BIBLIOTHEK

INDOGERMANISCHER GRAMMATIKEN

BEARBEITET VON

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BAND II.

A Sanscrit Grammar, including both the Classical Language, and
the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana
by William Dwight Whitney.

FOURTH EDITION.
(ANASTATIC REPRINT.)

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A Sanskrit Grammar,
Including both the Classical Language, and the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana.

By

William Dwight Whitney,
Late Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College, New Haven.

(Anastatic Reprint.)

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

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

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

2. To include also in the presentation the forms and constructions of the older language, as exhibited in the Veda and the 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 accented 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 1891.
ternal euphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading.

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

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

A grammar is necessarily in great part founded on its predecessors, and it would be in vain to attempt an acknowledgment in detail of all the aid received from other scholars. I have had at hand always especially the very scholarly and reliable brief summary of Kielhorn, the full and
excellent work of Monier Williams, the smaller grammar of Bopp (a wonder of learning and method for the time when it was prepared), and the volumes of Benfey and Müller. As regards the material of the language, no other aid, of course, has been at all comparable with the great Peters-
burg 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 designa-
tion, necessarily liable to correction in detail by the results of further researches. For what concerns the verb, its forms and their classification and uses, I have had, as every one must have, by far the most aid from Delbrück, in his Alt-
indisches Verbum and his various syntactical contribu-
tions. 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. (print-
ed contemporaneously with this work, and used by me almost, but not quite, to the end of the subject) by my former pupil Prof. Lanman; my treatment of it is founded on his. My manifold obligations to my own teacher, Prof. Weber of Berlin, also require to be mentioned: among other things, I owe to him the use of his copies of certain un-
published texts of the Brāhmaṇa period, not otherwise accessible to me; and he was kind enough to look through with me my work in its inchoate condition, favoring me with valuable suggestions. For this last favor I have likewise to thank Prof. Delbrück — who, moreover, has taken the trouble to glance over for a like purpose the greater part of the proof-sheets of the grammar, as they came from the press. To Dr. L. von Schröder is due whatever use I have been
able to make (unfortunately a very imperfect one) of the important Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā.*

Of the deficiencies of my mork 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 par-
agraph-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 d, adorned, elaborated, perfected), which is popularly applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India, belongs more properly only to that dialect which, regulated and established by the labors of the native grammarians, has led for the last two thousand years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe, as the written and spoken means of communication of the learned and priestly caste; and which even at the present day fills that office. It is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from the later and derived dialects — as the Prākrit, 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 Ceylon and Farther India, and is
still in service there as such; and yet later and more altered tongues forming the transition to the languages of modern India. And, on the other hand, it is distinguished, but very much less sharply and widely, from the older dialects or forms of speech presented in the canonical literature, the Veda and Brähmaṇa.

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

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

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

A language, even if not a vernacular one which is in tolerably wide and constant use for writing and speaking, is, of course, kept in life principally by direct tradition, by communication from teacher to scholar and the study and imitation of existing texts, and not by the learning of grammatical rules; yet the existence of grammatical authority, and especially of a single one, deemed infallible and of prescriptive value, could not fail to exert a 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, 101 a) which never can have been a truly vernacular and living one. Nearly all of it is metrical: not poetic works only, but narratives, histories (so far as anything deserving that name can be said to exist), and scientific treatises of every variety, are done into verse; a prose and a prose literature hardly has an existence (the principal exceptions, aside from the voluminous commentaries, are a few stories, as the Daṇḍakumāra-carita and the Vāsavadatta). 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-Saṁhitā (in two slightly discordant versions, Mādhyanīnda and Kāṇva), sometimes also called the White Yajur-Veda; and the various and considerably differing texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, namely the Tāttviriya-Saṁhitā, the Māitrīya-Saṁhitā, the Kapiśṭhala-Saṁhitā, and the Kāṭhaka (the two last not yet published). Finally, another historical collection, like the Rig-Veda, but made up mainly of later and less accepted material, and called (among other less current names) the Atharva-Veda *Veda of the Atharvans* (a legendary priestly family); it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the Rig-Veda, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the Name of Veda; but for us it is the most interesting of all, after the Rig-Veda, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or mantra, as it is called, in distinction from the prose brāhmaṇa), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them in only a single known manuscript.

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

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

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

Along with the verses and sacrificial formulas and phrases in the text of the Black Yajur-Veda are given long prose sections, in which the ceremonies are described, their meaning and the reason of the details and the accompanying utterances are discussed and explained, illustrative legends are reported of fabricated, and various speculations, etymological and other, are indulged in. Such matter comes
to be called brāhmaṇa (apparently relating to the brahman or worship). In the White Yajur-Veda, it is separated into a work by itself, beside the samhitā or text of verses and formulas, and is called the Catapatha-Brahmana Brāhmaṇa of a hundred ways. Other similar collections are found, belonging to various other schools of Vedic study, and they bear the common name of Brāhmaṇa, with the name of the school, or some other distinctive title, prefixed. Thus, the Aitareya and Kāuṣitaki-Brahmanaśas, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the Pañcaviṃśa and Saḍviṃśa-Brahmanaśas and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the Gopatha-Brahmaṇa, to the Atharva-Veda; and a Jaiminiya- or Talavakāra-Brahmaṇa, to the Śaṁsa-Veda, has recently (Burnell) been discovered in India; the Tāttiriya-Brahmaṇa 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 Brahmaṇas 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 Brahmaṇas are sometimes found later appendices, of a similar character, called Aranyakas (forest-sections): as the Aitareya-Aranyaka, Tāttiriya-Aranyaka, Brhad-Aranyaka, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the Brahmaṇas, are extracted the earliest Upaniṣads (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 (sā- mayācārika-sūtras) they lay down the general obligations of one whose life is in accordance with prescribed duty. And out of the last two, or especially the last, come by natural development the law-books (dharma-çāstras), which make a conspicuous figure in the later literature: the oldest and most noted of them being that called by the name of Manu (an outgrowth, it is believed by many, of the Mānava Vedic school); to which are added that of Yājñavalkya, and many others.

Respecting the chronology of this development, or the date of any class of writings, still more of any individual work, the less that is said the better. All dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again. Every important work has undergone so many more or less transforming changes before reaching the form in which it comes to us, that the question of original construction is complicated with that of final redaction. It is so with the law-book of Manu, just mentioned, which has well-founded claims to being regarded as one of the very oldest works of the proper Sanskrit literature, if not the oldest (it has been variously assigned, to periods from six centuries before Christ to four after Christ). It is so, again, in a still more striking degree, with the great legendary
epic of the Mahābhārata. The ground-work of this is doubtless of very early date; but it has served as a text into which materials of various character and period have been inwoven, until it has become a heterogeneous mass, a kind of cyclopedia for the warrior-caste, hard to separate into its constituent parts. The story of Nala, and the philosophical poem Bhagavad-Gītā, are two of the most noted of its episodes. The Rāmāyaṇa, the other most famous epic, is a work of another kind: though also worked over and more or less altered in its transmission to our time, it is the production, in the main, of a single author (Vālmiki); and it is generally believed to be in part allegorical, representing the introduction of Aryan culture and dominion into Southern India. By its side stand a number of minor epics, of various authorship and period, as the Rāghuvaṇḍa (ascribed to the dramatist Kālidāsa), the Māghasā̊vya, the Bhaṭṭīkāvya (the last, written chiefly with the grammatical intent of illustrating by use as many as possible of the numerous formations which, though taught by the grammarians, find no place in the 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 Gītogovinda, are of no mean order of merit.

The drama is a still more noteworthy and important branch. The first indications of dramatical inclination and capacity on the part of the Hindus are seen in certain hymns of the Veda, where a mythological or legendary situation is conceived dramatically, and set forth in the form of a dialogue — well-known examples are the dialogue of Saramā and the Panis, that of Yama and his sister Yamī, that of Vasishtha and the rivers, that of Agni and the other gods — but there are no extant intermediaries between these
and the standard drama. The beginnings of the latter date from a period when in actual life the higher and educated characters used Sanskrit, and the lower and uneducated used the popular dialects derived from it, the Prākrits; and their dialogue reflects this condition of things. Then, however learning (not to call it pedantry) intervened, and stereotyped the new element; a Prākrit grammar grew up beside the Sanskrit grammar, according to the rules of which Prākrit 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 Prākrit, while most or all of them are undoubtedly much later. Among the dramatic authors, Kālidāsa is incomparably the chief, and his Čakuntalā is distinctly his masterpiece. His date has been a matter of much inquiry and controversy; it is doubtless some centuries later than our era. The only other work deserving to be mentioned along with Kālidāsa’s is the Mṛochakaṭīkā of Čūdraka, also of questionable period, but believed to be the oldest of the extant dramas.

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

Two of the leading departments of Sanskrit scientific literature, the legal and the grammatical, have been already sufficiently noticed; of those remaining, the most important by far is the philosophical. The beginnings of philosophical speculation are seen already in some of the later hymns of the Veda, more abundantly in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇ-yakas, 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.
CONTENTS.

Chap.                                      Page.

PREFACE                                     v
INTRODUCTION                                xi

I. ALPHABET                                 1—9

II. SYSTEM OF SOUNDS; PRONUNCIATION          10—34
Vowels, 10; Consonants, 13; Quantity, 27; Accent, 28.

III. RULES OF EUPHONIC COMBINATION          34—87
Introductory, 34; Principles, 37; Rules of Vowel Combina-
tion, 42; Permitted Finals, 49; Despiration, 53;
Surd and Sonant Assimilation, 54; Combinations of
Final s and r, 56; Conversion of s to \( \theta \), 61; Con-
version of n to \( \eta \), 54; Conversion of Dental Mutes to
Linguals and Palatals, 66; Combinations of Final n,
69; Combinations of Final m, 71; the Palatal Mutes
and Sibilant, and n, 72; the Lingual Sibilant, 77;
Extension and Abbreviation, 78; Strengthening and
Weakening Processes, 81; \textit{Guna} and \textit{Vṛddhi}, 81;
Vowel-lengthening, 84; Vowel-lightening, 86; Nasal
Increment, 86; Reduplication, 87.

IV. DECLENSION                               88—110
Gender, Number, Case, 88; Uses of the Cases, 89;
Endings of Declension, 103; Variation of Stem, 107;
Accent in Declension, 108.

V. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES                      111—176
Classification etc., 111; Declension I, Stems in a, 112;
Declension II, Stems in i and u, 116; Declension
III, Stems in Long Vowels (ä, i, ü): A. Root-words etc., 124;
Stems in Diphthongs, 130; B. Derivative Stems etc., 131; Declension IV, Stems in \( \text{p} \) or \( \text{ar} \),
137; Declension V., Stems in Consonants, 141;
A. Root-stems etc., 143; B. Derivative Stems in \( \text{n} \),
ins, \( \text{nas} \), 153; C. Derivative Stems in \( \text{an} \), 156; D.
in \( \text{in} \), 161; E. in \( \text{ant} \) or \( \text{at} \), 163; F. Perfect Par-
ticiples in \( \text{vāns} \), 169; G. Comparatives in \( \text{yāns} \) or
\( \text{yas} \), 172; Comparison, 173.
VI. NUMERALS ........................................ 177—185
Cardinals, 177; Ordinals etc., 183.

VII. PRONOUNS ........................................ 185—199
Personal, 185; Demonstrative, 188; Interrogative, 194; Relative, 195; other Pronouns: Emphatic, In-
definite, 196; Nouns used pronominally, 197; Pronominal Derivatives, Possessives etc., 197; Ad-
çjectives declined pronominally, 199.

VIII. CONJUGATION .................................... 200—226
Voice, Tense, Mode, Number, Person, 200; Verbal
Adjectives and Nouns, 203; Secondary Conjugations,
203; Personal Endings, 204; Subjunctive Mode, 209;
Optative, 211; Imperative, 213; Uses of the Modes,
215; Participles, 220; Augment, 220; Reduplication,
222; Accent of the Verb, 223.

IX. THE PRESENT-SYSTEM ............................ 227—278
General, 227; Conjugations and Conjugation Classes,
228; Root-Class (second or ad-class), 231; Re-
duplicating Class (third or hu-class), 242; Nasal
Class (seventh or rudh-class), 250; nu and u-Classes
(fifth and eighth, or su- and tan-classes), 254; nā-
Class (ninth or kri-class), 260; a-Class (first or
bhū-class), 264; Accented á-Class (sixth or tud-
class), 269; ya-Class (fourth or div-class), 271;
Accented yā-Class or Passive Conjugation, 275;
So-called tenth or cur-class, 277; Uses of the Pre-
cent and Imperfect, 278.

X. THE PERFECT-SYSTEM ............................ 279—296
Perfect Tense, 279; Perfect Participle, 291; Modes
of the Perfect, 292; Pluperfect, 295; Uses of the
Perfect, 295.

XI. THE AORIST-SYSTEMS .......................... 297—330
Classification, 297; I. Simple Aorist: 1. Root-Aorist,
299; Passive Aorist 3d sing., 304; 2. the a-Aorist,
305; II. 3d Reduplicated Aorist, 308; III. Sibilant
Aorist, 313; 4. the a-Aorist, 314; 5. the is-Aorist,
320; 6. the isg-Aorist, 323; 7. the sa-Aorist, 325;
Prepositive, 326; Uses of the Aorist, 328.

XII. THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS .......................... 330—339
I. The a-Future, 331; Perfect of the a-Future, Con-
ditional, 334; II. The Peripheral Future, 335;
Uses of the Futures and Conditional, 337.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chap.</th>
<th>Verbal Adjectives and Nouns: Participles, Infinitives, Gerunds</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passive Participle in  tá or ná, 340; Past Active</td>
<td>340–360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Participle in tavant, 344; Future Passive Participles,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gerundives, 345; Infinitives, 347; Uses of the Infinitives,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>501; Gerunds, 355; Adverbial Gerund in am, 359.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XIV.</td>
<td>Derivative or Secondary Conjugation 360—391</td>
<td>391–403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I. Passive, 361; II. Intensive, 362; Present-System, 365;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perfect, Aorist, Future, etc., 370; III. Descriptive,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>372; Present-System, 374; Perfect, Aorist, Future, etc.,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>376; IV. Causative, 378; Present-System, 380; Perfect,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aorist, Future, etc., 383; V. Denominative, 386.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV.</td>
<td>Periphrastic and Compound Conjugation 391–403</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Periphrastic Perfect, 392; Participial Periphrastic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phrases, 394; Composition with Prepositional Prefixes,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>395; Other Verbal Compounds, 400.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI.</td>
<td>Indefinables: Adverbs, 403; Prepositions, 414; Conjunctions</td>
<td>403–417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>416; Interjections, 417.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII.</td>
<td>Derivation of Declinable Stems: Primary Derivatives, 420;</td>
<td>418–480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary Derivatives, 454.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVIII.</td>
<td>Formation of Compound Stems: Classification, 480; I.</td>
<td>480–515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copulative Compounds, 485; II. Determinative Compounds,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>489; A. Dependent Compounds, 489; B. Descriptive Compounds,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>494; III. Secondary Adjective Compounds, 501; A. Possessive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compounds, 501; B. Compounds with Governed Final Member,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>511; Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs, 512;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anomalous Compounds 514; Stem-finals altered in Composition,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>514; Loose Construction with Compounds, 516.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>516—520</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Examples of Various Sanskrit Type, 516; B. Example of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accentuated Text, 518; Synopsis of the conjugation of roots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhū and kr, 520.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanskrit-Index</td>
<td>521—539</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General-Index</td>
<td>540—551</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABBREVIATIONS.

AA. Āitareya-Āranyaka.
AB. Āitareya-Brāhmaṇa.
AGŚ. Āṣāvalīyana-Grhya-Sūtra.
Āpast. Āpastamba-Sūtra.
APr. Atharva-Prātiṭākhya.
AV. Atharva-Veda.
B. or Br. Brāhmaṇas.
BAU. Brhad-Āranyaka-Upaniṣad.
BhG. Bhagavad-Gītā.
BhP. Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.
BR. Būḍhtlingk and Roth (Petersburg Lexicon).
C. Classical Sanskrit.
C. Čakuntalā.
Çat. Čatrumījaya-Māhātmyam.
ČB. Čatapaṭha-Brāhmaṇa.
ČCBS. Čāṇkhāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.
ČGS. Čāṇkhāyana-Grhya-Sūtra.
CHU. Čāndogya-Upaniṣad.
ČVU. Čvetāyatara-Upaniṣad.
DKC. Daṇḍa-Kumāra-Carita.
E. Epos (MBh. and R.).
GB. Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa.
GGS. Gobhīlīya-Grhya-Sūtra.
H. Hitopadeśa.
Har. Harivaṇa.
JB. Jāmīṇīyana (or Talavakāra) Brāhmaṇa.

JUB. Jāmīṇīyana-Upaniṣad-Brāhmaṇa.
K. Kāṭhaka.
Kap. Kapiśṭhala-Samhitā.
KB. Kāṇḍita- (or Čaṇkhāyana-) Brāhmaṇa.
KBU. Kāṇḍita-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad.
KCBS. Kāṭyāyana-Grhutā-Sūtra.
KS. Kāṇḍika-Sūtra.
KSS. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara.
KthU. Kātha Upaniṣad.

KU. Kena-Upaniṣad.
LĀŚ. Lāṭyāyana-Grhuta-Sūtra.
M. Manu.
MālU. Mātrī-Upaniṣad.
MBh. Mahābhārata.
MdlU. Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad.
Mogh. Meghadūta.
MS. Mātrīyana-Samhitā.
Nāś. Nāśadhiya.
Nir. Nirukta.
Pa. Paṇcatantra.
PB. Paṇcaviṇa (or Tāndya-) Brāhmaṇa.
PGS. Pāraskara-Grhya-Sūtra.
PU. Praṇa Upaniṣad.
R. Raṁyāṇa.
Ragh. Raghuvanīca.
RPr. Rigveda-Prātiṭākhya.
RT. Rāja-Tanūgīni.
RV. Rig-Veda.
S. Sūtras.
ȘB. Śadvinīca-Brāhmaṇa.
Spr. Indische Sprüche (Būḍhtlingk).
SV. Śāma-Veda.
TA. Tātīṭīrya-Āranyaka.
TB. Tātīṭīrya-Brāhmaṇa.
TPr. Tātīṭīrya-Prātiṭākhya.
Tribh. Tribhāṣyaratna (comp. to TPr.).
TS. Tātīṭīrya-Samhitā.
U. Upaniṣads.
V. Vedas (RV., AV., SV.).
Vās. Vāsiṣṭha.
VBS. Varāha-Bṛhat-Samhitā.
Vet. Vetalapaṇcaviṇīccaiṭī.
Vikr. Vikramorvaṇi.
VPr. Vājasaneyi-Prātiṭākhya.
VS. Vājasaneyi-Samhitā.
VS. Kā. do. Kāṇva-text.
Y. Yājñavalkya.
CHAPTER I.

ALPHABET.

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

2. Much that relates to the history of the Indian alphabets is still obscure. The earliest written monuments of known date in the country are the inscriptions containing the edicts of Aśoka or Piyadasi, of about the middle of the third century B.C. They are in two different systems of characters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitic source, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the same origin. From the latter, the Lath, or Southern Aśoka character (of Girnar), come the later Indian alphabets, both those of the northern Aryan languages and those of the southern Dravidian languages. The nāgari, devanāgari, Bengāli, Guzerāti, 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. 3. 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 Rajendraśāla 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>Vowels: simple</th>
<th>short</th>
<th>long</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>घ a</td>
<td>घा ā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ॠ i</td>
<td>ॠ i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>० u</td>
<td>० u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>१ [१]</td>
<td>१ [१]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Diphthongs     | palatal | ऋ e   | ऋ āi |
|                | labial   | ऋ o   | ऋ ōu |

Visarga         | ः : h   |
Anusvāra        | ं - , ः ं or ः (see 73 c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mutes</th>
<th>surd asp.</th>
<th>sonant</th>
<th>son. asp.</th>
<th>nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guttural</td>
<td>ॠ k</td>
<td>ॠ kh</td>
<td>ॠ g</td>
<td>ॠ gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palatal</td>
<td>ॠ c</td>
<td>ॠ ch</td>
<td>ॠ j</td>
<td>ॠ jh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingual</td>
<td>ॠ t</td>
<td>ॠ th</td>
<td>ॠ d</td>
<td>ॠ dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>ॠ n</td>
<td>ॠ th</td>
<td>ॠ d</td>
<td>ॠ dh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial</td>
<td>ॠ p</td>
<td>ॠ ph</td>
<td>ॠ b</td>
<td>ॠ bh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Theory of this Mode of Writing.

Semivowels

- palatal: य y
- lingual: र r
- dental: ल l
- labial: ब v

Sibilants

- palatal: श q
- lingual: ष s
- dental: ष s

Aspiration

= ह h

a. To these may be added a lingual ज, which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of ज, 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 (aksara); 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 rudrebh vivasubhī carām y aham ādityār uta viqvadevaśāḥ (Rig-Veda X. 125. 1; see Appendix B) I wander with the Vasis, the Rudras, I with the Adityas and the All-Gods is thus syllabized: a ham ru dre bhi rva su bhi qca rā mya ha mā di tāi ru tvā vi qva de vāiṛ, 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:

\[ अहम रुद्रे भिवसुभीकराम् अधिष्ठितये। सत्तविशेष्य:। अधिमित्रायण्येन। विभागर्यकुम्रितस्य द्रमितशनोत्स।।\]

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

\[ अहम रुद्रे भिवसु भिव शाले भमारितस्।।\]

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,

\[ द्रुः स्तोंगिर यमुनिष्ठ चलम्य घटम्य घाटिन्य उन विषेदः।। \]
or even by indicating also the combinations of initial and final vowels (126, 127): for example,

\[ द्रुः निव्रात्ति लोग ययम्य घटम्य रुद्यायो घच्छिनो गा।। \]

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 य a has no written sign at all; the consonant-sign itself implies a following य 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 या a is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, का kā, या dhā, रा ha.

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

d. The u-sounds, short and long, are written by hooks attached to the lower end of the consonant-sign: thus, कु ku, कू kū; दु du, दू dū. On account of the necessities of combination, du and dū are somewhat disguised: thus, दु, दू; and the forms with र र and ल h are still more irregular: thus, रु ru, रू rū; खu, खू hū.
e. The r-vowels, short and long, are written by a subjoined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, र्र kr, क्र kṛ; ढढ dr, ढ ढ्र dṛ. In the h-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, छ hr, क्ष ṇhr.

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

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

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

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 ा-sign before the consonant: thus, के ke, कि kāi; को ko, कि kāu.

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

a. Since, as was pointed out above, the Hindus write the words of a sentence continuously like one word (० a, b), the virāma is in general called for only when a final consonant occurs before a pause. But it is also occasionally resorted to by scribes, or in print, in order to avoid an awkward or difficult combination of consonant-signs: thus, लिधभि: lidbhī, लिष्टु līṣu, घट्टच ankhva;

and it is used to make a separation of words in texts prepared for beginners (० d).

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

a. Examples of the side-by-side arrangement are: र्ग gga, ल्ळ jja, व्य pya, म्थ nma, त्थ ttha, भ्य bhya, स्क्त ska, श्प्त śpa, त्य tka.

b. Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्क kka, क्व kva, च्छ cca, छ छ्ञ छ्ज, द्ध dda, ठ ठ्य pta, त्त tna, त्त्त tva.

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

a. Of क k in क kta, क्ल kla; and in क्ल kṣa etc.
b. Of त t in त tta;
c. Of न d in न dga, न dna, etc.;
d. Of म m and य y, when following other consonants: thus, क्य kya, क्म kma, ख्म ma, ख्य nya, ख्म ma, ख्य nya, ख्म ma, ख्य nya.
e. Of ञ q, which generally becomes ञ when followed by a consonant: thus, ञ cca, ञ qna, ञ qva, ञ qya. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below; thus, ञ qu, ञ qu.

f. Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are ञ qna, ञ lla, ञ ddha, ञ dbha, ञ ष्ठ ma, ञ ष्ठ ma; and the compounds of ख h: as ख hṣa, ख hna.

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

14. The semivowel r 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 ṛ, as written under a consonant: 106): thus, Kṛka, ṛṣa, ṛtva, ṛmya, ṛtsa.

b. Then, if a consonant-group, thus containing ṛ 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 ṛ-sign is placed furthest to the right: thus, Kṛke, Kṛkaṁ, ṛkī, ṛkī, ṛko, ṛkī, ṛkoṁ.

c. If ṛ 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, Pṛṣa, ṛdhra, ṛgra, ṛsra, ṛddhra, ṛntra, ṛgrya, ṛsrva, ṛnṭrya; and, with modifications of a preceding consonant-sign like those noted above (13), ṛtra, ṛdra, ṛgra, ṛhra.

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

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

- of three consonants, ṛttva, ṛddhya, ṛdvya, ṛdrya, ṛdhrya, ṛpsva, ṛqoya, ṛṣṭhya, ṛhvya;
- of four consonants, ṛkṛya, ṛṅkṛya, ṛṅṛya, ṛṁṛya, ṛṁtya;
- of five consonants, ṛṁṛtya ṛtsnya.

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 ृ — 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 ध a after final र o or ठ o (135). In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily applied to the use last mentioned, and to that alone: thus, ते अब्रुवन् te 'bruvan, नो अब्रवित् so 'bravit, for te abruvan, so abravit.

b. If the elided initial-vowel is nasal, and has the anusvāra-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 'ङुमा, from so anḍumā, either ते अशुपान् or ते अशुपान्.

c. The sign व is used in place of something that is omitted, and to be understood from the connection: thus, विरासेनसूतम् ṛ तम् लेन vīrasenasutas -tam -tena.

d. Signs of punctuation are I and II.

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, II ॥ ॥

17. The numeral figures are

१, २, ३, ४, ५, ६, ७, ८, ९, ० ०.

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way as European digits: thus, 2४ २५, ६३० ६३०, ७००० ७०००, १८९६ १८९६.

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

SYSTEM OF SOUNDS; PRONUNCIATION.

I. Vowels.

19. The a, i, and u-vowels. The Sanskrit has these three earliest and most universal vowels of Indo-European language, in both short and long form — ग्र a and ग्र अ, ख i and ख इ, ख u and ख 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 consonants-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 Pâṇini'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 Prâtiçâkhyas 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 अ, 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 Pâṇini and by two of the Prâtiçâkhyas (APr. i. 36; VPri. i. 72), which call the utterance sanhṛtya, 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.
VOWELS.

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

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

a. Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long \( \text{l} \); but this is only for the sake of an artificial symmetry, since the sound does not occur in a single genuine word in the language.

24. The vowel \( \text{ṛ} \) 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 \( \text{l} 1 \) 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 \( \text{ṛi} \), \( \text{ṛi} \), \( \text{ḷi} \) (or even \( \text{ḷi} \)), 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) transcriptions \( \text{ṛi} \), \( \text{ṛi} \), \( \text{ḷi} \). 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 to the general lingual and dental classes; the euphonic influence of \( \text{ṛ} \) and \( \text{l} \) (189) shows this clearly. They are so ranked in the Paninean scheme; but the Prātiṣṭākhyas in general strangely class them with the jīhvāmālīya sounds, our "gutturals" (39).

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

27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the \( \text{ṛ e} \) and \( \text{ṛḷ o} \), are in great part original Indo-European
sounds. In the Sanskrit, they wear the aspect of being products of the increment or strengthening of त ई and त उ respectively; and they are called the corresponding guṇa-vowels to the latter (see below, 235 ff.). The other two, ज ए and ज उ, are held to be of peculiar Sanskrit growth; they are also in general results of another and higher increment of त ई and त उ, to which they are called the corresponding vṛddhi-vowels (below, 235 ff.). But all are likewise sometimes generated by euphonic combination (127); and ज ओ, especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final आं as (175).

28. The ज ए and ज ओ 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 Prātiṣṭhākhyas, which, while ranking them as diphthongs (saṁdhyākṣara), 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, अई (a + i) and अउ (a + u). From them, on the same evidence, the heavier or vṛddhi diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their a-element, as अई (a + i) and अउ (a + u).

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

29. The lighter or guṇa-diphthongs are much more frequent (6 or 7 times) than the heavier or vṛddhi-diphthongs, and the ए and ऐ than the ओ and ऐ (a half more). Both pairs are somewhat more than half as common as the simple ए- and उ-vowels.

30. The general name given to the Hindu grammarians to the vowels is svara tone; the simple vowels are called saṁānākṣara homogeneous syllable, and the diphthongs are called saṁdhyākṣara 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 manifester. The consonants are divided by the grammarians into sparça contact or mute, antahstha, intermediate or semivowel, and uṣman spirant. They will here be taken up and described in this order.

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

33. The five mute-series are called respectively guttural, palatal, lingual (or cerebral), dental, and labial; and they are arranged in the order as just mentioned, beginning with the contact made furthest back in the mouth, coming 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, ṭ p and ṭ ph, ṭ b and ṭ bh, and ṭ m.

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

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

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

36. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful. What ṭ m is to ṭ p, and ṭ b, or ṭ n to ṭ t and ṭ d, that is also each other nasal to its own series of mutes: a sonant expulsion into and through the nose, while the mouth-organs are in the mute-contact.
a. The Hindu grammarians give distinctly this definition. The nasal (anunāsika passing through the nose) sounds are declared to be formed by mouth and nose together; or their nasality (ānnunāsikya) to be given them by unclosure of the nose.

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

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

b. It is also not doubtful in what way the surd th, for example, differs from the unaspirated t: such aspirates are found in many Asiatic languages, and even in some European; they involve the slipping-out of an audible bit of 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 Prāṇīcākhyas, the aspirates of both classes are called suṣman: which might mean either accompanied by a rush of breath (taking suṣman in its more etymological sense), or accompanied by a spirant (below, 59). And some native authorities define the surd aspirates as made by the combination of each surd non-aspirate with its own corresponding surd spirant; and the sonant aspirates, of each sonant non-aspirate with the sonant spirant, the h-sound (below, 65). But this would make the two classes of aspirates of quite diverse character, and would also make th the same as ts, th as ṭ, ch as c — which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to i. 1. 9) attributes to them mahāprāṇa great expiration, and to the non-aspirates alpaprāṇa small expiration.

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

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

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

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

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

42. Palatal series: च c, छ ch, ज j, झ jh, ञ 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 ç (see below, 64). The j, in like manner, comes from a g; 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 ak. The sonant aspirate jh is excessively rare (occurring but once in RV, not once in AV, and hardly half-a-dozen times in the whole older language); where found, it is either onomatopoetic or of anomalous or not Indo-European origin. The nasal, ñ, never occurs except immediately before—or, in a small number of words, also after (201)—one of the others of the same series.

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

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

a. Their description by the old Hindu grammarians, however, gives them a not less absolutely simple character than belongs to the other mutes. They are called tālāvya 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: ṭ, ṭh, ṭ̄ d, ṭ̄ dh, ṭ̄ n. The lingual mutes are by all the native authorities defined as uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate (somewhat as the usual English smooth r is pronounced). They are called by the grammarians 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: ठ t is pronounced like ठ t, ढ d like ढ d, and so with the rest.

46. The linguals are another non-original series of sounds, coming mainly from the phonetic alteration of the next series, the dentals, but also in part occurring in words that have no traceable Indo-European connection, and are perhaps derived from the aboriginal languages of India. The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these: 1. ण comes from ण, much more rarely from ण, ज, क, in euphonic circumstances stated below (180, 218 ff.); 2. a dental mute following ण is assimilated to it, becoming lingual (त, ठ, ण: 197); 3. न is often changed to न after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word (189 ff.); 4. ध, which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after ण (198 a) or ह (222); 5. त and थ 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 169), and most of them (48) were of ण: all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal ठ; only 6, such a ठ; only 1, such a ठ; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal ठ, besides 9 that have ठ; and 30 (including 1 root) show a ण.

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: त t, थ th, द d, ध dh, न n. These are called by the Hindus also dantya dental, and are described as formed at the teeth (or at the roots of the teeth), by the tip of the tongue. They are practically the equivalents of our European t, d, n.
a. But the modern Hindus are said to pronounce their dentals with the
tip of the tongue thrust well forward against the upper teeth, so that these
sounds get a slight tinge of the quality belonging to the English and Modern
Greek θ-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: ṣ p, ṭ ph, ḍ b, ḍh bh, ṭ m.
These sounds are called oṣṭhyā labial by the Hindu gram-
arians 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 brh and vrh, bādh and vadh, and
so on. In the Bengal manuscripts, v is widely written instead of more original b.

51. Semivowels: ṣ y, ṇ r, ṭ l, ṭ v.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

54. Some of the Vedic texts have another l-sound, written with a slightly different character (it is given at the end of the alphabet, 5 a), which is substituted for a lingual ç (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: 〈 for 〈, but 〈; 〈 for 〈, but 〈. It is especially in the Rig-Veda and its auxiliary literature that this substitution is usual.

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

a. And in the Veda (as the metre shows) an i is very often to be read where, in conformity with the rules of the later Sanskrit euphony, a y is written. Thus, the final i-vowel of a word remains i before an initial vowel; that of a stem remains itself unchanged before an ending; and an ending of derivation — as 〈a, 〈a — has i instead of y. Such cases will be noticed in more detail later. The constancy of the phenomenon in certain words and classes of words shows that this was no merely optional interchange. Very probably, the Sanskrit y had everywhere more of an i-character than belongs to the corresponding European sound.
56. The y is by its physical character a palatal utterance; and it is classed as a palatal semivowel by the Hindu phonetists. It is one of the most common of Sanskrit sounds.

57. The ṛ 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 or 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 Prātiṣākhyanas (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 Ṛṣman (literally heat, steam, status), which is usually and well represented by spirant, some of the Hindu authorities include all the remaining sounds of the alphabet; others apply the term only to the three sibilants and the aspiration — to which it will here also be restricted.

a. The term is not found in the Paninean scheme; by different treatises the guttural and labial breathings, these and the visarga, or all these and anusvāra, are also (in addition to the sibilants and h) called Ṛṣman (see
APr. 1. 31 note). The organs of utterance are described as being in the position of the mute-series to which each spirant belongs respectively, but unclosed, or unclosed in the middle.

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

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

61. The न 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 reverted into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of sh-sound; and by European Sanskritists it is pronounced as an ordinary sh (French ch, German sch), no attempt being made (any more than in the case of the other lingual sounds: 45) to give it its proper lingual quality.

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

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

62. This sibilant (as was noticed above, 46, and will be more particularly explained below, 180 ff.) is no original sound, but a product of the linguization 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 γ' sah, 182 b) only twelve words which show a ə under other conditions.

a. The final ə 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 ə. 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, ə and q, are made in the same part of the mouth (the ə probably rather further back), but with a different part of the tongue; and they are doubtless not more unlike than, for example, the two s-sounds, written t and t; and it would be not less proper to pronounce them both as one sh than to pronounce the linguals and dentals alike. To neglect the difference of s and q is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of ə 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 ə. In point of frequency, it slightly exceeds the latter.

65. The remaining spirant, ə 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 Pratiṣñākyas bring it into no relation with the guttural class; one of them quotes the opinion of some authorities that "it has the same position with the beginning of the following vowel" (TPR. ii. 47)—which so far identifies it with our h. There is nothing in its euphonic influence to mark it as retaining any trace of gutturally articulated character. By some of
the native phonetists it is identified with the aspiration of the sonant
aspirates—with the element by which, for example, gh differs from g.
This view is supported by the derivation of h from the aspirates (next
paragraph), by that of l + h from dh (54), and by the treatment of initial
h after a final mute (163).

66. The h, as already noticed, is not an original sound, but
comes in nearly all cases from an older gh (for the few instances of
its derivation from dh and bh, see below, 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 muted 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 Prātiṣṭākhyas and by Pānini, 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 Prātiṣṭākhyya (TPr. ii. 48) gives just this last description of it.
It is by various authorities classed with h, or with h and a: all of them
are alike sounds in whose utterance the mouth-organs have no definite
shape 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 euphonics changes of final s and r have not passed
through visarga as an intermediate stage. And the Hindu authorities
are considerably discordant with one another as to how far h is a
necessary substitute, and how far a permitted one, alternative with
a sibilant, before a following initial surd.

69. Before a surd guttural or labial, respectively, some of the
native authorities permit, while others require, conversion of final s
or r into the so-called jihvāmūliya and upadhmāniya spirants. It
may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not
pure grammatical abstractions, devised (like the long l-vowel: 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) c-h- and f-sounds.
When written at all, they are wont to be transliterated by χ and ψ.
70. The \textit{anuvāra}, \textit{n} or \textit{m}, is a nasal sound lacking that closure of the organs which is required to make a nasal mute or contact-sound (36); in its utterance there is nasal resonance along with some degree of openness of the mouth.

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

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

b. The \textit{Athaṅkrava-Prātiṣṭhākhyas} holds that the result is everywhere a nasalized vowel, except when \textit{n} or \textit{m} is assimilated to a following \textit{l}; in that case, the \textit{n} or \textit{m} becomes a nasal \textit{l}: that is, the nasal utterance is made in the 1-position, and has a perceptible 1-character.

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

d. Of the nature of this nasal afterpiece to the vowel no intelligibly clear account is given. It is said (\textit{RPr.}) to be either vowel or consonant; it is declared (\textit{RPr., VPr.}) to be made with the nose alone, or (\textit{TPr.}) to be nasal like the nasal mutes; it is held by some (\textit{RPr.}) to be the sonant tone of the nasal mutes; in its formation, as in that of vowel and spirant, there is (\textit{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 anuvāra as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsistent in its choice between the one and the other).

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

g. It is evidently a fair question whether this discordance and uncertainty of the Hindu phonetists is owing to a real difference of utterance in different classes of cases and in different localities, or whether to a different scholastic analysis of what is really everywhere the same utterance. If anuvāra is a nasal element following the vowel, it cannot well be anything but either a prolongation of the same vowel-sound with nasality added, or a 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 anuvāra, has the value of something added, in making a heavy syllable, or length by position (79).

a. The Prātiṣeṣkhyaśaśas (VPr., RPr.) give determinations of the quantity of the anuvāra 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 (anunāśika) vowel. Hence some texts (Sāma- and Yajur-Vedas), when they mean a real anuvāra, 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 (anunāśika) 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 anunāśika sign: but the two are doubtless originally and properly equivalent.

b. It is a very common custom of the manuscripts to write the anuvāra-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 anuvāra. Some printed texts follow this slovenly and undesirable habit; but most write a nasal mute whenever it is to be pronounced—excepting where it is an assimilated m (213).
c. It is convenient also in transliteration to distinguish the assimilated m by a special sign, \( \hat{m} \), from the anusvāra of more independent origin, \( \hat{n} \); and this method will be followed in the present work.

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

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

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a. The figures set under the characters give the average percentage of frequency of each sound, found by counting the number of times which it occurred in an aggregate of 10,000 sounds of continuous text, in ten different passages, of 1,000 sounds each, selected from different epochs of the literature: namely, two from the Rig-Veda, one from the Atharva-Veda, two from different Brāhmaṇas, and one each from Manu, Bhagavad-Gītā, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeśa, and Vāsavadātā (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 guru-and the vṛddhi-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, श्रवण ा.

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: adhāh svid āśid upāri svid āśiśat (RV.) was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above? idām bhūyāṣid idāṣm iti (AV.) saying, is this more, or is that? ágniṣi pátnivāṣḥ sōmam piba (TS.) O Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma.

c. A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or a-element: thus, e to 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, 87 d.

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

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

IV. Accent.

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

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

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

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

a. In transliteration, in this work, the udātta or acute will be marked with the ordinary sign of acute, and the svarita or circumflex (as being a downward slide of the voice forward) with what is usually called the grave accent: thus, á, acute, yá or vá, circumflex.
84. The Prātiṣṭhākhyas 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 kūa), svār (sūar), nyāk (nīak), budhnā (budhnā), kanyā (kaniā), nadyās (nadi-as), tanvā (tanū-ā).

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

d. Prācliṣṭa, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (128 c): thus, divī 'vā (RV. AV. etc.), from divī iva; sūdgātā (TS.), from sū-udgātā; nāi 'vā 'qnīyāt (CB.), from nā evā acnīyāt.

e. Abhinīhita, when an initial grave a is absorbed by a final acute ō or ó (136 a): thus, tē 'bruvan, from tē abruvan; sō 'bravit, from só 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 tēṇa and tē ca, the syllable na and word ca are regarded and marked as circumflex; but in tēṇa tē and tē ca svār they are grave.

b. This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are identified with one another, in treatment and designation. The enclitic circumflex is likewise divided into a number of sub-varieties, with different names: they are of too little consequence to be worth reporting.
86. The essential difference of the two kinds of circumflex is shown clearly enough by these facts: 1. the independent circumflex takes the place of the acute as the proper accent of a word, while the enclitic is the mere shadow following an acute, and following it in another word precisely as in the same word; 2. the independent circumflex maintains its character in all situations, while the enclitic before a following circumflex or acute loses its circumflex character, and becomes grave; moreover, 3. in many of the systems of marking accent (below, 89), 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 samhitas, in two of the Brähmanas (Taittiriya and Čatapatha), in the Taittiriya-Aranyaka, in certain passages of the Ātareya-Aranyaka, and in the Suparnādhya-ya. 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,

\[ \text{agnīm; jūhōti; tānvā; kvā.} \]

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

\[ \text{tāvā; tē; karīṣyāsi; tuvijātā.} \]

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,

\[ \text{sudṛṣṭākṣaraḥ; sudṛṣṭākṣaraṁ gāvām.} \]

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:

\[ \text{apsū āntyāḥ (from apsū antāḥ);} \]

\[ \text{rāyōś vānīḥ (from rāyo svānīḥ).} \]
The rationale of this mode of designation is not well understood; the Prātiṣṭhākhyas 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 vikampaṇa.

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-SAṃhitā, and of the Taṇṭṭṛiya-SAṃhitā, Brāhmaṇa, and Āranyaka. 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 Mātrāyaṇī-SAṃhitā, the acute syllable itself, besides its surroundings, is marked—namely, by a perpendicular stroke above the syllable (like that of the ordinary circumflex in the RV. method). The independent circumflex has a hook beneath the syllable, and the circumflex before an acute (87 d) is denoted simply by a figure 3, standing before instead of after the circumflexed syllable.

c. The Čātapaṭha-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 preceding syllable. To mark an independent circumflex, it is put under the preceding syllable. The method is an imperfect one, allowing many ambiguities.

d. The 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 both to the accentual character of the syllable and to its surroundings. Its origin is obscure; if anything more is indicated by it than by the other simpler systems, the fact has not been demonstrated.

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

\[ \text{इ} \text{न्द्र} \text{ां}, \text{अ} \text{ं}, \text{आ} \text{ं}, \text{स्व} \text{ं} \text{वर}, \text{न} \text{य} \text{ं} \text{म} \text{ं} \text{न} \text{द} \text{य} \text{ां} \].

a. These being given, everything else which the Hindu theory recognizes as dependent on and accompanying them can readily be understood as implied.
90. The theory of the Sanskrit accent, as here given (a consistent and intelligible body of phenomena), has been overlaid by the Hindu theorists, especially of the Prātīcīkhyas, 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 praṇaya or praṇita (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 ekācruti-(monotone) to the praṇita 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 anudāttatara).

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 undesignedate: 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, samahā, im, āim, are always without accent; also yathā in RV. (sometimes also elsewhere) in the sense of iva, at the end of a pāda or verse-division.
b. The same is true of certain pronouns and pronominal stems: mā, me, nāu, nas, tvā, te, vām, vas (491 b), ena (500), tvā (503 b), sama (513 c).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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, agnāū, īndreṇa, agnīna, agnīnām, bāhucyuta, ānapacyuta, parjányajīvita, abhīmātiṣāhā, ānabhīmālātavarṇa, abhīṣasticātana, hīrānyavācimattama, cātuṣcatvārīνḍakṣara.

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. 3. 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 genera' 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 im-
portance, and require to be laid down in preparation for the topics
of declension and conjugation.

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

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

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

a. There are in this number roots of very diverse character. Those occurring only later are, at least in great part, presumably of secondary origin; and a certain number are even doubtless artificial, used once or twice because found in the root-lists of the Hindu grammarians (103). But also of the rest, some are plainly secondary, while others are questionable; and not a few are variations or differentiated forms of one another. Thus, there are roots showing respectively r and i, as rabh and labh, mruc and mluc, kṣar and kṣal; roots with and without a strengthening nasal, as vand and vad, mand and mad; roots in ā and in a nasal, as khā and khan, gā and gam, jā and jan; roots made by an added ā, as trā from tr, mād from man, psā from bhas, yā from i; roots the product of reduplication, as jakṣ from ghas, dudh from dhū; roots with a final sibilant of formative origin, as bhatkṣa and bhiṣka from bhaj, nakṣa from naq, cṛuṣ from cṛu, 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 kṛṣa drag and kṛṣa plough, vṛd know and vṛ 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 झ are regularly converted to न and झ after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with न and झ; no western authority follows this example.

b. The Hindus classify as simple roots a number of derived stems: reduplicated ones, as दिद्धि, जाग्य, दरिद्र; present-stems, as उर्गु; and denominative stems, as आवधिर, कुमार, साभाग, मन्त्र, सान्त, अर्थ, and the like. These are in European works generally reduced to their true value.

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

d. The roots showing interchangeably र and ढ and त or त and र (242) are written by the Hindus with र or with ढ, or with both. The र 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 ढ.

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

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

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

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

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

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 (samādhi putting together) are in some respects different, according as they apply —

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

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

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

111. a. Moreover, before case-endings beginning with bh and s (namely, bhāṃ, bhīs, bhās, su), the treatment of the finals of stems is in general the same as in the combinations of words (pāḍa) with one another — whence those endings are sometimes called pāḍa- endings, and the cases they form are known as pāḍa-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 sī, svā, etc., especially after palatal sounds and s.

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 distinctoffice, 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 mentioned here) the only examples are vidyūnmant (beside garūtmant, kakūdmant, etc.), pṛṣadvant (beside datvānt, marūtvant, etc.), dhṛṣadvīn (beside namasvīn, etc.), qāṃśa (beside ajmā, idhmā, etc.), mṛṇmāya (beside manasmāya, etc.), and ahaṃyū, kīṃyū, qāṃyū, and aṃhoyū, duvoyū, āskṛdhoyū (beside nāmasyū, 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
indication; the rules of external combination may better be left untouched
until he comes to dealing with words in sentences, or to translating. Then,
however, they are indispensable, since the proper form of the words that
compose the sentence is not to be determined without them.

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

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

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

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

114. Despiration. 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 im-
portant occur in the adaptation of surd and sonant sounds to one
another; but the nasals and 1 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 ś is the only one having a sonant correspondent, namely r, to which it is convertible in external combination (164 ff.).

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

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

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

But

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

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

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

a. The dental ś and n are very frequently converted to s and n by the assimilating influence of contiguous or neighbouring lingual sounds: the ś, 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 ʃ and ɣ according as they represent one or another degree of alteration—the one tending, like ʒ, more to the guttural reversion, the other showing, like ɕ, a more sibilant and lingual character.

120. The lingual sibilant ʃ, 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 ʍ), 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 semi-vowel 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 títāu sieve (perhaps for titasu, Br.), práüga wagonpole (for prayuga?); and, in RV., suúti.

c. The texts of the older dialect are written according to the euphonic rules of the later language, although in them (see 113 b) 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 129 e.

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

e. The rules of vowel combination, as regards both the resulting sound and its accent, are nearly the same in internal and in external sañčhi,
126. Two similar simple vowels, short or long, coalesce, and form the corresponding long vowel: thus, two a-vowels (either or both of them short or long) form या ा; two i-vowels, ऐ ऐ; two u-vowels, ऊ ऊ; and, theoretically, two r-vowels form रु रु, but it is questionable whether the case ever practically occurs. Examples are:

न चाप्राय: sa cā 'praṇaḥ (ca + apraṇaḥ);
धतीवं atī 'va (ati + iva);
न्वुष्कम् sūktam (su-uktam);
तस्यामीति rājā "sīt (rājā + āsīt);
ध्रीग्रह: adhīcvaraḥ (adhī-īcvaraḥ);
नुब्रवपत्ति juhūpabhrī (juhū — upabhrī).

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 ऐ o; with an u-vowel, to ऑ o; with र र, to एर ar; with ल ल (theoretically), to चल अं; with रे e or रै ai, to रै ai; with यो o or यी āu, to यी āu. Examples are:

राजेन्द्र rājendra (rāja-indra);
तिपदेश: hitopadeśaḥ (hita-upadeśaḥ);
महरṣiḥ: maharṣiḥ (mahā-ṛṣiḥ);
सैव sā 'va (sā + eva);
तस्यान्तरं rājāīcvaryardham (rāja-āiçvaryardham);
दिवाकरं: divākaraḥ (divā-okasaḥ);
यवप्रयथ्य jvarāuṣadham (jvara-āuṣadham).

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

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

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

कुव्याएḥ ity āha (iti + āha);
मघिव madhv iva (madhu + iva);
दुहित्रार्थे duhitrarthe (duhitṛ-arthe);
स्त्रयाय stry asya (strī + asya):
कॊथ vadhvāi (vadhū-āi).

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

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

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

d. Not very seldom, the same word (especially as found in different texts of the older language) has more than one form, showing various treatment
of an i- or u-vowel: e.g. svār or sūvar, tanvē or tanūve, budhnyā or budhniya, rātryāī or rātriyaī. For the most part, doubtless, these are only two ways of writing the same pronunciation, sū-ar, budhnia, 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 233 a.

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

\[ \text{वृद्धि vyuṣṭि (vi-uṣṭi); घर्ग्वयति abhyārcati; नन्यः nadyāu (nadi-śū); स्वस्व sviṣṭa (sū-śṭa); तन्यः tanvās (tanū-as).} \]

a. Of a similar combination of acute i with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, vijñāṭ etāt (i.e. vijñāṭi etāt: CB. xiv. 6. 81); the accentuation is in accordance with the rules for i and u.

131. Of a diphthong, the final i- or u-element is changed to its corresponding semivowel, य or व, before any vowel or diphthong: thus, रे (really ai: 28 a) becomes घर ay, and थौ o (that is, au: 28 a) becomes घर av; रे ाू becomes घर ाू, and थौ ाू becomes घर ाू.

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,

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

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

त ग्रासात: ta āgatāḥ (te + āgatāḥ);
नगर पुक्त nagara iva (nagare + iva);
तस्माद धर्मम् tasmā adadāt (tasmāi + adadāt);
किष्य उक्तं strīyā uktam (strīyāi + uktam).

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 (Prātiṣṭhāya), 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 र, 178-7.

d. For the peculiar treatment of this combination in certain cases by the MS., see below, 178 d.

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

तावेव tāv eva (tāu + eva);

उभाविन् ubhāv indrāgni (ubhāu + indrāgni).

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 indrāgni.

135. After final ड़ o or ठ o, an initial ध 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:

ते अब्रुवन ते 'bruvan (tē abruvan);
मो जग्मि सो 'bravīt (sāḥ abravīt);
सिंहिसितव्यो भगि hiṃsitavyo 'gniḥ (hiṃsitavyāḥ agniḥ);
ग्रहेन्द्र ज्ञविन् yād indrō 'bravīt (yād īndrāḥ ābravīt);
ग्रहवयो हर्जने yād 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 AV., less than 300 times out of about 1600. In neither work is there any accordance in respect to the combination in question between the written and spoken form of the text: in RV., the a is (as written) elided in more than three quarters of the cases; in AV., in about two thirds; and in both texts it is written in a number of instances where the metre requires its omission.

d. In a few cases, an initial 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 āl, āu, ār (vṛddhi-vowels: 235), instead of e, o, ar (gūna-vowels), as required by 127: thus, āita (a + īta) āubhnāt (a + ubhnāt), ārdhnāt (a + ṛdhnot).
   b. The final o of a stem (1203 a) becomes āv before the suffix ya (originally ia: 1210 a).
   c. The final vowel of a stem is often dropped when a secondary suffix is added (1203 a).
   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, ārchati (ār + rchati), avārchati (ava + rchati), upārṣati (CB: upa + ṛṣati; but AV. upārṣanti).
   b. Instances are occasionally met with of a final a or ā being lost entirely before initial e or o: thus, in verb-forms, avr eṣyāmas AB., upr eṣatu etc. AV.; in derivatives, as upetāvya, upetṛ; in compounds, as daṇconi, yathetam, and (permissibly) compounds with oṣṭha (not rare), otu (not quotable), odana, as adharoṣṭha or adharāṣṭha, tilodana or tilāudana; and even in sentence-combination, as ivṛ etayas, aqvīn eva, yathā ocīse (all RV.), tvṛ eman and tvṛ odman B.; and always with the exclamation om or omkāra.
   c. The form ūn from yvah sometimes makes the heavier or vṛddhi (235) diphthongal combination with a preceding a-vowel: thus, prāuḍhi, aksāuhiṇi (from pra + ūḍhi etc.).

138. Certain final vowels, moreover, are uncombinable (prāṛhyā), 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 imāu; giri ārchatam.
   b. The pronoun ami (nom. pl.: 501); and the Vedic pronominal forms asme, yuṣmē, tvē (482 a).
   c. A final o made by combination of a final a-vowel with the particle u (1122 b): thus, atho, mo, no.
   d. A final i of a Vedic locative case from an i-stem (336 f).
   e. A protracted final vowel (76).
   f. The final, or only, vowel of an interjection, as aho, he, ā, i, u.
   g. The older language shows occasional exceptions to these rules: thus, a dual ī combined with a following i, as nṛpātī 'va; an a elided after o, as ātho 'si; a locative ī turned into a semivowel, as vēdy asyām.
Permitted Finals.

139. The sounds allowed to occur as finals in Sanskrit words standing by themselves (not in euphonie 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 र nor ज ever actually occurs; and र is rare (only as neuter sing. of a stem in र or अर, or as final of such a stem in composition).

Thus, इंद्र, चिवाय, अकुरि, नादि, दातु, चामिनि, जानाय्ति, अग्ने, चिवायारि, वायो, अग्नाऻि.

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, अग्निमात for अग्निमाथ, सुह्य for सुह्य, विरुत्स for विरुध्व, त्रिश्तुप for त्रिश्तुभ.

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

Thus, दाग्नि becomes द्रक, बुध्नि becomes बुठ्नि, 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. 3. 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, नाक् vák, बेकृजोमक anhomuk. The च oh (only quotable in the root प्रह prach) becomes त t: thus, प्रह prañt. न j either reverts to its original guttural or becomes त t, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations (219): thus, निष्पक्ष bhiṣak, विस्त virat. The क ja does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to त t.

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

a. But the final m of a root is changed to n (compare 212 a, below): thus, akran from kram, ágan, ajagán, aganigán from gam, ánán from nam, ayán from yam, praçán from çam; no other cases are quotable.

144. Of the semivowels, the य l alone is an admitted final, and it is very rare. The र r is (like its nearest surd correspondent, म 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 श श 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, दिक dik, but वित vit. The श श is likewise changed to त t: thus, प्रान्त prañt.

a. The change of श to त 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 555 a.

146. The compound $\text{न क्ष}$ is prescribed to be treated as simple $\text{व क}$ (not becoming $\text{क क}$ 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 $\text{क्ष}$ has a quasi-radical character — namely $\text{आक}$ from $\text{आके}$, and $\text{अयाक}$ from $\text{य आके}$ — the conversion is to $\text{क}$. Also, of forms of the स-acrost (see 890), we have $\text{धक, आक, आविक, etc. (for आहके-त etc.)}$; but also $\text{प्रत, आत, आवत, आएत}$ (for आप्राके-त etc.). And RV. has twice $\text{यास}$ from $\text{य याज}$, and AV. twice $\text{आस}$ from $\text{य आस}$ (wrongly referred by Bh. to $\text{य आना}$), both 2d sing., where the personal ending has perhaps crowded out the root-final and tense-sign.

b. The numeral $\text{सारास सिर}$ is perhaps better to be regarded as $\text{साके}$, with its $\text{क्ष}$ treated as $\text{ए}$, according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration $\text{स ह}$ is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like $\text{ज ज}$ and $\text{ञ ङ}$) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as $\text{क ह}$, or is changed to $\text{त ह}$ — both in accordance with its treatment in inflection: see below, 222. And, also as in inflection, the original sonant aspiration of a few roots (given at 155 b) reappears when their final thus becomes deaspirated. Where the $\text{स ह}$ is from original $\text{न ध}$ (223 g), it becomes $\text{न त}$.

148. The visarga and anusvāra are nowhere etymological finals; the former is only the substitute for an original final $\text{म स}$ or $\text{र र}$; the latter occurs as final only so far as it is a substitute for $\text{म म}$ (213 h).

149. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals, nearly in the order of their frequency, are: $\text{ह ह, म म, न न}$, $\text{त त, क क, प प, र र}$; those of only sporadic occurrence are $\text{ि न, ि ि, न न}$; and, by substitution, $\text{ि म}$.

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, tudantas becomes tudant, and this tudan; udanoc-s becomes udāṅk (142), and this udan; and achāntat (s-aor., 3d sing., of y'chand [890 b]) is in like manner reduced to achān.

b. But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after r: thus, ārk from ārj, vārk from y'vṛj, avart from y'vṛt, āmārt from y'mṛj, suhārt from suhārd. The case is not a common one.

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

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

a. Of final t to k: thus, 1. in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles, as jyök, tājāk (beside tājāt), ṣdhak (beside ṣdhat), pṛthak, drāk; and of kindred character is khādgaṅt (TA.); 2. in here and there a verbal form, as sāviṣak (AV. and VS. Kṛ.), dambhiṣak (Āpast.), avariṣak (Pārsk.), āhalak (VS. MS.; = āharat); 3. in root-finals or the t added to root-stems (383 e), as -dhrk for -dhrt (Śūtras and later) at the end of compounds, suṇrūk (TB.), pṛksū (SV.); and 4. we may further note here the anomalous eṅkva (AB.; for īṃṣva,  ::= avāksam (AB.), and the feminines in knī from masculines in ta (1176 d).

b. Of final d or t to a lingual: thus, pad in Vedic pāḍbhīṣ, pāḍṛbhī, pāḍbhīṣa; upānāḍbhīṣam (īB.); vy avāṭ (MS. iii. 4. 9; y'vas shine), and perhaps āpā 'rāṭ (MS.; or y'rāj?).

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

d. In Tāttvīrīya texts, of the final of anuśūbh and triṣṭūbh to a guttural: as, anuṣṭūk ca, triṣṭūgbhis, anuṣṭūgbhyas.

e. Of a labial to a dental: in kakūd for and beside kakūbh; in samasāṭbhīṣ (TS.) from y'sṛp; and in adbhīṣ, adbhīṣas, from ap or āp (393). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination bbh are not very rare in the older language: thus, kakūbhbhyām, triṣṭūbbhī, kakubbhanḍā, anuṣṭūb bhī.

f. The forms pratidhūsas, -ṣā (Tāttvīrīya texts) from pratidūh are isolated anomalies.

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

155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate (ण gh, न dh, भ bh; also र h, as representing an original ग gh) thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant (प g or न d or भ 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, druḥ, guh; and also grah (in the later desiderative jighṛkṣa);
   in dh—bandh, bādh, budh;
   in bh—dabh (but only in the later desiderative dhipsa for which the older language has dipṣa).
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, druḥ, and guḥ are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, daṅkṣat; adukṣat; dudukṣa etc.; jugukṣa; mitradrūk.

e. The same analogy is followed by dadh, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stems dadhā, from yadhā (887), in some of the forms of conjugation: thus, dhathas from dadh + theas, adhatta from adadh + ta, adhaddhvaṃ 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 dhugdhuṃ, dhaddhvaṃ.

Surd and Sonant Assimilation.

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

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

b. To this rule there are some exceptions: thus, some of the derivatives noted at 111 d; final d of a root before the participial suffix na (857 d); and the forms noted below, 161 b.

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

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

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

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

Thus, in internal combination: átsi, átti, attáš, attá (Yad+i etc.); cāgdhi, cāgdhváma (Yqak+dh etc.); — in external combination, ábhūd ayám, jyóg jiva, sád aqśitáya, triśṭúb ápi, dig-gaja, sād-ahá, arcád-dhúma, bṛhád-bhánu, ab-já.

160. If, however, a final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by ṛ t or ṛ 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 dhd, as buddhá (ybudh+ta), ruddhás (y'rungh+thas or ta); bh with the same becomes bdh, as labdhá (ylabh+ta), labdhvá (ylabh+tvā).

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

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

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

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 námas or tán námas, vág me or váñ mo, bád mahán or báñ mahán, triśṭúb núñám or triśṭūm núñám.

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

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

stinnoti, stinnuṣṭ (MS.; for stighn-), mṛṇṇita (ḷuṣ.; for mṛdh-), jāṁmayana (KS.; for jāgm-); these, however (like the double aspirates, 154 a), are doubtless to be rejected as false readings.

162. Before i, a final t is not merely made sonant, but fully assimilated, becoming 1: thus, tāḻ labhate, āulluptam.

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

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

Examples are: vāṅ ghutāḥ, sāḍḍhotā (ṣat-hotā), taddhita (tatt-hita), anuṣṭūb bhī.

Combinations of final s and r.

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

166. Final radical s remains before a surd in general, and usually before s, as in cāssī, cāssava, āsse, aḍçṣu (the last is also written aḍiṣṣu: 172): but it is lost in āṣī (yvəs + si: 636). Before a sonant (that is, bh) in declension, it is treated as in external combination: thus, aḍīrbhīs. Before a sonant (that is, dh) in conjugation, it appears to be dropped, at least after long ā: thus, cāḍhi, caḍhā, caḍahī, caḍahī (the only quotable cases); in edhi (yvəs + dhī: 636) the root syllable is irregularly altered; but in 2d perss. pl., made with dhvam, as ādhvam, caḍhvam, arāḍhvam (881 a), vadhvam (yvəs
cloth), it is, on account of the equivalence and interchangeability of dhv and ddhv (232), impossible to say whether the s in omitted or converted into d.

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

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

167. In a very few cases, final radical s before s is changed to t (perhaps by dissimilation): they are, from y'vas dwell (also sporadically from vas shine, CB, and vas clothe, Har.), the future vatsyámi and norist ávátsam; from y'ghas, the desiderative stem jíghatsa.

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

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

a. Sporadic cases of a like conversion are found in the Veda: namely, máddbhís and máddhyás from mās: usádbhís from usás; svátadvadhyás from svávatas; svávadhyás etc. (not quotable) from svávas. But the actuality of the conversion here is open to grave doubt; it rather seems the substitution of a t-stem for a s-stem. The same is true of the change of vānsa to vat in the declension of perfect participles (458). The stem anaśvah (404), from anaś-vah, is anomalous and isolated.

b. In the compounds ducuchûna (dus-çunâ) and pâruçchepa (parus-qopa), 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 (368 ff.); in root-stems in ir and ur from roots in r (383 b); in a small number of other stems, as svár, áhar and ědhar (beside áhan and ědhan: 430), dvár or dur, and the Vedic vádhar, uśar-, vásar-, vanar-, ěrutar-, sapar-, sabar-, ăśtar- (cf. 176 c); in a few particles, as antár, prátár, púnar; and in the numeral cátûr (482 g).

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

b. It is retained unchanged only when followed by ṭ or ṭh, the surd mutes of its own class.

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

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

Examples are: to b. tatās te, cakṣus te; to c. tatāc ca, tasyāc chāyā; pādāc ūtalati; to d. nalaḥ kāmam, puruṣāḥ khanati; yaṣaḥ prāpa, vykṣaḥ 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 ṣ), 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 yākṛ, before pāti, before kalpa and kāma, and so on. Examples are namaskāra, vācaspati, āyukkāma, pāyaskalpa.

c. The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the Prātiṣṭhikhyas. 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 putrāḥ, idāḥ padé; 3. of an ablative before pāri: as himāvatās pāri; 4. of other less classifiable cases: as dyauṣ pitaḥ, triṣ pūtvā, yās pātiḥ, paridhīṣ pātāti, etc.

172. Before an initial sibilant — ṭṣ, ṭṣ, ṭs — ṭs 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. 11, 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: manuh svayam or manus svayam; indrah quraḥ or indraq quraḥ; tāḥ śat or tāś śat.

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 catuṭstanām. With regard to this point the usage of the different manuscripts and editions is greatly at variance.

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

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

Examples are: devapatir iva, qrir iva; manur gacchati, tanur apsu; svasār ajanayat; tayor adṛṣṭakāmaḥ; sarvār gunāḥ; agner manve.

a. For a few cases like dūcāqa, dūṇaṣa, see below, 199 d.

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

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

175. a. Final yāṃ as, before any sonant consonant and before short ḍ a, is changed to o—as —and the ḍ 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, brahmanyo vedavit; manobhaya; hantavyo 'ami; anyonya (anyas + anya), yaṣortham (yaṣas + artham).

c. Final yāṃ as before any other vowel than ḍ a loses its s, becoming simple ḍ 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: bṛhadācau uvāca, āditya īva, nāmaūkī, vāsyalēṣṭi.

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

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

b. Instances are met with, both in the earlier and in the later language, of effacement of the hiatus after alteration of as, by combination of the remaining final a with the following initial vowel: thus, tato 'vāca (tatas + uvāca), payoṣṇī (payas + uṣṇī), adhāsana (adhas + āsana): compare 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., sō 'd for sā īd, sā 'smāi for sā asmāi, sāu 'ṣadhiḥ for sā ोṣadhiḥ; and similar examples are found also in the other Vedic texts.

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

d. In MS., the final a left before hiatus by alteration of either as (o) or e (133) is made long if itself unaccented and if the following initial vowel is accentuated: thus, sūrā ēti (from sūras + ēti), nirupyrātā īndryā (from -yāte + īnd-), and also kāryā ēka- (from kāryās, because virtually kāryas); but ādityā īndraḥ (from ādityās + īndraḥ), etā ītare (from etē + ītare).

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

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

178. Final ṛ r, in general, shows the same form which Ṛ 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, rudati punaḥ, dvās tat, svāc ca, catuṣcaṭvāriniṣṭ; and (111 c, d) prāṭastāna, antastya, catuṣṭaya, dhūṣṭa; prātaḥ karoti,antaḥpāta.

b. But original final r preceded by a or ā maintains itself unchanged before a sonant: thus, punar eti, ārāsan ākāraḥ ākāraḥ, ākāraḥ ākāraḥ.

c. The r is preserved unchanged even before a surd in a number of Vedic compounds: thus, aharpāṭi; svārcanaś, svārcakṣaś, svārpati, svāṛṣā, svāṛṣāti; dhūṛṣād, dhūṛṣā; pūrpati, vārkaṇya, aćīrpada, punaratta; 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 ānduḥ, āna evā.

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

Thus, punaḥ ramate, nṛpati rājaṭi, mātaḥ rihān, jyotiraḥ, dūrohaṇā.

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

**Conversion of Ṛ s to Ṛ Ṛ.**

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

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

62

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 \( \text{r} \) also; but the Prātiṣṭhākhyas give no such rule, and phonetic considerations, the \( \text{r} \) being a dental sound, are absolutely against it. Actual cases of the combination do not occur in the older language, nor have any been pointed out in the later.

c. The vowels that cause the alteration of \( \text{s} \) to \( \text{g} \) may be called for brevity's sake "alterant" vowels.

181. Hence, in the interior of a Sanskrit word, the dental \( \text{s} \) is not usually found after any vowel save \( \text{a} \) and \( \text{ā} \), but, instead of it the lingual \( \text{g} \). But—

a. A following \( \text{r} \) prevents the conversion: thus, \( \text{usra}, \text{tisra}, \text{tamisra} \). And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an \( \text{r} \)-element (whether \( \text{r} \) or \( \text{ṛ} \)), whatever the position of that element: thus, \( \text{sīstam}, \text{sīstam}, \text{sāṟīṣapāṣ}, \text{tisīṣagāri}, \text{parisūr̥}. \) To this rule there are a few exceptions, as \( \text{viṣṭīr}, \text{viṣṭārā}, \text{niṣṭīt}, \text{viṣpacarīḥas}, \text{gāviṣṭhīra}, \) etc. In \( \text{ajuṣgr} \) the final \( \text{g} \) of a root is preserved even immediately before \( \text{r} \).

b. This dissimilating influence of a following \( \text{r} \), as compared with the invariable assimilating influence of a preceding \( \text{r} \), is peculiar and problematical.

c. The recurrence of \( \text{g} \) in successive syllables is sometimes avoided by leaving the former \( \text{s} \) unchanged: thus, \( \text{sīsakṣi}, \) but \( \text{sīsakti}; \text{yāsīsīṣṭhān}, \) but \( \text{yāsīṣīṣṭhān} \). Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see below, 184 e.

d. Other cases are sporadic: \( \text{RV} \) has the forms \( \text{sīsice}, \text{sisicus} \) (but \( \text{sīgicatus} \)), and the stems \( \text{ṛbīsa}, \text{kistā}, \text{bīsa}, \text{busā}, \text{bīsaya}; \) a single root \( \text{pīs}, \) with its derivative \( \text{pesuka}, \) is found once in \( \text{CB}; \) \( \text{MS} \) has \( \text{mrṣmr̥ṣ}, \) \( \text{mūsa} \) begins to be found in \( \text{AV} \); and such cases grow more numerous; for \( \text{puṁs} \) and the roots \( \text{niḥs}, \) and \( \text{hiṁs}, \) see below, 183 a.

182. On the other hand (as was pointed out above, 62), the occurrence of \( \text{g} \) in Sanskrit words is nearly limited to cases falling under this rule: others are rather sporadic anomalies—except where \( \text{g} \) is the product of \( \text{q} \) or \( \text{k} \) before a dental, as is draṣṭum, cāṣṭo, tvāṣṭar: see 318, 221. Thus, we find—

a. Four roots, \( \text{kaṣ}, \text{laṣ}, \text{haṣ}, \text{ḥhaṣ}, \) of which the last is common and is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas.

b. Further, in \( \text{RV}, \) \( \text{āṣa}, \text{kavāṣa}, \text{caṣāla}, \text{caṣa}, \text{jālaṣa}, \text{pāṣya}, \) baṣkāya, vāṣaṭ (for \( \text{vakṣaṭt} \)), kāṣṭhā; and, by anomalous alteration of original \( \text{s} \), \( \text{ḥaṣ}, \) (\( \text{turaṣāh} \) etc.), ṣaṇḍa, uṇaṣṭutt, and probably \( \text{apaṣṭhā} \) and \( \text{aṣṭhivānt} \). Such cases grow more common later.

c. The numeral \( \text{ṣaṣ} \), as already noted (149 b), is more probably \( \text{ṣakṣ} \).
183. The nasalization of the alterant vowel — or, in other words, its being followed by anuvāra — does not prevent its altering effect upon the sibilant: thus, haviṅgī, paruṅgī. 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 s or as converted into visarga: thus, haviṣṇu or haviṣṇu, paruṣṇu or paruṣṇu.

a. But the s of puṁs (394) remains unchanged, apparently on account of the retained sense of its value as puṁs; also that of y nhiṣ, because of its value as hins (hinasti etc.); y Nhiṣ (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, sauna; s of sibilant-aorist, future, and desiderative; suffixes sa, snu, sva, etc. — after a final alterant vocal or consonant of root or stem, or a union-vowel: thus, juhoṣi, ṝese, anāiṣam, bhavīṣyami, quṛṣe, desā, jiṣṇu, vikṣu, akārah.

b. The final s of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus: haviṣṇa, haviṣṇa, etc., from havis; ṝakaṣāvant, ṽoiciṣka, mānuṣa, manuṣya, ṽyotīṣṭva.

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

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

e. Excepted is in general an initial radical s in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes ṽ: thus, siṣirṣati from ṽṣr, satiṣirṣati from ṽsanji. And there are other scattering cases, as tresus (perf. from the trans), 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 linguizes the initial s of the root to which it is prefixed; since such combinations are both of great frequency and of peculiar intimacy, analogous with those of root or stem and suffix: thus, abhiṣac, pratiṣṭhā, niṣikta, viṣita; anuvādham, suṣēka; the cases are numberless.

b. The principal exceptions are in accordance with the principles already laid down: namely, when the root contains an r-element, and when a recurrence of the sibilant would take place. But there are also others, of a more irregular character; and the complete account of the treatment of initial radical s after a prefix would be a matter of great detail, and not worth giving here.
c. Not infrequently, the initial s, usually altered after a certain prefix, retains the altered sibilant even after an interposed a of augment or reduplication: thus, aty aśṭāt, abhy aśṭām, pary aśaśvajat, vy aśahanta, ny aśadāma, nir aśṭāpayan, abhy aśiṇcan, vy aśabh- nāt; vi taśthe, vi taśthire.

d. Much more anomalous is the occasional alteration of initial radical s after an a-element of a prefix. Such cases are ava śṭambh (against ni stambh and prati stambh) 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 initial s of the second: for example, yudhīṣṭhira, pitṛvasya, gośṭhā, agniśṭomā, anaśṭūbh, triśaṃdhi, diviśād, parameśṭhinā, abhiśenā, pitṛśād, puruśṭutā.

a. A very few cases occur of the same alteration after an a-element: thus, saśṭūbh, avaśṭambha, savyāśṭhā, apāśṭha, upaśṭūt; also y'sah, when its final, by 147, becomes ṭ: thus, satrāṣāṭ (but satrā- sāham).

187. The final s of the first member of a compound often becomes ṛ after an alterant vowel: thus, the s of a propositional prefix, as niśādhan, duṣṭāra (for duṣṭāra), āvīṣkṛta; and, regularly, a s retained instead of being converted to visarga before a labial or guttural mute (171 a), as haviṣpā, jyotīṣkṛt; tapuṣpā.

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

a. The initial s, especially of particles: as ṭū ṣū, hī ṣma, kām u ṣvīt;—also of pronouns: as hi ṣāḥ;—of verb-forms, especially from y'as: as hi ṣṭhā, divi ṣṭha;—and in other scattering cases: as u ṣṭuhi, nū ṣṭhirām, tri ṣadhāsthā, ādhi ṣṇoh, nākīḥ ṣāḥ, yājuḥ ṣkannām, agnīḥ ṣṭave.

b. A final s, oftener before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as agnīṣ ṭvā, niṣ ṭe, iyuṣ ṭe, cuciṣ ṭvām, sādhīṣ ṭāva;—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 trīṣ pūtvā, āyuṣ kṛṇotu, vāstoṣ pāṭīḥ, dyauṣ pīṭā, viḥḥīṣ pāṭāt.

Conversion of न n to ṇ v.

189. The dental nasal न n, when immediately followed by a vowel or by न n or म m or य y or व v, is turned into the lingual ṇ n if preceded in the same word by the
lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels—that is to say, by श, ष, षr, or षष or षष—: 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 षy), a lingual, or a dental.

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

b. This is a rule of constant application; and (as was pointed out above, 43) 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, rudrāṇam, vārīṇe, vārīṇi, vārīṇi, dāṭōṇi, hārāṇi, dvēśāṇi, kriṇāmi, qqōtī, kṣubhāṇa, ghrāṇa, kārṇa, vṛkhaṇa, ruggaṇa, dvāviṇa, iśāṇi, purāṇa, rēkṣas, cākṣāṇa, cikirṣamāṇa, kṛpamāṇa.

b. When the final n of a root or stem comes to be followed, in inflection or derivation, by such sounds as allow it to feel the effect of a preceding altering cause: thus, from yran, rāṇanti, rāṇyati, rāṇaṇa, rāṇiṇiṣus; from brahman, brāhmanaḥ, brāhmāṇi, brahmanāṇa, brahmanayā, brahmapavant.

c. The form piṇaṇ (RV.: 2d and 3d sing. impf.), from ypiṇ, is wholly anomalous.

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

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed. 5
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 parā, pari, pra, nir (for nis), antar, dur (for dus): thus, parā naya, pari niyate, pra nudevasa; parāputti, parināma, praṇavā, nīrṇāj, durṇāca. Roots suffering this change are written with initial n in the native root-lists. The only exceptions of importance are nṛt, nabh, nand, and naq when its ç becomes q (as in prānaṣṭa).

b. The final n of a root is linguized in some of the forms of an and han: thus, prā ṇiti, praṇā, prā haṃyate, praḥaṃana.

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

d. The 1st sing. impv. ending āni is sometimes altered: thus, pra bhavāni.

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

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

193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes 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, uruṇasā; vṛtraḥāṇam etc. (but vṛtraghnā etc.: 195 a), nṛmanas, drūgaṇā; pravāhaṇa, nṛpāṇa, pūryāṇa, pitṛyaṇa; svargēṇa, durgāṇi, usrāyāṃs, tryaṅgāṇām.

194. Finally, in the Veda, a n (usually initial) is occasionally linguized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns nas and ena- are oftenest thus affected: thus, pāri ṇas, prāf 'nān, īndra eṇam; but also the particle nā like: thus, vār nā; and a few other cases, as vār nāma, pūnar ṇayamāsi, agnēr āvēna. More anomalous, and perhaps to-be rejected as false readings, are such as triṇ imān and aksāṇ āva and suhāṃ ṇaḥ (MS.), and vyṛṣṇa va (Āpast).

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

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

Conversion of dental mutes to linguals and palatals.

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

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

a. Under this rule, the combinations ʂt, şth, and şp are very common; ʂɡ is rarely so written, the visarga being put instead of the former sibilant (172): thus, ʃyɔtǐʂu instead of ʃyɔtìʂu.

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

c. Those cases in which final ŋ becomes ʈ before su (e. g. dvitiṣu: 228 b) do not, of course, fall under this rule.

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

a. A ɲ following immediately a ŋ made such by the rule given at 189, above — or, as it may be expressed, a double as well as a single ɲ — is subject to the linguilization: thus, the participles arṇā, kuṇṇa, kaviṇṇa, chrṇṇa, trṇṇa; and, after prefixes (185 a), niṇṇa, pariṇṇa, viśaṇṇa, viṣaṇṇa. But TS. has adhiṣkannya, and RV. yaṅuṅ śkannām.

b. Only a very few other instances occur: iṭṭe and aṭṭa from yid; ʂaḍḍhā (also ʂaḍḍhā and ʂoḍhā), and ʂaṇṇām (ʂaṣ + nām: anomalous gen. pl. of ʂaṣ: 483). A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, 199.

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

d. Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of ŋ are explained in a similar way, as results of a linguilized and afterward omitted sibilant before ŋ: thus niḍā from nisda, ypīḍ from pisḍ, ymṛd from mṛḍ. For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, 199 c.

199. In external combination

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

b. An initial dental after a final lingual usually remains unchanged; and su of the loc. pl. follows the same rule: thus, śaṭṭriṅcat, ānac divāḥ, ekaraṭ tvām; saṭṣu, raṭṣu.

c. Exceptions are: a few compounds with ʂaṣ six showing double ŋ (198 b): namely, ʂaṇṇavati, ʂaṇṇābhī (and one or two others not quotable); and JB. has ʂaṇ ʂiramimita.

d. In a few compounds, moreover, there appears a linguilized dental, with compensatory lengthening, after a lost lingual sibilant or its representative:
namely, in certain Vedic compounds with dus: dūdābha, dūdāc, duḍhī, duṇaṇa, duṇāca (compare the anomalous purodaṣa and -daṣa: puras + y/daṣ); and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of gaṣ, with change of its vowel to an alterant quality (as in voḍhunum and soḍhunum: 224 b): goḍaṇa, goḍhā (also saḍḍhā and saḍḍhā), goṇant.

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

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

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

Thus, yācṇā (the only instance after c), yajṇā, jañē, ajñata, rājṇa, rājñi.

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

Thus, uc carati, etac chatram, vidyuj jāyate; yātayājana, vidyujjihva, bṛhācechandasa, saccarita.

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

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

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

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

Thus, vedavic chūrah (-vīt qū-), tao chrutvā, ṛcchaya (ḥṛt + qaya); bṛhaṇi cheṣāḥ or qeṣāḥ, svapaṇa chete or qete.

a. Some authorities regard the conversion of q to h after t or n as everywhere obligatory, others as only optional; some except, peremptorily or optionally, a q followed by a mute. And some require the same conversion after every mute save m, reading also vipat chutudri, ānāt chūci, anuṣṭup chāradi, cūk chuci. The manuscripts generally write ch, instead of cch, as result of the combination of t and q.

b. In the MS., t and q are anomalously combined into ū q: e. g. tāṇ ṣatām, etāvaṅcās.
Combinations of final न n.

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

Thus, vānsi, vānsva, vānsat, mañsayāte, jīghānsati.

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 rānsu and vānsu (the only Vedic examples).

b. Final न 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 न occasionally follows the same rule: see 421 a, 439, 1203 c, 637.

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

Thus remaining cases are those of external combination.

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

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

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

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

manuscripts त्रिःलोकान or त्रौरान्लोकान; better त्रां लोकान.

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

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

a. According to most of the grammarians of the Prātiṣṭhākhyas (not RPr.), the insertion of the त 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 न stands for original न (as bharan, abharan, agnimān) may have aided to establish it as a rule. Its analogy with the conversion of ङ च into न (203) is palpable.
208. Before the surd palatal, lingual, and dental mutes, there is inserted after final n a sibilant of each of those classes respectively, before which the n becomes anuvāra: thus, devāṅc ca, bhvāṅc chidyate, kumārāṅs trin, abharaṅs tataḥ, dadhaṅc (426 c) carum.

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

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

209. The same retention of original final s after a nasal, and consequent treatment of (apparent) final ān, in, ān, ṇ as if they were āns, īns, ūns, ṇs (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 ān (nasalized ā) before a following vowel: that is to say, āns, with nasal vowel, is treated like ās, with pure vowel (177): thus, devāṅ ē 'hā, ūpabaddhān ihā, mahāṅ asi. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the s appears as h before p: thus, svatavāṅh pāyūḥ.

b. In like manner, s is treated after nasal ī, ē, ā as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming r before a sonant sound (174), and (much more rarely) h before a surd (170): thus, raqmīṅr īva, sūnūṅr yuvanyūṅr ṛt, pīṅr ābhī; nṛṅr pātram (and nṛṅ p-, MS.).

c. RV. has once -īṅ before y. MS. usually has añh instead of āṅ.

210. The nasals n, ṇ, ū, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, pratyāṅṅ úd eṣī, udyāṅn ādityāḥ, āsāṁ-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 vrṣaṅcva.

211. The nasals ū and ū before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively k and ṭ—as n (207) inserts t: thus, pratyāṅk sómaḥ.
Combinations of final ſ̐ m.

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

a. Before m or v (as when final: 143a), it is changed to n: thus, from ýgam come áganma, aganmah, ganvahi, jaganvāns (which appear to be the only quotable cases). According to the grammarians, the same change is made in the inflection of root-stems before bh and su: thus, praçañbhis, praçañsu (from praçaṁ: pra + ýgam). No derived noun-stem ends in m.

b. The ČB. and KÇS. have kāmvant and qāmvant.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

i. It has been pointed out above (73) that the assimilated m is generally represented in texts by the anusvāra-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by ſ̐ (instead of a nasal mute or ſ̐).
The palatal mutes and sibulant, and \( \frac{3}{5} \) 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 palatais 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 ankā, quāṅka, arkā, pākā, vākā, čūka, parkā, markā, vīka, prāti, etc., reka, sēka, moka, rokā, čōka, tokā, mroka, vraškā; — final j becomes g in tyāgā, bhāgā, yāgā, āṅga, bhaṅgā, saṅga, svāṅga, rūnga, tuṅga, yuṅga, varga, mārga, mṛgā, varga, sarga, nega, vega, bhōga, yugā, yōga, loga, rōga; — final h becomes gh in aṅghā, mahā, arghā, dirghā (and drāghīyas, drāghīṣṭha), dēgha, meghā, ogha, dōgha, drōgha, mōgha; and in dūghāna and meghamāna. In neka (yṇīj) 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 ajā, yāja, čucā, čoca, vrajā, vevijā, yuja, uṛjā, dōha.

c. Before the suffixes as and ana, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in ankās, okas, rōkas, čōkas, bhārgas, and in rogana; also in ābhogāya.

d. Before an i-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in ābhogī, ógiyaḥ, tigī, mokī, apīgī): thus, ājī, tuji, rūci, čāci, vivīci, rociṇū.

e. Before u, the guttural reappears, as a rule (the cases are few): thus, anku, vaṅkū, rekū, bhīgu, mārguka, raghū (and rāghīyaḥ).

f. Before n, the examples of reversion are few, except of j (becoming g) before the participle ending na (957 e): thus, rēknas, vagnū (with the final also made sonant); and participles bhagnā, rugnā, etc.; and apparently prṇa from yṛṇa.

g. Before m (of ma, man, mant, min), the guttural generally appears: thus, rukmā, tigmā, yugmā, rīma (with sonant change); takmān, vākmān, sākmān, yugmān; rūkmānt; rūgmān and vāgmān (with sonant change): — but ājmān, ojmān, bhujmān.

h. Before y, the altered sound is used: thus, pacya, yajya, yajyu, yuṣya, bhuṣyu. Such cases as bhogya, yogya, negya, okya are doubtless secondary derivatives from bhoga etc.
COMBINATIONS OF FINAL PALATALS.

i. Before r, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided: thus, takra, sakra, vakrā, qukrā, vigrā, ugrā, túgra, mrgra, váňkri; but vájra and pajrā (?).

j. Before v (of the suffixes va, van, vin, etc., and participial váňa) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, ḍkvā, pakvā, vákvā; vákvan, ēkvā, rikvān, qukvān, mrgvān, tūgvān, yugvān; ēkvant, pıkvant; vāgvān, vagvānā, vagvānū (with further sonant change); vivakvānā, ririkvānā, vivikvānā, rurukvānā, quckvānā; quckvānā, quckvānī: also before the union-vowel i in okivānā (RV., once). An exception is yājvān.

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.

l. A like reversion shows itself also to some extent in conjugational stem-formation and inflection. Thus, the initial radical becomes guttural after the reduplication in the present or perfect or desiderative or intensive stems, or in derivatives, of the roots ci, cit, ji, hi, han, and in jāguri (yjf); and han becomes ghn on the elision of a (402, 637). The RV. has vivakmī from /vāc and vāvakre from /vānc; and SV. has saśgmahe (RV. -sṛ-) and SV. has saśgmahe (RV. -sṛ-). And before ran etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have g for radical j in aśgran, aśgram, asagram (all in RV.).

217. Final ṛ 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 ṭ k would show in the same situation.

Thus, vākti, uvāktha, vākṣi, vāksyāmī, vagdhi; vāgbhīs, vākṣu; uktā, ukthā, vaktār.

a. And, as final c becomes k (above 142), the same rule applies also to c in external combination: thus, vāk ca, vāg āpi, vān me.

Examples of c remaining unchanged in inflection are: ucyāte, ririercā, väci, mumucmahe.

218. Final ṛq reverts to its original ṭ k, in internal combination, only before the ṛ s of a verbal stem or ending (whence, by 180, ṛ ks); before ṛ t and ṛ th, it everywhere becomes ṛ s (whence, by 197, c śt and ṛ śth); before ṛ dh, ṛ bh, and ṛ su of the loc. pl., as when final (145), it regularly becomes the lingual mute (ṭ t or ṛ ṛ). Thus, ávikṣata, vekṣyāmī; vāṣṭi, viṣṭā, didesṭu; dididdhī, vidbhīs.
a. But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final tiği to k before bh and su, and also when final (145): they are dic, dry, spry, and optionally naq; and viq has in V. always viqṣu, loc. pl., but viṭ, viqbbhīs, etc. Examples are diksaṇcita, drggbhīs, ṛḍispāk, nāk (or naṭ).

Examples of ęż remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: viqṣi, viqviyās, avicran, agnomi, vaṃci, uqmāsī.

b. A ęż remains irregularly unchanged before p in the compound viqpati.

219. Final ṣ j is in one set of words treated like ṣ c, and in another set like ṣ ę.

Thus, from yuj: áyuktha, áyukta, yunjte, yuktī, yōktra, yokṣyāmi, yokṣu; yungdhī, áyungdhvam, yugbhīs.

Again, from mṛj etc.: âmṛkṣat, sraṇkṣyāmi; mṛṣṭi, mṛṣṭā, sṛṣṭi, rāṣṭra; mṛḍhī, mṛḍhavām, rāṣṭbhīs, rāṭṣu, rāṭ.

a. To the former or yuj-class belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, bhaj, saj, tvaj (not V.), raj color, svaj, majj, niij, tij, vij, 1 and 2 bhuj, yuj, ruj, vṛj, anj, bhaṇj, qinj; ārj, sṝāj, bhṣāj, āṣṇaj; — also, stems formed with the suffixes aj and ij (363.1v), as trṣṇaj, vaṇij; and tvīj, though containing the root yaj.

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

c. A considerable number of j-roots are not placed in circumstances to exhibit the distinction; but such roots are in part assignable to one or the other class on the evidence of the related languages. The distinction appears, namely, only when the j occurs as final, or is followed, either in inflection or in derivation, by a dental mute (t, th, dh), or, in noun-inflection, by bh or su. In derivation (above, 218) we find a j sometimes from the mṛj-class: thus, mārga, sārja, etc.; and (216,1) before Vedic mid. endings, sāṣpmahe, sāṣgran, etc. (beside sāṣpīre)— while from the yuj-class occur only yuyujre, ayujran, bubhuṣjre, with j. And MS. has viqvasṭk from ṣarj.

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 (prac being, indeed, its more original form): thus, prakṣyāmi, prṣṭā, and also the derivative pracnā. As final and in noun-inflection (before bh and su), it is changed to the lingual mute: thus, praṇivvāka.

a. Mūrtā is called the partisiple of mūrch, and a gerund mūrtvā is given to the same root. They (with mūrtī) 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 ṣ.
221. The compound क्ष 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 च: thus काक्षा (काक्ष-ि-से), काक्षा; काष्ठा, आसा, आसा, आसा, आसा, तवासा. As to its treatment when final, see 146.

a. Thus, we are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as गर, गराधभिः, गरात्सु (from गरा); and we actually have शत, शाधिः, शासु from त, त from ग (146 b). For jagdha etc. from यजक, see 233 f.

b. In the single anomalous root व्राची, the compound च is said to follow the rules for simple च. From it are quotable the future व्राक्षयाति, the gerunds व्रष्याति (AV.) and व्रक्ष्यि (RV.), and the participle (957 c) व्रक्ष्या. Its च reverts to ग in the derivative व्राक्षा.

222. The roots in फिन फिन ह, like those in ज़ ज, fall into two classes, exhibiting a similar diversity of treatment, appearing in the same kinds of combination.

a. In the one class, as दह, we have a reversion of ह (as of ज) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original ज़: thus, दाहक, दोह, दुह; दुह; अधोक, अहुक, अहुहिः, अहुहुः.

b. In the other class, as रुह and सह, we have a guttural reversion (as of च) only before अ in verb-formation and derivation: thus, अरुक्, रक्ष्यामि, सक्षियामि, सक्षाधि. As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before भ and सु, the ह (like च) becomes a lingual mute: thus, तुरासत, प्रत्यासधि योधाय, तुरासधिः, तुरासधिः. But before a dental mute (त, ठ, ठ) in verb-inflection and in derivation, its euphonic effect is peculiarly complicated: it turns the dental into a lingual (as would च); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would घ: see 160); and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened: thus, from रुह with त comes रुष्धा, from लेह with ती comes लेहि, from गुह with त comes गुढ्हार, from मे with तुम comes मेध्मुम, from लह with तस or ठस comes लद्धास, from लह with धवम comes लद्धास, etc.

c. This is as if we had to assume as transition sound a sonant aspirate lingual sibilant घ, 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 दह-class: दह, दह, दह, दह, मह, नित (and the final of उगिन is similarly treated);
b. of the second or ruh-class: vah, sah, mih, rih or lih, guh, ruh, drh, trh, brh, baḥ, sprh (?).

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

d. From roots of the ruh-class we find also in the Veda the forms
gartārūk, nom. sing., and prāṇadhṛk and dadhṛk; and hence puruspṛk
(the only occurrence) does not certainly prove yāṣṛh to be of the duh-
class.

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

f. In derivation, before certain suffixes (218), 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, upāṇādbhis,
upāṇadyuga, anupānata. 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
ydhā put; and further analogous facts are the stem kakuhā besides
kakubhā, the double imperative ending dhi and hi, and the dative
māhyām besides tūbhīyam (491).

224. Irregularities of combination are:

a. The vowel ð is not lengthened after the loss of the h-element: thus,
dṛḍhā, trṛḍhā, brṛḍhā (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 length-
thening it: thus, voḍhām, voḍhām, voḍhār, sōḍhum. But from sah
in the older language forms with ā are more frequent: thus, sāḍhā, āśāḍha
(also later), sāḍhār. The root trh changes the vowel of its class-sign
na into e instead of lengthening it: thus, trṛṇeḥi, trṛṇeḥu, aṭṛṇet
(the grammarians teach also trṇeḥmi and trṇekṣi: 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 lingualized sibilant representative
of the h. Compare pōḍaṣa etc.

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

225. Since the lingual sibilant, in its usual and normal occurrences, is (182) the product of lingualization of s after certain alterant sounds, we might expect final radical ष, when (in rare cases) it comes to stand where ष 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 dus (evidently identical with यधु); in sajus (adverbially used case-form from यजु); in (RV.) vivés and ávives, from यविः; in áyés (RV.), from यिः; and in ácís, from चिः as secondary form of यच्छ. All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

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

a. Before t and th it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated: e. g. dviśtas, dviśthas, dvéstum.

This is a common and perfectly natural combination.

b. Before dh, bh, and su, as also in external combination (145), it becomes a lingual mute; and dh is made lingual (by 198) after it: e. g. pindhi, vīḍhī, vīḍhī, dviḍhī, dviḍhavam, dviḍbhī, dviṭsū; bhinnavīṭka.

c. So also the dh of dhvam as ending of 2d pl. mid. becomes dh after final ष of a tense-stem, whether the ष be regarded as lost or as converted to ṭ before it (the manuscripts write simply dhv, not dḍhv; but this is ambiguous: see 232). Thus, after ष of s-aorist stems (881 a), astoḍhavam, avṛṭḥavam, cyoḍhavam (the only quotable cases), from astos + ḍhavam etc.; but arāḍhavam from arās + ḍhavam. Further, after the ष of iṣ-aorist stems (901 a), aṁdiḍhavam, artidhavam, ajanidhavam, vepḍhavam (the only quotable cases), from ajanis + ḍhavam etc. Yet again, in the preceptive (924), as bhavīṣṭḥavam, if, as is probable (unfortunately, no example of this person is quotable from any part of the literature), the preceptive-sign ष (ṣ) is to be regarded as present in the form. According, however, to the Hindu grammarians, the use of dh or of dh in the iṣ-aorist and preceptive depends on whether the i of iṣ or of isi 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 dh, 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 ḍhve in the 2d pl. perf. has been pointed out in the literature.

d. The conversion of ष to ṭ (or ṭ) as final and before bh and su is parallel with the like conversion of ṣ, and of j and h in the mrj and ruh.
classes of roots, and perhaps with the occasional change of s to t (187-8). It is a very infrequent case, occurring (save as it may be assumed in the case of ṣaṣ) only once in RV. and once in AV. (-dvīṭ and -pruṭ), although those texts have more than 40 roots with final ṣ; in the Brāhmanas, moreover, have been noticed further only -pruṭ and viṣ (CB.), and -qliṭ (K.). From piṅg, RV. has the anomalous form piṇak (2d and 3d sing., for piṇaṣ- and piṇaṣ-t).

e. Before s in internal combination (except su of loc. pl.) it becomes k: thus, dvēksi, dvēksyāmi, ādvēksam.

f. This change is of anomalous phonetic character, and difficult of explanation. It is also practically of very rare occurrence. The only RV. examples (apart from piṇak, above) are vivekṣi, from yvīṣ, and the desid. stem ririkṣa from yriṣ; AV. has only dvikṣat and dvikṣata, and the desid. stem qiclikṣa from yqīṣ. Other examples are quotable from yvṛṣkṣ and plṣ and viṣ (CB. etc.), and qis (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 Pāṇini, ch is doubled within a word after either a long or a short vowel; and, as initial, necessarily after a short and after the particles ā and mā, and optionally everywhere after a long. In RV., initial ch is doubled after a long vowel of ā only, and certain special cases after a short vowel are excepted. For the required usage in the other Vedic texts, see their several Prātiśākhyaas. The Kāśika writes for original ch (not ch from combination of t or n with q: 203) after a vowel everywhere qch. The manuscripts in general write simple ch.

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

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

Thus:

घर्ष arka, or घर्ष arkka; कार्ष kārya, or कार्ष kārya;
घर्ष artha, or घर्ष artha; दीर्घ dirgha, or दीर्घ dirggha.
a. Some of the authorities include, along with ṛ, also ḥ or l or v, or more than one of them, in this rule.

b. A doubled consonant after ṛ 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 ṛ where a double one is etymologically required: thus, kārtikeya, vārtika, for kārttikoyya, 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 Prātiṣṭhāṇkyas— in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiṣṭhāṇkyas; 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 (tasinas), or nasal counterparts, is taught by the Prātiṣṭhāṇkyas (and assumed in Pāṇini's commentary): see APR. i. 99, note.

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

c. Between ṛ and a following consonant the Prātiṣṭhāṇkyas teach the insertion of a svarabhakti or vowel-fragment: see APR. i. 101-2, note.

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

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

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

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, yunḍhī for yuṇḍhī, yuṇḍhvām for yuṇḍhvām, āntām for āṅktām, paṅti for pankti, chintām for chinttām, bhīnthā for bhīnthtā, indhē for inddē.

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

a. That is to say, the ordinary usage of the manuscripts makes no difference between those groups in which a phonetic duplication is allowed by the rules given above (228, 229) and those in which the duplication is etymological. As every tv after a vowel may also be properly written ttv, so dattvā and tattvā may be, and almost invariably are, written as datvā and tatvā. As kārtana is also properly kārttana, so kārttika (from kṛttī) 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, ṭṛdyotā for ṭṛḍdyotā; chināty asya for chinātty asya. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard ādhvam or āddhvam (from yā), ādvīṅhūm or ādvīṅḥvam (from ydvīṣa), as the true form of a second person plural.

233. a. Instances are sometimes met with of apparent loss (perhaps after conversion to a semivowel) of i or u before y or v respectively. Thus, in the Brāhmaṇas, tū and nū with following vāi etc. often make tvāi, nvāi (also tvāvā, ānvāi); and other examples from the older language are anvarṭi (anu + yvarti); paryan, paryanti, paryāyā, paryāna (pari + yan, etc.); abhyārti (abhi + iyarti); antaryāt (antar + iyāt); cārvā, cārvāka, cārvadana (cāru + vāc, etc.); kyant for kiyant; dvya (dvi+yoga); anvā, anvāsana (anu + vā, etc.); probably vyuṇoti for vi yunoti (RV.), urvāqī (uru-vācī), ciqvarī for ciq-vari (RV.); vyāmā (vi + yāma); and the late svarṇa for suvarṇa. More anomalous abbreviations are the common tṛca (tri+ṛca); and dvṛca (dvi+ṛca: S.), and treṇī (tri+eṇī: Āpast).

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

p. According to the Hindu grammarians, the s of s-aorist stems is lost after a short vowel in the 2d and 3d sing. middle: thus, adithās and adīta (1st sing. adīṣ); akṛthās and akṛta (1st sing. akṛṣ). It is, however, probable that such cases are to be explained in a different manner: see 834 a.

c. The s between two mutes is lost in all combinations of the roots sthā and stambh with the prefix ud: thus, ut thus, utthita, ut thāpaya, uttābdha, etc.

d. The same omission is now and then made in other similar cases: thus cit kambhanena (for skāmbh-: RV.); tasmāt tute (for stute) and puroruk tuta (for stuta: K.); the compounds ṭṛkthā (ṛk+sthā: PB.) and utphuliṅga; the derivative utphāla (yṣphal). On the other hand, we have vidyūṭ stanāyanti (RV.), utsthala, kakutsūtha, etc.

e. So also the tense-sign of the s-aorist is lost after a final consonant of a root before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, achāntta (and
ABBREVIATION OF CONSONANT-GROUPS.

for this, by 231, achánta) for achántsta, čápta for čápta, tãptam for tãpsam, abhákta for abbháksta, amáuktam for amáukstam. These are the only quotable cases: compare 883.

f. A final s of root or tense-stem is in a few instances lost after a sonant aspirate, and the combination of mutes is then made as if no sibilant had ever intervened. Thus, from the root ghas, with omission of the vowel and then of the final sibilant, we have the form gdha (for ghs-ta: 3d sing. mid.), the participle gdha (in agdhád), and the derivative gdhi (for ghs-ti; in sá-gdhi); and further, from the reduplicated form of the same root, or yjakṣ, we have jagdha, jagdhum, jagdhvā, jagdhi (from jghs-ta etc.); also, in like manner, from baps, reduplication of bhas, the form babdhām (for babhs-tām). According to the Hindu grammarians, the same utter loss of the aorist-sign s takes place after a final sonant aspirate of a root before an ending beginning with t or th: thus, from yṛudh, a-aorist stem arāuts act. and aruts mid., come the active dual and plural persons arāuddham and arāuddhām and arāuddha, and the middle singular persons aruddhās and aruddha. None of the active forms, however, have been found quotable from the literature, ancient or modern; and the middle forms admit also of a different explanation: see 834, 383.

Strengthening and Weakening Processes.

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

Guṇa and Vṛddhi.

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

a. A guṇa-vowel (guṇa secondary quality) differs from the corresponding simple vowel by a prefixed a-element which is combined with the other according to the usual rules; a vṛddhi-vowel (vṛddhi growth, increment), by the further prefixion of a to the guṇa-vowel. Thus, of i or ī the corresponding guṇa is (a+i=) u e; the corresponding vṛddhi is (a+e=) u āi. But in all gunating processes ā remains unchanged — or, as it is sometimes expressed,
II a is its own guṇa; II ā, of course, remains unchanged for both guṇa and vrddhi.

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

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simple vowel  a a i i u ū r ṛ
guṇa      a ā e o ar al
vrddhi     ā āi āu ār
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a. There is nowhere any occurrence of ṛ in a situation to undergo either guṇa or vrddhi-change; nor does I (26) ever suffer change to vrddhi. Theoretically, ṛ would have the same changes as r; and the vrddhi of I would be āl.

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

237. The historical relations of the members of each vowel-series are still matters of some difference of opinion. From the special point of view of the Sanskrit, the simple vowels wear the aspect of being in general the original or fundamental ones, and the others of being products of their increment or strengthening, in two several degrees — so that the rules of formation direct a, i, u, r, ṛ to be raised to guṇa or vrddhi respectively, under specified conditions. But r 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 bhr and vrād, and making from them bharati and vardhati, and bhṛta and vrddha, by the same rules which from bhū and ni and from budh and cit form bhavati and nayati, bodhati and cetati, bhūta and nīta, buddha and citta — they assume bhar and vardh to be the roots, and give the rules of formation for them in reverse. In this work, as already stated (104 o), the r-form is preferred.

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

a. In root-syllables: either in inflection, as dvēṣṭi from ydvēṣa, dōṃmi from yduh; or in derivation, as dvēṣa, dōhas, dvēṣṭum, dōgdhum.

b. In formative elements: either conjugation-hal class-signs, as tanōmi from tanu; or suffixes of derivation, in inflection or in further derivation, as matāye from matī, bhāṇāvas from bhānū, pitāram from pitṛ (or pitār), hantavyā from hántu.

239. The vrddhi-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, stāṭī from y/stu, sākhyam from sākhi, ánāśam from y/nī, ákāršam and kārāyati and kāryā from y/kr (or kar), dātāram from dātṛ (or dātār).

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, mānasā from mānas, vāidyutā from vidyūt, bhāumā from bhūmi, pārthiva from pṛthivi (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, cētati from y/cit, but nīndati from y/nind; nāyati from y/nī, but ṣīvati from y/jīv.

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

b. Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, eḥā, ehaṁ from y/ḥ; heḍāyāmi, heḍas, etc., from y/ḥid; coṣa etc. from y/cuṣ; óhate etc. from y/ḥu consider; and especially, from roots in īv: didēva deviṣyati, dēvana, etc., from y/īsv; tiṣṭheva from y/ṛṣṭīv; sreṣṭyāmi, sreṣṭvaka, from y/ṛṣrav — on account of which it is, doubtless, that these roots are written with īv (div etc.) by the Hindu grammarians, although they nowhere show a short i, in either verb-forms or derivatives.

c. A few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment: thus dūṣāyatī from y/duṣ, gūhatī from y/guh.

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

241. The increments of r are sometimes ra and rā, instead of ar and ār: namely, especially, where by such reversal a difficult combination of consonants is avoided: thus, from y/drṛ, drakṣyāmi and ādrākṣam; but also pṛthū and prath, pṛch and prach, kṛpā and ákrapiṣṭa.

242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in r (for more original ar), the r changes both with ar, and more irregularly, in a part of the forms, with īr — or also with ur (especially after a labial, in y/p, mṛ, ṭṛ, sporadically in others): which īr and ur, again, are liable to prolongation into īr and īr. Thus, for example, from trṛ (or tar), we have tarati, titarti, tatāra, atāriṣam, by regular processes; but also tirati, tiryati, tīrvā, -tīrya, tīrṇa, and even (V.) tūryāma, tuturyāt, tarturāṇa. The treatment of such roots has to be described in speaking of each formation.

a. For the purpose of artificially indicating this peculiarity of treatment, such roots are by the Hindu grammarians written with long ṛ, or with both r and ṛ: no ṛ actually appears anywhere among their forms.
b. The (quotable) ṛ-roots are 2ṛk śrévar, 1ṛg śing, 2ṛg swallowl, 1ṛj worn out, 1ṛṛc, 1ṛṛx crush.

c. The (quotable) ṛ and ṛ-roots are ṛ, 1drū pierce, 1ṛṛ fill, 1ṛṛ die, 2ṛṛ choose, str, hṛṛ.

d. Forms analogous with these are sometimes made also from other roots: thus, cirna, cirtvā, carecūryā, from y/car; spūrdhān and spūrdhāse from y/spṛdh.

243. In a few cases ṛ comes from the contraction of other syllables than ar and ra: thus, in trṭa and trṭiva, from ri; in qṛnu, from ru; in bhṛkūṭi, from rū.

Vowel-lengthening.

244. Vowel-lengthening concerns especially i and u, since the lengthening of a is in part (except where in evident analogy with that of i and u) indistinguishable from its increment, and 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 y: as in passive and gerund and so on.

b. Final radical ir and ur (from variable ṛ-roots: 342) are liable to prolongation before all consonants except those of personal endings: namely, before y and tvā and na; and in declension before bh and s (392). Radical in 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 pitā for pitars (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 v, are most frequent; but cases are found of every variety. Examples are: devāvī, vayunāvid, prāvṛṣ, rāvasu, ṭrāvaṇānt, sadanāsād, ṭatāmagha, viṣvānāra, ēkādaṣa; apīj, pariṇā, virūdh, tuvīmāgha, tvāṣimant, ṭaktīvant; vasūj, anūrūdh, sūmāya, purūvāeu.

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 Prātiṣṭhānyas).

Words of which the finals are thus treated are:
Vowel-lengthening.

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

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

a. Of the class-sign nā (of the kri-class of verbs: 717 ff.), the ā is in weak forms changed to ī, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final ā of certain roots is treated in the same manner: thus, mā, hā, etc. (862-8). And from some roots, ā- and ī- or i-forms so interchange that it is difficult to classify them or to determine the true character of the root.

b. Radical ā is weakened to the semblance of the union-vowel i in certain verbal forms: as perfect dadima from ydā etc. (794 k); aorist adhithās from ydhā etc. (834 a); present jahimas from yhā etc. (865).

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

d. Radical ā sometimes becomes e, especially before y: as stheyāsām, deya.
251. Certain ā-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with 1 and i-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in o or āi or o. Thus, from 2 dhā suck (dhe) come the present dhāyati and participle and gerund dhītā, dhītvā; the other forms are made from dhā, as dadhus, adhāt, dhāsyați, dhātave, dhāpayați. From 2 gā sing (gā) come the present gāyati, the participle and gerund gītā and gītvā, and passive gīyate, and the other forms from gā. From 3 dā cut (do) come the present dyāti and participle ditā or dinā, and the other forms from dā. The irregularities of these roots will be treated below, under the various formations (see especially 761 d ff.).

252. By a process of abbreviation essentially akin with that of ar or ra to r, the va (usually initial) of a number of roots becomes u, and the ya of a much smaller number becomes i, in certain verbal forms and derivatives. Thus, from vac come uvāca, ucyāsas, uktvā, ukta, ukf, 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 sānprasāraṇa, 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, ghnánti, āpaptam, jagmūs, jajñus, ājñata; in noun-forms, rājñe, rājñī.

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

a. That character belongs oftenest to i, which is very widely used: 1. before the s of aorist and future and desiderative stems, as in ājīvīṣam, jīvīṣāmi, jījīvīṣāmi; 2. in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as jījīvīma; occasionally also present, as ‘āniti, rōditi; 3. in derivation, as jīvīta, khanītum, janāti, rocīṇū, etc. etc.

b. Long ī is used sometimes instead of short: thus, āgrāhīṣam, grahiṣyāmi; bravīṭ, vāvadīṭ; tarīṭ, savīṭ; it is also often introduced before a 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 inflectional processes.
a. Examples are, of roots: ač and aṅc, grath and granth, vid and vind, dač and daṅc, sras and sraṅs, dhṛ and drh; of endings, bhārantam and bhārata, mānasi and mānāsii.

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 dhanin, dhanī and dhanībhīs and dhāni; from yhan we have hathā and hatā, etc. A final radical m is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from ygam, gahī, gatām, 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 mādhū, mādhunas, mādhuni, mādhunī; from qivā, qivēna, qivānī, qivānām.

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, ádhāyī etc. (844), qāvāyati etc. (1042), qivāyās etc. (363 c), gāyati etc. (761 e); further, in derivation, -gāya, -yāyam, dáyaka etc.; -stāyika; pāyāna, -gāyana; dhāyas, -hāyas; sthāyin etc. (many cases); -hīyin, -tāyin; 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 (593) — 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 (842 ff.): as dádāmi, bibhārmi;
b. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally (782 ff.): as tātāna, dādhaǔ, cakāra, rīrēca, lulōpa;
c. in aorist-stem formation (856 ff.): as ádīdharam, ácucyavam;
d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout (1000 ff., 1026 ff.): as jāṅghānti, jōhavīti, marmṛjyāte; pīpāsati, jīghāṅsati;
e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems (1143 e): as pāpī, cācara, sāsahī, cikitū, malīmlucā.

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, cīvē te dvā-vāpyāthivā ubhē stām maṇ heaven and earth both be propitious to thee! dāvah ca maṇuṣaḥ ca hotārāu vṛtvā having chosen both the divine and the human sacrificers; pathor devaṇāsaḥ pitṛyaṇāsaḥ ca of the two paths leading respectively to the gods and to the Fathers.
a. The dual is used alone (without dvā tāvo) properly when the duality of the objects indicated is well understood; thus, aśvānī the two Aśvins; īndrasya hārī Indra's two bays; but tasya dvār aśvān stāh he has two horses. But now and then the dual stands alone pregnantly: thus, vedāṁ vedāv vedāṁ vā one Veda or two or more than two; ekāśaṣṭe qate two hundred and sixty-one.

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

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

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

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

268. One or two peculiar constructions call for notice:

a. A predicate nominative, instead of an objective predicate in the accusative, is used with middle verb-forms that signify regarding or calling one's self: thus, sōmāṁ manyate papivān (RV.) he thinks he has been drinking soma; nā manyeta purāṇavīt (AV.) he may regard himself as wise in ancient things; durgād vā āhartā 'vocathāḥ (MS.) thou hast claimed to be a savior out of trouble; āndro brāhmaṇo bruvāṇaḥ (TS.) Indra pretending to be a Brahman; katthase satyavādī (R.) thou boastest thyself truthful. Similarly with the phrase rūpaṁ kṛ: thus, kṛṣṇo rūpaṁ kṛtvā (TS.) taking on a black form (i.e. making shape for himself as one that is black).

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

c. A nominative, instead of a second vocative, is sometimes added to a vocative by ca and: thus, īndra ca sōmām pibatāṁ bhṛhaspate (RV.) together with Īndra, do ye two drink the soma, O Bhṛhaspate! viṣve devā yājamāṇaṁ ca sīḍatā (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 adverbialement as adjunct of place or time or manner; and a host of adverbs are accusative cases in form. Two accusatives are often found as objects of the same verb.

270. The use of the accusative as direct object of a transitive verb and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration; an example or two are: agnim ēde I praise Agni; nāmo bharantāḥ bringing homage; bhūyo dātum arhasi thou shouldst give more. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is tāṁ ugrāṁ krṣnomi tāṁ brahmāṇam (RV.) him I make formidable, him a priest.

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

a. Derivatives in ē from desiderative stems (1038) have wholly the character of present participles: thus, damayantīṁ abhiṣavaḥ (MBh.) desiring to win Damayanti; didṛksur janakātāmaṁ (R.) desiring to see Janaka’s daughter. Rarely, also, the verbal noun in ā from such a root: thus, svargam abhiśakṣayā (R.) with desire of paradise.

b. So-called primary derivatives in īn have the same character: thus, māṁ kāmīti (AV.) loving me; enam abhiphāṣaṁ (MBh.) addressing him. Even the obviously secondary garbhīn has in ĤB. the same construction: thus, sārvāṇi bhūtāni garbhy ābhavat he became pregnant with all beings.

c. Derivatives in āka, in the later language: as, bhavantam abhīvādakaḥ (MBh.) intending to salute you; mithilām avarodhakaḥ (R.) besieging Mithilā.

d. Nouns in tar, very frequently in the older language, and as periphrastic future forms (942 ff.) in the later: thus, hānta śō yā vṛtrāṁ
sānito 'tā vājaṃ dáta maghānī (RV.) who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesse; tāu hi 'dām sarvaṃ hartsārāu (JB.) for they seize on this universe; tyaktāraḥ samyuge prāṇān (MBh.) risking life in battle.

e. The root itself, in the older language, used with the value of a present participle at the end of a compound: thus, yām yajñām paribhūr āsi (RV.) what offering thou surroundest (protected); āhīm apāh pari-ṣṭhām (RV.) the dragon confining the waters. Also a superlative of a root-stem (468, 471): thus, tvām vāsu devayātē vāniṣṭhāḥ (RV.) thou art chief winner of wealth for the pious; tā sōmaṃ somapātāma (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 vājaṃ papli sōmaṃ dadir gāh (RV.) bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine; yajñām atmāi (RV.) extending the sacrifice.

g. Derivatives in uks, very frequently in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, vatsāṅc ca ghātuko vikāh (AV.) and the wolf destroys his calves; vēduko vāso bhavati (TS.) he wins a garment; kāmukā enaṃ strīyo bhavanti (MS.) the women fall in love with him.

h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in a, as īndro drīḍhā cid ārujāh (RV.) Indra breaks up even what is fast; nāī 'vā 'rīaḥ pātiṃkam rikttham (M.) by no means entitled to his father's estate; — in atnu, as viṇū cid ārujatnūbhiḥ (RV.) with the breakers of whatever is strong; — in atha, as yajāthāya devān (RV.) to make offering to the gods; — in ana, as tāṃ nivārāme (MBh.) in restraining him; svamāḥsam iva bhojane (R.) as if in eating one's own flesh; — in ani, as samātatu turvāṇiḥ pratyayūn (RV.) overcoming foes in combats; — in ti, as nā tāṁ dhūrtiḥ (RV.) there is no injuring him; — in van, as āpācāddaghvā ʻnnam bhavati (MS.) he does not come short of food; — in snu, as sthirā ʻcin namayāṇdvah (RV.) bowing even firm things.

272. Examples of an accusative with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: such words as ānuvratā faithful to, prātirūpa corresponding to, abhidhṛṣṇu daring to cope with, pratryāhe opposite to, may be regarded as taking an accusative in virtue of the preposition they contain; also ānuka, as āṅukā devā vāruṇam (MS.) the gods are inferior to Varuṇa. RV. has tām antārvatīḥ pregnant with him; and AV. has mām kāmēna through loving me.

273. The direct construction of cases with prepositions is comparatively restricted in Sanskrit (1123 ff.). With the accusative are oftenest found prati, opposite to, in reference to, etc.; also ānu after, in the course of; antic or antarā between; rarely ati across; abhi against, to; and others (1129). Case-forms which have assumed a prepositional value are also often used with the accusative: as antareṇa, uttareṇa, daksīṇena, avareṇa, ārdhvam, ṛte.
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, *vidarbhāṇa agaman* (MBh.) *they went to Vidarbha*; *divaṁ yauḥ* (MBh.) *they went to heaven*; *vanagulmāṇa dhāvantaḥ* (MBh.) *running to woods and bushes*; *apō divaṁ ūd vahantī* (AV.) *they carry up waters to the sky*; *devān yaje* (AV.) *I make offering to the gods.*

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

c. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, *tam abravīt he said to him*; *prākroçad uucchār nāṣadham* (MBh.) *she cried out loudly to the Nishadhān*; *yās tvo vāca* (AV.) *who spoke to thee.*

d. The assumption of an accusative object is exceptionally easy in Sanskrit, and such an object is often taken by a verb or phrase which is strictly of intransitive character: thus, *sāhāsa prāśa by anyān* (RV.) *in might thou excel* (lit. art ahead) *others*; *devā vāi brāhma sām avadanta* (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 sāṁ babhūva* (QB.) *he had intercourse with her.*

Examples of the cognate accusative, or accusative of implied object, are not infrequent: thus, *tāpasi tapyāmahe* (AV.) *we do penance*; *tē hai tāṁ edhatām edhāṁ cakrire* (QB.) *they prospered with that prosperity*; *uśitvā sukhabāsam* (R.) *abiding happily.*

The accusative is often used in more adverbal constructions. Thus:

a. Occasionally, to denote measure of space: thus, *yojanācataṁ gantum* (MBh.) *to go a hundred leagues*; *ṣaḍ uuchrīto yojanāṇāṇi* (MBh.) *six leagues high.*

b. Much more often, to denote measure or duration of time: thus, *sā samvatsāram ārdhavā tisṭhati* (AV.) *he stood a year upright*; *tisrō rātrir dikṣitāṁ syat* (TS.) *let him be consecrated three nights*; *gatvā trin ahorātrān* (MBh.) *having traveled three complete days.*

c. Sometimes, to denote the point of space, or, oftener, of time: thus, *yāṁ asya ḍīcāṁ dāsyaḥ syāt* (QB.) *whatever region his enemy may be in*; *tenāi tāṁ rātriṁ sahā ’jagāmā* (QB.) *he arrived that night with him*; *imāṁ rajanīṁ 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; phalāṁ pacyante (MS.) they ripen their fruit; gāṁ divyadham (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 yācāmi bheṣajām (RV.) I ask the waters for medicine; tvāṁ aham satyam icchāmi (ll.) I desire truth from thee; tvāṁ vayaṁ çaraṇāṁ gatāṁ (MBh.) we have resorted to thee for succor;— with verbs of bringing, sending, following, imparting, saying: as, gurutvaṁ naraṁ nayanti (H.) they bring a man to respectabiliy; sitā cā 'nvetu māṁ vanam (ll.) and let Sita accompany me to the forest; supēçasaṁ mā 'va śrījanty āstam (RV.) they let me go home well adorned; tāṁ idam abravit (MBh.) this he said to her;— and in other less common cases: as, vykṣaṁ pakvāṁ phalaṁ dhānuḥ (RV.) shake ripe fruit from the tree; tāṁ viśām evā 'dhok (AV.) poison he milked from her; jītvā rājyaṁ nalam (MBh.) having won the kingdom from Nala; āmuśāt maṁ panĩṁ gāṁ (RV.) ye robbed the Panis of the kine; draṣṭum icchāvaḥ putramaḥ paçcimaðarçanam (ll.) 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 uqtaṁ pāyayā havīḥ (RV.) make the eager gods drink the oblation; ēṣadhīr evā phalaṁ grāhyati (MS.) he makes the plants bear fruit; vanījo dāpayet karān (M.) he should cause the merchants to pay taxes.** But such a causative sometimes takes an instrumental instead of a second accusative: see 282 b.

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

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

279. The instrumental is often used to signify accompaniment: thus, **agnīr devēbhir ā gamat (RV.) may Agni come hither along with the gods; marūdbhī rudrāṁ huvema (RV.) we would call Rudra with the Maruts; dvāpāreṇa sahāyena kva yāsyaś (MBh.) whither wilt thou go, with Deśapura for companion? kathayan nāिःadhena (MBh.) talking with the Nishadhan.** But the relation of simple accompaniment is more often helped to plainer expression by prepositions (saha etc.; 284).
280. The instrumental of means or instrument or agent is yet more frequent: thus, bhadrām kārṇeṣhīṁ ṇṛṇuyāṁ (RV.) may we hear with our ears what is propitious; āstraṇa nīdhanām (MBh.) death by the sword; kecit paddhyāṁ hatā gajāiḥ (MBh.) some were slain by the elephants with their feet; prthak pāgubhyāṁ darbhatarunakāṁr navanitenā 'ṅguṣṭhopakaniṣṭhikāḥbhāyāṁ aksipīṇi 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, samāṁ jyōtiḥ sūryena (AV.) a brightness equal with the sun; yeṣāṁ aham na pādaraṣṭāṁ tulyāḥ (MBh.) to the dust of whose feet I am not equal.

b. Price (by which obtained): thus, dāṇḍhīṁ kṛṣṇāti dhenūḥbhīḥ (RV.) he buys with ten kine; gavāṁ qatasahāreṇa diyatāṁ qabala mamā (R.) let ʿCabala be given me for a hundred thousand cows; sa te kṣahṛdayam dātā rājā ʿvahṛdayena vai (MBh.) the king will give the secret science of dice in return for that of horses.

c. Medium, and hence also space or distance or road, traversed: thus, udnā nā nāvam anayanta (RV.) they brought [him] as it were a ship by water; ē ʿḥā yātaṁ pathibhir devayānāiḥ (RV.) come hither by god-traveled paths; jagmr vīhāyasā (MBh.) they went off through the air.

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

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

f. Not infrequent are such phrases as bahūnā kim pralāpena (R.) what is the use of (i. e. is gained by) much talking? ko nu me ājvitenā 'ṛthah (MBh.) what object is life to me? nirūjau tu kim āṣadhaḥiḥ (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 tvāya '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, yaména dattáḥ (RV.) given by Yama; ṛṣibhir ḫyāḥ (RV.) to be praised by sages; vyādhena jālah vistirñam (H.) by the hunter a net [was] spread; tāc chrutvā jaraḍgavence ṭktam (H.) Jaraḍgava, hearing this, said; mayā gantavyam (H.) I shall go. A predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental: thus, adhunā tavā 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam (H.) henceforth I shall always be thy companion; avahitāir bhavitavyah bhavadbhiḥ (Vikr.) you must be attentive.

b. A causative verb sometimes takes an instrumental instead of an accusative as second object; thus, tāṁ ṣvabhīḥ khaḍayed rāja (M.) the king should have her devoured by dogs; tā vārūṇena 'grāhyayat (MS.) he caused Varuna 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, vataśir viyutāḥ (RV.) separated from their calves; mā 'hām ātmāṇā vī rādhiṣī (AV.) let me not be severed from the breath of life; sa tāyā vyayujyata (Mbh.) he was parted from her; pāpmānai 'vāī 'naḥ vī punanti (MS.) they cleanse him from evil (compare English parted with). The same meaning may be given to the case even when accompanied by saha with; thus, bhartrā saha 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 vina without takes sometimes the instrumental (cf. 283 a).

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

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

286. Thus, the dative is used with —

a. Words signifying give, share out, assign, and the like; thus, yó ná dādāti sāksyey (RV.) who gives not to a friend; yāochā 'smāi cārma (RV.) bestow upon him protection.
b. Words signifying show, announce, declare, and the like: thus, dhanur darçaẏa rāmāya (MBh.) show the bow to Rāma; āvīr ebhoyo abhavat sūryaḥ (RV.) the sun was manifested to them; ṛṭuparṇaḥ bhimāya pratyavedayan (MBh.) they announced Rituparna to Bhima; tebhyaḥ pratijñāya (MBh.) having promised to them.

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

d. Words signifying please, suit, conduct, and the like: thus, yadyad rocate viprebhyāḥ (M.) whatever is pleasing to Brahmas; tad ānantyāya kalpate (KU.) that makes for immortality.

e. Words signifying inclination, obeisance, and the like: thus, māhyāṁ namantāṁ pradiçaṁ cātasaṁ (RV.) let the four quarters bow themselves to me; deverbhā namaskṛtya (MBh.) having paid homage to the gods.

f. Words signifying hurling or casting: as yēna düḍāge 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, īṣuṁ krṣ-vānā āsanāya (AV.) making an arrow for hurling; grhṇāmi te saubhagatvāya hāstam (RV.) I take thy hand in order to happiness; rāstrāya māhyāṁ badhyataṁ sapātnebhyāḥ parābhūve (AV.) be it bound on in order to royalty for me, in order to destruction for my enemies.

a. Such a dative is much used predicatively (and oftenest with the copula omitted), in the sense of makes for, tends toward; also is intended for, and so must; or is liable to, and so can. Thus, updeço mūrkhināṁ 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.
gāma pathāḥ (RV.) may we not go away from the path; ēti vā eṣā yajñamukhāt (MS.) he verily goes away from the face of the sacrifice; ārē asmād astu hetuḥ (AV.) far from us be your missile; pāṭaṁ no vṛkṣāt (RV.) save us from the wolf; āstabhna đyām avasrāsaḥ (RV.) he kept (lit. made firm) the sky from falling.

291. The ablative is used where procedure or issue from something as from a source or starting-point is signified: thus, çukrā kṛṣṇād ajaniṣṭa (RV.) the bright one has been born from the black one; lohāṭ krodhāḥ prabhavati (Mbh.) passion arises from greed; vātāt te prāṇām avidam (AV.) I have won thy life-breath from the wind; yé prācyā diṣṭo abhidāsanty asmān (AV.) who attack us from the eastern quarter; tace chrutvā sakhiṇaṇāt (Mbh.) having heard that from the troop of friends; vāyur antarikṣaḥ 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, vājrasya ṛṣṇād dadāra (RV.) from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he burst asunder; yasya daṇḍabhayaḥ sarve dharmam anurudhyanti (Mbh.) from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty; akāraṃśritatvād ekārasya (Tribh.) because e contains an element of a.

b. Very rarely, an ablative has the sense of after: thus, agaccham ahorātra tirtham (Mbh.) they went to the shrine after a whole day; ṭakārāt 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 (terrified recoil from): thus, tasyā jātāyaḥ sārvam abibhet (AV.) everything was afraid of her at her birth; yāsmād réjanta kṛṣṇāyaḥ (RV.) at whom mortals tremble; yuṣmād bhiyā (RV.) through fear of you; yasmān no dvijate lokāḥ (Bhū.) of whom the world is not afraid.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, prá ririce dvā īndraḥ pṛthivyāḥ (RV.) Indra is greater than the heaven and the earth. With a comparative, or other word used in a kindred way, the ablative is the regular and almost constant construction: thus, svādōḥ svādiryaḥ (RV.) sweeter than the sweet; kiṁ tasmād duḥkhataram (Mbh.) what is more painful than that? ko mitrād anyāḥ (El.) who else than a friend; gā avṛpithā mat (AB.) thou hast chosen the kine rather than me; aśeṣbhyo granthinaḥ çreṣṭāḥ granthibhyo dhārīno vārāḥ (M.) possessors of texts are better than ignorant men; rememberers are better than possessors; tád anyātra tvān nī dadhmasi (AV.) we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee; pūrva vīśvasmād 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. 3. ed.
nā 'sti dhanyatara mama (R.) there is no one more fortunate than I (i. e. my superior in fortune); putraṁ mama prāṇāir gariyasam (MBh.) a son dearer than my life.

d. Occasionally, an ablative is used instead of a partitive genitive: thus, mithunād ekam jaghāna (R.) be slew one out of the pair; tebhya ekam (KSS.) one of them.

283. The ablative is used with a variety of prepositions and words sharing a prepositional character (1128); but all these have rather an adverbial value, as strengthening or defining the from-relation, than any proper governing force. We may notice here:

a. In the Veda, ādhi and pāri are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative: as, jātō himāvatas pāri (AV.) born from the Himalaya (forth); samudrād ādhi jajnīse (AV.) thou art born from the ocean; cārantaṁ pāri taisthuṣaḥ (RV.) moving forth from that which stands fast.

b. Also purā (and purās), in the sense of forward from, and hence before: as, purā jāraṣaḥ (RV.) before old age: and hence also, with words of protection and the like, from: as caçaṁānaḥ purā nīdāḥ (RV.) securing from ill-will.

c. Also ā, in the sense of hither from, all the way from: as, ā mūlād ānu quṣyatu (AV.) let it dry completely up from the root; tāsmād ā nadyō nāma stha (AV.) since that time ye are called rivers. But usually, and especially in the later language, the measurement of interval implied in ā is reversed in direction, and the construction means all the way to, until: as yati giribhyā ā samudrāt (RV.) going from the mountains to the ocean; ā 'ayā yajñāyāo 'dṛcoḥ (VS.) until the end of this sacrifice; ā ṣoḍaṣāt (M.) till the sixteenth year; ā pradānāt (Й.) until her marriage.

284. Uses of the Genitive. a. The proper value of the genitive is adjectival; it belongs to and qualifies a noun, designating something relating to the latter in a manner which the nature of the case, or the connection, defines more nearly. Other genitive constructions, with adjective or verb or preposition, appear to arise out of this, by a more or less distinctly traceable connection.

b. The use of the genitive has become much extended, especially in the later language, by attribution of a noun-character to the adjective, and by pregnant verbal construction, so that it often bears the aspect of being a substitute for other cases — as dative, instrumental, ablative, locative.

285. 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. Genitves of apposition or
equivalence (city of Rome), and of characteristo (man of honor), do not occur, and hardly that of material (house of wood). Examples are: Índra-
sya vájraḥ Índra's thunderbolt; pitā putrāṇām father of sons; putraḥ
pituh son of the father; pituh kāmāḥ putrasya the father's love of the
son; ke naḥ which of us; gatām dāsinām 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 (518).

b. Exceptional cases like nagarasya mārgaḥ the road to the city
(cf. le chemin de Paris), yasyā'hāṁ dūta īpsitaḥ (MBh.) as messenger
to whom I am wanted, are occasionally met with.

296. The genitive is dependent on an adjective:

a. A so-called partitive genitive with a superlative, or another word
of similar substantival value: thus, cṛṣṭham virāṇām best of heroes;
virūḍhāṁ vīryāvatī (AV.) of plants the mighty (mightiest) one.

b. Very often, by a transfer of the possessive genitive from noun to
adjective, the adjective being treated as if it had noun-value: thus, tasya
samaḥ or anurūpaḥ or sadṛṣaḥ resembling him (i. e. his like); tasya
priyā dear to him (his dear one); tasyā viditam unknown to him (his
unknown thing); háyāḥ carṣaṇānām (RV.) to be sacrificed to by mortals
(their object of sacrifice); īpsito naranārīṇām (MBh.) desired of men
and women (their object of desire); yasya kasya prasūtaḥ (H.) of
whomsoever born (his son); hantavyo 'smi na te (MBh.) I am not to
be slain of thee; kim arthinaṁ vañcatavyam asti (H.) why should
there be a deceiving of suppliants?

c. In part, by a construction similar to that of verbs which take a
genitive object: thus, abhijñā rājadharmaṁ (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, varāṁ
pradāyā 'sya (MBh.) having bestowed gifts upon him (made them his by
bestowal); rājño niveditam (H.) it was made known to the king (made
his by knowledge); yad anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya diyate
(M.) that after being promised to one she is given to another. This con-
struction, 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 pibā sutāsya (AV.) drink (of) the soma; mádhvaṁ
pāyaya (RV.) cause to drink the sweet draught; — with verbs meaning
impair (of the thing impaired) etc., as dádāta no amñṭasya (RV.) bestow
upon us immortality; — with verbs meaning enjoy, be satisfied or filled
with: as, mātasy āndhasaḥ (RV.) do thou enjoy the juice; ājyasya pūrayanti (S.) they fill with butter; — with verbs meaning perceive, note, care for, regard with feeling of various kinds: as, vāśīṣṭhasya stuvatā indro agraḥ (RV.) Indra listened to Vāśīṣṭha who was praising him; yathā māma smārat (AV.) that he may think of me; tasya oukopa (MBh.) he was angry at him.

c. A genitive of more doubtful character, with verbs meaning rule or have authority: as, tvām içīse vāsūnām (RV.) thou art lord of good things; yathā hām eṣāṃ virājāni (AV.) that I may rule over them; kathaṁ mṛtyuḥ prabhavati vedaśastravidāṁ (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 an ablativus of any kind (hearing included), and with one of fearing: thus, yo rājāḥ pratigṛphnāti lubdhasya (M.) whoever accepts a gift from a greedy king; cṛṇu me (MBh.) learn from me; bibhīmas tava (MBh.) we are afraid of thee.

288. A genitive in its usual possessive sense is often found as predicate, and not seldom with the copula omitted: thus, yathā 'so māma kēvālaḥ (AV.) that thou mayest be wholly mine; sarvāḥ saṃpatītās tasya saṁtuṣṭaṁ yasya mānasam (H.) all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind; — as objective predicate, bhartuḥ putraṁ vijānantī (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, agree, arthe, kṛte, and the like; also with other prepositional words which, in the general looseness of use of the genitive, have become assimilated to these. A few more real prepositions take the genitive: either usually, like upārī above, or occasionally, like adhās, antār, áti.

b. A genitive is occasionally used in the older language with an adverb, either of place or of time: thus, yātra kvā ca kurukṣetrasya (CB.) in whatever part of Kurukṣetra; yātra tū bhūmer jāyeta (MS.) on what spot of earth he may be born; idānīm ānaḥ (RV.) at this time of the day; yāsaḥ rātryaḥ prātaḥ (MS.) on the morn of what night; dviḥ samvatsarasya (K.) twice a year. Such expression 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 (ō) after a certain time; tataḥ kālasya mahataḥ prayayāu (R.) then after a long time he went forth.

b. A genitive, originally of possession, passing over into one of general concernment, comes in the later language (the construction is unknown earlier) to be used absolutely, with an agreeing participle, or quite rarely
an adjective. Form such cases as the following — paśyato bakamūrkha-
saya nakulāir bhakṣātāh sutāh (H.) of the foolish heron, while he
looked on, the young were eaten by the ichneumons, or gato ṛdhara-
traḥ kathāḥ kathayato mama (K.S.S.) half my night was passed in telling
stories, or kartavyasya karmanāḥ kṣipram akriyamānasya kālāḥ
pibati tadrāsam (H.) of a work needing to be done but left undone time
quickly drinks up its essence — come into currency, by increasing inde-
pendence of the genitive, such other cases as: divāṁ jāgāṁ munināṁ
paśyatāṁ tādā (R.) he went then to heaven, the ascetics looking on; evaṁ
lālapatas tasya devadūtas tādā 'bhetyā vakṣyam āha (Mbh.) as he
thus lamented, a divine messenger coming addressed him; iti vādina evā
'saya dhenuḥ ācavye vanāt (Ragh.) while he thus spoke, the cow came from
the forest. The genitive always indicates a living actor, and the participle is
usually one of seeing or hearing or uttering, especially the former. The con-
struction 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 prevalingly.

301. Uses of the Locative. a. The locative is properly the
in-case, the case expressing situation or location; but its sphere of
use has been somewhat extended, so as to touch and overlap the
boundaries of other cases, for which it seems to be a substitute.

b. Unimportant variations of the sense of in are those of amid
or among, on, and at. Of course, also, situation in time as well as
place is indicated by the case; and it is applied to yet less physical
relations, to sphere of action and feeling and knowledge, to state of
things, to accompanying circumstance; and out of this last grows the
frequent use of the locative as the case absolute.

c. Moreover, by a pregnant construction, the locative is used
to denote the place of rest or cessation of action or motion (into or
on to instead of in or on; German in with accusative instead of dative:
compare English there for thither).

302. a. The locative of situation in space hardly needs illustration.
An example or two are: yē devā dīvī sthā (A.V.) which of you gods
are in heaven; na devesu na yakṣeṇu tādṛk (Mbh.) not among gods
or Yaksas is such a one; pārvatasya prṛṭhe (R.V.) on the ridge of the
mountain; vidāthe santu devāḥ (R.V.) may the gods be at the assembly;
daśam kade (Mbh.) at the tenth step.

b. The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything
takes place: thus, asyā uñāso vyūṣṭau (R.V.) at the shining forth of
this dawn; etasmin āva kāle (Mbh.) at just that time; dvādaśe varṣe
(Mbh.) in the twelfth year. That the accusative is occasionally used in
this sense, instead of the locative, was pointed out above (276 c).

c. The person with whom, instead of the place at which, one is or
remains is put in the locative: thus, tiṣṭhanty asmin paśāvaḥ (MS.)
animals abide with him; gurāṇ vasan (M.) living at a teacher's; and,
pregnantly, tāvat tvayī bhaviṣyāmi (Mbh.) so long will I cleave to thee.
303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus, māde āhim āndro jaghāna (RV.) in fury Indra slew the dragon; mitrāsya sumatsāu syāma (RV.) may we be in the favor of Mitra; te vacane ratam (MBh.) delighted in thy words.

a. This construction is, on the one hand, generalized into an expression for in the matter or case of, or with reference to, respecting, and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, ē 'mām bhaja grāme āqveṣu gōsu (AV.) be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle; tām it sakhitvā imahe (RV.) him we beg for friendship; upāyo 'yam mayā dṛṣṭa ānayane tava (MBh.) this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither; satitve kāraṇam striyāḥ (H.) the cause of (in the case of) a woman's chastity; na āktō 'bhavan nivāraṇe (MBh.) he was not capable of preventing.

b. On the other hand, the expression by the locative of a condition of things in which anything takes place, or of a conditioning or accompanying circumstance, passes over into a well-marked absolute construction, which is known even in the earliest stage of the language, but becomes more frequent later. Transitional examples are: hāve tvā sūra ūdite háve ma-dhyaāndine divāḥ (RV.) I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day; aparādhe kṛte 'pi ca na me kopāḥ (MBh.) and even in case of an offence committed, there is no anger on my part.

c. The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, stīrṇe barhīś samidhānē agnāū (RV.) when the barhīs is streen and the fire kindled; kāle qubhe prāpte (MBh.) a propitious time having arrived; avasannāyān rātrāv astācalacūḍāvalambini candrāmasi (H.) the night having drawn to a close, and the moon resting on the summit of the western mountain.

d. But the noun may be wanting, or may be replaced by an adverbial substitute (as evam, tathā, iti): thus, varṣati when it rains; [sūrye] astamite after sunset; ādityaya dṛçyamāne (S.) while there is seen [some part] of the sun; ity ardhoṭe (Ç.) with these words half uttered; asmābhīh samanujnāte (MBh.) it being fully assented to by us; evam ukte kalīna (MBh.) it being thus spoken by Kali; tathā nuṣṭhitā (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; āgre in front of; yte without; samipe 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
da doubtful territory between. It occurs:

a. Especially with verbs, as of arriving, sending, placing, communica-
ting, bestowing, and many others, in situations where an accusative or
a dative (or a genitive, 297 a) might be looked for, and exchangeable with
them: thus, sā īd devēgu gacchati (RV.) that, truly, goes to (to be among)
the gods; imāh no yajñām amītegu dhehi (RV.) set this offering of
ours among the immortals; yā āśiṅcānti rāsam ṣadhiṣu (AV.) who
pour in the juice into the plants (or, the juice that is in the plants); mā
prayaucose "qvare dhanam (H.) do not offer wealth to a lord; papāta
medinyām (MBh.) he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth; akandhe
kṛtvā (H.) putting on the shoulder; saṁcṛutya pūrvam asmāsu (MBh.)
having before promised us.

b. Often also with nouns and adjectives in similar constructions (the
instances not always easy to separate from those of the locative meaning
with reference to: above, 303 a): thus, dayā saṁvabhūtegu compassion
toward all creatures; anurāgah nāsqadhe (MBh.) affection for the
Nishadhan; rājā samyag vytaṭh sadā tvayi (MBh.) the king has always
behaved properly toward thee.

305. The prepositions construed with the locative (1126) stand to it
only in the relation of adverbial elements strengthening and directing its
meaning.

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

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

b. And between stem and ending are sometimes inserted
connecting elements (or what, in the recorded condition of
the language, have the aspect of being such).

c. Respecting all these points, the details of treatment, as exhibited
by each class of words or by single words, will be given in the following
chapters. Here, however, it is desirable also to present a brief general view
of them.

307. Endings: Singular. a. In the nominative, the usual
masc. and fem. ending is a — which, however, is wanting in derivative
a and i-stems; it is also euphonically lost (150) by consonant-stems.
Neuters in general have no ending, but show in this case the bare
stem; a-stems alone add m (as in the accus. masc.). Among the
pronouns, am is a frequent masc. and fem. nom. ending (and is found
even in du. and pl.); and neuters show a form in d.
b. In the accusative, m or am is the masc. and fem. ending —am being added after a consonant and r, and after i and û 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 á. With final i- and u-vowels, the á is variously combined, and in the older language it is sometimes lost by contraction with them. Stems in a make the case end in ená (sometimes ená in V.), and those in á make it end in ayá; but instances occur, in the early language, of immediate addition of á to both a and á.

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 áya — excepted is the pronominal element -sma, which combines (apparently) with e to -smái. In the personal pronouns is found bhya (or hyam).

e. A fuller ending ái (like gen.-abl. ás and loc. ám: see below) belongs to feminine stems only. It is taken (with interposed y) by the great class of those in derivative á; also by those in derivative i, and (as reckoned in the later language) in derivative ú. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical i and ú, and even by those in i and u: these last have it in the earliest language in only exceptional instances. For the substitution of ái for abl.-gen. ás, 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 ás; 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 es respectively. With r (or ar) it yields ur (or us: 169 b).

h. The fuller ás is taken by feminine stems precisely as ái is taken in the dative: see above. But in the language of the Brāhmaṇas and Śūtras, the dative-ending ái is regularly and commonly used instead of ás, 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 áu; but the Veda has some relics or traces of the older forms (ay-i [?] and av-i) out of which this appears to have sprung. Vedic locatives
from i-stems end also in ā and ē. The pronominal element -sma makes the locative -smin. Stems in an in the older language often lose the i, and use the bare stem as locative.

j. The ending ām is the locative correspondent to dat. āī and abl.-gen. ās, and is taken under the same circumstances: see above.

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

308. Dual. a. The dual has—except so far as the vocative is sometimes distinguished from nominative and accusative by a difference of accent: 314—one three case-forms: one for nom., accus., and voc.; one for instr., dat., and abl.; and one for gen. and loc.

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

c. The masc. and fem. ending for nom.-accus.-voc. is in the later language usually āau; but instead of this the Veda has prevailingly āa. Stems in ā make the case end in ē. Stems in i and u, masc. and fem., lengthen those vowels; and derivative ī in the Veda remains regularly unchanged, though later it adds āu. The neuter ending is only ē; with final ā this combines to ē.

d. The universal ending for the instr.-dat.-abl. is bhyām, before which final ā is made long. In the Veda, it is often to be read as two syllables, bhiām.

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

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

b. The neuter ending (which is accusative also) is in general ē; and before this the final of a stem is apt to be strengthened, by prolongation of a vowel, or by insertion of a nasal, or by both. But in the Veda the hence resulting forms in āni, inī, īnī are frequently abbreviated by loss of the ni, and sometimes by further shortening of the preceding vowel.
c. The accusative ending is also as in consonant-stems and in the radical division of I- and ū-stems (and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those vowels and add in the masculine n (for ns, of which abundant traces remain), and in the feminine a. In the neuter, this case is like the nominative.

d. In the instrumental, the case-ending is everywhere ebhis 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 bhīyas (in Veda often bhīas), 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 bhīyam (almost never in Veda bhīam), 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 a, 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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<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ān ī</td>
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<td>A.</td>
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<td>I.</td>
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<td>D.</td>
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<td>Ab.</td>
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<td>G.</td>
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<td>L.</td>
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a. It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems and by the radical division of I- and ū-stems; by other vowel-stems, with more or less considerable variations and modifications. The endings which have almost or quite unbroken range, through stems of all classes, are bhyām and os of the dual, and bhīs, bhīyas, 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 राजान-म्, राजानी राजान-ाँ, राजानम् राजान-ाः, against राजाराजान-ाः and राजानिग्मः राजान-भिः; or (450b) महानम् महान्त-अम् and (447) अदानम् अदान-अम् against महात्मा महात-ाः and अदान-ाः. These five, therefore, are called the cases with strong stem, or, briefly, the strong cases; and the rest are called the cases with weak stem, or the weak cases. And the weak cases, again, are in some classes of words to be distinguished into cases of weakest stem, or weakest cases, and cases of middle stem, or middle cases: the former having endings beginning with a vowel (instr., dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., gen.-loc. du.; acc. and gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (instr.-dat.-abl. du.; instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).

b. The class of strong cases, as above defined, belongs only to masculine and feminine stems. In neuter inflection, the only strong cases are the nom.-acc. pl.; while, in those stems that make a distinction of weakest and middle form, the nom.-acc. du. belongs to the weakest class, and the nom.-acc. sing. to the middle: thus, for example, compare (408) प्रत्यांक pratyांक-ि, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यांक pratyांक-ाः, nom. pl. masc.; प्रत्यांक pratyांक-ि, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रत्यांक pratyांक-ो�, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यांक pratyांक, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रत्यांक pratyांक-भिः, instr. pl.

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

313. Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems, an added n often makes its appearance before an ending. The appendage is of least questionable origin in nom.-acc. pl. neut., where the interchange in the old language of the forms of a- and i-stems with those of an- and in-stems is pretty complete; and the u-stems follow their analogy. Elsewhere, it is most widely and firmly established in the gen. pl., where in the great mass of cases, and from the earliest period, the ending is 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, dyāus (l. c. dīaus) when disyllabic, but dyāus when monosyllabic; jyāke when for jīāke.

c. But the vocative is accented only when it stands at the beginning of a sentence—or, in verse, at the beginning also of a metrical division or pāda; elsewhere it is accentless or enclitic: thus, āgne yāṁ yajñām paribhūr āsī (RV.) O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest; but ūpa tvā 'gna 'māsi (RV.) unto thee, Agni, we come.

d. A word, or more than one word, qualifying a vocative—usually an adjective or appositive noun, but sometimes a dependent noun in the genitive (very rarely in any other case)—constitutes, so far as accent is
concerned, a unity with the vocative: thus (all the examples from RV.),
at the beginning of a pāda, with first syllable of the combination accented,
indrā brātah O brother Indra! rājan soma O king Soma! yāviṣṭha
dūta most youthful messenger! hōtar yāviṣṭha sukṛato most youthful
skilled officer! ūrjō napāt sahasvan mighty son of strength! — in
the interior of a pāda, without accent, sōmāśa īndra girvānaḥ the somas,
O song-loving Indra! tāv aćvinā bhadrahaṭa supāṇi ye, O Ačvins
of propitious and beautiful hands! ā rājāna maha ṛtasya 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 pāda are regularly and usually both accented: thus,
pītar mātah O mother! O father! āgna īndra vārūpa mitra dēvah
Agni! Indra! Varuṇa! Mitra! gods! čatamūte čatākrato thou of
a hundred aśvas! of a hundred araśa! vāsiṣṭha čūkra dīdvaha pāvaka
best, bright, shining, cleansing one! ūrjō napād bhādraçoce son of
strength, propitiouaey 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 par-
adigma 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
declination 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
is sārpaṃt, vāri, bhāgavant, sumānasa, 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
dattā (= dattā + āu) and dattās (= dattā + as); but from nadi come
nadyāu (= nadi + āu) and nadyās (= nadi + as).

b. All the other endings sometimes take the accent; but those beginning
with a vowel (l. e. of the weakest cases: 311) do so more readily than
those beginning with a consonant (l. e. of the middle cases: 311). Thus,
from nātus come nāvā and nāubbhis; from mahānt, 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, nává, náubhyáám, návám, náuśu; váci, vágbhíś, váćám, vákéu.

a. But some monosyllable stems retain the accent throughout: thus, góbbhíś, gávám, góqu. For such cases, see below, 350, 361 c, d, 372, 390, 427. And in the acc. pl. the stem is even oftener accented than the ending, some words also admitting either accentuation.

318. Of polysyllabic stems ending in consonants, only a few shift the accent to the ending, and that in the weakest (not the middle) cases. Such are:

a. Present participles in ánt or át: thus, from tudánt, tudatá and tudátos and tudatám: but tudádbhíyám and tudátsu.

b. A few adjectives having the form of such participles, as mahatá, brhatás.

c. Stems of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncope of the vowel: thus, majjáá, mürdhné, dámnás (from majján etc.: 423).

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

e. Case-forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent: see 1110 ff.

319. Of polysyllabic stems ending in accented short vowels the final of the stem retains the accent if it retains its syllabic identity: thus, dattéña and dattáya from dattá: agníná and agnáye from agný; and also dattébhyaas, agníbbhis, and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in dattáís, dhenáú, agnín, dhenús, and so on: or whether the final is changed into a semi-vowel before the ending: thus, dhervá, pitrá, jámýós, báhvdós, etc.

a. But ám of the gen. pl. from stems in í and ú and ý may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by n from the stem: thus, agnínám, dhenúnám, pitṛnám. In RV., even derivative í-stems show usually the same shift: thus, bahvínám. Of stems in á, only numerals (463 a) follow this rule: thus, saptánám, daçánám.

320. Root-words in ÿ and ú as final members of compounds retain the accent throughout, not shifting it to any of the endings. And in the older language there are polysyllabic words in long final vowels which follow in this respect as in others the analogy of the root-declension (below, 355 ff.). Apart from those, 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 घ a;
II. Stems in ङ i and ङ u;
III. Stems in घा आ, ङ i, and ङ u: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems;
IV. Stems in घ r (or घर ar);
V. Stems in consonants.

c. There is nothing absolute in this classification and arrangement; it is merely believed to be open to as few objections as any other. No general agreement has been reached among scholars as to the number and order of Sanskrit declensions. The stems in a are here treated first because of the great 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 r or ar — words which are distinctly adjectives; and, in general, they are inflected precisely like noun-stems of the same final: only, among consonant-stems, there are certain sub-classes of adjective stems with peculiarities of inflection to which there is among nouns nothing corresponding. But there are also two considerable classes of adjective-compounds, requiring special notice: namely —

323. Compound adjectives having as final member a bare verbal root, with the value of a present participle (383 a ff.): thus, su-धर well-looking; pra-धर foreknowing; a-धर not hating; ve-da-विद Veda-knowing; व्रत्रा-ह क Vrita-slaying; upa-धर sād sitting in the lap. Every root is liable to be used in this way, and such compounds are not infrequent in all ages of the language: see chapter on Compounds, below (1269).
a. This class is essentially only a special class of compound adjectives, since in the earliest Veda the simple as well as the compounded root was sometimes used adjectively. But the compounded root was from the beginning much more often so used, and the later the more exclusively, so that practically the class is a separate and important one.

324. Compound adjectives having a noun as final member, but obtaining an adjective sense secondarily, by having the idea of possession added, and being inflected as adjectives in the three genders (1293 ff.). Thus, praśākāma desire of progeny, whence the adjective praśākāma, meaning desirous (i.e. having desire) of progeny; sabhārya (saḥ-bhārya) having one's wife along; and so on.

a. In a few cases, also, the final noun is syntactically object of the preceding member (1309-10): thus, atimātra inmoderate (ati mātram beyond measure); yāvayādvēsas driving away enemies.

325. Hence, under each declension, we have to notice how a root or a noun-stem of that declension is inflected when final member of an adjective compound.

a. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked here that a root-word ending a compound has the accent, but (320) loses the peculiarity of monosyllabic accentuation, and does not throw the tone forward upon the ending (except aṅc in certain old forms: 410).

Declension I.

Stems (masculine and neuter) in u a.

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

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

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

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

c. The instr. changes a to 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, suhāvā, mahītvā (for yajñēna etc.) — is also not rare in the Veda.

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

e. The abl. has t (or doubtless d; it is impossible from the evidence of the Sanskrit to tell which is the original form of the ending),
before which a is made long; this ending is found in no other noun-declension, and elsewhere only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

f. The gen. has aya added to the final a; and this ending is also limited to a-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun amūsya: 501). Its final a is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its y is vocalized (asia) almost as rarely.

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

h. The voc. is the bare stem.

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

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

c. The instr., dat., and abl. have bhyám (in only one or two Vedic instances resolved into bhiáám), with the stem-final lengthened to á before it.

d. The gen. and loc. have a y inserted after the stem-final before os (or as if the a had been changed to e). In one or two (doubtful) Vedic instances (as also in the pronominal forms enos and yos), os is substituted for the final a.

329. Plural. a. The nom. masc. has in the later language the normal ending as combined with the final a to ás. But in the Veda the ending ásas 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 án (for earlier áns, of which abundant traces are left in the Veda, and, under the disguise of apparent euphonic combination, even in the later language: see above, 208 ff.).

c. The nom. and acc. neut. have in the later language always the ending ánì (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 á (which in RV. is to ánì as three to two, in point of frequency; in AV., as three to four).

d. The instr. ends later always in áís; but in the Veda is found abundantly the more normal form ebhís (in RV., nearly as frequent as áís; in AV., only one fifth as frequent).

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

f. The gen. ends in ánám, the final a being lengthened and having n inserted before the normal ending. The á of the ending is not seldom (in less than half the instances) to be read as two syllables, anám: opinions are divided as to whether the resolution is historical or metrical only. A

Whitney, Grammar. 3. 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 eṣu—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 काम काम m. love; देव devā m. god; ग्रास्य āsyā n. mouth.

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Dual:

| N. A. V. कामी | देवी | एस्ये     |
| कामाहू   | देवाहू   | एस्याहू     |
| I.D. अब. कामाययम | देवाभयम | एस्याभयम    |
| G. L. कामायोऽम | देवायोऽम | एस्यायोऽम    |

Plural:

| N. V. कामास् | देवास् | एस्यानि     |
| कामास्   | देवास्   | एस्यानि     |
Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

a. Sing.: instr. raváthená, yajñá (such genitive forms as áqvasiá are purely sporadic).

b. Du.: nom. etc. masc. devá; gen.-loc. pastyós (stem pastyá).

c. Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. devásas; neut. yugá; instr. devébhis; gen. caráthám, devánaam.

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 stèmes in a, which are more or less fully shared also by a few adjectives of pronominal kindred, see the chapter on Pronouns (495 ff).

Adjectives.

332. Original adjectives in a are an exceedingly large class, the great majority of all adjectives. There is, however, no such thing as a feminine stem in a; for the feminine, the a is changed to ā — or often, though far less often, to ī; and its declension is then like that of sená or deví (364). An example of the complete declension of an adjective a-stem in the three genders will be given below (368).

a. Whether a masc.-neut. stem in a shall form its feminine in ā or in ī is a question to be determined in great part only by actual usage, and not by grammatical rule. Certain important classes of words, however, can be pointed out which take the less common ending ī for the feminine: thus, i. the (very numerous) secondary derivatives in a with vṛddhi of the first syllable (1204): e.g. āmitrá -trí, mánuša -ṣi, pāvamāna -nī, pārṇamāsā -ṣī; 2. primary derivatives in āna with accent on the radical syllable (1150): e.g. códana -nī, saṅgráhaṇa -nī, saṅghāmakāraṇa -nī; 3. primary derivatives in a, with strengthening of the radical syllable, having a quasi-participial meaning: e.g. divākará -rī, avākramá -mī,
v. Nouns and Adjectives.

332-] Rathavaha -hi (but there are many exceptions); 4. secondary derivatives in maya (1235) and tana (1246 e): e. g. ayaamaya -yi; adyatana -ni; 5. most ordinal numerals (487 h): e. g. pañcamā -mi, navadaqa -qi, triñqattamā -mi. Not a few words make the feminine in either a or i: e. g. kēvalā or -li, ugrā or -rī, pāpa or -pi, rāma or -mi; but ordinarily only one of these is accepted as regular.

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

334. a. A noun ending in a, when occurring as final member of an adjective compound, is inflected like an original adjective in a, making its feminine likewise in a or i (367).

b. For the most part, an adjective compound having a noun in a as final member makes its feminine in a. But there are numerous exceptions, certain nouns taking, usually or always, i instead. Some of the commonest of these are as follows: akṣa eye (e. g. lohitākṣi, dvyaśa, gavākṣi), parṇa leaf (e. g. tilaparṇi, saptaparṇī; but ekaparṇā), mukha face (e. g. kṛṣṇamukhi, durmukhi; but trimukha etc.), aṅga limb, body (e. g. anavadyāṅgi, sarvāṅgi; but caturāṅga etc.), keśa hair (e. g. sukeći, muktakeći or -qā, etc.), karna ear (e. g. mahākarna; but gokarna etc.), udara belly (e. g. lambodari), mūla root (e. g. pañcamūla; but oftener qatamulā 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 a to a to form a masculine and neuter base: see 367 c.

d. In frequent cases, nouns of consonant ending are, as finals of compounds, transferred to the a-declension by an added suffix a (1209a) or ka (1222).

Declension II.

Stems (of all genders) in Ᾰi and Ᾰu.

335. The stems in Ᾰi and Ᾰu 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 Ᾰi more numerous than those in Ᾰu, especially in the feminine (there are more neutrals in Ᾰu than in Ᾰi).

a. The endings of this declension also differ frequently and widely from the normal, and the irregularities in the older language are numerous.
336. Endings: Singular. a. The nom. masc. and fem. adds to the stem the normal ending s. The nom. and acc. neut. is the bare stem, without ending. In the Veda, the final u of a few neuters is lengthened (246 b): thus, urū, purū.

b. The acc. masc. and fem. adds m to the stem. Vedic forms in iam and uam, and, with n, inam and unam, are excessively rare, and doubtful.

c. The instr. fem. in the later language takes the normal ending 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 īā and uā) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also; while inā is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, fem. yā is often (in two thirds of the occurrences) contracted to ī; and this is even sometimes shortened to i. An adverbial instr. in 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 aave. These are the prevailing endings in the Veda likewise; but the more normal ye and ve (or ue) also occur; and the fem. has in this case, as in the instr., sometimes the form i for īo. 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 dat. has also the forms aye, ve, aave, like the other genders.

e. The abl. and gen. masc. and fem. have regularly, both earlier and later, the ending a with gunated vowel before it: thus, es, os; and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way; although unas, required later, is also not infrequent (inas does not occur). But the normal forms yas (or ias) and vas (or uas) are also frequent in both masc. and neuter. As masc. ending, unas occurs twice in RV. The anomalous didyōt (so TS; in the corresponding passages, vidyōt VS., didyāut K., didivās MS.) is of doubtful character.

f. The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language āu, replacing both finals, i and u. And this is in the Veda also the most frequent ending; but, beside it, the i-stems form (about half as often in RV.) their loc. in ā: thus, agnā; and this is found once even in the neuter. The RV. has a number of examples of masc. and neut. locatives in avi (the normal ending and the u gunated before it) from u-stems; and certain doubtful traces of a corresponding ayi from i-stems. Half-a-dozen locatives in ī (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as praghyā or uncomb-inable: 136 d) are made from i-stems. The later language makes the neuter locatives in ini and unii; 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 uni; but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence): AV. has ini twice (RV. perhaps once); VS. has uni once; RV. has u from one u-stem, and i, once shortened to i, from one or two i-stems.

b. The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is bhyām added to the unchanged stem.

c. The gen.-loc. of all ages add 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 īs (like i-stems); a very few u-stems have uas. The neut. nom.-acc. ends later in ini and ēni (like ēni from a: 339 c); but the Veda has ì and i (about equally frequent) much oftener than ini; and ī and (more usually) u, more than half as often as ēni.

b. The accus. masc. ends in ēn and ēn, for older ias and uas, 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 (308 ff.). The accus. fem. ends in īs and ēs. But both masc. and fem. forms in ias and uas are found sparingly in the Veda.

c. The instr. of all genders adds bhis to the stem.

d. The dat.-abl. of all genders adds bhyaś (in V., almost never bhiaś) to the stem.

e. The gen. of all genders is made alike in ēnām and ēnām (of which the ā is not seldom, in the Veda, to be resolved into aam). Stems with accented final in the later language may, and in the earlier always do, throw forward the accent upon the ending.

f. The loc. of all genders adds su (as su: 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 ḍīṅgaḥ agni m. fire; gāṁ gāti f. gait; vārī vārī n. water.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>घनिम्</td>
<td>गतिम्</td>
<td>गारी</td>
<td>घनिम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>घनिम्</td>
<td>गतिम्</td>
<td>गारी</td>
<td>घनिम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>घनिमा</td>
<td>गत्या</td>
<td>गारिणा</td>
<td>घनिमा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>घनये</td>
<td>गतये, गत्यै</td>
<td>गारिणे</td>
<td>घनये</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>घनिम्</td>
<td>गतिम्, गत्याम्</td>
<td>वारिणाम्</td>
<td>घनिम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>घनिः</td>
<td>गत्याम्</td>
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<td>घनिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>घने</td>
<td>गाते</td>
<td>वारी, वारे</td>
<td>घने</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>गाति</th>
<th>वारिणि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>घनिन्याम्</td>
<td>गतिन्याम्</td>
<td>वारिन्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>घनिन्योस्</td>
<td>गतिन्योस्</td>
<td>वारिन्योस्</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Plural:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>गतियम्</th>
<th>वारिणियम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>घनियम्</td>
<td>गतियम्</td>
<td>वारिणियम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>घनिन</td>
<td>गतिम्</td>
<td>वारिन</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>घनिनिम्</td>
<td>गतिनिम्</td>
<td>वारिनिम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>घनिनियम्</td>
<td>गतिनियम्</td>
<td>वारिनियम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>घनिनिम्</td>
<td>गतिनिम्</td>
<td>वारिनिम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>गतिनियु</td>
<td>वारिनियु</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
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<th>घनिषु</th>
<th>गतिषु</th>
<th>वारिषु</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. V.</td>
<td>घनिषु</td>
<td>गतिषु</td>
<td>वारिषु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
340. In order to mark more plainly the absence in Vedic language of some of the forms which are common later, all the forms of Vedic occurrence are added below, and in the order of their frequency.

a. Singular. Nom. agnis etc., as above.
b. Acc.: masc. aIgnam, yayám, ùrmñam(?); fem. and neut. as above.
c. Instr.: masc. agninä, rayä and ùrmia; fem. ácittä, útiä, matyä, su-vrkti, dhäsínä; neut. wanting.
d. Dat.: masc. agnaye; fem. tu-jaye, úti, turyäl; neut. çucaye.
e. Gen.-abl.: masc. agnäs, ávys, ariäs; fem. ádites, hetyäś and bhümäś; neut. bhüres.
f. Loc.: masc. agnäu, agnã, ãjäyi(?); fem. ágatau, úditã, dhänasätayi(?), vedi, bhümäyäm; neut. apratä, saptäraqmäu.
g. Voc.: as above (neut. wanting).
h. Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. hári; fem. yuvati; neut. quëi, máhi, hárñî(?).
i. Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.
j. Gen.-loc.: masc. hárlos; fem. yuvatyös and jämíös; neut. wanting.
k. Plural. Nom.: masc. agnäyas; fem. matyäyas, bhümäs; neut. quëi, bhüri, bhürüni.
l. Accus.: masc. agnîn; fem. kṣitis, çucaya(?).
m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc.: as above.
n. Gen.: masc. fem. kavinäm, çaññam etc. (neut. wanting).

341. As models of u-stems may be taken šatru m. enemy; धेनु dhenu f. cow; मधु mádhu n. honey.

Singular:

N. शत्रुः
    कात्रु
A. शत्रुः
    कात्रुम
L. शत्रुणा
    कात्रुणा
D. शत्रुवे
    कात्रवे
Ab. G. शत्रोः
    कात्रोस
L. शत्रौ
    कात्रौ
V. शत्रो
    कात्रो

dhenuś
dhenum
dhenvä
dhénë, dhenë
dhenëve, dhenvävé mádhune
dhenos, dhenvas mádhunas
dhenäu, dhenväm mádhuni
dhéno

dhénu

dhënu

dhénu

dhénu, dhénu

dhénu, dhénu

dhénu

dhënu

mádhu
mádhu
mádhunä
mädhuna
mädhunä
mädhus
mädhuna
mädhuna
mädhus
mädhuna
mädhus
mädhu, mádho
### Dual:

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<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>शत्रु</th>
<th>देनु</th>
<th>मधुनि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ज्ञात्रु</td>
<td>dhenु</td>
<td>मधुनि</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. D. Ab.</th>
<th>शत्रु-याम्</th>
<th>देनु-याम्</th>
<th>मधु-याम्</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ज्ञात्रुब्यायम्</td>
<td>dhenुब्यायम्</td>
<td>मधुब्यायम्</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>G. L.</th>
<th>शत्रुण्</th>
<th>देन्याम्</th>
<th>मधुनाम्</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>मधुनuos</td>
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### Plural:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>N. V.</th>
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<th>देनवम्</th>
<th>मधुनि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ज्ञात्रुवास</td>
<td>dhenावस</td>
<td>मधुनि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>शत्रुन्</th>
<th>देनू</th>
<th>मधुनि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>ज्ञात्रुन्</td>
<td>dhenु</td>
<td>मधुनि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I.</th>
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<th>देनुपिन्</th>
<th>मधुपिन्</th>
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<td>मधुब्भिस</td>
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<table>
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<th>शत्रु-यास्</th>
<th>देनु-यास्</th>
<th>मधु-यास्</th>
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<td>dhenुब्यास</td>
<td>मधुब्यास</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>देनूम्</th>
<th>मधुनम्</th>
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<td>dhenुणाम्</td>
<td>मधुणाम्</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>L.</th>
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<th>मधुू</th>
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<td>ज्ञात्रुसु</td>
<td>dhenुsu</td>
<td>मधुसु</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Notes:

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

- **a. Sing.** Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urु, urु.
- **b. A.** Masc. ketum, abhiruam, sucutuam; fem. dhenum.
- **c. I.** Masc. ketunā, paqvā and kratuā; fem. ādhenuā and panvā, acuyā; neut. madhunā, madhvā.
- **d. Dat.** Masc. ketāve, cīcve; fem. cārave, īqvāi; neut. pācve (?), urāve, madhune.
- **e. Abl.-gen.** Masc. manyōs, pitvās, cāruṇās; fem. sīndhos, īsvās; neut. madhvās and madhuas, madhos, madhunās.
- **f. Loc.** Masc. pūruu, sūnāvi; fem. sīndhau, rājjvām; neut. sānāu, sānavi, sānō, sānunī.
- **g. V.** As above.
- **h. Dual.** Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. urvī, jānunī.
- **i. Instr.-dat.-abl.** As above.
- **j. Gen.-loc.** As above (but vos or uos).
- **k. Plural.** Nom.: masc. pbhāvas, madhuas and mádhivas; fem. dhenāvas, qatakratvas; neut. puruṇi, purū, purū.
1. Accus.: masc. yrūn, paçvās; fem. śśūs, mādhvas.
m. Instr., dat.-abl., and loc.: as above; also gen. (but with the resolu-
tion ūnaam in part).

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

a. Sākhi m. friend has for the five strong cases a peculiarly
strengthened base (vṛiddhied), namely sākhai, which in the nom.
sing. is reduced to sākha (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. sākha, sākhāyam, sākhyā, sākhye, sākhyus, sākhyāu,
sākha; Du. sākhāyāu, sākhibhyām, sākhyos; Pl. sākhāyas, sākhīn,
etc. etc.

b. The Veda has usually sākhāyā du., and often resolves the y to i,
in sākhi, sākhius, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the
simple word, unless (1315 b) sakha be substituted.

c. There is a corresponding fem., sakhī (declined like devi: 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 sākhi in the instr., dat., abl-gen., and
loc. sing., forming pātyā, pātye, pātyus, pātyāu. 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 pātīn in the fem.: thus, jīvapatīnī having a living
husband; dāsapatīnī having a barbarian for master.

f. Jáni f. wife has the gen. sing. jányus in the Veda.

g. Arī eager, greedy, hostile has in the Veda arīs in pl. nom. and
accus., masc. and fem. Its accus. sing. is arīm or arīyām.

h. Vī bird has in RV. the nom. vēs (beside vis). In the plural it
accents vībhīs, vībhīyas, but vīnām.

i. The stems ākṣī eye, āsthi bone, dādhi curds, and sākthī thigh,
are defective, their forms exchanging with and complementing forms from
stems in án (ākṣān etc.): see the stems in an, below (431).

j. The stem pathī road is used to make up part of the inflection of
pānthan: see below, 433.

k. Kṛōṣṭi m. jackal lacks the strong cases, for which the correspond-
ing forms of kroṣṭi are substituted.

Adjectives.

344. Original adjective stems in i are few; those in u are much
more numerous (many derivative verb-stems forming a participial
adjective in ū). 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 ū (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 allowable always) for feminine also.

a. There are a few instances of a feminine noun in ī standing (sometimes with changed accent) beside a masculine in ī: thus, krīmī m., krīmī f.; sākhī (343 a) m., sakhī f.; dundubhī m., dundubhī f.; dhūnī m., dhūnī f.; ḍakūnī m., ḍakūnī or -ni f. In the later language, especially, there is a very frequent interchange of ī and ī as finals of the same stem. No adjective in ī makes a regular feminine in ī.

b. With stems in ū the case is quite different. While the feminine may, and in part does, end in ū, like the masculine and neuter, a special feminine-stem is often made by lengthening the ū to ū, or also by adding ī; and for some stems a feminine is formed into two of these three ways, or even in all the three: thus, kārū, -dīspūr, ḍundhū, carśṇū, vacāśvū; -anvī, urvī, gurvī, pūrvī (with prolongation of ū before r); compare 245 b), bahvī, prabhvī, raghvī, sādhvī, svādīvī;—ṛthū and āṛthvī, vibhū and vibhvī, mṛdźū and mṛdźvī, laghu and laghvī, vāsu and vāsvī; babhrū and babhrū, bibhatsū and bibhatsū, bhīrū and bhīrū;—tanū and tanvī and tanvī, phalgu and phalgu and phalgvī, mādhū and mādhīvī. There are also some feminine noun-stems in ū standing (usually with changed accent) beside masculines in ū: thus, āgrū m., āgrū f.; kādru m., kādru f.; gūggulū m., guggulu f.; jatu m., jattī f.; pṛdākū m., pṛdākū f.

345. Roots ending in i or ū (or ī: 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 suffixed: thus, ásmṛṭadhru, suṣṭū; and the AV. has pṛṭanājī (once). Roots in ū sometimes also shorten ū to ū: thus, prabhū, vibhū, etc. (354); go (361 e) becomes gu in composition; and re perhaps becomes ri (361 e); while roots in ā sometimes apparently weaken ā to ī (in -dhi from yḍhā 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 ī or ū is sometimes lengthened to form a feminine stem: thus, suṣṭroṇī, svayonī or -ni, -gāṭrayaṣṭī or -ti, vāmorū or -ru, durhaṇū or -ṇu, varatanū, māṭṛbandhū; and RV. has āćiṣṇī from ċīṣu.
Declension III.

Stems in long vowels: या ा, ि ि, उ उ.

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 या ा and ि ि, with a small number in उ उ 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 या ा or ि ि, 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 यम, not यम, 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 ा are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use; those in ि and उ are more numerous, but still very few.

2. Compounds having such words, or other roots with long final vowels, as last member.

3. Polysyllabic words, of various origin and character, including in the Veda many which later are transferred to other declensions.

4. As an appendix to this class we may most conveniently describe the half-dozen stems, mostly of regular inflection, ending in diphthongs.
349. Monosyllabic stems. Before the endings beginning with vowels, final i is changed to iy and u to uv; while final á is dropped altogether, except in the strong cases, and in the acc. pl., which is like the nominative (according to the grammarians, á is lost here also: no instances of the occurrence of such a form appear to be quotable). Stems in ī and û are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings ãí, ãs, ãm in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except bhíyáñ[?], RV., once). Before ãm of gen. pl., n may or may not be inserted; in the Veda it is regularly inserted, with a single exception (dhíyám, once). The vocative is like the nominative in the singular as well as the other numbers; but instances of its occurrence in uncombined stems are not found in the Veda, and must be extremely rare everywhere. The earlier Vedic dual ending is á instead of áu.

350. To the i- and 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 á-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 न जः f. progeny; धी f. thought; and भु द् f. earth.

a. The first of these is rather arbitrarily extended from the four cases which actually occur; of the loc. sing. and gen.-loc. du., no Vedic examples from á-stems are found.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Singular:</th>
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<th>धी</th>
<th>भु</th>
<th>धी</th>
<th>भु</th>
<th>धी</th>
<th>भु</th>
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<td>धियेः, धिय</td>
<td>भुवेः, भुव</td>
<td>धियेः, धिय</td>
<td>भुवेः, भुव</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाः</td>
<td>जाः</td>
<td>धियास, धियास</td>
<td>भुवास,भुवास</td>
<td>धियास, धियास</td>
<td>भुवास,भुवास</td>
<td>धियास, धियास</td>
<td>भुवास,भुवास</td>
<td>धियास, धियास</td>
<td>भुवास,भुवास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जि</td>
<td>जि</td>
<td>धियि, धियि</td>
<td>भुवि, भुवि</td>
<td>धियि, धियि</td>
<td>भुवि, भुवि</td>
<td>धियि, धियि</td>
<td>भुवि, भुवि</td>
<td>धियि, धियि</td>
<td>भुवि, भुवि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जाम</td>
<td>जाम</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भु</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भु</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भु</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भु</td>
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<tr>
<td>जास</td>
<td>जास</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भुस</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भुस</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भुस</td>
<td>धिस</td>
<td>भुस</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dual:

N. A. V. नौ  धियू  मृत्
jāù  dhīyāu  bhūvāù

I. D. Ab. नौ-याम्  धी-याम्  मृ-याम्
jābhyaùm  dhībhyaùm  bhūbhyaùm

G. L. नौम्  धियोम्  मृवोम्
jōs  dhīyōs  bhuvōs

Plural:

N. नौम्  धियस  मृवम्
jās  dhīyas  bhūvas

A. नौ (नम्?)  धियम्  मृवम्
jās, jās  dhīyas  bhūvas

I. नौमिस्  धियिस्  मृविस्
jābhīs  dhībhīs  bhūbhīs

D. Ab. नौ-याम्  धी-याम्  मृ-याम्
jābhyaùs  dhībhyaùs  tūbhyaùs

G. नौमाम् (नाम्?)  धियाम्, धीनाम्  मृवाम्, मृनाम्
jānām, jām  dhīyām, dhīnām  bhuvām, bhūnām

L. नौ  धीयु  मृयु
jāsu  dhīṣu  bhūṣu

352. Monosyllabic stems in composition. When the nouns above described occur as final member of a compound, or when any root in a or i or a is found in a like position, the inflection of an ā-stem is as above. But ē- and ū-stems follow a divided usage: the final vowel before a vowel-ending is either converted into a short vowel and semivowel (īy or ēv, as above) or into a semivowel simply (y or v). The accent is nowhere thrown forward upon the endings; and therefore, when ē and ū become y and v, the resulting syllable is circumflex (83-4). Thus:

Masc. and fem. Singular:

N. V. -dhīs  -bhūs
    -dhīyam  -dhyām  -bhuvam  -bhvām
A.  -dhīyaù  -dhyāù  -bhuvāù  -bhvāù
I.    -dhyē  -dhyē  -bhuvē  -bhvē
D.  -dhīyas  -dhyās  -bhuvās  -bhvās
Ab. G. -dhīyi  -dhyì  -bhūvi  -bhvi
Dual:
N. A. V.  -dhíyāu  -dhyāu  -bhúvāu  -bhvāu
I. D. Ab.  -dhíbhyaṁ  -bhúbhyaṁ
G. L.  -dhíyos  -dhyōs  -bhúvos  -bhvōs

Plural:
N. A. V.  -dhīyas  -dhyās  -bhúvas  -bhvās
I.  -dhíbhis  -bhúbhis
D. Ab.  -dhíbhyaś  -bhúbhyaś  -bhúbhyaś
G.  { -dhíyām  -dhyām  { -bhúvām  -bhvām
L.  { -dhīṇām  -dhyām  { -bhúṇām  -bhvām

a. As to the admissibility of the fuller endings ā, ās, and ām in the singular (feminine), grammatical authorities are somewhat at variance; but they are never found in the Veda, and have been omitted from the above scheme as probably unreal.

b. If two consonants precede the final ī or ū, the dissyllabic forms, with iy and uv, are regularly written; after one consonant, the usage is varying. The grammarians prescribe iy and uv when the monosyllabic stem has more the character of a noun, and y and v when it is more purely a verbal root with participial value. No such distinction, however, is to be seen in the Veda—where, moreover, the difference of the two forms is only graphic, since the yā- and vā-forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: ā or ās and ū or ūs, 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 ā (as if ā + e): thus, prakhyāi, pratimāi, parādāi.

b. Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, avadyabhiyā (RV.), ādhīā (AV.).

354. But compounds of the class above described are not infrequently transferred to other modes of inflection: the ā shortened to a for a masculine (and neuter) stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative ā-class (below, 364) as feminine; the i and ā shortened to i and u, and inflected as of the second declension.

a. Thus, compound stems in -ga, -ja, -da, -stha, -bhu, and others, are found even in the Veda, and become frequent later (being made from all, or nearly all, the roots in ā); and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, qṣṭapāṇ, vayodhāśis and rātndhēbhīs, dhanaśās (all RV.); and, from i and ū compounds, vēsačrīs (TS.), āhrayās (RV.), gaṇačrībhīs (RV.), karmāṇis (CB.) and rṇābhīyas (RV.) and senābhīyas (VS.) and grāmaṇībhīs (TB.), supūnā (AV.), qīṭībhṛvā (TS.).

b. Still more numerous are the feminines in ā which have lost their
root-declension: examples are pražá (of which the further compounds in part have root-forms), svadā, ṛaddhā, pratimā, and others.

c. Then, in the later language, a few feminines in ī are made from the stems in ā shortened from ā: thus, gopī, goṣṭhī, pannagī, paṅkajī, bhujagī, bhujāmgi, surāpī.

355. Polysyllabic Stems. Stems of this division (A) of more than one syllable are very rare indeed in the later language, and by no means common in the earlier. The Rig-Veda, however, presents a not inconsiderable body of them; and as the class nearly dies out later, by the disuse of its stems or their transfer to other modes of declension, it may be best described on a Vedic basis.

a. Of stems in ā, masculines, half-a-dozen occur in the Veda: pānthā, mānthā, and ṛbhukṣā are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, 433-4; ucānā (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing. ucānā (and loc. as well as dat. ucāna); mahā great is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition; ātā frame has only ātāsu not derivable from āta.

b. Of stems in ī, over seventy are found in the Veda, nearly all feminines, and all accented on the ī. Half of the feminines are formed from masculines with change of accent: thus, kalyānī (m. kalyāṇa), purūṣī (m. pūruṣa); others show no change of accent: thus, yamī (m. yamā); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, nadī, laksāmi, sūrmi. The masculines are about ten in number: for example, rathī, prāvī, starī, ahī, āpathī.

c. Of stems in ū, the number is smaller: these, too, are nearly all feminines, and all accented on the ū. The majority of them are the feminine adjectives in ū to masculines in ū or u (above, 344 b): thus, caracyū, carṣṇī, jīghatsū, madhū. A few are nouns in ū, with change of accent: thus, agrū (āgrū), ṛḍākū (ṛḍāku), ṛvaqṛū (ṛvaqūra); or without change, as nrtū. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, tanū, vadhū, camū. The masculines are only two or three: namely, praqū, kṛkāḍqū, makṣū (?); and their forms are of the utmost rarity.

356. The mode of declension of these words may be illustrated by the following examples: rathī m. charioteer; nadī f. stream; tanū m. body.

a. No one of the selected examples occurs in all the forms; forms for which no example at all is quotable are put in brackets. No loc. sing. from any ī-stem occurs, to determine what the form would be. The stem nadī is selected as example partly in order to emphasize the difference between the earlier language and the later in regard to the words of this division: nadī is later the model of derivative inflection.
### Declension III, Radical ā-, i-, and ū-stems

#### Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>rathīś</th>
<th>nadīś</th>
<th>tanūś</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>rathīm</td>
<td>nadīm</td>
<td>tanūm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>rathā</td>
<td>nadīā</td>
<td>tanūā</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>nadīas</td>
<td>tanūas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>tanūi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>ráthi (?)</td>
<td>nādi</td>
<td>tánu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>rathīā</th>
<th>nadīā</th>
<th>tanūā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>[rathībhīyām]</td>
<td>nadībhīyām</td>
<td>[tanūbhīyām]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>[rathīōs]</td>
<td>nadīōs</td>
<td>tanūōs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N. A.</th>
<th>rathīas</th>
<th>nadīas</th>
<th>tanūas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>[rathībhīs]</td>
<td>nadībhīs</td>
<td>tanūbhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>[rathībhīyas]</td>
<td>nadībhīyas</td>
<td>tanūbhīyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>rathīnām</td>
<td>nadīnām</td>
<td>tanūnām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>[rathīgu]</td>
<td>nadīgu</td>
<td>tanūgu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. The cases — nadīām, tanūām, 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, cakrīyā, [agrūvā,,] and mitrāyūvas. The RV. really reads staryām etc. twice, and tanvās etc. four times; and such contractions are more often made in the AV. The ending ā of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. is the equivalent of the later āu. The nom. sing. in s from i-stems is found in the older language about sixty times, from over thirty stems.

#### 357

Irregularities of form, properly so called, are very few in this division: camū as loc. sing. (instead of camvi) occurs a few times; and there is another doubtful case or two of the same kind; the final ū is regarded as pragrhya 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 i- 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 qvācquām, do., once, and dravitnuā, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, we find the acc. sing. kuhūm, tanūm, vadhūm; the instr. sing. palālī and one or two others; the dat. sing. vadhvāī, qvāgruāī, agrūvāī; the abl.-gen. sing. punarbhūvās, pṛddākuaś, qvāruas; and the loc. sing. tanūam (with anomalous accent). Accusatives plural in is and ūs are nowhere met with.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.
359. Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, hīranyavācīs and sahāsrarastarīs, ātaptatanūs and sārvatanūs. All nom. sing. masculine.

Stems ending in diphthongs.

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

a. Stems in āu: nāū and glāū;
b. Stems in āī: rāī;
c. Stems in o: gō and dyō (or dyū, dīv).

361. a. The stem nāū f. ship is entirely regular, taking the normal endings throughout, and following the rules for monosyllabic accentuation (317)—except that the accus. pl. is said (it does not appear to occur in accented texts) to be like the nom. Thus: nāūs, nāvam, nāvā, nāvē, nāvās, nāvī; nāvāu, nāubhyām, nāvōs; nāvas, nāubhīs, nāubhyās, nāvām, nāuṣū. The stem glāū m. bull 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; rāyāu, rābhyām, rāyōs; rāyas, rāyās, rābhīs, 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; rāyām 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 nāū) gāūs, 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, gōbhis, gōbhyas, gōsu. 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 dissyllables. 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 div before a vowel-ending. The native grammarians treat the two as
independent words, but it is more convenient to put them together. The stem dyō is inflected precisely like gō, as above described. The complete declension is as follows (with forms not actually met with in use bracketed):

---|---|---
N. dyāūs | [dīvāu] | dīvas dyāvas
A. dīvan dyām | dyāvāu | dīvās, dyūn [dyās]
I. dīvā [dyāvā] | dyūbhīs | [dyōbhīs]
D. dīvē dyāve | [dyūbhīyām dyōbhīyām] | [dyūbhīyas dyōbhīyas]
Ab. dīvās dyōs | | 
G. dīvās dyōs | [divām dyāvām] | 
L. dīvī dyāvi | [divōs dyāvos] | dyūsu [dyōṣu]

e. The dat. sing. dyāve is not found in the early language. Both dīvas and divās occur as accus. pl. in V. As nom. etc. du., dyāva is, as usual, the regular Vedic form: once occurs dyāvi (du.), as if a neuter form; and dyāūs is found once used as ablative. The cases dyāūs, dyām and dyūn (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accented vocative then becomes dyāūs (i. e. dīauś: see 314 b).

f. Adjective compounds having a diphthongal stem as final member are not numerous, and tend to shorten the diphthong to a vowel. Thus, from nāu we have bhinnanu; from go, several words like āgu, sakāgu, sugu, bahugū (f. -gū TB.); and, correspondingly, rāi seems to be reduced to ri in bhrādraye and rūdhrādrays (RV.). In derivation, go maintains its full form in gotra, agōtā, -gava (f. -gavi), etc.; as first member of a compound, it is variously treated: thus, gāvāqīr, gāvāṣṭi (but gāqīr, gāṣṭi K.), etc.; goacqā or go'cva, gōṛika, go'opaṣa, etc. In certain compounds, also, dyu or dyo takes an anomalous form: thus, dyāurda (K.), dyāurloka (Que.), dyāūsaṇcīta (AV.). In revānt (unless this is for rayāvant) rāi becomes re. RV. has ādhīragavas from ādhīrīgu (of questionable import); and AV. has ḡṛtastavas, apparently accus. pl. of ḡṛtastū or -stō.

B. Derivative stems in ā, ī, ū.

362. To this division belong all the ā and ī-stems which have not been specified above as belonging to the other or root-word division; and also, in the later language, most of the ī and ū-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:

1. a. The great mass of derivative feminine ā-stems, substantive and adjective.

b. The inflection of these stems has maintained itself with little change through the whole history of the language, being almost precisely the same in the Vedas as later.
2. c. The great mass of derivative feminine i-stems.

  d. This class is without exception in the later language. In the earlier, it suffers the exception pointed out above (355 b): that feminines made with change of accent follow this mode of declension only when the accent is not on the i: thus, távsi, párusnī, pāliknī, rohīnī.

  e. The i-stems of this division in general are regarded as made by contraction of an earlier ending in yā. Their inflection has become in the later language somewhat mixed with that of the other division, and so far different from the Vedic inflection: see below, 363 g.

  f. Very few derivative stems in ī are recognized by the grammarians as declined like the root-division; the Vedic words of that class are, if retained in use, transferred to this mode of inflection.

  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, mātali etc.; and rāṣṭrī and sīrī (only one case each).

3. h. The ū-stems are few in number, and are transfers from the other division, assimilated in inflection to the great class of derivative i-stems (except that they retain the ending s of the nom. sing.).

363. Endings. The points of distinction between this and the other division are as follows:

  a. In nom. sing. the usual s-ending is wanting: except in the ū-stems and a very few i-stems—namely, lakṣmi, tari, tantri, tandrī—which have preserved the ending of the other division.

  b. The accus. sing. and pl. add simply m and s respectively.

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

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

  e. In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an i- or ū-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., a n is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (In RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in ī and u-stems).

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

  g. In nom.-acc.-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in ī (and ū)-stems a marked difference between the earlier and later language, the latter borrowing the forms of the other division. The du. ending āu is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is ī (a corresponding dual of ū-stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending as has only a
doubtful example or two in RV., and a very small number in AV.; the case there (and it is one of very frequent occurrence) adds s simply; and though yas-forms occur in the Brahmaṇas, along with īs-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 ās-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 sēna f. army; कन्या kanyā f. girl; देवी devī f. goddess; वधु vadhū f. woman.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Devotional</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>सेना</td>
<td>कन्या</td>
<td>देवी</td>
<td>वधु</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>सेनाम्</td>
<td>कन्याम्</td>
<td>देविम्</td>
<td>वधुम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>सेनया</td>
<td>कन्यया</td>
<td>देवया</td>
<td>वधवा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>सेनायि</td>
<td>कन्यायि</td>
<td>देवयि</td>
<td>वधवाि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>सेनायाम्</td>
<td>कन्यायाम्</td>
<td>देवयाम्</td>
<td>वधवाम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>सेनायास्</td>
<td>कन्यायास्</td>
<td>देवयास्</td>
<td>वधवास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>सेने</td>
<td>कन्ये</td>
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<td>वधु</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>कन्ये</td>
<td>देविये</td>
<td>कन्यो</td>
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<td>कन्यायाम्</td>
<td>देवियाम्</td>
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<tr>
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<td>कन्यायोस्</td>
<td>देवियोस्</td>
<td>वधवोस</td>
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Singular:

Dual:
Plural:

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<th>देव्यान्</th>
<th>वध्वान्</th>
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<tr>
<td>सेनास</td>
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<td>देव्यास</td>
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<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>कण्याम्</th>
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<th>वध्विभिम्</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>सेनाभ्स</td>
<td>कण्याभ्स</td>
<td>देविभ्स</td>
<td>वध्विभ्स</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
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<th>कण्यायम्</th>
<th>देवीयम्</th>
<th>वध्वुयम्</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>सेनाभ्स</td>
<td>कण्याभ्स</td>
<td>देविभ्स</td>
<td>वध्विभ्स</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>G.</th>
<th>कण्यानाम्</th>
<th>देविनाम्</th>
<th>वध्विनाम्</th>
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<tr>
<td>सेनानाम</td>
<td>कण्यानाम</td>
<td>देविनाम</td>
<td>वध्विनाम</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
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<th>L.</th>
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<th>देविशु</th>
<th>वध्वुसु</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सेनासु</td>
<td>कण्यासु</td>
<td>देविशु</td>
<td>वध्वुसु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. In the Veda vadhū is a stem belonging to the other division (like tanā, above, 359).

365. Examples of Vedlic forms are:

a. ā-stems: instr. sing. maniṣā (this simpler form is especially common from stems in tā and iā); nom. pl. vaṣāsas (about twenty examples); accus. pl. āramgamāsas (a case or two). Half the bhyas-cases are to be read as bhīas; the ām of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into saam; and the ā and ām of nom. accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

b. l-stems: instr. sing. cāmi, cāmi; loc. gāuri; nom. etc. du. devi; nom. pl. deviṣ; 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, deviās, deviām, rōdasios.

c. The sporadic instances of transfer between this division and the preceding have been already sufficiently noticed.

d. Of the regular substitution made in the Brāhmaṇa language (307 h, 336 g, 363 c) of the dat. sing. ending āi for the gen.-abl. ending ā, in all classes of words admitting the latter ending, a few examples may be given here: abhibhūtyāi rūpam (AB.) a sign of overpowering; triṣṭubhac ca jagatīyāi ca (AB.) of the metres triṣṭubh and jagati; vāco daiyāi ca mānuṣyāi ca (AA.) of speech, both divine and human; strīyāi payāḥ (AB.) woman’s milk; dhenvāḥ vā etād rétaḥ (TB.) that, forsooth, is the seed of the cow; jirṇāyāi tvacah (KR.) of dead skin; jyāyai yājyāyai (AB.) superior to the yājya; asyai dīvo ‘smađ antarikṣat (V,Ś.) from this heaven, from this atmosphere. The same substitution is made once in the AV.: thus, svāpantv asyai jñātāyāḥ let her relatives sleep.
366. The noun strī f. woman (probably contracted from sūtrī gene-
ratix), follows a mixed declension: thus, strī, strīyam or strīm, strīyā, 
strīyā, strīyā, strīyā, strī; strīyāu, strībhīyām, strīyōs; strīyas, 
strīyas or strīs, strībhīs, strībhīs, strīyām, strīyū (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 shortened; and 
the stem so made is to be inflected like an adjective in ī or ū (339, 
341, 344).

b. Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost 
unknown. Of neutrals from ī-stems have been noted in the Veda only 
harīqriyām, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and suādhiśas, gen. sing. (same 
as masc. and fem.); from ū-stems, only a few examples, and from stem-
forms which might be masc. and fem. also; thus, vibhū, subhū, etc. (nom.- 
acc. sing.: compare 354); supū and mayobhūvā, instr. sing.; and 
mayobhū, acc. pl. (compare purū: 342 k); 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 ā in both masculine and neuter: thus, from a ā and 
prajā progeny come the masc. and neut. stem aprajā, fem. aprajā 
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 in and ūn 
in acc. pl. masc.); but the examples given by the grammarians are 
fictitious.

d. Stems with shortened final are occasionally met with: thus, eka-
patni, āttalakṣmi; and such adverbs (neut. sing. accus.) as upabhāmi, 
abhuyujayini. 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 āa. We take for 
the purpose pāpā āvil, of which the feminine is usu-
ally made in āa in the later language, but in ī ī in the 
older.
### Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.</th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>папас</th>
<th>папам</th>
<th>папа</th>
<th>папи</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>папам</td>
<td>папам</td>
<td>папам</td>
<td>папам</td>
<td>папим</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>папена</td>
<td>папена</td>
<td>папена</td>
<td>папена</td>
<td>папыа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>папая</td>
<td>папая</td>
<td>папая</td>
<td>папая</td>
<td>папыа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>папат</td>
<td>папат</td>
<td>папат</td>
<td>папат</td>
<td>папат</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>папася</td>
<td>папася</td>
<td>папася</td>
<td>папася</td>
<td>папася</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>папе</td>
<td>папе</td>
<td>папе</td>
<td>папе</td>
<td>папе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
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<td>папа</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Dual:

<table>
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<th>папа</th>
<th>папа</th>
<th>папа</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>папани</th>
<th>папас</th>
<th>папас</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>папани</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
<td>папа</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Declension IV.

Stems in स र (or स त ar).

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

a. But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely devś m., svāśṛ and nānāndṛ f.; and, besides these, nyṛ m., stṛ (in V.) m., uṣṛ (in V.) f., savyaṣṭṛ m., and the feminine numerals tisṛ and catasṛ (for which, see 482 e, g). The feminines in tr are only māṭṛ, duhitṛ, and yāṭṛ.

b. The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in i and u (second declension); its peculiarity, as compared with them, consists mainly in the treatment of the stem itself, which has a double form, fuller in the strong cases, briefer in the weak ones.

370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is r, which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to r (129). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them—which is very much the larger, containing all the nomina agentis, and also the nouns of relationship nāptṛ and svāsṛ, and the irregular words stṛ and savyaṣṭṛ—the r is vriddhied, or becomes ar; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with nyṛ and uṣṛ, the r is gunated, or changed to ar. In both classes, the loc. sing. has ar as stem-final.

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

a. The nom. sing. (masc. and fem.) ends always in ā (for original ārs or ārś). The voc. sing. ends in ar.

b. The accus. sing. adds am to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. pl. has (like i- and u-stems) n as masc. ending and s as fem. ending, with the r lengthened before them.
c. The abl.-gen. sing. changes ṛ to ur (or au: 169 b).
d. The gen. pl. (as in i and u-stems) inserts n before ām, and
lengthens the stem-final before it. But the ṛ of nṛ may also remain short.
e. The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents
certain deviations from them. Thus:
f. The ending in nom.-acc.-voc. du, is (as universally in the Veda)
regularly ā instead of āu (only ten āu-forms in RV.).
g. The i of loc. sing. is lengthened to ī in a few words: thus, kartārī.
h. In the gen. pl., the RV. has once svāsrām, without inserted n;
and nārām instead of nṛṇām is frequent.
i. Other irregularities of nṛ are the sing. dat. nāre, gen. nāras, and
loc. nāri. The Veda writes always nṛṇām in gen. pl., but its ṛ is in a
majority of cases metrically long.
j. The stem usṛ f. datēn has the voc. sing. uṣar, the gen. sing. uṣrās;
and the accus. pl. also uṣrās, and loc. sing. uṣrām (which is metrically
trisyllabic: uṣṛām), as if in analogy with i and u-stems. Once occurs
uṣrī in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form,
uṣārī (for the exchange of a and ṛ, see 181 a).
k. From etṛ come only tāras (apparently) and stṛbhis.
l. In the gen.-loc. du., the r is almost always to be read as a separate
syllable, ṛ, before the ending os: thus, pitṛōs, etc. On the contrary,
nānāndāri is once to be read nānāndrī.
m. For neuter forms, see below, 375.

372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for
i- and u-stems: if on the final of the stem, it continues, as acute, on
the corresponding syllable throughout, except in the gen. pl., where
it may be (and in the Veda always is) thrown forward upon the
ending; where, in the weakest cases, ṛ becomes r, the ending has the
accent. The two monosyllabic stems, nṛ and stṛ, do not show the
monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the forms already given above),
nṛbhīs, nṛṣu.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this
mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with
ghrīr ār in the strong forms) the stems ṛnā dātṛ m. giver
and svān svāsrī f. sister; from the second class (with
ghrīr ār in the strong forms), the stem ṛnā pītṛ m. father.

Singular:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>N.</th>
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<th>svān</th>
<th>pīnā</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dātā</td>
<td>svāsā</td>
<td>pītā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ṛnāgar</th>
<th>svānar</th>
<th>pīnār</th>
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</thead>
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<td>dātāram</td>
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<td>pītāram</td>
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<td>Ṛtṛa</td>
<td>Ṛcaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ṛtṛā</td>
<td>Ṛcārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
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<td>Ṛcēre</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ab. G.</td>
<td>Ṛnur</td>
<td>Ṛćūra</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ṛnūr</td>
<td>Ṛćūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Ṛtārī</td>
<td>Ṛćārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ṛtārī</td>
<td>Ṛćārī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Ṛnur</td>
<td>Ṛćūr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ṛćūr</td>
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**Dual:**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Ṛćārī</th>
<th>Pitarī</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dātārāu</td>
<td>svāsārāu</td>
<td>pitārāu</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ṛnūr-ṛām</td>
<td>Ṛćūr-ṛām</td>
<td>Pitor-ṛām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>svāsṛbhyaṁ</td>
<td>pitṛbhyaṁ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>Ṛtṛōṁ</td>
<td>Ṛćōṁ</td>
<td>Pitarōṁ</td>
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<td>pitṛōs</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Plural:**

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<th>Ṛćōrś</th>
<th>Pitarś</th>
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</thead>
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<td>dātārās</td>
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<td>pitārās</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Ṛnūś</td>
<td>Ṛćōś</td>
<td>Pitarś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dātṛś</td>
<td>svāsṛś</td>
<td>pitṛś</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ṛćōbhīṁ</td>
<td>Pitarbhīṁ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>pitṛbhīṣ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>Ṛnūr-ṛām</td>
<td>Ṛćūr-ṛām</td>
<td>Pitor-ṛām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dātṛbhyaś</td>
<td>svāsṛbhyaś</td>
<td>pitṛbhyaś</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Ṛnūrām</td>
<td>Ṛćūrām</td>
<td>Pitorām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dātṛṇām</td>
<td>svāsṛṇām</td>
<td>pitṛṇām</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Ṛnūrpu</td>
<td>Ṛćūrpu</td>
<td>Pitorpu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dātṛṣu</td>
<td>svāsṛṣu</td>
<td>pitṛṣu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The feminine stem मात् māṭ, *mother*, is inflected precisely like पित् pitṛ, excepting that its accusative plural is मात्र्स māṭṛs.
b. The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. dātāra, svāsāra, pītāra, and the gen. pl. of nṛ, nārām.

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

374. The stem kroṣṭi m. jackal (litlich houler) substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of kroṣṭu (343 k).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Du.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>dhāṭiṇi</td>
<td>dhāṭiṇi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>dhāṭiṇā</td>
<td>dhāṭiṇāyām</td>
<td>dhāṭiṇbhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>dhāṭiṇas</td>
<td>dhāṭiṇos</td>
<td>dhāṭiṇām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>dhāṭrī, dhāṭar</td>
<td>dhāṭrī</td>
<td>dhāṭrī</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, dātāra etc.

b. No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas, under influence of the common tendency (compare Germ. Retter, Retterin; Fr. menteur, menteuse) to give this nomen agentis a more adjective character making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (oppositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. bhartṛ and janayitrī, qualifying antārikṣam; and bhartṛṇī and janayitrīṇī, qualifying nākṣatrāṇi; as, in M., grahitṛṇī, qualifying indriyaṇī.

c. When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in i is employed: thus, in TB., bhartryās and bhartryāū, janayitrīyās and janayitrīyāū, qualifying āpas and ahorātṛé; and such instances are not uncommon.

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

e. Other neuter forms in RV. are sthāṭur gen. sing., dhmāṭārī loc. sing.; and for the nom. sing., instead of -tṛ, a few more or less doubtful cases, sthātar, sthāṭur, dhartārī.

Adjectives.

376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension: for the quasi-adjetival character of the nouns composing it, see above (375b). The feminine stem is made by the suffix i: thus, dātri, dāṭri.

b. Roots ending in r (like those in i and u: 345) add a t to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member of a compound:
thus, karmakṛt (yṛkṛ), vajrabhṛt (yṛbhṛ), baliḥṛt (yṛḥṛ). From some r-roots, also, are made stems in ir and ur: see below, 383 a, b.

c. Nouns in r as finals of adjective compounds are inflected in the same manner as when simple, in the masculine and feminine; in the neuter, they would doubtless have the peculiar neuter endings in nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

d. But TS. has once tvātpitāras, nom. pl., having thee for father.

Declension V.

Stems ending in Consonants.

377. All stems ending in consonants may properly be classed together, as forming a single comprehensive declension: since, though some of them exhibit peculiarities of inflection, these have to do almost exclusively with the stem itself, and not with the declensional endings.

378. In this declension, masculines and feminines of the same final are inflected alike; and neuters are peculiar (as usually in the other declensions) only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

a. The majority of consonantal stems, however, are not inflected in the feminine, but form a special feminine derivative stem in ṛ I (never in ṣṛ ṣ), by adding that ending to the weak form of the masculine.

b. Exceptions are in general the stems of divisions A and B—namely, the radical stems etc., and those in as and is and us. For special cases, see below.

379. Variations, as between stronger and weaker forms, are very general among consonantal stems: either of two degrees (strong and weak), or of three (strong, middle, and weakest): see above, 311.

a. The peculiar neuter forms, according to the usual rule (311 b), are made in the plural from the strong stem, in singular and dual from the weak—or, when the gradation is threefold, in singular from the middle stem, in dual from the weakest.
b. As in the case of stems ending in short vowels (asyāṇi, vārīṇi, mādhūni, dāṭṭhi, 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 -āṇi, -iṇi, -iṇi are very common at every period. According to the grammarians, the radical stems etc. (division A) are treated in the same way; but examples of such neutrals are of extreme rarity in the language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras have been noted only -hunī (AB. vii. 2. 3), -vrnti (PB. xvi. 2. 7 et al.), -bhāṇji (KB. xxvii. 7), -bhānti (CB. viii. 1. 31), and -yuṇji (LC. ii. 1. 8); while in the later language is found here and there a case, like -qrnti (Rag.), -puṇṭi (C.). 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 monosyllable 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 añc or ac show an irregular shift of accent in the oldest language: see below, 410.

382. a. For convenience and clearness of presentation, it will be well to separate from the general mass of consonantal stems certain special classes which show kindred peculiarities of inflection, and may be best described together. Thus:

B. Derivative stems in as, is, us;
C. Derivative stems in an (an, man, van);
D. Derivative stems in in (in, min, vin);
E. Derivative stems in ant (ant, mant, vānt);
F. Perfect active participles in vāns;
G. Comparatives in vāns 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, ṣc verse, gīr song, pād foot, dīq direction, māh (V.) great.

b. Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, vāc from ṣvāc, arāj from ṣvārj, mūṣ from ṣvmuṣ, vṛṣ from ṣvṛṣ (?), Ṛṣ from ṣvṛṣ shine;—from roots in final ṭ come stems in ir and ur: thus, gīr, a-ṭir, stīr; jūr, tūr, dhūr, pūr, mūr, stūr, sphūr; and paṭūr from ṣvpsār.

c. With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as cikīt, yavīyūdha, vāṇīvan, sasyād.

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 ṭ 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 ṭ or ṛ or ṭ adds a ṭ to make a declinable form: thus, -jīt, -ṛūṭ, -kṛṭ. Roots in ṭ, however, as has just been seen (b), also make stems in ir or ur.

h. As regards the frequency and use of these words, the same is true as was stated above respecting root-stems. The Veda offers examples of nearly thirty such formations, a few of them (ṃīt, rīt, stūt, ṛḥūt, vṛt, and dyūt if this is taken from dyu) in independent use. Of roots in ṭ, ṭ is added by kr, dhṛ, dhṛṛ, bhṛ, vṛ, ṛṛ, ṭṛ, ṭṛṛ, hṛ, and ṭṛṛ. The roots gā (or gam) and han also make -gāt and -hāt by addition of the ṭ to an abbreviated form in a (thus, adhvaγāt, dyuγāt, dvigaγ, navagaγ, and saṃhāt).

III. i. Monosyllabic (also a few apparently reduplicated) stems not certainly connectible with any verbal root in the language, but having the aspect of root-stems, as containing no traceable suffix
thus, tvác skin, páth road, hṛd heart, āp and vār water, dvār door, ās mouth, kakūbh and kakūd summit.

j. Thirty or forty such words are found in the older language, and some of them continue in later use, while others have been transferred to other modes of declension or have become extinct.

k. Stems more or less clearly derivative, but made with suffixes of rare or even isolated occurrence. Thus:

1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix van: arvāvat, āvat, udvāt, nivāt, parāvat, pravāt, saṁvāt; — 2. derivatives (V.) in tāt (perhaps abbreviated from tātī), in a few isolated forms: thus, uparātāt, devatāt, vṛkātāt, satyātāt, sarvātāt; — 3. other derivatives in t preceding by various vowels: thus, daqāt, vēhāt, vahāt, sravat, saçaçāt, vāghāt; nāpāt; taçāt, divīt, yoṣīt, rohīt, sarīt, harīt; marūt; yākṛt, cākṛt; and the numerals for 30, 40, 50, triṇcāt etc. (476); — 4. stems in ad: thus, dhṛṣād, dhṛṣād, bhasād, vanād, carād, samād; — 5. stems in j preceded by various vowels: thus, tṛṣṇāj, dhṛṣṇāj, sanāj, bhīṣāj; uṭj, vaṇīj, bhurīj, niṇij (?); áṣrj; — 6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formativc: thus, jhās, -dās, bhūs, mās, bhūs; — 7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as viṣṭāp, viṇāc, kāpyth, çurūdhi, iṣidhi, pṛkṣûdh, raghāt (?), sarāgh, visrūh, uṣṣih, kavāc.

384. Gender. The root-stems are regularly feminine as nomen actionis, and masculine as nomen agentis (which is probably only a substantive use of their adjective value: below, 400). But the feminine noun, without changing its gender, is often also used concretely: e.g., druh f. (y'druh be inimical) means harming, enmity, and also harmer, kater, 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 neutrers rarest of all.

a. The independent neuter stems are hṛd (also -hārd), dām, vār, svār, mās flesh, ās mouth, bhūs, dōs (with which may be mentioned the indeclinables cām and yōs); also the apparent derivatives yākṛt, cākṛt, kāpyth, áṣrj.

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 anac: see below, 407 ff.; and RV. has once uruvyāṅcam from root vyac; — 2. The
stem yuj, sometimes, in the older language: thus, nom. sing. yunft (for yunk), accus. yunjam, du. yunjá (but also yujam and yujá); — 3. The stem -dryq, as final of a compound in the older language; but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, anaydři, ádři, kidři, tādři, etādři, sadři and pratisadři: but also īdřk, tādřk, svardřk, etc.; — 4. For path and puṁs, which substitute more extended stems, and for dant, see below, 394—8.

387. The vowel a is lengthened in strong cases as follows:

1. Of the roots vac, sac, sap, nabh, čas, 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 seater (see 393); also in its compound rétyáp; — 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 -pät, while RV. has once -pade, and padbhisa and patsu occur in the Brähmapas; — 5. Of nas nose (? násā nom. du. fem., RV., once); — 6. Sporadic cases (V.) are: yāj (?), voc. sing.; pāthās and -rāpas, accus. pl.; vāniśanas, 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, kṣāma du., kṣāmas pl.; kṣamā instr. sing., kṣamī loc. sing., kṣmās 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 euphonnic 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.): mādbhisa and mādbhyas from mās month; the wholly anomalous padbhisa (RV. and VS.: AV. has always padbhisa) from pād; and sarāt and sarādbhyas corresponding to a nom. pl. sarāghas (instead of sarāhas: 222). Dán is apparently for dám, by 143a.

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, 379b.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. 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, ušás, jñásás, puṁsás, māsás, mahás; and sometimes in vācás, srucás, hrutás, sridhás, kṣapás, vipás, durás, iśás, dviśás, druḥás (beside vācas 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.), rápe and ránsu, vānsu, svāni, vipas, kṣāmi, sūrā and sūras (but sūrē), ánhas, and vānas and bhās (in vānaspati, bhāspatī). On the other hand, a strong case is accented on the ending in mahās, nom. pl., and kāsām (AV.: perhaps a false reading). And prēqā, instr. sing., is accented as if prē qa were a simple stem, instead of pra-īq. Vīṃḍhāh is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in aco or anco, see 410.

391. Examples of inflexion. As an example of normal monosyllabic inflexion, we may take the stem-वाच् vac f. voice (from वच् vac, with constant prolongation); of inflexion with strong and weak stem, पाद् pad m. foot; of polysyllabic inflexion, मरुत् marút m. wind or wind-god; of a monosyllabic root-stem in composition, त्रिवृत् trivṛt three-fold, in the neuter. Thus:

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<th>Singular:</th>
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<td>N. V.</td>
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<td>vāc</td>
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<td>A.</td>
<td>वाचम्</td>
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<td>Ab. G.</td>
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<td>vācās</td>
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<td>vācī</td>
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<td>मरुतस</td>
<td>त्रिवृति</td>
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<th>त्रिवृद्दाम</th>
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<td>त्रिवृद्ध्याम</td>
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### Plural:

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<th>त्रिवृल</th>
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<td>मरुतस</td>
<td>त्रिवृति</td>
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<th>त्रिवृल</th>
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<td>मरुतस</td>
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<th>मरुदिस</th>
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<td>मरुदिस</td>
<td>त्रिवृदिस</td>
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<th>त्रिवृद्दम</th>
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<td>पाद्म</td>
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<td>वाानम</td>
<td>पादम</td>
<td>मरुतम</td>
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<th>मरुतसु</th>
<th>त्रिवृतसु</th>
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<tr>
<td>वाकु</td>
<td>पत्सु</td>
<td>मरुतसु</td>
<td>त्रिवृतसु</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: yuj-class (219 a, 142), bhiṣāj *physician*: bhiṣāk, bhiṣājām, bhiṣāgbhīs, bhiṣākṣu;—mrj-class (219 b, 142), samrāj *universal ruler*: samrāṭ, samrājam, samrādbhīs, samrātsu.


d. Stems in q: āi (218 a, 145) *direction*: āi, āiṃ, āiḥbhis, āiksū;—vīq (218, 145) *the people*: vīt, vīcām, vīḍbhis, vītsū (V. vīksū: 218 a).

e. Stems in q (228 b, 145): dvīṣ *enemy*: dvīt, dvīṣam, dvīḍbhis, dvītsū.

f. Stems in h: duh-class (232-3 a, 155 b, 147), -dūḥ *milking*, -dūṭa, -dūṭas, -dūṭasu.
yielding: -dhúk, -dúham, -dhúgbhis, -dhúkṣu; — ruh-class (223 b, 147), -lih licking: -liṭ, -liham, -liḍbhis, -liṭṣu.

\[ \text{g. Stems in } m \text{ (143 a, 212 a): only } praṇān, \text{ nom. sing., quotable):} \]
-çaṃ quieting: -çaṇ, -cāmam, -cānbhis, -cānsu.

392. The root-stems in \( \mathbf{r} \) and \( \mathbf{r} \) (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).

\[ \text{a. Thus, from } gīr \text{ f. song come } gīr \text{ (gīḥ), gīram, gīrā etc.;} \]
gīrāu, gīrbhyaṃ, gīrōs; gīras, gīrbhis, gīrbhyaṣ, gīrām, gīrṣu (165); and, in like manner, from pūr f. stronghold come pūr (pūḥ), pūram, purā, etc.; pūrāu, pūrbhyaṃ, pūrōs; pūras, pūrbhis, pūrbhyaṣ, purāṃ, pūrṣu.

\[ \text{b. There are no roots in } is \text{ (except the excessively rare } pīs) \text{ or in } us; \text{ but from the root } čāṃ \text{ with its } ā \text{ weakened to } ā \text{ (250) comes the} \]
noun čās f. blessing, which is inflected like gīr: thus, čās (čāḥ), čāṣam, čāṣa, etc.; čāṣāu, čārbhyaṃ, čāṣas; čāṣas, čārbhis, čārbhyaṣ, čāṣām, čāṣu. And saj̄us together is apparently a stereotyped nominative of like formation from the root juṣ. The form aṣṭāpure (TS.), from the root-stem pruṣ, is isolated and anomalous.

\[ \text{c. These stems in } ir, \text{ ur, } is \text{ show a like prolongation of vowel also in composition and derivation: thus, } gīrvāṇa, \text{ pūrbhīd, dhūrgata, dhūṣtra, gīrḍa, gīrvant, etc. (but also gīvan, gīvaṇas).} \]

\[ \text{d. The native grammar sets up a class of quasi-radical stems like} \]
jigamīs desiring to go, made from the desiderative conjugation-stem (1027), and prescribes for it a declension like that of čās: thus, jigamīs, jiga-
miṣa, jigmārbhis, jigmāṃṣu, 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 jigmīs than a causative stem gamay.

393. The stem āp f. water is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before bh to d (151 e): thus, āpas, apās, aḍbhīs, aḍbhyaṣ, apām, apṣū.

\[ \text{a. But RV. has the sing. instr. } apā \text{ and gen. } apās. \text{ In the earlier} \]
language (especially AV.), and even in the epics, the nom. and accus. pl.
forms are occasionally confused in use, āpas being employed as accus.,
and apās as nominative.

\[ \text{b. Besides the stem } ap, \text{ case-forms of this word are sometimes used in} \]
composition and derivation: thus, for example, abjā, āpodevata, āpomāya, apsumant.

394. The stem pūaḥ m. man is very irregular, substituting pūmāḥs in the strong cases, and losing its \( s \) (necessarily) before initial bh of a case-ending, and likewise (by analogy with this, or by an abbreviation akin with that noticed at 231) in the loc. plural.
The vocative is (in accordance with that of the somewhat similarly
inflected perfect participles: see 462 a) púman in the later language, but púmas in the earlier. Thus: púmān, púmāṁsam, pūṁśa, pūṁśe, pūṁśas, pūṁsā, púman; pūmāṁsāu, pumbhyām, pūṁsōs; pūmāṁsas, pūṁśas, pumbhās, pumbhyās, pūṁsām, pūṁsū.

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 183 a.

b. This stem appears under a considerable variety of forms in composition and derivation: thus, as pūṁs in pūṁścalī, pūṁśatva, pūṁśvant, -pūṁśka, etc.; as pum in pūṁvatsa, pūṁṛupa, pūṁvat, pumartha, etc.; as pūṁsa in pūṁsavant; — at the end of a compound, either with its full inflection, as in stripūṁś etc.; or as pūṁsa, in stripūṁśa, maḥāpūṁsa; or as puma in stripūma (TS. TA.).

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

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

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

a. Thus, hṛṣṭ heart, māhs or mās n. meat, mās m. month, nās f. nose, niṇḍ f. night (not found in the older language), pṛḍ f. army, are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the accus. sing. and du. (the neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from hṛṣṭa, māṁsā, māsā, nāṣikā, niṇḍa, pṛḍanā. But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find mās flesh accus. sing.; mās month nom. sing.; and nāṁsā nostrils du. From pṛḍ occurs only the loc. pl. pṛḍā and (RV., once) the same case with double ending, pṛḍā.ū.

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, āṣṛ n. blood, ṇākṛt n. ordure, yākṛt n. liver, dōs n. (also m.) fore-arm, have beside them defective stems in ān: see below, 452. Of none of them, however, is anything but the nom.-acc. sing. found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.
b. Of ās n. _mouth_, and úd _water_, only a case or two are found, in
the older language, beside āsān and āṣā, and udān and udāka (432).

399. Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of
transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, dánta, māsa.
A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language,
more commonly in the later. Such are -pāda, -māda, -dāca, bhraja,
vigāpa, dvāra and dura, pura, dhura, -drča, nāsā, nidā, kāpā, kṣapā, ācā,
and perhaps a few others.

a. A few irregular stems will find a more proper place under the head
of Adjectives.

Adjectives.

400. Original adjectives having the root-form are comparatively
rare even in the oldest language.

a. About a dozen are quotable from the RV., for the most part only
in a few scattering cases. But _mah_ great is common in RV., though it
dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, _mahī_, which
continues in use, as meaning _earth_ etc.

401. But compound adjectives, having a root as final member,
with the value of a present participle, are abundant in every period
of the language.

a. Possessive adjective compounds, also, of the same form, are
not very rare: examples are yatāsruc with _offered_ bowl; stūratvac
sun-skinned; cātuṣpad four-footed; suhārd kind-hearted, friendly;
ritisap (i. e. riti-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.-ace.-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 _ā_ formed: in the older
language, only from the compounds with _ac_ or aṅc (407 ff.), those with
han (402), those with _pa_, as _ēkapadi_, dvipādi, and with _dant_, as
vṛṣadati, and _mahī_, āmucī (AV.), āpāsādi (v. 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 _ha_
in the nom. sing., and losing its _n_ in the middle cases and its _a_ in
the weakest cases but only optionally in the loc. sing.). Further, when
the vowel is lost, _h_ in contact with following _n_ reverts to its origi-
nal _gh_. Thus:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>vṛtrahā</td>
<td>vṛtrahanāu</td>
<td>vṛtrahanās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>vṛtrahāpam</td>
<td>vṛtrahanām</td>
<td>vṛtrahānās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnā</td>
<td>vṛtraghnām</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnē</td>
<td>vṛtraghnēbhyaṃ</td>
<td>vṛtraghnēbhyaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
<td>vṛtraghnās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>vṛtraghnī, -hāpi</td>
<td>vṛtraghnōs</td>
<td>vṛtraghnāsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>vṛtrahan</td>
<td>vṛtrahanāu</td>
<td>vṛtrahanās</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. As to the change of n to ū, see 193, 195.
b. A feminine is made by adding ī to, as usual, the stem-form shown in the weakest cases: thus, vṛtraghnī.
c. An accus. pl. -hānas (like the nom. ) also occurs. Vṛtraghnās (RV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. Transitions to the a-declension begin already in the Veda: thus, to -hā (RV. AV.), -ghnā (RV.), -hana.

403. The root vah carry at the end of a compound is said by the grammarians to be lengthened to vāhn in both the strong and middle cases, and contracted in the weakest cases to ūh, which with a preceding a-vowel becomes āu (137 c): thus, from havyavāh sacrificer-bearing (epithet of Agni), havyavāṭ, havyavāham, havyāūhā, etc.; havyavāhāu, havyavādhvhyāṃ, havyāūhos, havyavāhās, havyavādhvbhis, etc. And ṣvetavāh (not quotable) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in vās and the vocative in vas or vās.
a. In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with vah have been found to occur: namely, -vāṭ, -vāham, -vāhāu or -vāhā, and -vāhas. But feminines in ī, from the weakest stem — as turyāūhi, dityāūhi, paṣṭhauhi — are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. TS. has the irregular nom. sing. paṣṭhavāṭ.

404. Of very irregular formation and inflection is one common compound of vah, namely anaḍvah (anaḥ+vah burden-bearing or cart-drawing, i.e. oz). Its stem-form in the strong cases is anaḍvāh, in the weakest anaḍūḥ, and in the middle anaḍūḍ (perhaps by dissimilation from anaḍūḍ). Moreover, its nom. and voc. sing. are made in vān and van (as if from a vant-stem). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>anaḍvān</td>
<td>anaḍvāhāu</td>
<td>anaḍvāhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>anaḍvāham</td>
<td>anaḍvāhās</td>
<td>anaḍūbas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>anaḍūḥā</td>
<td>anaḍūdbhyāṃ</td>
<td>anaḍūdbhyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>anaḍūhe</td>
<td>anaḍūdbhīṃ</td>
<td>anaḍūdbhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>anaḍūhas</td>
<td>anaḍūhoṣ</td>
<td>anaḍūtsu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>anaḍūhi</td>
<td>anaḍūhāu</td>
<td>anaḍūhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>anaḍvan</td>
<td>anaḍvāhāu</td>
<td>anaḍvāhas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. Anaḍūdbhyas (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. But compounds showing the middle stem—as anaḍucchata, anaḍudarha—are met with in Brāhmaṇas etc.

b. The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either anaḍūhi (Gb.) or anaḍvāhi (K. MS.).

405. The root saḥ overcome has in the Veda a double irregularity: its ā is changeable to ā even after an a-vowel—as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV., tvān ṣat)—while it sometimes remains unchanged after an i or u-vowel; and its a is either prolonged or remains unchanged, in both strong and weak cases. The quotable forms are: -ṣat, -ṣāham or -sāham or -saham, -sāhā, -sāhe or -sāhe, -ṣāhas or -sāhas or -sāhas; -ṣāhā (du.); -ṣāhas or -sāhas.

406. The compound aṇavāj (yāj make offering) a certain priest or (BR.) a certain sacrifice is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. aṇavās, and to make its middle cases from aṇavās.

a. Its only quotable form is aṇavās, f. (RV. and AV., each once). If the stem is a derivative from ava+ya j conciliate, aṇavās is very probably from ava+yā, 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 a after long ā for a final root-consonant (d and q respectively). Compare also the alleged qvetavās (above, 403).

407. Compounds with aṇe or ac. The root ac or aṇe 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 aṇe (yielding aṇ, from aṇks, in nom. sing. masc.), and a weak in ac; others distinguish from the middle in ac a weakest stem in e, before which the a is contracted with a preceding i or u into ā or ā.

b. The feminine is made by adding ā to the stem-form used in the weakest cases, and is accented like them.

408. As examples of inflection we may take prāṇe forward, east, pratyāṇe opposite, west, viṣvaṇe going apart.

Singular:

N. V. prāṇ prāk pratyāṇ pratyāk viṣvaṇ viṣvak
A. prāṇcam prāk pratyāṇcam pratyāk viṣvaṇcam viṣvak
I. práča prátiča viṣūcā
D. práce prátiče viṣūce
Ab. G. prácas prátičas viṣūcas
L. práci prátiči viṣūci

Dual:

N. A. V. prāṇcāу práci pratyāṇcāу prátiči viṣvaṇcāу viṣūcī
I. D. Ab. prágbhyām prátyāgbhyām viṣvagbhyaṁ
G. L. prácos prátičos viṣūcos
Plural:

N. V. prāṇaḥs prāṇci pratyāṇaḥs pratyāṇci viśvaṅcas viśvaṅci
A. prācaḥs prāṇci pratičaḥs pratyāṇci viśucās viśvaṅci
I. prāgbhīs pratyāgbhīs viśvagbhaḥs
D. Ab. prāgbhyas pratyāgbhyas viśvagbhyas
G. prācām pratičām viśucām
L. prākṣu pratyākṣu viśvakṣu

a. The feminine stems are prāci, pratiči, viśuci, 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 ṛṇi; but of this a number of examples occur in the Brāhmaṇas: thus, prāṇci, pratyāṇci, arvāṇci, samyāṇci, sadhryaṇci, anvāṇci.

409. a. Like prāṇa are inflected āpāṇa, ávāṇa, pārāṇa, arvāṇa, adharāṇa, and others of rare occurrence.
b. Like pratyāṇa are inflected nyāṇa (i.e., nīṇa), samyāṇa (sam+aṅc, with irregularly inserted i), and údāṇa (weakest stem úd: ud+aṅc, with i inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.
c. Like viśvaṅca is inflected anvāṇc, also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.
d. Still more irregular is tiryāṇa, of which the weakest stem is tirāc (tirās+aṅc: the other stems are made from tir+aṅc or aṅc, with the inserted i).

410. The accentuation of these words is irregular, as regards both the stems themselves and their inflected forms. Sometimes the one element has the tone and sometimes the other, without any apparent reason for the difference. If the compound is accented on the final syllable, the accent is shifted in RV. to the ending in the weakest cases provided their stem shows the contraction to i or ū: thus, praccā, arvaccā, adharacasa, but pratiča, anucacc, samicī. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, pratiča, samicī, anucī (RV. has pratičicī 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 गम as are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix गम as (a small number also
with तमस and नमनस, and some are obscure); the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes तम is and नम us.

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

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनस् मानस n. mind; अङ्गिरस् अङ्गिरस m. Angiras; हविस् हविस n. oblation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. मनस्</td>
<td>मानस्</td>
<td>अङ्गिरास्</td>
<td>हविस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. मनस्</td>
<td>मानस्</td>
<td>अङ्गिरासम्</td>
<td>हविस्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. मनसा</td>
<td>मानसा</td>
<td>अङ्गिरासाः</td>
<td>हविसाः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. मनसे</td>
<td>मानसे</td>
<td>अङ्गिरासे</td>
<td>हविसे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab. 3. मनसास्</td>
<td>मानसास्</td>
<td>अङ्गिरासस्</td>
<td>हविसास्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. मनसि</td>
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<td>अङ्गिरासि</td>
<td>हविसि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. मनस्</td>
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<td>अङ्गिरास्</td>
<td>हविसा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. A. V. मनसी</td>
<td>मानसी</td>
<td>अङ्गिरासी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. D. Ab. मनोऽयम्</td>
<td>मानोऽयम्</td>
<td>अङ्गिरोऽयम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L. मानसोऽम्</td>
<td>मानसोऽम्</td>
<td>अङ्गिरासोऽम्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Plural:

N. A. V.  मनोति  ग्रहसम्  क्षीयि  
मानांसि  अंगिरसस  हविन्ति  
I.  मनोगिम्  ग्रहिरोगिम्  क्विगिन्ति  
मानोभिस  अंगिरोब्हिस  हविर्भिस  
D. Ab.  मनोग्यम्  ग्रहिरोग्यम्  क्विग्यम्  
मानोभ्यस  अंगिरोभ्यस  हविर्भ्यस  
G.  मनसाम्  ग्रहिरसाम्  क्विर्म्यम्  
मानसाम  अंगिरसाम  हविषाम  
L.  मनमु  ग्रहिरमु  क्विर्मु  
mानाहसु  अंगिराहसु  हविषु  

In like manner, चनुम् cāksus n. eye forms चनुम् cāksas, चनुम् cāksubhyām, चनुम् cāksunśi, 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 -äm, -āś—e.g. açām, vedām; surādhas, ánagās—and out of such forms grow, both earlier and later, substitute-stems in a, as açā, jarā, medhā. So from other forms grow stems in a and in asa, which exchange more or less with those in as through the whole history of the language.

b. More scattering irregularities may be mentioned, as follows: 1. The usual masc. and fem. du. ending in ā instead of āu;—2. uṣās f. dawn often prolongs its a in the other strong cases, as in the nom. sing.: thus, uṣāsam, uṣāsā, uṣāsas (and once in a weak case, uṣāsas); and in its instr. pl. occurs once (RV.) uṣādbhis instead of uṣābhis;—3. from toçās is once (RV.) found a similar dual, toçāsā;—4. from svāvas and svātavas 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 svātavadbhyas.

c. The stems in is and us also show transitions to stems in i and u, and in īṣa and uṣa. From janūs is once (RV.) made the nom. sing. janūs, after the manner of an as-stem (cf. also janūrvāsas ÇB).

416. The grammarians regard učānas m. as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (355 a), but give it the irregular nom. učānā and the voc. učanas or učānā or učanān. Forms from the as-stem, even nom., are sometimes met with in the later literature.

a. As to forms from as-stems to áhan or áhar and ûdhan or ûdhar, see below, 490.
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, ápás work, ápás active; táras quickness, táras quick; yaças glory, yaças 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; qukráçocis 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 ánýgiras, above). Thus, from sumánás, the nom. and accus. are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N. sumánás -nas</td>
<td>sumánásāu -nasi</td>
<td>sumánásas -nāsī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. sumánásam -nas</td>
<td></td>
<td></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:

| N. dirgháyus | dirgháyuśāu -yuśi | dirgháyuśas -yuṇsī |
| A. dirgháyuśam -yuś | | |
| I. dirgháyuśā | dirgháyurbhyyām | dirgháyurbhhis etc. |

419. The stem anehás unrivalled (defined as meaning time in the later language) forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. anehá.

C. Derivative stems in an.

420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes अन् an, अन man, and अन 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 या या; in the weakest cases it is in general struck out altogether; in the middle cases, or before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, the final न n is dropped. The न n is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving या या as final in the masculine, या या in the neuter).

a. The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual analogy (311 b): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening to या या, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of या या — but this only optionally, not necessarily.

b. In the loc. sing., also, the a may be either rejected or retained (compare the corresponding usage with ṛ-stems: 373). And after the m or v of man or van, when these are preceded by another consonant, the a is always retained, to avoid a too great accumulation of consonants.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजा</td>
<td>गात्मा</td>
<td>नाम</td>
<td>राजे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rājā</td>
<td>ātmā</td>
<td>nāma</td>
<td>rājāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजानः</td>
<td>गात्मानः</td>
<td>नामाः</td>
<td>राजनः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rājānaṃ</td>
<td>ātmānaṃ</td>
<td>nāma</td>
<td>rājāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजानम्</td>
<td>गात्मानम्</td>
<td>नामान्</td>
<td>राजान्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rājānāṃ</td>
<td>ātmānāṃ</td>
<td>nāmnā</td>
<td>rājāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>राजानञ</td>
<td>गात्मानञ</td>
<td>नामानञ</td>
<td>राजानञ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rājānaṃ</td>
<td>ātmānaṃ</td>
<td>nāmnā</td>
<td>rājāne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ab. G. राज्ञस् 
राज्ञास् 
राज्ञनास् नामना

L. राज्ञिः राज्ञिः 
राज्ञी, राज्ञी 
राज्ञी, राज्ञी

V. राज्ञ
राज्ञि
राज्ञि नामन्, नाम

Dual:

N. A. V. राज्ञानी
राज्ञानी नामनी, नामनी

I. D. Ab. राज्ञ-याम्
राज्ञ-याम् नाम-याम्

G. L. राज्ञी
राज्ञी नामी

Plural:

N. राज्ञास्
राज्ञास् नानाः

A. राज्ञस्
राज्ञस् नामाः

I. राज्ञी
राज्ञी नामाः

D. Ab. राज्ञ-याम्
राज्ञ-याम् नाम-याम्

G. राज्ञाम्
राज्ञाम् नामाम्

L. राज्ञाम्
राज्ञाम् नामाम्

a. The weakest cases of मुर्ध्नाम् head, would be accented मुर्ध्नाम्, मुर्ध्नेः, मुर्ध्नस्, मुर्ध्निः (acc. pl.), मुर्ध्नाम्, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., मुर्ध्नि or मुर्ध्नानि).

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

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 कताध्वनिः, but it is to be read कताध्वनि; and similar cases occur in AV. (but also several times मुर्ध्नि). In the Brāhmaṇas, too, such forms as धामाणिः and सामाणिः are very much more common than such as आनि and लोमाणि.
c. But throughout both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, an abbreviated form of the loc. sing., with the ending ı omitted, or identical with the stem, is of considerably more frequent occurrence than the regular form: thus, mūrdhān, kārman, ādvān, beside mūrdhānī etc. The n has all the usual combinations of a final n: e. g. mūrdhānṇaṇ asya, mūrdhant sa, mūrdhāṇś tvā.

d. In the nom.-acc. pl. neut., also, an abbreviated form is common, ending in ā or (twice as often) a, instead of āṇi: thus, brāhma and brāhmā, beside brāhmāṇi: compare the similar series of endings from a-stems, 329 c.

e. From a few stems in man is made an abbreviated instr. sing., with loss of m as well as of a: thus, mahinā, prathinā, varinā, dānā, preṇā, bhūnā, for mahimnā etc. And drāghmā and raqmā (RV., each once) are perhaps for drāghmāṇā, raqmāṇā.

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, uksānas (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, pūvās, evayāvās, khīdvas (?), prātaritvas, mātariqvas, vibhāvas.

h. For words of which the a is not made long in the strong cases, see the next paragraph.

428. 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, pūṣāṇ, aryamān: thus, pūṣā, pūṣāṇam, pūṣāṇa, etc.

b. In the Veda, uksāṇ, bull (but also uksāṇām); yōsān maiden; vṛṣān virile, bull (but vṛṣaṇam and vṛṣaṇas 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.

437. The stems qvān m. dog and yūvan 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, qvānām, qūnā, qūnē, etc., qvābhym, qvābhiś, etc.; yūvā, yūvānam, yūnā, yuvabhīś, etc.

a. In dual, RV. has once yūnā for yuvānā.

438. 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 maghvánt (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, maghavadbhis, maghavatsu, etc. (not maghvabhis etc.).

439. a. Stems in a, ma, va, parallel with those in an, man, van, and doubtful 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., áhobbyám, áhobhis, etc. (PB. has áharbhís); but áhá etc., áhni or áhaní (or áhan), áhni or áhaní, áháni (and, in V., áhá).

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 áha, áhna.

d. The stem údhán n. udder exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with údháris and údháhas, but has become later an as-stem only (except in the fem. údhán of adjective compounds): thus, údhár or údhás, údhásas, údhán or údhání, údhabhis, údháhasu. As derivatives from it are made both údhanyá and údhasya.

431. The neuter stems aksán eye, asthán bone, dadhán curds, sakthán thigh, form in the later language only the weakest cases, aksán, asthán, dadhnás, sakthání, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in i, aksí etc.: see above, 343 i.

a. In the older language, other cases from the an-stems occur: thus, aksání, aksábhis, and aksásu; asthání, astabhís, and astabhýyas; sakthání.

432. The neuter stems asán blood, yakán liver, čákán ordure, āsán mouth, udán water, dośán fore-arm, yúsán broth, are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems ásá, yáká, čáká, ásá, údaka in older language udaká, dós, yúsá, which are fully inflected.

a. Earlier occurs also the dual dośání.

433. The stem pánthan m. road is reckoned in the later language as making the complete set of strong cases, with the irregularity that the nom.-voc. sing. adds a s. The corresponding middle cases are made from pathí, and the weakest from path. Thus:
from páthan — páthás, páthánam; páthánam; from pathi — pathibhyām; pathibhis, pathibhyas, pathíṣu; from path — pathá, pathé, pathás, pathí; pathós; pathás or páthas (accus.), patháṃ.

a. In the oldest language (RV.), however, the strong stem is only páthá: thus, páthás, nom. sing.; páthám, acc. sing.; páthás, nom. pl.; and even in AV., páthánam and páthánas are rare compared with the others. From pathi occur also the nom. pl. patháyas and gen. pl. pathínám. RV. has once páthás, acc. pl., with long á.

434. The stems mánthan m., stirring-stick, and rdbhukṣán m., an epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with páthan; but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from the former the acc. sing. mánthám, and gen. pl. mathínám (like the corresponding cases from páthan); from the latter, the nom. sing. rbhukṣás and voc. pl. rdbhukṣás, like the corresponding Vedic forms of páthan; but also the acc. sing. rdbhukṣánam and nom. pl. rdbhukṣánas, which are after quite another model.

Adjectives.

435. Original adjective stems in an are almost exclusively those made with the suffix van, as yájvan sacrificing, sútván 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 varí: thus, yájvari, jítvari.

436. Adjective compounds having a noun in an as final member are inflected after the model of noun-stems; and the masculine forms are sometimes used also as feminine; but usually a special feminine is made by adding i to the weakest form of the masculine stem: thus, sómarājí, kílálodhí, ékamúrdhí, durpámní.

437. But (as was pointed out above: 420 a) nouns in an occurring as final members of compounds often substitute a stem in a for that in an: thus, -rāja, -janma, -adhva, -aha; their feminine is in ā. Occasional exchanges of stems in van and in vant also occur: thus, 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 śnu in, min min, and ānu vin. They are mas-
culine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding \( \text{i} \).

a. The stems in \( \text{in} \) are very numerous, since almost any noun in \( \text{a in} \) the language may form a possessive derivative adjective with this suffix: thus, \( \text{bála strength, balín m. n. balínī f. possessing strength, strong.} \) Stems in \( \text{vin (1232)} \), however, are very few, and those in \( \text{min (1231)} \) still fewer.

439. Their inflection is quite regular, except that they lose their final \( \text{n} \) in the middle cases (before an initial consonant of the ending), and also in the nom. sing., where the masculine lengthens the \( \text{ñ} \) 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 \( \text{balín} \) strong. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Singular.} & \text{Dual.} & \text{Plural.} \\
\text{m.} & \text{n.} & \text{m.} & \text{n.} & \text{m.} & \text{n.} \\
\hline
\text{N.} & & & & & \\
\text{bálī} & \text{bálī} & \text{bálī} & \text{bálī} & \text{bálī} & \text{bálī} \\
\text{balín} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} \\
\hline
\text{A.} & & & & & \\
\text{balínam} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} & \text{balín} \\
\hline
\text{I.} & & & & & \\
\text{bálīna} & \text{bálīna} & \text{bálīna} & \text{bálīna} & \text{bálīna} & \text{bálīna} \\
\text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} \\
\hline
\text{D.} & & & & & \\
\text{bálīne} & \text{bálīne} & \text{bálīne} & \text{bálīne} & \text{bálīne} & \text{bálīne} \\
\text{balínē} & \text{balínē} & \text{balínē} & \text{balínē} & \text{balínē} & \text{balínē} \\
\hline
\text{Ab.} & & & & & \\
\text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} \\
\text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} & \text{balínā} \\
\hline
\text{G.} & & & & & \\
\text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} \\
\text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} & \text{balínas} \\
\hline
\text{L.} & & & & & \\
\text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} \\
\text{balínī} & \text{balínī} & \text{balínī} & \text{balínī} & \text{balínī} & \text{balínī} \\
\hline
\text{V.} & & & & & \\
\text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} \\
\text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} & \text{bálīni} \\
\text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} & \text{bálīnī} \\
\end{array}
\]
a. The derived feminine stem in inī is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative i (384).

441. a. There are no irregularities in the inflection of in-stems, in either the earlier language or the later — except the usual Vedic dual ending in 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. qākinā (RV.), ṇuṣmiṇa (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 घन् ant (or घन् at), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes मन् mant and वैं vant (or मत mat and वत vat). They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ॐ i.

1. Participles in ant or at.

443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in घन् ant and घन् at. The former is taken in the strong cases of the masculine, with, as usual, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neuter; the latter is taken by all the remaining cases.

a. But, in accordance with the rule for the formation of the feminine stem (below, 449), the future participles, and the present participles of verbs of the खुṭ- or accented आ-class (752), and of verbs of the अ- 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 n of the usual ending लि nti (650 b), lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem.
a. Such are the verbs forming their present-stem by reduplication without added a: namely, those of the reduplicating or hu-class (855) and the intensives (1012): thus, from yhu, present-stem jahu, participle-stem júhvát; intensive-stem johu, intensive participle-stem jóhvát. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, cákṣat, dāqat, dásat, cáṣat, sáqat; the aorist participle dhákṣat, and vághát (§). Váyrdhánt (RV., once), which has the n notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (1032), from a stem in a: compare váyrdhánta, váyrdhásva.

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

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in ān by the regular (150) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form āntis. The vocative of each gender is like the nominative.

446. Stems accented on the final syllable throw the accent forward upon the case-ending in the weakest cases (not in the middle also).

a. In the dual neut. (as in the feminine stem) from such participles, the accent is anti if the n is retained, ati if it is lost.

447. Examples of declension. As such may serve भवत् bhávat being, घदत् adánt eating, जुहवत् júhvát sacrificing. Thus:

Singular:

N. भवन् bhávan bhávat adán adát júhvát júhvát
A. भवत्स्म् bhávantam bhávat adántam adát júhvátam júhvát
I. भवता bhávatā adatá júhvatā
d. भवते bhávate adaté júhvate
Ab. G. भवतस् bhávatas adatás júhvatas
L. भवति bhávati adatí júhvati
### Declension V., Derivative Stems in ant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V.</th>
<th>bhāvan</th>
<th>bhāvat</th>
<th>ādan</th>
<th>ādat</th>
<th>jūhvat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dual:</td>
<td>bhāvantāu</td>
<td>bhāvantī</td>
<td>adāntāu</td>
<td>adāti</td>
<td>jūhvatāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.A.V.</td>
<td>bhāvantī</td>
<td>bhāvantī</td>
<td>ādanī</td>
<td>ādatī</td>
<td>jūhvatī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.D.A.</td>
<td>bhāvadbhīyām</td>
<td>adādbhyām</td>
<td>jūhvadbhīyām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.L.</td>
<td>bhāvatōm</td>
<td>ādatōm</td>
<td>jūhvatoṃ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N.V.</th>
<th>bhāvantas</th>
<th>bhāvantī</th>
<th>adāntas</th>
<th>adānti</th>
<th>jūhvatas</th>
<th>jūhvati</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>bhāvatas</td>
<td>bhāvantī</td>
<td>adatās</td>
<td>adānti</td>
<td>jūhvatas</td>
<td>jūhvati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>bhāvadhīs</td>
<td>adādbhis</td>
<td>jūhvadhīs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>bhāvadhīs</td>
<td>adādbhyās</td>
<td>jūhvadhīs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>bhāvatām</td>
<td>adātām</td>
<td>jūhvātām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>bhāvatuḥ</td>
<td>ādatuḥ</td>
<td>jūhvatuḥ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

a. The future participle bhāvīgānti may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either bhāvīgāntī or bhāvīgānti; tudānt, either tudānti or tudāti; yānt (yāṇā), either yāntī or yātī. And jūhvat, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also jūhvantī (beside jūhvatī, as given in the paradigm above).

b. But these strong forms (as well as bhāvantī, du., and its like from present-stems in unaccented a) are quite contrary to general analogy, and of somewhat doubtful character. No example of them is quotable, either from the older or from the later language. The cases concerned, indeed, would be everywhere of rare occurrence.

448. The Vedic derivations from the model as above given are few. The dual ending ūṇu is only one sixth as common as ūṇa. Anomalous accent is seen in a case or two: avocātē, rathirīṇātāṃ, and vārādbhīs (if this is a participle). The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. neut. is sānti, with lengthened ū (compare the forms in ānti, below, 451 a, 454 c); one or two examples in ānti are quotable from B.
449. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding ǐ to either the strong or the weak stem-form of the masc.-neut. The rules as to which of the two forms shall be taken are the same with those given above respecting the nom. etc. dual neuter; namely:

a. Participles from tense-stems ending in unaccented a add ǐ to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in ánti.

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'div (stem divya), divvantī; from būbhūṣa and bhāvāya (desid. and caus. of y'bhū), būbhūṣantī and bhāvāvantī.

c. Exceptions to this rule are now and then met with, even from the earliest period. Thus, RV. has jārati, and AV. the desiderative siśāsatī; in B. occur vadati, cocati, trpyati, and in S. further tiṣṭhatī, and the causative namayati; while in the epics and later such cases (including desideratives and causatives) are more numerous (about fifty are quotable), though still only sporadic.

d. Participles from tense-stems in accented a may add the feminine-sign either to the strong or to the weak stem-form, or may make their feminines in ánti or in atī (with accent as here noted).

e. Such are the present-stems of the tud or accented a-class (751 ff.), the a-futures (832 ff.), and the denominatives (1053 ff.); thus, from y'tud (stem tudā), tudánti or tudatī; from bhaviṣyā (fut. of y'bhū), bhaviṣyantī or bhaviṣyatī; from devayā (denom. of devā), devayantī or devyatī.

f. The forms in ánti from this class are the prevailing ones. No future fem. participle in atī is quotable from the older language. From pres.-stems in á are found there rūjatī and niḥcatī (RV.), tudatī and pinvatī (AV.). From denominatives, devyatī (RV.), durasyatī and çatrūyatī (AV.). In BhP. occurs dhakṣatī.

g. Verbs of the ad or root-class (611 ff.) ending in a 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'ad; jūhavatī from y'hu; yuñjati from y'yu; sunvatī from y'eu; kurvatī from y'kṛ; kriṣatī from y'kri; dédiçati from dédiç (intens. of y'diç).
j. Feminine stems of this class are occasionally (but the case is much less frequent than its opposite: above, c) found with the nasal: thus, yánti (Av., once), undánti (CB.; but probably from the secondary á-stem), grhpánti (S.), and, in the epics and later, such forms as bruvánti, rudánti, cinvánti, kurvánti, jánánti, muśnánti.

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

a. brhánt (often written vrhánt) great; it is inflected like a participle (with brhati and brhánti in du. and pl. neut.).

b. mahánt great; inflected like a participle, but with the irregularity that the a of the ending is lengthened in the strong forms: thus, mahán, mahántam; mahántau (neut. mahatí); mahántas, mahánti: instr. mahatá etc.

c. pśant speckled, and (in Veda only) rúçant shining.

d. jágat movable, lively (in the later language, as neuter noun, world), a reduplicated formation from ṣágam go; its nom. etc. neut. pl. is allowed by the grammarians to be only jáganti.

e. ṛhánt small (only once, in RV., ṛhatē).

f. All these form their feminine in ati only: thus, brhati, mahati, pśati and rūcati (contrary to the rule for participles), jágati.

g. For dánt tooth, which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, 396.

451. The pronominal adjectives iyant and kiyant are inflected like adjectives in mant and vant, having (452) īyán and kiyán as nom. masc. sing., īyati and kiyati as nom. etc. du. neut. and as, feminine stems, and īyanti and kiyanti as nom. etc. plur. neut.

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

2. Possessives in mant and vant.

452. The adjectives formed by these two suffixes are inflected precisely alike, and very nearly like the participles in 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, 454 b). The neut. nom. etc. are in the dual only ati (or áti), and in the plural anti (or ánti).

b. The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus mati, vati (or máti, vátí). One or two cases of ni instead of i are met with: thus, antárvati (B. and later), pativatni (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 पुम् पुमान् possessing cattle, and भगवं भगवान् fortunate, blessed. Thus:

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454. Vedic Irregularities. a. In dual masc. nom. etc., a (for ān) is the greatly prevailing ending.

b. In voc. sing. masc., the ending in the oldest language (RV.) is almost always in as instead of an (as in the perfect participle: below, 462 a); thus, adrivas, harivas, bhānumas, haviṃsas. 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 production of RV.
passages the as is usually changed to an. It was pointed out above (425 g) that the RV. makes the voc. in as also apparently from a few an-stems.

c. In RV., the nom. etc. pl. neut., in the only two instances that occur, ends in anti instead of anti: thus, ghṛtvānti, paçumānti. No such forms have been noted elsewhere in the older language: the SV. realises anti in its version of the corresponding passages, and a few examples of the same ending are quotable from the Brahmāṇas: thus, tāvanti, etāvanti, yāvanti, ghṛtvāvanti, pravanti, ātumānti, yugmānti. 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. arvā, from ārvan; and in the older language also the voc. ārvan and accus. ārvānām.

456. Besides the participle bhāvant, there is another stem bhāvant, frequently used in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person (but construed, of course, with a verb in the third person), which is formed with the suffix vant, and so declined, having in the nom. sing. bhāvān; and the contracted form bhos of its old-style vocative bhavas is a common exclamation of address: you, sir! Its origin has been variously explained; but it is doubtless a contraction of bhāgavant.

457. The pronominal adjectives tāvant, etāvant, yāvant, and the Vedic īvant, māvant, tvāvant, etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

F. Perfect Participles in vāṇs.

458. The active participles of the perfect tense-system are quite peculiar as regards the modifications of their stem. In the strong cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut., the form of their suffix is vāṇs, which becomes, by regular process (150), vān in the nom. sing., and which is shortened to van in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into uṣ. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to vat.

a. A union-vowel i, if present in the strong and middle cases, disappears in the weakest, before uṣ.
459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding इ to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in उषी.

460. The accent is always upon the suffix, whatever be its form.

461. Examples of inflection. To show the inflection of these participles, we may take the stems विद्वान् vidvān knowing (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from विद् vid, and तस्थितवान् tasthītvān having stood from वस्था sthā.

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<td>tasthītvān</td>
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Plural:

N. V.  
vidvāṇas  vidvānśi  tsthivāṅsas  tsthivānśi

A.  
vidūṣas  vidvānśi  tsthūṣas  tsthivānśi

I.  
vidvādīm  vidvādbhīs  tsthivādbhīms

D.  
vidvādāṃ  vidvādbhyās  tsthivādbhyās

Ab. G.  
vidvāgūṃ  vidvānśam  tsthūṃsam

L.  
vidvātsum  vidvātu  tsthivāntum

a. The feminine stems of these two participles are विद्वृषि and तस्थृषी तस्थृषी.

b. Other examples of the different stems are:
   from यक्र — cakrवāṃs, cakrव, cakrūग, cakrūṣि; from यनि — ninivāṃs, ninivāt, ninyū, ninyūṣि; from यभु — babhūvaṃs, babhūv, babhūvuṣि; from यतन — tenivāṃs, tenivāt, tenuṣ, tenuṣि.

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

b. Forms from the middle stem, in vat, are extremely rare earlier: only three (tatanvāt and vavvṛtvāt, neut. sing., and jagṛvādbhīm, 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, vidūṣāra, ádāquṣāra, mīdhūṣāma, mīdhūṣāmant.

c. An example or two of the use of the weak stem-form for cases regularly made from the strong are found in RV.: they are cakrūṣam, acc. sing., and abībhūṣas, nom. pl.; emuṣām, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem emuṣā; and (B. has prōṣām.

Similar instances, especially from vidvāns, are now and then met with later (see BR., under vidvāns).

d. The AV. has once bhaktivānsas, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage bhaktivānas; cakhvāṃsā (RV., once) is of doubtful character; okivānsā (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of यु, elsewhere unknown.
G. Comparatives in yā́ns 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 यास yā́ns (usually यासम् yā́ns), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in यास yas (or यासम् yas), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in यास yan (but for the older language see below, 465 a).

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

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of चेयासम् cēyas better, and of गारीयासम् gāriyas heavier. Thus:

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etc.
a. The feminine stems of these adjectives are ब्रह्माणी गृह्यसि and गर्भाणी गृह्यसि.

465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions: 454 b, 462 a) is in यस instead of यन: thus, oṣiyas, jyāyas (RV.: no examples elsewhere have been noted).

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

c. In the later language are found a very few apparent examples of strong cases made from the weaker stem-form: thus, kaniyasm and yavishasam acc. masc., kaniyasāu du., yavishasas 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 यस (or यस्तै यस्) for the comparative and नम्न इष्ठा 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 huri come कष्पियस and कष्पिष्ठ, which belong in meaning to कष्प्राव quick; from य्व्र encompass come variyas and varishta, which belong to uru broad: while, for example,
kānīyas and kānīṣṭha are attached by the grammarians to yūvan young, or ālpa small; and vārśīyas and vārśiṣṭha to vṛddhā old.

468. From Veda and Brāhmaṇa together, considerably more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in iyās and īṣṭha (in many cases only one of the pair actually occurring) are to be quoted.

a. About half of these (in RV., the decided majority) belong, in meaning as in form, to the bare root in its adjective value, as used especially at the end of compounds, but sometimes also independently: thus, from yātap burn comes tápiṣṭha excessively burning; from yāyaṛ offer some yājiyas and yājiṣṭha better and best (at very well) sacrificing; from yūdha fight comes yōdhiyas fighting better; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, jū hastily, 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; vīcayiṣṭha best clearing away; — in a couple of cases (āgramiṣṭha, āpāraśaṭiṣṭha, āṣṭheyas), 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 c).

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 vārśiṣṭha choicest (vāra choice), bārhiṣṭha greatest (bṛhānt great), ogiṣṭha quickest (ōgam 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 krādhu, sthāviyas and sthāviṣṭha from sthūrā, qāciyas (RV.) from qāqvant, ānīyas (AV.) and ānīṣṭha (TS.) from āṇq; and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes iyās and īṣṭha are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, āqiṣṭha from āṇq (RV.; only case), tikṣpiyas (AV.) from tikṣṇa, brāhmiyas and brāhmiṣṭha (TS. etc.) from brāhmaṇ, dhārmiṣṭha (TA.) from dhārman, drāhiṣṭha (TA.: instead of dārhiṣṭha) from drādha, rāghiyas (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 sānya from sāna 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 iyās have a peculiar declension which has been described above (463 ff.).
470. Of peculiarities and irregularities of formation, the following may be noticed:

a. The suffix iyas has in a few instances the briefer form yas, generally as alternative with the other: thus, táavyas and távyas, náviyas and návyas, váliyas and váyas, páníyas and pányas; and so from rabh and sah; sánya occurs alone. From bhū come bhúyas and bhúyíṣṭha, beside which RV. has also bháviyas.

b. Of roots in ā, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to e: thus, sthéyas, dhéṣṭha, yéṣṭha; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as dháṣṭha, yáṣṭha. The root jyā forms jyéṣṭha, but jyáyas (like bhúyas).

c. The two roots in ī, pri and çri, form préyas and préṣṭha and créyas and créṣṭha.

d. From the root of ĵū come, without strengthening, ĵiyas and j̄j̄iṣṭha; but in the older language also, more regularly, rāj̄iys and rāj̄iṣṭha.

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

a. Examples (of older as well as later occurrence) are: from vowel-stems, priyātara, vāhnitama, rathītara and rathītama (RV.), cárutara, potītama, saṁrakatātara; — from consonant-stems, çaṁtama, çaqvattama, mṛḍayāttama, tavāstara and tavāstama, tvuśṭama, vápuṣṭara, tapasvītara, yaçaśvītama, bhágavattara, hiṁsyaśvīciyattama; — from compounds, ratnadāttama, abhibhūtara, sukkīttara, pūrbhīttama, bhúyīṣṭabhákntama, bhūrīdvāttara, čucivrātattama, strikāmatama.

b. But in the Veda the final n of a stem is regularly retained; thus, madīntara and madīntama, vrśántama; and a few stems even add a nasal: thus, surabhīntara, rayīntama, madhūntama. In a case or two, the strong stem of a present participle is taken: thus, vrādhanntama, sānntama; and, of a perfect participle, the weakest stem: thus, vidūṣṭara, miḍhūṣṭama. A feminine final ī is shortened: thus, devitāmā (RV.), tejasvinītāmā (K.).
c. In the older language, the words of this formation are not much more frequent than those of the other: thus, in RV. the stems in tara and tama are to those in iyas and iṣṭha as three to two; in AV., only as six to five: but later the former win a great preponderance.

472. These comparatives and superlatives are inflected like ordinary adjectives in a, forming their feminine in ā.

473. a. That (especially in the Veda) some stems which are nouns rather than adjectives form derivatives of comparison is natural enough, considering the uncertain nature of the division-line between substantive and adjective value. Thus, we have virātara, virātama, vāhnitama, mātītama, nātama, marūttama, and so on.

b. The suffixes tara and tama also make forms of comparison from some of the pronominal roots, as kṣa, ya, i (see below, 520); and from certain of the prepositions, as ud; and the adverbially used accusative (older, neuter, -taram; later, feminine, -tarām) of a comparative in tara from a preposition is employed to make a corresponding comparative to the preposition itself (below, 1119); while -tarām and -tamām make degrees of comparison from a few adverbs: thus, natarām, natamām, kathāntarām, kutāstarām, addhatamām, nicāistarām, etc.

c. By a wholly barbarous combination, finding no warrant in the earlier and more genuine usages of the language, the suffixes of comparison in their adverbial feminine form, -tarām and tamām, are later allowed to be added to personal forms of verbs: thus, sidatetarām (R.: the only case noted in the epics) is more despondent, vyathayatitarām disturbs more, alabhatatarām obtained in a higher degree, hasīyatitarām will laugh more. No examples of this use of -tamām are quotable.

d. The suffixes of secondary comparison are not infrequently added to those of primary, forming double comparatives and superlatives: thus, gariyastara, çreçṭhatara and çreçṭhatama, pāpiyastara, pāpiṭhata-tara and -tama, bhūyastaram, etc.

e. The use of tama as ordinal suffix is noted below (487f.); with this value, it is accent on the final, and makes its feminine in i: thus, çatatamā m. n., çatatamī f., hundredth.

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes ra and ma: thus, ádhara and adhama, ápara and apamā, ávara and avama, úpara and upamā, ántara, ántama, paramā, madhyamā, caramā, antima, ádima, pācīma. And ma is also used to make ordinals (below, 487).
CHAPTER VI.

NUMERALS.

475. The simple cardinal numerals for the first ten numbers (which are the foundation of the whole class), with their derivatives, the tens, and with some of the higher members of the decimal series, are as follows:

1 एका 10 दशा 100 शता
   éka    dâca    çatá
2 द्वि 20 द्वि विशाल 1000 महाश्च
   dvá     vinçati  sahasra
3 त्रि 30 त्रि विशाल 10,000 महायुल
   trí     trinçát  ayúta
4 चतुर् 40 चतुर् विशाल 100,000 लक्ष
   catur    catvārineçát  lakṣa
5 पञ्चा 50 पञ्चा विशाल 1,000,000 प्रयुत
   pâñca   pânceçát  prayûta
6 षष्ठ 60 षष्ठि 10,000,000 कोष्ठि
   sasti   sastí  košti
7 सप्ता 70 सप्ति 109 महाकुट
   saptá   saptati  kubhû
capá 8 ओष्ठि 108 महाधारु
   ashta   açití  mahārû
9 नवा 90 नवि 1010 खर्व
   naiva   navati  kharvá
10 दशा 100 दशा 1011 निक्षव
   dâca    çatá  nikharva

a. The accent saptá and ashta is that belonging to these words in all accented texts; according to the grammarians, they are sápta and aşṭá 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. 3. ed.
regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from ayúta on.

c. Thus, in the TS. and MS. we find ayúta, niyúta, prayúta, árbuda, nyárbuda, samudrá, mádhya, ánta, parárdhá; K. reverses the order of niyúta and prayúta, and inserts badva after nyárbuda (reading nyárbudha): these are probably the oldest recorded series.

d. In modern time, the only numbers in practical use above thousand are lakṣa (læc or lakh) and koti (crore); and an Indian sum is wont to be pointed thus: 123,45,67,890, to signify 123 crores, 45 lakhs, 67 thousand, eight hundred and ninety.

e. As to the alleged stem-forms pañcan etc., see below, 484. As to the form ṣakṣ instead of ṣaṣ, see above, 146 b. The stem dva appears in composition and derivation also as dvā and dvi; catúr in composition is accented cátur. The older form of aṣṭa is aṣṭā: see below, 483. Forms in -cat and -cāti for the tens are occasionally interchanged: e. g. viṅcat (MBh. R.), triṅcāti (AB.), pañcācāti (iti.).

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. saṣ becomes ṣo in 16, and makes the initial d of daṣa lingual (199 d); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (226 b, 198 b) to ū or ñ or p; and in 96 the n of navati is assimilated to it (199 c);

e. aṣṭa becomes aṣṭā (483) in 18-38, and has either form in the succeeding combinations.

f. Thus:

| 11 | ékādaṣa | 31 | ékatriṇcat | 61 | ékaśaṣṭi | 81 | ékaśāṣṭi |
| 12 | dvādaṣa | 32 | dvātriṇcat | 62 | dvāsaṣṭi | 82 | dvyāṣṭi |
| 13 | trāyodasha | 33 | trāyastrinçat | 63 | trāyaśaṣṭi | 83 | tryāṣṭi |
| 14 | cāturdaṣa | 34 | cātustrinçat | 64 | cātuṣaṣṭi | 84 | cāturaṣṭi |
| 15 | pāncadana | 35 | pāñcatrinçat | 65 | pāñcaḥaṣṭi | 85 | pāñcaḥaṣṭi |
| 16 | sāḍaṣa | 36 | sāṭrinçat | 66 | sāṭaṣṭi | 86 | sāḍaṣṭi |
| 17 | saptādaṣa | 37 | saptātriṇcat | 67 | saptāsaṣṭi | 87 | saptāṣṭi |
| 18 | aṣṭādaṣa | 38 | aṣṭātriṇcat | 68 | aṣṭāṣṭi | 88 | aṣṭāṣṭi |
| 19 | návadana | 39 | návatriṇcat | 69 | návāṣṭi | 89 | návāṣṭi |
g. The numbers 21-29 are made like those for 31-39; the numbers 41-49, 51-59, 71-79, and 91-99 are made like those for 61-69.

h. The forms made with dvā and trayaś 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 aṣṭā) are almost exclusively used in the older literature (483), and are not infrequent in the later.

477. The above are the normal expressions for the odd numbers. But equivalent substitutes for them are also variously made. Thus:

a. By use of the adjectives āna 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, tryūnaqaṣṭih sixty deficient by three (i.e. 57); aṣṭādhihkanavatīḥ ninety increased by eight (i.e. 98); ekādhikam āṣṭam a hundred increased by one (i.e. 101); paṇcōnam āṣṭam 100 less 5 (i.e. 95). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as ekonaviniṃgatiḥ 20 less 1, or 19, are not uncommon; and later the ēka 1 is left off, and ānaviniṃgati 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, ēkāya nā triṇcāt ( QB. PB. KB.) not thirty by one (29); dvābhyaṁ nā 'ćētim (QB.) not eighty by two (78); paṇcōḥbhīr nā catvāri ṣatāṁ (QB.) not four hundred by five (395); ēkasaṁ nā paṇcīcaṭāt (in ordinal) 49 (TS.), ēkasyāi (abl. fem.): 307 h nā paṇcīcaṭāt 49 (TS.); most often, ēkān (i.e. ēkāt, irregular abl. for ēkasmāt) nā vinīcātīḥ 19; ēkān nā ṣatām 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, triṇcātā thrice seven; triṇavā thrice nine; tridaṇḍa thrice ten.

d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent-words, with connecting and: thus, nāva ca navatiq ca, or nāva navatiq ca ninety and nine; dvāu ca vinīcātāq ca two and twenty. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, navatīr nāva 99; triṇcātaṁ trīn 33; aṣṭār aṣṭāu 88.

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

a. The added number is prefixed to the other, and takes the accent: for example, ēkācātām 101; aṣṭācātām 108; triṇcācōchatām 139; aṣṭāviniṃgatiḥ 128; catuḥśahasram (RV.: unless the accent is wrong) 1004; aṣṭīsahasram 1080.
b. Or, the number to be added is compounded with adhika redundant, and the compound is either made to qualify the other number or is further compounded with it: thus, pañcādhikāṃ qaṭam or pañcādhikāqaṭam 105. Of course, īnā deficient (as also other words equivalent to īnā or adhika) may be used in the same way: thus, pañcānaṃ qaṭam 95, ṣaṭṭiḥ pañcāva[j]īta 55; qaṭam abhyadhikāṃ ṣaṭṭītaḥ 160.

c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example dāqa qaṭam ca 110; qaṭam ēkam 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, 488): thus, dvādaṣṭāṃ qaṭam, 112 (lit'y a hundred of a 12-sort, or characterised by 12); catuṣcatvārīṇḍam qaṭam 144; ṣaṭṭaṣṭāṃ qaṭam 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: pañcā pañca-cāṭās five fifties (250); nāva navatāyas nine nineties (810); aṣṭibhis tisaḥbhīs with three eighties (240); pañcā qaṭānī five hundreds; dviti tripi sahasrāṇi three thousands; ṣaṭṭiḥ sahasrāṇi 60,000; dāqa ca sahasrāṇy aṣṭāṃ ca qaṭānī 10,800: and, combined with addition, tripi qaṭānī trāyastraṣṭāṃqaṭāṃ ca 333; sahasre dvē pañcānaṃ qaṭam eva ca 2095.

a. In an exceptional case or two, the ordinal form appears to take the place of the cardinal as multiplicant in a like combination: thus, ṣaṭṭraṅgāṃ ca cāṭurāḥ (RV.) 36×4 (lit.'four of the thirty-six kind'); triṇē ekādaṣāṃ (RV.) or trāya ēkādaṣāḥ (CCS. viii. 21. 1) 11×3.

b. By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as triṇi saṭṭaṣṭāṇi, which ought to signify 480 (3×100+60), is repeatedly used in the Brāhmaṇas to mean 360 (3×100+60); so also dvē catuṣṭraṅgē qaṭē 234 (not 268); dvāṣaṭṭāṇi triṇi qaṭānī 362; and other like cases. And even R. has trāyaḥ qaṭaṭātraṅgeḥ 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 ś) singular is used substantively: thus, dāqaṭātās 1000; ṣaṭṭaṭāḥ padāṭibhiḥ (MBh.) with 600 foot-soldiers; trāyastraṣṭāṭ triṇaṭāḥ ṣaṭhasaḥāṇ (AV.) 6333; dviṇaṭām or dviṇati 200; aṣṭādaṣṭātraṇi 1600.

a. In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether aṣṭa- qaṭam, for example, is aṣṭaqaṭam 106 or aṣṭaqaṭam 600, 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 sárvu, 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, èke (loc. sing.), èkāt (477 b).

c. In the late literature, eka is used in the sense of a certain or even sometimes almost of a, as an indefinite article. Thus, éko vyāghraH (H.) a certain tiger; ekasmin dine on a certain day; haste dañjam ekam ådāya (H.) taking a stick in his hand.

d. Dva two is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N. A. V. dvāū [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 tríṇāṃ occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem tíṣṭ, which is inflected in general like an r-stem; but the nom. and acc. are alike, and show no strengthening of the r; and the r is not prolonged in the gen. (excepting in the Veda). Thus:

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<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>tríyas</td>
<td>tríṇi</td>
<td>tísrás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>trin</td>
<td>tríṇi</td>
<td>tísrás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>tribhīṣ</td>
<td>tríṇāṃ</td>
<td>tísṛbhīṣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>tribhyās</td>
<td>tísṛbhyaṃ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>trayāṇāṃ</td>
<td>tísṛṇāṃ</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>tríṣū</td>
<td>tísṛṣu</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

f. The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and acc. trí. The accentuation tísṛbhīṣ, tísṛbhyaṃ, tísṛṇāṃ, and tísṛṣu is said to be also allowed in the later language. The stem tíṣṭ occurs in composition in tisṛdhanyā (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 cátasaṛ, apparently akin with tíṣṭ, and inflected like it (but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, 483). Thus:

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<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>catvāras</td>
<td>catvāri</td>
<td>cátasṛaras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>cāturās</td>
<td>cātvāri</td>
<td>cátasṛaras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>cāturīṣa</td>
<td>cātvāri</td>
<td>cátasṛṣa</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>cāturīṣa</td>
<td>cātvāri</td>
<td>cátasṛṣa</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>cāturīṃ</td>
<td>cātvāri</td>
<td>cátasṛṃ</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>cāturīṣu</td>
<td>cātvāri</td>
<td>cátasṛṣu</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 āṣāg: below, 483) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. cātāṣāṁnām also sometimes occurs. In the later language, the accentuation of the final syllable instead of the penult is said to be allowed in instr., 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 āṣāg (as of cātūr), nām is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (198 b) of stem-final and initial of the termination. Āṣā (as accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, āṣā, which is almost exclusively used in the older literature (V. and B.), both in inflection and in composition (but some compounds with āṣā are found as early as the AV.); its nom.-acc. is āṣā (usual later: found in RV. once, and in AV., or āṣā (RV.), or āṣāū (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 bhīs, bhīyas, and su, from the stems in a, whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, pāñcābhīs from pānca, navābhīyas from nāva, daçāsu from daçā, navadaçābhīs from nāvadaça, ekādaçābhīyas from ekādaça, dvādaçāsu from dvādaça (according to the grammarians, either the penult or the final is accented in these forms in the later language). In the gen. pl., the accent is on the ending (as in that of i-, u-, and y-stems): thus, pāñcadaçānām, saptadaçānām. The cases of āṣā, and those made from the stem-form āṣā, 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>páñca</th>
<th>sāt</th>
<th>āṣā</th>
<th>āṣā</th>
<th>āṣā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>pāñcābhīs</td>
<td>śādībhīs</td>
<td>āṣābhīs</td>
<td>āṣābhīs</td>
<td>āṣābhīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>pāñcābhīyas</td>
<td>śādībhīyas</td>
<td>āṣābhīyas</td>
<td>āṣābhīyas</td>
<td>āṣābhīyas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>pāñcānām</td>
<td>śaṇṇām</td>
<td>āṣānām</td>
<td>āṣānām</td>
<td>āṣānām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>pāñcāsu</td>
<td>śaṭsu</td>
<td>āṣāsu</td>
<td>āṣāsu</td>
<td>āṣāsu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Saptā (in the later language sāpta, as āṣā for āṣā) and nāva and dāqa, with the compounds of dāqa (11-19), are declined like pāñca, and with the same shift of accent (or with alternative shift to the endings, as pointed out above).

484. The Hindu grammarians give to the stems for 5 and 7-19 a final n: thus, pāñcan, saptan, āṣtan, navan, dāqan, and ekādaqan etc. This, however, has nothing to do with the demonstrably original final nasal of 7, 9, and 10 (compare septem, novem, decem; sevem, nine, ten); it is only owing to the fact that, starting from such a stem-form, their inflection is made to assume a more regular aspect, the nom.-acc. having the form of a neut. sing. in an, and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc. that of a neut. or masc. pl. in an: compare nāma, nāmabhīs, nāma-
bhyan, nāmasu — the gen. alone being, rather, like that of an a-stem: compare daçaṇām with indrāṇam and nāmnām or ātmānām. No trace whatever of a final n is found anywhere in the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these words (though CB. has twice daçaṇādāćin, for the usual daçaṇāćin).

485. a. The tens, viṇcātī and trinčāt etc., with their compounds, are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, and in all numbers.

b. Čatā and sahāsra 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 numerals enumerated by them —

a. The words for 1 to 18 are in the main used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns: thus, daçaḥbhir viṛāḥ with ten heroes; yē devā divy ēkādaśa sthā (AV.) what eleven gods of you are in heaven; pañcāṣu jāneṣu among the five tribes; cataṇḍbhir gīrbhiḥ with four songs. Rarely occur such combinations as dāqa kalacānām (RV.) ten pitchers, ṛṭunām gat (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, cataṁ dāsiḥ or cataṁ dāsinsām a hundred slaves or a hundred of slaves; viṇcatyāh hāribhiḥ with twenty boys; śaṣṭyāṁ çarātesu in 60 autumns; cātēna pācāiḥ with a hundred fetters; cataṁ sahāsram ayűtasaḥ nyārbudasah jau-grāna çakṛō daśayūnām (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, pañcāqad-bhir bāṇāiḥ 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, pānca kṛṣṭiṣu among the five races; saptā reṇaṁ of seven bars; sahāsram ḍaṁbhiḥ with a thousand bars; cataṁ pūrbhiḥ with a hundred strongholds. Sporadic instances of a like kind are also met with later.

487. Ordinals. Of the classes of derivative words coming from the original or cardinal numerals, the ordinals are by far the most important; and the mode of their formation may best be explained here.
Some of the first ordinals are irregularly made: thus,

a. ēka 1 forms no ordinal; instead is used prathāma (i. e. prathama foremost); ādya (from ādi beginning) appears first in the Sūtras, and ādīma much later;

b. from dvā 2, and trī 3, come dvitiya and tṛtiya (secondarily, through dvīta and abbreviated tṛita);

c. catūr 4, sāṣ 5, and saptā 7, take the ending tha: thus, catūrtha, sāṣṭhā, saptātha; but for fourth are used also turiya and tūrya, and saptātha belongs to the older language only; pañcathā, for ṣaṭthī, is excessively rare;

d. the numerals for 5 and 7 usually, and for 8, 9, 10, add ma, forming pañcamā, saptamā, aṣṭamā, navamā, daśamā;

e. for 11th to 19th, the forms are ekādaśā, dvādaśā, and so on (with the same with the cardinals, except change of accent); but ekādaśama etc. occasionally occur also;

f. for the tens and intervening odd numbers from 20 onward, the ordinal has a double form—one made by adding the full (superlative) ending tamā to the cardinal: thus, viṅgatītāmā, trīṅcattāmā, aṇītītāmā, etc.; the other, shorter, in a, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, viṅcā 20th; trīṅcā 30th; catuvāṅcā 40th; pañcācā 50th; sāṣṭā 60th; saptatā 70th; aṣṭā 80th; navatā 90th; and so likewise ekavāṅcā 21st; catuvṛtīnācā 31st; aṇītācā 41st; dvāpaṅcā 52d; ekāṣṭā 61st; and ekāṇvāṅcā and ṣaṭvāṅcā ekavāṅcā 19th;—and so on. Of these two forms, the latter and briefer is by far the more common, the other being not quotable from the Veda, and extremely rarely from the Brāhmaṇas. From 50th on, the briefer form is allowed by the grammarians only to the odd numbers, made up of tens and units; but it is sometimes met with, even in the later language, from the simple ten.

g. Of the higher numbers, catā and sahasa form catamatā and sahasratamā; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus, ekacatā or ekacatatama 101st.

h. Of the ordinals, prathāma (and ādya), dvitiya, tṛtiya, and turiya (with tūrya) form their feminine in ā; all the rest make it in ī.

488. The ordinals, as in other languages, have other than ordinal offices to fill; and in Sanskrit especially they are general adjectives to the cardinals, with a considerable variety of meanings, as fractional, as signifying composed of so many parts or so-many-fold, or containing so many, or (as was seen above, 479) having so many added.

a. In a fractional sense, the grammarians direct that their accent be shifted to the first syllable: thus, dvitiya half; tṛtiya third part; caturtha quarter; and so on. But in accented texts only tṛtiya third, and caturtha (C.B.) and tūrya quarter, are found so treated; for half occurs
only ardha; and caturthä (MS. etc.), pañcamā, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

489. There are other numeral derivatives: thus—
a. multiplicative adverbs, as dvīs twice, trīs thrice, catūs four times;
b. adverbs with the suffixes dhā (1104) and qas (1108): for example, ekadhā in one way, qatadhā in a hundred ways; ekaqas one by one, qataqas by hundreds;
c. collectives, as dvītaya or dvayā a pair, dācataya or dācat a decade;
d. adjectives like dvika composed of two, pañcaka consisting of five or fives;
and so on; but their treatment belongs rather to the dictionary, or to the chapter on derivation.

CHAPTER VII.

PRONOUNS.

490. The pronouns differ from the great mass of nouns and adjectives chiefly in that they come by derivation from another and a very limited set of roots, the so-called pronominal or demonstrative roots. But they have also many and marked peculiarities of inflection—some of which, however, find analogies in a few adjectives; and such adjectives will accordingly be described at the end of this chapter.

Personal Pronouns.

491. The pronouns of the first and second persons are the most irregular and peculiar of all, being made up of fragments coming from various roots and combinations of roots. They have no distinction of gender.
a. Their inflection in the later language is as follows:

Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>अहूः म्</td>
<td>त्वम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ahām</td>
<td>tvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>नाम्, मा</td>
<td>त्वम्, ना</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mām, mā</td>
<td>tvām, tvā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>नण्या</td>
<td>तण्या</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tvāyā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>मह्याम्, मे</td>
<td>तुभ्याम्, ते</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>māhyam, me</td>
<td>tūbhyaṃ, te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>मत्</td>
<td>बत्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>māt</td>
<td>tvāt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>मम्, मे</td>
<td>तव ते</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máma, me</td>
<td>táva, te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>मधि</td>
<td>वधि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máyi</td>
<td>tvāyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N. A. V.</th>
<th>A. D. Ab.</th>
<th>G. L.</th>
<th>A. D. G.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>अवाम्</td>
<td>अवाब्हयाम</td>
<td>अवायोस</td>
<td>नाँ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avām</td>
<td>avābhyaṃ</td>
<td>avāyos</td>
<td>nāu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yuvām</td>
<td>yuvābhyaṃ</td>
<td>yuvāyos</td>
<td>vām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>A.</th>
<th>I.</th>
<th>D.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>वयाम्</td>
<td>अस्मान्</td>
<td>अस्माभिः</td>
<td>अस्माभ्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vayām</td>
<td>nasmān, nas</td>
<td>asmābhīs</td>
<td>asmābhyaṃ, nas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yuṣmān, vas</td>
<td>yuṣmābhīs</td>
<td>yuṣmābhyaṃ, vas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>घमंत्</td>
<td>युष्मात्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>घमाकम्, नम्</td>
<td>युष्माकम्, वस्</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>घमात्</td>
<td>युष्मासु</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 jayataḥ of thee when a conqueror, vo vṛtābhyaḥ for you that were confined, nas tribhyāh to us three (all RV.).

d. The ablative mat is accentless in one or two AV. passages.

492. Forms of the older language. All the forms given above are found also in the older language; which, however, has also others that afterward disappear from use.

a. Thus, we find a few times the instr. sing. tvā (only RV.: like maniṣā for maniṣāya); further, the loc. or dat. sing. mé (only VS.) and tvé, and the dat. or loc. pl. asmé (which is by far the commonest of these e-forms) and yuṣmé: their final e is uncombiable (or pragṛhya: 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 vāṃ[?], once, for āvām); the instr. in RV. is either yuvābhyaṃ (occurs also once in AÇŚ) or yuvābhyaṃ; an abl. yuvāt appears once in RV., and āvāt twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) yuvōs instead of yuvāyos. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases, by endings in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Peculiar endings. The ending am, appearing in the nom. sing. and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The bhyaṃ (or hyaṃ) of dat. sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the bhyaṃ, bhyaś, bhis of the ordinary declension is palpable. The t (or
d) of the abl., though here preceded by a short vowel, is doubtless the same with that of the a-declension of nouns and adjectives. That the nom., dat., and abl. endings should be the same in sing. and pl. (and in part in the earlier du. also), only the stem to which they are added being different, is unparalleled elsewhere in the language. The element sma appearing in the plural forms will be found frequent in the inflection of the singular in other pronominal words: in fact, the compound stem asma which underlies the plural of áhám seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of ayám (501), and its value of 'to be' a specialisation of the meaning these persons. The genitives singular, máma and táva, have no analogies elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives mámaka and távaka (below, 516 b) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen. pl., asmákam and yuśmákam, are certainly of this character: namely, nenter sing. caseforms of the adjective stems asmáka and yuśmáka, 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, mátkta and mátsakhi and asmátsakhi (RV.), tvádyoni and mattás (AV.), tvátpitṛ and tvádvívāsana (TS.), tvátprásūta and tvaddevatyā and yuvaddevatyā and yuśmaddevatyā (CB.), asmaddevyā (PB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in a, or with the a lengthened to ā: thus, mávānt; asmatrā, asmadrūh, etc.; tváyata, tvávant, tvádatta, tvāníd, tvávasu, tváhata, etc.; yuśmádatta, yuśmēśita, etc.; yuvāvant, yuvākú, yuvādhita, yuvādatta, yuvānīta, etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as mādṛç.

a. The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, tvámkáma, tvámaḥuti, máṃpaçyá, mamasaṭyá, amēhiti, ahaṃpurvā, ahamputtarā, ahaṃyú, ahaṃsana.

b. From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives madīya, tvadīya, asmadīya yuśmadīya, having a possessive value: see below, 516 a.

c. For sva and svayám, see below, 513.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, या ta, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be taken as model of a mode of declension usual in...
so many pronouns and pronominal adjectives that it is fairly to be called the general pronominal declension.

a. But this root has also the special irregularity that in the nom. sing. masc. and fem. it has sás (for whose peculiar euphonic treatment see 176a,b) and sā, instead of tás and tā (compare Gr. ὦ, ἡ, ἕ, and Goth. sa, so, thato). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
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<td>तत्</td>
<td>मा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>सास</td>
<td>सत्</td>
<td>साः</td>
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<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>तम्</td>
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<td>ताम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>ताम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>तेन</td>
<td>तेया</td>
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<td>तेणा</td>
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<td>तस्याः</td>
<td>तस्याः</td>
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<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>तस्या</td>
<td>तस्याः</td>
<td>तस्याः</td>
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<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>तस्मन्</td>
<td>तस्याम्</td>
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<tr>
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Dual:

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<td>तेय</td>
<td>तेय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. D. Ab.</td>
<td>ताब्याम्</td>
<td>ताब्याम्</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>तायोस</td>
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<td>तायोस</td>
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Plural:

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<th>तान्</th>
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<td>तान्</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>तास</td>
<td>तास</td>
<td>तास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>तान्</td>
<td>तानि</td>
<td>तान्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>तास</td>
<td>तास</td>
<td>तास</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>ताई</td>
<td>तामि</td>
<td>तामि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ताभ्यिः</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 tēbhās for tāsas, instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root sa, namely sāmin (occurring nearly half as often as tāsmin); and ChU. has once sasmāt.

496. The peculiarities of the general pronominal declension, it will be noticed, are these:

a. In the singular, the use of t (properly d) as ending of nom.-acc. neut.; the combination of another element ama with the root in masc. and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of sy in fem. dat., abl.-gen., and loc.; and the masc. and neut. loc. ending in, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous yādṛgmin, RV., once). The substitution in B. of āi for ās as fem. ending (307h) was illustrated at 365d.

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

c. In the plural, the irregularities are limited to tē for tās in nom. masc., and the insertion of s instead of n before ām of the gen., the stem-final being treated before it in the same manner as before su of the loc.

497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as tad; and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective tadiya, with tattvā, tadvat, tanmaya; and numerous compounds, such as tacchila, tajja, tatkara, tadanantara, tanmātra, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so tādanna, tadvīd, tadvaca, etc. But derivatives from the true root ta are also many: especially adverbs, as tātas, tātra, tāthā, tada; the adjectives tāvant and tāti; and the compound tādiri etc.

498. Though the demonstrative root ta is prevallingly 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; nā or sā tvām thou there; te vayam, we here; tasya mama of me here, tasmīns tvayi in thee there, and so on.

499. Two other demonstrative stems appear to contain ta as an element; and both, like the simple ta, substitute sa in the nom. sing. masc. and fem.
a. The one, **tya**, is tolerably common (although only a third of its possible forms occur) in RV., but rare in AV., and almost unknown later, its nom. sing., in the three genders, is **syās**, **syā**, **tyāt**, and it makes the accusatives **tyām**, **tyām**, **tyāt**, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as **ta**. It has in RV. the instr. fem. **tyā** (for **tyāyā**). Instead of **syā** as nom. sing. fem. is also found **tyā**.

b. The other is the usual demonstrative of nearer position, **this here**, and is in frequent use through all periods of the language. It prefixes **e** to the simple root, forming the nominatives **eṣās**, **eṣā**, **etāt** — and so on through the whole inflection.

c. The stem **tya** has neither compounds nor derivatives. But from **eta** are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple **ta**, only much less numerous: thus, **etadā** (CB.), **etadartha**, etc., from the so-called stem **etad**; and **etāḍṛṇ** and **etāḍvant** from **eta**. And **eṣa**, like **sa** (498), is used to qualify pronouns of the 1st and 2d persons: e.g. **eṣā ḫam**, etc **vayam**.

500. There is a defective pronominal stem, **ena**, which is accentless, and hence used only in situations where no emphasis falls upon it. It does not occur elsewhere than in the accusative of all numbers, the instr. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual: thus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>m.</th>
<th>n.</th>
<th>f.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing. A.</td>
<td>enam</td>
<td>enat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.</td>
<td>enena</td>
<td>enayā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du. A.</td>
<td>enāu</td>
<td>ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>enayos</td>
<td>enayos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pl. A.</td>
<td>enān</td>
<td>enāni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The RV. has **enos** instead of **enayos**, and in one or two instances accenta a form: thus, **enām**, **enās (?)**. 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** (499b).

c. This stem forms neither derivatives nor compounds.

501. The declension of two other demonstratives is so irregularly made up that they have to be given in full. The one, **ḍyām** **ayām** etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, **this or that**; the other, **aśā** **aśā** etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, **yon** or **yonder**.

a. They are as follows:
Singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
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<td>asā́ū</td>
<td>asā́ū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.</td>
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<td>idám</td>
<td>adás</td>
<td>adás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>imám</td>
<td>imám</td>
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<td>amú́m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>idám</td>
<td>adás</td>
<td>adás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
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<td>anáyá</td>
<td>amú́ná</td>
<td>amú́yá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.</td>
<td>iyám</td>
<td>iyám</td>
<td>adás</td>
<td>adás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>asmá́́í</td>
<td>asyá́́i</td>
<td>amú́smá́́i</td>
<td>amú́sýá́́i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>n.</td>
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<td>iyám</td>
<td>adás</td>
<td>adás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ab.</td>
<td>m.</td>
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<td>asyá́́s</td>
<td>amú́msá́́t</td>
<td>amú́sýá́́s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>n.</td>
<td>iyám</td>
<td>iyám</td>
<td>adás</td>
<td>adás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>m.</td>
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<td>iyám</td>
<td>adás</td>
<td>adás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>m.</td>
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<td>amú́sýá́́m</td>
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Dual:

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<th>Plural</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
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<th>Vocative</th>
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<td>m.</td>
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<td>imé</td>
<td>amú́</td>
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<td>imé</td>
<td>amú́</td>
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<tr>
<td>L. D. Ab.</td>
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<td>amú́bhyá́m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>n.</td>
<td>amú́bhyá́m</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. L.</td>
<td>m.</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>amú́yós</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.</td>
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</table>

Plural:

<table>
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<th>Plural</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
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</tr>
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<td>imá́nį́́</td>
<td>imá́nį́́</td>
<td>amú́nį́́</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>ǻbhis</td>
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<td>amú́bhis</td>
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<td>amú́bhis</td>
<td>amú́bhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Ab.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>ǻbhýá́s</td>
<td>ǻbhýá́s</td>
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<td>amú́bhýá́s</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ǻbhýá́s</td>
<td>amú́bhýá́s</td>
<td>amú́bhýá́s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>m.</td>
<td>ǻsá́́m</td>
<td>ǻsá́́m</td>
<td>amí́sá́́m</td>
<td>amú́sá́́m</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ǻsá́́m</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>m.</td>
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<td>ǻsú́</td>
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<td>amú́sú́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>ǻsú́</td>
<td>amú́sú́</td>
<td>amú́sú́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. The same forms are used in the older language, without variation, except that (as usual) imā occurs for imāū and imāni, and amū for amūni; amuyā when used adverbially is accented on the final, amuyā; asāu (with accent, of course, on the first, āsāu, or without accent, asāu: 314) is used also as vocative; amī, too, occurs as vocative.

502. a. The former of these two pronouns, ayām etc., plainly shows itself to be pieced together from a number of defective stems. The majority of forms come from the root a, with which, as in the ordinary pronominal declension, sma (f. sy) is combined in the singular. All these forms from a have the peculiarity that in their substantive use they are either accented, as in the paradigm, or accentless (like ena and the second forms from āhām and tvām). The remaining forms are always accented. From anā come, with entire regularity, anēna, anāyā, anāyośa. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem imā. And ayām, iyām, idām are evidently to be referred to a simple root i (idām being apparently a double form: id, like tād etc., with ending an).

b. The Veda has from the root a also the instrumentals enā and ayā (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. ayōśa; from ima, imāsya occurs once in RV., imasmāi in AA., and imās- and imeṣu later. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation āsmāi, āsyā, 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 (idammāya and idāmrūpa are of Brāhmaṇa age). As regards the actual stems, ana furnishes nothing further; from ima comes only the adverb imāthā (RV., once); but a and i furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, ātās, ātra, ātha, ad-dhā (?); itās, id (Vedic particle), idā, ihā, ītara, im (Vedic particle), idṛc, perhaps evā and evām, and others.

503. The other pronoun, asāū etc., has amū for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the n-stems, the element sma (f. sy), and which shifts to ami 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. amuyā is the only example in the language of the ending sya added to any other than an n-stem. The nom. pl. ami is unique in form; its i is (like that of a dual) praghyā, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (138 b). Asāū 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 ÇB. has also asāumāma. But most of the derivatives, as of
the cases, come from amu: thus, amūtas, amūtra, amūthā, amudā, amūrhi, amuvāt, amuka.

b. In the older language occurs the root tvā (accentless), meaning one, many a one; it is oftenest found repeated, as one and another. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension. From it is made the (also accentless) adverb tvadānīm (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 tu points to a root tu.

Interrogative Pronoun.

504. The characteristic part of the interrogative pronominal root is k; it has the three forms ka, ki, ku; but the whole declensional inflection is from ka, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from ki, and has the anomalous form kīm kim (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter i-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.</th>
<th>N.</th>
<th>F.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kās</td>
<td>kīm</td>
<td>kā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kām</td>
<td>kīm</td>
<td>kām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of tā (above, 495).

a. The Veda has its usual variations, kā and kēbhis for kānī and kāś. It also has, along with kīm, the pronominally regular neuter kād; and kām (or kam) is a frequent particle. The masc. form kīs, corresponding to kīm, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations nākīs and mākis.

505. The grammarians treat kīm 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—kīmmāya, kīmkarā, kīmkāmyā, kīm-devata, kīmālā, and the peculiar kīmyū—go back even to the Veda and Brāhmaṇa. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form kād, a couple of times in the Veda (katpayā, kādartha), and not infrequently later, is found as first member of compounds. Then, from the real roots ka, ki, ku are made many derivatives; and from ki and ku, especially the latter, many compounds: thus, kātī,
kathā, katham, kadā, katāra, katamā, kārhi; kīyant, kīḍṛṇ; kūtas, kūtra, kūha, kvā, kucará, kukarmān, kumantrin, etc.

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

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

Relative Pronoun.

508. The root of the relative pronoun is 洹 ya, which from the earliest period of the language has lost all trace of the demonstrative meaning originally (doubtless) belonging to it, and is used as relative only.

509. It is inflected with entire regularity according to the usual pronominal declension: thus,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></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>यत्</td>
<td>या</td>
<td>ये</td>
<td>यानि</td>
<td>याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yāś</td>
<td>yāt</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>yāni</td>
<td>yās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>यम्</td>
<td>यत्</td>
<td>याम्</td>
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<td>यान्</td>
<td>यानि</td>
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<td>yāt</td>
<td>yām</td>
<td>yān yāni</td>
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<td>L.</td>
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<td>याभ्हिस</td>
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<td>yāsmāi</td>
<td>yāsyāi</td>
<td>yābhyyām</td>
<td>yābhayas</td>
<td>yābhhyās</td>
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<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The Veda shows its usual variations of these forms: yā for yāu and for yāni, and yābhīs for yās; yōs for yāyōs also occurs once; yēna, with prolonged final, is in RV. twice as common as yēna. Reso-
Iusions occur in yābhīas, and yeśaam and yāsaam. The conjunction yāt is an ablative form according to the ordinary declension.

510. The use of yāt as representative stem begins very early: we have yātkaṇa in the Veda, and yatkaṛīn, yaddevatyaḥ in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: yātas, yāti, yātra, yātha, yāda, yādi, yārhi, yāvant, yatarā, yatamā; and the compound yāḍṛṇ.

511. The combination of ya with ka to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (507). Its own repetition—as yād-yat—gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the distributive.

512. One or two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of the relative may be here briefly noticed:

a. A very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates: thus, yāḥ sunvatāḥ sākha tasmā īndrāya gāyata (RV.) who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye; yāṁ yajñāṁ paribhūr āśi sā ēd devēṣu gacchati (RV.) what offering thou protectest, that in truth goeth to the gods; yē triṣaptāṁ pariyaṁti bāla tēṣāṁ dadhātu me (AV.) what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me; asāu yō adhārad gṛhā tātra santv arāyyaḥ (AV.) what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be; sahā yān me āsti tēna (TB.) along with that which is mine; haṁsānāṁ vacanaṁ yat tu tan māṁ dāhāti (MBh.) but what the words of the swans were, that burns me; sarvasaṁ locanaṁ qāstrāṁ yasya nā'asty andha eva saḥ (H.) who does not possess learning, the eye of everything, blind indeed is he. The other arrangement, though frequent enough, is notably less usual.

b. A frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause: thus, mē 'māṁ prā ṣpat pāruṣeyo vadhó yāḥ (AV.) may there not reach him a human deadly weapon (literally, what is such a weapon); pāri ṇo pāhi yād dhānam (AV.) protect of us what wealth [there is]; apānārgō 'pa māṛṣṭu kṣetriyāṁ qapāthaṇ ca yāḥ (AV.) may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse; puṣkareṇa hṛtāṁ rājyaṁ yac ca 'nyad vasu kīṁcana (MBh.) by Pushkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was].
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, svayaḥjā, svayambhit. But sva itself (usually adjective: below, 516c) has the same value in composition; and even its inflected forms are (in the older language very rarely) used as reflexive pronoun.

c. In RV. alone are found a few examples of two indefinite pronouns, sama (accentless) any, every, and simá every, all.

**Nouns used pronominally.**

514. a. The noun ātmān soul is widely employed, in the singular (extremely rarely in other numbers), as reflexive pronoun of all three persons.

b. The noun tanū body is employed in the same manner (but in all numbers) in the Veda.

c. The adjective bhavant, f. bhavatī, is used (as already pointed out: 456) in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person. Its construction with the verb is in accordance with its true character, as a word of the third person.

**Pronominal Derivatives.**

515. From pronominal roots and stems, as well as from the larger class of roots and from noun-stems, are formed by the ordinary suffixes of adjective derivation certain words and classes of words, which have thus the character of pronominal adjectives.

Some of the more important of these may be briefly noticed here.

516. Possessives. a. From the representative stems mad etc., are formed the adjectives mādīya, asmādīya, tvādīya, yuṣmādīya, tādīya, and etadīya, which are used in a possessive sense: relating to me, mine, and so on.

b. Other possessives are māmakā (also māmakā, RV.) and tāvakā, from the genitives māma and tāva. And RV. has once mākina.

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

d. It was pointed out above (489) that the "genitives" asmākam and yuṣmākam are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.
e. Corresponding to svayám (513) is the possessive svá, meaning "own," as relating to all persons and numbers. The RV. has once the corresponding simple possessive of the second person, tvá thy.

f. For the use of sva as reflexive pronoun, see above, 513b.

g. All these words form their feminines in á.

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 mávant, tvávant, yuvávant, yuvávant, etávant, yávant, meaning of my sort, like me, etc. Of these, however, only the last three are in use in the later language, in the sense of tantus and quantus. They are inflected like other adjective stems in vant, making their feminines in váti (452).

a. Words of similar meaning from the roots i and ki are iyánt and kiyánt, inflected in the same manner: see above, 461.

518. The pronominal roots show a like prolongation of vowel in combination with the root drç see, look, and its derivatives -drçá and (quite rarely) drkṣá: thus, māḍrçá, -drçá; tvádrçá, -drçá; yuṣmāḍrçá, -drçá; táḍrçá, -drçá, -drkṣá; etáḍrçá, -drçá, -drkṣá; yáḍrçá, -drçá; idrçá, -drçá, -drkṣá; kídṛçá, -drçá, -drkṣá. They mean of my sort, like or resembling me, and the like, and tadrç and the following are not uncommon, with the sense of talus and qualis. The forms in drç are unvaried for gender; those in drçá (and drkṣá?) have feminines in i.

519. From ta, ka, ya come táti so many, káti how many? yáti as many. They have a quasi-numeral character, and are inflected (like the numerals pāṇça etc.: above, 483) only in the plural, and with the bare stem as nom. and accus.: thus, N.A. táti; I. etc. tātibhiṣ, tātibhyas, tātīnām, tātīṣu.

520. From ya (in V. and B.) and ka come the comparatives and superlatives yatará and yamátá, and katará and khamtá; and from i, the comparative itára. 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, takám, takāt, takāś; from sa, sakā; from ya, yakás, yakā, yakē; from asū, asakū; 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 ṇa ṭa, 495), with feminine stems in ā. Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, katārā and katamā, yatārā and yatamā, and ītara; also anyā other, and its comparative anyatarā — are declined like ta throughout.

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

b. Anya takes occasionally the form anyat in composition: thus, anyatkāma, anyatsthāna.

524. Other words are so inflected except in the nom.-acc.-voc. sing. neut., where they have the ordinary adjective form am, instead of the pronominal at (ad). Such are sārva all, vīcva all, every, ēka one.

a. These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e.g. vīcva, vīqvāt, vīqve RV.; ēka 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: ādhara and adhamā, āntara and āntama, āpara and apamā, āvara and avamā, āttara and uttamā, āpamā. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.

b. Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) paramā, caramā, madhyamā; and also anyatama (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: 528).

c. Further, the words pāra distant, other; pūrva prior, east; dākaṇa right, south; paścima behind, western; ubhāya (t. ubhāyī or ubhayī) of both kinds or parties; nēma the one, half; and the possessive svā.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e.g. prathamasyas, tṛtiyasāṃ; and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, ālpa few; ardha half; kēvala all; dvītaya of the two kinds; bāhya outside — and others. RV. has once samānāsamāt.
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 parasmāś padam a word for another, and a middle form is called śātmane 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 as 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 Brāhmanas — 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 aorist, 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 bidential).

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, prevailingly of past and passive (or sometimes neuter) meaning. Future passive participles, or gerundives, of several different formations, are also made.

538. Infinitives. In the older language, a very considerable variety of derivative abstract nouns—only in a few sporadic instances having anything to do with the tense-systems—are used in an infinitive or quasi-infinitive sense; most often in the dative case, but sometimes also in the accusative, in the genitive and ablative, and (very rarely) in the locative. In the classical Sanskrit, there remains a single infinitive, of accusative case-form, having nothing to do with the tense-systems.

539. 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 prevailingly past tense-character.

a. Another gerund, an adverbially used accusative in form, is found, but only rarely, both earlier and later.

540. Secondary conjugations. The secondary or derivative conjugations are as follows: 1. the passive; 2. the intensive; 3. the desiderative; 4. the causative. In these, a conjugation-stem, instead of the simple root, underlies the whole system of inflection. Yet there is clearly to be seen in them the character of a present-system, expanded into a more or less complete conjugation; and the passive is
so purely a present-system that it will be described in the chapter devoted to that part of the inflection of the verb.

a. Under the same general head belongs the subject of denominative conjugation, or the conversion of noun and adjective-stems into conjugation-stems. Further, that of compound conjugation, whether by the prefixion of prepositions to roots or by the addition of auxiliary verbs to noun and adjective-stems. And finally, that of periphrastic conjugation, or the looser combination of auxiliaries with verbal nouns and adjectives.

541. The characteristic of a proper [finite or personal] verb-form is its personal ending. By this alone is determined its character as regards number and person—and in part also as regards mode and tense. But the distinctions of mode and tense are mainly made by the formation of tense and mode-stems, to which, rather than to the pure root, the personal endings are appended.

a. In this chapter will be given a general account of the personal endings, and also of the formation of mode-stems from tense-stems, and of those elements in the formation of tense-stems—the augment and the reduplication—which are found in more than one tense-system. Then, in the following chapters, each tense-system will be taken up by itself, and the methods of formation of its stems, both tense-stems and mode-stems, and their combination with the endings, will be described and illustrated in detail. And the complete conjugation of a few model verbs will be exhibited in systematic arrangement in Appendix C.

Personal Endings.

542. The endings of verbal inflection are, as was pointed out above, different throughout in the active and middle voices. They are also, as in Greek, usually of two somewhat varying forms for the same person in the same voice: one fuller, called primary; the other briefer, called secondary. There are also less pervading differences, depending upon other conditions.

a. In the epics, exchanges of primary and secondary active endings, (especially the substitution of ma, va, ta, for mas, vas, tha) are not infrequent.
b. A condensed statement of all the varieties of ending for each person and number here follows.

543. Singular: First person. a. The primary ending in the active is mi. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has ni instead; and in the oldest Veda this ni is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in ā (as if the ni of āni were dropped). The secondary ending is properly m; but to this m an a has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing regularly where the tense-stem does not itself end in a (vam for vam or varam in RV., once, and abhūm MS., avadhīm TS. etc., sanem TB., are rare anomalies), that it is convenient to reckon am as ending, rather than m. But the perfect tense has neither mi nor m; its ending is simply a (sometimes ā: 248 c); or, from ā-roots, āu.

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

544. Second person. a. In the active, the primary ending is si, which is shortened to s as secondary; as to the loss of this s after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably tha (or thā: 248 c). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is dhi; which, however, is more often reduced to hi; and in the great majority of verbs (including all a-stems, at every period of the language) no ending is present, but the bare stem stands as personal form. In a very small class of verbs (732-3), 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: 248 c), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as sua. In the older language, se is sometimes strengthened to sāi in the subjunctive.

545. Third person. a. The active primary ending is ti; the secondary, t; as to the loss of the latter after a final radical consonant, see below, 555. But in the imperative appears instead the peculiar ending tu; and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.

b. The primary middle ending is te, with ta as corresponding secondary. In the older language, te is often strengthened to tāi in
the subjunctive. In the perfect, the middle third person has, like the active, the same ending with the first, namely e simply; and in the older language, the third person present also often loses the distinctive part of its termination, and comes to coincide in form with the first (and MS. has aдуha for adudha). To this e perhaps corresponds, as secondary, the i of the aorist 3d pers. passive (842 ff.). The imperative has там (or, in the Veda, rarely אמ) for its ending.

546. Dual: First person. Both in active and in middle, the dual first person is in all its varieties precisely like the corresponding plural, only with substitution of v for the m of the latter: thus, vas (no vasi has been found to occur), va, vahe, vahi, vahai. The person is, of course, of comparatively rare use, and from the Veda no form in vas, even, is quotable.

547. Second and Third persons. a. In the active, the primary ending of the second person is тhas, and that of the third is тае; 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 там and там; and they are used in the imperative as well.

b. In the middle, a long а — 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 (dichithām AV., and jihithām ČB., are isolated anomalies). The primary endings, present and perfect, are athе and ате; the secondary (and imperative) are athām and атām (or, with stem-final a, ethe etc.).

c. The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in аtthe and ате, apparently from ethe and ete with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed below: see 615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1006, 1043).

548. Plural: First person. a. The earliest form of the active ending is masi, which in the oldest language is more frequent than the briefer mas (in RV., as five to one; in AV., however, only as three to four). In the classical Sanskrit, mas is the exclusive primary ending; but the secondary abbreviated ma belongs also to the perfect and the subjunctive (imperative). In the Veda, mas often becomes мā (248 c), especially in the perfect.

b. The primary middle ending is маhe. This is lightened in the secondary form to mahi; and, on the other hand, it is regularly (in the Veda, not invariably) strengthened to mahāi in the subjunctive (imperative).

549. Second person. a. The active primary ending is tha. The secondary, also imperative, ending is та (in the Veda, та 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 to the present. In the subjunctive of the older language it is sometimes strengthened to dhvāt. The secondary (and imperative) ending is dhvam (in RV., once dhva); and dhvāt is once met with in the imperative (571 d). In the Veda, the v of all these endings is sometimes to be resolved into u, and the ending becomes disyllabic. As to the change of dh of these endings to dh, see above, 226 c.

550. Third person. a. The full primary ending is anta in the active, with ante as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is anta, to which should correspond an active ant; but of the t only altogether questionable traces are left, in the euphonic treatment of a final n (207); the ending is an. In the imperative, antu and antām take the place of anti and ante. The initial a of all these endings is like that of am in the 1st sing., disappearing after the final a of a tense-stem.

b. Moreover, anti, antu, ante, antām, anta are all liable to be weakened by the loss of their nasal, becoming ati etc. In the active, this weakening takes place only after reduplicated non-a-stems and after a few roots which are treated as if reduplicated: 639 ff.; in the middle, it occurs after all tense-stems save those ending in a.

c. Further, for the secondary active ending an there is a substitute us (or ur: 169 b; the evidence of the Avestan favors the latter form), which is used in the same reduplicating verbs that change anti to ati etc., and which accordingly appears as a weaker correlative of an. The same us is also used universally in the perfect, in the optative (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 (821).

d. The perfect middle has in all periods of the language the peculiar ending re, and the optative has the allied ran, in this person. In the Veda, a variety of other endings containing a r as distinctive consonant are met with: namely, re (and ire) and rate in the present; rata in the optative (both of present and of aorist); rire in the perfect; ranta, ran, and ram in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); rām and ratām in the imperative; ra in the imperfect of duh (MS.). The three rate, ratām, and rata are found even in the later language in one or two verbs (829).
551. Below are given, for convenience, in tabular form, the
schemes of endings as accepted in the classical or later language:
amely, a. the regular primary endings, used in the present indicative
and the future (and the subjunctive in part); and b. the regular
secondary endings, used in the imperfect, the conditional, the aorist,
the optative (and the subjunctive in part); and further, of special
schemes, c. the perfect endings (chiefly primary, especially in the
middle); and d. the imperative endings (chiefly secondary). To the
so-called imperative endings of the first person is prefixed the ā which
is practically a part of them, though really containing the mode-sign
of the subjunctive from which they are derived.

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

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

a. Primary Endings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mi</td>
<td>vás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 si</td>
<td>thás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ti</td>
<td>tás</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Secondary Endings.

| 1 am | vá | má | í, á | váhi | máhi |
| 2 a' | tám | tá | thás | áthám | dhwám |
| 3 t | tám | án, ús | tá | átám | ánta, áta, rán |

c. Perfect Endings.

| 1 a | vá | má | é | váhe | máhe |
| 2 tha | áthus | á | sé | áthe | dhwé |
| 3 a | átus | ús | é | áte | ré |

d. Imperative Endings.

| 1 āni | āva | āma | āl | ávahāi | āmahāi |
| 2 dhí, hí, — | tám | tá | svá | áthām | dhwām |
| 3 tu | tám | ántu, átu | tám | átām | ántām, átām |

554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if dis-
syllabic, 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 *atê* in a number of verbs (see 613, 685, 689, 719); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings: thus, *mahê* (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 a, and t and t. The examples noted are: 2d sing. aves (to 3d sing. avet), y'vid, AB.; 3d sing. akat, y'kṛ, CB.; aghat, y'ghas, JB. AČS.; acakāt, y'cakās, RT.; açāt, y'cās, AB. MBh. R.; asrat, y'rasas, VS.; ahinat, y'hiñs, ČB. TB. GB. Compare also the s-aorist forms ayās and uruṣ (146 a), in which the same influence is to be seen; and further, ajāit etc. (689 a), and preceptive yāt for yās (837). A similar loss of any other final consonant is excessively rare; AV. has once abhanas, for -nak, y'bhañj. There are also a few cases where a 1st sing. is irregularly modeled after a 3d sing.: thus, artnam (to artnat), y'tṛd, KU., acchinam (to acchinat), y'chid, MBh.: compare further the 1st sing. in m instead of am, 543 a.

b. Again, a union-vowel is sometimes introduced before the ending, either a or i or i: see below, 621 b, 631, 619, 880, 1004 a, 1068 a.

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

556. The changes of form which roots and stems undergo in their combinations with these endings will be pointed out in detail below, under the various formations. Here may be simply mentioned in advance, as by far the most important among them, a distinction of stronger and weaker form of stem in large classes of verbs, standing in relation with the accent — the stem being of stronger form when the accent falls upon it, or before an accentless ending, and of weaker form when the accent is on the ending.

a. Of the endings marked as accented in the scheme, the ta of 2d pl. is not infrequently in the Veda treated as unaccented, the tone resting on the stem, which is strengthened. Much less often, the tam of 2d 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. 3. ed.*

14
so-called first persons imperative, and in the use (579) of the imperfect and aorist persons without augment after mã 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 Brähmapas it becomes comparatively rare. Its varieties of form are considerable, and sometimes perplexing.

558. In its normal and regular formation, a special mode-stem is made for the subjunctive by adding to the tense-stem an a — which combines with a final a of the tense-stem to ā. The accent rests upon the tense-stem, which accordingly has the strong form. Thus, from the strong present-stem doh (y’duh) is made the subjunctive-stem döhā; from juhó (y’hu), juhāva; from yunāj (y’yu), yunāja; from sunó (y’su), sunāva; from bhāva (y’bh), bhāvā; from tudā (y’tud), tudā; from ucyā (pass., y’vac), 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 (7331) — but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:

560. a. In the active, the 1st sing. has ni as ending: thus, döhāni, yunājāni, bhāvāni. But in the Rig-Veda sometimes ā simply: thus, āyā, brāvā.

b. In 1st du., 1st pl., and 2d pl., the endings are the secondary: thus, döhāva, döhāma, dōhan; bhāvāva, bhāvāma, bhāvān.

c. In 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., the endings are primary: thus, dōhathas, dōhatas, dōhatha; bhāvāthas, bhāvātas, bhāvātha.

d. In 2d and 3d sing., the endings are either primary or secondary: thus, dōhæi or dōhas, dōhati or dōhat; bhāvæi or bhāvæs, bhāvæti or bhāvæt.

e. Occasionally, forms with double mode-sign ā (by assimilation to the more numerous subjunctives from tense-stems in a) are met with from non-a-stems: thus, āsātha from as; āyās, āyāt, āyān from e (y’i).

561. In the middle, forms with secondary instead of primary endings are very rare, being found only in the 3d pl. (where they are more frequent than the primary), and in a case or two of the 3d sing. (and AB. has once asyāthās).

a. The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of e to ā in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In 1st sing., āi alone is found as ending, even in RV.; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only āvahāi is met with. In 1st pl., āmahāi prevails in RV. and AV. (āmahe is found a few times); and is alone known later. In 2d sing., āīi for se does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brähmapas. In 3d sing., tāī for te occurs once in RV., and is the predominant form
in AV., and the only one later. In 2d pl., dhvāi for dhve is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d pl., ntāi for nte is the Brāhmaṇa form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in RV. nor AV. No such dual endings as thāi and tāi, for the and te, are anywhere found; but RV. has in a few words (nine: above, 547 c) āithe and āite, which appear to be a like subjunctive strengthening of ēthe and ēte (although found in one indicative form, kṛṣvāite). Before the āi-endings, the vowel is regularly long ā; but antāi instead of āntāi is two or three times met with, and once or twice (TS. AB.) atāi for ātāi.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active</th>
<th>middle</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āni</td>
<td>āva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āśi</td>
<td>āthes</td>
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<tr>
<td>ās</td>
<td>āthis</td>
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<tr>
<td>āt</td>
<td>ātās</td>
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<tr>
<td>ātāi</td>
<td>āntāi</td>
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</table>

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., āśi or āś, āthās, āthā, āsē, ādhve.

563. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple form — with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary endings — the name of subjunctive, in the forms "imperfect subjunctive" and "improper subjunctive", has been also given to the indicative forms of imperfect and aorist when used, with the augment omitted, in a modal sense (below, 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

14*
to one ending in some other final. In the latter case, it is yā, accented; this yā is appended to the weaker form of the tense-stem, and takes the regular series of secondary endings, with, in 3d plur., us instead of an, and loss of the ā before it. After an a-stem, it is ī, unaccented; this ī blends with the final a to ē (which then is accented or not according to the accent of the a); and the ē 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 ē, 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 é) takes an inserted y before the vowel-endings (a, āthām, ātām).

c. It is, of course, impossible to tell from the form whether ī or ī is combined with the final of an a-stem to ē; but no good reason appears to exist for assuming ī, 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:

a. for non-a-stems.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 yām</td>
<td>yáva</td>
<td>yāma</td>
<td>iyá</td>
<td>iváhi</td>
<td>imáhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 yās</td>
<td>yātām</td>
<td>yāta</td>
<td>ithās</td>
<td>iyāthām</td>
<td>idhvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 yāt</td>
<td>yātām</td>
<td>yūs</td>
<td>itā</td>
<td>iyātām</td>
<td>irān</td>
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</table>

b. combined with the final of a-stems.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 eyam</td>
<td>eva</td>
<td>ema</td>
<td>eya</td>
<td>evahī</td>
<td>emahī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 es</td>
<td>etam</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>ethās</td>
<td>eyāthām</td>
<td>edhvam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 et</td>
<td>etām</td>
<td>eyus</td>
<td>eta</td>
<td>eyātām</td>
<td>eran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

d. The contracted sanem, for sāneyam, is found in Tib. and Āpast. Certain Vedic 3d-pl. middle forms in rata will be mentioned below, under the various formations.

567. Preceptive. Preceptive 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 preceptive 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 ə 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 ə, 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 ə; but the RV. usually, and the other Vedic texts to some extent, have the proper ending yās (for yāst). As to dh in the 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

b. The accent is as in the simple optative.

588. 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>yāsəm</td>
<td>yāsva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yā]</td>
<td>[yāstam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[yāt]</td>
<td>yāstām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

da. Respecting the precative, see further 921 ff.
b. As to the general uses of the optative, see below, 573 ff.

Imperative Mode.

569. The imperative has no mode-sign; it is made by adding its own endings directly to the tense-stem, just as the other endings are added to form the indicative tenses.

a. Hence, in 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., its forms are indistinguishable from those of the augment-preterit from the same stem with its augment omitted.

b. The rules as to the use of the different endings — especially in 2d sing., where the variety is considerable — will be given below, in connection with the various tense-systems. The ending tāt, however, has so much that is peculiar in its use that it calls for a little explanation here.

570. The Imperative in tāt. An imperative form, usually having the value of a 2d pers. sing., but sometimes also of other persons and numbers, is made by adding tāt to a present tense-stem — in its weak form, if it have a distinction of strong and weak form.

a. Examples are: brūtāt, hatāt, vittāt; pipṛtāt, jahitāt, dhattāt; kṛṣṭitāt, kurutāt; gṛṣṇitāt, jānitāt; āvatāt, rākṣatāt, vasatāt; viṣatāt, sṛjatāt; asyatāt, naḍyatāt, chyatāt; kriyatāt;
VIII. CONJUGATION.

570—] gamayatāt, cyāvayatāt, vārayatāt; īpsatāt; jāgpātāt. No examples have been found from a nasal-class verb (660), nor any other than those here given from a passive, intensive, or desiderative. The few accented cases indicate that the formation follows the general rule for one made with an accented ending (552).

b. The imperative in tāt is not a very rare formation in the older language, being made (in V., B., and S.) from about fifty roots, and in toward a hundred and fifty occurrences. Later, it is very unusual: thus, only a single example has been noted in MBh., and one in R.; and correspondingly few in yet more modern texts.

571. As regards its meaning, this form appears to have prevailingly in the Brāhmaṇas, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value—as signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time than the present: it is (like the Latin forms in to and tute) a posterior or future imperative.

a. Examples are: ihāī 'vā mā tiṣṭhantam abhyēhi 'ti bhrūhi tām tū na agatāṁ prati-prābrūtāt (CB.) say to her "come to me as I stand just here," and [afterward] announce her to us as having come; yād ūrdhvās tiṣṭhā drāvīpe 'hā dhattāt (RV.) when thou shalt stand upright, [then] bestow riches here (and similarly in many cases); utkūlam udvahō bhavo 'dūhya práti dhāvatāt (AV.) be a carrier up the ascent: after having carried up, run back again; vāṇaspātir āchī tvā sthāyatī tāsyā 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., āvyuṣām jāgpād ahām (AV.; only case) let me watch till day-break; as 3d sing., pūnar mā "vīṣatād rayīh (TS.) set wealth come again to me, ayāṁ tyāsyā rājā mūrdhānaṁ vi pātyatāt (CB.) the king here shall make his head fly off; as 2d du., nāsatyaṁ abruvan devāh pūnar ā vahatād iti (RV.) the gods said to the two Agvins "bring them back again"; as 2d pl., āpāh ... devēgu naḥ suktō 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 prasādah kurutāt (MBh.) may your worship do the favor, enaḥ bhavān abhirakṣatāt (DK.) let your excellency protect him.

c. According to the native grammarians, the imperative in tāt is to be used with a benedictive implication. No instance of such use appears to be quotable.

d. In a certain passage repeated several times in different Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, and containing a number of forms in tāt used as 2d pl., vārayadhvāt is read instead of vārayatāt in some of the texts (K. AB. AQS. ÇČS.). No other occurrence of the ending, dhvāt has been anywhere noted.
Uses of the Modes.

572. Of the three modes, the imperative is the one most distinct and limited in office, and most unchanged in use throughout the whole history of the language. It signifies a command or injunction—an attempt at the exercise of the speaker’s will upon some one or something outside of himself.

a. This, however (in Sanskrit as in other languages), is by no means always of the same force; the command shades off into a demand, an exhortation, an entreaty, an expression of earnest desire. The imperative also sometimes signifies an assumption or concession; and occasionally, by pregnant construction, it becomes the expression of something conditional or contingent; but it does not acquire any regular use in dependent-clause-making.

b. The imperative is now and then used in an interrogative sentence: thus, bravīhi ko ‘dyāi ’va mayā viyujuyatām (R.) speak! who shall now be separated by me? katham ete guṇavantāḥ kriyantām (H.) how are they to be made virtuous? kasmāi pīṇḍaḥ pradiyatām (Vet.) to whom shall the offering be given?

573. The optative appears to have as its primary office the expression of wish or desire; in the oldest language, its prevailing use in independent clauses is that to which the name “optative” properly belongs.

a. But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and, on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is.

b. Further, the optative in dependent clauses, with relative pronouns and conjunctions, becomes a regular means of expression of the conditional and contingent, in a wide and increasing variety of uses.

c. The so-called precative forms (567) are ordinarily used in the proper optative sense. But in the later language they are occasionally met with in the other uses of the optative: thus, na hi prapaṇyāmi mamā 'panudyād yac chokam (BhG.) for I do not perceive what should dispel my grief; yad bhūyasur vibhūtayāḥ (BhP.) that there should be changes. Also rarely with mā: see 579 b.
574. The subjunctive, as has been pointed out, becomes nearly extinct at an early period in the history of the language; there are left of it in classical usage only two relics: the use of its first persons in an imperative sense, or to signify a necessity or obligation resting on the speaker, or a peremptory intention on his part; and the use of unaugmented forms (579), with the negative particle न मा, in a prohibitive or negative imperative sense.

a. And the general value of the subjunctive from the beginning was what these relics would seem to indicate: its fundamental meaning is perhaps that of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, more so than the optative. But this meaning is liable to the same modifications and transitions with that of the optative; and subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent. And instead of their being (as in Greek) both maintained in use, and endowed with nicer and more distinctive values, the subjunctive gradually disappears, and the optative assumes alone the offices formerly shared by both.

575. The difference, then, between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree: command, requisition, wish; and no sharp line of division exists between them; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in coördinate clauses.

a. Thus, in AV., we have in impv.: ताताम jīva तारादाह do thou live a hundred autumns; ubhāu tāu jīvatām jāraṇaṭṭi let them both live to attain old age; — in subj., adyā jīvāni let me live this day; ताताम jīvāti तारादाह he shall live a hundred autumns; — in opt., jīvāma तारादाम jatāṇi may we live hundreds of autumns; सार्वं अयु jīvyāsam (prec.) I would fain live out my whole term of life. Here the modes would be interchangeable with a hardly perceptible change of meaning.

b. Examples, again, of different modes in coördinate construction are: iṣyām agne nāraḥ pātiṃ videsṭa ... sūvā nṛaṃ pūtṛn maḥ īṣ bhavāti gatvā āśic pātiṃ subhāga vi rājatū (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 naḥ svastāye prabūdhe naḥ pūnār dadaḥ (TS.) watch over us for
our welfare; grant unto us to wake again; syān naḥ sūnūḥ...sā te
sumatīr bhūtv asmē (RV.) may there be to us a son; let that favor
of thine be ours. It is not very seldom the case that versions of
the same passage in different texts show different modes as various
readings.

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 úttarā yugāṇī (RV.) those
later ages will doubtless come; yād...nā marā īti māṇyase (RV.)
if thou thinkest “I shall not die”; nā tā naṣṇtītī nā dabhatī tāṣkaraḥ
(RV.) they do not become lost; no thief can harm them; kāṃmāi devāya
havīṣā vidhēma (RV.) to what god shall we offer oblation? aģūnā rāyīm
aṇṇavat...dīvē-dive (RV.) by Agni one may gain wealth every day;
utāi śām brahmāṇe dadyāt tātā śyaṇā qīva śyāt (AV.) one
should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious
and favorable; āḥar-āhar dadyāt (CB.) one should give every day.

577. The uses of the optative in the later language are of the
utmost variety, covering the whole field occupied jointly by the two
modes in earlier time. A few examples from a single text (MBh.)
will be enough to illustrate them: ucchīṣṭāṃ nāi ‘va bhunītēyāḥ na
kuryāḥ pādadhāvanam I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice,
I will not perform the foot-lavation; jēṭāṁ vṛajet let her go to her
relatives; nāi ‘vāhā śa karhicēt kuryāḥ she should not act thus at any
time; kathām vīḍāṁ nalaṁ nypam how can I know king Nala?
utsargā śaṁcāyāḥ syāt tu vīndēta ‘pi sukahāṁ kvacī but in case
of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness
somewhere; kathām vāsō vikartēyāḥ na ca budhyeta me priyā
how can I cut off the garment and my beloved not wake?

578. The later use of the first persons subjunctive as so-called
imperative involves no change of construction from former time, but
only restriction to a single kind of use: thus, dīvīyāva let us two
play; kiṁ karvāṇi 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, prevailingly aorist.

a. Thus, prā pata mé ‘hā raṅśṭhāḥ (AV.) fly away, do not stay
here; dviśāṇc ca māhyāṁ radhyātu mā ca ‘hāṁ dviśatē radham
(AV.) both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe;
urv aṣṭyām ābhayaṁ jyōṭir indra mā no dirghā abhī naṣṭan
tamisrāḥ (RV.) I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the
long darknesses come upon us; mā na āyūḥ prā mōṣtī (RV.) do not
steal away our life; samāqvasihi mā queh (MBh.) be comforted; do not grieve; mā bhāṣaḥ or bhāḥ (MBh. R.) do not be afraid; mā bhūt kālasya paryayaḥ (R.) let not a change of time take place. Examples with the imperfect are: mā bibher nā marisyasi (RV.) do not fear; thou wilt not die; mā smāi 'tānt sākhīn kuruthāḥ (AV.) do not make friends of them; mā putram anutyayathāḥ (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 prescriptive (bhuyāt, 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 sṛpa, TA. i. 14; doubtful a bad reading for sṛpas); but in the epics and later the construction begins to appear, and becomes an ordinary form of prohibition: thus, mā prayaoche "qvare dhanam (H.) do not bestow wealth on a lord; sakhī māi 'vaṁ vada (Vet.) friend, do not speak thus.

d. The (CB. (xi. 5. 11) appears to offer a single example of a true subjunctive with mā, nī padyaśāī; there is perhaps something wrong about the reading.

e. In the epics and later, an aorist form not deprived of augment is occasionally met with after mā: thus, mā tvāṁ kālo 'tyagāt (MBh.) let not the time pass thee; mā vālipatham any agāḥ (R.) do not follow Vāś's road. But the same anomaly occurs also two or three times in the older language: thus, vyākpatat (CB.), agas (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 'tisrjén nā juhuyāt (AV.) and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice; tād u tāthā nā kuryāt (CB.) but he must not do that so; na dīrā qayita (CGS.) let him not sleep by day; na tvāṁ vidyur janāḥ (MBh.) let not people know thee. This in the later language is the correlative of the prescriptive optative, and both are extremely common; so that in a text of prescriptive character the optative forms may come to outnumber the indicative and imperative together (as is the case, for example, in Manu).

581. In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even in the oldest language to establish a definite distinction between subjunctive and optative; a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent—
and then, in the later language, such uses are represented by the optative alone. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this:

a. After relative pronouns and conjunctions in general: yā vyūṣūr yāca nānāh vyuochân (RV.) which have shone forth [hitherto], and which shall hereafter shine forth; yō ’to jāyata asmākaṁ sā ēko ‘sat (TS.) whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us; yō vāi tān vidyāt pratyākṣam sā brahmā vēditā syāt (AV.) whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest; putrānāṁ ... jātānāṁ janāyac ca yān (AV.) of sons born and whom thou mayest bear; yāsya ... ātithir gṛṇāḥ āgāchet (AV.) to whosesoever house he may come as guest; yatamāthā kāmāyeta tāthā kuryāt (CB.) in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it; yārhi hōtā jāya-mānasaya nāma gṛṇīyāt tārhi brūyāt (TS.) when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak; svārūpaṁ yadā draṣṭum icchethaḥ (MBh.) when thou shalt desire to see thine own form.

b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: yājāma devan yātī çakñāvāma (RV.) we will offer to the gods if we shall be able; yād agne svām ahāṁ tvāṁ tvāṁ vā ghā svām svuṣ te satyā thā ’cīṣaḥ (RV.) if I were thou, Agni, or if thou were I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot; yō dyām atisārpat parāstān nā sā mucoyātai vāruṇasya rājñaḥ (AV.) though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna; yād ānāqvān upavāset kīkudo kārthā yād aṇiṇyād rudrō ’arya paçūn abhi manyeta (TS.) if he should continue without eating, he would starve; if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle; prāthayēd yadi māṁ kaçcid daṇḍyaḥ 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: yāṭha ‘hāṁ çatruhō ’śānī (AV.) that I may be a slayer of my enemies; gṛṇāḥ yāṭha pibātho āndhāḥ (RV.) that being praised with song ye may drink the draught; uryā yāṭha tāva çārman mādema (RV.) in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection; úpa jānīta yāthe ‘yām puñar āgāchet (CB.) contrive that she come back again; kṛpaṁ kuryād yāṭha mayi (MBh.) so that he may take pity on me. This is in the Veda one of the most frequent uses of the subjunctive; and in its correlative negative form, with néd in order that not or lest (always followed by an accented verb), It continues not rare in the Brāhmaṇas.

d. The indicative is also very commonly used in final clauses after yāṭha: thus, yāṭha ’yāṁ pūruṣo ‘ntārikṣam anuçārati (CB.) in order that this man may traverse the atmosphere; yāṭha na vighnaḥ kriyate (R.) so that no hindrance may arise; yāṭha ‘yāṁ naçyati tāthā vidhoyam (H.) it must be so managed that he perish.
e. With the conditional use of subjunctive and optative is further to be compared that of the so-called conditional tense: see below, 950.

f. As is indicated by many of the examples given above, it is usual in a conditional sentence, containing protasis and apodosis, to employ always the same mode, whether subjunctive or optative (or conditional), in each of the two clauses. For the older language, this is a rule well-nigh or quite without exception.

582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-stem and those (in the older language) of the perfect and aorist-systems.

Participles.

583. Participles, active and middle, are made from all the tense-stems—except the periphrastic future, and, in the later language, the aorist (and aorist participles are rare from the beginning).

a. The participles unconnected with the tense-systems are treated in chap. XIII. (952 ff.).

584. The general participial endings are घन्त् ant (weak form घन्त् at; fem. घन्ती antī or घन्ती atī; see above, 449) for the active, and घान अन (fem. घाना अनā) for the middle. But—

a. After a tense-stem ending in a, the active participial suffix is virtually nt, one of the two a's being lost in the combination of stem-final and suffix.

b. After a tense-stem ending in a, the middle participial suffix is māna instead of āna. But there are occasional exceptions to the rule as to the use of māna and āna respectively, which will be pointed out in connection with the various formations below. Such exceptions are especially frequent in the causative: see 1043ff.

c. The perfect has in the active the peculiar suffix vā̄na (weakest form uṣ; middle form vat; fem. uṣī: see, for the inflection of this participle, above, 458 ff.).

d. For details, as to form of stem etc., and for special exceptions see the following chapters.

Augment.

585. The augment is a short घ a, prefixed to a tense-stem—and, if the latter begin with a vowel, combining with that vowel irregularly into the heavier or vṛddhī diphthong
(136a). It is always (without any exception) the accented element in the verbal form of which it makes a part.

a. In the Veda, the augment is in a few forms long ā: thus, ānaṭ, āvar, āṛṇi, āṛṇak, āvidhyat, āyunak, āyukta, āyukṣātām, ārṇak, ārāik, (and yās ta āvidhat, RV. ii. 1. 7, 99).

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).
Reduplication.

588. The derivation of conjugational and declensional stems from roots by reduplication, either alone or along with other formative elements, has been already spoken of (259), and the formations in which reduplication appears have been specified: they are, in primary verb-inflection, the present (of a certain class of verbs); the perfect (of nearly all), and the aorist (of a large number); and the intensive and desiderative secondary conjugations contain in their stems the same element.

589. The general principle of reduplication is the prefixion to a root of a part of itself repeated — if it begin with consonants, the initial consonant and the vowel; if it begin with a vowel, that vowel, either alone or with a following consonant. The varieties of detail, however, are very considerable. Thus, especially, as regards the vowel, which in present and perfect and desiderative is regularly shorter and lighter in the reduplication than in the root-syllable, in aorist is longer, and in intensive is strengthened. The differences as regards an initial consonant are less, and chiefly confined to the intensive; for the others, certain general rules may be here stated, all further details being left to be given in connection with the account of the separate formations.

590. The consonant of the reduplicating syllable is in general the first consonant of the root: thus, पप्रा पप्राच from यप्राच prach; श्री श्री from यश्री śri; बुधु बुदु from यबुध्. But —

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, दधा दधा from यधा; बभ्र बभ्र from यभ्र bhr.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for क h:
thus, चूँके oaksr from द्रष्ट कर्; छिस्तिद्र oikhid from द्रष्ट खिद्; नाम् जाग्रभ from द्रष्ट ग्राभ; लक्ष् जाह्र from द्रष्ट ह्र.

c. The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (216,1).

d. Of two initial consonants, the second, if it be a non-nasal mute preceded by a sibilant, is repeated instead of the first: thus, तत्त्व tastr from तत्त्व स्त्र; तत्त्व तस्ताह from तत्त्व स्थिः; चस्तक्ष्ठ caskand from चस्तक्ष्ठ स्कान्द; चस्तक्ष्ठ caskhal from चस्तक्ष्ठ स्काह; चुस्तु cuscot from चुस्तु चौत; पत्त्व पास्प्रध pasprdh from पत्त्व पास्प्रध; पुष्पुष्प puṣphuṣ from पुष्पुष्प puṣphuṣ; — but नस्त्रा sasna from नस्त्रा स्ना; नस्त्रा sasmr from नस्त्रा स्म्र; नस्त्र susru from नस्त्र चूँ; शिल्सिलिप qiślis from शिल्सिलिप qiślis.

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 पाद.

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

b. Examples of the unaccented verb are: आग्निम इङ्कृतम Agni I praise, the house-priest; sa id devēṣu gacchati that, truly, goes to the gods; आग्नि supāyano bhava O Agni, be easy of access; idām indra ṣṛṇuhi somapa this, O Indra, soma-drinker, hear; nāmās te rudra kṛṇmāh hommage to thee, Rudra, we offer; yājamānasya paṇḍūn pāḥ the sacrificer’s cattle protect thou.

c. Hence, there are two principal situations in which the verb retains its accent:
593. First, the verb is accented when it stands at the beginning of a clause — or, in verse, of a pāda.

a. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the sentence are, in prose, āṇḍadhvaṁ ṛāṣṭrō Ṙāmaṁ te ātman‍ḥoḥ te varnaḥ this world; — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the pāda, sāyam‍ḥ 'd āndāsya ṛāmaṁ may we be in Indra's protection; dārṣāya mā yātudhānāṁ show me the sorcerers; gāmād vājebhīr a śā naḥ may he come with good things to us; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the pāda, teṣām pāḥi črudhī hāvam drink of them, hear our call; sāstu mātā sāstu pitā sāstu vā sāstu viṁśṭṭīḥ let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep; viṁśṭākarna namās te pāḥy āsmāṁ Viṁśṭākarm, homage to thee; protect us! yuvām . . . rājāa ulye duḥḥāt prcohē vām narā the king's daughter said to you "I pray you, ye men"; vayaṁ te vāya indra viddhi şu naḥ prā bhārāmahe we offer thee, Indra, strengthening; take note of us.

b. Examples of the verb accented at the head of the pāda when this is not the head of the sentence are: ātāe te āntamānaṁ vīḍyāma sumatīṁ māy so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors; dhātā 'aya āgrāvī paṭīṁ dāhātu prāti-kāmyāṁ Dūṭār bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish; yātudhānāsya somapaḥ jahi praĵāṁ slay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer.

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

a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accented, as if it were itself initial in the clause or pāda: thus, āgrutkārṇa črudhī hāvam O thou of listening ears, hear our call! sīte vāndāmahe tvā O Śītā, we reverence thee; viṁve devā vāsavo rākṣate 'mām all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man; utā "gač ca ca cakrūṣaṁ devā devā jīvāya thā pūnaḥ likewise him, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live again.

b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, tarāṇī ṇ jayati keśēti pūṣyati successful he conquers, rules, thrives; amīṭān ... pārāca śāstraṁ pā jaḥ ca our foes, Indra, drive far away and slay; āsāṁbhyaṁ ēṣi śōta ca for us conquer and fight; āgniśmaṁ hāviṇaḥ prāsthitasya vitāṁ hāryataṁ vṛṣṇaṁ juśēthāṁ 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, jahi praĵāṁ nāyaṁca slay the progeny, and bring [it] hither; ṛṣṇetū naḥ subhagā bōdhātu tmānā may the blessed one hear us, [and may she] kindly regard us.
d. It has even come to be a formal rule that a verb immediately following another verb is accented; thus, sā ya etām evām upāste pūryāte praJayā paśūhīḥ (ṣB.) 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: yāṁ yañāṁ paribhūr āsī what offering thou protected; ó tē yanti ye aparīṣu pācyān they are coming who shall behold her hereafter; sahā yāṁ me āśi tēnā along with that which is mine; yātra naḥ pūrve pitāraḥ pareyūḥ whither our fathers of old departed; adyā muriya yādī yātudhāna āsī let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer; yathā 'hāny anupūrvāṃ bhāvanti as days follow one another in order; yāvad idāṁ bhūvanāṃ viśvam āśi how great this whole creation is; yātākāsā te juhumās tān no astu what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours; yatmās titṛpsāt 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 tyē tāyāvo yathā yanti they make off like thieves (as thieves do); yāt sthā āgac ca rejate whatever [i.e.] immovable and movable trembles; yathākāmaṁ ni padyate he lies down at his pleasure.

c. The particle ca when it means if, and cēd (ca+id) if, give an accent to the verb: thus, brahmā cēd dhāstam āgrahit if a Brahma has grasped her hand; tvāṁ ca soma no yāço jivātāṁ nā marāmahe if thou, Soma, wiltest us to live, we shall not die; ā ca gācchāṁ mitrām ena dādhāma 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 ācūvaparpāṅ cāranti no nāro 'smākam indra rathīno jayantu when our men, horse-winged, come into conflict, let the chariot-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory. Rarely, too, an imperative so following another imperative that its action may seem a consequence of the latter's is accented: thus, tūyam ā gahi kāṇvequ 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 hi (with its negation nah), which in its fullest value means for, but shades off from that into a mere asseverative sense; the verb or verbs connected with it are always accented: thus, vi tē muhcantāṁ vimūco hi sānti let them release him, for they are releasers; yāc cid dhī... anāgastā iva smāsi if we, forsooth, are as it were unrenowned; — also nēd (nā+ī), meaning lest, that not: thus, nēt tvā tāpāti śūro arcaśā that the sun may not burn thee with his beam; virājam nēd vīcchinnādānī 'tī saying to himself.
"lest I cut off the virāṣ" (such cases are frequent in the Brāhmaṇaś);—
and the interrogative kuvīd whether? thus, ukthēbhīṣ kuvīd āgāmat
will he come hither for our praises?

596. But further, the verb of a prior clause is not infrequently
accompanied in antithetical construction.

a. Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of
being regarded as that of protasis and apodosis; but often, also, such a
relation is very indistinct; and the cases of antithesis shade off into those
of ordinary coördination, the line between them appearing to be rather
arbitrarily drawn.

b. In many cases, the antithesis is made distinct by the presence in
the two clauses of correlative words, especially anya—anya, eka—eka,
vā—vā, ca—ca: thus, prā-prā nyē yānti pāry anyā āsate some go
on and on, others sit about (as if it were while some go etc.); ūd vā
sūnādhvam ūpā vā pṛṇadhvam either pour out, or fill up; sām ce
'dhyāsvā 'gne prā ca vardhaye 'mām both do thou thyself become
kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person. But it is also made with
out such help: thus, prā 'jātā praṇja janāyati pārī prājātā gṛṇāti
the unborn progeny he generates, the born he embraces; āpa yuṣmād ākra-
mīn nā 'śmān upāvartate [though] she has gone away from you, she
does not come to us; nā 'ndhō 'dvaryūr bhāvāti nā yajñām rākṣāṇi
ghnāti the priest does not become blind, the demons do not destroy the
sacrifice; kēnā sōmā gṛhyante kēna hūyante by whom [on the other hand]
are the somas dipped out? by whom [on the other hand] are they offered?

597. Where the verb would be the same in the two antithetical clauses,
it is not infrequently omitted in the second: thus, beside complete expres-
sions like urvī cā 'si vāsvī cā 'si both thou art broad and thou art good,
occurs, much oftener, incomplete ones like agnīr amūśmīn lokā āśid
yamō 'śmīn Agni was in yonder world, Yama [was] in this; asthū
'nyāḥ praṇja pratiṣṭhānti māṁsānā 'nyāḥ by bone some creatures
stand firm, by flesh others; dvipāc ca sārvān no rākṣa cātuspad
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 Brāhmaṇa than in the Veda, and
least strictly in the RV.: thus, in RV., abhi dyāṁ maṁhā bhuvaṁ
(not bhūvaṁ) abhi 'māṁ prāvīvīṁ mahīm I am superior to the sky
in greatness, also to this great earth; and even āndrō vidur āṅgiraśaś
cā ghorāḥ Indra knows, and the terrible Āṅgirases. a

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 kila, aṅgā, evā, and (in CB., regularly)
ḥānta: thus, hānte 'māṁ prāthivīṁ vibhājāmahāṁ 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 aerist, 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 Āttareya 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 unsystematic order (the ground of which has never been discovered); and they are wont to be designated in European works according to this order, or else, after Hindu example, by the root standing at the head of each class in the Hindu lists. A different arrangement and nomenclature will be followed here, namely as below—the classes being divided (as is usual in European grammars) into two more general classes or conjugations, distinguished from one another by wider differences than those which separate the special classes.

603. The classes of the First or Non-a-Conjugation are as follows:

I. The root-class (second class, or ad-class, of the Hindu grammarians); its present-stem is coincident with the root itself: thus, घर ad eat; रू i go; यसू as sit; या yā go; द्विव dviś hate; उदु duh milk.

II. The reduplicating class (third or hu-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, छु जु hu from छु hu sacrifice; ददा dādā from ददा dā give; बि bhr from बि bhr 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, छूणू rundh (or सूणू suṇadh) from छूणू rudh obstruct; यु यु yuṣaj (or सू यु suṇaj) from यु यु yuṣ join.
IV. a. The nu-class (fifth or su-class); the syllable नु nu is added to the root: thus, नु sunu from नु su press out; धाप्नु āpnu from ध्याप āp 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 (क्रे 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, तनu tanu from तन tan stretch.

V. The nā-class (ninth or kṛ-class); the syllable ना nā (or, in weak forms, नी nī) is added to the root; thus, क्रीणा kṛipā (or क्रीणी kṛipī) from क्री kṛi buy; स्ताब्नाः stabhnā (or स्ताब्नि stabhni) from स्तान् stabh establish.

604. These classes have in common, as their most fundamental characteristic, a shift of accent: the tone being now upon the ending, and now upon the root or the class-sign. Along with this goes a variation in the stem itself, which has a stronger or fuller form when the accent rests upon it, and a weaker or briefer form when the accent is on the ending: these forms are to be distinguished as the strong stem and the weak stem respectively (in part, both have been given above). The classes also form their optative active, their 2d sing. imperative, their 3d pl. middle, and their middle participle, in a different manner from the others.

605. In the classes of the Second or a-Conjugation, the present-stem ends in a, and the accent has a fixed place, remaining always upon the same syllable of the stem, and never shifted to the endings. Also, the optative, the 2d sing. impv., the 3d pl. middle, and the middle
participle, are (as just stated) unlike those of the other conjugation.

606. The classes of this conjugation are as follows:

VI. The a-class, or unaccented a-class (first or bhū-class); the added class-sign is a simply; and the root, which has the accent, is (if capable of it) strengthened by guṇa throughout: thus, भव bhāva from भू bhū be; नाय nāya from भृ ni lead; बोध bōdha from बुध budh wake; वाद váda from वद vād speak.

VII. The á-class, or accented a-class (sixth or tud-class); the added class-sign is a, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, टू tudá from टू tud thrust; स्रजा sṛjā from स्रृ स्रृ let loose; सुवा suvā from सू su 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; नाय nāya from नयन nah bind; कुद्धya krūdhyā from कुद्ध krudh be angry.

IX. The passive conjugation is also properly a present-system only, having a class-sign which is not extended into the other systems; though it differs markedly from the remaining classes in having a specific meaning, and in being formable in the middle voice from all transitive verbs. Its inflection may therefore best be treated next to that of the ya-class, with which it is most nearly connected, differing from it as the á-class from the a-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented ya to the root: thus, यद्य adya from यद्य ad eat; रूढ़ya rudhyā from रूढ़ rudh obstruct; बुध्यya budhyā from बुध्य budh wake; टू टू tudya from टू tud thrust.
607. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or cur-class, having a class-sign áya added to a strengthened root (thus, coráya from y'our), and an inflection like that of the other a-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-stem, but extends also into the rest of the conjugation—while it also has to a great extent a causative value, and may be formed in that value from a large number of roots—it will be best treated in full along with the derivative conjugations (chap. XIV., 1041 ff.).

608. A small number of roots add in the present-system a ch, or substitute a ch for their final consonant, and form a stem ending in cha or chá, which is then inflected like 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 ṣ and yu, which make the stems rochá and yúccha.

b. Roots substituting ch for their final are īq, uṣ (or vas shine), gam, yam, which make the stems icchá, ucchá, gáčcha, yúccha.

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-stems, 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 खते āte 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 घ ि ī go; strong form of root-stem, घ ए ī; weak form, घ ए ī; middle, root घ ि ī sit; stem घ ि ī (irregularly accented throughout: 628).

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<td>1</td>
<td>टूमि ट्याः ट्याः खासे खासवक्ते खासवक्ते</td>
<td>émi ivās imās āse āsvahe āsvahe</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>टूिथ ट्याः ख खासे खासिहे खासिहे</td>
<td>éśi itthās ithā āsē āsāthe āddhve</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>टूित स्तम् स्ति स्तामि स्तामि</td>
<td>ēti itās yānti āste āsāte āsāte</td>
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b. root dviṣa hāte: strong stem-form, dviṣ; weak, dviṣ. For rules of combination for the final ष, see 226.

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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>dvēkṣi dviṣṭhās dviṣthā dviṣkṣē dviṣṭhāthe dviṣḍhvē</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>dvēṣṭi dviṣṭās dviṣānti dviṣṭē dviṣāte dviṣāte</td>
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c. root duh milk: strong stem-form, dōh; weak, duh. For rules of combination for the final h, and for the conversion of the initial to dh, see 229a, 155, 160.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dōhmī duhavās duhmās duhē duhavāhe duhmāhe</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>dōgdhi dugdās dugdānti dugdē duhāte duhāte</td>
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</table>
d. root līh *lick*; strong stem, lēh; weak, līh. For rules of combination of the final h, see 222 b.

1. lēhmī līhvās līhmās, līhē līhvāhe līhmāhe
2. lēkṣī līḍhās līḍhā līkṣē līḍhāthe līḍhvē
3. lēḍhi līḍhās līḍhānti līḍhē līḍhāte līḍhāte

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 ṭēce, duhē, vidē, qāye; more sporadic are citē, bruve, huvē. To tha of the 2d pl. is added na in sathāna, pāthānā, yāthāna. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in rihaṭe, duhaṭe. Examples of the same person in re and rate also occur: thus (besides those mentioned below, 629-30, 635), vidrē, and, with auxiliary vowel, arhirē (unless these are to be ranked, rather, as perfect forms without reduplication: 790 b).

2. Present Subjunctive.

614. Subjunctive forms of this class are not uncommon in the older language, and nearly all those which the formation anywhere admits are quotable, from Veda or from Brāhmaṇa. A complete paradigm, accordingly, is given below, with the few forms not actually quotable for this class enclosed in brackets. We may take as models (as above), for the active the root i go, and for the middle the root ās *sit*, from both of which numerous forms are met with (although neither for these nor for any others can the whole series be found in actual use).

a. The mode-stems are āya (*ē+a*) and āsa (*ās+a*) respectively.


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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>āyāni</td>
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<td>āyāma</td>
<td>āsāi</td>
<td>āsāvahāi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>āyā</td>
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<td>āyāma</td>
<td>āsāvahē</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>āyasī</td>
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<td>āyatha</td>
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<td>āyathas</td>
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<td>āsāsithē</td>
<td>āsādhevē</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>āyatī</td>
<td>āyatās</td>
<td>āyān</td>
<td>āsate</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>āyatī</td>
<td>āyatās</td>
<td>āyān</td>
<td>āsate</td>
<td>āsāте</td>
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</table>

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 ā, are not rare in AV. and B.: thus, āyās, āyāt, āyān; āsāt, bravāt; bravāthas; āsātha, āyātha, bravātha, hanātha; ādān, dohān. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found hānanta, 3d pl., and īcata, 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 (या याः in act., रै रः in mid.) have been given in full above (586). The stem-form is the unaccented and unstrengthened root.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iyām</td>
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<td>āsīmahi</td>
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<td>iyāta</td>
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<td>āsīyāthām</td>
<td>āsīdhvam</td>
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<tr>
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<td>iyātām</td>
<td>iyūs</td>
<td>āsīta</td>
<td>āsīyātām</td>
<td>āsīran</td>
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a. In the same manner, from यद्विगः, dviṣyām and dvīṣiyāḥ; from यदुहः, duḥyām and duhiyāḥ; from यलिहः, līhyām and līhiyāḥ. The inflexion is so regular that the example above given is enough, with the addition of dvīṣiyāḥ, to show the normal accentuation in the middle: thus, sing. dvīṣiṣyāḥ, dvīṣiṣṭahāḥ, dvīṣiṣṭāḥ; du. dvīṣiṣivāhi, dvīṣiṣiṣīthām, dvīṣiṣiyātām; pl. dvīṣiṣimāhi, dvīṣiṣidhvām, dvīṣiṣirān.

b. The RV. has once tana in 2d pl. act. (in ayātana).

4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with यनाः atām in 3d pl. mid.) directly to the root-stem. The stem is accented and strengthened in 3d sing. act.; elsewhere, the accent is on the ending and the root remains unchanged. The first persons, so called, of the later language are from the old subjunctive, and have its strengthened stem and accent; they are repeated here from where they were given above (614a). In the 2d sing. act., the ending is regularly (as in the two following classes) धि dhi if the root end with a consonant, and हि hi if it end with a vowel. As examples we take the roots already used for the purpose.
a. Thus, from the roots झ इ and ग्न ाः:

active.

a.

1. ग्नः ग्नः ग्नः ग्नः ग्नः ग्नः ग्नः ग्नः

b. From the roots द्विः न and दुह न and लि:

1. द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न

2. द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न

3. द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न द्विः न

618. The 2d sing. act. ending तत is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, वित्तत, वित्तत, ब्रुतत, हतत, यतत, शतत. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending एम: thus, दुहाम (only RV. casa), विदाम, क्याम; and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has दुहराम and दुहरतम. The use of tana for ता in 2d pl. act. is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, इतान, यातान, अतान, etc. And in stota, इता इतान, ब्रवितान, गातान, हांतान, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

619. a. The active participle has the ending घन ाः (weak stem-form घन ा at) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final इ. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are घन ाः, दुहान्त, दित्स द्विः न, लिहान्त.

The feminine stem ends usually in घन ाः: thus, घन ाः, दुहान्त, दित्स द्विः न, लिहान्त: but, from roots in ा, in घन ाः ाः or घन ाः (449 g).
b. The middle participle has the ending ānā, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, śyan iyānā, dūhānā, dviśānā, lihānā.

c. The root ās forms the anomalous and isolated āsāna (in RV. also āsānā).

d. But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, īqānā and īqāna, ohānā and óhāna, duhānā and duhānā (also dūghānā), rihihāna and rihihāna, vidānā and vidānā, sūvānā and sūvānā, stuvānā and stāvānā and stāvānā—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 prefix of the augment. The root has the guṇa-strengthening (if capable of it) in the three persons of the singular active, although the accent is always upon the augment. Examples of inflection are:

a. From the roots ś i and śāman ās:

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<td>1.</td>
<td>āyam</td>
<td>āva</td>
<td>āma</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>āls</td>
<td>āltam</td>
<td>āta</td>
<td>āsthās</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>ālt</td>
<td>āltam</td>
<td>āyan</td>
<td>āsta</td>
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b. From the roots dviś and duh and lih:

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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ādvēsam</td>
<td>ādvēsya</td>
<td>ādvēṣma</td>
<td>ādvēṣi</td>
<td>ādvēṣvahi</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>ādveṭ</td>
<td>ādviṣṭam</td>
<td>ādviṣṭa</td>
<td>ādviṣṭhās</td>
<td>ādviṣṭāthām</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>ādveṭ</td>
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<td>3.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>āleṭ</td>
<td>ālīḍham</td>
<td>ālīhan</td>
<td>ālīḍha</td>
<td>ālīḥātam</td>
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621. a. Roots ending in ā may in the later language optionally take us instead of an in 3d pl. act. (the ā being lost before it); and
in the older they always do so: thus, āyus from yṛā, āpus from ṣṛṇa, abhis from yabhā. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants: namely vid, ākṣ, dvīṣ, duh, maṇ. RV. has atvīṣus.

b. The ending tana, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in áyātana, ásastana, áśtana, ábravitra. A strong stem is seen in the 1st pl. homa, and the 2d pl. ábravita and ábravītana.

c. To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root ad inserts a: thus, ādas, ādat; the root ās inserts ī: thus, āśīs, āśīt (see below, 636); compare also 631-4.

622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, has been noticed above (587). Augmentless imperfects of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, hān, vēs, 2d sing.; han, vet, stātū, ādu (?), 3d sing.; bruvaṇ, duhuṇ, caṇṣ, 3d pl.; vasta, suṭa, 3d sing. mid.

623. The first or root-form of aorist is identical in its formation with this imperfect: see below, 829 ff.

634. In the Veda (but hardly outside of the RV.) are found certain 2d sing. forms, having an imperative value, made by adding the ending ni to the (accented and strengthened) root. In part, they are the only root-forms belonging to the roots from which they come: thus, jōṣi (for jōṣi, from yuṣ), dhākṣi, pārṣi (yṛṛ pass), prāsi, bhakṣi, rātsi, sātī, hōṣi; but the majority of them have forms (one or more) of a root-present, or sometimes of a root-aorist, beside them: thus, kṣēṣi (yṛśi rule), jēṣi, dārṣi, naṃṣi (yṇaṃ attain), nēṣi, ṃtēṣi, māṣi (yṃa measure), yākṣi, yāhṣi, yāṣi, yōṣi, rāṣi, vākṣi (yvaḥ), vēṣi, çṛōṣi, sākṣi. Their formal character is somewhat disputed; but they are probably indicative persons of the root-class, used imperatively.

625. Forms of this class are made from nearly 150 roots, either in the earlier language, or in the later, or in both: namely, from about 50 through the whole life of the language, from 80 in the older period (of Veda, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra) alone, and from a few (about 15) in the later period (epic and classical) only*. Not a few of these roots, however, show only sporadic root-forms, beside a more usual conjugation of some other class; nor is it in all cases possible to separate clearly root-present from root-aorist forms.

a. Many roots of this class, as of the other classes of the first conjugation, show transfers to the second or a-conjugation, forming a conjugation-stem by adding a to their strong or weak stem, or

* 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 य़म्रे, both मार्जा (627) and म्रा. 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 य have in their strong
forms the पद्धि instead of the गुणa-strengthening before an ending
beginning with a consonant: thus, from यतु, स्ताम्य, अस्ताय, and
the like: but आस्ताम, स्तावान, etc.

a. Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are क्रुन, यु
उवी, सु (or सु) इपेल, स्कू, �殇, सु (these in the earlier language),
नु, रु, and ह्वु. RV. has once स्तोति and आन्वन. Compare also 635.

627. The root म्र also has the पद्धि-vowel in its strong
forms: thus, मार्ज, अमार्ज, अमत्र (150 b); and the same
strengthening is said to be allowed in weak forms before endings beginning
with a vowel: thus, मार्जान, अमार्ज; but the only quotable case
is मार्जता (LQS). Forms from a-stems begin to appear already
in AV.

a. In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation, म्र shows often
the पद्धि instead of the गुणa-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, आ, ई, ईर, ई; and also तक्ष, तक्ष, त्रा, निन्ह, वस स्वीस्ते,
चिन्त, चि ले, and सु. All these, except तक्ष and त्रा (and त्रा 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, मत्त्वा, याक्त्वा, सक्त्वा, सक्त्वा, धर्त.
Middle participles so accented have been noticed above (618 d).

629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, ई ले has
the गुणa-strengthening throughout: thus, चाये, चे, चायिया, चायाना,
and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already noticed)
are the 3d pl. persons चेस्ते (AV. etc. have also चेस), चर्तान,
चररता (RV. has also चररन), the 3d sing. pres. चाये (R.) and impv.
चायाम. The isolated active form चायट is common in the older
language; other a-forms, active and middle, occur latër.

630. Of the same roots, ई and ई insert a union vowel i before
certain endings: thus, ईचि, ईचिह्व, ईचिय (these three being the only
forms noted in the older language); but RV. has ईके beside ईचि; the
थयू. has once ईचे for ईते. The 3d pl. ईचे (on account of its accent)
is also apparently present rather than perfect. The MS. has once the 3d sing.
impf. ईष (like अद्वा: 635).
631. The roots rud *weep, svap *sleep, an *breathe, and qvas *blow insert a union-vowel ī before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the s and t of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either a or ī: thus, svāpīmi, qvāśīśi, ānīti, and ānāt or ānīt. And in the other forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, svāpāntu and qvāsantu (AV.), or svāpāntu etc. The AV. has svāptu instead of svāptu.

a. In the older language, y'vam makes the same insertions: thus, vamitī, avamiti; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, jāniśva, vasiśva (y'vas *clothe), qnathihi, stanihi (all RV.), yamiti (JB.), qocimi (MBh.). On the other hand, y'an early makes forms from an a-stem: thus, ānati (AV.); pple ānāntā (CB.); opt. anet (AB.).

632. The root brū *speak, say (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel ī after the root when strengthened, before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, brāvīmi, brāvīṣi, brāvīti, ābravīs, ābravīt; but brūmāś, brūyām, ābravām, ābruvaṇ, etc. Special occasional irregularities are brūmī, bravīhi, abruvaṇ, ābruvaṇ, bruyāt, and sporadic forms from an a-stem. The subj. dual brāvāite has been noticed above (615); also the strong forms ābravīta, ābravītana (621a).

633. Some of the roots in u are allowed to be inflected like brū: namely, ku, tu, ru, and stu; and an occasional instance is met with of a form so made (in the older language, only tavīti noted; in the later, only stavīmi, once).

634. The root am (hardly found in the later language) takes ī as union-vowel: thus, amīśi (RV.), amīti and āmīt and amīśva (TS.). From y'qm occur qamiśva (VS.; TS. qamiśva) and qamidhvaṃ (TB. etc.).

635. The irregularities of y'duh in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. duhatō, duhrē, and duhrātē; 3d sing. impv. duhām, pl. duhrām and duhratām; impf. act. 3d sing. āduhatā (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. aduhran (beside āduhan and duhūsā); the mid. pple dūghānā; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms duhiyāt and duhiyān (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 dugdhe and duhate: compare aīça (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 āduhā as be loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment). Its 2d sing. indic. is ādiś (instead of assī); its 2d sing. impv. is dūū ṇ̐eḍhī (irregularly from asḍhī). The insertion of
§ 1 in 2d and 3d sing. impf. has been noticed already above.

a. The forms of this extremely common verb, are, then, as follows:

### Indicative.

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### Imperative.

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b. Besides the forms of the present-system, there is made from this root only a perfect, आसा etc. (800), of wholly regular inflection.

c. The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem आसा. They are in frequent use, and appear (asat especially) even in late texts where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution आसम etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. As 2d and 3d sing. impf. is a few times met with the more normal आस (for आस-अस-अस-त). Sthāna, 2d pl., was noted above (613).

d. Middle forms from यः are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (वि + अति), but they are not quotable; स्माहेष and स्यास्माहेष (1) occur in the epics, but are merely instances of the ordinary epic confusion of voices (529 a). Confusions of primary and secondary endings—namely, स्मा and स्म (not rare), and, on the other hand, स्यास and स्यास— are also epic. A middle present indicative is said to be compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the nomen agentis in τρ (त्र) to form a periphrastic future in the middle voice (but see below, 947). The 1st sing. indic. is हे; the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., से, द्वेस, स्मा, द्वम, 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 402). Thus, for example:

**Present Indicative.**

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a. Its participle is ghnánt (fem. ghnati). Its 2d sing. impv. is jahi (by anomalous dissimilation, on the model of reduplicating forms).

b. Middle forms from this root are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, and those that occur are formed in general according to the same rules: thus, hate, hanmahé, ghnate; ahata, aghnáśaṃ, aghnata (in AB., also ahata); ghnita (but also hanita). Forms from transfer-stems, hana and ghna, are met with from an early period.

638. The root vaq *be eager* is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to uq (as in the perfect: 794 b): thus, uqmáśi (V.: once apparently abbreviated in RV. to qmáśi), uqánti; pple uqánt, uqánā. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as àuqva, àuṣṭam, etc.

a. RV. has in like manner the participle uqánâ from the root vas clothe.

639. The root qas *order* shows some of the peculiarities of a reduplicated verb, lacking (640) 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, qis (as do the aorist, 854, and some of the derivatives); but, excepting the optative (qisyaṃ etc., U. S. and later), no such forms are quotable.

a. The 3d sing. impf. is açāt (565 a), and the same form is said to be allowed also as 2d sing. The 2d sing. impv. is qādhi (with total loss of the a); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. qāstāna (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 (qāsto, qāsate, qāsāna).

c. The root dac *worship* has in like manner (RV.) the pple dācat (not dāçat).

640. The double so-called root jakṣ *eat, laugh* is an evident reduplication of ghas and has respectively. It has the absence of n in act.
9d 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 233 f.

641. Certain other obviously reduplicated verbs are treated by the native grammarians as if simple, and referred to this conjugation: such are the intensively reduplicated jägr (1020 a), daridrā (1024 a), and vevi (1024 a), didhī etc. (878), and cakās (877).

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, ट्र्द दद्य from य्द्द दद्य; क्व बब्बी from य्स बब्बी; बुञ्ज़ भुहु from य्स्छ भुहु. The vowel य never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by र i: thus, क्व बब्र from य्स बब्र; पीष्प प्रप्रे from य्स च प्रप्रे.

c. For verbs in which a and ा also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by i, see below, 660. The root vṛt (V. B.) makes vavartti etc.; cakrant (RV.) is very doubtful.

d. The only root of this class with initial vowel is य (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 य्स्छ भु, the two forms are स्तुच्छ जुहो and स्तुच्छ जुहु; from य्स बब्र, they are क्व बब्बु and क्व बब्बी. And the rule for their use is the same as in the other classes of this conjugation: the strong stem is found before the unaccented endings (552), and the weak stem before the accented.
645. According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the root-syllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in hu, bhī (no test-forms in the older language), hrī (no test-forms found in the older language), mad (very rare), jan (no forms of this class found to occur), ci notice (in V.), yu separate (in older language only), and in bhṛ in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has bibhārti once, and AV. twice; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the Brāhmaṇas); and RV. has once iyārś. 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 666 a).

a. Apparently (the cases with written accent are too few to determine the point satisfactorily) the middle optative endings, īya etc. (568), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.

646. The verbs of this class lose the ṇ in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have ṇ us instead of ṇ an — and before this a final radical vowel has guru.

1. Present Indicative.

647. The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: a. ṛ ṭ hu sacrifice: strong stem-form, ṭhūṭi juhō; weak form, ṭhūṭu juhu (or jūhu).

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16*
b. Root भर bear (given with Vedic accentuation): strong stem-form, बिभर bibhar; weak, भिभर (or bibhr).

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2. Present Subjunctive.

648. It is not possible at present to draw a distinct line between those subjunctive forms of the older language which should be reckoned as belonging to the present-system and those which should be assigned to the perfect—or even, in some cases, to the reduplicated aorist and intensive. Here will be noticed only those which most clearly belong to this class; the more doubtful cases will be treated under the perfect-system. Except in first persons (which continue in use as “imperatives” down to the later language), subjunctives from roots having unmistakably a reduplicated present-system are of far from frequent occurrence.

649. The subjunctive mode-stem is formed in the usual manner, with the mode-sign a and guṇa of the root-vowel, if this is capable of such strengthening. The evidence of the few accented forms met with indicates that the accent is laid in accordance with that of the strong indicative forms: thus from य्हु, the stem would be युहवा; from य्भर, it would be यिभरा (but यिभरा later). Before the mode-sign, final radical a would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus, याद from याद, याद्हा from याधा (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 ज्ञावानि, बिभराः, दादानि, दादानि, जाहानि; ज्ञावानि, दादानि, जाहानि; — in the middle, दादानि, मिमां; ज्ञावानां, ज्ञावामाहि, ज्ञावामाहि, ज्ञावामाहि, ज्ञावामाहि.

b. Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active बिभराः (with double mode-sign: 560 e), दादानाः, ज्ञावाठ (do.)
and juhavatha; in the middle, dádhase; dádhat, rárate, dádhátá, dadátá;—with secondary endings, dádhás, vīvegas, juhavat, bibharat, yuyávat, dádhat, dadhánat, babhasat; dadhan, yuyavan, juhavan.

3. Present Optative.

651. To form this mode, the optative endings given above (566a), as made up of mode-sign and personal endings, are added to the unstrengthened stem. The accent is as already stated (645a). The inflection is so regular that it is unnecessary to give here more than the first persons of a single verb: thus,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a. active</th>
<th>m. middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>सुजुह्याम्</td>
<td>सुजुह्यावः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जुहुयाम्</td>
<td>जुहुयावः</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| जुहवि्य | जुहवि्य | जुहविमहि

etc. etc. etc.

4. Present Imperative.

652. The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is हि hi after a vowel, but हि dhi after a consonant: छ hu, however, forms छुकः juhudhi (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of छ h in two successive syllables); and other examples of हि dhi after a vowel are found in the Veda.

653. a. Example of inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>सुजुहवानि</td>
<td>सुजुहवाच</td>
<td>सुजुहवाम्</td>
<td>सुजुहवेः</td>
<td>सुजुहवाभि</td>
<td>सुजुहवाम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जुहवानि</td>
<td>जुहवावः</td>
<td>जुहवाम्</td>
<td>जुहवावः</td>
<td>जुहवावाहि</td>
<td>जुहवामहाहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जुहुद्धि</td>
<td>जुहुद्धम्</td>
<td>जुहुद्ध</td>
<td>जुहुद्धम्</td>
<td>जुहुद्धम्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जुहुद्धि</td>
<td>जुहुद्धम्</td>
<td>जुहुद्ध</td>
<td>जुहुद्धम्</td>
<td>जुहुद्धम्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जुहोतु</td>
<td>जुहोतस्</td>
<td>जुहोतस्</td>
<td>जुहोतस्</td>
<td>जुहोतस्</td>
<td>जुहोतस्</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. The verbs of the other divisions 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) bibharāṇī etc., bibhartu, bibharālī etc.

654. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: 1. the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, yuyodhī, cīcādhi (beside cīcīhī); yuyotam (beside yuyutām); iyarta, dādāta and daddātana, dādhāta and dādhātana (see below, 688); pipartana, juhōta and juhōtana, yuyot and yuyotana; rārasva (688); 2. the use of dhi instead of hi after a vowel (only in the two instances just quoted); 3. the ending tana in 2d pl. act.; namely, besides those just given, in jīgātana, dhattana, mamāttana, vivaktana, didiṣṭana, bibhitana, jujuṣṭana, juhutana, vavṛttana: the cases are proportionally much more numerous in this than in any other class; 4. the ending tāt in 2d sing. act., in dattat, dhattat, pipṛtāt, jahitāt.

5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pl. indic. by dropping ś i: thus, नुदत jūhvāt, निष्ठू bibhrat. In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (444). The feminine stem ends in श्यरो atī. The middle participles are regularly made: thus, नुदत jūhvāna, दिधिका bibhrāpa.

a. RV. shows an irregular accent in pipānā (yāpā drink).

6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending उम् us, and a final radical vowel has guṇa before it. The strong forms are, as in present indicative, the three singular active persons.

657. Examples of inflection:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 नुदतम् नुदर्रतम् नुदर्रम् नुदतम् नुदर्रमक् नुदर्रमकी</td>
<td>नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम्</td>
<td>नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम्</td>
<td>नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम्</td>
<td>नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नु�तमम् नुदतमम्</td>
<td>नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम् नुदतमम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>आजुहवम् आजुहुवा आजुहुमा</td>
<td>आजुहि आजुहुवाहि आजुहुमाहि</td>
<td>आजुहोस आजुहुताम आजुहुता</td>
<td>आजुहुथास आजुहुवाथाम आजुहुधवम</td>
<td>आजुहोत आजुहुताम आजुहुवस</td>
<td>आजुहुता आजुहुवाताम आजुहुवा</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. From यः भर, the 2d and 3d sing. act. are यविभर, अबिभर (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 यविभरस् अबिभरस्; and other like cases are अबिभयस्, अचिकयस्, असुसवस्.

b. In MS., once, abibhurus 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, अदादमा, अदाधाता; अदात्ताना, अजाहटाना. The RV. has also once apiप्रता for apiप्रता in 3d sing. mid., and abibhran for abibharus in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are चिकास, विवस्, जिगात; जिहाता, चिचता, जिहाता.

659. The roots that form their present-stem by reduplication are a very small class, especially in the modern language; they are only 50, all told, and of these only a third (16) are met with later. It is, however, very difficult to determine the precise limits of the class, because of the impossibility (referred to above, under subjunctive: 648) of always distinguishing its forms from those of other reduplicating conjugations and parts of conjugations.

a. Besides the irregularities in tense-inflection already pointed out, others may be noticed as follows.

Irregularities of the Reduplicating Class.

660. Besides the roots in य or अ — namely, य, ग्य (usually written ghar), त्र, प्र, भर, श्र, ह्र, प्रो — the following roots having a or आ as radical vowel take इ instead of आ in the reduplicating syllable: गा गो, मा मेस, मा बलू, छा, हा रमे (mid.), वास, वास; वास has both इ and आ; रा has इ once in RV.; for ठा, पा धुक, ग्वा, हन, ही, see below (670-4).

661. Several roots of this class in final अ change the अ in weak forms to इ (occasionally even to इ), 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 ना-class: below, 717.

These roots are:

662. चा शर्प, act. and mid.: thus, चिचाति, चिचामास, चिचित (also चिचाद्हि: above, 654), चिचातु, अचिचातु, चिचिते, चिचिता.

663. मा बलू, act., and मा मेस, mid. (rarely also act.): thus, निद्दाति, निद्दायत; निद्दाते, निद्दाते, निद्दाता; निद्दा, निद्दातु.

RV. has once mimanti 3d pl. (for mimati).
IX. Present-system.

684. ḫā remove, mid.: thus, jīhite, jihīdhve, jihate; jihīṣva, jihatāṃ; ājihita, ajihata. ŌB. has jihīthāṃ (for jihāthāṃ).

685. ḫā quit, act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the i to i: thus, jahāti, jahita, jahītāt (AV.); jahīmas (AV.). jahītas (TB.), jahitam (TA.), ajahittām (TS. AB.). 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.

686. rā give, mid.: thus, rarīdhvam, rārīthās (impr. without augment); and, with i in reduplication, rīrīhi. But AV. has rārāsva.

a. In those verbs, the accent is generally constant on the reduplicating syllable.

687. The two roots dā and dhā (the commonest of the class) lose their radical vowel altogether in the weak forms, being shortened to dad and dadh. In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively dehī and dhehī. 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 d̄dh 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).

688. The Inflection of ydhā is, then, as follows:

**Present Indicative.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
<th></th>
<th>middle.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dādhami</td>
<td>dādhvās</td>
<td>dadhmās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dādhāsi</td>
<td>dhatthās</td>
<td>dhatse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dādhāti</td>
<td>dhattās</td>
<td>dhattē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Present Optative.**

| 1 | dadhyām | dadhyāva | dadhiya | etc. | etc. |
| dādhīvahi | dādhiymahi | dādhiymahi | etc. | etc. |

**Present Imperative.**

| 1 | dādhāni | dādhāva | dādhamā | dādha | dādvahai | dādhāmahai |
| 2 | dhehī | dhattām | dhatta | dhatvā | dadhāthām | dhadhvam |
| 3 | dādhātu | dhattām | dādhatu | dhattām | dadhātām | dadhātām |

**Imperfect.**

| 1 | ādadhām | ādadhva | ādadhma | ādadhhi | ādadhvai | ādadhmaḥi |
| 2 | ādadhās | ādhattam | ādhatta | ādhatthās | ādadhāthām | ādadhāvam |
| 3 | ādadhāt | ādhattām | ādadhąs | ādhatta | ādadhātām | ādadhāta |
Participles: act. dādhat; mid. dādhāna.

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 dhātse: dādhē and dādḥāta might be perfects, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents dāḍhīta once (dāḍhīta thrice); several other texts have dāḍhīta, dāḍhīran, dāḍīta.

b. The root ḍā is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of (radical) dh to d.

669. The older language has irregularities as follows: 1. the usual strong forms in 2d pl., dāḍhāta and ādāḍhāta, dādāta and ādādāta; 2. the usual tana endings in the same person, dhattana, dādātana, etc. (654, 658); 3. the 3d sing. indic. act. dadhē (like 1st sing.); 4. the 2d sing. impv. act. dāḍhī (for both dehi and dhehi). And R. has dadmi.

670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the a- or bhū-class (below, 749), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of a-stems. These roots are as follows:

671. In all periods of the language, from the roots sthā stand, pā drink, and ghṛa smell, are made the presents tīṭhāmi, pībāmi (with irregular sonantizing of the second p), and jīghrāmi—which then are inflected not like māmāmi, but like bhāvāmi, as if from the present-stems tīṭha, pība, jīghra.

672. In the Veda (especially; also later), the reduplicated roots dā and ḍā are sometimes turned into the a-stems dāda and ḍāda, 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 (yamā bellow), ṛārate (yṛā givē: 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary stem, jīghna, is made from yhan (with omission of the radical vowel, and conversion, usual in this root, of h to gh when in contact with n: 637); and some of the forms of saṣc, from y/sac, show the same conversion to an a-stem, saṣca.

674. In AB. (viii. 28), a similar secondary form, jīghya, is given to yhi or hā: thus, jīghyati, jīghyatu.

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 ṛas (from yṛasa) and eka (from yekṣa or a lost root kas see). In the Veda is found also saṣc, from y/sac.

676. The grammarians reckon (as already noticed, 641) several roots of the most evidently reduplicate character as simple, and belonging to the root-class. Some of these (jagr, daridra, vevi) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under Intensives (1020 a, 1024 a); didhi shine, together with Vedic didi shine and pīpī swell, are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of
such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplication vowel.

a. Of pres. indic. occurs in the older language only didyati, 3d pl., with the pples didyat and didhyat, and mid. didye, didhye, didhyāthām, with the pples didyāna, didhyāna, pipyāna. The subj. stems are didāya, didhaya, pipāya, and from them are made forms with both primary (from didāya) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented didayat and didyayat and didhayan). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have didihi (and didihi) and pipihi, and pipiyatam, pipiyatam, pipiyata. In impf. adides and pipes, ádidet and ádident and apipet (with augmentless forms), apipema (with strong form of root), and adidhayus and (irregular) apipyay.

b. A few forms from all the three show transfer to an a-inflection: thus, didhaya and pipaya (impv.), ápipayat, etc.

c. Similar forms from ymi bellow are amimet and mimayat.

677. The stem cakās shine (sometimes cakāq) 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.

676. The root bhas chew loses its radical vowel in weak forms, taking the form baps: thus, bābhasti, but bāpsati (3d pl.), bāpsat (pple). For badhām, see 233 f.

679. The root bhi fear is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, bibhīmas or bibhīmas, bibhīyām or bibhīyām; and bibhīyat etc. are met with in the later language.

680. Forms of this class from yjan give birth, with added i — thus, jajñiṣe, jajñīdhve — are given by the grammarians, but have never been found in use.

681. The roots ci and cit have in the Veda reversion of c to k in the root-syllable after the reduplication: thus, cikēsi, cikēthe (anomalous, for cikyāthe), cikītām, aciket, cikytat (pple); cikiddhi.

682. The root vyac has i in the reduplication (from the y), and is contracted to vic in weak forms: thus, viviktās, āviviktām. So the root hvar (If its forms are to be reckoned here) has u in reduplication, and contracts to hur: thus, juhūrthās.

III. Nasal Class (seventh, rudh-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable ənā, which has the accent.
a. In a few of the verbs of the class, the nasal extends also into other tense stems: they are añj, bhañj, hiñs: see below, 684.

1. Present Indicative.

684. Examples of inflection: a. the root युज yuj join: strong stem-form, युन्त्य yunáj; weak, युन्त्य yuñj.

For the rules of combination of final j, see 219.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>युनाज्यमि</td>
<td>युन्त्यम्</td>
<td>युन्त्यम्</td>
<td>युन्त्य</td>
<td>युन्त्यम्</td>
<td>युन्त्यम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunájmi</td>
<td>yuñjvás</td>
<td>yuñjmás</td>
<td>yuñjó</td>
<td>yuñjváhe</td>
<td>yuñjmáhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>युनाज्ञ</td>
<td>युन्त्यक्ष</td>
<td>युन्त्यक्ष</td>
<td>युन्त्यक्षे</td>
<td>युन्त्यक्षे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunákṣi</td>
<td>yuñkthás</td>
<td>yuñkthá</td>
<td>yuñkṣé</td>
<td>yuñjáthe</td>
<td>yuñgdhvé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>युनाज्ञक्त</td>
<td>युन्त्यक्ति</td>
<td>युन्त्यक्ति</td>
<td>युन्त्यक्ति</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunákti</td>
<td>yuñktás</td>
<td>yuñjánti</td>
<td>yuñkte</td>
<td>yuñjáte</td>
<td>yuñjáte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. the root सूढ़ rudh obstruct; bases ह्र्न्धः runadh and ह्र्न्धः rundh.

For the rules of combination of final dh, see 153, 160.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>ह्र्न्धमिः</th>
<th>ह्र्न्धमिः</th>
<th>ह्र्न्धमिः</th>
<th>ह्र्न्धमिः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>runádhi</td>
<td>rundhvás</td>
<td>rundhmás</td>
<td>rundhé</td>
<td>rundhváhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमि</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमि</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमि</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runátsi</td>
<td>runddhás</td>
<td>runddhá</td>
<td>rundse</td>
<td>rundháthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमिः</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमिः</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमिः</td>
<td>ह्र्न्धमिः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>runáddhi</td>
<td>runddhas</td>
<td>runddantí</td>
<td>runddhé</td>
<td>rundháte</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the rules of combination of 3d sing. mid. like the 1st sing., as vrñjó; and the accent on té of 3d pl. mid. in añjaté, indoñjaté, bhunoñjaté.

a. Yunañkṣi, in BnP, is doubtless a false reading.

2. Present Subjunctive.

686. The stem is made, as usual, by adding a to the strong present-stem: thus, yunája, runádha. Below are given as if made
from *y*yuj all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occurring in the older language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>s.</th>
<th>p.</th>
<th>s.</th>
<th>p.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yunájáni</td>
<td>yunájáva</td>
<td>yunájáma</td>
<td>yunajáí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunájas</td>
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<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunájat</td>
<td>yunájatas</td>
<td>yunaján</td>
<td>yunájate</td>
</tr>
</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, trañáhán (A.V.), rādhnávāt and yunaján (CB.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides añjatás) is hinásatas (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-stems. Thus:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yunájáyam</td>
<td>yunájáva</td>
<td>yunájáma</td>
<td>yunájíyá</td>
<td>yunájíváhi</td>
<td>yunájimáhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<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. vṛñjíyam. And forms like bhuñjíyám -yát, yuñjíyát, are here and there met with in the epics (bhuñjíyátáṃ once in GGS.). MBh., too, has once bhuñjítam.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yunájáni</td>
<td>yunájáva</td>
<td>yunájáma</td>
<td>yunajá</td>
<td>yunajávaháí</td>
<td>yunajámaháí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuñgdhí</td>
<td>yuñktám</td>
<td>yuñktá</td>
<td>yuñkává</td>
<td>yuñjáthám</td>
<td>yuñgdhváṃ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yunaktu</td>
<td>yuñktám</td>
<td>yuñjántu</td>
<td>yuñktám</td>
<td>yuñjátáṃ</td>
<td>yuñjátáṃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
690. There is no occurrence, so far as noted, of the ending tät in verbs of this class. The Veda has, as usual, sometimes strong forms, and sometimes the ending tana, in the 2d pl. act.: thus, unâtta, yunâkta, anaktana, pinaçâna.

5. Present Participle.

691. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. युन्त् युञ्जात् (fem. युञ्जती युञ्जतति); mid. युञ्ज युञ्जाना (but RV. has īndhāna).

6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>युञ्जम्</td>
<td>युञ्जव</td>
<td>युञ्जम्</td>
<td>युञ्जि</td>
<td>युञ्जवि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>युञ्जम्य</td>
<td>युञ्जविय</td>
<td>युञ्जम्य</td>
<td>युञ्जिय</td>
<td>युञ्जविय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>युञ्जम्</td>
<td>युञ्जवि</td>
<td>युञ्जमि</td>
<td>युञ्जिय</td>
<td>युञ्जविय</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 555a).

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, bhinât, pṛṣák, vṛṣák, pipák, riṇák.

a. The 1st sing. act. atṛṇam and aechinam (for atṛṇadam and aechinadam) were noted above, at 555a.

694. The roots of this class number about thirty, more than half of them being found only in the earlier language; no new ones make their first appearance later. Three of them, añj and bhañj and hiṅs, carry their nasal also into other tense-systems than the present. Two, rdh and ubh, make present-systems also of other classes having a nasal in the class-sign: thus, ṛdhnoti (nu-class) and ubhnāti (nā-class).
a. Many of the roots make forms from secondary a-stems: thus, from 
añja, unda, umbhā, chinda, ṭṛṅhā, piṅga, prācā, bhuṅja, rundha, 
qiṅgā, etc.

Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

695. The root ṭṛṅ combines ṭṛṅah with ti, tu, etc. into ṭṛṅedhi, 
ṭṛṅedhu; and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as 
ṭṛṅehmi: see above, 224 b.

696. The root hiṅs (by origin apparently a desiderative from ṣhan) 
accents irregularly the root-syllable in the weak forms: thus, hiṅsanti, 
hiṅste, hiṅṣāna (but hiṅṣat etc. and hiṅsayat ćB.).

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 nu, which then in the 
strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to nō.

B. The few roots of the u-class (about half-a-dozen) 
end in un, with the exception of the later irregular 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 
ṣu press out; strong form of stem, sunō su; weak form, 
ṣu sunu.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>सुनोगि</td>
<td>सुनवभृति</td>
<td>सुनामसि</td>
<td>सुनवे</td>
<td>सुनवः</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sunómi</td>
<td>sunuvāsa</td>
<td>sunumāsa</td>
<td>sunvé</td>
<td>sunuvāhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>सुनोगि</td>
<td>सुनवभृति</td>
<td>सुनवदि</td>
<td>सुनवे</td>
<td>सुनवः</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sunōṣi</td>
<td>sunuthāsa</td>
<td>sunuthāa</td>
<td>sunuṣe</td>
<td>sunuvāthe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. **Suṇoṭi**, suṇutās, suvánti, suṇutē, suṇvāte, suṇvāte

a. The forms suṇvās, suṇmās, suṇvāhe, suṇmāhe are alternative with those given here for 1st du. and pl., and in practice are more common. From yāp, however (for example), only the forms with u can occur: thus, āpnuvās, āpnumāhe; and also only āpnuvánti, āpnuvē, āpnuvāte.

B. u-class; root तन् tan *stretch*: strong form of stem, तनो tanō; weak, तन् tanu.

1. तनोमि, तन्वृं, तन्माः, तन्वे, तन्वेः, तन्माः

   tanomī, tanvṛṃ, tanmās, tanvē, tanvāhe, tanmāhe etc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

b. The inflection is so precisely like that given above that it is not worth writing out in full. The abbreviated forms in 1st du. and pl. are presented here, instead of the fuller, which rarely occur (as no double consonant ever precedes).

699. a. In the older language, no strong 2d persons du. or pl., and no thana-ending, chance to occur (but they are numerous in the impv. and impf.: see below). The RV. has several cases of the irregular accent in 3d pl. mid.: thus, kṛṇvāte, tanvāte, manvāte, vṛṇvāte, śṛṇvāte.

b. In RV. occur also several 3d pl. mid. in ṭre from present-stems of this class: thus, invire, pṛnvire, pinvire, qṛnvire, sunvirē, hinvirē. Of these, pinvire, and hinvirē might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots pinv and hinv (below, 716). The 2d sing. mid. (with passive value) ṭṛṇvīṣē (RV.) is of anomalous and questionable character.

2. Present Subjunctive.

700. The subjunctive mode-stem is made in the usual manner, by adding a to the gunated and accented class-sign: thus, suṇāva, tanāva. In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class; some of them are quite numerous represented there.

   active. middle.
1. sunavāni sunavāva sunavāma sunavāi sunavāvahāi sunavāmahāi
2. sunavas sunavatha sunavase sunavāithe
3. sunavat sunavān (sunavate sunavātāi) sunavanta
701. Of the briefer 1st sing. act., RV. has kṛṇavā and hinaṇvā. Forms with double mode-sign occur (not in RV.): thus, kṛṇavāt and karavāt (AV.); açnavātha (K.), kṛṇavātha (VS.; but -vatha in Kāpya-text), karavātha (QB.). On the other hand, açnavatāi is found once (in TS). Forms like āpnuvāni, ardhmuvat, açnuvat, met with now and then in the older texts, are doubtless to be regarded as false readings. RV. has in a single passage kṛṇavāite (instead of kṛṇavāte); the only form in āithe is açnāvāithe.

3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings (586) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

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<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
<th>etc.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṅ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
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<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>sunuyāṁ</td>
<td>sunuyāva</td>
<td>sunuyāma</td>
<td>sunviyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṅ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>sunviyā</td>
<td>sunviyāhī</td>
<td>sunviyāhī</td>
<td>sunviyā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. From yāp, the middle optative would be āpnuvīyā—and so in other like cases.

4. Present Imperative.

703. The inflection of the imperative is in general like that in the preceding classes. As regards the 2d sing. act., the rule of the later language is that the ending kiḥ 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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<th>d.</th>
<th>p.</th>
<th>sunavāni</th>
<th>sunavāva</th>
<th>sunavāma</th>
<th>sunavā</th>
<th>sunavavahāi</th>
<th>sunavāmabhāi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṅ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>sunutam</td>
<td>sunutā</td>
<td>sunutā</td>
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<td>sunutā</td>
<td>sunutā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṅ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
<td>muniyaṁ</td>
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<td>sunuṭa</td>
<td>sunuṭa</td>
<td>sunuṭa</td>
<td>sunuṭa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a. From याप, the 2d sing. act. would be अप्नुहि; from याच, अच्छुहि; from यहष्ट्र, ध्रष्ठुहि; and so on. From याप, too, would be made अप्नुवात्तु, अप्नुवाथम, अप्नुवातम, अप्नुवातम.

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of hi after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as इनुहि, क्रष्ट्वि, चिनुहि, ध्रुस्त्वाहि, भ्रष्टि, हिनुहि, and तानुहि, सनुहि, are nearly thrice as frequent in use as इनु, भ्रष्ट्र, सनु, तानु, and their like; in A.V., however, they are only one sixth as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically: even भ्रष्टुधि (with धि) occurs several times in RV. RV. has the 1st sing. act. हिनवस. The ending ति is found in क्रष्ट्वति and हिनुति, and कृष्ट्वति. The strong stem-form is found in 2d. du. act. in हिनोतम and क्रष्ट्वतम; and in 2d. pl. act. in क्रष्ट्वता and क्रष्ट्वतान, क्रष्ट्वता and क्रष्ट्वतान, सनोतना and सनोताना, हिनोतना and हिनोताना, and तानोत, तानोता. The ending ता occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings धर्ष्ट्र अंत and ध्रष्ट्र अनार are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from यु सु come act. मुन्वसु sunvānt (fem. मुन्वती sunvati), mid. मुन्वान sunvān; from यतन, तन्वसु tanvānt (fem. तन्वती tanvati), तन्वान tanvān. From याप आ, they are मुन्वांस अप्नुवां and मुन्वांन अप्नुवान.

6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

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<tr>
<th>s.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>इसनवाम</td>
<td>इसनुव</td>
<td>इसनुन</td>
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<tr>
<td>इसनोस</td>
<td>इसनुतम</td>
<td>इसनुन</td>
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<td>इसनुन</td>
<td>इसनुतम</td>
<td>इसनुस्रान</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>इसनोतम</td>
<td>इसनुस्रान</td>
<td>इसनुन</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms इसनवा, इसनुमा, इसनवाहि, इसनुमाहि are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as धर्ष्ट्र: which makes, for example, always अध्रष्टुतम प्रस, and also अध्रष्टुवान, अध्रष्टुवि, अध्रष्टुवाथः, अध्रष्टुवातम, अध्रष्टुवातम.
707. Strong stem-forms and \textit{tana}-ending are found only in RV., in akṛṣota, akṛṣotana. Augmentless forms with accent are \textit{minvān}, \textit{ṛṇūtā}.

708. About fifty roots make, either exclusively or in part, their present-forms after the manner of the \textit{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 \textit{u}-class, are extremely few, not exceeding eight, even including \textit{tṛ} on account of tarūtē RV., and \textit{han} on account of the occurrence of hanomi once in a Sūtra (PGS. i. 3. 27). BR. refer the stem inu to in of the \textit{u}-class instead of i of the \textit{nu}-class.

\textbf{Irregularities of the \textit{nu} and \textit{u}-classes.}

710. The root \textit{tṛ} be \textit{pleased} is said by the grammarians to retain the \textit{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, \textit{tṛṇu}.

711. The root \textit{çṛ} \textit{hear} is contracted to \textit{çṛ} before the class-sign, forming \textit{çṛṇō} and \textit{çṛṇu} as stem. Its forms \textit{çṛṇviśē} and \textit{çṛṇvirē} have been noted above (699 b).

712. The root \textit{dhū} \textit{shake} in the later language (and rarely in B. and S.) shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms \textit{dhunō} and \textit{dhunu} (earlier \textit{dhunō}, \textit{dhēnu}).

713. The so-called root \textit{ūrṇu}, treated by the native grammarians as disyllabic and belonging to the root-class (I.), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root \textit{vṛ} (or \textit{var}). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the \textit{nu}-class; but in the Brāhmaṇa language are found sometimes such forms as \textit{ūṛṇāuti}, as if from an \textit{u}-root of the root class (698); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. act. is \textit{ūṛṇu} or \textit{ūṛṇuhi}; its impf., \textit{āṛṅos}, \textit{āṛṇot}; its opt. mid., \textit{ūṛṇuvita} (K.) or \textit{ūṛṇvítā} (TS.).

714. The extremely common root \textit{ṛ} \textit{kṛ} (or \textit{kar}) \textit{make} is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the \textit{u}-class (being the only root of that class not ending in \textit{u} \textit{n}). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the guṇa-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is
changed to kuru, so that the two forms of stem are करो karó and कुर kuru. The class-sign स u is always dropped before व v and म m of the 1st du. and pl., and also before य y of the opt. act. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

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<td>3</td>
<td>करो</td>
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<td>kurvánti</td>
<td>kuruté</td>
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2. Present Optative.

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<td></td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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3. Present Imperative.

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4. Present Participle.

कुर्वत kurvát (fem. कुर्वती kuruvi) कुर्वता kuruvi

5. Imperfect.

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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 Bráhmana language and later, the u-forms are used to the exclusion of the others.

a. As 1st sing. pres. act. is found kurmi in the epos.

b. What irregular forms from kr as a verb of the nu-class occur in the older language have been already noticed above.

c. The isolated form tarutē, from vr̥, 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 ṛṇu (yṛ); and from hinva beside those from hinu (yhi). The so-called roots jinv and pinv are doubtless of the same origin, although no forms from the stem pinu are met with at any period — unless pinvire (above, 699 b) be so regarded; and AV. has the participle pinvānt, f., pinvatī. The grammarians set up a root dhinu, but only forms from dhi (stem dhinu) appear to occur in the present-system (the aorist adhinvīt is found in PB.).

b. Occasional a-forms are met with also from other roots: thus, cinvata etc., dunvasva.

V. Nā-class (ninth or kṛī-class).

717. The class-sign of this class is in the strong forms the syllable nā, accented, which is added to the root; in the weak forms, or where the accent falls upon the ending, it is nī nī; but before the initial vowel of an ending the i of nī nī disappears altogether.

1. Present Indicative.

718. Example of inflection: root kṛī kṛī buy; strong form of stem, kṛīṇā kṛīṇā; weak form, kṛīṇī kṛīṇī (before a vowel, kṛīṇ kṛīṇ).
active.  

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719. In the Veda, the 3d sing. mid. has the same form with the 1st in ग्रृहः; the peculiar accent of 3d pl. mid. is seen in पुनातेः and रिनातेः; and व्रिनिमाहेः (beside व्रिनिमाहेः) occurs once in RV.

2. Present Subjunctive.

720. The subjunctive forms which have been found exemplified in Veda and Brāhmaṇa are given below. The subjunctive mode-stem is, of course, indistinguishable in form from the strong tense-stem. And the 2d and 3d sing. act. (with secondary endings) are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects.

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3. Present Optative.

721. This mode is formed and inflected with entire regularity; owing to the fusion of tense-sign and mode-sign in the middle, some of its persons are indistinguishable from augmentless imperfects. Its first persons are as follows:

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4. Present Imperative.

722. The ending in 2d sing. act., as being always preceded by a vowel, is त् हि (never तः 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.

active.

middle.

1. क्रियानि क्रियाव द्रीयाम क्रियावङ्क द्रीयामङ्क
kriyānī kriyāva kriyāma kriyāf kriyāvahā kriyāmahā

2. क्रियित्क क्रियितम् क्रियित क्रियिव क्रियिताम् क्रियिताम्
kriyītik kriyītām kriyītā kriyīvā kriyīthām kriyīdhvām

3. क्रियालु क्रियितम् क्रियालु क्रियिताम् क्रियालाम् क्रियिताम्
kriyālū kriyītām kriyītāntu kriyītām kriyītām kriyātām

a. Examples of the ending ānā in 2d sing. act. are açāna, ghāṇā, badhāṇā, stabhāṇā.

723. This 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 igāna, muṣāna, skabhāṇa. But AV. has also grbhnīhi (also AB.), and even grbhnāhi, with strong stem; BhP. has badhnhīhi. Strong stems are further found in grbhnāhi and stṛṇāhi (TS.), pṛṇāhi (TB.), and śṛṇāhi (Āpast.), and, with anomalous accent, punāhi and ṣṛṇāhi (SV.); and, in 2d pl. act., in punāta (RV.). The ending tāt of 2d sing. act. occurs in grbhnītāt, jānītāt, pūnītāt. The ending tana is found in pūnitāna, pṛṇītana, śṛṇītana.

5. Present Participle.

724. The participles are regularly formed: thus, for example, act. क्रियालु क्रियान्त (fem. क्रियाली क्रियान्ती); mid. क्रियाल क्रियान्तानā.

6. Imperfect.

725. There is nothing special to be noted as to the inflection of this tense: an example is —

active.

middle.

1. ग्रणायम् ग्रणायीव ग्रणायीम् ग्रणायाणि ग्रणायित्क ग्रणायिमिकिः
ākriyāmākriyāṁva ākriyāma kriyāf kriyāvahā kriyāmahā

2. ग्रणालु ग्रणायितम् ग्रणातिल ग्रणायितालु ग्रणायिताम् ग्रणायिताम्
ākriyālūkriyītām kriyītānta kriyīthās kriyīṭām kriyīṭāhm kriyīṭāhvām

3. ग्रणालु ग्रणायिताम् ग्रणार्ण ग्रणातिल ग्रणायिताम् ग्रणायाणि
ākriyālūkriyītām kriyāram kriyāf kriyāf kriyāmākriyāmā
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.) keśīnām; āgnan, riṇān; gṛbhṇata, viṇata. The AV. has once minit instead of mināt. MBh. has aṃnīs after mā.

a. AB. has the false form ajānīmas, and in AA. occurs avṛṇita as 3d plural.

727. The roots which form their present-systems, wholly or in part, after the manner of this class, are over fifty in number: but, for about three fifths of them, the forms are quotable only from the older language, and for half-a-dozen they make their first appearance later; for less than twenty are they in use through the whole life of the language, from the Veda down.

a. As to secondary a-stems, see 731.

Irregularities of the nā-class.

728. a. The roots ending in ū shorten that vowel before the class-sign: thus, from yṛū, punāti and pūntā; in like manner also jū, dhū, lū.

b. The root vī (B.S.) forms either vlinā or vlinā.

729. The root grabh or grah (the former Vedic) is weakened to gṛbh or gṛh.

a. As the perfect also in weak forms has gṛbh or gṛh, it is not easy to see why the grammarians should not have written r 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 jāā also loses its nasal before the class-sign: thus, jāṇāti, jāṇītē.

731. Not rarely, forms showing a transfer to the a-conjugation are met with: thus, even in RV., minati, minat, aminanta, from y/mi; in AV., cṛṇa from y/ṛ; later, gṛṇa, jāna, prīṇa, mathna, etc. And from roots pṛ and mṛ are formed the stems pṛṇā and mṛṇā, 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 āyā is not infrequent beside the conjugation of roots of this class: thus, gṛbhāyā, mathāyāti, aṇrāthāyas, skabhāyāta, astabhāyāat, pruṣāyānte, muṣāyāt, and so on. See below, 1066 b.
Second or a-Conjugation.

733. We come now to the classes which compose the Second or a-Conjugation. These are more markedly similar in their mode of inflection than the preceding classes; their common characteristics, already stated, may be here repeated in summary. They are: 1. A final a in the present-stem; 2. a constant accent, not changing between stem and ending; 3. a briefer form of the optative mode-sign in the active, namely १ instead of ०(combining in both voices alike with a to e); 4. the absence of any ending (except when तात is used) in २d sing. impv. act.; 5. the conversion of initial अ of the २d and ३d du. mid. endings with final a of the stem to e; 6. the use of the full endings ante, anta, antām in ३d pl. mid. forms; 7. the invariable use of an (not us) in ३d pl. impf. act.; 8. and the use of माना instead of आना as ending of the mid. pple. Moreover, 9. the stem-final a becomes a before म and व of १st personal endings — but not before अम of १st sing. impf.: here, as before the ३d pl. endings, the stem-final is lost, and the short a of the ending remains (or the contrary): thus, भावंति (भाव + anti), भावांते (भाव + ante), अभावम (अभाव + am).

All these characteristics belong not to the inflection of the a-present-system alone, but also to that of the a-, reduplicated, and sa-aorists, the s-future, and the desiderative, causative, and demoninative present-stems. That is to say, wherever in conjugation an a-stem is found, it is inflected in the same manner.

VI. A-class (first, bhū-class).

734. The present-stem of this class is made by adding य a to the root, which has the accent, and, when that is possible (२३५, २४०), is strengthened to गुष्ठ. Thus, भाव bhāva from युष्ठ bhū; दायá jáya from ज्ञि ji; बोध bódha from युष्ठ budh; सर्प sárpa from युष्ठ sr̥p; — but बद्ध váda from यबुद्ध vad; क्रिया kr̥d̥a from यक्रिया kr̥d̥a.
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 ब्हू be; stem भाव bhāva (bho+a: 131).

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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 cōbehe once as 3d singular.

2. Present Subjunctive.

736. The mode-stem is भाव bhāv (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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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bhāvāni bhāvāva bhāvāma bhāvāi bhāvāvahā bhāvāmāhāi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bhāvās bhāvāsās bhāvātha bhāvāse bhāvādhvāi</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bhāvāt bhāvātās bhāvān bhāvāte bhāvāta bhāvānte</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

737. The 2d du. mid. (bhāvāithe) does not chance to occur in this class; and yātāte is the only example of the 3d person. No such pl. mid. forms as bhāvādhvā, bhāvānte are made from any class with stem-final a; such as bhāvānta (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brāhmaṇas (especially CB.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in āsi and the 3d in āt. AB. has the 3d sing. mid. haratā; and a 3d pl. in antāi (vartantāi KB.) has been noted once. RV. has examples, arcā and madā, of the briefer 1st sing. act.
3. Present Optative.

738. The scheme of optative endings as combined with the final of an a-stem was given in full above (566).

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhāveym bhāveva bhāvema bhāveya bhāvevahī bhāvemahi</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bhāves bhāvetam bhāveta bhāvethās bhāveyāthāṁ bhāvedhvaṁ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāvet bhāvetāṁ bhāveyus bhāveta bhāveyātāṁ bhāveran</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

a. The RV. has once the 3d pl. mid. bharerata (for one other example, see 752 b). AV. has udeyam from ṣvād.

b. A few instances are met with of middle 3d persons from a-stems in ṣtā and (very rarely) ṛāman, instead of ṛa and ṛaṃ. For convenience, they may be put together here (excepting the more numerous causative forms, for which see 1043 c); they are (so far as noted) these: nayita S. and later, ṣaṅṣita S., ṛṣayita S.; ṛhayita S., ṛhayita U., ṛhayita AB. S. and ṛhayiran S., dhmāyita U. An active form ṛaṃṣiyāt C. is isolated and anomalous.

4. Present Imperative.

739. An example of the imperative inflection is:

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhāvāni bhāvāva bhāvāma bhāvāi bhāvāvahāi bhāvamahāi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāva bhāvatam bhāvata bhāvasva bhāvethām bhāvadhvam</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhāvatu bhāvatam bhāvantu bhāvatām bhāvāntām</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

740. The ending tāta in 2d pl. act. is as rare in this whole conjugation as is thana in the present; the V. affords only bhajatana in the a-class (and nahyatana in the ya-class 760 c). The ending tāt of 2d sing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has avatāt, oṣṭatāt, dahatāt, bhavatāt, yacchatāt, yācatāt, rākṣatāt, vahatāt; to which AV. adds jinvatāt, dhvāvatāt; and the Brāhmaṇas bring other examples. MS. has twice svadātu (parallel texts both times svadāti): compare similar cases in the a-class: 752 c.
5. Present Participle.

741. The endings गच्छ, ant and मान मण are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. भवन्त bhāvant (fem. भवति bhāvanti); mid. भवमान bhāvamāna.

a. A small number of middle participles appear to be made from stems of this class (as of other a-classes; see 752 e, 1043 f) by the suffix āna instead of māna: thus, namāna, pacāna, qiṣāna, svajāna, hvayāna (all epic), majjāna and kṣāna (later); and there are Vedic examples (as cyāvāna, pratthānā, yātāna or yatānā, qūmbhāna, 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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<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
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<th>s.</th>
<th>d.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>गच्छवम्</td>
<td>गच्छवि</td>
<td>गच्छविः</td>
<td>गच्छवाविः</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गच्छवाविः</td>
<td>गच्छवावः</td>
<td>गच्छवावः</td>
<td>गच्छवावः</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गच्छवावः</td>
<td>गच्छवावा</td>
<td>गच्छवावा</td>
<td>गच्छवावा</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गच्छवावा</td>
<td>गच्छवावात्</td>
<td>गच्छवावात्</td>
<td>गच्छवावात्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>गच्छवावात्</td>
<td>गच्छवावत्</td>
<td>गच्छवावत्</td>
<td>गच्छवावत्</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>गच्छवावत्</td>
<td>गच्छवावत्</td>
<td>गच्छवावत्</td>
<td>गच्छवावत्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

743. No forms in tana are made in this tense from any a-class. Examples of augmentless forms (which are not uncommon) are: cyāvam, ávas, dáhas, bódhat, bhārat, cáran, nácan; bādhathás, vārdhata, qócanta. 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, 749 a.
Irregularities of the a-class.

745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,

a. üh consider has guṇa-strengthening (against 240): thus, óhate.
b. kṛp (or krap) lament, on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, kṛpate.
c. guh hide has prolongation instead of guṇa: thus, guḥati.
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 tire is said to form klāmati etc., but is not quotable; — cam with the preposition ā rinse the mouth forms ācāmati.

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from mṛj wipe; and they show the same vyṛddhi (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 ū in quotable forms.

g. The onomatopoetic root śthiv spew is written by the grammarians as śṭiv, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system; compare 240 b.

746. The roots daṇq bite, raṇj color, saṇj hang, svāṇj embrace, of which the nasal is in other parts of the conjugation not constant, lose it in the present-system: thus, dācāti etc.; saṇj forms both sajati and sajati (probably for sajatī, or for saajati from saajati); math or maṇth 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 606.

748. The root sad sit forms sīḍa (conjectured to be contracted from sīṣāda for sisāda): thus, sīḍāmi etc.

749. Transfers to this class from other classes are not rare, as has been already pointed out above, both throughout the present-system and in occasional forms. The most important cases are the following:

a. The roots in a, sthā stand, pā drink, and ghṛa smell, form the present-stems tīṣṭha (tīṣṭhāmi etc.), pīṭa (pīṭāmi etc.), and jīghra (jīghrāmi 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 dham or dhmaḥ 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 धा, and the root remains unstrengthened. In
its whole inflection, is 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 विच विच enter; stem
विच विचाया:

1. Present Indicative.

   active.               middle.


   1 विचामि विचाम्स्ति विचामस्ति विच विचावकाये विचामकाये
   viचāmi viचāvas viचāmas viच विचावहे viचामहे
   etc.               etc.               etc.               etc.               etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

   1 viचाया viचामा viचाइ viचावहाय viचामहाय
   2 {viचासि viचाया }{viचासि viचासि }{viचासि viचासि }
   3 {viचाति viचाति }{viचाति viचाति }{viचाति viचाति }

   a. A single example of the biafer 1st sing. act. is mṛkṣā. The only
   forms in āithe and āite are pṛṇāithe and yuvāite.

3. Present Optative.

   1 विचेयम् विचेय विचेय म विचेत्वाकत् विचेमकि
   viचेयम viचेया viचेमा viचेया viचेवहि viचेमहि
   etc.               etc.               etc.               etc.               etc.

   b. Thā RV. has the ending tana once in tiretana 2d pl. act., and
   rata in jujerata 3d pl. mid.
4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

2 विष विषात्म विषत विषात्व विषाधाम विषाधम् विषात विषातम विषाता विषासवा विषाभाम विषाध्वम
e tc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

c. The ending तत is found in RV. and AV. in म्रदात, वषात, सुवातत; other examples are not infrequent in the Brähmana language: thus, खिदत, चयत, प्रचतात, विषात, श्रत; and later, स्रष्टत. The 3d sing. act. नुढ़ातु and मुष्कातु occur in Sūtras (cf. 740).

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is विषात; the middle is विषामाना.

d. The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, विषांति; but sometimes from the weak: thus, शिषांति and शिषाति (RV. and AV.), तुदांति and तुदाति (AV.): see above, 449 d, e.

e. Middle participles in अना instead of माना are धूवाना, ध्रषाना, लिकान, च्याना, in the older language; क्रचान, मुष्कान, स्रचान in the later (cf. 741 a).

6. Imperfect.

1 गविषाम गविषात्व गविषाम गविषेय गविषाविच गविषामद्विः गविषामानि

f. Examples of augmentless forms accented are श्र्जा, श्रजात, तिरान्ता.

g. The a-aorist (848 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 प्रप and म्रप (731), there takes place almost a setting-up of independent roots.

b. The stems जोच, उच, and रोच are reckoned as belonging respectively to the roots ज desire, वृष shine, and र go.

c. The roots written by the Hindu grammarians with final o — namely, चो, डो, गो, and so — and forming the present-stems च्याय,
dyā, qyā, ayā, 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 751 g). They appear to be analogous with the stems kṣaya, sva, hva, noted below (755).

754. The roots from which á-stems are made have certain noticeable peculiarities of form. Hardly any of them have long vowels, and none have long interior vowels; very few have final vowels; and none (save two or three transfers, and ylajj be ashamed, which does not occur in any accentuated 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 ū change those vowels into iy and uv before the class-sign: thus, kṣiyā, yuvā, ruvā; suvā, etc.; and sva, hva occur, instead of suva and huva, in the older language, while TS. has the participle kṣyánt. K. has dhūva from ydū.

756. The three roots in r form the present-stems kirā, girā (also gila), tirā, and are sometimes written as kir etc.; and gur, jur, tur are really only varieties of gr, jr, tr; and bhur and sphur are evidently related with other ar or r root-forms.

a. The common root prach ask makes the stem prachā.

757. As to the stems -driyā and -priya, and mriyā and dhriyā, 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 muñcā is made from ymuc release; niñcā from ysic sprinkle; vindā from yvid find; krntā from ykrt cut; pinēq from ypeiq adorn; tymphā from ytrph enjoy; lumpā from ylup break; limpā from ylip smear; and occasional forms of the same kind are met with from a few others, as tunda from ytud thrust; bṛṇhā from ybṛṇh strengthen; dṛṇhā (beside dṛṇha) from ydṛṇh make firm; qumbhā (beside qumbha) from yqubh shine; TS. has qṛnṭati from yqṛṭha (instead of qṛnṭāti); uñcha, vindhā, sumbhā, are of doubtful character.

a. Nasalized á-stems are also in several instances made by transfer from the nasal class: thus, unda, umbha, ṭañā, piṅgā, yuṅja, rundha, čiṅṣa.

VIII. Ya-class (fourth, div-class).

759. The present-stem of this class adds И ya to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also pre-
cisely like that of the a-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the á-class.

760. Example of inflection: root नहः nah bind; stem नहः náhya.

1. Present Indicative.

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>नहग्यामि नहग्यासि नहग्यासि नहग्यासु नहग्यासि नहस्मि नहस्मि नहस्मि नहस्मि नहस्मि नहस्मि</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>náhyāmi náhyāvasi náhyāvasi náhyāvasu náhyāvasi náhyāmśi náhyāmśi náhyāmśi náhyāmśi náhyāmśi</td>
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<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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2. Present Subjunctive.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>náhyāni</th>
<th>náhyāma</th>
<th>náhyāhāi</th>
<th>náhyāmahāi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(náhyāsi</td>
<td>náhyāsāi</td>
<td>náhyādvāi</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(náhyāti</td>
<td>náhyātas</td>
<td>náhyātai</td>
<td>náhyāntai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. A 3d pl. mid. in antāi (jāyantāi) occurs once in TS.

3. Present Optative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>नहेवाम् नहेवाम् नहेवाम् नहेवाम् नहेवाम् नहेवाम्</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>náhyeyam náhyeva náhyema náhyeya náhyevahī náhyemahi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. For two or three 3d sing. mid. forms in ita (for eta), see 738 b.

4. Present Imperative.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>नह्या नह्यातम नह्यास नह्यासव नह्यासव नह्यासव नह्यासव नह्यासव नह्यासव</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>náhya náhyatam náhyata náhyasva náhyethām náhyadhvam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Of the ending tana, RV. has one example, náhyatana; the ending tāt is found in asyatāt, khyāyatāt, naçyatāt.

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is नह्यान् náhyant (fem. नह्यान्ती náhy- yantī); the middle is नह्यामान náhyamāna.

6. Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>धन्यायम् धन्यायः धन्यायः धन्यायः धन्यायः धन्यायः</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ánahyam ánahyāva ánahyāma ánahye ánahyāvahí ánahyāmahāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d. Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are gāyat, pāqyat, pāqyan, jāyathās.

761. The ya-class stems are more than a hundred and thirty in number, and nearly half of them have forms in use in all periods of the language, about forty occurring only in the earlier, and about thirty only in the modern period.

a. Of the roots making ya-stems, a very considerable part (over fifty) signify a state of feeling, or a condition of mind or body: thus, kup be angry, klam be weary, kṣudh be hungry, mūh be confused, lūbh be lustful, qus be dry, etc. etc.

b. A further number have a more or less distinctly passive sense, and are in part evident and in part presumable transfers from the passive or yā-class, with change of accent, and sometimes also with assumption of active endings. It is not possible to draw precisely the limits of the division; but there are in the older language a number of clear cases, in which the accent wavers and changes, and the others are to be judged by analogy with them. Thus, ymuc forms mūcyate once or twice, beside the usual mūcyate, 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 kṣī destroy, jī or jyā injure, tap heat, dhr make firm, pac cook, pr fill, mī damage, ric leave, lup break, hā leave. Active forms are early made from some of these, and they grow more common later. It is worthy of special mention that, from the Veda down, jāyate is born etc. is found as altered passive or original ya-formation by the side of yjan 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, paq see, pad go, qilg clap.

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, āī or e or o. Thus:

e. Roots reckoned as ending in āī 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 a-roots of the ya-class. They are kṣā burn, gā sing, glā be weary, trā save, dhya think, pyā fill up, mālā relax, rā bark, vā be blown, qyā conulate, qrā boil, styā stiffen. Some of them are evident extensions of simpler roots by the addition of ā. The secondary roots tāy stretch (beside tan), and cāy observe (beside ci) appear to be of similar character.

f. Roots reckoned as ending in e and belonging to the a- (or bhū-) class, as dhe suck (dhāyati etc.). These, too, have a-forms, and sometimes i-forms, outside the present system, and are best regarded as a-roots, either with ā weakened to a before the class-sign of this class, or with ā.
weakened to i or i and inflected according to the a-class. They are dhā suck, mā exchange, vā weave, vyā envelop, hva call (secondary, from hū). As of kindred form may be mentioned day share and vyay expend (probably denominative of vyaya).

g. A few roots artificially written with final o and reckoned to the ya-class, with radical vowel lost before the class-sign: thus, do cut, bind, pres. dyāti etc. These, as having an accented å in the sign, have plainly no right to be put in this class; and they are better referred to the á-class (see above, 753 a). Outside the present-system they show á- and i-forms; and in that system the ya is often resolved into ia in the oldest language.

762. The ya-class is the only one thus far described which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning. In this tendency, as well as in the form of its sign, it appears related with the class of distinctly defined meaning which is next to be taken up—the passive, with ya-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, qam be quiet, cram: for example, tāmyati, crāmyati. From kṣam, however, only kṣamyate occurs; and qam labor makes cāmyati (B).

764. The root mad has the same lengthening: thus, mādyati.

765. The roots in iv—namely, div, sīv, ariv 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 u; diiv is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root div shine, which changes to dyu (381 d): compare 240 b.

766. The roots jṛ and ṭṛ (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 ṭṛ comes pūrya.

767. The root vyadh is abbreviated to vīdh: thus, vīdhyati. And any root which in other forms has a penultimate nasal loses it here: thus, dhya from drāh or drh; bhraṣya from bhraṇç or bhraç; rajya from rañj or raj.
IX. Accented yá-class: Passive conjugation.

788. A certain form of present-stem, inflected with middle endings, is used only in a passive sense, and is formed from all roots for which there is occasion to make a passive conjugation. Its sign is an accented य у added to the root: thus, दन्य hanyाः from दन्य han slay, धात्य āpyā from धात् āp obtain, ग्रहण grhyā from ग्रहण grah (or grah) seize: and so on, without any reference to the class according to which the active and middle forms are made.

789. 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 (923 b), or before ta of the passive participle (954), is made also in the passive present-system: thus, आय अय from आत्य, बाध्य बाध्य from बाध्य, गोय गोय from गोय, श्रय श्रय from श्रय.

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 ि и and न न are lengthened: thus, निय निय from निय; सुय निय from निय;

b. Final ा ा is usually changed to ि: thus, दिय दिय from दिय ा; हिय निय from निय: but जन्य जन्य from जन्य, and so क्षयां, धाय, मन्याः, etc.;

c. Final र र is in general changed to रर: thus, क्रियाः from क्र र; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root र), it has instead the रा-strengthening: thus, अम्रय अम्रय from अम्र (the onlyquotable case); — and in those roots which show a change of र to रर and रर (so-called र-verbs: see 242), that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, रय रय from रय; पूर्य निय from निय.

771. The inflection of the passive-stem is precisely like that of the other a-stems; it differs only in accent from that of the class last given. It may be here presented, therefore, in the same abbreviated form:

a. Example of inflection: root क्र make; passive-stem क्रिय क्रिय kriyā:
1. Present Indicative.

1 kriyē kriyāvāhe kriyāmahe
e tc. etc. etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

b. The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

1 kriyāī kriyāmahāī
2 kriyādhvāī
3 (kriyāte kriyāntāī
tci. tci. tci.

c. The 3d pl. ending antāī is found once (ucyantāī K.).

3. Present Optative.

1 kriyāyā kriyāvāhī kriyāmahī
e tc. etc. etc.

d. No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found, however, in the Brāhmaṇas. ChU. has once dhmāyīta.

4. Present Imperative.

2 kriyāsva kriyāthām kriyādhvam
e tc. etc. etc.

5. Present Participle.

e. This is made with the suffix mān māna: thus, kriyāmaṇa 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.

1 ákriyē ákriyāvāhī ákriyāmahe
e tc. etc. etc.

g. The passive-sign is never resolved into in in the Veda.

772. The roots tan and khan usually form their passives from parallel roots in ā: thus, tāyāte, khāyāte (but also tanyate, khān-
yate); and dham, in like manner, makes either dhamyate or dhmayate. The corresponding form to yjan, namely jayate (above, 781 b), is apparently a transfer to the preceding class.

773. By their form, mryate dies, and dhriyate maintains itself, is steadfast, are passives from the roots mṛ die and dhṛ hold; although neither is used in a proper passive sense, and mṛ is not transitive except in the derivative form mṛṇ (above, 731). With them are to be compared the stems ṣ-driyā heed and ṣ-priyā be busy, which are perhaps peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots ḍṛ pierce and pr fill.

774. Examples of the transfer of stems from the yā- or passive class to the ya- or intransitive class were given above (761 b); and it was also pointed out that active instead of middle endings are occasionally, even in the earlier language, assumed by forms properly passive; examples are ā dhmayati and vy apruyat (ṬB.), bhuyati (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, ćakyati, qrūyanti, bhriyantu, ijąyant-, 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, coordinate 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pres. Indic.</th>
<th>active</th>
<th>middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cintāyāmi</td>
<td>cintāye</td>
<td>cintāyāi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj.</td>
<td>cintāyāni</td>
<td>cintāyēya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opt.</td>
<td>cintāyeyam</td>
<td>cintāyamāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pple.</td>
<td>cintāyant</td>
<td>ácintayam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impf.</td>
<td>ácintayam</td>
<td>ácintaye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. The inflection, of course, is the same with that of other forms from a-stems (733 a).

c. The middle participle, in the later language, is more often made with āna instead of māna: thus, cintayāna: see 1043 f.
Uses of the Present and Imperfect.

776. The uses of the mode-forms of the present-system have been already briefly treated in the preceding chapter (572 ff.). The tense-uses of the two indicative tenses, present and imperfect, call here for only a word or two of explanation.

777. The present has, besides its strictly present use, the same subsidiary uses which belong in general to the tense: namely, the expression of habitual action, of future action, and of past action in lively narration.

a. Examples of future meaning are: imāṁ cēd vā imē cīnvāte tātā evā no ‘bhībhavanti (ÇB.) verily if these build this up, then they will straightway get the better of us; agnir ātmabhavāṁ prāddād yatra vāñchati nāśadāṁ (MBh.) Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhan should desire; svāgataṁ te ‘stu kim karomi tava (R.) welcome to thee; what shall I do for thee?

b. Examples of past meaning are: āttārā sūrī ādharmaḥ putrā āsid dānuḥ cāye sahāvataśa nā dhenuḥ (RV.) the mother was over, the son under; there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf; prahasanti ca tāṁ kecid abhyasuyanti cā ‘pare akurvata dayāṁ kecit (MBh.) some ridicules her, some revile her, some pitied her; tato yasya vacanat tatā ‘valambitaṁ tāṁ sarve tirakurvanti (H.) thereupon they all fall to reproaching him by whose advice they had alighted there.

778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:

a. With purā formerly: thus, saptaśīn u haasma vāi purā rkaśā ēty ācakṣate (ÇB.) the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears; tanmātram api cen mahyaṁ na dadati purā bhavāṁ (MBh.) if you have never before given me even an atom.

b. With the asseverative particleasma: thus, crāmeneha haasma vāi tād devā jayanti yād eṣāṁ jāyyam āsā rṣayaça ca (ÇB.) in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won; āviṣṭāṁ kalina ḍyūte jiyateasma nalas tadā (MBh.) then Nala, being possessed by Kali, was beaten in play.

c. No example of this last construction is found in either RV. or AV., or elsewhere in the metrical parts of the Veda. In the Brāhmaṇas, only habitual action is expressed by it. At all periods of the language, the use ofasma with a verb as pure asseverative particle, with no effect on the tense-meaning, is very common; and the examples later are hardly to be distinguished from the present of lively narration — of which the whole construction is doubtless a form.

779. The imperfect has remained unchanged in value through the whole history of the language: it is the tense of narration; it expresses simple past time, without any other implication.

a. Compare what is said later (end of chap. X. and chap. XI.) as to the value of the other past tenses, the perfect and aorist.
CHAPTER X.

THE PERFECT-SYSTEM.

780. The perfect-system in the later language, as has been seen above (535), consists only of an indicatve 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 806 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 श्र्य between stem and endings.

782. Reduplication. In roots beginning with a consonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is of the same character with that which forms the present-stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (see 643)—but with this exception, that radical घ a and घा औ and घ र (or घर a) have only घ a, and never श्र्य, as vowel of the reduplicating syllable: thus, from न्य प्र fill comes the present-stem स्य प्र papy, but the perfect-stem न्य प्र papy; from न्य मा mar
measure comes the present-stem मिगा mimā, but the perfect-stem मणा mamā; and so on.

a. Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, 784.

783. For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:

a. A root with initial ग a before a single final consonant repeats the ग a, which then fuses with the radical vowel to गा a, (throughout the whole inflection): thus, गाद ad from गा ad eat; and in like manner गान ān, गाम ām, गात् āt. The root ग r forms likewise throughout गार ār (as if from गर ar).

b. A root with र i or र 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 गुṇa, becoming र ए or री o; and before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from रस्म is comes रस्म īs in weak forms, but रस्म iyeš in strong; from रट्ट uce, in like manner, come रट्ट īc and रट्ट uve. The root र i, a single vowel, also falls under this rule, and forms री ī (y added before a vowel) and री īye.

c. Roots which begin with vowels long by nature or by position do not in general make a perfect-system, but use instead a periphrastic formation, in which the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb is added to the accusative of a verbal noun (see below, chap. XV.: 1070 ff.).

d. To this rule, however, याप obtain (probably originally याप: 1087 f) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem याप (as if from याप: above, a). Also are met with याह (RV.) and यात्र from याह, and यात्रे (V.) from यात्र.

e. For the peculiar reduplication ān, belonging to certain roots with initial vowels, see below, 788.

784. A number of roots beginning with va and ending with a single consonant, which in various of their verbal forms and derivatives abbreviate the va to u, do it also in the perfect, and are treated like roots with initial u (above, 783 b), except that they retain
the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from य्वैस speak come चौ and उवैस; from य्वस dwell come चौ and उवस; and so on.

a. The roots showing this abbreviation are वैस, वप, वद, वाच, वस, वह; and वा वर्त्ते is said to follow the same rule.

b. A single root beginning with या, namely याज offer, has the same contraction, forming the stems इयाज and इग.

c. Occasional exceptions are met with: as, वावाचa and ववाक्षेन (RV.); ववापा and ववाहा and ववाहात (E. and later); यस्ते (V.).

785. A number of roots having या after a first initial consonant: ताक इ (from the य) instead of a in the reduplicating syllable: thus, from य्वैस comes विवैस; from य्पया comes पिपा।

a. These roots are यैस, यथ, ययध, यया, जया, चया, चयास, सयं; and, in the Veda, also ताज, with चुय and द्यत, which have the root-vowel उ।

b. Other sporadic cases occur.

c. A single root with वै is treated in the same way: namely सूप, which forms सूपय।

d. These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, 794.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

a. Thus, of roots reduplicating with आ: तान, कल्प, ग्रध, त्रप, त्राः, द्वन्द्र, द्वन्द्र, नम, मह, म्र, म्रु, रन, रध, रब, वा, वाच, वास clothe, वा, व्र, वर्त, वर्ध, व्र, चद prevails, सह, खाम्ब।

Some of these occur only in isolated cases; many have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but दाधारa is common also in the Bhāmaṇa language, and is even found later. As to जाग, see 1020 a.

b. Of roots reduplicating with इ: the so-called roots (676) दिधि and दिद, which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, दीध, दीया; दीधिमा, दीधियय (also दीधिय, दीधिय). But पिपी has पिपय, पिपयस, etc., with short इ। In AV. occurs once जीहिदा, and in AB. (and AA.) बिहिय।

c. Of roots reduplicating with पु: तु, जु, and चु (or चुवा)।

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, यी forms ciki; यित forms cikit; यिः forms jigi; यिः forms jighi; यहन forms jaghan (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots; 316, 1). A root दाः protect is said by the grammarians to form दिग; but neither root nor perfect is quotable.

788. A small number of roots with initial अ or ः (अर) show the anomalous reduplication अन in the perfect.

a. Thus (the forms occurring mainly in the older language only):
yāñj or aj, which forms the pres. anākti, has the perfect ānāñja and ānajē etc. (with anajā and anajyāt);

yāç attai (from which comes once in RV. anāçāmahāi), has the weak forms ānāqma etc. (with opt. ānāçyām), ānāqė etc. (and LJS. has ānāçadhve), and the strong forms ānānça and ānāça — along with the regular āça etc.;

yṛdh (from which comes once ṛṇādhat) has āṇṛdhūs and āṇṛdhē; yṛo or arc has āṇṛcūs and āṇṛcē, and later ānarcē and ānarcus;
yarḥ has (in TS.) āṇṛhūs;
anāha (RV., once) has been referred to a root ah, elsewhere unknown, and explained as of this formation; but with altogether doubtful propriety.

b. The later grammar, then, sets up the rule that roots beginning with a and ending with more than one consonant have ān as their regular reduplication; and such perfects are taught from roots like akṣ, arj, and aṅe or ać; but the only other quotable forms appear to be ānarchat (MBh.) and ānarsat (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 sasū.

b. The root bhṛ bear has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication ja (as also in intensive: 1002), but RV. has once also the regular babhre, and pple babhrāṇā.

c. The root ṣṭhīv spew forms either tiṣṭhīv (CB. et al.) or tiṣṭhīv (not quotable).

d. Vivakvān (RV., once) is doubtless participle of yavac, with irregular reduplication (as in the present, 860).

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, vedā, vēthha, etc., pple vidvānās. It has the meaning of a present. The root vid find forms the regular vivēda.

b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are takṣathus and takṣus, yamātus, skambhāthus and skambhus, nindima (for ninidima?), dhīṣa and dhīre (P. dhā), and vidṛé and arhīre (P see 613). And AV. SV. have cēstatus. The participial words dāqvāns, mīdhvāns, sāhvāns are common in the oldest language; and RV. has once jānūgas (yjā), and khīdvas (voc.), perhaps for cikhīdvas.

c. A few sporadic cases also are quotable from the later language, especially from the epics: thus, kārṣatūs, cēṣṭa and cēṣṭatūs, bhṛājatūs, sarpa, caṇsūs and caṇsīre, dhvaṇīre, saṅśīre, jaḷpire, edhire; also the pple caṇsīvāns and darçivāns, 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 vṛddhi change in 1st sing. act., guṇa in 2d, and vṛddhi in 3d: thus, from ग्न्ने भू, 1st विनो बिने or विनो बिने; 2d विनो बिने; 3d विनो बिने; from वृक्क क्र, 1st चक्क तक्क or चक्क तक्क, 2d चक्क तक्क, 3d चक्क तक्क.

b. But the उ of व्हू remains unchanged, and adds व before a vowel-ending: thus, बाह्यु वा etc.

c. Medial ए a before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or vridhdhied in the 3d sing., and optionally in the first: thus, from व्यति tap, 1st तति तति or तति तति, 2d तति तति, 3d तति तति.

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 बिनेय, ततेपा; 3d बिनेय, ततेपा. Exceptions are तकार and जाग्रानास (doubtful reading) in AV., तकार in AC& and B&U. (CB. cakara), जीग्या in AC&., as first persons.

e. A medial short vowel has in all three persons alike the guṇa-strengthening (where this is possible: 240): thus, from वृक्क druh comes त्रृक्क drudrō; from विनिम्य viṣ comes विनिम्य vivēś; from वृक्क क्र comes चक्क तक्क 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, इष्णa from विष seek, uvocatha and uvoca from विनि, uvoṣa from वृष. As to roots i and r, whose vowels are both initial and final, see above, 793 a, b.

g. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple था as ending; if it has था (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 viveçus (RV.) pasparçus (KeU.), and, in the epics, cakartus and cakartire, cakarçatus, juguhire, nanāmire, bibhedus, vavāhatus, viveçatus, vavarçus. The roots dr, pr, and çr, and optionally jr, are said by the grammarians to have the strong stem in weak forms; but no examples appear to be quotable. AV, however, has once jaharûs (probably a false reading); and in the later language occur caskara (y'kr scatter) and tastare.

i. The root mp has (as in the present-system: 627) vṛddhi instead of guna in strong forms: thus, mamāra; and y'guh (also as in present: 745 c) has ū instead of o (but also jugue 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 ū or ī.

b. A few roots having va and va after a first initial consonant, and reduplicating from the semivowel (785), contract the ya and va to i and u: thus, vivic from 'vyaac, vividh from 'vyadh (but vivyadhus Mīh.), susup from 'svap. The extended roots jyā, pyā, vyā, qvā, hvā show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots ji, pi, vi, qū, hū, 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) contracts to grh, making the three forms of stem jagráh (1st and 24 sing. act.), jagrāh (34), and jagrh; but prach (if it be so written: see 758 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 cakradē etc. (RV.) from y'krand; tatāsrē (RV.) from y'taṁ; dadaqvānas (RV.) from y'dañç; bedhūs, bedhē, etc. (AV.) from y'bandh; sejus (CB.) from y'suñj; caskabhānā (AV.) from y'akambh; tastabhūs etc. (V.), tastabhānā (V.B.), from y'stambh. 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, ghās; they form the weak stems jagm, cakhun, jajā, jaghn (compare 637), jakṣ (compare 640): but RV. has once jajānūś.

f. In the old language are found in like manner mamānāthe and mamnāte from y/man; vavnē from y/van; tatne, tatnīše, tatnīre from y/tan (beside tatane, and tate, as if from y/tā); paptima and paptu and paptivāna from y/pat (beside pet-forms; below, g); papnē from y/pan; saqcima and saqcus, saqcce and saqcire, from y/sac.

g. Roots in general having medial a before a single final consonant, and beginning also with a single consonant that is repeated unchanged in the reduplication—that is, not an aspirate, a guttural mute, or h—contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having e as its vowel: thus, y/sad forms the weak stem sed, y/pac forms pec, y/yam forms yem; and so on.

h. Certain roots not having the form here defined are declared by the grammarians to undergo the same contraction—most of them optionally; and examples of them are in general of very rare occurrence. They are as follows: rāj (E.C.) and rādh (rādh?), notwithstanding their long vowel; phaṇ, phal (phelīre C.), bhaj (occurs from RV. down), though their initial is changed in reduplication; trap, tras (tresus E.C.), ṛath, syam, svaṇ, though they begin with more than one consonant; dambh (debhūs, RV., from the weaker dabh), though it ends with more than one; and bhram (bhremus etc. K.S.), bhrāj, granth, svaṇj, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary. And CB. has sejus from y/saṇj, and KB. has cromus from y/cram. On the other hand, RV. has once rārabh-mā, and R. has papatus, for petus, from y/pat.

i. This contraction is allowed also in 2d sing. act. when the ending is ītha: thus, tenitha beside tatathā (but no examples are quotable from the older language).

j. The roots caṇ and dad (from dā: 672) are said to reject the contraction; but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.

k. From y/tṛ (or tar) occurs terus (R.); and jerus from y/tṛ is authorized by the grammarians—both against the general analogy of roots in ṭ.

l. Roots ending in ā lose their ā before all endings beginning with a vowel, including those endings that assume the union-vowel i (796)—unless in the latter case it be preferred to regard the i as a weakened form of the ā.

795. Endings, and their union with the stem. The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (553 c); and it has also been pointed out (543 a) that roots ending in  śā have  śī āu in 1st and 3d sing. active.
a. The ending mas instead of ma is found in quqrumas (E.C.). For the alleged occurrence of dhve instead of dhve in 2d pl. mid., see 226 c.

796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant — namely ना tha, न va, म ma in active; ने se, घे vahe, में मhe, घे dhve, रे re in middle — are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel ड़ i.

a. The union-vowel ड़ is found widely used also in other parts of the general verbal system: namely, in the sibilant aorist, the futures, and the verbal nouns and adjectives (as also in other classes of derivative stems). In the later language, a certain degree of correspondence is seen among the different parts of the same verb, as regards their use or non-use of the connective; but this correspondence is not so close that general rules respecting it can be given with advantage; and it will be best to treat each formation by itself.

b. The perfect is the tense in which the use of ड़ has established itself most widely and firmly in the later language.

797. The most important rules as to the use of ड़ i in the later language are as follows:

a. The ड़ re of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except न tha of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

c. But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely क्र make, भर hear, गृ go, च्छ choose, द्रु run, ग्रु hear, स्त्रu praise, श्रu flow; and it is allowably (not usually) rejected by some others, in general accordance with their usage in other formations.

d. In 2d sing. act., it is rejected not only by the eight verbs just given, but also by many others, ending in vowels or in consonants, which in other formations have no ड़ i; but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, including those in या a (of which the या a is lost when the ending is ड़ i), and most of those in ड़ i, ड़ I, and ड़ u.

e. The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of थa 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 i is not combined, but changed into y or iy. The ū of y/bhū becomes ūv throughout before a vowel.

798. In the older language, the usage is in part quite otherwise. Thus:

a. In the RV., the union-vowel i is taken by roots ending in consonants provided the last syllable of the stem is a heavy one, but not otherwise: thus, āśitha, uvōcitha, vivēditha, but tatānta and vivyāktha; ucimā, paptimā, sedima, yuyopimā, but jaganma, jagbhmā, yuyujma; ūciṣe, jajñiṣe, sasāhise, but vivitse and dadṛkṣe; bubhu BMC he and ṭaçasmahe etc. (no examples of ivhe or imhe chance to occur, nor any of either idheve or dhve); ṭirē, jajñirē, yetirē, tatakṣirē, but cākḷprē, vividṛē, duduhrē, pasṛdhṛē, tatasrē (and so on: twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV. is vēthta from y/vid, without i (in Br., also āṭtha from y/ah: below, 801 a). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brāhmaṇas 3d pl. forms in ire are made after light syllables also: thus, sasṛjire, bubudh ire, yuyujire, rurudhīre.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more nearly like the later. Thus: for roots in a the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing. in ētha is met with), as dadhimā, dadhiṣe, dadhidhvē, dadhirē (the only persons with i quotable from RV. and AV.; and RV. has dadhre twice);—roots in y appear also to follow the later rule: as cākṛṣe, pāpṛṣe, vavṛṣe, vavṛmāhe, but dadhirīse and jabhirīse, and in 3d pl. mid. both cākṛīre and dadhīre;—y/bhū has both babbhūthta (usually) and babbhūvītha, but only babbhūvimā (AV.). But there are found, against the later rules, susūmis, cicyuṣe, jhurē, and jhūrē, without i: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending rirē of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, cikitrīre, jagbhrīre, dadrīre, babhūrīre, vividrīre, sasṛ-rīre; to which SV. adds dudhrīre, and TB. dadṛīre.

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 bhud know: its strong form of perfect-stem is bhūbhud; weak form, bhūbhud.

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b. The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing. act. (above 793 g) needs to be noted both in this and in the remaining paradigms.

c. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final i or u-vowel, we may take the root नी नी lead: its forms of stem are निन्या, निन्यय or निनाय, निनय, and निनी, निनी.

d. The root क्रि would make (129 a) in weak forms cikriyivá, cikriyátus, cikriyús, etc.; and यभु is inflected as follows in the active (middle forms not quotable):

1 babhúva babhúvivá babhúvimá
2 babhútha, babhúvitha babhúvathus babhúvá
3 babhúva babhúvátus babhúvús

Other roots in उ or ऊ change this to uv before the initial vowel of an ending.

c. As example of the inflection of a root ending in दा ऑ, we may take दा ऑ give: its forms of stem are ददा, ददा and ददा (or दद ऑ dadi: see above, 794, 1).

1 ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन
   ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन
dadánu dañivá dañimá dadé dañiváhe dañimáhe

2 ददाथा, ददाथा ददाथा ददाथा ददाथा ददाथा ददाथा ददाथा
dadátha, dadáthá dadáthus dadá dadiśe dadáthe dadidhvé

3 ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन ददन
dadánu dadánus dadé dadé dadé dadé dadé dadé
dadíre

f. The RV. has once paprá for papráu (and jahá for jaháu ō).
g. As example of a root with medial ॐ a showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial ते e, in the weak forms (794 g), we may take तन् tan stretch: its forms of stem are तन् tatán or तन्न ततान, and तेन् ten.

h. The root जन jan, with the others which expel medial ए a in weak forms (784 e), makes जाजन्त्वा or जाजिन्त्वा, जाजिन्त्वा, जाजिन्त्वा, जाजिन्त्वा, जाजिन्त्वा, जाजिन्त्वा; and so on.

i. As example of a root with initial व va contracted to उ u in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to उ u in weak forms (784), we may take वच् vac speak: its forms of stem are उवच् uvāc or उवच् uvāc, and उच् u."c.

j. In like manner, य्य aj forms यज्ञा or यज्ञा, याज्ञा or याज्ञा; ई, ई, and so on; वृc has uvōca and uvōcitha in the strong forms, and all the rest like vac.

k. Of the four roots in ॐ र mentioned at 797 c, the inflection is as follows:

1. चक्र, चक्रां चक्रम् चक्र चक्रेः चक्रेः चक्रमेः
   cakāra, cakāra cakrāva cakrāva cakrāvahe cakrāvāhe

2. चक्राः चक्रमः चक्र चक्रेः चक्रेः चक्राव
   cakārtha cakrāthuṣa cakrā cakrācē cakrāthe cakrādhvē

3. चक्राः चक्रमः चक्र चक्रेः चक्राः चक्रिरे
   cakāra cakrātus cakrās cakrē cakrāте cakrirē
1. Of the roots in ः ः ः ः ः ः ः ः ः ः in general, the first persons are made as follows:

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m. We may further add here, finally, the active inflection (the middle is not in use) of the perfect of ः ः, which (like ः ः and ः ः, given above) is frequently employed as an auxiliary.

1. ः ः ः 2. ः ः ः 3. ः ः ः

801. A few miscellaneous irregularities call still for notice:

a. The root ः ः 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, ः ः, ः ः; ः ः ः, ः ः; ः ः in V., only ः ः and ः ः are met with.

b. From ः ः ः, the 3d pl. act. ः ः 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 ः ः ः; and also as ः ः ः (the present-stem is ः ः ः: 761 f), with contraction of ः ः ः to ः ः in weak forms; and further, in the weak forms, as simple ः ः.

c. The root ः ः ः envelop has in RV. the perfect-forms ः ः ः ः ः and ः ः ः, and no others have been met with in use; the grammarians require the strong forms to be made from ः ः ः, and the weak from ः ः ः.

d. The root ः ः ः go forms in RV. and AV. the 2d sing. act. ः ः ः beside the regular ः ः ः; and beside ः ः ः from ः ः, RV. has several times ः ः ः.

e. RV. has an anomalous accent in ः ः ः ः ः and ः ः ः (beside ः ः ः ः) and the pple ः ः ः ः. And ः ः ः (once, beside ः ः ः) is perhaps a kindred anomaly.

f. Persons of the perfect from the ः ः ः forms of roots in changeable ः ः (242) are ः ः ः and ः ः ः (both RV.); and they have corresponding participle.

g. The bastard root ः ः ः (713) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem ः ः ः; the roots ः ः ः and ः ः ः are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing. active, when the ending is simple ः ः: thus, ः ः ः ः, ः ः ः ः (also ः ः ः ः ः) and ः ः ः ः.

h. Further may be noted ः ः ः ः (Mbh.: ः ः ः, which has in passive the secondary form ः ः ः)), ः ः ः (R.), and ः ः ः (BhP).

i. The anomalous ः ः ः (AB. vi. 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for ः ः ः, desid. ?).
Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is वानस् vāns (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उष्म् úṣm in the weakest, and replaced by कर्न् vāt in the middle forms: see above, 458 ff.). It is added to the weak form of the perfect stem — as shown, for example, in the dual and plural of the active inflection of the given verb; and, mechanically, the weakest participle-stem is identical with the 3d pl. active. Thus, बुधुतम् bubudhvāns, निनिविनम् ninivāns, चक्रवर्धन् cakravāns.

803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel न i (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तेनिविनस् tenivāns, उचिविनस् uciivāns, जातिविनस् jātivāns, धातिविनस् adativāns (from यधू ad: 783 a), and so on; दृष्टिविनस् dadivāns and its like, from roots in ध अ, are to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view the न i as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (794, 1).

a. But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, vidvāns, and in V., daśvāns (SV. dāśivāns), miḍhvāns, sāhvāns, khidvāns (?) and R. has also dadvāns (AV. dadivāns and once adāvāns) from यद्य (or dad: 672); an án-aśvāns (y’aq e’t) occurs in Ts. and Tś. But AV. has viṣivāns and varjivāns (in negative fem. ávarjuṇi).

804. Other Vedic irregularities calling for notice are few. The long vowel of the reduplication (788) appears in the participle as in the indicative: thus, vāyudhvāns, sāhahvāns, jūjūvāns. RV. and AV. have sasvāns from य्यान or sā. RV. makes the participial forms of यत्र or तार from different modifications of the root: thus, tititrīvaṇa, but tataruṣas. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, 482 c.

805. a. From roots gam and han the Veda makes the strong stems jaganvāns (as to the n, see 212 a) and jaghanvāns; the later language allows either these or the more regular jagmivāns and jaghnivāns (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere jagmūṣ and jaghnūṣ). RV. has also tatanvāns.
b. From three roots, vid, viç, and drç, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, viviçiñvîna or viviçiñvâna; dadritoñvâna occurs in KhiU. PB. has once cicioñdivêna.

806. The ending of the middle participle is ânâ. It is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, bûrûçân bûrudhănâ, nîûçân nînyânâ, ñûdân dadânâ, ñenân tenânâ, ñûçân jajũnánâ, ŭçân ŭçânâ.

a. In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, vâvûdhanâ, vâvasânâ, dûdphânâ, tûtujânâ, etc. RV. has çacayânâ from yçî (with irregular guna, as in the present-system: 629); tistîrânâ from yçî; and once, with mânâ, saçrmânâ from yçî. A few participles with long redup. vowel have it irregularly accented (as if rather intensive: 1013): thus, tûtujânâ (also tûtujânâ), bûbadhânâ, çagadânâ, quçûjânâ, quçûvâna.

807. In the later language, the perfect participles have nearly all fallen 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 yuyudhânâ, the adjective anûcâna, 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 (682), and the common use of the perfect as a present in the Veda (623), deprives 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 anâçyâm and babhûyâs and babhûyât, imperatives like babhûtu, subjunctives like jabhârat, 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) mûmûcû, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be mûmôça (acceded after the analogy of the strong forms
of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be mumucyā in the active, and mumuci (accent on personal endings) in the middle.

And the great majority of the forms in question (about three quarters) are made in these ways. Thus:

810. Examples of the regular subjunctive formation are:

a. with secondary endings, active: 2d sing., paprāthas, cākānas, māmāhas, piprāyas, bubodhas, rārāpas; 3d sing., cākānat, jahhabat, rārānat, sāsahat, pasparcat, piprāyat; 1st pl., cākānāma, tatānāma, çūçāvāma; 3d pl., tatānan, paprāthan (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active; here seem to belong only dadhrṣati and vavārtati: compare the formation with different accent below, 811 a.

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. tatāpate, çagāmate, yuyójate, jujógates (SV.; RV. has jújoqate); and the 3d pl. cākānanta, tatānanta (and perhaps two or three others: below, 811 b, end).

811. But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur; thus:

a. With strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, 845). Here the forms with primary endings, active, preponderate, and are not very rare: for example, jújoqasi, jújoqati, jújoqathas, jújoqatha (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, jújoqas, jújoqat, and jújoqan are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since dādaqas and sūšūdas etc. are perhaps rather sorites). And there is no middle form but jújoqate (RV.; see above, 810 c).

b. With unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accented on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, mumucas; vavṛtat, vividat, çūquvat; the only middle forms are dadhrṣate, vavṛdhate, 3d sing.; and cākramanta, dādhṛṣanta, rūrucanta (with dadabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, juhuranta, which might also belong elsewhere: 810 c).

c. Accented on the ending are vavṛdhānta 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., ānaqyām, jagamyām, papṛoyām, riric- yām; 2d sing., vavṛtyās, viviqyās, çūrūyās, babhūyās; 3d sing., jagamyāt, vavṛtyāt, tutuhyāt, babhūyāt; 2d du., jagmṛṣatam, çūrū- yātam; 1st pl., sāsahyāma, vavṛtyāma, çūqyāma; 3d pl., tatanyus, vavṛjyūs, vavṛtyus. The forms are quite numerous.
b. In middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing., vavr̥ṭiya; 2d sing., vārvṛdhīhās, caṇḍamithās; 3d sing., jagrasita, vavr̥ṭita, māṃjita, dudhuviṭa, quqocita; 1st pl., vavṛtimahī. And sāṣa-hiṣṭhās and ririṣṭa appear to furnish examples of preceptive optative forms.

c. There is no irregular mode of formation of perfect optatives. Individual irregularities are shown by certain forms: thus, cakriyās, papiyāt, quqruyās and quqruyātam, with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign yā (770); anajyāt with short initial; quqritā from ygnu; jaksiyāt is anomalous: ririṇes in the only form that shows a union-vowel a (unless also sīṣet, from ygnu).

813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted: namely, active, cākandhi, rārāndhi, cikiddhi, titigdhi, mumugdhi, ququgdhi, and piprihi; cākantu, rárāntu, mumoktu, and babhūtu; mumuktam and vavrktam; jujuṣṭana and vavrīṭtana (unless we are to add mamaddhī, mamattu, mamāṭtana);—middle, vavrīṭava and vavrīṭhavam. AV. has once dāḍṛṣṭam.

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, mumōcata and jujọsasam (2d du.), and mumōcata (2d pl.); in the middle, piprāyasva (only one found with accent), and māmhasa, vāvṛdhava, vāvṛṣava (2d sing.), and māmahantam (3d pl.: probably to be accented -āśva and -āntām).

815. Such imperatives as these, taken in connection with some of the subjunctives given above (and a few of the "pluperfect" forms: below, 820), suggest as plausible the assumption of a double present-stem, with reduplication and added a (with which the desiderative stems would be comparable: below, 1028 ff.): for example, jujoṣa from yjus, from which would come jujọgasi etc. and jujọgate (811 a) as indicative, jujọgas etc. as subjunctiva; used augmentless imperfect, and jujọsasam 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 vāvṛdhā come readily vāvṛdhate, vāvṛṇhānta, and from it alone can come regularly vāvṛdhasva, vāvṛn̄dhote and vāvṛṇhāti (once, RV.)—and, yet more, the participle vāvṛṇhānt (RV.; AV. vāvṛṇhānt: an isolated case): yet even here we have also vāvṛṇhīthās, not vāvṛṇhēthās. 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, paphraṣāi— is found to set beside vāvṛṇhāti.

816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from ymuc, the subjunctives mumōcas, múmo-
ceti, and mumucas; from y'dhṛṣa, dadhārṣati and dadhṛṣate; from y'pri, the imperatives pipṛṣi and pipṛṣasva.

Pluperfect.

817. Of an augment-preterit from the perfect-stem, to which the name of pluperfect is given on the ground of its formation (though not of its meaning), the Veda presents a few examples; and one or two forms of the later language (mentioned above, 788 b) have also been referred to it.

a. There is much of the same difficulty in distinguishing the pluperfect as the perfect modes from kindred reduplicated formations. Between it and the sorist, however, a difference of meaning helps to make a separation.

818. The normal pluperfect should show a strong stem in the singular active, and a weak one elsewhere — thus, mumoc and mumuc — with augment prefixed and secondary endings added (us in 3d pl. act., ata in 3d pl. mid.).

a. Of forms made according to this model, we have, in the active:
1st sing., ajagrabham and acacakṣam (which, by its form, might be sorist: 860); 2d sing. ájagan; 3d sing., ajagan and aciket; 2d du., amumuktam; 2d pl. ájaganta, and ajagantana and ajabhartana (a strong form, as often in this person: 558 a); 3d pl. (perhaps), amamandus and amamadus. To these may be added the augmentless cākān and rārān, cikētam and cakaram. In the middle, the 3d pl. acakriran and ajagmiran (with īran instead of ata), and the augmentless 2d sing. jugūrthās and suṣupthās, are the most regular forms to be found.

819. Several forms from roots ending in consonants save the endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. by inserting an ī (555 b): thus, ābubhojīśa, aviveqīśa; arircet, ajagrabhīt (avāvarīt and avāvaqītām are rather intensives); and the augmentless jīhiṇāśa (accent?) and dadhārṣit belong with them.

820. A few forms show a stem ending in ā: they are, in the active:
3d sing., asasvajat, acikitāt, acakrat; in the middle: 3d sing., āpiptat; 2d du., āpasprdhethām; 3d pl., atitviṣanta (which by its form might be sorist), ādadṛhant; and cakradat, cakṛpānta, vāvṛdānta, 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 827).

c. The perfects-veda and āha are everywhere used with present value. In the Brāhmaṇas, also others, especially dādhāra, also didāya, bibhāya, etc.

822. In the Brāhmaṇas, the distinction of tense-value between perfect and imperfect is almost altogether lost, as in the later language. But in most of the texts the imperfect is the ordinary tense of narration, the perfect being only exceptionally used. Thus in PB., the imperfects are to the perfects as more than a hundred to one; in the Brāhmaṇa parts of 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 CB. 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.

823. In the Veda, the case is very different. The perfect is used as past tense in narration, but only rarely; sometimes also it has a true "perfect" sense, or signifies a completed or proximate past (like the aorist of the older language: 828); but oftener it has a value hardly or not at all distinguishable in point of time from the present. It is thus the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present; and it occurs coördinated with them all.

a. Examples are: of perfect with present, nā ṛāmyanti nā ví muṇicanty ēte váyo nā paptuh (RV.) they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds; sē 'd u rājā kaśyati cārṣāṅinām arān nā nemīḥ pārī tā bhabhūva (RV.) he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes; — of perfect with aorist, úpo ruruoe yuvatīr nā yōgā ... Abhūd agnīḥ samīdhe mānuṣānām ākar jyōtir bādh- amaṇā tāmānā (RV.) she is come beaming like a young maiden; Agni hath appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving away the darkness; — of perfect with imperfect, áhann āhims ānu 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 'pūṣjayaec cāl 'nām (R.) he was glad, and paid honor to her; vastrānte jagrāna skandhadeçe 'sṛjat tasya srajam (MBh.) she took hold of the end of his garment, and dropped a garland on his shoulders.
CHAPTER XI.

THE AORIST SYSTEMS.

824. Under the name of aorist are included (as was pointed out above, 532) three quite distinct formations, each of which has its sub-varieties: namely —

I. A SIMPLE AORIST (equivalent to the Greek "second aorist"), analogous in all respects as to form and inflection with the imperfect. It has two varieties: 1. the root-aorist, with a tense-stem identical with the root (corresponding to an imperfect of the root-class); 2. the a-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in आ, or with union-vowel आ before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the आ-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 आ before the endings, or is inflected like an imperfect of one of the आ-classes; but a few forms occur in the Veda without such vowel.

III. A SIGMATIC OR SIIHLANT AORIST (corresponding to the Greek "first aorist"), having for its tense-sign आ added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary इ; its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel आ; a very few roots also are increased by आ for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel आ before endings: 4. s-aorist, with आ alone added to the root; 5. is-aorist, the same with interposed इ; 5. sis-aorist, the same as the preceding with आ added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel आ, 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 Čaṅkunṭalā, and sixty-six times, from fourteen roots, in the first book, of about 2600 lines, of the Rāmaṇya: compare 927 b), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see 579; and the so-called precative: see 921 ff.); in the older language, on the other hand, it is quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.

827. a. In the RV., nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms, of one or another class; in the AV., rather less than one third; and in the other texts of the older language comparatively few aorists occur which are not found in these two.

b. More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make aorist forms of more than one class (not taking into account the reduplicated or "causative" aorist); but no law appears to underlie this variety; of any relation such as is taught by the grammarians, between active of one class and middle of another as correlative, there is no trace discoverable.

c. Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, adhāṃ and dhāṣus from ydāḥ, ayuṭi and ayuṭkṣata from yyuṭi; — of 1 and 5, agrabhāṃ and agrabhīṣma from ygrabhā, mṛśṭhās and mṛśṭāṣṭhās from ymṛṣṭ; — of 1 and 2, ārta and ārat from yṛ; — of 2 and 4, avidam and avītai from yvīdān, anijām and anālkṣit from ynjī; — of 2 and 5, sanēmā and asāṃṣam from ysan; — of 2 and 7, aruḥam and aruṣkṣat from yruḥ; — of 4 and 5, ataman and amādīṣus from ymadā; — of 4 and 6, hāṃsahī and hāṣīṣus from yhā; — of 1 and 2 and 4, atnāta and atanat and atām from ytan; — of 1 and 4 and 5, abudhāṇ and ābhutṣi and bōḍhiṣṭat from ybudhā, āṣṭar and strṣīya and
astaris from y’str. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.

1. Simple Aorist.

828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the a-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 a and the root भु bhū, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the s-aorist (4), or the इः-aorist (5).

b. The roots in घा a take उद्य as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their घा a before it; भु bhū (as in the perfect: 793 a) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting व v after it before the endings घम am and घन 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 ग, द, ध, प, प, drink, sthā, bhū; while sporadic forms are made from जन, pra, sa, hā. As to their middle forms, see below, 834 a.

a. Instead of अभुवम, RV. has twice अभुवम. BhP. has आग, 3d pl., instead of आगस.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in घ, and a few in i- and u-vowels (short or long)—
with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, guna-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

a. Thus (in the active), from ɣcrũ, ácravam and ácrot; from ɣc̣̃ri, ágres and ágret; from ɣkr make, ákaram and ákar (for akara and akart); from vr enclose, ávar (585 a); and so ástar, 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, spatam, áhema and áhetana, bhema, áqravan; regular are only avran, ákran, áhyan, and ácriyan.

832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of guna-strengthening and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

a. Thus, ábhedam and ábhet from ɣbhicd; ámok from ɣmuoc; yojäm from ɣyuy; rok (V8.) from ɣrūj; aródham and arudhma from ɣrudh; avart from ɣvr̄; várk from ɣvr̄j (AV. has once ávvr̄); adarçam from ɣdr̄q; árdhma from ɣydh; and adṛçan, avṛjan, acvitan, but chedma, with guṇa, from ɣchicd, and adarçma (TS.) from ɣdr̄q.

833. Again, from a larger number of roots with a as radical vowel:

a. Of these, gam (with n for m when final or followed by m: 143a, 212 a) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, ágamam, ágan (2d and 3d sing.), ágana, áganta (strong form), ágman. The other cases are ákram from ɣkram; átan from ɣtan; abhrāt from ɣbhṛāj; askan from ɣkand; ásrat from ɣsrañ (7 V8.); dhak and daghma from ɣdagh; ánañ (585 a) and anasañ from ɣnaç; ághas or aghat, ághastam, aghasta, and ákṣan (for aghsan, like agman) from ɣghas; and the 3d pl. in us, ákramus, ayamus, dabhus, nṛtus (pl.?). mandus.

834. So far only active forms have been considered. In the middle, a considerable part of the forms are such as are held by the grammarians (881) to belong to the s-aorist, with omission of the s: they doubtless belong, however, mostly or altogether, here. Thus:

a. From roots ending in vowels, we have adhithās, adhita (also ahiita), and adhīmahi; adithās, adita, and adimahi (and adimahī from ɣdā cus): ácita(?); ásimahi; ásthithās and ásthita and ásthiran, forms of á-roots; — of ɣ-roots, akri, ákrças, ákṛta, akṛtām, ákṛta (and the anomalous krānta); avri, avṛtās, avrta; ārta, árata; mṛthās, amṛta; dhṛtās; adṛtās; astṛta; ahrthās, guṛta; — of i and u roots, the only examples are ahvi (? AV., once), áhūmahi, and ácīdham. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a s in such forms, and the occurrence of avri and akri and ákṛta, 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
ayujj, áyukthás, áyukta, ayujmahí, áyugdhvam, áyujran; ásta
and ácata; náñci; apadi (1st sing.) and apadmahí and apadran;
ánmanmahí; gánvahi and áganmahí and ágmata; atnata; ájani
(1st sing.) and ajñata (3d pl.); from ygam are made agathás and agata,
from ytan, atathás and átata, and from yman, amata, with treatment
of the final like that of han in present inflection (637). The ending ran
is especially frequent in 3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which
have no other middle person of this aorist: thus, agṛdhran, ásrgran,
adṛṇran, abudhram, ávṛtrán, ājuñran, akṛpran, asprdhran, avas-
ran, ávīṛran; and ram is found beside ran in ádṛṇram, ábudhram,
ásṛgram.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with s to kṣ, it
seems more probable that aorist-forms showing k (instead of s) before the
ending belong to the root-aorist: such are amukthás (and ámugdhvam),
apṭkthás and apṭkta, abhaktá, ávṛkta, asaktás and asakta, rik-
thás, vikthás and vikta, arukta; apraṣṭa, ayaṣṭa, áspaṣṭa, aprṣṭhás
and ápraṣṭa, and mṛṣṭhás 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: ohitthás,
nuțhás and ánutta and ánuddhvan, patthás, bhítthás, amatta,
atapthás, alipta, asṛpta; and finally, árabdha, alabdha, aruddha,
abuddha, ayuddha, and drogdhás (Mbh.: read drogdhás): see 883.

Modes of the Root-aorist.

835. Subjunctive. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the
augmentless indicative of this aorist are much more frequent than the more
proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment
occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in
detail.

836. a. Of true subjunctives the forms with primary endings are
quite few. In the active, káráṇi, gáni, gamáni (for bhuváni, see be-
low, c); káraśi; stháti, dáti and dháti (which are almost indicative in
value), karati, jósati, padáti, bhédati, rádhati, varjati; stháthas,
káratás and karatas, dárçátas, qravathás and qrávatas; and
(apparently) karanti, gámantí. In the middle, jósae; idhaté (?),
kárate, bhójate, yojate, várjate; dhéthe and dháithe; kárármahe,
dhámahe, gámámahái.

b. Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, dárçam, bhó-
jam, yojam; káras, tárdas, párças, yamas, rádhás, várás; kárat,
gámát, garat, jósat, daghat, padát, yámát, yodhat, rádhat, varat,
vártat, qrávat, sághat, spárát; káráma, gamáma, rádhamá; gáman,
garan, dárçan, yaman. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

c. The series bhuvam, bhúvas, bhúvat, bhúvan, and bhuváni (compare abhuvam: 830 a), and the isolated cárúvat, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a guṇa-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of guṇa in the aorist indicative and the perfect of y/bhú).

837. Optative. The optative active of this aorist constitutes, with a s interposed between mode-sign and personal endings (567), the preceptive active of the Hindu grammarians, and is allowed by them to be made from every verb, they recognizing no connection between it and the aorist. But in the 2d sing. the interposed s is not distinguishable from the personal ending; and, after the earliest period (see 838), the ending crowds out the sibilant in the 3d sing., which thus comes to end in yát instead of yás (compare 555 a).

a. In the older language, however, pure optative forms, without the s, are made from this tense. From roots in á occur (with change of á to e before the y: 250 d) deyám, dheyám and dheyus, and stheyáma; in u-vowels, bhúyáma; in r, kriyáma; in consonants, aśyám and aṣyáma and aṣyus, vṛjyám, caķyám, juyjáva and juyjátám, sáhyáma, and tṛdyus.

b. The optative middle of the root-aorist is not recognized by the Hindu grammarians as making a part of the preceptive formation. The RV. has, however, two preceptive forms of it, namely padístå and mućistå. Much more common in the older language are pure optative forms: namely, aśiyá and aśimáhi (this optative is especially common), indhiya, gmiya, muriya, rucliya; arita, uhita, vurita; idhimahi, naçimahi, naśimahi, prōimahi, mudimahi, yamimahi; and probably, from á-roots, simáhi and dhimañ (which might also be augmentless indicative, since adhimñi and adhitám also occur). All these forms except the three in 3d sing. might be preceptive 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. Preceptive 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., bhúyánam; 2d sing., avyás, jñeyás, bhúyas, mrñhyás, sahyás; 3d sing. (in -yás, for -yást; RV. has no 3d sing. in yát, which is later the universal ending), avyás, aśyás, ṛdyás, ganyás, daghyás, peyás, bhúyas, yamyás, yúyas, vṛjyás, cṛuyás, sahyás; 1st pl., kriyáma (beside kriyáma: 837 a). AV. has six 1st persons sing. in -yásam, one 2d in -yás, one 3d in -yát (and one in -yás, in a RV. passage), three 1st pl. in -yásma (beside one in yáma, in a RV. passage), and the 2d bhúyásthá (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 887 a). But the precative forms are nowhere common, excepting as made from y'bhū; and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only bhūyāśva and bhūyāṣṭām 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 accent ed either regularly, on the ending, as krṣvā, dhiṣvā, yūkṣvā, or on the root, as mātsva, yākṣva, vāṇsva, rāsva, sākṣva; dīsva and māsva are not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by kṛdhvam, voddvam. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., kṛdhī, vṛdhī, cāgḍhī, cṛudhī, gadhī, yāṅdhī, gahi, māhī, sāhī, mogdhī; 3d sing., gaṁṭu, dātu, aṣṭu, qṛṭu, sōṭu; 2d du., dātam, jītam, caktam, cṛutam, bhūtām, spṛṭam, gatām, riktam, vodhvam, sitam, sutam; 3d du., only gaṁṭām, dātam, vodhvām; 2d pl., gātā, bhūtā, cṛutā, kṛta, gata, dāta, dhātāna; 3d pl., only dhāntu, cruwantu. These are the most regular forms; but irregularities as to both accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are yāṅṭām, vartkam, vartam; kārtā, gāṁṭa (once gaṁṭa), yāṁṭa, vartta, heta, qṛṭa, sōta; and, with tana, kārtana, gāṁṭana, yaṁṭana, sotana, and the irregular dhetana (y'dhā); in 3d du., gaṁṭām. Much more irregular are yōḍhī (instead of yuddhī) from y'yudh, and bodhī from both y'buddh and y'bhu (instead of buddhī and bhūdhī). A single form (3d sing.) in tāt is found, namely qastāt. We find kṛdhī also later (MBh. BhP).

a. As to 2d persons singular in si from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, 624.

Participles of the Root-aorist.

840. In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation.

a. In the active, they are extremely few: namely, krānt, citānt (?), gmānt, ethānt, bhidānt, vṛdānt, dyuanta- (only in composition), and probably r'dhānt. And BhP. has mṛṣant (but probably by error, for mṛṣyant).

b. In the middle, they are in RV. much more numerous. The accent is usually on the final of the stem: thus, arāṇā, idhāṇā, krāṇā, juṣāṇā, trṣāṇā, nidāṇā, piṣāṇā, prcāṇā, prathāṇā, buddhāṇā, bhīyāṇā, manāṇā, mandāṇā, yujāṇā, rucāṇā, viṇāṇa, vrāṇā, urāṇā, qubhāṇā, saqāṇā, svuṇā or svāṇā, srjāṇā, spṛḍhāṇā, hiyāṇā; — but sometimes on the root-syllable: thus, citāṇa, cyāvāṇa, rūḥāṇa, uhāṇa (pres.), vāsāṇa, qūmbhāṇa; — while a few show both accentuations
(compare 619d): thus, dṛcāna and dṛcāna, dyutāna and dyutāna, yatāna and yatāna; and cetāna and hrayāṇa occur only in composition. A very few of these are found once or twice in other texts, namely citāna, dyutāna, ruhāṇa, vasāṇa, sūvāṇa; and -kupāṇa occurs once in Ṛṣist. (xiv. 25. 4).

841. All together, the roots exhibiting in the older language forms which are with fair probability to be reckoned to the root-aorist-system are about a hundred and thirty; over eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

Passive Aorist third person singular.

842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevailing 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 3i 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 de, 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 3i, a final vowel, and usually also a medial न a before a single consonant, have the य्यdhi-strengthening; other medial vowels have the गुष्ठ-strengthening if capable of it (240); after final न a is added न्य.

a. Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in न, ājñāyi, ādhyāyi, āpāyi; in other vowels, ācrai, āstāvi, āhāvi, ākāri, āstāri; — from roots with medial i, u, ū, aceti, ācchedi, açeśi, ābodhi, āmoci, āyoji, ādarçi, asarji, varhi; from roots with medial a strengthened, agāmi, āpādi, ayāmi, avāci, vāpi, āsādi (these are all the earlier cases); with a unchanged, only ājani (and RV, has once jāni), and, in heavy syllables, āmyakṣi, vandhi, čahi, syandi; with medial न, ābrāji, ārādhi; — from roots with initial vowel, ārdhi (only case).

b. According to the grammarians, certain roots in am, and य्यadhi, retain the a unchanged: quotable are ājani (or ājāni), agami (or agāmi),
Simple Aorist: 2. a-aorist.

asvani, avadhi, also araci; and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, adañgi, arambhi, arandhi, ajambhi, abhañgi or abhāji, alambhi (always, with prepositions) or alābhi, astambhī; CB. has asañgi.

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, ṛāvi, bhāri, reci, vēdi, rocī, jānī, pādi, sādi, ardhi. The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable (RV. 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 quotable thirty or forty more; in the epics they are nearly unknown. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, as gam, pad, sad, bhrāj, rādh, ruc, sañji, they have (like the so-called passive participle in ta: 982) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3 (?); VS. xxviii. 15; TB. ii. 6. 105) 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 a-class (878 ff.) or the īś-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 े r (three or four only), which have the guṇa-strengthening.

c. As example of inflection may be taken the root म ि cā vāṣ. Thus:

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Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.
847. The a-sorist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the root-sorist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of sorist 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 (fally half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the á-class, having a vowel capable of guṇa-strengthening before a final consonant (754): thus, with i, chid, bhid, niṣ, ríc, riṣ, lip, vid, iṣñ (śás), 2iṣñ, 3iṣñ, 5iṣñ, siṣ, ariṣ;—with u, krudh, kṣudh, guh, duṣ, dyut, druḥ, yuṣ, budh, bhuj, muṣ, mruc, yuṣ, ruc, rudh, m:r, ruḥ, quc;—with y, ydhi, kr, 6ydh, gṛh, ṭṛ, ṭṛ, ṭṛṣ, ṭṛṣ, ṭṛṣ, drṣ, dṛṣ, dhṛṣ, rṣ, mṛṣ, mṛṣ, vṛṣ, vṛṣ, vṛṣ, āṣ, kṛṣ. A small number end in vowels: thus, y, kr, 6y (which have the guṇa-strengthening throughout); hi (? ahyāt once in AV.), and several in á, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their á to a: thus, khyá, āvá, vyá, ṣvá, and dā and dā; and āśā, regarded by the grammarians as sorist to yas throw, is doubtless a like formation from yêsthā. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this sorist is lost: thus, bhraṅç, taṅs, dhuṇās, raṅs, kránd, randh. Of less classifiable character are aç, kram, ghum, ghas, tam, čam, 6ram, tan, san, sad, 6p, das, yas, čak, dagh. The roots pat, naç, vac form the tense-stems ppta, neça, 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 sorists from the same roots (see below, 854).

a. Many of these sorists are simply transfers of the root-sorist 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 sorist 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 yvid 3um, 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 instance; those of which the examples found are from other verbs than vid are bracketed. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{active} & & \text{middle} \\
\text{a.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} & \text{s.} & \text{d.} & \text{p.} \\
1 \text{ávidam} & \text{ávidāva} & \text{ávidáma} & \text{ávide} & \text{[ávidāvah]} & \text{ávidámaḥi} \\
2 \text{ávidas} & \text{[ávidata]} & \text{[ávidatḥāḥ]} & \text{ávidat} & \text{ávidan} & \text{[ávidata]} & \text{[avidetām]} & \text{ávidanta} \\
3 \text{ávidat} & \text{ávidan} & \text{[ávidata]} & \text{[avidetām]} & \text{ávidanta} & \text{ávidanta} \\
\end{array}
\]

a. The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have āhve etc., ákhve etc., ávide (7) and avidanta, avocāthās and avocāvahī (and avidāmaḥi GB. and asicāmahe KB. are doubtless to be amended to -maḥi).
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, śṛpas, bhuját, vidát, arátám, vocata, čakán; vidata and vyáta (3d sing.), arámahi, čisámahi, vidánta, budhánta, mṛṣánta (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  vidási  vidáthsa  vidátha
3  vidát

a. The ending thana is found once, in rišáthana. Of middle forms occur only čisáti (AV.; but doubtless misreading for čiyáti) and čisámahe (AV., for RV. čisámahi). The form sádathas seems an indicative, made from a secondary present-stem.

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brāhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, bhideyam, vidéyam, sanéyam (TB. once sanem); vidés, game; gamet, vocet; gametam; gaméma, čákéma, sanéma; varetā; in middle, (only) videya; gamemahi, vanemahi; rühethás etc. in the epics must be viewed rather as present forms of the ā-class.

a. A single middle precative form occurs, namely videšta (AV., once); it is so isolated that how much may be inferred from it is very questionable.

851. A complete series of active imperative forms are made from yasad (including sadatana, 2d pl.), and the middle sadántam. Other imperatives are very rare: namely, sána, sára, ruha, vidá; ruhátam, vidátm; khyáta. TS. has once vṛdhátu (compare 740).

Participles of the a-aorist.

852. a. The active participles tṛpánt, riśant or riśant, vṛdhánt, čišánt, qucánt, sádánt, and (in participial compounds, 1309) kṛtánt-, guhánt-, vidánt- (all RV.), are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

b. Likewise the middle participles guhámāna, dhrṣámāna, dásamāna (?), nṛtámāna, qucámāna, and perhaps vṛdhánā, aridhánā.

Irregularities of the a-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here.

The roots in ṭ, 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 य्य, अरांत (augmentless 3d
pl.), सारत and सारा. The root sad follows the same rule: thus, सादां
tam; and from य्यम are found सानस and सानत, and सानेमा and साना,
beside साने्यस and साने्मा. It is questionable whether these
are not true analogues of the bhū-class (unaccented a-class) present-system.
On the other hand, रुहत (beside रुहाम, रुहावा, रुहातम), चिषत
and चिषाति (?) and रिषांत or रिषान्त are more isolated cases. In view
of such as these, the forms from the stem bhūva and ग्रुवा (836 c)
are perhaps to be referred hither. From य्वाच, the optative is accented
वोचे, वोसे, वोस्यां, वोस्यु; elsewhere the accent is on the root-
syllable: thus, वोसे, वोस्त, वोसति, वोसांता.

854. a. The stem voc has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the
value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in RV,
especially for outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from य्वाच.
Besides those already given, we find vocā (1st sing. impv.) and vocāti,
vocāvahā; vocē, vocēṣa, vocēmā; vocatāt (2d sing.), vocatu,
vocatam, vocata.

b. Of the stem neça only neçat occurs.

c. The root qās (as in some of its present forms: 639) is weakened
to qīṣ, and makes acīṣam.

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 matured 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 य्यः make, कार्ष, क्र्तस, क्रत्वा, क्रष्ण; from य्याम, गाथा; from य्यी गृह, cetti; from य्यास
gīṣe, dāṭi, dāṭu; from य्यहा put, dāṭi; from य्यां रिन्न, pāṁtās,
pantī; from य्यः, भार्ती; from य्युम, mucānti; from य्युद्ध, rudh-
mas (?); from य्यृत, varntī.

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
cases to the derivative (causative etc.) conjugation in
व्रम आया, as the aorist of that conjugation, and is therefore
liable to be made from all roots which have such a conju-
gation, 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 (656 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 condi-
tion which may have preceded this.

858. a. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the re-
duplication, 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 ī (or ar) are usually (for exceptions,
see below, 860) repeated by an ɨ-vowel — as they are, to a
considerable extent, in the reduplicated present also (680).

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
ɨ for radical a or ī or ī (in the single root containing that vowel):
thus, arirīṣam, adūdusam, ajījanam, avīrḍham, aekṣipam. The
great majority of reduplicated aorists are of this form.

b. If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the
reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vowel,
the vowel remains short: thus, acikṣipam, acukrudham, atitrasam, apisprçam.

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 श a or श अ, and श र (if it occurs), are reduplicated by श a.

a. Thus, adidikṣam, abubhūṣam (not quotable), adadakṣam, adadhāvam, atataṃsam. And, in the cases in which a root should both begin and end with two consonants, both syllables would necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former: thus, apapraccham, acaśakandam (but no such forms are found in use).

b. A medial र is allowed by the grammarians to retain the strengthening of the causative stem, together with, of course, reduplication by a: thus, acaśakṣat, avavarat (beside acikṛṣat, avivṛtat); but no such forms have been met with in use.

c. These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (817 ff.).

881. a. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in arīradham from yṛādh, aviḍaq from yṛavī, aśiṣadham from yāṣdḥ, ajījivam from yjīv, adidipam (K. and later: RV. has didipam) from yḍip, abibhiṣam from ybhiṣ, aśiṣucam from yuṣu; or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in acaśkradam from ykṛand, asiyadām from yayand.

b. In those cases in which (1047) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in śp, the अ is abbreviated to i: thus, atiśṭhīpi-am etc., ajījīnipat (but KSS. ajījīnapat; jihīpas, ajījīpata (but VS. ajījīpata); but from çrap comes aççgrapām (CB.).

882. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only āmamat (or ōmamat) from yam, āpīpan (CB.: BAU. āpīpīpat) from yāp, and arpiḍam (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 yārc, āubjijam from yubj, ācījham from yarh, ācīkṣam from yṅkṣ, ārückham from yṛdh. Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: 1029 b.

883. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:

a. From yṛdyut is made (V.B.) the stem didyuta, taking its reduplicating vowel from the radical semivowel. From yṛgup, instead of jugupa (B.S.), JB. has jugūpa, and some texts (BS.) have jugupa; and jihvarā (B.) is met with beside the regular jihvara (V.B.). In caccha-
da (Nir.), and the mere or less doubtful paprátha and qaçvacá and sasvaja (RV.) we have a instead of i in the reduplication.

b. In support of their false view of this aorist as made from the causative stem instead of directly from the root, the native grammarians teach that roots ending in an u-vowel may reduplicate with i, as representing the ā of the strengthened stem: thus, bhīhava from bhāv-aya, as well as būbhiva from bhū. No example of such a formation, however, is met with except āpiplavam (ÇB., once); against it we find dudruva, būbhiva, rūruva, ćućruva, and others.

c. As to apaptam, avocam, and aneçam, see above, 847.

864. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation: that is to say, it has ā as final stem-vowel, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions (733 a). Thus, from yan janae birth (stem jījana):

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865. The middle forms are rare in the older language (the 3rd pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all, both active and middle, are quotable except 1st and 2d du. middle and 1st du. active.

a. Atitape appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.

866. A final r has the gupta-strengthening before the endings: thus, acikarat, apiparam, atitaras, didaras, adiddarat, anāmarat, avivaran, jihvaras. Of similar strengthened forms from i and u-roots are found apiplayan (TS.), abīhayanta (RV.), apiplavam (ÇB.), acucyavat (K.), aćucravat (MS.), atuṣṭavam (RV.). Not many roots ending in other vowels than r make this aorist; see below, 868.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, sīyap (2d sing., augmentless) from yśvap, and aćiqnat from yqneth; from roots in r or ar, didhar (2d sing.), and ajigar (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, açiqrayus, ácucyavus, açcuqrayus, asuṣavus; but also abibhajus (CB.), and nínāqus (MBh.).

888. 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 çrí and qvi, dru and aru, kam, and dhā suck (qvi and dhā optionally).

a. In the older language are found from yçrí açiqrot and açiqrayus (noticed in the preceding paragraph) and açiqriyat (CB.); from ydru, adudrot and adudruvat (TB.: not used as aorist); from yaru, asusrot and (augmentless) suros and susrot; from ykam, aekametam and -manda (BS.). Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in u or ū: thus, anunot and nunot from ynu; yuyot from yyu separate; dūdhot from ydhā; apupot from ypū; tūdost and tūtost from ytu; asuqot from yṣṭ;—and one or two from roots in i or I: thus, siğet from yṣi (or sā) bind; ammet from ymā bellow; apipres (with apiṇrayan, noticed above) from yprī (and the "imperfecta" from didhī etc., 876, are of corresponding form). And from yoyu are made, with union-vowel I, acucyavit and acucyavitana. Few of these forms possess a necessarily causative or a decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not be assigned to the perfect-system.

b. From the later language are quotable only açiqriyat etc. (3d 1L., -yan or -yus) and adudruvat.

Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

889. 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 riradhā (1st sing.); titapāsi; cūcāıti and saśadhati, and pispy͞qati (as if corresponding to an indicative apaptik, like açicnats); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. ṣaṇvacāi.

c. The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, didharas, nīnaças; jįjanat, piparatu; jįjanat, also nīṣvap; but, on the other hand, we have also pipārat, qiṭrākas and qiṭnāthat, and dudravat and tustāvat (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 "preceptive" ririsįga (ririsįga has been ranked above with sāsahįga, as a perfect: 812 b). Cucyuwifehu and cucyuviratu belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of imperatives, we have the indubitable forms pūpurantu and qiqrathantu. And çigṛtām and çigṛtā, and didhṛtam and didhṛtā,
and jajasttām (all RV. only), and perhaps susūdāta (AV.), are to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) ațjar and adidhar: 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 (838) 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 ") s (convertible to  ) s: 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 (839 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  " ks) is further increased by an  ) 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  ", i, making the tense-sign  ) i. Finally, before this  ) i the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a  " s, making the whole addition  ) i s. i.
877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:
   4. with स s simply after the root: s-aorist;
   5. with र i before the स s: is-aorist;
   6. the same, with स s at end of root: siṣ-aorist.

B. With य a added to the sibilant before the endings:
   7. with sibilant and य a: sa-aorist.

a. As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary i in the aorist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay down any strict rules as to this accordance. Compare 903.

4. The s-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding स s to the augmented root, of which also the vowel is usually strengthened.

879. The general rules as to the strengthening of the root-vowel are these:

a. A final vowel (including र r) has the वर्द्धि-change in the active, and (excepting र r) गुणa in the middle: thus, from श्ली lead, active stem धनेष्य anāis, middle stem धनेष्य anēs; from श्रुṣ्य cru hear, धनष्य agraus and धनष्य acros; from श्रक kṛ make, धनकष akārs and धनकष akṛṣ.

b. A medial vowel has the वर्द्धि-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from श्रृष्टि chand seem, active stem श्रृष्टस्य acohants, middle stem श्रृष्टस्य acchants; from श्रिष्व ric leave, श्रृष्ट arāiks and श्रिष्व ariks; from श्रृष्टi rudh obstruct, श्रृष्टi arāuts and श्रृष्टi aruts; from श्रिष्टi sṛj pour out, श्रिष्टi arāiks and श्रिष्टi ariks.

880. a. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उम us (not धन an) in 3d pl. act., and घन ata (not घन anta) in 3d pl. mid.
b. But before स s and त t of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an इ i, making the endings इ s and इ t.

c. This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.); see below, 888.

881. a. Before endings beginning with त or ठ, the tense-sign s is (233 c-e) omitted after the final consonant of a root—unless this be र, or न or म (converted to anusvāra).

b. The same omission is of course made before ध्वam after a consonant; and after a vowel the sibilant is either omitted or assimilated (the equivalence of ध्व and ढ्व in the theories of the grammarians and the practice of the manuscripts makes it impossible to say which: 232); and then the ending becomes ध्वam, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been s (233 c): thus, असोध्वam and अव्रध्वam (beside असोर्त and अव्रोर्त); द्रध्वam (य्व्र regard: (ब, once), which is to द्रथास (2d sing.) as अव्रध्वam and अव्रोर्त to अव्र and अव्रथास; and क्रध्वam (M.).

c. According to the grammarians, the omission of s before त and ठ takes place also after a short vowel (the case can occur only in the 2d and 3d sing. mid.); but we have seen above (834 a) that this is to be viewed rather as a substitution in those persons of the forms of the root-aorist. Neither in the earlier nor in the later language, however, does any example occur of an aorist-form with s retained after a short vowel before these endings.

d. After the final sonant aspirate of a root, the sibilant before the same endings is said by the Hindu grammarians to disappear altogether, the combination of the aspirate with the ठ or ठ of the ending being then made according to the ordinary rule for such cases (160): thus, from the stem अरुत्व, for अरुध्व-स, is made अरुद्धव, as if from अरुध्व + ता directly. No example of such a form is quoted from the literature; but the combination is established by the occurrence of other similar cases (233 f). In the middle, in like manner, अरुत्व + ता becomes अरुद्धव, as if from अरुध्व + ता; but all such forms admit also of being understood as of the root-aorist. Those that have been found to occur were given above (834 d); probably they belong at least in part to this aorist.

e. From the three nasal roots गम, तन, मन are made the 2d and 3d sing. mid. persons अगधास and अगात, अनधास and अतात, and अमात (अमधास not quotable), reckoned by the native grammarians as s-aorist forms, made, after loss of their final root-nasal, with loss also of the sibilant after a short vowel. They are doubtless better referred to the root-aorist. But ज्व. has a corresponding 1st sing. अतस from व्यतन.

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of
sibilant aorist we may take the roots नीर lead, and हित chid cut off. Thus:

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**a.** From यूरुध construct, the 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl. act. and the 2d and 3d sing. mid. would be आरूढ़हम्, आरूढ़हम्, आरूढ़हा, आरूढ़हा, आरूढ़हा; from यस्य pour out, आराृष्टम्, आराृष्ट, आराृष्टा, आराृष्टसा, आराृष्टसि; from यद्रू see, आद्राृष्टम् etc. (as from यह). But from यष्ट do the same persons in the active are आकृृष्ट, आकृृष्टम्, आकृृष्टा; from यस्त stretch they are आताहसम्, आताहसम्, आताहसम्.

**883.** The omission of अ in the active persons (अच्छाईतसम्, अच्छाईतसस, अच्छाईत) is a case of very rare occurrence; all the quotable examples were given above (233 a). As to the like omission in middle persons, see 881. The ChU. has twice आवस्तम for अवधातसम् (यवस dwel); this may be viewed as another case of total disappearance of the sibilant, and consequent restoration of the final radical to its original form.
884. Certain roots in ā weaken the ā in middle inflection to i (as also in the root-aorist: above, 834 a): these are said to be sthā, dā, and dhā; in the older language have been noted ādiṣi and ādiṣata from y'dā gīne (and ādiṣi perhaps once from y'dā bīnd), adhiṣi and adhiṣata (with the optative dhīṣya) from y'dhā put, and asthiṣata; also agiṣṭhās and agiṣṭata from y'gā go (with adhi).

a. The middle inflection of the aorist of y'dā would be, then, according to the grammarians: ādiṣi, ādīthās, ādīta; ādiṣvahi, ādiṣṭhām, ādiṣṭām; ādiṣmahi, ādiṣhvam, ādiṣata.

885. Roots ending in changeable ī (so-called roots in ī: 242) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to īr in middle forms: thus, astīrṣi, astīrṣṭhas etc. (from y'str); of such forms, however, has been found in the older language only akīrṣata, PB.

886. The s-aorist is made in the older language from about a hundred and forty roots (in RV., from about seventy; in AV., from about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.); and the epic and classical literature adds but a very small number. It has in the Veda certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and also the full series of modes—of which the optative middle is retained also later as a part of the "precative" (but see 925 b).

887. Irregularities of stem-formation are as follows:

a. The strengthening of the root-syllable is new and then irregularly made or omitted: thus, ayokṣit (AB.), chetsīs (B.S.; also occurs in MBh., which has further yotsās), rotaīs (KU.); amatsus (RV.); ayānsi and arāutsai (AB.), asākṣi etc. (V.B.: y'sah), mānstā (AV.) and mānsta (TA.); lopīṣya (U.); and MBh. has drogdhās. From y'saj 'is made sāṅkṣiś (U. etc.), and from y'maj, amāṅkṣiś (not quotable). The form ayunīkṣmahi (Bh.P.) is doubtless a false reading.

b. A radical final nasal is lost in agasmahi (RV.) and gasāthām (TA.) from y'gam, and in the optatives māsiya and vāsīmahi (RV.) from y'man and van.

c. The roots hū, dhū, and nū have ũ instead of o in the middle: thus, ahūṣata, adhūṣata, anūṣi and anūṣāṃ and anūṣata; y'dhur (or dhūrv) makes adhūrṣata.

d. CB. has once atrāṣatāṃ for atrāstāṃ (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, ayāt, in K.; and two, adrāk and ayāt, in CB.; PB. has none).
889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, aprás (for both aprás-s and aprás-t) from y/prá; and in like manner ahás from y/há; — ajáis (for ajáis-t) from y/ji; and in like manner acáis from y/ći, and náis (augmentless) from y/ní; — and yāus (for ayāus-t) from y/yu.

a. But (as in other like cases: 555 a) the ending is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have in 3d sing. ajáit (beside ajáis and ajáis-t) from y/ji; and in like manner acáit, aqráit, aháit, náit (no examples have been noted except from roots in i and i): compare ayáis and srás, 2d sing., 890 a.

890. a. If the root (in either its simple or strengthened form) ends in a consonant, the tense-sign is lost with the ending. Thus, abhār (for abhār̥-t: beside abhār̥am, abhār̥ṭâm) from y/bhr̥; other like cases are abhr̥, and (from roots in ar) akṣār, atsār, avśār, hvār. Further, āhr̥k (885 a: for arāh̥k-t) from y/hr̥c; like cases are avśāit from y/ṛv̥t, and (from roots with medial u) adyāut from y/ṛyut, arāut from y/ṛudh, and māuk from y/muc. Further, from roots ending in the palatal h, and h, aprāk from y/pr̥c, asrāk from y/var̥j, abhāk from y/bhaj, adhr̥k from y/dṛ̥g, adhāk from y/dah; but, with a different change of the final, ayāt from y/yaj, aprāt from y/pr̥h, avāt from y/vah, and asr̥t from y/var̥j; and (above, 146 a) sr̥s appears to stand twice in AV. for sr̥s-s from y/var̥j; RV. has also twice ayās from y/yaj. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, atān from y/tn, khān from y/khan, ayān and anān from y/yam and nam (143 a).

b. If, again, the roots end in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, acchān (for acchānta-t; beside acchāntta and acchāntsus) from y/chand; and other like cases are akrān, askān, and asyān.

891. A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. bhāis, from y/bhī.

Modes of the s-Aorist.

892. The indicative forms without augment are used in a subjunctive sense, especially after mā prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only vānai, middle; judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.

893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Brāhmaṇas. They are regularly made with guṇa-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.
a. The forms with primary endings are: in active, stōṣaṇi; dārṣaṇi; neṣati, parṣati, pāṣati, matsati, yoṣati, vakṣati, sakṣati; dāśathas, dhāśathas, pārṣathas, vakṣathas, varṣathas; pāṣatas, yamṣatas, yakṣatas, vakṣatas; dhāṣatha, neṣatha, pārṣatha, mátṣatha; — in middle, naṁsāi, máṁsāij máṁsase; kramṣate, trāṣate, dārṣate, máṁsate, yakṣate, rāṣate, vaṁsate, sākṣate, hāṣate; trāṣāthe (not trāṣāthe, as we should rather expect); nāṁsante, máṁsante: and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., máṁsāi.

b. The forms with secondary endings are (active only): jēṣas, vakṣas; dāṛṣat, néṣat, pāṅkṣat, pāṛṣat, prēṣat, yāṅkṣat, yoṅṣat, vāṁsat, vākṣat, vēṣat, sāṅṣat, chantsat, etc. (some twenty others); yakṣatām; vāṁsā, sāṅkṣa, stōṣa, parṣan, yam̔sā, yoṣan, rāsān, vāṅsān, cēṣan, črōṣan. Of these, yakṣat and vakṣat are found not rarely in the Brāhmaṇas; any others, hardly more than sporadically.

894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:

a. The forms dīṅkṣase and pṛkṣase (2d sing. mid.) lack the guṇa-strengthening.

b. Jeṣam, stōṣam, and yoṣam (AV. yūṣam, with ū for o as in anūṣata etc.) appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the vṛddhi-strengthening: in which case jeṣam is to be compared with them (we should expect jāṣa or jeṣa).

c. From roots in ā are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, yeṣam (only case in RV.), khyeṣam, jāṣam, geṣam and geṣma, deṣma, seṣam and set, stheṣam and stheṣus. Their value is optative. The analogy of jeṣam and jeṣma suggests the possibility of their derivation from 1-forms of the ā-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precative character (thus, yā-i-s-am). That they really belong to the iṣ-aorist appears highly improbable.

d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in se, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, kṛṣe, hiše (and ohiso?), stūṣe; 2. from present-stems, arcase, puṇiṣe, yajase, gāyise, grūṣe and puniṣe. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, 897 b.

895. Optative forms of this aorist are made in the middle only, and they have in 2d and 3d sing. always the precative s before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: diṣiṣya, diṣṣiya, bhakṣiṣyā, māṣiya (or maṁṣiya), mukṣiya, rāṣiyā, lopṣiya, sākṣiya, strṣiya; maṁṣiṣṭhas; dārṣṭa, bhakṣṭa, maṁṣṭa, mṛkṣṭa; bhakṣiṣi, dhukṣiṣi, maṁsimi, vaṁsimi, vasimi, sakṣi, maṁsīrata. PB. has bhukṣiṣiya, which should belong to a siṣ-aorist. The RV. form trāṣāṃ (for trāṣiṣṭham or trāsāṭham) is an isolated anomaly.

a. This optative makes a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language: see below, 923, 925 b.
896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find the 2d sing. act. neṣa and parṣa and the 2d pl. yaṁśata (from a-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. rāṣatām and pl. rāṣantām (of which the same may be said).

Participles of the a-aorist.

897. a. Active participles are dākṣat or dhākṣat, and sākṣat (both RV.).

b. If ṛājase (above, 894 d) is to be reckoned as an a-aorist form, ṛājasana is an a-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are arçasana, Ṓhasana, īrayasana, dihyasana, mandasana, yamasaṇa, rabhasana, vṛdhasana, sahasana, ṛavaṇā, all in RV.; with namasana, bhiyāsana, in AV. In RV. occurs also once dhiṣamāna, apparently an a-form of an a-aorist of y/dhi.

5. The iṣ-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign iṣa by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel x i, making ṛiṣa iṣ, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.

899. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:

a. A final vowel has vṛddhi in the active, and guṇa in the middle: thus, ṛājyaṅga apāviṣ and ṛājyaṅga apāviṣ from vṛū pu cleanse; ṛājyaṅga atāriṣ, act., from vṛū ṛa pass; ṛājyaṅga aṣayiṣ, mid., from vṛū ċi lie.

b. A medial vowel has guṇa, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, ṛājyaṅga aleṣiṣ, act. and mid., from vṛū ni liq tear; ṛājyaṅga aroṣiṣ from vṛū ṛu shine; ṛājyaṅga avarṣiṣ from vṛū vṛu rain; but ṛājyaṅga ajiṣiṣ from vṛū ni jiv live.

c. Medial ḍha is sometimes lengthened in the active; but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.

d. The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are kan, tan, ran, stan, svan, han, vraj, sad, mad, car, taar, svar, jval, das, tras. From ran, san, kram, vad, rakṣ, and saḥ occur forms of both kinds. From y/math or manth are made the two stems mathiṣ and manthiṣ.
900. a. Of exceptions may be noted: ṣ'mṛj has (as elsewhere: 627) ṭṛddhi instead of guṇa: thus, amārīṣaṃ; ṣ'ṛṣṭi has aśtarśa, and ṣ'ṛṣṭi has aḥarī (also aḥarīt in RV.), with guṇa in active.

b. The root grābh or grah has (as in future etc., below, 933c, 956) long i instead of i before the sibilant: thus, agrābhīṣaṇa, agrābhīṣaṇa, agrābhīṣaṇa. The roots in changeable r (so-called roots in r: 245), and ṣ'ṛṣṭi are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long i from such roots have been found quotable. A Sūtra (PGS.) has once anavya from ṣ'ṛṇi (doubtless a false reading).

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उṣ us and घ्न ati in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combinations is-s and is-t are from the earliest period of the language contracted into इ is and इ it.

a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in iḍhvaṃ (or iḍhvaṃ, from iṣ-ḍhvam: 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable, namely ajanḍhvaṃ, artiṇḍhvaṃ, āṇḍhvaṃ, veṇḍhvaṃ; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 226c.

902. As examples of the inflection of the iṣ-aorist may be taken the roots ṣ'ṛ pū cleanse, and बुद्ध wake. Thus:

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903. The number of roots from which forms of this aorist have been noted in the older language is nearly a hundred and fifty (in RV., about eighty; in AV., more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.); the later texts add less than twenty. Among these are no roots in ā; but otherwise they are of every variety of form (rarest in final i and I). Active and middle persons are freely made, but sparingly from the same root; only about fifteen.
roots have both active and middle forms in the older language, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other.

a. No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the ış- and the ș-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 akramim, agrabhim, and avadhim (with augmentless vadhim) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For açarit occurs in AV. açarait; also (in a part of the manuscripts) çarais for çarit; agrahaisam is found in AB. (also the monstrous form ajagrabhaisam: see 801 i). Ajayit, with short i in the ending, occurs in TS.

c. AV. has once nudisṭhas, without guru.

d. The forms atārima (RV.), avādiran (AV.), and bādhithas (TA.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist: compare avita, 906. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, jāniṭhas, mādithas, vartithas, caṅkithas, and (the causative: 1048) aghatayithas. Agṛhitam and grhithas and grhita, if not false readings for grhṇi-, are probably irregular present-formations.

Modes of the ış-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: caḥsiṣam, vadhim; māthis, vādhis, yāvis, sāvis; avit, jūrvit, māhit, vādhit, veṣṭit; mardhīṣṭam, doṣīṣṭam, hīṁsīṣṭam; avīṭam, jāṇīṣṭam, bāḍhīṣṭam; crāmīṣṭa, vāḍīṣṭa; vadhīṣṭa and vadhīṣṭana, mathiṣṭana, hiṁsiṣṭa; ḍvārisu, grahiṇas; — in the middle: rādhiṣi, jāniṭhiṣa, marṣiṭhāsa, vyathīṣṭhas; krāṁṣṭa, jāniṣṭa, paviṣṭa, prāthiṣṭa, māṇḍṣṭa; vyathīṣṭaḥ. The accent is on the root-syllable (tārisūs, AV. once, is doubtless an error).

906. a. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. davisāṇi, and the 1st pl. mil. (with unstrengthened e) yāciṣamaḥe and saniṣamaḥe.

b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: avīṣas, kāṇīṣas, tārisas, rakṣīṣas, vādiṣas, vēṣīṣas, caḥsiṣas; kāṛīṣat, jambhiṣat, jōṣīṣat, takṣīṣat, tārīṣat, nīṅḍīṣat, pārīṣat, bōḍhiṣat, mārḍhiṣat, yāciṣat, yodhiṣat, rakṣīṣat, vanīṣat, vyathīṣat, caḥsiṣat, saniṣat, sāviṣat. They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding a to the tense-stem in ış before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. sanisana and mid. saniṣanta (and TS. has vanisanta,
for the problematic vanuṣanta of RV.), which are also regular. Bhaviṣāt (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign; cāniṣṭhat (RV.; SV. instead janiṣṭhat) seems hopelessly corrupt. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative; but we have sam- in the subjunctive against asāniṣam (as to cay- and ran-, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language (923, 925 b). It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other ḍ-forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: janiṣṭya, indiṣṭya, edhiṣṭya, ruciṣṭya and rociṣṭya, gmiṣṭya; modiṣṭḥās; janiṣṭa; vaniṣṭa; sahīṣṭvāhi; idhiṣṭimahi, edhiṣṭimahi, janiṣṭimahi, tāriṣṭimahi, mandiṣṭimahi, vandiṣṭimahi, vardhiṣṭimahi, sahīṣṭimahi and sahīṣṭimahi. The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to-be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule. The forms janiṣeyam and -ya, from a secondary a-stem, occur in K.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from yav a series: namely, aviṣṭhi, aviṣṭu, a viṣṭam, 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, caviṣṭam (against acāniṣṭam), tāriṣṭam, yodhiṣṭam, vadhiṣṭam, ṣṇathiṣṭam; rāniṣṭana (against arāniṣûs), ṣṇathiṣṭana.

909. No words having a participial ending after ḍ 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, 1062.

6. The siṣ-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in śr a ə (including mī mi fix, mī mi (or mī) damage and əh Há cling, which substitute forms in ə), and from nám nam bow, yam yam reach, and rám 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 ḍ-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than
its first persons, which we may form from the roots या या
go and नम nam bow. Thus:

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<td>अयासिष्मा</td>
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<td>etc.</td>
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912. The sing-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the iq-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� sing and या� go, and in AV. only from हा� leave, and doubtless also from पया fill up and वन sein (see below, 914 b); the remaining older texts add जा� know (S.), ज्या overpower, ध्या think (JB. once: the edition reads ध्यान), and रम be content (SV.: a bad variant for RV. rasiya); other Brāhmaṇa forms which might be also of the s-aorist are अड्रासित, आवासित, and अह्वासित; and bhukṣiṣya (PB. S.) must be regarded as an anomalous formation from यभुज, unless we prefer to admit a secondary root bhukṣa, like bhakte from bhaj. In the later language have been found quotation from other roots only gläsīs, adhmāsīt, anahāsīt, apāsīt, mlāsis, and amnāsisus.

a. The participle hāsamānā and causative hāsāyanti (RV.) show that hās had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside hā for other forms than the aorist.

913. The whole series of older indicative forms (omitting, as doubtful, the 2d and 3d sing.) is as follows: agāsīsam, ajñāsīsam, ayāsīsam, adhyāsīsam; ajyāsītam, ayāsītam; ajñāsīma; ajñāsīta; āyāsīta; agāsiḥ, ayāsiḥ (aksīṣus is from yakaattain).

a. Forms without augment are these: jñāsīsam, rāmaśīsam, hāṣiḥ; hāsītam; hāsīṣṭām; hāṣāṣṭa; hāsiṣus, gāsiṣus, jñāsiṣus. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. a. Of proper subjunctives are found two, gāsīṣat and yāsīṣat (both RV.).

b. Optatives are not less rare: namely, yāsīṣṭāṣthās and pyāsīṣṭīmaḥi (for which the AV. manuscripts read pyāṣiṣṭāmahi; altered in the edition to pyāṣīṣ-); and doubtless vaṁcīṣya (AV., twice) is to be corrected to vaṁśiṣya, and belongs here. As to bhuvāṣīṣya, see above, 912.

c. The accent of yāsīṣṭām (like aviṣṭām, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and yāṣiṣṭā (RV., once) is doubtless the same, with anomalous Ṽ for ū.

915. Middle forms of this aorist, it will be noticed, occur from the optative only; but, considering the great rarity of the whole formation, we are hardly justified in concluding that in the ancient language the middle persons in -ṣiṣ, -ṣiṣṭhās, etc., were not allowable, like those in -ṣiṣ, -iṣṭhās, and the others of the iq-aorist.
7. The sa-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this aorist end in श्र, श्र, or द्र h—all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make श्रष; and they have ज i, ज u, or ज r as radical vowel.

a. They are as follows: द्रिक; रिक, लिक, विक, क्रिक, रूक, म्प्र्र; त्विक, द्विक, ठिक, विः क्रिः, ठिः, त्रिः; from about half of them sa-forms, earlier or later, are quotable. Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take sorists 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 ज i instead of ज e, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in श यथम and श तथम, 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 द्रिक point. Thus:

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<tr>
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<th>active.</th>
<th>middle.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s.</td>
<td>प्रिकाय</td>
<td>प्रिकाय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>प्रिकाय</td>
<td>प्रिकाय</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ज or उ or र as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with श to शष; but there are in the list also two
ending in j, namely \( mṛj \) and \( vṛj \). All the examples noted are given below.

a. So far as the middle forms are concerned, this aorist would be fully explained as a transfer of certain s-aorists to an a-inflection. The marked difference in the strength of radical vowel in the active, however, stands in the way of the successful application of such an explanation to the active forms.

920. a. In the indicative, we find, in the active: \( avṛkṣam; adṛukṣas, \\ adhukṣas, arukṣas, akṛukṣas, asṛkṣas \) (and MBh. adds \( amṛkṣas \)); adikṣat, amikṣat, likṣat, avikṣat, ākrukṣat, āghukṣat, adukṣat and ādhukṣat, ārukṣat, avṛkṣat, akṛkṣat, amṛkṣat, āṣṛkṣat; āghukṣatām; arukṣāma, amṛkṣāma, avṛkṣāma; ādhukṣan, apikṣan (\( y/piṣa \)), arukṣan, asṛkṣan; — in the middle, only akṛkṣathās (\( y/kṛṣ \)), ādhukṣata, and amṛkṣanta (and MBh. adds \( amṛkṣata \)).

b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: \( dṛkṣam, mṛkṣam; dukiṣas, rukiṣas, mṛkṣas; dvikṣat; mṛkṣata; dhukṣān and dukṣān; — in the middle, dvikṣata, dukṣata and dhukṣata, dukṣānta.

c. There are no optative forms.

d. Imperative are: in the active, \( mṛkṣatam; \) in the middle, dhukṣāṇa.

e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign \( स \), in analogy with the \( S-aorist \) (2) and the imperfect of the \( ā \)-class: a single exception is \( ēdhukṣata \), which probably needs emendation to \( dhukṣāta \).

f. The aspiration of initial \( d \) and \( g \), after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots \( dūh \) and \( gruh \), but not from druhi (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also \( adukṣat \) and dukṣas, dukṣān, dukṣata.

Precative.

921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.

922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:

a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign \( yā \): 770), \( i \) and \( u \) are lengthened; \( r \) is usually changed to \( r \), but to \( r \) and \( ūr \) in those roots which elsewhere show \( i r \)- and \( u r \)-forms (so-called \( r \)-roots: 242), and to \( r \) in \( r \) and \( amṛr \); \( ā \) is changed to \( e \) in the roots \( dā, dhā, sthā, pā \)

\( drīk, gā \) \( sīng, \) and a few others, in part optionally.
b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in badhyāsām from ybandh; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in ucyāsām, ijjyāsām, vidhyāsām, supyāsām, grhyāsām; yqās forms qiyāsām (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 Ṛ or Ṛ is—that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an ṛ-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 ṛ-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gminated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before Ṛ is.

c. As was pointed out above (567) the middle precative is really the optative of certain aorists, with the insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending only (so far as authenticated by use) in the 2d and 3d singular. In the older language, such forms are oftenest made from the s-aorist (805) and the ṛ-aorist (807); but also from the root-aorist (837 b), the a-aorist (860 a), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the ṛṣ-aorist (814 b); and even from the perfect (812 b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root Ṛ bhū be, which is said (no middle aorist or precative from it is quotable) to form its middle on the ṛṣ-stem. Thus:

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<tr>
<td>bhūyāsām</td>
<td>bhūyāsva</td>
<td>bhūyāsma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhūyās</td>
<td>bhūyāstam</td>
<td>bhūyāsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhūyāt</td>
<td>bhūyāstam</td>
<td>bhūyāsus</td>
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</table>
XI. AORIST-SYSTEMS.

328

middle.

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<tr>
<th>s.</th>
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<th>P.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>भविष्यि भविष्यिवाहि भविष्यिमाहि</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhavīśyaḥ</td>
<td>bhaviṣṭhmāḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>भविष्यिग्राहम् भविष्यियाञ्छाम् भविष्यिहम्</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhaviṣṭāṁ thāṁ</td>
<td>bhaviṣṭdvām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>भविष्यियास्ताम् भविष्यिरिन्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhaviṣṭāṁ stāṁ</td>
<td>bhaviṣṭrān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The forms given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the sibilant. Those persons, and the 2d pl., have never been met with in use. For the question respecting the ending of the 2d pl., as dhvam or ḍhvam, see 228 c.

925. a. The preceptive 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, Bhagavād-Gītā, Cakuntalā, 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 preceptive middle is virtually unknown in the whole later literature, not a single occurrence of it having been brought to light. The BhP. has once virjīṣṭa, which is also a RV. form, belonging probably to the reduplicated aorist: see 870.

Uses of the Aorist.

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: 582) appear to accord with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after mā was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (579).

a. The tense-value of the aorist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.

927. The aorist of the later language is simply a pret-erit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.

a. Thus, tataḥ sa gardabhaṁ laguṇena tāḍayāmāsa; tenā 'sāṁ pahocatvam avam atāmat (I.) thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died; tataḥ sā vidarbhaṁ agamat punah; tāṁ tu bandhujanaṁ samapūjayat (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 ada-
hat kāsthāḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā (R.) he burned him with
wood, and he became then a heavenly form.

928. The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper
"perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as
completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly
to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary have. In general,
it indicates what has just taken place; and oftenest something which
the speaker has experienced.

a. Examples from the Veda are: pári 'mé gām aneṣata páry
agním ahṛṣata, devēṣv akrata ṛāvaḥ kā imān ādadhaṣati (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 ačchāma mānasā sō 'yām ā 'gāt (RV.) he whom we (formerly,
impr.) sought with our mind has (now, sor.) come; yēne 'ndro haviṣā
kṛtya abhavad dyumyān uttamāh, idām tād akri devā asapatanāh
kīlā' bhuvanā (RV.) that libation by which Indra, making it, became (impr.)
of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies.

b. Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: sā hā 'smin jyōg
uvāṣa... táto ha gandharvāḥ sām ūdiere; jyōg vā iyām urvacā
manuṣyēṣv avāṣitaī (QB.) she lived with him a long time. Then the
Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvācī, forsooth, has dwelt a long
time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: tām ho 'vāca: apat-
sata vā asya dantāḥ (AB.) his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth
truly have fallen out"; Īndrasya vṛtrām jaghnaḥa indriyām viryām
prthivīm ānu vy ārechat tād oṣadhaya virūḍho 'bhavan sā
prajāpatim āpā 'd'havād vṛtrām me jaghnaḥa indriyām viryām
prthivīm ānu vy ārat tād oṣadhaya virūḍho 'bhuvann īti (TS.)
of Indra, when he had slain Vītra, 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 Vītra, have gone away into the earth,
and have become the herbs and plants"; svayām enam abhyudētya brūyād
vṛatyā kvā 'vatsīḥ (AV., in prose passage) going up to him in person,
let him say: "Vṛutyā, where hast thou abode?" yād idānim dvāu vivāda-
mānāv eyātām ahām adarçam ahām agrauṣam īti yā eva brūyād
ahām adarçam īti tāmā eva çraddadhyāma (QB.) if now too should
come disputing with one another, [the one] saying "I have seen", [the other]
"I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".

929. a. This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect
as tenses of narration is very common in the Brāhmaṇa language (including
the older Upanishads and the Sūtras), and is closely observed; violation of
it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or
indicative of a late origin.

b. In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both
less clear and less strictly maintained; many passages would admit an
interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

930. The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evanescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected. Thus: svāasatāṁ bhavatām ānāvā na iti somo vāi rājē 'nduḥ somā-yāi vāi 'ne etad rājha āsade 'cikāpat (AB. i. 29.7) “be ye comfortable seats for our Indu”, he says; Indu is king Soma; by this means he has made them (instead of makes them) suitable for king Soma to sit upon; vārunīr āpo yād adbhīr abhiśīnacāti 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; paṇcābhīr vyāghārayati pāṅkto yajñō yāvān evā yajñās tām ālabdhā ‘tho yāvān evā yajñās tāmād rākṣānasy 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 ṣya, 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 यस्या, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel य (in the latter case becoming यस्या). The root has the गुण-strengthening. Thus, from दा give is formed the future tense-stem दाया; from यस्या, the stem यस्या; from दुध milk, the stem योह्य योह्य; from बहु be, the stem भवस्या; from र्थ योह्य योह्य, the stem यायस्या; and so on.

a. But from यय्यु live the stem is यग्यया, from यक्ष यस्या it is यक्षया, and so on (240).

b. There are hardly any Vedic cases of resolution of the tense-sign या into स्या; RV. has कुष्यांतास once.

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in दा (second general conjugation: 733 a). We may take as models of inflection the future of दा give, and that of यक्ष make. Thus:

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<tr>
<td>दायमि, दायावस, दायामसू, दायसू, दायावक्ते, दायामके दायामि, दायावस, दायामसू, दायसू, दायाव्याहे, दायामाहे</td>
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1 कारियामि कारियामसू कारियामसू कारियामसू कारियामके कारियामके कारियामि कारियामसू कारियामसू कारियामसू गरियामा गरियावहे गरियामाहे, गरियावहे गरियामि गरियावस, गरियामसू, गरियाव्याहे, गरियामाहे |

2 कारियसि कारियामू कारियामू कारियामू कारियामके कारियामके कारियसि कारियामू कारियामू कारियामू कारियामू कारियामके कारियामके |

3 कारियसि कारियामसू कारियामसू कारियामसू कारियामके कारियामके कारियसि कारियामसू कारियामसू कारियामसू कारियामके कारियामके |

a. In the epics are found occasional cases of 1st du. and pl. in या and या: e. g. रमस्याव (R.), भक्स्याव (causative: MBh.); श्यामा (MBh.), वा (R.).

934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel य before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance between this tense and the other future and the desiderative; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist
(a-aorist on the one side, or īg-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.

235. 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 ī) take no ī. Thus, all in ā (numerous, and unnecessary to specify: but compare c below)—those in ā, as kṣi possess, ci gather, ci note, mi, si or sā bind (śiṣya), hi; from i, kṣi destroy, and īj occur forms of both classes; āri [and āvi] has i;—those in ā, as kṛi, bhī, mī, vī; but āi lie and nī have both forms [and āj takes i];—those in u, as āyu, dru, plu, āru, hu; but su press out and ātu have both forms [and āu, āku, nu, yu, ru, nnu take ī]—of those in ū, dhū and bhū take i; sū has both forms. But all in ī (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take ī [those in changeable ī, or so-called ī-roots (242), are said by the grammarians to take either ī or ī; no ī-forms, however, are quotable].

b. Of roots ending in mutes, about half add the tense-sign directly. Thus, of roots ending in gutturals, čak;—in palatals: in c, pacc, mūc, rīc, vac, vic, vraṇo, nīc (but yāc takes ī); in ch, prach; in j, bhaṇj, mṛj (māṅkṣya and mṛakṣya), yaj, bhuj, yuj, vṛj, srj [also bhrajj, rāṇj, saṇj, svaṇj, nij, ruj], while tyaj, bhaj, and mājj (māṅkṣya and mājīṣya) have both forms, and vij (vījīṣya and vējīṣya) and vṛaj take ī;—in dentals: in t, kṛt cut and vṛt [also čṛt and rṛt] make both forms; in d, ad, pad, ṇad fall, skand, syand, chid, bhid, vid find, nud [also had, khid, avid, kṣud, tud]; while sad (satsya and sādīṣya) and vīd know make both forms [also chrd and tr̥d], and vadd has ī; in dh, vyaṇḍh (vetayya), rāṇḍh, sidd succeed, budh, yudh, rudh, vṛdh [also sādh, krudh, kṣudh, āduḥ], and bandh and siddh repel both forms; in n, tan, while man and han have both forms;—in labials: in p, ṭp, kṣṭp, gup, trp, ārp [ārapṣya and sarpṣya] [also qap, lip, lup], while tap, vāp, svap, drp, and klp 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 ī. And vā or vi weave, vyā or vi envelop, and hā or hū call take a y-form, as in their present-system, to which then ī is added: thus, vāyīṣya, vīyāṣya, ṛvāyāṣya (but also ṛvāṣya).

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in q, dīq, viq, drq (drakṣya), spṛq (ṣprakṣya) [also daṇq, riṇ, liq, kruṇ, mṛq], while naq be lost has both forms (māṅkṣya and naqīṣya);—in ṣ, piṣ, viṣ, ciṣ [also
tviq, dvig, qliq, tuiq, duq, puq, quq, while krph has both forms (krakgya and karqmya); — in s, vas shine, vas clothe [also ghgas], while vas dwell has both forms; — in h, mih, duh, druh [also nah, dih, lih], while dah, vah, sah and ruh have both forms.

e. In the older language, a majority (about five ninth) of simple roots add the asa without auxiliary i; of the futures occurring in the later language only, nearly three quarters have the i, this being generally taken by any root of late origin and derivative character — as it is also uniformly taken in secondary conjugation (1019, 1036, 1050, 1068).

936. As the root is strengthened to form the stem of this future, so, of a root that has a stronger and a weaker form, the stronger form is used: thus, from ybandh or badh bind, bhantsya or bandhisisya.

a. By an irregular strengthening, manqysya (beside nacqysya) is made from ynaq be lost, and manqysya (beside majjissya) from ymajj sink.

b. But a few roots make future-stems in the later language without strengthening: thus, likhiqy, miliqy (also TS.), vijqy (also vejiqy), siqya (y/ya or si), uqysya (939 b), sphuqisy; and yvyadh makes vetsyasa from the weaker form vidh.

c. The Cb. has once the monstrous form acnuqisyamaha, made upon the present-stem acnu (897) of yaq attain. And the later language makes sidqyas and jahiqya from the present-stems of yasad and yha. Compare further hvayqyga etc., 935 c. Also khyqiqysya from ykhy (beside khyqysya) appears to be of similar character.

d. A number of roots with medial r strengthen it to ra (241); thus, krakqy, trapseysa, drapeysa, drakqy, marqy (beside markqy), uprakqy, arakqy, srapseysa (beside sarqy), and mradiqy (beside mardiqy); and yklp forms klapsya (beside kalsiqa).

e. The root grah (also its doublet glah) takes i instead of i, as it does also in the aorist and elsewhere.

937. This future is comparatively rare in the oldest language — in part, apparently, because the uses of a future are to a large extent answered by subjunctive forms — but becomes more and more common later. Thus, the RV. has only seventeen occurrences of personal forms, from nine different roots (with participles from six additional roots); the AV. has fifty occurrences, from twenty-five roots (with participles from seven more); but the TS. has occurrences (personals 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 karqysq, 2d sing, subj. act., occurring once (or twice) in RV. (Ab. has once nosyavahq, and Gb. has eqyqmahq, taqysamahq, sthisyamahq, but they are doubtless false
readings for -he. Two or three optative forms are found in the epics: thus, dhakṣyeta and maṅsayetan (MBh.), and drakṣyeta (R.); also an imperative patsayantu (Har.). And several 2d pl. mid. in dhvam are quotable from the epics: thus, vetsyadhvam, svasyadhvam, and (the causative) kālasyadhvam (PB.) and jīvasyadhvam (MBh.; and one text has mokṣayadhvam at 1.133, 13, where the other reads mokṣayadhvam), and bhavasyadhvam (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 542 a).

Participles of the s-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in ग a: namely, by adding in the active the ending सं न, in the middle the ending मान मान; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, दास्यन दास्यां and दास्यमान दास्यामान, कारियां न कारियां and कारियाणान कारियामाण.

a. According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in antii or in atii; but only the former has been noted as occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare: see above, 449 e, f.

b. In RV. occurs once suṣṭiyati, from ṣati, 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 ग a. This preterit is called the conditional.

a. It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional aurait to the future aura, or as the English would have to will have — nearly as the German würde haben to werde haben.

b. Thus, from the roots already instanced:

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| दास्यम् | बदन्यान | दास्यान | बदन्याति |
| दास्यम् | बदन्यान | दास्यान | बदन्याति |
| दास्यम् | बदन्यान | दास्यान | बदन्याति |
2 घदास्यत् घदास्यताम् घदास्यत घदास्यायाम् घदास्यायाम् घदास्यायाम्
   आदास्यास आदास्यातमं आदास्याता आदास्याथासं आदास्याथायातमं आदास्याथायातमं

3 घदास्यत् घदास्यताम् घदास्यतन् घदास्यत घदास्यायाम् घदास्यायाम्
   आदास्यात आदास्यातमं आदास्यातन् आदास्याता आदास्याततमं आदास्याततमं

1 घकरिष्यम् घकरिष्याय घकरिष्यायाम् घकरिष्येः घकरिष्याविन् घकरिष्याविन्
   आकरिष्यायम् आकरिष्यायम् आकरिष्यायाम् आकरिष्यायाम् आकरिष्यायामाहि
   etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, अभिरिष्यत 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 Manu; and two in Cakuntalā. 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 नु त्र (or तृ
tar); and this [as in its other than verbal uses: see 1182] is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary vowel ज i, the root itself being strengthened by गुष्णa, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, यह् दानिस् from यह् दानिस् give; कत् कारित from कत् कारित make; भावित् from भावित् be.

   a. As regards the presence or absence of the vowel i, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the s-future from the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in य take no i: thus, कारित (against kāriṣya); roots hān and gam show the same difference; while वषित, वषित, and यान्य have i here, though
not in the a-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (373), is used without auxiliary: thus, भविता bhavitā he or she or it will be; भवितार्थ bhavitārau both will be; भवितार्थम् bhavitāras they will be. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of यथम् 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 यद्य dā 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: vaktā 'stī (Mbḥ.) he will speak; nihantā (Mbḥ.) I shall or thou wilt strike down, yoddhā 'ham (R.) I shall fight, aham draṣṭā (Mbḥ.) I shall see, kartā haṁ te (BṛP.) I will do for thee, tvam bhavitā (Mbḥ. Megh.) thou wilt be; asmi gantā (Mbḥ.) I shall go; pratigrahitā tām asmi (Mbḥ.) I will receive her, hantā tvam asi (Mbḥ.) thou wilt slay; kartārāu svāḥ (Mbḥ.) we two shall do; draṣṭy asmi (Mbḥ.) I (t.) shall see, udbhavitrī (Nāś.) she will increase, gantri (Y.) she will go. AB. has once sotā as 2d sing., thou wilt press; JUB. makes the combination छमचांनाय bhavītāras the cemeteries will be.

c. An optative of the auxiliary appears to be once used, in yoddhā syām I would fight (R. i. 22. 25 Peterson; but the Bombay edition reads yoddhum yāsyāmi).

945. The accent in these combinations, as in all the ordinary cases of collocation of a verb with a preceding predicate noun or
adjective (592), is on the noun itself; and, unlike all the true verbal forms, the combination retains its accent everywhere even in an independent clause: thus, tārhi vā atināṣṭrō bhavītāṃsi (CB.) then I shall be out of danger (where bhavisyāmi, if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (595), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verb-form: 1083 b), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the nomina agentis in τρ or ταρ, 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 a-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 prayoktāsma as, for example, cāsē to cāsmi); CB. has cayitāsē thou shalt lie (similarly related to cayitaśi); and TB. has yaṣṭāṃsme we will make offering. But in TA. is found (I. 11) yaṣṭāho 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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<td>dātāsvahē</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>dātāsē</td>
<td>dātāsāthe</td>
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<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>dātā</td>
<td>dātārāu</td>
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c. Only a single example of such a middle has been brought to light in the later language, namely (the causative) darçayitāho (NāŚ).

Uses of the Futures and Conditional.

948. As the a-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. 3. ed. 22
a. A few examples are: varṣāyaty āśāmāḥ parjānyo vṛṣṭimān bhāviṣyati (QB.) it is going to rain; Purāṇya is going to be rich in rain this year; yās tān nā veda kim ōcā kariṣṭya (RV.) whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? ā vāi vayām agni dhāṣyāmaḥ thā yūyāṃ kim kariṣṭyaṁa (QB.) we are going to build the two fires: then what will you do? tām ēndro bhyādudrāva hanṣiyān (CB.) him Indra ran at, intending to slay; yādy eva kariṣṭyaṁ sakāṁ devār yajñīyaśo bhāviṣyati (RV.) if ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dāntās te sāṃyanti (AV.) thy teeth will fall out; nā marīṣyasi mā bibheḥ (AV.) thou shalt not die; be not afraid; bruhi kva yāṣyasi (MBh.) tell us; where are you going to go? yadi māṁ pratyākhyāyasi viṣam āsthāyē (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 ‘yān devo ghandharvo vā bhāviṣyati (MBh.) who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva; adya svapayanti (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 daṇḍaḥ bhadrāṁ kariṣṭyaśi tāvē ‘t tāt satyāṁ (RV.) what favor thou wiltest to bestow on thy worshiper, that of thee cometh actual (is surely brought about); yātā ‘nyād vādiṣyānto sā ‘nyād vādet (QB.) 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 evās tomorrow.

a. A few examples are: adyā varṣāyati ... vṛvā vṛṣṭā (MS.) it is going to rain today; it will rain tomorrow; yantarāṁ vā ime vṛvā kamiṁ taras te jetāras (K.) whichever of two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; prātar yaṣṭāsmahā (TB.) we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning; ityāh vah paktāmi (QB.) in such and such a day I will cook for you; tān ma ekāṁ rātrim ānte qayītae jātā u te ‘yāh tāṛhi putṛ bhavātā (QB.) then you shall lie with me one night, and at that time this son of yours will be born. In other cases, this definiteness of time is wanting, but an emphasis, as of special certainty, seems perhaps to belong to the form: thus, bibhṛṇa mā pārājñyāmi tvē ‘ti: kāśmāṁ mā pārājñyāsi ‘ty āṅghā imaḥ sārvāḥ prajā nirvṛqhā, tātās tvā pārājñyāmi ‘ti (QB.) support me and I will save you, said it. From what will you save me? said he. A flood is going to carry off all these creatures; from that I will save you, said it; paridevayāṁ caikri re mahāo chokabhayan pṛāpsmaḥ (GB) they set up a lamentation: “we are going to meet with great pain and dread”; yaje ‘yakṣi yaṣṭāho ca (TA.) I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifice. In yet other cases,
In the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, praîyām enaṁ vîjñâatâsya yadi vidvâṇ vâ juhîty avidvâna (AB.) in his children we shall know him, whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge; vaktâsma vâ idâm devebhyaḥ (AB.) we shall tell this to the gods; yadi svârtho mamâ 'pi bhavîtâ tata evâṁ svârthaṁ kariṣyâmi (MBh.) if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair; kathâṁ tu bhavîtâsya eka iti tvâṁ nṛpa gocîmi (MBh.) but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you.

950. The conditional would seem to be most originally and properly used to signify that something was going to be done. And this value it has in its only Vedic occurrence, and occasionally elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.

a. Thus, yô vṛtrâya sînam âtrâ 'bhariṣyat prâ tâm jánitrî viduṣâ uvâca (RV.) him, who was going here to carry off Vritra's wealth; his mother proclaimed to the knowing one; qatâyum gâm akarîṣyam (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 [prâgrahîṣyaḥ] my mouth); tâta evâ 'sya bhavyâna vi 'yâya kâsmâd dhy âbhegyad dvîtîyâd vâl bhavyâm bhavati (Q.B.) thereupon his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person; útpapâta cirâm tân mene yâd vâsaḥ paryâdhâsaṣya (Q.B.) he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment; sâ tâd evâ nà 'vindat praîjâpatir yâtrâ 'hoṣyat (MS.) Praîjâpati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice; evâṁ cen nà 'vâksyo mûrdhâ te vyapatiṣyat (GB.) if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off; sâ yâd hâl 'tâvad evâ 'bhaviṣyat yâvatyo hâi 'vâ 'gre praîjâh sṛṣṭâs tâvatyo hâi 'vâ 'bhaviṣyan nà prâ 'janiṣyatânta (Q.B.) 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; kih vâ 'bhaviṣyat aruṇas tamâsâm vibhettâ tam cet sahasrakirâpo dhuri nà 'kariṣyat (Q.) 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 tā or nā.

952. By the accented suffix न tā—or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न nā—is formed a verbal adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्ता दत्ता given; उक्ता uktā spoken. Hence it is usually called the passive participle; or, to distinguish it from the participle belonging to the passive present-system (771), the past passive participle.

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, गता gatā gone; भूता bhūtā been; पतिता patitā fallen.

953. In general, this participle is made by adding न tā to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

a. Some roots, however, require the prexion of the auxiliary vowel i to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add nā instead of tā, see below, 956, 957.
b. As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085 a.

954. The root before ता has usually its weakest form, if there is anywhere in the verbal system a distinction of weak and strong forms. Thus:

a. A penultimate nasal is not seldom dropped: examples are aktā (यानी), baddha (यबंडः), çrabdhā (य'ç्रमभ), daśṭā (य'दा०), srasta (य'स्रान), bādhā (य'बान).  

b. Roots which are abbreviated in the weak forms of the perfect (794) suffer the same abbreviation here: examples are ukta (य'वृ), uṣṭā (य'वस शिन), uptā (य'वप: also vaptā), uḍā (य'वह), suptā (य'वप), iṣṭā (य'य), viddhā (य'वयध),—and, by a similar procedure, y'prach (or pray) makes prṣṭā, y'bhraṅc makes bṛṣṭa (beside the regular bhraṣṭa), and y'çrā boil makes çṛṭā (beside çṛṭā).

c. Final ā is weakened to ī in gitā (य'गृं सिंग), dhītā (य'धां सुक), pitā (य'पृः धृंक), spītā; and ītā, vītā, cītā are made from the roots jyā, vyā, cā, (or ī etc.);—and further to ī in chitā (beside chātā), dīta (य'धाष्टे and धांिति), dīta (प y'धृः स्पेल); hitā (य'धां पृः धृंक), with h for dh; but dhiṭa also occurs in V., mitā (य'मृिम नेउ०रे), cītā (also cāta), sītā, shtītā.

d. A final m is lost after a in gatā, natā, yatā, ratā (from y'gam etc.); and a final n in kṣata, tatā, matā, hatā. As to the other roots in am and an taking ta, see 955 a, b.

e. More isolated cases are -ūta (RV.: y'vā), utā or ute (य'वा व्यान्त्र), cītā (also cāṣṭa: य'चास), mūṛtā (referred to y'µurch). As to -gdha and jagdhā, see 233 f.

f. On the other hand, y'svad makes svāttā.

955. Of more irregular character are the following:

a. A number of roots ending in am retain the nasal, and lengthen the radical vowel (as also in some others of their verbal forms: thus, kāmā, krāmā, klāmā, kṣāmā, cāmā, tāmā, dāmā, bhṛmā, vāmā, qāmā (य'िम स्बे की़िट०), qāmā (from y'kam etc.); and one in an, dhvan sound, makes dhvāntā.

b. A few roots in an make their participle from another root-form in a; thus, khātā, jātā, -vāta, sātā; dham has both dhāmithā and dhāmātā.

c. Certain roots in IV take their yū-form (765 a): thus, dyūtā (य'द्वृ प्लेि), śthūtā, ayūtā; but y'miv makes -mūtā.

d. From roots in changeable ṛ (generally taking na: 957 b) are made also pūrtā (य'पृ फूळ: besides pṛta), cīrta and cūrtā (य'क्र अछुळ); and cīrta is further made from y'çrī mix.
e. Double forms are mugdhā and mūḍhā, sāḍhā and sōḍhā, dhūrta and dhṛuta, hṛpta and hṛtā.

f. The root dā gives maṇḍtā (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, āṭṭa, āṇutta, pāṛtta, prāṭta, prāṭtta; rarely with other elements, as devātta, punarṭta, māṛuttta (?). And the same abbreviated form comes from y/dā divide in āvatta.

g. The roots making participles in both ta and ita, or ta and na, or in all three, will be noted in the next two paragraphs.

956. The suffix with ṭi, or in the form ṭi itā, is used especially with roots having finals that are only with difficulty, if at all, combinable with ṭ 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. caṇṭa, valg, vāṅch, laṣ, ubṣ, oṣṭ, ghurṇ, katth, nind, jālp, cumb, umbh, khall, pinv, caṇa (also qastā), rakṣ, hiṇas, garh (in all, over fifty); but takṣ makes taṭṭa; — 2. all that end in linguals (including ṣ after a or ā): e. g. aṭ, truṭ, paṭh, luṭh, ṭ, vruṭ, bhaṇ, kaṇ, bhāśḥ; — 3. all that end in surd spirants: e. g. likh, grath, nāth, kuth, riph, guph; — 4. all that end in 1: e. g. cal, gil, mil, lūl, khel; — 5. all that end in other persistent semivowels: namely, carv (also cūṇa, jiv (for the other roots in śv, see 956 c), dhāv ruṇ, sev, day, vyay, pūy; — 6. uḥ. — This class includes more than half of the whole number that take only ita.

b. Of other roots ending in consonants: — 1. in gutturals, cak, ḍhauk (cak has both ta and ita); ṇlagḥ; — 2. in palatals, ac (also aknā), uc, kuc, khac, yāc, ruc; aṣ, kū, vraj, also tyaj and mṛj in late texts (usually tyaktā and mṛṣṭā); — 3. in dentals, at, pat, qcut, also yat in epos (elsewhere only yattā); krad, khāḍ, gād, cud, nad, mūḍ, rad, rud, vad, vid kown, hrāḍ; also nūd in epos (elsewhere nūttā and nunna); mad has both māttā and mādiṭā (the majority of roots in d take na: 957 d); edh, kṣudh, gadh, dudh, nāḍh, bāḍh, spardh; an, in, kvan, dhvan, pan, ran rīṅg, van, stan, svaṇ, and dhvan (also dhvāntā); — 4. in labials, cup, yup, rup, and usually kup (kupta late) and lap (lapta epic), occasionally kāip, gup, tap, dṛp, vāp, qap, while jap has both ta and ita; grabh (gybhīṭā), qubh, skabh, and occasionally lubh, while kṣubh and stabh have both forms; tim, dham, cām labōr, stim, and kṣam in epos (also kṣānta); — 5. in spirants, ṛc eṭ, ṛc, kāq, kṛq, vāq, qaṇ,
while pi[t has both forms, and mṛ摄 takes ita only late; is send, is, kus, tṛṣa, tvāṣ, pruṣa, miṣa, rūṣa, hreṣa, also mūṣ except late, while dhṛṣa, ruṣa, and hṛṣ show both forms; as, bhas, bhāṣa, ras, las, vas clothe, has, also as throw occasionally, while khas, gar, vas shine, vas dwell, qāṣ (with qistā and qastā), qvas, and hras make both forms; ih, grah (ghṛtā), jah (secondary form of hā), mah, rah, and occasionally uh remoce, while gāh has both forms.

c. Of roots ending in vowels, only qī lie, which makes qayita (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, grbhita and ghṛtī (the root being reckoned as grabh and grah: see 729), udīta (also vadita in the later language), uṣīta (v/vas shine; beside uṣīta), uṣīta (v/vas dwell: also sporadically vasīta and uṣīta), uṣīta (v/vas increase), ghṛtī (v/ghrath). From y/mṛj are made both mṛjīta and mārjīta (with strengthening as in present and elsewhere: 627), beside mṛṣā.

e. Instead of i, long i is taken in grbhita and ghṛtū.

957. The suffix  mā (always without auxiliary q i) is taken instead of tā by a number of roots (about seventy).

Thus:

a. Certain roots in ā: thus, kṣā, glā, drā run, drā sleep, (also drita?), mlā (also mlātā), vā blow (also vātā), qyā (also qīnā), stī, hā leave (also hinā and hāta), hā go forth; and dā divide makes dinā (also dīta and -tīta). Further, certain roots in i- and u-vowels: thus, kṣi destroy (kṣīna; also kṣītā), qī, plī, li cling, vi, qī or cyā coagulate (beside cyāna and qīta), hṛī (beside hṛīta); dū burn (also dūta), lā, qū; and div lament makes dyūna (compare 765).

b. Roots in ē, which before the suffix becomes ir or ēr: the forms are, aṛna (late; beside rtā), kirṇa (y/kṛ scatter), gīrṇa (y/ṛ swallow), jīrnā and jūrnā (y/j waste away), tīrnā and tūrnā (also tūrtā), dīrnā (y/dr pierce: also ḍṛta), pūrnā (y/ṛ fill: also pūrtā and ḍṛta), mūrnā (y/mṛ crush), qīrnā (y/qṛ crush: also qṛta and qūrtā?), ṭīrnā (also ṛtā). Of like character with these are īrnā from yr, cīrnā (beside carita) from y/car, gūrṇa (beside gūrtā) from y/gur, a secondary form of gī, and cūrṇa (beside carvīta) from y/carvī, which is also plainly a secondary root.

c. A few roots ending in j (which becomes g before the suffix against the usual rule of internal combination: 216 f): thus, bhagna (y/bhagī), bhugna (y/bhuj bend), magnā (y/majj), rugṇā, vīgna (beside vīkta). Further, two or three ending in c (similarly treated): thus, aknā (y/ac or ṛc or aṃc: also acīta and aṃcīta), vṛknā (y/vrāc), and apparently -prgna (RV., once; with doubly irregular change of root-final, from y/prō). And one root in g, lagana.
d. A considerable number, some of them very common ones, of roots in d (which, against ordinary rule, becomes n before the suffix: 157 b). The forms are: unna (also utta), arṇṇa?, klinna, kṣuṇṇa, kṣuṇṇa, khinnna, channa, chinnna, chṛṇṇa, tunnna, tṛṇṇa, nunna (also nutta and nudita), pannā, bhinnā, vinna (y'vid ōnd: also vittā), ḍanna (y'qad fast), sannā (also sattā), skannā (y'skand), sannā (y'syand), svinnā, hanna. And ānna food, in spite of its different accent, appears to be a like formation from y'ad eat.

958. The native grammarians reckon as participles of this formation a few miscellaneous derivative adjectives, coming from roots which do not make a regular participle: such are kāma burnt, kṛṣṇa emaciated, pakvā ripe, phullā expanded, ḍuṣka dry.

Past Active Participle in tavant (or navant).

959. From the past passive participle, of whatever formation, is made, by adding the possessive suffix वन्त, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, तत्र कृतवान tāt kṛtavān having done that; taṁ nigrīnnavān having swallowed him down. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (452 ff.); its feminine ends in वति vati; its accent remains on the participle.

960. Derivative words of this formation are found in RV., but without anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example, with participial meaning: aṣṭīvātvā atithānu one's guest having eaten (loc. abs.). In the Brāhmaṇas also it is hardly met with. In the later language, however, it comes to be quite common. And there it is chiefly used predicatively, and oftener without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb-form in a past tense: primarily, and not seldom, signifying immediate past, or having a true "perfect" value; but also (like the old perfect and the old aorist in later use) coming to be freely used for indefinite time, or with the value of the imperfect (779). For example: māṁ na kaçcid drṣṭavān no one has seen (or saw) me; sa nakulaṇḥ vyāpāditavān he destroyed the ichneumon; or, with copula, mahat kroçchaṁ prāptavatvā asi thou hast fallen upon great misery. Although originally and properly made only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in ta stands in the relation of an objective predicative), it is finally found also from intransitives; thus, cūṭhena samgrītavati (I.) has become united with the mango-tree; gatavati (th.) she has gone.

a. The same participle is also made in the secondary conjugations: e. g. darṣītavant having shown, prabodhitavant having awakened.
b. Possessives also in in made from passive participles are sometimes found used in an analogous manner, nearly as perfect active participles: e.g. istin having sacrificed, vijitino manyamanah (Ab.) thinking themselves to have conquered.

Future Passive Particlples: Gerundives.

961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in the language a value as qualifying something which is to, or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root from which they come; and they are allowed to be made from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper participles, sometimes treated as a part of the general verbal system, and called future passive participles, or gerundives (like the Latin forms in ndus, to which they correspond in meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely य या, तव्या tavya, and आनिया 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, 1913). And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.

a. The original value of the suffix is īa, and as such it has to be read in the very great majority of its Vedic occurrences. Hence the conversion of e and o to ay and av before it (see below).

b. Thus: 1. Final ā becomes e before the suffix: déya, dhyeya, khyéya, méya (perhaps dā-īa etc., with euphonic y interpolated); but RV. has once -ṇāya. — 2. The other vowels either remain unaltered, or have the guṇa or the vṛddhi strengthening; and e usually and o always are treated before the ya as they would be before a vowel: thus, -kṣāyya, jāyya, bhāyya, lāyya; nāyya, bhāyya, hávyā, bhāvyā; vārya; and, in the later language, niya, jeyy, dhūya (such cases are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds t
before the suffix: thus, itya, mitya, cruta, stuta, krtya (the only Vedic examples).—3. Medial a remains unchanged or is lengthened: thus, dhabya, vandyya, sadya; madya, vacya.—4. Medial i-, u-, and ū-vowels are unchanged or have the guṇa-strengthening: thus, ṭīya, guhya, dhṛṣya; dvēṣya, yōdhya, mārya.

b. The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds half as many more. Except in bhāvi (once), the accent in RV. is always on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the i of the suffix (hence written ādyā, ācyā, -vyādhyā, -dharṣyā). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed: always the former, if the ya follow a vowel.

964. a. The suffix tavya is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in tu (below, 968), made by adding the suffix ya (properly ia, whence the accent ya), before which the final u, as usual (1903 a), has guṇa-strengthening, and is resolved into av.

b. Hence, as regards both the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel i before the tavya, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, 968).

c. No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, žanitavya and hiṁsatavya. In the Brāhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and from the derived conjunctival 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, karta or karta; in the accentuated texts, it is always the former (the accent távyā given to certain gerundives in the Petersburg lexicons is an error, growing out of the ambiguous accentuation of CB.: 88 c).

965. a. The suffix anīya is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix īya (1215) to a nomen actionis formed by the common suffix ana.

b. It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix ana (below, 1150);

c. This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in upajivanīya and amantranīya (in both of which, moreover, its distinct gerundive value admits of question). In the Brāhmaṇas (where less than a dozen examples of it have been noted), and in the later language, it is less common than the gerundive in tavya. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix īya, is on the penult: thus, karṇīya.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in tua or tvā, apparently made from the infinitival noun in tu with the added suffix a (1209). They are kartua (in two occurrences karta), gaṅtva, jāntua, jētu, nāntua, vaktua, sōtu.
Infinitives.

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 त्र i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is सम tum or सम itum. The root has the गुष्टा-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, णस्तुम étum from यद्र i; कर्त्तुर kārtum from यक kr; चरित्तु cāritum from चार car; भावित्तु bhāvītum from यभु bhū.

a. As regards the use or omission of त्र, the infinitive (as also the gerund in tvā: 991) follows in general the analogy of the passive participle (858). Examples are (with the gerund added) as follows: dagdhá, dagdhum, dagdhwá from y'dah; bhinná, bhéttum, bhíttvá from y'bhid; matá, mántum, matvá from y'man; údhá, vódhum, údhvá from y'vah; patítá, pátítum, patitvá from y'pat; yátitá, yácitúm, yácitvá from y'yac; qáitá, qáyítum, qáytvá from y'qí. But certain exceptions and special cases require notice. Thus:

b. Of roots having no quotable participle, infinitive stems in tu are made from ad, saqh; in itu from uñch, ùh consider, kṣap, luñth, 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, tvaj, mṛc, lubh, vas shine, čak, stabh; only in itu for gān, carv, jap, mad, yat, van, qaṇa, qvas; in both for as throw, āh remove, gup, car, mṛj (māṛṣṭu, māṛjitu), lap, vas dwell, qaṭ, qaś.

d. Also in a number of other cases (besides those already noticed) an infinitive stem is made both with and without i. Thus, in addition to the more regular form, a stem in itu is occasionally met with from roots aṣ attain, āṣ seek, bandh, bhaj, yaj (ijitum), rudh obstruct, ruh, vṛṣ, sad (śiditum), saḥ, han, ḫr; 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 kṣaṁtu, against the analogy of kṣaṁta); further, from certain roots in variable ṛ, namely ṭṛ (tartu, taritū), vṛ cover (vārtu, varitū), and ṭṛ (startu, staritu, stāritu) (but from ṭṛ crush occur only ṭāritu, ċāritu, and from vṛ choose only varītu; while ṭṛ swallow and ṭṛ fill make their infinitive from other root-forms, namely giritum, pūritum); further, from a few vowel-roots, namely ni, cyu, sū (śūtu); and finally from kṛṣ, nṛ, quē.

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 ppleś coming from khā and jā), guh, jabh, tām, div play and div lamen (both devītu), maṣj, vṛt, vṛdh, apr; and after a final vowel, from roots in ā, namely pū, bhū, sū (also śūtu), and from qṛ and qvi; as to roots in variable ṛ, see just above, d.

f. As the infinitive is made from the (accented and) strengthened root, so it naturally has, as a rule, the stronger or fuller root-form where a weaker or contracted form is taken by the participle (and Gerard in tvā): e. g. vāktu against uktā (and uktvā), yāṣṭu against īṣṭa (and īṣṭvā), bandhāṃ against baddhā and baddhvā, and so on. Deserving special notice are gātu (yṛgā sing) against gātā, and dhātu (yṛdhā suck) against dhītā; and so from dā give and hā leave are made only dātu and hātu; but dhā put, mā measure, and stā add to the regular dhātu, mātu, stātu the late forms -dhītu, -mitu, -sthitu; and sā or sī has sātu, sētu, and -sītu; vā leave (pple utā) has both vātu and ōtu; hū or hvā has havitū, hvāyitū, and hvātu. The root vyadh makes its only quotable infinitive, veddhum, from its vidh-form; from saṇj or saj occur both saṅktu and saktu. The anomalous epic forms ijitum (yṛyaj) and siditum (yśad), were mentioned above. The root grah makes graḥītum.

g. In the later language, the infinitive-stem forms possessive compounds with kāmā and manas (especially the former): e. g. svaptukāma having the wish to sleep, yaṣṭukāma desirous of sacrificing, vaktumans minded to speak.

h. In very rare instances, dative infinitives in tāve or tavāi are
made from the infinitive stem in the later language (as abundantly in the earlier: 970 b); thus, pratihar tave (BhP.). And jiważ (973 a) is once found in MBh. (i. 3. 67 = 732), in a quasi-Vedie hymn to the Aşvins.

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 a-roots) āi, its genitive and ablative is as, and its locative in i.

b. The verbal noun in tu is so used in its accusative in tum, its dative in tave or tavāi, and its ablative and genitive in tos.

Of other nouns only single cases, generally dative, are reckoned as used with infinitive value; thus:

c. From the verbal noun in as, the dative in ase; and also, in an extremely small number of instances, a dative in se (or ṣe), from a noun formed with a 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 śi, datives in dhyāi and śyāi.

h. A few infinitives in śani are perhaps locatives from nouns in an added to a root increased by a.

i. From a single root, dhṛ, are made infinitively used forms in tāri, of which the grammatical character is questionable.

j. Among all these, the forms which have best right to special treatment as infinitives, on account of being of peculiar formation, or from suffixes not found in other uses, or for both reasons, are those in ṣe śani, tari, dhyāi, and tavāi.

k. Except the various cases of the derivative in tu, and of the root-noun, these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the 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, prajāpatiḥ prāṇam ātām (TS.) they went to ask Prajāpati; viqvāḥ jīvāṁ prasuvānti carṣyāī (RV.) quickening every living being to motion; apāḥ sārmāya codāyan (RV.) impelling the waters to flow; ṣaknuyād grāhāṇaya (instead of the usual grāḥitum; Q.B.) may be able to apprehend; ā tamanāt (instead of the usual tamitoḥ; S.) until exhaustion. And the so-called infinitives
are found coördinated in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns: e. g. cáritave ... abbhogáya iṣṭáye ráyé (RV.) to go abroad, to enjoy, to seek wealth; ārtatrápáya na prahartum anágasi (Q.) for the rescue of the distressed, not for hurling at the innocent.

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form (except that it does not take an added t: 383 f.), and the same accent, both when simple and when combined with prepositions, as in its other uses. In the very great majority of instances, it is made from roots ending in a consonant; but also from a few in ā (khyā, dā, dhā, pā, mā, yā), from two or three in ī- and u-vowels (hi, mi, bhū), and from one or two in changeable r, which takes the fr-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 avasā 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 guna-strengthening, if capable of it, and often adds the auxiliary vowel i before the suffix (according to the rules already stated, 968). The root is accented, unless the noun be combined with a preposition, in which case the latter has the accent instead: thus, kārtum, étave, hántos; but níkartum, níretave, níhrantos.

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, átyetavāi, āpabhartavāi.

973. a. The infinitive in ase is made in RV. from about twenty-five roots; in AV. and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In nearly three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: e. g. pūjāse, jivāse, bhīyāse, tujāse; the exceptions are cákṣāse; dhāyāse (with y inserted before the suffix: 259); and áyase, bhārāse, spārāse, hārase (with gūna-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by javāse, dohāse, bhojāse, qobhāse. In pūgāse is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

b. The ending se is extremely rare, being found only in jīse and perhaps stuṣe, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in mane are made from only five roots: thus, trāmaṇe, dámaṇe, dármāṇe, bhārmaṇe, and (with different accent) vid-māne. From ydā comes dávāne; turvāne may come directly from yṭṛ, or through the secondary root turv; dhūrvāne is rather from yḍhuv than from, yḍhydr.

975. a. The infinitives in tā are iṣṭāye (yīṣ), pītāye (yīḍḥ drink), vītāye, satāye, and perhaps útāye (ūṭāye nṝṇ to help his men:}
796. The ending dhyāi is, more than any other, irregular and various in its treatment. It has always an a before it; and in the majority of cases it is accented upon this a, and added to a weak form of root: thus, cuādhyāi, pṛṇādhyāi, dhiyādhyāi, huvādhyāi. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, ṣayādhyāi, stāvādhyāi, tarādhyāi, jaraṅdhyāi, mandādhyāi, vandādhyāi. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, ksārādhyāi, gāmadhyāi, yājādhyāi (but once or twice also yajādhyā), vāhadyāi, sahādhyāi, bharādhyāi. In a single instance, pībadhyāi, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, vāyādhyāi, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in ay: thus, mādayādhyāi, riṣayādhyāi, 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 mantrapaśas (one of them TS. falsely reads gāmadhyē); in the Brāhmaṇa language proper it appears to be entirely wanting.

797. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in ṣādi: thus, rōhiṣyāi (TS.), avyathiṣyāi (K. Kap.; MS. avyāṭiṣe; VS. vyathisat), and perhaps -dhāsyāi (PGS.).

798. The infinitives in ṣaṇi are: ṣaṇi from ṛṣṇa send, -bhūsāni from ṛbhū; ṣćeṣāni from ṛṣće or ṛvā; ngẹṣāni from ṣni; sakṣāni from ṣah; parṣaṇi from ṛpr, tariṣaṇi from ṛṭr; and grāpiṣāni and -ṣṭṛpiṣaṇi from ṛgṛ and ṛṭṛ — the last containing evident present tense-sighs (compare the 1st sing. grāpiṣa, 884 d).

799. The only infinitive in tari is dhārtāri (with its compound vidhārtāri), from ṣdhr.

Uses of the Infinitives.

980. The uses of the so-called infinitives are for the most part closely accordant with those of the corresponding cases from other abstract nouns. Thus:

981. The accusative, which is made only from the root-noun and the noun in tu, is used as object of a verb.

a. Especially, of forms from the root qak be able, and arh be worthy, have the right or the power. Thus, qakéma tvā samīdham (RV.) may we accomplish thy kindling; má qakaṇ pratidhām ṣum (AV.) may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string; máno vā imāṁ sadyāḥ páry-
aptum arhati mánaḥ párībhāvitum (TS.) the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her; kō hy étasyā ‘rhati gūhyam náma grāhitum (CB.) for who is worthy to take his secret name? In the Veda, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brāhmaṇa, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases).

b. Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, dākṣināṇi hōtum eti (TS.) he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts; īndraṁ prātir ēmē āyuḥ (RV.) I go to Indra for (i.e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life; — of ydhr persist in, undertake: as, sā idām jātāh sārvam evā dādghuṁ dadhre (CB.) he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe; — of verbs meaning desire, hope, notice, know, and the like: as, pācān vieṭaṁ vettha sārvān (AV.) thou knowest how to loose all bonds; tāṃśād agnīṁ nā " dṛiyeta pā̄rīhantum (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: viṣṇuḥ jīvāṁ ċarāse bodhāyanti (RV.) awakening every living creature to motion; tān ūpa yāta pibadhyaśi (RV.) come to drink them; nāi tāṁ te devā adadur āttave (AV.) the gods did not give her to thee for eating; prāḥ "d yudhāye āsyaṁ īndraṁ (RV.) Indra went forward to fight the demon; cākṣur no dhehi vikhyāi (RV.) give us sight for looking abroad.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cākāra sūryāya pāṁthām ānvetava u (RV.) he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following); čīqite čīqae rākṣobhyaṁ viṁkte (RV.) he whets his horns to pierce the demons; rudrāya dhāṇur ā tānomi brahmadviśe qārave hāntavā u (RV.) I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater; asmābhyam dṛqaye sūryāya pūnar dātām āsum (RV.) may they grant life again, that we may see the sun.

b. An infinite with y/kṛ make is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prā ‘ndham cronāṁ cākṣasa ātave kṛthaḥ (RV.) ye make the blind and lame to see and go; agnīṁ samāṭhe cakārtha (RV.) thou hast made the fire to be kindled. Of similar character is an occasional construction with another verb: as, yād im ućmaśi kārtave kārat tāt (RV.) what we wish to be done, may he do that; kaviṁr icoḥaṁi samāḍge (RV.) I desire to see the sages.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes
with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, 
agnir iva na
pratidhyaśe bhavati (TS.) like fire, he is not to be resisted; mahimā te
anyēna na saṃnācē (VS.) thy greatness is not to be attained by another;
nākim īndro nikartave na čakrāḥ 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 yaçāsā...uṣṇijō huvādhyāi
[asti] (RV.) these glorious ones shall the son of Uṣṇja invoke for me;
sūktēbhīr vaḥ...īndrā naḥ āgni āvase huvādhyāi [staḥ] (RV.)
with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid; vandādhyā
agnīṁ nāmbhīḥ [asmi] (RV.) let me greet Agni with homage; asmākā-
saṃ ca sūrayo viçyā aĉās tariṣāṇi (RV.) and let our sacrificers cross
all regions; tān naḥ vām kārtavā (MS.) that must not be done so;
brahmadvīṣaḥ čārave hāntavā u (RV.) let the arrow slay the brahma-
haters. The infinitives in dhyāi and ṛaṇi (which latter is in all its uses
accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most
distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras (especially in CB.) 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 ǫgadhināṁ evā mūlānū
ūcchettavāi brūyāt (CB.) therefore let him direct the roots of the plants
to be cut up (speak in order to their cutting up: cf. yō vaqāyā ādānāya
vādanti whose 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 tāmītoḥ (TS. etc.) āuntil exhaustion; purā vācāḥ prā-
valitoḥ (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 pūte
without, and after several verbs, as trā and pā protect, yu separate, bhī, etc.

b. In a few instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated
above for the dative (982a), a noun dependent on this infinitive is put in
the ablative beside it: thus, purā vāgbhīṣāḥ sampravaditoḥ (PB.)
before the utterance together of the voices; trādhyām kartād avapādaḥ
(RV.) save us from falling down into the pit; purā daksinābhīyo 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
īqvārā lord, master, employed adjectively in the sense of capable or
likely or exposed io.

a. Examples are: tā [devātāḥ] īqvārā enaḥ pradānāḥ (TS.)
they are likely to burn him up; ātha ha vā īqvārā ‘gnim citvā kinh-
cid dauritām āpattor vī vā hvālītoḥ (CB.) so in truth he is liable,
after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger; ściwaraḥ vā irathantaram udgatūc cakṣuḥ pramathitoḥ (PB) the rathantara is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter.

b. The dative is used in ČB, instead of the genitive in a single phrase (ıcıwaraḥ jñānyātavāḥ); and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in tum. In a case or two the masc. sing. nom. ściwaraḥ is used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies: thus, tāsyे śćwaraḥ prajā pāpiyasi bhāvitoḥ (ČB) his progeny is liable to deteriorate. And in a very few instances the word śćwara is omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, dve madhyamādinam abhi pratystoḥ (AB) two may be added to the noon libation; tāto dikṣitāḥ pāmano bhāvitoḥ (ČB) then the consecrated is liable to get the itch.

c. This construction with śćwara, 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 ḍć: thus, madhyā kārtōḥ (RV.) in the midst of action; īçe rāyo dātoḥ (RV.) he is master of the giving of wealth; īçe yōtoḥ (RV.) is able to keep away.

985. Unless the infinitives in śāpi and tari are locative in form (their uses are those of datives), the locative infinitive is so rare, and has so little that is peculiar in its use, that it is hardly worth making any account of. An example is uśāso budhi (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 comparatively much greater 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 986 h) 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; taḥ draśṭum arhasi thou oughtest to see him; prāptum ichechanti they desire to obtain; saṁkhyaṁ tum ārabdhām having begun to count. But also, not infrequently, in those of the other cases. So, especially, of the dative: thus, avasthaṁ sthanāntaraṁ cintaya devise another place to stay in; tvām anveṣṭum ihā "gataḥ he has come hither to seek for thee; — but likewise of the genitive: thus, samartho gantum capable of going; saṁdhātum śćwaraḥ able to mend. Even a construction as nominative is not unknown: thus, yuktam tasya mayā saṁāqvā-
sayitum bhāryām (MBh.) it is proper for me to comfort his wife; na naptārāh svayaṁ nyāyaṁ qaptum evam (R.) it is not suitable thus to curse one’s own grandson; tād vaktum na pāryate’ (Catr.) it is not possible to say that.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, kartum ārabdhāḥ begun to be made; ṛroatum na yujyate it is not fit to be heard (for hearing). This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of ycaṅ: thus, tyaktum na qakyate it cannot be abandoned; qākyāv ihā “netum they two can be brought hither; na ca vibhūtayaḥ qākyam avāptum Ļūjitāḥ 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: qrutvāī ṛva cā ‘bruvan and hearing (or having heard) they spoke; tebhyaḥ pratijñāyā tāḥi tān 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 ṛt tvā and ṛt 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. grhyā, uṣya [yvas dwell], arcyā, ikṣya, cintya, tyajya, lakṣya; also from causatives and denominatives, as ṛacya, yoḷya, plavya), and are not unknown elsewhere (e. g. arcyā and ikṣya M., prothyā AGS., sthāpya (VU.). And gerunds in tvā from compounded roots are met with in considerable numbers from AV. (only pratarpayitva) down: e. g. samirayitva MS., virocayitva TA., ukṣiptva U., pratyuktva S., pratyasitva S., prahāsitva MBh., saṁdarçayitvā Mbh., vimuktvā R., nivedayitva R., proktvā Paṅc., anupitvā VRS.: the great majority of them are made from the causative stem.
b. The prefix 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, karṇapāya, pādagāhyā, hastagāhyā, aranākṛtya, akkhaliṅkṛtya, mithaspādhyā; AV. has further namaskṛtya.

991. The suffix तः tvā has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but often also with interposition of the auxiliary vowel ः i — with regard to which, as well as to the form of the root before it, the formation nearly agrees with that of the participle in तः ta (952 ff.).

a. Examples of the general accordance of passive participle, infinitive, and gerund in regard to the use of i were given above, 988 a; further specifications are called for, as follows:

b. The quotable roots in variable र (243) change it to īr: thus, tīrītvā, stīrītvā (also stṛtvā); and car makes also cīrtvā (like cīrṇa); — roots in & show in general the same weakening as in the participle; but from dhaḥ put is quotable only dhītvā (hitvā), from mā measure mitvā and mitvā, 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 rahtvā, and dam and vam make damitvā and vamitvā.

c. The auxiliary vowel is taken by roots gras, muṣ, cap, and qās (qāsitvā) (whose participles have both forms); also by cāy, nṛt (narītvā), lāg, and svāj (against analogy of pple); and quō makes qocitvā. On the other hand, from ruj (rugna) and vraq (vṛkna) come ruktvā and vṛṣtvā. And both forms are made (as also in infinitive or participle) from car, vas dwią (uṣṭvā, uṣitvā), ni (nitvā, nayitvā), and mṛj (mṛṣtvā, mārjītvā).

d. While the formation is in general one requiring, like the passive participle (e. g. uptvā, like upṭā; udītvā, like udītā), 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, rahtvā, cāsitvā, cāyitvā, cōcitvā, nayitvā, mārjītvā), we find chardītvā (Āpast.), daṁśtvā, and sphaṁtvā, and, from a number of roots, a second strong form beside the more regular weak one: namely, aṅktvā, bhaṅktvā, bhunktvā, syanttvā (beside aktvā etc.); cayitvā, smayitvā, smarītvā (beside citvā etc.); rodītvā (beside rudītvā), and śucītvā (beside siktvā). The last shows the influence of the present-stem; as do also mārjītvā (above) and jighrtvā (yghrā). The form śthūtvā (Āpast.) is doubtless a false reading, for śhyūtvā.

992. The suffix यः ya is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending
in a short vowel takes त्या tya instead of या ya: thus, तित्य -jitya, स्तूत्य -stútya, क्रित्य -kénya.

a. Roots in variable r (242) change that vowel to ṛ or ūr: thus, kīrya, gīrya, tīrya (and tūrya), dīrya, pūrya, ċīrya, stīrya (also stṛtya); — roots in ā have for the most part -āya; but dhā suck makes dhāya, and double forms are found from gā sing (gāya, giya), pā drink (pāya, piya), dā give (dāya, dādyā), dā divide (dāya, dītya), mā measure, exchange (māya, mītya), sā bind (sāya, sya); ī cling has lāya or līya, as if an ā-verb; and khan and dham make khāya and dhmāya, from their ā-forms; — the roots in an and am making their participles in ata (954 d) make the gerund in atya, but also later in anya, amya (e. g. gātya, gamya; hátya, hanyा; but tan makes as second form tāya, and from ram only ramya is quotable); — the roots in īv add ya to their īv-form: thus, īthivya, śivya; — a few roots in i and u add ya to the lengthened vowel besides adding tya: thus, i go (īya, itya; also ayya), ci gather (ītya, cītya), and piu, yu unite, su, stu (plūya, plutya, etc.); while kṣi destroy has only kṣiya.

b. This gerund, though accented on the root-syllable, is generally a weakening formation: thus are made, without a strengthening nasal found in some other forms, ācya, āhya, idhya, ūdya, ubhya, grathya, táhya, dcya, bādhya, bhakya, līpya, lūpya, vlāgya, qṛabhya, sāiya, skābhya, stābhya, syadya, svajya; with weakening of other kinds, gṛhya and gṛbhya, pṛchhya, ūcya, udya, upya, ṛṣya (vas dwell), úhya, vidhya, vīya, vṛṣya, spṛdhya, hūya; — but from a number of roots are made both a stronger and a weaker form: thus, manthya and máthya, márjya and mṛjya, runbhya and rūdbhya, cañsya and cāsya, cāsya and cīṣya, skāndya and skādya, sraṅsya and sraṣya; — and only strong forms are found from roots ard, av, cī, qī (ṣayya), as well as from certain roots with a constant nasal: e. g. uñch, kamp, nand, lamb, qāṅk; isolated cases are oṣya (yrḥ burn), prothya (also prūthya).

c. Other special cases are úhya and ūhya (yūḥ remove), gurya and gūrya, guhya and gūhya, rūhya and rūhva, bhramya and bhṛmynya, ālya (beside ētya, iya), ghrāya and jighrya; and ñṛṇutya (beside vṛṇtya).

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In RV., however, the final of ya is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in i or ti). In AV., long ā appears only once in a RV. passage.

b. Instead of tvā alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely tvā, tvāya, and tvī. Of these three, tvī is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of tvā); but it is unknown
in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; tváya 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: spācayitvāya). The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

c. Two other gerund suffixes, tvānam and tvīnam, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found to occur.

994. The use of this gerund, though not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.

a. Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gitā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.

b. In general, the gerund is an adjunct to the subject of a sentence, and expresses an act or condition belonging to the subject; thus, vājreṇa hatvā nir apana asarja (RV.) emitting with his thunderbolt, he poured forth the waters; pītvī sūmasya vārydhe (RV.) having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong; tē yajñāsya rasaṁ dhītvā vidūhya yajñān yūpēna yopayitvā tīrō bhavan (CB.) having sucked out the sap of the offering, having milked the offering dry, having blocked it with the sacrificial post, they disappeared; črutvai 'va ca bruvan (MBh.) and having heard, they said; taṁ ca dūre dṛṣṭvā gardabhi 'yam iti matvā dhāvitaḥ (II.) and having seen him in the distance, thinking 'it is a she-ass', he ran.

c. But if the logical subject, the real agent, is put by the construction of the sentence in a dependent case, it is still qualified by the gerund: thus, striyaṁ dṛṣṭvāya kitavāṁ tatāpa (RV.) it distresses the gambler (i.e. the gambler is distressed) at seeing his wife; tāṁ hai 'nam dṛṣṭvā bhir viveda (CB.) fear came upon him (i.e. he was afraid) when he saw him; vidhāya prośite vṛttim (M.) when he stays away after providing for her support; kiñ nu me syād idān kṛtvā (MBh.) what, I wonder, would happen to me if I did this;—and especially, when a passive form is given to the sentence, the gerund qualifies the agent in the instrumental case (282a): thus, tataḥ çabdād abhijñāya sa vyāghraṇa hataḥ (H.) thereupon he was slain by the tiger, who recognized him by his voice; tvayā sa rājā çakuntalāṁ puraskṛtya vaktavyaḥ (C.) presenting Çakuntalā, thou must say to the king; haṁsāṁ vacanāṁ črutvā yathā me (gen. for instr.) nāśadho vṛtaḥ (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 paktaṁ khāditavyaḥ (H.) then he shall be eaten [by us] cooking him on the spot; yad anyasya pratijnāya punar anyasya diyate (M.) that, after being promised (lit. when one has promised her) to one, she is given again to another; sucintya co ‘ktāṁ suvicārya yat kṛtam (H.) what one says after mature thought,
and does after full deliberation. Hence, still more elliptically, after alam: thus, alaṁ vicārya (t.) enough of hesitation; tad alaṁ 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 (286 a), as táṁ hitāvitrā 'va mene (CB.) he thought he had hurt him; tá adhbir abhiśicya nijāṣyāi '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 yī (1075 a), as indram evāi 'tāir ārabhya yanti (AB.) by means of them they keep taking hold of Indra; as qualifying a subordinate member of the sentence, as puroḍāgam evā kūrmāṁ bhūtvā sārpantam (CB.) to the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise; ayodhyām... saphennām saasanāṁ bhūtvā jalormim īva (R.) into Ayodhyā, like a surge that had been foamy and roaring; even absolutely, as ātīthyena vāi devā ṯātvā tānt samād avindat (CB.) when the gods had sacrificed with the guest-offering, strike besel 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, tád iyām evāi 'tād bhūtvā yajati (CB.) so having thus become this earth he makes offering; yena vāmanena 'pi bhūtvā (V.) 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, upāgyhya taking, i.e. with; udāgya pointing toward, i.e. at; āśādyā, arriving at, i.e. along, by; ārabhya beginning, i.e. from; sambhūya being with, i.e. with; saṁhattyā striking together, i.e. in union; prasahya using force, i.e. violently; tyaktvā, parityajya, muktvā, vihāya, uddhṛtya, varjayitvā leaving out etc., i.e. excepting, without; and others. Examples are: cākuntalām adhikṛtya bravimi (t.) I am speaking of Čakuntalā; tam uddicya kṣiptalagudāḥ (H.) having thrown the cudgel at him; nimittaṁ kīṁcid āśādyā (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; vibhajyapāṭha separate enunciation; sambhūzagamanā going together. It is also often repeated (1280), in a distributive sense: e. g. sā vāñ samippīya-samippīya pratāpya-pratapya prá yacchati (CB.) in each case, after wiping and warming them, he hands them over; gṛhitvā-gṛhitvā (Kṣ.) at each taking; unnamyo-'nnamyā (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, abhāyārāmam, pratāṅkam, ārṇōdām, nilāyam, abhiskāndam, etc. This gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas and Śūtras, where it is not rare; in the epics it is extremely infrequent; later, also, it occurs very sparingly.

b. A final vowel has ṛddhi-strengthening before the suffix: thus, nāvam, ṣṛvam, kāram; final a adds y: thus, khyāyam, yāyam; a medial vowel has guṇa (if capable of it: 240): thus, kṣepam, krośam, vartam (but ikṣam, pūram); a medial a before a single consonant is lengthened: thus, krāmam, cāram, grāham, svādam (but grantham, lambham). The accent is on the radical syllable. No uncombined examples are found in the older language, and extremely few in the later.

c. Examples are: kāmam vā imānāṁ āṅgāṁ vyatyaśaṁ qete (CB.) he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure; ātaraṁ-uttaraṁ gākhāṁ samālambaṁ rōhet (CB.) he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb; aparīṣu mahānāgam īva 'bhisaṁśaṁ kṣatāraṁ (CB.) hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him; nāmāyāṁ āsāṁ etāṁ nāmagraśam (CB.) with separate naming of these their names; yā vipyāyāsaṁ avagūhati (CB.) whoever buries it upside down; bāḥukṣepaṁ kranditum pravṛttā (C.) she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing); navacūtapallavāni darcaṁ-darcaṁ madhu-karaṇaṁ kvanītāni ṣṛvam-ṣṛvam paribhramāna (DKC.) he wandered about, constantly seeing the young shoots of the mango, and hearing the humming of the bees. Repeated forms, like those in the last example, are approved in the later language; they do not occur earlier (but instead of them the repeated ordinary gerund: 994 h).

CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

996. Secondary conjugations are those in which a whole system of forms, like that already described as made from the simple root, is made, with greater or less completeness, from a derivative conjugation-stem; and is also
usually connected with a certain definite modification of the original radical sense.

a. We have seen, indeed, that the tense-systems are also for the most part made from derivative-stems; and even that, in some cases, such stems assume the appearance and value of roots, and are made the basis of a complete conjugational system. Nor is there any distinct division-line to be drawn between tense-systems and derivative conjugations; the latter are present-systems which have been expanded into conjugations by the addition of other tenses, and of participles, infinitives, and so on. In the earliest language, their forms outside of the present-system are still quite rare, hardly more than sporadic; and even later they are—with the exception of one or two formations which attain a comparative frequency—much less common than the corresponding forms of primary conjugation.

997. The secondary conjugations are: I. Passive; II. Intensive; III. Desiderative; IV. Causative; V. Denominative.

a. The passive is classed here as a secondary conjugation because of its analogy with the others in respect to specific value, and freedom of formation, although it does not, like them, make its forms outside the present system from its present-stem.

I. Passive.

998. The passive conjugation has been already in the main described. Thus, we have seen that—

a. It has a special present-system, the stem of which is present only, and not made the basis of any of the remaining forms: this stem is formed with the accented class-sign ἔν, 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 στε: 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 ṣādā (aor. 3d. sing. ṣādā), beside ṣādājī, ṣādājē, ḍātāhe, also ṣādājīṣi, ṣādājīṣē, ḍātāsthē. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to ṛah, ḍṛc, and han. No such passive forms occur in the older language, and not half-a-dozen are quotable from the later (we find ṣādājīṣi and ṣādājīṣi in DKC., and ṣādājīṣata 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 ṣa ta (952), or ṣa na (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.

999. As already pointed out (988 a), the language, especially later has a decided predilection for the passive form of the sentence. This is given in part by the use of finite passive forms, but oftener by that of the passive participle and of the gerundive: the participle being taken in part in a present sense, but more usually in a past (whether indefinite or proximate past), and sometimes with a copula expressed, but much oftener without it; and the gerundive representing either a pure future or one with the sense of necessity or duty added. A further example is: tatrāi ko yuvā brāhmaṇo drṣṭaḥ: taṁ drṣṭvā kāmena piṣitā saṁhāṭā: sakhyā agre kathitam: sakhi puruṣō 'yaṁ gṛhitva mama mātuḥ samipam ānetavyah (Vet.) there she saw a young Brahman; at sight of him she felt the pangs of love; she said to her friend: "friend, you must take and bring this man to my mother". In some styles of later Sanskrit, the prevailing expression of past time is by means of the passive participle (thus, in Vet., an extreme case, more than nine tenths).

a. As in other languages, a 3d. sing. passive is freely made from intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, ihā "gamyatāṁ come hither; tvayā tatrāi 'va sthīyatām do you stand just there; sarvāir jālam ādāyo 'ṛṇīyatām (H.) let all fly up with the net.

II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive (sometimes also called frequentative) is that one of the secondary conjugations which is least removed from the analogy of formations already
described. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (642 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem, but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened reduplication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits of a present-system than any other of the derivative conjugations.

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 Brâhmaṇa 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, about forty more, but for the most part only in an occurrence or two.

b. Hence, in the description to be given below, the actual aspect of the formation, as exhibited in the older language, will be had primarily and especially in view; and the examples will be of forms found there in use.

1002. The strong intensive reduplication is made in three different ways:

I. a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the consonant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect reduplication (690); 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: vâvad, bâbadh, çâqvas, rârandh; dâdr, dâdhr; cekit, tetij, nenî, vevî; çoque, popruh, coçku, johû.

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, sarsër, marmṛj, jarhṛṣ; caṅkram,
jāṅghan, tāṅstan, dandaq (yḍaṅq or daq), jaṅjabh (yjambh or jabh),
tantas (yṭaṅs or tas), nannam (yṇam), yaṁyam (yγam). The nasal
is assimilated to the initial consonant.

c. Only roots having a or r as vowel make this form of reduplication,
but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.

d. Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than r
or n in the reduplication, badbadh; with a final nasal in the reduplica-
tion which is not found in the root, jaṅghah (RV.), jaṅjap (CB.; and
jaṅguyat PB. is perhaps from ṣgu; the later language has further
dandah); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, jaṅghur
from yḍhur (compare the Vedic perfect jabhāra from yṛḥṛ, 789 b),
galgal from yγal; with various treatment of an r or ar-element, dardar
and dardir, carkar and carkir, tartar and tartur, carcar and car-
cur, jargur and jalgul.

e. The roots i and r are the only ones with vowel initial forming an
intensive stem: i makes iyāy (? PU., once); ṛ makes the irregular alar
or alr. As to the stem ūya, 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, vanivāh,
caniṅkad, saniṅsvan; navinu, davidyut (and the participles dāvidhvat
but tāvituat). A single exception as to the quantity of the i is dāvi-
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; krand, ṭcand, ṭkand, syand; of roots having final or medial ṛ;
and r in the reduplicating syllable, kr make, tr, bhṛ, vṛ, mṛ, mṛ, vṛ, vṛt, ṝṛ;
also mluc (maulmluc);—further, of roots assuming in the
reduplication a n not found in the root, only vah (CB.: the gram-
marians allow also kṣas, pāt, pad; and pani pad is quotable later; and AÇ.8
has canikhudat, for which Tbh. reads kānikhunat); finally, of roots
having u or ū as radical vowel, with av before the i-vowel, tu, dhū,
u, dyut.

h. In this clause, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicat-
ing consonant (500) are violated in the case of ghanīghan and bhāribhṛ,
and of ganīgam, karikṛ (but the regular carikṛ also occurs), kani-
krand, and kaniṅkand (but also caniṅkand occurs); also in kanikkhand.

i. The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication
in ekt, and jaṅghan and ghanīghan, is in accordance with what takes
place elsewhere (216, 1).
1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, dāḍr and dāḍṛ; dāḍhr and dāḍhr; cācal and cācar (and cācur); tartar (and tartur) and tarīṛ; jaṅgam and gaṅigam; jaṅghan and gaṅighan; paman and panīpham; marmṛj and marimṛj; marmṛç and marimṛç; varṛṛt and varīṛṛt; jarbhṛ and bharibhṛ; dodhū and davidhū; nonu and navīnu; bābadh and badbadh.

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (642 ff.); and this is indeed to a considerable extent followed, in respect to endings, strengthening of stem, and accent. But deviations from the model are not rare; and the forms are in general of too infrequent occurrence to allow of satisfactory classification and explanation.

a. The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an \( i \) between the stem and ending. According to the grammarians, this is allowed in all the strong forms before an ending beginning with a consonant; and before the \( i \) a final vowel has gūpa-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

Present-System.

1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.

1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root \( \text{विद्} \) \( \text{vid} \) \textit{know}, of which the intensive stem is \( \text{वेविद्} \) \( \text{vevid} \), or, in strong forms, \( \text{वेवेद्} \) \( \text{véved} \).

a. Neither from this nor from any other root are more than a few scattering forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

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<td>\text{वेविदत्}</td>
<td>\text{वेविब्राम्}</td>
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<tr>
<td>vévedmi, vévidimi</td>
<td>vevivdás</td>
<td>vevidmás</td>
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</table>
2 कैवतिस्, कैविक्षिप्य. कैवित्थम् कैवित्यः
    vēvetsi, vēvidiṣi  vēvīttthās  vēvīttthā
3 कैवतिस्, कैविक्षिप्य
    vēvetti, vēviditi  vēvīttthā  vēvīditi
b. From नृ हु, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be त्रौत्त्यः माहविमि, त्रौत्त्यः माहविषि, त्रौत्त्यः माहविति.

1007. a. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., carkarmi, veveṣmi; 2d sing., alarṣi, dāṛdaṛṣi; 3d sing., alarti, dāḍharti, veveti, nenekti, jaṅghantī, kāṇikranttī, ganigamti; 3d du., jarbhṛtās; 1st pl., nonuma; 2d pl., jāgrathās; 3d pl., dāḍhṛati, nāṇadati, bharibhrati, várvṛtatī, dávidyutattī, nēṇijati, and, irregularly, veveṣanti; and, with the auxiliary vowel, jāḥavimī, cākāquīmi; cākācutti, nonaviti, dāḍarṇiti, jarbhūrṇiti. No stem with dissyllable reduplication takes the auxiliary i in any of its forms.

b. A single dual form with i and strong stem occurs: namely, tārtarīthas.

c. The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., jōguve, nenije; 3d sing., nenikte, sarsrte; and, with irregular accent, tētikte, dēdiṣṭe; with irregular loss of final radical nasal, nāmmate; with ending e instead of to, cēkite, jāṅgahe, jōguve, yoyuve, bābadhe, and (with irregular accent) badbadhē; 3d du., sarsrāte; 3d pl., dēdiçate.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. a. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only jaṅghanāmi, jāgarāsi (AV.); and, in the middle, tantsaṭe (3d du.).

b. Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., jaṅghanatīs, jālullas; 3d sing., jāgarat, cēkītat, bōbhavat, cārkṣat, jaṅghanat, bārīḥhat, mārmrjat, mārmṛjat, parpharat, dāḍirat, cānīṣkadat, dāvidyutat, saniṣvapat; 1st du., jaṅghanāva; 1st pl., cākīrāma, vevidāma; 3d pl., pāpatan, cōcucan, cākiran; and, with double mode-sign, cākāqān (AV.). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, jaṅghananta, jāhrṛṣanta, mārmṛjanta, nonuvanta, cōcucanta.

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:

1 वेद्याम् वेद्याव् वेद्याम्
   वेदियाम् वेदियाव् वेदियाम्
   etc. etc. etc.

a. The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language: thus, active, vevidyāt (AV.), jāgryās (KB.), jāgriyāt (AB.), jāgryāma (VS. MS.; but jāgriyāma TS.); RV. has only cākanyāt (pft.?); middle, nenijīta (K.).

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, cēkītīt, mēmyat, çōçuca, rōruvat, dardrat, mārmṛjat, jāṅghanat, nānnamat, pāniphat, kānikradat, dāvidyutat; — middle, bābadhāna, mēmyāna, cēkītāna, yōyuvaṇa, rōrucaṇa, jārbhurāṇa, sāsṛṣaṇa, jaṅjabhāna, nānnamāna, dāndaçaṇa. No middle participle shows the dissyllabic reduplication.

1013. a. On account of their accent, rārahāṇā, rāraḵṣāṇā, and jāhrṛṣāṇā (beside jāhrṛṣāṇa) are probably to be regarded as perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with heavy reduplication from the same roots occur. The inference is, however, rendered uncertain by the unmistakably intensive badbadhāna and marmṛjāna (beside mārmṛjāna). As to çūcucaṇa etc., see 808 a.

b. The RV. has once jāṅghanatas, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; kānikrat appears to be used once for kānikradat; if cākāt is to be referred to ykā (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in ā, and its accent is anomalous. Marmṛçantas (AB.) is perhaps a false reading; but forms with the nasal irregularly retained are found repeatedly in the epics and later: thus, lelihan, dedipyantim (MBh.), jājvalant (MBh. R.), sarsarpantāu (BhP.), rāraṭantī (R.).

6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

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<td>घ्वेविदम्</td>
<td>घ्वेविदव</td>
<td>घ्वेविदवा</td>
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<td>घ्वेविदम</td>
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<td>घ्वेविदम</td>
<td>घ्वेविदव</td>
<td>घ्वेविदवा</td>
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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., acākaçaṃ, dediçaṃ; 2d sing., ajāgar, adardar, dārdar; 3d sing., adardar, adardhar, avarivar, dārdar, kāniškan, dāvidyot, nāvinot; 2d du., adardṛtam; 1st pl., marmṛjama; 3d pl., anannamus, adardīrus, acākṛṣus, ájohavus, ananvus; and, with auxiliary ī, in 3d sing., avāvaçit, āvāvaçit, āvāvarit, áyoyavit, áravavit, ájohavit; and, irregulary, in 3d du., avāvaçitāṃ. The middle forms are extremely few: namely, 3d sing., ādediṣṭa, anānata (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl., marmṛjata, and avāvaçanta (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an a-stem).
1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign या, 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 या in the middle voice: thus, from यम्र्ज, intensive stem मर्म्र्यज़, is made the present indicative मर्म्र्य्येय, मर्म्र्य्येसेः, मर्म्र्य्याते, etc.; optative मर्म्र्य्य्येयेः, मर्म्र्य्येथाः, मर्म्र्य्येता, etc.; imperative मर्म्र्य्यास्वा, मर्म्र्य्याताम्, etc.; participle मर्म्र्य्यामण्ड़ा; imperfect अमर्म्र्य्ये, अमर्म्र्याथाः, अमर्म्र्याता, etc. subjunctive forms do not occur.

c. In a very few sporadic cases, these या-forms are given a passive value: thus, जाङ्गहान्यामान in MqU.; bambhramyate, dādhmāyānamānā, pepiyānamāna in the later language. And active participles (529 a) are not unknown: thus, dedīpyantim (MBh.), dodhūyant (MBh. BhP.).

1017. This kind of intensive inflection is more common than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

a. In RV., या-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 यम्र्ज, मर्म्र्याते etc., and marṃrjyēta; from यत्र, tarturyante; from यकर, cārcūryāmāna; from यन, nervyēran, etc.; from यव, veveiyate; from यौर, rehiyāte etc.; from विज, veveiyate; from यकु, cośkūyāse etc.; from रचिष, dedīcyate; from यकृष, cākāqiyāte etc.; from यव, vāvadyāmāna; from यन, nannamadyāhman; from यव, ganiwāhyēta etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from यक्र, kanikradyāmāna; from यय, varivyāmāna (Qb.: should be varivyēty-); from यम्र्ज, amarṃrýchyanta (Qb.? the text reads amarṃṛtyyanta); from ययुप, yoyupyēnte etc.; from यन, anonyyanda; from यव, avevūnyanta; from यज्ञ, jaṅjabhyēte etc.; from यज्ञ, jaṅjapāyāmāna; and so on.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. 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 jāgr: 1020a). A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.; namely, davidhāva and nónāva, 3d sing., and nonuvas, 3d pl.; and there occur further dōdrāva (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 ə where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

a. Thus, from əvid, intensive stem vevid, would be made the aorist avevidiṣam with precative vevidyāsam, the futures vevidiṣāmi and veviditāmi, the participles vevidita, veviditavya, etc., the infinitive veviditum, and the gerunds veviditā 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 cārkṣe, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like hiṣe and stugṛ (894 d), and the gerundives vitantasāyya, and marmṛjēnya and vāvr-dhēnya; and CB. has the participle vanivāhitā, and the infinitive dēdīyitavā. As to jāgariṣyānt and jāgarītā, see the next paragraph.

1020. There are systems of infusion of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:

a. The root gṛ (or gar) māte 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 jāgrvānum; and a future jāgrariyā-, 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 redupli-
cation, jājāgara etc., an īq-aorist, ājāgarīṣam, with preceptive jāgaryāsam,
and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation.
The perf. jañāgara is quoteable from the epics and later, as also the per-
phrastic jāgaram āsa. And MBh. has the mutilated jāgmi, and also
a-forms, as jāgarati and jāgramāna.

1021. a. The stem iraṣya (active only) regulate, from which a
number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from
yraṣ or ṛiṣ. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation.
The same is true of iradān propitiate (only iradhanta and irādhyaśī,
apparently for iradhadyāyāt).
b. The middle stem īya, not infrequent in the oldest language, is
often called an intensive of yṛṣ go, but without any propriety, as it has no
analogy of form whatever with an intensive. The isolated 1st pl. imaha,
common in RV., is of questionable character.

1022. The root ṛ totter, with constant intensive reduplication, lēlī,
is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., lelāyati and lelā-
yāte, pples lelāyanti and lelāyatias (gen. sing.) and lelāyamāṇa, impf.
alelāyat and alelēt and aleliyata, perf. lelāyā and lelāyā (?).

1023. The RV. anomalous form dard (or dard), 2d and 3d sing.
from yṛḍ or dar, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated
from dardar. RV. has once avarivus (or -vūr) where the sense requires
a form from yṛṛt, as avarivṛtus. The form rāṛṇatā (RV., once) seems
correct.

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, niḥ, viṣ use their
intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class;
nor is it otherwise with gr (jāgr). The grammarians reckon the
inflection of niḥ and viṣ as belonging to the reduplicating present-
system, with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in
the same way vic and vij; jāgr, as we have seen, they account a
simple root.

a. Also daridrā, intensive of yṛṛdā run, is made by the grammarians
a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugal forms:
as dadaridrāu; adaridrāsit, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older
language (unless dāridrat TS., for which VS. MS. read dāridra). The
so-called root vevi flutter is a pure intensive.

24*
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. vevidyév; desid. vévidiśāmi; caus. vevidāyāmi; desid. of causative, vévidayāśāmi. But such formations are excessively rare; quotable are varīvarjāyanti AV., jāgarāyant TB. etc.; dādhārayati JB., dandaçaayitvā DKC.

III. Desiderative.

1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root: thus, विवामिते pibāmi I drink, desid. विवासामि pipāsāmi I wish to drink; जीवामि jīvāmi I live, desid. जिज्ञासामि jījivāśāmi I desire to live. Such a conjugation is allowed to be formed from any simple root in the language, and also from any causative stem.

a. The desiderative conjugation, although its forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language, is earlier and more fully expanded into a whole verbal system than the intensive. Its forms are also of increasing frequency: much fewer than the intensives in RV., more numerous in the Brāhmaṇas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots (about a hundred) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brāhmaṇa have such in RV.

1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics: 1. a reduplication, which always has the accent; 2. an appended स sa — which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel ः i, becoming ः ः iṣa.

a. A few instances in the concluding part of ṇB. in which the accent is otherwise laid — thus, tiṣṭhāset, yiyāsāntam, vividiśānti, ipsāntas — must probably be regarded as errors.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final इ or उ is lengthened before sa: thus, cikṣaṇa, cikśa, jīgīṣa; qucṛṣa, juhūsa, cukṣṣa.

b. A final य becomes इर or उर before sa: thus, cikirṣa, tiṭiṣa (also irregularly tūtūṛṣa RV.), didhirṣa, sisāṛṣa, tiṭiṣa (also tu-stūṛṣa), jihāṛṣa; bubhūṛṣa, mumūṛṣa (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 guṇa-strengthening; no examples are quotable from the older texts; later occur ṣiṣṭiṣa, ṣiṣṭiṣa, cikartiṣa, ninartiṣa, mimardiṣa, vivargiṣa, ṣuṣobhiṣa; but rurudiṣa.

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in a weaken this vowel to i or even iː thus, jīgīṣa from ḡa ḡo, pipiṣa (beside pipāsa) from ṭa ḍrink, jīhaṣa (AV.) from ḍhā remove (jihite: 664); didhiṣa (beside dhīṣa) from ḍhā.

e. A few roots in an or am lengthen the vowel: thus, jīgāṃsa (beside jīgamiṣa) from ṭgam; jīghāṃsa from ṭhan; mimāṃsa from ṭman; and titāṃsa from ṭtan.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in cikīṣa from ṭci, cikīṣa from ṭcit, jīgīṣa from ṭji, jīghāṃsa from ṭhan; and ṭhi is said to make jīghiṣa (no occurrence).

g. The roots van and san make, vīvāsa and sīṣṣa, from the root-forms va and sā.

h. The root jīv forms jujyūṣa (CB.: jijīviṣa, VS.); and the other roots in ṭv (765) are required to make the same change before sa, and to have guṇa before iṣa: thus, susyūṣa or sīvēṣa from ṭeyūṣ. Svap forms suṃupsa. Dhūrv forms ṭudhūṛṣa.

i. Initial s is usually left unchanged to ʂ after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has ʂ (164 e): thus, sīvāṃṣa (CB.: ṭsaḥ), and susyūṣa and sīvāṃṣa, according to the grammarians; but ṭutṣuṣa is met with.

j. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: nināṃṣa (or ninacīṣa) from ṭnaḥ be lost; mimāṃṣa from ṭmaḥi (occurs in mimāṅṣa); mimāṛiṣa (or mimṛkṣa) from ṭmṛj.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590); the vowel is ʂ i if the root has an a-vowel, or ṭ ṭ, or an i-vowel; it is ʂ u if the root has an u-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, bīḥāṣa from ṭbadh or bādh; mimāṃsa from ṭman; and tūṭuṣa (RV.) from ṭtur; dadhiṣa (AV.) and dadāṃṣa (CB.) are probably false forms.

b. From ṭaḥ is made (CB.) aṣṭiṣa, and from ṭedh (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 ṭap and ṭdh, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph. In the later language occur further eṣṭiṣa (ṭṣ seek) and teṣṭiṣa (ṭṭkṣa); and the grammarians add others, as arjihisa (ṭarh), undidhiṣa (ṭund), ardiṣṭa (ṭṛdh).
c. RV. has the stems ñakṣa and ṣyakṣa, regarded as desideratives from y/yanaq attain and yạj, 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, ṛṣma ṛṣa from y/vaṛu āp; ṛṭtas ṛṭsa from yṛṛ dā.

a. Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: dhitsa (beside didhiṣa) from y/ḍaṛ; ditsa (beside didāsas) from y/ḍa; dipṣa (dhipsa JB) from y/dah; ṣikṣa from y/ḍak; sikṣa from y/sah: these are found in RV.; in AV. are added ṛṣa from y/ṛp (RV. has ṛpṣa once), and ṛṛṣa from y/ṛḍh; the other texts furnish ḷpṣa (Ch.) or ṛpṣa (TB.) from y/ḍabh, ṛpṣa (GB.) from y/ṛabh, pītsa (Ch.) from y/pad, and ṛdhikṣa (Ch.) from y/ḍah (not y/ṛdh, since no roots with i as medial vowel show the contracted form). In the later language are further found pītsa from y/pat also, jīṭṣa from the causative quasi-root jṁap (below, 1042 j), and the anomalous mītsa from y/mā measure (allowed also from roots mi and mi); and the grammarians give rītsa from y/ṛḍh. Also mokṣa is (very questionably) viewed as a desiderative stem from y/muc.

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel ṛ i is quite rare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not been found in actual use.

a. It is declared to follow in general, though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures (934, 943 a).

b. No example of the use of i is found in RV., and only one each in AV. (pipatiṣa), VS. (jijivisa), and TS. (jīgamiṣa). The other examples noted in the early texts are aṇgīṣa, cikramiṣa, jiggāṁiṣa (with i for i, as elsewhere in this root), cicariṣa, edidhiṣa, jijaniṣa, didikṣiṣa, bibadhisa, rurucīṣa, vivadīṣa, vividīṣa, cīcāṣa, tiṣṭighiṣa, jihiniṣa: most of them are found only in CB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots gam, graḥ, car, jīv, pat, bāḍh, vid.

1032. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other a-stems (733 a), in both voices, in all the modes (including, in the older language, the subjunctive), and with participles and imperfect. It will be sufficient to give here the first persons only. We may take
as active model इपस इपसा seek to obtain, from ग्याप इप obtain; as middle, तितिक्षा endure, from ग्याज्ञ तिज be sharp (see below, 1040).

1. Present Indicative.

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<tr>
<td>इपसामि</td>
<td>इपसावम्</td>
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<td>इपसामि इपसावम् इपसाम् तितिते तितितवक्षे तितितामक्षे इपसावा इपसामा तितिक्षे तितिक्षावाहे तितिक्षामाहे etc.</td>
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2. Present Subjunctive.

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<tr>
<td>इपसानि इपसावा इपसामा तितिक्षावाहारि तितिक्षामाहारि etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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3. Present Optative.

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<td>इपसयम् इपसेवा इपसेमा तितिक्षेयां तितिक्षेवाही तितिक्षेमाही etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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4. Present Imperative.

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<td>इपस इपसतम् इपसा इपसात् इपसाहम् इपसाद्वम् तितिक्षसवा तितिक्षेथाम् तितिक्षाद्वाम् तितिक्षाद्वाध्वम् etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
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5. Present Participle.

इपसान्त (f. इपसान्ति) तितिक्षामाणि तितिक्षामाणा

6. Imperfect.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>इप्साम्</td>
<td>इप्सावा</td>
<td>इप्सामा</td>
<td>इप्सावा &amp;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in मसाई, or 2d pl. in थानस or थान, is met with; of the impv. in तत्, only इपसात्. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in सानि, सात and सत, सान, and साता. KBU. has जीधगात (cf. 738 b). But the fem. pple जीधसति (instead of जीधसाति) occurs once or twice in the older texts; and RV. has दिद्धिःशाना.

b. In the epics and later are found sporadic forms of the non-
conjugation: thus, sīṣyākṣaṁas (BhP.), titikṣmahe and bhūṣate 3d pl. (MBh.); and the fem. participles īpsatī and cikīrtatī (MBh.: against 449 b). The anomalous jighāṇaśīyāt 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 mimikṣa—thus, mimikṣāthuṣa, mimikṣātus, mimikṣās; mimikṣa, mimikṣaṁre—along with the present forms mimikṣati, mimikṣeta etc., mimikṣatant (pple): they show that mimikṣa or mika has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, ĭrtṣa and aćikittāsa, and a participle or two from mīmāṇsa (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, īprasā caṅkāra etc.; titikṣām caṅkre etc. Such forms are made in ČB. from y+h+kram, dhūrv, bādh, ruh; and in ChU. from man.

b. Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from mimikṣa in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21. 10) has once didāśitha thou hast desired to give.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the īṣ-form: thus एत्तिमि आःपिसाः, ग्यतितितिष्ठ आतिकिष्ठी.

a. The AV. has aćikitta, and ĭrtṣa (augmentless, with mã prohibitive: 579). TB. has īpsat; ČB. āṛte; aćikirṣis and aṭjīghāṇis, and aṁmāṇasiṁṭhā; KB. ājīṣa; JUB. āpisaṁ; and AA. adhitīṣaṁ. No examples have been found in the later language.

b. A precative is also allowed—thus, īpsyāsam, titikṣṣīya; but it never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel े i: thus, उपसीधर्म दिष्यायमि and उपसीधर्म आपितासमि; तितितिष्ठ आतिकिष्ठी and तितितिष्ठ आतिकिष्ठा.

a. The ČB. has titikṣṣīgīate and didıkṣītāras. Such forms as jīnāsyāmamas (MBh.), didhakṣyāmī (R.), and mīmāṇṣatant (GGS.) are doubtless presents, with -ṣya- blunderingly for -sa-.
1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel \( \xi \) i, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

\textit{a.} In the older language have been noted: participle in \( \text{ta, mim\-}\)
\( \text{mā-} \) sitā (AV., GB.), \( \text{jījyūṣīta (AB.),} \) \( \text{cuṣrūṣī} \) and \( \text{dhikṣītā (CB.;} \) —
\( \text{gerundive in tavya,} \) \( \text{lipsitavya (AB.), didhyāsītavyā (CB.;} \) \( \text{in ya,} \)
\( \text{jijnāsyā (CB.;} \) —\emph{gerund in tva, mimāṃsītvā (K.).}

1038. Of other declineable stems derived from the desiderative stem, by far the most common are the adjective in \( \text{ū — e. g. titikṣu, dipsū,} \)
\( \text{bibhatsū, siṣāsū (RV. once didr̥kṣu) — and the abstract noun in ā —} \)
e. g. \( \text{ipsā,} \) \( \text{bibhatsā,} \) mimāṃsā, \( \text{cuṣrūṣā} \) — 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. \emph{A few adjectives in enya (having a gerundive character: 966b) occur in the earlier language: thus, didṛkṣēṇya (RV.), cuṣrūṣēṇya (TS.),}
niniṣēṇya (PB.), jijnāsenya (AB.), and, with irregular reduplication (apparently) papṛkṣēṇya (RV.), dadhiṣēṇya (JB.) and didṛkṣēya (RV.)
is a similar formation. RV. has also siṣāsāni and rurukṣāni, and siṣā-
sātu(?). In the later language, besides some of the formations already
instanced (those in \( \text{u and ā, and in sya and sitavya), are found a few derivatives in aka, as cikitsaka,} \)
\( \text{bubhūṣaka; in ana, as jijnāsana, didhyāsana; and, very rarely, in aniya (cikitsaniya) and} \) \( \text{tṛ (cuṣrūṣitr̥);} \)
further, secondary derivatives (doubtless) in \( \text{in from the noun in ā, as} \)
\( \text{ipsin, jijīṣin} \) (one or two of these occur in the older language). And of
an adjective in \( \text{a we have an example in bibhatsā (B.S., and later), and perhaps in} \)
avalipsa (AVP.); such words as ajugupa, duṣcikitsa, are rather to be understood as possessive compounds with the noun in ā. As
to noun-stems in \( \text{ís, see 392d.}

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A
passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign \( \text{U yā to the desiderative root (or stem without final a): thus,} \)
\( \text{Ipsyāte it is desired to be obtained; — and a causative,} \)
by adding in like manner the causative-sign \( \text{gu} \) \( \text{áyā (1041):} \)
thus, \( \text{Ipsāyāmi I cause to desire obtainment.}

\textit{a.} Of these formations in the older language are found mimāṃsyā-
māna (doubtless to be read for -sāmāna, AV.), lipsāyāmāna (CB.), and
rurutāyāmāna (K.). Half-a-dozen such passives are quotable later, and
one or two causatives: e. g. cikitsayate, vivakṣayate, jijnāṣayate; cikir-
ṣayant, cikitsasyayati.

\textit{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 cikits cure, jugups despise, titike endure, bibhats abhor, mimans ponder, cuqrus obey. Doubtless some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin: e.g. cilka, desiderative of cak.

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, rajanaam prayiyasantam (ÇB.) a king about to depart prana uccikramisant (ChU.) the breath on the point of expiring; mumursur ivi 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 ध्याया to the, usually strengthened, root.

b. But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign ध्याया are of causative value; and the grammarians regard a part of them as constituting a conjugation-class, the tenth or our-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others (775).

c. In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, 1056).

d. The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the desiderative. It is made from more than three hundred roots in the early language (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: 1046) exceedingly few.

1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign ध्याया is as follows:
a. Medial or initial i, u, ū, ī have the guṇa-strengthening (if capable of it: 240); thus, vedaya from ्vīd, codaya from ्cud, tarpaya from ्trp; and kalpaya from ्kłp (only example): but cintaya, gulphaya, drṃhaya.

b. But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, cīt (citaya and cetaya), iq, il, riś (riśaya and reśaya), vip (vipaya and veśaya), tuj, tur, tuṣ (tuṣaya and tośaya), dyut (dyutaya and dyotaya), ruc (ruçaya and rocaya), que (qucaya and qocaya), qubh (qubhaya and qobhaya), kṛp, mṛp, spṛḥ; and grabh makes in RV. grbhaya. Duṣ and guḥ lengthen the vowel instead. Mṛ sometimes has vṛddhi, as in other forms: thus, mārjaya (beside marjaya). On the other hand, guṇa appears irregularly (240 b) in sreṣaya (beside cṛivaya), hdeṣaya, mekṣaya. Similar irregularities in the later language are giraya, tulaya (also tolaya), churaya (also choraya), muṣaya, sphuraya. No forms made without strengthening have a causative value in the older language.

c. A final vowel has the vṛddhi-strengthening: thus, cāya, cāyaya, cāvaya, bhāvaya, dhāraya, sāraya.

d. But no root in i or ī has vṛddhi 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 ्yksi possess; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, i. In B. and Ś., however, occur cāyaya and sāyaya (śei or sā); and later -āyaya, cāyaya, smāyaya, ḍāyaya, nāyaya.

e. A few roots have a form also with guṇa-strengthening: thus, cyu, dru, plu, yu separate, qru, pū, stu, oru; ṣṛ waste away, ṅṛ pierce, ṣṛ, sṛ, ṣṛ; 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, cṛathaya, anaya (but mandaya, valgaya, bhākṣaya).

g. The roots in the older language which keep their short a are jan, pan, avan, dhan, ran, stan, gam (gāmaya once in RV.), tam, dam, raj (usually rājāyaya), prath, cṛath, cṇath, vyath, svad, chad please (also chandaya), nad, dhvas (also dhvaṅsaya), rah, mah (also maṅhaya), nabh (also namhaya), tvər, svər, hvəl. In the later language, further, kvaṇ, jvar, trap, day, paṇ, rac, ran rīng, vadh, val, vaq, qlath, akhal, sthag. Both forms are made (either in the earlier or in the later language, or in both taken together) by ad, kəl, kram, kṣam, khan, ghaṭ, cam, cal, jval, tvar, dal, dhvan, nad, nam, pat, bhram, math, mad, yam, ram, lag, lal, vam, vyadh, qam be quiś, ḍram, qvas, svap. The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous.

h. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: e. g. dambhaya, daṅṣaya, indhaya,
limpaya, rundhaya, ṇundhaya, kr̥ntaya, dp̥haya. From a number of roots, stems both with and without the nasal are made: thus (besides those mentioned above, g), kuñcaya and kocaya, granthaya and grathaya, br̥haya and barhaya, bhraṅçaya and bhrāçaya, ṇundhaya and qodhaya, saṅjaya and sajjaya, sīñcaya and secaya. In a few of these is seen the influence of present-stems.

i. Most roots in final ā, and the root ḫ, add p before the conjugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, dhāpaya, sthāpaya; arpaṇa.

j. Such stems are made in the older language from the roots kṣā, khyā, gā sing (also gāyaya), glā, ghrā, jñā, dā give, dā divide, drā run, dhā put and dhā suck, mā measure, mlā, yā, vā blow, sthā, snā, hā remove; the later language adds kṣā, dhmā, and ḫa leave. From jñā and snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms jnāpaya and snapaya, and from ḫrā only ḫrapaya (not in RV.). Also, in the later language, glā forms glapaya, and mlā forms mlapaya.

k. Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, gāyaya (also gāpaya) from ỹgā sing, chāyaya, pāyaya from ỹpā drink (or pī), pāyaya from ỹpyā or pyā; sāyaya from ỹsā (or sī); also, later, hāvāya from ỹhvā (or ḫu);— and further, from roots vā seeve, vyā, and qā (or či), according to the grammarians.

l. The same p is taken also by a few i- and ī-roots, with other accompanying irregularities: thus, in the older language, kṣepaya (RV., beside kṣayaya) from ỹkṣi possess; jāpaya (VS. and later) from ỹjī; lāpaya (TB. and later; later also lāyaya) from ỹlī cling; ḫrapaya (VS., once) from ỹṛi; adhyāpaya (8. and later) from adhī + ỹi;— in the later, kṣapaya (beside kṣayaya from ỹkṣi destroy; māpaya from ỹmī; smāpaya (beside smāyaya) from ỹsmī; hṛapaya from ỹhri;— and the grammarians make further kṛapaya from ỹkṛi; cāpaya (beside cāyaya) from ỹci gather; bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhīṣaya) from ỹbhī; repaya from ỹṛi, and vlepaya from ỹvī. Moreover, ṣruh makes ropaya (8. and later) beside rohaya (V. and later), and ṣknū makes knopaya (late).

m. More anomalous cases in which the so-called causative is palpably the derivative of a derived noun, are: pālaya from ỹpā protect; prīpaya from ỹprī; linaya (according to grammarians) from ỹli; dhunaya (not causative in sense) from ỹdhū; bhīṣaya from ỹbhī; ghātaya from ỹhan; sphāvaya from ỹsphā or sphāy.

n. In the Prākrit, the causative stem is made from all roots by the addition of (the equivalent of) āpaya; and a number (about a dozen) of like formations are quotable from Sanskrit texts, mostly of the latest period: but three, kriḍāpaya, jivāpaya, and dikaṇpaya, occur in the epics; and two, aṅgāpaya and kaṅlāpaya, even in the Śūtras.

1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other
stems in ḍa (733 a): it will be sufficient to give here in
general the first persons of the different formations, taking
as model the stem धार्य dhārāya, from ध्र dhr. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

   s.       d.       p.
1 धार्यायि  धार्यायस्  धार्यायस्
   dhārāyāmi dhārāyāvas dhārāyāmas
etc.       etc.       etc.
middle,

   s.       d.       p.
1 धार्ये  धार्यवेक्ते  धार्यमेक्ते
   dhārāye    dhārāyāvahe   dhārāyāmahe
etc.       etc.       etc.

a. The 1st pl. act. in māṣi greatly outnumbers (as ten to one) that
   in māṣ 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 ḍhārāyāni ḍhārāyāva ḍhārāyāma
2 ḍhārāyāsi ḍhārāyāthas ḍhārāyātha
3 ḍhārāyāti ḍhārāyātis ḍhārāyān
   middle.
1 ḍhārāyāi ḍhārāyāvahāi
2 ḍhārāyāse ḍhārāyādhe ḍhārāyādvāi
3 ḍhārāyāte ḍhārāyāte

b. Only one dual mid. form in āite occurs: māḍāyāite (RV.). The
   only RV. mid. form in āi, except in 1st du., is māḍāyādvāi. The
   primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

3. Present Optative.

   active.
1 धार्येियि  धार्येिव  धार्येिम
   dhārāyeyam dhārāyeva dhārāyema
   etc.       etc.       etc.
4. Present Imperative.

active.

2 धार्य धार्यतम् धार्यत
dhārāya dhārāyatam dhārāyata
etc. etc. etc.

middle.

2 धारायवा धारायथाम् धारायथवम्
dhārāyasva dhārāyethām dhārāyadhvam
etc. etc. etc.

d. Imperative persons with the ending tāt occur: dhārāyatāt (AV.) and cyāvayatāt (CB.) are 2d sing.; pātayatāt (CB.) is 3d sing.; gamayatāt and cyāvayatāt (K. etc.), and vārayatāt (TB.) are used as 2d pl. Vārayadhvāt (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only known example of such an ending (see above, 549 b).

5. Present Participle.

धारायत् dhārāyant धारायमाण dhārāyamāṇa.

e. The feminine of the active participle is regularly and usually made in anti (449 c). But a very few examples in ati are met with (one in the older language: namayati Āpast.).

f. The middle participle in māna is made through the whole history of the language, from RV. (only yātāyamāṇa) down, and is the only one met with in the earlier language (for īrayānas [sic!], MS. ii. 7, 12, is evidently a false reading, perhaps for īrayā nas). But decidedly more common in the epics and later is one formed with āna: e.g. kāmayāna, cintayāna, pālayāna, vedayāna. It is quotable from a larger number of roots than is the more regular participle in māna. As it occurs in no accentuated text, its accent cannot be given.
6. Imperfect.

active.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>घारयम्</th>
<th>घारयव</th>
<th>घारयम</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ाधारयम</td>
<td>ाधारयावा</td>
<td>ाधारयामा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

middle.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>घारये</th>
<th>घारयणि</th>
<th>घारयामि</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ाधारये</td>
<td>ाधारयावहि</td>
<td>ाधारयामाहि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem aya outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in ayámi, one passive participle (codítá), and ten infinitives in dhyaí; also one or two derivative nouns in tr (bodhayit, codayitrí), five in isyu, seven in itnu, and a few in a (atiparayá, nídhrayá, vācamānkhayá, viqvamejaya), and in u (dhārayú, bhārayú, mandaýú). In AV., also two s-futúre forms and four gerunds in tvá; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (gamayán cakāra). In the Brāhmaṇas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (1071 a); a derivative noun in á is made from the causative stem, and to its accusative, in ám, is added the auxiliary: thus,

धारयाण ककय dhārayám cakāra (or ása: 1070 b)
धारयाण कके dhārayám cakre

a. Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — gamayán 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 ČB. (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 यत्र dhṛ, then, is as follows:

1 अधिधरम् अधिधराव अधिधराम्
   अधिधरावस् अधिधराभुम
   etc. etc. etc.

1 अधिधरे अधिधरावहि अधिधराभुमि
   etc. etc. etc.

An example was inflected in full at 894.

1047. In a few cases, where the root has assumed a peculiar form before the causative sign — as by the addition of a p or q (above, 1042 i ff.) — the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, atisṭhipam from sthāp (stem sthāpaya) for ysthā. Aorist-stems of this character from quasi-roots in āp are arpipa (yṛ), jijapa or jijipa, jijāapa or jijūapa, qiṣrapa, tiṣṭhipa, jihipa; the only other example from the older language is bhīśa from bhīṣ for ybhī.

1048. But a few sporadic forms of an iṣ-aurist from causative conjugation-stems are met with: thus, dhvanayīt (RV.; TS. has instead the wholly anomalous dhvanayīt), vyathayīs and āilayīt (AV.), pyāyayīṣṭhās and avādayīṣṭhās (KBG.), in the older language (RV. has also uñayīs from a denominative stem); in the later, ahlādayīṣṭa (DKC.), and probably aghātayīṣṭās (MBh.; for -iṣṭhā: cf. 904 d). The passive 3d sing. aropī, from the causative ropaya, has a late occurrence (Çatr.).

1049. A prēcative 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,

प्राप्यम् dhāryāsam etc. प्राप्यसिय dhārayaṣṭya etc.

This formation is to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary य i, which takes the place of its final य a. Thus:

S-Future.

प्राप्यविधि dhārayāṣṭya etc. प्राप्यविधि dhārayaṣṭya etc.
प्राप्यविधि dhārayaṣṭya etc. प्राप्यविधि dhārayaṣṭya etc.
Conditional.

 Conditional.

 Periphrastic Future.

 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 adhārayisyat CB; alāpayisyathās ChU); of the latter, CB affords two instances (pārayitāsmi and jānayitāsi). Examples of both formations are quotable from the later language (including the middle form darçayitāhe: 947 c).

 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-infinite, 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 tavrā and dhvā, as jānayitavā, īrayādhyāi, etc.). The auxiliary i is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

 b. Examples of the passive participle are: īrāta, vāsita, qrāvītā. But from the quasi-root jānap (1042 j) is made jānpat, without union-vowel.

 c. Examples of the infinitive and gerund in tvā are: jōṣayitum, dhārayitum; kalpayitvā, arpayitvā. But in the epics, and even later, infinitives are occasionally made with loss of the causative-sign: e.g. qeṣitum, bhāvitum, dhāritum, micitum.

 d. Examples of the gerunds in ya and am are: -bhāya, -ghārya, -pādyā, -vāsya, nāyya, -sthāpya; -bhājam, sthāpam. But stems showing in the root-syllable no difference from the root retain ay of the causative-sign in the gerund, to distinguish it from that belonging to the primary conjugation: e.g. -kramāyya, -gamāyya, -janāyya, -jvalāyya, -kalāyya, -qamāyya, -racāyya, -āpayya.

 e. Examples of the gerundive in tavya are: tarpayitavya, gamayitavya, hvāyayitavya; of that in ya, sthāpya, hārya, yājya; of that in anīya, sthāpaniya, bhāvanīya.

 W h i t a s y, Grammar. 3. 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, jānayitavāi, pāyayitavāi, -qot- 
ayitavāi; cāmayitas; — infinitive in dhyāi, īṣayādhyāi, irāyādhyāi, 
maṇsayādhyāi, nāqayādhyāi, mandayādhyāi, mādayādhyāi, riq- 
ayādhyāi, vartayādhyāi, vājāyādhyāi, syandayādhyāi (all RV.); 
— gerundive in āyya, panāyāyya, āpphayāyya, xrayāyya (? yā-trā).

g. Other noun-derivatives from the causative stem are not infrequent, 
being decidedly more numerous and various than from any other of the 
secondary conjugation-stems. Examples (of other kinds than those instance 
in 1044) are: ārpaṇa, dāpana, prīṇana, bhīṣana; ājnāpaka, ropaka; 
patayālū, spṛṣhayālu; jānayati, jāṇapti.

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 de-
siderative conjugation. Thus:

a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual 
passive-sign ṯ yā to the causatively strengthened root, the 
causative-sign being dropped: thus, pāyaha dhāryāte.

b. Such passives are hardly found in the Veda (only bhājyā- AV.), 
but some thirty instances are met with in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras: ex-
amples are ājñapyā- (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 ṭṛ ḍa, of which the initial vowel replaces 
the final of the causative stem: thus, ṭṛṇṝyṣṭāṇī ṭṛdhrayāṣṭati.

d. These, too, are found here and there in the Brahmaṇas and later 
(about forty stems are quotable): examples are pīpāyasya (K.), bhīṣva-
ayiṣa and cīkalpaviṣa and lūlobhaviṣa (AB.), dīdṛapaviṣa and rīdhrā-
ayiṣa (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 denominate; 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 ə a (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.

a. But such formations are rare in actual use. The RV. has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is bhīṣākti he heals, from bhīṣaj physician; it is made like a form of the root-class; abhīṣapak seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class; and pātyāte he rules appears to be a denominative of pāṭī master; other possible cases are iṣaṇas etc., kṛpāṇanta, taraṇema etc., vanuṣanta, bhurajanta, vānvanvati. From the other older texts are quotable kavyānt (TS.), ágλonat (TB.), unmūlati (ŚB.), svadhāmahe (CCŚ). And a considerable number of instances, mostly isolated, are found in the later language: e.g. kalahant (MBh.), arghanti (Pāṇe.), abjati (Caṭr.), gardabhati (SD.), utkāṇṭhatē (SD.), jagannetra (Pras.), keliqvetasahasratra (Pras.).

1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign ə ya, which has the accent.

a. The identity of this ya with the ya of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final a of a noun-stem the causative-sign aya, is hardly to be questioned. What relation it sustains to the ya of the ya-class (759), of the passive (768), and of the derivative intensive stem (1018), is much more doubtful.

1056. Intermediate between the denominative and causative conjugations stands a class of verbs, plainly denominative in origin, but having the causative accent. Examples, beginning to appear at the earliest period of the language, are mantrāyate speaks, takes counsel, (from mantra, yman + tra), kirtāyate commemorates (from kirti, ykr praise), arthāyati or -te makes an object of, seeks (from ārtha goal, object), varṇayati depicts (from varṇa color), kathayati or -te gives the how of anything, relates (from katham how?), and so on. These, along with like forms from roots which have no other present-system (though they may make scattering forms outside that system from the root directly), or which have this beside other present-systems without causative meaning, are reckoned by the grammarians as a separate conjugation-class, the cur-class (above, 607, 775).
1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.

a. They are frequent in RV., which contains over a hundred, of all varieties; AV. has only half as many (and personal forms from hardly a third as many: from the rest, present participles, or derivative nouns); AB., less than twenty; ČB., 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 yā, will be the best one to follow.

1059. From stems in a., a. The final a of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, amitrayāti plays the enemy, is hostile; devayāti cultivates the gods, is pious.

b. But final a is also often lengthened: thus, aghāyāti plans mischief; priyāyāte holds dear; aṃvāyāti seeks for horses; aṣanāyāti 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. kalusayati makes turbid, kaluṣayate is or becomes turbid; taruṇayati rejuvenates, taruṇāyate is rejuvenated; cithilayati loosens, cithilāyate 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 & sometimes stand side by side.

d. Final a is sometimes changed to i (very rarely i): thus, adhvaryáti  
performs the sacrifice; tavísiyáti is mighty; purísiyáti or purísiyáti desires  
a son; mánísiyáti craves flesh; sajísiyáti is ready; candrákántísiyáti is  
moonstonelike. Not fifty stems of this form are quotable.

e. It is occasionally dropped (after n or r): thus, turányáti is rapid;  
adhváryáti performs the sacrifice.

f. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of a, as  
in stánasáyi seeks the breast; the change of a to e, as in varéyáti  
plays the wooer.

1060. From stems in á. Final á usually remains, as in gopá-
áti plays the herdsman, protects; pñániyáti fights; but it is sometimes  
treated in the other methods of an a-stem; thus, pñániyáti fights; tilótta-
mániyáti acts Títottama.

1061. From stems in i, i, and u, u. Such stems are (especially  
those in u, ü) very rare. They show regularly i and ü before ya: thus,  
arátiyáti (also -tii-) plots injury; jáníyáti (also -niy-) seeks a wife;  
sákhiyáti desires friendship; náriyate turns woman; -çáryáti acts  
the foe; rájáyáti is straight; vásúyáti desires wealth; ásúyáti grumbles,  
is discontented: with short u, gátuayáti sets in motion.

a. More rarely, i or u is treated as a (or else is gunated, with loss  
of a y or v): thus, dhúnáyáti comes snorting; laghayáti makes easier.  
Sometimes, as to a (above, 1059f), a sibilant is added: thus, aváyáti  
is vehement; uruáyáti saves. From dhí, RV. makes dhíyáyáte.

1062. From other vowel-stems. a. Final r is changed to ri:  
thus, máriyáti treats as a mother (only quotable example).

b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final ele-
ment changed to a semivowel: thus, gávyáti seeks cattle, goes a-raiding.

1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains  
before ya: thus, bhágáyáti plays the physician, cures; ukáyáti acts  
like a bull; apasyáti is active; námasáyáti pays reverence; sumanásáyáte  
is favorably disposed; tarúgyáti fights.

a. But a final n is sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated  
as a final: thus, rájáyáte or rájáyáti is kingly, from rágá
; -karma-
yáti from -karmá; svámyáti treats as master, from svámín: vṛś-
ýáte from vṛśá
 is the only example quotable from the older language.  
Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, ojá-
yáte from ojas, -manáyáte from -manás; - while, on the other hand,  
an a-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before ya: thus, iqa-
yáti from iq, satvanáyáti from satvan.

1064. The largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a s  
before the ya; and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by  
analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denotive-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; jivanasya-(in -ayā love of life); vrṣasyati desires the male (the only quotable examples); madhuryati or madhvasyati longs for honey; kārasyati creates milk.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in kāmya what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having kāma as its final member: thus, rathakāmyati longs for the chariot (K.: only example found in the older language); arthakāmyati desires wealth; putrakāmyati wishes a son (the only quotable examples); coming from the possessive compounds rathakāma etc. And arthāpāyati treats as property is a (sole quotable) example of a stem having the Fraktic causative form (1043 n).

a. Stems of anomalous formation are drāghaya from dirgha, draṇhaya from drgha, and perhaps mradaya from mṛdu.

1066. a. A number of denominative stems occur in the Veda for which no corresponding noun-stems are found, although for all or nearly all of them related words appear: thus, ankuśa, tabhūyā, iqadhya; dhīṣanyā, ṛṣiṇyā, ruvanyā, huvanyā, ṣaṇyā; ratthyā, crathyā, sāparyā; ṣvasya (CB.), irasyā, daṇṣasyā, makhasya, panasya, sa-casya. Those in anya, especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in āya, which in general have allied themselves to present-systems of the nā-class (732), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, ṣpabhāyati beside ṣpbhātā. Of such, RV. has ṣpbhāya, mathāya, pruṣāyā, muṣāyā, crathāya, akabhāyā, stabhāyā. A few others have no nā-class companions: thus, damāyā, ṇamāyā, tudāyā (AV.); and panāyā, naça-prabhāya, vṛṣāya (yṛṣa rain), vasāyā (yvas clothe), and perhaps aça-prabhāya (yac attain).

c. Here may be mentioned also quasi-denominatives made from onomatopoeetic combinations of sounds, generally with repetition: e.g. kītakṣṭāyā, thatathātarāyā, mīṣamiṣāyā, qaçaqaṛāyā.

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. ankhāyā, arthāyā, iṣāyā (also īṣāyā), āujāyā, rtāyā, kṛpāyā, mantrāyā, mṛgāyā, vavṛyā, vājāyā (also vājāyā), vīlāyā, suṣvāyā (also suṣvāyā); AV. adds kīrtāyā, dhūpāyā, pālayā, vīrāyā, sabhāgāyā.

a. The accent of āṇṇiya and hāṣṭaya (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in ṝa (733a) throughout the present-system. Forms outside of
that system — except from the stems which are reckoned to the causative or cur-class, and which follow in all respects the rules for that class — are of the utmost rarity.

a. In RV. occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, except ūnayia (with mā prohibitive), an is-aorist 2d sing. (cf. 1048). Further examples of this aorist are āsūyit (CB.), pāpayīṭa (TS.: pl., with mā prohibitive), and āvṛṣāryīṭata (VS.: etc.). The form āsaparyāit (AV.-xiv. 2, 20), with āi for i (555c), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; amanasyāit, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (il. 3, 89). Other forms begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas: e.g. the futures gopāyİyatif (CB.), meghāyiyant, kaṇḍūyişyant, cikāyiyant (TS.), the participles bhiṣajyātā (P Jb. -jīta) and ṭiyasītā (CB.), kaṇḍūyītā, ciktā, and meghītā (TS.), the gerund saṃplākṣyā (CB.), and so on. In the later language, also, forms outside the present-system (except the participle in ta) are only sporadic; and of tertiary conjugation forms there are hardly any: examples are the causatives dhūmāyaya and āsūyaya (MBh.), and the desiderative abhiṣēpanayīsa (Ciç.).

b. Noun-derivatives from denominative stems follow the analogy of those from causative stems (1051g). In the older language, those in ū and ā (especially the former) are much the most numerous; later, that in ana prevails over all others.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1069. One periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (942 ff.), since it has become in the later language a recognized part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is —
The Periphrastic Perfect.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brähmapas) 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 घ ा (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of य क ि kr make, more often of य च ा as be, and very rarely of य भ भ bhū be.

b. In the older language (see below, 1073 d), kr is almost the only auxiliary used in making this tense, as occurring very few times, and bhū never. Later, also, bhū is quite rare (it is found nine times in MBh., six times in Rgh., and a few times elsewhere), but as gains very greatly in currency, having become the usual auxiliary, while kr is only exceptional.

c. Somewhat similar formations with yet other auxiliaries are not absolutely unknown in the later language: thus व र द ा य am prakramus (MBh.), प र द ा य (etc.) vyadhust (Vīrācaritra), म ग द ा य avātait (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 घ ा being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from य ब द bhūd, intensive ब श ा म bobudhām, desiderative ब ब द bobhutsām, causative ब द ा म bodhayām; denominative म चग म mantrayām.

b. The formation from causative stems (including those denominatives which have assumed the aspect of causatives: 1056) is by far the most frequent. Only a few desideratives are quotable (1034 a), and of intensives only jāgarām āśa (1020 a; beside jājāgāra).

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, य ा म ाम āśām from य ा म ाम āś sit; न ि सम āśām from य ि सी āśām see; उ ज ा म ujjhām from य उ क ि ujh forsake; उ ज ा म edhām from य ए ध द edhām thrive (the only examples quotable).
d. Excepted are the roots ṣp and ṣṅch, and those beginning with a before two consonants (and taking ṣn 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, cakṣaśām. But Ṽṛṇu (715) is said to form Ṽṛṇonāva only; while Ḫagṛ (1020) makes a perfect of either formation, and daridra (1024a) 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 cāyāṃ, tāyāṃ, nilayāṃ, vāsāṃ (yrvas decell), vidāṃ (yrvid know), vyayāṃ, and the reduplicated stems bhībhayāṃ and juhavāṃ; the later language adds ayāṃ, jayāṃ, dayāṃ, nayāṃ, smayāṃ, hvayāṃ, and the reduplicated bhīharāṃ; and the grammarians teach like formations from uṣ, Ḫās, and the reduplicating Ḫrī. 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 ṣṛ kr. For passive use, the auxiliaries ḍhun as and ṣ bhū are said to be allowed to take a middle inflection.

a. One or two late examples of bhū with middle inflection have been pointed out, but none of as.

b. It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their independent use: for that of ṣkr, see 800k; of ṣ/bhū, see 800d; of ṣ/as, see 800m.

c. The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that other words are not occasionally allowed to come between them: thus, mimah-
sāṃ evā cakrā (CB.) he merely speculated; vidāḥ vā idam ayaṃ cakāra (JB.) he veryl knew this; prabhraṇcayāṃ yo nāghusaṃ ca-
kāra who made Naghusa fall headlong (Rgh.).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation with a derivative noun in ṣām 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 kr. Thus:

a. Of the periphrastic perfect occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, gamayāṃ cakāra (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 1034a); and from intensives they are unknown. The peri-
phrastic perfects of primary conjugation were noted above (1071f: in CB.,
eight stems and about eighty occurrences, chiefly from ikṣa, bhū, 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 akara occur ramayām (K.), janayām and sādayām and svadayām and sthāpayām (MS.); and with akraṇ, vidām (TS, TB. MS.). With the aorist optative or per¬
cative has been found only pāvayāṃ kriyāt (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are not entirely unknown; thus, juhavāh karoti (ÇūS.). So also in the later language, where have been found quotable half-a-dozen such cases as vidāh karoti (Pāṇc.), vidāh karotu and kurvantu (Pāṇc. etc.).

d. Only two or three cases of the use of as instead of kṛ as auxil¬
ary are met with in the older language: they are mantrayāṃ äsā (AB, GB.), janayām äsā (ÇūU.), and ikṣām äsā (ÇūS.).

e. A single example of an accented auxiliary is met with in the accent¬
uated texts: namely, atiracayāh cakrūs (ÇB.). As was to be expected, from the nature of the combination, the noun also retains its accent (com¬
pare 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.

1076. Examples of the various formations are as follows:

a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb i go. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrent. Thus: áyajvano vibhājann eti vēdāh (RV.) he ever gives away the wealth of the non-offerer; yathā sūcyā vāsaḥ samadadhat iyād evam evāi tābhir yajñasya chidraṁ samadadhat eti (AB.) just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice; agnir vā idāh vāśyānaro dahann ait (PB.) Agni Vāśyānara kept burning this creation; tē ‘surah pāra¬
jita yánto dyāvāṭhivī úpāgrayan (TB.) those Aurās, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth; tē ‘aya grahaṇ paçaśva upamūryā¬
māṇa iyūh (‘IB.) the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed.
b. The same with the verb āra go (continually or habitually) signifying still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: āgnāv āgniś carati prāviṣṭaḥ (AV.) Agni is constantly present in the fire; adāndyaṁ daṇḍena ghnataṣaḥ caranti (FB.) they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment.

c. The same with the verbs āsā sit and sthānā stand, with a like meaning. Thus, juhvata āśate (K.) they continue sacrificing; to 'pakramya prativāvadato tiṣṭhan (AB.) they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing. In the later language, sthānā 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 āsā and bhū be. The participle is oftenest a future one; āsā only is used in the optative, bhū usually in other forms. Thus: yāh pūrvam anijānaḥ syāt (AB.) whoever may not have made sacrifice before; samāvad eva yajñe kurvānā āsān (GB.) they did the same thing at the sacrifice; parikriṇḍanta āsān (MS.) they were playing about; yātra suptvā pūnar nā 'vadṛśasyāṁ bhāvati (CB.) when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again; havyam hi vakṣyam bhavati (AB.) for he is intending to carry the sacrifice; dāsyant syāt (K.) may be going to give; yēna vāhanena syantsyānt 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.
are by universal agreement given in their independent alphabetic place, like simple words.

1077. Those verbal prefixes which have value as such throughout the whole history of the language are given below in alphabetic order with their fundamental meanings:

घति áti across, beyond, past, over, to excess;
घिधि ádhi above, over, on, on to;
घु ánu after, along, toward;
घर्षण antár between, among, within;
घय ापा away, forth, off;
घिपि ápi unto, close upon or on;
घिपि abhi to, unto, against (often with implied violence);
घि ावा down, off;
घि ा to, unto, at;
उद्ध उद up, up forth or out;
उप ापा to, unto, toward;
नि ि down; in, into;
निस nis out, forth;
घार पारा to a distance, away, forth;
घार पारि round about, around;
घार prā forward, onward, forth, fore;
घार प्रथि in reversed direction, back to or against, in return;
वि vi apart, asunder, away, out;
सम् सं along, with, together.

a. Some of these, of course, are used much more widely and frequently than others. In order of frequency in the older language (as estimated by the number of roots with which they are found used in RV. and AV.), they stand as follows: pra, á, vi, sam, abhi, ni, ud, pari, anu, upa, praṭi, ava, nis, ati, apa, parā, adhi, api, antar. Api is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, too, also.

b. The meanings given 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:

- ácha (or áchā) 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;
- ávis forth to sight, in view: used only with the roots bhū, as, and kr;
- tirás through, crossways; out of sight: hardly used except with kr, dhā, bhū (in RV., with three or four others);
- purás 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 bahūs outside, vinā without, alam (with bhū and kr) sufficiently, properly, sākṣat in view, are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of yet more limited use, and of noun- rather than adverb-value, are:

- çrad (or çrath?), only with dhā (in RV., once also with kr): çraddhā believe, credit;
- hīn, only with kr (and obsolete in the classical language): hīnkṛ 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 śā á 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 á to another prefix (as ávihanti MBh., ávitanvānāh BhP.) are perhaps best explained as having the á used independently, as an adverb.

1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix stands immediately before the verbal form.

a. In the earlier language, however (especially in the Veda; in the Brāhmaṇa less often and more restrictedly), its position is quite
free; it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even come after the form to which it belongs; it may also stand alone, qualifying a verb that is understood, or conjointly with another prefix one that is expressed.

b. Thus, sá devān ē `há vakṣyati (RV.) he shall bring the gods hither; prá ṇa āyūṇi tārīgat (AV.) may so lengthen out our lives; tāv ā yātam āpa dravāt (RV.) do ye two come hither quickly; gámad vájebhir ē sá naḥ (RV.) may he come with gifts hither to us; pári máṁ pári me pra Yapı pári naḥ pāhi yād dhánam (AV.) protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own; yātaḥ sadyā ē ca pára ca yánti (AV.) from whence every day they advance and retire; vy āhāṁ sārveṇa pāpmāṇā [avṛtam] ví yākṣmēṇa sāṁ āyuṣā (AV.) I have separated from all evil, from disease, [I have joined myself] with life; ví hy enena paṇyati (AB) for by it he sees; ví vā ēṣā praܝyā paṃubhir rādhyaṁ (TB.) he is deprived of progeny and cattle.

c. Three or four instances have been cited from the later language of a prefix separated from, or following, a verb; perhaps the prefix in every such case admits of being regarded as an adverb.

1082. As regards the accent of verb-forms compounded with prefixes, only the case needs to be considered in which the prefix stands (as always in the later language) immediately before the verb; otherwise, verb and prefix are treated as two independent words.

1083. a. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above (592), is ordinarily unaccented; before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.

b. If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.

c. That is, in every case, the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent.

d. Examples are: pāre `hi nāri pūnar ē `hi kṣiprām (AV.) go away, woman; come again quickly; áthá `stāṁ vipārētana (RV.) then scatter ye away to your home; samācīnusyā `nusamprāyāhī (AV.) gather together, go forth together after; yād grhāṁ upodātī (AV.) when he goes up to the house; evā ca tvāṁ saramā ājagānthe (RV.) now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither; yénā "viṣṭitaḥ pravivēcīthā '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, abhyāvarṣīt into abhī āvarṣīt, vyāsarat 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; antārhita concealed; ávapanna fallen; sāmpūrṇa complete (cf. 1284).

b. But some exceptions to this rule are met with: e. g., in RV., nīcītā, niṣkṛtā, pruṣastā, niṣgaṭtā, etc.; in AV., apakrītā.

c. with the infinitive in tu (972), in all its cases: thus, sāṃhārtum to collect; āpīdhātavo to cover up; ávagantos of descending. The doubly accented dative in tavā retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, ānvetavāī for following; āpabhkartavāī 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, 182), 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, dhiṣṭhīta, vagāhya, vataṇa, vadānå, vaṣṭabhya, vamajjana, vekṣāṇa, valepana. In the Veda, on the other hand, iṣ is in a few cases found instead (apparently) of nis with y/ṛ.

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, parihāra, virūdh, adhivāsā, āpivṛtī, abhivartā; anurūdṛ; avāyatī, prāyṛ, úpāvasu. In the Veda, the initial of anu is sometimes lengthened after negative an: e. g. anānudā, anānukṛtyā.

c. In combination with y/ṛ ga, the prefixes parā, pari, and pra sometimes change their r to l. In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem palāy jīce, 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, apalāyāśās (C Ç S.), apalāyata (R.), apalāyanta (MBh.); it makes
the periphrastic perfect palāyāṁ ākare. The stem pālaya, similarly inflected, occurs only in one or two texts (GB, 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 nīlayāṁ ākare (GB) are doubtless a corresponding formation from yā with nis, though nearly akin in form and meaning with forms from yā + ni. So also pari becomes pali in the combination palyāṅg (CB, ČCS), whether viewed as a denotative formation or as yāṅg + pari. And MS. has once plāksāryan (iii. 10. 2; in an etymology).

d. The root kr̥ make sometimes assumes (or retains from a more original condition) an initial s after the prefixes sam, pari, nis, and upa: thus, saṃskurute, saṃskurvan, saṃskṛta, etc.; pariṇkṛvanti, pariṇkṛta, etc.; nīr askṛta; upaṣkṛta. And ykr̥ scatter is said by the grammarians to add s in the same manner, under certain circumstances, after apa and prati (only apakiramāṇa, pratiscakare, 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 955f, 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, avaraśkārṣita (GB); udaprapatit (AB); anvasaṃharat, pratyasaṃharat, pratyavyūhat, anvavikṣetām, aprāṣīt, asambhratā (MBH); abhyanimantarit (Har); vyāvasṭhāpi (SDS); compare also the forms from palaś above, c. And AB. has once nīrīyoja (for niyoyoja, as read in the corresponding passage of ČCS). 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 (233c). Also (137a, c), certain peculiarities of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1088. As to the more general adverbial uses of the prefixes, and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1089. As to the combination of the particles a or an privative, 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 kr̥ make, bhū and as be, dhā put, i go — and that the first of these are widely used in com-
bination with a derivative in ām to make a periphrastic conjugation. Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

1091. a. The older language has a number of (mostly) reduplicative onomatopoeic compounds with roots kr and bhū, the prefixed element ending in ā or ī (generally the former): thus, in RV., akkhalikṛtya croaking, jañjanābhāvant simmering, alalābhāvant making merry, kikirā kṛṇu tear; in AV., māṣmaśa karam I have crushed; in VS., māṣmaśa (also TS.; MS. mṛṣapśa) kuru; in TS., malmalābhāvant; in K., māmalābhāvant, kikkitākāra; in MS., bhībībhāvant, bharbharā 'bhavat; in AB., bababākurvānt. 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 vāṣaṭ. In these, too, the accentuation is generally that of a verb with prefix: e. g. svagākaroti (CB.; but svadhā karoti (?) TA.), vāṣaṭkuryāt (MS.); and, with another prefix, anvāṣaṭkaroti (CB.).

c. An instance or two also occur of ordinary words in such combinations, put in corresponding form: thus, qūlā kuryāt (CB.) may roast on a pit (qūla); anrākartoṣ (AB.) of getting clear of debt; ālīkāyābhāvānt (AA.) uniting.

1092. a. The noun namas obeisance, homage, in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with ykr: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in namaskṛtya (beside hastagṛhya and karpagṛhya: above, 990 b).

b. A solitary combination with yī go is shown by the accusative āstam home; which, appearing only in ordinary phrases in RV., is in AV. compounded with the participles—in āstāmyānt, āstameyānt, 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, āstameti (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, qrtaṁkṛtya and nagnāṁkṛtya (TS.); nagnambhāvuka, pāmanambhāvuka etc. (TS. et al.); ānaruṣkaroti (CB.).

1093. 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 akkhalikṛtya (above, 1091 a) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.

26
vātikṛta and vātikārā, is found only phalikāraṇa. In the Brāhmaṇa language, examples begin to occur more often: thus, in TŚ., cyeṭi, mithunī, muṣṭi; in TŚ., further, phali, krūri, udvāsi; in ČŚ., besides some of these, also ekī, kālīvalī, tīvri, daridri, brāhmaṇi, mithuni, svi; and aṣṭābhīdhāṇī, of which (as of muṣṭi) the Ī might be that of an ordinary grammatical form; in K., dvi; in ČŚ., pravaṇi; in ŚŚ., vajri; in ČŚ., mati (from matya). From Upanishad and Sūtra are to be added dvāti (MU.), samī (KČŚ.), navī and kuṭalī (AGŚ.). The accent is in general like that of the similar combinations treated above (1091): e.g. krūrikurvánti, svikṣya, brāhmaṇibhūya, mithunibhavantyaṁ, phalikartavā, krūrikṛta; but sometimes a mere collocation takes place: thus, mithunī bhāvanties (TŚ.), phali kriyāmēṇāṁ (TŚ.), vajrī bhūtvā (TA.). The Ī is variously treated: now as an uncombiable final, as in cyeṭi akuruta and mithunī abhavan (TŚ.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in mithunī ēnayā syaṁ, mithunī ābhīṣ syaṁ, and svyākurvata (ČŚ.).

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 क्र and भु (and of य 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 स; if an u-vowel, it is changed to आ.

a. Examples are: stambhībhavati becomes a post; ekacittībhūya becoming of one mind; upahārkarōṣi thou makest an offering; nakhapra-hāranajarikṛta torn to pieces with blows of the claws; cithilībhavanti become loose; kuṇḍalikṛta ring-shaped; surabhikṛta made fragrant; ādikaraṇa pauning; rūjkṛtya straightening; hetikaraṇa taking as cause. As in the case of the denominatives (1059 c), the combinations with a-stems are the immense majority, and occur abundantly (hardly less than a thousand are quotable) in the later language, but for the most part only once or twice each; those made with i- and u-stems are a very small number. In a few instances, stems in an and as, with those finals changed to य, are met with: e.g. atmi-kṛ, yuvi-bhū; unmanikṛ, amani-bhū; final ya after a consonant is contracted to य: e.g. kānsi-kṛ; and anomalous cases like kāndiḍi-bhū occur. Final र is said to become rī, but no examples are quotable. The combinations with कṛ are about twice as frequent as those with bhū, and examples with य 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. urarī-kṛ, uri-kṛ.

c. Examples are not altogether wanting in the later language of य as
final of the compounded noun-stem (cf. 1091): thus, duḥkhā-kr, niṣkulā-kr, qambā-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 adverbal 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 tās are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:

a. From pronominal roots, in átas, itās, tātas, yātas, kūtas, amūtas, svatas (not found earlier); from the pronominal stems in t or
d (494) of the personal pronouns: thus, mattās (only example in V.), tvattas, asmatattas, yuṣmattas; and from pronominal derivatives: thus, itaratās, kataratās.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: e.g. mukhatās, agratās, ṭhūtattas, ṭktās, hrīttās, čīṛṣṭatās, janmatas, nastās, yajujtās, pārātās, anyātās, anyatartās, sarvātās, daksinatās, abhipatās (once, in RV., from a case-form: patsutās).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, abhitās, paritās, antitās.

d. Examples of ablative construction are: āṭo bhūyāḥ (RV.) more than that; tātaḥ ṣaṣṭhāt (AV.) from that sixth; āṭo nyēna (GB) with any other than this; sarvato bhayāt (AG8.) from all fear; kutaq cid deçād āgati (H.) arriving from some region or other; purād itāt (R.) from this city; tasmāt pretaḥkāyatātāḥ (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; asmatasamipatās in our presence; dharmatās in accordance with duty; chāgatas (H.) with reference to the goat; guṇato ‘dhikaṭ (M.) superior in virtue.

1099. With the suffix tra (in the older language often trā) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.

a. These adverbs are very few, compared with those in tas. They are formed chiefly from pronominal stems, and from other stems having a quasi-pronominal character: namely, in tra, ātra, tātra, yātra, kūtra, amūtra, anyātra, viqvātra, sarvātra, ubhāyātra, aparatā, uttaratā, itarātra, anyataratā, pūrvatā, paratā, samānātra, ekatra, anekatra, ekālkatra; in trā, asmatā, satrā, pururūtra, bahutratā, daksinatratā. But a few in trā come from ordinary nouns: thus, devatrā, martyatratā, purusatrā, manuyatrā, pākatratā, creedratā, kurupeñchalatratā. Those in trā are distinguished from the others by their accent.

b. Examples of locative construction are: hāsta ā daksinatratā (RV.) in the right hand; yātra ‘dhi (RV.) in which; ekatra puruṣe (MBh.) in a single man; ātra mārückmake (H.) in this murderous creature; prabhutvān 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; patho devatrā yānān (RV.) roads that go to the gods.

1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. ha, in ihā here, kūha where? and the Vedic viqvāha (also viqviqvāha) always (compare below, 1104 b); and ihā (like ātra etc.:
1099 b) is sometimes used with locative-case value: e. g. tha samaye (H.) at this conjuncture.

b. tāt, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, prāktāt, udakātāt, tāvattāt; to adverbial ablatives, ārāttāt, uttarāttāt, parākāttāt; and to prepositional adverbs, paṇcātāt, adhāstāt, avāstāt, parāstāt, purāstāt, bahīṣṭāt. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has the form stāt in upārīṣṭāt (and BṛP. has udāstāt).

c. hi, in uttarāhi (CB.) and dakṣipāhi (not quotable).

1101. By the suffix thā are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

a. Thus, táthā, yáthā; kathā and itthā (by the side of which stand kathām and itthām; and CB. has itthāt); and the rare imāthā and amūthā. And áthā (V. often áthā) so then doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems, mostly of quasi-pronominal character: thus, vicvāthā, sarvāthā, anyāthā, ubhayāthā, aparāthā, itarāthā, yatarāthā, yatamāthā, katarāthā, katamāthā, pūrvaḥ, pratnāthā, ārdhavāthā, tiraṇcāthā, ekāthā (JR.), ṛṭuthā, 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, táyāvo 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 are: brahmajāyě yām īti cēd āvocan (RV.) if they have said "this is a Brahman's wife"; tām devā abruvan vrātya kim nū tiṣṭhāt īti (AV.) the gods said to him: "Vrātya, why do you stand?" Often, the īti is used more pregnantly: thus, yāḥ çraddādāhīi sānti devā īti (AV.) whoever has faith that the gods exist; tāṁ vyāghram munir mūṣiko yam īti paçyati (H.) the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse; yūyān kim 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. bahīg te astu bāl īti (AV.) let it come out of you with a splash; īty āgre kṛṣṭy āthē īti (CB.) he ploughs first this way, then this way; or it points forward to something to be said: e. g. yan nv īty āhur anyānī chandāhīi varṣiyāhīi kasmād bṛhaty ucyata īti (PB.) when now they say thus: "the other metres are greater; why is the bṛhati spoken?" It also makes a number of derivatives and compounds: e. g. itithā the so-many-eth; itivat in this fashion; ītyartham for this purpose; ītihāsa a story or legend (lit. thus forsooth it was). As to the use of a nominative with īti as predicate to an accusative, see 268 b.
d. With the suffix of īti is to be compared that of tāti etc. (519). The
word is abbreviated to ti two or three times in CB.

e. va in iva (toneless) like, as, and evā (in V. often evā), earlier
thus, later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for thus is used later
the related evām, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with y'vid:
as, evām vidvān knowing thus.

f. In later Vedic (AV. etc., and the later parts of RV.) iva more often
counts for only a single syllable, 'va.

1103. a. By the suffix dā are made adverbs of time, but almost
only from pronominal roots.

b. Thus, tadā, yadā, kadā (in RV. also kādā), idā (only in V.);
and sādā, beside which is found earlier sādam. Besides these, in the
older language, only sarvadā; later a few others, anyadā, ekadā, nityadā.
A quasi-locative case use is seen occasionally in such phrases as
kadācidd divine (R. on a certain day).

c. By the perhaps related dānīm are made idānīm, tadānīm,
vīqvarānīm, tvādānīm (toneless). Vīqvarānī occurs as adjective in TB.

d. With rhi are made, from pronominal roots, tārhi, etārhi, ýārhi,
kārhi, amūrhi.

e. The suffix di, found only in yādi ị, is perhaps related with dā,
in form as in meaning. Sadādi (MS.) is of doubtful character.

1104. By the suffix dhā are formed adverbs especially from
numerals, signifying -fold, times, ways, etc.

a. Thus, ekadhā, dvīdhā (also dvīdhā and dvvedhā), dhād
(in the the older language usually tredhā), śaddā (also śoḏhā and śad-
adhā), dvādaṣṭadhā, ekānnaviṃcātīdhā, sāhasradhā, and so on. Also,
naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, anekadhā,
kātidhā tātīdhā, behudhā, purudhā, vīqvadhā, cācāvadhā,
aparimitadhā, yāvadhā, etāvadhā, māsadhā. In a very few cases,
also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, mitradhā (AV.),
prīyadhā (TS.; predhā, MS.), rjudhā (TB.), urudhā and citradhā
(BhP.); and from one adverb, bahirdhā.

b. The particle adha or adhā, a Vedic equivalent of átha, probably
belongs here (purudhā and vīqvadhā, with shortened final, occur a few
times in RV.); also addhā in truth; and perhaps saḥā with, which has an
equivalent sādha- in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs
in ha (1100 a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with ś:
namely, dviś, tríś, and catūr (probably, for catūś): 489 a.

a. The corresponding word for once, sākṛt, is a compound rather
than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to
pañcakṛtvas, navakṛtvas, aparimitakṛtvas, etc.; though kṛt and
kṛtvās are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes; the earlier
Adverbs by Derivation

1106. By the suffix गास are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, many adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively.

a. Examples are: एकागास one by one, छतागास by hundreds, र्तुगास season by season, पाचास foot by foot, अक्षागास syllable by syllable, गानागास in crowds, तम्बागास by bunches, रतुगास limb by limb, तावाचागास in such and such number or quantity: and, in a more general way, सर्वागास wholly, मुख्यागास principally, क्रेह्रागास stingily, मन्नागास as minded.

1107. By the suffix व्यत are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying after the manner of, like, etc.

a. Thus, आंगिराव्यत like आंगिरास, मनुष्याव्यत (RV.) as मनुष्य did, जामागनिवाव्यत after the manner of जामागनि, पुर्वाव्यत or प्रत्याव्यत or पुर्वाव्यत as of old, काकाट्याव्यत after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit.

b. This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111 g) of the suffix वैं (1333 f), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, त्वावंt like thee, मवावnt of my sort, etc.

1108. By the suffix सत are made from nouns quasi-adverbs signifying in or into the condition or the possession of what is indicated by the noun; they are used only with verbs of being, of becoming, and of making: namely, oftenest क्र and बहु, but also अस्, गम्, या, and नि (and, according to the grammarians, सम-पै). Some twenty-five examples are quotable from the later literature; but none from the earlier, which also appears to contain nothing that casts light upon the origin of this formation. The स of सत is not liable to conversion into ग. The connection with the verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in या instead of that in त्वा (890); and other words are sometimes interposed between the adverb and verb.

a. Examples are: सर्वायकभागः bhasmasać kurute (MBh.) reduces all deeds to ashes; लोको याम dasyasād bhaved (MBh.) this world would become a prey to barbarians; यस्य ब्राह्मणासार्वायत vittam āṣa (MBh.) whose whole property was given to Brahman; नियताम bhasmasād yati (Har.) it is inevitably reduced to ashes; अग्निः 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 dakaṁiṅit with right hand, and cikilyit with consideration; in nūnām now, and nānānām variously. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be word 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 ī: e.g. hastānāsti hand to hand, rathārathī chariot against chariot, karṇākārṇi 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 īf, 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 kām(?), īd, cid (common at every period), smād and sumād, īm and sīm (by some regarded as still possessing pronom-value), -kīm. Comounds with īd are cēd īf, nēd lest, ēd, svid, kuvid; 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; rāhās secretly; oṣām quickly (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in unlimited numbers: as, satyām truly; cirām long; pūrvam formerly; nityam constantly; bhūyas more, again; vigrabhām confidently; prakāṣam openly; and so on.

d. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way; and it is so used especially as made from great numbers of compound adjective stems, often from such as hardly occur, or are not at all found, in adjective use. Certain of these adverbial compounds, having an indeclinable as prior member, are made by the Hindu grammarians a special class of compounds, called avyayābhāva (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 (473 c) to verb-forms:
Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples are tūṣṇīm in silence; sāyām at even; sākām together, with (prep.); āram or ālam sufficient (in the later language used with yākṛ in the manner of a prefix: 1078 a); prāyas usually; īṣāt somewhat; amnās unexpectedly; bahās outside; mithu and mithās, mūhu and mūhās, ātā, and so on. Madrīk etc., and nimbik (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having yac or aha as their final (407 ff.). The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for ucaḍhāk, anuṣāk and ayusāk, anuṣṭhū and suṣṭhū, yugapāt, etc. Compare also the forms in am beside those in ā, above, 1101 a, 1102 e, 1103 b.

In (Vedic) dravāt quickly is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (ppl dravant running); and drahyāt stoutly (RV., once) may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, e) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the derivatives with vāt (1107).

1119. 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, amuṣā.

b. Of noun-stems: as, kṣaṇena instantly; aṣaṇena completely; viṇgaṇena especially; dīvā by day; diṣṭyā fortuitely; sāhasā suddenly; aktubhīs by night; and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, akhilenā wholly; prāyenā mostly; dākaṇena to the south; úttareṇa to the north; ántareṇa within; cirēṇa long;—qcānās and cānakās slowly; uccās on high; nicās below; parācās afar; táviṣibhis mightily; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: tiraḍcētā, devātā, bāhūtā, and sasvārtā (all RV.), homonymous instrumentalis from nouns in tā; dvitā, tādītā,irimā, mṛṣā, vṛthā, sācā, astha (?), mudhā (not V.), adhunā (B. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, amā and dīvā (given above); perhaps gūhā; apākā, āsāya, kuḥyā (?); naktayā, svapnayā, samanā; adatrayā, ṛtayā, ubhayā, sūmnayā (?); daksīṇā, madhyā; nicā, prācā, uccā, paḍcā, tiraḍcā; vasāntā;—in a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending, which is accented: thus, amuṣā (given above), açuyā, sādhuyā, rāghuyā, dhṛṣṇuyā, anuṣ—
The dative has only very seldom an adverbial use.

1113. a. Examples are aparāya for the future (RV.: with changed accent); cirāya long; arthāya for the sake of; ahnāya presently.

1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, kāsmāt why? aksamsāt casually, unexpectedly; āt, tāt, yāt (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal asmāt etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: as, āsāt near; ārāt afar; balāt forcibly; kutūhalāt emulously; sakāsāt on the part of.

c. Of stems, of adjective stems: as, dūrāt afar; nicāt below; paqcāt behind; sāksāt plainly, actually; samantāt completely; acirāt not long; pratvaksatāt (Ab.) most obviously; pratvāntāt (S.) to the end.

d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, apaṅkāt from afar; samāt from near by; sanāt from of old (but instr. sănā); uttarāt from the north; adharāt below.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value. Thus:

a. From noun and adjective stems: ākē near; ārē and dūrē afar; abhisvarāt behind; astamikā at home; ṛtē without (prep.); āgri in front; sthāne suitably; sapade immediately; -arthe and -kṛte (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) kīs, Interrogative particle, and its compounds nākīs and mākīs, negative particles. And masc. nominatives from aṅe-stems (as pārān Ab., nyān Āpast.) are sometimes found used by substitution for neuters.

1118. Verbal Prefixes and kindred words. The verbal prefixes, described in the preceding chapter (1076 ff.), are properly adverbs, having a special office and mode of use in connection with verbal roots and their more immediate derivatives.

a. Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (1084). In the value of general adverbs, however,
they only rarely occur (except as ápi has mainly changed its office from prefix to adverb or conjunction in the later language); but their prepositional uses are much more frequent and important: see below, 1125 b.

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 uttámá, ádhara and adhamá, ápara 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, sáṃcitama cít saṃtaraṁ sán cícádhi (AV.) whatever is quickened do thou still further quicken; vitaraṁ ví kramasva (RV.) stride out yet more widely; prá tám naya prataráṁ váysa ácha (RV.) lead him forward still further toward advantage; úd enam uttaraṁ naya (AV.) lead him up still higher.

a. Besides those instanced, are found also nitaráṁ, apataráṁ, abhitaráṁ, avataráṁ, parátaráṁ, parástaráṁ. In the Bráhmanaśa and later (above, 1111 e), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, atitaráṁ and atitamá, abhitaráṁ, anutamá, atamá, pratitaráṁ, nitaráṁ, uttaráṁ, prataráṁ and pratamá, vitáram, saṁtaraṁ (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 dawn; adhás below (and adhastaráṁ); parás far off (and parástaráṁ); purá before; antarā (apparently, antár + á); among, between; ánti near; upári above; and sahá (already mentioned, 1104 b) along, with, and sáca together, with, may be noticed with them. Viná without, and višu- 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 invariable nouns and adjectives; much more rarely, with adverbs, as akútra and ápunar (RV.), ánena (AV.), ánadhas (TB.), akasmat, asakrt; in rare cases, also with pronouns (as atad, akhícit); and even, in the later language, now and then with verbs, as asprhayanti (BhP. Ciç.) they do not desire, alokayati (SD.) he does not view. Now and and then it is prefixed to itself: e. g. anakāmamāra, anaviprayukta, anavadya(?).
c. In a very few cases, the negative a appears to be made long; thus, āsat non-existent, ādeva godless, ārāti enemy, ācāuca impurity, ātura ill(?)

d. The independent negative adverbs, nā and mā, are only in exceptional instances used in composition: see below, 1122 e.

e. The comitative prefix sa, used instead of the preposition sām, and interchangeably with sahā, before nouns and adjectives.

f. The prefix of dispraise dus ill, badly (identical with yidus: 295 a).

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: duçoaranti (R.) behave ill.

h. The corresponding laudatory prefix su well is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here, though it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.

i. The particle su sometimes appears in B. and later before a verb-form, and considering its rapid loss of independent use in V., and the analogy of a and dus (above, b, g) it is probably at least in part to be regarded as in composition with the verb. The pada-text of AV. xix. 49. 10 reads su-āpāyati, but its testimony is of little or no value. K. has na su vijñāyete and na vāi su viduḥ, and KaU. has su vedā; TB. has susámbodhāyati (P); MBh. and BbP. have sūpatasthe; R. has su-çakyante.

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, añgā, hānta, kliśa, khālu, tū (rare in older language), vāi, vāvā (in Brāhmaṇa language only), hi, hinā, u, āha, ha, gha, samaha, sma, bhala.

b. Of these, hānta is a word of assent and incitement; hi has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595 e); sma sometimes appears to give a past meaning to a present tense (778 b); u is often combined with the final a of other particles: thus, átho, nó, mó, utó, úpo, pró; but also with that of verb-forms, as dattó, vidmó. The final o thus produced is pragṛhya or un-combinable (138 c). Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above,
are ñā, kám or kam, câd, jâtus, evâ. 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 (pâdapûrâna verse-fillers); so especially ha, hi, tu, smâ.

c. Negative particles are: ná, signifying simple negation; mâ, signifying prohibition.

d. As to the construction of the verb with mâ, see above, 579. In the Veda, nú (or nû: 249 a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic ná of comparison, see below, g, h.

e. In náhî, ná is combined with hi, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with ñd in nád lest. It is perhaps present in nánú and caná, but not in hiná (RV., once). In general, neither ná nor mâ is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix a or an (1122 a): exceptions are the Vedic particles nákis and mákis, nákim and mákim; also nacirâm and màcirâm, napuhrasa, and, in the later language, a number of others.

f. Interrogative particles are only those already given: kâd, kîm, kuvid, svid, nanî, of which the last introduces an objection or ex-postulation.

g. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless ìva, and yathâ (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also ná, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

h. Examples of the ná of comparison are: râidvîsa ëquim ná spjata dvîsam (RV.) let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer; váyo ná ykshâm (AV.) as birds to the tree; gauró ná trpitâh pîba (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 kvâ where? (in V., always to be read kúâ).

j. Particles of time are: nú now (also nû: nînâm was mentioned above, 1109 a), adýa and sadyâs and sadâvas (RV., once) today, at once (all held to contain the element div or dyu), hyâs yesterday, qvâs tomorrow, jyôk (also related with dyu) long; púnâr again.

k. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed nánà variously (for nânânâm, its derivative, see 1109 a); sasvâr (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 vīnā, 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 (294 b), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use.

1125. a. The adverbs by derivative form (1097 ff.) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix tas: 1068).

b. Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are ud, ni, para, 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 pra, ann and a.

c. Most of the directive words akin with the more proper prefixes are used prepositionally: some of them—as saha, vīnā, upa, antara, pura—freely, earlier and later.

d. The case-forms used adverbially are in many instances used prepositionally also: oftenest, as was to be expected, with the genitive; but frequently, and from an early time, with the accusative; more rarely with other cases.

e. We will take up now the cases for a brief exposition, beginning with those that are least freely used.

1126. The Locative. This case is least of all used with words that can claim the name of preposition. Of directives, antār and its later derivative antara, meaning within, in, are oftenest added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are a and adhi: thus, mārtseyā a among mortals; prthivyām adhy āsadhitāh the plants upon the earth; téjo máyī dhārayā dhī (AV.) establish glory
Prepositions.

in me; — ápi and úpa are much rarer: thus, yá apám ápi vraté [sánti] (RV.) who are in the domain of the waters; amúr yá úpa súrye [sánti] (RV.) who are up yonder in the sun; — sáca along with is not rare in RV., but almost entirely unknown later: thus, pitroh sáca sati staying with her parents.

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pronominal root sa: as sahá (most frequent), sákám, sárdhám, samám, samáyá, sarátham; and, in the Veda, the prefix sám: as, te sumatibhíh sám pátníbhír ná vṛṣano nasímahí (RV.) may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (283 a), viná without (not Vedic) takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, avás down and para beyond, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And ádhi, in RV., is used with the instrumentals snúna and snúbhíśa, where the locative would be expected.

1128. The Ablative. In the prepositional constructions of the ablative (as was pointed out and partly illustrated above, 293), the ablative value of the case, and the merely directive value of the added particle, are for the most part clearly to be traced. Many of the verbal prefixes are more or less frequently joined in the older language with this case: oftenest, ádhi and pári; more sporadically, ánú, ápá, áva, práti, and the separatives níś and ví. The change of meaning of the ablative with á hither, by which it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (283 c). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many — as bahís, purás, avás, adhás, para, purá, viná, and tīrás out of knowledge of — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms arvák, prák, paçcát, ārdhváṃ, púrvam, páram, and ṛte without, of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier.

1129. The Accusative. Many of the verbal prefixes and related words take an accompanying accusative. Most naturally (since the accusative is essentially the to-case), those that express a motion or action toward anything: as abhi, práti, ánú, úpa, ā, áti and ádhi in the sense of over on to, or across, beyond, tīrás through, antár and antara when meaning between, pári around. Examples are: yáḥ praḍīco abhi sūryo viciṣṭe (AV.) what quarters the sun looks abroad unto; ābodhy agnīḥ práty āyatim uṣáam (RV.) Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn; gacchot kadácit svajārām prati (MBh.) she might go somewhatther to her own people; imàm prakṣéyāmi nṛpatiḥ prati (MBh.) him I will ask with reference to the king; māma cittám ánú cittébhír ē 'ta (AV.) follow after my mind with your minds; ē 'hy ā nāh (AV.) come hither to us; úpa na ē 'hy arvān (RV.) come hither unto us; yó devó mārtýān áti (AV.) the god who is beyond mortals; adhīṣṭhāya várcaśa 'dhy anyān (AV.) excelling above others in glory. Also abhítas and parítas, which have a like value with the simple abhi and pári;
and upári above (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with adhas, paras, puras, vinā, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbal case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instruments of situation or direction: as yé ‘vareṇā ’dityām, yé pāreṇā ’dityām (TB.) those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun; āntareṇa yōnim (QB.) within the womb; te hi ’dam āntareṇa sarvam (AB.) for all this universe is between them; ūttareṇa gārhapatyam (QB.) to the north of the householder’s fire; dākṣiṇena vēdim (QB.) to the south of the sacrificial hearth; dākṣiṇena vṛklavāṭikām (Q) to the right of the orchard; nikaṣā yamunām (Har.) near the Yamunā. Similarly, ārdh- vam and pūrva have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of ēte. Abhimukham toward has a more natural right to construction with this case.

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 agra in front of, abhyaṅge near, arthe and kyte for the sake of, nimitta and hetā by reason of, madhye in the midst of; and other cases, as arthāya, kāraṇaṭ, sakṣaṭ, 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 adharenā, uttareṇa and uttarāt, dākṣiṇena and dākṣiṇāt, paṭcāt, ārdhavam, anantaram, samakṣam, sakṣaṭ. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of the use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative paritas, paratas, and anititas, and paraśat and purasat (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, saṃvatsarasaya paraśat after a year; sūktasya puras- tāt 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
(1088 ff.), may properly be regarded as conjunctions; and a few other particles of kindred value, as céd and ned (1111a).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are च ca and, and ना vā or (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).

a. Of copulative value along with ca, is in the older language especially utā (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and āpi, tātas, táthā, kīr cā, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

b. Adversative is tū but (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, u (toneless).

c. Of illative value is hi for (originally, and in great part at every period, asseverative only): compare above, 1123b.

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 onomatopoias, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.

1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: ā, hā, hāhā, ahaha, he, hai (AV.), aye, hayē (RV.), aho, bāṭ (RV.), bata RV.) or vata, and (probably) hiruk and huruk (RV.).

b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): ciçeś whiz (of an arrow: RV.): kikirā (palpitation: RV.); bāl and phāṭ (phāś?) or phāl splash (AV.); bhūk bow-wow (AV.); cāl pat (AV.); āś, hiś, as, and has (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots kr and bhū, above, 1091.

c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjunctial character are, for example: bhos (for the vocative bhavas, 456); are or re (voc. of ari enemy); dhik alas! (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with y/dih); kṣatam woe is me! diṣtyā thank heaven! svasti hail! suṣṭhu, sādhu good, excellent! None of these are Vedic in interjunctial use.
CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

1138. 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 uṇādi (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, anīya, 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, imaṇ, iyas and iṣṭha, ta.

1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only to more original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation—and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.

a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (988 ff.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly earlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.

b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causative conjugation: see below the suffixes a (1148j, k), ā (1149c, d), ana (1150m), as (1151f), anī (1159b), u (1178g-i), ti (1157g), tr (1182e), tnu (1168b), snu (1164b), uka (1180d), āku (1181d), ālu (1192b), tu (1161d).
c. From tense-stems the examples are far fewer, but not unknown: thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in a (1148j), a (1149d, e), ana (1150n), i (1155d), u (1178f), ta (1176e), tu (1161d), uka (1160d), tra (1156e), ti (1157g), vin (or in: 1232b, 1183a); from stems in a is apparently of aoristic character (besides infinitives and gerundives), occasional derivatives in a (1148j), ana (1150j), ani (1159b), an (1160a), ana (1175), as (1151c), i (1150b), iṣṭha (1184a), u (1178f), us (1154a), tṛ (1182e), in (1183a).

1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.

a. Whatever, namely, may have been originally and strictly the mode of production of the derivatives with prefixes, it is throughout the recorded life of the language as if the root and its prefix or prefixes constituted a unity, from which a derivative is formed in the same manner as from the simple root, with that modification of the radical meaning which appears also in the proper verbal forms as compounded with the same prefixes.

b. Not derivatives of every kind are thus made; but, in the main, those classes which have most of the verbal force, or which are most akin in value with infinitives and participles.

c. The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their accent, will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in a, in ana, in ti, in tar and tra, and in in, ya, van and man, i and u, as, and a few others.

1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel—that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our ignorance or uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and those deserving to be ranked as of organic suffixal character cannot be sharply drawn.

Each of the two great classes will now be taken up by itself, for more particular consideration.

A. Primary Derivatives.

1143. Form of root. The form of root to which a primary suffix is added is liable to more or less variation. Thus:

a. By far the most frequent is a strengthening change, by guṇa- or vṛddhi-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where guṇa-change is in general forbidden: 235, 240): thus, vēda from ycid, mōda from ymud, vārdha from yvṛdh;
áyana from yā, sávana from yus, sárapa from yarp; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long a as the resulting vowel: that is to say, with non-final a, and with a final i- or u-vowel and r before a vowel (of the ending): thus, nádá from y/nad, grábhá from y/grbh or grabh, váhá from y/vah, náyá from y/mi, bhává from y/bhu, kárá from y/kṛ; such strengthening as would make váída and máuda 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 vari (1171), yu once (1165a), and ya (1213a). The presence of t before these suffixes appears to indicate an original secondary derivation from derivatives in ti and tu.

e. The root is sometimes reduplicated: rarely in the use without suffix (1147c, e); oftenest before a (1148k), i (1165e), u (1178d); but also before other suffixes, as ā (1149e), ana (1150m), vana (1170a), van and vari (1169d, 1171a, b), vani (1170b), vi (1193), vit (1183b), ani (1159b), in (1183a), tnu (1198a), ta (1176a), ti (1187d), tha (1183a), tṛ (1182b), tra (1185f), ūka (1180f), aka (1181a), lka (1186c), ma (1186b).

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 participles, are, as their use also as neuter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (961 ff.), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only concerned with the action.

1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which action-nouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter. In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.

a. To facilitate the finding of the different suffixes is given the following list of them, in their order as treated, with references to paragraphs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1147</td>
<td>yu</td>
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<td>ma</td>
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<td>van</td>
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<td>1152</td>
<td>vana, -ni, -nu</td>
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<td>na, ina, una</td>
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<td>1163</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>1199</td>
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<td>1164</td>
<td>tr or tar</td>
<td>1200-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, sasyád, cikít, dadfr, didyú, and didyút, juhú, and perhaps gánga and čiçu; with intensive reduplication, -není, malimluc, yavíyúdh, and jógú and váñevan (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In dáridra is seen a transfer to the a-declension. Ású is probably to be understood as a compound, asú-su.

d. If the root end in a short vowel, a t is regularly and usually added (383 f-h).

e. Examples have been given at the place just quoted. In jápat the t is added to the mutilated form of yogam reduplicated, and yñayát (TS., once) appears to put it after a long vowel. In a single instance, qútkarq (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, ávasq, úpastut; and, with other irregularities of form, párjri, upásqtha, upárśqtha.

1148. I a. With the suffix I a is made an immensely large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: guna-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 guna-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, qráma weariness, gráha seizure, áya movement, véda knowledge, háva call, kródha wrath, jóga enjoyment, tára crossing, sárga emission.

c. Many nomina agentis: as, kṣamá patient, svajá constrictor, jítva living, meghá cloud, codá inciting, plavá boat, sará brook, sarpá serpent, bhojá generous, khádá 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, ēqa haste, ēqa hasting; qasā order, qasā orderer (other examples are cōda, qāka, qōka: compare a similar difference with other derivatives in as, ana, an, man). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, jāyā, jāvā, smarā, action-nouns; crāva, mōgha, stāva, 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 ṣṛddhi-strengthening of the root — but only where ā is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial ā, and of final r (most often), u or ā, 1 or ḍ (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. krṣā lean, turā rapid, yugā yoke, sruvā spoon, priyā dear, vrā troop, quā bright.

1. 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, spha, tāda, drṣa, vīda, kīra.

j. A few a-stems are made, especially in the older language, from conjugation-stems, mostly causative: thus, āmaya, ilaya, āṅkāya, ājaya, dhāraya, pāraya, mṛḍaya, ḍamaya (compare the a-stems, 1149 c, d); also desiderative, as bībhata (compare 1038). Occasional examples also occur from tense-stems: thus, from nu-stems, or secondary stems made from such, āṅvā, ānva, jīnva, pīnva, sīnva, sunva, āṅvva; from others, pṛṇa, mṛṇa, sṛṇa, pūṇa, jāna, pāṇya, manya, daṇya, jūrya, kṣudhya, sya, tiṣṭha, jighra, pība; from future-stems, kariśya (JB.), janīsya, bhaviṣya, ruṣiṣya (?); apparently from aorist-stems, jēṣa, nēṣa, parṣa, ḍṛkṣa (?), 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, cācarā, cikita, dṛḍhrā, dadhrā, babhasa, babhra, vavrā, cīcayā, cīṇātha (an action-noun), sahrā; but often with an intensive reduplication: thus, merely strengthened, cākṣma, cācala, jāgara, nānā, lālāsa, vivadhā (?), memiṣa, rerhi and lelhi, vevijā, nonuva, momughā, roruda, lopolā; with consonant added, caṅkṣa, caṅkrama, jaṅgama, caṅcala, jāḥjapa, dandhvana, nannama, jārjala, jārjara, turtura, dardīra, mūrmura, gadgada; disyllabic, karikra, kanikradā, caracarā and caḷacalā, marimṛṣa, malimloc, varivṛta, sarisṛpa, panipadā, sanisyaḍa, sanisrasa, patāpata, madāmāda, vadāvada, ghana-
ghaná. Many of these are to be regarded as from an intensive conjugation-stem; but some of them show a form not met with in intensive conjugation.

5. 1. Derivatives with this suffix from roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes are quite common, in all the modes of formation (in each, in proportion to the frequency of independent words): constituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent is, with few exceptions, on the ending—and that, without any reference to the value of the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.

m. Examples are: saṅgamá assembly, nimeśá wink, abhidrohá sumity, anukarā assistance, udānā inspiration, pratyāçrāvā response; —paricarā wandering, saṁjayā victorious, vibodhā wakeful, atiyajā over-pious, udāra inciting, elevated, uttudā rousing, saṁgirā swallowing, ādardirā crushing, adhicaṅkramā 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, āgraśa plague. A few others, mostly agent-nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, vyōga (i. c. vi-oṣa) burning, prátiyoga neighbor, ābhaga sharing; but also sāṁkāsa 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. गा ṣा. The vast majority of stems in गा ṣा are feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters in ग a (332, 334). But also many suffixes ending in ग a have corresponding feminine forms in long गा 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 ṣa 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 igtā lordship, kriyā play, dayā pity, nindā reproach, čaṅkā doubt, hiṃsā injury, kṣamā patience, kṣudhā hunger, bhāṣā speech, sevā service, śrī shadow.  

c. But especially, such nouns in ā are made in large numbers, and with perfect freedom, from secondary conjugation-stems.

d. Thus, especially from desiderative stems, as jīgiśā, bhikṣā, vārtaḥ, bībhataḥ, etc., (see 1038); in the formation of periphrastic perfects, especially from causative stems, but also from desiderative and intensive, and even from primary present-stems (1071 c-f); from denominative stems, in the older language, as açavāya, sukratūya, apasyā, uruvā, asūyā, açanayā, jīvanayā, etc., and quite rarely in the later, as mrgayā.

e. The only example from a reduplicated stem is the late paspačā; for suṣā, jāṅghā, and jīhā, which have a reduplicated aspect, are of doubtful origin. From present-stems come icchā and probably -ṛchā.

1150. Ṣrīana. With this suffix (as with ṣrī) are formed innumerable derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has oftenest guṇa-strengthening, but not seldom vṛddhi instead; and in a few cases it remains unstrengthened. Derivatives of this formation are frequent from roots with prefixes, and also in composition with other elements.

a. The normal and greatly prevalent accent is upon the root-syllable, without regard to the difference of meaning; but cases occur of accented final, and a few of accented penult. The action-nouns are in general of the neuter gender. The feminine of adjectives is made either in ā or in ī (for details, see below). And a few feminine action-nouns in anā and anī occur, which may be 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 guṇa-strengthening: examples of action-nouns are sādana seat, rākṣana protection, dāna giving, cāyana collection, vēdana property, hāvana call, bhōjana enjoyment, kāraṇa deed, vārdhana increase; — of agent-nouns, tāpana burning, cētana visible, cōdana impelling.

d. With vṛddhi-strengthening (only in such circumstances that ā remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples are -cātana, nāgana, mādana, -vācana, -vāsana, -vāhana, -sādana, -spācana, svādana, -śayana, -yāvana, -srāvana, -pāraṇa.

e. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are very numerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the suffix
STEMS IN à, ana.

2. The more irregular formations may be classified as follows:

g. With accent on the final: a number of agent-nouns and adjectives, as karaṇà active (against kāraṇa act) kṛpaṇà miserable (against kṛpānà misery), tvaraṇà hasting, rocaṇà shining, krocaṇà yelling, svapānà sleepy, kṣayānà habitable.

h. These, unlike the preceding class, make their feminine in à: e.g. tvaraṇà, spandanà. A few feminine action-nouns in the older language have the same form: thus, açanà, asanà, mananà, dyotanà, rodhanà, qvetanà, hasanà (and compare kapanà, raqanà); those of the later language in anà (rather numerous) are doubtful as regards accent.

i. Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in ani, of more or less doubtful character: arṣanì, cetanì (to cētana), tapanì (to tāpana), prṣanì, vṛjanì (with vṛjana), rajanì, tedanì.

j. With accent on the penult: a small number of adjectives: as turāṇà hasting, dohāṇà milking, manāṇà considerate, bhandāṇà and mandāṇà rejoicing, sakṣaṇà overcoming, and perhaps vaṅkṣaṇā carrying (the last two with aoristic à); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: daṅkṣaṇā great deed, vṛjana enclosure, town, veṣeṇa service, kṛpaṇa misery, (against kṛpānà miserable), with the masculine kirāṇa dust.

k. The only noticed example of a feminine is in à: turāṇà. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: arhāṇa, jarāṇa, barhāṇa, bhandāṇa, maṅhāṇa, mehāṇa, vadhāṇa, vanāṇa, vakṣāṇa. (And compare the anomalous masc. name uqānà: 355a.)

1. Without strengthening of the root are made a small number of derivatives: thus (besides those already noted, kṛpaṇa and kṛpaṇā, vṛjana and vṛjanì, kirāṇa, turāṇa), further accented examples are ārāṇa, dhuvana, prṣana, bhuvana, vṛjana, vṛṣana, -suvana; and later are found sphuruṇa, suḥṣaṇa, spṛhaṇa, -hnuvana, likhana, rudana, etc. RV makes denominatives from riṣaṇa-, ruṇaṇa-, vṛpana-, huvana-.
m. Stems in \textit{ana} are made also from secondary conjugation-stems: thus, from desideratives, as \textit{cikitsana} (see 1038); from causatives, as \textit{hāpana}, \textit{bhīṣaṇa} (see 1051); from denominatives, with great freedom, in the later language, as \textit{ākaranā}, \textit{ummulana}, \textit{ṇakṣapana}, \textit{cīhnaṇa}; from intensives and other reduplicated stems, only \textit{caṅkramaṇa}, \textit{jaṅgaṇaṇa}, \textit{jāgaṇaṇā}, \textit{kīvaraṇa}, \textit{yoyupana}.

n. A few isolated cases may be further mentioned: from tense-stems, -jīghraṇa, -ūrṇavaṇa, -paṇyaṇa, yacchna, -siṣcana; from prepositions, aṅtaraṇa and sāmaṇa; astamaṇa from the quasi-prefix (1092) \textit{a-stam}. Feminines in \textit{aṇā} of doubtful connection are \textit{yōṣanā} \textit{woman} (beside \textit{yoṣan}, \textit{yōṣā}, etc.) and \textit{ptanā}.

1151. ॐ ॐ ॐ. 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.


c. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: thus, without strengthening of the root, jūvas \textit{quickness} (beside jāvas), úras \textit{breast}, mṛdhas \textit{contempt}; and iras- (irasy-) and vipas-, and the adverbs tirās, mithās, huras-, also čiras \textit{head}, are to be compared;—with vyuddhi-strengthening, -vācas, vāsa, vāhas, -svādas, and, of doubtful connections, pājas, pāthas, and -hāyas;—perhaps with an aoristic s, hēsas \textit{missile};—pivas contains a v apparently not radical.

d. After final a 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 a was added directly to radical a: thus, bhās and -dās (often to be pronounced as two syllables), jūzas, mās; and -dhas and -das, from the roots dhā and dā.

2. e. The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an action-noun are: ápas \textit{work}, and apās \textit{act}; yācas \textit{beauty}, and yaqās \textit{beauteous}; táras \textit{quickness}, and tarās (VS., once) \textit{quick}; távas \textit{strength}, and tavās \textit{strong}; dūvas \textit{worship}, and dūvas \textit{lively(?)}; māhas \textit{greatness}, and mahās \textit{great}; between rākṣas \textit{s} and
rakṣās m., both meaning demon, and between tyājas n. abandonment(?) and tyājās m. descendant(?), the antithesis is much less clear.

f. Adjectives in ās without corresponding abstracts are: točās bestowing, yajās offering, vedhās pious, probably āhanās heady; and a few other words of isolated occurrence, as veçās, dhvāras. From a denominate stem is made mṛgayās wild animal (RV., once).

g. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter, accented on the ending: thus, jarās old age, bhiyās fear; and doubtless also havās call, and tveçās impulse. The feminine uṣās dawns, and doṣās night, might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

h. Apparently containing a suffix as are the noun upās lop, and certain proper names: āṅgiras, nodhās, bhalānas, arcanānas, naciketas. The feminine āpsaras nymph is of doubtful derivation.

i. The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.

j. The infinitives made by the suffix as have been explained above (973): they show various treatment of the root, and various accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that between sāhās and jarās).

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 vīspardhas. 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 169a.

In connection with this, the most common and important suffix ending in ā, may be best treated the others, kindred in office and possibly also in origin, which end in the same sibilant.

1152. तस् tas, नस् nas, तस् sas. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With tas are made rētas seed, and srōtas stream.

b. With nas are made āpnas acquisition, ārṇas wave, -bhārṇas offering, rēkṇas riches; and in drāṇas wealth, and pārṇas fulness is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of dāmūnas house-friend, and ṣūnās (RV.) n. pr., ucānas (or -nā) n. pr.

c. With sas is perhaps made vāpṇas beauty; and tārūsas may be mentioned with it (rather tarus-a?).
1153. इस. With the suffix is is formed a small number (about a dozen) of neuns.

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 jyótis light, vyāthiṣ, and āmis raw meat). Examples are: arcis, rocis, and qoquis light, chadis or chardis cover, barhis straw, vartíṣ track, sarpis butter, havis oblation, dyótis light, and kravís raw flesh. Avís-, páthis, bhrajís-, and máhis- are isolated variants of stems in as; and túvis-, qucis-, and surabhís- appear inorganically for tuvi etc. in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. आस. 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; árus wound and sore; cákṣus brightness and seeing, eye; vápus wonderful and wonder. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable: thus, áyus, tárus, púrus, múnuś (? only adverbial), mithus (do.), yájus, cáśus; exceptions are: in regard to accent, janúś birth; in regard to gender, mánuś man, and náhus n. pr. Of adjectives, are accented on the ending jayús, vanús, and dákṣus burning (which appears to attach itself to the aorist-stem).

1155. ति. With this suffix are formed a large body of derivatives, of all genders: adjectives and masculine agent-nouns, feminine abstracts, and a few neuters. They show a various form of the root: strong, weak, and reduplicated. Their accent is also various. Many of them have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.

1. a. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, rúci brightness, tvíqi sheen, kṛṣi ploughing, nṛti dance; — with guṇa-strengthening (where possible), rōpi pain, qoči heat, vanī and sañi gain; — with vṛddhi-strengthening, grāhi seizure, dhramj course, ḫjī race; from yduṣ comes dūşi (compare dūṣayati, 1042b). The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given. The few infintive 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: qúci bright, bhṛmi lively (ybhram), gṛbhī container.
d. With unstrengthened root (or root incapable of guna-change): 
ari enemy, máhi great, aroí beam, granthi knot, kriquí playing; with vidddhi-
increment, kárgí, jáni, -dhári, qári, sáci, sádi, sáhi, and a few words 
of obscure connections: thus, drápi n. atle, ráqi keep, páqi hand, etc. 
The isolated -ānaqi appears to come from the perfect-stem (788) of yāq. 

e. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a consider-
able class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, 
cákhi, jághri, (y)ghar, pápri, sásri, -mamri, bahhrí, vavri, jághmi, 
-jágñi (y)jan), -tati, jághni, sánvi, súqvi, -qivi; and, with displace-
ment of final ā (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), dágí, 
páqi, yayí (with a case or two from yay), -jáñi, dákhi; — from the 
ur-form of roots in changeable ī, jáguri, táturi, pápúri (púpúri SV.); 
— with simple reduplication, cikiti, yúyudhi, vívici; — with strength-
ened reduplication, -cācali, tátṛpi, dágṛqi, vāvahi, sásari, tūtuji 
and tátuji, yúyuví, yúyudhi; and järbhári and bámáhári. And 
karkari 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 
is 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 accentet usually on the suffix. Examples are: 
āyají, vyānaqi, rījagñi, parādādi, vīyasahí; but also ajáni, āmúri, 
vivavri. As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or 
agent-nouns in i are not rare, and are regularly accentet on the root: see 
the next chapter, 1276. 

g. From ydhá comes a derivative -dhí, forming many masculine 
compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with 
prefixes, antardhí, uddhí, nidhí, paridhí, etc. From ydá is made in 
like manner ádi beginning, and from ysthá, pratiṣṭhá resistance. Opin-
ions are at variance as to whether such forms are to be regarded as made 
with the suffix i, displacing the radical ā, or with weakening of ā to i. 

3. h. Neuter nouns in i are few, and of obscure derivation: examples 
are ákṣi eye, ásthí bone, dádhí curds, etc. 

1156. 5 i. Stems in 5 i (like those in 8 i, above, 
1149) are for the most part feminine adjectives, correspond-
ing 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 (344 b), 
from r-stems (376 a), and from various consonant-stems (378 a).

b. But there are also a few stems in i wearing the aspect of inde-
pendent derivatives. Examples are: dákṣi, dehí, nádi, nándi, péṣi,
vaksi (apparently with aoristic s), veqi, qaki, qaci, qami, qimi, tari, vaopi; they are either action-nouns or agent-nouns. In the later language (as noticed at 344a) there is very frequent interchange of i- and 1-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. ni ti. This suffix forms a large class of frequently used feminine nouns of action: and also a few agent-nouns (masculine) and adjectives. The root has in general the same form as before the suffix n ta of the passive participle (952 ff.) — that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.

a. The accent ought, it would appear, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; but in the recorded condition of the language it does so only in a minority of cases: namely, about fifty, against sixty cases of accent on the radical syllable, and a hundred and forty of undetermined accent; a number of words — iti, ri, citti, trupti, paktti, puuthi, bhutti, bhrtti, vrsathi, qaktti, qrusathi, asthiti — have both accentuations.

b. Examples of the normal formation are: ratti gift, utti aid, ritti flow, stuti praise, bhaktti division, viatti service, kirtti fame, purtti bestowal, matii thought, pitri drink (ypa; pple pita), dhautti stream (ydhaiv; pple dhauta); and with accented root, gatti motion, qahiti repose, ditti division (yda; pple ditai), dftiti sight, isi offering (yasa; pple ista), ukhti speech (yvac; pple ukta), vrdhti increase.

c. The roots which form their participle in ita (968) do not have the 1 also before ti: thus, only guptti, drptti. A few roots having their participle in na instead of ta (957) form the abstract noun also in ni (below, 1158). And from the roots tan and ran occur tantti and rantti, beside the more regular tatti and ratti; also ahanti (once, V8.) beside ahati. From the two roots da gice and da divide, the derivative in composition is sometimes -tti (for datti, with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form -ttta, above, 955f): thus, niravatti (K.), samprattti (CB), paratti (TB). vausutti, bhagatti, maghatti (all RV.).

d. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, carkti, didhitti and -diditi, jigarti, and perhaps the proper name yayati; also jadhi from yjak (233f).

e. Derivatives from roots with prefixes are numerous, and have (as in the case of the participles in ta, and the action-nouns in tu) the accent on the prefix: examples are anumati, abhiti, ahuti, nirrtti, vyapiti, sangati. The only exceptions noticed are asaktti and asuti, and abhi-
şti (beside abhiṣṭi). In other combinations than with prefixes, the accentuation is in general the same: see the next chapter (1274).

2. f. The adjectives and agent-nouns - which, as masculines, are to be connected with these rather than with the feminine abstracts - are very few: thus, pūti putrid, vāṣṭi eager, dhūti shaker, jñāti relative, patti footman, pāti master; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.

3. g. A few words show the suffix ti preceded by various vowels, union- or stem-vowels. The ordinary intermediate 1 of the ta-participle etc. is seen in sānoti, ujitī, ṣphīti (I, as usual with this root: 900 b), paṭhīti, bhaṇīti; and with them may be mentioned the adjective ṣṭīti, the proper names turvīti and ānabhi, and niṇhīti and niṇhīti, notwithstanding their long final. With ati are made a few derivatives, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns aṇhāti, ṅṛṭīti, paṭkāti, mīthāti, vaśāti, ramāti, vrṭāti, amāti and āmati, -dźhrājati; and the agent-words arati, khalāti, ṣṛkāti, rāmati, dhaṭāti. In some of these is to be seen with probability a stem-vowel, as also in jānayati and rasayati (and RV. has gopayātya). The grammarians' method of representing a root by its 3d sing. pres. indic., declining this as a ti-stem, begins in the older language: e. g. śtvant (TB.), kṣtvant (AB.), yaṭati and juḥoti and ṣadāti (S.), nandati (MBh.). The feminine yuvāti young, maiden is of isolated character.

h. In some of the words instanced in the last paragraph, ti is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, kāti, tāti, yāti, and from numerals, as daṇṭi, vaṇṭi, ṣaṭṭi, etc., with paṇkti (from pāṇoa); in padāti; and in addhāti, from the particle addhā.

1158. ni. This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a very much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.

a. As was noticed above (1157 e), 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 jyāṇi injury, jūṛṇī heat, hāṇi abandonment (and the masculines gṛṇi and jṛṇi); later occur glāṇi, -mlāṇi, sannī-

b. Words of the other class are: aṇi eating, uṇi burning, vāṇi carrying, jūṛṇi singing, tūṛṇi hasty, bhūṛṇi excited, dharṇi sustaining, prṛṇi loving, vṛṇi and vṛṇi virile; and with them may be mentioned pṛṇi speckled.

c. In prṛṇi, yōṇi, menī, qṛṇi, qṛṇi 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. 3. ed. 28
e. In hrāḍūṇi and hlādūni we have a prefixed u. In the words ending in ani, the a has probably the same value with that of ati (above, 1157 g); but ani has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. घनि ani. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding suffixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with concreted meaning: as, इषणि impulsion, चरणि injury, द्योतानि brightness, गुपनि blow, अणि missile, वर्तनि track; and अणि, दणि, जरणि.

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are: आणि fire-stick, चरणि movable, चक्षणि enlightener, तरणि quick, धमानि pipe, ध्रवसणि scattering, वक्षणि strengthener, भरणि track. धरणि and one or two other late words are probably variants to stems in ani. From a reduced root-form comes पप्तणि. From desiderative stems are made रूरक्षणि, श्रीषणि, and (with prefix) चुक्षणि. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an aorist stem: thus, चरणि, चक्षणि, चरणि.

c. It is questionable whether the infinitives in गणि (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in ani, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in an, from roots and stems increased by an aoristic a.

1160. घनि 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 गणि, 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 महान greatness, राजान authority (RV., once: compare राज); the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and गम्भीर depth (VS., once); and PB. has क्षेप्न once.

c. Agent-nouns (in part of doubtful connection) are: उक्षण ox, चक्षण eye, तक्षण carpenter, ध्रवसण proper name, पुषण name of a god, मैजण marrow, रजण king, वृजण virile, बुल, सागहण, अम्हण (अम्हण āpast.); also ग्मन, ज्मन, -भवण, -वण, with वण, युवण, योण, and the stems अह, उदह, etc. (430-4), filling up the inflection of other defective stems.

d. With prefixes occur अपत्विन and अतिविन, विखविन, निकाम.
1161. ś tu. The great mass of the words of this formation are the infinitives — accusatives in the later language, in the earlier likewise datives and ablative-genitives: see above, 970 b, 972. But a few are also used independently, as action-nouns or with concreted meaning; and an extremely small number, of somewhat questionable character, appear to have the value of agent-words. They are of all genders, but chiefly masculine. The root has the guna-strengthening.

a. The infinitives 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, jātubirth, dhātu element, tāntu thread, māntu counsel, ōtu web, sātu receptacle, sētu tie, sōtu pressure; also krātu capacity, and sāktu girt; fem. vāstu morning; neut. vastu thing, vāstu abode; — with accent on the ending, aktu ray, jantu being, gātu way and song, yātū (P) demon, hetu cause, ketu banner (all masc.); — with unstrengthened root, rtu season, pitu drink, sātu birth, and apparently kṣtu (in kṛtvas times); with vydhi-strengthening, vāstu (above). Agent-nouns appear to be dhātu drinkable and kroṣṭu jackal.

c. The infinitives in tu have (988) often the union-vowel ī before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to ī. In other use occur also -stāritu and -dhāritu (both with dus), -hāvitu (with su); tur-phāritu 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 ā; thus, edhatu and vahatu; tamyatū and tapyatū; and niśāsātu. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of jivatu life, which is further exceptional in showing a long ā; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1162. ś nu. This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.

a. The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.

b. Thus: kṣepnū jerk, bhānū light (later sun), vagnū sound, sūnū son, dānu (with irregular accent) m. t. demon, n. drop, dec; dhenū t. cow; — grdhnū hasty, tapnū burning, trasnu fearful, dhṛṣṇū bold; — and viṣṇu Vishnu, and perhaps sthānū pillar. Compare also suffix tnu, 1196 a.
c. This also (like tu) appears sometimes with a prefixed a: thus, keśapanu missile, krandaṇu and naṇaṇu roaring, nabhaṇu (and -ṇu, t.) fountain, vibhaṇjanu (only instance with prefix) breaking to pieces; and perhaps the proper names dāsaṇu and kṛṣaṇu belong here.

1163. ātha. 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., -ātha going, ārtha goal, -krthā making, gāthā song, paṅkthā n. pr., bhṛthā offering, -yātha road, -qītha lying down, çoṭha swelling, sīkthā sediment; and, of less clear connections, yūthā herd, rātha chariot; — neut., ukthā saying, tṛthā ford, nīthā song, rīkthā heritage, and apparently prṛthā back; — fem. (with ā), gāthā song, nīthā way. Radical ā is weakened to i in gīthā song and -pīthā drink and -pīthā protection; a final nasal is lost in -gātha going and hātha slaying. In vijīgthā (GB.; but BAU -ítica) is apparently seen a formation from a reduplication of yīji, 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 ā, which is probably of thematic origin, though become a union-vowel. Thus: -anātha breathing, ayātha foot, carātha mobility, tveṣātha vehemence, and so prothātha, yajātha, ra-vātha, vakātha, ucātha, vidātha, caṇaṣaṇa, qapātha, qvāyātha, qvāyātha, qvāśaṇa, sacātha, stānātha, stāvātha, saṇvātha, and, with weak root-form, ruvātha; the later language adds karātha, tavātha, qamatha, saṇvātha. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, śvāsatha abode, pravasathā absence; but prāṇātha breath is treated as if prān were an integral root.

d. Isolated combinations of thā with other preceding vowels occur: thus, vārūthā protection, járāthā wasting(?); and matūthā (y/man?).

1164. ṣthu. This suffix (like ṣtha, above) has an ṣ ā attached to it, and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as ṣṣu ṣthu.

a. The only Vedic examples are ejaṭhau quaking, vepāthau trembling, stanaṭhau roaring. Later cases are naṇāthau (TS.), naṇathau (U.), kṣavathau (S.), davathau, bhraṇçathau, majjathau, vamathau, qvayathau, spherjathau.

1165. ṣyu. With this suffix are made a very few nouns,
both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (masc.) are manyú srath, mṛtyú death (with t added to the short final of the root).

b. Adjectives etc. are druhyú n. pr., bhujyú pliable, muoyu (GB. i. 1.7), qundhyú pure, yájyu pious, sáhyu strong, dámyu enemy; and, with vṛddhi-strengthening, jāyú victorious.

c. For other derivatives ending in yu, see the suffix u, below, 1178 h, i.

1166. फ्या. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.

a. Examples of action-nouns are: ajmá course, gharma heat, éma progress, bháma brightness, sárma flow, stóma song of praise.

b. Examples of agent-nouns etc. are: tigmá sharp, bhúma terrible, cagmá mighty, idhmá fuel, yudhmá warrior. A single instance from a reduplicated root is tátumá powerful. Sarámá 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, tókma, darmá, dhára, narmá, yáma, yugma, vema, quśma, sóma, sárma, hóma.

1167. म्यान. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with mi, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus, from r-roots, tirmí wave, -kúrmí action, súrmí t. tube; from others, jámí relation, bhúmi or bhúmi t. earth, lakṣmí sign; also probably raqmi line, ray; and the adjective krúdhmi (ॡृ, once).

1168. फ्या. The numerous derivatives made with this suffix are almost only action-nouns. The great majority of them are neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; a much smaller number are masculine, and accented on the suffix. The few agent-words are, if nouns, masculine, and have the latter accent: in several instances, a neuter and a masculine, of the one and the other value and accent, stand side by side. The root has in general the guna-strengthening.

1. a. Examples of regularly formed neuters are: kárman action, jánman birth, nánman name, vártman track, végman dwelling, hóman sacrifice, -dyótman 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: bráhmán worship and brahmán priest; dámán gift and dámán giver; dhárman rule and dharmán orderer; sádmán seat and sadmán sitter. But omán friend stands in the contrary relation to omán m. favor. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except brahmán, are of rare occurrence.

d. On the other hand, jemán and varśman and svádmán (and varimán) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

e. The noun ágman 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, úgman or ugam, bhúman earth, bhúman abundance, syúman, sémán, bhujmán, vidmán, qíkman, quqman, sidhman; and kárgman, 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, prâyámán departure; ánuvarman following after: the exceptions, vijáman, pratívatmán, 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 imán are primary formations, belonging almost only to the older language: thus, jáníman, dhárman (M.), váríman (beside varimán, as noticed above); and dáríman, háárman, párman (and páreman SV., once), bháárman, váríman, sáríman, stáríman, sávíman, and hávíman. Those in imán 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 tánimán (?), järíman, práthimán, mahimán, varíman (beside the equivalent váríman and vári- man), varśimán (beside the equivalent várśman and varśmán), hari- mán, and drághimán (VS.) beside dräghmán (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, 408): such are pāpmán (to pāpá, pāpīyas etc.); dräghmán etc. (to dirghá, drághiyas, etc.); váríman etc. (to urú,
vāryaś, etc.); prāthīman (to pṛthu, prāthiṣṭha); harīmān (to hārī or hārita); vārśīman etc. (to vārṣīyas etc.); svādman etc. (to svādū, svādiyas, etc.). Then in the Brāhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, dhūmrimān (TS. K.), draḍhīmān (MS. K.: to dṛḍhā, draḍhīyas, etc.), aṇīmān (CB.; and aṇīman n. bit), sthemān, sthāvīman (n. big piece), taruṇīman (K.), paraśīman (AB.), abalīman (ChU.), lohitīman (KB.); and still later such as lāghīman, krṣṇīman, pūrṇīman, madhurīman, çoṇīman, etc., etc.

1169. वन van. By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter chiefly masculine. The root is un strengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a त t before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.

a. The insertion of t is an intimation that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of an to derivatives in u and tu; yet van has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.

b. Examples of the usual formation are: masc. yāvvan offering, drūhvan harming, cākvvan capable, -rīkvvan leaving, -jītvvan conquering, sūtvvan pressing, kṛtvvan active, -gātvvan (like -gat, -gatyā) going, sātvvan (y′san) warrior; neut. pārvvan joint, dhānvvan bow. Irregular, with strengthened root, are ārvvan courier, -yāvvan (? AV.) driving off; and, with accent on the suffix, drōvvan (? VS.) and vidvvan (? AV.).

c. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: atītvvan excelling, upahāsvan reviler, sambhītvvan collecting; and perhaps vivāsvvan shining: abhisāsvvan 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 muśivvan robber and saṃtvvan (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, 1294. From a reduplicated root are made rārvvan and cikitvvan (and possibly vivāsvvan).

e. Action-nouns made with the suffix van are only the infinitival words mentioned at 974—unless bhurvānī (RV., once) is to be added, as locative of bhurvān.

f. The feminines corresponding to adjectives in van are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from vara, and end in vari; see below, 1171 b.

1170. वन vana, वनी vani, वनु vanu. The very few words
made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in connection with  \( \text{वन} \) van (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

a. With van are made वग्याणा talkative, सत्वाणा warrior (beside सत्वान, above); and, from a reduplicated root, वृक्षवाणा shining.

b. With vanī are made from simple roots तुर्वाणि excelling, and भुर्वाणि restless, and, from reduplicated roots, वृक्षवाणि shining, दाहर्वाणि daring, तुर्वाणि striving after, and जुगुर्वाणि praising; अर्हरिवाणि is obscure.

c. With vanu is made only वग्याणु tone, noise.

1171. वरा vara. With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives. Much more common are the feminine stems in वरी varī, which, from the earliest period, serve as corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in  \( \text{वन} \) van.

a. A few masculine adjectives in varā occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, ज्वराणा going, आद्वराणा eating; and so, further, in the older language, जिवराणा, जावराणा, पाद्वराणा, भार्वराणा, भास्वराणा, वयाद्वराणा (?), साद्वराणा, स्थावराणा, and doubtless with them belongs विद्वराणा; later, -कावराणा, गात्वराणा, गास्वराणा (also ग्रास्मराणा), -जिवराणा, नाप्वराणा, पिवराणा, माद्वराणा, -आर्वराणा; from a reduplicated root, यायावराणा (B. and later). Many of these have feminines in ा.

b. The feminines in varī accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in van to which they correspond: thus, यायावराणा, जिवराणा, आर्वराणा, -विवराणा, -यावराणा, -सावराणा, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV); from a reduplicated root, -विवराणा.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, कावराणा dead, गावराणा (later also गध्वराणा) thicket; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: उर्वराणा field, and उर्वराणा tow (both of doubtful etymology).

We take up now the suffixes by which are made only stems having the value of agent-nouns and adjectives; beginning with a brief mention of the participial endings, which in general have been already sufficiently treated.

1172. अंत ant (or अत at). The office of this suffix, in making present and future participles active, has been fully explained above, in connection with the various tense-stems and conjugation-stems (chaps. VIII.-XIV.), in combination
with which alone it is employed (not directly with the root, unless this is also used as tense-stem).

a. A few words of like origin, but used as independent adjectives, were given at 450. With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots īyant and kīyant (451, 517 a). And ādva-yant not double-tongued (RV., once), appears to contain a similar formation from the numeral ādvī — unless we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.

1173. वानस् vāns (or वसि vas). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, 802-6, and 458 ff.

a. A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at 462, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form uṣ or uṣa. RV. vocalizes the v once, in juju-ruṣ.

b. The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in vās, of doubtful relations: śdhvas and ċikvās skilful (beside words in va and vān), and perhaps khīdvas (y/khād). The neuter abstract vārivas breadth, room (belonging to urū broad, in the same manner with vārivas and varimān), is quite isolated. MBh. makes a nominative pivān, as if from pivāns instead of pivan.

1174. मान māna. The participles having this ending are, as has been seen (584 b), present and future only, and have the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in general to the stems to which the suffix is attached.

1175. एना āna. The participles ending in āna are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form nān sāna: above, 897 b) aorist.

a. A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives tākavāna, bhṛga-vāna, vāsvāna, ārdhvasānā, apparently made on the model of participial stems. Also the proper names āpnavāna, pṛthavāna, and cyāvāna and cyāvatāna. Pārṣāna abyaś is doubtful; rujānā (RV., once) is probably a false reading; āpina is of doubtful character.

1176. त्ता. 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: trṣṭā rough, čitā cold, dy-
dhā (for ṣṛḍhā; 294 a) firm; dūśā messenger, sūtā charioteer; rta right,
gṛṣṭā gee, jātā kind, dyūṭā gambling, nṛtā dance, jīvātā life, caritā
behavior, śmitā smile. The adjective tīgātā (RV.) sharp shows anomalous
reversion of palatal to guttural before the 1 (316 d). Vāvātā dear is a
single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denom-
native stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Veda
— unless bhāmita RV.), derivatives in ṭa 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 rashita
furnished with a chariot, duṣṭhītā pained, kusumītā flowered, dur-
balītā weakened, niḥsaṃcayītā indubitable, etc. etc.

c. A few words ending in ṭa are accented on the radical syllable,
and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful: such are
āstā home, mārtā mortal, vātā wind; and with them may be mentioned
gārā high seat, nāktā night, hástā hand. Vrātā is commonly viewed
as containing a suffix ṭa, but it doubtless comes from yvrē (vrat-ā, like
trādā, vrājā) and means originally course.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in ṭa, but are hardly con-
nectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, palitā gray, āśitā black,
rōhitā and lōhitā red, hāritā green; akin with them are ārēta variegated,
qyētā white. The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus,
ēnī and qyēnī; rōhipī and lōhinī, and hāripī (but the corresponding
masc. hāriṇa also occurs); and āśiknī, pāliknī, and hāriknī.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in āta
are not to be separated from the participial words in ṭa, although their
specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: pacaṭā cooked, darcātā
and paqyāṭā seen, to be seen, worth seeing; and so yajātā, haryātā,
bharatā. The y of paqyāṭā and haryāṭā indicates pretty plainly that the
a also is that of a present tense-stem. Rajātā silver/ is of more obscure
relation to yraṭ color; pārvatā mountain must be secondary.

1177. ṇ na (and Ṉ na, ṇ na. The use of the suffix
ṇ na in forming from certain roots participles equivalent to
those in ṇ ta, either alongside the latter or instead of them,
was explained above, at 957.

a. With the same suffix are made a number of general adjectives,
and of nouns of various gender (fem. in nā). The accent is on the suffix
or on the root. A few examples are: uṣṇā hot, ṣunā fortunate, ācāra ravenous, śvītā white; masc., praṇā question, yajñā offering, śhrṇā heat, vārṇā color, śvāpṇā sleep; neut., parṇā wing, rātā jewel (?); fem. tṛṇā thirst, yācāṇā supplication. But many of the stems ending in na are not readily connectible with roots. An antithesis of accent is seen in kārṇā ear and kārnā eared.

b. The few words ending in ina are of doubtful connection, but may be mentioned here: thus, aminā violent, vṛjinā crooked, dākṣiṇā right, drāvinā property, druhiṇā, -ṣreṣṭaṇā, hariṇā; and kaniṇā may be added.

c. The words ending in una are of various meaning and accent, like those in ana: they are ārjuna, karūṇa, -cetūna, tāruṇa, dāruṇa, dharūṇa, nāruṇa, piṣṭa, mithunā, yatūna, vayūna, vāruṇa, cālūna, and the feminine yamūṇā; 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 participial value.

1178. 3 u. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character—adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives with the value of present participles; and in such use it wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.

a. The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vriddhied; least often (when capable of guṇa), it has the guṇa-strengthening—al 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, rūṣ straight, prṭhū broad, mṛdū soft, sādhū good, svādū sweet, tāpu hot, vāsu good; jāyu conquering, dārū bursting; qāyu lying, rēku empty; dhāyu thirsty, pāyu protecting. Final ā appears to be lost before the suffix in -sthu (suṣṭhū, anuṣṭhū), and perhaps in yū, -gu (agregū), and -khu (ākhu).

c. Examples of nouns are: masc., aṅgu ray, ripū deceive, vāyu
wind, āsu life, mānu man, Manu; fem., īṣu (also masc.) arrow, sīndhu (also masc.) river, tanū or tanū body; neut., kṣū food.

d. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: cikītū, jāgmu, jīgū, jījīnī, sīṣu, -tatnu (unless this is made with nu or tnu), dīdyu (?), dadru, yāyu or yayū and ṣīyu (with final ə lost), pīpru (proper name), -dīrīnyu; and tītā, babhrū, -raru (arāru), malimlū (?) have the aspect of being similar formations.

e. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, upāyu on-coming, pramāyu going to destruction, viklīnu a certain disease, abhīqu reś (director), sāṃvasu dwelling together.

f. From tense-stems, apparently, are made tanyū thundering, bhīndū splitting, -vīndū finding, and (with aspiritic ə) dākṣu and dhākṣu (all RV.).

g. Participial adjectives in ā from desiderative "roots" (stems with loss of their final ə) 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: dītē, dīpsū, cikītsū, tītīksū, pīpīṣu, mumukṣu, iyakṣu, cīqīlīkṣu; with prefix, abhidīpsū; with anomalous accent, didīkṣu. 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, dārāyū (persistent), bhājayū, bhāvayū, maṇhayū, maṇdayū, čramayū; and mṛgayū from the caus.-denom. mṛgaya.

i. Much more numerous, however, are such formations from the more proper denominatives, especially in the oldest language (RV. has toward eighty of them; AV. only a quarter as many, including six or eight which are not found in RV.; and they are still rarer in the Brāhmaṇas, and hardly met with later). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms from the same denominative stem are in use: thus, for example, to aghāyū, arātyū, ṣīṣyū, caranyū, manasayū, sanīṣyū, uruṣyū, saparyū; in others, only the present participle in yānt, or the abstract noun in ya (1140 d), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns: thus, tvāyū (beside tvāyānī and tvāyā), yuvayū or yuvāyū, asmayū, svayū, and the more anomalous abhāhyū and kiśhyū. Especially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this has often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix yu, either with a meaning of seeking or desiring, or with a more general adjective sense: thus, yavayū seeking grain, varāhāyū boar-hunting, stanasyū desiring the breast; āṇrāyū woolen, yuvanyū youthful, bhīṃayū terrible. And so the "secondary suffix yu" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in abhāhyū and kiśhyū, 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, anhoyū, duvoyū (and duvoyā; beside duvasyū), āśkrqdojyū.
j. The words in *yu* do not show in the *Veda* resolution into *ü* (except dhāsiús AV., once).

1179. तु. Stems in त्यु are very few, even as compared with those in ष्टि (1158). They are for the most part feminines corresponding to masculines in उ (344 b), with half-a-dozen more independent feminines (see 355 c).

a. To those already mentioned above are to be added karṣūt pīt, -cały (in puṃścały), -janū (in praṣjanū), quintū.

1180. उका uka. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction (271 g) of a present participle. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.

a. The derivatives in *uka* are hardly known in the *Veda*; but they become frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, of whose language they are a marked characteristic (about sixty different stems occur there); and they are found occasionally in the later language. In all probability, they are originally and properly obtained by adding the secondary suffix *ka* (1222) to a derivative in उ; but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an उ-word from which they should be made.

b. The root is only so far strengthened that the radical syllable is a heavy (79) one; and it has the accent, whether the derivative is made from a simple root or from one with prefix.

c. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are: vāduka, nācuka, upakṛāmuka, prapāduka, upasthāyuka (258), vyāyuka, veduka, bhāvuka, kōdhuca, hāruka, vārṣuka, samārhdhuca, dāṅkuca, ālambuka, ḍikṣuka {GB.: RV. has ḍikṣu}, pramāyuka (ŚB. has pramāyu).

d. Exceptions as regards root-form are: nirmārgurka (with vṛddhi-strengthening, as is usual with this root: 629), -kasuka, ṛdhuca (from a tense-stem; beside ārdhuca). AV. accents sāṃkasuka (CBS. has sāṃkāsuka) and vikasuka; RV. has sānukā (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also ghātuka from ṣhan, and āpramāyuka); vasuka (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. Aṣāṇyuka (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

e. Of later occurrence are a few words whose relation to the others is more or less doubtful: kārmuka and dhārmuka, tsāruka, tarkuka, nānduka, pāduka, pecuka, bhikṣuka, lāṣuka, sēduka, hinṣuka, hreṣuka. Of these, only lāṣuka appears like a true continuer of the formation; several are pretty clearly secondary derivatives.

f. A formation in उka (a, suffix of like origin, perhaps, with uka) may be mentioned here: namely, indhūka, majjūka, and, from redu-
plicated roots, jāgarūka wakeful, jañjapūka (later) muttering, danda-
čūka biting, yārajūka sacrificing much, vāvadūka (later) talkative; 
salalūka is questionable.

1181. धका aka. Here, as in the preceding case, we 
doubtless have a suffix made by secondary addition of ध ka 
to a derivative in ध a; but it has, for the same reason as 
the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in 
the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than 
that of uka; it has very few examples in the older language.

a. In RV. is found (besides pāvakā, which has a different accent, 
and which, as the metre shows, is really pavāka) only sāyaka missile; 
AV. adds pīyaka and vādhaκa, 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 (258), 
pācaka, grāhaka, bodhaka, jāgaraka; but also janaka, khanaka. 
They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical 
syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives 
of the same root: thus, bhakṣyabhakṣaka 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 (271 c).

c. The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in akā or in akī, 
but more usually in ḫakā: thus, nāyikā (with nāyakā), pācikā, bodhikā; 
compare secondary aka, below, 1222.

d. Derivatives in aka are made from a few roots: thus, jālpaka, 
bhikṣāka; but very few occur in the older language: thus, pavāka (above, 
a), nabbhāka, smāyāka, jāhāka (?), -calāka, patāka. With āku is 
made in RV. mṛjayāku, from the causative stem: mṛdāku and the pro-
per name ikṣvāku are of obscure connection.

e. Derivatives in ḫaka and ḫka will be treated below, in connection 
with those in ka (1186 c).

1182. नृ tr (or नृर tar). The derivatives made by this 
suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their 
uses, have been the subject of remark more than once 
above (see 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 (271 d); later they enter into 
combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future
meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (942). Their corresponding feminine is in trī.

a. The root has regularly the guṇa-strengthening. A union-vowel i (very rarely, one of another character is often taken: as regards its presence or absence in the periphrastic future forms, see above 949 a).

b. Without guṇa-change is only ūṣṭṛ plough-OX (no proper agent-noun: apparently ūkṣṭṛ: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root grha has, as usual, i—thus, grahitṛ; and the same appears in -taritṛ, -pavītṛ, -maritṛ, -varitṛ, -savītṛ. An u-vowel is taken instead by tārūṭṛ and tarūṭṛ, dhūนūṭṛ, and sānūṭṛ; long in varūṭṛ; strengthened to o in manōṭṛ and manoṭṛ. 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 manōṭṛ is an isolated irregularity. Examples are: jēṭā dhānāṇṛi winning treasures; yūyāh mārtāṁ qrotārāḥ ye listen to a mortal; but, on the other hand, yaṁṭā vāsūṇi visṛhate bestowing good things on the pious; and jēṭā jānāṇṇāṁ conquerer of peoples.

e. The formation of these nouns in trī from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brāhmaṇas, is met with but once or twice in the Veda (bodhayitṛ and codhayitrī, RV.). In nēṣṭṛ a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the aoristic a.

f. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in trī, are pīṭṛ, māṭṛ, bhrāṭṛ, yāṭṛ, duhitṛ, nāṭṛ, jāṁāṭṛ. Of these, only māṭṛ and yāṭṛ are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in trī.

g. Instead of trī is found tūr in one or two RV. examples: yaṁṭūr sthāṭūr.

h. Apparently formed by a suffix r (or ar) are usṛ, savyaṣṭṛ, nānāṇṛ, devṛ, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in r, see 369.

1183. तृ 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, nītōdīn, aśārāśīn, ānāmin, vivyādhīn; from a tense-stem, -aśnuvin, -paśyin (late); with aoristic s, -sakṣīn; and, with reduplication, niyayīn, 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 manohārin soul-winning. In bhāvin has established itself a prevailing future meaning, about to be.

c. The use of an accusative object with words in in was noticed above (271 b).

1184. सौम iyas and सृण इष्ठा. 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 jyeṣṭhā has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, jyeṣṭhā, and that its correlative also is kaniṣṭhā in the oldest language; pāraṣṭhā is made from a secondary form of root, with aoristic s added.

b. When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form yas (470 a), its y is never to be read in the Veda as i.

c. No other suffixes make derivatives having participial value otherwise than in rare and sporadic cases; those that remain, therefore, will be taken up mainly in the order of their frequency and importance.

1185. त्र tra. With this suffix are formed a few adjectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the guṇa-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.

a. Here, as in certain other cases above, we have doubtless a suffix
originally secondary, made by adding a to the primary \textit{tr} or \textit{tar} (1182); but its use is in great part that of a primary suffix.


c. Masculines are: dāṇṣtrā \textit{tusk}, māṇtra \textit{prayer}, attrā (or atrā: 332) \textit{devourer}, uṣṭra \textit{buffalo}, camel, and a few of questionable etymology, as mītrā \textit{friend}, putrā \textit{son}, vytrā \textit{foe}. Mitrā and vytrā are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and mitra comes later to be regularly of that gender.

d. Feminines (in trā) are: aṣṭrā \textit{good}, mātrā \textit{measure}, hōtrā \textit{sacrifice} (beside hotrā), daṇṣtrā (later, for dāṇṣtrā); nāṣtrā \textit{destroyer}.

e. Not seldom, a "union-vowel" appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with \textit{tr} (above, 1182 a). For the words in ātra have the accent on ā: thus, arītra (ārītra AV., once) \textit{impelling, oar}, khanītra \textit{shovel}, pavītra \textit{sieve}, janītra \textit{birth-place}, sanītra \textit{gift}; and so -avītra, aqītra, carītra, -tarītra, dhāṃtra, dvāvītra, bhāvītra, bharītra, vādītra (with causative root-strengthening).

vahītra: the combination ātra 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, yājātra \textit{venerable}, kṛṇātra \textit{shred}, gāyātra (f. -trī) \textit{song}, -damatra, pāṭatra \textit{wing}; but also āmatra \textit{violent}, vāḍhatra \textit{deadly weapon}; and varatā \textit{f. strap}. Tarutra \textit{overcoming} corresponds to tarutī. Nākṣatra \textit{asterism} is of very doubtful etymology.

Sāṃskṛtātra (RV., once) seems of secondary formation.

f. The words still used as adjectives in trā are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is johūtra \textit{crying out}.

g. A word or two in tri and tru may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in trā: thus, 'ātrī \textit{devouring}, arcātrī \textit{beaming}, rātrī or rātrī \textit{night}; čātrū (cātrū: 232) \textit{enemy}.

1186. \textit{Ka}. The suffix \textit{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 puṣkā-, -mekā (\textit{y}mī \textit{fix}), yaska n. pt., quśka \textit{dry}, qlōka (\textit{y}ṛṣu \textit{hear}) \textit{noise, report, etc.}, and -sphāka \textit{teeming}; and stūkā \textit{flake} and stokā \textit{drop} seem to belong together to a root \textit{stu}: rākā f., name of a goddess, may be added.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. 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 IkA seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, vṛcika (vṛvra) scorpion; ānīka (?) face, dṛṣīka aspect, dṛbhīka n. pr., mṛṣikā grace, vṛdhīka increaser, śārīka and viśārīka grapes, rājika beaming, ṭiśka; ṭkṣikā; and, from reduplicated root, parparīka scattering (?). Compare secondary suffix ka (below, 1222).

1187. ॥ ya. It is altogether probable that a part of the derivatives made with this suffix are not less entitled to be ranked as primary than some of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, 1210-13).

1188. ॥ 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: keśāra quick, chidrā spliś, turā strong, bhadrā pleasing, qakrā mighty, qukrā bright, hiṃsāra injurious; — with accent on the root, only gṛdhrā greedy, tūmra stout, dhīra wise (secondary?), vípra inspired, tūgra n. pr.

b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two: thus, niśrā attentive, nīmrāra joining on.

c. Nouns in ra are: masc., ájra field, vírā man, vájra thunderbolt, qūra hero; neut., ágra-point, keśāra milk, rāndhra hollow, riprā defile-ment; fem., dhīrā stream, cúpā ābrā; sūrā intoxicating drink.

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly or quite gained the value of independent endings. Thus:

d. With ara are made a few rare words: the adjectives dravara running, patarā flying, (with prefix) nyocara suiting; and the nouns gambhāra depth, tāsara and trasara shuttle, sānara gain, -rśara thorn: bhārvāra and vāsara are doubtless of secondary formation; and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others. As made with ara may be mentioned mandāra a tree, mājāra cat.

e. With ira 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, rudirā bright, ijirā
lively, áśīra missile, sthávīra firm; and sthīra hard, and sphīra fat, with displacement of final radical ā; also sarīra wave (usually salīlā). With īra are made gabhīra or gambhīra profound and čāvīra mighty, and perhaps čārīra body.

f. With ēra are made a few words, of some of which the secondary character is probable: thus, ānhurā (ānhu-ṛa?) narrow, āśura (āsu-ra?) living, chidura tearing, bhaṅgurā breaking, bhāsura shining, bhidura splitting, medura fat, yādura uniting, vithura tottering, vidura knowing, vidhura lacking. With ēra, apparently, are made sthūrā stout (compare sthávīra), kharjūra a tree, mayūra peacock (or imitative?).

1189. ā 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 ākuḷā, sthūlā, -miṣṭa, qithiḷā, sālīḷā.

b. Examples of the more independent use are: pāḷā protecting, ānīla (or anīla) wind, trṭpāḷa joyous; later capala and tarala (said to be accented on the final), and ḍarpūla (the same). Many words ending in īa are of obscure etymology.

1190. ā 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: ṭkāḷa precising, ṭvāḷa lofty, takvā quick, dhṛuvā fixed, pakvā ripe, padvā going, yahvā quiec(?), čārā n. pr., hrasvā short, čikvā artful, rāṇvā joyful, ārdhvā lofty, vākva twining, ārvā stall; ēva quick, course, ācva horse, ārākva or śrkvā corner; and perhaps ūlba cauli; a feminine is prūvā (TS. pṛṣvā, AV. prusvā); with union-vowel are made sāciva companion, āmīva disease, and viṇḍāvā widow.

b. The words in va exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into ua.

1191. āi ri. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding u, a small number of derivatives.

a. Thus: āṅghri or āṅhri foot, ācṛi edge, āsṛi dawn, tandri or -drī weariness, bhūrī abundant, vāṅkri riō, sūrī patron, takrī quick, vādhri euuch, quḥhrī beautiful, sthūrī single (team); and, with urī, jásuri exhausted, dāquri pious, bhāguri n. pr., sāhuri mighty; āṅgūrī (or āṅgūṭi) finger.

1192. ā ru. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.

29*
a. Thus: āgru tear, ēāru dear, dhārū sucking, bhīrū timid;—
with preceding a-vowel: arāru inimical, patāru flying, vandāru praising,
pīyāru scoffing, qarāru harming;—with preceding e, tamēru relaxed,
maderū rejoicing, sanēru obtaining, himēru chilly, the evidently sec-
ondary mitēru ally, and pēru (of doubtful meaning).

b. The sondary suffix lu (see 1227 b) is apparently added to certain
nouns in ā from conjugation-stems, making derivatives that have a primary
aspect: thus, patayālu flying, spphayālu desiring.

1193. ṛī vi. By this suffix are made:

a. Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: jāgrvi awake,
dādhrvi sustaining, dīdīvi shining; and a very few other words: ghṛṣvi
lively, dhruvi firm, jīrvi worn out (AV.; elsewhere jīrvī); -pharvi is
doubtful.

b. Here may be mentioned cikītvīt (RV., once), apparently made with
a suffix vīt from a reduplicated root-form.

1194. Ṛ 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, kṣeqīu perishable, -gīsnū sick, jiṃū
victorious, dāṅkānu biting, bhūṣūn thriving, ni-ṣatēnu sitting down,
sthāsnū fixed; with union-vowel i, kariṣṇu, kāciṣṇu, kṣayiṣṇu, ga-
miṣṇu, grasiṣṇu, grahiṣṇu, cariṣṇu, janiṣṇu, jayiṣṇu, tapiṣṇu,
-trapiṣṇu, -patiṣṇu, -bhaviṣṇu, brājiṣṇu, madiṣṇu, -maviṣṇu,
yajiṣṇu, yāciṣṇu, -vadiṣṇu, vardhiṣṇu, -sahāṣṇu.

b. From secondary conjugation-stems: kopayiṣṇu, kṣapayiṣṇu,
cyāyaviṣṇu, janayiṣṇu, tāpayiṣṇu, namayiṣṇu, patayiṣṇu, poṣa-
yiṣṇu, pārayiṣṇu, bodhayiṣṇu, mādayiṣṇu, yamayiṣṇu, ropayiṣṇu,
-vārayiṣṇu, -qocayiṣṇu; and jāgarṣṇu. An anomalous formation is
ubāpiṣṇu.

These derivatives are freely compounded with prefixes: e. g.
niṣatēnu, prajaniṣṇu, abhīcayiṣṇu, saṁvāryiṣṇu.

It is not unlikely that the s of this suffix is originally that of a
stem, to which nu was added. Such a character is still apparent in kra-
viṣṇu craving raw flesh (kravia); and also in vadhasnū, vṛdhasnū (?),
and prathasnu (?).

1195. Ś sna. Extremely few words have this ending.

a. It is seen in tikṇā sharp, and perhaps in ṣlakṣṇā, -rūkṣṇā,
-mārtana; and in gēṣṇa and dēṣṇa (usually trisyllable: daṇṣṇa) 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, karāsa fore-arm; nā-
dīṣṇa skilled seems to be secondary. Feminines are mṛtanā loam, jyot-
ānā moonlight.
1196. ॥ tnu. This suffix is used in nearly the same way with ॥ snu (above, 1194).

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, kṛtnū active, gatnū (? RV.), hatnū deadly, -tatnū (?) stretching; and, from reduplicated roots, jīgatnū hastening, and jīghatnū harming; but also dārtnū bursting. Also, with union-vowel, dravātnū running, dayātnū (? LCS.).

b. With causative stems: for example, drāvāyitnū hastening, poṣayitnū nourishing, mādayitnū intoxicating, tanayitnū and stanayitnū thunder, śūdayitnū flowing, -āmayitnū sickening.

c. With preceding a, in piyātnū scoffing, mehatnū a river, ā-rutanāt n breathing into; and kavatnū miserly (obscure derivation).

1197. ॥ sa. The words ending in suffixal ॥ sa, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. Thus:

a. With sa simply: gṛṣṭa clever, jēṣa winning (rather, aoristic s? 1148), -dṛṣṭa looking, rukṣa shining, rukṣa rough; útsa n. fountain; bhīṣa f. fear (or from the secondary root bhīṣ).

b. With preceding i-vowel: taviṣa (t. taviṣ) strong, mahiṣa (t. māniṣ mighty, bhariṣa (?) seeking booty; jīṣa rushing, pūriṣa rubbing, maniṣa f. devotion; and compare rayiṣin (?) SV.).

c. With preceding u-vowel: aruṣa (t. āruṣ) red, aṣuṣa ravenous, tāruṣa overcome, pūruṣa and mánuṣa (-us-a?) man; piyūṣa biestings.

1198. ॥ si. A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps produced by the addition of i to sa).

a. Thus, atasi vagabond, dhārṇasi firm, sānasi winning; and dhāśi m. drink, t. station, sarasi (?) pool.

1199. ॥ abha. A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

a. Thus, vṛābhā and ṛābhā bull, ṇarabhā a certain fabulous animal, ṇerabhā a certain snake, gardabhā and rāsabhā as; further, kanabha, karabha and kalabha, laṭābhā, ṇalabha; and, with other union-vowels, tuptībhā, nundībhā, and kukkubha. The feminine, if occurring, is in I; and kaṭabhā is found without corresponding masculine. AV. has the adjective sthūlabhā, equivalent to sthūlā.

1200. A few words ending in the consonants t, d, j, etc., and for the most part of doubtful root-connections, were given above, at 383k (3-5, 7); it is unnecessary to repeat them here. Certain of those in at are perhaps related to the participles in ant (1172).

1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by
the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or are doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.

a. A few such may be mentioned here: anda in karanḍa and vāraṇḍa and certain unquotable words (prakritized a-forms from the present participle); era or ora in unquotable words, and elima (above, 986 d: perhaps a further derivative with secondary ima from era); mara (ma or man with secondary ra added) in ghasmara, erva mara, etc.; - sara in matsara, kara in puṣkara and other obscure words, pa in puṣpa, stupā, stūpa, and a number of other obscure words; and so on.

B. Secondary Derivatives.

1202. Words of secondary derivation are made by the addition of further suffixes to stems already ending in evident suffixes.

a. But also, as pointed out above (1137 b), to pronominal roots.

b. Further, in exceptional cases, to indeclinables, to case-forms, and to phrases: e. g. antarvant, apitvā, paratastva, sahatsva, sarva trika, aikadhyā, māmakā, āmuṣmika, āmuṣyāpanā, apsamānt, apasvāyā, kimcanyā, kimkartavyatā, kvācitka, nāstika, akimcin 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; v and o and an (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, vṛṣāvant, vṛṣaṇa, vṛṣa, vṛṣatvā, vṛṣṇya, from vṛṣan. Of a stem ending in ant, the weak form, in at, is regularly taken: thus, vāivasvata (vivāsvant).

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: satītva, bhāryātva, pranītātvā, bhāratīvant, rakṣāvant, priyāvant. On the other hand, a final long vowel — ī, much more rarely ā — generally of a feminine stem, is sometimes shortened in derivation: thus, yājyāvant, praçākhvant, goṣṭama, vaçātama, sadhanītva, jaratīka, annā-
dtamā (cf. 471 b), rohīntvā (TB.; -ṇītvā (B.), prthivivā, prati-patnivat, sārasvatīvant.

a. As was pointed out above (111 c, d), the combination of a secondary suffix with a stem is sometimes made according to the rules of external combination. Such cases are pointed out under the suffixes īya (1215 e), ka (1232 m), maya (1226 a), min (1231 b), vin (1232 c), van (1233 i), vān (1234 c), mant (1235 f), tva (1239 c), taya (1245 a), tya (1245 c), tana (1245 i).

1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the vyādhi-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, ācvinā (ācvinā, sāumyā (sōma), pārthiva (prthivī), āmītra (āmītra), sām-rājya (samrāj), sāukṛtya (sukṛtā), māitrāvaruṇā (mītrāvāruṇā), uccāśihṛuvasā (uccāśihṛuvās). As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.

b. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by y or v, the semivowel is sometimes vṛddhied, as if it were i or u, and the resulting ā 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, nāliyāika from nyāyā (as if nityāya), vāliyāvā from vyāqva (as if vīyaqva), sāvauqyā from svāqva (as if suvaqva); but it occurs also in other cases, as sānvarā from svāra, ānvara from qvan, against svāyambhavā (svayambhū), and so on. AV. has irregularly kāverakahā from kūvera (as if from kvēra, without the euphonie v inserted).

d. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes a and ya; also regularly before i, āyana, eya (with ineya), and later īya; before the compound aka and ika, and later aki; and, in single sporadic examples, before na, ena, ra, and tva (?): see these various suffixes below.

e. Sometimes an unstrengthened word is prefixed to one thus strengthened, as if the composition were made instead of before the strengthening: e.g. indradāvatya having Indra as divinity (Instead of ain-dradevatya), caramācaṇḍika with head to the west, jīvalakṣikā belonging to the world of the living, antarbhāuma within the earth, somārādra, gurulāghava (cf. tāmasāṁ guṇalakṣanām M. xii. 35). But especially when the first word is of numeral value: as qataqāraḍa of a hundred years, paṇcāgadādiya, trisāṃvatsara, bahuvārṣika-aṇṭavārṣika, anekavarṣasāhasana, daṇḍasārasa, trisāhasri, tripāruṣa, caturādhyāyi or -yikā of four chapters, etc. etc.
f. More often, both members of a compound word have the initial strengthening: e. g. sāumāpāṇṇā, kāurupāṇcāla, cāturvāidyā, āihalāukika, āikabhāuktika, trāistubjāgata, yājurvāidyā. Such cases are not rare.

g. The guṇa-strengthening (except of a final u-vowel: 1203 a) is only in the rarest cases an accomplishment of secondary derivation. Exceptions are dvayā and trayā and nāvā (1209 i), bheṣajā and devā (1209 j), drōpa (1223 g), ĉekhara (1226 a).

1205. Accent. a. The derivatives with initial vṛddhi-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable. And usually it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be furthest removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix eya: 1216).

b. No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial vṛddhi); and in a single case (tā: 1237) it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.

1206. Meaning. a. The great mass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But, as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality expressed attributively by the adjective; and neuter 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:

| a  | 1208-9 | maya  | 1225 | tvā, tvatā | 1239 |
| ya | 1210-13 | ra, ira, etc. | 1236 | tvanā | 1240 |
| iya | 1214 | la, lu | 1227 | tara, tama | 1242 |
|iya | 1215 | va, vala, vaya, | ra, ma |
| eya, eyya | 1216 | vya | 1228 | tha |
| enya | 1217 | cā | 1239 | titha |
| āyya | 1218 | in | 1230 | taya | 1245 |
| āyana | 1219 | min | 1231 | tya |
| āyi | 1220 | vin | 1232 | ta |
| ī, āki | 1221 | vant | 1233 | na |
| ka, aka, ika | 1222 | van | 1234 | tana, tna |
| na, āna, ina, | 1223 | mant | 1235 | vat |
| ina, ena | 1233 | tā | 1237 | kāta |
| ma, ima, mna | 1224 | tāti, tāt | 1238 | vana, āla |

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 vyāddhi-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 meta (āyus), mānasā relating to the mind (mānas), saumanasā friendliness (sumānas), brāhmaṇā priest (brāhmaṇa), hāimavatā from the Himalaya (hīmāvant), āṅgirasā of the Āṅgiras family (āṅgiras); hāstina elephantine (hāṣṭīna), māruta pertaining to the Maruts (marūṭa); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, cārada autumnal, vārājā relating to the virāj, pāuṣāṇa belonging to Pāuṣāṇ; āṅrikṣatā son of Āṅrikṣat; — with accent unchanged, mānuṣa descendant of Mānuṣa.

c. The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in vant; it is added to the weakest in māghona and vātraghna; the ending in remains unchanged; an usually does the same, but some-
times loses its a, as in pāuṣṇā, trāiṇvṛṣṇā, dāṣṭaraṇā; and sometimes its n, as in brāhmaṇā, āukṣā, bārhatāṣama.

d. From primitives in y: jāṭra victorious (jetṛ or jēṭṛ conqueror), tvāṣṭrā relating to Tvāṣṭar, sāvitrā descendant of the sun (savitṛ), śūdbhetra, pāitra.

e. From primitives in u: usually with guṇa-strengthening of the u, as vāsavā relating to the Vāsas, ārtavā concerning the seasons (ṛtū), dānava child of Dānus (dānu), sāṁdhavā from the Indus (sāṁdhū); — but sometimes without, as mādha full of sweets (mādhu), pāryā side (pāryu rib), pāidvā belonging to Pādu, tāṅva of the body (tāṅu), yādva of Yādu.

f. From primitives in i and i, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: pāṛthiva earthly (ṛthivī), sārasvatā of the Sārasvati, āindrāṇu belonging to Indra and Agni (indrāṅgi); pāṅkta five-fold (paṅktī), nāīrīṭā belonging to Nirṛti, pāṛthuraṃcā of Pṛthuraṃci, pāçuṃpāta of Paçuṃpāti.

g. From primitives in ā, which in like manner disappears: yāmunā of the Yāminā, sārāghā honey etc. (sārāghā bee), kānīṇā natural child (kānīṇā 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 inimical (āmitra enemy), vāruṇā of Vāruṇa, vaḷiṇvadeva belonging to all the gods (vaḷiṇvadeva), nāṁrastā handlelessness (nāṁrasta), vaḷiyaṃvā descendant of Vyāṇa; gārdabha asinine (gārdabhā), dāīva divine (devā), mādhyāṃdina meridional (madhyāṃdina), pāūtra grandchild (putṛ son), sāūbhaga good fortune (subhāga), vāḍhryavṛṣa of Vāḍhryavṛṣa's race; with unchanged accent (comparatively few), vāṣānta vernal (vasānta spring), māiṭrā Mitra's, ātīthigvā of Atīthigvā's race, dāivodāsa Dīvoda's. In a few instances, ya is replaced by the suffix: thus, sāura, pāuṣā, yājñāvalka.

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 ā (see 332 a).

1209. The derivatives made by adding ā a without vrddhi-change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of the transfer to an a-declension of words of other finals.
a. A number of examples of stems in a made by transfer were noticed above (399). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition (1315): thus, further, apa- (for ap or āp water), -roa, -nara, etc.; from stems in an, -aha, -vṛṣa, etc.; but also -ahna and -vṛṣṇa and vṛṣṇa; from stems in i, -āṅgula, -rātra, etc.; from the weakest forms of añc-stems (407) uccā, nicā, parācā, etc.

b. Also occurring especially in composition, yet likewise as simple words often enough to have an independent aspect, are derivatives in a from nouns in as (rarely in, us): thus, for example, tāmasā, rajasā, payasā, brahmavarchasā, sarvavedasā, devāinasā, paruṣā, tryāyuṣā, and probably mānuṣa.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in in are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix ina: thus, malina polluted, paramesṭhīna 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, ṣvāntā (?) vasantā spring, hemantā winter, večantā etc. tank, jīvantī a certain healing plant; and others occur later, as jayanta, taranta, madhumanta, etc. They are said to be accepted on the final.

e. From añc-stems (407) are made a few nouns ending in k-a: thus, ánūka, āpāka, upāka, prátiṅka, parākā, etc.

f. From stems in i, hotrā, netrā, neṣṭrā, potrā, praṣṭrā, etc., from titles of priests; also dhātrā, bhrātrā, etc.

g. Other scattering cases are: savidyutā, āyuṣā, virudha, kākuda, kakubhā, acūsa, bhūmyā, sakhyā, ádhipatya, jāsapatya, araṭvā, pāṇḍvā.

h. The Vedic gerundives in tva (tua), made by addition of a to abstract noun-stems in tu, have been already (988 a) fully given.

i. Trayā and dvayā come with guṇa-strengthening from numeral stems; nāva new in like manner from nū now; and antār apparently from antār.

j. Bheṣajā medicine is from bhiṣaj healer, with guṇa-change; and probably devala heavenly, divine, god, in like manner from div sky, heaven (there is no "root div shine" in the language).

1210. Ṛ Ṛa. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.

a. The derivatives in ya exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a ya-element—iya, lyā, eya, āyya, eyya, enya—are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the ya when it follows a consonant is dissyllabic in
metrical value, or is to be read as īa. Thus, in RV., 266 words (excluding compounds) have īa, and only 75 have ya always; 46 are to be read now with īa and now with ya, but many of these have ya only in isolated cases. As might be expected, the value īa is more frequent after a heavy syllable: thus, in RV., there are 188 examples of īa and 27 of ya after such a syllable, and 73 of īa and 96 of ya after a light syllable (the circumflexed ya—that is to say, īa—being, as is pointed out below, 1212,1, more liable to the resolution than ya or yā). It must be left for further researches to decide whether in the ya we 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 ī is made, either alone or beside one in yā: e. g. cāturmāsi, āgniçeśi, ṛāṇḍili, ārī (and āryā), dāivi (and dāivyā), sāumī (and sāumyā); dhīrī, čīrāṇī, śvari, etc.

1211. Derivatives in ṝya with initial vṛddhi-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in īa (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, dāivyā divine (devā), pāliṭya gravity (palitā), graśiva cervical (grivā), ārtvijya priestly office (ṛtvī), gṛhpātya householder’s (gṛhāpati), jānarāja kingship (janarāj), sāṁgrāmajītya victory in battle (saṁgrāmajīt), sāuvaśgya wealth in horses (svāqva), ānudraśīṭya witness (upadraṣṭī); ādityā Aditya (āditi), sāumyā relating to soma, ātithyā hospitality (ātithi), prajāpatyā belonging to Prajāpati, vālmīnasyā mindlessness (vāmānās), sāhadevyā descendant of Sakādeva;—with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, lāukyā of the world (lokā), ṛāvyā of the Kavi-race, āṛtvā descendant of Rūti, vāyāvyā belonging to the wind (vāyā), rāivatyā wealth (revaṃ);—with unchanged accent (very few), ādhipatyā lordship (ādhipati), ṛāṣṭhyā excellence (ṛeṣṭha), vālīya belonging to the third caste (vīc people), pāumnasya manliness (pūmsa).
b. The AV. has once nāirbādhyā, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through nāirbādha; vāśṇavyāū (VS. i. 12) appears to be dual fem. of vāśṇavī.

1212. Derivatives in या without initial vrddhi-strengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in य्या, 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 (īā); 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: áavya equine (āvya), áṅgya of the limbs (āṅga), múkhya foremost (múkha mouth), ávya ovine (āvī), gávyà bovine (gó), víṣya of the people (vīṣ), dúrya of the door (dúr), nárya manly (nī), víśṇya virile (vīṣan), svarájya autocracy (svarāj), suvīrya wealth in retainers (suvīra), víçvájanyà of all men, víçvádevyà of all the gods (vīçvádeva), mayúraçepyà peacock-tailed.

c. In the last words, and in a few others, the या appears to be used (like ka, 1222 b: cf. 1212 m) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound; and so further suhástya (beside the equivalent suhásta), mádhuhastya, dāçamáṣya, miçrádhânya, anyódarya, samáñodarya.

2. d. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with vrddhi-increment) are: káñṭhyà guttural (káñṭhá), skándhya humeral (skándhá), vrátyà of a ceremony (vrátá), méghya in the clouds (mégá), pítrya of the Fathers (píṭ), prátiñyà adverse (prátiñá). Hírañyàya of gold (hírañya), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward and in retaining the final a of the primitive; and gávyàya and aváya (also ávayàya) are to be compared with it as to formation.

3. e. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are: divyà heavenly (dív), satyà true (sánt), vyághryà tigine (vyághrā), kavyà wise (kavi), grámyà of the village (gráma), somyà relating to the soma, anenasyà sinlessness (anena), adakśinyà not fit for dákṣinà.

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.: viq), hrṣyā of the heart (hrṣ), vidyutyā of the lightning (vidyūt), rājanyā of the royal class (rājan), dōṣanyā of the arm (dōsān), čṛṣanyā of the head (čṛṣān), karmanyā active (kārman), dhanvanyā of the plain (dhānvan), namasyā reverend (nāmas), tvacasyā cuticular (tvācas), bhrīṣyā of barki, āyuṣyā giving life (āyua), bhasadyā of the buttocks (bhasād), prācyā eastern (prāne), etc. Of exceptional formation is aryamyā intimate (aryaman), with which doubtless belong sātmāya (sātman) and sākṣaya (sāksin).

h. From u-stems: hanavyā of the jaws (hānu), vāyavyā belonging to Vāyu, paqavyā relating to cattle (paqū), īṣavyā relating to arrows (īsu), mādhavyā of the sweet (mādhun), aṣavyā of the waters (aṣū loc.), raqavyā of rope (raju); qaravyā t. arrow (qāru, dō.); and there may be added nāvyā navigable (especially in fem., nāvyā navigable stream: nāu boat). The RV. has prāqavyā to be partaken of (pra+i+qā), without any corresponding noun prācu; and also ērjavyā rich in nourishment (ūṛj), without any intermediate ūṛju.

i. Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (964), the so-called gerundives in tavyā, as made by the addition of ya to the infinitive noun in tu. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later tavya wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous verbal derivatives.

j. From i- and I-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS. has dundubhī from dundubhi.

k. From a-stems: svargyā heavenly (svarga), devatāya relating to a deity (devatā), prapathāya guiding (prapathā), budhnyā fundamental (budhnā), jaghanyā hindmost (jaghāna), varunyā Vāruna's, viṛyā might (viṛa), udarnyā abdominal (udāra), utanyā of the fountain (ūtsa); and from a-stems, urvarya of cultivated land (urvārā), svāhyā relating to the exclamation svāhā.

l. The circumflexed ya is more generally resolved (into īa) than the other forms of the suffix; thus, in RV. it is never to be read as ya after a heavy syllable ending with a consonant; and even after a light one it becomes īa in more than three quarters of the examples.

m. There are a few cases in which ya appears to be used to help make a compound with governing proposition (next chapter, 1310: cf. 1212 c): thus, apikākyā 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, ānvāntrya through the entrails, āpaṃśya in each month, abhinābhyā up to the clouds, antahpapācavyā between the ribs, adhigātya on the chariot seat; of unknown accent, adhihastya, anuprāṭhya, anunāśikya, anuvaṇqya.

1213. The derivatives in ûya as to which it may be
questioned whether they are not, at least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, 983) 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 cētya, bhāvya, -hāvyā, mārjya, yōdhyā; also -mādya, -vācya, bhāvyā); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, praqāsya, upasādya, vihāvya (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, anāpya, anapavṛtya)—exceptions are only bhāvya and the doubtful ākāya; the ya resolved into īa in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by t (In -īta, -kṛtya, -ṛūtya, -stūtya, and the reduplicated carkṛtya, beside carkṛti: not in nāvya and -hāvya), and ā changed to e (in -deya only). If regarded as secondary, they might be made with ya, in accordance with other formations by this suffix, in part from the root-noun, as anukṛṭ-ya, in part from derivatives in a, as bhāvya (from bhāva).

b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about twenty-five) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in yā with the same value: thus, for example, ādyā estable, kāryā to be done, samāpya to be obtained, atitārya to be overpassed, nivibhārya to be carried in the apron, prathamāvāsya to be first worn. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as parivargyā to be avoided, avimokya not to be gotten rid of, where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitives in ga and ka (216 h).

c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence neuter abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition (in AV., only cītya and stēya as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: brahmajīyāya, vasudēya, bhāgadēya, pūrvasēya, qataśēya, abhihūya, devahūya, mantraśrūtya, karmakṛtya, vytratūrya, hotṛvūrya, ahihātya, satrasādya, ċiraśhūda, brahmācārya, nṛṣāhāya. Of exceptional form are ṛtōdyā (yvād and sahaśēyya (yāś); of exceptional accent, sadhāstutya. And AV. has one example, ranyā, with circumflexed final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a smaller class of feminines in yā: thus, kṛtā, vidyā, ītyā, agnicityā, vājajityā, muśtihātya, devayāyā, etc.

e. There remain, of course, a considerable number of less classifiable words, both nouns and adjectives, of which a few from the older language may be mentioned, without discussion of their relations: thus, sūrya (with
fem. sūryā), ājya, pūṣya, nābhya; yūjya, gṛdhya, ṭrya, aryā and ārya, mārya, mādhya.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with ya may best be next taken up.

1214. या iya. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of या would create a combination of difficult utterance. It has the same variety of accent with ya. Thus:

a. With accent िya (= िa or या): for example, abhrīya (also abhrīyā) from the clouds (abhrā), kṣatriya having authority (kṣatrá), yajñīya reverend (yajñā), hoṭrīya libational (hoṭrá), amitriya inimical (amitā).

b. With accent िyā (= िá or यá): for example, agrīyā (also agrīya) foremost (āgra), indriyā Indra’s (later, sense: īndra), kṣetriyā of the field (kṣetra).

c. With accent on the primitive: qroṭriya learned (qroṭra), ṭtvīya (also ṭtvīya) in season (ṛtū).

1215. या iya. This suffix also is apparently by origin a या (ia) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic ि. It is accented always on the ि.

a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only ārjikiya and gṛhamedhiya, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. parvatiya mountainous (AV., beside RV. parvatya). In the Brāhmaṇas are found a number of adjectives, some of them from phrases (first words of verses and the like): thus, anyarṣṭriya, pañcavatiya, mārjāliya, kāyā- qbūhiya, svāduṣkiliya, āpohiṣṭhiya, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (865) that derivative adjectives in या from action-nouns in anā begin in later Veda and in Brāhmaṇa to be used gerundially, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language. But adjectives in aniya without gerundive character are also common.

c. Derivatives in या with initial vṛddhi are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. pārvariya, pātāputriya, āparapākṣiya, vāirakiya.

d. The pronominal possessives madiya etc. (518 a) do not occur either in Veda or in Brāhmaṇa; but the ordinals dvitiya etc. (467 b, c: with fractionala tṛtiya and tūrīya: 468 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. य a. With this suffix, accompanied by vṛddhi-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.

b. A more than usual proportion of derivatives in aya come from primitives in i or ñ; and probably the suffix first gained its form by addition of ya to a gminated i, though afterward used independently.

c. The gerundive etc. derivatives in ya (above, 1213) from a-roots end in aya; and, besides such, RV. etc. have sabhaya from sabha, and didrakesya worth seeing, apparently from the desiderative noun didrka, after their analogy. M. has once adhyeya as gerund of yi.

d. Derivatives in the so-called suffix ineya as bhaginaya, jyatiheyna, kaniitheyna are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in -ini (fem.).

e. In eyya (l.e. eyia) end, besides the neuter abstract sahaqeyya (above, 1213c), the adjective of gerundival meaning stuseyya (with aoristive s added to the root), and capatheyya curse-bringing (or accursed), from capatha.

1217. य a. The y of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in varea) on the e: thus, -enya.

b. The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (966b, 1019b, 1038). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, virenya manly (vira), and kirtyena famous (kirti), and TS. has anabhiqasteny (abhipasti); vilenya (RV.) is a word of doubtful connection; qisqeny a instructive is found in a Sutra; pravrany of the rainy season occurs later.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.
1218. अय्य. 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 अय्य.

a. A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur; thus, bahupāya protecting many, nippāya men-guarding; kunḍapāya, and -purumāya, proper names; pūrvapāya first-drink, mahayāya enjoyment; — and rasāya nervous, and uttamāya summit, contain no verbal root. Alāya is doubtful; also såy, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with prahāyā (AV.: ṣhi) messenger, and pravāy (AV.), of doubtful value.

1219. अय्य. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, patronymics made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in या, and have vṛddhi-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

a. In RV., the only example of this formation is kāṇvāya (voc.: kāṇva); AV. has in metrical parts dākṣayānā and the fem. rāmāyāni; and āmugāyānā son of so-and-so (516) in its prose; CB. has rāja-stambāyāna beside -bāyanā. The RV. name ukṣaṇyāyāna is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. अय. Only a very few words are made with this suffix, namely agnāyi (agni) Agni's wife vṛṣakapāyi wife of Vriahākapī; and later pūtakratāyi, and manāyi Manu's wife (but manāvī CB).

a. They seem to be feminines of a derivative a made with vṛddhi-increment of the final i of the primitive.

1221. य. Derivatives made with this suffix are patronymics from nouns in a. The accent rests on the initial syllable, which has the vṛddhi-strengthening.

a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronymics in य: for example, āgniveći, pāuruikutai, prātardani, sāṃvarani; AV. has but one, prāhrādi; in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, in AB., sāuyavasi, jānaṇtapi, āruṇi, jānaki, etc. A single word of other value—sārathī charioteer (sarātham)—is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix aki—as vāiyāsaksi descendant of Vyasā— are doubtless properly derivatives in य from others in ka or aka. That the secondary suffix ika is probably made by addition of ka to a derivative in य is pointed out below (1222).j.

c. RV. has tāpuṣi, apparently from tāpus with a secondary ī added, and the n. pr. qucantī; bhuvantī is found in B., and jīvantī later.

1222. का. 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: ántaka (ánta) end-making, bálhika (bálh) of Bálkha, àndika (àndá) egg-bearing, súcika (súc) stinging, urváraká fruit of the gard (urvárú), paryáyiká (paryáyá) strophic; from numerals, ekáka, dváká, triká, àstaka; títíyaka of the third day; from pronoun-stems, asmáka ours, yuṣmáka yours, mámaka mine (516b): from prepositions, ántiká near, ánuka following, ávaká a plant (later adhíka, utka); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides ástaka and títíyaka, already given), rúpaka (rúpá) with form, báhruka (báhrú brown) a certain lizard. Bhávatka your worship’s has an anomalous initial vṛddhi.

d. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: àçváká nag, kaníнакa and kumáraká boy, kanníнака or kanníнака girl, pádáká little foot, putráká little son, rájaká princeling, cákuntuká 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 anyáká (K.V.), álakám (R.V.: from álám), and even the verb-form yámáki (for yámi: K.B.).

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: ástaka home, násíká nostril, mákálká fly, avíká ewe, íṣuká arrow, dúráká distant, sárváká all, dhénuaká (dhénu) cow, nágнакa (nagná) naked, báddhaka (báddhá) captive, abhinnatarka by no means different, anastamitáké before
sunset, vamraka ant, arbhakā small, čiŋukā young, aŋiyaska ōner, ejatakā trembling, abhimāyatākā intoxicated, patayiŋukā flying. Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable; from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in ka or kā (according to the gender).

g. From compound primitives: svalpakā very small, vīmanyuka removing wrath, vikṣiṇatākā destroying, pravartamānakā moving forward, vikṣiṇakā destroyed.

h. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, ka is often added to a possessive adjective compound (1307), sometimes redundantly, but usually in order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, anakṣika eyeless, atvākka skinless, aretasāka without seed, vyasthaka boneless, sačirākṣa along with the head, ekagāyatiṣṭhika containing a single gāyatri-verse, yagatāvasīvarīka one who has taken yesterday’s water, sapatnīka with his spouse, bahuḥasthika having many elephants, sadikṣopasātikā with dikṣā and upasad, aḥitasamitkā with his fuel laid on, abhinavavasyaṣa of youthful age, aŋgaṣṭhamātraka of thumb size.

i. The vowel by which the ka is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in ikā is so common beside a masculine in aka as to be its regular correspondent (as is the case with the so-called primary aka: above, 1181). In RV. are found beside one another only iyattakā and iyattikā; but AV. has several examples.

j. Two suffixes made up of ka and a preceding vowel — namely, aka and ika — are given by the grammarian’s as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial vṛddhi-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless originally made by addition of ka to a final i or a, though coming to be used independently.

k. Of vṛddhi-derivatives in aka no examples have been noted from the older language (unless māmakā mine is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, āvaṇyaka necessary; vārdhadaka old age, rāmāniyaka delightfulness.

l. Of vṛddhi-derivatives in ika, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: vāsantika vernal, vāṛṣika of the rainy season, hāmantiṣṭhika wintry (none of them in RV.); AV. has kāiratikā of the Kārtas, apparent fem. to a masc. kāirataka, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: vāḍikā relating to the Vedas, dhārmika religious, āhnikā daily, vāṃyika well-behaved, dānvarīka doorkeeper, nāyāyaika versed in the Nyāya.

m. Before the suffix ka, some finals show a form which is characteristic of external rather than internal combination. A final sonant mute, of course, becomes surd, and an aspirate loses its aspiration (117 a, 114): cf. -upasatka, -samitkā, above, h. So also a palatal becomes guttural (as before t etc.: 217): e. g. -srukka, -rūkka, -tvakka, aŋykka. A s remains after ā, and becomes ō after an alterant vowel (180): e. g. sadyaṣka, jyotiṣka, dīṛghāyuṭka. But the other sibilants take the form
they would have in composition: thus, adikka (diq), šatka, -vijka, -tijka (šas etc.). Anāṣīka (TS.: ācis) is anomalous; and so is parutka (Āpast.), if it comes from parus.

1223. Several suffixes, partly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a  m as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here.

a. A few derivatives in āna in RV. were given above (1175a).

b. With ānī (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a small number of words, chiefly wife-names: thus, īndrāṇī, varuṇāṇī (these, with uṣinārāṇī, purukūṭāṇī, mudgalāṇī, ṕījāṇī, are found in RV.), rudrāṇī, mātulāṇī maternal uncle's wife, carvāṇī, bhavāṇī, iṣāṇāṇī, cakraṇī, upādhyaṇāṇī, mṛḍāṇī, brahmāṇī; and yavāṇī.

c. The feminines in nī and knī from masculine stems in ta have been already noticed above (1178d). From pāti master, husband the feminine is pātnī, both as independent word, spouse, and as final of an adjective compound: thus, devāpatnī having a god for husband, śindupatnī having the Indus as master. And the feminine of paruṣā rough is in the older language sometimes pāruṣī.

d. With īna are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final añō (407 ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, apacīna, nīcīna, prācīna, arvācīna and arvācīna, pratīcīna and pratičīnā, samicīnā. Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later: examples are samvatsārīṇa yearly, pravṛṣiṇa of the rainy season, vīcva-jānīna of all people, jñātakulīṇa of known family, adhvanīṇa traveller (ādhvan way), āqvīna day's journey on horseback (āqva horse). RV. has once mākīna mine.

e. With ena is made sāmidhenā (l. -ṇī), from samidh, with initial strengthening.

f. As to a few words in īna, compare 1209 o.

g. The adjectives made with simple na fall partly under another head (below, 1245 f.); here may be noted qūraṇa heroic(?), phālguna, qma-qrupā, dadrupā, and, with vṛddhi-strengthening, strāṇa woman's (its correlative, pāmnana, occurs late) and cyautā incenting. If drōṇa comes from dru wood, it has the anomaly of a guṇa-strengthening.

1224. Certain suffixes containing a  m may be similarly grouped.

a. With ima are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in tra: thus, khanitraiva made by digging, kṣitrama artificial, datatrama, pakatrama, pūträma; in other finals, kuṭtimana, gaṇīna, talima, tulima, pākima, udgarīma, vṛtyogīma, saṃvyūhīna, nirvedhīna, āsāṅgīma, all late. In agrīma (RV.) foremost the ma has perhaps the ordinal value.

b. The uses of simple ma in forming superlatives (474) and ordinals (487d, e) have already been noticed, and the words thus made specified.
A few neuter abstracts end in mna: thus, dyumná brightness, nṛṃṇā manliness; and, from particles, nimná depth and sumná welfare. The suffix comes perhaps from man with an added a.

d. For the words showing a final min, see below, 1231.

1225. māyā. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying made or composed or consisting of, also abounding in, that which is denoted by the primitive.

a. The accent is always on the mā, and the feminine is regularly and usually in māyī. In the oldest language (V.), final s remains unchanged before the suffix: thus, manasāyā, nabhāsāyā, ayasāyā; but d is treated as in internal combination: thus, mṛṇmāyā; and in the Brāhmaṇas and later, finals in general have the latter treatment: e.g., tejomāyā, adomāyā, āpomāyā, jyotirmāyā, yajurmāyā, etanmāyā, asrāmāyā, vāṃmāyā, ammāyā, prāvṛṣmāyā. RV. has aśmanmāyā (later aśumnmāyā). In hiraṃmāyā (B. and later) the primitive (hiraṃyā) is peculiarly mutilated. RV. has summāyā of good make, and kim-māyā made of what?

b. A very few examples of a feminine in yā occur in the later language.

1226. 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: pāṇsurā dusty, -qrīrā (also -qīlā) in aqrīrá ugly, dhūmrā dusky (dhūmā smoke), madhura (late) sweet. In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, āgnidhra of the fire-kindler (agnidhā), qānkurā stake-like (qānkū); and in čekhara (also čikhara), a guṇa-strengthening.

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, mēdhira wise, rathirā in a chariot; karmāra smith; dantura (late) tuaked; acchēra (? MS.), čramānera, saṅgamanera.

c. The use of ra in forming a few words of comparative meaning was noticed above (474), and the words so made were given.

1227. la. This and the preceding suffix are really but two forms of the same. In some words they exchange with one another, and la is usually, but not always, the later form in use.

a. Examples are: bahulā abundant, madhulā (later madhura) and madhulā sweet, bhimala fearful, jivalā lively, aqrīlā (and aqrīrā) wretched; with a, vācāla talkative (late); with i, phenīla foamy (late:
phéna); with u, vátula, and vátula windy (late: váta); and mátula maternal uncle is a somewhat irregular formation from mäté mother.

b. In the later language are found a few adjectives in lu, always preceded by á; examples are: kṛṣāla and dayālu compassionate, īryālu jealous, uṣānu heated, ṣayālu and sapānu sleepy, lajjālu modest, lālālu drooling, qradhālu trusting, krodhālu passionate. One or two such derivatives having a primary aspect were noticed at 1182 b.

1228. ॐ va. A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Examples are: arṇāva bilowy, keçāva hairy; rāsnāva girded; añjívā slippery, qantívā tranquillising, qradhivā credible, amaṇiva jewelless, rājiva striped.

b. There are a very few adjectives in vāla and vaya which may be noticed here: thus, kṛṣāvalā peasant (kṛṣi ploughing), устройвалá wooly, rajasvāla, īrjasvāla, payasvāla, qādvāla, naḍvala, qikhāvala, dan-tāvala; druṣvāya wooden dish, caturvāya fourfold.

c. With vya are made two or three words from names of relationship, thus, pɪṭtvya paternal uncle, bhrāṭtvya nephew, enemy.

1229. ॐ ca. A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

a. Thus, romaça or lomacá hairy, ētaça (also etacá) variegated, arvaça or árvaca hasting, babhluçá or babhrucá and kapiça brownish, kṛṣṇacá blackish, yuvacá youthful, bāliça childish, karkacá harsh, karmaça (?) n. pr.; and giriça, vāriça (?), vṛkṣacá are doubtless of the same character (not containing the root qī). The character of harimaça, kācmaça, kālaça is doubtful.

b. Many of the adjective derivatives already treated have sometimes a possessive vainé, the general meaning of being concerned with, having relation to being specialized into that of being possession of. But there are also a few distinctively possessive suffixes; and some of these, on account of the unlimited freedom of using them and the frequency of their occurrence, are very conspicuous parts of the general system of derivation. These will be next considered.

1230. ॐ in. Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in ॐ or ॐ á, 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, 436 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: aqvin possessing horses, dhanin wealthy, pakfin winged, balin strong, bhagin fortunate, vajrin wielding the thunderbolt, qikhanin crested, hastin possessing hands, soqchin of sixteen, gardabanadin having an ass’s voice, brahmavarcasin of eminent sanctity, sadhudevin having luck at play, kucidarhvin having errands everywhither;—from a-stems, manaqin wise, qikhin crested, rtayin pious.

c. Derivatives from other stems are very few in comparison: thus, from i-stems, atithin(?), abhimatin, arcin, aqatin, urmin, kalamin, khadin, -patin, marcin, maunjin, -yonin, venin, samdhin, samddhin, surabhin (of these 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, catagvin (?), venavin (with guna of the u);—from stems in an, varmin, karmin, carmin, -hadmin, janmin, dhanvin, -charmin, namin, brahmin, yakmin, carmin, and qavanin;—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 hirajin (hiranya).

d. It was pointed out above (1183) that derivatives in in have assumed on a large scale the aspect and value of primary derivatives, with the significance of present participles, especially at the end of compounds. The properly secondary character of the whole formation is shown, on the one hand, by the frequent use in the same manner of words bearing an unmistakably secondary form, as praqnin, garbhin, jrunin, dhumin, ana nin, homin, matsarin, paripanthin, pravepanin, saangatin; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (216) before the in, which could only be as in replaced a: thus, arkin, -bhaagin, -saq gin, -rokin.

e. In a few cases, there appears before the in a y preceded by an a of inorganic character: thus, dhanvayin, tantrayin, qvetayin, arkayin, atatayin, pratithayin, marayin, rtayin, svadhayin (VS.: TB. -vin). 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 pravrjin, prasyandin, in the concluding part of ÇB., is doubtless false; and the same is to be suspected for Çaki, Sari, ïri (RV. each once).

g. A very few words in in have not suffered the possessive specialization. Such are vanin trie, hermit, kapotin dovelike, anphin scrotumlike (cf. 1233f).

1231. 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 — iamin
and गौमिन in ṚV., वाग्मिन in वB. — no such nouns are found in actual use beside them. In the later language, मिन is used as independent element in a very few words: thus, गौमिन possessing cattle, स्वामिन (Sūtras and later) master, lord (سا own), ककुडमिन humped.

b. The two words गौमिन and वाग्मिन show not only reversion but also sonantizing of an original palatal.

1232. बिन vin. The adjectives made with this suffix are also not numerous. They have the same meanings with those in र्न in. The accent is on the suffix.

a. The ṚV. has ten adjectives in विन; they become rather more common later. Though for them may be suspected a similar origin to those in यिन and मिन (above), signs of it are much less clearly traceable.

b. The great majority have विन added after आ: e. g. नमस्विन reverential, तपस्विन heated, तजस्विन brilliant, याचस्विन beautiful, and so रेतस्विन, एनस्विन, हरास्विन, etc.; and चातस्विन, चोतस्विन, रुपस्विन have an inserted ए, by analogy with them. Most others have ए (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, ग्लाविन, मेधाविन, मायाविन, सभाविन, अश्विन obedient to the god, द्वयाविन double-minded, उभयाविन possessing of both kinds, द्वानविन, तद्नविन, आमायाविन, अतात्विन. More rarely, विन is added after another consonant than ए: thus, वाग्विन, द्र्याविन, आत्माविन, कुमुदविन, स्राविन, यायिन, अविन. The doubtful word व्यास्विन (वB., once: तB. व्याक्ष्यिय) appears to add the ending (or इ, with euphonic व) to a present tense-stem.

c. An external form of combination is seen only in वाग्विन and द्र्याविन (both Vedic), with the common reversion of a palatal in व्राविन.

1233. वान वान. 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 ए or ऐ, 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 ए, very rarely उ — is in many words lengthened in the older language (247) before this ending, as in composition. Nouns in एn more often retain the ए.

c. Examples of the normal formation are: with unchanged accent, केकावान hairy, पुत्रावान having a son, प्रजानानावान productive, पुन्दरीकावान rich in lotus, दिरायावान rich in gold, अपुपावान having cakes, राजायावान allied with a kshatriya; प्रजावान having progeny, उप्रावान woolly, दक्षिणावान rich in sacrificial gifts; दानवान having friends, साप्तारावान accompanied by the seven sages; वाचिवान powerful; ताविवान vehement, पात्निवान with spouse, द्रिवान devoted,
dyāvāśptihivānt (94 b) with heaven and earth; viśuṇvant accompanied by Vishnuni; hārītvant golden, āvītvant hither turned, aśīrvant mixed with milk, svārvant splendid, ṣaḍāvantaś full of years, pūḥsvant having a male, pāyasvantaś rich, tāmaśvantaś dark, brāhmanvantaś accompanied with worship, rōmaṇvantaś hairy (but also romavantaś, lōmaṇvantaś, vṛtrahvantaś, etc.); kakūbhvant containing a kakuḥ; — with accent on the suffix, agnīvant having fire, rayivantaś wealthy, nṛvant manly, padvantaś having feet, nasvantaś with nose, śāsanvantaś having a mouth, qīṁantaś headed (also qīṁvant). d. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, aśīrvantaś beside aśīrvantaś possessing horses, suṭāvantaś having some expressed, viśūvantaś of virile force (about thirty such cases occur in V.); qāktivantaś mighty, svādhītvantaś having axes, ghṛṭivantaś hot; viśūvantaś dividing (viṣu apart). e. Certain special irregularities are as follows: an inserted s in indvantaś, māḥīvant; inserted n in vāṇavantaś, būḍhanvantaś, vāvhanvantaś, gartanvantaś, māḥsanvantaś; shortening of a final of the primitive in māyavantaś, yājīvant, purunuvākyaśvantaś, āmikṣavantaś, sarasvativantaś; abbreviation in hiṃvanta; inserted ī in cvasvantaś, sahasavantaś, and the odd mahimavantaś; anomalous accent in kṛčanavantaś (if from kṛčana pear?); derivation from particles in antārvantaś pregnant, viśūvantaś (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, māvant like me etc. (517: add īvant, kīvant). Other examples are indrasvantaś like Indra, nīdvantaś nestlike, nīlavantaś blackish, nṛvant manly, pṛṣadvantaś speckled, kṣaṭvant princey; compare the later paravantaś dependent. It was pointed out above (1107) that the adverb of comparison in vāt is the accusative neuter of a derivative of this class. g. In a few words, vant has the aspect of forming primary derivatives: thus, vivāvant (or vīvavantaś) shining, also n. pr., ānupadavantaś, ārvantaś, pīpīvantaś(?), yahvant. h. For the derivatives in vāt from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see 1245j. i. While this suffix is generally added to a primitive according to the rules of internal combination (see examples above, e), treatment also as in external combination begins already in RV., in pṛṣadvantaś (pṛṣat), and becomes more common later: thus, tapovantaś, tejovantaś, aṅgivantaś (beside tāpasvantaś etc.); vidyūvant (beside vidyutvant), bṛhadvantaś, jagadvantaś, sadvant, etc.; triṣṭubvantaś (against kakūbhvant), samidvantaś, vimūdvantaś; vāġvant (against ṣkvantaś); svaradvantaś; havyavādvant; aśīrvantaś. j. None of the suffixes beginning with v show in the Veda resolution of v to u.
1234. वन van. The secondary derivatives in this suffix belong to the older language, and are a small number, of which extremely few have more than an occurrence or two.

a. They have the aspect of being produced under the joint influence of primary वान and secondary वां. 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 वान: 1169 f.) is in वारी.

b. The Vedic examples are: from a-stems, गन्वान or गन्वान, गतावan (and f. -वारी), ग्हावan, धितावan, सत्यावan, सुन्नावारी, and मघावan; from a-stems, सुन्नावारी, सवाहावan (and f. -वारी); from i-stems, अमतिवान, अरतिवान, खुसिवान, मुखिवान, and क्रिलिवान (only in the further derivative क्रिलिवान); धितिवान; from consonant-stems, अत्हावान, साधवान, सावान (bad AV. variant to RV. सहावान); हार्दिवान (TA. also हार्दिवान). Somewhat anomalous are सहावान, इन्दहावान (for इन्दहावान?), and साइन्तिवान (for साइन्तिवान?). The only words of more than sporadic occurrence are गतावan, मघावan, अत्हावान.

c. साहोवान (see b) is the only example of external combination with this suffix.

1235. मान mant. This is a twin-suffix to वान vant (above, 1233); their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives in मान mant are much less frequent (in the older language, about a third as many), and are only very rarely made from a-stems.

a. If the accent of the primitive word is on the final, it is in the great majority of instances (three quarters) thrown forward upon the added suffix; otherwise, it maintains its place unchanged. A final vowel before the suffix is in only a few cases made long. Examples are:

b. With the accent of the primitive unchanged: काव्यावान, यावान मant rich in barley, and विभावान mant u. pr. (these alone from a-stems, and the first only occurring once); आवान possessing sheep, आचार्यान possessing rich in herbs, वाचार्यान carrying an axe, वासान possessing good things, माधुर्यान rich in sweets, तवाश्मान accompanied by Teashar, होत्रमान provided with priests, शूष्मान long-lived, ज्योतिश्मान full of brightness; — उल्कुषामान accompanied with meteors, पिलूषान (P), प्रसांसान having young shoots, गोमान rich in kine, गरुत्मान winged, विहात्मान with libation, काकुद्मान humped, विद्यामान (with irregular assimilation of t: VS. has also काकुमान्त) gleaming, विरुक्मान shining, हविष्मान with libations, विप्रुष्मान with drops.
c. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: aśimánt with knives, agnimánt having fire, iṣudhimánt with a quiver, paçasumánt possessing cattle, vāyumánt with wind, pitṛmánt (AV. pitṛmánt) accompanied by the Fathers, mātrāṁnant having a mother; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this division, and only once a consonant in dasmát (RV., once).

d. Protraction of a final vowel is seen in tvāṣīmánt, dhrājīmánt, hirīmánt; in jyōtīṣīmánt is irregularly inserted an ī (after the analogy of táviṣīmánt); in quciṣīmánt, mahīṣīmánt, an ś; suṣumant (RV., once) appears to be primary.

e. The adverb ācumát appears to be related to adverbs in vāt as the suffix mant to vant.

f. By the side of derivatives made with internal combination appears vidyūnmant even in RV.; and other like cases occur later: thus, pariṣrīnumt, kakumnumt, kṣumumt, puroruṁnumt, vāṁmant, kakumnumt, gudalīṇumt, yaṃcomant.

1236. It has been seen above (especially in connection with the suffixes a and ya) that the neuter of a derivative adjective is frequently used as an abstract noun. There are, however, two suffixes which have in the later language the specific office of making abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns; and these are found also, more sparingly used, in the oldest language, each having there one or two other evidently related suffixes beside it.

a. For derivatives of the same value made with the suffix iman, see above, 1188i-k.

1237. ता tā. With this suffix are made feminine abstract nouns, denoting the quality of being so and so, from both adjectives and nouns.

a. The form of the primitive is unchanged, and the accent is uniformly on the syllable preceding the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language are: devātā divinity, vīrātā manliness, puruṣātā human nature, agnītā firehood, apaḍūtā cattle-lessness, bandhūtā relationship, vasūtā wealth; nagnātā nakedness, suvīrātā wealth in retainers, anapatyātā lack of descendants, agōtā poverty in cattle, abrahmātā lack of devotion, aprajātā absence of progeny; also doubtless sūṁtā (from sūnāra), although the word is a few times used as an adjective (like gamtāti and satyatāti: see next paragraph).

c. Of special formation are mamātā selfishness, trētā triplicity, asttā actuality. RV. has svīrātā, with exceptional accent. In ekapatnātā is seen a shortened final vowel of the primitive. Janātā has acquired a concrete meaning, people, folk; also grāmātā (once) villages collectively.

1238. तत्त tattī, तत्त tatt. These suffixes are Vedic only, and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the preceding is
evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature. The accent is as in the derivatives with tā.

a. The quotable examples in tāti are: ariṣṭātāti uninjuredness, ayakṣāmatāti freedom from disease, gṛbhātāti the being seized, jyeṣṭhātāti supremacy, devātāti divinity, vasūtāti wealth, cāṃtāti good-fortune, sarvātāti completeness; and, with exceptional accent, āstātāti home, and dākṣātāti cleverness; cīvatāti and cūbahatāti occur (once each) in the later language. Two words in tāti are used adjectively (in-organically, by apposition): cāṃtāti (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 7, in manuscripts), and satīatāti (RV., once: voc.).

b. The words in tāt (apparently made by abbreviation from tāti) occur in only one or two case-forms; they were all mentioned above (383 k. 2).

1289. त्वा. With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in त्वा (above, 1237).

a. The neuter abstracts in tva are in the older language considerably more common than the feminines in tā, although themselves also not very numerous. The accent is without exception on the suffix.

b. Examples (from the older language) are: amṛtatvā immortality, devatvā divinity, subhagatvā good-fortune, shambhutaratvā struggle for precedence, qucitvā purity, patītvā husbandship, taranitvā energy, dīrgahātvā long life, cāturtvā enmity, bhṛtrtvā brotherhood, vrṣatvā virility, sātmātvā soulfulness, maṅhavattvā liberality, rakṣastvā sorcery. In anāgāstvā and -prajāstvā there is a lengthening of a final syllable of the primitive; and in sāuprajāstvā (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial vṛddhi (sāubhagatvā is doubtless from sāubhaga, not subhāga); and in these and pratyanastvā there is an apparent insertion of s. In sadhanitvā (RV.), vasativaritvā (TS.), rohīṇītvā (TB.), there is shortening of final feminine ī before the suffix. Of peculiar formation are astivā actuality and sahatvā union. The apparent feminine datives yūthatvāyāi and gaṇatvāyāi (KS.) are doubtless false forms.

c. Besides the usual guttural reversions in samyaktva, sayuktva, we have external combination in samittva (-idh-) and pūrvavātva (-vah-).

d. In igītatvā (RV., once) incitedness, and puruṣatvātva (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 (raṃṣastuā).

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, vrṣatvanā, sakhitvanā.

1241. A few suffixes make no change in the character as part of speech of the primitive to which they are added, but either are merely formal appendages, leaving the value of the word what it was before, or make a change of degree, or introduce some other modification of meaning.

1242. The suffixes of comparison and ordinal suffixes have for the most part been treated already, and need only a reference here.

a. ता 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 1111a.

b. In vytratāra and purutāma (RV.) the accent is anomalous; in mrdayāttama, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (1309); ṇañvatattāma (RV.) has the ordinal accent; sañvatarasatāma (CB.) is an ordinal; dvātāra (RV., once: an error?) is an ordinary adjective, of the day; surabhīstama and turvistama insert a s; kārotarā and kālitarā are probably vṛddhi-derivatives in a. In vatastāra (i.-rī) weaning, aśvatāra mule; and dhenuṣṭari cow losing her milk, the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; so also in rathamārā, name of a certain śāman.

c. त ra and म ma, like tara and tama, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals: see above, 474, 487.

d. ठ tha, like tama and ma, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see 487; also (with fem. in -thī) from tati, kati, yati, iti: thus tatithā so-many-eth etc.

e. Apparently by false analogy with tatithā etc. (above, d), the quasi-ordinals tāvatitha, yāvatitha, bahutitha are made, as if with a suffix titha (also katititha, late, for katithā); and, it is said, from other words meaning a number or collection, as gana, pūga, samgha; 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, चतुष्टय (AV.), शष्टय (KB.; with external combination), सप्ततय (QB.), अष्टतय (AB.), न्यायतय (RV.). Their fem. is in -ि.

b. तय तय makes a class of adjectives from particles: e.g. निया own, निया foreign, अमत्या companion, etc. As the examples show, the accent of the primitive is retained. The fem. is in -ि.

c. The other quotable examples are: आपत्या, आविष्ट्या, सानूत्या, आनास्त्या, आतास्त्या, आतस्त्या, आत्रत्या, आत्रत्या, आत्रत्या, न्याय, उपाय, आधित्या, आधित्या, आधित्या, दक्षिणात्या (instead of which, the regular form, is generally found दक्षिणात्या, apparently a further व्यधि-derivative from it: as if belonging to the southeners), and पाण्डत्या and पाण्डत्या (of a similar character: these three last are said by the grammarians to be accented on the final, as is proper for व्यधि-derivatives); आप्त्या and आप्त्या perhaps contain the same suffix. In आनास्त्या and आनास्त्या is seen external combination.

d. The य of तय is in RV. always to be read as i after a heavy syllable.

e. न न न न न forms एकत, द्वित, त्रित, also मुहूर्तम, विपान various, and perhaps समाना like.

f. With न न न are made पुरानां ancient, विपन various, and perhaps समाना like.

g. With घन ता or (in a few cases) घ ता are made adjectives from adverbs, nearly always of time: e.g. प्रातिनां ancient, न्युताना or न्युताना present, सनताना or सनताना lasting, दिवताना of the day, औवस्ताना of tomorrow, यस्ताना of yesterday. The accent is various. The feminine is in न.

h. The other quotable examples are: अग्रताना, अद्यताना, अधुनाताना, इदुमन्ताना, इदुमन्ताना, निर्मिताना, निर्मिताना, निर्मिताना, दुष्टाना, पुराताना, प्राक्ताना, प्राताना, सजाताना, अधान्ताना; from adverbs of place, अद्यताना, अवर्तिताना, अपरिताना, कुताप्ताना; — with ता, परास्तात्ता, पुरास्तात्ता. A further व्यधि-derivative, with equivalent meaning, नाउताना (cf. above, c), occurs late. In PB. is once found त्वाताना belonging to thee.

i. Besides the obvious cases, of an assimilated final म before this suffix, we have external combination in प्राताना.

j. कता vat makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (383k, 1).

k. कता, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the
grammarians as a suffix, in utkaṭa, nikaṭa, prakaṭa, vikaṭa (RV., once, voc.), and saṅkaṭa (all said to be accented on the final).

1. A suffix vana is perhaps to be seen in nivanā, pravaṇa; — and āla in antarāla.

m. Occasional derivatives made with the ordinary suffixes of primary and secondary derivation from numerals and particles have been noted above: thus, see ana (1150n), ti (1157h), ant (1172a), u (1178i), a (1209i), ka (1222c), mna (1224c), maya (1225a), vant (1233c).

**CHAPTER XVIII.**

**FORMATION OF COMPOUND STEMS.**

1246. The frequent combination of declinable stems with one another to form compounds which then are treated as if simple, in respect to accent, inflection, and construction, is a conspicuous feature of the language, from its earliest period.

a. There is, however, a marked difference between the earlier and the later language as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, it is quite rare that more than two stems are compounded together — except that to some much used and familiar compound, as to an integral word, a further element is sometimes added. But the later the period, and, especially, the more elaborate the style, the more a cumbrous and difficult aggregate of elements, abnegating the advantages of an inflective language, takes the place of the due syntactical union of formed words into sentences.

1247. Sanskrit compounds fall into three principal classes:

I. a. Copulative or aggregative compounds, of which the members are syntically 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: īndrāvāruṇā Indra and Varuna, satyānṛte truth and falsehood, kṛtākṛtām done and undone, devagandharvamānuṣoragarakṣasās gods and Gandharvas and men and serpents and demons.

c. The members of such a compound may obviously be of any number, two or more than two. No compound of any other class can contain more than two members—of which, however, either or both may be compound, or decompound (below, 1248).

II. d. Determinative compounds, of which the former member is syntactically dependent on the latter, as its determining or qualifying adjunct: being either, 1. a noun (or pronoun) limiting it in a case-relation, or, 2. an adjective or adverb describing it. And, according as it is the one or the other, are to be distinguished the two sub-classes: A. Dependent compounds; and B. Descriptive compounds. Their difference is not an absolute one.

e. Examples are: of dependent compounds, amitrassenā army of enemies, pādodaka water for the feet, āyurdu life-giving, hāstakṛta made with the hands; of descriptive compounds, maharṣī great sage, priyaṣakhi dear friend, amitra enemy, sūkṛta well done.

f. These two classes are of primary value; they have undergone no unifying modification in the process of composition; their character as parts of speech is determined by their final member, and they are capable of being resolved into equivalent phrases by giving the proper independent form and formal means of connection to each member. That is not the case with the remaining class, which accordingly is more fundamentally distinct from them than they are from one another.

III. g. Secondary adjective compounds, the value of which is not given by a simple resolution into their component parts, but which, though having as final member a noun, are themselves adjectives. These, again, are of two sub-classes: A. Possessive compounds, which are noun-compounds of the preceding class, with the idea of possess-ing added, turning them from nouns into adjectives; B. Compounds in which the second member is a noun syntactically dependent on the first: namely, 1. Prepositional compounds, of a governing preposition and following noun;
2. Participial compounds (only Vedic), of a present participle and its following object.

h. The sub-class B. is comparatively small, and its second division (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Vedic.

i. Examples are: virasena possessing a hero-army, prajākāma having desire of progeny, tigmāṛga sharphorned, hārita-srāj wearing green garlands; atimātrā excessive; yāvayāddveśas 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 pūrvajanmākṛta done in a previous existence is first divisible into kṛta and the descriptive pūrvajanman, then this into its elements; the dependent sakalanitīcāstratattvajñā knowing the essence of all books of behavior has first the root-stem jña (for yājñā) knowing separated from the rest, which is again dependent; then this is divided into tattva essence and the remainder, which is descriptive; this, again, divides into sakala all and nītrocāstra books of behavior, of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (sā 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.
c. That is, especially, stems in ṛ or ar, at or ant, ac or añc, etc., show in composition the forms in ṛ, at, ac, etc.; while those in an and in usually (exceptions sometimes occur, as vrṣaṇāvyā, vrṣaṇ-
vasū) 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 ū): thus, in V., rodsaśīprā, pṛthiviṣṭhā, pṛthivigād, dhārapūta,
dhāravākā; in B., pṛthivi-dā, -bhāga, -lokā, sarasvatikṛta, senā-
nigrāmanāyā; in S., garbhiniḍrāyaṇa, sāmidheniprālaṇa, vas-
ativaripaharaṇa, ekādaśinīlīṅga, prapharvīda, devatalakṣaṇa,
devatspradhānatva; later, devakinanda, lakṣmīvardhana, kumāridatta, 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.), dvī 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, pataṁgā going by flight,
dhanamājaya winning wealth, abhayamākā causing absence of danger,
puṣṭimbharā bringing prosperity, vācāmīnkhayā inviting the voice; but also sometimes before words of other form, as āqvamīṣṭi horse-desiring,
qubhānṛgyāvan going in splendor, subhāgaṁkāraṇa making happy,
bhayaṁkārt cause of fear. In a few cases, by analogy with these, a word receives an accusative form to which it has no right: thus, hṛdaṁśāṇi,
makṣaṁgama, vasuṇdhara, ātmambhari.

b. Much more rarely, an instrumental: for example, girāvṛdh increasing
by praise, vācāstena stealing by incantation, kṛatvāmagha gladly
bestowing, bhasāketu bright with light, vidmanāpas active with wisdom.

c. In a very few instances, a dative: thus, nareṣṭhā serving a man,
asemithi errand to us, and perhaps kiyedhā and mahavṛdh.

d. Not seldom, a locative; and this also especially with a root-stem or
a-derivative: for example, agregā going at the head, divikṣīt dwelling
in the sky, vaneśāṇ prevailing in the wood, aṅgeṣṭhā existing in the
limb, proṣṭhegayā lying on a couch, sutēkara active with the soma,
divicara moving in the sky; ārēcatura having enemies far removed,
sumnaāpi near in favor, māderaghu hastening in excitement, yudhiṣṭhira
firm in battle, antevāsin dwelling near; apsujā born in the waters,
hṛṭsvās hurling at hearts.

e. Least often, a genitive: thus, rāyāskāma desirous of wealth,
akasyavíd 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, 1287 d.

f. Ablative forms are to be seen in balātkāra violence and balātkṛta, and perhaps in parātpriya. And a stem in r sometimes appears in a copulative compound in its nominative form: thus, pitāputrāu father and son, hotāpotārāu the invoker and purifier. Anyonya one another is a fused phrase, of nominative and oblique case.

g. In a very few words, plural meaning is signified by plural form: thus, apsujā etc. (in derivation, also, apsu is used as a stem), hṛtavās, nyāḥprapetra conducting men, rujaskaara causing pains, (and dual) hanūkampa trembling of the two jaws.

h. Much more often, of words having gender-forms, the feminine is used in composition, when the distinctive feminine sense is to be conveyed: e.g. gopīnātha master of the shepherdesses, dāśiputra son of a female slave, mrgidṛṣ gazelle-eyed, prapītāprāyana 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-dvandvās: 1265 ff.), and in a small number of aggregations partly containing a genitive case-form as prior member (1287 d).

b. The accent of the compound is that of its prior member. This is especially the case in the great class of possessive compounds; but also in determinatives having the participle in ta or na as final member, in those beginning with the negative a or an, and in other less numerous and important classes.

c. The accent of the compound is that of the final member. This is not on so large a scale the case as the preceding; but it is nevertheless quite common, being found in many compounds having a verbal noun or adjective as final member, in compounds beginning with the numerals dvi and tri or the prefixes su and dus, and elsewhere in not infrequent exceptions.

d. The compound takes an accent of its own, independent of that of either of its constituents, on its final syllable (not always, of course, to be distinguished from the preceding case). This method is largely followed: especially, by the regular copulatives, and by the great mass of dependent and descriptive noun-compounds, by 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: medhāśāti (medha), tilmāṅcra (tila), khādiṣhasta (khadi), yāvayādveda (yāvant); čakadhumā (dhuma), amṛta (mrta), suvira (virā), tuvigriva (griva). A few words— as viṇa, pūrva, and sometimes sārva— take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

I. Copulative Compounds.

1252. Two or more nouns— much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs— having a coördinate construction, as if connected by a conjunction, usually and, are sometimes combined into compounds.

a. This is the class to which the Hindu grammarians give the name of dvandya 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 nyānādhika defective or redundant, jayaparājaya victory or defeat, kritotpāna purchased or on hand, kāṣṭhaloṣṭaṃsama like a log or clod, pakṣimṛgātā the condition of being bird or beast, triṇḍaviniṇa numbering twenty or thirty, catuṣpaṇcakṛtvas four or five times, dvyeṅkāntara different by one or two. A less marked modification of the copulative idea is seen in such instances as priyasaṭya agreeable though true, prārhitadurlabha sought after but hard to obtain; or in ērāntagata 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: prāṇapāṇāyu inspiration and expiration, vṛihl-yavāyu rice and barley, ṛksāmē verse and chant, kapotolūkāyu dove and owl, candrādityāyū moon and sun, hastyaṇvāyu the elephant and horse, ajāvīya goats and sheep, devāsuraṃ the gods and demons, atharvāṅgirāsas the Atharvans and Angirases, sambhādaṃdṛyās anxieties and fatigues, vidyākarmāṇi knowledge and action, hastyaṇvās elephants and horses; of more than two members (no examples quotable from the older language), cāyāsanaṇbhogās lying, sitting, and eating, brāhmaṇaṇkṣatriyaviṣṭṭūḍraḥ a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiṣya, and Cūdra,
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, aho-rātrām a day and night, kṛtākṛtām the done and undone, bhūtabhav-yām past and future, kecaçaṃcūrū hair and beard, oṣadhivanaspatī plants and trees, candrārakām moon and stars, ahiṇakulam snake and ichneumon, qirogrivam head and neck, yūkāmakṣikamatkupām lice, flies, and bugs.

1254. a. That a stem in ṣ as prior member sometimes takes its nominative form, in ṣa, was noticed above, 1250f.

b. A stem as final member is sometimes changed to an a-form to make a neuter collective: thus, chattropānāhaṃ 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: īndrāṣomā, īndrāvīṇā, īndrabhisapati, agnisomāu, turvaçayādū, dyāvāprthivī, uṣāsānākta (and, with intervening words, nāktā ... uṣāsā), sūryāmāsā. The only plural is īndrama- rutus (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are mitrā-vārūṇabhyaṃ and mitrāvārūṇayos (also mitrāyor vārūṇayoh), and īndrāvārūṇayos (each once only).

c. From dyāvāprthivī is made the very peculiar genitive divāspr-thivyōs (4 times: AV. has dyāvāprthivībhyaṃ and dyāvāprthivyōs).

d. In one compound, parjanyavātā, the first member (RV., once) does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (īndranā-satyā, voc., is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present; thus, īndrāpūṣṇōs (beside īndrāpūṣanā), somāpūṣābhyaṃ (somāpūṣanā occurs only as voc.), vātāparjanyā, sūryācandramāsa, and īndragni (with īndragniḥbhyaṃ and īndragnyōs): somārudrāu is accented only
in CB. And in one, indravāyū, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.

a. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural ajāvāyas, the duals ṕksāmē, satyāntē, sācanānaqanē; also the neuter collective ighāpūrtām, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective, nilolohitām. Further, the neuter plurals ahoratrāṇi nycthemonera, and ukthārkā praises and songs, of which the final members as independent words are not neuter. No one of these words has more than a single occurrence.

1256. In the later Vedic (AV.), the usage is much more nearly accordant with that of the classical language, save that the class of neuter singular collectives is almost wanting.

a. The words with double dual form are only a small minority (a quarter, instead of three quarters, as in RV.); and half of them have only a single accent, on the final: thus, besides those in RV., bhavāurdāū, bhavācarvāū; agnāvishīṇ, voc., is of anomalous form. The whole number of copulatives is more than double that in RV.

b. The only proper neuter collectives, composed of two nouns, are kacchacmaçrū hair and heard, anjanabhyaânjanām sawe and ointment, and kacchipapabarhanām mat and pillow, unified because of the virtual unity of the two objects specified. Neuter singulaires, used in a similar collective way, of adjective compounds, are (besides those in RV.): krtakrtām what is done and undone (instead of what is done and what is undone), cittākutām thought and desire, bhadrapāpām 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: čuklakṛṣṇa light and dark, sthalajāudaka terrestrial and aquatic, dāntarajatasauvarṇa of ivory and silver and gold used distributively; and vṛttapīna round and plump, gāntānikūla tranquil and propitious, hrṣitasragrājōhina wearing fresh garlands and free from dust, niṣekādiṃmaqānānta beginning with conception and ending with burial, used cumulatively; nā ‘tiqītoṣṇa not over cold or hot, used alternatively; kṣanadṛṣṭanaṣṭa seen for a moment and then lost, cintotapasthita at hand as soon as thought of, in more pregnant sense.

b. In the Veda, the only examples noted are the cumulative nilalohitā and ighāpūrtā etc., used in the neut. sing. as collectives (as pointed out above), with tāmradhūmrā dark tawny; and the distributive daśīpasavyā right and left, saptamāstamā seventh and eighth, and bhadrapāpā good and bad (beside the corresponding neut. collective). Such combinations as satyāntē truth and falsehood, priyāpriyāṇi things
agreeable and disagreeable, where each component is used substantively, are, of course, not to be separated from the ordinary noun-compounds.

c. A special case is that of the compound adjectives of direction: as uttarapūrva north-east, prāgdakṣiṇa south-east, daksinapacchima south-west, etc.: compare 1291 b.

1259. In accented 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, vātāparjanyā (once: beside -nyāya), devamanugyās (ones: CB.-nyā), brahmārajanyābhyām (also BS.); further, vākopavākyā (CB.), açanāyāpipāse (CB.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives: thus, āhardivi day by day, sāyāmprātar at evening and in the morning. They have the accent of their prior member. Later occur also bāhyantar, pratyagdakṣiṇā, pratyangudak.

1280. 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: jahi ēsām vāraṇh-varam slyj of them each best man; divē-dive or dyāvi-dyavi from day to day; āṅgād-āṅgā lōmno-lom- nañpārvi-parvañi from every limb, from every hair, in each joint; prā-pra yajñāpatiṁ tira make the master of the sacrifice live on and on; bhūyo-bhūyañ qvāh-qvāh further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow; ēkayāi-’kayā with in each case one; vāyāh-vayam our very selves.

b. Exceptional and rare cases are those of a personal verb-form repeated: thus, pibā-pibā (RV.), yājasva-yajasva (CB.), vēda-veda (? CB.);—and of two words repeated: thus, yāvad vā-yāvad 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.), īhē ’hā (AV.), anāyā- ’nāyā (CB.), stūhī stūhī (RV., acc. to pada-text).

d. The class of combinations here described is called by the native grammarians āmrečita added unto (?)

1281. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, ēkādaṣa 11, dvāviniqati 22, trīqata 103, cātuḥsahasra 1004, and so on (476 n.), as a special and primitive class of copulatives. They are accented on the prior member.
II. Determinative Compounds.

1262. A noun or adjective is often combined into a compound with a preceding determining or qualifying word—a noun, or adjective, or adverb. Such a compound is conveniently called determinative.

1263. This is the class of compounds which is of most general and frequent occurrence in all branches of Indo-European language. Its two principal divisions have been already pointed out: thus, A. Dependent compounds, in which the prior member is a substantive word (noun or pronoun or substantively used adjective), standing to the other member in the relation of a case dependent on it; and B. Descriptive compounds, in which the prior member is an adjective, or other word having the value of an adjective, qualifying a noun; or else an adverb or its equivalent, qualifying an adjective. Each of these divisions then falls into two sub-divisions, according as the final member, and therefore the whole compound, is a noun or an adjective.

a. The whole class of determinatives is called by the Hindu grammarians tatpuruṣa (the term is a specimen of the class, meaning his man); and the second division, the descriptive, has the special name of karmadhārāya (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, devasaena army of gods, yamadūta Yama's messenger, jivalokā the world of the living, indra-
1284. Dhanus Indra's bow, brahmagavi the Brahman's cow, viṣagiri poison-mound, mitralabha acquisition of friends, mūrkhaṣatāni hundreds of fools; virasenausta Virasena's son, rājendra chief of kings, asmatputrān our sons, tadvacas his words;—of dative, pāpodaka water for the feet, māsanicaya accumulation for a month;—of instrumental, ātmāsādrṣya likeness with self, dhānyārtha wealth acquired by grain, dharmapatiṇī lawful spouse, pitṛbandhū paternal relation;—of ablative, apsarāṣambhava descent from a nymph, madviyoga separation from me, cāurarabhaya fear of a thief;—of locative, jalakriyā sport in the water, grāmavāsa abode in the village, puruṣānta untruth about a man;—of accusative, nagaragamana going to the city.

1285. 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, sthālipakvā cooked in a pot, aqvakovida knowing in horses, vayaḥsama alike in age, yudhiṣṭhira steadfast in battle, tanūṣubhra beautiful in body;—of instrumental, māṃsādṛṣa like his mother;—of dative, gohitā good for cattle;—of ablative, bhavadanyā other than you, garbhāṣṭama eight from birth, dṛṣyotara other than visible (i.e. invisible);—of genitive, bharaṭaṇreṣṭha best of the Bharatas, dvijottama foremost of Brahmas;—with participial words, in accusative relation, vedavid Veda-knowing, annādā food-eating, tanuṣāṇa body-protecting, satyavādin truth-speaking, pattragata committed to paper (lit. gone to a leaf);—in instrumental, madhyāk cleansing with honey, svayāṃkṛta self-made, īndraṅgupta protected by Indra, vidyāśīna deserted by (i.e. destitute of) knowledge;—in locative, hyādāvidh pierced in the heart, rtvīj sacrificing in due season, divicara moving in the sky;—in ablative, rājyabhṛṣṭa fallen from the kingdom, vykabhitā afraid of a wolf;—in dative, cāranāgata come for refuge.

1286. We take up now some of the principal groups of compounds falling under these two heads, in order to notice their specialities of formation and use, their relative frequency, their accentuation, and so on.

1287. 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 (1284 a).
a. A principal exception with regard to accent is pāti master, lord (and its feminine pātnī), compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, praśāpati, vāsūpati, ātithipati, gōpati, gṛhāpatnī, etc. etc. (compare the verbal nouns in ti, below, 1274). But in a few words pāti retains its own accent: thus, viqāpati, rayīpāti, paqīpāti, vasūpatnī, etc.; and the more general rule is followed in aśparāpati and vrājapati (AV.), and nadīpati (VS.), citipati (MS.; elsewhere citipāti).

b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, janaraṇjan, devavārman, hiranyatējas, pṛṇanāhāva, godhūma and ċakadhūma (but dhūmā); vācāstena.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are dīvōdāsa, vācāstena, uccāśācravas, uccāśīghoṣa, dūrēbhās (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accented on both members: thus, čaśipāti, sādāsāpati, bṛhāsāpati, vānāsāpati, rāthasāpati, jāśipāti (also jāśipati), nāraśānsa, tāṇānpāṭṛ, tāṇānāpāt (tāṇā as independent word), ċūṇāçēpa. And CB. has a long list of metronymies having the anomalous accentuation kātṣipūtra, gāṛhipūtra, etc.

1268. The compounds having an ordinary adjective as final member are (as already noticed) comparatively few.

a. So far as can be gathered from the scanty examples occurring in the older language, they retain the accent of the prior member: thus, gāviṣṭhira (AV gaviṣṭhira), tanūçubhra, māderaghu, yajñādhira, sāmavipra, tilāmiṣṭra (but tilā); but kr̥ṣṭapacyā ripening in cultivated soil.

1269. The adjective dependent compounds having as final member the bare root—or, if it end in a short vowel, generally with an added t—are very numerous in all periods of the language, as has been already repeatedly noticed (thus, 383 f-h, 1147). They are accented on the root.

a. In a very few instances, the accent of words having apparently or conjecturally this origin is otherwise laid: thus, āḥsatra, ānarviṣ, svāvṛj, pratyākṣadṛṣ, pūramdhi, cēadh, āramiṇ, uṛcādagh, vatsāpa, ābda.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, pataṁgā, giravīḍh, dihyājur, aṅkṣayādrūh, hṛḍispīṣ, divispīṣ, vanesāh, divīśād, aṅgeṣṭhā, hṛṣṭvās, pṛṣutūr, apsujā.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, manoyūj yokeīd (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: 1148 m).
a. Examples are: hastagrābhā hand-grasping, devavandā god-praising, havirādā devouring the offering, bhuvanaeyāvā shaking the world, vrātyabṛuvā calling one's self a vrātya; ākṣaparaṇāyā failure at play, vaśaṭkārā utterance of vaśaṭ, gopoṣā prosperity in cattle, angajvāra pain in the limbs.

b. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives: above, 1268) that of the prior member: thus, marūdvṛdhā, sutēkāra, divēcara (and other more questionable words). And dūgha 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 guṇa-strengthening of the root: thus, for example, abhayāṅkarā, yudhiṅgamā, dhanāṁjāyā, puruṣ-darā, viqvambharā, divākarā, talpeṣayā, diviṣṭambhā.

1271. Compounds with verbal nouns and adjectives in ana are very numerous, and have the accent always on the radical syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: 1150 e).

a. Examples are: keçavārdhana hair-increasing, āyuṣpratāraṇa life-lengthening, taṅūpāna body-protecting, devahēḍana hatred of the gods, puṁsuṇava 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, yamasādāna Yama's realm, āchādvidhāna means of protection.

c. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in ana: thus, sarūpaṁpāraṇa, ayakṣamaṅkāraṇa, subhāgaṁkāraṇa, vanaṁkāraṇa.

1272. a. The action-nouna 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 nīvibhārīya and prathamaviśāyā (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; balavijñāya and ācavabudhya (?) are inconsistent with these and with one another.

1273. Compounds made with the passive participle in ta or na have the accent of their prior member (as do the combinations of the same words with prefixes: 1085 a).

a. Examples are: hástakṛta made with the hand, vīrājāta born of a hero, ghōṣabuddha awakened by noise, prajāpatiṣṭatā created by Prajāpati, devātta given by the gods; and, of participles combined with prefixes, indraprasūta invited by Indra, bṛhaspātirṇutta driven away by Bṛhaspati, ulkābhihata struck by a thunderbolt, vājraivhata, saṁvat-
sarásammita commensurate with the year. AV. has the anomalous apsu- samśita quickened by the waters.

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, agnitaptá, indrotá, pityvittá, rathakritá, agnidadghá (beside agnidadgha), kaviqastá (beside kavi- çasta), kavipraçastá.

c. One or two special usages may be noticed. The participle gata, gone to, as final of a compound, is used in a loose way in the later language to express relation of various kinds: thus, jagatigata existing in the world, tvadgata belonging to thee, sakhipata relating to a friend, citragata in a picture, putragata añeham affection toward a son, etc. The participle bhúta been, become is used in composition with a noun as hardly more than a grammatical device to give it an adjective form: thus, idam tamabhútam this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness); tath ratnabhútam lokasya her, being the pearl of the world; kṣetrabhúta smṛta nāri bijabhútaḥ 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, prásakārmukabhirat bearing javelin and bow, açastravidvāns not knowing the text-books, arjunadarśivāns having seen Arjuna, apiyacāśivāns announcing what is disagreeable, gāutamabrūvāná calling himself Gautama.

1274. Compounds with derivatives in ti have (like combinations with the prefixes: 1157 e) the accent of the prior member.

a. Examples are: dhānasāti winning of wealth, sōmapitī soma-drinking, devāhūti invocation of the gods, nāmaūkī utterance of homage, havyādāti presentation of offerings; and so tokāsāti, devāhīti, rudrāhūti, sūktokti, svagākṛtī, diviśī.

b. In nemādhīti, medhāsāti, vanādīti (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 (1287) is followed: thus, devahati weapon of the gods, devasumati favor of the gods, brhamaciti Brahman-pūle. Also in sarvajyānīl 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, ukthaçānān psalm-singing, vrataçārin cow-performing, rābhadāyin bullock-giving, satyavādin truth-speaking, qronipratodin thigh-pounding.

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in i, having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.

a. Thus, pathirakṣi road-protecting, havirmáthi sacrifice-disturbing, átmadūsi soul-harming, pathiṣādi sitting in the path, sahobhári strength-
bearing, vasuvâni winning good-things, dhanasâni gaining wealth, manomúshi mind-stealing, phalagrâhi setting fruit; and, from reduplicated root, urucâkri making room. Compounds with -sâni and -vâni are especially frequent in Veda and Brâhmaṇa; as independent words, nouns, these are accented sanî and vanî. In many cases, the words are not found in independent use. Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient number to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (1155 f).

b. From y'han are made in composition -ghnî and -ghnī, with accent on the ending: thus, sahasraghnî, ahîghnî, cîvaghnî; -dhi from y'dhâ (1155 g) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, iṣudhî, garbhadhî, pucechadhî.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in van have (like combinations with prefixes: 1189 c) the accent of the final member: namely, on the radical syllable.

a. Thus, somapâvan soma-drinking, baladâvan strength-giving, pâpakîtvan evil-doing, bahusûvan much-yielding, talpaçîvîvan lying on a couch, rathâyâvan going in a chariot, druṣâdvan sitting on a tree, agretvâri f. going at the head. The accent of the obscure words mâtarîçvan and mêtarîbīvan is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final man appear to follow the same rule as those with van: thus, svâduksâdman sharing out sweets, âçuhéman steed-impelling.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence, may be briefly noticed: thus, in u, raṣṭradipsû, devapiyû, govindû, vanargû (?): compare 1176 e; — in nu or tnu, lokakrîtnû, surupakrîtnû: compare 1196; — in tr, nhîtrî, mandhâtrî, haskartî (vasudhâtaras, 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, yajânavacâs (but hírányatéjas, AV.).

B. Descriptive Compounds.

1279. In this division of the class of determinatives, the prior member stands to the other in no distinct case-relationship, but qualifies it adjectively or adverbially, according as it (the final member) is noun or adjective.

a. Examples are: nilotpalâ blue lotus, sarvaguna all good quality, priyasakha dear friend, mahrâši great-sage, rajatapâtra silver cup; âjñâta unknown, sûkrta well done, duṣkît ill-doing, puruṣútutâ much praised, pûnarçava renewed.

b. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun or
an adverb before an adjective; other parts of speech are sometimes used
adjectively and adverbially in that position.

c. The boundary between descriptive and dependent compounds is not
an absolute one; in certain cases it is open to question, for instance, whether
a prior noun, or adjective with noun-value, is used more in a case-relation,
or adverbially.

d. Moreover, where the final member is a derivative having both noun
and adjective value, it is not seldom doubtful whether an adjective com-
pound is to be regarded as descriptive, made with final adjective, or pos-
sessive, made with final noun. Sometimes the accent of the word determines
its character in this respect, but not always.

e. A satisfactorily simple and perspicuous classification of the descrip-
tive compounds is not practicable; we cannot hold apart throughout the com-
pounds 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: 1287) on the final syllable.

b. Thus, ajñātayakṣāmā unknown disease, mahādhanā great wealth,
keśiprawṣyaṇa swift hawk, kṛṣṇaṇaṇaṁ black bird, dakaśināṅgaṁ southern
fire, urukṣiṭi wide abode, adhaṇamānū lower jaw, itarajānā other folks,
sarvātmān whole soul, ekāvinā sole hero, ṣaptarṣi seven sages, tṛtiya-
savanā third sixteenth, ekonaviṇḍati a score diminished by one, jāgrat-
svapnā waking sleep, yāvayatsakha defending friend, apakṣyamāna-
pakṣa waning half.

c. There are not a few exceptions as regards accent. Especially, com-
pounds with viṣya (in composition, accented viṣyā), which itself retains
the accent: thus, viṣyādevāṁ all the gods, viṣyāmānuṣa every man. For
words in ti, see below, 1287 d. Sporadic cases are madhyāṁdina,
vṛṣṭakāpī,-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,
rājāyakṣāmā king-disease, brahmārṣi priest-sage, rājārṣi king-sage,
rājarṣi king-tooth, devaṇa god-folk, duḥitṝja daughter-person,
çamillatā creeper named çamī, muṣpākhyāṁ the name "mouse", jaya-
çabda the word "conquer", ujjhitaṁbabda the word "deserted"; or, more
figuratively, grhanarakā house-hell (house which is a hell), çāpāṁni
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, 1298.

f. This whole subdivision, of nouns with preceding qualifying adjectives, is not uncommon; but it is greatly (in AV., for example, more than five times) exceeded in frequency by the sub-class of possessives of the same form: see below, 1298.

1291. The adverbial words which are most freely and commonly used as prior members of compounds, qualifying the final member, are the verbal prefixes and the words of direction related with them, and the inseparable prefixes, a or an, su, 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.

1292. Verbal adjectives and nouns with preceding adverbs. As the largest and most important class under this head might properly enough be regarded the derivatives with preceding verbal prefixes. These, however, have been here reckoned rather as derivatives from roots combined with prefixes (1141), and have been treated under the head of derivation, in the preceding chapter. In taking up the others, we will begin with the participles.

1293. The participles belonging to the tense-systems — those in ant (or at), māna, āna, vāns — are only rarely compounded with any other adverbial element than the negative a or an, which then takes the accent.

a. Examples are: ánādant, ádadat, ánśaṇant, áśravant, álubhyant, ádāsyant, ádītsant, ádevayant; ámanyamāna, ábhiśāna, áchidyamāna; ádādivāna, ábhibhivāns, atasthāna; and, with verbal prefixes, ánapasphurant, ánāgamisyant, ánabhyāgamisyant, ávīrādhayant, ávicācalat, ápratimanyāyamāna.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: arundhati, ajārantī, acodānt (RV., once: doubtless a false reading; the simple particle is códant); AV. has anipadyamāna for RV. ánipadyamāna (and the published text has asāhyānt, with a part of the manuscripts); CB. has akāmāyamāna.

c. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been noted in the Veda -punārīyamāna (in āpūnārd-) and ávīdīvāns. In alalabhāvant and jañjanabhāvant RV., as in astāmyānt and astamegāyant (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): ákṛta, ádabhāna, áriṣṭa, ánādṛṣṭa, áparājīta, ásamaṁkhyāta, ánabhyaṛḍha, áparimītasaṁyddhā; — with su, sūjāta, sūhuta, sūsāṁcitā, svāraṁkṛta; — with dus, dúçeartā, dúrdhita and dúrhita, dúḥṛṣṭa; — with other adverbial words, dáňṣujāta, návajāta, sánacṛuta, svavāṁkṛta, trípratīṣṭhīta: áraṁkṛta and kakajākṛta are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with a or an, anācāstā, apraṇcāstā, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, amṛta, adṛṣṭa, aocita, ayúta myriad, atūrtā (beside atūrta), asūrtā (beside sūrtā); — with su (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), subhītā, sūktā, supraṇcāstā, svāktā, suktā and sujātā (beside sūkṛta and sūjāta), and a few others; with dus (quite as numerous as the regular cases), durītā (also dúrītā), duruktā, duṣṭkṛta (also duṣṭkṛta), durbūtā; with sa, sajātā; with other adverbs, amatā, ariṣṭūta, tuvijātā, prācinopavīta, tādānīmudgūdha, prātārdugūdha, etc., and the compounds with puru, puruṣajāta, puruṣprājīta, puruṣaṁkṛta, puruṣṭūtā, etc., and with svayam, svayāṁkṛta etc. The proper name ṣaṅḍhā stands beside ṣaṅḍha; and AV. has abhinā for RV. abhinna.

1285. The gerundiives 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 asamaṁkhyā, apraṇmpyā, anapavṛṣyā, anatyudya, anadṛṣṭyā, avimokyā, anānukṛtyā (the accent of the simple word being saṁkhyēya etc.).

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are: ánecyā, ádabhaya, ágohya, ájocya, áyabhya. The two anavadharyā and anatīvyādhyā (both AV.) belong to the yh-division (1213b) of gerundives, and have retained the accent of the simple word. And ághnyā and āghnyā occur together.

c. The only compounds of these words with other adverbial elements in V. are sūyabhya (accented like its twin áyabhya) and prathamavāya (which retains the final circumflex), and perhaps ekavāyā.

d. The neuter nouns of the same form (1213o: except sadhastutya) retain their own accent after an adverbial prior member: thus, pūrvapāyya, pūrvapṛṣyā, amutrabhūya; and sahaṇēyya. 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. 3. ed.
1286. The root-stem (pure root, or with t added after a short final vowel: 1147d) 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, \textit{adruh} not harming, \textit{asú} not giving birth, \textit{arúc} not shining; \textit{suktí} well-doing, \textit{suqrút} hearing well; \textit{duáktí} ill-doing, \textit{dáqáq} (198d) impious; \textit{sayúj} joining together, samád conflict, sahájá born together, saháváh carrying together; — with other adverbs, amájúr growing old at home, upariśpatú touching upward, punarbhu appearing again, prástáryúj harnessed early, sadyáškri bought the same day, sákamvídha growing up together, sada-má̄dá̄ ever-binding, \textit{viśúvř} turning to both sides, \textit{vṛthásáh} easily overcoming; — with adjectives used adverbially, uruvíyác wide-spreading, práthamajá first-born, \textit{qukrápiq} brightly adorned, \textit{dvijá} twice born, \textit{triví́t} triple, \textit{svaráj} self-ruling; — with nouns used adverbially, \textit{cambhú} beneficent, \textit{súrya-ví́t} shining like the sun, \textit{igánakť} acting as lord, \textit{svayambhú} self-existent; and, with accusative case-form, \textit{patañgá} 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, 1286a): thus, for example, \textit{ánakśit} not abiding, \textit{ánáyú́t} not turning back, \textit{ávidvíś} not showing hostility, \textit{áduákśr} not ill-doing, \textit{ánáyú́dá} not giving a horse, \textit{ápačuha}n not slaying cattle, (\textit{áná-service would be an exception, if it contained y/gá: which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with su seem to retain the radical accent: thus, \textit{supratúr}, \textit{svábhú}, \textit{sváyú́j}: \textit{sváyú́j} is an unsupported exception.

c. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as \textit{práti-tráq}, \textit{sadhásthá}, \textit{ábhrigu}, and the words having \textit{a} as final member (407 ff.; if this element is not, after all, a suffix): compare 1286a.

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 posses-
sive compound. The last ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (1148f), which have the accent on the suffix: thus, \textit{asunvá}, \textit{apačyá}, \textit{akshudha}, \textit{avidayá}, \textit{anámmpa}, \textit{sadápráa}, \textit{punamanyá}; and with them belong such cases as \textit{atrpá}, \textit{svrādá}, \textit{arahgamá}, \textit{urukramá}, \textit{evávádá}, \textit{satráśahá}, \textit{punaḥsará}, \textit{purāḥsará}; and the nouns \textit{suyambhavá}, \textit{sahacára}, \textit{prátahśavá}, \textit{mithyodá}. Differently accented, on the other hand, although apparently of the same formation, are such as \textit{ánapaspura}, \textit{ánavahvara} (compare the compounds noticed at 1286b), \textit{sadávṛdha}, \textit{stibharva}, \textit{nyagródha}, \textit{purodáca}, \textit{sadhamadá}, \textit{sudúgha}, \textit{supáca}, \textit{suhi-vá}, and others. Words like \textit{adábhá}, \textit{durhána}, \textit{sukára}, \textit{suyáma}, are probably possessives.
b. The derivatives in van keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare 1169c, 1277): thus, ṛupātvan and rāghupātvan swift-flying, puṇoyāvan going in front, suktvvan well-doing; and sūrāman and svāhman and rāghuyāman 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, durgībhi, tīvān, tuviśvānī.

d. The derivatives in i are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them: as, acitti, abhūti, ānāhūti; with su and dus, the compound is accentuated now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on either (sūnīti and sūnīti, dūṣṭūti and dūṣṭutī); with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails: thus, sāhuti, sadhāstuti, purūhitī, pūrvāpitī, pūrvyāstutī.

e. The derivatives in in have, as in general, the accent on the suffix: thus, pūrvāin, bahucārin, sādhudevīn, savāsin, kevalādin. But with the negative prefix, ānāmin, āvītārin.

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 negates 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, apāqyaánt, etc. ČB.); 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: ātandra, ādabhra, ādāquri, ānṛju, ādevayu, āṭṛṇaj, āṭavyāṇa, ānāmin, ādvayāvin, āpracetas, ānapatyavany, ānapadasvanta, āramṇayuka, ānamari, āprajajā, āvididhayu, āagnidagdha, ākāmakarqana, āpāqāddaghvan. Further, with nouns, āpati, ākumāra, ābrāhmaṇa, āvidyā, ācraddhā, 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, acirrā, aviprā, ayajñīyā, anāśmākā, asthūrī, anāqū, ajarasvā, anāmāyitnū; and in amitra enemy, and avirā unmanly, there is a retraction of the accent from the final syllable of the final member to its penult.
2. e. The prefixes su and dus have this tendency in a much lesser 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, sūvipra, sūpakva, sūbrāhmaṇa, sūbhiṣaj; sutīrthā, suvasanā, suṣārathī, supācqā, sucitrā; suṣéva, suhūṭjr: suvīrā is like avīrā; — durmitrā, duḥṣīvāpya; and duucchūnā (168 b), with irregular retraction of accent (qunā).

3. g. The compounds with sa are too few to furnish occasion for separate mention; and those with the interrogative prefix in its various forms are also extremely rare in the Veda: examples are kuocārā, katprayā, kābandha, kunannamā, kumārā, kūyava, kuśāva.

1289. The verbal prefixes are sometimes used in a general adverbial way, qualifying a following adjective or noun.

a. Examples of such combinations are not numerous in the Veda. Their accentuation is various, though the tone rests oftenest on the prefix. Thus ādhipati over-lord, āparupa mis-form, prātiqatra opposing foe, prāpada fore part of foot, prānapāt great-grandchild, vipakva quite done, sāmpriya mutually dear; upajīhvikā side tongue (with retraction of the accent of jīhvakā); antareḍa intermediate direction, pradīv forward heaven, prapitāmahā (also pra pitāmahā) great-grandfather, pratijānā opponent, vyadhivā midway. These compounds are more frequent with possessive value (below, 1305).

b. This use of the verbal prefixes is more common later, and some of them have a regular value in such compounds. Thus, ati denotes excess, as in atidūra very far, atibhaya exceeding fear, atipūrusa (CB.) chief man; adhi, superiority, as in adhidanta upper-tooth adhistri chief woman; abhi is intensive, as in abhinamra much inclining, abhinava span-new; abhirucira delightful; ā signifies somewhat, as in ākuṭīla somewhat crooked, ānīla bluish; upa denotes something accessory or secondary, as in upapūrāṇa additional Purāṇa; pari, excess as in paridurbala very weak; prati, opposition, as in pratipakṣa opposing side, pratipustaka copy; vi, variation or excess, as in vidūra very far, vipāḍu greyish, viśāḍa respectively small; sam, completeness, as in sampakva quite ripe.

1290. Other compounds with adverbial prefixes are quite irregularly accented.

Thus, the compounds with puru, on the final (compare the participles with puru, 1284 b): as, purudasmā, purupriyā, puruçcandrā; those with pūnar, on the prior member, as pūnarāvya, pūnarmaghā, pūnaryuvan, pūnarvasu (but puraḥsarā etc.); those with satāsa, satīnā, satyā, the same, as sattomahant, satīnāmanyu, satyāmugra; a few combinations of nouns in tr and ana with adverbs akin with the prefixes, on the final syllable, as puraśṭ, puraḥsthatī, upariyayanā, puratāḥsa- vanā; and miscellaneous cases are mithāvadyapar, hāriçandra, ālapa- çayu, sādhvabhrā, yāccherṣṭā and yāvačcherṣṭā, 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.  śūkababhu (Vs.) parrot-brown,  úrṇāmṛdu (Tb.) soft as wool,  prāṇapaṇīya dear as life,  kuṇḍeçavajomṛdu soft as lotus-pollen,  bakālinī hidden like a heron,  māttamātaṅgāminī moving like a maddened elephant.

b. An adjective is now and then qualified by another adjective: e.g.  kṛṣṇāīta dark-gray,  dhūmrārohīta grayish red: and compare the adjectives of intermediate direction, 1297c.

c. The adjective  pūrva is in the later language frequently used as final member of a compound in which its logical value is that of an adverb qualifying the other member (which is said to retain its own accent). Thus,  dṛṣṭapūrva previously seen,  parinīṭapūrva already married,  apanījñātapūrva not before known,  somapitapūrva 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 yajñakāma having desire of sacrifice; the descriptive brhadratha great chariot becomes the possessive brhadratha having great chariots; āhasta not hand becomes āhastā handless; durghandhi 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. vāghastavant, doṣagunin, rajastamaeka, açiogriva, anrygajas. A very small number of exceptions, however, are found: thus, somendrā (TS.), stōmaprsthā (VS. TS.), hastyṣabhā (QB.), dāsiniṣka (ChU.), and, later, cakramusała, sadānanda, sacoide-adānanda, sānkhyayoga (as n. pr.), balābala, bhūtabhāntika.

c. The name given by the native grammarians to the possessive compounds is bahuvrīhi: the word is an example of the class, meaning possessing much rice.

d. The name “relative”, instead of possessive, sometimes applied to this class, is an utter misnomer; since, though the meaning of such a compound (as of any attribute word) is easily cast into a relative form, its essential character lies in the possessive verb which has nevertheless to be added, or in the possessive case of the relative which must be used: thus, mahākavi and āyurdā, descriptive and dependent, are “relative” also, who is a great poet, and that is life-giving, but brhadratha, possessive, means who has a great chariot, or whose is a great chariot.

1294. a. That a noun, simple or compound, should be added to another noun, in an opposite way, with a value virtually attributive, and that such nouns should occasionally gain by frequent association and application an adjective form also, is natural enough, and occurs in many languages; the peculiarity of the Sanskrit formation lies in two things. First, that such use should have become a perfectly regular and indefinitely extensible one in the case of compounded words, so that any compound with noun-final may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a simple noun must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adapt it to adjective use: for example, that while hasta must become hastin and bāhu must become bāhunant, hiranyahasta and mahābāhū change from noun to adjective value with no added ending. And second, that the relation of the qualified noun to the compound should have come to be so generally that of possession, not of likeness, nor of appurtenance, nor of any other relation which is as naturally involved in such a construction: that we may only say, for example, mahābāhūḥ puruṣah man with great arms, and not also mahābāhūr manīḥ jewel for a great arm, or mahābāhavāha cākhaḥ 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, 1933f). Examples are: viṣṇu-vānara of or for all men, belonging to all (and so viṣṇu-vākṣṭi, -cārṣaṇi, -kṣiti, -gotra, -manus, -āyu, and sarva-paṇu, saptāmānuṣa), viṣṇu-vācārada of every autumn, viṣṇu-patā for bad roads, dvirājā [battle] of two kings, acyaprāṇā carried on horseback, virāpastaṇya abiding with heroes, puruṣāmaṇa at full moon, adēvaka for no divinity, bahudevata or -tyā for many divinities, aparasaṁhatsaṇa not lasting a full year, ekādaśakapāla for eleven dishes, somendra for Soma and Indra. And the compounds with final member in ana mentioned at 1298b are probably of the same character. But also in the later language, some of the so-called dvigu-compounds (1318) belong with these: so dvigu itself, as meaning worth two cows, dvinau bought for two ships; also occasional cases like deva-sura [san[gräma] of the gods and demons, narabaya of man and horse, cakramusala with discus of club, guru-talpa violating the teacher's bed.

1295. The possessive compound is distinguished from its substrate, the determinative, generally by a difference of accent. This difference is not of the same nature in all the divisions of the class; but oftenest, the possessive has as a compound the natural accent of its prior member as in most of the examples given above.

1296. Possessively used dependent compounds, or possessive dependents, are very much less common than those corresponding to the other division of determinatives.

a. Further examples are: mayūraroman having the plumes of peacocks, āgnitējas having the brightness of fire, jāśēmukha wearing the aspect of relatives, pāṭikāma desiring a husband, hastipāda having an elephant's feet, rājanyābandhu having kṣatriyas 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 nyāśas men-beholding, nyāśas 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.

1296. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are (as pointed out above, 1280r) very much more common than descriptives of the same form.

a. They regularly and usually have the accent of their prior member: thus, anūrūpa of other form, ugrabāhu having powerful arms, jīvāputra having living sons, dirghāstaṁcu longbearded, bhūcchārvas of great renown, bhūrimūla many-rooted, mahāvadha bearing a great weapon, viśvārupa having all forms, qukrāvarṇa of bright color, qivābhimarçāna of propitious touch, satyāsaṁdhā of true promises, sārvāṅga whole-limbed, svāyaçaḥ having own glory, hāritasrāj wearing yellow garlands.

b. Exceptions, however, in regard to accent are not rare (a seventh or eighth of the whole number, perhaps). Thus, the accent is sometimes that of the final member; especially with derivatives in as, as tuvīrādaḥas, purupēças, pṛthūpākṣas, and others in which (as above, 1296b) a determinative character may be suspected: thus, ururjāyas beside urujrī, uruvyācas beside uruvyāc, and so on; but also with those of other finals, as ṛjūhāṣa, cītīkākṣa etc., kṛṣṇakāraṇa, cīradāpike, tuvićṣma, ṛjukṛatu, pṛthūpārṇa, puruvārtman, raghuyāman, viḍu-pāṭman. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final to the first syllable of the second member: thus, aṁhubhēda, tuvīrīva, puruvīra, puruvūpā, cītībāhu (also cītībāhu). 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, bahunā, nīlanakā, puruputrā, viśvāṅgā, svapati, tuvinprati, pṛṇiparṇī t., darçataçṛī, pūtirajjū, āsitañjū, pṛthugmān, bahuprajās.

c. The adjective viṇva all, as prior member of a compound (and also in derivation), changes its accent regularly to viṇvā; sārva whole, all, does the same in a few cases.

1299. Possessive compounds with a participle preceding and qualifying the final noun-member are numerous, although such a compound with simple descriptive value is almost unknown. The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior member.

a. The participle is oftener the passive one, in ta or na. Thus, chinnāpakṣa with severed wing, dhūrāśstra of firmly held royalty, hatamāya whose mother is slain, iddhāgni whose fire is kindled, uttanā-hasta with outstretched hand, práyaṭadakṣīna having presented sacrificial gifts; and, with prefixed negative, aṛīṣṭavīra whose men are unharmed, āṭapatanu of unburned substance, ānabhimātavārna of untarnished color. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: there have been noticed only paryastākṣa, vyastakaçī t., achinnaparṇa.
b. Examples occur of a present participle in the same situation. In about half the (accentuated) instances, it gives its own accent to the compound: thus, dyutádyāman, dhṛṣṭsavāra etc., cucádratha, rúçadvata etc., bhṛjaíjanman etc., saññádvira, stánáyadama, sáhad-íśti; in the others, the accent is drawn forward to the final syllable of the participle (as in the compounds with governing participle: below, 1309): thus, dravátpáni etc. (dravát also occurs as adverb), rapádūdhana, svanádratha, aráadhúma, bhandádiśti, krandaídiśti. With these last agrees in form jarádaśti attaining old age, long-lived; but its make-up, in view of its meaning, is anomalous.

c. The RV. has two compounds with the perfect middle participle as prior member: thus, yuyujánasapti with harnessed coursers (perhaps rather having harnessed their coursers), and dadṛçànápavi (with regular accent, instead of dácṛçána, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle) with conspicuous wheel-rims.

d. Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in grútkarna (RV.) of listening ear; and with this are perhaps accordant dídyañgi and stháraçman (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: ékacakra, ékaçírañ, ékapad, cáturánga, cátsapakṣa, páncañguri, páncaudana, śádqa, šátpad, saptájihva, saptámáty, aṣṭápad, aṣṭáputra, návapad, návadvára, dácáçákha, dácáqiñ, dácáqara, tríçádara, çatáparvan, çatádánt, saññarãman, saññarãmula.

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, caturákṣa etc. (ákśan or ákṣi: 431), saññahá etc. (áhan or áhar: 430 a), daçvaná etc. (výsan), ekartré etc. (rátri or rátri), ekaró etc. (vý); but also a few others, as saññ-yogá, aṣñyogá, çatárgá, saññarargá, ekapará (?).

c. The compounds with dvi and tri for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, dvijánman, dvidhára, dvibándhu, dvivartani, dvipád; tritántu, trínábhi, trícóka, trivá-rutha, tricákrá, trícíršan, tripád. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral: thus, for example, dvipakṣa, dvicávas, dvívásy ā, tríśandhi, tryára, tryácir, and sometimes dvípad and trípad in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, as substituted stem in a is apt to take the accent on the final: thus, dvívásá and trívásá, dvirájá, dvirátrá, tryáyuá, tridivá; and a few of other
character with tri follow the same rule: thus, trikaça, trinaḵa, tri-bandhû, tryudhán, trisharhī, 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, hīranyahasta gold-handed, hīranyasrāj with golden garlands, āyaḥsthūṇa having brazen supports, rajatānābhī of silver navel.

1302. Especially common is the use of a noun as prior member to qualify the other appositionally, or by way of equivalence (the occasional occurrence of determinatives of this character has been noticed above, 1280 d). These may conveniently be called appositional possessives. Their accent is that of the prior member, like the ordinary possessive descriptives.

a. Examples are: āyuṣparṇa horse-winged, or having horses as wings (said of a chariot), bhūmigṛha having the earth as house, īndrasakhi having Indra as friend, agnihatṛ having Agni as priest, gandharvāpatnī having a Gandharva for spouse, cārāputra having hero-sons, jāramṛtyu having old age as mode of death, living till old age, agnīvāsas fire-clad, tādanta ending with that, cāracakṣu using spics for eyes, viṣṇucarmanāman named Vishnucarman; and, with pronoun instead of noun, tvādūta having thee as messenger, tādāpas having this for work. Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation: thus, agnijihvā, vṛṣṇaṇvā, dhūmacīkṣha, pavīnasā, aṣau-nāma, tatākula, etc.

b. Not infrequently a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, īndratyeṣṭha having Indra as chief, mānacroṣṭha having the mind as sixth, somacroṣṭha of which soma is best, ekadarā of which the ace is highest (?), āsthībhūyaś having bone as the larger part, chiefly of bone, abhirūpabhūyaśtha chiefly composed of worthy persons, daśāvara having ten as the lowest number, cintāpāra having meditation as highest object or occupation, devoted to meditation, niṇḍvāśa-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 aṭi beginning or aḍika or aḍya first are made compounds signifying the person or thing specified along with others, such a person or thing et cetera. For example, deva īndrādayāḥ the gods having Indra as first, i.e. the gods Indra etc., mārtcyaṇāḥ munīn Marici and the other
Possessive Compounds.

sages, svāyambhuvaḥ dāriṣṭaḥ te manavaḥ those seven Manus, Svāyambhūva etc., agniṣṭomaṁ the sacrifices Agniṣṭomas and so on. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in annapañdenañādīni food, drink, fuel, etc., dānakarmādikāṁ caratu bhavāṁ let your honor practise liberty, religious rites, and the like. The particles evam and iti are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members: thus, evamādi vācanam words to this and the like effect; ato 'ham bravīmi kartavyāḥ samcayo 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, viṣṇavasuprabhṛtibhir gandharvāḥ with the Gandharvas Viṣṇu etc.; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time as tatprabhṛti or tataḥprabhṛti thenceforward.

f. Words meaning foregoer, predecessor, and the like—namely, pūrva, pūrvaka, puraḥsara, puraskṛta, purogama—are often employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, but for the most part to denote accompaniment, rather than antecedence, of that which is designated by the prior member of the compound: e.g. smitapūrvam with a smile, anāmaya-praṇa-pūrvakam with inquiries after health pita-mahasūpyogama accompanied by the Great Father.

g. The noun mātrā measure stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of mere, only: thus, jala-mātreṇa vartayan living by water only (lit. by that which has water for its measure or limit), garbhācyutimātreṇa by merely issuing from the womb, prāṇayātrikamātraḥ svaḥ let him be one possessing what does not exceed the preservation of life; utkamātre 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, yañāsiddhiyartham 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 abhā, kalpa, in the sense of like, approaching: thus, hemābha gold-like, mṛtakalpa nearly dead, pratipannakalpa almost accomplished;—vidhā, in the sense of kind, sort: thus, tvadvidhā of thy sort, pūruṣavidha of human kind;—prāya, in the sense of mostly, often, and the like: thus, duḥkhaprayā full of pain, treṇaprayā abounding in grass, nirganaprayā often going out;—antāra (in substantive neuter), in the sense of other: thus, decaṁtara another region (lit. that which has a difference of region), jannāntarāṇi other existences, cākhāntare in another text.

1303. In appositional possessive compounds, the second member, if it designates a part of the body, sometimes logically signifies that part to which what is designated by the prior member belongs, that on or in which it is.
a. Thus, ghrāṭapṛṣṭha butter-backed, mádhujiṅva honey-tongued, niṅkāgrīva and maṅgīrīva necklace-necked, pāṭrahasta vessel-handed, vājrabāhu lightning-armed, āṣṛṇukha blood-faced, kilālodhan mead-uddered, vāḷajāṭhara sacrifice-bellied, vāṃpakanṭha with tears in the throat, qṛaddhāmanas with faith in the heart; with irregular accent, dhūmākeśī t. smoke-eyed, ācrumukhi t. tear-faced; and khāḍihasta ring-handed (khāḍi). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning hand: thus, castrapāṇi 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 prevalingly 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, aqraddhā faithless, amaṇī without ornament, aqatrū without a foe, avarmāṇ not curtailed, adānt toothless, apād footless, atejās without brightness, anārampahanā not to be gotten hold of, apratimāṇā incomparable, aducchnā bringing no harm, apakṣapučchā 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, ākṣātī indestructible, āgu kinless, āgopā without shepherd, ājivana lifeless, ānāpi without friends, āciqvi t. without young, āṁrtyu deathless, ābrāhyamāṇ without priest, āvyacās without extension, āhavis without oblation, and a few others; AV. has āprajas, but CB. aprajās. A very few have the accent on the penult: namely, ācēgas, ajāni, and avīra (with retraction, from vīra), apūtra (do., from putrā); and AV. has abhrātry, but RV. abhṛāṭy.

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, sukāla of easy make, subhāga well portioned, suṅkṣatra of propitious star, suputra having excellent sons, sugopā well-shepherded, sukirti of good fame, sugandhi fragrant, subhāhari well-armed, suyāṃtā of easy control, sukrātu of good capacity, suhārd good-hearted, susrāj well-garlanded, suvārman well-curtailed, suvāsas well-clad, supaṛṇita well guiding; durbhāga ill-portioned, durḍqcika of evil aspect, durdhāra hard to restrain, durgāndhi ill-savored, durādhi of evil designs, durdharu hard to restrain, duṣṭaritū hard to excel, duratvētu hard to cross, durdhūr ill-yoked, durpāman 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, suqiprā well-lipped, svapatyā of good progeny, susamkāca of good aspect, svāṅgurī well-fingered, svīṣu having good arrows, supīvās well fatted;
Possessive Compounds.

and compounds with derivatives in ana, as suvijñānā of easy discernment, sūpasarpanā of easy approach, duṣṭyavanā hard to shake; and AV. has suphalā and subandhū against RV. suphalā and subandhu. Like avīra, suvīra shows retraction of accent. Only dūrāqīr has the tone on the prefix.

q. On the whole, the distinction by accent of possessive from determinative is less clearly shown in the words made with su and dus than in any other body of compounds.

f. The associative prefix sa or (less often) sahā is treated like an adjective element, and itself takes the accent in a possessive compound: thus, sākratu of joint will, sānāman of like name, sārūpa of similar form, sāyoni having a common origin, sāvācas of asenting words, sātoka having progeny along, with one’s progeny, sābrāhmaṇa together with the Brahmans, sāmīla with the root, sāntardeṣa with the intermediate directions; sahāgopa with the shepherd, sahāvatsa accompanied by one’s young, sahāpatnī having her husband with her, sahāpūruga 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, sajōsa, sajōsas, sadiča, sāprāthas, sabādhas, samanvī and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in sāngā (CB. sānga) and the substantivized (1312) savidyutā.

i. Possessive compounds with the exclamatory prefixes ka etc. are too few in the older language to furnish ground for any rule as to accent: kābandha is perhaps an example of such.

1305. Possessive compounds in which a verbal prefix is used as prior member with adjective value, qualifying a noun as final member, are found even in the oldest language, and are rather more common later (compare the descriptive compounds, above, 1289; and the prepositional, below, 1310). They usually have the accent of the prefix.

a. Most common are those made with pra, vi, and sam: thus, for example, prāmahas having exceeding might, prāvṛvasas widely famed; vigriva of very neck, vyāṅga having limbs away or gone, limbless, viśañja wifeless, viśparva and viśparvas jointless, vyādhvan of wide ways, vīmanas both of wide mind and mindless, vīrācas of discordant speech; sāmpatnī having one’s husband along, sāmmanas of accordant mind, sāṁsahasra accompanied by a thousand, sāmokas of joint abode. Examples of others are: ātyūrni surging over, ādhivastra having a garment on, ādhyardha with a half over, ādhyakṣa overseer, āpodaka without water, abhīrūpa
of adapted character, ávatoka that has aborted, ámanas of favorable mind, údojas of exalted power, nímanyu of assuaged fury, nírmáya free from guile, nírhasta handleless.

b. In a comparatively small number of cases, the accent is otherwise, and generally on the final: thus, āvāceqā, upamanyū, viqaphā, viqikhā (AV. viqikha), vikarña, sammātī, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member: thus, saññiçqvarī 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: ántyūti bringing near help, avódeva calling down the gods, itātūti helping on this side, ihāçitta with mind directed hither, daksinatāsakaparda wearing the braid on the right side, nānādharmā of various character, purudhāpratika of manifold aspect, viqvātomukha with faces on all sides, sadyātūti of immediate aid, viqurupa of various form, smādudhan withudder, adhāstālakṣam with mark below, ekatombu with face on one side, tāthāvidhā of such sort.

b. An instance or two of irregular accent are met with: thus, purorathā whose chariot is foremost, evānkratā so-minded.

1307. a. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter (1292 h) that the indifferent suffix ka is often added to a pure possessive compound, to help the conversion of the compounded stem into an adjective; especially, where the final of the stem is less usual or manageable in adjective inflection.

b. Also, the compound possessive stem occasionally takes further a possessive-making suffix: thus, yaqobhaqin, suqiprin, varavarnin, dirghasūtin, puñyavāgbuddhikarin, sutāsomavant, tādgrupavant, trayodaçadvipavant, nārakapālakupdoñalavant, amṛtabuddhimant.

c. The frequent changes which are undergone by the final of a stem occurring at the end of a compound are noticed further on (1315).

1308. The possessive compounds are not always used in the later language with the simple value of qualifying adjective; often they have a pregnant sense, and become the equivalents of dependent clauses; or the having which is implied in them obtains virtually the value of our having as sign of past time.

a. Thus, for example, prāptayauvana possessing attained adolescence, i. e. having arrived at adolescence; anadhigataçāstra with unstudied books, i. e. who has neglected study; kṛtaprayatna possessing performed effort, i. e. on whom effort is expended; anguliyakadarçanāvasāna having the sight of the ring as termination, i. e. destined to end on sight of the ring; uddhārtavijādaçalayaḥ having an extracted despar-arros, i. e. when I shall have extracted the barb of despair; çrutavistārāh kriyātām let him be made with heard details, i. e. let him be informed of the details; drṣṭavīryo me rāmaḥ Rāma has seen my process, bhagnabhāŋdo dvijo yathā like
the Brahman that broke the pots, uktāṃ 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 mem-
ber its object, is a small one (toward thirty examples) and exclusi-
vely 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: vidādvāsi winning good things, kṣayādvīra
governing (kṣayānt) heroes, tarāḍvēgas overcoming (tārant) foes,
ābharādvāsa bringing good things, codayānmati inciting (codayānt)
devotion, mandayātakha rejoicing friends, dhārayātkavi sustaining
sages, maṁhayādrayi bestowing wealth.

b. In sādādyoni sitting in the lap (sādat quite anomalously for sādat
or sādant), and spṛhayādvarṇa emulous of color, the case-relation of the
final member is other than accusative. In patayān mandayātakham
(RV. i. 4. 7), patayāt, with accent changed accordingly, represents patay-
ātakham, the final member being understood from the following word.
Vidāḍvaya is to be inferred from its derivative vāidāḍvayi. Of this
formation appear to be jamādagni, pratādvāsa (prathād?), and tras-
ādasyu (for trasāḍāsasyu?). 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; sādhadiṭṭi, 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: átyavi passing through the wool, atirāṭra over-
night, atimāṭra exceeding measure; ādhiratha lying on the chariot, adhi-
gavā belonging to the cow; adhaspadá under the feet, adhoakṣā below
the axle; ánupatha following the road, anupūrvā following the one pre-
ceding, one after another, anuṣṭaṭā in accordance with truth, anukūla
down stream, etc.; ántaspatha (with anomalously changed accent of antār),
within the way, antardāvā within the flame (?), antarhastā in the hand;
ántigha near the house; apiprāṇa accompanying the breath (prāṇa), āpi-
vrata concerned with the ceremony, apiṣṭarvārā bordering on night, apī-
karnā next the ear; abhijñā reaching to the knee, abhīvīra and abhisatvan
overcoming heroes; āpathi on the road, ādeva going to the gods, ājarasā
reaching old age, ādvādacā up to twelve; upakakṣā reaching to the arm-pits, upottamā next to last, penultimate; upāribudhna above the bottom, upārimartya rising above mortal; tirojanā beyond people; niḥsalā out of the house; paripād (about the feet) small, parihastā about the hand, bracelet; parokṣa out of sight, paromātra beyond measure, parogavyūti beyond the fields, parāḥsahasra (parāḥsahasra, Ç.B.) above a thousand; purokṣa in front of the eyes; pratidōṣa toward evening, pratilomā against the grain, pratikūla up stream, pratyākṣa before the eyes; bahīḥparidhi outside the enclosure; vipathi 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, adhiyajña relating to the sacrifice, etc.

c. A suffixal a is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in upānasa on the wagon, āväya until daybreak. In a few instances, the suffix ya is taken (see above, 1218 m); and in one word the suffix in: thus, pari-panthin besetting the path.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to adverbal use: see below, 1313 b.

Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs.

1311. Compound adjectives, like simple ones, are freely used substantively as abstracts and collectives, especially in the neuter, less often in the feminine; and they are also much used adverbially, especially in the accusative neuter.

a. The matter is entitled to special notice only because certain forms of combination have become of special frequency in these uses, and because the Hindu grammarians have made out of them distinct classes of compounds, with separate names. There is nothing in the older language which by its own merits would call for particular remark under this head.

1312. The substantively used compounds having a numeral as prior member, along with,-in part, the adjective compounds themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called dvigu.

a. The name is a sample of the class, and means of two cows, said to be used in the sense of worth two cows; as also pañcagu bought for five cows, dvināu worth two ships, pañcakapāla made in five cups, and so on.

b. Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are: dvirajā [combat] of two kings, triyugā three ages, triyojjanā space of three leagues, tridivā the triple heaven, pañcayojjanā space of five leagues, saḍahā six days' time, daçaṅgula ten fingers' breadth; and, with suffix ya, sahasrāhnyā thousand days' journey. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the same character, are, for example: anamitrā freedom from enemies, nikilbiṣā freedom from guilt, saviduntu thunderstorm, viñḍayā heartlessness, and
sāhrdaya heartiness, sudivā prosperity by day, sumpā and suçakunā prosperity with beasts and birds. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as trīçati three hundred, (481), triloki the three worlds, pañcamūli aggregate of five roots.

c. As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more prevailingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.

1318. 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 ayayḥībhāvā.

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, anuṣavadham by one's own will, abhipūrvam and parovaram in succession, ādvādaçam up to twelve, pratiçoçam at evening, samaksam in sight. Instances given by the grammarians are: adhīhari upon Hari, uparājām with the king, upanadam or upanadi near the river, pratyagam toward the fire, pratiniçam every night, nirmakṣam 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, yathāvaçam as one chooses (vaca will), yathākytām as done [before], according to usage, yathānāmā by name, yathabhāgām according to several portion, yathāágām and yathāparū limb by limb, yatrakāmam whither one will, yāvannātram in some measure, yāvajijām as long as one lives, yāvatsābandhu according to the number of relations.

d. These compounds are not common in the old language; RV. has with yathā only four of them, AV. only ten; and no such compound is used adjectively except yāscheṣṭhā RV., yāvaccheṣṭhā AV. as good as possible. (B. has yathākárin, yathācárin, yathākāma, yathākṛatu as adjectives (followed in each case by a correlative tathā). The adjectival use in the later language also is quite rare as compared with the adverbial.

e. Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental, as yathāsākhyaṇa, yathācaktya, yathēpasayā, yathāpratigunāś; and ablative, as yathāucityāt.

f. A class of adverbs of frequent occurrence is made with sa: e.g. sakopam angrily, sādaram respectfully, saṣmitam with a smile, saviçeṣam especially.

g. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, rtekarmām without work, nānārathām on different chariots, ubhayadyūṣ two days in succession, citrapadakraṇam with wonderful progress, pradānapūrvam with accompaniment of a gift; etc.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.

33
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, apratí having no equal, tuvipratí mightily opposing, átatha refusing, vitatha false, yathátháthá at it really is, súsaña prosperity in companionship, aniha and anamutra having no here and no longer, etc.

b. Agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases: thus, ahampúrvá eager to be first, ahamuttará contest for preëminence, mamasatyá contest for possession, itihásá legend (ití hā "so thus, indeed, it was), naghamárá and nagháriṣá not, surely, dying or coming to harm, kuvítas some unknown person, taddādartha having just that as aim, kúcicdarthín having errands in every direction, káctikará doing all sorts of things, kuhacidvid whereever found, akutaśidbhaya out of all danger, yad-bhavigya What-is-to-be, etc.

c. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form: as, anyonya and paraspara one another, avaraspara inverted.

d. Aggregations with the natural order inverted: e.g. pitāmahá and tatāmahá grandfather, putraha with his son slain, jánvákná and -jánvakta with bent knee, dantajáta provided with teeth, somapahṛtā deprived of soma, pañktirādhas having groups of gifts, gojara old bull, agrajihvá, agranāsiká, etc. tip of the tongue, of the nose, etc. Compare also 1291 c.

e. Aggregations of particles were pointed out above (1111 a); also (1122 e) cases in which ná and mà are used in composition.

f. In late Sanskrit (perhaps after the fāla analogy of combinations like tad anu, viewed as tadana, with taḍ as stem instead of neuter accusative), a preposition is sometimes compounded as final member with the noun governed by it: e.g. vṛkṣādhas or vṛkṣādhasat under the tree, dantántapa between the teeth, bhavanoparári on top of the house, satyaviná without truth.

Stem-finals altered in Composition.

1315. Transfers to an a-form of declension from other less common finals, which are not rare in independent use, are especially common in the final members of compounds. Thus:

a. A stem in an often drops its final consonant (compare 429 a, 497): examples are akṣa, adhva, arva, astha, aha, takṣa, brahma, mūrdha, rāja, loma, vṛṣa, qva, saktha, sāma.
b. An i or ī is changed to a: examples are aṅgula, aṅjala, aṅra, kukṣa, khāra, nada, nābha, bhūma, rātra, sakha.

c. An a is added after a final consonant, and sometimes after an u-vowel or a diphthong (compare 399): examples are ṛca, tvaca; uṣa, pada, ṣarada; apa; dhura, pura; ahna, aṅmana, ōdhna, rājna; anasa, ayasa, ṣyaṣa, urasa, enasa, tamasa, manasa, yajuṣa, rajasa, rahasa, varcasa, vedasa, śreyasa, sarasa; bhruva, diva, gava, gava, nāva.

d. More sporadic and anomalous cases are such as: apanna-da (-dant), paṇca-ṣa (-ṣa), ajāika-pa (-pad), qata-bhiṣā (-bhiṣaj), vipaṇ-ci (-cit), yathā-pura (-puras).

Loose Construction with Compounds.

1316. In the looseness of unlimited and fortuitous combination, especially in the later language, it is by no means rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon or qualifying it alone, rather than the compound of which it forms a part.

a. Examples are: rāyāśkāmo viqvāpennyasya (RV.) desiring of all-enjoyable wealth; aṅhār urucākṛiḥ (RV.) causing relief from distress; mahādhanē ārbhe (RV.) in great contest and in small; svānāṁ qrāiṣ-ṭhyakāmaḥ (AŚS.) desiring superiority over his fellows; brāhmaṇāḥ chrutaçīlavṛttaśampannan ekena vā (AGS.) Brahmans endowed with learning, character, and behavior, or with one [of the three]; cittapramā-thinī bāla devānām api (MBh.) a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods; vasiṣṭhavacananā ṛṣyaçṛṣṇasya ca 'bhayaḥ (R.) at the words of both Vasishtha and Riṣhyaçrīṇa; sitādravyāpaharaṇe castrāṇām aṅuṣadhasya ca (M.) in case of stealing ploughing implements or weapons or medicament; jyotiṣāṁ madhyacāri (H.) moving in the midst of the stars; dārupātraṁ ca mṛṇmayam (M.) a wooden and an earthen vessel; syandane dattadṛṣṭih (Ṣ.) with eye fixed on the chariot; tasmān ullumbitamṛṭaḥ (KŚŚ.) 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.

श्रासीक्षाळिकलिकवास्तवो भैरवो नाम श्राधः। स चै-कदा मांसलुबः सन्तनुरादाय विन्यासविमंचं गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एकी व्यापारिः। मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन वोराकूसः। सूकरे हसः। ततस्तेन मृगं भूमी विन्ध्यासुकरः। शेरेश हतः। सूकरे अश्वाणवः प्रत्येकवनं वोराकूसः कृतः स श्राधः सुप्रदेशः हतं गुरुदत्तम इव पपातः। यतः।

जलमं चिन्द्रमश्रुति श्रृंग छुदाद्वही पतनं गिरे।।
निल्लिं चिन्द्रदासाय देहि श्राश्चिन्निविश्वते॥

श्राचानतो दीर्घरावो नाम जलकः। परिभ्रमचारायणी तान्नू-तान्नूमायाप्रसूकारणप्रयतः। श्रालोभक्षिनयदसी। श्रृंगो भाग्यं। महान्यथं समुपपस्थितम्। श्राधवः।

आरात्तिराति हुँ वाति वावायानि दृष्टिनाम्।
सुवायानि तथा मयं दृष्टितचारिश्रोते॥

भवतु। एवं मांसवेष्ठयं समाधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रथमविधु-प्रायं तावदिवसनि लाहूनि मांसामि विहाय कोदयक्ते रावणं लाहुवं धारानोलका तथाक्रोत। ततप्रतिनि लाहुवं दुहनुस्तत्तति धमुष्यं हि विन भवते। स दीर्घरावः पद्यलग्नं गतः। चतु ॥

कारववः। कर्तवेऽकारुऽनिवं कारत्वो नातिसचयः।

श्रातिश्चत्रद्रोहः धनुशः जमुकः हतः॥
श्रात्तिकल्याणकल्कनवासच्छयो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चैक्षा
मांसलूपः सन्धनुराग्राय विन्ध्यावतीविमध्ये गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको
व्यापहतः। मृगमादाय गुस्ता तेन धोराकृति: सूकरी हटः।
ततस्तेन मृगे भूमी निधाय सूकरः शरीण खुतः। सूकरे शाराप्रत्यागत्य
प्रलयधानीवोर्गतं कृता स व्याधे मुख्देशे स्तंभिन्नतम् हि
पयात्। यतः।

तलमयिन विंश शाहि लुहारी पतने गिरे।
निमित्तं किंचिद्प्रासाय देहि प्राणौिं विवधयते॥

श्रात्तन्तः दीर्घारायो नाम जम्बुकः परिश्रममादायाराघी तान्मूला
न्मृगयाथ्युम्बुरान्नम्मण्डरण्यता। शालोक्याचित्यादसारी। श्रद्धो भागयमृ।
मन्द्वादि वे समुपस्थितम्। ग्रथवा।

श्रिचित्तितातम हः। उपदानिर्जातानि देविनामः।
सुखाद्विपि तथा नन्ये देवमूलादिरीताये॥
भवतु। यथा मार्गिमानं शास्त्रं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रचारसुरुवायं
सार्विधानिन्ती नानां नानानि विवाय कोदल्लानीलं सार्वस्मयं श्रावायुक्तम्
तथाकरस्तु। तत्र यथो शापं नविन्यते चनुष्पदिति दिवे हृदि निर्माति: स दीर्घारायः पञ्चतं
गतः। ब्राह्मणः सन्तः।

कार्यः। संस्कृत: निम्बित: कार्मसीन: नातिसंचयः।
नातिसंचयोऽन्यो चनुष्पदित: अनुवदोऽयः हन्तः॥

āsit kalyānakatākāvastāvyo bhāiravo nāma vyādhaḥ. sa
cāi 'kadhā māṃsalubdhaḥ san dhanur ādāya vindhyāśvatimadhyah
gataḥ. tatra tena mṛga eko vyāpādītaḥ. mṛgam ādāya gacchata
tena ghorākṛtīkā sākaro dṛṣṭaḥ. tatas tena mṛgah bhūmāv
nīdhāya sākaraḥ caresa hataḥ. sūkraṇa 'py āgayya pralayagha
naghosagarjanaṁ kṛtvā sa vyādho muṣkādeṣe hataḥ chinnadruma
iva papāta. yataḥ:

jalam aṅghι viṣam castrah kṣaudvyādhī patanah gireḥ,
nimittam kihcida āsādyah dehi prāṇair vimucyate.
Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda.

B. 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 Vāc voice (i.e. the Word or Logos).
ahâh rudrêbhîr vásûbhîc carâmy ahám âdityâhir utâ viqvâ-devâîh, ahâm mitrâvâraṇo 'bhâ bibharmy ahám indrägni ahám aqvîno 'bhâ. 1.

ahâm sòmam âhanásam bibharmy ahâm tvâstąram utâ pûşâṇam bhágam, ahâm dadhâmi drâviṇâh havîśmato suprâvyê yâja-mânya sunvatê. 2.

ahâm râṣṭri saṅgâmanî vásûnâh cikitûṣi prathamâ yajñîyânâm, tâm mä devâ vy âdadhuḥ purutrâ bhûrishthâtrâm bhûry aveçâyântim. 3.

mâyâ sô ânman atti yo vipâgyati yâh prâṇiti yâ uñç qrçòty uktâm, amantâvo mâh tâ úpa kṣiyânti çrudhi çruta çraddhîvâh te vadâmi. 4.

ahâm evâ svâyâm idâm vadâmi jûṣṭâh devëbhîr utâ mânuṣebhîh, yâh kâmâye tâm-tam ugrâm krçômi tâm brahmâṇâh tâm jśîn tâm sumedhâm. 5.

ahâm rudrâya dhanûr â tanomi brahmadvîçë çârave hântavâ u, ahâm jânâya samâdaṇ krçômy ahâm dyâvâpçthivi â viveça. 6.

ahâm suve pitâram asya mûrdeâ mâmâ yônîr apav ântâh sa-mudrê, tâto vî tiṣṭhe bhûvanâ 'nu viqvô 'tâ 'mûñh dyânh varâ-mânâ 'pa sprçâmî. 7.

ahâm evâ váta iva prâ vâmy ârâbhamâna bhûvanâni viqvâ, parô divâ parâ enâ prçthivyâî 'tâvati mahînâ sâh babhûva. 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 bhû be and kr make (only the precative middle and periphrastic future middle are bracketed, as never really occurring). Added, in each case, are the most important of the verbal nouns and adjectives, the only ones which it is needful to give as part of every verb-system.
SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs. In this one, many abbreviations are used; but it is believed that they will be found self-explaining. For example, "pron." is pronunciation; "euph." points out anything relating to phonetic form or euphonic combination; "pres." to present-system; "int." is intensive; "des." is desiderative; and so on. A prefixed hyphen denotes a suffix; one appended, a prefix.

a, pron. etc., 19-22; combination with following vowel, 126, 127; loss of initial after e and o, 130, 173a; resulting accent, 130a; not liable to guna, 235a; lightened to 1 or u, 249; lost in weakened syllable, 253.
a, as union-vowel in tense-inflection, 621c, 631.
-a, prony, 1148; sedry, 1208, 1209; -a in -aka, 1181; — a-stems, decl. 326-34; from red a-st., 333, 544; in compn, 1270, 1287a.
- or an-, negative, 1121a-c; in compn, 1283ff., 1288a, 1304a,b.
-aka, prmy, 1181; aka-stems sometimes govern accus., 271c; sedry, 1222j, k.
-aki, see 1224b.
yakṣ, pf., 783.
akṣara, 8.
akṣāṇ, akṣi, 343f., 431.
aghoṣa, 34b.
yəc or aṇ, pf., 788b; pple, 965b, 937c; stems ending with, 407-10.
-aj, 219a, 383k, b.
yac, see ac.
yāṇi, euph., 219a; pres., 694, 687; pf., 788; tvā-ger'd, 991d.
-anḍa, 1201a.
-at, 383k, 3 — and see -ant.
at, see 1176e.
-ati, see 1157g.
-atu, see 1161 d.
-atn, see 1196c.
-atra, see 1185e.
-atha, see 1163c.
-athu, see 1164.
-yad, impf., 621c; caus., 1042g.
-ad, 883k, 4.
adhi, loss of initial, 1087a.
adhika, in odd numbers, 477a, 478b.
yan, euph., 192b; pres., 631.
-an, 1160.
an-, see a-.
anā, 1150; stems in compn, 1271, 1296b.
anaḍvāḥ, euph., 224b; decln, 404.
anā, 1150.
an, 1159.
an, 1150.
anīya, 962, 965, 1215b.
anu, changed to anu after an-, 1087b.
anu, see 1162c.
anudatta, 81.
anudattatarā, 90c.
anunāśika, 86a, 73a.
anuvrata, with accus., 272.
anuṣṭūbh, euph., 151d.
anusvāra, pron. etc., 70-3; transliteration, 73c.
anchās, decln, 419.
ant or -at, of pple, 584, 1172; their decln, 443ff.
-anta, 1209 d.
antaḥsthā, 51, 51 a.
antara, in compsn, 13021.
-anti, see 1221 c.
anyā, dele, 323.
ap or ṭap, dele, 151 e, 393.
apī, loss of initial, 1087 a.
-abha, 1199.
abhinihitā-cirrumpflex, 84 e.
yām, pres., 634; sor., 862.
am, infn. in, 970 a; gerund, 995.
amā, see 1166 b.
ay, infn. in, 970 f, 975 b.
āra, see 1188 d.
arī, dele, 343 g.
arī, see 1192 a.
yarth, so-called, 104 b, 1066, 1067.
artha, in compsn, 1302 b.
arīyamānī, dele, 426 a.
ārvan, ārvant, 455.
yarth, pres., 613; pt., 788; sor., 862; des., 1029 b.
ala, see 1190 b.
alapārā, 374.
yāv, sor., 835, 908; pple., 954 e; inf., 968 e; ya-gerd, 992 c.
avi, loss of initial, 1087 a.
avā, see 1190 a.
avagraha, 16.
yavādhir, so-called, 104 b.
avayaj, avaya, 406.
avayābhāva, 1111 d, 1313.
yāc atātin, pt., 783; sor., 834 b, 837-9, 847; fut., 996 e; inf., 968 e.
yāc cat, pt., 803 a; des., 1029 b, 1031; caus., 1047 e.
yas, pres., 636, 621 e; pt., 800 m; in periph. conj., 1070-2, 1073 d; in pple. periph. phrases, 1076 d; in comp. conj., 1093, 1094.
yas throw, pres., 761 c; sor., 847; pple., 966 e; inf., 968 e.
as final, euph. treatment of, 175.
es, exceptional cases, 176.
ak, 1151; dele of stems in, 411 f f.
as-stems in compsn, 1278, 1296 e, 1298 b.
as, infn. in, 970 a, 971.
asān, āsṛj, 398, 432.
asī, 1196.
āsṛj, euph., 249; and see asān.
asa, infn. in, 970 c, 973 a.
āsthān, āsthā, 343 i, 431.
asā, see 1195 a.
asū, see 1194 d.
yah say, pt., 801 a.
yah connect [?], 788 a.
āhan, āhar, āhas, 430.
ā, pron. etc., 19, 22; combination of final, 126, 127; elision of initial, 155 d; vṛddhi of a, 236 f; lightened to ī or i, 120, to a, 200 c; in pres., 661 b, 761 f; g; in sor., 884; in pple., 954 e; in des., 1028 d.
ā, with ablative, 293 c, 983 a.
ā, 1149.
ā-stems, dele, 347 f f.
āka, see 1181 d.
āku, see 1181 d.
āru, see 1181 d.
ātman, used reflexively, 514 a.
ātmane padam, 528.
ādi, ādika, ādya, in compsn, 1302 d.
āna, in pple., 834, 1170; used instead of māna, 741 a, 752 c, 1043 f.
āna in other derivatives, 1175 a.
āni, see 1223 b.
ānu, see 1182 c.
ānuṇāśikya, 36 a.
yā, 1087 f; pt., 783 d; sor., 847, 862; des., 1050.
ābhā, in compsn, 13021.
ām, impr. 3d sing. in, 618.
āmṛcitā, 1260 d.
āyana, 1219.
āyil, 1220.
āyana, 966 e, 1051 f, 1218.
āra, see 1188 d, 1226 b.
āru, see 1192 a.
ālā, see 1223 a, 1245 l.
ālu, see 1192 b, 1227 b.
yas, pres., 619 c, 628; inf., 968 d;
periph. pt., 1071 c; in pple. periph. phrases, 1075 c.
ās, āsān, āsyā, 398 b, 432.
as final, euph. treatment of, 177.
1, pron. etc., 19, 20, 22; i and y, 55; combinations of final, 126, 129, 279 f; with preceding a-vowel, 127; from ya, 252, 784 c, 769, 922 b, 964 b; cases of loss before y, 283 a.
1, union-vowel, 254, 565 b; in pres., 630, 631, 634, 640; in pt., 706-8, 809; in sor., 876 b, 877; in fut., 934, 955, 943; in pple., 966; in infn., 968; in des., 1051.
i-stems, dele, 336 f f; from rdol i-st., 354; in compsn, 1276, 1287 c; sometimes govern accus., 271 f.
yi go, pf., 783 b, 801 d; fut., 935 a; ya-ger'd, 992 a, c; int., 1002 e, 1021 b; caus., 10421; in ppial periphr. phrases, 994 e, 1075 a; periphr. conj., 1071 f; irreg. comb. with prefixes, 1087 c; in compd conj., 1092 b.

yi (in, inv) send, 716 a.

i-prmy, 1156; sedry, 1221.

-ika, prmy, 1186 c; sedry, 1222 j, l.

-ikä, fem. to -aka, 1181 c, 1222 i.

yich, 608 b, 763 b.

-i, 219 a, 383 k, 5.

-it, 388 k, 3; advbl., 1109 a.

-ita, 1176 a, b, d.

iti, uses of, 1102 a-c; peculiar construction with, 268 b; abbrev'd to ti, 1102 d.

-iti, see 1157 g.

-itu, see 1161 c.

-itnu, see 1196.

-itra, see 1186 c.

yidh or indh, euph., 160 c; sor., 836, 837, 840 b.

yin (or inv), 699 b, 700, 716 a, 749 b.

-in, 1188, 1230; in-stems, deln, 435 ff.; in compd, 1270, 1287 e; sometimes govern accus., 271 b; used participially, 960 b.

-in, see 1177 b, 1209 c, 1223 f.

inakga, 1029 c.

-inoya, see 1216 d.

yinv, see in.

-ibha, see 1199 a.

-ima, 1224 a.

-iman, see 1163 i-k.

iy in euph. comb' from an i-vowel, 129 a, c, d, 352 b.

iya, 1214.

iyakga, 1029 c.

iyant, deln, 451.

ir-stems; deln, 392.

ira, see 1188 e, 1226 b.

irajya, iradha, 1021 a.

yi, caus., 1042 b.

-ila, see 1189 b, 1227 a.

iva, euph., 1102.

-iva, see 1190 a.

-ivas, see 1173 b.

yis desire', pres., 608 b, 783 b; inf., 968 d; desisd., 1029 b.

yis send, caus., 1042 b.

-isa, see 1197 b.

-istha, 467-70, 1184.

-ignu, 1194.

-is, 1153; is-stems, deln, 411 ff.

i, pron. etc., 19, 20, 22; combinations of final, 126, 129, 797 f; with preceding a-vowel, 127; circumflexed, 128; uncomb. in dual etc., 138; as final of stem in verbal compds, 1093, 1094.

i, union-vowel, 254; in tense-inflexion, 555 b; of pres., 632-4; of impf., 621, 631-4; of a-aor., 880 b, 888-91; of int., 1004 ff.; for i, 900 b, 935 a, 968 d, f.

i-stems, deln, 347 ff.

-i, 1156; to i before added sfx, 471 b, 1205 d, 1237 c, 1239 b; in compds, 1249 d.

-ika, see 1186 c.

-yikg, aor., 862; desisd., 1029 b; periphr. pf., 1071 c, 1073 a.

-yid, pres., 628, 630; pf., 783 d.

ita for eta-forms in optative, 738 b, 771 d, 1032 a, 1048 c.

-itii, see 1157 g.

-itu, see 1161 c.

-in, prmy, see 1171 b; sedry, 1223 d.

-iman, see 1168 j.

iy, conj.-stem, 1021 b.

-iyu, 1215.

-iyas, 467-70, 1184; stems in, deln, 463 ff.

-yi, pres., 628; pf., 783 d, 801 d; pple, 957 a.

-ira, see 1188 e.

-iva, see 1190 a.

-yig, pres., 628, 630.

iyvara, with indh., 984, 987.

-yig, euph., 220 a.

-Iya, see 1197.

-yin, euph., 240 b.

u, pron. etc., 19, 20, 22; u and v, 51; combinations of final, 126, 129; with preceding a-vowel, 127; from va, 252, 784, 769, 922 b, 954 b, 966 d; cases of loss before v, 283 a; final u gunated in sedry derivation, 1203 a.

u-stems, deln, 330 ff.; from rdel-ü-st., 354; desisd. u-stems govern accs., 271 a.

-u, 1175; -u in -uka, 1180 a.

-uka, 1180; stems sometimes govern accs., 271 g.

ukṣān, deln, 426 b.

yuch, 608 b, 753 b.

-yujh, periphr. pf., 1071 c.
yūñch, pres., 758.

uṇādi-suffixes, 1138a.

-ut, 393k. 3.

-utra, see 1185a.

-uṭra, see 1182b.

-uṭha, see 1163d.

yūd or und, pres., 694a, 758a;
nouns, 957d; desid., 1029b.

ūd, uḍāka, uḍan, 398b, 432.

udātta, 81.

-una, see 1177c.

-unī, see 1158a.

upadhānīya, 69.

-yūbh or umbh, pres., 694, 758a.

-ubha, see 1199a.

ubhāya, deln., 526c.

ur or us as 3d pl. ending, 169b.

ur-stems, deln., 392.

-ura, see 1188f, 1226b.

-urī, 1191a.

-ulā, see 1189b, 1227a.

uv in euph. comb’n from an u-vowel,
129a, c, d, 392b, 697a.

uqānas, uqānā, deln., 395a, 416.

-yu’s, pres., 608b; ya-ger’d, 992b;

-periphr. pf., 1071f.

-uṣa, see 1197c.

-uṣā, euph., 168a; deln., 415b.

-uṣī, see 1221f.

-uṣīṅth, euph., 223a.

-us, 1154; us-stems, deln., 411ff.

uṣṭ, 371j.

-us or ur as 3d pl. ending, 169b.

ū, pron. etc., 19, 20, 22; combinations of final, 126, 129, 797f;

with preceding a-vowel, 127; circumflexed, 128; uncombinable in

dual, 138a.

ū-stems, deln., 347 ff.

-ū, 1179.

-ūkā, see 1180f.

-ūkha, see 1182b.

-ūṭha, see 1163d.

ūḍhan, ūḍhar, ūḍhas, 430d.

ūna, in odd numbers, 477a, 478b.

-ūna, see 1177c.

-ūra, see 1188f.

ūṛj, euph., 219a.

yūṛnu, so-called, 104b, 719; pf.,
801b, 1071c; ya-ger’d, 992c.

-uṣa, see 1197c.

ūṣman, 31, 59.

yūḥ remove, infin., 968c; ya-ger’d,
992c.

yūḥ consider, euph., 240b, 745a;

-pres., 894d, 897b.

ṛ, pron. etc., 23-6; objectionable
pronunciation and transliteration as ṛ, 24a; question of ṛ or ar
in roots and stems, 104d, e, 237;

combinations of final, 126, 129;

with preceding a-vowel, 127;

exceptions, 127a; impedes change of
preceding a to ə, 181a; changes
succeeding n to ṇ, 189ff; gupa
and vyṛddhi increments of, 236ff;

irregular changes, 241, 243; variable
final ṛ of roots (so-called ṛ),
242.

ṛ-roots, root-nouns from, 383b, g.

ṛ-stems, deln., 369 ff.

ṛ, variable (so-called ṛ), roots in,
242, 245b; their passive, 770c;

aor., 885, 900b; presc., 922a; futu,
936a; pple, 967b; root-infin., 971;

gerund in ya, 992a.

yṛ, euph., 242c; pres., 608a, 699a,
753b, 643d, 645, 716a; passive,
770c; pf., 783a; aor., 844a,
887b, 840b, 847, 833, 862; pple,
957b; int., 1002; causa., 1042;

caus. aor., 1047.

ṛ, see 1182b.

ṛ, ṛ, bad transliterations for ṛ, ṛ,
24a.

yṛc or ara, pf., 785a; aor., 862,
894d, 897b; ya-ger’d, 992b.

yṛch, 608, 783b; pf., 788b.

-ṛ, 383k. 5.

yṛnj or ṛj or ara j stretch out, pres.,
708a; pf., 788b; aor., 894d, 897b.

yṛṛv, 716a.

-ṛt, 383k. 3.

ṛtvij, euph., 219.

yṛd, pple, 957d.

yṛdh, pres., 684; pf., 788a; aor.,
832, 837, 838, 840a, 847, 862;

des., 1029b, 1030.

ṛbhukṣan, deln., 434.

yṛṣ, pf., 788b.

ṛhānt, deln., 450c.

ṛ, pron. and occurrence, 23-6; ob-
jectionable pronunciation and transliteration as ṛ, 24a; as alleged
final of roots, 104d, 242 (and see
ṛ, variable); changes succeeding
n to ṇ, 189ff.
\[\text{Sanskrit Index.}\]

\(\ddag\), pron. and occurrence, 23-6; objectionable pronunciation and transliteration as \(\ddag\) or \(\ddagger\), 24 a; its guna-increment, 286.

\(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\), bad transliterations for \(\ddag\), 24 a.

\(\ddag\), 23 a.

e, pron. etc., 27-9; combinations of final, 191-3, 186; with final a-vowel, 127; uncombinable in dual etc., 138 a, b, f; guna of i and \(\ddag\), 235 ff.; from radical \(\ddagger\), 250 d; as alleged final of roots, 251, 781 f.
e, infin. in, 970 a, 971.

\(\ddag\)ka, dcln., 483 a, b; used as article, 482 c; in making 9's, 477 a, b.

ekacruity, 90 c.

\(\ddag\)vedh., pf., 790 e; desid., 1029 b, 1031 b; periphr. pf., 1071 c.

-
ena, 1223 e.

-
ena, 966 b, 1038, 1217.

-
eya, 1216 e.

-
yaya, 1216 e.

-
era, see 1201 a, 1226 b.

-
eru, see 1192 a.

-
elima, 966 d, 1201 a.

-
\(\ddag\)s\(\ddag\)s\(\ddag\), euhph., 176 a.

\(\ddag\)ai, pron. etc., 27-9; combination with final a-vowel, 127; as final, 131-3; vrddh\(\ddag\) of i and \(\ddag\), 235 ff.; as alleged final of roots, 261, 761 e; for union-vowel \(\ddag\) in tense-infection, 565 c; for e in subj. endings, 561 a.

\(\ddag\)ai as gen.-abl. ending, 366 d.

o, pron. etc., 27-9; combination with final a-vowel, 127; as final, 131, 132, 134, 135; before suffix ya, 136 b; uncombinable, 138 c, f; for final as, 176, 175, 761 e, 179 a; guna of u and \(\ddag\), 235 ff.; as alleged final of roots, 251, 761 g.

om, euhph., 137 b.

-
-\(\ddag\)ra, see 1182 b.

odana, euhph., 137 b.

-
ora, see 1201 a.

o\(\ddag\)tha, euhph., 137 b.

o\(\ddag\)th\(\ddag\)ya, 49.

\(\ddag\)u, pron. etc., 27-9; combination with final a-vowel, 127; as final, 131, 132, 134 b; vrddh\(\ddag\) of u and \(\ddag\), 235 ff.

\(\ddag\)h, pron. etc., 67-9; makes heavy syllable, 79; occurrence as final, 148, 170 a; for the labial and guttural spirants, 170 d; from final \(\ddag\), 148, 170 a, 172; from r, 144, 178; allows change of a to q, 183.

\(\ddag\) or \(\ddag\), pron. etc., 70-3; makes heavy syllable, 79; occurrence as final, 148; allows change of a to q, 183; occurrence, 204, 212, 213 e.

k, pron. etc., 39, 40; relation to c, 42; to q, 64; to \(\ddag\) after, 180 ff.; added to final \(\ddag\), 21; from c, by reversion, 214 ff.; as final, and in internal combination, 142, 217; from q, do., 146, 215; from q, 266 e; anomalously from t, 151 a; to t, 151 c.

-
k\(\ddag\)a, prmy., 1146; sedry., 1222; ka in -uka, 1148 a; in -\(\ddag\)ka, 1181.

-
k\(\ddag\)a, see 1245 k.

ka\(\ddag\)th\(\ddag\)ya guttural, 39.

-
k\(\ddag\)an, pf., 786 e; aer., 899 d.

-
k\(\ddag\)ath, so-called, 1056.

-
k\(\ddag\)am, aer., 868; pple., 956 a.

-
ka\(\ddag\)pa, 78 d, 87 d, 90 b.

-
k\(\ddag\)mvant, euhph., 212.

-
k\(\ddag\)ra, 1201 a.

-
k\(\ddag\)nand\(\ddag\)h\(\ddag\)aya, 1263 a.

-
k\(\ddag\)al, caus., 1042 g.

-
k\(\ddag\)la, in compn., 1302 1.

-
k\(\ddag\)as, pple., 966 b.

-
k\(\ddag\)a, int. (?), 1013 b.

-
k\(\ddag\)m\(\ddag\), with accus., 272; in compn., with infin.-stem, 968 g.

-
k\(\ddag\)mya as denom.-sign, 1065.

-
k\(\ddag\)ra, in sound-names, 18.

-
k\(\ddag\)ac, int., 1017.

-
k\(\ddag\)as, periphr. pf., 1071 f.

-
k\(\ddag\)yant, dcln., 451.

-
k\(\ddag\)ra, 766.

-
k\(\ddag\)ra or k\(\ddag\)r, so-called, 1066.

-
k\(\ddag\)u, pres., 633.

-
k\(\ddag\)uc, caus., 1042 h.

-
k\(\ddag\)up, pres., 761 a; aer., 840 b; pple., 966 h.

-
k\(\ddag\)um\(\ddag\), so-called, 101 b.

-
kuv\(\ddag\)d, accent of verb with, 565 e.

-
k\(\ddag\)r made, pr., 714, 715, 865 a; pf., 797 c, 800 c; aer., 831, 834 a; 40, 847, 894 d; int., 1002 g; b; prefixes a, 1087 d; in periphr. conj., 1070-3; in compd conj., 1081-4; special constructions, 268 a.
kh, pron. etc., 39; relation to q, 61 b.

v'khan or v'kha, 102 a; pass., 772.

pf., 794 e; aor., 890 a; pple., 965 b.

int., 968 e; ya-ger'd, 992 a; caus.,

1042 g.

v'kha, 102 a.

v'khid. pf., 790 b; pple., 957 d.

v'khud, khun, int., 1002 g, h.

v'khyā, aor., 847, 894 c; fut., 936 e.

h, pron. etc., 29; relation to j, 42;

from j by reversion, 214 ff.

gata, in compass, 1275 c.

v'gam, 102 a; pres., 608 b, 747,

855 a; aor., 833, 834 b, 837-40,

847, 881 e, 887 b; pf., 794 e, 805 a;

fut., 943 a; pple., 954 d; int.,

1002 g, h, 1003; des., 1028 e, 1031 b;

caus., 1042 g; root-noun, 938 b.

v'gal, int., 1002 d.

v'gā, 102 a; pres., 660; aor., 830,

834, 839, 884, 894 e; des., 1028 d.

v'gā sing., 251; pres., 761 e; aor.,

894 d, 912; pple., 964 c; int., 965 f;

ya-ger'd, 992 a; caus., 1042 j, k.

v'gāh or gah, pple., 956 e; int.,

1002 d.

v'gir, gil, 766; caus., 1042 b.

v'gu, int., 1002 d.

gupa, 27, 235 ff.

v'gup, aor., 863 a; int., 968 c;

ya-ger'd, 992 c; des., 1040.

v'gūr, pres., 756; aor., 834 a; pple,

957 b.

v'guh, euph., 155 b, d, 223 b, 240 c;

pres., 745 e; pf., 793 i; aor., 847,

852, 916 e, 920 a, f; int., 968 c;

ya-ger'd, 992 c; caus., 1042 b.

v'gṛ sing., euph., 242 b; aor.,

894 d.

v'gṛ swallow, euph., 242 b; pres.,

766; aor., 836; int., 968 d; int.,

1002 d.

v'gṛ (or jāgṛ) wake, 1020; aor.,

867, 871.

v'grdh, pf., 786 a; aor., 847.

v'gṛ dh, euph., 134 a, 236 b; deln.,

361 c; f.

gdha, gdhā, 233 f.

v'grath or granth, pres., 730 a;

pf., 794 h; caus., 1042 b.

v'grabh or grah, euph., 155 b, 223 g;

pres., 723, 729, 731, 732, 904 d,

1066 b; pf., 794 e, 801 i; aor.,

834 b, 847, 900 b, 904 a, b; fut.,

996 e; pple., 966 d; c; int., 968 f;

pass., 996 f; des., 1031 b; caus.,

1042 b.

v'graś, pple., 956 b.
 Sanskrit Index.  

v'glā', pres., 761.e; aor., 912; pple., 
907a; caus., 1042.f.  
glād, deln., 381.a.  
gh, pron. etc., 30; h derived from, 68; from h, by reversion, 214.ff., 402.  
`ghañat, caus., 1042.8.  
`ghañas, euph., 167, 233.f; `jaks 
from, 640; pf., 794.d; aor., 833., 
847; pple., 954.e.  
ghoṣavant, 34.  
`ghrā, pres., 671, 749.a; `tvā-gerd', 
991.d; `ya-gerd', 992.e; caus., 
1042.d.  
ñ, pron. etc., 39; occurrence as final, 
143, 387.2, 3, 407a; duplication 
as final, 210; adds k before sibil- 
ant, 211.  
c, pron. etc., 42-4; as final, 142; 
from t before a palatal, 202.a, 
203; n to ñ before t, 208.b; inter- 
nal combinations of, 217; reversion 
to k, 216.ff.; in pres., 681; pf., 
787; int., 10021; des., 1028.f.  
`cakās or `cakāq, so-called, 677.  
`cakas, pres., 444.a, 621.a, 628, 675.  
catār, deln., 482.g, h.  
`cam, pres., 745.d; pple., 965.a; 
caus., 1042.g.  
`car, euph., 242.a; aor., 899.d; pple., 
957.b; int., 968.e; `tvā-gerd', 
991.b, c; int., 1002.d, 1003, 1017; 
des., 1031.b; in pppal periphr. 
phrases, 1076.b.  
`cary, pple., 956.a, 957.b.  
`cal, int., 1003; caus., 1042.g.  
`cay, pres., 761; `tvā-gerd', 991.c; 
`ya-gerd', 992.b; periphr. pf., 1071.f.  
`ci gather, reversion of c to k, 
2161, 631, 787, 1028.f; pf., 716.b, 
855a; aor., 889; `tvā-gerd', 991.d; 
`ya-gerd', 992.a; caus., 1042.f.  
`ci note, pres., 845; aor., 834.a.  
`citt, reversion of c to k, 2161, 
631, 788, 10021, 1028.f; pf., 790.b, 
801.e; aor., 840.a, b; int., 10021, 
1024; des., 1040; caus., 1042.b.  
`ceṣṭ, pf., 790.c.  
`ceyu, pf., 785.a; aor., 840.b, 866, 
867, 886.a, 870; int., 968.c; caus., 
1042.e.  
ch, pron. etc., 42, 44; as final, 142; 
from q after t or n, 203; after 
other mutes, 203.a; in internal 
combination, 220; duplication be- 
tween vowels, 227; qch for, 227.a.  
chā present-stems, 608.  
`chad, pple., 957.d.  
`chand, aor., 863.a, 890.b; caus., 
1042.g.  
`chā, pres., 753.e; pple., 954.e; 
`tvā-gerd', 991.b; caus., 1042.k.  
`chid, pres., 694.a; pf., 805.b; 
aor., 832.a, 834.d, 847, 887.a; 
pple., 957.d.  
`chur, caus., 1042.b.  
`chṛd, pple., 957.d; `tvā-gerd', 991.d.  
J, pron. etc., 42-4; as final, 142; 
in internal combination, 219; n 
to ñ before t, 202.b; from t be- 
fore sonant palatal, 202.a; reversion 
to g, 216ff.; in pf., 787; in 
des., 1028.f; before na of pple, 
957.c; anomalously changed to d, 
154.c.  
`jaks, 102.a; euph., 233.f; pres., 
640, 675; pple., 954.e.  
jāgat, deln., 450.d.  
jagdha etc., 233.f.  
`jan, 102.a; pres., 631.a, 648, 680, 
781.b, 772; pf., 794.e; aor., 834.b, 
904.d; pple., 955.b; int., 968.e; 
des., 1031.b.  
jāni, deln., 434.f.  
jānus, deln., 415.c.  
`jap, pple., 956.b; int., 1002.d, 1017.  
`jambh or `jabh, int., 968.e; int., 
1017.  
`jalp, pf., 790.c.  
`jasa, aor., 871.  
`jā, 102.a.  
`jāgr, so-called, 104.b, 1020; pf., 
1074.e.  
jātya-circumflex, 84.b.  
`ji conquer, reversion of j to g, 
2161; in pf., 787; in des., 1028.f; 
aor., 839, 889, 894.b, 904.b; fut., 
955.a; caus., 10421; caus. aor., 
1047, 861.b; periphr. pf., 1071.f.  
`ji injure — see jyā.  
`jīnv, 716.a, 749.b.  
jīhvāmālīya, 39.a, 90.  
`jīv, aor., 861.a; des., 1028.b, 1031.b; 
caus., 1042.n.  
`jur, pres., 756, 766.  
`jug, aor., 834.b, 836, 840.b; in 
sajūs, 225.a, 392.b.  
`ju, pres., 729; pf., 786.c.
y/j, waste away, euph., 2161, 242b; pros., 756, 766; pf., 793b, 794b; pple., 957b; caus., 1042 e.
y/jh, pres., 730b, 731; pf., 790b; aor., 890, 893, 894c, 912; caus., 1042j; caus. aor., 1047; 861b; caus. des., 1030; caus. pple., 1051b.
y/jh/ or Jh., pros., 761b; pf., 756a, 794b; aor., 912; pple., 954 c.
y/jri, aor., 897b.
y/jval, aor., 899d; caus., 1042g.

jh, pron. and occurrence, 42; as final, 142; in internal combination, 220b.

n, pron. etc., 42; from n after a palatal, 201b; before j, 202b; q, 203c; o, 206b.

t, pron. etc., 45, 46; from a final palatal, 142; q, 145, 218; j, 140; h, 147; adds t before s, 199a; added to final n before sibilant, 214; from j in internal combination, 214b; ch, 220; kq, 221b; h, 222; q, 226b.

th, pron. etc., 45, 46.

d, pron. etc., 45; ordinary derivation, 46; I used for, 5a, 54; from d with preceding sibilant, 198d, 199d.

dh, pron. etc., 45, 46; Jh used for, 54; from dh with preceding sibilant, 199d; from h with following t or th or dh, 222b.
dhva or dvam, 226c, 881b, 901a, 924a.

n, pron. etc., 45; ordinary derivation, 46; as final, 143; change of n to -189-95; from n with preceding sibilant, 199b; doubled as final, 210; adds t before a sibilant, 211.

t, pron. etc., 47, 48; from final radical s, 145; do. in internal comb., 167, 168; with preceding sonant aspirate, 160; assim. to following i, 162; added after t before s, 199e; after n before s or q, 207; to palatal before palatal, 202; before q, 203; anomalously changed to k, 151a; to t, 164b; from k and j, 151c.

-t, added after short final vowel of root, 345, 376b, 833r-b, 1143d, 1147d, 1186a, 1213a; irregular cases, 1147c.

-ta, of pple., 902d, 1176; ta-stems in compar., 1273, 1284; sody, 1249c.
y/tâns or taas, pf., 794d; aor., 847.
y/tâks, pres., 628; pf., 790b; pple., 956a.
y/tâq, euph., 198c.
tâpurusa, 1203a.
tâdhita-suffixes, 1138a.
y/tan stretch, pass., 772; pf., 794f, 890a; aor., 893a, 894b, 847, 881c, 890a, 899d; pple., 954d; ya-gerd, 992a; des., 1028e.

tâna, 1245g-f.
tânt as rel. pronoun, 514b.
y/tap, pres., 761b; aor., 834d, 233a, 860a; fut., 935b.
y/tam, pres., 763; aor., 847; pple., 955a; inf., 968c.

tâma, 471-3, 487f, g, 1242a, b.
tamam and -tamâm, 1111e, 1119.
tây, 1244a.
taye, infin. in, 970e, 975.
tar, see 1109a, and -tarp.
tara, 471-3, 1242a, b.
taram and tarâm, 1111e, 1119.
tari, infin. in, 9701, 979.
tavant, pple in, 959, 960.
tavo and tavâi, infin in, 970b, 979.
tavaya, 962, 964, 12421.
y/tan see taas.
y/tas, 1152; advbl, 1098.
tâ, 1237.
tât, impv. forms in, 570, 571, 618, 654, 704, 723, 740, 752c, 760c, 839, 1011a, 1023a, 1043d.
tât, 383k, 1236; advbl, 1100b.
tâti, 1238.
y/tây, pres., 761e; periphr. pr., 1071f.
tâlayya, 44a.
ti, 1157; ti-stems in compar., 1274, 1287d; sody, 519, 1157h; advbl, 1102d.
y/tij, euph., 219a; des., 1040.
tîtha, 1242a.
y/tir, 756, 766.
y/tu, pres., 633; pf., 786c; aor., 868a; int., 1002g.
y/tu, 1161, 970b, 972.
y/tuj, caus., 1042b.
y/tud, pres., 756; pple., 957d.
-tum, infin. in, 968, 970b, 972, 987, 988.
y'tur, pres., 756, 766; des., 1029a; caus., 1042b.
-tur, 1182 g.
y'tul, caus., 1042b.
y'tug, caus., 1042b.
y'tr, euph., 242b; pres., 709, 715 c, 756, 766; pf., 794 k, 801 f, 804; aor., 904 d; pple., 947 b; inf., 968 d; ya-ger'd, 992 a; int., 1002 d, g, 1003, 1017; desid., 1029 a.
-tr, 943, 1182; tr-stems, deln, 369 ff; govern accus., 271 d; verbal use of, 946; make periphr. fut., 942-7.
-tres, euph., 233 a.
-trea, tretya, euph., 243.
y'tr'd, aor., 836 b, 837 a; pple., 957 d.
y'trp, pres., 710, 758; pf., 786 a; fut., 956 d; aor., 847, 852 a.
y'try, pf., 766 a; aor., 840 b, 847.
y'tr'k or trañ, euph., 223 b, 224 b; pres., 694 a, 696 c; aor., 847, 916 a.
toqas, deln, 415 b.
-tos, infin. in, 970 b, 972.
tta for dâta, 956 f, 1087 e.
tti for dâti, 1187 c.
-tna, 1245 g, h.
-tnu, 1196.
tman, deln, 415 b.
-tya, for -ya, 952; sodyr, 1245 b-d.
y'tya'a, 1087 f; euph., 219 a; pf., 750 a; fut., 955 b; pple., 956 b.
y'tai, infin. in, 970 e, 976 a.
-tra, 1180; or trâ, advbl, 1099.
y'trap, pf., 794 b.
y'tras, pf., 794 h; aor., 899 d.
y'trâ, 1020; or, 626; aor., 887 d, 903 a, 906.
-trà, see -tra.
-tri, deln, 492 a, f; in compan, 1300 e.
-tri, see 1185 g.
-tristi, euph., 151 d.
-tri, 376 c, 1182.
-tru, see 1185 g.
-tru, gerundival, 966 a, 1209 b; sodyr, 1230.
-tvata, 1239 d.
-tvan, see 1169.
-tvana, 1240.
-tvar, caus., 1042 g.
-tvara, see 1171.
-tvâ, 980, 991, 993.
tvânam, 993 e.
tvây, 993 b.
ytvâ, pres., 621 a; aor., 916 a.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.
 Sanskrit Index.

ยำคำ, pres., 444.
-ณิ, advbl, 1103 a.
ยdicot etc., 330 e.
ยdv, see div.
ยdv, dcн, 381 d.
ยdvг, euph., 216 a; aor., 916, 920 a; int., 1017.
ยdvг, euph., 155 b, 223 a; aor., 916.
ยdvг, dcн, 1031 b; caus., 1042 n.
ยdvг, so-called, 676; pf., 786 b.
ยdvг, so-called, 104 b, 676; pf., 786 b; aor., 897 b.
ยdп, aor., 861 a.
ยdп, play, euph., 240 b; pres., 765; pple., 955 c; int., 968 e.
ยdп, or dev lament, pple., 957 a; int., 968 e.
ยdп or д, pres., 716 b; pple., 957 a.
ยdп, euph., 168 b.
ยdп, 102 a.
ยdп, euph., 240 c, 1155 a; aor., 894; caus., 1042 b.
ยdп, 225 a, 1121; in compsn, 1284 a, b, 1288 e, f, g, 1304 а, d.
ยdп, euph., 156 b, d, f, 223 a; pres., 621, 655; pf., 501 b; aor., 916, 920 a-f.
ยดร, pierce, euph., 242 с; pf., 793 b; pple., 957 b; int., 1002 d, 1003, 1023; caus., 1042 a.
ยดร, heed, pres., 757, 773; aor., 834 a, 881 b.
ยdп, aor., 847; fut., 935 b, 936 a.
ยdп, euph., 215 а; pf., 790 с, 801 с, 805 b; aor., 862, 834 b, 836, 840 b, 847, 890 a, 894 a; fut., 936 d; pass., 996 b; root noun, dcн, 386 5.
ยдп, дп, дп, дп, with pron-stems, 516.
ยдп or дп, euph., 155 b, 223 b, d; pres., 765, 761 b, 767; pf., 785 a.
devanägarî, 1.
دومن, دم, 396 a, 432.
دیو and دیو, dcн, 381 d, e.
دیو, euph., 755 a; aor., 840 a, b, 847, 883 a, 890 a; int., 1002 g; caus., 1042 b.
دیو, see 1105 b.
دیو run, pple., 957 a; int., 1024 a.
دیو, sleep, aor., 912; pple., 954 с, 957 a; int., 1014 a.
دیو, euph., 797 с; aor., 868; int., 1018 a; caus., 1042 a.
دیو, euph., 155 b, d, 223 а, c; aor., 834 a, 847, 920 e, f.
dvanva, 1202 a.
dвп, dcн, 388.3.

dвп, compds with, 1300 c.
dвп, 1312.
ydvг, euph., 228 d, f; pres., 621 a; aor., 916, 920 b.
dh, прон. etc., 47, 48; from т or th after sonant aspirate, 160; h from, 228 g.
-dhа, see -дhа.
ydham or дhма, pres., 750; pass., 772; aor., 912; pple., 955 b; yag-er'd, 992 a.
ydha put, euph., 223 g; pres., 667 -9, 672, 855 а; aor., 830, 834 7, 839, 847, 884, pple., 954 с; int., 968 f; trvä-ger'd, 991 b; des., 1025 d, 1030, 1031 a; in periph. conj., 1070 c.
ydha seek, 251; pres., 761; aor., 863; pple., 964 с; int., 968 f; yag-er'd, 992 a.
dhа or -дhа, advbl, 1104.
ydхв ринус, pple., дhута, 954 с.
ydh or дhив, 718.
ydh, final of compds, 1155 г, 1276 b.
ydhu or дhu, pres., 712, 728 a, 733; pt., 790 b; aor., 868 a, 887 с; int., 1002 g, 1003, 1018 a; caus., 1042 m.
ydхв, aor., 887 с; des., 1028 h.
ydh, pres., 757, 773; pf., 786 a; aor., 834 a, 887, 871; int., 1003.
ydhг, pt., 786 a; aor., 847, 852 b; pple., 956 b.
ydма, see dham.
yдhа, pres., 761 e; aor., 912.
yдhай, insfn in, 970 g, 976, 1050 f.
ydhnа or дhvas, euph., 168; pt., 790 e; aor., 847; caus., 1042 g.
yдhан, pple., 955 a, 956 b; caus., 1042 g.
yдhвr, pple., 955 e.

न, pron. etc., 47, 48; as final, 143; for final rdcl м, 143 a, 212 а; change to н, 189-95; to अ after and before palatals, 204-3, 328 h; combinations as root-final, 204; loss as stem-final, 204 b; assim. to palatals and linguals, 205; to 1, 206; before sibillants, 207; treated as нs, 208, 209; duplication of final, 210; instability as final, 256, 1203 b; used as union-cons., 257, 313, 482 h; question of final of पाणि etc., 484; final न in secondry derva, 1203 c.
pūśān, dcln, 426.a.

Vypr all, euph., 242.c; pres., 731, 761.b, 766; pf., 793.h; pple, 955.d, 957.b; int., 968.e.

vypr pass, pf., 793.b; aor., 896.

vypr be busy, pres., 757, 773.

vypr, pres., 694.a; aor., 834.c, 836.b, 837.b, 840.b, 890, 894.a; pple, 957.c.

vypr, 731, 753.

pṛf, pṛtānā, 397.

pṛṣant, dcln, 450.e.

vyāy or pī, pres., 761.e; pf., 786, 794.b; aor., 912, 914.b; pple, 957.a; caus., 1042.k.

pragṛhya, 138.

pracayā or pradita accent, 90.a.

vyprach, euph., 220; pres., 756.a; pf., 784.c; aor., 834.c, 890; pple, 956.b.

vyprath, aor., 840.b, 863.a.

prabṛti, in compo, 1302.e.

praśña-circumflex, 84.d

vyprā, aor., 830, 889.

prāya, in compo, 1302.i.

vyprī, pres., 751; aor. (?), 866, 868; caus., 1042.m.

vypruth, ya-ger'd, 992.b.

vypruṣ, euph., 226.d, 302.b; pres., 732, 1066.b.

play, quasi-root, 1087.c.

vypru, aor., 863.b, 866; ya-ger'd, 992.a; caus., 1042.a.

pluta, 78.

vyprasā, 102.a.

ph, pron. etc., 49, 50.

vyphān, pf., 794.h; int., 1002.g, 1003.

vyphal, pf., 794.h.

phullā as pple, 958.

b, pron. etc., 49, 50; interchange with v, 50.

vybāñh, euph., 223.b

vybādh or vadh, aor., 904.a; des., 1029.a, 1040.

vybandh, euph., 165.b; pres., 723, 730.a; pf., 794.d; fut., 955.b; int., 968.d.

bahuvrīhi, 1293.b

vybandh, euph., 156.b; aor., 904.d; int., 1002.d, 1003; des., 1029.a, 1031, 1040.

vybudh, euph., 156.b; aor., 834.b, d, 839, 840.b, 847.

vybrh, euph., 223.b; pres., 758; int., 1014; caus., 1042.h.

brhānt, dcln, 450.a.

bbh, occurrence, 151.e.

vybrū, pres., 692; peculiar construction, 268.a.

bh, pron. etc., 49, 50; anomalously changed to a guttural, 161.d; h from, 223.g.

vybhākṣ, 102.a.

vybhaj, euph., 219.a; pf., 794.b; aor., 834.c, 867, 890.a; fut., 935.b; int., 968.d.

vybhājī, euph., 219.a; pres., 694; pple, 957.c; tvā-ger'd, 991.d.

bhāvant, 456, 514.c.

vybhās, euph., 233.f; pres., 673.

vybhās, int., 968.d.

vybhikṣ, 102.a.

vybhidd, aor., 832, 834.d, 836.a, 840.a, 847; pple, 957.d.

bhigaj, euph., 219.a; denom. conj. from, 1004.a.

vybhī, pres., 645, 679; pf., 736.b; aor., 831.a, 840.b, 866, 891, 897.b; caus., 1042.i, m; caus. aor., 1047; prep. inf. pf., 1071.f, 1073.a.

vybhīṣ, 1042.m; aor., 861.a, 1047.

vybhuj bend, euph., 219.a; pple, 957.c; tvā-ger'd, 991.d.

vybhuj enjoy, euph., 219.a; pres., 694.a; aor., 836.b, 847, 912.

vybhur, pres., 766; int., 1002.d.

bhūvas, euph., 176.e.

vybhū, pf., 789.a, 793.b, 800.d; aor., 832, 839, 836-9, 853, 924; int., 958.e; in prep. conj. 1070-72; in prep. phrases, 1075.d; in comp. conjn, 1091-4.

bhūta in compn, 1273.c

vybhū, pres., 645, 855.a; pf., 793.b, 797.e; aor., 890.a; int., 1002.g, b, 1003; prep. pf., 1071.f.

bhōs, 456; euph., 174.b.

vybhraç or bhrac, pres., 767; aor., 847; pple, 954.b; caus., 1042.h.

vybhraj or bhṛjī, euph., 219.b.

vybhram, pres., 763; pf., 794.b; pple, 955.a; int., 968.d; tvā-ger'd, 991.b; ya-ger'd, 992.c; caus., 1042.g.

vybhraj, euph., 219.b; pf., 790.e, 794.h; aor., 833.
added to intens. stem, 1016; in caus. sign, 1055; as denom. sign, 1056-67.

-ya (or yā) of gerund, 990, 992, 993; of gerundive, 962, 963, 1213.

-ya, pr. my., 1187, 1213; ya-stems in compn., 1272; sedry., 1210-12.

yakān, yakārt, 398 a, 432.

ya(j), euph., 219 b, 784 b; pres., 628; pt., 784 b; aor., 834 c, 889, 890 a, 894 d; inf., 968 d; des., 1029 c.

ya(j), aor., 840 b; pple., 956 b.

yāthā, accent, 1101 b; in compn., 1513 c-e.

yam, pres., 608 b, 631 a, 747; pt., 790 b; aor., 833, 836-9, 887 a, 890 a, 896, 897 b, 911; fut., 935 b; pple., 954 d; inf., 968 d; tvā-gerd, 991 b; caus., 1042 g.

yama, 230 a.

yasa, aor., 847; pple., 956 b.

yān for iyās, 470 a.

yā, 102 a; aor., 894 c, 912, 914 c.

yā, 1213 d.

yin, see 1230 e.

yu unite, pres., 626 a, 755; ya-gerd, 992 a.

yu separate, pres., 608 a, 645; aor., 823, 836 a, 889, 894 b; int., 1018 a; caus., 1042 e.

yu, 1165; see 1178 b-j.

yu(j), euph., 219 a; pres., 768 a; aor., 852, 834 b, 896 b, 837 a, 839, 840 b, 847, 887 a; root-nomn., 886.

yu(dh), aor., 834 d, 836 b, 839, 887 a.

yup, int., 1017.

yuva(d), deln., 427.

yusā, yusān, 432.

yusān, deln., 426 b.

r, pron. etc., 51, 52; r and l, 53 b; r and s as corresponding sonant and sord., 117 b, 1058 a, 164; final, 144, 169; words ending in original r, 169 a; combination as final rdel., 165; as other, 178; avoidance of double, 179; s or r as final of certain forms, 169 b; from s after a, 176 c; s to s after, 180 f; but not before, 181 a, b; changes succeeding n to p, 189 f; duplication of consonant after, 228; svarabhatti after, 230 c.

r-endings in 3d pl., 613, 618, 629, 699 b, 738 a, 762 b, 799, 813, 818 a.

ra and rā as increments of r, 241.

-ra, prmy., 1188; sedry., 474, 1226, 1243 e.

rakṣ, aor., 890 d.

raj or rāj, euph., 219 a; pres., 746, 767; caus., 1042 g.

rādh or randh, pf., 786 a, 794 h; aor., 847.

ram, pf., 786 a; aor., 890 d.

rābh, pf., 786 a, 794 h; aor., 834 d, 897 b; des., 1050.

ram, aor., 911, 912; pple., 954 d; inf., 968 d; tvā-gerd, 991 b; caus., 1042 g.

rā give, pres., 660, 666, 672; aor., 839, 890.

rā bārk, pres., 761 e.

rāj, euph., 213 b, 219 b; pf., 794 b.

rādh, pf., 794 b; aor., 836; des., 1030.

rī or rī, caus., 1042 l.

rī, 1191.

ric, pres., 761 b; aor., 834 c, 839, 847, 890.

ric, aor., 916.

rīs, euph., 226 f; aor., 847, 852 a, 863, 870; caus., 1042 b.

rīh, euph., 223 b; int., 1017.

rī, see rī.

ru, pres., 626, 633, 755.

ru, 1192.

rīc, aor., 834 c, 837 b, 840 b, 847; desid., 1031 b.

rīj, euph., 219 a; aor., 832; pple., 957; tvā-gerd, 991 c.

rīd, pres., 631; aor., 847; tvā-gerd, 991 d.

rūdh, pres., 694 a, 768 a, 855 a; pt., 801 b; aor., 892, 834 d, 847, 887 a, 890 a; inf., 968 d; ya-gerd, 992 b.

ruq, aor., 916; caus., 1042 b.

ruqant, deln., 450 c.

rup, pple., 956 b.

rūh, euph., 223 b; aor., 840 b, 847, 853, 916, 920 a, b; fus., 935 d; inf., 968 d; ya-gerd, 992 e; caus., 1042 l.

repaha, 18.

rāī, deln., 361 b, f.

rī, advbl., 1103 d.

I, pron. etc., 51, 53; I and r, 53 b; I for r in certain verbal prefixes, 1087 c; nasal l, 71 b, c, 206, 214 d; as final, 144; assim to, 117 g; of r, 162; of n, 206; of m, 213 d;
assorted a to q after, 180b; duplication of consonant after, 228a; svarabhakti after, 230d.

-1a, prmy, 1189; sedry, 1227.

-yag, pple, 957c; tvä-ger'd, 991c; caus., 1042g.

-yajj, pres., 754.

-yap, pple, 956b; infin., 966c.

-yabha, aor., 834d; fut., 956b; des., 1030.

-yal, caus., 1042g.

-yik, fut., 936b.

-yip, pres., 755, 756; aor., 834d, 847.

-yiq, aor., 916.

-yihi, euph., 223b; aor., 916, 920a.

-yü cing, aor., 911; pple, 957a; ya-ger'd, 992a; caus., 10421, m.

-yü totter, int., 1018a, 1022.

-yup, pres., 768, 761b; aor., 887a.

-yuh, pres., 761a.

-yü, pres., 728a; pple, 957a.

I, pron. etc., 5a, 54.

v, pron. etc., 51, 57, 58; relation to u-vowels, 57a; interchange with b, 50a; nasal v, 71c, 213d; resolved to u, 58a, 113b; cases of loss of u before, 233a; duplication of consonants after, 228a.

va, contracted to u, 252, 769, 784, 794b.

-va, prmy, 1190; sedry, 1223; advbl, 1102e, f.

-yaka, pple, 956b.

-yac, euph., 2161; pres., 660; pf., 784, 789d; aor., 847, 853, 854a.

-yanc, euph., 2161; pf., 786a.

-vat, advbl, 1107, 1233f; sedry, 333k 1, 1245j.

-yad, 102a; pres., 738a; pf., 784; aor., 899d, 904d; pple, 956d; int., 1017; desid., 1031b.

-yadh, sec badh.

-yan, pf., 786a, 794f; aor., 899, 887b, 912, 914; pple, 956b; des., 1028g.

-van, prmy, 1169; sedry, 1234; van-stems in compn., 1277, 1287b.

-vana, -van, -vanan, 1170; -vana, 12451.

-vane, infin. in, 970d, 974.

-vant, 517, 969, 1233; prmy, 1233g.

-yvand, 102a.

-yvap, pf., 784; fut., 956b; pple, 964b.

-yvam, pres., 651a; pple, 955a; tvä-ger'd, 991b; caus., 1042g.

-vam (from vp), 543a.

-vâm, advbl, 1102g.

-vaya, 1228b.

-vara, 1171.

-varî, fem. to van, 1169, 1171, 1234a.

-varga, 32.

-yârî, so-called, 1056.

-vala, 1228b.

-yâqa, pres., 638, 660; pf., 784, 786a.

-yvares, euph., 167; pres., 608b; 765b; pf., 784; aor., 834b; pple, 906b, d.

-yvase, euph., 167; pres., 628, 631a, 688a; pf., 786a.

-yvas, dwell, euph., 167; pf., 784; aor., 840b, 883; fut., 930d; pple, 906b, d; int., 968c; tvä-ger'd, 991c; in periphr. conj., 1070c; periphr. pf., 1071f.

-vas, 1173b; and see vâns.

-yvah, euph., 137c, 223b, 224b; pf., 784; aor., 897b, 899, 840b, 890a; fut., 935d; pple, 904b; int., 1002g, 1017; at end of compds, 403.

-yva blow, aor., 912; pple, 907a.

-yva, droop, pres., 761e.

-yva or vi weave, pres., 761f; pf., 784, 801b; fut., 956c; pple, 954c; int., 968f; caus., 1042k.

-vâns (or -vas), of pple., 584c, 802b, 1173; vâns-stems, dcln., 408f.

-vâghâ, dcln., 444a.

-vâq, pf., 786a; aor., 861a.

-vi, dcln., 343b.

-vi, 1193.

-vikampana, 87d.

-vic, int., 1024.

-yvil, euph., 219a; aor., 884e; fut., 935b, 936c; pple, 957c; int., 1017, 1024.

-vit, see 1193b.

-yvid know, 102e; pres., 613, 618, 621a; pf., 790a, 803a; fut., 935b; int., 968d; des., 1031b; periphr. pf., 1071f, 1073a; periphr. aor. and pres., 1073b c.

-yvid find, 102a; pres., 758; pf., 805b; aor., 847, 852a; pple, 957d.

vidhâ, in compn., 13021.
-vin, 1232.
\(y\)'vindh, pres., 758.
\(y\)'vip, aor., 840b; caus., 1042b.
virāma, 11.
\(y\)'vip, euph., 218a; pf., 803a, 805b; aor., 834b, 916, 920a.
vīvā, deln., 524; in compon., 1251c, 1230c, 1298c.
\(y\)'vī, euph., 225a, 226d, f; aor., 916; int., 1024.
visarga, visarjaniya, 67; and see h.
\(y\)'vī, int., 1017, 1024a.
\(y\)'vī cover, 102a; pres. (ūrṇa), 713; aor., 831a, 834a, 836b, 839, 840b, 900b; inf., 968d; int., 1002g.
\(y\)'vī choose, 102a; euph., 102a, 242b; pf., 797c; aor., 837b, 840b; inf., 968d; caus., 1042e.
\(y\)'vīj, euph., 219a; pf., 786a, 803a; aor., 832, 834c, 836g, 919, 920a; int., 1002g.
\(y\)'vīt, pres., 643c, 850a; pf., 786a; aor., 832, 834b, 836b, 839, 840a, 847, 900d; fut., 935b, 943a; inf., 968c; int., 1002g, 1003, 1017, 1023.
vitrā, 1186c.
vṛddhi, 27, 235ff.
\(y\)'vrddhi, pf., 786a; aor., 847, 862a, b, 897b; fut., 943a; inf., 968a.
\(y\)'vṛg, pf., 786a; aor., 847; inf., 968d.
vṛgā, deln., 426b.
\(y\)'ṛh, aor., 916, 920a.
voe, quasi-root, 834a.
\(y\)'va, 1228c.
\(y\)'vya, 1087f; pres., 682; pf., 785, 794h.
vyaśajana, 31.
\(y\)'vyath, pf., 785.
\(y\)'vyath, pres., 767; pf., 785, 794b; fut., 936b; pple., 964b; inf., 968f; caus., 1042k.
\(y\)'vyay, pres., 761f.
\(y\)'vā, or vi, pres., 761f; pf., 785, 794b, 801b; aor., 847; fut., 936c; pple., 964; caus., 1042k.
\(y\)'vāj, euph., 219b; aor., 899a.
\(y\)'vāpe, euph., 222b; pple., 957c; tvā-gerd, 991c.
\(y\)'vī, pres., 728b; pple., 957a; int., 1017; caus., 1042j.
\(y\)', pron., etc., 59, 63, 64, 119; relation to \(y\), 63a; as final, 145.
in intrnl combn., 218; with preceding t or n., 203.
\(y\)-çā, 1229.
\(y\)'çāns, pf., 790c; ya-gerd, 992c.
\(y\)'çak, aor., 837a, 869, 847; pple., 906b; des., 1030, 1040.
çakān, çakrt, 395, 432.
\(y\)'çān, aor., 904d.
\(y\)'çad prevail, pf., 736.
\(y\)'çad fall, pple., 957d.
\(y\)'çap, aor., 233a; inf., 968c.
\(y\)'çam labor, pres., 634, 763.
\(y\)'çam be quiet, pres., 763; aor., 847; pple., 955a; caus., 1042g.
\(y\)'çaq, pf., 794f.
\(y\)'ças, aor., 839.
\(y\)'ças, advbl., 1106.
\(y\)'çā, pres., 660, 662, 758c, 761a; aor., 834c; pple., 956c; caus., 1042k.
\(y\)'çās (or ciṣa), pres., 444, 639, 670; aor., 847, 852a, 854c; pple., 956c, 956b; inf., 968c; ya-gerd, 992c; desid., 1031b; açī from, 225a, 392b.
\(y\)'ciṭṭ, euph., 219a; pres., 628.
\(y\)'ciṣ leave, euph., 226f; pres., 694a, 708a; aor., 847, 858.
\(y\)'ciṣ, see çās.
\(y\)'ciṣ lie, pres., 625, 639; pf., 806a; fut., 956a; pple., 956c; ya-gerd, 992c.
\(y\)'cuce, pres., 631a; aor., 847; inf., 968c; tvā-gerd, 991c; caus., 1042b.
\(y\)'cudh, caus., 1042h.
\(y\)'cubh, pres., 855; aor., 852a, b; 840b; caus., 1042b.
\(y\)'cuq, pres., 761a.
\(y\)'cūka as pple., 956c.
\(y\)'cū, see çva.
\(y\)'cūs, euph., 240b.
\(y\)'cūs, euph., 242b; pres., 731; pf., 793b; aor., 900a, 904b; pple., 955b, 957b; inf., 968d.
\(y\)'cand, int., 1002g.
\(y\)'cānth, pres., 631a; aor., 867.
\(y\)'cāya or ci, pres., 761e; pple., 956c, 957a.
\(y\)'cāth, pres., 732, 1066b, 758b; pf., 794h; pple., 966d.
\(y\)'cram, pres., 763; pf., 794b; aor., 847; pple., 955a; caus., 1042g.
\(y\)'crā, pres., 761e; pple., 954b; caus., 1042j; caus. aor., 861b, 1047.
ām of gen. pl., 313a, 496c; in aor., 874f; in fut., 931f; in desid., 1027f.
-s, advbl, 1105.
-sa, 1197.
-sa, 1124; in compsn, 1288g, 1304f-h, 1313f.
sānvrīta a, 2i.
sākhi, deln, 343a-c.
sakhīn, sakhīni, 343i, 431.
sagāh, aor., 836b.
sāc, pres., 660; pf., 794f; aor., 840b; sač from, 673, 675.
saj or sañj, euph., 219a; pres., 746; pf., 794d, h, 801h; aor., 834c, 887a; inf., 968f; des., 1028i; caus., 1042h.
sad, pres., 748; aor., 847, 862a, 863, 899a; fut., 935b, 936c; pple, 957d; inf., 968d.
san or sā, pf., 804; aor., 847, 893, 899d; pple, 955b; int., 1002g; des., 1028g, i, 1032a.
sani, in fin., in see -sani.
sāndhi, 109.
sāndhyakṣa, 26a, 30.
sannata, 90c.
sabhāg, so-called, 104b, 1067.
samānākṣara, 30.
samprasāraṇa, 252a.
samraj etc., 213b.
sara, 1201a.
sarāgh or sarāḍ, 389b.
sārya, deln, 524; in compsn, 1251e, 1298c.
sāc, pres., 444, 673, 675.
sās, euph., 176a, b.
sas, 1102.
sah, euph., 186a, 223b, 224b; pres., 628; pf., 756a, 790b, 803a; aor., 837, 838, 887a, 897a, b, 899d; fut., 935d; pple, 956c; inf., 968d; des., 1050; at end of cmpds, 405.
sahā, in compsn, 1304f, g.
sā or sī bind, pres., 763c; aor., 830, 834a, 839, 868a, 894c; fut., 930a, 936b; pple, 954c; inf., 968f; ya-ger'd, 992a; caus., 1042k.
satt, advbl, 1108.
sādhi, aor., 861a.
sāna, ppial words in, 897b, 1175.
sāntv, so-called, 104b.
ysi, see sā.
sic, pres., 758; aor., 847; tvāger'd, 991d; caus., 1042h.
h, pron. etc., 59, 65, 66, 119; from dh and bh, 225 g; as final, 147; compensating aspiration of initial, 147; 155 b; with following t or th, 160 a; with preceding final mute, 163; m before h and another cons., 213 g; reversion to gh, 214 f, 222; in inflection, 402, 637; in pf., 787; in intens., 1002 i; in desid., 1028 f; internal comb, 222-4; anomalously changed to a sibilant, 160 f; to d, 404; duplication of a cons. after, 228 a; ṇaṣiṣyā added after, 230 b; loss before hi, 1011 a.

-ḥa, advbl, 1100 a, 1104 b.

Vḥad, pple, 957 d.

Vhan, euph., 192 b, 2161, 402, 637, 787; pres., 637, 673, 709; pf., 794 e, 805 a; aor., 899 d; fut., 935 b, 945 a; pass., 998 f; pple, 964 d; inf., 968 d; int., 1002 g; h. i, 1003; des., 1028 e, f; caus., 1042 m; root-noun, 383 b, 402.

hānta, accent of verb with, 598 a.

Vḥas, jāks from, 640.

Vḥā move, pres., 660, 664; des., 1028 d; caus., 1042 d.

Vḥā leave, pres., 665, 761 b; aor., 830, 889, 912; fut., 966 e; pple, 957 a; inf., 968 f; caus. aor., 861 b, 1047.

Vḥaś, 102 a 912.

Vhi, euph., 192 c, 2161, 674, 787; pres., 899 b, 716 a; aor., 831, 839, 840 b, 847, 889 a, 894 d; des., 1028 f.

hi, 955 e, 1122 b.

-hi, advbl, 1100 c.

Vhiṇa, euph., 183 a; pres., 687, 696; des., 1051 b.

Vhin, 716 a.

Vhiḍ, euph., 240 b; pf., 786 b; caus., 1042 b.

Vhu, pres., 645, 647 c, 692; periphr. pf. etc., 1071 f, 1073 c.

Vhū or ḫvā, pres., 761 f, 755; pf., 794 b; aor., 834 a, 847, 887 c, 912; fut., 935 e; inf., 968 f; caus., 1042 k; periphr. pf., 1071 f.

Vṛ seize, aor., 834 a, 890 a; inf., 968 d; caus., 1042 e.

hṛḍ, ḫṛdaya, 397.

Vhrṣ, aor., 847; pple, 906 b.

Vhnu, pres., 626 a.

Vhras, pple, 966 b.

Vhr, pres., 645; aor., 840 b; pple, 967 a; caus., 1042 b; periphr. pf., 1071 f.

Vhva, see hū.

Vhr or hvar, euph., 242 c; pres., 882; aor., 863 a, 890; pple, 966 e.
GENERAL INDEX.

a-aorist (simple aorist, 2), 824, 846-54: in the latter language, 846; roots forming it in the older language, 847; inflection, 848; modes, 849-51; participles, 852; irregularities, 853, 864.

a-class (first, bhū-class) of verbs, 606, 734-60: formation of stem, 734; inflection, 735-43; roots of the class, 744; irregularities, 745-50.

ā-class or accented a-class (sixth, tukt-class) of verbs, 606, 751-3: formation of stem, 751; inflection, 762; roots of the class, 753, 754; irregularities, 765-8.

ā-conjugation — see conjugations.

ā- or ā-decension, transference of cons.-stems to, 399, 415 a, 429 a, 437, 441 b; 11481, 1149 a, 1166 c, 1209, 1315.

ā-stems (tense-stems), uniform inflection of, 733 a.

abbreviation of consonant-groups, 231-3.

ablative case, uses of, 289-93; ablative of comparison, 292 b; with propositions, 293, 1128; used adverbially, 1114; abl. infinitive, 983; abl. by attraction with infin., 983 b; abl. use of adverbs in tas, 1098 d; abl. as prior member of compound, 1250 f.

absolute use of instrumental, 281 g; of genitive, 300 b; of locative, 303 b-d; of gerund, 994 e.

absolutive — see gerund.

abstract nouns, secondary derivation of, 1206, 1236-40.

accent, general, 80-97: its varieties, 80-6; accentuated texts, 87; modes of designating, 87, 88; illustration of RV. method, pp. 518-9; over-refinements of Hindu theory, 90; modern delivery of ancient accented texts, 91; no sentence accent, 92; accentless words, 93; words doubly accented, 94, 1255, 1327 d; accent of protracted syllable, 78 a; freedom of place of accent, 95; — changes of accent in vowel combination, 128, 130, 136 a; — accent in declension, 314-20; of vocative, 92 a, 314; change of accent in monosyllabic etc. declension, 316-9; in numeral, 482 g, 483 a-e; of fractionals, 488 a; of case-forms used as adverbs, 1111 g, 1112 e, 1114 d; different accent of action-nouns and agent-nouns, 1144 a; of determinative and possessive compounds, 1295; — accent of personal endings, 502-4; in relation to strong and weak forms, 506; of personal verb-forms in the sentence, 92 b, 591-8; of periphrastic formations, 945, 1073 e; of compounded verb-forms, 1082-9; — accent in primary derivation, 1144; in secondary, 1205; in composition, 1251; — ordinary accen-
tuation of Skt. words by Western scholars, 96.

accusative case, uses of, 269-77: with verbs, 270, 274; with nouns and adjectives, 271, 272; with propositions, 273, 1128; with verbs of motion and address etc., 274; cognate, 275; adverbial, 276, 1111; double, 277; accus. infinitive, 981, 986-9; gerund, 993; accus. as prior member of compound, 1250 a.

action-nouns and agent-nouns, chief classes of primary derivatives, 1145, 1146.
active voice, in verbs, 528, 529.
acute (udātta) accent, 81.
ad-class of verbs — see root-class.
adj ective, its distinction from noun, 322; from pple, 967; formation of compound adj., 323-5, 1292 ff.; inflection of adj., 324-465; comparison, 466-74; adj. pronominally inflected, 522-6.
adj ective compounds, secondary, 1247 ff., 1292-1313; of other than possessive value, 1294, 1309, 1310; adj. copulative compounds, 1257.
adverbs, 1097-1122; adv. by derivation, 1097-1100; case-forms used as adv., 1110-17; adverbial compounds, 1114 d, 1313; verbal prefixes etc. as adv., 1118-20; inseparable prefixes, 1121; other miscellaneous adv., 1122; adv. used propositionally, 1123 ff.; adv. copulative compounds, 1258; forms of comparison, 473 b.
agent-nouns — see action-nouns.
aggregative compounds — see copulative compounds.
alphabets used for writing Sanskrit, 1; older Indian, 2; the Devamārga alphabet, 1-17; varieties of writing and of type for, 3, pp. 516-7; characters and transliteration, 5; arrangement, 7; theory of use, 8; 9; native mode of writing, 9a, b; modifications of this in Western practice, 9 c- e; vowel-writing, 10; consonant combinations, 12-15; other signs, 11, 16; numeral figures, 17; names of characters, 18; signs and transliteration of anusvāra, 73.
alphabet, spoken — see system of sounds.
alterant vowels, changing following s to g, 180.
analysis of language into its elements, 98, 99; anal. of compound words, 1248.
antithetical construction, its influence on accent of verb, 596, 597.
anusvāra, its pronunciation etc., 70-2; signs and transliteration, 73, 16 b; see also h, th.
anasr tense, 592; its uses, 926-30; in prohibitive expression, 579; — aor. system, 630, 824-930; classification of forms of aor., 824; character and occurrence, 825-7; variety from same root, 827 b, c; simple aor., 824, 828; 1. root-aor., 828-41; passive aor. 3d. sing., 842-5; 2. a-aor., 846-64; 3. reduplicated or causative aor., 866-73; sibilant aor., 874-920; 4. s-aor., 878-997; 5. in-aor., 988-910; 6. s-s-aor., 911-15; 7. s-s-aor., 916-20; aor. optative or precative of later language, 921-5; aor. in secondary conjugation, 1019, 1035, 1048-8, 1065; periphrastic aor., 1073 b; — s-aor. stem in derivation, 1140 c.
apositional compounds, 1280 d; apos. possessive compounds, 1302.
ar or r in root and stem forms, 104 e, 237.
article, indefinite, represented later by eka, 482 c.
aspirate mutes, phonetic character etc. of, 37, 38; their deaspiration, 114, 153-5; restoration of lost aspiration to, 141 a, 147, 150; not before impv. ending dhi, 156 f; derivation of h from, 66; sonant aspirate with following t, th, 180; non-aspirate for aspirate in reduplication, 590 a; — and see the different letters.
aspiration (h), its pronunciation etc., 59, 65, 66; — and see h.
asseverative particles, 1122 a, b.
assimilation in euphonic combination, 115-20; with or without change of articulate position, 116; surd and sonant, 117, 156-64; nasal, 117 g, 195 b, 199 c; l, 117 g, 206; dental to lingual and palatal, 118; other cases, 118-20.
ascent, 585-ff; a as augment, 585a; omission, 587; irreg. combination with initial vowel of root, 136 a; irregularly placed, 1087 c, f; uses of augmentless preterit persons, 563, 587; with mā prohibitive, 579.
avyayibhāva compounds, 1313.
 bahuvrīhi compounds — see possessive compounds.
benedictive — see precative.
bhū-class of verbs — see a-class.
cardinal numerals, 475; their combinations, 476-81; inflection, 482
-5; construction, 486; derivatives, 487-9.
case-endings — see endings of declension.
case-forms, prolongation of final vowel of, 248b; used as adverbs, 1110-17; change of accent in such, 1111g, 1112e, 1114d; their prepositional uses, 1125d; derivatives from case-forms, 1202 b; case-forms in composition, 1250.
cases, 260; their order of arrangement, 266a; uses, 267-305; — and the different cases.
causative conjugation, 540, 607, 775, 856 ff., 1041-52; relation to so-called tenth or curt-class, 607, 1041b; to denominative, 1041c, 1056; formation of stem, 1041, 1042; inflection, present-system, 775, 1043; other older forms, 1044; perfect, 1045; attached re-duplicated aorist, 1046, 1047, 856 ff.; other aorist forms, 1045, 1049; future etc., 1050; verbal nouns and adjectives, 1051; derivative or tertiary conjugations from caus. stem, 1052; caus. from intens., 1026; from desid., 1039; declinable stems from caus. stem, 1140b; double object with causatives, 277a, 282 b.
cerebral mutes, 33, 45.
changeable or variable ṁ of roots — see variable.
circumflex (svarita) accent, 81-6, 90b; independent, 81-4; its varieties, 84; enclitic, 80; its difference, 86; designation, 87-9; occurrence from vocal combinations, 128, 130, 135.
classes or series of mutes, 32 ff.
classes of verbs — see conjugation-classes.
clauses, simplicity of combination of, 1131 a; dependent clauses, mode in, 581, 960; accent of verb in, 596.
collective singular form of copulative compounds, 1253 c; in Veda, 1250 e, 1256 b.
combination of elements, 100, 101; euphonic rules for, 109-260; distinction of internal and external, 109-12; general arrangement of rules, 124; order of comb. of three successive vowels, 127 b.
comparison of adjectives etc., 466-74; primary, in iyas and iṣṭha, 467-70, 1184; secondary, in tāna and tāma, 471-3, 1242 a, b; in ra and ma, 474, 1242 c; inflection of comparatives in yas, 463-5; comp. of nouns, pronouns, prepositions, 473, 474, 520, 1119; of verbs, 473 c; double comparison, 473 d; particles of comp., 1101 b, 1102 e, 1107, 1122 g, h.
comparison or likeness, descriptive compounds of, 1291 a.
compensatory vowel-lengthening, 246; composition of stems — see compound stems.
compound conjugation, 540 a, 1076-95; roots with verbal prefixes and like elements, 1076-89; accent of comp. forms, 1082-6; irregularities, 1087; roots with inseparable prefixes, 1089, 1121 b, g, i; with noun and adjective stems, 1080-5; compound stems, formation of, 101, 1246-1316; difference of earlier and later language as to composition, 1246 a; classification of compounds, 1247; their analysis, 1248; rules of phonetic combination, 1249; case-forms as prior member, 1250; accent, 1251; copulative comp., 1262-61; determinative: dependent, 1262-78; descriptive, 1279-91; secondary adjective: possessive, 1292-1303; participial, 1309; prepositional, 1310; adjective comp. as nouns and as adverbs, 1311-3; anomalous comp., 1314; stem-finals altered in comp., 1315; loose construction with comp., 1316.
conditional tense, 532, 940, 941; its uses, 950; conditional uses of optative and subjunctive, 581 b, e, f. conjugation, verbal inflection, 527-1095; general, 527-98: voice, 528-34; tenses and their uses, 592, 776-9, 821-3, 926-30, 948-50; modes and their uses, 533, 557-82, 921-5; tense-systems, 536; present-system, 535, 599-779; perfect-system, 780-823; aorist-systems, 824-930; future-systems, 931-50; number and person, 536; personal endings, 541-50; verbal adjectives and nouns, 537-9, 951-95; secondary conjugations, 540, 996-1068; periphrastic and com-
pound conjugation, 540 a, 1069-95; examples of conjugation in synopsis, p. 520.
conjugation-classes, on what founded, 601; their characters, 602-10.
conjugations, first or non-n- and second or a-conjugation, 601-8, 733; transfers from the former to the latter, 625 a, 631 a, 665 a, 670-4, 694 a, 716, 731, 896.

conjunctions, 1131-3.
consonants, pronunciation etc., 31-75; mutes, 32-50; semivowels, 51-8; spirants, 69-66; visarga and anusvāra etc., 67-73; quantity, 76; cons. allowed as finals, 122, 139-52; occurring at end of stems and endings, 139 a; — and see the different classes and letters.
consonant-groups, how written in devanāgarī, 9, 12-5; their extension and abbreviation, 121, 227-33.
consonantal stems, declension of, 377-460; their classification, 382.
contemptuous prefix, 506, 1121 e; do. suffix, 521, 1223 d.
copulative compounds, 1247 a-e, 1252-61; of nouns, 1253-6; adjectives, 1257; adverbs, 1259; numerals, 1261; copulatives in later language, 1259, 1264; in Rig-Veda, 1256; in Atharva-Veda, 1256; accent, 1265; possessives from copulatives, 1295 b.
cur-class of verbs, 607, 775, 1041 b, 1056; — and see causative conjugation.
dative case, uses of, 280-8; dat. infinitive, 932, 956; dat. used adverbially, 1113; dat. by attraction with infin., 982 a; dat. as prior member of compound, 1250 c.
despiration of aspirate mutes, 114, 153-5; consequent re-aspiration of initial, 141 a, 147, 155.
decension, in general, 261-320; gender, 263; number, 264, 265; case, 266; uses of the cases, 267-305; endings of decl., 306-10; variation of stem and insertions, 314-3; accent, 314-20; — decl. of nouns and adjectives, 321-465; classification, 321 b, c; I. a-stems, 326-34; II. i- and u-stems, 336-46; III. a-, i-, and u- (and diphthongal) stems, 347-65; IV. r-stems, 369-76; V. consonant-stems, 377-460; A. root-stems etc., 383-410; B. derivative stems in as, is, us, 411-9; C. in an, 420-37; D. in in, 438 41; E. in ant, 442-57; F. in vāna, 468-62; G. in yas, 463-5; — decl. of numerals, 482-5; of pronouns, 491-521; of adjectives inflected nominally, 522-6.
decidable stems, composition of, with verbs, 1090-5; derivation of, see derivation.
decompound compounds and their analysis, 1248.
decrement and increment of elements, 123, 234 ff.
demonstrative pronouns, 495-503.
demoninative conjugation, 540 a, 1053-68; formation without sign, 1054; with sign ya, from stems of various final, 1055-64; their occurrence, 1057; meaning, 1058; relation of aya- and āya-stems, 1059 c; relation to causative, 1041 c, 1056, 1067; with signs aya, kāmya, āpaya, 1064, 1065; with āya, beside nā-class verbs etc., 792, 1068; from other stems, 1068 a, c; inflection, 1068; decidable stems from denom. stem, 1068 b, 1149 d, 1178 b, i, 1180 d.
dental series of mutes (t, th, d, dh, n), pronunciation etc., 33, 47, 48; peculiar quality of Skt. dentals, 47 a; dent. character of i, 25; of i, 51, 53; of a, 60; assimilation of dent. to palatals and linguals, 118, 196-205, 205; dent. sibilant and nasal converted to lingual, 180-90; anomalous conversions to guttural and lingual, 151 a, b, of guttural, palatal, and labial to dental, 151 c, e; — and see the different letters.
dependent clause, accent of verb in, 595.
dependent compounds, 1247 d-f, 1263, 1264-78; noun, 1264; adjective, 1265; their varieties, 1266-78; with ordinary noun or adjective as final member, 1267, 1268; with root-stem, 1269; derivative in a, 1270; ana, 1271; ya, 1270; participle in ta or na, 1273; ti,
1274; in, 1275; I, 1276; van, man etc., 1277, 1278; dep. comp. in possessive use, 1296.

derivation of adverbs, 1097-1109; of
debilable stems, 1136-1240; in general, 1136-42; primary, 1143-1201; secondary, 1292-45.
derivative or secondary conjunction — see secondary.
descent, adjectives and nouns indicating, 1206a.
descriptive compounds, 1247 d-f, 1263, 1279-91; of ordinary adjective with noun, 1280; of appositive noun with noun, 1280 d; with participle as final member, 1283, 1284; with gerundive, 1285; with root-stem, 1286; with other verbal derivatives, 1287; with inseparable prefix as prior member, 1288; with verbal prefix etc., 1289; with other adverbial words, 1290; special cases, 1291; desct. comp. in possessive use, 1297ff.
desiderative conjugation, 540, 1026-40; meaning, 1026, 1040; used in future sense, 1040 a; formation of stem, 1027-9; abbreviated stems, 1030; use of union-vowel i, 1034; inflection, present-system, 1032; other forms, 1033-6; derivative or tertiary conjugations from desid. stem, 1039; desid. from causative stem, 1052 c; debilable stems from desid. stem, 1035, 1036, 1140 b, 1149 d, 1159 b, 1161 d, 1178 g; desid. root-stems, 392 d; future in desid. sense, 949; desid. in future sense, 1040 a.
determinative compounds, 1247 d-f, 1262-91; dependent, 1264-78; descriptive, 1279-91; in possessive adjective use, 1293ff.
devata-dvandva-compounds, 1251 a, 1255.
diminutives, secondary derivation of, 1206 b, 1222 d, 1243.
diphthongs (e, ai, o, au), mode of writing with consonants, 10 g, h; pronunciation etc., 27-30; protraction of, 78 c; euphonic combination as finals, 131-5; — and see the different letters.
diphthongal stems, declension of, 360, 361.
div- or div-class of verbs — see ya-class.
double stems, present, 815; aorist, 894 d, 897 b.
doubling of aspirate mutes, 154; of a final nasal, 210; of ch, 227; of first consonant of a group, 229; of a consonant after r (and h, i, v), 228.
dual number, its use, 265; its forms in declension, 308; in personal pronoun, 492 b.
dual finals e, i, u uncombineable, 138 a, g.
dvandva compounds — see copulative.
dvigu compounds, 1342.
eightieth class of verbs — see u-class.
elision of initial a, 130; how marked, 16; its infrequency in Veda, 130 c; elision of initial a, 135 d; of final a or a, 137 b.
emphatic accent of verb for, 598.
emphatic pronoun, 513.
enuclitic or dependent circumflex, 86, 86.
endings, of inflection and derivation, 97-100; of declension, 306-10; of singular, 307; dual, 308; plural, 309; normal scheme, 310; end. of a-stems, 327-9; of i- and u-stems, 336-8; of radical a-, i-, u-stems, 349; of derivative do, 363; of r-stems, 371; of personal pronouns, 492, 493; of general pronominal declension, 496; — end. of conjugation, 523, 541-69; of 1st sing., 545; 2d, 544; 3d, 540; of 1st du., 546; 2d and 3d, 547; of 1st pl., 548; 2d, 549; 3d, 550; normal schemes, 553; accent, 562-4; end. of 2d and 3d sing. taking the place of root-final, 556 a; union-vowels, 555 b, c; end. of subjunctive combined with mode-sign, 560-2; of optative, 566; of precative, 568; tāt of imperative, 570; — end. of derivation — see suffixes.
euphonic combination of elements, 100, 101; rules respecting it, 100-226.
exclamatory pronoun, 507; exclam. prefix from interrogative pronoun, 506, 1121 e.
extension of cons.-groups, 227-30.
external and internal combination, distinction of, 109-12; cases of
external comb. in declension, 111 a, b; in derivation, 111 e, d, 1203 e.

feminine stems: to ā-stems, 332, 334 b; to ē- and u-stems, 344-5; to ō-stems, 376 a; to cons. stems, 378 a, 401 c, 436, 436, 449, 452 b, 459, 463 d; fem. in ī from ya-stems, 1210 c; fem. forms in composition, 1250 b.

fifth class of verbs — see nu-class.

finals, permitted, 122, 139-52; most usual, 149; only one final consonant allowed, 150; exceptions, 150 b, c; anomalous changes of final mutes, 151; final consonants of stems and endings, 139 a.

final clauses, modes used in, 58 c, d; first class of verbs — see a-class.

first or non-a-conjugation of verbs, its characteristics, 604.

forms, stronger and weaker, of roots and stems, 104 e, 105, 106; — and see variation of stem.

fourth class of verbs — see ya-class.

fractional use of ordinals, 488.

frequentative conjugation — see intensive.

future passive participles — see gerundives.

future tenses, 532; their uses, 948, 949; fut. systena, 535, 931-50; a-future and conditional, 932-41; periphrastic future, 942-7; future use of pres., 777; of desid., 1040 a; desid. use of fut., 948 b; fut. participial phrases, 1075 d.

gender in declension, 262, 263.

general and special tenses, 599 a.

genitive case, uses of, 294-300; with adj., 296; with verb, 297, 298; with prepositions, 299 a, 1130; with adverbs, 299 b; gen. absolute, 300 b; loss of accent of gen. with vocative, 314 d, e; gen. infinitive, 984; gen. used adverbially, 300 a, 1115; as prior member of compound, 1260 e.

gerunds, 539, 988-95; their uses, 989, 994; gen. in tavā, 990, 991, 993; in ya or yā, 990, 992, 993; in tavāya and tvā, 993 b; in tvānam and tvānam, 993 c; adverbial gerund in am, 995.

Whitney, Grammar. 3. ed.
infinitives, 538, 968-88; later, 968, 987; earlier, 969-79; uses, 980-5; relation to ordinary verbal nouns, 969, 9701.

inseparable prefixes, 1121; in descriptie composition, 1283 ff., 1288; in possessive, 1304.

insertions between stem and ending in declension, 313.

instrumental case, uses of, 278-84; of separation, 233 a; with prepositions, 284, 1127; gerundial, 989; used adverbially, 1112; as prior member of compound, 1250 b.

intensive (or frequentative) conjugation, 540, 1000-25; character and occurrence, 1000, 1001; reduplication, 1002, 1003; inflection, present-system, 1004-17; derivative middle inflection, 1016, 1017; forms outside present-system, 1018, 1019, 1025; doubtful intens. formations, 1020-4; derivative or tertiary conjugations from intens. stem, 1026.

interjections, 1134, 1135; their final vowel uncombinable, 1183 f.

internal and external combination, distinction of, 109-12.

internal change, question of derivation by, 1208 i.

interrogative particles, 1123 f.

interrogative pronoun, 504-7; its indefinite use, 507; exclamatory prefix from it, 506, 1121 j.

inverted compounds, 1291 c, 1314 d.

iṣ-aorist, 824, 898-910; formation of stem, 898-900; inflection, 901, 902; roots making it, 903; irregularities, 904; modes, 905-8; from secondary conjugations, 1010, 1030, 1048, 1068 a.

jihvāmūlīya-spirit, 69, 170 d.

karmadhāraya compounds — see descriptive compounds.

kri-class of verbs — see nā-class.

labial series of mutes (p, ph, b, bh, m), pronunciation etc., 33, 49, 60; lab. character of, u, ū, 20; of v, 51, 67, 58; anomalous conversion of labial to guttural, 151 d; to dental, 151 e; — and see the different letters.

lengthening of vowels in formation and inflection, 244-6; of final vowel in composition, 247, 1087 b; in the sentence in Veda, 248.

light and heavy syllables, 79.

lightening of a or ō to an i- or u-vowel, 249 ff.

lingual series of mutes (t, th, t, dh, ṅ), pronunciation etc., 33, 45, 46; non-originality and ordinary derivation 46; ling. character of r, 26; of r, 51, 52; ling. l, 5 s, 54; ling. character of ṣ, 61; assimilation ofdentals to ling., 118, 196 ff.; lingualization of a and ō, 150-90; — and see the different letters.

locative case, uses of, 301-5; loc. absolute, 303 b-d; of goal of motion or action, 301 e, 304; with prepositions, 305, 1126; used adverbially, 303 c, 1118; loc. intensive, 985; loc. use of adverbs in tra, 1099; in ha, 1100 a; in dā, 1103 b; loc. as prior member of compound, 1250 d.

long and short quantity, 76-9.

manner, particles of, 1101, 1102, 1107, 1122 k.

manuscripts, native Sanskrit, mode of writing in, 9 a, b.

middle stem-form in declension, 311.

middle voice, 528-30; its use as passive, 534, 996 c, d.

mode in verbal inflection, 533; subjunctive, 557-63; optative, 564-8; imperative, 569-71; uses of the modes, 572-82.

multiplicative numeral adverbs, 489 a, 1104-6.

mutes, series of, their pronunciation etc., 32-50; classification, 32-8; guttural series, 39-41; palatal, 42-4; lingual, 45, 46; dental, 47, 48; labial, 49, 50; assimilation, 117 a, b; mutes permitted as finals, 141-3; anomalous conversions from one series to another, 151; — and see the different series.

nā-class (ninth, kri-class) of verbs, 603, 717-32: formation of stem, 717; inflection, 718-20; roots of the class, 727; irregularities, 728-32; accompanying denominative in āya, 732, 1066 b.
nasal assimilation, 117 c, f, g, 161, 198 b, 199 c.
nasal class (seventh, rudh-class) of verbs, 603, 683-96: formation of stem, 683; inflection, 684-92; roots of the class, 694; irregularities, 693-6.
nasal increment in strong forms, 255, 386.
nasal mutes (n, ŋ, ñ, n, m), 34, 36; their occurrence as finals, 143; duplication, 240; assimilation of preceding mute, 164, 196 b, 199 b; abbreviation of consonant-group after, 231; — nasal spirant or anuvāra, 70-3; — nasal semivowels, 71 c, 206, 213 c; — nasal vowels, 71, 72; — and see the different letters.
nasality, Hindi definition of, 36 a.
negative particles, 1122 c-e; neg. prefix, 1124 a-c.
normal pron. of a, 21.
ninth class of verbs — see nā-class.
nominaive case, uses of, 267, 268; peculiar construction with verbs, 268 a; with itti, 268 b; with vocative, 268 c; used adverbially in, 1117; nom. use of infinitive, 987; nom. form as particle, 1117; in composition, 1250 f.
noun and adjective, distinction of, 322; inflection of nouns — see declension.
u-class (fifth, su-class) of verbs, 603, 697-716: formation of stem, 697; inflection, 698-707; roots of the class, 708; irregularities, 710-3, 716.
number in declension, 264, 265; in conjugation, 536; number-forms in composition, 1250 g.
numerals, 475-89; simple cardinals, 475; their combinations for odd numbers, 476-81; inflection, 482-5; construction, 486; ordinals, 487, 488; other num. derivatives, 489, 1104-6, 1245; num. figures, 17; possessive compounds with num., 1300; num. or dvigu compounds, 1312.
 omission, sign indicating, 16.
onomatopoetic words, 1091, 1135 b.
optative mode, 533, 564-5; its formation, 564, 565; scheme of endings combined with mode-sign, 566; preceptive, 567, 924-5; scheme of prec. endings, 568; uses of opt., 573-82; with mā prohibitive, 579 b; optative use of augmentless preterit forms, 587.
order of subjects in the grammar, 107; as best taken up by a student, 108, 112; of subjects in euph. combination, 124.
ondinal numeral adjectives, 487, 488.
pada-endings in declension, 111 a.
palatal series of mutes (c, ch, j, jb, ñ), pronunciation etc., 33, 42-4; derived from original gutturals, 42; reversion to guttural form, 43, 214 f.; euphonic combinations, 118, 119, 214-20; treatment as finals, 142; assimilation of dentals to, 196-203; pal. character of a, i, 20; of y, 51, 56; of q, 63, 64; palatal for guttural in reduplication, 590 b; — and see the different letters.
participial compounds, 1247 g, 1309.
participle, 534, 537, 563, 584, 1172-7; of present-systems, 619 etc.; of perfect, 802-7; of aorist, 840, 852, 872, 897, 909; of future, 939; passive part., 962-8, 1176, 1177; active, in tavant, navant, 969, 960; future passive, 961-6; of secondary conjugations, 1012, 1013, 1019, 1037, 1043 c, f, 1051, 1068; part. in possessive composition, 1299; — inflection of part. in ant., 443-9; in vānas, 458-62; — part.-phrases, periphrastic, 1074, 1076; — relation of part. and adjective, 967.
particles, 98 a; prolongation of final vowel of, 248 a; part. giving accent to verb, 595 c, e, 598 a.
passive conjugation, 531, 540, 998; present-system (yā-class), 606, 766-74; aorist 3d sing., 842-5, 1048; periphrastic perfect, 1072; participle in ta or na, 902-8, 1051 b, 1176, 1177; future participles, 961-6 (and see gerundives); pass. use of infinitive, 988; pass. from intransitives, 999 a; pass. of secondary conjugations, 1025, 1039, 1062 a; pass. constructions, 282 a, 999.
past use of present tense, 777, 778; perfect tense, 582; scheme of its
endings, 563c; uses, 824-3; — perf.-system, 533, 780-823; formation of stem, 761-94; reduplication, 782-91; strong and weak stem-forms, 792-4; endings and their combination with stem, 795-9; union-vowel, 796-8; inflection, 800; irregularities, 801; participle, 802-7; its inflection, 468-62; modes, 806-16; pluperfect, 817-20; — periphrastic perf., 1070-73.

perfect time, expressed by so-called aorist, 532a, 825, 928; by perfect, 822, 823; by participial phrases, 1075d.

periphrastic conjugation, 540a, 1069-75; periph. future, 552, 931, 942-7; its uses, 949; perfect, 1070-3, 1018, 1034, 1046; aorist and preactive, 1073b; present, 1073c; periphr. participial phrases, 1074, 1075.

person in verbal inflection, 536.

personal endings — see endings of conjugation.

personal pronouns, 491-4; nouns used as such, 514.

phrases, derivatives from, 1202b; compounds from, 1314b.

place, particles of, 1069, 1100, 11221.

pluperfect tense, 592, 817-20; plup. time, no designation of, 592a; save by participial phrases, 1075d.

position, length of syllable by, 79.

possessive adjectives, 1206a, 1229b, 1230-35; pronominal, 516.

possessive compounds, 324, 1247g, 1293-1308; poss. dependents, 1296; poss. descriptives, 1297f; with ordinary adjective as prior member, 1298; with participle, 1299; with numeral, 1300; with appositive noun, 1301-3; with adverb, 1304-6; added suffixes, 1212c, 1307; pregnant use, 1308.

preactive optative, 533b; its formation, 567; scheme of endings, 568; prec. in later language, 921-5; use, 573c.

prepositions, 1128-90; words used as such, 1123-5; cases construed with them, 1126-30; gerunds used as, 994g; — prep. in composition with roots — see verbal prefixes.

prepositional compounds, 1247g, 1310; with added suffix, 1212m.

present tense, 592; its uses, 777, 778; — pres.-system, 565, 599-779; prominence as part of verb-system, 600; varieties of form and their classification, 601-9; various from same root, 609; conjugations and conjugation-classes, 620-9; first or non-a-conjugation: I. root-class, 611-41; II. reduplicating class, 642-92; III. nasal class, 683-96; IV. nu- and u-class, 697-716; V. na-class, 717-32; second or a-conjugation, 735: VI. a-class, 734-50; VII. acented a-class, 751-8; VIII. yā-class, 759-67; IX. yā-class, or passive conjugation, 768-74; so-called cur- or tenth class, 770; uses of tenses, 776-9; of modes, 572-81; — pres. stem, derivatives from, 1140c.

present use of perfect, 821c, 823; of aorist, 930.

presumption or conjecture, future of, 945.

primary and secondary personal endings, 642f; confusion of them in use, 636d, 933a, 938; normal schemes, 553.

primary derivation, 1138-1201: relation to secondary, 1139; from what made, 1140, 1141; union-vowels, 1142; form of root, 1143; accent, 1144; meaning, 1145, 1146; prim. suffixes and the derivatives made with them, 1148-1201.

prohibitive expression, 574, 579, 580.

pronominal roots, 490; their character, in inflection and derivation, 1137b, 1138; adverbs from them, 1097f.

pronouns, 490-521: personal, 491-4; demonstrative, 496-503; interrogative, 504-7; relative, 508-12; emphatic, indefinite, 513; nouns used pronominally, 514; pron. derivative adjectives, 515-21; adjectives declined pronominally, 522-6.

pronunciation — see system of sounds.

protracted (pluta) quantity, 78; protr. final vowel uncombimable, 158e.

punctuation, signs of, in devanagari, 16d.
quantity of consonants and vowels, 76-8; of syllables, 79.

r-endings of 3d pl., 550, 551.

radical stems — see root-stems.

reduplicated (or causative) aorist, 824, 856-73, 1046, 1047; formation of stem, 857-63; inflection, 864-7; use in primary conjugation, 868; in causative, 1046, 1047; modes, 869-71.

reduplicating class (third, nu-class) of verbs, 603, 642-82; reduplication and accent, 642-6; inflection, 647-667; roots of the class, 659; irregularities, 668, 660-82.

reduplication, occurrence of, 259; general rules for forming, 588-90; present red., 643, 660 ff.; perfect, 782-91; aorist, 857-63; intensive, 1002; desiderative, 1029; in derivation, 1143 e; anomalous, 1067 f.

relationship, nouns of, in r, 369 ff., 1182 f.

relative clauses, peculiarities of, 512; modes used in, 581 a; accent of verb in, 596.

relative compounds, improper name for possessive, 1293 d.

relative pronoun, 605-12.

repeated words, 1260.

resolution, in Veda, of semivowels into vowels, and of vowels into two syllables, 55 a, 68 a, 84 c, 113 b, 126 c, 129 e, 309 f, 353 a, 470 b, 666 e, 761 g, 771 g.

revision, so-called, of palatal mutes and sibilant, and of h, to guttural form, 43, 64, 55, 56, 119, 142, 145, 147, 214 ff., 681, 757, 1028 f, 1176 a.

roots, 98-100; roots of the Skt. language, 102-5; roots and root-forms acc. to the native grammarians, 103, 104.

root-aorist, 824, 829-45: in later language, 829; in older, 830 ff.; modes, 835-9; participles, 840; passive aor. 3d sing., 842-5.

root-class (second, ad-class) of verbs, 603, 611-41; inflection, 612-23; roots of the class, 625; irregularities, 624, 626-41.

root-stems, their occurrence and use, 933, 938, 1137, 1147; as infinitives, 970 a, 971; in dependent composition, 1269; in descriptive, 1286; inflection of such stems in a, i, u, 349 361; in consonants, 383-410; sometimes govern accus., 271 d; neut. pl. forms, 379 b.

rudh-class of verbs — see nasal class.

s-aorist, 824, 878-97: formation of stem, 878, 879; endings and combination with stem, 880, 881; question of loss of a in certain forms, 884, 881; inflection, 882; irregularities, 884-91; absence of i in 2d and 3d sing. in older language, 888-90; modes, 892-6; participles, 897; — s-aor. stem in derivation, 1140 e.

s-future, 931-9: formation of stem, 932, 936; use of union-vowel i, 934, 936; occurrence, 937; modes, 938; participles, 939; its pretetis, the conditional, 940, 941; uses, 948.

s-aorist, 824, 916-20: roots allowed later to make it, 916; occurrence in older language, 919, 920; inflection, 917, 918.

second class of verbs — see root-class.

second or s-conjugation of verbs, its characteristics, 605, 733.

secondary adjective compounds, 1247 g, 1292-1310.

secondary conjugations, 540, 996-1068; passive, 998, 999; intensive, 1000-1025; desiderative 1026-40; causative, 1041-52; denominative, 1053-68; tertiary, or derivative from secondary, 1025, 1039, 1052.

secondary derivation, 1138, 1139, 1202-45; relation to primary, 1139; union-vowels, 1142; forms of stem, 1203, 1204; accent, 1205; meaning, 1206; sec. suffixes and the derivatives made with them, 1207-45; external combination in sec. derivation, 111 c, d, 1203 e.

secondary personal endings, 642 ff.; normal scheme, 553 b.

semivowels (y, r, l, v), pronunciation etc., 51-8; nasal semiv., 71 e, f, 206, 213 d; semiv. assimilation, 117 d-f: — and see the different letters.

sentence, rules of euphonic combination in, 104; their probable artificiality, 104 a.

series or classes of mutes, 32 ff.
seventh class of verbs — see nasal class.
sâ-sounds (q and ã), 51, 63.
short and long quantity, 76-9.
sibilants (q, 9, s), pronunciation etc., 60-4; and see the different letters.
sibilant or sigmatic aorist, 924, 874-920; formation and classification, 874-7; 4. n-aorist, 878-97; 5. in-aorist, 898-916; 6. sig-aorist, 911-5; 7. sa-aorist, 916-20; its stem in derivation, 1140 c.
simple aorist, 824, 828-65; 1. root-aorist, 829-41; passive aor. 3o sing., 842-6; 2. n-aorist, 846-55.
sig-aorist, 824, 911-5; formation of stem, and inflection, 911; forms in older language, 912, 913; modes, 914; middle forms, 915.
sixth class of verbs — see â-class.
sonant and surd sounds, 34, 35; Hindu definition of their difference, 34 b; mutes, 34, 35; aspirates, 37, 38; question as to character of h, 65 a; of final mute, 141 b; euphonic assimilation of the two classes, 117, 156-78.
special and general tenses, 599 a.
sprants, 59 f.; sibilants, 59-64; aspiration, 65; other breathings, 67-9.
steins, inflectible, 98-100, 106; their derivation — see derivation.
strengthening and weakening processes, 234-60.
strong and weak, or strong, middle, and weakest, forms of stems in declension, 311; of roots and stems in general, 104-6; confusions of strong and weak forms in decl., 462 c; in conj., 566 a; strong forms in 2d sing., 723; in 2d du., 704, 831 a, 839, 1007 b; in 3d du., 793 b, 839; in 1st pl., 621 b, 628, 676 a, 703 b, 831 a, 832; in 2d pl., 649, 621 b, 664, 658, 660, 690, 704, 707, 723, 831 a, 839; in 3d pl., 793 b, 831 a.
au-class of verbs — see au-class.
subjunctive mode, 533; formation and endings, 557-62; its first persons used later as imperative, 583, 574, 578; subj. use of augmentless prefix forms, 563, 567; uses of subj. mode, 574-82.
suffixes, 98-100; forming adverbs, 1097-1109; do, declinable stems — see derivation.
superlative — see comparison.
surd and sonant sounds — see sonant, syllables, quantity of, 79; distinguished as heavy and light, 79.
system of sounds, 19-76; vowels and diphthongs, 19-30; consonants, 31 ff.; mutes, 32-50; semivowels, 51-8; sibilants, 59-64; aspiration, 65, 66; visarga and other breathings, 68, 69; anusvāra, 70-3; unwritten sounds defined by Hindu grammarians, 74, 230; scheme of spoken alphabet, with notice of comparative frequency of the sounds, 76; quantity, 76-9; accent and its designation, 80-97.
tan-class of verbs — see u-class.
tatpurūsa-compounds — see determinatives.
tense in verbal inflection, 532; tense-systems, 595; present-system, 599-779; perfect-system, 780-823; aorist-systems, 824-930; future-systems, 931-950.
tenth class of verbs — see causative conjugation, and cur-class.
tertiary, or derivative from secondary, conjugations, 1025, 1039, 1062, 1068 a.
third class of verbs — see reduplicating class.
time, particles of, 1103, 1122.
transliteration, general method of, 5; of sign of elision, 135 b; of combined final and initial vowels, 126 a; of anusvāra, 73 c; of accent, 83 a, 89.
tud-class of verbs — see â-class.
u-class (eighth, tan-class) of verbs, 603, 697-746; formation of stem, 697; inflection, 698-707; roots of the class, 709; irregular root kr or kar, 714, 715; other irregularities, 716.
uncombilable (pragṛhya) final vowels, 138.
uninflected words — see indeclinables.
union-vowels, 254, 555 b, c; i in present inflection, 630, 631, 640; in perfect, 796-8, 803; in aorist,
876 b, 877; in s-future, 934, 935; in periphrastic future, 943; in desiderative, 1031; in passive participle, 956; in infinitive and gerund, 968, 991; in derivation, 1142; — i in present inflection, 631-4; in 2d and 3d sing., 955 b; in intensive, 1004 ff.; i for i, 900 b; āi for i, 956 c.

upadhmāniya—spiritual, 69, 170 d.

variable or changeable of roots, 242; treatment of, 245 b; in passive, 770 c; in s—aor., 885; in i—aor., 900 b; in prec., 923 a; in s—fut., 930 a; in pple., 955 d, 957 b; in infinitive, 968 d; in tvā—gerund, 991 b; in ya—gerund, 992 a; in desist., 1028 b.

variation of stem-form in declension, 311, 312; in r—stems, 370 b; in consonantal stems, 379, 385-8, 421, 443, 444, 458, 463; — in conjugation, 556; in present-stem, 604; in perfect, 792-4; in aorist, 831 ff., 879, 899; in intensive, 1004; in primary derivation, 1143; in secondary, 1203, 1204; in composition, 1249 b, c.

verb — see conjugation.

verb-forms, accentuation of, in the sentence, 92 b, 991-8; prolongation of final a or i of, 248 c, d; comparison of, 473 c, 474; comb. with inseparable prefixes, 1121 b, g, i.

verbal prefixes, 1076, 1077; kindred words, 1078, 1079, 1120; composition with roots, 1078-87, 137; euph. effect on root, 185, 192, 1056; accent, 1082-5; their more independent use, 1084, 1118; prepositional uses, 1125; forms of comparison, 473 b, 1119; declinable stems from roots compounded with them, 1141, 1282; use in descriptive composition, 1281, 1289; in possessive, 1305; in prepositional, 1310.

visarga (or visarjanīya), 67-9; quantitative value, 79; occurrence, 144, 145, 170-72; alphabetic order, 7 a, 172 a: and see h.

vocative case, form of, 260 a, 307 k; Vedic, in as, 426 g, 454 b, 462 a, 465 a; accent (along with qualifying word), 92 a, 314; verb accented after, 594 a.

voice in verbal inflection, 528-31.

vowels, how written in devanāgarī with consonants, 10; sign of absence of, 11; their pronunciation etc., 19-29: a, i, u—vowels, 19-22; r, l—vowels, 23-6; diphthongs, 27-9; quantity, 77, 78; accent, 80 ff.; nasal vowels, 71; rules of vowel—combination, 126-38; resulting accent, 128, 130, 135 a; exceptional cases, 136-8.

vyāddhi—strengthening, character and occurrence of, 27, 235-43, and passim; in primary derivation, 1143 a; in secondary, 1204.

w—sound, belonging to v, 57.

weak, or weakest, form of stem in declension, 311.

weakening and strengthening processes, 234-60.

writing in India, 2 a; mode of, in Skt. manuscripts, 9 a, b; its modifications in western practice, 9 c-e.

ya-class (fourth, div—class) of verbs, 606, 759-67; formation of stem, 769; inflection, 760; roots of the class and their classification, 761, 762; irregularities, 763-7.

yā-class of verbs, or passive present—system, 606, 768-74; formation of stem, 768-70; inflection, 771; irregularities, 772-4; yā—formation from intensive stem, 1016, 1017.
ERRATA.

p. 147, 391, Plur. Loc. — for त्रिवृत्तम् read त्रिवृत्तम्
265, 736, last l. — bhāvantai bhāvantāi.
357, 992c, l. 2 — guhya gūhya.
401, 1091a, l. 3 — akkhalikṛtya akkhaliṅkṛtya.