools; this is attested by our possession of a number of phonetico-grammatical treatises, prātīçākhyas (prati śākhām belonging to each several text), each having for subject one principal Vedic text, and noting all its peculiarities of form; these, both by the depth and exactness of their own researches and by the number of authorities which they quote, speak plainly of a lively scientific activity continued during a long time. What part, on the other hand, the notice of differ-
ences between the correct speech of the learned and the altered dialects of the vulgar may have borne in the same movement is not easy to determine; but it is not customary that a language has its proper usages fixed by rule until the danger is distinctly felt of its undergoing corruption.

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

A language, even if not a vernacular one, which is in tolerably wide and constant use for writing and speaking, is, of course, kept in life principally by direct tradition, by communication from teacher to scholar and the study and imitation of existing texts, and not by the learning of grammatical rules; yet the existence of grammatical authority, and especially of a single one, deemed infallible and of prescriptive value, could not fail to exert a strong regulative influence, leading to the avoidance more and more of what was, even if lingering in use, inconsistent with his teachings, and also, in the constant reproduction of texts, to the gradual effacement of whatever they might contain that was unapproved. Thus the whole more modern literature of India has been Paninized, so to speak, pressed into the mould prepared by him and his school. What are the limits of the artificiality of this process is not yet known.
The attention of special students of the Hindu grammar (and the subject is so intricate and difficult that the number is exceedingly small of those who have mastered it sufficiently to have a competent opinion on such general matters) has been hitherto mainly directed toward determining what the Sanskrit according to Pāṇini really is, toward explaining the language from the grammar. And, naturally enough, in India, or wherever else the leading object is to learn to speak and write the language correctly — that is, as authorized by the grammarians — that is the proper course to pursue. This, however, is not the way really to understand the language. The time must soon come, or it has come already, when the endeavor shall be instead to explain the grammar from the language: to test in all details, so far as shall be found possible, the reason of Pāṇini's rules (which contain not a little that seems problematical, or even sometimes perverse); to determine what and how much genuine usage he had everywhere as foundation, and what traces may be left in the literature of usages possessing an inherently authorized character, though unratified by him.

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

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

The results of the very earliest literary productiveness of the Indian people are the hymns with which, when they had only crossed the threshold of the country, and when their geographical horizon was still limited to the river-basin of the Indus with its tributaries, they praised their gods, the deified powers of nature, and accompanied the rites of their comparatively simple worship. At what period these were made and sung cannot be determined with any approach to accuracy: it may have been as early as 2000 B.C. They were long handed down by oral tradition, preserved by the care, and increased by the additions and imitations, of succeeding generations; the mass was ever growing, and, with the change of habits and beliefs and religious practices, was becoming variously applied — sung in chosen extracts, mixed with other material into liturgies, adapted with more or less of distortion to help the needs of a ceremonial which was coming to be of immense elaboration and intricacy. And, at some time in the course of this history, there was made for preservation a great collection of the hymn-material, mainly its oldest and most genuine part, to the extent of over a thousand hymns and ten thousand verses, arranged according to traditional authorship and to subject and length and metre of hymn: this collection is the Rig-Veda Veda of verses (ṛc) or of hymns. Other collections were made also out of the same general mass of traditional material: doubtless later, although the inter-
relations of this period are as yet too unclear to allow of our speaking with entire confidence as to anything concerning them. Thus, the Sāma-Veda Veda of chants (sāman), containing only about a sixth as much, its verses nearly all found in the Rig-Veda also, but appearing here with numerous differences of reading: these were passages put together for chanting at the soma-sacrifices. Again, collections called by the comprehensive name of Yajur-Veda Veda of sacrificial formulas (yajus): these contained not verses alone, but also numerous prose utterances, mingled with the former, in the order in which they were practically employed in the ceremonies; they were strictly liturgical collections. Of these, there are in existence several texts, which have their mutual differences: the Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā (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 Tāttvārīya-Saṃhitā, the Māitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā, the Kapiṣṭhala-Saṃhitā, and the Kāṭhaka (the two last not yet published). Finally, another historical collection, like the Rig-Veda, but made up mainly of later and less accepted material, and called (among other less current names) the Atharva-Veda Veda of the Atharvans (a legendary priestly family); it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the Rig-Veda, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the name of Veda; but for us it is the most interesting of all, after the Rig-Veda, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or mantra, as it is called, in distinction from the prose brāhmaṇa), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them in only a single known manuscript.

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

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

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

Along with the verses and sacrificial formulas and phrases in the text of the Black Yajur-Veda are given long prose sections, in which the ceremonies are described, their meaning and the reason of the details and the accompanying utterances are discussed and explained, illustrative legends are reported or fabricated, and various speculations, etymological and other, are indulged in. Such matter comes
to be called **brāhmaṇa** (apparently relating to the brahman or worship). In the White Yajur-Veda, it is separated into a work by itself, besides 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 Āitareya and Kāuṣitaki-Brāhmaṇas, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the Paṇcaviṃśa and Śaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇas and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa, to the Atharva-Veda; and a Jāimīṇīya- or Tālavakāra-Brāhmaṇa, to the Sāma-Veda, has recently (Burnell) been discovered in India; the Tāittirīya-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 Arāṇyakas (forest-sections): as the Āitareya-Araṇyaka, Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka, Brhad-Āraṇyaka, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the Brāhmaṇas, are extracted the earliest Upaṇiṣads (sittings, lectures on sacred subjects) — which,
however, are continued and added to down to a comparatively modern time. The Upanishads are one of the lines by which the 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-śāstras), which make a conspicuous figure in the later literature: the oldest and most noted of them being that called by the name of Manu (an outgrowth, it is believed by many, of the Mānava Vedic school); to which are added that of 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 has been variously assigned, to periods from six centuries before Christ to four after Christ). It is so, again, in a still more striking degree, with the great legendary
epic of the Mahābhārata. The ground-work of this is doubtless of very early date; but it has served as a text into which materials of various character and period have been inwoven, until it has become a heterogeneous mass, a kind of cyclopedia for the warrior-caste, hard to separate into its constituent parts. The story of Nala, and the philosophical poem Bhagavad-Gītā, are two of the most noted of its episodes. The Rāmāyaṇa, the other most famous epic, is a work of another kind: though also worked over and more or less altered in its transmission to our time, it is the production, in the main, of a single author (Vālmiki); and it is generally believed to be in part allegorical, representing the introduction of Aryan culture and dominion into Southern India. By its side stand a number of minor epics, of various authorship and period, as the Rāghuvaṁśa (ascribed to the dramatist Kālīdāsa), 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 grammarians, find no place in the literature).

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

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

The drama is a still more noteworthy and important branch. The first indications of dramatical inclination and capacity on the part of the Hindus are seen in certain hymns of the Veda, where a mythological or legendary situation is conceived dramatically, and set forth in the form of a dialogue — well-known examples are the dialogue of Saramā and the Panīs, that of Yama and his sister Yāmi, that of Vasishtha and the rivers, that of Agni and the other gods — but there are no extant intermediaries between these
and the standard drama. The beginnings of the latter date from a period when in actual life the higher and educated characters used Sanskrit, and the lower and uneducated used the popular dialects derived from it, the Prakrits; and their dialogue reflects this condition of things. Then, however, learning (not to call it pedantry) intervened, and stereotyped the new element; a Prakrit grammar grew up beside the Sanskrit grammar, according to the rules of which Prakrit could be made indefinitely on a substrate of Sanskrit; and none of the existing dramas need to date from the time of vernacular use of Prakrit, while most or all of them are undoubtedly much later. Among the dramatic authors, Kalidāsa is incomparably the chief, and his Çakuntalā as distinctly his masterpiece. His date has been a matter of much inquiry and controversy; it is doubtless some centuries later than our era. The only other work deserving to be mentioned along with Kalidāsa’s is the Mṛcchakatā of Çūdraka, also of questionable period, but believed to be the oldest of the extant dramas.

A partly dramatic character belongs also to the fable, in which animals are represented as acting and speaking. The most noted works in this department are the Pañcatantra, which through Persian and Semitic versions has made its way all over the world, and contributes a considerable quota to the fable-literature of every European language, and, partly founded on it, the comparatively recent and popular 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 philosophico-scientific speculation are seen already in some of the later hymns of the Veda, more abundantly in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, and then especially in the Upanishads. The evolution and historic relation of the systems of philosophy, and the age of their text-books, are matters on which much obscurity still rests. There are six systems of primary rank, and reckoned as orthodox, although really standing in no
accordance with approved religious doctrines. All of them seek the same end, the emancipation of the soul from the necessity of continuing its existence in a succession of bodies, and its unification with the All-soul; but they differ in regard to the means by which they seek to attain this end.

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

AA. Āitareya-Āraṇyaka.
AB. Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa.
ACŚ. Āyvalāyana-Črāuta-Sūtra.
AGŚ. Āyvalāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.
Āpast. Āpastamba-Sūtra.
AP. Atharva-Prātiṣṭākhyā.
AV. Atharva-Veda.
B. or Br. Brāhmaṇas.
BAU. Brhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad.
BhG. Bhagavad-Gītā.
BhP. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.
BR. Bōhtlingk and Roth (Petersburg Lexicon).
C. Classical Sanskrit.
Č. Čakunatalā.
Čatr. Čatrāvijaya-Māhātmyam.
ČB. Čataptatha-Brāhmaṇa.
ČČS. Čāṇkhāyana-Črāuta-Sūtra.
ČGS. Čāṇkhāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.
ChU. Chāndogya-Upaniṣad.
ČvU. Čvetāyavatara-Upaniṣad.
DKC. Dača-Kumāra-Carita.
E. Epos (MBh. and R.).
GB. Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.
GGS. Gobhiliya-Grhya-Sūtra.
H. Hitopadeśa.
Har. Harivaṇca.
JB. Jāminīya (or Talavakāra) Brāhmaṇa.
JUB. Jāminīya-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa.
K. Kāthaka.
Kap. Kapiśṭhala-Samhitā.
KB. Kauśitaki- (or Čāṇkhāyana-) Brāhmaṇa.
KBU. Kauśitaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad.
KČŚ. Kātyāyana-Črāuta-Sūtra.
KS. Kaučika-Sūtra.
KSS. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara.
KthU. Kātha-Upaniṣad.
KU. Kena-Upaniṣad.
LČŚ. Lātyāyana-Črāuta-Sūtra.
M. Manu.
MāI. Māitrī-Upaniṣad.
MBh. Mahābhārata.
MDo. Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad.
MeGr. Meghadūta.
MS. Māitrāyaṇī-Samhitā.
Nā. Nāsiṣadhiya.
Nir. Nirukta.
PB. Pañceaviṇca- (or Tāṇḍya-) Brāhmaṇa.
POS. Pāraskara-Grhya-Sūtra.
PU. Praṇa Upaniṣad.
R. Rāmāyaṇa.
Ragh. Raghuvanṣa.
RP. Rigveda-Prātiṣṭākhyā.
RT. Rāja-Tarāṅgini.
RV. Rig-Veda.
S. Sūtras.
SB. Śaḍviṇca-Brāhmaṇa.
Spr. Indische Sprüche (Bōhtlingk).
SV. Sāma-Veda.
TA. Taṭṭißriya-Āraṇyaka.
TB. Taṭṭißriya-Brāhmaṇa.
TPr. Taṭṭißriya-Prātiṣṭākhyā.
Tribh. Tribhāṣyaratna (comm. to TPr.).
TS. Taṭṭißriya-Samhitā.
U. Upaniṣads.
V. Vedas (RV., AV., SV.).
Vas. Vasistha.
VBS. Varahā-Brhata-Samhitā.
Vet. Vetālapaṇacaviṇcati.
Vikr. Vikramorvaṇa.
VPr. Vajasaneyi-Prātiṣṭākhyā.
VS Vajasaneyi-Samhitā.
VS. Kāṇ. do. Kāṇya-text.
Y. Yājñavalkya.
CHAPTER I.

ALPHABET.

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

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

2. Much that relates to the history of the Indian alphabets is still obscure. The earliest written monuments of known date in the country are the inscriptions containing the edicts of Aśoka or Piyadasi, of about the middle of the third century B.C. They are in two different systems of characters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitic source, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the same origin. From the latter, the 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 nāgari, devanāgari, Bengali, Guzerāli, and others, are varieties of its northern derivatives; and with them are related some of the alphabets of peoples outside of India — as in Tibet and Farther India — who have adopted Hindu culture or religion.

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

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
3. Of the devanāgarī itself there are minor varieties, depending on differences of locality or of period, as also of individual hand (see examples in Weber’s catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., in Rājendralāla Mitra’s notices of MSS. in Indian libraries, in the published fac-similes of inscriptions, and so on); and these are in some measure reflected in the type prepared for printing, both in India and in Europe. But a student who makes himself familiar with one style of printed characters will have little difficulty with the others, and will soon learn, by practice, to read the manuscripts. A few specimens of types other than those used in this work are given in Appendix A.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short</th>
<th>Long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग a</td>
<td>या ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowels: simple

| palatal | र ı | र ı |
| labial | छ u | छ ू āu |

Lingual

| त r | त r |

Dental

| ड d | ड d |

Diphthongs

| palatal | द e | द e |
| labial | ऋ o | ऋ o |

Visarga 15: ह

Anusvāra 16: ◌, ◌ or म (see 73c).

| Guttural | ◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌◌redentials: labial

| द d | द d |

| ध dh | ध dh |

| घ gh | घ gh |

| ज j | ज j |

| म m | म m |

| न n | न n |

| च c | च c |

| छ ch | छ ch |

| क k | क k |

| छ kh | छ kh |

| ग g | ग g |

| घ gh | घ gh |

| न n | न n |

| य y | य y |

| र ı | र ı |

| ड d | ड d |

| ठ th | ठ th |

| ड d | ड d |

| ढ dh | ढ dh |

| ध dh | ध dh |

| ब b | ब b |

| भ bh | भ bh |

| म m | म m |
Theory of this Mode of Writing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>य y</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lingual</td>
<td>र r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>ल l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>व v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatal</td>
<td>ध ḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingual</td>
<td>घ ḍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td>ङ s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td>ह h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. To these may be added a lingual ज ḍ, which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of ज ḍ when occurring between two vowels (54).

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

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

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

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

9. Hence follow these two principles:

A. The forms of the vowel-characters given in the alphabetical scheme above are used only when the vowel
forms a syllable by itself, or is not combined with a preceding consonant: that is, when it is either initial or preceded by another vowel. In combination with a consonant, other modes of representation are used.

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

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

b. Thus, the sentence and verse-line aham rudrebhīr vasubhīq carāmy aham adityāir utsa viśvadevāṁ (Rig-Veda X. 125. 1: see Appendix B) I wander with the Varus, the Rudras, I with the Adityas and the All-Gods is thus syllabized: a ham ru dre bhi rva su bhi qea rā mya ha mā di tyāi ru ta vi qva de vāih, each syllable ending with a vowel (or a vowel modified by the nasal-sign anusvāra, or having the sign of a final breathing, visarga, added: these being the only elements that can follow a vowel in the same syllable); and it is (together with the next line) written in the manuscripts after this fashion:

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

and so on.

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

d. Further, in works prepared for beginners in the language, it is not uncommon to make a more complete separation of words by a
free use of the virāma-sign (11) under final consonants: thus, for example,

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

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

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

a. The short ṣ a has no written sign at all; the consonant-sign itself implies a following ṣ 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 ṣ a is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, kā, ḍha, ḍa ha.

c. Short Ṛ i and long Ṛ ī are written by a similar stroke, which for short ī is placed before the consonant and for long ī is placed after it, and in either case is connected with the consonant by a hook above the upper line: thus, ki, kī; bhī, bhī; ni, ni.

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

d. The u-sounds, short and long, are written by hooks attached to the lower end of the consonant-sign: thus, ku, ku; ṅu, ṅu. On account of the necessities of combination, du and dū are somewhat disguised: thus, ṭu, ṭu; and the forms with ṛ and ṛ ī are still more irregular: thus, ru, ru; hu, hu.
I. Alphabet.

e. The r-vowels, short and long, are written by a sub-joined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, क्र, कर; द्र, दर. In the h-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, ह्र, हर.

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

f. The l-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, लि, लक्षि; ले, लक्षे. In the h-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, ल्हि, ल्हक्षि.

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

g. The diphthongs are written by strokes, single or double, above the upper line, combined, for ओ and चौ, ओ, with the a-sign after the consonant: thus, के, के, काई; को, कौ.

h. In some devanāgarī manuscripts (as in the Bengāli alphabet), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the a-sign before the consonant: thus, के, के, काई; को, कौ.

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, क, क.

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

लिंग्भिः, लिंध्वी, लिंध्व सिसु, घ्रंघ्वच्छ अन्त्वः;

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

12. Under B, it is to be noticed that the consonant combinations are for the most part not at all difficult to make or to recognise for one who is familiar with the simple signs. The characteristic part of a consonant-sign that is to be added to another is taken (to the exclusion of the horizontal or of the perpendicular framing-line, or of both), and they are put together according to convenience,
either side by side, or one above the other; in a few combinations either arrangement is allowed. The consonant that is to be pronounced first is set before the other in the one order, and above it in the other order.

a. Examples of the side-by-side arrangement are: ग्गा, ज्ज्जा, ध्य्या, न्न्मा, ठ्ठ्ठा, भ्भ्या, ब्ब्का, झ्झ्झा, ख्ख्खा.

b. Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्का, क्या, ओका, श्श्शा, श्श्शा, ठ्ठ्ठा, ठ्ठ्ठा, ठ्ठ्ठा, ठ्ठ्ठा.

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

a. Of क k in क क्ता, क्लू k्ला; and in क्ला क्ला etc.;

b. Of त t in त त्ता;

c. Of र d in र द्गा, र द्ना, etc.;

d. Of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, क्या, क्मा, न्मा, न्या, द्मा, द्या, ठ्ठा, ठ्ठा, ठ्ठा, ठ्ठा.

e. Of श श्र, which generally becomes श्र when followed by a consonant: thus, श्र श्रा, श्र श्रा, श्र श्रा, श्र श्रा. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below: thus, श्र श्र, श्र श्र.

f. Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are श्र श्रा, श्र द्द्हा, श्र द्द्हा, श्र श्रा, श्र श्रा; and the compounds of ख्र h: as ख्र ख्रा, क्र ख्रा.

g. In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognizable: thus, त्र क्षा, त्र ज्ञा.

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

a. If pronounced before another consonant or combination of consonants, it is written above the latter, with a
hook opening to the right (much like the sign of the vowel \( r \), as written under a consonant: 10e): thus, र्र ka, र र्षa, र्त ra, र्म ra, र्न ra.

b. Then, if a consonant-group thus containing \( r \) as first member is followed by a vowel that has its sign, or a part of its sign, or its sign of nasality (anusvāra: 70, 71), written above the line, the \( r \)-sign is placed furthest to the right: thus, र्र ke, र्र rka, र्र rki, र्र rki, र्र rko, र्र rko.

c. If \( r \) is pronounced after another consonant, whether before a vowel or before yet another consonant, it is written with a straight stroke below, slanting to the left: thus, य pra, य dhra, य gra, य sra, य ddhr, य ntra, य grya, य srva, य ntra; and, with modifications of a preceding consonant-sign like those noted above (13), य tra, य dra, य gra, य dra.

d. When \( r \) is to be combined with a following य \( r \), it is the vowel which is written in full, with its initial character, and the consonant in subordination to it: thus, य य 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, य tva, य ddhya, य dvya, य drya, य dhyra, त्व psva, त्य गोya, त्य ठhya, त्य hvya;
- of four consonants, त्य ktrya, त्य नक्षya, त्य ठ्यra, त्य tsmya;
- of five consonants, त्य र्तtmya.

a. The manuscripts, and the type-fonts as well, differ from one another more in their management of consonant combinations than in any other respect, often having peculiarities which one needs a little practice to understand. It is quite useless to give in a grammar the whole series of possible combinations (some of them excessively rare) which are provided for in any given type-font, or even in all. There is nothing which due familiarity
with the simple signs and with the above rules of combination will not enable the student readily to analyse and explain.

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

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

c. The sign o is used in place of something that is omitted, and to be understood from the connection: thus, वीर्वेनुमितस् तम् वेन vīrasenasutak -tam -tena.

d. Signs of punctuation are | and ||.

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

17. The numeral figures are

\[ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 0. \]

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way as European digits: thus, \( 25, 630, 7000, 1894. \)

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

SYSTEM OF SOUNDS; PRONUNCIATION.

I. Vowels.

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

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

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

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

22. The a-vowels are the prevailing vowel-sounds of the language, being about twice as frequent as all the others (including diphthongs) taken together. The i-vowels, again, are about twice as numerous as the u-vowels. And, in each pair, the short vowel is more than twice (2½ to 3 times) as common as the long.

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

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

23. The r- and 1-vowels. To the three simple vowels already mentioned the Sanskrit adds two others, the r-vowel and the 1-vowel, plainly generated by the abbreviation of syllables containing respectively a र r or ल l along with another vowel: the ह r coming almost always (see 237, 241-3) from घर ar or र ra, the ल l from छल al.

a. Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long ।; 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 ह r is simply a smooth or untrilled r-sound, assuming a vocalic office in syllable-making — as, by a like abbreviation, it has done also in certain Slavonic languages. The vowel ल l is an l-sound similarly uttered — like the English l-vowel in such words as able, angle, addle.

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

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

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

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

27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the ऊ 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 \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) \( i \) and \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) \( u \) respectively; and they are called the corresponding guna-vowels to the latter (see below, 235 ff.). The other two, \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) \( \tilde{\varepsilon} i \) and \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) \( \tilde{\varepsilon} u \), are held to be of peculiar Sanskrit growth; they are also in general results of another and higher increment of \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) \( i \) and \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) \( u \), to which they are called the corresponding vṛddhi-vowels (below, 235 ff.). But all are likewise sometimes generated by euphonic combination (127); and \( \tilde{\varepsilon} \) \( o \), especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final \( \varlambda \) as (175).

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

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

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

29. The lighter or guṇa-diphthongs are much more frequent (6 or 7 times) than the heavier or vṛddhi-diphthongs, and the \( e \) and \( \tilde{\varepsilon} i \) than the \( o \) and \( \tilde{\varepsilon} u \) (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 samanākṣara homogeneous syllable, and the diphthongs are called sandhyakṣara combination-syllable. The position of the organs in their utterance is defined to be one of openness, or of non-closure.

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

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

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

33. The five mute-series are called respectively guttural, palatal, lingual (or cerebral), dental, and labial; and they are arranged in the order as just mentioned, beginning with the contact made furthest back in the mouth, coming 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, ढ p and ढ ph, ढ b and ढ bh, and ढ m.
   a. The members are by the Hindu grammarians called respectively first, second, third, fourth, and last or fifth.
   b. The surd consonants are known as aghoṣa toneless, and the sonants as ghosavant having tone; and the descriptions of the grammarians are in accordance with these terms. All alike recognise a difference of tone, and not in any manner a difference of force, whether of contact or of expulsion, as separating the two great classes in question. That the difference depends on vivāra opening, or saṁvāra closure (of the glottis), is also recognised by them.

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

36. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful. What ढ m is to ढ p and ढ b, or ढ n to ढ t and ढ d, that is also each other nasal to its own series of mutes: a sonant expulsion into and through the nose, while the mouth-organs are in the mute-contact.
a. The Hindu grammarians give distinctly this definition. The nasal (anunāṣikā 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 ṭh k we have the corresponding surd aspirate ṭ ḷh, and beside the sonant ṁ g, the corresponding sonant aspirate ṁ ḧ. Of these, the precise character is more obscure and difficult to determine.

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

b. It is also not doubtful in what way the surd th, for example, differs from the unaspirated t: such aspirates are found in many Asiatic languages, and even in some European; they involve the slipping-out of an audible bit of 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.

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

d. By the Prātiṣṭhākhyas, the aspirates of both classes are called ṽṣman: which might mean either accompanied by a rush of breath (taking ṽṣman in its more etymological sense), or accompanied by a spirant (below, 59). And some native authorities define the surd aspirates as made by the combination of each surd non-aspirate with its own corresponding surd spirant; and the sonant aspirates, of each sonant non-aspirate with the sonant spirant, the h-sound (below, 65). But this would make the two classes of aspirates of quite diverse character, and would also make th the same as th, ṭh as ṭh, ch as ċc — which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to i. 4. 9) attributes to them mahāprāṇa great expiration, and to the non-aspirates alparīṇa small expiration.

e. It is usual among European scholars to pronounce both classes of aspirates as the corresponding non-aspirates
with a following h: for example, थ th nearly as in English 
boathook, फ ph as in haphazard, ध dh as in madhouse, 
भ bh as in abhor, and so on. This is (as we have seen above) 
strictly accurate only as regards the surd aspirates.

38. The sonant aspirates are (in the opinion of most), or at least 
represent, original Indo-European sounds, while the surd aspirates 
are a special Indian development. The former are more than twice 
as common as the latter. The unaspirated (non-nasal) mutes are very 
much more frequent (5 times) than the aspirates (for the special fre-
cency of bh and original gh, see 50 and 66); and among them the 
surds are more numerous (2½ times) than the sonants. The nasals 
(chiefly n and m) are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series.

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

a. The gutturals are defined by the 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, jihvāmūliya tongue-root sounds. The Paninian scheme 
describes them simply as made in the throat (kaṇṭha). From the euphonic 
influence of a k on a following s (below, 160), we may perhaps infer that in 
their utterance the tongue was well drawn back in the mouth.

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

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

42. Palatal series: च c, छ ch, ज j, झ jh, झ n.

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

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

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

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

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

45. Lingual series: z t, ẓ th, ẓ d, ẓ dh, ṭ ṇ. The lingual mutes are by all the native authorities defined as uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate (somewhat as the usual English smooth r is pronounced). They are called by the grammarians mūrdhanya, literally head-sounds, capitals, cephalics; which term is in many European grammars
rendered by ‘cerebrals’. In practice, among European Sanskritists, no attempt is made to distinguish them from the dentals: \( \ddagger t \) is pronounced like \( \ddagger t \), \( \ddagger d \) like \( \ddagger d \), and so with the rest.

46. The linguals are another non-original series of sounds, coming mainly from the phonetic alteration of the next series, the dentals, but also in part occurring in words that have no traceable Indo-European connection, and are perhaps derived from the aboriginal languages of India. The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighboring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these: 1. \( s \) comes from \( s \), much more rarely from \( q, j, ks \), in euphonic circumstances stated below (180, 218 ff.); 2. a dental mute following \( s \) is assimilated to it, becoming lingual (\( t, \ddagger th, \ddagger n \): 197); 3. \( n \) is often changed to \( \ddagger n \) after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word (188 ff.); 4. \( dh \), which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after \( s \) (198 a) or \( h \) (232); 5. \( t \) and \( q \) come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final (142, 145—7). When originated in these ways, the lingual letters may be regarded as normal; in any other cases of their occurrence, they are either products of abnormal corruption, or signs of the non-Indo-European character of the words in which they appear.

a. In a certain number of passages numerically examined (below, 75), the abnormal occurrences of lingual mutes were less than half of the whole number (74 out of 159), and most of them (45) were of \( \ddagger n \): all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 16 words have an abnormal \( t \); only 6, such a \( \ddagger th \); only 4, such a \( \ddagger dh \); about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal \( q \), besides 9 that have \( \ddagger q \); and 30 (including 1 root) show a \( \ddagger n \).

b. Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes (about 1½ per cent. of the alphabet) — hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.

47. Dental series: \( \ddagger t, \ddagger th, \ddagger d, \ddagger dh, \ddagger n \). These are called by the Hindus also dantya dental, and are described as formed at the teeth (or at the roots of the teeth), by the tip of the tongue. They are practically the equivalents of our European \( t, d, n \).

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

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

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

49. Labial series: \( p, ph, b, bh, m \). These sounds are called ऋष्य labial by the Hindu grammarians also. They are, of course, the equivalents of our \( p, b, m \).

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

a. From an early period in the history of the language, but increasingly later, \( b \) and \( v \) exchange with one another, or fail to be distinguished in the manuscripts. Thus, the double root-forms \( bh \) and \( vh \), \( b\dot{d}h \) and \( v\dot{d}h \), and so on. In the Bengal manuscripts, \( v \) is widely written instead of more original \( b \).

51. Semivowels: \( y, r, l, v \).

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

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

52. The \( r \) is clearly shown by its influence in the euphonic processes of the language to be a lingual sound, or one made with the tip of the tongue turned up into the dome of the palate. It thus resembles the English smooth \( r \); and, like this, seems to have been untrilled.
a. The Paninian scheme reckons \( r \) as a lingual. None of the Prātiṣākhya, 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 authori-ty hints at a vibration as belonging to it.

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

53. The ठ 1 is a sound of dental position, and is so defined and classed by all the native authorities.

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

b. The semivowels \( r \) and 1 are very widely interchangeable in Sanskrit, both in roots and in suffixes, and even in prefixes: there are few roots containing a 1 which do not show also forms with \( r \); words written with the one letter are found in other texts, or in other parts of the same text, written with the other. In the later periods of the language they are more separated, and the 1 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 \( q \) (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 side of the tongue) of the lingual instead of the dental mute-closure.

a. Examples are: रे दे, for देदे दे, but देदे दः; देदे देदे देदे, for देदे देदे देदे, but देदे देदे देदे. It is especially in the Rig-Veda and its auxiliary literature that this substitution is usual.

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

a. And in the Veda (as the metre shows) an य is very often to be read where, in conformity with the rules of the later Sanskrit euphony, a य is writ-ten. Thus, the final य-vowel of a word remains य before an initial vowel; that of a stem maintains itself unchanged before an ending; and an ending of deri-vation — as या, त्या, — has य instead of य. Such cases will be noticed in more detail later. The constancy of the phenomenon in certain words and classes of words shows that this was no merely optional interchange. Very probably, the Sanskrit य had everywhere more of an य-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 \( \varphi \) is pronounced as English or French \( v \) (German \( w \)) by the modern Hindus — except when preceded by a consonant in the same syllable, in which case it has rather the sound of English \( w \); and European scholars follow the same practice (with or without the same exception).

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

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

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

b. As to the interchange of \( v \) and \( b \), see above, 50 a.

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

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

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

a. It is, then, dental, as it is classed by all the Hindu author-
ities. 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 Ṛ s. 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 re-
verted into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of
śh-sound; and by European Sanskritists it is pronounced
as an ordinary śh (French ch, German sch), no attempt
being made (any more than in the case of the other lingual
sounds: 45) to give it its proper lingual quality.

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

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

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

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

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

a. The two \( sh \)-sounds, \( s \) and \( q \), 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 \( l \)-sounds, written \( t \) and \( t \); and it would be not less proper to pronounce them both as one \( sh \) than to pronounce the linguals and dents alike. To neglect the difference of \( s \) and \( q \) is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of \( s \) and \( q \) 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 \( q \), like \( c \), comes from the corruption of an original \( k \)-sound, by loss of mute-contact as well as forward shift of the point of production. In virtue of this derivation, it sometimes (though less often than \( c \) ) "reverts" to \( k \) — that is, the original \( k \) appears instead of it (43); while, on the other hand, as a \( sh \)-sound, it is to a certain extent convertible to \( s \). In point of frequency, it slightly exceeds the latter.

65. The remaining spirant, \( \overline{x} \) h, is ordinarily pronounced like the usual European surd aspiration \( h \).

a. This is not, however, its real character. It is defined by all the native authorities as not a surd element, but a sonant (or 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 Prātiṣṭhākhyas 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. H. 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, 223g). It is a vastly more frequent sound than the unchanged gh (namely, as 7 to 1): more frequent, indeed, than any of the guttural mutes except k. It appears, like j (219), to include in itself two stages of corruption of gh: one corresponding with that of k to c, the other with that of k to q; see below, 223, for the roots belonging to the two classes respectively. Like the other sounds of guttural derivation, it sometimes exhibits "reversion" (43) to its original.

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

a. One Prātiçaññya (TPr. ii. 43) gives just this last description of it. It is by various authorities classed with h, or with h and a: all of them are alike sounds in whose utterance the mouth-organs have no definite shaping action.

68. The visarga is not original, but always only a substitute for final s or r, neither of which is allowed to maintain itself unchanged (170 ff.). It is a comparatively recent member of the alphabetic system; the other euphonic changes of final s and r have not passed through visarga as an intermediate stage. And the Hindu authorities are considerably discordant with one another as to how far 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 jihvāṇuliya and upadhmāṇiya spirants. It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions, devised (like the long i-vowel: 23a) in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. At any rate, both manuscripts and printed texts in general make no account of them. Whatever individual character they may have must be, it would seem, in the direction of the (German) ch- and f-sounds. When written at all, they are wont to be transliterated by x and φ.
70. The 脈 anusvāra, न or र्न, is a nasal sound lacking
that closure of the organs which is required to make a
nasal mute or contact-sound (36); in its utterance there is
nasal resonance along with some degree of openness of the
mouth.

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

a. Certain nasals in Sanskrit are of servile character, always to be
assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever character that may be,
Such are final म 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 correspon-
ding 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 spi-
rant), 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 Prātiṣākhyaś and Pāṇini are briefly as follows:

b. The Atharva-Prātiṣākhya holds that the result is everywhere a
nasalized vowel, except when न or म is assimilated to a following 1; in
that case, the न or म becomes a nasal 1: that is, the nasal utterance is
made in the 1-position, and has a perceptible l-character.

c. The other Prātiṣākhyaś teach a similar conversion into a nasal
counterpart to the semivowel, or a nasal semivowel, before य and 1 and व
(not before र also). In most of the other cases where the Atharva-Prāti-
ṣākhya acknowledges a nasal vowel — namely, before र and the spirants —
the others teach the intervention after the vowel of a distinct nasal
element, called the anusvāra after-tone.

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

e. There are, however, certain cases and classes of cases where these
other authorities also acknowledge a nasal vowel. So, especially, wherever
a final n is treated (208—9) as if it were ns (its historically older form); and also in a small number of specified words. They also mention the doctrine of nasal vowel instead of anusvāra as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsistent in its choice between the one and the other).

f. In Pāṇini, finally, the prevailing doctrine is that of anusvāra everywhere; and it is even allowed in many cases where the Prātiṣākhyaḥs 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 Prātiṣākhyaḥs require it by exception.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowels</th>
<th>Semivowels</th>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th>Anusvāra</th>
<th>Aspiration</th>
<th>Visarga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a, ā</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Son.</th>
<th>Surd</th>
<th>Sibilants</th>
<th>Mutes</th>
<th>Lab.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i, ī</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>jh</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r, ō</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u, ū</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
</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 ten different passages, of 1,000 sounds each, selected from different epochs of the literature: namely, two from the Rig-Veda, one from the Atharva-Veda, two from different Brāhmanas, and one each from Manus, Bhagavāda-Gītā, Čakuntalā, Hitopadeśa, and Vāsavadattā (J.A.O.S., vol. X., p. cl).
III. Quantity of sounds and syllables.

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

77. They also define the quantity of a long (dīrgha) vowel or diphthong as twice that of a short (hrasva) vowel — making no distinction in this respect between the guna- and the ṛddhi-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, ता ॠ.

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

b. Examples are: adhāḥ svid āśīd upārī svid āśīt (RV.) was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above? idām bhūyāḥ idām āti (AV.) saying, is this more, or is that? āgnāsi pātīvāpi sōmam piha (TS.) O Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma.

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

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

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

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

IV. Accent.

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

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

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

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

a. In transliteration, in this work, the udātta or acute will be marked with the ordinary sign of acute, and the svarita or circumflex (as being a downward slide of the voice forward) with what is usually called the grave accent: thus, ā, acute, yā or vā, circumflex.
84. The Prātiṣṭākhyas distinguish and name separately the circumflexed tones arising by different processes of combination; thus, the circumflex is called

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

b. Jātya (native) or nitya (own), when the same combination lies further back, in the make-up of a stem or form, and so is constant, or belongs to the word in all circumstances of its occurrence: thus, kvā (from kúa), svār (sūar), nyāk (niāk), budhnyā (budhnā), kanyā (kanīā), nadyās (nadi-ās), tanvā (tanī-ā).

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

d. Praśīṣṭā, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (128 c): thus dīvī 'va (RV. AV. etc.), from dīvī iva; sūdgtā (TS.), from sū-udgtā; nāl 'vā 'qṇiyāt (P.B.), from nā evā aqnīyāt.

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

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

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

b. This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are identified with one another, in treatment and designation. The enclitic circumflex is likewise divided into a number of sub-varieties, with different names: they are of too little consequence to be worth reporting.
86. The essential difference of the two kinds of circumflex is shown clearly enough by these facts: 1. the independent circumflex takes the place of the acute as the proper accent of a word, while the enclitic is the mere shadow following an acute, and following it in another word precisely as in the same word; 2. the independent circumflex maintains its character in all situations, while the enclitic before a following circumflex or acute loses its circumflex character, and becomes grave; moreover, 3. in many of the systems of marking accent (below, 88), the two are quite differently indicated.

87. The accentuation is marked in manuscripts only of the older literature: namely, in the primary Vedic texts, or saṃhitās, in two of the Brahmaṇas (Tāttvīrya and Čatapatha), in the Tāttvīrya-Araṇyaka, in certain passages of the Ātareya-Araṇyaka, and in the Suparṇādhyāya. There are a number of methods of writing accent, more or less different from one another; the one found in manuscripts of the Rig-Veda, which is most widely known, and of which most of the others are only slight modifications, is as follows.

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

\[ \text{agni m; kuṣānti juhōti; tuṇḍa tanvā; īś kva.} \]

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

\[ \text{indrāḥ; tē tē; kuṣānti kariṣyasi; tuṇḍa tuvijātā.} \]

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

\[ \text{śudṛṣṭahān kāśāṃk; sudṛṣṭikāsaṃdhṛk; but śudṛṣṭikāsaṃdṛg gāvām.} \]

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

\[ \text{apsau antāḥ (from apsū antāḥ); \quad rāyō vānīḥ (from rāyō avānīḥ).} \]
The rationale of this mode of designation is not well understood; the Praṭītyākhyaśa give no account of it. In the scholastic utterance of the syllable so designated is made a peculiar quaver or roulade of the voice, called kampa or vikampana.

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

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

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

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

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

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

\text{िंद्रा, ग्नेन, स्वार, नद्य}.

a. These being given, everything else which the Hindu theory recognize 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 Prātiṣṭhākhyas, 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 pracayā or pracita (accumulated: because liable to occur in an indefinite series of successive syllables).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a. The particles ca, vā, u, sma, iva, cid, svid, ha, and the Vedic kam (or kām), gha, bhala, samaha, im, aim, are always without accent; also yathā in RV. (sometimes also elsewhere) in the sense of iva, at the end of a pāda or verse-division.
The same is true of certain pronouns and pronominal stems: mā, me, nāu, nas, tvā, te, vām, vas (491b), ena (500), tvā (503b), sama (513c).

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

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

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

a. Certain dual copulative compounds in the Veda (see 1255), as mitrāvāruna, dyāvāprthivī. Also, a few other Vedic compounds (see 1207a), as bhāspāti, tānūnāpāt.

b. In a few cases, the further compounds and derivatives of such compounds, as dyāvāprthivāvant, bhāspātipraṇutta.

c. Infinitive datives in tavāī (see 972a), as étavāī, ápabhar-tavāī.

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

e. The particle vāvā (in the Brāhmaṇas).

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

a. Thus, īndre, agnāu, īndreṇa, agnīnā, agnīnām, bāhūcyuta, ānapacyuta, parjānyajinvita, abhimātiṣghā, ānabhimālātavarga, abhiṣasticātana, hīraṇyavācāimattama, cātuṣcatvāriniṣcadakṣara.

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.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
97. In this work, the accent of each word and form will in general be marked, so far as there is authority determining its place and character. Where specific words and forms are quoted, they will only be so far accentuated as they are found with accent in accentuated texts.

CHAPTER III.

RULES OF EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

Introductory.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

103. The list of roots given by the Hindu grammarians contains about two thousand roots, without including all those which students of the language are compelled to recognize. Considerably more than half of this number, then, are unauthenticated by use; and although some of these may yet come to light, or may have existed without finding their way into any of the preserved literary documents, it is certain that most are fictitious: made in part for the explanation of words falsely described as their derivatives, but in the main for unknown and perhaps undiscoverable reasons.
a. The roots unauthenticated by traceable use will be made no account of in this grammar — or, if noticed, will be specified as of that character.

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

a. Those roots of which the initial न and श are regularly converted to ā and ś after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with न and ś; no western authority follows this example.

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

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

d. The roots showing interchangeably य and ऋ and ॠ or ऌ and ४ (342) are written by the Hindus with य or with ॠ, or with both. The ॠ here also is only formal, intended to mark the roots as liable to certain modifications, since it nowhere shows itself in any form or derivative. Such roots will in this work be written with य.

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

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

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

107. We shall accordingly consider first of all, in the present chapter, the euphonic principles and laws which govern the combi-
nation of the elements of words and of words as elements of the sentence; then will be taken up the subject of inflection, under the two heads of declension and conjugation; and an account of the classes of uninflected words will follow.

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

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

Principles of Euphonic Combination.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

d. This is especially the case before secondary suffixes having a markedly distinct office, like the possessive mant and vant, the abstract-making tva, the suffix of material maya, and so on; and it is much more frequent in the later language than in the earlier. The examples are sporadic in character, and no rule can be given to cover them: for details, see the various suffixes, in chap. XVII. In the RV. (as may be mention- ed here) the only examples are vidyānmant (beside garūtmant, kakūdmant, etc.), pṛgadvant (beside datvānt, marūtvant, etc.), dhṛgadvīn (beside namasvīn etc.), çagmā (beside ajmā, idhmā, etc.), mṛmnāya (beside manasmāya etc.), and ahañyū, kiññyū, çaññyū, and aññoyū, duvoyū, āskṛdhoyu (beside namasyū, vacasyū, etc.); and the AV. adds only sāhovan (RV. sahāvan).

112. The leading rules of internal combination (as already stated: 108) are those which are of most immediate importance to a beginner in the language, since his first task is to master the principal paradigms of
inflection; the rules of external combination may better be left untouched until he comes to dealing with words in sentences, or to translating. Then, however, they are indispensable, since the proper form of the words that compose the sentence is not to be determined without them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But

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

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

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

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

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

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

But also:

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

e. For certain anomalous cases, see 151.

119. The euphonic combinations of the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant, and the aspiration, as being sounds derived by phonetic alteration from more original gutturals (42 ff.), are made peculiar
and complicated by two circumstances: their reversion to a guttural form (or the appearance of the unaltered guttural instead of them: 43); and the different treatment of j and h according as they represent one or another degree of alteration — the one tending, like c, more to the guttural reversion, the other showing, like q, a more sibilant and lingual character.

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

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

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

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

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

1. Rules of vowel combination, for the avoidance of hiatus.
2. Rules as to permitted finals (since these underlie the further treatment of final consonants in external combination).
3. Rules for loss of aspiration of an aspirate mute.
4. Rules of surd and sonant assimilation, including those for final s and r.
5. Rules for the conversion of dental sounds to lingual and palatal.
6. Rules for the changes of final nasals, including those in which a former final following the nasal re-appears in combination.
7. Rules regarding the special changes of the derivative sounds — the palatal mutes and sibilant, the aspiration, and the lingual sibilant.
8. Rules as to extension and abbreviation of consonant groups.

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

**Rules of Vowel Combination.**

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

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

b. A very few words in their admitted written form show interior hiatus; such are titaii sieve (perhaps for titasu, BR.), práüga wagon-pole (for prayuga); and, in RV., suüii.

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

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

e. The rules of vowel combination, as regards both the resulting sound and its accent, are nearly the same in internal and in external sañdhi.
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 घा ा; two i-vowels, ई ऋ; two u-vowels, उ ऊ; and, theoretically, two र-vowels form रु र, but it is questionable whether the case ever practically occurs. Examples are:

सारङ्ग: सा का 'प्रजा (का + अप्रजा);
अति वा (अति + वा);
सुकम सूक्तम (सूक्तम);
राजसित् राजा ’सित (राजा + असित);
अधिष्वरा: अधिष्वरा (अधि-ष्वरा);
जुहुपाभ्रत (जुहु—पाभ्रत).

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

127. An a-vowel combines with a following i-vowel to ए; with an u-vowel, to ओ; with र ऋ, to अर; with ल ए (theoretically), to घल एल; with र ए or र ऋ, to रे ऋ; with ओ ऑ or ओ ऋ, to ओ ऋ. Examples are:

राजेन्द्र: राजेन्द्र (राजा-इंद्र);
प्रिविद्याग: प्रिविद्याग (प्रिविद्याग);
महार्षिः (महार्षिः);
सौ वा (सौ + वा);
राजसीवर्मयाम (राजा-सीवर्मयाम);
विज्रीकत: विज्रीकत (विज्री-कत);
ज्वारुषाद: ज्वारुषाद (ज्वारु-षाद).

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

b. When successive words like इंद्रा अ इही are to be combined, the first combination, to इंद्रा, is made first, and the result is इंद्रे 'हि (not इंद्राइ 'हि, from इंद्रा e 'हि).
128. As regards the accent of these vowel combinations, it is to be noticed that, 1. as a matter of course, the union of acute with acute yields acute, and that of grave with grave yields grave; that of circumflex with circumflex cannot occur; 2. a circumflex with following acute yields acute, the final grave element of the former being raised to acute pitch; a grave with following acute does the same, as no upward slide of the voice on a syllable is acknowledged in the language; but, 3. when the former of the fused elements is acute and the latter grave, we might expect the resulting syllable to be in general circumflex, to represent both the original tones. Panini in fact allows this accent in every such case; and in a single accented Brähmana 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 ī and ī, which becomes ī: thus, divī 'va, from divī īva; in the Tātātiriya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while ū and ū, instead, make ū: thus, sādgaṭa from sū-udgaṭa.

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

इत्य आ (iti-āha);
मधव मधव īva (madhu-īva);
द्विजर्थी duhitṛ-arthe;
स्रय स्रय asya (strī-asya);
वधव वधव (vadhū-āi).

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

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

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

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

ment of an i or u-vowel: e.g. svār or suvār, tanvē or tanūve, budhnīyā or budhnīya, rātryāi or rātriyaī. For the most part, doubtless, these are only two ways of writing the same pronunciation, su-ar, budhnīa, and so on; and the discordance has no other importance, historical or phonetic. There is more or less of this difference of treatment of an i- or u-element after a consonant in all periods of the language.

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

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

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


131. Of a diphthong, the final i- or u-element is changed to its corresponding semivowel, ध्य or ध्व, before any vowel or diphthong: thus, द्र o (really ai: 28a) becomes ध्य ay, and व्र o (that is, au: 28a) becomes ध्व av; द्र ाi becomes ध्य ाy, and व्र ाu becomes ध्व ाv.

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

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

नया naya (ne-a); नाय nāya (nāi-a);
भाव bhava (bho-a); भाव bhāva (bhāu-a).
132. In external combination, we have the important additional rule that the semivowel resulting from the conversion of the final element of a diphthong is in general dropped; and the resulting hiatus is left without further change.

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

त यागता: ता यागताह (ते + यागताह);
नगर स्तु नागरा इहा (नागरे + इहा);
तस्मा याददत्त तस्माइ अददत (तस्माइ + अददत);
श्रिया उत्तमः श्रियाइ उक्तम (श्रियाइ + उक्तम).

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

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

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

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

134. a. The diphthong ओ (except as phonetic alteration of final ए: see 175 ए) is an unusual final, appearing only in the stem गो (361 ए), in the voc. sing. of u-stems (341), in words of which the final ए is combined with the particle उ, as atho, and in a few interjections. In the last two classes it is uncombinable (below, 138 ए, ए); the vocatives sometimes retain the व and sometimes lose it (the practices of different texts are too different to be briefly stated); go (in composition only) does not ordinarily lose its final element, but remains गव or गो. A final ए becomes ए, with following hiatus, before any vowel save ए (for which, see the next paragraph).
b. The व of घाव āv from श्री āu is usually retained: thus,

ताव eva (tāu + eva);
उभाव indragnī (ubhāu + indragnī).

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

135. After final ए e or ओ o, an initial अ a disappears.

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

तें सूत्रेऽते 'bruvan (te abruvan);
सो हिन्नीते 'bravīt (sāh abravīt);
हिन्निताये 'gnīh (hiṅnītāvyāh agnīh);
यद्रवित्र याद indrö 'bravīt (yād indraḥ ābravīt);
याद्रवित्र याद rājanyo 'bravīt (yād rājanyāḥ ābravīt).

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

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

d. In a few cases, an initial ā is thus elided, especially that of ātman.

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

136. In internal combination:

a. The augment a makes with the initial vowel of a root the combinations āi, āu, ār (vṛddhi-vowels: 235), instead of e, o, ar (gūṇa-vowels), as required by 127: thus, āita (a+i-ta), āubhnāt (a+ubhnāt), ārdhnot (a+ṛdhnot).

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

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

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

137. In external combination:

a. The final a or ā of a preposition, with initial r of a root, makes ār instead of ar: thus, arcbati (a+rchati), avarcbati (ava+rcbati), uparsati (QB.: upa+rsati; but AV. uparṣanti).

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

c. The form uḥ from y'vah sometimes makes the heavier or vṛddhi (235) diphthongal combination with a preceding a-vowel: thus, prāudhi, aksāuhini (from pra+uṭhi, etc.).

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

a. The vowels i, u, and e as dual endings, both of declensional and of conjugational forms. Thus, bandhū āsāte īmāu; girī ārohatat.

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

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

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

e. A protracted final vowel (78).

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

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

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

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

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

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

Thus, Índra, cíváya, ákári, nádi, dátu, cámú, janayitś, ágne, cíváyái, váyo, agnáú.

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, agnimát for agnimáth, suhít for suhíd, vírút for vírúdh, trištúp for trištúbh.

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

Thus, dagh becomes dhak, budp becomes bhut, and so on.

The roots exhibiting this change are stated below, 155.

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

Whitney, Grammar. 2 ed.
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 (43) to its original क k: thus, वाक् vāk, अन्होमुक् anhomuk. The च ch (only quotable in the root प्रच्छ prach) becomes त t: thus, प्रात् prāṭ. The ज j either reverts to its original guttural or becomes त t, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations (219): thus, ब्हिषाक् bhishāk, विराट् virāṭ. The ज्ञ jña does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to त t.

143. Of the nasals, the म m and न n are extremely common, especially the former (म m and स s are of all final consonants the most frequent); the न n is allowed, but is quite rare; त n is found (remaining after the loss of a following क k) in a very small number of words (386 b, c, 407 a); त n never occurs.

a. But the final m of a root is changed to n (compare 212 a, below): thus, akram from kram, ágan, ajagan, aganigan from gam, ánán from nam, áyan from yam, praçan from çam; no other cases are quotable.

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, स s: 145) changed as final to visarga. 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 र r, changed to a breathing, the visarga. The ष ṣ either reverts (43) to its original क k, or, in some roots, is changed to त t (in accordance with its changes in inflection and derivation: see below, 218): thus, दिक् dik, but वित् vit. The ष s is likewise changed to त t: thus, प्रायः prāyāt.

a. The change of ṣ to t is of rare occurrence: see below, 226 d.
b. Final radical s is said by the grammarians to be changed to t; but no sure example of the conversion is quotable: see 168; and compare 555a.

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

a. In the only RV. cases where the kṣ has a quasi-radical character — namely anāk from anākṣ, and ámyak from ymyakṣ — the conversion is to k. Also, of forms of the s-aorist (see 890), we have adhāk, asrāk, arāk, etc. (for adhākṣa-t etc.); but also aprāt, ayāt, avāt, asrāt (for aprākṣa-t etc.). And RV. has twice ayās from yyaś, and AV. twice srās from yyṛj (wrongly referred by BR. to y śaṇa); both 2d sing., where the personal ending has perhaps crowded out the root-final and tense-sign.

b. The numeral ग् six is perhaps better to be regarded as ग् kṣ, with its kṣ treated as s, according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration न् h is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like न् j and न् ç) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as क् k, or is changed to त् 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 155b) reappears when their final thus becomes deaspirated. Where the न् h is from original न् dh (223e), it becomes त् t.

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

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

150. In general, only one consonant, of whatever kind, is allowed to stand at the end of a word; if two or more would etymologically occur there, the last is dropped, and again the last, and so on, till only one remains.
a. Thus, tudant becomes tudant, and this tudan; udañca becomes udañk (142), and this uduañ; and achánta (s-aor., 3d sing., of ychand [890b]) is in like manner reduced to achán.

b. But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after r: thus, ūrk from ṛurj, tvārk from yvṛj, apart from yvṛt, āṁrū from ympṛ, suhāṛt from suhārd. The case is not a common one.

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

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

a. Of final t to k: thus, 1. in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles, as jyōk, tājāk (beside tājāt), ṭhāk (beside ṭhāt), pṛthak, drāk; and of kindred character is khadagdānt (TA.); 2. in here and there a verbal form, as sāvīṣak (AV. and VS. Kān.), dambhīṣak (Āpast.), aviṣak (Pārask.), āhaṣāk (VS. MS.; = āharat); 3. in root-finals or the t added to root-stems (383 e), as -dṛṭk for -dṛṭ (Sūtras and later) at the end of compounds, suĉrūk (TB.), prksū (SV.); and 4. we may further note here the anomalous enkṣva (AB.; for intsva, yīḍh) and avksam (AB.), and the feminines in knī from masculines in ta (1176 d).

b. Of final d or t to a lingual: thus, pad in Vedic padbhīṣ, pādṛbhīṣ, pādṛbiṣa; upanadbhyām (CB.); vy avāt (MS. iii. 4. 9; y′vas shine), and perhaps āpā ṛṭ (MS.; or yṛṣ)?

c. Of k or j to t, in an isolated example or two, as samyāt, āṣṛt, viṣvansṛt (TS. K.), and prayātsu (VS. TS.; AV. -kṣu).

d. In Tāttiriya texts, of the final of anuṣṭubh and triṣṭubh to a guttural: as, anuṣṭuk ca, triṣṭugbhīṣa, anuṣṭugbhīṣas.

e. Of a labial to a dental: in kakūd for and beside kakūbh; in saṁsād bhīṣ (TS.) from yap; and in abd bhīṣ, abhyās, from ap or āp (393). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination bhīṣ are not very rare in the older language: thus, kakūbbhyām, triṣṭubhīṣa, kakubbhanda, anuṣṭub bhī.

f. The forms pratidhūṣa, -gā (Tāttiriya texts) from pratidūḥ are isolated anomalies.

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

Deaspiration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b. The roots which show this peculiar change are:

in gh — dagh;
in h (for original gh) — dah, dih, duh, druh, ḍṛh, guh; and also grah (in the later desiderative jīghṛkṣa);
in dh — bandh, bādh, budh;
in bh — dabh (but only in the later desiderative dhīpsa, for which the older language has dīpsa).
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c. The same change appears when the law as to finals causes the loss of the aspiration at the end of the root: see above, 141.

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

e. The same analogy is followed by dadh, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stem dadhā, from yādhā (687), in some of the forms of conjugation: thus, dhatthas from dadh+thas, adhatta from adadh+ta, adhaddhvam from adadh+dhvam, etc.

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

Surd and Sonant Assimilation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

a. The r, however, has a corresponding surd in s, to which it is sometimes changed in external combination, under circumstances that favor a surd utterance (178).
159. With the exceptions above stated, the collision of surd and sonant sounds is avoided in combinations — and, regularly and usually, by assimilating the final to the following initial, or by regressive assimilation.

Thus, in internal combination: átsi, átti, atthás, áttá (y'ad + si etc.); qagdhí, qagdhvám (y'čak + dhi etc.); — in external combination, ábhúd áyám, jyóg jiva, sád acitáyaḥ, triśṭúb ápi, dig-gaja, śaṇ-ahá, arcá-dhúma, brhád-bhánu, ab-já.

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

Thus, gh with t or th becomes gdh; dh with the same becomes ddh, as buddhá (y'budh + ta), rundhás (y'rundh + thas or tas); bh with the same becomes bdh, as labdhá (y'labh + ta), labdhvá (y'labh + tvá).

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

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

c. In dadh from y'dhá (155 e), the more normal method is followed; the dh is made srd, and the initial aspirated: thus, dhatthás, dhattás. And RV. has dhaktam instead of dagdham from y'dagh; and TA. has inttam instead of inddhám from y'dih.

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

Thus, either tád námás or tán námás, vág me or váñ me, bád maháñ or báñ maháñ, triśṭúb núñám or triśṭúm núñám.

a. In practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in the manuscripts, as, indeed, it is by the Prátiṣṭhákhyas required and not permitted merely. Even by the general grammarians it is required in the compound śáṃñavati, and before mátrá, and the suffix maya (1225): thus, vāhmáya, mṛnmáya.

b. Even in internal combination, the same assimilation is made in some of the derivatives noted at 111 d, and in the ná-participles (957 d). And a few sporadic instances are met with even in verb-inflection: thus,
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161. sthīnoti, sthīnuyāt (MS.; for stighn-), mṛṇnita (LQS.; for mṛdn-), jānmayana (KS.; for jāgm-); these, however (like the double aspirates, 154a), are doubtless to be rejected as false readings.

162. Before t, a final t is not merely made sonant, but fully assimilated, becoming th: thus, tālabhate, ulluptam.

163. Before ṭ (the case occurs only in external combination), a final mute is made sonant; and then the ṭ may either remain unchanged or be converted into the sonant aspirate corresponding with the former: thus, either ṭād hī or ṭād dhī.

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

Examples are: vāg ghutāḥ, ṣaḍāḥotā (gaṭ + hotā), taddhita (tat + hita), anuṣṭūb dhī.

Combinations of final ṭ s and ṭ r.

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

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

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

166. Final radical a remains before a surd in general, and usually before s, as in pāṣā, pāsava, ṣas, açiṣṣu (the last is also written açiṣu: 172); but it is lost in asi (yās + si: 636). Before a sonant (that is, bh) in declension, it is treated as in external combination: thus, açīrbhis. Before a sonant (that is, dh) in conjugation, it appears to be dropped, at least after long a: thus, ṣadhi, ṣaḍāhi, cakādi (the only quotable cases); in edhi (yās + di: 636) the root syllable is irregularly altered; but in 2d pers. pl., made with dhvam, as ādhvam, ṣādhvam, arādhvam (881a), vadhvam (yās
clothe), it is, on account of the equivalence and interchangesability of dhv and ddhv (232), impossible to say whether the s is omitted or converted into d.

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

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

187. In a very few cases, final radical s before s is changed to t (perhaps by dissimilation): they are, from y/as dwell, (also sporadically from vas shine, (B., and vas clothe, Har.), the future vatsayāmi and aorist āvātsam; from y/ghas, the desiderative stem jīghatsa.

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

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

a. Sporadic cases of a like conversion are found in the Veda: namely, mādbhśis and mādbhhyās from mās; uṣādbhis from uṣās; svatadvabhyas from svatavas; svavadbhis etc. (not quotable) from svāvas. But the actuality of the conversion here is open to grave doubt; it rather seems the substitution of a t-stem for a s-stem. The same is true of the change of vāns to vat in the declension of perfect participles (458). The stem anaḍvah (404), from anus-vah, is anomalous and isolated.

b. In the compounds duccūnā (duṣ-quṇā) and pārucehepa (parus-çepe), the final s of the first member is treated as if a t (203).

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

a. The r is found as original final in certain case-forms of stems in r or ar (369 ff.); in root-stems in īr and ur from roots in r (383b); in a small number of other stems, as svār, áhar and ādhar (beside áhan and ādhan: 430), dvār or dur, and the Vedic vádhar, uṣār-, vāsar-, vanar-, ṛutar-, sapar-, sabar-, athar- (cf. 176 c); in a few particles, as antār, prātār, pūnar; and in the numeral catúr (482 g).

b. The euphonic treatment of s and r yielding precisely the same result after all vowels except a and ṣ, there are certain forms with regard to which it is uncertain whether they end in s or r, and opinions differ respecting them. Such are ur (or us) of the gen.-abl. sing. of r-stems (371c), and us (or ur) of the 3d plur. of verbs (550 c).
170. a. The झ s, as already noticed (145), becomes visarga before a pause.

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

c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes — च c and च ch, ट t and ठ th — it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely छ q or झ g.

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

Examples are: to b. tatas te, caksus te; to c. tatac ca, ta-syac chāyā; pādaq ātalati; to d. nalaḥ kāmam, puruṣaḥ khanati; yaqṣaḥ prāpa, vṛkṣaḥ phalavān.

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

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

b. In the later language, the retention is mainly determined by the intimacy or the antiquity and frequency of the combination. Thus, the final sibilant of a preposition or a word filling the office of a preposition before a verbal root is wont to be preserved; and that of a stem before a derivative of य/kr, before पति, before कल्पa and कामa, and so on. Examples are namaskāra, vācaspati, āyuṣkāma, payaskalpa.

c. The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the Prātiṣṭhākhyas. The chief classes of cases are: 1. the final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form; 2. of a genitive before a governing noun: as divās putraḥ, irdaś padē; 3. of an ablative before पāri: as himāvatas pāri; 4. of other less classifiable cases: as dyuṣaś pitaḥ, trīś pūtvā, yāś pātiḥ, paridhis pātāti, etc.

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

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

Examples are: manuḥ svayam or manus svayam; indraḥ āruḥ or indraṣ āruḥ; tāḥ sat or ṭā sat.

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 vāyavāḥ stha; catustanām or catuṭ-stanām. With regard to this point the usage of the different manuscripts and editions is greatly at variance.

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

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

Examples are: devapatiḥ ḳva, ṛṛ ḳva; manur gacchati, tanur apsaḥ; svasṛ ājanayat; tayor adṛṭakāmaḥ; sarvār guṇāṁḥ; agner manve.

a. For a few cases like dūṛāça, dūṇāça, see below, 199d.

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

c. The endings Ṛṃ as and Ṛṇ Ṛṃ (both of which are extremely common) follow rules of their own, namely:

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

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

Examples are: nalo nāma, brahmaṇyo vedavit; manobhava; hantavyo ‘smi; anyonya (anayas +anya), yaçortham (yaçaṣ +artham).

c. Final Ṛṃ as before any other vowel than Ṛ a loses its Ṛ s, becoming simple Ṛ a; and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.
d. That is to say, the o from as is treated as an original e is treated in the same situation: see 132—3.

Examples are: bhadaqva uvāca, aditya iva, nāmaūkti, vāsya-

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

a. The nominative masculine pronouns sās and eğās and (Vedic) syās (495a, 499a,b) lose their s before any consonant: thus, sa
dadarçañ he saw, ega puruṣañ this man; but so 'bravīt he said, puruṣa
eɡaḥ.

b. Instances are met with, both in the earlier and in the later lan-
guage, of effacement of the hiatus after alteration of as, by combination of the remaining final a with the following initial vowel: thus, tato
'vāca (tatats + uvāca), payosñī (payasñ+uṣñī), adhāsana (adhasñ+
āsana): compare 133c, 177b. In the Veda, such a combination is
sometimes shown by the metre to be required, though the written text
has the hiatus. But sa in RV. is in the great majority of cases combined with the following vowel: e.g., sē 'd for sā íd, sā 'smāi for sā asmāi,
sāu 'ṣadḥih for sā ōṣadḥih; and similar examples are found also in
the other Vedic texts.

c. Other sporadic irregularities in the treatment of final as occur.
Thus, it is changed to r instead of o once in RV. in avās, once in
SV. in ávas (RV. ávo), once in MS. in dambhīgas; in bhuvas (second
of the trio of sacred utterances bhūs, bhuvas, svar), except in its ear-
liest occurrences; in a series of words in a Brāhmaṇa passage (TS. K.),
viz. jinvar, ugrār, bhīmār, tveṣār, crutār, bhūtār, and (K. only)
pūtār; in janar and mahar; and some of the ar-stems noted at 169 a
are perhaps of kindred character. On the other hand, as is several times
changed to o in RV. before a surd consonant; and sās twice, and yās
once, retains its final sibilant in a like position.

d. In MS., the final a left before hiatus by alteration of either as
(o) or e (133) is made long if itself unaccented and if the following ini-
tial vowel is accented: thus, sūrā ēti (from sūras+ētī), nirupyātā
āndṛāya (from -yāte+ānd-), and also kāryā ēka- (from kāṛyās, because
virtually kāṛīs); but ādityā āndṛaḥ (from ādityās+āndṛaḥ), etā ītare
(from etē+ātare).

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

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

b. Here, too (as in the similar cases of e and āi and o: 133c, 178b), there are examples to be found, both earlier and later, of effacement of the hiatus.

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

a. Thus, it becomes visarga when final, and a sibilant or visarga before an initial surd mute or sibilant (170): thus, rudatī punāḥ, dvāś tat, svāc ca, catuṣcatvāṁśat; and (111c, d) prātastāna, antastya, catuṣṭaya, dhūṣṭva; prātaḥ karoti, antaḥpāta.

b. But original final r preceded by a or ā maintains itself unchanged before a sonant: thus, punar eti, prātarjit, ákar jyótiḥ, áhār dāmā, vārdhī.

c. The r is preserved unchanged even before a surd in a number of Vedic compounds: thus, aharpatī, svārcaṇas, svārcakṣas, svārpatī, svārsā, svārṣāti; dhūṛṣād, dhūṛṣaḥ; pūṛpatī, vārkaryā, aṭirpada, punartta; and in some of these the r is optionally retained in the later language. The RV. also has āvar tāmaḥ once in sentence-combination.

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

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

Thus, punā ramate, nṛpatī rājati, mātū rihān, jyotiratha, dūrohaṇā.

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

Conversion of Ṛ s to Ṣ s.

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

a. The assimilating influence of the preceding lingual vowels and semivowel is obvious enough; that of k and the other vowels appears to be due to a somewhat retracted position of the tongue in the mouth during
their utterance, causing its tip to reach the roof of the mouth more easily
at a point further back than the dental one.

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

c. The vowels that cause the alteration of s to ṣ may be called
for brevity’s sake “alterant” vowels.

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

a. A following r prevents the conversion: thus, uṣra, tisrata,
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, sīsartī, sīṣartam, sariṣarpā, tistīre, parisrūrt.
To this rule there are a few exceptions, as viṣṭīr, viṣṭārā, niṣṭīṛta,
viṣpadhās, gāviṣṭhīra, etc. In ajūṣran the final ṣ of a root is pre-
served even immediately before r.

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

c. The recurrence of ṣ in successive syllables is sometimes avoided
by leaving the former ṣ unchangeā: thus, sīsakṣī, but sīṣaktī; yāṣisīṣ-
ṭā, but yāṣiṣīmahi. Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see
below, 184e.

d. Other cases are sporadic: RV. has the forms sīsice and sisicus
(but siṣicatus), and the stems ḫūṣa, kīṣā, bhīṣa, busā, bīṣaya; a
single root pis, with its derivative pesuka, is found once in ČR.; MS.
has mṛṣṃṇṛṣ; mūsala begins to be found in AV.; and such cases
grow more numerous; for puṁś and the roots niḥs and hiṁs, see below,
183a.

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

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

b. Further, in RV., ḿṣa, kavāṣa, caṣāla, caṣa, jālāṣa, pāṣyā,
baṣkāya, vāṣaṭ (for vakṣaṭ?), kāṣṭha; and, by anomalous alteration
of original s, -sah (tūrāṣaḥ etc.), āṣadha, upaṣṭūṭ, and probably
apāṣṭha and aṣṭhīvānt. Such cases grow more common later.

c. The numeral ṣaṣ, as already noted (148 b), is more probably ṣaḳe.
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, havīṣa, paruṇa. And the alteration takes place in the initial s of an ending after the final s of a stem, whether the latter be regarded as also changed to ś or as converted into visarga: thus, haviṣa or haviṣa, paruṣa or paruṣa.

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

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

a. In endings, inflectional or derivative, beginning with s — thus, su; si, se, sva; s of sibilant-aorist, future, and desiderative; suffixes sna, su, sya, etc. — after a final alterant vowel or consonant of root or stem, or a union-vowel: thus, juhoṣi, çeṣa, anāśaṃ, bhaviṣyāmi, čucrūṣa, deṣa, jiṣu, vikṣa, akāraṃ.

b. The final s of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus, haviṣa, haviṣas, etc., from havis; čakṣuṣmant, čoṣaṅka, mānuṣa, manuṣya, jyotiṣṭa.

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

d. The initial s of a root after a reduplication: thus, siṣyade, suṣvāpa, siṣasati, coṣkūyaṭe, sanīṣvāṇat.

e. Excepted is ‘n general an initial radical s in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes s: thus, misīṛṣati from yṣre, siasīṅkaṣati from yṣaṃi. And there are other scattering cases, as tresu, (perf. from yṭrasa), etc.

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

a. Both in verbal forms and in derivatives, the final i or u of a preposition or other like prefix ordinarily linguilizes 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, abhiṣe, pratiṣṭhā, niṣikta, viṣita; anuṣvadhām, suṣēka; the cases are numberless.

b. The principal exceptions are in accordance with the principles already laid down: namely, when the root contains an r-element, and when a recurrence of the sibilant would take place. But there are also others, of a more irregular character; and the complete account of the treatment of initial radical s after s-prefix would be a matter of great detail, and not worth giving here.
c. Not infrequently, the initial $s$, usually altered after a certain prefix, retains the altered sibilant even after an interposed $a$ of augment or reduplication: thus, *aty aṣṭāhāt, abhy aṣṭāṁ, pary aṣaśvajat, vy aṣahanta, ny aṣadāma, nir aṣṭāpavan, abhy aṣīheca*, *vy aṣṭabh-nāt; vi taṣṭhe, vi taṣṭhire.*

d. Much more anomalous is the occasional alteration of initial radi- cal $s$ after an $a$-element of a prefix. Such cases are *ava śṭambh* (against *ni śtambh* and *prati śtambh*) and (according to the grammarians) *ava śvan*.

186. In other compounds, the final alterant vowel of the first member not infrequently (especially in the Veda) linguilizes the ini- tial $s$ of the second: for example, *yudhiṣṭhirā, pitṛvāsaṛ, goṣṭhā, agniṣṭoma, ānuṣṭūbh, triṣamūhya, diviśād, paramēṣṭhin, abhiṣena, pitrśād, puruṣṭūtā.*

a. A very few cases occur of the same alteration after an $a$-element: thus, *saṣṭūbh, avaśṭambha, savyaśṭā, apāṣṭhā, upaṣṭūt; also yāṣah, when its final, by 147, becomes $t$: thus, satrāṣṭ (but satrā- sāham).

187. The final $s$ of the first member of a compound often be- comes $s$ after an alterant vowel: thus, the $s$ of a prepositional prefix, as *niṣṣidvan, duṣṭāra (for duṣṭāra), āvīṣṭa;* and, regularly, a $s$ retained instead of being converted to *visarga* before a labial or guttural mute (171a), as *haviśpā, jyotiśkṛt; tapuśpā.*

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

a. The initial $s$, especially of particles: as *u śu, hi śma, kām u śvīt;* — also of pronouns: as *hi śaḥ;* — of verb-forms, especially from *yās: as hi śthā, divi śthā;* — and in other scattering cases: as *u śtuhi, nū śṭhirām, tri śadhāsthā, ādhi śnoḥ, nāki śaḥ, yājuḥ śkannām, agniḥ śtave.*

b. A final $s$, oftenest before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as *agniḥ ṭvā, niś ṭe, iyuś ṭe, cuciḥ ṭvām, sādhīṛ ṭava;* — but also in other cases, and wherever a final $s$ is preserved, instead of being turned into *visarga* before a guttural or labial (171): as *triḥ pūtvā, āyuḥ kṛṇotu, vāstoḥ pāṭh, dyāduḥ pītā, vibhibh pāṭāt.*

**Conversion of न्न to न्न.**

189. The dental nasal न्न, when immediately followed by a vowel or by न्न or म्न or य्व or व्व, is turned in- to the lingual न्न if preceded in the same word by the
lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels — that is to say, by व, भ, or ह —: 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 त, a lingual, or a dental.

a. We may thus figure to ourselves the rationale of the process: in the marked proclivity of the language toward lingual utterance, especially of the nasal, the tip of the tongue, when once reverted into the loose lingual position by the utterance of a non-contact lingual element, tends to hang there and make its next nasal contact in that position; and does so, unless the proclivity is satisfied by the utterance of a lingual mnte, 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 क on following श shows, the gutteral position favors the succession of a lingual): and the य is too weakly palatal to interfere with the alteration (as its next relative, the 1-vowel, itself lingualizes a श).

b. This is a rule of constant application; and (as was pointed out above, 40) the great majority of occurrences of न in the language are the result of it.

190. The rule has force especially —

a. When suffixes, of inflection or derivation, are added to roots or stems containing one of the altering sounds: thus, rudrēṇa, rudrāṇāṃ, vārīṇe, vārīṇi, vārīṇi, dātīṇi, dhārāṇi, krṣṇāmi, çṛṇōti, kṣubhāṇā, ghṛṇā, kārṇa, vyākā, rugṛṇā, drāvīṇa, īśāṇi, purāṇa, rékṇa, cākṣaṇa, cīkṣasamāṇa, kṛpāmaṇa.

b. When the final न 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 य/र, राणति, राणयति, रारा, arāniṣus; from brahman, brāhmaṇā, brāhmaṇī, brahmaṇā, brahmaṇvant.

c. The form piṇāk (RV.: 2d and 3d sing. impf.), from य/प, is wholly anomalous.

191. This rule (like that for the change of श to य) 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.

Whitney, Grammar. 2 Ed.
192. Especially, a preposition or similar prefix to a root, if it contain r or end in euphonic r for s (174), very often linguizes 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 pari, parī, pra, nīr (for niś), antar, dur (for dus): thus, pārā naya, pāri niyate, pra niudasva; parānuttī, pariṃāma, praṇavā, nirṇī, durnāca. Roots suffering this change are written with initial n in the native root-lists. The only exceptions of importance are nyat, nabh, nand, and naq when its q becomes ɭ (as in prāna).n

b. The final n of a root is linguized in some of the forms of an and han: thus, pra 'niti, praṇā, pra haṃyate, praḥāna.

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

d. The 1st sing. impv. ending ani is sometimes altered: thus, pra bhavānī.

e. Derivatives by suffixes containing n sometimes have ɭ by influence of a preposition: thus, praṇyāna.

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

193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes linguizes 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: grāmanī, triṇāman, urūnāsā; vytrahānam etc. (but vytraghnā etc. 195a), niṃānas, dughanā; pravāhana, nṛpāṇa, pūryaṇa, pīryaṇa; svargēṇa, durgāṇi, usṛyāmṇe, tryāṅgāṇām.

194. Finally, in the Veda, a n (usually initial) is occasionally linguized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns nās and ena- are oftenest thus affected: thus, pāri ɭnā, prā ᵃnā, ᵃдра eṇam; but also the particle nā like: thus, vār ᵃnā; and a few other cases, as vār nāma, pūnar nāyamasai, aṅnē āveṇa. More anomalous, and perhaps to be rejected as false readings, are such as triṇ imān and aksaṇ āva and suhāṛṇ ᵃnā (MS.), and vṛṣāṇ vā (Āpest.).

195. a. The immediate combination of a n with a preceding guttural or labial seems in some cases to hinder the conversion to ɭ: thus, vytraghnā etc., kṣubhnāti, ṭṛṇotī (but in Veda ṭṛṇu), kṣepnū, suśumṇā.

b. The RV. has the exceptions uṣṭrāṇām and rāṣṭrāṇām.

Conversion of dental mutes to linguals and palatal.

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.

a. Under this rule, the combinations  ś, śth, and śn are very common; ś is rarely so written, the visarga being put instead of the former sibilant (172): thus, ājyotiśu instead of ājyotiśu.

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

c. Those cases in which final ś becomes ā before su (e. g. dvītsā: 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 n following immediately a ṣ made such by the rule given at 180, above — or, as it may be expressed, a double as well as a single n — is subject to the lingualization: thus, the participles arṇā, kṣunā, kṣvīṇa, cṛnā, ṭṛṇā; and, after prefixes (195a), nīsāṇa, parivīṇa, viṣāṇa, viṣyaṇa. But TS. has ādhiśkanna, and RV. yājñuḥ ṣkannām.

b. Only a very few other instances occur: īṭe and āṭṭa from ṣīḍ; ṣaḍḍha (also ṣaṭḍā and ṣoḍḍā), and ṣaṇṇām (ṣaṣ + nām: anomalous gen. pl. of ṣaṣ: 483). A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, 199.

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

d. Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of ś are explained in a similar way, as results of a lingualized and afterward omitted sibilant before ś: thus niḍā from niṣda, ṣypḍ from pisd, ṣymṛḍ from mṛṣd. For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, 199c.

199. In external combination —

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

b. An initial dental after a final lingual usually remains unchanged; and su of the loc. pl. follows the same rule: thus, sāṭṭirū-ṇat, āṇaḍ divāḥ, ekarāḥ tvāṁ; ṣaṭsū, rāṣṭu.

c. Exceptions are: a few compounds with isā six showing double ṣ (198b): namely, ṣaṇṇavatī, ṣaṇṇabhī (and one or two others not quotable); and IB. has ṣaṇ nīramimita.

d. In a few compounds, moreover, there appears a lingualized dental, with compensatory lengthening, after a lost lingual sibilant or its represen-
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199—

Euphonic Combination.

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tative: namely, in certain Vedic compounds with dus: dūdabhā, dūdāc, dūḍhi, dūṅaṇa, dūṅaḍa (compare the anomalous puroḍaḍa and -dāca: puras+Yaḍa); and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of saṣ, with change of its vowel to an alterant quality (as in voḍhum and soḍhum: 224b): gōḍaṇa, goḍhā (also gaḍḍhā and saḍḍhā), goḍant.

e. Between final ṭ and initial n, the insertion of a t is permitted—or, according to some authorities, required: thus, śat sahāsrāḥ or śat sahāsrāḥ.

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

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

Thus, yācṇā (the only instance after c), yajṇā, jajñe, afñata, rājñā, rājñī.

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

Thus, uc caṭuṛati, etac chattram, vidyuj jāyate; yātayājjana, vidyujjihva, brhācchandas, saccarita.

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

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

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

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

Thus, vedavic chūraḥ (-vit ṇu-), taṛ chrutvā, hṛcoṣhayā (hṛt + ṇaya); bṛhaṇi cheṣaṇ or ṇeṣaṇ, svapaṇi chete or ṇete.

a. Some authorities regard the conversion of ṇ to ch after ṭ or ṇ as everywhere obligatory, others as only optional; some except, peremptorily or optionally, a t followed by a mute. And some require the same conversion after every mute save m, reading also vipāṭ chutudṛī, āṇaṭ chūcī, anuṣṭup chārādī, čuk chucī. The manuscripts generally write ch, instead of cch, as result of the combination of ṭ and ṇ.

b. In the MS., ṭ and ṇ are anomalously combined into fi ṇ: e. g. taṇi ṇatām, etāvaṇcā.
Combinations of final न n.

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

Thus, vāñsi, vāñśva, vāṁsat, maṁśyate, jīghaṁsati.

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

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

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

The remaining cases are those of external combination.

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

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

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

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

manuscripts त्रीलोकान् or त्रीलोकान्; better त्रील लोकान्.
The second of these methods is the one oftener followed in printed texts.

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

a. 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 manuscripts it is very frequently made, but not uniformly. It is probably a purely phonetic phenomenon, a transition-sound to ease the double change of sonant to surd and nasal to non-nasal utterance — although the not infrequent cases in which final n stands for original nt (as bharan, abha-ran, agnimān) may have aided to establish it as a rule. Its analogy with the conversion of n q into ich (203) is palpable.
208. Before the surd palatal, lingual, and dental mutes, there is inserted after final /a sibilant of each of those classes respectively, before which the /a becomes anuvāra: thus, devāḥ ca, bhavāṇaḥ chidyate, kumārāṇaḥ trīn, abharaṇaḥ tataḥ, dadhaṇaḥ (425 c) carum.

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

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

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

a. Final ān becomes āṁ (nasalized āṁ) before a following vowel: that is to say, āṁs, with nasal vowel, is treated like ās, with pure vowel (177): thus, devān ē ṇā, úpabaddhān īhā, maḥān āśi. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the s appears as ṣ before ṁ: thus, svātavāṁḥ pāyāḥ.

b. In like manner, s is treated after nasal ṭ, ṭ, ṣ as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming ṛ before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) ṣ before a surd (170): thus, raṇmīṇr iva, sūnūṁr yuvanyūṁṛ ūṭ, nṝṁr abhī; nṝṁḥ pāṭram (and nṝṁ ṃ-p-, MS.).

c. RV. has once -ṁḥ before y. MS. usually has āṁ instead of ān.

210. The nasals n, ṇ, ṇ, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, pratyāṇṅ ūḍ eṣi, uḍyāṇn ādityāḥ, āsāṁn-īṣu.

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

211. The nasals ā and ṇ before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively k and ṭ — as n (207) inserts t: thus, pratyāṅṅk sōmaḥ.
Combinations of final \( \text{र} \) \( \text{m} \).

212. Final radical \( \text{र} \) \( \text{m} \), in internal combination, is assimilated to a following mute or spirant — in the latter case, becoming anuvāra; in the former, becoming the nasal of the same class with the mute.

a. Before \( \text{m} \) or \( \text{v} \) (as when final: 143a), it is changed to \( \text{n} \): thus, from \( \text{ygam} \) come \( \text{āgamma}, \text{aganmahi}, \text{ganvahi}, \text{jaganvāṁs} \) (which appear to be the only quotable cases). According to the grammarians, the same change is made in the inflection of root-stems before \( \text{bh} \) and \( \text{su} \): thus, \( \text{praçānbhis}, \text{praçānsu} \) (from \( \text{praçām} : \text{pra} + \text{yam} \)). No derived noun-stem ends in \( \text{m} \).

b. The \( \text{QB} \). and \( \text{KQS} \). have \( \text{kāmvant} \) and \( \text{qāmvant} \), and \( \text{ChU} \) has \( \text{kamvra} \).

213. Final \( \text{र} \) \( \text{m} \) in external combination is a servile sound, being assimilated to any following consonant. Thus:

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

b. But also, by an anomalous exception, before \( \text{r} \) of the root \( \text{rāj} \) in \( \text{samrāj} \) and its derivatives \( \text{samrāññ} \) and \( \text{sāmrājya} \).

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

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

e. Before \( \text{r} \), a sibilant, or \( \text{h} \), it becomes anuvāra (see 71).

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

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

h. Cases are met with in the Veda where a final \( \text{m} \) appears to be dropped before a vowel, the final and initial vowels being then combined into one. The \( \text{pada-text} \) then generally gives a wrong interpretation. Thus, \( \text{saṁvānano} \) \( \text{bhayaṁkarām} \) (\( \text{RV.} \) \( \text{viii.} \) \( \text{1.} \) \( \text{2} \); \( \text{pada-text} \) -\( \text{nā} \) \( \text{ubh} \); \( \text{SV.} \) -\( \text{nānam} \)).

i. It has been pointed out above (73) that the assimilated \( \text{m} \) is generally represented in texts by the anuvāra-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by \( \text{m} \) (instead of a nasal mute or \( \text{ñ} \)).
The palatal mutes and sibilant, and \( \mathfrak{h} \).

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

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

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

a. Before a of suffix a, final c becomes k in an\( \mathfrak{k} \), cva\( \mathfrak{n} \), ar\( \mathfrak{k} \), p\( \mathfrak{a} \), v\( \mathfrak{a} \), c\( \mathfrak{u} \), para, mark\( \mathfrak{a} \), v\( \mathfrak{y} \), práti\( \mathfrak{k} \), etc., re\( \mathfrak{k} \), s\( \mathfrak{e} \), m\( \mathfrak{o} \), rok\( \mathfrak{a} \), tok\( \mathfrak{a} \), mrok\( \mathfrak{a} \), vrak\( \mathfrak{a} \); — final j becomes g in ty\( \mathfrak{a} \), bh\( \mathfrak{a} \), bhâ, yâ, an\( \mathfrak{g} \), bha\( \mathfrak{n} \), sa\( \mathfrak{g} \), sv\( \mathfrak{a} \), \( \mathfrak{p} \), t\( \mathfrak{u} \), yu\( \mathfrak{i} \), v\( \mathfrak{a} \), m\( \mathfrak{\rho} \), m\( \mathfrak{r} \), v\( \mathfrak{a} \), m\( \mathfrak{r} \), s\( \mathfrak{a} \), n\( \mathfrak{g} \), v\( \mathfrak{a} \), bh\( \mathfrak{\omega} \), yug\( \mathfrak{a} \), y\( \mathfrak{o} \), loga, r\( \mathfrak{o} \); — final h becomes gh in agh\( \mathfrak{a} \), magh\( \mathfrak{a} \), argh\( \mathfrak{a} \) (and dr\( \mathfrak{a} \), dr\( \mathfrak{\alpha} \), deg\( \mathfrak{a} \), m\( \mathfrak{e} \), og\( \mathfrak{h} \), d\( \mathfrak{\omega} \), d\( \mathfrak{\delta} \), m\( \mathfrak{\alpha} \), and in d\( \mathfrak{\rho} \) and m\( \mathfrak{\eta} \)h\( \mathfrak{\alpha} \). In neka (\( \mathfrak{\gamma} \)) we have further an anomalous substitution of a surd for the final sonant of the root.

b. In another series of derivatives with a, the altered sound appears: examples are aj\( \mathfrak{a} \), y\( \mathfrak{\j} \), q\( \mathfrak{u} \), c\( \mathfrak{c} \), v\( \mathfrak{r} \), v\( \mathfrak{v} \), y\( \mathfrak{u} \), ur\( \mathfrak{\j} \), d\( \mathfrak{\omega} \).

c. Before the suffixes as and ana, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in an\( \mathfrak{k} \), ok\( \mathfrak{a} \), rok\( \mathfrak{a} \), \( \mathfrak{k} \)as, bh\( \mathfrak{g} \), and in roga\( \mathfrak{n} \); also in a\( \mathfrak{h} \)g\( \mathfrak{\alpha} \).

d. Before an i-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in \( \mathfrak{h} \)bhog\( \mathfrak{i} \), og\( \mathfrak{\i} \), tigt\( \mathfrak{\i} \), mokit\( \mathfrak{i} \), sphig\( \mathfrak{i} \)): thus, aj\( \mathfrak{i} \), tuj\( \mathfrak{i} \), r\( \mathfrak{\i} \), c\( \mathfrak{\i} \), v\( \mathfrak{\i} \), roci\( \mathfrak{\i} \).

e. Before u, the guttural reappears, as a rule (the cases are few): thus, an\( \mathfrak{k} \), va\( \mathfrak{n} \), re\( \mathfrak{k} \), bh\( \mathfrak{\j} \), m\( \mathfrak{\\rho} \), r\( \mathfrak{\rho} \), and r\( \mathfrak{\j} \)hi\( \mathfrak{\r} \)a\( \mathfrak{n} \).

f. Before n, the examples of reversion are few, except of j (becoming g) before the participial ending na (857 e): thus, r\( \mathfrak{\k} \)nas, vag\( \mathfrak{n} \) (with the final also made sonant); and participles bh\( \mathfrak{\n} \), rug\( \mathfrak{n} \), etc.; and apparently p\( \mathfrak{\rho} \)ga from \( \mathfrak{\gamma} \)pc.

g. Before m (of ma, man, mant, min), the guttural generally appears: thus, ruk\( \mathfrak{m} \), tigm\( \mathfrak{\a} \), yugma, \( \mathfrak{\i} \)gma (with sonant change); tak\( \mathfrak{\m} \), vak\( \mathfrak{m} \), s\( \mathfrak{k} \)man, yugm\( \mathfrak{\m} \); r\( \mathfrak{\k} \)nau\( \mathfrak{t} \); \( \mathfrak{g} \)min and v\( \mathfrak{\g} \)m\( \mathfrak{\m} \)in (with sonant change): — but aj\( \mathfrak{m} \), ojm\( \mathfrak{\m} \), bhuj\( \mathfrak{m} \).

h. Before y, the altered sound is used: thus, p\( \mathfrak{c} \), ya\( \mathfrak{\j} \), yaj\( \mathfrak{\j} \), yu\( \mathfrak{\j} \), bhuj\( \mathfrak{\j} \). Such cases as bh\( \mathfrak{\g} \), yog\( \mathfrak{\g} \), neg\( \mathfrak{\g} \), ok\( \mathfrak{\y} \) are doubtless secondary derivatives from bh\( \mathfrak{\g} \) etc.
Combinations of Final Palatals.

i. Before r, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided. Thus, takra, sakra, vakra, ugra, tuga, mygra, vanka; but vajra and pajra (?).

j. Before v (of the suffixes va, van, vin, etc., and participial vanity) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, rvku, pakva, vakva; vakvan, rikvan, qukvan, mugvan, tugvan, yugvan; kvant, kvvant; vavgan, vagvan, vagvanu (with further sonant change; vivakvans, ririkvans, vavakre; ququkvans; ququkvani: also before the union-vowel i in okivans (RV., once). An exception is yajvan.

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

1. A like reversion shows itself also to some extent in conjugal stems and inflection. Thus, the initial radical becomes guttural after the reduplication in the present or perfect or desiderative or intensive stems, or in derivatives, of the roots ci, cit, ji, hi, han, and in jaguri (vijfr); and han becomes ghn on the elision of a (402, 637). The RV. has vivakmi from y vac and vavakre from y vahe; and SV. has sasrgmahe (RV.-srj). And before ran etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have g for radical j in asrgran, asrgram, assrgram (all in RV.).

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

Thus, vakti, uvaktha, vaksi, vaksyami, vaghhi; vahbhis, vaksu; ukta, ukth, vaktar.

a. And, as final c becomes k (above 142), the same rule applies also to c in external combination: thus, vakh ca, vah api, vah me.

Examples of c remaining unchanged in inflection are: ucyate, riricre, vashi, mumucmahe.

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

Thus, avikṣata, vekṣyami; vāṣṭi, viṣṭa, dideṣṭu; didiḍḍhi, vidbhis.
a. But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final \( q \) to \( k \) before \( bh \) and \( su \), and also when final (146): they are \( dq, drq, sprq, \) and optionally \( naq; \) and \( viq \) has in \( V \). always \( vikṣu \), loc. pl., but \( vît, viqbhîs, \) etc. Examples are \( dīkṣamqita, dṛghbhîs, hṛṣipṛk, nāk \) (or \( naq \)).

Examples of \( q \) remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: \( viq, viviqyās, aviqran, aṃqnomi, vauqmî, uqmāsî. \)

b. A \( q \) remains irregularly unchanged before \( p \) in the compound \( viqpātî. \)

219. Final \( j \) is in one set of words treated like \( c \), and in another set like \( ḍ c. \)

Thus, from \( yuj: \) āyukthās, āyukta, yuṅktē, yuktī, yōktra, yokṣyāmi, yuṅsū; yuṅgḥī, āyuṅḍhvam, yuṅbhīs.

Again, from \( mṛj \) etc.: āṃṃkṣat, srāṅṣyāmi; māṛṣṭī, mṛṣṭā, sṛṣṭī, rāṣṭrā; mṛḏḥī, mṛḏḥvām, ṛdiḥbhīs, ṛṣaśṛ, ṛṭā.

a. To the former or \( yuj-class \) belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, \( bhaj, saj, tyaq \) (not \( V \)), \( raj color, svaj, maqj, niq, tiq, viq, 1 \) and \( 2 bhuj, yuj, ruj, vqi, aṇī, bhauṇi, qīqj; ūṛj, srāj, bhīṣāj, āṣṛj; \) — also, stems formed with the suffixes \( aqj \) and \( iqj \) (383.IV), as \( tṛṣṇāj, vanqj; \) and \( ṛtvāj, \) though containing the root \( yaj. \)

b. To the latter or \( mṛj-class \) belong only about one third as many: namely, \( yaj, bhrajāj, vraj, rāj, bhrāj, mṛj, sj. \)

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

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

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

b. Of \( jh \) there is no occurrence: the grammarians require it to be treated like \( c. \)
221. The compound ks is not infrequent as final of a root (generally of demonstrably secondary origin), or of a tense-stem (a-aorist: see below, 878 ff.); and, in the not very frequent cases of its internal combination, it is treated as if a single sound, following the rules for ç: thus čákṣe (cākṣ + se), cākṣya; cāṣe, čaṣṭa, čaṛaṛita, čaṛaṛitam, čaṛaṛitar. As to its treatment when final, see 146.

a. Thus, we are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as gorāṭ, gorāḍbhis, gorāṭṣu (from gorāḳṣ); and we actually have āṭ, ṣadbhis, ṣaṭṣu from ṣakṣ or ṣaṣ (146b). For jagāḍha etc. from ṣjakṣ, see 233 f.

b. In the single anomalous root vrāṇa, the compound qe is said to follow the rules for simple q. From it are quotable the future vrakṣyātī, the gerunds vrṣṭvā (AV.) and vrktvā (RV.), and the participle (957 c) vrkṇā. Its c reverts to k in the derivative vraska.

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

a. In the one class, as duḥ, 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, áḍhuksam, dhokṣyāmi; dugḍhām, dugḍhā; ádhok, dhuk, dhugbhīs, dhukṣū.

b. In the other class, as ruḥ and saḥ, we have a guttural reversion (as of q) only before s in verb-formation and derivation: thus, ārukṣat, rokṣyāmi, sākṣiyā, sakṣāṇi. As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before bh and su, the h (like q) becomes a lingual mute: thus, turaṣṭat, pṛtanāṣad ayodhyāḥ, tuṛāḍbhis, tuṛāṭṣu. 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 q); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would ḍh: see 160); and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened: thus, from ruḥ with ta comes rūḍhā, from leh with ti comes lēḍhi, from guḥ with tar comes gūḍhār, from meh with tum comes méḍhum, from lī ṭh with tas or thas comes līḍhās, from līḥ with dhvam comes līḍhvāṃ, etc.

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

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

a. of the first or duḥ-class: dah, diḥ, duḥ, druḥ, muḥ, snih (and the final of ṭṣīḥ is similarly treated);
b. of the second or ruh-class: vah, sah, mih, rih or lih, guh, ruh, drāh, trūh, bh, baṇh, sṛph(?).

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

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

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

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

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

224. Irregularities of combination are:

a. The vowel ṣ is not lengthened after the loss of the h-element: thus, drūḍhā, trūḍhā, bhṛḍhā (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, vṛḍhām, vṛdhām, vṛdhār, sōḍhum. But from sah in the older language forms with ā are more frequent: thus, sāḍhā, āsāḍhā (also later), sāḍhār. The root truḥ changes the vowel of its class-sign na into e instead of lengthening it: thus, tṛṇedhi, tṛṇedhu, aṭṛṇet (the grammarians teach also tṛṇehmi and tṛṇekṣi: but no such forms are quotable, and, if ever actually in use, they must have been made by false analogy with the others).

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

d. Apparently by dissimilation, the final of vah in the anomalous compound anadvah is changed to d instead of ṣ: see 404.
The lingual sibilant ṣ ṣ.

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

a. Namely, in the prefix duḥ (evidently identical with yduḥ); in sajūs (adverbially used case-form from yjus); in (RV.) vivēs and āvives, from yviṣ; in āyves (RV.), from yīṣ; and in āṣās, from cīṣ as secondary form of ycās. All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

b. In general, final lingual ṣ ṣ, in internal combination, is treated in the same manner as palatal Ṣ Ṣ. Thus:

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

This is a common and perfectly natural combination.

b. Before dh, bh, and su, as also in external combination (145), it becomes a lingual mute; and dh is made lingual after it: e. g. piṅḍḍhi, viṅḍḍhi, viṁḍḍhi, dviṅḍḍhvam, dviṅḍbhīs, dviṣāী; bhinnaviṭṭa.

c. So also the dh of dhvam as ending of 2d pl. mid. becomes dh after final ṣ of a tense-stem, whether the ṣ be regarded as lost or as converted to ḍ before it (the manuscripts write simply ḍhuv, not ḍḍhuv; but this is ambiguous: see 232). Thus, after ṣ of s-aorist stems (881), astoḍḍhvam, avṛṛḥvam, oṣḍḍhvam (the only quotable cases), from astoṛḥvam, etc.; but arāḍḍhvam from arās-ḥvam. Further, after the ṣ of ṣ-aorist stems (901a), āṁḍhiḥvam, artiḥvam, ajaṇḍḥvam, vepiḍḥvam (the only quotable cases), from ajaniṣ-ḥvam etc. Yet again, in the preceptive (924), as bhaviṣṭḥvam, if, as is probable (unfortunately, no example of this person is quotable from any part of the literature), the preceptive-sign s (ṣ) is to be regarded as present in the form. Accordingly, however, to the Hindu grammarians, the use of ḍh or of dh in the ṣ-aorist and preceptive depends on whether the i of ṣ or of iṅī is or is not “preceded by a semivowel or h” — which both in itself appears senseless and is opposed to the evidence of all the quotable forms. Moreover, the same authorities prescribe the change of dh to ḍh, under the same restriction as to circumstances, in the perf. mid. ending ḍhve also: in this case, too, without any conceivable reason; and no example of ḍḥvē in the 2d pl. perf. has been pointed out in the literature.

d. The conversion of ṣ to ṭ (or ḍ) as final and before bh and su is parallel with the like conversion of ḍ, and of j and h in the mrj and
ruḥ classes of roots, and perhaps with the occasional change of s to t (167—8). It is a very infrequent case, occurring (save as it may be assumed in the case of sas) only once in RV. and once in AV. (dvit and prut), although those texts have more than 40 roots with final s; in the Brahmanaś, moreover, have been noticed further only -prut and viś (CB.), and -qit (K.). From pīṅga, RV. has the anomalous form pīnak (2d and 3d sing., for pina-s and pina-t).

e. Before s in internal combination (except su of loc. pl.) it becomes k: thus, dvēkṣa, dvēkṣyami, advikṣam.

f. This change is of anomalous phonetic character, and difficult of explanation. It is also practically of very rare occurrence. The only RV. examples (apart from pīnak, above) are vivekṣa, from yviṣ, and the desid. stem ririkṣa from yriṣ; AV. has only dvikṣat and dvikṣata, and the desid. stem qīlikṣa from qelīṣ. Other examples are quotable from yvr̥ṣ and pīṣ and viṣ (CB etc.), and qīṣ (CB); and they are by the Hindu grammarians prescribed to be formed from about half-a-dozen other roots.

**Extension and Abbreviation.**

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

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

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

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

Thus:

- svark arka, or svark arkka; kārya kārya, or kārya kāryya;
- svartha, or svartha svartha; dirgha, or dirgha dirgha.
a. Some of the authorities include, along with r, also h or l or v, or more than one of them, in this rule.

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

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

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

a. This duplication is allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiṣṭākhyas — in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiṣṭākhyas; 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 Prātiṣṭākhyas (and assumed in Pāṇini’s commentary): see APrr. i.99, note.

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

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

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

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

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

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, yūndhī for yūndghī, yūndhvām for yūndhvrām, āntām for āntām, paṇṭi for paṇktī, chintām for chinttām, bhinnthā, indhē for inddhē.

a. This abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇini, is required by APrr. (the other Prātiṣṭākhyas take no notice of it). It is the more usual practice of the manuscripts, though the full group is also often written.
232. In general, a double mute (including an aspirate which is doubled by the prefix of a non-aspirate) in combination with any other consonant is by the manuscripts written as simple.

a. That is to say, the ordinary usage of the manuscripts makes no difference between those groups in which a phonetic duplication is allowed by the rules given above (228, 229) and those in which the duplication is etymological. As every tv after a vowel may also be properly written ttv, so datvā and tattvā may be, and almost invariably are, written as datvā and tatvā. As kārtana is also properly kārttana, so kārtti (from kṛtt) is written as kārtika. So in inflection, we have always, for example, majñā etc., not majjñā, from majjān. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abbreviations are made: thus, hṛdyotā for hṛddyotā; chināty asya for chinātty asya. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard adhvaṃ or ādihvam (from yāṣa), ādvīḍhvaṃ or ādvīḍhvaṃ (from yāḍiḍ), as the true form of a second person plural.

233. a. Instances are sometimes met with of apparent loss (perhaps after conversion to a semivowel) of ī or ā before y or v respectively. Thus, in the Brāhmaṇas, ī and ā with following vāj etc. often make tvāj, nvāj (also tivāj, ānvāj); and other examples from the older language are anvart- (anu+yvarī); paryan, paryanti, paryāyāt, paryāyaṇa (pari+yayana, etc.); abhyārti (abhi+iṛyati); antaryāt (antar+iyyāt); cārvāc, cārvāka, cārvadana (cāru+yāc, etc.); kyānt for kiyant; ṅvoyoḍa (dvi+yoga); anvā, anvāsana (anu+vā, etc.); probably vṝynoti for ṭi yunoti (RV.), uṛvācī (uru+vāci), ṇjīvarī for ṇjīvu-vāri (RV.); ṇvāmā (vi+yāmā); and the late svarṇa for suvarṇa. More anomalous abbreviations are the common ṛcā (tri+ṛca); and ṅvṛca (dvi+ṛca: S.) and āṛṛ (tri+ṛṇi: Āpast.).

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

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

c. The s between two mutes is lost in all combinations of the roots sthā and stambh with the prefix ud: thus, út thus, útthītā, útthāpayā, úttābdhā, etc.

d. The same omission is now and then made in other similar cases: thus cit kāmbhānena (for skāmbh:- RV.); tasmat tute (for stute) and puroruk tuta (for stuta: K.); the compounds yktā (ṛk+stā; PR.) and utphulīnga; the derivative utphāla (vphal). On the other hand, we have vidyūt stanāyanti (RV.), utsthāla, kakutsthā, etc.

e. So also the tense-sign of the s-sorist is lost after a final consonant of a root before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, achaṁta
Abbreviation of Consonant-groups.

81

(and for this, by 231, achánta) for achántata, çápta for çápsta, tãptam for tãpstatam, abhákta for abháktata, amãuktam for amãukstam. These are the only quotable cases: compare 883.

f. A final s of root or tense-stem is in a few instances lost after a sonant aspirate, and the combination of mutes is then made as if no sibilant had ever intervened. Thus, from the root ghas, with omission of the vowel and then of the final sibilant, we have the form gðha (for ghs-ta: 3d sing. mid.), the participle gðha (in agdhád), and the derivative gðhi (for ghs-ti; in sá-gðhi); and further, from the reduplicated form of the same root, or ÿjaks, we have jagðha, jagðhum, jagðhva, jagðhi (from jaghs-ta etc.); also, in like manner, from baps, reduplication of bhas, the form babðham (for babhs-tam). According to the Hindu grammarians, the same utter loss of the aorist-sign s takes place after a final sonant aspirate of a root before an ending beginning with t or th: thus, from ÿrudh, s-aorist stem aráuts act. and aruts mid., come the active dual and plural persons aráuddham and aráuddham and aráuddha, and the middle singular persons aráuddhás and aráuddha. None of the active forms, however, have been found quotable from the literature, ancient or modern; and the middle forms admit also of a different explanation: see 834, 883.

Strengthening and Weakening Processes.

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

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. A guna-vowel (guna secondary quality) differs from the corresponding simple vowel by a prefixed a-element, which is combined with the other according to the usual rules; a vṛddhi-vowel (vṛddhi growth, increment), by the further prefixation of a to the guna-vowel. Thus, of զ i or ץ i the corresponding guna is (a+1=) ç e; the corresponding vṛddhi is (a+e=) ç åi. But in all gunating processes ç a remains unchanged — or, as it is sometimes expressed,
The series of corresponding degrees is then as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple vowel</th>
<th>a ā i ī u ū r ṛ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guṇa</td>
<td>a ā e o ar al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vṛddhi</td>
<td>ā āi āu ār</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

The guṇa-increment is an Indo-European phenomenon, and 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 dvēṣṭi from ydvīṣa, dōhmi from yduḥ; or in derivation, as dvēṣa, dōhas, dvēṣṭum, dōgdhum.

b. In formative elements: either conjugational class-signs, as tanomi from tanu; or suffixes of derivation, in inflection or in further derivation, as mataye from mati, bhānāvas from bhānū, pitāram from pitē (or pitār), hantavāyā from hāntu.

The vṛddhi-increment is specifically Indian, and its occurrence is less frequent and regular. It is found —
a. In root and suffix-syllables, instead of guṇa: thus, stāṉti from .gstatic, sākhāyam from sākhī, ānāśam from ānī, ākārṣam and kārāyati and kāryā from קיר (or kar), dātāram from dātṛ (or dāṭār).

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, mānasā from mānas, vāidyutā from vidyut, bhāumā from bhūmi, pārthīva from पथ्वी (1204).

But —

240. The guṇa-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing guṇa in processes of derivation and inflection do not apply to a short vowel which is "long by position", nor to a long vowel unless it be final: thus, cēṭati from c'eit, but nīnati from nīṇī; nāyati from निय, but jīvatī from ज्यिव.

a. The व्र्द्धी-increment is not liable to this restriction.

b. Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, ehā, ehas from ऐह, heḍāyāmi, heḍas, etc., from ऐहिज, ऐसा etc. from ऐस; oṅate etc. from ऐउ consider; and especially, from roots in iv: didēva devisyati, dēvana, etc., from ऐव; tiṣṭheva from ऐथिव; srevāyāmi, srēvuka, from ऐरव — on account of which it is, doubtless, that these roots are written with iv (div etc.) by the Hindu grammarians, although they nowhere show a short ɪ, in either verb-forms or derivatives.

c. A few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment: thus, dūṣyati from द्व, gūhati from घुह.

The changes of र (more original ar or ra) are so various as to call for further description.

241. The increments of र 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 र्द्र, drakṣyāmi and ādṛkaṣam; but also prthū and prath, prch and prach, kṛpā and ākrapīṭa.

242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in र (for more original ar), the र exchanges both with ar, and more irregularly, in a part of the forms, with ār — or also with ur (especially after a labial, in pr, mr, vr, sporadically in others): which ir and ur, again, are liable to prolongation into īr and īr. Thus, for example, from tr (or tar), we have tarati, titarti, tatāra, atārīsam, by regular processes; but also tirati, tirīyati, tīrvā, -tīrṣa, -tīrṇa, and even (V.) turyāma, tuturyāt, tartūrāṇa. The treatment of such roots has to be described in speaking of each formation.

a. For the purpose of artificially indicating this peculiarity of treatment, such roots are by the Hindu grammarians written with long र, or with both र and ṛ: no ṛ actually appears anywhere among their forms.
b. The (quotable) ṛ-roots are 2ṛ strewe, 1ṛ sing, 2ṛ swallow, 1ṛ wear out, ṛṛ, 1ṛṛ crush.

c. The (quotable) ṛ and ṛ-roots are ṛ, 1ḍṛ pierce, 1ṛṛ fill, 1ṛṛdṛ die, 2ṛṛ choose,ṣṛ, ṛṛṛ.

d. Forms analogous with these are sometimes made also from other roots: thus, cūrṇa, cūrtvā, carecūrṇyā, from y/car; spūrdhān and spūrdhār from y/spūrdh.

243. In a few cases ṛ comes from the contraction of other syllables than ar and rā: thus, in trā and ṭṛtiya, from ri; in qṛṇu, from ru; in bhrkūṭi, from rū.

Vowel-lengthening.

244. Vowel-lengthening concerns especially i and u, since the lengthening of a is in part (except where in evident analogy with that of i and u) indistinguishable from its increment, and ṛ is made long only in certain plural cases of stems in ṛ (or ar: 369 ff.). Lengthening is a much more irregular and sporadic change than increment, and its cases will in general be left to be pointed out in connection with the processes of inflection and derivation: a few only will be mentioned here.

245. a. Final radical i and u are especially liable to prolongation before ṛ: as in passive and gerund and so on.

b. Final radical ır and ur (from variable ṛ-roots: 242) are liable to prolongation before all consonants except those of personal endings: namely, before ṛ and tvā and ma: and in declension before bh and s (392). Radical ır has the same prolongation in declension (392).

246. Compensatory lengthening, or absorption by a vowel of the time of a lost following consonant, is by no means common. Certain instances of it have been pointed out above (179, 198 c, d, 199 d, 222 b). Perhaps such cases as pītā for pīтарś (371 a) and dhanī for dhanins (439) are to be classed here.

247. The final vowel of a former member of a compound is often made long, especially in the Veda. Prolongations of final a, and before ṛ, are most frequent; but cases are found of every variety. Examples are: devāvī, vayunāvīḍ, prāvīṣ, ṛtāvasu, indrāvant, sadanāsād, ṛṭāmgaḥa, viqvānara, ēkādaṣa; apījū, pariṃānḥ, vīrūḍh, tuvimagnā, tvīśmant, ċāktīvant; vaśūjū, anūṛūḍh, 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 the various Prāṭīcākhyas). Words of which the finals are thus treated are:
Vowel-lengthening.

a. Particles: namely, áthā, ádhā, evā, utā, ghā, hā, ihā, ivā, e, smā, nā, aṅgā, kīlā, átrā, yátrā, tátrā, kutārā, anyātrā, ubhay-átrā, adyā, áechā, ápā, prā; áti, nī, yādī, nahī, abhī, vī; ā, 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 sīmā, vṛṣabhā, harīyojanā (vac.); 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, dhārayā; — 2d pl. act. in ta and tha, as sthā, attā, bibhātā, jayātā, oṣṭutā, anadatā, navathā, īvayathā (and one or two in tana: avīṣṭanā, hantanā); — 1st pl. act. in ma, as vidmā, riṣmā, ṛdhymā, ruhmā, vanuyāmā, cakrmā, marmṛjma; — 2d sing. impv. mid. in sva, as yukeśvā, iḍiśvā, dadhṛvā, vahasvā; — 1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as vedā, vīveçā, jagrabhā; 2d sing. perf. act., vetthā; — 2d pl. perf. act., anajā, cakrā. Of verb-forms ending in i, only-the 2d sing. impv. act.: thus, ārdo, ṛṇuhi, kṣidhī, crudhī, ṛṇudhī, ṛṇuhi, didihi, jahi.

d. To these may be added the gerund in ya (893 a), as abhi-gūryā, ācyā.

Vowel-lightening.

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

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

a. Of the class-sign nā (of the krī-class of verbs: 717 ff.), the ā is in weak forms changed to i, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final ā of certain roots is treated in the same manner: thus, mā, hā, etc. (682–6). And from some roots, ā- and ū- 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 y’dā etc. (794 k); aorist adhīthās from y’dhā etc. (834 a); present jahimas from y’hā etc. (885).

c. Radical ā is shortened to the semblance of stem-a in a number of reduplicated forms, as tiṣṭha, pība, dada, etc.: see 671–4; also in a few aorists, as áhvam, ákhyam, etc.: see 847.

d. Radical ā sometimes becomes e, especially before y: as stheyā- sam, deya.
251. Certain a-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 ē or o. Thus, from 2dха seek (dhe) come the present dhāyati and participle and gerund dhītā, dhītvā; the other forms are made from dhā, as dadhus, adhāt, dhāsyati, dhātave, dhāpayati. From 2gā sing (gā) come the present gāyati, the participle and gerund gītā and gītvā, and passive gīyate, 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 (see especially 761 d ff.).

252. By a process of abbreviation essentially akin with that of ar or ra to ē, the va (usually initial) of a number of roots becomes u, and the ya of a much smaller number becomes i, in certain verbal forms and derivatives. Thus, from vac come uvāc, ucyāsam, uktvā, uktā, ukthā, etc.; from yaj come iyāja, iyāsam, iṣtvā, iṣṭā, iṣṭi, etc. See below, under the various formations.

a. To this change is given by European grammarians the name of samprasāraṇa, by adaptation of a term used in the native grammar.

253. A short a, of root or ending, is not infrequently lost between consonants in a weakened syllable: thus, in verb-forms, ghnānti, āpaptam, jagmūs, jajnūs, ājñata; in noun-forms, rājña, rājñī.

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

a. That character belongs oftenest to i, which is very widely used: 1. before the s of aorist and future and desiderative stems, as in ājīviṣam, jīviṣyāmi, jīviṣyāmi; 2. in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as jījivā; occasionally also present, as āniti, rūditī; 3. in derivation, as jīvītā, khānītum, jānitī, ruciṣṭū, etc. etc.

b. Long i is used sometimes instead of short: thus, āgrahīṣam, grahiṣyāmi; bravīti, vāvadīti; tarīṭy, savīṭy; it is also often introduced before s and t of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs: thus, āsīs, āsīt.

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

Nasal Increment.

255. Both in roots and in endings, a distinction of stronger and weaker forms is very often made by the presence or absence of a nasal element, a nasal mute or anusvāra, before a following consonant. In general, the stronger form is doubtless the more original; but, in the present condition of the language, the nasal has come in great measure to seem, and to some extent also to be used, as an actually strengthening element, introduced under certain conditions in formative and inflective processes.
Nasal Increment.

a. Examples are, of roots: ao and aye, grath and grantha, vid and vind, daq and daaqa, sras and sraas, dph and dpūh: of endings, bhārantam and bhāratā, mānasī and māṇāsi.

256. A final n, whether of stem or of root, is less stable than any other consonant, where a weaker form is called for: thus, from rājan we have rājā and rājabhis, and in composition rāja; from dhanī, dhanī and dhanībhis and dhanī; from yhan we have hathā and hatā, etc. A final radical m is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from ygam, gahī, gatā, gatā, gāti.

257. Inserted n. On the other hand, the nasal n has come to be used with great — and, in the later history of the language, with increasing — frequency as a union-consonant, inserted between vowels: thus, from agnī, agnīnā and agnīnām; from madhū, madhunās, madhunī, madhunī; from qīvā, qīvēna, qīvāni, qīvānām.

258. Inserted y. a. After final a of a root, a y is often found as apparently a mere union-consonant before another vowel: thus, in inflection, ādhāyi etc. (844), qāyāyi etc. (1042), qivāyi etc. (363 c), qayati etc. (761 e); further, in derivation, -gāya, -yāyam, dāyaka etc.; -sthāyika; pāyana, -gāyana; dhāyās, -hāyas; sthāyin etc. (many cases); -hitāyin, -tatāyin; sthāyuka.

b. Other more sporadic cases of inserted y — such as that in the pronoun-forms ayam, iyam, vayam, yūyam, svayam; and in optative inflection before an ending beginning with a vowel (565) — will be pointed out below in their connection.

Reduplication.

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

a. in present-stem formation (642 ff.): as dādāmi, bibhārmi;

b. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally (782 ff.): as tatāna, dadhāu, cakāra, rirēca, lulōpa;

c. in aorist-stem formation (856 ff.): as ādīdharam, ācucyavam;

d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout (1000 ff., 1026 ff.): as jāṅghanti, jōhavīti, marmājyāte; pīpāsati, jīghānsati;

e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems (1143 e): as pāpri, cărcara, sāsahī, cikāṭi, malimlucā.

f. Rules for the treatment of the reduplication in these several cases will be given in the proper connection below.

260. As, by reason of the strengthening and weakening changes indicated above, the same root or stem not seldom exhibits, in the processes of inflection and derivation, varieties of stronger and weaker form, the distinction and description of these varieties forms an important part of the subjects hereafter to be treated.
CHAPTER IV.

DECLENSION.

261. The general subject of declension includes nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, all of which are inflected in essentially the same manner. But while the correspondence of nouns and adjectives is so close that they cannot well be separated in treatment (chap. V.), the pronouns, which exhibit many peculiarities, will be best dealt with in a separate chapter (VII.); and the words designating number, or numerals, also form a class peculiar enough to require to be presented by themselves (chap. VI.).

262. Declensional forms show primarily case and number; but they also indicate gender — since, though the distinctions of gender are made partly in the stem itself, they also appear, to no inconsiderable extent, in the changes of inflection.

263. Gender. The genders are three, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other older Indo-European languages; and they follow in general the same laws of distribution as, for example, in Greek and Latin.

a. The only words which show no sign of gender-distinction are the personal pronouns of the first and second person (491), and the numerals above four (483).

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

a. A few words are used only in the plural: as dārās wife, āpas water; the numeral dva two, is dual only; and, as in other languages, many words are, by the nature of their use, found to occur only in the singular.

265. As to the uses of the numbers, it needs only to be remarked that the dual is (with only very rare and sporadic exceptions) used strictly in all cases where two objects are logically indicated, whether directly or by combination of two individuals: thus, čivē te dyāvāpṛthivī ubhē stām may heaven and earth both be propitious to thee! dāivaṁ ca mānuṣaṁ ca hotārau vṛtvā having chosen both the divine and the human sacrificers; pathor devayānasya pitryānasya ca of the two paths leading respectively to the gods and to the Fathers.
a. The dual is used alone (without dva two) properly when the duality of the objects indicated is well understood: thus, açvināu the two Acvins; īndrasya hārī Indra's two boys; but tasya dvōv açvāu stah he has two horses. But now and then the dual stands alone pregnantly: thus, vedam vedāu vedān vā one Veda or two or more than two; ekasāsthe gate two hundred and sixty-one.

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

a. The order in which they are here mentioned is that established for them by the Hindu grammarians, and accepted from these by Western scholars. The Hindu names of the cases are founded on this order: the nominative is called prathāmā first, the accusative dvitiyā second, the genitive pāṅgukā third (sc. vibhakti division, i. e. case), etc. The object sought in the arrangement is simply to set next to one another those cases which are to a greater or less extent, in one or another number, identical in form; and, putting the nominative first, as leading case, there is no other order by which that object could be attained. The vocative is not considered and named by the native grammarians as a case like the rest; in this work, it will be given in the singular (where alone it is ever distinguished from the nominative otherwise than by accent) at the end of the series of cases.

A compendious statement of the uses of the cases is given in the following paragraphs:

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

268. One or two peculiar constructions call for notice:

a. A predicate nominative, instead of an objective predicate in the accusative, is used with middle verb-forms that signify regarding or calling one's self: thus, sōmam manyate papivān (RV.) he thinks he has been drinking soma; sā manyeta purāṇavit (AV.) he may regard himself as wise in ancient things; durgād va āhartā 'vocathāḥ (MS.) thou hast claimed to be a savior out of trouble; īndro brāhmaṇo brūvāṇaḥ (TS.) Indra pretending to be a Brahman; katthathe satyavādi (R.) thou boast-est thyself truthful. Similarly with the phrase rūpān kṛṣṇo rūpān kṛtvā (TS.) taking on a black form (i. e. making shape for himself as one that is black).

b. A word made by iti (1102) logically predicate to an object is ordinarily nominative: thus, svargō lokā iti yām vādanti (AV.) what they call the heavenly world; tam agniṣṭoma ity ācakṣate (AB.) it they style agniṣṭoma; vidarbhārajatanyām damayanti 'ti viddhitī mām (MBh.) know me for the Vidarbla-king's daughter, Damayanti by
name. Both constructions are combined in ajñām hi bālam ṛtu āhuḥ pite 'ty eva tu mantradām (M.) for to an ignorant man they give the name of 'child', but that of 'father' to one who imparts the sacred texts.

c. A nominative, instead of a second vocative, is sometimes added to a vocative by ca and: thus, īndrać ca sōmam pibatam brhaspate (RV.) together with Īndra, do ye two drink the soma; O Brhaspati! viqve devā yājamāṇać ca sīdatā (TS.) O ye All-Gods, and the sacrificer, take seats!

269. Uses of the Accusative. The accusative is especially the case of the direct object of a transitive verb, and of any word qualifying that object, as attribute or appositive or objective predicate. The construction of the verb is shared, of course, by its participles and infinitives; but also, in Sanskrit, by a number of other derivatives, having a more or less participial or infinitival character, and even sometimes by nouns and adjectives. A few prepositions are accompanied by the accusative. As less direct object, or goal of motion or action, the accusative is construed especially with verbs of approach and address. It is found used more adverbially as adjunct of place or time or manner; and a host of adverbs are accusative cases in form. Two accusatives are often found as objects of the same verb.

270. The use of the accusative as direct object of a transitive verb and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration; an example or two are: agnīṁ īde I praise Agni; nāmo bhārantaḥ bringing homage; bhūyo dātum arhasi thou shouldst give more. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is tām ugrāṁ kṛṇomi tām brāhmaṇam (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 (1036) have wholly the character of present participles: thus, damayantīṁ abhīpsavāḥ (MBh.) desiring to win Damayanti; didṛkṣur janākātmaḷām (R.) desiring to see Janaka's daughter. Rarely, also, the verbal noun in ā from such a root: thus, svargam abhīkāṅkṣaya (R.) with desire of paradise.

b. So-called primary derivatives in in have the same character: thus, mām kāmīṇī (AV.) loving me; enām abhībhaṣīṇī (MBh.) addressing him. Even the obviously secondary garbhīn has in QB. the same construction: thus, sārvaṁ bhūtāṁ garbhī ābhavat he became pregnant with all beings.

c. Derivatives in aka, in the later language: as, bhavantam abhi-vādakaḥ (MBh.) intending to salute you; mithilām avarodhakaḥ (R.) beseeing Mithilā.

d. Nouns in tar, very frequently in the older language, and as phrasic future forms (942 ff.) in the later: thus, hāntā yō vṛtrāṁ
sānito 'tā vājāṁ dātā maghānī (RV.) who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesses; tāu hi 'dāṁ sarvaṁ hārtārasu (JB.) for they seise on this universe; tyaktāraḥ samyuge prāṇāṁ (MBh.) risking life in battle.

e. The root itself, in the older language, used with the value of a present participle at the end of a compound; thus, yāṁ yajñāṁ paribhūr āsi (RV.) what offering thou surroundest (protectest); āhim apāḥ pariśṭhām (RV.) the dragon confining the waters. Also a superlative of a root-stem (468, 471): thus, tvāṁ vāsu devayatē vāniśṭhāḥ (RV.) thou art chief winner of wealth for the pious; tā somāṁ somapātāmā (RV.) they two are the greatest drinkers of soma.

f. The derivative in i from the (especially the reduplicated) root, in the older language: thus, babhūr vājram papiḥ somāṁ dadūr gāṁ (RV.) bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine; yajñāṁ ātāniḥ (RV.) extending the sacrifice.

g. Derivatives in uka, very frequently in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, vatsāṁc ca ghutūko vṛkha (AV.) and the wolf destroys his calves; vēduko vāso bhavati (TS.) he wins a garment; kāmukā enaṁ striyo bhavanti (MS.) the women fall in love with him.

h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in a, as ēndro dr̥dāḥ cid ārujāḥ (RV.) Indra breaks up even what is fast; nāi vā ‘r̥hāḥ pāṭipkam riktham (M.) by no means entitled to his father's estate; — in atnū, as viḍū cid ārujatnūbhīḥ (RV.) with the breakers of whatever is strong; — in atha, as yajāthāya devān (RV.) to make offering to the gods; — in ana, as taṁ nīvaraṇe (MBh.) in restraining him; svamāṁsam iva bhojane (R.) as if in eating one's own flesh; — in ani, as samāṁsu tuurvāṁṣi pṛtanyūn (RV.) overcoming foes in combats; — in ti, as nā tāṁ dhūrtīḥ (RV.) there is no injuring him; — in van, as āpaçeśadaghvā 'nman bhavati (MS.) he does not come short of food; — in anu, as sthirā cin namayiśṇavaḥ (RV.) bowing even firm things.

272. Examples of an accusative with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: such words as ānuvṛata faithfil to, prāṭirūpā corresponding to, abhidhṛṣṇu daring to cope with, pratyāṅc opposite to, may be regarded as taking an accusative in virtue of the preposition they contain; also ānuka, as ānukā devā vāruṇāṁ (MS.) the gods are inferior to Varuṇa. RV. has tāṁ antārvatiḥ pregnant with him; and AV. has māṁ kāmenā through loving me.

273. The direct construction of cases with prepositions is comparatively restricted in Sanskrit (1123 ff.). With the accusative are oftentimes found prati, opposite to, in reference to, etc.; also anu after, in the course of; antar or antāra between; rarely ati across; abhi againat, to; and others (1129). Case-forms which have assumed a prepositional value are also often used with the accusative: as antareṇa, uttareṇa, dakaṣṇena, avareṇa, ērdhvam, ēte.
274. The accusative is very often found also as object of verbs which in the related languages are not transitive.

a. It stands especially as the goal of motion, with verbs of going, bringing, sending, and the like: thus, vidarbhan agamaṇ (MBh.) they went to Vidarbha; divaṁ yayūḥ (MBh.) they went to heaven; vanagulmān dhāvantāḥ (MBh.) running to woods and bushes; apā divām ṛd vahanti (AV.) they carry up waters to the sky; devān yaje (AV.) I make offering to the gods.

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

c. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, tam abravīt he said to him; prākroṣad uccārī nāiṣadham (MBh.) she cried out loudly to the Nishadhan; yās tvo ṛvāca (AV.) who spoke to thee.

d. The assumption of an accusative object is exceptionally easy in Sanskrit, and such an object is often taken by a verb or phrase which is strictly of intransitive character: thus, sāhasā prā Ṛṣay anyān (RV.) in might thou excellent (lit. art ahead) others; devā vāi Brahма sām avadantā (MS.) the gods were discussing (lit. were talking together) brahman; antār vāi mā yajñād yanti (MS.) surely they are cutting me off (lit. are going between) from the offering; tāṁ sām babhūva (CB.) he had intercourse with her.

275. Examples of the cognate accusative, or accusative of implied object, are not infrequent: thus, tāpas tapyāmahe (AV.) we do penance; tē hāi tām edhatum edhāṁ cakrire (CB.) they prospered with that prosperity; uṣītvā sukha-vāsām (R.) abiding happily.

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

a. Occasionally, to denote measure of space: thus, yojanācataṁ gantum (MBh.) to go a hundred leagures; saḍ uchcrito yojanāni (MBh.) six leagues high.

b. Much more often, to denote measure or duration of time: thus, sā sahvatārām ātṛdhi vō tiṣṭat (AV.) he stood a year upright; tisro rātrīr dikṣitāḥ syāt (TS.) let him be consecrated three nights; gatvā trīṁ ahorātrāṁ (MBh.) having traveled three complete days.

c. Sometimes, to denote the point of space, or, oftener, of time: thus, yām asya đīgaṁ dāsyuḥ syāt (CB.) whatever region his enemy may be in; tēnāi tāṁ rātram sahā " jagāma (CB.) he arrived that night with him; imāṁ rajāṇiṁ vyuṣṭām (MBh.) this current night.

d. Very often, to denote manner or accompanying circumstance. Thus, the neuter accusative of innumerable adjectives, simple or compound
(1111), is used adverbially, while certain kinds of compounds are thus used to such an extent that the Hindu grammarians have made of them a special adverbial class (1313).

e. Special cases are occasionally met with: thus, brahmacāryam uvāsa (CB.) he kept a term of studentship; phālām pacyānte (MS.) they ripen their fruit; gāṃ divyadhvam (MS., S.) gamble for a cow.

277. The accusative is, of course, freely used with other cases to limit the same verb, as the sense requires. And whenever it is usable with a verb in two different constructions, the verb may take two accusatives, one in each construction: and such combinations are quite frequent in Sanskrit. Thus, with verbs of appealing, asking, having recourse: as, apō yāoāmi bheṣajām (RV.) I ask the waters for medicine; tvām ahaṁ satyam iechoām (R.) I desire truth from thee; tvām vayaṁ ṛṣaṇāṁ gatāṁ (MBh.) we have resorted to thee for succor; — with verbs of bringing, sending, following, imparting, saying: as, gurutvaṁ naraṁ nayantaḥ (H.) they bring a man to respectability; sītā cā ṯvetu māṁ vanam (R.) and let Sītā accompany me to the forest; supēcaṣam mā 'va śrjanty āstam (RV.) they let me go home well adorned; tāṁ idam abravīt (MBh.) this he said to her; — and in other less common cases: as, vykṣaṁ pā-kvāṁ phālaṁ dhānunhi (RV.) shake ripe fruit from the tree; tāṁ viśām evā 'dhok (AV.) poison he milked from her; jītvā rājyaṁ nalaṁ (MBh.) having won the kingdom from Nala; āmuśītaṁ paṇīṁ gāḥ (RV.) ye robbed the Pāṇi of the kine; draṣṭum iechāvāḥ putram paćeimadar-çanam (R.) we wish to see our son for the last time.

a. A causative form of a transitive verb regularly admits two accusative objects: thus, devāṁ ucaṭāḥ pāveyā haviḥ (RV.) make the eayer gods drink the oblation; oṣadhīr evā phālaṁ graḥayati (MS.) he makes the plants bear fruit; vanījo dāpeyaḥ karāṁ (M.) he should cause the merchants to pay taxes. But such a causative sometimes takes an instrumental instead of a second accusative: see 282a.

278. Uses of the Instrumental. The instrumental is originally the with-case: it denotes adjacency, accompaniment, association — passing over into the expression of means and instrument by the same transfer of meaning which appears in the English prepositions with and by.

a. Nearly all the uses of the case are readily deducible from this fundamental meaning, and show nothing anomalous or difficult.

279. The instrumental is often used to signify accompaniment: thus, agnīr. devēbhīr ā gamat (RV.) may Agni come hither along with the gods; marūdhī rudrāṁ huvam (RV.) we would call Rudra with the Martus; dvāpāreṇa sahāyena kva yāṣayasi (MBh.) whither wilt thou go, with Deśpara for companion? kathayāṁ niśadhena (MBh.) talking with the Nishadhān. But the relation of simple accompaniment is more often helped to plainer expression by prepositions (saha etc.; 284).
280. The instrumental of means or instrument or agent is yet more frequent: thus, bhadrām kārṇobhiḥ ṇṛṣuyāma (RV.) may we hear with our ears what is propitious; ṇaśtreṇa nīdhanam (MBh.) death by the sword; kecit padbhyaḥ mata gajāḥ (MBh.) some were slain by the elephants with their feet; pṛthak pāṃbhyaṁ darbhatarūṣakār navanitena ṇguṣṭhopakaniṣṭhitabhyaṁ aśkṣiṇī ājya (AGS.) anointing their eyes with fresh butter, by help of the bunches of darbha-grass, with the thumb and ring-finger, using the two hands successively. And this passes easily over into the expression of occasion or reason (for which the ablative is more frequent): thus, kṛpayā through pity; tena satyena in virtue of that truth.

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

a. Accordance, equality, likeness, and the like: thus, samām jyōtiḥ stūryeṇa (AV.) a brightness equal with the sun; yeṣām aham na pādarajasā tulyaḥ (MBh.) to the dust of whose feet I am not equal.

b. Price (by which obtained): thus, daqcābhīḥ kṛṇāti dhenūbhīḥ (RV.) he buys with ten kine; gavāṁ qataśahasreṇa diyataṁ qabala mama (R.) let Ćabālā be given me for a hundred thousand cows; sa te kṣahṛdayaṁ dātā rājā, 'qvahṛdayena vai (MBh.) the king will give thee the secret science of dice in return for that of horses.

c. Medium, and hence also space or distance or road, traversed: thus, udnā nā nāvam anayanta (RV.) they brought [hım] as it were a ship by water; ē ṇā yatam pathiḥbir devayānaiḥ (RV.) come hither by god-traveled paths; jagmur vīhāyasā (MBh.) they went off through the air.

d. Time passed through, or by the lapse of which anything is brought about: thus, vidarbhān yātum icchāmy ekāhā (MBh.) I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day; te ca kālēna mahatā yāyvānam pratipedire (R.) and they in a long time attained adolescence; tatra kālēna jāyante mānava dirghajīvinaḥ (M.) there in time are born men long-lived. This use of the instrumental borders upon that of the locative and ablative.

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

f. Not infrequent are such phrases as balunā kim pralāpena (R.) what is the use of (i. e. is gained by) much talking? ko nu me jīvitenā 'ṛthāḥ (MBh.) what object is life to me? niruṣas tu kim śuṣadhiḥ (H.) but what has a well man to do with medicines?

g. An instrumental of accompaniment is occasionally used almost or quite with the value of an instrumental absolute: thus, na tvayā 'tra mayā 'vasthitena kā 'pi cintā kāryā (Paśc.) with me at hand, thou needst feel no anxiety whatever on this point.
282. a. The construction of a passive verb (or participle) with an instrumental of the agent is common from the earliest period, and becomes decidedly more so later, the passive participle with instrumental taking to no small extent the place of an active verb with its subject. Thus, yamēna dattāḥ (RV.) given by Yama; ṣṣibhir īdyaḥ (RV.) to be praised by sages; vyādhena jālām vistīrṇam (H.) by the hunter a net [was] spread; tac chrutvā jaradgaveno 'ktam (H.) Jaradgava, hearing this, said; mayā gantavyam (H.) I shall go. A predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental: thus, adhunā tavā 'nuceareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam (H.) henceforth I shall always be thy companion; avahitār bhavitavyam bhavadbhiḥ (Vikr.) you must be attentive.

b. A causative verb sometimes takes an instrumental instead of an accusative as second object: thus, tāṁ ṭabhiḥ khādayed rājā (M.) the king should have her devoured by dogs; tā vāruṇenā 'grāhayat (MS.) he caused Varuṇa to seize them.

283. Many instrumental constructions are such as call in translation for other prepositions than with or by; yet the true instrumental relation is usually to be traced, especially if the etymological sense of the words be carefully considered.

a. More anomalously, however, the instrumental is used interchangeably with the ablative with words signifying separation: thus, vatsāfr viyutāḥ (RV.) separated from their calves; mā 'hāṁ atmānā vī rādhīgī (AV.) let me not be severed from the breath of life; sa tayā vyayujyata (MBh.) he was parted from her; pāpmānāi 'vāi 'naṁ vī puṃantī (MS.) they cleanse him from evil (compare English parted with). The same meaning may be given to the case even when accompanied by saha with: thus, bhartrā saha viyogaḥ (MBh.) separation from her husband.

284. The prepositions taking the instrumental (1127) are those signifying with and the like: thus, saha, with the adverbial words containing sa as an element, as sākam, sārdham, saratham; — and, in general, a word compounded with sa, sam, saha takes an instrumental as its regular and natural complement. But also the preposition vinā without takes sometimes the instrumental (cf. 283 a).

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

a. In more physical connections, the uses of the dative approach those of the accusative (the more proper to-case), and the two are sometimes interchangeable; but the general value of the dative as the toward- or for-case is almost everywhere distinctly to be traced.

286. Thus, the dative is used with —

a. Words signifying give, share out, assign, and the like: thus, yó nā dådāti sākhye (RV.) who gives not to a friend; yācchā 'smāi çårma (RV.) bestow upon him protection.
b. Words signifying show, announce, declare, and the like: thus, dhanur darçaya rāmāya (R.) show the bow to Rāma; āvīr ebhyo abhavat sūryāḥ (RV.) the sun was manifested to them; ṛtu parṇam bhi- māya pratywedañan (MBh.) they announced Rituparna to Bhāma; tebhyāḥ pratiñāya (MBh.) having promised to them.

c. Words signifying give attention, have a regard or feeling, aspire, and the like: thus, nīveṇāya mano dadhuḥ (MBh.) they set their minds upon encamping; mātē 'va putrebhyo mṛḍa (AV.) be gracious as a mother to her sons; kīm asmābhyaṁ hṛṇīse (RV.) why art thou angry at us? kāmāya sṛphayaty ātma (Spr.) the soul longs for love.

d. Words signifying please, suit, conducive, and the like: thus, yad yad rocate viprebhyāḥ (M.) whatever is pleasing to Brahmans; tad ānntyāya kalpate (KU.) that makes for immortality.

e. Words signifying inclination, obeisance, and the like: thus, māhyaṁ namantām prādīcaç cātasrañ (RV.) let the four quarters bow themselves to me; devebhyo namaskṛtya (MBh.) having paid homage to the gods.

f. Words signifying hurling or casting: as yēna dūḍaçe āsyasi (AV.) with which thou hurlest at the impious.

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

287. In its more distinctive sense, as signifying for, for the benefit of, with reference to, and the like, the dative is used freely, and in a great variety of constructions. And this use passes over into that of the dative of end or purpose, which is extremely common. Thus, īsuṁ kṛṇ- vānā āsanāya (AV.) making an arrow for hurling; gṛṇāmi te sāν- bhagatvāya hāstam (RV.) I take thy hand in order to happiness; rāṣṭrāya māhyam badhyatāṁ sapātnebhyaḥ parābhûve (AV.) be it bound on in order to royalty for me, in order to destruction for my enemies.

a. Such a dative is much used predicatively (and oftenest with the copula omitted), in the sense of makes for, tends toward; also is intended for, and so must; or is liable to, and so can. Thus, upadeço mūrhāṇām prakopāya na çāntaye (H.) good counsel [tends] to the exasperation, not the conciliation, of fools; sa ca tasyāḥ saṁtoṣāya 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).

b. These uses of the dative are in the older language especially illustrated by the dative infinitives, for which see 982.

288. The dative is not used with prepositions (1124).

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

290. The ablative is used where expulsion, removal, distinction, release, defense, and other kindred relations are expressed: thus, te sedhanti pathō vṛkam (AV.) they drive away the wolf from the path; mā prá
gāma pathāḥ (RV.) may we not go away from the path; eti vā esā yajñamukhāt (MS.) he verily goes away from the face of the sacrifice; āre asmād astu hetāḥ (AV.) far from us be your missile; pātāṁ no vṛkāt (RV.) save us from the wolf; āstabhnaḥ dyām asvasāsaḥ (RV.) he kept (lit. made firm) the sky from falling.

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

a. Hence also, procedure as from a cause or occasion is signified by the ablative: this is especially frequent in the later language, and in technical phraseology it is a standing construction; it borders on instrumental constructions. Thus, vājraśya cūṣṇād dādāra (RV.) from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he burst asunder; yasya dandabhayāt sarve dharmam anurudhyanti (MBh.) from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty; akāraṃicritatvād ekārasya (Tribh.) because e contains an element of a.

b. Very rarely, an ablative has the sense of after: thus, agaccham ahorātṛat tirtham (MBh.) they went to the shrine after a whole day; ṭaṅkārāt sakāre takāreṇa (APr.) after t, before s, is inserted t.

292. One or two special applications of the ablative construction are to be noticed:

a. The ablative with words implying fear (terrible recoil from): thus, tāsyā jātāyaḥ sārvam abibhet (AV.) everything was afraid of her at her birth; yasmād rējanta kṛṣṭayaḥ (RV.) at whom mortals tremble; yuṣmād bhīyāḥ (RV.) through fear of you; yasmaḥ no 'dvijate lokaḥ (BhG.) of whom the world is not afraid.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, praḥ ririce divā īndraḥ prthivyāḥ (RV.) Indra is greater than the heaven and the earth. With a comparative, or other word used in a kindred way, the ablative is the regular and almost constant construction: thus, svādōḥ svādīyaḥ (RV.) sweeter than the sweet; kiiṁ tasmād duḥkhhataram (MBh.) what is more painful than that? ko mītrād anayaḥ (H.) who else than a friend; gā avṛṇīthā mat (AB.) thou hast chosen the kine rather than me; ajñebyo granthinaḥ qreṣṭhā granthibhyo dhāriṇo varaḥ (M.) possessors of texts are better than ignorant men; rememberers are better than possessors; tād anyātra tvān nī dadhmasi (AV.) we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee; pūrvā viqvasmād bhūvanāt (RV.) earlier than all beings.

c. Occasionally, a probably possessive genitive is used with the comparative; or an instrumental (as in a comparison of equality): thus,

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
nā 'sti dhanyataro mama (R.) there is no one more fortunate than I (i.e. my superior in fortune); putram mama prānāir garīyasam (MBh.) a son dearer than my life.

d. Occasionally, an abative is used instead of a partitive genitive: thus, mitthunād ekath jaghāna (R.) he slew one out of the pair; tebbha ekam (KSS.) one of them.

293. The abative is used with a variety of prepositions and words sharing a prepositional character (1128); but all these have rather an adver-

b. Also purā (and puras), in the sense of forward from, and hence before: as, purā járasaḥ (RV.) before old age; and hence also, with words of protection and the like, from: as caçaamānāḥ purā nidan (RV.) se-

c. Also ā, in the sense of hither from, all the way from: as, ā mūlaḍ ānu cuṣayatu (AV.) let it dry completely up from the root; tāsmad ā nādyo nāma stha (AV.) since that time ye are called rivers. But usua-

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

296. The genitive in its normal adjective construction with a noun or pronoun is classifiable into the usual varieties: as, genitive of possession or appurtenance, including the complement of implied relation — this is, as elsewhere, the commonest of all; the so-called partitive genitive; the subjective and objective genitives; and so on. Genitives of apposition or
equivalence (city of Rome), and of characteristic (man of honor), do not occur, and hardly that of material (house of wood). Examples are: इंद्रस्या वाज्राः इंद्रa's thunderbolt; पिता पुत्राः पति father of sons; पुत्राः son of the father; पिता कामाः पुत्रस्यa, the father's love of the son; के नाह which of us; छताम दासाः a hundred female slaves.

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

b. Exceptional cases like नागरस्या मार्गाः the road to the city (cf. le chemin de Paris), यास्याः 'नाह dūta ipsitāḥ (MBh.) as messenger to whom I am wanted, are occasionally met with.

296. The genitive is dependent on an adjective:

a. A so-called partitive genitive with a superlative, or another word of similar substantival value: thus, चेत्ताम हिरणम best of heroes; विरुधाः हिरयावति (AV.) of plants the mighty (mightiest) one.

b. Very often, by a transfer of the possessive genitive from noun to adjective, the adjective being treated as if it had nonn-value: thus, तस्या शाम or अनुरुपाः or सद्र्याः resembling him (i. e. his like); तस्या प्रिया dear to him (his dear one); तस्या 'विदितम unknown to him (his unknown thing); हाय्या cारसानिम (RV.) to be sacrificed to by mortals (their object of sacrifice); इपितो न्यनानिम (MBh.) desired of men and women (their object of desire); यास्या कस्या प्रसुताः (H.) of whomsoever born (his son); हांताययो 'समि नातेः (MBh.) I am not to be slain of thee; किम आर्थिम् वाहिकात्तयायम आस्ति (H.) why should there be a deceiving of suppliants?

c. In part, by a construction similar to that of verbs which take a genitive object: thus, आभिज्ञा राजदार्मिनाः (R.) understanding the duties of a king.

297. The genitive as object of a verb is:

a. A possessive genitive of the recipient, by pregnant construction, with verbs signifying give, impart, communicate, and the like: thus, वरां प्रदायशः 'स्या (MBh.) having bestowed gifts upon him (made them his by bestowal); राज्जो न्देतितम (H.) it was made known to the king (made his by knowledge); यद अन्यास्या प्रज्ञाया पुनर्वयस्या वियाते (M.) that after being promised to one she is given to another. This construction, by which the genitive becomes substitute for a dative or locative, abounds in the later language, and is extended sometimes to problematic and difficult cases.

b. A (in most cases, probably) partitive genitive, as a less complete or less absolute object than an accusative: thus, with verbs meaning partake (eat, drink, etc.), as पिबा सुतायम (AV.) drink (of) the soma; माध्वाः पायया (RV.) cause to drink the sweet draught; — with verbs meaning impart (of the thing imparted) etc., as दादाता नो आम्तायम (RV.) bestow upon us immortality; — with verbs meaning enjoy, be satisfied or filled
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with: as, mátasy ándhasaḥ (RV.) do thou enjoy the juice; ājyasya pūreyanti (S.) they fill with butter; — with verbs meaning perceive, note, care for, regard with feeling of various kinds: as, váṣiśthasya stuvatā śraddho açrot (RV.) Indra listened to Vasishtha who was praising him; yáthā máma smárat (AV.) that he may think of me; tasya čukopā (MBh.) he was angry at him.

c. A genitive of more doubtful character, with verbs meaning rule or have authority: as, tváṃ içiçe váśunām (RV.) thou art lord of good things; yáthā 'hám eŚāṁ virājāni (AV.) that I may rule over them; katham mṛtyuḥ prabhavati vedacāstravidām (M.) how has death power over those who know the Vedas and treatises?

d. A genitive, instead of an ablative, is sometimes found used with a verb of receiving of any kind (hearing included), and with one of fearing: thus, yo rājñaḥ pratigrññāti lubdhasya (M.) whoever accepts a gift from a greedy king; qṛṣu me (MBh.) learn from me; bibhīmas tava (MBh.) we are afraid of thee.

288. A genitive in its nasal possessive sense is often found as predicate, and not seldom with the copula omitted: thus, yáthā 'so máma kēvalaḥ (AV.) that thou mayest be wholly mine; sarvāḥ sampattayas tasya saṁstūṣṭam yasya mānasam (H.) all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind; — as objective predicate, bhartuḥ putraṁ vijānanti (M.) they recognise a son as the husband's.

299. a. The prepositional constructions of the genitive (1130) are for the most part with such prepositions as are really noun-cases and have the government of such: thus, agre, arthe, krte, 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, ati.

b. A genitive is occasionally used in the older language with an adverb, either of place or of time: thus, yátra kva ca kurukṣetrasya (ÇB.) in whatever part of Kurukṣetra; yátra tū bhūmer jāyeta (MS.) on what spot of earth he may be born; idānīm ānaḥ (RV.) at this time of the day; yásyā rātryaḥ prātāḥ (MS.) on the morn of what night; dvīḥ saṁvatsarasasya (K.) twice a year. Such expressions as the last occur also later.

300. a. The genitive is very little used adverbially; a few genitives of time occur in the older language: as, aktos by night, vastos by day; and there are found later such cases as kasya cit kālasya (Ç.) after a certain time; tataḥ kālasya mahataḥ prayāyau (R.) then after a long time he went forth.

b. A genitive, originally of possession, passing over into one of general concernment, comes in the later language (the construction is unknown earlier) to be used absolutely, with an agreeing participle, or quite rarely
an adjective. From such cases as the following — paçyato bakamûrka-sya nakulār bhakṣitāḥ sutāḥ (H.) of the foolish heron, while he looked on, the young were eaten by the ichneumons, or gato 'tødharâtrâ' kathāḥ kathayato mama (K.S.S.) half my night was passed in telling stories, or kartavyasya karmaṅaḥ keipram akriyamâṇasya kalaḥ pibati tadrasam (H.) of a work needing to be done but left undone time quickly drinks up its essence — come into currency, by increasing independence of the genitive, such other cases as: divaṁ jagâma muninâm paçyatâm tada (R.) he went then to heaven, the ascetics looking on; evâm lâlapatas tasya devadâtas tada 'bhyetâ vâkyaṁ âha (MBh.) as he thus lamented, a divine messenger coming addressed him; iti vâdina evâ 'sya dhenur âvârête vanât (Ragh.) while he thus spoke, the cow came from the forest. The genitive always indicates a living actor, and the participle is usually one of seeing or hearing or uttering, especially the former. The construction is said by the Hindu grammarians to convey an implication of disregard or despite; and such is often to be recognized in it, though not prevailing.

301. Uses of the Locative. a. The locative is properly the in-case, the case expressing situation or location; but its sphere of use has been somewhat extended, so as to touch and overlap the boundaries of other cases, for which it seems to be a substitute.

b. Unimportant variations of the sense of in are those of amid or among, on, and at. Of course, also, situation in time as well as place is indicated by the case; and it is applied to yet less physical relations, to sphere of action and feeling and knowledge, to state of things, to accompanying circumstance; and out of this last grows the frequent use of the locative as the case absolute.

c. Moreover, by a pregnant construction, the locative is used to denote the place of rest or cessation of action or motion (into or on to instead of in or on; German in with accusative instead of dative: compare English there for this latter).

302. a. The locative of situation in space hardly needs illustration. An example or two are: yé devâ divi sthâ (AV.) which of you gods are in heaven; na devesu na yakṣeṣu tadây (MBh.) not among gods or Yakhas is such a one; párvataṁy prâthé (RV.) on the ridge of the mountain; vidâthâ santu devâh (RV.) may the gods be at the assembly; daçame pade (MBh.) at the tenth step.

b. The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything takes place: thus, asyâ uñâsa vyuṣṭâu (RV.) at the shining forth of this dawn; etasminn eva kâle (MBh.) at just that time; dvâdâcê varçe (MBh.) in the twelfth year. That the accusative is occasionally used in this sense, instead of the locative, was pointed out above (276c).

c. The person with whom, instead of the place at which, one is or remains is put in the locative: thus, bûhânty asmin paçâvah (MS.) animals abide with him; gurâu vásen (M.) living at a teacher's; and, pregnant, tâvat tvayi bhaviṣyâmi (MBh.) so long will I cleave to thee.
303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus, màde áhim índro jághana (RV.) in fury Indra slew the dragon; mitraśya sumatau ayama (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 ease of, or with reference to, respecting, and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, é 'mám bhaja gráme ácvesu gósú (A.V.) be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle; tám it sakhitvá imahe (RV.) him we beg for friendship; ut páyo 'yam mayá drśta áñayane tava (MBh.) this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither; satítve kāraṇam striyāh (H.) the cause of (in the ease of) a woman's chastity; na čakto 'bhavan nivāraṇe (MBh.) he was not capable of preventing.

b. On the other hand, the expression by the locative of a condition of things in which anything takes place, or of a conditioning or accompanying circumstance, passes over into a well-marked absolute construction, which is known even in the earliest stage of the language, but becomes more frequent later. Transitional examples are: háve tvá sûra údite háve madhyāmdine divāh (RV.) I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day; aparāde kṛte 'pi ca na me kopāh (MBh.) and even in case of an offense committed, there is no anger on my part.

c. The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, stīrṇe bharṣi samicchāne agnāv (RV.) when the barhia is strewn and the fire kindled; kāle ātbe prāptā (MBh.) a propitious time having arrived; avasannāyāṁ rātrāv astācela-cudavañāmbini candramasi (H.) the night having drawn to a close, and the moon resting on the summit of the western mountain.

d. But the noun may be wanting, or may be replaced by an adverbal substitute (as evam, tathā, iti): thus, varṣati when it rains; [sūrye] astamite after sunset; adityasya dṛçyamāne (S.) while there is seen [some part] of the sun; ity ardho kte (Ç.) with these words half uttered; asmābhī samanujāste (MBh.) it being fully assented to by us; evam ukte kalinā (MBh.) it being thus spoken by Kali; tathā 'nuṣṭhite (H.) it being thus accomplished. So likewise the participle may be wanting (a copula sati or the like having to be supplied): thus, dūre bhaye the cause of fear being remote; while, on the other hand, the participle sati etc. is sometimes redundantly added to the other participle: thus, tathā kṛte sati it being thus done.

e. The locative is frequently used adverbially or prepositionally (1116): thus, -arthe or -kṛte in the matter of, for the sake of; āgṛ in front of; Ṛte without; sampe near.

304. The pregnant construction by which the locative comes to express the goal or object of motion or action or feeling exercised is not
uncommon from the earliest time. It is by no means to be sharply distin-
guished 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, communicat-
ing, 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, सा दातेव सर्वथे (RV.) that, truly, goes to (to be among)
the gods; इमान no याजनम अभे सदेह (RV.) set this offering of
ours among the immortals; यातानं रासाम ओङधिं (AV.) who
pour in the juice into the plants (or, the juice that is in the plants); मा
prayécche "क्वरे धनाम (H.) do not offer wealth to a lord; पपा
medinyām (MBh.) he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth; skandhe क्ष्ट्वा
(H.) putting on the shoulder; samārtya pūrvam asmāsu (MBh.) having
before promised us.

b. Often also with nouns and adjectives in similar constructions (the
instances not always easy to separate from those of the locative meaning
with reference to: above, 303a): thus, दायस सर्वव्यत्तेशु compassion
toward all creatures; अनुरागम नागदे (MBh.) affection for the Ni-
shadhan; राजा समया व्यत्तासदा तवाय (MBh.) the king has always
behaved properly toward thee.

305. The prepositions construed with the locative (1126) stand to it
only in the relation of adverbial elements strengthening and directing its
meaning.

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

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

b. And between stem and ending are sometimes inserted
connecting elements (or what, in the recorded condition of
the language, have the aspect of being such).

c. Respecting all these points, the details of treatment, as exhibited
by each class of words or by single words, will be given in the following
chapters. Here, however, it is desirable also to present a brief general view
of them.

307. Endings: Singular. a. In the nominative, the usual
masc. and fem. ending is s — which, however, is wanting in deriv-
ative ए and ि-stems; it is also euphonically lost (150) by consonant-
stems. Neuters in general have no ending, but show in this case
the bare stem; अ-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 ए.
b. In the accusative, m or am is the masc. and fem. ending — am being added after a consonant and r, and after i and u in the radical division, and m elsewhere after vowels. The neuter accusative is like the nominative.

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

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

e. A fuller ending aī (like gen.-abl. ās and loc. ām: see below) belongs to feminine stems only. It is taken (with interposed y) by the great class of those in derivative ā; also by those in derivative ī, and (as reckoned in the later language) in derivative ū. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical i and ū, and even by those in i and u: these last have it in the earliest language in only exceptional instances. For the substitution of āī for abl.-gen. ās, see below, h.

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

g. The genitive of a-stems (and of one pronominal u-stem, amu) adds aya. Elsewhere, the usual abl.-gen. ending is as; but its irregularities of treatment in combination with a stem-final are considerable. With i and u, it is either directly added (only in the old language), added with interposed n, or fused to es and os respectively. With r (or ar) it yields ur (or us: 169 b).

h. The fuller ās is taken by feminine stems precisely as āī is taken in the dative: see above. But in the language of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, the dative-ending āi is regularly and commonly used instead of ās, both of ablative and of genitive. See 365 d.

i. The locative ending is i in consonant- and r- and a-stems (fusing with a to e in the latter). The i- and u-stems (unless the final vowel is saved by an interposed n) make the case end in āu; but the Veda has some relics or traces of the older forms (ay-i [7] and av-i) out of which this appears to have sprung. Vedic locatives
from \textit{i}-stems end also in \textit{ā} and \textit{ī}. The pronominal element -\textit{sma} makes the locative -\textit{smin}. Stems in \textit{ān} in the older language often lose the \textit{i}, and use the bare stem as locative.

\textit{j}. The ending \textit{ām} is the locative correspondent to dat. \textit{āi} and abl.-gen. \textit{āe}, and is taken under the same circumstances: see above.

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

308. \textbf{Dual.} \textit{a}. The dual has — except so far as the vocative is sometimes distinguished from nominative and accusative by a difference of accent: 314 — only three case-forms: one for nom., accus., and voc.; one for instr., dat., and abl.; and one for gen. and loc.

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

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

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

\textit{e}. The universal ending of gen.-loc. is \textit{ō}; before this, \textit{a} and \textit{ā} alike become \textit{e} (\textit{ai}).

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

\textit{b}. The neuter ending (which is accusative also) is in general \textit{i}; and before this the final of a stem is apt to be strengthened, by prolongation of a vowel, or by insertion of a nasal, or by both. But in the Veda the hence resulting forms in \textit{āni}, \textit{īni}, \textit{ūni} are frequently abbreviated by loss of the \textit{ni}, and sometimes by further shortening of the preceding vowel.
c. The accusative ending is also as in consonant-stems and in the radical division of ī- and ū-stems (and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those vowels and add in the masculine n (for ns, of which abundant traces remain), and in the feminine s. In the neuter, this case is like the nominative.

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

e. The dative and ablative have in the plural the same form, with the ending bhyas (in Veda often bhias), before which only a is altered, becoming e. But the two personal pronouns distinguish the two cases, having for the ablative the singular ending (as above pointed out), and for the dative the peculiar bhyaṁ (almost never in Veda bhiam), which they extend also into the singular.

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

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

h. The vocative, as in the dual, differs from the nominative only by its accent.

310. The normal scheme of endings, as recognized by the native grammarians (and conveniently to be assumed as the basis of special descriptions), is this:

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a. It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems and by the radical division of ī- and ū-stems; by other vowel-stems, with more or less considerable variations and modifications. The endings which have almost or quite unbroken range, through stems of all classes, are bhyām and os of the dual, and bhis, bhyas, ām, and su of the plural.
311. Variation of Stem. a. By far the most important matter under this head is the distinction made in large classes of words (chiefly those ending in consonants) between strong and weak stem-forms — a distinction standing in evident connection with the phenomena of accent. In the nom. and accus. sing. and du. and the nom. pl. (the five cases whose endings are never accented: 316a), the stem often has a stronger or fuller form than in the rest: thus, for example (424), राजानम् राजन-म, राजानी राजन-न्, राजानस् राजन-as, against राजा राजा-१ and राजस्मिन् राजा-भि; or (450b) महानम् महान-म and (447) अदानम् अदान-म against महा महात्-१ and घट्ता अद-१. 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 (inst., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing.; gen.-loc. du.; gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (inst.-dat.-abl. du.; instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).

b. The class of strong cases, as above defined, belongs only to masculine and feminine stems. In neuter inflection, the only strong cases are the nom.-acc. pl.; while, in those stems that make a distinction of weakest and middle form, the nom.-acc. du. belongs to the weakest class, and the nom.-acc. sing. to the middle: thus, for example, compare (408) प्रत्याँच प्रत्यांच-ि, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यांच प्रत्यांच-ि, nom. pl. masc.; प्रत्यांच प्रतिन-ि, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रतिन-ि प्रतिन-ि, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यां प्रत्यांक, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रत्यांभिन प्रत्यांभि, instr. pl.

312. Other variations concern chiefly the final vowel of a stem, and may be mainly left to be pointed out in detail below. Of consequence
IV. Declension.

enough to mention here is only the guṇa-strengthening of a final i or u, which in the later language is always made before as of nom. pl. and e of dat. sing. in masc. and fem.; in the Veda, it does not always take place; nor is it forbidden in dat. sing. neut. also; and it is seen sometimes in loc. sing. Final य has guṇa-strengthening in loc. sing.

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

a. The place of n before gen. pl. ām is taken by s in pronominal a- and ā-stems.

b. The y after ā before the endings āi, ās, and ām is most probably an insertion, such as is made elsewhere (258).

Accent in Declension.

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

b. And in the Veda (the case is a rare one), whenever a syllable written as one is to be pronounced as two by restoration of a semivowel to vowel form, the first element only has the vocative accent, and the syllable as written is circumflex (83—4): thus, dyānus (i.e. diāus) when disyllabic, but dyānus when monosyllabic; jyāke when for jīāke.

c. But the vocative is accented only when it stands at the beginning of a sentence — or, in verse, at the beginning also of a metrical division or pāda; elsewhere it is accentless or enclitic: thus, āgne yāṁ yajñaṁ parībhūṛ āśi (RV.) O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest; but āpa tvā 'gna ē 'masi (RV.) unto thee, Agni, we come.

d. A word, or more than one word, qualifying a vocative — usually an adjective or appositive noun, but sometimes a dependent noun in the genitive (very rarely in any other case) — constitutes, so far as accent is
concerned, a unity with the vocative: thus (all the examples from RV.), at the beginning of a पाद, with first syllable of the combination accented, इंдра भ्राताḥ O brother Indra! राजन soma O king Soma! याविष्ठा dūta most youthful messenger! hótar याविष्ठा sukṛato most youthful skilled offerer! उर्जो नपात sahasvan mighty son of strength! — in the interior of a पाद, without accent, सोमसा इंдра गिरवापन the somas, O song-loving इंдра! तव açvinā bhadrāhastā supānī ye, O Açvins of propitious and beautiful hands! अ राजानां maha र्तसया gopā hither, ye two kingly guardians of great order!

e. On the other hand, two or more independent or coordinate vocatives at the beginning of a पाद are regularly and usually both accented: thus, पिता माताḥ O father! O mother! अग्नि इंдра वरुणा मित्रा dévah Agni! Indra! Varuṇa! Mitra! gods! cātamūte cātakrato thou of a hundred aids! of a hundred arts! वासिष्ठा भ्रक्षा didīvah pāvaka best, bright, shining, cleansing one! उर्जो नपात bhādṛaçoce son of strength, propitiously bright one! But the texts offer occasional irregular exceptions both to this and to the preceding rule.

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

315. As regards the other cases, rules for change of accent in declension have to do only with monosyllables and with stems of more than one syllable which are accented on the final; for, if a stem be accented on the penult, or any other syllable further back — as in 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).

a. The only exceptions are a few numeral stems: see 483.

316. Stems accented on the final (including monosyllables) are subject to variation of accent in declension chiefly in virtue of the fact that some of the endings have, while others have not, or have in less degree, a tendency themselves to take the accent. Thus:

a. The endings of the nominative and accusative singular and dual and of the nominative plural (that is to say, of the strong cases: 311) have no tendency to take the accent away from the stem, and are therefore only accented when a final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the ending are blended together into a single vowel or diphthong. Thus, from dattā come dattāt (= dattā+āu) and dattās (= dattā+as); but from nādī come nadyāt (= nādī+āu) and nadyās (= nādī+as).

b. All the other endings sometimes take the accent; but those beginning with a vowel (i. e. of the weakest cases: 311) do so more readily than those beginning with a consonant (i. e. of the middle cases: 311). Thus, from nāūs come nāvā and nāubhīs; from mahaṁt, however, come mahātā but mahādbhis.
The general rules of accent, then, may be thus stated:

317. In the declension of monosyllabic stems, the accent falls upon the ending in all the weak cases (without distinction of middle and weakest): thus, nāvṛ, nāubhyaṃ, nāvṛṃ, nāusū; vāci, vāgṛhī, vācāṃ, vākṣū.

a. But some monosyllabic stems retain the accent throughout: thus, gōbhīs, gāvṛ, gōṣu. For such cases, see below, 350, 361 c, d, 372, 390, 427. And in the acc. pl. the stem is even often accentuated than the ending, some words also admitting either accentuation.

318. Of polysyllabic stems ending in consonants, only a few shift the accent to the ending, and that in the weakest (not the middle) cases. Such are:

a. Present participles in ánt or át: thus, from tudánt, tudatā and tudatōs and tudatām; but tudādhyaṃ and tudātsu.

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

c. Stems of which the accentual final loses its syllabic character by syncopation of the vowel: thus, majjāṇ, mūrdhän, dāmnās (from majjān etc., 423).

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

e. Case-forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent: see 1110ff.

319. Of polysyllabic stems ending in accented short vowels, the final of the stem retains the accent if it retains its syllabic identity: thus, dattēna and dattāya from dattā; agnīṇa and agnāye from agnī; and also dattēbhyaḥ, agnībhīs, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in dattās, dhenā, agnī, dhenūs, and so on; or whether the final is changed into a semivowel before the ending: thus, dhenāvṛ, pitṛa, jāmyōs, bāhvōs, etc.

a. But āṃ of the gen. pl. from stems in ī and ū and ā may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by n from the stem: thus, agnīnāṃ, dhenūnāṃ, pitṛnāṃ. In RV., even derivative I-stems show usually the same shift: thus, bāḥvināṃ. Of stems in ā, only numerals (483a) follow this rule: thus, saptānāṃ, daśānāṃ.

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

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

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

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

I. Stems in य a;

II. Stems in त इ and त उ;

III. Stems in य आ, त ई, and त उ: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems;

IV. Stems in य र (or य र ar);

V. Stems in consonants.

c. There is nothing absolute in this classification and arrangement; it is merely believed to be open to as few objections as any other. No general agreement has been reached among scholars as to the number and order of Sanskrit declensions. The stems in 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 wavering in Sanskrit than elsewhere. There are, however, in all the declensions as divided above — unless we except the stems in र or र — words which are distinctly adjectives; and, in general, they are inflected precisely like noun-stems of the same final: only, among consonant-stems, there are certain sub-classes of adjective stems with peculiarities of inflection to which there is among nouns nothing corresponding. But there are also two considerable classes of adjective-compounds, requiring special notice: namely —

323. Compound adjectives having as final member a bare verbal root, with the value of a present participle (393 आ ष): thus, यु-द्रण well-looking; प्र-बुध foreknowing; अ-द्रुह not hating; वेद-विद Veda-knowing; व्रत्र-हाम, Vritra-slaying; उपास-साद sitting in the lap. Every root is liable to be used in this way, and such compounds are not infrequent in all ages of the language: see chapter on Compounds, below (1269).
This class is essentially only a special class of compound adjectives, since in the earliest Veda the simple as well as the compounded root was sometimes used adjectively. But the compounded root was from the beginning much more often so used, and the later the more exclusively, so that practically the class is a separate and important one.

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 (1293ff.). Thus, prajākāma desire of progeny, whence the adjective prajākāma, meaning desirous (i.e. having desire) of progeny; sabhārya (sa + bhārya) having one's wife along; and so on.

In a few cases, also, the final noun is syntactically object of the preceding member (1309-10): thus, atimātra immoderate (ati mātram beyond measure); yavayādvesas driving away enemies.

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 here that a root-word ending a compound has the accent, but (320) loses the peculiarity of monosyllabic accentuation, and does not throw the tone forward upon the ending (except aña in certain old forms: 410).

Declension I.

Stems (masculine and neuter) in ॥ a.

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

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

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

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

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

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

e. The abl. has t (or doubtless d: it is impossible from the evidence of the Sanskrit to tell which is the original form of the ending),
Declension I., a-stems.

before which ā is made long; this ending is found in no other noun-declension, and elsewhere only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

f. The gen. has āya added to the final a; and this ending is also limited to a-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun amūṣya: 501). Its final a is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its y is vocalized (āsia) almost as rarely.

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

h. The voc. is the bare stem.

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

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

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

d. The gen. and loc. have ā y inserted after the stem-final before os (or as if the a had been changed to e). In one or two (doubtful) Vedic instances (as also in the pronominal forms enos and yos), os is substituted for the final a.

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

b. The acc. masc. ends in ān (for earlier āns, of which abundant traces are left in the Veda, and, under the disguise of apparent euphonic combination, even in the later language: see above, 203 ff.).

c. The nom. and acc. neut. have in the later language always the ending ānī (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 a (which in RV. is to ānī as three to two, in point of frequency; in AV., as three to four).

d. The instr. ends later always in āiś; but in the Veda is found abundantly the more normal form ebhis (in RV., nearly as frequent as āiś; in AV., only one fifth as frequent).

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

f. The gen. ends in ānām, the final a being lengthened and having n inserted before the normal ending. The ā of the ending is not seldom (in less than half the instances) to be read as two syllables, aam: opinions are divided as to whether the resolution is historical or metrical only.

Whitney, Grammar, 2. ed.
very small number (half-a-dozen) of examples of simple ām as ending instead of ānām occur in RV.

g. The loc. ends in esu — that is to say, with the normal ending, before which the stem-final is changed to e (with consequent change of s to ś: 180).

h. Of accent, in this declension, nothing requires to be said; the syllable accented in the stem retains its own accent throughout.

330. Examples of declension. As examples of the inflection of a-stems may be taken kāma m. love; ṛcva m. god; āśya n. mouth.

Singular:

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<tr>
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<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
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<td>G. L.</td>
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Plural:

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<th>āsyāni</th>
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<td>devās</td>
<td>āsyāni</td>
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Declension I., a-stems.

A. कामान्
   तेवान्
   धास्यानि

I. कमेस्त
   देवास
   धार्यैत

D. Ab. कामेयस
   देवेयस
   धार्येयस

G. कामानाम्
   देवानाम्
   धार्यानाम्

L. कामेषु
   देवेषु
   धार्येषु

Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

a. Sing.: instr. ravāthenā, yajñā (such genitive forms as acvasia are purely sporadic).
b. Du.: nom. etc. masc. devā; gen.-loc. pastyōs (stem pastyā).
c. Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. devásas; neut. yugā; instr. devēbhīs; gen. carāthām, devānam.

331. Among nouns, there are no irregularities in this declension. For irregular numeral bases in a (or an), see 483-4. For the irregularities of pronominal stems in a, which are more or less fully shared also by a few adjectives of pronominal kindred, see the chapter on Pronouns (495 ff.).

Adjectives.

332. Original adjectives in a are an exceedingly large class, the great majority of all adjectives. There is, however, no such thing as a feminine stem in a; for the feminine, the a is changed to ī — or often, though far less often, to i; and its declension is then like that of senā or devī (364). An example of the complete declension of an adjective a-stem in the three genders will be given below (368).

a. Whether a masc.-neut. stem in a shall form its feminine in ī or in i is a question to be determined in great part only by actual usage, and not by grammatical rule. Certain important classes of words, however, can be pointed out which take the less common ending ī for the feminine: thus,
   1. the (very numerous) secondary derivatives in a with vrddhi of the first syllable (1204): e. g. āmitrā -trī, mānuṣa -ṣī, pāvamāṇa -ṁī, pāur-
      namāsā -ṣī; 2. primary derivatives in ana with accent on the radical syl-
      lable (1150): e. g. cōdana -nī, saṃgrāhaṇa -nī, subhaṃgākaraṇa -nī; 3. primary derivatives in a, with strengthening of the radical syllable, hav-
      ing a quasi-participial meaning: e. g. divākara -rī, avakrāmā -mī,
rathavāhā -ḥī (but there are many exceptions); 4. secondary derivatives in maya (1225) and tana (1245 e): e. g. ayaämāya -yī; adyatana -mī; 5. most ordinal numerals (487 h): e. g. pañcamā -mī, navadaça -qi, trīṇqattamā -mī. Not a few words make the feminine in either ā or ā: e. g. kévalā or -ī, ugrā or -rī, pāpā or -pī, rāmā or -mī; but ordinarily only one of these is accepted as regular.

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

334. a. A noun ending in ā, when occurring as final member of an adjective compound, is inflected like an original adjective in ā, making its feminine likewise in ā or ā (367).

b. For the most part, an adjective compound having a noun in ā as final member makes its feminine in ā. But there are numerous exceptions, certain nouns taking, usually or always, ī instead. Some of the commonest of these are as follows: akṣa eye (e. g. lohitakṣī, dvyaṅkṣī, gavāṅkṣī), parṇa leaf (e. g. tilaparṇī, septaparṇī; but ekaparṇī), mukha face (e. g. kṣaṇamukkhi, durmukkhi; but trimukkha etc.), aṅga limb, body (e. g. anavadyāṅgī, sarvāṅgī; but caturāṅgā etc.), keṣa hair (e. g. sukṣeṣī, muktakeṣī or -qā, etc.), karṇa, ear (e. g. mahākarpī; but gokarpī etc.), udara belly (e. g. lambodarī), mūla root (e. g. pañcamūḷī; but oftener ṭatāmūḷā etc.). The very great majority of such nouns (as the examples indicate) signify parts of the body.

c. On the other hand, a feminine noun ending in derivative ā shortens its final to ā to form a masculine and neuter base: see 367c.

d. In frequent cases, nouns of consonant ending are, as finals of compounds, transferred to the a-declension by an added suffix a (1208a) or ka (1222).

Declension II.

Stems (of all genders) in 3 i and 3 u.

335. The stems in 3 i and 3 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 3 i more numerous than those in 3 u, especially in the feminine (there are more neutrals in 3 u than in 3 i).

a. The endings of this declension also differ frequently and widely from the normal, and the irregularities in the older language are numerous.
336. Endings: Singular. a. The nom. masc. and fem. adds to the stem the normal ending a. 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, urú, purú.

b. The acc. masc. and fem. adds m to the stem. Vedic forms in iam and unam, and, with n, inam and unam, are excessively rare, and doubtful.

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

d. The dat. masc. and fem. gunates the final of the stem before the ending e, making aye and ave. These are the prevailing endings in the Veda likewise; but the more normal ye and ve (or ue) also occur; and the fem. has in this case, as in the instr., sometimes the form ī for iē. In the later language, the neuter is required in this, as in all the other weakest cases, to insert n before the normal ending; but in the Veda such forms are only sporadic; and the neut. dat. has also the forms aye, ve, ave, like the other genders.

e. The abl. and gen. masc. and fem. have regularly, both earlier and later, the ending u with gunated vowel before it: thus, es, os; and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way; although unus, required later, is also not infrequent (inas does not occur). But the normal forms yas (or ias) and vas (or uas) are also frequent in both masc. and neuter. As masc. ending, unus occurs twice in RV. The anomalous didyot (so TS.; in the corresponding passages, vidyot VS., didyaut K., didivás MS.) is of doubtful character.

f. The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language ān, replacing both finals, ī and u. And this is in the Veda also the most frequent ending; but, beside it, the i-stems form (about half as often in RV.) their loc. in ā: thus, āgna; and this is found once even in the neuter. The RV. has a number of examples of masc. and neut. locatives in a (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 ā (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as pragphyra or uncombinable: 138 d) are made from i-stems. The later language makes the neuter locatives in ini and unī; but the former never occurs in the oldest texts, and the latter only very rarely.

g. The later grammar allows the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. fem. to be formed at will with the fuller fem. terminations of long-vowel stems, namely āi, ās (for which, in Brāhmaṇa etc., āi is substituted: 307 h), ām. Such forms are quite rare in the oldest language even from i-stems (less than 40 occurrences altogether in RV.; three times as many in AV.); and from u-stems they are almost unknown (five in RV. and AV.).
h. The voc. gunates the final of the stem, in masc. and fem., alike in the earlier and in the later language. In the neut., it is later allowed to be either of the same form or the unaltered stem; and this was probably the usage in the older time also; not instances enough are quotable to determine the question (AV. has u once, and VS. o once).

337. Dual. a. The later and earlier language agree in making the nom.-acc.-voc. masc. and fem. by lengthening the final of the stem. The same cases in the neuter (according to the rule given above) end later in ini and unî; but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence): AV. has ini twice (RV. perhaps once); VS. has unî once; RV. has uî from one u-stem, and î, once shortened to î, from one or two i-stems.

b. The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is bhyâm added to the unchanged stem.

c. The gen.-loc. of all ages adds os to the stem in masc. and fem.; in neut., the later language interposes, as elsewhere in the weakest cases, a n; probably in the earlier Vedic the form would be like that of the other genders; but the only occurrence noted is one unos in AV.

338. Plural. a. The nom.-voc. masc. and fem. adds the normal ending as to the gunated stem-final, making ayas and avas. The exceptions in the Veda are very few: one word (ari) has ias in both genders, and a few feminines have ïs (like ï-stems); a very few u-stems have uas. The neut. nom.-acc. ends later in ini and unî (like ñi from a: 329 c); but the Veda has î and i (about equally frequent) much oftener than ini; and û and (more usually) û, more than half as often as unî.

b. The accus. masc. ends in în and ûn, for older îns and unîs, 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 îs and ûs. But both masc. and fem. forms in ias and uas are found sparingly in the Veda.

c. The inst. of all genders adds bhîs to the stem.

d. The dat.-abl. of all genders adds bhîas (in V., almost never bhias) to the stem.

e. The gen. of all genders is made alike in inâm and unâm (of which the â is not seldom, in the Veda, to be resolved into aam). Stems with accented final in the later language may, and in the earlier always do, throw forward the accent upon the ending.

f. The loc. of all genders adds ëu (as ëu: 180) to the stem-final.

g. The accent is in accordance with the general rules already laid down, and there are no irregularities calling for special notice.

339. Examples of declension. As models of i-stems may be taken भगी agní m. fire; गति gāti f. gait; वारि vàri n. water.
Singular:

<table>
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<th>I.</th>
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<th>Ab. G.</th>
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<td>I.</td>
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<td>ग्नियात्</td>
<td>ग्नियात्</td>
<td>ग्नियात्</td>
<td>ग्नियात्</td>
<td>ग्नियात्</td>
<td>ग्नियात्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Declension II., i- and u-stems.
340. In order to mark more plainly the absence in Vedic language of some of the forms which are common later, all the forms of Vedic occurrence are added below, and in the order of their frequency.

a. Singular. Nom. agnis etc., as above.

b. Acc.: masc. agnim, yavlam, ūrmīnam(?); fem. and neut. as above.

c. Instr.: masc. agnīm, raymā and ūrmīm; fem. aścitī, ātiā, matyā, sūvyaktī, dhāsīm; neut. wanting.

d. Dat.: masc. agnaye; fem. tujaye, āti, turyāi; neut. cūcaye.

e. Gen.-abl.: masc. agnēs, āvyas, ariās; fem. ādites, hetyās and bhūmīs; neut. bhūres.

f. Loc.: masc. agnāu, agnā, ćajāy(i(?)); fem. ćatāu, ūditā, dhānasātay(?)i; vēdī, bhūmyām; neut. apratā, saptāraqmāu.

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

h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. hārī; fem. yuvatī; neut. quēi, māhī, hārini(?)

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

j. Gen.-loc.: masc. hārios; fem. yuvatyōs and jāmiōs; neut. wanting.

k. Plural. Nom.: masc. agnayas; fem. matāyas, bhūmīs; neut. quēi, bhūri, bhūriṇi.

l. Accus.: masc. agnīm; fem. kṣitīs, cūcayas(?)

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

n. Gen.: masc. kavīnām, ćeńaam etc. (neut. wanting).

341. As models of u-stems may be taken UBLIC qātru m. enemy; वेनु dhenū f. cow; मधु mádhu n. honey.

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>शुनुस्</th>
<th>धनुस्</th>
<th>मधु</th>
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<tr>
<td>छातरुस्</td>
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<td>mádhu</td>
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<td>A.</td>
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<td>वेनु</td>
<td>मधु</td>
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<td>mádhu, mádho</td>
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### Declension II, i- and u-stems

#### Dual:

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<th>मधुनि</th>
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#### Plural:

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<td>मधुनि</td>
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<td>मधुनाम</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
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<tr>
<td>चात्रु</td>
<td>धेनु</td>
<td>मधु</td>
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</tbody>
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342. The forms of Vedic occurrence are given here for the u-stems in the same manner as for the i-stems above.

a. Singular. Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urú, urú.

b. Accus.: masc. ketúm, abhirúm, sucétúnam(?); fem. dhenúm.

c. Instr.: masc. ketúná, paqvá and krátuá; fem. ádhenuá and panvá, áqvyá; neut. mádhuná, mádhyá.

d. Dat.: masc. ketáve, číqve; fem. čárove, ísváí; neut. pácqve(?) uráve, mádhune.

e. Abl.-gen.: masc. manyás, pitvás, cáruñás; fem. sínndhos, ísvás; neut. mádhvas and mádhuás, mádhos, mádhunas.

f. Loc.: masc. púrú, súñávi; fem. sínndhau, rájjváí; neut. sánáu, sánavi, sánvo, sánuni.

g. Voc.: as above.

h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urví, jámuní.

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

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

k. Plural. Nom.: masc. rñhávas, mádhvas and mádhyas; fem. dhenávas, çakañratvas; neut. purúpi, purú, purú.
1. Accus.: masc. ṭūn, paṃvāś; fem. īṣūs, mādhvas.
   m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above; also gen. (but with the resolution ānaṃ in part).

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

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

Sing. sākhā, sākhāyām, sākhya, sākhyas, sākhyāu, sākhe; Du. sākhāyas, sākhāyam, sākhibhyām, sākhyos; Pl. sākhayas, sākhin, etc. etc.

b. The Veda has usually sākhāyā du,, and often resolves the y to i, in sākhiā, sākhius, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the simple word, unless (1815 b) sakhā be substituted.

c. There is a corresponding fem., sakhī (declined like devī: 364); but the forms of sakhī are also sometimes found used with feminine value.

d. Pāti m. is declined regularly in composition, and when it has the meaning lord, master; when uncompounded and when meaning husband, it is inflected like sākhī in the instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., forming pātyā, pātye, pātyus, pātyān. There are occasional instances of confusion of the two classes of forms.

e. For pāti as final member of a possessive compound is regularly and usually substituted patnī in the fem.: thus, jivapatnī having a living husband; dāsapatnī having a barbarian for master.

f. Jāni f. wife has the gen. sing. jānyus in the Veda.

g. Arī eager, greedy, hostile has in the Veda aryās in pl. nom. and accus., masc. and fem. Its accus. sing. is arīm or aryām.

h. Vi bird has in RV. the nom. vēs (beside vīs). In the plural it accents vībhīs, vībhīyas, but vīnām.

i. The stems ākṣi eye, āsthi bone, dādhi curds, and sākthi thigh, are defective, their forms exchanging with and complementing forms from stems in ān (aksān etc.): see the stems in an, below (431).

j. The stem pāthī road is used to make up part of the inflection of pānṭhan: see below, 433.

k. Krōṣṭu m. jackal lacks the strong cases, for which the corresponding forms of kroṣṭī are substituted.

Adjectives.

344. Original adjective stems in i are few; those in u are much more numerous (many derivative verb-stems forming a participial ad-
jective in 𝑠). Their inflection is like that of nouns, and has been included in the rules given above. In those weak cases, however — namely, the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual — in which neuter nouns differ from masculines in the later language by an inserted 𝑛 (we have seen above that this difference does not exist in the Veda), the neuter adjective is allowed to take either form. The stem is the same for masculine and neuter, and generally (and allowably always) for feminine also.

a. There are a few instances of a feminine noun in 𝑖 standing (sometimes with changed accent) beside a masculine in 𝑖: thus, ḷṛiṇi m., ḷṛiṇi f.; ṣākhi (343 a) m., ṣākhi f.; ṅundubhi m., ṅundubhi f.; ṅhuni m., ṅhuni f.; ṇakuni m., ṇakuni or -ni f. In the later language, especially, there is a very frequent interchange of 𝑖 and 𝑖 as finals of the same stem. No adjective in 𝑖 makes a regular feminine in 𝑖.

b. With stems in 𝑢 the case is quite different. While the feminine may, and in part does, end in 𝑢, like the masculine and neuter, a special feminine-stem is often made by lengthening the 𝑢 to ū, or also by adding 𝑖; and for some stems a feminine is formed in two of these three ways, or even in all the three: thus, कु, -dipsu, गुर्द्यन्, करिण्, वकास्यु; -अण्, दर्विः, गरुव्, पूर्विः (with prolongation of 𝑢 before r; compare 245 b), भाविः, प्रभविः, रघविः, साधविः, स्वाद्विः; — प्रत्यु and प्रत्यवि, विभुः and विभवि, मर्दुः and मर्दवि, लघुः and लघवि, वासु और वास्यि; बब्रुः और बब्रतुः और बिभसु और बिभसाः और बिभरुः; — तनुः और तनवि और दत्तुः और दत्तवि और पहल्गु और पहल्गवि, माधवः और माधवी. There are also some feminine noun-stems in ū standing (usually with changed accent) beside masculines in ū: thus, अग्रु m., अग्रिः f.; काद्रु m., काद्रिः f.; गुगलु m., गुगलिः f.; जतुः m., जतिः f.; पदाकु m., पदाकिः f.

345. Roots ending in ū or 𝑢 (or r: 376 b) regularly add a t when used as root-words or as root-finals of compounds; and hence there are no adjectives of the root-class in this declension.

a. Yet, in the Veda, a few words ending in a short radical ū are declined as if this were suffixal: thus, अस्मित्यार्थ्रुः, सुस्तु; and the AV. has प्रत्याउः (once). Roots in ū sometimes also shorten ū to u: thus, प्रभुः, विभुः, etc. (354); go (361 e) becomes gu in composition; and re perhaps becomes ri (361 e); while roots in a sometimes apparently weaken a to ū (in -dhi from य/धि etc., 1155).

346. Compound adjectives having nouns of this declension as final member are inflected in general like original adjectives of the same endings.

a. But in such compounds a final ū or 𝑢 is sometimes lengthened to form a feminine stem: thus, सुरोः, सवयनिः or -नि, -गात्रयांश्ति or -ति; वामर्यु or -यु, दुर्हणी or -यु, वरातनु, मात्रमिद्यु; and RV. has अगिव्य from गिवु.
Declension III.

Stems in long vowels: गा, दा, ता, उ, चा, छा, जा, झा.

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 गा, दा, ता, उ, चा, छा, जा, झा, with a small number in चा, छा, जा, झा, 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 गा, दा, ता, उ, चा, छा, जा, झा, belong to it.

A. Root-words, and those inflected like them.

348. The inflection of these stems is by the normal endings throughout, or in the manner of consonant-stems (with यम m, not म m, in the accus. sing.); peculiarities like those of the other vowel-declensions are wanting. The simple words are, as nouns, with few exceptions feminine; as adjectives (rarely), and in adjective compounds, they are alike in masculine and feminine forms. They may, for convenience of description, be divided into the following subclasses:

1. Root-words, or monosyllables having the aspect of such. Those in गा are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use; those in दा and ता are more numerous, but still very few.

2. Compounds having such words, or other roots with long final vowels, as last member.

3. Polysyllabic words, of various origin and character, including in the Veda many which later are transferred to other declensions.

4. As an appendix to this class we may most conveniently describe the half-dozen stems, mostly of regular inflection, ending in diphthongs.
349. Monosyllabic stems. Before the endings beginning with vowels, final \( \text{I} \) is changed to \( iy \) and \( \text{u} \) to \( uv \); while final \( \text{a} \) is dropped altogether, except in the strong cases, and in the acc. pl., which is like the nominative (according to the grammarians, \( \text{a} \) is lost here also: no instances of the occurrence of such a form appear to be quotable). Stems in \( \text{f} \) and \( \text{u} \) are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings \( \text{ai} \), \( \text{as} \), \( \text{am} \) in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except \( \text{bhīyā} \) (?), \( \text{RV.} \), once). Before \( \text{am} \) of gen. pl., \( \text{n} \) may or may not be inserted; in the Veda it is regularly inserted, with a single exception (\( \text{dhiyām} \), once). The vocative is like the nominative in the singular as well as the other numbers; but instances of its occurrence in uncompounded stems are not found in the Veda, and must be extremely rare everywhere. The earlier Vedic dual ending is \( \text{ā} \) instead of \( \text{au} \).

350. To the \( \text{l} \)- and \( \text{u} \)-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 \( \text{a} \)-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 \( \text{ā} \) \( \text{jā} \) f. \( \text{progeny} \); \( \text{ḥī} \) f. \( \text{thought} \); and \( \text{bhū} \) f. \( \text{earth} \).

a. The first of these is rather arbitrarily extended from the four cases which actually occur; of the loc. sing. and gen.-loc. du., no Vedic examples from \( \text{ā} \)-stems are found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
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<th>D.</th>
<th>Ab. G.</th>
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</table>

Singular:
Dual:

N. A. V. नै धियो भुवी
   jāu dhīyāu bhūvāu
I. D. Ab. जर्ज्याम भुर्ज्याम
   jābhyyām dhībhyyām bhūbhyyām
G. L. जीस धियोस भुवोस
   jōs dhīyōs bhuvōs

Plural:

N. नै धिय स भुव स
   jās dhīyas bhuvās
A. नास (अस?) धिय स भुव स
   jās, jās dhīyas bhuvās
I. जाभिस धिभिस भभिस
   jābhīs dhībhīs bhūbhīs
D. Ab. जर्ज्यस भुर्ज्यस
   jābhyyas dhībhyyas bhūbhyyas
G. जर्ज्याम (अम?) धियाम भिन्याम
   jānām, jām dhīyām, dhīnām bhuvām, bhūnām
L. नै धी भुस
   jāsu dhīṣu bhūṣu

352. Mono-syllabic stems in composition. When the nouns above described occur as final member of a compound, or when any root in ā or ṭ or ū is found in a like position, the inflection of an ā-stem is as above. But ā and ū-stems follow a divided usage: the final vowel before a vowel-ending is either converted into a short vowel and semivowel (iy or uv, as above) or into a semivowel simply (y or v). The accent is nowhere thrown forward upon the endings; and therefore, when ā and ū become y and v, the resulting syllable is circumflex (63—4). Thus:

Masc. and fem. Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>-dhīs</th>
<th>-bhūs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>-dhīyam</td>
<td>-dhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>-dhīyā</td>
<td>-dhyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>-dhīye</td>
<td>-dhyē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>-dhīyas</td>
<td>-dhyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>-dhīyi</td>
<td>-dhyī</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dual:

N. A. V. -dhíyān  -dhyā́  -bhúvā́n  -bhvā́
I. D. Ab. -dhī́bhyaḿ  -bhúbhyaḿ
G. L. -dhíyos  -dhyós  -bhúvos  -bhvós

Plural:

N. A. V. -dhíyas  -dhyás  -bhúvas  -bhvás
I. -dhíbhis  -bhúbhis
D. Ab. -dhíbhyaś  -bhúbhyaś
G. (-dhíyā́m  -dhyā́m  -bhúvā́m  -bhvā́m
L. -dhíšu  -bhúśu

a. As to the admissibility of the fuller endings ā, ās, and āś in the singular (feminine), grammatical authorities are somewhat at variance; but they are never found in the Veda; and have been omitted from the above scheme as probably unreal.

b. If two consonants precede the final ī or ū, the dissyllabic forms, with ṭy and uv, are regularly written; after one consonant, the usage is varying. The grammarians prescribe ṭy and uv when the monosyllabic stem has more the character of a noun, and y and v when it is more purely a verbal root with participial value. No such distinction, however, is to be seen in the Veda — where, moreover, the difference of the two forms is only graphic, since the yā- and vā-forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: īā or āś, and ūā or ūś, and so on.

c. As to neuter stems for such adjectives, see 367.

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

a. Of the ā-stems, the forms in ās, ām, ā (du.) are sometimes to be read as dissyllables, aas, aam, aa. The dative of the stem used as infinitive is ā́ (as if ā́+e): thus, ākhyā́, prātímáḥ, parādā́.

b. Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, avadyabhiyá (RV.), ādhiá́ (AV.).

354. But compounds of the class above described are not infrequently transferred to other modes of inflection: the ā shortened to a for a masculine (and neuter) stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative ā-class (below, 364) as feminine; the ī and ū shortened to ů and ū, and inflected as of the second declension.

a. Thus, compound stems in -ga, -ja, -da, -atha, -bhun, and others, are found even in the Veda, and become frequent later (being made from all, or nearly all, the roots in ā); and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, qṛtapā́n, vayodhā́śi and ratnadhḗbhiś, dhanasā́śi (all RV.); and, from ī and ū compounds, veṣā́qṛśi (TS.), āhrayās (RV.), gopā́qṛśiś (RV.), karmanā́śi (CB.) and ṛtānībhyās (RV.) and senā́nībhyās (VS.) and grāmā́nībhiś (TB.), supū́nā (AV.), citibhrā́ve (TS.).

b. Still more numerous are the feminines in ā which have lost
their root-declension: examples are prajä (of which the further compounds in part have root-forms), svadha, çraddha, pratima, and others.

c. Then, in the later language, a few feminines in i are made from the stems in a shortened from ā: thus, gopi, goṣṭhī, pannagi, paṅkaji, bhujagi, bhujangī, surāpī.

355. Polysyllabic Stems. Stems of this division (A) of more than one syllable are very rare indeed in the later language, and by no means common in the earlier. The Rig-Veda, however, presents a not inconsiderable body of them; and as the class nearly dies out later, by the disuse of its stems or their transfer to other modes of declension, it may be best described on a Vedic basis.

a. Of stems in ā, masculines, half-a-dozen occur in the Veda: pānthā, mānthā, and ṣbhukṣā are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, 438–4; ućānā (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing. ućānā (and loc. as well as dat. ućāne); mahā great is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition; ātā frame has only ātāsu not derivable from āta.

b. Of stems in 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, kalyāṇī (m. kalyāṇa), puruṣī (m. pūruga); others show no change of accent: thus, yamī (m. yamā); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, nadi, lakṣmī, sūrī. The masculines are about ten in number: for example, rathi, prāvī, starī, āhi, āpathī.

c. Of stems in ā, 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 ā to masculines in ū or u (above, 344 b): thus, caraṇū, caraṇā, jighatū, madhū. A few are nouns in ā, with change of accent: thus, agrū (āgru), ṣṛdāktū (ṣṛdāku), ṣṛvaṇū (ṣṛvaṇa); or without change, as ṇṛtū. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, tanū, vadhū, camū. The masculines are only two or three: namely, praṇū, kṛkadaṇū, 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.

a. No one of the selected examples occurs in all the forms; forms for which no example at all is quotable are put in brackets. No loc. sing. from any i-stem occurs, to determine what the form would be. The stem 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.
Declension III., Radical "a-, i-, and ū-stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>rathās</td>
<td>nadās</td>
<td>tanūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>rathām</td>
<td>nadām</td>
<td>tanūam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>rathā</td>
<td>nadā</td>
<td>tanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>rathē</td>
<td>nadē</td>
<td>tanē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>rathīs</td>
<td>nadīs</td>
<td>tanīas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>tanīi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>rāthi (?)</td>
<td>nādi</td>
<td>tānu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>rathīā</td>
<td>nadīā</td>
<td>tanūā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>[rathībhyaṁ]</td>
<td>nadībhyaṁ</td>
<td>[tanūbhyaṁ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>[rathīos]</td>
<td>nadīos</td>
<td>tanōos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plural:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A.</td>
<td>rathīas</td>
<td>nadīas</td>
<td>tanūas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>[rathībis]</td>
<td>nadībis</td>
<td>tanūbis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>[rathībyas]</td>
<td>nadībyas</td>
<td>tanūbyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>rathīnām</td>
<td>nadīnām</td>
<td>tanūnām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>[rathīṣu]</td>
<td>nadīṣu</td>
<td>tanūṣu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. The cases — nadām, 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 semi-vowel, and the resulting syllable is circumflexed: thus, nadyām, tanvām, etc.; only, as usual, after two consonants the resolved forms iy and uv are written instead; and also where the combination yv would otherwise result: thus, caṃrī, [agrūvā], and mitrāyuvās. The RV. really reads staryām etc. twice, and tanvās etc. four times; and such contractions are more often made in the AV. The ending ā of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. is the equivalent of the later ū. The nom. sing. in ā from ā-stems is found in the older language about sixty times, from over thirty stems.

357. Irregularities of form, properly so called, are very few in this division: caṃū 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 pragṛhya or uncombinable (138); tanūi is lengthened to tanvī in a passage or two; -yūvas is once or twice abbreviated to -yūs.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of ā- and ū-declension (below, 362 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, dūtiām, loc. sing., once, and vṛṣṇām, do., once, and draśtu, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, we find the acc. sing. kuhūm, tanūm, vadhuṁ; the instr. sing. palāliā and one or two others; the dat. sing. vadhiwā, vṛṣṇa, agrūvā; the abl.-gen. sing. punardhuvās, pṛdākus, vṛṣṇa; and the loc. sing. tanūm (with anomalous accent). Accusatives plural in ās and ūs are nowhere met with.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
359. Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, śrāṇyavācīs and sahās-rastarīs, atāptatanūs 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 ā and ū, with which they have most affinity. They are:

a. stems in āu: nāu and glāū;
b. stems in āi: rāī;
c. stems in o: gō and dyō (or dyū, dīv).

361. a. The stem nāu f. ship is entirely regular, taking the normal endings throughout, and following the rules for monosyllabic accentuation (317) — except that the accus. pl. is said (it does not appear to occur in accented texts) to be like the nom. Thus: nāi, nāvam, nāvē, nāvās, nāvī; nāvān, nāubhyām, nāvōs; nāvas, nāvahs, nāubhyās, nāvām, nānṣū. The stem glāū m. ball is apparently inflected in the same way; but few of its forms have been met with in use.

b. The stem rāī f. (or m.) wealth, might be better described as rā with a union-consonant y (258) interposed before vowel endings, and is regularly inflected as such, with normal endings and monosyllabic accent. Thus: rās, rāyam, rāyā, rāyē, rāyās, rāyī; rāyān, rābhyām, rāyōs; rāyas, rāyas, rābhis, rābhyās, rāyām, rāsū. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either rāyās or rāyas; for accus. sing. and pl. are also used the briefer forms rām (RV. once: rāyam does not occur in V.) and rās (SV., once); and the gen.-sing. is sometimes anomalously accented rāyas.

c. The stem gō m. or f. bull or cow is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except accus. sing., it is strengthened to gāū, forming (like nāu) gāuā, gāvāu, gāvas. In accus. sing. and pl. it has (like rāī) the brief forms gām and gās. The abl.-gen. sing. is gōs (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, gāvī, gāvos, gāvām; gōbhyām, gōbhs, gōbhyās, gōgū. In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is gōnām; the nom. etc. du. is (as in all other such cases) also gāvā; and gām, gōs, and gās are not infrequently to be pronounced as disyllables. As acc. pl. is found a few times gāvas.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>dyáús</td>
<td>dívas</td>
<td>dyávas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>dívam dyám</td>
<td>[díváu] dyáváu</td>
<td>dívás, dyún [dyás]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>divá [dyává]</td>
<td>dyúbhíis</td>
<td>[dyóbhíis]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>dívé dyáve</td>
<td>[dyúbhyá̱m dyóbhyá̱m]</td>
<td>[dyúbhyá̱s dyóbhyá̱s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>dívás dyóś</td>
<td>[divá̱s dyávóśa]</td>
<td>dyúsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. The dat. sing. dyáve is not found in the early language. Both dívas and dívás 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 dyáús (i.e. díáús: see 314).

f. Adjective compounds having a diphthongal stem as final member are not numerous, and tend to shorten the diphthong to a vowel. Thus, from náu we have bhinnanu; from go, several words like águ, saptágu, sugu, bor hugú (f. -gú JB.); and, correspondingly, rái seems to be reduced to ri in bhádraye and rídádrayas (RV.). In derivation, go maintains its full form in gotra, agótá, -gava (f. -gavi), etc.; as first member of a compound, it is variously treated: thus, gává́śir, gáviśi (but gaáćśir, gáś́ści K., etc.; goáśva or góśva, gó́rika, gó́opaça, etc. In certain compounds, also, dyu or dyó takes an anomalous form: thus, dyúsurdá (K.), dyúsurlóka (QB.), dyúsánácháta (AV.). In revánt (unless this is for rayívánt) rái becomes re. RV. has ádhrigávas from ádhrigu (of questionable import); and AV. has ghértastávas, apparently accus. pl. of ghértastá or -ató.

**B. Derivative stems in ā, Í, ū.**

362. To this division belong all the ā and Í-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 Í and ū-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:

1. a. The great mass of derivative feminine ā-stems, substantive and adjective.

b. The inflection of these stems has maintained itself with little change through the whole history of the language, being almost precisely the same in the Vedas as later.
2. c. The great mass of derivative feminine i-stems.

   d. This class is without exception in the later language. In the earlier, it suffers the exception pointed out above (356 b); that feminines made with change of accent follow this mode of declension only when the accent is not on the i: thus, tāviṣṭi, pāruṣṇi, pālikṇi, rōhiṇi.

   e. The i-stems of this division in general are regarded as made by contraction of an earlier ending in yā. Their inflection has become in the later language somewhat mixed with that of the other division, and so far different from the Vedic inflection: see below, 383 g.

   f. Very few derivative stems in i are recognized by the grammarians as declined like the root-division; the Vedic words of that class are, if retained in use, transferred to this mode of inflection.

   g. A very small number of masculine i-stems (half-a-dozen) are in the Veda declined as of the derivative division: they are a few rare proper names, māṭalī etc.; and rāṣṭrī and sīrī (only one case each).

3. h. The u-stems are few in number, and are transfers from the other division, assimilated in inflection to the great class of derivative i-stems (except that they retain the ending a of the nom. sing.).

383. Endings. The points of distinction between this and the other division are as follows:

   a. In nom. sing. the usual a-ending is wanting: except in the u-stems and a very few i-stems — namely, lākṣmī, tārī, tāntrī, tāndrī — which have preserved the ending of the other division.

   b. The accus. sing. and pl. add simply m and s respectively.

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

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

   e. In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an ā- or ū-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., sān is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (in RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in i and u-stems).

   f. In voc. sing., final ā becomes ē; final ī and ū are shortened.

   g. In nom.-acc.-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in ā (and ū) stems a marked difference between the earlier and later language, the latter borrowing the forms of the other division. The du. ending ān is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is ā (a corresponding dual of ū-stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending ās 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 Brähmaṇas, along with is-forms, both are used rather indifferently as nom. and accus. (as, indeed, they sometimes interchange also in the epics). Of ā-stems, the du. nom. etc. ends in e, both earlier and later; in pl., of course, s-forms are indistinguishable from as-forms. The RV. has a few examples of āsas for ās.

h. The remaining cases call for no remark.

364. Examples of declension. As models of the inflection of derivative stems ending in long vowels, we may take सेना sēṇā f. army; कन्या kanyā f. girl; देवी devī f. goddess; वधु vadhū f. woman.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>सेना</th>
<th>कन्या</th>
<th>देवी</th>
<th>वधु</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सेनाः</td>
<td>kanyāḥ</td>
<td>devīḥ</td>
<td>vadhūḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>सेनाम्</td>
<td>कन्याम्</td>
<td>देवीम्</td>
<td>कन्याम्</td>
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<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>सेनायाः</td>
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<td>देवयाः</td>
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<td>D.</td>
<td>सेनायिः</td>
<td>कन्यायिः</td>
<td>देवयिः</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>सेनायास्</td>
<td>कन्यायास्</td>
<td>देवयास्</td>
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<td>L.</td>
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<td>V.</td>
<td>सेने</td>
<td>कन्ये</td>
<td>देवी</td>
<td>वधु</td>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
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<td></td>
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Dual:

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<th>कन्ये</th>
<th>देवी</th>
<th>वधिः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>devyāḥ</td>
<td>vadhivāḥ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>सेनायाम्</td>
<td>कन्यायाम्</td>
<td>देवीयाम्</td>
<td>कन्यायाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>सेनायोस्</td>
<td>कन्यायोस्</td>
<td>देवियोस्</td>
<td>कन्यायोस्</td>
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Singular:
### V. Nouns and Adjectives

#### Plural:

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>कायाम्</th>
<th>द्वथस्</th>
<th>वद्वास्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>kanyās</td>
<td>devyās</td>
<td>vadhvās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>कायाम्</td>
<td>द्वीस्</td>
<td>वयूम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēnās</td>
<td>kanyās</td>
<td>devīs</td>
<td>vadhūs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>कायामिस्</td>
<td>द्वीमिस्</td>
<td>वधूमिस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēnābhis</td>
<td>kanyābhis</td>
<td>devībhīs</td>
<td>vadhūbhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>कायाम्यस्</td>
<td>द्वीम्यस्</td>
<td>वधूम्यस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēnābhyas</td>
<td>kanyābhyas</td>
<td>devībhīyas</td>
<td>vadhūbhīyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>कायाम्याम्</td>
<td>द्वीम्याम्</td>
<td>वधूधाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēnānām</td>
<td>kanyānām</td>
<td>devīnām</td>
<td>vadhūnām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>कायासु</td>
<td>द्वीसु</td>
<td>वधूसु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēnāsu</td>
<td>kanyāsu</td>
<td>devīsu</td>
<td>vadhūsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

#### 365. Examples of Vedic forms are:

**a. ā-stems:** instr. sing. manisā (this simpler form is especially common from stems in tā and iā); nom. pl. vaçāsas (about twenty examples); accus. pl. araṅgamāsas (a case or two). Half the bhyas-cases are to be read as bhias; the ām of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into aam; and the ā and ām of nom. and accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

**b. ī-stems:** instr. sing. čāmi, čāmi; loc. gaurī; nom. etc. du. devī; nom. pl. devīs; gen. pl. bahvinām. The final of the stem is to be read as a vowel (not y) frequently, but not in the majority of instances: thus, deviā, devīs, devīm, rōdāsīs.

**c. The sporadic instances of transfer between this division and the preceding have been already sufficiently noticed.**

**d. Of the regular substitution made in the Brāhmaṇa language (307g, 336g, 363c) of the dat. sing. ending āi for the gen.-abl. ending ās, in all classes of words admitting the latter ending, a few examples may be given here:** abhibhūtyāi rūpam (AB.) a sign of overpowering; triṣṭubhāca jagatāyāc (AB.) of the metre triṣṭubh and jagatī; vāco dāivyāc ca mānusya ca (AA.) of speech, both divine and human; striyāc payah (AB.) woman’s milk; dhenvāc vā etād rétaḥ (TB.) that, forsooth, is the seed of the cow; jīrṇāyāc tvacah (KB.) of dead skin; jyāyāc yājyāyāc (AB.) superior to the yājya; asyāc divo ‘smād antarikṣāt (GaS.) from this heaven, from this atmosphere. The same substitution is made once in the AV.: thus, svāpantv asyāc jhātāyāc let her relatives sleep.
366. The noun strí f. woman (probably contracted from sūtrī gene-
ratrix), follows a mixed declension: thus, strī, strīyam or strīm, strīyā,
strīyā́́, strīyā́s, strīyā́m, strī; strīyā́u, strībhyyā́m, strīyōs; strīyas,
strīyas or strīs, strībhńás, strībhńā́s, strīghan, strīśū (but the accus-
atives strīm and strīs are not found in the older language, and the voc.
strī is not quoted). The accentuation is that of a root-word; the forms
(conspicuously the nom. sing.) are those of the other or derivative division.

Adjectives.

367. a. The occurrence of original adjectives in long final
vowels, and of compounds having as final member a stem of the first
division, has been sufficiently treated above, so far as masculine and
feminine forms are concerned. To form a neuter stem in composition,
the rule of the later language is that the final long vowel be short-
ened; and the stem so made is to be inflected like an adjective in
i or u (339, 341, 344).

b. Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost
unknown. Of neuters from ā-stems have been noted in the Veda only
hariçriyam, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and suādhiás, gen. sing. (same
as masc. and fem.); from ē-stems, only a few examples, and from stem-
forms which might be masc. and fem. also: thus, vibhú, subhú, etc. (nom.-
acc. sing.: compare 354); supú́́ and mayobhúvá, instr. sing.; and
mayobhú́, acc. pl. (compare purú́: 342k); from ā-stems occur only half-
a-dozen examples of a nom. sing. in ās, like the masc. and fem. form.

c. Compounds having nouns of the second division as final
member are common only from derivatives in ā; and these shorten
the final to a in both masculine and neuter: thus, from a not and
praśa progeny come the masc. and neut. stem aprája, fem. aprája
childless. Such compounds with nouns in ī and ū are said to be in-
flected in masc. and fem. like the simple words (only with īn and ūn
in acc. pl. masc.); but the examples given by the grammarians are
fictitious.

d. Stems with shortened final are occasionally met with: thus, ekap-
patni, āttalakṣámi; and such adverbs (neut. sing. accus.) as upabhámi,
abhunjáyini. The stem strī is directed to be shortened to strī for all
genders.

368. It is convenient to give a complete paradigm,
for all genders, of an adjective-stem in ā. We take for
the purpose pá$a pā$pá evil, of which the feminine is usu-
ally made in ā in the later language, but in $x in the
older.
### Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>पापस्</td>
<td>पापाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpās</td>
<td>pāpām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>पापम्</td>
<td>पापाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpām</td>
<td>pāpām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>पापेन्</td>
<td>पापया</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpēna</td>
<td>pāpāyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>पापयां</td>
<td>पापयिं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpāya</td>
<td>pāpāyī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>पापात्</td>
<td>पापात्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpāt</td>
<td>pāpātas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>पापस्य</td>
<td>पापास्य</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpasya</td>
<td>pāpāsas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>पापे</td>
<td>पापयां</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpe</td>
<td>pāpāyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>पाप</td>
<td>पापे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpa</td>
<td>pāpe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>पापें</td>
<td>पापें</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpēn</td>
<td>pāpēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>पापाभ्यं</td>
<td>पापाभ्यं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpābhyām</td>
<td>pāpābhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>पापयोम्</td>
<td>पापयोम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpāyos</td>
<td>pāpāyos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>पापास्</td>
<td>पापास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpās</td>
<td>pāpās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>पापान्</td>
<td>पापान्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpān</td>
<td>pāpāni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>पापास्</td>
<td>पापास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpās</td>
<td>pāpābhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>पाप्यास्</td>
<td>पाप्यास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pāpābhyas</td>
<td>pāpābhyas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Declension IV.

Stems in तः (or यत्र ar).

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

a. But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely devṛ m., svāṣṛ and nānāndṛ f.; and, besides these, nṛ m., stṛ (in V. m., usṛ (in V.) f., savyaśṭṛ m., and the feminine numerals tisṛ and cataṛ (for which, see 482 e, g). The feminines in tr are only māṭṛ, duḥiṭṛ, and yāṭṛ.

b. The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in i and u (second declension); its peculiarity, as compared with them, consists mainly in the treatment of the stem itself, which has a double form, fuller in the strong cases, briefer in the weak ones.

370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is τ, which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to r (126). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them — which is very much the larger, containing all the nomina agentis, and also the nouns of relationship nāptṛ and svāṣṛ, and the irregular words stṛ and savyaśṭṛ — the τ is vṛddhied, or becomes ar; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with nṛ and usṛ, the τ is gunated, or changed to ar. In both classes, the loc. sing. has ar as stem-final.

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

a. The nom. sing. (masc. and fem.) ends always in ā (for original ars or ārs). The voc. sing. ends in ar.

b. The accus. sing. adds am to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. pl. has (like i and u-stems) n as masc. ending and s as fem. ending, with the τ lengthened before them.
The abl.-gen. sing. changes र to उर (or उ: 169b).

The gen. pl. (as in i and u-stems) inserts न before आम, and lengthens the stem-final before it. But the र of नर may also remain short.

The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents certain deviations from them. Thus:

The ending in nom.-acc.-voc. du. is (as universally in the Veda) regularly अ instead of ा (only ten ा-forms in RV.).

The i of loc. sing. is lengthened to इ in a few words: thus, kartári.

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

The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents certain deviations from them. Thus:

The ending in nom.-acc.-voc. du. is (as universally in the Veda) regularly अ instead of ा (only ten ा-forms in RV.).

The i of loc. sing. is lengthened to इ in a few words: thus, kartári.

The stem उष्ण f. dawn has the voc. sing. उष्ण, the gen. sing. उष्णा; and the accus. pl. also उष्णा, and loc. sing. उष्णम (which is metrichally trisyllabic: उष्णम), as if in analogy with इ and उ-stems. Once occurs उष्ण in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form, उष्णी (for the exchange of ए and ई, see 181a).

From स्त्रे come only तारस (apparently) and स्त्रीभिः.

In the gen.-loc. du., the र is almost always to be read as a separate syllable, र, before the ending ऋ: thus, पित्रोऽ, etc. On the contrary, ननांदरी is once to be read ननांद्री.

For neuter forms, see below, 375.

372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for i- and u-stems: if on the final of the stem, it continues, as acute, on the corresponding syllable throughout, except in the gen. pl., where it may be (and in the Veda always is) thrown forward upon the ending; where, in the weakest cases, र becomes य, the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, नर and स्त्रे, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the forms already given above), निर्भिः, निषु.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with अ in the strong forms) the stems दत्त m. giver and स्वास्र f. sister; from the second class (with अ in the strong forms), the stem बिन्त m. father.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>दत्ता</th>
<th>स्वास्र</th>
<th>बिन्त</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>datā</td>
<td>svásā</td>
<td>pitā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>दत्तारम्</td>
<td>स्वासारम्</td>
<td>बिन्तारम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datāram</td>
<td>svásāram</td>
<td>pitāram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Declension IV., *-stems.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td>दात्रः (dāṭrā)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsṛā)</td>
<td>पितः (pitrā)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दात्रेः (dāṭrē)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsṛe)</td>
<td>पित्रेः (pitrē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>दातृ (dāṭṛu)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsṛ)</td>
<td>पितृ (pitr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दातृ (dāṭūr)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsūr)</td>
<td>पितृ (pitr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दातृ (dāṭāri)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsari)</td>
<td>पितृ (pitr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>दातृ (dāṭar)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsar)</td>
<td>पितर (pitar)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>V.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>दात्राः (dāṭrāu)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsāru)</td>
<td>पित्राः (pitrāu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>दात्रयाम् (dāṭṛbhyaṁ)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsṛbhyaṁ)</td>
<td>पित्रयाम् (pitrṛbhyaṁ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>दात्रोऽ (dāṭroś)</td>
<td>स्वासः (svāsroś)</td>
<td>पित्रोऽ (pitrroś)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### a. The feminine stem मात् māt, *mother,* is inflected precisely like पित् pitṛ, excepting that its accusative plural is मात्रस् mātṛṣa.
b. The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. dātṛā, svāsārā, pitārā, and the gen. pl. of nṛ, nārāṁ.

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

374. The stem kroṣṭī m. jaakal (lit'ly howler) substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of kroṣṭu.

375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a complete neuter declension also for bases in tr, precisely accordant with that of vāri or mādhu (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>dhati</td>
<td>dhātir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>dhatiṇā</td>
<td>dhātibhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>dhatiṇas</td>
<td>dhātīṃoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>dhātṛ, dhātār</td>
<td>dhātṛṇi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

b. No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas, under influence of the common tendency (compare Germ. Better, Betterin; Fr. menteur, menteuse) to give this nomen agentis a more adjective character, making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (appositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. bhartṛ and janayitrī, qualifying antārīkṣam; and bhartṛṇī and janayitrṇī, qualifying nākṣatrāṇi; as, in M., grahitṛṇī, qualifying indriyāṇī.

c. When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in ī is employed: thus, in TB., bhartṛṇī and bhartṛṇī, janayitrṇī and janayitrṇī, qualifying āpas and ahorāṭrē; and such instances are not uncommon.

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

e. Other neuter forms in RV. are sthātūr gen. sing., dhmātārī loc. sing.; and for the nom. sing., instead of -trī, a few more or less doubtful cases, sthātar, sthātūr, dhartārī.

Adjectives.

376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension: for the quasi-adjectival character of the nouns composing it, see above (375b). The feminine stem is made by the suffix ī: thus, dātrī, dhātrī.

b. Roots ending in ṛ (like those in ī and u: 345) add a t to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member of a com-
Declension V., Consonant-stems.

377. All stems ending in consonants may properly be classed together, as forming a single comprehensive declension; since, though some of them exhibit peculiarities of inflection, these have to do almost exclusively with the stem itself, and not with the declensional endings.

378. In this declension, masculines and feminines of the same final are inflected alike; and neuters are peculiar (as usually in the other declensions) only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

a. The majority of consonantal stems, however, are not inflected in the feminine, but form a special feminine derivative stem in \( \delta \) i (never in \( \gamma \) \( \alpha \)), by adding that ending to the weak form of the masculine.

b. Exceptions are in general the stems of divisions A and B — namely, the radical stems etc., and those in as and is and us. For special cases, see below.

379. Variations, as between stronger and weaker forms, are very general among consonantal stems: either of two degrees (strong and weak), or of three (strong, middle, and weakest): see above, 311.

a. The peculiar neuter forms, according to the usual rule (311b), are made in the plural from the strong stem, in singular and dual from the weak — or, when the gradation is threefold, in singular from the middle stem, in dual from the weakest.
b. As in the case of stems ending in short vowels (asāni, vārīṇi, mādhūni, dārīṇi, etc.), a nasal sometimes appears in the special neuter plural cases which is found nowhere else in inflection. Thus, from the stems in as, is, us, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. in -ānsi, -ūnsi, -ūṇsi are very common at every period. According to the grammarians, the radical stems etc. (division A) are treated in the same way; but examples of such neuters are of extreme rarity in the language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras have been noted only -hunṭi (AB. vii. 2. 3), -vṛnti (PB. xvi. 2. 7 et al.), -bhāṇji (KB. xxvii. 7), -bhṛnti (ČB. viii. 1. 3¹), and -yurṇji (LQS. ii. 1. 8); while in the later language is found here and there a case, like -brunti (Ragh.), -pūṇṣi (Cīc.); it may be questioned whether they are not later analogical formations.

380. The endings are throughout those given above (310) as the "normal".

a. By the general law as to finals (150), the s of the nom. sing. masc. and fem. is always lost; and irregularities of treatment of the final of the stem in this case are not infrequent.

b. The gen. and abl. sing. are never distinguished in form from one another — nor are, by ending, the nom. and accus. pl... but these sometimes differ in stem-form, or in accent, or in both.

381. Change in the place of the accent is limited to monosyllabic stems and the participles in ānt (accented on the final). For details, see below, under divisions A and E.

a. But a few of the compounds of the root aṇic or ac show an irregular shift of accent in the oldest language: see below, 410.

382. a. For convenience and clearness of presentation, it will be well to separate from the general mass of consonantal stems certain special classes which show kindred peculiarities of inflection, and may be best described together. Thus:

B. Derivative stems in as, is, us;
C. Derivative stems in an (an, man, van);
D. Derivative stems in in (in, min, vin);
E. Derivative stems in ant (ant, mant, vant);
F. Perfect active participles in vāṅs;
G. Comparatives in yāṅs or yas.

b. There remain, then, to constitute division A, especially radical stems, or those identical in form with roots,
together with a comparatively small number of others which are inflected like these.

They will be taken up in the order thus indicated.

A. Root-stems, and those inflected like them.

383. The stems of this division may be classified as follows:

I. a. Root-stems, having in them no demonstrable element added to a root: thus, ṝṇa verse, gīr song, pād foot, dīṇa direction, māh (V.) great.

b. Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, vāc from ṝvac, srāj from ṝṣṭi, mūṣ from ṝmuṣ, vrīc from ṝvṛc (♀), ury from ṝvas shine; — from roots in final ṝ come stems in īr and ur: thus, gīr, a-śīr, stīr; jūr, tūr, dhūr, pūr, mūr, stūr, sūṭr; and pūr from ṝpīr.

c. With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as cikīt, yavīyūdh, vānīvān, saayād.

d. Words of this division in uncompounded use are tolerably frequent in the older language: thus, in RV., are found more than a hundred of them; in AV., about sixty; but in the classical Sanskrit the power of using any root at will in this way is lost, and the examples are comparatively few. In all periods, however, the adjective use as final of a compound is very common (see below, 401).

e. As to the infinitive use of various cases of the root-noun, see 971.

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

g. No proper root-stem ends in a short vowel, although there are (354) examples of transfer of such to short-vowel-declensions; but ī or u or ṝ adds a t to make a declinable form: thus, -jit, -grūt, -kṛt. Roots in ṝ, however, as has just been seen (b), also make stems in īr or ur.

h. As regards the frequency and use of these words, the same is true as was stated above respecting root-stems. The Veda offers examples of nearly thirty such formations, a few of them (mīt, rīt, stūt, hrūt, vṛt, and dyūt if this is taken from dyu) in independent use. Of roots in ṝ, t is added by kr, dhṛ, dhṛ, bhṛ, vṛ, sṛ, spṛ,ḥṛ, and ḫṛ. The roots gā (or gam) and han also make -gāt and -hāt by addition of the t to an abbreviated form in a (thus, adhvagāt, dyugāt, dvigāt, navagāt, and saṁhāt).

III. i. Monosyllabic (also a few apparently reduplicated) stems not certainly connectible with any verbal root in the language, but having the aspect of root-stems, as containing no traceable suffix:
thus, tvāc skin, pāth road, hṛd heart, āp and vār water, dvār door, ās mouth, kakūbh and kakud summit.

j. Thirty or forty such words are found in the older language, and some of them continue in later use, while others have been transferred to other modes of declension or have become extinct.

k. Stems more or less clearly derivative, but made with suffixes of rare or even isolated occurrence. Thus:

1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix vat: arvāvat, āvāt, udvāt, nivāt, parāvāt, pravāt, saṁvāt; — 2. derivatives (V.) n tāt (perhaps abbreviated from tātī), in a few isolated forms: thus, uparātāt, devātāt, vyākatāt, satyātāt, sarvātāt; — 3. other derivatives in t preceded by various vowels: thus, dačāt, vēhāt, vahāt, sravāt, sačāt, vāghāt; nāpāt; tačīt, divīt, yośīt, rohīt, sarīt, harīt; marūt; yākṛt, cākṛt; and the numerals for 30, 40, 50, triṇcāt etc. (476); — 4. stems in ad: thus, dṛṣād, dṛṣād, bhasād, vanād, qarād, samād; — 5. stems in j preceded by various vowels: thus, ṭṛṇāj, ḍṛṣāj, sanāj, bhīṣāj; uṣīj, vanīj, bhurīj, niṇīj(?); āṣīj; — 6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative: thus, jāās, -dās, bhās, mās, bhūg; — 7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as viṣṭāp, vipāc, kāprth, qurūdh, iṣidh, pykṣād, raghāt (?), sarāgh, visrūh, uṣūh, kavāg.

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., drūh f. (yādruh be inimical) means harming, enmity, and also harmer, hater, enemy — thus bordering on the masculine value. And some of the feminines have a completely concrete meaning. Through the whole division, the masculines are much less numerous than the feminines, and the neuters rarest of all.

a. The independent neuter stems are hṛd (also -hārd), dām, vār, svār, mās flesh, ās mouth, bhās, dōs (with which may be mentioned the indeclinables gām and yōs); also the apparent derivatives yākṛt, cākṛt, kāprth, āṣīj.

385. Strong and weak stem-forms. The distinction of these two classes of forms is usually made either by the presence or absence of a nasal, or by a difference in the quantity of the stem-vowel, as long or short; less often, by other methods.

386. A nasal appears in the strong cases of the following words:

1. Compounds having as final member the root ac or anōc: see below, 407 ff.; and RV. has once uruvyānficam from root vyac; — 2. The
stem yuj, sometimes, in the older language: thus, nom. sing. yūṅ (for yūṅk), accus. yūṅjam, du. yūṅjā (but also yūṅam and yūṅā); —
3. The stem -dr̥, as final of a compound in the older language; but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, anyādṛṇ, idṛṇ, kidṛṇ, tādṛṇ, etādṛṇ, sadṛṇ and pratisadṛṇ: but also idṛk, tādṛk, svardṛk, etc.; — 4. For path and puṁs, which substitute more extended stems, and for dānt, see below, 394—6.

387. The vowel a is lengthened in strong cases as follows:

1. Of the roots vac, sac, sap, nabh, cas, in a few instances (V.), at the end of compounds; — 2. Of the roots vah and sah, but irregularly: see below, 403—5; — 3. Of ap water (see 393); also in its compound rityāp; — 4. Of pad foot: in the compounds of this word, in the later language, the same lengthening is made in the middle cases also; and in RV. and AV. the nom. sing. neut. is both -pat and -pāt, while RV. has once -pāde, and -pādbhis and -pātsu occur in the Brāhmaṇas; — 5. Of nas nose (? nāsa nom. du. fem., RV., once); — 6. Sporadic cases (V.) are: yāj (?), voc. sing.; pāthās and -rāpas, accus. pl.; vānīvānas, nom. pl. The strengthened forms bhāj and rāj are constant, through all classes of cases.

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

1. In -han: see below, 402; — 2. In kṣam (V.), along with prolongation of a: thus, kṣāmā du., kṣāmas pl.; kṣamā instr. sing., kṣāmi loc. sing., kṣamās abl. sing.; — 3. In dvār, contracted (V.) to dur in weak cases (but with some confusion of the two classes); — 4. In svār, which becomes, in RV., sūr in weak cases; later it is indeclinable.

389. The endings are as stated above (380).

a. Respecting their combination with the final of the stem, as well as the treatment of the latter when it occurs at the end of the word, the rules of euphonic combination (chap. III.) are to be consulted; they require much more constant and various application here than anywhere else in declension.

b. Attention may be called to a few exceptional cases of combination (V.): mādbhis and mādbhyās from mās month; the wholly anomalous padbhīs (RV. and VS.: AV. has always padbhīs) from pad; and sarāṭ and sarādbhyas corresponding to a nom. pl. sarāghas (instead of sarāhas: 222). Dāṁ is apparently for dām, by 143 a.

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

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
390. Monosyllabic stems have the regular accent of such, throwing the tone forward upon the endings in the weak cases.

a. But the accusative plural has its normal accentuation as a weak case, upon the ending, in only a minority (hardly more than a third) of the stems: namely in datás, pathás, padás, nidás, apás, ușás, jñāsás, purhsás, māsás, mahás; and sometimes in vācás, srucás, hrutás, aśrīsá, kṣapás, vipás, durás, iṣás, dviṣás, dhrúsas (beside vācās etc.).

b. Exceptional instances, in which a weak case has the tone on the stem, occur as follows: sādā, nādbhyas, tānā (also tanā) and tāne, bāḍhe (inān.), rāṇe and rāṇsu, vāṇsu, svāni, vīpaś, kṣāmi, sūrā and sūras (but sūrē), āṇhas, and vānas and bīhas (in vānaspáti, bīhaspáti). On the other hand, a strong case is accented on the ending in mahās, nom. pl., and kāsām (AV.: perhaps a false reading). And preṣā, instr. sing., is accented as if preṣa were a simple stem, instead of pra-īṣa. Vīṁḍhāḥ is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in ac or atne, see 410.

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

Singular:

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<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
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<tr>
<td>vāk</td>
<td>pāt</td>
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<td>vācam</td>
<td>pādam</td>
<td>marūtam</td>
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<td>vācē</td>
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<td>vācās</td>
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<td>vācī</td>
<td>padī</td>
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Thus:
## Declension V., Consonantal Stems.

### Dual:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>पाद्</th>
<th>मरुतौ</th>
<th>त्रिव्रृति</th>
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<tr>
<td>वाच्या</td>
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<td>मरुतय</td>
<td>त्रिवर्ति</td>
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<th>महाम्</th>
<th>त्रिव्रृत्यम्</th>
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<td>पदोस्</td>
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### Plural:

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<th>N. V.</th>
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<th>महत्</th>
<th>त्रिव्रृति</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>वाचस्</td>
<td>पादस्</td>
<td>महत्</td>
<td>त्रिव्रृति</td>
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<th>त्रिव्रृति</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>वाचस, वाचस</td>
<td>पादस्</td>
<td>महत्</td>
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<th>त्रिव्रृसस्</th>
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<tr>
<td>वातु्</td>
<td>पत्</td>
<td>महसूस</td>
<td>त्रिव्रृसुः</td>
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### By way of illustration of the leading methods of treatment of a stem-final, at the end of the word and in combination with case-endings, characteristic case-forms of a few more stems are here added. Thus:

- a. Stems in j: युज-class (219 a, 142), bhīṣāj: bhīṣāk, bhīṣājam, bhīṣāghbhis, bhīṣākuṣu; — भज-class (219 b, 142), samrāj universal ruler: samrāṭ, samrājam, samrāgbhis, samrākṣu.


- d. Stems in े: दे direction: दि, दिष, दिषंbhis, दिषु; — वि (218, 145) the people: वि, विष, विषंbhis, विषु (V. vikṣu: 218 a).

- e. Stems in s (228 b, 145): द्विस enemy: द्वि, द्विş, द्विşम, द्विşbhis, द्विşस्.

- f. Stems in h: दुह-class (232—3 a, 155 b, 147), -दुह milki

*10*
yielding: -dhúk, -dúham, -dhúgbhís, -dhúkṣu; — ruh-class (223 b, 147), -lih liking; -liṭ, -liham, -liqbbhís, -liṭau.

g. Stems in m (143 a, 212 a: only pračán, nom. sing., quotable): -qám quieting: -qán, qámam, -qánbhís, -qánṣu.

392. The root-stems in ir and ur (383 b) lengthen their vowel when the final r is followed by another consonant (245 b), and also in the nom. sing. (where the case-ending s is lost).

a. Thus, from gír f. song come gír (gíṭh), gíram, girá, etc.; gírāu, gírbbyám, girós; gíras, gírbhís, gírbbhyás, gírám, girṣú (165); and, in like manner, from pur f. stronghold come pur (púḥ), púram, purá, etc.; purāu, púrbbyám, purós; púras, púrbhís, púrbbhýás, purám, purṣú.

b. There are no roots in is (except the excessively rare pis) or in us; but from the root cás with its ā weakened to i (250) comes the noun açís f. blessing, which is inflected like gír: thus, açís (açíṭh), açísam, açíṣa, etc.; açíṣau, açírbhyám, açíṣo; açíṣas, açírbhís, açírbbhyás, açíṣám, açíṣṣu. And sajás together is apparently a stereotyped nominative of like formation from the root jús. The form aṣṭāpruṣ (TS.), from the root-stem pruṣ, is isolated and anomalous.

c. These stems in ir, ur, is show a like prolongation of vowel also in composition and derivation: thus, girváṇa, púrbhíd, dhúrgata, dhúṣṭva, aṣćídá, aṣćrvant, etc. (but also gírvan, gírvanas).

d. The native grammar sets up a class of quasi-radical stems like jigamis desiring to go, made from the desiderative conjugation-stem (1027), and prescribes for it a declension like that of açís: thus, jigamís, jigamīṣa, jigamírbhís, jigamíṣṣu, etc. Such a class appears to be a mere fragment of the grammarians, since no example of it has been found quotable from the literature, either earlier or later, and since there is, in fact, no more a desiderative stem jigamis than a causative stem gamay.

393. The stem áp f. water is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before bh to d (151 e): thus, ápas, apás, adbhís, adbhhyás, apám, apsu.

a. But RV. has the sing. instr. ápá and gen. ápás. In the earlier language (especially AV.), and even in the epics, the nom. and accus. pl. forms are occasionally confused in use, ápas being employed as accus., and apás as nominative.

b. Besides the stem ap, case-forms of this word are sometimes used in composition and derivation: thus, for example, abjá, āpodevata, āpomáya, apsūmant.

394. The stem púṇs m. man is very irregular, substituting púmāṇs in the strong cases, and losing its a (necessarily) before initial bh of a case-ending, and likewise (by analogy with this, or by an abbreviation akin with that noticed at 231) in the loc. plural. The vocative is (in accordance with that of the somewhat similarly
inflected perfect participles; see 462a) púman in the later language, but púmas in the earlier. Thus: púma, púmaśam, púmaś, púmasé, púmasás, púmasi, púman; púmaśasa, pumbhyám, púmasós; púmaśas, pumásás, pumbhás, pumbhýás, púmsám, púmsú.

a. The accentuation of the weak forms, it will be noticed, is that of a true monosyllabic stem. The forms with bh-endings nowhere occur in the older language, nor do they appear to have been cited from the later. Instances of the confusion of strong and weak forms are occasionally met with. As to the retention of a unilingualized in the weakest cases (whence necessarily follows that in the loc. pl.), see 183a.

b. This stem appears under a considerable variety of forms in composition and derivation: thus, as pūma in pūmçolai, pūmatva, pūmavant, -pūmaha, etc.; as pum in pūnvatva, pūnrūpa, pūnvat, pumartiha, etc.; as pūmsa in pūmsavant; — at the end of a compound, either with its full inflection, as in stripurúa etc.; or as pūmsa, in stripurása, mahāpurça; or as puma in stripuma (TS. TA.).

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

396. The stem dánt m. tooth is perhaps of participial origin, and has, like a participle, the forms dánt and dát, strong and weak: thus (V.), dán, dántam, datá, etc.; datás acc. pl. etc. But in the middle cases it has the monosyllabic and not the participial accent: thus, dadbhás, dadbhýás. In nom. pl. occurs also -datos instead of -dantás. By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from dánta.

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

a. Thus, hñá m. heart, máña or mása n. meat, mása m. month, nás f. nose, niq f. night (not found in the older language), pýt f. army, are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the accmus. sing. and du. (the neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from hñáya, máña, máña, náská, niqá, pýtá. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find mása flesh accus. sing.; mása month nom. sing.; and násá nostrils du. From pýt occurs only the loc. pl. pýtá and (RV., once) the same case with doubleending, pýtáśu.

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

a. Thus, ágrí n. blood, çákrt n. ordure, yákrt n. liver, dós n. (also m.) fore-arm, have beside them defective stems in án: see below, 432. Of none of them, however, is anything but the nom.-acc. sing. found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.
b. Of āś n. mouth, and úḍ water, only a case or two are found, in the older language, beside āśān and āśā, and udān and údaka (432).

399. Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, dánata, mása. A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language, more commonly in the later. Such are pāḍa, -māḍa, -dāḍa, bhrājā, viṣṭāpa, dvāra and dura, pura, dhura, -dṛṣa, nāśa, nidad, kṣipā, kṣā, and perhaps a few others.

a. A few irregular stems will find a more proper place under the head of Adjectives.

Adjectives.

400. Original adjectives having the root-form are comparatively rare even in the oldest language.

a. About a dozen are quotable from the RV., for the most part only in a few scattering cases. But māh great is common in RV., though it dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, māhi, which continues in use, as meaning earth etc.

401. But compound adjectives, having a root as final member, with the value of a present participle, are abundant in every period of the language.

a. Possessive adjective compounds, also, of the same form, are not very rare: examples are yatāsruc with offered bowl; stāryatvac sun-skinned; cātuśpad four-footed; sūhārd kind-hearted, friendly; rītyap (i. e. rīṭī-ap) having streaming waters; sahāsradvār furnished with a thousand doors.

b. The inflection of such compounds is like that of the simple root-stems, masculine and feminine being throughout the same, and the neuter varying only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers. But special neuter forms are of rare occurrence, and masc.-fem. are sometimes used instead.

c. Only rarely is a derivative feminine stem in I formed: in the older language, only from the compounds with ao or aṅc (407 ff.), those with han (402), those with pad, as ākapādi, dvipādi, and with dant, as vṛṣadāti, and māhi, āmucī (AV.), āpasadī (? CB.).

Irregularities of inflection appear in the following:

402. The root han slay, as final of a compound, is inflected somewhat like a derivative noun in an (below, 420 ff.), becoming hā in the nom. sing., and losing its ṇ in the middle cases and its a in the weakest cases (but only optionally in the loc. sing.). Further, when the vowel is lost, ṇ in contact with following ṇ reverts to its original gh. Thus:
### Declension V., Consonantal Stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. vṛtrabhā</td>
<td>vṛtrabhāṇāu</td>
<td>vṛtrabhāṇas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. vṛtrabhāṇam</td>
<td>vṛtrabhānās</td>
<td>vṛtraghānās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. vṛtraghnā</td>
<td>vṛtraghābhīs</td>
<td>vṛtraghābhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. vṛtraghnē</td>
<td>vṛtraghābhyyām</td>
<td>vṛtraghābhyyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. vṛtraghnās</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. vṛtraghnē, -hāṇī</td>
<td>vṛtraghnōs</td>
<td>vṛtraghās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. vṛtraghnē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. vṛtrahan</td>
<td>vṛtrahanāu</td>
<td>vṛtrahanās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. As to the change of ṇ to ṇ, see 193, 195.
b. A feminine is made by adding ī to, as usual, the stem-form shown in the weakest cases: thus, vṛtraghnī.
c. An accus. pl. -hānas (like the ncm.) also occurs. Vṛtrabhābhīs (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.), -gnā (RV.), -hana.

403. The root vah 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 uḥ, which with a preceding a-vowel becomes āu (137c): thus, from havyavāḥ sacrifice-bearing (epithet of Agni), havyavāṭ, havyavāḥam, havyāūḥa, etc.; havyavāḥau, havyavāḍbhyyām, havyāūhos; havyavāḥas, havyāūhas, havyavāḍbhīs, etc. And āveta without (not quotable) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in vās and the vocative in vās or vās.

a. In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with vah have been found to occur: namely, -vāṭ, -vāham, -vāhau or -vāhā, and -vāhas. But feminines in ī, from the weakest stem — as turvāuhi, dityāuhi, paṭāuhi — are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. TS. has the irregular nom. sing. paṭāuvāt.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. anaḍvān</td>
<td>anaḍvāhau</td>
<td>anaḍvāhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. anaḍvāham</td>
<td>anaḍvāhash</td>
<td>anaḍvāhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. anaḍūḥā</td>
<td>anaḍūḍbhīs</td>
<td>anaḍūḍbhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. anaḍūhe</td>
<td>anaḍūḍbhyyām</td>
<td>anaḍūḍbhyyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. anaḍūhas</td>
<td>anaḍūhos</td>
<td>anaḍūham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. anaḍūhi</td>
<td>anaḍūhas</td>
<td>anaḍūsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. anaḍvan</td>
<td>anaḍvāhau</td>
<td>anaḍvāhas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. Anaqūdbhyas (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. But compounds showing the middle stem — as anaqucchata, anaqudarha — are met with in Brähmanas etc.

b. The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either anaqūdhī (ÇB.) or anaqūvāhī (K. MS.).

405. The root sah overcome has in the Veda a double irregularity: its s is changeable to g even after an a-vowel — as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV., tvām gṛt) — while it sometimes remains unchanged after an i or u-vowel; and its s is either prolonged or remains unchanged, in both strong and weak cases. The quotable forms are: -gṛt, -gṛham or -gṛham or -gṛham, -sāhā, -sāhe or -sāhe, -sāhas or -sāhas or -sāhas; -sāhā (du.); -sāhas or -sāhas.

406. The compound avayāj (yaj make offering) is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. avayas, and to make its middle cases from avayas.

a. Its only quotable form is avayas, f. (RV. and AV., each once). If the stem is a derivative from ava+ऽ/्याज conciliate, avayas is very probably from ava+ऽ/्यās, which has the same meaning. But sadhamās (RV., once) and purodās (RV. twice) show a similar apparent substitution in nom. sing. of the case-ending s after long ā for a final root-consonant (d and q respectively). Compare also the alleged qvetavās (above, 403).

407. Compounds with aṇc or ac. The root ac or aṇc makes, in combination with prepositions and other words, a considerable class of familiarly used adjectives, of quite irregular formation and inflection, in some of which it almost loses its character of root, and becomes an ending of derivation.

a. A part of these adjectives have only two stem-forms: a strong in aṇc (yielding aṇ, from aṅkṣa, in nom. sing. masc.), and a weak in ac; others distinguish from the middle in ac a weakest stem in c, before which the a is contracted with a preceding i or u into i or u.

b. The feminine is made by adding i to the stem-form used in the weakest cases, and is accented like them.

408. As examples of inflection we may take praṇc forward, east, pratyāṇc opposite, west, viṣvāṇc going apart.

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
<th>prāṇ</th>
<th>prāk</th>
<th>pratyāṇ</th>
<th>pratyāk</th>
<th>viṣvāṇ</th>
<th>viṣvāk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. praṇcam</td>
<td>prāk</td>
<td>pratyāṇcam</td>
<td>pratyāk</td>
<td>viṣvāṇcam</td>
<td>viṣvāk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. prācā</td>
<td>prāticā</td>
<td>viṣucā</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. prāce</td>
<td>prāticē</td>
<td>viṣucē</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G. prācas</td>
<td>prāticas</td>
<td>viṣucas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. prācī</td>
<td>prāticī</td>
<td>viṣucī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V. prāṇcāu</th>
<th>prācī</th>
<th>pratyāṇcāu</th>
<th>pratiśī</th>
<th>viṣvāṇcāu</th>
<th>viṣucī</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L. D. Ab. prāgbhyām</td>
<td>pratyāgbhyām</td>
<td>viṣvagbhyām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L. prācōs</td>
<td>prāticōs</td>
<td>viṣucōs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Declension V., Consonantal Stems.

Plural:

N. V.  práncas  pránci  pratyáncas  pratyánci  vígšańcas  vígšańci
A.  prácas  pránci  práticás  pratyánci  vígšucas  vígšańci
I.  prágbhisi  pratyágbhisi  vígšagbhisi
D. Ab.  prágbhyas  pratyágbhyas  vígšagbhhyas
G.  prácán  práticám  vígšucám
L.  prákṣu  pratyákṣu  vígśakṣu

a. The feminine stems are práci, prádic, vígšici, respectively.

b. No example of the middle forms excepting the nom. etc. sing. neut. (and this generally used as adverb) is found either in RV. or AV. In the same texts is lacking the nom. etc. pl. neut. in fiti; but of this a number of examples occur in the Bráhmaṇas: thus, pránci, pratyánci, arvánici, samyánici, saduryánici, anvánci.

409. a. Like pránč are inflected ápānc, ávānc, párānc, arvánč, adharānc, and others of rare occurrence.

b. Like pratyánc are inflected nyānc (i.e. níanc), samyánc (samañ + ańč, with irregularly inserted i), and údānc (weakest stem údic: ud + ańč, with i inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.

c. Like vígšańc is inflected anvánc, also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.

d. Still more irregular is tiryánc, of which the weakest stem is tirańc (tirás + ańc: the other stems are made from tir + ańc or ańc, 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, práča, arváča, adharácas, but práticá, anúčás, samící. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, práticí, samící, anúcí (RV. has prátícim once). The shift of accent to the endings, and even in polysyllabic stems, is against all usual analogy.

B. Derivative stems in as, is, us.

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

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

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

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनस्म मलस n. mind; गजरस्म अगिरस m. Angiras; कविस्म havis n. oblation.

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>तमस</th>
<th>गजरसम</th>
<th>कविसम</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>मनस</td>
<td>अगिरस</td>
<td>हविस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>मनस</td>
<td>अगिरसम</td>
<td>कविस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>मनसा</td>
<td>अगिरसा</td>
<td>हविषा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>मनसे</td>
<td>अगिरसे</td>
<td>हविषे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>मनसस</td>
<td>अगिरसस</td>
<td>हविसस</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>मनसि</td>
<td>अगिरसि</td>
<td>हविषि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>मनस</td>
<td>अगिरस</td>
<td>हविस</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>तमस्म</th>
<th>गजरसस्म</th>
<th>कविसस</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>मनस</td>
<td>अगिरस</td>
<td>हविष</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>मनो-याम</td>
<td>अगिरो-याम</td>
<td>हविर्याम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>मनसोस</td>
<td>अगिरसोस</td>
<td>हविसोस</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural:

N. A. V.  
मनोसि  विश्रसम्  क्षेती
मानसि  अंगिरससि  हविशि

I.  
मनोभि  विश्रोभिशि  क्षविभिशि
मानोभि  अंगिरोभि  हविरभि

D. Ab.  
मनोभद्  विश्रोभद्  क्षविभद्
मानोभद्  अंगिरोभद्  हविरभद्

G.  
मनसाम्  विश्रसाम्  क्षविसाम्
मानसाम्  अंगिरसाम्  हविसाम्

L.  
मनु  विश्रु  क्षवियु
मानहि  अंगिरहि  हविशु

In like manner, चतुष्कुंिा n. eye forms चतुष्कुंिा, चतुष्कुंिा, चतुष्कुंिा, and so on.

415. Vedic etc. Irregularities. a. In the older language, the endings -asam (acc. sing.) and -asas (generally nom.-acc. pl.; once or twice gen.-abl. sing.) of stems in as are not infrequently contracted to -ām, -ās — e.g. aćām, vedhām; surādhas, ānāgās — and out of such forms grow, both earlier and later, substitute-stems in ā, as aćā, jarā, medhā. So from other forms grow stems in a and in asa, which exchange more or less with those in as through the whole history of the language.

b. More scattering irregularities may be mentioned, as follows: 1. The usual masc. and fem. du. ending in ā instead of āu; — 2. uṣas f. dawn often prolongs its ā in the other strong cases, as in the nom. sing.: thus, uṣásam, uṣásā, uṣásas (and once in a weak case, uṣásas); and in its instr. pl. occurs once (RV.) uṣādbhis instead of uṣādbhis; — 3. from toṣas is once (RV.) found a similar dual, toṣāsā; — 4. from svāvas and svātāvas occur in RV. a nom. sing. masc. in vān, as if from a stem in vant; and in the Brāhmaṇas is found the dat.-abl. pl. of like formation svātāvabhyās.

c. The stems in is and us also show transitions to stems in i and u, and in iṣa and uṣa. From januṣ is once (RV.) made the nom. sing. januṣ, after the manner of an as-stem (cf. also janūrvasas CB.).

416. The grammarians regard uṣānas m. as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (355a), but give it the irregular nom. uṣānā and the voc. uṣānas or uṣana or uṣanan. Forms from the as-stem, even nom., are sometimes met with in the later literature.

a. As to forms from as-stems to āhan or āhar and ūdhan or ūdhar, see below, 430.
Adjectives.

417. a. A few neuter nouns in as with accent on the radical syllable have corresponding adjectives or appellatives in ás, with accent on the ending: thus, for example, ápas work, apás active; táras quickness, tarás quick; yáças glory, yuáças glorious. A few other similar adjectives — as tavás mighty, vedhás pious — are without corresponding nouns.

b. Original adjectives in is do not occur (as to alleged desiderative adjectives in is, see 392 d). But in us are found as many adjectives as nouns (about ten of each class); and in several instances adjective and noun stand side by side, without difference of accent such as appears in the stems in as: e.g. tápus heat and hot; vápus wonder and wonderful.

418. Adjective compounds having nouns of this division as final member are very common: thus, sumánás favorably minded; dirgháyus long-lived; qukräcócis 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 sumánas, the nom. and accus. are as follows:

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>sumánás</td>
<td>-nas</td>
<td>sumánasáu</td>
<td>-náśi</td>
<td>sumánásás</td>
<td>-nahí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>sumánásam</td>
<td>-nas</td>
<td>sumánásam</td>
<td>-náśi</td>
<td>sumánásam</td>
<td>-nahí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

a. In Veda and Bráhmaṇa, the neut. nom. sing. is in a considerable number of instances made in ás, like the other genders.

b. From dirgháyus, in like manner:

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<thead>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>dirgháyus</td>
<td>-yus</td>
<td>dirgháyusáu</td>
<td>-yuśi</td>
<td>dirgháyusás</td>
<td>-yúñí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>dirgháyusam</td>
<td>-yus</td>
<td>dirgháyusam</td>
<td>-yuśi</td>
<td>dirgháyusam</td>
<td>-yúñí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>dirgháyusá</td>
<td>dirgháyusá</td>
<td>dirgháyúryá</td>
<td>dirgháyúryá</td>
<td>dirgháyúryá</td>
<td>dirgháyúryá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

419. The stem anéhás unrivalled (defined as meaning time in the later language) forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. anéhá.

C. Derivative stems in an.

420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes अन an, मन man, and वन van, together with a few of more questionable etymology which are inflected like them. They are almost exclusively masculine and neuter.

421. The stem has a triple form. In the strong cases
of the masculine, the vowel of the ending is prolonged to 
:\v{a}; in the weakest cases it is in general struck out 
altogether; in the middle cases, or before a case-ending be-
ginning with a consonant, the final \n is dropped. The 
\n is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving 
:\v{a} as final in the masculine, \v{a} in the neuter).

a. The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual 
analogy (911b): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening 
to \v{a}, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest 
cases, have the loss of \v{a} — but this only optionally, not 
necessarily.

b. In the loc. sing., also, the \v{a} may be either rejected or re-
tained (compare the corresponding usage with \v{r}-stems: 373). And 
after the \v{m} or \v{n} of \v{m}an or \v{v}an, when these are preceded by an-
other consonant, the \v{a} is always retained, to avoid a too great ac-
cumulation 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 \v{a} of the suffix is lost, the tone is thrown 
forward upon the ending.

424. Examples of declension. As such may be 
taken \v{n} \v{r}ajan m. \v{k}ing; \v{a}\v{t}man\v{m} \v{a}\v{t}m\v{a}n m. \v{s}ou\v{l}, \v{s}elf; 
\v{n}\v{m}an \v{n}\v{m}an n. \v{n}ame. Thus:

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>राजा</th>
<th>ग्रांम</th>
<th>नाम</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजा</td>
<td>ग्रांम</td>
<td>नाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>राजाम</td>
<td>ग्रांमाम</td>
<td>नाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>राजा</td>
<td>ग्रांमा</td>
<td>नाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>राजी</td>
<td>ग्रांमी</td>
<td>नाम</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

N. राजा ग्रांमा नाम
A. राजानम ग्रांमानम नाम
I. राजा ग्रांमा नाम
D. राजी ग्रांमी नाम
V. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

| Ab. G. | राजन् | धातमस् | नामस्
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजनास</td>
<td>आत्मानस</td>
<td>नामनास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>राजि, राजन्</td>
<td>आत्मनि</td>
<td>नामिः, नामनि</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>राजिः, राजनिः</td>
<td>आत्मानि</td>
<td>नामनि, नामानि</td>
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<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>राजन्</td>
<td>आत्मन्</td>
<td>नामन्, नाम</td>
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<tr>
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<td>राजन</td>
<td>आत्मन</td>
<td>नामन, नाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>राजानि</td>
<td>आत्मानि</td>
<td>नामिः, नामनि</td>
</tr>
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<td>नामनि, नामानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>राजन्-याम्</td>
<td>आत्मन-याम्</td>
<td>नाम-याम्</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>नामाब्याम्</td>
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<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
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<td>आत्मोस्</td>
<td>नामोस्</td>
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<td>राजोन्त्रось</td>
<td>आत्मोन्सृ</td>
<td>नामोन्सृ</td>
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<td>Plural:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>राजानस्</td>
<td>आत्मानस्</td>
<td>नामानि</td>
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<td>आत्मानाः</td>
<td>नामानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>राजन्</td>
<td>आत्मन्</td>
<td>नामानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>आत्मान्</td>
<td>नामानि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>राजाभिस्</td>
<td>आत्माभिस्</td>
<td>नामाभिस्</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>आत्माभ्यास</td>
<td>नामाभ्यास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>राजन-यास्</td>
<td>आत्मन-यास्</td>
<td>नाम-यास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजाभ्यास</td>
<td>आत्माभ्यास</td>
<td>नामाभ्यास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>राजाम्</td>
<td>आत्माम्</td>
<td>नामाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजाम</td>
<td>आत्माम</td>
<td>नामाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>राजासु</td>
<td>आत्मासु</td>
<td>नामासु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The weakest cases of mūrdhān m. *head*, would be accented mūrdhānā, mūrdhānē, mūrdhānōs, mūrdhānās (acc. pl.), mūrdhānam, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., mūrdhānī or mūrdhānāī).

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

b. The briefer form (with ejected a.) of the loc. sing., and of the neut. nom.-acc.-voc. du., is quite unusual in the older language. RV. writes once cātādāvni, but it is to be read cātādāvani; and similar cases occur in AV. (but also several times -mni). In the Brāhmaṇas, too, such forms as dhāmānī and sāmanī are very much more common than such as ahni and lomnī.
c. But throughout both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, an abbreviated form of the loc. sing., with the ending i omitted, or identical with the stem, is of considerably more frequent occurrence than the regular form: thus, mūrdhān, kārman, ādvvan, beside mūrdhānī etc. The n has all the usual combinations of a final n: e. g. mūrdhann asya, mūrdhant sa, mūrdhans tvā.

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 brāhmāpi: compare the similar series of endings from a-stems, 329 c.

e. From a few stems in man is made an abbreviated inst. sing., with loss of m as well as of a: thus, mahinā, prathinā, varinā, dānā, preṇa, bhūnā, for mahinnā etc. And drāghmā and raqmā (RV., each once) are perhaps for drāghmāṇā, raqmānā.

f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes found with the a of the suffix retained: thus, for example, bhūmanā, dāmane, yāmanas, ukṣāṇas (accus. pl.), etc. In the infinitive datives (970 d) — trāmane, vidmāne, dāvāne, etc. — the a always remains. About as numerous are the instances in which the a, omitted in the written form of the text, is, as the metre shows, to be restored in reading.

g. The voc. sing. in vas, which is the usual Vedic form from stems in vant (below, 454 b), is found also from a few in van, perhaps by a transfer to the vant-declension: thus, ṣtāvas, evayāvas, khīdvas(?), prātaritvas, mātariqvas, vibhāvas.

h. For words of which the a is not made long in the strong cases, see the next paragraph.

426. A few stems do not make the regular lengthening of a in the strong cases (except the nom. sing.). Thus:

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

b. In the Veda, ukṣān bull (but also ukṣāṇam); yōga maiden; vṛṣān virile, bull (but vṛṣām and vṛṣāṇa are also met with); tmān, abbreviation of ātmān; and two or three other scattering forms: anarvāṇam, jēmanā. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre seems to demand a where ā is written.

427. The stems qvān m. dog and yuvān young have in the weakest cases the contracted form qūn and yūn (with retention of the accent); in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, qvā, qvānam, qūnā, qūne, etc., qvābhyyām, qvābhīs, etc.; yūvā, yuvānam, yūnā, yuvābhīs, etc.

a. In dual, RV. has once yūnā for yuvānā.

428. The stem maghāvan generous (later, almost exclusively a name of Indra) is contracted in the weakest cases to maghón: thus, maghāvā, maghāvānam, maghōnā, maghōne, etc.
a. The RV. has once the weak form maghónas in nom. pl.

b. Parallel with this is found the stem maghávant (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, maghavadbhis, maghavatsu, etc. (not maghavabhis etc.).

429 a. Stems in a, ma, va, parallel with those in an, man, van, and doubtless in many cases derived from them through transitional forms, are frequent in both the earlier and the later language, particularly as final members of compounds.

b. A number of an-stems are more or less defective, making a part of their forms from other stems. Thus:

430. a. The stem áhan n. day is in the later language used only in the strong and weakest cases, the middle (with the nom. sing., which usually follows their analogy) coming from áhar or áhas: namely, áhar nom.-acc. sing., áhobhyām, áhobhis, etc. (PB. has aharbhie); but áhnā etc., áhni or áhanī (or áhan), áhnī or áhanī, áhāni (and, in V., áhā).

b. In the oldest language, the middle cases áhabhis, áhabhyas, áhasu also occur.

c. In composition, only áhar or áhas is used as preceding member; as final member, áhar, áhas, áhan, or the derivatives aha, ahā.

d. The stem údhān n. udder exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with údhār and údhas, but has become later an an-stem only (except in the fem. údhnī of adjective compounds): thus, údhar or údhas, údhas, údhan or údhani, údhabhis, údhaḥau. As derivatives from it are made both údhnayā and údhasya.

431. The neuter stems aksān eye, asthān bone, dadhnā curds, sakthān thigh, form in the later language only the weakest cases, aksāhi, asthāne, dadhnās, sakthāni or sakthāni, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in i, aksī etc.: see above, 343i.

a. In the older language, other cases from the an-stema occur: thus, aksāpi, aksābbhis, and aksasau; asthāni, asthābhish, and asthābhyas; sakthāni.

432. The neuter stems asān blood, yakān liver, čakān ordure, asān mouth, udān water, doṣān fore-arm, yūṣān broth, are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems āśṛi, yākṛt, cākṛt, āṣyā, údaka (in older language udakā), dōs, yūṣā, which are fully inflected.

a. Earlier occurs also the dual doṣāni.

433. The stem pāṇthān 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 a. The corresponding middle cases are made from pāthi, and the weakest from pathi. Thus:
from pánthan — pánthás, pánthánam; pánthánau; pánthanas;
from pathí — pathibhyām; pathibhis, pathibhyas, pathīsu;
from path — pathé, pathá, pathás, pathí; pathós; pathás
or páthas (accus.), pátám.

a. In the oldest language (RV.), however, the strong stem is only
pánthä: thus, pánthás, nom. sing.; pánthäm, acc. sing.; pánthás,
nom. pl.; and even in AV., pánthánam and pánthanas are rare
compared with the others. From pathí occur also the nom. pl.
páthāyas and gen. pl. pathinām. RV. has once pátás, acc. pl., with long ā.

434. The stems mánthan m. stirring-stick, and ṛbhukṣān m., an
epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with
pánthan; but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from
the former the acc. sing. mánthām, and gen. pl. mathiṇām (like the
corresponding cases from pánthan); from the latter, the nom. sing. ṛbhuko-
sās and voc. pl. ṛbhukṣās, like the corresponding Vedic forms of pánthan;
but also the acc. sing. ṛbhukṣāṇam and nom. pl. ṛbhukṣāṇas, which
are after quite another model.

Adjectives.

435. Original adjective stems in an are almost exclusively those
made with the suffix van, as yajvan sacrificing, sutvan pressing the
soma, jítvan conquering. The stem is masc. and neut. only (but
sporadic cases of its use as fem. occur in RV.); the corresponding
fem. stem is made in vari: thus, yajvari, jítvari.

436. Adjective compounds having a noun in an as final mem-
er are inflected after the model of noun-stems; and the masculine
forms are sometimes used also as feminine; but usually a special
feminine is made by adding i to the weakest form of the masculine
stem: thus, sómarājñī, kilālodhṇī, ēkamūrdhṇī, durṇāmni.

437. But (as was pointed out above: 429 a) nouns in an occurring
as final members of compounds often substitute a stem in a for that in
an: thus, -rāja, -janma, -adhva, -aha; their feminine is in ā. Occasion-
al exchanges of stems in van and in vant also occur: thus, vivásvan
and vivásvant.

a. The remaining divisions of the consonantal declension are
made up of adjective stems only.

D. Derivative stems (adjective) in in.

438. The stems of this division are those formed with
the suffixes śrū in, mīn min, and vin vin. They are mas-
Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 11
culine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ḍī.

a. The stems in in are very numerous, since almost any noun in a in the language may form a possessive derivative adjective with this suffix: thus, bāla *strength*, balīnī m. n. balīnī f. *possessing strength, strong*. Stems in vin (1232), however, are very few, and those in min (1231) still fewer.

439. Their inflection is quite regular, except that they lose their final ṅ in in the middle cases (before an initial consonant of the ending), and also in the nom. sing., where the masculine lengthens the ḍī by way of compensation. The voc. sing. is in the masculine the bare stem; in the neuter, either this or like the nominative.

a. In all these respects, it will be noticed, the in-declension agrees with the an-declension; but it differs from the latter in never losing the vowel of the ending.

440. Example of inflection. As such may be taken बलिन् balīn strong. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. बलिन्</td>
<td>बली</td>
<td>बलिनी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बलिनम्</td>
<td>बलि</td>
<td>balīnā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>बलिन</td>
<td>balī</td>
<td>balīnā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example of inflection. As such may be taken बलिन् balīn strong. Thus:
163  DECLENSION V., DERIVATIVE STEMS IN in.  [—444

a. The derived feminine stem in inl is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative I (364).

441. a. There are no irregularities in the inflection of in-stems, in either the earlier language or the later — except the usual Vedic dual ending in ā instead of āu.

b. Stems in in exchange with stems in i throughout the whole history of the language, those of the one class being developed out of those of the other often through transitional forms. In a much smaller number of cases, stems in in are expanded to stems in ina; e. g. čākinā (RV.), quśmiṇa (B.), barhiṇa, bhajina.

E. Derivative stems (adjective) in ant (or at).

442. These stems fall into two sub-divisions: 1. those made by the suffix ānt (or āat), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes mat and vant (or mat and vat). They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ɪ ɪ.

1. Participles in ant or at.

443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in ānt ant and āat. The former is taken in the strong cases of the masculine, with, as usual, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neuter; the latter is taken by all the remaining cases.

a. But, in accordance with the rule for the formation of the feminine stem (below, 449), the future participles, and the present participles of verbs of the tud-class or accented á-class (752), and of verbs of the ad-class or root-class ending in ā, are by the grammarians allowed to make the nom.-acc.-voc. du. neut. from either the stronger or the weaker stem; and the present participles from all other present-stems ending in ā are required to make the same from the strong stem.

444. Those verbs, however, which in the 3d pl. pres. active lose न न of the usual ending लि nti (550b), lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem.
V. Nouns and Adjectives.

a. Such are the verbs forming their present-stem by reduplication without added a: namely, those of the reduplicating or hu-class (655) and the intensives (1012): thus, from yhu, present-stem jhuh, participle-stem juhvat; intensive-stem johu, intensive participle-stem johvat. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, cákṣat, dāṣat, dāṣat, čāṣat, sāṣat; the aorist participle dhákṣat, and vāghat(?). Vāyūdhánt (R.V., once), which has the n notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in a: compare vāyūdhānta, vāyūdhasva.

b. Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. nent. in anti.

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in ō by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form ĕsants. The vocative of each gender is like the nominative.

446. Stems accented on the final syllable throw the accent forward upon the case-ending in the weakest cases (not in the middle also).

a. In the dual gent. (as in the feminine stem) from such participles, the accent is anti if the n is retained, ati if it is lost.

447. Examples of declension. As such may serve bhávant being, ědant eating, juhvat sacrificing. Thus:

Singular:

N.  
bhávan  bhávat  adán  adát  juhvat  juhvat

A.  
bhávantam  bhávat  adántam  adát  juhvatam  juhvat

I.  
bhávatā  ědantā  adatā  juhvata

D.  
bhávate  ědante  juhvate

Ab. G.  
bhávataḥ  ědantā  juhvataḥ

L.  
bhávati  ědantī  juhvati
V. bhavan bhavat ádan ádat júhvat

Dual:
N. A. V. bhávantau bhávanti adántau adatí júhvatáu júhvati
I. D. Ab. bhávaddbhyáṃ adádbhhyáṃ júhvaddbhyáṃ
G. L. bhávatos adatós júhvatos

Plural:
N. V. bhávantas bhávanti adántas adánti júhvatás júhvati
A. bhávatas bhávanti adatás adánti júhvatás júhvati

I. bhávaddbhis adádbhhis júhvaddbhis
D. Ab. bhávadbdhyas adádbhhyas júhvadbdhyas
G. bhávatáṃ adatám júhvátāṃ
L. bhávatsu adástu júhsvatu

a. The future participle bhavisyánt may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either bhavisyánti or bhavisyatí; tudánt, either tudánti or tudatí; yánt (yáyá), either yánti or yáti. And júhvat, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also júhvanti (beside júhvati, as given in the paradigm above).

b. But these strong forms (as well as bhávanti, du., and its like from present-stems in unaccented a) are quite contrary to general analogy, and of somewhat doubtful character. No example of them is quotable, either from the older or from the later language. The cases concerned, indeed, would be everywhere of rare occurrence.

448. The Vedic deviations from the model as above given are few.
The dual ending án is only one sixth as common as á. Anomalous accent is seen in a case or two: acodáte, rathiráyatám, and vágádbhis (if this is a participle). The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. neut. is sánti, with lengthened á (compare the forms in ánti, below, 451 a, 454 c); one or two examples in anti are quotable from B.
449. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding $\ddot{\iota}$ 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 $\acute{a}$ to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in anti.

b. Such are the bhū or unaccented $a$-class and the div or $ya$-class of present-stems (chap. IX.), and the desideratives and causatives (chap. XIV.): thus, from $y/'bhū$ (*stem bhāva*), bhāvantī; from $y/'dīv$ (*stem dīvya*), dīvyantī; from būbhūṣa and bhāvāya (desid. and caus. of $y/'bhū$), būbhūṣantī and bhāvāyantī.

c. Exceptions to this rule are now and then met with, even from the earliest period. Thus, RV. has jāratī, and AV. the desiderative sīgāsatī; in B. occur vadaṭi, qocatī, tṛpyatī, and in S. further tiṣṭhatī, and the causative namayatī; while in the epics and later such cases (including desideratives and causatives) are more numerona (about fifty are quotable), though still only sporadic.

d. 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 anti or in atī (with accent as here noted).

e. Such are the present-stems of the tud or accented $ā$-class (751 ff.), the $a$-futures (932 ff.), and the denominatives (1053 ff.): thus, from $y/'tud$ (*stem tudā*), tudāntī or tudatī; from bhaviṣyā (fut. of $y/'bhū$), bhaviṣyantī or bhaviṣyatī; from devayā (nom. of devā), devayāntī or devayatī.

f. The forms in anti from this class are the prevailing ones. No future fem. participle in atī is quotable from the older language. From pres.-stems in $ā$ are found there rūjatī and sīcaatī (RV.), tudatī and pīvatī (AV.). From denominatives, devayatī (RV.), durasyatī and çatruyatī (AV.). In BH. occurs dhaksyatī.

g. Verbs of the ad or root-class (811 ff.) ending in $ā$ are given by the grammarians the same option as regards the feminine of the present participle: thus, from $y/'ya$, yāntī or yātī. The older language affords no example of the former, so far as noted.

h. From other tense-stems than those already specified — that is to say, from the remaining classes of present-stems and from the intensives — the feminine is formed in atī (or, if the stem be otherwise accented than on the final, in atī) only.

i. Thus, adatī from $y/ād$; jūhvatī from $y/'hu$; yuṇjatī from $y/'yu$; sunvatī from $y/'su$; kurvatī from $y/'kr$; kriṇatī from $y/'krī$; dedīqatī from dedīq (intens. of $y/'diq$).
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j. Feminine stems of this class are occasionally (but the case is much less frequent than its opposite: above, c) found with the nasal: thus, āḍantī (AV., once), unḍantī (ÇB.; but probably from the secondary ā-stem), gṛṇantī (S.), and, in the epics and later, such forms as bruvantī, rudantī, cinvantī, kurvantī, jānanti, muṣantī.

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

a. bṛḥant (often written vṛḥant) great; it is inflected like a participle (with bṛhatī and bṛḥantī in du. and pl. neut.).

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

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

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

 e. ṛḥant small (only once, in RV., ṛhatē).

f. All these form their feminine in atī only: thus, bṛhatī, mahatī, pīṣatī and rūṣatī (contrary to the rule for participles), jāgatī.

g. For dant tooth, which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 396.

451. The pronominal adjectives īyant and kīyant are inflected like adjectives in mant and vant, having (452) īyān and kīyān as nom. masc. sing., īyati and kīyatī as nom. etc. du. neut. and as feminine stems, and īyantī and kīyatī as nom. etc. plur. neut.

a. But the neut. pl. īyānti and the loc. sing. (?) kīyāti are found in RV.

2. Possessives in mant and vant.

452. The adjectives formed by these two suffixes are inflected precisely alike, and very nearly like the participles in ant. From the latter they differ only by lengthening the a in the nom. sing. masc.

a. The voc. sing. is in an, like that of the participle (in the later language, namely: for that of the oldest, see below, 454b). The neut. nom. etc. are in the dual only atī (or ātī), and in the plural antī (or āntī).

b. The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus, matī, vāti (or mātī, vātī). One or two cases of ni instead of ī are met with: thus, antārvatni (B. and later), pativatni (C.).
c. The accent, however, is never thrown forward (as in the participle) upon the case-ending or the feminine ending.

453. To illustrate the inflection of such stems, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of पशुमान पशुमान्त Possessing cattle, and भागवत् भागवात् fortunate, blessed. Thus:

Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>पशुमान</td>
<td>पशुमान्</td>
<td>भागवान्</td>
<td>भागवत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>पशुमान्त</td>
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<td>भागवान्तम्</td>
<td>भागवाति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>पशुमान्ति</td>
<td>पशुमान्तिः</td>
<td>भागवान्तिः</td>
<td>भागवाति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>पशुमान</td>
<td>पशुमान्</td>
<td>भागवान</td>
<td>भागवत्</td>
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<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>पशुमान्ति</td>
<td>पशुमान्ति</td>
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<td>Plural:</td>
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<tr>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>पशुमान्ति</td>
<td>पशुमान्ति</td>
<td>भागवान्ति</td>
<td>भागवाति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>पशुमान्ति</td>
<td>पशुमान्ति</td>
<td>भागवान्ति</td>
<td>भागवाति</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

454. Vedic Irregularities. a. In dual masc. nom. etc., ā (for au) 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, 462a); thus, adhrivas, harivas, bhānumas, haviṣmas. Such vocatives in RV. occur more than a hundred times, while not a single unquestionable instance of one in an is to be found. In the other Vedic texts, vocatives in as are extremely rare (but bhagavas and its contraction bhagos are met with, even in the later language); and in their reproduction of RV
passages the as is usually changed to an. It was pointed out above (425g) that the RV. makes the voc. in as also apparently from a few an-stems.

c. In RV., the nom. etc. pl. neut., in the only two instances that occur, ends in ānti instead of anti: thus, ghṛtávanti, paçumánti. 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, ghṛtávanti, pravanti, ṛtumanti, yugmanti. Compare 448, 451.

d. In a few (eight or ten) more or less doubtful cases, a confusion of strong and weak forms of stem is made; they are too purely sporadic to require reporting. The same is true of a case or two where a masculine form appears to be used with a feminine noun.

455. The stem ārvant running, steed, has the nom. sing. ārvā, from ārvan; and in the older language also the voc. ārvan and accus. ārvāṇam.

456. Besides the participle bhāvant, there is another stem bhāvant, frequently used in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person (but construed, of course, with a verb in the third person), which is formed with the suffix vant, and so declined, having in the nom. sing. bhāvān; and the contracted form bhos of its old-style vocative bhavas is a common exclamation of address: you, sir! Its origin has been variously explained; but it is doubtless a contraction of bhāgavant.

457. The pronominal adjectives tāvant, etāvant, yāvant, and the Vedic īvant, māvant, tvāvant, etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

F. Perfect Participles in 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 वान्स vāns, which becomes, by regular process (150), vān in the nom. sing., and which i shortened to वन van in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into उस us. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to वात vat.

a. A union-vowel i, if present in the strong and middle cases, disappears in the weakest, before us.
459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding \( \ddot{I} \) to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in \( \ddot{U} \) śiū.

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

\( \text{vidvāns} \) \textit{knewing} (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from \( \text{y} \text{v} \text{idd} \) \textit{vid}, and तस्थियोत्

\( \text{tasthivāns} \) \textit{having stood} from \( \text{y} \text{s} \text{th} \) \textit{sthā}.

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<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>विद्वान्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
<td>तस्थियान्</td>
<td>तस्थिहत्</td>
</tr>
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<td>vidvān</td>
<td>vidvāt</td>
<td>tasthivān</td>
<td>tasthivāt</td>
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<td>A.</td>
<td>विद्वान्सम्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
<td>तस्थियास्म्</td>
<td>तस्थिहत्</td>
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<td>vidvāt</td>
<td>tasthivānsam</td>
<td>tasthivāt</td>
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<td>I.</td>
<td>विद्या</td>
<td>तस्थोधा</td>
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<td></td>
<td>vidyā</td>
<td>tasthuṣā</td>
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<td>D.</td>
<td>विद्येष्</td>
<td>तस्थोषे</td>
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<td></td>
<td>vidyēṣe</td>
<td>tasthuṣe</td>
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<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>विद्येष्</td>
<td>तस्थोषस्</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>tasthuṣas</td>
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<td>L.</td>
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<td>तस्थुषि</td>
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<td>vidyā</td>
<td>tasthuṣi</td>
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<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>विद्वान्</td>
<td>विद्वत्</td>
<td>तस्थियान्</td>
<td>तस्थिहत्</td>
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<td>tasthivān</td>
<td>tasthivāt</td>
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Dual:

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>विद्वासि</td>
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<td></td>
<td>vidvānsās</td>
<td>vidūśi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>विद्वाब्याम्</td>
<td>तस्थियाब्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vidvādbhyām</td>
<td>tasthivādbhyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>विद्योपस्</td>
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<td></td>
<td>vidūsos</td>
<td>tasthuṣos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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Singular:
Plural:

N. V.  विद्वाणस  विद्वासी   तस्थिवाणस  तस्थिवासी
vidvāṇas   vidvāṇai   tasthivāṇas   tasthivāṇai
A.  विद्वास  विद्वासी   तस्थुपस  तस्थुपासी
viduṣas   vidvāṇai   tasthūpas   tasthūpāsī
I.  विद्वाभिस  तस्थिवाभिस
vaidvādbhis   tasthivādbhis
D. Ab.  विद्वाभ्यस  तस्थिवाभ्यस
evaidvābhyaś   tasthivābhyaś
g.  विद्वाधम  तस्थुधम
evaidusām   tasthūdham
I.  विद्वासु  तस्थिवासु
vaidvatsu   tasthivatsu

a. The feminine stems of these two participles are विद्वासी vidūṣī and तस्थुपासी tasthūṣī.

b. Other examples of the different stems are:
from यक्र—cakrvāṇa, cakrvat, cakruṣ, cakruṣī;
from यनी—ninivāṇa, ninivat, ninikā, ninī;
from यभु—babhuvāṇa, babhuvat, babhuvā, babhuvāśī;
from यटन—tenivāṇa, tenivat, tenuṣ, tenuṣī.

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

b. Forms from the middle stem, in vata, are extremely rare earlier: only three (tatanvāt and vavṛtvāt, neut. sing., and jāրvādbhisa, instr. pl.), are found in RV., and not one in AV. And in the Veda the weakest stem (not, as later, the middle one) is made the basis of comparison and derivation: thus, vidūṣṭara, ádāṇṣṭara, mīḍhūṣṭama, mīḍhūṣmanta.

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 cakruṣam, acc. sing., and ṣāṇbhyaśas, nom. pl.; emuṣām, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem emuṣā; and QB. has proṣām. Similar instances, especially from vidvāṇa, are now and then met with later (see BR., under vidvāṇa).

d. The AV. has once bhaktivāṇas, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage bhaktivāṇas; cakhyāṇasam (RV., once) is of doubtful character; okivāṇas (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of युक, elsewhere unknown.
G. Comparatives in yāns or yas.

463. The comparative adjectives of primary formation (below, 467) have a double form of stem for masculine and neuter: a stronger, ending in यान् yāns (usually र्यान् ryaṃ), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in यस् yas (or र्यास् ryaś), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in यन् yan (but for the older language see below, 465a).

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

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of ढायस् çrayas better, and of गारियस् garyas heavier. Thus:

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ढायान्</th>
<th>ढायस्</th>
<th>गारियान्</th>
<th>गारियस्</th>
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<td>गारियान्</td>
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<td>गारियास्म</td>
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<td>I.</td>
<td>ढायासा</td>
<td>गारियासा</td>
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çrayasā गारियासां etc. etc.

V.

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<th>ढायान्</th>
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<th>गारियान्</th>
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<td>गारियान्</td>
<td>गारियस्</td>
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<td>गारियासि</td>
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<td>ढायासिः</td>
<td>गारियासिः</td>
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çrayānsū गारियासि etc. etc. etc. etc.

Plural:

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<th>गारियासस्</th>
<th>गारियासि</th>
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<td>गारियासस्</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.</td>
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<td>गारियाससि</td>
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<td>I.</td>
<td>ढायासिः</td>
<td>गारियासिः</td>
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çrayānsā गारियासिः etc. etc. etc. etc.
a. The feminine stems of these adjectives are ग्रेयसः गर्वयसः.

465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions: 454b, 462a) is in yas instead of yan: thus, ojīyas, jyāyas (RV.: no examples elsewhere have been noted).

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

c. In the later language are found very few apparent examples of strong cases made from the weaker stem-form: thus, kaniyāsam and yaviyāsam acc. masc., kaniyāsāu du., yaviyāsas nom. pl.

Comparison.

466. Derivative adjective stems having a comparative and superlative meaning — or often also (and more originally) a merely intensive value — are made either directly from roots (by primary derivation), or from other derivative or compound stems (by secondary derivation).

a. The subject of comparison belongs more properly to the chapter of derivation; but it stands in such near relation to inflection that it is, in accordance with the usual custom in grammars, conveniently and suitably enough treated briefly here.

467. The suffixes of primary derivation are DlgItem ytias (or DlgItem ytīnas) for the comparative and DlgItem āṣṭha for the superlative. The root before them is accented, and usually strengthened by gunating, if capable of it — or, in some cases, by nasalization or prolongation. They are much more frequently and freely used in the oldest language than later; in the classical Sanskrit, only a limited number of such comparatives and superlatives are accepted in use; and these attach themselves in meaning for the most part to other adjectives from the same root, which seem to be their corresponding positives; but in part also they are artificially connected with other words, unrelated with them in derivation.

a. Thus, from यक्षिप hurl come kṣēpiyas and kṣēpiṣṭha, which belong in meaning to kṣipra quick; from यष्ठ encompass come vāriyas and vāriṣṭha, which belong to uru broad; while, for example,
kāṇīyas and kāṇiṣṭha are attached by the grammarians to yuvan young, or ālpa small; and vārṣīyas and vārṣiṣṭha to vṛddhā old.

468. From Veda and Brāhmaṇa together, considerably more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in īyas and īṣṭha (in many cases only one of the pair actually occurring) are to be quoted.

a. About half of these (i.e., 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 ātap burn comes tāpiṣṭha excessively burning; from āyaj offer come vāyīyas and vāyiṣṭha better and best (or very well) sacrificing; from āyuddh fight comes yōdhiyas fighting better; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, jū hasty, rapid with jāviyas and jāviṣṭha.

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

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

d. But even in the oldest language appears not infrequently the same attachment in meaning to a derivative adjective which (as pointed out above) is usual in the later speech.

e. Besides the examples that occur also later, others are met with like vāriṣṭha choicest (vāra choice), bārhiṣṭha greatest (bhānt great), ēśiṣṭha quickest (ēṣam 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 kṛdhu, sthāviyas and sthāviṣṭha from sthūrā, cāqiyaś (RV.) from cāqvant, āniyas (AV.) and āniṣṭha (TS.) from anū; and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes īyas and īṣṭha are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, āciṣṭha from ācu (RV.; only case), tāciyaś (AV.) from tācena, brāhmiyas and brāhmiṣṭha (TS. etc.) from brāhmaṇ, dhārmiṣṭha (TA.) from dhārmaṇ, drāhiṣṭha (TA.; instead of dārhiṣṭha) from drćhā, rāghiyaś (TS.) from raghu. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.

f. In nāviyas or nāvyas and nāviṣṭha, from nāva new, and in śānyas from śāna old (all RV.), we have also formations unconnected with verbal roots.

469. The stems in īṣṭha are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, and make their feminines in ā; those in īyas have a peculiar declension, which has been described above (463 ff.).
Comparison of Adjectives.

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

a. The suffix iyas has in a few instances the briefer form yas, generally as alternative with the other: thus, táivyas and táyas, náivyas and náyas, váiyas and váyas, pániyas and pányas; and so from rabh and sah: sányas occurs alone. From bhú come bhúyas and bhúystickha, beside which RV. has also bháviyas.

b. Of roots in á, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to e: thus, stávyas, dhéṣtha, yéṣtha; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as dháśtha, yáṣṭha. The root jyá forms jyéṣṭha, but jyáyas (like bhúyas).

c. The two roots in í, prí and crí, form préyas and préṣṭha and créyas and créṣṭha.

d. From the root of jú come, without strengthening, jíiyas and jíiṣṭha; but in the older language also, more regularly, rájíiyas and rájíṣṭha.

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

a. Examples (of older as well as later occurrence) are: from vowel-stems, priyátara, váhnitama, rathítara and rathítama (RV.), cárutara, potítama, samráktatara; — from consonant-stems, qámtama, cáguáttama, mṛçàyáttama, taváśtara and taváśtama, tuvíṣṭama, vápuṣṭara, tapásvítama, yáçasvítama, bhágavattara, híráqyaváčíttama; — from compounds, ratnadhátama, abhibhúttara, sukíttara, púrbhíttama, bhúyíṣṭhabháktama, bhúridávattara, qúcovratatama, strikámatama.

b. But in the Veda the final n of a stem is regularly retained: thus, madíntara and madíntama, vrántama; and a few stems even add a nasal: thus, surabhirntara, ratnántama, madíntama. In a case or two, the strong stem of a present participle is taken: thus, vrádhánttama, sáhanttama; and, of a perfect participle, the weakest stem: thus, vidúṣṭara, mídhúṣṭama. A feminine final n is shortened: thus, devítama (RV.), tejasvinitamá (K.).
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c. In the older language, the words of this formation are not much more frequent than those of the other: thus, in RV. the stems in tara and tama are to those in iyas and ittha 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 a.

473. a. That (especially in the Veda) some stems which are nouns rather than adjectives form derivatives of comparison is natural enough, considering the uncertain nature of the division-line between substantive and adjective value. Thus, we have vīrātara, vīrātama, vāhnitama, māṭtama, nīṭama, marūttama, and so on.

b. The suffixes tara and tama also make forms of comparison from some of the pronominal roots, as ka, ya, i (see below, 520); and from certain of the prepositions, as ud; and the adverbially used accusative (older, neuter, -taram; later, feminine, -tārām) of a comparative in tara from a preposition is employed to make a corresponding comparative to the preposition itself (below, 1119); while -tārām and -tāmām make degrees of comparison from a few adverbs: thus, natarām, natamām, kathāntarām, kutastarām, addhātamām, nīcāstarām, etc.

c. By a wholly barbarous combination, finding no warrant in the earlier and more genuine usages of the language, the suffixes of comparison in their adverbial feminine form, -tārām and -tāmām, are later allowed to be added to personal forms of verbs: thus, ādīdatētārām (R.; the only case noted in the epics) is more despondent, vyāṭhāyatitārām disturbs more, ālabhatētārām obtained in a higher degree, hāṣīyātītārām will laugh more. No examples of this use of -tāmām are quotable.

d. The suffixes of secondary comparison are not infrequently added to those of primary, forming double comparatives and superlatives: thus, gārīyatara, cṛṣṭhatara and cṛṣṭhatama, pāpiyastara, pāpiṣṭhatara and -tama, bhūyaṣtaram, etc.

e. The use of tama as ordinal suffix is noted below (487); with this value, it is accented on the final, and makes its feminine in ṛ: thus, cātātāma m. n., cātātāmi ṛ, hundredth.

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes ra and ma: thus, ādhara and adhamā, āpara and apamā, āvara and avamā, āpara and upamā, āntara, āntama, paramā, madhyamā, caramā, antima, ādima, pācoima. And ma is also used to make ordinals (below, 487).
NUMERALS.

475. The simple cardinal numerals for the first ten numbers (which are the foundation of the whole class), with their derivatives, the tens, and with some of the higher members of the decimal series, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>एक</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>पांच</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>शत</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>द्र</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>द्वितीय</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>सहस्र</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>त्र</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>त्रितीय</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>युनुन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>चतुररु</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>चतुर्थीय</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>लक्ष</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>पञ्च</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>पञ्चमीय</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>प्रयुन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>पञ्च</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>पञ्चामीय</td>
<td>10,000,000</td>
<td>कोटि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>सप्त</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>सप्तमीय</td>
<td>10^8</td>
<td>अरबुद</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>अष्ट</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>अष्टमीय</td>
<td>10^9</td>
<td>महारबुद</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>नाव</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>नवमीय</td>
<td>10^10</td>
<td>खर्ब</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>दश</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>दसमीय</td>
<td>10^11</td>
<td>निकर्ब</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The accent saptá and astá is that belonging to these words in all accented texts; according to the grammarians, they are saptá and astá in the later language. See below, 483.

b. The series of decimal numbers may be carried still further; but there are great differences among the different authorities with Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
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regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from ayūta on.

c. Thus, in the TS. and MS. we find ayūta, niyūta, prayūta, ṣrabuda, nyārbuda, samudra, mādhyā, ānta, parārdhā; K. reverses the order of niyūta and prayūta, and inserts badva after nyārbuda (reading nyārbudha): these are probably the oldest recorded series.

d. In modern time, the only numbers in practical use above thousand are lakṣa (lac or lakī) and koṭi (croc); and an Indian sum is wont to be pointed thus: 123,45,67,890, to signify 123 crores, 45 lakhs, 67 thousand, eight hundred and ninety.

e. As to the alleged stem-forms paṇcan etc., see below, 484. As to the form ṣaṅka instead of ṣaṅa, see above, 146b. The stem dva appears in composition and derivation also as dvā and dvi; cātur in composition is accented cātur. The older form of aṭa is aṭa: see below, 483. Forms in -gati and -gaṭi for the ten are occasionally interchanged: e. g. viṇgaṭ (MBh. R.), triṇgati (AB.), paṇcaṣaṭi (RT.).

f. The other numbers are expressed by the various composition and syntactical combination of those given above. Thus:

476. The odd numbers between the even tens are made by prefixing the (accented) unit to the ten to which its value is to be added: but with various irregularities. Thus:

a. eka in 11 becomes ekā, but is elsewhere unchanged;

b. dva becomes everywhere dvā; but in 42—72 and in 92 it is interchangeable with dvi, and in 82 dvi alone is used;

c. for tri is substituted its nom. pl. masc. trāyas; but tri itself is also allowed in 43—73 and in 93, and in 83 tri alone is used;

d. ṣaṅ becomes so in 16, and makes the initial d of daṇḍa lingual (199d); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (226b, 198b) to ṭ or ṭ or n; and in 96 the n of navati is assimilated to it (199c);

e. aṭa becomes aṭa (483) in 18—36, and has either form in the succeeding combinations.

f. Thus:

11 ēkādaṭa 31 ēkāṭrīṇcat 61 ēkaṇaṭi 81 ēkāṭi
12 dvādaṭa 32 dvāṭrīṇcat 62 dvāṇaṭi 82 dvāṇaṭi
13 trāyaḍaṭa 33 trāyaḍrīṇcat 63 trāyaṇaṭi 83 trāyaṇaṭi
14 cāturdaṭa 34 cāturḍrīṇcat 64 cāṭuṇaṭi 84 cāṭurarṭi
15 pāṇcadaṭa 35 pāṇcāṭrīṇcat 65 pāṇcaṇaṭi 85 pāṇcaṇaṭi
16 gōḍaṭa 36 gōḍrīṇcat 66 gōḍaṇaṭi 86 gōḍaṇaṭi
17 saptadaṭa 37 saptāṭrīṇcat 67 saptāṇaṭi 87 saptāṇaṭi
18 aṭaḍaṭa 38 aṭaṭrīṇcat 68 aṭaṇaṭi 88 aṭaṇaṭi
19 nāvadaṭa 39 nāvāṭrīṇcat 69 nāvaṇaṭi 89 nāvaṇaṭi
g. The numbers 21—29 are made like those for 31—39; the numbers 41—49, 51—59, 71—79, and 91—99 are made like those for 81—89.

h. The forms made with dvā and trayas are more usual than those with dvi and tri, which are hardly to be quoted from the older literature (V. and Br.). The forms made with aṣṭā (instead of aṣṭa) are alone found in the older literature (483), and are usual in the later.

477. The above are the normal expressions for the odd numbers. But equivalent substitutes for them are also variously made. Thus:

a. By use of the adjectives ūna deficient and adhika redundant, in composition with lesser numbers which are to be subtracted or added, and either independently qualifying or (more usually) in composition with larger numbers which are to be increased or diminished by the others: thus, tryūnaaṣṭāṁ sixty deficient by three (i. e. 57); aṣṭādhikanavatīṁ ninety increased by eight (i. e. 96); ekādhikāṁ qatāṁ a hundred increased by one (i. e. 101); pañconaṁ qatam 100 less 5 (i. e. 95). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as ekonaviṇcatāṁ 20 less 1, or 19, are not uncommon; and later the eka 1 is left off, and ūnaviṇcāti etc. have the same value.

b. A case-form of a smaller number, generally ēka one is connected by nā not with a larger number from which it is to be deducted: thus, ēkaya nā triñcāṭ (CB. PB. KB.) not thirty by one (29); dvābhyaṁ nā 'çitām (CB.) not eighty by two (78); pañcābhirs nā catvāri qatāṇi (CB.) not four hundred by five (395); ēkasmāṁ nā paṇcaçāṭ (in ordinal 49 (TS.); ēkasyāi (abl. fem. : 307 h.) nā paṇcaçāṭ 49 (TS.); most often, ēkān (i. e. ēkāt, irregular abl. for ēkasmāt) nā viṇcāṭāṁ 19; ēkān nā qatāṁ 99. This last form is admitted also in the later language; the others are found in the Brāhmaṇas.

c. Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with: thus, triṣaptā thrice seven; triṇavā thrice nine; tridacā thrice ten.

d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent words, with connecting and: thus, nāva ca navatīq ca, or nāva navatīq ca ninety and nine; dvān ca viṇcataḥ ca two and twenty. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, navatīr nāva 99; triñcāṭaṁ trīn 33; aṣṭīr aṣṭāṁ 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, ēkāçatām 101; aṣṭāçatām 108; triñcāṭaṁ 130; aṣṭāviṇcataḥqatam 128; cātuḥsaahasram (RV. unless the accent is wrong) 1004; ācītisahasram 1080.
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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, pañcādhikā panca or pañcādhiṣṭātam 105. Of course, tūna deficient (as also other words equivalent to tūna or adhika) may be used in the same way: thus, pañconam catam 95, saṣṭṭih pañca-varjiṣṭa 55; catam abhyādhiṣṭaṃ saṣṭiṭaḥ 160.

c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example, dāca catāṃ ca 110; catāṃ ekāḥ 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, dvādaṃ catām, 112 (literally a hundred of a 12-sort, or characterised by 12); catuṣṭiṣṭāṁ catām 144; saṣṭṭiṣṭāṁ catām 166.

480. To multiply one number by another, among the higher or the lower denominations, the simplest and least ambiguous method is to make of the multiplied number a dual or plural, qualified by the other as any ordinary noun would be; and this method is a common one in all ages of the language. For example: pañca pañca-cātas five fifties (250); nava navatāyas nine nineties (810); aṣṭībhīṣās three eighties (240); pañca catāṃ five hundreds; triṇi sahasrāṇi three thousands; saṣṭīṃ sahasrāṇi 60,000; dāca ca sahas-rāṇy aṣṭāu ca catāṃ 10,800: and, combined with addition, triṇi catām trayastraṣṭānam ca 333: sahasre dve pañconam catām eva ca 2095.

a. In an exceptional case or two, the ordinal form appears to take the place of the cardinal as multipliand in a like combination: thus, sātraṣṭāṇaḥ ca caturāḥ (RV.) 36×4 (lit. four of the thirty-six kind); triṇi ekādaṃ (RV.) or traya ekādaśaḥ (ÇCS. viii. 21. 1) 11×3.

b. By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as triṇi sātraṣṭāṇaḥ, which ought to signify 480 (3×100+60), is repeatedly used in the Brāhmaṇas to mean 360 (3×100+60); so also dvē caturāṇaṃ catē 234 (not 268); dvāṣaṭṭiṃ triṇi catāṃ 362; and other like cases. And even R. has trayaḥ cataṣṭāṁ dṛṣṭāḥ 350.

481. But the two factors, multiplier and multiplied, are also, and in later usage more generally, combined into a compound (accented on the final); and this is then treated as an adjective, qualifying the numbered noun; or else its neuter or feminine (in ī) singular is used substantively: thus, daṣṭaḥsātāḥ 1000; saṣṭṣṭiḥ padātibhiḥ (MBh.) with 600 foot-soldiers; trayastraṣṭāḥ triṣṭāḥ aṣṭasahasrāḥ (AV.) 6333; dvāṣṭām or dvāṣṭiḥ 200; aṣṭādaṃcattāt 1800.

a. In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether aṣṭa-ṣṭām, for example, is aṣṭaṣṭām 108 or aṣṭaṣṭām 800, and the like.
482. Inflection. The inflection of the cardinal numerals is in many respects irregular. Gender is distinguished only by the first four.

a. Eka *one* is declined after the manner of a pronominal adjective (like sārva, below, 524); its plural is used in the sense of some, certain ones. Its dual does not occur.

b. Occasional forms of the ordinary declension are met with: thus, ēka (loc. sing.), ēkāt (477b).

c. In the late literature, eka is used in the sense of a certain, or even sometimes almost of a, as an indefinite article. Thus, eko vyāghraḥ (H.) a certain tiger; ekasmin dine on a certain day; haste daṇḍam ekam ādāya (H.) taking a stick in his hand.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>trāyas</td>
<td>trīṇi</td>
<td>tisṛās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>trīṅi</td>
<td>trīṇi</td>
<td>tisṛās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>tribhīs</td>
<td>tisṛbhīs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>tribhyās</td>
<td>tisṛbhyaṃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>trayāṇām</td>
<td>tisṛṇām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>triṛū</td>
<td>tisṛṣū</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f. The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. trī. The accentuation tisṛbhīs, tisṛbhyaṃ, tisṛṇām, and tisṛṣū is said to be also allowed in the later language. The stem tisṛ occurs in composition in tisṛṣṭhavanā (B.) a bow with three arrows.

g. Catūr *four* has catvār (the more original form) in the strong cases; in the fem. it substitutes the stem cátaṣṛ, apparently akin with tisṛ, and inflected like it (but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, 483). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>catvāras</td>
<td>catvāri</td>
<td>cátaṣaras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>catūras</td>
<td>catvāri</td>
<td>cátaṣaras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>catūṛbhis</td>
<td>catasfbhis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>catūrbhyas</td>
<td>catasfbhyaṃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>caturṇām</td>
<td>catasṛṇām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>catūṛgu</td>
<td>catasṛțu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
h. The use of n before ām of the gen. masc. and neut. after a final consonant of the stem is (as in saṅ: below, 483) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. catasaṅnām also sometimes occurs. In the later language, the accentuation of the final syllable instead of the penult is said to be allowed in inst., dat.-abl., and loc.

483. The numbers from 5 to 19 have no distinction of gender, nor any generic character. They are inflected, somewhat irregularly, as plurals, save in the nom.-acc., where they have no proper plural form, but show the bare stem instead. Of saṅ (as of catūr), nām is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (188b) of stem-final and initial of the termination. Astā (as accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, astā, which is almost exclusively used in the older literature (V. and B.), both in inflection and in composition (but some compounds with astā are found as early as the AV.); its nom.-acc. is astā (usual later: found in RV. once, and in AV.), or astā (RV.), or astāu (most usual in RV.; also in AV., B., and later).

a. The accent is in many respects peculiar. In all the accented texts, the stress of voice lies on the penult before the endings bhis, bhyas, and su, from the stems in a, whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, pāncabhis from pānca, navābhyaś from nava, dacāsu from dacā, nava-dačābhīs from nava-dača, ekādačabhīs from ekādača, dvādačasū from dvādača (according to the grammarians, either the penult or the final is accented in these forms in the later language). In the gen. pl., the accent is on the ending (as in that of i-, u-, and r-stems): thus, pāncadacānām, saptadacānām. The cases of saṅ, and those made from the stem-form astā, have the accent throughout upon the ending.

b. Examples of the inflection of these words are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D. Ab.</th>
<th>G.</th>
<th>L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pānca</td>
<td>saṭ</td>
<td>astāu</td>
<td>astā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāncabhis</td>
<td>saṅbhis</td>
<td>astābhis</td>
<td>astābhīs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāncabhyaś</td>
<td>saṅbhyaś</td>
<td>astābhyaś</td>
<td>astābhīs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāncanām</td>
<td>saṅnām</td>
<td>astānām</td>
<td>astā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāncasu</td>
<td>saṅsu</td>
<td>astāsu</td>
<td>astāsu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Saptā (in the later language sāpta, as āṣṭa for astā) and nava and dacā, with the compounds of dacā (11—19), are declined like pānca, and with the same shift of accent (or with alternative shift to the endings, as pointed out above).

484. The Hindī grammarians give to the stems for 5 and 7—19 a final n: thus, paṅcan, saptan, aṣṭan, navan, daṇcan, and ekādaṃca etc. This, however, has nothing to do with the demonstrably original final nasal of 7, 9, and 10 (compare septem, novem, decem; seven, nine, ten); it is only owing to the fact that, starting from such a stem-form, their inflection is made to assume a more regular aspect, the nom.-acc. having the form of a neut. sing. in an, and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc. that of a neut. or masc. pl. in an: compare nāma, nāmbhīs, nāma-
bhyas, nāmasu — the gen. alone being, rather, like that of an a-stem; compare daçānām with īndrānām and nāmnām or ātmānām. No trace whatever of a final a is found anywhere in the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these words (though ÇB. has twice daçāndaçin, for the usual daçadaçin).

485. a. The tens, viṇqatī and triṇqatī etc., with their compounds, are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, and in all numbers.

b. Çatā and ashāsra are declined regularly, as neuter (or, rarely, in the later language, as masculine) stems of the same final, in all numbers.

c. The like is true of the higher numbers — which have, indeed, no proper numeral character, but are ordinary nouns.

486. Construction. As regards their construction with the nouns enumerated by them —

a. The words for 1 to 19 are in the main used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns: thus, daçabhīr viṇāḥ with ten heroes; yē devā divy ēkādāca sthā (AV.) what eleven gods of you are in heaven; pañcāsu jāneṣu among the five tribes; cataśbhīr gīrbiḥ with four songs. Rarely occur such combinations as daça kalācānām (RV.) ten pitchers, ṛṭūnāṁ ṣaṭ (R.) six seasons.

b. The numerals above 19 are construed usually as nouns, either taking the numbered noun as a dependent genitive, or standing in the singular in apposition with it: thus, čataṁ dāsīḥ or čataṁ dāśīnām a hundred slaves or a hundred of slaves; viṇqatīḥ āraṃbīḥ with twenty boys; saṣṭīyāṁ caṛāṭṣu in 60 autumns; čatēna pāṇīḥ with a hundred fetters; čataṁ sahasrām ayūtam nyārubudaḥ jāghāna čakṛō dáṣyünām (AV.) the mighty [Indra] slew a hundred, a thousand, a myriad, a hundred million, of demons. Occasionally they are put in the plural, as if used more adjectively: thus, pañcaçaad-bhīr bāṇīḥ with fifty arrows.

c. In the older language, the numerals for 5 and upward are sometimes used in the nom.-acc. form (or as if indeclinably) with other cases also: thus, paṇca krṣṭiṣu among the five races; saptā rṣānām of seven bards; sahasrām ūṣibīḥ with a thousand bards; čatām pūrbiḥ with a hundred strongholds. Sporadic instances of a like kind are also met with later.

487. Ordinals. Of the classes of derivative words coming from the original or cardinal numerals, the ordinals are by far the most important; and the mode of their formation may best be explained here.
VI. Numerals.

Some of the first ordinals are irregularly made: thus,

a. éka 1 forms no ordinal; instead is used, prathamá (i. e. pratama foremost); adyá (from adi beginning) appears first in the Sutras, and adima much later;

b. from dvá 2, and trí 3, come dvitiya and tertiya (secondarily, through divita and abbreviated trita);

c. catúr 4, sáś 6, and saptá 7, take the ending tha: thus, caturthá, saśthá, saptátha; but for fourth are used also turya and túrya, and saptátha belongs to the older language only; pâncatha, for fifth, is excessively rare;

d. the numerals for 5 and 7 usually, and for 8, 9, 10, add ma, forming pâncamá, saptamá, aśtamá, navamá, daçamá;

e. for 11th to 19th, the forms are ekadáça, dvádaça, and so on (the same with the cardinals, except change of accent); but ekádaçama etc. occasionally occur also;

f. for the tens and intervening odd numbers from 20 onward, the ordinal has a double form — one made by adding the full (superlative) ending tamá to the cardinal: thus, viñçatitamá, triñçatitamá, acítitamá, etc.; the other, shorter, in a, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, viñçá 20th; triñçá 30th; catváriñçá 40th; pañçaçá 50th; sañçá 60th; saptatá 70th; acítá 80th; navatá 90th; and so likewise ekaviñçá 21st, catustriñçá 34th; aśçatváriñçá 48th; dvápañçá 52d; ekásañçá 61st; and ekánañçá and unañçá and ekonaviñçá 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 Brâhmaṇas. From 50th on, the briefer form is allowed by the grammarians only to the odd numbers, made up of tens and units; but it is sometimes met with, even in the later language, from the simple ten.

g. Of the higher numbers, catá and sahasrama form catatamá and sahasratamá; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus, ekacatá or ekacatatamá 101st.

h. Of the ordinals, prathamá (and adyá), dvitiya, tertiya, and turiya (with túrya) form their feminine in á; all the rest make it in í.

488. The ordinals, as in other languages, have other than ordinal offices to fill; and in Sanskrit especially they are general adjectives to the cardinals, with a considerable variety of meanings, as fractionals, as signifying composed of so many parts or so-many-fold, or containing so many, or (as was seen above, 479) having so many added.

a. In a fractional sense, the grammarians direct that their accent be shifted to the first syllable: thus, dvítiya half; tfigiya third part; cáturttha quarter; and so on. But in accented texts only tfigiya third, and cáturttha (qB.) and túrya quarter, are found so treated; for half occurs
only ardha; and caturtha (MS. etc.), pañcamá, and so on, are accent-
ed as in their ordinal use.

489. There are other numeral derivatives: thus —

a. multiplicative adverbs, as dvís twice, trís thrice, catús four
   times;

b. adverbs with the suffixes dhá (1104) and gás (1106): for
   example, ekadhá in one way, qatadhá in a hundred ways; ekaças
   one by one, qataças by hundreds;

c. collectives, as dvítaya or dvayá a pair, dáṣataya or dáṣát
   a decade;

d. adjectives like dvika composed of two, pañcaka consisting of
   five or fives;

and so on; but their treatment belongs rather to the dictionary, or

to the chapter on derivation.

CHAPTER VII.

PRONOUNS.

490. The pronouns differ from the great mass of nouns
and adjectives chiefly in that they come by derivation from
another and a very limited set of roots, the so-called pro-
nominal or demonstrative roots. But they have also many
and marked peculiarities of inflection — some of which,
however, find analogies in a few adjectives; and such ad-
jectives will accordingly be described at the end of this
chapter.

Personal Pronouns.

491. The pronouns of the first and second persons are
the most irregular and peculiar of all, being made up of
fragments coming from various roots and combinations of
roots. They have no distinction of gender.
a. Their inflection in the later language is as follows:

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>महम् ahām</td>
<td>त्रम् tvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>माम् मा mām, mā</td>
<td>त्राम् ता tvām, tvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>महा</td>
<td>त्रा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>माया</td>
<td>tvāyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>महम् मे máhyam, me</td>
<td>तुः-म् ते tūhyam, te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>मत्</td>
<td>त्रत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>मत् tvāt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>मम् मे</td>
<td>त्रः ते</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>मामा, me táva, te</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>महि</td>
<td>त्रि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>मायि tvāyi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V.</td>
<td>युवाम् युवाम्</td>
<td>युवाम् yuvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>युवाम् युवाम्</td>
<td>युवाम् yuvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>युवास् युवास्</td>
<td>युवास् yuvās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and A.D.G.</td>
<td>यां vām</td>
<td>vām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>युम् vayām</td>
<td>युम् yuyām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>युम् युम् युम् yuśmān, vas</td>
<td>युम् युम् युम् yuśmān, vas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>युम् युम्</td>
<td>युम् युम् yuśmābhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>युम् yuśmābhīs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>युम् युम् युम् asmābhīs, nas</td>
<td>युम् युम् युम् asmābhīs, nas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ab. 

�ROWSER
asmát

G. 

�ROWSER NOUN
asmáka, nas

L. 

�ROWSER
asmará

b. The briefer second forms for accus., dat., and gen., in all numbers, are accentless; and hence they are not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence, or elsewhere where any emphasis is laid.

c. But they may be qualified by accented adjuncts, as adjectives: e.g. te jáyataḥ of thee when a conqueror, vo vṛtāḥbhyaḥ for you that were confined, nas triśyāḥ to us three (all RV.).

d. The ablative 

492. Forms of the older language. All the forms given above are found also in the older language; which, however, has also others that afterward disappear from use.

a. Thus, we find a few times the instr. sing. 

maniśā for maniśāyā; further, the loc. or dat. sing. mé (only VS.) and tvē, and the dat. or loc. pl. asmé (which is by far the commonest of these e-forms) and yuṣmé: their final e is uncombinable (or prarghyā: 138 b). The VS. makes twice the acc. pl. fem. yuṣmās (as if yuṣmān were too distinctively a masculine form). The datives in bhya are in a number of cases written, and in yet others to be read as if written, with bhya, with loss of the final nasal; and in a rare instance or two we have in like manner asmāka and yuṣmāka in the gen. plural. The usual resolutions of semivowel to vowel are made, and are especially frequent in the forms of the second person (tuām for tvām etc.).

b. But the duals, above all, wear a very different aspect earlier. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra the nominatives are (with occasional exceptions) āvām and yuvām, and only the accusatives āvām and yuvām (but in RV. the dual forms of 1st pers. chance not to occur, unless in vām[?], once, for āvām); the instr. in RV. is either yuvābhyaṃ (occurs also once in AQS.) or yuvābhyaṃ; an abl. yuvāt appears once in RV., and āvēt twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) yuvōs instead of yuvāvos. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases, by endings in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Peculiar endings. The ending am, appearing in the nom. sing. and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The bhyaṃ (or hyam) of dat. sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the bhyaṃ, bhyas, bhis of the ordinary declension is palpable. The t (or
d) of the abl., though here preceded by a short vowel, is doubtless the same with that of the a-declension of nouns and adjectives. That the nom., dat., and abl. endings should be the same in sing. and pl. (and in part in the earlier dn. also), only the stem to which they are added being different, is unparalleled elsewhere in the language. The element sma appearing in the plural forms will be found frequent in the inflection of the singular in other pronominal words: in fact, the compound stem asma which underlies the plural of aham seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of ayam (501), and its value of we to be a specialisation of the meaning these persons. The genitives singular, máma and tāva, have no analogies elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives māmaka and tāvaka (below, 518a) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen, pl., asmákam and yuśmákam, are certainly of this character: namely, neuter sing. case-forms of the adjective stems asmāka and yuśmāka, 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 yuśmad, because these are forms used to a certain extent, and allowed to be indefinitely used, in derivation and composition (like tad, kad, etc.: see below, under the other pronouns). Words are thus formed from them even in the older language — namely, mātkṛta and mātsakhi and asmatsakhi (RV.), tvādyoni and mattās (AV.), tvātpitṛ and tvādvivācana (TS.), tvāptprasūta and tvadvdevatya and yuvadvdevatya and yuśmaddevatya (CB.), asmaddevatya (PB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in a, or with the a lengthened to ā: thus, māvant; asmatrā, asmadrūḥ, etc.; tvāyata, tvāvant, tvādatta, tvānīd, tvāvasu, tvāhata, etc.; yuśmadatta, yuśmēśita, etc.; yuvāvant, yuvāk, yuvādhita, yuvādatta, yuvānīta, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as mādrīṛ.

a. The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, tvāṁkāma, tvāṁśhūti, māṁpaṣyā, māmasyā, asmēḥiti, ahampūrvā, ahamuttarā, ahamyū, ahamśana.

b. From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives madīya, tvadīya, asmādyā, yuśmadīya, having a possessive value: see below, 516.

c. For sva and svayām, see below, 518.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, śa ta, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be taken as model of a mode of declension usual in
so many pronouns and pronominal adjectives that it is fairly to be called the general pronominal declension.

a. But this root has also the special irregularity that in the nom. sing. masc. and fem. it has sās (for whose peculiar euphonic treatment see 17θa, b) and sā, instead of tās and tā (compare Gr. ὁ, ἡ, ὦ, and Goth. sa, so, thāta). Thus:

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>sās</td>
<td>tāt</td>
<td>sā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>tām</td>
<td>tāt</td>
<td>tām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>tēn</td>
<td>tayā</td>
<td>tayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>tasmāi</td>
<td>tasyāl</td>
<td>tasyāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>tasmāt</td>
<td>tasyās</td>
<td>tasyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>tasya</td>
<td>tasyās</td>
<td>tasyās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>tasmint</td>
<td>tasyām</td>
<td>tasyām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>I. D. Ab.</th>
<th>G. L.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tēu</td>
<td>tāhyām</td>
<td>tayos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>tāhyām</td>
<td>tayos</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tē</td>
<td>tani</td>
<td>tais</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tān</td>
<td>tānī</td>
<td>tānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tānī</td>
<td>tānī</td>
<td>tānī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tais</td>
<td>tābhis</td>
<td>tābhis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
D. Ab.  
| तेन्यस्  | तान्यस्  |
| tébhyaś  | tābhyaś  |

G.  
| तेषाम्  | तासाम्  |
| téṣām  | tāsām  |

L.  
| तेषु  | तासु  |
| téṣu  | tāsu  |

b. The Vedas show no other irregularities of inflection than those which belong to all stems in a and ā: namely, tēnā sometimes; usually tā for tāu, du.; often tā for tāni, pl. neut.; usually tēbhis for tāhis, instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root sa, namely sāsmin (occurring nearly half as often as tāsmin); and Chū. has once sasmāt.

496. The peculiarities of the general pronominal declension, it will be noticed, are these:

a. In the singular, the use of t (properly d) as ending of nom.-acc. neut.; the combination of another element sma with the root in masc. and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of ay 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 yādiṣmīn, RV., once). The substitution in B. of āi for ās as fem. ending (307 h) was illustrated at 365 d.

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

c. In the plural, the irregularities are limited to té for tās in nom., masc., and the insertion of s instead of n before ūm of the gen., the stem-final being treated before it in the same manner as before su of the loc.

497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as tād; and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective tādiya, with tattvā, tadvat, tanmaya; and numerous compounds, such as tacchila, tajjā, tatkara, tadanantara, tāmātra, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so tādanna, tadvid, tadvaçā, etc. But derivatives from the true root ta are also many: especially adverbs, as tātas, tātra, tātha, tādā; the adjectives tāvant and tāti; and the compound tādiṇḍa, etc.

498. Though the demonstrative root ta is prevalingly of the third person, it is also freely used, both in the earlier language and in the later, as qualifying the pronouns of the first and second person, giving emphasis to them: thus, sō 'hām, this I, or I here; sā or sā tvām thou there; te vayam, we here: tasya mama of me here, tasmīṁ svayā in thee there, and so on.

499. Two other demonstrative stems appear to contain ta as an element; and both, like the simple ta, substitute sa in the nom sing. masc. and fem.
a. The one, tya, is tolerably common (although only a third of its possible forms occur) in RV., but rare in AV., and almost unknown later, its nom. sing., in the three genders, is syäs, syä, tyät, and it makes the accusatives tyäm, tyäm, tyät, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as ta. It has in RV. the instr. fem. tyä (for tyäva). Instead of syä as nom. sing. fem. is also found tya.

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 esäs, esa, etät — and so on through the whole inflection.

c. The stem tya has neither compounds nor derivatives. But from eta are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple ta, only much less numerous: thus, etaddä (CB.), etadarthä, etc., from the so-called stem etat; and etädř̥ and etavant from eta. And esa, like sa (498), is used to qualify pronouns of the 1st and 2d persons: e. g. esa 'ham, ete vayam.

500. There is a defective pronominal stem, ena, which is accent-less, 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. enam</td>
<td>enat</td>
<td>enäm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>enena</td>
<td>enayä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dn. A. enäu</td>
<td>ene</td>
<td>ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>enayos</td>
<td>enayos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. A. enän</td>
<td>enání</td>
<td>enäš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The RV. has enos instead of enayos, and in one or two instances accents a form: thus, enäm, enäš (?). AB. uses enat also as nom. neut.

b. As ena is always used substantively, it has more nearly than ta the value of a third personal pronoun, unemphatic. Apparent examples of its adjectival use here and there met with are doubtless the result of confusion with eta (499 b).

c. This stem forms neither derivatives nor compounds.

501. The declension of two other demonstratives is so irregularly made up that they have to be given in full. The one, ओऽयम् ayäm etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, *this* or *that*; the other, ओऽसैै asäü etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, *yon* or *yonder*.

a. They are as follows:
### VII. Pronouns

**Singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>त्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>त्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>नेन</td>
<td>नया</td>
<td>नया</td>
<td>नया</td>
<td>नया</td>
<td>नया</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
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b. The same forms are used in the older language, without variation, except that (as usual) imā occurs for imāū and imānī, and amū for amūnī; amuyə when used adverbially is accented on the final, amuyə; asū (with accent, of course, on the first, āsū, or without accent, amū: 314) is used also as vocative; amī, too, occurs as vocative.

502. a. The former of these two pronouns, ayām etc., plainly shows itself to be pieced together from a number of defective stems. The majority of forms come from the root a, with which, as in the ordinary pronominal declension, ñma (f. sy) is combined in the singular. All these forms from a have the peculiarity that in their substantive use they are either accent- ed, as in the paradigm, or unaccented (like ena and the second forms from ahām and tvām). The remaining forms are always accented. From anā come, with entire regularity, anēna, anayā, anayos. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem imā. And ayām, iyām, idām are evidently to be referred to a simple root i (idām being apparently a double form: ād, like tād etc., with ending am).

b. The Veda has from the root a also the instrumentals ena and ayā (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. ayōs; from ima, imāsya occurs once in RV., imasmāi in AA., and imais and imeṣu later. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation āsmāi, āsya, ābhīs.

c. In analogy with the other pronouns, idām is by the grammarians regarded as representative stem of this pronominal declension; and it is actually found so treated in a very small number of compounds (idamnāya and idānṛūpa are of Brāhmaṇa age). As regards the actual stems, anā furnishes nothing further; from ima comes only the adverb imāthā (RV., once); but a and i furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, ātās, ātra, āthe, ad-dāh (?) ; itās, īd (Vedic particle), idā, ihā, ītara, im (Vedic particle), īdrīq, perhaps evā and evām, and others.

503. The other pronoun, asāu etc., has amū for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the a-stems, the element ñma (f. sy), and which shifts to amī in part of the masc. and neut. plural. In part, too, like an adjective u-stem, it lengthens its final in the feminine. The gen. sing. amūṣya is the only example in the language of the ending sya added to any other than an a-stem. The nom. pl. amī is unique in form; its ī is (like that of a dual) pragṛhya, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138b). Asāu and adās are also without analogies as regards their endings.

a. The grammarians, as usual, treat adās as representative stem of the declension, and it is found in this character in an extremely small number of words, as adomula; adomāya is of Brāhmaṇa age. The QB. has also asāunāman. But most of the derivatives, as of

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 13
the cases, come from amu: thus, amútas, amútra, amúthā, amudā, amúrhi, amuvāt, amuka.

b. In the older language occurs the root tva (accentless), meaning one, many u one; it is oftentimes found repeated, as one and another. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension. From it is made the (also accentless) adverb tvadānim (MS).

c. Fragments of another demonstrative root or two are met with: thus, ámas he occurs in a formula in AV. and in Brāhmaṇas etc.; avós as gen.-loc. dual is found in RV.; the particle u points to a root u.

Interrogative Pronoun.

504. The characteristic part of the interrogative pronominal root is कू क; it has the three forms क ka, कि ki, कु ku; but the whole declensional inflection is from क ka, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from कि ki, and has the anomalous form किम kīm (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter i-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

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and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of तa (above, 495).

a. The Veda has its usual variations, का and केभिष for कानि and कास. It also has, along with किम, the nominally regular neuter काद; and काम (or काम) is a frequent particle. The masc. form किस, corresponding to किम, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations नाकिस and माकिस.

505. The grammarians treat किम 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 — किम्मया, किम्कराः, किम्काम्या, किम्देवता, किम्किला, and the peculiar किम्या — go back even to the Veda and Brāhmaṇa. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form का, a couple of times in the Veda (कापया, कादर्थ), and not infrequently later, is found as first member of compounds. Then, from the real roots का, कि, कु are made many derivatives; and from कि and कु, especially the latter, many compounds: thus,
káti, kathá, kathám, kadá, katará, katamá, kárhi; kíyant, kidúç; kútas, kútra, kúha, kvá, kucará, kukarman, kumantrín, 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, caná, cid, ápi, vā, either alone or with the relative ya (below, 511) prefixed: thus, káç caná any one; ná kó ‘pi not any one; yáni kaní cit whatsoever; yatamát katamáç ca whatever one. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

### Relative Pronoun.

508. The root of the relative pronoun is य या, which from the earliest period of the language has lost all trace of the demonstrative meaning originally (doubtless) belonging to it, and is used as relative only.

509. It is inflected with entire regularity according to the usual pronominal declension: thus,

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a. The Veda shows its usual variations of these forms: या for यातृ and for यानि, and येब्हिस for यास; योस for यायोस also occurs once; येना, with prolonged final, is in RV. twice as common as येना. Reso-
intions occur in *yābhīs*, and *yēṣaam* and *yēṣaam*. The conjunction *yat* is an ablative form according to the ordinary declension.

510. The use of *yat* as representative stem begins very early: we have *yātkāma* in the Veda, and *yatkārin*, *yaddrevatya* in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: *yātas*, *yāti*, *yātra*, *yāthā*, *yādā*, *yādi*, *yārhi*, *yāvant*, *yatarā*, *yatamā*; and the compound *yādīq*.

511. The combination of *ya* with *ka* to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (507). Its own repetition — as *yād-yat* — gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the distributive.

512. One or two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of the relative may be here briefly noticed:

a. A very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates: thus, *yāḥ* *sunvatāh* sākhā tāsmā Ṭindrāya gāyata (RV.) who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Ṭindrā sing ye; *yāh* yajñām paribhūr āśi sā īd devēṣu gacchati (RV.) what offering thou protectest, that in truth goeth to the gods; *yē* triṣaptāḥ pariyānti bālā tēṣāṁ dadhātu me (AV.) what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me; *asāṇ* yō adharād grhaḥ tātra santv arāyāḥ (AV.) what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be; *sahā* yāṁ me āsti tēṇa (TB.) along with that which is mine; haṁśaṁ hāṁ vacanāṁ yat tu tan māṁ dahati (MBh.) but what the words of the swans were, that burns me; sarvasya locanaṁ čāstraṁ yasya nā 'sty andha eva saṁ (H.) who does not possess learning, the eye of everything, blind indeed is he. The other arrangement, though frequent enough, is notably less usual.

b. A frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause: thus, mé *mām prā "pat pāu-rūcayo vadhō yāḥ* (AV.) may there not reach him a human deadly weapon (lit'ly, what is such a weapon); pári nō pāhi yād dhānam (AV.) protect of us what wealth [there is]; apāmargó 'pa māṛṣu ḱṛṣtriyaṁ čapāthaḥ ca *yāḥ* (AV.) may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse; puṣkareṇa hṛṣṭaṁ rājyaṁ yaṃ cā 'nyad vasu kīncana (MBh.) by Pushkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was].

**Other Pronouns: Emphatic, Indefinite.**

513. a. The isolated and uninflected pronominal word *śvam* (from the root *sva*) signifies *self*, *own self*. By its form it appears to be a nom. sing., and it is often-
est used as nominative, but along with words of all persons and numbers; and not seldom it represents other cases also.

b. Svayam is also used as a stem in composition: thus, svayamja, svayambhu. But sva itself (usually adjective: below, 516e) has the same value in composition; and even its inflected forms are (in the older language very rarely) used as reflexive pronoun.

c. In RV. alone are found a few examples of two indefinite pronouns, sama (accentless) any, every, and sima every, all.

Nouns used pronominally.

514. a. The noun atman soul is widely employed, in the singular (extremely rarely in other numbers), as reflexive pronoun of all three persons.

b. The noun tanu body is employed in the same manner (but in all numbers) in the Veda.

c. The adjective bhavant, f. bhavati, is used (as already pointed out: 456) in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person. Its construction with the verb is in accordance with its true character, as a word of the third person.

Pronominal Derivatives.

515. From pronominal roots and stems, as well as from the larger class of roots and from noun-stems, are formed by the ordinary suffixes of adjective derivation certain words and classes of words, which have thus the character of pronominal adjectives.

Some of the more important of these may be briefly noticed here.

516. Possessives. a. From the representative stems mad etc. are formed the adjectives madiya, asmadiya, tvadiya, yusmadiya, tadiya, and etadiya, which are used in a possessive sense: relating to me, mine, and so on.

b. Other possessives are mamaka (also mamaka, RV.) and tavaka, from the genitives mama and tava. And RV. has once makin.

c. An analogous derivative from the genitive amugya is amugyan (AV. etc.) descendant of such and such a one.

d. It was pointed out above (483) that the "genitives" asmakam and yusmakam are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.
a. Corresponding to sva\textsuperscript{y}a\textsuperscript{mā} (513) is the possessive sva\textsuperscript{mā} meaning \textit{own}, as relating to all persons and numbers. The RV. has once the corresponding simple possessive of the second person, tvā \textit{thy}.

f. For the use of sva as reflexive pronoun, see above, 513b.

g. All these words form their feminines in ā.

h. Other derivatives of a like value have no claim to be mentioned here. But (excepting sva) the possessives are so rarely used as to make but a small figure in the language, which prefers generally to indicate the possessive relation by the genitive case of the pronoun itself.

517. By the suffix vant are formed from the pronominal roots, with prolongation of their final vowels, the adjectives māvant, tvāvant, yuṣmāvant, yuvāvant, tāvant, etāvant, yāvant, meaning of \textit{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.).

a. Words of similar meaning from the roots i and ki are īvant and kevant, inflected in the same manner: see above, 451.

518. The pronominal roots show a like prolongation of vowel in combination with the root drṣ see, look, and its derivatives -drṣa and (quite rarely) ḍṛṣa: thus, māḍṛṣ, -drṣa; tvāḍṛṣ, -drṣa; yuṣmāḍṛṣ, -drṣa; tāḍṛṣ, -drṣa; etāḍṛṣ, -drṣa; yāḍṛṣ, -ḍṛṣa; īḍṛṣ, -drṣa; ṭṛṣa; kīḍṛṣ, -drṣa; ḍṛṣa. They mean of \textit{my sort, like or resembling me}, and the like, and tāḍṛṣ and the following are not uncommon, with the sense of \textit{talis} and \textit{qualis}. The forms in ḍṛṣ are unvaried for gender; those in drṣa (and ḍṛṣa?) have feminines in ī.

519. From ta, ka, ya come tāti \textit{so many}, kāti \textit{how many?} yāti \textit{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, tātīnām, tātīṇu.

520. From ya (in V. and B.) and ka come the comparatives and superlatives yatarā and yatamā, and katarā and katamā; and from i, the comparative itara. 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, takāt, takās; from sa, sakā; from ya, yakās, yakā, yakā; from asāu, asakāu; from amu, amuka.

a. For the numerous and frequently used adverbs formed from pronominal roots, see Adverbs (below, 1097 ff.).
Adjectives declined pronominally.

522. A number of adjectives — some of them coming from pronominal roots, others more or less analogous with pronouns in use — are inflected, in part or wholly, according to the pronominal declension (like न ta, 495), with feminine stems in श. Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, katará and katamá, yatamá and yatamá, and ītara; also anyá other, and its comparative anyatará — are declined like ta throughout.

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

b. Anya takes occasionally the form anyat in composition: thus, anyatkáma, anyatathána.

524. Other words are so inflected except in the nom.-acc.-voc. sing. neut., where they have the ordinary adjective form am, instead of the pronominal at (ad). Such are sárva all, vicqva all, every, éka one.

a. These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e.g. viqcva, viqváti, viqvé RV.; éke loc. sing., AV.).

525. Yet other words follow the same model usually, or in some of their significations, or optionally; but in other senses, or without known rule, lapse into the adjective inflection.

a. Such are the comparatives and superlatives from prepositional stems: ádhara and adhamá, ántara and ántama, ápara and ápamá, ávara and ávamá, úttara and uttamá, úpara and upamá. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.

b. Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) paramá, caramá, madhyamá; and also anyatama (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: 523).

c. Further, the words prára distant, other; púrva prior, east; dákṣiṇa right, south; pacčima behind, western; ubháya (f. ubháyí or ubháyi) of both kinds or parties; némá the one, half; and the possessive svá.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e.g. prathamásyās, tríyasyām; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, álpa few; ardhá half; kévala all; dvíyáa of the two kinds; bánya outside — and others. RV. has once samánámátm.
CHAPTER VIII.

CONJUGATION.

527. The subject of conjugation or verbal inflection involves, as in the other languages of the family, the distinctions of voice, tense, mode, number, and person.

a. Further, besides the simpler or ordinary conjugation of a verbal root, there are certain more or less fully developed secondary or derivative conjugations.

528. Voice. There are (as in Greek) two voices, active and middle, distinguished by a difference in the personal endings. This distinction is a pervading one: there is no active personal form which does not have its corresponding middle, and vice versa; and it is extended also in part to the participles (but not to the infinitive).

529. An active form is called by the Hindu grammarians parasmai padam a word for another, and a middle form is called atmane padam a word for one's self: the terms might be best paraphrased by transitive and reflexive. And the distinction thus expressed is doubtless the original foundation of the difference of active and middle forms; in the recorded condition of the language, however, the antithesis of transitive and reflexive meaning is in no small measure blurred, or even altogether effaced.

a. In the epics there is much effacement of the distinction between active and middle, the choice of voice being very often determined by metrical considerations alone.

530. Some verbs are conjugated in both voices, others in one only; sometimes a part of the tenses are inflected only in one voice, others only in the other or in both; of a verb usually inflected in one voice sporadic forms of the other occur; and sometimes the voice differs according as the verb is compounded with certain prepositions.
531. The middle forms outside the present-system (for which there is a special passive inflection: see below, 768 ff.), and sometimes also within that system, are liable to be used likewise in a passive sense.

532. Tense. The tenses are as follows: 1. a present, with 2. an imperfect, closely related with it in form, having a prefixed augment; 3. a perfect, made with reduplication (to which in the Veda is added, 4. a so-called pluperfect, made from it with prefixed augment); 5. an aorist, of three different formations: a. simple; b. reduplicated; c. sigmatic or sibilant; 6. a future, with 7. a conditional, an augment-tense, standing to it in the relation of an imperfect to a present; and 8. a second, a periphrastic, future (not found in the Veda).

a. The tenses here distinguished (in accordance with prevailing usage) as imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and aorist receive those names from their correspondence in mode of formation with tenses so called in other languages of the family, especially in Greek, and not at all from differences of time designated by them. In no period of the Sanskrit language is there any expression of imperfect or pluperfect time — nor of perfect time, except in the older language, where the "aorist" has this value; later, imperfect, perfect, and aorist are so many 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.

a. In the Veda, the present tense has, besides its indicative inflection, a subjunctive, of considerable variety of formation, an optative, and an imperative (in 2d and 3d persons). The same three modes are found, though of much less frequent occurrence, as belonging to the perfect; and they are made also from the aorists, being of especial frequency from the simple aorist. The future has no modes (an occasional case or two are purely exceptional).

b. In the classical Sanskrit, the present adds to its indicative an optative and an imperative — of which last,
moreover, the first persons are a remnant of the old subjunctive. And the aorist has also an optative, of somewhat peculiar inflection, usually called the precative (or benedictive).

534. The present, perfect, and future tenses have each of them, alike in the earlier and later language, a pair of participles, active and middle, sharing in the various peculiarities of the tense-formations; and in the Veda are found such participles belonging also to the aorist.

535. Tense-systems. The tenses, then, with their accompanying modes and participles, fall into certain well-marked groups or systems:

I. The present-system, composed of the present tense with its modes, its participle, and its preterit which we have called the imperfect.

II. The perfect-system, composed of the perfect tense (with, in the Veda, its modes and its preterit, the so-called pluperfect) and its participle.

III. The aorist-system, or systems, simple, reduplicated, and sibilant, composed of the aorist tense along with, in the later language, its "precative" optative (but, in the Veda, with its various modes and its participle).

IV. The future-systems: 1. the old or sibilant future, with its accompanying preterit, the conditional, and its participle; and 2. the new periphrastic future.

536. Number and Person. The verb has, of course, the same three numbers with the noun: namely, singular, dual, and plural; and in each number it has the three persons, first, second, and third. All of these are made in every tense and mode — except that the first persons of the imperative numbers are supplied from the subjunctive.
537. **Verbal adjectives and nouns: Participles.**
The participles belonging to the tense-systems have been already spoken of above (534). There is besides, coming directly from the root of the verb, a participle, prevalingly of past and passive (or sometimes neuter) meaning. Future passive participles, or gerundives, of several different formations, are also made.

538. **Infinitives.** In the older language, a very considerable variety of derivative abstract nouns — only in a few sporadic instances having anything to do with the tense-systems — are used in an infinitive or quasi-infinitive sense; most often in the dative case, but sometimes also in the accusative, in the genitive and ablative, and (very rarely) in the locative. In the classical Sanskrit, there remains a single infinitive, of accusative case-form, having nothing to do with the tense-systems.

539. **Gerunds.** A so-called gerund (or absolutive) — being, like the infinitive, a stereotyped case-form of a derivative noun — is a part of the general verb-system in both the earlier and later language, being especially frequent in the later language, where it has only two forms, one for simple verbs, and the other for compound. Its value is that of an indeclinable active participle, of indeterminate but prevalingly past tense-character.

a. Another gerund, an adverbially used accusative in form, is found, but only rarely, both earlier and later.

540. **Secondary conjugations.** The secondary or derivative conjugations are as follows: 1. the passive; 2. the intensive; 3. the desiderative; 4. the causative. In these, a conjugation-stem, instead of the simple root, underlies the whole system of inflection. Yet there is clearly to be seen in them the character of a present-system, expanded into a more or less complete conjugation; and the passive is
so purely a present-system that it will be described in the chapter devoted to that part of the inflection of the verb.

a. Under the same general head belongs the subject of denominative conjugation, or the conversion of noun and adjective-stems into conjugation-stems. Further, that of compound conjugation, whether by the prefixion of prepositions to roots or by the addition of auxiliary verbs to noun and adjective-stems. And finally, that of periphrastic conjugation, or the looser combination of auxiliaries with verbal nouns and adjectives.

541. The characteristic of a proper (finite or personal) verb-form is its personal ending. By this alone is determined its character as regards number and person — and in part also as regards mode and tense. But the distinctions of mode and tense are mainly made by the formation of tense and mode-stems, to which, rather than to the pure root, the personal endings are appended.

a. In this chapter will be given a general account of the personal endings, and also of the formation of mode-stems from tense-stems, and of those elements in the formation of tense-stems — the augment and the reduplication — which are found in more than one tense-system. Then, in the following chapters, each tense-system will be taken up by itself, and the methods of formation of its stems, both tense-stems and mode-stems, and their combination with the endings, will be described and illustrated in detail. And the complete conjugation of a few model verbs will be exhibited in systematic arrangement in Appendix C.

Personal Endings.

542. The endings of verbal inflection are, as was pointed out above, different throughout in the active and middle voices. They are also, as in Greek, usually of two somewhat varying forms for the same person in the same voice: one fuller, called primary; the other briefer, called secondary. There are also less pervading differences, depending upon other conditions.

a. In the epics, exchanges of primary and secondary active endings especially the substitution of ma, va, ta, for mas, vas, tha) are not infrequent.
b. A condensed statement of all the varieties of ending for each person and number here follows.

543. Singular: First person. a. The primary ending in the active is mi. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has ni instead; and in the oldest Veda this ni is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in a (as if the ni of āni were dropped). The secondary ending is properly m; but to this m an a has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing regularly where the tense-stem does not itself end in a (vam for varm or varam in RV., once, and abhūm MS., avadhim TS. etc., sanem TB., are rare anomalies), that it is convenient to reckon am as ending, rather than m. But the perfect tense has neither mi nor m; its ending is simply a (sometimes ā: 248c); or, from a-roots, āu.

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

544. Second person. a. In the active, the primary ending is si, which is shortened to s as secondary; as to the loss of this s after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably tha (or thā: 248c). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is dhi; which, however, is more often reduced to hi; and in the majority of verbs (including all a-stems, at every period of the language) no ending is present, but the bare stem stands as personal form. In a very small class of verbs (722—3), āna is the ending. There is also an alternative ending tāt; and this is even used sporadically in other persons of the imperative (see below, 570—1).

b. In the middle voice, the primary ending, both present and perfect, is se. The secondary stands in no apparent relation to this, being thās; and in the imperative is found only sva (or svā: 248c), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as sa. In the older language, se is sometimes strengthened to sāi in the subjunctive.

545. Third person. a. The active primary ending is ti; the secondary, t; as to the loss of the latter after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But in the imperative appears instead the peculiar ending tu; and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.

b. The primary middle ending is te, with ta as corresponding secondary. In the older language, te is often strengthened to tāi in
the subjunctive. In the perfect, the middle third person has, like
the active, the same ending with the first, namely e simply; and in
the older language, the third person present also often loses the dis-
tinctive part of its termination, and comes to coincide in form with
the first (and MS. has aduña for adugdna). To this e perhaps cor-
responds, as secondary, the i of the aorist 3d pers. passive (842 ff.).
The imperative has tām (or, in the Veda, rarely ām) for its ending.

548. Dual: First person. Both in active and in middle,
the dual first person is in all its varieties precisely like the corre-
spanding plural, only with substitution of v for the m of the latter:
thus, vas (no vasi has been found to occur), va, vahe, vahi, vahāi.
The person is, of course, of comparatively rare use, and from the
Veda no form in vas, even, is quotable.

547. Second and Third persons. a. In the active, the
primary ending of the second person is thas, and that of the third
is tas; and this relation of th to t appears also in the perfect, and
runs through the whole series of middle endings. The perfect endings
are primary, but have u instead of a as vowel; and an a has become
so persistently prefixed that their forms have to be reckoned as athus
and atus. The secondary endings exhibit no definable relation to
the primary in these two persons; they are tam and tām; and they
are used in the imperative as well.

b. In the middle, a long ā — which, however, with the final
a of a-stems becomes e — has become prefixed to all dual endings
of the second and third persons, so as to form an inseparable part
of them (dīdhīthām AV., and jibīthām CB., are isolated anomalies).
The primary endings, present and perfect, are āthe and āte; the
secondary (and imperative) are āthām and ātām (or, with stem-final
a, ethe etc.).

c. The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in āthe and āte, apparently
from ethe and ete with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed
below: see 615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1008, 1043).

548. Plural: First person. a. The earliest form of the
active ending is masi, which in the oldest language is more frequent
than the briefer ma (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 (246 c), especially in the perfect.

b. The primary middle ending is mahe. This is lightened in
the secondary form to mahi; and, on the other hand, it is regu-
larly (in the Veda, not invariably) strengthened to mahan in the sub-
junctive (imperative).

549. Second person. a. The active primary ending is tha.
The secondary, also imperative, ending is ta (in the Veda, tā only
once in impv.). But in the perfect any characteristic consonant is wanting, and the ending is simply a. In the Veda, the syllable na, of problematic origin, is not infrequently added to both forms of the ending, making thana (rarely thanā) and tana. The forms in which this occurs will be detailed below, under the different formations; the addition is very rarely made excepting to persons of the first general conjugation.

b. The middle primary ending is dhve, which belongs to the perfect as well as the present. In the subjunctive of the older language it is sometimes strengthened to dhvāi. The secondary (and imperative) ending is dhvam (in RV., once dhva); and dhvāt is once met with in the imperative (570). In the Veda, the v of all these endings is sometimes to be resolved into u, and the ending becomes dissyllabic. As to the change of dh of these endings to dh, see above, 228 c.

550. Third person. a. The full primary ending is anti in the active, with ante as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is anta, to which should correspond an active ant; but of the t only altogether questionable traces are left, in the euphonic treatment of a final n (207); the ending is an. In the imperative, antu and antām take the place of anti and ante. The initial a of all these endings is like that of am in the 1st sing., disappearing after the final a of a tense-stem.

b. Moreover, anti, antu, ante, antām, anta are all liable to be weakened by the loss of their nasal, becoming ati etc. In the active, this weakening takes place only after reduplicated non-a-stems (and after a few roots which are treated as if reduplicated: 639 ff.); in the middle, it occurs after all tense-stems save those ending in a.

c. Further, for the secondary active ending an there is a substitute us (or ur: 188 b; the evidence of the Zend favors the latter form), which is used in the same reduplicating verbs that change anti to ati etc., and which accordingly appears as a weaker correlative of an. The same us is also used universally in the perfect, in the optative (not in the subjunctive), in those forms of the aorist whose stem does not end in a, and in the imperfect of root-stems ending in ā, and a few others (621).

d. The perfect middle has in all periods of the language the peculiar ending re, and the optative has the allied ran, in this person. In the Veda, a variety of other endings containing a r as distinctive consonant are met with: namely, re (and ire) and rate in the present; rata in the optative (both of present and of aorist); rire in the perfect; ranta, ran, and ram in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); rām and ratām in the imperative; ra in the imperfect of dūh (MS.). The three rate, ratām, and rata are found even in the later language in one or two verbs (629).
551. Below are given, for convenience, in tabular form, the schemes of endings as accepted in the classical or later language: namely, a. the regular primary endings, used in the present indicative and the future (and the subjunctive in part); and b. the regular secondary endings, used in the imperfect, the conditional, the aorist, the optative (and the subjunctive in part); and further, of special schemes, c. the perfect endings (chiefly primary, especially in the middle); and d. the imperative endings (chiefly secondary). To the so-called imperative endings of the first person is prefixed the a 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:

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b. Secondary Endings.

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e. Perfect Endings.

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<td>1 a</td>
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<td>2 tha</td>
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<td>3 a</td>
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d. Imperative Endings.

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<td>1 åni</td>
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<td>2 dhí, hí</td>
<td>tám</td>
<td>tá</td>
<td>svá</td>
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<td>3 tu</td>
<td>tám</td>
<td>ántu</td>
<td>átu</td>
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554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if disyllabic, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant union-vowels are regarded, in this respect, as integral parts of the endings. But the
3d pl. ending ate of the pres. indic. middle has in RV. the accent até in a number of verbs (see 613, 685, 699, 719); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings: thus, mahé (see 719, 735).

555. The secondary endings of the second and third persons singular, as consisting of an added consonant without vowel, should regularly (150) be lost whenever the root or stem to which they are to be added itself ends in a consonant. And this rule is in general followed; yet not without exceptions. Thus:

a. A root ending in a dental mute sometimes drops this final mute instead of the added s in the second person; and, on the other hand, a root or stem ending in s sometimes drops this s instead of the added t in the third person — in either case, establishing the ordinary relation of s and t in these persons, instead of s and s, or t and t. The examples noted are: 2d sing. aves (to 3d sing. avet), yvid, AB.; 3d sing. akat, yr̥tṛ, CB. aghat, yghas, J.B. AcS.; aacakāt, y'cakās, RT.; açaṭ, y'qās, AB. MBh. R.; aṣrat, y'sras, VS.; ahiṇat, yhiṇas, CB. TB. GB. Compare also the a-sorist forms ayās and srās (146a), in which the same influence is to be seen; and further, ajāit etc. (689a), and preceptive yāt for yās (837). A similar loss of any other final consonant is excessively rare; AV. has once abhanas, for -nak, y'bhāṇij. There are also a few cases where a 1st sing. is irregularly modeled after a 3d sing.: thus, atṇam (to atṛṇat), y'tṛd, KU.; acchinam (to acchinat), y'chid, MBh.: compare urther the 1st sing. in m instead of am, 543a.

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

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

556. The changes of form which roots and stems undergo in their combinations with these endings will be pointed out in detail below, under the various formations. Here may be simply mentioned in advance, as by far the most important among them, a distinction of stronger and weaker form of stem in large classes of verbs, standing in relation with the accent — the stem being of stronger form when the accent falls upon it, or before an accentless ending, and of weaker form when the accent is on the ending.

a. Of the endings marked as accentted in the scheme, the ta of 2d pl. is not infrequently in the Veda treated as unaccentted, the tone resting on the stem, which is strengthened. Much less often, the tan of 2d du. is treated in the same way; other endings, only sporadically. Details are given under the various formations below.

Subjunctive Mode.

557. Of the subjunctive mode (as was pointed out above) only fragments are left in the later or classical language: namely, in the Whitney, Grammar, 2. ed. 14
so-called first persons imperative, and in the use (579) of the imperfect and aorist persons without augment after mă 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 normal and regular formation, a special mode-stem is made for the subjunctive by adding to the tense-stem an ā 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 (ɗuḥ) is made the subjunctive-stem dōha; from juhō (yhu), juhāva; from yunāj (y乌鲁), yunāja; from sunō (yšu), sunāva; from bhāva (ybhā), bhāvā; from tudā (yṛud), tudā; from ucyā (pass., yvac), ucyā; and so on.

559. The stem thus formed is inflected in general as an a-stem would be inflected in the indicative, with constant accent, and ā for a before the endings of the first person (733 i) — but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:

560. a. In the active, the 1st sing. has ni as ending: thus, dōhāni, yunājāni, bhavāni. But in the Rig-Veda sometimes ā simply: thus, āyā, brāvā.

b. In 1st du., 1st pl., and 3d pl., the endings are the secondary: thus, dōhava, dōhāma, dōhan; bhavāva, bhavāma, bhavān.

c. In 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., the endings are primary: thus, dōhathas, dōhatas, dōhat; bhavāthas, bhavātas, bhavātha.

d. In 2d and 3d sing., the endings are either primary or secondary: thus, dōhasi or dōhas, dōhāti or dōhat; bhavāsī or bhavās, bhavati or bhavāt.

a. 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, āṣātha from as; āyās, āyāt, āyān from e (yī).

561. In the middle, forms with secondary instead of primary endings are very rare, being found only in the 3d pl. (where they are more frequent than the primary), and in a case or two of the 3d sing. (and AB. has once asyāthās).

a. The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of e to ā in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In 1st sing., ā alone is found as ending, even in RV.; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only āvahāi is met with. In 1st pl.; āmahāi prevails in RV. and AV. (āmahe is found a few times), and is alone known later. In 2d sing., sāi for se does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d sing., tāi for te occurs once in RV., and is the predominant form
Subjunctive Mode.

in AV., and the only one later. In 2d pl., dhvai for dhve is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d pl., ntai for nte is the Brāhmaṇa form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in RV. nor AV. No such dual endings as thai and tāi, for the and te, are anywhere found; but RV. has in a few words (nine; above, 547 c) āthe and ātē, which appear to be a like subjunctive strengthening of ethe and ete (although found in one indicative form, kṛṇvātē). Before the āi-endings, the vowel is regularly long ā; but antai instead of antai is two or three times met with, and once or twice (TS. AB.) atai for ātai.

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

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<td>1 āni</td>
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<td>āi</td>
<td>āvaḥai</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>āt</td>
<td>āt</td>
<td>āthe</td>
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a. And in further combination with final a of a tense-stem, the initial a of all these endings becomes ā: thus, for example, in 2d pers., āsi or ās, athas, āthe, ātē, ādvai.

563. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple form — with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary endings — the name of subjunctive, in the forms "imperfect subjunctive" and "improper subjunctive", has been also given to the indicative forms of imperfect and aorist when used, with the augment omitted, in a modal sense (below, 587): such use being quite common in RV., but rapidly dying out, so that in the Brāhmaṇa language and later it is hardly met with except after mā prohibitive.

a. As to the general uses of the subjunctive, see below, 574 ff.

Optative Mode.

564. a. As has been already pointed out, the optative is of comparatively rare occurrence in the language of the Vedas; but it gains rapidly in frequency, and already in the Brāhmaṇas greatly outnumbers the subjunctive, and still later comes almost entirely to take its place.

b. Its mode of formation is the same in all periods of the language.

565. a. The optative mode-sign is in the active voice a different one, according as it is added to a tense-stem ending in a, or
to one ending in some other final. In the latter case, it is yā, accented; this yā is appended to the weaker form of the tense-stem, and takes the regular series of secondary endings, with, in 3d plur., us instead of an, and loss of the a before it. After an a-stem, it is i, unaccented; this i blends with the final a to e (which then is accented or not according to the accent of the a); and the e is maintained unchanged before a vowel-ending (am, us), by means of an interposed euphonic y.

b. In the middle voice, the mode-sign is ī 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 ī (as when combined to e) takes an inserted y before the vowel-endings (a, āthām, ātām).

c. It is, of course, impossible to tell from the form whether i or ī is combined with the final of an a-stem to e; but no good reason appears to exist for assuming i, rather than the ī which shows itself in the other class of stems in the middle voice.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. for non-a-stems.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yām</td>
<td>yāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yās</td>
<td>yātam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yāt</td>
<td>yātam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. combined with the final of a-stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 eyam</td>
<td>eva</td>
<td>ema</td>
<td>īya</td>
<td>īvahi</td>
<td>emahi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 es etam</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>īthās</td>
<td>īyāthām</td>
<td>edhvam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 et etām</td>
<td>cyus</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>īyātām</td>
<td>eran</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

d. The contracted sanēm, for saneyam, is found in TB. and Āpast. Certain Vedic 3d pl. middle forms in rata will be mentioned below, under the various formations.

567. Preca tive. Preca tive 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 preactive from the simple aorist, the middle from the sibilant aorist — are
practically of rare occurrence at every period of the language, and especially later.

a. The inserted \( s \) runs in the active through the whole series of persons; in the middle, it is allowed only in the 2d and 3d persons sing. and du. and the 2d pl., and is quotable only for the 2d and 3d sing. In the 2d sing. act., the precative form, by reason of the necessary loss of the added \( s \), is not distinguishable from the simple optative; in the 3d sing. act., the same is the case in the later language, which (compare 555 a) saves the personal ending \( t \) instead of the precative-sign \( s \); but the RV. usually, and the other Vedic texts to some extent, have the proper ending \( yās \) (for \( yāst \)). As to \( qh \) in the 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

b. The accent is as in the simple optative.

568. The precative endings, then, accepted in the later language (including, in brackets, those which are identical with the simple optative), are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yāsam</td>
<td>yāsva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 [yās]</td>
<td>yāstam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 [yāt]</td>
<td>yāstām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Respecting the precative, see further 921 ff.

b. As to the general uses of the optative, see below, 573 ff.

**Imperative Mode.**

569. The imperative has no mode-sign; it is made by adding its own endings directly to the tense-stem, just as the other endings are added to form the indicative tenses.

a. Hence, in 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., its forms are indistinguishable from those of the augment-preterit from the same stem with its augment omitted.

b. The rules as to the use of the different endings — especially in 2d sing., where the variety is considerable — will be given below, in connection with the various tense-systems. The ending tāṭ, however, has so much that is peculiar in its use that it calls for a little explanation here.

570. The Imperative in tāṭ. An imperative form, usually having the value of a 2d pers. sing., but sometimes also of other persons and numbers, is made by adding tāṭ to a present tense-stem — in its weak form, if it have a distinction of strong and weak form.

a. Examples are: brūṭāṭ, hatāṭ, vittāṭ; pipṭāṭ, jahtāṭ, dhattāṭ; kṛṣṇatāṭ, kurutāṭ; gṛṅñatāṭ, jāntāṭ; āvatāṭ, rākṣatāṭ, vasatāṭ; viṣatāṭ, śṛjatăṭ; asyatāṭ, nac yatāṭ, chyatāṭ; kriy atāṭ;
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gamayatat, cyavayatat, varayatat; Ipsatat; jagrtat. No examples have been found from a nasal-class verb (680), nor any other than those here given from a passive, intensive, or desiderative. The few accented cases indicate that the formation follows the general rule for one made with an accented ending (552).

b. The imperative in tat is not a very rare formation in the older language, being made (in V., B., and S.) from about fifty roots, and in toward a hundred and fifty occurrences. Later, it is very unusual: thus, only a single example has been noted in MBh., and one in R.; and correspondingly few in yet more modern texts.

571. As regards its meaning, this form appears to have prevously in the Brāhmaṇaś, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value — as signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time than the present: it is (like the Latin forms in to and tote) a posterior or future imperative.

a. Examples are: ihai 'va mā tiṣṭhantam abhyēhī 'ti brūhi tām tū na āgatam pratiprābrūtāt (CB.) say to her “come to me as I stand just here,” and [afterward] announce her to us as having come; yad urdhvās tiṣṭhā drāvīpe 'hā dhattāt (RV.) when thou shalt stand up-right, [then] bestow riches here (and similarly in many cases); utkālam udvahō bhavo 'dūhya práti dhāvatāt (AV.) be a carrier up the ascent; after having carried up, run back again; vānaśpātir ādhi tvā sthāyatī tāsya vittāt (TS.) the tree will ascend thee, [then] take note of it.

b. Examples of its use as other than 2d sing. are as follows: 1st sing., āvyuṣāṁ jagṛtād ahām (AV.; only case) let me watch till day-break; as 3d sing., pūnar mā "viqatād rayīḥ (TS.) let wealth come again to me, ayāṁ trāsāja rājā mūrdhānām vī pārayatāt (CB.) the king here shall make his head fly off; as 2d du., nāsatya ābruvan devaṁ pūnar ā vahatād itī (RV.) the gods said to the two Āgins “bring them back again”; as 2d pl., āpaḥ ... devēgu nāḥ suktīō brūtāt (TS.) ye waters, announce us to the gods as well-doers. In the later language, the prevailing value appears to be that of a 3d sing.: thus, bhavān prasa- daṁ kurutāt (MBh.) may your worship do the favor, enam bhavān abhirakṣatāt (DKC.) let your excellency protect him.

c. According to the native grammarians, the imperative in tat is to be used with a benedictive implication. No instance of such use appears to be quotable.

d. In a certain passage repeated several times in different Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, and containing a number of forms in tat used as 2d pl., varayadhvāt is read instead of varayatāt in some of the texts (K. AB. ACŚ. ČČŚ.). No other occurrence of the ending dhvāt has been anywhere noted.
Uses of the Modes.

572. Of the three modes, the imperative is the one most distinct and limited in office, and most unchanged in use throughout the whole history of the language. It signifies a command or injunction — an attempt at the exercise of the speaker's will upon some one or something outside of himself.

a. This, however (in Sanskrit as in other languages), is by no means always of the same force; the command shades off into a demand, an exhortation, an entreaty, an expression of earnest desire. The imperative also sometimes signifies an assumption or concession; and occasionally, by pregnant construction, it becomes the expression of something conditional or contingent; but it does not acquire any regular use in dependent-clause-making.

b. The imperative is now and then used in an interrogative sentence: thus, bravihi ko 'dyāi 'va mayā viyujiyātām (R.) speak! who shall now be separated by me? katham ete gunavantāḥ kriyantām (H.) how are they to be made virtuous? kasmā pīṇḍāḥ pradiyātām (Vet.) to whom shall the offering be given?

573. The optative appears to have as its primary office the expression of wish or desire; in the oldest language, its prevailing use in independent clauses is that to which the name “optative” properly belongs.

a. But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and, on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is.

b. Further, the optative in dependent clauses, with relative pronouns and conjunctions, becomes a regular means of expression of the conditional and contingent, in a wide and increasing variety of uses.

c. The so-called prescriptive forms (567) are ordinarily used in the proper optative sense. But in the later language they are occasionally met with in the other uses of the optative: thus, na hi prapasyāmi mamā panudyaṣṭ ye chokam (Bh.G.) for I do not perceive what should dispel my grief; yad bhūyāsaṃ vibhūtayaḥ (Bh.P.) that there should be changes. Also rarely with mā: see 579b.
574. The subjunctive, as has been pointed out, becomes nearly extinct at an early period in the history of the language; there are left of it in classical usage only two relics: the use of its first persons in an imperative sense, or to signify a necessity or obligation resting on the speaker, or a peremptory intention on his part; and the use of unaugmented forms (579), with the negative particle न न, in a prohibitive or negative imperative sense.

a. And the general value of the subjunctive from the beginning was what these relics would seem to indicate: its fundamental meaning is perhaps that of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, more so than the optative. But this meaning is liable to the same modifications and transitions with that of the optative; and subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent. And instead of their being (as in Greek) both maintained in use, and endowed with nicer and more distinctive values, the subjunctive gradually disappears, and the optative assumes alone the offices formerly shared by both.

575. The difference, then, between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree: command, requisition, wish; and no sharp line of division exists between them; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in coordinate clauses.

a. Thus, in AV., we have in impv.: जिवा जिवाद दो थou live a hundred autumns; उभेद जिवाद जिवाद शी let them both live to attain old age; — in subj., जिवाद जिवाद शी जी शी let me live this day; जिवाद जिवाद जी मान जी मान he shall live a hundred autumns; — in opt., जी मान जी मान जी मान may we live hundreds of autumns; स्वर्ग जी जी जी जी I would fain live out my whole term of life. Here the modes would be interchangeable with a hardly perceptible change of meaning.

b. Examples, again, of different modes in coordinate construction are: नारी पात्री नारी पात्री नारी पात्री माहिषी bhavāti gatā pātim subhāgā vī 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; gopāyā nāḥ svastaye prabūdeh nāḥ pūnar dadaḥ (TS.) watch over us for
our welfare; grant unto us to wake again; syān naḥ sūnūḥ ... sā te sumatir bhūtv āsmē (RV.) may there be to us a son; let that favor of thine be ours. It is not very seldom the case that versions of the same passage in different texts show different modes as various readings.

c. There is, in fact, nothing in the earliest employment of these modes to prove that they might not all be specialized uses of forms originally equivalent — having, for instance, a general future meaning.

576. As examples of the less characteristic use of subjunctive and optative in the older language, in independent clauses, may be quoted the following: ā ghā tā gacchān īttārā yugānī (RV.) those later ages will doubtless come; yād ... nā marā ītī maṇyāse (RV.) if thou thinkest “I shall not die”; nā tā naqantī nā dabhātī tāsakarāḥ (RV.) they do not become lost; no thief can harm them; kāśmāi devāya haviṣā vidhēma (RV.) to what god shall we offer oblation? agnīnā rayīm ṛgnavat ... divē-divē (RV.) by Agni one may gain wealth every day; utāī nām brahmaṁ dadyat tāthā syonā ṛgī syät (AV.) one should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious and favorable; āhar-āhar dadyat (QJB.) 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: uoĉiṣṭaṁ nāī 'va bhūṇījyaṁ nā kuryāṁ pādādhaṁnam I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation; jnātin vrajet let her go to her relatives; nāī 'vaṁḥ sā karhīcit kuryāt she should not act thus at any time; katham vidyāṁ nalaṁ nṛpam how can I know king Nala? utsarge saṁcēyaḥ syāt tu vindetā 'pi sukaṁ kvaicet but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere; kathaṁ vāsὸ vikarteyāṁ na ca buḍhyeta 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, divyāva let us two play; kiṁ karavāpi te what shall I do for thee?

579. The imperative negative, or prohibitive, is from the earliest period of the language regularly and usually expressed by the particle mā with an augmentless past form, prevalingly aorist.

a. Thus, prā pata mē 'hā raṁstāṁ (AV.) fly away, do not stay here; dvīṣaṅc ca maḥyaṁ radhyatū mā ca 'hāṁ dvīṣaṅtē radham (AV.) both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe: urv āgyāṁ abhayaṁ jyōtir indra mā no dirghā abhī naqaṅ tamisrāṁ (RV.) I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the long darknesses come upon us; mā na āyuḥ prā moṣī (RV.) do not
steal away our life; samágvasihi mā çucaḥ (MBh.) be comforted; do not grieve; mā bhāśīh or bhāḥ (MBh. R.) do not be afraid; mā bhūt kālasya paryayaḥ (R.) let not a change of time take place. Examples with the imperfect are: mā bíbher nā mariśyasī (RV.) do not fear; thou wilt not die; mā smāi 'tānt sākhīn kuruthāḥ (AV.) do not make friends of them; mā putram anutapyaśathāḥ (MBh.) do not sorrow for thy son.

The relation of the imperfect to the aorist construction, in point of frequency, is in RV. about as one to five, in AV. still less, or about one to six; and though instances of the imperfect are quotable from all the older texts, they are exceptional and infrequent; while in the epics and later they become extremely rare.

b. A single optative, bhujema, is used prohibitively with mā in RV.; the older language presents no other example, and the construction is very rare also later. In an example or two, also, the precative (bhūyāt, R. Pañc.) follows mā.

c. The RV. has once apparently mā with an imperative; but the passage is probably corrupt. No other such case is met with in the older language (unless arpa, TA. i. 14; doubtless a bad reading for arpās); but in the epics and later the construction begins to appear, and becomes an ordinary form of prohibition: thus, mā prayacche "qvare dhanam (H.) do not bestow wealth on a lord; sakhi māi 'vah vada (Vet.) friend, do not speak thus.

d. The Ç.B. (xl. 5.11) appears to offer a single example of a true subjunctive with mā, nī padyāśāi; there is perhaps something wrong about the reading.

e. In the epics and later, an aorist form not deprived of augment is occasionally met with after mā: thus, mā tvāṁ kālo 'tyagat (MBh.) let not the time pass thee; mā vālipatham anv agāḥ (R.) do not follow Vālī's road. But the same anomaly occurs also two or three times in the older language: thus, vyāpaptat (Ç.B.), agās (TA.), anaçat (KS).

580. But the use also of the optative with nā not in a prohibitive sense appears in the Veda, and becomes later a familiar construction: thus, nā riṣyema kadā canā (RV.) may we suffer no harm at any time; nā cā 'tirṣjēn nā juhuyāt (AV.) and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice; tād u tāthā nā kuryāt (Ç.B.) but he must not do that so; na dīvā çayīta (Ç.GS.) let him not sleep by day; na tvāṁ vidyur janāḥ (MBh.) let not people know thee. This in the later language is the correlative of the prescriptive optative, and both are extremely common; so that in a text of prescriptive character the optative forms may come to outnumber the indicative and imperative together (as is the case, for example, in Manu).

581. In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even in the oldest language to establish a definite distinction between subjunctive and optative; a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent —
and then, in the later language, such uses are represented by the optative alone. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this:

a. After relative pronouns and conjunctions in general: yā vyuṣṭaṃ yāc na nūnāṃ vyuṣṭaṃ (RV.) which have gone forth [hitāḥ], and which shall hereafter shine forth; yó to jāyāta atmākaḥ sā ēko 'sat (TS.) whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us; yó vā tān vidyāt pratyākṣaṃ sā brahmā veditā syāt (AV.) whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest; putrāṇāḥ ... jātāṇāḥ janayāc ca yān (AV.) of sons born and whom thou mayest bear; yāṣya ... atithir gṛhān āgyaccheta (AV.) to whose sover house he may come as guest; yatamāthā kāmāyeta tāthā kuryāt (CB.) in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it; yārhi hōtā yāja-mānasya nāma gṛhyiyāt tārhi brīyāt (TS.) when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak; svarūpaṃ yadā draṇṭum icchethāḥ (MBh.) when thou shalt desire to see thine own form.

b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: yājāma devān yādī caknāvāma (RV.) we will offer to the gods if we shall be able; yād agne syām ahāṃ tvāṁ tvāṁ vā ghā syāh ahāṃ syūṣ те satyā iḥā "qiṣaḥ (RV.) if I were thou, Agni, or if thou wert I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot; yō dyān atisārpāt parāstān nā sa mucyātāi vārupasyā rājñaḥ (AV.) though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna; yād ānāgyān upavāset kṛdhuḥ syād yād acnīyād rudrāḥ sva paṣūn abhī manyeta (TS.) if he should continue without eating, he would starve; if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle; prāthayet yadi māṁ kaṅcic daṇḍyāḥ sa me pumān bhavet (MBh.) if any man soever should desire me, he should suffer punishment. These and the like constructions, with the optative, are very common in the Brāhmaṇas and later.

c. In final clauses: yāthā 'hāṁ caṭrubāḥ 'saṁi (AV.) that I may be a slayer of my enemies; grūpāḥ yāthā pibātho āndhaḥ (RV.) that being praised with song ye may drink the draught; urāḥ yāthā tava ċārman mādema (RV.) in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection; ṛpā jānita yāthe 'yām pūnār āgyaccheta (CB.) contrive that she come back again; kṛpāṁ kuryād yāthā mayi (MBh.) so that he may take pity on me. This is in the Veda one of the most frequent uses of the subjunctive; and in its correlative negative form, with na in order that not or lest (always followed by an accented verb), it continues not rare in the Brāhmaṇas.

d. The indicative is also very commonly used in final clauses after yathā; thus, yathā 'yām pūruṣo 'ntārikṣaṃ anucārati (CB.) in order that this man may traverse the atmosphere; yathā na vighnaḥ kriyate (R.) so that no hindrance may arise; yathā 'yaṁ naṃṣyati tathā vidheyam (H.) it must be so managed that he perish.
581—

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e. With the conditional use of subjunctive and optative is further to be compared that of the so-called conditional tense: see below, 950.

f. As is indicated by many of the examples given above, it is usual in a conditional sentence, containing protasis and apodosis, to employ always the same mode, whether subjunctive or optative (or conditional), in each of the two clauses. For the older language, this is a rule well-nigh or quite without exception.

582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-system and those (in the older language) of the perfect and aorist-systems.

Participles.

583. Participles, active and middle, are made from all the tense-stems — except the periphrastic future, and, in the later language, the aorist (and aorist participles are rare from the beginning).

a. The participles unconnected with the tense-systems are treated in chap. XIII. (952 ff.).

584. The general participial endings are घन एं (weak form घनः एं; fem. घनी एं or घनी एंती: see above, 449) for the active, and घ्यान एं (fem. घ्यानी एं) for the middle. But —

a. After a tense-stem ending in a, the active participial suffix is virtually एं, one of the two a's being lost in the combination of stem-final and suffix.

b. After a tense-stem ending in एं, the middle participial suffix is मान एं instead of एं. But there are occasional exceptions to the rule as to the use of मान एं and एं एं respectively, which will be pointed out in connection with the various formations below. Such exceptions are especially frequent in the causative: see 1043 ff.

c. The perfect has in the active the peculiar suffix वांश (weakest form उं, middle form वत; fem. उंती: see, for the inflection of this participle, above, 458 ff.).

d. For details, as to form of stem etc., and for special exceptions, see the following chapters.

Augment.

585. The augment is a short ः a, prefixed to a tense-stem — and, if the latter begin with a vowel, combining with that vowel irregularly into the heavier or यद्धि diphthong
(136a). It is always (without any exception) the accented element in the verbal form of which it makes a part.

a. In the Veda, the augment is in a few forms long ā: thus, ānant, āvar, āvṛṇi, āvṛṇak, āvidhyat, āyukta, āyusātām, āṛṇak, ārālīk (and yās ta āvīdat, RV. ii. 1.7, 9?).

586. The augment is a sign of past time. And an augment-preterit is made from each of the tense-stems from which the system of conjugation is derived: namely, the imperfect, from the present-stem; the pluperfect (in the Veda only), from the perfect-stem; the conditional, from the future-stem; while in the aorist such a preterit stands without any corresponding present indicative.

587. In the early language, especially in the RV., the occurrence of forms identical with those of augment-tenses save for the lack of an augment is quite frequent. Such forms lose in general, along with the augment, the specific character of the tenses to which they belong; and they are then employed in part non-modally, with either a present or a past sense; and in part modally, with either a subjunctive or an optative sense — especially often and regularly after mā prohibitive (579); and this last mentioned use comes down also into the later language.

a. In RV., the augmentless forms are more than half as common as the augmented (about 2000 and 3300), and are made from the present, perfect, and aorist-systems, but considerably over half from the aorist. Their non-modal and modal uses are of nearly equal frequency. The tense value of the non-modally used forms is more often past than present. Of the modally used forms, nearly a third are construed with mā prohibitive; the rest have twice as often an optative as a proper subjunctive value.

b. In AV., the numerical relations are very different. The augmentless forms are less than a third as many as the augmented (about 475 to 1450), and are prevalingly (more than four fifths) aoristic. The non-modal uses are only a tenth of the modal. Of the modally used forms, about four fifths are construed with mā prohibitive; the rest are chiefly optative in value. Then, in the language of the Brāhmaṇas (not including the mantra-material which they contain), the loss of augment is, save in occasional sporadic cases, restricted to the prohibitive construction with mā; and the same continues to be the case later.

c. The accentuation of the augmentless forms is throughout in accordance with that of unaugmented tenses of similar formation. Examples will be given below, under the various tenses.

d. Besides the augmentless aorist-forms with mā prohibitive, there are also found occasionally in the later language augmentless imperfect-forms (very rarely aorist-forms), which have the same value as if they were augmented, and are for the most part examples of metrical license. They are especially frequent in the epics (whence some scores of them are quotable).
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, प्रक्ष्ण papraeh from यप्रक्ष्ण prach; शित्रिणित्रिण from यशित्रिणि cri; बुबुध bubudh from यबुध. But —

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, दधा dadhā from यधा; बिठ्ठ bithhr from यव्ध bhr.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for ण h:
thus, क्ष cakr from यक्ष kṣ; चिबिङ्ग cikhid from यचिङ्ग khid; यज्ञम् jagrabh from यज्ञम् grabh; यज्ञ jahr from यङ्ग hṛ.

c. The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (2161).

d. Of two initial consonants, the second, if it be a non-nasal mute preceded by a sibilant, is repeated instead of the first: thus, सस्त्र tasstr from यस्त्र str; सस्त्र tashā from यस्त्र sthā; सस्त्र caskand from यस्त्र skand; सस्त्र caskhal from यस्त्र skhal; युष्ट युष्ट युष्ट युष्ट from युष्ट युष्ट युष्ट युष्ट; पस्प्र्द्ध pasprdh from यप्स्य प्रध sprdh; पस्प्र्द्ध pusphut from यप्स्य प्रध spuḥ; — but सस्त्र सस्त्र from यस्त्र sthā; सस्त्र सस्त्र from यस्त्र sthā; सस्त्र सस्त्र from यस्त्र sthā; सस्त्र सस्त्र from यस्त्र sthā; सस्त्र सस्त्र from यस्त्र sthā; सस्त्र सस्त्र from यस्त्र sthā.

Accent of the Verb.

591. The statements which have been made above, and those which will be made below, as to the accent of verbal forms, apply to those cases in which the verb is actually accented.

a. But, according to the grammarians, and according to the invariable practice in accentuated texts, the verb is in the majority of its occurrences unaccented or toneless.

b. That is to say, of course, the verb in its proper forms, its personal or so-called finite forms. The verbal nouns and adjectives, or the infinitives and participles, are subject to precisely the same laws of accent as other nouns and adjectives.

592. The general rule, covering most of the cases, is this: The verb in an independent clause is unaccented, unless it stand at the beginning of the clause — or also, in metrical text, at the beginning of a pāda.

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

b. Examples of the unaccented verb are: अग्नि इ च पुरोहितम Agni I praise, the house-priest; सा तद्वेशु gacchati that, truly, goes to the gods; अग्नि सुभाषानो bhava O Agni, be easy of access; इदम indra यथापि somapa this, O Indra, soma-drinker, hear; नामस te rudra यटमह hommage to thee, Rudra, we offer; याजमानसाया पांचु पांचü the sacrificer’s cattle protect thou.

c. Hence, there are two principal situations in which the verb retains its accent:
593. First, the verb is accentuated when it stands at the beginning of a clause — or, in verse, of a pāda.

a. Examples of the verb accentuated at the head of the sentence are, in prose, cūndhadhayam dáivyāya kārmaṇe be pure for the divine ceremony; ēpnotī 'māṁ lokāṁ he wins this world; — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, syāmē 'd indrasya cārmapi may we be in Indra’s protection; darqāya mā yātudhānāṁ show me the sorcerers; gāmad vājebhir ā sā naḥ may he come with good things to us; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the pāda, tēṣāṁ pāḥi ṛudhī hávam drink of them, hear our call; sāstu māta sāstu pitā sāstu vṛṇpāṭiḥ let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep; viṇvakarman nāmas te pāḥy āsmāṇ Viṇvakarman, homage to thee; protect us! yuvāṁ... rájña ūce duhīta pṛcchē vāṁ naraḥ the king’s daughter said to you “I pray you, ye men”; vayāṁ te vāya indra viddhī śu ṣaḥ prā bharāmaḥ we offer thee, Indra strengthening; take note of us.

b. Examples of the verb accentuated at the head of the pāda when this is not the head of the sentence are: āṭhā te āntamāṇāṁ vidyāma sumatīṁāṁ so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors; dhātā ‘syā agrūvāi pāṭin dādhaṁti pratiśnāyām Dhātar bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish; yātudhānāya somapā jah prajāṁ sλay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer.

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

a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accentuated, as if it were itself initial in the clause or pāda: thus, āgrutkarpā ṛudhā hávam O thou of listening ears, hear our call! aite vandāmahe tvā O Śūtā, we reverence thee; vīṣve devā vāsavo rākgante ‘māṁ all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man; uta ‘gač cakruṣaṁ devā déva jīvāyathā pūnaṁ likewise him, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live again.

b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, tarāṇir īj jayati keṭī pūṣyati successful he conquers, rules, thrives; amītrāṁ... pāṛāca indra prā mrṇā jahū ca our ‘foes, Indra, drive far away and stay; asmābhyam āṣe yotsi ca for us conquer and fight; āgrinomā haviṣaḥ prāṣṭithasya vītāṁ háryatam vṛṣṇā juṣṭēthām O Agni and Soma, of the oblation set forth partake, enjoy, ye mighty ones, take pleasure.

c. In like manner (but much less often), an adjunct, as subject or object, standing between two verbs and logically belonging to both, is reckoned to the first alone, and the second has the initial accent: thus, jahī prajāṁ nāyasva ca stay the progeny, and bring [it] hither; śṛṇotā naḥ subhaṁ bōdhatu tmanā may the blessed one hear us, [and may she] kindly regard [us].
d. It has even come to be a formal rule that a verb immediately following another verb is accented: thus, sā yā etām evām upāste pūryāte praśāya paśūbhīḥ (ṭB.) whoever worships him thus is filled with offspring and cattle.

595. Second, the verb is accented, whatever its position, in a dependent clause.

a. The dependency of a clause is in the very great majority of cases conditioned by the relative pronoun ya, or one of its derivatives or compounds. Thus: yām yajñām paribhūr āśi what offering thou protectest; ó té yanti yā aparīṣu pacyān they are coming who shall behold her hereafter; saha yān me āsti tēna along with that which is mine; yātra naḥ pūrve pita'rāḥ paryuḥ whither our fathers of old departed; adyā muriya yādy yātudhāno āsmi let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer; yātā tānā aniṣu pānuvāṁ bhāvanti as days follow one another in order; yāvad idām bhūvanam vīcyam āsti how great this whole creation is; yātakāmaṁ te juhmāṁ tāṁ no astu what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours; yatamāṁ titpaśāt whichever one desires to enjoy.

b. The presence of a relative word in the sentence does not, of course, accent the verb, unless this is really the predicate of a dependent clause: thus, āpa tyāvya vathā yanti they make off like thieves (as thieves do); yāt sthā jāgac ca rejate whatever [is] immovable and movable trembles; yathākāmaṁ ni padyate he lies down at his pleasure.

c. The particle ca when it means if, and cēd (ca—1d) if, give an accent to the verb: thus, brahmā cēd dhāstam āgrahit if a Brahman has grasped her hand; tvāṁ ca soma no vāgo jīvātum na marāmahe if thou, Soma, wiltst us to live, we shall not die; ā ca gācchāṁ mitrāṁ enā dadhāma if he will come here, we will make friends with him.

d. There are a very few passages in which the logical dependence of a clause containing no subordinating word appears to give the verb its accent; thus, sām āṣvaparnāc ācariṇi no nāro āṃsakam indra rathinā jayantu when our men, horse-winged, come into conflict, let the chariot-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory. Rarely, too, an imperative so following another imperative that its action may seem a consequence of the latter's is accented: thus, tūyam ā gahi kāṇveṣu sū sācā pība come hither quickly; drink along with the Kanvas (i. e. in order to drink).

e. A few other particles give the verb an accent, in virtue of a slight subordinating force belonging to them: thus, especially hī (with its negation naḥ), which in its fullest value means for, but shades off from that into a mere asseverative sense; the verb or verbs connected with it are always accented: thus, víte muñcantaṁ vimūco hī saṁti let them release him, for they are releasers; yāc cēd dhī... anācāṣṭa iya småi if we, forsooth, are as it were unrenowned; — also néd (nā—1d), meaning lest, that not: thus, nét tvā tāpāti sūro arciṣa that the sun may not burn thee with his beam; vīṣajam néd viccinādānī 'ti saying to himself;

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 15
"Last I cut off the virāj" (such cases are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas); — and the interrogative kuvād whether? thus, ukthōbhīḥ 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.

a. Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of being regarded as that of protasis and apodosis; but often, also, such a relation is very indistinct; and the cases of antithesis shade off into those of ordinary coordination, the line between them appearing to be rather arbitrarily drawn.

b. In many cases, the antithesis is made distinguish by the presence in the two clauses of correlative words, especially anya—anya, eka—eka, vā—vā, ca—ca: thus, prā-prā 'nyé yānti pāry anyā āsate some go on and on, others sit about (as if it were while some go etc.); úd vā siṃcādhvam āpa vā pṛṇadhvam either pour out, or fill up; saṁ ċe 'dhyāsāvā 'gne prā ca vardhayā e mām both do thou thyself become kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person. But it is also made without such help: thus, prā 'jātāh praṇāyati pārī praṇājā gṛhyāti 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 'dhvāryur bhāvati nā yajñāṁ rākṣāṇi ghnantā the priest does not become blind, the demons do not destroy the sacrifice; kēna sōmā gṛhyānte kēna huyante by whom [on the one hand] are the soma dipped out? by whom [on the other hand] are they offered?

597. Where the verb would be the same in the two antithetical clauses, it is not infrequently omitted in the second: thus, beside complete expressions like urvī ca 'si vāsvī ca 'si both thou art broad and thou art good, occur, much oftener, incomplete ones like aṃgrī amūṣāmīḥ lokā āsād yamō 'śmin Agni was in yonder world, Yama [was] in this; asthā 'nyāḥ praṇāḥ pratitiśṭhantā manusēṇā 'nyāḥ by bone some creatures stand firm, by flesh others; dvipa ca sārvam no rākṣa ca tāṭaspad yāc ca naḥ svām both protect everything of ours that is biped, and also whatever that is quadruped belongs to us.

a. Accentuation of the verb in the former of two antithetical clauses is a rule more strictly followed in the Brāhmaṇas than in the Veda, and least strictly in the RV.: thus, in RV., abhi dyām mahinā bhuvaṃ (not bhūvaṃ) abhī 'mām pṛthivīṁ mahīm I am superior to the sky in greatness, also to this great earth; and even īndro vidūr āṅgirasaṁ ca ghorāḥ Indra knows, and the terrible Āngirases.

598. There are certain more or less doubtful cases in which a verb-form is perhaps accented for emphasis.

a. Thus, sporadically before caṇā in any wise, and in connection with asseverative particles, as kīla, aṅgā, evā, and (in ČK., regularly) hānta: thus, hānte 'mām pṛthivīṁ vibhājāmahāi come on! let us share up this earth.
CHAPTER IX.

THE PRESENT-SYSTEM.

599. The present-system, or system of forms coming from the present-stem, is composed (as was pointed out above) of a present indicative tense, together with a subjunctive (mostly lost in the classical language), an optative, an imperative, and a participle, and also a past tense, an augment-preterit, to which we give (by analogy with the Greek) the name of imperfect.

a. These forms often go in Sanskrit grammars by the name of "special tenses", while the other tense-systems are styled "general tenses" — as if the former were made from a special tense-stem or modified root, while the latter came, all alike, from the root itself. There is no reason why such a distinction and nomenclature should be retained; since, on the one hand, the "special tenses" come in one set of verbs directly from the root, and, on the other hand, the other tense-systems are mostly made from stems — and, in the case of the aorist, from stems having a variety of form comparable with that of present-stems.

600. Practically, the present-system is the most prominent and important part of the whole conjugation, since, from the earliest period of the language, its forms are very much more frequent than those of all the other systems together.

a. Thus, in the Veda, the occurrences of personal forms of this system are to those of all others about as three to one; in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as five to one; in the 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 and inflected.
602. In a small minority of verbs, the present-stem is identical with the root. Then there are besides (excluding the passive and causative) seven more or less different methods of forming a present-stem from the root, each method being followed by a larger or smaller number of verbs. These are the "classes" or "conjugation-classes", as laid down by the native Hindu grammarians. They are arranged by the latter in a certain wholly artificial and un-systematic order (the ground of which has never been discovered); and they are wont to be designated in European works according to this order, or else, after Hindu example, by the root standing at the head of each class in the Hindu lists. A different arrangement and nomenclature will be followed here, namely as below — the classes being divided (as is usual in European grammars) into two more general classes or conjugations, distinguished from one another by wider differences than those which separate the special classes.

603. The classes of the First or non-a-Conjugation are as follows:

I. The root-class (second class, or ad-class, of the Hindu grammarians); its present-stem is coincident with the root itself: thus, घट ad eat; द द i go; गाँ ग as sit; या या go; हि हि dvig hate; डूढ़ duh milk.

II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, बुढ़ juhu from यूँ hu sacrifice; ददा dadā from यूँ dā give; बिभिं bhīr from ब्रह्म 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, रुढ़ rundh (or रुढ़ू रुढ़ू रुढ़ू रुढ़ू रुढ़ू) from रुढ़ rudh obstruct; युढ़ yuṇj (or युण्य yunaj) from युढ़ yuj join.
IV. a. The nu-class (fifth or su-class); the syllable नु nu is added to the root: thus, सुनु sunu from वसु su press out; ग्रामु अपनु from वामप अप obtain.

b. A very small number (only half-a-dozen) of roots ending already in न n, and also one very common and quite irregularly inflected root not so ending (क्र make), add त u alone to form the present-stem. This is the eighth or tan-class of the Hindu grammarians; it may be best ranked by us as a sub-class, the u-class: thus, तनु tanu from वतन्त् tan stretch.

V. The na-class (ninth or krī-class); the syllable ना nā (or, in weak forms, नी nī) is added to the root: thus, क्रीणा krīṇā (or क्रीणी krīṇī) from वक्री krī buy; स्तम्भः stabhnā (or स्तम्भी stabhni) from वस्तम्भ stabh establish.

604. These classes have in common, as their most fundamental characteristic, a shift of accent: the tone being now upon the ending, and now upon the root or the class-sign. Along with this goes a variation in the stem itself, which has a stronger or fuller form when the accent rests upon it, and a weaker or briefer form when the accent is on the ending these: forms are to be distinguished as the strong stem and the weak stem respectively (in part, both have been given above). The classes also form their optative active, their 2d sing. imperative, their 3d pl. middle, and their middle participle, in a different manner from the others.

605. In the classes of the Second or a-Conjugation, the present-stem ends in श a, and the accent has a fixed place, remaining always upon the same syllable of the stem, and never shifted to the endings. Also, the optative, the 2d sing. impv., the 3d pl. middle, and the middle par-
ticiple, are (as just stated) unlike those of the other conjugation.

606. The classes of this conjugation are as follows:

VI. The a-class, or unaccented a-class (first or bhū-class); the added class-sign is a simply; and the root, which has the accent, is (if capable of it) strengthened by guṇa throughout: thus, भूव bhū be; न न्या from न्नी nī lead; बोध bōdha from बुध budh wake; तुद váda from तुद vad speak.

VII. The á-class, or accented a-class (sixth or tud-class); the added class-sign is a, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, तुद tudá from तुद tud thrust; स्रज srjā from स्रज srj let loose; सुव suvā from सु sū give birth.

VIII. The ya-class (fourth or div-class); ya is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, दिवya from दिव div (more properly दिव div: see 765) play; नाह्यa from न्याह naḥ bind; क्रुद्धa from क्रुद्ध krudh be angry.

IX. The passive conjugation is also properly a present-system only, having a class-sign which is not extended into the other systems; though it differs markedly from the remaining classes in having a specific meaning, and in being formable in the middle voice from all transitive verbs. Its inflection may therefore best be treated next to that of the ya-class, with which it is most nearly connected, differing from it as the a-class from the a-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented ya to the root: thus, एद adya from एद ad eat; रुद्धya from रुद्ध ruddh obstruct; बुध्यa from बुध budh wake; तुद्धya from तुद्ध tud thrust.
607. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or cur-class, having a class-sign āyā added to a strengthened root (thus, corāyā from your), and an inflection like that of the other a-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-system, but extends also into the rest of the conjugation — while it also has to a great extent a causative value, and may be formed in that value from a large number of roots — it will be best treated in full along with the derivative conjugations (chap. XIV., 1041 ff.).

608. A small number of roots add in the present-system a ch, or substitute a ch for their final consonant, and form a stem ending in cha or chā, which is then inflected like any a-stem. This is historically, doubtless, a true class-sign, analogous with the rest; but the verbs showing it are so few, and in formation so irregular, that they are not well to be put together into a class, but may best be treated as special cases falling under the other classes.

a. Roots adding ch are r and yu, which make the stems rccchā and yūccha.

b. Roots substituting ch for their final are ṣ, uṣ (or vas shine), gam, yam, which make the stems icchā, ucchā, gāccha, yāccha.

c. Of the so-called roots ending in ch, several are more or less clearly stems, whose use has been extended from the present to other systems of tenses.

609. Roots are not wholly limited, even in the later language, to one mode of formation of their present-stem, but are sometimes reckoned as belonging to two or more different conjugation-classes. And such variety of formation is especially frequent in the Veda, being exhibited by a considerable proportion of the roots there occurring; already in the Brāhmaṇas, however, a condition is reached nearly agreeing in this respect with the classical language. The different present-formations sometimes have differences of meaning; yet not more important ones than are often found belonging to the same formation, nor of a kind to show clearly a difference of value as originally belonging to the separate classes of presents. If anything of this kind is to be established, it must be from the derivative conjugations, which are separated by no fixed line from the present-systems.

610. We take up now the different classes, in the order in which they have been arranged above, to describe more in detail, and with illustration, the formation of their present-systems, and to notice the irregularities belonging under each class.

I. Root-class (second, ad-class).

611. In this class there is no class-sign; the root itself is also present-stem, and to it are added directly the per-
sonal endings — but combined in subjunctive and optative with the respective mode-signs; and in the imperfect the augment is prefixed to the root.

a. The accented endings (552) regularly take the accent — except in the imperfect, where it falls on the augment — and before them the root remains unchanged; before the unaccented endings, the root takes the guṇa-strengthening.

b. It is only in the first three classes that the endings come immediately in contact with a final consonant of the root, and that the rules for consonant combination have to be noted and applied. In these classes, then, additional paradigms will be given, to illustrate the modes of combination.

1. Present Indicative.

612. The endings are the primary (with वेति áte in 3d pl. mid.), added to the bare root. The root takes the accent, and has guṇa, if capable of it, in the three persons sing. act.

Examples of inflection: a. active, root ṛ ṭ i go: strong form of root-stem, ṅ Ṛ ṭ; weak form, ṛ i; middle, root ṛ as sit, stem ṛs (irregularly accented throughout: 628).

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<td>itás</td>
<td>yánti</td>
<td>āste</td>
<td>āsāthe</td>
<td>āsate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. root dvīṣ ḍāte: strong stem-form, dvēś; weak, dvīṣ. For rules of combination for the final ṣ, see 226.

1 | dvēṣmi | dvīṣvā́s | dvīṣmā́s | dvīṣ́ | dvīṣvāhē | dvīṣmāhe |
2 | dvēkṣi | dvīṣṭā́s | dvīṣṭā́ | dvīṣkṣé | dvīṣāte | dvīṇḍhve |
3 | dvēṭi | dvīṣṭā́nī | dvīṣṭānī | dvīṣṭé | dvīṣāte | dvīṣāte |

c. root duḥ milk: strong stem-form, dōḥ; weak, duḥ. For rules of combination for the final h, and for the conversion of the initial to ḍh, see 222a, 155, 180.

1 | dōṃhi | duḥvā́s | duḥmā́s | duḥē | duḥvāhē | duḥmāhe |
2 | dhōkṣi | dudghā́s | dudghā́ | dhukṣé | dudhāthe | dudghāvē |
3 | dōgdi | dudghā́s | dudhānti | dudghē | dudhāthe | dudhāte |
d. root lih *lick*: strong stem, léh; weak, lih. For rules of combination of the final h, see 222 b.

1 léhmi lihvás lihmás lihé lihváhe lihmáhe
2 lékṣi līḍhās līḍhā likṣé līḍháthe līḍhvē
3 lēḍhi līḍhās līḍhánti līḍhé līḍháte līḍháte

613. Examples of the 3d sing. mid. coincident in form with the 1st sing. are not rare in the older language (both V. and B.): the most frequent examples are îçe, duhē, vidē, câye; more sporadic are cité, bruve, huve. To tha of the 2d pl. is added na in sthána, pāthāna, yāthāna. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in rihatē, duhätē.

Examples of the same person in re and rate also occur: thus (besides those mentioned below, 629—30, 635), vidré, and, with auxiliary vowel, arhīre (unless these are to be ranked, rather, as perfect forms without reduplication: 790 b).

2. Present Subjunctive.

614. Subjunctive forms of this class are not uncommon in the older language, and nearly all those which the formation anywhere admits are quotable, from Veda or from Brāhmaṇa. A complete paradigm, accordingly, is given below, with the few forms not actually quotable for this class enclosed in brackets. We may take as models (as above), for the active the root i go, and for the middle the root āsit, from both of which numerous forms are met with (although neither for these nor for any others can the whole series be found in actual use).

a. The mode-stems are āya (ē+a) and āsa (ās+a) respectively.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>āyāni</td>
<td>āyāva</td>
<td>āyāma</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>āyā</td>
<td>āyāva</td>
<td>āyāma</td>
<td>āsāi</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>āyati</td>
<td>āyatas</td>
<td>āyan</td>
<td>āsate</td>
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615. The RV. has no middle forms in āi except those of the first person. The 1st. sing. act. in ā occurs only in RV., in 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 B.: thus, ayās, ayāt, āyān; āsāt, bravāt; bravāhas; asātha, ayātha, bravātha, hanātha; ádān, dohān. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found hēnānta, 3d pl., and ingleton, 3d sing. (after mā prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in āite is bravāite.
3. Present Optative.

616. The personal endings combined with the mode-signs of this mode (ṛṣṭi in act., Ṛṣi in mid.) have been given in full above (566). The stem-form is the unaccented and unstrengthened root.

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a. In the same manner, from ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, and ṛṣṭi; from ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, and ṛṣṭi; from ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, and ṛṣṭi. The inflection is so regular that the example above given is enough, with the addition of ṛṣṭi, to show the normal accentuation in the middle: thus, sing. ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi; du. ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi; pl. ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi, ṛṣṭi.

b. The RV. has once tana in 2d pl. act. (in syātana).

4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with ṛṣṭam 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 a). In the 2d sing. act., the ending is regularly (as in the two following classes) ṛṣṭi if the root end with a consonant, and ṛṣṭi if it end with a vowel. As examples we take the roots already used for the purpose.
a. Thus, from the roots ःि and णाम�:

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<td>1</td>
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b. From the roots dviṣ and duḥ and lih:

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</table>

618. The 2d sing. act. ending tāt is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, vittat, vitat, brūtat, bāt, yatat, stutat. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending am: thus, duḥām (only RV. case), vidām, çayām; and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has duhrām and duhratām. The use of tana for ta in 2d pl. act. is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, itana, yatana, attana, etc. And in stota, étā étana, bravītana, cāstāna, hantana, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

619. a. The active participle has the ending ःंत (weak stem-form ःंत at) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final ः. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are ःंत यात, दुहात, दियात, दियात, दियात, दियात. The feminine stem ends usually in ःती atī: thus, याती, दुहाती, दियाती, दियाती, दियाती: but, from roots in ः, in चाती अंती or चाती अंती (449g).
b. The middle participle has the ending ान ाना, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, ान ाना, दुहा दुहा, दिव ान ाना, लिब ान ाना.

c. The root ान ाना forms the anomalous and isolated ान (in RV. also ान ाना).

d. But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, ान ाना and ान ाना, चा चा and चा चा, दुहा दुहा and दुहा दुहा (also दुहा दुहा), रिन रिना and रिन रिना, निद निदा and निद निदा, सु ान and सु ान, सु ान and सु ान — the last having in part also a strong form of the root.

6. Imperfect.

620. This tense adds the secondary endings to the root as increased by prefixation of the augment. The root has the ान-strengthening (if capable of it) in the three persons of the singular active, although the accent is always upon the augment. Examples of inflection are:

a. From the roots ान ान ान ान ान:

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<th>active</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ाम ाम ाम ाम ाम</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ाम ाम ाम ाम ाम</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ाम ाम ाम ाम ाम</td>
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<td></td>
<td>ाम ाम ाम ाम ाम</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ाम ाम ाम ाम ाम</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ाम ाम ाम ाम ाम</td>
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</table>

b. From the roots ान ान ान ान ान:

|   | ाव ाव ाव ाव ाव |
|   | ाव ाव ाव ाव ाव |
| 3 | ाव ाव ाव ाव ाव |
|   | ाव ाव ाव ाव ाव |
| 4 | ाव ाव ाव ाव ाव |
|   | ाव ाव ाव ाव ाव |

621. a. Roots ending in ा may in the later language optionally take us instead of an in 3d pl. act. (the ा being lost before it); and
in the older they always do so: thus, āyus from γυά, āpus from γ'πφ protect, abhus from γ'βά. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few root endings in consonants: namely vid know, cakṣ, dvig, dhuh, ṁṛj. RV. has atviṣus.

b. The ending tana, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in āyātana, āsastana, āltana, ābravītana. A strong stem is seen in the 1st pl. homa, and the 2d pl. abbravīta and ābravītana.

c. To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root ad inserts a: thus, ādas, ādat; the root aṣ inserts i: thus, āsiś, āsīt (see below, 636); compare also 631—4.

622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, has been noticed above (687). Augmentless imperfecta of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, hān, vēs, 2d sing.; han, vet, stāut, dān (?), 3d sing.; bruvan, duhūs, cakṣus, 3d pl.; vasta, sūta, 3d sing. mid.

623. The first or root-form of aorist is identical in its formation with this imperfect: see below, 629 ff.

624. In the Veda (but hardly outside of the RV.) are found certain 2d sing. forms, having an imperative value, made by adding the ending si to the (accented and strengthened) root. In part, they are the only root-forms belonging to the roots from which they come: thus, jōśi (for jōṣi, from γ'jus), dhāksi, pārṣi (γ'pā pass), prāsi, bhakṣi, ratsi, sātṣi, hoṣi; but the majority of them have forms (one or more) of a root-present, or sometimes of a root-aorist, beside them: thus, kaśeṣi (γ'kai rule), jēṣi, dārṣi, nakṣi (γ'naṣ attain), nēṣi, mātṣi, māṣi (γ'mā measure), yāksi, yānṣi, yāṛsi, yōṭsi, ṛāksi (γ'vah), vēṣi, čṛoṣi, sakṣi. Their formal character is somewhat disputed; but they are probably indicative persons of the root-class, used imperatively.

625. Forms of this class are made from nearly 150 roots, either in the earlier language, or in the later, or in both: namely, from about 50 through the whole life of the language, from 50 in the older period (of Veda, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra) alone, and from a few (about 15) in the later period (epic and classical) only*. Not a few of these roots, however, show only sporadic root-forms, beside a more usual conjugation of some other class; nor is it in all cases possible to separate clearly root-present from root-aorist forms.

a. Many roots of this class, as of the other classes of the first conjugation, show transfers to the second or a-conjugation, forming a conjugation-stem by adding a to their strong or weak stem, or

* Such statements of numbers, with regard to the various parts of the system of conjugation, are in all cases taken from the author’s Supplement to this grammar, entitled “Roots, Verb-Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language”, where lists of roots, and details as to forms etc., are also given.
even to both: thus, from ṣṭu, itself mārja (627) and mṛja. Such transfers are met with even in the oldest language; but they usually become more frequent later, often establishing a new mode of present inflection by the side of, or in substitution for, the earlier mode.

b. A number of roots offer irregularities of inflection; these are, in the main, pointed out in the following paragraphs.

Irregularities of the Root-class.

626. The roots of the class ending in u have in their strong forms the vyṛddhi instead of the guṇa-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from ṣtu, stāumi, āstāut, and the like: but āstavam, stāvani, etc.

a. Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are kṣu, yu unite, su (or sū) impel, sku, stu, snu (these in the earlier language), nu, ru, and hnu. RV. has once atosti, and anāvan. Compare also 633.

627. The root mṛj also has the vyṛddhi-vowel in its strong forms: thus, māṛmi, āmāṛjam, āmāṛ (150b); and the same strengthening is said to be allowed in weak forms before endings beginning with a vowel: thus, māṛjantu, amāṛjan; but the only quotable case is māṛjita (LQS.). Forms from a-stems begin to appear already in AV.

a. In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation, mṛj shows often the vyṛddhi instead of the guṇa-strengthening.

628. A number of roots accent the radical syllable throughout, both in strong and in weak forms: thus, all those beginning with a long vowel, as, ṣ, ṯ, ṛ; and also caka, takṣa, ṭra, niha, vaś clothe, cīṇj, cī lie, and sn. All these, except takṣ and ṭra (and ṭra also in the Vedic forms), are ordinarily conjugated in middle voice only. Forms with the same irregular accent occur now and then in the Veda from other verbs: thus, mátava, yākṣva, sākṣva, sākṣva, ṣdhat. Middle participles so accent have been noticed above (619d).

629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, cī lies has the guṇa-strengthening throughout: thus, cāye, cēṣe, cāyīya, cāyāna, and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already noticed) are the 3d pl. persons cērata (AV. etc. have also cēre), cērātām, ācēratā (RV. has also ācēran), the 3d sing. pres. cāye (R.) and impv. cāyām. The isolated active form açayat is common in the older language; other a-forms, active and middle, occur later.

630. Of the same roots, ṭ and ṭ insert a union-vowel i before certain endings: thus, iṣiṣe, iṣidhve, iṣiṣva (these three being the only forms noted in the older language); but RV. has iṣe beside iṣe; the CvU. has once iṣête for iṣête. The 3d pl. iṣīre (on account of its accent) is also apparently present rather than perfect. The MS. has once the 3d sing. impf. āiṣa (like aduha: 635).
631. The roots rud weep, svap sleep, an breathe, and qvas blow insert a union-vowel i before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the s and t of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either a or i: thus, svápi, qvási, ániti, and ánat or ánith. And in the other forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, svápantu and qvásantu (AV.), or svápántu etc. The AV. has svápantu instead of svápitu.

a. In the older language, yvam makes the same insertions: thus, vamiti, avamít; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, jáníśva, vásíśva (yvas clothe), čnáthihi, staníhi (all RV.), yamiti (JB.), čocími (MBh.). On the other hand, yan early makes forms from an a-stem: thus, ánati (AV.); ppl ánant (CB.); opt. anet (AB.).

632. The root brú speak, say (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel i after the root when strengthened, before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, brávi, brávi, bráviti, ábravít; but brúmas, brúyám, ábravam, ábruvan, etc. Special occasional irregularities are brúmi, brávi, ábravum, bruvan, brukat, and sporadic forms from an a-stem. The subj. dual bráváite has been noticed above (615); also the strong forms abravita, ábravítana (621a).

633. Some of the roots in u are allowed to be inflected like brú: namely, ku, tu, ru, and stu; and an occasional instance is met with of a form so made (in the older language, only taváti noted; in the later, only stavámi, once).

634. The root am (hardly found in the later language) takes i as union-vowel: thus, amíti (RV.), amíti and ámít and amíṣva (TS). From ycam occur čamiśva (VS.; TS. čamiśva) and čamídhvam (TB. etc.).

635. The irregularities of yduh in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. duhaté, duhré, and duhráte; 3d sing. impv. duhám, pl. duhrám and duhratám; impf. act. 3d sing. áduhat (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. aduhraan (beside aduhan and dhuhas); the mid. ppl dúghána; and (quite un-examined elsewhere) the opt. forms dubhiyát and dubhiyán (RV. only). The MS. has aduha 3d sing. and aduhra 3d pl. impf. mid., apparently formed to correspond to the pres. duhe (613) and duhre as adugdha and aduhata correspond to dugd eand duhate: compare áiça (630), related in like manner to the 3d sing. içe.

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

636. The root चास as be loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment). Its 2d sing. indic. is चासि (instead of assi); its 2d sing. impv. is चृष्ण edhi (irregularly from asdhi). The insertion of
IX. Present-system.

The forms of this extremely common verb are, then, as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative.</th>
<th>Optative.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 अस्मि स्वास समाः स्याम स्याव स्याम</td>
<td>अस्मि स्वास समाः स्याम स्याव स्याम</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 असिः स्थास स्थाः स्यास स्यातम स्यात</td>
<td>असिः स्थास स्थाः स्यास स्यातम स्यात</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 अस्ति स्तास सांति स्यात स्यातम स्यूस</td>
<td>अस्ति स्तास सांति स्यात स्यातम स्यूस</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative.

Participle सांत (fem. सति sati).

Besides the forms of the present-system, there is made from this root only a perfect, असा etc. (800), of wholly regular inflection.

c. The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem असा. They are in frequent use, and appear (asat especially) even in late texts where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution थाम etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. As 2d and 3d sing. impf. is a few times met with the more normal अस (for अस-अ, अस-अ).

529 a. Sthāna, 2d pl., was noted above (613).

d. Middle forms from यास are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (vi+ati), but they are not quotable; smahe and syāmahe (!) occur in the epics, but are merely instances of the ordinary epic confusion of voices (529 a). Confusions of primary and secondary endings — namely, sva and sma (not rare), and, on the other hand, syāvas and syāmas — are also epic. A middle present indicative is said to be compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the nomen agentis in त्र (tr) to form a periphrastic future in the middle voice (but see below, 847). The 1st sing. indic. is हेत; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., se, dhve, sva, dhvam, with total loss of the root itself).
637. The root han *smile, slay* is treated somewhat after the manner of noun-stems in an in declension (421): in weak forms, it loses its n before an initial consonant (except m and v) of a personal ending (not in the optative), and its a before an initial vowel — and in the latter case its h, in contact with the n, is changed to gh (compare 408). Thus, for example:

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<td>hanmás</td>
<td>áhanam</td>
<td>áhanva</td>
</tr>
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<td>hánsi</td>
<td>hathás</td>
<td>hathá</td>
<td>áhan</td>
<td>áhatam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>hánti</td>
<td>hatás</td>
<td>ghnánti</td>
<td>áhan</td>
<td>áhatám</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Its participle is ghnánt (fem. ghnát). Its 2d sing. impv. is jahí (by anomalous dissimilation, on the model of reduplicating forms).

b. Middle forms from this root are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, and those that occur are formed in general according to the same rules: thus, hate, hanmahe, ghnate; ahata, aghanàtām, aghanāta (in Ab., also ahatá); ghníta (but also haníta). Forms from transfer-stems, hana and ghna, are met with from an early period.

638. The root vāc *be eager* is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to uq (as in the perfect: 794b): thus, uçmásí (V. once apparently abbreviated in RV. to çmasi), uçánti; pple uçánt, uçānā. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as àuçva, àuçanam, etc.

a. RV. has in like manner the participle uçānā from the root vas clothe.

639. The root qás *order* shows some of the peculiarities of a reduplicated verb, lacking (648) the n before t in all 3d persons pl. and in the active participle. A part of its active forms — namely, the weak forms having endings beginning with consonants (including the optative) — are said to come from a stem with weakened vowel, çis (as do the aorist, 654, and some of the derivatives); but, excepting the optative (qisýáṃ etc., U. S. and later), no such forms are quotable.

a. The 3d sing. impf. is açát (555a), and the same form is said to be allowed also as 2d sing. The 2d sing. impv. is çádhí (with total loss of the a); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. qástána (with anomalous accent); and a-forms, from stem qása, occasionally occur.

b. The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (qásë, qásate, qásána).

c. The root dāç *worship* has in like manner (RV.) the pple dāçat (not dāçant).

640. The double so-called root jaká *eat, laugh* is an evident reduplication of ghás and has respectively. It has the absence of n in act.
3d persons pl. and pple, and the accent on the root before vowel-endings, which belong to reduplicated verbs; and it also takes the union-vowel $i$ in the manner of $rud$ etc. (above, 631). For its forms and derivatives made with utter loss of the final sibilant, see 233f.

641. Certain other obviously reduplicated verbs are treated by the native grammarians as if simple, and referred to this conjugation: such are the intensively reduplicated $jāgṛ$ (1020 a), $daridṛa$ (1024a), and $vevī$ (1024a), $didhī$ etc. (676), and $cakās$ (677).

II. Reduplicating Class (third, $hu$-class).

642. This class forms its present-stem by prefixing a reduplication to the root.

643. a. As regards the consonant of the reduplication, the general rules which have already been given above (590) are followed.

b. A long vowel is shortened in the reduplicating syllable: thus, $dādā$ from $dādā$; $bībhī$ from $bībhī$; $juhū$ from $juhū$. The vowel $r$ never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by $i$: thus, $bībhṛ$ from $bībhṛ$; $pipṛc$ from $pipṛc$.

c. For verbs in which $a$ and $ā$ also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by $i$, see below, 660. There $vṛt$ (V. B.) makes $vavartti$ etc.; $cakrānt$ (RV.) is very doubtful.

d. The only root of this class with initial vowel is $ṛ$ (or $ar$); it takes as reduplication $i$, which is held apart from the root by an interposed $y$: thus, $iyar$ and $iyṛ$ (the latter has not been found in actual use).

644. The present-stem of this class (as of the other classes belonging to the first or non-*$a$-conjugation) has a double form: a stronger form, with gunated root-vowel; and a weaker form, without guna: thus, from $hu$, the two forms are $juhō$ and $juhu$; from $bīhī$, they are $bībhē$ and $bībhī$. And the rule for their use is the same as in the other classes of this conjugation: the strong stem is found before the unaccented endings (552), and the weak stem before the accented.
645. According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the root-syllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in hu, bhī (no test-forms in the older language), hṛi (no test-forms found in the older language), mad (very rare), jan (no forms of this class found to occur), ci notice (in V.), yu separate (in older language only), and in bhṛ in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has bibhārti once, and AV. twice; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the Brāhmaṇas); and RV. has once iyāṛṣi. In all the rest — apparently, by a recent transfer — it rests upon the reduplicating instead of upon the radical syllable. And in both classes alike, the accent is anomalously thrown back upon the reduplication in those weak forms of which the ending begins with a vowel; while in the other weak forms it is upon the ending (but compare 666a).

a. Apparently (the cases with written accent are too few to determine the point satisfactorily) the middle optative endings, īya etc. (566), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.

646. The verbs of this class lose the न in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have उस us instead of घन an — and before this a final radical vowel has guna.

1. Present Indicative,

647. The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: a. यु हू sacrifice: strong stem-form, जूहो jūhō; weak form, जूह juhu (or jūhu).

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<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>जूहोमि</td>
<td>जूहवस्</td>
<td>जूहमम्</td>
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<td></td>
<td>jūhōmī</td>
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<td>jūhe</td>
<td>juhuvāhe</td>
<td>jūhumāhe</td>
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<td>jūhvate</td>
<td>jūhvate</td>
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</table>

16*
b. Root भ bhr bear (given with Vedic accentuation):
   strong stem-form, भिभर bibhar; weak, भिभर bibhṛ (or bibhṛ).

1 भिभर्मि भिभृत्स भिभृत्वा भिभृत्वे भिभृत्थे
   bibharmi bibhṛvās bibhrmās bibhṛre bibhṛvāhe bibhrmāhe

2 भिभर्षि भिभृत्स भिभृत्वा भिभृत्वे भिभृत्थे
   bibharṣi bibhṛthās bibhrthā bibhṛṣe bibhrṣēhe bibhṛṣhvē

3 भिभर्ति भिभृत्स भिभृत्यि भिभृत्यि भिभृत्यि
   bibhārta bibhrātīs bibhrātī bibhrāte bibhrāte bibhrāte

c. The u of hu (like that of the class-signs nu and u: see below, 697a) is said to be omissible before v and m of the endings of 1st du. and pl.: thus, juhvās, juhvāhe, etc.; but no such forms are quotable.

2. Present Subjunctive.

648. It is not possible at present to draw a distinct line between those subjunctive forms of the older language which should be reckoned as belonging to the present-system and those which should be assigned to the perfect — or even, in some cases, to the reduplicated aorist and intensive. Here will be noticed only those which most clearly belong to this class; the more doubtful cases will be treated under the perfect-system. Except in first persons (which continue in use as “imperatives” down to the later language), subjunctives from roots having unmistakably a reduplicated present-system are of far from frequent occurrence.

649. The subjunctive mode-stem is formed in the usual manner, with the mode-sign a and guna of the root-vowel, if this is capable of such strengthening. The evidence of the few accented forms met with indicates that the accent is laid in accordance with that of the strong indicative forms: thus, from यहu, the stem would be juhāvā; from यब्र, it would be bibhara (but bibhāra later). Before the mode-sign, final radical a would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus, ḍāḍa from य्धa, ḍāḍha from य्धa (all the forms actually occurring would be derivable from the secondary roots dad and dadh).

650. Instead of giving a theoretically complete scheme of inflection, it will be better to note all the examples quotable from the older language (accented when found so occurring).

a. Thus, of 1st persons, we have in the active juhāvānī, bibharāṇī, dadāṇi, dadhāṇi, jahāṇi; juhavāma, dadhāma, jahāma; — in the middle, dadhāi, mimāi; dadhavahāi; juhavāmahāi, dadāmahe, dadāmahāi, dadhāmahāi.

b. Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active bibhārāṣi (with double mode-sign: 560a), dadhathas, juhavātha (do.)
and juhavatha; in the middle, dádhase; dádhate, rárate, dádhātāi, dadātāi; — with secondary endings, dádhas, vívæsas, juhavat, bibhарат, yuyāvat, dádhat, dadhānat, babhasat; dadhan, yuyavan, juhavan.

3. Present Optative.

651. To form this mode, the optative endings given above (568a), as made up of mode-sign and personal endings, are added to the unstrengthened stem. The accent is as already stated (645a). The inflection is so regular that it is unnecessary to give here more than the first persons of a single verb: thus,

|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| juhuyām | juhuyāva | juhuyāma | jūhvīya | jūhvīvahī | jūhvīmahi
| etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. | etc. | etc.

4. Present Imperative.

652. The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is सि hi after a vowel, but गि dhi after a consonant: छ hu, however, forms गुढ़ि juhudhi (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of छ h in two successive syllables): and other examples of गि dhi after a vowel are found in the Veda.

653. a. Example of inflection:

|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| juhuvāni | juhuvāva | juhuvāma | juhvāi | juhuvāvahai | juhuvāmahai
| juhuvā | juhuvāva | juhuvāma | juhuvā | juhuvāvahā | juhuvāmahā
| juhudhi | juhutām | juhutā | juhuvā | juhuvāvathām | juhuvāvām
| juhōtu | juhutām | juhvatu | juhutām | juhvātām | juhvātām

b. The verbs of the other division differ here, as in the indicative, in the accentuation of their strong forms only: namely, in all the
first persons (borrowed subjunctives), and in the 3d sing. act.: thus, (in the older language) bibharani etc., bibhartu, bibharai etc.

654. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, yuyodhi, čiçādhi (beside čiçifi); yuyotam (beside yuyutám); iyarta, dādağta and dadātana, dāḥāta and dāḥātana (see below, 668), pipartana, juhōta and juhōtana, yuyota and yuyotana; rarāsva (666); 2. the use of hi after a vowel (only in the two instances just quoted); 3. the ending tana in 2d pl. act.: namely, besides those just given, in jīgātana, dhāttana, mamāttana, vivaktana, didiṣṭana, bibhītana, jujuṣṭana, juhuṭana, vavṛttana: the cases are proportionally much more numerous in this than in any other class; 4. the ending tāt in 2d sing. act., in dattāt, dhāttāt, pipṛtāt, jahītāt.

5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pi. indic. by dropping i: thus, juhuṭ, bibhrat. In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (444). The feminine stem ends in atī ati. The middle participles are regularly made: thus, juhuṇa, bibhrāṇa.

a. RV. shows an irregular accent in pipānā (y)pā drink).

6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending us, and a final radical vowel has gupa before it. The strong forms are, as in present indicative, the three singular active persons.

657. Examples of inflection:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>जुहवाम्</td>
<td>जुहव</td>
<td>जुहम</td>
<td>जुहि</td>
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<td>जुहोधायस्</td>
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<td>जुहोधवाम</td>
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<td>जुहोस्</td>
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<td>जुहोत</td>
<td>जुहोधायस्</td>
<td>जुहोधायम्</td>
<td>जुहोधम्</td>
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<td>जुहोत</td>
<td>जुहोत</td>
<td>जुहोधायस्</td>
<td>जुहोधायम्</td>
<td>जुहोधम्</td>
<td>जुहोधवाम</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reduplicating Class (Third, hu-class).

a. From न bhr, the 2d and 3d sing. act. are शिविन्द्र अबिभार (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 शिविन्द्र अबिभारस्; and other like cases are अबिहयास्, अचिकयास्, असुगास्.

b. In MS., once, abibhurs is doubtless a false reading.

658. The usual Vedic irregularities in 2d pl. act. — strong forms, and the ending tana — occur in this tense also: thus, एदादाता, एदादइता; एदाताना, एजाताना. The RV. has also once apiprata for apipurta in 3d sing. mid., and abibhan for abibhuras in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are चित्ता, चित्ता, जिहाता; and, with irregular strengthening, yuyoma (AV.), yuyothas, yuyota.

659. The roots that form their present-stem by reduplication are a very small class, especially in the modern language; they are only 50, all told, and of these only a third (16) are met with later. It is, however, very difficult to determine the precise limits of the class, because of the impossibility (referred to above, under subjunctive: 648) of always distinguishing its forms from those of other reduplicating conjugations and parts of conjugations.

a. Besides the irregularities in tense-inflation already pointed out, others may be noticed as follows.

Irregularities of the Reduplicating Class.

660. Besides the roots in र or र — namely, र, गर (usually written ghar), त्र, त्र, भर, शर, र, प्र — the following roots having अ or ए as radical vowel take i instead of a in the reduplicating syllable: गा गा, मा मात्र, मा मिर्र, गा, हा हात्र (mid.), वा, वा; वा has both i and ए; रा has i once in RV.; for sthā, पा drink ghrā, han, ni, see below (670—4).

661. Several roots of this class in final ए change the ए in weak forms to त्र (occasionally even to त्र), and then drop it altogether before endings beginning with a vowel.

a. This is in close analogy with the treatment of the vowel of the class-sign of the नाल class: below, 717. These roots are:

662. गा sharpen, act. and mid.: thus, चित्ता, चित्ता, चित्ता (also चित्ता: above, 654), चित्ता, चित्ता, चित्ता, चित्ता.

663. मा बेल्लौ, act., and मा मास्ट्र, mid. (rarely also act.): thus, मिमात्र, मिमात्र; गमात, गमात, गमात; गमात, गमात. RV. has once गमात 3d pl. (for गमात).
664. hā remove, mid.: thus, jihīte, jihīdhve, jihate; jihīṣva, jihatām; ájihīta, ajihata. CB. has jihīthām (for jihāthām).

665. hā quit, act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the ī to ī: thus, jahāti, jahāta, jahītāt (AV.); jahimas (AV.), jahitas (TB.), jahitam (TA.), ajahitām (TS. AR.). In the optative, the radical vowel is lost altogether; thus, jahyām, jahyus (AV.). The 2d sing. impv., according to the grammarians, is jahīhi or jahīhi or jahāhi; only the first appears quotable.

a. Forms from an a-stem, jaha, are made for this root, and even derivatives from a quasi-root jah.

666. ra give, mid.: thus, raridhvam, rarīthās (impf. without augment); and, with i in reduplication, ririhi. But AV. has rarīsva.

a. In these verbs, the accent is generally constant on the reduplicating syllable.

667. The two roots dā and dха (the commonest of the class) lose their radical vowel altogether in the weak forms, being shortened to dad and dadh. In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively 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 ddh with the t or th: 160), but — as also before s and dhv — the more general rules of aspirate and of surd and sonant combination; and its lost aspiration is thrown back upon the initial of the root (155).

668. The inflection of ṣdhā is, then, as follows:

Present Indicative.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>dādhmahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dadhasi</td>
<td>dhatthās</td>
<td>dhattha</td>
<td>dhatse</td>
<td>daddhve</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dadhāti</td>
<td>dhattās</td>
<td>dādhati</td>
<td>dhatte</td>
<td>dādhati</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Present Optative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dadhyām</td>
<td>dadhyāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dadhatu</td>
<td>dhattām</td>
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</table>

Present Imperative.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>dhattām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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Imperfect.

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<tr>
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<td>ádadhva</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>ádhattam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ádadhat</td>
<td>ádhattām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participles: act. dádhat; mid. dádhná.

a. In the middle (except impf.), only these forms are here accented for which there is authority in the accentuated texts, as there is discordance between the actual accent and that which the analogies of the class would lead us to expect. RV. has once dhátse: dádhe and dadháte might be perfects, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents dadhítá once (dádhná thrice); several other texts have dádhná, dáfhiran, dádíta.

b. The root dā is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of (radical) d to d.

669. The older language has irregularities as follows: 1. the usual strong forms in 2d pl., dácháta and ádádáta, dáfáta and ádádáta; 2. the usual tana endings in the same person, dácháta, dáfáta, etc. (654, 656); 3. the 3d sing. indic. act. dádhe (like 1st sing.); 4. the 2d sing. impv. act. daddhi (for both dehi and dhehi). And R. has daddmi.

670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the a-or bhū-class (below, 749), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of a-stems. These roots are as follows:

671. In all periods of the language, from the roots sthá stand, pā drink, and ghṛá smell, are made the presents tisthāmi, pibāmi (with irregular sonantizing of the second p), and jighrāmi — which then are inflected not like māmāmi, but like bhāvāmi, as if from the present-stems tistha, piba, jighra.

672. In the Veda (especially; also later), the reduplicated roots dā and dhā are sometimes turned into the a-stems dāda and dáda, or inflected as if roots dad and dadh of the a-class; and single forms of the same character are made from other roots: thus, mimanti (y/mā bellow), rárate (y/rā give: 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary stem, jighna, is made from y/han (with omission of the radical vowel, and conversion, usual in this root, of h to gh when in contact with n: 637); and some of the forms of saçc, from y/sac, show the same conversion to an a-stem, saçca.

674. In AB. (vii. 28), a similar secondary form, jighya, is given to y/hi or hā: thus, jighyati, jighyatu.

675. A few so-called roots of the first or root-class are the products of reduplication, more or less obvious: thus, jakṣ (640), and probably gās (from y/gas) and cakṣ (from y/kāc or a lost root kas see). In the Veda is found also saçc, from y/sac.

676. The grammarians reckon (as already noticed, 641) several roots of the most evidently reduplicated character as simple, and belonging to the root-class. Some of these (jāgra, daridrā, vevi) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under Intensives (1020a, 1024a); didhī shine, together with Vedic didi shine and pīpī smell, are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of
such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplicating vowel.

a. Of pres. indic. occurs in the older language only didyati, 3d pl., with the pples didyat and didhyat, and mid. didye, didhye, didhyatham, with the pples didyana, didhyana, pipyna. The subj. stems are didaya, didhaya, pipa, and from them are made forms with both primary (from didaya) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented didayat and didhayat and didhayan). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have didihi (and didih) and pipih, and pipystam, pipystam, pipyata. In impf., adides and pipes, adidet and adidhet and apipet (with augmentless forms), apipema (with strong form of root), and adidhayus and (irregular) apipyam.

b. A few forms from all the three show transfer to an a-inflection: thus, didhaya and pipaya (imprv.), apipayat, etc.

c. Similar forms from ym bellow are amimet and mimyat.

677. The stem cakas shine (sometimes cakaq) 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, babhasti, but bapsati (3d pl.), bapsat (pple). For babdam, see 233f.

679. The root bhi fear is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, bibhimas or bibhimas, bibhyam or bibhyam; and bibhyat etc. are met with in the later language.

680. Forms of this class from yjan give birth, with added i — thus, jajnje, jajnidhve — are given by the grammarians, but have never been found in use.

681. The roots ci and cist have in the Veda reversion of c to k in the root-syllable after the reduplication: thus, cikesi, cikethe (anomalous, for cikyathe), cikitam, 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, viviktas, aviviktam. So the root hvar (if its forms are to be reckoned here) has u in reduplication, and contracts to hur: thus, juhurtas.

III. Nasal Class (seventh, rudh-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable ná, which has the accent.
251

NASAL CLASS (SEVENTH, rudh-class).

a. In a few of the verbs of the class, the nasal extends also into other tense-systems: they are añj, bhañj, hiñs: see below, 684.

1. Present Indicative.


For the rules of combination of final j, see 219.

active.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>yuñjvās</td>
<td>yuñjmahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yunakte</td>
<td>yuñkthās</td>
<td>yuñkṣāthe</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yunakti</td>
<td>yuñktaś</td>
<td>yuñkṭāte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. the root rudh obstruct; bases ruṇadh and ruṇdh.

For rules of combination of final dh, see 153, 160.

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<th>s.</th>
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<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>rudhvās</td>
<td>rudhmāhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ruṇātsi</td>
<td>rundhās</td>
<td>rudhāthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ruṇāddhi</td>
<td>rundhās</td>
<td>rudhāte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Instead of yuñkthas, yuñgdhve, and the like (here and in the impv. and impf.), it is allowed and more usual (281) to write yuñthas, yuñdhve, etc.; and, in like manner, rundhās, rundhē, for rundhas, rundhē; and so in other like cases.

685. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the ordinary use of a 3d sing. mid. like the 1st sing., as vyñje; 2. the accent on tē of 3d pl. mid. in añjatē, indhatē, bhunjatē.

a. Yunañkṣī, in BhP., is doubtless a false reading.

2. Present Subjunctive.

686. The stem is made, as usual, by adding a to the strong present-stem: thus, yuñāja, ruṇādha. Below are given as if made
from yuuj all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occurring in the older language.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yunájáni</td>
<td>yunájáva</td>
<td>yunájáma</td>
<td>yunajái</td>
<td>yunájámahái</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yunájas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yunajádhvái</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>yunájat</td>
<td>yunájatas</td>
<td>yunájan</td>
<td>yunájate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

687. The RV. has once añjatas, which is anomalous as being made from the weak tense-stem. Forms with double mode-sign are met with: thus, trühám (AV.), rādhnávāt and yunajān (CB.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides añjatás) is hinásátas (CB.). CB. has also hinásávas as 1st du. act.: an elsewhere unexampled form.

3. Present Optative.

688. The optative is made, as elsewhere, by adding the compounded mode-endings to the weak form of present-stem. Thus:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yuñáyám</td>
<td>yuñáya</td>
<td>yuñáyam</td>
<td>yuñíyá</td>
<td>yuñíyáhi</td>
<td>yuñíjáhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. AB. has once the anomalous 1st sing. act. yuñíyám. And forms like bhuñíyám -yat, yuñíyáti, are here and there met with in the epics (bhuñíyátiám once in GGS.). MBh., too, has once bhuñítámat.

4. Present Imperative.

689. In this class (as the roots all end in consonants) the ending of the 2d sing. act. is always धि dhi.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>yunájáni</td>
<td>yunájáva</td>
<td>yunájáma</td>
<td>yunajái</td>
<td>yunajávahái</td>
<td>yunájámahái</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yuñíghí</td>
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<td>yuñktá</td>
<td>yuñktává</td>
<td>yuñjáthám</td>
<td>yuñgdhvám</td>
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<td>yunáktu</td>
<td>yuñktám</td>
<td>yuñjántu</td>
<td>yuñktám</td>
<td>yuñjá tam</td>
<td>yuñjá tam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
690. There is no occurrence, so far as noted, of the ending *tāt* in verbs of this class. The Veda has, as usual, sometimes strong forms, and sometimes the ending *tana*, in the 2d pl. act.: thus, *unātta, yunākta, anaktana, pinaṣṭana*.

5. Present Participle.

691. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. *yukta, yunja*t (fem. *yujjati*); mid. *yukta* yuṇjānā (but RV. has *indhāna*).

6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
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<th>middle.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>युनजाम् युनजः युनिः युन्जविः युन्जस्ति</td>
<td>युनजाम युनज्या युनज्यम् युनज्यिः युन्जविः युन्जस्तिः</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>युनानकः युनान्नः युनान्नचास युनान्नादाम् युनान्नाम्</td>
<td>युनानक युनान्तम युनान्तः युनान्ताम् युनान्तस्ताम् युनान्तस्ति</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>युनानकः युनान्नः युनान्नचास युनान्नादाम् युनान्नाम्</td>
<td>युनानक युनान्तम युनान्तः युनान्ताम् युनान्तस्ताम् युनान्तस्ति</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The endings *s* and *t* are necessarily lost in the nasal class throughout in 2d and 3d sing. act., unless saved at the expense of the final radical consonant: which is a case of very rare occurrence (the only quotable examples were given at 555 a).

693. The Veda shows no irregularities in this tense. Occurrences of augmentless forms are found, especially in 2d and 3d sing. act., showing an accent like that of the present: for example, *bhīnat, pīnak, vṛṇāk, pīnak, riṇāk*.

a. The 1st sing. act. *atṛṇam* and *acchinam* (for *atṛṇadam* and *acchinadam*) were noted above, at 555 a.

694. The roots of this class number about thirty, more than half of them being found only in the earlier language; no new ones make their first appearance later. Three of them, *aṅj* and *bhaṅj* and *hiṅa*, carry their nasal also into other tense-systems than the present. Two, *ṛdh* and *ubh*, make present-systems also of other classes having a nasal in the class-sign: thus, *ṛdhnotī* (nu-class) and *ubhnāti* (nā-class).
IX. PRESENT-SYSTEM.

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a. Many of the roots make forms from secondary a-stems: thus, from añja, unda, umbhá, chinda, ānáhá, pín̄şa, pṛṇcā, bhuṇja, rundha, qíṇ̄śā, etc.

Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

695. The root ṭṛ́ḥ combines ṭṝṇ̄ah with ti, tu, etc. into ṭṝṇ̄ehdi, ṭṝṇ̄ehdu; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as ṭṝṇ̄ehmi: see above, 224 b.

696. The root hiṇ̄s (by origin apparently a desiderative from ṭḥan) accents irregularly the root-syllable in the weak forms: thus, hiṇ̄santi, hiṇ̄ste, hiṇ̄sāna (but hinásat etc. and hināyāt CB.).

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 Ṽ nu, which then in the strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to Ṽno.

B. The few roots of the u-class (about half-a-dozen) end in Ṽn, with the exception of the later irregular Ṽy kr (or kar) — for which, see below, 714. The two classes, then, are closely correspondent in form; and they are wholly accordant in inflection.

a. The u of either class-sign is allowed to be dropped before v and m of the 1st du. and 1st pl. endings, except when the root (nu-class) ends in a consonant; and the u before a vowel-ending becomes v or uv, according as it is preceded by one or by two consonants (129 a).

1. Present Indicative.

698. Examples of inflection: A. nu-class; root Ṽ su press out: strong form of stem, Ṽunu sunó; weak form, Ṽunu sunu.

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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Ṽunu</td>
<td>Ṽunu</td>
<td>Ṽunu</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ṽunómi</td>
<td>Ṽunuvās</td>
<td>Ṽunumās</td>
<td>Ṽunvé</td>
<td>Ṽunuvāhe</td>
<td>Ṽunumāhe</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Ṽunu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ṽunógi</td>
<td>Ṽunuthās</td>
<td>Ṽunuthā</td>
<td>Ṽunuṣé</td>
<td>Ṽunvāthe</td>
<td>Ṽunudhvē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3 sunóti sunutás sunvánti sunuté sunváte sunváte

a. The forms sunváṣ, sunmás, sunváhe, sunmáhe are alternative with those given here for 1st du. and pl., and in practice are more common. From yáp, however (for example), only the forms with u can occur: thus, āpunváṣ, āpunmáhe; and also only āpunvánti, āpunvé, āpunváte.

B. u-class; root तन् tan stretch: strong form of stem, तनो tanó; weak, तन् tanu.

1 tanómí tanvás tanmás tanvé tanváhe tanmáhe etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

b. The inflection is so precisely like that given above that it is not worth writing out in full. The abbreviated forms in 1st du. and pl. are presented here, instead of the fuller, which rarely occur (as no double consonant ever precedes).

689. a. In the older language, no strong 2d persons du. or pl., and no thana-endings, chance to occur (but they are numerous in the impv. and impf.; see below). The RV. has several cases of the irregular accent in 3d pl. mid.: thus, kṛṇváte, tanváte, manváte, vrṇváte, spṛṇváte.

b. In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in ire from present-stems of this class: thus, invire, ṛṇvire, pinvire, ṛṇvire, sunvire, hinvire. Of these, pinvire and hinvire might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots pínv and hinv (below, 716). The 2d sing. mid. (with passive value) ṛṇvire (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 accent class-sign: thus, sunáva, tanáva. In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class; some of them are quite numerously represented there.

### active. middle.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>sunávái sunávávahái sunávámaháí</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sunávas</td>
<td>sunávatha</td>
<td>sunávase sunáváithe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>sunávat</td>
<td>sunávan</td>
<td>{sunávate}</td>
<td>{sunáváthai}</td>
<td>sunávanta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IX. Present-system.

701. Of the briefer 1st sing. act., RV. has krṇavā and hinavā. Forms with double mode-sign occur (not in RV.): thus, krṇāvāt and karavāt (AV.); aṣṇavāthā (K.), krṇavāthā (VS.; but -vāthā in Kārya-text), karavāthā (CB.). On the other hand, aṣṇavatāī is found once (in TS.). Forms like āpnuvānī, ardhnuvat, açnuvat, met with now and then in the older texts, are doubtless to be regarded as false readings. RV. has in a single passage krṇavāīte (instead of krṇavāīte); the only form in āthāe is açṇavāīthe.

3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings (566) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>सनुयाव</td>
<td>सनुयाम</td>
<td>सनुवियाणा</td>
<td>सनुवियाहान</td>
<td>सनुवियामान</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|   | a. From याप, the middle optative would be āpnuvāyā — and so in other like cases.

4. Present Imperative.

703. The inflection of the imperative is in general like that in the preceding classes. As regards the 2d sing. act., the rule of the later language is that the ending हि hi is taken whenever the root itself ends in a consonant; otherwise, the tense- (or mode-) stem stands by itself as 2d person (for the earlier usage, see below, 704). An example of inflection is:

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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सनुवानि</td>
<td>सनवाव</td>
<td>सनवाम</td>
<td>सनवै</td>
<td>सनवाक्षे</td>
<td>सनवामक्षे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sunāvāni</td>
<td>sunāvāva</td>
<td>sunāvāma</td>
<td>sunāvāi</td>
<td>sunāvāvahāi</td>
<td>sunāvāvāmahāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>सन</td>
<td>सनतम्</td>
<td>सनुत</td>
<td>सनव</td>
<td>सनवाधाम</td>
<td>सनवाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sunú</td>
<td>sunutā</td>
<td>sunutá</td>
<td>sunuṣvā</td>
<td>sunvāthām</td>
<td>sunudhvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>सनोतु</td>
<td>सनातम्</td>
<td>सनवतु</td>
<td>सनुतम्</td>
<td>सनवातम्</td>
<td>सनवताम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sunótu</td>
<td>sunutām</td>
<td>sunvántu</td>
<td>sunutām</td>
<td>sunvātām</td>
<td>sunvātām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. From याप, the 2d sing. act. would be आपुन्हि; from याग, आपुन्हि; from यद्ध्रेष, ध्रष्णुहि; and so on. From याप, too, would be made आपुन्वांतु, आपुन्वाठाम, आपुन्वाताम.

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of हि after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as इनुहि, क्रपुहि, द्वनुहि, ब्रष्णुहि, स्रष्णुहि, हिन्हि, and तथान, सताहि, are nearly thrice as frequent in use as इनु, च्रुन्व, सुनु, तनु, and their like; in AV., however, they are only one sixth as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically: even च्रुनुद्दि (with हि) occurs several times in RV. RV. has the 1st sing. act. हिनावि. The ending ति is found in क्रपुताति and हिनुताति, and कुरुताति. The strong stem-form is found in 2d du. act. in हिनोताम and क्रपोताम; and in 2d pl. act. in क्रपोता and क्रपोताना, च्रपोता and च्रपोताना, सुनोता and सुनोताना, हिनोता and हिनोताना, and तानोता, करोता. The ending ताति occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings द्रुत्तं and ख्रान ईनाइ are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from यस् सु come act. सुन्तसं द्रुतसं (fem. सुन्तसं द्रुतसं), mid. सुन्तसं द्रुतसं; from यस् तन, तन्तसं द्रुतसं (fem. तन्तसं द्रुतसं), तन्तसं द्रुतसं. From याप् आप, they are आपुनसं आपुन्वांति and आपुनसं आपुन्वानः.

6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

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<tbody>
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<td>द्रुतसं</td>
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<tr>
<td>आसुननिस्ठणां</td>
<td>आसुननिस्ठणां</td>
<td>आसुननिस्ठणां</td>
<td>आसुननिस्ठणां</td>
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<td>आसुननिस्ठणां</td>
<td>आसुननिस्ठणां</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms आसुनआ, आसुनमा, आसुनभि, आसुनमाहि are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as द्ध्रेष: which makes, for example, अद्ध्रेणुमा etc., and also अद्ध्रेणुवन, अद्ध्रेणुवी, अद्ध्रेणुवाठाम, अद्ध्रेणुवांति, अद्ध्रेणुवाता.
707. Strong stem-forms and *tana*-ending are found only in RV., in *akṛptaha, akṛpotana.* Augmentless forms with accent are *minvān, ṛṇutā.*

708. About fifty roots make, either exclusively or in part, their present-forms after the manner of the *nu*-class: half of them do so only in the older language; three or four, only in the later.

a. As to transfers to the *a*-conjugation, see below, 716.

709. The roots of the other division, or of the *u*-class, are extremely few, not exceeding eight, even including *tr* on account of *tarutē RV., and han* on account of the occurrence of *hanomi* once in a *Sūtra* (PGS. 1.3.27). BR. refer the stem *inu* to *in* of the *u*-class instead of *i* of the *nu*-class.

**Irregularities of the *nu* and *u*-classes.**

710. The root *ṭṛp* be *pleased* is said by the grammarians to retain the *n* of its class-sign unlingualized in the later language — where, however, forms of conjugation of this class are very rare; while in the *Veda* the regular change is made: thus, *ṭṛṇu.*

711. The root *ḍru* hear is contracted to *ḍṛ* before the class-sign, forming *ḍṛṇó* and *ḍṛṇu* as stem. Its forms *ḍṛṇvīṣé* and *ḍṛṇvīrē* have been noted above (609b).

712. The root *dhun* shake in the later language (and rarely in B. and S.) shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms *dhunó* and *dhunu* (earlier *dhūnó, dhūnu*).

713. The so-called root *ūṛṇu,* 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 *vṛ* (or *var*). In the *Veda,* it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the *nu*-class; but in the *Brāhmaṇa* language are found sometimes such forms as *ūṛṇātī,* as if from an *u*-root of the root class (628); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. act. is *ūṛṇu* or *ūṛṇuh;* its impf., *āūṛṇos, āūṛṇot;* its opt. mid., *ūṛṇuvītā* (K.) or *ūṛṇvītā* (TS.).

714. The extremely common root *ṛk* (or *kar*) make is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the *u*-class (being the only root of that class not ending in *n*). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the *guna*-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is
changed to kur, so that the two forms of stem are करों karó and कुरु kuru. The class-sign उ u is always dropped before ब v and र m of the 1st du. and pl., and also before य y of the opt. act. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

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<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>करोमि kurvás</td>
<td>करमस kurmás</td>
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<td></td>
<td>करे́ करवि kuruvahe</td>
<td>करुं kuru</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>करोगि kuruvahe</td>
<td>करुं kuru</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>करोति kuruvahe</td>
<td>करुं kuru</td>
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2. Present Optative.

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<th>Present Optative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>कुर्याम kuryáva</td>
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<td></td>
<td>कुर्याम kuryáma</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कुर्यापिका kuryýapíka</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कुर्यामः kuryýamahí</td>
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<td></td>
<td>कुर्याम kuryám</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>कुरु kuru</td>
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<td>कुरु तः kuruvahe</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>करोतथु कुर्याय kuruvahe</td>
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</table>

3. Present Imperative.

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<th>Present Imperative</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>करोति kuruvahe</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>कुरु kuru</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>कुरु kuru</td>
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4. Present Participle.

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<th>Present Participle</th>
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<td>कुर्याय kuryána</td>
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<td>कुर्याय kuryána</td>
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<td></td>
<td>कुर्याय kuryáma</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>कुर्याय kuryáma</td>
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5. Imperfect.

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<th>Imperfect</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>अकरस्वं akaravam</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अकर्षं akurva</td>
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<td></td>
<td>अकर्षं akurma</td>
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<td>अकर्षं akuruma</td>
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<td>अकर्षं akurvi</td>
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<td>अकर्षं akurvahi</td>
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<td>अकर्षं akurváhi</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>अकरोस akaros</td>
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<td></td>
<td>अकरस्तं akuratam</td>
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<td>अकरस्तं akuruta</td>
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<td>अकरस्तं akuruthas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>अकरस्तं akurvátham</td>
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<td></td>
<td>अकरस्तं akurudhvyam</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>अकरोत akarot</td>
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<td></td>
<td>अकरोत akuratam</td>
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<td></td>
<td>अकरोत akuruta</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अकरोत akurvátham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अकरोत akurudhvyam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17*
715. In RV., this root is regularly inflected in the present-system according to the nu-class, making the stem-forms krṇō and krṇu; the only exceptions are kurmas once and kuru twice (all in the tenth book); in AV., the nu-forms are still more than six times as frequent as the u-forms (nearly half of which, moreover, are in prose passages); but in the Brāhmaṇa language and later, the u-forms are used to the exclusion of the others.

a. As 1st sing. pres. act. is found kurmi in the epics.
b. What irregular forms from kr as a verb of the nu-class occur in the older language have been already noticed above.
c. The isolated form tarute, from yṛtṛ, shows an apparent analogy with these u-forms from kr.

716. A few verbs belonging originally to these classes have been shifted, in part or altogether, to the a-class, their proper class-sign having been stereotyped as a part of the root.

a. Thus, in RV. we find forms both from the stem inu (yī or in), and also from inva, representing a derivative quasi-root inv (and these latter alone occur in AV.). So likewise forms from a stem ṛṇva beside those from ṛnu (yṛ); and from hinva beside those from hinu (yḥi). The so-called roots jinva and pinv are doubtless of the same origin, although no forms from the stem pinu are met with at any period — unless pinvire (above, 699b) be so regarded; and AV. has the participle pinvant, f. pinvati. The grammarians set up a root dhinv, but only forms from dhi (stem dhinu) appear to occur in the present-system (the aorist adhinvit is found in PB.).
b. Occasional a-forms are met with also from other roots: thus, cinvata etc., dunvasva.

V. Na-class (ninth or krī-class).

717. The class-sign of this class is in the strong forms the syllable ना nā, accented, which is added to the root; in the weak forms, or where the accent falls upon the ending, it is नī nī; but before the initial vowel of an ending the न i of नी nī disappears altogether.

1. Present Indicative.

718. Example of inflection: root क्री krī buy: strong form of stem, क्रिन्ना krīṇā; weak form, क्रीणी krīṇī (before a vowel, क्रीण krīṇ).
261 \( \text{Nā-class (ninth, krī-class).} \) [—722

<table>
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<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>क्रिणामि</td>
<td>क्रिणावस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>क्रिणाय</td>
<td>क्रिणिश्च</td>
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</table>

719. In the Veda, the 3rd sing. mid. has the same form with the 1st in 

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>क्रिणामि</td>
<td>क्रिणामि</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>क्रिणाय</td>
<td>क्रिणाय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>क्रिणात्म</td>
<td>क्रिणात्म</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

720. The subjunctive forms which have been found exemplified in Veda and Brāhmaṇa are given below. The subjunctive mode-stem is, of course, indistinguishable in form from the strong tense-stem. And the 2d and 3d sing. act. (with secondary endings) are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>क्रिणामि</td>
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<td>क्रिणात्म</td>
<td>क्रिणात्म</td>
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721. This mode is formed and inflected with entire regularity; owing to the fusion of tense-sign and mode-sign in the middle, some of its persons are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects. Its first persons are as follows:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>क्रिण्याम्</td>
<td>क्रिण्याय</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

4. Present Imperative.

722. The ending in 2d sing. act., as being always preceded by a vowel, is ति हि (never ति धि); and there are no examples of an omission of it. But this person is forbidden
to be formed in the classical language from roots ending in a consonant; for both class-sign and ending is substituted the peculiar ending घान ānā.

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a. Examples of the ending ānā in 2d sing. act. are aqāna, gṛhānā, badhānā, stabhānā.

723. The ending ānā is known also to the earliest language; of the examples just given, all are found in AV., and the first two in RV.; others are īsāna, muśāna, skabhāna. But AV. has also gṛhānī (also AB.), and even gṛhānī, with strong stem; BhP. has badhānī. -Strong stems are further found in gṛhānī and stṛṇāhī (TS.), pṛṇāhī (TB.), and gṛṇāhī (Āpast.), and, with anomalous accent, pūṇāhī and gṛṇāhī (SV.); and, in 2d pl. act., in pūnāta (RV.). The ending tāt of 2d sing. act. occurs in gṛṇāt, jāṇīt, pūṇīt. The ending tana is found in pūnītāna, pṛṇītāna, gṛṇītāna.

5. Present Participle.

724. The participles are regularly formed: thus, for example, act. क्रिणात् kriṇant (fem. क्रिणति kriṇatī); mid. क्रिणान क्रिणान.

6. Imperfect.

725. There is nothing special to be noted as to the inflection of this tense: an example is —

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726. It has been pointed out above that augmentless persons of this tense are in part indistinguishable in form from subjunctive and optative persons. Such as certainly belong here are (in V.) kṣiṇām; aṣṇān, riṇān; grbhṛṇata, vrṇata. The AV. has once minīt instead of mināt. MBh. has aṣnī after mā.

a. AB. has the false form ājānīmas, and in AA. occurs avṛṇīta as 3d plural.

727. The roots which form their present-systems, wholly or in part, after the manner of this class, are over fifty in number: but, for about three fifths of them, the forms are quotable only from the older language, and for half-a-dozen they make their first appearance later; for less than twenty are they in use through the whole life of the language, from the Veda down.

a. As to secondary a-stems, see 731.

Irregularities of the na-class.

728. a. The roots ending in ū shorten that vowel before the class-sign: thus, from γṛū, punāti and punītē; in like manner also jū, dhū, lū.

b. The root vī (B.S.) forms either vīṇā or vlinā.

729. The root grabh or grah (the former Vedic) is weakened to grbh or grh.

a. As the perfect also in weak forms has grbh or grh, it is not easy to see why the grammarians should not have written ṛ instead of ra in the root.

730. a. A few of the roots have a more or less persistent nasal in forms outside the present-system; such are without nasal before the class-sign: thus, grath or granth, badh or bandh, math or manth, skabh or skambh, stabh or stambh.

b. The root jāṅā also loses its nasal before the class-sign: thus, jāṅāti, jāṅitē.

731. Not rarely, forms showing a transfer to the a-conjugation are met with: thus, even in RV., minati, minat, aminanta, from γṛmi; in AV., γṛṇa from γṛṇ; later, γṛṇa, jāna, prīṇa, mathna, etc. And from roots pṛ and mṛ are formed the stems pṛṇa and mṛṇa, which are inflected after the manner of the a-class, as if from roots pṛṇ and mṛṇ.

732. In the Veda, an apparently denominative inflection of a stem in aya is not infrequent beside the conjugation of roots of this class: thus, grbhāyā, mathāyāti, agrathāyas, skabhāyāta, astabh-āyat, pruṣāyānte, muṣāyāt, and so on. See below, 1066b.
Second or a-Conjugation.

733. We come now to the classes which compose the Second or a-Conjugation. These are more markedly similar in their mode of inflection than the preceding classes; their common characteristics, already stated, may be here repeated in summary. They are: 1. A final a in the present-stem; 2. a constant accent, not changing between stem and ending; 3. a briefer form of the optative mode-sign in the active, namely ı instead of yä (combining in both voices alike with a to e); 4. the absence of any ending (except when tät is used) in 2d sing. impv. act.; 5. the conversion of initial a of the 2d and 3d du. mid. endings to e; 6. the use of the full endings ante, anta, antäm in 3d pl. mid. forms; 7. the invariable use of an (not us) in 3d pl. impf. act.; 8. and the use of māna instead of āna as ending of the mid. pple. Moreover, 9. the stem-final a becomes ā before m and v of 1st personal endings — but not before am of 1st sing. impf.: here, as before the 3d pl. endings, the stem-final is lost, and the short a of the ending remains (or the contrary): thus, bhāvanti (bhāva + antī), bhāvante (bhāva + ante), ābhavam (ābhava + am).

a. All these characteristics belong not to the inflection of the a-present-systems alone, but also to that of the a-, reduplicated, and sa-aorists, the s-future, and the desiderative, causative, and denominative present-systems. That is to say, wherever in conjugation an a-stem is found, it is inflected in the same manner.

VI. A-class (first, bhū-class).

734. The present-stem of this class is made by adding ś a to the root, which has the accent, and, when that is possible (235, 240), is strengthened to guṇa. Thus, भव bhāva from भू bhū; जय jāya from जि ji; बोध bōdha from बुध budh; सर्प sārpa from सुप srp; — but वद vāda from वद vād; क्रिण kṛīṇa from क्रिण kṛīṇa.
1. Present Indicative.

735. The endings and the rules for their combination with the stem have been already fully given, for this and the other parts of the present-system; and it only remains to illustrate them by examples.

a. Example of inflection: root भू bhū be; stem भव bhāva (bho + a: 131).

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<td>भावति</td>
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</table>

bhāvāmi bhāvāvas bhāvāmas bhāve bhāvāvahe bhāvāmahe
bhāvasi bhāvathas bhāvatha bhāvase bhāvetha bhāvadhve
bhāvati bhāvatas bhāvanti bhāvate bhāvete bhāvante

b. The V. has but a single example of the thana-ending, namely vādathana (and no other in any class of this conjugation). The 1st pl. mid. manāmahē (RV., once) is probably an error. RV. has gōbhe once as 3d singular.

2. Present Subjunctive.

736. The mode-stem is bhāvā (bhāva+a). Subjunctive forms of this conjugation are very numerous in the older language; the following scheme instances all that have been found to occur.

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<td>bhāvān</td>
<td>bhāvāte</td>
<td>bhāvāte</td>
<td>bhāvanta</td>
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737. The 2d du. mid. (bhāvāithe) does not chance to occur in this class; and yātāite is the only example of the 3d person. No such pl. mid. forms as bhāvādhve, bhāvānte are made from any class with stem-final a; such as bhāvanta (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brāhmaṇas (especially B.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in āsi and the 3d in āt. AB. has the 3d sing. mid. haratāi; and a 3d pl. in antāi (vartantāi KB.) has been noted once. RV. has examples, arcā and mada, 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 (586).

active.

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<td>bháveyam</td>
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<td>bhávetam</td>
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<td>bhávem</td>
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b. A few instances are met with of middle 3d persons from a-stems in āta and (very rarely) ēraṇ, instead of ēta and ēraṇ. For convenience, they may be put together here (excepting the more numerous canasive forms, for which see 1043c); they are (so far as noted) these: nayīta S. and later, ānsīta S., ārīta S.; dhayīta S., dhayīta U., ṣhayīta AB. S. and ṣhayīra S., ṣhayīrā U. An active form caṇsiyāt C. is isolated and anomalous.

4. Present Imperative.

739. An example of the imperative inflection is:

active.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhávani</td>
<td>bhávava</td>
<td>bhávama bhávai bhávavahai bhávamahai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bháva</td>
<td>bhávatam</td>
<td>bhávata bhávasva bhávethām bhávadhvam</td>
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<tr>
<td>bhávatu</td>
<td>bhávatām</td>
<td>bhávandu bhávatām bhávandu bhávandu</td>
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<td>bhávani</td>
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<td>bhávama bhávai bhávavahai bhávamahai</td>
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<td>bhávata bhávasva bhávethām bhávadhvam</td>
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<td>bhávatu</td>
<td>bhávatām</td>
<td>bhávandu bhávatām bhávandu bhávandu</td>
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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 nabyatana in the ya-class: 760c). The ending tāt of 2d sing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has avatāt, ogaṭāt, dhatat, bhavatāt, yaḍchatāt, yācaṭāt, rākṣatāt, vahatāt; to which AV. adds jinvaṭat, dhāvaṭat; and the Brāhmaṇas bring other examples. MS. has twice svadatū (parallel texts both times svadāṭi): compare similar cases in the a-class: 752c.
5. Present Participle.

741. The endings घटं ant and मान māna are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. भवल bhāvant (fem. भवती bhavanti); mid. भजन bhājamāna.

a. A small number of middle participles appear to be made from stems of this class (as of other a-classes: see 752e, 1043f) by the suffix अना instead of माना: thus, namāna, pacāna, cīkāna, śvajāna, hvayāna (all epic), majjāna and kṣajā (later); and there are Vedic examples (as cyāvāna, prathāna, yatāna or yatānā, cumbhāna, all RV.) of which the character, whether present or aorist, is doubtful: compare 840, 852.

6. Imperfect.

742. An example of the imperfect inflection is:

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743. No forms in तान are made in this tense from any a-class. Examples of augmentless forms (which are not uncommon) are: cyāvam, ávas, dāhas, bódhat, bhārata, cāren, nācan; bādhathās, vārdhata, gōcanta. The subjunctively used forms of 2d and 3d sing. act. are more frequent than those of either of the proper subjunctive persons.

744. A far larger number of roots form their present-system according to the a-class than according to any of the other classes: in the RV., they are about two hundred and forty (nearly two fifths of the whole body of roots); in the AV., about two hundred (nearly the same proportion); for the whole language, the proportion is still larger, or nearly one half the whole number of present-stems: namely, over two hundred in both earlier and later language, one hundred and seventy-five in the older alone, nearly a hundred and fifty in the later alone. Among these are not a few transfers from the classes of the first conjugation: see those classes above. There are no roots ending in long ā — except a few which make an a-stem in some anomalous way: below, 749a.
IX. Present-system.

Irregularities of the a-class.

745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,

a. úh consider has guṇa-strengthening (against 240): thus, óhate.

b. kṛp (or kṛap) lament, on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, kṛpate.

c. guh hide has prolongation instead of guṇa: thus, guhāti.

d. kram stride regularly lengthens its vowel in the active, but not in the middle: thus, krāmati, krāmate; but the vowel-quantities are somewhat mixed up, even from the oldest language down; — klam tīre is said to form klāmati etc., but is not quotable; — cam with the proposition ā rinse the mouth forms ācāmati.

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from mṛj wipe; and they show the same vṛddhi (instead of guṇa) which belongs to the root in its more proper inflection (627): thus, mārjasva.

f. The grammarians give a number of roots in urv, which they declare to lengthen the u in the present-stem. Only three are found in (quite limited) use, and they show no forms anywhere with short u. All appear to be of secondary formation from roots in r or ar. The root murch or mūrch coagulate has likewise only u in quotable forms.

g. The onomatopoetic root sthīv spew is written by the grammarians as sthīv, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system: compare 240 b.

746. The roots daṅq 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, dācāti etc.; sañj forms both sajati and sajjati (probably for sajyati, or for sajjati from saṣjati); math or manth has mathati later. In general, as the present of this class is a strengthening formation, a root that has such a nasal anywhere has it here also.

747. The roots gam go and yam reach make the present-stems gāccha and yāccha: thus, gācchāmi etc.: see 608.

748. The root sad sit forms sīda (conjectured to be contracted from sīsa for sīsāda): thus, sīdāmi etc.

749. Transfers to this class from other classes are not rare, as has been already pointed out above, both throughout the present-system and in occasional forms. The most important cases are the following:

a. The roots in ā, sthā stand, pā drink, and ghrā smell, form the present-stems tiṣṭha (tiṣṭhāmi etc.), pība (pībāmi etc.), and jīghra (jīghrami etc.): for these and other similar cases, see 671—4.

b. Secondary root-forms like inv, jinv, pinv, from simpler roots
of the nu-class, are either found alongside their originals, or have crowded these out of use: see 716.

750. On the other hand, the root dhama or dhāma 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 śā, and the root remains unstrengthened. In its whole inflection, it follows so closely the model of the preceding class that to give the paradigm in full will be unnecessary (only for the subjunctive, all the forms found to occur will be instanced).

752. Example of inflection: root विश्व viṣ enter; stem विश viṣa:

1. Present Indicative.

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<tbody>
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<td>s.</td>
<td>viṣāmi</td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>viṣāma</td>
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<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>viṣāvas</td>
<td>d.</td>
<td>viṣāvaḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>viṣāmas</td>
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<td>viṣāmahā</td>
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etc. | etc.     | etc.| etc.     |

2. Present Subjunctive.

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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>viṣāsi viṣātha viṣāsāḥ viṣāsāthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>viṣāti viṣātas viṣān viṣāte viṣātāḥ viṣāntāḥ</td>
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a. A single example of the briefer 1st sing. act. is mrksā. The only forms in āthe and āte are pṛṇāthe and yuvāte.

3. Present Optative.

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<td>viṣeyam viṣeva viṣema viṣeya viṣeyahāḥ viṣeyamahāḥ</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

b. The RV. has the ending tana once in tīrśatana 2d pl. act., and rata in juseratana 3d pl. mid.
4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{viçá} & \quad \text{viçátam} & \quad \text{viçáta} & \quad \text{viçásva} & \quad \text{viçéthām} & \quad \text{viçádhvam} \\
\text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

c. The ending tāt is found in RV. and AV. in mṛdatāt, vṛhatāt, suvatāt; other examples are not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, khidatāt, chyatāt, prṛchatāt, viçatāt, ṛṣjatāt; and later, sprṛcatāt. The 3d sing. act. nudatū and muñcātū occur in Sūtras (cf. 740).

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is विजात् viṣánt; the middle is विजामा viṣāmā.

d. The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, viṣantī; but sometimes from the weak: thus, siṣantī and siṣcatī (RV. and AV.), tudantī and tudati (AV.): see above, 449 d, e.

e. Middle participles in āna instead of māṇa are dhuvānā, dhṛṣṭānā, liqānā, ājyānā, in the older language; kṛṣṇā, muñcānā, sprṛṣṇā in the later (cf. 741 a).

6. Imperfect.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{विजन्तम्} & \quad \text{विजन्तन} & \quad \text{विजन्ते} & \quad \text{विजन्तमन्} & \quad \text{विजन्तपि} & \quad \text{विजन्तानि} \\
\text{avīçam} & \quad \text{avīçāva} & \quad \text{avīçama} & \quad \text{avīçāvahi} & \quad \text{avīçāmahi} \\
\text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.} & \quad \text{etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

f. Examples of augmentless forms accented are sṛjās, sṛjāt, tirānta.

g. The a-aorist (846 ff.) is in general the equivalent, as regards its forms, of an imperfect of this class.

753. Stems of the a-class are made from nearly a hundred and fifty roots: for about a third of these, in both the earlier and the later language; for a half, in the earlier only; for the remainder, nearly twenty, only in the later language. Among them are a number of transfers from the classes of the non-a-conjugation.

a. In some of these transfers, as prṛ and mṛ (731), there takes place almost a setting-up of independent roots.

b. The stems ichchā, uochā, and rcochā are reckoned as belonging respectively to the roots īṣ desire, vaś shine, and y go.

c. The roots written by the Hindu grammarians with final o — namely, cho, do, ço, and so — and forming the present-stems chya,
dyá, qyá, eyá, are more properly (as having an accented á in the stem) to be reckoned to this class than to the ya-class, where the native classification puts them (see 761 g). They appear to be analogous with the stems kṣyá, eva, hva, noted below (755).

754. The roots from which á-stems are made have certain noticeable peculiarities of form. Hardly any of them have long vowels, and none have long interior vowels; very few have final vowels; and none (save two or three transfers, and y/laji be ashamed, which does not occur in any accented text, and is perhaps to be referred rather to the a-class) have a as radical vowel, except as this forms a combination with r, which is then reduced with it to r or some of the usual substitutes of r.

Irregularities of the á-class.

755. The roots in i and u and ü change those vowels into iy and uv before the class-sign: thus, kṣiyá, yuvá, ruvá; suvá, etc.; and eva, hva occur, instead of suva and hava, in the older language, while TS. has the participle kṣyant. K. has dhúva from y/dhú.

756. The three roots in r form the present-stems kirá, girá (also gíla), tirá, and are sometimes written as kir etc.; and gur, jur, tur are really only varieties of gr, jy, tr; and bhur and sphur are evidently related with other ar or r root-forms.

a. The common root praeh ask makes the stem praehá.

757. As to the stems -driyá and -priyá, and mriyá and dhriyá, sometimes reckoned as belonging to this class, see below, 773.

758. Although the present-stem of this class shows in general a weak form of the root, there are nevertheless a number of roots belonging to it which are strengthened by a penultimate nasal. Thus, the stem muñcá is made from y/muc release; siñcá from y sic sprín-kle; vindá from y/vid find; kṛntá from y/kṛt cut; piñcá from y/piç adorn; trmpá from y/trp enjoy; lumpá from y/lup break; limpá from y/lip smear; and occasional forms of the same kind are met with from a few others, as tunda from y/tud thrust; bhṛñá from y/brñ strength-en; dhřhá (beside dhřha) from y/brñ make firm; cṭumbhá (beside cumbha) from y/qubh shine; TS. has ḷṛnthati from y/ṛth (instead of ḷṛthnāti); uñcḥa, vindhá, sǔmbha, are of doubtful character.

a. Nasalized á-stems are also in several instances made by transfer from the nasal class: thus, unda, umbha, rājá, piñṣá, yuñja, rundha, čiñṣa.

VIII. Ya-class (fourth, div-class).

759. The present-stem of this class adds ṣya to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also pre-
cisely like that of the a-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the a-class.

760. Example of inflection: root नः‍ bind; stem नः‍ nāhya.

1. Present Indicative.

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<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>नः‍मि नः‍मस् नः‍मभु नः‍वि नः‍वत्वे नः‍मक्</td>
<td>nāhyāmi nāhyāvas nāhyāmas nāhye nāhyāvahe nāhyāmahe</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

2. Present Subjunctive.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>नः‍यानि नः‍यामा नः‍यायाहाई नः‍यामाहाई</td>
<td>nāhyāni nāhyāma nāhyāvahāi nāhyāmahāi</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>नः‍यासि नः‍यासाई नः‍यासाही</td>
<td>nāhyāsī nāhyāsāi nāhyāsdvāi</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>नः‍याति नः‍यातास नः‍याताई नः </td>
<td>nāhyātī nāhyātas nāhyātāi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. A 3d pl. mid. in antāi (jāyantāi) occurs once in TS.</td>
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3. Present Optative.

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>नः‍यायम् नः‍याव नः‍येय नः‍येवक् नः‍येमक्</td>
<td>nāhyeyam nāhyeva nāhyema nāhyeya nāhyevahī nāhyemahi</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. For two or three 3d sing. mid. forms in īta (for eta), see 738 b.</td>
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4. Present Imperative.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>नः‍या नः‍यातम् नः‍यात नः‍याय नः‍येशाम् नः‍याधम</td>
<td>nāhya nāhyatam nāhyata nāhyasa nāhyesvām nāhyadhvām</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Of the ending tana, RV. has one example, nāhyatana; the ending tāt is found in asyata, khyātyatā, nācyatā</td>
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</table>

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is नः‍याय स्‍ नः‍याय (fem. नः‍यायी nāhyanti); the middle is नः‍यमान nāhyamāna.

6. Imperfect.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>नः‍यायम् नः‍यायव नः‍यायाम् नः‍यायावक् नः‍यायामक्</td>
<td>anahyam anahyava anahyāma anahye anahyāvahī anahyāmahī</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
d. Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are gāyat, pācyat, pācyan, jāyathās.

761. The ya-class stems are more than a hundred and thirty, and nearly half of them have forms in use in all periods of the language, about forty occurring only in the earlier, and about thirty only in the modern period.

a. Of the roots making ya-stems, a very considerable part (over fifty) signify a state of feeling, or a condition of mind or body: thus, kūp be angry, kālam be weary, kṣudḥ be hungry, mūh be confused, lūbh be lustful, qūṣ be dry, etc. etc.

b. A further number have a more or less distinctly passive sense, and are in part evident and in part presumable transfers from the passive or 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; but there are in the older language a number of clear cases, in which the accent wavers and changes, and the others are to be judged by analogy with them. Thus, ṭyµue forms mūcyate once or twice, beside the usual mūcyāte, in RV. and AV.; and in the Brāhmaṇas the former is the regular accent. Similar changes are found also in ya-forms from other roots: thus, from ḷa destroy, ḷi or jyā injure, tap heat, dṛḥ make firm, paṭ cook, pṛ ṭill, mī damage, rīc leave, lūp break, hā leave. Active forms are early made from some of these, and they grow more common later. It is worthy of special mention that, from the Veda down, jāyate is born etc. is found as altered passive or original ya-formation by the side of vijn give birth.

c. A considerable body of roots (about forty) differ from the above in having an apparently original transitive or neuter meaning: examples are as throw, nah bind, paṭ see, pad go, ṭliq clasping.

d. A number of roots, of various meaning, and of somewhat doubtful character and relations, having present-stems ending in ya, are by the native grammarians written with final diphthongs, āi or e or o. Thus:

e. Roots reckoned as ending in āi and belonging to the a-(or bhū-) class, as gāi sing (gāyati etc.). As these show abundantly, and for the most part exclusively, a-forms outside the present-system, there seems to be no good reason why they should not rather be regarded as ā-roots of the ya-class. They are kṣā burn, gāi sing, glā be weary, trā save, dhyā think, pṛṣī fill up, mā relax, ra bark, vā be blown, cyā coagulate, qra boil, stṛā stiffen. Some of them are evident extensions of simpler roots by the addition of ā. The secondary roots tāy stretch (beside tan), and cāy observe (beside ci) appear to be of similar character.

f. Roots reckoned as ending in e and belonging to the a- (or bhū-) class, as dhe such (dhāyati etc.). These, too, have a-forms, and sometimes t-forms, outside the present system, and are best regarded as ā-roots, either with ā weakened to a before the class-sign of this class, or with ā
weakened to ī or i and inflected according to the a-class. They are dhā suck, mā exchange, vā weave, vyā envelop, hvā call (secondary, from hū). As of kindred form may be mentioned day share and vyay expend (probably derivative of vyaya).

g. A few roots artificially written with final o and reckoned to the ya-class, with radical vowel lost before the class-sign: thus, do cut, bind, pres. dyāti etc. These, as having an accented ā in the sign, have plainly no right to be put in this class; and they are better referred to the ā-class (see above, 753 a). Outside the present-system they show ā- and i-forms; and in that system the ya is often resolved into in in the oldest language.

762. The ya-class is the only one thus far described which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning. In this tendency, as well as in the form of its sign, it appears related with the class of distinctly defined meaning which is next to be taken up — the passive, with yā-sign. Though very far from being as widely used as the latter beside other present-systems, it is in some cases an intransitive conjugation by the side of a transitive of some other class.

Irregularities of the ya-class.

763. The roots of this class ending in am lengthen their vowel in forming the present-stem: they are klam, tam, dam, bhram, çam be quiet, çram: for example, támyati, çrámyati. From kṣam, however, only kṣamyate occurs; and çam labor makes çamyati (B.).

764. The root mad has the same lengthening: thus, mādyati.

765. The roots in iv — namely, div, siv, sriv or qriv, and śṭhiv (from which no forms of this class are quotable) — are written by the grammarians with iv, and a similar lengthening in the present-system is prescribed for them.

a. They appear to be properly diū etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always ū; īv is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root div shine, which changes to dyu (361 d): compare 240 b.

766. From the roots jṛ and tṛ (also written as jur and tir or tur) come the stems jirya and tirya, and jūrya and tūrya (the last two only in RV.); from pṛ come pūrya.

767. The root vyadh is abbreviated to vidh: thus, vidhyati. And any root which in other forms has a penultimate nasal loses it here: thus, dhya from dṛh or dh; bhraçya from bhrañç or bhraç; rajya from rañj or raj.
IX. Accented या-class: Passive conjugation.

768. A certain form of present-stem, inflected with middle endings, is used only in a passive sense, and is formed from all roots for which there is occasion to make a passive conjugation. Its sign is an accented या added to the root: thus, कृष्ण हन्या from कृष्ण han slay, धार्मक आप्या from धार्म का आप obtain, गृह्या from गृह्य grh (or grah) seize: and so on, without any reference to the class according to which the active and middle forms are made.

769. The form of the root to which the passive-sign is added is (since the accent is on the sign) the weak one: thus, a penultimate nasal is dropped, and any abbreviation which is made in the weak forms of the perfect (794), in the aorist optative (922b), or before ता of the passive participle (954), is made also in the passive present-system: thus, अज्या from अज् atri, बध्या from बध्य bandh, उक्या from उक्य vac, इज्या from इज्य ajya.

770. On the other hand, a final vowel of a root is in general liable to the same changes as in other parts of the verbal system where it is followed by य: thus —

a. Final i and u are lengthened: thus, तीम्या from त्यम; सूया from सूसु;

b. Final ए is usually changed to ी: thus, तीया from त्यादी; ब्याया from ब्याही: but ज्याया from ज्याह, and so क्ष्याया, क्याया, म्याया, etc.;

c. Final य is in general changed to ि: thus, क्रिया from क्रय; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root र), it has instead the guna-strengthening: thus, स्रम्या from स्रम्य (the only quoted case); — and in those roots which show a change of य to ि and य (so-called ि-verbs: see 242), that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, छ्रिया from छ्य; पूर्या from प्य.

771. The inflection of the passive-stem is precisely like that of the other ा-stems; it differs only in accent from that of the class last given. It may be here presented, therefore, in the same abbreviated form:

a. Example of inflection: root क्र make; passive-stem क्रिया kriyā:
IX. Present-system.

1. Present Indicative.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>क्रियेः</td>
<td>क्रियावहे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kriyē</td>
<td>kriyāvahe</td>
<td>kriyāmahe</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

2. Present Subjunctive.

b. The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>क्रियाि</td>
<td>क्रियामाही</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>क्रियािधवी</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>क्रियािति</td>
<td>क्रियािति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

c. The 3d pl. ending antāi is found once (ucyantāi K.).

3. Present Optative.

<table>
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<th>1</th>
<th>क्रिये</th>
<th>क्रियवति</th>
<th>क्रियमति</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kriyēya</td>
<td>kriyēvahi</td>
<td>kriyēmahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</table>

d. No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found, however, in the Brāhmaṇa. ChU. has once dhmāyīta.

4. Present Imperative.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>क्रियस्व</th>
<th>क्रियधम्</th>
<th>क्रियधम्</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kriyāsva</td>
<td>kriyātham</td>
<td>kriyādvam</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

5. Present Participle.

e. This is made with the suffix मान māna: thus, विक्रियामाण kriyāmāṇa.

f. In use, this participle is well distinguished from the other passive participle by its distinctively present meaning: thus, kṛtā done, but kriyāmāṇa in process of doing, or being done.

6. Imperfect.

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<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>अक्रिये</th>
<th>अक्रियवति</th>
<th>अक्रियमति</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ākriye</td>
<td>ākriyavahi</td>
<td>ākriyāmahi</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

g. The passive-sign is never resolved into ia in the Veda.

772. The roots tan and khan usually form their passives from parallel roots in ā: thus, tāyēte, khāyēte (but also tanyate, khan-
So-called Tenth or cur-Class.

773. By their form, mriyate dies, and dhriyate maintains itself, is steadfast, are passives from the roots mr die and dhr hold; although neither is used in a proper passive sense, and mr is not transitive except in the derivative form mṛṇ (above, 731). With them are to be compared the stems ā-driya heed and ā-priya be busy, which are perhaps peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots ḍṛ pierce and ṁṛ fill.

774. Examples of the transfer of stems from the ya- or passive class to the ya- or intransitive class were given above (761 b); and it was also pointed out that active instead of middle endings are occasionally, even in the earlier language, assumed by forms properly passive: examples are ā dhmāyati and vy āprusyat (ÇB.), bhūyati (MĀU.). In the epics, however (as a part of their general confusion of active and middle forms: 529 a), active endings are by no means infrequently taken by the passive: thus, ḍakṣyati, ṇrūyanti, bhriyantu, ṣjyant-, etc.

The so-called Tenth or cur-Class.

775. As was noticed above (607), the Hindu grammarians — and, after their example, most European also — recognize yet another conjugation-class, coördinate with those already described; its stems show the class-sign āya, added to a generally strengthened root (for details as to the strengthening, see 1042). Though this is no proper class, but a secondary or derivative conjugation (its stems are partly of causative formation, partly denominative with altered accent), an abbreviated example of its forms may, for the sake of accordance with other grammars, be added here.

a. Example: root cint think, meditate; stem cintāya:
   active.      middle.
   Pres. Indic.  cintāyāmi   cintāye
   Subj.        cintāyāni   cintāyāī      
   Opt.         cintāyeyam  cintāyeyā    
   Pple.        cintāyant   cintāyamāṇa
   Impf.        ācintayam  ācintaye

b. The inflection, of course, is the same with that of other forms from a-stems (733 a).

c. The middle participle, in the later language, is more often made with ānā instead of māna: thus, cintāyāna: see 1043 f.
IX. Present-system.

776. The uses of the present-system have been already briefly treated in the preceding chapter (572 ff.). The tense-uses of the two indicative tenses, present and imperfect, call here for only a word or two of explanation.

777. The present has, besides its strictly present use, the same subsidiary uses which belong in general to the tense: namely, the expression of habitual action, of future action, and of past action in lively narration.

a. Examples of future meaning are: imàh cód vá imé cínvátë tátà evà no ‘bhùbhèvanti (CB.) verily if these build this up, then they will straightway get the better of us; agnir átmabhavam prádád yatra vàñchati náishadhañ (MBh.) Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhan should desire; svágatañ te ‘stú kim karomi tava (R.) welcome to thee; what shall I do for thee?

b. Examples of past meaning are: úttarā súr ádharñ putrá āsid dánuñ ñaye sahávatá ná dhenúñ (RV.) the mother was over, the son under; there Dánu lies, like a cow with her calf; prahàsanti ca táñ kecì abhyasùyanti cā ’pare akurvata dayáñ kecìt (MBh.) some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her; tato yasya vacanà: tatá ‘valambitása tañ sarve tiraskurvanti (H.) thereupon they all fall to reproaching him by whose advice they had alighted there.

778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:

a. With purá formerly: thus, saptáśín u ha smà váí purá rksà íty ácakñate (CB.) the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears; tanmátram api cen mahyàñ na dadáti purá bhaván (MBh.) if you have never before given me even an atom.

b. With the asseverative particle sma: thus, vráména ha smà váí tád devá jayanti yád eśáà jáyyam ásá rçayaç ca (CB.) in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won; ávìçññ kalínà dyúte jìyate smà nalañ tadá (MBh.) then Nala, being possessed by Káli, was beaten in play.

c. No example of this last construction is found in either RV. or AV., or elsewhere in the metrical parts of the Veda. In the Bráhmanas, only habitual action is expressed by it. At all periods of the language, the use of sma with a verb as pure asseverative particle, with no effect on the tense-meaning, is very common; and the examples later are hardly to be distinguished from the present of lively narration — of which the whole construction is doubtless a form.

779. The imperfect has remained unchanged in value through the whole history of the language: it is the tense of narration; it expresses simple past time, without any other implication.

a. Compare what is said later (end of chap. X. and chap. XI.) as to the value of the older past tenses, the perfect and aorist.
CHAPTER X.

THE PERFECT-SYSTEM.

780. The perfect-system in the later language, as has
been seen above (585), consists only of an indicative tense
and a participle — both of them in the two voices, active
and middle.

a. In the oldest language, the perfect has also its modes and
its augment-preterit, or pluperfect, or is not less full in its apparatus
of forms than is the present-system (see 808 ff.).

781. The formation of the perfect is essentially alike
in all verbs, differences among them being of only subordinate
consequence, or having the character of irregularities.
The characteristics of the formation are these:

1. a stem made by reduplication of the root;
2. a distinction between stronger and weaker forms of
stem, the former being used (as in presents of the First
or non-a-conjugation) in the singular active, the latter in
all other persons;
3. endings in some respects peculiar, unlike those of
the present;
4. the frequent use, especially in the later language,
of a union-vowel इ between stem and endings.

782. Reduplication. In roots beginning with a con-
sonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is
of the same character with that which forms the present-
stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (see 643) — but
with this exception, that radical अ अ and अ अ and ः ः (or
अ अ ar) have only अ अ, and never इ, as vowel of the re-
duplicating syllable: thus, from इ इ प फ fill comes the present-
stem इ इ प फ, but the perfect-stem म म प फ; from म म म म
measure comes the present-stem मिमा mima, but the perfect-stem ममा mama; and so on.

a. Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, 784.

783. For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:

a. A root with initial ग a before a single final consonant repeats the ग a, which then fuses with the radical vowel to गा ā (throughout the whole inflection): thus, गहड़ ad eat; and in like manner गहल ह्य, गहन एन, गास एस, गाध एह. The root गङ r forms likewise throughout गार ar (as if from गङ ar).

b. A root with द i or द u before a single final consonant follows the same analogy, except in the strong forms (sing. act.); here the vowel of the radical syllable has गुन, becoming दे or दे o; and before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from द्विस is comes द्विस is in weak forms, but द्विय्य येश in strong; from द्विच उ to, in like manner, come द्विच उ to and द्विच उ voc. The root द द i, a single vowel, also falls under this rule, and forms द्विय्य येन (y added before a vowel) and द्विय्य येन.

c. Roots which begin with vowels long by nature or by position do not in general make a perfect-system, but use instead a periphrastic formation, in which the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb is added to the accusative of a verbal noun (see below, chap. XV.: 1070 ff.).

d. To this rule, however, गाप ओब्द (probably originally गप: 1087f) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem गप (as if from गप: above, a). Also are met with गदेत (RV.) and गदीरे from गद, and गदीरे (V.) from गदर.

e. For the peculiar reduplication एन, belonging to certain roots with initial vowels, see below, 788.

784. A number of roots beginning with व a and ending with a single consonant, which in various of their verbal forms and derivatives abbreviate the व a to उ, do it also in the perfect, and are treated like roots with initial उ (above, 783b), except that they retain
the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from \( \gamma \text{vac} \) speak come \( \ddot{u}c \) and \( \text{uvac} \); from \( \gamma \text{vas} \) dwell come \( \ddot{u}s \) and \( \text{uvas} \); and so on.

a. The roots showing this abbreviation are \( \text{vac}, \text{vap}, \text{vad}, \text{vaq}, \text{vas}, \text{vah} \); and \( \vaa \text{ weave} \) is said to follow the same rule.

b. A single root beginning with \( \text{ya} \), namely \( \text{yaj offer} \), has the same contraction, forming the stems \( \text{iyaj} \) and \( \text{ij} \).

c. Occasional exceptions are met with: as, \( \text{vavaca} \) and \( \text{vavakse} \) (RV.); \( \text{vavapa} \) and \( \text{vavaha} \) and \( \text{vavahanus} \) (E. and later); \( \text{yejé} \) (V.).

785. A number of roots having \( \text{ya} \) after a first initial consonant take \( i \) (from the \( y \)) instead of \( a \) in the reduplicating syllable: thus, from \( \gamma \text{vyac} \) comes \( \text{vivyc} \); from \( \gamma \text{pya} \) comes \( \text{pipyä} \).

a. These roots are \( \text{vyac}, \text{vyath}, \text{vyadh}, \text{vyä}, \text{yjä}, \text{pyä}, \text{syand} \); and, in the Veda, also \( \text{tjaj} \), with \( \text{cyu} \) and \( \text{dyu} \), which have the root-vowel \( u \). Other sporadic cases occur.

b. A single root with \( v \) is treated in the same way: namely \( \text{svap} \), which forms \( \text{suṣvap} \).

c. These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, 784.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

a. Thus, of roots reduplicating with \( a \): \( \text{kan}, \text{klyp}, \text{grdh}, \text{trp}, \text{trə}, \text{dṛh}, \text{dhr}, \text{dhrə}, \text{nam}, \text{mah}, \text{mr}, \text{mrə}, \text{ran}, \text{rath}, \text{rabh}, \text{vañc}, \text{van}, \text{vaq}, \text{vas clothe}, \text{vaq}, \text{vṛj}, \text{vṛt}, \text{vṛdh}, \text{vṛə}, \text{qad} \) prevail, sah, skambh. Some of these occur only in isolated cases; many have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but \( \text{dādhara} \) is common also in the Brāhmaṇa language, and is even found later. As to \( \text{jāgr} \); see 1020a.

b. Of roots reduplicating with \( i \): the so-called roots (676) \( \text{didhi} \) and \( \text{didi} \), which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, \( \text{didētha}, \text{didāya}; \text{didhima}, \text{didhyus} \) (also \( \text{didhiyus}, \text{didiyus} \)). But \( \text{pipi} \) has \( \text{pipye}, \text{pipyus}, \text{etc.} \), with short \( i \). In AV. occurs once \( \text{jihida} \), and in AB. (and AA.) \( \text{bibhāya} \).

c. Of roots reduplicating with \( ū \): \( \text{tu}, \text{jī}, \text{and qū} \) (or \( \text{qvā} \)).

787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative: 42) palatal mutes and aspiration show a reversion to the more original guttural in the radical syllable after the reduplication: thus, \( \text{vəi forms ciki}; \text{vəit forms cikit}; \text{vəi forms jigi}; \text{vəhi forms jighi}; \text{vəhan forms jaghan} \) (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots: 2181). A root \( dā \) protect is said by the grammarians to form \( \text{digi} \); but neither root nor perfect is quotable.

788. A small number of roots with initial \( a \) or \( \gamma \) (ar) show the anomalous reduplication \( ān \) in the perfect.

a. Thus (the forms occurring mainly in the older language only):
γανι or aj, which forms the pres. anäkti, has the perfect anañja and anajé etc. (with anajä and anajyät);

γαç attain (from which comes once in RV. anäçāmahādī), has the weak forms anäçma etc. (with opt. anäçyām), anäçē etc. (and LCS. has anäçadhive), and the strong forms anañça and anañça — along with the regular aça etc.;

γṛdh (from which comes once γṛñadh) has anärdhus and anärđhe; γṛc or arc has anṛcůs and anṛcē, and later anarca and anarces; γarh has (in TS.) anṛhús;
anāha (RV., once) has been referred to a root ah, elsewhere unknown, and explained as of this formation; but with altogether doubtful propriety.

b. The later grammar, then, sets up the rule that roots beginning with a and ending with more than one consonant have an as their regular reduplication; and such perfects are taught from roots like aks, aj, and aço or ac; but the only other quotable forms appear to be anarchat (MBh.) and anarṣat (TA.); which are accordingly reckoned as "pluperfects".

789. One or two individual cases of irregularity are the following:

a. The extremely common root bhū be has the anomalous reduplication ba, forming the stem babhū; and, in the Veda, yasū forms in like manner sāsū.

b. The root bhṛ bear has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication ja (as also in intensive: 1002); but RV. has once also the regular babhre, and pple babhrāṇā.

c. The root sṭhīv spew forms either tisthīv (CB. et al.) or tisthīv (not quotable).

d. Vivakvān (RV., once) is doubtless participle of y vac, with irregular reduplication (as in the present, 680).

790. Absence of reduplication is met with in some cases. Thus:

a. The root vid know has, from the earliest period to the latest, a perfect without reduplication, but otherwise regularly made and inflected: thus, véda, vētha, etc., pple vidvās. It has the meaning of a present. The root vid jinā forms the regular vīvēda.

b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are takṣasthus and takṣus, yamātus, skambhātus and skambhus, nindima (for ninidima?), dhīše and dhīre (? ydhā?), and vidrē and arhīre (? see 613). And AV. VS. have cetatus. The participial words dāqvāns, miḥdvāns, sāhvāns are common in the oldest language; and RV. has once jānūṣas (yjñā), and khidvas (voc.), perhaps for cikhidvas.

c. A few sporadic cases also are quotable from the later language, especially from the epics: thus, karsatus, ceyta and ceytatus, bhrājatus, sarpa, caṇus and caṇsire, dhvahaire, sraṇaire, jālpire, edhīre; also the pple caṇsivāṇs and darçivāṇs, the latter being not infrequent.
791. For an anomalous case or two of reduplicated preposition, see below, 1087 f.

792. Strong and weak stem-forms. In the three persons of the singular active, the root-syllable is accented, and exhibits usually a stronger form than in the rest of the tense-inflection. The difference is effected partly by strengthening the root in the three persons referred to, partly by weakening it in the others, partly by doing both.

793. As regards the strengthening:

a. A final vowel takes either the guṇa or vyṛddhi change in 1st sing. act., guṇa in 2d, and vyṛddhi in 3d: thus, from गृहः bibhे, 1st गृहः bibhé; 2d गृहः bibhē; 3d गृहः bibhā; fromक्र kr, 1st चकारः cakār or चकारः cakār, 2d चकारः cakār, 3d चकारः cakār.

b. But the उ of गृहः remains unchanged, and adds व before a vowel-ending: thus, babhūva etc.

c. Medial ऋ a before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or vyṛddhied in the 3d. sing., and optionally in the first: thus, fromतप tap, 1st तत्प tapa or तत्प tapa, 2d तत्प tapa, 3d तत्प tapa.

d. In the earlier language, however, the weaker of the two forms allowed by these rules in the first person is almost exclusively in use: thus, 1st only bibhāya, tatāpa; 3d bibhāya, tatāpa. Exceptions are cakāra and jagrāna (doubtful reading) in AV., cakāra in AŚ. and BAU. (CBS. cakara), jīgāya in AŚ., as first persons.

e. A medial short vowel has in all three persons alike the guṇa-strengthening (where this is possible: 240): thus, from दृढ़ druḥ comes दृढ़ druḥ; fromविस्त vīc comes विस्त vīc; fromक्र krt comes चकारः cakār.

f. An initial short vowel before a single final consonant is to be treated like a medial, but the quotable examples are very few: namely, येṣa from येष seek, uvocitha and uvoca from यु स uvoc, uvoc from यु uvoc. As to roots इ and र, whose vowels are both initial and final, see above, 783 a, b.

g. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple tha as ending; if it has itha (below, 797 d),
the accent is allowed to fall on any one of the syllables of the word, and
the root-syllable if unaccented has sometimes the weak form (namely, in
contracted stems with e for medial a: below, 794 e; and in certain other
verbs, as vivijitha). The earlier language, however, affords no example
of a 2d sing., whatever its ending, accented on any other than the radical
syllable, or failing to conform to the rules of strengthening as given above
(in a, c, e).

h. Occasional instances of strengthening in other than the singular
persons are met with: thus, yuyopima and vivequus (RV.), pasparquus
(KeU.), and, in the epics, cakartus and cakartire, cakarṣatūs, jugū-
hire, nanāmire, bibhedus, vavāhatu, viveqatūs, vavarquus. The
roots dy, py, and qy, and optionally yj, are said by the grammarians
to have the strong stem in weak forms; but no examples appear to be quotable.
AV., however, has once jaharua (probably a false reading); and in the
later language occur caskare (vkr scatter) and tastare.

i. The root mrj has (as in the present-system: 827) vṛddhi instead
of guṇa in strong forms: thus, mamārja; and yṛguh (also as in present:
745 o) has ī instead of o (but also juguhe E.).

794. As regards the weakening in weak forms:

a. It has been seen above (783 b) that roots beginning with i
or u fuse reduplicating and radical syllable together to ī or 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 ī or ī.

b. A few roots having ya and va after a first initial consonant,
and reduplicating from the semifowel (785), contract the va and ya to i and
u: thus, vivie from ṣvyac, vividh from ṣvyadh (but svyadhus
MBh.), susup from svap. The extended roots jya, pya, vyā, qvā,
hvā show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from
the simpler roots ji, pi, vi, çu, hu, while hvā must and qvā may get
their strong forms also from the same (and only jijyāū is quotable from
the others).

c. The root grabh or grah (if it be written thus: see 729 a) con-
tracts to γrh, making the three forms of stem jagrāh (1st and 2d sing.
act.), jagrāh (3d), and jagrh; but prach (if it be so written: see 759 a)
remains unchanged throughout.

d. Some roots omit in weak forms of this tense, or in some of them,
a nasal which is found in its strong forms: thus, we have okradē etc.
(RV.) from ṣkrand; tatsārē (RV.) from ṣtaṁ; dacaqvaṁ (RV.) from
ṣdenç; bedhuś, bedhē, etc. (AV.) from ṣbandh; ṣeṣuś (CB.) from
ṣaṅj; caskabhāṇā (AV.) from ṣkambh; tastabhūs etc. (V.),
tastabhāṇā (V.B.), from ṣtambh. Compare also 788 a.

e. A number of roots having medial a between single consonants
drop that vowel. These are, in the later language, gam, khan, jan,
han, ghas; they form the weak stems jagm, cakhn, jajû, jaghn (compare 637), jaka (compare 640): but RV. has once jajanûs.

f. In the old language are found in like manner mammâte and mammâte from y'man; vavné from y'van; tatne, tatniûe, tatniire from y'tan (beside tatane, and tate, as if from y'tâ); paptima and paptus and paptivâns from y'pat (beside pet-forms; below, g); papnê from y'pan; sačima and sačus and sačère, from y'asac.

g. Roots in general having medial a before a single final consonant, and beginning also with a single consonant that is repeated unchanged in the reduplication — that is, not an aspirate, a guttural mute, or h — contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having e as its vowel: thus, y'sad forms the weak stem sed, y'pac forms pec, y'yan forms yem; and so on.

h. Certain roots not having the form here defined are declared by the grammarians to undergo the same contraction — most of them optionally; and examples of them are in general of very rare occurrence. They are as follows: râj (E.C.) and râdh (radhP), notwithstanding their long vowel; phâp, phal (phelire C.), bhâj (occurs from RV. down), though their initial is changed in reduplication; trap, tras (tresus E.C.), ãrath, syam, svan, though they begin with more than one consonant; dambh (debhûs, RV., from the weaker dabh), though it ends with more than one; and bhram (bhremus etc. KSS.), bhraj, granth, svañj, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary. And CB. has sejus from y'sañj, and KB. has ãremus from y'gram. On the other hand, RV. has once rarabh-mâ, and R. has papatûs, for petûs, from y'pat.

i. This contraction is allowed also in 2d sing. act. when the ending is ëtha: thus, tenitha beside tatantha (but no examples are quotable from the older language).

j. The roots qaç and dad (from dâ: 872) are said to reject the contraction; but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.

k. From y'tîr (or tar) occurs terus (R.); and jerus from y'jr is authorized by the grammarians — both against the general analogy of roots in ã.

1. Roots ending in ã lose their ã before all endings beginning with a vowel, including those endings that assume the union-vowel i (796) — unless in the latter case it be preferred to regard the i as a weakened form of the ã.

795. Endings, and their union with the stem. The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (553 c); an dit has also been pointed out (543a) that roots ending in ãa have ãi ãu in 1st and 3d sing. active.
a. The ending maḥ instead of ma is found in quṣrumaḥ (E.C.),
for the alleged occurrence of dhve instead of dhve in 2d pl. mid., see
228 c.

796. Those of the endings which begin with a con-
sonant — namely ṭha, ṭva, ṭ ma in active; ṭe se, ṭe
vahe, ṭe mahe, ṭe dhve, ṭe re in middle — are very often,
and in the later language usually, joined to the base with
the help of an interposed union-vowel ṭi.

a. The union-vowel i is found widely used also in other parts of the
general verbal system: namely, in the sibilant aorist, the futures, and the
verbal nouns and adjectives (as also in other classes of derivative stems).
In the later language, a certain degree of correspondence is seen among the
different parts of the same verb, as regards their use or non-use of the
connective; but this correspondence is not so close that general rules res-
pecting it can be given with advantage; and it will be best to treat each
formation by itself.

b. The perfect is the tense in which the use of i has established
itself most widely and firmly in the later language.

797. The most important rules as to the use of ṭi in
the later language are as follows:

a. The ṭe re of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except ṭha of 2d
sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

c. But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely kr
make, bhṛ bear, sṛ go, vr choose, dru run, cṛ ṭear, sru praise, sru
flow; and it is allowably (not usually) rejected by some others, in
general accordance with their usage in other formations.

d. In 2d sing. act., it is rejected not only by the eight
verbs just given, but also by many others, ending in vow-
els or in consonants, which in other formations have no
ṭi; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in
other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, in-
cluding those in ṭa ā (of which the ṭa ā is lost when the
ending is ṭa itha), and most of those in ṭ i, ṭ ṭ, and ṭ u.

e. The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of tha
or itha, run out into infinite detail, and are not wholly consistent with
one another; and, as the forms are very infrequent, it is not possible to
criticise the statements made, and to tell how far they are founded on the
facts of usage.
f. With this i, a final radical i or ī is not combined, but changed into y or īy. The ā of ybhū becomes āuv 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, āsītha, uvōōītha, vivēdītha, but tātāntha and vivyāktha; uciyā, paptima, sedima, yuyopimā, but jaganma, jagṛbhīma, yuyuj- 

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 2ā sing. in itha is met with), as dadhiyā, dadhiyē, dadhīdvē, dadhīre (the only persons with ā quotable from RV. and AV.; and RV. has dadhīre twice); — roots in ā appear also to follow the later rule: as cakṛṣē, pāprṣe, vavrṣe, vavṛmāhe, but dadhiyē and jabhīre, and in 3rd pl. mid. both cakṛṣe and dadhīre; — ybhū has both babhūthā (usually) and babhūvitha, but only babhūvimā (AV.). But there are found, against the later rules, susūma, cicitre, juhūre, and juhūre, without ā: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending rīre of 3rd pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, cikitrire, jagṛhrīre, dadhīre, babhvīrīre, vividhīre, sasṛjīre; to which SY. adds duddhīre, and TB. dadṛṣre.

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 yud bhud know: its strong form of perfect-stem is yudōy bhōdh; weak form, yudbubdh.

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X. Perfect-system.

2 बुबोधि  बुबुषसु  बुबुर  बुबुरिषेः  बुबुराधि  बुबुरिषे
   बुबोधि  बुबुषसु  बुबुर  बुबुरिषेः  बुबुराधि  बुबुरिषे
bubódhītha -dāthuṣ -dāh bubudhiṣe -dāthe -dhiḍhve

3 बुबोध    बुबुषसु  बुबुर  बुबुरिषेः  बुबुराधि  बुबुरिषे
   बुबोध    बुबुषसु  बुबुर  बुबुरिषेः  बुबुराधि  बुबुरिषे
bubódha -dātus -dūṣ bubudhe -dāte -dhirē
d. The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing. act. (above, 793 g) needs to be noted both in this and in the remaining paradigms.

c. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final i or u-vowel, we may take the root नी ni lead: its forms of stem are निनया, निनय or निनय निनय, and निनी निनी.

1 निनय, निनय   निनियव निनियम निन्ये निनियवके निनियमके
   निनया, निनया  निनियवा निनियमा निन्ये निनियवाे निनियमाे
2 निनय, निनयिय   निनियमु निनय निनियेढे निनियाबे निनियहे
   निन्था, निनयिथा  निनियाथु निन्याय निनियेढे निनियहे
3 निनय   निनियमु निनियमु निन्ये निन्याबे निन्यिरे
   निनया  निनियाः निन्यु निन्ये निन्याबे निन्यिरे
d. The root krī would make (129a) in weak forms cikrīyiva, cikrīyātus, cikrīyus, etc.; and ṣbhā is inflected as follows in the active (middle forms not quotable):

1 babhūva babhūviva babhūvimā
2 babhūtha, babhūvitha babhūvāthuṣ babhūvā
3 babhūva babhūvāthuṣ babhūvās

Other roots in उ or उ change this to uv before the initial vowel of an ending.

e. As example of the inflection of a root ending in ना, we may take ना dā give: its forms of stem are ददा dadā and ददा dad (or ददा dadi: see above, 7941).

1 ददा ददिव ददिम ददी ददिवके ददिमके
   ददा ददिव ददिम ददी ददिवके ददिमके
   dadāu dadivā dadimā dadē dadivāhe dadimāhe
2 ददा, ददिव ददिमु ददी ददिध ददिधे
   ददा, ददिध ददिमु ददी ददिध ददिधे
   dadātha, dadithā dadāthus dadā dadisē dadāthe dadidhvē
3 ददा ददिमु ददिसु ददी ददिरे
   ददा ददिरे
   dadāu dadās dadē dadāte dadirē
f. The RV. has once paprā for paprāṇ (and jahā for jahāṇ)?
g. As example of a root with medial ग a showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial ःे, in the weak forms (794g), we may take ततन tan stretch: its forms of stem are ततने tatāna or तताने tatāna, and तेन ten.

h. The root जान jan, with the others which expel medial a in weak forms (794e), makes जाण्ठा jajántha or जाञ्ठा jajnitha, जान्वा jajnivā, जान्स jajnus; जाने, जानिरे jajnire; and so on.

i. As example of a root with initial ओ va contracted to ओ u in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to ओ u in weak forms (784), we may take वाच vac speak: its forms of stem are उवाच uvāc or उवच uvāc, and ओ u.

j. In like manner, याज yaj forms याज jajja or याज्ञ jajjatha or याज्ञान jajjāntha; इजे, इजिः and so on; यु ए uvoc and uvocitha in the strong forms, and all the rest like vac.

k. Of the four roots in ग र त ध mentioned at 797c, the inflection is as follows:

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
1. Of the roots in र in general, the first persons are made as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>र</th>
<th>र</th>
<th>र</th>
<th>र</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>दधारा</td>
<td>दधारा</td>
<td>दध्रिवा</td>
<td>दध्रिमा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We may further add here, finally, the active inflection (the middle is not in use) of the perfect of as be, which (like babhūva and cakāra, given above) is frequently employed as an auxiliary.

1 आसा आसिवा आसिमा
2 आसिथा आसाथुस आसास्तस
3 आससा आसास्तस आसुस

801. A few miscellaneous irregularities call still for notice:

a. The root आ 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, आत्था, आह; आहाथ, आहातस; आहुस (in V., only आह and आहुस are met with).

b. From यवा weave, the 3d pl. act. उवस 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 वान; and also as वाय (the present-stem is वाय: 761 f), with contraction of va to u in weak forms; and further, in the weak forms, as simple u.

c. The root यवा envelop has in RV. the perfect-forms विवाथुस and विव्य, and no others have been met with in use; the grammarians require the strong forms to be made from व्य, and the weak from वि.

d. The root इ go forms in RV. and AV. the 2d sing. act. इवाथा beside the regular इवाथ; and beside इरिरे from इर, RV. has several times इरिरे.

e. RV. has an anomalous accent in दाद्रे and दाद्रे (beside दाद्रेश) and the pple दाद्रेनामा. And सिकेता (once, beside सिकेता) is perhaps a kindred anomaly.

f. Persons of the perfect from the इ-forms of roots in changeable र (342) are तितिरस and तिटिरे (both RV.); and they have corresponding participles.

g. The bastard root उर्पु (713) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem उर्पुनु; the roots माज and नाज are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing. active, when the ending is simple था: thus, मामानक्त, नानान्त्त (also मामालित and नेतिता).

h. Further may be noted ससाजतुस (MBh.: यसान्ति, which has in passive the secondary form सान्त), रुरूंधातुस (R.), and दुद्धुस (BhP).

i. The anomalous अजग्राब्हिसां (AB. vi. 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for अजग्राब्हिसां, desid.?).
Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is वानस (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उष्ण in the weakest, and replaced by वत 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, बुबुद्वानस, निनिवानस, चक्रवानस, तक्रवानस.

803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel रि (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तेनिवानस, उचिवानस, जाजिवानस, यादिवानस (from य्यदु ad: 783a), and so on; ददिवानस and its like, from roots in ग्रा ग्रा, are to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view the रि as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (7941).

a. But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, विद्रानस, and in V., दात्रानस (SV. दातीवानस), मिद्रानस, साह्रानस, क्षिद्रानस (?); and RV. has also दाद्रानस (AV. दादिवानस and once दादावानस) from य्दा (or दाद: 672); and अन-अवानस (याच eat) occurs in TS. and TB. But AV. has विचवानस and वर्जवानस (in negative fem. वर्जुगी).

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, वावधवानस, सासाहवानस, जुजुवानस. RV. and AV. have वसावानस from य्सान or सान. RV. makes the participial forms of य्त्र or त्र from different modifications of the root: thus, तितिर्वानस, but ततरुगा. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 462c.

805. a. From roots गम and हन the Veda makes the strong stems जागनवानस (as to the न, see 212a) and जागनवानस; the later language allows either these or the more regular जागिवानस and जागनिवानस (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere जाग्मुग and जागन्मुग). RV. has also ततानवानस.
b. From three roots, *vīd* ānā, *viq* ānā, and *drq* ānā, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, *viviqivāṁṣ* or *vaviqivāṁṣ*; *dadṛqivāṁṣ* occurs in Kṛṣṇa-PB. has once *ecchidivāṁṣ*.

806. The ending of the middle participle is ānā. It is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, *bubudhānā* placed ānā, *ninyānā*, *dadānā*, *tenānā*, *jajānā*, *ucānā*.

a. In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, *vāvṛdhānā* placed ānā, *dādṛhānā* placed ānā, *tutujānā*, etc. RV. has *çaçayānā* from *γ̣ι* (with irregular guṇa, as in the present-system: 829); *tistrānā* from *γ̣str*; and once, with *mānā* placed ānā, *saśrmanā* from *γ̣arp*. A few participles with long redupl. vowel have it irregularly accented (as if rather intensive: 1013): thus, *tuttujānā* (also tutujānā), *bābdhānā*, *çāçadānā*, *çūçujānā*, *çūçuvānā*.

807. In the later language, the perfect participles have nearly gone out of use; even the active appears but rarely, and is made from very few verbs, and of the middle hardly any examples are quotable, save such as the proper name *yuyudhānā*, the adjective *anucānā* learned in scripture, etc.

**Modes of the Perfect.**

808. Modes of the perfect belong only to the Vedic language, and even are seldom found outside of the Rig-Veda.

a. To draw the line surely and distinctly between these and the mode-forms from other reduplicated tense-stems — the present-stem of the reduplicating class, the reduplicated aorist, and the intensive — is not possible, since no criterion of form exists which does not in some cases fail, and since the general equivalence of modal forms from all stems (582), and the common use of the perfect as a present in the Veda (823), deprive us of a criterion of meaning. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that a considerable body of forms are to be reckoned here; optatives like *ānaçyām* and *babhūyās* and *babhūyat*, imperatives like *babhūtū*, subjunctives like *jabhārat*, show such distinctive characteristics of the perfect formation that by their analogy other similar words are confidently classed as belonging to the perfect.

809. The normal method of making such forms would appear to be as follows: from a reduplicated perfect-stem, as (for example) *mumuc*, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be *mumóca* (accented after the analogy of the strong forms
of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be mumucya in the active, and mumuṣi (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., paprāthaḥ, cākānaḥ, māmāhaḥ, piprāyaḥ, bubodhaḥ, rāraṇaḥ; 3d sing., cākānaḥ, ja-

bhāraḥ, rāraṇaḥ, sāsāḥaḥ, pasparcataḥ, piprāyataḥ; 1st pl., cākānāma, tatānāma, ṭuṛuṣvāmaḥ; 3d pl., tatānanaḥ, paprāthan (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only dadhar-

ṣaṭaḥ and vavartataḥ: compare the formation with different accent below, 811a.

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. tatāpate, caqāmata, ṭuṛuṣvate, jujogate (SV.; RV. has jujogate); and the 3d pl. cākānanta, tatānanta (and perhaps two or three others: below, 811b, end).

811. But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur; thus:

a. With strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, 645). Here the forms with primary endings, active, are not very rare: for example, jujogasi, jujogatī, jujogathās, jujogathā (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, jujogas, jujogat, and jujogān are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since dādaṇas and uṣūḍas etc. are perhaps rather aorists). And there is no middle form but jujogate (RV.; see above, 810c).

b. With unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accented on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, mumucya; vavṛṭataḥ, vīvitaḥ, ṭuṛuṣvataḥ; the only middle forms are dadhrṣate, vāvṛdhatē, 3d sing.; and cākramanta, dādhrṣanta, rūrucanta (with dadabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, jjuhranta, which might also belong elsewhere: 810c).

c. Accented on the ending are vāvṛdhaṇta and cakṛpānta (which are rather to be called augmentless pluperfects).

d. As to forms with double mode-sign, or transfers to an a- conjugation, see below, 815.

812. Examples of the regular optative formation are:

a. In active: 1st sing., aṇaṇyaḥ, jagamyaḥ, p苹cyāṁ, ririg-

yām; 2d sing., vavṛtyaḥ, vīvitaḥ, ṭuṛuṣvataḥ, babhuyās; 3d sing., jagamyāt, vavṛtyāt, tutuṣvāt, babhvuyāt; 2d du., jagmṛṣuṁ, ṭuṛuṣyāt; 1st pl., sāsahyāma, vavṛtyāma, ṭuṛuṣvāma; 3d pl., tatanyuṣa, vavṛtyuṣa, vavṛtyuṣu. The forms are quite numerous.
b. In middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing., vavṛṭiya; 2d sing., vāvṛdhīthās, cakṣamīthās; 3d sing., jagrasita, vavṛṭīta, māṃjita, dudhuvita, ṇucucita; 1st pl., vavṛtimahī. And sāsa-hīṣṭhās and ririṣṭgta appear to furnish examples of precative optative forms.

c. There is no irregular mode of formation of perfect optatives. Individual irregularities are shown by certain forms: thus, cakṛiyās, paśiyāt, cuṇṛyās and cuṇṛyātām, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign yā (770); anajyāt with short initial; ciṣrītā from ṣrī; jākaṣyāt is anomalous: ririṣes is the only form that shows a union-vowel a (unless also aṣet, from ṣa).

813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted: namely, active, cākandhi, rārandhī, cikiddhi, titīgdhi, mumugdhi, cuṇṛgḍhi, and pipṛthī; cākantu, rārantu, mumoktu, and babhūtu; mumuktam and vavṛktam; jujuṣṭana and vavṛṭtana (unless we are to add mamaddhi, mamattu, mamāttana); — middle, vavṛtsva and vavṛḍḥvam. AV. has once dāḍraṁ.

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, mumōcatam and jujoṣatam (2d du.), and mumōcata (2d pl.); in the middle, pipṛyasa (only one found with accent), and māmahasva, vāvṛḍhasva, vāvṛṣasva (2d sing.), and māmahantām (3d pl. probably to be accented -aśva 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, 1026 ff.) for example, jujoṣā from ṣuṣ, from which would come jūjoṣāsi etc. and jūjoṣate (811a) as indicative, jujoṣas etc. as subjunctively used. Imperfect, and jujoṣatam as imperative. Most of the forms given above as subjunctives with primary ending lack a marked and constant subjunctive character, and would pass fairly well as indicatives. And it appears tolerably certain that from one root at least, vṛdh, such a double stem is to be recognized; from vāvṛdha come readily vāvṛdhate, vāvṛḍhānta, and from it alone can come regularly vāvṛḍhasva, vāvṛḍhete and vāvṛḍhāti (once, RV.) — and, yet more, the participle vāvṛḍhānt (RV.; AV. vāvṛḍhant: an isolated case): yet even here we have also vāvṛḍhitha, not vāvṛḍhetha. To assume double present-stems, however, in all the cases would be highly implausible; it is better to recognize the formation as one begun, but not carried out.

a. Only one other subjunctive with double mode-sign — namely, papṛciṣa — is found to set beside vāvṛḍhāti.

818. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from ymuc, the subjunctives mumōcas, múmo-
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, 788b) have also been referred to it.

a. There is much of the same difficulty in distinguishing the pluperfect as the perfect modes from kindred reduplicated formations. Between it and the aorist, however, a difference of meaning helps to make a separation.

818. The normal pluperfect should show a strong stem in the singular active, and a weak one elsewhere — thus, mumoc and mumuc — with augment prefixed and secondary endings added (us in 3d pl. act., ata in 3d pl. mid.).

a. Of forms made according to this model, we have, in the active: 1st sing., ajagrabbam and acacakṣam (which, by its form, might be aorist: 860); 2d sing. ājagān; 3d sing., ājagān and aciket; 2d du., amumuktam; 2d pl. ājagantā, and ājagantāna and ājabhartāna (a strong form, as often in this person: 558a); 3d pl. (perhaps), ama-mandus and amamadus. To these may be added the augmentless cākān and rārān, cikētam and cakaram. In the middle, the 3d pl. acakriran and ajagmīran (with iran instead of ata), and the augmentless 2d sing. jugūrthās and susupthās, are the most regular forms to be found.

819. Several forms from roots ending in consonants save the endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. by inserting an ī (555b): thus, ābubhojis, aviveqis; arirecit, ajagrabbit (avavarlt and avavāqitām are rather intensives); and the augmentless jīhīnas (accent?) and dādhrṣit belong with them.

820. A few forms show a stem ending in a: they are, in the active: 3d sing., asassvajat, acikitat, acakrat; in the middle: 3d sing., āpiperata; 2d du., āpaspadhētām; 3d pl., atitvisanta (which by its form might be aorist), ādādṛhantā; and cakradat, cakrpānta, vāvrīdhānta, juhuranta, would perhaps be best classified here as augmentless forms (compare 811, above).

Uses of the Perfect.

821. Perfects are quotable as made from more than half the roots of the language, and they abound in use at every period and in almost all branches of the literature, though not always with the same value.

a. According to the Hindu grammarians, the perfect is used in the
narration of facts not witnessed by the narrator; but there is no evidence of its being either exclusively or distinctively so employed at any period.

b. In the later language, it is simply a preterit or past tense, equivalent with the imperfect, and freely interchangeable or coördinated with it. It is on the whole less common than the imperfect, although the preferences of different authors are diverse, and it sometimes exceeds the imperfect in frequency (compare (927).

c. The perfects veda and āha are everywhere used with present value. In the Brāhmaṇas, also others, especially dādhāra, also dādāya, bibhāya, etc.

282. In the Brāhmaṇas, the distinction of tense-value between perfect and imperfect is almost altogether lost, as in the later language. But in most of the texts the imperfect is the ordinary tense of narration, the perfect being only exceptionally used. Thus in PB., the imperfects are to the perfects as more than a hundred to one; in the Brāhmaṇa parts of TS. and TB., as over thirty-four to one; and in those of MS. in about the same proportion; in AB., as more than four to one, the perfect appearing mostly in certain passages, where it takes the place of imperfect. It is only in QB. that the perfect is much more commonly used, and even, to a considerable extent, in coördination with the imperfect. Throughout the Brāhmaṇas, however, the perfect participles have in general the true "perfect" value, indicating a completed or proximate past.

283. In the Veda, the case is very different. The perfect is used as past tense in narration, but only rarely; sometimes also it has a true "perfect" sense, or signifies a completed or proximate past (like the aorist of the older language: 928); but oftentimes it has a value hardly or not at all distinguishable in point of time from the present. It is thus the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present; and it occurs coördinated with them all.

a. Examples are: of perfect with present, nā qrāmyanti nā vī muñcanṭy ēte vāyo nā peptuḥ (RV.) they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds; sē' d u rājā kṣayati carṣānīmām arān nā nemīḥ pāri tā babhūva (RV.) he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes; — of perfect with aorist, ūpo ruruece yuvatūr nā yōṣā... ābhūd agnīḥ samīdhe mānuṣāṇām ākār jyotīr bādh- amānā tāmānī (RV.) she is come beaming like a young maiden; Agni hath appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving away the darkness; — of perfect with imperfect, āhann āhim ānv apās tatārda (RV.) he slew the dragon, he penetrated to the waters. Such a coördination as this last is of constant occurrence in the later language: e. g. mumude 'pūjayao cāt 'nām (R.) he was glad, and paid honor to her; vastrānte jagrāha skandhadeq 'ṣjat tasya srajam (MBh.) she took hold of the end of his garment, and dropped a garland on his shoulders.
Varieties of Aorist.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AORIST SYSTEMS.

824. Under the name of aorist are included (as was pointed out above, 532) three quite distinct formations, each of which has its sub-varieties: namely —

I. A SIMPLE AORIST (equivalent to the Greek “second aorist”), analogous in all respects as to form and inflection with the imperfect. It has two varieties: 1. the root-aorist, with a tense-stem identical with the root (corresponding to an imperfect of the root-class); 2. the a-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in ṣa, or with union-vowel ṣa before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the a-class).

II. 3. A REDUPLICATING AORIST, perhaps in origin identical with an imperfect of the reduplicating class, but having come to be separated from it by marked peculiarities of form. It usually has a union-vowel ṣa before the endings, or is inflected like an imperfect of one of the a-classes; but a few forms occur in the Veda without such vowel.

III. A SIGMATIC OR SIBILANT AORIST (corresponding to the Greek “first aorist”), having for its tense-sign a ṣa added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary Ṣ; its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel ṣa; a very few roots also are increased by ṣa for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel ṣa before endings: 4. s-aorist, with ṣa alone added to the root; 5. is-aorist, the same with interposed Ṣ; 6. sis-aorist, the same as the preceding with ṣa added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel ṣa, 7. sa-aorist.
825. All these varieties are bound together and made into a single complex system by certain correspondences of form and meaning. Thus, in regard to form, they are all alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply preterits, exchangeable with imperfects and perfects, they all alike have in the older language the general value of a completed past or “perfect”, translatable by have done and the like.

826. The aorist-system is a formation of infrequent occurrence in much of the classical Sanskrit (its forms are found, for example, only twenty-one times in the Nala, eight in the Hitopadeśa, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gītā and Çakuntalā, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2600 lines, of the Rāmāyaṇa: compare 827 b), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 579; and the so-called preceptive: see 821 ff.); in the older language, on the other hand, it is quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.

827. a. In the RV., nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms, of one or another class; in the AV., rather less than one third; and in the other texts of the older language comparatively few aorists occur which are not found in these two.

b. More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make aorist forms of more than one class (not taking into account the reduplicated or “causative” aorist); but no law appears to underlie this variety; of any relation such as is taught by the grammarians, between active one class and middle of another as correlative, there is no trace discoverable.

c. Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, adhām and dhāsus from 1/ḍhā, ayuji and ayukṣata from 1/yuj; — of 1 and 5, agrabham and agrabhīma from 1/grabh, mṛṣṭhās and mṛṣṭhās from 1/mṛṣ; — of 1 and 2, ārta and ārat from 1/r; — of 2 and 4, avidam and avītsi from 1/vidīm, anijam and anāıkṣit from 1/ni; — of 2 and 5, sanēma and asānīṣam from 1/san; — of 2 and 7, aruham and arukṣat from 1/ruh; — of 4 and 5, amatsus and amādiqus from 1/mađ; — of 4 and 6, hāsmahi and hāsiquis from 1/hā; — of 1 and 2 and 4, atnata and atanat and atān from 1/ta; — of 1 and 4 and 5, abudhran and ābhutsi and bōdhiṣat from 1/budh, āstar and strāya and
1. Root-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 ə-class, without a corresponding present indicative, but with (more or less fragmentarily) all the other parts which go to make up a complete present-system.

1. Root-aorist.

829. a. This formation is in the later language limited to a few roots in घा ə and the root मृbhū, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the s-aorist (4), or the ɨs-aorist (5).

b. The roots in घा ə take उन्न us as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their घा ə before it; मृbhū (as in the perfect: 793a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting न v after it before the endings मृ am and मृ 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, धा, पा drink, sthā, bhū; while sporadic forms are made from jña, přa, sā, hā. As to their middle forms, see below, 834a.

a. Instead of अभुवम, RV. has twice अभुवम. BhP. has again, 3d pl., instead of agus.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in र, and a few in इ- and उ-vowels (short or long) —
with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, guṇa-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

a. Thus (in the active), from y’cru, ácṟavam and ácroft; from y’cṛ, ácres and ác-ret; from y’kṛ, make, ákaram and ákar (for akars and akart); from vṛ enclose, áv[i]r (585 a); and so ástār, aspar. Dual and plural forms are much less frequent than singular; but for the most part they also show an irregular strengthening of the root-vowel: thus (including augmentless forms), ákarma and karma and ákarta, vartam, spartam, áhema and áhetana, bhema, acṛavaṇ; regular are only avran, ákrān, ahyan, and ácṛiyan.

332. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of guṇa-strengthening and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

a. Thus, ábhedam and abhet from y’bhid; ámok from y’nuć; yojam from y’yuj; rok (VS.) from y’ruj; arodham and arudhama from y’rudh; avar from y’vṛt; vārk from y’yṛj (AV. has once ayṛk); adar-çam from y’dr̥; ārdhama from y’ṛdh; and adṛçam, ayyan, aqvitan. But ched, with guṇa, from y’chid, and adaryama (TS.) from y’dṛṣ.

333. Again, from a larger number of roots with a as radical vowel:

a. Of these, gam (with n for m when final or followed by m: 143 a, 212 a) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, ágamam, ágān (2d and 3d sing.), ágama, aganta (strong form), ágman. The other cases are akram from y’kram; ātan from y’tan; abhirāṭ from y’hṛj; askan from y’skand; asrat from y’sraḥs (? VS.); dhak and dadhama from y’daḥ; ánaṭ (585 a) and naštām from y’nāq; ághas or aghat, ághastām, aghasta, and ákṣan (for aghsan, like agman) from y’ghas; and the 3d pl. in us, ákramus, ayanus, dabhūs, rṛtus (pf.?), mandūs.

334. 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 adḥiṁaḥ, adhiḥa (also ahiḥa), and adhiṁahi; adhithaḥ, adita, and adhimaḥi (and adhimahi from y’da cut); ácita (?); sımāḥi; ásthithaḥsa and ásthita and ásthiran, forms of á-roots; — of y-roots, akri, ákṛthaḥ, ákṛta, ákrata, ákrata (and the anomalous kranta); avri, avṛthaḥ, avṛta; ārta, ārata; mṛthaḥ, mṛṭa; dhṛthaḥ; adṛthaḥ; astrā; áhrthaḥ; gūrta; — of i and u roots, the only examples are ahvi (? AV., once), áh安全管理, and áci-divaṃ. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a s in such forms, and the occurrence of avri and akri and akara, show that their reference to the s-aorist is probably without sufficient reason.

b. As regards roots ending in consonants, the case is more questionable; since loss of s after a final consonant before thās and ta (and, of
course, dhvam) would be in many cases required by euphonic rule (233 c ff.). We find, however, such unmistakable middle inflection of the root-aorist as ayuji, ayukthas, ayukta, ayujmah, ayugdhvam, ayujran; aṣṭa and aṣata; nāṇci; apadi (1st sing.) and apadmah and apadran; āmanmah; gānvah and āgammah and āgamata; anata; ājani (1st sing.) and ajnata (3d pl.); from y'gam are made agathas and agata, from y'tan, atathas and ātata, and from y'man, atama, with treatment of the final like that of han in present inflection (637). The ending ran is especially frequent in 3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which have no other middle person of this aorist: thus, aṃṛṭhan, aṃṛṭran, aḍṛṭan, abudhran, āvṛṭran, ajuṣṭan, akṛṣṭhan, avasran, āvīṛṣṭan; and ram is found beside ran in āḍṛṭram, ābudhran, āṣṛṭran.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with s to kṣ, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing k (instead of g) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are aṃukthas (and aṃugdhvam), aṃṛṇkthas and aṃṛṇkta, abhakta, aṃṛṇkta, asakthas and asakta, rikthas, vikthas and vikta, arukta; apraṣṭa, ayaṣṭa, aṣṛṣṭa, aṣṛṣṭthas and aṣṛṣṭa, and mṛṣṭhās would be the same in either case.

d. There remain, as cases of more doubtful belonging, and probably to be ranked in part with the one formation and in part with the other, according to their period and to the occurrence of other persons: chitthas, nutthas and anutta and ānuddhavam, patthas, bhīthas, amatta, atapthās, alipta, aṣṛṣṭa; and finally, ārabdha, alabdha, aruddha, abuddha, ayuddha, and drogdhas (MBh.: read drugdhas): see 688.

Modes of the Root-aorist.

835. Subjunctive. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the augmentless indicative of this aorist are much more frequent than the more proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in detail.

836. a. Of true subjunctives the forms with primary endings are quite few. In the active, kārāṇi, gāṇi, gamāṇi (for bhūvāṇi, see below, c); kārasī; sthātī, dātī and dhātī (which are almost indicative in value), karati, joṣati, padāti, bhēdāti, rādhāti, varjāti; sthāthās, karathās and karatas, darṣṭhas, gravathas and grāvatas; and (apparently) karantī, gāmanti. In the middle, joṣase; idhatē (?), kārata, bhōjate, yojate, vājrāte; dhēte and dhāitē; karāmahe, dhāmahe, gāmāmahe.

b. Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, dāṛqam, bho-jam, yojam; kāras, tārdas, pārcas, yāmas, rādhās, vāras; karat, gāmat, garat, jōgat, daghat, padāt, yamata, yodhat, rādhāt, vārat, vārtata, ṛāvat, sāghan, spārat; kārāma, gamāma, rādhāma; gāman,
gāraṇ, dārcaṇ, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

c. The series bhuvam, bhûvas, bhûvat, bhûvan, and bhuvāṇi (compare abhuvaṁ: 830a), and the isolated črûvat, 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 yābhu).

837. Optative. The optative active of this aorist constitutes, with a s interposed between mode-sign and personal endings (567), the preactive active of the Hindu grammarians, and is allowed by them to be made from every verb, they recognizing no connection between it and the aorist. But in the 2d sing. the interposed Ế is not distinguishable from the personal ending; and, after the earliest period (see 838), the ending crowds out the sibilant in the 3d sing., which thus comes to end in yāt instead of yās (compare 555a).

a. In the older language, however, pure optative forms, without the s, are made from this tense. From roots in ā occur (with change of ā to e before the y: 250d) deyam, dheyam and dheyus, and stheyāma; in u-vowels, bhūyāma; in y, kriyāma; in consonants, aqyām and aqyāma and aqyūṣ, vṛjyam, ḍakṣyam, yuṣyāva and yuṣyātām, sāhyāma, and ṭdyus.

b. The optative middle of the root-aorist is not recognized by the Hindu grammarians as making a part of the preactive formation. The RV. has, however, two preactive forms of it, namely pādiṣṭā and muciṣṭa. Much more common in the older language are pure optative forms: namely, aciya and aciṃmahi (this optative is especially common), indhiya, gmīya, muriya, ruciya; arīta, uhīta, varīta; idhimahi, naṃmahi, nasimahi, prčimahi, mudimahi, yamimahi; and probably, from ā-roots, simahi and dhiṃmahi (which might also be augmentless indicative, since adhimahi and adhitām also occur). All these forms except the three in 3d sing. might be preactive according to the general understanding of that mode, as being of persons which even by the native authorities are not claimed ever to exhibit the inserted sibilant.

838. Precative active forms of this aorist are made from the earliest period of the language. In RV., they do not occur from any root which has not also other aorist forms of the same class to show. The RV. forms are: 1st sing., bhūyāsām; 2d sing., avyās, jāneyās, bhūyās, mṛdhyās, sahyās; 3d sing. (in -yās, for -yāst; RV. has no 3d sing. in yāt, which is later the universal ending), avyās, aqyās, ṛdhyaś, gamyās, daghyās, peyās, bhūyās, yamyās, yuṣyās, vṛjyās, qṛyās, sahyās; 1st pl., kriyāsma (beside kriyāma: 837a). AV. has six 1st persons sing. in -yāsam, one 2d in -yās, one 3d in -yāt (and one in -yās, in a RV. passage), three 1st pl. in -yāsma (beside one in yāma, in a RV. passage), and the 2d bhūyāsātha (doubtless a false reading: TB. has -sta in the corresponding passage). From this time on, the pure optative forms nearly
disappear (the exceptions are given in 837a). But the precative forms are nowhere common, excepting as made from yêhû; and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only bhûyásava and bhûyûstâm being wanting; and these two persons have no representative from any root). All together, active optative or precative forms are made in the older language from over fifty roots; and the epic and classical texts add them from hardly a dozen more: see further 925.

839. Imperative. Imperative forms of the root-aorist are not rare in the early language. In the middle, indeed, almost only the 2d sing. occurs: it is accented either regularly, on the ending, as krṣvâ, dhiṣvâ, yuksvâ, or on the root, as mātśvâ, yākṣvâ, vānsvâ, râśvâ, sâkṣvâ; dīṣvâ and māsva are not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by krđhâvam, voḍhvâm. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., krđhi, vṛḍhi, qâḍhi, ũṛdhî, gadhi, yaŭdhî, gahi, māhi, sahi, mogdhi; 3d sing., gaṁtu, dâtu, aṣtu, qrótu, sôtu; 2d du., dâtâm, jîtam, çaktâm, çrutâm, bhûtâm, spṛṭâm, gatâm, rîktâm, voḍham, sitam, sutâm; 3d du., only gaṁtâm, dâtâm, voḍhâm; 2d pl., gêtâ, bhûtâ, çrûta, kṛta, gata, dâta, dhâtana; 3d pl., only dhântu, çruvantu. These are the most regular forms; but irregularities are both accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are yaṁtâm, vârttam, vartam; kârta, gâṁta (once gaṁtâ), yaṁta, vartta, heta, çrûta, sôta; and, with tana, kârtana, gaṁtana, yamtana, sotana, and the irregular dhetana (ydhâ); in 3d du., gaṁtâm. Much more irregular are yôdhî (instead of yuddhî) from y/yudh, and bodhî from both y buddies and y/bhu (instead of buddhî and bhûdhi). A single form (3d sing.) in tät is found, namely yastät. We find krđhi also later (MBh. BhP.).

a. As to 2d persons singular in si from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, 624.

Participles of the Root-aorist.

840. In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation.  

a. In the active, they are extremely few: namely, krânt, citânt (?), gmânt, sthânt, bhidânt, vṛdhânt, dyutânt- (only in composition), and probably ydnhânt. And BhP. has yṛṣânt (but probably by error, for mṛṣânt).

b. In the middle, they are in RV. much more numerous. The accent is usually on the final of the stem: thus, arâṇa, idhânta, krâṇa, jujâṇa, trṣâṇa, nîcâṇa, piçâna, pṛcâna, prathâṇa, budhâṇa, bhuyâṇa, manâṇa, mandâṇa, yujâṇa, rucâṇa, vipâṇa, vṛṣâṇa, urâṇa, çubhâṇa, sacâṇa, svâṇa or svâṇa, eṣâṇa, sṛpâṇa, hiyâṇa; but sometimes on the root-syllable: thus, cîtâṇa, cyâvâna, rûhâṇa, uhâṇa (pres.?), vâsâna, çûmbhâṇa; while a few show both accentuations
(compare 619 d): thus, dṛṣṭāṇā and dṛṣṭāna, dyutāṇa and dyutāna, yātāṇa and yātāna; and cetāṇa and hrdayāṇa occur only in composition. A very few of these are found once or twice in other texts, namely citāṇa, dyutāṇa, ruhaṇa, vasāṇa, suvāṇa; and -kupāṇa occurs once in Āpast. (xiv. 28. 4).

841. All together, the roots exhibiting in the older language forms which are with fair probability to be reckoned to the root-aorist-system are about a hundred and thirty; over eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

Passive Aorist third person singular.

842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevailingly passive meaning, is made from many verbs in the older language, and has become a regular part of the passive conjugation, being, according to the grammarians, to be substituted always for the proper third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense.

843. This person is formed by adding ṣ i to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened.

a. The ending i belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in i as do, in the middle voice, the regular 3d sing. perfect, and also the frequent Vedic 3d sing. present of the root-class (613), which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost off is extremely improbable; and hence, as an aorist formation from the simple root, this is most properly treated here, in connection with the ordinary root-aorist.

844. Before the ending ṣ i, a final vowel, and usually also a medial Ṛ a before a single consonant, have the vṛddhi-strengthening; other medial vowels have the guṇa-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final Ṛ a is added Ṛ y.

a. Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in Ā, ājñāyi, ādhāyi, āpāyi; in other vowels, ācṛāyi, āstāvi, āhāvi, ākāri, āstāri; — from roots with medial ī, u, ō, acetī, ācchedi, aqeśī, ābodhi, āmoci, āyojī, ādārcī, āsarjī, varhi; from roots with medial a strengthened, agāmi, āpādi, ayāmi, avācī, vāpī, āsādī (these are all the earlier cases); with a unchanging, only ájāni (and RV. has once jāni), and, in heavy syllables, āmyakṣī, vandī, qānī, syandī; with medial ā, ābhrājī, ārādhi; — from roots with initial vowel, ārdhi (only case).

b. According to the grammarians, certain roots in am, and j/vadh, retain the a unchanging: quotable are ajāni (or ajānī), agami (or agāmi),...
asvani, avadhi, also araci; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, adañqi, arambhi, arandhi, ajambhi, abhañqi or abhāji, alambhi (always, with prepositions) or alābhī, astambhi; CB. has asañqi.

c. Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already given) are: dhāyi, çrávi, bhāri, reci, vēdi, roci, jāni, pādi, sādi, ardhī. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable (SV. dhāyi is doubtless a false reading).

845. These forms are made in RV. from forty roots, and all the other earlier texts combined add only about twenty to the number; from the later language are quoted thirty or forty more; in the epics they are nearly unknown. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, as gam, pad, sad, bhrāj, rādh, ruc, sañj, they have (like the so-called passive participle in ta: 952) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3 [?]; VS. xxviii. 15; TB. ii. 6. 109) they appear even to be used transitively.

2. The a-aorist.

846. a. This aorist is in the later language allowed to be made from a large number of roots (near a hundred). It is made in both voices, but is rare in the middle, most of the roots forming their middle according to the s-class (878 ff.) or the ās-class (898 ff.).

b. Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the ā-class (751 ff.); its inflection is the same with that in all particulars; and it takes in general a weak form of root — save the roots in Ṛ ṛ (three or four only), which have the guna-strengthening.

c. As example of inflection may be taken the root

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Thus:

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Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 20
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

306

847. The a-aorist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the root-aorist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of aorist which is made from more verbs in AV. than in RV.); and in Veda and Brāhmaṇa together about eighty roots exhibit the formation more or less fully. Of these a large number (fully half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the á-class, having a vowel capable of the aorist before a final consonant (754): thus, with i, chid, bhid, nij, ric, riś, lip, vid, 1ciś (qās), 2 ciṣ, qiṣ, qīṣ, sic, sirid; — with u, krudh, kṣudh, guh, duṣ, dyut, druḥ, puṣ, budh, bhuj, muc, mruc, yuṣ, ruc, rud, rudh, muḥ, ruḥ, quc; — with r, ṛdh, kṛt, grdh, grh, ṭṛp, ṭṛṣ, ṭṛḥ, ṭṛp, ṭṛṣ, ṭṛḥ, mṛḥ, mṛṣ, vṛt, vṛdh, ṣṛṣ, ṣṛp, Ṣṛṣ. A small number end in vowels: thus, r, ṛ, śṛ (which have the guna-strengthening throughout), hi (? ahyet once in AV.), and several in a, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their ā to a: thus, khyā, āvā, ṣvā, and dā and dhā; and āsthath, regarded by the grammarians as aorist to yas throw, is doubtless a like formation from ysthā. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this aorist is lost: thus, bhṛḥṇya, tanḥ, dhvānaḥ, sṛṇaḥ, krand, randh. Of less classifiable character are aṇ, kram, gam, ghas, tam, ṭam, ṭram, tan, san, sad, āp, das, yas, ṣak, dagh. The roots pat, naṣ, vac form the tense-stems papta, neṣa, voca, of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication; but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated aorists from the same roots (see below, 854).

a. Many of these aorists are simply transfers of the root-aorist to an a-inflection. Conspicuous examples are akarat etc. and agamat etc. (in the earliest period only akar and agan).

848. The inflection of this aorist is in general so regular that it will be sufficient to give only examples of its Vedic forms. We may take as model avidam, from 1/yid 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 instances; those of which the examples found are other verbs than 1/yid are bracketed. Thus:

active. middle.

1 āvidam āvidāva āvidāma āvide [āvidāvahi] āvidāmahī
2 āvidas [āvidata] [āvidathās]
3 āvidan [āvidata] [āvidetām] āvidanta

a. The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have āhve etc., ḍkhye etc., āvide (?) and avidanta, avocathās and avocāvahi (and āvidāmahe GB. and asicāmahe KB. are doubtless to be amended to -mahī).
b. Augmentless forms, with indicative or subjunctive value, are not infrequent. Examples, showing accent on the tense-sign, according to the general analogies of the formation, are: ruhám, aypas, bhuját, vidát, aratám, vocata, ċakan; vidata and vyáta (3d sing.), aramahi, čišámahi, vidánta, budhánta, mṛṣanta (for exceptions as regards accent, see below, 853).

Modes of the a-aorist.

849. The subjunctive forms of this aorist are few; those which occur are instanced below, in the method which was followed for the indicative:

1 [vidáva] vidáma [vidámahe]
2 (vidásí) vidáthas vidátha
3 vidátat [vidátaí?]

a. The ending thana is found once, in rišáthana. Of middle forms occur only čišátaí (AV.: but doubtless misreading for čišyátaí) and čišámahe (AV., for RV. čišámahe). The form sádáthas seems an indicative, made from a secondary present-stem.

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Bráhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, bhideyam, videyam, sanéyam (TB. once sanem); vidés, games; gamet, vocet; gametam; gaméma, ḍakéma, sanéma; vareta; in middle, (only) videya; gamemahi, vanemahi: ruhethás etc. in the epics must be viewed rather as present forms of the á-class.

a. A single middle precative form occurs, namely videśta (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 yásad (including sadatana, 2d pl.), and the middle sadántam. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, sána, sára, ruha, vidá; ruhátam, vidátam; khyáta. TS. has once vrñdhátu (compare 740).

Participles of the a-aorist.

852. a. The active participles tṛpánt, rśant or riśant, vrñdhánt, čišánt, čucánt, sádant, and (in participial compounds, 1309) kṛtant-, guhant-, vidant- (all RV.), are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

b. Likewise the middle participles guhámána, dhṛṣámaṇa, dáśamána (?), nṛtámána, čucámána, and perhaps vrñdhána, sridhána.

Irregularities of the a-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here. The roots in ċ, which (847) show a strengthening like that of the
present of the unaccented a-class, have likewise the accent upon the radical syllable, like that class: thus, from \( \gamma \gamma \), \( \text{aranta} \) (augmentless 3rd pl.), \( \text{sårat} \) and \( \text{såra} \). The root \( \text{sad} \) follows the same rule: thus, \( \text{sådätam} \); and from \( \text{yan} \) are found \( \text{sánas} \) and \( \text{sámat} \) and \( \text{sáne} \) and \( \text{sána} \), beside \( \text{sanéyam} \) and \( \text{saném} \). It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the bhû-class (unaccented a-class) present-system. On the other hand, \( \text{ruhát} \) (beside \( \text{ruhám, ruháva, ruhátam} \), çíšat and çíšätá (\( ? \)), and \( \text{risant} \) or \( \text{risant} \) are more isolated cases. In view of such as these, the forms from the stem \( \text{bhúva} \) and \( \text{grúva} \) (836c) are perhaps to be referred hither. From \( \gamma \text{vac} \), the optative is accented \( \text{vocéyam, vocés, vocéma, vocéyus} \); elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable: thus, \( \text{véce, vócat, vócati, vócanta} \).

854. a. The stem \( \text{voc} \) has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in \( \text{RV} \), especially far outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from \( \gamma \text{vac} \). Besides those already given, we find \( \text{vocá} \) (1st sing. impv.) and \( \text{vocáti, vocávahái} \); \( \text{voces, voceya, vocemahi} \); \( \text{vocatát} \) (2d sing.), vocatu, vocatam, vocata.

b. Of the stem \( \text{neca} \) from \( \gamma \text{naç} \) only \( \text{necat} \) occurs.

c. The root \( \text{çás} \) (as in some of its present forms: 639) is weakened to \( \text{çá} \), and makes \( \text{acioam} \).

855. Isolated forms which have more or less completely the aspect of indicative presents are made in the oldest language from some roots beside the aorist-systems of the first two classes. It must be left for maturing research to determine how far they may be relics of original presents, and how far recent productions, made in the way of conversion of the aorist-stem to a root in value.

a. Such forms are the following: from \( \gamma \text{kr} \) make, \( \text{káró} \), \( \text{kéthas, króth, kreo} \); from \( \gamma \text{gam} \), gathá; from \( \gamma \text{ci} \) gather, ceti; from \( \gamma \text{da} \) give, dáti, dášu; from \( \gamma \text{dha} \) put, dháti; from \( \gamma \text{pá} \) drink, pathás, panti; from \( \gamma \text{bhá} \), bharti; from \( \gamma \text{muc, mucánti} \); from \( \gamma \text{rudh, rudhmas} \) (1); from \( \gamma \text{vñt} \), vartti.

II. (3) Reduplicated Aorist.

856. The reduplicated aorist is different from the other forms of aorist in that it has come to be attached in almost all cases to the derivative (causative etc.) conjugation in \( \text{ṣay áya} \), as the aorist of that conjugation, and is therefore liable to be made from all roots which have such a conjugation, beside the aorist or aorists which belong to their primary conjugation. Since, however, the connection of
the two is not a formal one (the aorist being made directly from the root, and not from the causative stem), but rather a matter of established association, owing to kinship of meaning, the formation and inflection of this kind of aorist is best treated here, along with the others.

857. Its characteristic is a reduplication of the radical syllable, by which it is assimilated, on the one hand, to the imperfect of the reduplicating class (658 ff.), and, on the other hand, to the so-called pluperfect (817 ff.). But the aorist reduplication has taken on a quite peculiar character, with few traces left even in the Veda of a different condition which may have preceded this.

858. a. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the reduplication, it follows the general rules already given (590). And the quality of the reduplicated vowel is in general as in the formations already treated: it needs only to be noted that an a-vowel and r (or ar) are usually (for exceptions, see below, 860) repeated by an i-vowel — as they are, to a considerable extent, in the reduplicated present also (660).

b. But in regard to quantity, this aorist aims always at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllables, making the one heavy and the other light. And the preference is very markedly for a heavy reduplication and a light root-syllable — which relation is brought about wherever the conditions allow. Thus:

859. If the root is a light syllable (having a short vowel followed by a single consonant), the reduplication is made heavy.

a. And this, usually by lengthening the reduplicating vowel, with i for radical a or r or / (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, arñiśam, adūḍuṣam, ajijanam, avivṛdham, aṅṅkṣam. The great majority of reduplicated aorists are of this form.

b. If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vow-
el, the vowel remains short: thus, acikṣipam, acukrudpam, atirasam, apispaṃam.

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 ṛ a or ṛ ṛ, and ṛ ṛ (if it occurs), are reduplicated by Ṛ a.

a. Thus, adidikṣam, abubhūgam (not quotable), adadakṣam, adadhāvam, atatāḥsah. And, in the cases in which a root should both begin and end with two consonants, both syllables would be necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former: thus, apapraccham, acaskandam (but no such forms are found in use).

b. A medial ṛ is allowed by the grammarians to retain the strengthening of the causative stem, together with, of course, reduplication by a: thus, acakṣat, avavartat (beside acikṣat, avivyat); but no such forms have been met with in use.

c. These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817 ff.).

861. a. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in ariradh from ṛāḍh, avivaṃ from ṛvāṛ, asīṣadh from ṛāḍh, ajījivam from ṛjīv, addipam (K. and later: RV. has didipas) from ṛḍip, abbhūgam from ṛbhūg, asusucam from ṛsuc; or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in acikradam from ṛkrand, asisyadam from ṛsyand.

b. In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in ṛp, the ṛ is abbreviated to i: thus, atisṭhipam etc., ajijipat (but KSS. ajīṇapat), jhipas, ajijipata (but VS. ajijipata); but from ṛrap comes aṭiṣrapam (qB.).

862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only āmamata (or amamata) from yam, āpipan (qB.: BAU. āpipipat) from yēp, and arpipam (augmentless) from the causative stem arp of yṛ — in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as ārcam from yarca, āubjijam from yubj, ārjham from yarh, aṭiṣkṣam from yīkṣ, ārdḥham from yṛdḥ. Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029 b.

863. Of special irregularities may he mentioned:

a. From yḍyut is made (v.B.) the stem didyuta, taking its reduplicating vowel from the radical semifinal. From ygp, instead of jugupa (B.S.), JB. has jugipā, and some texts (B.S.) have jugupa; and jihvara (B.) is met with beside the regular jihvara (v.B.). In accha-
da (Nir.), and the more or less doubtful paprátha and qaqváca and 
asvája (RV.) we have a instead of i in the reduplication.

b. In support of their false view of this aorist as made from the 
causative stem instead of directly from the root, the native grammarians 
teach that roots ending in an u-vowel may reduplicate with i, as repre-
senting the a of the strengthened stem: thus, bhíbha from bhav-aya, 
as well as búbhva from bhú. No example of such a formation, however, 
is met with except ápiplavam (CB., once); against it we find dudruva, 
búbhva, rúruva, uqruva, and others.

c. As to apaptam, avocam, and ane$am, 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 ṝ a as final stem-vowel, with all the pe-
culiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions 
(733a). Thus, from ṝjan give birth (stem jijana):

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<td>ájjanetam</td>
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865. The middle forms are rare in the older language (the 3d 
pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven 
roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all, both active and middle, are 
quotable except 1st and 2d du. middle and 1st du. active.

a. Atítape appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with pass-
ive sense.

866. A final r has the guṇa-strengthening before the endings: 
thus, acikarat, apiparam, atítara, didaras, adídharat, amímarat, 
avívaran, jihvaraa. Of similar strengthened forms from i and u-roots 
are found apiprayan (TS.), abibhayanta (RV.), apiplavam (CB.), 
acucyavat (K.), açucravat (MS.), atuśtavam (RV.). Not many 
roots ending in other vowels than r make this aorist: see below, 866.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally 
met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, áśvap (2d sing., 
augmentless) from yśvap, and açiqnat from yṇath; from roots in r 
or ar, didhar (2d sing.), and ájigar (2d and 3d sing.); for roots in i-
and u-vowels, see 868. Of 3d pl. in us are found almost only a form
or two from i- and u-roots, with guṇa before the ending: thus, açīqqrayus, ācucyavus, açucrayus, asuṇaνus; but also abibhajus (CB.), and ninaνus (MBh.).

868. In the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this aorist as a part of their primary conjugation: they are ṇri and ṇvi, dru and srū, kam, and dhā suck (ṇvi and dhā optionally).

a. In the older language are found from 1/ṇri açīqqret and açīqqrayus (noticed in the preceding paragraph) and açīqqriyat (CB.); from 1/ṇ dru, adudrot and adudruvat (TB.: not used as aorist); from 1/ṇsrū, asuṇro and (augmentless) suṇro and suṇrot; from 1/ṇkam, acikametām and -manta (B.S.). Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in u or ā: thus, anunot and nūnrot from 1/ṇnu; yūyot from 1/ṇyu separate; dūdhot from 1/ṇdhū; apupot from 1/ṇpū; tūtus and tūtott from 1/ṇtu; aṣuṇot from 1/ṇsū; — and one or two from roots in i or ā: thus, siṣṭet from 1/si (or sā) bind; amīmet from 1/mā bellow; apipres (with apiprayan, noticed above) from 1/ṇpri (and the "imperfects" from didī etc., 676, are of corresponding form). And from 1/ṇyus are made, with union-vowel i, acucyavīt and acucyavītana. Few of these forms possess a necessarily causative or a decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not be assigned to the perfect-system.

b. From the later language are quotable only açīqqriyat etc. (3d pl., -yan or -yus) and adudruvat.

Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

869. a. As in other preterit formations, the augmentless indicative persons of this aorist are used subjunctively, and they are very much more frequent than true subjunctives.

b. Of the latter are found only rīradhā (1st sing.); titapāsi; ciklpati and sīṣadhāti, and pisprcaţati (as if corresponding to an indicative apisprk, like açīqqnat); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. çaqvacāl.

c. The augmentless indicative forms are accentuated in general on the reduplication: thus, didharas, nīnaνas; jījanat, piparat; jījanan; also sīṣyav; but, on the other hand, we have also pipārat, qiçrátha and qiçnāthat, and dudrávat and tūṣāvat (which may perhaps belong to the perfect: compare 810). According to the native grammarians, the accent rests either on the radical syllable or on the one that follows it.

870. Optative forms are even rarer. The least questionable case is the middle "precautive" rīriṣeţa (rīriṣeţa has been ranked above with sāsahīṣeţa, as a perfect: 812b). Cucyuvizmahi and cucyavirata belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of imperatives, we have the indisputable forms pūpurantu and qiçrathantu. And jīgṛtām and jīgṛtā, and didḥrtam and didḥrtā,
and jājaśtām (all RV. only), and perhaps suṣūḍāta (AV.), are to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) ajigar and aḍidhār; their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated imperfects (656 ff.), with which we are probably to regard this aorist as ultimately related.

872. No participle is found belonging to the reduplicated aorist.

873. The number of roots from which this aorist is met with in the earlier language is about a hundred and twenty. In the later Sanskrit it is unusual; in the series of later texts mentioned above (826) it occurs only twice; and it has been found quotable from hardly fifty roots in the whole epic and classical literature.

III. Sigmatic or Sibilant Aorist.

874. a. The common tense-sign of all the varieties of this aorist is a स (convertible to श: 180) which is added to the root in forming the tense-stem.

b. This sibilant has no analogues among the class-signs of the present-system; but it is to be compared with that which appears (and likewise with or without the same union-vowel i) in the stems of the future tense-system (932 ff.) and of the desiderative conjugation (1027 ff.).

c. To the root thus increased the augment is prefixed and the secondary endings are added.

875. In the case of a few roots, the sibilant tense-stem (always ending in ख) is further increased by an श a, and the inflection is nearly like that of an imperfect of the second or a- conjugation.

876. a. In the vast majority of cases, the sibilant is the final of the tense-stem, and the inflection is like that of an imperfect of the first or non-a-conjugation.

b. And these, again, fall into two nearly equal and strongly marked classes, according as the sibilant is added immediately to the final of the root, or with an auxiliary vowel श i, making the tense-sign श ि. Finally, before this ि the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a स, making the whole addition ि ि.
877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:

4. with \( त् \) simply after the root: s-aorist;
5. with \( र् \) before the \( त् \): is-aorist;
6. the same, with \( त् \) at end of root: sis-aorist.

B. With \( य \) added to the sibilant before the endings:

7. with sibilant and \( य \): sa-aorist.

a. As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary \( i \) in the aorist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay down any strict rules as to this accordance. Compare 903.

4. The s-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding \( त् \) 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 \( र् \)) has the \( vrddhi \)-change in the active, and (excepting \( र् \)) guna in the middle: thus, from \( गोि \) lead, active stem गोिष् anis, middle stem गोिष् anes; from \( गोिष् \) cru hear, गोिष् acraus and गोिष् acroś; from \( गोि \) kr make, गोिष् akars and गोिष् akraś.

b. A medial vowel has the \( vrddhi \)-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from \( गोिष् \) chand seem, active stem गोिष् acchants, middle stem गोिष् acchants; from \( गोिष् \) ric leave, गोिष् aräkṣ and गोिष् arikṣ; from \( गोिष् \) rudh obstruct, गोिष् aräuts and गोिष् aruts; from \( गोिष् \) rj pour out, गोिष् aräkṣ and गोिष् arkṣ.

880. a. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उम् us (not \( र् \) an) in 3d pl. act., and गत ata (not \( र् \) anta) in 3d pl. mid.
b. But before स s and न t of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an इ i, making the endings स्व s and स्त t.

c. This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.): see below, 888.

881. a. Before endings beginning with t or th, the tense-sign s is (233c—e) omitted after the final consonant of a root — unless this be r, or n or m (converted to anusvāra).

b. The same omission is of course made before dhvam after a consonant; and after a vowel the sibilant is either omitted or assimilated (the equivalence of dhv and ddhv in the theories of the grammarians and the practice of the manuscripts makes it impossible to say which: 232); and then the ending becomes dhvam, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been s (226c): thus, astodhvam and avṛdhvam (beside astota and avṛṣata); dhvam (yḍa regard: ṇB., once), which is to ṛṭhas (2d sing.) as avṛdhvam and avṛṣata to avri and avṛṭhas; and ṛṛdhvam (M.).

c. According to the grammarians, the omission of s before t and th takes place also after a short vowel (the case can occur only in the 2d and 3d sing. mid.); but we have seen above (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.

d. After the final sonant aspirate of a root, the sibilant before the same endings is said by the Hindu grammarians to disappear altogether, the combination of the aspirate with the th or t of the ending being then made according to the ordinary rule for such cases (160): thus, from the stem arāuts, for arāudh-s, is made arāuddha, as if from arāudh+ta directly. No example of such a form is quotable from the literature; but the combination is established by the occurrence of other similar cases (233f). In the middle, in like manner, aruts+ta becomes aruddha, as if from arudh+ta; but all such forms admit also of being understood as of the root-aorist. Those that have been found to occur were given above (834d); probably they belong at least in part to this aorist.

e. From the three nasal roots gam, tan, man are made the 2d and 3d sing. mid. persons agathās and agata, atathās and atata, and ama-ta (amanthās not quotable), reckoned by the native grammarians as aorist forms, made, after loss of their final root-nasal, with loss also of the sibilant after a short vowel. They are doubtless better referred to the root-aorist. But JB. has a corresponding 1st sing. atasi from ytan.

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of
sibilant aorist we may take the roots नी nī lead, and हिन्दू chid cut off. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>अनैशम्</td>
<td>अनैचि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अनैशवा</td>
<td>अनैशम्वा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>अनैशित्</td>
<td>अनैशित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अनैशितान्</td>
<td>अनैशितान्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>अनैशित्</td>
<td>अनैशित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अनैशितान्</td>
<td>अनैशितान्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>s.</td>
<td>p.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>अचैति</td>
<td>अचैतित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अचैतिसम्</td>
<td>अचैतिसम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>अचैतित्</td>
<td>अचैतित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अचैतित्सम्</td>
<td>अचैतित्सम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>अचैतित्</td>
<td>अचैतित्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>अचैतित्सम्</td>
<td>अचैतित्सम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. From युरुध obstruct, the 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl. act. and the 2d and 3d sing. mid. would be अरूध्दहम, अरूध्दहम, अरूध्दहम, अरूध्दहम; from य/स्र्ज pour out, अस्रुष्ठ, अस्रुष्ठ, अस्रुष्ठ, अस्रुष्ठ; from यद्र्ग see, अद्रा०ष्ठ etc. (as from स्र्ज). But from यक्र do the same persons in the active are अकर०ष्ठ, अकर०ष्ठ, अकर०ष्ठ; from यत्न stretch they are अतान्ष्ठ, अतान्ष्ठ, अतान्ष्ठ.

883. The omission of स in the active persons (आचैतित्स, आचैतित्स, आचैतित्स) is a case of very rare occurrence; all the quotable examples were given above (233 e). As to the like omission in middle persons, see 881. The ChU. has twice अवास्ततम for अवास्ति-तम (य/वास dwell): this may be viewed as another case of total disappearance of the sibilant, and consequent restoration of the final radical to its original form.
884. Certain roots in a weaken the a in middle inflection to i 
as also in the root-aorist: above, 834a): these are said to be sthā,
dā, and dhā; in the older language have been noted ādiṣṭa and 
ādiṣṭata from ydā give (and adhiṣṭ perhaps once from ydhā bind), 
adhiṣṭi and 
adhiṣṭata (with the optative diṣṭya) from ydhā put, and 
asthīṣata; also agiṣṭhās and agiṣṭata from ygā go (with adhi).

a. The middle inflection of the aorist of ydā would be, then, 
according to the grammarians: adiṣṭa, adiṣṭhās, adīṭa; adiṣṭvahī,
ādiṣṭhām, ādiṣṭām; ādiṃmahi, ādiṃvham, ādiṣṭata.

885. Roots ending in changeable ū (so-called roots in ĵ: 242) 
are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to ĵr in middle 
forms: thus, astirṣi, astirṣṭhās etc. (from y/str); of such forms, however, has 
been found in the older language only akirṣata, PB.

886. The s-aorist is made in the older language from about a 
hundred and forty roots (in RV., from about seventy; in AV., from 
about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.); and the 
epic and classical literature adds but a very small number. It has in 
the Veda certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and 
also the full series of modes — of which the optative middle is re-
tained also later as a part of the "precative" (but see 225 b).

887. Irregularities of stem-formation are as follows:

a. The strengthening of the root-syllable is now and then irregularly 
made or omitted: thus, ayokṣit (AB.), chetasīs (B.S.; also occurs in 
MBh., which has further yotasīs), rotsīs (KU.); amatsus (RV.); ayam-
si and arāutsī (AB.), asākṣī etc. (V.B.: y/sah), mānsta (AV.) and 
maṅṭam (TA.); lōpsiya (U.); and MBh. has drogḍhās. From y/saj 
is made saṅkṣit (U. etc.), and from y/majj, amāṅkṣit (not quotable). 
The form aynikṣmahi (BhP.) is doubtless a false reading.

b. A radical final nasal is lost in agasmahi (RV.) and gaṇāṭhām 
(TA.) from y/gam, and in the optatives maṣṭya and vaṃmahi (RV.) 
from y/v/man and vaṇ.

c. The roots hū, dhū, and nū have ī instead of o in the middle: 
thus, ahūṣata, adhūṣata, anūṣi and anūṣṭām and anūṣata; ydhūr 
(or dhūrv) makes adhūṛṣata.

d. ČB. has once atrāṣṭāt for atrāṣṭām (y/trā).

888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard 
to inflection is the frequent absence of ī in the endings of 2d and 
3d sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and 
sometimes of root-finals (150). The forms without ī are the only ones 
found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and 
TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, adrāk, occurs in 
GB.; one, ayāṭ, in KB.; and two, adrāk and ayāṭ, in ČB.; PB. has 
none).
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, apräs (for both apräs-s and apräs-t) from γpräś; and in like manner ahäs from γhäs; — ajäis (for ajäis-t) from γjī; and in like manner acaśis from γci, and näis (augmentless) from γnī; — and yäus (for ayäus-t) from γyu.

a. But (as in other like cases: 555a) the ending is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have in 3d sing. ajäit (beside ajäis and ajäis-t) from γjī; and in like manner acäit, acräit, ahäit, näit (no examples have been noted except from roots in i and i): compare ayäis and sräis, 2d sing., 880a.

890. a. If the root (in either its simple or strengthened form) ends in a consonant, the tense-sign is lost with the ending. Thus, abhär (for abhär-t: beside abhärśam, abhärśām) from γbhṛ; other like cases are abhär, and (from roots in ar) akṣār, atsār, asvār, huvār. Further, ärāik (585a: for arāik-t) from γric; like cases are aqvāit from γqvit, and (from roots with medial u) advāit from γdyut, arāıt from γrudh, and màünk from γmuoc. Further, from roots ending in the pata- and h, apräk from γprō, asrāk from γsrj, abhāk from γbhaj, adrāk from γdrq, adhāk from γdhah; but, with a different change of the final, ayāt from γyaj, aprāt from γprch, avāt from γvah, and asrāt from γsrj; and (above, 146a) srās appears to stand twice in AV. for srās-s from γsrj; RV. has also twice ayās from γyaj. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, atān from γtan, khān from γkhan, ayān and anān from γγyam and nam (143a).

b. If, again, the roots end in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, acchan (for acchānts-t; beside acchāntta and acchāntsus) from γchand; and other like cases are akṛan, askān, and asyān.

891. A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. bhāis, from γbhī.

Modes of the s-aorist.

892. The indicative forms without augment are used in a subjunctive sense, especially after mā prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only vānśi, middle; judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.

893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Bhāmaṇas. They are regularly made with guṇa-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.
a. The forms with primary endings are: in active, stōṣaṇī; darṣaṇī; neṣaṇī, parṣaṇī, pāṣaṇī, maṭṣaṇī, yoṣaṇī, vakṣaṇī, sakṣaṇī; dāṣaṇa, dhāṣaṇa, pāṛṣaṇa, vakṣaṇa, varṣaṇa; pāṣaṇa, yāṃṣaṇa, yākṣaṇa, vakṣaṇa; dhāṣaṇa, neṣaṇa, pāṛṣaṇa, maṭṣaṇa; — in middle, maṃṣa, maṃṣai; maṃsas; kramṣate, trasṣate, darṣate, maṃsaṇe, yakṣate, rāsate, vaṃṣate, sākṣate, hāṣate; trāṣaṇe (not trāṣāṭhe, as we should rather expect); nāmsante, maṃsante: and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., maṃṣaṭī.

b. The forms with secondary endings are (active only): jēṣaṇī, vākṣaṇī; dārṣaṇī, nēṣaṇī, pākṣaṇī, prēṣaṇī, vāṅṣaṇī, vākHzaṇī; vākṣaṇa, vāṃṣaṇa, yōṣaṇa, yōṣaṇa, rāṣaṇa, vākṣaṇa, qeṣaṇa, qroṣaṇa. Of these, yakṣaṇ and vakṣaṇ are found not rarely in the Brāhmaṇas; any others, hardly more than sporadically.

894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:

a. The forms dīkṣase and pṛkṣase (2d sing. mid.) lack the gyman-strengthening.

b. Jēṣaṇī, stōṣaṇī, and yoṣaṇī (AV. yūṃṣam, with ū for ů as in anūṣata etc.) appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the vṛddhi-strengthening: in which case jēṣaṇa is to be compared with them (we should expect jāṣma or jēṣaṇa).

c. From roots in ā are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, yoṣaṇa (only case in RV.), khṛṣaṇa, jhṛṣaṇa, geṣaṃ and geṣma, dēṣma, sēṣaṃ and set, stheṣam and stheṣas. Their value is optative. The analogy of jēṣaṇa and jēṣma suggests the possibility of their derivation from i-forms of the ā-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precative character (thus, yā-ī-s-ām). That they really belong to the iq-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, krṣe, hiṣe (and ohiṣe?), stūṣe; 2. from present-stems, arcase, rāṣaṇe, yajase, gāyise, grīṣe and puniṣe. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, 897b.

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: dīṣiya, dhīṣiya, bhakṣiya, māṣiya (for māṇṣiya), mukṣiya, rāṣiya, lopṣiya, sākṣiya, strīṣiya; maṃṣiṣṭhe; darṣiṣṭa, bhakṣiṣṭa, maṃsiṣṭa, mṛkiṣṭa; bhakṣimahi, dhukṣimahi, maṃṣimahi, vaṃṣimahi, vaṣimahi, sākṣimahi; maṃśirata. PB. has bhukiṣīṣiya, which should belong to a sīg-aorist. The RV. form trāṣāṭhām (for trāṣiṣṭātham or trāṣāṭhām) is an isolated anomaly.

a. This optative makes a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language: see below, 923, 925b.
896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find
the 2d sing. act. neça and parça and the 2d pl. yamśata (from a-stems,
and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root),
and the 3d sing. mid. rāsatām and pl. rāsantām (of which the same
may be said).

Participles of the s-aorist.

897. a. Active participles are dākṣat or dhākṣat, and sākṣat
(both RV.).

b. If ṛujasse (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an s-aorist form,
ṛujasāna is an s-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently,
are arçasāna, ṣhasāna, jrayasāna, dhyasāna, mandasāna, yamasāna,
rabhasāna, ṛḍhasāna, sahasāna, ṇacasāna, all in RV.; with
namasāna, bhiyasāna, in AV. In RV. occurs also once dhīsamāna,
apparently an a-form of an s-aorist of ṭṛdhī.

5. The ṭa-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general
tense-sign ṛ s by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel ṛ i,
making ṛṛ ṛṣ ṛṣṭ, 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 vrddhi in the active, and guṇa in
the middle: thus, apaviṣṭ apaviṣṭ and apaviṣṭ apaviṣ from
vṛṣ pu cleanse; aṭaṭiṣṭ atāṛiṣṭ, act., from vṛṣ ṛṭ ṛṭ pass; aṭaṭiṣṭ
aṇavaiṣṭ, mid., from vṛṣ ṛṭ lie.

b. A medial vowel has guṇa, if capable of it, in both
voices: thus, aśaśiṣṭ aśaśiṣṭ, act. and mid., from vṛṣ ṛṭ ṛṭ tear;
aśraṇiṣṭ aśraṇiṣṭ from vṛṣ ṛṭcb rain; aśatāṛiṣṭ aśatāṛiṣṭ from
vṛṣ ṛṭ scraper; but aśataśiṣṭ aśataśiṣṭ from vṛṣ ṛṭv ṛṭt live.

c. Medial ṛ a is sometimes lengthened in the active;
but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.

d. The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are
kan, tan, ran, stan, svan, han, vṛaj, sad, mad, car, tsar, svar,
jval, das, tras. From ran, san, kram, vad, rakṣ, and sah occur forms
of both kinds. From vṛ̥math or manth are made the two stems mathiṣ
and manthiṣ.
900. a. Of exceptions may be noted: यःप्र्य has (as elsewhere: 627) व्र्द्धि instead of गुः: thus, अमार्जिषम्; यःत्र has नसारिः, and यःत्र has अःरिः (also अःरिः in AV.), with गुः in active.

b. The root ग्राभ or ग्रह has (as in future etc., below, 936e, 956) long इ instead of इ before the sibilant: thus, अग्राब्हिसता, अग्राब्हिसता. The roots in changeable य (so-called roots in य: 242), and यःत्र are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long इ from such roots have been found quotable. A Sūtra (PGS.) has once अनयिष्टा from यःत्र (doubtless a false reading).

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उस us and धत ata in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combinations इ-स and इ-त are from the earliest period of the language contracted into स्तु इस and स्तु इत.

a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in इध्वम् (or इध्वम्, from इ-ध्वम्: 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable, namely अजानिध्वम्, अर्थिध्वम्, अनिध्वम्, वेपिध्वम्; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 226c.

902. As examples of the inflection of the इ-एरिस्त may be taken the roots पुः बुध बुध वाच. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>स.</th>
<th>द.</th>
<th>प.</th>
<th>स.</th>
<th>द.</th>
<th>प.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>धपविषम्</td>
<td>धपविषह्</td>
<td>धपविषम्</td>
<td>धपविषिः</td>
<td>धपविषध्वि</td>
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<td>अपविषवाहि</td>
<td>अपविषवाहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 धपविषस्</td>
<td>धपविषस्त्</td>
<td>धपविषिः</td>
<td>धपविषिषत्</td>
<td>धपविषध्वम्</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>अपविष</td>
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<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 धपविषस्</td>
<td>धपविषस्त्</td>
<td>धपविषिः</td>
<td>धपविषिषत्</td>
<td>धपविषिषत्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अपविषि</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 धपविषस्</td>
<td>धपविषस्त्</td>
<td>धपविषिः</td>
<td>धपविषिषत्</td>
<td>धपविषिषत्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
<td>अपविषिः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

903. The number of roots from which forms of this anāstis may be noted in the older language is nearly a hundred and fifty (in RV. about eighty; in AV., more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.); the later texts add less than twenty. Among these are no roots in इ; but otherwise they are of every variety of form (rarest in final इ and इ). Active and middle persons are freely made, but sparingly from the same root; only about fifteen

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roots have both active and middle forms in the older language, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other.

a. No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the īṣ- and the ē-aorist; and in no small number of cases the same root shows forms of both classes.

904. Irregularities are to be noticed as follows:

a. The contracted forms akramīm, agrabhīm, and avadhīm (with augmentless vādhīm) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For ācarīt occurs in AV. ācarāīt; also (in a part of the manuscripts) ċarāīs for ċarīs; agrahāīṣam is found in AB. (also the monstrous form agraubhāṣam: see 8011). Ajayīt, with short i in the ending, occurs in TS.

c. AV. has once nudīṣṭhās, without guna.

d. The forms aṭārīma (RV.), avādiran (AV.), and bādhithās (TA.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist: compare avītā, 906. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, jāṇīṭhās, māḍīṭhās, vartīṭhās, ṣaṅkīṭhās, and (the causative: 1048) aghāṭayīṭhās. Aṅghitām and grhīṭhās and grhīta, if not false readings for grhīṇi-, are probably irregular present-formations.

Modes of the īṣ-aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: qāṇīṣīṣam, vādhīm; māṭhīs, vādhīs, yāvīs, sāvīs; āvit, jūrvīt, māṭhīt, vādhīt, veṣīt; mardhiṣṭam, dosiṣṭam, hiṁṣiṣṭam; avīṣṭām, jāṇīṣṭām, baḍāiṣṭām; cṛṣṭiṣṭam, vāḍiṣṭam; vadhīṣṭa and vadhīṣṭana, māṭiṣṭana, hiṁsiṣṭa; ṣvārīṣu, grāhiṣu; — in the middle: rāḍhiṣi; jāṇiṣṭhās, marṣiṣṭhās, vyaṭhiṣṭhās; krāṁiṣṭa, jāṇiṣṭa, paviṣṭa, prāṭhiṣṭa, māṇiṣṭa; vyathiṣṭaḥ. The accent is on the root-syllable (tārīṣu, AV. once, is doubtless an error).

906. a. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. daviṣāṇi, and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened e) yāciṣṭāmahe and samiṣṭāmahe.

b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: avenge, kāṇiṣṭhas, tāriṣṭhas, rākṣiṣṭhas, vāḍhiṣṭhas, vāḍiṣṭhas, vāṭhiṣṭhas, qāṇiṣṭhas; kāriṣṭas, jambhīṣṭas, jōiṣṭas, takiṣṭas, tāriṣṭas, nindīṣṭas, pāriṣṭas, bōdhiṣṭas, mārdhiṣṭas, yāciṣṭas, yodhiṣṭas, rākṣiṣṭas, vanīṣṭas, vyathiṣṭas, qāṇiṣṭas, samiṣṭas, sāvīṣṭas. 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. vanīṣan and mid. sāniṣanta (and TS. has vanīṣantu,
for the problematic vanuṣṭanta of RV.), which are also regular. Bhaviṣṭāt (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign; cānīṣ-ṭhat (RV.; SV. instead jāṇiṣṭhat) seems hopelessly corrupt. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative: but we have san- in the subjunctive against asānīṣam (as to ca-y- and ra-n-, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted “precative” of the later language (823, 925b). It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other iṣ-forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: jāṇiṣṭa, ṯindhiṣṭa, edhiṣṭā, ruciṣṭa and rocisiṣṭa, gmisiṣṭa; modiṣṭaḥs; janīṣṭa; vanīṣṭa; sahisiṣṭa; idhiṣṭamahi, edhiṣṭamahi, janīṣṭamahi, tārīṣṭamahi, mandiṣṭamahi, vandiṣṭamahi, vardhiṣṭamahi, sahiṣṭamahi and sāhīṣṭamahi. The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule. The forms jāniṣṭaya and -ya, from a secondary a-stem, occur in K.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from y'av a series: namely, avidhibhi, aviṣṭa, avistiṣṭam, avitā (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for aviṣṭa) 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 kramiṣṭam, gamiṣṭam, caniṣṭam, caiaiṣṭam (against caaiaiṣam), tārīṣṭam, yodhiṣṭam, vadhiṣṭam, qnathiṣṭam; rāṇiṣṭana (against araṇīṣus), ṭnathiṣṭana.

909. No words having a participial ending after iṣ are found anywhere to occur.

910. This is the only aorist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, 1035, 1048, 1068.

6. The iṣ-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in श्रा ॐ (including मि m fire, मि mi (or mī) damage and लो li cling, which substitute forms in ल), and from नम nam bow, यम yam reach, and म ram be content, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the s-form (878 ff.). Its inflection is precisely like that of the iṣ-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than
its first persons, which we may form from the roots या गो and नम बो. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} \\
\text{ग्यासिष्म} & \text{ग्यासिष्म} & \text{ग्यासिष्म} & \text{ग्यासिष्म} & \text{ग्यासिष्म} & \text{ग्यासिष्म} \\
\text{अयासिष्म} & \text{अयासिष्म} & \text{अयासिष्म} & \text{अयासिष्म} & \text{अयासिष्म} & \text{अयासिष्म} \\
\end{array}
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912. The siṣ-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the iṣ-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added s. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots गा सिंग and या गो, and in AV. only from हा लेज, and doubtless also from या फिल उप and वन विन (see below, 914b); the remaining older texts add ज्ञान ज़ो (B.), या ओर-पॉवर, द्यो थिंक (C.B. once: the edition reads द्यो-)., and may be content (SV.: a bad variant for RV. राजिया); other Brāhmaṇa forms which might be also of the n-aorist are अद्रासित, अवासित, and अध्वासित; and bhuk-गिःया (PB. S.) must be regarded as an anomalous formation from यब्हुज, unless we prefer to admit a secondary root भुक, like भाक from भाज. In the later language have been found quotable from other roots only ग्रासित, अधमासित, अपासित, मलासित, and समासित.

a. The participle हासमान्स and causative हासयान्ति (RV.) show that हास had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside हा for other forms than the aorist.

913. The whole series of older indicative forms (omitting, as doubtful, the 2d and 3d sing,) is as follows: गासिष्म, अन्वासिष्म, अयासिष्म, अध्यासिष्म; गासिष्म; अन्वासिष्म, अग्यासिष्म; अग्यासिष्म, अयासिष्म. गासिष्म, अग्यासिष्म (क्षेत्र is from याकवत)., अध्मासित, अपासित, मलासित, अनासित.

a. Forms without augment are these: ज्ञासिष्म, राम्सिष्म, हासिष्म; हासिष्म; हासिष्म; हासिष्म, गा सित, ज्ञासित. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. a. Of proper subjunctives are found two, गासिष्टत and यासिष्टत (both RV.).

b. Optatives are not less rare: namely, यासिष्टस and प्यासिष्टमहि (for which the AV. manuscripts read प्यासिष्टमहि, altered in the edition to प्यासिष्टमहि); and doubtless वान्सिष्टमहि (AV., twice) is to be corrected to वान्सिष्टमहि, and belongs here. As to भुक-गिःया, see above, 912.

c. The accent of यासिष्टम (like आविष्टम, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and यासिष्टा (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 -मित, -मेद्या, etc., were not allowable, like those in -ष्ट, -ष्ठास, and the others of the iṣ-aorist.
7. The sa-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this aorist end in शौ, शा, or श ह — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make श क्ष; and they have श इ, श उ, or श र as radical vowel.

a. They are as follows: दिछ, रिछ, लिछ, त्विछ, क्रिछ, रुछ, म्रिछ, स्प्रिछ; तविछ, दविछ, चिछ, विछ, क्षिछ; दिह, मिह, लिह, गुह, दुह, रुह, त्रिह, वर्त्त, स्त्रिह; from about half of them sa-forms, earlier or later, are quotable. Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take aorists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel a in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-aorist.

917. As the tense-stem ends in श a, the inflection is in the main like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation. But (according to the grammarians: the forms unfortunately have not been found quotable) the 1st sing. mid. ends in श इ instead of श ए, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in चातम चातम and चातम चातम, as in imperfects of the other conjugation. Both active and middle inflection is admitted. The root is throughout unstrengthened.

918. As example of inflection we may take the root दिछ point. Thus:

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919. In the earlier language, the forms of the sa-aorist are hardly more than sporadic. They are made in RV. from seven roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add ten more, making nineteen in all (the later language makes no additions to this number). As later, all have इ or उ or र as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with a to क्ष; but there are in the list also two
ending in $j$, namely $mrj$ and $vrj$. All the examples noted are given below.

a. So far as the middle forms are concerned, this aorist would be fully explained as a transfer of certain $a$-aorists to an $a$-inflection. The marked difference in the strength of radical vowel in the active, however, stands in the way of the successful application of such an explanation to the active forms.

920. a. In the indicative, we find, in the active: $avṛkṣam$; $adrūkṣas$, $adṛṅkṣas$, $arukṣas$, $akṛkṣas$ (and MBh. adds $amṛkṣas$); adikṣat, amikṣat, alikṣat, avikṣat, ákṛkṣat, ághṛkṣat, adukṣat and ádhuṅkṣat, árukṣat, avṛkṣat, akṛkṣat, ámṛkṣat, áṣṭṛkṣat; ághṛkṣatām; arukṣāma, amṛkṣāma, avṛkṣāma; ádhuṅkṣan, apikṣan (y’piq), arukṣan, asṛkṣan; — in the middle, only akṛkṣathās (y’kṛṣ), ádhuṅkṣata, and amṛkṣanta (and MBh. adds amṛkṣata?)

b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: $dṛkṣam$, $mṛkṣam$; $duṛkṣas$, $ruṛkṣas$, $mṛkṣas$; dvikṣat; $mṛkṣata$; dhukṣan and dukṣan; — in the middle, dvikṣata, dukṣata and dhukṣata, dhukṣanta.

c. There are no optative forms.

d. Imperative are: in the active, $mṛkṣatam$; in the middle, dhukṣāvya.

e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign $ā$, in analogy with the $a$-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the ā-class: a single exception is dhukṣata, which probably needs emendation to dhukṣata.

f. The aspiration of initial $d$ and $g$, after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots $duh$ and $guh$, but not from $druh$ (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also adukṣat and dukṣas, 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 $yā$: 770), $i$ and $u$ are lengthened; $ṛ$ is usually changed to $rī$, but to $rī$ and $ūr$ in those roots which elsewhere show $ir$- and $ur$- forms (so-called $ṛ$-roots: 242), and to $ar$ in $ṛ$ and $snṛ$; $ā$ is changed to $e$ in the roots $dā$, $dhā$, $sthā$, $pā$ drink, $gā$ sing, and a few others, in part optionally.
b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in badhyāsam from ābandh; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in ucyāsam, iVyāsam, vidhyāsam, supyāsam, gṛhyāsam; ā/ā forms čiṣyāsam (compare 639, 854 c): and so on.

c. It has been pointed out above (837) that the active precative is an optative of the root-aorist, with a problematic insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending.

923. a. The precative middle is made by adding the middle precative endings (above, 568) to the root increased by स s or Śr is — that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an īṣ-aorist (but without augment).

b. The root is strengthened according to the rules that apply in forming the middle-stem of the s and of the īṣ-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before Śr īṣ.

c. As was pointed out above (567) the middle precative is really the optative of certain aorists, with the insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending only (so far as authenticated by use) in the 2d and 3d singular. In the older language, such forms are oftener made from the s-aorist (895) and the īṣ-aorist (907); but also from the root-aorist (887 b), the a-aorist (850 a), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the sīṣ-aorist (914 b); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root म bhū be, which is said (no middle aorist or precative from it is quotable) to form its middle on the īṣ-stem. Thus:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bhūyāsam</td>
<td>bhūyāsva</td>
<td>bhūyāsma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bhūyās</td>
<td>bhūyāstam</td>
<td>bhūyāsta</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bhūyāt</td>
<td>bhūyāstām</td>
<td>bhūyāsus</td>
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XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

924—j

middle.

s. d. p.

1 bhavisiya bhaviśivāhi bhaviśimāhi
bhavisiya bhaviśivāhi bhaviśimāhi
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bhavisiya bhaviśivāhi bhaviśimāhi
bhavisiya bhaviśivāhi bhaviśimāhi
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bhavisiya bhaviśivāhi bhaviśimāhi
bhavisiya bhaviśivāhi bhaviśimāhi

a. The forms given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the sibilant. Those persons, and the 2d pl., have never been met with in use. For the question respecting the ending of the 2d pl., as dhvam or dhvam, see 226 c.

b. The tenses given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the sibilant. Those persons, and the 2d pl., have never been met with in use. For the question respecting the ending of the 2d pl., as dhvam or dhvam, see 226 c.

925. a. The precative active is a form of very rare occurrence in the classical language. In each of the texts already more than once referred to (Manu, Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, Čakunlā, Hitopadeśa) it occurs once and no more, and not half-a-dozen forms have been found quotable from the epics. As to its value, see 573 c.

b. The precative middle is virtually unknown in the whole later literature, not a single occurrence of it having been brought to light. The BhP. has once ririṣiṣṭa, which is also a RV. form, belonging probably to the reduplicated aorist: see 870.

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: 582) appear to accord with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after mā was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (579).

a. The tense-value of the aorist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.

927. The aorist of the later language is simply a pret, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.

a. Thus, tataḥ sa gardabhaṁ lagudona taḍayāṁśaḥ; tenā āsau paṇcattvam agamat (H.) thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hercif the latter died; tataḥ sa vidarbhāṁ agamat pūnaḥ; tāṁ tu bandhujanaḥ samāpyayat (MBh.) thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence; pritimān abhūt, uvāca
cāi 'nam (MBh.) he was filled with affection, and said to him; tam adahat kāthāḥ so 'bhūd divya-vapus tādā (R.) he burned him with wood, and he became then a heavenly form.

928. The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary have. In general, it indicates what has just taken place; and oftenest something which the speaker has experienced.

a. Examples from the Veda are: pārī 'mē gām aneṣṭata pāry agnīm ahrṣata, devesyā kṛnata cṛṇāḥ kā imān śa dadharṣati (RV.) these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods — who shall venture anything against them? yām āichāma mānaśā sō 'yām ā 'gāt (RV.) he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, sor.) come; yēnē 'ndro havīśā kṛtvā ābhavad dyumyā uttamāḥ, idāṁ tād akrī devā asapatnāḥ klā 'bhuvam (RV.) that libration by which Indra, making it, became (impf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies.

b. Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: sā hā 'smīn jyōg uvāsa... tāto ha gandharvāḥ sām uḍūro: jyōg vā īyām uvāṣī manuṣyaṅgv avāṣīt (CB.) she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvās said to one another, "this Urvāci, forsooth, hath dwelt a long time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: taṁ ho 'vūca: apat-sata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.) his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"; īndrasya vytrāṁ jaghnuṣa īndriyāṁ viryāṁ prthivīṁ ānu vy ārechat tād āṣadhya virūḍho 'bhavan sā prajēpatim úpā 'dhāvad vytrām me jaghnuṣa īndriyāṁ viryāṁ prthivīṁ ānu vy ārat tād āṣadhayo virūḍho 'bhuvann ēti (TS.) of Indra, when he had slain Vṛtra, 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 Vṛtra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"; svayām enam abhyudētya brūyād vrātya kvā 'vāteḥ (AV., in prose passage) going up to him in person, let him say: "Vṛāya, where hast thou abode"? yād idāṁ dhvāvā vivāda-mānāv eyātām ahām adarçām ahām acrausam ēti yā eva brūyād ahām adarçām ēti táśmā eva çrāddadhīyāma (CB.) if now two should come disputing with one another, [the one] saying "I have seen", [the other] "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".

929. a. This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the Brāhmaṇa language (including the older Upaniṣhads and the Sūtras), and is closely observed; violation of it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin.

b. In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained; many passages would admit an
929—] XII. Future-systems. 330

interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

930. The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evanescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected. Thus: svāsaasthe bhavatam indave na iti somo vāi rāje ’nduḥ somā-yāi ’vāi ’ne etad rājña āsade ’cikāpat (AB. i. 29. 7) “he ye comfortable seats for our Indu”, he says; Indu is king Soma; by this means he has made them (instead of makes them) suitable for king Soma to sit upon; vāruṇīr āpo yād adbhīr abhiśiṇātī vāruṇam evāi ’nam akar (MS. iv. 3. 10) the waters are Varuna’s; in that he bepours him with waters, he has made him Varuna; paṃcābhīr vyāghārayati pānkto yajñō yāvān evā yajñās tām ālabdhā ’tho yāvān evā yajñās tāsmād rākṣāṇy āpahanti (MS. iii. 2. 6) he smears with five; fivefold is the offering; as great as is the offering, of it he has [thereby] taken hold; then, as great as is the offering, from it he smites away the demons. This idiom is met with in all the Brāhmaṇas; but it is especially frequent in the MS.

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 या, 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 स्य स्य, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel इ इ (in the latter case becoming इ इ). The root has the गुना-strengthening. Thus, from यऐ dā give is formed the future tense-stem दास्य दास्या; from यऐ इ go, the stem दास्य दास्या; from यऐ इ duh milk, the stem दास्य दास्या; from यऐ हु be, the stem भविष्य भविष्या; from यऐ र्ध thrive, the stem अर्ध्या अर्ध्या; and so on.

a. But from यऐ ल्व live the stem is ज्विस्याः, from यऐ इ इ sprinkle it is उक्षिस्याः, and so on (240).

b. There are hardly any Vedic cases of resolution of the tense-sign स्या into स्या; RV. has क्षेष्णान्तस once.

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in ग्रा (second general conjugation: 733a). We may take as models of inflection the future of यऐ dā give, and that of यऐ क्र make. Thus:

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1. In the epics are found occasional cases of 1st du. and pl. in va and ma: e. g. ramayāva (R.), bhaksayisyāva (causative: MBh.); esyāma (MBh.), vatsyāma (R).

934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel इ before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance between this tense and the other future and the desiderative; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist (s-
aorist on the one side, or īṣ-aorist on the other), any correspondence is still less traceable. Practically, it is necessary to learn, as a matter of usage, how any given root makes these various parts of its conjugational system.

935. Below is added a statement of the usage, as regards the auxiliary vowel, of all the roots found quotable — for the most part, in the form of a specification of those which add the tense-sign directly to the root; in brackets are further mentioned the other roots which according to the grammarians also refuse the auxiliary vowel.

a. Of roots ending in vowels, the great majority (excepting those in ā) take no ā. Thus, all in ă (numerous, and unnecessary to specify: but compare c below); — those in ā, as keśi possess, ci gather, ci note, mi, ā or șā bind (aigya), hi; from ā, keś destroy, and ji occur forms of both classes; āri [and āvi] has ā; — those in ā, as krī, bhi, āi, yī; but āi tie and āi have both forms [and āi takes ā]; — those in ā, as cyū, dru, piū, crou, hu; but șu press out and șu have both forms [and șu, șu, nu, yu, ru, snu take ā]; — of those in ā, duḥ and bhū take ā; āu has both forms. But all in ā (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take ā [those in changeable ā, for so-called ā-roots (242), are said by the grammarians to take either ā or i; no i-forms, however, are quotable].

b. Of roots ending in mutes, about half add the tense-sign directly. Thus, of roots ending in gutturals, șak; — in palatals: in ā, pac, muć, ric, vac, vie, vraqc, sic (but yāc takes ā); in ch, prach; in ā, bhājī, mṛ (mārkeya and mārkeya), yāj, bhuj, yuj, vi, sī [also bhrajī, raṇī, saṇī, svaṇī, ni, ruj]; while tyaj, bhaj, and majj (mānikya and mālīṣya) have both forms, and vi (viṣya and viṣya) and vraj take ā; — in dentala: in t, krīt and vṛt [also ērt and nṛt] make both forms; in ā, ad, pad, ēd fall, skand, syand, chid, bhid, vid find, nud [also had, khid, svid, kud, tud]; while sād (satsya and sādīṣya) and vid know make both forms [also ḍṛd and ṭṛd], and vad has ā; in dh, vyadh (votsya), rādh, sidh succeed, budh, yudh, ruddh, vṛdh [also sād, kudh, kṣudh, qudh,] and bandh and sidh repel have both forms; in n, tan, while man and han have both forms; — in labials: in p, āp, kṣip, gup, tṛp, sṛp (srapeya and sarpeya) [also qap, lip, lup], while tap, vap, svap, dṛp, and kṛp have both forms; in bh, yabh and rabh, labh having both forms; in m, ram, while kram, kṣam, nam, and yam make both forms.

c. Of the roots reckoned by the grammarians as ending in semivowels (761 d—g) all take i. And vā or vi wecar, vya or vi enclop, and hvā or hucai take a y-form, as in their present-system, to which then i is added: thus, vayisya, vyayisya, hvayisya (but also hvāṣya).

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in q, dīq, viq, dṛq (drakṣya), aprq (sparakṣya) [also daṅq, riq, liq, kruq, mṛq], while naq be lost has both forms (naṁkṣya and naṇiṣya); — in ș, pș, vș, čș [also
333 THE s-FUTURE.  

—938

tviṣ, dviṣ, qiṣ, tuṣ, duṣ, puṣ, puṣ), while kṣ has both forms (kraṅgaya and kasiṣiya); — in s, vas shine, vas clothe [also ghas], while vas dwell has both forms; — in h, mih, duh, druh [also nah, dih, liḥ], while dah, vah, sah, and ruḥ have both forms.

e. In the older language, a majority (about five ninths) of simple roots add the sya without auxiliary i; of the futures occurring in the later language only, nearly three quarters have the i, this being generally taken by any root of late origin and derivative character — as it is also uniformly taken in secondary conjugation (1019, 1036, 1050, 1068).

936. As the root is strengthened to form the stem of this future, so, of a root that has a stronger and a weaker form, the stronger form is used: thus, from ṣ-bandh or ṣadḥ bind, bhantsya or bandhiṣya.

a. By an irregular strengthening, naṅkṣya (beside naṭīṣya) is made from y'naḥ be lost, and maṅkṣya (beside majjīṣya) from y'majj sink.

b. But a few roots make future-stems in the later language without strengthening: thus, likhiṣya, milīṣya (also TS.), viṣīṣya (also vejīṣya), sīṣya (y'sā or sī), sūṣya (938 b), sputiṣya; and yvyadh makes vēṣya from the weaker form vīdh.

c. The Ķ.B. has once the monstrous form aṇuvīṣyāmahe, made upon the present-stem aṇu (697) of y'naḥ attain. And the later language makes sīḍya and jahiṣya from the present-stems of y'sad and y'hā. Compare further bHAViṣya etc., 935 c. Also khyāṣya from y'khyā (beside khyāṣya) appears to be of similar character.

d. A number of roots with medial ṛ strengthen it to ra (241): thus, kraṅgya, trapṣya, drapṣya, drakṣya, mrakṣya (beside mārkṣya), sprakṣya, srakṣya, srapsya (beside sarṣya), and mṛadiṣya (beside mardiṣya); and y'klp forms klapṣya (beside kalpiṣya).

e. The root graḥ (also its doublet glah) takes ṣ instead of i, as it does also in the aorist and elsewhere.

937. This future is comparatively rare in the oldest language — in part, apparently, because the uses of a future are to a large extent answered by subjunctive forms — but becomes more and more common later. Thus, the RV. has only seventeen occurrences of personal forms, from nine different roots (with participles from six additional roots); the AV. has fifty occurrences, from twenty-five roots (with participles from seven more); but the TS. has occurrences (personal forms and participles together) from over sixty roots; and forms from more than a hundred and fifty roots are quotable from the older texts.

Modes of the s-FUTURE.

938. Mode-forms of the future are of the utmost rarity. The only example in the older language is karīṣyaśa, 2d sing. subj. act., occurring once (or twice) in RV. (AB. has once nātsyāvahāi, and GE. has ēgyāmahāi, tañāyāmahāi, sthāsyāmahāi, but they are doubtless false read-
ings for -he. Two or three optative forms are found in the epics: thus, dhakṣyet and maṁsayeran (MBh.), and drakṣyeta (R.); also an imperative patsyantu (Har.). And several 2d pl. mid. in dhvams are quotable from the epics: thus, vetsyadhvam, savisyadhvam, and (the causative) kālayisyadhvam (PB.) and jivyayishadhvam (MBh.: and one text has mokṣayadhvam at i.133.13, where the other reads mokṣayadhvam), and bhāvyayadhvam (MBh. R.): it is a matter of question whether these are to be accounted a real imperative formation, or an epic substitution of secondary for primary endings (compare 542a).

Participles of the s-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in ē ś a: namely, by adding in the active the ending त in, in the middle the ending मान; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, तक्यस तायरं and तयायान ताययाना, कारियत्त kariyant and कारिययाना kariyāmāna.

a. According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in ा or in ि; but only the former has been noted as occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare: see above, 449a,f.

b. In RV. occurs once सियर्यान, from यसु, 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 ē ś a. This preterit is called the conditional.

a. It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional aurais to the future aurai, or as the English would have to will have — nearly as the German würde haben to werden haben.

b. Thus, from the roots already instanced:

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The Conditional.

941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, *abharisyat* was going to carry off, and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brāhmaṇas it is hardly more common — except in CB., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, or Hitopadeśa; only one in Mann; and two in Çakunatalī. In the whole MBh. (Holtzmann) it is found about twenty-five times, from thirteen roots. The middle forms are extremely few.

II. The Periphrastic Future.

942. a. This formation contains only a single indicative active tense (or also middle: see 947), without modes, or participle, or preterit.

b. It consists in a derivative *nomen agentis*, having the value of a future active participle, and used, either with or without an accompanying auxiliary, in the office of a verbal tense with future meaning.

943. The noun is formed by the suffix तः (or तः) (or तः); and this (as in its other than verbal uses: see 1182) is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary vowel तः, the root itself being strengthened by गुण, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, दातः दातः from नृत्तः दातः give; कारतः from नृत्तः कारतः make; भवित्तः from नृत्तः भवित्तः be.

a. As regards the presence or absence of the vowel तः, 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 तः take no तः: thus, कारतः (against कारित्तः); roots *han* and *gam* show the same difference; while *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, and *syand* have तः here, though
not in the s-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (373), is used without auxiliary: thus, मिता bhavita he or she or it will be; मितारा bhavitārau both will be; मितारस bhavitāras they will be. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of र र as be (636) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun.

a. Thus, from द द give:

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b. Occasionally, in the epics and later (almost never in the older language), the norm of the tense as given above is in various respects departed from: thus, by use of the auxiliary in the 3d person also; by its omission in the 1st or 2d person; by inversion of the order of noun and auxiliary; by interposition of other words between them; by use of a dual or plural nom. with the auxiliary; and by use of a feminine form of the noun. Examples are: वक्ता ’स्ति (MBh.) he will speak; निहंता (MBh.) I shall or thou wilt strike down, yoddhā ’हम (R.) I shall fight, आहं द्रागः (MBh.) I shall see, कर्ता ’हम to (BhP.) I will do for thee, tvam bhavita (MBh. Megh.) thou wilt be; अस्मि gantā (MBh.) I shall go; pratigrahitā tām asmi (MBh.) I willreceive her, हंता tvam asi (MBh.) thou wilt slay; कर्ताराव svaḥ (MBh.) we two shall do; draṣṭ्रy asmi (MBh.) I (f.) shall see, udbhavitri (Nāṣ.) she will increase, गत्री (Y.) she will go. AB. has once sotā as 2d sing., thou wilt press; JUB. makes the combination ओषानानि bhavitāras the cemeteries will be.

c. An optative of the auxiliary appears to be once used, in yoddhā syām I would fight (R. i. 22. 25 Peterson; but the Bombay edition reads yoddhum yāsyāmi).

945. The accent in these combinations, as in all the ordinary cases of collocation of a verb with a preceding predicate noun or
adjective (592), is on the noun itself; and, unlike all the true verbal forms, the combination retains its accent everywhere even in an independent clause: thus, tārhi vā atināṣṭro bhavitāṃī (CB.) then I shall be out of danger (where bhaviṣyāṃī, if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (595), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verb-form: 1083b), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the nomina agentis in tr or tar, like various other derivative nouns (271), but with especial frequency, are used in participial construction, governing the accusative if they come from roots whose verbal forms do so (1182). Often, also, they are used predicatively, with or without accompanying copula; yet without any implication of time; they are not the beginnings, but only the forerunners, of a new tense-formation. Generally, when they have a participial value, the root-syllable (or a prefix preceding it) has the accent. The tense-use begins, but rather sparingly, in the Brāhmaṇas (from which about thirty forms are quotable); and it grows more common later, though the periphrastic future is nowhere nearly so frequent as the s-future (it is quotable later from about thirty additional roots).

947. a. A few isolated attempts are made in the Brāhmaṇas to form by analogy middle persons to this future, with endings corresponding after the usual fashion to those of the active persons. Thus, TS. has once prayoktāse I will apply (standing related to prayoktāsmi as, for example, qāse to qāśmi); CB. has čayitāse thou shalt lie (similarly related to čayitāsi); and TB. has yaṣtāsmaha we will make offering. But in TA. is found (i.11) yaṣṭāhe as 1st sing., showing a phonetic correspondence of a problematic character, not elsewhere met with in the language.

b. On the basis of such tentative formations as these, the native grammarians set up a complete middle inflection for the periphrastic future, as follows:

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>datāhe datāsvahe datāsmaha</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>datāse datāsāthe datādhve</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>datā datārau datāras</td>
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</table>

c. Only a single example of such a middle has been brought to light in the later language, namely (the causative) darçayitāhe (Naśīg.).

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.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 22
a. A few examples are: varṣiṣyāty aśāmaḥ parjanyo vṛṣṭimāṇ bhaviṣyati (CB.) it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year; yās tāṁ nā vēdā kīṁ pṛca kāriṣyati (RV.) whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? ā vāi vayām agni dhāsyāmahē 'tha yūyāṁ kīṁ kāriṣyatha (CB.) we are going to build the two fires; then what will you do? tāṁ īndro 'bhyaḍudrāva haniṣyān (CB.) hym Indra ran at, intending to slay; yādy evā kāriṣyātha sākāṁ devāṁ yajñīyāso bhaviṣyatha (RV.) if ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dāntāṁ te ṣaṭṣayanti (AV.) thy teeth will fall out; nā māriṣyasi mā bibheḥ (AV.) thou shalt not die; be not afraid; brāhū kva yāṣyasi (MBh.) tell us; where are you going to go? yadi māṁ pratyaḥkhyāṣyasi vīṣam āṣṭhāye (MBh.) if you shall reject me, I will resort to poison. As in other languages, the tense is also sometimes used for the expression of a conjecture or presumption: thus: ko 'yaṁ deva gandharvo vā bhaviṣyati (MBh.) who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva; adya svapṣyati (MBh.) they must be sleeping now.

b. The spheres of future and desiderative border upon one another, and the one is sometimes met with where the other might be expected. Examples of the future taken in a quasi-desiderative sense are as follows: yād dāṣuṣe bhadrāṁ kāriṣyāsi tāvē 't tāt satyāṁ (RV.) what favor thou wiltest to bestow on thy worshiper, that of thee becomes actual (is surely brought about); yāthā 'nyād vadiṣyānti sō 'nyād vādet (CB.) as if, intending to say one thing, one were to say another.

949. The periphrastic future is defined by the grammarians as expressing something to be done at a definite time to come. And this, though but faintly traceable in later use, is a distinct characteristic of the formation in the language where it first makes its appearance. It is especially often used along with qvās tomorrow.

a. A few examples are: adyā varṣiṣyati ... qvo vṛaṭā (MS.) it is going to rain today; it will rain tomorrow; yataṁ vā ime qvāḥ kamiṭāras te jetāras (K.) whichever of the two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; prāttāḥ yaṣṭāsmahe (TB.) we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning; ityaḥē vaḥ paktāsāmi (CB.) on such and such a day I will cook for you; tāṁ ma ēkāṁ rātraitrāṁ ānte quāyāsā jāta u te 'yaṁ tārhi putrō bhavitā (CB.) then you shall tie 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, bhīḥbhīḥ mā pāraṣyāṣyāṁ tvā 'ti: kāsāmā mā pāraṣyāṣyāḥ 'ty ānghā imāḥ sāryāḥ praajā nirvāṅaḥ, tātās tvā pāraṣyāṣyāṁ 'ti (CB.) support me and I will save you, said he. 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; paridevaṣyaṁ cakrīre mahāc cokaprayān prāṇāṣaṁ (GB.) they set up a lamentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"; yāje 'yakṣe yaṣṭāhe ca (TA.) I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifice. In yet other cases,
Uses of the Futures and Conditional.

[—950]

in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, prajayam enam vijnatam yadi vidvam vah juhoty avidvam vah (AB.) in his children we shall know him, whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge; vaktasmavah idam devebhyah (AB.) we shall tell this to the gods; yadi svartum mamai 'pi bhavitata tata evam svartaham kariyam (MBh.) if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair; katha tu bhavitasya eka iti tvam nipa qocimi (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 elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.

a. Thus, yo vritraya sinam atray bhariyat pra tam jani jiti vidu sa uvea (RV.) him, who was going here to carry off Vritra's wealth, his mother proclaimed to the knowing one; qatayum gham 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 [praraghiqya] my mouth); tata eva 'arya bhayam vi 'yaya kasmadh dhy abhegyad vai bhayam bhavati (CB.) thereof his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person; utpapata ciram tam mene yad vasaah paryaahasyata (CB.) he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment; sa tata eva nai 'vindicat prajapatir yatra 'hoqyat (MS.) Prajapati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice; evam cen nai 'vakseyo mirdhah te vyapatiqyat (GB.) if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off; sa yad dhai 'tavad eva 'bhaviyad yavatyo hai 'vai 'gre praajap yastahas tavatyo hai 'vai 'bhaviyam nai pra 'janisvanta (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 vah 'bhaviyad arunas tamasam vibhettah tam cet saharakirapo dhuri na kariyam (CB.) would the Dawn, forsooth, be the scatterer of the darkness, if the thousand-rayed one did not set her on the front of his chariot?
CHAPTER XIII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS: PARTICIPLES, INFINITIVES, GERUNDS.

§ 951 a. Those verbal adjectives, or participles, which are made from tense-stems, and so constitute a part of the various tense-systems, have been already treated. It remains to describe certain others, which, being made directly from the root itself, belong to the verbal system as a whole, and not to any particular part of it.

b. The infinitive (with a few sporadic exceptions in the older language) also comes in all cases from the root directly, and not from any of the derived tense-stems.

c. The same is true of the so-called gerunds, or indeclinable participles.

Passive Participle in tá or ná.

§ 952. By the accented suffix न tá — or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न ná — is formed a verbal adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्त dattá given; उक्त uktá spoken. Hence it is usually called the passive participle; or, to distinguish it from the participle belonging to the passive present-system (771), the past passive participle.

a. When made from an intransitive or neuter verb, the same participle, as in other languages, has no passive but only an indefinite past sense: thus, गत gatá gone; भूत bhútá been; फलित patítá fallen.

§ 953. In general, this participle is made by adding न tá to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

a. Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel i to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add ná instead of tá, see below, § 956, 957.
b. As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085a.

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 not seldom dropped: examples are अक्ता (y añ), बध्दा (y bandh), ज्राब्धा (y cram bha), दष्टा (y dañ), स्रास्ता (y srañas), बध्दा (y bahñ).

b. Roots which are abbreviated in the weak forms of the perfect (794) suffer the same abbreviation here: examples are उक्ता (y vao), उप्ता (y vas shine), उप्ता (y vap: also vapta), उङ्खा (y vah), उष्ट्ता (y svap), ईष्टा (y ya), विद्धा (y vyadh); — and, by a similar procedure, यप्रच (or praç) makes प्रष्टा, यभ्रांछ makes भ्रष्टा (beside the regular भ्रष्टा), and यङ्रा boil makes ङ्रतां (beside ख्रतां).

c. Final आ is weakened to ई in गिता (y gā sing), दिता (y dhā suck), पिता (y pā drink), ग्पिता; and जिता, विता, खिता are made from the roots यवा, व्या, ए (or जी etc.); — and further to ई in चिता (beside चिता), दिता (y ā dive and dā bind), दिरता (y drā sleep), ढिता (y dhā put: with आ for ई); but दिता also occurs in V., मिता (y mā measure), चिता (also खिता), सिता, श्विता.

da. A final म is lost after a in गता, नता, यता, रता (from ग्म ग्म etc.); and a final न in क्षता, तता, मता, नता. As to the other roots in अ and ए an taking ता, see 955 a, b.

e. More isolated cases are -उता (RV.: y av), उता or उता (y vā weave), चिस्ता (also चिस्ता: य gās), मुर्ता (referred to y mūrch). As to -ग्धा and -जगधा, see 233 f.

f. On the other hand, यस्वद makes व्स्वता.

955. Of more irregular character are the following:

a. A number of roots ending in अ retain the nasal, and lengthen the radical vowel (as also in some others of their verbal forms): thus, कांता, क्रांता, क्रांता, कोंता, तांता, दांता, भ्रांता, भांता, चांतां (y cram be quiet), ख्रांतां (from y kam etc.); and one in अ, ध्वान sound, makes ध्वानता.

b. A few roots in अ make their participle from another root-form in आ: thus, खाता, जाता, खवता, खता; धम has both धमिता and धमता.

c. Certain roots in इव take their यु-form (765 a): thus, द्युता (y div play), श्युता, युता; but यमव makes -मुता.

d. From roots in changeable र (generally taking न: 957 b) are made also पुर्ता (y pr fill: beside प्रता), गिर्ता and खिर्ता (y q crush); and गिर्ता is further made from ग्रिर्ता mix.
e. Double forms are mugdhā and mūḍha, sāḍhā and soḍha, dhūrta and dhṛuta, hṛṣṭa and hṛuta.

f. The root dā give makes dattā (from the secondary root-form dad; but dāta also in V.). But the anomalously contracted form -tta (as if for dāta, with the radical vowel lost) is also frequent in composition, especially with prepositions: thus, ātta, ānutta, pārītta, prātta, prāttā; rarely with other elements, as devātta, punartta, marūtta (?). And the same abbreviated form comes from y/dā divide in ávatta.

g. The roots making participles in both ta and ita, or ta and na, or in all three, will be noted in the next two paragraphs.

956. The suffix with ṭ i, or in the form ṭt itā, is used especially with roots having finals that are only with difficulty, if at all, combinable with ṭt according to the usual analogies of the language, and often with roots of a secondary, derivative, or late character; but also not seldom with original roots.

a. Thus, of roots presenting difficulties of combination: — 1. all that end in two consonants (save those of which one consonant is lost by a weakening process: 954 a, b): e. g. ṇañk, valg, vāñch, lajj, ubj, cēq, ghānu, katth, nind, jalp, cumb, umbh, khall, pīnv, cañs (also častā), raks, hiha, garh (in all, over fifty); but takṣ makes taṭtā; — 2. all that end in linguals (including ṣ after a or ā): e. g. aṭ, truṭ, paṭh, luṭh, ṭī, vruḍ, bhāṭ, kaṣ, bhāṣ; — 3. all that end in surd spirants: e. g. likh, grath, nāth, kuth, riph, gupḥ; — 4. all that end in l: e. g. cal, gil, mil, lul, khel: — 5. all that end in other persistent semi-vowels: namely, carv (also cūrṇa), jīv (for the other roots in ḫtv, see 955 c), dhāv run, sev, day, vyay, pūḥ; — 6. ujh. — This class includes more than half of the whole number that take only ita.

b. Of other roots ending in consonants: — 1. in gnitutals, ṇak, ṇhāuk (ṅak has both ta and ita); člāgḥ; — 2. in palatals, ac (also akṇā), uc, kuc, khac, yāc, ruc; aj, kuṭ, vraj, also tyaj and mṛj in late texts (usually tyaktā and mṛṣṭā); — 3. in dentals, at, pat, qut, also yat in epos (elsewhere only yattā); krād, khād, gud, cud, nād, mud, mṛd, rad, rud, vad, vid know, hrād; also nūd in epos (elsewhere nūttā and nunna); mad has both māttā and mādītā (the majority of roots in ā take na: 957 d); edh, kṣudḥ, gadh, dudh, nādh, bādh, spardḥ; an, in, kvan, dhvan, pan, ran ṛng, van, stān, svan, and dhvan (also dhvāntā); — 4. in labials, cup, yup, rup, and usually kup (kupta late) and lap (łapta epic), occasionally kṣip, gup, tap, ḷṛṇ, ṭap, vāp, čap, while jap has both ta and ita; grāh (grḥhitā), qubh, skabh, and occasionally lubḥ, while kṣubh and stabh have both forms; tim, dharm, čam labor, stim, and kṣam in epos (also kṣānta); — 5. in spirants, ac euc, ṛc, kṛc, ṇṛc, vaqc, caq,
while piç has both forms, and mṛç takes ita only late; iṣ send, iṣ, kuṣ, trṣ, tvṛṣ, pruṣ, miṣ, rauṣ, ḍreṣ, also muṣ except late, while dhṛṣ, ruṣ, and hṛṣ show both forms; āṣ, bhāṣ, bhāṣ, ras, las, vas clothe, has, also as throw occasionally, while kas, gras, Yas, vas shine, vas dveṣṭ, čaṣ (with gīṣṭā and ḍaṣṭā), ḍvāṣ, and ḍras make both forms; ih, grah (ṛghitā), jah (secondary form of hā), mah, rah, and occasionally ūḥ remove, while gāḥ has both forms.

c. Of roots ending in vowels, only ṛi lifetime, which makes ṣayita (with guṇa of root, as elsewhere: 629).

d. In general, a root maintains its full form before ita; but there are a few exceptions: thus, ṭṛghitā and ṣṛghitā (the root being reckoned as grabh and grah: see 729), uḍitā (also vadita in the later language), uṣṭā (ṛvāṣ shine; beside uṣṭā), uṣṭā (ṛvāṣ dveṭṭ: also sporadically vasita and uṣṭa), ukṣitā (ṛvākṣ increase), ṭṛṣṭitā (ṛvṛath). From ṣṛmṛj are made both ṭṛṣṭita and māṛjita (with strengthening as in present and elsewhere: 637), beside mṛṣṭā.

e. Instead of i, long ṛ is taken in ṭṛghitā and ṣṛghitā.

957. The suffix  ṛnā (always without auxiliary ṛi i) is taken instead of  ṛnā tā by a number of roots (about seventy). Thus:

a. Certain roots in ā: thus, kṣā, glā, drā run, drā sleep, (also ṭṛiṣṭā?), māś (also mlāṭā), vā blow (also vāṭa), ṣyā (also ṛṇā), ṭyā, ṭā leave (also ānā and hātā), ṭa go forth; and ṭa divide makes ṭinā (also ṭita and -ṭta). Further, certain roots in i- and u-vowels: thus, kṣi destroy (kṣiṇa; also kṣitā), ṛi, pṛ, ṭi cling, vī, ṛi or ṭi coagulate (beside ṭvāna and ṛīta), ṭvī (beside hṛitra); ṭvū burn (also ṭuta), ṭū, ṛū; and ṛvī lament makes ṭvīṇa (compare 765).

b. Roots in ṛ, which before the suffix becomes ṛ or ṛā: the forms are, arnā (late; beside ṭrā), kṛrṇā (ṛkṛrscat), gīṛṇā (ṛgṛrswallow), jīṛṇā and jūṛṇā (ṛjṛ waste away), tīṛṇā and tūṛṇa (also tūṛtā), dirṇā (ṛdṛ pierce: also ṭṛta), pūṛṇā (ṛṛṛ fill: also ṭṛṭā and ṭṛṭa), mūṛṇā (ṛmṛ crush), qīṛṇā (ṛqṛ crush: also ṭṛtā and qīṛtā?), stīṛṇā (also stṛṭa). Of like character with these are ṛrṇā from ṭṛ, cīṛṇa (beside carita) from ṭṛcar, gūṛṇa (beside gūṛtā) from ṭṛgur, a secondary form of ṛ, and cūṛṇa (beside carvita) from ṭṛcarv, which is also plainly a secondary root.

c. A few roots ending in ṛ (which becomes ṣ before the suffix, against the usual rule of internal combination: 216f): thus, bhāṅga (ṛbhāṅj), bhūṅga (ṛbhṛḥ bend), magṇa (ṛmāj), ṛugṇa (beside vikṣa). Further, two or three ending in ṛ (similarly treated): thus, aṅkā (ṛac or ṛṇa: also acita and aṅcita), ṛyṅṅā (ṛṛaṛc), and apparently ṭṛyṛṅṅa (ṛṛvṛy, once: with doubly irregular change of root-final, from ṛṛṛ). And one root in ṛ, lagna.
d. A considerable number, some of them very common ones, of roots in ā (which, against ordinary rule, becomes n before the suffix: 157b).
The forms are: unna (also utta), arṇapa, klinna, kṣunna, kṣvīnna, khinna, channa, chinnā, chrnā, tunnā, trppā, nunna (also nutā and nudita), pannā, bhinnā, vinna (yvid find: also vittā), çanna (yçad fall), sannā (also satta), skannā (yskand), syanna (ysyand), svinnā, hanna. And ānna food, in spite of its different accent, appears to be a like formation from yad eat.

958. The native grammarians reckon as participles of this formation a few miscellaneous derivative adjectives, coming from roots which do not make a regular participle: such are kṣama burnt, kṛṣā emaciated, pakvā ripe, phullā expanded, ḍūśka dry.

Past Active Participle in tavant (or navant).

959. From the past passive participle, of whatever formation, is made, by adding the possessive suffix कत्
vant, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, नव
कर्तवान् tāt kātvān having done that; tām nigirnāvān having swallowed him down. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (452 ff.); its feminine ends in वती vati; its accent remains on the participle.

960. Derivative words of this formation are found in RV., but without anything like a participial value. The AV, has a single example, with participle meaning: acitāvātati āttishu one's guest having eaten (loc. abs.). In the Brāhmaṇas also it is hardly met with. In the later language, however, it comes to be quite common. And there it is chiefly used predicatively, and oftenest without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb-form in a past tense: primarily, and not seldom, signifying immediate past, or having a true "perfect" value; but also (like the old perfect and the old orist in later use) coming to be freely used for indefinite time, or with the value of the imperfect (779). For example: mām na kaçcid dṛṣṭavān no one has seen (or saw) me; sa nakulān
vṛṣṇādatisvān he destroyed the iṣnaemon; or, with copula, mahat
kṛcchram prāptavatasi thou hast fallen upon great misery. Although originally and properly made only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in ta stands in the relation of an objective predicate), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, cutena samācīratavāt (Ci) has become united with the mango-tree; gatavatā (Ib.) she has gone.

a. The same participle is also made in the secondary conjugations: e. g. darcītavant having shown, prabodhītavant having awakened.
b. Possessives also in in made from passive participles are sometimes found used in an analogous manner, nearly as perfect active participles: e.g. īṣṭīn having sacrificed, vijitino manyamānāḥ (AB.) thinking themselves to have conquered.

Future Passive Participles: Gerundives.

961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in the language a value as qualifying something which is to, or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root from which they come; and they are allowed to be made from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper participles, sometimes treated as a part of the general verbal system, and called future passive participles, or gerundives (like the Latin forms in ndus, to which they correspond in meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely या, तन्य tavya, and यन्नीति anīya.

a. Derivatives in या having this value are made in all periods of the language, from the earliest down; the other two are of more modern origin, being entirely wanting in the oldest Veda (RV.), and hardly known in the later. Other derivatives of a similar character, which afterward disappear from use, are found in the Veda (966).

963. The suffix या in its gerundive use has nothing to distinguish it from the same suffix as employed to make adjectives and nouns of other character (see below, 1213). And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.

a. The original value of the suffix is ia, and as such it has to be read in the very great majority of its Vedic occurrences. Hence the conversion of e and o to ay and av before it (see below).

b. Thus: 1. Final अ becomes ऑ before the suffix: déya, dhyeya, khyeya, méya (perhaps dā-ia etc., with euphonic y interposed); but RV. has once -jñāya. — 2. The other vowels either remain unchangeable, or have the guma or the vrddhi strengthening; and e usually and o always are treated before the ya as they would be before a vowel: thus, -kṣayya, jáyya, bháyya, lāyya; náyya, bháyya, háyya, bháyyá; váyya; and, in the later language, nīya, jeya, dhūya (such cases are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds t
before the suffix: thus, ityä, mityä, grinäya, stütyä, kṛtya (the only Vedic examples). — 3. Medial a remains unchanged or is lengthened: thus, dabhya, vändya, sädya; mädyä, vâcya. — 4. Medial i-, u-, and r-vowels are unchanged or have the guna-strengthening: thus, idya, gûhyä, dhṛṣya; dvêśya, yódhya, mārjya.

c. The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds half as many more. Except in bhâviä (once), the accent in RV. is always on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the i of the suffix (hence written âdyä, âcya, -vyâdhya, -dharsyä). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed: always the former, if the ya follow a vowel.

964. a. The suffix tavya is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in tu (below, 968), made by adding the suffix ya (properly ia, whence the accent yä), before which the final u, as usual (1203 a), has guna-strengthening, and is resolved into av.

b. Hence, as regards both the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel i before the tavya, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, 968).

c. No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, Janitavya and hihiśitavya. In the Brâhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and from the derived conjugational stems (next chapter); in the classical language it is still more frequent. According to the grammarians, the accent of the word is either circumflex on the final or acute on the penult: thus, kartavya or kartavya; in the accented texts, it is always the former (the accent tavya given to certain gerundives in the Petersburg lexicon is an error, growing out of the ambiguous accentuation of ÇB.: 88c).

965. a. The suffix anîya is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix iya (1215) to a nomen actionis formed by the common suffix ana.

b. It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix ana (below, 1150).

c. This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in upajîvaniya and âmantraniya (in both of which, moreover, its distinct gerundive value admits of question). In the Brâhmaṇas (where less than a dozen examples of it have been noted), and in the later language, it is less common than the gerundive in tavya. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix iya, is on the penult: thus, karapîya.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in tua or tvä, apparently made from the infinitival noun in tu with the added suffix a (1209). They are kārtua (in two occurrences kārtva), -gaṁtvä, jântua, jétua, nāmťua, vâktua, sôtua,
Infinitives.

968. The later language has only a single infinitive, which is the accusative case of a verbal noun formed by the suffix तु tu, added to the root usually directly, but often also with aid of the preceding auxiliary vowel य i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is नुम tum or नुम itum. The root has the guna-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, दागध एतुम from दागध; भटितum from भटित; चारितum from चारित; भवितum from भवित.

a. As regards the use or omission of य, the infinitive (as also the gerund in tvā: 961) follows in general the analogy of the passive participle (956). Examples are (with the gerund added) as follows: dagdhā, dāgdhum, dagdhvā from यदाह; bhinnā, bhēttum, bhittvā from यभिद; मतां, मांतुम, मत्वा from य्मान; उँहाः, vōdhum, उँह्वाः from य्याह; यतिः, पातिः, भतिः from य्यपत; याचित, याचितum, याचितvā from य्याच; चायित, चायितum, चायितvā from य्यच. But certain exceptions and special cases require notice. Thus:

b. Of roots having no quotable participle, infinitive stems in tu are made from ad, saŋh; in itu from uṇāḥ, uḥ consider, keṣap, luni, lok, svar; and in both from yabh.
c. Of roots making participles of both forms, an infinitive stem in tu only is quotable for kṣip, kṣubh, tap, tyaj, mṛṣ, lubh, vas shine, caḥ, stabh; only in itu for gāḥ, carv, jat, mad, yat, van, caḥs, qvas; in both for as throw, uḥ remove, gup, car, mṛṣ (māṛṣṭu, māṛ-jitu), lap, vas dwell, caḥ, gāḥ.

d. Also in a number of other cases (besides those already noticed) an infinitive stem is made both with and without ā. Thus, in addition to the more regular form, a stem in itu is occasionally met with from roots aṣ attain, iṣ seek, bandh, bhaj, yaj (iṣitum), rudh obstruct, ruḥ, vṛṣ, sad (sāditum), saḥ, han, ṛḥ; and one in tu from roots ās, bhāṣ, vid know. Both forms occur also from certain am-roots, namely nam, yam, ram, and, with ā before tu as in the pple, kram and bhram (kṣam has only kṣaṇhtu, against the analogy of kṣāṁta); further, from certain roots in variable ṣ, namely ṭṛ (ṭartu, tarītu), ṣṛ cover (vārtu, varītu), and ṛṣ (stārtu, starītu, stāritu) (but from ṭṛ crush occur only ārītu, carītu, and from ṣṛ choose only varītu; while ṣṛ swallow and ṣṛ fill make their infinitive from other root-forms, namely giriṭum, pūritum); further, from a few vowel-roots, namely ni, cyu, sū (sūtu); and finally from kṣṛ, nṛt, quc.

e. Against the analogy of the participle, infinitive-stems in itu after a final consonant are made from the roots av, kṣan, khan and jan (the pple coming from khā and jā), guḥ, jabh, tam, div play and div lament (both devītu), majj, vṛt, vṛdh, sṛp; and after a final vowel, from roots in u, namely pū, bhū, sū (also sūtu), and from qri and qvi; as to roots in variable ṣ, see just above, d.

f. As the infinitive is made from the (accented and) strengthened root, so it naturally has, as a rule, the stronger or fuller root-form where a weaker or contracted form is taken by the participle (and gerund in tvā): e. g. váktu against uktā (and uktvā), yāṭu against iṣṭā (and iṣṭvā), bandhṭum against baddhā (and baddhvā), and so on. Deserving special notice are gāṭu (y/gā sing) against gīṭā, and dhāṭu (y/dhā such) against dhīṭā; and so from dā give and hā leave are made only dāṭu and hāṭu; but dhā put, mā measure, and sthā add to the regular dhāṭu, māṭu, sthāṭu the late forms -dhitu, -mitu, -ṣhitu; and sā or s has sāṭu, sēṭu, and -ṣitu; và weave (pple utā) has both vāṭu and óṭu; hū or hvā has havīṭu, hvāyītu, and hvāṭu. The root vyādh makes its only quotable infinitive, veddhum, from its vidh-form; from saṅj or saj occur both saṅktu and saktu. The anomalous epic forms iṣitum (y/yaj) and siditum (ya/sad), were mentioned above. The root grah makes grāhitum.

g. In the later language, the infinitive-stem forms possessive compounds with kāma and manas (especially the former): e. g. svapta- kāma having the wish to sleep, yaṣṭukāma destroys of sacrificing, vaktu- manas minded to speak.

h. In very rare instances, dative infinitives in tave or tavāi are
made from the infinitive stem in the later language (as abundantly in the earlier: 970b): thus, prātiḥartavē (BhP.). And jīvaśe (973a) is once found in MBh. (1. 3. 67 = 732), in a quast-Vedic hymn to the Aṃšu.

969. In the Veda and Brāhmaṇa, however, a number of verbal nouns, nomina actionis, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages—although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind.

970. The nouns thus used infinitively are the following:

a. The root-noun, without derivative suffix, is so used in its accusative in am, its dative in e or (from ā-roots) āi, its genitive and ablative in as, and its locative in i.

b. The verbal noun in tu is so used in its accusative in tum, its dative in tāve or tavaī, 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 ē), from a noun formed with ā simply.

d. From nouns in man and van, datives in mane and vane.

e. From nouns in ti, datives in taye, or (from one or two verbs) in tyāi.

f. From nouns in i, datives in āye.

g. From nouns in dhi and si, datives in dhyāi and ṣyāi.

h. A few infinitives in ṣaṇi are perhaps locatives from nouns in an added to a root increased by ā.

i. From a single root, dhṛ, are made infinitively used forms in tāri, of which the grammatical character is questionable.

j. Among all these, the forms which have best right to special treatment as infinitives, on account of being of peculiar formation, or from suffixes not found in other uses, or for both reasons, are those in ē, ṣaṇi, tari, dhyāi, and tavaī.

k. Except the various cases of the derivative in tu, and of the root-noun, these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the Rig-Veda.

l. Other suffixes and forms than those noticed above might be added; for it is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as infinitive and the ordinary case-uses: thus, prajāpatim prāṇām ātiṃ (TS.) they went to ask Prajāpati; viṣvāṃ jīvāṃ prasūvānti carāyāi (RV.) quickening every living being to motion; apiḥ sārmāyān caṇḍāyan (RV.) impelling the waters to flow; caṇkuyād grāḥṣaṇya (instead of the usual grāḥitum: CB.) may be able to apprehend; a tamanāt (instead of the usual tamātoḥ: S.) until exhaustion. And the so-called infinitives
are found coördinated in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns: e. g. cáritave... ábhogáya īṣāye ráyé (RV.) to go abroad, to enjoy, to seek wealth; ārtatrāṇāya na prahartum anāgasi (Ç.) for the rescue of the distressed, not for hurting at the innocent.

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form (except that it does not take an added t: 383 f), and the same accent, both when simple and when combined with prepositions, as in its other uses. In the very great majority of instances, it is made from roots ending in a consonant; but also from a few in a (khyā, dā, dhā, pā, mā, yā), from two or three in i- and u-vowels (hi, mi, bhū), and from one or two in changeable ō, which takes the ir-form (tir, stir).

a. The roots in ā form the accus. in ām, the dat. in āi, the abl. in ās (understanding avasā before ā as for avasās and not avasāī in RV. iii, 53, 20), and the locative in e (only two examples, of which one is perhaps better understood as dative).

972. The infinitive noun in tu is made freely from roots of every form. The root takes the guṇa-strengthening, if capable of it, and often adds the auxiliary vowel i before the suffix (according to the rules already stated, 968). The root is accented, unless the noun be combined with a preposition, in which case the latter has the accent instead: thus, kārtum, ētave, hántos; but nīkartum, nīrātave, nīrāntos.

a. The dative in tavāi is in two respects anomalous: in having the heavy feminine ending āi along with a strengthened u; and in taking a double accent, one on the root or on the prefixed preposition, and the other on the ending āi: thus, étavāi, hántavāi, ētyetavāi, āpabhartavāī.

973. a. The infinitive in ase is made in RV. from about twenty-five roots; in A.V. and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In near three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: e. g. rājāse, jīvāse, bhīyāse, tujāse; the exceptions are cākṣase; dhāyase (with y inserted before the suffix: 258); and áyase, bhārase, spārase, hārase (with guṇa-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by javāse, dohāse, bhojāse, gōbhāse. In pusuṣase is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

b. The ending se is extremely rare, being found only in jīṣe and perhaps stuṣe, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in mane are made from only five roots: thus, trāmane, dāmane, dārmane, bhrāmane, and (with different accent) vidmáne. From yḍā comes dārāvane; turvāne may come directly from yṭvy, or through the secondary root turv; dḥurvāne is rather from yḍhurv than from yḍhuvr.

975. a. The infinitives in taye are īṣāye (yīṣ), pītāye (yḍā drink), vītāye, sātāye, and perhaps ūtāye (ūtāye nīn to help his men:
In infinitives, the only examples noted are ityāī (RV.) and sādhyāī (MS. AB.).

b. With aye are formed iṣāye, tujāye, dṛṣṭāye, mahāye, yudhāye, samāye; and citāye (VS.), gṛhays (K.).

376. The ending dhāyāī is, more than any other, irregular and various in its treatment. It has always a before it; and in the majority of cases it is accentuated upon this a, and added to a weak form of root: thus, śucādhyāī, pṛṇādhyāī, dhiyādhyāī, huvādhyāī. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, śayādhyāī, stavādhyāī, jādhyāī, jārādhyāī, mandādhyāī, vandādhyāī. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, keśādhyāī, gāmadhyāī, yājadhyāī (but once or twice also yajādhyāī), vāhadhyāī, sāhādhyāī, bhāradhyāī. In a single instance, pībhādhyāī, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, vāvṛdhādhyāī, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in ay: thus, mādayādhyāī, riṣayādhyāī, etc.

a. This infinitive is by no means rare in RV., being made in thirty-five different forms (with seventy-two occurrences). But it is hardly known outside of the RV.; the AV. has it but once (in a passage found also in RV.); and elsewhere half-a-dozen examples have been noticed, in mantra-passages (one of them TS. falsely reads gāmadhye); in the Brāhmaṇa language proper it appears to be entirely wanting.

377. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in āyāī: thus, rōhiṣayāī (TS.), avyathiṣayāī (K. Kap.; MS. avyāthiṣe; VS. vyathīṣat), and perhaps -dhāyāī (PGS).

378. The infinitives in śaṇī are: iṣāṇī (?) from ṣaṁ send, -bhūgaṇī from ṣbhū; cūgaṇī from ṣcū or ṣvā; neṣaṇī from ṣṇi; sakṣaṇī from ṣṣah; parṣaṇī from ṣprṛ; tariṣaṇī from ṣṭṛ; and gṛṇiṣaṇī and -stṛniṣaṇī from ṣygrṛ and stṛ — the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. gṛṇiṣe, 894 d).

379. The only infinitive in tari is dhārtāri (with its compound vidhārtāri), from ṣdhr.

Uses of the Infinitives.

380. 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:

381. The accusative, which is made only from the root-noun and the noun in tu, is used as object of a verb.

a. Especially, of forms from the root ṣak be able, and arh be worthy, have the right or the power. Thus, ṣakāma tvā samādham (RV.) may we accomplish thy kindling; mā ṣakan pratidham īṣum (AV.) may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string; māno vā imaṁ sadyāḥ pāry-
āptum arhati mānaḥ pāribhāvitum (TS.) the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her; kö hy ètasyā ‘rhati guhyāṃ nāma grāhītum (CB.) for who is worthy to take his secret name? In the Veda, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brāhmaṇa, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases).

b. Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, dākṣiṇāmi hōtum eti (TS.) he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts; indram pratīram emy āyuḥ (RV.) I go to Indra for (i. e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life; — of yādṛṣ persist in, undertake: as, sā idām jātāḥ sātvam evā dāgduḥuḥ dadhre (CB.) he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe; — of verbs meaning desire, hope, notice, know, and the like: as, pācān vioctum vottha sārvān (AV.) thou knowest how to loosen all bonds; tāsmād agnīṁ nā” driyeta pārihan tum (CB.) therefore one should not be careful to smother the fire; — and of others.

982. Of the infinitive datives, the fundamental and usual sense is that expressed by for, in order to, for the purpose of.

Examples are: vícvaṁ jīvāṁ carāse bodhayanti (RV.) awakening every living creature to motion; tān úpa yāta pībadyāḥ (RV.) come to drink them; nāī ‘tāṁ te devā adadur ātavā (AV.) the gods did not give her to thee for eating; prāī ‘ā yudhāye dāsyum īndraḥ (RV.) Indra went forward to fight the demon; cákṣur no dhehi vikhyāā (RV.) give us sight for looking abroad.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cakāra sūryāya pānthāṁ ānvetau u (RV.) he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following); cīcīte cīrāte rākṣobhya vinkṣe (RV.) he whets his horns to pierce the demons; rudrāya dhānum ā tanomi brahmadvīṣe cārave hāntava u (RV.) I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater; asamābhyam dṛçaye sūryāya pūnar dātām āsum (RV.) may they grant life again, that we may see the sun.

b. An infinitive with yākṛ make is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prā ‘ndhām cronām cākṣasa ētave kṛtāḥ (RV.) ye make the blind and lame to see and go; agnīṁ samīdhe cakārtha (RV.) thou hast made the fire to be kindled. Of similar character is an occasional construction with another verb: as, yād im ucmāsi kārtave kārat tāt (RV.) what we wish to be done, may he do that; kaviṁr icchāmi sāndiçe (RV.) I desire to see the sages.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes
with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, agnír iva ná
pratidhrṣe bhavati (TS.) like fire, he is not to be resisted; mahimā te
anyéna ná saṁmāçe (VS.) thy greatness is not to be attained by another;
nákim índro níkarte vā ná cakraḥ pāriçaktave (RV.) Indra is not to
be put down, the mighty one is not to be overpowered.

d. Sometimes an infinitive so used without a copula has quite nearly
the value of an imperative: thus, tyā me yaqāsā... açcijó huvā-
dhyāi [asti] (RV.) these glorious ones shall the son of Uṣij invoke for me;
súktébhir vah... īndrā nāv āvase huvādhyāi [stāḥ] (RV.) with
your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid; vandādhyā
agniṁ námobhī (aṣmi) (RV.) let me greet Agni with homage; asmākā-
saç ca sūrāyo víqvā ācās tariṣāṇi (RV.) and let our sacrificers cross
all regions; tán nāi vām kārtavāi (MS.) that must not be done so;
brahamadvīṣā qārave hāntavā u (RV.) let the arrow slay the brahma-
haters. The infinitives in dhyaṁ and gaṇi (which latter is in all its uses
accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most
distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the Brāhmaṇas and Śūtras (especially in ÇB.) the dative in tavāi
is not seldom used with a verb signifying speak (brū, vac, ah), to express
the ordering of anything to be done: thus, tāsmād őṣadhīnām evā múlāny
úchettavāi brūyāt (ÇB.) therefore let him direct the roots of the plants
to be cut up (speak in order to their cutting up: cf. yē vaqāyā ádānāya
vādanti who dissuade from giving the cow: AV.).

983. The ablative infinitive — which, like the accusative, is
made only from the root-noun and that in tu — is found especially
with the prepositions ā until and purā before.

a. Thus, ā támitoḥ (TS. etc.) until exhaustion; purā vācāḥ prā-
vaditoḥ (TS.) before utterance of the voice. In the Brāhmaṇa language,
this is the well-nigh exclusive construction of the ablative (it occurs also
with prāk, arvāk, etc.); in the Veda, the latter is used also after ōty
without, and after several verbs, as trā and pā protect, yu separate, bhi, etc.

b. In a few instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated
above for the dative (982a), a noun dependent on this infinitive is put in
the ablative beside it: thus, purā vāgbihyā sampravaditoḥ (PB.)
before the utterance together of the voices; trādhyāh kartād avapādah
(RV.) save us from falling down into the pit; purā daksinābhya netoḥ
(Apast.) before the gifts are taken away.

984. The genitive infinitive (having the same form as the ab-
lative) is in common use in the Brāhmaṇa language as dependent on
īqvarā lord, master, employed adjectively in the sense of capable or
likely or exposed to.

a. Examples are: tá [devātāḥ] īqvarā enam pradāhah (TS.)
they are likely to burn him up; átha ha vā īqvarā ‘gniṁ citvā kīm-
cid dāuritām āpattor ví vā hvālitoḥ (ÇB.) so in truth he is liable,
after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger; ıçvaraḥ vai rathantaram udgatuc caksuḥ pramathitoḥ (PB.) the rathantora is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter.

b. The dative is used in CB. instead of the genitive in a single phrase (ıçvaraḥ jānayitavāī); and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in tum. In a case or two the masc. sing. nom. ıçvaraḥ is used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies: thus, tasye ’qvare ’praṭā pāṃyasi bhāvitoḥ (CB.) his progeny is liable to deteriorate. And in a very few instances the word ıçvara is omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, dvē madhyāṃdinam abhi pratyetoḥ (AB.) two may be added to the noon libation; tāto diṅkāṭā pāmano bhāvitoḥ (CB.) then the consecrated is liable to get the itch.

c. This construction with ıçvara, 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 ıq: thus, madhyā kārtōḥ (RV.) in the midst of action; ıçe rāyō dātōḥ (RV.) he is master of the giving of wealth; ıçe yōtōḥ (RV.) is able to keep away.

985. Unless the infinitives in ʂaṇi 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 uṣāṇo budhī (RV.) at the awakening of the dawn.

986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences are twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and the accusative in tum is rare (only four forms in RV., only eight in AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas, the accusative has risen to much greater comparative frequency (its forms are nearly twice as many as those of the dative); but the ablative-genitive, which is rare in the Veda, has also come to full equality with it. The disappearance in the classical language of all excepting the accusative in tum (but see 968h) is a matter for no small surprise.

987. The later infinitive in tum is oftenest used in constructions corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus, na vāṣpam açakat soḍhum he could not restrain his tears; tām draṣṭum arhasi thou oughtest to see it; prāptum icchanti they desire to obtain; saṁkhyaśṭum ārabdam having begun to count. But also, not infrequently, in those of the other cases. So, especially, of the dative: thus, avaṣṭhātuṁ sthānāntaraṁ cintaya devise another place to stay in; tvām anveṣṭum ihā ’gataḥ he has come hither to seek for thee; — but likewise of the genitive: thus, samartha gantum capable of going; saṃdhātum ıçvaraḥ able to mend. Even a construction as nominative is not unknown: thus, yuktaṁ tvasya mayā samācva-
Gerunds.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, kartum ārabdhaḥ begun to be made; qrotum na yujyate it is not fit to be heard (for hearing). This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of 'çak: thus, tyaktum na qakyate it cannot be abandoned; qakyāv ihā ‘netum they two can be brought hither; na ca vibhūtayaḥ qakyam avāptum ūrjitāḥ nor are mighty successes a thing capable of being attained.

Gerunds.

989. The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally as adjunct to the logical subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes.

a. Thus, for example: qrutvai 'va cā 'bruvan and hearing (or having heard) they spoke; tebhyaḥ pratijñāyā 'thāī 'tan paripa-praccha having given them his promise, he then questioned them.

990. The gerund is made in the later language by one of the two suffixes ता tvā and या ya, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix — or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.

a. To this distribution of uses between the two suffixes there are occasional exceptions. Thus, gerunds in ya from simple roots are not very rare in the epic language (e. g. gṛhya, usya [y'vas dwell], arcya, ikṣya, cintya, tyajya, laksya; also from causatives and denominatives, as vācya, yojya, plāvya), and are not unknown elsewhere (e. g. arcya and ikṣya M., prothya AGS., sthāpya QvU.). And gerunds in tvā from compounded roots are met with in considerable numbers from AV. (only pratyarpayitvā) down: e. g. samirayitvā MS., virocayitvā TA., utksiptvā U., pratyuktvā E., pratyasitvā S., prahasitvā MBh., saṁdarṣayitvā MBh., vimuktvā R., nivedayitvā R., proktvā Pañc., anupitvā VBS.: the great majority of them are made from the causative stem.
b. The prefixion of the negative particle, a or an, does not cause the gerund to take the form in ya: thus, akṛtvā, anirayitvā (but R. has acintya). Of compounds with other than verbal prefixes, Rv. has punardāya, karnagīhya, pādagīhya, hastagīhya, arañkṣṭya, akkhaliṅkītya, mithaspīḍhya; Av. has further nāmaṅkītya.

991. The suffix या tvā has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but often also with interposition of the auxiliary vowel ज — with regard to which, as well as to the form of the root before it, the formation nearly agrees with that of the participle in ता (952 ff.).

a. Examples of the general accordance of passive participle, infinitive, and gerund in regard to the use of i were given above, 968; further specifications are called for, as follows:

b. The quotable roots in variable य (242) change it to यr: thus, tīrtvā, stīrtvā (also stṛtvā); and car makes also cirtvā (like cīrṇa); — roots in a show in general the same weakening as in the participle; but from dhā put is quotable only dhitvā, from mā measure mitvā and mītvā, from dā give only dattvā, from chā chāyitvā; — of roots in am, kram and bhram and yam make forms both with and without i (as in the infinitive), but ram has ratvā and rāntvā, and dam and vam make damitvā and vamitvā.

c. The auxiliary vowel is taken by roots gras, mus, cap, and qās (qāsitvā) (whose participles have both forms); also by cāy, nṛt (nāritvā), lag, and svaj (against analogy of pple); and quc makes qocītva. On the other hand, from ruj (rugna) and vraqo (vṛkṇa) come ruktvā and rṣṭvā. And both forms are made (as also in infinitive or participle) from car, vas dveḷi (uṣṭvā, uṣītvā), nī (nītvā, nayitvā), and mṛj (mṛṣṭvā, mārjītvā).

d. While the formation is in general one requiring, like the passive participle (e. g. upṭvā, like upṭa; udītvā, like uditā), a weak or weakened root, there are some cases in which it is made from a strong or strengthened root-form. Thus (besides the instances already given: chāyitvā, rāntvā, qāsitvā, cāyitvā, qocītva, nayitvā, mārjītvā), we find chardītvā (Āpast.), dānītvā, and sphaītvā, and, from a number of roots, a second strong form beside the more regular weak one: namely, anītvā, bhāṅktvā, bhunītvā, ayantītvā (beside aktvā etc.); cayītvā, smayītvā, amarītvā (beside citvā etc.); rodītvā (beside rudītvā), and sīncītvā (beside sīktvā). The last shows the influence of the present-stem; as do also mārjītvā (above) and jīhṛītvā (vṛhrā). The form śṭhurtvā (Āpast.) is doubtless a false reading, for śṭhyūtvā.

992. The suffix य a is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending
in a short vowel takes त्या instead of या: thus, बिर्या -जित्या, तुन्या -स्तुत्या, कृत्या -कित्या.

a. Roots in variable र (242) change that vowel to इ or उ: thus, किर्या, गिर्या, तिर्या (and तुर्या), दिर्या, पुर्या, गिर्या, स्तिर्या (also शूर्य-त्रक्त्या); — roots in ा have for the most part -ाया; but धा -iick makes धिया, and double forms are found from गा sing (गाया, गीया), पा drink (पाया, पिया), दा give (दाया, दाद्या), दा divide (दाया, दित्या), मा measure, exchange (माया, मित्या), सा bind (साया, स्या); इ ciing has लाया or लिया, as if an ा-verb; and खान and दम make खाया and दमया, from their ा-forms; — the roots in ा and आ making their parteiple in ata (954-d) make the gerund in ा, but also later in अया, आया (e. g. गाया, गाया; हात्या, हनया; but तन makes as second form ताया, and from रम only रमया is quoted); — the roots in य य add या to their िर-या: thus, श्यिया, सीया; — a few roots in ि and आ add या to the lengthened vowel besides adding या: thus, इ िया, आया; also आया, ci gather (स्या, सिया), and इ, यु unite, सु, तु (पत्या, पित्या, etc.); while कृ destroy has only किया.

b. This gerund, though accented on the root-syllable, is generally a weakening formation: thus are made, without a strengthening nasal found in some other forms, ाया, ाया, इद्या, उद्या, उब्या, ग्राथ्या, ताया, दाया, बाद्या, भाज्या, लिप्या, लुप्या, विग्या, ग्रभ्या, साज्या, विक्या, सत्व्या, स्याद्या, स्वज्या; with weakening of other kinds, ग्या and ग्यह्या, प्रेह्या, उच्या, उद्या, उप्या, उःया (vas dwell), उःया, विध्या, विया, वृच्या, स्पृह्या, हुःया; — but from a number of roots are made both a stronger and a weaker form: thus, मान्य्या and माइया, मार्या and मःया, रुन्ध्या and रूःध्या, गाःस्या and गःस्या, गाःया and गिया, स्याद्या and स्याद्या, स्राँस्या and स्रस्या; — and only strong forms are found from roots आर, आस, अि (अया), as well as from certain roots with a constant nasal: e. g. मिच, कम्य, नन्द, लम्ब, बन्न; isolated cases are ओया (युः birne), ग्रोथ्या (also ग्रुथ्या).

c. Other special cases are उह्या and उःह्या (युः remove), गुर्या and गुर्या, सुभ्या and सुभ्या, रुःह्या and रूःह्या, भ्राम्या and भ्राम्या, आया (beside िप्या, िया), ग्रह्या and जिघ्या; and क्षुःया (beside वित्या).

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In रु., however, the final of या is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in ि or टि). In आ., long ा appears only once in a रु. passage.

b. Instead of त्या alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely त्या, त्या, and त्रि. Of these three, त्रि is decidedly the commonest in रु. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of त्या); but it is un-
known in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; tvāya is found nine times in RV. (only once outside the tenth book), twice in AV., and but half-a-dozen times elsewhere (in CB., once from a causative stem: spācatvāya). The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

C. Two other gerund suffixes, tvānam and tvānām, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found to occur.

994. The use of this gerund, though not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.

a. Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gītā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.

b. In general, the gerund is an adjunct to the subject of a sentence, and expresses an act or condition belonging to the subject: thus, vajreṇa hatvā nīr apāh sasarja (RV.) smiting with his thunderbolt, he powered forth the waters; pīṭṭi sōmaṭa vāyṛdhē (RV.) having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong; tē yajñāṣya rāsamāh dhītvā vidūhya yajñām yūpēna yopayitvā tirō bhavan (CB.) having sucked out the sap of the offering, having milked the offering dry, having blocked it with the sacrificial post, they disappeared; ānuṛtvā 'va ca 'bruvan (MBh.) and having heard, they said; tām ca dūre dṛṣṭvā gardabhī 'yam iti matvā dhāvitaḥ (H.) and having seen him in the distance, thinking 'it is a she-ass', he ran.

c. But if the logical subject, the real agent, is put by the construction of the sentence in a dependent case, it is still qualified by the gerund: thus, striyaḥ dṛṣṭvāḥ kitavām tatāpa (RV.) it distresses the gambler (i.e. the gambler is distressed) at seeing a woman; tāṁ bhi 'naṁ dṛṣṭvā bhīr viveda (CB.) fear came upon him (i.e. he was afraid) when he saw him; vidbāya prośite vṛttim (M.) when he stays away after providing for her support; kiṁ nu me svad īdaṁ kṛtvā (MBh.) what, I wonder, would happen to me if I did this; — and especially, when a passive form is given to the sentence, the gerund qualifies the agent in the instrumental case (283a): thus, tataḥ caubād abhiṣayā sa vyāghreṇa hataḥ (H.) thereupon he was slain by the tiger, who recognised him by his voice; tvāyā sa rājā cakuntalāṁ pūraskṛtya vaktavyāḥ (ś.) presenting Cakuntalā, thou must say to the king; havānāṁ vacanaṁ ċūṛtvā yathā me (gen. for instr.) naiśadha ṛṣṭāḥ (MBh.) as the Nishadhan was chosen by me on hearing the words of the swans: this construction is extremely common in much of the later Sanskrit.

d. Occasionally, the gerund qualifies an agent, especially an indefinite one, that is unexpressed: thus, tada 'trāi 'va paktvā khādātavyāḥ (H.) then he shall be eaten by us] cooking him on the spot; yad anyasya pariṣṭipta punar anyasya diyate (M.) that, after being promised (lit. when one has promised her) to one, she is given again to another; sucintya co 'ktam suvicārya yat kṛtām (H.) what one says after mature thought,
and does after full deliberation. Hence, still more elliptically, after alam: thus, alam vicaryā (C.) enough of hesitation; tad alam te vanam gatvā (R.) so have done with going to the forest.

e. Other less regular constructions are met with, especially in the older language: thus, in the manner of a participle with man and the like (288a), as tām hinayā "va mene (CB.) he thought he had hurt him; tā adhānī abhiṣcaya nījāsīyā "vā 'manyata (AB.) having sprinkled them with water, he believed himself to have exhausted them; — in the manner of a participle forming a continuous tense with yā (1075a), as indrām evāi "tāir ārabhya yanti (AB.) by means of them they keep taking hold of Indra; — as qualifying a subordinate member of the sentence, as puroḍācam evā kūrmiām bhūtvā sārpantam (CB.) to the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise; ayodhyām . . . saphenam sa-svanām bhūtvā jalomī miva (R.) into Ayodhya, like a surge that had been foamy and roaring; — even absolutely, as ātithyēna vāi devā īṣṭvā tānt samād avindat (CB.) when the gods had sacrificed with the guest-offering, strife befall them.

f. As in the two examples before the last, a predicate word with bhūtvā is put in the same case with the subject: thus, further, tād iyaṁ evāi "tād bhūtvā yajati (CB.) so having thus become this earth he makes offering; yama vāmanēna 'pi bhūtvā (Vet.) by whom, even when he had become a dwarf. The construction is a rare one.

g. A number of gerunds have their meaning attenuated sometimes to the semblance of a preposition or adverb: such are adhikṛtya making a subject of, i.e. respecting, of; ādāya, upāgrhya taking, i.e. with; ud- diqya pointing toward, i.e. at; āsādyā, arriving at, i.e. along by; ārabhya beginning, i.e. from; sambhūya being with, i.e. with; saṁhatya striking together, i.e. in unison; prasāhyā using force, i.e. violently; tyaktvā, parītyajya, muktvā, vihāya, udhṛtya, varjayitvā leaving out etc., i.e. excepting, without; and others. Examples are: cakuntalāṁ adhikṛtya brāvimi (C.) I am speaking of Cakuntalā; tam udqīya kṣiptalagudāḥ (H.) having thrown the cudgel at him; nimittaṁ kimcid āsādyā (H.) for some reason or other.

h. The gerund is in the later language sometimes found in composition, as if a noun-stem: e.g. prasahyaharaṇa taking with violence; pretyabhāva existence after death; vibhajyapātha separate enunciation; sambhūyagamaṇa going together. It is also often repeated (1260), in a distributive sense: e.g. sā vāi saṁmṛiya-saṁmṛiya pratāpya-pratapya pra-yacchati (CB.) in each case, after wiping and warming them, he hands them over; gṛhitvā-gṛhitvā (KÇB.) at each taking; unnamyo- 'nnamya (Pañc.) every time that they arise.

Adverbial Gerund in am.

995. The accusative of a derivative nomen actionis in a, used adverbially, assumes sometimes a value and construction so accord-
ant with that of the usual gerund that it cannot well be called by a different name.

a. No example of a peculiar gerundial construction with such a form occurs either in RV. or AV., although a dozen adverbial accusatives are to be classed as representing the formation: thus, abhyākrāmam, pratān-kam, prañōdam, nilāyam, abhīskāndam, etc. This gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, where it is not rare; in the epics it is extremely infrequent; later, also, it occurs very sparingly.

b. A final vowel has vṛddhi-strengthening before the suffix: thus, nāyam, grāvam, kāram; final ā adds y: thus, khyāyam, yāyam; a medial vowel has guṇa (if capable of it: 240): thus, kṣepam, kroñam, vartam (but ikṣam, pūram); a medial a before a single consonant is lengthened: thus, krāmam, cāram, grāham, svādam (but gran-th-am, lambham). The accent is on the radical syllable. No uncompounded examples are found in the older language, and extremely few in the later.

c. Examples are: kāmaṁ vā imāny āṅgāni vasyāśaṁ ācet (QB.) he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure; ūttarāṁ-uttarāṁ cākham samālāmbhaṁ rōhet (QB.) he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb; aparīṣu mahānāgām ivā 'bhisaṁ-sāraṁ didṛksitāraṁ (QB.) hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him; nāmāny āsām etāni nāma-grāham (QB.) with separate naming of these their names; yō vīparyāśaṁ avagūhati (QB.) whoever buries it upside down; bāhuṭkṣepaṁ krand-ītum pravṛttā (Ç.) she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing); navacūtapallavāni darçāṁ-darçām madhukarāṇāṁ kvā-nitāni grāvam-grāvam paribabhrāma (DKC.) he wandered about, constantly seeing the young shoots of the mango, and hearing the humming of the bees. Repeated forms, like those in the last example, are approved in the later language; they do not occur earlier (but instead of them the repeated ordinary gerund: 984h).

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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.

a. We have seen, indeed, that the tense-systems are also for the most part made from derivative-stems; and even that, in some cases, such stems assume the appearance and value of roots, and are made the basis of a complete conjugational system. Nor is there any distinct division-line to be drawn between tense-systems and derivative conjugations; the latter are present-systems which have been expanded into conjugations by the addition of other tenses, and of participles, infinitives, and so on. In the earliest language, their forms outside of the present-system are still quite rare, hardly more than sporadic; and even later they are — with the exception of one or two formations which attain a comparative frequency — much less common than the corresponding forms of primary conjugation.

997. The secondary conjugations are: I. Passive; II. Intensive; III. Desiderative; IV. Causative; V. Denominative.

a. The passive is classed here as a secondary conjugation because of its analogy with the others in respect to specific value, and freedom of formation, although it does not, like them, make its forms outside the present system from its present-stem.

1. 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 Ṛ yá, and it takes (with exceptions: 774) the middle endings. This present-system is treated with the others, above, 768 ff.

b. There is a special passive 3d sing. of the aorist, ending in ṭ i: it is treated above, 842 ff.

c. In the remaining tenses, the middle forms are used also in a passive sense.

d. But the passive use of middle forms is not common; it is oftenest met with in the perfect. The participle to a great extent takes the place of a past passive tense, and the gerundive that of a future. On the other
hand, in the oldest language (RV.), middle forms of other present-systems are in a considerable number of cases employed with passive meaning.

e. According to the grammarians, there may be formed from some verbs, for passive use, a special stem for the aorist and the two future systems, coinciding in form with the peculiar 3d sing. aorist.

f. Thus, from ādāsyai (aor. 3d sing. adāyī), beside ādāsi, dāsyē, dātiē, also ādāyişi, dāyişiye, dāyitāhe. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to grah, drṣ, and han. No such passive forms occur in the older language, and not half-a-dozen are quotable from the later (we find adhāyişi and asthāyişi in DKC., and anāyišata in Kuval.).

g. As to the alleged passive inflection of the periphrastic perfect, see below, 1072.

h. Besides the participle from the present tense-stem (771. 5), the passive has a past participle in nā ta (952), or nā na (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.

999. As already pointed out (282 a), the language, especially later, has a decided predilection for the passive form of the sentence. This is given in part by the use of finite passive forms, but oftener by that of the passive participle and of the gerundive: the participle being taken in part in a present sense, but more usually in a past (whether indefinite or proximate past), and sometimes with a copula expressed, but much oftener without it; and the gerundive representing either a pure future or one with the sense of necessity or duty added. A further example is: tatrāi ko yuvā brahmaṇa doṣṭaḥ: taṁ doṣṭvā kāmena pīḍita samjāta: sakhayā agre kathitam: sakhi puruṣo ‘yaṁ gṛhitvā mama māṭuḥ sānpam añetavayaḥ (Vet.) there she saw a young Brahman; at sight of him she felt the pangs of love; she said to her friend: 'friend, you must take and bring this man to my mother'. In some styles of later Sanskrit, the prevailing expression of past time is by means of the passive participle (thus, in Vet., an extreme case, more than nine tenths).

as. In other languages, a 3d sing. passive is freely made from intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, hiḥ "gamyatām come hither; tvayā tatrāi štvatām do you stand just there; sarvār jālam ādāyo ‘dṛśyatām (H.) let all fly up with the net.

II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive (sometimes also called frequentative) is one of the secondary conjugations which is least removed from the analogy of formations already de-
scribed. It is, like the present-system of the second con-
jugation-class (642 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem,
but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened redu-
plication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits
of a present-system than any other of the derivative con-
jugations.

a. The intensive conjugation signifies the repetition or
the intensification of the action expressed by the primary
conjugation of a root.

1001. According to the grammarians, the intensive
conjugation may be formed from nearly all the roots in the
language — the exceptions being roots of more than one
syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, 1056),
and in general those beginning with a vowel.

a. In fact, however, intensives in the later language are very rare,
so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the
rules of the native grammar respecting them. Nor are they at all common
earlier, except (comparatively) in the RV., which contains about six sevenths
of the whole number (rather over a hundred) quotable from Veda and Brāh-
maṇa and Sūtra-texts; AV. has less than half as many as RV., and many
of them in RV. passages; from the later language are quotable about twenty
of these, and about forty more, but for the most part only in an occurrence
or two.

b. Hence, in the description to be given below, the actual aspect of
the formation, as exhibited in the older language, will be had primarily
and especially in view; and the examples will be of forms found there
in use.

1002. The strong intensive reduplication is made in
three different ways:

I. a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of
a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the conso-
nant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect redupli-
cation (590); but the vowel is a heavy one, radical a and r (or ar)
being reduplicated with a, an i-vowel by e, and an u-vowel by o.
Examples are: ṣāvad, bābadh, ṅāqvas, rārandh; dāḍr, dāḍhr;
cēkit, tētī, nenī, vēvī; ṭōqūn, popruth, coṣku, jōhū.

II. b. The reduplicating syllable has a final consonant, taken
from the end of the root. With an exception or two, this consonant
is either r (or its substitute l) or a nasal.
Examples are: carcar, calcal, sarṣr, marmṛ, jarhp ra; caṅkram, jaṅghan, taṅstan, dandaq (y̱daṅq or daq), jaṅjabh (y̱jambh or jabh), tantas (y̱taṅs or tas), nannam (y̱nam), yaṅyam (y̱yam). The nasal is assimilated to the initial consonant.

c. Only roots having a or ṛ as vowel make this form of reduplication, but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.

d. Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than r or n in the reduplication, badbadḥ; with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, jaṅgha (RV.), jaṅjap (CBS; and jaṅgūyat PB. is perhaps from yu; the later language has further dandaḥ); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, jarbhur from ybhur (compare the Vedic perfect jabhāra from ybhṛ, 789 b), gaṅgal from ygal; with various treatment of an r or ar-element, dardar and dardir, carkar and carkir, tartar and tartur, carcar and carcar, jargur and jaṅgul.

e. The roots i and ṛ are the only ones with vowel initial forming an intensive stem: i makes iyāy (? PU., once); ṛ makes the irregular alar or alṛ. As to the stem ṛya, see below, 1021 b.

III.  f. The reduplication is dissyllabic, an i-vowel being added after a final consonant of the reduplicating syllable. This i-vowel is in the older language short before a double consonant, and long before a single.

Examples are: ganīgam (but gānigmatam), varivṛt, vanīvah, canīkṣad, sanīṣvan; navīnu, dāvidyut (and the participles dāvidhvat but távītuat). A single exception as to the quantity of the i is davi-dhāva.

g. This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by about thirty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate n (once m), and n in the reduplicating syllable, pan, phan, san, svan, han; gam; krānd, qoand, skand, syand; of roots having final or medial r, and r in the reduplicating syllable, kṛ make, tr, bhṛ, vr, mṛ, mṛ, vṛ, vr, sṛ; also mluc (malimluc); — further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only vah (CBS: the grammarians allow also kas, pat, pad; and panipad is quotable later; and ACŚ. has canikhudat, for which TB. reads kānikhumat); finally, of roots having u or ū as radical vowel, with av before the i-vowel, tu, dhū, nu, dyut.

h. In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (580) are violated in the case of ghanīghan and bhāritbhṛ, and of ganīgam, karikṛ (but the regular carikṛ also occurs), kanik-krand, and kanīkṣand (but also canīkṣand occurs); also in kanīkhun.

i. The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in cekit, and jaṅghan and ghanīghan, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (216 i).
1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, dāḍṛ and dadr; dāḍhr and dardhr; cācal and carcar (and carcar); tartar (and tartur) and taritṛ; jaṅgam and ganīgam; jaṅghan and ghanīghan; pampan and paniphan; marmṛj and marmṛj; marmṛq and marmṛq; varvṛt and varivṛt; jarbhr and bharibhr; dodhu and davidhu; nonu and navnu; bābadh and badbadh.

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (642 ff.); and this is indeed to a considerable extent followed, in respect to endings, strengthening of stem, and accent. But deviations from the model are not rare; and the forms are in general of too infrequent occurrence to allow of satisfactory classification and explanation.

a. The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an ī 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 ī a final vowel has guṇa-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

Present-System.

1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.

1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root.

विद् vid know, of which the intensive stem is वेविद् vēvid, or, in strong forms, वेवेद् vēved.

a. Neither from this nor from any other root are more than a few scat-tering forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

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<tr>
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<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>वेवेद्, वेविद्</td>
<td>वेविद्</td>
<td>वेविद्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vēvedmī, vēvidmī</td>
<td>vēvidvās</td>
<td>vēvidmās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1008—| XIV. Secondary Conjugation.

2 वेवेस, वेविदीषि वेविथम् वेवित्
वेवेसि, वेविदीषि वेविथम् वेवित्ति
वेवेटि, वेविदीषि वेविथम् वेविद्दि
वेवेटि, वेविदीषि वेविथम् वेविद्दि

b. From रृ हु, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be तीत्वामि जोहविमि, तीत्वीषि जोहविषि, तीत्वीति जोहविति.

1007. a. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., carkarmi, vevesmi; 2d sing., alarṣi, dārdarṣi; 3d sing., ālartti, dādharthi, veveti, nenekti, jaṅghanti, kānikranti, ganīgaṇti; 1st du., jarbhṛṭas; 1st pl., nonu-mas; 2d pl., jāgṛatha; 3d pl., dādharati, nānādati, bharihrati, vārṛṣati, dāvidyutati, nēṃijati, and, irregularly, vevisanti; and, with the auxiliary vowel, jōhavim, cākaćim, cākaṭi, nōnavi, dārdari, jarbhūrīti. No stem with dissyllabic reduplication takes the auxiliary i in any of its forms.

b. A single dual form with i and strong stem occurs: namely, tar-tarīthas.

c. The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., jōguve, nēnije; 3d sing., nenikte, sārsīte; and, with irregular accent, tētikte, dēdīcete; with irregular loss of final radical nasal, nānnate; with ending e instead of te, cēkite, jāṅgahe, jōguve, yoyuve, bābadhe, and (with irregular accent) bādbadhe; 3d du., sāsrāte; 3d pl., dēdīcete.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. a. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only jaṅghānāni, jāgarāṣi (AV.); and, in the middle, tantasaite (3d du.).

b. Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., jaṅghanas, jaṅgulas; 3d sing., jāgarat, cēkītati, bōbhavat, cārkṛṣat, jaṅghanat, bāṛṛ[at, māṛṛjat, māṛṛjat, parparat, dārdirat, cāṅkṣadat, dāvidyutat, sansīvanat; 1st du., jaṅghanāva; 1st pl., carkirāma, vēvidāma; 3d pl., pāpatan, cōqucan, carkiran; and, with double mode-sign, cākaćān (AV.). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, jaṅghanaṁ, jarbhṛṣanta, marmṛjanta, nonuvanta, cōqucanta.

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (588), accented. Thus:
4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

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<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>वेविदति</td>
<td>वेविदाव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vévidāni</td>
<td>vévidāva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>वेविद्धि</td>
<td>वेविदामु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>veviddhi</td>
<td>vevittam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>वेवितु. वेविदितु</td>
<td>वेविदामु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vévatu. vévittatu</td>
<td>vevittam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1011. a. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (्जांघानानि, the only accented example, does not correspond with the model, but is in conformity with the subjunctive of the reduplicating present); the proper imperatives are: 2d sing., dādṛhi, dardṛhi, carkṛdhī, jāṛṛhi, nenigṛhi, rārāndṛhi; the ending tāt is found in carkṛtāt and jāṛṛtāt; and the latter (as was pointed out above, 571 b) is used in AV. as first person sing.; barbrhi shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of h before the ending hi; 3d sing., dādhartu, vevesṭu, dardartu, marmarttu; 2d du., jāṛṛtām; 3d du., jāṛṛtām; 2d pl., jāṛṛtā; caṅkramata (RV., once) has an anomalous union-vowel. In the middle voice is found only nenikṣva (GB.).

b. Of imperative forms with auxiliary ऋ, RV. has none; AV. has vāvāditu and johāvītu, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmaṇas; AV. has also, against rule, taṁstanhi and jaṅghanīhi; VS. has cākācīhi.

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, mémyat, çōqucat, rōruvat, dárdrat, márm'rjat, jā́ŋghanat, nānmamat, pāniphanat, kā́nikradat, dávidyutat; — middle, bābabhāna, mémyāna, cēkitāna, yöyuvāna, rōrucāna, jā́rbhāraṇa, sā́reração, jaṅjabhāna, nānmāmaṇa, dāndacāna. No middle participle shows the dissyllabic reduplication.

1013. a. On account of their accent, raráhana, rarákṣanā, and jā́hrṣanā (beside jā́hrṣanā) 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 bādbadhāna and mármṛjāna (beside mármṛjāna). As to çūcucāna etc., see 806 a.

b. The RV. has once jā́nghnatas, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; kā́nikrat appears to be used once for kā́nikradat; if cākāt is to be referred to ɣ/kā (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in ā, and its accent is anomalous. Mārmṛçantās (AB.) is perhaps a false reading; but forms with the nasal irregularly retained are found repeatedly in the epics and later: thus, lelihan, dedipyantim (MBh.), jā́jvalant (MBh. R.), sarisrpantau (BhP.), rāraṭantī (R.).

6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} \\
1 & \text{āvevidam} & \text{āvevidva} & \text{āvevidma} \\
2 & \text{āvevedat} & \text{āvevedatam} & \text{āvevedata} \\
3 & \text{āvevedit} & \text{āvevedittam} & \text{āvevedidus} \\
\end{array}
\]

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., acākacām, dediçām; 2d sing., ajāgā, adardar, dárdar; 3d sing., adardar, adardhar, avarivar, dardar, kā́niškan, dávidyot, nāvimot; 2d du., adardratam; 1st pl., mārmṛjāmā; 3d pl., anannamus, adardirisus, ájohavus, ápronavus; and, with auxiliary i, in 3d sing., avāvaçit, avāvaçit, avāvarit, áyoyavit, ároravit, ájohavit; and, irregularly, in 8d du., avāvaçitām. The middle forms are extremely few: namely, 3d sing., ádēdéiṣa, ánamāna (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl. mārmṛjata, and avāvaçanta (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an a-stem).
1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign ꝏ 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. A final vowel before this ya is treated as before the passive-sign ya (770).

b. The inflection is precisely like that of any other stem ending in a in the middle voice: thus, from y’mrj, intensive stem marmrij, is made the present indicative marmrijyé, marmrijyáse, marmrijyáte, etc.; optative marmrijyéya, marmrijyéthás, marmrijyéta, etc.; imperative marmrijyésva, marmrijyátam, etc.; participle marmrijyámána; imperfect ámarmrijyé, ámarmrijyathás, ámarmrijyata, etc.; subjunctive forms do not occur.

c. In a very few sporadic cases, these ya-forms are given a passive value: thus, jañghanyamána in Mú.; bambhramyate, dādhamámána, peplyámána in the later language. And active participles (529a) are not unknown: thus, dedipyantim (MBh.), dodhuyant (MBh. BhP.).

1017. This kind of intensive inflection is more common than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

a. In RV., ya-forms are made from eight roots, five of which have also forms of the simpler conjugation; the AV. adds one more; the other earlier texts (so far as observed) about twenty more, and half of them have likewise forms of the simpler conjugation. Thus: from y’mrj, marmrijyáte etc., and marímrijyeta; from y’tí, tartúryante; from y’car, carcúryámána; from y’ní, neniyérán, etc.; from y’ví, veviyate; from y’rih, reřiyáte etc.; from vij, veřiyáte; from y’sku, coškúyáse etc.; from y’diç, dedičyate; from y’kaç, cākaqyáte etc.; from y’vad, vāvadyámána; from y’nam, nannamyadhvam; from y’vah, vanváb-yéta etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from y’krand, kanikradyámána; from y’vrt, varivrtyámána (ÇB.: should be varivrty-); from y’mrç, amarímṛtyyanta (ÇB.? the text reads amarimṛtyyanta); from y’rup, yoyupýánte etc.; from y’nd, anonudyanta; from y’vill, aveřiyánta; from y’jabh, jañjabyáte etc.; from y’jap, jañjapyámána; and so on.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 24
Perfect.

1018. The grammarians are at variance as to whether a perfect may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a periphrastic perfect (below, 1070 ff.) is to be admitted.

a. No example of an intensive periphrastic perfect has anywhere come to light (except from jägr: 1020 a). A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.: namely, davidhāva and nōnāva, 3d sing., and nonuva, 3d pl.; and there occur further dodrāva (TS.), yoyāva and lelāya (MS.); and lelāya (? CB.), all used in the sense of presents. To them may be added jāgara 1st sing. and jāgāra 3d sing.; but as to these, see below, 1020a.

Aorist, Future, etc.

1019. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, also, the grammarians are not agreed (occurrences of such forms, apparently, being too rare to afford even them any basis for rules); in general, it is allowed to treat the intensive stem further as a root in filling up the scheme of forms, using always the auxiliary vowel ṭi where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

a. Thus, from यवः, intensive stem vevid, would be made the aorist avevideṣam with prepositive vevidyāṣam, the futures vevidigāma and vevidītāma, the participles vevidīta, veviditavya, etc., the infinitive veviditum, and the gerunds vevidītya and -vevidya. And, where the intensive conjugation is the derivative middle one, the aorist and futures would take the corresponding middle form.

b. Of all this, in the ancient language, there is hardly a trace. The RV. has cārkṛṣe, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like hiṣe and stude (884 d), and the gerunds vītandasāyya, and marmṛjanaya and vavṛdhēnya; and CB. has the participle vanīvāhiṭa, and the infinitive dēdiyitavā. As to jāgarigāṃ and jāgaritā, see the next paragraph.

1020. There are systems of inflection of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:

a. The root गः (or gar) ushe has from the first no present-system save one with intensive reduplication; and its intensive stem, jāgr, begins early to assume the value of a root, and form a completer conjugation; while by the grammarians this stem is reckoned as if simple and belonging to the root-class, and is inflected throughout accordingly. Those of its forms which occur in the older language have been given along with
the other intensives above. They are, for the present-system, the same with those acknowledged as regular later. The older perfect is like the other intensive perfects found in RV.: namely, jāgara etc., with the participle jāgrvāṇa; and a future jāgarisyā-, a passive participle jāgaritā, and a gerundive jāgaritavyā, are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. The old aorist (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist: thus, ājīgar. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with additional reduplication, jajāgāra etc., an is-aorist, ajāgarisam, with preceptive jāgaryāsam, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation. The perf. jajāgara is quoted from the epics and later, as also the periphrastic jāgarām āsa. And. MBh. has the mutilated jāgrmi, and also a-forms, as jāgarati and jāgramāṇa.

1021. a. The stem irajya (active only) regulate, from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from yraj or yj. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of iradh propitiate (only iradhanta and irādhyāi, apparently for iradhadhyāi).

b. The middle stem iya, not infrequent in the oldest language, is often called an intensive of yī go, but without any propriety, as it has no analogy of form whatever with an intensive. The isolated 1st pl. imahe, common in RV., is of questionable character.

1022. The root ī totter, with constant intensive reduplication, leli, is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., lelāyati and lelāyate, pple lelāyāntī and lelāyatas (gen. sing.), and lelāyamāṇa, impf. alelāyat and alelet and alelīyata, perf. lelāya and lelāya (?).

1023. The RV. anomalous form dart (or dard), 2d and 3d sing. from ydṛ or dar, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from dardar. RV. has once avarivus (or -vur) where the sense requires a form from yvr, as avarivtus. The form rarāṇatā (RV., once) seems corrupt.

1024. A marked intensive or frequentative meaning is not always easily to be traced in the forms classed as intensive; and in some of them it is quite effaced. Thus, the roots cit, nij, viṣ use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with śr (jagṛ). The grammarians reckon the inflection of nij and viṣ as belonging to the reduplicating present-system, with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way vic and viṣ; jagṛ, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

a. Also daridṛa, intensive of ydra run, is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugal forms: as dadaridṛa; adaridrāsīt, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language (unless dáridrat TS., for which VS. MS. read dáridra). The so-called root vevi flutter is a pure intensive.

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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. vévidiśāmi; caus. vevidāyāmi; desid. of causative, vévidayāśāmi. But such formations are excessively rare; quotable are varivarjāyantī AV., yāgarāyant TB. etc.; dādhārayati JB., dandaçayitvā DKC.

III. Desiderative.

1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root: thus, पिबामि इ I drink, desid. पिपासामि पिपासामि I wish to drink; जीवामि इ I live, desid. जीविषामि जीविषामि I desire to live. Such a conjugation is allowed to be formed from any simple root in the language, and also from any causative stem.

a. The desiderative conjugation, although its forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language, is earlier and more fully expanded into a whole verbal system than the intensive. Its forms are also of increasing frequency: much fewer than the intensives in RV., more numerous in the Brāhmaṇas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots (about a hundred) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brāhmaṇa have such in RV.

1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics: 1. a reduplication, which always has the accent; 2. an appended स — which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel इ, becoming इ इ.

a. A few instances in the concluding part of CB. in which the accent is otherwise laid — thus, तिष्ठासेत, यियासान्ति, विविषांति, इप्सान्ति — must probably be regarded as errors.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final i or u is lengthened before स — thus, cikṣiṣa, cikiṣa, jigiṣa; cuqṛuṣa, jhuṣa, cukṣuṣa.

b. A final र becomes र or र before स — thus, cikirṣa, titirṣa (also irregularly tittirṣa RV.), didhirṣa, sisirṣa, tiṣṭirṣa (also tustirṣa), jihirṣa; bubhūrṣa, mumūrṣa (the only examples quotable).
c. Before iṣa, a final i- or u- or r-vowel necessarily, and a penultimate i or u or r optionally, have the gupa-strengthening; no examples are quotable from the older texts; later occur qiṣaṣiṣa, qiṣaṣiṣa; cikartiṣa, ninartiṣa, mimardiṣa, vivardiṣa, quṣembaliṇa; but ruruṇiṣa.

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in á weaken this vowel to ı, or even i: thus, jīgīṣa from y/cā go; pipīṣa (beside pipāṣa) from y/pā drink, jībīṣa (AV.) from y/hā remove (jīhīte: 664); didhīṣa (beside dhīṣa) from y/dhā.

e. A few roots in an or am lengthen the vowel: thus, jīgāṇṣa (beside jīgamīṣa) from y/gam; jīghāṇṣa from y/han; mīmānṣa from y/man; and tītāṇṣa from y/tan.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in cīkṣa from y/ci, cīkīṣa from y/cīt, jīgīṣa from y/jī, jīghāṇṣa from y/han; and y/hi is said to make jīghīṣa (no occurrence).

g. The roots van and san make vivāṣa and siṣāṣa, from the root-forms vā and sā.

h. The root jīv forms jujyūṣa (ÇB.: jijīviṣa, VS.); and the other roots in ív (765) are required to make the same change before sa, and to have guṇa before iṣa: thus, susyūṣa or siseviṣa from y/si. Svap forms susūpsa. Dhūrv forms dudhūṛṣa.

i. Initial s is usually left unchanged to ṣ after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has ṣ (184e): thus, sīsāṅṣa (ÇB.: y/saṅ), and susyūṣa and sīsanīṣa, according to the grammarians; but tuṣṭūṣa is met with.

j. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians:

nīmāṅṣa (or nīnaḍiṣa) from y/nāc be lost; mīmāṅṣa from y/majj (occurs in mīmāṅṣu); mīmāṛiṣa (or mīmṛkṣa) from y/mṛj.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590); the vowel is ṣ i if the root has an a-vowel, or ṽ r, or an i-vowel; it is Ṽ u if the root has an u-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, bībhatsa from y/badh or bādh; mīmāṅṣa from y/man; and tūṭṛa (RV.) from y/tur; dāḍhīṣu (AV.) and dādanaṅṣu (C) are probably false forms.

b. From y/qc is made (ÇB.) aṣāčiṣa, and from y/edh (VS.) edidhiṣa (with a mode of reduplication like that followed sometimes in the reduplicating aorist: 862). In the older language, these are the only roots with initial vowel which form a desiderative stem, except ap and ṣdh, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph. In the later language occur further eṣaṣiṣa (y/eṣ seek) and ičicēṣiṣa (y/ıkṣ); and the grammarians add others, as arjhiṣa (y/arrh), undidiṣa (y/und), ardi-dhiṣa (y/ṛdh).
1029—

XIV. SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

374

c. RV. has the stems ínakṣa and íyakṣa, regarded as desideratives from ỵ́nāc attain and ñaj, 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, ṭiṣṭa ípsa from ỵṣaṅap āp; dhītaśa ditsa from ỵṣaṅ da.

a. Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: dhīṣa (beside didhiṣa) from ỵṣaṅa; dīṣa (beside didiṣa) from ỵṣaṅ; dīṣa (dhīṣa JB.) from ỵdabh; cīkṣa from ỵcak; sīkṣa from ỵsah; these are found in RV.; in AV. are added ṭiṣa from ṭāp (RV. has apṣa once), and ñtīṣa from ṭydh; the other texts furnish lipṣa (CB.) or lipṣa (TB.) from ỵlabh, ripṣa (GB.) from ỵrabh, pīṭṣa (CB.) from ṭpad, and dhīkṣa (CB.) from ṭydh (not ṭydiḥ, since no roots with ṭ as medial vowel show the contracted form). In the later language are further found pīṭṣa from ṭpat also, jāñīpsa from the causative quasi-root jāṇap (below, 1042.), and the anomalous mītīṣa from ỵmā measure (allowed also from roots mī and mī); and the grammarians give ītīṣa from ṭādh. Also mokṣa is (very questionably) viewed as a desiderative stem from ỵmuc.

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel ṭ̄ i is quite rare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not been found in actual use.

a. It is declared to follow in general, though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures (934, 943.).

b. No example of the use of ṭ is found in RV., and only one each in AV. (pīpāṭiṣa), VS. (jījīviṣa), and TS. (jījaṃiṣa). The other examples noted in the early texts are aćīṣa, cikramiṣa, jigrāhiṣa (with ṭ for ṭ, as elsewhere in this root), cīcāriṣa, cīdhiṣa, jījaṃiṣa, ṭiḍhiṣa, bībāḍhiṣa, rurucīṣa, vivadiṣa, vividiṣa, cīcāsiṣa, tīṣtīghiṣa, jīhīn-iṣa: most of them are found only in CB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots gam, graḥ, car, jīv, pat, bādh, vid.

1032. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other a-stems (733a), 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 इप्सा इप्सास, इप्सामस, इप्सामा इप्सात्मा इप्साताम् इप्सात्ताम् इप्सात्तत्ताम् इप्सात्तत्तत्ताम्

1. Present Indicative.

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ipsami ipsavas ipsamas titikse titikshavahi titikshamahai

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

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ipsami ipsava ipsama titikshai titikshavahai titikshamahai

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

3. Present Optative.

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ipseyam ipseva ipsema titikseva titiksevali titiksemahai

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

4. Present Imperative.

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ipsa ipsatam ipsata titikshasva titikshetham titikshadhvam

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

5. Present Participle.

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ipsanta (f. इप्साती) इप्सातिनामा इप्सातिमाना

6. Imperfect.

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āipsam āipsava āipsama ātitikṣe ātitikṣavahi ātitikṣamahai

etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

a. There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in mami, or 2d pl. in thana or tana, is met with; of the impv. in tāt, only īpsatāt. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in sāni, sāt and sat, sān, and sānta. KBU. has jijñāsita (cf. 738b). But the fem. pple sīgāsasti (instead of sīgāsantā) occurs once or twice in the older texts; and RV. has didhiṣāṇa.

b. In the epics and later are found sporadic forms of the non-a-
conjugation: thus, sisṛkṣamas (BhP.), titikṣamahe and bubhūṣate 3d pl. (Mbh.); and the fem. participles īpsatī and cikīṛṣatī (Mbh.: against 449 b). The anomalous jighāṅṣiyāt occurs also in Mbh. and Vas.

1033. a. Desiderative forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language. The RV. has only perfect forms from a stem mimikṣ — thus, mimikṣāthu, mimikṣātus, mimikṣās; mimikṣē, mimikṣire — along with the present forms mimikṣatī, 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, īrtṣīṣ and aciklīṣīṣ, and a participle or two from mimāṅsa (see below, 1037 a, 1039 a) — all of them from stems which have lost their distinct desiderative meaning, and come to bear an independent value. The forms noted from the other earlier texts will be given in full below.

b. In the later language, a complete system of verbal forms is allowed to be made in the desiderative conjugation, the desiderative stem, less its final vowel, being treated as a root. Thus:

1034. Perfect. The desiderative perfect is the periphrastic (1070 ff.).

a. Thus, īpsyām cakāra etc.; titikṣām cakre etc. Such forms are made in CB. from y/ykram, dhūrv, bādh, ruh; and in ChU. from man.

b. Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from mimikṣ in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21. 10) has once didāṣīthā thou hast desired to give.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the is-form: thus, āipsīṣam, निलितितितिष आितिके शि.

a. The AV. has acikīṣīṣ, and īrīṣīṣ (augmentless, with mā prohibitive: 579). TB. has āipsīt; CB. ārīṣīt, acikīrīṣī and ajighāṇīṣī, and amimāṅśīṣī; KB. jijāśīṣī; JUB. āipsīṣma; and AA. adv. āhīṣīṣam. No examples have been found in the later language.

b. A precative is also allowed — thus, īpsyāṣam, titikṣīṣiya; but it never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel intptr: thus, āṁśितिस्याम īpsīṣyāmi and āṁśितिस्य सम īpsīṣyami; निलितितिष तिकसीये and निलितितिषेस तिकसीयेहे.

a. The CB. has titikṣīṣyate and didrīṣīṭāras. Such forms as jijāśīṣyāmas (Mbh.), didhikṣīṣyāmi (R.), and mimāṃsyant (GGS.) are doubtless presents, with -syā- blunderingly for -sa-.
1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel ə, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

a. In the older language have been noted: participle in ta, mīmāṁsitā (AV., GB.), jījyūṣita (AB.), ṛṣṛṣitā and dhīkṣitā (CB.); — gerundive in tavya, ḫpsitavya (AB.), didhīṣitavyā (CB.); in ya, jījñāsyā (CB.); — gerund in tvā, mīmāṁsitvā (K.).

1038. Of other declinable stems derived from the desiderative stem, by far the most common are the adjectival in ú — e. g. titkṣu, dīpsū, śīhatsū, sīṣāsū (RV. once dīṅkṣu) — and the abstract noun in ā — e. g. īpsā, śīhatsā, mīmāṁsā, ṛṣṛṣā — both of which are made with increasing freedom from an early epoch of the language: especially the former, which has the value and construction (271a) of a present participle. A few adjectives in enya (having a gerundive character: 966b) occur in the earlier language: thus, didṛkśenya (RV.), ṛṣṛṣenya (TS.), nīṁśenya (PB.), jījñāsena (AB.), and, with irregular reduplication (apparently) pāpṛkṣęnya (RV.), dadhiṣenya (JB.); and didṛkśęya (RV.) is a similar formation. RV. has also sīṣāsāni and rūrūkṣāni, and sīṣāsātu (?). In the later language, besides some of the formations already instanced (those in ú and ā, and in sva and sitavya), are found a few derivatives in aka, as cikitsaka, bhūṭhaka; in āna, as jījñāsana, didhyāsana; and, very rarely, in aniṣa (cikitsaniṣa) and tr (ṛṣṛṣity); further, secondary derivatives (doubtless) in in the noun in ā, as īpsin, jīgīṣāin (one or two of these occur in the older language). And of an adjective in a we have an example in bībhatsa (B.S., and later), and perhaps in avalipsa (AVP.); such words as ājūgpṣa, duṣcikitsa, are rather to be understood as possessive compounds with the noun in ā. As to noun-stems in is, see 392d.

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign य to the desiderative root (or stem without final a): thus, इप्यि́ इप्यि́ it is desired to be obtained; — and a causative, by adding in like manner the causative-sign ा या (1041): thus, इप्यि́ I cause to desire obtainment.

a. Of these formations in the older language are found mīmāṁsāyāmāna (doubtless to be read for -sāmāna, AV.), līpṣyāmāna (CB.), and rūrṛtsyamāna (K.). Half-a-dozen such passives are quotable later, and one or two causatives: e. g. cikitsyate, vivakṣyate, jījñāsyate; cikīrṣayant, cikitsayiąyati.

b. For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas, see below, 1052b.
1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are cikita cure, jugupa despise, titikṣa endure, bibhats abhor, mīmāṁs ponder, quṃrūṣa obey. Doubtless some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin: e. g. cikṣa, desiderative of qikṣ.

a. On account of the near relation of desiderative and future (cf. 948 b), the former is occasionally found where the latter was rather to be expected: thus, rājānam prayīṣantam (QB.) a king about to depart; prāṇa uccikramiṣan (ChU.) the breath on the point of expiring; mumūṣur ivā 'bhavat (H.) he was fain to die.

IV. Causative.

1041. a. In the later language is allowed to be made from most roots a complete causative conjugation. The basis of this is a causative stem, formed by appending the causative-sign  śro aya to the, usually strengthened, root.

b. But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign śro aya are of causative value; and the grammarians regard a part of them as constituting a conjugation-class, the tenth or cur-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others (775).

c. In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, 1058).

d. The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the desiderative. It is made from more than three hundred roots in the early language (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: 1048) exceedingly few.

1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign śro aya is as follows:

XIV. Secondary Conjugation.
a. Medial or initial i, u, ū, ī have the guṇa-strengthening (if capable of it: §240; thus, vedaya from यविद, codaya from यचु, tarpcaya from यत्रप; and kalpaya from यक्लप (only example): but cintaya, gulphaya, ḍṛḥḥaya.

b. But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, cīt (citaya and cētaya), iē, iēl, riē (riśaya and reṣaya), vip (vipaya and vepaya), tuēj, tur, tuē (tuśaya and tośaya), dyut (dyutaya and dyotaya), ruc (rucaya and rocaya), quē (qucaya and qocaya), quēbh (cubhaya and ṇóbhaya), kṛp, mṛṣ, ṣph; and grabh makes in RV, gṛbhaya. Duṣ and guh lengthen the vowel instead. Mṛṣ sometimes has vyḍḍhi, as in other forms: thus, māṛjayaya (beside marjaya). On the other hand, guṇa appears irregularly (§240b) in srevaya (beside qērivaya), ṇeḍaya, mekṣaya. Similar irregularities in the later language are giraya, tulaya (also solaya), churaya (also choraya), musaya, apshuraya. No forms without strengthening have a causative value made in the older language.

c. A final vowel has the vyḍḍhi-strengthening: thus, cāyaya, qāyaya, cyāvaya, bhāvaya, dhāraya, saśraya.

d. But no root in i or ī has vyḍḍhi in the Veda (unless pāyaya [k, below] comes from pī rather than pā) — as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly quotable: only RV. has kṣayaya (beside kṣepaya) from यक्षी possess; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, l. In B. and S., however, occur qāyaya and sāyaya (वै or sā); and later —āyaya, cāyaya, smāyaya, qāyaya, nāyaya.

e. A few roots have a form also with guṇa-strengthening: thus, cyu, dru, plu, yu separate, cru, pū, stu, adru; īr waste away, dr pierce, ēr, smṛ, hṛ; vr choose makes varaya later (it is not found in V.; epic also vāraya).

f. A medial or initial a in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, bhājaya, svāpaya, ādaya; janaya, ćrathaya, anaya (but mandaya, valgaya, bhakṣaya).

g. The roots in the older language which keep their short a are jan, pan, svan, dhan, ran, stan, gam (gāmaya once in RV.), tam, dam, raj (usually rañjayaya), prath, ćrath, ćnāth, vyath, svad, chad please (also chandaya), nad, dvāaya (also dvānaya), rah, mah (also mañhayaya), nabh (also nambhaya), tvar, svar, hval. In the later language, further, kvap, jvar, trap, day, pān, rāc, ran ring, vadā, val, vāc, clath, akhal, ṛṭhāg. Both forms are made (either in the earlier or in the later language, or in both taken together) by ad, kal, kram, kṣam, khan, ghaṭ, cam, cāl, jval, tvar, dal, dhvan, nad, nam, prat, bhram, math, mad, yam, ram, lag, lāl, vam, vyadh, cām be quiet, čram, ḍvas, avap. The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous.

h. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: e. g. dambhaya, daḥṣaya, indhaya,
lîmpaya, rûndhaya, qundhaya, krîntaya, drîñhaya. From a number
of roots, stems both with and without the nasal are made: thus (besides
those mentioned above, g), kuñçaya and kocaya, granthaya and grath-
aya, brîñhaya and barhaya, bhrañçaya and bhraçaya, qundhaya
and qodhaya, sañjaya and sañjaya, sîñçaya and secaya. In a few of
these is seen the influence of present-stems.

i. Most roots in final ā, and the root ṗ, add p before the con-
jugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, dhâpaya, sthâpaya; ārpaya.

j. Such stems are made in the older language from the roots kṣā,
khā, gā sing (also gāyaya), glā, ghṛā, jñā, dā give, dā divide, drā
run, dhā put and dhā suck, mā measure, mlā, yā, vā blow, sthā, snā,
hā remove; the later language adds kṣmā, dhmā, and hā leave. From
jñā and snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms jānapaya
and snapaya, and from çā only çrapaya (not in RV.). Also, in the later
language, glā forms glapaya, and mlā forms mlapaya.

k. Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, gāyaya (also gāpa-
aya) from ā/gā sing, chāyaya, pāyaya from ā/pā drink (or īf), pyây-
aya from ā/pyā or pyāy; sāyaya from ā/sā (or ī); also, later, ᵇvāy-
aya from ā/hvā (or hū); — and further, from roots vā weave, vyā,
and ā (or īf), according to the grammarians.

l. The same p is taken also by a few i- and i-roots, with other
accompanying irregularities: thus, in the older language, kṣepaya (RV.,
beside kṣayaya) from ī/kṣi possess; jāpaya (VS. and later) from ī/ji;
lāpaya (TB. and later; later also lāyaya) from ī/lī clinging; grāpaya (VS.,
once) from ī/ṛi; adhāpaya (S. and later) from adhī+i/yī; — in the
later, kṣapaya (beside kṣayaya) from ī/kṣi destroy; māpaya from
śmī; smāpaya (beside smāyaya) from ī/smi; hrepaya from ī/hrī;
— and the grammarians make further krāpaya from ī/krī; cāpaya (beside
cāyaya) from ī/oi gather; bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhīşaya)
from ī/bhī; repaya from ī/ṛī, and vlepaya from ī/vṛī. Moreover, īvruh
makes ropaya (S. and later) besides rohaya (V. and later), and ī/knu
makes knopaya (late).

m. More anomalous cases, in which the so-called causative is pal-
palbly the derivative of a derived noun, are: pālaya from ī/pā protect;
prīñaya from ī/prī; ṭhāaya (according to grammarians) from ī/tī; dhū-
naya (not causative in sense) from ī/dhū; bhīsaya from ī/bhī; ghātaya
from ī/han; sḫāvaya from ī/sḫā or šḫāy.

n. In the Prakrit, the causative stem is made from all roots by the
addition of (the equivalent of) āpaya; and a number (about a dozen) of
like formations are quotable from Sanskrit texts, mostly of the latest peri-
od; but three, krīññāpaya, jīvāpaya, and dikṣāpaya, occur in the epics;
and two, aśāpaya and kṣālāpaya, even in the Sūtras.

1042. Inflection: Present-System. The causative
stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other
stems in ध a (733a): it will be sufficient to give here in
general the first persons of the different formations, taking
as model the stem धार्य dhārāya, from धृ dhṛ. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

   active.

   s. d. p.
   1 धारायामि धारायावसं धारायामस
       dhārāyāmi dhārāyāvas dhārāyāmas
       etc. etc. etc.
   middle.

   s. d. p.
   1 धाराये धारायवः धारायमः
       dhārāye dhārāyavahe dhārāyamahe
       etc. etc. etc.

   a. The 1st pl. act. in maśi greatly outnumbers (as ten to one) that
      in maś in both RV. and AV. No example occurs of 2d pl. act. in thana,
      nor of 3d sing. mid. in e for ate.

2. Present Subjunctive.

   For the subjunctive may be instanced all the forms noted as
   occurring in the older language:

   active.

   1 dhārāyāṇi dhārāyāva dhārāyāma
   2 dhārāyāsī dhārāyāthas dhārāyātha
      dhārāyāti dhārāyātas dhārāyān
   middle.

   1 dhārāyāi dhārāyāvahāi
   2 dhārāyāse dhārāyādhithe dhārāyādhvāi
   3 dhārāyāte dhārāyātīte

   b. Only one dual mid. form in āte 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.

   active.

   1 धारायेयम् धारायेव धारायेम
       dhārāyeyam dhārāyeva dhārāyema
       etc. etc. etc.
XIV. Secondary Conjugation.

middle.

1 धाराय धारायेवि धारायमि
dhārayeya dhārayevahī dhārayemahi etc. etc. etc.

c. Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (four in RV., two in AV.); they become more common in the Brāhmaṇas. A 3d sing. mid. in Ita instead of etā (cf. §38 b) occurs once in B. (kāmayita AB.), is not very rare in S. (a score or two of examples are quotable), and is also found in MBh. and later. Of a corresponding 3d pl. in Iran only one or two instances can be pointed out (kāmayīran AÇS., kalpayīran AGS.).

4. Present Imperative.

active.

2 धाराय धारायतः
dhāraya dhārayatam dhārayata etc. etc.

middle.

2 धारायस्व
dhārayasva dhārayethām dhārayadhvam etc. etc.

d. Imperative persons with the ending tāt occur: dhārayatāt (AV.) and cāvayatāt (ÇB.) are 2d sing.; pātayatāt (ÇB.) is 3d sing.; gama-
yatāt and cāvayatāt (K. etc.), and vārayatāt (TB.) are used as 2d pl. Vārayadhvat (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only known example of such an ending (see above, §48 b).

5. Present Participle.

पारायत dhārayant धारायमि dhārayamāna.

e. The feminine of the active participle is regularly and usually made in antī (§49 c). But a very few examples in atī are met with (one in the older language: namayatī Āpast.).

f. The middle participle in māna is made through the whole history of the language, from RV. (only yātāyamāna) down, and is the only one met with in the earlier language (for Ṣrayānas [slo]), MS. ii. 7. 12, is evidently a false reading, perhaps for Ṣrayā nas). But deducedly more common in the epics and later is one formed with āna: e. g. kāmayāna, cintayāna, pālayāna, vedayāna. It is quotable from a larger number of roots than is the more regular participle in māna. As it occurs in no accentuated text, its accent cannot be given.
6. Imperfect.

Active.

1 धारयम् धारयाव धारयाम
adharayam adharay ava adharayama etc.

Middle.

1 धारे धारविधि धारमिति
adharaye adharayavahi adharayamahi etc.

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem in aya outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in syami, one passive participle (codita), and ten infinitives in dhyāi; also one or two derivative nouns in tr (bodhayitra, codayitri), five in iṣṇu, seven in itnu, and a few in a (atipāraya, nidhāraya, vācaṃīkhaya, viqvamejaya), and in u (dhārayu, bhārayu, manḍayu). In AV. also two s-future forms and four gerunds in tvā; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (gamayāṁ cakara). In the Brāhmaṇas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (1071a); a derivative noun in ā is made from the causative stem, and to its accusative, in ām, is added the auxiliary: thus,

धारयां चकारः dhārayāṁ cakāra (or āsa: 1070b)
धारयां चकरः dhārayāṁ cakre

a. Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — gamayāṁ cakāra — in AV., and but half-a-dozen in all the various texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, and these not in the mantra-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, except in ÇB. (where they abound: chiefly, perhaps, for the reason that this work uses in considerable part the perfect instead of the imperfect as its narrative tense).

1046. Aorist. The aorist of the causative conjugation is the reduplicated, which in general has nothing to do with the causative stem, but is made directly from the root.

a. It has been already fully described (above, 856 ff.).

b. Its association with the causative is probably founded on an original intensive character belonging to it as a reduplicated form, and is a matter of gradual growth; in the Veda it is made from a
considerable number of roots (in RV., more than a third of its instances; in AV., about a fifth) which have no causative stem in aya.

c. The causative aorist of \( \gamma \dot{\epsilon} \) dhṛ, then, is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{4.} & \text{दधिधरम्} & \text{दधिधराच} & \text{दधिधरम्} \\
\text{ádidharam} & \text{ádidhara} & \text{ádidharam} \\
\text{etc.} & \text{etc.} & \text{etc.} \\
\text{1.} & \text{दधिधरे} & \text{दधिधरे} & \text{दधिधरे} \\
\text{ádidhare} & \text{ádidharavahi} & \text{ádidharāmahi} \\
\text{etc.} & \text{etc.} & \text{etc.} \\
\end{array}
\]

An example was inflected in full at 384.

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 i ff.) — the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, atiśthipam from sthāp (stem sthāpaya) for \( \dot{\gamma} \)ṭhā. Aorist-stems of this character from quasi-roots in āp are artipa (\( \dot{\gamma} \)ṛ), jījapa or jījipa, jījāpā or jījāpā, čiçrapa, tiśhipa, jīhipa; the only other example from the older language is bibhiśa from bhī for \( \dot{\gamma} \)bhī.

1048. But a few sporadic forms of an \( i\)-aorist from causative conjugation-stems are met with: thus, dhvanayīt (RV.; TS. has instead the wholly anomalous dhvanayīt), vyathayīs and aśayīt (AV.), puyayīṣṭhās and avādayiṣṭhās (KBU.), in the older language (RV. has also ūnāyīs from a denominative stem); in the later, ahlāda-yīṣṭa (DKC), and probably aghātayīṣṭās (MBh.; for -iṣṭhās: cf. 904 d). The passive 3d sing. aropī, from the causative ropaya, has a late occurrence (Çatr.).

1049. A preceptive is of course allowed by the grammarians to be made for the causative conjugation: in the middle, from the causative stem with the auxiliary \( i \) substituted for its final \( a \); in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{धार्यासम} & \text{ dhāryāsam etc.} \\
\text{धार्यिः सया} & \text{ dhārayiṣyā etc.}
\end{align*}
\]

This formation is to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary \( \dot{\gamma} \) i, which takes the place of its final \( \dot{\gamma} \) a. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S-Future.} \\
\text{धारयिः सया} & \text{ dhārayiṣyāmi etc.} \\
\text{धारयिः सया} & \text{ dhārayiṣyā etc.} \\
\text{धारयिः सया} & \text{ dhārayiṣyānt} \\
\text{धारयिः सया} & \text{ dhārayiṣyāmāṇa}
\end{align*}
\]
Conditional.

\[ \text{adharayisya} \text{m etc. adharayisyam etc.} \]

Periphrastic Future.

\[ \text{adharayitāsma} \text{ etc.} \]

a. It has been mentioned above that RV. and AV. contain only two examples each of the s-future, and none of the periphrastic. The former begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas more numerously, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only adharayisyat CB.; alāpayiṣya-thās ChU.); of the latter, CB. affords two instances (pārayitāsai and janayitāsi). Examples of both formations are quotable from the later language (including the middle form dārṣayitāṁ: \[947\]p).

1051. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These are made in two different ways: either 1. from the full causative stem (in the same manner as the futures, just described); or 2. from the causatively strengthened root-form (with loss of the causative-sign).

a. To the latter class belong the passive participle, as dhārita; the gerundive and gerund in ya, as dhārya, -dhārya; and the gerund in am, as dhāram; also, in the older language, the root-infinitive, as -dhāram etc. (\[970\]a). To the former class belong the infinitive and the gerund in tvā, as dhārayitum, dhārayitvā, and the gerundive in tavya, as dhārayitavya (also, in the older language, the infinitives in tavāi and dhyāi, as jānayitavāi, īrayādhyāi, etc.). The auxiliary i is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

b. Examples of the passive participle are īritā, vāsita, çrāvita. But from the quasi-root jnap (\[1042\]j) is made jnāpta, without unlon-vowel.

c. Examples of the infinitive and gerund in tvā are jōṣayitum, dhārayitum; kalpayitvā, arpayitvā. But in the epics, and even later, infinitives are occasionally made with loss of the causative-sign: e. g. qeṣitum, bhaṅhitum, dhāritum, mocitum.

d. Examples of the gerunds in ya and am are -bhāyya, -ghāyya, -pādyya, -vāyya, nāyya, sthāpyya; -bhājam, -sthāpam. But stems showing in the root-syllable no difference from the root retain ay of the causative-sign in the gerund, to distinguish it from that belonging to the primary conjugation: e. g. -kramāyya, -gamāyya, -janāyya, -jvalāyya, -kalāyya, -qamāyya, -racayya, -śpayya.

e. Examples of the gerundive in tavya are tarpayitavyā, gam-
ayitavya, hūyayitavya; of that in ya, sthāpya, hārya, yājya; of that in aniya, sthāpaniya, bhāvaniya.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 25
f. Examples of other formations occurring in the older language are as follows: root-infinitive, -sthāpam, -vāsas; — infinitive in tu, other cases than accusative, -janayitave; jānayitavā, pāyayitavā, -cētayitavā; gāmayaṭos; — infinitive in dhāyā, īṣayādhyāyā, trayādhyāyā, taṅsayādhyāyā, nāṣayādhyāyā, mandayādhyāyā, mādayādhyāyā, riṣayādhyāyā, vartayādhyāyā, vājrayādhyāyā (all RV.); — gerundive in āyya, ṣaṇayāyya, ṣprhayāyya, trayāyeyya (P ṛṣṭra).

g. Other noun-derivatives from the causative stem are not infrequent, being decidedly more numerous and various than from any other of the secondary conjugation-stems. Examples (of other kinds than those instanced in 1044) are: ārpana, dāpana, prīṇana, bhīṣaṇa; jāṇapaka, ropaka; patayalu, ṣprhayalu; jānayati, jnapti.

h. All the classes of derivatives, it will be noticed, follow in regard to accent the analogy of similar formations from the simple root, and show no influence of the special accent of the causative-stem.

1052. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. From the causative stem are made a passive and a desiderative conjugation. Thus:

a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual passive-sign य to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, रायित dhāryāte.

b. Such passives are hardly found in the Veda (only bhājyā- AV.), but some thirty instances are met with in the Brāhmaṇas and Śūtras: examples are jānapya- (TS.), sādyā- (K.), pādyā- (AB.), vādyā- (TB.), sthāpya- (GB.); and they become quite common later.

c. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign इ a, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, दिखरयित didhāreyiṣati.

d. These, too, are found here and there in the Brāhmaṇas and later (about forty stems are quotable): examples are pīpāyaiṣa (K.), būbhāvaiṣa and cikalpayiṣa and lulobhayiṣa (AB.), didrāpayiṣa and rīrdhārayiṣa and āpīpāyaiṣa (GB.), and so on.

e. As to causatives made from the intensive and desiderative stems, see above, 1025, 1039.

V. Denominative.

1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.

a. It is a view now prevailingly held that most of the present-systems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations 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 या (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.

a. But such formations are rare in actual use. The RV. has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is भिैणक्ति he heals, from भिैणज्य physician; it is made like a form of the root-class; भिैणपक seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class; and पात्याते he rules appears to be a denominative of पति master; other possible cases are इशान, क्रिपान्ति, तरुग्मा etc., वनुसंति, भुराजंति, वानन्वति. From the other older texts are quotable कव्यांति (TS.), अश्लोनाति (TB.), उम्मलाति (ŚR.), स्वाधिमाहे (QŚS.). And a considerable number of instances, mostly isolated, are found in the later language: e.g. कलाहंति (MBh.), अर्घंति (Pañc.), अवजति (Cat.), गर्दाभक्ति (SD.), उत्कन्त् (SD.), जगमनेत्रति (Pras.), केलिख्वतसहकशस्रापत्रति (Pras.).

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.

a. The identity of this या with the या of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final a of a noun-stem the causative-sign ा, is hardly to be questioned. What relation it sustains to the या of the या-class (759), of the passive (788), and of the derivative intensive stem (1016), is much more doubtful.

1056. Intermediate between the denominative and causative conjugations stands a class of verbs, plainly denominative in origin, but having the causative accent. Examples, beginning to appear at the earliest period of the language, are मन्त्रायाते speaks, takes counsel, (from मन्त्रा, यमन्—त्रा), किर्त्याति commemorates (from किर्ति, यक्र praise), अर्थायाति or -ते makes an object of, seeks (from अर्था goal, object), वांसयाति depicts (from वर्ण color), कथायति or -ते gives the how of anything, relates (from कथाम how?), and so on. These, along with like forms from roots which have no other present-system (though they may make scattering forms outside that system from the root directly), or which have this beside other present-systems without causative meaning, are reckoned by the grammarians as a separate conjugation-class, the चुर-class (above, 807, 775).
1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.

a. They are frequent in RV., which contains over a hundred, of all varieties; AV. has only half as many (and personal forms from hardly a third as many: from the rest, present participles, or derivative nouns); AB., less than twenty; Qib., hardly more than a dozen; and so on. In the later language they are quotable by hundreds, but from the vast majority of stems occur only an example or two; the only ones that have won any currency are those that have assumed the character of “cur-class” verbs.

1058. The denominative meaning is, as in other languages, of the greatest variety; some of the most frequent forms of it are: be like, act as, play the part of; regard or treat as; cause to be, make into; use, make application of; desire, wish for, crave — that which is signified by the noun-stem.

a. The modes of treatment of the stem-final are also various; and the grammarians make a certain more or less definite assignment of the varieties of meaning to the varieties of form; but this allotment finds only a dubious support in the usages of the words as met with even in the later language, and still less in the earlier. Hence the formal classification, according to the final of the noun-stem and the way in which this is treated before the denominative sign ya, will be the best one to follow.

1059. From stems in a. a. The final a of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, amitrayati plays the enemy, is hostile; devayati cultivates the gods, is pious.

b. But final a is also often lengthened: thus, aghayati plans mischief; priyayate holds dear; aqvayati seeks for horses; açanayati desires food.

c. While in the Veda the various modes of denominative formation are well distributed, no one showing a marked preponderance, in the later language the vast majority of denominatives (fully seven eighths) are of the two kinds just noticed: namely, made from a-stems, and of the form aya or āya, the former predominating. And there is seen a decided tendency to give the denominatives in aya an active form and transitive meaning, and those in āya a middle form and intransitive or reflexive meaning. In not a few cases, parallel formations from the same stem illustrate this distinction: e. g. kaluṣayati makes turbid, kaluṣayate or becomes turbid; taraṇayati rejuvenates, taruṇayate is rejuvenated; čithilayati loosens, čithilayate grows loose. No distinct traces of this distinction are
recognizable in the Veda, although there are also corresponding forms with short a and with long ā sometimes stand side by side.

d. Final a is sometimes changed to ā (very rarely ī): thus, adhvaryaṅīti performs the sacrifice; taviṣṭyāti is mighty; putriyāti or putriyāti desires a son; māṇṣyāti craves flesh; saṣṭyāte is ready; candrakahāntiṇyāti is moonstonelike. Not fifty stems of this form are quoted.

e. It is occasionally dropped (after n or r): thus, turāṇyāti is rapid; adhvaryaṅīti performs the sacrifice.

f. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of a, as in stanasyāti seeks the breast; the change of a to e, as in vareyāti plays the wooer.

1080. From stems in ā. Final ā usually remains, as in gopāyāti plays the herdsman, protects; pṛtanāyāti fights; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an a-stem: thus, pṛtanyāti fights; tilottama-yāti acts Tilottama.

1081. From stems in i, ī, and u, ū. Such stems are (especially those in u, ū) very rare. They show regularly ī and ū before ya: thus, arātiṅyāti (also -tiy-) plots injury; janātiṅyāti (also -niy-) seeks a wife; sakhīyāti desires friendship; nāriyāte turns woman; — gatīyāti acts the foe; rājyāti is straight; vasiṣṭyāti desires wealth; aṣṭyāti grumbles, is discontented: with short u, gātuyāti acts in motion.

a. More rarely, i or u is treated as a (or else is gunated, with loss of a y or v): thus, dhunayāti comes sneezing; laghayāti makes easier. Sometimes, as to a (above, 1059f), a sibilant is added: thus, avīyāti is vehement; uruṣyāti saves. From dhī, RV. makes dhiṣyāte.

1082. From other vowel-stems. a. Final r is changed to ri: thus, mātriṇyāti treats as a mother (only quotable example).

b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, gavyāti seeks cattle, goes a-raiding.

1083. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before ya: thus, bhiṣajyāti plays the physician, cures; ukṣaṇyāti acts like a bull; apasyāti is active; namasyāti pays reverence; sumanasyāte is favorably disposed; taruṣyāti fights.

a. But a final n is sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, rājyāte or rājīyāti is kingly, from rājan; -karma-yati from -karma; svāmiyīti treats as master, from svāmin: vrṣa-yāte from vṛṣan is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, oja-yāte from ojas, -manāyate from -manas; — while, on the other hand, an a-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before ya: thus, iṣa-yāti from iṣ, satvanāyati from satvan.

1084. The largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a s before the ya; and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denominative-sign virtually sya
— or even, with a also added after an i- or u-vowel, asya; and this comes to be recognized by the grammarians as an independent sign, forming denominatives that express desire: thus, sumakhasyate is merry; jīvanasya-(in-sēyā love of life); vṛṣasyati desires the male (the only quotable examples); madhuṣyati or madhvasyati longs for honey; kṣirasyati craves milk.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in kāmya what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having kāma as its final member: thus, rathakāmyati longs for the chariot (K.: only example found in the older language); arthakāmyati desires wealth; putrakāmyati wishes a son (the only quotable examples); coming from the possessive compounds rathakāma etc. And arthāpyati treats as property is a (sole quotable) example of a stem having the Prakritic causative form (1042n).

a. Stems of anomalous formation are dṛāghaya from dīrga, dṛadhaya from dṛḍha, and perhaps mṛadaya from mṛdu.

1066. a. A number of depressive 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, ankūyā, stabhūyā, iṣudhyā; dhiṇaḍyā, ṛgaṇyā, ruvaṇyā, huvanyā, ṛgaṇyā; rathāṛyā, ṛ迦ḥṛyā, saparyyā; iyasyā (CB.), iraṇyā, daṇṣyā, makhasyā, panasyā, sa-casyā. Those in anya, especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in āya, in which general have allied themselves to present-systems of the nā-class (732), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, gṛbhāyā beside gṛbhātī. Of such, RV. has gṛbhāyā, mathāyā, pruṣṇyā, muṣṇyā, ṛṣṭhāyā, skabhāyā, stabhāyā. A few others have no nā-class companions: thus, dāmāyā, ṡaṃāyā, tudāyā (AV.); and pāṇyā, naṛṣyā, vṛṣṣyā (yvrṣ rain), vasāyā (yvas clothe), and perhaps açṣyā (yac attain).

c. Here may be mentioned also quasi-denominatives made from onomatopoetic combinations of sounds, generally with repetition: e. g. kiṭakiṭāyā, thatathatarāyā, miṣamiṣāyā, ṭaraṇṭāyā.

1067. The depressive stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. aṅkhāya, arthāya, ṣaḍyā (also ṣāḍyā), ṛṛjāya, ṛṭāya, kṛpāya, mantrāya, mṛṣyāya, vavṛāya, vajāya (also vajāyā), vilāya, suṣṛvāya (also suṣvavāya); AV. adds kṛṣṭāya, dhūpāya, pālāya, vīrāya, saḥbhāyā.

a. The accent of ānniya and hāstaya (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The depressive stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in ṣa (733a) throughout the present-system. Forms outside of
that system — except from the stems which are reckoned to the causative or eur-class, and which follow in all respects the rules for that class — are of the utmost rarity.

a. In RV. occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, except ānayīs (with mā prohibitive), an iṣ-aorist 2d sing. (cf. 1046). Further examples of this aorist are āsūyīt (C.B.), pāpayīṣṭa (TS.: pl., with mā prohibitive), and avṛṣāyiṣṭa (VS. etc.). The form āsaparyāit (AV. xiv. 2. 20), with āi for ī (555a), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; āmanasyāit, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (ii. 3. 83). Other forms begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas: e. g. the futures gopāyīṣyati (C.B.), meghāyīṣyānt, kaṇḍūyīṣyānt, cīkāyīṣyānt (TS.), the participles bhiṣajyītā (? JB. -jita) and iyasitā (C.B.), kaṇḍūyītā, cīkitā, and meghitā (TS.), the gerund saṃcīkāksyā (C.B.), and so on. In the later language, also, forms outside the present-system (except the participle in ta) are only sporadic; and of tertiary conjugation forms there are hardly any: examples are the causatives dhūmāyāya and āsūyāya (MBh.), and the desiderative abhiśīṣena-yīsā (Cīr.).

b. Noun-derivatives from denominative stems follow the analogy of those from causative stems (1051g). In the older language, those in u and ā (especially the former) are much the most numerous; later, that in ana prevails over all others.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRACTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1069. One periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (942 ff.), since it has become in the later language a recognized part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is —
The Periphrastic Perfect.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brāhmaṇas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.

a. It is made by prefixing the accusative of a derivative noun-stem in ग्रा ा (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of ग्रा क्र make, more often of ग्रा ा स as be, and very rarely of ग्रा ा भु be.

b. In the older language (see below, 1073d), क्र is almost the only auxiliary used in making this tense, ा occurring very few times, and भु never. Later, also, भु is quite rare (it is found nine times in MBh., six times in Rgh., and a few times elsewhere), but as gains very greatly in currency, having become the usual auxiliary, while क्र is only exceptional.

c. Somewhat similar formations with yet other auxiliaries are not absolutely unknown in the later language: thus, वरसायम् pracakramus (MBh.), पुरयाम (etc.) vyadhus (Vīraccītra), म्रगयाम avāsit (ib.).

1071. The periphrastic perfect occurs as follows:

a. It is the accepted perfect of the derivative conjugations: intensive, desiderative, causative, and denominative; the noun in ग्रा ा being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from ग्रा ा बुध बुध, intensive बोनधाम बुबुधाम, desiderative मुन्याम भुबुधाताम, causative बोपुधाम बोधयाम; denominative गल्याम मन्त्रयाम.

b. The formation from causative stems (including those denominatives which have assumed the aspect of causatives: 1056) is by far the most frequent. Only a few desideratives are quotable (1034a), and of intensives only जागराम ा (1020a; beside जागाराम).

c. Most roots beginning with a vowel in a heavy syllable (long by nature or long by position) make this perfect only, and not the simple one: thus, ग्रासाम ा from ग्रास सि, ग्रासाम िक्षाम from ग्रास िक्ष see; उष्ठाम उज्जाम from ग्राज उज्ज forsake; प्रथाम एहाम from ग्राध एह थrive (the only examples quotable).
d. Excepted are the roots āp and āṇīh, and those beginning with a before two consonants (and taking ān as reduplication: 788).

e. The roots (that is, stems reckoned by the grammarians as roots) of more than one syllable have their perfect of this formation: thus, cakāsām. But āṛṇṇa (713) is said to form āṛṇṇāvā only; while jagr (1020) makes a perfect of either formation, and daridrā (1024 a) is said to do the same.

f. A few other roots make the periphrastic in addition to the usual reduplicated perfect. Thus, in the older language only are found the stems cāyām, tāyām, nilayām, vāsām (yvas duell), vidām (yvid know), vyayām, and the reduplicated stems bibhayām and juhavām; the later language adds ayām, jayām, dayām, nayām, smayām, hvayām, and the reduplicated bibharām; and the grammarians teach like formations from uṣ, kās, and the reduplicating hrī. The stem is made in every case from the present-stem, with guṇa of a final vowel.

1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is made with the middle inflection of yṛ kṛ. For passive use, the auxiliaries गम as and भ bu are said to be allowed to take a middle inflection.

a. One or two late examples of bhū with middle inflection have been pointed out, but none of as.

b. It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their independent use: for that of yṛ kṛ, see 800 k; of yṛ bhū, see 800 d; of yās, see 800 m.

c. The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that other words are not occasionally allowed to come between them: thus, mimāṁsām eva cakre (CB.) he merely speculated; vidāṁ vā idam ayāṁ ca kārā (JB.) he verily knew this; prabhraṇčayāṁ yo naghuṣam ca kārā who made Naghusha fall headlong (Rgh.).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation with a derivative noun in ām as it appears especially in the later language; earlier, its aspect is rather that of a more general, but quite infrequent, combination of such a noun with various forms of the root kṛ. Thus:

a. Of the periphrastic perfect occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, gamayāṁ cakārā (AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas examples from causative stems begin to appear more freely, but are everywhere few in number, except in CB. (which has them from twenty-four roots, and a few of these in several occurrences). From desiderative stems they are yet rarer (only seven occurrences, five of them in CB.: see 1034 a); and from intensives they are unknown. The periphrastic perfects of primary conjugation were noted above (1071 f: in CB.,
eight stems and about eighty occurrences, chiefly from Īkṣ, bḥī, and vid; that from vid is found in the greatest number of texts).

b. Forms with the aorist of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brāhmaṇas as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with akar occur ramayāṁ (K.), janayāṁ and sādayāṁ and svadayāṁ and athāpayāṁ (MS.); and with akraṇ, vidām (TS. TB. MS.). With the aorist optative or precative has been found only pāvayāṁ kriyāt (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are not entirely unknown: thus, juhavāṁ karoti (QS). So also in the later language, where have been found quotable half-a-dozen such cases as vidām karoti (Paṇc.), vidām karotu and kurvantu (Paṇc. etc.).

d. Only two or three cases of the use of as instead of kr as auxiliary are met with in the older language: they are mantrayāṁ āṣa (AB. GB.), janayāṁ āṣa (GYU.), and īkṣām āṣa (QS).

e. A single example of an accented auxiliary is met with in the accentuated texts: namely, atirecayāṁ cakrūs (QB.). As was to be expected, from the nature of the combination, the noun also retains its accent (compare 945).

Participial Periphrastic Phrases.

1074. The frequent use, especially in the later language, of a past or a future passive participle with the copula (or also without it) to make participial phrases having a value analogous to that of verb-tenses, has been already noticed (999). But other similar combinations are not unknown in any period of the language, as made with other auxiliaries, or with other participles.

a. They occur even in the Veda, but are far more common and conspicuous in the Brāhmaṇas, and become again of minor account in the later language.

1075. Examples of the various formations are as follows:

a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb i go.

This is in the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus: āyajvano vibhājanāṁ ēti vēdaṁ (RV.) he ever gives away the wealth of the non-offerer; yathā sucyā vāsus saṁdadhād iyād evam evai tābhīr yajñasya chidraṁ saṁdadhād ēti (AB.) just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice; agnir vā idaṁ vālcvāṇarār dahanāṁ ēti (PB.) Agni Vālcvāṇara kept burning this creation; tē 'sūraḥ pārājītaṁ yānto dyāvāpyāthiṁ upācyayā (PB.) those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth; tē 'syā grhā pačava upamūryāmāṇā iyāu (QB.) 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 prāvṛṣṭaḥ (A.V.) Agni is constantly present in the fire; adāṇḍyaḥ daṇḍena ghnantaḥ carati (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, juḥvata āsate (K.) they continue sacrificing; te 'pakramya prativāvadatō 'tiṣṭhan (AB.) they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing. In the later language, sthā is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A present or future or perfect participle with ās 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 anijānaḥ syāt (AB.) whoever may not have made sacrifice before; samāvad eva yajñe kuru-vāṇā āsān (GB.) they did the same thing at the sacrifice; parikriṣṇaṁ āsān (MS.) they were playing about; yātra suptvā pūnar nā 'vadra-syān bhāvati (QB.) when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again; havyam hi vākyan bhavati (AB.) for he is intending to carry the sacrifice; dāsyant syāt (K.) may he going to give; yēna vāhanena syantayānt syāt (CB.) with what vehicle he may be about to drive. True expressions for perfect and pluperfect and future perfect time are capable of being made by such means, and now and then are made, but in no regular and continued fashion.

Composition with Prepositional Prefixes.

1076. All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation — of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as the denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) — occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character (see the next chapter), the so-called prepositions (according to the original use of that term), or the verbal prefixes.

a. Practically, in the later language, it is as if a compounded root were formed, out of root and prefix, from which then the whole conjugation (with derivatives: below, chap. XVII.) is made, just as from the simple root. Yet, even there (and still more in the older language: 1081 a—c), the combination is so loose, and the members retain so much of their independent value, that in most dictionaries (that of Sir Monier Williams is an exception) the conjugation of each root with prefixes is treated under the simple root, and not in the alphabetic order of the prefix. Derivative words, however,
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 across, beyond, past, over, to excess;
- अधि above, over, on, on to;
- अनु after, along, toward;
- अन्तर between, among, within;
- अपा away, forth, off;
- अपि unto, close upon or on;
- अभि to, unto, against (often with implied violence);
- अवा down, off;
- अ to, unto, at;
- उद up, up forth or out;
- उप अति to, unto, toward;
- नि down; in, into;
- निस out, forth;
- पार पारि to a distance, away, forth;
- पारि round about, around;
- प्रां प्रांत forward, onward, forth, fore;
- प्रति प्रति in reversed direction, back to or against, against, in return;
- वि� apart, asunder, away, out;
- सम 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: प्रां, अ, विं, सम, अभि, नि, उद, पारि, अनु, उपा, प्रति, अवा, निस, अति, अपा, परां, अदि, अपि, अन्तर. अपि is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, too, also.

b. The meanings given above are only the leading ones. In combinations of root and prefix they undergo much modification, both literal and figurative — yet seldom in such a way that the steps of transition from the fundamental sense are not easy to trace. Sometimes, indeed, the value of a
root is hardly perceptibly modified by the addition of the prefix. An intensive force is not infrequently given by pari, vi, and sam.

1078. Prefixes essentially akin with the above, but more distinctly adverbial, and of more restricted use, are these:

ācha (or āchā) to, unto: tolerably frequent in RV. (used with over twenty roots), but already unusual in AV. (only two roots), quite restricted in B., and entirely lost in the later language;

āvis forth to sight, in view: used only with the roots bhū, as, and 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. A few others, as bahis outside, vinā without, alam (with bhū and kr) sufficiently, properly, sākṣāt in view, are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of yet more limited use, and of noun-rather than adverb-value, are:

qrād (or qrath?), only with dhā (in RV., once also with kr): qraddhā believe, credit;

hiṅ, only with kr (and obsolete in the classical language): hiṅkr make the sound, hing low, murmur.

a. And beside these stand yet more fortuitous combinations: see below, 1091.

1080. More than one prefix may be set before the same root. Combinations of two are quite usual; of three, much less common; of more than three, rare. Their order is in general determined only by the requirements of the meaning, each added prefix bringing a further modification to the combination before which it is set. But ए a is almost never allowed, either earlier or later, to be put in front of any of the others.

a. The very rare cases of apparent prefixion of a to another prefix (as āvihanti MBh., āvitanvānāh BhP.) are perhaps best explained as having the a used independently, as an adverb.

1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix stands immediately before the verbal form.

a. In the earlier language, however (especially in the Veda; in the Brāhmaṇa less often and more restrictedly), its position is quite
free: it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even come after the form to which it belongs; it may also stand alone, qualifying a verb that is understood, or conjointly with another prefix one that is expressed.

b. Thus, sā devāṁ Ṛ ṭha vākaṣyati (RV.) he shall bring the gods hither; prá ṇa āyūṁśi tārīgat (AV.) may he lengthen out our lives; táv ā yatam īpa dravat (RV.) do ye two come hither quickly; gāmad viṣeṣbhir ā sá naḥ (RV.) may he come with gifts hither to us; pāri māṁ pāri me praJayám pārī ṃaḥ pāhī yād dhānam (AV.) protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own; yātaḥ sadyā ā ca pārā ca yānti (AV.) from whence every day they advance and retire; vy āhāṁ sārvēṣa pāpmāṇa [avṛtam] vī yākṣeṇa sām āyuśā (AV.) I have separated from all evil, from disease, [I have joined myself] with life; viḥ enena paṣyati (AB.) for by it he sees; vī vā eṣā praJayā paṭiḥbhīr pṛdhyaṭe (TB.) he is deprived of progeny and cattle.

c. Three or four instances have been cited from the later language of a prefix separated from, or following, a verb; perhaps the prefix in every such case admits of being regarded as an adverb.

1082. As regards the accent of verb-forms compounded with prefixes, only the case needs to be considered in which the prefix stands (as always in the later language) immediately before the verb; otherwise, verb and prefix are treated as two independent words.

1083. a. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above (582), is ordinarily unaccented: before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.

b. If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.

c. That is, in every case, the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent.

d. Examples are: pāre 'hi nāri pūnar ē hi kṣīpṛam (AV.) go away, woman; come again quickly; āthā 'stām vipāretana (RV.) then scatter ye away to your home; samācīnāvā naśamsaprāyāhī (AV.) gather together, go forth together after; yād gṛḥāṁ upodāti (AV.) when he goes up to the house; evā ca tvāṁ saraṁ ājagāṁtha (RV.) now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither; yēnā 'viṣṭītaḥ praviveqītha pāḥ (RV.) enveloped in which thou didst enter the waters.

1084. A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction, or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term), belonging to and governing a noun; in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound, but has its own accent. The two kinds of use shade into one another, and are not divisible by any distinct and fixed line.
a. There is in RV. a considerable number of cases (some thirty) in which the pada-text gives unnecessarily, and probably wrongly, an independent accent to a prefix before an accented verb (or other prefix): resolving, for example, āruhat into ā āruhat, vyācet into vī ācet, abhyāvārṣīt into abhi āvarṣīt, vyāśarat into vī ā asarat (instead of ā-āruhat etc.).

1085. In combination with the non-personal parts of the verb-system — with participles, infinitives, and gerunds — the general rule is that the prefix loses its accent, in favor of the other member of the compound. But the prefix instead has sometimes the accent: namely, when combined —

a. with the passive participle in ta or na: thus, pāreta gone forth; antārhitā concealed; āvapanna fallen; sāmpūrṇa complete (cf. 1284).

b. But some exceptions to this rule are met with: e. g., in RV., nicitā, nīkṣyta, praçastā, niśattā, etc.; in AV., apakritā.

c. with the infinitive in tu (§72), in all its cases: thus, sāṁhartum to collect; āpiḍhātave to cover up; āvagantos of descending. The doubly accented dative in tavārī retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, ānvetavārī for following; āpabhartavārī for carrying off.

1086. The closeness of combination between the root and the prefix is indicated not only by their unity of accent, but also by the euphonic rules (e. g. 185, 192), which allow the mutual adaptations of the two to be made to some extent as if they were parts of a unitary word.

1087. A few special irregularities call for notice:

a. In the later language, api, adhi, and ava, in connection with certain roots and their derivatives, sometimes lose the initial vowel: namely, api with nah and dhā, adhi with sthā, ava with gāh etc.: e. g. pinaddha, pihita, dhiṣṭhita, vagāhya, vataṁsa, vadānya, vaṣṭābhya, vamajjana, veṣaṇa, valepana. In the Veda, on the other hand, īṣ is in a few cases found instead (apparently) of niṣ with j/kr.

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an i, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: e. g. pratikāra, nīvṛt, parīhāra, vīrūdh, adhīvāsā, āpīvṛta, abhīvartā; anūrūdha; avāyati, prāvṛṣ, ūpāvasu. In the Veda, the initial of anu is sometimes lengthened after negative an: e. g. anānudā, anānukṛtyā.

c. In combination with jī go, the prefixes para, pari, and pra sometimes change their r to l. In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem palāy flee, inflected according to the a-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brāhmaṇas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it sometimes takes the augment prefixed: thus, apalāyasthās (QGŚ.), apalāyata (R.), apalāyanta (MBh.); it makes
the periphrastic perfect palāyāṁ cakre. The stem palyay, similarly
inflected, occurs only in one or two texts (QB. JB. JUB.); and plāy has
been found nowhere except in MS. Also the imperfect nīlāyata (TS. TB;
not separated in the pada-text) and perfect nīlāyāṁ cakre (QB.) are
doubtless a corresponding formation from yḍ with nīs, though nearly akin
in form and meaning with forms from yḍ+ni. So also pari becomes
pali in the combination palyaṅ (QB. ČČS.), whether viewed as a denomi-
native formation or as yḍṅ+pari. And MS. has once plāṅsārayan
(iii. 10. 2; in an etymology).

d. The root kr make sometimes assumes (or retains from a more
original condition) an initial s after the prefixes sam, pari, nia, and upa:
thus, samaskurate, samaskurvan, samskṛta, etc.; pariśkravyanti,
pariśkrta, etc.; nīr askṛta; upaaskṛta. And ykr scatter is said by
the grammarians to add s in the same manner, under certain circumstances,
after apa and prati (only apaskiramāṇa, praticaskare, both late,
are quotable).

e. The passive participle of the roots dā give and dā cut has often
the abbreviated form tta after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if i,
is lengthened (compare 885f, and the derivative in ti, below, 1157c).

f. In a few sporadic cases, the augment is taken before a prefix,
instead of between it and the root: thus, avaśātkārṇīt (GB.); udapra-
patat (AB.); anvasaṃcaraat, pratyasaṃharat, pratyavyuḥat, anv-
avikṣetām, aprāṣīt, asambhramat (MBh.); abhyanimārayat
(Har.); vyāvasthāpi (SDS.); compare also the forms from palāy, above,
c. And AB. has once niniyoja (for niyuyojaya, as read in the corre-
sponding passage of ČČS.). Some of the apparent roots of the language
have been suspected of being results of a similar unification of root and prefix:
e. g. āp from ā+ap, vyac from vi+ac, tyaj from ati+aj.

g. The loss of the initial s of sthā and stambh after the prefix
ud has been noticed above (283c). Also (137a, c), certain peculiarities
of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1088. As to the more general adverbal uses of the prefixes,
and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1089. As to the combination of the particles a or an privative, dus
ill, and su well, with verb-forms, see 1121b, g, i. As to the addition
of the comparative and superlative suffixes tarām and tamām to verbs, see
above, 473c.

Other Verbal Compounds.

1090. It has been seen above that some of the prepositional
prefixes are employed in combination with only very small classes
of roots, namely those whose meaning makes them best fitted for
auxiliary and periphrastic uses — such as kr make, bhū and as be,
dhā put, i go — and that the first of these are widely used in com-
bination with a derivative in āṃ to make a periphrastic conjugation. Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

1091. a. The older language has a number of (mostly) reduplicative onomatopoeic compounds with roots kr and bhū, the prefixed element ending in ā or ī (generally the former): thus, in RV., akkhalikītya croaking, ānjanābha-vant flimmering, alalābhavant making merry, kikirā kr̥pu tear; in AV., maśmaśā 'karam I have crushed; in VS., maśmasā (also TS.; MS. mṛṣya) kuru; in TS., malalābhavant; in K., manmalābhavant, kikitākāra; in MS., bibibābhavant, bhar-bharā bhavat; in AB., bababākūrvant. The accentuation, where shown, is like that of a verb-form with accompanying prefix.

b. Further, combinations with ykr of utterances used at the sacrifice, and mostly ending in ā: thus, svāhā, svadhā, svagā; also vāṣā. In these, too, the accentuation is generally that of a verb with prefix: e. g. svagākaroti (QB.; but svadhā karoti [?] TA.), vāṣākūryāt (MS.); and, with another prefix, anuvāṣākūroti (CB.).

c. An instance or two also occur of ordinary words in such combinations, put in corresponding form: thus, śūlā kūryāt (CB.) may roast on a spit (śūla); anrākārtos (AB.) of getting clear of debt; āikyā-bhāvāvant (AA.) uniting.

1092. a. The noun namaś obeisance, homage, in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with ykr: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in namaskṛtya (beside hastagṛthya and karpa-gṛthya: above, 990 b).

b. A solitary combination with yī go is shown by the accusative āśtam home; which, appearing only in ordinary phrases in RV., is in AV. compounded with the participles — in āstamaṅvant, āstamaṃvant, 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, āstamēti (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, cyṛtaṅkītya and nagnāṅkītya (TS.); nagnambhāvuka, pāmanambhāvuka etc. (TS. et al.); ānaruṣkaroti (CB.).

1098. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with kr or bhū (and very rarely with as), in verbal nouns and ordinary derivatives, and then also in verbal forms, begins to assume a constant ending ī (of doubtful origin).

a. There is no instance of this in RV., unless the ī of akkhalikītyā (above, 1091 a) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
vātiṃśa and vātiṃśa, is found only phalikāraṇa. In the Brāhmaṇa language, examples begin to occur more often: thus, in TS., vyeti, mithunī, muṣṭi; in TB., further, phalī, krūrī, udvāst; in ÇB., besides some of these, also ekī, kālvāti, tīvri, daridri, brāhmaṇī, mithunī, svī; and aṣayābhidhāni, of which (as of muṣṭi) the ī might be that of an ordinary grammatical form; in K., dvī; in GB., prāvani; in SB., vacra; in AB., mata (from matya). From Upanishad and Sūtra are to be added dvāti (MU.), samī (KŚS.), navī and kuṣāli (AGS.). The accent is in general like that of the similar combinations treated above (1091): e.g. krūrikuranti, svākṛtya, brāhmaṇībhūya, mithunībhāvantyaṁ, phalikartavā, krūrikṛta; but sometimes a mere collocation taken place: thus, mithunī bhāvantis (TS.), phalī kriyāmānantāṁ (TB.), vajri bhūtvā (TA.). The ī is variously treated: now as an un-combinable final, as in vyeti akurutā and mithunī abhavan (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in mithunē ēṇyā syām, mithunē ābhiṣ syām, and svākūrvata (ÇB.).

b. Out of such beginnings has grown in the later language the following rule:

1094. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots vṛkṛ and bhū (and of āś as also; but such cases are extremely rare), in the manner of a verbal prefix. If the final of the stem be an a- or i-vowel, it is changed to े ī; if an u-vowel, it is changed to ॐ ā.

a. Examples are: stambhībhavati becomes a post; ekacitto bhūya becoming of one mind; upahārikaṇaḥ thou makest an offering; nakhaprahaṉarajaśākṛta torn to pieces with blows of the claws; cīthilībhavanti become loose; kuṇḍalikṛta ring-shaped; surabhikṛta made fragrant; aśhikaraṇa pauming; ṛuṅktṛya straightening; hetuksaraṇa taking as cause. As in the case of the denominatives (1090c), the combinations with a-stems are the immense majority, and occur abundantly (hardly less than a thousand are quotable) in the later language, but for the most part only once or twice each; those made with i- and u-stems are a very small number. In a few instances, stems in an and as, with those finals changed to ī, are met with: e.g. āṭmī-kṛ, yuvī-bhū; unmanī-kṛ, amāṇi-bhū; final ya after a consonant is contracted to ī: e.g. kāṇī-kṛ; and anomalous cases like kāṇḍiga-bhū occur. Final y is said to become े kṛ, but no examples are quotable. The combinations with kṛ are about twice as frequent as those with bhū, and examples with as do not appear to have been brought to light.

b. Similar combinations are occasionally made with elements of questionable or altogether obscure character: e.g. urari-kṛ, urī-kṛ.

c. Examples are not altogether wanting in the later language of ā as
final of the compounded noun-stem (cf. 1091): thus, duḥḥkha-kr, nīśkulā-kr, ṇambā-kr, and one or two others.

1095. Of all the forms which constitute or are attached to the verbal system, the passive participle is the one most closely assimilated in its treatment as a combinable element to an ordinary adjective. Next to it come the gerund and the gerundives. Combinations of the kind above treated of are quite common with passive participles and gerunds.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDECLINABLES.

1096. The indeclinable words are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech in Sanskrit than is usual elsewhere in Indo-European language — especially owing to the fact that the class of prepositions hardly has a real existence, but is represented by certain adverbial words which are to a greater or less extent used prepositionally. They will, however, be briefly described here under the usual heads.

Adverbs.

1097. Adverbs by Suffix. Classes of adverbs, sometimes of considerable extent, are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems.

a. There is no ultimate difference between such suffixes and the case-endings in declension; and the adverbs of this division sometimes are used in the manner of cases.

1098. With the suffix tas are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:

a. From pronominal roots, in ātas, itās, tātas, yātas, kūtas, amūtas, svatas (not found earlier); from the pronominal stems in t or
d (494) of the personal pronouns: thus, mattás (only example in V.),
tvattas, asmattas, yuṣmattas; and from pronominal derivatives: thus, itarātas, katarātas.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: e. g. mukhatās, agratās, ṛḥutās, ṛktās, hṛttās, āṛṣtatās, janmatās, nastaś, yaujuṭās, pārātas, anyātās, anyutarātas, sarvatās, daksīnātās, abhīpātās (once, in RV., from a case-form: paṭsūtās).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, abhītās, parītās, āntītās.

d. Examples of ablative construction are: āto bhūyaḥ (RV.) more than that; tātāḥ saṣṭhāt (AV.) from that sixth; āto 'nyéna (CB.) with any other than this; sarvato bhayāt (AGS.) from all fear; kutāc cid deśād āgatyā (H.) arriving from some region or other; purād itaḥ (R.) from this city; tasmāt pretaṅkāyataḥ (KSS.) from that dead body.

e. But the distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced, and the adverb has a more general, especially a locative, value: thus, agratās in front; asmatṣamīpātās in our presence; dharmatās in accordance with duty; chāgatās (H.) with reference to the goat; guṇatō 'dhiṅkaḥ (M.) superior in virtue.

1099. With the suffix tra (in the older language often tra) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.

a. These adverbs are very few, compared with those in tas. They are formed chiefly from pronominal stems, and from other stems having a quasi-pronominal character: namely, in tra, ātra, tātra, yātra, kūtra, amūtra, anyātra, viṇvātra, sarvātra, ubhayātra, aparātra, uttātra, itarātra, anyatarātra, pūrvartra, parātra, saṁañattra, ekattra, anekattra, ekākuttra; in tra, asmatṛā, satṛā, puruṭṛā, bhunuṭṛā, daksinatṛā. But a few in tra come from ordinary nouns: thus, deva-ṭṛā, martyratṛā, puruṣatṛā, manuṣyatṛā, pākaturā, çayutṛā, kuru-pañcālaturā. Those in tra are distinguished from the others by their accent.

b. Examples of locative construction are: āhastā ā daksinatṛā (RV.) in the right hand; yātra 'dhi (RV.) in which; ekattra puruṣe (MBh.) in a single man; atra mārātmaka (H.) in this murderous creature; prabhuntuṁ tatra yujyate (H.) sovereignty befits him. And, as the locative case is used also to express the goal of motion (304), so the adverbs in tra have sometimes an accusative as well as a locative value: thus, tatra gaccha go there or thither; pathaḥ deva-ṭra yānām (RV.) roads that go to the gods.

1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. ha, in ihā here, kūna where? and the Vedic viṇvāha (also viṇvāha) always (compare below, 1104b); and ihā (like ātra etc.:
1099 b) is sometimes used with locative-case value: e. g. iha samaye (H.) at this conjuncture.

b. tāt, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, prakṣāt, udakṣāt, tāvattāt; to adverbial ablative, ārāttāt, uttarāttāt, parakāttāt; and to prepositional adverbs, paçaçāt, adhāstāt, avāstāt, purāstāt, bāhiṣṭāt. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has the form stāt in upāśristāt (and BhP. has udāstāt).

c. hi, in uttarāhi (ÇB.) and daksināhi (not quotable).

1101. By the suffix thā are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

a. Thus, tāthā, yāthā; kathā and itthā (by the side of which stand kathām and itthām; and ÇB. has itthāt); and the rare imāthā and amūthā. And āthā (V. often áthā) so then doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems, mostly of quasi-pronominal character: thus, viçvāthā, sarvāthā, anyāthā, ubhayāthā, aparathā, itarāthā, yatarāthā, yatamāthā, katarāthā, katamāthā, pūrvāthā, pratnāthā, ārdhva-thā, tiraçcāthā, ekathā (JR.), ātathā, nāmāthā (once, AV.); and evāthā.

b. Yāthā becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of iva after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, tāyāvo yathā (RV.) like thieves.

1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:

a. ti, in īti thus, very commonly used, from the earliest period, especially as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

b. Examples: brahmajāyē ʿyām īti cēd āvocan (RV.) if they have said “this is a Brahman’s wife”; tām devā abruvan vrātya kim nū tiṇṭheśi ʿtī (AV.) the gods said to him: “Vṛtya, why do you stand?” Often, the īti is used more pregnantly: thus, yāḥ ṣraddādhaṁ sānti devā īti (AV.) whoever has faith that the gods exist; tām vyāghram munir mūṣiko ʿyām īti paqyatī (H.) the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse; yūyaṁ īti sidatha (H.) why (lit. alleging what reason) do you sit?

c. But īti is sometimes used in a less specialized way, to mark an onomatopoeia, or to indicate a gesture: e. g. bahīga te asu bāl īti (AV.) let it come out of you with a splash; īty āgre krṣāty āthē ʿtī (ÇB.) he ploughs first this way, then this way; or it points forward to something to be said: e. g. yan ny ity āhur anyāṇi chandaṅī varṣiyāṇī kasaṁ dātāt ucyata īti (PB.) when now they say thus: “the other metres are greater; why is the bhātī spoken?” It also makes a number of derivatives and compounds: e. g. ititha the so-many-eth; itivat in this fashion; ityartha for this purpose; itihāsa a story or legend (lit. thus foresooth it was). As to the use of a nominative with īti as predicate to an accusative, see 268 b.
d. With the suffix of iti is to be compared that of tātī etc. (519).

The word is abbreviated to tī two or three times in ṚB.

e. va in iṣa (toneless) like, as, and evā (in V. often evā) earlier thus, later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for thus is used later the related evām, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with yvid: as, evām vidvan knowing thus.

f. In later Vedic (AV. etc., and the later parts of RV.) iva more often counts for only a single syllable, 'va.

1103. a. By the suffix dā are made adverbs of time, but almost only from pronominal roots.

b. Thus, tadā, yadā, kadā (in RV. also kādā), idā (only in V.); and sādā, beside which is found earlier sādam. Besides these, in the older language, only sarvadā; later a few others, anyadā, ekadā, nityadā. A quasi-locative case use is seen occasionally in such phrases as kadācid divāse (R.) on a certain day.

c. By the perhaps related dānim are made idānim, tadānim, viqvadānim, tvadānim (toneless). Viqvadānī occurs as adjective in TB.

d. With rhi are made, from pronominal roots, tārhi, etārhi, yārhi, kārhi, amūrhi.

e. The suffix di, found only in yādi if, is perhaps related with dā, in form as in meaning. Sadadī (MS.) is of doubtful character.

1104. By the suffix dhā are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying fold, times, ways, etc.

a. Thus, ekadhā, dvidhā (also dvídha and dvedhā), tridhā (in the older language usually tredhā), saḍdhā (also śoḍhā and saḍhā), dvādaḥdadhā, ekānāvimśatiddhā, sahasradhā, and so on. Also, naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, anekadhā, katidhā, tatidhā, bahudhā, purudhā, viqvādā, ṛadvādā, aparimitadhā, yāvadhā, etavaddhā, māsadhā. In a very few cases, also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, mitradhā (AV.), priyadhā (TS.; predhā, MS.), ṛ udadhā (TB.), urudhā and citradhā (BhP.); and from one adverb, bahirdhā.

b. The particle ādha or ādhā, a Vedic equivalent of ātha, probably belongs here (purudhā and viqvādā, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.); also addhā in truth; and perhaps sahā with, which has an equivalent sadha- in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in ha (1100a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with s: namely, dvīs, trīs, and catur (probably, for catūr): 499a.

a. The corresponding word for once, sakṛt, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to pācakṛtvas, navakṛtvas, aparimitakṛtvas, etc., though kṛt and kṛtvas are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes; the earlier
texts (AV. CB. MS.) have saptā kṛtvas, dāca kṛtvas, dvādaśa kṛtvas, aṣṭāv eva kṛtvas, etc. AB. has the redundant combination triṣ kṛtvaḥ.

b. The quasi-suffix dyus, from a case-form of div day, is in a similar manner added to various determining words, generally made to end in e: e.g. anyedyus another day, ubhayedyus (AV. -yadyus) on either day, pūrvedyus the day before.

1106. By the suffix čās are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, many adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively.

a. Examples are: ākačās one by one, čacačās by hundreds, rτucās season by season, pacchas foot by foot, akṣaračās syllable by syllable, ganačās in crowds, stambačās by bunches, paruqčās limb by limb, tāvacečās in such and such number or quantity: and, in a more general way, sarvačās wholly, mukhyačās principally, krohačās stingily, manmačās as minded. 1107. By the suffix vāt are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying after the manner of, like, etc.

a. Thus, anigrasvāt like Angiras, manuvāt (RV.) as Manu did, jamadagnivāt after the manner of Jamadagni; pūravāt or pratnavāt or purāṇavāt, as of old, kākatālyavat after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit.

b. This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111g) of the suffix vant (1233f), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, tvāvant like thee, māvant of my sort, etc.

1108. By the suffix sāt are made from nouns quasi-adverbs signifying in or into the condition or the possession of what is indicated by the noun; they are used only with verbs of being, of becoming, and of making: namely, oftentimes kṛ and bhū, but also as, gam, yā, and ni (and, according to the grammarians, sam-pad). Some twenty-five examples are quotable from the later literature; but none from the earlier, which also appears to contain nothing that casts light upon the origin of the formation. The s of sāt is not liable to conversion into g. The connection with the verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in ya instead of that in tvā (980); and other words are sometimes interposed between the adverb and verb.

a. Examples are: sarvakarmāṇi bhāmasāt kurute (MBh.) reduces all deeds to ashes; loko 'yam dasyusād bhaved (MBh.) this world would become a prey to barbarians; yasya brāhmaṇasāt sarvain vittam āsāt (MBh.) whose whole property was given to Brahmins; nīyataṁ bhāmasād yāti (Har.) it is inevitably reduced to ashes; agnīm ātmasāt kṛtvā (Y.) having taken the fires to one's self.

1109. a. Suffixes, not of noun-derivation or of inflection, may be traced with more or less plausibility in a few other adverbs. Thus, for
example, in prātār early, and sanutār away; in daksinīt with right hand, and cikitvīt with consideration; in nūnām now, and nānānām variously. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be worth notice here.

b. In the epics begin to be found a small class (about a dozen are quotable) of adverbs having the form of a repeated noun-stem with its first occurrence ending in ā and its second in ē: e. g. hastāhasti hand to hand, rathārathī chariot against chariot, karṇākārṇī ear to ear.

c. The adverbs thus far described 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 adjective, are used with an adverbial value, being distinguished from proper cases by some difference of application, which is sometimes accompanied by an irregularity of form.

1111. The accusative is the case most frequently and widely used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, yād if, when, that, etc.; tād then etc.; kīm why, whether, etc.; idām now, here; adās yonder; and so on. Of like value, apparently, are the (mostly Vedic) particles kād, kām and kam(P), ēd, cid (common at every period), smād and sumād, īm and sim (by some regarded as still possessing pronom-value), -kīm. Compounds with ēd are cēd if, nēd lest, ēd, svid, kuvīd; with cid, kūcid; with -kīm, nākīm and mākīm, and ākīm.

b. Of noun-stems: as, nāma by name; sūkham happily; kāmam at will, if you please; nāktam by night; rāhas secretly; ogām quickly (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in unlimited numbers: as, satyām truly; cīrām long; pūrvam formerly; nītyam constantly; bhūyas more, again; vičrabdham confidently; prakaṇam openly; and so on.

d. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way; and it is so used especially as made from great numbers of compound adjectival stems, often from such as hardly occur, or are not at all found, in adjectival use. Certain of these adverbial compounds, having an indeclinable as prior member, are made by the Hindu grammarians a special class of compounds, called avayabhāva (1313).

e. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used, especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, tarām and tamām, which are attached to particles (cf. 1119), and even (473c) to verb-forms:
e. g. natarām, kathāntarām, uccaistarām, qanāistarām, jyoktāmām. In the oldest language (RV. and AV.), the neuter instead of the feminine form of these suffixes is almost alone in use: see 1119.

f. Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples are tūṣṭām in silence; sāyām at evening; sākām together, with (prep.); āram or ālām sufficient (in the later language used with y/kr in the manner of a prefix: 1078a); prāyas usually; īsāt somewhat; amnās unexpectedly; bahīs outside; mithu and mithās, mūhu and mūhus, jātu, and so on. Mudrīk etc., and niśīk (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having y/ac or anī as their final (407ff.). The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for uṇādhak, ānuqāk and āyuqāk, amuṣṭhū and suṣṭhū, yugapāt, etc. Compare also the forms in am beside those in ā, above, 1101a, 1102e, 1103b.

g. In (Vedic) dravāt quickly is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (pple drāvānt running); and drahāt stoutly (RV., once) may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, e) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the derivatives with vāt (1107).

1112. The instrumental is also often used with adverbial value: generally in the singular, but sometimes also in the plural. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, enā and ayā, kāyā, anā, amā, amuyā.

b. Of noun-stems: as, kṣaṇena instantly; açeṣena completely; viçeṣena especially; dīvā by day; diṣṭāy fortuitously; sāhasā suddenly; aktubhīs by night; and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, akhilena wholly; prāyaena mostly; dākeṣena to the south; úttareṇa to the north; ántareṇa within; cīreṇa long; — cānāis and cānakāis slowly; uccāis on high; nicāis below; parācāis afar; távīgāhis mightily; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: tiraçcātā, devātā, bāhūta, and sasvārtā (all RV.), homonymous instrumentals from nouns in tā; dvitā, tādīnā, īrmā, mṛṣā, vīthā, sācā, asthā (P), mudhā (not V.), adhumā (B. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, amā and dīvā (given above); perhaps guṇā; apākā, āsāyā, kuhāyā (P); naktaṇā, svapnaṇā, samanaṇa; adatrayā, ṣṭayā, ubhāyā, sumnāyā (P); daksinā, madhyā; nicā, prācā, uccā, paçcā, tiraçcā; vasántā; — in a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending, which is accented: thus, amuyā (given above), acuyā, sādhuyā, raghuyā, dhṛṣṭuyā, anuṣ-
Indeclinables.

1113. The dative has only very seldom an adverbial use.

a. Examples are aparāya for the future (RV.; with changed accent); cirāya long; arthāya for the sake of; abhūya presently.

1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, kāsmāt why? akāsmāt casually, unexpectedly; āt, tāt, yāt (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal asmāt etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: as, ārāt near; ārāt afar; balāt forcibly; kutāhalāt emulously; sakācāt on the part of.

c. Oftenest, of adjective stems: as, dūrāt afar; nicāt below; paçcāt behind; sākāt plainly, actually; samantāt completely; acirāt not long; pratyakṣatamāt (AB.) most obviously; pratyantāt (S.) to the end.

d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, apakāt from afar; anāt from near by; sanāt from of old (but instr. sānā); uttarāt from the north; adharāt below.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.

a. In the older language occur aktos by night, and vāstos by day; later, cirasāya long.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value. Thus:

a. From noun and adjective stems: ākē near; ārē and dūrē afar; abhasvarē behind; astamikē at home; ātē without (prep.); āgre in front; sthāne suitably; sapadi immediately; -arthe and -krte (common in composition) for the sake of; aparīṣu in after time; ādān first; rahasi in secret.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) kīś, interrogative particle, and its compounds nākis and mākis, negative particles. And masc. nominatives from aṇo-stems (as paraṇ AB., nyaṇ Āpast.) are sometimes found used by substitution for neuters.

1118. Verbal Prefixes and kindred words. The verbal prefixes, described in the preceding chapter (1076 ff.), are properly adverbs, having a special office and mode of use in connection with verbal roots and their more immediate derivatives.

a. Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (1064). In the value of general adverbs, however,
they only rarely occur (except as āpi has mainly changed its office from prefix to adverb or conjunction in the later language); but their prepositional uses are much more frequent and important: see below, 1125b.

b. In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements) not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, 1281 ff., 1305.

1119. Several of the prefixes (as noticed above, 473—4) form comparative and superlative adjectives, by the suffixes tara and tama, or ra and ma: thus, úttara and uttamá, ádhara and adhamá, āpara and apamá, ávara and avamá, úpara and upamá, and prathamá is doubtless of the same character: also, ántara and ántama. And accusatives of such derivative adjectives (for the most part not otherwise found in use) have the value of comparatives, and rarely superlatives, to the prefixes themselves: thus, sâńçitaṁ cît samântârân saṁ çicādhi (AV.) whatever is quickened do thou still further quicken; vitârân ví kramasva (RV.) stride out yet more widely; prá táṁ naya pratarâm vásyô ácha (RV.) lead him forward still further toward advantage; úd enam uttârâṁ naya (AV.) lead him up still higher.

a. Besides those instances, are found also nitârân, apatarâm, abhitarâm, avatarâm, parâtârân, parastarâm. In the Brâhmaṇas and later (above, 1111 e), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, atitarâm and atitamâm, abhitarâm, anutamâm, âtāmâm, pratitarâm, nitarâm, uttarâm, pratarâm and pratamâm, vitârâm, samântârân (also RV., once).

1120. Kindred in origin and character with the verbal prefixes, and used like them except in composition with verbs, are a few other adverbs: thus, avás down; adhás below (and adhastarâm); paraś fur off (and parastarâm); purâ before; antarâ (apparently, antâr + ā) among, between; ânti near; upârî above; and sahā (already mentioned, 1104 b) along, with, and sâcā together, with, may be noticed with them. Vinâ without, and viśu- apart, appear to be related with ví.

1121. Inseparable Prefixes. A small number of adverbial prefixes are found only in combination with other elements. Thus:

a. The negative prefix a or an — an before vowels, a before consonants.

b. It is combined especially with innumerable nouns and adjectives; much more rarely, with adverbs, as akûtra and âpunār (RV.), âneva (AV.), ándhas (TB.), aksmâti, asakṛt; in rare cases, also with pronouns (as atad, akiṁcit); and even, in the later language, now and then with verbs, as asphrayanti (BhP. Ciç.) they do not desire, alokayati (SD.) he does not view. Now and then it is prefixed to itself: e. g. anakâmârâ, anaviprayukta, anavadya(?).
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c. In a very few cases, the negative a appears to be made long: thus, ásánt non-existent, ádeva godless, árāti enemy, ácāuea impurity, átura ill (?)

d. The independent negative adverbs, ná and má, are only in exceptional instances used in composition: see below, 1122e.

e. The comitative prefix sa, used instead of the preposition sám, and interchangeably with sahá, before nouns and adjectives.

f. The prefix of dispraise dus ill, badly (identical with y dus: 225a).

g. It is combined in the same manner as a or an. Of combinations with a verbal form, at least a single example appears to be quotable: ducaranti (R.) behave ill.

h. The corresponding laudatory prefix su well is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here, though it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.

i. The particle su sometimes appears in B. and later before a verb-form, and considering its rapid loss of independent use in V., and the analogy of a and dus (above, d, g) it is probably at least in part to be regarded as in composition with the verb. The pada-text of AV. xix. 49. 10 reads su-ápáyati, but its testimony is of little or no value. K. has na su víjñāyete and na vái su víduḥ, and KeU. has su veda; TB. has susámbodháyati(P); MBh. and BhP. have súpatasthe; R. has su-çakyaute.

j. The exclamatory and usually depreciative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (508) are most analogous with the inseparable prefixes.

1122. Miscellaneous Adverbs. Other words of adverbial character and office, not clearly referable to any of the classes hitherto treated, may be mentioned as follows:

a. Asseverative particles (in part, only in the older language); thus, aŋgá, hánta, kíla, khálú, tů (rare in older language), váí, vává (in Brāhmaṇa language only), hi, hiná, u, áha, ha, gha, samaha, sma, bhala.

b. Of these, hánta is a word of assent and incitement; hi has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595e); sma sometimes appears to give a past meaning to a present tense (778b); u is often combined with the final a of other particles: thus, átho, nó, mó, utó, úpo, pró; but also with that of verb-forms, as dattó, vidmó. The final o thus produced is praghyva or un-combinable (138c). 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.

c. Negative particles are: nā, signifying simple negation; mā, signifying prohibition.

d. As to the construction of the verb with mā, see above, 579. In the Veda, nū (or nū: 248 a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic nā of comparison, see below, g, h.

e. In nāhī, nā is combined with hī, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with īd in nēd lest. It is perhaps present in nanū 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 ān (1121 a): exceptions are the Vedic particles nākis and mākis, nākim and mākim; also nāciram and māciram, napuṇsaka, and, in the later language, a number of others.

f. Interrogative particles are only those already given: kād, kim, kuvīd, svid, nanū, of which the last introduces an objection or postulation.

g. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless iva, and yathā (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also nā, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

h. Examples of the nā of comparison are: ṛṣidvīṣa ṛṣum nā srjata dvīṣam (RV.) let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer; váyo nā vṛkṣām (AV.) as birds to the tree; gāurō nā tṛṣṭāḥ 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.

i. Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed kva where? (in V., always to be read kūa).

j. Particles of time are: nū now (also nū: nūnām was mentioned above, 1109 a), adyā and sadyās and sadīvas (RV., once) today, at once (all held to contain the element div or dīvu, hyās yesterday, ḍvās tomorrow, iyōk (also related with ḍvā) long; pūnar again.

k. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed nānā variously (for nānānām, its derivative, see 1109 a); sasvār (RV.) secretly.

l. In the above classifications are included all the Vedic adverbial words, and most of those of the later language: for the rest, see the dictionaries.
Prepositions.

1123. There is, as already stated, no proper class of prepositions (in the modern sense of that term), no body of words having for their prevailing office the "government" of nouns. But many of the adverbial words indicated above are used with nouns in a way which approximates them to the more fully developed prepositions of other languages.

a. If one and another of such words — as vinā, ṛte — occurs almost solely in prepositional use, this is merely fortuitous and unessential.

1124. Words are thus used prepositionally along with all the noun-cases excepting the dative. But in general their office is directive only, determining more definitely, or strengthening, the proper case-use of the noun. Sometimes, however, the case-use is not easy to trace, and the noun then seems to be more immediately "governed" by the preposition — that is, to have its case-form more arbitrarily determined by its association with the latter. This is oftenest true of the accusative; and also of the genitive, which has, here as elsewhere (294b), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use.

1125. a. The adverbs by derivative form (1097ff.) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix tas: 1098).

b. Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are ud, ni, parā, pra; and ava and vi are almost such) have their prepositional or quasi-prepositional uses with cases; but much more widely in the older time than in the later: in the classical language the usage is mainly restricted to prati, anu, and ā.

c. Most of the directive words akin with the more proper prefixes are used prepositionally: some of them — as saha, vinā, upari, antarā, purā — freely, earlier and later.

d. The case-forms used adverbially are in many instances used prepositionally also: oftenest, as was to be expected, with the genitive; but frequently, and from an early time, with the accusative; more rarely with other cases.

e. We will take up now the cases for a brief exposition, beginning with those that are least freely used.

1126. The Locative. This case is least of all used with words that can claim the name of proposition. Of directives, antār and its later derivative antarā, meaning within, in, are oftenest added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are ā and ādhi: thus, mārtṛṣyāv ā among mortals; prthivyām ādhy āgdhīṁ the plants upon the earth; tējo máyi dhārayā 'dhi (AV.) establish glory
in me; — ápi and úpa are much rarer: thus, yā apām ápi vratē [sánti] (RV.) who are in the domain of the waters; amūr yā úpa sūrya [sánti] (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 sahā (most frequent), sākām, sārdhām, samām, samāyā, sarāthaṃ; and, in the Veda, the prefix sāṁ: as, te sumatībhīp sāṁ pāṃbibhir nā vṛṣano nasimahi (RV.) may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (283a), vinā without (not Vedic) takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, avās down and parās beyond, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And ādhi, in RV., is used with the instrumentals snūnā and snūbhīs, where the locative would be expected.

1128. The Ablative. In the prepositional constructions of the ablative (as was pointed out and partly illustrated above, 283), 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: often-est, ādhi and pāri; more sporadically, ānu, ápa, áva, prāti, and the separatives nīś and vī. The change of meaning of the ablative with a hither, by which it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (283e). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many — as bahā, purās, avās, adhās, parās, purā, vinā, and tirās out of knowledge of — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms arvāk, prāk, paccat, ārdhvaṃ, pūrvaṃ, pāram, and ṛṭe without, of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier.

1129. The Accusative. Many of the verbal prefixes and related words take an accompanying accusative. Most naturally (since the accusative is essentially the to-case), those that express a motion or action toward anything: as abhī, prāti, ānu, úpa, āti and ādhi in the sense of over on to, or across, beyond, tirās through, antār and antarā when meaning between, pāri around. Examples are: yāḥ pradāṇo abhī sūryo vičāṣṭa (AV.) what quarters the sun looks abroad unto; ābodhy agniḥ prāty āyatīṃ uṣāsam (RV.) Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn; gacchet kadācit svajanam prati (MBh.) she might go somewhatther to her own people; imam praksyāmi nṛpatim prati (MBh.) him I will ask with reference to the king; māma cītām ānu cittebhīr ē ta (AV.) follow after my mind with your minds; ē ṣya ṣaḥḥ (AV.) come hither to us; úpa na ē ṣya arvān (RV.) come hither unto us; yō devō māṛtyāṁ āti (AV.) the god who is beyond mortals; adhiśティya vārcaśā dhy anyān (AV.) excelling above others in glory. Also abhītas and parītas, which have a like value with the simple abhī and pāri;
and upāri above (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with adhas, paras, puras, viniḥ, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbial case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instrumentals of situation or direction: as yē 'vareṇā "dityām, yē pāreṇā "dityām (TB.) those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun; āntarena yonim (CB.) within the womb; te hi 'dam antarena sarvam (AB.) for all this universe is between them; uttarena gārhapatyam (CB.) to the north of the householder's fire; daksinena vēdim (CB.) to the south of the sacrificial hearth; daksinena vrksavatikām (Q.) to the right of the orchard; nikaṣā yamunām (Har.) near the Yamunā. Similarly, urdhvam and pūrval have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of yte. Abhimukham toward has a more natural right to construction with this case.

1130. The Genitive. The words which are accompanied by the genitive are mostly case-forms of nouns, or of adjectives used substantively, retaining enough of the noun-character to take this case as their natural adjunct. Such are the locatives agree in front of: abhyāṣe near, arthe and kṛte for the sake of, nimitte and hetau by reason of: madhye in the midst of; and other cases, as arthāya, kārṇīt, sakācāt, hetos. And really, although less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed): as adhareṇa, uttareṇa and uttarāt, daksinena and daksināt, paçeṇa, urdhvaṃ, anantaram, samakṣam, sākṣat. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative paritas, paratas, and antitas, and parastāt and purastāt (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, saṁvatvasasya parastāt after a year; sūktasya purastāt before the hymn [AB.]); with anti, adhas, avas, puras; with upari above (common later); and with antar.

Conjunctions.

1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words, are almost wanting.

a. The combination of clauses is in Sanskrit in general of a very simple character; much of what in other Indo-European languages is effected by subordinating conjunctions is here managed by means of composition of words, by the use of the gerunds (994), of iti (1102), of abstract nouns in case-forms, and so on.

1132. The relative derivative adverbs, already given
(1098 ff.), may properly be regarded as conjunctions; and a few other particles of kindred value, as céd and núd (1111a).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are व ca and, and वा vā or (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).

a. Of copulative value, along with ca, is in the older language especially utá (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and अपि, तातस, ताधा, हिंि ca, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

b. Adversative is tu but (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, u (toneless).

c. Of illative value is हि for (originally, and in great part at every period, asseverative only): compare above, 1122b.

d. To ca (as well as to its compound céd) belongs occasionally the meaning if.

e. It is needless to enter into further detail with regard to those uses which may be not less properly, or more properly, called conjunctive than adverbial, of the particles already given, under the head of Adverbs.

Interjections.

1134. The utterances which may be classed as interjections are, as in other languages, in part voice-gestures, in part onomatopoecias, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.

1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: ā, hā, ḍhāhā, ahaha, he, ḍhā (AV.), ayī, aye, hayē (RV.), ahō, bāṭ (RV.), bata (RV.) or vata, and (probably) hīrūk and hūrūk (RV.).

b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): cicā whiz (of an arrow: RV.); kikirā (palpitation: RV.); bāl and phāṭ (phāg?) or phāl splash (AV.); bhūk bow-wow (AV.); qāl pat (AV.); ās, hīs, as, and hās (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots kr and bhū, above, 1091.

c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjectional character are, for example: bhōs (for the vocative bhavas, 456); are or re (voc. of āri enemy); dhīk alas! (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with धी dhī); kaṣṭam voe is mo! diṣṭyā thank heaven! svasti hail! suṣṭhu, sadhu good, excellent! None of these are Vedic in interjectional use.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 27
CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

1136. The formation from roots of conjugable stems — namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) — was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation (not essentially different from case-formation), in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems — namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles — which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was reserved for a special chapter.

a. Of course, only a brief and compendious exhibition of the subject can be attempted within the here necessary limits: no exhaustive tracing out of the formative elements of every period; still less, a complete statement of the varied uses of each element; least of all, a discussion of origins; but enough to help the student in that analysis of words which must form a part of his labor from the outset, giving a general outline of the field, and preparing for more penetrating investigation.

b. The material from accented texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be had especially in view (nothing that is Vedic being intentionally left unconsidered); and the examples given will be, so far as is possible, words found in such texts with their accent marked. No word not thus vouched for will be accented unless the fact is specifically pointed out.

1137. The roots themselves, both verbal and pronominal, are used in their bare form, or without any added suffix, as declinable stems.

a. As to this use of verbal roots, see below, 1147.

b. The pronominal roots, so-called, are essentially declinable; and hence, in their further treatment in derivation, they are throughout in accordance with other declinable stems, and not with verbal roots.

1138. Apart from this, every such stem is made by a suffix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:
A. Primary suffixes, or those which are added directly to roots;

B. Secondary suffixes, or those which are added to derivative stems (also to pronominal roots, as just pointed out, and sometimes to particles).

a. The division of primary suffixes nearly corresponds to the kṛt (more regular) and unādi (less regular) suffixes of the Hindu grammarians; the secondary, to their taddhita-suffixes.

1139. But this distinction, though one of high value, theoretically and practically, is not absolute. Thus:

a. Suffixes come to have the aspect and the use of primary which really contain a secondary element — that is to say, the earliest words exhibiting them were made by addition of secondary suffixes to words already derivative.

b. Sundry examples of this will be pointed out below: thus, the gerundival suffixes, tāvya, aniya, etc., the suffixes uka and aka, tra, and others. This origin is probable for more cases than admit of demonstration; and it is assumable for others which show no distinct signs of composition.

c. Less often, a suffix of primary use passes over in part into secondary, through the medium of use with denominative "roots" or otherwise: examples are yu, īman, īyas and īṣha, ta.

1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only to more original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation — and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.

a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (968 ff.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly earlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.

b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causative conjugation: see below the suffixes a (1148 j, k), a (1149 e, d), ana (1150 m), as (1151 f), anī (1159 b), u (1178 g—i), ti (1157 g), tr (1182 e), tnu (1180 b), snu (1184 b),uka (1180 d), āku (1181 d), ālu (1182 b), tu (1161 d).

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c. From tense-stems the examples are far fewer, but not unknown: thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in a (1148j), ā (1149d,e), ana (1150n), i (1155d), u (1178f), ta (1176e), tu (1161d), uka (1180d), tra (1185e), ti (1157g), vin (or in: 1232b, 1183a); from stems in a s apparently of soristic character (besides infinitives and gerundives), occasional derivatives in a (1148j), ana (1150j), ani (1159b), an (1160a), āna (1175), as (1151c), i (1156b), īṣṭha (1184a), u (1178f), us (1154a), ṭṛ (1182e), in (1183a).

1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.

a. Whatever, namely, may have been originally and strictly the mode of production of the derivatives with prefixes, it is throughout the recorded life of the language as if the root and its prefix or prefixes constituted a unity, from which a derivative is formed in the same manner as from the simple root, with that modification of the radical meaning which appears also in the proper verbal forms as compounded with the same prefixes.

b. Not derivatives of every kind are thus made; but, in the main, those classes which have most of the verbal force, or which are most akin in value with infinitives and participles.

c. The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their accent, will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in a, in ana, in ti, in tar and tra, and in in, ya, van and man, i and u, as, and a few others.

1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel — that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our ignorance or uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and those deserving to be ranked as of organic suffixal character cannot be sharply drawn. Each of the two great classes will now be taken up by itself, for more particular consideration.

A. Primary Derivatives.

1143. Form of root. The form of root to which a primary suffix is added is liable to more or less variation. Thus:

a. By far the most frequent is a strengthening change, by guna- or vṛddhi-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where guna-change is in general forbidden: 235, 240): thus, vēda from ṣvid, mōda from ṣmud, vārdha from ṣvṛdh;
Form of Root.

áyana from /i, sátavana from /su, sáraṇa from /ṛ; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long ā as the resulting vowel: that is to say, with non-final a, and with a final i- or u-vowel and r before a vowel: thus, nādā from /nād, grābhā from /ṛgh or grabh, vāhā from /vaḥ, nāyā from /ni, bhāvā from /bhū, kārā from /kṛ; such strengthening as would make vārda and māuda does not accompany primary derivation.

b. Strengthening in derivation does not stand in any such evident connection with accent as strengthening in conjugation; nor can any general rules be laid down as to its occurrence: it has to be pointed out in detail for each suffix. So also with other vowel-changes, which are in general accordance with those found in inflection and in the formation of tense- and mode-stems.

c. The reversion of a final palatal or h to a guttural has been already noticed (216). A final n or m is occasionally lost, as in formations already considered.

d. After a short final vowel is sometimes added a t: namely, where a root is used as stem without suffix (1147d), and before a following y or v of van (1169), vara and varī (1171), yu once (1165a), and ya (1213a). The presence of t before these suffixes appears to indicate an original secondary derivation from derivatives in ti and tu.

e. The root is sometimes reduplicated: rarely in the use without suffix (1147a,e); most oftenest before a (1148k), i (1155e), u (1178d); but also before other suffixes, as ā (1149e), ana (1150m), vana (1170a), van and varī (1169d, 1171a,b), vānī (1170b), vi (1183), vit (1193b), anī (1159b), in (1183a), tnu (1168a), ta (1178a), ti (1157d), tha (1163a), tr (1182b), tra (1185f), ūka (1180f), aka (1181a), īka (1186c), ma (1188b).

1144. Accent. No general laws governing the place of the accent are to be recognized; each suffix must in this respect be considered by itself.

a. In connection with a very few suffixes is to be recognized a certain degree of tendency to accent the root in case of a nomen actionis or infinitival derivative, and the ending in the case of a nomen agentis or participial derivative: see the suffixes a, ana, as, an, and man, below, where the examples are considered. Differences of accent in words made by the same suffix are also occasionally connected with differences of gender: see the suffixes as and man.

1145. Meaning. As regards their signification, the primary derivatives fall in general into two great classes, the one indicating the action expressed by the verbal root, the other the person or thing in which the action appears, the agent or actor — the latter, either substantively or adjectively. The one class is more abstract, infinitival; the other is more concrete, participial. Other meanings
may in the main be viewed as modifications or specializations of these two.

a. Even the words indicating recipience of action, the passive particles, are, as their use also as nenter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (961 ff.), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only concerned with the action.

1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which action-nouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter. In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.

a. To facilitate the finding of the different suffixes is given the following list of them, in their order as treated, with references to paragraphs:

| 1147 | yu | 1155 | ant | 1158 | ta |
| 1148 | ma | 1156 | mana | 1157 | ana |
| 1149 | mi | 1158 | mana | 1157 | ana |
| 1150 | man | 1160 | u | 1161 | ü |
| 1151 | van | 1162 | uka | 1163 | aka |
| 1152 | van, -ni, -nu | 1164 | ṭṛ or tar | 1165 | in |
| 1153 | vara | 1172 | va | 1178 | snu |
| 1154 | ant | 1173 | ri | 1177 | sna |
| 1155 | vaṁsa | 1174 | ru | 1178 | sna |
| 1156 | mana | 1175 | vi | 1180 | va |
| 1157 | -a | 1176 | sna | 1180 | va |
| 1158 | ṭa | 1178 | sna | 1180 | va |
| 1159 | na, ina, una | 1179 | sa | 1182 | sundru |
| 1160 | u | 1180 | as | 1182 | sundru |
| 1161 | ü | 1181 | abha | 1182 | sundru |

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: 271 e). As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (384: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).
b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.

c. The Vedic cases are: with simple reduplication, sasyād, cikīt, dadīh, didyū and didyūt, juhū, and perhaps gāṅgā and çīgu; with intensive reduplication, -neni, malimluc, yavīyūth, and jōgū and vānīvan (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In dāridra is seen a transfer to the a-declension. Asūśū is probably to be understood as a compound, asū-su.

d. If the root end in a short vowel, a t is regularly and usually added (383f—h).

e. Examples have been given at the place just quoted. In jāgat the t is added to the mutilated form of ygam reduplicated, and ḍvayāt (TS., once) appears to put it after a long vowel. In a single instance, ḍṛṭkaraṇa (RV.) of listening ears, a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.

f. Words of this form in combination with verbal prefixes are very numerous. The accent rests (as in combination of the same with other preceding elements) on the root-stem.

g. A few exceptions in point of accent occur: thus, ávasā, úpāstut; and, with other irregularities of form, pāṛītī, upāstha, upārīstha.

1148. ॥ a. With the suffix इ a is made an immensely large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: guṇa-strengthening, vṛddhi-strengthening, retention unchanged, and reduplication.

In good part, they are classifiable under the two usual general heads; but in part they have been individualized into more special senses.

1. a. With guṇa-strengthening of the root (where that is possible: 235, 240). These are the great majority, being more than twice as numerous as all others together.

b. Many nomina actionis: as, çrāma weariness, grāha seizure, āya movement, vēḍa knowledge, hāva call, krōḍha wrath, jōṣa enjoyment, tāra crossing, sāṛga emission.

c. Many nomina agentis: as, kṣamā patient, svajā constrictor, jīvā living, meghā cloud, codā inciting, plavā boat, sarā brook, sarpā serpent, bhoojā generous, khāḍā devouring.

d. Of the examples here given, those under b accent the radical syllable, and those under c the ending. And this is in perhaps a majority of cases the fact as regards the two classes of derivatives; so that, taken in connection with kindred facts as to other suffixes, it hints at such a difference of accent as a general tendency of the language. A few sporadic
instances are met with of the same form having the one or the other value according to its accent: thus, ēga haste, ēga hasting; cāsa order, cāsa orderer (other examples are codā, cāka, ṇoka: compare a similar difference with other derivatives in as, ana, an, man). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, jayā, javā, samārā, action-nouns; qārāva, mōgha, stāvā, agent-nouns — and the subject calls for a much wider and deeper investigation than it has yet received, before the accentuation referred to can be set up as a law of the language in derivation.

2. e. With vṛddhi-strengthening of the root — but only where ā is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial ā, and of final ṛ (most often), u or ū, i or ī (rare).

f. Examples of action-nouns are: kāma love, bhāgā share, nādā noise, dāvā fire, tārā crossing. Very few forms of clear derivation and meaning are quotable with accent on the root-syllable.

g. Examples of agent-nouns are: grābhā seizing, vāhā carrying, nāyā leading, jārā lover.

3. h. With unstrengthened root, the examples are few: e. g. kṛṣā lean, turā rapid, yugā yoke, sruvā spoon, priyā dear, vrā troop, ṇucā bright.

i. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in composition, are doubtless results of the transfer of root-stems to the a-declension: e. g. ghuṣa, -spohura, -tuda, -dṛṣa, -vīda, -kīra.

j. A few a-stems are made, especially in the older language, from conjugation-stems, mostly causative: thus, -āmaya, ālaya, -ānkhaya, -ćayā, -dāraya, -pāraya, -mṛḍaya, -qamaya (compare the a-stems, 1149 c, d); also desiderative, as bibhatsa (compare 1038). Occasional examples also occur from tense-stems: thus, from nu-stems, or secondary stems made from such, hinvā, -invā, -jinva, -pinva, -sinva, -sunva, -aṅguva; from others, -pṛṇa, -mṛṇa, -śṛṇa, -pūna, -jāna, -paṣya, -mānya, -dasya, -jūrva, -kṣudhya, -syā, -tīṣṭha, -jighra, -pībā; from future-stems, kāriṣya (JB.), janīṣya, bhāvīṣya, ruṣīṣya (?); apparently from aorist-stems, jēṣa, nēṣa-, parsā, prkṣā (?), -hoṣa.

4. k. Derivatives in a from a reduplicated root-form are a considerable class, mostly occurring in the older language. They are sometimes made with a simple reduplication: thus, cacara, cikita, dṛdhrā, dadṛṣā, babhasa, -babhra, vavṛā, cīcayā, cīcāthā (an action-noun), sasrā; but often with an intensive reduplication: thus, merely strengthened, cākṣmā, -cācala, jāgara, nānāda, lālāsa, vivadhā (?), -mēmiṣa, rerihā and leliha, vevijā, nonuva, momughā, -roruda, lolupa; with consonant added, -cankaṣa, -caṇkrāma, jāṃgama, caṇcalā, -jaṅjapa, dandhvana, -nannama, -jarajpa, jarjara, -tartura, -dardira, mūrmura, gadgada; dissyllabic, -karikra, kanikradā, carācarā and calācalā, marimḍā, malimlucā, varīṛtā, sariṣpā, panipadā, sanisyadā, sanisrasā, patāpata, madāmada, -vadāvada, ghanā-
Stems in a, ā.

ghanā. Many of these are to be regarded as from an intensive conjugation-stem; but some of them show a form not met with in intensive conjugation.

5. 1. Derivatives with this suffix from roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes are quite common, in all the modes of formation (in each, in proportion to the frequency of independent words): constituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent is, with few exceptions, on the ending — and that, without any reference to the value of the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.

m. Examples are: saṃgamā assembly, nimeśa wink, abhindrohā enmity, anukarā assistance, udānā inspiration, pratyāgrāvā response; — paricarā wandering, saṃjayā victorious, vibodhā wakeful, anityājā over-pious, udārā inelting, elevated, uttudā rousing, saṃgirā swallowing, ādardirā crushing, adhicākrāmā climbing.

n. The only definite 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 example, utpāta portent, āgrēga plague. A few others, mostly agent-nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, vyōga (i. e. vi-oṣa) burning, prātiveṣa neighbor, ābhaga sharing; but also saṃkāṣa appearance.

o. For the remaining compounds of these derivatives, with the inseparable prefixes and with other elements, see the next chapter. It may be merely mentioned here that such compounds are numerous, and that the a-derivative has often an active participial value, and is frequently preceded by a case-form, oftenest the accusative.

p. Many words in the language appear to end with a suffix a, while yet they are referable to no root which can be otherwise demonstrated as such.

1149. या ā. The vast majority of stems in या ā are feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters in य a (332, 334). But also many suffixes ending in य a have corresponding feminine forms in long य a, making a greater or less number of action-nouns. These will be given under the different suffixes below.

a. There is further, however, a considerable body of feminine action-nouns made by adding ā to a root, and having an independent aspect; though they are doubtless in part transfers from the root-noun (1147). Usually they show an unstrengthened form of root, and (such as occur in accented texts) an accented suffix.
b. Examples are ीचाक lordship, क्रिगाक play, दयाक pity, निंदाक reproach, छाँकाक doubt, हिन्साक injury, क्षमाक patience, क्षुधाक hunger, भाषाक speech, सेवाक service, सप्ताक eagerness.

c. But especially, such nouns in ी are made in large numbers, and with perfect freedom, from secondary conjugation-stems.

d. Thus, especially from desiderative stems, as जिगिसाक, भिक्साक, विर्त्साक, भिहात्साक, etc. (see 1038); in the formation of periphrastic perfects, especially from causative stems, but also from desiderative and intensive, and even from primary present-stems (1071c—f); from denominative stems, in the older language, as अच्याक, सुक्रण्याक, अपस्याक, उरुस्याक, असुयाक, अचानयाक, जिवानस्याक, etc., and quite rarely in the later, as म्र्गयाक.

e. The only example from a reduplicated stem is the late पास्पाई; for सुजाक, जास्गाक, and जिह्वाक, which have a reduplicated aspect, are of doubtful origin. From present-stems come इच्छाक and probably -पच्छाक.

1150. घन एका. With this suffix (as with घना) are formed innumerable derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has oftenest गुण- strengthening, but not seldom व्रेद्धी instead; and in a few cases it remains unstrengthened. Derivatives of this formation are frequent from roots with prefixes, and also in composition with other elements.

a. The normal and greatly prevalent accent is upon the root-syllable, without regard to the difference of meaning; but cases occur of accented final, and a few of accented penult. The action-nouns are in general of the neuter gender. The feminine of adjectives is made either in अ or in इ (for details, see below). And a few feminine action-nouns in अना and अन्न occur, which may be ranked as belonging to this suffix.

1. b. With strengthened and accented root-syllable. Under this head fall, as above indicated, the great mass of forms.

c. With गुण- strengthening: examples of action-nouns are सादाना seat, रक्षाना protection, दाना giving, भायना collection, वेदाना property, हावना call, भोजना enjoyment, काराना deed, वार्धना increase; — of agent-nouns, तापाना burning, चेताना visible, सोदाना impelling.

d. With व्रेद्धी- strengthening (only in such circumstances that अ remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples are -काताना, नाताना, मादाना, -वाचाना, -वासाना, -वाहाना, सादाना, -स्पाचाना, स्वादाना, -ायाना, -यावाना, -सरावाना, -पाराना.

e. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are very numerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the
The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in i: thus, códani, pêçanî, spârani, jâmabhani; prajñâni, prôkšanî, saṁgrâhanî, abhiśâvanî, vidhâranî (cetanî is of doubtful meaning: below, i). An adjective compound, however, having a noun in ana as final member, makes its feminine in ã: thus, spûpasarpanâ of easy approach, saḍvidhāna of sextuple order, anapavâcanâ not to be ordered away.

2. The more irregular formations may be classed as follows:

g. With accent on the final: a number of agent-nouns and adjectives, as karaṇâ active (against kâraṇa act), krpâṇâ miserable (against krpâṇa misery), tvarâṇâ hasting, rocâṇâ shining, kroqâṇâ yelling, svapâṇâ sleepy, kṣayanâ habitable.

h. These, unlike the preceding class, make their feminine in ã: e. g. tvarâṇâ, spâdanâ. A few feminine action-nouns in the older language have the same form: thus, aqâna, asanâ, mananâ, dyotanâ, rodhanâ, āvetanâ, hasanâ (and compare kapanâ, raçanâ); those of the later language in anâ (rather numerons) are doubtful as regards accent.

i. Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in anî, of more or less doubtful character: arqaṇî, oetanî (to cétana), tanpaṇî (to tâpaṇa), prçanî, vṛjanî (with vṛjâna), rajanî, tedanî.

j. With accent on the penult: a small number of adjectives: as turâṇâ hasting, dôhâna milking, mananâ considerate, bhandâna and mandâna rejoicing, sakṣaṇâ overcoming, and perhaps va[s]kṣaṇâ carrying (the last two with aoristic 3); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: daḥsâna great deed, vṛjâna enclosure, towm, veṣâna service, krpâna misery (against krpâṇa miserable), with the masculine kirâna dust.

k. The only noticed example of a feminine is in ã: turâṇâ. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: arhâna, ja[r]âna, barhâna, bhandâna, maññâna, mehâna, vadhâna, vanâna, vâsaṇâ. (And compare the anomalous masc. name uçâna: 355a.)

l. Without strengthening of the root are made a small number of derivatives: thus (besides those already noted, krpâṇa and krpâṇâ, vṛjâna and vṛjanî, kirâna, turâna), further accented examples are úraṇa, dhûvana, pîçana, bhûvana, vîjana, vîṣâna, -suvâna; and later are found sphuraṇa, sphiṭana, sphiṭaṇa, -hnûvana, likhâna, rudâna, etc. RV. makes denominatives from rîṣâna-, ruvâna-, vipana-, huvana-.
m. Stems in ana are made also from secondary conjugation-stems: thus, from desideratives, as cikitana (see 1038); from causatives, as hāpana, bhīṣaṇa (see 1051 g); from denominatives, with great freedom, in the later language, as ākarpāna, unmūlana, śākṣaṇa, cihāna; from intensives and other reduplicated stems, only caṅkramaṇa, jaṅgamana, jāgaranā, yoyupana.

n. A few isolated cases may be further mentioned: from tense-stems, -jīghraṇa, -ūrṇavāna, -paṇyana, -siṇcana; from prepositions, antaraṇa and sāmana; astemana from the quasi-prefix (1062 b) astam. Feminines in anā of doubtful connection are yōṣaṇa woman (beside yōṣan, yōṣa, etc.) and pṛṭanā.

1151. घृ as. By this suffix are made (usually with guṇa-strengthening of the root-vowel) especially a large class of neuter nouns, mostly abstract (action-nouns), but sometimes assuming a concrete value; and also, in the older language, a few agent-nouns and adjectives, and a considerable number of infinitives.

a. The accent in words of the first class is on the root, and in the second on the ending; and in a few instances words of the two classes having the same form are distinguished by their accent; the infinitives have for the most part the accent on the suffix.

1. b. Examples of the first and principal class are: āvas aid, favor, tāpasa warmth, prāyas pleasure, tējas splendor, crāvas fame, dōhas milking, kāras deed, prāthas breadth, cētas and mānas mind, cākṣas eye, sāras pond, vācas speech.

c. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: thus, without strengthening of the root, jūvas quickness (beside jāvas), ėras breast, mṛḍhas contempt; and iras- (irasy-) and vipas-, and the adverbs tirās, mithās, huras-, also cīras head, are to be compared; — with vṛddha-strengthening, -vāças, vāsas, vāhas, -svādas, and, of doubtful connections, pājas, pāthas, and -hāyas; — perhaps with an aspiric s, hēgas missile; — pivas contains a v apparently not radical.

d. After final ā of a root is usually inserted y before the suffix (258): thus, dhāyas, -gāyas. But there are in the oldest language apparent remains of a formation in which as was added directly to radical ā: thus, bhās and -dās (often to be pronounced as two syllables), jūsās, mās; and -dhas and -das, from the roots dhā and dā.

2. e. The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an agent-noun are: āpas work, and apās active; yācas beauty, and yačas beauteous; tāras quickness, and tarās (VS., once) quick; tāvas strength, and tāvās strong; duvas worship, and dūvās lively(?); māhas greatness, and mahās great; between rākṣas n. and
Stems in ās, sā, ās, sās, sās.

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rākṣas m., both meaning demon, and between tyājās n. abandonment (?) and tyājās m. descendant (?), the antithesis is much less clear.

f. Adjectives in ās without corresponding abstracts are: toçās be-stowing, yajās offering, vedhās pious, probably śanās heady; and a few other words of isolated occurrence, as vçeṣās, dhvarās. From a denominative stem is made mrgayās wild animal (RV., once).

g. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter, accented on the ending: thus, jaṛās old age, bhīyās fear; and doubtless also havās call, and tveçās impulse. The feminine uṣās dawn, and doṣās night, might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

h. Apparently containing a suffix as are the noun upās lap, and certain proper names: ānigras, nochās, bhalaṇnās, arcāmānās, nacīketas. The feminine apsārās nymph is of doubtful derivation.

i. The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.

3. j. The infinitives made by the suffix as have been explained above (973): they show various treatment of the root, and various accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that between sānas and jaṛās).

4. k. The formation of derivatives in ās from roots compounded with prefixes is very restricted — if, indeed, it is to be admitted at all. No infinitive in ās occurs with a prefix; nor any action-noun; and the adjective combinations are in some instances evidently, and in most others apparently, possessive compounds of the noun with the prefix used adjectively: the most probable exceptions are -nyōkas and vīsparḍhas. As in these examples, the accent is always on the prefix.

l. Certain Vedic stems in ār may be noticed here, as more or less exchanging with stems in ās, and apparently related with such. They were reported above, at 169 a.

In connection with this, the most common and important suffix ending in s, may be best treated the others, kindred in office and possibly also in origin, which end in the same sibilant.

1152. ṛṣyās, ṛṣyās, ṛṣyās. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With ās are made rētas seed, and rōtas stream.

b. With nas are made āpṇās acquisition, ārṇās wave, -bhārṇās offering, rēkṇās riches; and in drāvānas wealth, and pārṇās fullness, is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of dāmūnās house-friend, and ḍjūṇās (RV.) n. pr., ucānās (or -nā) n. pr.

c. With sas is perhaps made vāpsās beauty; and tārūnas may be mentioned with it (rather tārus-a p).
1153. सम is. With the suffix is is formed a small number (about a dozen) of nouns.

a. They are in part nouns of action, but most are used concretely. The radical syllable has the guṇa-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in jyōtis light, vyāthis, and āmis, raw meat). Examples are: arcis, roois, and gocfs light, chadis or chardfs cover, barhis straw, vartfa track, sarpis butter, havis oblation, dyotis light, and kra vfs raw flesh. Avis-, pathis, bhrajis-, and máhis- are isolated variants of stems in as; and tuvis-, gucis-, and surabhis- appear inorganically for tuvi etc. in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. उस us. With this suffix are made a few words, of various meaning, root-form, and accent.

a. They are words signifying both action and agent. A few have both meanings, without difference of accent: thus, tápus heat and hot; árūs wound and sore; cākṣus brightness and seeing, eye; vápus wonder ful and wonder. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable: thus, áyus, tárus, pūrus, máhus (? only adverbial), máthus (doctor), yájus, çāsus; exceptions are: in regard to accent, janás birth; in regard to gender, máhus man, and náhus, proper name. Of adjectives, are accented on the ending jayús, vanús, and dākṣús burning (which appears to attach itself to the aorist-stem).

1155. रिव i. With this suffix are formed a large body of derivatives, of all genders: adjectives and masculine agent-nouns, feminine abstracts, and a few neuters. They show a various form of the root: strong, weak, and re-duplicated. Their accent is also various. Many of them have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.

1. a. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, rúci brightness, tvīṣi sheen; kṛṣī ploughing, nṛṣī dance; — with guṇa-strengthening (where possible), rópi pain, qoći heat, vanī and sanī gain; — with vṛddhi-strengthening, grāhi seizure, dhṛā- ji course, ājī race; from yduṣ comes duṣī (compare duṣayati, 1042b). 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, 975b) have a weak root-form, with accent on the ending.

2. b. The adjectives and masculine agent-nouns exhibit the same variety. Thus:

c. With unstrengthened root: qoći bright, bhīmi lively (y'bhram), gṛbhi container.
d. With unstrengthened root (or root incapable of guṇa-change): arī enemy, māhi great, arī beam, granthī knot, kṛiḍi playing; with vṛddhi-increment, kāṛi, jāni, -dhāri, qāri, sāći, sādi, -sāhi, and a few words of obscure connections: thus, drāpi mantle, rāqi heap, pāṇi hand, etc. The isolated -ānaḍi appears to come from the perfect-stem (788) of yāc.

e. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a considerable class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, cākri, jāghri (ygrar), pāpri, sāsri, -amri, babhrī, vavvī, jāgni, -jājni (yjan), -tātni, jāghni, sāsni, sūṣvi, -qīvī; and, with displacement of final ō (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), dadī, pāpī, yayī (with a case or two from yayī), -jajī, dādhi; — from the ur-form of roots in changeable ṛ, jāguri, tāturi, pāpuri (pāpuri SV.); — with simple reduplication, cīkī, yūyuddhi, vivici; — with strengthened reduplication, -cācali, tātṛpi, dādṛṣi, vāvahi, sāsahi, tūtūji and tātūji, yūyuddhi, yūyuddhi; and jarbhāri and bāmbhāri. And karkāri lute and dundubhi drum have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoetic. The accent, it will be noticed, is most often on the reduplication, but not seldom elsewhere (only once on the root). It was noticed above (271f) that these reduplicated derivatives in i not seldom take an object in the accusative, like a present participle.

f. Formations in i from the root compounded with prefixes are not at all numerous. They are accented usually on the suffix. Examples are: āyājī, vyāṇaḍi, niṇjaḥni, parādadi, viṇāsaḥi; but also ājāni, amūri, vivavī. As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or agent-nouns in i are not rare, and are regularly accented on the root: see the next chapter, 1276.

g. From ydhā comes a derivative -dhī, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with prefixes, antardhī, uddhī, nīdhi, parīdhi, etc. From ydhā is made in like manner ādī beginning, and from ysthā, pratiṣṭhī resistance. Opinions are at variance as to whether such forms are to be regarded as made with the suffix i, displacing the radical ō, or with weakening of ō to i.

3. h. Neuter nouns in i are few, and of obscure derivation: examples are ākṣī eye, āsthī bone, dādhi curds, etc.

1156. ⅓ I. Stems in ⅓ i (like those in ⅓ a, above, 1149) are for the most part feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters of other terminations.

a. Thus, feminines in i are made from a-stems (332, 334: and see also the different suffixes), from i-stems (344, 346), from u-stems (344b), from y-stems (378 a), and from various consonant-stems (378a).

b. But there are also a few stems in i wearing the aspect of independent derivatives. Examples are ākṣī, dāhī, nāḍi, nāndī, pēṣī,
vakṣi (apparently with accent e), veṣi, ṇākṣi, ṇācī, ṇāmī, ṇīmī, tārī, ṃāpī; they are either action-nouns or agent-nouns. In the later language (as noticed at 344a) there is very frequent interchange of i- and i-stems and the forms from them.

c. In the oldest language there are even a few masculines in i. They were noticed, and their inflection illustrated, above, at 355b, 356.

1157. त्ति. 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 त्ता of the passive participle (952 ff.) — that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.

a. The accent ought, it would appear, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; but in the recorded condition of the language it does so only in a minority of cases: namely, about fifty, against sixty cases of accent an the radical syllable, and a hundred and forty of undetermined accent; a number of words — iti, rti, citti, tṛpti, pakti, puṣṭi, bhūti, bhṛti, vṛṣṭi, ākṣi, ṛṣṭi, sthiti — have both accentuations.

1. b. Examples of the normal formation are: rāṭī gift, ṛṭī aid, rīṭī blow, stuti praise, bhākti division, viṣṭi service, stutī praise, kirtī fame, pūrti bestowal, matī thought, pīṭī drink (y/pā; pple pīta), dhāutī stream (y/dhāv; pple dhāuta); — and with accented root, gātī motion, ṇānti remove, dīti division (y/dā; pple dītā), ṛṣṭī sight, ṛṣṭī offering (y/yaṇ: pple ṛṣṭā), āukti speech (y/vac: pple uktā), ṛṇḍihi increase.

c. The roots which form their participle in īta (956) do not have the ī also before īti: thus, only guṇṭi, -daṛṇṭi. A few roots having their participle in na instead of īta (957) form the abstract noun also in ni (below, 1158). And from the roots tan and ran occur tanti and ranti, beside the more regular tati and rati; also ṛḥanti (once, VS.) beside ṛhanti. From roots having the form da, the derivative in composition is sometimes -tti (for dāti, with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form -ttā, above, 955f): thus, niravatti (K.), samprattā (CB.), pāṛṭti (TB.), vāṣuttī, bhāγāṭti, mahāṅāṭti (all RV.).

d. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, carkṛti, didhitī and -diditi, jīgarti, and perhaps the proper name yavāṭi; also jāgṛhi from y/jakṣ (233f).

e. Derivatives from roots with prefixes are numerons, and have (as in the case of the participles in īta, and the action-nouns in tu) the accent on the prefix: examples are ānumati, abhiti, āhuṭi, niṛṭī, vyāṭi, sāṅgati. The only exceptions noticed are āsakti and āsuti, and abhi-
ṣṭi (beside abhīṣṭi). In other combinations than with prefixes, the accentuation is in general the same: see the next chapter (1274).

2. *f.* The adjectives and agent-nouns — which, as masculines, are to be connected with these rather than with the feminine abstracts — are very few: thus, pūti putrid, vāṣṭī eager, duḥṣī shaker, ṣamāṭī relative, pāṭī footman, pāṭī master; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.

3. *g.* A few words show the suffix *ti* preceded by various vowels, union- or stem-vowels. The ordinary intermediate *i* of the *ta*-participle etc. is seen in sāṇiti, uṣjiti, -ṛṇiti (I, as usual with this root: 900b), pāṭhi, bhaṇiti; and with them may be mentioned the adjective ṣjīti, the proper names tūrvī and dābhi, and śni, śnēti, not-withstanding their long final. With *a* are made a few derivatives, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns aṇhāti, dṛṇatī, pakṣatī, mithatī, vasatī, ramatī, vrmatī, amatī and ōmatī, -dhrajati; and the agent-words aratī, khalatī, vṛkati, rāmatī, dahati. In some of these is to be seen with probability a stem-vowel, as also in jānayati and rasayatī (and RV. has gopayātya). The grammarians' method of representing a root by its 3d sing. pres. indic., declining this as a *ti*-stem, begins in the older language: e. g. ētīvant (TB.), kṣetīvant (AE.), yaṣjati and juhoti and dadāti (S.), nandatī (MBh.). The feminine yuvatī young, maiden is of isolated character.

h. In some of the words instanced in the last paragraph, *ti* is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, kātī, tātī, yātī, and from numerals, as dācatī, viṇcatī, ṣaṭī, etc., with paṅktī (from pānca); in padātī; and in addhātī, from the particle addhā.

1158. न नि. This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a very much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.

a. As was noticed above (1157c), a few verbs (ending in vowels) making their passive participle in *na* instead of *ta* make their action-noun in *ni* instead of *ti*. From the older language are quotable jyāṇī injury, jūṁī heat, hāṇī abandonment (and the masculines ghṛṇī and jīrṇī); later occur glāṇī, -māṇī, sannī.-

b. Words of the other class are: aṇī eating, -uṣṇī burning, vālnī carrying, jūṁī singīng, tūṁī hastī, bhūṁī excited, dharṁī sustaining, preṇī loving, vṛṣṇī and vṛṇī virīle; and with them may be mentioned pṛṇī speckled.

c. In preṇī, yōṇī, menī, ṛṛṇī, ṛṇī is seen a strengthening of the radical syllable, such as does not appear among the derivatives in *ti*.

d. Derivatives in *ni* from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 28
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e. In hrāduni and hładuni we have s prefixed u. In the words ending in anī, the a has probably the same value with that of ati (above, 1157g); but anī has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. शनि anī. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding suffixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with concreted meaning: as, ḫṣāṇi impulse, ḫarāṇi injury, dyotāṇi brightness, kṣāṇi blow, açāṇi missile, vartāṇi track; and -arāṇi, udāṇi-, jāraṇi-.

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are: arāṇi fire-stick, carāṇi movable, cākṣāṇi enlightener, tarāṇi quick, dhamāṇi pipe, dhvasāṇi scattering, vakṣāṇi strengthener, sarāṇi track. Dharaṇi and one or two other late words are probably variants to stems in anī. From a reduplicated root-form comes -paptāṇi. From desiderative stems are made ruruķṣāṇi, sigāsāṇi, and (with prefix) a-cząukṣāṇi. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an s-aorist stem: thus, parṣāṇi, sakṣāṇi, carṣāṇi.

c. It is questionable whether the infinitives in ḫāṇi (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in anī, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in an, from roots and stems increased by an aoristic s.

1160. शन an. Not many words are made with a suffix of this form, and of these few are plainly to be connected with roots. Certain rare neuters (along with the doubtful infinitives) are nouns of action; the rest are masculine and neuter agent-nouns. The accent is various.

a. The infinitives which admit of being referred to this suffix, as locative cases, are those in ḫāṇi, of which the sibilant may be the final of a tense-stem. They are all given above (978).

b. The other action-nouns in an are mahān greatness, rājān authority (RV., once: compare rājan; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and gāmbhan depth (VS., once); and PB. has kṣapṛṇa once.

c. Agent-nouns (in part of doubtful connection) are: ukṣāṇ oz, cākṣāṇ eye, tākṣāṇ carpenter, dhvasāṇ proper name, pūṣāṇ name of a god, majjān marrow, rājan king, vīṣāṇ virile, bull, sāghan, snihān (snihān Āpast.); also -gman, jmān, -bhvan, -qvān, with qvān, yūvan, yōguan, and the stems āhan, ūdhan, etc. (430—4), filling up the inflection of other defective stems.

d. With prefixes occur pratidīvan and átīdīvan, vibhvān, nīkāman.
1161. तु 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.

a. The infinitive words are accented on the radical syllable when simple, and most of the others have the same accent; but a few have the tone on the ending.

b. Examples are: of the regular formation, masc. dātu share, jātu-birth, dāṭu element, tánṭu thread, māntu counsel, ótu weft, sāṭu receptacle, mēṭu tie, sōṭu pressure; also krātu capacity, and sāktu griss; fem. vāṣṭu morning; neut. vāṣṭu thing, vāṣṭu abode; — with accent on the ending, aktū ray, jantū being, gāṭu way and song, yāṭu (?) demon, hetū cause, ketū banner (all masc.); — with unstrengthened root, rṭū season, pīṭu drink, sūṭu birth, and apparently kṛtu (in kṛtvās times); with vṛddhi-strengthening, vāṣṭu (above). Agent-nouns appear to be dhāṭu drinkable and kṛṣṭu jackal.

c. The infinitives in tu have (988) often the union-vowel i before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to ī. In other use occur also -stāritu and -dharītu (both with dus), -hāvītū (with su); tur-phāritū seems of the same formation, but is obscure.

d. In a few instances, the suffix tu appears to be added to a tense-or conjugation-stem in a; thus, edhatū and vahatū; tamyatū and tapyatū; and sīpāsātū. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of jīvātū life, which is further exceptional in showing a long ā; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1162. नू This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.

a. The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.

b. Thus: kṣepnū jerk, bhanū light (later sun), vagnū sound, sūnū son, dānu (with irregular accent) m. f. demon, n. drop, dew; dhemū f. cow; — grdhnu hasty, tapnū burning, trasnu fearful, dhṛṣṭu bold; — and viṣṇu Vishnu, and perhaps sthāṇu pillar. Compare also suffix tnu, 1196a.
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c. This also (like tu) appears sometimes with a prefixed a: thus, kṣipāṇu missile, krandanu and nadanu roaring, nabhanu (and -nū, t.) fountain, vibhaṅjanu (only instance with prefix) breaking to pieces; and perhaps the proper names dāsanu and kṛṣṭhau belong here.

1163. ṣ tha. The words made with this suffix are almost without exception action-nouns (though some have assumed a concrete value). They are of all genders. The root is of a weak (or even weakened) form, and the accent usually on the suffix.

a. Thus: masc., -itha going, ārtha goal, -kṛtha making, gāthā song, pakthā n. pr., bṛthā offering, -yātha road, -gītha lying down, cōtha swelling, siktha sediment; and, of less clear connections, yūthā herd, rātha chariot; — neut., ukthā saying, tīrthā ford, nīthā song, rikthā heritage, and apparently prṣṭhā back; — fem. (with a), gāthā song, nīthā way. Radical a is weakened to i in gīthā song and -pītha drink and -pītha protection; a final nasal is lost in -gatha going and hátha slaying. In vijigithā (ČB.; but BAU. -īta) is apparently seen a formation from a reduplication of yi, victorious.

b. A few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with accent on the final: thus, nirṛthā destruction, saṁgāthā union, etc.

c. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an a, which is probably of thematic origin, though become a union-vowel. Thus: -anātha breathing, ayātha foot, carātha mobility, tvegātha vehemence, and so prothātha, yajātha, ra-vātha, vaksātha, ucātha, vidātha, caṇātha, qapātha, qayātha, qvayātha, qvasātha, sacātha, stanātha, stavātha, sravātha, and, with weak root-form, ruvātha; the later language adds karātha, tarātha, qamātha, savātha. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, āvasātha abode, pravasātha absence; but pranātha breath is treated as if pran were an integral root.

d. Isolated combinations of tha with other preceding vowels occur: thus, vārūthā protection, jārūthā wasting (?); and matūthā (yman?).

1164. ू thu. This suffix (like ṣ tha, above) has an ू ā attached to it, and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as ू ā thu.

a. The only Vedic examples are ajāthu quaking, vepāthu trembling, stanāthu roaring. Later cases are nandāthu (TS.), nadathu (U.), kṣavathu (S.), davathu, bhraṅgathu, majjathu, vamathu, qvayathu, sīnathu.

1165. ू yu. With this suffix are made a very few nouns,
both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (masc.) are manyu wrath, mṛtyu death (with t added to the short final of the root).

b. Adjectives etc. are druhyu n., bhujyu pliable, mucyu (GB. 1. 7), ṣundhyu pure; yāju pious, sāhyu strong, dāsyu enemy; and, with vṛddhi-strengthening, jāyu victorious.

c. For other derivatives ending in yu, see the suffix u, below, 1178h,i.

1166. nu, ma. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.

a. Examples of action-nouns are: ajmā course, gharmā heat; emā progress, bhāma brightness, sārma flow, stōma song of praise.

b. Examples of agent-nouns etc. are: tigmā sharp, bhimā terrible, ṣagmā mighty, idhmā fuel, yudhmā warrior. A single instance from a reduplicated root is tūtumā powerful. Sarāmā f., with a before the suffix, is of doubtful connection.

c. A number of stems in ma have stems in man beside them, and appear, at least in part, to be transfers from the an- to the a-declension. Such are ajma, oma, ema, arma, tōkma, dārmā, narmā, yāma, yugma, vema, ṣuṣma, sōma, sārma, hōma.

1167. mi. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with mi, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus, from r-roots, urmī wave, -kūrmi action, sūrmi f. tube; from others, jāmī relation, bhūmi or bhūmi f. earth, lakṣmī sign; also probably raṃī line, ray; and the adjective krūdhmi (? RV., once).

1168. man. The numerous derivatives made with this suffix are almost only action-nouns. The great majority of them are neuter, and accent on the root-syllable; a much smaller number are masculine, and accent 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.

1. a. Examples of regularly formed neuters are: kārman action, jānman birth, nāman name, vārtman track, vēqman dwelling, hōman sacrifice, -dyōtman splendor.
b. Examples of masculine abstracts are: omán favor, ojmán strength, jemán conquest, svádmán sweetness, hemán impulse.

c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are: bráhman worship and brahmán priest; dáman gift and dáman giver; dhármán rule and dharman orderer; sádman seat and sádmán sitter. But óman friend stands in the contrary relation to omán m. favor. Very few other action-nouns occur; and all, except brahmán, are of rare occurrence.

d. On the other hand, jemán and varşman and svádmán (and variman) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

e. The noun ácman stone, though masculine, is accented on the radical syllable; and two or three other questionable cases of the same kind occur.

f. The derivatives in man used as infinitives (974) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is vidmáne.

g. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus, údman, úgmán or úşman, bhúman earth, bhúman abundance, syúman, símán, bhujmán, vidmán, číkman, čuşman, sidhmán; and kármán, bhármán, qákman.

h. Derivatives in man from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, prabharmán forthbringing, práyáman departure; anuvartman following after: the exceptions, víjáman, prativartmán, visarmán, are perhaps of possessive formation.

2. i. The same suffix, though only with its abstract-making value, has in a number of cases before it a union-vowel, i or Í; and imán comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns (masculine) from a considerable number of adjectives.

j. The neuters in imán and īman are primary formations, belonging almost only to the older language: thus, jániman, dharimán (M.), várimán (beside varimán, as noticed above); and dáríman, dháríman, páríman (and páremán SV., once), bháríman, várimán, sárimán, stáríman, sávimán, and hávimán. Those in īman are hardly met with outside the Rig-Veda.

k. The masculines in imán are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are tánumán (?), járimán, prathimán, mahimán, varimán (beside the equivalent várimán and várimán), varšimán (beside the equivalent varšmán and varšmán), hari- mán, and drághimán (VS.) beside drághmán (V.B.). 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 pāpmán (to pápá, pāpiyas etc.); drághmán etc. (to dirghá, drághiyas, etc.); várimán etc. (to urú,
1189. van. By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter chiefly masculines. The root is unstrengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a ṭ t before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.

a. The insertion of ṭ is an intimation that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of an to derivatives in u and tu; yet van has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.

b. Examples of the usual formation are: masc. yājvan offering, drūvan harming, gākvan capable, -rīkvan leaving, -jītvan conquering, sūtvan pressing, kītvan active, -gātvan (like -gat, -gatyas) going, sātvan (ya’san) warrior; neut. pārvan joint, dhānvvan bow. Irregular, with strengthened root, are ārvan courser, -yāvan (? AV.) driving off; and, with accent on the suffix, ārvān (? VS.) and vidvān (? AV.).

c. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: atītvan excelling, upahāsvan reviler, sambhītvan collecting; and perhaps vivāsvan shining: abhīsātvan is a compound with governing preposition (1310). For the compounds with other elements, which, except in special cases, have the same accent, see below, 1277.

d. The stems muśīvān robber and sanītvan (each RV., once) are the only ones with a union-vowel, and are perhaps better regarded as secondary derivatives — of which a few are made with this suffix: see below, 1234. From a reduplicated root are made rārāvan and cīkītvān (and possibly vivāsvan).

e. Action-nouns made with the suffix van are only the infinitival words mentioned at 974 — unless bhūrvānī (RV., once) is to be added, as locative of bhūrvān.

f. The feminines corresponding to adjectives in van are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from vara, and end in varī; see below, 1171 b.

1170. van, vana, vanī, vanu. The very few words
made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in connection with \textit{van} (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] With \textit{vana} are made \textit{vagvana} talkative, \textit{satvana} warrior (beside \textit{satvan}, above); and, from a reduplicated root, \textit{cuçukvana} shining.
\item[b.] With \textit{vana} are made from simple roots \textit{turvani} excellent, and \textit{bhrurvani} restless, and, from reduplicated roots, \textit{cuçukvani} shining, \textit{dadhrsvani} daring, \textit{tuturvani} striving after, and \textit{jugurvani} praising; \textit{arharisvani} is obscure.
\item[c.] With \textit{vanu} is made only \textit{vagvanu} tone, noise.
\end{itemize}

1171. \textit{vara}. With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives. Much more common are the feminine stems in \textit{varī}, which, from the earliest period, serve as corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in \textit{van}.

\begin{itemize}
\item[a.] A few masculine adjectives in \textit{varā} occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, \textit{itvarā} going, \textit{-advara} eating; and so, further, in the older language, \textit{Içvarā}, \textit{-jāvara}, \textit{phārvara}, \textit{bhārvarā}, \textit{bhāsvarā}, \textit{vyadhrvarā} (?), \textit{-sadvara}, \textit{sthāvarā}, and doubtless with them belongs \textit{vidvalā}; later, \textit{-kasvara}, \textit{gatvara}, \textit{ghasvara} (also \textit{ghasmara}), \textit{-jitvara}, \textit{nāçvara}, \textit{pīvara}, \textit{madvara}, \textit{-sītvara}; from a reduplicated root, \textit{yāyāvarā} (B. and later). Many of these have feminines in \textit{a}.
\item[b.] The feminines in \textit{varī} accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in \textit{van} to which they correspond: thus, \textit{yājvarī}, \textit{-jitvarī}, \textit{śītvarī}, \textit{-cīvarī}, \textit{-yāvarī}, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, \textit{-cīqvarī}.
\item[c.] A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, \textit{kārvara} deed, \textit{gāhvāra} (later also \textit{gabhvar}) thicket; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: \textit{urvārā} field, and \textit{urvārī} tow (both of doubtful etymology).
\end{itemize}

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. \textit{antu} (or \textit{at}). The office of this suffix, in making present and future participles active, has been fully explained above, in connection with the various tense-stems and conjugation-stems (chaps. VIII.—XIV.), in combination
with which alone it is employed (not directly with the root, unless this is also used as tense-stem).

a. A few words of like origin, but used as independent adjectives, were given at 450. With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots fyant and kṣyant (451, 517a). And ádvayant not double-tongued (RV., once), appears to contain a similar formation from the numeral dvi — unless we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.

1173. vāṇs (or vās). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, 802—6, and 458 ff.

a. A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at 462, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form us or uga. RV. vocalizes the v once, in jujurūn.

b. The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in vas, of doubtful relations: fḥvās and ģikvās skillful (beside words in va and van), and perhaps khīvās (y/khād). The neuter abstract vārvās breadth, room (belonging to urū broad, in the same manner with vārīvas and varimān), is quite isolated. MBh. makes a nominative pīvān, as if from pīvāns instead of pīvan.

1174. mān māna. The participles having this ending are, as has been seen (584 b), present and future only, and have the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in general to the stems to which the suffix is attached.

1175. āṇā. The participles ending in āṇā are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form mān sāna: above, 897 b) aorist.

a. A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives tākāvānā, bhīga-vāṇa, vāsvāṇa, ūrdhvasānā, apparently made on the model of participial stems. Also the proper names āpnavānā, pṛthavānā, and cyāvānā and cyāvatānā. Pāṛgāṇā abjus is doubtful; rujānā (RV., once) is probably a false reading; āpnāna is of doubtful character.

1176. ta. The use of this suffix in forming participles directly from the root, or from a conjugational (not a tense) stem, was explained above, 952—6. The participles thus made are in part intransitive, but in great part passive
in value (like those made by the two preceding suffixes, but in much larger measure, and more decidedly).

a. A few general adjectives, or nouns with concrete meaning, are adaptations of this participle. Examples are: tṛṣṭā rough, qīṭā cold, ḍṛḍhā (for ḍṛḍhā: 224a) firm; ṣūṭā messenger, sūṭā charioteer; rṭā right, gṛṣṭā ghee, jāṭā kind, dyūṭā gambling, ṛṇṭā dance, jīvītā life, carītā behavior, smīta smile. The adjective tigītā (RV.) sharp shows anomalous reversion of palatal to guttural before the i (216d). Vāvātā dear is a single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denotive stems (of which, however, no instances are quoted from the Veda — unless bhāmita RV.), derivatives in īta are in the later language made directly from noun and adjective-stems, having the meaning of endowed with, affected by, made to be, and the like (compare the similar English formation in ed, as horned, barefooted, bluecoated). Examples are ra-thita furnished with a chariot, duṇḍhita pained, kusumīta flowered, durbalīta weakened, niḥsāṃqayīta indubitable, etc. etc.

c. A few words ending in īta are accented on the radical syllable, and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful: such are āsta home, mārta mortal, vīta wind; and with them may be mentioned gārta high seat, nākta night, hāsta hand. Vratā is commonly viewed as containing a suffix īta, but it doubtless comes from yvrīt (vrat-ā, like tradā, vrajā) and means originally course.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in īta, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, palītā gray, āsītā black, rōhitā and lōhitā red, hárītā green; akin with them are ēta variegated, qyētā white. The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus, ēni and qyēni; rōhiṇī and lōhinī, and hāriṇī (but the corresponding masc. hāriṇa also occurs); and āsīkni, pālikni, and hārikni.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in āta are not to be separated from the participial words in īta, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: pacaṭā cooked, darqatā and paqyata seen, to be seen, worth seeing; and so yajatā, haryatā, bhara-tā. The y of paqyata and haryatā indicates pretty plainly that the a also is that of a present tense-stem. Rajatā silver is of more obscure relation to yraj color; pārvata mountain must be secondary.

1177. न न (and न न, न न uma). The use of the suffix न न in forming from certain roots participles equivalent to those in न ता, either alongside the latter or instead of them, was explained above, at 957.

a. With the same suffix are made a number of general adjectives, and of nouns of various gender (fem. in nā). The accent is on the suffix
or on the root. A few examples are: uṣṇā hot, guna fortune, ṛga
ravenous, gṛhitā white; masc., praṣṇā question, yajñā offering, ghrñā
heat, vārṇa color, svārpna sleep; neut., pāṛṇā wing, rāṭṇa jewel (?);
fem. tṛṇa thirst, yakṣad 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 karṇa eared.

b. The few words ending in ina are of doubtful connection, but may
be mentioned here: thus, amīnā violent, vṛjīnā crooked, dākṣīnā right,
drāvīnā property, dṛuhiṇa, -preṣiṇa, hariṇa; and kanīṇa may be added.

c. The words ending in una are of various meaning and accent, like
those in ana: they are ārjuna, karuṇa, -cetūna, tārūna, dāruṇa,
dharūṇa, narūṇa, pīqūna, mithūṇa, yatūṇa, vayūṇa, varuṇa, ca-
lūna, and the feminine yamūna; and bhrūṇa may be added.

d. These are all the proper participial endings of the language.
The gerundives, later and earlier, are in the main evident secondary
formations, and will be treated under the head of secondary derivation.

We take up now the other suffixes forming agent-nouns and
adjectives, beginning with those which have more or less a partici-
pal value.

1178. 3 u. With this suffix are made a considerable
body of derivatives, of very various character — adjectives,
and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of
the root, and with different accent. It is especially used
with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly
later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives
with the value of present participles; and in such use it
wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.

a. The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is
sometimes vriddhied; least often (when capable of 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 re-
duplicated root. But many words ending in u are not readily, or not
at all, connectible with roots; examples will be given especially of
those that have an obvious etymology.

b. Examples of ordinary adjectives are: urū wide, ṛjū straight, pṛthū
broad, mṛdū soft, sādhū good, svādhū sweet, tāpu hot, vāṣu good; ja-
yū conquering, dārū bursting; qayū lying, rēku empty; dhāyū thirsty,
payū protecting. Final ā appears to be lost before the suffix in -stu
(suṣṭhū, anuṣṭhū), and perhaps in yū, -gu (agregū), and -khu (ākhū).

c. Examples of nouns are: masc., aṇḍū ray, ripū deceive, vāyū
wind-god, ásu life, mánù man, Manu; fem., ásu (also masc.) arrow, síndhu (also masc.) river, tanú or tanū body; neut., kṣu food.

d. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: ciktúti, jágmu, jígṛu, jijñu, síṣṇu, -tattu (unless this is made with nu or tnu), didyu (?), dadru, yáyu or yáyu and jíyu (with final ā lost), pípuru (proper name), -dihayu; and titatù, babhrù, -raru (aráru), malimlù (?) have the aspect of being similar formations.

e. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, upáyu on-coming, pramayu going to destruction, viklindu a certain disease, abhīṣu rein (directer), sámvasu dwelling together.

f. From tense-stems, apparently, are made tanyu thundering, bhindu splitting, -vindu finding, and (with aoristic s) dákszù and dhákṣù (all RV.).

g. Participial adjectives in ú from desiderative "roots" (stems with loss of their final a) are sufficiently numerous in the ancient language (RV. has more than a dozen of them, AV. not quite so many) to show that the formation was already a regular one, extensible at will; and later such adjectives may be made from every desiderative. Examples (older) are: ditsú, dipsú, ciktúti, titikṣú, pipiṣu, mumukṣú, iyakṣú, čīčikṣú; with prefix, abhidipsú; with anomalous accent, did̄kṣú. These adjectives, both earlier and later, may take an object in the accusative (271 a).

h. A few similar adjectives are made in the older language from causatives: thus, dhārayu (persistent), bhājayu, bhāvayu, māhāyut, mandayu, čramayu; and mṛgayu from the caus.-denom. mṛgya.

i. Much more numerous, however, are such formations from the more proper denominatives, especially in the oldest language (RV. has toward eighty of them; AV. only a quarter as many, including six or eight which are not found in RV.; and they are still rarer in the Brähmanas, and hardly met with later). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms from the same denominative stem are in use: thus, for example, to aghāyut, araṭīyut, jījyut, caraṇyut, manasayut, sanisayut, urṣayut, saparyut; in others, only the present participle in yānt, or the abstract noun in yā (1149 d), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns: thus, tvāyut (beside tvāyánt and tvāyā), yuvayut or yuvāyut, asmayut, svayut, and the more anomalous ahamyut and kiñyut. 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 adjectival sense: thus, yuvayut seeking grain, varāhāyut boar-hunting, stanasyut desiring the breath; utpiṇyut woolen, yuvanyut youthful, bhīmayut terrible. And so the "secondary suffix yu" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in ahamyut and kiñyut, 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, añhoyut, duvoyut (and duvoyā; beside duvasyut), ākṛfdhoyut.
j. The words in $yu$ do not show in the Veda resolution into $iu$ (except $dh\ddot{a}si\ddot{i}us$ AV., once).

1179. $\dddot{u}$ $\dddot{u}$. Stems in $\dddot{u}$ $\dddot{u}$ are very few, even as compared with those in $\dddot{i}$ (1156). They are for the most part feminines corresponding to masculines in $u$ (344b), with half-a-dozen more independent feminines (see 355c).

a. To those already mentioned above are to be added $ka\ddot{ra}\ddot{u}$, $pit$, $-calu$ (in $pu\ddot{n}\ddot{c}calu$), $-janu$ (in $pra\ddot{j}anu$), $\dddot{c}um\ddot{b}hi$.

1180. उक a. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction (271g) of a present participle. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.

a. The derivatives in $uka$ are hardly known in the Veda; but they become frequent in the Brāhmaṇa, of whose language they are a marked characteristic (about sixty different stems occur there); and they are found occasionally in the older language. In all probability, they are originally and properly obtained by adding the secondary suffix $ka$ (1222) to a derivative in $u$; but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an $u$-word from which they should be made.

b. The root is only so far strengthened that the radical syllable is a heavy (79) one; and it has the accent, whether the derivative is made from a simple root or from one with prefix.

c. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are: $v\ddot{a}duka$, $n\ddot{a}quka$, $upak\ddot{r}\ddot{a}muka$, $prap\ddot{a}duka$, $upasth\ddot{a}yu\ddot{k}a$ (258), $vy\ddot{a}yu\ddot{k}a$, $v\ddot{e}duka$, $bh\ddot{a}quka$, $k\ddot{a}d\ddot{h}u\ddot{k}a$, $h\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}a$, $v\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}u$, $sam\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}u$, $b\ddot{a}du\ddot{k}u$, $\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}m\ddot{b}u\ddot{k}a$, $c\ddot{i}k\ddot{\ddot{u}}k\ddot{a}$ (GB.: AV. has $\ddot{c}ik\ddot{\ddot{u}}k\ddot{a}$), $pram\ddot{a}\ddot{y}u\ddot{k}a$ (SB. has $pram\ddot{a}\ddot{y}u$).

d. Exceptions as regards root-form are: $nirm\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}u\ddot{k}$ (with $vrddhi$-strengthening, as is usual with this root: 627), $-kas\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$, $\ddot{r}dh\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$ (from a tense-stem; beside $\dddot{a}r\dddot{d}h\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$). AV. accents $sa\ddot{m}k\ddot{\ddot{a}}k\ddot{u}\ddot{k}a$ (GB. has $sa\ddot{m}k\ddot{a}k\ddot{u}\ddot{k}a$) and $vi\ddot{k}as\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$; RV. has $sa\ddot{m}\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$ (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also $gh\ddot{a}tu\ddot{k}a$ from $\ddot{y}han$, and $\dddot{a}pram\ddot{a}\ddot{y}u\ddot{k}a$); $vas\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$ (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. $A\ddot{c}nak\ddot{\ddot{a}}y\ddot{u}\ddot{k}a$ (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

e. Of later occurrence are a few words whose relation to the others is more or less doubtful: $k\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}a$ and $\ddot{d}h\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}a$, $ts\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}a$, $t\ddot{a}rk\ddot{u}\ddot{k}a$, $n\ddot{\ddot{a}}nd\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$, $p\ddot{a}du\ddot{k}a$, $p\ddot{e}c\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$, $b\ddot{h}ik\ddot{a}k\ddot{u}$, $l\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}a$, $sed\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$, $\dddot{h}i\ddot{\ddot{\ddot{d}}}\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}$, $\dddot{h}\dddot{r}\dddot{\ddot{e}}k\ddot{u}\ddot{k}a$. Of these, only $l\ddot{a}ru\ddot{k}a$ appears like a true continuer of the formation; several are pretty clearly secondary derivatives.

f. A formation in $\ddot{u}ka$ (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with $uka$) may be mentioned here: namely, $\ddot{in}\ddot{d}\ddot{h}u\ddot{k}u$, $m\ddot{a}j\ddot{j}u\ddot{k}a$, and, from redu-
plicated roots, jagaruka wakeful, jañjapuka (later) muttering, danda-
quka biting, yāyajukā sacrificing much, vāvadukā (later) talkative; salalukā is questionable.

1181. अका aka. Here, as in the preceding case, we doubtless have a suffix made by secondary addition of अ ka to a derivative in अ a; but it has, for the same reason as the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than that of uka; it has very few examples in the older language.

a. In RV. is found (besides pāvakā, which has a different accent, and which, as the metre shows, is really pāvaka) only sāyaka missile: AV. adds pīyaka and vādhaka, and VS. abhikrōcaka. But in the later language such derivatives are common, more usually with raising of the root-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus, nāyaka, dāyaka (256), pācaka, grāhaka, bodhaka, jagaraka; 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, bhakṣyabhaksaka eatable and eater, vācyavācaka designated and designation, and so on.

b. That the derivatives in aka sometimes take an accusative object was pointed out above (271c).

c. The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in akā or in aki, but more usually in īkā: thus, nāyikā (with nāyakahā), pācikā, bodhikā; compare secondary aka, below, 1222.

d. Derivatives in āka are made from a few roots: thus, jalpāka, bhikṣāka; but very few occur in the older language: thus, pāvāka (above, a), nabhāka, smayāka, jāhāka (?), -cāka, patākā. With āku is made in RV. mṛdayāku, from the causative stem: pṛdāku and the proper name ikṣvāku are of obscure connection.

e. Derivatives in īka and īka will be treated below, in connection with those in ka (1186c).

1182. त्र tr (or तर). The derivatives made by this suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their uses, have been the subject of remark more than once above (see 389 ff., 942 ff.). Agent-nouns are freely formed with it at every period of the language; these in the oldest language are very frequently used participially, governing an object in the accusative (271d); later they enter into combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future
meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (942). Their corresponding feminine is in tri.

a. The root has regularly 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 a).

b. Without guna-change is only úṣṭṛ plough-ox (no proper agent-noun: apparently úkṣa-tri: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root grah has, as usual, ī — thus, grahitṛ; and the same appears in -taritṛ, -pavitṛ, -maritṛ, -varitṛ, -savitṛ. An u-vowel is taken instead by tārutṛ and tarutṛ, dhānutṛ, and sānutṛ; long in varitṛ; strengthened to o in manotṛ and manotṛ. From a reduplicated root comes vāvāṭṛ.

c. The accent, in the older language, is sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the root; or, from roots combined with prefixes, sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the prefix.

d. In general, the accent on the root or prefix accompanies the participial use of the word; but there are exceptions to this: in a very few instances (four), a word with accented suffix has an accusative object; very much more often, accent on the root appears along with ordinary noun value. The accent, as well as the form, of manotṛ is an isolated irregularity. Examples are: jētā dhānāṇi winning treasures; yūyām mārtaṁ qroṭāraḥ ye listen to a mortal; but, on the other hand, yajtā vāsūṇi vidhatē bestowing good things on the pious; and jētā jānāṇāṁ conqueror of peoples.

e. The formation of these nouns in tr 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 (bodhayitrṛ and codayitrṛ, RV.). In nēṣṭṛ a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the aoristic s.

f. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in tr, are pitṛ, mātṛ, biṁrātṛ, yātṛ, duhitṛ, nāṇṭṛ, jāmāṭṛ. Of these, only mātṛ and yātṛ are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in tr.

g. Instead of tr is found tur in one or two RV. examples: yajtūr, sthātur.

h. Apparently formed by a suffix ṛ (or ar) are uṣṭṛ, savyāṣṭṛṛ, nāṇāndṛ, devṛ, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in ṛ, sec 369.

1183. ṛṇ. In. This is another suffix which has assumed a primary aspect and use, while yet evidently identical in real character with the frequent secondary suffix of the same form denoting possession (below, 1230).
a. How far it had gained a primary value in the early language is not easy to determine. Most of the words in in occurring in RV. and AV. are explainable as possessives; in many the other value is possible, and in a few it is distinctly suggested: thus, kevalādīn, bhadravādīn, nītodīn, açārāśīn, ānāmin, vivyādhīn; from a tense-stem, -ācnuvin, -paçyin (late); with aoristic s, -sākśīn; and, with reduplication, nīyayīn, vādāvādīn. As the examples indicate, composition, both with prefixes and with other elements, is frequent; and, in all cases alike, the accent is on the suffix.

b. Later, the primary employment is unquestionable, and examples of it, chiefly in composition, are frequent. The radical syllable is usually strengthened, a medial a being sometimes lengthened and sometimes remaining unchanged. Thus, satyavādīn truth-speaking, abhibhāśīn addressing, manohārīn soul-winning. In bhāvīn has established itself a prevalingly future meaning, about to be.

c. The use of an accusative object with words in in was noticed above (271 b).

1184. यस् iyas and इथ इथ. These suffixes, which, from forming intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of root-form, have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suffixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treated above, under the head of comparison (466—470).

a. It may be further noticed that jyēṣṭha has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, jyēṣṭhā, and that its correlative also is kāniṣṭhā in the oldest language; pārṣiṣṭha is made from a secondary form of root, with aoristic s added.

b. When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form yas (470 a), its y is never to be read in the Veda as i.

c. No other suffixes make derivatives having participial value otherwise than in rare and sporadic cases; those that remain, therefore, will be taken up mainly in the order of their frequency and importance.

1185. तra. With this suffix are formed a few adjectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the guṇa-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.

a. Here, as in certain other cases above, we have doubtless a suffix
originally secondary, made by adding a to the primary त्र or तर (1182); but its use is in great part that of a primary suffix.

b. Examples of neuter nouns are: गात्रा limb, पात्रा wing, पात्रा cup, योक्त्रा bond, वात्रा garment, चरोत्रा ear; आत्रा missile, स्तोत्रा song of praise, पोत्रा vessel; of more general meaning, दात्रा gift, क्रेत्रा field, मुत्रा urine, होत्रा sacrifice. The words accented on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, क्षत्रा authority, राॅत्रा kingdom, चात्रा doctrine, सत्रा sacrificiat session (also ज्ञात्रा knowledge).

c. Masculines are: दाण्यत्रा tusk, मात्रा prayer, अत्रा (or अत्रा: 232) devourer, उष्ट्रा buffalo, गामेल, and a few of questionable etymology, as मित्रा friend, पुत्रा son, व्यत्रा foe. मित्रा and व्यत्रा are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and मित्रा comes later to be regularly of that gender.

d. Feminines (in त्रा) are: अश्वत्रा good, माॅत्रा measure, होत्रा sacrifice (beside होत्रा), दाण्यत्रा (later, for दाण्यत्रा); नाहुत्रा destroyer.

e. Not seldom, a “union-vowel” appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with त्र (above, 1182a). For the words in इत्रा have the accent on i; thus, आरित्रा (आरित्रा A.V., once) impelling, ऊर, कहानित्रा shout, पवित्रा sieve, जनित्रा birth-place, सनित्रा gift; and so -अवित्रा, अगित्रा, गिरित्रा, -तित्रा, धामित्रा, धावित्रा, भवित्रा, भवित्रा, वादित्रा (with causative root-strengthening), वाहित्रा: the combination इत्रा has almost won the character of an independent suffix. The preceding vowel is also in a few cases a (sometimes apparently of the present-stem): thus, याज्ञत्रा venerable, क्रण्त्रा shred, गायात्रा (तृ-स्रृत्रा) song, -दामित्रा, पात्रा wing; but also अमात्रा violent, वाहात्रा deadly weapon; and वरात्रा f. strop. तारुत्रा overcoming corresponds to तरुत्र. नाक्यत्रा asterism is of very doubtful etymology. शान्यक्यत्त्रा (R.V., once) seems of secondary formation.

f. The words still used as adjectives in त्रा are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is जोहुत्रा crying out.

g. A word or two in त्रा and त्रू may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in त्रा: thus, आत्रा devouring, अर्धित्रा beam-
ing, रात्रि or रत्रि night; गात्रा (गात्रु: 232) enemy.

1186. त्र ka. The suffix त्र ka is of very common use in secondary derivation (below, 1222); whether it is directly added to roots is almost questionable: at any rate, extremely few primary derivatives are made with it.

a. The words which have most distinctly the aspect of being made from roots are पुष्का-, -मेक (ि/ि fix), यस्का n. pr., चुश्का dry, चूका (ि/ि hear) noise, report, etc., and -स्थका teeming; and स्थका flake and स्थका drop seem to belong together to a root स्तु; राका f., n. pr., may be added.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 29
b. But ka enters, in its value as secondary, into the composition of certain suffixes reckoned as primary: see aka and uka (above, 1180, 1181).

c. A few words in which ika and īka seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, vṛcīka (vṛcā) scorpion; ānīka (?) face, dṛcīka aspect, ṅṛbhika n. pr., mṛdikā grace, vṛdhikā increaser, āgarīka and vīcārika gripes, ṭiśka beaming, ṭeśka; ṭešīkā; and, from reduplicated root, parparīka scattering (?). Compare secondary suffix ka (below, 1222).

1187. iya. It is altogether probable that a part of the derivatives made with this suffix are not less entitled to be ranked as primary than some of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, 1210—13).

1188. ra. With this suffix are made a large number of adjectives, almost always with weak root-form, and usually with accent on the suffix. Also, a few words used as nouns, of various gender. In some cases, the suffix is found with a preceding vowel, having the aspect of a union-vowel.

a. Examples of adjectives in ra are: kṣiprā quick, chidrā split, turā strong, bhadrā pleasing, qākrā 'mighty', qākrā bright, hiṇārā injurious; — with accent on the root, only gṛdhra greedy, tūmrā stout, dhīrā wise (secondary?), vīpṛa inspired, tūgra n. pr.

b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two: thus, ni-cirā attentive, nīmṛgrā joining on.

c. Nouns in ra are: masc., ājra field, vīrā man, vājra thunderbolt, qūra hero; neut., āgrā point, kṣīrā milk, rāndhāra hollow, rīpāra favourite; fem., dhārā stream, cīrārā jaw, sūra intoxicating drink.

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly or quite gained the value of independent endings. Thus:

d. With ara are made a few rare words: the adjectives dravāra running, patarā flying, (with prefix) nyocāra sitting; and the nouns gambhāra depth, tāsara and trasara shuttle, sānara gain, -ṇkāra thorn: bhārvāra and vāsāra are doubtless of secondary formation; and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others. As made with āra may be mentioned mandāra a tree, mārjāra cat.

e. With īra are made a few words, some of which are in common use: thus, ajirā quick, khadirā a tree, timirā dark, dhvasirā stirring up, madirā pleasing, mudirā cloud, badhirā deaf, rucirā bright, iṣirā
tively, ásira missile, sthávira firm; and sthira hard, and sphirá fat, with displacement of final radical ā; also sarirá wave (usually salilá). With ira are made gabhirá or gambhirá profound and cávira mighty, and perhaps qáfira body.

f. With ura are made a few words, of some of which the secondary character is probable: thus, ahhurá (aḥhu-ra?) narrow, āsura (āsu-ra?) tiring, chidura tearing, bhaṅgurá breaking, bhāsura shining, bhídura splitting, medura fat, yādura uniting, viṭhura tottering, vidura knowing, vidhura lacking. With ūra, apparently, are made sthūrā stout (compare sthavira), kharjura a tree, mayūra peacock (or imitative?).

1189. ṍ la. This suffix is only another form of the preceding, exchanging with it in certain words, in others prevalently or solely used from their first appearance.

a. Conspicuous examples of the interchange are čuklá, sthūlá, -mičla, čithilá, salliá.

b. Examples of the more independent use are: pālā protecting, ánila (or anila) wind, ṭṛpāla joyous; later capala and tarala (said to be accented on the final), and harṣula (the same). Many words ending in la are of obscure etymology.

1190. ṍ va. Very few words of clear derivation are made with this suffix — too few to be worth classifying. They are of various meaning and accent, and generally show a weak root-form.

a. Thus: ṭkvá praising, ṭsvá lofty, tākvá quick, dhruvá fixed, -pakvá ripe, pādvá going, yahvá quick (?), çarvá n. pr., hrasvá short, čıkvá artful, rāqvá joyful, ùrdhvá lofty, vākva twisting, ùrvá stall; ēvá quick, course, āgva horse, srákva or sükva corner; and perhaps úlba caul; a feminine is pruṣvā (TS. pṛṣvā, AV. pruṣvā); with union-vowel are made saciva companion, āmīva disease, and vidhāvā widow.

b. The words in va exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into ua.

1191. ṑ ri. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding u, a small number of derivatives.

a. Thus: áṅkhri or áňhri foot, ācré edge, úsri dawn, tandri or -drí weariness, bhūri abundant, vāṉkri rib, sūrī patron, -takri quick, -vāṅhri eunuch, çubhri beautiful, sthūri single (team); and, with uri, jāsuri exhausted, dāṅguri pious, bhāṅguri n. pr., sāhuri mighty; aṅgūri (or aṅgūli) finger.

1192. ṙ ru. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.
a. Thus: áqru tear, cáru dear, dhárú sucking, bhírú timid; — with preceding a-vowel: árāru inimical, patāru flying, vandāru praising, píyāru scoffing, garāru harming; — with preceding e, tamēru relaxed, maderú rejoicing, sanēru obtaining, himēru chilly, the evidently secondary mitrēru ally, and pēru (of doubtful meaning).

b. The secondary suffix lu (see 1227 b) is apparently added to certain nouns in á from conjugation-stems, making derivatives that have a primary aspect: thus, patayālu flying, apṭhayālu desiring.

1193. vi. By this suffix are made:

a. Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: jagjvi awake, dādhrvi sustaining, dīdivi shining; and a very few other words; ghrsvi lively, dhruvi firm, jirvi worn out (AV.; elsewhere jivri); -pharvi is doubtful.

b. Here may be mentioned cikiti vī (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix vit 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 also from causative stems.

a. From simple roots: direct, kṣēṇū perishable, -glānu sick, jīṣṇū victorious, daṅkṣṇū biting, bhūṣṇū thriving, ni-ṣatsnu sitting down, sthāṇu fixed; with union-vowel i, karīṣṇu, kāciṣṇu, kṣayiṣṇu, ga-miṣṇu, grasiṣṇu, grahiṣṇu, cariṣṇu, janiṣṇu, jayiṣṇu, tapiṣṇu, -trapiṣṇu, -patiṣṇu, -bhaviṣṇu, hhrājiṣṇu, mādiṣṇu, -maviṣṇu, yajiṣṇu, yāciṣṇu, -vadiṣṇu, vardhiṣṇu, -sahiṣṇu.

b. From secondary conjugation-stems: kopayiṣṇu, kṣapayiṣṇu, cyavayiṣṇu, janayiṣṇu, tapayiṣṇu, namayiṣṇu, patayiṣṇu, poṣa-yiṣṇu, pāraviṣṇu, bodhayiṣṇu, mādyiṣṇu, yamayiṣṇu, ropayiṣṇu, -varayiṣṇu, -cocyaiṣṇu; and jāgariṣṇu. An anomalous formation is ulbanisnu.

c. These derivatives are freely compounded with prefixes: e. g. niṣatsnū, prajaniṣṇū, abhīcocyaiṣṇū, sathvārāyiṣṇu.

d. It is not unlikely that the s of this suffix is originally that of a stem, to which nu was added. Such a character is still apparent in kraviṣṇū craving raw flesh (kravis); and also in vadhasnū, vrāhasnū (?), and prathasnu (?).

1195. sna. Extremely few words have this ending.

a. It is seen in tīkṣṇā sharp, and perhaps in ṣlakenā, -rūkṣṇā, -mārtsna; and in geṇa and deṇā (usually trisyllabic: daigṇa) gift. Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by i; but it has (like snu, above) a before it in vadhasnā deadly weapon, karāsna fore-arm; na-diṣṇa skilled seems to be secondary. Feminines are mṛtsnā loam, jyot-snā moonlight.
1196. ńska. This suffix is used in nearly the same way with uesta (above, 1184).

a. As used with simple roots, the t is generally capable of being considered the adjectival t after a short root-final, to which nu is then added: thus, kṛtnu active, gatnū (? RV.), hatnū deadly, -tattu (?) stretching; and, from reduplicated roots, jīgatnū hastening, and jīghatnū harming; but also dartnū bursting. Also, with union-vowel, dravatnū running, dayitnū (? LQS.).

b. With causative stems: for example, dravatnū hastening, poṣayitnū nourishing, mādayitnū intoxicating, tanayitnū and stanayitnū thunder, sudayitnū flowing, -amayitnū sickening.

c. With preceding a, in piyatnū scoffing, mehatnū a river, ā-rujatnū breaking into; and kavatnū miserly (obscure derivation).

1197. ęa. The words ending in suffixal ęa, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. Thus:

a. With ea simply: gṛtṣa clever, jaṣa winning (rather, aoristic ? P 1148j), -ṛkṣa looking, ruksa shining, rūksa rough; ūtsa n. fountain; bhīṣa f. fear (or from the secondary root bhīṣ).

b. With preceding i-vowel: taviṣa (f. tāviṣ) strong, māhiṣa (f. māhiṣi) mighty, bhariṣa (?) seeking booty; ṛiṣa rushing, pūriṣa rubbish, maniṣa f. devotion; and compare rayiṣa (f. SV.).

c. With preceding u-vowel: aruṣa (f. āruṣi) rod, aṇuṣa ravenous, tāruṣa overcomer, pūruṣa and mānuṣa (-us-a?) man; pāṇīṣa scoldings.

1198. ṛṣṭi aṣ. A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps produced by the addition of i to aṣ).

a. Thus, atausi vagabond, dharnasī firm, aṇṇasī winning; and dhāṣī m. drink, f. station, aṣaṣī (?) pool.

1199. ṛṣabha. A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

a. Thus, vrṣabhā and ṛṣabha bull, ṛṣabha a certain fabulous animal, qerabha a certain snake, gardabhā and rāsabha ass; farther, kanabha, karabhā and kalabha, laṭagha, qalabha; and, with other union-vowels, tuṇḍibha, nuṇḍībha, and kukkubha. The feminine, if occurring, is in i; and kāṭabhi is found without corresponding masculine. AV. has the adjective sthūlabhā, equivalent to sthulā.

1200. A few words ending in the consonants t, d, j, etc., and for the most part of doubtful root-connections, were given above, at 838k (3-5,7); it is unnecessary to repeat them here. Certain of those in at are perhaps related to the participles in ant (1172).

1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by
the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or are doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.

a. A few such may be mentioned here: an̄da in karaṇa and va-\-raṇa 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, srmará, etc.; — sara in matsará, kara in pūskara and other obscure words, pa in pūspa, stupa, stūpa, and a number of other obscure words; and so on.

B. Secondary Derivatives.

1202. Words of secondary derivation are made by the addition of further suffixes to stems already ending in evident suffixes.

a. But also, as pointed out above (1137 b), to pronominal roots.

b. Further, in exceptional cases, to indeclinables, to case-forms, and to phrases: e. g. antarvant, apitvá, paratstvá, sahatvá, sárvá-\-trika, áikadhya, mámaka, ámuśmika, ámuśyáyaná, apsumánt, apsaváya, kimcanyá, kimkartavyatá, kvácitká, nástika, akiścim-\-maya.

1203. Changes of the stem. The stem to which the suffix is added is liable to certain changes of form.

a. Before a suffix beginning with a vowel or with y (which in this respect is treated as if it were i), final a- and i-vowels are regularly lost altogether, while a final u-vowel has the guṇa-strengthening and becomes av; y and o and āu (all of rare occurrence) are treated in accordance with usual euphonic rule.

b. An u-vowel also sometimes remains unstrengthened: see 1208 e.

c. A final n is variously treated, being sometimes retained, and sometimes lost, even along with a preceding a; and sometimes an a is lost, while the n remains: thus, vrśanvant, vrśana, vrśa, vrśatvá, vrśgya, from vrśan. Of a stem ending in ant, the weak form, in at, is regularly taken: thus, váivasvata (vivásvant).

d. In general, the masculine form of a primitive stem is that from which a further secondary derivative is made. But there are not very rare cases in which the feminine is taken instead; examples are satitvá, bhāryatvá, pranitátvá, bhārātvant, rakhāvant, priyāvant. On the other hand, a final long vowel — ā, much more rarely ā — generally of a feminine stem, is sometimes shortened in derivation: thus, yājyāvant, praśākhavant, gośatama, vaçātama, sadhanitvá, jaratikā, anna-
dítamá (cf. 471 b), rohinitvá (TB.; -nîtvā ÇB.); pṛthivitvá, prati-
patnivat, sārasvativant.

e. As was pointed out above (111 c, d), the combination of a sec-
ondary suffix with a stem is sometimes made according to the rules
of external combination. Such cases are pointed out under the suffixes iyá
(1215 e), ka (1222 m), maya (1225 a), min (1231 b), vin (1232 c),
vant (1233 1), van (1234 c), mant (1235 f), tvá (1239 c), taya
(1245 a), tya (1245 c), tana (1245 i).

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.

a. The strengthened syllable may be of any character: radical, of a prefix, or of the first member of a compound: thus, aśvámá (aśvínā), sámyásá (sómā), pārthiva (pṛthívā), āmitrá (amítra), sáma-
rája (samráj), sáúkṛtya (sukṛtá), mátirvāraññá (mātrāvāraññá), śucāññçravasá (ucçāññçravas). As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.

b. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by y or v, the semi-
vowel is sometimes vṛddhied, as if it were i or u, and the resulting āi or āu has y or v further added before the succeeding vowel.

c. This is most frequent where the y or v belongs to a prefix — as ni, vi, su — altered before a following initial vowel: thus, nāiyāika from nyáya (as if niyáya), vāiyāçvá from vyāçva (as if viyāçva), sāúqaçvya from svāçva (as if suvāçva); but it occurs also in other cases, as sāuvára from svára, gauña from qaun, against svayambhuva (svayambhú), and so on. AV. has irregularly kāverāka from kuvêra (as if from kvera, without the euphonic y inserted).

d. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes a and ya; also regularly before i, ayana, eya (with ineya); and later iyá; before the compound aka and ika, and later aki; and, in single sporadic examples before, na, ena, ra, and tvá (?); see these various suffixes below.

e. Sometimes an unstrengthened word is prefixed to one thus strength-
ened, as if the composition were made after instead of before the strengthen-
ing: e. g. indrádáivatyá having Indra as divinity (instead of ñín-
дрádevatyá), caramaçáiriká with head to the west, jivaláukika be-
longing to the world of the living, antarbháuma within the earth, somá-
ráudra, gurulághava (cf. támásam guñalaksaññam M. xii. 35).

But especially when the first word is of numeral value: as gataçáradá of a hundred years, pañcaçáradíya, trisáñvatsára, bahuçárgika, aśtáçárgika, anekavargsásāhastra, daçgásāhastra, trisáhastra, tripáru-
rastra, caturádhyaýí or -yiká of four chapters, etc. etc.
f. More often, both members of a compound word have the initial strengthening: e.g. sāumāpanśā, kāurupāṅčāla, cāturvāidyā, āśhālāukika, āśkabhāutika, traiśūlajāgata, yājuṛvāidika. Such cases are not rare.

g. The guṇa-strengthening (except of a final u-vowel: 1203a) is only in the rarest cases an accompaniment of secondary derivation. Exceptions are dvayā and trayā and nāva (1209i), bheṣajā and devā (1209j), drōna (1223g), čekhara (1226a).

1205. Accent. a. The derivatives with initial vrddhi-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable. And usually it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be furthest removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix eya: 1216).

b. No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial vrddhi); and in a single case (tā: 1237) it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.

1206. Meaning. a. The great mass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But, as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality expressed attributively by the adjective; and neuter abstractions are with the same suffixes made from adjectives. There are also special suffixes (very few) by which abstractions are made directly, from adjective or noun.

b. A few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminution and comparison), or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered.

1207. The suffixes will be taken up below in the following order. First, the general adjective-making suffixes, beginning with those of most frequent use (a, ya and its connections, i, ka); then, those of specific possessive value (in, vant and mant, and their connections); then, the abstract-making ones (tā and tva, and their connections); then, the suffixes of comparison etc.; and finally, those by which derivatives are made only or almost only from particles.
a. For convenience of reference, a list of them in their order as treated is here added:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>base</th>
<th>syllable</th>
<th>value</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>1208 — 9 maya</td>
<td>1225 tvā, tvatā</td>
<td>1230</td>
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<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>1210 — 13 ra, ira, etc.</td>
<td>1228 tvana</td>
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<td>iya</td>
<td>1214 la, lu</td>
<td>1227 tara, tama</td>
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<tr>
<td>ñya</td>
<td>1215 va, vala, vaya, ra, ma</td>
<td>1228 tha</td>
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<td>enya</td>
<td>1217 ça</td>
<td>1229 tītha</td>
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<td>1233 na</td>
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<td>ka, aka, ika</td>
<td>1222 van</td>
<td>1234 tana, tna</td>
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<tr>
<td>na, āna, ña, mant</td>
<td>1235 vat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina, ena</td>
<td>1223 tā</td>
<td>1237 kāta</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma, ima, mna</td>
<td>1224 tāti, tāt</td>
<td>1238 vana, āla</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1208. a. With this suffix are made an immensely large class of derivatives, from nouns or from adjectives having a noun-value. Such derivatives are primarily and especially adjectives, denoting having a relation or connection (of the most various kind) with that denoted by the more primitive word. But they are also freely used substantively: the masculine and feminine as appellatives, the neuter, especially and frequently, as abstract. Often they have a patronymic or gentile value.

a. The regular and greatly prevailing formation is that which is accompanied with vṛddhi-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word, simple or compound. Examples of this formation are:

b. From primitives ending in consonants: with the usual shift of accent, āyasā of metal (āyaś), mānasā relating to the mind (mānas), sūmanasā friendliness (sumānas), brāhmaṇā priest (brāhmaṇ), hāmaṇatā from the Himalaya (himāvant), āṅgirasā of the Angiras family (āṅgiras); hāstina elephantine (hastin), māruta pertaining to the Maruta (marut); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, cāradā autumnal, vārīrājā relating to the virāj, pāuṣāṇa belonging to Pāuṣāṇ; gūrīkṣitā son of Gūrīkṣ; — with accent unchanged, mānuṣa descendant of Mānuṣ.

c. The suffix is added (as above instance) to the middle stem-form of stems in vant; it is added to the weakest in māghona and vārtraghṇa; the ending in remains unchanged; an usually does the same, but some-
times loses its a, as in pāusnā, trāīvṛṣṇā, dāṣarājñā; and sometimes its n, as in brahmā, aukṣā, bārhatāmā.

d. From primitives in j: jástra victorious (jetṛ or jetṛ conqueror), tvāṣṭrā relating to Todāśtar, sāvitrā descendant of the sun (savītṛ), āūdbhetra, pāitra.

e. From primitives in u: usually with guṇa-strengthening of the u, as vāsāvā relating to the Vāsū, ārtavā concerning the seasons (ṛtu), dāṇavā child of Dānu (dānu), sāindhava from the Indus (āndhu); — but sometimes without, as mādhva full of sweets (māduḥ), pārṣvā side (pārṣu rū), pāṭiḍvā belonging to Pāḍā, tāṇva of the body (tān), yāḍva of Yādu.

f. From primitives in i and ē, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: pārthiva earthly (pythivī), sārasvatā of the Sārasvati, āindragnā belonging to Indra and Agni (indrāgni); pāṅkta five-fold (paṅktī), nāirṛtā belonging to Nṛṣṭi, pārthuraṃā of Pythuraṃi, pā- çupatā of Paucupāti.

g. From primitives in ā, which in like manner disappears: yāmuna of the Yāmunā, sāraghā honey etc. (sarāghā bee), kānīnā natural child (kanīnā girl).

h. A large number (more than all the rest together) from primitives in a, of which the final is replaced by the suffix: for example, with the usual shift of accent, āmitrā mimical (āmitrā enemy), vārunā of Vārṣa, vāśyadevā belonging to all the gods (viśvadeva), nāirṛtastā handless-ness (nīrṛta), vāīyaścā descendant of Vāya; gārdhābhā asinine (gārdabhā), dāfā divine’ (devā), mādhyāṃdīna meridional (mādhyaṃdīna), pāṭra grandchild (putrā son), sāubhaga good fortune (su-bhaga), vādhrayaṃḍa of Vadhreyāṃḍa’s race; with unchanged accent (comparatively few), vāsantā vernal (vāsanta spring), māitrā Mitrā’s; āṭīthigvā of Āṭīthiga’s race, dāīvadās Ādvadāsa’s. In a few instances, ya is replaced by the suffix: thus, sārā, pāuṣa, yājñavalka.

i. The derivatives of this last form are sometimes regarded as made by internal change, without added suffix. Considering, however, that other final vowels are supplanted by this suffix, that a disappears as stem-final also before various other suffixes of secondary derivation, and that no examples of derivation without suffix are quotable from primitives of any other final than a, it seems far too violent to assume here a deviation from the whole course of Indo-European word-making.

j. Adjectives of this formation make their feminines in ē (see 332a).

1209. The derivatives made by adding ē a without vṛddhi-change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of the transfer to an a-declension of words of other finals,
a. A number of examples of stems in a made by transfer were noticed above (399). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition (1315): thus, further, apa- (for ap or āp water), -roa, -nara, etc.; from stems in an, -aha, -vṛaḥ, etc., but also -aha and -vṛṣa and -vṛṣaṇa; from stems in i, -aṅgula, -rātra, etc.; from the weakest forms of anāc-stems (407) ucca, nīcā, parācā, etc.

b. Also occurring especially in composition, yet likewise as simple words often enough to have an independent aspect, are derivatives in a from nouns in as (rarely in, us): thus, for example, tamasā, rajasā, payasā, brahmavarcasā, sarvavedasā, devāsā, paruṣā, tryāyuṣā, and probably mānuṣa.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in a in are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix ina: thus, malina polluted, para-meṣṭhīna etc. (see 441 b).

d. A number of words formed with the so-called suffix anta are evident transfers from stems in ant. A few of them are found even from the earliest period: thus, pānta draught, ṣvānta (?) vasantā spring, hemantā winter, veṣānta etc. tank, jīvantā a certain healing plant; and others occur later, as jayanta, taranta, madhumanta, etc. They are said to be accentuated on the final.

e. From anāc-stems (407) are made a few nouns ending in k-a: thus, ānuka, āpāka, upāka, prātiṣṭha, parākā, etc.

f. From stems in r, hotrā, necrā, potrā, praçastrā, etc., from titles of priests; also dhātṛa, bhṛatṛa, etc.

g. Other scattering cases are: savidyutā, āvyuṣā, vīrubha, kākuda, kakubhā, aṣna, bhūmyā, sakhyā, āḍhipatya, jāspatyā, aratva, pāṇḍvā.

h. The Vedic gerundives in tva (tua), made by addition of a to abstract noun-stems in tu, have been already (986 a) fully given.

i. Traya and dvaya come with guna-strengthening from numeral stems; nava new in like manner from nú now; and ántara apparently from antār.

j. Bhṛṣajā medicine is from bhṛṣaj healer, with guna-change; and probably devā heavenly, divine, god, in like manner from div sky, heaven (there is no "root div shine" in the language).

1210. या ya. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.

a. The derivatives in ya exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a ya-element — iyā, iyā, eya, āyā, eya, enya — are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the ya when it follows a consonant is disyllabic in
metrical value, or is to be read as ia. Thus, in RV., 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 o'circumflexed ya — that is to say, ia — being, as is pointed out below, 12121, more liable to the resolution than ya or yā). It must be left for further researches to decide whether in the ya are not included more than one suffix, with different accent, and different quantity of the i-element; or with an a added to a final i of the primitive. It is also matter for question whether there is a primary as well as a secondary suffix ya; the suffix at least comes to be used as if primary, in the formation of gerundives and in that of action-nouns: but it is quite impossible to separate the derivatives into two such classes, and it has seemed preferable therefore to treat them all together here.

b. The derivatives made with ya may be first divided into those which do and those which do not show an accompanying vṛddhi-increment of the initial syllable.

c. Adjectives in ya, of both these divisions, make their feminines regularly in yā. But in a number of cases, a feminine in I is made, either alone or beside one in yā: e. g. cāturmāśi, āgniṣṭोि, qāndilī, ārī (and āryā), dālvī (and dāvyā), sāumī (and sāumyā); dhīrī, qīrṣānī, svarī, etc.

1211. Derivatives in Ṛ ya with initial vṛddhi-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in Ṛ a (above, 1208). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).

a. Examples are: with the usual shift of accent, dāvyā divine (dēvā), pālītya priestly office (ṛtvīj), gārhapatya household’s (gṛhāpati), jānarājya kingship (janaśri), saṁgrāmajitya victory in battle (saṁgrāmaj), saӯvaqyā wealth in horses (svāqya), āūpadaṛṣṭrya witness (upa- draṣṭ); ādityā Aditya (āditi), sāumyā relating to sōma, ātithyā hospitality (ātithi), prājapatyā belonging to Prajāpati, vāimanasyā mindlessness (vāmanas), sāhanavasya descendant of Sāhadeva; — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, lāunkyā of the world (lokā), kāvyā of the Kavi-race, ārtyā descendant of Rīti, vāyavāyā belonging to the wind (vāyū), rāvastāyā wealth (revānt); — with unaltered accent (very few), ādhipatyā lordship (ādhipati), brāhmyā excellence (brāhṣṭha), vāicya belonging to the third class (vīc people), pāṁṣya manliness (pūma).
b. The AV. has once nāIr바dhyā, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through nāIrbaďha; vāIšaavyāū (VS. i. 12) appears to be dual fem. of vāIšavī.

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).

a. The general mass of these words may be best divided according to their accent, into: 1. Words retaining the accent of the primitive; 2. Words with retracted accent; 3. Words with acute या (iā); 4. Words with circumflexed या (īa). Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.

1. b. Examples of derivatives in या retaining the accent of their primitives are: ācyya equine (ācya), āngya of the limbs (ānga), mūkhya foremost (mūkha mouth), āvya ovine (āvī), gāvya bovine (gō), vīcya of the people (vīc), dūrya of the door (dūr), nārya manly (nṛ), vīṣṇya virile (vīṣṇa), svarāya autocracy (svarā), suvīrya wealth in retainers (suvīrā), viṣvājanya of all men, viṣvādevya of all the gods (viṣvādeva), mayūraçõesya peacock-tailed.

c. In the last words, and in a few others, the या appears to be used (like का, 1222h: cf. 1212m) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound; and so further suhāsta (beside the equivalent suhāsta), mādhuhastya, dāçamāsya, miçrádhānya, anyōdarya, samānōdarya.

2. d. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with vrddhi-increment) are: kānçhya guttural (kānçha), akānḍhya humeral (akānḍha), vrātya of a ceremony (vrāta), mēghya in the clouds (mēgha), pūrīya of the Fathers (pūtṛ), prátiḫiṇya adverse (pratiḫiṇa). Hīraṇyāya of gold (hīraṇya), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward and in retaining the final a of the primitive; and gavyāya and avyāya (also āvyāya) are to be compared with it as to formation.

3. e. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are: divyā heavenly (dvī), satyā true (sānt), vyāghryā tigrine (vyāghrā), kavyā wise (kavī), grāmyā of the village (grāma), somyā relating to the vīma, anenasyā sinlessness (anenās), adakṣiṇyā not fit for dākṣiṇā.

4. f. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed या (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:
g. From consonant-stems: viṣyā, of the clan (RV.: vić), hrddyā of the heart (hrḍā), vidyutā of the lightning (vidyūt), rājanyā of the royal class (rājan), doṣanyā of the arm (doṣān), qīrṣanyā of the head (qīrṣān), karmanyā active (kārman), dhāvanīyā of the plain (dhān-
van), namasyā reverend (nāmas), tvacasyā cuticular (tvācas), bar-
hiyā of barhi, āyuṣyā giving life (āyu), bhasadyā of the buttocks (bhasād), prācyā eastern (prāṇo), etc. Of exceptional formation is ar-
yanīyā intimate (aryaman), with which doubtless belong sātmaya (sāt-
man) and sākṣaya (sākṣin).

h. From u-stems: hanavyā of the jaws (hānu), vāyavyā belonging to Vāyu, paça vyā relating to cattle (paça), isāvyā relating to arrows (iṣu), madhavyā of the sweet (madhu), apavyā of the waters (apū
lon.), rājvyā of rope (rāju); ėravyā = arrow (gāru, do.); and there may be added nāvyā navigable (especially in fem., nāvyā navigable stream: nāu boat). The RV. has prācavyā to be a partaken of (pra+y/aq), without any corresponding noun praṇu; and also ěrjavyā rich in nourish-
ment (ūrj), without any intermediate ěrju.

i. Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (964), the so-called gerundives in tavyā, 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 pri-
mary suffix, and makes numerous verbal derivatives.

j. From i- and ě-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS.
has dundubhyā from dundubhī.

k. From a-stems: svargyā heavenly (svargā), devatyā relating to a deity (devāta), prapathyā guiding (prapatha), budhyā foun-
damental (budhṇā), jaghanyā = hindmost (jaghaṇa), varuṇyā Vārūna's, viryā might (vīrā), udaryā abdominal (udāra), uṣṭaya of the fountain (ūṣṭa); and from ě-stems, urvaryā of cultivated land (urvarā), svāhyā relating to the exclamation svāhā.

l. The circumflexed yā is more generally resolved (into ěa) 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 ěa in more than three quarters of the examples.

m. There are a few cases in which ya appears to be used to help make a compound with governing proposition (next chapter, 1310: cf. 1212c): thus, apikakṣyā about the arm-pit, upapakṣyā upon the sides, udāpyā up-stream; and perhaps upatṛṇyā lying in the grass (occurs only in voc.). But, with other accent, ānvāntraya through the entails, āpa-
māṣya in each month, abhinabhyā up to the cloud, antahparcavyā between the ribs, adhigartya on the chariot seat; of unknown accent, adhi-
hastya, anuprṣṭhya, amunāṣikya, anuvāṇcyā.

1213. The derivatives in ěya as to which it may be
questioned whether they are not, a least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, 963) comes to be practically a primary one.

a. In RV. occur about forty instances of gerundives in ya, of tolerably accordant form: the root usually unstrengthened (but cêtya, bhâvyâ, -hâvyâ, márja, yódhya; also -mâdyâ, -vâcya, bhâvyâ); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, praçâsyâ, upasâdya, vihâvyâ (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, anâpyâ, anapavîjyâ) — exceptions are only bhâvyâ and the doubtful âkâyyâ; the ya resolved into ia in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by t (in -îtya, -kêtya, -ârûtya, -stûtya, and the reduplicated carkîtya, beside carkîti: not in návyâ and -hâvyâ), and a changed to e (in -deya only). If regarded as secondary, they might be mada with ya, in accordance with other formations by this suffix, in part from the root-noun, as anukît-ya, in part from derivatives in a, as bhâvyâ (from bhâva).

b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about twenty-five) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in yâ with the same value: thus, for example, âdyâ eatable, kâr-ya to be done, samâpyâ to be obtained, atitâryâ to be overpassed, nivibhâryâ to be carried in the apron, prathamavâsîya to be first worn. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as parivargyâ to be avoided, avimokyâ not to be gotten rid of, where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitives in ga and ka (216h).

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 cîtya and stîya as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: brahmâjîya, vasudéya, bhâgadéya, pûrvapéya, qataséya, abhibhûya, devabhûya, mantramûryâ, kar-makîtya, vîtraûrya, hotâvuîrya, ahihâtya, sattrasâdyâ, çirgâbhîdyâ, brahmacárîya, nqâshyâ. Of exceptional form are rtôdyâ (v/vad) and sâhaçéyya (v/qî); of exceptional accent, sadhastutya. And AV. has one example, rañyâ, with circumflexed final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a smaller class of feminines in yâ: thus, kîtyâ, vidyâ, ityâ, agnicityâ, vajajityâ, mãñôthâtyâ, devayâjyâ, etc.

e. There remain, of course, a considerable number of less classifiable words, both nouns and adjectives, of which a few from the older language may be mentioned, without discussion of their relations: thus, sûrya (with
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fem. sūryā, ājya, pūṣya, nābhya; yūjya, gṛdhya, īrya, aṛyā and ārya, mārya, mādhya.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with ya may best be next taken up.

1214. याया. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of या would create a combination of difficult utterance. It has the same variety of accent with ya. Thus:

a. With accent याया (= या or याया): for example, abhriya (also abhriyā) from the clouds (abhra), क्षत्रिया having authority (क्षत्राय), yajñīya reverend (yajñā), hotriya libational (होत्राय), amitriya inimical (अमित्राय).

b. With accent याया (= याया or याया): for example, agrīya (also agrīya) foremost (āgra), indriya Indra’s (later, sense: इंдра), क्षेत्रिया of the field (क्षेत्राय).

c. With accent on the primitive: क्रोत्रिया learned (क्रोत्राय), ित्रिया (also ित्रिया) in season (ित्रा).

1215. याया. This suffix also is apparently by origin a या (या) 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 ājikiya and gphama-dhiya, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. parvatīya mountainous (AV., beside RV. parvatāy). In the Brāhmaṇas are found a number of adjectives, some of them from phrases (first words of verses and the like): thus, anyariṣṭiya, pañcavatiya, mārjāliya, kāyā-cubhiya, svāduskilliya, āpahiṣṭhiya, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (965) that derivative adjectives in या from action-nouns in ana begin in later Veda and in Brāhmaṇa to be used gerundivally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language. But adjectives in anīya without gerundive character are also common.

c. Derivatives in या with initial vrddhi are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. pārvatīya, pātāputriya, āparapaksiya, vāirakiya.

d. The pronominal possessives madiya etc. (518 a) do not occur either in Veda or in Brāhmaṇa; but the ordinals divitiya etc. (487 b, c: with fractionals तित्रिया and तूरिया: 488 a) are found from the earliest period.

e. The possessives bhagavadiya and bhavadiya, with the final of the primitive made sonant, have probably had their form determined by the pronominal possessives in -diya.
1216. या eya. With this suffix, accompanied by वृद्धि-
increment of an initial syllable, are made adjectives, often
having a patronymic or metronymic value. Their neuter
is sometimes used as abstract noun. The accent rests
usually on the final in adjectives of descent, and on the
first syllable in others.

a. Examples are: अर्षेया descendant of a sage (र्षि), जनान्यरेयाः
son of जनान्य, लार्मेया of सर्मां's race, गातवानेया गातवानिया
descendant, रथाजितेया son of Rathājī; शानेया of the bladder (सान),
वास्तेया of the bladder (वास्त), पारुषेया coming from man (पारुष),
pात्रस्वास्तेया of a paternal aunt (पात्रस्वास्त), etc.

b. A more than usual proportion of derivatives in eya come from
primitives in य ऋ or र; and probably the suffix first gained its form by addition
of य to a gunaed ऐ, though afterward used independently.

c. The gerundive etc. derivatives in या (above, 1213) from ऐ-roots
end in एया; and, besides such, RV. etc. have शांभेया from शांभ, and
dिद्रकेया worth seeing, apparently from the desiderative noun
dिद्रक, after their analogy. M. has once अध्येया as gerund of य.

d. Derivatives in the so-called suffix इनेया — अ भागीनेया,
ज्यायिन्येया, कानिष्ठिनेया — are doubtless made upon proximate
derivatives in -अनि (fem.).

e. In यया (i. e. एया) end, besides the neuter abstract सांहेय्या
(above, 1213 c), the adjective of gerundival meaning संहेय्या (with aor-
istic ष added to the root), and अपातेय्या curse-bringing (or accursed),
from अपात्य.

1217. य न्य enya. This suffix is doubtless secondary in
origin, made by the addition of न या to derivatives in a ना-
suffix; but, like others of similar origin, it is applied in some
measure independently, chiefly in the older language, where
it has nearly the value of the later अनिया (above, 1215 b),
as making gerundival adjectives.

a. The ए of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and
the accent is (except in वारेण्या) on the ए: thus, -ेनिया.

b. The gerundives have been all given above, under the different
conjugations to which they attach themselves (866 b, 1019 b, 1038). The
RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, विरेन्या manly (विर), and
kिर्तेन्या famous (किर्त), and TS. has अनभितस्तेन्या (अभितस्ती);
विजेन्या (RV.) is a word of doubtful connections; गित्तेन्या instructive is
found in a शुद्रा; ग्रंम्यस्यa of the rainy season occurs later.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
1218. **śr̥vyā āyya.** With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives, almost only in RV. They have been noticed above (966 c). The ending is everywhere to be read as āyia.

a. A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur: thus, bahupāyya protecting many; nṛpāyya man-guarding; kundapāyya, and purumāyya, proper names; pūrvapāyya first drink, mahāyāyya enjoyment; — and rasāyya nervous, and uttamāyya summit, contain no verbal root. Alāyya is doubtful; also ākāyyā, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with prahāyya (AV.: yhi) messenger, and pravāyyā (AV.), of doubtful value.

1219. **śr̥ya ąyana.** In the Brāhmaṇas and later, patronyms made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in ī a, and have vṛddhi-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

a. In RV., the only example of this formation is kāṇvāyana (voc.: kāṇva); AV. has in metrical parts dākṣāyaṇā and the fem. rāmāyaṇī; and āmuṣāyāṇa son of so-and-so (516) in its prose; CB. has rāja-stambāyana beside -bāyanā. The RV. name ukṣāyāyana is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. **śr̥ya āyī.** Only a very few words are made with this suffix, namely agnāyī (agnī) Agni's wife, vr̥ṣakāpāyī wife of Vrishākapī; and later pūtrakāpāyī, and manāyī Manu’s wife (but manāvī CB.).

a. They seem to be feminines of a derivative in a made with vṛddhi-increment of the final ī of the primitive.

1221. i. Derivatives made with this suffix are patronyms from nouns in a. The accent rests on the initial syllable, which has the vṛddhi-strengthening.

a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronyms in ī: for example, āgniveci, pāurukutsai, prātardani, sāṁvarani; AV. has but one, prā- hrādi; in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, In AB., sānuyasi, jānaṁtaṇi, ārūṇi, 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 vāyāsakī descendant of Vyāsa — are doubtless properly derivatives in ī from others in ka or aka. That the secondary suffix ika is probably made by addition of ka to a derivative in ī is pointed out below (1222 j).

c. RV. has tāpuṣi, apparently from tāpūṣa with a secondary ī added, and the n. pr. cūcuṇtī; bhuvantī is found in B., and jīvantī later.

1222. Ṛ ka. This is doubtless originally one of the class of suffixes forming adjectives of appurtenance. And
that value it still has in actual use; yet only in a small minority of occurrences. It has been, on the one hand, specialized into an element forming diminutives; and, on the other hand, and much more widely, attenuated into an element without definable value, added to a great many nouns and adjectives to make others of the same meaning — this last is, even in the Veda, and still more in the later language, its chief office.

a. Hence, ka easily associates itself with the finals of derivatives to which it is attached, and comes to seem along with them an integral suffix, and is further used as such. Of this origin are doubtless, as was seen above (1180, 1181), the so-called primary suffixes uka and aka; and likewise the secondary suffix ika (below, j).

b. The accent of derivatives in ka varies — apparently without rule, save that the words most plainly of diminutive character have the tone usually on the suffix.

c. Examples (from the older language) of words in which the suffix has an adjective-making value are: āntaka (ānta) end-making, bālhika (bālhi) of Balkh, āṇḍika (āṇḍā) egg-bearing, sūcika (sūci) stinging, urvārukā fruit of the gourd (urvārū), paryāyikā (paryāyā) strophic; from numerals, ekakā, dvakā, trikā, āṣṭaka; tṛtīyaka of the third day; from pronoun-stems, asmāka ours, yuṃmāka yours, māmaka mine (516d); from prepositions, āntika near, ānuka following, āvakā a plant (later adhika, utka); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides āṣṭaka and tṛtīyaka, already given), rūpaka (rūpā) with form, bābhruka (babhrū brown) s certain lizard. Bhāvatka your worship's has an anomalous initial vṛddhi.

d. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: aṣṭakā nag, kanīnaka and kumārakā boy, kanīnaka or kanīnīkā girl, pādakā little foot, put rakā little son, rājakā princeling, cakun takā birdling. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from pronominal stems, see above, 521; other examples are anyakā (RV.), ālakam (RV.: from ālam), and even the verb-form yāmaki (for yāmi: KB.).

e. The derivatives in ka with unchanged meaning are made from primitives of every variety of form, simple and compound, and have the same variety of accent as the adjective derivatives (with which they are at bottom identical). Thus:

f. From simple nouns and adjectives: āntaka home, nāsikā nostril, māṅkikā fly, avikā eve, īṣūkā arrow, dūrakā distant, sārvakā all, dhēnukā (dhenu) cow, nāgnaka (nagnā) naked, bāddhaka (baddhā) captive, abhinnataraka by no means different, anastamitakā before sun-
set, vamracak ant, arbhak small, cičukak young, anīyaskak finer, ejattak trembling, abhimādyatak intoxicated, patayiṣṇukak flying. Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable; from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in ka or kē (according to the gender).

g. From compound primitives: svalpakak very small, vīmaṇyukak removing wrath, vikṣipatkak destroying, pravartamānakak moving forward, vikṣipakak destroyed.

h. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, ka is often added to a possessive adjective compound (1307), sometimes redundantly, but usually in order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, anakṣīkak eyeless, atvākka skinless, areṣākka without seed, vyaṣṭhakka boneless, saṣīrakka along with the head, ekagāyatrīka containing a single gāyatrī-verse, gṛhitāvaśatīvarīka one who has taken yesterday’s water, saṃpatīkak with his spouse, bahuḥastīkak having many elephants, saḍīkṣōpāsātīkak with dikṣā and upasad, āhitasaṃtīkak with his fuel laid on, abhinavavasyakak of youthful age, aṅguṣṭhamātrakak of thumb size.

i. The vowel by which the ka is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in ikā is so common beside a masculine in aṇka as to be its regular correspondent (as is the case with the so-called primary aṇka: above, 1181). In RV. are found beside one another only iyattakak and iyattikā; but AV. has several examples.

j. Two suffixes made up of ka and a preceding vowel — namely, aṇka and ika — are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial vṛddhi-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless originally made by addition of ka to a final i or a, though coming to be used independently.

k. Of vṛddhi-derivatives in aṇka 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, āvaṣyakak necessary, vārddhakak old age, rāmaṇyakak delightfulness.

1. Of vṛddhi-derivatives in ika, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: vīṣantīka vernal, vārṣīka of the rainy season, hāṃvantīka wintry (none of them in RV.); AV. has kārītīkā of the Kirātas, apparent fem. to a masc. kārītāka, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: vādikak relating to the Vedas, dhārmikak religious, āhnikak daily, vāinayikak well-behaved, dāuvārikak doortree, nāyāyikak versed in the Nyāya.

m. Before the suffix ka, some finals show a form which is characteristic of external rather than internal combination. A final sonant mute, of course, becomes surd, and an aspirate loses its aspiration (117a, 114): cf. -upasatka, -samatka, above, h. So also a palatal becomes guttural (as before t etc.: 217): e. g. -srukka, -rūkka, -tvakka, anīkka. A s remains after ū, and becomes ʒ after an alterant vowel (180): e. g. sadyakka, jyotiska, dirghāyuska. But the other sibilants take the form
they would have in composition: thus, adíkka (diq), šaťka, -vitk, -tvitk (saś etc.). Anāčìrka (TS.: ačis) is anomalous; and so is parutk (Apast.), if it comes from parus.

1223. Several suffixes, partly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a n as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here.

a. A few derivatives in āna in RV. were given above (1175 a).
b. With āni (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a small number of words, chiefly wife-names: thus, indrani, varuṇani (these, with ucinangini, purukutsani, mudgalani, urjani, are found in RV.), rudrani, mātulani maternal uncle's wife, cărvani, bhavani, içānani, çakrāni, upādhyāyāni, mṛdāni, brahmāṇi; and yāvani.
c. The feminines in ni and kni from masculine stems in ta have been already noticed above (1176 d). From pāti master, husband the feminine is pātni, both as independent word, spouse, and as final of an adjective compound: thus, devāpatni having a god for husband, sin-dhupatni having the Indus as master. And the feminine of paruṣā rough in the older language sometimes paruṣi.
d. With īna are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final ane (407 ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, apācina, ničina, prācina, arvācina and arvācinā, prāticina and prāticinā, samīcinā. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later: examples are saṃvatcinānā, prāvagīna of the rainy season, viçvajānāna of all people, jañātakulīna of known family, adhavaninā traveller (adhvan way), āśvina day's journey on horseback (āśva horse). RV. has once mākīna mine.
e. With ēna is made sāmidhenā (f. -nī), from samīdh, with initial strengthening.
f. As to a few words in īna, compare 1209 c.
g. The adjectives made with simple na fall partly under another head (below, 1245 f); here may be noted çūramā heroic (?), phālnā, qumārma, dadruṇa, and, with vṛddhi-strengthening, strāīna woman's (its correlative, pāumana, occurs late) and cyāutnā inciting. If droṇa comes from dru wood, it has the anomaly of a guṇa-strengthening.

1224. Certain suffixes containing a n may be similarly grouped.
a. With ima are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in tra: thus, khanétrima made by digging, kṛtrima artificial, dattṛima, paktrima, pūtrima; in other finals, kuṭṭima, gaṇima, talima, tulima, pākima, udgārima, vyāyogima, saññyūhima, nirvedhimā, āsāṁgima, all late. In agrima (RV.) foremost the ma has perhaps the ordinal value.
b. The uses of simple ma in forming superlatives (474) and ordinals (487 d, e) have been already noticed, and the words thus made specified.
c. A few neutral abstractions end in mana: thus, dyumnā brightness, nrmnā manliness; and, from particles, nimnā depth and sumnā welfare. The suffix comes perhaps from man with an added a.

d. For the words showing a final min, see below, 1231.

1225. यथः maya. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying made or composed or consisting of, also abounding in, that which is denoted by the primitive.

a. The accent is always on the má, and the feminine is regularly and usually in máyā. In the oldest language (V.), final as remains unchanged before the suffix: thus, manasmaya, nabhasmaya, ayasmaya; but d is treated as in external combination: thus, mrnmaya; and in the Brāhmaṇas and later, finals in general have the latter treatment: e. g. tejomaya, adomaya, āpomaya, jyotirmaya, etanmaya, asrmaya, vāṁmaya, ammaya, pravṛṇmaya. RV. has açcmamaya (later akicmamaya). In hiramaya (B. and later) the primitive (hira-) is peculiarly mutilated. RV. has sumaya of good make, and kimmaya made of what?

b. A very few examples of a feminine in ya occur in the later language.

1226. त 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: pāñsurā dusty, -qirā (also -qīla) in acqirā ugly, dhūmārā dusky (dhūmā smoke), madhura (late) sweet. In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, ágnihrā of the fire-kindler (agnidhv), qāṅkurā stake-like (qāṅkū); and in qekhora (also qikhora), a guna-strengthening.

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, médhira wise, rathirā in a chariot; karmāra smith; dantura (late) tusked; acchhēra (? MS.), qrāmanēra, saṅgamanēra.

c. The use of ra in forming a few words of comparative meaning was noticed above (474), and the words so made were given.

1227. न la. This and the preceding suffix are really but two forms of the same. In some words they exchange with one another, and न la is usually, but not always, the later form in use.

a. Examples are: bahulā abundant, madhulā (later madhura) and madhula sweet, bhīmala fearful, jivalā lively, aqilā (and aqrirā) wretched; with a, vācāla talkative (late); with i, phenila foamy (late:
Stems in mna, maya, ra, la, va, ca, in. 

The stems alomaga, doubtless, is a somewhat irregular formation from māṭī mother.

b. In the later language are found a few adjectives in lu, always preceded by a; examples are: kypalu and dayalu compassionate, yrṣyālu jealous, usṇālu heated, gayālu and svapnālu sleepy, lajjālu modest, lajjālu drooling, qraddhālu trusting, krodhālu passionate. One or two such derivatives having a primary aspect were noticed at 1192b.

1228. वा. A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Examples are: anāvā billowy, keçāvā hairy; rāsnāvā girded; aṭjivā slippery, čantivā tranquilizing, qraddhivā credible, amaṭīva jewelled, rājīva striped.

b. There are a few adjectives in vala and vaya which may be noticed here: thus, krṣivalā peasant (krṣī ploughing), ěrṇāvalā wooly, rajasvala, ěrjasvala, payasvala, čādvāla, naḍvala, čikhāvala, dantāvala; druvaṭāya wooden dish, caturvāya fourfold.

c. With vya are made two or three words from names of relationship: thus, pitṛvya paternal uncle, bhrāṭvya nephew, enemy.

1229. ग. A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

a. Thus, romaça or lomaça hairy, ētaça (also etaça) variegated, arvaça or arvaça hastning, babhluça or babhruça and kapiça brownish, krṣṇaça blackish, yuvaça youthful, baliça childish, karkaça harsh, karmaça (?) n. pr.; and griça, väriça (?), vrksaça are doubtless of the same character (not containing the root q). The character of harimaça, kāqmaça, kalāça is doubtful.

b. Many of the adjective derivatives already treated have sometimes a possessive value, the general meaning of being concerned with, having relation to being specialized into that of being in possession of. But there are also a few distinctively possessive suffixes; and some of these, on account of the unlimited freedom of using them and the frequency of their occurrence, are very conspicuous parts of the general system of derivation. These will be next considered.

1230. वृ in. Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in वृ a or वृ ā, and are sometimes (but very rarely) made from stems with other finals.

a. A final vowel disappears before the suffix. The accent is on the suffix. As to the inflection of these adjectives, see above, 438 ff. They are to be counted by hundreds in the older language, and are equally or more numerous in the later.
b. Examples from a-stems are: açvin possessing horses, dhanin wealthy, pakšin winged, balin strong, bhagin fortunate, vajrin wielding the thunderbolt, cikhanin crested, hastin possessing hands, ṣoḍačin of sixteen, gardabhanin having an as's voice, brahmavarcasin of eminent sanctity, sādhudevin having luck at play, kūcidarthin having errands everywhere; — from a-stems, maniein wise, cikhin crested, ṛta-yin pious.

c. Derivatives from other stems are very few in comparison: thus, from i-stems, atithin (?), abhimatin, arcfin, açanin, urmin, kālanemin, khādin, -pānin, maricin, maunjin, mālin, -yonin, venin, samdhin, samṛddhin, surabbin (of those found only at the end of a possessive compound the character is doubtful, since case-forms of i- and in-stems are not seldom exchanged); — from u-stems, gurvin, qatagvin (?), veṇavin (with guna of the u); — from stems in an, varmin, karmin, carmin, -chadin, janmin, dhanvin, -dharmin, nāmin, brahmin, yakṣmin, ṣarin, and ṣvanin; — in as, retin rich in seed, and probably varcin n. pr.; also (perhaps through stems in -sa) qavasin and sahasin, manasin, -vayasin; — isolated are parisrajin garlanded, and hirainin (hirānya).

d. It was pointed out above (1183) that derivatives in in have assumed on a large scale the aspect and value of primary derivatives, with the significance of present participles, especially at the end of compounds. The proper secondary character of the whole formation is shown, on the one hand, by the frequent use in the same manner of words bearing an unmistakable secondary form, as praṇin, garbhin, jūrin, dhūmin, snānin, homin, matsarin, paripanthin, pravepanin, saṁgatin; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (216) before the in, which could only be as in replaced a: thus, arkīn, -bhāghin, -saṅgīn, -rōkin.

e. In a few cases, there appears before the in a y preceded by an a of inorganic character: thus, dhanvayin, tantrayin, qvetayin, sṛkāyin, atātayin, pratīiatayin, marāyin, ṛtāyin, svadhāyin (VS. TB. -vīn). The y in all such words is evidently the inserted y after a (258a), and to assume for them a suffix yin is quite needless.

f. The accentuation pravrajin, prasyāndin, in the concluding part of CB., is doubtless false; and the same is to be suspected for ṣakī, sārī, ōrī (RV., each once).

g. A very few words in in have not suffered the possessive specialization. Such are vanin tree, hermit, kapotin dōvetike, ančin serotumike (cf. 1233f).

1231. मिन min. With this suffix are made an extremely small number of possessive adjectives.

a. In the old language, the words in min have the aspect of derivatives in in from nouns in ma, although in two or three cases — iqmin
and viłgmin in RV., vægmín in CB. — no such nouns are found in actual use beside them. In the later language, miın is used as independent element in a very few words: thus, gomin possessing cattle, svāmin (Sūtras and later) master, lord (sva own), kakadmin humped.

b. The two words viłgmin and vægmín show not only reversion but also sonantizing of an original palatal.

1232. विन vin. The adjectives made with this suffix are also not numerous. They have the same meanings with those in यन in. The accent is on the suffix.

a. The RV. has ten adjectives in vin; they become rather more common later. Though for them may be suspected a similar origin to those in yin and min (above), signs of it are much less clearly traceable.

b. The great majority have vin added after as: e. g. namasvín reverential, tapasvín heated, tejasvín brilliant, yaqasvín beautiful, and so retasvín, enasvín, harasvín, etc.; and qetasvín, çrotrasvín, rūpasvín have an inserted s, by analogy with them. Most others have a (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, glavín, medhavín, māyavín, sabhavín, aśṭravín obedient to the god, dvayavín double-minded, ubhayavín possessing of both kinds, dhauvavín, tandravín, āmayavín, ātatavín. More rarely, vin is added after another consonant than s: thus, vägvin, dhrasadvín, ātmanvín, kumudvín, sragvin, yajvin, ajvin. The doubtful word vyāçovín (VS., once: TB. vyāquniya) appears to add the ending (or in, with euphonic v) to a present tense-stem.

c. An external form of combination is seen only in vägvín and dhṛśadvín (both Vedic), with the common reversion of a palatal in sragvin.

1233. वणt vant. Very numerous possessive adjectives are made by this suffix, from noun-STEMS of every form, both in the earlier language and in the later.

a. The accent generally remains upon the primitive, without change; but an accent resting on a stem-final, if this be anything but a or ā, is in the majority of cases thrown forward upon the suffix. As to inflection, formation of feminine, etc., see 452 ff.

b. A final vowel — oftenest a, very rarely u — is in many words lengthened in the older language (247) before this ending, as in composition. Neuns in an more often retain the n.

c. Examples of the normal formation are: with unchanged accent, kēcavant hairy, putravant having a son, prajānanavant procreative, puṇḍārikavant rich in lotuses, hiranyavant rich in gold, apūpavant having cakes, rājanyavant allied with a kahatriya; prajāvant having progeny, ṛmavant wooly, dākṣipavant rich in sacrificial gifts; sākhivant having friends, saptārvivant accompanied by the seven sages; čālevant powerful, táviśivant vehement, pātnivant with spouse, dhivvant devoted,
dyāväprthivívant (94b) with heaven and earth; víṣṇuvant accompanied by Vishnu; háritvant golden, ärñvant hither turned, ágirvant mixed with milk, svārvant splendid, garáadvant full of years, púṃsvant having a mate, pāyavant rich; támasvant dark, bráhmañvant accompanied with worship, rómañvant hairy (but also romavant, lómañvant, vríthavañvant, etc.), kakúbhvant containing a kakúbh; — with accent on the suffix, agnivávant having fire, rayívávant wealthy, nṛvánt manly, padvánt having feet, nasvánt with nose, āsanvánt having a mouth, círśavánt headed (also círśavánt).

d. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, áḉvávant (beside áḉavant) possessing horses, sutávant having some expressed, víṣṇyávant of virile force (about thirty such cases occur in V.); qáktivánt mighty, svádhitivávant having axes, ghý́ñvant hot; viṣúvant dividing (viṣu apart).

e. Certain special irregularities are as follows: an inserted s in índrasvant, máhiyávant; inserted n in vánanvant, būdhávant, vádhávant, gartánvant, māhásanvánt; shortening of a final of the primitive in máýávant, yájyávant, puroñuvákyávant, āmikéavánt, sarásvativánt; abbreviation in hirañvant; inserted a in čavásávant, sahasávant, and the odd mahimávant; anomalous accent in krśćanávant (if from krśćana pear); derivation from particles in antárvánt pregnant, viṣúvánt (above, d).

f. Instead of the specialized meaning of possessing, the more general one of like to, resembling is seen in a number of words, especially in the derivatives from pronominal stems, máhávant like me etc. (517: add ívant, kívánt). Other examples are índrasvant like Indra, nídávant nestlike, nílavant blackish, nṛvánt manly, píśadvánt speckled, kŚā́tivant princely; compare the later parávant dependent. It was pointed out above (1107) that the adverb of comparison in vát is the accusative neuter of a derivative of this class.

g. In a few words, vant has the aspect of forming primary derivatives: thus, vivásvant (or vívasvant) shining, also n. pr., ánupádasvant, árvant, píśivánt (?), yahvánt.

h. For the derivatives in vat from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see 1245j.

i. While this suffix is generally added to a primitive according to the rules of internal combination (see examples above, c), treatment also as in external combination begins already in RV., in píśadvánt (píśat), and becomes more common later: thus, tapovánt, tejovánt, ángirovánt (beside tápasvant etc.); vidyúdvánt (beside vidyútvant), bhadvánt, jagadvánt, sadvánt, etc.; triśútuvánt (against kakúbhvant), sámvánt, vimṛdvánt; vágvánt (against ľkvánt); svaradvánt; havyadvánt; ágirvant.

j. None of the suffixes beginning with v show in the Veda resolution of v to u.
1234. वन. The secondary derivatives in this suffix belong to the older language, and are a small number, of which extremely few have more than an occurrence or two.

a. They have the aspect of being produced under the joint influence of primary वन and secondary वंट. 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 वन: 1169 f) is in वरी.

b. The Vedic examples are: from a-stems, र्पवन or र्नवन, र्तवन (and f. -वरी), फ़हवन, धितवन, सत्यवन, सम्मवारी, and मघवन; from ā-stems, सून्तवारी, सवधवन (and f. -वरी); from i-stems, अमतवान, अरतिवान, ख्रुष्ठिवान, मुषिवान, and क्रिवान (only in the further derivative कार्जिवान); धिवव; from consonant-stems, अधर्वान, साहवान (bad AV. variant to RV. सहावान); हार्डवान (TA. also हार्डिवान). Somewhat anomalous are सहावान, इंधनवान (for इंधनानवान?), and सनिवान (for सनितिवान?). The only words of more than sporadic occurrence are र्तवान, मघावान, इंधर्वान.

c. साहवान (see b) is the only example of external combination with this suffix.

1235. मन्त. This is a twin-suffix to वन वंट (above, 1233); their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives in मन्त are much less frequent (in the older language, about a third as many), and are only very rarely made from a-stems.

a. If the accent of the primitive word is on the final, it is in the great majority of instances (three quarters) thrown forward upon the added suffix; otherwise, it maintains its place unchanged. A final vowel before the suffix is in only a few cases made long. Examples are:

b. With the accent of the primitive unchanged: कान्यावमन्त, यावमन्त rich in barley, and विहावमन्त n. pr. (these alone from a-stems, and the first only occurring once); अवमन्त possessing sheep, अचानिमान्त bearing the thunderbolt, ओधिमान्त rich in herbs, वाचिमान्त carrying an axe, वासुमान्त possessing good things, मादुमान्त rich in sweets, त्र्यमान्त accompanied by Teashtar, हृत्यान्त provided with priests, अयुग्मान्त long-lived, ज्योतिमान full of brightness; — उकुलिमान्त accompanied with meteors, पिलुमान्त (?), प्रसुमान्त having young shoots, गोमान्त rich in kine, गरुटिमान विङ्गा, विहुतिमान with libation, ककुमान्त humped, विद्युमान्त (with irregular assimilation of t: VS. has also ककुमान्त) gleaming, विरुमान्त shining, नविमान्त with libations, विप्रुमान्त with drops.
c. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: asimánt with knives, agnimáñ having fire, isudhímañ with a quiver, paçúmañ possessing cattle, vāyúmañ with wind, pitímañ (AV. pitímañ) accompanied by the Fathers, mátramáñ having a mother; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this division, and only once a consonant, in dasmáñ (RV., once).

d. Protraction of a final vowel is seen in tváśimáñ, drájímañ, hímAñ; in jyótímañ is irregularly inserted an á (after the analogy of táśimáñ); in qúcimánt, maháimánt, an á; susúmañ (RV., once) appears to be primary.

e. The adverb áçúmañ appears to be related to adverbs in vát as the suffix mant to vant.

f. By the side of derivatives made with internal combination appears vidyúmañ even in RV.; [and other like cases occur later: thus, parísrúmañ, kakúmañ, keñúmañ, puroruflmañ, váñañ, kakúmnant, gudáliñmañ, yáçománt.

1236. It has been seen above (especially in connection with the suffixes a and ya) that the neuter of a derivative adjective is frequently used as an abstract noun. There are, however, two suffixes which have in the later language the specific office of making abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns; and these are found also, more sparingly used, in the oldest language, each having there one or two other evidently related suffixes beside it.

a. For derivatives of the same value made with the suffix imán, see above, 1188i–k.

1237. नी ता. With this suffix are made feminine abstract nouns, denoting the quality of being so and so, from both adjectives and nouns.

a. The form of the primitive is unchanged, and the accent is uniformly on the syllable preceding the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language) are: deváta divinity, viráta manliness, purugáta human nature, agíta firehood, apaçúta cattle-lessness, bandhúta relationship, vásúta wealth; nagnáta nakedness, suvítá wealth in retainers, anapatyáta lack of descendants, agóta poverty in cattle, abrahámatá lack of devotion, aprájástá absence of progeny; also doubtless sunáta (from súnára), although the word is a few times used as an adjective (like cámántá and satyántá: see next paragraph).

c. Of special formation are mamáta selfishness, tréitä triplicity, astíta actuality. RV. has ávíratá, with exceptional accent. In ekapatníta is seen a shortened final vowel of the primitive. Janáta has acquired a concrete meaning, people, folk; also grámáta (once) villages collectively.

1238. ताति ताति, ताति ताति. These suffixes are Vedic only, and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the preceding is
evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature. The accent is as in the derivatives with tā.

a. The quotable examples in tāti are: ariṣṭatāti un-Injuredness, ayakaṃatati freedom from disease, gṛhitaṭatāti the being seized, jyeṣṭhatatāti supremacy, devatāti divinity, vasūtāti wealth, qāṃtāti good-fortune, sārvātāti completeness; and, with exceptional accent, āṇatāti home, and dākṣatāti cleverness; ṣivatāti and ḍubhatāti occur (once each) in the later language. Two words in tāti are used adjectively (in-organically, by apposition?): qāṃtāti (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 1, in manuscripts), and satyatāti (RV., once: voc).

b. The words in tāt (apparently made by abbreviation from tāti) occur in only one or two cases-forms; they were all mentioned above (383 k. 2).

1239. त्र त्वा. With this suffix are made neuter nouns of the same value as the feminines in त्र tā (above, 1237).

a. The neuter abstracts in tva are in the older language considerably more common than the feminines in tā, although themselves also not very numerons. The accent is without exception on the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language) are: amṛtatvā immortality, devatvā divinity, subhagatvā good-fortune, ahamuttaratvā struggle for precedence, svaṃtvā purity, satttvā husbandship, taraṇitvā energy, dhīrayatvā long life, qāṭrutvā enmity, bhrāṭtvā brotherhood, vṛṣatvā virility, sātmātva soulfulness, mahāvattvā liberality, rakṣatvā sorcery. In anāgaṇatvā and preṇaṭatvā there is a lengthening of the final syllable of the primitive; and in sauprajāstvā (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial vṛddhi (sāubhagatvā is doubtless from sāubhaga, not subhāga); and in these and pratyāstvā there is an apparent insertion of s. In sadhanitvā (RV.), vasatvāritvā (TS.), rohiṇītva (TB.), there is shortening of final feminine i before the suffix. Of peculiar formation are astītva actuality and sahitva union. The apparent feminine datives yūṭhatvāyāi and gaṇatvāyāi (KS.) are doubtless false forms.

c. Besides the usual guttural reversions in samyaktva, sayuktva, we have external combination in samittva (-idh-) and pūrvavāṭtva (-vah-).

d. In iṣitavā (RV., once) incitedness, and puruṣatvā (RV., twice) human quality, appears to be a combination of the two equivalent suffixes tva and tā.

e. The v of tva is to be read in Veda as u only once (rakṣastuā).

1240. त्वा tvana. The derivatives made with this suffix are, like those in tva, neuter abstracts. They occur almost only in RV., and, except in a single instance (martyatvanā), have beside them equivalent derivatives in tva. The accent is on the final, and the tva is never resolved into tua.
a. The words are: kavitvanā, janitvanā, patitvanā (also JB.), martyatvanā, mahitvanā, vasutvanā, vṛṣatvanā, sakhitvanā.

1241. A few suffixes make no change in the character as part 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. तरा tara and तम tama are the usual secondary suffixes of adjective comparison: respecting their use as such, see above, 471—473; respecting the use of tama as ordinal etc. suffix, see 487—8; respecting that of their accusatives as adverbial suffixes to prepositions etc., see 1111.

b. In vyātāra and purutāma (RV.) the accent is anomalous; in mṛdayātama, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1309); qaqqattamā (RV.) has the ordinal accent; saṁvatsaratamā (CB.) is an ordinal; dīvatara (RV., once: an error?) is an ordinary adjective, of the day; surabhīṣṭama and tuvīṣṭama insert a s; kārotarā and kālitarā are probably vyādhi-derivatives in a. In vatsatarā (f. -ṛī) meaning, aqvarā mule, and dhenuṣṭārī cow losing her milk, the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; so also in rathaṁitarā, name of a certain sāman.

c. ṇra and ṇ ma, like tara and tama, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals: see above, 474, 487.

d. ṇtha, like tama and ma, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see 487 c; also (with fem. in -ṭī) from tati, kati, yati, iti: thus, tatithā so-many-eth etc.

e. Apparently by false analogy with tatithā etc. (above, d), the quasi-ordinals tāvatiṣṭha, yāvatiṣṭha, bahutiṣṭha are made, as if with a suffix tittha (also katititha, late, for katithā); and, it is said, from other words meaning a number or collection, as gana, pūga, saṁgha; but none such are quotable.

1243. Of diminutive suffixes there are none in Sanskrit with clearly developed meaning and use. The occasional employment of ka, in a somewhat indistinct way, to make diminutives, has been noticed above (1222).

1244. Of the ordinary adjective-making suffixes, given above, some occasionally make adjectives from adjectives, with slight or imperceptible modification of value. The only one used to any considerable extent in this way is ka: as to which, see 1222.
1245. A few suffixes are used to make derivatives from certain limited and special classes of words, as numerals and particles. Thus:

a. तय तय makes a few adjectives, meaning of so many divisions or kinds (used in the neuter as collectives), from numerals: thus, एकतय (MS.), द्वितय, त्रितय, सात्तया (AV.), शातया (KB.: with external combination), सप्ततया (CB.), अष्टतया (AB.), दाचतया (RV.), बाहुतया (TS.). Their fem. is in -यी.

b. त्य त्य makes a class of adjectives from particles: e.g. नित्य नित्य, मित्या वर्ण, अपत्या दोष, etc. As the examples show, the accent of the primitive is retained. The fem. is in -या.

c. The other quotable examples are अपत्या, अविष्ट्या, सनुत्या, अन्तास्त्या, अन्यास्त्या-त, ततास्त्या, कुतास्त्या, अत्रत्या, यात्रत्या, युत्रत्या, इहत्या, उपत्या, अधित्या, प्रतास्त्या, दाक्षिणात्या (instead of which, the regular form, is generally found दाक्षिणात्या, apparently a further व्यद्धि-derivative from it: as if belonging to the southerners), and पांचास्त्या and पाषुरास्त्या (of a similar character: these three last are said by the grammarians to be accentuated on the final, as is proper for व्यद्धि-derivatives); आपत्या and आपत्या perhaps contain the same suffix. In अन्तास्त्या and प्रतास्त्या is seen external combination.

d. The य of त्य is in RV. always to be read as i after a heavy syllable.

e. त ता forms एकता, द्विता, and त्रिता, also मुहूर्ता moment, and apparently अवता well (for water).

f. With त ना are made पुराणa ancient, विषुणa various, and perhaps सामाना like.

g. With तन्न tana or (in a few cases) तण tna are made adjectives from adverbs, nearly always of time: e.g. प्रतना ancient, नुतं or नुत्नa present, सानताना or सान्तना lasting, दवाताना of the day, व्यास्ताना of tomorrow, व्यास्ताना of yesterday. The accent is various. The feminine in नि.

h. The other quotable examples are: अग्रताना, अधयताना, अधुनाकर्ताना, द्वाहन्ताना, इदाहन्ताना, इदानिन्दताना, इतरहिताना, क्रियाहिताना, तदानिन्दताना, दोषाताना, पुरातंता, प्राक्ताना, प्ररास्ताना, सादाताना, सायंताना; from adverbs of place, अधस्ताना, अर्काताना, उपराताना, कुतास्ताना; — with तान, परास्तंतना, पुरास्तंतना. A further व्यद्धिर-derivative, with equivalent meaning, नूतान (cf. above, c), occurs late. In PB. is once found तव्याना belonging to the.

i. Besides the obvious cases of an assimilated final m before this suffix, we have external combination in प्रधाताना.

j. वत वत makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (383 k. 1).

k. कत कत, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the
grammarians as a suffix, in utkaṭa, nikaṭa, prakaṭa, vikaṭa (RV., once, voc.), and saṃkaṭa (all said to be accented on the final).

1. A suffix vaua is perhaps to be seen in nivana, pravaṇa; — and āla in antarāla.

m. Occasional derivatives made with the ordinary suffixes of primary and secondary derivation from numerals and particles have been noted above: thus, see ana (1150n), ti (1157h), ant (1172a), u (1178i), a (1209i), ka (1222c), mna (1224c), maya (1225a), vant (1233e).

CHAPTER XVIII.

FORMATION OF COMPOUND STEMS.

1246. The frequent combination of declinable stems with one another to form compounds which then are treated as if simple, in respect to accent, inflection, and construction, is a conspicuous feature of the language, from its earliest period.

a. There is, however, a marked difference between the earlier and the later language as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, it is quite rare that more than two stems are compounded together — except that to some much used and familiar compound, as to an integral word, a further element is sometimes added. But the later the period, and, especially, the more elaborate the style, the more a cumbersome and difficult aggregate of elements, abnegating the advantages of an inflective language, takes the place of the due syntactical union of formed words into sentences.

1247. Sanskrit compounds fall into three principal classes:

I. a. Copulative or aggregative compounds, of which the members are syntactically coördinate: a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction and (rarely or).
b. Examples are: īndrāvārunāu Indra and Varuna, satyānṛte truth and falsehood, kṛtākṛtām done and undone, devagandharvaṁ-
nuṣoragarākṣasās gods and Gandharvas and men and serpents and demons.

c. The members of such a compound may obviously be of any num-
ber, 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 com-
 pound, or decompound (below, 1248).

II. d. Determinative compounds, of which the
former member is syntactically dependent on the latter, as
its determining or qualifying adjunct: being either, 1. a
noun (or pronoun) limiting it in a case-relation, or, 2. an
adjective or adverb describing it. And, according as it is
the one or the other, are to be distinguished the two sub-
classes: A. Dependent compounds; and B. Descriptive
compounds. Their difference is not an absolute one.

e. Examples are: of dependent compounds, amitrasena army of
enemies, pādodaka water for the feet, āyurdā life-giving, hāstakṛta
made with the hands; of descriptive compounds, maharṣī great sage, priya-
sakhi dear friend, amītra enemy, sūkrta well done.

f. These two classes are of primary value; they have undergone
no unifying modification in the process of composition; their charac-
ter 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 accord-
dingly is more fundamentally distinct from them than they are from
one another.

III. g. Secondary adjective compounds, the value
of which is not given by a simple resolution into their
component parts, but which, though having as final member
a noun, are themselves adjectives. These, again, are of two
sub-classes: A. Possessive compounds, which are noun-
compounds of the preceding class, with the idea of possess-
ing added, turning them from nouns into adjectives;
B. Compounds in which the second member is a noun syn-
tactically dependent on the first: namely, 1. Prepositional
compounds, of a governing preposition and following noun;

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 31
2. Participial compounds (only Vedic), of a present participle and its following object.

h. The sub-class B. is comparatively small, and its second division (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Vedic.

i. Examples are: *virasena* possessing a hero-army, *prajākāma* having desire of progeny, *tigmāćrīga* sharphorned, *hārītasraj* wearing green garlands; *ātimātrā* excessive; *yāvayāddvegas* driving away enemies.

j. The adjective compounds are, like simple adjectives, liable to be used, especially in the neuter, as abstract and collective nouns, and in the accusative as adverbs; and out of these uses have grown apparent special classes of compounds, reckoned and named as such by the Hindu grammarians. The relation of the classification given above to that presented in the native grammar, and widely adopted from the latter by the European grammars, will be made clear as we go on to treat the classes in detail.

1248. A compound may, like a simple word, become a member in another compound, and this in yet another — and so on, without definite limit. The analysis of any compound, of whatever length (unless it be a copulative), must be made by a succession of bisections.

a. Thus, the dependent compound *pūrvajanmakṛta* done in a previous existence is first divisible into *kṛta* and the descriptive *pūrvajanman*, then this into its elements; the dependent *sakalanitiqāstratattvajña* knowing the essence of all books of behavior has first the root-stem *jñā* (for *yjñā* knowing separated from the rest, which is agamā dependent; then this is divided into *tattva* essence and the remainder, which is descriptive; this, again, divides into *sakala* all and *nitiqāstra* books of behavior, of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (*sa* and *kāla* having its parts together).

1249. a. The final of a stem is combined with the initial of another stem in composition according to the general rules for external combination: they have been given, with their exceptions, in chap. III., above.

b. If a stem has a distinction of strong and weak forms, it regularly enters into composition as prior member in its weak form; or, if it has a triple distinction (311), in its middle form.
FORM OF PRIOR MEMBER OF COMPOUND.

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c. That is, especially, stems in r or ar, at or ant, ac or anç, etc., show in composition the forms in r, at, ac, etc.; while those in an and in usually (exceptions sometimes occur, as vrṣaṇāvā, vrṣaṇ-
vasā) lose their final n, and are combined as if a and i were their proper finals.

d. As in secondary derivation (1203 d), so also as prior member of a compound, a stem sometimes shortens its final long vowel (usually i, rarely ā): thus, in V., rodasiprá, pṛthiviṣṭhā, pṛthiviśād, dhārapūta,
dhāravākā; in B., pṛthivi-dā, -bhāga, -lokā, sarasvatikṛta, senā
nigrāmanavā; in S., garbhiniṇiprayacitā, sāmidheniprāṣa, vas-
atīvaripariharana, ekādaśinilīṅga, prapharvidā, devatalakṣāṇa,
devatapradhānatva; later, devakinandana, lakṣmivardhana, ku-
māridatta, muhūrtaṇa, iṣṭakacita, etc.

e. Occasionally, a stem is used as prior member of a compound which does not appear, or not in that form, as an independent word: examples are mahā great (apparently used independently in V. in accusative), tuvi
mighty (V.), dvi two.

f. Not infrequently, the final member of a compound assumes a special form: see below, 1315.

1250. But a case-form in the prior member of a compound is by no means rare, from the earliest period of the language. Thus:

a. Quite often, an accusative, especially before a root-stem, or a deriv-
ative in a of equivalent meaning: for example, pataṅgā going by flight,
dhanaṁjayā winning wealth, abhayamkarā causing absence of danger,
puṣṭimbharā bringing prosperity, vācaminkhāya inciting the voice; but also sometimes before words of other form, as aṅvamiśī horse-desiring,
qubhāmyāvan going in splendor, subhāgaṁkāraṇa making happy,
bhayamkarīt cause of fear. In a few cases, by analogy with these, a
word receives an accusative form to which it has no right: thus, ṣūdāṁśāni,
makṣūṅgama, vasumīdhara, ātmambhari.

b. Much more rarely, an instrumental: for example, girāvṛdhī increas-
ing by praise, vācāstena stealing by incantation, krātvāmāgha gladly
bestowing, bhāsāketu bright with light, vidmanāpas active with wisdom.

C. In a very few instances, a dative: thus, nareṣṭhā serving a man,
asmeḥiti errand to us, and perhaps kiyedhā and maheṣīdh.

d. Not seldom, a locative; and this also especially with a root-stem or a-derivative: for example, agregha going at the head, diviṅgīt dwelling
in the sky, vaneṣṭhā preserving in the wood, aṅgeṣṭhā existing in the limbs,
proṣṭhegayā lying on a couch, sutōkara active with the soma, divi-
cara moving in the sky; aṛṣgātura having enemies far removed, sunma-
āpi near in favor, māderaghu hastening in excitement, yudhiṣṭhirā
firm in battle, antevāsin dwelling near; aṣputā born in the waters, hṛt EV
hurling at hearts.

e. Least often, a genitive: thus, rāyāśāma desirous of wealth,
akasyavid knowing no one. But the older language has a few examples of the putting together of a genitive with its governing noun, each member of the combination keeping its own accent: see below, 1267d.

f. Ablative forms are to be seen in balātkāra violence and balātkṛta, and perhaps in parātpriya. And a stem in ñ sometimes appears in a copulative compound in its nominative form: thus, pitāputrau father and son, hotāputrāu the invoker and purifier. Anyonya one another is a fused phrase, of nominative and oblique case.

g. In a very few words, plural meaning is signified by plural form: thus, apujā etc. (in derivation, also, apsu is used as a stem), hṛtavās, nīḥpranetra conducting men, rujaskara causing pains, (and dual) hanukampa trembling of the two jaws.

h. Much more often, of words having gender-forms, the feminine is used in composition, when the distinctive feminine sense is to be conveyed: e. g. gopinātha master of the shepherdesses, dāśiputra son of a female slave, mṛgīḍṛg gazelle-eyed, pranīṭapraṇāyana vessel for consecrated water.

1251. The accent of compounds is very various, and liable to considerable irregularity even within the limits of the same formation; and it must be left to be pointed out in detail below. All possible varieties are found to occur. Thus:

a. Each member of the compound retains its own separate accent. This is the most anomalous and infrequent method. It appears in certain Vedic copulative compounds chiefly composed of the names of divinities (so-called devatā-dvandvas: 1255 ff.), and in a small number of aggregations partly containing a genitive case-form as prior member (1267d).

b. The accent of the compound is that of its prior member. This is especially the case in the great class of possessive compounds; but also in determinatives having the participle in ta or na as final member, in those beginning with the negative a or an, and in other less numerous and important classes.

c. The accent of the compound is that of the final member. This is not on so large a scale the case as the preceding; but it is nevertheless quite common, being found in many compounds having a verbal noun or adjective as final member, in compounds beginning with the numerals dvi and tri or the prefixes su and dus, and elsewhere in not infrequent exceptions.

d. The compound takes an accent of its own, independent of that of either of its constituents, on its final syllable (not always, of course, to be distinguished from the preceding case). This method is largely followed: especially, by the regular copulatives, and by the great mass of dependent and descriptive noun-compounds, by 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: medhásati (médha), ti-lámīqra (tíla), khādhihasta (khāḍi), yāvayádveṣas (yāvāyant); ṭākadhūma (dhūmā), amṛta (mṛtā), suvīra (vīra), tuvigrīva (grīvā). A few words — as víčva, pūrva, and sometimes sárva — take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

1. Copulative Compounds.

1252. Two or more nouns — much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs — having a coordinate construction, as if connected by a conjunction, usually and, are sometimes combined into compounds.

a. This is the class to which the Hindu grammarians give the name of dvandva pair, couple; a dvandva of adjectives, however, is not recognized by them.

b. Compounds in which the relation of the two members is alternative instead of copulative, though only exceptional, are not very rare: examples are nyūnādhika defective or redundant, jayaparājaya victory or defeat, kritotpanna purchased or on hand, kāṣṭhaloṣṭasama like a log or clod, pakṣimrgata the condition of being bird or beast, triṇadviṁga numbering twenty or thirty, catuṣpaṇcaṅkṛtvas four or five times, dvitekāntara different by one or two. A less marked modification of the copulative idea is seen in such instances as priyasatya agreeable though true, prarthitadurlabha sought after but hard to obtain; or in ṛṇaṅgata arrived weary.

1253. The noun-copulatives fall, as regards their inflective form, into two classes:

1. a. The compound has the gender and declension of its final member, and is in number a dual or a plural, according to its logical value, as denoting two or more than two individual things.

b. Examples are: prāṇāpanāū inspiration and expiration, vṛihiyavāū rice and barley, pṛkṣāṃve verse and chant, kapotolūkāū dove and owl, candrādityāū moon and sun, hastyaṅgāvāū the elephant and horse, ajāvāvāū goats and sheep, devasuras the gods and demons, atharvāṅgirūs the Atharvans and Angirases, sambhādatandryās anxieties and fatigue, vidyākarmāṇi knowledge and action, hastyaṅgāvāū elephants and horses; of more than two members (no examples quotable from the older language), cauyāsanabhogās lying, sitting, and eating, brāhmaṁakṣatriyaviṁśudrās a Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiṣya, and Čūdra,
rogaçokaparitāpabandhanavyasanāni disease, pain, grief, captivity, and misfortune.

2. c. The compound, without regard to the number denoted, or to the gender of its constituents, becomes a neuter singular collective.

d. Examples are: īṣṭāpūrtām what is offered and bestowed, ahorātām a day and night, kṛtākṛtām the done and undone, bhūtabhāvyām past and future, kecācmaqrū hair and beard, oṣadhivanaspatī plants and trees, candrasūkram moon and stars, ahinakulam snake and ichneumon, qirogriyam head and neck, yūkāmāṣikamakatkuṇam live, flies, and bugs.

1254. a. That a stem in r as prior member sometimes takes its nominative form, in a, was noticed above, 1250f.

b. A stem as final member is sometimes changed to an a-form to make a neuter collective: thus, chattropānāham an umbrella and a shoe.

c. The grammarians give rules as to the order of the elements composing a copulative compound: thus, that a more important, a briefer, a vowel-initial member should stand first; and that one ending in a should be placed last. Violations of them all, however, are not infrequent.

1255. In the oldest language (RV.), copulative compounds such as appear later are quite rare, the class being chiefly represented by dual combinations of the names of divinities and other personages, and of personified natural objects.

a. In these combinations, each name has regularly and usually the dual form, and its own accent; but, in the very rare instances (only three occurrences out of more than three hundred) in which other cases than the nom.-acc.-voc. are formed, the final member only is inflected.

b. Examples are: īndrāsōmā, īndrāvīṣṇū, īndrābhāspatī, agni-gomāu, turvācâyādū, dyāvāpṛthivī, uśāsānāktā (and, with intervening words, nāktā..., uśāsā), sūryāmāsā. The only plural is īndrāmarutas (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are mītrā-vāruṇāḥhyām and mītrāvāruṇayos (also mītrayor vāruṇayoh), and īndrāvāruṇayos (each once only).

c. From dyāvāpṛthivī is made the very peculiar genitive divāṣpr-thivyos (4 times: AV. has dyāvāpṛthivyāṁ and dyāvāpṛthivyōs).

d. In one compound, parjanyavatā, the first member (RV., once) does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (indranā-satyā, voc., is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present: thus, īndrāpūṇās (beside īndrāpūṣānā), somāpūṣabhyām (somāpūṣanā occurs only as voc.), vātāparjanyā, sūryācandramāsā, and īndrāgni (with īndragnībhyām and īndrāngnyōs): somārudrā is accentuated only
in CB. And in one, indravāyū, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.

e. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural ajāvāyas, the duals ṭksāmē, satyāntē, sācānāṇaṇē; also the neuter collective ḍṛṣṭāpūrtām, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective, nilalohitām. Further, the neuter plurals ahorātrāṇi nyothemēra, 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., bhavārudrāśi, bhavācarvāśi, aṅgāviṣṇū, 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 nonas, are kecaqmatum hair and heard, ańjanābhyaśjanāṁ sauce and ointment, and kaśipūparhaṇām mat and pillow, unified because of the virtual unity of the two objects specified. Neuter singulares, used in a similar collective way, of adjective compounds, are (besides those in RV.): kṛṭākṛtām what is done and undone (instead of what is done and what is undone), cittākām thought and desire, bhadrāpāpām good and evil, bhūtabhavyām past and future.

1257. Copulative compounds composed of adjectives which retain their adjective character are made in the same manner, but are in comparison rare.

a. Examples are: chuklakrēṇa light and dark, sēthalajūdaka terrestrial and aquatic, dāntarājatasauvārma of ivory and silver and gold, used distributively; and vṛttāpīṇa round and plump, cāntānukūla tranquil and propitious, hṛṣītasrāgrahojīna wearing fresh garlands and free from dust, niśekādiṃcāmāṇēta beginning with conception and ending with burial, used cumulatively; nā 'tiśitoṇa not over cold or hot, used alternatively; kṣaṇadṛṣṭānaṣṭa seen for a moment and then lost, cintitopasthita at hand as soon as thought of, in more pregnant sense.

b. In the Veda, the only examples noted are the cumulative nilalohitā and ḍṛṣṭāpūrtā etc., used in the neut. sing. as collectives (as pointed out above), with tāmrachūrē dark tawny; and the distributive daksīnasavvyā right and left, saptamaśṭamā seventh and eighth, and bhadrāpāpā good and evil (beside the corresponding neut. collective). Such combinations as satyāntē truth and falsehood, priyāpriyāni things
agreeable and disagreeable, where each component is used substantively, are, of course, not to be separated from the ordinary noun-compounds.

A special case is that of the compound adjectives of direction: as uttarapārśva north-east, prāgadakṣiṇa south-east, daksiṇapaqcima south-west, etc.: compare 1281 b.

1258. In accentuated texts, the copulative compounds have uniformly the accent (acute) on the final of the stem.

a. Exceptions are a case or two in AV., where doubtless the reading is false: thus, vātāparjanya (once: beside -nyāyas), devamanuṣyās (once: -syā), brahmarājanyābhyaśā (also VS.): further, vākopavākyā (CB.), açanāyāpipāse (CB.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives: thus, āharāvivī day by day, sāyāmprātat at evening and in the morning. They have the accent of their prior member. Later occur also bāhyantar, pratyagdakṣiṇā, pratyagdudak.

1260. Repeated words. In all ages of the language, nouns and pronouns and adjectives and particles are not infrequently repeated, to give an intensive, or a distributive, or a repetitional meaning.

a. Though these are not properly copulative compounds, there is no better connection in which to notice them than here. They are, as the older language shows, a sort of compound, of which the prior member has its own independent accent, and the other is without accent: hence they are most suitably and properly written (as in the Vedic pada-texts) as compounds. Thus: jahy ēṣāṁ vāraṁ-varam stay of them each best man; divē-dive or dyāvi-dyāvi from day to day; āṅgād-āṅgāl lōmnolom- naḥ párvāṇi-parvāṇi from every limb, from every hair, in each joint; práy-a yajñāpatim tira make the master of the sacrifice live on and on; bhūyo-bhūyāḥ vāḥ-vāḥ further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow; ēkāyai-kayā with in each case one; vayām-vayam our very selves.

b. Exceptional and rare cases are those of a personal verb-form repeated: thus, pibā-piba (RV.), yājasva-yājasva (CB.), vėda-veda (? CB.); — and of two words repeated: thus, vāvad vā-vāvad vā (CB.), yatamē vā-yatame vā (CB.).

c. In a few instances, a word is found used twice in succession without that loss of accent the second time which makes the repetition a virtual composite: thus, nū nū (RV.), sām sām (AV.), ihē ’hā (AV.), anāyā- nāyā (CB.), stuhī stuhī (RV., sec. to pada-text).

d. The class of combinations here described is called by the native grammarians āmreḍita added unto (?)

1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, ēkādaśa 11, dvāriṅgati 22, triṇgata 103, cātuḥsaḥsastras 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.

a. The whole class of determinatives is called by the Hindu grammarians tatparuṣa (the term is a specimen of the class, meaning "his man"); and the second division, the descriptive, has the special name of karmacārāya (of obscure application; the literal sense is something like "office-bearing"). After their example, the two divisions are in European usage widely known by these two names respectively.

A. Dependent Compounds.

1264. Dependent Noun-compounds. In this division, the case-relation of the prior member to the other may be of any kind; but, in accordance with the usual relations of one noun to another, it is oftenest genitive, and least often accusative.

a. Examples are: of genitive relation, deva-seṇā army of gods, yamādūṭa Yama's messenger, jīvalokā the world of the living, indra-
dhanuṣ Indra’s bow, brahmagāvī the Brahman’s cow, viṣagirī poison-mound, mitralābha acquisition of friends, mūrkaṭāṇi hundreds of fools, virasenaṣuta Viṣrṇa’s son, rājendra chief of kings, aṣmat-putrāḥ our sons, tadvacās his words; — of dative, pādodaka water for the feet, māsaniṣaya accumulation for a month; — of instrumental, ātmāsūrdṛça likeness with self, dhānyārtha wealth acquired by grain, dharmapatni lawful spouse, pitṛbandhu paternal relation; — of ablative, apsaraḥsambhava descent from a nymph, madāvyoga separation from me, cāurabhaya fear of a thief; — of locative, jalakṛdā sport in the water, grāmavāsā abode in the village, puruṣāṅṭa untruth about a man; — of accusative, nagaraṇamāna going to the city.

1265. Dependent Adjective-compounds. In this division, only a very small proportion of the compounds have an ordinary adjective as final member; but usually a participle, or a derivative of agency with the value of a participle. The prior member stands in any case-relation which is possible in the independent construction of such words.

a. Examples are: of locative relation, sthitipakṣa cooked in a pot, aṣṭvakovida knowing in horses, vayāḥsama alike in age, yudhiṣṭhira steadfast in battle, tanūṃṇabhra beautiful in body; — of instrumental, mātṛsadṛṣa like his mother; — of dative, gohitā good for cattle; — of ablative, bhavadanyā other than you, garbhāṅgata eighth from birth, dṛṣyetara other than visible (i. e. invisible); — of genitive, bharataṇareshapeṣṭha best of the Bharatas, dvijottama foremost of Brahmins: — with participial words, in accusative relation, vedāvid Veda-knowing, annādā food-eating, tanūpāṇa body-protecting, satyavādin truth-speaking, pattragata committed to paper (lit. gone to a leaf); — in instrumental, madhupīt cleansing with honey, svayāṃkṛta self-made, indragupta protected by Indra, vidyāhīna deserted by (i. e. destitute of) knowledge; — in locative, hṛdayāvīdḥ pierced in the heart, ytvij sacrificing in due season, divicara moving in the sky; — in ablative, rājyabhrāṣṭṛa fallen from the kingdom, vṛkabhrītā afraid of a wolf; — in dative, ṛṣaṇāgata come for refuge.

1266. We take up now some of the principal groups of compounds falling under these two heads, in order to notice their specialties 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 (1264a).
a. A principal exception with regard to accent is páti master, lord (and its feminine pātnī), compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, prajāpati, vāṣupati, ātithipati, gopati, gṛhāpatni, etc. etc. (compare the verbal nouns in ti, below, 1274). But in a few words páti retains its own accent: thus, vīqpati, rayipati, paqupati, vasupatnī, etc. and the more general rule is followed in apsarapati and vrājapati (AV.), and nāḍīpati (VS.), citpati (MS.; elsewhere citpāti).

b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, janarājan, devavārman, hiranyatājas, prptanāhāva, godhūma and cākadhūma (but dhūmā); vācāstena.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are dīvodāsa, vācāstena, uccāśgraivas, uccāśrghoṣa, dūrēbhās (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accentuated on both members: thus, qāciapati, sādāspati, bhāspatī, vānaspati, rāthaspati, jāspati (also jāspati), nāraṇāṇas, tānuṇāḍy, tānuṇāpāt (tanū as independent word), ṇuṇāḥṣeṇa. And CB. has a long list of metronymics having the anomalous accentuation kāutsīpūtra, gārgīpūtra, etc.

1266. The compounds having an ordinary adjective as final member are (as already noticed) comparatively few.

a. So far as can be gathered from the scanty examples occurring in the older language, they retain the accent of the prior member: thus, gāvīsthira (AV. gavīsthira), tānūṇāḍha, māderaghu, yajñādhi, sāmanvīra, tilāmiṣa (but tīla); but kṛṣṭapacyā ripening in cultivated soil.

1269. The adjective dependent compounds having as final member the bare root — or, if it end in a short vowel, generally with an added t — are very numerous in all periods of the language, as has been already repeatedly noticed (thus, 383f—h, 1147). They are accentuated on the root.

a. In a very few instances, the accent of the adjective having apparently or conjecturally this origin is otherwise laid: thus, āṇṣatra, āṇarvīḍ, svāṣvī, pratyākṣadṛś, pūrāhdi, ṣadhi, āramiṣ, ucādagh, vatsāpa, ābdā.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, pataṁga, girāvīḍh, dhiyājūr, akṣayādruh, hṛdayīḍ, diviśīḍ, vaneśāh, diviśād, aṅgeṣṭhā, hṛstvā, pṛṣṭutūr, āpsuṣā.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, manoyuṣ yoked (yoking themselves) by the will, hṛdayāvīḍh pierced to the heart, manuṣa born of Manu.

1270. Compounds made with verbal derivatives in a, both of action and of agency, are numerous, and take the accent usually on their final syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1148m).
a. Examples are: hastagramhā hand-grasping, devavandā god-praising, havirādā devouing the offering, bhuvanacyavā shaking the world, vṛatya-bruvā calling one's self a vrātya; aksaparājāyā failure at play, vāsaṭkāra utterance of vāsaṭ, gopogā prosperity in cattle, aṅgajyavā pain in the limbs.

b. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives: above, 1266) that of the prior member: thus, marudvīdha, sutēkara, divēkara (and other more questionable words). And dúgha milking, yielding is so accented as final: thus, madhudūgha, kāmadūgha.

c. Case-forms are especially frequent in the prior members of compounds with adjective derivatives in a showing guna-strengthening of the root: thus, for example, abhayānkara, yudhāngāmā, dhanaṁjaya, puram-dārā, viṇvambhārā, divākārā, talpeṣayā, divīṣṭambhā.

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 e).

a. Examples are: keśavārdhana hair-increasing, āyuṣpratāraṇa life-lengthening, tanūpāṇa body-protecting; devahēdana hatred of the gods, pumāsūvana giving birth to males.

b. A very few apparent exceptions as regards accent are really cases where the derivative has lost its verbal character: thus, yamasādānā Yama's realm, ścādvidhāna means of protection.

c. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in ana: thus, sarūpaṁkāraṇa, ayakṣamaṁkāraṇa, subhaṁkaṁkāraṇa, vanakāraṇa.

1272. a. The action-nouns in ya (1213) are not infrequent in composition as final member, and retain their own proper accent (as in combination with prefixes). Sufficient examples were given above (1213).

b. The same is true of the equivalent feminines in yā: see above, 1213 d.

c. The gerundives in ya (1213) hardly occur in the older language in combination with other elements than prefixes. The two nīvibhāryā and prathamavāsyā (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; balavijñāyā and ācuvabudhya (?) 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: 1065 a).

a. Examples are: hāstakṛta made with the hand, virājāta born of a hero, ghōgabuddha awakened by noise, prajāpatīṣṭa created by Prajāpati, devātta given by the gods; and, of participles combined with prefixes, indraprasūta impelled by Indra, bhūṣpatipraṇutta driven away by Brīhaspati, uklābbhīhata struck by a thunderbolt, vājravihata, sāṁvat-
sarásammita commensurate with the year. AV. has the anomalous apsú-
samcitā quickened by the waters.

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the
compound has the accent: for example, agnitaptā, indrotā, pitrvittā,
rathakritā, agnidaghā (beside agnidagdha), kaviçastā (beside kavi-
çasta), kavipraçastā.

c. One or two special usages may be noticed. The participle gata,
gone to, as final of a compound, is used in a loose way in the later lan-
guage to express relation of various kinds: thus, jagatigata existing in
the world, tvadgata belonging to thee, sakhigata relating to a friend, citra-
gata in a picture, putragataṁ sneham affection towards a son, etc. The
participle bhūta been, become is used in composition with a noun as hardly
more than a grammatical device to give it an adjective form: thus, idaṁ
tamobhūtam this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of
darkness); tāṁ ratnabhūtaṁ lokasya her, being the pearl of the world;
ksetrabhūta smṛta nārī bijabhūtaḥ smṛtaḥ pumān a woman is
regarded as a field; a man, as seed; and so on.

d. The other participles only seldom occur as finals of compounds:
thus, prāsakārmukabimbhārata bearing javelin and bow, aṣṭravidvānaṁ
not knowing the text-books, arjunadarçivānaṁ having seen Arjuna, apiya-
qañśivānaṁ announcing what is disagreeable, gāutamabruvāna calling
himself Gautama.

1274. Compounds with derivatives in ti have (like combinations
with the prefixes: 1157e) the accent of the prior member.

a. Examples are: dhānasātī winning of wealth, sōmapāti soma-
drinking, devāhuti invocation of the gods, nāmāuktī utterance of homage,
havyādāti presentation of offerings; and so tokāsāti, devāhiti, rudrāhuti,
sūktōkāti, svagākṛti, divēti.

b. In nemādhitī, medhāsātī, vanādhitī (all RV.), the accent of
the prior member is changed from penult to final.

c. Where the verbal character of the derivative is lost, the general
rule of final accent (1267) is followed: thus, devahetī weapon of the gods,
devasumāti favor of the gods, brahmacāti Brahman-pole. Also in sar-
vajyānī entire ruin, the accent is that of compounds with ordinary nouns.

1275. Compounds with a derivative in in as final member have
(as in all other cases) the accent on the in.

a. Thus, ukthaqaṇāsān psalm-singing, vratacārīn vow-performing,
ṛṣabhadāyīn bullock-giving, satyavādīn truth-speaking, ćroṇipratodīn
thigh-pounding.

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in i,
having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.

a. Thus, pathirākṣī road-protecting, havirmāthi sacrifice-disturbing,
ātmadūgli soul-harming, pathiśādi sitting in the path, sahobhārī strength-
bearing, vasuvani winning good-things, dhanasani gaining wealth, manomushi mind-stealing, phalagrahi setting fruit; and, from reduplicated root, urucakri making room. Compounds with -sani and -vani are especially frequent in Veda and Brāhmaṇa; as independent words, nouns, these are accented sansī and vānī. In many cases, the words are not found in independent use. Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient numbers to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (1155f).

b. From ṣan are made in composition -ghni and -ghnī, with accent on the ending: thus, sahasraghni, shighni, ṣvaghni; -dhi from ṣḍhā (1155g) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, ṣudhī, garbhadhi, pucchadhi.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in van have (like combinations with prefixes: 1169c) the accent of the final member: namely, on the radical syllable.

a. Thus, somapavan soma-drinking, baladavan strength-giving, pāpakrtvan evil-doing, bahuṣuvan much-yielding, talpaQlvan lying on a couch, rathayavan going in a chariot, drusadvan sitting on a tree, agrētvarī f. going at the head. The accent of the obscure words mātrēvan and mātarfbhvan is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final man appear to follow the same rule as those with van: thus, svadukṣādman sharing out sweets, ācuḥéman steed-impelling.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence, may be briefly noticed: thus, in u, rāstradipsu, devapiyū, govindū, vanargū (?) : compare 1178 e; — in nu or tnu, lokakṛtnū, surūpakuRtīnū : compare 1196; — in tṛ, nṛpṛṭ, mandḥatṛ, haskartṛ (vasudhātaraś, AV., is doubtless a false reading). The derivatives in as are of infrequent occurrence in composition (as in combination with prefixes: above, 1151 k), and appear to be treated as ordinary nouns: thus, yajñāvacās (but hiraṇyatājas, AV.).

B. Descriptive Compounds.

1279. In this division of the class of determinatives, the prior member stands to the other in no distinct case-relation, but qualifies it adjectively or adverbially, according as it (the final member) is noun or adjective.

a. Examples are: niłotpala blue lotus, sarvagnuṇa all good quality, priyasakha dear friend, maharṣi great-sage, rajataśāstra silver cup; ajñāta unknown, sūkṛta well done, duṣkṛt ill-doing, puruṣūṭāta much praised, pūnārnavas renewed.

b. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun, or
an adverb before an adjective; other parts of speech are sometimes used adjectively and adverbially in that position.

a. The boundary between descriptive and dependent compounds is not an absolute one; in certain cases it is open to question, for instance, whether a prior noun, or adjective with noun-value, is used more in a case-relation, or adverbially.

d. Moreover, where the final member is a derivative having both noun and adjective value, it is not seldom doubtful whether an adjective compound is to be regarded as descriptive, made with final adjective, or possessive, made with final noun. Sometimes the accent of the word determines its character in this respect, but not always.

e. A satisfactorily simple and perecific classification of the descriptive compounds is not practicable; we cannot hold apart throughout the compounds of noun and of adjective value, but may better group both together, as they appear with prefixed elements of various kinds.

1280. The simplest case is that in which a noun as final member is preceded by a qualifying adjective as prior member.

a. In this combination, both noun and adjective may be of any kind, verbal or otherwise. The accent is (as in the corresponding class of dependent noun-compounds: 1267) on the final syllable.

b. Thus, ajñatayakṣmā unknown disease, mahādhanā great wealth, kaśipraṇyena swift hawk, kṛṣṇaṇakunī black bird, daksināgni southern fire, urukṣiti wide abode, adharahanā lower jaw, itarajanā other folks, sarvātmān whole soul, ekavirā sole hero, saṃtarṣi seven sages, trīyāsabhā third libation, ekonavīciṣṭatī a score diminished by one, jaṅgīrasvāpna waking sleep, yāvāyatsakhā defending friend, apakaṣīyāmānapakṣā winning half.

c. There are not a few exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with vīcva (in composition, accented vīcva), which itself retains the accent: thus, vīcvaṇādīs all the gods, vīcvaṃāṃsu every man. For words in ti, see below, 1287 d. Sporadic cases are madhyāṃdina, vṛṣākapi, both of which show an irregular shift of tone in the prior member; and a few others.

d. Instead of an adjective, the prior member is in a few cases a noun used appositionally, or with a quasi-adjective value. Thus, rājyakṣmā king-disease, brāhmaṇa priest-sage, rājarsī king-sage, rājadanta king-tooth, devajana god-folk, duhitṛjana daughter-person, camilata creeper named gani, muṣikākhyā the name “mouse”, jaya-qaṭa the word “conquer”, uḥitaqaṭa the word “deserted”; or, more figuratively, gṛhanaraka house-hell (house which is a hell), čāpāgni curse-fire (consuming curse).

e. This group is of consequence, inasmuch as in possessive application
it is greatly extended, and forms a numerous class of appositional compounds: see below, 1302.

f. This whole subdivision, of nouns with preceding qualifying adjectives, is not uncommon; but it is greatly (in AV., for example, more than five times) exceeded in frequency by the sub-class of possessives of the same form: see below, 1298.

1281. The adverbial words which are most freely and commonly used as prior members of compounds, qualifying the final member, are the verbal prefixes and the words of direction related with them, and the inseparable prefixes, a or an, su, dus, etc. (1121). These are combined not only with adjectives, but also, in quasi-adjectival value, with nouns; and the two classes of combinations will best be treated together.

1282. Verbal adjectives and nouns with preceding adverbs. As the largest and most important class under this head might properly enough be regarded the derivatives with preceding verbal prefixes. These, however, have been here reckoned rather as derivatives from roots combined with prefixes (1141), and have been treated under the head of derivation, in the preceding chapter. In taking up the others, we will begin with the participles.

1283. The participles belonging to the tense-systems — those in ant (or at), māna, āna, vāṇa — are only rarely compounded with any other adverbial element than the negative a or an, which then takes the accent.

a. Examples are: ānadant, adadat, ānaçnant, āsravant, ālubh- yant, ādāsyan, ādātañ, ādevyant; āmānyāmāna, āhiinsāna, āchidysānā; ādādīvāns, ābibhivāns, atasthāna; and, with verbal prefixes, ānapasphurant, ānāgamiṣyant, ānabhāgamiṣyant, āvī- rādhayant, āvīcācalat, āpratimanyūyāna.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: arundhāti, ajārantī, acodānt (RV., once: doubtless a false reading; the simple participle is cōdant); AV. has anipāthamāna for RV. ānipādyamāna (and the published text has asamyānt, with a part of the manuscripts); CB. has akāmāyamāna.

c. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been noted in the Veda-punardiyamāna (in āpurnard-) and sūvidvāns. In alalā- bhāvant and jñājanābhāvant (RV.), as in astamīyānt and astameṣyānt (AV.), we have participles of a compound conjugation (1091), in which, as has been pointed out, the accent is as in combinations with the verbal prefixes.
1284. The passive (or past) participle in ta or na is much more variously compounded; and in general (as in the case of the verbal prefixes: 1085a) the preceding adverbial element has the accent.

a. Thus, with the negative a or an (by far the most common case): ākṛta, ādabdha, āriṣṭa, ānāḍhṛṣṭa, āparājīta, āsāmkhyaṭa, ānabhyaṛūḍha, āparimitasamṛddha; — with su, sūjāta, sūhuta, sūṣaṃ-čita, svārāṅkṛta; — with dus, dūcaraṭa, dūrdhita and dūṛhita, dūḥṛṣṭa; — with other adverbial words, dāṃsuṣūta, nāvajāta, sāna-qruta, svayāṅkṛta, trípratisthita: śrāṅkṛta and kakajāṅkṛta are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with a or an, anācaṣṭā, apar-qaṣṭā, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, amṛṭa, adṛṣṭa, acīṭta, ayūta myriad, atūṛta (beside ātūṛta), asūṛta (?beside sūṛta); — with su (nearly half as numerons as the regular cases), subhūṭā, sūkṛta, supra-qaṣṭā, svākṛta, suṣkṛta and sūjātā (beside sūkṛta and sūjāta), and a few others; with dus (quite as numerons as the regular cases), duritā (also dūrita), duruktā, duṣkṛtā (also duṣkṛta), dur-bhūṭā; with su, sājātā; with other adverbs, amotā, ariṣṭutā, tvuṭjātā, prācinnopavīttā, tadāṃduḍghā, prātardudghā, etc., and the compounds with puru, puruvājātā, puruprajātā, purupraṣṭā, puruṣūṭātā, etc., and with svayam, svayāṅkṛtā etc. The proper name aṣādhā stands beside aṣādha; and AV. has abhināma for RV. abhinna.

1285. The gerundives occur almost only in combination with the negative prefix, and have usually the accent on the final syllable.

a. Examples are: anāpyā, anindya, abudhyā, asahyā, ayodhyā, amokyā; adviṣṇyā; ahnavāyyā; and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are asāmikhyaṭa, apraṃgṛya, anapavrīṭa, anatīvya, anādṛṣgya, avimokyā, anānukṛtyā (the accent of the simple word being saṃkhyeya etc.).

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: ānedya, ādabhya, āgohya, ājoṣya, āyabhya. The two anavadhargṛya and anatīvyadhṛya (both AV.) belong to the yā-division (1213b) of gerundives, and have retained the accent of the simple word. And āghnya and aṅghnya occur together.

c. The only compounds of these words with other adverbial elements in V. are sūyabhya (accented like its twin āyabhya) and prathamavāṣyā (which retains the final circumflex), and perhaps ekāvāḍyā.

d. The nenter nouns of the same form (1213c: except sadhāstutya) retain their own accent after an adverbial prior member: thus, purvapāḍyā, pūrvarceṣyā, amutrahṛṣṭya; and sahaqēyya. And the negated gerundives instanced above are capable of being viewed as possessive compounds with such nouns.

e. Some of the other verbal derivatives which have rules of their own as to accent etc. may be next noticed.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 32
1286. The root-stem (pure root, or with t added after a short final vowel: 1147 d) is very often combined with a preceding adverbial word, of various kinds; and in the combination it retains the accent.

a. Examples are: with inseparable prefixes, adrúṇḥ not harming, astū not giving birth, arúc not shining; suśṛṅt well-doing, suçṛūṭ hearing well; duśṛṅt ill-doing, duḍācq (199 d) impious; sayūj joining together, saḿād conflict; sahaḿa boin together, sahaḿā carrying together; — with other adverbs, amaḿur growing old at home, uparipṛṣṇa touching upward, punarbhū appearing again, prātāryūj harnessed early, sadyaṁkṛti bought the same day, sākaṁvīḍh growing up together, sadaṁndī ever-binding, viśūvīt turning to both sides, vṛṭṭāsāḥ easily overcoming; — with adjectives used adverbially, uruvāc wide-spreading, prathamajā first-born, rāghuvāyād swift-moving, navasū newly giving birth, ekajā only born, ākṛapīḍc brightly adorned, dvijā twice born, trīvīt triple, svarāj self-ruuling; — with nouns used adverbially, çambhū beneficiary, sūryaçṝtīt shining like the sun, iṇāṇkṛt acting as lord, svayambhū self-existent; and, with accusative case-form, pataṁgā going by flight.

b. When, however, a root-stem is already in composition, whether with a verbal prefix or an element of other character, the further added negative itself takes the accent (as in case of an ordinary adjective: below, 1388 a): thus, for example, ānākṣit not abiding, ānāvṛt not turning back, āvidviṣ not showing hostility, āduśṛṅt not ill-doing, ānaṇcavāḍā not giving a horse, āpācuhān not slaying cattle (anāgāś would be an exception, if it contained yṛgā: which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with su seem to retain the radical accent: thus, supraṭūr, svābhū, svāyūj: svāvṛj is an unsupported exception.

c. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as prátiçrāc, sadhāśtha, ādhurīgū, and the words having añc as final member (407 ff.: if this element is not, after all, a suffix): compare 1289 a.

1287. Other verbal derivatives, requiring to be treated apart from the general body of adjectives, are few and of minor importance. Thus:

a. The derivatives in a are in great part of doubtful character, because of the possibility of their being used with substantive value to make a possessive compound. The least ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (1148 j), which have the accent on the suffix: thus, asunvā, apaçyā, akṣudhyā, avidasyā, anāmṛṇa, sadāpṛṇā, punarmanya; and with them belong such cases as apṛṇā, avṛdhā, araṁgamā, urukramā, evāvadā, satrāśahā, punaḥsara, puraḥsara; and the nouns sāyambhāvā, sahaçcāra, prátaḥsāvā, mithoṣydhā. Differently accented, on the other hand, although apparently of the same formation, are such as ānapasphura, ānavahvāra (compare the compounds noticed at 1238 b), sadāvṛdhā, sūḥahavā, nyagṛdhā, puroḍāqa, sadhamāda, sudāgha, supācā, suhāva, and others. Words like adācba, durhāna, sukāra, suyāma, are probably possessives.
b. The derivatives in van keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare 1169c, 1277): thus, āguṇātvan and raghupātvan swift-flying, puroyāvan going in front, sukṣṭvan well-doing; and suṭārman and suvāhman and rughuyānman are probably to be classed with them. But the negative prefix has the accent even before those: thus, āyajvan, ārāvan, āprayutvan; 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, durgībhī, pjuvānī, tuviśvānī.

d. The derivatives in ti are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them: as, ṛcitti, abhūti, ānāhūti; with su and dus, the compound is accented now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on either (sūnīti and sūnīti, dūṣṭūti and dūṣṭūti); with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails: thus, sāhuti, sadhāstuti, purūhitī, pūrvāpīti, pūrvyāstuti.

e. The derivatives in in have, as in general, the accent on the suffix: thus, pūrvāsīn, bahucārīn, sādhudevīn, savāsīn, kevalādīn. But, with the negative prefix, ānāmin, āvitārin.

f. Other combinations are too various in treatment, or are represented by too few examples in accentuated texts, to justify the setting up of rules respecting them.

1288. Of the remaining combinations, those made with the inseparable prefixes form in some measure a class by themselves.

1. a. The negative prefix a or an, when it directly negatives the word to which it is added, has a very decided tendency to take the accent.

b. We have seen above (1283) that it does so even in the case of present and perfect and future participles, although these in combination with a verbal prefix retain their own accent (1085: but there are exceptions, as avadánt, apaṣyánt, etc. CB.); and also in the case of a root-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (1286b). And the same is true of its other combinations.

c. Thus, with various adjective words: ātandrā, ādabhra, āḍāquri, āṇju, ādevayu, āṭṛṇaj, ātavyāṇs, ānāmin, ādvayāvin, āpracetas, ānapatyavant, ānupadasvant, āpramāyuka, āmanri, āprajajñi, āvididdhayu, ānagnīdagāha, ākāmākarčana, āpaṣcāddaghvan. Further, with nouns, āpati, ākumāra, ābrāhmaṇa, āvidyā, ācṛaddhā, āvrātya.

d. But there are a number of exceptions, in which the accent is on the final syllable, without regard to the original accentuation of the final member: thus, for example, acitrā, aqirā, aviprā, ayajñiyā, anāmṣmākā, asthūrī, anāgū, ājarayu, anāmayitnū; and in amātra enemy, and avātra unmanit, there is a retraction of the accent from the final syllable of the final member to its penult.
2. e. The prefixes su and dus have this tendency in a much less degree, and their compounds are very variously accented, now on the prefix, now on the final syllable, now on the accented syllable of the final member; and occasionally on either of two syllables.

f. Thus, for example, sūbhadrā, sūvīpura, sūpakva, sūbrāhmaṇa, sūbhīṣaj; sūtrākha, sūvaṣāṇa, sūṣrāthi, sūpācā, sūcitra; sūqēva, sūhōṭr: sūvīra is like avīra; — durmitrā, duṣvāpnya; and duṣcēhūnā (188b), with irregular retraction of accent (qunā).

3. g. The compounds with as are too few to furnish occasion for separate mention; and those with the interrogative prefix in its various forms are also extremely rare in the Veda: examples are kucērā, katarā, kābandha, kunannamā, kumārā, kūvā, kuśāva.

1289. The verbal prefixes are sometimes used in a general adverbial way, qualifying a following adjective or noun.

a. Examples of such combinations are not numerous in the Veda. Their accentuation is various, though the tone rests oftenest on the prefix. Thus, ādhipati over-lord, āparāpa mis-form, prāṭīqatru opposing foe, prāṇapāt great-grandchild, vipākva quite done, sânprīya mutually dear; upājihvikā side tongue (with retraction of the accent of jihvā); antardeśā intermediate direction, pradvīd forward heaven, prapitāmahā (also prapitāmaha) great-grandfather, pratijanā opponent, vyadhvā midway. These compounds are more frequent with possessive value (below, 1305).

b. This use of the verbal prefixes is more common later, and some of them have a regular value in such compounds. Thus, āti denotes excess, as in atidūra very far, atibhayā exceeding fear, ātipūrūṣa (CB.) chief man; adhi, superiority, as in adhīdanta upper-tooth, adhistri chief woman; abhi is intensive, as in abhīnāma much inclining, abhīnava span-new, abhīrucīra delightful; ā signifies somewhat, as in ākūṭīla somewhat crooked, āṇīla bluish; upa denotes something accessory or secondary, as in upa-pūrīṇa additional Purūna; pari, excess, as in paridurbala very weak; prati, opposition, as in praptipaṅga opposing side, pratipustaka copy; vi, variation or excess, as in vidūra very far, vipāṇḍu greyish, vikṣudra respectively small; sam, completeness, as in sampakva quite ripe.

1290. Other compounds with adverbial prior members are quite irregularly accented.

Ths, the compounds with puru, on the final (compare the participles with puru, 1284 b): as, purūraddā, puruprīyā, puruṣcandā; those with pūnar, on the prior member, as pūnarnava, pūnarmagha, pūnaruven, pūnaveṣu (but puruṣasarā etc.); those with satās, satīnā, satyā, the same, as satomahant, satīnāmanu, satyāmugra; a few combinations of nouns in ṭ and anā with adverbs akin with the prefixes, on the final syllable, as puraśṭ, puraṇṭhāṭ, upariṣṭayanā, pratāṣṭvanā; and miscellaneous cases are mithāvadyapa, hāriṇcandri, ālapaṇayu, sādhvantā, yācchreṣṭhā and yāvacchreṣṭhā, jyogāmayāvin.
1291. One or two exceptional cases may be noted, as follows:

a. An adjective is sometimes preceded by a noun standing toward it in a quasi-adverbial relation expressive of comparison or likeness: e.g. čukabahūru (VS.) parrot-brown, ūrnāmpārtu (TB.) soft as wool, prānapriyā dear as life, kuqeṣayarajomṛdu soft as lotus-pollen, bakālinā hidden like a heron, mattamātaṅgāmin moving like a maddened elephant.

b. An adjective is now and then qualified by another adjective: e.g. kṛṣṇaśīta dark-gray, dhūmrārāhita grayish red; and compare the adjectives of intermediate direction, 1257c.

c. The adjective pūrva is in the later language frequently used as final member of a compound in which its logical value is that of an adverb qualifying the other member (which is said to retain its own accent). Thus, drṣṭapūrva previously seen, parinātapūrva already married, aparijñātapūrva not before known, somāpitapūrva having formerly drunk soma, stripūrva formerly a woman.

III. Secondary Adjective Compounds.

1292. a. A compound having a noun as its final member very often wins secondarily the value of an adjective, being inflected in the three genders to agree with the noun which it qualifies, and used in all the constructions of an adjective.

b. This class of compounds, as was pointed out above (1247. III.), falls into the two divisions of A. Possessives, having their adjective character given them by addition of the idea of possessing; and B. those in which the final member is syntactically dependent on or governed by the prior member.

A. Possessive Compounds.

1293. The possessives are noun-compounds of the preceding class, determinatives, of all its various subdivisions, to which is given an adjective inflection, and which take on an adjective meaning of a kind which is most conveniently and accurately defined by adding having or possessing to the meaning of the determinative.

a. Thus: the dependent sūryatejās sun’s brightness becomes the
possessive sūryatejas possessing the brightness of the sun; yajñakāmā desire of sacrifice becomes yajñākāma having desire of sacrifice; the descriptive bhadratha great chariot becomes the possessive bhādratha having great chariots; āhasta not hand becomes āhastā handleless; durgandhi ill savor becomes durgāndhi of ill savor; and so on.

b. A copulative compound is not convertible into an adjective directly, any more than is a simple noun, but requires, like the latter, a possessive suffix or other means: e.g. vāgghastavant, dōṣagūṇin, rastamaska, acirogriva, anṛgyajus. A very small number of exceptions, however, are found: thus, somendrā (TS.), stōmaprṣṭha (VS. TS.), hastīṣabha (CB.), dāśiniṅka (ChU.), and, later, cakramusala, sadānanda, saccidānanda, sāṅkhyayoga (as n. pr.), balābala, bhūtabhāutika.

c. The name given by the native grammarians to the possessive compounds is bahuvrīhi: the word is an example of the class, meaning possessing much rice.

d. The name “relative”, instead of possessive, sometimes applied to this class, is an utter misnomer; since, though the meaning of such a compound (as of any attributive word) is easily cast into a relative form, its essential character lies in the possessive verb which has nevertheless to be added, or in the possessive case of the relative which must be used: thus, mahākavi and āyurda, descriptive and dependent, are “relative” also, who is a great poet, and that is life-giving, but bhadratha, possessive, means who has a great chariot, or whose is a great chariot.

1294. a. That a noun, simple or compound, should be added to another noun, in an appositive way, with a value virtually attributive, and that such nouns should occasionally gain by frequent association and application an adjective form also, is natural enough, and occurs in many languages; the peculiarity of the Sanskrit-formation lies in two things. First, that such use should have become a perfectly regular and indefinitely extensible one in the case of compounded words, so that any compound with non-final may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a simple noun must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adapt it to adjective use: for example, that while hasta must become hastin and bāhu must become bāhumant, hiraṇyayasta and mahābāhu change from noun to adjective value with no added ending. And second, that the relation of the qualified noun to the compound should have come to be so generally that of possession, not of likeness, nor of appurtenance, nor of any other relation which is as naturally involved in such a construction: that we may only say, for example, mahābāhuḥ puruṣaḥ man with great arms, and not also mahābāhur maniḥ jewel for a great arm, or mahābāhavah cākhāḥ branches like great arms.

b. There are, however, in the older language a few derivative adjective compounds which imply the relation of appurtenance rather than that of possession, and which are with probability to be viewed as survivals of a state of things [antecedent to the specialization of the general class as
possessive (compare the similar exceptions under possessive suffixes, 1230g, 1233f). Examples are: viqvanara of or for all men, belonging to all (and so viqvakra, -carsani, -kṣiti, -gotra, -manus, -āyu, and sarvāpaqu, saptāmānuṣa), viqvaṣārada of every autumn, viqpathā for bad roads, dvirāja [battle] of two kings, āqvṛṣṭha carried on horseback, viṛūpastya abiding with heroes, pūṃmāṣa at full moon, adēvaka for no divinity, bahudevata or -ṭyā for many divinities, aparīsanvatsara not lasting a full year, ekāḍaṇkaṇapāla for eleven dishes, somendrā for Soma and Indra. And the compounds with final member in ana mentioned at 1296b are probably of the same character. But also in the later language, some of the so-called dvigu-compounds (1312) belong with these: so dvigu itself, as meaning worth two cows, dvīnān bought for two ships; also occasional cases like devāsurā [saṅgrāma] of the gods and demons, naraḥaya of man and horse, cakramusala with discs and club, guruṭalpa violating the teacher's bed.

1295. The possessive compound is distinguished from its substrate, the determinative, generally by a difference of accent. This difference is not of the same nature in all the divisions of the class; but oftenest, the possessive has as a compound the natural accent of its prior member (as in most of the examples given above).

1296. Possessively used dependent compounds, or possessive dependents, are very much less common than those corresponding to the other division of determinatives.

a. Further examples are: māyāroman having the plumes of peacocks, agnītejas having the brightness of fire, jīṉāmukha wearing the aspect of relatives, pāṭikāma desiring a husband, hastipāda having an elephant's feet, rājanyābandhu having kshatriyas for relatives.

b. The accent is, as in the examples given, regularly that of the prior member, and exceptions are rare and of doubtful character. A few compounds with derivatives in ana have the accent of the final member: e. g. indrapāna serving as drink for Indra, devasādana serving as seat for the gods, rayisthāna being source of wealth; but they contain no implication of possession, and are possibly in character, as in accent, dependent (but compare 1294b). Also a few in as, as nṛcākṣas men-beholding, nṛvāhas men-bearing, kṣetrasādhas field-prospering, are probably to be judged in the same way.

1297. Possessively used descriptive compounds, or possessive descriptives, are extremely numerous and of every variety of character; and some kinds of combination which are rare in proper descriptive use are very common as possessives.

a. They will be taken up below in order, according to the char-
acter of the prior member — whether the noun-final be preceded by a qualifying adjective, or noun, or adverb.

1288. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are (as pointed out above, 1280f) very much more common than descriptives of the same form.

a. They regularly and usually have the accent of their prior member: thus, anyārūpā of other form, ugrābāhu having powerful arms, jīvāputra having living sons, dirghāgmaṇu longbearded, bhācchṛvaṣas of great renown, bhūrīmula many-rooted, mahāvāda bearing a great weapon, viḍvārūpa having all forms, ṣuṅkārvaṇa of bright color, ṣivābhi-marṇaṇa of propitious touch, satyāsaṁdhya of true promises, sārvāṅga whole-timbed, svāyaqas having own glory, hārītasraṇa wearing yellow garlands.

b. Exceptions, however, in regard to accent are not rare (as seventh or eighth of the whole number, perhaps). Thus, the accent is sometimes that of the final member; especially with derivatives in as, as tuviraṇḍhas, purupēças, pyṭhupākṣas, and others in which (as above, 1296b) a determinative character may be suspected: thus, uruṅrāyas beside uruṅrī, uruṅvyācas beside uruṅvyāc, and so on; but also with those of other final, as riṅhāsta, cītikākṣa etc., kṛpaṅkāra, citradṛṣṭika, tuviraṇḍha, ṛjukrātu, pyṭhupārṇu, puruvārtman, raghuvaṁśa, vīṣpaṅṭman. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final to the first syllable of the second member: thus, anhūbhēda, tuvigrīva, puruvīra, pururūpā, cītibāhu (also cītibāhū). The largest class is that of compounds which take the accent upon their final syllable (in part, of course, not distinguishable from those which retain the accent of the final member): for example, bahvāna, nīlakhaṇḍa, purupurāṇa, viḍvāṅga, svapatī, tuvīpratī, ṭrṇīparṇī f., darṣataṇī, pūtīraiṇjū, asitajāṇī, ṭrṇihūmaṇa, bahvuprajās.

c. The adjective vīqa all, as prior member of a compound (and also in derivation), changes its accent regularly to vīqā; sārva whole, all does the same in a few cases.

1289. Possessive compounds with a participle preceding and qualifying the final noun-member are numerous, although such a compound with simple descriptive value is almost unknown. The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior member.

a. The participle is oftenest the passive one, in ta or na. Thus, chinnāpakaṣa with severed wing, dhṛtaṅāgra of firmly held royalty, hatāmaṭy whose mother is slain, iddhāgni whose fire is kindled, uttāna-hasta with outstretched hand, prāyatadaksiṇa having presented sacrificial gifts; and, with prefixed negative, āriṣṭavīra whose men are unharmcd, ātaptanu of unburned substance, ānabhimātaṅvara of untarnished color. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: there have been noticed only paryastākaṇa, vyastakeci f., achinnaparna.
Possessive Compounds.

b. Examples occur of a present participle in the same situation. In about half the (accentuated) instances, it gives its own accent to the compound: thus, dyutádnyám, dhṛṣádvarṣa etc., qucādratha, rācadvatīsa etc., bhṛjājjanman etc., sāhyādvīra, stānāyadana, sādhadigi; in the others, the accent is drawn forward to the final syllable of the compound (as in the compounds with governing participle: below, 1309): thus, dravātpāṇi etc. (dravāt also occurs as adverb), rapcādādhan, svanādratha, arcāddhūma, bhandaṭi, krandādiṭi. With these last agrees in form jarādaṇṭi attaining old age, long-lived; but its make-up, in view of its meaning, is anomalous.

The RV. has two compounds with the perfect middle participle as prior member: thus, yuyujānásaṭi with harrenessed coursers (perhaps rather having harrenessed their coursers), and dādṛṣāṇāpavi (with regular accent, instead of dādṛṣāṇa, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle) with conspicuous wheel-rims.

Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in ċrūtkarṇa (RV.) of listening car; and with this are perhaps accordant dīḍyagni and sthāraṇāman (RV., each once).

1300. Possessive compounds having a numeral as prior member are very common, and for the most part follow the same rule of accent which is followed by compounds with other adjectives: excepted are those beginning with dvi and tri, which accent in general the final member.

a. Examples with other numerals than dvi and tri are: ekacakra, ekacīrṣan, ekapad, cáṭuraṅga, cāṭuspakṣa, pāncāṅguri, pāncāṇdana, sāḍaṣaṇa, sāṭpad, saptājihva, saptāmāṭi, aṣṭāpad, aṣṭāputra, nāvapad, nāvadvāra, dāṇa, dāṃcākha, dāṇcīrṣan, dvādāṣa, triścādara, çatāparvan, çatāđant, sahasraṇāman, sahasrāmula.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are but few, and have the tone on the final syllable, whatever may be that belonging originally to the final member; they are mostly stems in final a, used by substitution for others in an, i, or a consonant: thus, caturakṣa etc. (akaṣ or akaṣī: 431), saḍahā etc. (aḥan or āhar: 430 a), daṇcavṛṣa etc. (vaṣan), ekarāṭa etc. (rätri or rātri), ekarcā etc. (rīc); but also a few others, as gaḍyogā, aṣṭāyogā, çatāṛgā, sahasṛāṛgā, ekaparā (P).

c. The compounds with dvi and tri for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, dviṣāman, dvīdhāra, dvībāṇḍhu, dvīvaranta, dvīpād; tritāntu, trinābhī, tricōka, trivārūtha, tricoakra, tricīrṣan, tripād. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral: thus, for example, dvīpākṣa, dvīcāvas, dvīyāṣya, triśandhi, tryāra, tryāçir, and sometimes dvīpad and tripād in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, a substituted stem in a is apt to take the accent on the final: thus, dvīryṛṣa and trivṛṣa, dvirājā, dvirāṭra, tryāyuṣā, tridivā; and a few of other
character with tri follow the same rule: thus, trikaçå, trinäkå, tri-bandhû, tryuddhàn, tribarhîs, etc.

d. The neuter, or also the feminine, of numeral compounds is often used substantively, with a collective or abstract value, and the accent is then regularly on the final syllable: see below, 1312.

1301. Possessive compounds having as prior member a noun which has a quasi-adjective value in qualifying the final member are very frequent, and show certain specialities of usage.

a. Least peculiar is a noun of material as prior member (hardly to be reckoned as possessive dependents, because the relation of material is not regularly expressed by a case: 295): thus, hiranyahasta gold-handed, hiranyasraj with golden garlands, áyåsthûna having brown supports, rajatánabhî of silver nave.

1302. Especially common is the use of a noun as prior member to qualify the other appositionally, or by way of equivalence (the occasional occurrence of determinatives of this character has been noticed above, 1280 d). These may conveniently be called appositional possessives. Their accent is that of the prior member, like the ordinary possessive descriptives.

a. Examples are: áçvaparña horse-winged, or having horses as wings (said of a chariot), bhûmigrha having the earth as house, indrasakhi having Indra for friend, agnîhotṛ having Agni as priest, gandharvapatnî having a Gandharva for spouse, çûrâputra having hero-sons, jârâmytyu having old age as mode of death, living till old age, agnîvâsas fire-clad, tadanta ending with that, cûracakṣus using spies for eyes, viśûcar-mânânam named Vishnuçarman; and, with pronoun instead of noun, tvâdûta having thee as messenger, tádâpas having this for work. Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation: thus, agnîjihvâ, viçâ♯açvâ, dhûmaçikhâ, pavínasâ, asâu-nâma, tattûla, etc.

b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, indrajâyêtha having Indra as chief, mánåp-śaṣṭha having the mind as sixth, sómaçreṣṭha of which soma is best, ekaparâ of which the one is highest (?), âsthihûyas having bone as the larger part, chiefly of bone, abhirûpabhûyîṣṭha chiefly composed of worthy persons, daçâvara having ten as the lowest number, cintâpâra having meditation as highest object or occupation, devoted to meditation, niçâvâsa-parama much addicted to sighing.

c. Certain words are of especial frequency in the compounds here described, and have in part won a peculiar application. Thus:

d. With âdi beginning or adika or âdyâ first are made compounds signifying the person or thing specified along with others, such a person or thing et cetera. For example, devà indrâdyâyâ the gods having Indra as first, i. e. the gods Indra etc., marîcyâdîn munîn Marîci and the other
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sages, svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptāi 'te manavaḥ those seven Manus, Svāyambhva etc., agniṣṭomādikān the sacrificers Agniśṭoma and so on. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in annapānendhanādīmi food, drink, fuel, etc., dānadharmādikān caratu bhavān let your honor practise liberality, religious rites, and the like. The particles prabhṛti and itī are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members: thus, evamādi vacanam words to this and the like effect; ahaṃ bravimi kartavyāḥ samecayo nityam ityādi hence I say "accumulation is ever to be made" etc.

e. Used in much the same way, but less often, is prabhṛti beginning: thus, viçvāvasuprabhṛtibhir gandharvāḥ with the Gandharvas Viçvāvasu etc.; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time, as satprabhṛti or tataḥprabhṛti thenceforward.

f. Words meaning foregoer, predecessor, and the like — namely, pūrva, pūrvaka, puraśsara, purasākṛta, purogama — are often employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, but for the most part to denote accompaniment, rather than antecedence, of that which is designated by the prior member of the compound: e. g. smitaḥpruvam with a smile, anāmayapraṇapuṛvavakam with inquiries after health, pitāmahapuṛgama accompanied by the Great Father.

g. The noun mātra measure stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of mere; only: thus, jala-mātreṇa vartayan living by water only (lit. by that which has water for its measure or limit), garbhacyutimātreṇa by merely issuing from the womb, prāṇayātrikamātraḥ syāt let him be one possessing what does not exceed the preservation of life; uktmātre tu vacane but the words being merely uttered.

h. The noun artha object, purpose is used at the end of a compound, in the adverbial accusative neuter, to signify for the sake of or the like: thus, yajñasiddhyartham in order to the accomplishment of the sacrifice (lit. in a manner having the accomplishment of the sacrifice as its object), damayantyartham for Damayanti's sake (with Damayanti as object).

i. Other examples are ābhā, kalpa, in the sense of like, approaching: thus, hemābha gold-like, mṛtakalpa nearly dead, pratipannakaḷpa almost accomplished; — vidhā, in the sense of kind, sort: thus, tvadvidhā of thy sort, pṛuṣāvidhā of human kind; — prāya, in the sense of mostly, often, and the like: thus, duḥkha-prāya full of pain, trṇaprāya abound- ing in grass, nirgamanaprāya often going out; — antara (in substantive neuter), in the sense of other: thus, deṣāntara another region (lit. that which has a difference of region), jāmnāntaraṇī other existences, gākhāntare in another text.

1303. In appositional possessive compounds, the second member, if it designates a part of the body, sometimes logically signifies that part to which what is designated by the prior member belongs, that on or in which it is.
a. Thus, ghṛtāprāṣṭha butter-backed, mādhujiḥva honey-tongued, niṃkāgriva and maṅigriva necklace-necked, pātraḥasta vessel-handed, vājrabhū lightning-armed, āṣṛṃukha blood-faced, kliṅḍodhan mead-uddered, vājajāthara sacrifice-belted, vāṃpakaṇṭha with tears in the throat, graddhāmanas with faith in the heart; with irregular accent, dhūṃkāśi f. smoke-eyed, agrumukhī f. tear-faced; and khaḍihasta ring-handed (khāḍī). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning hand: thus, āstrapāṇī having a sword in the hand, laguḍahasta carrying a staff.

1304. Of possessive compounds having an adverbial element as prior member, the most numerous by far are those made with the inseparable prefixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. In compounds with the negative prefix a or an (in which the latter logically negatives the imported idea of possession), the accent is prevailingly on the final syllable, without regard to the original accent of the final member. For example: anantā having no end, abalā not possessing strength, arathā without chariot, agraddhā faithless, amaṇī without ornament, aṇṭarū without a foe, āvārmān not culverseed, adānt toothless, apād footless, atejās without brightness, anārambhanā not to be gotten hold of, apratimāṇā incomparable, aducunā bringing no harm, apakṣapucchā without sides or tail.

b. But a number of examples (few in proportion to those already instanced) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptives: 1288 a): thus, ākṣaṇitī indestructible, āgu kindless, āgopā without shepherd, ājīvāna lifeless, ānāpi without friends, āqiṣvī f. without young, āṁṛtyu deathless, ābrāhmaṇ without priest, āvyačas without extension, āhavis without oblation, and a few others; AV. has āpraṇas, but CB. aprājas. A very few have the accent on the penult: namely, ačaśas, ajaṇī, and avīra (with retraction, from vīrā), apūtra (do., from putrā); and AV. has abhrāṛ, but RV. abhrāṛṛ.

c. In compounds with the prefixes of praise and dispraise, su and dus, the accent is in the great majority of cases that of the final member: thus, sukaḷpā of easy make, subhāga well portioned, suṇākṣatra of propitious star, suputrā having excellent sons, sugopā well-shepherded, sukṛitī of good fame, sugāndhi fragrant, subhāṇa well-armed, suyaṃtā of easy control, sukrātu of good capacity, suhārd good-hearted, susrāj well-garlanded, suvārman well-cuirassed, suvāsas well-clad, suprāṇīti well guiding; durbāga ill-portioned, durḍhiftika of evil aspect, durḍhāra hard to restrain, durugāṇḍha ill-savored, durūdhi of evil designs, durḍhāru hard to restrain, duṣṭārtītu hard to excel, duratyētu hard to cross, durdhūr ill-yoked, durṇāman ill-named, durvāsas ill-clad.

d. There are, however, a not inconsiderable number of instances in which the accent of these compounds is upon the final syllable: thus, suṣcīṣṛa well-lipped, svapaṭyā of good progeny, suṣaṇkgā of good aspect, svāṅgūṛi well-fingered, sviṣā ṣ having good arrows, supīvās well fatted;
and compounds with derivatives in ana, as suvijñana of easy discernment, supasarpana of easy approach, ducyavaná hard to shake; and AV, has suphalá and subandhú against RV, suphála and subándhu. Like avíra, suvíra shows retraction of accent. Only duraçír has the tone on the prefix.

e. On the whole, the distinction by accent of possessive from determinative is less clearly shown in the words made with su and dus than in any other body of compounds.

f. The associative prefix sa or (less often) sahá is treated like an adjective element, and itself takes the accent in a possessive compound: thus, sákruatu of joint will, sánāman of like name, sárupa of similar form, sáyoni having a common origin, sávacas of assenting words, sátoka having progeny along, with one’s progeny, sábráhana together with the Brahmons, sámúla with the root, sántaréca with the intermediate directions; sahágopa with the shepherd, sahávatsa accompanied by one’s young, sahápatni having her husband with her, sahápürusa along with our men.

g. In RV. (save in a doubtful case or two), only saha in such compounds gives the meaning of having with one, accompanied by; and, since saha governs the instrumental, the words beginning with it might be of the prepositional class (below, 1310). But in AV, both sa and saha have this value (as illustrated by examples given above); and in the later language, the combinations with sa are much the more numerous.

h. There are a few exceptions, in which the accent is that of the final member: thus, sajósa, sajógas, sadāsa, saprāthas, sabádhas, samanyá and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in saṅgé (CB, saṅga) and the substantivized (1312) savidyutá.

i. Possessive compounds with the exclamatory prefixes ka etc. are too few in the older language to furnish ground for any rule as to accent: kábandha is perhaps an example of such.

1305. Possessive compounds in which a verbal prefix is used as prior member with adjectival value, qualifying a noun as final member, are found even in the oldest language, and are rather more common later (compare the descriptive compounds, above, 1289; and the prepositional, below, 1310). They usually have the accent of the prefix.

a. Most common are those made with pra, vi, and sam: thus, for example, prámahās having exceeding might, práçravas widely famed; vígriva of very neck, vyānga having limbs away or gone, limbless, víjāni wifeless, víparva and víparus jointless, vyadhvan of wide ways, vímanas both of wide mind and mindless, vívacas of discordant speech; sámpatni having one’s husband along, sámmanas of discordant mind, sámahasra accompanied by a thousand, sámokas of joint abode. Examples of others are: átyúrmi surging over, ádhivastra having a garment on, ádhyardha with a half over, ádhyakāsa overseer, ápodaka without water, abhlrūpa
of adapted character, ávatoka that has aborted, ámanas of favorable mind, údojas of exalted power, nímanyu of assuaged fury, nírmaya free from guile, nírhasta handless.

b. In a comparatively number of cases, the accent is otherwise, and generally on the final: thus, avakeqá, upamanyu, viçaphá, viçikha (AV. viçikha), vikarná, sammåti, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member: thus, samçîqvari having a common young.

1306. Possessive compounds with an ordinary adverb as prior member are also found in every period of the language. They usually have the accent which belongs to the adverb as independent word.

a. Examples are: ántyüti bringing near help, avódeva calling down the gods, itáüti helping on this side, íháctita with mind directed hither, dakśinatákaparda wearing the braid on the right side, nánádharman of various character, purudhápratika of manifold aspect, viçátomukha with faces on all sides, sadyáüti of immediate aid, viçúrupa of various form, smádüdhán with udder, adhástallaksman with mark below, ekatomukha with face on one side, táthávidha of such sort.

b. An instance or two of irregular accent are met with: thus, puro-rathá whose chariot is foremost, evamkratú so-minded.

1307. a. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter (1222h) that the indifferent suffix ka is often added to a pure possessive compound, to help the conversion of the compounded stem into an adjective; especially, where the final of the stem is less usual or manageable in adjective inflection.

b. Also, the compound possessive stem occasionally takes further a possessive-making suffix: thus, yaçobhagín, suçiprin, varavárpin, dírgha-sútrin, puyávágbuddhikarmin, sutásomavant, tádgrúpavant, trayodaçadvípavant, nárákapálakúñjalavant, amúrtbudhíman.

c. The frequent changes which are undergone by the final of a stem occurring at the end of a compound are noticed further on (1315).

1308. The possessive compounds are not always used in the later language with the simple value of qualifying adjective; often they have a pregnant sense, and become the equivalents of dependent clauses; or the having which is implied in them obtains virtually the value of our having as sign of past time.

a. Thus, for example, prúptayáuvana possessing attained adolescence, i.e. having arrived at adolescence; anadhiçataçástra with unstudied books, i.e. who has neglected study; krtaprayatna possessing performed effort, i.e. on whom effort is expended; ánguliyakadarçanánávasána having the sight of the ring as termination, i.e. destined to end on sight of the ring; uddhiçtaçádayáh having an extracted despair-arrow, i.e. when I shall have extracted the bane of despair; çrutavistárah kriyam let him be made with heard details, i.e. let him be informed of the details; drútabíryo me rámá Ráma has seen my prowess, bhagnabhándo dvíjo yathá like
the Brahman that broke the pots, ukhān̄tam ṛṣīṁ yathā like a sage that has spoken falsely.

B. Compounds with Governed Final Member.

1309. Participial Compounds. This group of compounds, in which the prior member is a present participle and the final member its object, is a small one (toward thirty examples), and exclusively Vedic — indeed, almost limited to the oldest Vedic (of the Rig-Veda). The accent is on the final syllable of the participle, whatever may have been the latter's accent as an independent word.

a. Examples are: vidādvasu winning good things, kṣayādvīra governing (kṣayānt) heroes, tarādvēgas overcoming (tārant) foes, ābha-rādvasu bringing good things, codayānmati inciting (codāyant) devotion, mandayātsakha rejoicing friends, dhārayātkavi sustaining sages, maṁ-hayādrali bestowing wealth.

b. In sādādyoni sitting in the lap (sādat quite anomalously for sīdat or sadat), and sphhayādvāraṇa emulous of color, the case-relation of the final member is other than accusative. In patayān mandayātsakham (RV. i. 4. 7), patayāt, with accent changed accordingly, represents patayāt-sakham, the final member being understood from the following word. Vidādaśva is to be inferred from its derivative vādādaśvi. Of this formation appear to be jamādagni, pratādvasu (pratād?), and trasādasyu (for trasādasyu?). It was noticed above (1299 c) that yuyujā-nāsapti is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle; sādhabali, on account of its accent, is probably possessive.

1310. Prepositional Compounds. By this name may be conveniently called those combinations in which the prior member is a particle having true prepositional value, and the final member is a noun governed by it. Such combinations, though few in number as compared with other classes of compounds, are not rare, either in the earlier language or in the later. Their accent is so various that no rule can be set up respecting it.

a. Examples are: ātyavi passing through the woof, atiratrā over-night, atimātrā exceeding measure; ādhirātha lying on the chariot, adhi-gavā belonging to the cow; adhaspadā under the feet, adhakoṣā below the axie; ānupatha following the road, anupūrvā following the one preceding, one after another, anusātyā in accordance with truth, anukūla down stream, etc.; āntaspatha (with anomalously changed accent of antār), within the way, antardāvā within the flame (?), antarhāstā in the hand; āntīgāha near the house; apiṇprāṇa accompanying the breath (prāṇā), api-vrata concerned with the ceremony, apiṣṭarāva bordering on night, apiṣkarmā next the ear; abhijñāu reaching to the knee, abhīvīra and abhiṣatvan overcoming heroes; āpathi on the road, ādeva going to the gods, ājarasā
reaching old age, ādvādaçá up to twelve; upakāṣā reaching to the arm-pits, upottamā next to last, penultimate; upāribudhna above the bottom, upārimartya rising above mortals; tirojāna beyond people; niḥsālā out of the house; paripād (about the feet) snare, parihastā about the hand, bracelet; parōkṣā out of sight, parōmaṭā beyond measure, parogavyūṭi beyond the fields, paraśahasāra (paraśahasara, Ç.B.) above a thousand; purokṣā in front of the eyes; pratidosā toward evening, pratilomā against the grain, pratikūla up stream, pratyākṣa before the eyes; bahiḥ-paridhī outside the enclosure; vípathī outside the road; samakṣā close to the eyes, in sight.

b. Compounds of this character are in the later language especially common with adhi: thus, adhyātma relating to the soul or self; adhi-yajña relating to the sacrifice, etc.

c. A suffixal a is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in upānasā on the wagon, āvyuga until daybreak. In a few instances, the suffix ya is taken (see above, 1312m); and in one word the suffix in: thus, pari-panthin besetting the path.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to adverbial use: see below, 1313b.

Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs.

1311. Compound adjectives, like simple ones, are freely used substantively as abstracts and collectives, especially in the neuter, less often in the feminine; and they are also much used adverbially, especially in the accusative neuter.

a. The matter is entitled to special notice only because certain forms of combination have become of special frequency in these uses, and because the Hindu grammarians have made out of them distinct classes of compounds, with separate names. There is nothing in the older language which by its own merits would call for particular remark under this head.

1312. The substantively used compounds having a numeral as prior member, along with, in part, the adjective compounds themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called dviguj.

a. The name is a sample of the class, and means of two cows, said to be used in the sense of worth two cows; as also pānicagu bought for five cows, dvināu worth two ships, pānicakapāla made in five cups, and so on.

b. Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are: dvirājā [combat] of two kings, triyugā three ages, triyojanā space of three leagues, tridivā the triple heaven, pānicayojanā space of five leagues, saḍahā six days' time, dāqāŋguḷā ten fingers' breadth; and, with suffix ya, sahasrāṅgyā thousand days' journey. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the same character, are, for example: anamitrā freedom from enemies, nikilbiṣā freedom from guilt, savidyutā thunderstorm, vihṛdaya heartlessness, and
sāhṛdaya heartiness, sudīvā prosperity by day, sumṛgā and suṣaṇakunā prosperity with beasts and birds. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as triqati three hundred (481), triloki the three worlds, pañcamūli aggregate of five roots.

a. As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more prevailingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.

1313. Those adverbially used accusatives of secondary adjective compounds which have an indeclinable or particle as prior member are reckoned by the Hindu grammarians as a separate class of compounds, and called by the name avyayībhāva.

a. This term is a derivative from the compound verb (1094) made up of avyaya uninflected and ybhū, and means conversion to an indeclinable.

b. The prepositional compounds (1310) are especially frequent in this use: thus, for example, anusvadhām by one’s own will, abhipūrvām and parovaram in succession, ādvādaçām up to twelve, pratidoṣām at evening, samakṣām in sight. Instances given by the grammarians are: adhihari upon Hari, uparājam with the king, upananadam or upanadī near the river, pratyagni toward the fire, pratiniçām every night, nir-makṣikam with freedom from flies.

c. A large and important class is made up of words having a relative adverb, especially yathā, as prior member. Thus, for example, yathāvaçām as one chooses (vāça will), yathākṛtām as done [before], according to usage, yathānāmā by name, yathābhāgām according to several portion, yathāṅgām and yathāparū limb by limb, yatrakāmam whither one will, yāvanmātrām in some measure, yāvajjivām as long as one lives, yāvat-sābandhu according to the number of relations.

d. These compounds are not common in the old language; RV. has with yathā only four of them, AV. only ten; and no such compound is used adjectively except yācchreṣṭhā RV., yāvacchreṣṭhā AV. as good as possible. CB. has yathākārīn, yathācērīn, 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 adverbia.

e. Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental, as yathāsāmkhyena, yathācaktyā, yatheśayā, yathāpratigunāiş; and ablative, as yathācivityāt.

f. A class of adverbs of frequent occurrence is made with saː e. g. sakopam angrily, sādaram respectfully, sasmitam with a smile, savāçeṣam especially.

g. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, pṛtekarmām without work, nānārathām on different chariots, ubhayadyūs two days in succession, citrapadakrama with wonderful progress, pradānapūrvam with accompaniment of a gift; etc.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
Anomalous Compounds.

1314. As in every language, compounds are now and then met with which are of anomalous character, as exhibiting combinations of elements not usually put together, or not after such a method, or for such a purpose. Some of these, especially of those occurring in the old language, may well be noticed here.

a. Compounds having a particle as final member: as, apratī having no equal, tuviprāti mighty opposing, ātathā refusing, vitathā false, yathātathā as it really is, sūsaha prosperity in companionship, aniha and anamutra having no here and no yonder, etc.

b. Agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases: thus, ahām-pūrvā eager to be first, ahamuttara contest for preeminence, mamasatya contest for possession, itihāsā legend (iti hā "sa thus, indeed, it was), naghamara and nagharisa not, surely, dying or coming to harm, kuvītsa some unknown person, tadidartha having just that as aim, kucidarthīn having errands in every direction, kacitkara doing all sorts of things, kuhacidvid wherever found, akutaucidbhaya out of all danger, yadbhavisya What-is-to-be, etc.

c. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form: as, anyonya and paraspara one another, avaraspara inverted.

d. Agglomerations with the natural order inverted: e. g. pitāmahā and tutrahata with his sons slain, jānvākā and jānvakta with bended knee, dantajāta provided with teeth, somāpahptā deprived of soma, paṅktirādhas having groups of gifts, gojara old bull, agrajihvā, agranāsilā, etc. tip of the tongue, of the nose, etc. Compare also 1291c.

e. Agglomerations of particles were pointed out above (1111a); also (1122e) cases in which nā and mā are used in composition.

f. In late Sanskrit (perhaps after the false analogy of combinations like tad anu, viewed as tadānu, with tad as stem instead of nenter accusative), a preposition is sometimes compounded as final member with the noun governed by it: e. g. vrksādhab or vrksūdhasāt under the tree, dantāntah between the teeth, bhavanopari on top of the house, satyavinā without truth.

Stem-finals altered in Composition.

1315. Transfers to an a-form of declension from other less common finals, which are not rare in independent use, are especially common in the final members of compounds. Thus:

a. A stem in an often drops its final consonant (compare 429a, 437): examples are akṣa, adhvā, arvā, astha, aha, takṣa, brahma, mūrdha, rāja, loma, vṛṣa, ṣva, saktha, sāma.
b. An i or I is changed to a: examples are añgula, añjala, aqra, kukṣa, khāra, nada, nābha, bhūma, rātra, sakha.

c. An a is added after a final consonant, and sometimes after an u-vowel or a diphthong (compare 399): examples are ṛca, tvaca; uda, pada, qarada; apa; dhura, pura; ahna, aqmana, ūdhna, rājña; anasa, ayasa, āyuṣa, urasa, enasa, tamasa, manasa, yajuṣa, rajasa, rahasa, varcasa, vedasa, ṛgreṣa, sarasa; bhrusa, diva, gava, gāva, nāva.

d. More sporadic and anomalous cases are such as: apanna-da (-dant), paṇca-ṣa (-ṣaq), ajāika-pa (-pad), qata-bhiṣā (-bhiṣaj), vipaṣ-ci (-cit), yathā-pura (-puras).

Loose Construction with Compounds.

1316. In the looseness of unlimited and fortuitous combination, especially in the later language, it is by no means rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon or qualifying it alone, rather than the compound of which it forms a part.

a. Examples are: rāyāskāmo vīqvāpasyasya (RV.) desirous of all-enjoyable wealth; añhōr urucakriḥ (RV.) causing relief from distress; mahādhanē ārbhe (RV.) in great contest and in small; avānāṁ ċraiṣṭhyakāmāḥ (AŚ.) desiring superiority over his fellows; brāhmaṇaṁ chrutaçhilavṛttasampannān ekena vā (AŚ.) Brahmans endowed with learning, character, and behavior, or with one [of the three]; cīttaṇamāthini bāla devānāṁ api (MBh.) a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods; vasiṣṭhavacanād ṛgyaṛṇgasya ca ṛghoḥ (R.) at the words of both Vasishtha and Rishyacringa, sitādravyāpaharanā castrāṇām āsa-dhāasya ca (M.) in case of stealing ploughing implements or weapons or medicament; jyotiṣam madhyacāri (H.) moving in the midst of the stars; dārupāramaḥ ca mṛmyayam (M.) a wooden and an earthen vessel; syandane dattadvṛśṭiḥ (Q.) with eye fixed on the chariot; tasminn ullambitamṛtaḥ (KŚ.) dead and hanging upon it.
APPENDIX.

A. The following text is given (as proposed above, 3) in order to illustrate by an example the variety of Sanskrit type in use. It is given twice over, and a transliteration into European letters follows. The text is a fable extracted from the first book of the Hitopadeśa.

The Hunter, Deer, Boar, and Jackal.

हृदयरूप शनिवारि पति वरः। स चे-क्षणा मांसपुष्पिः सदनवराय विन्यासावस्य गतः। तच्च तेन मृग एको आपातिः। मृगमाधाय गठना तेन घोराकृति: सूकरो हस्तः। तत्तलेन मृग भूमी निधाय सूकरः जरेखा हतः। सूकरेनायागविः प्रधवनघोरार्जनेन कूला स व्याधी मुखाक्षः हतन्त्रविचः इव पपात। यतः।

जलमयं विष्य शक्ते सुद्रायती पतनं गिरे।
निमित्तं विचिदासाय देही प्राणीविषमुच्छते॥

हृदयरूप शनिवारि नाम जबुकः परिमलचारारीं तान्नू- तान्नूग्याधिकरणस्यात्॥ नालोक्याचिताचिनयदसोः। अतो भायम्। महेन्द्रोऽर्थ समुपस्थितम्। अयथ।

निनिताति वुकानि वथवाति वदेहिनाम्।
मुखायति तथा सम्भवमचारितिर्चते॥

भवतु॥ एषां मांसमारणस्य सम्यकं भोजनं से भविषयत। ततः प्रथमवर्ष- चारान्त: तावदिर्मानि वायुदृति संसारमचिन्वितानि चिदाधिकारी परस्परवृत्ति श्वायुष्यं विदार्शीलका तथाकरमरः। ततथिचरोऽवपितने व्यायमणे त्रृतीकमिति धनुषं इद्दि 
भन्त: स दीर्घराय: पक्षलं गतः। वर्षोऽहं वत्तमिः।

कर्तवं: संविचो नित्यां कर्तव्यो नातिसंवचः।
गतिसंवचदैविय धनुषं वमुकी हतः॥
Appendix.

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Appendix.

The following text is given in order to illustrate by a sufficient example the usual method of marking accent, as described above (87). In the manuscripts, the accent-signs are almost invariably added in red ink. The text is a hymn extracted from the tenth or last book of the Rig-Veda; it is regarded by the tradition as uttered by Vāo voice (i.e. the Word or Logos).

Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda.

Bhavatu; esām māṁśāṁ mā satrīyam samadhiyam bhojanam me bhavīyati. tataḥ prathamabubhukṣayāṁ tāvad imāṁ svā- 
dūṇi māṁśāṁ vihāya koḍandāṭanilagnāṁ snāyubhandhāṁ khaḍāmi 'ty uktvā tathā 'karot. tataq chinme snāyubandhe drutam utpa- 
titena dhanuṣāḥ hṛdi bhinnāḥ sa dirgharavāḥ pañcatvāṁ gataḥ. 
ato 'ham bravīmi:

kar tavyaḥ saṁcayo nityaṁ kartavyo nā 'tisāṁcayah; 
atisāṁcayadṛṣṭa dhanuṣā jambuko hataḥ.
Ahām rudrēbhīr vāsūbhīc carāmy ahām ādityāīr utā vīgvādevāḥ, ahām mitrāvāruṇo 'bhā bibharmy ahām indrāgnih ahām aqvino 'bhā. 1.

Ahām sōmam āhānasam bibharmy ahāṁ tvāṣṭāram utā pūṣāṇam bhāgam, ahām dadhāmi drāvīṇam ṣaṅvīmate suprāvyē vāja-mānāya sunvatē. 2.

Ahām rāṣṭri saṃgāmenā vāsūnāṁ cikītuṣṭī prathomā yājīfīynām, tām mā devā vy ādadhuḥ purutrā bhūristhātrām bhūry avećāyantīm. 3.

Māyā so ānnam attī yō vipaṭyati yāḥ prāṇitī yāḥ īṁ śṛṇoty uktām, amantāvo māṁ tā úpa kṣiyanti krudhi qruta qraddhivām te vadāmi. 4.

Ahām evā svayām idāṁ vadāmi jūṣṭāṁ devēbhīr utā mānuṣebhīh, yāṁ kāmāye tāṁ-tām ugrāṁ kṛṣṇomi tām brahmāṇām tām śṛṅdir tāṁ sumedhām. 5.

Ahāṁ rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmadvīṣe cārave hántavā u, ahāṁ jāṇāya samādam kṛṣṇomy ahāṁ dyāvāpṛthātyā vīvega. 6.

Ahāṁ suve pitāram asya mūrdhān māmā yōnir apsv āntāḥ samudrē, tāto vī tiṣṭhe bhūvanā 'nu viṣvo 'tā 'mūṁ dyāṁ varṣ-māṇo 'pa ṣṛṇāmi. 7.

Ahām evā vāta iva prā vāmy arābhāmāpa bhūvanānī vīgvā, parō divā parā enā prthivyāyī 'tāvāti mahinā sāṁ babhūva. 8.

C. On the next page is given, in systematic arrangement, a synopsis of all the modes and tenses recognized as normally to be made from every root in its primary conjugation, for the two common roots bhū be and kṛ make (only the precautive middle and periphrastic future middle are bracketed, as never really occurring). Added, in each case, are the most important of the verbal nouns and adjectives, the only ones which it is needful to give as part of every verb-system.
Appendix.

Pass. people/bitches; India's background; Surname "Khetra"...
SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs. In this one, many abbreviations are used; but it is believed that they will be found self-explaining. For example, "pron." is pronunciation; "euph." points out anything relating to phonetic form or euphonic combination; "pres." to present-system; "int." is intensive; "des." is desiderative; and so on. A prefixed hyphen denotes a suffix; one appended, a prefix.

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-antu, see 1196c.

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ERRATA.

A few entirely obvious misprints are passed without notice.

p. 5, 10c, last l. — for की read की
42, 126b, l. 3 — for (for prayuga) » (for prayuga).
67, 190c, l. 3 — for IB. » JB.
92, 276a, l. 2 — for ledges » leagues.
94, 281b, l. 4 — read ‘काह्रदयाहि dātā rājā ‘वहऽ’. read ‘वहऽ’
99, 296b, l. 10 — for deceiving read deceiving.
297b, l. 5 — » impart » impart.
100, l. 2 » perceive » perceive.
112, 324, l. 4 — » prajākāmā » prajākāmā.
128, margin — » 356-] » 356-].
131, 361e, l. 6 — » 314 » 314b.

f, l. 4 — » bahu (f. -gū, JB.) » bahu (f. -gū, TB.).
144, 383k, l. 1.3 — » n » in
147, 391f, l. 1 — » milki » milking.
148, 391g, l. 1.2 — » qāmam » qāmam.
169, 468, l. 5 — » i » is.
195, 509, l. 8 (accus. sing. masc.) for yān » yām.
209, 555a, last l. — for urther » further.
213, 568, l. 7 — » Idhvam » Idhvám.
261, 718, l. 7 (3d pl. mid.) for क्रिष्णाति » क्रिष्णाति
263, 731, l. 3 — for y’mi » y’mi.
264, 733a, l. 4 — for -systems » -stems.
284, 755a, l. 2 — » dyu » dyut.
355, 890a, l. 9 — » E. » S.
357, 992c, l. 2 — » guhya » guhya.
379, 1042b, l. 11 — read No forms made without strengthening have a causative value in the older language.

383, 1045, l. 6 — for चक् read चक्
396, 1077, l. 10 — » abhi » abhi.
397, 1079, l. 6 — read the sound hɪŋ, low, murmur.
399, 1084a, l. 4 — for āruhat read āruhat.
431, 1155e, l. 3 — » -auri » -auri.
467, 1222c, l. 7 — » 516d » 516b.
472, 1230g, l. 3 — » ike » like.
477, 1238b, l. 2 — » case-forms » case-forms.
500, 1288g, l. 1 — » sa » sa.
511, 1308a, l. 1 — » ukhānrtam » uktānrtam.