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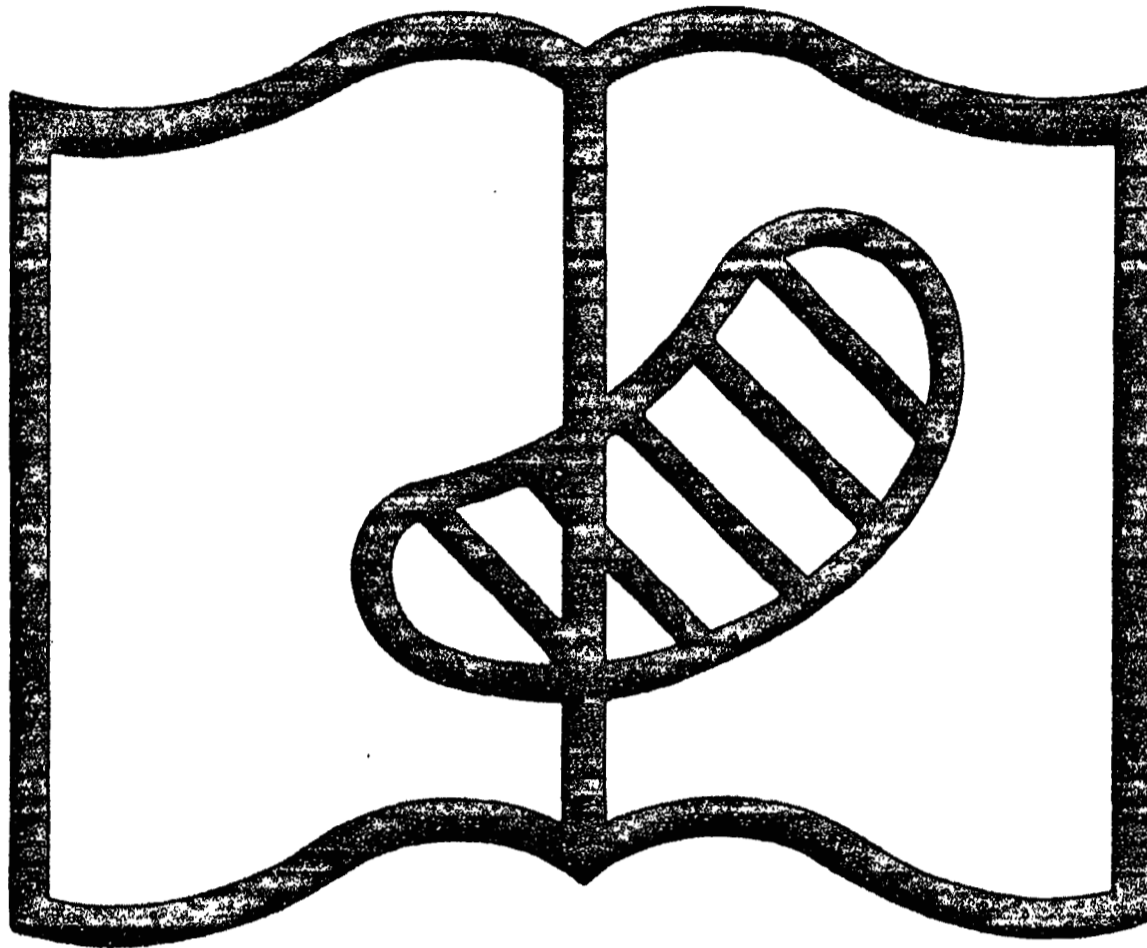
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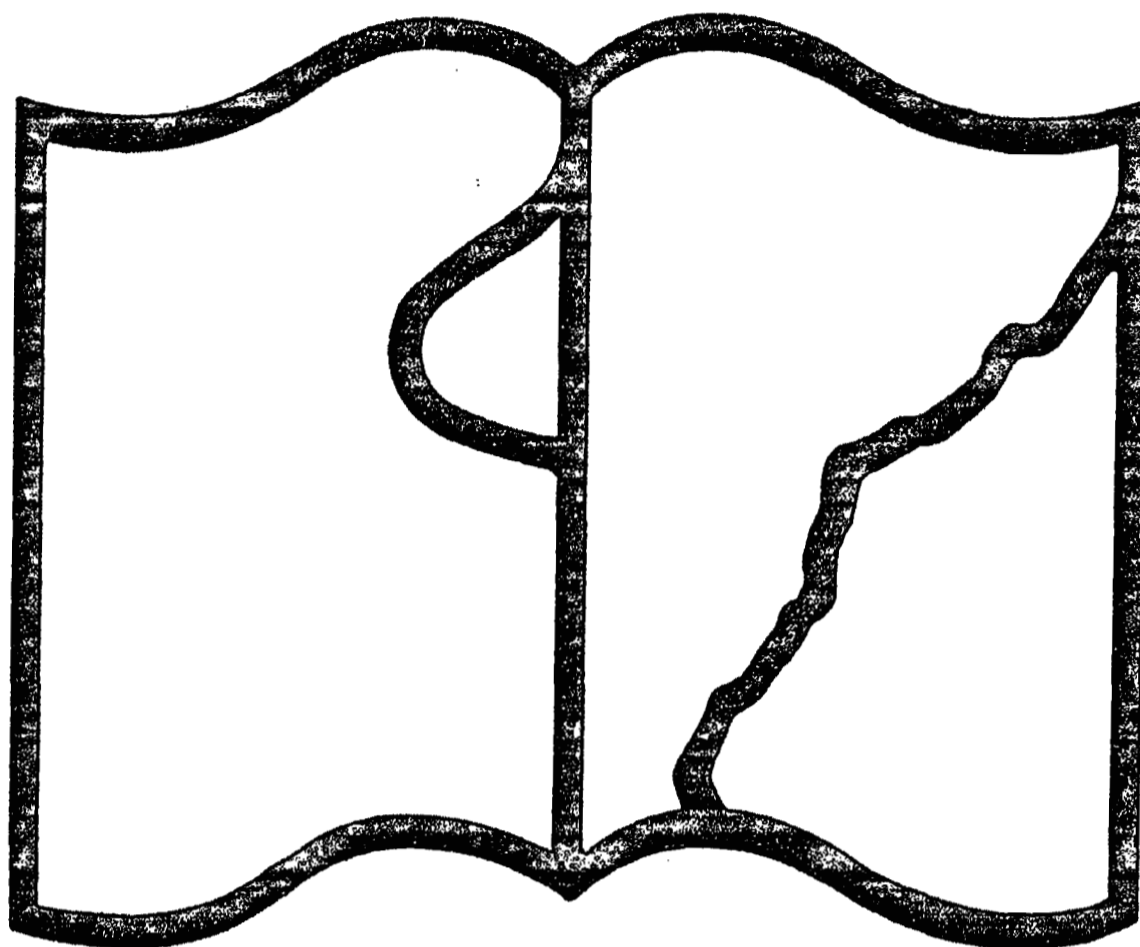
***Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und
Altertumskunde***

Vedic Grammar



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VEDIC GRAMMAR

BY

A. A. MACDONELL

STRASSBURG

VERLAG VON KARL J. TRUBNER

1910.

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VON
H. LÜDERS und J. WACKERNAGEL.

Die Herausgabe des „Grundrisses der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde“ — von dem nach längerer Pause schon wieder ein Teil und zwar der 4. des I. Bandes: „A. A. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar“ ausgegeben ist — haben nach dem Hinscheiden von Herrn Geheimrat Professor Dr. Kielhorn die Herren Professor Dr. H. Lüders in Berlin und Professor Dr. J. Wackernagel in Göttingen übernommen.

Die Herren Herausgeber und der Verlag sehen es als zwingende Notwendigkeit an, den Grundriß nun zu einem raschen Abschluß zu führen. Namentlich soll auch bei jedem Beitrag die für den Grundriß passende knappe Form der Darstellung gewahrt bleiben.

Mit den Herren Mitarbeitern sind daher neue Verhandlungen gepflogen und für eine Reihe von Abschnitten sind andere Bearbeiter gewonnen worden.

Der umstehende Plan des Werkes (siehe 3. Seite des Umschlages) gibt über alles weitere Auskunft. Jeder Teil ist wie bisher einzeln käuflich. Abnehmer des ganzen Werkes genießen einen beträchtlich ermäßigten Subskriptionspreis.

Strassburg, im Februar 1910.

Die Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Professor H. Lüders, Berlin and Professor J. Wackernagel, Göttingen have since the decease of Professor Kielhorn taken charge of the issue of the „Grundriß der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde“, of which after a considerable interval the 4th part of the 1st vol. „A. A. Macdonell, Vedic grammar“ has just appeared.

The editors and the publisher find themselves under the necessity of completing the issue of the „Grundriß“ as soon as possible and will particularly take care to preserve the same brief form in every new contribution.

Therefore they consulted recently with the collaborators, and new ones were found for some parts of the sections.

The plan (see page 3 of the cover) will give all requested information. Each part may be bought separately. Purchasers of the whole work enjoy a considerable reduction on the usual price.

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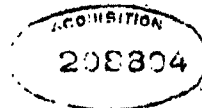
GRUNDRISS DER INDO-ARISCHEN PHILOLOGIE UND ALTERTUMSKUNDE

(ENCYCLOPEDIA OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH)

BEGRÜNDET VON G. BÜHLER, FORTGESETZT VON F. KIELHORN,
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON H. LÜDERS UND J. WACKERNAGEL.

I. BAND, 4. HEFT.

VEDIC GRAMMAR



BY

A. A. MACDONELL.



STRASSBURG
VERLAG VON KARL J. TRÜBNER
1910.

The printing was commenced in May, 1907, and afterwards delayed by the death of the editor Prof. Kielhorn.

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VEDIC GRAMMAR

BY

A. A. MACDONELL.

INTRODUCTION.

1. **General Scope of this Work.**—Vedic grammar has never till now been treated separately and as a whole. Both in India and in the West the subject has hitherto been handled only in connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Hundreds of Pāṇini's Sūtras deal with the language of the Vedas; but the account they give of it is anything but comprehensive. In the West, BENFEY was the first, more than half a century ago (1852), to combine a description of the linguistic peculiarities of the Vedas with an account of the traditional matter of Pāṇini; but as Vedic studies were at that time still in their infancy, only the Sāmaveda¹ and about one-fourth of the Rgveda² having as yet been published, the Vedic material utilized in his large grammar³ was necessarily very limited in extent. In WHITNEY's work⁴ the language of the Vedas, which is much more fully represented, is treated in its historical connexion with Classical Sanskrit. Partly for this reason, his work does not supply a definite account of the grammar of the Saṃhitās as compared with that of the later phases of the language; thus what is peculiar to the Brāhmaṇas or to a particular Saṃhitā is often not apparent. Professor WACKERNAGEL's grammar⁵, which when finished will present the ancient language of India more completely than any other work on the subject, deals with the combined Vedic and post-Vedic material from the point of view of Comparative Philology. Different sections or individual points of Vedic grammar have been the subject of separately published treatises or of special articles scattered in various Oriental and philological journals or other works of a miscellaneous character. It is advisable that all this as well as additional material⁶ should now be brought together so as to afford a general survey of the subject.

In view of the prominent position occupied by the Indo-Aryan branch in Comparative Philology and of the fact that the language of the Vedas

¹ Edited by BENFEY, with German translation and glossary, Leipzig 1848.

² Vol. I edited by MAX MÜLLER, London 1849, vol. VI 1875; 2nd ed. London 1890—92; edited by AUFRECHT, Berlin 1861 and 1863 (vols. VI and VII of Indische Studien), 2nd ed. Bonn 1877.

³ Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache, Leipzig 1852.

⁴ A Sanskrit Grammar, Leipzig 1879; 3rd ed. 1896.

⁵ Altindische Grammatik von JACOB Indo-arysche Philologie. I. 4.

WACKERNAGEL, I. Lautlehre, Göttingen 1896; II, I. Einleitung zur Wortlehre. Nominalkomposition, 1905. (Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Beiträge zur altindischen Grammatik, ZDMG. 50, 674—735).

⁶ Such additional material is supplied in this work from collections made for me by my pupils Prof. H. C. NORMAN (Benares) from the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, and Mr. A. B. KERR from the Taittirīya Saṃhitā, the Mantras in the Altareya Aranyaka, and the Khilas of the Rgveda.

represents the foundation of the subsequent strata, it seems important for the sake of clearness and definiteness that the earliest phase should be treated as a whole independently of later developments. The present work will therefore deal with the grammar of only the Mantra portions of the Samhitās; that is to say, it will embrace the whole of the R̥gveda, the Atharvaveda¹, the Sāmaveda², and the Vājasaneyi Samhitā³, but will exclude those portions of the Taittirīya Samhitā⁴, the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā⁵ and the Kāthaka⁶ which have the character of Brāhmaṇas⁷. Reference will also be made to Mantra material not found in the canonical texts of the Samhitās, that is, to the Khilas⁸ of the R̥gveda and the occasional Mantras of this type occurring in the Brāhmaṇas⁹ and Sūtras. As the linguistic material of the R̥gveda is more ancient, extensive and authentic than that of the other Samhitās, all of which borrow largely from that text¹⁰, it is taken as the basis of the present work. Hence all forms stated without comment belong to the R̥gveda, though they may occur in other Samhitās as well. From the other Vedas, such matter only is added as occurs in their independent parts or, if borrowed from the R̥gveda, appears in an altered form, the source being in such cases indicated by an abbreviation in parentheses (as VS., TS., AV.). The addition of the abbreviation 'RV.' means that the form in question occurs in the R̥gveda only.

2. Verbal Authenticity of the Texts¹¹.—In dealing with the linguistic material of the Samhitās the question of the authenticity of the forms which it embraces is of great importance. What guarantees then do we possess that the original form of the texts handed down by tradition has not in the course of ages undergone modification and modernization in respect to vocabulary, phonetics, and grammatical forms? This question must first be applied to the R̥gveda, the oldest of the Samhitās, which forms the very foundation of Vedic tradition. The evidence of the Sarvānukramanī¹², which states the number of stanzas, the metre, and the deity for every hymn of the RV., shows that in general extent, form, and matter, this Samhitā was in the Sūtra period the same as now. The Prātisākhya¹³ demonstrates that its phonetic character was also the same. Yaska's commentary¹⁴ proves that,

¹ Edited (Samhitā text only) by ROTH and WHITNEY, Berlin 1856 (Index Verborum in JAOS., vol. XII); translated by WHITNEY (Books I—XIX), with a critical and exegetical commentary, Cambridge, Mass., 1905 (vols. VII and VIII of the Harvard Oriental Series); also edited by SHANKAR P. PANDIT (both Samhitā and Pada text), Bombay 1895—99.

² Besides BENFAY's edition also that of SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMI, 5 vols., Calcutta 1874—78 (Bibliotheca Indica).

³ Edited by WEBER, with the commentary of Maṅdhara, London and Berlin 1852.

⁴ Edited by WEBER (vols. XI and XII of Indische Studien), Berlin 1871—72.

⁵ Edited by L. V. SCHROEDER, Leipzig 1881—86.

⁶ Edited by L. V. SCHROEDER, vol. I (books I—XVIII), Leipzig 1900.

⁷ Cp. OLDENBERG, Die Hymnen des R̥gveda, Band I (Prolegomena), Berlin 1888, p. 294 ff.

⁸ See AUFRECHT, Die Hymnen des R̥gveda², vol. II, 672—88; MAX MÜLLER, R̥gveda², vol. IV, 519—41; cp. MACDONELL, R̥ghaddevatā, vol. I, introduction, § 15 (Cambridge,

Mass., 1904); SCHEFFELOWITZ, Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda (edition of the Khilas), Breslau 1906 (cp. OLDENBERG, Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen 1907, 210—41).

⁹ Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., 359 ff.; AUFRECHT, Das Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Bonn 1879, p. 420 f.

¹⁰ Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., chapter III; MACDONELL, History of Sanskrit Literature, 181 and 186.

¹¹ Cp. OLDENBERG, op. cit., chapter III (271—369) Der R̥k̥text und der Text der jüngeren Samhitās und der Brāhmaṇas; LUDWIG, Ueber die Kritik des R̥gveda-Textes, Abhandlungen d. k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Prag 1889.

¹² Edited by A. A. MACDONELL, Oxford 1886.

¹³ The R̥gveda Prātisākhya, edited with German translation by MAX MÜLLER, Leipzig 1856—69; edited with UVATA's commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series 1894.

¹⁴ Yaska's Nirukta, edited by ROTH, Göttingen 1852; edited by SATYAVRATA SĀMAŚRAMI, 4 vols. (II—IV with the commentary

as regards the limited number of stanzas explained by him, his text was verbally identical with ours. The frequent statements of the Brāhmaṇas concerning the number of verses contained in a hymn or liturgical group agree with the extant text of the Ṛgveda. The explanatory discussions of the Brāhmaṇas further indicate that the text of the Ṛgveda must have been regarded as immutably fixed by that time. Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, while speaking of the possibility of varying some of the formulas of the Yajurveda, rejects as impossible the notion of changing the text of a certain verse of the Ṛgveda as proposed by some teachers¹.

Probably soon after the completion of the actual Brāhmaṇas the hymns of the Ṛgveda were fixed in the phonetic form of the Saṃhitā text; and after no long interval, in order to guard that text from the possibility of any change or loss, the Pada text was constituted by Śākalya, whom the Aranyakas or appendixes to the Brāhmaṇas, the Nirukta, and the Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya presuppose². By this analysis of the Saṃhitā text, its every word, stated in a separate form as unaffected by the rules of euphonic combination, has come down to us without change for about 2,500 years.

The Saṃhitā text itself, however, only represented the close of a long period in which the hymns, as originally composed by the seers, were handed down by oral tradition. For the condition of the text even in this earlier period we possess a large body of evidence corresponding to that of Mss. for other literary monuments. It was then that the text of the other Vedas, each of which borrowed extensively from the Ṛgveda, was constituted. With each of them came into being a new and separate tradition in which the borrowed matter furnishes a body of various readings for the Ṛgveda. The comparison of these variants, about 1200 in number, has shown that the text of the Ṛgveda already existed, with comparatively few exceptions, in its present form when the text of the other Vedas was established. The number of instances is infinitely small in which the Ṛgveda exhibits corruptions not appearing in the others. We have thus good reason for believing that the fixity of the text and the verbal integrity of the Ṛgveda go several centuries further back than the date at which the Saṃhitā text came into existence. As handed down exclusively by oral tradition, the text could hardly have been preserved in perfectly authentic form from the time of the composers themselves; and research has shown that there are some undeniable corruptions in detail attributable to this earliest period. But apart from these, the Saṃhitā text, when the original metre has been restored by the removal of phonetic combinations which did not prevail in the time of the poets themselves, nearly always contains the very words, as represented by the Pada text, actually used by the seers. The modernization of the ancient text appearing in the Saṃhitā form is only partial and is inconsistently applied. It has preserved the smallest minutiae of detail most liable to corruption and the slightest differences in the matter of accent and alternative forms which might have been removed with the greatest ease. We are thus justified in assuming that the accents and grammatical forms of the Ṛgveda, when divested of the euphonic rules applied in the Saṃhitā text, have come down to us, in the vast majority of cases, as they were uttered by the poets themselves.

Though the tradition of nearly all the later Saṃhitās has in a general way been guarded by Anukramaṇīs, Prātiśākhyas, and Pada texts, its value is clearly inferior to that of the Ṛgveda. This is only natural in the case

of DURGA), Calcutta 1882—91 (Bibliotheca Indica).

¹ See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 352.

² See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 380 f.

of collections in which the matter was largely borrowed and arbitrarily cut up into groups of verses or into single verses solely with a view to meet new liturgical wants. Representing a later linguistic stage, these collections start from a modernized text in the material borrowed from the Rgveda, as is unmistakable when that material is compared with the original passages. The text of the Sāmaveda is almost entirely secondary, containing only seventy-five stanzas not derived from the Rgveda. Its variants are due in part to inferiority of tradition and in part to arbitrary alterations made for the purpose of adapting verses removed from their context to new ritual uses¹. An indication that the tradition of the Yajur and Atharva Vedas is less trustworthy than that of the Rgveda is the great metrical irregularity which is characteristic of those texts². Of all these the Vājasaneyi Samhitā is the best preserved, being not only guarded by an Anukramaṇī, a Prātisākhya, and a Pada text, but partially incorporated in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, where the first 18 books are quoted word for word besides being commented on. The Taittirīya Samhitā has also been carefully handed down, being protected by an Anukramaṇī, a Prātisākhya, and a good Pada text³. The Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā is not so well authenticated, having no Prātisākhya and only an inferior Pada text, of which but a single somewhat incorrect Ms. is known⁴. Least trustworthy of all is the tradition of the Kāṭhaka which lacks both a Prātisākhya and a Pada text. Moreover only one complete Ms. of this Samhitā is known⁵. As that Ms. is unaccented, it has only been possible to mark the accent in small portions of that part of the text which has as yet been published (Books 1–xviii). As, however, the texts of the Black Yajurveda often agree even verbally, and the Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā is closely connected with the Kāṭhaka, the readings of the latter can to some extent be checked by those of the cognate Samhitās.

The inferiority of tradition in the Atharvaveda was increased by the lateness of its recognition as a canonical text. It contains many corrupt and uncertain forms, especially in Book XIX, which is a later addition⁶. The text is guarded by Anukramaṇīs, a Prātisākhya, and a Padapāṭha⁷. The latter, however, contains serious errors both in regard to accentuation and the division of compound verbal forms, as well as in other respects. The Padapāṭha of Book XIX, which is different in origin from that of the earlier books⁸, is full of grave blunders⁹. The critical and exegetical notes contained in WHITNEY'S Translation of the Atharvaveda accordingly furnish important aid in estimating the value of the readings in the Saunakiya recension of the Atharvaveda. The Paippalāda recension is known in only a single corrupt Ms., which has been reproduced in facsimile by Professors GARBE and BLOOMFIELD¹⁰. About one-eighth or one-ninth of this recension is original, being found neither in the Saunakiya text of the Atharvaveda nor in any other known collection of Mantras¹¹. The various readings of this recension, in the

¹ On the Padapāṭha of the Sāmaveda see DENFFY'S edition of that Samhitā, p. LVII–LXIV.

² See WHITNEY'S Introduction to the Atharvaveda, p. CXXVII; BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda, Grundriss II, 1B, § 1.

³ Cp. WEBER'S edition p. VIII f., and Indische Studien 13, 1–114 (Ueber den Padapāṭha der Taittirīya-Samhitā).

⁴ See L. V. SCHROEDER'S edition, Introduction, p. XXXVI f.

⁵ Cp. L. V. SCHROEDER'S Introduction to his edition, § 1.

⁶ See LANMAN'S Introduction to Book XIX in WHITNEY'S Translation of the Atharvaveda.

⁷ See LANMAN'S Introduction to WHITNEY'S Translation, p. LXIX–LXXIV.

⁸ The Padapāṭha of the Atharvaveda has been edited in full by SHANKAR P. PANDIT in his Atharvaveda.

⁹ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 16.

¹⁰ The Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, Baltimore 1901.

¹¹ BLOOMFIELD, The Atharvaveda p. 15;

material common to both recensions, are given in the critical notes of WHITNEY's Translation. The variations range from slight differences to complete change of sense, and exact textual agreement between parallel stanzas is comparatively rare¹. The text of this recension has not yet been critically edited except Book I².

I. PHONOLOGY.

Rgveda Prātisākhya, ed. with German translation by MAX MÜLLER, Leipzig 1856-69; with UVATA's Commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series, 1894. — Atharvaveda Prātisākhya, ed. WHITNEY, JAOS. vols. VII and X. — Taittirīya Prātisākhya, ed. WHITNEY, JAOS. vol. IX, 1871. — Vājasaneyi Prātisākhya, ed. WEBER, IS. vol. IV, 1858; with UVATA's Commentary, Benares Sanskrit Series, 1888. — Riktantravyākaraṇa (= Prātisākhya of the SV.), ed. and transl. by BURNELL, Mangalore 1879.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 1-70. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 1-87. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik. I. Lautlehre (very full bibliography).

3. **Ancient Pronunciation.** — Evidence throwing light on the phonetic character of the language of the Saṃhitās is furnished not only by the pronunciation of its sounds by the Brahmans of to-day, who still recite those texts, but also by the transcription of Sanskrit words in foreign languages, particularly Greek, in ancient times; by the summary information contained in the works of the old Sanskrit grammarians, Pāṇini and his successors; and more especially by the detailed statements of the Prātisākhyas and the Śikṣās. From these sources we derive a sufficiently exact knowledge of the pronunciation prevailing about 500 B. C. This pronunciation, however, need not necessarily have coincided in every particular with that of the Saṃhitās, which date from many centuries earlier. Nevertheless, judging by the internal evidence supplied by the phonetic changes and analogical formations occurring in the language of the texts themselves and by the external evidence of comparative philology, we are justified in concluding that the pronunciation, with the possible exception of a very few doubtful points, was practically the same.

4. **The Sounds of the Vedic Language.** — There are altogether 52 sounds, 13 of which are vocalic and 39 consonantal. They are the following:

A. Vocalic sounds.

1. Nine simple vowels: *a ā i ī u ū ṛ ṝ ḷ*.
2. Four diphthongs: *e o³ ai au⁴*.

B. Consonantal sounds.

1. Twenty-two mutes, divided into five classes, each of which has its class nasal, making a group of twenty-seven:
 - a) five gutturals: *k kh g gh ṅ*,
 - b) five palatals: *c ch j jh ṇ*,
 - c) seven cerebrals: *ṣ ṣh ḍ and ḍ⁵ ḍh and ṭ⁵ ṭh ṇ*,
 - d) five dentals: *t th d dh n*,
 - e) five labials: *p ph b bh m*.

cp. WHITNEY's Translation of the Atharvaveda p. 1013-23.

¹ On the readings of the Paippalāda recension, see LANMAN's Introduction p. LXXIX-LXXXIX.

² The Kashmirian Atharva Veda, Book One. Edited with critical notes by LEROY CARR BARRET, in JAOS. 26, 197-295.

³ These are really simple long vowels, being diphthongs only in origin (= *āi, āu*).

⁴ Pronounced *āi, āu* (see WHITNEY on AP. I. 40 and TPr. II. 29), but derived from diphthongs with a long first element.

⁵ These sounds take the place of *ḍ ḍh* respectively between vowels; e. g. *īḷe* (but *īḷya*), *mīḷhūṣe* (but *mīḷhūṣe*).

2. Four semivowels: *y r l v*.
3. Three sibilants: *ś* (palatal), *ṣ* (cerebral), *s* (dental).
4. One aspiration: *h*.
5. One pure nasal: *m* (*ṃ*) called Anusvāra ('after-sound').
6. Three voiceless spirants: *h* (Visarjaniya), *ḥ* (Jihvāmūliya), *ḫ* (Upadhmaniya).

5. Losses, changes, additions.—In order that the phonetic status of the Vedic language may be understood historically, the losses, changes, and additions which have taken place in it as compared with earlier linguistic stages, must be pointed out.

a. It has lost the IE. 1) short vowels *e* *o* and *a*; 2) long vowels *ē* *ō*; 3) diphthongs *ei* *oi*, *eu* *ou*; *ai* *ai* *oi*, *au* *eu* *ou*; 4) sonant nasals; 5) voiced spirant *z*.

b. It has replaced a number of IE. sounds by others: 1) the short vowels *e* *o* by *ḛ*, *o* by *ṛ*; 2) the long vowels *ē* *ō* by *ā*; 3) the diphthongs *ei* *oi* by *ē*, *eu* *ou* by *ō*; also *as* *es* *os* by *as* *os*; 4) *f* by *ṛ* (*ṛ*), *l* by *r*; 5) *ai* *ei* *oi* by *ai*, *au* *eu* *ou* by *au*; 6) *r*, when followed by a nasal, has become *ṛ*; 7) gutturals (velars) have, under certain conditions, become palatals¹; 8) a palatal mute has become the palatal spirant *ś*².

c. It has added the whole series of eight cerebrals (including the spirant *ṣ*).

The above innovations are specifically Indian, excepting (1) the loss of the vowels *e* *o* *a*, together with the diphthongs formed with them; (2) the loss of the sonant nasals; and (3) the addition of the spirants *ś* and *ṣ*. These the Avesta shares with the Vedas.

I. The simple vowels.

6. The vowel *a*.—This is by far the commonest vowel, being much more than twice as frequent as *ā*; while these two *a*-vowels combined occur as often as all the rest (including diphthongs) taken together³. According to the modern Indian pronunciation, *a* has the sound of a very short close neutral vowel like the English *u* in *but*. That such was its character as early as the time of Pāṇini appears from his last Sūtra, according to which *a* is not the short sound corresponding to *ā*. To the same effect are the statements of the Prātisākhya⁴, which describe *a* as a 'close' (*samvṛta*) sound. This pronunciation is borne out by the reproduction of Indian words in Greek, where the vowel, though usually represented by *a*, appears as *i* or *o* also; on the other hand, the frequent reproduction of the Greek *a* by the Indian *ā* indicates that, to the Indian ear, that vowel was both longer and had more distinctively the sound of *a*. Similarly, Hindus of the present day make the observation that the English pronunciation of *ā* in Sanskrit words sounds long (*dirgha*) to them. As the ancient Iranian languages have the normal *ā* throughout, the close pronunciation must be an Indian innovation. But whether it already prevailed in the period when the Samhitās were composed is uncertain. The fact, however, that in the RV. the metre hardly ever admits of the *ā* being elided after *c* or *o*, though the written text drops it in about 75 per cent of its occurrences, seems to indicate that when the hymns of the RV. were composed, the pronunciation of *ā* was still open, but that at

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen 1902, I, 244.

² Op. cit. 233.

³ Cp. WHITNEY, 22 and 75.

⁴ APr. I. 36; VPr. I. 72.

the time when the Saphitā text was constituted, the close pronunciation was already becoming general.

a. Though *a* ordinarily represents IE. \bar{a} \bar{e} \bar{o} , it also often replaces an original sonant nasal¹ representing the reduced form of the unaccented Vedic syllables *a*+nasal: 1) *an* in derivative and inflexional syllables; e. g. *sat-d* beside the stem *sat-* 'being'; *jñh-ati* 'they sacrifice' (suffix otherwise *-anti*); 2) *a*+nasal in radical syllables; e. g. *ta-tā* 'stretched'; *tan-*; *ga-tā* 'gone'; *gam-*; *dar-mā* 'wondrous'; *dan-*; stem *pathi* 'path', beside *pāthā*; 3) in words as shown by comparative philology; e. g. *śatām* 'hundred' (Lat. *centum*), *dāśa* 'ten' (Lat. *decem*).

Very rarely *a* is a Prakritic representative of *r*, as in *vi-kāṭa*-4 'monstrous', beside *vi-kṛta* 'deformed'.

7. The vowel *ā*. — This sound represents both a simple long vowel⁵ and a contraction; e. g. *ā-sthā-t* 'he has stood'; *āsam* 'I was' (= *ā-as-am*), *bhūrāti* 'may he bear' (= *bhūra-a-ti*).

a. Like *a*, the long vowel *ā* frequently corresponds to or is derived from a syllable containing a nasal; e. g. *kā-ti* 'dug': $\sqrt{\text{khan-}}$; *ā-tmān-* 'soul': *an-* 'breathe'. In very rare instances the nasal is retained in the RV.: *jighāṃsati* 'desires to strike': $\sqrt{\text{han-}}$; *śrūtā-* 'wearied': $\sqrt{\text{śram-}}$; *dhvānti-* 'dark': $\sqrt{\text{dhvan-}}$; there are six or eight more instances in the later Saphitās⁶. Here the reappearance of the nasal in a weak radical syllable is an innovation due to the influence of other forms with nasals⁷.

8. The vowel *i*. — This sound in the first place is an original vowel; e. g. *div-i* 'in heaven'. It also frequently represents the low grade of *e* and *ya* both in roots⁸ and suffixes; e. g. *vid-mi* 'we know', beside *vid-a* 'I know'; *nū-iṣṭha* 'newest', beside *nū-ya-* 'newer'. It further appears as the low grade of *ā* in roots containing that vowel: e. g. *śidhyati* 'succeeds', beside *śidhati*; *śiṣṭi-* 'taught', beside *śiṣti* 'teaches'; especially when the vowel is final, as in *sthi-tā* 'stood': $\sqrt{\text{sthā-}}$. From the latter use it came to assume the function of a 'connecting' vowel; e. g. *jan-i-ti-* 'begetter': $\sqrt{\text{jan-}}$; after heavy syllables also in the ending *-ire* of 3 pl. pf. mid. *vavanū-ire* (beside *nunūd-*). In *śikhri-* 'loose' *i* would be a Prakritic representative of *r*, if the word is derived from $\sqrt{\text{śrath-}}$ ⁹.

9. The vowel *ī*. — This sound is an original vowel, e. g. in *jivā-* 'living'¹⁰. It also often represents the low grade of *yā* both in roots and suffixes; e. g. *jit-tā* (AV.), 'overcome': $\sqrt{\text{jyā-}}$; *as-i-māhi* 'we would attain', beside *as-yām* 'I would attain'. It further seems to represent the low grade of both radical and suffixal *ā*; but this can probably in all instances be explained as either a low grade of *ai* or a later substitution for *i*; e. g. *gi-tha* (AV.) beside *gā-thā* 'song', is from the root *gai-*; *adī-māhi* (VS.) and *dī-śva* (VS.), from $\sqrt{\text{āda-}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{āśva-}}$, occur beside forms in *i* from the three roots *dā-* which have *i* only in the RV.; *hīd-* 'forsaken', from $\sqrt{\text{hī-}}$, occurs once in RV. x beside forms with *i* only in RV. I-IX. A similar explanation probably applies to the *-ni-* of the ninth class of verbs beside *-nā-*, e. g. *grbhūr-*: *grbhūd-*¹¹.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 92, 104, 116.

² Cp. BRUGMANN 184.

³ See WACKERNAGEL I, 7 (p. 7-10).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 146.

⁵ It represents IE. \bar{a} \bar{e} \bar{o} : cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 98, 110, 122. It also appears for IE. \bar{o} before single consonants: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 10.

⁶ See below, past passive participles 574.

⁷ a.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL I, 13.

⁹ This term will be retained in the present

work in its conventional sense (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 365) and 'roots' will be quoted in the usually low grade form in which they appear in Sanskrit grammar. The term 'base' will be used to designate the phonetic unit which is the starting point of vowel gradation (cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 211). Thus *bhāva-* or *bhavi-* is a 'base', *bhū-* is a 'root'.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 16 (p. 19, note).

¹⁰ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 73.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 18.

10. The vowel *u*.—This sound is an original vowel; e. g. *ūpa* 'up to'; *duhitī-* 'daughter'; *mīdhū-* 'sweetness'. It also represents the low grade of *o* or *va* both in roots and suffixes; e. g. *yugd-* m. n. 'yoke', beside *yūga-* m. 'yoking'; *suptā-* (AV.) 'asleep': *svāpna-* m. 'sleep'; *kr̥nu-*: *kr̥n-* present base of *kr-* 'make'.

11. The vowel *ū*.—This sound is an original vowel; e. g. *bhrū-* 'brow'; *śāra-* 'hero'. It is also the low grade for *avi*, *au*, *vā*; e. g. *bhā-t* 'has become'; *bhavi-syiti* 'will become'; *dhatti-* 'shaken': *dhaudr-*, f. 'shaking'; *śād-* 'sweeten': *svād-* 'enjoy'.

12. The vowel *r̥*.—The vowel *r̥* is at the present day usually pronounced as *ri*; and that this pronunciation is old is shown by the confusion of the two sounds in inscriptions and Mss., as well as by the reproduction of *r̥* by *ri* in the Tibetan script². But *r̥* was originally pronounced as vocalic *r*. The Prātisākhya of the RV., VS., AV.³ describe it as containing an *r*, which according to the RPr. is in the middle. According to the commentator on the VPr. this medial *r* constitutes one-half of the sound, the first and last quarter being *d̥*⁴. This agrees with *ra*, the equivalent of *r̥* in the Avesta.

Except in the acc. and gen. plur. of *r̥*-stems (where *r̄* is written), the long vowel is in the RV. represented by the sign for *r̥*: always in forms of the verb *mrd-*⁵ 'be gracious', in the past participles *tr̥ṣṭā-* 'crushed', *dr̥ṣṭā-* 'firm', in the gen. *nr̥ṣṭām*, and in the one occurrence of the gen. *tisr̥ṣṭām*⁶. In the later Saṃhitās, the vowel in these instances was pronounced short⁷; and it was doubtless for this reason that *r̥* came to be erroneously written for *r̄* in the text of the RV.

13. The vowel *r̄*.—This long vowel, according to RPr. and APr.⁸, contains an *r* in its first half only. It appears only in the acc. and gen. plur. masc. fern. of *r̥*-stems; e. g. *pit̄r̄n*, *māt̄r̄s*; *pit̄r̄ṣṭām*, *svāṣṭr̄ṣṭām*. Thus the *r̄* was written only where *a-i-u*-stems showed analogous forms with *ā ī ū*; and prosodical evidence proves that, in the RV., *r̄* is required even in the two genitives in which *r̥* is written (*nr̄ṣṭām* and *tisr̄ṣṭām*)¹⁰. In the TS., however, all these genitives plur. have *r̄*¹¹ (that is, *pit̄r̄ṣṭām* as well as *nr̄ṣṭām*, *tisr̄ṣṭām*).

14. The vowel *l̄*.—This sound, though pronounced as *lri* at the present day, was originally a vocalic *l*. Its description in the Prātisākhya¹² is analogous to that of *r̥*. It is found only in a few forms or derivatives of the verb *kṣp-* 'be in order': *caḥkṣp-*, 3 pl. perf.; *caḥkṣpāti*, 3 sing. aor. subj.; *kṣp̄ti*. (VS.) 'arrangement'. In the RV. *r̥* appears beside it in *kṣp̄-* 'form'¹³.

2. The diphthongs.

15. The diphthongs *o* and *ō*.—At the present day these sounds are pronounced in India as long monophthongs like *r̄* and *r̄̄* in most European

¹ In several instances *r̥* appears to represent an IE. *l* sound. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 33.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 28.

³ RPr. VIII 14; VPr. IV. 145; APr. I. 37, 71.

⁴ Cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* I, 13.

⁵ Except possibly RV. VII 56⁷ where the vowel is metrically short; cp. op. cit. I, 6; ARNOLD, *Vedic Metre*, p. 143.

⁶ RV. V. 69².

⁷ In the AV. the vowel is still metrically long in some of these instances: OLDENBERG, *Prolegomena* 477.

⁸ The *r̄* of the gen. pl. is an Indian innovation; cp. 5, b 6 and 17. On the other hand, IE. *r̄* is represented by *r̄* and (after labials) *ur̄*; e. g. from *kṣr̄-* 'commemorate', *kṣr̄-ti-* 'fame'; *pṣr̄-* 'fill': *pṣr̄-tā-*, n. 'reward'; as low grade of *rā* in *dr̄gh-tā-* 'long', beside *dr̄gh-ti-* 'longer'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 22.

⁹ RPr. XIII 14; APr. I. 38.

¹⁰ See above, 5, b 6.

¹¹ Cp. BENFEY, *Vedica und Verwandtes* I, 3.

¹² RPr. XIII 14; VPr. IV. 145.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 31.

languages. That they already had this character at the time of the Prātisākhya¹ and of Pāṇini's successors Kātyāyana² and Patañjali³, appears from the accounts given by those authorities, who at the same time recognize these two sounds to be in many instances the result of the euphonic combination (*sandhi*, Sandhi) of *a + i* and *a + u* respectively. This evidence is borne out by the reproduction of Indian words by the Greeks⁴ and of Greek words by the Indians⁵ from about 300 B. C. onwards.

a. These two sounds as a rule represent earlier diphthongs of which the second element was *i* or *u* respectively. 1. This is most evidently so when they are produced in Sandhi by the coalescence of *ā* with *ī* and *ū*. As the result of such a combination they are explicable only on the assumption of an earlier pronunciation of these sounds as the genuine diphthongs *āi* and *āu*. — 2. They are further based on prehistoric contractions within words in declension and conjugation; e. g. loc. sing. of *śiva* 'horse': *śive* (cp. *nāv-i* 'in the ship'); nom. acc. du. neut. of *padā* 'step': *padā* (cp. *vāca-s* 'two words'); 3. sing. pot. mid. *bhāveta* 'should become' (cp. *ās-īta* 'would sit'); *maghān-* weak stem (= *magha-nu*) of *maghāvan-* 'bountiful'; *d-vac-at* 3. sing. aor. of *vac-* 'speak' (= *d-vac-nat*)⁶. — 3. These two sounds also represent the high grade corresponding to the weak grade vowels *i* and *u*; e. g. *ścati* 'pours', beside *sik-tā-* 'poured'; *bhoj-am*, beside *bhūj-am*, aor. of *bhuj-* 'enjoy'⁷.

b. 1. In a small number of words *e*¹⁰ represents Indo-Iranian *a:* (still preserved in the Avesta) before *d dh* and *h* (= *dh*): *dēhi* 'give', and *dēhi* 'set' (Av. *dasdi*); *e-dhi* 'be', beside *ās-ti*; *nēd-īyas-* 'very near', *nēd-īṣṭha-* 'nearest' (Av. *nazdyo, nazdīta-*); *mēdhā-* 'insight' (Av. *mardā-*); *miyēdha-* 'meat-juice' (Av. *myzda-*); *veithās-* 'adorer' (Av. *vardant-*); *śad-*⁸ weak perf. of *śad-* 'sit' (Av. *havad-* for Indo-Iranian *sad-*)⁹. — 2. Similarly *o*¹⁰ represents *a:* in stems ending in *-as* before the *bh* of case-endings, e. g. from *dvēṣ-as-* n. 'hatred', inst. pl. *dvēṣo-bhis*; and before secondary suffixes beginning with *y* or *v*: *amho-yū-* 'distressing' (but *apar-yū-* 'active'); *divo-yū-* 'wishing to give' (beside *divas-yū-*); *sāho-van-* (AV.) 'mighty', beside *sāhas-vant-* (RV.). In derivatives of *śas-* 'six', and of *vah-* 'carry', *o* represents *a:* before *d* or *dh*, which it cerebralizes: *śo-dāni* (VS.) 'sixteen'; *śo-dhā* 'six-fold'; *vō-dhum* 'to carry'.

16. The diphthongs *ai* and *au*. — These sounds are pronounced at the present day in India as diphthongs in which the first element is short. Even at the time of the Prātisākhya they had the value of *āi* and *āu*¹¹. But that they are the etymological representatives of *āi* and *āu* is shown by their becoming *āy* and *āv* respectively before vowels both in Sandhi¹² and within words; e. g. *gāv-as* 'kine', beside *gāu-s* 'cow'¹³. That such was their original value is also indicated by the fact that in Sandhi *a* contracts with *e*¹⁴ to *ai*, and with *o* to *au*¹⁵.

17. Lengthening of vowels. — 1. Before *n*, vowels are lengthened only (except *r* in the gen. pl.) in the acc. pl. in *-ān*, *-īn*, *-un*, *-ṛn*¹⁶, where the long vowel is doubtless pre-Indian¹⁷.

2. Before suffixal *y*, *i* and *u* are phonetically lengthened: a) as finals of roots; e. g. *ksī-yate* 'is destroyed' (*√ksī-*); *sū-yāte* 'is pressed' (*√sū-*); *śrū-yās* 'may he hear' (*√śrū-*); b) as finals of nouns in denominatives formed with *-yā* and their derivatives; e. g. *jant-yānt-* 'desiring a wife' (*jānti-*); *valgū-*

¹ See WHITNEY on APr. I. 40.

² Vārttika on Pāṇini VIII. 2, 106.

³ Comment on Vārttika I and 3 on Pāṇini I. 1, 48.

⁴ Thus *Kakaya-*, name of a people, becomes *Kakēoi*; *Goryja-* name of a people, *Gōdaloi*.

⁵ Thus *καμήλοε* becomes *kramēla-ka-*; *ῥα* becomes *horā*.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 33 b.

⁷ Op. cit. I, 33 c, d, e.

⁸ On this base see below on the Perfect, 483 a, 2.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 34 a.

¹⁰ These *e* and *o* are not distinguished in

pronunciation from the monophthongs representing the diphthongs *āi* and *āu*.

¹¹ See WHITNEY on APr. I. 40 and TPr. II. 29.

¹² See below 73.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 36.

¹⁴ That is, originally *ā + (e =) āi* became *āi*.

¹⁵ That is, originally *ā + (o =) āu* became *āu*.

¹⁶ For original *a i u r + ns*.

¹⁷ As the *s* which caused the length by position had already for the most part disappeared in the Vedic language.

yāti 'treats kindly' (*valgī-*); *gātū-yāti* 'desires free course' (*gāth-*; but also *gātu-yāti*)¹. The AV. has a few exceptions: *arāti-yāti* 'is hostile'; *jani-yāti* as well as *jant-yāti*²; c) *i* in the suffix *-iya* and in the comparative suffix *-iyas*.

3. Before *r*, if radical, *i* and *u* seem to be lengthened when a consonant follows; e. g. *gir-bhīs* beside *gir-as* (*gir-* 'song of praise'); *pūr-sū* beside *pūr-as* (*pūr-* 'fort'), but *ir* and *ūr* here represent IE. *r̥*. In a few instances this is extended by analogy to words in which the *r* is not radical: *āsīr* 'blessing' (*āsīs-*); *sajūr* 'together' (*√jū-*)³.

4. Before *v*, the vowels *a* *i* *u* are lengthened: a) in some instances the augment: *avidhyat* 'he wounded' (*√vyadh-*)⁴; b) once before the primary suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle: *jigī-vāms-* 'having conquered' (*√ji-*); c) often before the secondary suffixes *-van*, *-vana*, *-vant*, *-vala*, *-vin*; e. g. *itā-van-* 'observing order'; *kārṣṭ-vana-* (AV.) 'ploughman'; *yā-vant-* 'how great'; *śrdsi-vant-* (RV.) 'snorting' (*√śvas-*); *kṛṣṭ-vala-* 'ploughman'; *dṛvayā-vin-* 'dishonest'; d) often before the second member of a compound; e. g. *gūrtā-vasu-* 'whose treasures are welcome'⁵.

5. Before IIr. *z* and *z̥*, when followed by one or more consonants, vowels are lengthened by way of compensation for the loss of the *z* or *z̥*⁶; a) *ā* (= *aḥ*) in *tādhi* 'hew' (*√tak-*); *bādhi-* 'firm' (*√banh-*); *sādhr-* 'conquering', *d-sādha-* 'invincible' (*√sah-*); b) *ī* = *iḥ* in *id-* 'adore' (*√yaj-* 'sacrifice', or *√is-* 'wish'); *nād-* 'nest'; *pīd-* 'press'; *mīdhā-* 'reward'; *mīdhvāms-* 'bounteous'; *rūdh-* 'licked' (*√rih-*); *vīdh-* 'swift'; *sīdati* (= *sīdati*) 'sits'; *hīd-* 'be angry' (cp. *hīms-* 'injure'). c) *ū* = *uḥ* in *ūdā-* 'borne' (*√vah-*); *gūdā-* 'concealed' (*√guh-*)⁷.

6. Vowels also appear lengthened under conditions other than those enumerated above (1-5).

a. Final *a* *i* *u* are very frequently lengthened in the Samhitās before a single consonant owing to rhythmical predilections; from this use the lengthening of the vowels is extended to syllables which are reduplicative or precede suffixes⁸.

b. For metrical reasons the length is in a few words shifted to another syllable. Thus *didihī* often appears instead of the regular *didihī*; and in *vīrā-sā* 'ruling men', *vīrā-*⁹ stands for *vīra-*. A similar explanation perhaps applies to *carātha-* 'moving', beside *carātha-*; and *māhina-* 'gladsome', beside *māhina-*.

c. The long vowel beside the short in the same stem appears in some instances to be due to vowel gradation; as in *tvāt-pitāras* (TS.) 'having thee as a father', beside *pitāras*; *pṛthu-jāghana-* 'broad-hipped', beside *jāghāna-*

¹ Before this *-yā*, the final of *a*-stems is sometimes lengthened, but probably not phonetically; see below 6 d.

² See WHITNEY on AP. III. 18.

³ No lengthening takes place in the optative present of verbs of the 5th or 8th class, e. g. *śru-yāma* (*śru-* 'hear'); nor in adverbs formed with *-yā* from *u*-stems; e. g. *ānu-yā* 'swiftly'; *amū-yā* 'thus'.

⁴ See above on *r̥*, p. 8, note 4.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 23. When *ir* stands for suffixal *is*, it remains unchanged; e. g. *hāvīrbhīs* 'with oblations' (*hāvīs-*), *krīvīr-dāt-* 'saw-toothed'; *ur*, with genuine *u*, remains short in *urūrā-* 'field', *urū-* 'wide', *urūyā-* 'widely' (*uru-* 'wide'), *urū-dī-* 'desire', *dur-*

(for *dur-*) e. g. in *dur-gā-* 'hard to traverse'.

⁶ The lengthening of the augment in *āyumat*, *āyuktu* (*√yuj-*) and *āriyak*, *drak* (*√ric-*), follows this analogy.

⁷ The lengthening here probably started from that in Sandhi; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 42.

⁸ This appears to be the only kind of compensatory lengthening in the Vedic language. Cp. 17, 1.

⁹ On *e* and *o* for *ae* *aḥ*, see above, 15, a, b, and cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 40.

¹⁰ See WACKERNAGEL I, 43.

¹¹ Metrical shortening of a long syllable

'hip'; *anu-śāh* 'in continuous order', beside *anu-* 'along' as first member of a compound.

d. The lengthening of the vowel in a certain number of instances appears to be due to analogy; thus the denominatives in *-āyā* beside *-ayā* from *a*-stems (e. g. *ṛāyā-* 'observe order', beside *ṛayā-*)¹, seem to follow the model of those in *-yāti* and *-āyāti*, which would account for the fluctuation in quantity. *Tikṣā-* 'sharp' (beside *tigmā-*: *tij-* 'be sharp') and *hālīkṣā-* (TS.) beside *halīkṣā-* (VS.), a kind of animal, appear to owe their *ī* to the influence of desideratives which in several instances have *ī* (partly for older *i*) before *ḥs*. The reason for the *ū* in *tūṣṭūn* 'silently' (*tūṣ-* 'become quiet'), and in *sūmūd-* (VS.), otherwise *sumūd-* 'favour', is, however, obscure.

18. Loss of vowels.—Vowels are very rarely dropped in the language of the Saṃhitās. Medial loss is almost entirely restricted² to the isolated disappearance of *u* before *v* and *m*. That vowel is dropped at the end of the first member of a compound in *anvartī-* (RV.) 'wooer' (= *anu-vartī-*); *ānvartī-* (AV.) 'I shall follow'³; *cār-vadana-* (AV. Paipp.) 'of lovely aspect' (= *cāru-vadana-*) and *cār-vāc-* (AV. Paipp.) 'speaking pleasantly'⁴. The only example of the loss of *ā* in this position seems to be *tīl-pūjā-* (AV.) a kind of plant, beside *tīlā-pūjā-* (AV.). The vowel *u* is further dropped before the *m* of the 1 pers. pl. pres. ending of the 5th (*-nu-*) class, when the *u* is preceded by only one consonant, in *kr̥ṇ-māhe* and *kr̥ṇ-māsi* (AV.)⁵ 'we do'.

Initial vowels also occasionally disappear. The only vowel that is lost with any frequency is *i*, which is dropped in Sandhi after *e* and *o*, according to the evidence of metre, in about one per cent of its occurrences in the RV. and about twenty per cent in the AV. and the metrical portions of the YV.⁶ In a few words its disappearance is prehistoric: in *vī-* 'bird'⁷ (Lat. *avi-*), possibly in *nī-* 'in' (Greek *ἐνι*)⁸, in *pū-* 'press'⁹, *bhī-śūj-*¹⁰ 'healer'. *ā* is lost in *tmān-*, beside *ā-tmān-*, but the reason has not been satisfactorily explained¹¹. In *vā* 'like', beside *ivā*, the loss of *i* is probably only apparent: cp. *vā* 'like' (Lat. *vē* 'or')¹². Initial *u* seems to be lost, if the reading is not corrupt, in *śmāsi* (RV. II. 31⁶) beside *uśmāsi* 'we desire' (*√vas-*).

19. Contraction.—Long vowels and diphthongs are often the result of contraction in Sandhi¹³. They have frequently a similar origin in the interior of words¹⁴.

a. Contractions of *a* with a vowel or diphthong are the following:

1. *ā* often stands for *a + a*, *ā + ā*, or *a + ā*; e. g. *āj-at*, augmented imperfect (= *a-aj-at*); *dā-a*, red. perf. (= *a-dā-a*); *bhāvrāti*, pres. subj. (= *bhāvrā-ati*); *ukthā*¹⁵, inst. sing. (= *ukthā-a*); *āsvās* 'mares', nom. pl. (= *āsvā-as*); *dāti*, nor. subj. (= *dā-ati*); *devām*, gen. pl. (= *devā-ām*).

2. *e* stands for *a + ī* and *ā + ī*; e. g. *āśve*, loc. sing. (= *āsva-i*); *padē*,

(at the end of a triṣṭubh-line), without interchange of quantity, appears in *sīrīsu*, loc. plur. of *sīrī-* 'stream'.

¹ See below, Denominatives, 563, a.

² Apart from the syncopation of *ā* in low grade syllables: cp. 25, A 1.

³ Cp. BÖHTLINGER, ZDMG. 39, 533; 44, 492f.; cp. OLDENBERG 324.

⁴ See BÖHTLINGER's Lexicon s. v. Perhaps also in *jāmbilā-* (MS.) 'knee-pan', if = *jānu-vilā-*.

⁵ Cp. DELBRÜCK, AIV. 174; v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda 60 (r-Wurzeln).

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, p. 324; OLDEN-

BERG, ZDMG. 44, 321ff. (Der Abhihihita Sandhi im Rgveda).

⁷ Cp. 25, A 1; WACKERNAGEL 1, 71.

⁸ Cp. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 24; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 73.

⁹ Op. cit. 2¹, p. 71 (bottom).

¹⁰ Op. cit. 2¹, p. 72 (bottom).

¹¹ Op. cit. 1, p. 61 (top).

¹² Cp. op. cit. 1, 53 c, note; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, 129 (p. 78).

¹³ See below 69, 70.

¹⁴ See above 15, a 2.

¹⁵ The original inst. ending *-a* under the influence of this contracted form became *-ā*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, p. 102, mid.

nom. acc. du. neut. (= *padā-ti*); *bhūves*, opt. pres. (= *bhūva-ṣ*); *yamé* 'twin sisters', nom. acc. du. fem. (= *yamā-ti*).

3. *o* stands for *a+u*; e. g. *āvocam*, aor. of *vac-* 'speak' (= *āva-uc-am*).

4. *ai* stands for *ā+e* and, in augmented forms, *a+i*; e. g. *tīsmāi* 'to him', dat. sing. masc. (= *tīsmā-e*); *devyāi*, dat. sing. fem. (= *devyā-e*); *dicchat*, 3. sing. impf. (= *d-icchat*); *dirata*, 3. pl. impf. (= *d-trata*) 'set in motion'.

5. *au* stands for *a+ū* in augmented forms; e. g. *ducchat*, 3. sing. impf. of *vas-* 'shine' (= *d-ucchat*); *auhat*, 3. sing. impf. of *ūh-* 'remove' (= *a-ūh-at*).

b. Contractions of *i* with *i* or *ā* are the following:

1. *ī* stands for *i+i* in the nom. acc. pl. neut. of *i*-stems; e. g. *trī* 'three' (= *trī-i*).

2. *ī* stands for *i+i* in weak forms of the perfect, when the reduplicative vowel is immediately followed by *i* (either original or reduced from *ya*); e. g. *ī-ūr* (= *i-ī-ūr* from *iṣ-* 'speed'); *ī-é* (= *i-ī-é* from *yaj-* 'sacrifice').

3. *ī* stands for *i+ā* in the inst. sing. fem. and the nom. acc. du. masc. fem. of stems in *-i*; e. g. *matī* (= *matī-ā*) 'by thought'; *pīti* 'the two lords' (= *pīti-ā*, cp. *śūcī-ā*), *śūcī-ī*, du. fem. 'the two bright ones' (= *śūcī-ā*).

4. *ī* stands for *i+ā* in compounds of *dvi-* 'two', *ni* 'down', *prati* 'against', with the low grade of *āp-* 'water': *dvi-ā-* 'island'; *ni-ā-* 'low-lying' (K.)¹; *prati-ā-* 'against the stream'².

5. *ī* stands for *i+ā* when reduplicative *i* is followed by the low grade form of a root beginning with *ā*: *īpsa-ti* (AV.), desiderative of *āp-* 'obtain' (= *i-āp-sa-*)³. A similar contraction takes place when initial radical *a* is long by position, in *īks-ate* 'sees' (cp. *āks-i* 'eye') and *īkḥ-āyati* 'swings' (cp. *pari-āṅkḥāyate* 'may he embrace'). In *īj-ate* 'drives', beside *āj-ati* 'drives', the contraction to *ī* of *i+ā* is perhaps due to analogy⁴.

c. Contractions of *u* with *u* or *ā* are the following:

1. *ū* stands for *u+u* in weak forms of the perfect when the reduplicative vowel is immediately followed by *u* (either original or reduced from *va*); e. g. *ūc-e*, 3. sing. mid. (= *u-uc-e*) from *uc-* 'like'; *ūc-ūr* (= *u-uc-ūr*) from *vac-* 'speak'.

2. *ū* stands for *u+ā* in the compound formed with *anu* 'along' and the low grade of *āp-* 'water': *anu-ā-*⁴ 'pond'.

3. *ū* stands for *u+ā* in the nom. acc. du. masc. fem. of *u*-stems; e. g. *bāhū* 'the two arms' (= *bāhū-ā*).

4. *ū* seems to stand for *u+i* in the nom. acc. pl. neuter of *u*-stems; e. g. *vāsu* (= *vāsu-i*), from *vāsu-* 'good'; but the vowel may possibly be lengthened by analogy⁵, for the Pada text always has *ū*.

20. Hiatus.—a. In the written text of the Samhitās, hiatus is, as a rule, tolerated in diphthongs only, vowels being otherwise separated by consonants. It nevertheless appears:

1. in Sandhi, when a final *s* *y* or *v* has been dropped before a following vowel; when final *ī* *ū* *e* of dual endings are followed by vowels; when *a* remains after final *e* and *o*; and in some other instances⁶;

2. in compounds, when the final *s* of the first member has disappeared before a vowel; e. g. *dyo-agra-* 'iron-pointed' (*dyas-* 'iron'); *pura-āt-* 'leader' (*purā-* 'before'); and when, by a Prakritism, *y* is lost in *prā-yuga-* 'fore-part of the shaft' (= *prā-yuga-*);

¹ Cp. *nīp-ya-* (VS.), 'lying at the bottom'.

² Cp. *ānīka-* and *prānīka-* 'face'.

³ Cp. Samprasāraṇa *ī* and *ū* for *yā* and *vā*.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 90 c, p. 104.

⁵ That is, of the *a* and *i* stems; e. g. *bhadrā*, *trī*.

⁶ See below, Sandhi 69—73.

3. in the simple word *tītai-*¹ 'sieve' (probably from *tams-* 'shake'), by a loss of *s*, due most likely to borrowing from an Iranian dialect (where medial *s* would have become *h*, which then disappeared).

b. 1. Though not written, hiatus is common elsewhere also in the Saphitās². The evidence of metre shows that *y* and *r* must often be pronounced as *i* and *u*, and that a long vowel or a diphthong has frequently the value of two vowels. When the long vowel or diphthong is the result of contraction, the two original vowels must often be restored, within a word as well as in Sandhi. Thus *pānti* 'they protect', may have to be read as *pā-anti* (= *pā-anti*)³, *āñjan* 'they anointed' as *d-āñjan*; *jyēṣṭha-* 'mightiest' as *jyē-iṣṭha-* (= *jyē-iṣṭha-* from *jyā-* 'be mighty'); *dīcchas* as *d-icchas* 'thou didst wish'; *aur̥ṣas* as *ā-ur̥ṣas* 'thou didst open'⁴.

2. Hiatus is further produced by distraction of long vowels⁵ which, as the metre shows, are in the R̥gveda often to be pronounced as two short vowels. This distraction was doubtless originally due partly to a slurred accentuation which practically divided a syllable into two halves, and partly to the resolution of etymological contraction. From such instances distraction spread to long vowels in which it was not historically justified. It appears most often in *ā*, especially in the gen. pl. in *-ām*, also in the abl. sing. in *-āi*, the nom. acc. pl. in *-ās*, *-āsas* of *a*-stems, in the acc. sing. in *-ām* of such words as *abjām* 'born in the water'; and in many individual words⁶. Distraction is further found in the diphthongs of words in which it is not etymologically justified; as in the genitives *vīs* 'of a bird', *gīs* 'of a cow', in *tredhī* 'threefold', *ndr-* 'leader', *rekhas-* 'property', *sr̥ṣṭi-* 'row'; and in other words⁷.

21. Svarabhakti.—When a consonant is in conjunction with *r* or a nasal, a very short vocalic sound tends to be developed between them, and the evidence of metre shows that a vowel must often be pronounced between them. It is the general view of the Prātiśākhya⁸ that when an *r* precedes another consonant a vowel is sounded after it; according to some of them this also takes place after *l* or even after any voiced consonant. They call it *svarabhakti* or 'vowel-part', which they describe as equal to $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{2}$ mora in length and generally as equivalent to *a* or *e* (probably = *ɛ*) in sound.

a. The metre of the RV. shows that an additional syllable is frequently required in words in which *r* either precedes or follows⁹ another consonant; e. g. *darśati-* 'worthy to be seen' (quadrisyllabic); *Indra-*¹⁰, name of a god (very often trisyllabic); *pr̥i* 'forth' (disyllabic)¹¹.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 37 b, note.

² See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 434 ff.: 'Hiatus und Contraction'; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, chapter IV, p. 70 ff. (Sandhi), chapter V, p. 81 ff. (Syllabic Restoration).

³ As a rule, one vowel (including *e* and *o*) is shortened before another: see OLDENBERG, op. cit., 465 ff.; 447 ff.

⁴ WACKERNAGEL I, 46 b.

⁵ See OLDENBERG, op. cit., 163 ff. (Vocale mit zweisilbiger Geltung).

⁶ See WACKERNAGEL I, 44. This is a very old phenomenon, as it is found in the Avesta in the gen. pl. and in other forms: OLDENBERG 181; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 50.

⁷ WACKERNAGEL I, 46. This distraction of diphthongs is also pre-Vedic, parallels being found in the Avesta. Its use gradually decreases in the RV. and is lacking in the later Saphitās, doubtless owing to the dis-

appearance of slurred accentuation: WACKERNAGEL I, 47.

⁸ RPr. VI, 13 f., VPr. IV, 16; TPr. XXI, 15 f.; APr. I, 101 ff.

⁹ The vowel which has to be restored in the gen. loc. du. termination *-tr̥as*, which must always be read as a disyllable, is not to be explained as Svarabhakti, since *-tr̥as* is the original ending.

¹⁰ Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 60, 711—745 (Die Messung von Indra, *sudr̥ā* u. a.).

¹¹ There seem to be a few instances of a Svarabhakti vowel being actually written: *tar̥āsanti*, beside *tr̥as-* 'tremble'; the secondary derivative *svaitr̥īm*, beside *svitr̥ā-* (AV.) 'white'; *p̥ir̥uṣa-* and *p̥ir̥uṣa-* 'man', probably for **p̥ir̥uṣa-* (WACKERNAGEL I, 51, cp. 52). The initial vowel of *ulokā-*, which is commoner than *lokā-* 'world', has not yet been satisfactorily explained; cp. op. cit. I, 52 d.

b. When a consonant is followed by *ñ*, *n*, or *m*, the same parasitic vowel often appears; e. g. *yajñd-* (= *yajñd-*) 'sacrifice'; *gnñ-* (= *gnñ-*) 'woman'. It is, however, here frequent only as representing the second syllable after the caesura in *trīṣṭubh* and *jagati* verses; it rarely occurs at the beginning of such verses, and never at the end¹.

VOWEL GRADATION.

I. The Guṇa series: *e o ar*.

22. A. Low grade: *i u r*.—In the same root or stem the simple vowels *i u r* are found to interchange² with the respective high grade forms *e o ar* called Guṇa ('secondary form'?) by the native grammarians, according to the conditions under which the formative elements are attached. Beside these appear, but much less frequently, the long grade forms *ai au ār* called Vṛddhi ('increase') by the same authorities. The latter regarded the simple vowels as the fundamental grade, which, from the Indian point of view, these vowels often evidently represent: thus from *ṛṇavābhi-* (SB.) 'spider', we have the derivative formation *aurṇavābhā-* 'sprung from a spider'³. Comparative grammar has, however, shown that in such forms we have only a secondary application of an old habit of gradation derived from the IE. period, and that Guṇa⁴ represents the normal stage from which the low grade form, with reduced or altogether lacking vowel⁵, arose in less accented syllables. This theory alone can satisfactorily explain the parallel treatment of Guṇa gradation (*e o ar* beside *i u r*) and Samprasāraṇa gradation (*ya va ra* beside *i u r*), as in *diṣ-ṣi-*, *di-dh-a* (*di-* 'point out') and *iṣ-ṣt-*, *iṣj-a* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'). In other words, *i u r* can easily be explained as reduced forms of both Guṇa and Samprasāraṇa syllables (as ending or beginning with *i u r*), while the divergent 'strengthening' of *i u r*, under the same conditions, to *e o ar* or *ya va ra* cannot be accounted for⁷.

The interchange of Guṇa and simple vowel is generally accompanied by a shift of accent: Guṇa appears in the syllable which bears the accent, but is replaced by the simple vowel when the accent is transferred to the following syllable. This shows itself most clearly in inflexional forms; e. g. *ami* 'I go', but *i-mis* 'we go'; *ap-nu-mi* (AV.) 'I obtain', but *ap-nu-mis* 'we obtain'; *vārdhāya*, but *vṛdhāya* 'to further'. Hence it is highly probable that change of accent was the cause of the gradation⁸.

a. Long grade or Vṛddhi: *ai, au, ār*.—Vṛddhi is far more restricted in use than Guṇa, and as it nearly always appears where Guṇa is to be expected, it may be regarded as a lengthened variety of it⁹ dating back to the IE. period.

¹ See OLDENBERG, *Prolegomena*, 374, note.

² This interchange was already noticed by Yaska; see *Nirukta* X. 17.

³ The only root in which the gradation *ai:* is found is *kṛ-*, cp. 14. It is employed in word-formation much in the same way as in verbal and nominal inflexion.

⁴ See below a, 3 and cp. 25 B 2; WACKERNAGEL I, 55, p. 62, note (top).

⁵ Both *a* and *ā* represent the Guṇa or

normal stage in the gradation of the *a*-vowels in many roots; see 24; WACKERNAGEL I, 55 b.

⁶ The vowel sometimes disappears in the low grade of the *a*-series ('Schwundstufe') see 24.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 55.

⁸ Occasional exceptions, such as *vṛka-* 'wolf', are capable of explanation: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 57.

⁹ 'Dehnstufe'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 61.

It is to be found *r*) in strong forms of a few monosyllabic substantives, in the nom. sing. of *sakhi-* 'friend' and of stems in *-r*, and in the loc. sing. of stems in *i* and *u*: *su-hārd-* 'good-hearted' (from *hṛd-* 'heart'), *dyāu-s* 'heaven' (from *dyā-*), *gāu-s* 'cow' (from *gō-*); *sakkhā*, *pitā*²; *agnā*³ (from *agn-* 'fire'), *aktū* (from *akti-* 'night'); 2) before the primary nominal suffixes *-a*, *-i*, *-ti*, *-na*, *-man*, *-vana*; e. g. *spārḥ-d-* 'desirable' (√*spṛh-*); *hārd-i-* 'heart' (from *hṛd-*); *kārṣ-i-* (VS.) 'drawing' (√*kṛṣ-*); *śrduṣ-ti* 'obedient' (√*śruṣ-*); *cyau-tud-* 'stimulating' (√*cyu-*); *bhārman-* 'board' (√*bhṛ-*); *kārṣ-ṛ-vaṇa-* (AV.) 'ploughman'; 3) in secondary nominal derivation, generally to form patronymics or adjectives expressive of connexion or relation⁴; e. g. *gairikṣitā-* 'descended from *giri-ksil'*'; *ausijā-* 'son of *Uśij'*'; *śrautṛ-* 'relating to the ear' (*śrā-*); *hairanya-* 'golden' (*hṛanya-* 'gold'); 4) in the singular pres. of a few verbs of the second class and in the active *s*-aorist of roots ending in vowels: *ksndu-mi* 'I sharpen' (√*ksnu-*); *mārṣ-i-* 'he wipes' (√*mṛṣ-*); *yū-mi* (AV.) 'I unite' (√*yū-*); *a-jai-ṣam* 'I have conquered' (√*ji-*); *yāu-s*, 2 sing. 'ward off' (√*yū-*); *a-bhār-ṣam* 'I have borne' (√*bhṛ-*).

B. Low grade: *ī ū īr*.—The same Guṇa and Vṛddhi forms as a rule correspond to these long vowels as to their short forms *i u r*. Thus *bhī-* 'fear': *bi-bhāy-a* and *bi-bhāy-a*; *hū-* 'call': *ju-hāv-a*; *tṛ-* 'cross': *ta-tār-a*, beside *tir-īte* and *tir-na-* (just like *śri-* 'resort': *śi-śrāy-a*; *śru-* 'hear': *śu-śrīv-a*; *kr-* 'do': *ca-kār-a*). Before consonants the roots *pr-* 'love', *v-* 'desire', *v-* 'impel', *ś-* 'lie', *n-* 'lead', *bh-* 'fear', have Guṇa forms in *e*, the last two also Vṛddhi forms in *ai*; but roots in *ū* and *ī* have *avi*⁶ and *ari* as Guṇa, *avi* and *āri* as Vṛddhi, respectively; e. g. *pū-* 'purify', aor. *pavi-ṣta* and *apavisur*; *kṛ-* 'scatter', aor. subj. *kāri-ṣat*⁷.

a. *ī* and *ū* instead of Guṇa. In a few verbs and some other words *ī* and *ū* are the old weak grade vowels (almost invariably medial) of *e* and *o*, the length of which has been preserved by the accent shifting to them (while when not thus protected they have been shortened to *i* and *u*), and which as thus accented, sometimes appear instead of the Guṇa vowels. Thus *ī* is found in *riṣ-ant-* 'injuring' (= **riṣ-ant-*), beside *reṣa*, the low grade form of the radical syllable otherwise becoming *riṣ*⁸. Similarly *gīhātī* 'hides' appears beside *gīh-a-* 'hiding-place', the root being also shortened in *guh-yāte*, etc.; *dāṣ-iyati* 'spoils', beside *doṣ-ā-* and *doṣ-ā-* (AV.) 'evening', also *dīṣ-ī-* (AV.) 'destruction'; *dh-ati* 'removes', beside *dh-a-* 'gift'; *nū* 'now', *nū-tana-* 'new', *nū-nām* 'now', beside *nāva-* 'new', also *nū* 'now' (never at the beginning of a sentence); *mūs-* 'mouse', beside *mōsatha* 'ye rob', also *mūṣitī-* 'stolen'; *yūpa-* 'post', beside *yuyūpa* 'has infringed', also *yūpitī-* (AV.) 'smoothed'; *sth-pa-* 'tuft', beside *sto-kā-* 'drop', also *stu-pā-* (VS.) 'tuft'⁹.

b. In a few roots ending in *v*¹⁰, the radical vowel *ī* represents the low

¹ With loss of the final element, which however, remains in datives like *tāsmat*, probably because the diphthong was here pronounced with a slurred accent: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 93.

² With loss of *r*, the preceding vowel having compensatory IE. lengthening (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 61 c). In a few instances, the Vṛddhi of the nom. sing. spread to other cases (cp. 25 B b 1); e. g. *tār-as*, nom. pl., from old nom. sing. **tār* (beside *śr-bhīr*).

³ Also *agnāu*, like the *u*-stems.

⁴ See below 191.

⁵ From the present the *ār* spread to other forms, e. g. perf. *mamārja* (AV.).

⁶ They have *o* in the intensive reduplication only; e. g. *soṣū-*: √*so-*.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 76.

⁸ The accentuation of *ī*, the low grade of *ī*, is probably to be explained similarly in feminines like *nāptī-* (masc. *nāpāt-*); shortened to *nāpti* in voc.; cp. 19 b 3 and 29.

⁹ The accentuation of *ū*, the low grade of *ū* is probably to be explained similarly in feminines like *kādrū-* (TS. B.) 'brown' (masc. *kādra-m*, TS. B.); shortened to *u* in voc., e. g. *bādhru*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 82.

¹⁰ That is, the original form would have been *īv-* or *jīv-* according as a vowel or a consonant followed.

grade, but early began to supplant *e*; thus from *div-* 'play', beside *didēva* (AV.), *dēva-ana-* 'game of dice', occur *div-yati*, *div-t* and *div-l* dat. and loc. of *div-* 'game of dice'; from *sriv-* 'fail', beside *śreḍyant-*, *srivayati* (AV.); but from *mit-* 'push', only *mit-ati* etc.; from *sv-* 'sew', only *sv-yati* etc. It is a peculiarity of these roots that *iv* appears before vowels and *y* only, becoming *ya* or *u* before other consonants; thus *dya-ti-* (AV.) 'play'; *-mā-ta-* 'impelled', *mā-rā-* 'dull', *mū-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine'; *śya-ti-* 'fastened', *śū-ct-* 'needle', *śū-tra-* (AV.) 'thread'; *śrū-* 'lead ball' ¹.

II. The Samprasāraṇa² series.

a. Gradation of *ya va ra*.

23. Low grade: *i u r*.—In place of the accented syllables *ya va ra* (corresponding to the Guṇa vowels *e o ar*) appear the low grade vowels *i u r* when the accent shifts to the following syllable in some fourteen roots, viz. *yaj-* 'sacrifice', *vyac-* 'extend', *vyadh-* 'pierce', *vac-* 'speak', *vad-* 'speak', *vap-* 'strew', *vas-* 'be eager', *vas-* 'dwell', *vas-* 'shine', *vah-* 'carry'; *svap-* 'sleep', *grabh-* and *grah-* 'seize', *pracch-* (properly *pras-*) 'ask', *vraśc-* 'hew'; e. g. *iṣ-ti-*: *yṣ-ṣave*; *uś-mṣi-*: *uṣ-ṣi-*; *susūp-vāms-*: *susūṣa*.

a. Besides these, a good many other roots, in occasional verbal forms or nominal derivatives, show the same gradation in the radical syllable.

1. *i* appears in *mimikṣir*: *mimykṣa* perf. of *√myakṣ-*; *vithira-* 'wavering', *vithuryāti* 'wavers', beside *vydth-ate* 'wavers'.

2. *u* in *ūksant-* 'growing': *vaṅkṣa* 'has grown'; *śuś-int-*: *śvas-iti* 'breathes'; *ju-hur-as*: *krūr-ati* 'is crooked'; *ur-ū-* 'broad': comp. *vdr-tyas-*, superl. *vdr-iṣṭha-*; *dir-*: *dūr-* 'door'; *dhūn-i-* 'resounding': *dhvan-t-* (AV.) 'sound'.

3. *r* in *kṛpate* 'laments': aor. *akrapīṣṭa*; *gṛṇuti* (AV.): *grath-iti-* 'tied'; *-ṣṭh-ita-*: *śrath-nāti* 'becomes loose'; *rj-ṛ-* 'straight': *rāj-iṣṭha-* 'straightest'; *rbb-ṛ-* 'adroit': *rbbh-ate* 'grasps'; *dṛh-ya* 'be firm' (impv.): *drak-yāt* 'firmly'; *prth-ū-* 'broad': *prth-ati* 'spreads out'; *bhṛm-d-* 'error': *bhram-d-* 'whirling flame'; *d-ni-bhṛ-ṣa-* 'undefeated': *bhras-at* aor., *bhras-ṣi-* (AV.) 'fallen'; *myd-ṛ-* 'soft': *mrada* 'soften' (impv.), *ūrṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool'; *śṛk-van-*: *śrīk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'.

b. This gradation also appears in the stems of a few nouns and in certain nominal suffixes: *dyū-bhis*: *dyū-v-i* loc., *dyū-s* nom. 'heaven'; *śūn-*: *śūd-*, *śūm-* 'dog'; *yūn-* (= *yū-un-*): *yūva-*, *yūvān-* 'youth'; *catūr-*: *catūr-* 'four'; the superlative and comparative suffixes *-iṣṭha* and *-yas*; the perf. part. suffix *-uṣ*: *-vat*, *-vāms*³.

b. Gradation of *yā vā rā*.

24. Low grade: *ī ū r̄*.—Corresponding to the reduction of the short syllables *ya va ra* to the short vowels *i u r*, the long syllables *yā vā rā* appear as *ī ū r̄* (= IE. *ī*).

¹ The etymology of this word is, however, doubtful. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 81.

² In the terminology of the native grammarians Samprasāraṇa ('distraction') designates the change of the semi-vowel only to the corresponding vowel (but see also Pāṇini vi. 1, 108). Here we use the word to express the reduction of the entire syllables *ya va ra* to the corresponding vowels *i u r*.

³ Though *r̄* seems invariably to have resulted from the reduction of Guṇa or Samprasāraṇa syllables, there is no reason

to suppose that every *i* and *u* has a similar origin. On the contrary, it is more likely that IE. *i* and *u* have been preserved by the side of the reduced vowels and that the Guṇa grade has in many instances been subsequently added to original *i* and *u*. Cp. PEDERSEN, IF. 2, 323, note.

⁴ This reduction goes back to the IE. pre-tonic syncope of *i d̄*: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 62 (p. 69, mid.).—On the two forms of the roots cp. also Nirukta II, 2 and Mahābhāṣya I, 112.

⁵ See WACKERNAGEL I, 63.

a. *ī* is found thus both in radical and suffixal syllables: 1. in *jī-īd-* (AV.) *jī-yāte* (AV.) and *jī-yate*: *jī-ī-* 'might', *jī-ī-yas-* 'stronger', *jī-jī-ī-sant-* 'desiring to overcome'; 2. in the fem. suffix *-ī*: *kan-ī-nām* (for *kan-ī-nām*) from *kan-yā-* 'girl'; in nom. acc., e. g. *devī*, *devīm*, *devīs*, beside *-yā-* in dat. abl. gen. loc. sing. *devyā* (= *devyā-ā-*), *devyās* (= *devyā-ās*), *devyām* (= *devyā-am*); 3. in the optative, either before or after the accented syllable, beside *-yā-*; e. g. *bruv-ī-kt* and *bhāra* (= *bhāra-ī-*), but *i-yā-t*.

b. *ū* is found: 1. in forms of *sūd-* 'put in order' (= 'make palatable'), e. g. *sū-sūd-ati*, *sūd-ayati*, *sam-sūd-ī-* (TS.) 'gum', beside forms and derivatives of *svād-* 'enjoy', 'taste', e. g. *svāda-te*, *svātt-*, *svād-ī-* 'sweet'; 2. in fem. nouns in *-ū* beside *-vā* in dat. abl. gen. loc. sing.; e. g. *svāstr-ū-* 'mother-in-law', dat. *svāstr-ū-ī* (AV., = *svāstr-vā-ī-*), gen. *svāstr-ū-s* (AV., = *svāstr-vā-s*), loc. *svāstr-ū-m* (= *svāstr-vā-am*).

c. *īr* (= *r*) is found in *drīgh-ī-* 'long', beside *drāgh-īyas-* 'longer', *drāgh-īṣṭha-* 'longest', *drāgh-mān-* 'length'.

III. The *ā*-series.

a. Gradation of *a*.

25. A. Low grade: *a* or *r*.—Many roots and formatives have *a* in the Guṇa or normal stage. The reduction of *r* from *ar* or *ra* indicates that in low grade syllables this *a* would normally disappear. As a rule, however, it remains¹, doubtless because its loss would in most cases have led to unpronounceable or obscure forms². At the same time, the syncope takes place in a considerable number of instances:

1. in verbal forms: *ad-* 'eat': *d-ānt-* (= old pres. part.) 'tooth'; *as-* 'be': *s-ānti*, *s-yāt*, *s-ānt-*, beside *is-ti* 'is'; *gam-* 'go': *ja-gm-īr*; *ghas-* 'eat': *a-ks-an*, 3. pl. impf., *g-dha* (= *ghs-tā*), 3. sing. impf. mid., *ja-ks-īyāt*, perf. opt., beside *ghas-a-t* 'may he eat'; *pat-* 'fall': *pa-pt-īma*, *pa-pt-īr*, *pa-pt-īvāms*, perf., *a-pa-pt-at*, aor., beside *pāt-anti*; *pad-* 'go': *pt-bā-a-māna-*, red. pres. part., *pi-bā-and-* 'standing firm', beside *pād-yate* 'goes'; *bhas-* 'chew': *bā-ps-ati*, 3. pl. pres., *bā-ps-at-*, pres. part., beside *bhās-a-t* 'may he chew'; *sac-* 'follow': *sā-śc-ati*, 3. pl. red. pres., *sa-śc-ata*, 3. pl. impf. mid., *sa-śc-īr-*, 3. pl. perf. mid., beside *sac-ante* 'they accompany'; *sad-* 'sit': *sīd-ati* (= *si-ād-ati*), 3. sing. pres., *sed-īr* (= *sa-ād-īr*), 3. pl. perf., beside *d-sad-at* 'he sat'; *han-* 'strike': *ghn-anti*, 3. pl. pres., beside *hān-ti* 3. sing.

2. in nominal derivatives: *ghas-* 'eat': *a-g-dhād-* (TS.) 'eating what is uneaten' (= *a-ghs-tā-ad-*), *sā-g-dhi* (VS.) 'joint meal' (= *sa-ghs-ti-*); *bhas-* 'chew': *d-ps-u-* 'foodless'; *pad-* 'walk': *upā-bā-d-*, *upā-bā-l-* 'noise' (lit. 'tread'); *tur-īya-* 'fourth' (= **ktur-īya-*): *catīr-* 'four'; *napt-t-* 'granddaughter': *nāpat-* 'grandson'.

3. in suffixes: *-s* for *-as* in *bhī-r-ā-*, inst. sing.: *bhīy-ds-ā* 'through fear'; *śīr-ān-*: *śīr-as-* 'head'; *-s* for *-as* in the abl. gen. sing. ending of stems in *i u o*: e. g. *agnē-s*, *viṣṇo-s*, *gō-s*.

B. Long grade: *ā*.—The Vṛddhi corresponding to the *a* which represents the Guṇa stage is *ā*. It appears:

a. in the root:

1. in primary nominal derivation: thus *pād-* 'foot': *pād-*, *bā-* 'walk': *vā-*

¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 70.

² When *a* is followed by *n* or *m*, the syllables *an* and *am*, if preceded by a consonant, usually lose the nasal before mutes; e. g. *han-* 'strike': *hā-thās* 2. du. pres.; *gam-*

'go': *gā-tā-*; *dym-mānt-*, inst. sing. *dym-māt-ā-*; *nā-man-*, inst. pl. *nāma-bhis*. The *a* in such low grade syllables is generally regarded as historically representing the sonant nasal *ṛ*: cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 66.

'king': *raj-*, *ṛj-* 'direct': *vāc-* 'voice': *vac-*, *uc-* 'speak'; *ksís*, nom., *ksím*, acc., 'earth': *ksam-*, *ksm-*; *nābh-* 'well': *nābh-as*, *abh-rí-* (*abh-* = *ṛbh-*) 'cloud'. Also before primary suffixes: *āp-as*: *āp-as* 'work'; *vās-as* 'garment': *vas-*, *us-* 'wear'; *vāh-as* 'offering': *vah-*, *uh-* 'convey'; *vās-tu* 'abode': *vās-*, *us-* 'dwell'. Perhaps also *pāth-as* 'place': *path-* 'path'¹.

2. in secondary nominal derivation; e. g. *kāṇvd-* 'descended from Kanva'; *vāpud-* 'marvellous': *vāp-us-* 'marvel'.

3. in the active of the *s*-aorist: thus *a-cchānt-s-ur*: *chād-*, *chād-* (= *chyd-*) 'appear'; *a-yām-s-am*, 1. sing.: *yam-*, *ya-* (= *ym-*) 'stretch'; *sāk-s-ama*, also mid. *sāk-s-i*, *sāk-s-ate*: *sah-* 'overcome'².

b. in the suffix of nominal stems:

1. in the nom. sing. masc. of stems in *-mant* and *-vant*, and throughout the strong cases of stems in *-an*, of *māhāt* 'great', and of *nāpāt* 'grandson': thus *dyu-mān* 'brilliant': *dyu-mānt-*, *dyu-māt-* (= *-myt-*); *re-vām* 'rich': *re-vidnt-*, *re-vidt-* (= *vnt-*)³; *rāj-ā*, acc. *rāj-ān-am* 'king': *rāj-an-*, *rāj-ñ-*, *rāj-a-* (= *rāj-ṇ-*); *māh-ān*, acc. *māh-ānt-am*; *nāpāt*, acc. *nāpāt-am*.

2. in the nom. acc. pl. neuter of stems in *-an* and *-as* and of one in *-ant*; thus *nāma*⁴ 'names': *nāman*, *nāma-* (= *nāmy-*); *manāms-i* 'minds': *mān-as*; *sānt-i*: *s-ānt-* 'being'.

c. in *ānu-* as first member of a compound in *ānu-śik* and *ānūkām* 'continuously'; otherwise *anu-*.

b. Gradation of ā.

26. **Low grade: ī.**—The vowel *ā* is not always the long grade vowel: in a number of roots it represents Guṇa. The low grade of this *ā* is normally *ī*; it sometimes, however, appears as *ī*, owing to analogy⁵, and, especially with a secondary accent, as *a*. Thus *sthi-t-ī*: *sthi-s* 'thou hast stood'; *dhi-t-ī*: *dā-dhā-ti* 'places'; *pu-nī-t-ī*: *pu-nī-ti*, from *pu-* 'purify'; *gāh-ana-* 'depth', *gāh-vara-* (AV.) 'hiding-place': *gāh-ate* 'plunges'.

a. The low grade vowel disappears: 1. in roots ending in *ā* before vowel terminations; in the weak forms of the reduplicated present base of *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put', before all terminations; and in the weak form of the suffix *-nā-* in the ninth class before vowel terminations; thus in the perf. of *dā-*: *dād-āthur*, *dād-atur*; *dād-ā*, *dād-ūr*; *dād-ā*; in the pres. of *dhā-*: *dadh-māsi*; beside *pu-nī-ti* 'he purifies', *pu-n-ānti* 'they purify'. Similarly from *hā-* 'forsake' occurs, in the opt. pres., the form *jah-yāt* (AV.).

2. in the final member of compounds formed with the perf. part. passive of *dā-* 'give', and *dā-* 'cut', or with a substantive in *-ti-* from *dā-* 'give': *devā-tā-*, a name ('given by the gods'); *dva-tā-* (VS.) 'cut off'; *pāri-tā-* (VS.) 'given up'; *d-prati-tā-* (AV.) 'not given back'; *bhāga-tti-* 'gift of fortune'; *maghā-tti-* 'gift of presents'; *vāsu-tti-* 'gift of wealth' (beside *vāsu-dhiti-* 'bestowal of wealth': *dhī-*). Also in *agni-dh-*⁶ 'fire-placer', a kind of priest⁷.

¹ Cp. AUFRECHT, BB. 14, 33; WACKERNAGEL 1, 72 (p. 79, bottom).

² Op. cit. 1, 72 b 3 (p. 80).

³ The long vowel in these nominatives is to be accounted for by IE. compensatory lengthening (*-mān* = *-mant-s*, etc.); in the following examples it has spread from the nominative to other cases.

⁴ Such neuter plurals were in origin probably feminine singular collectives: cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 481; WACKERNAGEL 1, 73 and 95.

⁵ That is, under the influence of *ī* as low grade of *ai* which before consonants appears as *ā*, as in *gī-tā-* beside *gā-thā-*, from *gā-* 'sing', pres. *gāy-ati*; cp. 27 a.

⁶ Cp. *agn-dhīma-* 'fire-place'; in VS. *agn-dhī-* appears instead, as if 'fire-kindler' (from *idh-* 'kindle').

⁷ For a few other examples (which are doubtful) of the loss of the low grade vowel in the final member of compounds, see WACKERNAGEL 1, p. 82 (mid.).

IV. The *ai* and *au* series.a. Gradation of *ai*.

27. Low grade: *i*. — As the final of roots and in suffixes *i* is graded with *ai* (as with *yā*¹), which appears as *āy-* before vowels and as *ā-* before consonants². The roots in which this gradation is found are stated by the Indian grammarians in five different forms. They are:

a. 1. roots given with *-ai-* (because their present base appears as *-āy-a*): *gai-* 'sing': *gī-tā-*, *gī-yā-māna-*, beside *gāy-ati* 'sings', *-gāy-as* 'song', and *gā-s-i*, 1. sing. aor. mid., *gā-thā-* 'song'; *pyai-* 'swell': *pī-nā-*, beside *pyāy-ate*; *śrai-* 'boil': *śrī-nā-ti*, *śrī-tā-*, beside *śrīy-ati*, *śrī-tā-*. — 2. with *-āy-*: *cāy-* 'observe': *ciki-hi* (AV.), beside *cāy-amāna-*, *cāy-ū-* 'respectful'. — 3. with *-e-*: *dhe-* 'suck': *dhi-tā-*, beside *dhāy-as* 'drink', *dhāy-ū-* 'thirsty', and *dhā-tave* 'to suck', *dhā-rū-* (AV.) 'sucking'. — 4. with *-ā-*: *pī-* 'drink': *pī-tā-*, *pī-ti-* 'drink', beside *pāy-dyati*, caus., *pāy-dna-* 'causing to drink', and *pā-t-*, aor., *pā-tave*; *rā-* 'give': *ra-rt-thas*, 2. sing. injv., beside *rāy-ā-* 'with wealth', and *rā-sva*, impv., *rā-m*, acc. — 5. with *-r-*: *nī-* 'lead': *nī-tā-*, beside *nāy-ā-* 'leader', and *nā-thā-* (AV.) 'help'; *pī-* 'revile': *pī-yati*, *pī-ya-tui-* and *pī-y-ū-* 'reviler', beside *pāy-ū-* (VS.) 'anus'; *pī-* 'love': *pī-nā-ti*, *pī-tā-*, beside *pīy-as-e*; *śī-* 'lie': *śī-van-* 'lying', beside *a-sāy-ata*, 3. sing.⁵

b. This gradation also occurs in the final of dissyllabic bases: thus *grabhi-śta*, *a-grabhi-t*, *grbhī-tā-*, beside *grbhīy-ati* 'seizes'⁶; and in the base of the ninth class: *grbhūt-ta*, 2. pl., beside *grbhūt-ti*.

c. It is also found in the suffixes *-the -te* and *-thām -tām* of the 2. 3. du. mid. of the *a*-conjugation, which can only be explained as containing *the te* and *thām tām*, with weak grade *i* corresponding to the accented *ā* of *āthe te* and *āthām tām* of the non-thematic conjugation (and parallel to the *-r-* of the optative beside *-yā-*⁷).

b. Gradation of *au*.

28. Low grade: *ū*. — As the final of roots *ū* is graded with *au* (parallel with *vā*⁸), much in the same way as *i* with *ai*, appearing as *āv-* before vowels, *ū* before consonants⁹; but the certain examples are few. Thus *dhū-n-ti* 'shakes', *dhī-ti* 'shaker', *dhū-mā-* 'smoke', beside *dhīv-ati* 'runs', *dhī-rā-* 'stream'; *dhā-tā-* 'washed', beside *dhīv-ati* 'washes'. But here *au* appears before consonants as well as *ā*; thus *dhau-tāri-* 'shaking', beside *dhū-* 'shake'; and *dhau-t-* 'spring', *dhau-tā-* (SV.), beside *dhīv-ati* 'washes'. Similarly *gā-m*

¹ See above 24.

² *ai* appears only in the *s*-aor., as *nai-t-fa*, 2. pl., *nī-* 'lead', owing to the analogy of forms like *ś-jai-s-ma*, from *ji-* 'conquer'.

³ Occurs RV. IV. 21¹ (Pp. *prā āyase* (and is explained by BÖHTLINGK (pw.) as = *prāyase*).

⁴ Perhaps also in *śī-* 'fall': *śīyate* (AV.), beside *śīy-yati* 'cuts off', which may be a denominative from **śī-tā-* 'fallen'. Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *√śat-* and *√ī śī-*; WACKERNAGEL I, 79 a 3 (p. 83).

⁵ In some of the above roots *e* appears instead of *ā* before consonants; e. g. *śrū-* 'devout', beside *cāy-ū-*; *pe-rū-* 'causing to drink', beside *pāy-āna-*; *dhe-nū-* 'milk cow', *dhī-nā-* id.; *śī-se-*, beside *a-sāy-ata*; *ne-t-*, beside *nīy-ū-*; *ste-nā-* 'thief', beside *stāy-ū-* (VS.) id., and *stāy-dnt* (AV.) 'furtive'; *śī-nā-* 'missile', beside *sāy-ata*. It is, perhaps, due

to this *e* that *ay-* sometimes appears instead of *āy-* in some of the above verbs; as *prāy-as* 'enjoyment', from *√prī-*; *ray-t-* 'wealth', from *√rā-*; *sāy-e*, 3. sing., from *śī-* 'lie'.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 79 b (p. 89).

⁷ Op. cit. I, 79 c (p. 89).

⁸ See above 24 b.

⁹ Similarly in the RV. the *au* of duals and of *aśū* 'eight' normally appears as *āv-* before vowels and *ū* before consonants in Sandhi. The nominatives in *ū* of *-r* stems and *-au* stems, e. g. *māhī*, *śvī* 'dog', are probably due originally to the loss of the final *r* and *n* before consonants in the sentence, then becoming the regular form everywhere. Conversely *aśū* has become the only independent form in the AV., *aśū-* appearing only as first member of a compound. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 94, 95.

and *gá-s*, acc., beside *gáv-as*, nom. pl., but *gdu-s*, nom. sing., 'cow'; and *dyá-m*, acc. sing., beside *dyáv-as*, nom. pl., but *dyá-u-s*, nom. sing., 'heaven'.

V. Secondary shortening of *i* *ū* *ī*.

29. **Low grade: *i* *u* *r*.**—Owing to the shift of the accent from its normal position in a word to its beginning, the low grade vowels *ī* *ū* *īr* *ūr* (= *r*) are often further shortened to *i* *u* *r* in compounds and reduplicated forms. A pre-tonic syllable thus acquires a post-tonic position, where the force of the accent is weakest. It is the same cause which shortens final weak grade *ī* and *u* in the vocalive singular; e. g. *dēvi*, nom. *devi*; *śaśru*, nom. *śaśris*.¹ This shortening often appears in:

a. compounds²:

1. those in which the final member is derived with *-ta-* and *-ti-*, the accent being regularly thrown back on the first member³: thus *d-ni-si-ta* 'restless', *ni-si-tā* (T.S. B.) 'night', from *ī* 'lie'; *prā-si-ti* 'onset', beside *sīy-aka* 'missile'⁴; *si-sū-ti* 'easy birth', beside *sūti-kā* (AV.) 'lying-in woman'; *d-str-ta* 'unconquered', *d-ni-sīr-ta* 'not overthrown', beside *sīr-pū-*, from *sīr-* 'strew'⁵; *ā-hūti* 'invocation', otherwise *-hū-ti-* in *sī-hūti* 'joint invocation', *devi-hūti* 'invocation of the gods', and other compounds.

2. those in which the final member is a root in *r̥*⁶ or *u* with or without the suffix *-i*; e. g. *dhr-jū-* 'thought inspiring', beside *jū-* 'hastening', *jū-ti-* 'impelled'; very often *-bhu-*, beside *bhū-*, as in *d-pra-bhu-* 'powerless', *vi-bhū-* 'mighty'; *ni-yū-t-* 'team', beside *yū-* 'unite' (as in *yn-thā-* 'herd').

3. those in which the final member is formed with other suffixes; thus *madhyān-dī-na-* 'midday', *su-dī-na-* 'bright', beside *dī-* 'shine'; *su-sū-mānt-* 'very stimulating', beside *sū-kt-* 'impelled'; also in *tuvī-gr-d-* and *tuvī-gr-i-* 'much devouring', beside *saṃ-gir-ā-* (AV.) 'devouring', as *r* here = *r̥*⁷.

4. some Bahuvrīhis (in which the first member is normally accented)⁸; thus *bṛhā-d-rī-*⁹ 'possessing much wealth' (*rī-*); *try-udh-dn-* 'having three udders', beside *ūdḥ-an-* 'udder'.

b. reduplicated forms¹⁰ in which accentuation of the reduplicative syllable, especially in the third class and one form of the aorist, counteracts the normal accent of the verb; thus from *dī-* 'shine', are formed *dī-dī-hi*, 2. sing. impv., *dī-dī-vīms-*, perf. part., *dī-dī-vi-* 'shining', beside *dī-paya-* (causative)

¹ Cp. 23.

² The application of this shortening process becomes obscured, on the one hand because the phonetically shortened vowel has found its way into accented final members of compounds as being characteristic of the end of a compound; while, on the other hand, *ī* *ū* *īr* *ūr* (= *r̥*) for the most part have remained unchanged, even when the accent has shifted, because of the influence of the uncompound word; e. g. *sī-sūta* 'well-begotten', *prā-sūta* 'impelled'; *ā-kūti* 'intention'; *īdā-dhū-* 'truly adored'; *prā-tūrti* 'onset'.

³ That this is the cause of the shortening is shown by the fact that the *ī* of the inst. sing. of derivatives in *-ī* appears as *i* only when such words are compounded; e. g. *prā-yukti* 'with the team'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 84.

⁴ Cp. 27, note 5.

⁵ The secondarily shortened form of the past part. *str-ta-* is not found as an independent word in the RV.; it first appears in later texts.

⁶ An example of the shortening of *ī* is perhaps *adhī-kṣi-* 'ruler', *kṣi-* being according to J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 419, the original weak form of the root; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 83 b.

⁷ Cp. KRETSCHMER, KZ. 31, 397; WACKERNAGEL 1, 83 c.

⁸ See accentuation of compounds, 90.

⁹ Occurring only in the dat. sing. *bṛhā-d-rāy-*, beside *rāy-*, dat. of *rī-* 'wealth'.

¹⁰ On the shortening of the radical syllable in some verbs of the fifth and the ninth classes, *jī-nā-si*, beside *jī-rā-* 'lively', *du-nā-ti* 'burns', beside *dū-nā-* (AV.); *ju-nā-ti* 'impels', beside *jū-tā-*; *pu-nā-ti* 'purifies', beside *pū-tā-*. see WACKERNAGEL 1, 85, note (bottom).

'kindle'; from *dhi-* 'think', *di-dhi-ma*, 1. pl. perf., *di-dhi-ti-* 'devotion', beside *dhi-ti-* 'thought'; from *hī-* 'commemorate', *car-hī-ṣa*, intv., *car-hī-ti-* 'praise', beside *hī-ti-* 'praise'; from *pī-* 'fill', *pī-pī-tim*, 3. du., beside *pūr-nd-* and *pūr-td-*. Such shortening often occurs in red. aor., e. g. *ḅṛ-bhīṣ-a-thās*, 2. sing. mid., beside *vi-bhīṣ-ana-* 'terrifying'. It is also found in a few nouns; e. g. *śi-ti-ra-* (AV.) 'coolness', beside *śi-tā-* 'cold'; *tā-tu-mā-* beside *tū-ya-* 'strong'¹.

The Consonants.

30. Doubling of consonants. — All consonants, except *r h l*, Anusvāra, and Visarjaniya, can be doubled, and the distinction between double and single consonants is known to the Prātiśākhya as well as to Pāṇini. Aspirates are, however, nearly always written double by giving the first in the unaspirated form. A double consonant² is pronounced by the organs of speech dwelling longer on it than on the single sound. Within words³ a double consonant appears:

1. as the result of the contact of the same consonants or the assimilation⁴ of different ones; e. g. *cit-ti-* 'perceived' (= *cit-ta-*); *uc-cā-* 'high' (= *ud-ca-*); *bhet-tṛ-* 'breaker' (= *bhet-tṛ-*); *ān-na-* 'food' (= *ad-na-*).

2. in a few onomatopoeic words: *akkkhali-kṛtyā* 'shouting'; *ciccikā-* a kind of bird; *kukkuti-* (VS.) 'cock'; *tittiri-* (VS.) and *tittiri-* (TS. II.) 'quail'; *pippakā-* (VS.) a kind of bird.

3. in the case of the palatal aspirate, which regularly appears as *ch* between vowels (though often written as *ch* in the Mss.), for it always makes the preceding vowel long by position and is derived from an original conjunct consonant⁵. Some forms of *khid-* 'press down', are doubled after a vowel in the TS. (*akkkhidat*, *ā-kkhidra-*; *ā-kkhidat*, *pari-kkhidat*). In the TS.⁶ *bh* appears doubled in *pāri bhūja*. In a school of the White Yajurveda initial *v* was regularly doubled⁷.

4. when final *n* is doubled after a short vowel if followed by any vowel sound⁸.

a. In the Mss., when double consonants are preceded or followed by another consonant⁹, one of them is frequently dropped, because in such consonantal groups there was no difference in pronunciation between single and double consonants. Hence the VPr. (vi. 27) prescribes a single *t* in *ḅṛatā-* 'dominion' (= *ḅṛat-tā-*), and in *satrā-* 'sacrificial session' (= *satr-tā-*). Such shortening is further presupposed by the analysis of the Pāda texts in *ḅṛ(d)dyotāh* (AV. I. 22¹) and *ḅṛ(d)dyotanah* (AV. v. 20²), as *ḅṛ-dyotāh* and *ḅṛ-dyotanah*; in *tādyām* (AV. IV. 19⁶) as *tādyām* (instead of *tādyām*); and in *upāstha-*, which appears in the RV. Pāda as *upā-stha-* instead of *upā-stha-*, if GRASSMANN'S suggestion is right¹⁰. In some instances this reduction is IE., as in *satrā-* (IE. *seth-*)¹¹.

¹ On variations in cognate forms between *as* in *āvikpat* (AV.) = **di-ṣ-pat*, aor. of *divi-* *i u r* and \bar{i} \bar{u} \bar{r} in some other words see WACKERNAGEL I, 86.

² Sometimes a single *s* represents the double sound, as in *āsi* 'thou art' (= *as-si*); *apāsu* (RV. VIII. 4¹⁴), loc. pl. of *apās-* 'active'; *āpāsu* (AV.), loc. pl. of *āpās-* 'distress'; (AV. VS.) 'kidney' is due to assimilation.

³ See below 40; WACKERNAGEL I, 133.

⁴ See TPr. XIV. 8.

⁵ See WEEFER, Abh. d. Berliner Ak. d. Wiss. 1871, p. 83 f.

⁶ See below 46; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a.

⁷ Cp. ROTH in ZDMG. 48, 102 f.

⁸ See his Lexicon, s. v. *upāstha-*.

⁹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 98 b, note.

¹⁰ See below 46; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a.

¹¹ Cp. ROTH in ZDMG. 48, 102 f.

¹² See his Lexicon, s. v. *upāstha-*.

¹³ See WACKERNAGEL I, 98 b, note.

Mutes.

31. **Modes of articulation.**—There are 20 mutes (or 22 counting /h among the cerebrals), which comprise a tenuis, an aspirate tenuis, a media, and an aspirate media in each of the five groups of gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, dentals, and labials (4). These four modes of articulation are initially and medially liable to but little variation except when they come into contact with other mutes or with following sibilants.

1. The tenues regularly represent IE. tenues; e. g. *cakrā-* 'wheel', Gk. *κύκλος*; *pitṛ-* 'father', Gk. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*.

2. The mediae regularly represent IE. mediae; e. g. *gīcchati*, Gk. *βάσκες*; *rāj-* 'king', Lat. *rēg-*; *mā-d-ati* 'is drunk', Lat. *mad-et*. There are a few instances in which a media appears in place of an older tenuis: *gulphā-* (AV.); *kulphā-* 'ankle'; *arbhaga-* 'youthful': *arbhakā-* 'little'; *tij-*: *tic-*, *tokā-* 'offspring'; *dh-ava-pyṅga-* 'undivided': *pyc-* 'mix'; *girikā-* (MS.): *kirikā-* (VS.)¹ a kind of demon. These examples may be due to popular dialects, in which tenues largely became mediae². In a few derivatives the media *g* appears instead of *k* before the *n m v* of suffixes owing to the influence of Sandhi: e. g. *vāg-ni-* 'sound', from *vac-* 'speak', but *rak-nas-* 'wealth', from *ric-*; *śag-mā-* 'helpful', from *śak-*, but *rak-mā-* 'gold', from *ruc-* 'shine'; *vāg-oln-* (AV.) 'eloquent', from *vāk* 'speech', but *tak-vā-* 'swift', from *tak-* 'hasten'.

3. The evidence of cognate languages shows that the Vedic aspirate tenuis in a large number of instances is original, and it is highly probable that it is the regular representative of IE. aspirate tenuis. The following are examples in which mutes of this character are inherited:

a. *khan-* 'dig'; *khā-* 'spring'; *khād-ati* 'chews'; *nakhā-* 'nail'; *makhā-* 'lively'; *mikha-* 'mouth'; *śaikhā-* (AV.) 'shell'; *sakhi-* 'companion'.

b. *ch* = IE. *skh*, e. g. in *chid-* 'split'; = IE. *sk* in inchoative *gīcchati* 'goes', *ucchāti* 'shines'.

c. *th* = *th* in *ṣaṣ-thā-* (VS. AV.) 'sixth'; *śhīva-ati* (AV.) 'spits'.

d. *th*⁴ in *ītha* 'then'; *atharī-* 'tip'; *dtharvan-* 'fire-priest'; *ārtha-* 'use'; *granth-* 'knot'; *path-* 'way'; *pyth-ā-* 'broad'; *prāth-as* 'breadth'; *prōthat-* 'snorting'; *math-* 'stir'; *mīth-* 'alternate'; *yā-thā* 'as'; *rāthā-* 'car'; *vyathate* 'wavers'; *snath-* 'pierce'. Further in the various suffixes *-tha*: forming primary nouns; e. g. *uk-thā-* 'praise', *gā-thā-* f. *gā-thī-* 'song'; as *-atha* in *śvas-dtha-* 'hissing'; forming ordinals: *catur-thā-* (AV.) 'fourth'; *saptā-tha-* 'seventh'; forming 2. sing. perf.: *dad-ā-tha* 'thou gavest', *vāt-tha* 'thou knowest'; forming 2. pl. pres.: *bhava-tha* 'ye are'; also in *-thas* of 2. sing. mid., e. g. *a-sthi-thas* 'thou hast stood'.

e. *ph* in *phāla-* 'fruit'; *phāla-* 'ploughshare'; *sphar-* and *sphur-* 'jerk'; *sphā(y)-* 'grow fat'.

4. The aspirate media, which represents the same IE. sound, is a media combined with *h*. This is proved by the express statements of the Prātiśākhya⁵; by the fact that *lh* = *dh* is written with the separate letters *l* and *h*; and by the change of *h* following a media to an aspirate media (as *tād dhi* for *tād hi*).

a. In two or three words an aspirate media interchanges with an aspirate tenuis: *nādhāmāno-* 'praying', *nādhītā-* 'distressed', beside *nāthītā-* 'distressed' (where *th* is probably due to the influence of *-nāthā-* 'help'); *ādha* and *dtha* 'then'⁶; *niṣāṅgādhi-* (VS.) and *niṣāṅgūthi-* (TS.) 'scabbard'.

¹ For some doubtful instances of media representing IE. tenuis, see WACKERNAGEL, *sprachliche tenuis aspirata dentalis im arischen, griechischen und lateinischen* by 1, 100 b, p. 117, note. ² I. c. ZUBATY in KZ. 31, 1—9.

³ Op. cit. 101.

⁴ A complete list of Vedic and Sanskrit words containing *th* in his article 'Die ur-

⁵ RPr. XII. 2, 5; TPr. II. 9.

⁶ There seem to have been a few IE. doublets of this kind: see WACKERNAGEL 1, 103.

32. Loss of aspiration.—Aspiration is lost when there is another aspirate in the same syllable or at the beginning of the next in roots¹. Hence

a. Initial aspiration is lost: *r*. in the reduplicative syllable: e. g. *ja-ghān-a* (*han-*, *ghan-* 'strike'); *ca-cchand-a* (*chand-* 'please'); *da-dhā-ti* (*dha-* 'put'); *par-phar-at* (*phar-* 'scatter'?). But when the reduplication consists of two syllables, the rule does not apply; e. g. *ghāni-ghan-at*, intv. part. of *han-* (beside *jān-ghn-at*), *ghana-ghan-i-* 'fond of striking'; *bhāri-bhr-at*, intv. part. of *bhr-* 'bear'. Loss of aspiration, however, began, even in the RV.², to spread from monosyllabic to dissyllabic reduplication; thus *ā-phat-phat-at*, intv. part. of *phan-* 'bound'.—2. in the following words, according to the evidence of cognate languages: *kumbhā-* 'pot'; *gad-* 'attach'; *gābhas-ti-* 'arm'; *guh-* 'conceal'; *grā-* 'be greedy'; *grhā-* 'house'; *grab-* 'seize'; *jānhas* 'gait'; *jānghā-* 'leg'; *jaḅhina-* 'buttock'; *dabh-* 'harm'; *dah-* 'burn'; *dih-* 'besmear'; *duh-* 'milk'; *duhit-* 'daughter'; *drahydt* 'strongly'; *druk-* 'injure'; *bandh-* 'bind'; *bābhri-* 'brown'; *bād-* 'distress'; *bāhū-* 'arm'; *bud-* 'awake'; *budhnd-* 'bottom'; *br-* 'be great'. It is probable also in *dagh-* 'reach'; *bayh-* 'be firm'; *badhird-* 'deaf'; *bahū-* 'much'; *bradhnd-* 'pale red'; *brdhman-* 'devotion'.

b. Final aspiration is often lost³. *r*. When this occurs before suffixal *s*, original initial aspiration is lost in some cases; thus from *guh-* 'hide', desid. 3. du. *ju-guk-ṣa-tas*; *grā-* 'be eager': *grtsā-* 'dexterous'; *dabh-* 'harm': desid. *dip-sa-ti*, *dip-si-* 'intending to hurt'; *dah-* 'burn': impv. *dak-si*, aor. part. *dāksat*, *dāksu-* and *dakṣis-* 'flaming'; *duh-* 'milk': aor. *a-duksat*, *duksās*, etc., des. part. *dūduksan*⁴; *bhas-* 'chew': *bap-sati*, part. *bāps-at-*; *ghas-* 'eat': *jak-ṣtyāt*, perf. opt.; *has-* 'laugh': part. *jāks-at-*; also in the word *drap-sā-* 'drop'⁵.

But in some of the above and in analogous forms with *s*, the original initial aspirate remains; thus from *guh-*, aor. *aghuksat*; *dah-*: *dāksī*, part. *dāksat*, fut. part. *dahaksyān*; *duh-*: aor. *ādhuksat*, *dhuksān*, etc. 2. impv. *dhuks-va*; *bād-* 'distress': *br-bhat-si-* 'loathing'; *bud-* 'awake': aor. *ā-bhut-s-i*.

2. When the loss of final radical aspiration is due to any other cause than suffixal *s*, the original initial aspirate regularly remains; thus from *dah-*, aor. *a-dhik*; *bud-* 'waken': nom. *-bhut* 'waking'; *dhi-* 'put': *dhat*, 3. sing., *dhat-thas*, *ā-dhat-tam*, etc.; and in the latter verb always before *s* also: *dhat-se*, *dhat-sva*, desid. *dhit-sati*.

c. On the other hand, there is no loss of aspiration in the root if an aspirate follows which belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound; e. g. *vidhi-bhis* 'with the Vibhus'; *proth-ātha-* 'snorting'; *dheṣṭha-* 'giving most' (*dha-iṣṭha-*); *āhi-hān-* 'serpent-slaying'; *garbha-dhī-* 'breeding-place'. The only exceptions⁶ are the two imperatives *bo-dhi* 'be' (for **bho-dhi*⁷ instead of **bhū-dhi*) and *ja-hi* (for **jha-hi*) from *han-* 'strike'⁸.

¹ Except when the second aspirate belongs to a suffix or second member of a compound, see below c.

² Later this became the rule.

³ Initial aspiration has perhaps been lost also in *śākhā-* 'branch', and in the roots *stigh-* 'mount', and *stambh-* 'make firm'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 105 a.

⁴ This may also be the case in the roots *bhuj-* 'bend', *chid-* 'split', *chad-* 'cover', *dhraj-* 'sweep': op. cit 1, 105 b, note.

⁵ These forms from *dah-* and *duh-* almost always appear in the Pada text with *dh*, doubtless because from the time of the Brāhmaṇas this initial aspiration had become the rule; cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1873, p. 18f.

⁶ IE. *dhrebb-* 'coagulate'.

⁷ For *dhadh-i*.

⁸ Forms like *but-dha-* for *budh-ta* can hardly be regarded as exceptions since the aspiration is assumed by the suffix instead of reappearing in the initial of the root.

⁹ Here *dh-* is a Prakritic contraction for *bhava-*.

¹⁰ Also *viddha-* 'feast', if correctly derived from *vi-dh-* 'worship'; on this word see MAX MÜLLER, SBE. 32, 350; Foy, KZ. 34, 226; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 19, 2, 12 ff.; GELDNER, ZDMG. 52, 730-61; WACKERNAGEL 1, 108. A few more uncertain examples might be exceptions: *garda-bhā-* 'ass'

d. There are a few cognate words in which an aspirate is found beside the corresponding media or tenuis: *māj-man-* 'greatness': *māh-* 'great'; *vi-spulīnga-kā-* 'scattering sparks': *sphur-dhi* 'darts'¹.

e. In a few isolated words a media seems, according to the evidence of cognate languages, to stand for an IE. aspirate: *gmā-* 'earth', gen. *gmās*; *jmā-* 'earth', gen. *jmās*, inst. *jmā*; *dvār-*, *dur-*² 'door'; *majjīn-* 'marrow'.

33. Aspirates in contact with other mutes.—Of two mutes in juxtaposition (of which both must be voiced or both voiceless³), the second only can be aspirated. In such case either

1. the second represents an original aspirate, the first an aspirate or not: e. g. *dhat-thās* = **dhadh-thās* (*dha-* 'put'); *ran(d)-dhi* = **randh-dhi* (*randh-* 'make subject'), *uk-thā-* 'song' = *uk-thā-* (*vac-* 'speak'); *vēt-tha* = **vēd-tha* (*vid-* 'know'); *sag-dhi* 'help' = **sak-dhi* (*sak-* 'be strong'); or

2. the first represents an aspirate media⁴, the second a dental tenuis⁵ which assumes the mode of articulation of the first; e. g. *dāg-dhr-* 'one who burns' (acc.) = **dāgh-ir-* (*dah-* 'burn'); *vid-dha-* 'pierced' = **vidh-ta-* (*vyadh-*); *lab-dha-* 'taken' = **labh-ta-* (*labh-*). An intervening sibilant (*s* = *s*) did not prevent the same result: *jag-dhāt-*, *jag-dhāvya-*, *jag-dhāvā-* (AV.), *a-g-dha* (TS.) from *ghas-* 'eat', *gh* representing *gadh-* for *gāh-t-* from *gh(a)s-t-*.

a. When the first is *h* representing an old palatal aspirate (= *ḡh*, IE. *ḡh*)⁶, it disappears after cerebralizing the dental and lengthening the preceding vowel; e. g. *ūdhāt-* = **uḡ-dhā-* for *uḡh-tā-* from *vah-tā-*⁷.

b. In a few instances the *t* does not become *dh* owing to the influence of cognate forms: thus *dhaktam* (instead of **dagdham* = **dhagh-tīm*) according to 2. 3. sing. *dhak* (= **dhagh-t*) from *dagh-* 'reach'; *dhat-tām* etc. (instead of **dad-dham* for **dhadh-tām*) according to 3. sing. *dhat* (= **dhadh-t*), 2. sing. mid. *dhāt-se*, etc. (= **dhādh-se*)⁸.

The Five Classes of Mutes.

34. The gutturals.—These mutes, by the Indian phoneticians called *kāṣṭhīya* ('produced from the throat'), are minutely described in the Prātisākhya as formed at the 'root of the tongue' (*jītvā-mūla*) and at the 'root of the jaw' (*hanu-mūla*)⁹. They are therefore velar¹⁰ sounds and, as the evidence

(if from *gṛh-* 'be greedily'), *bārajaka-* 'udder' (if from *hrh-* 'be great'), *sabar-dhā-*, *sabar-dhū-*, *sabar-dhūk*, epithet of cows (if *sabar-* = Gk. *σάβρα*: BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 18): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 108, note, 217 b; ZDMG. 43, 667 f.; 46, 392 (*bārajaka-*).

¹ A few doubtful examples discussed by WACKERNAGEL I, p. 129 bottom.

² Op. cit. I, 109, note (mid.); according to BLOOMFIELD, *Album Kern*, p. 193 f., the media is due to the influence of the numeral *dva-* 'two'.

³ This was often due to assimilation, the mode of the articulation of the second generally prevailing; e. g. *śt-ti* = **ad-ti* (*ad-* 'eat'); *vēt-tha* = **vēd-tha*; *sag-dhi* = **sak-dhi*; the articulation of the first prevails in 33, 2.

⁴ An aspirate tenuis loses its aspiration in these circumstances; thus *gyāthi* (AV.) for **gyāth-ti*, if this form is derived from *grāth-* 'tie'.

⁵ There seems to be no example of any other tenuis in contact with a preceding aspirate media within a word, but the result would probably have been the same. There is no example of *th* becoming voiced in this combination; it remains in *dhat-thās* (= **dadh-thās*).

⁶ See below 58.

⁷ According to this rule *śiḡ-ṣa-* 'buffalo', could not be derived from *vah-* 'carry' (as in that case it would have become *ūdhra-*): cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 111 b, note.

⁸ Before sibilants, all aspirates as well as mediae become tenuis; but according to TPr. XIV, 12, APr. II, 6 (cp. RPr. VI, 15) a tenuis in such a position may be pronounced as an aspirate; see WACKERNAGEL I, 113.

⁹ See APr. I, 20 and WHITNEY's note.

¹⁰ That is, pronounced with the velum or soft palate.

of cognate languages shows, derived from IE. velars¹. Gutturals are found interchanging to some extent with sounds of the four other classes.

1. Under certain conditions they interchange with the new palatals (*c j ħ*) which are derived from them²; with the old palatal *ś*³ (also old *j* and *ħ*) only when followed by *s* (which then becomes *ś*)⁴. Between this *ks* = *ś-s* and *ks* = *k-s* it is possible to distinguish by the aid of Iranian, where the two are represented by different sounds⁵; and the original value of the *k* can thus be determined even in words in which no form without the sibilant occurs. This evidence shows that, in the following words, *ks* represents⁶.

a. *ś-s*: *ākṣi-* 'eye'; *ṛkṣa-* 'bear'; *hṛkṣa-* 'armpit'; *kukṣi-* 'belly'; *kṣi-* 'dwell'; *kṣīdh-* 'hunger'; *caḥs-* 'see'; *takṣ-* 'fashion'; *dākṣiṇa-* 'right'; *pākṣman-* (VS.) 'eyelash'; *makṣā* 'quickly'; *raḥs-* (AV.) 'injure'; *raḥs-as-* 'injury';

b. *k-s*: *kṣatri-* 'dominion'; *kṣūp-* 'night'; *kṣi-* 'rule'; *kṣip-* 'throw'; *kṣīrd-* 'milk'; *kṣud-* 'shake'; *kṣūd-as-* 'rush of water'; *kṣudr-* 'small' (VS.), n. 'minute particle'; *kṣībh-* 'swift motion'; *tvakṣ-* 'be strong'; *vṛkṣi-* 'tree'.

2. In a few instances *k* stands for a medial *t*: in *vṛkṣu* (AV.) 'kidneys', for **vṛtkṣu*?; *ṛkṣū* (SV.) = *ṛtsū* 'in battles'. In these two forms the substitution is due to Prakritic influence; this is probably also the case in *skambh-* beside *stambh-* 'prop'⁷. The guttural only seems to stand for a dental in *āsikṇi-* beside *āsita-* 'black', *pālikṇi-* beside *pāliti-* 'grey', and *hārikṇika-* (AV.) beside *hārita-* 'yellow', as there is no etymological connexion between *-kṇi-* and *-ta-*⁸.

3. In a few words a guttural interchanges with a labial medially: *kakārdu-* beside *kaparda-* 'braid of hair'; *kulika* (VS.): *pulika* (MS.) a kind of bird; *kulikāya-* (TS.): *pulikāya-* (MS.), *kulipāya-* (VS.): *purikāya*⁹ (AV.) a kind of aquatic animal; *nicūṅkuṇ-* (TS.): *nicumpuṇ-* 'flood'; and in the TS. (B.) *triṣṭūgbhis* and *anuṣṭūgbhis* occur beside *triṣṭūb-bhis* and *anuṣṭūbbhis*¹⁰.

4. In a few verbal forms from three roots *k* stands for *ś* before suffixal *s*¹¹, though this *k* never made its way into the loc. pl. (where only *-ś-su-* or *-h-śu-*, *-ś-su* occur). The only example in the RV. is *pinak* (for *pinak-ś*) 2. sing. impf. of *pināṣ-ji* (*piṣ-* 'crush'). In the AV. occur *dvik-ś-at*, *dvik-ś-ata*, aor. of *dvīṣ-* 'hate'; *śīlikṣate*, *-śīlikṣu-*, desid. of *ślīṣ-* 'embrace'. Other possible examples from the RV. are *ṛkṣar-* 'thorn' (if from *ṛṣ-* 'prick'); *ṛirikṣa-ti* and *ṛirikṣi-*, desid. (if from *ṛiṣ-* 'injure'); *vīvekṣi* (if from *vīṣ-* 'work')¹².

35. The palatals.—These are pronounced in India at the present day as a close combination of a *t*-sound followed by a palatal spirant *ś*. The evidence of the Greek reproduction of Indian words¹⁴ points in the same

¹ That is, the *g*-sounds; some, however, are derived from IE. labio-velars or *gʷ*-sounds; see BRUGMANN, KG. I, 244 and 254; WACKERNAGEL I, 115.

² See BRUGMANN, op. cit. 244.

³ Op. cit. 233.

⁴ See below 56.

⁵ That is, *k-s* by *ś* and *k-s* by *hṣ*; thus *vukṣi*, from *vai-* = *vai-*; *vukṣya-mi*, from *vak-* (for *var-*) = *vahya*.

⁶ The two components of *ks* cannot yet have coalesced when *s* dropped out between two mutes in *abhakta*, for *abhak-ś-ta* (aor. of *bhakt-*), and *ataṣta* for *atak-ś-ta* from *tak-* (AV. *ta-*) 'fashion'; otherwise the two different original sounds could not have been kept apart in these two forms.

⁷ See above 30, note 4.

⁸ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 136, note (top).

⁹ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, *Pluralbildung* 398.

¹⁰ See ZDMG. 33, 193.

¹¹ See WEBER, IS. 8, 40, 54; 13, 109.

¹² This probably started from the parallelism of the 3. sing. of roots in *ś* and *ś*: thus *dvēṣ-ji* from *dvīṣ-*, and *vāṣ-ji* from *vāṣ-*; then the 2. sing. *dvēṣ-ji* for *dvēṣ-ji*, followed *vak-ji*.

¹³ The relation of the *k* in *dadhīk* 'firmly', to *dadhīśa-*, *dadhīṣ-vaṣi-* 'bold', is uncertain. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 118, note (end).

¹⁴ Thus *ῥάσδαρον* = *candana-* 'sandalwood'; *ῥασάνας* = *casjana-*, N.; *Παῖδαλοι* = *paḍālai-*, N. of a people; *Σανδράκωντος* = *candraguṣtu-*, N.; *Ὀζῆνη* = *ujjayini-* (Prakrit

direction. It is therefore likely that they were thus pronounced in Vedic times¹. Prosodically, however, they have the value of a single consonant (excepting *ch*²). They date from the Indo-Iranian period only; but in order to understand their place in the Vedic language, especially in relation to the gutturals, we must go back to their ultimate origin. The evidence of comparative grammar shows that two distinct series of palatals, the later and the earlier, must be distinguished. This evidence alone can explain how the same Vedic palatal sound (*j* or *h*) is, under certain conditions, treated differently.

36. The new palatals (*c, j, h*) are derived from gutturals (velars), being interchangeable, in most roots and formatives, with gutturals, and being in most cognate languages represented by the same sounds as represent original gutturals. Thus from the root *śuc* 'shine' come verbal forms such as *śucati*, beside the nominal derivatives *śhka*, *śhkan-*, *śhkrā-*, *śhktā-* (AV.); from *yuj* 'yoke', *yuje* 1. sing. mid., etc., beside *yugā-*, *yuktā-*, *yugvan-*; from *druh* 'injure', *dudrsha*, 3. sing. perf., etc., beside *druhīt-*, a name, and *drigha* 'deceitful'.

The (Indo-Iranian) change from gutturals to palatals was regularly produced before the palatal sounds *i* *ī* *y*³; e. g. *cittā-* 'noticed', beside *kēta-* 'will', from *cit-* 'perceive'; *śhīyas-* 'stronger', beside *ugrī-* 'strong'; *druhīt-* beside *drigha-*. This change invariably takes place in Iranian, while the exceptions in Vedic appear only before vowels which were not originally palatal.

a. Gutturals thus appear instead of palatals before *ir* (*il*) and *ir* (= IE. *rr* and *r*)⁴, which were not yet pronounced with an *i*-sound in the Indo-Iranian period⁵; thus *dūgiras-*, a name; *giri*⁶ 'mountain'; *kirāti*, 3. sing., *kirānu-* 'dust', from *kṛ-* 'scatter'; *carkirāma*, *carkiran*, *kirā-* 'fame', from *kṛ-* 'commemorate'; *gī-* 'lauding', from *gṛ-* 'praise'; *girāti* (AV.), 3. sing., *-gīla-* (AV.) 'devouring', from *gṛ-* 'swallow'. Before *i* (= IE. *ə*)⁷ *k* appears in *ok-i-vāms-*, part. from *uc-* 'be pleased', and *g* in *tigīti*⁸ 'sharp', beside *tejute*, *tījas-* 'brilliance', and other derivatives, from *tij-* 'be sharp'.

Otherwise a guttural followed by a palatal vowel is due to the influence of cognate forms. This is the case

1. in the initial of roots α) in *gṛ-*, the weak stem of *gai-* 'sing', beside *gāy-*, *gā-*; β) in reduplicated forms with *cik-*, *jig-*, due to forms like *cikāya*, *jigāya* (where the guttural is in accordance with phonetic law) and to the frequency of palatal reduplication of guttural initial; thus perf. *ciky-ur*, part. *ciky-at-*, desid. *cikīyate*, impv. *cikīhi* (AV.), from *cit-* 'perceive'; intv. *cēhit-*, *cikī-*, desid. *cikīts-*, from *cit-* 'perceive'; perf. *jigy-ur*, desid. *jigīyate*, *jigyū-* 'victorious',

ujjant), N. of a city; Δ *śaquisva* = *yamunā*, N. of a river. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 119.

¹ Cp. WHITNEY on APR. I, 21.

² Cp. above 30, 3; 31, 3 b; and below 40.

³ The sphere of the palatals has been extended by analogy at the expense of the gutturals and *vice versa*. The aspirate guttural *kh* appears where the other gutturals are replaced by palatals; thus before the *y* in *bhīyā-* 'see' (but *jjī-*) 'overpower'; before the thematic *a* of the present: *rikhāti* 'sits' (but *dakāti*); before the *-ayati* of the Causative: *rikhāyati* 'swings' (but *acāyati*); and notably in *sākhī-* 'friend'; dat. *sākhya-*, pl. *sākhīyas* (Ilr. *sākhī-*): cp. WACKERNAGEL

I, 121 (p. 140, top). The palatal aspirate in fact never represents a guttural aspirate, but only an IE. palatal, or sibilant and palatal.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 24, 25.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 123 a α .

⁶ In Av. *giri*.

⁷ This sound had probably not yet become a pure palatal in Ilr.

⁸ Otherwise the palatal regularly appears before this *i* in perfect forms; e. g. *śalcīr* (*śuc-* 'accompany'); *bhejīr* (*bhaj-* 'divide'); *unścītha*, *ūcīc* (*uc-* 'be pleased'); *dudhītha* (*duh-* 'milk').

from *ji-* 'conquer'; γ) in the pronominal forms *kis*, *kim*, *kim*, *kīyat*, *kivant-*, *kīdīs-*, beside the enclitic *cid*, because owing to the influence of the frequent forms *kā-s*, *kā-d*, etc., *k* appeared to be characteristic of the interrogative pronoun¹.

2. in the final of roots in which guttural forms predominate, before the *y* of the optative and the gerund; thus *dagh-yār*, from *dagh-* 'reach'; *sak-yām*, from *sak-* 'be able'; *sagh-yāsam* (TS.), from *sagh-* 'be equal to'. It also appears very often before the suffixes *-i*, *-ī*, *-in*, *-ya* forming derivatives from nouns the last consonant of which is a guttural: e. g. *phāyogi-* 'descendant of Playoga'; *vph-i-* 'she-wolf' (*vphu-*); *sāk-lu-* 'powerful' (*sāk-*); *śyng-in-* 'horned' (*śynga-*); *upa-vāk-yā-* 'to be praised' (beside *upavācya-*) from *upavākd-* 'praise'. Similarly *drāgh-tyas-* 'longer', *drāgh-istha-* 'longest' (beside *dirghā-* 'long', *drāgh-min-* 'length'); *sphig-i-* 'buttock', with *g* from the nom. *sphik* of *sphij-*, which occurs in the post-Vedic language only.

3. in a certain number of abnormal words, almost invariably at the beginning:

α) words which may be suspected of foreign origin owing to meaning or phonetic form: *kinśukā-*, *kīyāmbu-* plant names; *kimīdin-*, *kikāta-*, *kivāta-* (VS.), *śva-kīṣkin-* (AV.) names of foreigners or demons; *kija-* a kind of utensil; *kilbiṣa-* 'guilt' (contains the rare letter *b*), *kistī-* 'singer' (*st* instead of *ṣt*); β) onomatopoeic words: *kikidvi-* 'blue jay'; *kikīrā-kr-* 'tear to tatters'; *kikkīhī* (TS.) an interjection; γ) some words of doubtful origin: *kikāsa-* 'vertebra'; *kinīra-* 'ploughman' (?); *kinīśa-* 'ploughman'; *kilīla-* 'sweet draught'; *kirīrī-* (VS.) 'variegated'; *kisōrd-* (AV.) 'foal'; *kīsmīla-* (AV. Paipp.) a kind of disease.

37. New palatals as radical initials. — a. Before *a*, *ā*, and diphthongs, both palatals and gutturals are very frequent in Vedic and Iranian. Comparative grammar shows that the palatals occur before a vowel or diphthong representing IE. *ē ē* or a diphthong beginning with *ē ē*²; but gutturals before IE. *a o* or sonant nasal. According to this evidence the palatal has come into being in the following words: *ca* 'and'; *cakrā-* 'wheel'; *catvāras* 'four'; *caramī-* 'last'; *carī-* 'pot'; *cīru-* 'agreeable'; *pañca* 'five'; *jāthāra-* 'belly'; *jānt-*, *jāni-* 'woman'; *jāmi-* 'akin'; *hāras-* 'flame'.

On the other hand, the original guttural has remained in *kakū-* 'peak'; *kākṣa-* 'armpit'; *kārī-* 'poet'; *kāu-* 'will'; *gāus* 'cow'; *gharmā-* 'hot'; *ghorī-* 'terrible'; and in the roots *kās-* (AV.) 'cough'; *gadhi-* 'clasp'; *gā-* 'go'; *gah-* 'plunge'; *gai-* 'sing'³.

b. Among the roots with *ū ē i* as low grade vowels, the only one in which the regular phonetic interchange of palatal and guttural takes place, is *jar-*: *gr-* 'call'; *g* appearing before *r ir ar* (= IE. *ōr*), *j* before *ar* (= IE. *ōr*) preceding the thematic *-a-* of the present or the suffix *-r-*; thus *gr-ṛāti*, *gr-*, *-gārā-* (VS.), beside *jārāte*, *jarīdhyai*, *jarit-*. In other roots either the guttural or the palatal appears throughout; mostly the guttural, because the forms with *ū ē i* and *o ar al* (= IE. *ōr ōr ōl*), which required the guttural, were more numerous than those with *o ar al* (= IE. *ōr ōr ōl*); thus from *kr-* 'do', *dkar* aor. 'has done', *kart-* 'agent', *kārman-* 'action', retain the guttural, though the palatal would be phonetic (as *ar* here = IE. *er*), through the influence of forms with *kr-* and of *kārāna-* 'deed' (where *ar* = IE. *ōr*).

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 128 a (p. 150, bottom).

² Cp. Italian and the Balto-Slavic languages which palatalize before *e* as well as *i*.

³ In the IE. vowel gradation of these roots only *ā* and *ī* appear. In other roots in the IE. vowel gradation of which *ē* is found, an initial palatal would be expected

On the other hand, the palatal appears in *cu-*¹, *codati* 'impel'; *scut-*, *scotati* 'drip', because here forms with *u*, which required a guttural, were rare; in *car-*, *carati* 'move', where the palatal is almost invariably phonetic in RV. (but AV. has *acāra*); in *ert-* 'bind', the palatal has fixed itself in spite of many forms with *r*; while beside *harṣate* 'rejoices', *hṛṣant-*, part., both *h* and *gh* occur in weak forms: *hṛṣīti-*, *ghṛṣu-* 'lively', *ghṛṣvi-* 'gladdening'.

c. Among roots in *-an* and *am*, survivals of the regular interchange are found in *han-* 'be pleased', and *han-* 'strike'. The former has the palatal (= IE. *h₂*) in the aor. *caṇiṣtam*, in the superl. *cāniṣtha-*, and in *cānas-* 'favour', but otherwise the guttural. In *han-*, *h* appears before *an* (= IE. *cu*) and, by analogy, also before *an* = *ṇu* and *a* = *y*; but *gh* before *n* and *ā* = IE. *ō*; thus *hān-ti*, inf. *hān-tave*; *han-mas*, *han-yāma*; *ha-thās*, *-ha-tū*, and with *j* in impv. *jāhi* (= **jhahi*), but perf. *jaghāna*, and *ghanā-* 'striker', *ghanāghant-* 'found of striking'. In the intv. *janghan-*, *gh* stands for *h* before *a* = IE. *ē* owing to the influence of the weak stem *janghn-*. In *gam-* 'go', *ga-* = *gy-* (e.g. in *gācchati*, *ga-ti-*) has led to the use of *gam-* = **jam-*, as in *gām-anti*².

d. In the remaining verbs, that is, those with *a* (25) or *o* (22) as high grade vowel, there appears chiefly the palatal throughout; thus *caḥṣ-*: *caḥṣa* (for **caḥṣya*). The phonetic guttural is, however, preserved in some forms of the three verbs *ci-* 'observe' (perf. *cikīya*); *ci-* 'observe' (perf. *cikīz*; *klu-* 'will'; *kethi-*³ 'appearance'); and *ji-* 'conquer' (perf. *jigīya*; *gīya-* 'household'). A guttural not phonetically justified appears before *a* (= IE. *ē*) only in *ghas-* 'eat' (aor. *āghas*, subj. *ghas-a-t*) and in *gal-* 'drop' (*gal-gallti* VS.).

e. In reduplicative syllables containing *a* of roots having initial guttural or palatal, the palatal always appears in the perfect, pluperfect, or reduplicated aorist; thus *kr-* 'make': *caḥāra*; *khād-* 'chew': *caḥhāda*; *gam-* 'go': *gagāma*; *ghas-* 'eat': *jaghāsa*; *caḥṣ-* 'see': *caḥṣa*; pluperf. of *kr-*: *acaḥrat*; red. aor. of *jas-* 'be exhausted': *jajas-tām*. The palatal is here historically phonetic, as the IE. reduplicative vowel was *ē*.

In the intensive, however, the palatal is invariable only when the reduplication is monosyllabic⁴; e.g. *kram-* 'stride': *caṇi-kramata*; *gy-*: *ja-gy-* 'awake'; *han-* 'strike': *jan-ghanti*. But when the reduplication is dissyllabic, the guttural⁵ predominates; thus *kr-*, part. *kāri-kr-at-*; *krand-* 'roar': *kāni-kra(n)d-*; *gam-* 'go': *gani-gan-*, *gani-gm-*; *han-* 'strike': *ghani-ghn-* (cp. *ghanāghant-*); *skand-* 'leap': both *kini-skand-* and *caṇi-skadat* subj.

38. New palatals as radical finals. a. Verbal forms.— Before the thematic verbal endings (including those of the *a*-aorist and the reduplicated aorist) the final of roots regularly appears as a palatal which, though phonetic⁶ only in about the same degree as the guttural, has prevailed. Gutturals are

in certain forms; but few traces of this remain, as the forms of each verb have been normalized.

¹ If *kītsa-* N. is derived from *cu-*, and *carpaṇi-* 'active', from *kr-*, the initial consonant has not been affected by the normalizing influence of the roots, because these words have been isolated.

² The correct phonetic interchange appears in *jāṅgāhe* 'kicks', and *jāṅghas-* 'course', if these forms are connected, as BR. think. WHITNEY, *Roots*, however, considers the former an intensive of *gāh-* 'plunge'.

³ Beside *cru-* 'devout', *keru-* appears in the compound *māhi-keru-* 'very devout'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 101 (43 b).

⁴ In the post-Vedic language, the palatal is invariable even in dissyllabic reduplication.

⁵ But if the initial of the root is a palatal, the reduplicative consonant is of course always a palatal; thus *caṇi-* 'shine': *caṇiṣad-*; *car-* 'move': *carācarā-*; *ca-* 'move': *caḥcaḥ-* 'ever moving'. Cp. 32 a.

⁶ Phonetically we should have **paḥkāmi* (IE. *ō*), *pāc-asi* and *pāc-ati* (IE. *ē*).

rare at the end of the root, appearing only¹ in *sak-* 'be able'; 2. sing. *sak-as*; *sagh-* 'be equal to'; 3. sing. *sagh-at*; *dagh-* 'reach': *dagh-at* (IS.); in these roots the guttural prevails throughout owing to the influence of the present stem *sak-nu-*, *sagh-nu-*². Even in the non-thematic presents and in the perfect the palatal carried the day, though phonetic in still fewer forms; thus the guttural alone would be historically justified in the forms *yunújā*, *yunúje*; *yuyújā*³. The palatal further regularly appears before the causative⁴ suffix *-dyā-*, where it is phonetic (= IE. *čje*); e. g. *arc-dyā-ti* from *arc-* 'praise'⁵.

b. As shown by the appearance, in cognate forms, of a guttural before other consonants than *s*, the final of the following verbs is a new palatal: *añj-* 'anoint'; *ej-* 'stir'; *tij-* 'sharpen'; *tuj-* 'beat'; *tyaj-* 'forsake'; *nij-* 'wash'; *bhāj-* 'divide'; *bhāñj-* 'break'; *bhuj-* 'bend'; *yuj-* 'yoke'; *rañj-* 'colour'; *ruj-* 'break'; *vij-* 'shoot up'; *vṛj-* 'turn'; *śiñj-* 'sound'; *sañj-* 'attach'; *svañj-* 'embrace'; also in the noun *śrāj-* 'garland'.

c. Apart from being the result of the Sandhi of *d + j*, *jj* is shown by the evidence of cognate languages to be derived from a sibilant + guttural (= IE. *sg*) and thus to belong to the series of new palatals in *majjān-* 'marrow'; *rājju-* 'rope'; *bhṛjjāti* 'roasts'; *majjati* 'dives', from which is derived *madgū-* (VS.) 'diver' (a bird).

d. Nominal derivatives. 1. Before the suffix *-a*, the final of the root is mostly guttural, because the *a* in nearly all the cases of the noun represents IE. *ā*. The rule in the RV. is that the guttural appears before both unaccented *-a* and accented *-ā*, but the palatal before accented *-ā* only⁶; e. g. *abhi-droh-ā-*, *āruh-ā-* 'injury'; *āruḥ-ā-* 'injuring'; *bhāj-ā-* 'liberal'; *bhāj-ā-* 'enjoyment'; *ā-yuj-ā-* 'companionless'; *yug-ā-* 'yoking'; *ruj-ā-* 'breaking'; *riḡ-ā-* (AV.) 'disease'; *vij-ā-* 'swift'; *vig-ā-* (AV.) 'speed'; *śuc-ā-* 'bright'; *śuk-ā-* 'flame'; *ruc-ā-* (VS.) and *roc-ā-* (AV.) 'shining'; *ruk-ā-* and *rok-ā-* 'light'⁷.

2. Before the suffix *-as*, the palatal generally appears, as it is for the most part phonetically required; e. g. *śj-as-* 'force'; *ug-ri-* 'mighty'. The guttural, however, prevailed in *dūk-as-* 'bend'; *ig-as-* 'offence'; *ny-ogh-as-* 'streaming'; *bhārg-as-* 'brilliance'; as there were no corresponding verbs with palatal beside these words; it also prevailed in *śk-as-* 'ease' and *ny-ḡkas-* 'comfortable', as well as *śok-as-* 'flaming', though there are such verbs (*uc-* 'be pleased', and *śuc-* 'shine').

3. Before other suffixes beginning with *a*, the final of the root is generally palatal; thus before *-ana* (= IE. *-ano-*), *vac-and-* 'speaking'; *tij-ana-* 'act of sharpening'; *manḥ-dna-* 'gift'⁸; before *-ant*, *-āna* (under the influence of

¹ Apart from roots ending in *śh*, see 35, note 3.

² In *ni-miḡha-māna-* 'drenching oneself', the *gh* seems to be phonetic (as *-amāna* = *-āmāna*). In *vālgate* (AV.) 'springs', the guttural is perhaps due to the preceding *l*, as neither *lj* nor *lc* is ever found to occur.

³ This normalization of the palatal is probably Indo-Iranian, see J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 104.

⁴ The denominatives in *-aya-* (IE. *ekē* and *oif*) follow the noun from which they are derived; e. g. from *aghā-* 'evil', *aghāyati* 'wishes to injure'.

⁵ The causative *inḡdyati* of *ijati* 'stirs' is probably due to an old present base **inaḡ-*, *inḡ-* formed according to the 7th class; the phonetic form *inḡyati* is found in the BAU. VI. 4, 23.

⁶ The fluctuation of words in *-a* probably arose from some cases in oxytones having had IE. *ā*, others *ā*; hence in some words the palatal prevailed throughout, in others the guttural. The agent-nouns, being mostly oxytone, show a preference for the palatal, which originally appeared in oxytones only. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 128 a (p. 150, note, end).

⁷ A palatal before an unaccented *-a* first appears in *dīh-a-* (RV. x. 12), otherwise *dōgha-* 'milking'; *mōha-* (AV.) 'delusion', beside *mōgh-a-* 'vain'; *krūñ-a-* (VS.) 'curlew', is probably only an extension of *krūñ-* (VS.).

⁸ The *gh* of *jaghāna-* 'buttock', is phonetic (Gk. *κοχών*).

verbal forms), e. g. *dih-āna-* and *duduh-ānā-*¹; before *-ata* (= IE. *-etō*), e. g. *pac-ati-* 'cooked'²; before *-an* in *majj-ān-* 'marrow'³.

4. Nouns formed without suffix (including infinitives and gerunds) have the palatal of the corresponding verb; e. g. *ṣṣc-as*, nom. pl. 'food'; *ā-ṣṣc-as* and *a-ṣṣc-e* 'to satisfy'; *tuj-āye* 'to procreate'. A guttural of course appears where the verb has a guttural only; e. g. *pra-tānk-am* (AV.) 'gliding' (*tak*-run').

5. The suffix *-ka* is treated analogously to the final guttural of roots⁴. The guttural regularly appears except when the suffix, being attached to unaccented prepositions, is itself accented; thus *asmā-ka-* 'our'; *yusmā-ka-* 'your'; *āpā-ka-* 'coming from afar'; *abhi-ka-* 'collision'; and even with the suffix accented in locatives such as *upā-kē*, *upā-kēyo* 'in the vicinity' and in the abl. *parā-kāt* 'from a distance'; but *uc-cā* and *uc-cāis* 'above'; *parā-cāis* 'aside'; *paś-cā* and *paś-cāit* 'behind'; *pra-cāis* 'forwards'.

39. Irregular palatalization.—Before *ṣ* *r* and consonants (except *y*), the gutturals were not originally palatalized. Hence roots which regularly have palatals before *a* and diphthongs, usually retain the guttural before *u* *r* and consonants. Thus from *ric-* 'leave', are formed, *rik-u-* 'empty', *rik-u-as-* 'property', perf. part. *ririk-vāms-*; 3. sing. pres. *rīṣk-ti*, 2. sing. perf. mid. *rīrik-ṣe* (but opt. *rīrik-yāt*); *ug-rā-* 'mighty', beside *ṣ-as-* 'strength'; *ghn-* beside *han-* 'strike'. Nevertheless palatals appear by analogy before *u*, *r*, *n*, *m*, *r*, *v*:

a. initially: 1. in the roots *scut-* 'drip', *ṣt-* 'bind', *hrṣ-* 'rejoice', in which the unphonetic palatal before the low grade vowel⁵ is due to the phonetic palatal before the high grade vowels *o* (= IE. *ō*) and *ar* (= IE. *er*).

2. in the reduplicative syllables *cu-*⁶ and *ju-* of the perfect and aorist (in RV. occurring only in *cyu-* 'shake', *gṣp-* 'guard', *gṣr-* 'praise') for older **ca-* **ja-* (*a* = *ē*, the IE. reduplicative vowel).

b. finally: 1. in verbal inflexion, the palatal which appears before *a* and diphthongs always appears also before *u*, and nearly always before *m* and *r* (instead of the phonetic guttural); thus *sisic-ur* beside *sisic-atur*, *sisic-a*, from *sic-* 'pour'; *bubhuj-māhe* beside *bhunj-āmahe*, from *bhuj-* 'enjoy'; *añj-mas* beside *añj-inti*, *añj-an* from *añj-* 'anoint'; *rīric-rē* beside *rīric-ē*, from *ric-* 'leave'; *d-yuj-ran*, *yuyuj-rē* beside *yuyuj-ē*, from *yuj-* 'yoke'; *duh-rē*, *duh-rate*, *duduh-rē*, *duh-rām* and *duh-ratām* (AV.) beside *duh-ē*, from *duh-* 'milk'.

The guttural, however, regularly remains before the *-nu* of the 5th class: *śak-nu-* 'be able', *sagh-nu-* 'be equal to', spreading thence to other forms⁷. Phonetic *k* remains before *m* in *vīvak-mi* from *vac-* 'speak'; and before *r* in *vīvak-re* beside *vac-yāte*, *vīñc-ati* (AV. VS.) from *vāñc-* 'move crookedly'.

2. in nominal derivation the guttural as a rule remains⁸: e. g. *rug-ni-* 'broken', from *ruj-* 'break'; *ruk-mā-* 'brilliant', from *ruc-* 'shine'; *suk-rā-*, *suk-lā-* (AV.) 'bright', from *śuc-* 'shine'; *pak-rā-* 'ripe', from *pac-* 'cook'. The perf. part. for the most part follows this rule: e. g. *ru-ruk-vāms-*, from *ruc-* 'shine';

¹ Strictly phonetic (but rarer) is *dūgh-* on the other hand the palatal appears unphonetically before *u* in the intv. part. *car-cūryā-māya-* from *car-* 'move'.

² The *k* in *sik-ti-* (AV. VS.) 'sand', is phonetic (IE. *-nt-*).

³ Beside *yāb-rē* (AV.) 'liver', and *tāk-rē* 'dung', the *k* is found in the stems *yak-an-*, *lak-an-*, *śimur-*, N. of a demon; *cu-purikā-*, N. of a but only in weak forms before *n* or *a* (*kyātikā* (TS)).

⁴ See above 38 d, 1; WACKERNAGEL I, 129. ⁵ Also *dagh-nu-* 'reach', in a Brāhmaṇa passage of the Kāthaka, and *siḡh-nu-* 'mount', in a similar one of the TS.

⁶ The phonetic guttural, however, appears in *ghṣṣi-* 'lively', *ghṣṣi-* 'gladdening'; while ⁷ COLLITZ, Bl. 3, 230f.; J. SCHMIDT, KZ, 25, 70 f.

vi-vik-vāms-, from *vic-* 'divide'; *ok-i-vāms-* (36 a), from *uc-* 'find pleasure' (but dat. sing. *uc-ū-s-e*).

The following are, however, exceptions: *ūj-man-* 'might'; *bhuj-mān-* 'fruitful'; *mūh-ur* 'suddenly'; *druh-ū-* (AV.) 'injurer'; *yāc-nyū-* (AV.) 'request'.

40. The old palatals (*ch, j, ś, h*).— The aspirate *ch*. This sound is, in pronunciation, the aspirate of *c*³ and is therefore represented in reduplication by *c*. But in origin *ch* has nothing to do with *c*. The fact that after a mute it takes the place of *ś* in Sandhi shows that it is allied to *ś*. In fact, unlike *j* and *h*, it belongs exclusively to the old series of palatals; for it does not interchange with a guttural *kh*³. In the Avesta *ch* is regularly represented by *s* and in cognate European languages by a conjunct consonant beginning with *s* and standing for IE. *śh* (that is, *s* + palatal mute aspirate); e. g. *chid-* 'cut off', Gk. *σχιδ-*. This in Indo-Iranian probably became *śh*, which differentiated into Avestic *s* and Vedic *ch*. In the inchoative suffix *-cha* (*śacchati*, Gk. *βάσκω*) this palatal aspirate seems to represent IE. *śh*, a conclusion which is supported by the old inchoative verb *rapśate* 'is full' = *rap(s)śate*, where after the *s* has been dropped between two consonants⁴, *ś* = IE. *ś* remained. Thus *ch* represents a double sound and metrically lengthens a preceding short vowel. Hence the RPr. (vi. 1) prescribes the doubling of *ch* (that is *c-ch*) between vowels. Though the Vedic Mss. almost invariably write *ch*⁵ and AUFRECHT'S edition of the RV. and v. SCHROEDER'S edition of the MS.⁶ follow this practice, the spelling *cch* is to be preferred.

a. In *śākhā-* 'branch', the initial *ś* probably stands for *ch* owing to the law by which two aspirates in the same syllable are avoided⁷.

b. In a few instances *ch* is a Prakritic representative of *ky* and *ps*: *śechārā-* (AV.) beside *śśāli-* (VS.)⁸, part of an animal's leg; *kyechrā-* 'distress', perhaps for **kyrā-*, and allied to *kyāte* 'laments', and *kyāna-* 'misery'⁹.

41. The old palatal *j*.— This *j* is the media of *ś* (while as a new palatal it is the media of *c*). It is recognizable as an old palatal by the following indications:

1. when there are parallel forms with *ś* before *t, th*, or a cerebral appears either as final or before mutes; e. g. beside *yāj-ati* 'sacrifices', *yāś-ty-* 'sacrificer', *iś-śt-* 'sacrificed', *a-yāj* 'has sacrificed'; similarly in the roots *bhrāj-* 'shine'; *māj-* 'wipe off'; *rāj-* 'rule'; *rāj-* 'tremble(?)'; *vraj-* 'wander'; *śj-* 'send forth'; possibly also in *bhrāj-* 'roast'¹⁰.

2. when in the form in question or in cognate forms, sounds follow which do not palatalize gutturals¹¹, that is, *u r n m r v*; such are: *dj-ra-* 'plain'; *dj-ma(n)-* 'course'; *śrjuna-* 'white'; *śj-rd-* 'reddish'; *śj-ū-* 'straight'; *śj-tyas-*

¹ Under the influence of *śj-ya-* 'stronger' and *śj-śya-* 'strongest', such nouns in *-man-* being often closely connected with comparatives and superlatives.

² In the Kāthaka *ch* is spelt *śh*, which is probably only a provincial assimilation, and not the survival of an older sound; cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 27, 332.

³ *mūrkhā-* 'dull', occurring in a B. passage of the TS., is probably a new formation analogous to *śhā-* (AV.) from *śhātī*. Some scholars hold that there is an etymological connection between *chand-* 'appear', *chand-as-* 'song', and *śśndati* 'leap'; between *chid-* 'cut off' and *khid-* 'press'; between *ch-ī-* (AV.) 'cut off' and *khā-* (*khan-*) 'dig'. Cp. WACKER-NAGEL I, 131, note, bottom.

⁴ Cp. above p. 25 note 6; cp. here *cch* = *t + ś*.

in Sandhi and *duchhānā-* for **duśśānā-* 'misfortune'.

⁵ Except those of the Kāthaka, which write *śh* (cp. note 2).

⁶ Also ROTI'S ed. of the Nirukta and MACDONELL'S ed. of the Bṛhaddevatā; cp. AUFRECHT, RV², p. vi.

⁷ Cp. 32.

⁸ On AV. Ma. spelling *ch* for *ky* in two or three words, see WHIFNEY, JAOS. 12, 92, 175.

⁹ On the origin of *ch*, cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 240; on the sound as a whole, WACKER-NAGEL I, 133 f.

¹⁰ But cp. 38 c, and WACKERNAGEL I, 139.

¹¹ Apart of course from the exceptions due to analogy; see 39.

'straighter', *rdj-iṣṭha* 'straightest'; *jānu-* 'knee' beside *jūu-*; *jymbh-* 'yawn'; *jñā-* 'know'; *jm-*, gen. *jm-ds* 'earth'; *jri-* 'go'; *jvārd-* 'suffering'; *paṣ-rā-* 'fat'; *maj-mān-* 'greatness'; *vaj-ra-* 'thunderbolt'; *jurditi, jāryati, jujur-vāms-, jūr-ud-*, from *jj-* 'grow old'.

3. when in inflexional forms, in which roots with a new palatal show a guttural, the *j* remains; e. g. *jajāna* from *jan-* 'beget'; *jajāsa* (AV.) from *jas-* 'be exhausted'; *jujūsa* from *juṣ-* 'like'; *jujur-vāms-, jajāra* (AV.), from *jj-* 'grow old'.

4. when *j* is the reduplication of an old palatal *j* or *h*; e. g. *jajāna, jajāra* (AV.), *juhṣti*.

5. when it is shown to be an old palatal by the evidence of the cognate languages; thus in *ajā-* 'he-goat', *ajā-* 'goat'; *ajina-* (AV.) 'skin'; *āry-* 'nourishment'; *jūmhas-* 'course'; *jāghā-* 'leg'; *jambh-* 'chew up'; *jāmātr-* 'son-in-law'; *dhraj-* 'sweep'; *bhīṣaj-* 'heal'; *rajatā-* 'silvery'; *vāja-* 'swiftness'; *ṛjipyā-* 'going straight'.

a. It is uncertain whether *j* represents an old or a new palatal in the following words:

1. because the comparative evidence is conflicting: *vi-jāman-* 'related'; *jū-* 'hasten'; *jyā-, jinditi* 'overpower'.

2. because the Vedic and comparative evidence is insufficient: *ubj-* 'coerce'; *huj-* (AV.) 'hum'; *jīñjat-ī-*, pres. part., of uncertain meaning (c. λ.); *jārate* 'approaches'; *jāhamāna-* 'panting'; *jihmā-* 'transverse'; *dhvāj-, dhvajā-* 'banner'; *paṣ-* 'be rigid' (in *śpa ... pāpaje* 'started back'); *pūjana-* 'honouring'; *baṣā-* a kind of plant; *bija-* 'seed'; *mūñja-* 'sedge'.

b. Irregular *j*.—1. As the two kinds of *j* were indistinguishable in pronunciation, a guttural sometimes intruded among the old palatals owing to the analogy of the new palatals; thus from *bhīṣaj-* 'heal', *bhīṣāk-tama-*, spv., *bhīṣāk-ti*, 3. sing. pres., *a-bhīṣnak*, 3. sing. impf. (like *anak-ti* from *añj-* 'anoint'); from *mṛj-* 'wipe': *nl-mṛg-ra-* 'attached', *apā-mūrgā-* (AV.) a kind of plant, *vi-mṛg-vart-* (AV.) 'cleanly'; from *ṣṛj-* 'discharge', *asṛg-ram, asṛgran, āsasṛgram, sasṛgmāhe* (SV.) beside *sasṛgmāhe*; from *jj-* 'grow old', *jāgāra* (AV.) beside *iajāra* (AV.).

2. The guttural beside the palatal may be due to IE. dialectic variety in *gn-* 'woman' beside *jan-* 'beget'; *gm-ds* beside *jm-ds* 'of the earth'; *bhārgas-* 'splendour', *bhṛgu-* a name, beside *bhṛṅj-* 'shine'.

3. In *jyānti-* 'light', *jy* seems, by an old Prakritism, to represent *dy*, as the word is probably derived from *dyut-* 'shine'.

4. The media aspirate *jh* occurs only in one form, *jājñhat-ī-* (RV.), a pres. part. probably meaning 'laughing' as an epithet of lightning (a metaphor connected with lightning elsewhere also in the RV.); it appears to be derived, by an old Prakritism, from *has-* 'laugh': *jhjh* probably for *jjh* here = IE. *gah*, which otherwise would become *ḷḷ*, as in *jāḷḷat-*, part., 'laughing'.

42. The cerebrals.—The designation given to these sounds by the native phoneticians⁶, *mūrdhanya* 'produced in the head', indicates that they were pronounced at the highest point in the mouth nearest the (upper part

¹ In which only forms with *r* occur; cp., however, HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 33, 393.

² The only instance of a new palatal (*r j h = k ḡ ḡh*) before *ūr* (= IE. *r*) is *carcūryā-māna-* (RV. x). For some more or less doubtful examples of old palatal *j*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 137 b note.

³ Op. cit. I, 137 c, note.

⁴ The other two old palatals *ś* and *h* will be dealt with below in their alphabetical order: 54, 58.

⁵ The Kashmir Ms. of the RV. reads *jājñhatīr* for *jājñhatīr* (v. 52^b): SCHEFFTLOWITZ, WZKM. 21, 86.

⁶ See RPr. I. 19; APr. I. 32; TPr. II. 37.

of the) head. They are described by the Prātisākhya as pronounced by turning the tip of the tongue up to the roof of the mouth and bending it backwards. They were therefore pronounced farther back in the mouth than the palatals. This is also their pronunciation at the present day in India. An indication that it was such even in Vedic times is the fact that *ḍ* is sometimes found in the later Saṃhitās interchanging, between vowels, with *ṛ* (which itself interchanges with *r*), and that in the RV. itself *ḍ* *ḍh* become *ṛ* *ṛh* between vowels. It is also to be noted that the Greeks reproduced *ḍ* not only with *δ*, but also with *ρ*². The cerebrals, however, were a specifically Indian product, being unknown in the Indo-Iranian period³. They are still rare in the RV., where they occur medially and finally only. According to most scholars, they are due to aboriginal, especially Dravidian, influence⁴. As a rule, they have arisen immediately after *ṣ* or an *r* sound from dentals. But before consonants and finally they may represent the old palatals *j* *ś* *h*.

a. The voiceless cerebrals *t̪* *th* take the place of the dentals *t* *th* after *ṣ* (= *s*, *ś* or *j*); e. g. *vṛṣ-ṣi-* 'rain' (suffix *-ṣi*); *duṣ-ṣūra-* 'invincible' (= *duṣ-tūra-*); *nākiṣ-te* (= *nākiṣ-te*); *vāṣ-ṣi-* 'wishes' (= *vāṣ-ti-*); *mṛṣ-tā-* 'cleansed' (= *mṛj-tā-*)⁵. Similarly the voiced cerebrals *ḍ* *ḍh* take the place of the dentals *d* *dh* after **z* (= *s* or old palatal *j*, *h*), which has disappeared⁶; e. g. *nṛḍā-* 'nest' (= IE. *nīdā-*); *dā-dhī-* 'ill-disposed' (= *duṣ-dhī-*); *ṛḍ-* 'I worship' (**i-ḍ-* = *ij-d-* for *yaj-d-*); *dr̪hā-* 'firm' (= *drh-tā-*). The preceding voiced sibilant **z* (= *ś* and *ṣ*) has (instead of disappearing) itself become *ḍ* in *didīḍ-dhī* (from *dis-* 'show') and *vivid-dhī* (from *viṣ-* 'be active')⁷.

a. When the dental here was immediately followed by an *r* sound, the cerebralization seems originally to have been stopped. Hence *dr̪hrā-* (= *drh-trā-*), beside *dr̪hā-* (= *drh-tā-*) 'firm'; and though *ṣr* occurs several times in the RV.⁸, the *r* seems to have been dropped in pronunciation, as the only stems ending in *-ṣrā-* which show a case-form with *n*, do not cerebralize it: *ūṣrānām* and *rāṣrānām*, as if no *r* preceded. In TS. I. 2. 5⁹, *r* is actually dropped after *ṣ* in *tvāṣṣimati-* 'accompanied by Tvāṣṣri'.

b. In several instances a cerebral appears by an evident Prakritism, in place of a dental originally preceded by an *r* (or *l*) sound; thus *vī-kaṣṭa-* 'monstrous', beside *kr-tā-* 'made'; *kāṣṭā-* 'depth', beside *kar-tā-* 'pit'; *avaṣṭā-* (SV. VS.) 'pit', beside *av-ṣr-* 'down'¹⁰; and as shown by comparative evidence, *kāṣṭuka-* 'sharp'; *kāṣṭayati-* 'singes'; *kēvaṣṭa-* 'pit'; *jāḍhu-* 'dull'; *kūṣṭā-* (AV. TS.) 'homeless'. In the following words, though cognate languages show *l*¹¹, the cerebral is similarly based on Indian *r* or *r*¹² + dental: *kāṣṭa-* 'frontal bone'; *jaṣṭhāra-* 'belly'; *taḍṭi-* 'contiguous'; *tāḍa-* (AV.) 'blow'; *plūḍa-* 'lump'; *kūḍa-* (AV.) 'piece'¹⁴.

c. Cerebrals have in some instances supplanted dentals owing to the

¹ Cp. VTr. IV. 143; V. BRADKE, KZ. 28, 298. if from *kr-* 'cut'; but see BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 180 f.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 143, note.

³ Op. cit. I, 144.

⁴ Ibid., note.

⁵ Cp. above 41, 1.

⁶ Cp. above 17, 5.

⁷ See WACKERNAGEL I, 145 a, note (end). Cp. 42 d (p. 34) end.

⁸ In *rāṣṭrā-* 'dominion', *ūṣra-* 'buffalo', *deṣṭrī-* 'Directress'; *dānyra-* 'tooth'; *ṣr-* in *ā-mi-ṣṭa-* 'not shaken off', *tvāṣṭr-mant-* 'accompanied by Tvāṣṭr'; *ṣṭr-* in *kūṣṭr-nāḍ-* 'house-lizard' (?).

⁹ WACKERNAGEL I, 146 a.

¹⁰ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 179.

¹¹ Perhaps also *reṣṭika-kāṣṭa-* 'stirring dust', Indo-arysche Philologie. I. 4.

¹² IE. *l* by rhotacism became *r* in Ilr.

¹³ MS. II. 47 has the reading *jinva rāḍṭ* for that of TS. II. 4. 7¹ *jinva rāḍṭ* and K. XI. 9 *jinva rāḍṭ*. Cp. below p. 70, note 4.

¹⁴ The cerebral could be similarly accounted for in *kāṣṭa-* (RV¹) 'house' (?), if it is related to *kula-* (pa-) 'family', and *kūḷāya-* (AV.) 'nest'. In *daṣṭā-* 'staff' if identical with Gk. *δῶνδρον* (J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 52, note 1) we seem to have an instance of a cerebral for a dental + following *r*, but such a change seems not to be in accordance with the phonetic laws of either Vedic (cp. *dr̪hrā-*, above a, e) or Prakrit. On two other examples of this supposed change, *āṣṭā-*

analogy of similar words with phonetic cerebral. In *padbhī* 'with feet', and perhaps *pād-grbhī*, N., it is due to *padbhī*, inst. pl. of both *pād-* 'look', and of *pād-* 'cord', and to *pādāśa*, *pādāśa* (VS.) 'fetter', which is derived from *pād-* 'cord'. *Vāṣat* and *śrūṣat*, sacrificial calls, probably for *vāṣat* and **śrūṣat* (3. sing. aor. subj. of *vah-* 'convey', and *śru-* 'hear'), seem to owe their cerebral to the influence of the sacrificial call *vāṣ* (VS.), *vāṣ* (TS.), 3. sing. aor. of *√vah-*. The *d* of *purodās-* 'sacrificial cake' (from *dāt-* 'worship'), is perhaps due to *dā-dās-* 'impious' (for *duḥ-dās-*)².

d. In a few instances a cerebral *t* or *ṭ* appears in place of the cerebral sibilant *ṣ*. The phonetic representative of the latter before *bh* would be *ḍ* (parallel to *ḍ* for IE. *s* before *bh*)³, where it appears in *vi-prīḥ-bhī* (VS.) 'with drops'. From here the cerebral spread to the nom. sing., where it appears in *vi-prīṭ* (AV.) 'drop', from *pruṣ-* 'sprinkle', and in *atamāna-dvīṭ* 'hating the arrogant' (from *dvīṣ-* 'hate').

The cerebral *ḍ* also appears before the *-dhi* of the 2. sing. impv. for *s* in *aviḍḍhi* (= *avi-s-dhi*) aor. of *av-* 'favour', and in *vividḍhi* (= *vivis-dhi*), red. aor. of *viṣ-* 'be active'. The phonetic form here would be **viḥ* (= *iḥ-dh*)⁴, instead of which *iḍḍh* appears under the influence, perhaps, of the cognate verbal forms with the short vowel (*aviṣṭu*, *aviṣṭam* etc.).

43. Cerebrals in many instances represent the old palatals *j* *ś* *ṣ*. They are found thus:

a. as final: 1. in nom. sing. m. f.: *bhrīṣ* 'lustre' (*bhrīṣ-*); *rīṣ* 'ruler' (*rīṣ-*); *vīṣat*, N. of a river (*vīṣat-*); *vīṣ* 'settlement' (*vīṣ-*), *spīṣ* 'spying' (*spīṣ-*); *sīṣ* 'overcoming' (*sīṣ-*); *-vāṣ* 'conducting' (*-vāṣ-*), *paṣṭhavāṣ* (VS.), *-vāt* (TS.). The guttural *k* would have been phonetic in this case, as the nom. sing. originally ended in *s*⁵, and even the old palatals became *k* before *s*; the cerebral must here therefore be due to the influence of forms in which it was phonetic.

2. in nom. acc. *sīṣ*, from *sīṣ-* 'six'. As *k* might have been expected (IE. *sveḥs*), the cerebral is doubtless due to forms containing *ṣas-*, as *ṣaṣṭi-* 'sixty', *ṣaṣṭh-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth'.

3. in the first member of a compound, where the final of the nom. sing. appears, in *sīṣ-* 'six', and *pīṣ-* (from *pād-* 'cord', in *pād-bīṣa-*).

4. in 2. 3. sing. aor. for the radical palatal after the endings have been dropped: thus *d-bhrīṣ* (*bhrīṣ-* 'shine'); *yāṣ* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'); *rāṣ* (*rāj-* 'shine'); *naṣ*, *ā-naṣ* (*naṣ-* 'reach'); *i-prāṣ* (*pras-* 'ask' in *pras-nā-* 'question'); *d-vāṣ* (*vah-* 'convey'). Here *ṣ* is phonetic in the 3. pers. only, standing for *s-ṣ* (= IE. *k-ṣ*). It has been transferred to the 2. sing., where *k* would be phonetic (standing

'egg', and *maṇḍāka-* 'frog', see WACKERNAGEL I, 147, note.

¹ Op. cit. I, 148 a (p. 172, top).

² The form *vy-dvāṣ* in MS. III 49 (B.) beside *vy-dvāt*, AV. VIII 121, from *vi-vas-* 'shine forth', is probably due to the influence of *a-vāṣ*, aor. of *√vah-*; but cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien I, 24, note. On the cerebral in *avāṣ-* (SV. VS.), beside *avātā-*, *nadā-* 'reed', beside *nadā-*, and in *kīṣā-* (AV.), *markāṣa-* (VS.) cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 148 b, note.

³ See below 44 a, 3.

⁴ Cp. above 17, 5.

⁵ This phonetic *k* for an old palatal is preserved in the nominatives *-ṣīk* 'seeing' (*ṣīṣ-*), *-ṣṣīk* 'touching' (*ṣṣīṣ-*), *-ṣṣīk* 'desiring' (*ṣṣīṣ-*), *an-dā* 'eyeless' (*-āṣ-*; *at-* 'penetrate');

rīṣ 'sacrificer' (*√yaj-*); *īṣk* (VS.) 'nourishment' (*īṣ-*); *dīk* (AV.) 'region' (*dīṣ-*). For *-ḍīk*, the later Sāphilitās have *-ḍīṣ* also. In the n. nom. the m. f. form appears: *-ḍīk*, *-ṣīṣk*; but as there was no *s* here, it must be assumed that the cerebral was originally used in these neuter forms. In *bhīṣj-* 'healer', the *k* has spread from the nom. to other cases, where it is not phonetic (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 138). The original value of the palatal in *nīṣj-* 'desiring', *uṣṣīṣ-* (AV. VS.), a kind of metre, which have *k* in the nom. is uncertain. The *k* in the nom. *nāḥ* 'night' is probably not based on an old palatal *ś* (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a, note).

for *k-s* = IE. *ks*). The reverse transference of *k* to the 3. sing. has taken place in *prā nak* beside *d-naṣ* ('reach') and in *d-srāk* (from *srj-* 'discharge').

b. before consonant suffixes:

1. the phonetic cerebral appears before case-endings beginning with *bh* in *paq-bhīs*, from *pās-* 'look' and 'cord'; *viq-bhīs* from *vīs-* 'settlement'; *sarāq-bhyas* 'for the bees' (probably from *sardh-*); *śad-bhīs*. In *anaḍid-bhyas* (AV.), from *anaḍ-ōh-* 'bull', *d* appears for *ḍ* by dissimilation; while the guttural of the nom. instead of the phonetic *ḍ* appears in *susandīg-bhīs* (from *dr-* 'see') 'fair to see' and in *dig-bhyās* (AV.) from *dīs-* 'region'.

2. before the *-su* of the loc. pl. *k* is phonetic, and appears in *vik-sū*, from *vīs-*, in spite of the unphonetic *t* of the nom. *viś*. But owing to the influence of the other cases the unphonetic cerebral (in the form of *t* dissimilated for *f*) appears in *anaḍit-su*.

3. before the *dhi* of the 2. sing. impv. the cerebral is phonetic in *dīdīḍdhi*, from *dīs-*²; also in *ḡ* (= *s*), which after cerebralizing the *dh* is dropped, leaving a compensating length, in *tādhi* from *taks-* 'hew' (= IE. *teḡadh-*); also in *ṣō-dhā* 'sixfold' (for *ṣas-dhā*: *as-*, like *as-*, becoming *o* before a voiced mute)³.

c. The cerebrals in the following words have not been satisfactorily explained: *aghāṣ-* and *aghāṣ-* (AV.) 'striker', beside *aghāṣ-* (VS.); *andā-* 'egg'; *itānt-* (x. 171²) 'wandering' (?), *kūṣa-* 'house' (?); *kūṣa-* 'frontal bone'; *kṣpīṣa-* 'fuel' (?); *maṇḍūka-* 'frog'; *īṣa-* (AV.) 'reed'; *rarāṣa-* (VS.), *lalīṣa-* (AV.) 'forehead'. Some others, mostly containing *b*, may be suspected of non-Aryan origin: *bāt*, *baḍāt*, interjections; *baṣurīn-* 'broad' (?), *birīṣa-* 'troop' (?); *bekāṣa-* 'usurer'; *ādāmbara-* (VS.) 'drum'; *khadḡ-* (VS. MS.) 'rhinoceros'; *caṇḍāld-* (VS.) 'outcast'; *markūṣa-* (VS.) 'ape'.

44. The dentals.—The dentals are at the present day pronounced as interdental in India, but according to the Prātiśākhya⁴ they were post-dental, being produced at the root of the teeth (*dantamūla*). They represent IE. dentals, corresponding to similar sounds in the cognate languages. When two IE. dentals met, there seems to have been a tendency to change the first to a sibilant⁵. A survival of this appears in some Vedic combinations of *d* or *dh* with *dh*, which point to an earlier *sdh*, viz. in *de-hī*, beside *dad-dhī* 'give'; *dhe-hī* (for **dhadh-dhī*) 'put'; *kīye-dhā* 'containing much', in all of which examples *e* is based on Ilr. *as*⁶.

a. Change of *s* to *t*. The dental sibilant as the final of roots or nominal stems becomes *t*⁷:

1. before the *s* of verbal suffixes (future, aorist, desiderative) in the three verbs *vas-* 'dwell', *vas-* 'shine', and *ghas-* 'eat'⁸: thus *avātsis* (AV.) 'thou hast dwelt'; *vāt-syati* (MS.) 'will shine'; *jīghat-sati* (AV.) 'desires to eat', and *jīghat-sū-* (AV.) 'hungry'.

² From this phonetic change of *s* to *ḍ* before *bh* is to be explained the stem *iq-* 'refreshment', beside *iq-* (which occurs before vowel endings only); *iq-bhīs* etc. would have led to the formation of *iq-d-*, etc. (inst. sing.) which then gave rise to *iq-d-* as an extension of *iq-*; cp. also *īḍyati* (RV. I. 191⁶ MM., *īḍyati*, AUFRECHT); *īḍyati* (AV.) 'be quiet'.
³ It is not phonetic in *avīḍdhi* and *vivīḍdhi* (see above, 42 d). Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 c (end).

⁴ The cerebral which in this paragraph represents (except before *s*) the old palatals, is based on an Ilr. *sh-* sound *ṣ* *ṣ* (as shown by the Avesta having *ṣ* *ṣ* in the

corresponding forms). This sibilant, Indian *s*, first became the cerebral mute *ḍ* before the *bh*-suffixes (as dental *s* became dental *d*) when it first spread to the nom., and lastly to the loc. pl.

⁵ See RPr. I. 19; TPr. II. 38.

⁶ For example, Gk. *f-ōtōba*, Av. *voistā*, beside *vīt-tha* 'thou knowest'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 152 b.

⁷ Loc. cit., also note.

⁸ See discussion of attempted explanations in WACKERNAGEL I, 153, note.

⁹ All the other roots in *s* add the suffix with connecting vowel *i*.

2. before the *t* of the 3. sing. of a past tense: thus *vy-āvat* (AV.) 'has shone forth', from *vi-vas-*. This is, however, probably not a phonetic change, but is rather due to the influence of the 3. sing. of other preterites with *-t*; **ā-vas-t* having thus, instead of **ā-vās*, become *ā-vāt*¹.

3. before case-terminations beginning with *bh*, and when final (in nom. acc. sing. neut.), in the perf. part. and in four other words: thus *jāgr-vid-bhīs*, inst. pl., 'having awakened', *tatan-rāt*, acc. n., 'having stretched'; *usā-bhīs*, from *usās-* 'dawn'; *mād-bhīs*, *mād-bhyās* (AV.), from *mās-* 'month'; *svā-tarad-bhyas* (VS.), from *svā-taras-* 'self-strong'. The change of *s* to *t* began before the *bh* endings (like that of *s* to *f* or *ḍ*)² and was extended to the nom. acc. sing. neut. in the RV., but not till later before the *-su* of the loc. pl.³

a. Allied to the change of final *s* of roots and stems to *t*, is the apparent change of the medial dental sibilant to *d* in *madā-* (VS.) 'diver', from *māji-* 'dive' (j) = IE. *ḡdā*.

β. The substitution of dentals for other mutes is extremely rare. In consequence of dissimilation, a dental replaces a cerebral in *anābhīsu* and *anābhīsu-bhyas* (AV.), from *anābhī-* 'bull'; in *apdā-* 'firm', beside *apdā-*; in *paṣṭharāt* (TS.) 'four year old bull', beside *paṣṭharāt* (VS.).

A dental seems to take the place of a labial in *ad-bhī-*, *ad-bhyās*, beside *ap-* 'water'; but this is probably due to the analogy of **nābhīs*, *nābhīyās*, beside *nāpāt-* 'grandson'⁴.

45. The labials.---These sounds as a rule represent IE. labials; e. g. *pit-*, Gk. *πίτις*; *bhīra* 'bear', Gk. *φῆρα*. But owing to the great rarity of IE. *b*, there are very few Vedic examples of inherited *b*; e. g. *rāmbate* 'hangs down', Lat. *labi* 'glide'⁵.

a. The number of words containing *b* has been greatly increased by new formations. 1. Thus *b* replaces *p* or *bh* before other voiced mutes: e. g. *pi-bā-and-* 'firm', beside *pad-* 'place'; *rab-dhī-*, beside *rabhante* 'they take'.—2. It is the regular substitute for *bh* in reduplicative syllables or when initial aspiration is lost owing to a following aspirate; e. g. *ba-bhīva* from *bhā-* 'be', *bāhī-* 'arm', *bundh-* 'bind'⁶.—3. In a few examples it takes the place of or interchanges with *v*⁷; thus *pādbīsa-* (RV.), beside *pādvīsa-* (VS.); *bāṇī-* beside *vāṇī-* 'arrow'; *-bāsa-* (AV.) beside *-vāsa-* 'twig'; *bāṇī-* (AV.) 'music' beside *vāṇī-*; *-blīna-* (AV.) 'crushed', beside *-vīna-* (J.)⁸.—4. It further occurs in some new onomatopoeic words; *budbud-* 'bubble'; *bāt* (AV.) interj. 'dash!'; *bata* interj. 'alas!' and *batī-* 'weakling'.—5. In one instance *b* seems to stand for *m* before *r*, in *brū-* 'speak', for **mrū-*⁹, originally appearing most likely after a pause or after a final consonant¹⁰.

b. In many words the origin of *b* is obscure. Most of these probably come from a foreign source: 1. owing to their meaning: *arbudī-* and *ārbuda-*, *balbūthī-*, *śimbara-*, *śvīnda-*, names of foes of Indra and of the Aryans; *bybī-*, a proper name; *bājī-* (AV.), *bālbāja-* (AV.), *bikū-* (AV.), names of plants; *bikura-* and *bakurā-*, a musical instrument.—2. owing to their phonetic form: *kīlbiṣa-* 'sin'; *bīsa-* 'root-fibre'; *būsi-* 'vapour'; *bāt* and *batī*, interjections;

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 154.

² See 42 d (p. 34).

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 155 a, note.

⁴ Op. cit. I, 155 b, note.

⁵ See 42 a a (p. 33).

⁶ The name *in-d-va* and *nīrān-d-* 'husband's sister', are explained by some scholars as containing a Prakritic *d*. See WACKERNAGEL I, 157, note.

⁷ On some words (*sabar-*, *bat-*, *bāta-*, *balbūth-*) in which *b* is regarded as IE. by

different scholars, see WACKERNAGEL I, 158 b, note.

⁸ See above 32 a, 1, 2.

⁹ There is some confusion between forms of *byh-* 'be great', and *vyh-* 'tear'.

¹⁰ On some doubtful or wrong explanations of *b* for *v* (*nī-byh-* 'crush', *bāta-*, *bālbāja-*, *bāt*, *śabāta-*, *śāmba-*), see WACKERNAGEL I, 161, note.

¹¹ Cp. Gk. *βροτός* for **μροτός*.

¹² See WACKERNAGEL I, 159.

bandā- (AV.) 'crippled'; *bārsva-* (VS.) 'socket'; *bāskāya-* 'yearling'; *bāskīha-* (VS.) 'decrepit'; *bīla-* 'cave'; *bīlma-* 'chip'; *birīṣa-* 'troop' (?); *bekaniṣa-* 'usurer'. — 3. for both reasons: *itibīsa-* and *bīsayā-*, names of demons; *alību-* (AV.) 'bottle gourd'. — 4. Other words which if not of foreign origin, are as yet insufficiently explained: *bārjaha-* 'udder'; *bastā-* 'he-goat'; *bisri-* 'quickly'; *-bīra-* 'aperture'; *bija-* 'seed'; *bundā-* 'arrow'; *bṛbūd-uktha-*, an epithet of Indra; *chībuka-* 'chin'; *śabdā-* 'brindled'; *śāmba-*, a weapon of Indra; *balīsa-* (VS. AV.), a disease; *bleṣka-* (K.) 'noose'.¹

46. The nasals. — There are five nasals corresponding, in regard to place of articulation, to the five classes of mutes. Each of them can only appear before a mute of its own class². Before sibilants and *h* the nasals do not appear³; before *l* only *m* is found; *ṅ* does not appear finally any more than the palatal mutes.

a. The guttural nasal *ṅ* regularly appears before gutturals; e. g. *aṅkū-* 'hook'; *aṅkhāya-* 'embrace'; *āṅga-* 'limb'; *jāṅghā-* 'leg'. Before other consonants or as a final, it appears only when a following *k* or *g* has been dropped, as in stems ending with *-ṅc-* or *-ṅj-* and in those compounded with *-dīś-*; e. g. *pratyāñc-*, nom. sing. of *pratyāñc-* 'facing'; *yūñdhi* (= *yūñj-dhi*), 2. sing. impv. of *yuj-* 'join'; *kī-dīñ-*, nom. sing. of *kī-dīś-* 'of what kind?'.⁴

b. The palatal nasal *ṅ* is found only before and after *c* or *j*, and before *ch*; e. g. *vāñcati* (AV.) 'wavers'; *yajñā-* 'sacrifice'; *vāñchantu* 'let them desire'.⁵

c. The labial nasal *m* as a rule represents IE. *m*; e. g. *mātī-* 'mother', Lat. *māter*; *nīman-* 'name', Lat. *nōmen*. It is by far the most common labial sound⁶, its frequency being greater than that of the four labial mutes taken together⁷. By some scholars *m* is regarded as representing an original *n* or *v* in certain instances⁸.

d. The dental nasal *n* as a rule represents IE. *n*; e. g. *nā-* 'not', Lat. *-nū-*; *mānas-* 'mind', Gk. *μένος*. It is the commonest of the nasals, being more frequent than *m*, and about three times as frequent as the other three taken together⁹. The dental nasal also appears instead of dental mutes and of the labial nasal.

α. It appears in place of *d* before the nominal suffix *-na-*, and of *t*, as well as *d*, before the *m* of secondary suffixes; e. g. *ān-na-* 'food' (*ad-* 'eat'); *chīn-nā-* 'cut off' (*chīd-*); *vidyān-mant-* 'gleaming' (*vidyūt-* 'lightning'); *mīn-māya-* 'earthen' (*mīd-* VS. 'earth'). This substitution is in imitation of Sandhi, as *ān in ān* otherwise occur within words; e. g. *udnā* (from *udān-* 'water'), *ātman-* 'breath', *vid-mā* 'we know'.

β. dental *n* regularly appears in place of *m*: 1. before *t*; e. g. from *yam-* 'restrain': *yan-tīr-* and *yan-tī-* 'guide', *yan-trī-* 'rein'; from *śram-* 'exert oneself': *śrāntī-* 'wearied'; 2. before suffixal *m* or *v*; e. g. from *gam-* 'go': *ā-gan-na-*, *gan-vahi*, *jagan-vāp-*⁸; 3. when radically final, originally followed by suffixal *s* or *t*; e. g. from *gam-* 'go', *ā-gan*, 2. 3. sing. aor. (= *ā-gam-s*, *ā-gam-t*); from *yam-* 'restrain', *a-yān*, 3. sing. aor. (= *a-yām-s-t*); from *dām-* 'house', gen. (*pātīr*) *dān*⁹

¹ Op. cit. I, 162.

² Excepting in a few instances when a mute has been dropped, as in *yūñdhi* (= *yūñj-dhi*) which *m* phonetically becomes *n* when final (below 3).

³ Excepting in a few instances *ṅ* or *n* before the *-su* of the loc. pl.

⁴ Excluding the semivowel *r*.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY 50 and 75.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 177, note.

⁷ WHITNEY 75.

⁸ This change of *m* to *n* may be due to the influence of the cognate forms in which *m* phonetically becomes *n* when final (below 3).

⁹ On this explanation of *dān* (denied by FISCHER, VS. 2, 307 ff.) see especially BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 8, in 'Africa' 229-249; also RICHTER, KZ. 36, 111-123, on *dām-pātīr*.

'of the house' (= *dam-s*). Here the change of *m* to *n* was evidently due (as in 1) to the dental *s* or *t* which originally followed¹.

47. The cerebral *n*.—This nasal, like the cerebral mutes, is an Indian innovation. It is for the most part the result of a regular phonetic development, but is also in a number of words due to Prakritic influence.

A. Besides regularly appearing before cerebral mutes, e. g. in *daṇḍá-* 'staff', the cerebral *n* phonetically takes the place of dental *n* after *r r s*²; either immediately preceding, e. g. *nṛṇám* 'of men', *várṇa-* 'colour', *uṣṇá-* 'hot'; or when only vowels³, guttural or labial mutes⁴ or nasals, *y v* or *h*, intervene; e. g. *kṛpána-* 'misery'; *krámana-* 'step'; *ksóbhanu-* 'exciting'. This rule is followed throughout within a word even when a *s* which it contains is produced by Sandhi⁵; thus not only *trpṇkti* (*trp-* 'be satisfied') and *grbhṇkti* (*grbh-* 'seize'), but also *u suvāṇḍh* (for *suvāṇḍh*, IX. 107⁶). In *su-sumná-* 'very gracious' (where the *s* is produced by internal Sandhi), the dental *n* remains probably owing to the influence of the simple word *sumná-*.

a. The cerebralization of dental *n* takes place almost as regularly in verbs compounded with the prepositions *prá* 'before', *párá* 'away', *pári* 'round', *nir* (for *nis*) 'out'; as well as in nominal derivatives of these combinations. But the *r* does not cerebralize *n* when there is tmesis or any other preposition but *ā* intervenes⁶. The cerebralization takes place:

1. in the initial of roots; e. g. *práṇak* (*naṣ-* 'reach'); *parāṇide* (*nud-* 'thrust'); *pra-ṇeti-* 'guide' (*nī-* 'lead'). But *n* remains if *r* or *ks* follows; hence *prānṛtyat* (AV.) from *nṛt-* 'dance', and *pári naksati* 'encompasses' (*naks-* 'reach'). The cerebralization is also absent, without this dissimilating cause⁷, in *abhi prá nonu-* (SV.) beside *abhi prá nonu-* 'shout towards', and in *prá-nabh-*⁸ (AV.) 'burst'.

2. medially or finally in the roots *hnu-* 'hide', *an-* 'breathe', *han-* 'strike' (though not in forms with *ghn*); thus *pári-ḥnuta* (AV.) 'denied'; *prāṇiti* 'breathes'; *nir hanyāt* (AV.), but *abhi-pra-ghnanti*.

3. in suffixal *n* the cerebralization fluctuates: it always takes place in the *n* of the 1. sing. subj., e. g. *nir gamāni*; not always in the pres. base of *hi-* 'impel'; e. g. *prá hinomi*, etc., but *pári-hinomi*⁹; never in that of *mināti* 'diminishes' or of *mināti* 'establishes'; it is also absent in *yáju śkannám* (X. 181¹⁰); but *-trṇna-* (VS.), from *trá-* 'pierce'.

b. In nominal compounds cerebralization takes place less regularly when there is *r r* or *s* in the first member, and *n* in the second:

1. an initial *n* is here nearly always cerebralized in the RV.: e. g. *dur-ṇaman-* 'ill-named'; *prá-ṇapāt-* 'great-grandson'; also *dur-ṇśa-* (AV.) 'un-

¹ The dental *n* may stand for *l* in *carma-mná-* 'tanner' (cp. *cármāni mlāṇi*): BR. According to BENFEY, it is used to fill the hiatus in declension, e. g. *kavi-n-ā*; and in the perf. red. syllable *ān-*, e. g. in *ānācār*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 175 c, note.

² The cerebral mutes and nasals not only do not cerebralize a *n* separated from them by a vowel, but even stop the influence of a preceding *r r s*; thus in reduplication only the first *n* is cerebralized; e. g. *pra-ṇindya* (*nī-* 'lead'); cp. *maṇinā* inst. of *maṇi-* 'pearl' (B. b.). This arises from a disinclination to pronounce cerebral mutes and nasals in successive syllables.

³ On the absence of cerebralization in *úṣṭrānām* and *rāṣṭrānām*, see above 42 a, a.

⁴ In some instances where the mute immediately precedes the *n*, the cerebralization does not take place; e. g. *vṛtra-ghné*; *ksēpnu-* 'springing'.

⁵ In one curious instance, *sānu ... śināh* (beside *śināhi*, from *śi-* 'crush'), the cerebral lost at the end of a syllable has transferred its cerebral character to the beginning of the syllable.

⁶ The preposition *nī* following another containing *r* is mostly cerebralized.

⁷ Cp. above 42 a, a.

⁸ Cp. *tri-nābhi-* 'three-naved', and *vṛṣa-nābhi-* 'strong-naved'.

⁹ Cp. VPr. III. 87; APr. III. 88; IV. 95; TPr. XIII. 12.

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 167 b a.

attainable', *dur-nihita-* (AV.) 'ill-preserved'; but (because a *r* or *ṣ* follows) not in *nr-mṛṇa-* 'manhood', *niṣṭhā-* 'eminent'; *niṣṣidh-* 'gift'; *nirṇij-* 'adornment'; nor (owing to the intervening *gh* and *m*) in *dirghā-niṭha-*, N., *yuṣmā-niṭa-* 'led by you'. The cerebralization is further absent, without any preventing cause, in *akṣā-niḥ-* 'tied to the axle' (beside *pari-niḥ-* 'enclosure'); *tri-nākhā-* 'third heaven'; *tri-nābhi-* 'three-naved', and *vṛṣa-nābhi-* 'great-naved'; *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself' (but AV. *pīnar-nava-*); *dur-niyāntu-* 'hard to restrain'.

2. it is less frequent medially; e. g. *pūrvāhṇā-* forenoon; *aparāhṇā-* (AV.) 'afternoon'; *nr-vāhana-* 'conveying men'; *pra-vāhana-* (VS.) 'carrying off'; *purīṣa-vāhana-* (VS.) beside *purīṣa-vāhana-* (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'; *nr-mūṇas-* 'kind to men', *vṛṣa-manas-* 'manly-spirited', but *ṛṣi-manas-* 'of far-seeing mind'; *dru-ghand-* 'wooden club', but *vṛtra-ghnā-*, dat., 'Vṛtra-slaying'; *su-ṣumud-* 'very gracious'; *su-pra-pānā-* 'good drinking place'; *nr-pāna-* 'giving drink to men'; but *pari-pāna-* 'drink', *pari-pāna-* (AV.) 'protection'; *pary-uhyamāna-* (VS.) beside *pary-uhyamāna-* (V. vak.).

c. Even in a closely connected following word cerebralization may take place after *r* or *ṣ* in the preceding one.

1. This is frequently the case with initial *n*, most usually in *nas* 'us', rarely in other monosyllables such as *nū* 'now', *nū* 'like'²; e. g. *sakhā sū nah* (VIII. 7¹²). Initial *n* occasionally appears thus in other words also; e. g. *pūri netā . . viśat* (IX. 103⁴); *ṛṅga-vṛṣo napāt* (SV., *napāt*, RV.); *asthārī nau* (VS., no RV. TS.); (*gūmad*) *u sū nāsatyā* (VS.) *prā nāmāni* (TS.); *pīnar nayāmasi* (AV.); *suhār nah* (MS.) = *suhār nah*; *vār nāma* (TS. v. 6. 1³).

2. Medial *n* also occurs thus, most often in the enclitic pronoun *ena-* 'this'; e. g. *indra enam*. It occasionally appears in accented words also after final *r*: *gōr oḥṇā* (I. 180⁵); *nīr hīasah* (AV.); *nṛbhīr yemānāh* (SV., *yemānāh*, RV.); *panībhīr vīyāmanāh* (TS.)³. A final *n* is treated as medial und cerebralized thus in *ṛṣi imān* (MS.) and *akṣān dva* (MS.).

B. In a number of words *ṛ* has a Prakritic origin.

a. It is due to a preceding *r* or *ṣ* which has been replaced by *a i u* or has disappeared through assimilation. This is indicated to be the case by the appearance beside them of cognate words containing *r* or *l* sounds: 1. in Vedic itself: thus *āṇl-* 'pin of the axle'; *kāṇd-* 'one-eyed', beside *karṇā-* 'crop-eared' (MS.); *kāṇa-* (AV.) 'particle': *kalā-* 'small part'; *jañjanā-bhāvan* 'glittering': *jāṇl-* 'glow' (*jaṇ-* probably = *jṛn-* from old pres. **jṛnāti*); *pūnya-* 'auspicious': *ṣṛ-* 'fill'; *ṣṇan-* 'bound' (= **ṣṛn-*, **ṣṇan-*) cp. *parpharat* 'may be scatter'; *dhāṇikā-* 'cunnus': *dhāṛakā-* (VS.), id.—2. in allied languages: *gand-* 'crowd'; *pan-* (VS.) 'purchase'; *vāṇj-* 'merchant'⁴; *ānu-* 'minute'; *kūṇāru-* 'having a withered arm'; *pāṇi-* 'hand'; *sthāṇl-* 'stump'⁶.

b. Owing to the predilection for cerebrals in Prakrit, which substituted *ṛ* for *n* throughout between vowels, even without the influence of neighbouring cerebrals, one or two words with such *ṛ* seem to have made their way into Vedic: *maṇi-* 'pearl' (Lat. *monile*); *amūḥ* (MS.) 'at once': *amūḥ* (AV.), id.⁷.

c. The exact explanation of the *ṛ* in the following words (some of which may be of foreign origin) is uncertain: *kāṇva-*, N.; *kalyāṇa-* 'fair';

¹ See above 47 A (end).

² Cp. BENFEY, Göttinger Abhandlungen 20, 14.

³ *agnīr āvena* (I. 128⁵), Pp. *agnīh* | *āvena*, is probably wrong for *agnīh* | *varāṇa*. On the other hand, for *māno rāhāṇā* (I. 32⁶), Pp. *mānaḥ* | *rāhāṇāḥ*, the reading should per-

haps be *māno rāhāṇā*. Cp. LANMAN, Sanskrit Reader, note on this passage.

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL I, 172 a (p. 192, mid.).

⁵ See FRÖHDE, BB. 16, 209.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 172 d, note, 173, note.

⁷ On a few doubtful instances, op. cit. I, 173, note.

kāṅkūḥ, of doubtful meaning; *nicumṭund-*, of doubtful meaning; *niṅk* 'secretly', *niṅṅ-* 'inner'; *paṅt-*, a kind of demon; *bāṅd-* 'arrow'; *vāṅd-* 'udder', 'arrow', 'music'; *vāṅṭ-* 'music'; *vāṅṭar-*, a kind of musical instrument; *śūṅa-* 'red'; *ūṅana-* (SV. VS.), of doubtful meaning; *kūṅapa-* (AV.) 'corpse'; *gūṅd-* 'division' (AV.); *cupūṅikā-* (TS.), N.; *nicūṅkūṅd-* (TS.) and *nicūṅkūṅd-* (TS.), of doubtful meaning; *veṅṅ-* (AV.) 'reed'; *śūṅu-* (AV.) 'hemp'¹.

48. The semivowels.—The semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v* have the peculiarity that each has a vowel corresponding to it, viz. *i* *r* / *u* respectively. They are called *anta(h)sthā* in the Prātiśākhya², the term doubtless meaning 'intermediate', that is, standing midway between vowels and consonants.

a. *y* and *v* regularly represent the final *i* and *u* of diphthongs before vowels, *e* and *ai* becoming *ay* and *īy*, *o* and *au* *av* and *āv*. But while *y* and *v* are regularly written for *i* and *u* before vowels, they were often pronounced as *iy* and *uv*. This is shown by the fact that:

1. *iy* and *uv* are frequently written, beside *y* and *v*, in the inflexion of *i*- and *u*-stems. Thus from *dhi-* 'thought', there are several compounds, in some of which the stem is written with *iy* before vowels, as *itthādhiy-* 'very devout', in others with *y*, as *ādhiy-* 'longing'. Similarly *ju-* 'hastening', regularly appears as *juv-*; but *pu-* 'purifying', *śu-* 'swelling', *śū-* 'bringing forth', always as *pu-*, *śu-*, *śū-*. In the same way, the suffix *-ya* is often written *-iya*; e. g. *āgr-ya-* 'first', beside *āgr-ya-* (VS.); *stv-ya-* and *stv-ya-* 'regular'; *urv-ya-* and *urv-ya-* (VS. TS.) 'widely'. This spelling is characteristic of the TS. Here *iy* is generally written where more than one consonant precede, almost invariably so in the inflexion of stems in *i* and *u*; e. g. *indrāṅiy-ś-* 'of Indra and Agni', *lakṣmīyā* 'by Lakṣmī'; very often also in the suffix *-ya*; e. g. *śtv-ya-* beside *śtv-ya-* (RV.) 'relating to horses'³. Similarly *uv* appears here for *v* in *śūar-* and *śūargā-* 'heaven', beside *śūar* (RV.) and *śūargā-* (RV.); in the inflexion of *tam-* 'body', in some forms of *vayū-* 'wind', *bāhū-* 'arm', *urū-* 'thigh'⁴. In the SV. and MS.⁵ there are two or three other examples of *iy* and *uv* for *y* and *v*⁶.

2. according to metrical evidence, *y* and *v* (though written as pronounced in classical Sanskrit) have a syllabic value in a large number of examples in the Vedic hymns⁷. This was recognized to be the case by the Prātiśākhya¹⁰.

3. *r* appears instead of *r* before the suffix *-ya*; e. g. in *pitr-ya-* 'paternal', from *pitr-* 'father'.

4. *ay ay ey* appear before the suffix *-ya*¹¹; e. g. *saha-śy-yāya*, dat., 'for lying together'. Here *yy* is always to be read as *y-iy* in the RV. (except in Book X and *dakṣāyā-* in I. 129²)¹².

¹ Perhaps from **nirṇaya-*, see BENFEY, GGA. 1858, p. 1627.

² On these words see WACKERNAGEL I, 174 b and 173 d, note.

³ RPr. I. 2; VPr. IV. 101; also Nirukta II. 2. Cp. WHITNEY on APr. I. 30.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 181 a, note.

⁵ Several other examples, loc. cit.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY on TPr. II. 25.

⁷ See WACKERNAGEL I, 181 b, note (p. 201, mid.).

⁸ On the other hand there are some isolated instances of *y* and *v* in the Vedas as compared with *iy* and *uv* in classical Sanskrit; see WACKERNAGEL I, p. 201, bottom.

⁹ In certain words and formatives *y* and *v* are regularly consonantal: in the relative *yā-*;

the present suffix *-ya*; the comp. suffix *-yas*; the gen. ending *-ya*, and the fut. suffix *-ya*; the initial *v* of suffixes; the *uv*- of the 5th class; in *śūa-* 'horse' and *śūāy-*, N. On the other hand the syllabic pronunciation is sometimes used artificially by the poets, as is apparent from the isolation of such occurrences. In some individual words the written *iy* and *uv* have to be pronounced as consonantal *y* and *v*: always in *śūānā-*, pres. part. of *śū-* 'press'; occasionally in *bhīyās-* 'fear', *kiyānā-* 'impelled'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 181 b, note, bottom.

¹⁰ RPr. VII. 22; XVII. 14.

¹¹ See GRASSMANN, Wb. 1711, columns 4 and 5.

¹² WACKERNAGEL I, 181 c γ.

That this syllabic pronunciation was not simply *i* and *u* (with hiatus), but *iy* and *uv*, is rendered probable not only by the spelling *iy uv* beside *y v*, but by the consideration that *y* and *v* are respectively the natural transition from *i* and *u* to a following dissimilar vowel.

b. In the RV. *y* and *v* are pronounced with a syllabic value under the following conditions:

1. almost invariably after a group of consonants and generally after a single consonant if preceded by a long vowel. Thus the ending *-bhya*s and the suffix *-tva* are regularly pronounced as dissyllables after a long vowel, but as monosyllables after a short vowel. Hence, too, *v* is pronounced as well as written in the forms *dauidhv-āt*, *susv-ati*, *susv-ānti*, *juhv-āt*, *jihv-ati*¹.

2. after a single initial consonant at the beginning of a verse, or, within a verse, if the preceding syllable is heavy, in some half dozen words. Thus *tyā*- 'that', and *tuvīm* 'thou' are nearly always pronounced as they are written after a short vowel, but *tyā*- and *tuvīm* at the beginning of a Pāda or after a long vowel. The *y* is pronounced as *iy* in *iyā*- and *iyākā*- 'bowstring' only at the beginning of a verse or after a long vowel, in *iyāyas*- 'mightier' only after a long vowel. Finally *tva*- 'many', must generally be read as *tuvā*- after a long vowel, but almost invariably *tva*- after a short vowel.

3. in the inflexion of the nouns in *i* (nom. sing. *-ī-s*) and *u*², where the stem has (with only six exceptions) to be pronounced with *iy* and *uv*.³

Thus the transition from *iy* and *uv* to *y* and *v* began in the RV., the traditional text writing for the *iy* and *uv* which was pronounced by the poets of that Veda, sometimes *iy* and *uv*, sometimes *y* and *v*.

49. The semivowel *y*.—This semivowel, when not derived from *i* before other vowels (48 a) within Vedic itself, is based either on IE. *j* (= Gk. spiritus asper) or voiced palatal spirant (= Gk. *j*)⁴; e. g. *yā*-s 'who' (6-2); *yaj*- 'sacrifice' (27-105); *yudh*- 'fight' (35-μίνη); but *yāva*- 'corn' (324); *yas*- 'boil' (32); *yuj*- 'yoke' (37-7); *yāsūn*- 'broth' (37-μη). It is probably due to this difference of origin that *yas*- 'boil' and *yam*- 'restrain', reduplicate with *ya*- in the perfect, but *yaj*- 'sacrifice', with *i*-.

a. This semivowel sometimes appears without etymological justification: 1. after roots in *-ā* before vowel suffixes; e. g. *dāy-i*, 3. sing. aor. (*dā*- 'give'), *ā-dhā-y-i* (*dhā*- 'put'), *ā-jñā-y-i* (*jñā*- 'know'); *upa-sthā-y-am*, abs. 'approaching'; *ṛṣabha-dā-y-in*- (AV.) 'bestowing bulls'. This is probably due to the influence of roots in *-ai* (27 a), which have *ā*- before consonants, but *ay*- before vowels; e. g. *pai*- 'drink'; *pā-tave*, *ā-pāy-i*, *pāy-āna*.—2. owing to the influence of closely allied words or formations, in: *yū-y-ām* 'you' (for **yūṣam*, Av. *yūṣem*, cp. *yusmā*-, stem of other cases)⁵ because of *vay-ām* 'we'; *bhū-y-iṣṭha*- 'most' because of *bhū-yas*- 'more'; *bhāve-y-am*, 1. sing. opt. (for **bhāvayam*) because of *bhāves*, *bhāvet*, etc.

b. very rarely in the later Samhitās after palatals: *tirateyē* (AV. xv. 35) var. lect. for *tirāśe*!, dat., 'transverse'; *śnyāptra*- (TS. I. 2. 133); *śnāptra*- (VS.) 'corner of the mouth'.

c. interchanging (after the manner of Prakrit) occasionally with *v*⁶ in

¹ On *vyūṣmā-dū*, *vy-ūṣmā-dū* beside *aforyūṣmā-dū*, see WACKERNAGEL I, 182 a, note.

² See below 375, 382 a.

³ For various explanations of this see WACKERNAGEL I, 182 a, note (p. 205).

⁴ See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 302.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 86 c; 187, note.

⁶ In *khyā*- 'tell', *y* seems at first sight to be interchanged with the *j* of *kjā*-, which occurs in the K. and the MS. (cp. v. SCHROEDER's ed., I, p. XLIII, 7); but the two verbs, though synonymous, have probably a different origin. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 188 c, note.

the Sarpitās of the YV.; e. g. *atatyān-* (VS.) beside *atatyān-* (TS.) 'having one's bow drawn'¹.

50. The semivowel *v*.—This sound was, at the time of the Prātiśākhya², a voiced labio-dental spirant like the English *v* or the German *w*. Within Vedic it is very frequently derived from *u*³. It seems otherwise always to be based on IE. *v*; there is no evidence that it is ever derived from an IE. spirant *v* which was not interchangeable with *u*⁴.

a. This semivowel is sometimes found interchanging with *ū*⁵, with *y*⁶, and according to some scholars, with *m*⁷.

b. In two roots in which *v* is followed by *r*, an interchange of sonantal and consonantal pronunciation, together with metathesis takes place, *vr* becoming *ru*: hence from *dhvr-* 'bend' are derived both *-dhvr-t* and *-dhri-t*, *-dhri-t*, *dhri-ti*; from *hvr-* 'go crooked', *-hvr-t*, *-hvr-ta-*, *-hvr-ti* and *hrv-ya-ti*, 3. sing., *hri-t*, *-hru-ta-*. The root *rudh-* 'grow', may be a similar variation of *vrth-* 'grow'⁸.

51. The semivowel *r*.—The liquid sound *r* must originally have been a cerebral, as is shown by its phonetic effect on a following dental *n* (47 A). By the time of the Prātiśākhya⁹, it was, however, pronounced in other phonetic positions also. Being the consonantal sound corresponding to *r* before vowels (like *y v* to *i u*), it is in that position correspondingly graded with *ā*; e. g. *d-kr-an*, *d-kr-ata*, beside *d-kr-thās*: *d-kr-am*, aor. of *kr-* 'do'; *dr-ū*: *dīr-u* 'wood'.

a. *r* generally corresponds to *r* in the cognate languages, but not infrequently to *l* also; and where these languages agree in having *l*, the latter may in these instances be assumed to be the original sound. As old Iranian here invariably has *r*, there seems to have been a tendency to rhotacism in the Indo-Iranian period¹⁰. Words in which Vedic *r* thus represents IE. *l* are the following:

1. initially: *raḥ-* 'protect'; *ragh-ū-* 'swift'; *raṅhate* 'speeds'; *rah-* 'grasp'; *ramb-* 'hang down'; *rā-* 'bark'; *ric-* 'leave'; *rip-* 'smear'; *rih-* 'lick'; *ruc-* 'shine'; *ruy-* 'break'; *rudh-* and *ruh-* 'grow'.

2. medially: *āṅgāra-* 'coal'; *ajirā-* 'agile'; *aratni-* 'elbow'; *arh-* 'be worthy'; *iyārti* 'sets in motion'; *ir-* 'set in motion'; *ārpā-* 'wool'; *ārmī-* 'wave'; *garitmant-*, a celestial bird; *gardabhā-* 'ass'; *gārbha-* 'womb'; *cakrā-* 'wheel'; *car-* 'move'; *caramā-* 'last'; *cirū-* 'long'; *chardis-* 'protection'; *dhārū-* (AV.) 'sucking'; *paraśi-* 'axe'; *piparti* 'fills'; *pūr-* 'fort'; *pūri-* 'much'; *prath-* 'spread out'; *-prī-t* 'swimming'; *-prula-* part. 'floating'; *pravate* 'waves'; *mūrdhātī* 'neglects'; *-mārsana-* (AV.) 'touching'; *mūrdhān-* 'head'; *varā-* 'sutor', and various forms of *vr-* 'choose'; *vārcas-* 'light'; *śaraṇā-* 'protecting'; *śārman-* 'protection'; *śārkara-* 'gravel'; *śhīra-* (AV.) 'cold season'; *śri-* 'lean'; *śru-* 'hear'; *śrūpi-* 'buttock'; *śar-* in forms of *ṣr-* 'run', and *śarīti-* (VS.) 'flood'; *śarpī-* 'clarified butter'; *śahśra-* 'thousand'; *svār-* 'heaven'; *śārya-* 'sun'; *harit-* and *hārita-* 'yellow'; *hvaṅya-* 'gold'; *hrādāni-* 'hail'¹¹.

¹ Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1852, 114 f.; WEBER, IS. 2, 28; WACKERNAGEL I, 188 c.

² See WHITNEY on Apr. I, 26.

³ See above 48 a.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 196; BRUGMANN, KG. I, 148 and 155.

⁵ See 45 a, 3.

⁶ 49 c. ⁷ 46 c.

⁸ For some other possible instances see WACKERNAGEL I, 18 f, b, note.

⁹ See WHITNEY on Apr. I, 20, 28.

¹⁰ It seems as if the Vedic relation of *r* to *l* could only be accounted for by assuming a mixture of dialects; one dialect having preserved the IE. distinction of *r* and *l*; in another IE. *l* becoming *r* (the Vedic dialect); in a third *r* becoming *l* throughout (the later *Māgadhī*). See BRUGMANN, KG. I, 175, note.

¹¹ See WACKERNAGEL I, 189.

b. *r* appears in place of phonetic *ḍ* (= *ṣ*, Ilr. *ḍ*)¹ as final of stems in *-is* and *-us*, before endings which begin with *bh-*; e. g. *haviṛ-bhis* and *vāpuri-bhis*. This substitution is due to the influence of Sandhi, where *is*, *us* would become *ir*, *ur*. *r* also takes the place of *ḍ* in *trā-* beside *lā-* 'refreshing draught'. In *urubjā-* 'wide open' *r* apparently takes the place of dental *ḍ* (= **ud-ubjā-*), perhaps under the influence of the numerous compounds beginning with *uru-* 'wide', e. g. *uru-jrī-* 'wide-striding'².

c. Metathesis of *r* takes place when *ār* would be followed by *ṣ* or *h* + consonant. Under these conditions it appears to be phonetic, being due to the Svarabhakti after *r* being twice as great before *h* and sibilants as before other consonants³; when a vowel followed the sibilant or *h* (e. g. *darśati-*)⁴, the Svarabhakti was pronounced; but if a consonant followed, *rā* took the place of *ār* + double Svarabhakti. This metathesis appears in forms of *drś-* 'see' and *srj-* 'send forth': *drśtum* (AV.), *drśṣ-* (AV.) 'one who sees'; *sāṃ-srāṣṣ-* 'one who engages in battle', 2. sing. aor. *srās* (= **srāk*)⁵; also in *prīṣ-ṣi-* 'side-horse', beside *pārś-u-* and *pṛṣṣ-* 'rib'; moreover in *brāhman-* 'priest', *brāhman-* 'devotion', beside *barhṣ-* 'sacrificial litter' (from *brh-* or *barh-* 'make big'); perhaps also *drahyāt* 'strongly' (*drh-* 'be firm'). The same metathesis occurs, being, however, very rare and fluctuating, before *ks-*: thus *tvi-mrakṣā-* 'injuring greatly', *mrakṣa-kṣṣvan-* 'rubbing to pieces' (from *mṛj-* 'wipe', or *mṛś-* 'stroke'), but *tirkṣya-*, N.⁶.

52. The semivowel *l*.—The liquid sound *l* is the semivowel corresponding to the vowel *l* (which however occurs only in some half dozen perfect and aorist forms of the root *kṣ-* 'be adapted'). It is pronounced at the present day in India as an interdental; but it must have had a post-dental sound at the time of the Prātiśākhya⁷, by which it is described as being pronounced in the same position as the dentals⁸.

a. It represents IE. *l*⁹ and, in a few instances, IE. *r*. It is rarer in Vedic than in any cognate language except old Iranian (where it does not occur at all)¹⁰. It is much rarer than *r*, which is seven times as frequent¹¹. The gradual increase of *l*, chiefly at the cost of *r*, but partly also owing to the appearance of new words, is unmistakable. Thus in the tenth Book of the RV. appear the verbs *mluc-* and *labh-*, and the nouns *lman-*, *lohita-*, but in the earlier books only *mruc-* 'sink', *rabh-* 'seize', *rōman-* 'hair', *rohita-* 'red'; similarly *dasāṅgulā-* 'length of ten fingers', *hlūdaka-* and *hlūdika-vant-* 'refreshing', beside *sv-aṅguri-* 'fair-fingered', *hradd-* 'pond'. Moreover, while in the oldest parts of the RV. *l* occurs¹² in a few words only, it is eight times as common in the latest parts. Again, in the AV. it is seven times as common as in the RV.¹³; thus for *rap-* 'chatter', *rikk-* 'scratch', *a-śrīrā-* 'ugly', appear in the AV. *lap-*, *likh-* (also VS.), *aślīlā-*. The various texts

¹ Cp. above p. 35, note 3.

² On a supposed parasitic *r* in *chardis-* 'fence', *śājata-* 'adorable', *vihytra-* 'to be borne hither and thither', see WACKERNAGEL 1, 189, note 7.

³ According to the APr. I. 101.

⁴ Cp. above 21 a.

⁵ Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda 83, note 7.

⁶ On the interchange of *rā* and *ar* in *raj-* 'colour', *rajatā-* 'silvery', *rāj-* 'shine', and *aijuna-* 'bright'; *brāj-* 'shine', and *bhārgas-* 'brilliance'; *bhrāty-* 'brother', and *bhārtṛ-* 'husband'; see WACKERNAGEL 1, 190 c, note (end). In *vrajā-* 'fold', *vrahi-* 'ordinance',

śrāj- 'wreath', *ra-* does not stand for *ar*, WACKERNAGEL 1, 190 d, note.

⁷ Cp. FISCHER, BB. 3, 264. An indication that it was not a cerebral is the fact that *l* never occurs (while *r* is common).

⁸ See 44.

⁹ Which, however, is largely represented by *r* also: cp. 51 a.

¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹ See WHITNEY, JAOS. 11, p. XLff.

¹² See ARNOLD, 'L in the Rīgveda', in Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth, 1893, p. 145—148; Historical Vedic Grammar, JAOS. 18, 2, p. 258f.; Vedic Metre p. 37, 3.

¹³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 191 c.

of the YV. also show an increased number of words with *l* as compared with the RV.; thus *babhtuṣṭ-* (VS.) 'brownish' beside *babhrī-* 'brown'; *kītāla-* (VS.) 'potter' beside *carh-* 'pot'. The MS. has a special predilection for *l*; thus *pulitāt* 'pericardium' beside *puritāt* (AV. VS.). The SV. has *pāṃsuh-* 'dusty', for *pāṃsuri-* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

In a certain number of words *r* interchanges with *l* in the same period: thus *purī-* and *pull-* 'much'; *mīrā-* and *mīṣṭa-* 'mixed'; *jargur-* and *jalgu-*, intv. of *gī-* 'swallow'; in the AV.: *gīrā-* and *gīḷa-* 'swallowing', *ksudrā-* and *ksullakī-* (= **ksudhī-ka*) 'small', *tiryā-* and *tīlī-* 'sesamum'.

The above considerations render it probable that the Vedic dialect was descended from an Indo-Iranian one in which rhotacism had removed every *l*. But since the oldest parts of the RV. contain some words with IE. *l*, and in its later parts as well as in the other Samhitās *l* predominantly interchanges with *r* representing IE. *l*, there must have been another Vedic dialect in which IE. *r* and *l* were kept distinct; from the latter *l* must have found its way into the literary language to an increasing extent².

b. In the oldest parts of the RV. there are no verbal forms which preserve IE. *l*, and only a few nouns, viz. (*u*)*lokī-* 'free space', *ślōka-* 'call', and *-mīṣṭa-* 'mixed'. A few other words containing *l* have no IE. cognates and may therefore be of foreign origin: *nīla-* 'dark-coloured', *jāḷāsa-* 'healing', *ślviṣā-* 'fertile', and the denominative *tilvīṣyāte*.

In the latest parts of the RV. *l* represents IE. *l* in: 1. verbal forms and primary derivatives: *lebhire*, *lebhand-*, *labāhd-*, from *labh-* 'grasp', *layantām*, from *li-* 'cling'; *alipsata*, aor. of *lip-* 'anoint'; *lobhīyantr-* part. from *lobh-* 'desire'; *calā-calī-*, *-cācall-* 'swaying' (also *pūṃs-cali-* 'whore', AV. VS.), from *cat-* 'move'; *plāvate*, *plāvā-* 'boat', from *plu-* 'swim'.

2. the following nouns: *logā-* 'clod'; *ślūka-* 'owl'; *ulki-* 'meteor'; *ślba-* 'membrane'; *kaṭāśa-* 'jar'; *kahi-* 'small portion'; *kīla-* 'time'; *kalyāṇa-* 'fair'; *kīla-* 'family'; *gīḷdī-* 'trickling' (VS. *gal-* 'drop'); *palitī-* 'grey'; *pūḷa-* (in compounds) 'much'; *phalgvā-* 'weakly'; *bāla-* 'strength'³; *ball-* 'tax'; *māla-* 'dirty garment'; *salilī-* 'surging'; *hlādaka-* and *hlādīkāvant-* 'refreshing'; also words with the suffix *-la*⁴, especially with diminutive sense; e.g. *vṛṣa-lī-* 'little man', *śiśū-la-* 'little child'⁵.

a. In the later Samhitās *l* represents IE. *l* in the following words: *-kulva-* (VS.) 'bald'; *kṛmān-* (AV. VS.) 'lung'; *gīḷhana-* (AV.) 'dicing'; *glīu-* (AV. VS.) 'excrement'; *tulī-* (VS.) 'balance'; *palīva-* (AV.) 'chaff'; *pūla-sti-* (VS.) 'smooth-haired'; *plthān-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *phalgū-* (VS.) 'reddish'; *laghū-* (AV.) 'light'; *lap-* (AV.) 'prate' (= *rap-* RV.).

c. On the other hand, *l* to some extent represents IE. *r* also⁶.

1. In the RV. this value of *l* is rare and occurs only in the neighbourhood of labial sounds (*u, o, p, m, v*): *ulīkhala-* 'mortar' beside *urh-* 'broad'; *jalgu-*, intv. of *gī-* 'swallow'; *plīṣi-*, a kind of insect, beside *pruṣ-* 'squirt'; *klīśa-* 'call' beside *krōśant-* 'calling', *krōśand-* 'crying'; *-lohītā-* 'red', *lodhā-*, a kind of red animal, beside *rohī-*, *rohītā-* 'red'; *lopāśa-* 'jackal', *lap-* (AV.) 'break', beside *rup-* 'break'; *śpala-* 'upper millstone' beside *upāri* 'above'; *jālī-* 'muttering'; *plīpāla-* 'berry'; *mlā-* 'fade' beside *mṛ-* 'die'; *vald-* 'cave' beside *vārate* 'encloses'.

2. In the later Samhitās the use of this *l* = IE. *r* extends further than in the RV.; thus *ślam* (AV.) 'enough'; *lī-* (VS.) 'tear'; *ri-*; *-luñc-* (VS.)

¹ L. V. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 196.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 192 b, and cp. above p. 42, note 10.

³ Cp. above p. 36, note 10.

⁴ See ARNOID, Festgruss an Roth 147.

⁵ See WACKERNAGEL I, p. 218.

⁶ Cp. above 51 a.

'tearing out'; *babhlusā-* (VS.) 'brownish'; *babhrī-* 'brown'; *sthālī-* (AV. VS.) 'gross'; *sthūrā-*¹.

3. In a few instances *l* represents IE. *r* by dissimilation; thus *darśi* *ātarti*, intv. of *r-* 'go' (= *urar-*); *prā tilāmi* (VS.) = *prā tirāmi* 'I promote'².

d. In the later Saṃhitās *l* occasionally appears in place of phonetic *ḍ*³ between vowels; and that this change could easily arise, is shown by the fact that *l* regularly appears instead of *ḍ* between vowels⁴. This substitution is regularly found in the Kaṇva recension of the VS.; e. g. *ile* = *lḍe* (RV. *ile*); *āsālā* = *āsūlā* (RV. *āsālā*). Other instances are *ilīyati* (AV.) 'stands still', for **ilḍyati* (RV. *ilayati*)⁵ from *lḍ-* 'refreshment'; *ilā-* (MS.) 'refreshment', byform of *lḍā-* (RV. *lḍā-*); *mīl-* (AV.) 'close the eyes'⁶, connected with *mīṣ-* 'wink'.

In the later Saṃhitās *l* is also found for *ḍ* between vowels when the final of a word (like *l* in RV.): thus *turāśāl* *ūyuktūśāl* (VS.) for *turāśāḍ* 'overpowering quickly'; *phāl* *lī* (AV.) for *phāḍ* (AV.); probably also in *śāl* *lī* (AV.) and *bāl* *lī* (AV. TS.), cp. RV. *bāl* *līthā*.

e. In at least one word *l* stands for dental *ḍ*: *kyulla-kā-* (AV.) 'small', for **kyullḍ-*, byform of *kyudrī-* (VS.) 'small'.

f. Sometimes *l* has an independent Indian origin in onomatopoeic words; thus *alālā-bhāvant-* 'sounding cheerfully'.

g. On the other hand there are many words in which a foreign origin may be suspected; such are, besides those already mentioned in 45 b, the following: *kaultitar-*, N.; *ālīna-* and *bhālānds-*, names of tribes; *lbuja-* 'creeper'; *lavaṇā-* (AV.) 'salt'.

53. The sibilants.—The three sibilants, the palatal *ś*, the cerebral *ṣ*, and the dental *s*, are all voiceless. Even apart from the regular phonetic change of *ś* or *ṣ* to *s*, and of *s* to *ś*, both the palatal and the dental are further liable, in many words and forms, to be substituted for each of the other two.

a. Assimilation of *s* is liable to occur

1. initially, when *ś* or *ṣ* appear at the end of the same or the beginning of the next syllable. This is the case in *śāśūra-* 'father-in-law'; *śvaśrī-* 'mother-in-law'; *śmāśru-* and **śmāśuru-* 'beard'; *śāśvant-* 'ever-recurring'; in *śāṣ-* 'six' (Lat. *sex*), and its various derivatives, *śāṣ-ti-* 'sixty', *śodhā* (= **śaṣ-dhā*) 'sixfold', and others⁷.

2. initially *s* in the RV. almost invariably becomes *ś* in *sah-* 'overcoming', when the final *h* (= Ilr. *š*), with or without a following dental, becomes cerebral: nom. sing. *śāt* 'victorious', and the compounds *janā-śāt*, *turā-śāt*, *purā-śāt*, *prānā-śāt*, *vīrā-śāt*, *vṛthā-śāt*, *rā-śāt* (VS.), *viśvā-śāt* (TS. AV.); also *ś-śāḍhā-* 'invincible'. The only exceptions are *sādhā*, nom. sing. of *sādhy-* 'conqueror', and the perf. part. pass. *sādhā-* (AV.)⁸. The *ś* of the nom. has been transferred to forms with *-sāh-*, when compounded with *prānā-*, though

¹ In B. passages of the TS. and MS. are found intv. forms of *lī* 'sway': *ālīyati*, pf. *ālīyā*, also the adv. *ālīyā* 'quiveringly'. In similar passages the prepositions *prā* and *parā* are affected: *prāñkhā-* (TS.) = *prāñkhā-* 'swinging'; *prākṣārayan* (MS. II. 102) 'they caused to flow' (*√kṣar-*), *palā-j-ata* (TS.) 'led' (*parā-i-*). Some uncertain or wrong explanations of *alātryā-* 'miserly', *ulākā-* 'wide space', *gal-* 'drop', with *l* = IE. *r*, are discussed by WACKERNAGEL I, p. 221, top.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 193 b, note.

³ See above 51 b.

⁴ See above p. 5, note 5.

⁵ According to BÖHTLINGK, *ilīyati* is wrong for *ilḍyati*. Cp. above p. 35, note 2.

⁶ A form with the original *ḍ* is found in *mūdam* (K.) 'in a low tone'.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 197 a, note.

⁸ A B. passage of the MS. has *sādhāi* (I. 83).

there is no phonetic justification for the cerebral (as the *s* is preceded by *ā*): thus *prtanā-sāham*, gen. *prtanā-sāhas*, *prtanā-sāhya* 'victory in battle', but *prtanā-sāham* (SV.). When compounded with *dyumnā*, *dhanvā*, *rathā*, *vibhvā*, *saddā*, the phonetic form *-sāh-* remains¹.

3. Medial *s* has been assimilated to initial *ś* in *śabā* 'hare' (IE. *kasó*-²).

b. Without assimilation³, *s* or *ś* has been changed to *ś*, mostly under the influence of allied words, in the following: *kēśa* 'hair': *kēśara* (AV. VS.); *śākrī*⁴ 'excrement'; *śubh-* 'adorn' (probably owing to *śudh-* 'purify'); *śūśka* 'dry' (Itr. *sūśka*-), *śūśyati* 'dries'; *śru-* 'flow', *śrāvā-* 'stream': *śru-*, *śrāvā-*; *śvas-*, *śu-* 'breathe'; *śvātra-*, *śvātrya-* 'dainty': *śvād-* 'taste'⁵; *pyāśīśmahī* (AV.): *pyāśīśmahī* (VS.), aor. (534) of *pyā-* 'swell'; *āśīśha-hān-* (VS. TS.) 'striking very swiftly' beside *āśīśha-dāvan-* (TS.) 'giving very rapidly' (from *āśīm* 'quickly', lit. 'burningly'), owing to *āśīśha-* 'very swift'; *kēśa* 'receptacle' (in the later language often also *kośa-*); *kūśmā-* (VS.) beside *kūśmā-* (MS.), a kind of demon; *ruśati-* (AV.) 'angry', beside *ru-* 'be angry', probably owing to *rūśant-* 'shining'.

a. On the other hand, *s* occasionally appears in the later Samhitās, chiefly AV., for *ś*: thus *asyate* (AV. v. 19²): *at-* 'eat'; *vāśi-* (AV.) 'pointed knife': *vāśi-*; *sāru-* (AV.) 'arrow': *hāru-*; *arus-sāru-* (AV.), a kind of wound preparation: *śrū-* 'boil'; *saspijāra-* (TS.) 'ruddy like young grass', owing to *sasā-* 'grass', for *śaspijāra-* (VS. MS.) = *śa* | *śa* | *pijāra-*⁶.

54. The palatal *ś*.—This sibilant is a palatal both in origin (= Itr. *ś*), as indicated by cognate languages, and in employment, as its combination with other consonants shows. Thus it represents an old palatal in *śatām* 'a hundred', *śśā-* 'horse', *śśvān-* 'dog', *śru-* 'hear'. In external Sandhi it regularly appears before voiceless palatal mutes, e. g. *Indras ca*. At the present day the pronunciation of *ś* in India varies between a *śh* sound (not always distinguished from *ś*) and a *s* sound followed by *y*. It is to some extent confused with the other two sibilants even in the Samhitās, but it is to be noted that here it interchanges much oftener with *s* than with *ś*⁷.

The aspirate of *ś* is *śh*⁸; its media is represented by *j* and when aspirated by *h*. These four form the old palatals (Itr. *ś*, *śh*, *ś*, *śh*), representing IE. *ḷ* *ḷh* & *ǵh*. The exact phonetic character of the latter is doubtful, but it is probable that they were dialectically pronounced in two ways, either as mutes (guttural⁹ or palatal) or as spirants, the *centum* languages later following the former, the *satem* languages the latter¹⁰.

a. In external Sandhi *ś* regularly appears for *s* before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś*¹¹. It also stands for *s* internally in *paśāt* and *paśātāt* 'behind'¹², and in *vśśādi* 'hews' beside *vśśāś-* 'lopping'.

b. Before *s* the palatal sibilant when medial is regularly replaced by *k*, and sometimes also when final; e. g. *dśk-śase* and *-dśk*, from *dśś-* 'see'. Otherwise *ś* very rarely interchanges with *k* or *c*; thus *rūśant-* 'brilliant', beside *ruc-* 'shine'; perhaps *kāru-* 'ear': *śru-* 'hear'¹³. There are also a few words

¹ WACKERNAGEL I, 197 b.

² See, however, op. cit. I, 197 c, note.

³ For *ś* and *ś* are strictly distinguished in the RV.; cp. op. cit. I, 197 d a, note (end).

⁴ Cp., however, op. cit. I, 197 d a.

⁵ Op. cit. p. 226, top.

⁶ See op. cit., p. 226 β; and below 64, I a.

⁷ On the relation of *ś* to the corresponding sounds in cognate languages, see WACKERNAGEL I, 200 a; BRUGMANN, KG. I, 233.

⁸ See above 53, 3.

⁹ Cp. above 40.

¹⁰ The fact that *ś* before *s* regularly becomes *k* and sometimes also when final, seems to favour the assumption of the guttural pronunciation.

¹¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 200 b.

¹² See below, Sandhi, 78.

¹³ Cp. Av. *paśūt* and *paśca*.

¹⁴ For some words in which such an assumption is doubtful or wrong, see WACKERNAGEL I, 201 a.

with *ś* to which *ḷ* corresponds in the *sālem* languages; such are *krus-* 'cry'; *āśman-* 'stone'.¹

55. The dental *ṣ*.—This sound as a rule represents IE. dental *s*; e. g. *sa* 'he', Gothic *sa*; *āśva-s* 'horse', Lat. *equo-s*; *āśti*, Gk. *ἄστι*. In the combinations *ts* and *ps*, when they stand for etymological *dhs* and *bhs*, the *s* represents IE. *sh*; as in *gṛtsa-* 'adroit' (from *gṛdh-* 'be eager') and *dīpsa-* 'wish to injure' (from *dabh-* 'injure'), where the final aspirate of the root would have been thrown forward on the suffix, as in *bud-dhi-* from $\sqrt{\text{budh-}}$, and *-rab-dha-*, from $\sqrt{\text{rabh-}}$.²

The dental *ṣ* is in Sandhi frequently changed to the palatal *ś*³, and still more frequently to the cerebral *ṣ*⁴.

56. The cerebral *ṣ*.—The cerebral sibilant is altogether of a secondary nature, since it always represents either an original palatal or an original dental sibilant.

The cerebral *ṣ* stands for a palatal before cerebral tenues (themselves produced by this *ṣ* from dental tenues) in the following two ways:

a. for the palatal *ś* (= Ir. *ś*) and *j* (= Ir. *ǵ*); e. g. *nas-tā-*, from *nas-* 'be lost'; *mṛṣ-ja*, 3. sing. mid., from *mṛj-* 'wipe'; *prṣ-tā-* 'asked', *prṣ-tum* 'to ask', from *pras-* 'ask' in *pras-nā-* 'question' (present stem *prcchi-*⁵ with inchoative suffix *-chā*). In some instances it is shown by the evidence of cognate words to represent *ś*; thus *aṣṭāu* 'eight' beside *aṣṭi-* 'eighty'; *prṣṭi-* 'rib', *prāṣṭi-* 'side-horse', beside *pṛṣṭu-* 'rib'; *āṣṭrā-* 'goad', beside *āśāni-* 'thunderbolt'; possibly also *apṛṣṭhā-*⁶ 'barb', beside *āśman-* 'bolt'.

b. for the combination *ks*, which in origin is *ś + s*⁷; e. g. *caṣ-ṣe*, *a-caṣṭa*, from *caṣ-*⁸ 'see'; *a-taṣ-ja*, *taṣ-tā-*, *tāṣ-ṣr-*⁹, beside *takṣ-* 'hew'; *nir-aṣ-ja-* 'emasculated' beside *nir-akṣ-nu-hi* (AV.) 'emasculate'; also aorist forms like *ā-yaṣ-ja*, 3. sing. mid. from *yaj-* 'sacrifice', beside 3. sing. subj. *yāḷṣ-at*; *ā-sṛṣ-ja*, 3. sing. mid., beside *ā-sṛkṣ-ata*, 3. pl. mid. from *sṛj-* 'emit'. As in all these instances *ks* = *ś + s* or *j* (= *ś*) + *s*¹⁰, loss of *s* before *t* must here be assumed, the remaining *ś* or *j* combining with the following *t* as usual to *ṣṭ*¹¹. A similar origin of *ṣ* is indicated by the evidence of cognate languages in *ṣaṣ-ṭhā-* (AV.) 'sixth', where the final *s* has been dropped (as in Gk. *ἕκ-τος*), while retained in Lat. *sex-tus*; also in *ṣaṣ-ṭi-* 'sixty', *ṣoḍhā* 'sixfold', *ṣoḍaśi-* (AV.) 'sixteenth'. It has possibly the same origin in *aṣṭhivānt-* 'knee'¹².

57. The cerebral *ṣ* stands for dental *s* after vowels other than *a* or *ā*, and after the consonants *k*, *r*, *ṣ*.

i. Medially this change regularly¹³ takes place, both when the *s* is radical — e. g. *ti-ṣṭhāti*, from *sthā-* 'stand'; *su-sup-ur*, 3. pl. perf. from *svap-*

¹ This seems to point to fluctuation in the IE. pronunciation; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 201 b.

² See WACKERNAGEL 1, 210.

³ Cp. above 54 a, and below 78, 2.

⁴ See below 56.

⁵ Cp. 40.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 202 b; and below p. 48, note γ.

⁷ Cp. op. cit. 1, 116 b.

⁸ Cp. Av. *caiman-*.

⁹ On the origin of *kaṣṭr-* = **kaiṣṭr-*, see WACKERNAGEL 1, 202 c, note.

¹⁰ Though *ks* is regularly based on a palatal or a guttural + *s* in the Vedic language, there are some words of IE. origin in which the *ś* appears to represent not *s* but a dental

spirant tenuis (*ḍ*) or media (*ḍh*). In a few words, *kṣip-*, *kṣu-*, *kṣubh-*, *kṣurā-*, the sibilant comes first in the cognate languages: see WACKERNAGEL 1, 209.

¹¹ Similarly, when *kt* = guttural + *s* is followed by *t*, the *s* disappears and the guttural combines with the *t*; thus from *ghas-* 'eat', *gḍha-* (= *gh-ta-*); from *jakṣ-* 'eat', *jaḡdhā-* (= *jaḡkṣ-ta-*); *jaḡdhvā-* (= *jaḡkṣ-ti-dhvā-*); from *bhāj-* 'share', aor. *ā-bhāk-ta* (= *abhaj-s-ta*), beside *ā-bhāk-ṣi*.

¹² Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte 2, 103.

¹³ The change does not take place in some forms of the perfect of *si-* 'pour': *siti-* (II. 32^{rs}), *sicitur* (II. 24¹), beside *sijicatur*.

'sleep'; *us-ānd-*, part., from *vas-* 'wear'; *ṛṣa-bhā-* 'bull'; *ukṣān-* 'ox'; *varṣā-* 'rain' — and when the *s* is suffixal; as in the superlative suffix *-iṣṭha*; in the loc. pl. suffix *-su*, e. g. *agnī-su*, *aktī-su*, *nī-su*, *vik-śū*, *gīr-śū*, *haviṣ-su*; in the *s*-suffix of the aorist, e. g. *yāḥ-s-at*, from *yaj-* 'sacrifice'.

The change is phonetic even when Anusvāra intervenes between *ṣ* and *s*; e. g. *piṣṣānti* from *piṣ-* 'crush'; *haviṣsi* 'offerings' from *haviṣ-*; *akṣṣāṃsi* 'eyes' from *akṣṣus-*. The *s*, however, remains in forms of *hims-* 'injure', *nims-* 'kiss', and *puṃs-* 'man', being probably transferred from the strong forms *hindāsti*, *pūm-ṛṣam*, etc.

α. The *s*, however, remains when immediately followed by *r* or *ṛ*, owing to a distaste for a succession of cerebrals; e. g. *ṛṣāḥ*, *ṛṣāḥis*, *ṛṣāḥam*, f. of *ṛṣ-* 'three'; *ṛṣāḥ gen.*, *ṛṣī* and *ṛṣām*, loc. (beside *ṛṣar*, voc.), *ṛṣā-* 'unautinal'; *ṛṣā-* 'bull'; *ṣarṣṣā-* 'creeping'. Owing to the influence of forms with *sr*, the *s* further remains in the syllable *sar*, instead of *ṣar*, as in *śarāṇi*, *śarāṇi* (beside *śarāṇe*, *śarāṇe*, *śarāṇe* etc.). In *kṣarā-* (AV. VS.) 'hair', the retention may be due to the *r* having originally followed the *s* immediately². The *s* also remains unchanged in the combinations *śir*, *śār*, *ṣar*, *ṣṛ*, *ṣṣār*; e. g. *śirīḥ*, from *śir-* 'strew'; *ṣṣṣar*, from *ṣṣṣ-* 'touch'³. It remains in the second of three successive syllables in which *s-s-s* would be expected; thus *yāṣṣṣāḥ*, beside *ayāṣṣam*, from *yā-* 'go'; *śiṣṣāḥ*, beside *śiṣṣāḥi*, from *śiṣ-* 'follow'.

β. Words in which *s* otherwise follows *r* or any vowel but *ū*, must be of foreign origin; such as *śiṣā-* 'root fibre'; *būṣā-* 'vapour'; *ḥṣāya-*, a demon; *ṣṣā-* 'clef'; *kṣṣā-* 'praiser'; *ḥṣṣā-* (VS.) 'socket'; *kṣṣā-* (AV.), a kind of demon; *māṣā-* (AV.) 'pestle' (for *mīṣā-*?); *śiṣā-* (AV. VS.) 'lead'⁴.

γ. The cerebral *ṣ* is sometimes found even after *ū*, representing an early Prakritic change in which *as* is based on *ṛṣ* and *ās* on *arṣ*. Instances of this are *kuṣāli* (AV.) 'scratches'; *ṣṣṣarāḥ* (VS. TS.) 'young bull' (lit. 'carrying on the back') and *ṣṣṣarāḥ* 'young cow', beside *ṣṣṣā-* 'back'; *ṣṣṣā-* 'stone'; *ḥṣṣā-* (VS.) 'barking'⁵. There are besides several unexplained instances, doubtless due to foreign influence or origin; such are *ḍṣṣā-* 'more accessible'; *kaṣṣā-*, N.; *aiṣā-* 'blue jay'; *caṣṣā-* 'knob'; *jūṣṣā-* 'remedy'; *baṣṣā-* 'yearling'; *baṣṣā-* (VS.) 'decrepit'; *māṣā-* 'bean' (AV. VS.); *śiṣṣā-* (VS.) 'young grass'⁶.

2. Initially¹¹ the change regularly takes place, in the RV.:

a. in verbal compounds after prepositions ending in *i* or *u*, and in nominal derivatives from such compound verbs; also after the preposition *nis* 'out'; e. g. *nī śīda* (x. 98⁴); *ḍnu śṣṣvanti* (VIII. 3⁸); *nīḥ-śūhamāṇaḥ* (I. 127³).

α. But (as when it is medial) the *s* remains unchanged when followed by *ṣ* (even when *l* or *ḥ* intervenes) or *r* (even though *a* intervene, with an additional *m* or *r* in the roots *mar-* and *ṣar-*); e. g. *vi śṣṣā* 'let flow', *vi-śṣṣā* 'creation'; *vi śṣṣāṃ* 'let him extend'; *nī-śṣṣā* 'to caress' (but *ū-nī-śṣṣā* 'unchecked'); *ṣṣṣā-* 'flowed round'; *vi-śṣṣā-* 'end', *vi-śṣṣā-* 'extension' (owing to the influence of the forms with *sr* from *ṣṣṣ*); *ṣṣṣā-* 'dissolving', *vi-śṣṣā-* 'extent', and even *vi śṣṣā* (owing to the influence of forms with *sr* from *ṣṣṣ* 'flow'); *ṣṣṣā* *smarethām* 'may ye two remember' (V. śṣṣṣ); *abhi-śṣṣānti* 'praise', *abhi-śṣṣā-* 'invocation', *abhi-śṣṣā-*, loc., 'behind', *abhi-śṣṣā-* 'invoker'. But *st śṣṣ* are changed according to the general rule, when *ūr* or *ur* follow; e. g. *ṣṣṣā* *śṣṣṣā* 'repel'. In roots which contain no *r*, the initial *s* rarely remains; thus in forms of *as-* 'be': *abhi śṣṣānti*, *ṣṣṣānti*, *ṣṣṣānti* (beside *ṣṣṣānti*), *abhi śṣṣā* (beside *abhi-śṣṣā*); and owing to dislike of repeated *s*: *anu-śṣṣānti* (*śiṣṣā-* 'drive off'); *anu-śṣṣānti* 'noticed' (*śṣṣā-* 'see'); *ṣṣṣānti śṣṣānti* (*śṣṣā-* 'sound').

¹ Cp. above 42 a, α and p. 38, note 2.

² See WACKERNAGEL I, 50.

³ The combination *sr* is found only where *sr* would be quite isolated amid cognate forms with *s*; thus *ajṣṣ-ṣṣānti*, from *ajṣ-* 'be satisfied', since all the other very numerous forms of this verb have *s*.

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL I, 203 e, note.

⁵ Sometimes representing also IE. *ḥ* and *h*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b α.

⁶ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 579; WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 169.

⁷ Cp. FORTUNATOV, BH. 6, 217; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 32, 387.

⁸ FORTUNATOV, l. c.

⁹ On doubtful instances like *śṣṣṣā-* 'goal', *śṣṣṣānti* 'knees', *śṣṣṣā-* 'barb', cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b α, note; b β, note.

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 208 b β.

¹¹ Finally, *ṣ* stands for *s* in the first

β. In the later Saṃhitās initial *s* is similarly changed to *ś*; but its retention is in some instances somewhat less restricted; thus *abhi sphūrjati* (AV.) 'sounds towards'; *dāhi skanda* (AV.) and *abhi-skādam*, beside *pari-skānda-* (AV., VS.), from *skand-* 'leap'; *prati-spāna-* (AV.) 'lying in wait', *prati-spāid-* (TS.) 'spying'; *anu sthana* (TS. v. 6. 13), from *as-* 'be'; owing to the following *s* also in *abhi siyade* (AV.) from *syand-* 'run'.

γ. The divergence between the later Saṃhitās and the RV. is much greater when the augment intervenes between a preposition ending in *i* and the initial *s* of a root. In the RV. the *s* regularly remains unchanged (as *ny-āsīdat*, *vy-āsthāt*, etc.) except in *pari-āśāyat* 'embraced' (under the influence of *pari-śāyate*). In the other Saṃhitās, however, the *s* here regularly becomes *ś*; thus *abhy-āsīcan* (TS.), *abhy-āsīcanta* (AV.) from *śic-* 'sprinkle'; *vy-ārahanta* (AV.)², from *sah-* 'overcome'; *dāhy-āsthām* (AV.), *dāhy-āsthāt* (AV.), *abhy-āsthām* (AV.) from *sthā-* 'stand'. In the root *spā-* 'spit', which first occurs in the AV., the initial *s* has been displaced by *ś* throughout. The form *praty-āsthīvan* indicates the transition which led to the change.

Similarly when a reduplicative syllable containing *ā* intervenes between a preposition ending in *i* and an initial radical *s*, the latter always remains unchanged in the RV.; thus *pari-śāyate*; *ni-śāstthā* (viii. 48); *atī-tashtān* (x. 60); but the AV. has *vi-tashtāt*, *vi taṣṭhe* (owing to *vi āṣṭate*, *vi-ṣṭhā-*) but also *dāhi taṣṭhāt*.

δ. Initially in the second member of other than verbal compounds *ś* is more common than *s* when preceded by vowels other than *ā*. But *s* even in the RV. the is not infrequently retained; not only when *r* or *ṛ* follows as in *hrīdi-spī-* 'touching the heart', *su-sārṭu-*, N., *ṛṣi-svarī-* 'sung by seers', but also when there is no such cause to prevent the change; thus *gō-sakhi-* beside *gō-śakhi-* 'possessing cattle'; *go-sāni-* (AV. VS.) beside *go-śāni-* 'winning cattle'; *rayi-sthāna-* beside *rayi-śthāna-* (AV.) 'possessing wealth'; *tri-saptī-* beside *tri-śaptī-* (AV.) 'twenty-one'; *śi-samidhā-* beside *śi-śamidhā-* (SV.) 'well-kindled'; *āpāke-stha-* (AV.) 'standing in the oven' beside *-śtha-* in other compounds after *-e-*; *prithivī-sit-* (VS.) beside *prithivī-śit-* (AV.) 'seated on the earth'; *śi-samrddhā-* (AV.) 'quite perfect'. After *r* the *s* becomes *ś* in *svār-śā-* 'light-winning', *svār-śāti-* 'obtainment of light'; after *k*, probably only in *śk-sama-* (TS.) 'resembling a *śc*', beside *śk-sama-* (VS.).

ε. In Avyayībhāvas *ś* seems to appear in the RV. only; thus *anu-śādhīm* 'according to wish'; *anu-śatyām* 'according to truth'; *anu-śvāpam* 'sleepily'.

ζ. In some compounds *ś* appears where it is not phonetically justifiable, owing to the influence of cognate words; thus *upa-śīt*, adv., 'at one's call' (because of the frequency of *-śtu-* after *i* and *u*), beside *ūpa-stut-* 'invocation'; *sa-śūbh-* (TS.), a metre, owing to *anu-śtubh-*, *tri-śūbh-*; *śavya-śthā-* (AV.), owing to compounds in *-e-śtha-*.

η. In Āmreḍīta compounds, however, the *s* regularly remains unchanged because of the desire to leave the repeated word unaltered; thus *sut-* *sute* and *some-* *some* 'at every Soma draught'; also in *stuh!* *stuh!* 'praise on's'.

θ. Initially in external Sandhi *s* frequently becomes *ś* after a final *i* and *u* in the RV. This change chiefly takes place in monosyllabic pronouns and particles, such as *sā(s)*, *sī*, *syī(s)*, *śim*, *śma*, *śvid*, and particularly *śi*. It also appears in verbal forms like *stha sthas sthāna*, *santu*, *syām*, *syāma* (from *as-* 'be'); *śidati*, *satsat*, *satsi* (from *sad-* 'sit'); *śīṇa*, *śīṇata* (from *śic-* 'pour'); *stavaṃśa*, *stave*, *stuh!* (from *stu-* 'praise'); in participles like *śin*, *śatās* (from *as-* 'be'); *śidan* (from *sad-* 'sit'); *śucānds* (*śu-* 'press'); *śitām* (*śi-* 'bind'); *śutās* (*stu-* 'praise'); *śkandm* (*śkand-* 'leap'). In other words the change

member of the compound and often in external Sandhi; see below 78.

¹ Cp. APR. II. 104.

² Cp. WHITNEY'S Translation of the A.V.

³ p. LXIV (mid.).

Indo-arische Philologie I, 4.

³ This is not treated as an Āmreḍīta compound in the Padapāṭha (viii. 130):

stuh!stuh!it!; but *śibā-śibā* (ii. 111²) is analyzed as *śibā-śibāit!*.

rarely takes place; e. g. *anu rājati śhīp* (IX. 96¹⁸); *trī sadhāstha* (III. 56⁹); *nīh sadhāsthat*¹ (V. 31⁹); *nā śhīrdm* (I. 64¹⁵); *dāhi spinā* (IX. 97¹⁰).

The *ś* usually follows short words such as *u*, *tī*, *nī*, *sī*, *hī*, and occurs where there is a close syntactical connection of two words; e. g. *rdjāhsu śīdan* (VII. 34¹⁰); *vāmsu śīdati* (IX. 57³); *divī śīn* (VI. 2⁶); *divī śantu* (V. 2¹⁰); *rechānti śma* (X. 102⁶). In no word, however, even when these conditions are fulfilled, is the change of initial *s* to *ś* invariably made.

a. In the later Samhitās, apart from passages adopted from the RV, this form of external Sandhi is very rare except in the combination *ī śh*. Examples are *īd u śhendū* (AV. IV. 3⁴); *uśhī śād dyundū nāmāh* (TS. III. 2. 8⁴)².

58. The breathing *h*.—The sound *h* is, at the present day, pronounced as a breathing in India, and this was its character at the period when Greek and Indian words were interchanged, as is shown e. g. by *ōpōc* being reproduced by *hōrā*. It is already recognised as a breathing by the TPr. (II. 9), which identifies it with the second element of voiced aspirates (*g-h*, *d-h*, *b-h*). This is borne out by the spelling *ह्र* *h* (=*dh*) beside *ह्र* *!* (=*d*). The TPr. further (II. 47) assigns to it, on the authority of some, the same place of articulation as the following vowel, this being still characteristic of the pronunciation of *h* at the present day in India³. The breathing is, moreover, stated by the Prātisākhya⁴ to have been voiced. This pronunciation is proved by the evidence of the Samhitās themselves; for *h* is here often derived from a voiced aspirate, e. g. *hitā-* from *dhitā-* 'put'; it is occasionally replaced by a voiced aspirate, e. g. *jaghāna* from *han-* 'strike'; and in Sandhi initial *h* after a final mute regularly becomes a voiced aspirate, e. g. *tād dhi* for *tād hi*. It is in fact clear that whatever its origin (even when = Ilr. *śh*)⁵, *h* was always pronounced as a voiced breathing in the Samhitās.

As *h* cannot be final owing to its phonetic character⁶, it is represented in that position by sounds connected with its origin⁷. It appears in combination with voiced sounds only; being preceded only by vowels, Anusvāra, or the semivowels *r* and *l*⁸ (in Sandhi also by the nasals *n* and *m*), and followed only by vowels, the nasals *n*, *m*, or the semivowels *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*.

The breathing *h* as a rule represents a voiced aspirate, regularly a palatal aspirate, occasionally the dental *dh* and the labial *bh*. It usually represents a new palatal (= Ilr. *jh*, Av. *j*⁹), appearing beside *gh*, e. g. *druhyā-* *dr̥ghā-*, as *j* beside *g*, e. g. *dyāyas* *ugrā-*. But in many words it also stands (like *j* for *ś*) for the old palatal *śh*, the voiced aspirate of *ś*, being recognizable as such in the same way as *j*¹⁰.

I a. *h* represents the palatalization (= Ilr. *jh*) of *gh* when, in cognate forms, *gh* (or *g*) is found before other sounds than *s*; e. g. *hīn-tī* 'strikes': *ghn-āntī*, *jaghāna*; *ārhati* 'is worthy': *ar̥ghā-* 'price'; *īh-ānt-* 'weak': *ragh-ī-* 'light'; *jāmh-as-* 'gait': *jānghā-* 'leg'; *dāhati* 'burns': *daḡ-dhā-* 'burnt'; *dāhate* 'milks': *dāghāna-* 'milking', *dug-dhā-* 'milked'; *dudr̥tha* 'have injured': *drug-dhī-* 'injured', *dr̥ghā-* 'injurious'; *udāhate* 'presents': *maghā-* 'gift'; *mīh-* 'mist':

¹ *ik* and *uh* produce the same effect as simple *i* and *u*, as they were originally pronounced as *is* and *us* (cp. Sandhi, p. 71, c 2); e. g. *ayn(s) hāve*; *yāju(s) śkaundm*.

² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 207 b.

³ Cp. WHITNEY on APr. I. 13 and TPr. II. 47.

⁴ See RPr. I. 12; XII. 2; APr. I. 13.

⁵ See below 1 b.

⁶ See below, Sandhi, 66.

⁷ Ibid. b 6, 3.

⁸ The combination *lh* is rare; it is found in *upa-cāth-* (VS.) 'test by riddles'; *vihātha-* (AV.), of unknown meaning; and in the Kāpva recension of the VS. as representing *dh*.

⁹ Cp. 36. This *h* being related to *gh* as *j* is to *g*, it must represent IE. *gh*. This survives, with loss of the aspiration, in *jahi* (= Ilr. *ja-dhi*), 2. sing. impv. of *han-* 'strike'.

¹⁰ Cp. 41.

meghī- 'cloud'; *mūhīyati* 'is perplexed'; *mūgdhā-* 'gone astray', *mūgha-* 'vain'; *rūghī-* 'speed'; *rūghī-* 'swift'; *hīras-* and *gharmī-* 'heat'; *harmye-ghā-* and *gharmye-ghā-* 'dwelling in the house'; *hīghī-* 'glad'; *ghīsu-* 'joyful', *ghīso-* 'gladdening'. In *śhī-* 'serpent' and *duhītī-* 'daughter' the guttural origin of *h* is shown by cognate languages¹.

b. *h* represents the old palatal aspirate (= Ilr. *śh*):

a. when, either as a final or before *t*, it is replaced by a cerebral (like the old palatals *ś* and *j* = Ilr. *ś*); e. g. *vah-* 'carry': *vāf*, 3. sing. aor. *gūh-* 'conceal': *gūdhā-* 'concealed'; *trhīti* 'crushes': *trdhā-*²; *dīghati* 'makes; firm', *drīyati* 'is firm': *drdhā-* 'firm'; *bahū-* 'abundant': *bādhdā-* 'aloud'; *mih-* 'make water': *mēdhra-* (AV.) 'penis'; *rihāti* 'licks': *riśhi* 'licks', *riśha-* 'licked'; *vāhati* 'carries': *vāśhum* 'to carry', *vādhā-* 'carried'; *sāhate* 'overcomes': *sādhdh-* 'victor'.

β. when it is followed by sounds which do not palatalize gutturals³, before which *dh* and *bh* do not become *h*, and before which the other old palatals *ś* and *j* (= *ś*) appear; thus *āpahas-* and *āpahati-* 'distress' because of *āpāh-* 'narrow'; *śhan-* 'day', because of *śhanām*, g. pl., and *pūrvāhā-* 'forenoon' (not *ghu* as in *ghuanti* from *han-*); *jēhamāna-*⁴ 'panting', because of *jīhmā-* 'oblique'; *bāhū-* 'arm'; *brāhman-* n. 'devotion', *brahmān-* 'one who prays'; *rāhī-* (AV.), demon of eclipse; *yāvū-*, *yāvūnt-* 'ever young', because of *yāvū-*, id. This applies to all words beginning with *hū-*, *hī-*, *hū-*, *hī-*, *hū-*; e. g. *hū-* 'pour'; *hī-* and *hīdaya-* 'heart'; *hīraya-* 'ashamed'; *hū-*, *hū-* 'call'; *hī-* 'be crooked'.

γ. when the 'satem' languages have a corresponding voiced spirant (*s* or *z*)⁵; thus *ahām* 'I'; *chā-* (AV.) 'desirous'; *garhate* 'complains of'; *dīh-* 'besmeared'; *plīhān-* (AV. VS.) 'spleen'; *barhīs-* 'sacrificial straw'; *mah-* 'great'; *vārahā-* 'boar'; *sahāsra-* 'thousand'; *simhā-* 'lion'; *sprh-* 'desire'; *hānsī-* 'goose'; *hānu-* 'jaw'; *hī-* 'impel'; *hemdn-* 'zeal', *het-* 'weapon'; *hīya-* 'steed'; *hīri-* and *hīrita-* 'tawny'; *hīryati* 'likes'; *hāsta-* 'hand'; *hā-* 'forsake'; *hāyand-* (AV.) 'year'; *hī* 'for'; *hīnd-* 'cold'; *hīraya-* 'gold'; *hīri-* (AV. VS.) 'vein'; *hīns-* 'injure'; *hīyas-* 'wound'; *hī-* 'take'; *hīyas* 'yesterday'.

δ. *h* according to the evidence of cognate languages, represents other palatals in some words. Thus in *hī-* 'heart', *ś* = IE. *k* would be expected; and *j* = IE. *ǵ* in *ahām* 'I', *mahānt-* 'great', *hānu-* 'jaw', *hāsta-* 'hand', *hū-*, *hū-* 'call'. These irregularities are probably due to IE. dialectic variations⁶.

2. *h* also represents *dh* and *bh* not infrequently, and *dh* at least once.

a. It takes the place of *dh* in four or five roots (with nominal derivatives) and in a few nominal and verbal suffixes. Thus it appears initially in *hī-*, *hī-*, beside *-dhita-*, *dhī-*, from *dha-* 'put'. Medially it is found in *gāhate* 'plunges' (with the derivatives *gāhā-* 'depth', *gāhana-* 'deep', *dur-gāha-* 'impassable place') beside *gādhā-* 'ford'; *rīhati* 'rises', 'grows' (with the derivatives *rīh-* 'growth', *rīhana-* 'means of ascending', *rīhas-* 'elevation') beside *rīdhāti* 'grows' (with the derivatives *vī-rīdh-* 'creeper', *-rīdhā-* 'growing', *rīdhas-* 'bank', *vī-rīdhana-* 'ascent'); derivatives of **rudh-* 'be red': *rohī-*, *rīhita-*,

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 214 b.

² That is for **gūdhā* (through *gūdhā-* for *gūdhā-*), the cerebral *ṛ* disappearing but leaving the vowel long.

³ Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

⁴ See above 41, 2.

⁵ See WHITNEY, Roots, under *jeh*; and cp. 41 a, 2.

⁶ This includes several examples given under α and β.

⁷ Perhaps also in *has-* 'laugh' and *hā-* 'go', as these verbs have no forms with *gh*; also *nah-* 'bind' in spite of *nādhdā-*. In several words the origin of the *h* is uncertain, e. g. *jūghate* 'struggles', as the evidence is doubtful.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL I, 216 b; for a few doubtful examples, *ibid.* 216 a, note.

-*śhítá*- 'red', beside *śóhú*- 'reddish animal', *rúthirá*- (AV.) 'red'; also *rauhiṇá*- beside *rúthikrá*-, names of demons; the evidence of cognate languages further shows that *h* represents *dh* in *grhá*- 'house'¹.

h moreover represents *dh* in the adverbial suffix *-ha* in *vísá-ha* beside *vísá-dha* 'always'; in *sahá* 'together', beside *sadhá*- in compounds; in *ihá* 'here', as shown by the Prakrit *idha*; and doubtless also in *sama-ha* 'somehow', though there is no direct evidence. The evidence of cognate languages, moreover, shows that in the endings of the 1. du. *-vaha*, *-vahi*, *-vahi* and the 1. pl. *-mahe*, *-mahi*, *-mahai* *h* represents *dh* (cp. Gk. *-μεῖσα*, etc.)².

b. *h* takes the place of *bh* in the verb *gráh*-, *grh*- 'seize' (with its derivatives *gráha*- 'ladleful', *gráhi*- 'demoness', *gráhyá*- 'to be grasped', *grhá*- 'servant', *hastá-grhya* 'having take the hand') beside *grabh*-, *grbh*- (with the derivatives *grábhā*- 'taking possession of', *grábhá*- 'handful'); and in the nouns *kakuhá*- 'high', beside *kak'bhá*- 'height', *kakubhá*- (VS. TS.) 'high', m. (AV.) a kind of demon; *balí-hít*- 'paying tax' (beside *bhy*- 'bear'); probably *bárajaha*- 'udder' (?), if formed with suffix *-ha* = *-bha* (in *śśa-bhá*-, etc.)³.

c. *h* takes the place of *dh* in *bárbhri*, 2. sing. impv. of the intv. *bárbhrh*- of the root *bhrh*- 'make strong', for **bárbhráhi* (= **bárbhráhi*, with the cerebral dropped after lengthening the preceding *r* in pronunciation)⁴.

d. The rule is that *h* appears for *dh*, *dh*, *bh*, only between vowels⁵, the first of which is unaccented; e. g. *ihá*, *kakuhá*-, *grhá*- *bárajaha*-, *balí-hít*- *rauhiṇá*-, *sahá*-. Similarly in *grabh*- 'seize', *h* alone appears after unaccented *r* in RV. 1-1x⁶; while on the other hand, in the 2. sing. impv. of graded roots, *-dhi* regularly appears after strong and therefore originally accented vowels; e. g. *bóddhi* (from *bhā*- 'be'), *śáddhi* (from *śu*- 'yoke'), *yuyóddhi* (from *yu*- 'separate'); *śíśáddhi*, but *śíśthi* (*śá*- 'sharpen'). Again, in *rúth*- 'rise', the unaccented form of the root is regularly *rúthi*-, while when it is accented, forms such as *rúdhati* appear beside *rúthati*, and in nominal derivatives *dh* predominates in accented radical syllables, the RV. having *rúdhā*- and *á-rúdhāna*- only, but the AV. *rúthā*- and *á-rúthāna*-⁷.

e. At the same time *dh* and *bh* remain in a good many instances after an unaccented vowel; thus in the 2. sing. impv. *śáddhi*, *śáddhi*, *śáddhi*, *śáddhi*; in *adhás* 'below', *adhāná*- 'lowest', *ádhá* 'towards'; *śádhá*- 'defy'; *mídhá*- 'reward'; *medhá*- 'wisdom'; *vídháti* 'adores'; *vídhá*- 'solitary'; *vídhávi*- 'widow'; *vádhá*- 'bride'; *śádhá*- 'fight'; *rúthirá*- (AV.) 'red'; derivatives formed with *-dhi*-, *-bhá*-, etc.⁸ The retention of the *dh* and *bh* here is partly to be explained as an archaism, and partly as due to borrowing from a dialect in which these aspirates did not become *h*, and the existence of which is indicated by the Prakrit form *idha* beside the Vedic *ihá* 'here'. The guttural aspirate media is probably to be similarly explained in *meghá*- 'cloud' and *aśá*- 'sinful'.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 217 a.

² The *h* in the perf. *áha*, *áhar*-, may in *grhyātu* (IV, 57) and *hastá-grhya*, is due to other forms of *grabh*- in which *h* is followed by a vowel. In *náth*- (cp. Lat. *necto*); the pp. instead of **nádhá*-, became *nádhá*- through the influence of *báddhá*- from *báddh*- 'bind'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 217 a, note, where several other wrong explanations of *h* = *dh* are discussed.

³ Some erroneous etymologies in which *dh* *bh* (above 2, a, b), *h* appears throughout in the later Sāphtis; thus always *-hi*, after vowels in imperatives except *śáhi* 'be'; thus for *śáddhi* (RV. VIII, 84), SV. has *śáddhí*. But a new *h* of this kind hardly occurs. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 219 a.

⁴ Cp. 12 and 17, 5.

⁵ It appears initially in *hídhá* = **dhídhá*-, but originally it was doubtless preceded in this position by a final vowel. That *h*

appears, though a vowel does not follow,

⁶ In RV. x, however, *gráha*- and *gráhi*- occur; cp. above, 2 b.

⁷ Exceptions like *rúdhā*-, *vídhā* and inflected forms such as *śádhate*, are due to normalization.

⁸ Where the RV. fluctuates between *h* and *dh* *bh* (above 2, a, b), *h* appears throughout in the later Sāphtis; thus always *-hi*, after vowels in imperatives except *śáhi* 'be'; thus for *śáddhi* (RV. VIII, 84), SV. has *śáddhí*.

3. The various origins of *h* led to some confusion in the groups of forms belonging to roots which contain *h*.

a. roots in which *h* represents an original guttural (Iir. *jh*) show some forms which would presuppose an old palatal (Iir. *śh*). Thus from *muh-* 'be confused', phonetic derivatives of which are *mugdhu-*, *mīgha-*, are formed *mūghā-* (AV.) 'bewildered' and *mūhur* 'suddenly'.

b. roots in which *h* represents an old palatal (Iir. *śh*) show forms with a guttural before vowels and dentals; thus from *dih-* 'besmear' is formed *digdhā-* (AV.) 'owing to the influence of *dah-* 'burn', and *duh-* 'milk'. Similarly, from **sardh-* 'bee', beside *sarhībhya-*, is formed *sīraghā-* (AV. VS.) 'derived from the bee'.

c. the root *ruh-*, though = *rudh-* 'ascend', is treated as if the *h* represented (as in *vah-*) an old palatal (Iir. *śh*); hence aor. *ārukṣat*, des. *rūrukṣati*, pp. *-rūkṣā-* (AV.), ger. *rūkṣvā* (AV.).

59. The cerebral /.—This sound, as distinguished from the ordinary dental /, is a cerebral /². It appears in our (*Śākala*) recension of the RV. as a substitute, between vowels, for the cerebral *ḍ* and, with the appended sign for *h*, for the cerebral aspirate *ḍh*³; e. g. *ḥā-* 'refreshment'; *ā-sāḥa-* 'invincible'. It also appears in Sandhi when final before an initial vowel; e. g. *turāśāḥ abhībhūtyajāḥ* (III. 43⁴). In the written Saṃhitā text, however, it does not appear if followed by a semivowel which must be pronounced as a vowel; e. g. *vīḥv-āṅga-* 'firm-limbed', to be pronounced as *vīḥv-āṅga-* and analysed thus by the Padapāṭha. In one passage of the RV. the readings fluctuate between / and / in *nīḥvat* or *nīlavat* (VII. 97⁵).

60. Anusvāra and Anunāsika.—Anusvāra, 'after-sound', is a pure nasal sound which differs from the five class nasals; for it appears after vowels only, and its proper use is not before mutes, but before sibilants or *h* (which have no class nasal). But it resembled the class nasals in being pronounced, according to the Prātisākhya of the RV. and the VS.⁶, after the vowel. The vowel itself might, however, be nasalized, forming a single combined sound. The Prātisākhya of the AV.⁷, recognizes this nasal vowel, called Anunāsika, 'accompanied by a nasal', alone, ignoring Anusvāra, which with the preceding vowel represents two distinct successive sounds. WHITNEY⁸, however, denies the existence of any distinction between Anunāsika and Anusvāra. In any case, the Vedic Mss. have only the one sign ^{◌̣} (placed either above or after the vowel) for both⁹, employing the simple dot ^{◌̣} where neither Anusvāra nor Anunāsika is allowable. The latter sign is used in the TS. for final *m* before *y* *v*, and in both the TS. and MS. before mutes instead of the class nasal¹⁰, a practice arising from carelessness or the desire to save trouble. There is thus no ground for the prevalent opinion that ^{◌̣} represents Anunāsika and ^{◌̣} Anusvāra¹⁰. Throughout the present work *m* with a dot (*ṃ*) will be used for both, except if they appear before a vowel, when *m* with the older sign (*ṃ̣*) will be employed.

¹ The root *sayh-* 'take upon oneself', has no connexion with *suh-* 'overcome'; nor *vāghā-* 'institutor of a sacrifice', with *zah-* 'convey'. The relation of *śv-nyoghas-* 'streaming among milk', to *vah-* is uncertain; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 220 b, note.

² Cp. above 42.

³ This practice is followed by the Mss. of secondary texts of the RV.

⁴ Cp. BENFEY, Gött. Abhandl. 19, 138, note. See also WHITNEY on APR. I. 29.

⁵ See RPR. XIII. 13; VS. I. 74f., 147f.

⁶ See WHITNEY on APR. I. 11.

⁷ On TPr. II. 30; JAOS. 10, LXXXVIF.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY on TPr. II. 30.

⁹ In the MS. also when *-am* is written for

-ām.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY, JAOS. 7, 92, note.

Anusvāra and Anunāsika are commonest when final. As in that position they belong to the sphere of Sandhi, the conditions under which they then appear, will be stated below¹. Medially Anusvāra and Anunāsika are found under the following conditions:

a. regularly before sibilants and *h*; e. g. *vaṇṣī-* 'reed'; *haviṃsi* 'offerings'; *māṃsā-* 'flesh'; *siṃhī-* 'lion'. This is generally recognized as the sphere of Anusvāra, except by the APr.²; but *māṃscaṭi-* 'light yellow', is stated³ to have Anunāsika, while *pūṃscaṭi-* (AV. VS.) is said to have both Anunāsika and Anusvāra⁴. The Anusvāra usually appears before *s*, and all forms with *ms* are shown to be based on original *ns* or *ms* by the evidence of cognate forms corroborated by that of allied languages⁵; thus *māṃsate*, 3. sing. subj. aor. of *man-* 'think'; *jighāṃsati*, des. from *han-* 'strike'; *pīṃsanti* beside *pīṃsīti*, from *pi-* 'crush'; the neuter plurals in *-āṃsi*, *-īṃsi*, *-uṃsi* from stems in *-as*, *-is*, *-us*, with nasal after the analogy of *-ānti*, nom. acc. pl. from neuters in *-nti*; stems in *-yāṃs*, *-vāṃs* beside nom. sing. in *-yān*, *-vān*; *kraṃsyāte* (AV.) from *kram-* 'stride'. When Anusvāra appears before *s* and *h* derived from an IE. palatal or guttural, it represents the corresponding class nasal. The reduction of these old nasals to Anusvāra is probably Ilr. after long vowels (*ān*, *-īn*, *-ūn*); probably later after short vowels, for it does not appear in forms like *īhan* (for *īhans*), though *s* was not dropped after *an* in the Ilr. period; but the *s* must have been dropped early in the Indian period, before *-ans* became *-ams*⁶. Anusvāra before *h* (= Av. *ṛj*) must have arisen in the Indian period.

b. before any consonant in the intensive reduplicative syllable, the final of which is treated like that of the prior member of a compound; e. g. *nāṃnam-iti* (v. 83⁵)⁷ from *nam-* 'bend'.

c. before any consonant which is the initial of secondary suffixes; thus from *śam-* 'blessing', is formed *śaṃ-yī-* 'beneficent'; *śaṃ-tī-* or *śāntī-* 'blessing'.

6i. Voiceless Spirants.— a. The sound called Visarjaniya⁸ in the Prātiśākhya⁹, must in their time have been pronounced as a voiceless breathing, since they describe it as an *uṣman*, the common term for breathings and sibilants. This conclusion is borne out by the fact that, in the RPr., Jihvāmūliya and Upadhmnāniya, the sounds which are most nearly related to and may be replaced by Visarjaniya, are regarded as forming the second half of the voiceless aspirates *kh* and *ph* respectively, just as *h* forms the second half of the voiced aspirates *gh*, *bh*, etc. At the present day Visarjaniya is still pronounced in India as a voiceless breathing, which is, however, followed by a weak echo of the preceding vowel. According to the TPr.¹⁰, Visarjaniya has the same place of articulation as the end of the preceding vowel. The proper function of this sound is to represent final *s* and *r* in *pausā*; it may, however, also appear before certain voiceless initial sounds, viz. *k*, *kh*, *p*, *ph*, and the sibilants (occasionally also in compounds)¹¹.

b. Beside and instead of Visarjaniya, the Prātiśākhya recognise two voiceless breathings as appropriate before initial voiceless gutturals (*ḷ*, *ḷh*)¹²

¹ See below, Sandhi, 75.

² APr. I. 67; II. 33f.

³ Cp. RPr. IV. 35.

⁴ Cp. VPr. IV. 7f.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 224 a.

⁶ Loc. cit.; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 354, 17.

⁷ In AUFRECHT's edition printed *nāṃnam-iti*.

⁸ The term *visarga* is not found in the Prātiśākhya (nor in Pāṇini).

⁹ RPr. I. 5 etc., VPr. I. 41 etc.; APr. I. 5 etc.; TPr. I. 12 etc.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY on TPr. II. 48.

¹¹ See below, Sandhi, 78, 79.

¹² See RPr. I. 8; VPr. III. 11 etc.

and labials (*ś*, *ph*)¹ respectively. The former (*h*) called *Jihvāmūliya*, or sound 'formed at the root of the tongue', is the guttural spirant *χ*; the latter (*ś*), called *Upadhmaniya*, or 'on-breathing', is the bilabial spirant *ʃ*². In Mss. they are regularly employed in the Kāśmirian Sāradā character.

62. **Loss of Consonants.**—Consonants have been lost almost exclusively when they have been in conjunction with others. The loss of a single consonant which is not in conjunction with another is restricted to the disappearance of *v* before *u*, and much more rarely of *y* before *i*. The *v* thus disappears finally in the Sandhi of *dv* before *u* in the RV. and VS.³ Initially, *v* is lost before *ūr* derived from a *r* vowel; thus in *ūraṇa*- and *ūra*- 'sheep'; *ūras*- 'breast'; *ur-āṇā*, mid. part. (*ur-* 'choose'); *ūrj-* 'vigour'; *ūrṇ-* 'wool'; *ūrṇti* 'covers' (*ur-* 'cover'); *ūrdhad-* 'high'; *ūrmi-* 'wave'. Such loss of *v* before *ūr* also occurs after an initial consonant in *tūrti-* 'quick' (= IIr. *tūrti-*); *dūrṇvati*, *ādūrṇvata*, *dūrṇti*, from *dūr-* 'cause to fall'; *hūrya-*, *juhūrthas*; *juhur*, from *hūr-* 'go crookedly'⁴. Before simple *u* the *v* has disappeared at the beginning of the reduplicative syllable *u-* (= **vu-* for original *va-*), in *u-vāc-a* from *vāc-* 'speak'; *u-vāsa* from *vās-* 'shine'; *u-vāk-a* from *vāk-* 'convey'.

Similarly initial *y* has disappeared from the reduplicative syllable *i-* = **yi-* in the desiderative *iyak-sati*, *iyak-samāna*, from *yaj-* 'sacrifice'⁵.

1. When a group of consonants is final, the last element or elements are regularly lost (the first only, as a rule, remaining) in *pausā* and in Sandhi⁶.

2. When a group of consonants is initial, the first element is frequently lost. The only certain example of an initial mute having disappeared seems to be *tur-īya*- 'fourth', from **tur-*, the low grade form of *catūr-* 'four', because the Vedic language did not tolerate initial conjunct mutes⁷. An initial sibilant is, however, often lost before a mute or nasal. This loss was originally⁸ doubtless caused by the group being preceded by a final consonant. There are a few survivals of this in the Vedas; thus *cit kāmghanena* (x. 1115), otherwise *skāmbhana-* 'support'; and the roots *stambh-* 'support', and *sthā-* 'stand', lose there *s* after *ud-*; e. g. *it-thita*, *it-tabhita*. On the other hand the sibilant is preserved after a final vowel, in compounds or in Sandhi, in *ā-skṛdhoyu-* 'uncurtailed', beside *kr̥dhi-* 'shortened'; *ścandṛ-* 'brilliant', in *śśva-ścandra-* 'brilliant with horses'⁹, *duhi ścandrām* (viii. 65¹¹), also in the intens. pres. part. *cīni-ścaḍ-at* 'shining brightly', otherwise *candṛ-* 'shining', and only *candṛ-mas-* 'moon'. In derivatives from four other roots, forms with and without the sibilant¹⁰ are used indiscriminately, without regard to the preceding

¹ See VPt. 1. 41.

² Cp. EBEL, KZ. 13, 277f.

³ See below, Sandhi, 73.

⁴ The *v* has either remained or been restored before such *ūr* and *ūr* in *hoṛ-vūrya-* 'election of the invoker'; in the opt. *vurūta*, from *ur-* 'choose'; and in the 3. pl. perfect *būbhū-vūr*, *jūhu-vūr*, *sūju-vūr*, *tūju-vūr*.

⁵ The evidence of cognate languages seems to point to the loss of initial *d* in *āru-* 'tear' (Lat. *lacruma*, Gk. *δακρυ*). It is, however, probable that there were two different but synonymous IE. words *akru* and *dakru*. On some doubtful etymologies based on loss of initial consonants, see WACKERNAGEL 1, 228 c, note.

⁶ See below, Sandhi, 65.

⁷ There are some words in which an initial mute seems to have been lost in the IE. period; thus *t* in *śatām* 'hundred' (= IE. *skutām*); *d* perhaps in *vinśati-* 'twenty' and *vi-* 'between'; *l* perhaps in *yakṛi-* 'liver'. An initial mute seems to have been lost before a sibilant (originally perhaps after a final consonant) in *śāna-* 'breast', *svi-* 'sweat'; *saj-* 'six' (KZ. 31, 415 ff.).

⁸ Dissimilation may also have played some part in the loss of the sibilant in the reduplicative syllable of roots with initial *sk(h)* *ś(h)*, *ʃ(h)*, as *caśkānda*, *tiśhāmi*, *paśpārja*.

⁹ See GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch sub verbo *ścandṛ-*.

¹⁰ The verb *kr-* 'do', after *pāri* and *sam*, shows an initial *s*; e. g. *paśiskṛvanti*, *pāri-*

sound; from *stan-* 'thunder', *stanayitni-*, beside *tanayitni-* 'thunder', *tanyati-* (also AV.) 'thunder', *tanyu-* 'thundering', *tanyati* 'resounds'; *stani-* 'thief', *stay-ant-* (AV.) 'stealing', *stayu-* (VS.) 'thief', *staya-* 'thief', beside *stayu-* 'thief'; *stā-*, beside *st-* 'star'; *spāt-* 'spy' and *spāt-* 'see' in verbal forms *ā-spāsta* aor., *paspat-* perf., *spāsāvati* caus., *-spāsta-* part., 'seen', beside *pāsyati* 'sees'.

The loss of initial *s* may be inferred in the following words from the evidence of cognate languages in which it has been preserved: *tij-* 'sharpen'; *tuj-* 'strike'; *tud-* 'beat'; *narmū-* (VS.) 'jest'; *nrt-* 'dance'; *parū-* 'wing'; *pikd-* (VS.) 'Indian cuckoo'; *plih-in-* (VS. AV.) 'spleen'; *ph'na-* 'foam'; *mrd-* 'crush', *mrdū-* (VS.) 'soft'; *vip-* 'tremble'; *suṭi-* 'shoulder'.

A few examples occur of the loss of the semivowels *y* or *v*³ as the last element of an initial consonant group. Thus *y* disappears in derivatives of roots in *ṽv* formed with suffixes beginning with consonants: *-māta-* 'moved', *mū-ri-* 'impetuous', *mī-tra-* (AV. VS.) 'urine', from *ma-* 'push'; *sūci-* 'needle', *sū-nā-* 'plaited basket', *sā-tra-* (AV.) 'thread', beside *syū-man-* 'thong', *syū-tā-* 'sewn', from *sū-* 'sew'. Loss of *v* seems to have taken place in *liti-* 'white' (only at the beginning of compounds), beside *svit-* 'be bright', *svity-dūc-* 'brilliant', *svitri-* (AV.) 'white', *svitrya-*, perhaps 'white'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *ksip-* 'throw' (Av. *ksīc-*), *sās-* (Av. *hšvas-*).

3. When the group is medial, the loss usually taken takes place between single consonants. a. The sibilants *s* and *ṣ* thus regularly disappear between mutes; e. g. *ā-bhak-ta*, 3. sing. aor., for **ābhak-s-ta* beside *ā-bhak-s-i*, from *bhaj-*, 'share'; *caṣ-te* for *caṣ-te* (= original **caṣ-s-te*)⁴. Similarly *a-gḥa-* (TS.) 'uneaten', for **a-gḥs-ta-*, from *gḥas-* 'eat'.

b. The dental *t* has disappeared between a sibilant and *c* in *paś-cit* and *paś-cit* 'behind' (= IE. *post-qi-*, *post-qi-*); and between *p* and *s* in **nap-su* which must have been the loc. pl. (AV. *naśū*), from **napt-*, 'weak stem of *nāpāt-*, beside the dat. *nād-bhyas* 'to the grandsons', for *napt-bhyas*, where on the other hand the *p* has been dropped.

c. A mute may disappear between a nasal and a mute; e. g. *pañt-* for *pañkti-*, *yundhi* for *yundhi*. This spelling is common in Vedic Mss.; it is prescribed in AP. II. 20, and, as regards the mediae, in VPr. VI. 30.

4. The only example of the loss of an initial⁵ mute in a medial group of consonants seems to be that of *b* before *dh* in *nādbhyas* for **nādbhyas* from *napt-* for *nāpāt-*. The semivowel *r* seems to be lost before a consonant when another *r* follows in *cakr-āt* (Pp. *cakrān*) and *cakr-iyās*⁶ for **carkr-* beside *cakr-mi*, from *kr-* 'commemorate'; and, on the evidence of the Avesta, in *tvāst-* (cp. *pvaras* 'cut', *pvarā-* 'created'),

skṛta-, *śm-skṛta-*; also after *ni-* in *nir-astya* (Pp. *akṛta*), perhaps owing to Sandhi forms with *sk* such as *niskuru* (AV.). There can be little doubt that the *s* here was not original but was due to analogy; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 230 a, β, note.

² WACKERNAGEL I, 230 a γ, note, discusses several uncertain or erroneous etymologies based on loss of initial *s* (including *maryās* interpreted as 2. sing. opt. of *mar-*). The evidence of Prakrit seems to point to the loss of initial *s* in *śpa-* 'tail', *krī-* 'leap', *krut-* 'cry', *parāśi-* 'axe', *parāśi-* 'knotty'; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 230 b.

³ On the possible loss of *r* in *bhāṣ-* (Lat. *frangere*) and of *h* in *śarṣā-* (Lat. *scarvus*), see WACKERNAGEL I, 232 c, note.

³ See above 56, b.

⁴ On *āpna-* 'property', *dāmpati-* 'lord of the house', see WACKERNAGEL I, 233 c, note.

⁵ The guttural mute only seems to be lost when *h* + *t* becomes *st*; see above, 56, 6. The loss of *m* in the inst. sing. *-mā* of nouns in *-man* is only a seeming one; for *dānā-*, *prāhūnā-*, *preṇā-*, *thūnā-*, *māhīnā-*, *varīnā-* (TS.) appear beside the stems *dāman-* etc., because some of them had a stem in *-n* without *m*, so that *-mā* seemed an alternative form of *-mā*; see BENFLEY, GGA. 1846, 702. 880; Göttinger Abhandlungen 19, 234; BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 17, 3; cp. IF. 8, Anzeiger, p. 17.

⁶ But see GELDNER, VS. I, 279.

probably starting from forms like *tvāṣṣrā* (AV.) in which the *r* immediately followed¹

But the loss of a spirant (Itr. *s*, *z*, *ṣ*, *ḥ*) at the beginning of a medial group is common.

a. The sibilant *s*² has thus been lost before *k* followed by a consonant in *varktam*, *varkā-*, *varkvā-*, *varksi* (TS.), from *vraś-* 'lop' (cp. *vraśki-*).

b. The voiced form (Itr. *ś*) of dental *s* has disappeared before voiced dentals, without leaving any trace, in the roots *ās-* 'sit', and *śās-* 'order'; thus *ā-dhvam*, *śāsā-dhi*. But when *ā* preceded the *ś*, the disappearance of the sibilant is indicated by *ṣ* taking the place of *ś* before *d*, *dh*, *h* (= *dh*); thus *caḍhi*, from *as-* 'be'; *śad-*³, perfect stem of *śad-* 'sit' (for *śasā-*, like *śasā-* from *śac-*). This *ṣ* also replaces *ś* with loss of the sibilant in *de-hi* 'give'; *dhe-hi* 'put'; *kiye-dhā-* 'containing much'; *nēd-īya-* and *nēd-īṣṭha-* 'very much'; *ped-ī-*⁴ N.; *medati* 'is fat'; *medhā-* and *medhās-* 'wisdom'; *mīdhā-* 'juice'⁵.

c. When a vowel other than *ā* preceded, the *s* was cerebralized (like *ṣ* before a voiceless dental) and disappeared after cerebralizing the following dental and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *a-sto-ṣhvam*⁷ (= *ā-sto-ṣhvam* for *a-sto-dhvam*) 2. pl. aor., beside *a-sto-ṣṣa*, 3. sing., from *stu-* 'praise'. Thus also are to be explained *nīṣṭ-* 'nest' (= *nīṣṭa-* for *nī-sd-a-*); *piṣṭ-* 'press' (= *piṣṭ-* for *pi-sd-* or *piṣ-d-*); *mīdhā-* 'reward' (Gk. *μίσθος*); *vīṣṭ-ī-* 'strong', *vīṣṭīyati* 'is strong' (from *vī-* 'work' + *d*)⁸; *hīṣṭ-*⁹ 'be angry', and its Guṇa forms, e. g. *hīṣṭ-as-* 'anger'; *mṛṣṭī* 'be gracious', *mṛṣṭkū-* 'gracious' (for *mṛṣṭ-* from *mṛṣ-* 'forget') with vowel pronounced long (12), *d-reṣṭ-ant-* (TS.) 'not deceiving' (= *a-reṣṭ-ant-*), from *riṣ-* 'injure'.

d. Similarly the old voiced palatal spirant (Itr. *ṣ*) disappeared after cerebralizing a following *d* or *dh* and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *tā-dhi* for **tāṣ-dhi* (= *tak-ṣ-dhi*) from *tak-* 'fashion'; *ṣo-dhā* for **ṣaṣ-dhā* (= *sak-ṣ-dhā*), beside *ṣaṣ-dhā-* (AV.) 'sixth'. A similar loss is to be assumed in *it-* 'praise' (= *iṣ-d* for *yaj-+d*)¹⁰.

e. This loss is specially frequent in the case of the old voiced palatal aspirated spirant (Itr. *śh*) represented by *h*, which was dropped after cerebralizing and aspirating a followed *t* and lengthening the preceding vowel; thus *bādhā-*

¹ In a few forms of the AV. the semi-vowel *v* seems to be lost at the end of the medial group *kya-*: *mekṣāmi*, *yokṣe*, *vīdhakṣān*, *sāḥṣe*. But these forms may be due to errors in the MSS.

² In *ch* = IE. *śh*, the original *s* was lost in a pre-Indian period.

³ Before voiced mutes other than dentals, *ś* became *d*, as in *madṣā-* (44, 3 a) 'diver'; similarly *ṣ* became *d*, as in *ṣaḥḥi*, from *ṣā-* 'look' or 'cord'; and in *vī-ṣṣā-bhi-* from *vīṣṣā-* 'drop'.

⁴ The loss of the voiced sibilant (*ṣ*) must be older than the original text of the RV, as the *ṣ* of *śad-* has been transferred to other stems which contain no sibilant, as in *bhāṣ-ī-*, from *bhāṣ-* 'divide'. Similarly the vowel of *hīṣṭ-*, though derived from *iṣ-*, is regarded as a primitive *ī* in the form *āṣṭhīdat* (AV.); cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, p. 272 (mid.).

⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMÆ, KZ. 27, 361. On *edh-* 'thrive', *mīṣṭhā-* 'broth', *veṭhā-* 'virtuous', see WACKERNAGEL 1, 237 c.

⁶ In stems in *-as* before case terminations beginning with *dh*, and before secondary

suffixes beginning with *m*, *y* or *v*, the sibilant is lost (instead of becoming *d* in the former circumstances, or remaining in the latter) owing to the influence of Sandhi; e. g. *dvṣā-bhi-* from *dvṣā-* 'hate'. An original sibilant has perhaps been lost in *māḥṣā-*, *sāhvāns-*, *jāhṣā-*, *hrādāni-*, *jas-* 'be exhausted'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 237 a β, note.

⁷ The origin of *krōṣā-* (AV. VS.) 'breast' (AV. *hrāṣṭā-* 'hard') and of many words with *d* or *dh* preceded by a long vowel, and with no collateral forms containing a sibilant, is obscure.

⁸ Cp. HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 24, 408. In *śīda-* (= *śīda-*) from *śad-* 'sit', the *d* has been retained owing to the influence of other forms of the verb *śad-*. See, however, ROZWADOWSKI, BB. 21, 147, and cp. ZDMG. 48, 519.

⁹ *ṣṣā-* perhaps stands for **ṣṣā-*, from *ṣṣ-* 'crush'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 146, d.

¹⁰ On *hīṣṭ-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 238 b, note; FISCHER, BB. 23, 253 ff. On *ṣṣ-*, cp. OLDENBERG, SBE. 30, 2.

'strong', *ni-bādhā* 'dense' (= *baḥdhā* for *baḥ-tā*) from *baḥh* 'be strong'; *sādhī* 'conqueror', *ā-sādhā* 'invincible', from *sah*; *riḥhā* (= *riḥḥlū*), from *rih* 'lick'; *ūdhā* (= *uḥdhā*) from *vah* 'carry'; *gādhā* 'concealed', from *guh* 'hide'; *trādhā*, *trādhvā* (AV.), from *trh* 'crush'; *drādhā* 'firm', from *drh* 'be strong'. Here *e* also appears for *a*; in *trūdhlu* (AV.) from *trh* (= *trna-dlu*); and *o* in *voḥhām* (= *vaḥḥām*), 2. du. aor. of *vah* 'carry'. We also find *e* as Guṇa of *i* in *mēdhra* (AV.), from *mih* 'ingere' (= *mesdhra*).

63. **Metathesis.**—Apart from the few examples of *ra* before *ṣ* and *h* (51 c), there are probably no certain instances of metathesis in the RV.¹ In the later Samhitās, however, a few other forms of metathesis are to be found. Thus *-valh-* seems to be a transposition of *hval-* 'go deviously' in *upa-valh-* (VS.) 'propound a riddle to'. In *valmika-* (VS.) 'anthill', *m* appears transposed beside *vamri-* and *vamrā-* 'ant', *vamra-kā-* 'little ant'. Metathesis of quantity occurs in *as-thas* for **as-this*, 2. sing. mid. aor. of *as-* 'throw'. This is analogous to the shortening, in the RV., of the radical vowel of *dā-* 'give', in the forms *ādām*, *ādas*, *ādat*, where the verb is compounded with the verbal prefix *ā*², while otherwise the forms *dām*, *dīs*, *dāt* alone appear.

64. **Syllable.**—The notion of the syllable is already known to the late hymns of the R̥gveda, though the word (*a-kṣāra-*) is there generally used as an adjective meaning 'imperishable'. Thus *akṣāreṇa mimate sapṭā vāyūḥ* means 'with the syllable they measure the seven metres'. The vowel being according to the Prātisākyas³ the essential element of the syllable, the word *akṣara-*⁴ is used by them in the sense of 'vowel' also. Initially, a vowel, or a consonant and the following vowel form a syllable. Medially, a simple consonant begins a syllable, e. g. *ta-pas*; when there is a group of consonants, the last begins the syllable, e. g. *tap-ta-*, and if the last is a sibilant or semivowel, the penultimate also belongs to the following syllable⁵, e. g. *astām-ṣit*, *antya-*. A final consonant in *pausā* belongs to the preceding vowel, e. g. *i-dam*.

By the process called **haplology** one of two identical or similar syllables in juxtaposition is dropped. Syllable is here to be taken in the sense not only of a consonant with a following vowel, but of a vowel with a following consonant.

1. The first of the two syllables is dropped within a word in *tuvi-rā[va]vān* 'roaring mightily', beside *tuvi-rāva-*; *madh[ya]yī* 'in the middle', from *mādhyu-* (like *āsa-yā*, *nakta-yā*); *vī[ta]hā* 'at will', from *vīhī-* 'willed' (like *rtu-thā* 'according to *rtu-*'); *svapatyūi* for *svapat[ya]yāi*, dat. sing. f. of *svapatyī-* 'having good offspring'; perhaps also *yās*, beside *yāyos*, gen. loc. du. of *yā*⁶. Examples of a vowel with following consonant being dropped are: *ir[adh]ādhyai*, inf. of *iradh-* 'seek to win'; *ca[an]anta*, *r[an]anta*, *v[an]anta*⁷; perhaps *sīd[as]as-pāti* beside *sīdasas-pāti* 'lord of the seat'⁸.

a. The final syllable of the first member of a compound is sometimes dropped in this way; thus *ś[va]-vāra-* 'treasury'; *ś[va]-vrdha-* 'dear'; *madigha-* (AV.);

¹ Perhaps *stokā-* 'drop', may stand for **skotā-*, from *scut-* 'drip', under the influence of *stikā-* 'rust'.

² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 212 b, note, and 239 b.

³ These forms are not resolved in the Padā text, i. e. they are treated as if they did not contain the verbal prefix *ā*.

⁴ RPr. XVIII. 17; VPr. I, 99.

⁵ Though known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali as well as to the Prātisākyas, *akṣara-*

as the designation of syllable is not found in Pāṇini.

⁶ See TPr. XXI. 7, 9. On the division of syllables cp. further RPr. I. 15; VPr. I. 100ff.; Apr. I. 55 ff.; TPr. XXI. 1 ff.; and WHITNEY on TPr. XXI. 5.

⁷ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 527, 562.

⁸ Cp., however, *en-os* for *ena-yos*.

⁹ See KZ. 20, 70 f.

¹⁰ See BLOOMFIELD, JAOS. 16, xxxv.

N. of a plant yielding honey, beside *madhu-dīgha* 'shedding sweetness'; *śas[pa]-plījara-* (VS.) 'tawny like young grass'.

2. The second syllable is dropped in the datives *pluṣṣya[ya]*, *ratnadhīya[ya]*, *sakhyā[ya]*, and *abhikhyā* beside *abhikhyāya*; also in *vrkād[āt]* 'destruction', beside *vrkādāt* and *devd-ātī-*; and at the beginning of the second member of a compound in *śrīya-[sa]kē-* (AV.) 'head.ache'.

a. A following syllable is sometimes dropped in spite of a different one intervening; thus in the dative *maryādā[ya]* 'boundary'; and somewhat peculiarly in *dvārī[ar]ur*, 3. pl. impf. beside the 3. sing. *ā varīvar* and 3. sing. pres. *ā varīvartī*.

II. EUPHONIC COMBINATION (SANDHI).

BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* p. 21—70. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* p. 34—87. — WACKERNAGEL, *Altindische Grammatik* I, 301—343. — ARNOLD, *Vedic Metre* p. 70—80.

65. **The nature of Vedic Sandhi.**—The sentence is naturally the unit of speech which forms an unbroken chain of syllables euphonicly combined. It is, however, strictly so only in the prose portion of the AV.³ and the prose Mantras of the YV. As the great bulk of the Vedas is metrical, the RV. and the SV. being entirely so, the editors of the Saphitā text treat the hemistich (consisting generally of two Pādas or verses)⁴ as the euphonic unit, applying the rules of Sandhi with special stringency between the Pādas or metrical units which form the hemistich. The evidence of metre, however, shows that, in the original form of the text, Sandhi at the end of an internal Pāda is all but unknown⁵. The verse, therefore, is the true euphonic unit⁶. The final of a word appears either at the end of this unit in *pausā* (*avasāne*)⁷, or within it as modified by contact with a following initial. The form which the final of a word assumes in *pausā*, being regarded as the normal ending, is generally the basis of the modification appearing within the verse. It will therefore conduce to clearness if the rules relating to absolute finals are first stated.

66. **Finals in *pausā*.**—a. **Vowels⁸** in this position undergo no change other than occasional nasalization.

1. In all the Saphitās *ā ī ū*⁹ are frequently nasalized when prolated; e. g. *vindatīṣṣṣ* | = *vindatī* (x. 146¹); *babhūṣṣṣ* | = *babhūṣa* (AV. x. 2²⁸); *viveṣṣṣ* | = *viveṣa* (VS. xxiii. 49); *mamāṣṣ* | = *mamā* (TS. vii. 4²⁹).

2. In the Saphitā text of the RV. there survive, at the end of a verse within a hemistich, from the period when such end also was accounted a pause, several instances of nasalized *ā*, preserved to avoid hiatus and con-

¹ This explanation is doubtful in *ślokā-* for *ś[ā]ślokā-* (cp. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* I, 624, p. 471); *śuṣṣṣ* (TS.) for *śuṣṣa-*; *bhīmā-* (VS.) 'terrible', for *bhīma-*; improbable in *rujūṣṣ* for *rujūṣa-*, 'with broken nose' (BLOOMFIELD, *JAOS.* 16, xxxiv).

² Cp. WHITNEY, *Translation of AV.* I, 123.

³ See BLOOMFIELD, *The Atharvaveda*, in this *Encyclopedia*, § 1 (beginning) and note 1.

⁴ In the *Gayatri* metre, in which there are three Pādas, the third alone constitutes the second hemistich; in the *Pañkti*, which has five Pādas, the last three constitute the second hemistich.

⁵ The only probable exception is RV. ix. 113, 7 c d; cp. ARNOLD, *Vedic Metre* 119.

⁶ The sentence within a Pāda, as well as the Pāda itself, is the unit of accent; cp. below, 83.

⁷ Cp. *KPr.* I 3; VI 5; X 5; XI 30.

⁸ Final *r* never occurs in the RV., its place being supplied by *ur* as nom. acc. s. n. e. g. *śihīr* 'standing' (cp. WACKERNAGEL, *KZ.* 25, 287 f.); but the TS. already has *janayit* and *bharit* (B?), WACKERNAGEL I, 259 a, note.

⁹ The vowels *ī* and *ū*, when dual terminations (*praghyā*), cannot be nasalized.

traction. Thus *ā* appears as *ām̐* before *e* and *o*; e. g. *ghan'nam̐kaś* (I. 33¹); *ā* appears *ām̐* before *e* or *r*; e. g. *yām̐rṇay.cay* (V. 30¹⁴); while the prepositions *ā* 'near', and *sāca* 'together', are nasalized before any vowel; e. g. *sācām̐udyān*. The vowel *ā* once appears as *ām̐* before *r* in *ripanyām̐rtāsya* (IV. 1¹²), following the regular rule that unnasalized *ā* is shortened before *r* in the RV.

b. Consonants are liable to change of mode of articulation and, to some extent, of place of articulation.

1. Final mutes, whether tenuis, media, or aspirate, are without distinction represented by the corresponding tenuis; e. g. *dārāt* (III. 59¹) = *dārid* 'from afar'; *uśar-bhīt* (I. 65⁹) = *uśar-bhīh* 'waking at dawn'.

2. The palatals *c* and *j* revert to the original guttural, becoming *k*; thus *arvāk* (I. 118²) = *arvāc* 'coming hither'; *su-yāk* = *su-yāj* 'well yoked'. The old palatal *j*, however, becomes *ś*, e. g. *riś* (I. 121³), m. f. 'king', 'queen', = *riś*; in *śtik*, however, it becomes the guttural, = *śtvīś* 'priest' (from *yaj*- 'sacrifice').

3. The ritual exclamations *vāśat* (X. 115⁹) and *śrāvāśat* (I. 139¹), which are probably modified forms of the 3. sing. aor. subj. of *vah*- 'carry', and *śru*- 'hear', have *ś* for *t* owing to the analogy of the exclamations *vāt* (VS.), *vāt* (TS.), 3. sing. aor. of *√vah*-⁵.

4. The nasals occurring as finals, *ñ*, *n*, *m*⁶, remain unchanged. Of these, *n* and *m* are very common; but *ñ* is found very rarely and only secondarily after the loss of a following *k* (representing an original palatal; e. g. *prāñ* for **prāñk*, from *prāñc*-). Probably no instance of final *ñ* can be found in Vedic Mantras. The palatal *ñ* never occurs, since final palatals become guttural (b, 2).

a. In the rare instances in which a radical *m* becomes final after dropping a following *-t* or *-s*, it appears as *n* owing to the influence of the dental; thus *dān* (= **dam-s*) 'of the house' (*dam*-)⁷; *d-kran* (= **d-kram-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *kram*- 'stride'; *d-gan* (= **a-gam-s*, **a-gum-t*), 2. 3. sing. aor., *a-jogan* (= **ajagam-t*), 3. sing. plup., *aganigan* (VS.), 3. sing. intv. of *gam*- 'go'; *d-yān* (= **a-yam-s-t*), 3. sing. aor. of *yam*- 'reach'⁸.

5. The semivowels *y* or *ṛ*⁹ do not occur as finals. *r* is represented by Visarga; thus *pīnar* 'again', is written *pīnaḥ*¹⁰.

6. The sibilants and *h* are all changed when final.

a. The dental *s*, which is by far the commonest of final sibilants, becomes Visarga; e. g. *ketīs* is written *ketīḥ* (III. 61¹).

β. The cerebral *ś*, which is very rare as a final, becomes cerebral *ṣ* in *ṣit* 'six', for *śis*; *-dviṣ* 'hating', for *-dviś*; *vi-prūṣ* (AV.) 'sprinkling',

¹ The ritual interjection *śm* (VS.) may be due to the nasalization of an original *o* prolated (cp. RPr. xv. 3). Thus the JUB. I. 24. 3ff., mentions the pronunciations *o* as well as *om*, both of which it rejects in favour of *om*.

² Cp. RPr. I. 13; WHITNEY on AP. I. 43

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 149 a. a.

⁴ Cp. above 42 c (p. 34).

⁵ Loc. cit.

⁶ Final *m* is often incorrectly written as Anusvara in Mss. (as conversely in Prakrit Mss. *m* is often written as *m̐* under Sanskrit influence: cp. FISCHER, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen, in this Encyclopedia, 339, 348), and their example is sometimes followed in printed editions.

⁷ In the K. also occurs the form *a-nān* = **nām-s-t*, from *nam*- 'bend'. The ŚB. has *prāñ* 'painless', = **prādam-s*.

⁸ See 46 d, β.

⁹ Final *ṛ* is spoken of as occurring rarely (WACKERNAGEL I, 260 c), or as very rare (WHITNEY 144), but I have been unable to find a single example in the Vedas (or even in post-Vedic Sanskrit). But though no etymologically final *ṛ* seems to occur either in pausa or in Sandhi, it is found as a substitute for *ṛ* in two or three words in the later Samhitās (see above 52 d, p. 45).

¹⁰ When *h* stands for etymological *r*, this is indicated by an added *ṛ* in the Pada-pāṭha; e. g. *pīnar ṛ* (X. 85¹⁸).

for *vi-pris*. These are the only examples occurring in the RV. and AV. In the only two examples in which *s* occurs in the RV. as a final in the compound form *ks*, it is dropped: *andk* 'eyeless', from *an-áks*; *á-myak*, 3. sing. aor. of *myaks-* 'be situated' (?).

γ. The palatal *ś* becomes either *k* or *ʃ*; e. g. *-dʃk* for *drś-* (III. 619); *vīpāś*, N. of a river, for *vīpīś-*.

δ. According as it is guttural or palatal in origin, *h* become *k* or *ʃ*; thus *á-dhok*, 3. sing. impf. of *duh-* 'milk'; but *á-vát*, 3. sing. aor. of *vah-* 'carry'.

ε. The rule is, that only a single consonant may be final. Hence all but the first of a group of consonants are dropped; e. g. *ábhavan* for **ábhavan*; *tin* for **tins*; *tudán* for *tudánts*; *práh* for **práhks* (= **práhcs*); *acchan* for **achants*, 3. sing. aor. of *chand-* 'be pleasing'.

α. *k* *ʃ* or *t*, when they follow an *r* and belong to the root, are allowed to remain; e. g. *várk*, 2. 3. sing. aor. of *vij-* 'hend'; *hík* (VS), nom. of *hij-* 'strength'; *á-mírś*, 3. sing. impf. of *myj-* 'wipe'; *á-vart*, 3. sing. aor. of *vrt-* 'turn'; *suhárt* (AV.), nom. of *suhárt-* 'friend'. The only instance of a suffix remaining after *r* is *darś*, 3. sing. aor. of *dr-* 'cleave', used also for 2. sing. beside *á-dah* = *á-dar* (for **á-dars*).

β. Some half-dozen instances have been noted, in the Saṃhitās, in which a suffixal *s* or *t* seems to have been retained instead of the preceding consonant; but they are probably all to be explained as due to analogical influence. They are:

1. the nominatives *sadhá-mís* (beside *sadhá-m.ín*) 'companion of the feast'; *ava-yás* 'sacrificial share', and *puro-śás* (acc. *puro-śátam*) 'sacrificial cake'. *Sadhá-mís* may be due to the influence of nom. with phonetic *s* like *-már* 'moon', beside inst. pl. *míd-bhis* (44 a 3). *Ava-yás*, in the only passage in which it occurs in the RV., has to be read as quadrisyllabic (also in AV.), i. e. as *ava-yí-jah*, and is probably to be explained as a contraction which retains the living *-s* of the nom. (and not the prehistoric *s* of **yí-j-s*). *Puro-śás* (from *śi-* 'worship'), occurring only twice in the RV., may be due to the influence of a frequent nom. like *draviṣo-dís* 'wealth-giver'. That the prehistoric nom. *-s* should in these three forms have survived in the linguistic consciousness of the Vedic poets, and as such have ousted the preceding consonant, which in all other analogous nominatives alone remains, is hardly conceivable. The only reasonable explanation is to assume the analogical influence of the nom. *-s* which was in living use after vowels.

2. The four verbal preterite forms (*a-yás* (for **a-yí-j-s*) beside *a-yíj*, 2. sing. aor. of *yaj-* 'sacrifice'; *śis* (AV.) = **a-śwí-j-s*, 2. sing. aor. of *śj-* 'emit'; *a-bhanas* (AV.) = **a-bhanak-s*, 2. sing. impf. of *bhāj-* 'break'; and *a-srat* (VS.) = **a-srav-t*, 3. sing. aor. of *svas-* 'fall') are the beginnings of the tendency (of which there are several other examples in the Brāhmanas)³, to normalize the terminations, so as to have *-s* in 2. sing. and *-t* in 3. sing. This tendency is extended in the RV. from the *s* and *t* of 2. 3. sing. even to 1. sing. in the forms *a-kramim* (beside *a-kramítam*) owing to *a-kram-ís*, *a-kram-ít*; and *vam* (for *vam-am*) owing to 2. sing. *vak* (for *vāt*), aor. of *vṛ-* 'cover'.

67. Rules of Sandhi.—The body of euphonic rules by which final consonants are assimilated to following initials and hiatus is avoided between final and initial vowels is called Sandhi in the Prātisākhya⁴. The editors of the Saṃhitā of the RV. have greatly obscured the true condition of the text with which they dealt by applying to it rules of euphonic combination which did not prevail at the time when the text was composed. Thus though the Sandhi between the verses of a hemistich is (excepting a few survivals from the older form of the text)⁵ applied with greater stringency than elsewhere, the metre clearly shows that the end of the first verse of a hemistich constitutes a pause as much as the end of the last. Within the verse, moreover, Sandhi is, according to metrical evidence, not applied where the caesura occurs; *ná*, when it means 'like' (as opposed to *ná* 'not'), is never contracted with any following vowel, nor *áá* 'then' with a preceding *a*⁶; *ī* and *ī* before

¹ Cp. 43 n.

² Cp. WHITNEY 146 a; BLOOMFIELD, AJP. 3, 28 ff.; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29, 578 ff.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 555 a.

⁴ RPr. II. 2. 7. 13; VII. 1; VPr. III. 2;

APr. IV. 414.

⁵ E. g. *muniṣá* | *agnih* (I. 70¹).

⁶ In these instances there is a pause in

dissimilar initial vowels are hardly ever changed to the corresponding semi-vowels¹, and often remain uncontracted even before similar vowels²; the elision of *a* after *e o* is rare³; contraction is commonly avoided by the final vowel of monosyllabic words, and by an initial vowel followed by conjunct consonants⁴. Nevertheless, it may be said in a general way that the poets of the RV. show a tendency to avoid the meeting of vowels⁵. The divergences between the apparent and the real Sandhi which appear in the RV., decrease in the later Vedas, while the application of particular rules of Sandhi becomes more uniform⁶.

a. External Sandhi, or that which applies between words in the sentence, is to a considerable extent identical with internal Sandhi, or that which applies within words. The most striking difference is, that in the latter consonants remain unchanged before verbal and nominal terminations beginning with vowels, semi-vowels, or nasals⁷. External Sandhi is on the whole followed in the formation of compounds, the divergences from it in the latter being merely survivals of an earlier stage of external Sandhi due to the closer connexion between members of a compound that renders them less liable than separate words to be affected by modifications of phonetic laws.

External Sandhi is to a considerable extent affected by the law of finals in pausā. Under that influence it avoids final aspirates and palatals. There are, however, in the treatment of final *n r*, and *s*, certain survivals which do not agree with the corresponding forms in pausā.

b. There are certain duplicate forms which were originally due to divergent euphonic conditions. Thus the tendency was to employ the dual ending *ā* before consonants, but *au* before vowels. Similarly, the word *siddi* 'always', was used before consonants, but *sīdam* before vowels⁸.

68. Lengthening of final vowels.—Final vowels as a rule remain unchanged before consonants. But *ā i ū* are very frequently lengthened⁹ before a single initial consonant¹⁰ both in the metrical portion of the Saṃhitās and in the prose formulas of the Yajurveda; e. g. *śrudhī hīvam* 'hear (our) call'. This practice includes examples in which the consonant is followed by a written *y* or *v*, to be pronounced, however, as *i* or *u*; e. g. *ādha hy āgne* (IV. 10¹¹) = *ādha hi agne*; *abhi sv ārydā* (X. 59¹²) = *abhi sū arydā*. The lengthening here appears to have arisen from an ancient rhythmic tendency of the language to pronounce long, between two short syllables, a final short vowel which was liable to be lengthened elsewhere as well¹³; this tendency being utilized by the poets of the Saṃhitās where metrical exigencies required a long syllable. Thus *ādha* 'then', appears as *ādhā* when a short syllable follows. Similarly *tū* 'but' generally becomes *tū* before a short syllable; and *sū* 'well' nearly always becomes *sā* between short syllables¹⁴.

the sense; cp. OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 443, note 2; ARNOLD 122.

¹ ARNOLD 125.

² Op. cit. 124.

³ Op. cit. 127.

⁴ Thus *māṣarāḥ* (IV. 47^d) must be read *mā āṣarāḥ*, but *māduvāḥ* (for *mā āduvāḥ*) remains (ibid.).

⁵ Cp. OLDENBERG 434f.

⁶ Cp. BARTHOLONÆ in KZ. 29, 37, p. 511f.

⁷ Thus *takat*, *ā-sakuvān*, *takra*, *idkvan* (from *tak* 'be able'), in all which forms *r* would be required by external Sandhi.

⁸ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 309, bottom.

⁹ The Padapāṭha in these instances regularly gives the original unlengthened vowel.

¹⁰ Except in compounds, this lengthening disappears in the later language; there are, however, several survivals in the Brāhmaṇas; see AUFRECHT, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 427; and cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 264 b.

¹¹ This tendency survived in the post-Vedic language in compounds, in words (which followed the analogy of compounds) before suffixes beginning with consonants, and in reduplicative syllables.

¹² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 266 b.

a. The short vowel regularly remains unchanged at the end of a verse¹ (even within a hemistich); and often before the caesura of a Tristubh or Jagati Pāda (even in terminations otherwise liable to be lengthened)².

b. The final vowel is not lengthened in 1. vocatives (except *vr̥ṣabhā* VIII. 45³, and *hariyojanā* I. 61⁴); 2. datives in *-āya*; 3. nom. plur. neuter in *-ī*; 4. verbal forms ending in *-ī* and *-u* (excepting imperatives in *-dhi* and the 3. sing. *rākṣati* II. 26⁴); 5. the prepositions *ūpa*⁴ and *āpa* (except *āpa vrdhi* VII. 27²).

c. In some instances final vowels appear to be lengthened before vowels⁵ or two consonants⁶.

69. Contraction of similar vowels.—When a final *ā ī ū* or *ī ū* is followed by corresponding initial *ā ī* or *ū*, contraction resulting in the long form of the respective vowel regularly takes place; e. g. *ihāsti* = *ihā asti*; *indrā* = *indra ā*; *tvāgne* = *tvā agne*; *vīdām* (VI. 9²) = *vī idām*;

a. The contraction of *ā + a* and of *ū + ū* occasionally does not take place even in the written text of the RV. both at the end of and within a Pāda; thus *manīṣā | agniḥ* (I. 70¹); *manīṣā abhi* (I. 101⁷); *paśā dśurali* (V. 51¹¹), *pūṣā abhi* (VI. 50³), *pūṣā ariṣṭu* (X. 26¹⁴); *vīṣū uti* (I. 39²); *sū nr̥dhv(h)* (VI. 24⁹); *sū utibhiḥ* (I. 112¹⁻³); the compound *suṭītyaḥ* (VIII. 47¹⁻¹⁸)⁸.

b. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction is written, the original vowels have to be restored in pronunciation with hiatus⁹. The restored initial in these instances is long by nature or position, and the preceding final if long must be shortened in pronunciation¹⁰; e. g. *cāsīt* (I. 27¹) = *ca āsīt*; *cārcata* (I. 155¹) = *ca arcata*; *māpēh* = *mā āpēh*; *māpsīvah* = *mā āpsīvah*; *mṛlatīdīṣe* (IV. 57¹) = *mṛlatī dīṣe*; *yāntīndavaḥ* (IV. 47²) = *yāntī indavaḥ*; *bhavantūksīnah* (VI. 16¹⁷) = *bhavantu ūksīnah*. After monosyllables, the hiatus is regular in the case of the written contractions *ī* and *ū*, especially when the monosyllables are *ī* and *hi*; e. g. *vīndra* (X. 32²) = *vī indra*; *hīndra* (I. 102⁵) = *hī indra*¹¹.

c. Duals in *ā ī ū* are regularly uncombined. Such *ī* and *ū* are usually written with hiatus in the Sāṃhitā text; the dual *ā* always appears before *u*¹², but at the end of internal Pādas invariably coalesces in the written text.

70. Contraction of *ā* with dissimilar vowels.—1. When final *ā* is followed by *ī ū*, contraction takes place resulting in *e o*¹³ respectively; e. g. *pitāva* = *pitī āva*; *ām* = *ā Im*; *ābhī* = *ā ubhī*. When *ā* is followed by *r*, contraction is never written in the RV. and VS.¹⁴, but the metre shows that the combination is sometimes pronounced as *ar*, as is the case in the compound *saptarṣīyāḥ* 'the seven seers'¹⁵.

¹ Apparent exceptions are due to erroneous metrical division of Pādas by the editors of the Sāṃhitās, or to mechanical repetition of formulas originally used in a different position in the verse. Thus *br̥dhi | hāvam* (I. 25¹⁹) appears in imitation of *br̥dhi hāvam* which is frequent at the beginning of a verse (II. 11¹, etc.). Cp. OLDENBERG 420 f.

² See ZUBATY, Der Quantitätswechsel im Auslaute vedischer Wörter, Vienna Or. Journal 2, 315.

³ See ZUBATY, op. cit. 3, 89.

⁴ See OLDENBERG 399.

⁵ Op. cit. 60.

⁶ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I. 265 b, note.

⁷ There is no example of contracted *r* in the Sāṃhitās, as *r* never meet; and in the RV. final *r* never occurs (cp. above, p. 59, note 8).

⁸ Cp. BENFFY, SV. XXXII f.; ROTH, Literatur 67 f.

⁹ *nī* 'like', is never combined in pronunciation, see above 67; cp. ARNOLD 120.

¹⁰ Long vowels being regularly shortened before vowels; see OLDENBERG 465 f.

¹¹ Cp. ARNOLD 124.

¹² Op. cit. 120. Before other vowels, *āv*, the Sandhi form of *au*, the alternative dual ending, appears.

¹³ Because the long monophthongs *ī* and *ū* represent IE. *ī* and *ū*.

¹⁴ The MS. does not contract either, but on the contrary often lengthens *ā* to *ā*, even where the metre requires contraction. Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 267 a, note.

¹⁵ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch p. VII.

a. In the RV. $\bar{a}+i$ is once contracted to ai in $prā\bar{a}yātī$ (I. 120⁵) = $prā\bar{a}yātī$ (Pp.)¹; in the SV. $\bar{a}+i$ is once contracted to ai in $\bar{a}indrā$ = $\bar{a}indrā$ (I. 2. 1. 45); and in the AV. and VS. the preposition \bar{a} contracts with r to \bar{ar} in $\bar{ar}tī$ = $\bar{a}r\bar{t}ī$ 'suffering', and $\bar{ar}chātū$ = $\bar{a}r\bar{c}hātū$ ². The last three instances are perhaps survivals of an older contraction. That \bar{a} is not otherwise contracted with r to ar or ar , is doubtless to be accounted for by the previous shortening of \bar{a} in hiatus.

b. Occasionally \bar{a} followed by i remains uncontracted in the written text of the RV.; thus $prā\bar{a}yām$ (VI. 753); $prā\bar{a}indrām$ (VIII. 174); $rayayā\bar{a}thā$ (VIII. 34¹¹)⁴. When \bar{a} is followed by r , it is either shortened or nasalized; e. g. $tāthā\bar{a}r$ for $tāthā\bar{a}r$; $kādām\bar{a}r$ (V. 39) = $kādā\bar{a}r$; $vibhā\bar{a}m\bar{a}r$ (IV. 33)⁶ = $vibhā\bar{a}r$; $vīpanyām\bar{a}r$ | $r\bar{t}āyā$ (IV. 112) = $vīpanyā\bar{a}r\bar{t}āyā$.

c. On the other hand, in many instances where the contraction e or o is written, the original simple vowels must be restored with hiatus; e. g. $\bar{a}ndrā\bar{a}m$ (I. 1081) = $\bar{a}indrā\bar{a}m$; $\bar{a}bhā\bar{a}m$ (I. 481) = $\bar{a}bhā\bar{a}m$ $us\bar{a}h$ ⁸.

2. Final \bar{a} contracts with a following e or ai to ai ; and with o or au to au ; e. g. $\bar{a}bhā\bar{a}$ for $\bar{a}bhā\bar{a}$. But though the contraction is written, the original vowels must sometimes be restored; e. g. $\bar{a}isu$ (I. 61¹⁶) must be read $\bar{a}esu$.

a. Final \bar{a} , instead of being contracted with e and o , is in a few instances elided before those diphthongs; thus $\bar{a}tār\bar{a}e\bar{a}$ (VII. 333) = $\bar{a}tār\bar{a}e\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}tār\bar{a}e\bar{a}$ (X. 914) = $\bar{a}tār\bar{a}e\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}e\bar{a}$ (VII. 99) = $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}e\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}e\bar{a}$ (VIII. 53) = $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}e\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}p\bar{a}e\bar{a}$ = $\bar{a}p\bar{a}e\bar{a}$. An example of a compound with this elision seems to be $\bar{a}d\bar{a}e\bar{a}$ = $\bar{a}d\bar{a}e\bar{a}$ 'having ten aids'.

b. Final \bar{a} , instead of being contracted with e is, in a few instances, nasalized before that diphthong; thus $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (I. 79¹) for $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}d\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ $\bar{a}d\bar{a}$ (I. 123¹⁰) for $\bar{a}d\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ | $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (I. 35⁹) for $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$.

3. When \bar{a} remains after a final y or s has been dropped, it does not as a rule contract with the following vowel. Nevertheless such contraction is not infrequent in the Samhitās. In some instances it is actually written; thus $\bar{a}r\bar{t}ā\bar{a}yātī$ (III. 32⁹) = Pp. $\bar{a}r\bar{t}ā\bar{a}yātī$; $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (V. 17³) = Pp. $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$; and the compound $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (VIII. 46¹⁸) = Pp. $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$; in the later Samhitās are found $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (AV. X. 1¹³) = Pp. $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (VS. XXI. 43) = Pp. $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ ¹².

In other instances the contraction, though not written, is required by the metre; thus $\bar{a}indrā$ (VII. 2¹³), Pp. $\bar{a}indrā$, must be read as $\bar{a}indrā$; $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (AV. IX. 1⁹), Pp. $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$, as $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$; $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (AV. IX. 4²³), Pp. $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$, as $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$.

a. There appear to be several other instances of such written contraction, which are however otherwise explained by the Padapāṭha; thus $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (X. 93¹⁰) = $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$,

¹ Several instances of this contraction occur in B and later.

² The TS. extends this contraction to prepositions ending in o : $\bar{a}p\bar{a}r\bar{c}hātī$, $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}tī$; see WHITNEY, APr. III. 47f., TPr. III. 9f. In the post-Vedic language this contraction was extended to all prepositions ending in \bar{a} .

³ Cp. BENFEY, GGA. 1846, p. 822.

⁴ The Pp. explains $\bar{a}thā$ and $\bar{a}yā$ as imperatives ($\bar{a}thā$, $\bar{a}yā$); but the \bar{a} here may represent \bar{a} of the subjunctive (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 311 mid.). Occasionally \bar{a} remain uncontracted because the editors regarded them as representing $\bar{a}y$, or $\bar{a}h$, as in $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ (VII. 363) $\bar{a}yā\bar{a}$ (VII. 393). Cp. RPr. II. 28f.; BENFEY, SV. xxxf.; WACKERNAGEL I, 267 a β.

⁵ See p. 63, note ¹⁰; \bar{a} is shortened before r in the AB.; see AUFRECHT'S ed. 427.

⁶ $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ occurs thus three times; see LANMAN 529.

⁷ In opposition to the Mss. MAX MÜLLER, RV², reads $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ because Sayana appears to favour that reading.

⁸ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 123.

⁹ This is a precursor of the post-Vedic rule by which the \bar{h} of a proposition before initial e and o of verbs (except $\bar{c}h$ etc. and $\bar{c}hātē$ etc.) is elided.

¹⁰ Though the AV. has $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ = $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ the elision of \bar{a} before $\bar{a}vīn\bar{a}$ often takes place in the Sūtras and later.

¹¹ The old hiatus is here treated as it would be at the end of an internal Pada. The TS. (III. 1, 115) retains the hiatus in the same verse without nasalization; cp. OLDENBERG 469 ff.

¹² See WACKERNAGEL I, 268 b.

¹³ In the Paippalāda recension this contraction is actually written.

Pp. *vāyā utā; bhām̐yopāsi* (x. 75³) — *bhām̐yā upāsi*. Pp. *bhām̐yā upāsi*. In a few of these the contraction must be removed as contrary to metre; thus *uṣā yāti* (II. 61⁴), Pp. *uṣā yāti*, which means 'Dawn goes', should be read as *uṣā ā yāti*, as the sense requires 'Dawn comes', and the metre requires an additional syllable; *abhīyāpāsi* (II. 20²), Pp. *āsi*, should be read as *abhīyāpāsi* (*āsi*); *vṛṣabhīva* (VI. 46⁵), Pp. *vṛṣabhā iva*, as *vṛṣabhāh iva*.

b. In a very few instances a final *m* is dropped after *u*, which then combines with a following vowel. This contraction is actually written in *durgāhātā* (IV. 18²) for *durgāham ātā* (but Pp. *durgāhā ātā*), and *sāvanedām* (TS. I. 4. 44²) for *sāvanam idām* (Pp. *sāvanā idām*). Occasionally this contraction though not written is required by the metre; thus *vāgrām thā* (AV.) must be read *vāgrthā*.

71. Final *i* and *ū* before dissimilar vowels.—1. The final vowels *i* and *ū* before dissimilar initial vowels and before diphthongs are in the Saṃhitās regularly written as *y* and *v*⁵ respectively; e. g. *prāty āyam* (I. 11⁶) = *prāti āyam*; *ā tv itā* (I. 5¹) = *ā tū itā*; *jānitry ajījanat* (x. 134¹) = *jānitri ajījanat*. The evidence of the metre, however, shows that this *y* or *v* nearly always has the syllabic value of *i* or *u*²; e. g. *vy āsāh* (I. 92¹) must be read as *vī āsāh*; *vidītheṣu añjān* (I. 92²) as *vidītheṣu añjān*.

a. The final of disyllabic prepositions must, however, frequently be pronounced as a semivowel, especially before augmented forms; e. g. *adhyāsthāh* (I. 49¹); *śru acāriṣam* (I. 23²); also *ān-iki* (x. 53⁶).

b. In all the Saṃhitās the particle *u* following a consonant is written as *v* and pronounced as *u* before a vowel; e. g. *śūvā v indra* (I. 28¹)⁸; but the long form of the same particle occasionally remains unchanged in the RV. even after a consonant; e. g. *ūd ū ayāni* (VI. 71⁵); *tām ū akṛṇvan* (x. 88¹⁰).

c. In RV. I—IX there are other instances of monosyllabic and disyllabic words at the end of which *y* and *v* are pronounced; but the only example of a trisyllabic word in which this occurs is *śreyatu* in *śreyatu śpah* (II. 32⁴). In RV. x there are a few further examples; e. g. *devā v ādhi* (x. 121⁸)⁹.

d. The semivowel is regular in the compounds *yo-ij-*, *yo-y-ū-*¹⁰, *sv-āhā*, and *sv-īd*¹¹.

2. Unchangeable *ī* and *ū*. a. The dual *ī* and *ū* never change to *y* or *v*; nor is the former ever prosodically shortened, though the latter sometimes is; e. g. *hāri* (—) *ptāsyā*; but *sādhi* (—) *asmai* (II. 27¹²). The dual *ī* may remain even before *i*; e. g. *hāri iva*, *hāri indra*, *akṣi iva*; but the contraction is written in *upadhīva*, *pradhīva*, *dāmpatīva*, *nīspātīva*, *vṛpātīva* (AV.), *rōdastm*¹³ (VII. 90³) = *rōdast im* 'these two worlds'. There are also several passages in which the contraction, though not written, must be read¹².

b. The rare locatives in *ī* and *ū*¹³ (from stems in *i* and *u*) are regularly written unchanged in the Saṃhitā text of the RV., except *vēdy āyām* (II. 3¹),

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a.

² In instances in which contraction with *iva* seems to take place, the existence of a byform *va* has to be taken into consideration; cp. GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, column 221; WACKERNAGEL I, 268 a, note.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 67, end.

⁴ In the RV. *r* is never final, and I doubt whether any example can be quoted from the other Saṃhitās in which it is followed by an initial vowel.

⁵ The Sandhi which changes a vowel to the semivowel is called *kyāyva* 'gliding', in the Prātiśākhya; cp. RPr. II. 3; III. 7; VII. 5.

⁶ The long vowel being regularly shortened; cp. OLDENBERG 465.

⁷ WACKERNAGEL I, 271 b; OLDENBERG 438, note, ZDMG. 44. 326 note; ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

⁸ The TS. has *uv* for *v*. Elsewhere also Indo-ariŝche Philologie. I. 4.

iy and *uv* are sometimes written for *i* and *u*; e. g. *sv-īd* = *sv-ūd* 'accessible'; hence the pronunciation may have been *iy*, *uv*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 c, 271 a.

⁹ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

¹⁰ If the analysis of BR., *yo-y-ū-*, is correct; the Pp. divides *yo-y-ū-*.

¹¹ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 125.

¹² Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 270 b, note. Here we have probably not contracted forms with *iva*, but the dual *ī+va*, the byform of *iva*.

¹³ The vowels which regularly remain unchanged are called *prāyṛṣya*, 'separated', by the native phoneticians; see RPr. I. 16 etc.; VPr. I. 92 etc.; APr. I. 73 etc. They are indicated as such in the Pp. by an appended *ī*. The particle *u* is indicated as *prāyṛṣya* in the Pp. of RV. and AV. by its nasalized form *ūṃ* (nasalization being employed to avoid hiatus; see above 66, 1).

where, however, the vowel must be pronounced (— 0 —). The vowels here (unlike the dual *i*) seem always to be treated as prosodically short¹.

c. The final *i* of other cases also occasionally remains unchanged; thus the nominatives *pṛthivī*, *pṛthujrādyi*, *samrājī* and the instrumental *susdmi* sometimes retain their *i*, and the inst. *atī* frequently does so².

72. Final *e* and *o*.—1. a. Before *a*. The diphthongs *e* and *o* remain unchanged before an initial *a*. This *a* is often not written in the Samhitās³, being dropped in about three-fourths of its occurrences in the RV. and in about two-thirds in the AV.⁴; but the evidence of metre shows that, in 99 instances out of 100 in the RV., and in about 80 in the AV. and the metrical parts of the YV., it is, whether written or not, to be read, and at the same time shortens the preceding diphthong to *ē* or *ō*⁵. In *vīśve devāso aptūrah* (I. 3⁸) the *a* is both written and pronounced; in *sandvū* | *agne* (I. 1⁹) it must be restored: *sandve* | *agne*⁶. The exceptional treatment of *e* in *śhītava ambyām* (VIII. 72⁵), for *śhītava ambyām*, indicates that the Sandhi of *e* and *o* before *a* was originally the same as before other vowels⁷. But their unchanged form, as before consonants, gained the day, because the short close *i*, when coming immediately after them in their character of monophthongs, would have a natural tendency to disappear and thus leave a consonant to follow.

b. Before other vowels. The diphthongs *e* and *o* before any vowels but *i* would naturally become *ay* and *av*, as being originally = *ai* and *au*, and as having the form of *ay* and *av* within a word. But *ay* regularly drops the *y*; e. g. *agna ihī* (I. 22¹⁰); *av* on the other hand generally retains the *v*, dropping it before *ū*⁸; e. g. *vāyav ā yāhi* (I. 2¹); but *vāya ukthēbhīr* (I. 2²).

2. Unchangeable *e*. a. The *e* of the dual nom. acc. f. n. of *a*-stems, e. g. *idhe* 'both', is regularly uncontracted (*pragṛhya*), because it consists of *a* + the dual *i*⁹.

b. Under the influence of this nominal dual *e*, the verbal dual *e*¹⁰ of the 2. 3. present and perfect middle, e. g. *vāthhe* 'ye two bring', *bruvāte* 'they two speak', *ās-āthe* 'ye two have obtained', come to be uncontractable, though the *e* is nearly always prosodically shortened; e. g. *yuñjāthe apūh* (I. 151⁴); but *parimannāthē asman* (VII. 93⁶).

c. The *e* of the locative *tvī* 'in thee', is uncontractable. Under its influence the other pronominal forms *asmē* 'us', and *yuṣmē* 'you', are also always treated as *pragṛhya* by the Samhitā as well as the Padapāṭha; it is,

¹ Cp. OLDENBERG 456, note; WACKERNAGEL I. 270 b.

² Cp. op. cit. I. 270 b, note. Such forms, in which the absence of contraction is only occasional, are not indicated by *ii* in the Pp.

³ This form of Sandhi is in the Prātiśākhya called *abhinikṣita* 'elided'; KPr. II. 13 etc.; VPr. I. 114, 125; APr. III. 54; TPr. II. 8.

⁴ See WHITNEY 135 c.

⁵ Cp. OLDENBERG 435 f., 453 ff., ZDMG. 44, 331 ff.; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 324.

⁶ The few instances (70 out of 4500) of the elision of *a* in the RV. are the forerunners of the invariable practice of post-Vedic Sandhi.

⁷ Internally the original Sandhi of the compound *śhī-tava* must have been *śhī-tava-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 325, note.

⁸ There are a few survivals of *ay*; e. g. *hīr ā* (MS. I. 1¹) = *ā ā* (TS.); cp. TPr. X. 23; OLDENBERG 447 ff. In the MS., the K., and Mantras occurring in the Manavasūtras, unaccented *a* for *e* before an accented initial vowel is lengthened; e. g. *ā dadhā* ff.

⁹ See above 71, 2. A dual *e* once appears contracted in *dhiṣṣyem* (VII. 72³), which, however, should probably be read uncontracted as *dhiṣṣye imi*. The *-wa* which occurs several times (I. 186¹ etc.) and looks like a contraction of the dual *e* with *iva*, in reality probably stands for the dual *e* + *va*, the byform of *iva*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 317, note, top.

¹⁰ There was originally no difference between this dual *e* and any other *e* in middle forms, such as that of the dual *-vāhe*, the singular *-te*, and the plural *-ante*.

however, doubtful whether they were so treated in the original text of the RV.¹

3. Unchangeable *o*. a. When *o* is the result of combining the final *ā* of particles with *u* (which itself is often unchangeable)², it is *pragṛhya*; thus *ī* (= *āu*), *ītho* (= *ātha u*), *utō* (= *utā u*), *mō* (= *mā u*).

b. Following this analogy, the vocative in *o* of *u*-stems is sometimes treated as *pragṛhya* in the Saṃhitā of the TS.; e. g. *pīto ā* (TS. v. 7. 2⁴). It is regularly so treated in the Padapāthas of the RV., AV., VS., TS. (but not SV.). Thus in *vāyav ā* (I. 2¹), *vāya ukthibhir* (I. 2²), *vāyo tāva* (I. 2³) the vocative is equally given in the Padapātha as *vāyo īti*.

73. The diphthongs *ai* and *au*.—The diphthongs *ai* and *au* are treated throughout in the same way as *e* and *o* before vowels other than *a*. Thus *ai* is regularly written *ā* (having dropped the *y* of *āy*); e. g. *kīsmā aksī* (I. 116¹⁶); *kīsmā Indrāya* (I. 4¹⁰). On the other hand, *au* is generally written *av*, but always *ā* before *ū* in the RV. and VS.; e. g. *tāv ā* (I. 2⁵); *tāv Indragñī* (I. 108³); but *sujitvā ūpa* (I. 13⁸). In the AV. *ā* appears before *u* in *pūda ucye* (AV. xix. 6³). In the MS. *ā* appears before other vowels also³.

74. Euphonic combination of consonants.—The Sandhi of final consonants, generally speaking, starts from the form which they assume in pausā. Thus an aspirate first loses its aspiration; the palatal *c* becomes *k*; *j ś h* become *k* or *ś*⁴; and of a group of consonants the first alone remains. Final *n* is, however, to a great extent differently treated from what it is in pausā; and the Sandhi of *s* and *r* is, for the most part, based not on *h*, their form in pausā, but on the original letter.

A final consonant is assimilated⁵ in quality⁶ to the following initial, becoming voiceless before a voiceless consonant, and voiced before a voiced sound⁷; e. g. *tāt satyim* (I. 1⁵) for *tād*; *yāt tvā* (I. 15¹⁰) for *yād*; *havyarād juhvāsyah* (I. 12⁶), through *-vāt* for *-vāh*; *gāmad vājebhir* (I. 5³) for *gāmat*; *arvāg vādhaḥ* (I. 9⁵) for *arvāc* through *arvāk*.

a. A final media before a nasal may become the nasal of its own class. There seems to be no certain instance of this in the RV.; *cakrān nā* (X. 95^{22, 13}), however, probably stands for *cakrān nā*, though the Pp. has *cakrān nā*. This assimilation is regular in some compounds; e. g. *śū-narati* '96' for *śū-narati*. From here it penetrated into internal Sandhi; e. g. *śū-nām*.

b. Assimilation not only in quality, but also largely in the place of articulation occurs in the Sandhi of final *m*, of the final dentals⁸ *t n s*, and of final *r* (under the influence of *ṣ*).

75. Euphonic combination of final *m*.—*t*. Before vowels, final *m* remains unchanged; e. g. *agnim īe* (I. 1¹). In a very few instances, however, the *m* is dropped, and the vowels then contract. This Sandhi is mostly indicated by the metre only: it is very rarely written⁹, as in *durgāhaitāt*

¹ Cp. OLDENBERG 455, note.

² Cp. above 71, 1 b.

³ See GARBE, GGA. 1882, 117 f.; WACKER-NAGEL I, 274; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 60, 755—758 (Duale auf -ā und -au).

⁴ Some compounds, however, preserve survivals of an earlier phase of Sandhi; e. g. *vīś-pāti* 'lord of the house'; *vīś-pāli* N., not *vīś*; *nabh-rāj* (MS.) 'cloud-king', not *nab-rāj*. Cp. L. V. SCHROEDER, ed. of MS. I, p. XVI.

⁵ Final *t* before vowels becomes *t* in the RV., not *ṭ* as later; e. g. *bāt itthā*, for *bāt*.

⁶ Within a word a voiced consonant is not necessary before vowels, semivowels, and nasals.

⁷ Some scholars think that the 3. sing. impv., e. g. *bhāvatu* represents *bhāvāt u* for original *bhāvāt u*, the *t* being retained owing to the influence of the innumerable forms of the 3. sing. with *-t*, *-ti*, *-te*, etc. (cp. WACKER-NAGEL I, 276 b); but this is doubtful; DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 517 ff., thinks it may originally have been *bhāvā + tū* (particle); cp. IF. 18, 71.

⁸ An example of a final guttural becoming a dental before a dental occurs in TS. I. 2. 7¹, where *samyāt te* stands for *samyāt te*. There are a few other examples in II. passages of the TS.; see WACKER-NAGEL I, 277 b.

⁹ See above 70, 3 b.

(iv. 18²) for *durgīham dāt*, and it is never analysed by the Padapāṭha in this way. It may perhaps have started from the analogy of the doublet *tībhya* beside *tībhyam* 'to thee'¹.

2. Before mutes, final *m* is regularly assimilated², becoming the corresponding nasal, and before *n* similarly becoming *n*. The Mss. and printed texts, however, represent this assimilated *m* by the Anusvāra sign; e. g. *bhadrām karisyāsi* (I. 1⁶) for *bhadrām karisyāsi*; *bhadrām no* (x. 20¹) for *bhadrām no*. This actual change of *m* to *n* before dentals led to some errors in the Pada text; e. g. *yām ni-pāsi* (iv. 11⁶), analysed as *yāt* instead of *yām*; *āvī-venam tām* (iv. 24⁶), analysed as *āvī-venam* instead of *āvī-venām* (cp. iv. 25³).

3. Before *r ś s s* and *h*³, final *m* becomes Anusvāra (*m̐*); e. g. *hōktarām ratnadhātāmam* (I. 1¹); *vārdhamānam svē* (I. 1⁹); *mītrām huve* (I. 2⁷). From its original use before sibilants and *h*, Anusvāra came to be employed before the semivowel also⁴. A compound like *sam-rāj-* 'overlord' shows that *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *r*.

4. Before *y l v*, final *m* is assimilated as nasalized *ṝ ṝ̄*. The TPr.^o, however, allows Anusvāra beside these, while the APr. even requires Anunāsika before *y* and *v*; and the printed texts regularly use Anusvāra; e. g. *sām yudhi* (I. 8³); *yajñām vastu* (I. 30¹⁰). Forms like *yamyāmāna* 'extended' and *dpa-mlukta* 'concealed' show that final *m* originally remained unchanged in Sandhi before *y* and *l*⁵; and forms like *jaganvān*, from *gam-* 'go', point to its having at one time become *n* before *v* in Sandhi.

76. Euphonic combination of final *t*. — 1. Before *l*, final *t*⁶ becomes fully assimilated as *l*; e. g. *āngāt lōmnah* (x. 163⁶) for *āngāt lōmnah*.

2. Before palatals (including *ś*)⁷ final *t*⁸ becomes palatal⁹; e. g. *tīc cakṣuh* (vii. 66¹⁶) for *tīc cakṣuh*; *rohīc chyāvā* (I. 100¹⁶) for *rohīc chyāvā*; and in a compound *yātayāj-jana-* 'marshalling men', for *yātayāt-jana-*.

77. Euphonic combination of final *n*. — 1. Before vowels. Final *n*¹⁰, a. if preceded by a short vowel, is doubled¹¹; e. g. *āhann āhim* (ii. 11²) for *āhan*. The final *n* is here chiefly based on original *ns* or *nt*. Though it is always written double¹², the evidence of metre shows that this rule was only partially applied in the RV.¹²

b. If preceded by a long vowel, it becomes within¹³ a Pāda in the RV. *n̄* after *ā*¹⁴, but *n̄r* after *i u ṛ*¹⁵; e. g. *sārgām̄ iva*, for *sārgām̄*; *paridhīm̄r dī*, for *paridhīm̄*; *abhisām̄r iva*, for *abhisām̄*; *n̄m̄r abhī*, for *n̄m̄*. This Sandhi was caused by the *n* having originally been followed by *s*¹⁶; e. g. *vṛkām* originally

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 a, note.

² Op. cit. I, 283, b a.

³ Op. cit. I, 283 d.

⁴ In the post-Vedic language Anusvāra came to be allowed before mutes and nasals also.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 283 c.

⁶ Representing *th d dh* also, if they occur.

⁷ In the MS. *t* anomalously becomes *ṣ*, instead of *c*, before *ś*; see L. V. SCHROEDER, ZDMG. 33, 185; ed. of MS. I, p. xxix. On the aspiration of *ś* in this Sandhi, see below 80 a.

⁸ Final dentals never come into contact with initial cerebrals in the Saṁhitās.

⁹ This rule applies to final guttural *n̄* also; e. g. *kūṣṭhām̄r* (x. 108³), cp. LANMAN 490; *hīn̄m̄r akṛyot* (I. 164²³) for *hīn̄m̄r*.

¹⁰ The compound *vṛkām̄r-āsvā-* 'having stallions as steeds', forms an exception.

¹¹ For various explanations of this doubling, see WACKERNAGEL I, 279 a (p. 330).

¹² Cp. OLDENBERG 424 f., 429 ff.

¹³ At the end of a Pāda, *-ān -in -ūn* remain unchanged (as being in pausa) before a vowel. For passages in which *-ān* is unchanged within a Pāda, see below and OLDENBERG 428.

¹⁴ In the MS. and K., *-ān̄* is shortened to *-ān̄*; e. g. *asmām̄r āsvot* for *asmām̄r*. Cp. V. SCHROEDER, ed. of the MS. I, p. xxix.

¹⁵ *fn* becomes *fmr* only once (v. 54¹⁵), remaining unchanged elsewhere because two *r* sounds are avoided in the same syllable (see below 79).

¹⁶ For examples of this Sandhi applied to nominatives in *-ān*, see LANMAN 506 A, note (*māhām̄*), 512 (*vām̄*), 514 (*vyām̄*), 517 (*mām̄*); for accusatives, 346.

**vykants*¹; *māhān* for **māhānts*; *d-yān*, 3. sing. aor. for **d-yān-st* (1. sing. *d-yāmsam*)². The *n* became Anusvāra (or Anunāsika) before this *s*, which was treated in exactly the same way as when it followed an unnasalized vowel (*ās* becoming *ā*, but *īs*, *ūs*, *īs* becoming *ir*, *ur*, *īr*).

a. The *ān* of the 3. pl. subjunctive (originally *ānt*), however, remains unchanged before vowels within a Pāda, obviously owing to the *-t* which at one time followed. There happen to be only five occurrences of this form under the conditions required: *ā vahān āsī* (I. 84¹⁰); *ghōyān ūttarā* (III. 33⁶); *sphurān rjīpyām* (VI. 67¹¹); *gācchān id* (VIII. 79⁵); *gacchān ūttarā* (X. 10¹⁰)³.

2. Before consonants. Final *n* remains unchanged before all gutturals and labials (including *m*), as well as before voiced dentals (including *n*). It is, however, liable to be changed before the following sounds:

a. Before *p*, final *n*, when etymologically = *ns*, sometimes becomes *ṅh*; thus *nṅh pāhi* (VIII. 84³)⁴; *nṅh pātram* (I. 121¹).

b. Before all palatals that occur it becomes palatal *ñ*; e. g. *ardhvāñ carāthaya* (I. 36¹⁴) for *ardhvān*; *tāñ jusethām* (V. 51⁶) for *tān*; *vajrīñ chnathīhi* (I. 63⁵) for *vajrīn śnathīhi*⁵; *devāñ chīśkah* (X. 12⁵) for *devān śīśkah*.

Before *o*, however, the palatal sibilant is sometimes inserted⁶ in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion occurs **only** when the sibilant is **etymologically justified** (that is, in the nom. sing. and acc. pl. masc.) almost exclusively (though not invariably) before *ca* and *cid*; thus *anuyājāms ca* (X. 51⁸), *amenāms cid* (V. 31¹)⁷. In the other Saṃhitās the inserted sibilant becomes commoner, occurring even where it is not etymologically justified (that is, in the 3. pl. impf., and the voc. and loc. of *n*-stems)⁸.

c. Before dental *t*⁹, final *n* usually remains; but the dental sibilant is sometimes inserted in the RV., the *n* then becoming Anusvāra. This insertion, however, occurs in the RV. only when it is etymologically justified; it is commoner in the other Saṃhitās¹⁰, where it appears even when not etymologically justified.

d. Before *y r v h*, final *n* as a rule remains unchanged; but *-ān*, *-īn*, *-ūn* sometimes become *-āñ*¹¹, *-īñ*, *-ūñ*, as before vowels; e. g. *-annāñ rayivdhaḥ* (VII. 91³) for *-annān*; *dadvūñ vā* (X. 132¹) for *dadvān*; *pañīñ hatam* (I. 184²) for *pañīn*; *dīsyāñ yōnau* (I. 63³) for *dīsyān*.

e. Before *l*, final *n* always becomes nasalized *l̥*¹²; e. g. *jīgvāl̥ lakṣām* (II. 12⁴).

f. Before the dental sibilant, final *n* remains; but a transitional *t*¹³ may be inserted; e. g. *ahant sīhasā* (I. 80¹⁰) 'he slew with might'; *tān sām* may also be written *tānt sām*¹⁴. In the former example the *t* is organic; from such survivals it spread to cases where it was not justified. A similar insertion may take place before *s*; that is, *vajrīn śnathīhi* may become *vajrīñ śnathīhi* or *vajrīñ chnathīhi* (through *vajrīñ śnathīhi* for *vajrīnt śnathīhi*)¹⁵.

¹ Cp. Cretic *λίανος*.

² In all the other Saṃhitās the pause forms *-ān -īn -ūn -ṅn* predominate. In the post-Vedic language they became the only allowable forms.

³ Cp. OLDENBERG 428.

⁴ The MS. (II. 131¹) has *nṅh pāhi*.

⁵ For examples of nominatives with this Sandhi, see LANMAN 506A, note, 513 (top), 517.

⁶ Op. cit., 506 A, note, and 514.

⁷ Op. cit., 512.

⁸ There are no examples of the inserted sibilant before *ch* in the Saṃhitās. In the

post-Vedic language a sibilant is invariably inserted after *n* before all voiceless palatals, cerebrals, and dentals.

⁹ Neither *th* nor *t̥h* occur in the Saṃhitās after final *n*.

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 516 A, note.

¹¹ For *dadhanvāñ yāh* of the RV. (IX. 107¹) and SV., the VS. (XIX. 2) has *dadhanvā yāh*.

¹² As *m* does before *l*; see above 75, 4.

¹³ Before *s* a transitional *k* may similarly be inserted after a final *n*; e. g. *pratyāñ sā* may also be written *pratyāñk sā*.

¹⁴ See LANMAN 506 A, note, and 346.

¹⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 282, note.

78. Euphonic combination of final *s*. — 1. Before voiced sounds.

a. Final *s* after all vowels except *ā*, assumes its voiced form *r* before all vowels and voiced consonants¹; e. g. *ṛṣibhīr iḍyo* (I. 1²) for *ṛṣibhis*; *agnīr hōta* (I. 1³) for *agnis*; *paribhūr dsi* (I. 1⁴) for *paribhūs*; *nītanair utā* (I. 1⁵) for *nītanais*.

The *s* doubtless became *r* through an older transitional voiced cerebral *ṣ*², as is shown by the Avesta, e. g. in *duṣita-* = *dur-ita-*³.

b. Final *s* after *ā* must originally have become *ś* before voiced sounds. But *as* drops the sibilant before vowels and voiced consonants, while *as* drops it before vowels except *a*⁴, but becomes *o*⁵ before voiced consonants⁶ and *a*; thus *sutā imā* (I. 3¹) for *sutis*; *vīśvā vī* (I. 3²), for *vīśvās*; *khyā ā* for *khyas* (I. 4¹); *no dī* (I. 4²) for *nas*; *Indavo vām* (I. 2¹) for *Indavas*.

2. Before voiceless consonants. a. Before the palatals *c*, *ch*, *ś* final *s* becomes the palatal sibilant *ś*⁷; e. g. *devās cakṛmī* (X. 37¹²).

b. Before the dental *t*⁸, final *s* following *ā* always remains; e. g. *yās te* (I. 4¹); *médhīrās tṣām* (I. 11⁷). After *ī ū*⁹, it remains as a rule; e. g. *apṛibhis tinā* (I. 3⁴). But *s* becomes *ṣ*, which cerebralizes the following *t* to *ṭ*: a. regularly in compounds¹⁰ in all the Saṃhitās; e. g. *dīs-tara-* 'insuperable' for *dīs-tara-* (but *rajas-tīr-* 'traversing the air'); β. often in external Sandhi in the RV. This occurs chiefly, and in the independent passages of the other Saṃhitās¹¹ only, before pronouns; e. g. *agnīs te*; *krātus ṣm*; otherwise it occurs occasionally only in the RV.; thus *niṣ-tataṣṭir* (X. 31⁷); *gobhīs ṣarema* (X. 42¹⁰); *nākiṣ ṣaniṣu* (VII. 20¹²)¹³.

c. Before *k kh p ph*, final *s* as a rule becomes Visarjaniya (its pause

¹ When final *s* becomes *r* before *r*, it is treated like an original *r*, being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

² This *ṣ* would be the voiced cerebral corresponding to the voiceless, which appears before voiceless consonants (e. g. in *ācṣha-*).

³ This *ṣ* would account for the Sandhi of some Vedic compounds formed with *des-* 'ill': *dū-dūbha-*, *dū-dūt-*, *dū-dūt-*, *dū-yāsa-*, *dū-ṇāsa-*, beside *dur-niyantu-*. It may possibly also account for the forms *svādhitā* (V. 87), for *svādhitā*; *va* (Pp. *svādhitā-va*), and *ur-iva* (IX. 96¹³), where the metre requires *ur-iva* (Pp. *ur-iva*); the cerebral being dropped after lengthening the preceding vowel.

⁴ In the MS. unaccented *a* for *as* is lengthened before an accented vowel; e. g. *tātā indrah*. In TS. II. 4. 7¹ *ar* for *a* in *jinvar āṛṣṭi* is merely a bad reading (MS. II. 47 *jinva rāṛṣṭi*); cp. above p. 33, note 13.

⁵ In the compound *ānar-vīh-* (I. 121⁷) 'having a wain as his abode', *ar* instead of *o* (cp. *ānar-vant-* 'possessed of a wain') is perhaps due to the influence of *vanar-*, beside *vanas-* and *vana-*. On a still more anomalous compound of the same word, *anar-vīh-* 'drawer of a cart', 'bull', cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 339, top. The vowel *ā* appears instead of *o* in *pracetā | rājan* (I. 24¹⁴) 'O wise king' (*pracetā rājan* in the same verse, TS. I. 5. 113), probably owing to the voc. *pracetāh*, as it would have been pronounced at the end of a Pāda in the original text, having been misunderstood as

a voc. in *-tar* (from a stem in *-tṛ*), which would become *tā* before *r*.

⁶ The starting point of this Sandhi was probably the treatment of *as* before voiced dentals, where the sibilant was dropped and the preceding vowel lengthened to *e* or *o*. The latter finally carried the day, *e* surviving only in *śāre dūhitā* (I. 345); cp. BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 11; WACKERNAGEL I, p. 338.

⁷ *ś* *ś* *ś* does not stand for *śś* *ś*, but for *ś ś* *ś*.

⁸ If initial cerebral mutes had existed in the Saṃhitās, final *s* would doubtless have become the cerebral sibilant *ś* before them.

⁹ No example of initial *h* occurs in the Saṃhitās; but the internal Sandhi of *sthā-* 'stand', in *tī-ṣṭhā* (for *tī-ṣṭhā-ū*) shows that initial *h* would have been treated in the same way as *t*.

¹⁰ Final *ṣ* never occurs; *ṣ*, occurring only once in the RV., remains unchanged in *māṣṣ trīn* (I. 164¹⁰).

¹¹ The only exception in the RV. is *cātus-trīṣṭat* 'thirty-four', doubtless due to the avoidance of the combination *ṣr*.

¹² The TS. also has *niṣ-ṣaṣ* 'heat'. On the usage of the SV., see BENEY, SV. p. XLIII; on that of the AV., see WHITNEY, AP. II. 84.

¹³ Owing to the far more numerous occurrences of *ās* before *t*, combined with the disinclination to change the following initial, the retention of *s* after *ī ū* gradually gained ground and finally prevailed in the post-Vedic language, even in compounds.

form), or Jihvāmūliya (*ḷ*) before the gutturals and Upadhmaniya (*ḥ*) before the labials; e. g. *Indraḥ pāṇca* (i. 7⁹). But *ās* remains and *īs ūs ṛs* become *īs ūs ṛs*¹; a. regularly in compounds in all the Samhitās; e. g. *paras-pā-* 'far-protecting'; *haviḥ-pā-* 'drinking the offering'; *duḥ-kṛt-* 'evil-doing'; *duḥ-pād-* 'evil-footed'. The general rule, however, applies in the following compounds: *purūḥ-prasravāna-* 'streaming forth'; *chīndah-pakṣa-* (AV.) 'home on the wings of desire'; *śrīyah-keta-* (AV.) 'striving after superiority'; *sadyah-kṛt-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *bahih-paridhī* (TS.) 'outside the enclosure'; *itāḥ-pradāna-* (TS.) 'offering from hence (= this world)'.

The repeated (or *amreṣita*) compounds also follow the general rule, doubtless from a desire to change the repeated word as little as possible; thus *pūrvah-pūrvo* 'each first'; *pardh-parah* 'always without' (AV.); *pāruṣah-paruṣas* (VS.) 'from every knot'; *pūruṣah-puruṣo* (TS.) 'every man'; *pāruḥ-paruḥ* (TS.) 'joint by joint', but *pāruḥ-parur* also in RV. AV. TS.

β. Often in external Sandhi in the RV.²; e. g. *dīvās pāri* (x. 45¹) 'from the sky'; *pātṛvatas kṛdhi* (i. 14⁷) 'make them possessed of wives'; *dīvās pitā* (iv. 1¹⁰) 'Father Heaven'.

d. Before mutes immediately followed by *s* or *ś*, final *s* regularly becomes Visarjaniya; e. g. *śatākratuḥ tsarat* (viii. 1¹¹); *ubhayataḥ-kṣṇīr* (TS.) 'two-edged'. Occasionally the sibilant disappears, as in *ādha ksīranītr* (vii. 34²)³.

e. r. Before a simple sibilant final *s* is either assimilated or becomes Visarjaniya; e. g. *vas śivātamo* or *vaḥ śivātamo* (x. 9¹); *dāvīḥ saḥ* or *dāvīḥ saḥ* (x. 128⁵); *naḥ sapātṇā* or *naḥ sapātṇā* (x. 128⁹). Assimilation is undoubtedly the original Sandhi⁴ and is required by some of the Prātisākhya⁵; but the Mss. usually employ Visarjaniya, and European editions regularly follow this practice⁶.

a. The sibilant disappears in the compounds *barhi-sād-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter'; *dyāu-santīta-* (AV.) 'sky-sharpened'; and, after lengthening the preceding *a*, *ayī-sayā* *rajā-sayā* *harā-sayā* (TS. i. 2. 11² = MS. i. 2⁷) for *ayā-*, *rajā-*, *harā-*.

2. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a voiceless mute, a final sibilant is dropped; e. g. *mandibhi śtamebhīr* (i. 9¹) for *mandibhis*; *mitha-spydhya* (i. 166⁹) for *mithas-*; *du-śtūt-* 'ill praise' for *duḥ-7*. The omission is required by the Prātisākhya of the RV., VS., TS., and is the practice of all the Mss. of the MS.

3. Before a sibilant immediately followed by a nasal or semivowel, a final sibilant is optionally dropped; thus *kṛta śrāvah* (vi. 58¹), beside which (though the Pp. reads *kṛta*) the MS. reads *kṛtaḥ śrāvah*⁸; *nī-svarām* (vii. 1¹) for *nī-svarām* 'noiseless' (Pp., however, *nī-svarām*).

79. Euphonic combination of final *r*. — As *ḥ* is the pause form of both *r* and *s*, a certain amount of mutual contamination appears in their Sandhi; *r*, however, suffers much more in this respect than *s*. Since both *s* and *r* when preceded by *ī ū* have the same natural Sandhi, it is in a few

¹ This treatment of final *s* before voiceless gutturals and labials, which is parallel to that before *t*, was doubtless the original form of sentence Sandhi.

² *adī pīto* (i. 187⁷) is probably only an apparent exception, as *adī* = *āda* *u*, not *ādus* (Pp. *adī*); the Paippalāda recension of the AV., however, has *ādas pīto*, for *adī*.

³ Though the Pp. reads *ādha*, the PB. in quoting the verse has *ādhaḥ*; see OLDENBERG 369, note 1.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY on APr. II. 40.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 342, top.

⁶ In *pīritō śīdanta* (x. 107¹), *itī* probably = *itā* *u* (Pp. *pīri itāḥ*).

⁷ The omission was doubtless due to the fact that it made no difference to the pronunciation. Hence probably the wrong analysis of *īstūt* by the Pp. as *īstūt*, instead of *īstūt*, as in *īst-vant-* (cp. BR. I).

⁸ Cp. BOLLENSSEN, ZDMG. 45, 24; FISCHER, *Vedische Studien* I, 13.

instances uncertain which was the original sound. Thus it is somewhat doubtful whether the *-uh* of the abl. gen. sing. of *r*-stems and of the 3. pl. act. of past tenses represents original *us* or *ur*. In the verbal form, the *r* in the corresponding middle termination of the perfect, *-re*, seems to decide in favour of *ur*¹.

1. a. Before vowels and voiced consonants (except *r* itself) *r* remains not only when preceded by *i* *ú*², but by *ā* also³; e. g. *gir* | *iśā* (I. 117¹); *pūr devatrī* (VII. 52¹); *prātār agullh* (V. 18¹); *pūnar nah* (X. 57⁵); *svār druho* (II. 35⁶)⁴.

b. Before *r*, *r* disappears, after lengthening a preceding vowel; e. g. *pīna rūpīni* (AV. I. 24⁴). In a few instances, however, *o* appears instead of *ā* (= *ar*), under the influence of *-ah* as the pause form of neuters in *-as*; thus *ūdho romaśīm* (VIII. 31⁹), for *ūdā*; and the compound *aho-rātrā* 'day and night', for *ahā*.

2. Before voiceless consonants final *r* is as a rule treated like *s*.

a. Before the gutturals *k kh* and the labials *p ph*, it becomes *h* under the influence of the pause form; e. g. *pīnah kalih* (X. 39⁸); *pīnah pātīm* (X. 85²⁹); *pīnah-pūnar* (I. 92¹⁰). But that the *r* originally remained before these consonants is shown by its survival in the compounds *pār-pati*, *svār-pati*, *vār-kāryā*, *ahār-pati* (VS.). But even here the pause form was gradually introduced; e. g. *svāh-pati* (SV.); it supplanted the *r* of *antār* throughout; e. g. *antah-pīya* 'drinking up'; *antah-kōśā* (AV.) 'inside of a store-room'; *antah-parīkṛyā* (VS.) 'flesh between the ribs'; *antah-pātrā* (AV.) 'interior of a vessel'; and because the pause form of *r* and *s* was identical, the Sandhi of *s* came to be applied here even in the RV.; thus *āntas-patha* 'being on the way' (for *āntar*); *cītus-kapardā* 'having four braids', *cītus-pād* 'four-footed' (for *cītur*).

b. Before the palatals *c ch*, final *r* invariably (like *s*) becomes the palatal sibilant *ś*; e. g. *pūs ca* (I. 189²) for *pār ca*. This applies almost always even in compounds; e. g. *cītus-catvāriṣṣat* (VS.) 'forty-four'. There are only two examples of the *r* being retained even here: *svār-caḥsas* 'brilliant as light', *svār-canas* 'lovely as light'.

c. Before dental *t*, final *r* is without exception treated like *s*; e. g. *gīs trībarhīśi* (I. 181³) for *gir*; *cītus-trīṣṣat* 'thirty-four' for *cītur*. The retention of *r* before *t* in *āvar tīmah* (I. 92⁴) is only apparently an exception, as this really stands for *āvart tīmah*⁵.

d. Before sibilants, final *r* appears in its pause form as Visarjaniya in sentence Sandhi, e. g. *pīnah śdm* (II. 38¹). In compounds, however, it

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 284 note (p. 335).² as the form would originally have been
² A list of root-stems in *-ir* and *-ur* will be found in GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch 1693
be found in GRASSMANN'S Wörterbuch 1693 *ūdho* for *ūdhar*, which appears before *a*
—1694, column 3—4. and *m*, is due to the influence of neuters

r is original in *dār* 'door'; *vār* 'pro-
tector'; *vār* 'water'; *āhar* 'day'; *udr* 'dawn';
ūdhar 'udder'; *vādhar* 'weapon'; *vānar* 'wood';
'down'; *pūnar* 'again'; *prātār* 'early'; the
voc. of *r*-stems, e. g. *bhṛitar*; the 2. 3. sing. of
past tenses from roots in *-r*, e. g. *āvar*, from
vr 'cover'.

⁴ *āha evā* (VI. 48⁷) for *āhar evā* is due to
āhaś, the pause form of *āhar*, being treated
like that of a neuter in *-as*, *āhar*. In *akṣā*
indur (IX. 98³) for *akṣār indur* (I p. *akṣār*), the
editors of the Saṃhitā misunderstood *akṣāś*,
standing for *āvar* is probably from *var*.
'shine' (cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 335,
explained by BENFEY (SV. XI. and 176) as
cp. RPr. I. 32. *āvo* before *a*, *d*, *m*,
5 Cp. above 62, 1.

frequently remains; thus *vanar-sīd-* and *vanar-sād-* 'sitting in the wood'; *dhūr-sād-* 'being on the yoke'; *svar-śā-* 'winning light'; *svār-śāti-* 'acquisition of light'; *dhūr-sāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke'. This indicates that it originally remained before sibilants in sentence Sandhi also.

80. Initial aspiration.—The palatal sibilant *ś* and the breathing *h*, when initial, may under certain conditions be changed to aspirates.

a. After a final *c*, initial *ś* may become, and in practice always does become, *ch*; e. g. *yāc chaknāvāma* (x. 2¹) for *yād śaknāvāma*. The same change occasionally takes place after *f*; thus *vīpāt chutudri* (III. 33¹), for *śutudri*; *turāśāt chusmi* (v. 40¹) for *śusmi*.

b. After a final voiced mute, initial *h* may be and usually is changed to the aspirate of that mute; e. g. *tīd dhi* (I. 126²) for *tīd hī*; *sīdad dhōta* (x. 12¹) for *sīdad* (= *sīdat*) *hōta*; *dīvid dhuvāni* (x. 16¹) for *huvāni*.

81. Sandhi of compounds.—The euphonic combination at the junction of the members of compounds is on the whole subject to the rules prevailing in external Sandhi or between words in a sentence. Thus the evidence of metre shows that contracted vowels are often even in compounds to be read with hiatus, when the initial vowel of the second member is in a heavy syllable; e. g. *yuktā-akva-* 'having yoked horses', *devā-iddha-* 'kindled by the gods', *decha-ukti-* 'invitation'. Many archaisms of Sandhi are, however, preserved in compounds which have either disappeared from or are obsolescent in the sentence.

I. An earlier stage of Sandhi has been preserved by compounds alone in the following instances:

a. Several old phonetic combinations appear in single words: *dvi-bārha-jman-* 'having a double course' for *dvi-bārha-jman-* (= **dvi-bārhad-* from *bārhad-*, with *-ad* for *-as* before the voiced palatal)²; *barhi-sād-* 'sitting on the sacrificial litter' (from *barhis-* for *barhiś-sād-*); *vīś-pāti-* 'lord of the house' and *vīś-pātī-* 'mistress of the house' (with *ś* retained instead of *f*)³, *sam-rāj-* 'sovereign ruler' (with *m* preserved before *r*)⁴.

b. In a group of compounds with *das-* 'ill' as first member, the combinations *dū-d* = *du,-d* and *dū-n* = *du,-n* appear instead of *dur-d* and *dur-n*: *dū-dūbha-* 'hard to deceive', *dū-dhi-* 'malevolent', *dū-dśā-* 'hard to attain', *dū-dśā-* 'hard to attain' and 'hard to destroy', *dū-dś-* (AV.) 'not worshipping'. But *dur-*, the form which would be required by external Sandhi, is already commoner in the RV.; e. g. *dur-dṛśika-* 'looking bad', *dur-dhār-ṛtu-* 'hard to restrain', *dur-dīman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-dśā-* (AV.) 'hard to attain'.

c. Final *r* in the first member is preserved in the RV. before voiceless sounds⁵; thus *vār-kāryā-* 'producing water', *svār-cakṣas-* 'brilliant as light', *pār-pati-* 'lord of the stronghold', *svār-pati-* 'lord of heaven', *dhūr-sād-*⁶ 'being on the yoke'.

d. Radical stems ending in *-ir* and *-ur* mostly lengthen their vowel before consonants (as within words), e. g. *dhūr-sād-* 'being on the yoke', *dhūr-sāh-* (VS.) 'bearing the yoke', *pār-pati-* 'lord of the stronghold', *pār-bhid-* 'breaking down forts', *pār-bhīdya-* n. 'destruction of forts', *pār-yāna-*⁷ 'leading to the fort'.

¹ See HENFEY, Göttingische Abhandlungen 15, 105 ff.; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 123—139.

² Cp. above 44 a, 3.

³ Later *vīś-pati-* (TB. II. 5. 7¹), and even in the RV. *pāś-bhī-* 'fetter' from *pāś-* 'hind'.

⁴ Otherwise Anusvara, as in *sam-rājantam*.

⁵ While in external Sandhi it would become Visarjanyā or a sibilant.

⁶ External Sandhi gradually encroaches here in the later Samhitās, as in *svār-pati-* (SV.). On *funah-* for *punar-* in *funah-sarā-*, *antah-* for *antah-* in *antah-pāthā-*, and *antah-* in *antah-pāthā-* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 126⁷, note, and above 79, 2 a.

⁷ But *gir-* retains the short vowel in *gir-vāpas-* 'fond of praise', *gir-vāhas-* 'praised in

c. As first member of a compound *dyu-* 'heaven' appears as *div-* before vowels¹ (while *yu* would in external Sandhi become *yu*), as *div-isyi-* 'striving for heaven', *div-it-* 'going to heaven'.

2. Compounds in the Samhitās preserve many euphonic archaisms which, while still existing in external Sandhi, disappear from the sentence in later periods of the language though still partially surviving in compounds.

a. A final consonant disappears before the same consonant when the latter is the initial of a group: *upá(s)-stha-* 'lap', *ud(k)-kṣatra-* 'star', *hṛ(d)-dyotit-* (AV.), an internal disease, *hṛ(d)-dyōhana* (AV.) 'breaking the heart'².

b. A final sibilant disappears before a mute followed by a sibilant, as in *divá-ksa-* 'heavenly' ('ruling over heaven', *div-ás*, gen.)³.

c. A sibilant as initial of the second member is retained; thus *scandra-* 'bright' in *paru-scandri-* 'much-shining' and many other compounds, but almost invariably *candri-* as an independent word⁴.

d. A final *s* in the first member or an initial *s* in the second is cerebralized; e. g. *duṣ-śara-* 'invincible', *niṣ-śikvare-* (AV.) 'running away', *duṣ-śrīpnya-* 'evil dream'.

e. An original *n* in the second member is cerebralized after a *r* or *ṣ* with the necessary phonetic restrictions (47). a. In derivatives from verbs compounded with prepositions containing *r*, initial, medial, or final *n* of the root is almost invariably cerebralized in the Samhitās; thus *nir-ṛij-* 'bright garment', *pari-hṛuta-* (AV.) 'denied' (*√ hnu-*), *pari-nih-* 'enclosure', *pari-ṇaddha-* (AV.) 'tied up', *pra-ṇi-* and *pra-ṇet-* 'leader', *prá-ṇiti-* 'guidance', *prāṇ-* 'breath', *prīṇana-* and *prāṇátha-* (VS.) 'respiration' (*an-* 'breathe'). The cerebralization appears even in suffixes, as *pra-yēna-* 'advance'⁵.

β. In other compounds *n* greatly predominates when the second member is a verbal noun; e. g. *grāma-ni-* 'chief of a village', *dur-gāni* 'dangers'; *ni-pīna-* 'giving drink to men', *pīty-yāna-* 'trodden by the fathers', *pār-yāna-* (AV.) 'leading to the sort', *raṣa-hān-* 'demon-slaying', *vitra-hān-* 'Vitra-slaying'. The cerebralization fluctuates in *-yāvan-*: thus *pratar-yāvan-* 'going out early', *vīṣa-pra-yāvan-* 'going with stallions', but *puro-yāvan-* 'going in front', *subhra-yāvan-* 'going in a radiant chariot'; also in *purīṣa-vāhana-* (VS.) and *purīṣa-vāhana-* (TS. K.) 'removing rubbish'. Cerebralization never takes place in *-ghn-*, the weak form of *-han-* 'killing'; nor in *akṣā-nāh-* 'tied to the axle', *kravya-vāhana-*⁶ 'conveying corpses', *carma-mut-* 'tanner', *yusmā-nita-* 'led by you'.

γ. The cerebralization takes place somewhat less regularly when the second member is an ordinary (non-verbal) noun; e. g. *urū-nasá-* 'broad-nosed', *tri-navá-* (VS.) 'consisting of three times nine parts', *tri-nāman-* (AV.) 'having three names', *dru-ghand-* 'mallet', *ny-mānas-* 'friendly to men', *purī-nāman-* 'many-named', *pūr-vāhnyá-* 'forenoon', *prī-napāt-* 'great-grandson'. There is

song'. The long vowel in *án-ātir-dā-* 'not fulfilling expectation', *ātir-dā-* and *ātir-dāyá-* 'fulfilment of a benediction' is due to analogy, as *ā-si-* is derived from the root *ās-*.

¹ *dyu-* remains before consonants: *dyu-ksá-*, *dyu-gá-t-*, *dyu-bhaktá-*.

² Also in external Sandhi *tá dyám* (AV. IV. 19^b) for *tád dyám*.

³ Also in external Sandhi *ádha kṣurāntir* (VII. 34²), cp. above 78, 3 d.

⁴ Divergence from external Sandhi is sometimes not archaic but due to innovation;

as *go-* 'cow' instead of *gav-* before vowels, e. g. *gá-agra-* 'headed by cows'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 129 e. Another kind of innovation in compounds is due to haplogy; cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 241 a β; 2¹, p. 128 bottom.

⁵ There are a few exceptions: *pari-pīna-* 'drink', *pari-nhyāmana-* 'being led home' (*√ vah-*), *prá-pīna-* (VS.) 'distended'.

⁶ Like *kravya-vāhana-* 'conveying oblations'.

⁷ The later Samhitās always have *n* after *tri-*, while the RV. always has *n*; as *tri-*

fluctuation when *du-* 'ill' assumes the later Sandhi form of *dur-*, as *dur-nāman-* 'having a bad name', *dur-haṇu-* 'having ugly jaws', but *dur-niyantu-* 'hard to restrain'; also in *vārdhrā-nasā-* (TS.) 'rhinoceros' and *vārdhri-nasā-* (VS.) 'having streaks on the nose'; *śri-manas-* (TS.) and *śri-manas-* (VS.) 'well-disposed'.

But *n* often remains in this type of compound: initially in *krpā-nīla-* 'whose home is splendour', *candrā-nirṇij-* 'having a brilliant garment', *varṣā-nirṇij-* 'clothed with rain', *tveṣā-nṛmua-* 'of brilliant power', *dirghā-niṭha-*, N. of a man, *pūnar-nava-* 'again renewed', *babhrī-nikasa-* (VS.) 'looking brownish', *vṛṣa-nābhi-* 'having a mighty nave'; medially in *ṛṣi-manas-*² 'inspired', *indrāgni* 'Indra and Agni', *śsaltra-vāni-* (AV.) 'addicted to military rule', *brāhma-vāni-* (VS.) 'well disposed to the priesthood', *catur-anika-* 'four-faced', *try-anikā-* 'three-faced', *jyōtir-anika-*³ 'having a shining face', *citrā-bhānu-* 'having bright lustre', *dhruvā-yoni-* (VS.) 'having a fixed abode', *pra-mānas-* (AV.) 'careful', *hāri-manyu-siyāka-*⁴ (RV. x) 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

f. The final vowel of the first member is often lengthened. This frequently occurs before *v-*; e. g. *annī-vṛdh-* 'prospering by food', *prati-vartā-* (AV.) 'returning into itself', *pra-vṛṣ-*⁵ 'rainy season'. It is often due to the rhythmical tendency (which also prevails in the sentence) to lengthen a vowel before a single consonant between two short syllables; e. g. *ahi-śiva-*, N. of a demon (from *ahi-*), *urū-nasā-* 'broad-nosed', *ṛtā-sih-* (VS.) 'maintaining the sacred law', *pari-nasā-* (AV.) 'having a nose like a spearhead', *naḥā-risā-*⁶ (AV.) N. of a plant, *rathā-sih-* 'able to draw the car'. Lengthening of a vowel between other than two short syllables is less common, being probably due to imitation of compounds in which the long vowel is produced by the normal rhythm; e. g. *dhanvā-sih-* 'skilled in archery' and *vibhva-sih-* 'overcoming the rich' like *rathā-sih-*; *sahasrā-magha-* 'having a thousand gifts' like *satā-magha-* 'having a hundred gifts'. The interchange of short and long is entirely regulated by the rhythmic principle in *sanā-* 'of old' and almost entirely in *turi-* 'much'; e. g. *sanā-jit-* 'long since aged' and *śina-śruta-* 'famous of old', *turi-magha-* 'very rich' and *turi-bādhā-* 'killing many'. The final vowel of prepositions is particularly often lengthened in the later Saṃhitās without reference to rhythm, especially before nouns ending in *-a* with long radical vowel, e. g. *nī-vā-* (AV.) 'liturgical invitation', *abhi-moda-mitā-* (AV.) 'excessively joyful', *nī-nāhī-* (AV.) 'girth', *prati-bodhī-* (AV.) 'vigilance', *vi-barhī-* (AV.) 'scattering'. Sometimes the final vowel is left unlengthened between two short syllables; e. g. *raji-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *ghṛta-duh-as* (voc. pl.) 'yielding ghee'⁷.

g. On the other hand, final *ā* and *i* of the first member are often shortened before a group of consonants or a long syllable; e. g. *amivā-cātana-* (AV.) 'driving away disease' and *amivā-hān-* 'destroying disease' (*āmivā-*); *ārṇa-mradas-* 'soft as wool' (*ārṇa-*) and **ārṇa-vābhi-* 'spinning wool', 'spider', in the patronymic *aurṇavābhi-*; *kaksya-prā-* 'filling out the girth' (*kaksyā-*);

nāhī- 'third heaven', *tri-nābhi-* 'having three naves'.

¹ The AV. here always has the cerebral, as *dur-nihīla-* 'badly kept'.

² But *nṛ-mānas-* 'friendly to men' and *vṛṣa-manas-* 'manly-spirited'.

³ But *purī-anika-* 'having many faces'.

⁴ But *vṛṣa-manyu-* (RV. 1) 'vigorous-minded'.

⁵ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 42.

⁶ Beside *naḥā-mātrā-* (AV.) N. of a plant.

⁷ Cp. also *prā-sih-* and *pra-sih-* 'victorious'. The long vowel in the former is probably historic, = IE. *prō-*.

⁸ The vowel is originally long, in *aṣṭā-* 'eight', probably also in *acchā-* 'to' and *vīśvā-* 'all', and may be differently explained in *ś-deva-* 'hostile to the gods', *ś-rupita-* (IV. 5?) meaning, and *ś-sat-*; see WACKERNAGEL 2^a, p. 131, note.

sena-jit- (VS.) 'vanquishing armies' (*śhā-*); *gduri-viti-* N. of a seer (from *gauri*), *pr̥thivi-śhā-* 'standing on the earth'; even before a short syllable in *pr̥thivi-śād-* (AV.) and *pr̥thivi-śād-* (VS.) 'sitting on the earth' (*pr̥thivi-*), *sarasvati-kyta-* (VS.) 'made by Sarasvati'¹.

82. Extension of external to internal Sandhi. — The rules of sentence Sandhi as applied between members of a compound are often found to affect the internal form of words.

a. Nominal (chiefly secondary) suffixes with initial consonants are frequently treated like the second member of a compound; e. g. beside *devas-yi-* 'worshipping', appears *duva-yā-*. This influence extends even to radical finals before primary suffixes; e. g. *āna-* 'food' for *ād-na-*; *śan-nām* for *śal-nām*, from *śis-* 'six'; *nāmo-bhis*, from *nāmas-* 'obeisance', with *o* for *ad* (as in *usād-bhis* from *usās-* 'dawn')²; *havā-su*³ for *havā-sū*, from *havis-* 'oblation'; *jigī-vāms-* for *jigī-vāms-* 'having conquered', with radical final lengthened as in sentence Sandhi.

b. In the verb the influence of sentence Sandhi is seen in reduplicated forms. Thus parallel with the lengthening of final syllables in the sentence, the final radical vowel is made long before the ending *-hi* in *didihī* beside the more usual *didihī*, from *di-* 'shine'. The rhythmical lengthening in the reduplicated acrost is probably due to a similar influence.

III. ACCENT.

ROTH, Nirukta LVII—LXXII: Ueber die Elemente des indischen Accentes nach den Prātiśākhya Sūtras. — BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 9—13. — WHITNEY, 'On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit', Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1869—70; Oriental and Linguistic Studies 2, 318 ff.; Sanskrit Grammar, p. 28—33; see also General Index, s. v. 'Accent'. — HAUG, Ueber das Wesen und den Werth des vedischen Accents, München 1873 (cp. WEBER, Indische Streifen 3, 335 ff.; WHITNEY, JAOS. 10, ix ff., cii ff.). — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik 1, 243 ff. — Cp. also HIRT, Der indogermanische Akzent, Strassburg 1895, and Akzentstudien in IF. VI—IX; BRUGMANN, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik 1 (Strassburg 1902), p. 52—66.

Besides the Prātiśākhyas several other native authorities refer to the accent. Pāṇini and his commentators give an account of it; all the Sūtras of Pāṇini relating to accentuation are collected in a chapter of the Siddhānta-kaumudī called *vaidika-svara-prakriyā* 'section on the Vedic accent'. The accent is further dealt with in the Bhāṣikasūtra, in the Prātiśākhya-sūtra, in the Śikṣas, and as regards the position of the accent in individual words, in the Upaniṣads and especially in the Pīṭhāsūtras.

83. General character of the Vedic accent. — In Vedic literature sacred texts only, primarily all the Saṃhitās⁴ have been handed down in an accented form. Of all other sacred texts, only those to which a special importance was attached, have preserved the accent. These are the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (together with its Āraṇyaka) and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (including the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad). There is, however, evidence to show that the Pāṇicaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa⁵ and other Brāhmaṇas were at one time accented⁶.

¹ On the relation of this shortening to the lengthening in the same position, and its probable explanation, see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 135 (56 g.).

² Hence the Padapāṭha treats a nominal stem which takes a suffix with initial consonant like the first member of a compound, separating it from the suffix by Avagraha; e. g. *devas-yi-* for *devasyi-*; *usās-* for *usā-* voc., 'armed with a bolt'; *usās-* for *usās-* 'with aids'.

³ See above 44 a, 3.

⁴ See 57, 1.

⁵ The Mss. of the Kāthaka are so defective as regards accentuation that L. V. SCHROEDER found it possible to print parts only of his edition of the text (vol. 1, 1900) with accents.

⁶ WEBER, Indische Studien 10, 421; cp. MAX MÜLLER, ASL. 348; BURNELL, Sama-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa p. vi. The Mantra parts of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka are accented (KEITH's ed. p. 10).

⁷ The Suparṇādhyaṇya, an artificially archaic

The Sūtras, though not themselves accented, occasionally accent the Mantras which they quote.

The Vedic accent, like that of ancient Greece, was of an essentially musical nature. This is indicated by the fact that the accent exercises no influence on the rhythm of versification. The phoneticians of the Prātiśākhya, in describing it, speak only of its pitch, which is also indicated by the name of the chief tone, *udātta* 'raised', 'high'. But that the Vedic accent was accompanied by some stress², is shown by certain phonetic changes which cannot otherwise be explained³.

In the Vedic accent three degrees of pitch may be distinguished: the high, properly represented by the *udātta*, the middle by the *svarita* ('sounded'), and the low by the *an-udātta* ('not raised'). That the *Udātta* originally denoted the highest pitch in the oldest form of the Vedic language, is shown by the evidence of Comparative Philology, and especially of Greek which, as far as its peculiar laws of accent will admit, has the acute on the same syllable as in the Vedic language has the *Udātta* (e. g. *Διός : diós ; έρώ : saptá ; όρώ : asdu*). This conclusion is also supported by the method of marking the *Udātta* in the *Sāmaveda*, the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, and the *Kāṭhaka*. In the *R̥gveda*, however, the *Udātta* has a middle pitch, lower than that of the *Svarita*, as is shown both by the way in which it is marked and by the account given of it in the Prātiśākhya. This must be an innovation, though an old one.

The *Svarita* is a falling accent of a dependent nature, marking the transition from an accented to a toneless syllable. It regularly follows an *Udātta*, to the rise of which its fall corresponds in pitch. It assumes an independent appearance when the preceding *Udātta* is lost in consequence of the vowel that bears the *Udātta* being changed to a semivowel in Sandhi. It is described in Pāṇini 1. 2³⁴ as a combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta*, which means that it falls from the high pitch of the acute to the low pitch of unaccented syllables. According to the RV. Prātiśākhya and the TS. Prātiśākhya, however, the first part of the *Svarita* sounds higher than the *Udātta*. This means that, instead of falling immediately from the high pitch of the preceding *Udātta*, it first rises somewhat before falling to low pitch⁴. It would thus have something of the nature of a circumflex in the RV.; only the rise in pitch above the highest level of the *Udātta* is but slight (corresponding to the initial rise of the *Udātta* from *Anudātata* to *Anudātta* level), while the fall corresponds to the total rise of the *Udātta*⁵. The low tone of the syllables preceding an accented syllable (with *Udātta* or *Svarita*) is called *an-udātta* 'not raised' in the Prātiśākhya⁷. When it follows a *Svarita* it is called the *pracaya*⁸ (*svara*), or 'accumulated pitch' (as several such unaccented syllables often occur in succession) which continues at the low level reached by the preceding *Svarita* till the syllable immediately

poem composed in the style of the Vedic hymns, is also accented, but with many mistakes; see GRUBE's edition in *Indische Studien*, vol. XIV.

¹ Cp. HAUG, op. cit. 19.

² The Vedic accent, like the Greek, was, after the beginning of our era, changed to a stress accent which, however, unlike the modern Greek stress accent, did not remain on the original syllable, but is regulated by the quantity of the last two or three syllables, much as in Latin; cp. HAUG 99, end.

³ See WACKERNAGEL 1, 218 and cp. OSTHOFF, *Morphologische Untersuchungen* 4, 73.

⁴ In agreement with VPr. I. 126; APr. I. 17; cp. HAUG 73.

⁵ See OLDENBERG, *Prolegomena* 483 f.

⁶ According to Pāṇini's account the *Svarita* does not rise above *Udātta* pitch before falling; see OLDENBERG, loc. cit.

⁷ See RPr. III. 1; cp. HAUG 91.

⁸ HAUG 92 f.

preceding the next accent'. The latter syllable, called *sanna-tara* 'lower' or *anudāta-tara*² 'more lowered', sinks somewhat below this monotone.

84. Methods of marking the accent.—The accent is marked in the Vedic texts in four different ways.

1. The system of the *R̥gveda* is followed also by the *Atharvaveda*¹, the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (along with its *Brāhmaṇa*) and, with only slight deviations in the treatment of the *Svarita*, by the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*. This system is peculiar in not marking the principal accent at all. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the fact that the pitch of the *Udātta* is in the *RV.* intermediate between that of the other two tones. Hence the preceding *Anudātta*, as having low pitch, is marked by a horizontal stroke below the syllable, while the following *Svarita*, as rising to a higher pitch, is marked by a vertical stroke above the syllable⁴; e. g. अग्निना *agnina* = *agninā*. The presence of successive *Udāttas* at the beginning of a hemistich is recognizable by the absence of all marks till the *Svarita* which follows the last of them, or the *Anudātta* which follows the last of them and precedes the next accented syllable; thus तावा यातम् *tāv a yātam* = *tāv ā yātam*; तवत तत सत्यम् = *tav't tāt satyām*. On the other hand, all the unaccented syllables at the beginning of a hemistich are marked; e. g. वैश्वानरम् = *vaiśvānarām* = *vaiśvānarām*. But all the syllables following a *Svarita* remain unmarked till the one immediately preceding the next *Udātta* or *Svarita*; e. g. यमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति सुतुद्री *imam me gaṅge yamune sarasvatī sūtudri* = *imām me gaṅge yamune sarasvatī sūtudri*⁵.

a. The hemistich being treated as the unit with regard to accentuation⁶, the marking of the *Anudātta* and of the *Svarita* is not limited to the word containing the *Udātta* which those accents precede and follow respectively⁷. Hence the final syllable of one word may be marked with an *Anudātta* as preceding an *Udātta* of the next initial syllable; or the initial syllable of one word may be marked with the *Svarita* following the *Udātta* at the end of the preceding word; e. g. पूरुषेभिर ऋषिभिः *pūruṣebhir ṛṣibhir* = *pūruṣebhir ṛṣibhir*; यज्ञमध्वरम् *yajñam adhvaram* = *yajñam adhvaram*. But if an initial syllable after a final *Udātta* precedes an accented syllable, it loses the enclitic *Svarita* and must be marked as *Anudātta*; e. g. देवमस्त्यजम् *devam ṛtvijam* = *devām ṛtvijam*.

b. If an independent *Svarita*⁸ precedes an *Udātta*, it is marked with the numeral १ (1) when its vowel is short, and with ३ (3) when it is long, the figures receiving both the sign of the *Svarita* and that of the *Anudātta*⁹ which precedes an *Udātta*; e. g. अप्सु अन्तरं = *apsu antár*; रायो अघनिः = *rayo 'vānīh*. The phenomenon is described by the phoneticians with the words *kampa*

¹ See OLDENBERG, Prolegomena 485, end.

² *Sanna-tara*, *APr.* 1. 43; *anudāta-tara* in *Kāśikā vṛtti* on *Pāṇini* 1. 21^o.

³ The *Mss.* of the *AV.*, however, show considerable variations; see WHITNEY's *Translation* p. CXXI ff.

⁴ In the *Kashmir Ms.* of the *RV.* the *Udātta* and the independent *Svarita* only are marked, the former by a vertical stroke above the accented syllable, the latter by a hook (◌̣) above the accented syllable; see SCHEFFELOWITZ, *Die Apokryphen des R̥gveda* 48 ff.

⁵ Cp. HAUG, *op. cit.* 92 f.

⁶ From the point of view of the sentence accent the *Pāda* is the unit; thus a verb or vocative is always accented at its beginning.

⁷ In the *Padapāṭha*, on the other hand, each word receives its natural accent only, so that where the one text has a *Svarita*, the other may have an *Anudātta*; e. g. in 1. 1³ the *Saṃhitā* has *rayim dīnavat*, the *Pāda* *rayim ānavat* (the latter word being unaccented has the *Anudātta* marked under each syllable).

⁸ Examples of independent *Svarita* are *svār* for *svār*; *kr̥d* for *kūd*; *vīryam* for *vīryām*. 'Independent' *Svarita* in the above rule is intended to include that which results from change to a semivowel (*ṣaṃbra*), from contraction (*prāṭhīya*) and from elision of *u* (*abhihihita*).

⁹ The long vowel before the ३ receives the *Anudātta* stroke as well.

'quaver', *vikampita*, and the verb *pra-kamp*. In the TS. it appears only when the second syllable as well as the first has the Svarita, and the figure 2, as well as 1 and 3, is here used.

2. In the system of the *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā*¹ and of the *Kāthaka*², the Udātta is marked by a vertical stroke above (which seems to indicate that this accent was here pronounced with the highest pitch); e. g. अग्निना = *agninā*. The two Saṃhitās, however, diverge in their method of indicating the Svarita. The MS. marks the independent Svarita by a curve below the accented syllable, e. g. वीर्यं वीर्यं; but the dependent Svarita by a horizontal stroke in the middle of three vertical strokes above the accented syllable. The Kāthaka, on the other hand, marks the independent Svarita by a curve below (if an unaccented syllable follows), e. g. वीर्यं बध्नति वीर्यं बध्नति; or by a hook below (if an accented syllable follows) e. g. वीर्यं व्याचष्टे वीर्यं व्याचष्टे; but the dependent Svarita by a dot below the accented syllable³. Both these Saṃhitās mark the Anudātata in the ordinary way by a stroke below the syllable. In L. v. SCHROEDER's editions, however, the Udātta and the independent Svarita only are marked. When the text of any of the Saṃhitās is transliterated in Roman characters, it is the regular practice to omit any indication of the dependent Svarita and of the Anudātta as unnecessary.

3. In the system of the *Sāmaveda*, the figures 1 2 3 are written above the accented syllables to represent three degrees of pitch. Here 1 always stands for the highest pitch (Udātta), and 3 always for the lowest (Anudātta), and 2 generally for the middle pitch (Svarita); e. g.

^{3 1 2} *barhiṣi* = RV. *barhiṣi* (*barhiṣi*). But 2 also represents the Udātta when the latter is not followed by a Svarita (that is when the Udātta syllable is final in the hemistich or when an Anudātata preceding another accented

syllable follows); e. g. ^{3 2} *gīrā* = RV. *gīrā* (*gīrā*); ^{3 2 3} *yajñānām hotā viśveṣām* = RV. *yajñānām hotā viśveṣām* (*yajñānām hotā viśveṣām*). If there are two successive Udāttas, the second is not marked, but 2r is written over the

following Svarita; e. g. ^{3 1} *dviṣo marītyasya* = RV. *dviṣo marītyasya*. If in such case there is no room for 2r, the first Udātta has 2u written over

it instead; e. g. ^{3 2u} *eṣa sya pītaye* = RV. *eṣa sya pītaye* (*eṣa sya pītaye*). The independent Svarita (as well as the dependent one which follows two successive Udāttas) is marked with 2r; and the Anudātta which precedes it, with 3k;

e. g. ^{3k 2r} *tanvā*. Syllables which follow a Svarita and in which the pitch remains unchanged, are left unmarked; e. g. ^{3 1 2} *dātām vṛṇimāhe hotāram* = RV. *dātām vṛṇimāhe hotāram*⁴.

4. Though the *Brāhmaṇas* do not come within the scope of this work, the system of accentuation in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* cannot be passed over here, as it must be treated in connexion with the other systems of the Vedic period. It is historically important as forming a transition to the post-Vedic period, when the accent assumed a different character⁵. The system of the SB. in various respects differs considerably from the three described above.

¹ See HAUG 27—32; L. v. SCHROEDER, Introduction to his edition 1, p. XXIX—XXXIV; ZDMG. 33, 186 ff.

² Cp. L. v. SCHROEDER, Introduction to his edition, 2, p. X—XL.

³ On some peculiarities of the VS. in marking the Svarita, see HAUG 32—35.

⁴ For further details see HAUG 35—42.

⁵ Cp. LITMANN, KZ. 31, 50 (mid.).

a. Its chief peculiarity is that it marks only the main accent, the Udātta. This is done by means of a horizontal stroke below the accented syllable; e. g. *गृशुः पशुषां*. If there are two or more successive Udāttas, only the last is marked; e. g. *agnir hi vai dhūr atha* = *agnir hi vai dhūr ātha*. When, however, an Udātta is thrown back as the result of Sandhi, an immediately preceding Udātta is also marked; e. g. *so 'gnim evābhiksamānah* = *sō 'gnim evābhiksamānah*, where *evābhī-* stands for *evābhi-* = *evā abhi-*. Two successive syllables are also sometimes marked when a compound receives a secondary Udātta; e. g. *sprhayad-varnah*, for *sprhayād-varnah*.

b. An independent Svarita is thrown back on the preceding syllable in the form of an Udātta; e. g. *manusyeṣu*, that is, *manīsyēṣu* for *manusyeṣu*. The Svarita resulting from change to a semivowel (*ksaipra*), from contraction (*pralīṣa*), or elision of *a* (*abhinihita*), is similarly treated; e. g. *kathān nu imām*, that is, *kathān nu imām* for *kathān nu imām*; *evāttad*, that is, *evāttād* from *evā tād*; *tē 'rcantaḥ*, that is, *tē 'rcantaḥ* for *tē 'rcantaḥ*.

When, however, the prepositions *ā* and *prā*, and final *ā* in the first member of a compound, combine with an unaccented vowel, the contracted syllable retains the Udātta; e. g. *'hi* (= *ā ihī*); *prāha* (= *prā āha*); *citrūti* (= *citrā-ūti*) 'bestowing wondrous gifts'.

c. Before a pause an accented syllable may lose its Udātta or receive a reduced accent marked with three dots, if the initial syllable after the pause has an Udātta or independent Svarita; e. g. *sa bhāgah | samsthite*, for *sā bhāgah | samsthite*. The penultimate syllable may also be thus reduced; e. g. *juhātī || ātha*, for *juhātī || ātha*. This may occur even when the following initial syllable is unaccented; e. g. *nāpsu || āpa*, for *nāpsu || āpa*.

d. Reduplicated forms or long compounds accented on the first syllable or prior member, sometimes receive a secondary accent near the end of the word; e. g. *balbaliti*, that is *bābaliti* for *bābaliti*; *eka-catvāriṃśat*, that is, *ēka-catvāriṃśat* for *ēka-catvāriṃśat*. Sometimes, in such case, the primary accent itself is lost; e. g. *eka-saptatī* beside *ēka-saptatī*. Somewhat analogous to this double accentuation of compounds is the frequent accentuation of both verbal prefix and verb at the same time; e. g. *abhi gopayāt* (cp. 109). Finally, the accent occasionally appears on a syllable different from that on which it usually rests. The irregularities mentioned here (d) are much commoner in Books x-xiii than in the earlier Books; they are commonest of all in xiv¹.

85. Normal accentuation of words.—As a general rule, every Vedic word is both accented and has one main accent only. The Udātta is the only main accent in the original text of the R̥gveda. It is generally found on the syllable which, according to the evidence of Comparative Philology², bore it in the Indo-European period³. Sometimes, however, the Udātta is secondary, being a substitute for the independent Svarita (itself the result of an original Udātta). Thus there is already a tendency in the RV. to change a final Svarita into a final Udātta: the vocative *dyāus* (= *dīaus*) 'O Heaven', appears as *dyāus* (VIII. 89¹²); *aryā-* (= *aria-*) 'kind', occurring only once (I. 123¹), otherwise and very frequently appears as *aryā-*; thus, too, *svān-* 'dog', was probably at one time *svān-* for *shān-* (Gk. *κύων*), which would explain the

¹ For further details, see HAUG, 43-48; Vedic Udātta shifted, in a few instances, to other syllables in the Brāhmaṇas and in Pāṇini's system; thus *saptā*, SB. and C. *sāpta*, *ayāu*, C. *āyāu*; AV. VS. SB. *tīlā* 'sesamum', C. *tīlā*; *śīdati* 'sit', C. also *śīdātī*; AV. *gūhvara-* 'deep', C. *gūhvarā-*.

² Cp. BRUGMANN KG. 45, 1.

³ Under the influence of analogy the

abnormal accentuation *śūnas* etc. instead of the regular accentuation **śūnās* etc. prevailing in monosyllabic stems (93). Or the final Svarita is thrown back as an Udātta on the preceding syllable: thus *mītrya-* 'friendly', beside *mītryā-*¹.

In some Vedic words, however, the only accent which is written is the 'independent' Svarita, by the native phoneticians called the 'genuine' (*jātya*)² or also the 'invariable' (*nītya*). Always following a *y* or *v*, it is, however, just as much due to a preceding Udātta (lost by the change of *i* and *ū* to *y* and *v*), as the dependent Svarita is; e. g. *kvā* (= *kūā*) 'where?'; *svār* (= *sūār*, TS. *śūvar*) 'light'; *rathyām* (= *rathlām*, from *rathi-* 'charioteer'); *tamām* (= *tanām* from *tanā-* 'body'); *ok-yā-* (= *ok-lā-*) 'belonging to home'; *vasav-yā-* (= *vasav-lā-*) 'wealthy'. In reading the RV. the original vowel with its Udātta must be restored except in a very few late passages³.

a. **Double accent.** Contrary to the general rule that a word has a single accent only, a certain class of infinitives and a special type of compounds have a double accent⁴. The infinitives in *-tavāi*, of which more than a dozen examples occur, accent both the first and the last syllable; e. g. *ś-tavāi* 'to go', *āpa-bhartavāi* 'to take away'. The Udātta on the final syllable is probably to be explained as a secondary accent like that of the ŚB. in intensives and compounds (*bilbalīti*, *śka-catvāriṃśat*, cp. 84, 4 d), where an accent at the beginning of a word is counterbalanced by another at the end.

A good many compounds of a syntactical type, in which both members are duals in form or in which the first member is nearly always a genitive in form, accent both members; e. g. *mītrā-varuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa', *bṛhas-pitī-* 'Lord of prayer'⁵.

b. **Lack of accent.** Contrary to the general rule that every word is accented, some words never have an accent, while others lose their accent under special conditions.

1. The following are invariably enclitic:

a. **pronouns:** *tva-* 'another'; *sama-* 'some'; *ena-* 'he', 'she'⁶; *me*, D. G., 'of or to me'; *mā*, A., 'me'; *nau*, du. A. D. G., 'us two', etc.; *nas*, A. D. G., 'us', etc.; *te*, D. G., 'of or to thee'; *tūā*, A., 'thee'; *vām*, A. D. G., 'ye two', etc.; *vas*, A. D. G., 'you', etc.; *im*, *sim* 'him', 'her', 'it', 'them', etc.; *kis* 'some one' in *nā-kis*, *mā-kis* 'no one'; *kim* in *ā-kim* 'from', *nā-kim*, *mā-kim* 'never'.

β. **particles:** *ca* 'and'; *u* 'on the other hand'; *vā* 'or'; *iva* 'like', 'as it were'; *kam* 'indeed' (after *nī*, *sū*, *hi*); *gha*, *ha* 'just' (emphasizing); *cid* 'at all'; *bhala* 'indeed'; *sama-hu* 'somehow'; *sma* 'just', 'indeed' (almost invariably with the present tense); *svīd* 'probably'.

2. The following classes of forms or individual words are subject to loss of accent according to their position or function in the sentence:

a. **vocatives**, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

β. **finite verbs**, in principal clauses, unless beginning the sentence or Pāda.

γ. **all oblique cases** formed from the demonstrative pronoun *a-*, when used merely to replace a preceding substantive, and not occurring at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda; e. g. *asya jānimāni* 'his (i. e. Agni's) births' (but *asyā uśāsah* 'of that Dawn').

¹ Cp. the accentuation of the ŚB., 84, 4 b. In Pāṇini's system of accentuation this tendency went still further; thus V. *vīryā-* (= *vīriā-*), becomes in C. *vīrya-*; and the gerundive in *-tavā* (= *-taviā*) appears in C. as *-tavya* also.

² RPr. III, 4, VPr. I, 111 f.; cp. HAUG 75. Indo-arysche Philologie. I, 4.

³ Cp. BENEY, Gött. Abhandlungen 27, 31 ff.

⁴ In the Brahmapas also the particle *vāvā-*

⁵ See below, on the accentuation of compounds, 91.

⁶ The A. sing. f. occurs once (VIII, 619) accented at the beginning of a Pāda as *enām*.

ð. *yāthā* 'as', when used in the sense of *iva* 'like', 'as it were', at the end of a Pāda; e. g. *śayāvo yāthā* (I. 50²) 'like thieves'.

ē. *nā* 'not', when followed by *hi* 'for', the two particles being treated as one word; e. g. *nāhi tvā . . . tvātaḥ* (I. 10⁸) 'for the two do not restrain thee'; similarly when combined with the particle *nū* 'now': *na-nū* 'certainly not'.

1. Accentuation of Nominal Stems.

86. A. In primary derivation no general law for the accentuation of nominal suffixes can be stated; but there is a tendency, when *-a*, *-ana*, *-as*, *-an*, *-man* are added, to accent the root in action nouns, and the suffix in agent nouns; and in nouns formed with *-as* and *-man* difference of gender is to some extent accompanied by difference of accent.

1. Root stems when reduplicated or compounded with prepositions as a rule retain the accent on the radical syllable; e. g. *juhā-* 'tongue' and 'ladle', *yavi-yādh-* 'eager to fight'; *pra-nēti-* 'guiding constantly'. In stems formed with intensive reduplication, however, the reduplicative syllable is sometimes accented; thus *jigū-* 'singing aloud', *vāntvan-* 'desiring', *dāridra-* (VS.) 'roving'. The prefix is accented in *dva-sā-* 'deliverance', *īpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pāri-jri-* 'running round'.

2. When the suffix *-a* is added, the root is accented in action nouns, but the suffix in agent nouns; e. g. *vēd-a-* 'knowledge', *śiśnūth-a-* 'perforation'; but *cod-ā-* 'instigator', *cacar-ā-* 'moveable'. When there is a verbal prefix, the final syllable is as a rule accented; e. g. *saṃ-gam-ā-* m. 'coming together'. In a few of these compounds, however, the root is accented, as *ut-pāt-a-* (AV.) 'portent', *ā-śrēs-a-* (AV.) 'plague'; and in some others (mostly agent nouns) the prefix: *ā-bhag-a-* 'sharing', *prīti-veś-a-* 'neighbour', *vy-ās-a-* (AV.) 'burning', *sām-kās-a-* (AV.) 'appearance'.

3. The suffix *-ata* is always accented on the final syllable; e. g. *darś-atā-* 'visible', *pāc-atā-* 'cooked', *yaj-atā-* 'to be adored'.

4. Of the participial suffixes *-at* and *-ant* the former is never accented when the sense is verbal; e. g. *dād-at-* 'giving', *dīs-at-* 'worshipping'. A few old participles, however, which have become substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vāh-āt-* 'stream', *vāgh-dt-* (AV. VS.) 'barren cow', *vāgh-dt-* 'sacrificer', *śrav-āt-* 'stream', *sāc-dt-* 'pursuer'. The suffix *-ant* is accented in the present participle of the second (450) and sixth (429) classes and of the denominative (562), e. g. *ad-ant-*, *tud-ant-*, *aghāy-ant-*; in the future (537), e. g. *dāsy-ant-* (AV.); in the root aorist, e. g. *bhid-ant-* and sometimes in the *a*-aorist, e. g. *vydh-ant-*; also in the old present participles which have become adjectives, *śh-ant-* 'weak', *brh-ant-* 'great', and (with lengthened vowel) *mah-ant-* 'great'.

5. The suffix *-an* is generally accented; e. g. *uks-dn-* m. 'bull', *ud-in-* n. 'water'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *rāj-on-* m. 'king', *ūdh-an-* n. 'udder'.

6. Stems formed with *-ana* predominantly accent the root; e. g. *kār-ana-* n. 'act', *cōd-ana-* (AV.) 'impelling'. The final syllable is, however, accented fairly often; e. g. *kar-ant-* 'active', *kros-ant-* 'yelling', *ksay-ant-* (VS.) 'habitable', *tvar-ant-* (AV.) 'hastening', *roc-ant-* 'shining' (AV.), n. 'light', *svap-ant-* (VS.) 'sleepy'. The penultimate is also accented in several words: the substantives

¹ The ŚB., however, accents both particles; cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 31, 22.

² Cp. WHITNEY 1147 g.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 1148; LINDNER p. 34.

kir-āna- m. 'dust', *kṛp-āna-* n. 'misery' (but *kṛp-ant-* 'miserable' AV.), *damś-āna-* n. 'great deed', *vṛj-āna-* n. 'enclosure', *ves-āna-* n. 'service'; and the adjectives *tur-āna-* 'hastening', *doh-āna-* 'milking', *bhand-āna-* (VS. TS.) 'rejoicing', *man-āna-* 'considerate', *mand-āna-* 'joyful', *saks-āna-* 'overcoming'. When the stem is compounded with a verbal prefix, the root is nearly always accented; e. g. *sam-gūmana-* 'gathering together'; but the final syllable is accented in *vi-saksant-* 'conspicuous', *upari-sayant-* (AV.) 'couch'.

7. The suffix *-ana*, whether forming the feminine of adjectives in *-ana* or f. action nouns, is always accented either on the penultimate or the final syllable; e. g. *tur-āna-* 'speeding', *spand-āna-* (AV.) 'kicking'; *arh-āna-* 'merit', *jar-āna-* 'old age'. The word *pṛt-ant-* 'fight' is irregularly accented on the radical syllable.

8. The suffix *-ani* is always accented, either on the final or the penultimate syllable; e. g. *dyut-ant-* 'brilliance'; *at-ini-* 'missile'.

9. The suffix *-ant* being the feminine form of action and agent nouns in *-ana*, is similarly accented; e. g. *pś-ant-* (AV.) 'beautiful' (*pś-ana-*). The accent is, however, sometimes shifted to the final syllable; e. g. *tap-ant-* 'heat' (*tāp-ana-*).

10. Stems formed with the suffix *-as* accent the root if they are action nouns, but the suffix if they are agent nouns; e. g. *śp-as-* n. 'work', but *ap-ās-* 'active'. There are also some masc. substantives with the accent on the suffix; e. g. *rākṣ-ās-* m. beside *rākṣ-as-* n. 'demon'.

11. The suffix *-ā*, forming action nouns from roots and secondary conjugation stems, is invariably¹ accented; e. g. *nind-ā-* (AV.) 'blame'; *jigṛ-ā-* 'desire to win'; *gamay-ā-* (AV.) 'causing to go'; *aśvay-ā-* 'desire for horses'.

12. The suffix *-āna*, forming middle participles, is normally accented on the final syllable; e. g. *ad-āna-* 'eating'. Reduplicated stems, however, regularly accent the first syllable; e. g. *dad-āna-* 'giving', *jihuv-āna-* 'invoking'. A few others accent the root; e. g. *cīt-āna-* (AV.) 'shining', *dyūt-āna-* (RV.) 'beaming' (beside the usual *dyūt-āni-*)². There are also a few adjectives and substantives ending in *-āna* in which the primary character of the suffix or the derivation of the word is doubtful. These also accent the first syllable; e. g. *vāsav-āna-* 'possessing wealth', *pśrs-āna-* m. 'abyss'³.

13. No general rule can be stated regarding the suffix *-i*, either the suffix or the root being accented with about equal frequency; e. g. *āj-i-* 'race', *grāh-i-* 'seizure'. Action nouns used as infinitives, however, regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *arś-āye* 'to see'. Reduplicated derivatives tend to accent the initial syllable; e. g. *cākr-i-* 'active'; while stems compounded with a preposition usually accent the final syllable; e. g. *pari-dad-t-* 'delivering over'.

14. Stems formed with the superlative suffix *-iśtha* regularly accent the root; e. g. *yāj-iśtha-* 'sacrificing best'. The only exceptions are *jyēśthā-* when meaning 'eldest' (but *jyēśtha-* 'greatest') and *kan-iśthā-* 'youngest' (but *kān-iśtha-* 'smallest', TS. B). When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *i-gam-iśtha-* 'coming best'.

15. The suffix *-is* is nearly always accented; e. g. *arc-is-* 'flame'. The exceptions are *ām-is-* 'raw flesh', *jyót-is-* 'light', and *vyāth-is-* 'course'(?).

16. The few action and agent nouns formed with the suffix *-r*, are accented either on the root or the suffix; e. g. *deh-r-* 'rampart', *śde-r-* 'power'.

¹ If *jānghā-* 'leg' is formed with this suffix, it is the only exception.

² See LINDNER p. 54, top.

³ See below, Nominal stem formation, under *-āna-* (130).

17. Stems formed with the comparative suffix *-īyāms* invariably accent the root; e. g. *jīv-īyāms-* 'swifter'. When the stem is compounded with a preposition the latter is accented; e. g. *prthi-cyav-īyāms-* 'pressing closer against'.

18. The suffix *-u* is usually accented; e. g. *ur-ū-* 'wide', *pād-ū-* m. 'foot'. The radical syllable is, however, not infrequently accented; e. g. *tāk-ū-* 'speeding', *ās-ū-* m. 'life'. The suffix is regularly accented in adjectives formed from desiderative, causative, and denominative stems; e. g. *dīps-ū-* 'wishing to harm', *bhāvay-ū-* 'cherishing', *aghay-ū-* 'malignant'.

19. Substantives formed with the suffix *-us* regularly accent the root (excepting *jan-ūs-* 'birth'); e. g. *dhān-ūs-* 'bow'. But a few adjectives which are never used as substantives accent the suffix; e. g. *jay-ūs-* 'victorious', but *tāp-us-* both 'hot' and 'heat'.

20. The suffix *-ū* forming independent feminine substantives is regularly accented; as *cam-ū-* 'dish', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'.

21. When the suffix *-ta* forms past passive participles it is invariably accented; e. g. *ja-tā-* 'born', *raks-istā-* 'protected'. But a few ordinary nouns formed with this suffix accent the radical syllable: *ī-tā-* 'variegated'; m.: *gāv-tā-* 'car-seat', *mār-tā-* 'mortal', *vī-tā-* 'wind', *hās-tā-* 'hand'; n.: *ās-tā-* 'home', *nāk-tā-* 'night'.

22. Stems formed with the suffix *-tar* generally accent the root when the meaning is participial, but the suffix when it is purely nominal; e. g. *dā-tar-* 'giving' (with acc.), but *dā-tār-* 'giver'.

23. Stems formed with the suffix *-ti* accent the root more frequently than the suffix; e. g. *īś-ti-* 'offering', *kṣi-ti-* (AV.) 'destruction', *dhū-ti-* m. 'shaker', but *īś-ti-* 'desire', *kṣi-ti-* 'abode', *jñā-ti-* m. 'relative', *rā-ti-* 'gift'. Reduplicated derivatives seem to have accented either the first syllable or the suffix; e. g. *dīdhi-ti-* 'devotion' and *carṣṭi-ti-* 'fame'. When these stems are compounded with prepositions, the latter are nearly always accented; e. g. *ī-hu-ti-* 'offering'; the only exceptions are *ā-sak-ti-* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti-* 'brew' and 'enlivening', and *abhī-s-ti-* m. 'helper' beside *abhī-s-ji-* f. 'help'.

24. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tu*, with some half dozen exceptions, accent the root (invariably when they are used as infinitives); e. g. *tū-tu-* 'thread', but *ak-tū-* 'ray'.

25. The suffix *-tū* is always accented; e. g. *ha-tū-* 'deadly', *jigha-tū-* 'harming'.

26. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tra* generally accent the root; e. g. *mān-tra-* 'prayer', but *kṣā-trū-* 'dominion'.

27. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-tva* regularly accent the root; e. g. *kār-tva-* 'to be made', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said', *bhūt-i-tva-* 'future'.

28. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tha* generally accent the latter; e. g. *uk-thā-* n. 'saying'. Sometimes, however, the root is accented; e. g. *ār-tha-* 'goal'. When the suffix is added with the connecting vowel *-a-*, the latter is generally accented; e. g. *uc-ā-tha-* n. 'praise'.

29. The suffix *-na* when forming past passive participles is invariably accented; e. g. *bhin-nā-* 'split'. When forming ordinary nouns, whether adjectives or masc. substantives, it is usually accented; e. g. *ī-nā-* 'guilty', *ghṛ-nā-* m. 'heat'; but a few masculines accent the root, as *kār-na-* 'ear', *vār-na-* 'colour', *svāp-na-* 'sleep'. Neuters (except *śu-nā-* 'welfare') and feminines (*-nā*) accent the root; e. g. *ān-nā-*¹ 'food', *ī-nā-* 'grass', *tīś-nā-* 'thirst'.

¹ Originally a past participle of *ad-* 'eat'.

30. Derivatives formed with *-ni* accent either the root or the suffix; e. g. *yá-ni*- m. 'receptacle', but *ag-ni*- m. 'fire'.

31. The suffix *-nu* is almost invariably accented; e. g. *vag-nú*- 'sound'. An exception is *vś-ñu*¹, N. of god.

32. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ma* accent the suffix more than twice as often as the root; e. g. *tig-má*- 'sharp', *ghar-má*- 'heat', *dhū-má*- 'smoke', but *ú-ma*- 'friend', *só-ma*- 'Soma'.

33. Derivatives formed with *-man* regularly accent the root in neuter substantives; e. g. *kár-man*- 'action', *ján-man*- 'birth', *ná-man*- 'name'. There are, however, several masculine agent nouns which accent the suffix; e. g. *dar-mán*- 'breaker'. In several instances the accent varies in the same word according to the gender and meaning; e. g. *bráh-man*- n. 'prayer', *brah-mán*- m. 'one who prays'; *sád-man*- n. 'seat', *sad-mán*- m. 'sitter'. These stems when compounded with prepositions nearly always accent the latter; e. g. *prá-bharman*- n. 'presentation'.

34. The participial suffix *-māna* is never accented except in the anomalous perfect participle *sas-māná*- (RV.) = *sas-āná*- 'speeding'. The accent of these derivatives is regularly on the same syllable as in the tense-stem to which the suffix is added; e. g. *yá-ja-māna*- 'sacrificing', *icchá-māna*- 'desiring', *idhyá-māna*- 'being kindled', *yakṣyá-māna*- 'about to sacrifice'.

35. Gerundives formed with the suffix *-ya* invariably accent the root; e. g. *hí-ya*- 'to be invoked'.

36. The suffix *-ra* is usually accented; e. g. *ak-rá*- m. 'banner', *rud-rá*- m. N. of a god, *abh-rá*- n. 'cloud'. The root is, however, accented in a good many words; e. g. *gá-dh-ra*- 'greedy', *áj-ra*- m. 'field', *lud-ra*- N. of a god, *ág-ra*- n. 'point'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ri* accent the root oftener than the suffix; e. g. *lhu-rí*- 'abundant', but also *sá-ri*- m. 'patron'.

38. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-va* accent the suffix rather oftener than the root; e. g. *śk-rvá*- 'praising', but also *śbh-va*- 'skillful'.

39. The root is regularly accented in derivatives formed with the suffix *-van*; e. g. *kí-t-van*- 'active', *pát-van*- 'flying', *yáj-van*- 'sacrificing'. This is the case even when the stem is compounded with a preposition; e. g. *vi-mí-g-van*- (AV.) 'cleansing'.

40. The suffixes *-vana*, *-vanu*, *-vani* are always accented, the first two on the final, the last on the initial syllable; e. g. *vag-vaná*- 'talkative', *vag-vaní*- m. 'noise', *dhur-váni*- 'restless'.

41. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vara* chiefly accent the final syllable when they are masc. nouns, but the root when they are neuter substantives; e. g. *i-t-vará*- 'going', *is-vará*- (AV.) 'able', but *kír-vara*- n. 'deed', *gáh-vara*- (AV.) n. 'thicket'. The suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in the adjective *vid-valá*- 'cunning'.

42. The suffix *-vāms* of the perfect participle is always accented, even in the reduced form *-us* appearing in the weak cases; e. g. *cakṣ-vāms*- and *cakr-ús*- 'having made'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-vi* from the simple root accent the radical syllable, but the first syllable of the reduplicated root; thus *ghṛ-ś-vi*- 'lively', but *já-gṛ-vi*- 'watchful'.

¹ This word may, however, be differently derived; possibly *vś-ñu*- 'der in die Weite strebende', according to UHLENBECK, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache*, Amsterdam 1898; cp. BLOOMFIELD, *AJPh.* 17, 427 f., 'crossing the back (of the world)'.

44. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-sa* sometimes accent the root, sometimes the suffix; e. g. *gr̥t-sa-* 'adroit', *ūt-sa-* m. 'fountain', but *pr̥k-sá-* 'dappled', *ghraṇ-sá-* m. 'sun's heat'.

45. The suffix *-smi* is always accented; e. g. *jī-smi-* 'victorious', *vr̥dh-a-smi-* 'joyful', *car-i-smi-* 'wandering', *ni-sat-smi-* 'sitting down', *tāpayi-smi-* 'tormenting', *abhi-locay-i-smi-* (AV.) 'causing torments'.

B. In secondary derivation five groups of stems may be distinguished with regard to accentuation: a. those which accent the suffix, being formed with *-āyāni*, *-āyi*, *-āyā*, *-in*, *-iya*, *-ina*, *-iya*, *-enī*, *-dya*, *-tā*, *-lav-yā*, *-tū*, *-tū-tā*, *-tvand*, *-mī*, *-māya*, *-mīn*, *-mūd*, *-yīn*, *-vā*, *-vūt*, *-vā*, *-vīn*; b. those in which the suffix is not accented, being formed with *-āya*, *-tara*, *-tā*, *-tā*, *-tā*, *-tā*, *-tā*, *-tā*; c. those in which only the first syllable is accented, being formed with *-i* and *-mī*; d. those in which either the first or the last syllable is accented, being formed by means of Vr̥ddhi with the suffixes *-ya*, *-a* or *-na* (the last two also without Vr̥ddhi); e. those in which the accent is sometimes on the suffix, and sometimes on one or other syllable of the primitive stem, being formed with the suffixes *-ā*, *-ānī*, *-īma*, *-ī*, *-ka*, *-āna* or *-na*, *-tama*, *-tha*, *-bha*, *-mant*, *-ya*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vaya*, *-śa*. The following is a detailed account of the accent in derivatives formed with the above secondary suffixes in their alphabetical order.

1. Stems formed with the suffix *-a* and Vr̥ddhi of the first syllable from primitive stems ending in *-a* are predominantly accented on the final syllable. This is, however, mostly the case when the primitive is accented on any syllable other than the last; e. g. *āmitrā-* 'hostile' from *amitra-* 'foe', *nārāśāmsā-* 'belonging to Nārāśāmsa', *śaucadrathā-* patronymic from *śaucādratha-* 'having a shining car', *pāvamanī-* 'relating to the clear-flowing (*pāvamāna-*) Soma'. In several instances, however, the primitive stem is also oxytone, e. g. *kaulikā-* 'belonging to Kūlikā'. On the other hand, stems formed with Vr̥ddhi sometimes accent the first syllable, when the primitive is otherwise accented; e. g. *mādhyaṃdīna-* 'belonging to midday' (*mādhyaṃdīna-*), *śūbhaga-* 'luck' from *su-bhāga-* 'lucky', *vādhr̥yāśvā-* 'descendant of Vādhr̥yāśvā'. The derivative *dīvodāsa-* 'belonging to Divodāsa' is, however, formed from a stem similarly accented (*dīvo-dāsa-*).

A similar rule prevails in the accentuation of stems derived from other primitives by means of the suffix *-a* and Vr̥ddhi of the first syllable; e. g. *āyas-ā-* 'made of metal' (*āyas-*), *saumanas-ī-* 'benevolence' from *su-mānas-* 'well-disposed'; also sometimes from stems similarly accented, as *paidv-ā-* 'belonging to Pedū'. On the other hand, the first syllable is accented in derivatives from primitives mostly accented on the last; e. g. *pārthivā-* 'earthly' from *pr̥thivī-* 'earth', *māghonā-* 'belonging to the bountiful one' (*maghāvan-*); but sometimes also from stems similarly accented, as *nāhus-ā-* 'neighbouring' from *nīhus-* 'neighbour'. The accentuation is similar when the secondary *-a* is added without Vr̥ddhi; e. g. *parus-ā-* 'knotty' from *pārus-* 'knot', but *hṛit-ā-* 'fallow' from *hṛit-*.

2. The suffix *-ā* forming feminines to masculines in *-a* retains the accent on the same syllable as in the masculine; e. g. *priyā-* beside *priyā-* 'dear'.

3. Stems formed with the somewhat rare suffix *-ānī* accent one of the last three syllables; e. g. *indrānī-* 'wife of Indra', *mūdgālīnī-* 'wife of Mūdgala', *purukūtsānī-* 'wife of Purukūtsa', *uśīnārānī-* 'queen of the Uśīnaras'.

4. The only example of the patronymic suffix *-āyana* in the RV. *kāṇv-āyana-* 'descendant of Kāṇva' is unaccented (occurring in the voc. only); the final syllable seems to have been accented judging by *dākṣ-āyānī-*

(VS. AV.) 'son of Dakṣa', and the fem. *rāmāyaṇī-* (AV.) 'daughter of the Black one'. The derivative *ukṣanyāyana-*, N. of a man, is unique both in accentuation and absence of Vṛddhi.

5. The suffix *-āyī* occurs accented on the first syllable only in *agn-āyī-* 'wife of Agni'; *vṛṣākāp-āyī-* (RV.) 'wife of Vṛṣākapi', occurring in the voc. only, is unaccented.

6. The suffix *-āyya-* forming gerundival adjectives is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *paṇ-āyya-* 'to be admired'.

7. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-i* and Vṛddhi, being almost exclusively patronymics, always accent the first syllable; thus *āgniveś-i-* 'son of Agniveśa', *pūrukūts-i-* 'descendant of Pūrukūtsa', *prātardana-i-* 'descendant of Prātardana', *prāhrād-i-* (AV.) 'son of Prahṛāda', *saṃvāraṇ-i-* 'descendant of Saṃvāraṇa'. Similarly formed and accented is *sārath-i-* 'charioteer' (from *sa-rāthā-m* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words, formed without Vṛddhi, take the secondary *-i*: *tāpū-i-* 'burning' (*tāpū-* 'heat') and, accented on the final syllable, *śucant-i-*, N. of a man.

8. The very frequent suffix *-in* forming possessive adjectives is always accented; e. g. *aśv-in-* 'possessing horses', *dhan-in-* 'wealthy'; *manī-in-* 'wise'; *abhīmat-in-* 'insidious'. The adjective *śak-in-* 'powerful' occurs once accented on the first syllable: *śīk-ī-* (I. 51⁸); the accentuation of this form and of the two nominatives (each occurring once) *ir-i-* 'violent' and *sir-i-* 'speeding' is perhaps due to error.

9. The accentuation of the suffix *-ima*, which is attached to three stems in *-tra-* and to one in *-ra-*, varies: *khantr-ima-* 'made by digging', *kr̥tr-ima-* 'artificial', *putr-ima-* (AV.) 'purified'; *agr-īmī-* 'foremost'.

10. The suffix *-iya* is regularly accented either on its first or its second syllable; e. g. *abhr-īya-* and *abhr-īyī-* 'derived from the clouds' (*abhrā-*), *hṣatr-īya-* 'having authority' (*hṣatrī-*), *amitr-īya-* 'inimical' (*amitra-* 'foe'); *agr-īyā-* 'foremost', *indr-īyā-* 'belonging to Indra'. The only exceptions are *ṛtū-īya-* (AV.) 'being in season' (*ṛtū-*), beside *ṛtū-īya-*, and *śrītr-īya-* (AV.) 'learned' (*śrītra-* 'learning').

11. Derivatives with the feminine suffix *-ī* commonly accent the same syllable as the corresponding masculines (except oxytones); e. g. *bhūvant-ī-* 'being', m. *bhūvant-*. But the feminine in *-ī* from masculines in *-a* that are not accented on the final syllable usually accents the *-ī* (and follows the radical *-ī-* declension); e. g. *rath-ī-* 'charioteer' (m. f.) from *rāthā-* 'chariot'. The *-ī* is also accented when it forms the fem. of masc. oxytones in *-u*, e. g. *prth-ī-* 'broad' (*prth-ū-*); in *-ant-*, e. g. *uśat-ī-* 'desiring' (*uś-ant-*); in *-tār-*, e. g. *avitr-ī-* 'protectress' (*avī-tār-*); in *-ānc* taking Samprasāraṇa, e. g. *pratic-ī-* 'facing' (*praty-dānc-*). The fem. in *-ī* from masc. oxytones in *-a* sometimes retains the accent on the suffix, e. g. *devī-* 'goddess' (*dēvā-* 'god'), but more usually throws it back on the first syllable, e. g. *arūṣ-ī-* 'ruddy' (*arūṣā-*).

12. The suffix *-ina* is generally accented on its first syllable, rarely on its last; e. g. *apāc-ina-* 'western', *saṃvatsar-īna-* 'annual'; *pratic-īnā-* 'turned towards'. The suffix is unaccented only in *māk-īna-* (RV.) 'mine'.

13. The suffix *-iya* is always accented on its first syllable; e. g. *arjīk-īya-* a kind of Soma vessel, *āhavan-īya-* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *grhamedh-īya-* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice', *parvat-īya-* (AV.) 'mountainous'. Similarly in the ordinals *dvit-īya-* 'second', *tṛt-īya-* 'third', *tur-īya-* 'fourth'.

14. The suffix *-ona* is accented on the final in its only occurrence in the feminine form *samidh-ōnī-* 'relating to fuel' (*samidh-*).

15. The suffix *-anya*, nearly always forming gerundives, regularly accents

its first syllable; e. g. *dr̥t-nya-* 'worthy to be seen'. The only exception is *vdr̥t-nya-* 'desirable'. Similarly accented are the ordinary adjectives *vīr-nya-* 'manly' (*vīrā-*) and *kīrt-nya-* 'famous' (*kīrti-* 'fame').

16. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ya* and Vrddhi accent the final syllable when they have a patronymic sense, but otherwise the first; e. g. *ārs-ya-* 'descendant of a seer' (*āsi-*), but *pāruṣya-* 'relating to man' (*pāruṣa-*). The analogy of the gerundive from roots ending in *-i*, which is formed with *-ya* (e. g. *dāya-* 'to be given'), is followed by *didṛkṣya-* 'worth seeing' (*didṛkṣā-*) and *sabhya-* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabhā-*).

17. Derivatives formed with *-ka* are variously accented. Those which have a diminutive sense regularly accent the suffix; e. g. *arbhaka-* 'small', *kanīka-* 'youth', *kumāra-ka-* 'little boy'. Otherwise the accent sometimes remains on the same syllable as in the primitive; e. g. *ānta-ka-* 'making an end' (*ānta-*), *yusmā-ka-* 'your' (*yusmi-*); or it shifts to the suffix, e. g. *anya-ka-* 'other' (*anyā-*), *sana-ka-* 'old' (*sina-*); or to the first syllable, e. g. *rūpa-ka-* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rūpā-* 'form').

18. The rare suffix *-ta* is regularly accented: *eka-tā-* (VS.) 'First', *dvi-tā-* 'Second', *tri-tā-* 'Third' as Proper Names, *ava-tā-* 'well', *muhūr-tā-* 'moment'.

19. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-tana* or its syncopated form *-tna* are variously accented: *nī-tana-* and *nī-tna-* 'present', *sanā-tāna-* (AV.) and *sand-tna-* (AV.) 'lasting', *pra-tnā-* 'ancient'.

20. The suffix *-tama* when forming superlatives is hardly ever accented², the primitive nearly always retaining its original accent; e. g. *tarṣṭa-tama-*³ 'very strong'. But when it forms ordinals the final syllable is accented; e. g. *śata-tamā-* 'hundredth'.

21. A few adjectives formed with *-taya* from numerals meaning 'consisting of so many parts', accent the primitive: *cātus-taya-* (AV.) 'fourfold', *dāśa-taya-* 'tenfold'.

22. The suffix *-tara* forming comparatives is hardly ever accented, the primitive retaining its original accent; e. g. *rathī-tara-* 'better car-fighter'. An exception is *vṛtra-tāra-* 'a worse Vṛtra'.

23. Derivatives formed with *-tā* regularly accentuate the syllable preceding the suffix; e. g. *a-gō-tā-* 'want of cows', *devā-tā-* 'divinity', *puruṣā-tā-* 'human nature'. The only exception is *a-vīra-tā-* 'want of sons'.

24. Derivatives formed with *-tāti* and *-tāt* have the same accentuation as those formed with *-tā*; e. g. *a-riṣṭi-tāti-* 'security', *devā-tāti-* 'divinity', *śihv-tāti-* 'good fortune'. The accent is exceptional in *āsta-tāti-* 'home' and *dākṣa-tāti-* (AV.) 'cleverness'.

25. The suffix *-tya*, forming nouns from particles, is never accented: *īpa-tya-* n. 'offspring', *amī-tya-* 'companion', *divi-tya-* 'manifest', *nī-tya-* 'own', *nīś-tya-* 'foreign', *śiknu-tya-* 'secret'. When attached to the substantive *ap-* 'water' it is, however, accented: *ap-tyā-* and *āp-tyā-* 'watery'.

26. The suffix *-tva* is invariably accented; e. g. *amṛta-tvā-* 'immortality', *pati-tvā-* 'matrimony'.

27. The very rare suffix *-tva-tā* is accented on its first syllable: *īśita-tvā-tā-* 'excitement', *puruṣa-tvā-tā-* 'human nature'.

28. The suffix *-tvana* is always accented on its final syllable; e. g. *kavi-tvānā-* 'wisdom', *pati-tvānā-* 'matrimony', *sakhī-tvānā-* 'friendship'.

² Accented *kanīka-* in the VS. The fem. in the RV. is *kanīkā-* but in the AV. *kanīkā-*. *tamā-* 'highest', *śabvāt-tamā-* 'most frequent' (with the ordinal accent).

³ It is shifted in *mṛḍayāt-tama-* 'showing great compassion' (*mṛḍayāt-*). Cp. below 89.

29. The suffix *-tha*, forming ordinals from a few numerals and adjectives of a cognate sense from pronominal stems, is nearly always accented: thus *catur-thā-* (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thā-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *kati-thā-* 'the how-maniest'; but *saptā-tha-* 'seventh'.

30. The rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-na* are accented either on the first or the last syllable: *strī-nā-* 'feminine' (*strī-* 'woman'), *viśu-nā-* 'various'; but *purā-nā-* 'ancient', *samā-nā-* 'like'.

31. With the suffix *-bha*² are formed the names of a few animals with one exception accented on the final syllable: *ṛṣā-bhā-* and *vṛṣā-bhā-* 'bull', *gārda-bhā-* 'ass', *śara-bhā-* (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eight-legged animal', *rāsa-bhā-* 'ass'. This suffix also occurs once in the adjective *sthūla-bhā-* (AV.) 'big'.

32. The suffix *-ma* is regularly accented, whether forming superlatives; e. g. *adhā-mā-* 'lowest', *madhya-mā-* 'middle-most', or ordinals; e. g. *aṣṭa-mā-* 'eighth'. An exception is *anta-mā-*³ 'next'.

33. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-mant* retain the accent of the primitive, unless the latter is oxytone, when the accent in the great majority of instances (about three-fourths) is thrown forward on the suffix; e. g. *śradh-mant-* (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *aśāni-mant-* 'bearing the thunderbolt'; but *agni-mānt-* 'having fire' (*agni-*).

34. The suffix *-maya* is always accented on the first syllable; e. g. *ayas-māya-* 'made of metal', *go-māya-* 'consisting of cows', *śaka-māya-* 'arising from excrement'.

35. The suffix *-min* is accented (like *-in*) in the only two derivatives formed with it: *iś-min-* 'impetuous', and *ṛḡ-min-* 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc-*).

36. The rare suffix *-mna* is always accented: *dyu-mnā-* 'brightness', *nr-mnā-* 'manliness', *ni-mnā-* 'depth', *su-mnā-* 'welfare'.

37. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-ya* and Vṛddhi accent the initial or the final syllable with the same shift as appears in those formed with *-a*: the initial, when the primitive is accented on the final (or sometimes a medial) syllable, but the final, when the primitive is accented on the initial (or sometimes a medial syllable); e. g. *dāiv-ya-* 'divine' (*dēvā-* 'god'), *ārtvij-ya-* 'office of priest' (*ṛtvij-*), *gārhapat-ya-* 'position of a householder' (*gṛhā-pati-*); but *ādīt-ya-* 'son of Aditi', *prājāpat-ya-* (AV.) 'relating to Prajāpati'. In a very few instances the accent remains unchanged, as *ādhipat-ya-* 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati-* 'lord'), *pāums-ya-* 'manliness' (*pūms-* 'man'), *vīś-ya-* 'man of the third caste' (*vīś-* 'settler'), *śrāiṣṭh-ya-* (AV.) 'superiority' (*śrēṣṭha-* 'best'); while in several instances it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of to the initial syllable); e. g. *kāv-ya-* 'descendant of Kavi' (but *kāv-ya-* 'endowed with the qualities of a sage', *kavi-*).

a. In derivatives formed without Vṛddhi the accentuation is to some extent similar; thus a final accent shifts to the first syllable; e. g. in *pitr-ya-* 'belonging to the fathers' (*pitr-*), *prātijān-ya-* 'adverse' (*prati-jān-* 'adversary' AV.); or from the first to the last; e. g. *grām-ya-* 'belonging to the village' (*grāma-*); or it remains on the first syllable; e. g. *śv-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (*śvi-*), *gāv-ya-* 'derived from cows' (*gā-*); or it shifts from the final syllable to the suffix (instead of the first syllable); e. g. *kav-ya-* 'wise' (*kavi-*). But here the accent may also remain on or be shifted to a medial syllable; e. g. *svarāj-ya-* 'autocracy' (*svarāj-* 'sovereign'), *viśvādev-ya-* 'belonging to all gods' (*viśvā-deva-*); *hiranyā-ya-* 'golden' (*hiranya-* 'gold'), *aryā-ya-* 'derived from sheep' (beside *ārya-ya-*), *gavyā-ya-* 'derived from cows' (beside *gāvya-*).

¹ Cp. BB. 28, 318, bottom.

² Cp. PRELLWITZ, BB. 22, 74—114, on animal names in *-bha*.
³ But *antamānā-* (I. 1635).

But a peculiarity of the derivatives formed without Vṛddhi is that the majority of them have the Svarita accent on the suffix; e. g. *rājan-yā-* 'belonging to the royal class' (*rājan-*); *doṣan-yā-* 'relating to the arm' (*doṣan-*); *vāyav-yā-* 'belonging to Wind' (*vāyā-*); *-duṇḍubh-yā-* (VS.) 'relating to a drum' (*duṇḍubhi-*); *budhn-yā-* 'belonging to the bottom' (*budhnā-*). The suffix thus accented also appears in the gerundive in *-tav-yā-* (twice found in the AV.) formed from an infinitive stem in *-tu* (585, 4).

38. The rare suffix *-yin* is (like *-in*) always accented: *ātātā-yin-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn', *dhanvā-yin-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow', *marā-yin-*, N. of a man, *sykā-yin-* (VS.) 'having a spear', *svadhā-yin-* (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

39. Derivatives formed with *-ra* having a comparative sense (chiefly from prepositions) accent the initial syllable: *ādha-ra-* 'lower', *āpa-ra-* 'later', *dva-ra-* 'lower', *īpa-ra-* 'lower', *ānta-ra-* 'near' (*ānta-* 'end'). Other nouns formed with the suffix are chiefly accented on the final syllable; e. g. *a-srī-rā-* 'ugly', *dhūm-rā-* (VS.) 'dusky' (*dhūmā-* 'smoke'), *pāmsu-rā-* 'dusty', *rath-i-rā-* 'riding in a chariot'; but sometimes otherwise; thus *āgnīdh-ra-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*āgnīdh-*), *mīdh-i-ra-* 'wise', *karmā-ra-* 'smith'.

40. Derivatives formed with *-la* nearly always accent the suffix; e. g. *a-srī-lā-* (AV.) 'ugly', *jīva-lā-* (AV.) 'lively', *bahū-lā-* 'abundant', *madhu-lā-* 'sweet'; but *tīvi-lā-* 'fertile', *śva-lā-* (AV.) 'slimy', *śiśū-lā-* 'little child'.

41. The suffix *-va* is regularly accented: *arjā-vā-* 'billowy', *keśa-vā-* (AV.) 'hairy', *āñji-vā-* (AV.) 'slippery', *śanti-vā-* (AV.) 'friendly', *śradhī-vā-* 'credible'.

42. The fem. substantives formed from adverbs or prepositions with the suffix *-vāt* always accent the final syllable: *arvā-vāt-* 'proximity', *ā-vāt-* (AV.) 'proximity', *ud-vāt-* 'height', *nī-vāt-* 'depth', *parā-vāt-* 'distance', *pra-vāt-* 'height', *saṃ-vāt-* 'region'.

43. Derivatives formed with the suffix *-van* may have the accent on any syllable; e. g. *āthar-van-* 'fire-priest', *indhan-van-* 'possessed of fuel', *fgā-van-* 'violent'; *ṛtā-van-* 'regular', *maghā-van-* 'bountiful'; *arātī-vān-* 'hostile', *śruṣṭi-vān-* 'obedient'.

44. Derivatives formed with *-vānt* generally retain the original accent except in oxytone stems (if not ending in *a* or *ā*), which as a rule throw it on the suffix; e. g. *keśa-vānt-* 'hairy', *putrā-vānt-* (VS.) 'having a son', *prajā-vānt-* 'having offspring', *dyāvapṛthivī-vānt-* 'connected with heaven and earth'; but *agnī-vānt-* 'having fire' (*agnī-*), *āsan-vānt-* (AV.) 'having a mouth'. The accent is anomalously shifted in *kṛśānī-vānt-* 'decorated with pearls' (*kṛśāna-*) and *viśvā-vānt-* 'central' (*viśv-*) 'in both directions'.

45. The very rare derivatives formed with the suffix *-vaya* accent either the suffix or the primitive: *dru-vāya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish' and *cātur-vāya-* 'fourfold'.

46. Derivatives formed with the rare suffix *-valā* accent their final syllable: *kṛṣī-valā-* 'peasant', *naḍ-valā-* (VS.) 'reed bed'.

47. The suffix *-vin* is always accented; e. g. *namas-vin-* 'reverential', *yaśas-vin-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *madhā-vin-* (AV.) 'wise', *dhṛṣad-vin-* 'bold'.

48. The very rare names of relationship formed with the suffix *-vya* accent the first syllable: *bhrūṅ-rya-* (AV.) 'nephew'.

49. A few adjectives and substantives formed with the suffix *-śa* accent either the final or, less often, the first or second syllable: *arvā-śā-* or

¹ This word may, however, be derived from *antār-* 'within', with BR. and WURZENY 1209 i.

irva-sa- 'hasting', *eta-sa-* or *eta-sa-* 'variegated', *babhu-sa-* (VS. MS.) 'brownish', *roma-sa-* 'hairy', *yuva-sa-* 'youthful', *anhu-sa-* 'hook', *turvā-sa-*, N. of a man. Perhaps also *kāśma-sa-* (AV.) 'stupefaction'(?), and *kalā-sa-* 'jar'.

2. Accentuation of Compounds.

AUFRECHT, De accentu compositorum Sanscriticorum, Bonn 1847. — GARBE, KZ. 23, 470f. — REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer betonung nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik 2¹, p. 40—43, etc.

87. The rule as to the accentuation of compounds, stated in the most general way, is that iteratives, possessives, and governing compounds place the accent on the first member; determinatives and regularly formed copulatives (with one accent) on the last member and to a large extent on its final syllable. Speaking generally the accent of a compound is that of one of its members. But some words always change their accent when compounded; thus *vīśva-* 'all' regularly becomes *vīśvā-*, and in the later Sāṃhitās *sārva-* 'all' sometimes becomes *sarvā-*. Other words when compounded change their accent in certain combinations only; thus some paroxytones become oxytone, as *pūrva-* 'prior' in *pūrvā-citti-* 'foreboding', *pūrvā-pīti-* 'precedence in drinking', *pūrvā-kūti-* 'first invocation'; *nīma-* 'one' in *nomā-dhiti-* 'separation'; *mūdhā-* 'sacrifice' in *medhā-pati-* 'lord of sacrifice', and *medhā-sāti-* 'receiving the oblation'; *vīṣan-* in *vīṣā-kapi-*, N. of a monkey; on the other hand some oxytones throw back the accent, as *khādi-* 'bracelet' in *khādi-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets'; *grīvā-* 'neck' in *tuvigrīva-* 'powerful-necked'; *vīrā-* 'hero' in *puru-vīra-* 'possessed of many men' and *su-vīra-* 'heroic'; *dhūmā-* 'smoke' in *saka-dhūma-* (AV.) 'smoke of cowdung'.

An adjective compound may shift the accent from one member to the other if it becomes a substantive or a Proper Name; thus *a-kṣīra-* 'imperishable', *ā-kṣara-* 'speech'; *sū-kṛta-* 'well done', *su-kṛti-* n. 'good deed'; *ī-rāya-* 'niggardly', *a-rāya-*, N. of a demon.

88. In iteratives, which may consist of repeated nouns, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, or particles, the first member alone is accented, the two words being separated by Avagraha in the Pada text, like the members of other compounds. Examples are: *āhar-āhar jāyate māsi-māsi* (x. 52²) 'day after day he is born, month after month'; *yād-yād yāmi tād ā bhara* (viii. 61⁶) 'bring to me whatever I ask'; *yātha-yathā matīyāḥ sānti nṛṇām* (x. 111¹) 'as are the desires of men in each case'; *adyādyā svāh-śva indra trāsva parā ca nah* (viii. 61¹⁷) 'on each to-day, on each to-morrow protect us, Indra, and in the future'. The prepositions which appear as iteratives are *ūpa*, *pāra*, *prā*, *sām*; e. g. *prā-prā pūṣnās tuvijātāsya śasyate mahitvām* (i. 138¹) 'forth and again the greatness of the mighty Pūṣan is praised'. The only verbal iterative occurring is *pīva-pīva* (ii. 11¹³)² 'drink again and again'.

89. Governing compounds always accent the first member when it is a verbal noun³, as *trāsā-dasyu-* 'terrifying the foe', N. of a man. When the first member is a present or aorist participle, its final syllable is invariably accented, whatever the original accentuation may have been, e. g. *viddā-vasu-* 'winning wealth', *tarād-dveṣas-* 'overcoming (trāt-) foes'.

¹ In a few instances the repeated words are not treated as a compound and are both accented, as *nū nū* 'now, now', (viii. 13¹); *īkṣhi* (AV.) 'here, here', *sām sām* (AV.).

² Otherwise a repeated verbal form is not treated as an iterative, e. g. *stūhi stūhi* 'helping men'.

³ Except *likṣā-narā-* 'helping men'.

a. When the first member is a preposition, the accentuation is much the same as in possessives: either the first member is accented on its proper syllable, as *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven'; or the last member on the final syllable, but only when it ends in the compositional suffix *-a*, or when as a simple word it is not accented on the final syllable; e.g. *adhas-pad-ā-* 'being under the feet', *anu-kāmd-* 'according to wish' (*kāma-*). The accentuation of *api-prāna-* (f. *-i-*) 'accompanying the breath' is quite exceptional.

90. A. Possessive compounds (Bahuvrīhis) normally accent the first member on the same syllable as the simple word, e.g. *rāja-putra-* 'having kings as sons' (but *rāja-putrā-* 'son of a king'). Other examples are: *an-abhimlāta-varṇa-* 'whose colour is not dimmed', *iddhōgni-* 'whose fire is kindled', *indra-jyēṣṭha-* 'having Indra as chief', *indra-sakhī-* 'having Indra as a friend', *ghṛtā-pṛṣṭha-* 'butter-backed', *rāśad-vatsa-* 'having a bright calf', *sahasra-pad-* 'thousand-footed'. Similarly when the first member is a preposition, an ordinary adverb, or *sahā-* and (chiefly in the later Vedas) *sa-* in the sense of 'accompanied by'; e.g. *nir-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless', *prī-mahas-* 'having pre-eminent might', *vi-grīva-* 'wrynecked', *viśvāto-mukha-* 'facing in all directions', *sahā-vatsa-* 'accompanied by her calf', *si-kāma-* ('accompanied by' =) 'fulfilling desires' (VS.), *si-cetas-* 'intelligent'¹.

a. The original accent of the first member is sometimes changed. 1. The adjective *vīśva-* 'all' always, and (owing to its influence) *sarva-* 'all' sometimes in the later Saṃhitās, shift their accent to the final syllable; e.g. *vīśvā-cetas-* 'having all adornment', *sarvā-janman-*² (AV.), *sarvā-buddha-vāḥ-* (VS.) 'having a completely white tail', *sarvāya-* (VS.) 'having all life'. — 2. Present participles in several instances shift the accent to their final syllable; e.g. *krāndāt-īṣṭi-* 'having roaring (*krāndat-*) speed', *dravāt-āśva-* 'having swift (*dravāt-*) steeds'. Other participles with this shift of accent are *avāt-* and *bhāndāt-* 'shining', *rapāt-* 'swelling', *śāndāt-* 'resounding'. — 3. There are also a few miscellaneous examples of shift of accent in the first member: *abhiṣṭi-dyumnā-* 'abounding in aid', *jyoti-ratha-* 'whose car is light' (*jyōti-*), *dalpānū-pari-* 'whose felly is visible' (*dalpānū-*), *avakolhu-* (AV.) 'surrounded with Avakā plants' (*avakā-*); *catur-aṅga-* 'four-membered' (*catur-*), *bhādī-hasta-* 'having hands adorned with bracelets' (*bhādī-*).

B. About one eighth of the total number of Bahuvrīhis accent the second member, and in the majority of instances on the final syllable.

a. This accentuation is common when the first member is a dissyllabic adjective ending in *i* or *u*. It is invariable in the RV. after the very frequent *purī-* 'much' and the less frequent *krādhī-* 'shortened', *bahī-* 'much', *śīti-* 'white'; e.g. *puru-putrā-* 'having many sons', *puru-vāra-* 'having many treasures', *krādhī-kārṇa-* 'having short ears', *bahū-annā-*³ 'having much food' (*anna-*), *śīti-pād-* 'white-footed'. Examples of this accentuation after other adjectives ending in *i* and *u* are: *āśu-hāsas-* 'having swift steeds', *uru-kṣāya-* 'having a wide abode', *ṛju-kṛātu-* 'whose works are right', *tuvī-dyumnā-* 'having great glory', *ṛṣṭi-cyēvas-* 'moving greedily', *prthu-pāksas-* 'broad-flanked', *vibhu-kṛātu-* 'having great strength', *vīṣu-pāni-* 'strong-hoofed', *hīri-siprā-* 'golden-cheeked'. In the later Saṃhitās there is an increasing tendency to follow

¹ When another adjective or an adverb precedes the first member, it has the accent; e.g. *ka-śīti-pād-* (VS. TS.) 'having one foot white'; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 291.

² There are, however, a few exceptions in which the final member is accented, as *vī-likhā-* 'hairless' (but *vī-likha-* AV.), *puru-rathā-* 'whose car is foremost', *sa-prāthas-* 'extensive', *sāṅgā-* (AV.) 'together with the limbs'.
³ This is the only example (occurring beside *vīśvā-janman-*) of this shift of accent in

sarva- in the AV., where *sarva-* as first member is common.
⁴ *sarva-* shows this shift of accent in the RV. in the adverb *sarvā-tas-* 'from all sides' and in the derivative *sarvā-titi-* 'totality'.

⁵ Here the accent may be affected by that of the adverb *dravāt* 'swiftly'.

⁶ After *bahū-* the final syllable is always accented, even in the later Saṃhitās.

⁷ Both accentuations occur in *prthu-buddhī-* and *prthū-buddha-* 'broad-based'.

the general rule; e. g. *puri-nāman-* (AV.) 'many-named', *śiti-kakud-* 'having a white hump', and *śiti-bhasad-* 'having white buttocks' (IS. v. 6. 14').

b. Bahuvrīhis beginning with *dvi-* and *tri-* generally accent the second member; e. g. *dvi-pād-* 'two-footed', *dvi-dhāra-* 'forming two streams', *tri-tantu-* 'having three webs', *tri-nābhi-* 'having three naves', *tri-vandhur-* 'three-seated'¹. The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *dvi-savas-* 'having twofold might', *try-imbaka-* 'having three mothers' and *try-ātir-* 'having three products of milk'. The later Sāphtās accent *dvi-* and *tri-* in new Bahuvrīhis as often as not. In a few possessives beginning with other numerals the second member is accented on the last syllable, e. g. *catur-akṣ-* 'four-eyed'².

c. Possessives beginning with the negative prefix *a-* or *an-* almost invariably accent the final syllable irrespectively of the original accent of the second member (doubtless in order to distinguish them clearly from determinatives); e. g. *a-dānt-* 'toothless', *a-phal-* 'unfruitful' (*phāla-*), *a-bal-* 'not possessing strength' (*bāla-*). A very few accent the penultimate; *a-bhrāt-*³ (AV.) 'brotherless', *a-vīra-* 'childless', *a-śyas-* 'without offspring'. On the other hand a good many (though only a small proportion of the whole) accent the prefix (like determinatives), especially when the second member is a noun formed with the suffix *-ti*; e. g.⁴ *ā-gu-* 'kineless', *ā-jū-* 'kinless', *ā-dyu-* 'not burning', *ā-nṛ-* 'kinless', *ā-prajas-* (AV.) 'childless', *ā-mṛtyu-* 'deathless', *ā-hri-* 'bold', *ā-kṣiti-* 'imperishable'⁵.

d. Possessives beginning with *du-*⁶ 'ill' or *su-* 'well' regularly accent the second member, usually on the original syllable; e. g. *dur-mānman-* 'ill disposed', *su-bhāga-* 'well endowed'. There is, however, a tendency to throw the accent forward on the final syllable; e. g. *su-ānguri-* 'fair-fingered' (*āngūri-*), *su-phal-* (AV.) 'fruitful', *su-bandhu-* (AV.)⁷ 'closely related'⁸. On the other hand, the accent is in a few instances shifted from the final to the penultimate syllable, as *su-vīra-* 'rich in heroes' (*vīra-*), and *su-gāndhi-* 'sweet-smelling' beside *su-gāndhi-* (from *gāndhā-* 'smell')⁹.

g. Determinatives as a rule accent the last member, and pre-vaillingly on the final syllable.

A. 1. In the descriptive type, that is, those in which a substantive is described by an adjective or an appositional substantive (Karmadhāraya) and those in which a verbal noun is described by an adverbial word, the accent is on the final syllable; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-sakunā-* (AV.) 'black bird', *mahā-dhān-* 'great spoil', *ajñāta-yakṣmā-* 'unknown disease', *yāvayut-sakhā-* 'a protecting friend', *rāja-yakṣmā-* ('king' =) 'royal disease'¹⁰, *sūrya-sūlt-* 'sun-bright'; *pura-d-* 'going before', *prathama-jā-* 'first-born', *prātar-yij-*¹¹ 'early yoked', *svayam-bhā-* 'self-existent', *duḥ-kṛt-* 'acting wickedly', *su-prā-tīr-*¹² 'victorious', *a-ghārin-* (AV.) 'not anointing', *a-cit-* 'senseless', *a-jaray-*¹³ 'not aging', *a-jūr-* 'unaging'.

¹ But *asṭā-vandhura-* 'having eight car-seats'.

² Cp. WHITNEY 1300 c.

³ But in the RV. with the usual accentuation *a-bhrāt-*.

⁴ For many other examples see WACKERNAGEL 2^a, 114 note (p. 293).

⁵ The only possessive of this kind in which the second member ends in *-ti* and accents the final syllable seems to be *a-gāyātī-* 'pastureless'.

⁶ The only exception in the case of *du-* is *dūr-ātir-* 'ill-mixed'.

⁷ The RV. retains the original accent, *su-phāla-*, *su-bandhu-*.

⁸ For other examples see WACKERNAGEL 2^a, p. 294, bottom.

⁹ Op. cit. 2^a, p. 295 7, note.

¹⁰ Exceptions, when the first member is a noun, are all compounds formed with *vīva-* 'all', as *vīva-mānuṣa-* 'every man', also *madhyam-dina-* 'midday', *vṛṣā-kapi-* 'male ape', in all of which the original accent of the first member is shifted.

¹¹ *ādhrī-gu-* 'irresistible' and *sadhā-stha-* 'standing together', are exceptions.

¹² *su-ācīj-* 'easy to acquire' is an exception.

¹³ But *ā-maṇiṣu-* 'immoveable'.

a-yoddh- 'not fighting', *a-rajin-* 'not shining', *a-pra-mr̥ṣyá-*¹ 'indestructible', *a-budh-yá-* 'not to be wakened', *an-aty-ud-yá-* (AV.) 'unspeakable', *an-ādhy-yá-* 'unassailable', *an-imayi-tu-* 'not making ill'.

a. When, however, the second member ends in *-van*, *-man* or *-i*, or has the form of a gerundive used as a neuter substantive, the penultimate (radical) syllable is accented; e. g. *raghu-pátvan-* 'swift-flying', *puro-yávan-*² 'going in front'; *su-tárman-* 'crossing well', *viṣu-pátman-* 'flying mightily', *raghu-yáman-* 'going swiftly', *su-vedman-* 'driving well', *dur-g̥bhī-* 'hard to hold', *rju-váni* 'striving forward', *turi-svāni-* 'roaring mightily', *p̥r̥va-p̥yū-* and *p̥r̥va-p̥ya-* n. 'precedence in drinking', *saha-bhya-* n. 'act of lying together', *amula-bhīya-*³ (VS.) n. 'state of being in the other world'.

2. The first member is, however, accented under certain conditions.

a. It is generally accented if it is an adverbial word and the last member is a past participle in *-ta* or *-na*⁴ or a verbal noun in *-i*; e. g. *dīmsu-jāta-* 'speeding wondrously', *dūr-hita-* 'faring ill', *sāna-bruta-*⁵ 'famed from of old'; *pur̥j-hiti-* 'priestly ministration', *sadhā-stuti-* 'joint praise'. — b. The privative particle *a-* or *an-* when compounded with a participle⁶, adjective, or substantive is nearly always accented; e. g. *án-adant-*⁷ 'not eating', *á-ditsant-* 'not wishing to give', *á-manyamāna-* 'not thinking', *á-hiṃsāna-* 'not injuring', *á-vidvāns-* 'not knowing', *á-kṛta-*⁸ 'not done'; *á-kṛ-a-*⁹ 'inactive', *á-suz-i-* 'not pressing Soma', *á-tandra-* 'unwearied', *á-kumāra-*¹⁰ 'not a child'; *á-citti-* 'thoughtlessness'. The particle is regularly accented when it negatives a compound; e. g. *á-duṣ-kṛt-* 'not doing ill', *án-aśva-dā-* 'not giving a horse', *á-pascād-daghvan-* 'not remaining behind'; *á-punar-diyamāna-*¹¹ (AV.) 'not being given back', *án-agni-dagdhā-* 'not burnt with fire', *án-abhi-śasta-*¹² 'blameless'.

B. I. Dependent determinatives as a rule accent the second member and that mostly on the last syllable, even if the simple word is not an oxytone.

a. When the second member is a root¹³, a verbal noun in *-a*, an ordinary substantive (without verbal sense), or an adjective ending in *-in*¹⁴, the final

¹ This is the regular accent of the gerundive with the negative prefix, which is, however, accented in some half dozen instances: *á-vidya-*, *á-jeyya-*, *á-dabhya-*, *á-vedya-*, *á-yabhya-* (AV.) and *á-gṇya-* beside *a-gṇya-*. Two of these compounds in the AV. retain the Svarita of the simple gerundive: *an-ātriyādhyā-* and *an-ādhyāryā-*.

² *satyá-mad̥van-* 'truly rejoicing' is an exception.

³ *sadhā-stutya-* n. 'joint praise', is an exception.

⁴ Here the adverb is treated like a preposition compounded with a past participle.

⁵ There are a good many exceptions in which the original accent of the past participle remains on the final syllable; e. g. *turi-jātā-* 'mightily born', *áus-kṛtā-* 'ill done', *su-jātā-* (beside *sū-jātā-*). This is the regular accentuation when the first member is *puru-*; e. g. *puru-śrutā-* 'much praised'.

⁶ Not, however, when the second member is a gerundive, a root, or a noun with verbal meaning ending in *-ya*, *-tu*, *-sm*, *-in*, *-ty-*; see examples above (A 1).

⁷ But *a-sācednt-* beside *á-sācant-* 'not ceasing', *a-codant-* (V. 44²) and as substan-

tives *a-rundhat-ī-* (AV.) a name, and *a-jdrant-ī-* (VS.) 'unaging'.

⁸ Exceptions are *a-dtta-*, *a-d̥ṣṭa-*, *a-m̥ta-*, *a-yāta-* n. 'myriad' but (AV.) *á-yāta-* 'undisturbed', *a-tārta-* (beside *á-tārta-*), *a-bhīntā-* (AV.) beside *á-bhīntā-*.

⁹ There are also some verbal derivatives in *-a* which accent the second member; e. g. *a-kṣar-a-* 'imperishable', *a-jar-a-* 'unaging', *a-dābh-a-* 'not-deceiving', *a-tyā-d-* 'dissatisfied', *a-vadh-ā-* 'inviolable', *a-vydh-ā-* 'not furthering', *an-āvras̥k-ā-* (AV.) 'not falling off'; cp. WHITNEY 1283—88.

¹⁰ There are also several ordinary nouns which are accented as second member; e. g. *a-citra-* 'colourless', *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *a-vira-* 'unmanly'.

¹¹ But *a-ni-padyamāna-* (AV.) 'not going to rest' where RV. has *á-ni-padyamāna-*.

¹² But *an-á-śastī-* (RV.) 'not praised', *á-p̥ra-śastā-* beside *á-p̥ra-śasta-* 'not praised'.

¹³ There are a few exceptions when derivation from a root is not clear, as in *á-dhi-* 'plant'; otherwise *-dhi* from *dhi-* 'put' is regularly accented; e. g. *isu-dhi* 'quiver'.

¹⁴ This suffix being invariably accented in the simple word (86 B. 8).

syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *gotra-bhīd-* 'opening the cowpens', *ghṛtā-vyādh-* 'delighting in ghee', *divi-sphā-* 'touching the sky', *patan-gā-* 'going by flight', 'flying', *varuṇa-dhrī-t-* 'deceiving Varuṇa'; *agnim-indh-i-*¹ 'fire-kindling', *hasta-grābh-d-* 'hand-grasping', *purāṇ-dar-d-* 'fort-destroying'; *uda-meghā-* 'shower of water', *go-saphā-* (VS.) 'cow's hoof', *jīva-loka-* 'world of the living', *indra-senā-* 'Indra's missile' (*senā-*), *kṛṣṇajini-* (AV. TS.) 'hide (*ajina-*) of the black antelope', *deva-kośā-*² (AV.) 'cask (*kośa-*) of the gods', *deva-mānā-*³ 'abode (*māna-*) of the gods'; *uktha-sams-in-* 'uttering praise', *bhadra-vād-in-* 'uttering auspicious cries'.

a. The word *pāti-* 'lord' follows this rule in only a few compounds occurring in the later Samhitās; thus in the AV.: *apsarī-pati-* 'lord of the Apsarases', *vijā-pati-* 'lord of a troop' (*vijā-pati-*, RV.); in the VS.: *amhasas-pati-* 'lord of perplexity', *upa-pati-* 'paramour', *edāhīṣṭh-pati-* 'husband of a younger sister', *nadī-pati-* 'lord of rivers'; in the MS.: *ahar-pati-* 'lord of day', *cit-pati-* 'lord of thought', *vāk-pati-* 'lord of speech'. In a few determinatives *pāti-* retains its own accent as second member, as *ur-pāti-* 'lord of men', *rayi-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *vīṣ-pāti-* 'lord of the tribe', also the *f* in *vani-pātinī-* 'mistress of wealth', *vīṣ-pātinī-*⁴ 'mistress of the tribe'; in the VS. *ahar-pati-*, *cit-pāti-*, *vāk-pāti-*; in the AV. *ṣṭu-pāti-* 'lord of proper seasons', *paśu-pāti-* 'lord of animals' (VS.), *paṇi-pāti-* 'lord of welfare', *bhūta-pāti-* 'lord of beings', *śha-pāti-*⁵ 'governor'. In compounds with *pāti-*, however, the first member is usually accented, there being 27 cases in the RV., besides 10 with *patnī-*; e. g. *gṛhā-pati-* 'lord of the house', *gā-pati-* 'lord of kine', *pānu-pati-* 'lord of creatures', *medhā-pati-*⁶ 'lord of animal sacrifice' (*mādhā-*), *vāsu-pāti-* 'lord of wealth', *vājā-pati-* 'lord of booty', *svār-pati-*⁷ 'lord of light'; *gṛhā-pātinī-* 'mistress of the house', *devā-pātinī-* 'wife of a god', *vājā-pātinī-* 'queen of booty'. In the AV., of 15 new masculines ending in *-pati-* more than half accent the first member as do all the 8 new ones ending in *patnī-*; e. g. *dīthi-pati-* 'entertainer of a guest'. In the other Samhitās also occur: *kaṭrā-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of dominions', *bhīṣu-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of the atmosphere', *bhīṣana-pati-* (VS. TS.) 'lord of beings', *bhū-pati-* (TS.) 'lord of the world', *samvāhi-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of rest', *viṣṇu-pātinī-* (VS. TS.) 'Viṣṇu's wife'⁸.

b. Determinatives which have as their second member verbal nouns in *-ana*⁹, adjectives in *-i* and *-van*, as well as action nouns in *-ya*, regularly accent the radical syllable of the second member; e. g. *deva-mīd-ana-* 'exhilarating the gods', *keśa-vārdh-ana-*¹⁰ 'causing the hair to grow'; *pathi-rāks-i-* 'protecting the road'; *soma-pi-van-* 'somadriking', *talpa-si-van-* 'lying on the couch', *prātar-i-t-van-*¹¹ 'coming early'; *ali-hūt-ya-* 'slaughter of the dragon', *deva-hū-ya-* 'invocation of the gods', *mantra-śrī-t-ya-* n. 'listening to counsel', *vṛtra-tūr-ya-*¹² 'conquest of Vṛtra'.

2. Dependent determinatives, however, which have as their second member past passive participles in *-ta* and *-na* or action nouns in *-ti* accent

¹ *dīgha-* retains its original accent, as *madhu-dīgha-* 'yielding mead', *kāma-dīgha-* (AV. VS.) 'yielding desires'. A few others have the original accent of the first member: *marud-vyādh-* 'delighting in the Maruts', *ātī-cara-* (AV.) 'moving in the sky', *sutī-kara-* 'active at the Soma offering'. Cp. WHITNEY 1278.

² A few accent the penultimate syllable of the final member with shift of the original accent, as *go dhūma-* (VS.) 'wheat', *śakā-dhūma* (AV.), *yama-vājya-* (AV. VS.) 'Yama's sway' (*vājya-*); cp. WACKERNAGEL 2, p. 268, top, note.

³ But *deva-yānu-* 'going to the gods'.

⁴ Also the Karmadhāraya *sa-pātinī-* 'cowife' and the Bahuvrīhi *su-pātinī-* 'having a good husband'.

⁵ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 319.

⁶ In K. *mādhā-pati-*.

⁷ *svā-pati-* 'one's own lord' is a Karma-dhāraya; as a Bahuvrīhi it is accented *svā-pati-* (AV.) 'having an own consort'.

⁸ On doubly accented compounds with *-pati-* see below (3).

⁹ Just as when such nouns are compounded with prepositions.

¹⁰ The very few apparent exceptions to this rule are due to these words losing their verbal character; e. g. *yama-sādanā-* (AV.) 'Yama's realm'.

¹¹ In *mātari-tvan-* and *mātari-bhvan-* the suffix is probably *-an*; here the original accent of the first member (if it is the loc. *mātari-*) has shifted, perhaps owing to the influence of words like *prātar-i-tvan-*.

¹² An exception is *sadhā-stu-t-ya-* 'joint praise'. A few feminines in *-ya-*, which are closely allied to these neuters in *-ya-*, retain their accent on the final syllable, as *deva-*

the first member (like a preposition); e. g. *Indra-prasūta-* 'incited by Indra', *devā-hita-* 'ordained by the gods', *hista-yata-* 'guided by the hand'; *devā-hūti-*² 'invocation of the gods', *dhāna-sāti-*³ 'winning of wealth'.

3. Double accentuation. A certain number of determinative compounds, syntactical in origin, which have a genitive case-form in the first member, and nearly always *-pāti-* in the second, are doubly accented. Such are *bṛhas-pāti-* and *brāhmaṇas-pāti-*⁴ 'lord of prayer', *gnās-pāti-* 'husband of a divine woman' (with the anomalous fem. *gnās-pātnī-* 'divine wife'), *jās-pāti-*⁵ 'head of a family'. The compound *sādas-pāti-* 'lord of the seat' (*sādas-*) probably stands by haplology for **sādasas-pāti-*, but *vāna-s-pāti-*⁶ 'lord of the wood' perhaps, and *rātha-s-pāti-* 'lord of the car' (*rātha-*) probably, owe their *s* to the analogy of *bṛhas-pāti-*⁷. Though without case-ending in the first member, *śācī-pāti-* 'lord of might' follows the analogy of the above compounds. Other doubly accented compounds with case-form in the first member but not ending in *-pāti-* are *śūnaḥ-śēpa-* 'Dog's tail', N. of a man; *dāsyava-ṛka-* 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; *apām-nīpāt-* 'son of waters', the analogy of which is followed by *tīnū-nīpāt-* 'son of himself' (*tānī-*) though it is without case-ending in the first member; *nāra-śīṃsa-*⁸ 'Praise of men' (for **nārām-śīṃsa-*), the analogy of which is followed by *nī-śīṃsa-*. The name *nābhā-nābhīṣṭho-* seems to contain an old locative in the first member, while the uninflected stem appears in *ās-pātra-* (TS. II. 5. 9³) 'vessel for the mouth'.

92. 1. The regular class of copulatives, which have only one accent, places the acute on the final syllable⁹ irrespective of the accent of the uncompounded word. In the plural occur: *ajīvāyāḥ* m. 'goats and sheep', *ukthārki* n. 'praises and songs', *ahorātrīṇi* 'days and nights'; in the dual: *ṛk-sām*¹⁰ n. 'song and chant', *satyāṇṛtī* n. 'truth and untruth', *sāsanānāsān*¹¹ n. 'what eats and does not eat'; in the singular: *nīlahitām* n. 'blue and red'¹⁰, *iṣṭi-pūrtām*¹¹ n. 'what is sacrificed and presented', *keśa-smātrī-* (AV.) n. 'hair and beard', *añjanābhyañjanām* (AV.) n. 'salve and ointment', *kaśīpu-barhaṇām* (AV.) n. 'mat and pillow', *kr̥tīkr̥tām* (AV.) n. 'what is done and undone', *cittākr̥tām* (AV.) n. 'thought and desire', *bhadra-pipām* (AV.) 'good and evil', *bhūta-bhavyām* (AV.) n. 'past and future', n. pl. *priyāprijyāṇi* (AV.) 'things

yaj-yā- 'worship of the gods', beside *deva-* *yaj-ya-*, *jāta-vād-yā-* 'knowledge of things', *muṣṭi-hat-yā-* 'hand to hand fight'.

² There are, however, a good many exceptions in which the final syllable is accented (as in prepositional determinatives), e. g. *agni-taptā-* 'glowing with fire', *agni-daḥ-dhā-* 'burnt by fire'.

³ The original accent of the first member is shifted in *nemā-dhiti-* 'putting opposite' 'fight', *vānā-dhiti-* 'layer of wood', *medhā-sāti-* 'receiving of the oblation'.

⁴ When the verbal sense is lost in the second member, the general rule of final accentuation applies; e. g. *deva-sumati-* 'favour of the gods', *deva-heti-* (AV.) 'weapon of the gods'. This analogy is followed by *sarva-jyāni-* (AV.) 'loss of one's all'.

⁵ Though *brāhmaṇas-pāti-* is not treated as a compound in the Paṭa text, it is so treated in the Dvandva *indrā-brāhmaṇas-pāti* (II. 24¹²).

⁶ Thus accented in Book VII, but *jās-pāti-* in Book I. The latter is the only Tatpuruṣa in the RV. in which double accentuation does not take place when *-pāti-* is preceded

by *s*. The only other instance in the RV. of a Tatpuruṣa with case-ending in the first member and yet singly accented is *divo-dāsa-*, N. of a king. Elsewhere occur *apsu-yogā-* (AV.) 'connecting power in water', *amhasas-pati-* (VS.), perhaps *mātīr-bhrātrī-* (MS. I. 6¹³) 'mother's brother' (the Mss. read *mātīr-bhrātrī-*).

⁷ In *vānas-pāti-* the first member may be the gen. sing. of *vān-* 'wood' (gen. pl. *vānāṇi*); but in *rātha-s-pāti-* the *s* must be inorganic; cp. GARBE, KZ. 23, 490; RICHTER, IF. 19, 17; BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 15 note¹⁴; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 247.

⁸ The only new instance of double accentuation of a compound with *-pāti-* after the RV. seems to be *nī-mṣ-pāti-* (MS.); cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 248 d.

⁹ Cp. FOX, JAOS. 16, CLXXII-IV.

¹⁰ The two or three exceptions which occur in the AV. and VS. are doubtless due to wrong readings.

¹¹ The adjectives being used as substantives.

¹² In the VS. used in the dual also.

agreeable and disagreeable'; and as adjectives *tāmra-dhūmrā-* (AV.) 'tawny and dark', *dakṣiṇa-savyā-* (AV.) 'right and left', *saptamaśamā-* (AV.) 'seventh and eighth'.

a. The very few adverbial copulatives which occur accent the first member: *dhar-dīvi* 'day by day', *sayam-pratar* (AV.) 'at even and at morn'.

2. The class of *Devatā-dvandvas*, each member of which is dual in form, and which in the RV. is about thrice as frequent as the regular class, retains the accent of simple words in each member of the compound¹: thus *agnī-viśṇū* (AV.), *agnī-sam*, *indrā-pūṣṇā*, *indrā-bhṛiṣpātī*², *indrā-varuṇā*, *indrā-utsā*, *indrā-simā*, *usāsa-naktā* 'Dawn and Night', *dyāvā-kṣamā* 'heaven and earth', *dyāvā-pṛthivī*, *dyāvā-bhīmi*, *naktosāsa*, *pārjanya-vitā*, *pṛthivī-dyāvā*, *mitrā-varuṇā*, *śrīyā-māsā*. A few others are formed in the same way from substantives which are not the names of deities: *krātū-dikṣau* (VS.) 'understanding and will', *turvaśa-yadu* (iv. 30¹⁷) 'Turvaśa and Yadu', *dhūnt-cūmuri* 'Dhuni and Cumuri', *mātrā-pitṛā* (iv. 6¹) 'mother and father'.

a. A certain number of these compounds have been assimilated to the regular class of copulatives by giving up the accent of the first member: *indrāgni*, *indrā-pūṣṇā*, *somā-pūṣṇā*, *vātā-parjanya*, *śrīyā-candramāsā*, *bhāvā-rudrāu* (AV.), *bhāvā-sarvāu* (AV.)³; one has been completely assimilated by giving up also the dual form in the first member: *indra-vayā*.

a. There occurs once a secondary adjective copulative accented on both members, being formed from an adverbial Dvandva: *dhar-dīva-* (VS.) 'daily' (*dhar-dīvi* 'day by day').

3. Accent in Declension.

93. The vocative, when accented at all (85, 2) invariably has the acute on the first syllable; e. g. *pitar*, N. *pitā* 'father'; *dīva*, N. *devā-s* 'god'. The regularly accented vocative of *dyāvā-* (*dyāvā-*) 'heaven' is *dyāvā-s*, that is *dīaus*, but the nominative form *dyāvā* is also used in its stead.

a. Otherwise, in the *a*-declension (f. *-ā*) the accent always remains on the same syllable; e. g. N. *devā-s*, G. *devā-sya*, pl. *devā-nām*. This rule is also followed by monosyllabic pronominal stems in *-a*; e. g. from *ma-*: I. *māy-ā* 'by me', D. *mā-hyam*, I. *māy-i*; from *tī-* 'that', G. sing. *tī-sya*, pl. G. *tī-śam*, I. *tī-bhis*⁴.

a. An exception to this rule is formed by the plural cardinal stems ending in *-a*. They regularly accent that vowel before endings with initial consonant, and throw the acute on the ending of the genitive; e. g. *pañca* 'five': I. *pañcā-bhis*, G. *pañcānām*; *aṣṭi* 'eight', however, shifts the accent to the endings generally, thus I. *aṣṭā-bhis*, D. *aṣṭā-bhis* (TS.).

94. When the final syllable of the stem is accented, the acute (except in the *ā*-declension) is liable to shift to the endings in the weak cases.

1. This is the rule in monosyllabic stems; e. g. *navā-* 'ship': A. *navā-am*, but I. *navā*, pl. I. *navā-bhis*, L. *navā-si*; *dānt-* m. 'tooth': I. *dānt-ā*, pl. A. *dānt-ās*⁵, I. *dānt-bhis*.

¹ The double accent is retained even in again, have only one accent, which as in the derivatives *mitrā-varuṇā-vant-* 'accompanied by Mitra and Varuṇa', and *dyāvā-pṛthivī-vant-* (AV.) 'accompanied by heaven and earth'.
² Retaining the double accent of the second member.
³ In the AV. the number of *Devatā-dvandvas* is only about half that in the RV. (though the total number of *Dvandvas* is more than double); about one-half of these, Indo-aryische Philologie. I. 4.

⁴ Retaining the nom. *-s*, instead of **dīau* (Gk. *Zē*).
⁵ An exception is the pronoun *a-* 'this', which is treated like a monosyllabic stem, e. g. G. *a-sya*, pl. m. *a-śam*, f. *a-śam*; a few times, however, the accentuation *ā-mai-*, *ā-sya-*, *ā-bhis* occurs; cp. WHITNEY 502 b.

⁶ The accusative plural is treated as a weak case and accented on the ending in



a. Exceptions to this rule are the rare monosyllabic stems in *-ā*, which retain the accent on the stem; e. g. *gṛā-* 'woman'; pl. I. *gṛā-bhis*, I. *gṛā-su*. Individual exceptions are *gā-* 'cow', *dyā-* 'sky'; e. g. I. *gāv-ā*, pl. G. *gāv-ām*, I. *gā-bhis*; I. *dyāv-i*, pl. I. *dyā-bhis*. Similarly *ṛj-* 'man': D. *ṛj-ē*, pl. I. *ṛj-bhis*, I. *ṛj-su*, but G. *nar-ām* and *ṛj-nām*; *ḥām-* 'earth'; I. *ḥām-i*; *śān-* 'succession': I. *śān-ā* (and *śān-ī*), D. *śān-ē*; *ṛd-* 'joy': *ṛd-*, pl. I. *ṛd-su*; *vān-* 'wood': pl. I. *vān-su* (but G. *vān-ām*); *vīp-* 'rod': G. *vīp-as*; *ṣṭ-* 'star': pl. I. *ṣṭ-bhis*; *śār-* 'light': G. *śār-as* (but D. *śār-ē*); also the infinitives *bādh-* 'to press', *vāh-* 'to convey'. In some words the irregular accentuation is due to their having originally been dissyllables; such are *dṛ-* 'wood', *mū-* 'summit', *śvā-* 'dog', *yān-* weak stem of *yuvan-* 'young'; e. g. I. *dṛ-nā*; pl. I. *śnū-su*; I. *śūn-ā*, pl. *śvā-bhis*; I. *yān-ā*.

2. When the accented vowel of the final syllable in polysyllabic stems disappears either by syncope or by changing to a semivowel, the acute is thrown on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; thus from *māhimān-* 'greatness', I. *māhimu-ā*; from *mārdhān-* 'head', D. *mārdhān-ē*; from *agnī-* 'fire', G. du. *agny-ōs*; from *dhenū-* 'cow', I. sing. *dhenv-ā*; from *vadhū-* 'bride', D. *vadhv-ī* (AV.); from *pitr-* 'father', I. *pitr-ā*.

a. Polysyllabic stems in *-i*, *-ī*, *-ī*, and in the RV. usually those in *-i*, throw the acute on the ending of the G. pl. also, even though the vowel retains its syllabic character in this case; e. g. *agnī-nām*, *dhenū-nām*, *dātṛ-nām*; *bahv-nām*².

3. Present participles in *-dt* and *-dnt* throw the acute on the endings with initial vowel in the weak cases; e. g. from *tud-ānt-* 'striking': I. sing. *tud-at-ā* (but *tud-ad-bhis*). This rule is also followed by the old participles *mah-dt* 'great' and *byh-dt* 'large', e. g. *mahat-ā* (but *mahād-bhis*)³.

4. In the RV. derivatives formed with accented *-ān* throw the acute on endings with initial vowel in the weak cases when contraction to *r* and *ā* appears in the final syllable; thus from *praty-dān-* 'turned towards', I. sing. *pratic-ā* (but I. pl. *pratydk-su*); from *anv-dān-* 'following'; G. *anv-ās* (but from *prān-* I. sing. *prān-ī*). The other Samhitās, however, generally retain the accent on the stem⁴.

4. Verbal Accent.

95. As regards personal endings, those of the singular active in all tenses and moods are always unaccented except the 2. imperative *-dhi* or *-hi*. Others may be accented; if dissyllabic, they have the acute on the first syllable, as *-anti*, *-mdhi*.

When the tense stem ends in *-a* in the present, in the future, in the unaugmented imperfect and aorist, and throughout the subjunctive, the accent is never on the ending, as it remains on the same syllable of the stem throughout.

96. All tenses formed with the augment invariably accent the latter, if the verb is accented at all (85, 2β); e. g. impf. *ā-bhara-t*, plupf. *ā-jagan*, aor. *ā-bhū-t*, conditional *ā-bhariṣya-t*. If the augment is dropped, the accentuation is as follows. In the imperfect the acute is on the same syllable as in the present; e. g. *bhāra-t*, pres. *bhāra-ti*. The pluperfect, if regularly

hardly more than one third of the stems the plural cardinals in *-a*: as *pañca* 'five', occurring; see WHITNEY 390 a; cp. LANMAN *pañca-nānu*, *dāśa* 'ten', *dasā-nānu*. 494, 499, 504 top, 505.

³ The accent is, however, not shifted in the old participle *vāghāt-m* 'worshipper'; nor in the two forms *a-volāṭ-ē* 'not urging' (from *ad-ant-*) and *rathirāyāt-ām* 'speeding'; cp. LANMAN p. 505-6 (top).

⁴ Thus the 1. stem *pratic-* (AV.), but RV. *pratic-* (ence in the A. *pratic-*).

² This regularly takes place in the G. of

formed, accents the root, as 3. sing. *akān* (√*kan*), 3. sing. *rārān* (√*ran*), 1. sing. *cikātam* (√*cit*); when formed with thematic *-a*, it accents that vowel, as 3. pl. *caḥpāntā*. The aorist if formed with *-sa*, accents that syllable, e. g. 3. pl. *dhuk-sān*, *dhuk-sāntā* (from *duh*- 'milk'); if formed with *-s*, it accents the root, as may be inferred from 1. sing. *vāṃs-i* (from *van*- 'win'), the only accented example occurring; if formed with *-is*, it accents the root, e. g. 1. sing. *sāms-is-am*¹. If formed from the root, it accents the radical vowel in the singular active, but the endings elsewhere, as 3. sing. *vārk* (√*vṛj*), but 2. sing. mid. *nut-thās* (√*nud*). If formed from the root with thematic *-a*, it usually follows the analogy of the present *a*-class, e. g. *ruhā-m*, *bhujā-t*, *vidā-t*, *budhā-ntā*; in several instances, however, it accents the root, as *āru-ntā* (√*ṛ*- 'go'); *sāra-t* (√*sr*- 'flow'); *sāda-tam* (√*sad*- 'sit'); *sāna-t* (√*san*- 'gain') but opt. *sāndma*; *vacā-t* (√*vac*- 'speak') but opt. *voḍyam*. The reduplicated aorist usually accents the reduplicative syllable, as 2. sing. *didharas*, *nīnātas*, 3. sing. *pīparat*, *svāp*, *jījanat*, pl. *jījanan*; but sometimes the root, as 2. sing. *śīrāthas*, 3. sing. *pīparat*, *śīśnāthāt*. Passive aorists accent the root, e. g. *dhū-y-i*, *śrāv-i*, *ved-i*, *īn-i*, *pād-i*, *sād-i*.

97. Present system.—1. Throughout the present system of the *a*-conjugation the accent remains on the same syllable of the stem in all moods; on the radical syllable in verbs of the first and fourth classes; e. g. *bhāva-ti* from *bhū*- 'be', *nāh-ya-ti* from *nāh*- 'bind'; on the thematic *-a* in the sixth class; e. g. *tudā-ti* from *tud*- 'strike'.

2. In the second or graded conjugation, the singular indicative active, the whole of the subjunctive, and the 3. sing. imperative active² accent the stem, while all other forms accent the endings³. In the strong forms the radical syllable is accented in the second class; generally the reduplicative syllable, but sometimes the root, in the third class; the suffix in the fifth, eighth, seventh, and ninth; e. g. 3. sing. ind. *ās-ti*, subj. *ās-a-t*, impv. *ās-tu*, from *as*- 'be', 2nd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *bhī-bhar-ti* from *bhīr*- 'bear', 3rd cl.; 3. sing. ind. *kr-nū-ti*, subj. *kr-nū-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *kr-nū-ta*, and *kr-nū-tana* from *kr*- 'make', 5th cl.; 3. sing. subj. *man-tv-a-te* from *man*- 'think', 8th cl.; 1. sing. ind. *yu-nū-j-mi*, 3. sing. subj. *yu-nū-j-a-t* from *yuj*- 'join', 7th cl.; 3. sing. ind. *grbh-nū-ti*, 2. sing. subj. *grbh-nū-s* from *grabh*- 'seize', 9th cl.; but 2. sing. impv. *ad-dhī*, 3. pl. opt. *ad-yūr* from *ad*- 'eat', 2nd cl.; 1. pl. ind. *bi-bhr-māsi*; 1. sing. ind. mid. *kr-nv-t*, 2. sing. impv. *kr-nv-hi*; 1. pl. opt. *van-u-yāma*, 3. pl. impv. *van-v-āntu* from *van*- 'win', 8th cl.; 3. sing. mid. *yunū-k-t*, 2. sing. impv. mid. *yunū-k-va*; 1. pl. ind. *gr-nt-māsi*, 2. sing. impv. *gr-nt-hi* from *gr*- 'praise', 9th cl.

a. Irregularities. In the second or root class, several verbs accent the radical syllable throughout⁴: *śi*- 'lie' does so besides taking Guna; e. g. 1. sing. *śdy-e*, 2. sing. *śdy-ṣe* etc.⁵ Occasional accentuation of the root in weak forms appears in 2. sing. impv. *jānī-ṣva*⁶ (√*jan*-), *māt-ṣva* (√*mad*-), *yāb-ṣva* (√*yaj*-), *sāb-ṣva* and *sāb-ṣva* (√*sah*-), *śdh-a-t*, subj. *śdh-* 'thrive', 3. pl. impv. *svāp-āntu* (AV.) and *svās-āntu* (AV.)⁷. A few roots of the third class accent the root instead of the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms. These are *ī*- 'note', *mad*- 'exhilarate', *yu*- 'separate', *hu*- 'sacrifice'; e. g. 2. sing. *ī-bh-ṣi* (AV.); 3. sing. subj. *ma-mād-a-t*, 3. sing. impv. *ma-mā-tu*; 3. sing. subj. *yu-yāv-a-t*, 2. pl. impv. *yu-vā-tana*; 3. sing. *ju-hā-ti*. Occasional forms thus accented are 2. sing. *īr-ṣi* (RV⁸) from

¹ Of the *is*-aorist no accented forms occur.

² The 2. pl. impv. active often accents the stem, which is then strong, as *ś-ta*, *ś-tana* from *ś*- 'go'; this is sometimes also the case with the 2. du. in *-tam*.

³ The final syllable of the ending of the 3. pl. middle is regularly accented in several verbs, as *śi-hāt*, *duh-āt*; see WHITNEY 613, 685, 699; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 73.

⁴ These are *ās*- 'sit', *ī*- 'praise', *īr*- 'set in motion', *ī*- 'rule', *caḥ*- 'see', *lakṣ*- 'fashion', *śrī*- 'protect', *nīṃs*- 'kiss', *vas*- 'clothe', *sū*- 'bring forth'.

⁵ See WHITNEY 628 and 629.

⁶ Op. cit. 631 a.

⁷ Op. cit. 630.

r- 'go', 2. sing. mid. *dhāt-se* from *dhā* 'put', and *bi-bhār-ti* (RV¹, AV².) beside the usual *bi-bhār-ti*. Both types, when the ending begins with a vowel, throw the accent back on the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 3. pl. *jūhv-ati* and *bibhr-ati*, but 2. pl. *jūhv-thā* and *bibhr-thā*. The subjunctive here, as usual, follows the accentuation of the strong indicative; its stem from the same two roots would be *jūhv-a-* and *bibhr-a-*. In the optative middle the accent is thrown back on the reduplicative syllable because the modal suffix begins with a vowel; e. g. 1. sing. *dādhi-ya* etc. beside 1. sing. act. *dadh-yām* etc.³ The RV., however, once has *dadhī-tā* beside *dādhi-tā* (3 times). In the imperative, endings with initial consonant are accented in the weak forms, otherwise the reduplicative syllable; e. g. 2. sing. *de-hi*, 2. du. *dat-tim*, but 3. mid. pl. *jīhatām*. The strong 3. sing. impv. act. follows the strong ind., e. g. *dadhātu*, *pīpartu*; the 2. pl. is often strong; e. g. *jūhāta*, *dādhatā*. The participle regularly accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *jūhv-āt*, *jūhv-āna*, except only *pīpāni-* (*pā* 'drink'). — In the seventh class the root *hims-* 'injure' (originally perhaps a desiderative of *han-* 'strike') accents the radical syllable in weak forms, as 3. sing. *hims-te*, pl. *hims-anti*, part. *hims-āna-*. — In the fifth and eighth classes the RV. has several instances of irregular accentuation of the final syllable in the 3. pl. mid.: *kr-ye-āt*, *vy-ye-āt*, *sp-ye-āt*; *tan-v-āt*, *man-v-āt*. — In the ninth class the irregular accentuation of the 3. pl. mid. occurs in *pu-n-a-t* and *ri-t-āt* (*ri-* 'flow'). The ending *-ām*, which is here added in the 2. sing. impv. act. to a few roots with final consonant, is accented on the last syllable; *gṛh-ānā*, *badh-ānā* (AV.), *stabh-ānā* (AV.).

98. The perfect. — The singular indicative active and the whole subjunctive² accent the radical syllable; all other forms of the indicative, as well as the whole imperative and optative accent the endings; e. g. ind. 3. sing. *cakr-a*, pl. *cakr-ir*, 1. pl. mid. *cakr-māhu*; subj. sing. 2. *paprdh-a-s*, *pīpriy-a-s*; 3. *jabhūr-a-t*, *pīpriy-a-t*, *mumūc-a-t*, *dadhārs-a-ti*, *vavīrt-a-ti*; pl. 1. *cakdn-āma*, *śāśrā-āma*, 3. *paprdh-a-n*; opt. sing. 1. *vavyt-yām*, 2. *śuśrū-yās*, 3. *tutuj-yāt*, du. 2. *śuśrū-yātām*; pl. 3. *vavyt-yūr*; mid. sing. 2. *vāvrdh-t-thās*, 3. *śīrī-tā* (*śī-* 'resort'); impv. sing. 2. *pīpri-hi*, *mumug-dhi* (*V muc-*), du. 2. *ajāsa-tām*; mid. sing. 2. *dadhī-ṣvāt*³. The participle, both active and middle, accents the suffix; e. g. *cakr-vāns-*; *cakr-ānī-*.

99. The aorist. — The accentuation of the unaugmented forms of the indicative has already been stated (96). With regard to that of the moods, the following notes may be added.

1. The root aorist accents the radical syllable in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 2. *kār-a-s*, 3. *kār-a-t*, du. 3. *śrīv-a-tas*, pl. 3. *śām-a-nī*, mid. sing. 3. *bhij-a-te*; in the injunctive, the radical syllable in the singular, but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 1. *nāṃ-s-i*, pl. 3. *dabh-ūr*, mid. sing. 2. *mṛ-thās*; in the optative, the endings throughout; e. g. act. sing. 1. *aś-yām*, 2. *bhū-yās*, mid. pl. 1. *aś-imdhī*; in the imperative, the root in the 3. sing. act., but the ending elsewhere; e. g. sing. 3. *śrī-tu*, but 2. *kr-dhi*, du. 2. *ga-tām*, pl. 2. *bhū-tā*, mid. sing. 2. *kr-ṣvāt*; in the participle, the suffix is accented in the active, e. g. *bhū-d-ant-*, and generally in the middle, e. g. *budh-ānī-*, but in several instances the root; e. g. *dyūt-āna-*.

2. In the *a*-aorist the accentuation follows that of the unaugmented indicative; thus the subjunctive sing. 3. *vidīt*; the injunctive sing. 1. *dārśa-m ruhā-m*, 3. *rūhā-t*, *vidī-t*, *śina-t*, pl. 3. *vidī-nta*; optative, sing. 1. *vidīyam*, *sanīyam*, pl. 1. *śakīma*, *sanīma* and *śinīma*; the imperative, sing. 2. *śina*, *śra*, du. 2. *ruhā-tam*, *śīda-tam*, pl. 2. *khyī-ta*. The participle usually accents the thematic *-a*, but sometimes the root; e. g. *śrīpāt-nt-*, but *śīda-nt-*; *guhī-māna-*, but *dāsa-māna-*.

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 645 a, 668 a, 669.

³ A few forms accent and strengthen the

² When the primary endings are added, radical syllable, du. 2. *mumūc-a-tam*, pl. 2. *mumūc-a-ta*, mid. sing. 2. *pīpriy-a-s-a* accented; e. g. *jijecasi*; some others, which take secondary endings, but do not strengthen the root, also accent the reduplicative syllable, as *dādhi-ṣvāt*; see below 490.

⁴ But the root is strong and accented in several forms, *kār-ta* etc., of the 2. pl. imperative.

3. In the reduplicated aorist the only accented form in the subjunctive seems to be *vocati*; in the injunctive, either the reduplicative syllable or the root is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *nīnaś-as*, *sītrūthas*, 3. *pīparat* and *pīpārat*; in the optative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. pl. 1. *vocēma*, *cucyuv-i-mdhi*; in the imperative, the thematic vowel or the ending; e. g. du. 2. *jigṛ-tām*, pl. *jigṛ-tā*, *suśudd-ta* (AV.).

4. The s-aorist accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. *ddr-s-a-t* (*dr-* 'split'), *yik-s-a-t* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'), du. 2. *pīr-s-a-thas* (*pī-* 'take across'); the root in the injunctive as far as can be judged from the extremely few accented forms, as mid. sing. 1. *vdm-s-i* (*van-* 'win'); the ending¹ in the optative, as mid. sing. 1. *bhak-s-i-yi* (*√bhaj-*), pl. *dhuk-s-i-mdhi* (*duh-* 'milk'); in the imperative no accented forms occur; the participle accents the root in the active, as *dāk-s-ant-* (*dah-* 'burn'), but in the irregularly formed middle² nearly always the suffix, as *arc-a-s-āni-*, but *śh-a-s-āna-* (527).

5. The iṣ-aorist accents the root in the subjunctive; e. g. sing. 3. *bōdh-i-s-a-t*; the root in the injunctive, e. g. sing. 2. *māth-is*, but once the ending in pl. 3. *tār-iṣ-ūr* (AV.); the ending in the optative; e. g. sing. 1. *edh-iṣ-yi* (AV.); the ending in the imperative; e. g. sing. 2. *av-iṣ-dhi*, du. 2. *av-iṣ-tām*.

6. In the siṣ-aorist no accented forms occur except one in the imperative, where the ending has the acute, du. 2. *yā-siṣ-tām*.

7. The sa-aorist accents that syllable in the injunctive, as pl. 3. *dhuk-sd-ntu* (but once sing. 3. *dhik-sa-ta*), and in the imperative, as sing. 2. *dhuk-sd-sr-a* (*√duh-*). No subjunctive or optative forms occur.

100. The future.—The accent in all forms of this tense remains on the suffix *-syāt-* or *-i-syāt*; e. g. sing. 3. *e-syāt-ti* (AV.) 'he will go' (*√i-*); sing. 1. *stav-i-syāmi* 'I shall praise' (*√stuv-*), 3. *kar-i-syāti* 'he will do' (*√kṛ-*); participle *kar-i-syānt-* 'about to do'.

101. Secondary conjugations.—All these, except the active form of the intensive, accent the same syllable of the stem throughout. They are the causative, the denominative, the passive, the secondary form of the intensive, and the desiderative, the stem of all of which ends in *-a*. The causative accents the penultimate syllable of the stem; e. g. *krodh-āya-* 'enrage'.—The passive, the secondary form of the intensive, and the denominative, accent the suffix *-yī*; e. g. *pan-yā-te* 'is admired'; *rerih-yī-te* 'licks repeatedly'; *gopā-yānti* 'they protect'. A certain number of unmistakable denominatives, however, have the causative accent; e. g. *mantrī-ya-te* 'takes counsel'.—The desiderative accents the reduplicative syllable; e. g. *pīpr-sa-ti*.—The primary form of the intensive agrees in accentuation with the third or reduplicating class of verbs, that is, it accents the reduplicative syllable in the strong forms, but the endings with initial consonant in the weak forms of the indicative active; e. g. sing. 3. *jīhar-ti*, du. 3. *jar-bhṛ-tās*, pl. 3. *vādr-ṣṭ-ati*. In the middle indicative, however, the reduplicative syllable is more often accented than not; e. g. *tītik-te* and *nenik-tē*. In the subjunctive the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. sing. 3. *jūṅghan-a-t*, but once the root in sing. 1. *janṅhān-āni*; mid. pl. 3. *jūṅghan-anta*, but once the ending in du. 3. *tantas-ūite*. No accented form of the optative occurs. In the imperative the ending is accented; e. g. sing. 2. *jāgr-hi*, *car-kr-tit*. In the participle, both active and middle, the reduplicative syllable is regularly accented; e. g. *ckhit-at*, *ckhit-āna-*; there are, however, two exceptions in the middle: *baddh-āni-* and *marmṛj-āni-* (548a).

¹ Once the root is accented in the irregular participles irregularly formed with *-māna-* form du. 2. *trā-s-i-thām*, *hā-sa-māna-* and *dhi-s-u-māna-*.

² The root is accented in two middle

5. Accent of nominal verb forms.

102. The accentuation of participles formed from tense and conjugation stems has already been stated. When these are compounded with prepositions, they retain their accents; thus the present and perfect participles of *apa-gám-* 'go away' would be *apa-gúccchant-*, *apa-gúccchamāna-*; *apa-jaganvāns-*, *apa-jagmānā-*. The preposition is, however, not infrequently found separated from the participle by another word or is placed after it, when it is treated as independent and accented, e. g. *prī śmāśru dādhuvat* (x. 23¹) 'shaking his beard'; *āpa dr̥hāni dādrat* (vi. 17⁵) 'bursting strongholds asunder'; *ā ca pira ca pathibhīś cīrantam* (i. 164³¹) 'wandering hither and thither on (his) paths'; *mādhū bibhrata īpa* (i. 166²) 'bringing sweetness near'; *tanvānta ā rājāh* (iv. 45¹) 'extending through the air'. The preposition is occasionally found independently accented immediately before the participle, as *abhi dāksat* (ii. 4⁷) 'burning around'; *vī vidvān* (i. 189⁷) 'distinguishing' (probably in distinction from *vividvān*, perfect participle of *vid-* 'find').

a. When there are two prepositions, either both are compounded and unaccented, as *vī-pra-yāntah* (ix. 22⁵) 'advancing', *pary-ā-utvṛtsan* (vii. 63²) 'turning round'; or one is compounded and the other independent and accented, as *abhi ā-cīrantih* (viii. 96¹⁵) 'approaching'; *ava-syānn īpa tmīnī* (i. 142¹¹) 'bestowing indeed'; *prī vāyim uj-jhānāh* (v. 1¹) 'flying up to a branch'.

b. Participles in *-tar* generally accent the root, as *kār-tar* 'making', but when compounded the suffix. But *nī-cetar-* 'observing' occurs beside *nī-cetar-* 'observer'.

103. The past passive participle regularly accents the suffix; e. g. *ga-tī-* 'gone', *pat-i-tī-* (AV.) 'fallen', *chin-nī-* 'cut off' (*√chid-*). But when this participle is compounded with prepositions, the latter are as a rule accented. In several instances, however, the accent of the simple participle is retained, as *apa-kri-tī-* (AV.) 'bought', *nī-ci-tī-* 'seen', *nīś-ky-tī-* 'prepared', *nī-sat-tī-* 'seated', *nī-vā-tī-* (AV.) 'uninjured', *pra-jah-i-tī-* 'given up' (from *jah-*, a secondary form of *hā-* 'leave'), *pra-śas-tī-* 'celebrated', *saṃ-skr-tī-* 'prepared' (beside *sāṃ-skr-ta-*), *saṃ-hi-tī-* (VS.) 'variegated'¹. The preposition may be separated from the participle by another word, as *pīri soma siktāh* (ix. 97¹⁵) 'poured, O Soma, around'. When there are two prepositions, the first remains unaccented, as *apī-vyktāh* (viii. 80⁸) 'removed' (*apa-ā-*, *saṃ-ā-ky-tam* (x. 84⁷) 'accumulated'); or it may be separated and independently accented, as *prū yāt samudri ā-hitah* (ix. 64¹⁰) 'when despatched forth to the ocean'; *tīri gōbhīr ā-vṛtam* (ix. 86¹⁷) 'encompassed round by streams of milk'.

104. Of the gerundives, those in *-ya* (or *-t-ya*) and *-tva* accent the root; e. g. *cāks-ya-* 'to be seen', *śrī-t-ya-* 'to be heard', *car-kt-t-ya-* 'to be praised', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said'; those in *-āyā*, *-enya*, *-antya* (AV.) accent the penultimate; e. g. *paṇ-āyā-* 'to be admired', *ikṣ-āyā-* 'worthy to be seen', while those in *-tavyā* accent the final syllable, as *jan-i-tavyā-* (AV.) 'to be born'². When compounded with prepositions³, gerundives nearly always leave the accent unchanged; e. g. *pari-cāks-ya-* 'to be despised'; with Svarita on the final syllable in the RV. only *ā-kāy-ya-* 'desirable' and *upa-vāk-ya-*

¹ Such compounds are also thus accented when turned into substantives, as *nīś-ky-tī-* n. 'rendezvous', *upa-stūtā-*, N. of a man.

² The gerundives in *-āyā* and *-tavyā*

only begin to appear in the AV., where two examples of each occur (581 a, b).

³ The preposition is here always inseparable.

'to be addressed'; *abhy-ā-yans-āya-* 'allowing oneself to be drawn near'; *ā-mantri-āya-* (AV.) 'to be addressed'.

105. Infinitives are as a rule accented like ordinary nominal cases formed from the same stems.

a. The dative infinitive from root stems accents the ending; e. g. *dr̥s-e* 'to see', but when compounded, the root; e. g. *sam-ldh-e* 'to kindle', *abhi-pra-cik̥s-e* (I. 113⁶) 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-as* generally accent that suffix, but sometimes the radical syllable; e. g. *car-ds-e* 'to fare', but *cik̥s-as-e* 'to see'. Those formed from stems in *-i* and *-ti* accent the suffix; e. g. *dr̥s-īye* 'to see', *pi-tīye* 'to drink'. Those from stems in *-tu* accent the root, as *bh̥ir-tau-e*; also those from stems in *-tva*, but with a secondary accent on the final syllable, as *gān-tavdi*. When these two forms are compounded with prepositions, the latter are accented; e. g. *pr̥t-vantave*¹ 'to win', *āpa-bhartavdi* 'to be taken away', the latter retaining its final accent as well. When there are two prepositions, the first may be independent and accented as well; e. g. *vi pr̥t-sartave* (VIII. 67¹²) 'to spread'. Infinitives formed with *-dhyai* generally accent the preceding *a* of the verbal stem, but sometimes the root; e. g. *iyā-dhyai* 'to go', but *gāma-dhyai* 'to go'. Those formed from stems in *-man* accent the root; e. g. *dā-man-e* 'to give', except *vid-mān-e* 'to know'; from stems in *-van* there are *dā-vān-e* 'to give', *tur-vān-e* 'to excel', but *dh̥ir-vān-e* 'to injure' (√*dh̥r-*)².

b. The accusative infinitive if formed from a radical stem accents the root even when compounded with a preposition; e. g. *śibh-am* 'to shine', *ā-sūd-am* 'to sit down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, it accents the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compounded stem; e. g. *dā-tum* 'to give', *pr̥t-bhar-tum* 'to present', *ānu pr̥t-voṣtum* 'to advance'³.

c. The ablative-genitive infinitive, if formed from radical stems, which here occur only in combination with prepositions, accents the root; e. g. *ara-pit-as* '(from) falling down'; if formed from a stem in *-tu*, the root in a simple stem, but the preposition in a compound stem; e. g. *gān-tos* 'going', *n-dh̥ā-tos* 'putting down'.

d. The locative infinitive if formed from radical stems accents the ending in the simple form, but the root in the compounded form; e. g. *budh-l* 'at the waking', but *sam-dīś-i* 'on seeing'. The one locative infinitive formed from a stem in *-tar*, and those from stems in *-san* accent the suffix; e. g. *dh̥ar-tār-i* 'to bestow', *ne-sān-i* 'to lead'.

106. Uncompounded gerunds formed with *-tvī*, *-tvā*, *tvāya* accent the suffix, while the compounded gerunds formed with *-yā* or *-tyā* accent the root; e. g. *ga-tvī* 'having gone', *bhū-tvā* 'having become', *ga-tvāya* 'having gone'; *sam-gībh-yā* 'gathering', *upa-śrū-tya* (AV.) 'having overheard'.

107. Case-forms used as adverbs frequently show a shift of accent. This appears oftenest in the accusative neuter. Thus *drav-āt* 'quickly', but *drav-ant-* 'running', probably also *drav-yūt*⁵ 'stoutly'; *aparām* 'later', but *āparam* as neuter adjective; *ā-vyus-ām* (AV.) 'till dawn'⁶; and the adverbs in *-vāt*, as *āngiras-vāt* 'like Angiras', *manuṣ-vāt* 'as Manus did', *purāna-vāt*,

¹ The infinitive from stems in *-tu* in all its cases accents the preposition; e. g. *sam-hartum* 'to collect', *āpi-dh̥ātave* 'to cover up', *āva-gantas* 'of descending'.

² A preposition is occasionally uncompounded with or separated from the infinitive, when both are accented, as *pr̥t dāvāne* (IV. 32⁹; V. 65³); *pr̥t āh̥iṣe dātave* (IV. 20¹¹).

³ When there are two prepositions, the

first is independent and therefore also accented.

⁴ The preposition is here always inseparable.

⁵ Which seems to be formed from an irregular present participle of *dr̥h-* 'be firm'.

⁶ The ordinary A. of *vy-ūṣ-* 'dawn' would be *vyūṣ-am*.

pāra-vit, *pratna-vit* 'as of old', which are accusative neuters of the adjective suffix *-vanī*¹ (unaccented); and some adverbs from the comparative in *-tara*, *ut-tarīm* (AV.) 'higher', but *it-tara* as adjective; similarly *ava-tarīm*, *paras-tarīm* and *pāra-tarīm* 'farther away', *vi-tarīm* 'more widely'² *saṃ-tarīm* (AV.) 'still farther'. Similarly the instrumental *dvā* 'by day', but *divā* 'through heaven'; and the dative *aparāya* 'for the future', but *āparāya* 'to the later'; and the ablatives *apākāt* 'from afar' (*āpāka-* 'far'), *amāt* 'from near' (*dma-* AV. 'this'), *sanāt* 'from of old' (*sīna-* 'old')³.

6. Accent in Sandhi.

108. 1. When two vowels combine so as to form a long vowel or diphthong, the latter has the Udātta if either or both of the original vowels had it; e. g. *nudasvātha* for *nudassa dtha*; *itvā it*; *kvāt* for *kvā it*⁴; *igāt* for *ī agāt*; *pītvā* for *pīti vā*, *satī* for *satī u*; *nīntaras* (VI. 63⁵) for *nī antaras*.

The contraction of *i + i* is, however, accented *ī*,⁶ the (dependent) Svarita having here (in *i*) ousted the preceding Udātta⁷; e. g. *divīva* (RV. AV.) for *divi vā*. This is the *prastīṣṭa*, 'contracted', Svarita of the Prātisākhya⁸.

2. When *i* and *ū* with Udātta are changed to *y* and *r*, a following unaccented vowel receives the Svarita; e. g. *vy ānaḥ* for *vi ānaḥ*.

The uncontracted form with Udātta must, however, almost invariably be read in the RV. This is the *ksaipra*⁹ Svarita of the Prātisākhya⁶. Here the enclitic Svarita assumes the appearance of an independent accent.

3. When *i* is elided, it throws back its Udātta on unaccented *e* or *o*; e. g. *sūndvā gne* for *sūndve gne*; *vā vasaḥ* for *vo vasaḥ*. But when unaccented *a* is elided, it changes a preceding Udātta to Svarita; e. g. *sā dhāmīḥ* for *sā adhamīḥ*. This is the *abhīrihita* Svarita of the Prātisākhya⁸. Here also the enclitic Svarita (in *ī*) has ousted the preceding Udātta (as in *divīva*)¹⁰.

7. The Sentence Accent.

HASKELI, Vocative-Accent in the Veda, JAOS. 11, 57. — BÖHLINGK, ein erster Versuch über den Accent im Sanskrit (Mémoires de l'Académie imp. de St. Pétersbourg 1843) p. 38 ff. — WHITNEY, JAOS. 5, 193 ff., 387 ff. — AUREL MAYR, Beiträge aus dem Rigveda zur Accentuirung des verbum finitum (Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1871, p. 219 ff.). — WEBER, IS. 13, 70 ff. — BÖHLINGK, Sanskrit-Chrestomathie² p. 356. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 591 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax (Halle 1888) 21—29. — OLDENBERG, Die Verbalenklisis im Rgveda, ZDMG. 60, 707—740.

109. The vocative.—a. The vocative, which whether it consist of a single word or a compound expression, is invariably accented on the first syllable, retains its accent only at the beginning of a sentence or Pāda¹¹:

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 1107 a.

² See op. cit. 1119.

³ Cp. op. cit. 1114 a.

⁴ Cp. BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 64.

⁵ But when a Svarita is followed by an unaccented syllable, it of course remains; e. g. *krīyatha* for *kvā iyatha* (VIII. 17).

⁶ Except in the Taittirīya texts which follow the general rule (*divīva*).

⁷ This also takes place in *sūdgāt* (TS.) for *sūdgāt* 'a good Udgāt' (TS. VII. 1. 8: B.).

⁸ Cp. HAUG 75.

⁹ So called because 'uttered with a quick' (*ksaipra*) pronunciation, the semivowel replacing the vowel.

¹⁰ Cp. WACKERNAGEL I, 251, b c; BRUGMANN, KG. 45, 2.

¹¹ This applies to the second as well as the first Pāda of a hemistich (as some of the above examples show), thus indicating the independent character of these Pādas, which is obscured by the way in which the redactors of the Saṃhitās apply the rules of Sandhi and mark the dependent Svarita.

that is to say, when, having the full force of the case, it occupies the most emphatic position; e. g. *agne sapāyan! bhava* (I. 19^b) 'O Agni, be easy of access'; *ūrjo napāt sahasāvan* (x. 115^a) 'O mighty son of strength'; *hōtar yaviṣṭha sukrato* (iv. 4^{11d}) 'O most youthful, skilful priest'. This rule also applies to doubly accented dual compounds, as *mitrāvaruṇa* (I. 15^{6b}) 'O Mitra and Varuṇa' (N. *mitrā-varuṇā*).

a. Two or more vocatives at the beginning of a Pāda are all accented; e. g. *ādite, mitra, varuṇa* (II. 27^{11a}); *ūrjo napāt, bhādrasce* (VIII. 713^b) 'O son of strength, O propitiously bright one'.

b. The vocative, when it does not begin the sentence, loses its accent, being unemphatic as referring only incidentally to a person already invoked; e. g. *ṛṭna mitrāvaruṇāv ṛṭvṛdhāv ṛtasprśā* (I. 2⁸) 'through Law, O Mitra and Varuṇa, lovers and cherishers of Law'; *īpū tvā, agne divi-dive, dōṣā-vastar dhīyā vayām | ... dmasi* (I. 17) 'to thee, O Agni, day by day, O illuminer of darkness, with prayer we come'; *ā rājānā maha ṛtasya gopā* (VII. 64²) 'hither (come), O ye two sovereign guardians of great order'; *yād, indra brahmanas-pate, abhidrohām cārāmasi* (x. 164¹)³ 'if, O Indra, O Brahmanas-pati, we commit an offence'.

c. The vocative, whether at the beginning of or within a sentence, not being regarded as part of it, does not interfere with the normal accentuation of the sentence. Hence a verb 'at the beginning of a sentence, following a vocative, is accented as the first word of the sentence; while a verb within a sentence, following a vocative, remains unaccented; e. g. *divā, jīvata* (AV. XIX. 70¹) 'O gods, live'; *asmē ū sū, vṛjanā, mādayethām* (I. 184²) 'beside us, ye two heroes, enjoy yourselves'.

10. The verb.—A. The finite verb in a principal sentence is unaccented except when it is the first word; e. g. *agnim iḥe purūhitam* (I. 1¹) 'I praise Agni, the domestic priest'; but *iḥe agnim vipaśctam* (III. 27²) 'I praise Agni the wise'. This rule and its exception must, however, be understood with the following restrictions:

1. A sentence is regarded as capable of having only one verb. Hence all other verbs syntactically connected with the subject of the first, are accented as beginning new sentences (a subject or object coming between two such verbs being generally counted to the first); e. g. *tṣam pāhi, śrudhī hāvam* (I. 2¹) 'drink of them, hear our call'; *asmābhyam jesi yōsi ca* (I. 132⁴) 'conquer and fight for us'; *tarūṇir iḥ jayati, kṣēti, pṛṣyati* (VII. 32²) 'the energetic man conquers, rules, thrives'; *jahi prajāṃ nīyasva ca* (AV. I. 8³) 'slay the progeny and bring (it) hither'.

2. The verb, though not beginning a sentence, receives the accent if it coincides with the beginning of a Pāda (which is treated as the beginning of a new sentence); e. g. *dtha te antamānām | vidyāma sumatīnām* (I. 4³).

3. Since a vocative (or vocatives) at the beginning of a sentence is treated as extraneous to it, the verb which immediately follows it becomes the first word of the sentence and is accordingly accented; e. g. *agne, jusaśva*

¹ Here *bhādrasce* is treated as an independent vocative. The preceding example may contain two also, as the accent of two as if intended to form a compound expression with *ūrjo napāt* = 'O propitiously bright son of strength', as is the case in *hōtar yaviṣṭha sukrato*. well as of one vocative would be lost within a Pāda; but if *rājānā* stood at the beginning of a Pāda, the accentuation would be *rājānā maha ṛtasya gopā*, supposing two vocatives were intended.

² When the first word of a compound vocative is an adjective (not a genitive), it retains its accent within a Pāda; thus *vīṣve devāśah* 'O All-gods', would appear within a Pāda as well as at the beginning.

³ This is an example of two distinct

⁴ The very rare exceptions to the rules given above (a, b) are doubtless due to errors on the part of the editors or of tradition.

no havih (III. 28¹) 'O Agni, enjoy our sacrifice'. Thus the following sentence of six words contains three accented verbs as well as three accented vocatives; *indra, jīva, sūrya, jīva, devā, jīvata* (AV. XIX. 70¹) 'O Indra, live; O Sūrya, live; O gods, live'.

4. There are some instances in the RV. of the verb when emphatic, even though not placed at the beginning of the sentence, being accented before the particle *id*, and even before *canō*¹; e. g. *ādha smā no maghavañ carakṛtā id* (I. 104³) 'then be mindful of us, bounteous one'; *nā, devā, bhasithas canī* (VI. 59⁴) '(him) O gods, ye two never consume'².

B. The accent always rests on the verb of a subordinate clause (which is almost invariably introduced by the relative *ya-* and its derivatives, or contains the particles *ca* and *cid* 'if', *net* 'lest', *hi* 'for', *kvāid* 'whether'); e. g. *yām yajñam paribhūr asi* (I. 1⁴) 'what offering thou protectest'; *grhān gaccha grhapitū yātkāśah* (X. 85²²) 'go to the house, that thou be lady of the house'; *indraś ca myhīyāti no, nā nah pascād aghān naśat* (II. 41²¹) 'if Indra be gracious to us, no hurt will thereafter reach us'; *vī cid ucchīnty, aśvinā, usīśah, prī vām brāhmanī kārāno bhāraṇte* (VII. 72⁴) 'when the dawns shine forth, O Aśvins, the singers offer their prayers to you'; *mā cirām tanuthā āpah, nī tvā . . . tīpātī sūro arcīyā* (V. 79⁹) 'do not long delay thy work, lest the sun burn thee with his beam'; *tvīm hi baladī asi* (III. 53¹⁰) 'for thou art a giver of strength'; *tām, indra, mādam ā gahi, kvāin³ vā āsya tṛpṣvāh* (III. 42²) 'come to this gladdening drink, O Indra, (to see) whether thou mayst enjoy it'.

1. When the first of two clauses, though in form a principal one, is virtually subordinate in sense (being equivalent to one introduced by 'if' or 'when'), its verb is occasionally accented; e. g. *sīm dāvaparnāś cāraṇī no nīro, śmākam, indra, rathīno jāyantu* (VI. 47²¹) 'when our men winged with steeds come together, may the car-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory'.

2. Similarly, but much more frequently, the verb of the first of two clauses which are antithetical in sense, is accented⁴. The occurrence of correlative words like *anyā-anyā, ka-ka, vā-vā, ca-ca*, often makes the antithesis obvious; e. g. *prī pra anyā yāntī, pūry anyā āsate* (III. 9¹) '(while) some go on and on, others sit about'; *sīm ca jadhīsva agne, prī ca bothaya enam* (VS. XXVII. 2) 'both be kindled, O Agni, and waken this man's knowledge'; *id vā sīncādhrām ūpa vā pṛṇadhvam* (VII. 16¹¹) 'either pour out or fill up'. If the verb of both clauses is the same, it usually appears (as is natural in the circumstances) in the first only; e. g. *dvipāc ca sīrvāṇ no rākṣa, cātuspād yāc ca nah sūtm* (AV. VI. 107¹) 'protect both every biped of ours and whatever quadruped is our own'.

3. The second clause, on the other hand, accents the verb if it contains an imperative (with a final sense), and follows a clause with an imperative of *i-*, *gam-* or *yā-* 'go'; e. g. *ka, dhīyam kṛṇvāma* (V. 45⁶) 'come, let us (= that we may) make prayer'; *tāyam ā gahi, kvāvesu sācā plba* (VIII. 4¹) 'come quickly, beside the Kanvas drink thy fill'.

III. Verbal prepositions.—A. The preposition, which generally precedes, but sometimes follows the verb, being often separated from it by other words,

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK 23, 3, 4; 26, 2; WHITNEY (the verb; cp. GRASSMANN, sub verbo; DELBRÜCK 550, end.

² Cp. GRASSMANN, Wb. under *id* and *canō*.
³ There are only two passages in the RV. in B. than in V., and among the Samhitās least strictly in the RV.; cp. WHITNEY 597 a. (v. 31⁰, 36³) in which *kvāid* does not accent

is regularly accented in principal sentences; e. g. *ā gamat* (I. 1⁵) 'may he come'; *jāyema sām yudhi spādhaḥ* (I. 8²) 'may we conquer our foes in fight'; *gāvām āpa vrajān vrdhi* (I. 10⁷) 'unclose the stable of the kine'; *gāmad vāśebhir ā sā nah* (I. 5³) 'may he come to us with booty'.

a. When there are two prepositions, both are accented in the RV., being treated as separate words; e. g. *āpa prā yāhi* (I. 82⁶) 'come forth'; *pāri spāso ni sedire* (I. 25¹³) 'the spies have sat down around'; *āpa prāyobhir ā gatam* (I. 2¹) 'come hither with refreshments'; *āguc, vi pāṣya brhatā abhi rāyā* (III. 23²) 'O Agni, look forth towards (us) with ample wealth'.

α. When *ā* immediately follows another preposition (unless it ends in *i*), it alone is accented, both being compounded with the verb; e. g. *upāgahi* (I. 91¹⁰) 'come hither'; *samākyanōsi jīdase* (X. 25⁶) 'thou fittest (them) for living'. The general rule, however, is followed if the preposition preceding *ā* ends in *i*; e. g. *prāy ā tanuṣva* (IV. 4¹) 'draw (thy bow) against (them)'. In the only passage in which it has been noted in combination with another preposition preceding it, *āva* is treated like *ā*: *upāvasya* (X. 110¹⁰) 'pour out'.

B. The preposition in subordinate clauses is generally compounded with the verb, when it is regularly unaccented; e. g. *yād . . . nisīdathaḥ*¹ (VIII. 9²¹) 'when ye two sit down'. It is, however, often separated from the verb, and is then accented as well as the verb. In this case it is commonly the first word of a Pāda, but occasionally comes after the verb; e. g. *vi yō namā rājasi* (I. 160⁴) 'who measured out the two regions'; *yās tastāmbha sūhasā vi jmō antin* (IV. 50¹) 'who with might propped earth's ends asunder'. Occasionally the preposition is separate and accented even when immediately preceding the verb; e. g. *yā āhutam pāri vda namobhiḥ* (VI. 1⁹) 'who fully knows the offering with devotion'.

a. When there are two prepositions, either both are unaccented and compounded with the verb, or the first only is separate and accented; e. g. *yūyān hi, devr, rāyāgbhir āsvaiḥ pariprayāthā* (IV. 51⁵) 'for ye, O goddesses, proceed around with steeds yoked by eternal order'; *sām yām āyānti dhenāvāḥ* (V. 6²) 'to whom the cows come together', *yātra abhi saṁnāvāmahe* (VIII. 69³) 'where we to (him) together shout'. A very rare example of two independent prepositions in a dependent sentence is *prā yāt stotā . . . āpa girbhīr iḥe* (III. 52⁶) 'when the praiser pours forth laudation to (him) with songs'.

IV. NOMINAL STEM FORMATION.

GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda 1687—1738 (list of nominal stems according to alphabetical order of the final letter). — LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung. Nach den Samhitas dargestellt. Jena 1873. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1136—1245; Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary Derivatives, 1885.

112. The bare root, both verbal and pronominal, is often used as a declinable stem. But much more generally the stem in declension is formed by means of suffixes. These are of two kinds: primary, or

¹ There seems to be an exception in *āstāś cid, indra, ya upā yāhi* (VIII. 92¹⁰) 'thence, O Indra, come to us', but *āpa* here coming at the end of a Pāda, is used adnominally with *nah*.

² The treatment of two prepositions is on the whole the same in the AV. (cp. WHITNEY, AP. 185 ff.) and the TS. (cp. WEBER, IS. 13, 62 ff.); but the TS. treats some other prepositions like *ā*, and the MS.

goes much further, apparently making accentuation of the second preposition the rule; cp. DELBRÜCK p. 48.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 47, end.

⁴ It is not clear why the Pāda text analyses forms like *ny āśīdat* (I. 143¹), *ny āstak* (VII. 18¹¹), *vy āsthāt* (II. 4²) as *ni āśīdat*, *ni āstak*, *vi āsthāt*. There are about thirty instances of this; cp. WHITNEY 1084 a.

those that are added directly to roots; **secondary**, or those that are added to stems already derivative (pronominal stems being also accounted as such). The distinction between these two kinds is, however, not absolute. Suffixes containing a secondary element sometimes have the appearance and application of primary suffixes (as *-aniya* = *-an-ya*). Less frequently primary suffixes come to be used as secondary ones; thus the participial suffixes are added not only to the root, but also to primary and secondary conjugation stems as well as to tense stems. These nominal suffixes are sometimes added by means of what looks like and may conveniently be called a connecting vowel, though it may not be so in origin. Primary suffixes are also added to roots compounded with verbal prefixes¹.

I. Primary Nominal Derivation.

113. As regards form, the root when used without suffix usually remains unchanged in respect to its vowel²; it is then, however, liable to modification in two ways: always adding the determinative *-t* if it ends in *-i*, *-u*, or *-r*, and occasionally appearing in a reduplicated form. But before primary suffixes the root usually appears in a strong form: either with Guṇa of medial or final vowels, as *vāda-* 'knowledge' from *√vid-*, *sirāṇa-* 'running' from *√sy-*; or with Vṛddhi of final *-i*, *-u*, *-r* and lengthening of medial *a*, as *kār-d-* 'making' from *√kr-*, *grābh-d-* 'seizer', from *√grabh-*.

a. As regards meaning, there are two classes of **primary derivatives**: the one expressing abstract action nouns (with an infinitival character), the other concrete agent nouns (with a participial character) used as adjectives or substantives. Other senses are only modifications of these two; as that of the passive participle, which expresses an agent who becomes the recipient of an action. The primary suffixes forming action nouns can also nearly all be used to form agent nouns; and many of those properly forming agent nouns may also form action nouns. Those which properly form action nouns are: *-a*, *-an*, *-ana*, *-anā*, *-ani*, *-anī*, *-as*, *-ā*, *-i*, *-is*, *-ī*, *-ika*, *-us*, *-tas*, *-ti*, *-tu*, *-tva*, *-tha*, *-thu*, *-nas*, *-ni*, *-nu*, *-pa*, *-ma*, *-man*, *-mi*, *-yu*, *-van*, *-sas*. Those which properly form agent nouns are: *-aka*, *-at* or *-ant*, *-ata*, *-aniya*, *-asi*, *-āku*, *-āna*, *-in*, *-iṣṭha*, *-iyāms*, *-u*, *-uka*, *-ū*, *-ūka*, *-ka*, *-ta*, *-tar*, *-tva*, *-tra*, *-tri*, *-tva*, *-thi*, *-na*, *-māna*, *-min*, *-ya*, *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ru*, *-la*, *-li*, *-lu*, *-va*, *-vana*, *-vani*, *-vanu*, *-vara*, *-vas*, *-vāms*, *-vi*, *-sa*, *-sani*, *-saru*, *-sna*, *-snu*.

Root stems.

114. These stems are used both as action nouns (often in the function of infinitives) and as agent nouns, either substantives or adjectives.

1. Examples of the simple root form are: *dyūt-* f. 'splendour', *nṣt-* (AV.) f. 'gesticulation', *śidh-* f. 'awaking'; *dā-* 'giver', *bhid-* f. 'destroyer', *yij-* m. 'companion', *spā-* m. 'spy'; *māh-* 'great', *vṛdh-* 'strengthening'.—2. With root determinative *-t*: *mit-* f. 'pillar', *stī-* f. 'praise'.—3. With reduplicated root: *cikī-* 'wise' (*cit-* 'observe'), *juhā-* f. 'sacrificial spoon' (*hu-* 'offer'), *juhā-* 'tongue' (*hu-* 'call'), *dadhā-*³ 'hearty' (*dyh-* 'be firm'), *didyā-* m. 'missile', *didyā-* f. 'missile', 'lightning', *sasyād-* f. 'running stream' (*syand-* 'run')⁴ and with intensive

¹ Those chiefly thus used are approximately in the order of their frequency: *-a*, *-ana*, *-ti*, *-tar* and *-tra*, *-in*, *-ya*, *-van* and *-man*, *-i*, *-u*, *-as*; cp. WHITNEY 1141 c.

² That is, the root appears in the weak form, in which it is usually stated.

³ In *dadhā-* adv. 'heartily'.

⁴ Perhaps also *gāṅgā-* f. 'Ganges' if

reduplication: *jigā-* 'singing aloud' (*gu-* 'sound'), *pra-ṇeni-* 'guiding constantly' (*ṇi-* 'lead'), *yayiyudh-* 'warlike' (*yudh-* 'fight'), *vāntvan-* 'desiring', *a-sisū-* (AV.) 'barren' ('not bringing forth'). *dīridra-* (VS.) 'roving' (*dra-* 'run') is a transfer to the radical *a*-stems¹.

-a : action and agent.

115. A vast number of derivatives is formed with this suffix, before which the root is generally strengthened, but sometimes remains unchanged or is reduplicated. Those formed with *Guṇa* are more than twice as numerous as all the rest taken together. Medial *a* generally remains unchanged.

1. Examples of derivatives with *Guṇa* are the following action nouns: *iy-a-* m. 'course' (*i-* 'go') *hīr-a-* m. 'invocation' (*hī-* 'call'), *hīr-a-* m. 'crossing' (*hī-* 'cross'); *vid-a-* 'knowledge' (*vid-* 'know'), *jāsa-* 'enjoyment' (*jas-* 'enjoy'), *sīrg-a-* 'emission' (*syj-* 'send forth'); agent nouns: *plav-ā-* m. 'boat' (*plu-* 'float'), *megh-ā-* m. 'cloud' (*mih-* 'discharge water'), *cod-ā-* 'instigator' (*cod-* 'incite'). With medial *a*: *grābh-a-* m. 'seizure' (*grabh-* 'seize'), *śrām-a-* m. 'weariness' (*śram-* 'be weary').

a. In several words thus formed the meaning varies according as the root is accented or the suffix, the word in the former case being nearly always an abstract substantive, in the latter regularly an adjective or an agent noun; thus *ārdh-a-* m. 'side', *ardh-ā-* 'half'; *śr-a-* m. 'speed', *śr-ā-* 'speeding'; *cod-a-* m. 'goad', *cod-ā-* m. 'instigator'; *vā-a-* m. 'choice', *vā-ā-* m. 'chooser' 'suitor', *hī-a-* m. 'command', *hī-ā-* m. 'commander', *hī-a-* m. 'glow', *hī-ā-* (AV.) 'glowing'.

2. *Vṛddhi* of final vowels and lengthening of *a*²: action nouns are *dāv-ā-* (AV.) 'fire' (*du-* 'burn'), *tār-ā-* (VS.) 'crossing' (*tī-* 'cross'), *bhāg-ā-* 'share' (*bhāj-* 'divide'); agent nouns are *nāy-ā-* 'leader' (*nī-* 'lead'), *jār-ā-* 'lover', *grābh-ā-* 'seizer'.

3. Several derivatives are formed from the weak form of the root, the suffix being accented³; thus *priy-ā-* 'dear' (*pri-* 'please'), *śruv-ā-* m. 'spoon' (*śru-* 'flow'), *vr-ā-* m. 'troop' (*vy-* 'surround'), *tur-ā-* 'rapid' (*tī-* 'cross'); *yug-ā-* n. 'yoke', *śuc-ā-* 'bright', *kṛś-ā-* 'lean'.

a. Several derivatives of this type, which occur almost exclusively at the end of compounds, are made from various tense stems; e. g. *-ā-saj-a-* 'stopping', *-āud-ā-* (AV.) 'impelling', *pas-ya-* 'seeing', *-im-ā-* 'arguing', *pr-ū-* 'bestowing', *-indh-ā-* 'kindling', *-bruv-ā-* (AV.) 'saying', *-pib-ā-* (AV.) 'drinking', *-ej-ayā-* 'exciting'⁴; *je-sā-* m. 'attainment' (aor. stem of *ji-* 'conquer'), *neś-ā-* m. 'guidance' (aor. stem of *ni-* 'lead').

4. A considerable number of derivatives are formed from the reduplicated root; thus *caṅcar-ā-* 'movable', *dadhyś-ā-* 'bold', *vārr-ā-* m. 'hiding' (*vī-* 'cover'), *śīśay-ā-* 'strengthening' (*śi-* 'sharpen'), *śīśnāth-a-* 'perforation' (*śnath-* 'pierce'), *sasr-ā-* 'flowing' (*√sr-*). They are more usually formed directly from the intensive stem or from stems analogously reduplicated; e. g. *cākṣm-ā-* 'gracious' (*kṣam-* 'forbear'), *rerih-ā-* (AV.) 'continually licking' (*rih-* 'lick'), *-rorud-ā-* (AV.) 'shedding tears' (*rud-* 'weep'), *revij-ā-* 'quick' (*vij-* 'dart'); *carū-car-ā-* 'far-extending', *calā-cal-ā-* 'unsteady', *pani-spād-ā-* (AV.) 'palpitating' (*√spand-*), *marī-mṛś-ā-* (AV.) 'groping' (*mṛś-* 'feel'), *malī-mruc-ā-* (AV.) 'moving about in

from *gā-* 'go'; *litu-* m. 'child', if from *śi-* 'grow'.

¹ *jāgat-* 'going', 'living', is an old participle present of the reduplicated stem of *gā-* 'go'; WHITNEY, however, thinks (1147 c) that it is made from the reduplicated form *iāgā-* (= *ja-gam-*) with the root determinative *-ā-*.

² In these words the suffix is almost invariably accented; *kām-a-* 'desire' is accented

on the root as differentiated from *kām-ā-* 'desiring'; similarly *śāh-a-* 'help' and *śāh-ā-* 'helpful'.

³ See LINDNER p. 33.

⁴ According to GRASSMANN, *f. vrā-*.

⁵ Some of the derivatives of this type are transitions from the root stems to the *a*-declension, especially at the end of compounds.

⁶ See below, Determinative Compounds, 272.

the dark', a kind of demon (*mluc-* 'set', of the sun), *varī-vrt-ā-* (AV.) 'rolling' (*vrt-* 'turn'), *sani-syad-ā-* (AV.) 'running' (*Vsyand-*), *sani-sras-ā-* (AV.) 'decrepit' (*sraus-* 'fall'), *sarī-srp-ā-* 'crawling' (*Vsrp-*).

a. The suffix *-a* is by far the most frequent one used in forming derivatives from the root with a verbal prefix, being nearly always accented whether the noun expresses an action or an agent; e.g. *anu-kar-ā-* (AV.) 'assistance', *abhi-droh-ā-* 'enmity', *ud-ān-ā-* (VS.) m. 'breathing upwards', *ni-mes-ā-* (VS.) 'wink', *praty-ā-brāw-ā-* 'response', *sam-gam-ā-* 'assembly'; *ati-yāp-ā-* 'sacrificing excessively', 'over-pious', *adhi-cankram-ā-* (AV.) 'climbing over', *ā-dardir-ā-* 'crushing', *ut-tud-ā-* (AV.) 'rousing', *pari-car-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'wandering', *vī-bodh-ā-* 'wakeful', *sam-gir-ā-* (AV.) 'swallowing', *sam-jay-ā-* 'victorious'.

b. There are many words which have the appearance of ending in this suffix, though the root cannot be found elsewhere. They include several nouns of plants and animals. Examples are *ukhā-¹* (AV.) 'cauldron', *krōdā-* (VS. AV.) 'breast', *khlā-* (AV.) 'waste land', *nakhā-* 'nail', *pakpī-* 'wing', *vamsā-* 'reed'.

-a-ka : agent.

116. This suffix, which consists of the primary *-a* with the secondary *-ka* added, is in a few words used as a primary suffix forming agent nouns only: *abhi-kriś-āka-* (VS.) 'reviler', *piy-āka-* (AV.) 'abuser', a class of demon, *vādh-āka-* (AV.), a kind of reed ('destructive'), *śhy-āka-* n. 'missile' (*Vśi-*); also *pāv-ākā-* 'purifying', 'bright', which though always written thus is invariably to be pronounced *pāvākā-⁴*.

-ata : agent.

117. In a few adjectives the primary suffix *-a* with *-ti* added is attached to the strong form of the root, chiefly with the sense of the gerundive: *dars-ati-* 'visible', *pac-ati-* 'cooked', *bhar-ati-* 'to be tended', *yaj-ati-* 'to be adored', *raj-ati-⁵* 'silvery', *hary-ati-⁶* 'desirable'.

-at and *-ant* : agent.

118. The suffixes *-at* and *-ant* are almost restricted to the formation of active participles. The former appears chiefly in the formation of present participles of the reduplicating class, as *dād-at-* 'giving'; also in *dhī-at-* 'worshipping', *śis-at-* 'instructing', and the aorist participle *dīks-at-* and *dhāks-at-* from *dah-* 'burn'. There are besides a few substantives originally participles, which have shifted their accent, formed with *-at*: *vah-it-* f. 'stream', *vagh-it-* (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-it-* m. 'sacrificer', *srao-it-* f. 'stream', *sas-it-* m. 'pursuer'⁷. The suffix *-ant* is used to form the active participle of present stems (excepting those of the reduplicating class), of future stems, and aorist stems. Some of these have become independent adjectives: *ph-ant-* 'weak', *pf-ant-* 'spotted', *bh-ant-* 'great', *mah-ant-⁸* 'great', *riś-ant-* 'brilliant'; also the substantive *d-ant-* m. 'tooth'⁹. *dvay-ant-* in *ī-dvay-ant-* (RV¹) 'not double-tongued' has the appearance of a participle of a denominative stem from *dvi-* 'two'. With the same suffix are formed the two pronominal stems *i-y-ant-* 'so great' ('making this', *i-*) and *kī-y-ant-* 'how great?' ('making what?' *kī-*).

an- : action and agent.

119. Few words are formed with this suffix, and in some of them the root is doubtful.

¹ Cp. LINDNER p. 35.

² Also in *ukhā-akhl-* (RV¹) 'fragile as a pot', f. *ukhā-*.

³ Cp. LINDNER p. 33, bottom.

⁴ *-āka-* also appears in the Proper Name *nakh-āka-*.

⁵ Probably from the root *raj-* 'colour'.

⁶ Formed from the denominative stem of *hri-* 'bright'.

⁷ See below, Participial stems in *-at*, 311 A.

⁸ With lengthened vowel in the strong cases.

⁹ See below, Participles in *-ant*, 313.

The only action nouns are the following neuters: *mah-án-*¹ 'greatness', *rāj-án-* (RV.) 'guidance', *gāmbh-an-* (VS.) 'depth'. The infinitives in *-s-án-i* (588c) are, however, probably locatives of action nouns formed with *-an* from aorist stems.

Agent nouns are: *ukr-án-* m. 'ox', *culks-an-* (AV.) n. 'eye', *táks-an-* m. 'carpenter', *pās-án-* m., N. of a god, *plth-án-* (VS. AV.) m. 'spleen', *majj-án-* m. 'narrow', *mūrdh-án-* m. 'head', *rāj-an-* m. 'king', *vṛs-an-* adj. 'virile', m. 'bull', *sāgh-an-* (TS. III. 2. 1') 'vulture'.

a. There are also several words formed with *-an* the root and original meaning of which are mostly doubtful: 1. *yū-v-an-* m. 'youth', *yápan-* f. 'maiden', *śv-án-* m. 'dog'; 2. defective neuter nouns; *akt-án-* 'eye', *ás-an-* 'blood', *asth-án-* 'bone', *ih-an-* 'day', *ās-án-* 'face', *ud-án-*² 'water', *īdh-an-* 'udder', *dadh-án-* 'sour milk', *doṣ-án-* (AV.) 'arm', *yak-án-* 'liver', *idk-an-* (AV. VS.) 'dung', *sakth-án-* 'thigh'; 3. stems occurring at the end of compounds only: *gm-an-* and *jm-an-* (also used independently) 'course', *dtv-an-*³ 'playing', *bhū-an-*⁴ 'being', *-sv-an-*⁵ 'growing' (?)⁶.

-ana: action and agent.

120. With the suffix *-ana* are formed a large number of derivatives with both types of meaning. The root generally shows Guṇa, sometimes Vṛddhi, occasionally no change, rarely a weakened vowel. These derivatives very often appear with a preposition, such verbal compounds coming next in frequency to those formed with the suffix *-a*.

1. With Guṇa are formed neuter action nouns; e. g. *kār-āna-* 'deed', *cāy-āna-* (AV.) 'piling', *dév-āna-* 'play', *bhūj-āna-* 'enjoyment', *vārdh-āna-* 'increase', *vid-āna-* 'possession', *hāv-āna-* 'invocation', *adhi-vi-kārt-āna-* 'cutting off'; also agent nouns; e. g. the adjectives *kar-ānā-* 'active', *cēt-āna-* 'visible', *cōd-āna-* (AV.) 'impelling', *vi-mōc-āna-* 'releasing'; from a duplicated (intensive) stem: *īagar-and-* (VS.) 'waking' (*Vgr-*).

2. With Vṛddhi⁸ or lengthened medial *a* are formed neuter action nouns, sometimes with a concrete sense; e. g. *ut-pār-āna-* (AV.) 'transporting', *upa-vās-āna-* (AV.) 'clothing', 'dress', *pra-vāc-āna-* 'proclamation', *sād-āna-* 'seat'; also agent nouns; e. g. *saṃ-srāv-āna-* (AV.) 'flowing together'; *-cēt-āna-* 'driving away', *mād-āna-* 'gladdening', *vāh-āna-* 'conveying', *-spās-āna-*⁹ (AV.) 'spying'; *svād-āna-* m. 'sweetener'.

3. With unchanged vowel (final *-ā* and medial *a*) are formed neuter action nouns; e. g. *dāna-* 'giving', *ud-yāna-* (AV.) 'going out', *ni-dhāna-* 'receptacle', *rīks-āna-* 'protection', *sūd-āna-* 'seat', *ava-pra-bhrāṣ-āna-*¹⁰ (AV. XIX. 39⁸) 'slipping down', *prāṇ-āna-* 'breathing' (*Van-*); anomalously formed directly from a preposition, *sim-āna-* 'meeting'; also agent nouns; e. g. *tīp-āna-* 'burning', *ā-kram-āna-* (VS.) 'stepping upon', *saṃ-gām-āna-* 'assembling'.

4. With weak vowel are formed very few derivatives; either neuter action nouns partly with concrete meaning: *kṛp-āna-* 'misery', *pīś-āna-* 'tenderness', *bhūv-āna-* 'being', *vṛj-āna-* and (once) *vṛj-āna-* 'enclosure', *-siv-āna-* (AV.) 'procreation'; or agent nouns: *kṛp-ānā-* (AV.) 'miserable', *tur-āna-*

¹ Used in the instrumental only.

² From *ud-* 'be wet'.

³ From *dit-* 'play' in *prati-dīvan-* 'adversary at play'.

⁴ From *bhū-* 'be' in *vi-bhūvan-* and *vi-bhūvān-* 'far-reaching'.

⁵ In the Proper Names *mātarīśv-an-* and *vṛjīśv-an-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 125.

⁶ *-kāman-* in *ni-kāman-* 'desirous' is a transition form for the *a*-stem *ni-kāmu-*.

⁷ In the RV. only as final member of compounds, *vṛjīśvāna-* etc.

⁸ In this type the only vowel appearing in the radical syllable is *ā*.

⁹ In *prati-spāsāna-* (AV. VIII. 5¹¹).

¹⁰ See WHITNEY's note on *nāvaprabhāna-* in his translation of AV. XIX. 39⁸ and WEBER's erroneous interpretation of this as 'descent of the ship'.

'speeding'; m. *śr-āna-* 'ram' (*vy-* 'cover'), *kir-āna-* m. 'dust' ('scattering'), *zṣ-āna-* (VS.) 'testicle'.

-anā : action and agent.

121. With this suffix (accented on the first or the last syllable) are formed some feminine **action nouns** (like the neuters in *-ana*) which sometimes have a concrete meaning: *as-anā* 'missile', *jar-anā* 'old age', *dyot-anā* 'brilliance', *man-anā* 'devotion', *rodh-anā* ('obstruction') 'dam', *svet-anā* 'daybreak', *has-anā* 'laughter'. *kap-anā* 'caterpillar' and *ras-anā* 'rein' have the appearance of being formed with this suffix, though the radical parts are not found in independent use. Accented on the penultimate syllable: *arh-ānā* 'merit', *jar-ānā* 'dry wood' (?), *barh-ānā* 'might', *dhān-ānā* 'brilliance', *manh-ānā* 'readiness', *meh-ānā* 'abundance', *vakṣ-ānā* 'belly', *vadh-ānā* 'slaughter', *van-ānā* 'desire'. The formation of *yos-ānā* (RV.), usually *yis-ānā*, 'woman' is obscure¹. With the suffix *-anā* is also formed (though irregularly accented on the radical syllable) *pṛt-anā*² 'fight' from a root not found in independent use³. The suffix *-anā* also forms feminine **agent nouns** (adjectives) corresponding to masculines in accented *-ana*; thus *tur-ānā*⁴ 'speeding', *tvar-anā* (AV.) 'hasting', *spand-anā* (AV.) 'kicking'.

a. Derivatives in *-ana* with verbal prefixes, if compounded with other words, form their f. in *-anā*; thus *an-apa-vāc-anā* (AV.) 'not to be ordered away', *sūpa-vāc-anā* and *sūpa-sarv-anā* (AV.) 'easy of approach', *śid-vi-dhānā* 'forming an order (*vi-dhāna-*) of six'.

-ani : action and agent.

122. This suffix, accented either on the first or the last syllable, is added to either the strong or the weak form of the root.

1. It forms feminine **action nouns**, sometimes with concrete sense; thus *at-āni* 'missile', *iś-āni* 'impulse', *ksip-āni* 'blow', *dyot-āni* 'brilliance', *dhām-āni* 'piping', *vart-āni* 'track', *śar-āni* 'injury'; also *jarāni* 'noise' (?) in the compound *jarāni-prā* 'moving with noise' (?).

2. It forms **agent nouns**, both m. f. substantives and adjectives; thus *ar-āni* f. 'fire-stick', *caks-āni* m. 'enlightener', *car-āni* 'movable', 'active', *tar-āni* 'swift', *dhvas-āni* 'sprinkling', *vakṣ-āni* m. 'strengtheners'; also in the compounds *ān-ari-āni*, N. of a demon, *āj-āni* (AV.) f. 'stick for driving' (*ā-aj-*) and *udāni-māt-* 'abounding in waves' (*ud-āni* 'undulating' from *ud-* 'be wet').

a. From the reduplicated root: *papt-āni* (*pat-* 'fly') in *su-papt-āni* f. 'swift flight'. From aorist stems: *car-āni* 'active' (*car-* 'move'), f. pl. 'men', *par-āni* 'crossing' (*pr-* 'cross'), *saks-āni* 'overcoming' (*√ sah-*). From desiderative stems: *rurukṣ-āni* 'willing to destroy' (*ruj-* 'break'), *siśās-āni* 'eager to win' (*√ śā-*), *ā-tuśukṣ-āni* 'gleaming forth' (*śuc-* 'shine').

-anī : action and agent.

123. This suffix is the feminine form corresponding to the action and agent nouns formed with *-ana* from the strengthened or unreduced root⁶, with or without verbal prefix; thus *cod-anī*⁷ 'urging' (*cod-ana-*), *pṛt-anī* (AV.) 'well-formed' (*pṛt-ana-*), *prukṣ-ānī* (VS. AV.) f. 'sprinkling water', *pra-jñānī*

¹ Other stems with the same meaning are: *yōj-an-*, *yōj-ā-*, *yōj-it-*. The root is probably *yu-* 'unite'.

² The suffix *-anā* never otherwise occurs when the root is accented.

J Only as a nominal stem *pṛt-* 'fight'.

⁴ This is the only example of such accentuation.

⁵ That is, *su-apa-vāc-anā* and *su-apa-sarv-anā*.

⁶ See *-ana*, 120. 1-3.

⁷ In *brahma-cōdanī* 'stimulating devotion'.

(AV.) 'easily known', *spár-ant-* (AV.) 'preserving'; *abhi-śtv-ant-* (AV.) 'pressing implement', *vi-dhár-ant-* (AV.) 'preserving'.

a. In some (partly obscure) words the accent here shifts from the radical vowel to the final of the suffix: *arś-ant-* (AV.) 'piercing pain', *cit-ant-* (AV.) 'visible' (*cit-ana-*), *tap-ant-* 'heat' (*táp-ana-* 'burning'), *ud-ant-* (AV. VS.) 'blood', *prś-ant-* 'tender' (*prś-ana-* 'tenderness'), *vṛj-ant-* 'enclosure' (*vṛj-ana-* and *vṛj-ana-*).

-an-ya : gerundive.

124. This is a new compositive suffix beginning to be attached directly to the root in the formation of the gerundive. It is based on the primary suffix *-ana* of neuter action nouns extended with the secondary adjective suffix *-ya*. There are two examples in the AV.: *upa-jiv-aniya-* 'to be subsisted on', and *ā-mantr-aniya-* 'to be addressed'.

-ar : agent.

125. This suffix is found in a very few words: *uś-ár-* f. 'dawn', *dev-ár-* m. 'husband's brother', *ná-nānd-ar-* f. 'husband's sister'.

-as : action and agent.

126. This suffix forms a large class of neuter action nouns (which sometimes acquire a concrete sense) accented on the root, and a small class of agent nouns (mostly adjectives) accented on the suffix. Some words belong to one class or the other according to the accent. The root generally takes Guṇa, and medial *a* is sometimes lengthened, while the vowel is reduced in a few instances.

1. Examples of action nouns are: with Guṇa, *práy-as-* 'pleasure' (*√pr-*), *śráv-as-* 'fame' (*√śru-*), *kár-as-* 'deed' (*√kr-*), *cit-as-* 'brilliance' (*√cit-*), *táj-as-* 'splendour' (*√táj-*), *dūh-as-* 'milking' (*√dūh-*)². With medial *a* unchanged: *áid-as-* 'aid', *táp-as-* 'heat', *práth-as-* 'breadth', *vác-as-* 'speech'; and with partially or wholly concrete meaning, *cikṣ-as-* 'lustre', 'eye', *mán-as-* 'thought', 'mind', *sár-as-* 'lake'. With lengthened *a*: *vác-as-*³, *vás-as-* 'covering', 'garment', *váh-as-* 'offering', *svád-as-* 'flavour' in *prś-svādas-* 'agreeable'; and from roots not in independent use: *páy-as-* 'brilliance' and *páth-as-*⁴ 'path'. With reduced vowel: *śir-as-* 'breast', *jív-as-* 'speed' (beside *jív-as-*), *mfāh-as-* 'contempt', *śir-* 'head'; also *vip-as-* 'inspiration' in the compounds *vipat-ctt-* 'inspired' and *vipo-dhā-* 'bestowing inspiration'; *iras-* 'anger' in the denominative *iras-yá-* 'be angry'; *hur-as-* 'deceit' in *huras-ctt-* 'plotting mischief'. Perhaps also the adverbs (with shift of accent) *tír-ds* 'across' and *míth-ds* 'mutually'.

a. To roots ending in *-ā* the suffix is added direct in *bhās-s* n. 'light' (*bhā-* 'shine') and *dās-s* 'giving'⁵ (*dā-*), *jñās-* 'kinsman' and *mās-* 'moon' are probably also formed with the suffix *-as*, but being masculines were most likely agent nouns in origin; *mā-ds-* = 'measurer' (*mā-* 'measure'). The suffix seems to be added with an intervening *y* in *hāv-as-* 'agility'⁷ if it is derived from *hā-* 'leave'⁸, while in *dhāy-as-* n. 'enjoyment' and *śāy-as-* 'song'⁹ the *y* probably belongs to the root¹⁰.

¹ *vātar-* 'sister' in probably an old compound in which *-sar* represents a root; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 8, note.

² The word *hēt-as-* 'missile' is perhaps formed from the aorist stem of *hi-* 'impel'.

³ In *vi-vāras-* (AV.) 'speaking variously' and *sā-vāras-* (AV.) 'speaking similarly'.

⁴ According to OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 607 this word means 'home' and is perhaps formed with a suffix *-thas* from *pā-* 'protect'; according to SIGG, Gurupūjākaumudī 97, it means 'food', and is derived from *pā-* 'drink'.

⁵ Often to be read as dissyllables, *bhaas-* and *daas-*.

⁶ In *-das-* 'giving' and *-dhas-* 'placing' *-as* has been formed probably by a misunderstanding of the N. sing. *-dās-s* and *-dhās-s*.

⁷ In *vt-hāyas-* 'vigorous' and *sārva-hāyas-* (AV.) 'having all strength'.

⁸ But it may be a derivative of *hi-* 'impel'.

⁹ From *dhc-* 'suck' and *gai-* 'sing'; cp. above 27 a.

¹⁰ In *pś-v-as-* n. 'fat' (*pś-* 'swell') the *v* may

2. Agent nouns in *-ās*, mostly adjectives, correspond in several instances to action nouns accented on the root. These are *ap-ās* 'active' (*ap-as* 'work'), *tar-ās* (VS¹) 'quick' (*tar-as* 'quickness'), *tyaj-ās* m. 'descendant' (*tyaj-as* 'abandonment'), *dhv-ās* 'stirring' (*dhv-as* 'worship'), *mah-ās* 'great' (*mih-as* 'greatness'). The derivative *tav-ās* occurs both as an adjective 'strong' and without change of accent¹ as a m. substantive 'strength'. A few others have no corresponding action noun: *tot-ās* 'bestowing', *dhvar-ās* 'deceiving', *yaj-ās* 'offering', *vedh-ās* 'worshipper', *vet-ās* (AV.) 'neighbour'; and from a denominative stem *mrgay-ās* (AV²) 'wild animal'².

a. There are a few substantives accented on the suffix and seemingly never neuter, which are allied to the neuter action nouns in meaning, some being abstract, others concrete in sense. The change of accent may be due to change of gender³. Thus *rakṣ-ās* m. occurs beside *rakṣ-as* n. both meaning 'demon'. There also occur *jar-ās* m. 'old age', *bhīy-ās* m. 'fear', *tveṣ-ās*⁴ 'impulse', *hav-ās* 'invocation'; *us-ās* f. 'dawn' may have been an agent noun originally; *doṣ-ās* (AV¹) f.(?) beside *doṣ-ā* 'night' may be due to parallelism with *us-ās*. The stem *upās* 'lap' (the gender of which is uncertain, as it occurs only in the locative singular) may have been formed under the influence of *upā-stha*⁵ m. 'lap'.

a. A few Proper Names are formed with the suffix *-as*; thus *noth-ās*; *arundhar-* is a compound of *dnas* 'wain', possibly also *bhalānās*. *ap-ras*⁶ f. 'nymph' is perhaps a compound ('moving in the waters'). *dhgiras*, a name of Agni, has the appearance of being formed with this suffix, but the *-s* is perhaps secondary⁷.

-asī : action and agent.

127. This suffix, which is an extension of *-as* with *-ī*, forms a couple of action nouns with concrete sense, and a few agent nouns: *dhāsi-* m. 'drink' (*dhe* 'suck') and *dhāsi-* f. 'abode'; *at-asī-* m. 'beggar', *dharm-asī-* 'strong', *sān-asī-* 'victorious'.

-ā : action.

128. By far the greatest proportion of words in *-ā* consists of secondary feminine adjectives corresponding to masculines and neuters in *-a*.

There is, however, also a considerable number of feminine action nouns of an independent character, formed by adding *-ā* sometimes to the root, but usually to secondary conjugation stems (desiderative, causative, denominative). Thus *ī-ā* (AV.) 'dominion', *nind-ā* (AV.) 'blame'; *jigīs-ā* 'desire to win', *bhikṣ-ā* (AV.) 'begging', *vṛts-ā*⁸ 'desire to frustrate'; *gamay-ā*⁹ (AV¹) 'causing to go'; *asvay-ā* 'desire for horses', *apasy-ā* 'activity', *urusy-ā* 'readiness to help', *jīvanasy-ā* (TS. II. 3. 10².3) 'desire of life', *sukratay-ā* 'skill'.

a. This suffix has the appearance of being added to a reduplicated stem in *jāgh-ā*¹⁰ 'leg' and *jihv-ā* 'tongue'; it may also be contained in the very obscure word *sūn-ā*¹¹ (AV¹).

have been inserted owing to the influence of *pīvan-* adj. 'fat'. but owing to the accent it is probably masc.

¹ WHITNEY 1152, 2 c. erroneously, *idvas-* 'strength'.

² The suffix is probably contained in *ū-han-ās* 'wanton', but the derivation is obscure. Cp. FRÖHDE, BB. 21, 321—330.

³ The dative infinitives from stems in *-as* are sometimes accented on the root, but usually on the suffix (105a). This may indicate a difference of gender, the former being neuter, the latter masculine.

⁴ As *tveṣ-ās* and *hav-ās* occur in the I. sing. only, the gender is uncertain,

⁵ According to GRASSMANN, however, *upāstha-* probably = *upās-stha-*; cp. 81, 2 a.

⁶ See MACDONELL, Vedic Mythology 47, note 3; but cp. FISCHER, VS. 3, 197.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 188.

⁸ From *vṛts-* desiderative of *ṛdh-* 'prosper'.

⁹ The causative stem used in the formation of the periphrastic perfect.

¹⁰ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 106, top.

¹¹ See WHITNEY's note on AV. I, 11³.

-āku : agent.

129. This very rare suffix seems to have been limited to the formation of agent nouns. It appears in *mṛday-āku* 'gracious' (formed from a causative stem), *pfā-āku* (AV. VS.)¹ 'adder', *lksv-āku*, N. of a man.

-āna : agent.

130. This suffix forms a middle participle² from the present (455, 461, 467, 473, 479), the perfect (493) and (in the form of *-s-āna*) from the aorist tense stem³ (527). It also appears in the formation of a few adjectives and substantives, a preceding *u* always taking Guṇa. Such adjectives are: *tikav-āna* 'speeding' (beside *tik-u-* and *tik-va-*), *bhṛgav-āna* 'beaming' (beside *bhṛgu-* m.), *vāsav-āna* 'possessing wealth' (*vāsu-*), *urdhva-s-āna* 'being erect' (formed like an aorist participle from *urdhvd-* 'upright').

There are also the Proper Names *āpnā-āna*, *cyā-āna*, *ṣṭhā-āna*; also *cyāvat-āna* which looks as if formed by adding *-āna* to the active present participle stem of *cyu-* 'fall'. Of doubtful derivation are the substantives *pīr-āna* m. 'abyss' and *rujānā*⁴ f. 'river' (i. 32⁶).

-i : action and agent.

131. With this suffix are formed numerous feminine action nouns, agent nouns (adjectives and masculine substantives), and a few neuters of obscure etymology⁵.

The root appears in various forms: sometimes with Guṇa, Vrddhi or lengthened *a*, generally with unchanged or weak vowel, often reduplicated. Before the suffix a final radical palatal regularly appears (not the original guttural). In many of these derivatives the root is not traceable elsewhere. The accent is so fluctuating that no general rule can be stated. The meaning is often greatly specialised.

1. Examples of action nouns are: with Guṇa, *rōp-i* (AV.) 'pain', *loc-i* (AV.) 'heat'; with lengthened *a*: *aj-i* m. f. 'race', *grāh-i* 'seizure', *dhṛāj-i* 'course'; with unchanged vowel: *san-i* 'gain'; with weak vowel: *vis-i* 'brilliance', *kṛs-i* 'tillage', *rūc-i* (AV.) 'brightness'.

2. Examples of agent nouns are: with Guṇa, *ar-i* 'devout', *arc-i* m. 'beam'; with Vrddhi, *kārs-i* (VS.) 'drawing'; with lengthened vowel *jāni*⁶ f. 'wife', *sār-i* f. 'arrow' (RV⁷), a kind of bird (VS. TS.), *dās-i* (AV.) 'poisonous matter'; also in a few words of obscure etymology, *drāp-i* m. 'mantle', *nābh-i* f. 'navel', *pān-i* m. 'hand', *rās-i* m. 'heap'; with unchanged vowel: *kṛd-i* 'playing', *granth-i* m. 'knot', *māh-i* 'great'; with weak vowel: *lit-i* 'bright', *gṛbh-i* (AV.) 'container', *bhṛm-i* 'lively' (beside *bhṛm-i* f. 'lively motion'). From the reduplicated root, which nearly always has a weak or reduced radical vowel, are formed with ordinary reduplicative vowel: *cikī-i*⁷ (SV.) 'understanding', *cakr-i* 'active', *jāghr-i* 'sprinkling about' (*ghr-*), *pāpr-i* 'bestowing abundantly', *badhr-i* 'carrying', *vāv-i* m. 'covering', *sāsr-i* 'speeding', *sīsv-i* 'pressing'; *yīyudh-i* 'warlike', *vivic-i* 'appropriating' (*vvyac-*);

¹ It occurs in the RV. only as the first member of a compound in *pfāku-sānu-* 'having a surface like that of a snake'.

² See LINDNER p. 53-55.

³ *āpnāna-* seems to be an irregular present participle of *āp-* 'obtain' formed from the stem *āp-nā-* instead of *āp-nu-*.

⁴ For this word occurring in the form of *rujānās* see p. 59, note 1.

⁵ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1718 f.; LINDNER p. 55-58.

⁶ At the end of compounds beside the independent *jāni*.

⁷ Various reading for the *cikī-i-* of the RV.

jāgm-i- 'hastening' (*gam-* 'go'), *jāghn-i-* 'striking' (*√han-*), *sāsn-i-* 'winning'; *jāgur-i-* 'conducting' (*√gṛ-*), *tātur-i-* 'victorious' (*√tṛ-*), *pāpur-i-* and *pīpur-i-* (SV.) 'bestowing abundantly' (*√pṛ-*) beside *pāpr-i-*; with lengthened or strong reduplicative vowel: *tātp-i-* 'gladdening', *dādhṛṣ-i-* 'bold', *vāvah-i-* 'driving swiftly', *sāsah-i-* 'victorious'; *tātuj-i-* 'speeding', *tātuj-i-* m. 'stimulator', *yīyuv-i-* 'driving away', *yīyudh-i-* 'warlike'; *jarbhār-i-* 'nourishing' (*√bhr-*)¹. The weak reduplicated present stem appears in *dād-i-* 'giving' and *dādh-i-* 'bestowing'; from similar stems (appearing in the perfect) are formed *pāp-i-* 'drinking' (*√pā-*) and *yay-i-* 'speeding' (*√yṛ-*).

a. There are only about half a dozen neuters formed with the suffix *-i*, nearly all being obscure in origin. They are *āks-i-* 'eye', *dsth-i-* (AV. VS.) 'bone', *dādh-i-* 'sour milk', *sām-i-* 'toil' (*sam-* 'work'); and with Vrddhi *hārd-i-* 'heart'.

b. The root is sometimes compounded with verbal prefixes in these derivatives, the suffix being then usually accented; thus *ā-jān-i-* f. 'birth', *vī-vāv-i-* m. 'opening', *saṃ-tan-i-* f. 'harmony', 'music', *ā-yaj-i-* 'bringing near by offerings', *ā-mūr-i-* m. 'destroyer', *nī-jāghn-i-* 'striking down', *parā-dad-i-* 'delivering over', *vī-sāsah-i-* 'victorious', *vy-ānas-i-*² 'pervading'.

c. From *dhā-* 'put' is derived the stem *-dhi-* which is used in forming many m. compounds; e. g. *antar-dhi-* (AV.) 'concealment', *ud-dhi-* (AV.), part of a car, *nī-dhi-* 'treasure', *pari-dhi-* 'fence'. From *sthā-* 'stand' is similarly formed *-sthi-* in *prati-sthi-* f. 'resistance'. There is here some doubt as to whether we have a reduced form of the root (as in *dhi-ta-*) or displacement of the radical vowel by the very frequent suffix *-i*. The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable owing to the almost invariable accentuation of the *i* and the occurrence of a stem like *prati-sthi-* 'resistance' beside *prati-sthā-* 'standpoint'.

-in : agent.

132. The very frequent secondary suffix *-in* seems sometimes to have the value of a primary suffix, exclusively, however, at the end of compounds; thus *ād-in-* 'eating', *es-in-* (AV.) 'seeking', *śod-in-* 'piercing', *d-nām-in-* 'unbending', *vyād-in-* (AV.) 'piercing'; from a present stem *at-nuv-in-* (VS.) 'reaching'; from an aorist stem *sakṣ-in-*³ overpowering (*√sah-*); from a reduplicated stem *yay-in-* 'going'.

-iṣṭha : agent.

133. With this suffix attached to the root is formed the superlative with an adjectival sense. The root is regularly accented⁴, *i* and *ī* taking Guṇa, while *a* remains unchanged, though in two or three instances it is strengthened with a nasal. Roots in *-ā* combine that vowel with the initial *i* of the suffix to *e*, which, however, is usually to be read as two syllables. About fifty superlatives formed with this suffix occur in the Saṃhitās. Examples are: *nīy-iṣṭha-* 'leading in the best manner' (*nī-* 'lead'), *jāv-iṣṭha-* 'quickest' (*jū-* 'speed'), *vīd-iṣṭha-* 'procuring most' (*vīd-* 'find'), *śoc-iṣṭha-* 'most brilliant' (*śuc-* 'shine'); *yaj-iṣṭha-* 'sacrificing best'; *bāṃh-iṣṭha-* 'most abundant' (*bāṃh-*

¹ The words *bāṃhār-i-* (VS.) m., a soma-guarding genius, *karkar-i-* f. 'lute', *duṇḍubh-i-* m. 'drum' may be onomatopoeic in origin.

² From the perfect stem *ān-ai-* of *at-* 'attain'.

³ In *pra-sakṣ-in-* 'victorious'.

⁴ In *nī-yay-in-* 'passing over'. Cp. LINDNER p. 59; WHITNEY 1183 a.

⁵ Except two or three times *īyēṣṭhā-* and *kan-iṣṭhā-* (see above p. 83, 14); and when the superlative is compounded with a prefix, which then has the accent.

'make firm'), *māṅk-iṣṭha-* 'most liberal' (*māh-* 'be great'); *jyēṣṭha-* 'greatest' and *jyēṣṭhā-* 'eldest' (*jyā-* 'overpower'), *dhēṣṭha-* 'bestowing the most' (*Vdhā-*), *yēṣṭha-* 'going fastest' (*Vyā-*).

a. In many instances these superlatives attach themselves in meaning to derivative adjectives, being formed from the root which the latter contain; thus *os-iṣṭha-*¹ (TS. I. 6. 12³) beside *ōṣa-m* 'quickly', *bārḥ-iṣṭha-* 'greatest' beside *bṛh-ant-* 'great', *vār-iṣṭha-* 'choicest' (*vṛ-* 'choose') beside *vṛt-a-* 'choice', *sādh-iṣṭha-* 'straightest' beside *sādh-i-* 'straight'. In a few cases the suffix is added to the derivative form of the root which appears in the adjective; thus *āś-iṣṭha-* (AV¹) 'swiftest' beside *āś-i-* (from *āś-* 'reach'); and in *nāv-iṣṭha-* 'newest' the suffix is attached to the radical element in *nāv-a-*² 'new' (and not directly to the root from which that word may be derived).

b. In some cases the root is compounded with a verbal prefix or other indeclinable; thus *ā-gam-iṣṭha-* 'coming best', *ī-śram-iṣṭha-* 'never tiring', *sām-bhar-iṣṭha-*³ 'most beneficial'.

a. There are some irregularities in the formation of this superlative. Thus *bhū-* retains its vowel unchanged, adding the suffix with an intervening *y*: *bhū-y-iṣṭha-* 'greatest'; the roots *pri-* and *br-* are treated as if they ended in *-ā*: *prīṣṭha-* 'dearest', *brīṣṭha-* 'most glorious'; *pār-iṣṭha-* 'taking across best' is made from an aorist stem of *pṛ-* 'cross'. The abnormal accentuation of *jyēṣṭhā-* 'eldest' is doubtless intended to differentiate its meaning from *jyēṣṭha-* 'greatest'. The use of *kan-iṣṭhā-* 'youngest' is parallel to that of the former 5.

-is : action.

134. This suffix forms a dozen neuter action nouns, mostly used in a concrete sense. Though the root takes Guṇa, the suffix is accented except in three instances. The words thus formed are: *arc-is-* 'flame', *ām-is-*⁶ 'raw flesh', *kṛav-is-* 'raw flesh', *chad-is-* 'cover', *chard-is-* 'protection', *jyōt-is-* 'light', *barh-is-* 'straw', *roc-is-* 'light', *vart-is-* 'track', *vyāth-is-* 'course' (?), *śoc-is-* 'flame', *sarp-is-* 'melted butter', *hav-is-* 'oblation'.

a. Besides these *av-is-* appears for *av-as-* 'aid' and *māh-is-* for *māh-as-* 'greatness' in a few derivatives: *avis-yant-* 'helping readily', *avis-yā-* 'desire', *avis-yū-* 'desirous'; *mīhiṣ-vant-* 'great'; and with inorganic *-s* *tīvi-s-* 'might', *śuci-s-* 'flame', *su-rabhi-s-* 'fragrant' for *tūvi-*, *śuci-*, *surabhi-* in a few derivatives: *tīviṣ-mant-* 'mighty', *śuciṣ-mant-* (only voc.) 'brilliant', *surabhiṣ-tama-* 'very fragrant'.

-ī : action and agent.

135. This suffix, besides its secondary use in the formation of feminines, chiefly adjectives, from m. and n. stems in *-a*, *-i*, *-u*, *-ṛ*, as well as various consonant stems (201), seems to be primary in forming a few independent feminine action and agent nouns. Such are *deh-ī-* 'rampart', *nad-ī-* 'stream', *nānd-ī-* 'joy', *pś-ī-* (RV¹) 'swaddling clothes' (?), *veś-ī-* 'needle', *śac-ī-* 'power', *sām-ī-* and *śim-ī-* 'work'; seemingly from an aorist stem (*Vvah-*) *vakṣ-ī-* (RV¹) 'flame'. There are also about a dozen masculines: *ak-ī-* 'serpent', *upāv-ī-* (VS.) 'encouraging', *dakṣ-ī-* (RV¹) 'flaming', *prāv-ī-* 'attentive', *duṣ-prāv-ī-*

¹ In the compound *osiṣṭha-dāvan-* 'giving immediately'.

² Probably from a demonstrative root *m-* which appears in *nū* 'now', *nū-tana-* 'present'.

³ This superlative is formed under the influence of the positive *sām-bhū-* as the independent superlative of *bhū-* is *bhū-y-iṣṭha-*.

⁴ The regular form *bhav-iṣṭha-* occurs in combination with *sām-*.

⁵ *kān-iṣṭha-* 'smallest' appears in books v and vi of the TS.

⁶ This word, which occurs in the L. sing. form *āmiṣ-ī* only, is given as m. in BR., pw., and GRASSMANN, but why it should not be like all the rest a neuter, is not clear.

⁷ Only voc. *dakṣi*, Pada *dhakṣi-*, I. 141^b. Cp. p. 119, note 5.

'unfriendly', *su-prāu-ī-* 'very attentive', *rath-ī-* 'charioteer', *ā-rath-ī-* 'not a charioteer'; and the Proper Names *nām-ī-* and *pīth-ī-*.

-ika : action and agent.

136. This suffix forms a few neuter substantives and some adjectives; thus *an-ika-* n. 'face', *dīś-ika-* n. 'aspect', *mṛd-ikā-* n. 'grace', *ā-sar-ika-* (AV.) n. 'rheumatic pains'; *-rj-īka-*² 'beaming', *dībh-ika-* m., N. of a demon, *vrdh-īkī-* m. 'increaser', *vī-sar-īka-* (AV.) m., a kind of disease; from a reduplicated stem: *par-phar-ika-* m. 'filler'.

-iyāms : agent.

137. This suffix is used in forming comparatives, being added to the root in the same way as the superlative suffix *-īśhā* (133). At least 40 of these derivatives³ occur in the Saṃhitās. Examples are: *śār-iyāms-* 'quicker', *mānīh-iyāms-* 'more liberal', *yāj-iyāms-* 'sacrificing better', *tīj-iyāms-* 'sharper', *vād-iyāms-* 'procuring more', *yādīh-iyāms-* 'fighting better', *pr-iyāms-*⁴ 'dearer' (*√prī-*), *śr-iyāms-*⁵ (*√śrī-*) 'moresplendid', *-stheyāms-* 'lasting' (*√sthī-*). Connected in sense with the corresponding positive are *an-iyāms-* (AV.) 'smaller', beside *anu-* 'minute', *sās-iyāms-* 'more frequent', beside *sās-vant-* 'constant'; and from a derivative form of the root *līksī-* *līksī-iyāms-* (AV.)⁵ 'sharper', beside *līksnā-* 'sharp' (*līj-* 'be sharp').

a. Beside the usual form in *-iyāms-* there appear some half dozen comparatives made with a shorter form of the suffix *-yāms*: *tāv-yāms-* beside *tāv-iyāms-* 'stronger', *nāv-yāms-* beside *nāv-iyāms-* 'new', *pān-yāms-* beside *pān-iyāms-* 'more wonderful', *bhū-yāms-*⁶ '(becoming) more', 'greater', beside *bhū-iyāms-* 'more plentiful', *rābh-yāms-* beside *rābh-iyāms-* (VS.) 'more violent', *sāh-yāms-* beside *sāh-iyāms-* 'stronger'; *jyā-yāms-* 'greater', 'older', and *sān-yāms-* 'older' (*sāna-* 'old') appear without an alternative form beside them.

b. With verbal prefixes or particles: *vī-kled-iyāms-* (AV.) 'moistening more', *pāri-śvaj-iyāms-* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *prīti-śjav-iyāms-* 'pressing closer against'; *ā-stheyāms-* 'not enduring'.

-u : agent.

138. This suffix forms a considerable number of agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. The latter are chiefly masculines, but there are also several feminines and neuters. The suffix is usually accented. The root is generally weak, but sometimes shows Vrddhi, least often Guṇa; it also occasionally appears in a reduplicated form. Medial *a* usually remains unchanged, but is sometimes lengthened; occasionally it is nasalized or appears as *e*. Final *-ā* adds an intervening *y*, but is occasionally dropped. Gutturals only (not palatals) appear before this suffix.

I. Examples of adjectives are: *ur-ū-* 'wide', *rj-ū-* 'straight', *prth-ū-* 'broad', *mṛd-ū-* (VS.) 'soft', *vīdh-ū-* 'solitary'; *jāy-ū-* 'conquering' (*√jī-*), *dār-ū-* 'splitting' (*√dī-*); *śay-ū-* 'lying' (*√śī-*), *cikī-ū-* 'shining' (*√cī-*), *jīgy-ū-* 'victorious', *śīg-ū-* 'ready to give' (*√śan-*)⁷; *tak-ū-* 'swift', *tan-ū-* 'thin',

¹ See below 375 B; LINDNER p. 80; from the adjective stem *pīpā-*, the radical element of which is uncertain. WHITNEY 355 b.

² As final member of a few compounds, as *lāh-ryīka-* 'light-shedding'.

³ See LINDNER p. 155; WHITNEY 466—470.

⁴ The roots *prī-* and *śrī-* being treated as ending in *-ā*: *prī-iyāms-* and *śrī-iyāms-* as in the superlative.

⁵ In the TS. *pāp-iyāms-* is formed directly

⁶ With the radical vowel unchanged as in the superlative.

⁷ Some other words have the appearance of being reduplicated: *bāhr-ū-* 'brown', *a-rār-ū-* 'hostile' (*rā-* 'give'); *mālmā-* (VS.) seems to be a mutilated form of *mālmācī-* (AV.) 'robber'.

hīp-u- 'hot', *ās-ū-* 'swift' (*as-* 'reach'); *amh-ū-* 'narrow'; *cdr-u-* 'active' (*car-* 'move'); *dhā-y-ū-*¹ 'thirsty', *pā-y-ū-* 'protecting'; *y-ū-* 'going' (*√yā-*)²; *riku-* 'empty' (*√ric-*).

2. Examples of substantives are: m. *grh-ū-* 'beggar', *rip-ū-* 'cheat'; *pipr-u-*, N. of a demon; *ds-u-* 'life', *mdn-u-* 'man', *pād-ū-* 'foot', *bāh-ū-* 'arm', *ams-ū-* 'filament', *vā-y-ū-* 'wind'; f. *īy-u-* (also m.) 'arrow', *sindh-u-* (also m.) 'river', *dhān-u-* 'sandbank', *pār-u-* 'rib', *hān-u-* 'jaw'; n. *āy-u* 'life', *jūn-u-* 'knee', *tāl-u-* (VS.) 'palate', *trāp-u-* (AV. VS.) 'tin', *dīr-u-* (also m.) 'wood', *sūn-u-* (also m.) 'summit'; with syncope, *kṣ-ū-* 'food' (*ghas-* 'eat'); with reduplication, *t-ta-ū-* 'sieve'.

a. In a few of these derivatives the root appears with a prefix: *upā-y-ū-* (TS. I. 1. 1¹) 'approaching', *ni-cer-ū-* 'gliding', *pra-may-ū-* (AV.) 'liable to destruction', *pari-tan-ū-* (AV.) 'surrounding', *sūn-vas-u-* 'dwelling together'; *abhī-ū-*³ m. 'rein', *vi-klind-u-* (AV.) m. a kind of disease.

139. There is besides a large class of agent nouns formed with *-u* not directly from the root but from tense or secondary conjugation stems.

1. From present stems are formed: *tany-ū-* 'thundering' (*tanya-ti* 'roars'), *bhīnd-ū-* m. 'destroyer' (*bhīnd-anti* 'they split'), *vind-ū-*⁴ 'finding' (*vindū-ti* 'finds'); from an aorist stem *dāks-u-*⁵ and *dhāks-u-* 'burning'.

2. From desiderative stems are formed *i-yaks-ū-* 'desirous of sacrificing' (*√yaj-*), *cikits-ū-* (AV.) 'cunning' (*√cit-*), *jigṛs-ū-* 'desirous of winning' (*√jit-*), *jighats-ū-* (AV.) 'greedy' (*ghas-* 'eat'), *titiks-ū-* (AV.) 'patient', *dits-ū-* 'ready to give' (*√dā-*), *didṛks-u-*⁶ (VII. 863) 'eager to see' (*√drś-*), *didhis-ū-* 'wishing to obtain' (*√dhā-*), *dips-ū-* 'wishing to harm' (*√dabh-*), *ninits-ū-* 'wishing to revile', *bibhats-ū-* 'feeling disgust' (*√bīdh-*), *mimiks-ū-* 'mingling' (*√mit-*), *mumuks-ū-* 'desiring release' (*√muc-*), *ririks-ū-* 'wishing to damage' (*√riṣ-*), *civaks-ū-* (AV.) 'calling aloud' (*√vac-*), *sīs-ū-* (AV.) 'eager to win' (*√sā-*).

3. From causative stems are formed: *dhāray-ū-* 'streaming', *bhājay-ū-* 'liberal', *bhāvay-ū-* 'cherishing', *manhay-ū-* 'liberal', *manday-ū-* 'joyous', *śramay-ū-* 'exhausting oneself'; from a causative denominative *mṛgay-ū-* (AV.VS.) m. 'hunter'.

4. By far the commonest are the derivatives from regular denominatives, of which nearly 80 occur in the RV., and at least half a dozen additional cases in the AV. About 35 of these words are formed from denominative stems in actual use?; thus *aghay-ū-* 'malignant', *arāty-ū-* (AV.) 'hostile', *vasūy-ū-* 'desiring wealth', *carany-ū-* 'mobile', *manasy-ū-* 'desirous'. A few are formed from pronouns, as *ahany-ū-* 'selfish', *asmay-ū-* 'favouring us', *kiny-ū-* 'desiring what?', *tvāy-ū-* 'loving thee', *yuvay-ū-* and *yuvāy-ū-* 'desiring you two', *svay-ū-* 'left to oneself'. In the absence of an accompanying denominative, there is the appearance of a secondary suffix *-yu* (with the sense of 'desiring' or some more general adjectival meaning) attached directly to nouns. Thus there are derivatives in the RV. in which the *-as* of noun stems is changed to *-o*, as if the suffix were actually *-yu*: *aptho-yū-* 'threatening', *duvo-yū-* 'honouring' beside *duvas-yū-*, and *ī-skṛdho-yu-* 'not niggardly'.

-uka : agent.

140. This suffix probably consists of the primary *-u* extended with the secondary *-ka*. It is very rare in the Saphitās. There is no certain example

¹ Here the *y* really belongs to the root *dhc-* 'suck'.

² Also in the reduplicated form *yāy-u-* (VS.) 'swift'; the final *-ā* seems also to be dropped in *ā-bh-ū-* 'mole' (*bhā-* 'dig') and in *su-gh-ū-* '(standing) well' (*sthā-* 'stand').

³ Probably from *abhi-+ī-* 'rule'.

⁴ In *go-vindū-* 'searching for milk'.

⁵ The Pada text has *dhāks-u-*. Cp. p. 117, note 7.

⁶ With irregular accent.

⁷ See the list in LINDNER p. 63.

in the RV., but *sān-ukā-* (RV¹) 'desirous of prey' (*√san-*) and the Proper Name *per-ukā-* (RV¹) may be instances. In the AV. occur *ghāt-uka-* 'killing', *vi-kaś-uka-* 'bursting', *sāp-kaś-uka-* 'crumbling up', *ā-pra-māy-uka-* 'not dying suddenly'. In the TS. occurs *vas-ukā-*, but the meaning and derivation are doubtful.

-us : action and agent.

141. This suffix forms neuter action nouns which have mostly a concrete sense, and masculine agent nouns, altogether less than 20 in number. All the substantives except one are accented on the root, which generally takes Guṇa, but in one instance Vṛddhi. Those adjectives which also appear as substantives have the same accentuation; but those stems which are used solely as adjectives accent the suffix.

1. The neuter substantives are: *dr-us-* (AV.) 'wound', *āy-us-* 'life', *cdks-us-* 'light', *tāp-us-* 'heat', *tār-us-* 'battle', *dhān-us-* 'bow', *pār-us-* 'knot', *yāj-us-* 'worship', *vāp-us-* 'marvel', *sās-us-* 'command'; with accent on the suffix: *jan-is-* 'birth' (also m.).

2. The masculine substantives are: *nāh-us-* 'neighbour', *mān-us-* 'man'; adjectives identical in form with neuter substantives are: *cdks-us-* 'seeing', *tāp-us-* 'glowing', *vāp-us-* 'wondrous'; adjectives without corresponding substantives are: *jay-ūs-* 'victorious', *van-ūs-* 'eager', *vid-ūs-* 'heedful'; also *dakṣ-ūs-* 'flaming' from the aorist stem.

-ū : feminine substantives.

142. This rare suffix chiefly forms feminines corresponding to masculines and neuters in *-u*². Independent feminine substantives are: *cam-ū-* 'dish', *tan-ū-* 'body', *vadh-ū-* 'bride'; perhaps *pan-ū-*³ 'admiration'. There are also the compounds *pums-cal-ū-* (VS.) 'courtesan', *pra-jan-ū-* (AV.) 'organ of generation'.

-ūka : intensive adjectives.

143. This suffix is merely the lengthened form of *-uka* used in forming a few derivatives from the reduplicated intensive stem. It appears in *jāgar-ūka-* 'wakeful', *dandas-ūka-* (VS.) 'mordacious', *salal-ūka-* (RV¹) 'wandering aimlessly'.

-ka : agent.

144. This is a very common secondary suffix, but very rarely appears in a primary character. It is thus used in *āt-ka-* m. 'garment', *su-mā-ka-* 'firmly fixed' (*mī-* 'fix'), *śhṣ-ka-* 'dry', *ślō-ka-* m. 'call' (*śru-* 'hear'), *sto-kā-* m. 'drop'. In *vṛśc-i-ka-* m. 'scorpion' the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*. The feminine form of the suffix appears in *stī-kā-* 'flake', *rā-kā-*, N. of a goddess.

-ta : agent.

145. This suffix is employed almost exclusively to form past participles⁴, chiefly with passive, sometimes with intransitive meaning. Its more general and original sense is, however, preserved in some words used as adjectives or as substantives with concrete meaning; thus *tṛṣ-ṣā-* 'rough', *dṛḍhā-* 'firm', *śr-tā-* 'cold', *vāvā-ta-*⁵ 'dear'; m. *dū-tā-* 'messenger', *sū-tā-* (AV. VS.) 'charioteer',

¹ With weak root; the only instance of medial vowel other than *ā* in the radical syllable. | form occurring is the I. sing. *panā*.
² See below, derivative *-ū* stems, 384. | ⁴ See below, Past passive participles, 572, and the lists in LINDNER p. 70f.
³ The stem may be *pan-ū-*, as the only | ⁵ From a reduplicated form of *vā-* 'win', and with unusual accent.

*kīśā-*¹ 'singer', *baśā-*² 'he-goat'; n. *rī-* 'right', *ghr-* 'ghee', *jā-* 'kind', *dyā-* (AV.) 'gambling', *nṛ-* (AV.) 'dance', *pār-* 'reward', *vra-* 'ordinance'; with accented and strong radical syllable: *ī-* 'variegated'; m. *gār-* 'car-seat', *mār-* 'mortal', *vā-* 'wind', *hās-* 'hand'; n. *ī-* 'home', *nī-* 'night'.

a. In many past participles the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*, as *rakṣ-i-* 'protected'. Some of these are used as n. substantives; thus *jī-* 'life', *car-* 'behaviour'. Several words thus formed appear as adjectives only; thus *tig-i-*³ 'sharp', *pal-i-* 'grey'; also some other names of colours with strong and accented radical syllable: *ās-i-* 'black', *rū-* 'red', *lū-* (AV.) 'red', *hūr-* 'yellow'; *śy-* 'white' is perhaps anomalously formed with *-ī-* from *śy-*⁴ 'freeze'⁵.

-tar : agent.

146. The agent nouns formed with this very frequent suffix⁶ are often used participially, governing an accusative. The root is generally accented when they have this verbal force, but the suffix, when they are purely nominal (86A 22). The root regularly has Guṇa, *a* and *ā* remaining unchanged; thus *nī-* 'leader' (√NF), *hī-* 'priest' (√hu-), *kar-* 'doer' (√kr-), *bhā-* 'breaker' (√bhid-), *yok-* 'yoker' (√yuj-); *ya-* 'sacrificer' (√yaj-), *dā-* 'giver'⁷. With weak root: *u-* m. 'ploughing bull'⁸.

a. Less commonly the suffix is added to the root with connecting *-i-*: regularly when the root ends in more than one consonant⁹, as *vand-i-* 'praiser', but also often when it ends in a single consonant and sometimes when it ends in a vowel, as *cod-i-* 'instigator', *sav-i-* 'stimulator' (√sā-).

b. The suffix is combined with *-ī-* instead of *-i-* in *grābh-ī-* (AV.) 'seizer', *prati-grāh-ī-* (AV.) 'receiver', *saṃ-grāh-ī-* (VS.) 'charioteer', *prātar-ī-* 'prolonger', *ā-mar-ī-* 'destroyer'; with *-u-* in *tār-u-* 'winning' and *tar-u-* 'conqueror', *dhān-u-* 'running swiftly', *sān-u-* 'winning'; with *-ū-* in *var-ū-* 'protector'; with *-o-* in *man-ō-*¹⁰ and *man-o-* 'inventor'.

c. These derivatives are very frequently compounded with prepositions¹¹; e. g. *pura-* 'leader', *apa-* 'taking away', *prāv-i-* 'protector' (*av-* 'favour'), *pra-sav-i-* 'vivifier'.

d. They are very rarely formed from secondary conjugation or from tense stems, as *coday-i-* 'stimulator'¹², *bodhay-i-* 'awakener', *nī-* 'priest', a kind of priest. From the reduplicated root is formed *vā-* 'adherent'.

e. Several names of relationship appear to be formed with this suffix. Being all very old words, the radical syllable is obscure in meaning or irregular in form. They are *jā-* 'son-in-law', *duh-* 'daughter', *nāp-* 'grandson', *pi-* 'father', *bhrā-* 'brother', *mā-* 'mother'.

¹ These two words are of doubtful origin.
² If derived from *vr-* 'choose' with anomalous form of radical syllable; but according to WHITNEY (1176 b) it is to be explained as *vrat-* formed from *vṛ-* 'turn' like *vraj-* from *ṛ-*.
³ With anomalous guttural before *-i-*.
⁴ Originally perhaps 'rimy', cp. *ś-* 'cold'.
⁵ The f. of these adjectives of colour is formed from other stems: *tū-*, *āsikū-*, *pālū-*, *rū-*, *śyū-* (AV.), *śyū-*, *hā-*.
⁶ See the lists in LINDNER p. 72-75.
⁷ *-tar* appear, instead of *-tar* in *yan-tār-* beside *yan-tār-* 'guide' and in *śhā-tār-* beside *śhā-tār-* 'stationary'.
⁸ The f. of these words is formed with *-ī-* from the weak stem, i. e. in *-ī-*.
⁹ Except *danṣ-* (AV.) 'biter'.
¹⁰ Connected with the present stem *man-* etc. of *man-* 'think'.
¹¹ See LINDNER p. 73 f.
¹² In the f. *coday-i-*.
¹³ From the aorist stem of *nī-* 'lead'.

-tas : action.

147. This suffix is identical in meaning with *-as*, being used to form neuter action nouns which have acquired a concrete meaning. It is very rare, occurring only in *ri-tas* 'semen' (*ri-* 'flow') and *sri-tas* 'stream', 'current' (*sru-* 'flow').

-ti : action and agent.

148. This suffix is used to form a large number of feminine action nouns; it also appears in a few agent nouns employed either as adjectives or masculine substantives¹. The root generally has the same weak form as appears before the *-ti* of the past passive participle²; it is, however, more often accented than the suffix. In a few words the suffix is added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-* or *-r-*.

1. **Action nouns.** With accent on the suffix are formed e. g. *i-ti* 'desire' (*i-* 'seek'), *u-ti* 'aid' (*Va-*), *kr-ti* 'praise' (*kr-* 'commemorate'), *dhau-ti* 'stream' (*dhā-* 'flow'), *pi-ti* 'draught' (*pi-* 'drink'), *pu-ti* 'reward' (*pu-* 'fill'), *bhak-ti* 'distribution' (*bhaj-* 'divide'), *ma-ti* 'thought' (*man-* 'think'), *ri-ti* 'gift' (*ri-* 'give'), *ri-ti* 'flow' (*ri-* 'flow'), *vi-ti* 'work' (*vi-* 'be active'), *stu-ti* 'praise'; from the reduplicated root: *carky-ti* 'praise' (*kr-* 'commemorate'); with connecting *-a-*: *ayh-a-ti* 'distress', *dyś-a-ti* 'appearance', *mith-a-ti* 'conflict', *vas-a-ti* 'abode'. With accent on the root are formed e. g. *is-ti* 'offering' (*Vyaj-*), *gā-ti* 'motion' (*Vgam-*), *dā-ti* 'liberality' (*dā-* 'give'), *vṛd-dhi-* 'increase' (*Vvrdh-*), *śān-ti* (AV. VS.) 'repose' (*Vśam-*); from the reduplicated root *didhi-ti* 'devotion' (*dhi-* 'think')⁴; with connecting *-a-*: *am-a-ti*⁵ 'indigence' (*am-* 'be afflicted').

a. The derivative *dī-ti* 'giving' when used as the final member of a compound is reduced to *-tī-*: *bhāga-tī-*, *mughā-tī-*, *vāsu-tī-*; above 26 a 2.

2. **Agent nouns.** These are rare, amounting to hardly 20 in number. **Accented on the suffix:** *jñā-ti* m. 'relative', *pat-ti* m. (AV. VS.) 'pedestrian', *rā-ti* 'willing to give'; with connecting *-a-*: *ar-a-ti* m. 'servant', *khal-a-ti* (VS.) 'bald', and with accent on the connecting vowel *vṛk-i-ti* m. 'murderer'. **Accented on the root:** m. *dhū-ti* 'shaker', *pī-ti* 'master', *mīś-ti* 'fist', *sūp-ti* 'steed'; adjectives: *dhīś-ti* (VS.) 'bold', *pū-ti* (AV.) 'putrid', *vās-ti* 'eager'; and from the reduplicated root *jigar-ti* m. 'swallower'; with connecting vowels: *am-a-ti* 'poor', *rām-a-ti* (AV. TS.) 'liking to stay', *fj-ti* 'glowing', *turv-i-ti*, N. of a man (*turv-* = *tur-*, *tr-* 'overcome'), *dabh-i-ti*⁶, N. of a man⁷, *sndh-a-ti* 'carnage' and *suth-i-ti* (SV.).

a. These derivatives are often compounded with prepositions⁸, which are almost always accented; thus *ānu-ma-ti* 'assent', *abhī-* 'attack' (*abhī-ti*), *ā-hu-ti* 'offering', *nī-r-ti* 'dissolution', *vṛ-śp-ti* (AV.) 'attainment', *sam-ga-ti* 'coming together', *abhi-mā-ti* 'insidious' (*man-* 'think')⁹; with suffix accented, only *āsak-ti* 'pursuit', *ā-su-ti* 'brew' (*Vso-*) and 'enlivening' (*Vsū-*); also *abhi-ś-ti* m. 'helper' beside *abhi-ś-ti* f. 'help'.

¹ See the list in GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1719—21; LINDNER p. 76—79.

² The roots *tan-* 'stretch', *ram-* 'rest', *han-* 'strike' may retain the nasal: *tān-ti* f. 'cord', *rān-ti* 'enjoyment' (AV. VS. TS.) beside *rān-ti* (VS.), *ā-han-ti* (VSt.) beside *ā-ha-ti* 'uninjured condition'.

³ The *-a-* here often, if not always, belongs to a verbal stem.

⁴ Roots which have the connecting *-i-* in the past participle, do not take it here: *gūp-ti* (AV.) 'protection' beside *gūp-i-tā*, *prā-dy-p-ti* 'arrogance' beside *ā-dy-p-i-ta* 'not in-

fatuated' (also *ā-dy-p-ta*). These are, however, the only two examples.

⁵ But with the connecting *-a-* accented: *am-ā-ti* 'lustre', *ram-ā-ti* (AV.) 'haunt', *evā-ā-ti* 'creeper'.

⁶ This word may be a compound (**dabhi-iti-*).

⁷ *yayāt-*, N. of a man, is according to BR. and GRASSMANN derived from *yā-* 'stretch'.

⁸ See LINDNER p. 77 f.

⁹ Compounded with a noun: *kāma-kā-ti* 'requiring the fulfilment of a wish'.

b. The suffix is added to a secondary stem in *jāu-aya-ti* (VS.) f. 'generation'; it seems to have a secondary character in *jīva-ti* f. 'maiden', adj. 'young'. It is secondary in *pakṣa-ti* (VS.) 'root of the wing'; in the numerals *vimśa-ti* '20', *ṣaṣ-ti* '60', and others; in *pañc-ti* f. 'set of five'; in the pronominal words *kā-ti* 'how many?', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many', *yā-ti* 'as many as'; and in *ad-dhā-ti* m. 'sage', formed from the adverb *ad-dhā* 'truly'.

-tu : action and agent.

149. The great majority of the words derived with this suffix are infinitives appearing in the form of the dative, ablative-genitive, and accusative cases. Besides these, there are a few action nouns used independently, and still fewer agent nouns. The root is usually accented¹ and takes Guṇa; but the suffix is accented in some half dozen instances, in two or three of which the radical syllable is weakened. The gender is usually masculine, but a few feminines and neuters also occur.

1. **Accented on the root:** m. *ī-tu* 'weft' (*vā* 'weave'), *krā-tu* 'capacity' (*kr* 'make'), *tān-tu* 'thread', *-dhā-tu*² 'element', *sāk-tu* 'groats' (*√sañj*), *śi-tu* 'bond' (*śi* 'bind'), *śi-tu* 'libation' (*śu* 'press'), *dhā-tu* adj. 'drinkable' (*dhe* 'suck'); m. *mān-tu* 'adviser'; f. *vās-tu* 'morning' (*vas* 'shine'), *śū-tu*³ (AV.) 'birth'; n. *dū-tu* 'division' (*dā* 'divide'), *vās-tu*⁴ 'abode' (*vas* 'dwell').

2. **Accented on the suffix:** m. *ak-ti* 'ray' (*añj* 'anoint'), *gā-ti* 'way' (*gā* 'go') and 'song' (*gā* 'sing'), *jan-ti* 'creature', *he-ti* 'cause' (*hi* 'impel'); with weak radical vowel: *ṛ-ti* 'season', *pi-ti* 'drink' (*ṛ* 'swell')⁵.

a. The suffix is attached in a few instances (as in some infinitives) with connecting *-i*: *dur-dhār-ī-tu* 'irresistible', *su-hār-ī-tu* 'to be successfully invoked', *tur-phār-ī-tu*⁶.

b. The suffix appears in a few instances to be attached to a present or a secondary conjugational stem: *adha-ti* m. 'welfare' (*adha-te* 'thrives'), *tapya-ti* adj. 'glowing' (*tapya-te* 'is heated'), *vaha-ti* m. 'wedding' (*vaha-ti* 'conveys'), *śiśās-tu*⁷ 'desirous of obtaining'; *jīva-ti* f. 'life' (*jīva-ti* 'lives').

c. Derivatives formed with *-tu* are in several instances compounded with the particles *dur-* and *su-*: *dur-dhār-ī-tu* and *dur-dhār-tu* 'irresistible', *dur-vār-tu* 'difficult to ward off', *dur-hār-ī-tu* 'unconquerable', *su-yān-tu* 'guiding well', *su-śrā-tu* 'hearing willingly', *su-hān-tu* 'easy to slay'; also with a pronoun in *svāitu* 'going one's own (*sva*) gait' (*etc.*).

-tna : action and agent.

150. This suffix is very rare, occurring only in *cyau-tnā* n. 'concussion', adj. 'animating' (*cyu* 'stir') and in *rā-tna* n. 'gift' (*rā* 'give').

-tnu : agent.

151. This suffix, which is always accented, forms more than a dozen adjectives and a few substantives. It is added to the root either directly or more commonly with the connecting vowel *-a-* (which probably belongs to the present stem) or *-i-* (which is almost exclusively used with causative stems).

1. **Attached directly to the root:** *kr-tnū* 'active', *dar-tnū* m. 'breaker', *ha-tnū* 'deadly' (*√han*); with reduplication: *jiga-tnū* 'hastening' (*gam* 'go'), *jigha-tnū* 'harming' (*han* 'strike').

2. **With connecting *-a-*:** *kav-a-tnū*⁸ 'miserly', *piya-tnū* 'reviling' (*piya-ti*

¹ The infinitives always accent the root (105).

² Only in the compounds *tri-dhātu* 'three-fold' and *sept-dhātu* 'sevenfold'.

³ Without Guṇa.

⁴ With lengthened *a*.

⁵ *kī-tu-as* 'times' is probably an acc. pl. of a stem *ky-tu* 'making'. Cp. BB. 25, 294.

⁶ The derivation of this word is uncertain and its meaning is obscure. [Cp. Mahābhāṣya Vol. 1, p. 363, l. 25.]

⁷ From the desiderative stem of *vā* 'obtain'.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *kū* 'design'.

'abuses'), *meh-a-tñi-*, N. of a river (*meha-ti*), *ā-ruj-a-tñi-* 'breaking' (*ruji-ti* 'breaks').

3. With connecting *-i-*: *drav-i-tñi-* 'running' (*dru-* 'run'); from causative stems: *tanay-i-tñi-* 'thundering', *drāvay-i-tñi-* 'hasting' (*dru-* 'run'), *poṣay-i-tñi-* 'causing to thrive' (*√poṣ-*), *māday-i-tñi-* 'intoxicating' (*√mad-*), *sūday-i-tñi-* 'causing sweetness to flow' (*√sūd-*), *stanay-i-tñi-* m. 'thunder' (*√stan-*); *an-āmay-i-tñi-* 'not making ill', 'curative' (*√am-*).

-tra : agent.

152. This suffix was doubtless originally formed by a secondary *-a* added to *-tṛ* (the weak form of *tar-*). But having early attained an independent character, it came to be largely employed as a primary suffix. It is used to form some half dozen adjectives¹ and about 60 substantives, the latter being neuters except about a dozen (partly masc. and partly fem.)². The substantives generally express the means or instrument by which the action of the verb is performed, sometimes the place where it is performed. The root is generally accented and has Guna; but it is sometimes unaccented and has a weak vowel. The suffix is generally added directly to the root, but in about a dozen instances with a connecting vowel.

1. Attached directly to the root: adjectives: *jīti-tra-*³ 'victorious', *śvā-tṛi-*⁴ 'invigorating'; with reduplication: *joḥi-tra-* 'calling aloud' (*√hū-*).

m. *a-tṛi-*⁵ 'eater', *uṣ-tṛi-*⁶ 'buffalo', *dāms-tṛi-* 'tusk' (*dams-* 'bite'), *mān-tṛi-* 'prayer'; with weak (etymologically doubtful) root: *pu-tṛi-* 'son', *mī-tṛi-*⁷ 'friend', *vṛ-tṛi-*⁸ 'foe'.

f. *ās-tṛi-* 'goad' (*as-* 'reach'), *nāṣ-tṛi-* (AV. VS.) 'destroyer' (*√naś-*), *mī-tṛi-* 'measure', *hō-tṛi-* 'sacrifice'.

n. With accent on the root: *ī-tṛi-*⁹ 'food', *kār-tṛi-* (AV.) 'spell', *ksē-tṛi-* 'field', *ksū-tṛi-* 'whetstone', *gā-tṛi-* 'limb', *jñā-tṛi-* (VS.) 'intellectual faculty', *tān-tṛi-* 'warp', *dā-tṛi-*¹⁰ 'gift', *dā-tṛi-* 'knife', *dhar-tṛi-* 'support' (VS. TS.), *pāt-tṛi-* (VS.)¹¹ 'wing', *pā-tṛi-* 'cup', (*pā-* 'drink'), *pēs-tṛi-* (AV.) 'bone', *mā-tṛi-* (AV.) 'urine', *mādhra-* (AV.) 'penis', *yik-tṛi-* 'rope', *vār-tṛi-* (AV.) 'dam', *vās-tṛi-* 'garment', *śrō-tṛi-* 'ear', *sū-tṛi-* (AV.) 'thread' (*sv-* 'sew').

With accent on the suffix and often with an abstract meaning: *as-tṛi-* (AV.) 'missile', *ksā-tṛi-*¹² 'dominion', *dā-tṛi-* 'share', *dec-tṛi-* 'indication' (*√dis-*), *net-tṛi-* (AV.) 'guidance', *rās-tṛi-* 'dominion', *śas-tṛi-* (VS.) 'invocation', *śās-tṛi-* 'command', *sat-tṛi-* 'sacrificial session', *sto-tṛi-* 'praise', *sthā-tṛi-* 'station', *ho-tṛi-* 'sacrifice'.

2. With connecting vowel *-a-*: *ām-a-tṛi-* 'violent', *yāj-a-tṛi-* 'adorable'; *kynt-d-tṛi-* 'shred', *gāy-a-tṛi-* 'song', *pāt-a-tṛi-* 'wing', *vādh-a-tṛi-* 'deadly weapon', f. *var-a-tṛi-* 'strap'; with *-i-*: *khan-i-tṛi-* 'shovel', *car-i-tṛi-* 'foot', *jan-i-tṛi-* 'birth-place', *par-i-tṛi-* 'sieve', *bhar-i-tṛi-* 'arm', *bhav-i-tṛi-* 'world', *san-i-tṛi-* 'gift'; with *-u-*: *tīr-u-tṛi-*¹³ 'overcoming'.

¹ These have mostly masc. forms, some neuter; the only one which has fem. forms is *yājatra-* 'deserving adoration'.

² Six or seven masculines and five feminines.

³ With exceptional Vṛddhi of the radical syllable.

⁴ From *ivā-* = *jū-* 'swell'.

⁵ For *atṛi-* from *ad-* 'eat'. Cp. p. 125, note 1.

⁶ With weak root though accented.

⁷ Occurs in the RV. as a n. when it means 'friendship'.

⁸ Occurs also as a n. in the RV. when plural.

⁹ For *āt-tṛi-* from *ad-* 'eat'.

¹⁰ Probably for *dāt-tṛi-* from the present-stem of *dā-* 'give'.

¹¹ Only at the end of a compound in the RV.

¹² *nakṣatra-* 'asterism' is perhaps a compound. Cp. above 81, 2 a.

¹³ Cp. *tar-udd-* 'victor'.

-tri : agent.

153. This very rare suffix occurs in only three or four derivatives: *á-tri*¹ 'devouring', *śú-tri*-m, N. of a man²; with connecting -a in *arc-á-tri* 'roaring'; also in the f. form with *r* in *rá-tri*³ 'night'.

-tru : agent.

154. This suffix is found only in *śátru* 'enemy' for **śát-tru*, perhaps from *śad* 'prevail'.

-tva : agent.

155. This suffix probably arose by the addition of the secondary suffix -a to action nouns in -tu, which turned them into adjectives used in a gerundive sense. It occurs in about a dozen such derivatives which are almost restricted to the RV.; e. g. *kár-tva* 'to be made'⁴.

-tha : action.

156. This suffix is almost exclusively used to form action nouns (some of which have acquired a concrete meaning) in all genders⁵. The root generally appears in a weak form, as the suffix is mostly accented. The suffix is attached to the root either directly or more commonly with a connecting vowel⁶.

1. Attached directly to the root: m. *á-tha*⁷ 'goal', *gá-thá* 'song', *pák-thá*, N. of a man, *bhí-thá* 'offering', *rá-tha*⁸ 'car', *há-tha*⁹ 'slaughter'; in composition with prepositions: *sam-i-thá* 'conflict', *nir-y-thá* 'destruction', *sam-ga-thá* 'union' (*gam*- 'go'), *ud-gí-thá*¹⁰ (AV.) 'singing of chants'; in composition with nouns: *putra-kr-thá* 'procreation of sons', *dirgha-yá-thá* 'long course', *go-pí-thá*¹¹ 'protection' (*pá*- 'protect') and 'draught' (*pá*- 'drink') of milk.—f. *kás-thá* 'course', *gá-thá* 'song', *ní-thá* 'trick'.—n. *uk-thá* 'saying' (Vrac-), *tí-thá* 'ford' (*tí*- 'cross'), *ní-thá* 'song', *yá-thá*¹² 'herd', *rik-thá* 'inheritance'¹³.

2. With connecting vowel -á-: *ay-á-tha* n. 'foot', *uc-á-tha* n. 'praise' (Vrac-), *car-á-tha* n. 'mobility', *tves-á-tha* m. 'fury', *proth-á-tha* n. 'snorting', *yaj-á-tha*¹⁴ 'worship', *rar-á-tha* m. 'roar', *raks-á-tha* m. 'growth', *vid-á-tha*¹⁵ n. 'assembly', *śap-á-tha* m. 'curse', *śay-á-tha* n. 'lair', *śras-á-tha* m. 'snorting', *sac-á-tha* m. 'aid', *stan-á-tha* m. 'thunder', *stav-á-tha* m. 'praise', *śrav-á-tha* m. or n. 'flow'; with prefix: *ā-vas-a-thá* (AV.) 'abode', *pra-vas-a-thá* n. 'absence', *prān-á-tha*¹⁶ (VS.) 'respiration'.

a. With -u: *jír-ū-tha*, m. a kind of demon ('wearing out', *jr*-), *vár-ū-tha* n. 'protection'; with -u: *mat-ī-tha*¹⁷ m. 'sage'.

¹ For *á-tri* from *ad* 'eat'. Cp. p. 124, note 5.
² For *śú-tri* from *śat* 'cut in pieces'.
³ In AV. *rá-tri* also.
⁴ See below, Future Passive Participles, 581.
⁵ The fem. form of the suffix is -thá.
⁶ This vowel for the most part belongs in reality to a present stem.
⁷ With accented strong root.
⁸ The root is uncertain.
⁹ With root accented though weakened by loss of nasal (*han* 'slay').
¹⁰ With *gá* 'sing' weakened to *gí*.
¹¹ Both *pá* 'protect' and *pá* 'drink' are weakened to *pí*. Cp. above 27.
¹² The root in this word is uncertain.
¹³ *ṛṣ-thá* 'back' probably contains the root *sthá* 'stand', = **pra-sthá* 'prominent'.
¹⁴ The gender is uncertain, as the word occurs in the dat. sing. only.
¹⁵ Probably from *vád* 'worship': OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 608—611; cp. above p. 23, note 10.
¹⁶ When there is a prefix the accent is thrown on the suffix; but *prān* (= *pra-an*) is treated like a root.
¹⁷ Perhaps from *man* with double suffix (-tu, -tha).

-thi : agent.

157. As far as can be judged from the very few examples occurring, this suffix was used to form agent nouns. It is attached with or without a connecting vowel. The derivation of all the words which seem to be formed with this suffix is doubtful: *dt-i-thi* m. 'guest' (if from *at-* 'wander'); *ud-ar-a-thi* adj. 'rising'; *me-thi* (AV.) m. 'pillar' (*mi-* 'fix'). The neuters *ásthi* (AV. VS., beside *asth-án-*) 'bone' and *sákthi* (beside *sakth-án-*) may be formed with the suffix *-i*.

-thu : action.

158. This very rare suffix, which is not found in the RV., appears only with the connecting vowel *-a-* (which in reality belongs to a present stem), forming masculine action nouns: *ej-d-thu* (AV.) 'trembling', *vep-d-thu* 'quivering', *stan-d-thu* (AV.) 'roar'.

-na : action and agent.

159. This suffix is in the first place used, like *-ta*, to form past passive participles¹; e. g. *bhin-ná-* from *bhid-* 'split'; but, unlike *-ta*, it is never added to the root with a connecting vowel or to a secondary conjugation stem.

It is further employed to form a number of adjectives and masculine substantives, mostly accented on the suffix. It also forms a few feminine (*-ná*) and neuter substantives, all but one of the latter being accented on the root. The substantives have partly an abstract and partly a concrete meaning. A medial vowel never takes Guṇa, but a final vowel nearly always does.

1. The adjectives (f. *-á*) are: *ds-ná-* 'voracious', *us-ná-* 'hot', *ū-ná-* 'deficient', *r-ná-* 'guilty', *kṛs-ná-* 'black', *kṣo-ná-* 'immovable' (?), *nag-ná-* 'naked', *bradh-ná-* 'pale red', *sá-na-* 'red', *śro-ná-* and *ślo-ná-* (AV.) 'lame', *ślaks-ná-* (AV.) 'slippery', *śvit-na-* 'white', *śva-ná-* 'agreeable'; compounded: *an-āmr-ná-* 'inviolable', *d-rūks-na-* (AV.) 'tender', *sadā-pr-ná-* 'always munificent'.

2. Substantives are: m. *ghṛ-ná-* 'heat', *budh-ná-* 'bottom', *bhrū-ná-* 'embryo', *yaj-ná-* 'sacrifice', *śye-ná-* 'eagle', *ste-ná-* 'thief'; *sam-prāś-ná-* 'question'; accented on root: *śis-ná-* 'stone', *kīr-na-* 'ear', *vīr-na-* 'colour', *śīs-na-*, N. of a demon, *svāp-na-* 'sleep'. — n. *śi-na-* 'grass', *dhi-na-*² 'booty', *par-ná-* 'wing', *vas-ná-* 'price', *śis-na-* 'penis', *śu-ná-* 'welfare', *śā-na-* 'want', *śi-na-* 'property'. — f. *śīś-ná-* 'thirst', *dh-ná-* 'milch cow', *śā-ná-* 'missile', *śthū-ná-* 'post'.

-nas : action.

160. This suffix, which has the same meaning as *-as* and *-tas*, is used in forming a few action nouns which have mostly acquired a concrete sense. These are *āp-nas-* n. 'possession', *dr-nas-* n. 'flood', *bhar-nas-*³ 'bearing' (?), *rek-nas-* n. 'property left by bequest' (*ric-* 'leave'). With connecting vowel: *drāv-i-nas-* n. 'movable property' (*dru-* 'run'), *pār-i-nas-* m. 'abundance' (*pār-* 'fill'). It also appears in the agent noun *dām-ā-nas-* adj. 'domestic', m. 'friend of the house' (*dām-*).

-ni : action and agent.

161. This not very frequent suffix is employed to form m. and f. action nouns as well as agent nouns (adjectives and substantives). Either the radical vowel or the suffix may be accented; and the root in several instances takes Guṇa. The feminines have rarely an abstract sense, having generally acquired a concrete meaning.

¹ For a list of these see below 576.

² Probably from *dhā-* 'place'.

³ In *sāhśra-bhārnas-* 'thousandfold'.

1. The feminines are: *jā-ṅi-* 'heat', *jyā-ni-*¹ (AV.) 'injury', *me-ni-* 'missile', *śrī-ṅi-* 'line', *śrī-ṅi-* 'hip', *śr-ṅi-* and *śr-ṅi-* 'sickle'; masculines are: *ghṛ-ṅi-*² 'heat', *yū-ṅi-* 'receptacle'.

2. Agent nouns, adjectives and m. substantives, are: *ag-ni-* m. 'fire', *jā-ṅi-* 'singeing', *śr-ṅi-* 'speeding', *dhar-ṅi-* m. 'supporter', *pfś-ṅi-* 'speckled', *pre-ni-* 'loving' (Vṛt-), *bhār-ṅi-* 'excited', *vāh-ṅi-* m. 'draught animal', *vṛś-ṅi-* and *vṛś-ṅi-* 'virile', m. 'ram'.

a. The suffix occurs with a connecting -u- in *hrād-ṅi-* f.(?) 'hail'.

-nu : action and agent.

162. With this suffix is formed a small number of action and agent nouns of all genders, but mostly masculine. The action nouns often have a concrete meaning. As the suffix is almost invariably accented, the radical vowel, with one exception, never shows Guṇa. This suffix, like -tu, is sometimes preceded by -a (which really belongs to present stems).

1. The substantives occurring are: *kṣep-nū-* m. 'jerk' (x. 51⁶), *dā-nu-*⁴ m. f. 'demon', f. 'dew', n. 'drop', *dhe-nū-* f. 'cow', *bhā-nū-* m. 'light', *vag-nū-* m. 'sound', *vīś-ṅi-*⁵ m., N. of a god, *sū-nū-* m. 'son', *sthā-nū-*⁶ m. 'pillar'; with connecting -a-: *krand-a-nū-* m. 'roaring', *kṣip-a-nū-* m. 'missile', *nad-a-nū-* m. 'roaring', *nabh-a-nū-*⁷ m. 'fountain'⁸.

2. Adjectives are: *grdh-nū-* 'hasty', *dhrś-nū-* 'bold'; with connecting -a-: the compound *vi-bhañj-a-nū-* 'breaking to pieces'.

-pa : concrete substantives.

163. A few words are formed with this suffix, but the origin of all of them is more or less obscure⁹. These are: *pūs-pa-* n. 'flower', *stu-pā-*¹⁰ (VS.) m. 'tuft', *stū-pa-*¹⁰ m. 'top-knot'; perhaps also *tāl-pa-* m. 'couch', *śīs-pa-* (VS.) n. 'blade of grass', *śīt-pa-* (VS.) n. 'ornament', *śār-pa-* (AV.) 'winnowing basket'; possibly *apa-pā-* m. 'cake', *ūla-pa-* m. 'shrub', *kīṇa-pa-* (AV.) n. 'corpse'¹¹.

-ma : action and agent.

164. This suffix forms a considerable number of action nouns (almost exclusively masculine) as well as agent nouns, both adjectives and substantives. Only a single neuter and one or two feminine substantives occur. The suffix is accented more than twice as often as the root. The vowel *r* always takes Guṇa in the radical syllable; on the other hand, initial or medial *i* and *u* never take Guṇa; when final they only do so if the root is accented. Several of these derivatives in -ma appear beside others in -man; some at least are transfers from the latter; thus *dhār-man-* 'ordinance' alone is found in the RV., while *dhār-ma-* appears beside it in the later Saṃhitās.

1. Accented on the suffix: adjectives: e. g. *jīh-mā-* 'oblique', *tig-mā-* 'sharp', *das-mā-* 'wondrous', *bhī-mā-* 'terrible', *śag-mā-* 'mighty'; with reduplication,

¹ In *śarva-jyānt-* (AV.) 'complete loss of property'.

² Beside *ghṛ-nū-* m. and *ghṛ-nū-* f.

³ This suffix is in several words preceded by -a-, much in the same way as -ū; but as -ani has assumed a more independent character it is treated above (122) as a separate suffix.

⁴ With irregular accent.

⁵ Perhaps originally an adjective **vīś-nū-*, with shift of accent on becoming a Proper Name. But cp. p. 85, note 1.

⁶ The origin of the cerebral *ṅ* here is obscure.

⁷ Also *nabh-anū-* f.

⁸ The Proper Name *kṣī-ānu-* is perhaps similarly formed, but with long -ā.

⁹ Cp. LINDNER p. 69; LIDEN, IF. 18, 496.

¹⁰ Probably from a root *stu-* 'drip'; see WHITNEY, Roots.

¹¹ *yāpa-* m. 'sacrificial post' is probably derived from *yup-* 'obstruct'.

tūtu-mi- 'powerful'; substantives: m. *aj-má-* 'course', *idh-má-* 'fuel', *ghar-má-* 'heat', *dar-má-* 'breaker', *dhā-má-* 'smoke', *nar-má-* (VS.) 'jest', *ruk-má-* 'ornament', *hi-má-* 'cold'.

2. **Accented on the root:** substantives: m. e. g. *ī-ma-* 'friend' (av- 'favour'), *ś-ma-* (VS.) 'course', *dhár-ma-* (AV. VS. TS.) 'ordinance', *bhā-ma-* 'brightness', *sár-ma-* 'flow', *sá-ma-* 'Soma' (√su-), *stī-ma-* 'praise' (√stu-), *hí-ma-* 'offering'; f. *hi-mā-* 'winter'; n. *ōll-ma-* 'chip'.

a. The suffix seems to be added once with connecting *a-* (which really belongs to a present stem) in the f. *sar-ā-mā-* 'the fleet one', N. of a goddess.

-man : action and agent.

16j. This suffix forms a large number of derivatives¹, which are almost exclusively action nouns. The great majority of these are neuters accented on the root, but there are also a good many masculines accented on the suffix. Besides these occur a few agent nouns, mostly accented on the suffix, both adjectives and masculine substantives, all of them, except *brah-mán-* 'priest', of rare occurrence. The same word in several instances varies in meaning according to the accent and gender²; e. g. *dhár-man-* n. 'ordinance', m. *dhár-mán-* 'ordainer'. The root in these derivatives usually takes Guna; in a few instances it has Vṛddhi or lengthens *a*; sometimes it is weak. The suffix is often added with the connecting vowels *-i-* or *-r-*. The derivatives are occasionally compounded with prepositions, which are then nearly always accented.

1. Examples of action nouns are: n. *íd-man-* 'food', *ś-man-* 'course', *kár-man-* 'action', *káry-man-* 'goal', *ján-man-* 'birth', *trá-man-* 'protection', *dá-man-* 'gift' (*dā-* 'give') and 'bond' (*dā-* 'tie'), *ná-man-* 'name', *pát-man-* 'flight', *bráh-man-* 'devotion', *bhár-man-* 'table', *bhū-man-* 'world', *vák-man-* 'invocation', *várit-man-* 'course', *váś-man-* 'dwelling', *śák-man-* 'power', *śás-man-* 'praise', *śák-man-* 'power', *hí-man-* 'sacrifice' (√hu-) and 'invocation' (√hū-); with connecting *-i-*: *ján-i-man-* 'birth', *vár-i-man-* 'expanse' (beside *var-i-mán-* m.); with connecting *-r-*: *dár-r-man-* 'destruction', *dhár-r-man-* 'ordinance', *pár-r-man-*³ 'abundance', *bhár-r-man-* 'maintenance', *vár-r-man-* 'expanse', *sár-r-man-* 'course', *sév-r-man-* 'impulse', *hír-r-man-* 'invocation'.— m. *ū-s-mán-* (AV. VS.) 'heat', *o-mán-* 'favour', *je-mán-* (VS. TS.) 'superiority', *drāgh-mán-* (VS.) 'length' (beside *drāgh-i-mán-*), *páp-mán-* (AV.) 'wickedness', *bhū-mán-* 'abundance', *víd-mán-* 'knowledge', *svād-mán-* 'sweetness', *he-mán-* 'impulse'; with connecting *-i-*: *jar-i-mán-* 'old age', *práth-i-mán-* 'breath', *mah-i-mán-* 'greatness', *var-i-mán-*, *varṣ-i-mán-* (VS.) 'height' (beside *várṣ-man-* and *varṣ-mán-*), *har-i-mán-* 'yellowness'.

2. Agent nouns accented on the suffix are: *dar-mán-* 'breaker', *dā-mán-* 'giver', *dhár-mán-* 'supporter', *brah-mán-* 'one who prays', *bhuj-mán-* 'fertile', *vad-mán-* 'speaker', *sad-mán-* 'sitter', *so-mán-* 'Somapresser'; accented on the root: *áś-man-* 'stone', *ī-man-* 'friend', *já-man-* 'superior', *bhás-man-* 'chewing's'.

a. The following words are according to difference of accent neuter action nouns or masculine agent nouns *dā-man-* 'gift' and *dā-mán-* 'giver'; *dhár-man-* 'ordinance' and *dhár-mán-* 'ordainer'; *tráh-man-* 'worship' and *trah-mán-* 'priest'; *śád-man-* 'seat' and *sad-mán-* 'sitter'.

¹ For lists of these see GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1730f.; LINDNER p. 91—93.

² Somewhat in the same way as the derivatives in *-as* (126).

³ Also with anomalous *-e-*: *śár-ś-man-* (SV¹).

⁴ Also *śár-ś-man-* 'spreading' used in the loc. as an infinitive.

⁵ In a compound also *svādu-śád-man-* 'having sweet food'.

b. In a few words difference of gender and accent is not accompanied by difference of meaning: *vāṛṣ-man-* n. and *vāṛṣ-mān-* m. both mean 'height'; *svāṭi-man-* n. and *svāṭi-mān-* m. 'sweetness'; *vār-i-man-* n. and *vār-i-mān-* m. 'expanse'.

c. In a few instances difference of accent is accompanied by a reversal of the usual distinction of meaning: *jī-man-* 'victorious', *je-mān-* (VS. TS.) 'superiority'; *b-man-* m. 'friend', *o-mān-* m. 'favour'.

d. A few derivatives in *-man* both action and agent nouns are compounded with prepositions: *vi-gā-man-* n. 'step', *prā-bhar-man-* n. 'presentation', *prā-yā-man-* n. 'departure', *vi-dhur-man-* m. 'maintainer', *vi-fat-man-*¹ 'flying through', *ānu-vart-man-* (AV.) 'following after', *vi-sar-mān-*² m. 'flowing asunder'.

-māna : agent.

166. This suffix is used to form the present³, future, and aorist middle participle and the present passive participle⁴. It is always preceded by *a* except in the anomalous perfect participle *sasṛ-mānī-* (= *sasṛ-ānī-*) 'speeding'.

-mi and -mī : action and agent.

167. The suffix *-mi* is used to form a few adjectives and masculine substantives; it also forms (generally in the form of *-mī*) a few feminine substantives with a concrete meaning: *ar-mī-* m. 'wave' (*√ar-*), *kūr-mī-* 'action' in *tuvī-kūr-mī-* 'working mightily', *jī-mī-* 'related', 'kinsman'; *bhū-mī-* and *bhū-mī-* f. 'earth', *lakṣ-mī-* f. 'sign', *sūr-mī-* f. 'tube'; probably also *raṭ-mī-* m. 'ray' and the adj. *krudh-mī-*⁵ (RV¹) 'irascible'.

-min : agent.

168. A few adjectives have the appearance of being formed with a suffix *-min*. They are *is-min-* 'impetuous', *bhā-min-* 'shining', *suṣ-min-* 'roaring'. They may, however, be explained as secondary derivatives made with the suffix *-in*, like *dhūm-in-* from *dhūmā-* 'smoke'.

-ya : gerundive.

169. This suffix is used to form a large number of future participles passive⁶. It probably has a primary character in other derivatives besides these; but it is so difficult to distinguish them from those which are secondary, that it is preferable to treat all but gerundives under secondary *-ya* (228).

-yu : action and agent.

170. This suffix forms a few action and agent nouns. The root remains unchanged, while the accent varies. Action nouns are: *man-yū-* m. 'anger', *mṛt-yū-* m. 'death'. Agent nouns are: *dis-yu-* m. 'enemy', *druh-yū-*, N. of a man ('hostile'), *śim-yu-* 'enemy'; *bhuj-yū-* both adj. 'wealthy' and m. as N. of a man. Adjectives only are: *yaj-yu-* 'pious', *śundh-yū-* 'pure', *śih-yu-* 'strong'.

-ra : agent.

171. A large number of derivatives are formed with this suffix⁷, which is usually accented, the root consequently almost always appearing with a weak vowel. These words are mostly adjectives, but a few substantives occur in all genders. The suffix is frequently added with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-ī-*, *-u-*.

¹ Or as a Bahuvrīhi 'having the flight of a bird' (*vi-*).

² With unusual accent on the suffix instead of on the preposition.

³ In the *a*-conjugation.

⁴ See below under those tenses, 427, 435, 442, 447; 512, 538; and cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 226; LINDNER 72.

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⁵ The only form occurring *krudhmī*, N. pl. n. might, however, come from *krudh-min-*.

⁶ See below, Future participles passive, 578; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 230; LINDNER 76, p. 96—99.

⁷ See LINDNER 78, p. 100—102; WHITNEY 1188.

1. Of derivatives accented on the suffix there are more than 60 adjectives; e. g. *ak-rá* 'swift', *ug-rá* 'mighty', *cit-rá* 'bright', *tu-rá* 'strong', *mā-rá* 'stupid', *sak-rá* 'mighty', *śuk-rá* 'bright', *hips-rá* 'injurious'. Substantives are: m. *us-rá* 'bull', *ksu-rá* 'razor', *mṛdh-rá* 'foe', *rud-rá*, N. of a god, *vam-rá* 'ant', *vī-rá* 'man', *śud-rá* 'man of the fourth caste'; n. *abh-rá* 'cloud', *kyccā-rá* 'distress', *kṛn-rá* (AV. VS.) 'wound', *ksī-rá* 'milk', *khid-rá* 'weight', *rip-rá* 'defilement', *st-rá* 'plough'; f. *hi-rá* (AV. VS.) 'vein'.

a. With connecting vowel *-a-*: *drav-a-rá* 'running', *pat-a-rá* 'flying', *ny-oc-a-rá* (AV.) 'suing'; n. *gambh-a-rá* 'depth', *tas-a-rá* 'shuttle'; with *i-*: *aj-i-rá* 'swift', *i-i-rá* 'lively', *dhras-t-rá* 'stirring up', *badh-i-rá* 'deaf', *mad-i-rá* 'pleasing', *rudh-i-rá* (AV.) 'red', *sphī-rá* 'fat'; m. *khad-i-rá*, a kind of tree; n. *sar-i-rá* (VS.) 'wave'; with *i-*: *gabh-t-rá* and *gambh-i-rá* 'deep'; with *u-*: *anū-u-rá* 'narrow', *vith-u-rá* 'tottering'.

2. Of stems accented on the root the only adjectives are: *gḍh-ra* 'greedy', *tūm-ra* 'stout', *dhi-ra* 'wise', *vip-ra* 'inspired'; substantives are: m. *dj-ra* 'field', *ind-ra*, N. of a god, *váj-ra* 'thunderbolt', *vārdh-ra* (AV.) 'girth', *śá-ra* 'hero'; n. *ḡg-ra* 'point', *rāndh-ra* 'hollow', *śudbh-ra* 'pit'; f. *dhā-rá* 'stream', *śip-rá* 'jaw', *śū-rá* 'intoxicating liquor'.

a. With connecting vowel *-i-*: *sthāv-i-ra* 'firm'; m. *āṅg-i-ra*, N. of a seer, *ās-i-ra* 'missile'; with *-i-*: *śū-t-ra* 'mighty'; n. *śūr-t-ra* 'body'; with *-u-*: m. *ās-u-ra* 'spirit', *būk-u-ra* 'trumpet'.

a. A few of these derivatives are compounded with prepositions: *ni-ci-rá* 'attentive', *ni-mṛg-ra* 'attached'; m. *ā-bha-rá* 'lair', *sam-ud-rá* 'sea'.

-ri : agent.

172. This suffix forms adjectives as well as m. and f. substantives. It is sometimes added with connecting *-u-*. The root is more frequently accented than the suffix.

1. Adjectives are: *bhā-ri* 'abundant', *vādh-ri* 'emasculated', *śubh-ri* 'beautiful'; with connecting *-u-*: *jās-u-ri* 'exhausted', *dās-u-ri* 'pious', *śdh-u-ri* 'mighty'.

2. Substantives are: m. *āṅgh-ri* (VS.) 'foot', *jī-ri* 'flowing water', *sā-ri* 'patron'; f. *dhī-ri* (AV. VS.) 'hoe', *ās-ri* 'edge', *is-ri* 'dawn', *vānk-ri* 'rib'; with connecting *-u-*: *āṅg-ū-ri* 'finger'; *-ri* occurs in *tand-ri* (AV.) 'weariness'.

-ru : agent.

173. This rare suffix forms adjectives and a very few neuter substantives. It is added either directly to the root or with a preceding *-a-*, *-ā-*, or *-e-*. Either the root or the suffix may be accented.

1. Adjectives are: *cā-ru* 'dear', *dhā-ri* (AV.) 'sucking', *pī-ru* 'causing to swell' (*pī-*), *bhī-ri* 'timid'; *ar-d-ru* 'hostile', *pat-d-ru* 'flying'; *jāb-ā-ru*³ (RV¹) 'speeding', *phī-ri-ru* 'reviling', *vand-ā-ru* 'praising', *śar-d-ru* 'injurious'; *mad-e-ri* 'intoxicating', *san-t-ru*⁴ 'obtaining'.

2. Substantives are: n. *śt-ru* 'tear', *śmās-ru* 'beard'.

-la : agent.

174. This rare suffix, a later form of *-ra*, is equivalent in sense and use to the latter, sometimes also interchanging with it. It forms adjectives and a

¹ *dhāruvā-* (of doubtful meaning) is probably a secondary formation, and *vārad-* 'matutinal' seems to be derived from *vasar-* 'morning'.

² Also *phārad-* 'thorn' m. in *an-phārad-* 'thornless'.

³ Perhaps for **jāv-ā-ru-* from *jū-* 'speed'.

⁴ The suffix is secondary in *mīl-t-ru-* 'ally'.

few masculine and neuter substantives. The radical syllable is accented in two or three substantives only. The suffix is added either directly to the root or with the connecting vowels *-a-*, *-i-*, *-u-*.

Derivatives thus formed are: *-pā-lā-* (VS.) m. 'guardian' in *ajā-pālā-* (VS.) 'goat-herd', *suk-lā-* (AV.) n. 'white colour' (beside *suk-rā-* 'white'), *sthā-lā-* (AV.) 'thick' (beside *sthā-rā-*); with connecting *-a-*: *trp-ā-lā-* 'joyous', *bhṛm-ā-lā-* (AV.) 'torpid', *mūś-ā-lā-* (AV.) m. 'pestle', *śab-ā-lā-* 'mottled', *śām-ā-lā-* (AV.) n. 'defilement'; with *-i-*: *āni-lā-* m. 'wind', *trā-i-lā-* 'porous', *śat-i-lā-* 'surgings' (beside *sar-i-rā-* VS. 'flood'); with *-u-*: *tauḍ-u-lā-* (AV.) m. 'grain', *śak-u-lā-* (AV. VS.) m., a kind of fish.

-li and *-lu*: agent.

175. The suffix *-li* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ri* in *āṅg-ī-lī-* (VS.) f. 'finger' (beside *āṅg-ī-rī-*). Similarly *-lu* occurs only once as the equivalent of *-ru* in *patīya-lī-* (AV.) 'flying', formed from the conjugation stem *patīya-* (from *pat-* 'fly').

-va: agent.

176. This suffix forms about 20 adjectives and seven or eight substantives, mostly masculines with a concrete meaning. With one or two exceptions it is added directly to the root. The accent is rather oftener on the suffix than on the radical syllable. The root hardly ever appears in a strengthened form.

1. Accented on the suffix are the adjectives: *ūrdh-vā-* 'upright', *ṛk-vā-* 'praising', *ṛṣ-vā-* 'lofty', *tak-vā-* 'swift', *dhru-vā-* 'fixed', *pak-vā-* 'ripe', *mal-vā-* (AV.) 'foolish', *yah-vā-* 'swift', *raṅ-vā-* 'joyful', *viś-vā-* 'all', *śik-vā-* (AV.) 'deft', *śya-vā-* 'dark brown', *hras-vā-* (VS.) 'short'; the substantives: m. *ur-vā-* 'stall', *śar-vā-* (AV. VS.), N. of a god, *sru-vā-* 'ladle'; f. *pruṣ-vā-* (AV.) 'rime'; *vidh-ā-vā-*² 'widow'.

2. Accented on the root are: *pbh-va-* 'skilful', *ḷ-va-* 'quick', m. 'course', *pī-va-* 'fat', *pūr-va-* 'preceding', *vik-va-* 'twisting', *vś-va-* 'all', *sūr-va-* 'all'; m. *ās-va-* 'horse', *khād-va-* (AV. VS.), a kind of grain, *śrāk-va-* 'corner of the mouth'; f. *ām-ī-vā-* 'disease'³.

a. A few such derivatives occur only compounded with prefixes: *ā-khar-va-* 'not shortened', *āi-kuk-va-* (VS.) 'too bald', *vi-bhā-va-* 'brilliant'.

-van: agent.

177. This suffix is used almost exclusively to form agent nouns⁴, both adjectives and substantives, which are mostly masculine, but sometimes neuter. Though the root is regularly accented⁵, it almost invariably appears in its unstrengthened form. If it ends in a short vowel *-t-* is added before the suffix. The feminine of these words is regularly formed with *-vant-* (179 a).

Examples of adjectives are: *ṛk-van-* 'praising', *ḷ-ī-van-* 'active', *drīh-van-* 'injurious', *pāt-van-* 'flying', *pī-van-* 'fat', *yāj-van-* 'sacrificing', *vi-van-* (VS.)

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

² Cp. ROTH, KZ. 19, 223; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 126.

³ Also n. *āba-* 'caul' if this stands for **āba-* from *vṛ-* 'cover'.

⁴ The only action nouns are the few which in the active are employed as infinitives; cp. WHITNEY 1169 c.

⁵ The only exceptions are two words formed with the connecting vowel *-i-*, *mūṣ-ivān-* 'robber', *san-i-ivan-* 'bestower', and two others from the reduplicated root, *rādrā-van-* 'liberal', *akūt-vān-* 'wise'.

'bestowing', *sūk-van-* (VS.) 'able', *sū-t-van-* 'pressing Soma'; substantives: m. *dāh-van-* 'road', *dr-van-* 'steed', *grā-van-* 'stone'; n. *tīg-van-* 'ford', *dhān-van-* 'bow' and 'desert', *pār-van-* 'joint', *snā-van-*¹ (AV. VS.) 'sinew'.

a. Several derivatives with *-van* are compounded with prepositions; thus *atī-skād-van-* (VS.) 'transgressing', *upa-hās-van-* 'mocking', *vācā-van-* 'shining forth', *vi-mṣ-van-* (AV.) 'cleansing', *sam-bhṣ-t-van-* (AV.) 'accumulating'².

-vana, -vani, -vanu : agent.

178. These rare suffixes are doubtless secondary forms of *-van*. They are all three accented: *-vana* and *-vanu* on the final, *-vani* on the first syllable. With *-vana* are formed: *vag-vanī-* 'talkative', *sat-vanā-*, m. 'warrior' (beside *sīt-van-*), and from the reduplicated root *śusuk-vanā-* 'shining' (√*śuc-*). The suffix *-vani* seems to be preferred for derivatives from the reduplicated root; thus besides *tur-vāni-* 'overcoming', *bhur-vāni-* 'restless', occur *jujur-vāni-* 'praising', *tutur-vāni-* 'desiring to gain', *dadhṛs-vāni-* 'daring', *śusuk-vāni-* 'shining' (√*śuc-*); the obscure word *arharisvāni-* 'exultant' seems to be derived with this suffix from an irregularly reduplicated form of *hṛs-* 'be excited'. With *-vanu* is formed only *vag-vanī-* m. 'noise'.

-vara, -vala : action and agent.

179. This suffix makes a few masculine nouns (f. *-i*) chiefly accented on the final syllable of the suffix, and a very few neuter substantives accented on the root. The masculines are: *i-t-varā-* 'going', *iṣ-varā-* (AV.) 'able', *phūr-vara-* 'sower', *vyadh-varā-* (AV.) 'piercing'³ (√*vyadh-*). Neuter substantives are: *kār-vara-* 'deed', *gūh-vara-* (AV.) 'thicket'. There are also two feminines which have the appearance of being derived with this suffix, *ur-vāri-* 'field' and *ur-vāri-* (AV.) 'filament', but their origin is uncertain. This suffix appears with *l* instead of *r* in *vid-valī-* 'cunning'.

a. The f. of this suffix, *-vārī*, is used as the f. of adjectives in *-van*, with which it corresponds in accent and treatment of the radical syllable. There are about 25 of these feminines in the RV.; e. g. *yāj-vārī-* 'pious', *ś-t-vārī-* 'speeding'⁴.

-vas : action and agent.

180. This very rare suffix forms only the neuter substantive *vār-i-vas-* 'wide space' (beside *vār-i-man-*) and the adjectives *fbh-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *fbh-va-* and *fbh-van-*) and *śik-vas-* 'skilful' (beside *śik-van-*). The vocative *khid-vas* (VL 22⁴) 'oppressing' is probably from a perfect participle *khid-vāms-*⁵ formed without reduplication, not from a stem *khid-vas-*.

-vāms : agent.

181. This suffix is used to form a large number of perfect participles active, being added with or without the connecting vowel *-i-*; e. g. *cakr-vāms-* 'having done', *ty-i-vāms-* 'having gone'; sometimes without reduplication; e. g. *vid-vāms-* 'knowing'⁶. This suffix, which is always accented, is in the weak cases reduced to *-īs-* before vowels⁷.

¹ On two or three doubtful derivatives with this suffix see WHITNEY 1169 b.

² Several others are compounded with nouns; see LINDNER p. 107.

³ According to the Pada text *vi-adhvārā-*.

⁴ See WHITNEY 1171 b; for such femi-

nines occurring in the AV. see his Index Verborum 375.

⁵ Cp. pw.; in BR. the stem is given as *khid-van-*. According to WHITNEY 1173 b, it is derived from √*khād-*.

⁶ For the forms occurring see below 492.

⁷ See Declension, *-vāms* stems, 347.

-vi : agent.

182. This rare suffix is used to form some half dozen adjectives and one f. substantive, partly from the simple root (which is accented), partly from the reduplicated root (of which the reduplicative syllable is accented). The adjectives are: *ghīṣ-vi*- 'lively', *jīr-vi*-¹ (AV.) 'aged', *dūrī-vi*- 'firm'; *jūgr-vi*- 'watchful', *dī-dhṛ-vi*- 'sustaining', *dī-dī-vi*- 'shining'²; f. *dūr-vi*-³ 'ladle'.

-vit : agent.

183. This suffix, which is perhaps an extension of *-vi* with *-t*, occurs in the single form *cikit-vit* (RV¹) 'deliberately'.

-sa : agent.

184. This suffix is used to form about two dozen adjectives and substantives of all genders. It is added to the root with or without the connecting vowels *-i-* or *-ū-*. The accent is sometimes on the suffix, sometimes on the root, which is usually unstrengthened. Many of these derivatives are of obscure origin.

The suffix is added direct in: *gīt-sa*- 'adroit', *-d/k-sa*-⁴ (VS.), *ṛk-sā*- 'dappled' (*√ṛc-*); *ūt-sa*- m. 'fountain', *kūt-sa*-, N. of a man, *ghraṇ-sā*- m. 'sun's heat', *drapsā*- m. 'drop', *ruk-sā*- m. 'tree'; *bhī-sā*-⁵ f. 'fear'.

a. The suffix is added with a connecting vowel (*-ī-*, *-ū-*) in: *tav-i-sā*-⁶ 'strong', *bhar-i-sā*- 'rapacious', *mah-i-sā*- 'mighty'⁷; *ṛj-i-sā*- 'rushing', *ṛbī-sā*-⁸ n. 'chasm', *pūr-i-sā*- n. 'rubbish'; *man-i-sā*- f. 'devotion'; *ar-u-sā*-⁹ 'red', *aś-ū-sā*- 'voracious', *tīr-u-sā*- m. 'overcomer', *pīr-u-sā*- m. 'man', *mān-u-sā*- 'man'; *āṅg-ū-sā*- m. 'hymn', *ṣṭy-ū-sā*- n. 'biestings'.

-sani : agent.

185. This suffix is found only in the derivatives *car-sant*- 'active', f. pl. 'people', and *par-sāni*- 'carrying across' (*ṣr-* 'cross').

-sara : agent.

186. This suffix appears only in *mat-sarā*- 'intoxicating' (*√mad-*) and perhaps in *sap-sarī*- (I. 168¹⁰) 'inspiring awe(?)' if derived from *sap*- 'do homage'.

-sas : action.

187. This suffix seems to be contained in *vāp-sas*- (RV¹¹) 'beauty(?)'¹⁰, and possibly in *tār-ū-sas*- (RV.) 'superior' (*√tr-*).

-sna : agent.

188. This suffix (perhaps syncopated for *-sana*) forms some half dozen adjectives and m. or n. substantives: *tik-sni*- 'sharp' (*√ti*), *de-sni*-¹¹ n. 'gift'

¹ From *jr-* 'age'; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. xiv. 1²¹. The RV. has *jiv-ri*.

² The derivation of *pra-pharvā* (RV¹) is uncertain.

³ In VS. *dūrvi*- in the vocative *dūrvi*.

⁴ In *īdṛk-sa*- (VS.) 'looking like this' 'such' (from *ḍr-* 'see').

⁵ Only in the L. s. *bhīṣā* which is a contraction for *bhīyasā*.

⁶ The f. is *tāvīṣ*.

⁷ The f. is *māhīṣ*.

⁸ The absence of cerebralization in the *s*, together with the *ḷ*, makes the origin of this word quite uncertain; it is most probably borrowed.

⁹ The f. is *drūṣī*.

¹⁰ This is Śāyana's interpretation of the word.

¹¹ Generally to be read trisyllabically as *da-iṣṇā*.

(*dā*- 'give'), *ślak-śnā*- (AV.) 'smooth'; with connecting *-a-*: *kar-śna*- m. 'fore-arm', *māt-a-sna*-, n. 'lung', *vadh-a-snā*- n. 'deadly weapon'.

-snu : agent.

189. This suffix, which is always accented, forms adjectives, being added with or without a connecting vowel to the simple root, or more usually with connecting *-i-* to the causative stem.

1. From the simple root: *ji-śnī*- 'victorious', *danś-śnī*- (VS.) 'biting' (*√ danś*), *ni-śat-śnī*- 'sitting down'; *vadh-a-śnī*- 'murderous', *vṛdh-a-śnī*- 'joyous'; *car-i-śnī*- 'wandering', *ā-marīṣṣu*-¹ (x. 94¹¹) 'immovable' (*√ mī*- = *mī*-).

2. From the causative stem: *tāpāy-i-śnī*- 'tormenting', *namāy-i-śnī*- 'bending', *patāy-i-śnī*- 'flying', *pāray-i-śnī*- 'saving', *poṣāy-i-śnī*- (AV.) 'causing to thrive', *māday-i-śnī*- 'intoxicating', *abhi-śocāy-i-śnī*- (AV.) 'causing torments'.

II. Secondary Nominal Derivation.

LINDNER, Altindische Nominalbildung p. 114—52. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 454—80.

190. Secondary nominal stems are those derived from stems already ending in a suffix. They, however, include derivatives from pronominal roots, as *i-tara*- 'other', and exceptionally from indeclinable words or case-forms, as *antār-vant*- 'pregnant' (*antār*- 'within'), *māma-ka*- 'belonging to me' (*māma*- 'of me'). The stem to which secondary suffixes are added is subject to certain changes. Thus final *-a* and *-i* vowels are regularly dropped before suffixes beginning with a vowel or *y*, while final *-u* generally takes Guṇa; thus *asv-in*- 'possessing horses' (*āsva*-), *khād-in*- 'adorned with rings' (*khād*-), *vāyav-ya*- 'relating to the wind' (*vāyā*-). Again, the *n* or the *a* of stems ending in *-an* is occasionally lost, e. g. *vṛṣa-tvā*- 'manly power', *vṛṣṇ-ya*- 'manly' (but *vṛṣṇ-vant*- 'drawn by stallions'); while stems in *-ant* regularly appear in the weak form of *-at*, e. g. *vāivasvat-a*- 'son of Vivāsvant'. The commonest change is, however, the strengthening of the initial syllable with *Ṛddhi*², e. g. *āmitrā*- 'hostile' (*a-mitrā*- 'enemy'), *pārthiv-a*- 'relating to the earth' (*pṛthivī*-), *maitrāvaruṇ*- 'derived from Mitrā-vāruṇa', *śubhaga*- 'luck' (*śubhāga*- 'lucky').

As regards meaning, the great majority of secondary suffixes form adjectives with the general sense of 'relating to' or 'connected with'. In several, however, the meaning has become specific. Thus the suffixes *-āyana*, *-i*, *-eya*, form patronymics or metonymics; *-in*, *-mant*, *-vant* express possession; *-tama* and *-tara* imply degrees of comparison; *-tā* and *-tva* form abstract substantives. The masculines and feminines of adjectives are frequently used as appellatives, while the neuter is commonly employed as a substantive expressing the attributive sense of the adjective as an abstraction.

a. The secondary suffixes are in their alphabetical order the following: *-a*, *-ā*, *-ānī*, *āyana*, *āyī*, *āyā*, *-i*, *-in*, *-ima*, *-iya*, *-ī*, *-īna*, *-īya*, *-ant*, *-enya*, *-eya*, *-eyya*, *-ka*, *-ta*, *-tana* and *-tva*, *-tama*, *-taya*, *-tara*, *-taryā*, *-tā*, *-tāt*, *-tāti*, *-tva*, *-tvatī*, *-tvana*, *-tha*, *-na*, *-nī*, *-bha*, *-va*, *-mant*, *-maya*, *-min*, *-mna*, *-ya*, *-yin*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-va*, *-vat*, *-van*, *-vant*, *-vaya*, *-vala*, *-vin*, *-vya*, *-śa*.

¹ Thus derived in pw.; in BR. emended to *ā-marīṣṣu*- 'immortal'; in GRASSMANN explained as *āma-riṣṣu*- 'mit Ungestüm and dringend'.
hand, extremely rare in secondary derivation, as *devā*- 'divine' (*dī*- 'heaven'), *drōṇa*- 'wooden vessel' (*dri*- 'wood'), *bheṣaj-ā*- 'medicine' (*bhīṣaj*- 'healing'); cp. 191 a a.

² Strengthening with Guṇa is, on the other

191. With the suffix *-a* is formed a very large number of derivatives which are primarily adjectives expressing the sense of relation to or connexion with the primitive word; in the m. and f. they are, however, often used as appellatives, and in the neuter as abstracts. The first syllable of the primitive word, whether it is simple or compound is in the great majority of instances strengthened with *Vṛddhi*; e. g. *māruṭ-a-* 'relating to the Maruts' (*marūt-*), *māghon-a-* n. 'bountifulness' (*maghāvan-* 'bountiful')¹, *dāsarājñ-ā-* 'battle of the ten kings' (*dāsa-rājan-*)²; *jaītr-a-* 'victorious' (*jītr-* 'conqueror'), *tvāstr-ā-* 'belonging to *Tvaṣṭr*'; *mānav-ā-* 'belonging to man' (*mānu-*), *tānu-a-*³ 'belonging to the body' (*tanu-*); *sārasvat-ā-* 'coming from the *Sarasvatī*', *aindrāgn-ā-* (AV. VS. TS.) 'belonging to *Indra* and *Agni*' (*indrāgni*); *yāmun-ā-* (AV.) 'coming from the *Yamunā*'; *vādhryaśv-a-*⁴ 'descended from *Vadhryaśvā*', *vaiśvadev-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'sacred to all the gods' (*viśvā-deva-*).

a. A comparatively small number of derivatives add the suffix without taking *Vṛddhi*. These are probably to a considerable extent due to transfers from other declensions to the *a*-declension. Such are *tamas-ā-* (AV.) 'dark-coloured', *parus-ā-* 'knotty' (*pārus-* 'knot'), *hemant-ā-* 'winter'; *āpāk-a-* 'distant' (*āpāc-* 'behind'); *hotr-ā-* 'office of priest' (*hōtr-*); *sakhya-ā-* 'friendship' (*sākhi-* 'friend').

u. With *Guṇa* are formed *tray-ā-* 'threefold' (*tri-* 'three'), *dvay-ā-* 'twofold' (*dvi-* 'two'), *nūv-a-* 'new' (*nū-* 'now'); *dev-ā-* 'divine' (*dēv-* 'heaven'), *bhṛṣj-ā-* 'medicine' (*bhṛṣj-* 'healer').

192. The suffix *-ā* is used in a very large number of stems to form the feminine of adjectives which in the masculine and neuter end in *-a*. Thus *nūv-ā-* f., *nūva-* m. n. 'new'; *priy-ā-* f., *priyā-* m. n. 'dear'; *gat-ā-* f., *gatā-* m. n. 'gone'.

193. The suffix *-ānī*⁵ is used to form the feminine from stems in *-a*, designating the wife of the corresponding male being, or expressing a feminine personification: *arany-ānī-* 'Forest Nymph' (*dranya-* 'forest'), *indr-ānī-* 'wife of *Indra*', *uśīnār-ānī-* 'Queen of the *Uśīnaras*', *ūrj-ānī-* 'Strength' (personified), *purukūts-ānī-* 'wife of *Purukutsa*', *mudgal-ānī-* 'wife of *Mudgala*', *varuṇ-ānī-* 'Varuṇa's wife'.

194. The suffix *-āyana-* forms a few patronymics with *Vṛddhi* in the first syllable: *ānty-āyana-* (VS. TS.) 'descendant of *Āntya*', *amūsy-āyana-* (AV.) 'descendant of *so* and *so*' (*amūsyā-* gen. of *add-*), *kāṇv-āyana-* 'descendant of *Kaṇva*', *dākṣ-āyana-* (VS. AV.) 'descendant of *Dakṣa*'; also the f. *rām-āyana-* (AV.) 'daughter of the *Black One*' (*rām-*). The derivative *ukṣan-āyana-*, N. of a man, being formed without *Vṛddhi* is perhaps not meant for a patronymic.

195. The suffix *-āyī* occurs perhaps only twice, forming the feminine from two masculine stems in *-i* and designating the wife of the corresponding male: *agn-āyī-* 'wife of *Agni*' and *vṛṣākapa-āyī-* (only voc.) 'wife of *Vṛṣākapa*'.

196. The suffix *-āyya* forms gerundives⁶; e. g. *śrav-āyya-* 'glorious' (*śru-* 'hear'). There are also a few other derivatives similarly formed, which are used as ordinary adjectives or as neuter abstracts; thus *nr-pāyya-* 'guarding

¹ Formed from the weakest stem *maghānu-*.

² With syncope of the vowel of the suffix.

³ Without *Guṇa* of the *ā*; similar exceptions in *pārv-ā-* 'side' (*pārv-* 'rib'), *pādv-ā-* 'belonging to *Pedu*', *mādhv-a-* 'full of sweetness' (*mādhv-*), *yādūv-a-* 'belonging to *Yadu*'.

⁴ It is natural to suppose that the suffix

-a is added to stems in *-a* as to others (the final vowel of the primitive disappearing before it) and not that derivation by *Vṛddhi* alone takes place here; cp. WHITNEY 1208 i.

⁵ Cp. LEUMANN, KZ. 32, 294 ff.

⁶ These are probably formed from dative infinitives in *-ai + -ya*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1422; cp. also IF. 12, 2.

men', *bahu-pāyya* 'protecting many'; *pārva-pāyya* 'first drink', *mahay-āyya* 'enjoyment', *kunda-pāyya* and *puru-māyya* as Proper Names; also formed from nouns, *ras-āyya* 'tasteful' (*rāsa* 'sap') and *uttam-āyya* n. 'summit' (*uttamā* 'highest').

197. The suffix *-i* forms a few patronymics from nouns in *-a* with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable: *agnivel-i* 'descendant of Agniveśa', *pūrukuts-i* 'son of Purukutsa', *prātardan-i* 'descendant of Prātardana', *prāhrād-i* (AV.) 'son of Prāhrāda', *sāṃvaran-i* 'descendant of Sāṃvarana'. Similarly formed, but with the sense of an ordinary substantive, is *sārath-i* 'charioteer' (from *sā-rātham* 'on the same chariot'). Two other words add a secondary *-i* without Vṛddhi or patronymic sense: *tīpū-i* 'burning' and *śucant-i*, N. of a man (seemingly an extension of the participle *śuc-ānt* 'shining').

198. Hundreds of adjectives are formed with the suffix *-in* from stems in *-a*, but very rarely from stems with any other final; e. g. *ark-in* 'praising' (*arkā* 'praise'), *manī-in* 'wise' (*manī-śā* 'wisdom'), *arc-in* 'radiant' (*arcī* 'beam'), *śatago-in* 'consisting of hundreds' (*śata-gva-*), *vārm-in* 'clad in armour' (*vārmān-*), *śvan-in* (VS.) 'keeping dogs' (*śvan-*). With loss of final *-as*: *ret-in* 'abounding in seed' (*retas-*) and perhaps in the Proper Name *vārc-in* (*vārc-as* 'power'); with loss of *-ya*: *hiraṇ-in* 'adorned with gold' (*hiraṇ-ya-*).

199. The suffix *-ima* is very rare, being employed to form adjectives from the stems in *-ra* and from one in *-ra*: *krtr-ima* 'artificial', *khantr-ima* 'made by digging', *pūr-ima* (AV.) 'purified', *agr-ima* 'foremost' (*āg-ra* 'front').

200. The suffix *-iya* is employed to form some 20 adjectives (from stems in *-a*). It is only a modified form of *-ya* which is added for facility of pronunciation after two or more consonants, the last of which is generally *r*, rarely *n*, *m* or *v*; e. g. *abhri-iyā* 'derived from the clouds' (*abhri-*), *samudri-ya* 'belonging to the sea' (*samudrā-*), *indr-iyā* 'belonging to Indra'; *kṛṣṇ-iyā*, N. of a man (*kṛṣṇ-* 'black'); *īgm-iyā* 'praiseworthy'; *asv-iyā* 'consisting of horses', 'troop'.

201. The suffix *-ī* is employed in a very large number of derivatives to form the feminine of masculine stems; often from stems in *-a*²; e. g. *ārus-ī* 'ruddy' (*ārusā-*), *dev-ī* 'goddess' (*devī-*); or in *-u*; e. g. *pṛth-ī* 'broad' (*pṛth-ī-*); or from stems formed with suffixes ending in consonants, as participles in *-at* or *-ant*, e. g. *pīprat-ī* 'protecting' (*pī-* 'take across'), *ad-at-ī* 'eating' (*ad-ānt-*), *māt-ant-ī* 'rejoicing' or in *-vāms-*, e. g. *jagm-īs-ī* 'having gone'; comparatives in *-īyāms-*, e. g. *nīv-īyas-ī* 'new'; stems in *-tur*, e. g. *avitr-ī* 'protectress'; in *-mant*, e. g. *dhenu-mīt-ī* 'abounding in nourishment'; in *-vant*, e. g. *āma-vat-ī* 'impetuous'; in *-an*, e. g. *sōma-rāj-ī* 'having Soma as king'; in *-in*, e. g. *ark-in-ī* 'radiant'; in *-ānc*, e. g. *arvāc-ī* 'hitherward'; in compounds of *-han* 'slaying', e. g. *a-pati-ghn-ī* 'not killing a husband', of *-dṛś-* 'look', as *su-dṛś-ī* 'well-looking', and of *-pād* 'foot', as *a-pād-ī* 'footless'.

202. The suffix *-īna* forms more than a dozen adjectives from the weak stems of derivatives in *-ānc-*, expressing direction without change of meaning; e. g. *arvāc-īna-* and *arvāc-īnā-* 'turned towards' (*arvānc-* 'hitherward'). It also forms six or seven adjectives from other words, expressing the general sense of relation; e. g. *āñjas-īna-* 'straightforward' (*āñjasa-* 'straight'), *viśvajān-īna-* (AV.) 'containing all kinds of people'.

¹ See WHITNEY 1218 a.

formed with Vṛddhi in the initial syllable;

² This is regularly the case in stems e. g. *mānuṣ-a-* 'human', f. *mānuṣ-ī-*.

203. The suffix *-iya* forms fewer than a dozen general adjectives, of which only two occur in the RV.; e. g. *ārjīk-īya-*, designation of a Soma vessel, *gr̥ha-madh-īya-* 'relating to the domestic sacrifice'; *āhav-an-īya-* (AV.) 'sacrificial fire', *parv-t-īya-* (AV.) 'mountainous'. This suffix also appears in the three ordinals *dvit-īya-* 'second', *tr̥t-īya-* 'third', *tur-īya-* 'fourth'.

204. The suffix *-ona* with Vrddhi of the initial syllable, occurs only once, forming a general adjective, in its feminine form *sāmidh-ent-* 'relating to fuel' (*sāmidh-*).

205. The suffix *-nya* was doubtless originally formed by the addition of *-ya-* to derivatives made with *-na*, but it nearly always has a primary value as forming gerundives; e. g. *dr̥ś-nya-* 'worthy to be seen'. It appears, however, also in the two ordinary adjectives *kīrt-nya-* 'famous' (*kīrt-* 'fame') and *vīr-nya-* 'manly' (*vīr-* 'hero').

206. The suffix *-eya*, with Vrddhi of the initial syllable, is employed to form fewer than a dozen adjectives of a patronymic or metronymic value and some half dozen adjectives of a general character, the latter occasionally appearing in the neuter as abstract substantives; e. g. *ārs-eyā-* 'descended from a seer' (*ārs-*), *ādīt-eyā-* 'son of Aditi'; *pārus-eya-* 'relating to man' (*pāruṣa-*), *mānu-eya-* 'position of a sage' (*māni-*). Two words with this suffix are formed without initial Vrddhi, following the analogy of gerundives from roots ending in *ā* like *dā-* 'to be given' (*dā-* 'give'): *didṛk-ya-* 'worth seeing' (as from *didṛk-ṣā-* 'desire to see') and *sabh-ya-* 'fit for an assembly' (*sabh-*).

207. The very rare suffix *-yya* forms adjectives with a gerundive sense in *stus-yya-*¹ 'praise-worthy', and *śapath-eyyā-* (AV.) 'worthy of cursing'. It also forms an ordinary adjective used as a neuter substantive, *sahas-yya-* 'lying together' (*ś-* 'lie').

208. The suffix *-ka* was probably used originally to form adjectives expressive of connexion, but it has become so attenuated in meaning as often to be added to substantives or adjectives without changing the sense; while on the other hand it has become specialized as a suffix forming diminutives. 1. Examples of its significant use are: *anta-ka-* 'making an end' (*anta-*), *rāpu-ka-* (AV.) 'having an assumed form' (*rāp-* 'form'); *asmā-ka-* 'our' (*asm-* 'us'), *māma-ka-* 'my' (*māma* 'of me'); *anti-ka-* 'near' (*anti* 'before'). 2. The suffix appears without changing the meaning in e. g. *dāra-kā-* 'distant' (*dārd-* 'far'), *vamra-kā-* 'ant' (*vamrd-* 'ant'), *sarva-kā-* (AV.) 'all' (*śrva-*), and in the fem. form of *-kā* in: *avi-kā-* 'ewe' (*avi-* 'sheep'), *iṣu-kā-* (AV.) 'arrow' (*iṣu-*), *dhenu-kā-* (AV.) 'cow' (*dhenu-*). 3. The diminutive sense appears in e. g. *ar̥bha-kā-* 'small', *kumāra-kā-* 'little boy', *pāda-kā-* 'little foot', *putra-kā-* 'little son'². Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed at the same time, as in *anya-kā-* 'other' (*anyā-*), *dā-ka-m* 'in vain' (*dā-m* 'enough')³.

a. With Vrddhi in the first syllable is formed *māma-kā-*⁴ 'belonging to me' (*māma*); and with connecting *-i-*: *vārs-i-ka-* (AV. VS.) 'belonging to the rains' (*vārs-*), *vāsant-i-ka-* 'belonging to the spring' (*vāsant-*), and in the fem. *kairāt-ikā-* (AV.) 'relating to the Kirātas'.

209. The rare secondary suffix *-ta* has an ordinal sense in *eka-tā-* (VS.)

¹ This gerundive is probably based on the infinitive *stus-* 'to praise'; cp. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, p. 1422 (5).

² The feminine of some of these diminutives is formed with *-ikā*; *iyant-ikā-* 'so

small', *kumār-ikā-* (AV.) 'little girl', *khānt-ikā-* (AV.) 'mutilated', *lakunt-ikā-* 'little bird', *śit-ikā-* 'cool' (AV. *śīt-* 'cold').

³ Cp. WHITNEY 521.

⁴ Beside the more normal *māma-ka-*.

'First', *dvī-tā* 'Second', *tri-tā* 'Third' as Proper Names. It also appears in *ava-tī* 'well' and *muhūr-tī* 'moment'.

210. With the suffix *-tana* and its syncopated form *-tna* are made, from adverbs or prepositions, a very few adjectives with a temporal sense; *nī-tana* and *nī-tna* 'present' (*nī* 'now'), *sanā-tāna* (AV.) and *sanā-tna* (AV.) 'eternal' (*sanā* 'from of old'), *pra-tnd* 'ancient' (*prā* 'before').

211. The suffix *-tama* has two uses. It is employed to form superlatives from nominal stems and from the preposition *ūd*; e. g. *puru-tāma* 'very many', *mādhumat-tama* 'very sweet', *rathī-tama*¹ 'best charioteer'; *ut-tamā*² 'highest'. It is also used to form ordinals; e. g. *śata-tamā*³ 'hundredth'.

212. With the suffix *-taya* are formed only two adjectives from numerals in the sense of 'consisting of so many parts': *cātus-taya* (AV.) 'fourfold' and *dāśa-taya* 'tenfold'.

213. The suffix *-tara* is regularly used to form comparatives from adjectives, substantives, or the preposition *ūd*; e. g. *tavās-tara* 'stronger', *rathī-tara* 'better charioteer', *vṛtra-tāra* 'worse Vṛtra'; *ūt-tara* 'higher'. It also forms the ordinary adjective *dhvā-tara* (RV.) 'diurnal' (*dhvā* 'by day'), and a few substantives in which the meaning of the suffix is somewhat obscure: *aśva-tāra*³ (AV.) 'mule' (f. *-ī*), *vatsa-tarā*⁴ 'weaned calf'⁵ (f. *-ī*).

214. The suffix *-tav-ya*, probably originating from the predicative use of dative infinitives in *-tav-e* and beginning to be used in a gerundive sense, appears only twice in the AV.: *jan-i-tav-yā* 'to be born' and *hims-i-tav-yā* 'to be injured'.

215. The suffix *-tā* forms, from adjectives and substantives, some two dozen abstract nouns expressing the sense conveyed by the English suffixes *-ness* and *-ship*; e. g. *bandhū-tā* 'relationship', *vasī-tā* 'wealthiness'; *agī-tā* 'lack of cattle', *devā-tā* 'divinity', *puruṣā-tā* 'human nature'; *janā-tā* (AV.) has acquired the concrete sense of 'mankind'⁶. Exceptional formation appears in *mamā-tā* 'selfishness' and *trī-tā*⁷ (VS. TS.) 'triad'. This suffix is probably contained in *sū-uj-tā*⁸ 'gladness' also.

a. The suffixes *-tāti* and *-tāt* are related to *-tā* and have the same sense. With the former are made about a dozen abstract substantives; e. g. *a-riṣṭā-tāti* 'security', *grbhītā-tāti* 'the being seized', *jyesthā-tāti* 'superiority', *devī-tāti* 'divinity', *vasī-tāti* 'wealth', *sarvā-tāti* 'completeness'. The two substantives *sān-tāti* 'good fortune' and *satyā-tāti* 'truth' also appear as adjectives meaning respectively 'beneficent' and 'truthful'. The suffix *-tāt*, which seems to be an abbreviation of *-tāti* and occurs only in the RV., is employed to form four or five abstract substantives: *uparī-tāt* 'proximity', *devā-tāt* 'divine service', *vṛkā-tāt* 'wolfishness', *sarvā-tāt* 'completeness'.

216. The suffix *-tya* forms some half dozen adjectives and substantives from prepositions and adverbs. These are *āpa-tya* n. 'offspring', *amā-tya* 'companion' (*amā* 'at home'), *āvī-tya* 'manifest' (*āvī* 'openly'), *nī-tya* 'foreign' (*nī* 'out'), *sinu-tya* 'secret'⁹. This suffix is also added to

¹ Also in the Proper Name *gā-tama*. the verbal *-tara* 'speeding' (*ṛ-* 'cross').

² The superlatives *tāvī-śama* 'strongest' and *śarabhi-śama* 'most fragrant' insert a sibilant before the suffix. *kāryatā* 'filter' and *kaṇṭhatā*, designation of Śambara, are probably formed with *-ā* and Vṛddhi.

³ Perhaps 'more (like a) horse' (ibn an ass). ⁶ Like 'humanity' in English.

⁴ Probably 'more than a calf'. ⁷ Also in *trī-tā* (RV.) 'the threefold flame of three fires'.

⁵ In *ratham-tarā*, designation of a kind of Saman, in which the case ending of the acc. remains, the second part is doubtless *nī-tā* 'gladness' and as an adjective 'joyful'. ⁸ Though it appears also as a neuter *sū-nī-tā* 'gladness' and as an adjective 'joyful'. ⁹ Cp. *sinu-tā* 'aside'.

the substantive *āp-* 'water' to form the two adjectives *ap-tyá-* and *āp-tyá-* 'watery'.

217. With the suffix *-tva* are formed more than thirty abstract substantives with the same sense as those in *-tā*; e.g. *amṛta-tvā-* 'immortality', *aham-uttara-tvā-* (AV.) 'assertion of superiority', *bhrāṭṛ-tvā-* 'brotherhood', *maghavat-tvā-* 'liberality', *rakṣas-tvā-* 'sorcery'. The final syllable of the primitive is lengthened in *an-āgās-tvā-* 'sinlessness'; while it is shortened in *sadhani-tvā-*¹ 'companionship'. Owing to the influence of the nominative, *s* is inserted before the suffix in *su-prajā-s-tvā-* 'possession of many children' and with initial *ṽ*ddhi in *sauprajā-s-tvā-*² (AV.) 'possession of good offspring'.

a. The two suffixes *-tā* and *-tva*, identical in meaning, are pleonastically combined in the form of *-tva-tā-* in the two derivatives *iṣita-tvātā-* 'excitement', and *puruṣa-tvātā-* 'human nature'.

218. The suffix *-tvana*, an extension of *-tva* with *-na*, appears in the formation of some eight neuter abstracts occurring almost exclusively in the RV. These are *kavi-tvanā-* 'wisdom', *jani-tvanā-* 'state of a wife'; *pāli-tvanā-* 'matrimony', *martya-tvanā-* 'the ways of man', *mahi-tvanā-* 'greatness', *vasu-tvanā-* 'wealth', *vṛṣa-tvanā-* 'manliness', *sakhī-tvanā-* 'friendship'. All of these except *martya-tvanā-* have beside them the corresponding abstracts formed with *-tva*³.

219. The suffix *-tha* forms a few ordinals from cardinals, and adjectives from pronominal stems with a general numerical sense. Thus *catur-thā* (AV.) 'fourth', *ṣaṣ-thā-* (AV. VS.) 'sixth', *saptā-tha-* 'seventh'; *kati-thā-* 'the how manyth?'.⁴

220. The rare secondary suffix *-na* appears in one adjective derived with initial *ṽ*ddhi from a substantive, *strī-nā-* 'feminine' (*strī-* 'woman'), and in three adjectives derived from adverbs without any internal change: *purā-nā-* 'ancient' (*purā-* 'before'), *viśu-nā-* 'various' (*viśu-* 'apart'), *samā-nā-* 'like' (*sam-* 'equal').

221. The suffix *-nī* is used to form the feminine of *pāti-* 'lord' and *paruṣ-ī-* 'knotty', as well as of several adjectives in *-ta* denoting colours. Thus *pāt-nī-* 'mistress', *paruṣ-nī-*, as N. of a river. The suffix is substituted for *-ta* in *ī-nī-* 'variegated' (*ī-ta-*), *rāhi-nī-* 'red cow' (*rāhi-ta-* 'red'), *śyē-nī-* 'white cow' (*śyē-tā-* 'white'), *hīri-nī-* 'fallow' (*hīri-ta-*). In a few such words *-nī* is substituted for the final *a*, while *k* takes the place of the *t*: *āsik-nī-* 'black' (*āsī-ta-*), *pālik-nī-* 'grey' (*pāli-tā-*), *hārik-nī-* in the diminutive form *hārik-nī-ikā-* (AV.) 'yellowish' (*hāri-ta-* 'fallow').

222. The suffix *-bhā* forms half a dozen derivatives, all names of animals except one adjective⁵: *ṛṣa-bhā-* and *vṛṣa-bhā-* 'bull', *gandā-bhā-* and *rūsa-bhā-*⁶ 'ass', *sara-bhā-* (AV. VS.) 'fabulous eightlegged animal'. The one adjective is *sthūla-bhā-* (AV.) beside *sthūli-* 'big'.

223. The suffix *-mā* forms some eight superlatives, partly from prepositions, and the ordinals from the cardinals for 'five' and 'seven', 'eight', 'nine', 'ten'. The former are: *adha-mā-* 'lowest', *apa-mā-* 'farthest', *ava-mā-* 'lowest',

¹ From *sadha-nī-* ('one who leads with him') 'companion', which is, however, analysed in the Pada text as *sa-dhanī-*.

² *saubhaga-tvā-* 'happiness' is formed from *sāubhaga-* 'welfare' = 'condition of welfare', not from *su-bhāga-* 'lucky', from which is formed *subhaga-tvā-* 'welfare'.

³ Cp. LINDNER 26 and 28.

⁴ See BRUGMANN, Morphologische Untersuchungen 2, p. 198, and Grundriss 2, p. 315.

⁵ See BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 203; cp. p. 89, note 2.

⁶ Formed, with *ṽ*ddhi and accented on the initial syllable, from *ras-* 'roar', 'bray' etc.

upa-má- 'highest', *ánta-má-*¹ 'nearest', *cara-má-* 'last', *para-má-* 'remotest', *madhya-má-* 'middlemost'. The ordinals are: *pañca-má-* (AV. VS.) 'fifth', *sapta-má-* (VS.) 'seventh', *aṣṭa-má-* 'eighth', *nava-má-* 'ninth', *daśa-má-* 'tenth'.

224. The suffix *-mant* forms in the Saṃhitās between 80 and 90 possessive adjectives, like the parallel suffix *-vant*², with which it is to some extent interchangeable. Unlike *-vant*, however, it never forms derivatives from stems ending in *-ā* except *kāva-mant-* (RV¹) 'prepared by the Kanvas' and *yāva-mant-* 'rich in barley'. Examples are: *aśāni-mant-* 'possessing the thunder-bolt', *śyadhi-mant-* (AV.) 'rich in herbs', *krātu-mant-* 'having power', *vadhā-mant-* 'drawn by mares'(?), *hōty-mant-* 'provided with a sacrificer', *gō-mant-* 'rich in kine', *vīrik-mant-* 'gleaming', *garūt-mant-* 'winged'(?), *kakūḍ-mant-*³ 'provided with a hump', *cākṣuṣ-mant-* 'possessed of eyes', *vidyūn-mant-*⁴ 'containing lightning'.

a. A final *-i* is sometimes lengthened: *twiṣṭ-mant-* 'vehement' (*twiṣ-* 'vehemence'), *dhṛīṣi-mant-* 'gliding' (*dhṛīṣi-* = *dhṛiṣi-* 'gliding motion'), *hīri-mant-* 'tawny-horsed' (*hīri-* = *hīri-* 'bay steed'); *-i-* is inserted in *yāśīṣi-mant-* (AV.)⁵ 'full of light' (beside *yāśīṣi-mant-*), and *s* in *buc-ṣ-mant-*⁶ 'shining'. In the derivative *susu-mant-* (RV¹) 'very stimulating' the suffix seems to have primary value⁷. The adverb *āsu-māt* (AV¹), formed from the neuter of this suffix, seems to follow the analogy of adverbs in *-vat* from derivatives in *-vant*.

225. The suffix *-maya* (f. *-i-*) forms fewer than a dozen adjectives with the sense of 'consisting of', 'derived from', 'abounding in'. The suffix *-as* remains unchanged before the *m*, but *d* is assimilated as in external Sandhi. Derivatives thus formed are: *ayas-māya-* 'made of metal', *aśman-māya-* 'made of stone', *kim-māya-* 'consisting of what?', *go-māya-* 'consisting of cattle', *nābhas-māya-* 'vaporous', *manas-māya-* 'spiritual', *mṛn-māya-* 'made of clay' (*mṛd-*), *śaku-māya-* 'arising from dung', *sū-māya-*⁸ 'well-fashioned'.

226. The suffix *-mīn* was most probably due to the derivatives in *-in* from nouns in *-ma*, like *dhūm-in-* 'smoking' (*dhūm-* 'smoke') which are fairly common. It has an independent character, however, in *iṣ-mīn-* 'impetuous' and *ṛg-mīn-*⁹ 'jubilant with praise' (*ṛc-*).

227. The rare suffix *-mna* forms a few neuter abstracts from nouns or particles. It seems to be an extension with *-a* of *-man* syncopated like *-tva* for *-tana*. The derivatives formed with it are: *dyu-mnā-* 'brightness' (*dyū-* 'sky'), *nṛ-mnā-* 'manliness' (*nṛ-* 'man'), *ni-mnā-* 'depth' (*nī-* 'down'), *su-mnā-* 'welfare' (*su-* 'well').

228. The very common suffix *-ya*¹⁰ forms a large number of adjectives of relation, including a good many patronymics, and abstract substantives. It is pronounced *-iā* nearly four times as often as *-ya*. The feminine is usually *-yā*, both in adjectives and abstract substantives; but in the former it is sometimes *-ī*, as *ār-ī-* and *ār-yā-* 'Āryan', *dāt-ī-*¹¹ and *dāt-yā-* 'divine'.

a. All the patronymics besides a good many general adjectives, and most of the abstract substantives are formed with initial *Vṛddhi*; e. g. *ādity-ya-* 'Son of Aditi', *sahadev-ya-* 'descendant of Sahadeva'; *grītv-ya-* (AV.) 'relating to the neck' (*grīv-*), *dāt-ya-* 'divine' (*dev-* 'god'), *prajāpat-ya-* (AV.)

¹ Once (I. 165) *anta-mā-*; cp. p. 89, note 3.

² Which is, however, about three times as common.

³ The VS. has *kakūṇ-mant-* as in external Sandhi.

⁴ With assimilated *t* as in external Sandhi.

⁵ Following the analogy of *tāvīṣi-mant-* 'strong'.

⁶ Occurring only once in the vocative *luciy-mas*.

⁷ The word is analysed in the Pada text as *susu-mān*.

⁸ This derivative seems to preserve the originally nominal character of this suffix.

⁹ In this derivative the original guttural appears, though it has become sonant as in external Sandhi.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY 1210—1213 (p. 459—466) and LANDNER 36 (p. 138—144).

¹¹ These are evident instances of the reduction of unaccented *yā* to *ī*; cp. 24 a.

'relating to Prajāpati'; *ādhipat-ya-* 'lordship' (*ādhi-pati-* 'lord'), *jānarāj-ya-* (VS.) 'kingship' (*jana-rājan-* 'king of the people'), *vaimanas-yā-* (AV.) 'dejection' (*vi-manas-*), *sāṅgrāmajit-ya-* (AV.) 'victory in battle' (*sāṅgrāma-jit-* AV.) 'conquering in battle'), *sāsvasv-ya-*¹ 'wealth in horses' (*sv-āsva-*).

b. Derivatives formed without Vṛddhi are mostly ordinary adjectives, being about four times as numerous as those formed with Vṛddhi. They are made from stems with all kinds of finals. The following are examples: *āsv-ya-* 'relating to horses' (*āsva-*); *urvar-yā-* (VS.) 'belonging to cultivated land' (*urvárā-*); *āsv-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (*āsv-*); *vāyav-yā-*² 'belonging to wind' (*vāyā-*); *nār-ya-* 'manly' (*nā-* 'man'); *pitr-ya-* 'belonging to the fathers' (*pit-*); *gāv-ya-* 'derived from cows' (*gā-*); *nāv-yā-* (AV.) 'navigable' (*nā-* 'boat'), *svarāj-ya-* 'autocracy' (*sva-rāj-* 'sovereign'); *karman-yā-* 'skillful in work' (*kárman-*), *vīśu-ya-*³ 'virile' (*vīśan-* 'male'); *sat-yā-*⁴ 'true' (*sint-*), *prāc-yā-* (AV.) 'eastern' (*prāc-*); *āyus-yā-* (VS. AV.) 'length of life' (*āyus-*).

α. The final *-a* is retained before the suffix in *hiraṇyā-ya-* 'made of gold' (*hiraṇya-*), while *-an* is dropped before it in *aryam-yā-* 'intimate' (*arya-mān-* 'companion'). The suffix is added pleonastically in *avyā-ya-* and *āsva-ya-* 'belonging to sheep' (beside *āsv-ya-*) and *gāv-yā-* 'derived from cows' (beside *gāv-ya-*); also in forming a few possessive compounds, as *sūhast-ya-* 'skillful-handed' (beside *sūhāsta-*). It is also used in forming a few governing compounds, as *ādhi-yāt-ya-* 'being on the driver's seat' (*gārta-*, *abhi-nūh-yā-m*, adv. 'near the clouds' (*nūh-*)).

β. In some adjectives and substantives, the suffix has a primary appearance; e. g. *pūṣ-ya-* 'flower', *yāj-ya-* 'related', *mādh-ya-* 'middle', *mār-ya-* 'young man', *sūr-ya-* 'sun', *ī. sūr-yā-*⁷ (*svār-* 'light').

γ. Though as a gerundive suffix *-ya* must be regarded as primary, it is manifestly secondary in certain adjectives which have a gerundive sense; thus *avi-mok-yā-* (AV.) 'not to be loosened', *vari-vary-yā-*⁸ (AV.) 'to be avoided'.

δ. Akin to the gerundives are a few abstract feminines in *-yā*; e. g. *ky-tyā-* 'action', 'enchantment', *vid-yā-*⁹ (AV.) 'knowledge', *deva-yaj-yā-* 'worship of the gods'.

229. The rare suffix *-yin*, like *-in*, forms a few possessive adjectives, all of which except one occur in the VS. They are *ātata-yin-* (VS.) 'having one's bow drawn' (*ātata-*), *dhanvā-yin-* (VS.) 'bearing a bow' (*dhanvan-*), *marā-yin-*¹⁰ (RV¹), N. of a man, *śṛka-yin-* (VS.) 'having a spear' (*śṛkā-*), *svadhā-yin-*¹¹ (VS.) 'owning the Svadhā'.

230. The suffix *-ra* forms four superlatives from prepositions and about a dozen ordinary nouns, most of which are adjectives. The superlatives are *ādha-ra-* 'lower', *āpa-ra-* 'later', *āva-ra-* 'lower', *ūpa-ra-*¹² 'lower'. The ordinary adjectives formed with the suffix have the sense of 'belonging to' or 'connected with'. It is usually added direct; e. g. *dhām-rā-* 'grey' (*dhāmā-* 'smoke'), *asrī-rā-* 'ugly', *pāṇsu-rā-* 'dusty' (*pāṇsū-* 'dust', AV.), and with initial Vṛddhi *agnīdh-ra-* 'belonging to the fire-kindler' (*agnīdh-*). It is added with connecting *i* in *medh-i-rā-* 'wise' (*medhā-* 'wisdom') and *rath-i-rā-* 'riding in a car'. It also occurs in a few substantives, some of which are of

¹ As if from *suvasva-*; like *vaiyasv-d-* 'descendant of Vyaśva'; cp. WHITNEY 1204 b, c.

² With Guṇa of final *-u* as usual before secondary suffixes (190); *prāsv-yā-* 'to be partaken of' (*pra-as-*) and *ūrjav-yā-* 'rich in nourishment' (*ūrj-*) are formed without any primitives *prāsu-* and *ūrju-*.

³ With syncope in the suffix of the primitive; cp. 190.

⁴ From the weak stem of the primitive; cp. 190.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY 1212 c.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY 1212 m.

⁷ Cp. WHITNEY 1213 e; and Roots, under *var-* 'sound'.

⁸ Here the guttural shows that these words are derived from nominal stems *-moka-* and *-varya-*.

⁹ In the RV. only in the compound *jātā-vidyā-* 'knowledge of creatures'.

¹⁰ Perhaps meaning 'brilliant' or, according to Sayana, 'destroying' enemies.

¹¹ The TS. IV. 4. 114 has *svadhā-vhi-*.

¹² For *ānta-ra* cp. above p. 90, 39 and note 7.

doubtful etymology: *karmā-ra*¹ 'smith', *muṣka-rā* (AV.), a kind of small animal², *sāmbara*³, N. of a demon, *sānkurā* (AV.) 'penis', *sahās-ra* 'thousand'.

231. The suffix *-la* forms about a dozen adjectives with the same meaning as those formed with *-ra*, with which it sometimes interchanges and of which it is generally a later form. Examples are: *aśti-lā* (AV.) 'ugly', *kapi-lā* 'brown', *jīva-lā* (AV.) 'lively', *llvā-lā* 'fertile', *bahu-lā* 'abundant', *madhu-lā* 'sweet', *śvā-lā* (AV.) 'shiny'. This suffix also forms two or three diminutives: *vṛṣa-lā* 'little man', *śiśū-lā* 'little child', and the fem. *śalāka-lā* (AV.) 'small splint'.

232. The suffix *-va* forms a few adjectives: *arṇa-vā* 'billowy', *keśa-vā* (AV.) 'hairy', *añji-vā* (AV.) 'slippery', *śanti-vā* (AV.) 'friendly', *śraddhi-vā* 'credible'.

233. The suffix *-vāt* forms seven feminine abstract substantives, with a local sense, from adverbs or prepositions: *arvā-vāt*⁴ 'proximity', *ā-vāt* (AV.) 'proximity', *ud-vāt* 'height', *nī-vāt* 'depth', *parā-vāt* 'distance', *pra-vāt* 'height', *saṃ-vāt* 'region'.

234. With the suffix *-van*, before which *-a* and *-i* may be lengthened, are formed some twenty derivatives, nearly all adjectives with the sense of 'possessing' or 'connected with'. The adjectives are: *amati-vān* 'indigent', *arāti-vān* 'hostile', *ṛghā-vān* 'impetuous', *ṛṇā-vān* 'indebted', *dhitā-vān*⁵ 'rich in gifts', *dhi-vān* (AV.) 'clever', *maghā-vān* 'bountiful', *śruṣṭi-vān* 'obedient', *satyā-vān*⁶ (AV.) 'truthful', *samād-vān* 'warlike', *svadhā-vān*, f. *-vār*⁷ 'faithful', *hārd-vān* (VS.) 'heartly'; also the feminines *sumnā-vāri* 'bringing favour', *śunṣṭā-vār* 'joyous'. Somewhat anomalously formed are *Indhan-vān* 'possessed of fuel' (*indhana-*), *sahā-vān*⁸ and *sāho-vān*⁹ (AV.) 'mighty'. There are also the substantives *āthar-vān* m. 'fire-priest', *muṣṭ-vān* m. 'robber', and *sant-t-vān*¹⁰ 'reward'.

235. The suffix *-vant* forms, from nominal stems of every kind, possessive adjectives numbering at least 250 in the Saṃhitās. A final vowel is often lengthened before the suffix, most frequently *-a*, but very rarely *-u*. Examples are: *kṛṣā-vant* 'hairy', *āsvā-vant* 'possessed of horses' (beside *āsvā-vant*); *prajā-vant* 'having progeny'; *sākhi-vant* 'having friends', *śakti-vant* 'mighty' (*śakti-* 'might'); *dyāvā-pṛthivī-vant*¹¹ (AV.) 'connected with heaven and earth'; *vīṣṇu-vant* 'accompanied by Viṣṇu', *viśvā-vant* 'dividing' (*vīṣu-* 'apart'); *hṛit-vant* 'gold-coloured'; *āsan-vant* (AV.) 'having a mouth', *rjman-vant* and *ūma-vant* (AV.) 'hairy', *śrīṣṇā-vant* (AV.) 'having a head'; *kakūbh-vant* (MS. 1. 11) 'having a peak'; *svār-vant* 'splendid'; *piyas-vant* 'containing milk', *nas-vant* (AV.) 'having a nose'. With external Sandhi: *pīṣad-vant* 'variegated'¹².

a. Some of these derivatives, especially if formed from pronominal stems, have the meaning of 'resembling' instead of 'possessing'; thus *mā-vant* 'like me', *t-vant* 'so great', *kī-vant* 'how far?', *Indras-vant*¹³ 'like Indra', *nīla-vant*

¹ *Itva* 'treasury' probably stands by haplology for *Itva-vīva*.

² The word occurs in TS. v. (B) as an adjective meaning 'having testicles'.

³ Probably a foreign word.

⁴ From *arva* 'hither' contained in *arvān* 'hitherward' and some other derivatives.

⁵ The Pada text has *dhitā-vān*.

⁶ The Pada text has *satyā-vān*.

⁷ The fem. of the secondary *-van* being formed like that of the primary *-van*; see 177 and cp. 179 a.

⁸ The Pada text has *sahā-vān*.

⁹ The only instance of external Sandhi with this suffix.

¹⁰ With *t* interposed, as after short radical vowel preceding primary *-van*; e. g. *kī-t-vān*.

¹¹ Retaining the double accent of the primitive.

¹² In a few derivatives *-vant* has the appearance of a primary suffix: *vivāsvant* or *vīvasvant* 'shining', *dr-vant* 'swift', *yak-vant* 'speeding'.

¹³ With the *s* of the nominative.

'blackish', *nr-vānt-* 'manly'. From this sense is derived the use of the neuter acc. as an adverb of comparison, e.g. *manuṣ-vāt* 'like Manus', 'as Manus did'.

236. The very rare suffix *-vaya*, probably a noun in origin, seems to be found only in one numeral adjective, *catur-vaya-* 'fourfold', and one substantive, *dru-vāya-* (AV.) 'wooden dish'.

237. The suffix *-vala* (cp. 179) seems to be used in the formation of secondary derivatives only in *kṛṣṭ-valit-* 'peasant' (*kṛṣṭi-* 'tillage') and in the fem. *naḍ-vali-* (VS.) 'reed-bed'.

238. The suffix *-vin* is used in forming nearly twenty possessive adjectives from stems ending in *-a* (which is lengthened), *-ā¹*, *-as*; thus *ubhaya-vin-* 'partaking of both' (*ubhāya-*), *aṣṭrā-vin-* 'obedient to the goad', *yaśas-vin-* (AV.) 'beautiful'. To the analogy of the derivatives from stems in *-as* is due the insertion of *s* in *śata-s-vin-* 'possessing a hundred'. The only derivatives from stems ending in any consonant other than *s* are *dhr̥ṣṭ-vin-* 'bold' (*dhr̥ṣṭ-*) and *vāg-vin-* (AV.) 'eloquent' (*vāc-* 'speech'), both formed as in external Sandhi.

239. The only derivative of the suffix *-vya* forming names of relationship which occur in the Sāṃhitās seems to be *bhrātṛ-vya-* (father's) 'brother's son'².

240. The suffix *-śa* forms eight or nine adjectives or substantives without in most instances changing the original meaning. The adjectives are *ka-śa-* 'variegated', *bāhlu-śa-* (VS.) 'brownish', *yuva-śa-* 'youthful', and with possessive sense *roma-śa-* 'hairy'. The substantives are *auka-śa-* m. 'hook', *kāśma-śa-* (AV.) m. or n. 'stupefaction'(?), *kaśi-śa-* m. 'jar', *tur̥d-śa-*, N. of a man, *lopā-śa-*³ m. 'jackal'.

V. COMPOUNDS.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 245—282. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1246—1316. — REUTER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, ihrer betoning nach untersucht, KZ. 31, 157—232; 485—612. — WACKERNAGEL, Altindische Grammatik, 2¹, Nominalkomposition, 1905: cp. BARTHOLOMÆ, IF. 20, 162—172 (Anzeiger).

241. Form of compounds. — The Vedic language has inherited from the Indo-European speech the power of combining words into a compound treated like a simple word as regards accent, inflexion, and construction. Both in the frequency and the length of compounds the Vedic language resembles that of Homer. In the RV. and the AV. no compounds of more than three independent members occur; and those which consist of three members are rare, such as *śābādhā-vrata-pramati-* 'superior-minded owing to unbroken observances', *pūrva-kāma-kṛtvān-* 'fulfilling former wishes', *mitho-avadya-pa-* 'mutually warding off want', *hāri-manyu-sāyaka-* 'stimulating the mettle of the bays'.

The two characteristic features of a compound are unity of accent and use of the uninflected stem in the first member (or members). There are, however, exceptions to both these rules. The Sandhi between the two numbers is occasionally different from that between words in a sentence. Occasionally also tmesis of a compound occurs⁴. Generally speaking a

¹ The doubtful word *vy-ānuv-in-* (VS¹) seems to add *-in* to the present stem with interposed euphonic *-v-*.

² *pitr-vya-* 'father's brother', 'uncle', occurs in the later language.

³ Cp. GUSTAV MEYER, IF. 1, 328.

⁴ Frequently in dual compounds, as *dyāvā ha kṛāmā* 'heaven and earth'; occasionally in others also, as *śināś cīc chīpam* for *śināś-śīpam*; *nārā vā śāmsam* for *nārā-śāmsam*; *saptā me saptā* for *saptā-sapta me*.

compound assumes a modified and single meaning as compared with the same words used in juxtaposition in a sentence; e. g. *kṛṣṇa-sakunt-* (AV.) 'raven', while *kṛṣṇāḥ sakuntīḥ* would mean 'black bird'. Compounding must take place when a derivative has to be formed from the two words; as *kṣītrapat-ya-* 'property' beside *kṣītrasya pāti-* 'lord of the field'. Sometimes, however, the case-ending remains while the compound accent is used, as *rāyas-poṣa-dā-* 'bestowing abundance of wealth', beside *rāyās poṣa-* 'abundance of wealth'. There is a tendency to compounding when the first of two syntactical words is indeclinable. Thus beside *sām-yōs* 'happiness and welfare' also appears *sām-yōs* (I. 34⁶); and analogously the indeclinable form or stem of a word takes the place of the case¹. Sometimes compounds are formed by the coalescence of inflected words occurring side by side in a sentence. Thus *viśvāha* (TS.) 'all days' beside *īha viśvā* (RV.) has become *viśvāha* 'daily' with a single accent. Occasionally, when two compounds have the same final member, the latter is used only once, as *mitrāḥ² mēdhyātithim* (I. 36⁷) for *mitrāḥ² utā mēdhyātithim*; *patayān mandayāt-sakham* (I. 4⁷) for *patayāt-sakham mandayāt-sakham*. Sometimes one of the members of a compound governs a case³ outside the compound, as *ārvato māṃsa-bhikṣām* (I. 162¹²) 'begging for the flesh of the steed'; in some instances pleonastically, as *gaṇānāṃ gaṇī-patim* (II. 23¹) 'troop-leader of troops'. A case-form may agree with the first member of a compound when that member has the form or even only the sense of that case, as *rāyās-kāmo viśvāpsyaśya* (VII. 42⁶) 'desirous of wealth of all forms'; or a case-form may agree with the second member, while coordinated in sense with the first, as *mahā-dhanā . . . śrbhe* (I. 7³) 'in great booty (and) in small'.

a. The gender of compounds is, in Copulatives (Dvandvas) and Determinatives (Tatpuruṣas) ending in substantives, that of the last member⁴; but collective compounds are regularly neuter⁵. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds have the gender of the substantives with which they agree or which they represent. The number in Determinatives is that of the last member. In Copulatives of the older types it is dual or plural according to the total number meant by the combination, while it is singular (and neuter) in the later type. Collective compounds (whether copulatives or possessives) are singular. Compounds ending in adjectives, possessives, and governing compounds, have the number of the substantive with which they agree or which they represent.

A. The First Member of Compounds.

242. Its form. — The first member of nominal compounds may consist of nouns (including numerals and pronouns) or indeclinables suitable for qualifying nouns. Exceptionally an inflected form appears in this position qualifying the second member in dependent determinatives and possessives. This is mainly due to words frequently in juxtaposition becoming permanently joined; thus beside the two independent words *jīś pātīḥ* (VII. 38⁶) 'lord of the family'

¹ Thus for *viṣṇoḥ kramā-* (AV. TS.) 'step of Viṣṇu' there appears in a B. passage of the TS. (V. 2. 14) the compound *viṣṇu-kramā-*.

² The Pada text reads *mitrā utā*.

³ This seems to be almost restricted to the genitive in the Saṃhitās, but many examples of other cases (acc., inst., dat., abl.) occur in the later language.

⁴ In a few Dvandvas the gender of the

first member prevails (265, notes 1 and 2); and a few Determinatives change the gender of the final member, as *patnī-śālā-* (VS.) n. (*śālā-*) 'shed for the wives (of sacrificers)' and *agṛa-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue' (*jihvā-*).

⁵ Both Dvandvas (266) and Bahuvrhis (290).

we find the compound *jās-pātim* (I. 185²). But it partly also arises from a desire to express the syntactical relation of the words in the compound even without antecedent juxtaposition; as in the verbal determinatives *dhanam-jayā-* 'winning booty', *apsu-śād-* 'dwelling in waters'; or in possessives like *rāyās-kāma-* 'desirous of wealth'. Such case-endings show a tendency to encroach beyond their legitimate sphere; thus the frequency of the ending *-as* before *-pāti-*, e. g. *vāc-as-pāti-* 'lord of speech', led to its becoming the general genitive sign before that word, as in *rāthas-pāti-* 'lord of the car' (*rātha-*). Similarly, according to *apsu-ksi-t-* 'dwelling in the waters' was formed *apsu-ji-t-* beside *ab-ji-t-* 'winning waters', where the locative is not appropriate. Ordinarily the first member appears only in its stem form. As the stem cannot express number it may mean either the singular or the plural. That it often indicates the plural is shown by expressions like *nardm* or *jānānām nṛ-pāt-* 'man-guardian of men' or 'people'. The plural sense is also evident in compounds like *devā-krta-* 'made by the gods', *vīrā-jāta-* 'produced by men', *nṛ-pāti-* 'lord of men'. In personal pronouns and cardinals the number is of course inherent in the stem itself.

a. The gender is expressed in the first member only in as far as feminine words retain their f. stem when coordinated in copulatives or dependent on the final member in the sense of a case in determinatives; e. g. *patnī-śāla-* (VS.) 'shed for wives'. The f. suffix *-ā* is, however, often shortened to *a*, as in *amīva-hān-* 'destroying suffering', *amīva-līlāna-* 'dispelling suffering' (*amīvā-*). But when a feminine adjective as first member agrees attributively with a feminine in the last member, it appears in the masculine stem-form³; e. g. *prāyata-dakṣiṇa-* 'one by whom a sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇa-*) has been presented'⁴.

243. If the stem is liable to gradation, that form is used which occurs in the weak cases. Thus in the vowel stems *-i*, *-u*, *-r*, appear; e. g. *pāti-juṣṭa-* 'dear to a husband', *vasu-vid-* 'finding wealth', *pitr-yajñi-* 'sacrifice to the manes'. Similarly *dyu-* (*dīr-*) 'heaven' appears before consonants, as *dyu-ksi-* 'dwelling in heaven', *dyū-bhukta-* 'presented by heaven', but *div-* before vowels, as *div-it-* 'going to heaven', *div-iṣṭi-* 'prayer'. The two stems *dāru-* 'wood' and *āp-* 'water' are reduced to *dru-* and *ap-*: *dru-pād-* 'wooden pillar', *dru-śād-* 'sitting on the tree'; *ap-tir-* 'overcoming the waters', *ab-ji-* 'derived from waters'. The stem *pīmāms-* 'man' appears in the weak form *pums-* in *pums-calli-* (VS. AV.) and *pums-cālī-* (VS.) 'courtezan' ('running after men').

a. Stems in *-an* have *-a* not only before consonants⁵, but also before vowels⁶ and *y*, *v*; e. g. *rāja-putrī-* 'king's son', *ukṣāna-* 'devouring bulls' (*ukṣān-*), *āsmāsyā-* 'whose mouth is a rock' (*āsmān-*), *brāhmaddha-* 'kindled with devotion' (*brāhman-*), *brahmaudand-* (AV.) 'boiled rice (*odanī-*) for Brāhmins' (*brāhman-*). Exceptions, however, are *nemann-i-* 'following the lead', *rīṣan-āśvā-* 'drawn by stallions', *vīṣan-vasu-* 'having great wealth'⁸.

b. Stems in *-in* seem to follow the same analogy, dropping the *-n* before consonants; thus *śāci-gu-* (only voc.) 'having strong cattle' and *śāci-pūjana-* (only voc.) 'worshipping the strong'⁹.

¹ The compounding of such forms probably often started from vocatives like *sahasas putra* treated as a unit in regard to accent.

² This, however, seems to be due to metrical influence.

³ An exception in *urvi-āti-* 'giving wide aid', where the f. stem *urv-* appears instead of the m. *urī-*.

⁴ In *bṛhāc-chandas-* (AV.) 'having Brhatti Indo-ariache Philologie. I. 4.

as metre' and *jāgac-chandas-* (AV. VS.) 'having Jagati as metre', the first members doubtless represent neuter names of the metres.

⁵ As in *rāja-bhis* etc.

⁶ Unlike *rājī-ñe* etc.

⁷ Not *-an* as in *rājan-yā-*, *udan-vant-*.

⁸ In *āśvān-iṣu-* 'having arrows in his mouth' the first member is a locative.

⁹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2^e, p. 54 β, note.

c. Occasionally the weak grade stem used as first member does not occur as an independent word; thus *kṣi-pāvant-* and *kṣa-pāvant-* 'earth-protector' from *kṣm-* 'earth'; *jñu-bādh-* 'bending the knee' from *jñnu-* 'knee'; *man-dhāt-* 'devout man' from *mān-as-* 'mind' (through **man-*), *sāt-pati-* 'lord of the abode', probably from *sād-as-* 'abode' (through **sats-*).

204. When in the inflexion of a word two or more collateral stems (not differing in gradation only) are used, the one which appears in weak cases is mostly employed as first member in compounds. 1. Even though the stem *ās-yā-* 'mouth' is inflected throughout, the alternative stems of weak cases *ās-* and *āsan-* are preferred: *ā-daghn-* 'reaching to the mouth', *āvīnu-īsu-* 'having arrows in his mouth'. 2. *udān-* 'water' is preferred to *uda-kā-*; *uda-grābh-* m. 'holding water', *uda-pī-* (AV.) 'purified by water', *uda-megh-* 'water-shower'; *uda-kī-* appears only in *udikātman-* (AV.) 'having water for its chief substance'. 3. Of the three stems *pānthān-*, *paṭh-*, *pāth-*, only the middle one, which appears before consonant endings, is used: *paṭhi-kṣ-* 'path-making', *paṭhi-rākṣ-* 'protecting roads'. 4. *sākan-* is preferred to *sikṣ-* 'dung'; *sāka-dhāma-* (AV.) 'dung-smoke', *sāka-piṇḍ-* (VS.) 'lump of dung', *sīka-pāta-* ('purified by dung'), N. of a seer. 5. *sīrsān-* is preferred to *sīras-* 'head': *sīrsa-kapāla-* (AV.) 'skull', *sīrsa-bhādyā-* (AV.) n. 'head-splitting', *sīrsa-may-* (AV.) m. 'disease (*āmaya-*) of the head'. 6. There is fluctuation between *pāda-* and *pāda-* 'foot', *māms-* and *māms-* 'flesh', *hṛd-* and *hṛāyā-* 'heart': *pad-ghoṣ-* (AV.) 'sound of footsteps', but *pāda-gṛhya-* ger. 'seizing by the foot'; *māms-pācana-* 'used for cooking flesh', but *māmsa-bhikṣā-* 'begging for flesh', *hṛd-rog-* 'heart-disease', but *hṛdayā-vidh-* 'wounding the heart'.

245. Alternative adjective stems sometimes appear in the first member of compounds. Thus in the RV. *mahi-* interchanges with *mahā-* 'great' in Karmadhārayas and Bahuvrīhis, as *māhi-kṣatra* 'owning great sway', but *mahā-dhān-* 'great booty', *mahā-manas-* 'great-minded'. A few stems in *-i* appear instead of or interchanging with others in *-ra-*: *rjī-* in *rjī-pyā-* and the Proper Names *rjī-svan-* beside *rjrd-* 'quick' in *rjrd-śva-* ('having quick horses'), N. of a man; **dabhi-* in *dabhī-* (for **dabhi-iti-*) 'injurer', beside *dabhri-* 'small' in *dabhri-etas-* 'of little wit'; *svīti-* in *svīty-āne-* 'bright', beside *svītri-* (AV.) 'white'; *saci-* in *saci-vid-* 'belonging together', beside *i-sk-ra-* 'united'; perhaps also *kravi-* for **kravi-* in *i-kravi-hasta-* 'not having bloody hands', beside *krī-ri-* (AV.) 'bloody'.

a. A few adjective stems in *-i* used as first member neither occur as un-compounded adjectives nor have corresponding adjective stems in *-ra-*: *tuvī-jāta-* 'mightily born', *tuvī-grīva-* 'strong-necked', *tuvī-śva-* 'very strong'; *gabhi-jāk* (AV.) 'deep down'.

¹ See above p. 145, note 8.

² Inst. sing. *udā*, pl. *udā-bhis*.

³ Nom. n. acc. *udakām*.

⁴ With irregular accent; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 56, note.

⁵ Inst. *sāka-bhis* (TS.), nom. acc. *sākrī*.

⁶ Beside *vana-* 'wood' (which is fully inflected and appears in *vani-dhiti-* 'layer of wood'), the stem *vam-* (gen. *vam-ām*, loc. *vam-si*) is perhaps used in *vam-saga-* 'bull', *vam-dhāra-* 'car-seat', and *vam-ād-* 'devouring wood' (?).

⁷ Perhaps in *pad-grāhi-*, N. of a man or demon, if *pad-* = *pad-*, cp. WACKERNAGEL 1, 148 a.

⁸ On the other hand, of the alternative stems *āsy-* and *āvin-* 'blood', only the nom. acc. form is used; e. g. *āsy-pāvan-* (AV.) 'drinking blood', *āsy-mukha-* (AV.) 'bloody-faced'.

⁹ *mahā-* being the m., *mahi-* the n. nom. acc. stem, beside the weak dat. *mah-e* etc.

¹⁰ The AV. has the stem *mahāt-* in the Karmadhāraya *mahāt-kāndā-* 'great section'.

¹¹ Perhaps also in *rjī-* (= *rjī-iti-*), cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 59.

¹² Cp. *līti-pāda-* 'white-footed', *līti-pṛṣṭha-* 'white-backed'.

¹³ From *sac-* 'be attached' with syncope.

¹⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 59.

246. Extension of the stem sometimes takes place in the first member. The commonest addition is *-a* owing to the frequency of that ending: *dur-a-dabhná-* (AV.) 'eluding doors', *asvín-a-kṛta-* (VS.) 'done by the Ásvins'; *vísaujas-*¹ (VS.) 'ruling the people'; *ṣaṭ-a-rcá-*² (AV.) 'collection of six verses'. An *a*-stem becomes one in *-as* in *yakṣmo-dhā-* (AV.) 'seat of a disease' (*yakṣma-*). An extension with *-d* appears in *śatá-d-vasu-*³ 'having a hundred (*śatá-*) treasures', and in *án-ati-d-bhuta-*⁴ 'unsurpassed'.

a. Shortening of the stem sometimes takes place by the dropping of a final *t* or *s* (preceded by *a*) or of the vowel *-a*; thus *pr̥sodará-* (TS. v. 6. 14¹) 'having a spotted (*pr̥sat-*) belly' (*udāra-*); *apna-rāj-* 'ruling over riches' (*ápnas-*); *bhar-īśá-*⁵ (IV. 40²) 'desiring booty' (*dhāra-*); *til-pīñja-* (AV.) 'barren sesamum' (*tīl-*); *śas-pīñjara-* (TS. IV. 5. 2¹) 'reddish like grass' (*śasá-*), may also be an example, but it is more probably a modification of *śas-pīñjara-* (VS. XVI. 17) by haplology for **śa;pa-pīñjara-*.

247. Adverbs often occur as first member of compounds. In several instances a nominal stem in *-a* represents an adverbial case (acc., inst., abl., loc.) formed from that stem; thus *nitya-vatsa-* 'having a calf continually' (*nityam*); *satya-yáj-* 'sacrificing truly' (*satyam*), *śamantí-sítí-bāhu-* (VS.) 'whose forefeet are white all round' (*śamantím*); *sana-já-* 'born of old' (= *saná* or *sand*); *upāki-cakṣas-* 'visible from near at hand' (*upākd* 'near'). Occasionally a nominal stem which has no separate existence is abstracted from the adverb; thus *arí-manas-* 'ready-minded' (from *áram* 'ready'), *arí-matí-* 'suitable prayer', *abhyardha-yájvan-* 'offering apart' (*abhyardhás*). A cardinal is sometimes thus used instead of its adverb: *try-árusa-* 'reddish in three places' (*tri-s*), *dvi-já-* (AV.) 'born twice' (*dvi-s*).

248. The case-ending is also preserved in several instances; thus *aram-kṛt-* 'preparing', *sākam-lik-* 'sprinkling together', *sākaṃ-yúji-* 'joined together' (*sākam*), *sāyam-bhavá-* (AV.) 'becoming evening'; *pañcā-dośá-* (VS.) 'late evening'. Adverbs that are neither case-forms nor look like them regularly remain unchanged; thus *akṣayā-drúh-*⁶ 'injuring wrongly'; *itthá-dhī-* 'truly devout'; *idā-vatsarí-* (VS. AV.) 'the present year', a particular kind of year; *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself', *punar-bhū-* 'arising again'; *viśvāto-dhī-* 'observing in all directions', *viśu-rūpa-* 'coloured varicously' (*viśu-*), *viśu-ṛt-* 'rolling in various directions'. A nasal is added in *makṣu-ṃ-gamá-* 'approaching quickly' (*makṣá*).

249. Prepositions frequently occur as the first member of a compound.

1. Owing to their originally adverbial character they may qualify ordinary adjectives or substantives like adverbs; thus *áti-kṛṣṇa-* (VS.) 'excessively dark', *vī-mahī-* 'very great'; *prá-napat-* 'great grandson', *vī-vāc-* 'opposing shout'; and in Bahuvrīhis: *prá-sṛngá-* (VS.) 'having prominent horns', *vy-āmsa-* 'having shoulders wide apart'.

2. Owing to their constant connexion with verbs they are very common before verbal nouns; e. g. *īpa-ṣtu-t-* and *īpa-stuti-* 'invocation'; *puró-hita-* 'domestic priest'.

3. Owing to their frequent connexion with cases, they also appear in a governing sense; e. g. *ídhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *anu-pathá-* 'following the path'.

¹ For *vīsa-ajas-* like (AV. VS.) *satyájujas-* (= *satya-ajas-*) instead of *vīśa-ajas-*.

² Like *pañcará-* = *pañca-ṛca-*.

³ Influenced by the analogy of *pañcāśád-* '50' etc., and *vidá-d-vasu-*, etc.

⁴ Due to a confusion of **ati-bhuta-* = *ati-bhūta-* 'surpassed' and *ábhuta-* 'marvellous'.

⁵ According to the analogy of *gav-īśá-* 'desiring cows'.

⁶ *akṣya-yávan-* 'going across' stands by haplology for **akṣayā-yávan-*. Cp. WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 128 d.

a. Prepositions as first member sometimes appear in a shortened form; thus *bbi* = *abhi* in *bbi-gāj-*²; 'healer'; *o-* = *ava* in *o-gand-* ('away from the crowd') 'isolated', 'wretched', and in *o-pab-* 'top-knot' ('that which is tied down', from *pa-* 'fasten'). On the other hand, *anu* several times appears lengthened to *ānu-*; thus *an-ānu-tyat-* 'inimitable', *an-ānu-dā-* 'not giving way', *an-ānu-dīṣa-* 'unsolicited', *an-ānu-bhūti-* 'disobedient', *ānu-ṣḍh-* 'in constant succession'.

250. *Sam* and *sa-*. — The preposition *sām* is of very common occurrence as first member. This is its form invariably before vowels, and when accented originally always before consonants. Its unaccented form *sa-* (= *sm-*) should phonetically always appear before consonants. But the proper use of *sām-* and *sa-* before consonants has begun to be confused.

a. In determinatives (1) when the final member is a verbal noun *sam-* always appears before a vowel, as *sam-āñc-* (AV.) 'hook' (from *āñc-* 'bend'), *sam-īdh-* 'fuel'; and *sām-* if accented predominates¹ before consonants, being phonetic; e. g. *sām-gati-* f. 'coming together', *sām-dhāt-* 'one who puts together', *sām-prkta-* 'mixed'. *sā-*, however, also occurs in *sā-gāthi-* (VS. MS.) f. 'eating together', *sā-cyuti-* (MS. II. 7¹²) 'falling together', *sā-piti-* (VS. MS.) f. 'drinking together', *sā-hūti-* f. 'joint invocation'.

(2.) *sa-* is preserved before accented verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without *-t*, or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-van*, *-in*; thus *sa-ct-* 'thinking', *sa-bīdh-* (TS. III. 2. 12⁴) 'oppressed', *sa-yij-* 'united', *sa-vṛdh-* 'increasing together', *sa-ṣṭbh-* (TS. IV. 3. 12²), a kind of metre. *sa-syād-* 'streaming together'⁴; *sa-kṣt-* 'dwelling together', *sa-srī-t-* 'streaming'⁵; *sa-gm-ī-* (VS.) 'coming to terms', *sa-jṣa-* 'unanimous', *sa-mādana-* 'conflict'⁶; *sa-yā-van-* 'going along with', *sa-yūg-van-* 'united with', *sa-sthū-van-* 'standing together', *sa-jt-t-van-* 'victorious'; *sa-vās-in-* (AV.) 'dwelling together'⁷.

(3.) Before ordinary adjectives *sam-* appears in *sām-vasu-* 'fellow-dweller', *sām-mīśla-* 'commingling', *sām-priya-* (VS.) 'loving one another', and even when unaccented before ordinary substantives in *sam-vatsari-* 'year', *sam-grāmī-* (AV.) 'assembly', but *sa-pātni-* 'co-wife'.

b. In Bahuvrihis when the meaning is (1.) 'together' (as in the verbal use of the preposition) *sam-* appears, as *sām-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together', *sam-gavit-* m. '(time when the) cows (are driven) together', and (as usual before vowels) *sam-udrā-* m. 'sea'. But when the meaning is (2.) 'united with', 'accompanied by' what is expressed by the final member, *sa-* is almost exclusively used (and nearly always even accented)⁸, as *sā-ctas-* 'accompanied by intelligence', 'rational'; *sam-* occurs here only in *sām-sahasra-* 'accompanied by a thousand', and in *sām-patni-* (AV.) 'accompanied by her husband'⁹. In this sense *sam-* still appears before vowels in *sām-agra-* and *sam-agrā-* (AV.) ('including the top'), 'complete', *sām-anga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by all limbs'¹⁰, 'complete', *sām-āṣir-* 'accompanied by mixture', 'mixed'; but even here *sa-* once in the RV. takes the place of *sam-* in the compound *sāsana-* (x. 90¹)

¹ The initial *a-* of some other prepositions is lost in the later language: *pi-* = *āpi* (SB.); *dhi-* = *ādhi* and *va-* = *āvā* are post-Vedic.

² See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 72 s. and cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 25, 214, note.

³ *sam-* occurs more than three times as often as *sa-* before consonants, doubtless owing to the parallel use of *sam-* with verbs.

⁴ But also *sam-gir-* 'assenting', *sam-yāt-* 'contiguous'.

⁵ But also *sam-jt-t-* 'conqueror', *sam-ād-t-* 'layer'.

⁶ But also *sam-gamā-* 'coming together', *sam-cirana-* 'suitable for walking on'.

⁷ With verbal nouns otherwise formed, as with *-tra* or *-na* only *sam-* occurs, as *sam-hotrā-* 'joint sacrifice', *sam-prasni-* 'interrogation'.

⁸ With the usual Bahuvrihi accent on the first member.

⁹ In order to distinguish this sense from that of *sa-pātni-* 'co-wife'.

¹⁰ Cp. also the adv. *sam-antā-m* (AV.) 'including the ends', 'completely'.

'provided with food' (*śāna-*), 'eating', and becomes common in the later Samhitās; e. g. *sāṅga-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the limbs' (*āṅga-*), *sāntardeśa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the intermediate quarters' (*antar-deśā-*). — When the meaning is (3) 'in common', 'same', 'identical' ¹ *sa-* is very common before consonants, as *sā-keṭu-* 'having the same intention', *sā-lakṣman-* 'having the same characteristics'; while *sam-* appears only in *sam-śīsvari-* 'having a calf in common', *sām-manas-* (AV.) 'being of the same mind', unanimous, *sām-mātṛ-* 'having the same mother'. In this sense *sam-* alone appears (as usual) before vowels: *sām-anta-* 'contiguous' ('having the same boundary'), *sām-okas-* 'having a common abode', 'living together'.

251. Particles, which for the most part have no independent existence, frequently appear as first member of compounds.

1. The negative particle, the form of which in the sentence is *na*, almost invariably appears in composition as *a-*² before consonants, and invariably as *an-* before vowels. It completely reverses the meaning of the final member; thus *mītrā-* 'friend', *a-mītra-* 'enemy', *śastī-* 'praise', *ī-śasti-* 'curse'³. As participles, infinitives, and gerunds are nominal forms, they may be compounded with the privative particle: thus *ī-bibhyat-* 'not fearing', *ī-budhya-māna-* 'not waking', *ī-dāsyant-* (AV.) 'not about to give', *ī-vidvāṅs-* 'not knowing'⁴. The syntactical form of the particle is very rare: *na-murd-* (AV.) 'non-dying'(?)⁵. Perhaps also in *nā-pāt-* 'grandson', if it originally meant 'un-protected'⁶.

2. *su-* 'well', 'very', except in the RV. very seldom used independently⁷, and *dus-* 'ill', 'hardly', which occurs as a prefix only, appear as first member in determinatives and possessives; e. g. *su-kīra-* 'easy to be done', *sī-kṛta-* 'well-done', *su-dā-* 'giving willingly', *su-vasanā-* 'fair raiment', *su-varṇā-* 'fair-coloured', *sv-śva-* 'having excellent horses'; *dū-dā-* (AV.) 'not-worshipping', 'irreligious', *dus-cyavanā-* 'difficult to be felled', *dur-vāsar-* 'having bad clothing', 'ill-clad'; *dur-āhā* (AV.) 'wail' is formed as an antithesis to *sv-āhā* 'hail'.

3. There are a few prefixes beginning with *k-* which seem to be etymologically connected with the interrogative, and express depreciation, badness, or difficulty: *ku-*⁸ in *ku-carā-* 'wandering about', *ku-nakhīn-* (AV.) 'having diseased nails', *ku-nannamī-* 'hard to bend', *kū-yava-* (VS.) 'bringing bad harvest'⁹; *kad-* in *kat-payā-* 'swelling horribly'; *kim-* in *kiṃ-īlī-* (VS. TS. MS.) (land) 'having small stones', *kim-puruṣā-*, a kind of mythical being ('some-what like a man'); a collateral form *kavā-* perhaps in *kavāri-* 'stingy', *kavā-sakhī-* 'selfish'¹⁰.

4. The particles *-id* and *-vid* make their way into the first member of compounds in the company of pronominal words to which they may be

¹ *samāna-* is also used in this sense: as *samāna-bandhu-* 'having the same relatives'.
² *sa-* has the sense of 'one' in *sāhni-* (AV.) 'lasting one day', *sa-kṛt* 'once', *sa-dēvas* and *sa-dyās* 'on one and the same day'.

³ This is the low-grade form (= *na*) of *nā-*.

⁴ It frequently reverses the pregnant sense of the final member, as *vi-śastī-* '(good) dissector', *a-viśastī-* 'bad dissector'.

⁵ See KNAUER, Ueber die Betonung der composita mit a privativum im Sanskrit, KZ. 27, 1—68; examples from the later Samhitās in DETRÖCK, Altindische Syntax p. 540 f., Syntaktische Forschungen 2, p. 530 f.

⁶ *nā-pūṃsa-ka-* 'neuter' also occurs in MS. and ŚB.

⁷ See LEUMANN, Festgruss an Böhlingk, p. 77 f. For a few other doubtful compounds with *na-* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 78, note.

⁸ *sī-* occurs as an independent particle about 250 times (but never at the beginning of a sentence) in the RV., rarely in the later Samhitās: only 14 times in AV.

⁹ Often in adverbs such as *kū-tas* 'whence', *kū-tra* 'where'.

¹⁰ On a few doubtful compounds with *ku-*, see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 83, note.

¹¹ Also in *kāvā-tiryakā-* (TS.) 'directed somewhat across'.

appended; thus *tad-ld-artha-* 'directed to that particular object'; *kā-cit-kart-* 'effecting all manner of things'; *kū-cid-arthin-* 'striving to get anywhere', *kuha-cid-vid-* 'wherever being'.

5. A few interjectional or onomatopoeic words are compounded with *kāra-* and *-kṛti-* 'making' = 'sound', 'utterance', or *-kart-* 'maker', to express the actual phonetic sound of those words: thus *vaṣaṣ-kārd-* (AV. VS.) 'the interjection *vaṣaṣ*', *svadhā-kārd-* 'pronouncing (the benediction) *svadhā*', *svāhā-kṛti-* 'consecration with the call *svāhā*', *hii-kart-* (TS.) 'one who utters the sound *hii*', *hii-kārd-* (VS.) 'the sound *hii*'. In *has-kart-* 'enlivener', *has-kārd-* 'laughter', *hās-kṛti-* 'loud merriment', the first member represents either an interjection connected with the verb *has-* 'laugh', or a reduced form of **hasas-* 'laughter' (like *sīt-pati-* for *sīdas-pati-* through **sīts-pati-*).

B. The Last Member of Compounds.

252. Its form. — Practically all nouns may appear in this position. But many verbal nouns, especially participles, if used in their primary sense, are found exclusively after indeclinables which are capable of being combined with the corresponding verbs. Some stems also occur as final members though not used independently; such are verbal nouns formed from the simple root with or without an added determinative *-t-*; also derivatives like *-janīna-* (AV.) 'belonging to the people (*jāna-*) of —'.

a. Change of ending. — When the gender of the final member is changed, the *-ā* of feminine words, even though radical, becomes *-a* in masculine or neuter compounds; thus *priyosriyā-* 'fond of cows' (*usriyā-*); *an-avasā-* 'restless' (from *ava-si-* 'rest'), *a-braddhā-* 'unbelieving' (from *brad-dhā-* 'belief'), *ṛtib-jya-* 'well-strung' (from *jyā-* 'bowstring'). Even *-ī* in a few instances becomes *-a*; thus *ati-rātrā-* 'performed overnight' and *aho-rātrā-* 'day and night' (*rātrī-*); *api-sarvarā-* 'early in the morning' and *ati-sarvarā-* or *ati-sarvarāṣu* (AV.) 'late at night' (*sarvarā-*).

On the other hand m. and n. stems in *-a* regularly end in *-ā* in the feminine, as *cittī-garbhā-* 'having evident offspring' (*gārbha-* m.); and *pātī-* 'husband' in f. possessives substitutes *-patnī-*; thus *eka-patnī-* (AV.) 'having a single husband', *dāsā-patnī-* 'having demons as lords', *sa-patnī-* 'having one husband in common', *sām-patnī-* (AV.) and *sahā-patnī-* (AV.) 'having her husband with her', *su-patnī-* 'having a good husband'; also in the determinative *vīrī-patnī-* 'wife of a hero'.

253. Alternative stems. — When in the inflexion of a word alternative stems are used, only one of these, and as a rule the older one, appears as final member of possessive compounds: thus *dānt-* 'tooth' (not *dānta-*) in *śatī-dānt-* (AV.) 'hundred-toothed', *śuci-dānt-* 'bright-toothed'; *pād-* 'foot' (not *pāda-*): *a-pād-* 'footless', *uttānī-pād-* 'whose feet are extended', *eka-pād-*¹ 'one-footed'; *nās-* 'nose' (not *nāsā-*) in *fjā-nas-*² 'straight-nosed', N. of a man³; *ūdhan-* 'udder' (not *ūdhar-*) in *an-ūdhān-*⁴ 'udderless', *rapsīd-ūdhan-* 'having a distended udder', *ī-ā-ccidrodhnī-* 'having an intact udder'; *dhānvan-* 'bow' (not *dhānus-*) in *abalt-dhanvan-* (AV.) 'having a weak bow', *dvatata-dhanvan-* (VS.) 'having an unstrung bow', *ksīprī-dhanvan-* 'having a swift bow', *śatī-*

¹ The AV., however, has the nom. sing. *eka-pāda-*.

² According to BLOOMFIELD also in *rujānās*, for *rujānā-nās* 'broken-nosed'; see p. 59, note 1.

³ According to WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 92 (top), *a-nāsikā-* occurs in TS. (VII. 5. 12¹).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 93, note.

dhanvan- (VS.) 'having a hundred bows'; *śirśān-* 'head' (not *śiras-*) in *a-śirśān-* 'headless', *tri-śirśān-* 'three-headed'², f. *rūru-śirśān-* 'having the head of a Ruru antelope'; *hṛd-* 'heart' (not *hṛdaya-*) in its long-grade form *-hṛd-* in *dur-hṛd-* (AV.) 'ill-disposed' and *su-hṛd-* 'good-hearted'.

a. Sometimes an alternative stem is used which has not been preserved as an independent word; thus *jñu-* 'knee' (weak form of *jānu-*) in *asit-jñu-* (AV.) 'dark-kneed', *mit-jñu-* 'firm-kneed'⁴; an old stem *-medhas-* in *su-medhās-* 'wise' and *puru-medhas-* (SV.) 'wise' beside the regular compounds in *-medha-* (from *medhā-* 'wisdom') such as *puru-medha-* 'having much wisdom'; *-tvacas-*⁵ 'skin' in *sūrya-tvacas-* (AV. VS.) 'having a skin bright as the sun' and *hīranya-tvacas-* (AV.) 'having a golden skin', beside *tvac-* in *sūrya-tvac-* and *hīranya-tvac-*.

254. Transfer stems.—Some four stems appear in certain forms changed to stems in *-as* from a misunderstanding of the nom. *-s* in *-ā-s* (as in *su-prajā-s*); thus from *prajā-* 'offspring', *ā-prajas-* (AV.) 'having no offspring', and *su-prajās-*⁶ 'having good offspring', *idā-prajās-*⁷ (MS. I. 5²) 'descendant of Idā'; from *ksā-* 'dwell', *divd-ksas-* 'living in heaven'; from *dā-* 'give', *dravino-dās-* 'bestowing wealth'; from *dhā-* 'put', *vayo-dhās-* (AV. VS.) 'bestowing strength' and *varco-dhās-* (AV.) 'bestowing vigour'. On the other hand, by the loss of final *-s* or *-t* a few consonant stems are transformed to *a*-stems; thus beside *an-āgas-* 'guiltless' appears *an-āga-*, and beside *puru-dāmsas-* 'abounding in wondrous deeds', *puru-dāmsa-*; *ūru-aśhṭvā-* (VS.)⁸, n. du. 'thigh and knee', beside *aśhṭvānt-* m. du. 'knees' ('bow'); *ubhayā-da-*⁹ (AV.) 'having teeth in both (jaws)', beside *ubhayā-dat-*.

255. Vowel gradation in final member.—a. 1. The low grade vowel of the roots *dā-* 'give' and *dā-* 'cut' disappears when the past participles **dāta-* 'given'¹⁰ and *dāta-* 'cut' and the action noun **dāti-* 'giving' become unaccented final members in a compound; thus *dāta-tta-* (VS.) 'cut off', *devd-tta-* 'given by the gods', *vy-ā-tta-* (AV. VS.) 'opened', *pārt-tta-* (VS.) 'given up'¹¹, *d-prāti-tta-* (AV.) 'not given back'; *dhāga-tti-* 'gift of fortune', *maghā-tti-* 'giving of presents', *vāsu-tti-* 'granting of wealth'¹². Unreduced forms, however, occur in *tvā-dāta-* and *tvā-datta-* 'given by thee' and in *havyā-dāti-* 'sacrificial gift'¹³.

2. The vowels *ī* and *ū* in the radical syllable of the final member is in a few instances reduced to *i* and *u*; thus *try-udhān-* 'having three udders' (*ādhan-*), *dhi-jī-* 'inspiring the mind' (*jū-* 'impel'), *su-śirā-* 'having a good channel', 'hollow' (*śirā-* 'stream'), *śi-śuti-* 'easy birth' (*śū-* TB.), *ā-huti-* 'invocation' (otherwise *sā-huti-* 'joint invocation', etc.). Derivative *-ī* is reduced to *-i* in *ā-ni-bhṛṣṭa-taviṣi-* 'having unabated power' (*āviṣi-*).

¹ The determinative *indra-dhanūs-* 'Indra's bow', occurs in the AV.

² The AV. however has *prthū-śiras-* 'broad-headed'.

³ From *āsthan-* (beside *dsthī-*, AV.) occur both *an-asthān-* and *an-asthā-* 'boneless'.

⁴ Other reduced stems are *sā-gdhi-* (VS.) 'joint meal' (*gḥās-*), *nījā-* 'nest' (*nī+* *√*śad-), *uṣā-bhī-* 'noise' (*uṣā+* *√*śad-) *ā-sk-ra-* 'united' (*√*śar-); perhaps *pari-mā-* 'best part of' (*dāta-* 'part').

⁵ Also in the derivative *tvacas-yā-* (AV.) 'being in the skin'.

⁶ Under the influence of this new stem is formed *su-prajās-tvā-* 'possession of good offspring' (for **su-prajā-tvā-*).

⁷ In K. *i-ā-prajās-* (IS. 3, 463) with the *ā* of *ī-ā-* unshortened.

⁸ Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *aśhṭvāt-*.

⁹ Formed by dropping the *-t* of the weak stem *-dat-*.

¹⁰ This phonetic form has otherwise been ousted by the anomalous participle *dat-tā-* made from the weak present stem *dat-*.

¹¹ The participle *prā-tta-* 'given up' also occurs in TS. II. 2. 8⁴ (B).

¹² *prā-tti-* 'gift' also occurs in TS. V. 4. 7² (B) and *nir-dāsa-tti-* 'distribution of shares' in K.

¹³ The *ā* of *sāman-* 'chant' is perhaps reduced to *a* in *śk-sāma-* (VS.), *śk-sāma-* (TS.), and *ścī-sāma-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 43 f., note.

3. The *o* of *gô* 'cow' is reduced to *u* in *pīṣṭi-gu* 'rearing cows', N. of a man, and *su-gū* 'having fine cows'. The *-ai* of *rīi* 'wealth', is reduced to *-i* in *brhād-ri*¹ 'having abundant wealth'; perhaps also in *rdhād-ri*², N. of a man.

4. Final *-i* and *-u* of the first member combine with the low grade form of *ā* of *āp-* 'water' in the last member to *ī* and *ū*, in *dīp-ā*³ 'island' (*dvi-āp-*), *prāp-ā-m* 'against' (*prati-*) 'the stream', *anūp-ī* 'pond' (*anu-āp-*).

b. On the other hand, radical *a* in several instances appears lengthened to *ā*⁴. This occurs in several possessive compounds of *jāni-* 'wife'; *bhādra-jāni* 'having a beautiful wife' (only voc.), *yīva-jāni* 'having a young wife', *vittā-jāni* 'having found a wife', 'married', and with shifted accent *dvi-jāni* 'having two wives' and *a-jāni* (AV.) 'having no wife'. A similar lengthening appears in *prītu-jāghana-* (only voc. f.) 'broad-hipped'; *sahā-jānuṣa-* 'with offspring' (*jānuṣa-*); *nī-pādī-* 'low ground' (*pādī-*); *tvit-pitāras* (TS. I. 5. 10²), N. pl. 'having thee as father'; *su-vācas-* 'having good speech', 'very eloquent', *sī-vācas*⁵ (AV.) 'employing similar speech', *vi-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking in various ways' (*vācas-*), *viśvā-sārada-* (AV.) 'occurring every autumn' (*sārada-*) 'annual', *satā-sārada-* 'lasting a hundred autumns'⁶.

256. Adjectival suffixes. — Adjective compounds not infrequently add certain suffixes to mark their adjectival character more clearly. These suffixes are *-ka*, *-i*, *-ya*, *-a*, *-in*.

1. The suffix *-ka*⁷ is thus used in only two somewhat obscure compounds in the RV. *trī-kādrū-ka-* (only pl.), a designation of certain soma vessels (*kādrī-*) and *try-āmba-ka-* 'having three mothers' (*amba* voc.); in the AV. occur *vi-manyu-ka-* 'free from anger' and *sahā-kauṣṭhi-ka-* f. 'with the throat' (*kauṣṭhī-*, B.)⁸.

2. In the final member of a few Bahuvrihis, the suffix *-i* sometimes takes the place of *-a*; thus *prīty-ardhī* 'to whom the half (*ardha-*) belongs'; *dhūjana-gandhī-i* 'having a smell (*gandhī-*) of ointment', *dhūmī-gandhī* 'smelling of smoke', *su-gāndhī-* or *sugandhī* 'sweet-smelling'; *krīṣṭā-rādhi-* (AV.) 'attaining success (*rādha-*) in agriculture'.

3. The suffix *-ya* is frequently added in Bahuvrihis; thus *anyādar-ya-* 'born from another womb' (*udāra-*), *dāsa-māsa-ya*⁹ 'ten months old', *dirgha-jihv-ya-* 'long-tongued'¹⁰, *mādhu-hast-ya-* 'honey-handed', *mayūtra-śep-ya-* 'peacock-tailed'¹¹, *viśvā-jan-ya-* 'belonging to all men', *viśvā-dev-ya-* 'relating to all gods', *viśvāṅg-yā-* (AV.) 'being in all limbs', *sā-garbh-ya-* (VS.) 'born from the same

¹ In the dative *brhādraye*; cp. BB. 25, 250.

² In the anomalous gen. sing. *rdhād-riyaḥ*.

³ Also *nīp-a-* 'low-lying' (*nī-āp-* 'into which the water flows down') in K.

⁴ For a phonetic explanation of this phenomenon see WACKERNAGEL 21, 43 (p. 100); and cp. I, 68.

⁵ There is a various reading *sī-vācasas* in AV. VII. 12², on which see WHITNEY'S note.

⁶ On *vi-hāyas-* 'of extensive power', *sārva-hāyas-* (AV.) 'having all vigour', *su-rāma-* 'delighting', *su-yāma-* 'guiding well', see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 101 (middle).

⁷ This suffix, which is never accented, is probably identical with that which forms

adjectives, as *anta-ka-* 'ending' from *anta-* 'end'.

⁸ In the YV. several examples occur; WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 102, quotes from the TS. *a-karū-ka-* 'earless', *a-dantā-ka-* 'toothless', *a-pādā-ka-* 'footless', *an-akṣi-ka-* 'eyeless', *an-asthi-ka-* 'boneless', *a-tadk-ka-* 'skinless', *sāstī-ka-* 'accompanied by a blessing', *an-āthī-ka-* 'lacking a blessing'; from the MS. *a-cchandās-ka-* 'metreless', *an-āstha-ka-* 'boneless'.

⁹ Also *ṣaṣ-māsyā-* 'six months old', and *ṣapta-māsyā-* 'seven months old' in K.

¹⁰ Also in TS. some compounds formed with *deva-tyā-* 'having — for a deity' (*devāṅ-*); *nānā-vit-yā-* (MS.) 'consisting of various villages'.

¹¹ Also *vi-jīn-ya-* (K.) 'tailless'.

womb', *sa-dhan-yā-* 'accompanied by gifts', *si-yāth-ya-* (VS.) 'belonging to the same herd', *su-hast-ya-* 'fair-handed' (beside *su-hista-*), *hiraṇya-keś-ya-* 'golden-maned' (beside *hiraṇya-keśa-*)¹.

The suffix *-ya* is also common in governing compounds with prepositions as first member; thus *idhi-garī-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *antaḥ-parsū-yā-* (VS.) and *antaḥ-parsū-yā-* (VS.) 'being between the ribs', *anu-āntī-ya-* (AV.) 'being in the entrails', *apī-kakṣ-yā-* 'situated near the arm-pit', *īpa-tru-ya-* (AV.) 'being in the grass', *īpa-mās-ya-* (AV.) 'occurring every month', *pāri-rath-ya-* (AV.)² 'being around the car', n. part of the car. It also appears in the adverbially used governing compounds *abhi-nabhyā-m* 'near the clouds' and *ud-āp-yā-m* (AV.) 'upstream'.

4. The final member of Bahuvrīhis is very frequently extended by the suffix *-a*. In the RV. there are at least fifteen such stems; thus *akṣ-* 'eye' in *an-akṣ-d-* 'eyeless', *idhy-akṣ-a-* 'eye-witness', *catur-akṣ-d-* 'four-eyed', *bhūry-akṣ-d-* 'many-eyed', *sahasrākṣ-d-* 'thousand-eyed', *hiraṇyākṣ-d-* 'golden-eyed', *āktākṣ-a-* (AV.) 'whose eyes are anointed', *an-āktākṣ-a-* (AV.) 'whose eyes are not anointed', *dhūmakṣ-d-* (AV.) 'smoke-eyed', *paryastākṣ-d-* (AV.) 'with eyes cast about', *sanīrasākṣ-d-* (AV.) 'having constantly falling eyes', *hary-akṣ-d-* (VS.) 'yellow-eyed'; **asth-*⁴ 'bone' in *an-asth-d-* 'boneless' beside *an-asthān-*; **udar-* 'water' in *an-udr-d-* 'waterless'; *gō-* 'cow' in *su-gōv-a-* 'having fine cows', *saṃ-gar-d-* 'time when cows come together', and in *atīthi-gōv-d-*, a name, *lā-gv-a-* 'variegated', *dāśa-gv-a-*, N. of a mythical group, *nāva-gv-a-*⁵, N. of a mythical group; *janus-* in *suhā-jānuṣ-a-* 'with offspring'; *div-* 'heaven' in *brhad-div-a-* and *brhad-div-d-*, N. of a seer, *su-div-d-* (AV.) 'bright day'; *dur-* 'door' in *satī-dur-a-* 'having a hundred doors'; *dhur-* 'yoke' in *su-dhūr-a-* 'going well under the yoke' (beside *su-dhūr-*), *sā-dhur-a-* (AV.) 'harnessed to the same yoke'; *nas-* 'nose' in *urū-nas-d-* 'broad-nosed', *paṭī-nas-d-* (AV.) 'having a nose like a spear-head', *vārdhri-nas-d-* (VS.) 'rhinoceros'; *mīdh-* in *vi-mīdh-d-*⁶ (AV.) 'warding off foes' (beside *vi-mīdh-*, VS.); *rdī-* 'wealth' in *ī-rāy-a-* 'not liberal'; *vāstu-* 'dwelling' in *nīva-vāstī-a-* 'having nine abodes'; *śarīd-* 'autumn' in *satī-śarād-a-* 'lasting a hundred autumns'; *āp-* 'water' in *dāvīp-d-* 'island'⁷.

In the later Samhitās several other final members extended with *-a* occur: *dhan-* 'day' in *sāhu-d-* (AV.) 'lasting a day'; *ṛc-* 'verse' in *eka-ṛc-d-* (AV.) 'consisting of one verse'; *kṣām-* 'earth' in *su-kṣm-d-* (VS.) 'consisting of good earth'; *netī-* 'leader' in *agnī-netī-a-* (VS. TS.)⁸ 'having Agni as leader'; *path-* 'road', in *vi-path-d-* (AV.), a kind of chariot ('fit for untrodden paths'); *pād-* 'foot' in *ā-bā-a-* (VS.) 'year'; **vatas-* 'year' in *tri-vats-d-* (VS.) 'three years old'; *saṃ-dī-* 'aspect' in *mādhu-saṃdī-a-* (AV.) 'sweet-looking'.

a. The final member is also sometimes extended with *-a* after a governing preposition; thus *ānu-path-a-* 'going along the road', *āntas-path-a-* 'being on the road', *anūp-d-* 'tank' ('lying along the water'), *upānas-d-* 'being on the car' (*-ānas-*), *parō-kṣ-a-* (AV.) 'away from the eye' (*akṣ-*), *puro-gav-d-* 'leader' ('preceding the cows').

¹ *āsva-budh-ya-* 'based on horses' is probably for **āsva-budhā-ya-* (from *budhā-* 'bottom') beside *āsva-budhna-* 'borne by horses'.

² The accent of these words in *-ya* is usually the same as it would be without the suffix; for a few exceptions, see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, 47 d (p. 108).

³ The Mss. (AV. XX. 1286) read *anāktākṣa-*.

⁴ See WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 108 (bottom).

⁵ See BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. 17, 422 ff.

⁶ Also the f. *vi-mīdh-d-* (TS. II. 4. 2¹ B).

⁷ On a few doubtful instances see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 109 (bottom).

⁸ In TS. I. 8. 7¹ = VS. IX. 35, 36 several other names of deities compounded with *-netī-a-* occur.

b. A similar extension with *-a* occurs in collectives which are allied to Bahuvrihis: thus *try-tyus-ā-* (VS.) 'threefold lifetime', *divi-rāj-ā-* (AV.) 'battle of two kings', *ṣaṭ-rc-ā-* 'aggregate of six stanzas', *sam-udr-ā-* 'collection of waters' (**udar-*), 'sea', *sa-vidyut-ā-* (AV.) 'thunderstorm' ('accompanied by lightning'). Akin to these are compounds in which the first member expresses a part of the last (with change of gender); thus *ardha-rc-ā-* (AV. VS.) m. 'half-stanza', *aparāhṇ-ā-* (AV.) m. 'afternoon', *ny-dhṇ-a-* (AV.) 'decline of day', *pūrvāhṇ-ā-* 'forenoon', *prā-pad-a-* 'tip of the foot'. There are further some neuter determinatives which probably had originally a collective sense; thus, with change of gender, *tri-div-ā-* 'third heaven', *su-div-ā-* (AV.) 'fine day'; *ā-path-a-* (AV.) 'pathlessness', *su-pāth-a-* 'good path'. From neuter stems in *-as*, *devainas-ā-* (AV.) 'curse of the gods', *manuṣyainas-ā-* (AV.) 'sin (*énas-*) of men'; *brahma-varcas-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'divine power', *hastī-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'vigour of an elephant', *brāhmaṇa-varcas-ā-* (AV.) 'dignity of a Brahman'.

c. The ending *-a* frequently takes the place of *-an* in the final member of Bahuvrihis, collectives, and Karmadhārayas; thus *deva-karmā-* 'doing divine work', *viśvā-karma-* 'performing all work', *vitrā-karma-* 'performing manly work', *priyā-dhāma-* 'occupying desirable places', *chando-nāma-* (VS.) 'named metre', 'metrical', *vi-parva-* 'jointless', *divi-vṛṣā-*² (AV.) 'having two bulls', *añjī-sakthā-* (VS.) 'having coloured thighs', *ut-sakthā-* (VS.) 'lifting up the thighs', *lomāśā-sakthā-* (VS.) 'having hairy thighs',³ *r̥k-sāmā-* 'the R̥ verses and the Sāmans', *ṣaṭ-ahā-* (AV.) m. 'period of six days'; *bhadrāhā-* (AV.) n. 'auspicious day', *eka-vṛṣā-* (AV.) 'only bull', *mahā-vṛṣā-* (AV.) 'great bull'.

d. The suffix *-a* takes the place of *-ī* in *kaṇvā-sakhā-* 'having a niggard for a friend' (*sakhi-*), in *mandayāt-sakha-* 'gladdening his friend', and in *daśāṅgulā-* 'length of ten fingers' (*aṅgūli-*).

5. In Bahuvrihis the suffix *-in* is sometimes pleonastically added; thus *ku-nakh-in-* (AV.) 'having bad nails', *mahā-hast-in-* 'having large hands', *yaśo-bhag-in-* (VS.) 'rich in glory', *sa-rath-in-* (VS.) 'riding on the same chariot'.

257. Classification of Compounds.—The Indian grammarians divided compounds into three main classes according to their syntactical relations: 1) copulatives, or those in which the members are coordinated, called *dvandva-*⁴ ('couple'); 2) determinatives, or those in which the first member determines the second, called *tat-puruṣa-* ('his man'); 3) those which are dependent on another word, called *bahuvrīhi-*⁵. The latter are usually regarded as compounds of the determinative class transmuted to adjectives, which would thus have a secondary character. They are often called 'possessives' since their meaning can usually be rendered by 'possessing', as *bahr-anmā-* 'possessing much food'. To these may be added three other groups in order to treat Vedic compounds exhaustively: 4) governing compounds, or those in which the first member governs the last in sense; e. g. *ṛṣayā-vīra-* 'ruling men'; 5) a certain remnant of irregular combinations which are best dealt with together; 6) iteratives, or repeated words which are treated as compounds in the Saṃhitās inasmuch as they have only one accent and a special meaning when thus combined; in these the second member is called *amreṣita-* 'repeated' by the Indian grammarians.

¹ This *-a* probably started in stems ending in *-man*, representing **-mn-a-*; see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 118 c.

² *-vṛṣā-* for *-vṛṣan-* occurs in the AV. after other numerals also.

³ For some doubtful examples see WACKER-NAGEL 2¹, p. 116.

⁴ The word first occurs in a B. passage of the TS. (1. 6. 91) in the form of *dvandvāni* 'couples', and in the AB.

⁵ An example used as the name of the class.

⁶ 'Having much rice', an example used as the name of the class.

1. Iteratives.

COLLITZ, Transactions of the Oriental Congress of Berlin 2, 287 ff. — DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax, Dritter Theil (1900), p. 141—153: Iterativcomposita. — WACKER-NAGEL 2, p. 142—148.

258. The repetition of an inflected form with loss of accent in the second word is very frequent in the RV. Such repetitions are treated in the Pada texts as compounds the members being separated by the Avagraha. The word thus repeated is generally a substantive and iteration is expressed chiefly in regard to time or distribution in regard to space; e. g. *āhar-āhar*, *div-¹dive*, *dyāvi-dyāvi* 'every day'; *grhe-grhe*, *dāme-dāme*, *visé-visé* 'in every house'; *disi-disih* (AV.) 'from every quarter'. Substantives are also thus repeated to express frequency or constant succession in other matters: *sātroh-sātroh* 'of every foe'; *annam-annam* (AV.) 'food in perpetuity'; *agnim-agnim vah samidhā durasyata* (VI. 15²) 'worship Agni again and again with your fuel'; *yajñāsya-yajñāsya* 'of every sacrifice' (X. 1³), *āṅgād-āṅgāt* 'from every limb' (X. 163⁶), *parvaṇi-parvaṇi* 'in every joint' (X. 163⁶). Adjectives repeated in this way are less common; e. g. *pānyam-pānyam . . ā dhāvata . . sāmam* (VIII. 2²⁵) 'cleanse Soma who is again and again to be praised'; *prācīm-prācīm pradiśam* (AV. XII. 3⁷) 'each forward (eastern) direction'; *uttarām-uttarām sāmam* (AV. XII. 1³³) 'each following year', 'year after year'².

a. The repeated word was originally used in the singular only. But the plural meaning of this repetition led to the beginnings of plural forms, as *īkam-ekā satā daduḥ* (V. 52²⁷) 'they have given a hundred each' (lit. 'hundreds, each one'). But a word thus iterated seems never to be in the plural except in agreement with a plural.

b. The frequency of *-e* as locative of *a*-stems led to the occasional use of the dative in consonant stems; *div-t-div-e* (for **div-t-div-i*) and *vit-t-vit-e* (for **vit-i-vit-i*).

c. The transition from iteratives to regular compounds, which appears in B., began with numerals. Thus the *īka-ekāḥ* of the RV. (III. 29¹⁵) appears in the ŚB. as *īkaika-*; and from the *dvā-dvā* of the RV. (VIII. 68¹¹) we come to the adverbial *dvā-dvām* 'in pairs' in the MS., and finally to *dvandvī-* 'pair' in the TS. (B).

d. Adjective compounds in which a word is repeated for emphasis are unconnected with iteratives, differing from them both in sense and accent; thus *mahā-mahā-* 'mightily great'; *ṣaiṣṭ-* f. of **ṣaiṣṭā-* (= *ṣa-ṣā-*) 'very speedy'. Whether *carā-carī-* and *calā-calā-* 'moveable' belong to this group is somewhat uncertain.

2. Copulative Compounds.

REITER, Die altindischen nominalcomposita, KZ. 31, 172—87: I. Copulative composita. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 31. — RICHTER, Die unechten Nominalkomposita des Altindischen und Altiranischen: IF. 9, 23 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1252—61. — WACKER-NAGEL 2, 62—74 (p. 149—173).

259. Classification of Dvandvas.—This class consists of compounds consisting of two substantives, far less commonly adjectives, the syntactical relation of which in the sentence is the same and which may be regarded as connected in sense by 'and'. The successive stages in the development of this class can be closely traced from the beginning in the Samhitās. 1. First we have in the RV. the most numerous group (about three-fourths

¹ A vocative repeated to express emphasis is not treated in the same way: in *aranyāni aranyāni* (X. 146²) both vocatives are accented, the second being as emphatic as the first.

² The only repetition of a verbal form in this way is *phu-piba* (II. 11²¹) 'drink again and again'; cp. above 88.

³ According to GELDNER, VS. 2, 15 the form *ṣaiṣṭā* (RV.) is the inst. sing. of *ṣaiṣṭ-* f. of **ṣaiṣṭā-*; but according to BR. and GRASSMANN it is neut. pl. of *ṣaiṣṭā-* (= *ṣa-ṣṣṭā-*) 'to be striven for with desire', 'desirable'.

of all the Dvandvas) in which the compound consists of two co-ordinated nouns in the dual, each with its own accent. 2. The first member assumes an unchangeable form. 3. Only one accent remains and is restricted to the last syllable of the final member. 4. The first member assumes (but quite rarely in the RV.) the form of the stem. 5. The formation, becoming more general, can assume plural endings (but the RV. has only a few examples in the last book). 6. In the later Samhitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the dual Dvandvas. 7. The final stage (of which the examples are few) is that of Dvandvas which are neuter singulars of a collective character.

260. In the commonest and earliest type of the old Dvandvas each member is dual in form and has a separate accent. This type seems to have originated from two grammatical practices frequent in the Vedas: (a) the juxtaposition of two coordinate words without *ca*; e. g. *bhūmano divās pāri* (ix. 73⁵) 'away from earth and heaven', *krītuṃ dīkṣam* (viii. 42³) 'understanding and will'; (b) the use of the elliptic dual⁴ which puts one of a pair in the dual to express both, as *dyāvā* 'heaven and earth'. This origin is probable because the dual Dvandvas are found alternating with one or both of these usages; thus *mitrā-varuṇā* 'Mitra and Varuṇa' appears beside both *mitrā* alone and *mitrā varuṇāh* (or *mitrā varuṇāh ca* and *mitrāh ca varuṇāh ca*); *mātṛā-pitṛā* 'mother and father' beside *mātṛā* or *pitṛā* and *pitṛe mātṛe* and other cases, the VS. (ix. 19) having pleonastically even *pitṛā-mātṛā ca* meaning 'father and mother'. The transition from the syntactical collocation *divās . . . pṛthivyās* (vi. 30¹) to a dual compound is seen in *divās-pṛthivyās* 'of heaven and earth' (occurring four times in the RV.) where the second word is put in the dual to show clearly that an associated couple is meant. In the RV. the two duals of the compound are often separated; e. g. *dyāvā ha kṣāmā* (x. 12¹) 'heaven and earth'; *dyāvā yajñātīh pṛthivī* (vii. 53¹); *indrā no ātra varuṇā* (iv. 41¹)²; *ś niktā barhīh sadatām usāsa* (vii. 42⁵) 'let Night and Dawn seat themselves upon the litter'; *indrā nū pūṣṇā* (vi. 57¹) 'Indra and Pūṣan'; *indrā nu agnī* (vi. 59³) 'Indra and Agni'; *indrā yo agnī* (vi. 60¹)³; *cakṣur mahi mitrīdyor ām itī priyāni varuṇayoh* (vi. 51¹) 'the great, dear eye of Mitra and Varuṇa comes'. In two or three examples of tmesis the dual ending appears in the first member only, while the singular remains in the second; thus *mitrā . . . varuṇah* (viii. 25²) and *indrā yō vāṇi varuṇā*⁴ (vi. 68⁵) 'O Indra and Varuṇa'. Generally, however, the two duals are in immediate juxtaposition, as *indrā-bṛhaspati* 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'; *dyāvā-pṛthivī* 'Heaven and Earth'; *agni-sōmā* 'Agni and Soma'; gen. *mitrīdyor-varuṇayoh*⁵ 'of Mitra and Varuṇa'.

The characteristic final vowel of the first member is *-ā*⁶, as *usāsā-niktā* (or *niktāsāsā*); hence it even ousts *-i* as in *agnī-viṣṇū* (AV.) 'O Agni and Viṣṇu'. Beside this *-ā* there sometimes appears *a* in the vocative, both in tmesis, as in *mitra rājānā varuṇā* (v. 62³) 'O kings Mitra and Varuṇa' (voc. of *rājānā mitrā-varuṇā*, iii. 56⁷; x. 64⁸); and when the members are joined, as

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 23, 302 ff., REUTER, KZ. 31, 176 ff., DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 38 (p. 98), Vergleichende Syntax, Erster Theil 41 (p. 137 f.).

² In each of the first 6 stanzas of iv. 41 *indrā* and *varuṇā* are separated by one or two words of two or three syllables.

³ Also *viṣṇū agan varuṇā* 'Viṣṇu and Varuṇa' in a Mantra in TB. ii. 8. 45.

⁴ The Pada text here reads *varuṇā*; cp. *indrā hō vāṇi varuṇā* (iv. 41¹).

⁵ Double duals in *-bhūm* do not appear to occur.

⁶ The ending *-au* or *-āv* never occurs in the first member.

in *parjanya-vāta* (VI. 49⁶), voc. of *parjanya-vāta* (VI. 50¹²), and always in *Indra-vāyū* 'O Indra and Vayu'. The ending *-ī* appears in the first member in *agni-sōmau* 'Agni and Soma'; and *-ā* in *krātū-dīkṣau* (VS.)².

261. These coordinate duals having early come to be regarded as a unit, the commonest ending of the first member, that of the nom. acc., came to be retained unaltered in other cases and in derivatives³. Thus arose the forms *mitrā-vāruṇābhyām*; *mitrā-vāruṇayos* beside *mitrāyor-vāruṇayos*, *Indrā-vāruṇayos*; in the AV. *dyāvā-pṛthivībhyām* and *dyāvā-pṛthivyōs* (instead of the *divās-pṛthivyōs* of the RV.).

262. In a minority of instances, but comparatively oftener in the later Saṃhitās than in the RV., the first member loses its accent and only the last syllable of the final member (irrespective of its original accent) has the acute⁴; thus *Indrā-pūṣṣīs* (beside *Indrā-pūṣṣā*); *somā-pūṣṣībhyām*; *bhava-rudrāu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Rudra', *bhava-sarvāu* (AV.) 'Bhava and Sarva'; *vātī-parjanya* 'Vāta and Parjanya' (*parjanya-*); *sūryā-candramāsā* 'sun and moon' (*candramas-*).

a. In the later Saṃhitās there are a few examples in which the nom. sing. of stems in *-ī* has, doubtless owing to identity in form of the final vowel with the Vedic dual ending *-ā*, become fixed in the first member: *pitā-putrāu* (AV.) 'father and son'; *nestā-pūṣṣībhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18¹) 'to the Nestr and the Potr'⁶. They doubtless started from syntactically coordinated nominatives (like *divās-pṛthivyōs* beside *divās-pṛthivyās*, VI. 47⁷)⁷.

263. Dvandvas with a single accent having established themselves, the stem form began to encroach in the first member. The only two examples from RV. I.-IX, are *Indra-vāyū* (the transition being facilitated by the more frequent occurrence of the vocative *Indra-vāyū*) and *satyṃṛtē*⁸ (VII. 49³) 'truth and untruth'. Two additional neuters occurs in book X: *sāsanāsanā* 'what eats (*sa-asana-*) and does not eat' (*an-asana-*); and *ṛk-sāmābhyām* 'with hymns and chant'. In the later Saṃhitās this becomes the prevailing type regularly followed in new formations; *prastotṛ-pratihartṛbhyām* (TS. I. 8. 18¹) 'to the Prastotṛ and Pratihartṛ'; *krātū-dīkṣau* (VS.); *dakṣa-krātū* (TS.), *Sūdrārydu* (VS.) 'a Sūdra and an Ārya'⁹.

264. The stem form having established itself in the first member, the compounding of Dvandvas became freer, and not only neuters but feminines began to be admitted, as *dīkṣā-tapās-os* (VS.) 'consecration and austerity'. Here, too, the final syllable of the compound has the acute; the svarita of the original word is, however, retained in *brahma-rajanyāu* (VS. XXVI. 2; AV. XI. 32⁶) 'a Brahman and a warrior'.

265. Dvandvas with plural ending are on the whole later than those with dual ending. They would first have been used to express the plural sense of the pair in question, thus *ṣṭī āhur dyāvā-pṛthivīḥ* (VIII. 9¹⁰) 'they speak of six heaven-and-earths'; *aho-rātrāṇi* = 'pairs of day-and-night'.

¹ This Dvandva always has *a* even in the nom. *Indra-vāyū*.

² The dual notion is sometimes emphasized by the addition of *ubhāu* 'both', as *ubhā mitrā-vāruṇā*; *sūryā-candramāse ubhā* (AV.).

³ Like *jeder-manns* for *jedes-manns* in German. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 20, 168 (Anzeiger) regards these Dvandvas as abbreviations by dropping the common ending in the first member.

⁴ This accentuation is probably due to the influence of collective compounds which are nearly allied to Dvandvas. *Indrāgnī*, *Indrāgnībhyām*, *Indrāgnyōs* and *agnīndrābhyām*

are examples which may contain the stem form in the first member (263).

⁵ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 153, also quotes *somā-rudrāyos* (TS.), *uṣṇihā-kakūbhau* (MS.).

⁶ On *traṣṭi-varātī* see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 64 (p. 154).

⁷ The three divisions of Dvandvas treated above include masculines and feminines only. Neuters of similar type first appear in the Sūtras, as *idhmā-barhīḥ* 'fuel and litter'.

⁸ This is the earliest example of a neuter Dvandva.

⁹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 155, gives some further examples from B. portions of the later Saṃhitās.

A transition to the use of plural Dvandvas, that is, of pairs of groups, is made by *indrā-marutas* 'O Indra and Maruts', where the dual notion is made up of a singular on the one hand and a group on the other. The older type of such plural Dvandvas (which express two coordinated plurals, the first member retaining its accent and the archaic ending *-ā*, like the *-ā* of dual Dvandvas) is represented by *āṅgā-pārūṃsi* 'limbs and joints' occurring in a B. passage of the TS. (II. 5. 6¹). Examples of the later type with one accent are *ukthā-sastrāṇi* (VS. XIX. 28) 'recitations and praises', *ukthā-madāni* (AV.) 'recitations and rejoicings', and probably *ukthārkā* (VI. 34²) 'recitations and hymns'. The latest type of these plural Dvandvas (like that of the duals) has the stem form in the first as well as the acute on the last syllable of the final member. The only examples of this type in the RV. occur in book X: *aho-rātrāni*³ 'days and nights', *ajāvdyas* 'goats and sheep', *dhana-bhaktṣu* 'in riches and enjoyments'. In the later Saṃhitās this type becomes quite general, forming a single category with the duals; e. g. *deva-manuṣyās* (AV. VIII. 10⁴), *bhadra-pāpās* (AV.) 'the good and the bad', *priyāpriyāni* (AV.) 'pleasant and unpleasant things'⁵.

a. The expression *amṛta mṛtyānām* (I 269) appears to be an abridgment for *amṛtānām mṛtyānām* 'of immortals (and) mortals', amounting almost to a plural Dvandva (= *amṛta-mṛtyānām*)⁶.

266. A few Dvandvas appear in the Saṃhitās with a singular ending, these being neuter only. The older type in which a dual or plural has been turned into a singular at the end, only in order to express a collective meaning, is represented in the RV. by *iṣṭā-pārdā*⁷ 'what has been offered or given', originally a pl. n. in both members (**iṣṭā-pārdā*) which has become a singular to emphasize its collective character⁸. Both owing to the lack of an early type of neuter Dvandvas and because of the desire to express a collective sense, nearly all the neuter Dvandvas of the later kind are singular. In most instances both members are neuter; e. g. *kṛtākṛtīm* (AV.) 'what has been done and not done', *cittakūtīm* (AV.) 'thought and intention' (*ākṛntā*), *bhūta-bhavyām* (AV.) 'the past and the future', *samīṣṭa-yajīns* (VS.) 'sacrifice and sacrificial formula'; *bhadra-pāpasya* (AV.) 'of good and evil', *añjanābhyañjana-m* (AV.) 'unction and inunction' (*abhyañjana-*), *kaṣīpāpabarhaṇām* (AV.) 'mat and pillow'.

a. In a few instances the first member is a masculine or feminine: *keśa-śmaśrū* (AV.) 'hair and beard', *iṣṭā-ayudhā* (loc. sing.) 'arrows and weapons' (AV.).

267. Adjectives also occur as Dvandvas, but they are of rare occurrence. Three types may be distinguished.

1. Adjectives of colour expressing a mixture: e. g. *nīla-lohitā* 'dark-blue and red' = 'dark red'; *tāmra-dhūmrā* (AV.) 'red and black' = 'dark red'; *aruṇā-babhru-* (VS.) 'ruddy and yellow', *dhūmrā-rohitā-* (VS.) 'grey and red'⁹.

¹ Probably = *ukthā-arkā*, not *ukthā-arkā*, the gender of the first member having prevailed over that of the last.

² The gender of the first member here prevails over that of the second.

³ Some other examples from B. passages of the Saṃhitās in WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 157. The oldest example of a Dvandva consisting of three members is *frāṇāpānōdānīsu* (TS. VII. 3. 3¹) 'in the outward, the downward and the upward airs', where the plural results from the addition of three individual things (not three groups).

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 157.

⁵ See WINDISCH in Festgruss an Böhtlingk, p. 115 ff.

⁶ WACKERNAGEL (2¹, 68) quotes *āhmā-barhis* from the MS., 'fuel and litter', which with its double accent as well as dual ending in the first member represents a still earlier type.

⁷ Except in these colour adjectives in the VS., the accentuation of the adjective Dvandvas is the same as that of neuter substantive Dvandvas, that is, the last syllable of the final member has the acute.

2. Adjectives expressing a contrast; e. g. *utkūla-nikūlā* (VS.) 'going uphill and downhill'.

3. Adjectives used with dual or plural substantives to express that each is an attribute of one unit of the kind; e. g. *padbhyām dakṣiṇa-sa-yābhyām* (AV. XII. 1²³) 'with the right foot and the left'; or with the substantive to be supplied, *saptamāṣṭamābhyām svāhā* (AV.) 'hail to the seventh and the eighth (Aṅgīrasa)'; *aghasaṃsa-duḥsaṃsābhyām* (AV.) 'by those plotting evil and those plotting ill'; *sāhāṣṭirātrāu* (AV.) 'terminating with a day (*sa-ahna-*) and exceeding a day' (*ati-rātrā-*).

268. As regards the order of the members in a Dvandva, the rule seems to be that the more important or the shorter word comes first; thus *dyāvā-ḥsīmā*, *dyāvā-bhāmī*, *dyāvā-pṛthivī*¹ 'heaven and earth'; *sūryā-māsā* and *sūryā-candramāsā* 'sun and moon'; *Indrā-varuṇā* 'Indra and Varuṇa'; *ulūkhala-musālī* (AV.) 'mortar and pestle'. *Indra-* regularly comes first in the RV. and the later Saṃhitās in some dozen Dvandvas²; e. g. *indrāgnī*; otherwise *agnī-* always precedes; *sōma-* comes after *indrā-* and *agnī-*, but before *pūṣan-* and *rudra-*. The longer word comes first, perhaps, as the more important, in *parjanya-vātā*³ 'Parjanya and Vāta' and in *turvaśa-yādū* 'Turvaśa and Yadu'. This can hardly be the reason in *sambādha-tandryās* (AV.) 'oppressions and weariness'. The shorter word comes first in *mitrā-varuṇā*, though Varuṇa is the more important of the two⁴; in *ṛk-samābhyām* the shorter word is at the same time the more important.

3. Determinative Compounds.

269. Classification.—The large class of determinative compounds in which the first member determines or limits the sense of the last, is best divided into two main groups. In the one, the final member is a verbal noun which governs the first member in meaning, and often even in form, as a verb governs its case. In the other, the final member is an ordinary noun (either adjective or substantive), the relation of which to the first member is a purely nominal one.

a. Verbal Noun as final member.

270. The final member is often a verbal noun either not occurring as a simple word or at least not belonging to a type used as simple words: either the bare root⁵ or a verbal derivative formed with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-i*, *-in*, *-man*, *-van*. These nouns limited to use as final members are agent nouns; e. g. *haviṛ-dā-* 'eating the oblation', *sam-lh-* 'flaming', *jyotiḥ-kṛ-t-* 'producing light', *abhi-hri-t-* 'causing injury', *go-ghn-d-* 'cow-slaying', *ā-kar-i-* 'scattering', *amitra-dāmbh-ana-* 'injuring enemies', *tuvī-gr-t-* 'devouring much', *uru-cikr-i-* 'doing large work'; *bhadra-vād-in-* 'uttering an auspicious cry'; *āśu-hē-man-* 'swiftly speeding', *bhūri-dā-van-*⁶ 'giving much'.—Occasionally agent-nouns limited to use as final members are formed with other suffixes: *prati-div-an-* 'adversary at play', *vi-bhū-an-* 'far-reaching' and *vi-bhū-in-* 'skilful'; *pra-py-āsī-* (AV.) 'swelling', *sva-bhy-āsī-* (AV.) 'spontaneously frightened';

¹ This form occurs 79 times in the RV. and *pṛthivī-dyāvā* only once.

² Otherwise only *agnīndrabhyām* (VS.) 'Agni and Indra'. Cp. the list of dual divinities in Vedic Mythology, Grundriss III, I A, p. 126.

³ Once also *vātā-parjanya*.

⁴ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2², p. 168 (middle).

⁵ Appearing in its weakest form or, if ending in a short vowel, with determinative *-t*.

⁶ *-man-* and *-van-* occasionally appear as variations for *-man-* and *-van-*, as *vi-rūk-man-* 'shining'; *prīṇa-dā-vant-* (AV.) 'life-giving' (cp. WHITNEY on AV. IV. 35³); see REUTER, KZ. 31, 500 f.

duh-sās-u- 'malignant', *vi-bhīnd-i-* 'splitting', *prā-y'ya-* 'used for driving', *govind-i-* 'seeking cows', *pari-tam-i-* (AV.) 'encompassing', *pūm̄-cāt-i-* (VS.) 'prostitute'; *pūva-sphā-kā-* (AV.) 'abounding in fat', *ni-hā-kā-* 'whirlwind'; *vi-bhāñj-ani-* 'shattering'; *prā-cāt-ina-* 'affording a wide prospect'; *div-t-mant-* 'going to heaven'; *tuvī-kūrm-(n)-* 'stirring mightily'; *vasah-palpul-i-* (VS.) 'washing clothes'.

a. The meaning of these agent-nouns restricted in use as final members is chiefly active. But in those of them which consist of the bare root (with or without the determinative *-i*) it is often intransitive; e. g. *namo-vidh-* 'growing by adoration'; it is not infrequently passive, as *mano-yij-* 'yoked at will', *su-yij-* 'well-yoked'; *yāma-kū-* 'called by entreaties', *indra-pī-tama-* 'most eagerly drunk by Indra', *īva-sūt-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass', *hr̄daya-vidh-* 'pierced to the heart' (AV.). The passive meaning also appears in one derivative formed with *-a*; *pari-mar-d-* (TS.) 'died around' = 'around whom people die'. Final members formed with *-a*, *-ana*, (*-i*)-*tu* when compounded with *su-* or *dus-* also have a passive (gerundive) meaning expressive of the ease or difficulty with which the verbal action is performed; e. g. *su-kār-a-* 'easy to be done', *su-mān-tu-* 'easily recognisable', *su-ved-anā-* 'easily acquired'; *du-ūp-anā-* 'hard to attain'; *dur-ni-yār-tu-* 'hard to restrain', *dur-dhār-tu-* 'irresistible', *dū-dābha-* 'hard to deceive'; also an isolated derivative with *-i*, *dur-gṛbh-i-* 'hard to catch', and one with *-na*, *su-brū-ya-* 'easily heard' (beside *u-brū-t-* 'hearing easily').

271. A certain number of verbal nouns restricted to employment as final members which are formed from the simple root (with or without determinative *-i*) or with the suffixes *-a*, *-ana*, *-tha* are nouns of action; e. g. *śrad-dhā-* 'belief', *ātir-dā-* (VS. TS.) 'fulfilment of wishes', *īpa-stu-t-* 'invocation', *pari-pād-* 'snare', *sam-nīm-* (AV.) 'affection'; *ksudhā-mār-i-* (AV.) 'death by hunger', *pāpa-vād-i-* (AV.) 'evil cry'; *deva-hēt-ana-* 'offence against the gods', *baddhaka-mōc-ana-* (AV.) 'release of a prisoner'; *go-pi-thā-* 'drink of milk', *putra-kr-thā-* 'procreation of sons', *sam-i-thā-* 'conflict'. *kāma-pr-d-* is both a noun of action, 'fulfilment of desires' (AV.) and an agent-noun, 'fulfilling desires' (RV.)³.

a. A class of secondary nouns of action is here formed by adding the suffixes *-ya* and *-yā* to agent nouns formed from the simple root (with or without *-i*). These are abstracts (neuter and feminine respectively); e. g. *haviṛ-dā-ya-* 'enjoyment of the oblation'; *pūva-pāy-ya-* and *pūva-p-ya-* 'precedence in drinking' (*pūva-pā-* 'drinking first'), *nr-pāy-ya-* 'protection of men', *bahu-pāy-ya-* 'protection of many', 'large hall', *deva-yāj-ya-* n. and *-yāj-yā-* f. 'adoration of the gods' (*deva-yāj-* 'adoring the gods', VS.), *nr-yāj-ya-* 'overcoming of men' (*nr-yāj-* 'overcoming men'), *rāja-sū-ya-* (AV.) 'royal consecration' (*rāja-sū-* 'creating a king', VS.), *madhyama-sthēy-ya-* 'standing in the middle' (*madhyama-sthā-* adj., VS.); *su-kr̄t-yā-* 'righteousness' (*su-kr̄t-* 'righteous').

272. The close verbal connexion of these final members with the roots from which they are derived, shows itself formally. Thus they retain the palatal of the verb where the guttural would otherwise appear⁴. Again, agent nouns of this kind are formed from almost every kind of present stem. The following are examples of such nouns from present stems of: 1. the first class: *cakram-ī-sajit-* 'stopping⁵ the wheel'; 2. the sixth class: *ut-tud-d-* (AV.) 'instigator' (*tud-d-*), *sam-gird-* (AV.) 'swallowing' (*sam-girāmi*). 3. stems with *-cha*: *go-nyacch-* (VS.) 'cow-tormentor' (from a lost present stem **nyaccha-*)

¹ For *pūva-sphā-kā-*; the MS. read *pūvasphā-kā-m-* (Paṇḍa *pūva-sphā-kām-*); see WHITNEY on AV. IV. 73.

² But 'heart-piercing' (RV.).

³ Isolated examples of nouns of action formed with other suffixes are *su-papt-ani-* 'good flight', *sam-śres-ijā-* (AV.) 'conflict' (?).

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL 21, 76. Exceptions to this would be *tuvī-kūrm-(n)-* and *dīv-karō-* (AV.) 'sun', if these words are derived from *car-* 'fare'.

⁵ From *ī sajāmi* 'I attach'.

4. the fourth class or passive with *-ya*: *akṛṣṭa-pasyá-*¹ (AV. VS. TS.) 'ripening in unploughed ground', *a-pasyá-* 'not seeing', *ugram-pasyá-* (AV.) 'fierce-looking', *mām-pasyá-* (AV.) 'looking at me', *adhi-pasya-* (AV. Paipp.) 'superintendent', *punar-manyá-* 'remembering' (*mānya-te* 'thinks'), *á-risanya-* 'not failing' (*risanya-ti*), *bala-vi-jñyá-* 'recognized by his strength', *a-vi-dasyá-* 'not ceasing' (*vi dasyanti* 'they cease'), *a-vi-driyá-* 'not bursting' (*dr-* 'split'). 5. stems with *-aya*: *vācam-inkhaya-* 'stirring the voice', *samudram-inkhaya-* (only voc.) 'stirring the vat' (*inkhaya-nti* 'they shake'), *viśvam-ējaya-* (only voc.) 'exciting all' (*ējaya-ti* 'sets in motion'), *ati-pārayá-* 'putting across'. 6. the fifth (*-nu*) and ninth (*-na*) classes: *viśvam-invá-* 'all-urging' (*in-ti*, *inv-a-ti* 'urges'), *dhiyaṃ-jinvá-* 'stirring devotion' and *viśva-jinvá* (voc. du.) 'all-quickenings' (*jinv-a-ti* 'stirs'), *ā-daghna-* 'reaching to the mouth'² (*dagh-nu-yat* 'may reach', K.), *dura-dabhd-* (AV.) 'eluding doors' = 'not to be kept by bars and bolts' (*dabhnv-anti* 'they deceive'), *dānu-pinvá-* 'swelling with drops' (*pinv-ānd-* 'swelling'), *sada-pṛṇá-* 'always giving' (*pṛṇá-ti* 'fills', 'bestows'), *a-mind-*³ (beside *á-minant-*) 'undiminishing' (*mind-ti* 'diminishes'), *pra-mṛṇá-* 'destroying' (*pra-mṛṇánt-* 'crushing', *prá mṛṇa* 'destroy'), *a-sinvá-*⁴ (beside *á-sinvant-*) 'insatiable', *a-suvá-* 'not pressing Soma' (beside *á-suvant-*). 7. the sixth and seventh classes: *agnim-indhú-* 'fire-kindling' (*indh-íte* 'they kindle'), *pra-kṛntá-* (TS. iv. 5. 3¹) and *vi-kṛntá-* (VS.) 'cutting to pieces' (*kṛntá-ti* 'cuts'), *bhāmi-dṛṇhá-* (AV.) 'firmly fixed on the ground' (*dṛṇha-ta* 'make firm'), *ni-limpá-* (AV.) a kind of supernatural being (*ni limpāmi* 'I besmear', AV.). 8. the root class: *vṛātya-bruvá-* (AV.) 'calling himself a Vṛātya' (*bruv-ānti* 'they say'). 9. the reduplicating class: *anu-jighrú-* (AV.) 'snuffing at' (*jighranti* 'smelling'), *sam-pibá-* (AV.) 'swallowing down' (*sam pibāmi*, AV.)⁵.

a. In a few instances verbal nouns which are final members of compounds in the RV. or the later Saṃhitās subsequently appear as independent words. Thus *jāta-vidyá-* 'knowledge of things', *vidyá-* (AV. TS.) 'knowledge'⁶. On the other hand, verbal nouns derived from roots without suffix, which in the RV. appear both as independent words and as final members of compounds, often survive in the later Saṃhitās in their compound form only; such are *tír-* 'racing', *dá-* 'giver', *sū-* m. 'begetter', f. 'mother', *sthá-* 'standing'. As a rule verbal nouns which occur independently have the same general meaning as when they form the final member of a compound. But those formed without any suffix generally, and those formed with *-a* occasionally, have the sense of agent nouns at the end of compounds, but of action nouns or of designations of things conceived as feminine, when they are used independently. Thus *grābh-* f. 'act of seizing', *jāva-grābh-* adj. 'seizing alive'; *vid-á-* 'with knowledge', *hitrā-vid-* adj. 'knowing the oblation', *yudh-* f. 'fight', *pra-yudh-* adj. 'assailing'; *bhar-á-* (AV.) 'act of carrying', *puṣim-bhāra-* 'bringing prosperity'. Sometimes the simple word has the meaning of an agent noun as well as of an action noun; e. g. *śṛ-* adj. 'seeing' and f. 'act of seeing'; *bhūj-* adj. 'enjoying' and f. 'enjoyment'; *stūbh-* adj. 'shouting' and f. 'shout'; but at the end of a compound these three words express the agent only. Similarly *grābh-á-* m. 'seizer' (AV.) and 'grasp', but *grāva-grābh-á-* 'handling the Soma stones'⁷.

273. Independent verbal nouns.—Several kinds of verbal nouns which are also capable of independent use occur as final member of compounds. Among these the only ones of frequent occurrence are those in *-ta* which are adjectives (often used as substantives) and the corresponding abstract

¹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 179 (bottom), refutes the view that this *-ya* is identical with that of the gerundive.

² *-daghna-* forms the last member of several other compounds in the later Saṃhitās. See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 181.

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 181, note.

⁴ From a lost root **si-ná-ti* 'satisfies'.

⁵ There is also a transition form (leading to the later *-ada-*) in *āyur-dād-am* (AV.);

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acc. f. 'life-giving' (beside *āyur-dá-*, AV. VS. TS.); *dād-āti* 'they give'.

⁶ For examples of verbal nouns which assume an independent character in the later language, see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 77 a.

⁷ On the origin of these verbal compounds and the relation of the final member to the independent word, see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 78 b and note (p. 186 f.).

substantives in *-ti*; e. g. *puro-hita-* adj. 'placed in front', m. 'domestic priest'; *puro-hiti-* f. 'domestic priesthood'.

1. **Agent nouns.** Those which are formed with *-aka* and *-anu* are compounded with prepositions only: *abhi-kriś-aka-* (VS.) 'one who cries out', *vi-līy-aka-* (VS.) 'melter'; *abhi-locayī-śnū-* (AV.) 'causing heat', *ni-śat-śnū-* 'sitting firmly'. Agent nouns in *-tī* may be compounded with adverbs, as *pura-eti-* 'going before', *puraś-śhātī-* 'standing at the head', and rarely with substantives, as *ny-pātī-* 'protecting men', *man-dhātī-*¹ 'applying (his) mind', 'thoughtful man'. Agent nouns formed with *-u* from secondary present stems are in a few instances compounded with substantives: *gir-nanasy-ū-* 'fond of hymns', *deva-piy-ū-* (AV. VS.) 'hating the gods', *rāstra-dips-ū-* (AV.) 'wishing to injure the country'.

2. **Action nouns.** A few action nouns formed with *-ā* from adjectives in *-u* derived from secondary verbal stems, begin in late passages of the RV. to appear in composition with a substantive: *māmsa-bhikṣ-ā-* (I. 162¹²) 'request for flesh', *śraddhā-manasy-ā-* 'faithful intent' (X. 113⁹); *śajāta-ranasy-ā-* (TS. II. 6. 6⁷) 'desire to rule over relatives'. Much more common are the abstracts in *-ti* (corresponding to adjectives in *-ta*), which may be compounded with indeclinables or nouns (adjective or substantive)²; e. g. *ān-ūti-* 'no help', *ā-susti-* 'curse', *nir-ṛti-* 'dissolution', *śā-hūti-* 'joint invocation', *su-ūti-* 'good aid'; *sōma-pīti-* 'drinking of Soma', *sāvā-suti-* 'pressing of Soma'. Some of these are becoming or have become agent nouns; thus *jarāt-aṣṭi-* 'attaining great age' as well as 'attainment of old age'; *vdsu-dhiti-* 'bestowing wealth' as well as 'bestowal of wealth'; but *vdsu-nīti-* (AV.) only 'bringing wealth'. Others, even in the RV., approximate to the type of the non-verbal determinatives, as *āsu-nīti-* 'world of spirits', *ṛjū-nīti-* 'right guidance', *devā-hiti-* 'divine ordinance', *nāmo-zykti-* 'cleansing for adoration', *pūrvā-citti-* 'foreboding': these can, however, be understood as abstracts to corresponding compounds in *-ta*³.

3. **Gerundives.** The gerundives formed with *-ya* are ordinarily compounded with adverbial prepositions, as *puro-nuvākyā-* (sc. *fr-* AV.) '(verse) to be repeated beforehand'. In the later Sāpṛthās a noun here sometimes appears as first member: *nivi-bhāryā-* (AV.) 'to be worn in a skirt', *prathama-vāsyā-* (AV.) 'worn formerly'. The Proper Names *kunda-pāyā-*, *puru-mīyyā-*, *vṛṣṭi-hāyā-*, if they are formed with the gerundive suffix *-ya*, would be examples from the RV.⁴—Gerundives formed with *-anīya* and *-anya*⁵ are compounded with prepositions and *a(n)* only: *ā-mantrānīya-* (AV.) 'to be asked'; *saṃ-carānīya-* 'suitable for walking on', *a-dviṣenyā-* 'not malevolent'.—Gerundives in *-tva* are not compounded at all except with *a(n)*.

4. **Participles.** Besides prepositions and *a(n)*, only indeclinable words occurring in connexion with verbs are found compounded with participles (exclusive of the past passive participle): thus *alalā-bhīvant-* 'murmuring' (waters) and *jañjanā-bhīvant-* 'crackling' (flame), *astam-yant-* (AV.) 'setting' and *astam-esyant-* (AV.) 'about to set', *ā-punar-diyamāna-* (AV.) 'not being given back', *āviś-krnānt-* 'making visible', *dūr-vidvāns-* 'ill-disposed', *sī-vidvāns-* 'knowing well'.

¹ From *manas-* through **man-śhāp-*.

² The verbal force is strongest when the preceding substantive has the sense of an object.

³ As *devā-hiti-* 'act of ordaining by the gods' beside *devā-hita-* 'ordained by the gods'.

⁴ The compounds *amā-vāsyā-* (AV.) sc. *vātv-* 'night of the new moon', *aku-vādyā-*

(AV.) 'uttering a single sound', a kind of spectre, and *vār-kāryā-* (I. 88⁴) are obscure in their formation.

⁵ A few gerundives in *-tavya* begin to be compounded with prepositions or particles in the B. portion of the TS. and MS.: *prā-vastavyam* (TS.) 'one should go on a journey'; *a-bhartavyā-* (MS.) 'not to be borne', *sv-tavyam* (TS.) 'easy to go'.

a. By far the commonest verbal nouns occurring as final member are the past participles in *-ta*, which are compounded with nouns as well as prepositions and other indeclinables. The meaning is mostly passive. It is, however, sometimes active, but in the RV. almost exclusively when a preposition precedes, as *ud-ita-* 'risen'; when a noun precedes, only in *sirga-akta-* 'speeding with a rush' and *sirga-pratahta-* 'darting forth with a rush'. In the AV. a noun appears also in *uda-pluti-* 'swimming in the water'; occasionally even transitively governing the first member in sense: *kyā-dviṣta-* (AV.) 'hating what has been done' (by another)¹.

b. The past participle in *-na* is less frequent and occurs in the RV. only compounded with prepositions, *a(n)-* and *su-*; e. g. *pāri-cchinna-* 'lopped around'; *ā-bhinna-* 'not split'; *śi-pārṇa-* 'quite full'. But it is found a few times in the later Samhitās with a preceding substantive: *agū-numna-* (SV.) 'driven away by fire', *reṣmī-cchinna-* (AV.) 'rent by a storm'; and with active (transitive) sense *gara-gṛṇḍ-* (AV.) 'having swallowed poison'.

5. There are besides some verbal adjectives in *-ra* or (after a vowel) *-tra*, *-la* and *-ma*, the first of which occurs compounded with nouns as well as prepositions: *ā-sk-ra-* 'united'², *ni-mṛg-ra-* 'attached to', *tanā-subh-ra-* 'shining in body', *hīri-śānd-ra-* 'shining yellow'; *vi-bhr-tra-* 'to be borne about in various directions'; *ā-miś-la-*, *ni-miś-la-*, *sām-miś-la-* 'commingling'; *dva-kyā-ma-* (AV.) 'emaciated', *ūc-chuṣ-ma-* (TS. I. 6. 2²) 'hissing upwards', *ni-tuṣ-ma-* (TS. I. 6. 2²) 'hissing downwards'.

6. Comparatives and superlatives in *-ṛyāms* and *-iṣṭha* having originally been verbal adjectives are found in composition with prepositions and *sām-* when they still retain their verbal meaning: *ūd-yamiyāms-* 'raising excessively', *pāri-śraṣṭyāms-* (AV.) 'clasping more firmly', *prāti-cyaviyāms-* 'pressing closer against', *vi-kledṭyāms-* (AV.) 'moistening more'; *ā-gamiṣṭha-* 'coming quickly', *sām-bhaviṣṭha-* 'most beneficial'.

First member in verbal determinatives.

274. a. Prepositions. At the beginning of determinatives prepositions are employed in accordance with their use in verbal forms; e. g. *pra-nī-* and *prā-nīti-* 'furtherance', *pra-ṇat-* 'leader', *prā-ṇita-* 'furthered', *pra-ṇeti-* 'guiding constantly'. Even in the many instances in which the corresponding verbal combination has not been preserved, it may be assumed to have existed; e. g. in *abhi-pra-mūr-* 'crushing' and *abhi-pra-bhaṅgin-* 'breaking'. Occasionally, however, the preposition has a meaning which otherwise occurs only before non-verbal nouns; e. g. *atī-yāj-* 'sacrificing excessively'³. A preposition belonging to the second member is once prefixed to the first in *saṃ-dhana-ji-t-* (AV.) 'accumulating (= *saṃ-ji-t-*) 'wealth'.

b. Adverbs. Various kinds of adverbs occur in this position, as *puro-yāvan-* 'going before', *akṣayā-drih-* 'injuring wrongly'; *amutra-bhūya-* (AV. VS.) 'state of being there' (i. e. in the other world). The privative *a(n)-* though belonging in sense to the final member always precedes the first; e. g. *ān-agni-dagdha-* 'not burnt by fire'; *ā-pāścād-daghvan-* 'not remaining behind'; *ā-dūra-sṛ-t-* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'.

c. Nouns. The first member, when a noun, expresses various relations to the last.

¹ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 195; but also WHITNEY on AV. VII 113¹.

² From *śac-* 'be associated'.

³ In TS. II. 5. 41 (B.) *atī-yaj-* means 'to pass over in sacrificing'.

It expresses: 1. the object, which is the prevailing meaning when the final member is an agent noun or an action noun; e. g. *ab-ji-t-* 'winning waters', *asva-hayt-* 'urging on steeds', *nr-pāt-* 'protecting men', *vāja-sāti-* 'act of winning booty', *vṛtra-hitya-* n. 'act of slaying Vṛtra'. When the final member is a verbal noun formed from *kr-* 'make', the first member does not necessarily express the product, but may mean the material with which the activity is concerned; thus *hiranya-kārt-* (VS.) is not 'gold-maker' but 'worker in gold', 'goldsmith'.

2. the agent when the last member has a passive sense; e. g. *indra-pī-tama-* 'most drunk by Indra', *sōma-sīta-* 'excited by Soma'; occasionally also when the final member is an action noun, as *devd-hitt-* 'ordnance of the gods', *parṇa-sadd-* (AV. VS.) 'fall of leaves', *mitra-tīrya-* (AV.) 'victory of friends'.

3. the instrument, the source, or the locality when the final member is an agent noun or a past passive participle; e. g. *ādri-dugdha-*² 'milked with stones', *aritra-pīraṇa-* 'crossing with oars'; *gō-jāta-* 'produced from kine', *tīra-sit-t-* 'pressed from the fermenting mass'; *uda-plutā-* (AV.) 'swimming in the water', *āhar-jāta-* (AV.) 'born in the day', *puru-bhī-* 'being in many places', *bandhu-ksī-t-* 'dwelling among relatives', *pśni-ni-presita-*³ 'sent down to earth'.

4. in an **positionally nominative sense**, that as or like which the action of the final member is performed; e. g. *īṣāna-kr-t-* 'acting as a ruler', *pūrva-pī-* 'drinking first', *vāmī-jāta-* 'born as one dear' = 'dear by nature'; *dhāra-vāki-* 'sounding like streams', *syenī-jāta-* 'speeding like an eagle'.

5. in the sense of a **predicative nominative** before a past participle, or a **predicative accusative** before an agent noun expressive of 'saying'; e. g. *bhaksīm-krta-* (TS.) 'enjoyed', *stōma-tasja-* 'fashioned as a hymn of praise'; *vṛātya-bruvā-* (AV.) 'calling oneself a Vṛātya'.

6. **adverbially the manner** in which an action is done, sometimes by means of a substantive, more often by means of an adjective; e. g. *ṛtv-ī-* 'sacrificing at the proper time', that is, 'regularly', *sārga-takta-* 'speeding with a rush'; *āsu-pātvan-* 'flying swiftly', *dhruva-ksī-t-* (VS.) 'dwelling securely', *satya-yāj-* 'sacrificing truly'; with a numeral in *dvi-jā-* (AV.) 'twice-born'.

275. Before a verbal noun a nominal first member very often appears with a case-ending⁴, generally with that which the corresponding verb would govern in a sentence. The accusative is here the commonest case, the locative coming next, while the other cases are rarer. A singular case-ending (the acc. or inst.) may here indicate a plural sense; e. g. *āsvam-iṣṭi-* 'seeking horses', *purāṇ-darī-* 'destroyer of forts', *śīnesita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śīnī-*). Plural (acc.) endings sometimes occur, but dual endings are never found in these compounds.

The **accusative case-ending** is very common, generally expressing the object of a transitive verb, as *dhanam-jayā-* 'winning booty'. But it also expresses other senses, as that of the cognate accusative; e. g. *subhram-yī-(van)-* 'moving in brilliance'; or of an adverbial accusative, e. g. *ugram-pasyā-*⁵

¹ WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 198, quotes *loka-jit-am svargam* (AV. IV. 34^b) as showing that the first member was felt to have an accusative sense = 'winning the heavenly world' (*svargam lokam*); but the Paipp. Ms. has the reading *svargyam*, which WHITNEY regards as better, translating 'world-conquering, heaven-going'.

² When the first member is a part of

the body it expresses the sense of 'with reference to', as *bāhū-jāta-* 'quick with the arms'.

³ The local sense here is that of the accusative of the goal.

⁴ Cp. LINDNER, Nominalbildung p. 28.

⁵ Occasionally the *-m* is inorganic, as in *maksam-gamī-* and *āsum-gā-* (AV.) 'going swiftly'. In *patam-gā-* 'bird', *patam-* probably

(AV.) 'looking fiercely'; or of a predicative accusative, e. g. *ayakṣmam-kāraṇa-* (AV.) 'producing health', *śṛtam-kart-* (TS. III. I. 4¹) 'making cooked'. The acc. pl. occurs in *kācit-kard-* 'doing all manner of things', *pśva-iṣṭi-*² 'desiring kine', *vipaś-ct-* 'understanding eloquence', *vipo-dhā-* 'granting eloquence', *kurāc-*³ 'intending evil'⁴.

a. The accusative form is commonest before agent nouns ending in *-a* or *-i* which begin with a single consonant and the first syllable of which is short; that is, the *-m* here appears in a syllable in which rhythmic lengthening would be allowed⁵. This accusative form is the regular rule in the RV. when the stem of the first member ends in *-a*, being found before *-kara-* 'making', *-caya-* 'collecting', *-jaya-* 'conquering', *-tara-* 'overcoming', *-lara-* 'clearing', *-bhara-* 'bearing', *-ruja-* 'breaking', *-sani-* 'winning', *-saha-* 'overwhelming'; e. g. *abhayaṃ-kard-* 'procuring security'. The only exceptions to this rule in the RV. are *aśva-hayā-* 'urging on steeds', *śukra-digha-* 'emitting clear fluid'. In the RV. the ending *-im* also occurs in *puṣṭim-bharā-* 'bringing prosperity' and *harim-bharā-*⁶ 'bearing the yellow-coloured (bolt)'; and *-um* inorganically in *makṣum-gamā-* 'going quickly'. In the later Saṃhitās also occur *iram-madd-* (VS.) 'rejoicing in the draught', *dūram-gamā-* (VS.) 'going far', *devaṃ-gamā-* (TS.) 'going to the gods', *yudhiṃ-gamā-* (AV.) 'going to battle', *viśvam-bharā-* (AV.) 'all-sustaining', *śakam-bharā-*⁷ (AV.) 'bearing ordure'⁸.

b. The accusative form in *-am* is not uncommon before a final member with initial vowel (coalescence of the two vowels being thus avoided); e. g. *cakram-āsajit-* 'obstructing the wheel', *viśvam-invi-* 'all-moving', *āśvam-iṣṭi-* 'desiring horses', *vācam-ūkhayā-* 'word-moving', *samudram-ūkhaya-* (only voc.) 'stirring the vat', *viśvam-gayā-* 'all-exciting'; in *-im*: *agnim-indh-* 'fire-kindler'; in *-ām*: *tvām-āhuti-* (TS.) 'offering oblations to thee'.

c. The accusative form is common when the final member is formed from a present stem, owing to the close connexion of such verbal nouns with the verb; e. g. *dhiyaṃ-jinvā-* 'exciting meditation', *ugram-pāśyā-* (AV.) 'looking fiercely', *mām-pāśyā-* (AV.) 'looking at me'.

d. Apart from the conditions stated above (a, b, c) the accusative case-ending rarely occurs in the first member of verbal determinatives; e. g. *vanam-kīraṇa-*, a particular part of the body; *dhiyaṃ-dhā-* 'devout', *subhaṃ-jā-(van)-* 'moving in brilliance'⁹.

a. In the great majority of instances the first member, if it has the accusative case-form, ends in *-am*, mostly from stems in *-a*, but also from monosyllabic consonant stems (*sur-am-* etc.)¹⁰, and from one stem in *-i* (*dhiy-am-*). Otherwise there are three or

represents IE. *jetn-*; while in *śūram-dhi-* 'fertile woman' and *vīśan-dhi-* 'bold', the origin of the nasal is doubtful; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 202.

¹ In B. this predicative accusative sometimes comes to have the value of a predicative nominative when compounded with a gerundive or a derivative of *bhū-*, as *śṛtam-iṣṭya-* (TS.) 'to be made cooked', *nagnam-bhāvuka-* (TS.) 'becoming naked'.

² *paśvā-* acc. pl.

³ Here *kurā-* might be a genitive as *ct-* governs that case as well as the acc.

⁴ *purā-hā-* 'destroying forts' may contain an acc.; also *iśā-stūt-* 'praise of prosperity', which the Pada analyses as *iśā-stūt-*.

⁵ How much the use of these forms is dependent on rhythm is seen in the alter-

nation of *śūam-cayā-* and *śūa-cit-* 'paying a debt', *khajam-karā-* and *khaja-kṛt-* 'causing the din of battle', *dhanam-jayā-* and *dhanajit-* 'winning booty', *janam-sahā-* 'overcoming beings' and *vratā-sāhā-* 'conquering crowds'.

⁶ Beside *kavi-vydhā-* 'prospering the wise'.

⁷ Here the acc. of an *a*-stem is substituted for *śakm-*.

⁸ The compound *nardm-dhīṣa-* (VS.) is of doubtful meaning and irregular accent.

⁹ For several other examples occurring in Brāhmaṇa passages of the later Saṃhitās see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 207 d, e.

¹⁰ In *hṛd-am-sini-* 'winning the heart' the neuter *hṛd-* is treated as if it were a masc. or fem.

four in *-in* (*agnim-* etc.), one in *-am* (*mahsum-*), and two pronominal accusatives in *-am* (*mām-*, *tvām-*). Polysyllabic consonant stems never have the accusative case-ending in the first member¹.

276. The locative case-ending is in the RV. almost limited to employment before agent-nouns formed from the simple root with or without determinative *-t*: *agre-gā-* 'going before', *agre-gū-* (VS.) 'moving forwards', *agre-nī-* (VS.) 'leader', *agre-pā-* 'drinking first', *agre-phī-* (VS.) 'drinking first', *ange-sphā-*² (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *rtejā-*³ 'produced at the sacrifice', *krachre-srī-t-* 'running into danger', *gahvare-sphā-* (VS.) 'being at the bottom', *divi-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in heaven', *divi-yij-* 'worshipping in heaven', *divi-srī-t-* (AV.) 'sojourning in heaven', *divi-sād-* (AV.) 'sitting in heaven', *dāre-dīś-* 'visible afar', *dosanī-srīś-* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *rathe-sūbh-* 'flying along in a car', *rathe-sphā-* 'standing in a car', *vane-rāj-* 'shining in a wood', *vane-sdh-* 'prevailing in woods', *sute-gbh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *hṛdi-sphā-* 'touching the heart'⁴.

2. The RV. has only two examples of a locative before an agent noun formed with the suffix *-a*: *divi-kṣayā-* 'dwelling in heaven', *vahye-sayī-* 'resting in a litter'⁵. There are several others in the later Saṃhitās: *agre-vadhā-* (VS.) 'killing what is in front', *talpe-sayā-* (AV.) 'resting on a couch', *divi-card-* (AV.) 'faring in heaven', *divi-sambhā-* (AV.) 'supported on the sky', *dāre-vadhī-* (VS.) 'far-striking', *harī-sayā-*⁶ (MS. I. 27) 'resting in gold'. In the AV. also occurs an example of the locative before an agent noun formed with *-in*: *parame-sph-in-* 'standing in the highest (place)'.

3. The locative plural is much rarer than the singular in the first member: *apsu-ksī-t-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-jī-* 'born in the waters', *apsu-jī-t-* 'vanquishing in the waters', *apsu-sād-* 'dwelling in the waters', *apsu-vāh-* (SV.) 'driving in water', *apsu-samṣīta-* (AV.) 'excited in the waters', *goṣu-yūdh-* 'fighting in (= for) kine', *prtu-tīr-* 'conquering in battles', *bhāreṣu-jī-* 'produced in fights', *hṛtsv-dī-* 'piercing to the heart'.

a. In these locative compounds the second member is most commonly *-stha-* or *-sthā-* in the RV., while the first member is most usually *agre-*, *dāre-* or *vane-*. The locative in *-e* is the predominant one, even displacing *-i* in *pathe-sphā-* 'standing on the road' beside *pathi-sphā-* (AV.).

277. The instrumental case-ending occurs several times in the first member of verbal determinatives: *ksamā-card-* (VS.) 'being in the ground', *gīrā-vyādh-* 'rejoicing in song', *dhiyā-jīr-* 'aging in devotion', *yuvā-datta-* 'given by you two', *yuvā-nīta-* 'led by you two', *yusmā-datta-* 'given by you', *yusmā-nīta-* 'led by you', *śīneṣita-* 'driven by dogs' (*śīnā*). When the stem of the first member ends in *-a* there is some doubt whether *-a* here represents the instrumental ending or lengthening of the vowel⁷; thus *saphā-rīj-* may mean 'breaking with the hoof' or 'hoof-breaker'; and in *yuvā-yīj-* 'yoked by you two' the vowel may be simply lengthened. In *divā-kard-* (AV.) 'sun' the first member is an old instrumental used adverbially⁸.

a. The examples of the ablative case-ending are rare: *dakṣiṇāt-sād-*

¹ *sakan-* substitutes the acc. of an *a*-stem; above p. 165, note 7.

² There are several other locatives compounded with *-stha-*.

³ There are several other locatives compounded with *-jā-*.

⁴ In *nare-sphā-* (RV.), an epithet of the car, the first member may be a locative (*Sāyana*), but it may also be a dative of *nā-* (BR., GRASSMANN), 'serving for a man to stand on'.

⁵ In *sute-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', the accent shows that the final member has an adjectival, not a verbal sense. In the name *mātari-śvan-* the first member is interpreted in RV. III. 29¹¹ as a locative; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 247, note; MACDONELL, Grundriss III. 1 A, p. 72 (middle).

⁶ In VS. v. 8 *harī-sayā-*; *harā-* here is the locative of *hāri-*.

⁷ Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 56.

⁸ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 213 a, note.

(MS. II. 63) 'sitting in the south'; *divo-jā-* 'produced from heaven', *divo-dih-* (SV.) 'milking from the sky', *divo-rūc-* 'shining from the sky'.

b. The ending of the genitive would naturally appear only before derivatives from verbs governing the genitive. There seem to be no certain examples: *divā-ksar-* 'ruling over the sky' (*divās*) however seems probable¹.

b. 1. Ordinary Adjective as final member.

278. Ordinary adjectives which are not of a verbal character may appear as final member of determinatives much in the same way as past participles in *-ta* and *-na* (273, 4). But adjectives ending in *-u* are almost exclusively compounded with the privative *a(u)-* and prepositions; e. g. *an-āśū-* 'not swift', *an-ṛju-* 'dishonest', *ā-dāśu-* 'impious', *ā-bhīru-* 'not terrible'; *prāśū-* 'very (prā) swift' (*āśū-*). The only final members otherwise compounded are *-vasu-* 'rich' in *vibhā-vasu-* 'radiant' and other compounds, and *-raghu-* 'swift', in *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration'.

a. The first member may be a substantive in the relation of a case to the last; e. g. *tanū-subhira-* 'shining in body', *yajñā-dhīra-* 'versed in sacrifice', *vakmarīja-satya-* 'faithful to the ordainers of hymns', *viśvā-sambhā-* 'salutary for all'. The relation is sometimes expressed by the case-ending: the locative in *gāvi-śhira-* (AV.) 'strong in kine (*gāvi*)' as a name, *māde-raghu-* 'quick in exhilaration', *sutā-kara-* 'active in (offering) Soma', *sumnā-āpi-* 'united in affection (*sumnā*)'; instrumental² in *dhiyā-vasu-* 'rich in devotion', *vidmanāpas-* 'working (*apās-*) with wisdom (*vidmanā*)'. The first member may also appositionally express a comparison as representing a type: *śika-babhru-* (VS.) 'reddish like a parrot'³.

b. The first member may be an adjective qualifying the final member in an adverbial sense; thus *apṛāmi-satya* (voc.) 'eternally true', *ūrdhvā-pṛsni-*⁴ (VS.) 'spotted above', *try-ārūṣa-* 'reddish in three (parts of the body)', *mahā-nāgnī-*⁵ (AV.) 'courtesan' ('very naked'), *mahā-mahi-urata-* 'ruling very mightily', *mahā-vaśṭrin-* 'very broad', *viśvā-scandra-* 'all-glittering'⁶.

c. Adverbs and particles often appear as first member; e. g. *an-āśū-* 'not swift', *anyāta-ent-* (VS.) 'variegated on one side (*anyātas*)', *evāra-* 'quite (*evā*) ready (*āra-*)', *duḥ-śva-* 'unfavourable', *pīnar-nava-* 'renewing itself', *satā-mahānt-* 'equally (*sa-tās*) great', *sati-brhāt-* (VS.) 'the equally great' (a metre), *satyām-ugra-* 'truly mighty', *śi-priya-* (AV.) 'very dear'.

d. Several prepositions appear as first member, mostly with their original adverbial meaning; e. g. *āti-kr̥ṣṇa-*⁷ (VS.) 'very dark'; *ā-miśla-lama-* 'mixing very readily'⁸; *upottamā-* (AV.) 'penultimate'; *ni-dhravi-* 'fixed down' 'persevering', *nī-kevalya-* (VS.) 'belonging exclusively'; *prāśū-* 'very swift', *pra-*

¹ But it has also been otherwise explained; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 213 c, note; who also quotes *ā-kāya-mā-* 'knowing nothing' from the MS.

² The word *jālī-śhira-* probably contains an old instrumental = 'naturally solid'; in *nābhā-nādisṭha-* 'nearest in kin' as a name, the first member though looking like a locative, probably represents an Ilr. stem *nabhā-*; cp. RICHTER, II, 9, 209. The compounds *śā-sama-*, an epithet of Indra, and *śhāst-ajra-* (VS.) are Bahuvrhis.

³ A transition to this compound use appears in *māno jāvīṣṭham* (RV. VI. 9⁵) 'very swift as thought'.

⁴ Here the adjectival stem is used for the adv. *ūrdhvām*.

⁵ From this is formed the m. *mahā-nāgnā-* (AV.) 'paramour'.

⁶ The meaning of *sādhv-aryā-* 'truly faithful'(?), which occurs only once, is doubtful; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 237 (top).

⁷ *āti* in the sense of 'very' does not occur in the RV., but in the later Samhitās it is the commonest of the prepositions compounded with adjectives.

⁸ 'Very slightly mixed', GELDNER, VS. 3, 181. — *ā-tura-* 'suffering' is obscure in origin.

śardha- (voc.) 'bold'; *vi-mahr-* 'very great', *vi-śama-* (VS.) 'uneven', *vi-sadṛśa-* 'dissimilar', *vy-ñā-* 'variously tinted' (dawn); *śam-vasu-* 'dwelling together', *śam-priya-* (VS.) 'mutually dear'.

b. 2. Ordinary Substantive as final member.

279. Determinatives with ordinary non-verbal substantives as their final member¹ are not common in the earliest period of the language. In the first nine books of the RV., except the frequent compounds in *-pati-* and *-patnī-*, there are not many more than three dozen examples²; the tenth book has quite two dozen more, and the AV. seven dozen more.

The first member is frequently a substantive also. Its relation to the final member seems to be limited to the genitive sense in the Saṃhitās. This genitive sense appears when the final member is a word expressive of relationship, or *-pati-* 'husband' or 'lord'; e. g. *rāja-putrī-* 'king's son', *mṛtyu-bāndhu-* 'companion of death', *viś-pāti-* 'lord of the tribe'. It sometimes expresses the material, as *dru-padd-* 'post of wood', *hiranya-rathā-* 'car of gold' or 'car full of gold'. In *deva-kilbiṣā-* 'offence against the gods' we have an example of an objective genitive. There seems to be no instance in the RV. of a Proper Name appearing as the first member of a determinative in the genitive sense³ except in *indra-śenī-* (x. 102⁴) 'Indra's missile'⁴, which compound is itself perhaps a Proper Name⁵. In *camasādhvaryu-* (AV.) 'the priest of the cups', the first member expresses quite a general genitive sense of relation = 'the priest who is concerned with the cups'.

280. As in determinatives with verbal noun as final member, the case-ending may appear in the first member. But it is less common here, and owing to the purely nominal character of the final member, is almost restricted to the genitive. The ending of this case is very common before *-pati-* 'lord' or 'husband': *anhas-as-pati-* (VS.) 'lord of distress', N. of an intercalary month, *gnī-s-pāti-*⁶ 'husband of a divine woman', *jā-s-pāti-* 'lord of the family', *bṛh-as-pāti-*⁷ and *brāhmaṇ-as-pāti-* 'lord of devotion', *mānas-as-pāti-* 'lord of mental power', *vān-as-pāti-*⁸ 'lord of the wood', 'tree', *vāc-is-pāti-* 'lord of speech', *vāstos-pāti-* 'lord of the dwelling', *śubh-ās-pāti-* 'lord of splendour', *śūdas-as-pāti-*⁹ 'lord of the sacrificial seat'. According to the analogy of these compounds which end in *-s-pāti-*, were also formed from *a-*stems *ṛta-s-pāti-* (only voc.) 'lord of pious works' and *rātha-s-pāti-* 'lord of the car'. The word *dām-pāti-* may stand for **dām-s-pāti-*¹⁰ 'lord of the house' (*dām-*, the gen. pl. of which, *dam-ām*, occurs).

¹ Bahuvrhis with ordinary substantives as final member were common from the beginning; hence combinations which appear as Bahuvrhis in the older period, are often only found later as Tatpuruṣas, the latter being thus occasionally affected by the formal peculiarities of Bahuvrhis.

² See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 241 (97 note).

³ If this compound is a Proper Name, it is the only instance with the stem-form in the first member; but the genitive case-ending appears in the first member of a few determinative Proper Names; see below, 280 a.

⁴ 'Indra's missile' (BR.), 'Indra's army' (GRASSMANN).

⁵ This is the opinion of GELDNER, VS. 2, 1, and of DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax 3, p. 202.

⁶ An anomalous f. *gnīs-pātnī-* was formed

from this word after the etymology had been forgotten, as conversely the m. *śapātna-* 'rival' was formed from *śa-pātnī-* 'co-wife'.

⁷ *bṛh-* here is synonymous with *brāhmaṇ-*, *brāhmaṇas-pāti-* being a parallel and explanatory formation. On *bṛhas-pāti-* and cognate compounds see OTTO STRAUSS, *Brhaspati im Veda* (Leipzig 1905), p. 14-17.

⁸ *vān-* 'wood' appears also in the pl. G. *vān-ām*, L. *vām-su-*.

⁹ It is unnecessary to assume the existence of a stem *śud-* to explain *śūdas-pāti-* and *śāt-pāti-* since the stem *śadar-* occurs; nor is *rādḥ-* necessary to explain *rādhas-pāti-* (only voc.) as *rādhas-* is frequent.

¹⁰ FISCHER, VS. 2, 93 ff., 307 ff., rejects any connexion between *dāmpāti-* and *dām-* 'house'. Cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 249 c, note.

a. These compounds in *-pāti-* are treated by the Pada text in three different ways: 1. *gndspāti-*, *bhaspāti-*, *vānaspāti-*, *viṣpāti-* (and *viṣpātī-*) appear as simple words; 2. *gnāh-pāmi-*, *jāh-pāti-*, *sāc-pāti-*, *ṛta-pate* (voc.), *rādhas-pate* (voc.), and those with a single accent (except *viṣpāti-*) as compounds separated by the Avagraha sign; 3. all other doubly accented compounds (e. g. *brāhmaṇas-pāti-*) as two separate words; even *rādhas-pātis* is written *rādhas | pātis* as if *rādhas* were a nom. sing.¹

a. Otherwise the genitive ending appears only two or three times in the RV. in Proper Names: *dlvo-dasa-* 'servant of heaven' (?), *śūnah-śēpa-*² 'dog's tail', and (with gen. pl.) *nāra-śāmsa-* (for **nāraṇ-śāmsa-*)³ 'praise of men', an epithet of Agni. The VS. has also *rāyas-poṣa-* 'increase of wealth' in *rāyas-poṣa-dā-* 'bestowing increase of wealth' and *rāyas-poṣa-vāni-* 'procuring increase of wealth'.

b. Other case-endings are very rare in such determinatives. The locative appears in *svapne-dusvapnyā-* (AV.) 'evil dreaming in sleep'⁴; the instrumental in *vācā-stena-* 'thief by speech', 'one who makes mischief by his words'; the dative in *dasyave-vyka-* (voc.) 'Wolf to the Dasyu', N. of a man; and possibly *dāsyave sāhaḥ* (I. 36¹⁸) may be meant as a name with double accent.

281. In a few instances the first member is a substantive used appositionally to express sex or composite nature: *puruṣa-mṛgā-* (VS.) 'male antelope'; *ūlūka-yātu-* 'owl demon' (= demon in form of an owl), *śusulūka-yātu-* 'owlet demon'; *puruṣa-vyāghrā-* 'man-tiger', a kind of demon, *ṛṣā-kapī-* 'man-ape'.

282. An adjective may appear as first member determining the sense of the following substantive. This type, which is called **Karmadhāraya** by the Indian grammarians, is uncommon in the Saṃhitās. Among the oldest are *candrā-mās-*⁵ 'bright moon'⁶ and *pūrṇā-mās-a-* (TS. III. 4. 4¹) 'full moon'. Besides these occur *eka-vīrā-* 'unique hero', *kṛṣṇa-śakunt-* (AV.) 'raven'⁷, *nava-jvārā-* 'new pain', *mahā-grāmā-* 'great host', *mahā-dhanā-* 'great booty', *mahā-vīrā-* 'great hero'⁸, *sapta-ṛṣīyas* 'the Seven Seers', N. of a group of ancient sages (beside the separate words *saptā ṛṣayah* and *ṛṣayah saptā* in Books I-IX), *sapta-grdhṛāḥ* (AV.) 'the seven vultures'⁹.

a. A variety of Karmadhāraya is that in which the first member expresses a part of the last: *adhara-kaṅthā-* (VS.) 'lower part of the neck', *ardha-devā-*¹⁰ 'demi-god', *ardha-māsā-* (AV. VS.) 'half-month', *madhyam-dina-* 'midday'; also with change of gender: *agra-jihvā-* (VS.) n. 'tip of the tongue (*jihvā-*)'; with the suffix *-a-*: *ardha-rc-ā-* (AV. VS.) 'hemistich', *pūrvāhnyā-* 'forenoon'¹¹.

283. Prepositions frequently occur as first member, all except *prā-* in their ordinary adverbial senses. Those which are thus used in the RV.

¹ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 241 (97 a a, note).

² This name occurs once with tmesis, *śūnah śēpam* (v. 2⁷).

³ Cp. *nāraṇ nā śāmsa-* (I. 1739 etc.) and *śāmsa nāraṇ* (VI. 24²); see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 248 d, note.

⁴ *hvadā-cakṣus* 'mirrored in the lake' is regarded by GELDNER (VS. I, 173) as a Tat-puruṣa = 'eye in the lake'. For one or two doubtful examples of locative pl. see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 249 (bottom).

⁵ That this is a very old combination is shown by the fact that *mās-* 'moon' occurs almost exclusively in compounds (*śūryā-māsā* and *pūrṇā-mās*, SB.), only two or three times alone (though often in the sense of 'month'), and is therefore obsolescent in the RV.

⁶ In the later Saṃhitās *candrā-* comes to

mean 'moon' as an abbreviation of *candrā-mās-*.

⁷ With change of meaning from 'black bird'.

⁸ In K. appears the dative *viśva-devāya*, the expression *śive devāḥ* having become a Karmadhāraya.

⁹ Translated by WHITNEY (AV. VIII 9¹⁸) as a Bahuvrīhi, 'seven-vultured'.

¹⁰ *ardhā-* 'half' is here used in a figurative sense.

¹¹ *pitā-mahā-* (AV. TS. VS.) and *tatā-mahā-* (AV.) 'grandfather' and *prā-pitāmaha-* (VS. TS.) and *prā-tatāmaha-* (AV.) 'great grandfather' (only voc.) are probably not Karmadhārayas, but formed in imitation of *mahā-mahā-* which appeared to be a gradation of *mahānt-*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 255, note.

are *ādhi* 'over', *ni* 'down', *pāri* 'around', *prā* 'forward'¹, 'front part of'², 'extreme' (of high degree), 'great' (in names of relationship), *prāti* 'against', *ni* 'asunder', *sām* 'together' (also *sa-* in the same sense); and in the later Saṃhitās, *antir* 'between', *āpa* 'away', *ā* 'at hand', *ud* 'up', *ūpa* 'beside', *ūpari* 'above'. The following are examples in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *ādhi-pati* (AV. VS.) 'over-lord', *ādhi-patnī* (AV. VS.) 'sovereign lady', *ādhi-bhojana-* 'additional gift', *adhi-rājā-* 'supreme king'; *antar-desh-* (AV.) 'intermediate region', *antaḥ-pātrī-* (AV.) 'inner (= interior of the) vessel'; *āpa-rūpa-* (AV.)⁴ 'absence of form', 'deformity'; *ā-pati-* (VS. MS. 1. 27) 'the lord here'; **ut-sūrya-* 'sunrise' in *otsūryām* (AV.) 'till sunrise' (*ā-utsūryām*); *upa-pati-* (VS.) 'paramour' (lit. 'sub-husband'); *ūpari-sayana-* (AV.) 'elevated couch'; *ni-dhāna-* (AV.) 'conclusion', *ni-paksati-* (VS.) 'second rib', *ni-pādā-* 'low ground', *ny-dhāna-*⁵ (AV.) 'close of day'; *pāri-pati-* 'lord (of all) around', *pari-vatsarā-* 'full year'; *prā-gāthā-* (VS.) 'fore-song', a kind of stanza, *prā-dś-* 'region' and (AV.) 'intermediate quarter', *prā-dhāna-* 'prize of battle', *prādhvānā-* ('forward course, *dāhvān-*) 'bed of a river', *prārtha-* (AV.) 'preparation', 'implement'; *prā-pada-*⁶ 'tip of the foot', *prā-yuga-* 'forepart of the shafts (of a chariot)'; *prā-nāpāt-* 'great-grandson', *prā-tatāmaha-* (AV.) and *prā-pitāmaha-* (VS. TS.) 'great-grandfather'; *prā-dtv-* (AV.) 'third (or fifth) heaven', *prā-patha-* 'distant path', *prā-maganda-* 'arch-usurer', *prā-vīra-* 'great hero', *prāyus-* (MS. 1. 54) 'long life' (*āyus*); *prāti-jand-* (AV.) 'adversary', *prāti-dīvan-* 'adversary at play'; *vi-dś-* (VS.) 'intermediate region', *vi-madhya-* 'middle', *vi-manyu-* 'longing'⁸, *vi-vāc-* 'opposing shout', 'contest', *vy-ōdana-* (RV¹) 'different food'⁹; *sa-pātnī-* 'co-wife', *saṃ-grāmā-* (AV.) 'assembly', 'encounter', *saṃ-antk-* 'battle-array'¹⁰, *saṃ-bāndhu-* 'akin', *saṃ-vatsarā-*¹¹ 'full year'.

284. Other indeclinables sometimes occur as first member, but very rarely in the RV. They include a few adverbs and the particles *an*), *dus*, *su-*, *kim-*, *ku-*: *paścā-dosh-* (VS.) 'late evening', *purv-agni-* (VS.) 'fire in front'; *a-mitra-* 'enemy', *ā-hoty-* (AV.) 'incompetent Hot'; *duc-chūnā-* 'calamity'¹²; *sū-brāhmana-* (AV.) 'good Brāhman', *sū-bhesaja-* (AV. TS.) 'good reined', *su-vasanā-*¹³ 'fair garment'; *kim-puruṣ-* (VS.) a kind of mythical being, *kūśara-* (RV¹), a kind of reed.

4. Bahuvrihi Compounds.

285. The term **Bahuvrihi**, employed by the Indian grammarians to designate this type, is perhaps the most convenient name for these secondary adjective compounds, as it represents their general character both in form and meaning. For the final member is practically always a substantive, and the relation of the first member to the last is mostly attributive

¹ Without perceptibly changing the meaning of the final member.

² This and the following meanings do not occur in the combination of *prā* with verbs.

³ Expressing separation, extension, derivation.

⁴ In *āpa-kāmī-* 'aversion' the final member is a verbal noun. There seem to be no certain instances of this kind of compound with *āpi*: cp. WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 259 β, note.

⁵ In *ny-arthā-* 'destruction' the second member is a verbal noun. On the relation of *ny-ābuda-* (AV. VS.) and *ny-ārbud-* (AV.) to *ābuda-* and *ārbud-*, see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 260 (top).

⁶ Once *prā-pad-* in AV.

⁷ Probably for *prā-yuga-*.

⁸ From *manyū-* 'zeal'.

⁹ This is Śāyana's explanation (*vividhe nne*) of the word in VIII. 52⁹.

¹⁰ From *duka-* 'front'.

¹¹ *sām* in this compound expresses completeness.

¹² Cp. *śunām* 'with success'. On the Sandhi see p. 31, note 4.

¹³ Though *vasana-* has a concrete sense here, the compound may have arisen when the word had a verbal meaning.

(Karmadhāraya), less commonly dependent (Tatpuruṣa), and very rarely coordinative (Dvandva). The best name otherwise is 'possessive', as this is their meaning in the vast majority of instances. In a few examples, however, the more general sense of 'connected with' (which may usually be expressed more specifically) is required to explain the relation between the substantive and the Bahuvrīhi which agrees with it; thus *āsua-prṣṭha* 'borne on horse-back', *devd-psaras* 'affording enjoyment for the gods', *parjanya-retas* 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya', *viśvā-kṛṣṭi* 'dwelling with all peoples', *viśvā-nara*² 'belonging to or existing among all men', *vīrā-pastya* 'belonging to the abode of a hero', *śatī-sāvada* 'lasting a hundred autumns', *śāra-vīra* (AV.) 'characterized by heroic men' = 'making men heroic' (amulet).

286. **Attributive Bahuvrīhis.**—The commonest form of Bahuvrīhi is that in which an attributive noun is the first member. It is most frequently an adjective, as *ugrā-bāhu* 'powerful-armed', *urvy-āti*³ 'giving wide aid', *jīvā-putra* 'having living sons', *śukrā-varṇa* 'bright-coloured'⁴. The first member is also often a past passive participle in *-ta* or *-na*, the action expressed by which is usually performed by the person denoted by the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees; e. g. *prāyata-dakṣiṇa* 'he by whom the sacrificial fee has been presented', *rātā-havis* 'who offers an oblation'⁵. The action is, however, not infrequently supposed to be performed by others, always in the case of *hata* 'slain'; e. g. *hatā-vṛṣṇī* 'whose husband has been slain', *hatā-mātṛ* 'whose mother has been slain'. Both senses appear in *rātā-havya* 'he by whom' and 'to whom offerings have been made'. An outside agent is sometimes expressed by an additional member at the beginning of the compound, as *jīvā-pta-sarga* 'whose streams have been drunk by the living'⁶. A present participle occasionally occurs as first member; e. g. *ā-yād-vasu* (AV.) and *saṃ-yād-vasu* (AV.) 'to whom wealth comes', *bhrājād-ṛṣṭi* 'having glittering spears', *rūśad-vatsa* 'having a shining calf', *śucā-d-ratha* 'having a brilliant car'⁷; also a perfect-participle in *dadṛś-ān-pazi* 'whose felly is visible', *yuyujānā-sapti* 'whose steeds are yoked'.

a. The first member is further often a substantive used predicatively; e. g. *āsua-parṇa* 'horse-winged' = 'whose wings are horses' (car); *indra-satru* 'whose foe is Indra'; *tad-īd-ārtha*⁸ 'having just that as an aim', *drōṇāhava* 'whose pail (*ūhāvā*) is a trough', *śiśnā-deva* 'whose god is a phallus', *śirodaka* (AV.) 'whose water is spirit' (*śīrā*). The final member is here sometimes a comparative or superlative (including *pāra*) used substantively: *avaras-pard*⁹ (VS.) 'in which the lower is higher' = 'topsy-turvy'¹⁰, *āsthi-bhūyāms* (AV.) 'having bone as its chief part' = 'chiefly bone', *indra-īyēṣṭha* 'having Indra as chief', 'of whom Indra is chief', *yamā-śreṣṭha* (AV.) 'of whom Yama is best', *sōma-śreṣṭha* (AV.) 'of which Soma is best'.

¹ For other names see WACKERNAGEL 21, p. 273 (107 a, note).

² For several other examples formed with *viśvā* see WHITNEY 1294 b.

³ Cp. p. 145, note 3.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 1298.

⁵ The sense is thus identical with verbal determinatives or verbally governing compounds such as *vājam-bharā* and *bharād-vāja* 'bearing booty'. In *vītā-kotra* 'having an invitation sacrifice' = 'inviting to sacrifice', a stem in *-ū* is used almost like a past participle in *-ta*; cp. *vītā-havya* as a name.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY 1299 a.

⁷ Cp. WHITNEY 1299 b.

⁸ Here a pronoun appears instead of a substantive in the first member.

⁹ Here the first member retains the *s* of the nom. surviving from the use of the two words in syntactical juxtaposition; the first member also is used substantively in this compound.

¹⁰ On *eka-pāra* (said of dice) see now LÜDERS, Das Würfelspiel im alten Indien (Abh. d. K. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen 9, 2) p. 64.

A comparison is sometimes implied between the first substantive and the second: *varsājya* (AV.) 'whose rain is like butter', *vrkṣā-keśa-* 'tree-haired' = 'whose trees are like hair' = 'wooded' (mountain).

The first member further sometimes expresses the material of which the second consists; e. g. *rajatā-nābhi-* (VS.) 'whose naval is (made of) silver'; *hiraṇya-nemi-* 'whose felines are (made of) gold'; or something closely connected with and characteristic of it, as *niryūd-ratha-* 'whose car is (drawn by) a team'.

287. **Dependent Bahuvrīhis.**—The first member is dependent on the last in the sense of a case-relation, the case-ending being sometimes retained.

a. It has often a genitive sense¹, as *pāti-kāma-* (AV.) 'having desire for a husband'; with genitive ending, *rāyā-kāma-* 'having a desire of wealth'. Here the first member often implies a comparison (when it never has the case-ending): *agni-tejas-* (AV.) 'having the brightness of fire', 'fire-bright', *śka-grīva-* (AV.) 'having the neck of a bear' (demons), *gō-vapus-* 'having the form of a cow', *jñātī-mukha-* (AV.) 'having the face of (= like) relatives', *māno-javas-* 'having the swiftness of thought' = 'swift as thought', *mayūra-roman-* 'having the plumes of peacocks' (Indra's steeds).

b. In a few instances it has the sense of, and then always the ending of, the instrumental: *ā-giraukas-* 'not to be kept at rest (*śkas-*) by a song (*gīrā-*)', *kr̥tvā-magha-* 'constituting a reward (gained) by intelligence', *bhāsa-keṭu-* 'recognisable by light'².

c. The locative sense is more frequent, being often accompanied by the case-ending: *āśnu-īṣu-* 'having arrows in his mouth', *divi-yoni-* 'having origin in heaven'; also several formed with *dūre-* 'in the distance', as *dūr-anta-* 'ending in the distance', *dūr-gavyāti-* (AV.) 'whose sphere is far away'³.

There are further examples in which the last member has the locative sense when it is a part of the body and what is expressed by the first member appears in or on it: *āśru-mukhi-* (AV.) 'having tears on her face', 'tear-faced', *kilāloḍhu-ṛ-* (AV.) 'having sweet drink in her udder', *ghṛtā-pr̥ṣṭha-* 'butter-backed', *pātra-hasta-* (AV.) 'having a hand in which is a vessel', *mani-grīvā-* 'having pearls on the neck', *mādhu-jihva-* 'having a tongue on which is honey', *vājra-bāhu-* 'having an arm on which is a bolt'.

288. **Coordinate Bahuvrīhis.**—No example is found in the RV. and hardly any in the other Saṃhitās of the first and last members of Bahuvrīhis being coordinated in sense. The VS. has *stōma-pr̥ṣṭha-* 'containing Stomas and Pr̥ṣṭhas'; also *dhar-divā-* (xxviii.12) 'daily', which is a kind of Dyandva Bahuvrīhi, being formed from the adverb *dhar-divi* 'day by day'. The form *somendrī-* 'belonging to Soma and Indra', occurs only in B. passages of later Saṃhitās (TS. MS. K.).

289. **Indeclinables as first member.**—In a number of Bahuvrīhis the first member is not a noun, but an indeclinable word, either a preposition or an adverb.

a. **Prepositions** are common as first member of Bahuvrīhis, expressing the local position of the final member in relation to the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees. Some sixteen prepositions are thus used, the most frequent being *vā-* which occurs as often in the RV. as all the rest put together. They are *āti* 'beyond', *adhi* 'on', *antar* 'within', *āpa* 'away', *abhi*

¹ An accusative in sense and form appears in *nām-kāma-* 'having a desire for thee', not a Bahuvrīhi with *āpar-* 'work'; cp. 278 a and 91 B.

² The compound *vidmāṅpas-* 'working with skill' (*vidmāṅ-*) is probably a determinative native formed with the adj. *āpas-* 'working', p. 278 (bottom). ³ On a few doubtful instances of such locative compounds see WACKERNAGEL 2^a,

'around' and 'toward', *dva* 'down', 'away', *ā* 'near', *ūd* 'upward', *ūpa* 'near', *nī* 'down', *nīś* 'away', *pāri* 'around', *prā* 'in front', 'very', *prāti* 'against', *vi* 'apart', *sām* 'together'. Of these *ūpa* is used thus in the RV. only, while *antār*, *dva*, *nī* appear in the later Samhitās only. The following are examples of compounds thus formed in the alphabetical order of the prepositions: *dy-ārmi-* 'overflowing', *iti-cchandās-* (VS.) 'having redundant metres' (verse); *ādhi-nirṇij-* 'having a garment on', *ādhy-akṣa-* 'having an eye on', 'overseer'; *antar-dāvā-* (AV.) 'having fire within'; *āpodaka-* 'waterless', *apa-rti-* (AV.) 'unseasonable'; *abhi-vīra-* and *abhi-satvan-* 'having heroes around', *abhi-rūpa-* (AV.) 'beautiful', *abhi-śeṇā-* 'directing arrows'; *ava-keśi-* (AV.) 'having hair hanging down', *dva-toka-* (AV. VS.) 'miscarrying'; *ā-deva-* 'having the gods near', 'devoted to the gods', *ā-manas-* (AV. TS.) 'kindly disposed'; *ūt-saktha-* (VS.) 'having the thighs raised', *ūd-ojas-* 'highly powerful'; *upa-manyū-* 'having zeal at hand', 'zealous', *ūpā-vasu-* 'bringing riches near'; *nī-manyu-* (AV.) 'whose anger has subsided', *nī-vakṣas-* (TS. v. 6. 23) 'having a sunken breast', *nī-kulī-* (VS.) 'going down hill', *nī-kilbiṣā-* 'deliverance from sin' ('that in which sin has subsided'); *nīr-jarāyu-* (AV.) 'having cast its skin', *nīr-māya-* 'powerless', *nīr-hasta-* (AV.) 'handless'; *pari-marā-* (TS. v. 6. 21) 'having death around' = 'round whom people have died', *pari-manyū-* 'very angry'; *prā-śringā-* (VS. TS.) 'having prominent horns', *prā-tvakṣas-* 'very energetic'; *prā-manas-* (AV.) 'very thoughtful'; *prāti-rūpa-* 'having a corresponding form', 'like', *prāti-vartmān-* (AV.) 'having an opposite course', *prāti-vela-* 'neighbour' ('living opposite'); *vi* = 'apart': *vi-karṇā-* (AV.) 'having ears far apart', *vi-sakha-* (AV.) 'branched', *vy-āmsa-* 'having the shoulders apart', 'broad-shouldered'; = 'extensive': *vi-manas-* 'wide-minded', 'sagacious', *vi-hāyas-* 'of extensive power'; = 'divided': *vy-adhvā-* (AV.) 'having a divided course' = 'being midway between zenith and earth'; = 'various': *vy-āilaba-* (AV.) 'making all kinds of noises'; = 'divergent': *vi-pathi-* 'following wrong paths', *vi-vrata-* 'refractory'; = 'distorted': *vi-grīva-* 'having a twisted neck', *vy-ānga-* (AV.) 'having distorted limbs'; = 'different': *vi-rūpa-* 'having a different form', *vi-vācas-* (AV.) 'speaking differently'; = 'devoid of', 'less': *vi-māya-* 'devoid of magic', *vy-ānas-* 'guiltless'; *sām-hanu-* (AV.) 'striking the jaws together'.

b. Adverbs with a local meaning, which are akin to prepositions, also frequently appear as first member of Bahuvrihis, being generally speaking equivalent in sense to predicative adjectives. Examples of such Bahuvrihis in the alphabetical order of the adverbs are the following: *adhās* 'below': *adhā-varcas-* (AV.) 'powerful below'; *ānti* 'near': *ānti-mitra-* (VS.) 'having friends at hand', *ānti-sumna-* (AV.) 'having benevolence at hand', *ānty-āti-* 'having aid at hand'; *avās* 'down': *avā-deva-* 'attracting the gods down'; *ārā* 'afar': *ārā-āgha-* 'having evil far-removed', *ārā-satru-* (AV.) 'whose foes are far away'; *itās* 'hence': *itī-āti-* 'helping from hence'; *ihā* 'here': *ihā-mātṛ-* 'whose mothers are, the one here, the other there'; *ihā-kratu-* (AV.) 'whose will is hitherward', *ihā-citta-* (AV.) 'whose thought is hitherward'; *fdhak* 'apart': *fdhān-mantra-* (AV.) 'having a special sacred text'; *kuhaya* 'where?': *kuhaya-kṛti-* (only voc.) 'where active?'; *dakṣiṇa-tās* 'on the right': *dakṣiṇatās-kaparda-* 'having a coil of hair on the right'; *nīcā* 'downward': *nīcā-vayas-* 'whose strength is low'; *purās* 'in front': *puro-rathā-* 'whose car is in front', *puro-vasu-* (TS. III. 2. 5) 'preceded by wealth' (only voc.); *prācā* 'forward': *prācā-ñikva-* 'moving the tongue forward', *prācā-manyu-* (only voc.) 'striving forward'.

↑ According to WHITNEY on AV. v. 1; BR., pw. 'lacking speech'; LUDWIG 'of distinguished meditations'.

a. Bahuvrihis are also formed with a few adverbs of another kind as first member: *itūh-dhi-* 'having such thought', 'devout', *nāno-sūrya-* 'illuminated by various suns', *śāna-magha-* (AV. TS.) 'repentedly offering oblations', *puruḥā-śraṭika-* 'having various aspects', *śadyā-ūti-* 'helping at once'. There are also several formed with *sahā-*, *sumād-*, *smād-* 'together with', as *sahā-gopa-* 'having the cowherds with them', *sahā-puruṣa-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the men', *sumād-jāni-* 'accompanied by his wife', *sumād-gu-* (AV.) 'accompanied by the cows', *smād-abhīru-* 'provided with reins', *smād-ista-* 'having an errand', *smād-ūdhan-* 'provided with an udder'.

c. Certain particles frequently appear as the first member of Bahuvrihis. These are the privative *a-* or *an-*, *ku-* expressing depreciation, *du-* 'ill', *su-* 'well'; e. g. *a-pād-* 'footless', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', *an-udakā-* 'having no water', 'waterless'; *kū-yava-* 'causing a bad harvest', *du-pād-* 'ill-footed'; *su-parṇā-* 'having beautiful wings'.

290. Bahuvrihis are very frequently used as m. (sometimes f.) substantives in the sense of Proper Names, in many instances without the adjectival sense occurring at all; thus *byhūd-uktha-* m., as the N. of a seer and adj. 'having great praise'; *byhūd-dīva-* m., N. of a seer (*byhad-dīvā-* f., N. of a goddess) and adj. 'dwelling in high heaven'; but *prīyā-medha-* m. ('to whom sacrifice is dear') and *vāmā-deva-* m. ('to whom the gods are dear') only as the names of seers.

a. Bahuvrihis are further not infrequently used as neuter substantives with an abstract and a collective sense, especially when the first member is the privative particle *a-* or *an-* and *sarva-* 'all'; e. g. *a-satru-* 'free from foes', n. (AV.) 'freedom from foes', *a-sapatnā-* 'having no rivals', n. (AV.) 'peace', *a-sambadhū-* (AV.) n. 'non-confinement', *a-skambhani-* (AV.) n. 'lack of support', *an-apatyā-* 'childless' (AV.), n. 'childlessness', *an-amitrā-* (AV.) 'foeless', n. (AV. VS.) 'freedom from foes'; *sarva-rathā-* 'the whole line of chariots', *sarva-vedasā-* (AV. TS.) 'whole property'; *ni-kilbiṣā-* n. 'deliverance from sin', *pitṛ-bandhū-* (AV.) 'paternal kinship', *mātṛ-bandhū-* (AV.) 'maternal kinship', *rikta-kumbhā-* (AV.) 'empty-handedness', *su-mrgā-* (AV.) 'good hunting'.

b. A special category of Bahuvrihis used as substantives are those in which the first member is a numeral from *dvī-* 'two' upwards⁶. They express a collection or aggregate and are singular neuter⁷ except those formed with *-ahā-* 'day', which are singular masc.; e. g. *tri-yugā-* n. 'period of three lives', *tri-yojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of three Yojanas', *try-udāyī-* n. 'threefold approach to the altar', *daśāṅgulā-* n. 'length of ten fingers', *daśāntarusyī-* n. 'distance of ten stations', *dvī-rājū-* (AV.) n. 'battle of two kings', *pañcayojanā-* (AV.) n. 'distance of five Yojanas', *ṣaḍ-ahā-* (AV. TS.) m. 'series of six days'. These numeral collectives always end in accented *-ā*⁸.

291. Origin of Bahuvrihis.—Considering that Bahuvrihis, which are adjectives, are far commoner than the corresponding determinatives, which are substantives, it cannot be assumed that the former always passed through

¹ The Bahuvrihi compound *śvīr-ṛjika-* is n. 'safety' (adj. 'free from danger'), and *śvī-* of uncertain meaning; see WACKERNAEGEL *hpdaya-* (AV.) 'lack of courage'.
2¹, p. 287 (middle).

² Compounds formed with these three grammarians, and are classed by them as a subdivision of Tatpuruṣas.
to the 'governing' class.

³ Also the cognate *lim-* in *lim-śilā-* (VS. TS.) (land) 'having small stones'.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 8⁴.

⁵ Accentuation of the final syllable (as in the cognate singular Dvandvas) prevails in these n. Bahuvrihis; exceptions are *ā-bhava-*, n. (AV.) 'a thousand days' journey'.

⁶ These are called Dvigu by the Hindu grammarians, and are classed by them as a subdivision of Tatpuruṣas.

⁷ A few numeral collectives are determinatives used in the pl. and the original gender: *ṣaṭsarjāyas* 'the seven seers', *ṣaṭpaṅdhṛās* 'seven vultures' (AV.); *tri-kadrū-ka-* pl. 'three soma-vessels' (from *kadrū-* f.).

⁸ With the suffix *-ya-* is formed *sahasrāṅghyā-* n. (AV.) 'a thousand days' journey'.

the process of transmutation from the latter. They must in the vast majority of instances have been formed directly and independently in conformity with the type of these secondary adjectives which had come down from the Hr. period¹. WACKERNAGEL (2¹, 112) adopts the view that the origin of Bahuvrīhis is not to be explained by transmutation from determinatives, but from the predicative or appositional use of groups of words characterizing a substantive². This use he exemplifies by the following quotations from the RV.: *urīh kaksō nā gāngyāh* (vi. 45³) 'like the broad shoulder dwelling on the Ganges', that is, for **urī-kaksah* 'Broad-shoulder' as a Proper Name; *sā jīyase sūho mahāt* (v. 11⁶) 'thou art horn a great power' (= **mahā-sahāh* 'one having great power'); *tvācam kṛṣṇīm arandhayat* (i. 130⁸) 'he delivered over the black skin' (that is, 'those having a black skin', 'the black-skins'); *drīghāya cid vācāsa ānavāya* (vi. 62⁹) 'to Ānava, deceitful speech', that is, 'who utters deceitful speech'³; and *narīm . . śāṁsah* (ii. 34⁶) 'praise of men' as representing an earlier stage than *nārā-śāṁsa-* 'receiving the praises of men' as a Bahuvrīhi. Appositional Bahuvrīhis, he thinks, similarly arose from explanatory clauses, as *Indra-jyēsthā devīh* 'the gods having Indra as their mightiest' from *devīh Indro jyēsthah* 'the gods — Indra their mightiest'. The first step here would have been assimilation in case and number to the main substantive, involving change to a compound (with stem-form and single accent), followed by assimilation in gender. The change to the Bahuvrīhi had already become the rule in the pre-Vedic period.

5. Governing Compounds.

292. In a considerable number of compounds the first member governs the last in sense, being either a preposition (prepositional adverb) or a verbal noun. These compounds being adjectives are allied to Bahuvrīhis.

1. In the prepositional group the first member is a preposition or adverb capable of governing a case. There are about twenty examples in the RV. In some instances they seem to have arisen from the corresponding syntactical combination, as *ādhi-ratha-* n. 'wagon-load' from *ādhi rāthe* (x. 64¹²) 'on the wagon'. In other instances they seem to have originated from the corresponding adverb; thus the adjective in *pra-dīv-ā ketinā* (v. 60⁸) 'with long-existing light' has been changed from the adverb *pra-dīvas* 'from of old' to agree with a substantive in the instrumental. The ending of the second member has been preserved for the most part only when it was *-a*; otherwise the suffix *-a* or *-ya* is generally added. Like Bahuvrīhis, compounds of this type may become neuter substantives; thus *upānas-ā-* 'being on the wagon', n. (AV.) 'space in a wagon'.

a. All prepositions which govern cases (except *āva*) as well as *prā* (though it never governs a case), besides several adverbs capable of being used with a case, are employed as first member in these compounds⁴. The following are examples of prepositional governing compounds: *ati-mātrā-* (AV.) 'beyond measure', *ati-rātrā-* 'lasting overnight', *āty-āpahas-* (VS.) 'beyond the reach of distress', *āty-avi-* 'running over the wool'; *ādhi-gart-ya-* 'being on the car-seat', *ādhi-gav-ā-* (AV.) 'derived from cows'; *adhas-pad-ā-* 'being

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 88; IF. 18, 63 ff.

² On substantives used instead of adjectives cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 89.

³ Cp. *drogha-vāc-* 'uttering deceitful speech'.

⁴ This type of governing compound is

similar in form to the prepositional Bahuvrīhis; the meaning, however, is quite different, as in the latter the preposition does not govern the following member, but refers adverbially to the substantive with which the Bahuvrīhi agrees.

under the feet', *adho-aksā-* 'remaining below the axle'; *ānu-path-a-* and *ānu-vartman-* (AV. VS.) 'along the road', *ānu-kāmi-* 'according to wish', *ānu-vrata-* 'obedient'; *āntas-path-a-* 'being within the path'; *api-prāna-* 'being on (= accompanying) the breath', *api-sarvā-* 'bordering on night' (*sārvar-*); *abhi-dyu-* 'directed to heaven', *abhi-rastra-* 'overcoming dominion'; *ā-jarās-ā-* 'reaching to old age', *ā-pathi-* and *ū-pathi-* 'being on the way', *ā-bhaga-* 'taking part in', 'participator'; *upa-kakṣā-* 'reaching to the shoulder', *upānas-ā-* 'being on a wagon', *ūpa-tṛṇ-ya-* (AV.) 'lurking in the grass', *ūpa-mās-ya-* (AV.) 'occurring every month'; *upāri-budhnu-* 'raised above the ground', *upāri-martya-* 'being above men'; *urdhvā-nabhas-* (VS.) 'being above the clouds', *urdhvā-barhis-* (VS.) 'being above the litter'; *urh-ahn-ya-* ('being beyond a day' =) 'belonging to the day before yesterday'; *pari-panth-in-*² ('lying around the path') 'adversary', *pari-hastā-* (AV.) ('put round the hand') 'hand-amulet'; *pari-mātra-* ('being beyond measure') 'excessive', *par-kṣa-* (AV.) ('lying beyond the eye') 'invisible'; *puro-gav-ā-* ('going before the cows') 'leader'; *prati-kāmyā-* (AV.) 'being in accordance with desire'; *saṃ-gayā-* 'blessing the household'.

2. In verbal governing compounds the first member is either an agent noun or an action noun governing the last member as an object. The abnormal position of the verbal form before the object in this class is probably to be explained by the first member having originally been an imperative, which usually has this position. These compounds are an old formation, two types going back to the Indo-European period, and one to the Indo-Iranian. They are adjectives, but the final member never adds a compositional suffix except in *sikṣā-nar-ā-* 'helping men'. Three types are to be distinguished.

a. The first member consists of a present stem or the root, which probably represents an imperative³; of this type there are few examples: *trāsā-dasyu-* m., N. of a man ('terrify the foe'), *rada-vasu-*⁴ (only voc.) 'dispensing wealth', *sikṣā-nar-ā-*⁴ 'helping men', *sthā-raśman-*⁵ 'loosening bridles'⁶.

b. Examples of the second type are more numerous. Here the first member ends in *-āt*, but the participle, being formed from present stems in *-a*, *-ā* or *-aya*, which appears in these compounds, in a few instances does not occur in independent use. This type, which is almost entirely restricted to the RV., is also Iranian. It seems to have taken the place of the older one (a), which owing to its form was apt to be confused with Bahuvrhis though differing from them in meaning. The form which they assumed was probably aided by the analogy of Bahuvrhis with a present participle as their first member, like *śucā-ratha-* 'having a brilliant car', which are formed from intransitive verbs, while those in the governing compounds are of course transitive. Examples of this type are the following: *ṛdhā-ray-*⁷ ('increasing wealth') m., N. of a man, and *ṛdhā-vāra-*⁷ 'increasing goods', *kṣayā-vira-*⁸ 'ruling men', *codāyān-mati-*⁹ 'stimulating devotion', *jamā-*¹⁰

¹ Occurs only in the dative as an adverb is doubtful; it may be a simple Bahuvrhi, meaning 'up to old age'.

² Formed with the suffix *-in* which is not properly attached to compounds; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 53 (p. 121 bottom).

³ See BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 76; DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax 3, 174; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz (1897), 46-82; WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 315.

⁴ Rhythmically lengthened for *rada*, *sikṣa*.

⁵ The Pāda has *sthā-raśman-*. The meaning

is doubtful; it may be a simple Bahuvrhi,

'having firm bridles' (GRASSMANN).

⁶ *kyā-nīda-* would be another example if it means 'arranging his abode', but the meaning of the first member is doubtful.

⁷ *ṛdhāt-* is an aorist participle of *ṛdh-* 'increase'.

⁸ From *kṣayati* 'rules'.

⁹ From *codāyati* 'urges'.

¹⁰ *jamāt-* a palatalized form from *gam-* 'go'.

agni- ('going to Agni'), N. of man, *tarād-dvesas-*¹ 'overcoming foes', *drāvayāt-sakha-*² 'speeding the comrade', *dhārayāt-kavi-* 'supporting the wise' and *dhārayāt-ksiti-*³ 'supporting men', *bharād-vāja-* ('carrying off the prize') m., N. of a man, and *ābharād-vasu-*⁴ 'bringing wealth', *manhayāt-rayi-*⁵ 'lavishing wealth', *mandād-vira-*⁶ 'gladdening men', *vidād-atva-*⁷ 'possessing steeds', *vidād-vasu-*⁸ 'winning wealth', *brāwayāt-pati-* 'making his lord famous', and *brāwayāt-sakhi-*⁹ 'making his friend famous', *sandā-rayi-* 'bestowing possessions' and *sandā-rāja-*¹⁰ 'bestowing booty', *sādād-yoni-*¹¹ 'sitting in one's place', *spṛhayād-varṇa-*¹² 'striving after lustre'. Two such governing compounds are once combined in such a way that the final member common to both is dropped in the first: *patayān mandayāt-sakham* (I. 4) 'causing his friend to fly (*patiya-*) and to be glad' (*mandiya-*)¹³.

c. In the third type, which goes back to the Indo-European period¹⁴, the first member is a noun of action variously accented. There are some half-dozen examples in the RV.: *dāti-vāra-* 'giving treasures', *pūṣti-gu-* ('rearing kine') m., N. of a man, *vīty-āp-*¹⁵ 'causing waters to flow', *vīti-rādhas-* 'enjoying the oblation', *vīti-hotra-* 'enjoying the sacrifice', *vṛṣṭi-dyāv-* 'causing the sky to rain'¹⁶.

6. Syntactical Compounds.

293. There are some irregular formations in which words not in coordinate, attributive, dependent or governing relation are compounded owing to constant juxtaposition in the sentence.

1. The relative word *yāt* (abl.) 'in so far as' is compounded with a superlative in RV. III, 53¹⁷: *utbhiḥ ... yāc-chreṣṭhābhiḥ*¹⁷ 'with the best possible aids', lit. 'with aids in so far as (they are) the best'. The adverb *yād-rādhyām* (II, 38¹⁸) 'as quickly as possible', lit. 'in so far as possible', is analogous.

2. The initial words of a text begin to be compounded in the later Samhitās as a designation of that text; thus *ye-yajamāhū-* (VS.) in the nom. pl. m. means the text beginning with the words *ye yajamahe*¹⁹.

3. Phrases, almost always consisting of two words, used in connexion with certain actions are compounded; thus *aham-uttarā-*¹⁹ (AV.) 'dispute for precedence', from the phrase used by each disputant *aham ūttarāḥ* 'I (am) higher'; *mama-satyēsu* 'in disputes as to ownership', in which every one says *māma satyēsu* '(it is) certainly mine'; *mām-pāśyā-* (AV.) as the name of a plant used by a woman to secure the love of a man with the words *mām paśya* 'look at me'²⁰. Similarly in connexion with persons, as *kuvīt-sa-* 'some

¹ From *tāra-ti* 'overcomes'.

² From *drāvāya-* causative of *drau-* 'run'.

³ From *dhārayā-* causative of *dhṛ-* 'support'.

⁴ From *bhāra-ti* 'bears'.

⁵ From *manhāya-* causative of *manh-* 'be great'.

⁶ From *mānda-ti* 'gladdens'. The SV. has the wrong variant *vandād-vira-*.

⁷ To be inferred from the patronymic *vādā-tāsvi-*.

⁸ From *vidā-ti* 'finds'.

⁹ From *brāvāya-* causative of *bru-* 'hear'.

¹⁰ From *sāna-ti* or *sandā-ti* 'wins'.

¹¹ Lengthened for *sādād-* from *sīda-ti* 'sits'.

¹² From *spṛhaya-ti* 'desires'.

¹³ On the doubtful examples *arcād-dhūma-*, *kṛtād-vasū-*, *pratād-vasū-*, *bhuvad vāsuk* (VIII, 1937), *vṛṣṭad-āñji-* (voc.) see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 319 note.

¹⁴ See WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 320 (bottom).

¹⁵ This is the only example recognized by BR. as belonging to this type; GRASSMANN explains them all as Bahuvrithis.

¹⁶ BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 70 f., explains these compounds as having originated in imperatives, while JACOBI, *Compositum und Nebensatz* p. 64 f., thinks the first member represents an original 3. pers. sing.

¹⁷ In AV. VII, 31¹² *yāvac-chreṣṭhābhis* is a corrupt variant. Compounds formed with *yāvac-* do not otherwise occur till the Sūtras.

¹⁸ In the TS. also occurs *idām-mādhu* m. as a designation of the text *idām evā sāvāghām mādhu*. This kind of compound becomes common in the ancillary literature when particular hymns are referred to.

¹⁹ Used in the locative only.

²⁰ One or two doubtful examples are discussed by WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 327 (top).

one' from the phrase *kvit sá* 'is it he?'. This type is more commonly based on phrases used by people about themselves; thus *áham-sana*¹ (voc.) 'rapacious', that is, one who says *áham saneyam* (*dhánāni*) 'may I obtain (wealth)'; *áham-párvā* 'eager to be first', that is, one who says *áham párvā* (*syām*) 'I (should be) first'; *kiṅ-tvā* (VS.) 'asking garrulously' that is, one who continually says 'what (are) you (doing)?'.

VI. DECLENSION.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 707—780. — WHITNEY, Grammar 261—526.

294. **General character.**—Declension means the inflexion of nominal stems by means of endings which express the various relations represented by what are called cases. The stems belonging to the sphere of declension are most conveniently divided, owing to difference of meaning, form, and use, into nouns, pronouns, and numerals. Pronouns have to be treated separately because they have certain peculiarities of inflexion, besides to some extent lacking the distinction of gender. Numerals again show other peculiarities of form as well as partial lack of gender. Nouns are divided into substantives as names of things and adjectives as names of attributes. But as no definite line of demarcation can be drawn between substantive and adjective in any of the classes of declension in the Vedic language, these two categories are nowhere treated separately in the present work.

I. Nouns.

LANMAN, Noun-inflection in the Veda, JAOS. vol. x (1880), p. 325—600.

295. Owing to considerable divergencies of inflexion, nominal stems are best grouped in the two main divisions of consonant and vowel declension. Stems ending in semivowels form a transition from the former to the latter. The stems contained in the two main classes have further to be sub-divided, owing to difference of derivation and, in part, consequent variety of inflexion, into radical and derivative stems.

a. Like other Aryan tongues, the Vedic language distinguishes in declension the three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter. It also distinguishes three numbers, the singular, dual, and plural, the dual being in full and regular use².

b. There are eight cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, all in regular and unrestricted use. The same ending, however, is to a limited extent employed to express the sense of two and sometimes of three cases. Thus the eight cases of the dual have among them only three endings; in the plural the single ending *-bhyas* does duty for both dative and ablative; while in the singular the same ending *-as* appears for both ablative and genitive in all but the *a*-declension.

c. The normal endings of cases are the following:

Singular: nom. m. f. *-s*, n. none; voc. of all genders, none; acc. m. f. *-am*, n. none; inst. *-ā*, dat. *-e*, abl. gen. *-as*, loc. *-i*.

Dual: nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-ā*, *-au*, n. *-ī*, inst. dat. abl. *-bhyām*, gen. loc. *-as*.

Plural: nom. voc. acc. m. f. *-as*, neut. *-ī*; inst. *-bhis*, dat. abl. *-bhyas*, gen. *-ām*, loc. *-su*.

¹ RV. VIII. 61²; cp. *áham sánā* v. 75².

² But while the employment of the dual is generally strict, the plural is often used instead of the dual of natural pairs in

the 'hieratic' parts of the RV.; see BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University Circular for 1905, p. 18 f., OLIPHANT, *ibid.* p. 22—31.

d. A distinction is often made in the stem between strong (or full) and weak (or reduced) case-forms. It appears in its full development only in derivative consonant stems, affecting the suffixes *-āñc*¹; *-an*, *-man*, *-van*; *-ant*, *-mant*, *-vant*; *-tar*; *-yāñs*; *-vāñs*. The strong form of the stem appears in the masculine nom. voc.² acc. singular and dual, and in the nom. voc. plural; and in the neuter nom. voc. acc. plural only. The weak form of the stem appears in the remaining cases. But in the first four and in the last of the above suffixes the weak stem which appears before endings with initial consonant is further weakened before endings with initial vowel.

e. The way in which the normal endings are attached to the strong and the weak stem with accompanying shift of accent, may be illustrated by the inflexion of the stem *ad-ánt* 'eating' in the masc.:

Singular: N. *ad-án*. V. *ád-an*. A. *ad-ántam*. I. *ad-at-á*. D. *ad-at-á*. Ab. G. *ad-at-ás*. L. *ad-at-á*.

Dual: N. A. *ad-ánt-ā*, *-au*. V. *ád-ant-ā*, *-au*. I. D. Ab. *ad-ád-bhyām*. G. L. *ad-at-ás*.

Plural: N. *ad-ánt-as*. V. *ád-ant-as*. A. *ad-at-ás*. I. *ad-ád-bhis*. D. Ab. *ad-ád-bhyas*. G. *ad-at-ám*. L. *ad-át-sa*.

The neuter differs only in the N. A. V. of all numbers: Sing.: N. A. *ad-át*; V. *íd-at*. Du.: N. A. *ad-at-í*. Pl.: N. A. *ad-ánt-í*.

A. Consonant Stems.

296. Among these stems there are none ending in gutturals³ and only two ending in the cerebral *ḍ*. Those which end in the labials *p*, *bh*, *m* are fairly numerous. The majority end in dentals, the only class of consonants in which every sound contained in the group (*t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*, *n*) is represented. Of the semivowels, *y* is represented by one stem, *v* by three stems, and *r* by a large number of stems. There are many stems ending in the sibilants *ś*, *ṣ*, *ś*, and several in the breathing *h* as representative of both a new and an old palatal.

i. Palatal Stems.

297. 1. Radical stems in *-c*. — All uncompounded stems (being of course monosyllabic) are, with very few isolated exceptions, feminine substantives. The exceptions are: *tvác* 'skin', otherwise *f*, occurs twice in the I. sing. *tvaci* as a m.; *árc*, in its only occurrence, I. sing. *arc-á*, is a m. adj. in the sense of 'shining'; and *krúñc*, 'curlew' (VS.) is a m. substantive.

Compounds, as being adjectives, are often m.; but excepting those formed with *añc* the only n. is *ā-prík* (from *príc* 'mix'), used adverbially. Compounds ending in *-añc*⁴ regularly distinguish strong and weak forms. This distinction elsewhere appears to a limited extent only in compounds ending in the three roots *vyac* 'extend', *vac* 'speak', *sac* 'accompany': the first by nasalization in *uru-vyāñcam*⁵ 'far-extending', the other two by lengthening the radical vowel in several compounds.

¹ Though in origin a radical element, *-añc* is practically a suffix; cp. 298. (as distinguished from the old palatals *j* and *h*).

² The voc. sing., however, generally assumes a somewhat shortened form owing to the accent invariably shifting to the initial syllable in this case. † These compounds formed with the root *añc* will, owing to the peculiar changes which the stem undergoes, be treated apart from other words ending in radical *c*.

³ The gutturals as finals of nominal stems having become the new palatals *c*, *j*² and *h*². ⁵ Through the influence of compounds formed with *-añc*, like *praty-āñcam*.

Inflexion.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *vāc-* f. 'speech', would be the following:

Sing.: N. V. *vāk*. A. *vācam*. I. *vācā*. D. *vācā*. Ab. G. *vācās*. L. *vācā*. — Dual: N. A. V. *vācā* and *vācāu*. I. *vāgbhyām* (VS.). — Plur.: N. V. *vācas*. A. *vācas* and *vācās*. I. *vāgbhī*. D. *vāgbhyās* (VS.). Ab. *vāgbhyās* (AV.). G. *vācām*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. f. *fk* (AV.) 'stanza', *tvāk* 'skin', *vāk* 'speech', *śik* (AV. VS.) 'flame', *srik* 'ladle'; *ni-mrūk* (AV.) 'sunset', *puruṣa-vāk* (VS. XXIV. 33) 'human-voiced', *puro-rūk* (TS. VII. 3. 13¹) 'forward light', *saṃ-vāk* (VS. IX. 12) 'argument'. — m. *krīṅ* (VS. XIX. 43) 'curlew'; *amṛta-vāk* (AV.) 'speaking untruth', *upa-pfk* 'adhering to', *tri-śik* (VS. XXXVIII. 22) 'having triple light', *yatā-sruk* 'extending the ladle', *sūrya-tvāk* (AV.) 'having a covering (bright) as the sun', *hiraṇya-tvāk* 'coated with gold'.

A. f. *ṣcam*, *tvācam*, *rūcam* (VS. TS.) 'lustre', *vīcam*, *śīcam* (AV.), *steam* 'hem', *srīcam* (AV.); *ā-sīcam* 'oblation', *vi-mūcam* 'unyoking', *sūrya-tvācam*. — m. *amho-mīcam* 'delivering from distress', *ādṛogha-vācam* 'free from treacherous speech', *kīya-vācam* 'speaking ill', *tanū-rūcam* 'brilliant in person', *dhānarcam* 'shining (*ṣcam*) with booty', *puro-rūcam* 'shining in front', *madhu-ṣcam* 'dispensing sweetness', *mṛdhrā-vācam* 'speaking injuriously', *su-rūcam* 'shining brightly', *su-vācam* 'very eloquent', *sūrya-tvācam* (Kh. IV. 6²). With strengthened stem: *uru-vyācam*; *satya-vācam* 'truth-speaking'; *apatya-sīcam* 'accompanied with offspring', *abhi-śīcam* 'accompanying', *drona-sīcam* 'clinging to the trough', *dhāma-sīcam* 'keeping his place', *rāti-śīcam* 'bestowing gifts'. — n. (adv.) *ā-pfk* 'in a mixed manner'.

I. f. *ṣcā*, *tvācā*, *mṛcā* 'injury', *rūcā*, *vācā*, *śūcā*, *śicā*, *srucā*; *puro-rūcā* (VS. XX. 36) 'forward light', *su-rūcā*. — m. *arācā* 'shining'; *uru-vyācā*, *sūrya-tvācā*.

D. f. *ṣcā* (VS. XIII. 39), *tucā* 'offspring', *tvācā* (AV.), *rūcā*, *vācā* (VS. XXII. 23), *śūcā* (VS. XXXIX. 12); *uru-vyācā* (AV.). — m. *amho-mūcā* (TS. I. 6. 12³), *īdyata-sruce* 'extending the ladle', *yatā-sruce*, *viśva-śīcā* 'all-enlightening'.

Ab. f. *tvācās*, *srucās* (AV. VS.); *ni-mrūcās*.

G. f. *ṣcās*, *tvācās*, *vācās*; *vi-mūcās* (*napāt*, V.). — m. *puru-rūcās* 'shining brightly', *su-rūcās*.

L. f. *tvācā*, *vācā*, *srucā*; *ā-śīcā* 'evening', *ud-ṣcā* 'end', *ni-mrūcā*, *vi-vācā* 'crying aloud'. — m. *tvācā* 'skin' (IX. 69³, 101¹⁶).

V. m. *ākṛtā-rūk* 'possessing unimpaired lustre' (x. 84⁴).

Du. N. A. V. f. *vācāu*, *śīcāu*; *ghṛta-ṣcā* 'sprinkling fatness', *tanū-rūcā*. — With strengthened stem: *satya-vācā*. — m. *krūcāu* (VS. XXX. 6); *tanū-rūcā*, *yatā-srucā*, *su-vācā*; *saṃ-ṣcāu* (VS. IX. 4) 'united'.

I. m. *atī-rīgbhyām* (VS. XXV. 3) 'fetlocks'.

Pl. N. f. *ṣcās*, *ṣcās* 'food', *rūcās*, *vācās*, *śīcās* (AV.), *srūcās*¹; *ā-ṣcās* 'filling' (VIII. 40⁹)², *divo-rūcās* 'shining from heaven', *ni-mrūcās* (AV. VS.), *vi-mūcās* (AV.), V. *bhādra-vācās* 'speaking auspiciously'. — m. *dudhrā-vācās* 'speaking confusedly', *yatā-srucās*, *vasu-rūcās* 'bright as the Vasus', *vi-ṣcās* (VS. XIX. 11) 'parted', *vi-vācās*, *saṃ-ṣcās* (AV.) 'shedding together', *saṃ-ṣcās* (VS. XIX. 11), *su-rūcās*, *su-vācās*, *sūktā-vācās* 'uttering good speech', V. *sūrya-tvācās*. — With strengthened stem: *abhi-śīcās*, *īyajña-sīcās* 'not performing sacrifice', *drogha-vācās* 'speaking maliciously', V. *ṇ-ṣcās* 'befriending men'.

¹ AV. once (XIX. 42¹) with wrong accent | ² According to BR., infinitive of *ā-ṣrūcās*.
³ 'satiating oneself'.

ranya-vācas 'speaking agreeably', *rayi-śācas* 'possessing wealth', *rāti-śācas*, *sūtya-vācas*, *smād-rāti-śācas* 'attended by liberal men', *hari-śācas* 'occupied with the tawny (Soma)'.
 A. f. *rūcas*, *vācas* and (once) *vācās*, *śācas* (AV.), *śācas* (AV.), *srūcas* and (once) *srucās* (AV.); *dur-vācas* (AV.) 'having a bad voice', *mṛdhṛā-vācas*, *su-rūcas*. — m. *an-ścas* 'hymnless', *a-rūcas* 'lustreless', *mṛdhṛā-vācas*, *vādhri-śācas* 'talking idly', *vi-vācas*.

I. f. *ṛghāts*. — D. f. *srugbhyās* (VS. II. 1). — Ab. f. *ṛghāts* (AV.) — G. f. *ṛcām*, *tvacām* (AV.); *madhu-ṛcām* (AV.).

298. Stems in *-āno*. A considerable number of compounds is formed by adding as final member the root *añc-* 'bend', which almost assumes the character of a suffix 'expressing the meaning of '-ward'; e. g. *prāñc-* (= *prā-añc-*) 'for-ward'. Strong and weak forms are regularly distinguished, the nasal which appears in the former being always lost in the latter. If *-añc-* is preceded by a word ending in *i* or *u*, the syllables *ya* and *va* thus produced are further weakened to *ṛ* and *ṝ* before vowel endings, and if bearing the accent, shift it to those endings²; e. g. Sing. A. m. *pratyāñcam*, N. n. *pratyāk*, G. *praticās*.

In these compounds *-añc-* is added to words ending in *i*, *ū*, with which it coalesces: *adharañc-* 'tending downward' (*adhara-*)³, *āpāñc-* 'backward' (*āpa-*), *arvāñc-* 'hitherward' (*arvā-*), *āvāñc-* 'downward' (*āva-*), *asmatrāñc-* 'turned toward us', *ghṛtāñc-* 'filled with ghee' (*ghṛt-*), *devāñc-* 'directed toward the gods' (*devā-*), *pārāñc-* 'turned away' (*pārā-*), *prāñc-* 'forward' (*prā-*), *viśvāñc-* 'universal' (*viśva-*)⁵, *satrāñc-* 'going together' (*satrā-*)⁶, 2. *i*: *akudhryāñc-* 'going nowhere' (*aku-dhri-*), *asmadyāñc-* 'turned towards us' (*asmad-ri-*)⁷, *udāñc-*⁸ 'turned upward' (*ūd-*), *kadryāñc-* (turned towards what' (*kād-*), *tiryāñc-* 'going across' (*tiri-*)⁹, *dadhryāñc-* 'sprinkling curds' (*dādhi-*), *devadyāñc-* 'turned towards the gods' (*devā-*), *nyāñc-* 'turned down' (*nī-*), *pratyāñc-* 'turned towards' (*prā-*), *madryāñc-* 'turned towards me' (*mad-ri-*), *viśvadyāñc-* 'going everywhere' (*viśva-dri-*), *svityāñc-* 'whitish' (*svit-i-*), *sadhryāñc-* 'coming together' (*sa-dhri-* 'the same goal'), *samyāñc-* 'going together' (*sam-i-*). 3. *-u*: *anvāñc-* 'going after' (*anu-*), *ṛjvāñc-* 'moving straight forward' (*ṛjū-*), *viśvāñc-* 'going in all directions' (*viśva-*), *vāñc-* 'going well' (*vā-*). The two feminines *purīñc-* 'abundant' and *urūñc-* 'far-reaching' presuppose similar stems (**puru-āñc-* and **uru-āñc-*).

Inflection.

299. These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only, as they form a f. in *-ī* from the weak or contracted stem, e. g. *prāñc-*, f. *prāñc-ī-*; *pratyāñc-*, f. *pratic-ī-*. The only cases occurring in the pl. are the N. A. and in the du. the N. A. and L.

The forms actually found, if made from *pratyāñc-*, would be as follows: Sing. N. m. *pratyāñ*, n. *pratyāk*. A. m. *pratyāñcam*. I. *praticā*. D. *praticē*. Ab. G. *praticās*. L. *praticī*. — Du. N. A. m. *pratyāñcā*, *pratyāñcau* (AV.), n. *praticī*. L. m. *praticās*. — Pl. N. m. *pratyāñcas*. A. m. *praticās* and *praticas* (AV.).

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *adharāñ* (AV.), *āpāñ*, *arvāñ*, *āvāñ* (TS. III. 2. 5³), *udāñ* (AV.),

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 407; LINDNER, Nominalbildung, Addenda p. 167, prefers to treat *-āñc-* as a suffix.

² The accent is similarly shifted to the suffix *-ī* with which the f. of these stems is formed (cp. 86 B 11, p. 87). This rule of accentuation applies to the RV. only, not to the later Samhitās; cp. A. pl. below (p. 182).

³ With shifted accent.

⁴ In this and some other of these compounds only the weak unnasalized form of the stem occurs.

⁵ With shift of accent.

⁶ The f. *narīñc-ī-* (AV.), N. of a plant, is doubtless based on a similar stem formed from *nāra-* 'man', with shift of accent.

⁷ The suffix *-ri-* in these compounds perhaps spread from *sadhri-āñc-* (the *dh* also to *akudhryāñc-*), while the *d* of *deva-dryāñc-* and *viśvadyāñc-* may be due to the nominal forms *mād-* and *asmād-*.

⁸ The weak stem *udīc-* being formed as if from **ūd-i-āñc-*.

⁹ *tiri-* appearing instead of *tirās-* 'across' from which the weak stem *tirāc-* (= *tirāsac-*) is formed.

tiryān (AV.), *dadhyañ*¹, *nyān*, *pārān* (AV.), *pratyān*², *prān*, *viśvan*, *sadhryān* (AV.), *su-prān*. — n. Nearly all the following forms are used adverbially: *akudhryāḥ*, *adharāḥ* (AV.), *āpāḥ*, *drvāḥ* and *arvāḥ* (AV.), *asmadryāḥ*, *śāḥ*, *tiryāḥ* (AV.), *nyāḥ*, *pārāḥ* (AV.), *pratyāḥ*, *prāḥ*, *madryāḥ*, *viśvāḥ*, *viśvadryāḥ*, *sadhryāḥ*, *samyāḥ*³.

A. m. *adharāñcam* (AV.), *arvāñcam* (AV.), *āpāñcam* (AV.), *arvāñcam*, *śāñcam*, *tiryāñcam* (VS. x. 8), *nyāñcam*, *pārāñcam* (AV.), *pratyāñcam*, *prāñcam*, *madryāñcam*, *viśvāñcam*, *samyāñcam*, *svāñcam*.

I. m. *arvācā*. — n. *devadrīcā*, *satrīcā*; used adverbially with shifted accent: *tirācā*, *nīcā*, *prācā*⁴.

D. m. *dadhīcā*, *svītīcā*. — Ab. m. *prātīcā*. — G. m. *dadhīcā*, *viśvācā*⁵. — L. m. *prācī*.

Du. N. A. m. *āpāñcau* (AV.), *arvāñcau* and *arvāñcau* (AV.), *viśvāñcau* (AV.), *sadhryāñcā*, *samyāñcā* and *samyāñcau* (AV. VS.). — n. *prātīcī*, *samtīcī* (VS. I. 31, TS. IV. I. 3²). — L. m. *viśvācā*.

Pl. N. m. *adharāñcas* (AV.), *āpāñcas* (AV.), *arvāñcas*⁶, *asmadrāñcas*, *asmadryāñcas*, *śāñcas*, *vyāñcas*, *tiryāñcas* (AV.), *pārāñcas*, *pratyāñcas*, *prāñcas*, *viśvāñcas*, *svītīñcas*⁷, *sadhryāñcas*, *samyāñcas*, *svāñcas*.

A. m. *adharāñcas*, *antīcā* and *anīcā* (AV.), *āpāñcas*, *arvāñcas*, *śvāñcas*, *śāñcas*, *nīcā* (AV.), *pārāñcas*, *prātīcā* and *prātīcā* (AV.), *prāñcas*, *viśvāñcas*, *satrīcā*.

300. Radical stem in *-ch*. — Only one stem ending in *ch*, which occurs in a single form as a noun, has been found. This is made from the root *prech-* 'ask', in the compound N. du. m. *bandhu-precch-ā* 'asking after kinsmen'. The D. and A. of the same stem also appear as infinitives in the forms *prechā* 'to ask', *sam-precchā* 'to greet'; *vi-preccham* and *sam-preccham* 'to ask'.

301. Stems in radical *-j*. — These stems are inflected in all three genders alike. The neuter would of course differ in N. A. V. dual and plural, but these forms do not occur. When uncompounded these stems are f. substantives except *yāj-* and *rāj-*, which appear as m. also; *bhrāj-*, which occurs as a m. adj. as well as a f. substantive; *āj-*, which is found once (AV.)⁸, and *vāj-* twice as a m. only. Neuter cases occur from *bhāj-*, *yāj-*, *rāj-* and *vāj-* as final members of adj. compounds, but no distinctively neuter forms (N. A. V. du. pl.) are met with even here.

The only stem showing traces of the distinction of strong and weak cases is *yāj-*, which has the nasalized form *yāj-* beside the unaltered stem in the N. A. sing. and du.

In the N. sing. the *j*, when derived from a guttural, appears as *k*, but when it represents an old palatal, it becomes the cerebral *ç* except in *çtu-çj*⁹ 'priest'; but before the *-su* of the L. pl. both alike¹⁰ become *k*.

¹ On the doubling of the *n* before vowels, see LANMAN 456.

² *pratyāñ-* before *n* in TS. I. 8. 21¹.

³ The forms *tvad-ik*, *madrik* and *madryadrik*, *yuvadrik*, 'towards thee, — me, — you', are doubtless shortened forms of *dryāḥ*, which pronunciation is favoured by the metre in some instances: LANMAN 456 (bottom).

⁴ *prīcā* is probably used adverbially in III. 31² also. As an adj. the form, being a compound, would be accented *prīcā*.

⁵ N. of a demon, formed with *-āñ-*, from *vīçā-*, an extension of *vīçā-*, as in *vīçā-drīçāñ-*.

⁶ The weak form *arvāñcas* seems to be used for *arvāñcas* in VII. 48¹.

⁷ A transition form, N. m. *svītīcāyas* (x. 46²): = *svītīñcas*, is made from an *i*-stem *svītī-* based on the regular f. *svītīcā*.

⁸ In AV. XIX. 50³, where the reading *ājam* is somewhat doubtful; see WHITNEY'S note.

⁹ Which is derived from *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *çtu-çj* 'sacrificing in due season'.

¹⁰ See above 34, 1.

Inflexion.

302. Sing. N. I. with -k; m. *yūh*¹ (VS. x. 25) 'associate'; *a-bhīk* 'not having enjoyed', *ardha-bhīk* (AV.) 'sharer', *ṛta-yūk* 'duly harnessed', *ṛtu-lk* 'priest', *ghṛtā-nirūk* 'having a garment of fat', *candṛā-nirūk* 'having a brilliant garment', *parā-ṛk* 'outcast', *bhī-śāk*² 'healing', *śatī-bhīsak* (AV.) 'requiring a hundred physicians', *saṃ-ṛk* 'overpowering', *sa-yūk* 'companion', *hiraṇya-srak* (AV.) 'having a golden garland'. — f. *ṛk* (VS. iv. 10) 'vigour', *nir-ṛk*³ 'bright garment', *hiraṇya-nirṛk*. — n. N. A. *su-ā-ṛk* 'easily acquired', *su-yūk* 'well-joined' (adv.).

2. with -f: m. *bhṛāt*⁴ 'shining', *rāt* 'king'; *eka-rāt* 'monarch', *jana-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'lord of men', *vane-rāt* 'shining in a wood', *vī-bhṛāt* 'resplendent', *vī-rāt* 'ruling far and wide', *viśva-bhṛāt* 'all-illuminating', *satra-rāt* (VS. v. 2) 'king of a Soma sacrifice', *saṃ-rāt* 'universal ruler', *sarva-rāt* (VS. v. 24) 'ruler of all', *sva-rāt* 'self-ruler'. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root and retention of the N. -s: *āva-yīś*⁵ (I. 162⁶), a priest who offers the share of the oblation (*ava-yāj*). — f. *rāt* 'mistress'; *vī-rāt*. — With anomalous loss of the final of the root (*yaf*) and retention of the N. -s: *ava-yīś*⁶ 'share of the sacrificial oblation' (I. 173⁷).

A. m. *ījam* (AV.) 'driver', *yūhjam*⁸, *yūjam*; *ṛtu-ījam*, *jyēṣṭha-rījam* 'sovereign', *tri-bhūjam* (AV.) 'threefold', *deva-yūjam* (VS. i. 17) 'sacrificing to the gods', *parā-ṛjām*, *phṣkara-srajām* (VS. ii. 33) 'wearing a lotus wreath', *pūra-bhūjam* 'first sharer', *pṛtanūjam* 'rushing (-ījam) to battle', *prathamā-bhūjam* 'receiving the first share', *pratar-yūjam* 'yoking early', *bhī-śājam* (VS. xxviii. 9), *yuvā-yūjam* 'yoked by both of you', *ratha-yūjam* 'yoking to a chariot', *vī-rījam*, *śaphā-rījam* 'destroying with hoofs', *satya-yūjam* 'worshipping truly', *saṃ-rījam*, *sa-yūjam*, *su-tyūjam* 'easily letting loose', *su-yūjam* 'worshipping well', *su-yūjam* 'well-yoked', *su-srājām* (AV.) 'wearing a beautiful garland', *sva-rījam*, *sva-ṛjām* 'appropriating to oneself'. — f. *īrjam*, *ījam* 'offspring', *bhījam* 'enjoyment', *bhṛājām* (VS. iv. 17) 'splendour', *srājām* 'garland'; *upa-srījam*⁹ (x. 88¹⁰) 'emulation', *nir-ījam*, *pari-ṛjām* 'avoiding', *pra-yūjam* (VS. xi. 66) 'impulse', *mano-yūjam* 'yoked by thought', *vī-rījam*, *sahāsra-nirījam* 'having a thousand adornments', *sva-rījam* (AV.).

I. m. *yūjā*; *bhī-śājā* (VS. AV.), *mano-yūjā*, *vaco-yūjā* 'yoked by a mere word', *sa-yūjā* (AV.), *sahāsra-nirījā*, *su-yūjā* (VS. TS.) 'good sacrifice', *su-yūjā*. — f. *īrjā*, *tūjā*, *bhṛājā* 'lustre'; *nir-ījā*, *mano-yūjā* (AV.), *vī-rājā*. — n. *śatra-bhūjā* 'strengthening'.

D. m. *yūjī* (AV.); *mṛtā-bhṛāje*¹¹ (AV.) 'whose virility is dead', *rakṣo-yūje* 'associated with demons', *vī-rāje* (VS. AV.), *saṃ-rāje*, *sva-rāje*¹². — f. *īrjī*, *tūjī*¹³, *bhūjī*; *nir-īje*. — Ab. m. *yūjās*; *vī-rājas*. — f. *nir-ījas*.

G. m. *saṃ-rājas*, *sva-rājas*. — f. *īrjās*, *bhṛājās*¹⁴ (AV.) 'virility', *yūjās*; *pra-yūjas* 'team', *ratna-bhūjas* 'dispensing gifts', *vī-rājas* (AV.) — n. *sva-rājas*.

¹ For *yūh*; cp. VPr. iv. 104.

² Probably 'one who conjures', cp. in the later language, *abhi-sajati* 'utters an imprecation'; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 8, bottom; UHLENBECK, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, rejects this etymology in favour of a derivation connected with Av. *bīf* 'healing'.

³ From *nī-ṛj-* 'wash out'.

⁴ There is also the transition form *bhṛājās* (ix. 170⁵).

⁵ See LANMAN 463.

⁶ See above 66 c β (p. 61).

⁷ Strong form (301).

⁸ According to Sayana, used adverbially in the sense of 'emulously'.

⁹ *bhṛāj-* is probably a reduced form of *ījas*; cp. the later meaning of *ījas* 'lustre'.

¹⁰ There is also the transfer form *bhṛājāya* (VS. viii. 40) 'for the bright one'.

¹¹ There is also the transfer form *tūjāye* (v. 46⁷) from *tūj-*.

¹² Probably a reduced form of *bhṛāj-* 'lustre'. Cp. WHITNEY on AV. vii. 90².

L. m. *āsva-nirñijī* 'adorned with horses'. — f. *saṃ-sfji* 'collision'.

V. m. *ghṛta-nirñik, sam-rāf*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *yūñjā*¹, *yijā*; *ṛtv-ijā, tanū-tyā* 'risking one's life', *puru-bhujā* (V.) 'enjoying much', *piśkara-srajā, prātar-yijā, brahma-yijā* 'harnessed by prayer', *bhi-sūjā, mano-yijā* (VS. AV.), *vaco-yijā, sam-rāja, sa-yijā, sākam-yijā* 'joined together', *su-yijā; anū-ṛjau* (AV.) a part of the body near the ribs, *apna-rājau* 'ruling over wealth' (*apna = apnas*), *bhi-sajau* (V.), *sam-rājau, sa-yijau* (AV.), *su-yijau* (AV.). — f. *āsva-yijau* (AV.) 'harnessing horses'.

D. m. *bhi-sāgbhyam* (AV.). — G. m. *sam-rājos*.

Pl. N. m. *yijas; ā-yijas* (AV.) 'joining on', *ṛtv-ijas, V. ṛtv-ijas* (AV.), *kr̥tā-dhvajas* 'furnished with banners', *giri-bhrājas*² 'glittering on the mountains', *ghṛtā-nirñijas, tanū-tyājas, divi-yājas* 'worshipping in heaven', *dur-yijas* 'difficult to be yoked', *niḥ-sfjas* 'pouring out', *pitu-bhājas* 'enjoying food', *pūrva-bhājas, pṛtanājas (-ajas), pra-yijas* (AV.), *brahma-yijas, bhi-sijas, mano-yijas, mitra-yijas* 'joined in friendship', *ratha-yijas, varsā-nirñijas* 'clothed with rain', *vāma-bhājas* 'partaking of goods', *viśva-sfjas* (AV.) 'all-creating', *sam-rājas, V. sam-rājas, su-yijas, sva-yijas* 'allies', *sva-rājas, hṛita-srajās* (AV.) 'wearing yellow garlands'. — f. *hr̥jas, tijas, bhūjas; abhi-yijas* 'assailants', *go-bhājas* 'bestowing cows', *nir-ñijas, prkṣā-prayajas* 'in which oblations begin to be offered', *pra-yijas, vi-rājas* (VS. xvii. 3), *stanā-bhūjas*³ 'enjoying the udder', *sv-ā-yijas* 'easy to yoke'.

A. m. *ñjas* 'stakes' (at play); *īdhi-nirñijas* 'covered over', *āsva-yijas, catur-yijas* 'yoked as (a team of) four', *śaphā-rūjas, sa-yijas, su-yijas*. — f. *tijas, bhūjas, sṛjas; abhi-yijas*.

I. m. *aruna-yūgbhis* 'furnished with ruddy (rays)', *ṛta-yūgbhis, vi-yūgbhis*⁴ (AV.), *su-yūgbhis, sva-yūgbhis*.

D. f. *pra-yūgbhyas* (VS. xxx. 8) 'impulses'. — Ab. m. *bhi-sāgbhyas* (AV.). — G. m. *ṛtv-ijām, bhi-sājam*. — f. *arjām, bhujām; nir-majām*⁵. — L. f. *sraḥśū; pra-yāksu* (AV.) 'offerings'⁶.

303. Stems in derivative *-j*. — There are seven m. and f. adjectives or substantives formed with the suffixes *-aj* and *-ij*: *ī-svapñaj-* 'sleepless', *tr̥sñaj-* 'thirsty', *dhr̥śaj-* 'bold', *sandj-* 'old'; *uś-lj* 'desiring', *bhur-lj-* f. 'arm', *van-lj-* m. 'trader'. There is also the n. *āsrj-*⁷ 'blood', which is of obscure etymology, but the *-j* of which is probably a reduced suffix. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *uśk, vank*. — n. *āsrk*. — A. m. *uśjam, tr̥sñajam, vanjam* (AV.). — I. *uśjā* (VS. xv. 6) 'ghee'. — D. m. *tr̥sñaje, vanje*. — G. m. *uśjas*.

Du. N. f. *sandjā*. — G. f. *bhurlijos*. — L. f. *bhurlijos*.

Pl. N. m. *uśjas, tr̥sñajas, ā-tr̥sñajas, dhr̥śajas, ā-svapñajas*. — f. *uśjas*. — A. m. *uśjas*. — I. m. *uśgibhis*. — D. m. *uśgibhyas*. — G. *uśjām*.

2. Cerebral Stems.

304. There is only one doubtful derivative stem in *-f*, *raghāt-*, which occurs in the single form *raghātas* (AV. viii. 7²⁴), possibly a mistake for *raghāvas*⁸ 'swift'.

¹ Strong form (301).

² Occurring once (x. 68¹), *bhrāj-* being a reduced form of *bhrāj-*; cp. D. m. *mytā-bhrāje*, G. f. *bhrājas* (AV.); cp. p. 183, notes 9 and 12.

³ The Pada text reads *stanā-bhūjas*.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. vii. 4¹.

⁵ A word of doubtful derivation and meaning, occurring only once (viii. 4²⁰).

⁶ The corresponding form is *pra-sātsu* in TS. iv. 1. 8¹ and VS. xxvii. 14.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559, 560.

⁸ See LANMAN 466, and WHITNEY, note on AV. viii. 7²⁴.

There are besides only two radical stems ending in *-d*, *id*¹ 'praise', and *id*² 'refreshment'. Of the former occurs only the sing. I. *idā*; of the latter only the sing. I. *idā* and the G. *idās*³.

3. Dental Stems.

305. Stems ending in all the dental mutes as well as the nasal are of frequent occurrence except those in *-th*. There are radical stems ending in each of the dentals, but no derivative stems in *-th* or *-dh*. The distinction of strong and weak appears with slight exceptions only in the derivative stems in *-ant* and *-an*.

306. Stems in radical *-t*. — The only four monosyllabic stems occurring are feminine substantives: *dyūt* 'splendour', *nft* 'dancing', *pft* 'battle', *vft*⁴ 'hostile array'. There are also two reduplicated stems, which are primarily adjectives: *ciklt* 'knowing' (*√cit*) and *didyūt* 'shining'. The rest are compounds, used mostly in the masculine or feminine. Neuter cases occur from only four of them: *aksi-pāt* 'falling into the eye', *an-apā-vft* 'not turning away', *tri-vft* 'three-fold', *saṃ-yāt*⁵ 'continuous'.

Inflexion.

The forms occurring would, if made from *tri-vft*, be as follows:

Sing. N. m. f. *tri-vft* (also n.). — A. m. f. *tri-vftam*. — I. m. f. *tri-vftā* (also n.). — D. m. f. *tri-vfte*. — Ab. G. m. f. *tri-vftas*. — L. n. *tri-vfti* (AV.).
Du. N. A. m. f. *tri-vftā*, *tri-vftau*. — L. f. *tri-vftos*.
Pl. N. A. m. f. *tri-vftas*. — I. n. *tri-vftbhis* (AV.). — G. m. f. *tri-vftām*. — L. f. *tri-vftsu*. — V. m. f. *tri-vftas*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *anā-vft* 'not returning', *dbandhu-kṛt*⁶ (AV.) 'not cutting off kin', *eka-vft* (AV.) 'one-fold', 'simple', *ciklt* 'knowing', *tri-vft* (VS. x. 10) 'triple', *pra-vft* (VS. xv. 9), *manas-cit* 'thinking in the mind', *mūla-kṛt* (AV.) 'cutting roots', *vipāś-cit* 'inspired', *vi-vft* (VS. xv. 9), *viṣū-vft* 'rolling in various directions', *sa-vft* (VS. xv. 9), *su-vft* 'turning well'. — f. *cit* (VS. iv. 19) 'thought'; *apa-cit* (AV.) a noxious insect, *didyūt* 'shining', *vi-dyūt* 'flashing'. — n. *eka-vft* (AV.), *tri-vft*: as adv. *aksi-pāt* 'a little' and *anapā-vft* 'unremittingly'.

A. m. *a-citam* 'unthinking', *eka-vftam* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścītam* 'sprinkling ghee', *tri-vftam*, *dus-citam* (AV.) 'thinking evil', *madhu-ścītam* 'distilling sweetness', *vipāś-citam*, *viṣū-vftam*, *su-vftam*, *huras-citam* 'plotting deceit'. — f. *dyūtām*, *vftām*; *ā-vftām* 'turning home', *ghṛta-ścītam*, *vi-cftām* 'loosening', *vi-dyūtām*, *vipāś-citam*, *saṃ-yātām*, *saṃ-vftām* (AV.) 'approach', *saṃ-cftām* 'union'.

I. m. *tri-vftā*, *vipāś-citā* (VS. iv. 32), *su-vftā*. — f. *dyūtā*, *vftā*; *ā-citā* 'attention', *ghṛta-ścītā*, *tri-vftā*, *pra-citā* 'with concealment' (adv.), *vi-dyūtā*. — n. *saṃ-yātā*, *tri-vftā* (AV.).

D. m. *a-cite*, *tri-vfte* (VS. xv. 9), *pra-vfte* (VS. xv. 9), *vipāś-cite*, *vi-vfte* (VS. xv. 9), *sa-vfte* (VS. xv. 9), *su-dyūte*. — f. *vi-dyūte*.

Ab. m. *tri-vftas* (VS. xiii. 54), *vi-dyūtas*⁷. — f. *didyūtas*.

¹ Cp. above 17, 5.

² Derived from *is* 'refreshment' which is of very frequent occurrence; cp. above p. 35, note 1.

³ This form is regarded by GRASSMANN in one passage (VII. 47¹) as an A. pl.: cp. LANMAN 466.

⁴ *vft* occurs once in the dual as a fem. adjective.

⁵ From *yat* 'unite'.

⁶ From *kṛt* 'cut'; but it may be 'not relative-making' (*kṛt*); see WHITNEY's note on AV. iv. 19¹.

⁷ The Ab. *didyūt* (TS. I. 8. 14¹) and *vidyūt* (VS. xx. 2) are probably irregular formations due to parallelism; cp. LANMAN 468.

G. m. *tri-ṛitas*, *vīpaś-citas*, *sa-citas* 'wise', *su-dyūtas* 'shining beautifully'. — f. *vi-dyūtas*. — L. n. *tri-ṛiti* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. *vīpaś-citā* (V.), *iṣu-kṛtā*¹ (I. 184³). — f. *vṛtau*; *ā-vṛtā*, *madhu-ścītā*, *vi-cṛtau* (AV.). — L. f. *vi-cṛtos* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. *ā-ṛitas*, *ṛṣṭi-vidyūtas* 'glittering with spears', *eka-ṛitas* (AV.), *ghṛta-ścītas*, *dus-citas* (AV.), *vi-dyūtas*, *vīpaś-citas*, *saṃ-yūtas*, *sūrya-śūtas* 'bright as the sun', *svā-vidyūtas* 'self-lightning', *hrādunt-ṛitas* 'bringing hail'. — V. *ṛṣṭi-vidyūtas*, *vi-dyūtas*. — N. f. *apa-citas* (AV.), *ā-ṛitas* (AV.), *upā-ṛitas* (VS. AV.) 'return', *ghṛta-ścītas*, *ghṛta-ścyūtas* (VS. xvii. 3), *madhu-ścītas*, *madhu-ścyūtas* (VS. xvii. 3), *vi-dyūtas*, *saṃ-yūtas*. — V. *āpa-citas* (AV.).

A. m. *a-citas*, *a-dyūtas* 'lacking brightness', *ghṛta-ścītas*, *vīpaś-citas*, *huraś-citas*. — f. *nṛtas* (AV.), *ṛtas*; *tri-ṛitas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇa-ṛitas*, *didyūtas*, *puru-ṛitas* (AV.) 'moving in various ways', *madhu-ścītas*, *vi-dyūtas*, *viṣṭā-ṛitas* (AV.), *saṃ-yūtas*, *saṃ-ṛitas* (AV.).

I. n. *tri-ṛiḍbhīs* (AV.). — G. m. *vīpaś-citām*. — f. *apa-citām* (AV.), *vi-dyūtam* (AV.). — L. f. *pṛtsū*².

307. Stems in determinative *-t*. — Derivative nominal stems are formed from nearly thirty roots ending in the short vowels *i*, *u* and *r* by means of the suffix *-t*³. The roots adding it are *i-* 'go', *kṛ-* 'make', *kṣi-* 'dwell', *gu-* 'sound', *ci-* 'pile', 'note', *cyu-* 'move', *ji-* 'conquer', *dhṛ-* 'hold', *dhur-* 'injure', *pi-* 'swell', *pru-* 'flow', *bhr-* 'bear', *mi-* 'fix', *yu-* 'join' and 'separate', *ri-* 'flow', *vṛ-* 'cover', *śri-* 'resort', *śru-* 'hear', *su-* 'press', *ṣ-* 'flow', *stu-* 'praise', *spṛ-* 'win', *sru-* 'flow', *hu-* 'sacrifice', *hr-* 'take', *hṛ-* or *hru-* 'be crooked'. Two other roots, *gam-* 'go', and *han-* 'strike', are modified so as to end in short *a* (representing the sonant nasal) before adding the suffix: *gāt* and *hāt*.

These stems are mostly m. and f. Neuter cases are very rare, occurring from five or six stems only. The inflexion is exactly the same as that of the stems in radical *-t*.

Inflection.

308. Sing. N. m. with *-kṛt*: *anukāma-kṛt* 'acting according to desire', *abhīṣṭi-kṛt* 'giving help', *āji-kṛt* 'instituting a contest', *iśāna-kṛt* 'acting as a lord', *ṛṣi-kṛt* 'making into a seer', *khaja-kṛt* 'causing the din of battle', *īyotis-kṛt* 'causing light', *tantu-kṛt* 'preserving life', *pathi-kṛt* 'path-making', *puru-kṛt* 'doing much', *pūrva-kṛt* (VS. xx. 36) 'active from of old', *bhadra-kṛt* 'bestowing blessings', *uloka-kṛt* 'procuring free space', *vayas-kṛt* 'creating youthful vigour', *varīvo-kṛt* 'bestowing freedom', *vijēṣa-kṛt* 'procuring victory', *su-kṛt* 'acting well', *steya-kṛt* 'committing theft', *syona-kṛt* 'causing comfort', *sviṣṭa-kṛt* (VS. II. 9) 'offering right sacrifice'; with *-jit*: *apsu-jit* 'conquering in the waters', *ab-jit* 'winning waters', *abhimāti-jit* (VS. xxvii. 3) 'conquering foes', *aśva-jit* 'winning horses', *ṛta-jit* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of right', *go-jit* 'winning kine', *dhana-jit* 'winning booty', *raṇya-jit* 'winning in battle', *ratha-jit* 'winning chariots', *viśva-jit* 'all-conquering', *samsṛṣṭa-jit* 'conquering combatants', *satya-jit* (VS. xvii. 83) 'winner of truth', *satrā-jit* 'wholly victorious', *samarya-jit* 'winning battles', *sahasra-jit* 'conquering a thousand', *sena-jit* (VS. xv. 19) 'conquering armies', *svar-jit* 'winning heaven', *hiranya-jit* 'winning gold'; with other roots: *acyuta-kṣit* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling immovably'; *acyuta-cyit* 'shaking what is firm'; *d-dāra-sṛt* (AV.) 'not falling into a crack'; *ā-kṣit* 'dwelling'; *ṛṇa-cit* 'avenging guilt', *ṛta-cit* 'observing sacred order';

¹ *iṣu-kṛtā* here may, however, be a D. sing. for *iṣukṛtā va*; see LANMAN 465.
² With double ending once (I. 1294) *pṛtsi-nu*.

³ This suffix *-t* partakes of the character of a root determinative, as roots in *-i-u-r* are hardly ever used without it as nominal stems.

kilbiṣa-sṣṭ 'removing sin'; *ksatṛa-bhṣṭ* (VS. xxvii. 7) 'holder of sway'; *carsaṅt-dhṣṭ* 'preserving men'; *dirgha-sṛṣṭ* 'heard afar', *deva-sṛṣṭ* (VS. xxxvii. 18) 'heard by the gods'; *dhana-sṣṭ* 'winning booty'; *dhruva-ksṣṭ* (VS. v. 13) 'dwelling firmly'; *pari-hṛṣṭ* 'overthrowing'; *pūta-bhṣṭ* (VS. xviii. 21) a kind of soma vessel; *bhāra-bhṣṭ* 'bearing a load'; *mada-cyṣṭ* 'reeling with excitement'; *madhu-sṣṭ* 'emitting sweetness'; *yakṣa-bhṣṭ* 'supporting pursuers' (?), *vajra-bhṣṭ* 'wielding a thunderbolt'; *vāja-sṣṭ* 'running for a prize'; *sapatna-ksṣṭ* (VS. i. 29) 'destroying rivals'; *suparna-ct* (VS. xxvii. 45) 'heaped up like the bird Suparna'; *soma-sṣṭ* 'pressing Soma'; *sra-sṣṭ* 'going one's own way'; *havana-sṛṣṭ* 'hearing invocations'. — f. *upa-bhṣṭ* (VS. ii. 6) 'sacrificial ladle'; *upa-mṣṭ* 'prop'; *ṛta-cṣṭ*; *pari-sṛṣṭ* (VS. xix. 15) 'fermented liquor'; *praśasta-kt* 'bestowing praise'. — N. A. n. *viśva-jṣṭ*; *dirgha-sṛṣṭ*, *nava-gṣṭ* (AV. TS.) 'first-bearing', *puritṣṭ* (VS. xxxix. 9) 'pericardium'; as adverbs: *upa-sṣṭ* 'invoked', *dyu-gṣṭ* 'going to heaven', *sa-kt* ('one-making') 'once'.

A. m. *adhi-ksṣṭam* 'ruler', *adhvara-ktam* (VS. i. 24) 'performing sacrifice', *arṇo-ctam* 'enclosing the waters', *uktha-bhṣṭam* 'offering verses', *uda-pṛṣṭam* 'swimming in water', *ṛṇa-cyṣṭam* 'inciting to (fulfil) obligations', *carsaṅt-dhṣṭam*, *ṣṛa-sṣṭam* 'pressing pungent (juice)', *ṛṣu-cyṣṭam* 'moving greedily', *dirgha-sṛṣṭam*, *duṣ-ktam* 'acting wickedly', *diveso-cyṣṭam* 'removing hostility', *dhana-jṣṭam* (VS. xi. 8), *dhana-sṣṭam*, *nadi-ctam* 'stream-obstructing', *pari-sṛṣṭam* 'flowing around', *prātar-jṣṭam* 'conquering early', *mada-cyṣṭam*, *mithū-ktam* 'fallen into trouble', *vayas-ktam* (VS. iii. 18), *vāja-jṣṭam* (VS. ii. 7) 'winning spoil', *bravo-jṣṭam* 'winning renown', *saṃ-jṣṭam* 'conqueror', *satya-dhṣṭam* 'perverting truth', *satṛa-jṣṭam* (VS. xi. 8), *sahas-ktam* (VS. iii. 18) 'bestowing strength', *sāma-bhṣṭam* 'bringing chants', *su-ktam*, *sva-jṣṭam*, *sviṣṭa-ktam* (VS. xxi. 47), *havana-sṛṣṭam*, *haviṣ-ktam* 'preparing the oblation'. — f. *araṇ-ktam* 'making ready', *upa-pṛṣṭam* 'flowing near', *deva-sṛṣṭam*, *ni-cyṣṭam* 'team', *pari-sṛṣṭam*.

I. m. *abhi-jṣṭa* (VS. xv. 7) 'victorious', *upari-pṛṣṭā* (VS. vii. 3) 'falling from above', *carsaṅt-dhṣṭā*, *brahma-ktā* 'offering prayers', *soma-sṣṭā*. — f. *ni-cyṣṭā*, *pari-sṛṣṭā* (VS. xix. 83), *pari-hṛṣṭā*² (viii. 47⁶) 'deceiving'.

D. m. *araṇ-kte*, *duṣ-kte*, *dharmā-kte* 'establishing order', *brahma-kte*, *su-kte*, *ab-jṣṭe*, *asva-jṣṭe*, *urvarā-jṣṭe* 'winning fertile fields', *go-jṣṭe*, *dhana-jṣṭe*, *ṛjṣṭe* 'conquering men', *viśva-jṣṭe*, *satṛa-jṣṭe*, *sva-jṣṭe*; *giri-ksṣṭe* 'dwelling in mountains', *parvata-cyṣṭe* 'shaking mountains', *soma-bhṣṭe* (VS. v. 1) 'bringing Soma'.

Ab. m. *pari-sṛṣṭas* (VS. xix. 75) 'foaming', *brahma-ktas*, *sarva-hṣṭas* 'offered completely'. — f. *abhi-hṛṣṭas* 'injurious'.

G. m. *carsaṅt-dhṣṭas*, *vāja-jṣṭas* (VS. ix. 13), *vīrya-ktas* (VS. x. 25) 'doing mighty deeds', *saṃ-jṣṭas*, *su-ktas*, *haviṣ-ktas*. — f. *īṣa-stṣṭas*³, *deva-stṣṭas* 'praising the gods', *pari-sṛṣṭas* (AV.).

L. m. *mada-cyṣṭi*, *go-jṣṭi*, *vasu-jṣṭi* (AV.) 'winning goods', *saṃ-dhanā-jṣṭi*⁴ (AV.) 'winning booty together'.

V. m. *acyuta-cyut*, *uru-kt* 'making wide', *ṛta-cṣṭ*, *khaja-kt*, *puru-kt*, *rana-kt* 'causing joy', *vandana-sṛṣṭ* 'listening to praise', *vāja-jṣṭ* (VS. ii. 7), *sahasra-jṣṭ*, *haviṣ-kt* (VS. i. 15). — f. *upa-bhṣṭ* (AV.), *rāṣṭra-bhṣṭ* (AV.) 'bearing sway'.

¹ The second part of the word may be derived from *tan-* 'stretch' like *ga-* from *gam-* 'go'.

² With anomalous accent; but the form may be L. of *pari-hṛṣṭi-*, the normal accent of which would be *pāri-hṛṣṭi-*; see LANMAN 502 (bottom).

³ *īṣa-* = *īṣ-* 'refreshment', BR.; but the Pada text reads *īṣa-stṣṭas*, and GRASSMANN regards *īṣa-* = *īṣah* (before *st-*) as G. of *īṣ-*.

⁴ Instead of **dhana-saṃ-jṣṭi*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *go-jīta*, *divi-kṣīta* 'dwelling in the sky', *pari-kṣīta* 'dwelling around', *mada-cyīta*, *su-śrīta* 'hearing well', *havana-śrīta*, V. *pāthi-kṣīta* (AV.); *ā-duṣ-kyāta*, *kṣya-prīta* 'moving in darkness', *sa-kṣīta* (AV.) 'acting at once', *sa-kṣītau* 'dwelling together', *su-kṣītau* (AV.), *bhadra-kṣītau* (AV.), *su-śrītau* (AV.). — f. *ugra-jītau* (AV.) 'fierce-conquering' (name of an Apsaras). — **G. f.** *su-kṣītas*, *pari-kṣītos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *cītas* (VS. I. 18) 'heaping up', *hrītas* 'stumbling-blocks'; with *-kṛt*: *aram-kṣītas*, *isāna-kṣītas*, *karma-kṣītas* (VS. III. 47) 'skilful in work', *dudhra-kṣītas* 'boisterous', *duṣ-kṣītas*, *dhānyā-kṣītas* 'preparing grain', *brahma-kṣītas*, *yajña-niṣ-kṣītas* 'preparing the sacrifice', *vayas-kṣītas*, *su-kṣītas*, *haviṣ-kṣītas*; with *-cyūt*: *dhānva-cyītas* 'shaking the ground', *dhruva-cyītas* 'shaking the immovable', *parvata-cyītas*, *mada-cyītas*; with *-kṣī*: *apsu-kṣītas* 'dwelling in the waters', *upa-kṣītas* 'dwelling near', *vraja-kṣītas* (VS. X. 4) 'resting in their station', *sa-kṣītas*; with other roots: *adhva-gātas* (AV.) 'travellers', *arthītas* (VS. X. 3) 'swift', *uda-prītas*, *ūrdhva-cītas* (VS. I. 18) 'piling up', *kṛcchre-śrītas* 'undergoing danger', *grāma-jītas* 'conquering troops', *carṣanī-dhītas*, *jama-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'supporting people', *divi-śrītas* (AV.) 'going to heaven', *deva-śrītas* (VS. VI. 30), *dveṣo-yītas*, *ni-gūtas* 'enemies', *pari-cītas* (VS. XII. 46) 'piling up around', *pītu-bhītas* 'bringing food', *pūrva-cītas* (VS. XXVII. 4) 'piling up first', *mano-dhītas* 'intelligent', V. *vāja-jītas* (VS. IX. 9), *vi-cītas* (VS. IV. 24) 'sifting', *viśva-bhītas* (VS. X. 4) 'all-nourishing', *satya-śrītas* 'hearing the truth', *satrā-jītas*, *su-kṣītas* (VS. XXXIII. 16), *su-śrītas*, *soma-sūtas*, *sva-sftas*, *harana-śrītas*. — f. *mitas* 'posts', *stūtas* 'praises'; *uda-prītas*, *ni-yūtas*, *pari-śrītas*, *pītu-bhītas*, *saṃ-hītas* 'layers', *sa-śrītas* 'streaming'. — **N. A. n.** *dirgha-śrī* 'far-renowned' appears to be used as a n. pl. in agreement with *vratī* (VIII. 25¹⁷).

A. m. *hrītas* and *hrūtis*⁴ (AV.); *a-pṣtas* 'not swelling', *go-jītas*, *jyotiṣ-kṣītas*, *duṣ-kṣītas*, *ni-gūtas*, *mada-cyītas*, *su-kṣītas*. — f. *ritas* 'flowing'; *ūpa-stūtas* 'invocations', *dirgha-śrītas*, *ni-yūtas*, *ballī-kṣītas* 'paying tribute', *varuṇa-dhrītas* 'deceiving Varuṇa', *vi-sftas* 'flowing asunder', *sa-śrītas*.

I. m. *soma-siddhis*. — f. *antarikṣa-prūdbhis* 'floating over the atmosphere', *ni-yūdbhis*.

D. m. *iṣu-kṣīdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'arrow-makers', *dhanuṣ-kṣīdbhyas* (VS. XVI. 46) 'bow-makers', *pathi-kṣīdbhyas*, *bandhu-kṣīdbhyas* 'dwelling among kinsmen'. — **Ab. n.** *tana-kṣīdbhyas*.

G. m. *agni-hotra-hūtām* (AV.) 'offering the oblation to Agni', *iṣu-bhītam* (AV.) 'archers', *mantra-kṣītam* 'composers of hymns', *su-kṣītam*. — f. *abhi-hrūtām*, *upa-cītam* (VS. XII. 97) a kind of disease, *upa-mītam* (AV.), *ni-yūtam*, *pari-mītam* (AV.) 'rafters', *prati-mītam* (AV.) 'props', *ratha-jītam* (AV.).

L. m. *su-kṣītsu*.

Derivative Stems in *-vat*, *-tāt*, *-it*, *-ut* and secondary *-t*.

309. The following stems are formed with the suffix (1) *-vat*⁵: *arvā-vāt* f. 'proximity', *ā-vāt* (AV.) f. 'proximity', *ud-vāt* f. 'height', *ni-vāt* f. 'depth', *parā-vāt* f. 'distance', *pra-vāt* f. 'height', *saṃ-vāt* f. 'region'; (2) *-tāt*⁶: *uparā-tāt* f. 'vicinity', *devā-tāt* f. 'divine service', *vṛkā-tāt* f. 'wolfishness', *satyā-tāt* f. 'reality', *sarvā-tāt* f. 'totality'; (3) *-it*: *taṭ-it* f. 'contiguous', *dī-it*⁷

¹ *dhānya-kṣītas* in the Pada text.

² That is, 'going (*i-*) to the goal' (333).

³ See LANMAN 503 (bottom), and 474 on the N. A. pl. n.

⁴ With irregular accent.

⁵ See above, secondary nominal derivation.

⁶ Cf. above 215 a.

⁷ In this word the suffix *-it* probably consists of the root *i-* 'go' with the primary (determinative) *-t* (307).

'going to the sky', *yoṣ-it-* f. 'young woman', *roh-it-* f. 'red mare', *sar-it-* f. 'stream', *har-it-* f. 'fallow'; (4) -*ut*: *mar-it-* m. 'storm-god'; (5) with secondary -*t*: the two neuters *yákr-t-*¹ (AV.) 'liver', *sákr-t-*² 'excrement', and perhaps the etymologically obscure m. *nápat*³ 'descendant', all three of which are supplemented in the weak cases by the stems *yakán-*, *sakán-* and *nápt-* respectively. The inflexion of this group of -*t* stems is the same as that of the radical -*f* stems.

Inflexion.

310. Sing. N. m. *taḥt*, *tánu-nápat* 'son of himself', *nápat*, *prá-nápat* 'great-grandson'. — f. *parávit*, *pravít*, *rohít*, *sarít* (VS. XXXIV. 11). — n. *yákr* (VS. AV.), *sákr*.

A. m. *tánu-nápatam*, *nápatam*. — f. *aravádatam*, *paravádatam*, *pravádatam*, *yoṣítam*, *rohítam* (AV.), *saṃvátam* (AV.).

I. m. *divítā*. — f. *udvítā*, *devátātā*⁴, *nivítā*, *pravítā*, *satydtātā*⁴, *sarvdtātā*⁴, *harítā*.

D. f. *devítāte*. There is also the transfer form *avirat-e* (from *a-vira-tā* 'lack of sons')

Ab. f. *aravádatas*, *udvátas*⁵, *nivátas*⁵, *paravátas*, *pravátas*, *saṃvátas*. — G. f. *pravátas*.

L. f. *araváti*, *uparítati*, *devátati*, *paraváti*, *vṛkátati*.

V. m. *tánu-nápat*, *nápat*⁶.

Du. N. A. V. m. *nápatā*. — f. *harítā*. — G. f. *harítas*.

Pl. N. m. *nápatas*, *marútas*, *harítas*. — f. *uvátas* (AV.), *udvátas*, *taḥtas*, *paravátas* (AV.), *pravátas*, *yoṣítas* (AV.), *sarítas*, *harítas*.

A. m. *marútas*. — f. *udvátas*, *nivátas*, *paravátas*, *pravátas*, *yoṣítas* (AV.), *rohítas*, *saṃvátas*, *sarítas*, *harítas*.

I. m. *marúdbhis*. — D. m. *marúdbhyas*.

Ab. m. *marúdbhyas*. — G. m. *marútam*. — f. *pravátam*.

L. m. *marútsu*. — f. *udvátasu*, *nivátasu*, *pravátasu*.

V. m. *indrū-marútas* 'O Indra and the Maruts', *nápatas*, *marútas*.

Participial Stems in -*at* and -*ant*.

311. Participles in -*at* are almost limited to the present active form of stems made with reduplication, viz. those of the third class (457) and of intensives (545). The old reduplicated participle (from *gā* 'go') *jigat-* 'going', 'living', is used chiefly as a n. substantive meaning 'the animate world'. The analogy of these participles is followed by a few others formed from unreduplicated stems: *dās-at-* 'worshipping', *śās-at-* 'instructing'⁷; also *dāksat-* and *dhāksat-*, the aor. participle of *dah-* 'burn'. A few others, again, originally participles, having come to be used as substantives, have shifted the accent to the suffix: *vah-át-*⁸ 'stream', *reh-át-*⁹ (AV. VS.) f. 'barren cow', *vāgh-át-*¹⁰ m. 'sacrificer', *śrav-át-*¹¹ f. 'stream'; like the regular participle *śāc-at-* (from *śac-* 'accompany'), which as a substantive becomes *śāc-át-* m. 'pursuer'. In

¹ Cp. Lat. *jejun*.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 559.

³ The suffix may here have been a primary -*t* added to the root *pā*: cp. LÉVY-MANN'S etymology (1888), Festgruss an Böhtlingk 77 f.; BRUGMANN 2, p. 366.

⁴ These forms might be locatives of *devátāti*, *sa'ydtāti*, *sarvdtāti*.

⁵ These forms might be A. pl.

⁶ Perhaps *marut* in *evayā-marut*.

⁷ LANMAN 505, would place *dāsat-* 'injuring' here, but there is no evidence, as only a weak case, *dāsatas* G. sing., occurs.

⁸ But *vāh-ant-* 'carrying'.

⁹ The derivation of this word is obscure.

¹⁰ In one or two passages *vāghāt-* still retains its participial sense.

¹¹ But *śrav-ant-* 'flowing'.

this class in masculines are frequent, but only about half a dozen neuter forms occur, and the feminines are limited to three substantives¹ and the adjective *a-saścāt* 'unequaled'². The inflexion is like that of the radical *-t* stems, the accent never shifting to the endings.

Inflexion.

312. Sing. N. m. 1. reduplicating class³: *cīyat*, *jāhat*, *jūhvat*, *dādat*, *dādhat*, *bāpsat* (√*bhas-*), *bībhyat*, *bībhrat*. — 2. intensives: *kānikradat* and *kānikrat*, *kārikrat* (*ky-* 'do') and (*ā-*)*kārikrat* (AV.), *ghānighnat* and *jānghanat* (√*han-*), *cimīścadat* (√*ścad-*), *cārīśat*, *cākasat* (√*kas-*), *cēkītat* (√*cit-*), *tārībhurat*, *jāgrat*, *tāvīvat*, *dārīrat*, *dāśīśat*, *dādyat*, *dāvīdyutat*, *dādīhvat*, *dāvīdīhvat*, *nānadat*, *nānamat*, *pānīphānat*, *bhāribhurat*, *mārmījat*, *mārmīśat*, *mēmyat*, *rārajāt*, *rārīhat*, *rōruvat*, *vīrīryjat*, *vāvādat*, *vāvādat*, *vāvīśat*, *śśūcat*, *śśūśyādat* (√*śyand-*), *śśīdhat*. — 3. non-reduplicating verbs: *vāghāt*, *śāsāt*; aor. *dākṣat* and *dhākṣat*. — N. A. n. 1. *jāgat*, *dāvīdyutat*, *pāpīśat*, *ydyuvāt* (AV.). — N. f. *vehāt* (AV. VS.).

A. m. 1. *ā-saścātam* (I. 112⁹), *dādātam*, *bībhrātam*. — 2. *kārikratam* (AV.), *ghānīghnatam*, *dādyātam*, *nānadatam*, *pānīpnātam*, *rōruvatam* (AV.). — f. *a-saścātam* (II. 32³); *vehātām* (AV.).

I. m. *dādātā*, *śśūścātā*. — f. *a-saścātā*. — n. *jāgatā* (AV.).

D. m. 1. *jājīśate*, *jūhvate*, *dādāhate*, *bībhrate*, *śāsate*. — 2. *ghānīghnate*. — 3. *vāghāte*. — n. 1. *jāgate* (AV.).

Ab. m. 2. *kānikradatas*.

G. m. 1. *jāgatas*, *dādātas*, *dādāhatas*, *bāpsatas*. — 2. *jānghnatas*, *tārīratas*, *dādāhatas*, *vāvīśatas*. — 3. *vāghātas*, *śāsatas*, *dhākṣatas* (aor.). — n. 1. *jāgatas*. — 2. *ā-vāryatatas* (AV.), *vāvādatas*. — L. n. *jāgati*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-saścātā*, *bāpsatā*, *bībhratā*; *tārīratā*; *śāsatā*; *dādāhatau*, *bībhratau*. — f. *a-saścātā*. — G. m. *pāpīratas*.

Pl. N. m. 1. *jūhvatās*, *ūhvatās*, *dādātas*, *dādāhatas*, *pāpīratas*, *bāpsatas*, *bībhratas*, *śśūścātās*. — 2. *kārikratas*, *jāgratas*, *jūhvatās*, *dāvīdīhvatās*, *dādāhatas*, *vāvīśatas*, *mārmījatās*, *śśūścātās*. — 3. *dāsatas*, *vāghātas*. — f. *a-saścātās*, *vāghātas*, *śśūścātās*.

A. m. 1. *jūhvatās* (√*ghas-*). — 2. *jāgratas* (AV.), *dādāhatas* (AV.), *śśūścātās*, *śśūścātās* (AV.). — f. *śśūścātās*; *śśūścātās*.

I. m. 2. *minadābhīs*, *pāpīrūdhābhīs*, *vāvāśādābhīs*, *śśūścādābhīs*. — 3. *vāghādābhīs*. — G. m. *jāgatām*, *bībhratām* (AV.); *vāghātām*. — f. *śśūścātām*.

V. m. *jāgatas*, *vāghatas*.

313. Participles in *-ant* are formed from all present stems (except those of the reduplicating class and of intensives and the few others that follow their analogy), from all future stems, and from aorist stems. Their analogy is followed by *phānt-* 'weak', *phānt-* 'spotted', *brhānt-* 'great', *rūśant-* 'brilliant', which have lost their participial function; also by *dānt-*⁵ m. 'tooth'. The adjective *māhānt-* 'great', having lost its original participial meaning deviates from the participial declension in lengthening the vowel of the suffix in the strong forms. In the inflexion of this group the distinction between

¹ The f. of the regular participles is formed by the suffix *-ī*.

² But *ā-saścānt-ī* from *śśūścāt-*.

³ See below, Verb, 461.

⁴ There occurs once an anomalous N. pl. with *-ant* from a reduplicated stem: *vāvīśādāntās*. See below, Perfect, 492, note on *vāvīśādāntās*.

⁵ This word is probably an old pres. participle of *ant-* 'eat', with prehistoric loss of the initial *a* like *śādāt-* 'being' from *as-* 'be' (25, 1). The RV. has one transfer form, N. *dāntās* (starting from the A. *dānt-ām*); the AV. has others, *dāntās* and *dāntās*.

strong and weak forms is regularly made, *-ant* appearing in the former only and being reduced to *-at* in the latter, which shift the accent, if resting on the suffix, to the ending. These participles are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form a special f. stem in *-ī*. The m. and n. forms are the same, except of course in the N. A.; the former are very frequent, the latter rare.

Inflexion.

314. The forms occurring, if made from *bhūvat* 'being', would be as follows:

Sing. N. m. *bhūvan*¹. — n. *bhūvat*. — A. m. *bhūvantam*. — I. m. n. *bhūvatā*. — D. *bhūvate*. — Ab. m. n. *bhūvatas*. — G. m. n. *bhūvatas*. — L. *bhūvati*. Du. N. A. V. m. *bhūvantā* and *bhūvantau*. — n. *bhūvatt*. — D. *bhūvad-bhūyam*. — G. m. n. *bhūvatos*.

Pl. N. m. *bhūvantas*. — n. *bhūvanti*. — A. m. *bhūvatas*. — I. *bhūvadbhis*. — D. m. *bhūvadbhyas*. — Ab. m. *bhūvadbhyas*. — G. m. n. *bhūvatām*. — L. m. n. *bhūvatsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following. It is unnecessary to enumerate all the m. N. and A. forms, as in the RV. alone 228 forms of the N. sing., 121 of the A. sing., and 166 of the N. pl.² occur.

Sing. N. m. Examples are: *ārcan*, *sīdan*; *ghnūn*, *yān*, *sīn*; *pīśyan*; *icchān*; *kṛpān*, *sunvān*; *bhāñjān*; *jānān*; *janāyan*; *yūyutsān*; *karīśyān*. Also *dān*, 'tooth'³; *māhān*⁴. — n. *and*, *dsat*⁵, *isvāt*, *śjat*, *śsat*⁶, *kulīśyat*, *cārat*, *cīdyat*, *īpāt*, *dhr̥śāt*, *pāstat*, *patīyat*, *mināt*, *yāt*, *raghūyāt*, *vārdhat*, *sāmsat*, *sikṣat*, *śūdyat*, *sāt*, *sunvāt*; adj. *br̥hūt*, *māhāt*, *rīśāt*; aor. *sākṣat* (ʾsah-); fut. *bharīśyāt* (AV.). As adv. with shift of accent: *dravāt* 'swiftly' (*dru* 'run'), *ārahyāt* 'firmly' (irregular formation from *dr̥h* 'be firm').

A. m. Examples are: *cīrantam*; *yāntam*, *usāntam*, *sīntam*; *yūdhyantam*; *vidhāntam*; *kṛpāntam*; *pṛñcāntam*; *gṛhāntam*; *dīśantam*; *dīntam*; *br̥hāntam*, *māhāntam*.

I. m. *ā-ghnatā*, *dvatā*, *ā-sunvatā*, *cīratā*, *jānatā*, *tujatā*, *pīśyatā*, *bhīndatā*, *vanuśyatā*; *datā*, *śyāv-datā* (AV.) 'dark-toothed', *br̥hatā*, *māhatā*, *rīśatā*. — n. *ā-dṛp̄yatā*, *ā-sredhatā*, *ā-heṣatā*, *āsata*⁷, *usatā*, *gavyatā*, *tvāyatā*, *dhr̥śatā* (adv.), *śucatā*, *śravasyatā*, *samaryatā*, *sumūyatā*; *br̥hatā*, *māhatā*, *rīśatā*.

D. m. 1. from stems accented on the suffix: *avasyatā*, *asvāyatā*, *īśyatā*, *īśudhyatā*, *īśīyatā*, *usatā*, *ījūyatā*, *īrīyatā*, *kṛpātā*, *gavyatā*, *gṛpātā*, *juratā*, *jānatā*, *tvāyatā*, *devayātā*, *dvīśatā*, *dhr̥īśyatā*, *dhr̥īśvatā*, *pṛñātā*, *pṛcchātā*, *brahmanīyatā*, *māhayātā*, *mānavasyatā*, *yajñāyatā*, *yātā*, *vanvatā*, *vidhatā*, *śṛp̄vatā*, *śravasyatā*, *sakṣīyatā*, *sātā*, *sīncatā*, *sunvatā*, *stuvātā*; *phatā*, *br̥hatā*, *māhatā*; fut. *avīśyatā*. — n. *śucatā*, *sanāyatā*.

2. from stems accented on the radical or the penultimate syllable: *ā-ghnate*, *ā-codāte*⁸, *ā-minate*, *ārcate*, *ārhate*, *lyakṣate*, *cārate*, *cīrate*, *tārate*,

¹ On the difference in the form of this f. stem see 201, 377, 455, 461, etc. regarded by BENFEY as N. sing. m. (Göttinger Nachrichten 1878, p. 190).

² On the Sandhi of such nominatives see LANMAN 506. ⁵ For *ā-sat* (VII. 104¹⁴); the Pada reads *āsat*.

³ Lists of the participle stems will be found below under each of the conjugational classes, under the secondary conjugations, and under the future. ⁶ The Pada reads *ā-śat* (x. 89¹⁴). ⁷ Once (IV. 5¹⁴) with lengthened initial for *ā-sat-ā* 'not being', also once *āsatar* (VII. 104⁸); the Pp. has *āsata* and *āsatah*. See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, under *ā-sat*.

⁴ Occurring also in several compounds *ā-dān* 'toothless', etc.; *vibhāyā-dam* (AV. v. 19²) must be emended to *-dann*. ⁸ Wrong accentuation (in v. 44²) for *ā-codate*; see LANMAN 508 (top).

⁵ *māhām* in II. 24¹¹, IV. 23¹, IX. 109⁷ is:

*tsyate, dāsate, pācate, pīpīyate, pīsyate, yājate, yūdhyaṭe, rājate, riṣate, vādāte, śāmsate, śārḍhate, śiṣāsate, hāryate; a-dāte*¹ 'toothless'.

Ab. 1. m. *kṛvatās, pṛnatās, vanuṣyatās; brhatās.* — **n.** *brhatās, mahatās.*
— **2. m.** *ā-bhuñjatas, ā-radatas, jighāmsatas, riṣatas.* — **n.** *ā-satas.*

G. m. 1. *arāṅyatās, undatās, usatās, rghāyatās, pīyatās, kṛvatās, kṣiyatās, gṛnatās, tujatās, turatās, turanyatās, tvāyatās, durhanāyatās, doṣatās, dhṛṣatās, pītayatās, pṛnatās, brahmanyatās, minatās, miṣatās, yatās, rudhatās, vapuṣyatās, vidhatās, śucatās, satās, saparyatās, sunvatās, stuvatās, huvatās; brhatās, mahatās; fut. kariṣyatās.*

2. *ā-ghnatas, ā-jāryatas, ā-bhuñjatas, ārcatas, ā-sunvatas, ānakṣatas, ādratas, ācātas, jāyatas, jāratas, jighāmsatas, jīyāsatas, jīvatas, tīrvatas, tīryatas, dīdāsatas, drāvatas, dhāmatas, dhṛjatas, pīyatas, bhūsatas, yūdhvyatas, rirīkṣatas, rēbhatas, vāyatas, vārḍhatas, vēnatas, śārḍhatas, śācatas, śiṣāsatas, śīdatas, hārsatas; rīśatas.*

n. 1. *kṛpayatās, pṛnatās², miṣatās, yatās, satās; brhatās, mahatās.* — **2.** *āsatas³, cāratas, bhāvatas, vēnatas, śiṣāsatas; rīśatas.*

L. m. 1. *yatl, sunvatī; mahatl.* — **2.** *irāyatī, ubhayā-dati (AV.).* — **n. 1.** *mahatl.* — **2.** *ā-sati.*

Du. N. A. V. a) forms in *-ā*. **1.** accented on the suffix: *asūntā, irajyāntā, usāntā, gmāntā⁴, garvāntā, dasayāntā, disāntā, dukhāntā, pīntā, pundāntā, pṛcāntā, bhujāntā, mināntā, miśāntā, yāntā, yāntā, vanvāntā, vāsnayāntā, vājāyāntā, vyāntā, vṛdhāntā, sṛvāntā, sāntā, saparyāntā, sunvayāntā; brhāntā, brhantā (V.), mahāntā.* — **2.** accented on the penultimate or antepenultimate: *ā-mardhantā, ā-yatantā, ārhantā, isīyāntā, kṣīyāntā, cārantā, codīyāntā, janīyāntā, jārantā, drāvāntā, dhāmāntā, pārīyāntā, pīpāntā, mādāntā, rīdāntā, vīdāntā, vāpāntā, vāhāntā, vājāyāntā, vēnāntā, śādāntā, śāpāntā, sāhāntā, sādāntā, hāyāntā.*

b) forms in *-au*. **1.** *asūntau, tirīntau, yāntau, vṛdhāntau, sāntau; mahāntau.* — **2.** *iśdyāntau, kṛdāntau, kṣīyāntau, mādāntau (AV.), yājāntau, rājāntau.*

N. A. n. *yati; brhati.* — **D. m.** *mṛdayādbhyām; mahādbhyām.* — **G. m.** *jāratas.* — **n.** *say-yatās (AV.)* 'going together'.

Pl. N. m. From the very numerous forms occurring the following may be quoted: *mīdāntas; ghnāntas, yāntas, sāntas; pīyāntas; icchāntas; bhīndāntas; kṛvāntas; gṛvāntas; devayāntas, vājāyāntas; dipsāntas⁵; aor. kṛdāntas⁶, bhīdāntas⁷; pīśatas (VS. XXIV. 11), mahāntas⁸.* — **V.** *usāntas; mahāntas.* — **N. A. n.** *sānti⁹; brhāntī (AV. VIII. 9), mahāntī.*

A. m. 1. *usatās, rghāyatās, gṛnatās, taruṣyatās, tvāyatās, pṛnatās, pṛtanyatās, bhādanāyatās, manāyatās, yatās, rudatās, vanuṣyatās, vājāyatās, vidhatās, sṛvatās, sṛvāsyatās, sṛudhiyatās, sakṣiyatās, satās, sasatās, stuvatās; brhatās, mahatās; datās.*

2. *ā-pṛnatas, ā-prayucchatas, ārcatas, kṣīyatas, dhāvatas, dhṛjatas, pātatas, rāyatas, riṣatas, rīruṣatas (Vṛuh-), vādatas, vṛādhatas, śārḍhatas, śiṣṛpsatas; syāt-datas (AV.).*

¹ On the accent see 90 B c. The dative of *ad-ānt-* 'cutting', would be *ad-āt-ā*.

² That is, *pra-anatās*.

³ For *āsatas* according to the Pada text.

⁴ Aor. participle of *gam-* 'go'. In one passage (I. 122¹¹) the Pada reads *gmāntas*; the sense seems to require the pl. *gmāntas*. See LANMAN 509.

⁵ Desiderative of *dabh-* 'injure'; cp. LANMAN 508 (gen. masc.).

⁶ *gmāntas* should perhaps be read for *gmāntu* in I. 122¹¹.

⁷ On the anomalous N. pl. perf. participle, *vāy-dhāntas*, see above p. 190, note 4.

⁸ *ubhayā-datas* in X. 90¹⁰ is perhaps a metrical shortening for *-dantas*; cp. LANMAN 509 (bottom). The AV. has the transfer form *dāntās*; cp. p. 190, note 5.

⁹ The Pada text reads *sāntī*; see RPr. IX. 25.

I. m. *á-nimiṣādbhis, á-prayucchādbhis, á-sredhādbhis, usādbhis, cityād-
bhis, tujyād-
bhis, devayādbhis, dhīrvādbhis, patyād-
bhis, rābhādbhis, vādādbhis,
vājyādbhis, vrdjādbhis, śucādbhis, śucāyādbhis, śubhāyādbhis, śocādbhis;
brhād-
bhis, mahād-
bhis, rīśādbhis; dādbhis*¹. — n. *śucāyādbhis, stanūyādbhis;
brhād-
bhis, mahād-
bhis, rīśādbhis*.

D. m. *usād-
bhyas, kṣād-
bhyas, gṛnād-
bhyas, tvayād-
bhyas, pātyād-
bhyas,
prāyād-
bhyas, vādādb-
bhyas, vāhād-
bhyas, sunvād-
bhyas; brhād-
bhyas, mahād-
bhyas;
dādb-
bhis (AV.). — Ab. m. *parā-yād-
bhyas*.*

G. m. 1. *adhvarīyatām, utatām, rjīyatām, gṛnatām, ghnatām, juratām,
devayātām, divīsatām, yatām, yatām, vanuṣyatām, vājyatām, śatruyatām,
sṛjyatām, śravasyatām, sakṣiyatām, satām, sasatām, sunvatām, stuvatām,
sthātām*², *brhatām, mahatām; datām (AV.). — 2. á-sunvatām, cīratām,
jāyatām, nītyatām, pātātām, vvasatām, śārdhatām. — n. rathirāyātām*³.

L. m. *gṛnītsu, devayātsu, patīyatsu, mahītsu. — n. jiryatsu.*

Stems in *-mant* and *-vant*.

375. As these two suffixes have the same sense, that of 'possessing', and are inflected exactly alike, the stems formed with them are best treated together in declension. These stems are used in the m. and n. only⁴, as they form a separate f. by adding *-f* to the weak stem. They are inflected like the participles in *-ant* except that they lengthen the vowel of the suffix in the N. sing. m. and never shift the accent from the suffix to the ending in the weak cases. Strong and weak forms are as strictly distinguished as in the *-ant* stems⁵. The regular vocative of these stems ends in *-mas* and *-vas* in the RV., but the AV. has neither⁶ in any independent passage, and the VS. has only *bhagavas* and *patnīvas*. The RV. has also three vocatives in *-van*, and the AV. adds five others; but no voc. in *-man* occurs.

Three stems in *-vant* and one in *-mant* have case-forms supplementing the inflexion of stems in *-an* and forming transitions from the latter declension to the former. Thus from *maghāvant-* 'bountiful' alone are formed the pl. I.: *maghāvādbhis*, D. *maghāvādbhyas*, I. *maghāvātsu*; also the N. sing. *maghāvān* beside the usual *maghāvā* from *maghāvān-*; from *sāhāvānt-* the N. *sāhāvān* beside *sāhāvā*; from *yūvant-* 'young', the A. n. *yūvat* beside the N. m. *yūvā*; from *varimānt-* the I. m. sing. *varimānā* beside forms from *varimān-* 'width'

Inflexion.

376. Sing. N. m. 1. from stems in *-vant*: *akṣayvān*⁷, *agnivān*, *āngirasvān*, *ānnavān*, *ā-pavīravān*, *āmarvān*, *ārvān*, *āśīrvān*, *lāvān*, *iśtvān*, *īghāvān*, *atāvān*, *kakṣivān*, *kṣapāvān* and *kṣāpāvān*, *ghṛtvān*, *jānivān*, *tāpasvān*, *taryāvān*, *tīvasvān*, *tīviśtvān*, *tāvān*, *tuvīrvān*⁸, *tvāvān*, *damsānāvān*, *āksīnā-*

¹ The AV. (XI. 37) has the transfer form *dāntais*.

² From the aor. stem *sthāt-* 'standing'.

³ With irregular accent on the suffix instead of the ending, from *rathirā-yāt-*.

⁴ In two or three instances the m. form seems to be used for the f., as *haviṣmatā* (I. 128^a) and *rāthavate* (I. 122^a); see LANMAN 515 (bottom).

⁵ There seem, however, to be two or three instances of a weak form used instead of a strong: *kṣumitī* (IV. 21^b), A. pl. n.,

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krātumatā (x. 59^a), N. du. m., *indrāvatas* (IV. 27^a), N. pl.; see LANMAN 516.

⁶ In AV. XIX. 34^b the Mss. read *bhagavas* which is emended to *samābhavas* in the printed text.

⁷ On the other hand, *ārvant-* 'steed', has two forms representing a transition to the *-an* declension: N. *ārvā*, A. *ārvāyam*.

⁸ On the Sandhi of these forms, see LANMAN 517.

⁹ Probably for **tvi-rāva-vān*.

vān¹, dītravān, dānāvān, dāsavān, durhānāvān, devāvān, devāvān, dyumnāvān, nāmasvān, niyūtāvān, nilāvān, pūyasvān, pavitravān, pīvitravān, pastyāvān, pīramdhivān, pūsanvān, prajāvān, prāyasvān, pravātvān, prahāvān, bhāgavān, maghāvān, matāvān, matsarāvān, mānasvān, marūtāvān, māhasvān, māyāvān, māhināvān, mehīnāvān, yūhasvān, yātumāvān, rābhasvān, rāsavān, revān, vājavān, vājlatvān, vivakvān, vivāsvān, vīśanvān, vīśnyvān, śleṣvān, sarāvān, śāsvān, śīpravān, śīprītvān, śīmtvān, śākhāvān, sabhāvān, sārāsvān, sāhasvān, sahāvān and śhāvān, sutāvān, sūnrtāvān, stavān², svadhāvān, svādhītāvān, svārvān, hārvān, hītāvān, hemyāvān.

2. From stems in -mant: abdimān, dvimān, aśānimān, tsumān, udanimān, r̥bhūmān, kakūdmān, krītumān, garūtīmān, gōmān, t̥viṣmān, tvāṣṣmān, tvīṣmān, dyumān, dhṛājīmān, nadanumān, paraśumān, paśumān, pītumān, barhiṣmān, mādhumān, vāsumān, virūkmān, vṛṣṣimān, śārumān, śociṣmān, suśumān, haviṣmān, hīrīmān.

N. A. n. 1. apāṣṣhāvāt, āmavāt, arcivāt, āśvavāt, āśvāvāt, ātmanvāt, āṣṭvāt, irāvāt, fghāvāt, dāvāt, kṣdītāvāt, gopīvāt, grābhānavāt, ghṛtvāt, candrāvāt, tāvāt, tokāvāt, tvāvāt, dāksīnāvāt, dyumnāvāt, dhānāvāt, dhvasmanvāt, nāmasvāt, nilāvāt, nrvāt, padvāt, pūyasvāt, pastyāvāt, pṣadvāt, prajāvāt, barhānāvāt, yāvāt, yūvāt³, rāthavāt, rāsavāt, revāt, vājīnavāt, vājīnāvāt, vājavāt, vīṣkvāt, vivāsvāt, vīśvāt, vīrāvāt, śatāvāt, śāphāvāt, śāsvāt, sahāsvāvāt, sāhasvāt, sināvāt, svārvāt, hīranyavāt.

2. abhiṣimāt, r̥bhūmāt, ketumāt, krātumāt, ksumāt, gōmāt, jyōtiṣmāt, tvīṣmāt, dāsmāt, dānumāt, dyumāt, nidhimāt, paśumāt, pītumāt, puṣṣimāt, mādhumāt, manyumāt, yūvamāt, rayimāt, vāsumāt, svastimāt.

A. m. 1. apīdhānavantam, apīpāvāntam, ārvāntam, āśvāvāntam, āsthanvāntam, ātmanvāntam, Indrasvāntam⁴, ārjasvāntam, ārjāvāntam, ādāvāntam, ānasvāntam, ājasvāntam, āmanvāntam, omyāvāntam, kakṣīvāntam, ghṛtvāntam, dāsāvāntam, devāvāntam, dhānāvāntam, dhāvāntam, nrvāntam, padvāntam, pārasvāntam, prajāvāntam, bhāsvāntam, marūtāvāntam, māhiṣvāntam, rātnāvāntam, revāntam, vāvāvāntam, vājāvāntam, vājavāntam, vārāvāntam, vhrasvāntam, vīrāvāntam, vīśāvāntam, śatāvāntam, śāsvāntam, śacānāvāntam, sārāsvāntam, hārvāntam, hāstāvāntam, hīranyāvāntam.

2. r̥bhūmāntam, kāṣvāntam, ketumāntam, ksumāntam, gōmāntam, jyōtiṣmāntam, dāviṣmāntam, dyumāntam, nidhimāntam, pītumāntam, bāndhumāntam, bhānumāntam, mādhumāntam, vāsumāntam, vāṣṣimāntam, vṛṣṣimāntam, śruṣṣimāntam, haviṣmāntam, hīrīmāntam.

I. 1. m. ārvātā, āśvāvātā, udānvātā, fkvātā, kakṣīvātā, niyūtātā, nrvātā, marūtātā, yāsāvātā, revātā, vīśvādevyātā, vīśvātā, śubhrāvātā, sāhasvātā. — n. dāvātā, candrāvātā, prajāvātā, barhānāvātā, vivāsvātā, sūnrtāvātā, hārvātā, śāsvātā.

2. m. gōmātā, jyōtiṣmātā, divltmātā, dyumātā, bhṛṣṣimātā, varimātā⁶, vāsumātā, virūkmātā, haviṣmātā. — n. divltmātā, virūkmātā, haviṣmātā; as adv. śāsvātā⁷.

D. 1. m. ārvāte, āśvāvāte, kakṣīvāte, dāksīnāvāte 'adroit' and 'bestowing gifts', datvāte, dāsāvāte, niyūtāvāte⁸, pūsanvāte, marūtāvāte, māvāte, yūvāvāte, rāthāvāte⁹,

¹ Representing two words: 1. 'dexterous' (dāksīna- 'right hand'); 2. 'possessing sacrificial gifts' (dāksīnā-).

² To be read śāvān 'thundering', from Vstān-; see GRASSMANN, s. v.

³ Transfer form from the -an stem yīvan-.

⁴ Also the Āmreḍita compound śāvāchāvāt.

⁵ With the N. -r anomalously retained.

⁶ Transfer form from the -an stem varimān-.

⁷ See LANMAN 516 (bottom).

⁸ Erroneously unaccented (I. 135¹).

⁹ The f. rāthāvātyai should perhaps be read for rāthāvāte in I. 122¹¹, as the latter form agrees with a f. substantive, and the former is favoured by the metre; cp. LANMAN 519.

vīdsvate and *vīvasvate*, *śācivāte*, *śāsvate*, *sāhasvate*, *sūnṛthivāte*, *svārvate*, *hīrvivāte*. — n. *padvāte*, *revāte*, *śāsvate*.

2. m. *gōmate*, *cākṣuṣmate*, *tolṣmate*, *diviltmate*, *dyumāte*, *barhṣmate*, *haviṣmate*.

Ab. i. m. *tvāvatā*, *vīdsvatā*, *vṣṣyāvātā*.

G. i. m. *ārvatā*, *dāvātā*, *kakṣvatā*, *jīvātā*, *tvāvātā*, *dadhānvātā*¹, *dāsvātā*, *devāvatā*, *dhīvātā*², *niyūtvātā*, *nrvātā*, *prajāvatā*, *marūtvatā*, *māvātā*, *mehānvātā*, *yāśasvatā*, *revātā*, *vāyasvatā*, *vājāvatā*, *vīdsvatā* and *vīvasvatā*, *vīrvātā*, *śācivātā*, *śāsvātā*, *sārasvatā*, *sāhasvatā*, *sūtīvātā*, *śrīvātā*, *svadhāvātā*, *hṣivātā*. — n. *etāvātā*, *yāvātā*, *viṣvātā*, *śāsvātā*.

2. m. *kṣumātā*, *gōmatā*, *dyumātā*, *haviṣmatā*. — n. *gōmatā*.

L. i. m. *ārvati*, *dāksimāvati* 'bestowing gifts', *nrvāti*, *paśyāvati*, *yāśasvati*, *vānanvati*, *vīdsvati* and *vīvasvati*, *śaryādvati*. — n. *āsvārvati*, *śmivati*, *svārvati*. — 2. m. *gōmati*.

V. m. i. The normal form in *-vas*³ occurs in sixteen examples: *ṛṣṭvas*, *gnāvas*⁴, *lavīsvā*, *niyūsvā*, *patnīsvā* (VS.), *bhāgavas* (VS. TS.), *marūtvas*, *rayivas*, *vajrivā*, *vīrvā*, *śaktīsvā*, *śācīsvā*, *sarasvas*, *sahasvas*, *svadhīsvā*, *harīsvā*. — Of the later V. ending in *-van*, the RV. has three examples: *arvan*, *śatīvan*⁵, *śavasāvan*. In the AV. the following five additional forms occur: *marutvan*⁶, *vājīvan*, *vṣṣyāvan*, *svadhīvan*, *harīvan*⁶. The MS. has *patnīvan*⁷. — 2. There are six examples of the form in *-mas*: *tviṣmas*, *dyumas*, *bhānumas*, *mantumas*, *śuciṣmas*, *haviṣmas*. — No vocative form in *-man* occurs.

Du. N. A. V. m. i. with *-ā*: *āngirasvāntā*, *dnasvāntā*, *ārvāntā*, *indravāntā*, *kṣāsvāntā*, *kṣāvāntā*, *dhārmavāntā*, *nāmasvāntā*, *niyūtvāntā*, *pavitrvāntā*, *marūtāvāntā*, *mitrāvāntā*, *indrāvāntā*, *vājāvāntā*, *vīśnavāntā*, *vyācasvāntā*, *śāsvāntā*⁸, *śiptvāntā*; with *-au*: *aśhītvāntau*, *yāvāntau* (AV.), *rōmanvāntau*, *sāhasvāntau* (AV.), V. *svadhāvāntau* (AV.). — 2. *arcimāntā*, *ṛbhūmāntā*, *krātumāntā*⁹, *vadhūmāntā*.

Ab. i. m. *aśhītvādbhyām*. — G. i. m. *vājīrvātō*, *śmivātō*, *sārasvatīvatō*.

Plur. N. V. m. i. *akṣuvāntas*, *dnasvāntas*, *dnāvāntas*, *ārvāntas*, *āsvāvāntas*, *ālvāntas*, *lḍāvāntas*, *indrāvāntas*, *indrāvāntas* (TS. IV. 7. 14)¹⁰, *ārvāsvāntas*, *dnasvāntas*, *kakṣivāntas*, *kārnāvāntas*, *ghṛtvāntas*, *caśīlavāntas*, *dāksimāvāntas* 'bestowing gifts', *dāmanvāntas*, *dīvasvāntas* (VS. XVI. 63), *drīvīnasvāntas*, *dhīvāntas*, *nāmasvāntas*, *niyūtvāntas*, *nrvāntas*, *patnīvāntas*, *padvāntas*, *pāyasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *pavitrvāntas*, *pājasvāntas*, *puṣṭāvāntas*, *pūsavāntas*, *prajāvāntas*, *prīyasvāntas*, *pravḍvāntas*, *bhāgavāntas*, *marūtīvāntas*, *māhasvāntas* (VS. XXI. 42), *yajūdvāntas*, *vacādvāntas*, *vāyasvāntas* (VS. III. 18), *vārmanvāntas*, *vīrvāntas*, *vrcīvāntas*, *śaktīvāntas*, *śāsvāntas*, *śmivāntas*, *śiptvāntas*, *sūtāvāntas*, *śrkāvāntas* (TS. IV. 5. 11²), *svadhāvāntas* (V.), *svārvāntas*, *hīmāvāntas*, *hṣivāntas*.

2. *aśjīmāntas*, *āyusmāntas* (TS.), *lṣumāntas*, *ṛṣṣīmāntas*, *kṣumāntas*, *jyōtiṣmāntas*, *tvḍṣṣmāntas* (VS. XXVII. 20), *tolṣmāntas*, *dyumāntas*, *mādhūmāntas*,

¹ 'containing curds'; cp. LANMAN 513.

² Also the Amreḍita compound *dhīvalō-dhīvatā*.

³ Elsewhere ten vocatives in *-vas* and *-mas* occur: five from perfect participle stems in *-vām*: *kṣāsvā*, *cikīsvā*, *tīrvā*, *āśvā*, *mīdhvā*; four from stems ending in *-van*: *ṛvā*, *vayāsvā*, *prātarīsvā*, *mātarīsvā*; and *fumas* from *pīmāms*. There are also two in *-vas* from comparative stems in *-vāms*: *āśvā* and *jyāsvā*.

⁴ In II. 15 *gnāvas* should probably be read *gnāvas* as a vocative.

⁵ The Pada text reads *śata-van*; cp. RPr. IX. 10.

⁶ These two forms occurring in passages taken from the RV. are substituted for *marutvas* and *harīvas* of the RV.

⁷ That is, *patnīvāsm*.

⁸ The mysterious form *śāsvāntā* (x. 106⁵) should perhaps be corrected to *śāsvāntā* = *śāsvāntā*?

⁹ The weak form *krātumāntā* seems to be used for *krātumāntā* in x. 59².

¹⁰ The weak form *indrāvāntas* seems to be used for *indrāvāntas* in IV. 27¹.

mādhīsmantas, yīvamantas, rayimāntas, vadhlūmantas, vāstmantas, śiimantas, śhivimāntas, harysmāntas, havīsmantas.

N. A. n. i. ghrītvānti. — 2. *paśumānti*. The Padapāṭha reads *-anti*¹ in these forms, and the lengthening of the vowel seems to be metrical². — The weak form *ksumānti* (used with *yāthā*) seems to be used for *ksumānti* in IV. 2³.

A. m. i. śrvatas, indrāvatas, pīvyāvatas, kṛśānāvatas, jānivatas, tāpavatas, tṛsyāvatas, tvāvatas, nrvātas, pātuvātas, pārasvatas (VS. XXIV. 28) 'wild asses', *paśyāvatas, pośyāvatas, praśāvatas, bhaṅgurāvatas, yāsasvatas, yātumāvatas, rābhasvatas, rayivātas, revātas, vānanvatas, vṛcāvatas, śaryāvātas, śāśvatas, śmīvatas, sutāvatas, śmīrāvatas, śhranyavatas, hāsavatas*. — 2. *ṛtumātas* (VS. XIX. 61), *gōmatas, jyōtiśmatas, dyumātas*⁴, *prāśmatas, mādhumatātas, vadhlūmatas, virāikmatas, śānumātas, svastimātas*.

I. i. m. drvadbbhis, dāksināvadbhis, pātuvadbhis, maghāvadbhis⁴, *rābhasvadbhis, revādbhis, vājavadbbhis, śāśvadbhis, śmīvadbhis, sutāsomavadbhis*. — **n. ghrītvadbhis**. — 2. **m. ṛstimādbhis, kṛtumādbhis, gōmadbbhis, barhīmadbbhis, bhānumādbhis, vidyūnmādbhis, havīśmadbbhis**. — **n. mādhumadbhis**.

D. i. m. divasvadbhyas (VS. IX. 35), *bhāgavadbhyas* (AV.), *maghāvadbhyas*⁴, *mūjavadbhyas* (AV.), *śmānavadbhyas* (AV.). — 2. **m. asimādbhyas** (VS. XVI. 21), *śsumadbhyas* (VS. XVI. 22), *māṛmādbhyas* (AV.), *yātumādbhyas*. — **n. vībhūmadbbhyas**.

G. m. i. śrvatām, dāksināvātām, datvātām (AV.), *bhaṅgurāvātām, yātumāvātām, śāśvātām, śmīvatām, sutāvātām, himāvātām* (AV.). — 2. *gōmatām* (AV.).

L. m. i. amavatsu, drvatsu, maghāvatsu⁴, *yusmāvatsu*. — 2. *dyumātsu*.

Stems in radical *-th*.

317. There are only three stems in *-th*: *kāprth*⁵ n. 'penis', *path*⁶ m. path', with its compound *su-path* 'fair path', and *abhi-śnāth* adj. 'piercing'. Among them these three furnish examples of all the cases in the singular, but there are no dual forms, and in the plural only the A. and G. occur.

Sing. N. *kāprt*; A. *kāprt*⁷; I. *pathā*⁸, *supāthā*; D. *path*! (VS.); Ab. *pathās*, *abhi-śnāthas*; G. *pathās*⁹; L. *path*!. — Pl. A. *pathās*¹⁰; G. *pathām*¹¹.

Stems in radical *-d*.

318. About a hundred stems ending in *d* are made in the form of compounds (only seven being simple stems) from the twenty roots *ad* 'eat', *kyad* 'divide', *chad* 'cover' and 'please', *pad* 'go', *mad* 'be exhilarated', *sad* 'sit', *syad* 'move on'; *chid* 'cut off', *nid* 'revile', *bhid* 'cleave', *vid* 'know', *vid* 'find'; *ud* 'wet', *nud* 'push', *mud* 'rejoice', *rud* 'weep', *sud* 'enjoy', *śud*

¹ As also in the only N. pl. n. of the present part. in *-anti, śānti* (314). The SV. also has the short *ā*.

² Cp. LANMAN 521.

³ In VI. 17¹⁴ the Padapāṭha reads *dyumātas* *indra* as *dumātā*; GRASSMANN explains it as a D. *dyumāte* agreeing with *vāyt*. On the other hand *dyumāntā* in AV. XVIII. 15⁷ should probably be emended to *dyumātā*; cp. WHITNEY's note, and LANMAN 521⁴.

⁴ Forms transferred from the *-van* declension.

⁵ The derivation of this word is uncertain: the *-th* is radical if the word is derived from *prath* 'extend' (see GRASSMANN, s. v.);

but it is suffixal if the word is connected with Lat. *capere* (cp. UMLENBECK, Etymologisches Wörterbuch, s. v.). With this possible exception there are no derivative stems in *-th*.

⁶ This stem supplements *pānthā* and *pathi*.

⁷ *kāprthā-m* occurs once as a transfer form.

⁸ Once (I. 1299) nasalized before a vowel *pathām a*.

⁹ Once (II. 24) with the radical vowel lengthened, *pāthās*.

¹⁰ Accented as a weak form.

¹¹ The transfer form *pathinām* also occurs in TS. IV. 2. 55.

'put in order'; *tyā-* 'pierce', *myā-* 'crush'. Of these roots only seven occur as monosyllabic substantives: *nīd-* 'contempt', *bhīd-* 'destroyer', *vīd-* 'knowledge', *dā-* 'wave', *mīd-* 'joy', *myā-* 'clay', being f., and *pād-* 'foot', m. There is also the monosyllabic n. *hīd-* 'heart'.

Strong and weak forms are not distinguished except in *pād-*; and the inflexion is the same in all genders except, of course, the N. A. n. du. and pl.

a. The following peculiarities or irregularities of this declension are to be noted. 1. The weak reduplicated present stem *ddā-* of *dā-* 'give', is once treated as a root in the form *āyur-ddā-am* (AV.) 'giving long life'. — 2. The vowel of *mād-* is lengthened in *sadhā-mād-* 'drinking companion', and *soma-mād-* 'intoxicated with Soma', of both of which, however, only strong cases occur. The vowel of *pād-* is lengthened not only in the strong cases, but occasionally in others also: *dvīpāt*, N. sing. n., beside *dvīpāt*, D. *dvīpāde*, L. pl. *dvīpātsu*, while the N. pl. m. is once *dvīpādus* (AV.). — 3. The euphonic combination is irregular in the I. pl. of *pād-* which is *padbhīs*⁴ beside the Ab. du. *padbhīam*. — 4. The stem *hīd-* is found in weak cases only⁵. Its place is taken in the N. A. sing. pl. by *hīd-āya-*, which is also used in other cases (*hīdayāt*, *hīdaye*, *hīdayesu*), though in the KV. almost entirely in late passages. — 5. There are a few transitions to the *a*-declension in the inflexion of these stems. Starting from the strong A. *pād-am* are formed the N. sing. *pādās* and the N. pl. *pādās*, both in late passages of the RV.⁶ Similarly, starting from the A. *sadhā-mād-am* are formed the locatives *sadhā-māde* and *sadhā-mādeṣu*. Beside *nīd-ās*, the ordinary Ab. of *nīd-*, the form *nīdayās* occurs once.

Inflexion.

319. The inflexion of these stems is identical with that of the radical *-t* stems. The forms actually occurring, if made from *pād-* 'foot', and *-vid-* m. f. n. 'finding', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pāt*, *-vīt*. — A. *pādām*, *-vidām*. — n. *-vīt*. — I. *padā*, *-vidā*. — D. *padē*, *-vide*. — Ab. *padīs*, *-vidās*. — G. *padīs*, *-vidās*. — L. *padī*, *-vidī*. — V. (*sārva*)-*vīt*.

Du. N. A. V. *pāda*, m. f. *-vidā*. — I. *padbhīam*. — Ab. *padbhīam*. — G. *padīs*. — L. *padīs*.

Pl. N. *pādās*, m. f. *-vidās*. — A. *padās*, m. f. *-vidās*. — I. *padbhīs* (AV.), *-vidbhīs*. — D. *-vidbhīas*. — G. *padīm*, *-vidām*. — L. *pādīs*, *-vidīs*.

a. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. i. with lengthened vowel: *pād-* with its compounds and *sadhā-mād-*: *pāt* (AV.); *a-pāt*, *eka-pāt*, *eka-sīti-pāt* (VS. xxix. 58) 'having one white foot', *cātus-pāt*, *tri-pāt*, *dvi-pāt* and *dvi-pāt* (AV.), *visvātās-pāt*, *sīti-pāt* (AV.), *sārva-pāt* (AV.), *sahāsra-pāt*; *sadhā-mīt* (IV. 21¹) and the abnormal *sadhā-mīs*? (VII. 18²).

2. with unchanged vowel, being compounds ending in various roots: from *ad-*: *agdhīt* (TS. III. 3, 8³), *karambhīt*, *krāryīt*, *vīsvīt*, *haryīt*; from *chad-*: *prathamā-ccāt*⁴; from *pad-*: *anu-pāt* (VS. xv. 8) 'coming to pass'; from *chid-*: *ukha-ccāt*; from *bhid-*: *adri-bhīt*, *ud-bhīt*, *gotra-bhīt*, *pūr-bhīt*; from *vid-*: *ī-kṣetra-vīt*, *aśva-vīt*, *krātu-vīt*, *kṣetra-vīt*, *gātu-vīt*, *go-vīt*, *draviṇo-vīt*,

¹ Compounds formed with *-vid* and *-sad* are the commonest.

² The strong form of this word, *hārd*, appears in composition with *dis* and *su*. Another word for 'heart', *trīd* (Lat. *cord*), n. occurs only in the A. sing. with the verbs *hī-* and *dhī-*.

³ The lengthening here is, however, metrical.

⁴ Owing to the confusing influence of the I. pl. *padbhīs* from *pās* 'look'.

⁵ Its high grade form *-hārd* occurs in the N. sing. m.

⁶ Probably also the A. sing. m. *pānea-pādām*; see JANMAN 471⁴.

⁷ See above 55.

⁸ 'appearing first', 'typical' (x. 81¹); according to Sayana from *chad-* 'cover' = 'covering first'.

nabho-vit, *nātha-vit* (AV.), *paśu-vit* (AV.), *purāna-vit* (AV.), *prajā-vit* (AV.), *rayi-vit*, *vaco-vit*, *vayunā-vit*, *varivo-vit*, *vasu-vit*, *viśva-vit*, *vīra-vit* (AV.), *śrūta-vit*, *sarva-vit* (AV.), *svar-vit*, *hiranya-vit*; from *sad-*: *adma-sāt*, *antarikṣa-sāt*, *upastha-sāt*, *ṛta-sāt*, *turānya-sāt*, *dakṣiṇa-sāt* (VS. xxxviii. 10), *durona-sāt*, *durānya-sāt*, *prāgharma-sāt*, *vāra-sāt*, *vyoma-sāt*, *su-saṃ-sāt*; *camū-sāt*, *dru-sāt*, *nr-sāt*, *vedi-sāt*, *śuci-sāt*. Also *su-hārt*¹ (AV. II. 7⁵) 'friendly'.

f. 1. *a-pāt*. — 2. *ā-echūt* (VS. xv. 5), *pra-echūt* (VS. xv. 5) 'covering'; *sū-yavasāt* (-ad); *saṃ-vit*; *saṃ-sāt*, *su-ā-sāt* (AV.)².

N. A. n. 1. -*pad-* appears with both unaltered and lengthened vowel: *dvi-pāt*, *cātus-pāt* and *tri-pāt*, *dvi-pīt*, *cātus-pāt*.

2. *hīt* (TS. IV. 4. 7²); *prakala-vit* 'knowing very little'; *raghu-syāt* 'moving quickly' (V³syad-).

A. m. 1. *pādām*; *a-pādām*, *tri-pādām*³, *dvi-pādām* (VS. XIII. 47), *śitī-pādām* (AV.), *sahāsra-pādām*; *sadha-mādām*; *dur-hārdām* (AV.). — 2. from *ad-*: *kravyādām*, *viśvādām*; from *pad-*: *dvi-pādām* (VS. xxviii. 32) a metre; from *chid-*: *pra-echīdam* (VS. xxx. 16) 'cutting to pieces'; from *bhid-*: *ud-bhīdam*, *gotra-bhīdam*, *pitr-bhīdam*; from *vid-*: *ahar-vidām*, *kratu-vidām*, *kṣetra-vidām*, *gātu-vidām*, *go-vidām*, *varivo-vidām*, *vasu-vidām*, *viśva-vidām*, *saci-vidām*, *svar-vidām*, *hotrā-vidām*; from *sad-*: *garta-sādām*, *su-saṃ-sādām*; *apsu-sādām*, *dru-sādām*, *dhūr-sādām*, *barhi-sādām*⁴, *vanar-sādām*; from *-syad-*: *raghu-syādām*, *havana-syādām*. — f. 2. *nīdam*⁵, *mīdam* (VS. XI. 55; TS. IV. 1. 5²); *āyur-dīdam* (AV.)⁶, *upa-sādām*, *go-vidām* (AV.), *ni-vidām*, *pari-pādām* 'snare', *pari-sādām* (AV.), *pitr-sādām*, *barhi-sādām*⁴, *vaco-vidām*, *viśva-vidām*, *saṃ-vidām*, *saṃ-sādām*, *sa-mīdam* 'battle' ('raging together').

I. m. *padā*⁷; *dva-dus-padā*, *cātus-padā*, *dvi-pādā*; *kṣetra-vidā*, *varivo-vidā*, *svar-vidā*, *su-sādā* (AV.). — f. *udā*, *mudā*, *vidā*; *upa-vidā*, *ni-vidā*, *ni-sādā*, *pra-mūdā* (VS. xxxix. 9), *pra-vidā*, *saṃ-sādā*, *svar-vidā*. — n. *hṛdā*, *cātus-padā* (AV.), *dus-pādā*, *dvi-pādā*. With adverbial shift of accent: *sarva-hṛdā*.

D. m. *a-pāde*, *kuhaciā-vidā*, *kravyāde*, *cātus-pāde*, *tad-vidā* (AV.), *vedi-sāde*, *sadanā-sāde*, *sarva-vidā* (AV.), *svar-vidā*. — f. *nīdā*, *mudā*; *pitr-sāde*, *pra-mūde* (VS. xxx. 8), *pra-mūde* (VS. xxx. 10), *saṃ-pāde* (VS. xv. 8). — n. *hṛdā*; *cātus-pāde*, *dvi-pāde*⁸.

Ab. m. *padās* (AV.); *dvi-pādās*. — f. *nīdās*⁹; *uttanā-padas*, *saṃ-vidās* (AV.). — n. *hṛdās*; *śit-padas* (AV.).

G. m. *eka-padas* (AV.), *dur-hārdās* (AV.), *nr-sādās*, *yanūdās* (-adas), *raghu-syādās* (AV.), *svar-vidās*. — f. *pra-mīdās*, *saṃ-sādās* (AV.). — n. *hṛdās*; *cātus-padas*, *dvi-pīdās*.

L. m. *padī*; *svar-vidī*. — f. *ni-sādī*, *saṃ-sūdī*. — n. *hṛdī*¹⁰.

V. m. *viśva-vit*, *sarva-vit* (AV.).

Du. N. A. V. m. 1. *pādā*; *pādau*. — 2. V. *ahar-vidā*, *kavi-echādā* 'delight-

¹ This seems to be the preferable reading (*su-hārt* *tēna*); the Pada has *su-hāh*. Otherwise the N. appears as *su-hār* in MS. IV. 2⁵ (p. 26, l. 19) in *su-hār* *pak*; see LANMAN's note in WHITNEY'S AV. Translation on XIX. 45², and Grammar 150 b.

² Perhaps also *nīpāt* in AV. XX. 132⁶ 7, where the edition has *vaniṣṣād*.

³ *śāha-pāda-m* (I. 164¹²) is probably a transfer to the *a*-declension; see LANMAN 471².

⁴ For *barhiṣ-sādām*; see above 62.

⁵ In the Amreṣṭha compound *nīdam-nīdam*.

⁶ From a secondary root *dad-* formed from the present stem of *dā-* 'give'.

⁷ BR. take *sādā* in AV. IV. 47 as I. of *sād-* 'position', but owing to the accent it must be taken as an adv. 'always'; see WHITNEY'S note on the passage.

⁸ Beside *dvi-pāde* occurring eleven times, *dvi-pāde* occurs once (I. 121³), when the lengthening is metrical.

⁹ The transfer form *nīdāyās* occurs once.

¹⁰ On the possibility of *hṛdī* representing an A. sing. n. in two or three passages, see LANMAN 473⁴.

ing in sages', *kratu-vidā*, *vasu-vidā*, *viśva-vidā*, *svar-vidā*²; *ātma-sādau*. — f. *ud-bhīdā*, *barhi-śādā*³; *śrānta-sādau* (AV.).

I. m. *padbhyām* (AV.). — Ab. m. *padbhyām*. — G. m. *padīs* (AV.)⁴. — L. m. *padīs*. — f. *prā-padīs* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. 1. *a-pādas*, *cātus-pādas*, *dvi-pādas*⁵, *śiti-pādas*⁶; *sadhā-mādas*, *soma-mādas*; *su-hārdas* (AV.). — 2. *ūrjādas*, *pūru-śādas*, *madhv-ādas*, *yavasādas*, *somādas*, *haviṛ-ādas*; *ā-śādas*⁶, V. *prā-śādas*; *deva-nīdas*; *ud-bhīdas*; *abhīmōda-mīdas* (AV.), *svādī-sam-mūdas* (AV.); *anna-vidas* (AV.), *ahar-vidas*, V. *gātu-vidas* (AV.), *ni-vidas* (AV.), *ni-vidas* (AV.), *nithu-vidas*, *brahma-vidas* (AV.), *yajur-vidas* (AV.), *vaco-vidas*, *varivo-vidas*, *vasu-vidas*, *viśva-vidas* (AV.), *svar-vidas*, *hoirā-vidas*; *adma-sādas*, *antarikṣa-sādas* (AV.), *apsu-sādas* (TS. i. 4. 10⁷), *upa-sādas* (AV.), *pascāt-sādas* (VS. ix. 36), *purah-sādas*, *śarma-sādas*, *sabhā-sādas* (AV.), *svādu-sam-sādas*; *camti-śādas*, *dīvi-śādas* (AV.), *dhūr-śādas*, *barhi-śādas*, V. *barhi-śādas*, *vanar-sādas*, *vedi-śādas* (VS. ii. 29); *raghu-śādas*. — f. 1. *dur-hārdas* (AV.); *nīdas*, *mīdas*; *agha-riḍas* (AV.), *amīdas* (-ādas), *upa-sādas* (AV.), *niś-pādas*, *pra-mūdas*, *viśva-su-vidas*, *sam-sādas*, *suhutīdas* (-ādas), *svar-vidas*.

A. m.⁷ *padīs*; *dur-hārdas* (AV.), *su-hārdas* (AV.); *apsu-śādas* (AV.), *kravyīdas*, *cātus-pādas* (AV.), *tvā-nīdas*, *deva-nīdas*, *dvi-pādas* (AV.), *pari-śādas*, *pastya-sādas*, *bāhu-kṣādas*, *saltra-sādas* (AV.). — f. *nīdīs*, *bhīdas*; *ni-vidas*, *pra-mūdas*, *vasu-vidas*, *vi-nūdas*, *sa-mādas*, *sa-syīdas*, *havya-sādas*.

I. m. *padbhīs* (AV. TS. VS.), *padbhīs* in RV. and VS.⁸; *gharma-sādbhīs*, *sati-padbhīs*. — n. *hydbhīs*.

D. m. *antarikṣa-sādbhyas* (AV.), *dakṣiṇā-sādbhyas* (VS. ix. 35), *dīvi-śādbhyas* (AV. TS.), *pascāt-sādbhyas* (VS. ix. 35), *pṛthivi-śādbhyas* (AV.).

G. m. *su-hārdām* (AV.); *adma-sādām*, *cātuspadām* (VS. TS. AV.), *dvi-pādām*, *barhi-sādām* (VS. xxiv. 18), *svā-pādām* (AV.), *su-śādām* (AV.). — f. *upa-sādām* (VS. xix. 14) a kind of ceremony, *pari-pādām*, *śrānta-sādām* (AV.), *sa-mādām*.

L. m. *patsī*. — f. *sa-mātsu*. — n. *hṛtsī*.

Stems in derivative -d.

320. There are some six stems formed with suffixal -d, seemingly all feminines⁹, which with one exception (*śarīd-*) are of rare occurrence. They are *dṛśād-* and *dhṛśād-* (RV.) 'nether millstone', *bhasād-* 'hind quarters', with its compound *su-bhasād-* 'having beautiful buttocks', *vanād-*¹⁰ (RV.) 'longing', *śarīd-* 'autumn'; *kakūd-*¹¹ 'summit', with its compound *tri-kakūd-* (AV.) 'three-peaked', *kākūd-* 'palate'. The inflexion is like that of radical -t stems. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. f. *kakūt*, *kākūt*, *dhṛśūt*, *bhasūt*, *śarūt*. — m. *tri-kakūt* (VS. AV.).

² In AV. xviii. 2⁴ occurs the ungrammatical form *pathi-śādī* an imitation of *pathi-śādī* of RV. x. 14¹¹.

³ The form *raśśādā*, occurring once, is of uncertain meaning and origin.

⁴ This form is used with an ablative sense in AV. i. 18².

⁵ AV. x. 2⁶ has *dvi-pādas*.

⁶ The transfer form *pādās* occurs once in the RV. (i. 163⁹).

⁷ Used as ablative infinitive.

⁸ There are no N. A. V. forms in the n. pl. Cp. LANMAN 474.

⁹ Four times in RV. and once in VS.

(xxii. 13) owing to confusion with *padbhīs*, I. pl. of *pās-* 'look'.

⁹ Except the adj. *tri-kakūd-* (AV.), *śiti-kakūd-* (TS.) 'white-humped' and possibly *vanād-*.

¹⁰ This stem occurs only once (ii. 4⁵) in the form *vanādās*, N. pl. m. 'Verlangen' (from *van-* 'desire') according to BR.; G. sing. m. of *van-ād-* 'wood-consuming' according to GRASSMANN.

¹¹ The origin of this -d is obscure. On the relation of this word to *kakūd-* see LANMAN 471⁴.

A. f. *kakīdam*, *apsādam*, *bhasādam* (AV.), *sarādam*. — m. *tri-kakīdam* (AV.).
 I. f. *apsāda*, *sarāda* (TS. IV. 4. 12³). — D. f. *sarāde*. — Ab. f. *kakīdas*.
 — L. f. *kakīdi* (AV.), *sarādi*. — Pl. N. f. *vanādas*, *sarādas*. — A. f. *sarādas*.
 — I. f. *sarādubhis*. — G. f. *sarādām* (AV.). — L. f. *sarātsu* (AV.).

Stems in radical *-dh*.

321. Stems ending in *-dh* are all radical, simple or compound. There are some fifty derived, with only two or three exceptions, from the following sixteen roots: *bādh* 'oppress', *sādh* 'succeed'; *idh* 'kindle', *vidh* 'pierces' (= *vyadh*), *sadh* 'succeed', *sridh* 'blunder' (?); *ksudh* 'be hungry', *budh* 'waken', *yudh* 'fight', *rudh* 'grow' and 'obstruct'; *ṛdh* 'thrive', *mṛdh* 'neglect', *vṛdh* 'grow', *spṛdh* 'contend'.

In this declension there occurs no stem distinguishing strong and weak cases. Masculines and feminines are inflected exactly alike. No distinctively neuter forms (N. A. du. pl.) occur, and only four case-forms (G. L. sing.) are found as neuters. There are two monosyllabic m. nouns: *vṛdh* 'strengthening' and (perhaps) *būdh*¹; besides seven f. substantives: *nādh*² 'bond'; *sridh* 'foe'; *ksidh* 'hunger', *yidh* 'fight'; *mīdh* 'conflict', *vṛdh* 'prosperity', *spṛdh* 'battle'. Neuter cases occur in the sing. (I. G.) of compounds of *-vidh*, *-yudh*, and *-vṛdh*.

a. Three or four stems are of doubtful origin: *agnīdh* is probably to be explained as *agni-dh* 'priest who prepares (*dhā* 'put') the fire', rather than as a shortened form of *agnīdh* 'fire-kindler' (from *idh* 'kindle') which does not occur in the RV.³; *iśidh* 'offering' (RV⁴) is perhaps a shortened form of *niṣ-iśidh* 'offering'⁴; *prkṣidh* (RV⁴) is obscure in meaning and origin; *śurīdh* f. 'invigorating draught' is perhaps derived from *śṛdh* 'be defiant' with Svarabhakti⁵.

Inflection.

322. Sing. N. m. *agnī*, *anu-rūt* (VS.) and *anū-rūt* 'loving'; *uṣar-bhūt* 'waking (*budh*) at morn', *yavyiṣṭ*⁶ 'eager to fight', *svā-vit* (AV. VS.) 'porcupine' ('dog-piercer', *√vidh*), *sam-it* 'flaming'. — f. *ksūt* (AV.); *pra-rjṣt* 'growth', *vṛ-rūt* 'plant' (AV.), *sam-it*⁷ 'fuel'.

A. m. *vṛdham*, and its compounds: *anu-vṛdham* 'prospering by food', *ahuti-vṛdham* 'delighting in sacrifices', *gīrā-vṛdham* 'delighting in praise', *tugryā-vṛdham* 'favouring the Tugryas', *namo-vṛdham* 'honoured by adoration', *payo-vṛdham* 'full of sap', *parvatī-vṛdham* 'delighting in pressing stones', *madhu-vṛdham* 'abounding in sweetness', *yajña-vṛdham* (AV.) 'abounding in sacrifice', *rayo-vṛdham* 'increasing strength', *sadyo-vṛdham* 'rejoicing every day', *saho-vṛdham* 'increasing strength', *su-vṛdham* 'joyous'; *agnīdham*, *anu-rūdham* (VS. XXX. 9), *a-sridham* 'not failing', *uṣar-budham*, *goṣu-yudham*⁸ 'fighting for kine', *marmā-vidham* (AV.) 'piercing the vitals', *yajña-sādham* 'performing sacrifice', *hṛdayā-vidham* (AV.) 'wounding the heart'. — f. *ksūdham*, *yūdham*, *sridham*; *a-sridham*, *uṣar-budham*, *niṣ-sādham*, *vīrūdham*, *saṃ-rūdham* (AV.) 'check' (in gambling)⁹, *sam-idham*.

I. m. *su-vṛdhā*. — f. *ksudhā* (AV.), *yudhā*, *vṛdhā*; *sam-idhā*, *su-budhā* (AV.) 'good awakening', *su-vṛdhā* (AV.), *su-sam-idhā* 'good fuel'. — n. *payo-vṛdhā*, *yavyiṣṭhā*, *sakam-vṛdhā* 'growing together'.

¹ In *bādh* A. pl. in VI. 11¹ (GRASSMANN); BR. do not acknowledge a m. use of *bādh*, and in VIII. 45¹⁰, IX. 109⁶ they would join the word with the preceding *śāri*.

² In *nādh* (X. 60⁶) if derived from *nādh* = *nāh* 'bind' (BR. s. v. *nāh*); but it is more probably = **nādh*-*dh*yas from *nādh*, weak stem of *nādh*, as also indicated by the accent.

³ See above p. 18. note 6.

⁴ Cp. *is-kyti* for *niṣ-kyti*.

⁵ Cp. above 21.

⁶ From the intensive stem of *yudh* 'fight'.

⁷ In the *Āmreḍita samit-samit*.

⁸ With the I. pl. *goṣu* instead of the stem *go*.

⁹ Cp. WHITNEY'S note on AV. VII. 50⁵.

D. m. *uṣar-bhūde*, *ṛtā-vṛdhe* 'fostering truth', *puru-niṣīdhe* 'repelling many (foes)', *mahi-vṛdhe* 'greatly rejoicing', *vi-nṛdhe* (VS. VIII. 44) 'dispeller of foes', *sam-ṛdhe* (AV.) 'welfare', *sa-vṛdhe* (VS. XVI. 30) 'growing'. — f. *ksudhā*, *yudhā* (AV.)¹, *vṛdhā*, *sam-lāhe*.

Ab. f. *ksudhās*, *yudhās*, *sridhās*.

G. m. *goṣu-yūdhas*, *vi-mṛdhās*² 'foe', *sumatr-vṛdhas* (VS. XXII. 12) 'delighting in prayer'. — f. *ksudhās*. — n. *hṛdaya-vīdhas*.

L. f. *mṛdhi*, *yudhi*, *sprāhi*; *pra-būdhī* 'awaking'.

Du. N. A. V. m. *a-sridhā*, *ṛtā-vṛdhā*, V. *ṛtā-vṛdhā*, *namo-vṛdhā*, *puro-yūdha* 'fighting in front'; *ṛtā-vṛdhau*. — f. *ṛdā-vṛdhā* 'increasing sweetness', *ghṛtā-vṛdhā* 'rejoicing in fatness', *payo-vṛdhā*, *vayo-vṛdhā*, *sākaṃ-vṛdhā*; *sam-lāhau* (AV.).

Pl. N. V. m. *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, V. *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, *tugryā-vṛdhas*, *payo-vṛdhas*, *parvatā-vṛdhas*, *vayo-vṛdhas*, *suge-vṛdhas* 'rejoicing in good progress', *su-vṛdhas*; *a-sridhas*, *āyur-yūdhas* (VS. XVI. 60) 'struggling for life', *uṣar-būdhas*, *goṣu-yūdhas*, *jñu-būdhas* 'bending the knees', *pra-yūdhas* 'assailing', *vṛṣā-yūdhas* 'combating men', *śurīdhas*, *soma-pari-būdhas* 'despising Soma'. — f. *ksūdhas* (AV.), *mṛdhas*, *spṛdhas*, *sridhas* (VS. XXVII. 6) 'foes'; *amitrā-yūdhas* 'fighting with enemies', *a-sridhas*, *iśidhas*, *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, *niṣ-śidhas*, *pari-būdhas* 'oppressors', *pari-spṛdhas* 'rivals', *vi-rūdhas*, V. *vī-rūdhas*, *śurīdhas*, *sam-lāhas*.

A. m. *būdhas*; *ṛtā-vṛdhas*, *tamo-vṛdhas* 'rejoicing in darkness', *rayi-vṛdhas* 'enjoying wealth', *uṣar-būdhas*, *śurīdhas*. — f. *mṛdhas*, *yūdhas*, *spṛdhas*, *sridhas*³; *vī-rūdhas*, *śurīdhas*, *sam-lāhas*, *sam-ṛdhas*, *sa-vṛdhas* 'increasing together'⁴.

I. f. *sam-lābhis*, *vī-rūdbhis* (AV.). — D. f. *nāḍ-bhyas*⁵. — Ab. f. *vī-rūdbhyas* (AV.).

G. m. *vṛdhām*; *ṛtā-vṛdhām*, *pra-būdhām* 'watchful'. — f. *yudhām*⁶ (AV.), *sprādhām*; *niṣ-śidhām*, *vī-rūdhām*, *vī-rūdhām*⁷ (AV.).

L. f. *yutsū*, *vī-rūtsu*.

Stems in radical -n.

323. The radical stems ending in -n are formed from half a dozen roots: from *tan-* 'stretch', *ran-* 'rejoice', *van-* 'be pleasant', are formed monosyllabic substantives meaning 'succession', 'joy', 'wood', respectively; from *svan-* 'sound' is formed the adj. *svan-*⁸ 'sounding' and the compound *tuvi-svān-* 'roaring aloud'; from *san-* 'gain', the compound *go-śān-* 'winning cows'. From these six nouns very few case-forms occur. But from *han-* 'strike' no fewer than 35 compounds are made in the RV., and all the singular cases as well as several of the du. and pl. cases are formed. All the stems formed from these six roots⁹ are m. except *tān-*, which is f.¹⁰, and only a single n. case-form occurs from a compound of *han-* (*dasyu-ghnā*). The distinction between strong and weak forms is made in *han-* only. Here in the weak cases *a* as

¹ The infinitive *yudhāye* is a transition to the *i*-declension, there being no stem *yudhi*.

² With irregular accent; cp. LANMAN 477 (top).
³ Fifteen times accented *sridhas*, once (IX. 71^b) *śridhas*.

⁴ In VIII. 454^o, IX. 105^b *pari-būdhas* should perhaps be read instead of *pari būdhas*.

⁵ If from *nāḍ-*, according to BR. (cp. *akṣā-nāḍas* (A. p. f.)); according to WEBER, IS. 13, 109, from *nāp-*. It is probably from *nāp-* = *nāpāt*. See above 321, note on *nādh-*.

⁶ In the V. *yudhām pāt*.

⁷ In the V. *vīrūdhām pāt*.

⁸ The accent of the monosyllabic stems is irregular in remaining on the radical syllable except *tānā* (beside *tānā*) and *vanām*: cp. LANMAN 479^d and above 94, 1 a.

⁹ Other roots in -n used as nominal stems have gone over to the *a-* or *ā-* declension; thus *jan-* becomes *ja-* or *jā-*.

¹⁰ *han-* forms a separate fem. stem in *-ī* from its weak form: *ghan-ī*.

representing the sonant nasal appears for *an* before consonants, while before vowels the root, by syncopation of its vowel, assumes the form of *-ghn-*. The N. sing. n. of *-han* is *-ha-m*, a transition to the *a*-declension¹ (for *-ha*, which does not occur).

Inflexion.

324. All forms are represented in this declension except Ab. sing., the weak cases of the du., and the D. Ab. pl. The forms made from *-han-* are: Sing. N. *-hā²*, A. *-hānam*, I. *-ghnā*, D. *-ghnē*, G. *-ghnās*, L. *-ghnū*, V. *-han-*. — Du. N. A. *-hānā*, *-hānau* (VS. TS.), V. *-hanā*. — Pl. N. *-hānas*, A. *-ghnās*, I. *-hābhis*. The G. would be *-ghnām* and the L. *-hāsu* according to the analogy of other stems in this declension. The forms of radical *n*-stems which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *aghasansa-hā* 'slaying the wicked', *adyajā-hā* 'slaying unseen (vermin)', *abhimāti-hā* 'destroying adversaries', *amitra-hā* 'killing enemies', *amīva-hā* 'destroying pains', *arusa-hā* 'striking the dark (cloud)', *d-vīra-hā* 'not slaying men', *asasti-hā* 'averting curses', *asura-hā* 'demon-slaying', *ah-hā* 'killing the serpent', *krsti-hā* 'subduing nations', *go-hā* 'killing cattle', *dasyu-hā* 'destroying the Dasyus', *durnāma-hā* (AV.) 'destroying the ill-named', *nr-hā* 'killing men', *puro-hā* 'destroying strongholds'³, *prāni-hā* (AV.) 'slaying the speckled (snake)', *mano-hā* (AV.) 'mind-destroying', *muṣti-hā* 'striking with the fist', *yātu-hā* (AV.) 'destroying witchcraft', *rakso-hā* 'destroying demons', *vasar-hā* 'destroying at dawn', *vṛtra-hā* 'Vṛtra-slaying', *śarya-hā* 'killing with arrows', *satrā-hā* 'destroying entirely', *sapatna-hā* 'slaying rivals', *sapta-hā* 'slaying seven'. — n. Only two transition forms occur: *vṛtra-hā-m* and *satrā-hā-m*⁴.

A. m. *ā-pra-haṇam*⁵ 'not hurting', *abhimāti-hānam*, *ahi-hānam*, *tamo-hānam* 'dispelling darkness', *dasyu-hānam*, *rakso-hānam*⁵, *valaga-hānam* 'destroying secret spells' (VS. v. 23), *mano-hānam* (AV.), *vṛtra-hānam*⁵ (VS. XXX. 5) 'homicide', *vṛtra-hānam*⁵, *satrā-hānam*⁵, *sapatna-hānam* (AV.).

I. m. *vṛtra-ghnā*⁶. — n. *dasyu-ghnā*. — f. *tanā* (once) and *lānā*⁷ (19 times).

D. m. *rāne*⁷; *abhimāti-ghnē* (VS. vi. 32), *asura-ghnē*⁶, *ahi-ghnē*, *nr-ghnē*⁶, *makha-ghnē* (TS. iii. 2. 4. 1⁸), 'slayer of Makha', *vṛtra-ghnē*⁶. — f. *tāne*⁷.

G. m. *go-ghanas* (in the V. *gosano napāt*); *asura-ghnās*⁶, *vṛtra-ghnās*⁶.

L. m. *svāni*⁸ (ix. 66⁹), *turi-svāni*; *dhṛtāna-ghni* (AV.) 'killer of an embryo'. Without an ending: *rān*⁹.

V. m. *amitra-han*, *ahi-han*, *vṛtra-han*.

Du. N. A. V. *tamo-hānā*, *rakso-hānā*⁵, *vṛtra-hānā*, V. *vṛtra-hānā*⁵. With *-au*: *rakso-hānau* (VS. v. 25), *valaga-hānau* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2¹).

Pl. N. V. m. V. *turi-svanas*; *a-bhog-ghānas*¹⁰ 'striking the niggardly one', *punar-hānas*⁵ 'destroying in return', *yajña-hānas* (TS.) 'destroying sacrifice', *satru-hānas*⁵ 'slaying enemies'.

A. m. *sāta-ghnās* (AV.) 'gain-destroying'. With strong form: *rakso-hānas*⁵ and *valaga-hānas* (VS. v. 25; TS. i. 3. 2¹).

I. m. *vṛtra-hābhis*. — G. m. *vanām*. — L. m. *rānsu*⁷, *vānsu*⁷.

¹ The forms made from *-ghna-*, viz. *-ghnās*, *-ghnām*, *-ghnāya*, *-ghnāya*, *-ghne*, are probably to be explained as transition forms starting from the weak stem *-ghn-*.

² Formed like the N. of derivative *-an* stems (327).

³ That is, *puras*, A. pl. of *pūr-*, the case termination being retained.

⁴ The normal forms would be **vṛtra-hā* and **satrā-hā*.

⁵ See above 47, A b 3 (p. 39).

⁶ See above p. 38, note 4.

⁷ Against the rule of accentuation in monosyllabic stems (94).

⁸ This form may, however, be the 3. sing. passive aor. See below 501, note on *sāh*.

⁹ With loss of the loc. ending as in the *-an* declension (325).

¹⁰ *-ghānas* for *-hānas*, see above 80, 81.

Derivative stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-van*.

325. This declension embraces a large number of words, the stems in *-van* being by far the commonest, those in *-an* the least frequent. It is almost limited to masculines and neuters; but some forms of adjective stems serve as feminines, and there is one specifically f. stem, *yī-an* 'woman'¹.

The distinction of strong and weak forms is regularly made. In the strong cases the *a* of the suffix is usually lengthened, e. g. *ādhvān-am*; but in half a dozen *-an* and *-man* stems it remains unchanged; e. g. *arya-mān-am*. In the weak cases the *a* is often syncopated before vowel endings, though never when *-man* and *-van* are preceded by a consonant², e. g. L. sing. *grā-vā-ā*³ from *grā-van*, 'pressing stone'⁴, while before consonant endings the final *n* disappears⁵, e. g. *vīja-bhis*. In the RV. the syncopation never takes place in the N. A. du. n., nor with one exception (*sata-dān-i*) in the L. sing.

As in all other stems ending in *-n*, the nasal is dropped in the N. sing.; e. g. m. *ādhvā*, n. *karma*. But there are two peculiarities of inflexion which, being common to these three groups, do not appear elsewhere in the consonant declension. Both the L. sing. and the N. A. pl. n. are formed in two ways. The ending of the L. sing. is in the RV. dropped more often than not, e. g. *mārdhān-i* and *mārdhān*, the choice often depending on the metre⁶. The N. A. pl. n. is formed with *-āni* from 18 stems and with *-a* from 19 stems⁷ in the RV.; seven of the latter appear with *-ā* in the Saphitā text, but with *-a* like the rest in the Pada text. The evidence of the Avesta indicates that there were in the Indo-Iranian period two forms, *nāman* and *nāmāni*, the former losing its *-n* as usual when final after a long vowel. On this ground the *-ā* form of the Saphitā, though the less frequent, would appear to be the older⁸.

There are here many supplementary stems and numerous transitions to the *a*-declension.

1. Stems in *-an*.

326. These stems, which are both m. and n., are not numerous. They include some which at first sight have the appearance of belonging to one of the other two groups: *yū-v-an*⁹ 'youth', *śū-dn* 'dog', *ṛjī-v-an*¹⁰ N. of a man, *uṭṭarī-śv-an*¹⁰ N. of a demi-god, *vi-bhū-an*¹¹ 'far-reaching'; *pāri-jm-an*¹² 'going round'. The n. *śīrṣ-ān* is an extended stem from *śīras* 'head' = *śīr(a)s-ān*.

a. Besides the N. pl. *yī-an-as* 'women', six or seven forms of this declension appear to be feminine as agreeing with f. substantives: *vīṣā* 'raining' (*kāsā, vāk*), *vīṣānam* (*śūcam*), *vīṣānā* (*dyāvā-ṣṭhīrā*), *pāri-jmānas* 'going round' (*vidyūtas*), *śpśā-ādhabhis* 'having distended udders' (*dhanūbhis*)¹³, *vīja-karmabhis* (SV. TS.) and *vīja-bharmabhis* (VIII. 19¹⁰) 'bringing rewards' (*ūtibhis*).

¹ The stems in *-van* regularly form their f. in *-vāi*, e. g. *pī-van, pī-vāi*; those in *-an* and *-man* by adding *-ī* to the syncopated stem at the end of compounds; e. g. *śma-rājñī-ī, pānu-nimnī-ī* (AV.).

² This exception does not apply when *-an* is preceded by two consonants, e. g. *sakth-nā*.

³ But also G. sing. *vṛṣān-as* (AV.). The syncopation nearly always takes place in *-an* stems and in nearly half of the *-man* and *-van* stems.

⁴ When the accent is on the suffix it is thrown on the ending in these syncopated forms, e. g. *mānā* from *mān-ān*.

⁵ That is, *a* here represents an original sasant nasal, see p. 17, note 2.

⁶ 48 locatives (occurring 127 times) have the *i*, 45 (occurring 203 times) drop it. See LANMAN 535.

⁷ But those in *-āni* occur nearly twice as often.

⁸ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 483 and LANMAN 538.

⁹ Cp. the comparative *yāv-īyān* and the Avestan *grun*.

¹⁰ *-van* in both these compounds is probably derived from *śū* 'grow'.

¹¹ From *bhū* 'be'.

¹² From *gam* 'go'.

¹³ The f. of *-an* stems at the end of compounds is formed with *-ī* in *śchidvā-ādhu-ī* 'having a faultless udder', *sam-rājñī-ī*

b. In the strong forms the stems *rbhu-kṣān-* 'chief of the Rbhus', *pūṣān-*, and the *f. yūṣan-*, retain the short *a*, while *ukṣān-* 'ox' and *vṛjān-* 'bull' fluctuate between *d* and *i*. The words *śvān-* and *yūvān-* form their weak stems before vowels with Samprasāraṇa, *śūn-*, *yūn-*; the latter is once used in the N. du. m. form *yūmī* instead of *yūvānī*. In the weak cases syncope always takes place¹ except in the forms *ukṣānas* and *vṛjānas*.

c. A number of *-an* stems have supplementary forms from other stems: *akṣān-* from *akṣi-*; *asthān-* from *asthi-*; *āhan-* from *āhas-* and *āhar-*; *āsān-* from *āsyā-*, *ās-*, and *ās-*; *udān-* from *ūd-* and *udā-kā-*; *ūdhan-* from *ūdhas-* and *ūdhar-*; *dadhān-* from *dādhi-*; *doṣān-* from *dō-*; *yakān-* from *yakṛt-*; *yōṣan-* from *yōṣanā-* and *yōṣā-*; *sākan-* from *sākṛt-*; *saktān-* from *sakti-*. As no stem in *-an* has been found in the N. A. sing. n., such forms appear to have been avoided and to have been purposely replaced by forms from supplementary stems. These forms are the N. A. n. *akṣi*, *asthi* (AV.), *āhar*, *āsyām*, *udakām*, *ūdhar*, *yakṛt* (AV.), *sākṛt*, *sakti*; also *yūvat* instead of *yūvā*, as well as *śiras* and *śiṣā-m* (AV.) instead of *śiṣā*.

d. There are here several transitions to the *a*-declension. The A. sing. *pūṣān-am* is the starting point for the N. *pūṣān-a-s* and the G. *pūṣān-ya-*². The N. A. pl. n. is the starting point in other instances: the two pl. forms *śiṣā* and *śiṣāni* give rise to the I. sing. *śiṣā* (AV.) beside *śiṣāni*, as well as to the du. N. A. *śiṣā* and the N. A. sing. *śiṣā-m* (AV.); similarly the two plurals *dhā* and *dhāni* led to the G. pl. *dhānam* beside *dhānam*; and *yūṣāni*, the pl. of *yūṣān-*, which has the appearance of a pl. of a stem *yūṣā-*, led to the formation of an I. sing. *yūṣā* (TS.) beside the regular *yūṣā* (VS.). Again, the weak forms *śūn-as*, *ān-ās* etc., gave rise to the transition stems *śūna-* and *āna-*, from which are formed the I. pl. *śūnās* and the I. sing. *pūṣānān-*.

Transition *a*-stems often take the place of *-an* stems at the end of compounds. Thus *akṣā-* appears in several compounds for *akṣān-*, and *vṛjā-* (AV.) for *vṛjān-*; *an-asthān-* once forms the N. sing. m. *an-asthā-s* (VIII. 134); beside the N. sing. m. *brhād-ukṣā* appears the D. *brhād-ukṣāya* (VS.); beside *rājānam* is found the A. m. *adhī-rājā-m* (X. 1289) 'over-lord'; and beside *saptābhis* 'seven', the compound *tri-saptāis*³.

Inflexion.

327. The normal forms, if made from *rājan-* 'king' in the m., and from *āhan-* 'day' in the n., would be as follows:

1. m. Sing. N. *rājā*. A. *rājānam*. I. *rājānā*. D. *rājān-*. Ab. *rājnas*. G. *rājānas*. L. *rājāni* and *rājan-*. V. *rājan-*.

Du. N. A. *rājānā* and *rājānau*. I. *rājābhyam*. D. *rājābhyam*. G. *rājānos*. Pl. N. V. *rājānas*. A. *rājānas*. I. *rājābhis*. D. *rājābhyas*. Ab. *rājābhyas* (AV.). G. *rājānām*. L. *rājasu*.

2. n. Sing. N. A. —⁴. I. *āhan-*. D. *āhne*. Ab. G. *āhnas*. L. *āhani* and *āhan-*. — Du. N. A. *āhanī*. G. *āhnos* (AV.). — Pl. N. A. *āhanī*. I. *āhabhis*. D. Ab. *āhabhyas*. G. *āhnām*. L. *āhasu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *an-asthā* 'boneless', *dyah-śiṣā* 'iron-headed', *a-śiṣā* 'headless', *ukṣā* 'bull', *vṛjī-śvā* N. of a man, *śiṣā* 'carpenter', *tāpur-murdhā* 'burning-headed', *try-udhā*⁵ 'three-uddered', *dvi-bārha-jmā* 'having a double course', *pāri-jmā* 'surrounding', *pūṣā* 'Pūṣan', *plhā* (VS.) 'spleen', *brhād-ukṣā* 'having great oxen', *majjā* (VS. AV.) 'marrow', *mātari-śvā* 'Mātariśvan', *murdhū* 'head', *yūvā* 'youth', *rājā* 'king', *vi-bhū* 'far-reaching', *vī-rājā* (TS. v. 7. 4⁶) 'sovereign', *vṛjā* 'bull', *śvā* 'dog', *sahasra-śiṣā* 'thousand-headed'.

'queen', *soma-rājān-* 'having Soma as king', *hāt-vṛjān-* 'whose lord has been slain', *rīru-śiṣān-* 'deer-headed', *saptā-śiṣān-* 'seven-headed', *eka-murdhūn-* (AV.) 'having the head turned in one direction', *sindhu-rājān-* (AV.) 'having Sindhu as queen'.

¹ The restoration of the *a* seems to be metrically required in a few instances: see LANMAN 525.

² The N. sing. n. of the adj. *vṛjān-* is avoided in several ways: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

³ With shifted accent.

⁴ On the other hand there are two transitions from the *a*-declension to the *an*-declension in *ni-kāmabhis* beside *ni-kāmās* and *naktā-bhis* for *naktam*, but these forms are due to somewhat artificial conditions; see below, I. pl. p. 206, notes 3 and 4.

⁵ Only supplementary forms occur: see LANMAN 530 (bottom).

⁶ The metre seems to require *try-ādī* (UL, 56³).

⁷ Here *bārha-* = *bārhas-*.

A. m. *ukṣānam, tikhānam* (VS. xxx. 6), *tri-mūrdhīnam* 'three-headed', *tri-śirṣānam* 'three-headed', *pāthānam* (VS. AV.) 'path', *pāri-jmānam*, *prthu-gmānam* 'broad-pathed', *plihānam* (AV.), *majjānam, mātarī-śvānam, mūrdhānam, yuvānam, rājānam*², *vṣānam, śvānam, sapta-śirṣānam* 'seven-headed'. — **With short a:** *ukṣānam, rbhukṣānam*³ 'chief of the Rbhūṣ', *pūṣānam, vṣānam*⁴.

I. m. 1. *ṣṣi-śvānā, mātarī-śvānā, vi-bhūdā*. — 2. **With syncope:** *āśnā*⁵, *pūṣnā, plihnā* (VS.), *majjū* (AV.), *mūrdhā* (VS. xxv. 2), *rājū*, *vṣnā*. — 3. **With Samprasāraṇa:** *śinā*⁶ (AV.). — n. *asñ* (VS. xxv. 9) 'blood', *āhnā* 'day', *āsñā* 'mouth', *udnā* 'water', *dadhnā* 'curds', *mahnā* 'greatness', *yahnā* (VS. xxxix. 8) 'liver', *yūṣnā* (VS. xxv. 9) 'broth', *vi-śirṣnā* (Kh. I. 11⁷) 'headless', *śaknā* (VS.) 'excrement', *śirṣnā* 'head', *sakhnā* (VS.) 'thigh'.

D. m. 1. *ṣṣi-śvāne, pāri-jmāne, mātarī-śvāne, vi-bhūdāne, vṣāne* (TS. III. 2. 5⁷). — 2. *pūṣnē, prati-dāvine* 'adversary at play', *mūrdhā* (VS. xxii. 32), *rājñe, vṣnē*. — 3. *yāne*. — n. 1. *dhāre-ane* 'hurting'. — 2. *āhne, āsnē, śirṣnē*.

Ab. m. 2. *plihnās* (AV.), *mūrdhās, vṣnās*⁸. — n. 2. *akṣnās* 'eye', *āhnās, āsnās*⁹, *udnās*¹⁰, *idhnās, yahnās* 'liver', *vṣnās* 'shedding rain', *śirṣnās*.

G. m. 1. *durgbhī-śvānas* 'continually swelling', *pāri-jmānas, mātarī-śvānas* (VS. I. 2), *vṣānas*¹² (AV.). — 2. *āsnās*¹³, *ukṣnās, pūṣnās, yūṣnās* (or n.), *rājñās, vṣnās*. — 3. *yānas, śhnās*. — n. *akṣnās* (VS. IV. 32; TS.), *āsnās*¹⁴ (AV.) 'blood', *asthnās* (AV.) 'bone', *āhnās, udnās, dadhnās, vṣnās, śaknās* (AV.), *śirṣnās*¹⁵.

L. m. 1. *ṣṣi-śvāni, mātarī-śvāni, mūrdhāni, rājāni*. — 2. *jmān* 'way', *pāri-jmān, mātarī-śvān* (AV.), *mūrdhān*. — n. 1. *āhani, āsni, udni, udhani* 'udder', *ksāmani* 'earth', *rājāni, śirṣāni; āhni* (AV.). — 2. *āhan, āsni, udni, ādhan, ksāman*¹⁶, *gāmbhan* (VS. XIII. 30) 'depth', *śirṣān*¹⁷.

V. m. 1. *uru-jmān* (AV.) 'extension', *pāri-jmān, prthu-jmān* (AV.), *pūṣan, mūrdhan* (VS. xviii. 55), *yuvan, rājan, vṣan, śata-mūrdhan* (VS. xvii. 71; TS.) 'hundred-headed', *satya-rājan* (VS. xx. 4) 'true king'. — 2. *mātarī-śvās*¹⁸.

Du. N. A. V. m. 1. *pāri-jmānī, V. mītra-rājānā* 'ye kings Mitra (and Varuṇa)', *yuvānī, V. yuvānā, rājānī, śvānā*. **With short vowel:** *indra-pūṣānā, pūṣānā, vṣānā, V. vṣānā, somā-pūṣānā*. **With weak stem:** *yānī* (IX. 68⁵) for *yānānī* (probably through *yuvānī*). — 2. **With au:** *rājānau, vṣānau* (AV.), *śvānau; V. vṣānau, somā-pūṣānau*.

N. A. n. *āhanī, cākṣānī* (AV.) 'eyes', *doṣṣānī* (AV.) 'fore-arms'¹⁹.

I. m. *vṣabhyām*. — **D. m.** *somā-pūṣābhyām*. — **G. m.** *pāri-jmānos, indrā-pūṣnās*. — n. *āhnos* (AV.). — **L. n.** *akṣnās* (Kh. I. 11⁸).

¹ *man* = *jan* 'path'.

² There is also the transfer form *adhī-rājā-m* (X. 128⁹).

³ Perhaps from *ksā* = *ksi* 'possess'.

⁴ In the RV. *vṣānam* occurs 53 times, *vṣānam* only twice.

⁵ This form (occurring thrice) may possibly be shortened for *āmanā* (which occurs twice) from *āman* 'stone'.

⁶ For *āhānā*; hence no shift of accent as in monosyllabic stems.

⁷ Also *udān* (VI. 201¹) according to BENFEY, *Orient und Occident* 2, 242.

⁸ There is also the transition form *bṛhād-ubhāyā* (VS. VIII. 8).

⁹ BENFEY, *Cött. Abh.* 19, 261, regards *vibhūdā* (X. 763) as = *Ab. vibhūdānā*.

¹⁰ Also the supplementary forms *āsnā, ās di*.

¹¹ Also the supplementary form *udakdt*.

¹² For *vṣā-nāma* (IX. 97⁵) GRAESSMANN would read *vṣāno ud*; cp. WACKERNAGEL 2¹, 63 a, note (p. 160).

¹³ This form (occurring once) may be shortened for *āmanas* (occurring four times).

¹⁴ With supplementary stem *āp-j*.

¹⁵ The G. *pūṣānā*, occurring once, seems to be a transfer form starting from the A. *pūṣānam* (326 d).

¹⁶ There are also the transition forms *śirṣi, pūr-śirṣi*; see LANMAN 536.

¹⁷ The compound *ucmanu-ṣi* 'following guidance' probably contains a loc.

¹⁸ Following the analogy of some stems in *-van*.

¹⁹ Also the transition form *śirṣi*.

Pl. N. V. m. *ukṣānas* (VS. XXIV. 13), *tiṅmā-mūrdhānas* 'sharp-edged', *pānthānas* (AV.), *mūrdhānas*, *yivānas*, *rājānas*, *svānas*. — With short vowel: *ukṣānas*, *rbhu-ksānas*, *vṣānas*.

N. A. n. 1. *akṣāni*, *asthāni* (TS. IV. 7. 1²), *āhāni*, *śiṛṣāni*, *sakthāni*. — 2. *āhā*, *śiṛṣā*³.

A. m. 1. *mātarī-śvanas*, *ukṣānas*, *vṣānas*. — 2. *ukṣāns*, *jana-rājāns* 'king of men', *majjāns* (AV.), *mūrdhāns*, *yamā-rājāns* 'subject to Yama', *rājāns*, *vṣāns*. — 3. *yānas*, *śīnas*.

I. m. *ukṣābhis*⁴, *yivābhis*, *rājābhis*, *vṣābhis*, *śvābhis* (Kh. v. 15⁷)⁴. — n. *akṣābhis*, *asthābhis*, *dhābhis*, *āsābhis*, *udābhis*, *śābhis*, *mahābhis*, *vṣābhis*, *sākābhis* (TS. v. 7. 23¹), *su-kṛta-karmābhis* (Kh. III. 12¹) 'doing good deeds'.

D. m. *ukṣābhyas* (VS.), *majjābhyas* (TS. VS. XXXIX. 10), *yivābhyas*, *rājābhyas*, *śvābhyas* (AV. VS.). — n. *asthābhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10; TS. v. 2. 12²), *dhābhyas*. — Ab. m. *majjābhyas* (AV.). — n. *dhābhyas*.

G. m. *vṣānam*, *rājānam* (VS. AV.), *śīnam* (AV.). — n. *āhānam*⁶.

L. m. *majjāsu* (AV.), *yamā-rājasu* (AV.), *rājasu*. — n. *āhasu*, *śiṛṣāsu*.

2. Stems in -man.

328. These stems are about equally divided between the masculine and the neuter gender, the former being agent nouns, the latter verbal abstracts. These stems seem to have been used normally for the f. as well as the m.; for though no simple stem in -man occurs as a f., about a dozen of them are used as f. at the end of compounds, while no certain example appears in the RV. of a f. being formed by adding -ī to -man⁷. A peculiarity of the inflexion of the stems in -man, as compared with those in -an and -van, is that in the syncopated forms of the I. sing. several words drop the m, while two drop the n of the suffix; e. g. *mahinā*⁸ for *mahimnā*, and *raśmī* for *raśmnā*.

a. The f. forms which occur at the end of compounds are: Sing. N. *purū-śarmā* (VS. x. 9) 'giving wide shelter' (*śāriti*), *sā-lakṣmā* (x. 10¹) 'similar'; A. *dyutād-yamānam* (v. 80¹) 'having a shining course' (*nyāsam*); *su-śarmānam* (VIII. 42²) 'easily conveying across' (*nyānam*), *su-trāmanam* (x. 63¹⁰) 'protecting well' (*prthivīm*), *su-śarmānam* (x. 63¹⁰) 'granting secure refuge' (*śāritim*); V. *āriṣa-bhāman* (VIII. 184) 'yielding security' (*śāriti*), *prthi-yāman* (VI. 64¹) 'having a broad path' (*dhātān*); Du. N. *su-jānamāni*⁹ (I. 160¹) 'producing fair things' (*dhīśūc*); Pl. A. *śūci-jāmanas* (VI. 39¹) 'of radiant birth' (*nyāsas*); I. *vāja-bharmābhis* (VIII. 19¹⁰) 'winning rewards' (*śūcibhis*), *su-śarmābhis* (IX. 70⁴) 'skilful' (singers); G. *śūcī-sadmanām* (VI. 47³) 'having a bright dwelling-place' (*nyāsam*)¹⁰. From *nāman* 'name' the AV. forms with -ī the f. stem -nāmnī- at the end of five compounds: *dur-nāmnī* 'ill-named', *pāñca-nāmnī* 'having five names', *mahā-nāmnī* 'great-named', *vīśvā-nāmnī* 'having all names', *sahasra-nāmnī* 'thousand-named'. The f. *dur-adman-ī* (VS. II. 20) 'noxious food' is perhaps similarly formed¹¹.

¹ In the corresponding passage of VS. (XVIII. 3) *āsthāni*.

² Both these might be formed from the transition a-stems *āha*, *śiṛṣā*. This is perhaps the reason why these are the only two plurals of this declension which retain the ā in the Pada text; *āha* appears in I. 92¹.

³ The form *ni-kāmābhis* 'eager' for *ni-kāmāis* is due to the parallelism of *evayācābhis* in x. 92⁹.

⁴ There is also a transition form *āhāis* 'stones', beside the stem *āhan-*.

⁵ The unique form *naktābhis* (as if from a stem *naktān-*) is doubtless used for metrical reasons instead of *naktām* in VII. 104¹⁸.

⁶ There is also the transition form *āhānam*.

⁷ The AV. has five stems thus formed at the end of compounds.

⁸ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, BB. 23, 105 ff., AJPh. 16, 409-434; BARTHOLOMAE IF. 8, Anzeiger 17.

⁹ With the ending of the neuter; see LANMAN 433 (top).

¹⁰ Possibly also *su-śarmā* (II. 32⁷) 'bearing well'; but it is derived from **śū-ma-* according to BR. and GRASSMANN.

¹¹ The f. *brāhmī* (IX. 335) formed from *brāhman-* is quite exceptional, being due to a play on words (see LANMAN 528). The form *īmānyā* = *īmānā* in sense, occurring twice in the RV., may be an I. sing. f. of *īmān-ī*; cp. GRASSMANN and BR.

b. In the strong forms *aryamān* 'Aryaman', *imān* 'self', and *jīman* 'victorious' retain the short vowel of the suffix. In the weak forms, even when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, about a dozen forms do not syncopate the *a*: I. *omānā*, *pravāś-yāmanā*, *bhūmānā*, *bhūmanā*, *syāmanā*, *hemānā*; D. *brāmaye*, *dāman*; Ab. G. *bhūmanas*; G. *mahimān*, *dāman*, *yāmanas*, *vydmanas*. The forms which, besides syncopating, drop the *m* or the *n* of the suffix are: *prathinā*, *preṇā*, *bhūnā*, *mahinā*, *varinā*; *drāghmā*, *raimā*.

c. Beside the *-man* stems there are several transfer stems in *-mā*, which are, however, of rare or late occurrence: *darmā* 'destroyer' beside *darmān*; *dhārma* (AV. etc.) 'law' beside *dhārman*; *śma* (VS.) 'course' beside *śman*; *kōma* (VS. AV.) 'offering' beside *kōman* (RV.); *djma* 'course' beside *djman*; *yāma* 'course' beside *yāman*; *priyā-śāma* (I. 140¹) 'fond of home' beside *priyā-dhāman* (AV.); and occasional forms of *-karma* at the end of compounds beside the regular *-karman*: *vīrā-karma-n* (x. 61²) 'doing manly deeds'; *vīśvā-karma* (x. 1644) 'all-creating' beside *vīśvā-karmanā*, etc.

Inflexion.

329. The normal forms actually occurring would, if made from *śśman* 'stone' in the *m*, and from *kārman* 'act' in the *n*, be as follows:

Sing. m. N. *śśmā*. A. *śśmānam*¹. I. *śśmanā*³. D. *śśmanā*⁴. Ab. *śśmanas*⁵. G. *śśmanas*⁵. L. *śśmani* and *śśman*. V. *śśman*. — Du. N. A. V. *śśmānā*⁶. L. *śśmanos*. — Pl. N. V. *śśmānas*. A. *śśmanas*. I. *śśmabhis*. D. *śśmabhyas*. G. *śśmanām*. L. *śśmasu* (AV.).

Sing. n. N. A. *kārma*⁷. I. *kārmanā*⁸. D. *kārmanā*⁸. Ab. *kārmanas*⁹. G. *kārmanas*⁹. L. *kārmani* and *kārman*. — Du. N. A. *kārmani*. G. *kārmanos*. — Pl. N. A. *kārmāni*, *kārma*, *kārmā*. I. *kārmabhis*. D. *kārmabhyas*. Ab. *kārmabhyas*. G. *kārmanām*⁸. L. *kārmasu*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *a-karmā* 'wicked', *i-brahmā* 'lacking devotion', *aryamā* 'Aryaman', *śśmā* 'stone', *a-sremā* 'faultless', *atmā* 'breath', *śśu-hēmā* 'speeding swiftly', *īśī-yāmā* 'going according to desire', *usrā-yāmā* 'moving towards brightness', *rtā-dhāmā* (VS. iv. 32) 'abiding in truth', *kytā-brahmā* 'having performed devotion', *jarimā* 'old age', *jātā-bharmā* 'ever nourishing', *jemā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'superiority', *īpāla-prabharmā* 'offering what is refreshing', *darmā* 'demolisher', *dāmā* 'giver', *dur-nāmā* 'ill-named', *dur-mānmā* 'evil-minded', *dyutādyāmā* 'having a shining path', *drāghimā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'length', *divjānmā* 'having a double birth', *dharmā* 'arranger', *dhvasmā* 'darkening', *pāka-sthāmā* N. of a man, *pāpmā* (VS. vi. 35) 'misfortune', *prthū-pragāmā* 'wide-striding', *prathimā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'width', *brahmā* 'devout man', *bhujmā*⁹ 'abounding in valleys', *bhūmā* (IS. vii. 3. 13¹) 'plenty', *bhūri-jānmā* 'having many births', *mahimā* 'greatness', *yajñā-manmā* 'ready for sacrifice', *raghuyāmā* 'going quickly', *reṣmā* (AV.) 'tempest', *vadmā* 'speaker', *varimā* 'width', *varṣimā* (VS. xviii. 4) 'height', *vīśvā-karmā* 'all-creator', *vīśvā-sāmā* (VS. xviii. 39) 'having the form of all Sāmans', *vīśva-prabharmā* 'to whom the strong (Soma) is offered', *śātātmi* 'possessing a hundred lives', *satyā-dharmā* 'whose laws are true', *satyā-manmā* 'whose thoughts are true', *saptā-nāmā* 'seven-named', *sahśra-yāmā* 'having a thousand courses', *sādhi-karmā* 'acting well', *su-karmā* 'working skilfully', *su-jñimā* 'producing fair things', *su-trimā* 'guarding well', *su-dyōtmā* 'shining bright', *su-brāhmā* 'accompanied by good prayers', *su-māntu-nāmā* 'bearing a well-known name', *su-mānmā* 'benevolent', *su-vāhmā*

¹ The vowel has also to be restored in several other forms (see LANMAN 524 f.).

² With short vowel *aryamānam*, *imānam*.

³ Without syncopate after vowel *bhūmanā*, etc.; with syncopate *mahimnā*, *mahinā*, *drāghmā*, etc.

⁴ Also with syncopate, *mahimnā*, etc.

⁵ Also with syncopate, *mahimnā*, etc.

⁶ Also with short vowel *aryamānā*, *imānā*.

⁷ Sometimes *kārmā* in the Saṁhitā text.

⁸ Also with syncopate, *nāmā*, etc.

⁹ *bhujmā* (I. 65¹) should probably be read *bhujmā*; see BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN 530 (top).

'driving well', *su-sárma* (VS. viii. 8) 'good protector', *su-sphāma* 'having a firm support', *svādu-ksādmā* 'having sweet food'¹.

N. A. n. *djma* 'track', *idma* 'food', *ema* 'course', *kárma* 'deed', *kársma* 'goal', *ksādmā* 'carving knife', *cárma* 'skin', *jánima* 'birth', *jánma* 'birth', *tíkma* 'young blade of corn', *dáma* 'cord', *dhárma* 'ordinance', *dhúma* 'abode', *nāma* 'name', *pátma* 'flight', *bráhma* 'prayer', *bhásma* (TS. VS. xii. 35) 'ashes', *bhūma* 'earth', *mánma* 'thought', *márma* 'vital part', *yāma* 'course', *lōma* (TS. VS. xix. 92) 'hair', *vārtma* 'path' (Kh. v. 2¹), *vārma* 'mail', *vásma* 'garment', *vēma* (VS. xix. 83) 'loom', *vēsma* 'house', *vyōma* 'sky', *sákma* 'power', *sárma* 'refuge', *sādmā* 'seat', *sāma* 'chant', *sāma* 'wealth', *sthāma* 'station', *syūma* 'strong', *svādmā* 'sweetness', *hōma* 'oblation'. — With final vowel lengthened in the Saṁhitā text: *kármā*, *jánimā*, *dhāma* (AV.), *bhūmā*, *vyōmā*, *su-sfárma*² (TS. v. 1. 11²) 'forming an excellent couch', *svādmā*³.

A. m. *ásmānam*, *a-sremānam*, *átmānam*, *ásmānam* (AV.) 'heat', *ojmānam* 'power', *omānam* 'favour', *klómānam* (VS. xix. 85) 'right lung', *jarimānam*, *tuch-brahmānam* 'praying much', *darmānam*, *dāmānam* 'gift', *dur-mānamānam*, *dyutād-yāmānam*, *dvī-jīmānam*, *dharmānam*, *pāka-sthāmānam*, *pāpmānam* (VS. xii. 99; TS. 1. 4. 41⁴), *puru-tmānam* 'existing variously', *purb-āsmānam* (AV.) 'having many names', *brahmānam*, *bhūmānam*, *māhimānam*, *resmānam* (VS. xxv. 2), *varimānam*, *varsmānam* 'height', *visvā-karmānam*, *vi-sarmānam* 'dispersion', *sāhītānam*, *satyā-dharmānam*, *sadmānam* 'sitter', *sahā-sāmānam* 'accompanied by songs', *su-tārmānam* (TS. 1. 2. 2⁵) 'crossing well', *su-dytmānam*, *su-brīh-mānam*, *su-sārmānam*, *somānam* 'preparer of Soma', *stāmānam* (AV. v. 13⁶) 'track' (?), *svādmānam* 'sweetness', *harimānam* 'jaundice'. — With short a: *aryamānam*, *tmānam* 'breath'.

I. m. *ásmānā*, *átmānā* (VS. xxxii. 11), *ásmānā* (VS. xxv. 9), *tmānā*, *pāpmānā* (VS. xix. 11), *bhāsmānā* 'chewing', *mājmānā* 'greatness', *varsmānā*, *visvā-karmānā*. — 1. *omānā*, *pravā-yāmanā* 'having a precipitous course', *bhūmānā* 'abundance', *sāhī-yāmanā* (AV. SV.) 'having a hundred paths'. — 2. *aryamānā* (AV.), *pāmnā* (AV.) 'scab', *bhūmnā* (VS. iii. 5), *māhimnā*, *varimnā* (VS. AV.), *sāhī-yāmnā*. — 3. *prathinā*⁷, *prepnā*⁸ 'love', *bhūnā*⁹, *māhinā*¹⁰, *varinā* (TS.)⁹; *drāghnā*, *raśmā*¹⁰. — n. *kārmanā*, *jānmanā*, *dhārmanā* 'ordinance', *pātmanā*, *brāhmanā*, *bhāsmānā* (VS. vi. 21) 'ashes', *mānmanā*, *vārmanā*, *vidmānā* 'wisdom', *vi-dharmanā* 'extension', *sākmānā*, *sārmanā*, *sākmānā* 'might', *svā-jānmanā* 'self-begotten', *hānmanā* 'stroke'. — 1. *bhūmanā* 'earth', *syāmanā*, *hemānā* 'zeal'. — 2. *dāmānā* (AV.) 'tie', *dhīmānā*, *nāmānā*, *līmānā* (AV.) 'hair', *sāmānā*, *sutrāmānā* (VS. xx. 35) 'protecting well'.

D. m. i. *ātmāne* (VS. vii. 28), *takmāne* (AV.) a kind of disease, *tmāne*, *pāpmāne* (AV. VS.), *brahmāne*, *bhāri-karmāne* 'doing much', *visvā-karmāne* (TS. VS. viii. 45). — 2. *aryamne*, *jarimne*, *bhūmne* (VS. xxx. 13) 'plenty', *māhimne*; *ān-usra-yāmnē* 'not going out during daylight', *usra-yāmnē*, *su-trāmne* (VS. x. 31), *su-sāmne* N. of a man ('having beautiful songs'), *suhāvitu-nāmne* 'whose name is to be invoked successfully'. — n. *kār-*

¹ *su-dhárma* (VS. xxxviii. 14) 'well supporting' seems to be meant for a V. (wrong accent), but perhaps *su-dhārmā* should be read.

² *su-sfárma* in the Pada text.

³ See LANMAN 531¹.

⁴ Once also the transfer form *varimdtā*, according to the declension in *-mant*.

⁵ For *prathimnā* from *prathimānā*.

⁶ For *prepnā* from *prepnānā*.

⁷ For *bhūmnā* beside *bhūmānā*.

⁸ *māhinā* occurs 35 times, *māhimnā* only 3 times.

⁹ Beside *varimnā* (AV.). The TS. twice has *varinā*, which in the corresponding passages of the VS. is replaced by *varimnā*; cp. LANMAN 533.

¹⁰ In these two forms the *m* being preceded by a consonant remains, the *n* being dropped: = *drāghnā* 'breadth', and *raśmā* 'reiu'. Probably also *dāmā* for *dāmānā* 'gift', and possibly *ātmā* = *ātmānā*.

mañe, jánmañe, dhármañe, bráhmañe, bhármañe 'support', *vidmáne, vi-dharmañe, sármañe*. — 1. *trámáne* 'protection', *dámáne*. — 2. *dhámne, sámne* 'acquisition'.

Ab. m. *ásmanas, átmanas, ūsmáñas* (VS. VI. 18), *satyá-dharmañas* (AV.). — 2. *klómnds* (AV.), *jarimnds* (AV.), *varimnds* (AV.). — n. *cármanas, jánmanas, dhármanas, máñmanas, vásmanas* 'nest', *sádmánas*. — 1. *bhímanas*. — 2. *dámnas, dhámnas* (VS. VI. 22)¹, *lómnas*.

G. m. *a-mármanas* 'having no vital spot', *brahmáñas, vi-patmanas* 'speeding away', *vipra-manmanas* 'having an inspired mind', *śúci-jánmanas* 'of radiant birth', *su-sármanas, viśvá-karmanas* (VS. XXXI. 17). — 1. *máhimnds*. — 2. *aryamnds, jarimnds* (AV.), *máhimnds, sthirá-dhámnas* (AV.) 'belonging to a strong race'. — n. *kármanas, jánmanas, dhármanas, bráhmañas, máñmanas, vármanas*. — 1. *dímanas, bhímanas, yámanas, vyómanas*. — 2. *dhámnas, sámnas*.

L. m. 1. *ásmani, átmani, tmáni, brahmáni, máhmáni* (AV.) 'greatness', *su-śámáni*. — 2. *ásman, tmán, átman* (VS. AV.). — n. 1. *ájmani* (AV.), *kármani, cármani* (AV.), *jánmani, dímáni, dirghá-prasadmani* 'affording an extensive abode', *dhártmani* 'established usage', *dhármani, dhámáni, párimáni* 'abundance', *prá-bhármani* 'presenting', *prá-yámáni* 'setting out', *bráhmañi, máñmani, mármáni, yámáni, líkšmani* (TS. VII. 4. 19²) 'mark', *vákmani* 'invocation', *vi-dharmani, vísmani* (AV.), *vyómani, sármani, sártmani* 'current of air', *sdvímáni* 'impulsion', *su-śámáni, stártmani* 'strewing', *hávímáni* 'invocation', *hímáni* 'offering' and 'invocation'. — With syncope: *ómni* (AV.), *vi-jámni* (AV.) 'knuckle' (?), *sthámni* (AV.). — 2. *ájman, á-yáman* 'no expedition', *éman* (VS. TS.), *ádman* (TS. VS.) 'flooding', *kárman, káršman, cárman, jánman, jánman, dárman* 'destruction', *dhárman, dháman, páman, bráhmañ, bhásman* (VS. TS.) 'consuming', *bhárman* 'table', *mánman, mármán, yáman, várman, vórtman* 'width', *váršman, vi-jáman* 'related to each other', *vi-dharman, vyóman, sárman, sásman* 'song of praise', *sákman* 'attendance', *sádmán, sámán, svádmán, háviman*.

V. m. *aryaman, ásmán* (TS. IV. 6. 1¹), *áśu-héman* (TS. I. 7. 7²), *lakman* (AV.), *tri-náman* (TS. AV.) 'three-named', *pápmán* (AV.), *puru-núman, puru-hanman* N. of a seer, *brahman, vi-dharman, viśva-karman, viśva-sáman* N. of a seer, *vya-karman* 'doing manly deeds', *satya-karman* 'whose actions are true', *sahasra-dhāman* (AV.) 'having thousandfold splendour', *su-dāman* 'giving good gifts', *su-yāman* (AV.), *sva-dharman* 'abiding in one's own customs'.

Du. N. A. V. m. *brahmānā, satya-dharmānā, sa-nāmānā* 'of the same kind', *su-sármānā; aryamānā, jánmānā* 'victorious', *sámātmanā* (Kh. III. 22⁵; cp. TB. II. 8. 9¹) 'endowed with chants', *su-kármānā* (VS. XX. 75).

N. A. n. *sármāni, jánmani, sádmāni*. — 1. *dhámāni, sámāni* (VS. X. 14). — 2. *námni* (AV.). — **G. n.** *sádmānos*. — **L. m.** *ásmanos*.

Pl. N. V. *a-dámānas* 'unbound' and 'not giving gifts', *a-dhvasmānas* 'undarkened', *ánu-wartmānas* (VS. XVII. 86) 'followers', *á-brahmānas, a-rasmānas* 'having no reins', *śha-brahmānas* 'conveying sacred knowledge', *jarimānas, brahmānas* (VS. XXVII. 2), *bhrújaj-jánmānas* 'having a brilliant birthplace', *máhimānas, śúci-jánmānas, satya-dharmānas, sd-lakšmānas* (TS. I. 3. 10¹) 'having the same marks', *su-kármānas, su-jánimānas, su-rámānas* (VS. XXI. 42) 'very delightful', *su-sármānas, sthū-rasmānas* 'having firm reins', *svádmānas*. — With short *a*: *aryamānas, mahātmanānas* (Kh. III. 12²) 'high-minded'.

N. A. n. 1. *śk-sāmāni* (VS. XVIII. 43), *kármāni, cármani, jánimāni, jánmani, dāmāni* (AV.), *dhármāni, dhámāni, námāni, pákšmāni* (VS. XIX. 89) 'eyelashes', *bráhmañi, máñmani, mármāni, rímāni* 'hair', *lómāni* (AV.), *vártmāni, vármāni* (AV.), *sármāni, sádmāni, sámāni*. — 2. *kárma², jánima, jánma, dhárma,*

¹ BR. and EGGELING suggest that this is short final *a* in the Pada as well as the a corruption for *dámna* 'bond'. Sāmhitā text.

² This and the following forms have

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dhāma, nāma, brāhma, bhūma, mānma, rōma¹, śārma, sādma. — 3. *jānma², dhārmā, nāmā, brāhmā, bhāmā, rōmā, sādma³*.

A. m. *āśmanas, takmānas* (AV.), *brahmānas*. — 2. *dur-ūmnas* (AV.).

I. m. *ā-khīdra-yāmabhis* 'unwearied in course', *a-dhvasmābhis, āśmabhis, āśma-hanmabhis* 'strokes of the thunderbolt', *āśu-hēmabhis, śmabhis, kīsmabhis* (VS. XXV. 8), *brahmābhis, mayīra-romabhis* 'peacock-haired', *viśu-pātmanabhis* 'flying strongly', *su-kārmabhis, su-mānmabhis, su-śārmabhis*. — n. *śjmabhis, śmabhis, kārmabhis, tikmabhis* (VS. XIX. 81), *trāmabhis, dhārmabhis, dhāmabhis, nāmabhis, pātmanabhis, brāhmabhis, bhūrmabhis* 'nourishment', *mānmabhis, yāmabhis, vārmabhis, vāja-karmabhis⁴* (SV. TS. III. 2. 11⁵) 'active in war', *vāja-bharmabhis* (VIII. 19⁶) 'bringing reward', *vī-gāmabhis* 'strides', *śākmabhis, śāmabhis, hūvmabhis*.

D. m. *brahmādhyaś*. — n. *dhāmādhyaś*. — Ab. n. *lōmādhyaś*.

G. m. *brahmānām*. — 2. *dur-ūmnām* (AV.). — n. *dhūrmanām, brāhmanām, mānmanām, mārmanām* (Kh. I. 5⁵). — 2. *dhi-nāmnām⁵* 'animals named snake', *sāmnām* (AV.).

L. m. *āśmasu* (AV.). — n. *kārmasu, jānmasu, dhāmasu, vārmasu, sādmasu*.

3. Stems in *-van*.

330. The *-van* stems are by far the most numerous of the three groups. They are chiefly verbal adjectives and are almost exclusively declined in the masculine. Hardly a dozen of them make neuter forms, and only five or six forms are used as feminines.

a. The few feminine forms are cases of adjectives agreeing with f. substantives. They are: sing. N. *sa-yūgēś* (X. 130⁴) 'companion' (*gāyatrī*, *an-arcā* (II. 40⁶) 'irresistible' (*āditiś*; A. *an-arvānam* (X. 92⁴) 'irresistible' (*āditiś*); du. N. *sam-śhāvānā* (VIII. 37⁴) 'standing together' (*vī-dasī*); pl. I. *indhan-vathis⁶* (II. 34⁵) 'flaming' (*dhēmibhis*); G. *sahasra-dāt-vānā* (I. 17⁵) 'giving a thousand gifts' (*sumatīnām*). The f. of these stems is otherwise formed with *-ī*, which is however never added to *-van*, but regularly to a collateral suffix *-vārī*. Twenty-five such stems in *-vārī* are found in the RV. and several additional ones in the later Samhitās. It is perhaps most convenient to enumerate them here: *agrītvārī⁷* (AV.) 'going in front', *abhi-kṣītvārī* 'bewitching' (AV.), *abhi-bhūtvārī* 'superior', *abhi-vārī⁸* (TS. VS.) 'attacking', *uttāno-śvārī* (AV.) 'flying extended', *ṛitvārī* 'regular', *eva-yāvārī* 'going quickly', *kṣītvārī* (AV.) 'bewitcher', *talpa-śivārī* 'lying on a couch', *ur-jūtvārī* 'bestowing', *śvārī* 'fat', *pūrva-yāvārī* 'born before', *pra-śivārī* 'furnished with flowers', *bahu-śivārī* 'bearing many children', *bhūri-dāvārī* 'munificent', *mātari-bhāvārī¹⁰* 'being with her mother', *mātari-śvārī¹¹* (AV.) 'mother-growing', *yūtvārī* 'worshipping', *edkvārī* 'rolling', *vahya-śivārī* (AV.) 'reclining on a couch', *vi-bhūtvārī* 'brilliant', *vi-mṛgvārī* (AV.) 'cleansing', *īkṣvārī* ('powerful') a kind of metre, *śarvārī¹²* 'star-spangled night', *śruṣṭi-śvārī* 'obedient', *śveta-yāvārī* 'white-flowing', *san-śivārī¹³* 'having a call in common', *sa-jitvārī* 'victorious', *sa-yāvārī* 'accompanying', *sumnāvārī* 'gracious', *śūmptāvārī¹⁴* 'glorious', *śītvārī* 'streaming', *śvadhāvārī* 'constant'.

¹ Perhaps singular.

² The Pada text has always *ā* in this and the following forms.

³ This lengthening is found in neither *-van* stems nor *-an* stems, except *āhū* and *īryā*, which may be formed from transfer stems and in which the Pada as well as the Samhitā text has the long vowel.

⁴ *vāja-karmabhis* is a v. l. of *vāja-bharmabhis*, and both adjectives as agreeing with *ātibhis* have the value of feminines.

⁵ The G. *chando-nāmnām* (VS. IV. 24) 'named metre' seems to be a transfer to the *a*-declension.

⁶ Formed from *indhana*- 'fuel', with loss of the final vowel.

⁷ The f. *atharvī*, formed from *ātharvan*- 'fire-priest', is quite exceptional.

⁸ That is, *agra-i-tvārī*.

⁹ That is, *abhi-i-tvārī*.

¹⁰ From what only seems to be a *-van* stem which is really = *-bhū-an*.

¹¹ This seems to be a corruption in AV. v. 2⁹ of *mātari-bhāvārī* in the corresponding passage of the RV.

¹² The f. of *śarvārī* 'variegated' occurring in *api-śarvārī* n. 'early morning'; a stem *śar-van* does not occur.

¹³ The f. of what only seems to be a stem in *-van* but is really = *śītu-an*.

¹⁴ Also *śūmptāvārī*.

b. In the strong cases there is one instance in which the *a* remains short: *an-arānar*¹ (x. 92¹⁴), and two others in which the weakest stem is used: A. sing. *maghānam* (VS. xxviii. 9) instead of *maghāvānam*, N. pl. *maghānas* (vi. 44¹²) instead of *maghāvānas*. In the weak cases when the suffix is preceded by a vowel, the *a* is always syncopated in the Sāpithā text except in the forms *dāvāne*, *vasuvāne* (VS.), and *pāvāni*, but it may have to be restored in one or two instances³.

c. The three words *śkvan-* 'singing', *maghāvan-* 'bountiful', *sahāvan-* 'powerful' make a few forms from supplementary stems in *-vant*: I. sing. *śkvatā*; pl. I. *maghāvadhīs*, D. *maghāvadhīyas*, L. *maghāvatsū*; N. sing. *sahāvān* and *sahāvān*. Beside *dadhīkrāvan-*, N. of a mythical horse, also occurs the stem *dadhīkrā*.

d. Eight or nine words in *-van* show transitions to the *a*-declension by extending the stem with *-a* or, more commonly, by dropping the *n*. Thus *satvānā-m* and *satvānās* occur beside the numerous regular forms from *sātvan-* 'brave'. The N. sing. m. *anarvān-as* (v. 5¹¹, viii. 31¹²) may have started from the A. *anarvān-am* (x. 92¹⁴), while the n. *anarvā-m* (i. 16;²) may have been due to the f. (*ādītir*) *anarvā* which appears like the f. of the *a*-declension. Other transitional forms are *śkva-s* beside *śkvan-*; *śhva-m* 'dexterous' beside *śhvan-*; *lakva-s* 'swift' beside *lakvan-*; *vākvās*, N. pl., 'rolling' beside *vākvān-*; *vibhāvā-m* 'brilliant' beside *vibhāvan-*; *śikvā-s* (AV.) 'skillful' beside *śikvan-*.

Inflection.

331. The normal forms occurring, if made from *grāvān-* 'pressing stone' in the m. and from *dhānvan-* 'bow' in the n., would be:

Sing. m. N. *grāvā*. A. *grāvānam*. I. *grāvā*. D. *grāvāne*. Ab. *grāvānas*. G. *grāvānas*. L. *grāvāni* and *grāvān*. V. *grāvān*. — Du. N. A. V. *grāvānā* and *grāvānau*. I. *grāvābhyām* (AV.). G. *grāvānos*. — Pl. N. V. *grāvāṇas*. A. *grāvānas*. I. *grāvābhis*. D. *grāvābhyas*. G. *grāvāṇām*. L. *grāvāsu*.

Sing. n. N. A. *dhānvā* and *dhānvā*. I. *dhānvānā*. D. *dhānvāne*. Ab. G. *dhānvanas*. L. *dhānvāni* and *dhānvān*. — Pl. N. A. *dhānvāni*, *dhānvā*, *dhānvā* (AV.). I. *dhānvābhis*. D. *dhānvābhyas* (VS.). Ab. *dhānvābhyas* (AV.). G. *dhānvāṇām* (AV.). L. *dhānvāsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *agra-yāvā* 'going in front', *dāharvā* 'fire-priest', *adma-sādvā* 'companion at a meal', *adhvā* 'road', *an-arvā*⁴ 'irresistible', *abhi-yūgvā* (VS. xvii. 86) 'attacking', *abhisasti-pāvā* 'protecting from curses', *abhi-satvā* 'surrounded by heroes', *abhyardha-yūgvā* 'receiving sacrificers apart', *amatvā* 'suffering want', *arītvā* 'hostile', *ā-rāvā* 'not giving', 'hostile', *ārvā* 'steed', *āvatata-dhanvā* (VS. iii. 61) 'whose bow is unbent', *āsu-pātivā* 'flying swiftly', *ugrā-dhanvā* 'having a mighty bow', *śkva* 'praising', *śghāvā* 'impetuous', *śna-yāvā* 'pursuing guilt', *śnāvā* 'guilty', *śtvā* 'pious', *śbhvā* 'dexterous', *ksyā-dhvā* 'having a black track' (*adhvā*), *kratu-prāvā* 'granting power', *ksiprā-dhanvā* 'having an elastic bow', *grāvā* 'pressing stone', *tīkvā* 'bird of prey', *dadhīkrāvā* N. of a divine horse, *deva-yāvā* 'going to the gods', *dru-sādvā* 'sitting on the wood', *nr-sādvā* 'sitting among men', *pāsharvā* N. of a man, *pātivā* 'flying', *puru-kṣtvā* 'doing much', *pūrva-gātivā* 'leader', *pūrva-yāvā* 'leader', *pra-tīkvā* (VS. v. 32) 'steep', *pra-rikvā* 'extending beyond', *prāṇa-dāvā*⁵ (AV.) 'breath-giving', *prātar-ītvā* 'coming in the morning', *bādhu-śtvā* 'striding mightily', *brhād-grāvā* (VS. i. 15) 'like a great stone', *bhāri-dāvā* 'giving much', *maghānā*⁶ 'bountiful', *mādvā* 'exhilarating', *mraksa-kṣtvā* 'rubbing to pieces', *yūgvā* 'sacrificer', *yāvā* 'aggressor', *yuktī-grāvā* 'having yoked the pressing stones', *yūdhvā* 'warlike', *raghu-pātivā* 'flying swiftly', *nīrvā* 'giving abundantly', *rāvā* (VS. vi. 30) 'giving', *vākvā* 'rolling', *vasu-dāvā* 'giving goods',

¹ This seems to be a metrical shortening; ⁴ *an-arvān-as* is a transition to the *a*-declension according to GRASSMANN it is an A. of a declension.

transfer stem *an-arvāna*.

² The form *kṣtvānas* in AV. XIX. 35⁵ as ⁵ Emendation for *prāṇa-dāvān* in AV. IV. 35⁵.

N. pl. m. is a conjecture; cp. p. 213, note 2. ⁶ Also once *maghā-vān*, transition form from a stem in *-vant*.

³ See LANMAN 524 (bottom).

vāja-dāva 'granting wealth', *vi-jāva* 'bodily', 'own', *vi-bhāva* 'brilliant', *vi-bhṣtā* 'bearing hither and thither', *vīṣa-parvā* 'strong-jointed', *vyōmā* (VS. IV. 23) 'heaven', *śubhāṅ-yāva* 'flying swiftly', *śūbhvā* 'bright', *śyenī-patvā* 'borne by eagles', *śrutārvā* N. of a man. *śrusṣtvā* 'obedient', *satnī-satvā* 'truly brave', *satyā-madā* 'really exhilarated', *sātva* 'brave', *samddvā* 'eager for battle', *sahāvā*² 'mighty', *sītva* 'Soma-pressing', *su-dhānvā* 'wielding a good bow', *śtvā* 'speeding', *soma-pāvā* 'drinking Soma', *soma-sītva* 'pressing Soma', *stūbhvā* 'praising', *hltvā* 'speedy'.

N. A. n. *dhānvā*³ 'bow' and 'desert', *pārva* (AV.) 'joint', *vi-vāsva* 'bright flame', *snāva* (AV.) 'sinew'.

A. m. *dāhvānam*, *an-arvānam*, *ī-yajvānam* 'not sacrificing', *ārvānam*, *ṛjīsvānam* N. of a man, *ṛnārvānam*, *ṛtvānam*, *grāvānam*, *dadhi-krāvānam*, *dhitvānam* 'bountiful', *pīvānam* 'fat', *puru-niṣṣṭhāsvānam* 'bestowing many gifts', *puro-yāvānam* 'going in front', *prātar-yāvānam* 'coming in the morning', *maghāvānam*, *muṣṭvānam* 'thief', *śatā-yāvānam* (Kh. I. 3⁴) 'having a hundred ways', *śrusṣvānam*, *sa-jitvānam* 'victorious', *sātva*, *sa-yāvānam* 'accompanying', *sahāvānam*, *śtvānam* 'corner of the mouth', *hārvānam* (VS. XXXVIII. 12) 'strengthening hearts'.

I. m. I. *ātharvānā*, *abhi-yūgvānā*, *cikīṭsvānā* 'wise', *śatī-parvānā* 'having a hundred joints', *śīkvanā* (TS. II. 5. 12⁵) 'skillful'. — 2. *grāvānā*. — n. I. *dhānvānā*, *pārvaṇā*. — 2. *snāvānā* (AV.).

D. m. I. *ādhvane*, *ī-pācād-daghvane* 'not staying behind', *kṣtvane* 'active', *jāsvane* 'needy', *drūhvane* 'hostile', *pr-śṣṭhā-yajvane* 'sacrificing on the ridge', *mādvane*, *yajvane*, *vasuvāne* (VS. XXI. 48) 'winning of wealth', *śākvane* (VS. V. 5) 'skillful', *śatā-dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 29) 'having a hundred bows', *śrutārvane*, *sātvene*, *su-kṣtvane* 'pious', *su-dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 36), *sthīrā-dhānvane* 'having a strong bow'. — 2. *ī-rāvne*, *ṛtvāne*, *oṣiṣṭhā-dārvne* (TS. I. 6. 12³) 'giving immediately', *vīṣa-prayārvne* 'going with stallions', *suta-pīvne* 'Soma-drinker', *su-dārvne* 'giving abundantly', *soma-pāvne*, *sva-dhārvne* 'independent'. — n. I. *turvāne* 'victory', *dārvne* 'giving', *dhānvane* (VS. XVI. 14).

Ab. m. I. *ādhvānas* (VS. XXVI. 1; TS.), *pāka-sūtrānas* 'offering Soma with sincerity'. — 2. *ī-rāvānas*, *puru-rāvānas* (VS. III. 48) 'loud-roaring'. — n. I. *dhārvānas* (AV.), *pārvaṇas*.

G. m. I. *ātharvānas*, *ādhvānas*, *ī-yajvānas*, *ī-styā-yajvānas* 'sacrificing indefatigably', *yajvānas*, *vy-ādhvānas* 'striding through'. — 2. *ī-rāvānas*, *dadhi-krāvānas*, *bhūri-dārvānas*, *yuktā-grāvānas*, *suta-pāvānas*, *soma-pāvānas*; *maghīnas*⁴. — n. I. *dhārvānas* 'bow'.

L. m. I. *ātharvāni*, *ādhvāni*, *ṛtvāni*, *śrutārvāni*, *su-kṣtvāni*. — 2. *śatā-dārvni*⁵. — 3. Without ending: *ādhvān*. — n. I. *tūgvāni* 'ford', *pārvaṇi*. — 3. *an-arvān*, *a-parvān*, *dhārvān*, *pārvaṇ* (AV.).

V. m. I. *ātharvān* (AV.), *āśva-dārvān* 'giving horses', *dārvān* (AA. V. 2. 2¹), *maghārvān*, *vasu-dārvān*, *vīśvato-dārvān* (SV. I. 5. 2. 1⁴) 'giving everywhere', *vīśva-dārvān* (AV.) 'giving everything', *satya-satvān* 'truly strong', *satrī-dārvān* 'giving everything', *sahasrārvān* 'strong', *suta-pāvān*, *soma-pāvān*, *sva-dārvān* 'having good taste', *sva-dhārvān*, *sva-yāvān* 'going one's own way'. — 2. With *-vas*: *ṛtvāvas*, *eva-yāvāvas* 'going quickly', *pr-itar-itvas*, *vībhītvāvas*⁶.

¹ As a masculine.

² Also *sāhvān* and *sāhvān* from a stem in *-ant*.

³ Once with final vowel lengthened in the Samhitā text, *dhānvā*.

⁴ Sometimes to be read as *maghā-vānas*; see LANMAN 534.

⁵ The only example of syncope in the L. of this declension in the RV. (V. 27²), where

however the *a* must be metrically restored; there are no examples in the *-an* or *-man* stems, but the AV. has one in the former and three in the latter.

⁶ *khīd-vas* (VI. 22¹) is perhaps best taken as V. of a stem *khīd-vāms-*; BR. and LANMAN explain it as from *khīd-vān*. The V. *mātariśvan* is formed as if from *mātariśvan-* instead of *mātariśvan-*; cp. p. 210, notes ¹⁰ and ¹¹.

Du. N. A. V. m. *agrāvānā* 'eating (*advan-*) first', *a-druhvānā* 'not hostile', *ṛtāvānā*, *grāvānā*, *prātar-yāvānā*, *maghāvānā*, *ratha-yāvānā* 'driving in a car', *śubhra-yāvānā* 'driving stately', *śruṣṭvānā*, *sa-jitvānā*. — With *-au*: *ṛtāvānau*, *grāvānau* (AV.). — I. m. *grāvabhyaṃ* (AV.). — G. m. *maghānos*.

Pl. N. V. m. *akṣṇa-yāvānas* 'going across', *dīharvānas*, *an-arvānas*, *ā-yāvānas*, *upa-hāsvānas* 'mocking', *ārdhvā-grāvānas* 'lifting the pressing stone', *ṛkvānas*, *ṛtāvānas*, *grāvānas*, *ghṛta-pāvānas* (VS. vi. 19) 'drinking ghee', *drīhvānas*, *nī-kṣtvānas* 'deceitful', *pari-sādvānas* 'besetting', *pivānas* (TS. III. 2. 8⁵), *prā-sthāvānas* 'swift', *prātar-yāvānas*, *n. aghāsvānas*, *raghu-pāvānas*, *vānivānas* 'demanding', *vasā-pāvānas* (VS. vi. 19) 'drinkers of fat', *śubham-yāvānas*, *śruṣṭvānas*, *sātvānas*, *su-dhānvānas*, *su-śikvānas* 'shining brightly'. — Weak form for strong: *maghānos* (vi. 44¹²)².

N. A. n. 1. *dhānvāni*, *pārvāni*, *snāvāni* (AV.). — 2. *dhānva*, *pārva*³; with long final vowel only *pārvā* (AV. XII. 5⁴).

A. m. 1. *adhvānas*, *ā-yāvānas*, *drīhvānas* (AV.). — 2. *ā-rāvānas*, *eva-yāvānas*, *grāvānas*, *prātar-yāvānas*; *maghānos*.

I. m. *ādhvābhis*, *ā-prayuvābhis* 'attentive', *ṛkvābhis*, *eva-yāvābhis*, *grāvābhis*, *prātar-yāvābhis*⁴, *yāvābhis*, *rāyuvābhis* 'agreeable', *śikvābhis*, *sātvābhis*, *sanivābhis* 'bestowers', *sa-yāvābhis*, *sa-pra-yāvābhis* 'speeding well', *sva-yūgvābhis* 'allies'. — n. *pāvābhis*, *pārvābhis*, *vivāsvābhis*, *soma-pārvābhis* 'times of Soma offerings'.

D. m. *dīharvābhyas*, *grāvābhyas*, *gharma-pāvābhyas* (VS. xxxviii. 15) 'drinking hot (milk)'⁵. — n. *snāvābhyas* (VS. xxxix. 10). — Ab. n. *snāvābhyas* (AV.).

G. m. 1. *dhānvānām* (VS. v. 33), *an-arvānām*, *ā-yāvānām*, *sātvānām*. — 2. *grāvānām*, *rāvānām*, *vāja-dānām*⁶, *soma-pārvānām*; *maghānām*. — n. 1. *dhānvānām* (AV.).

L. m. *ādhvāsu*, *kṣtvāsu*, *grāvāsu* (Kh. I. 12⁷), *yāvāsu*⁸. — n. *dhānvāsu*, *pārvāsu*.

Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*.

332. The suffixes *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, which have the sense of 'possessing', are used to form secondary adjectives. The stems in *-in* are very common, those in *-vin* are fairly frequent, numbering nearly twenty, but there is only one in *-min*: *ṛg-min-* 'praising'. They are declined in the m. and n. only⁹; but the neuter forms are very rare, amounting to fewer than a dozen altogether. The inflexion presents hardly any irregularities. The vowel of the suffix remains accented throughout¹⁰, and is not liable either to syncope or to lengthening in the G. pl. It is lengthened in the N. sing. m. only¹¹. As in all derivative stems ending in *-n*, the nasal disappears in the N. sing. m. n. and before terminations beginning with consonants.

a. There are a few transition forms to the *a*-declension starting from the A. sing. m. in *-in-am* understood as *-ina-m*. Such are *paramēṣṭhina-m* (AV. xix. 91) 'most exalted', N. sing. n.; the V. *mahin-a* and the G. *mahina-sya* from *mah-in-* 'mighty', and

¹ From the intensive of *yvan-*.

² The form *kṣtvāno* in AV. xix. 35⁵ is a conjecture for the *ṛg-vāno* of the Mss.

³ In Pada as well as Samhitā.

⁴ Also the supplementary form *maghāvādvābhis*.

⁵ Also the supplementary form *maghāvādvābhyas*.

⁶ The form *sahava-dānām* is read as a f. in I. 17⁵.

⁷ Accented *grāvāsu* in the edition.

⁸ There is also the transfer form *maghāvāsu*.

⁹ They form a special f. stem by adding *-i*; e. g. from *aiv-in-* 'possessing horses' *aiv-in-i*.

¹⁰ Except *irin-*, *lākin-*, *sārin-*, and the compounds *kāru-lātin-*, *mahā-vajūrin-*, *Indramedin-*, from each of which a single form occurs; also the compounds formed with the negative *a-*; e. g. *ā-nāmin-*.

¹¹ It would doubtless be lengthened in the N. A. n. pl. also if that form occurred.

the n. pl. *vaninā-ni* (x. 66²),¹ from *van-in-* m. 'forest-tree'. The isolated form *mandi-m* (i. 9²) is a transition to the *i*-declension, starting probably from the I. sing. *mandi-ni* 'exhilarating' understood as *mandi-nā*.

Inflexion.

333. All the case-forms are represented in the m., but in the n. the three singular case-forms, N. A., I., and G. only. As only eight or nine n. forms occur, they may most conveniently be enumerated separately:

Sing. n. N. *ā-nāmi* 'unbending', *ubhaya-hastī* 'filling both hands', *tvāri* (AV.) 'hidden', *patatṛi* 'winged', *vajī* 'vigorous' (Kh. iv. 6²), *śakalyeṣi* (AV.) 'seeking shavings'.² I. *kīriṇā* 'praising', *su-gandhīnī* 'fragrant'. G. *pra-hoṣiṇas* 'offering oblations'.³

The m. forms actually occurring, if made from *hast-in-* 'having hands', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *hastī*. A. *hastīnam*. I. *hastīnā*. D. *hastīna*. Ab. *hastīnas*. G. *hastīnas*. L. *hastīni*. V. *hastīn*. — Du. N. A. *hastīnī* and *hastīnau*. I. D. *hastībhyām*. G. I. *hastīnos*. — Pl. N. *hastīnas*. A. *hastīnas*. I. *hastībhis*. D. *hastībhyas* (VS. AV.). G. *hastīnām*. L. *hastīsu*.

a. The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. 1. Stems in *-in-*: *āhki* 'possessing a hook', *ati-ryādhi* (VS. xxii. 22) 'wounding', *abhyā-parti* 'coming near', *arhi* 'active', *āsvi* 'possessed of horses', *brī*⁵ 'powerful', *uj-jasi* (VS. xvii. 85) N. of one of the Maruts, *udri* 'abounding in water', *ṛjīpi* 'moving upwards', *ṛjīpi* 'receiving the residue of Soma', *ekāki* (VS. TS.) 'solitary', *kapardī* 'wearing braided hair', *śārū-jarī*⁶ 'having decayed teeth', *kāmi* 'desirous', *kuliyi* (TS. iv. 1. 9⁶) 'forming a nest', *kevalādi* 'eating by oneself alone', *keśi* 'having long hair', *krudī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'sporting', *gr̥ha-medhī* (VS. xvii. 85) 'performing the domestic sacrifices', *candri* (VS. xx. 37) 'golden', *tsāri* 'hidden', *dyumni* 'majestic', *niṣ-yapī* 'lustful', *pakthi* 'cooking the oblation', *patatṛi* (TS. i. 7. 7²) 'winged', *parame-śhī* (VS. viii. 54) 'most exalted', *pari-panthi* 'waylayer', *pr̥sty-āmayi* 'suffering from a pain in the side', *pra-ghāsi* (VS. xvii. 85) 'voracious', *pra-bhāngi* 'destroying', *pra-repani* 'causing to tremble', *bāhu-sardhi* 'relying on his arms', *brahma-citri* 'practising devotion', *brahma-varcasī* (VS. xxii. 22) 'eminent in sacred knowledge', *bhadra-vādi* 'uttering auspicious cries', *manṣi* 'thoughtful', *manthi* (VS. vii. 18) 'stirred Soma juice', *mandi* 'exhilarating', *marāyi* 'destructive' (?), *mahā-hastī* 'having large hands', *mayi* 'crafty', *medi* 'ally', *rathī* 'possessing a car', *rambhi* 'carrying a crutch', *rukmi* 'adorned with gold', *vajri* 'armed with a bolt', *varmi* 'mailed', *vāli* 'having power', *vajī* 'vigorous', *vi-rapsī* 'copious', *śata-svi* 'having a hundred possessions', *śakti*⁷ 'strong', *śipri* 'full-cheeked', *śusmi* 'roaring', *ślokī* 'sounding', *svaghnī* 'gambler', *soḍaśi* (VS. TS.) 'having sixteen parts', *sārti*⁸ 'hastening', *sahasri* 'thousandfold', *sāci* 'companion', *somi* 'offering Soma', *svadhī* 'bellowing', *hastī* 'having hands'. — 2. stem in *-min-*: *ṛgmi* 'praising'. — 3. stems in *-vin-*: *ā-dvayāvi* 'free from duplicity', *ā-yudhvi*⁸ 'not fighting', *aṣṭrāvi* 'obeying the goad', *tirasvi* (VS. xix. 88) 'bold'.

A. 1. *atrinam* 'devourer', *adhi-kalpanam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'gamble-manager',

¹ Instead of *vanin-as*, probably due to the metre.

² The Pada text reads *śakalya-ṣi*; but the Paippalāda recension has the better reading *śakalyeṣu* 'among the shavings': see WHITNEY'S note on AV. I. 25².

³ But this form might be from *su-gandhī*.

⁴ The isolated form *krudhmī* (vii. 56⁶) agreeing with *mānṣi* is a N. pl. n. of a stem *krudh-mi-*, rather than of *krudh-min-* 'angry'.

⁵ With abnormal accent.

⁶ Accented like a Bahuvrīhi.

⁷ Thus accented VS. xvii. 85, but *śāci* RV. I. 51⁶; the latter is probably an error as the suffix is accented in the three other forms *śācinam*, *śācine*, *śācinas*.

⁸ BÖHTLINGK (pw.) regards this as a gerund: *ā-yud-dhvi* 'without fighting'.

abhi-praśnam (VS. xxx. 10) 'inquisitive', *abhi-mānam* 'insidious', *arknam* 'praising', *ava-krakṣnam* 'rushing down', *i-vājinam* 'a bad horse', *aśnam*, *ādānam* 'breaking open', *ānam* (TS. II. 4. 7) 'hurrying up', *iśnam* 'speeding', *uktha-śaśnam* 'uttering verses', *ukthnam* 'praising', *udrnam*, *rjśnam*, *kapardnam*, *karambhinam* 'possessing gruel', *kalpinam* (VS. xxx. 18) 'designing', *kalmaliknam* 'flaming', *kānam*, *kānam* 'singing', *kutānam*, *kūda-arthnam* 'striving to get anywhere', *catnam* 'turking', *jana-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 17) 'prattler', *tri-śthinam* (VS. xxx. 14) 'having a threefold footing', *dyamnam*, *dhanam* 'wealthy', *ni-yaynam* 'passing over', *pakṣnam* 'winged', *patatrinam* (VS. xix. 10), *pari-panthnam*, *piṣha-sarṣnam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'cripple', *putrinam* 'possessing sons', *purisnam* 'possessing land', *pra-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 13) 'speaking pleasantly', *praśnam* (VS. xxx. 10) 'questioner', *bahu-vādinam* (VS. xxx. 19) 'talkative', *manṣnam*, *manthnam*, *mandnam*, *manu-śāvinam* 'pressing Soma with zeal', *mānam*, *mednam* (TS. IV. 7. 10⁴), *rathnam*, *vapṣa-nartinam* (VS. xxx. 21) 'pole-dancer', *vajrinam*, *vaninam* 'bountiful', *vaninam* 'forest tree', *vayiknam* 'ramifying', *varcnam* N. of a demon, *vājinam*, *vi-rapśnam*, *vi-śthinam* (VS. xxiii. 29) 'wetting', *śata-gvnam* 'hundredfold', *śatinam* 'hundredfold', *śākinam*, *śusmnam*, *śrṅginam* 'horned', *śvaninam* (VS. xxx. 7) 'keeping dogs', *sahasra-pośnam* 'thriving a thousandfold', *sahasrinam*. — 3. *i-dvayāvinam*, *ubhayāvinam* 'partaking of both', *tarasvinam*, *namasvinam* 'reverential', *māyāvinam* 'employing deceit', *madhāvinam* (VS. xxxii. 14) 'possessed of wisdom', *rakṣasvinam* 'demoniacal'.

I. 1. *arctnā* 'shining', *aśvinā*, *kimīdinā* 'evil spirit', *kirinā* 'praising'⁴, *balinā* (TS. III. 3. 8²) 'strong', *mandinā*, *mahā-vatārinā* 'very wide', *vatārinā* 'wide', *vājinā*. — 3. *rakṣasvinā*.

D. 1. *ādhyā-varīne*, *a-mitrīne* 'hostile', *ava-bhadine* (VS. xvi. 34) 'splitting', *śatāyine* (VS. xvi. 18) 'having one's bow drawn', *ā-yudhine* (VS. xvi. 36) 'warrior', *upa-vitine* (VS. xvi. 17) 'wearing the sacred cord', *uśnīne* (VS. xvi. 22) 'wearing a turban', *kapardine*, *karacine* (VS. xvi. 35) 'mailed', *kirīne*, *kimīdine*, *tantrāyine* (VS. xxxviii. 12) 'drawing out rays', *ni-vādhine* (VS. xvi. 20) 'piercing', *ni-śāngīne* (VS. xvi. 20) 'sword-bearer', *pra-sakṣine* 'victorious', *hilmīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'having a helmet', *bhāmīne* 'angry', *manṣīne*, *mantrīne* (VS. xvi. 19) 'wise', *mandīne*, *mahīne* 'mighty', *rathīne*, *vajrīne*, *varathīne* (VS. xvi. 35) 'wearing armour', *varmīne* (VS.), *vi-nāśīne* (VS. ix. 20) 'vanishing', *vi-rapśīne*, *vy-ānuvīne*⁶ (VS. xii. 32) a genius of food, *vyādhīne* (VS. xvi. 18) 'piercer', *śākinīne*, *śīprīne*, *śusmīne*, *śoḍaśīne* (VS. viii. 33), *śv-āyudhīne* (VS. xvi. 36) 'having good weapons'. — 3. *rakṣasvīne*.

Ab. 1. *abhi-prabhangīnas* 'breaking completely', *patatrinānas*, *manthinānas* (TS. VS. xiii. 57), *śomnānas*.

G. 1. *arthīnas*, *rjśīnas*, *kapardīnas* (TS. VS. xvi. 10), *dhanīnas*, *patatrinānas* (TS. IV. 7. 13¹), *parīnānas* 'winged', *pra-gardhinānas* 'pressing onwards', *bhāri-pośnānas* 'much-nourishing', *manthinānas* (VS. vii. 18), *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *ratnīnas* 'possessing gifts', *rasīnas* 'juicy', *retīnas*⁷ 'abounding in seed', *vajrīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest tree', *varcīnas*, *vājinānas*, *vi-rapśīnas*, *viśu-harṣīnas*

¹ *rjśm* in I. 32⁶ is possibly a metrically shortened form for *rjśnam*; cp. LANMAN 543⁴.

² As this compound occurs only once beside the simple adj. *yajī*, which occurs several times, the former is perhaps a transfer from the *i*-declension.

³ *mandī-m* (I. 92) is probably a transition form; but BR. regard it as a contraction in pronunciation of *mandīnam*.

⁴ GRASSMANN in I. 100⁹ proposes to read *kirīne*.

⁵ Accented like Bahuvrīhi; but cp. p. 154⁵.

⁶ Formed from the present stem of *√ai*: *vi-ai-nuv-in-*.

⁷ From *śta-* for *śtas-* 'seed'.

'refractory', *vrandīnas* 'becoming soft', *śatīnas*, *śuśmīnas*, *śṛṅgīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*. — 3. *d-dvayāvīnas*, *dvayāvīnas* 'double-dealing', *namasvīnas*.

L. 1. *dṛṣṭīni* (AV.) 'leopard', *parameśṭhīni* (AV.), *brahmacārīni* (AV.), *māyīni*, *vājīni*, *somīni*.

V. 1. *anā-bhayin* 'fearless', *abhyā-vartin* (VS. XII. 7), *amatrin* 'having a large drinking vessel', *rjīpin*, *rjīsin*, *tuvi-kārmin* 'working powerfully', *pra-pathin* 'roaming on distant paths', *yaksin* 'living', *vajrin*, *vājin*, *virapsin*, *śavasīn* 'mighty', *śiprin*, *śuśmin*, *sahasin* 'mighty'. — 3. *ubhayvīn*.

Du. N. A. V. 1. *asvīnā*, V. *asvīnā* and *dṛvīnā*, *kumārīnā* 'having children', *keśīnā*, V. *paśra-hosīnā* 'having rich oblations', *parīnā*, *putrīnā*, *purīśīnā*, *pra-sakṣīnā*, *manthīnā*, V. *māyīnā*, *vajrīnā*, *vājīnā*, V. *vājīnā*, *vī-ghanīnā* 'slaying', *śuśmīnā*, *sarathīnā* (VS. XXIX. 7; TS.) 'driving in the same car', *sama-cārīnā* (Kh. III. 22³) 'faring with chants'. — 3. *māyāvīnā*. — Forms with *-au*: *asvīnau*, V. *dāvīnau* and *asvīnau*, *patatrīnau* (VS. XVII. 52), *vājīnau*.

I. *asvībhīyam*, *Indra-medībhīyam* (AV.) 'whose ally is Indra'. — D. *asvībhīyam*. — G. *asvīnos*. — L. *asvīnos*.

Pl. N. V. 1. *atikuśīnas* 'having a hook', *atrinās*, *arkīnas*, *arīnas*, *arṭhīnas*, *avarokīnas* (VS. XXIV. 6) 'brilliant', *iṣmīnas*, *ukthīnas*, *upa-mantrinās* 'persuading', *rjīśīnas*, *kopardīnas*, *kabandhīnas* 'bearing casks', *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *kīrīnas*, *kṛśānīnas* 'adorned with pearls', *keśīnas*, *khidīnas* 'adorned with rings', *gañīnas* (TS. I. 4. 11¹) 'having attendants', *gāthīnas* 'singers', *gayatrīnas* 'singers of hymns', *gharīmīnas* 'preparing the Gharma offering', *daśagvīnas* 'tenfold', *drapsīnas* 'falling in drops', *dhūmīnas* 'smoking', *nī-kārīnas* (TS. VS. XXVII. 4) 'injurers', *nī-todīnas* 'piercing', *nī-ramīnas* 'lurking', *nī-śaṅgīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *patutrīnas*, *pari-panthīnas*, *pari-parīnas* (VS. IV. 34) 'adversaries', *parīnas*, *pāśīnas* 'laying snares', *purīśīnas*, *pra-kṛdīnas* 'sporting', *pra-sakṣīnas*, *balīnas*, *manīśīnas*, *mandīnas*, *mahīnas*, *māyīnas*, *medīnas*, *rathīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest trees', *varmīnas*, *vājīnas*, *vī-rapsīnas*, *vī-rokīnas* 'brilliant', *vīśānīnas* 'holding horns' (a people), *vṛata-cārīnas* 'performing vows', *śatagvīnas*, *śatīnas*, *śakīnas*, *śuśmīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *svanīnas* 'resounding', *hastīnas*, *hiraṇīnas* 'golden'. — 2. *rgmīnas*. — 3. *tarasvīnas*, *dvayavīnas*, *dhr̥ṣadvīnas* 'bold', *namasvīnas*, *māyāvīnas*.

A. 1. *atrinās*, *a-rājīnas* 'lacking splendour', *arṭhīnas*, *asvīnas*, *uktha-āmsīnas*, *kāmīnas*, *kārīnas*, *grathīnas* 'false', *dyumnīnas*, *pakṣīnas*, *pra-ghāsīnas* (VS. III. 44), *bhāmīnas*, *mandīnas*, *māyīnas*, *mitrīnas* 'befriended', *rathīnas*, *vanīnas* 'bountiful', *vanīnas* 'forest trees', *vājīnas*, *vrandīnas*, *sahasrīnas*, *somīnas*, *hastīnas* (VS. XXIV. 29), *hiraṇīnas*. — 3. *rakṣasvīnas*.

I. 1. *asvībhīḥ*, *keśībhīḥ*, *nī-śaṅgībhīḥ*, *patatrībhīḥ*, *manīśībhīḥ*, *mandībhīḥ*, *rukṃbhīḥ*, *vājībhīḥ*, *śuśmībhīḥ*, *hastībhīḥ*. — 2. *rgmībhīḥ*.

D. 1. *ṛta-vādībhīyas* (VS. V. 7) 'speaking the truth', *kṛdībhīyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *gr̥ha-medhībhīyas* (VS. XXIV. 16), *dhanvāyībhīyas* (VS. XVI. 22) 'carrying a bow', *rathībhīyas* (VS. XVI. 26), *śikhībhīyas* (AV.) 'peaked', *svanībhīyas* (VS. XVI. 27), *śṛkāyībhīyas* (VS. XVI. 21) 'having a spear', *svadhāyībhīyas* (VS. XIX. 36) 'owning the Svadhā'.

G. 1. *kārīnām*, *māyīnām*, *vasīnām* (AV.), *vājīnām*, *śṛṅgīnām*. — 3. *stukā-śīnām* 'shaggy'. — L. 1. *khādīsu*, *dvarīsu* 'obstructing', *hastīsu* (AV.).

4. Labial Stems.

a. Stems in (radical) *-p*.

334. These stems are inflected alike in the masculine and feminine, there being no neuters. All the monosyllables are feminine substantives.

¹ According to LANMAN 544 the *-ā* forms occur 369 times, the *-au* forms 32 times.

They are: *āp-* 'water', *hīp-* 'beauty', *kyāp-* 'night', *ksīp-* 'finger', *rīp-* 'deceit', *rīp-* 'earth', *vīp-* 'rod'. Feminine are also the compounds *ā-hīp-* 'heating', *pāri-rīp-* 'deceiving a husband', *vi-śtāp-* 'summit', *ṛta-sāp-* 'performing worship'. All other compound stems are masculine. They are: *agni-tāp-* 'enjoying the warmth of fire', *abhi-lāpa-lāp-*² (AV.) 'excessively whimpering', *asu-tīp-*³ 'delighting in lives', *keta-sāp-* 'obeying the will (of another)', *pāri-rāp-* 'crying around', *paśu-tīp-*⁴ 'delighting in herds', *pra-sīp-*⁴ 'slumbering', *ṛtī-āp-* 'having streaming (*ṛtī-*) water'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms appears in *āp-* and its compound *ṛtī-āp-*, as well as in the two compounds of *sa-* 'serve', *ṛta-sāp-* and *keta-sāp-*. The strong form *āpas* is used a few times in the A. pl., but the long vowel in *pāri-rāpas* as A. pl. is due to the metre; on the other hand, the weak form *āp-as* appears twice in the AV. as N. pl.

b. The A. pl. *āpās* is nearly always accented on the ending as a weak case; *kaśās* similarly appears two or three times, and *vīpās* once.

c. No N. sing. m. or f. occurs, but a n. transition form once appears in this case: *viśtāpa-m* (IX. 113¹⁰), a form which doubtless started from the A. sing. f. *viśtāp-am*. The n. pl. of the same transition stem occurs once as *viśtāpā* (VIII. 80⁹). Two other transition forms are *kaśābhīs* and *kyīpābhīs*.

Inflexion.

335. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. A. m. *paśu-tīpam*. — f. *vi-śtāpam*. — I. m. *vīpā* 'priest'. — f. *apā*, *krpā*, *kaśpā*, *vīpā*. — Ab. f. *apās*; *ā-tāpas*, *vi-śtāpas*. — G. m. *vīpas*⁵. — f. *apās*, *kaśpās*, *rīpās*, *rupās*. — L. f. *vi-śtāpī*.

Du. N. m. *ṛtī-āpā*; *asu-tīpau*⁶.

Pl. N. m. *ṛta-sāpas*, *keta-sāpas*, V. *ṛtī-āpas*; *vīpas*; *agni-tāpas*, *abhi-lāpa-lāpas* (AV.), *asu-tīpas*, *pra-sāpas*. — f. *āpas*, V. *āpas*, *ṛta-sāpas*; *ksīpas*, *vīpas*, *rīpas*; *pāri-rīpas*. The A. form *apās* occurs twice in the AV. for the N. 7.

A. m. *asu-tīpas*, *pāri-rāpas*⁸. — f. *apās* and *āpas*⁹, *kaśpās* and *ksīpas*¹⁰, *vīpās* and *vīpas*¹¹, *rīpas*.

I. f. *adbhīs*¹². — D. f. *adbhīs*¹² (VS. VI. 9). — Ab. f. *adbhīs*¹². — G. m. *vīpām*. — f. *apām*¹³, *kaśpām*, *vīpām*. — L. f. *apsī*¹⁴.

b. Stems in (radical) -bh.

336. Both masculines and feminines occur in this declension, but there are no neuters. The stems comprise five monosyllables formed from roots, together with compounds of three of the latter (*grabh-*, *śubh-*, *stubbh-*), and *kaśūbh-*. The stems are: *kaśūbh-* f. 'push', *gṛbh-* f. 'seizing', *nūbh-* f. 'destroyer', *śubh-* f. 'splendour', *stūbh-* adj. 'praising', f. 'praise'; *jīva-gṛbh-* m. 'capturing alive', 'bailiff', *sata-gṛbh-* 'taking hold of the Soma', *syūma-gṛbh-* 'seizing the

¹ *vīp-* as an adjective is used as a m. also.

² An irregular intensive formation.

³ Cp. KLUGE, KZ. 25, 311 f.

⁴ From *svap-* 'sleep'.

⁵ With irregular accent.

⁶ Cp. LANMAN 482 (middle).

⁷ There is also the transition form in the n. *vi-śtāpā*.

⁸ Metrical for *pāri-rāpas*, which is the reading of the Pada text in II. 233¹⁴; see RPr. IX. 26.

⁹ *apās* is the regular form occurring 152 times in the RV. and 26 times in the AV. The strong form *āpas* is used half a dozen

times in books I and X of the RV., and 16 times in the AV.; it also occurs in Kh. III. 9.

¹⁰ *ksīpas* 6 or 8 times in RV., *kaśpās* 2 or 3 times.

¹¹ *vīpas* thrice, *vīpās* once in RV.

¹² By dissimilation for **ab-bhīs*, **ab-bhīs*; cp. JOHANSSON, IF. 4, 134-136. See LANMAN 483. There are also the two transfer forms *kaśābhīs* and *kyīpābhīs*, each occurring once.

¹³ On the metrical value of *apām* see LANMAN 484 (top).

¹⁴ BK. regard *apāsu* in VIII. 4¹⁴ as = *apsū* with inserted -a-. See LANMAN 484.

reins'; *rathē-sūbh-* 'flying along in a car'; *anu-sūbh-* f. 'after-praise', a metre, *rta-sūbh-* 'praising duly', *tri-sūbh-* 'triple praise', a metre, *pari-sūbh-* 'exulting on every side', *saṃ-sūbh-* (VS.) 'shout of joy', a metre, *gharma-sūbh-* 'shouting in the heat', *chandaḥ-sūbh-* 'praising in hymns', *vyṣa-sūbh-* 'calling aloud', *su-sūbh-* 'uttering a shrill cry'; *kakūbh-* f. 'peak', *tri-kakūbh-* 'three-pointed'.

a. The distinction of strong and weak forms does not appear except in the N. and A. pl. of *nābh-*. The inflexion of these stems is incompletely represented, there being no dual forms, and no plural forms the endings of which begin with a consonant.

Inflexion.

337. The forms occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *stūp*; *tri-kakūp*. — f. *anu-sūp* (VS. AV.), *anu-sūk* (TS. v. 2. 11¹), *tri-sūp*; *kakūp* (VS. AV.).

A. m. *rathē-sūbham*, *sule-gūbham*. — f. *gūbham*, *sūbham*; *rta-sūbham*, *anu-sūbham*, *tri-sūbham*; *kakūbham*.

I. m. *stubhā*; *su-sūbhā*. — f. *ksūbhā*, *grbhā*, *subhā*; *anu-sūbhā*, *tri-sūbhā* (VS. XVII. 34; TS. II. 2. 4²); *kakūbhā* (VS. XXVIII. 44).

D. m. *gharma-sūbhe*, *syāma-gūbhe*. — f. *sūbhe* (AV. VS. xxx. 7); *anu-sūbhe* (VS. XXIV. 12), *tri-sūbhe* (VS. XXIV. 12); *kakūbhe* (VS. XXIV. 13).

Ab. m. *jīva-gūbhas*. — f. *gūbhās* (VS. XXI. 43); *anu-sūbhās* (VS. XIII. 54), *tri-sūbhās* (AV.).

G. m. *su-sūbhās*. — f. *subhās*³ (in *subhās pāṭi*, du. N. A. and *subhās pāṭi*, V.).

L. f. *tri-sūbhi* (VS. XXXVIII. 18); *kakūbhi* (TS. III. 3. 9²; VS. xv. 4).

Pl. N. m. *chandaḥ-sūbhas*, *vyṣa-sūbhas*, *pari-sūbhas*, *su-sūbhas*. — f. *nābhas*⁴, *sūbhas*, *stūbhas*.

A. f. *nābhas*, *stūbhas*; *tri-sūbhas*, *pari-sūbhas*; *kakūbhas*.

G. f. *kakūbhām*.

c. Stems in -m.

338. There are only about half a dozen stems in -m which among them muster a few more than a dozen forms. All are monosyllables except a compound of *nam-* 'bend'. Neuters are *sām-* 'happiness' and perhaps *dām-* 'house'. A possible m. is *hīm-* 'cold'; and there are four feminines: *ksām-*, *dām-*, and *jām-*, all meaning 'earth', and *saṃ-nām-* (AV.) 'favour'. Strong and weak forms are distinguished in *ksām-*, which lengthens the vowel in the strong cases, and syncopates it in one of the two weak cases occurring; *dām-* and *jām-* are found in weak cases only, where they syncopate the vowel. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. A. n. *sām-*. — L. f. *ksāmā*, *jāmā*; m. *hīm-ā*⁵. — Ab. f. *ksāmās*, *gmās*, *jāmās*. — G. f. *gmās*, *jāmās*⁴; n. *dām*⁵. — L. f. *ksāmi*⁶. — Du. N. f. *ksāmā*, *dyāvā-ksāmā* 'heaven and earth'. — Pl. N. f. *ksāmas*; *saṃ-nāmas* (AV.). — G. n. *damām*.

¹ The form *dābhas* in v. 19⁴ is regarded by BR. and GRASSMANN as N. sing. m. 'destroyer'. LANMAN 485 thinks it may be a G. sing. f. with wrong accent.

² Strong form.

³ This is the only form, occurring twice, from a possible stem *hīm-*, beside *hīmāna*, from *hīmā*. It might, however, be an I. from the latter stem. Cp. 372.

⁴ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 580.

⁵ For **dām-s* (like *ā-gau* for **ā-gam-s*) occurring only in the expressions *pāṭi dām* and *pāṭi dām* and equivalent to *dām-pāṭi* and *dām-pāṭi* at the end of a tristubh line. Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 453.

⁶ With irregular accent; cp. above 94 a.

5. Stems in Sibilants.

r. a. Stems in radical *s* and *ṣ*.

339. In radical stems ending in *s* and *ṣ*, the sibilants are identical in origin, both being alike etymologically based on the dental *s*, which remains after *ā*, but is cerebralized after other vowels and after *ē*. In the RV. there are of radical *s*-stems some 40 derived from about 15 roots; of radical *ṣ*-stems, some 50 derived from about 15 roots; in both groups taken together there are nearly 20 monosyllabic stems, the rest being compounds. Masculine and feminine stems are about equally numerous; but there are altogether only 7 or 8 neuters.

a. The distinction between strong and weak forms appears in three words: *pūmāns* and *pūms* 'male'; *nās* and *nas* 'nose'; *uktha-sās* and *uktha-śās* 'uttering verses'. The A. pl. has the accentuation of weak stems in the masculines *jūās-ds*, *pūms-ās*, *mās-ds* and in the feminines *ip-ds*, *uṣ-ds*, *divs-ās*.

b. The stem *ās* 'face' is supplemented in its inflexion by the *au*-stem *ās-dn*; the stem *is* is supplemented before consonant endings by *idhī-*¹; and *dis* 'fore-arm' is supplemented by *doṣ-ān* in the dual form *doṣāṇī* (AV. IX. 7²).

c. Transitions to the *a*- or *ā*-declension appear in forms made from *ās* 'face', *ip* 'refreshment', *kās* 'cough', *nās* 'nose', *mās* 'month', *ā-sās* 'hope', *ni-miṣ* 'winking'. 1. From *ās*, beside and probably through the influence of the I. sing. *ā-d*, is formed the adv. *āyā* 'before the face of' (as from a stem *ās-d*, and with adverbial shift of accent instead of **āsāyā*). — 2. Forms like G. *ip-ds* gave rise to *ip-d-n*; and the supplementary stem *idhī* probably started from the I. sing. *ip-d*, which itself was probably due to *idhī* the form assumed by *ip* before *dh*-endings; the stem *ip* further shows a transition to the *i*-declension in the D. *ipāye*. — 3. From *kās* 'cough' there is the transition V. *kās* (AV.). — 4. The strong dual form *nās-ā* furnished a transition to an *ā*-stem, from which is formed the dual *nās* (AV.). — 5. As *pā-d-am* gave rise to a new N. *pāda-s*, so from *mās-am* arose the new stem *māsa*, from which are formed the N. sing. *māsa-s* and the A. pl. *māsām*. — 6. In the RV. the stem *ā-sās* alone is used; but in the AV. appears the A. *ākīm* (perhaps a contraction for *ā-sāram*) which, understood as *āsām*, was probably the starting point of the *āsā*, the only stem in the later language. — 7. From *ni-miṣ* 'winking' there appear, beside the regular compound forms A. *a-nimiṣ-am*, I. *a-nimiṣ-ā* f. 'non-winking', the transition forms N. *a-nimiṣ-ā*, A. *a-nimiṣ-m*, I. *a-nimiṣ-ya*, N. pl. *a-nimiṣ-ās*, adj. 'unwinking', with the regular Bahuvrīhi accent (90 B c).

Inflexion.

340. In the N. sing. the sibilant is of course dropped if preceded by a consonant, as *an-āk* 'eyeless', *pūmān* 'man'. Otherwise *s* remains, while *ṣ* becomes *ʃ*². Before *dh*-endings, *s* becomes *d* in two forms which occur (*mā-d-bhīts*, *mā-d-bhyāts*)³ and *r* in the only other one (*doṣ-bhyām*); while *ṣ* becomes *d* in the only example occurring (*vi-prīh-d-bhīts*).

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mās*⁴ m. 'month' as an *s*-stem, and from *divs* f. 'hatred' as a *ṣ*-stem, would be as follows:

Sing. N. *mās*; *divṣ*. A. *māsam*; *divṣam*. I. *māśā*; *divṣā*. D. *māśd*; *divṣd*. Ab. *māsās*; *divṣās*. G. *māsās*; *divṣās*. L. *māśi*; *divṣi*. — Du. N. A. *māsa*; *divṣa*. G. *māsās*. L. *māsās* (AV. TS.). — Pl. N. *māsas*; *divṣas*. A. *māsās*; *divṣas* and *divṣās*. I. *mādbhīts*; *divṣdbhīts*. D. *mādbhyāts* (AV.). Ab. *mādbhyāts* (AV.). G. *māsām*; *divṣām*. L. *māsā* (AV.).

The forms actually occurring are:

¹ As *kṣp* and *kṣip* by *kṣpā* and *kṣipā* respectively.

² It becomes *k* only in the n. form *dadhīk* 'boldly', used as an adv. from *dadhīṣ*, if the word is derived from *dhṣ* 'be bold'; but the word is perhaps more probably derived from *dh* 'be firm', see BR. s. v. *dadhīk*, and cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 12, Anzeiger p. 28.

³ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 340.

⁴ In this word (derived from *mā* 'measure') the *s* is really secondary, probably representing the suffix *-as* (*mās* = *mā-as*); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 398.

⁵ The only V. occurring is *pūmas*.

Sing. N. 1. m. *pimān*¹ 'male'; *candri-mās* 'moon', *dūrē-bhās*² 'shining to a distance', *su-dās*³ 'worshipping well'. — f. *ā-ñās* 'having no kindred', *ā-śis*⁴ 'prayer'. — n. *bhās* 'light', *mās* 'flesh'; *ās* 'arm', *śās* 'welfare', *śaṅ-śās* 'luck and welfare'. — 2. m. *an-āk*⁵ 'blind', *calhamāna-dol*⁶ 'hating the insolent'. — f. *vi-prīṣ* (AV.) 'drop'.

A. 1. m. *māsam* 'month', *pimāmsam*; *a-yāsam* 'dexterous', *uktha-śāsam*⁷ 'uttering verses', *su-dāsam*, *su-bhāsam* 'shining beautifully', *sv-āśīsam*⁸ 'well-praising', *sv-āsam* 'fair-mouthed'. — f. *kāsam*⁹ (AV.) 'cough'; *ā-śīsam*⁴, *pra-śīsam*⁴ 'precept'. — 2. m. *ghṛta-prīṣam* 'sprinkling ghee', *jara-dviṣam* 'hating decrepitude', *brahma-dviṣam* 'hating sacred knowledge', *viśva-pīṣam* 'all-nourishing'. — f. *īṣam* 'refreshment', *dviṣam* 'hatred', *prkṣam* 'satiation'; *d-niṣam* 'non-winking', *doṣaṇi-sriṣam* (AV.) 'leaning on the arm', *hṛdaya-sriṣam* (AV.) 'clinging to the heart'. Also the adverbial A. *ā-ry-uṣām* (AV.) 'till the dawn'. — n. *dadhīk* 'boldly' as adv.

I. 1. m. *māsā*. — f. *kāsā* (AV.), *nasā* (AV.) 'nose', *śāsā* 'ruler'¹⁰; *abhi-śāsā*¹¹ 'blame', *ava-śāsā* (AV.) 'wrong desire', *ā-śāsā* 'hope', *ā-śīṣā*, *niḥ-śāsā* 'blame', *parā-śāsā* (AV.) 'calumny', *pra-śīṣā* (AV. VS.). — n. *āsā* 'mouth', *bhāsā*. — 2. m. *viśva-pīṣā*¹². — f. *īṣā*, *tvīṣā* 'excitement'; *ā-nimiṣā*, *pra-rīṣā* (AV. TS.) 'rainy season', *preṣā*¹³ 'pressure'. — n. *ghṛta-prīṣā*.

D. 1. m. *pumsē* (AV.); *su-dāse*. — n. *bhāsē* (VS. XIII. 39). — 2. m. *ā-prī-yuṣe*¹⁴ 'not careless'; *ā-vi-dviṣe* (AV.) 'for non-ennity', *rīṣi-dviṣe* 'hating the seers', *brahma-dviṣe*; *gav-iṣe* 'wishing for cows', *paśu-iṣe* 'wishing for cattle'; *sūkam-īkṣe*¹⁵ 'sprinkling together'. — f. *īṣē*¹⁶, *tvīṣē*, *prkṣē*, *rīṣē* 'injury', *prīṣe* (VS. v. 7).

Ab. 1. m. *pumsās*. — f. *kāsās* (AV.) — n. *āsās*. — 2. f. *īṣās*, *tvīṣās*, *dviṣās*, *rīṣās*; *abhi-sriṣās* 'ligature', *ni-miṣās* 'winking'.

G. 1. m. *pumsās*; *a-śāsās* 'not blessing', *su-dāsās*, *sv-āsās*. — f. *ā-śīṣās* (TS. IV. 6. 6¹). — 2. m. *śṛiṅga-vṛṣās*¹⁷ a man's name. — f. *īṣās*, *uṣās* 'dawn', *dviṣās*, *prkṣās*; *abhra-prīṣās* 'sprinkling of the clouds', *ni-miṣās*.

L. 1. m. *pumsī*, *māsi*. — f. *upāsī* 'in the lap', *nasī* (VS.); *ā-śīṣī* (AV.), *pra-śīṣī* (AV.). — 2. f. *ni-miṣī*, *prā-rīṣī*, *vy-īṣī* 'dawn'.

V. m. *pumas*¹⁸.

Du. N. A. 1. m. *uktha-śāsā*¹⁹, *śīrya-māsā*²⁰ 'sun and moon'. — f. *nāsā*²¹. — I. 1. n. *dorbhādm* (VS. XXV. 3). — G. 1. f. *nasī*. — L. 1. f. *nasīs* (AV. TS.).

Pl. N. 1. m. *a-yāsas*, V. *ayāsas*, *uktha-śāsas*¹⁹; *su-saṃśāsas*²² (AV.) 'well-directing'. — f. *ā-śāsas*; *ā-śīṣas*, *pra-śīṣas*, *vi-śīṣas* (AV.) 'explanations',

¹ On the Sandhi of this N. see LANMAN 495¹.

² See LANMAN 495¹.

³ There are also the transition forms *māsa-s* and *a-nimiṣa-s*.

⁴ The root in *ā-śīṣ* and *pra-śīṣ*, being a reduced form of *śās* 'order', is here treated as belonging to the *s*-class.

⁵ From *an-ākṣ* 'eyeless'.

⁶ The N. of *īṣ* would be **īṣi*; its place is supplied by the extended form *īṣā*.

⁷ Strong stem from *śar* = *śaṅs* 'proclaim'.

⁸ Accented *kāsām* (AV. v. 22¹¹).

⁹ Also the transition forms *a-nimiṣām* and *āśām* (AV.).

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 495 (bottom).

¹¹ From *śar* = *śaṅs* 'proclaim'.

¹² There is also the transition form *a-nimiṣīṣa*.

¹³ Accented thus as a monosyllabic stem instead of *preṣā* (= *pra-rīṣā*).

¹⁴ From *pra-+yu-* 'separate' with *s* as root determinative.

¹⁵ Perhaps also *āram-iṣe* (VIII. 46¹⁷) 'hastening near', Pada *āram iṣe*; cp. LANMAN 496¹.

¹⁶ Also the transfer to the *i*-declension *īṣāye*.

¹⁷ In a compound vocative with *nap.ī*.

¹⁸ In the f. are found the transfers to the *ā*-declension *īṣe* and *kāse* (AV.).

¹⁹ Strong forms; Pp. *uktha-śāsā*, *śāsas*.

²⁰ This might be from the transition stem *-nāsā*.

²¹ There is also the transition form *nāsē* (AV.).

²² There are also the transition forms *māsās*, *a-nimiṣās*.

san-īśas (AV.) 'directions'; *vi-srāsas* (AV.) 'falling apart', *su-srāsas* (AV.) 'falling off easily', *svayam-srāsas* (AV.) 'dropping spontaneously'. — 2. m. *māśas* 'flies', *mūśas* 'mice'; *anṛta-dvīśas* 'persecuting untruth', V. *a-saca-dvīśas* 'hating non-worshippers', *gav-īśas*, *ghṛta-prīśas*, *pari-prīśas* 'sprinkling', *bṛhad-īśas* 'shedding copiously', *brahma-dvīśas*, *yajña-mūśas* (TS. III. 5. 4) 'sacrifice stealer', *vāta-tvīśas* 'having the impetuosity of the wind'. — f. *īśas*, *tvīśas*, *pfkśas*; *ān-ā-dhrīśas* (AV.) 'not checking', *ghṛta-prīśas*, *ni-mīśas* (AV.), *nenann-īśas* 'following guidance', *pāti-dvīśas* 'hating her husband', *vy-īśas* (AV.), *sam-īśas* 'darts', *sākam-īśas*, *su-pfkśas* 'abounding with food'.

A. I. m. *jñāsās* 'relatives', *pūṃśas*, *māsās*; *an-īśas* 'faceless', *an-ardhva-bhīśas* 'whose splendour does not rise', *a-yīśas*, *a-śīśas*, *hṛtsv-ūśas* 'throwing into the heart'. — f. *ā-śīśas*; *ā-śīśas*, *pra-śīśas*. — 2. m. *brahma-dvīśas*. — f. *īśas* and *īśās*⁴, *usās*, *dvīśas* and *dvīśās*⁵, *pfkśas*; *camrīśas*⁶, *vi-prīśas* (AV.).

I. I. m. *mādbhīśas*. — 2. f. *vi-prīśabhis* (VS.). — D. I. m. *mādbhīśas* (AV.). — Ab. I. m. *mādbhīśas* (AV.). — G. I. m. *pūṃśam* (AV.), *māsām*, *vasām*⁸ 'abodes'; *a-yāsām*. — 2. f. *īśām*, *dvīśām*. — L. I. m. *pūṃśā*⁹ (AV.).

i. b. Stems in derivative -s.

a. Stems in -is and -us.

341. The stems formed with the suffixes *-is* and *-us* may best be treated together, as their inflexion is identical. The *-is* stems, numbering about a dozen, consist primarily of neuters only¹⁰; these when they are final members of compounds are secondarily inflected as masculines also, but only in a single form (N. sing. *svā-socis* 'self-radiant') as feminine. The *-us* stems, numbering sixteen (exclusive of compounds) in the RV., include primary masculines (two also as f.) as well as neuters; three of the latter as final members of compounds are also inflected as feminine. Eleven of the *-us* stems are neuter substantives, all but one accented on the radical syllable; four of these are also used as m. adjectives¹¹ accented in the same way (*drus-*, *cakṣus-*, *tāpus-*, *vāpus-*). Three of those *-us* stems which are exclusively m. are adjectives accented on the suffix, while two are substantives accented on the root (*nāh-us-*, *mān-us-*)¹².

a. The N. A. pl. n. are distinguished as strong forms by lengthening and nasalizing the vowel of the suffix (as in the *-as* stems), e. g. *jyāśīmī* and *cakṣīmī*.

b. Among these stems appear a number of transitions to, and a few from, other declensions. 1. The N. sing. n., as in *locis* and *cakṣus*, having in some passages the appearance of a N. sing. m. *locis* and *cakṣus*, led to formations according to the *i-* and *ū-*declension. Such are N. pl. *locīyas* (AV.) 'flames', V. sing. *pāvaka-locē* 'shining brightly', *bhadra-locē* 'shining beautifully', *śukra-locē* 'shining brilliantly'; N. pl. *arcīyas* 'beams', I. pl. *arci-bhis*. The form of *krav-īs-* 'raw flesh' in the compound *ā-kravī-hasta-* 'not having bloody hands' is probably due to the same cause. From *cakṣus-* 'eye' is once formed the Ab. *cakṣo-s* and the V. *sahasra-cakṣo* (AV.) 'thousand-eyed'. From *tāpus-* 'hot' is once

¹ The Mss. read *vi-srasas*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. XIX. 341.

² *neman-* is here probably a locative.

³ There is also the transition form *māsām*.

⁴ *īśas* occurs 63 times, *īśās* 7 times in the RV.

⁵ *dvīśas* occurs 39 times, *dvīśās* 4 times in the RV.

⁶ The meaning of this word is perhaps 'libations in ladles'.

⁷ There is also the transition form *i-jābhīśas* as an I. pl. of *ī-*.

⁸ This word, occurring in this form only, might be a f.

⁹ *māsū-* occurs Pañc. Br. IV. 4. 1 and *māsū* (like *pūṃsū* for *pūṃs-ū*) TS. VII. 5. 2².

The f. transition form *īśāsū* occurs as the L. pl. of *ī-*.

¹⁰ There seems no reason why *ām-is-* occurring in L. s. only, should exceptionally be regarded as m. (BR., LANMAN, GRASSMANN).

¹¹ One of these, *tāpus-* 'hot', has a single f. form, A. du. *tāpūṣā*.

¹² See above p. 84, 19.

formed the G. *táfo-s*; from *van-ús* 'desiring', as if *vanú-s* in N., the A. sing. *vanú-m* and pl. *vanin*; from *dy-ur* 'life' occurs not only the I. sing. *dyu-ur*, but several compound forms, V. *dirgháyo* 'long-lived', *adabdháyo* (VS.) 'having unimpaired vigour', A. *vyddháy-m* 'full of vigour', n. *viddhyu* 'all-quickenng', A. m. *viddhyu-m*, D. *viddhyau*, G. *viddhyu-s*. — 2. There are also some transition forms from three masculines in *-us*, by extension of the stem, to the *a*-declension: from *náh-us* 'neighbour', starting perhaps from the G. *náhu-s* taken as a N. sing. *náhu-s*, are made the G. *náhu-sya* and the L. *náhu-s*; from *mán-us* 'man', starting from the N. pl. *mánu-s* taken as a N. sing. *mánu-s*, come the D. *mánusya* and the G. *mánu-sya*; from *váś-us* 'beauty', once D. *váśusya* beside the frequent *váśu-s*. — 3. On the other hand, there are a few transitions from the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems to that of stems in *-is* and *-us*. Beside *su-rabhi* 'fragrant', the superlative form *su-rabhiṣ-ṣamam*² occurs once; and beside numerous compounds formed with *tví-* appear the stems *tvíṣ-mant* 'powerful' and *tvíṣ-jama* 'strongest'³. Beside the G. *dhák-ús* and *dhák-ús* 'burning', there appears once the form *dhák-ús-as*⁴, which is doubtless due to the false analogy of forms like *tasthás*. Though *mán-us* 'man' may be an independent formation beside *mán-u*, the probability is rather in favour of regarding it as secondary (starting from a N. *mánu-s*), because *mánu-* shows eight case-forms, but *mánus-* only three⁵. The stem *d-śrāy-us*, occurring only once beside the less rare *d-śrāy-u*, probably represents a transition from the latter stem.

Inflection.

342. The final *s* becomes *ś* before vowel endings, and *r* before *-bh*. The inflexion of the n. is the same as that of the m. except in the A. sing., N. A. du. and pl. The only f. forms occurring are in the N. or A. They are the following: N. sing. *svá-śocis* 'self-radiant'; *cákṣus* 'seeing', *á-ghora-cákṣus* 'not having an evil eye', *hráđ-cákṣus* 'reflected in a lake'; *citráyus* 'possessed of wonderful vitality'; A. du. *típusā* 'hot'; A. pl. *gí-vápusas* 'having the form of cows'.

The actual forms occurring, if made from *śocis-* 'glow' in the n., and from *-śocis-* in the m. (when it differs from the n.), and from *cákṣus-* 'eye' as n. and 'seeing' as m., would be as follows:

1. Sing. N. *śocis*. A. *śocis*; m. *-śociṣam*. I. *śociṣā*. D. *śociṣe*. Ab. *śociṣas*. G. *śociṣas*. L. *śociṣi*. V. *śocis*. — Pl. N. A. *śociṣsi*; m. *-śociṣas*. I. *śociṣbhis*. D. m. *-śociṣbhyas*. G. *śociṣām*. L. *śociṣsu*.

2. Sing. N. *cákṣus*. A. *cákṣus*; m. *cákṣusam*. I. *cákṣusā*. D. *cákṣuse*. Ab. G. *cákṣusas*. L. *cákṣusi*. — Du. N. A. *cákṣuś*; m. *cákṣuśā*. D. *cákṣurbhyām* (VS.). — Pl. N. A. *cákṣuṣsi*; m. *cákṣusas*. I. *cákṣurbhis*. D. *cákṣurbhyas* (VS.). G. *cákṣusām*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. 1. *i-havis* 'not offering oblations', *krśná-vyathis* 'whose path is black'; *citrá-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'shining brilliantly', *śukrá-jyotis* (VS. xii. 15) 'brightly shining', *satya-jyotis* (VS. xvii. 80) 'truly brilliant', *su-jyotis* (VS. xxxvii. 21) 'shining well'; *citrá-śocis* 'shining brilliantly', *durśka-śocis* 'glowing unpleasantly', *śukrá-śocis* 'bright-rayed', *jivá-barhis* (AV.) 'having a fresh litter', *su-barhis* (VS. xxi. 15) 'having a goodly litter', *stirná-barhis* 'who has strewn the litter'; *svá-rocis* 'self-shining'; *śr-arcis*⁷ 'flashing beautifully'. — 2. *cákṣus* 'seeing', *vápus*⁸ 'beautiful', *vidis* 'attentive'; *á-dabdhá-cákṣus* (AV.) 'having undamaged sight', *ksithiyus* 'whose life goes to an end', *dirgháyus* 'long-lived', *duḥ-śisus* 'malignant', *vī-parus* (AV.) 'jointless', *viśvátas-cákṣus* 'having eyes on all sides', *sdrva-parus* (AV.) 'having all joints', *sahisráyus* (AV.) 'living a thousand years'.

¹ There is probably insufficient reason to assume a primary independently formed stem *-dy-u-* beside *dy-ur-*; cp. LANMAN 569 (bottom).

² Retaining the *s* of the N. like *indras-vant*.

³ *tví-is* as an independent formation would be irregular, since the radical vowel otherwise shows Guṇa before the suffix *-is* (134).

⁴ Desiderative adj. from *dak-* 'burn'.

⁵ The Pada text has *dhákṣus*.

⁶ Cp. LANMAN 570 (bottom).

⁷ There are also the transition forms *arcis* and *śocis*, the neuters becoming masculines of the *i*-declension.

⁸ Also the transition forms *cákṣu-s*, *tápi-s*.

⁹ This may be an *u*-stem: *vidú-s*.

N. A. n. 1. *arcis* 'flame', *kravis* (AV.) 'raw flesh', *chadls* 'cover', *chardls* 'fence', *fyōtis* 'light', *barhls* 'litter', *vartls* 'circuit', *vyōthis* 'course', *socls* 'lustre', *sarpls* 'clarified butter', *havl* 'oblation'; *vaiśvānarā-jyōtis* (VS. xx. 23) 'light of Vaiśvānara', *śukrā-jyōtis* (TS. iv. 1. 9³), *svār-jyōtis* (VS. v. 32) 'light of heaven'. — 2. *ārus* (AV.) 'wound', *āyus* 'life', *cākṣus* 'eye', *tāpus* 'glow', *dhānus* 'bow', *pārus* 'joint', *yajus* 'worship', *vāpus* 'beauty', *śāsus* 'command'; *indra-dhānus* (AV.) 'Indra's bow', *sv-āyūs* (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour'.

A. m. 1. *ā-grbhita-sociṣam* 'having unsubdued splendour', *ajirā-sociṣam* 'having a quick light', *ardhvā-sociṣam* 'flaming upwards', *citrā-sociṣam*, *dīrghāyu-sociṣam* 'shining through a long life', *pāvakā-sociṣam* 'shining brightly', *śīrā-sociṣam* 'sharp-rayed', *śukrā-sociṣam*, *śrīṣṭhā-sociṣam* 'most brilliant'; *citrā-barhiṣam* 'having a brilliant bed', *vyktā-barhiṣam* 'having the litter spread', *su-barhiṣam*, *stīrṇā-barhiṣam* (VS. xiv. 49); *dākṣiṇā-jyōtisam* (AV.) 'brilliant by the sacrificed gift', *hiranya-jyōtisam* (AV.) 'having golden splendour'. — 2. *janīṣam* 'birth', *dīrghāyusam*, *pūrv-āyūsam* 'bestowing much vitality', *satāyusam*² 'attaining the age of a hundred'.

I. 1. n. *arcīṣā*, *kravīṣā*, *chardīṣā* (VS. xiii. 19), *fyōtiṣā*, *barhiṣā* (VS. xviii. 63; TS.), *rocīṣā* 'brightness', *socīṣā*, *sarplīṣā*, *havlīṣā*. — **m.** *manthī-sociṣā* (VS. vii. 18) 'shining like mixed Soma', *śukrā-jyōtiṣā* (VS.). — 2. **n.** *āyusā*, *cākṣusā*, *janīṣā*, *tāpusā*, *dhānusā* (Kh. iii. 9), *pārusā*, *yajusā*, *satāyusā*, *samīṣṭa-yajīṣā* (VS. xix. 29) 'sacrifice and formula', *sv-āyūsā* (VS. iv. 28) 'full vigour of life'. — **m.** *tāpusā*, *nāhusā* 'neighbour', *mānusā* 'man', *vanīṣā* 'eager'.

D. 1. n. *arcīṣe* (TS. VS. xvii. 11), *fyōtiṣe* (VS. AV.), *barhiṣe* (VS. ii. 1), *socīṣe*, *havlīṣe*. — **m.** *tigmā-sociṣe* 'sharp-rayed', *pāvakī-sociṣe*, *śukrī-sociṣe*, *vyktī-barhiṣe*, *stīrṇā-barhiṣe*, *vātī-havlīṣe* 'liberal offerer', *su-havlīṣe* 'offering fair oblations'. — 2. **n.** *āyusē* (VS. AV.), *cākṣusē*, *janīṣe*, *tāpusē* (AV.), *yajusē* (VS. i. 30), *vāpusē*. — **m.** *cākṣusē*, *mānusē*, *vanīṣe*³.

Ab. 1. n. *fyōtiṣas* (AV.), *barhiṣas*, *havlīṣas*. — 2. **n.** *āyusas* (TS. iv. 1. 4¹), *cākṣusas* (TS. v. 7. 7¹), *janīṣas*, *pārusas* (TS. iv. 2. 9²), *vāpusas*. — **m.** *nāhusas*, *mānusas*, *vāpusas*.

G. 1. n. *kravīṣas*, *chardīṣas*, *fyōtiṣas*, *barhiṣas*, *socīṣas*, *sarplīṣas*, *havlīṣas*. — **m.** *pāvakī-sociṣas*, *vydhā-sociṣas* 'blazing mightily', *vāsu-rocīṣas* 'shining brightly', *vyktī-barhiṣas*⁴. — 2. **n.** *āyusas*, *cākṣusas*, *tāpusas*, *tārusas* 'superiority', *pārusas*, *vāpusas*. — **m.** *cākṣusas*, *nāhusas*, *mānusas*, *vanīṣas*⁵; *iṣṭī-yajusas* (VS. viii. 12) 'having offered the sacrificial verses'.

L. 1. n. *arcīṣi*, *āmiṣi*⁶ 'raw flesh', *fyōtiṣi*, *barhiṣi*, *sādhiṣi* (VS. xiii. 53) 'resting-place', *havlīṣi*; *tri-barhiṣi* 'with threefold litter'. — 2. **n.** *āyusi*⁷, *īdrusi*, *pārusi*, *vāpusi*.

V. 1. n. *barhiṣ*⁸; *deva-havis* 'oblation to the gods' (VS. vi. 8). — 2. **m.** *ākāyus*⁹ 'first of living beings'.

Du. N. A. 2. n. *cākṣuṣi* (AV., Kh. iv. 11¹¹), *janīṣi*. — **m.** *cākṣusā*, *jayīṣā* 'victorious'. — **D. 2. n.** *cākṣurbhīyam* (VS. vii. 27).

¹ Also the transition form *vīśvāyu* 'all-quickenings'.

² Also the transition forms *vanū-m*, *vydhāyu-m*, *vīśvāyu-m*.

³ Transition forms: *vīśvāyave*; *mānuṣāya*, *vāpusāya*; *ī-prītyuse* 'not careless'.

⁴ Also perhaps a transition form *soct-s*; cp. LANMAN 568.

⁵ Also the transition forms *tāpus*, *vīśvāyus*; *nāhusāya*; *mānuṣāya*; *dhakṣiṣas* (341 b, p. 222).

⁶ Accounted a m. by BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN.

⁷ Also the transition form *āyuni*; and m. *nāhus*.

⁸ Also the transition forms *pāvakī-socē*, *bhadrā-socē*, *śukrā-socē*.

⁹ Also the transition forms *adabdhāyo* (VS.), *dīrghāyo*, *sahasra-cakṣo* (AV.).

Pl. N. m. 1. *ágrbhīta-śociṣas, ajīrā-śociṣas, váta-dhrajīṣas* (Kh. 1. 3¹) 'having the impulse of wind', *vyktā-barhiṣas, V. vykta-barhiṣas, śádama-barhiṣas* 'preparing the litter', V. *su-barhiṣas, su-śyūṣiṣas* and *su-śyūṣiṣas, svd-rociṣas*². — 2. *náhuṣas, mánuṣas, V. manuṣas, vanuṣas, vāpuṣas*.

N. A. n. 1. *arciṣi, śyūṣi, barhiṣi* (VS. xxviii. 21), *śociṣi, haviṣi*. — 2. *dyūṣi, cākṣuṣi, janūṣi, tāpūṣi, pāruṣi* (TS. VS. AV.), *yājūṣi* (VS. AV.), *vāpūṣi*.

A. m. 1. *su-śyūṣiṣas*. — 2. *náhuṣas, mánuṣas, vanuṣas*³.

I. 1. n. *haviṣhis*⁴. — 2. n. *dhānurhhis* (AV.), *yājurbhis* (VS. IV. 1), *vāpurbhis*. — D. 1. m. *ardhrā-barhīrbhyas* (VS. xxxviii. 15) 'being above the litter'. — 2. n. *yājurbhyas* (VS. xxxviii. 11).

G. 1. n. *śyūṣām, haviṣām* (AV.). — 2. n. *cākṣuṣām* (AV.), *januṣām, yājūṣām* (AV.), *vāpuṣām*. — m. *vāṣūṣām, viśvā-manuṣām* 'belonging to all men'.

L. 1. n. *haviṣsu*.

β. Stems in -as.

343. Primarily this declension consists almost entirely of neuters, which are accented on the root, as *mān-as* 'mind'; but these as final members of adjective compounds may be inflected in all three genders, as N. m. f. *su-mināṣ, n. su-mināṣas* 'well-disposed'. There are besides a few primary masculines, which are accented on the suffix, being either substantives, as *raks-ds* 'demon', or adjectives, some of which occur in the f. also (as well as n.), as *ap-ds* 'active'; and one feminine, *us-ds* 'dawn'⁵.

a. Strong cases are regularly distinguished only in the N. A. pl. n., where the vowel of the suffix is lengthened and nasalized⁶ (as in the *is* and *us* stems), as *ámhūṣi* 'troubles'. Otherwise the stem *uṣás-* shows in the A. sing., N. A. du., N. V. pl. strong forms with lengthened vowel in the suffix, which occur beside the unlengthened forms⁶, the latter being nearly three times as frequent in the RV. The long vowel is here required by the metre in 20 out of 28 occurrences, and is favoured by the metre in the rest⁷; so that the lengthening may be due to metrical exigencies. The strong form *uṣāṣas*⁸ occurs once (X. 39¹) for the weak *uṣāṣas* as the G. sing. or A. pl. There is further the single strong form N. du. m. *uṣāṣi*⁹ 'bestowing abundantly'¹⁰.

b. Supplementary stems ending in *-as* beside *-an* are *śhīvas-* 'skilful' (as well as *śhīva-*) beside *śhīvan-*, and *śikvas-* 'strong' (as well as *śikva-*) beside *śikvan-*.

c. There is here a large number of transition forms both to and from the *ā*-declension. Many pairs of stems in *-a* and *-as* are common in both forms and seem therefore to be of independent derivation. But there are also a good many such doublets of which the one is the normal stem, while the other has come into being through mistaken analogy or metrical exigency. 1. In the transitions to the *a*-declension several may be explained as starting from the misleading analogy of contracted forms. To this group belong the following: from *dhīgras-*, a name of Agni, I. sing. *dhīgre* beside N. pl. *dhīgrāṣ*; from *án-āṣas-* 'sinless', A. pl. *án-āṣān* beside A. sing. *án-āṣām* and N. pl. *án-āṣāṣ*; from *ap-sarás-* 'water-nymph', *apsarābhyas* (AV.), *apsarāṣu* (AV.), *apsarā-śaltis* (AV.) beside *apsarām* (AV.); from *uṣás-* 'dawn', N. du. *uṣi* (VS.), *uṣābhyām* (VS.), beside A. sing. *uṣām* and pl. *uṣāṣ*; from *jarás-* m. 'old age', f. sing. N. *jarā* (AV. VS.), D. *jarāyai* (AV.), beside

¹ Also the transition forms *arcdyaz,* ⁷ See ARNOLD, Vedic Metre, p. 130, 11 (a); *śociyas,* cp. LANMAN 546.

² Also the transition form *vanūn.*

³ Also the transition form *arci-bhis.*

⁴ The derivation of a few stems ending in *-as* is obscure; as *uṣás-* 'lap' (only I. sing.), from the stem *uṣ-* (from *uṣ-* 'drip').

⁵ On the origin of this form as a combination of *-an-i* and *-asi* see JOHANSSON, BB. 18, 3 and cp. GGA. 1890, p. 762.

⁶ The lengthened vowel never occurs in the Pada text in these forms (excepting of course the N. *uṣāṣ*), because *-as* is never accented in Bahuvrīhi compounds; see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 301 d, note. *su-medhās-* 'very wise' is not a Bahuvrīhi.

⁸ The Pada text has *uṣāṣah.*

⁹ Here the long vowel appears in the

¹⁰ The form *sa-śarāṣas* 'enjoying in com-

mon(?)', occurring once, must be the pl.

of *sa-śarā-* (BR., GRASSMANN), not of **sa-*

śarāṣ- (LANMAN 546, GELINER, VS. 3, 197).

because *-as* is never accented in Bahuvrīhi

compounds; see WACKERNAGEL 2¹, p. 301 d,

note. *su-medhās-* 'very wise' is not a Bahuvrīhi.

A. *jarānī*; from *sa-jāṣar* 'united', N. du. *sa-jāṣau* beside pl. *sa-jāṣār*. There is a further group of transitions to the *a*-declension starting not from contracted forms, but from the N. sing. n. understood as m.². From *dvas* 'favour' is thus formed I. *āvema*; from *krāndas* 'battle-cry', D. *krāndāya* (AV.), and the compound *śuci-krānda-m* 'crying aloud'; from *śārtha* n. 'troop' the m. forms *śārtha-m*, *śārdhena*, *śārdhīya*, *śārdha-sya*, *śārdhān*; from *hīṣar* n., once (I. 94¹²) *hīṣa-s* N. m., hence A. *hīṣa-m* (AV.), L. *hīṣe*; also the compound forms N. f. du. *a-dveṣī* 'not ill-disposed', beside *dveṣar* 'hate'; *dur-āka-m* (VII. 43) 'unwanted' beside *āka* 'abode'; *vī-dradhī* (IV. 32¹³) 'unclothed(?)' beside *dradhī* (TS) 'garments'; *prthu-jrāya-m* (IV. 44¹) 'far-extending' beside *jrāyas* 'expanse'; *puru-pīṣu* 'multiform' beside *pīṣar* 'form'⁵.

2. The second class, comprising transitions to the *-as* declension, consists of the two groups of transfers from the radical *-ā* stems and the derivative *-a* stems. The former group embraces forms of compounds made from *kyā* 'abode', *pra-jā* 'offspring', *-dā* 'giving', *-dhā* 'bestowing', besides *mās* 'moon', starting from the N. in *-ās* which is identical in form with that of stems in *-a*. The forms of this type are the following: N. pl. *divā-kaśas-as* beside N. sing. *divā-kaśā-s* 'having an abode in heaven'; A. sing. *ā-prajas-am* (AV. VS.) 'childless', A. pl. f. *īdā-prajas-as* (TS. MS.), A. sing. *su-prajā-s-am* (AV.), N. pl. m. *svapajās-as* (AV. TS.) 'having a good son' beside N. sing. m. *su-prajā-s*; V. *draviṇo-dar*⁶ beside N. sing. *draviṇo-dā-s*, A. *draviṇo-dā-m* 'wealth-giving'; *varas-dās-au* (VS.) 'granting vigour'; *retā-dhās-as* (VS.) 'impregnating' beside N. sing. m. *retā-dhā-s*; A. *vayo-dhās-am* (VS.), I. *vayo-dhās-ā* (VS.), *vayo-dhās-e* (VS.), V. *vayo-dhās*, N. pl. *vayo-dhās-as* (AV.) beside N. sing. *vayo-dhās* 'bestowing vigour'; D. sing. *varco-dhās-e* (AV.) beside N. sing. *varco-dhās* (AV.) and A. sing. f. *varco-dhā-m* (VS.); of *candrā-mās* 'moon' all the forms occurring, except the N. sing., which is their starting-point, are transfer forms: A. *candrā-masam* (VS. XXIII. 59), I. *candrā-masā* (AV.), D. *candrā-masē* (VS.), G. *candrā-masas*, L. *candrā-masī* (AV.), V. *candra-mas* (AV.), N. du. *candrā-masā*, *sūryā-candra-masū* and *sūryā-candra-masau*.

3. There are further several sporadic transition forms from *-as* stems occurring beside the ordinary corresponding *-a* stem. These may sometimes have started from an ambiguous N. sing., but they seem usually to be due to metrical exigencies. Such forms are the following: *dākya-s*, *dākya-as*, *pūtā-dākya-s* and *pūtā-dākya-as* beside very frequent forms of *dākya* 'skill'; *dośas-as*⁷ (AV.) once beside forms of *dośā* 'evening'; *vīśvā-bhāras-am* beside the common *bhāra*; N. sing. *sā-bhāras*, A. *vīśvā-bhāras-am* beside the frequent *bhāra* 'supporting'; *veśās-as* (AV.) beside *veśā* 'neighbour'; *śēpas* as A. sing. in AV. (XIV. 23⁸) for the *śēpam* of the RV., from *śēpa* m. 'tail', N. sing. *śēpa-s*; N. sing. m. *su-śēvas* occurs in the AV. as a variant for *su-śēvas* 'very dear' of the RV.; *sahāra-śokās* occurs once as N. sing. m. beside the common *śoka* 'flame'; A. sing. *trivī-śvānā-am* and N. pl. *trivī-śvānā-as*, beside *śvānā* 'sound'; A. pl. f. *gharmā-śvāras-as* beside *śvānā* 'roaring'; also the D. *dhruvās-e* (VII. 70⁹) for *dhruvāya* to which it is preferred owing to the metre and the influence of infinitives in *-āse*, and similarly *vydhās-e* (V. 64⁵) parallel to *vydhāya* (VIII. 83⁶).

4. There are besides a few quite abnormal transition forms. The occurrence of the very frequent N. pl. m. of *vī* 'bird' with a singular verb (I. 141⁸) and once as an A. pl. (I. 104¹) may have produced the impression of a n. collective *vāyas* and thus led to the n. pl. *vāyāmsī* (AV.), helped perhaps by the existence of the very frequent n. stem *vāyas* 'food'. The isolated form N. sing. m. *sv-āhcās* is probably lengthened for *sv-āhās* (like *su-śēvas* for *su-śēvas*) which started from the A. sing. m. *sv-āhc-am*. The G. du. *vādas-as* occurs once (IX. 22⁵), evidently on account of the metre instead of the ordinary *vādas-as*¹⁰.

¹ LANMAN 552 thinks that *medhā* 'wisdom' in N. *medhā*, I. *medhāya*, N. pl. *medhās*, I. *medhābhīs* started from *medhām* as contracted A. of *medhas* found in *su-medhās*. This seems doubtful to me.

² In VI. 606 *vīkas* might be taken as N. sing. m. (as GRASSMANN takes it) beside *rośās*, m.

³ Cp. also the D. *carāyāi* (VII. 77¹) beside *carāve* (I. 92⁴, V. 47⁴), and *tārāya* (II. 13¹²) beside *tārāse* (III. 18³).

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 353 and 554, 8.

⁵ There is also an *-as* stem extended with *-a* in the D. *ā-jarasāya* (X. 85⁴) 'till old age', based on the adv. compound *ā-jarasām* (B.)

⁶ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 398.

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⁷ From *mās* (A. *mās-am*, etc.), where the *s* belongs to the stem. It is formed probably with *-as* from *mā* 'measure' (*mā-as*), being thus in origin a contracted *-as* stem, in which, however, the N. *mās* giving rise to the transition forms was understood as the lengthened form of **mūs*.

⁸ In *vāśo dośāras* *as* (AV. XVI. 4⁶) obviously due to parallelism with *vāśas*.

⁹ Clearly owing to the metre instead of *veśāsas*.

¹⁰ Similarly *akṣās* occurs in AV. V. 11¹⁰ (but contrary to the metre) for *akṣās*. On the transition forms of the *-as* declension cp. LANMAN 546—558.

Inflexion.

344. The N. sing. m. f. lengthens the vowel of the suffix; e. g. m. *dingirās*¹, f. *usās*. In about a dozen compounds the long vowel appears (owing to the influence of the m.) in the n. also; e. g. *ārṇa-mradīs* 'soft as wool'. Before endings with initial *bh* the suffix *-as* becomes *-o*². The forms actually occurring, if made from *āpas-* n. 'work' and *apās-* m. f. 'active', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *āpas*; *apās*. A. *āpas*; *apāsam*. I. *āpasā*; *apāsā*. D. *āpase*; *apāse*. Ab. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. G. *āpasas*; *apāsas*. L. *āpasi*; *apāsi*. V. *āpas*; *apās*. — Du. N. A. V. *āpasī*; *apāsī* and *apāsau*³. D. *apībhyām* (VS.). G. *āpasos* (VS.). — Pl. N. *āpāsi*; *apāsas*. A. *āpāsi*; *apāsas*. I. *āpobhis*; *apōbhis*. D. *āpobhyas*; *apībhyas*. Ab. *āpobhyas*. G. *āpasām*; *apāsām*. L. *āpassu*; *apāssu*⁴.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

Sing. N. m. *dingirās*⁵ an epithet of Agni, *dāminās* 'domestic', *nothās* name of a seer, *yasās* 'glorious', *raksās* 'demon', *vedhās* 'ordainer', compounds: *a-cetās* 'senseless', *aty-ānhās* (VS. xvii. 80) 'beyond distress', *ādri-barhās* 'fast as a rock', *ā-dvayās* 'free from duplicity', *an-āgās*⁶ 'sinless', *an-ūdhās* 'udderless', *ānina-varcās* 'having full splendour', *an-ends* 'guiltless', *ā-pracetās* 'foolish', *abhībhy-ājās* 'having superior power', *āmitaujās* 'almighty', *a-rapās* 'unhurt', *āvayāta-helās* 'whose anger is appeased', *āsamāty-ājās* 'of unequalled strength', *ā-hanās* 'exuberant', *uru-cakṣās* 'far-seeing', *uru-ryicās* 'widely extending', *īsi-manās* 'of far-seeing mind', *īśvohjās* 'having sublime (īśvā-) power', *kārī-dhāyās* 'favouring the singer', *kṛttī-nāsās* (VS. iii. 61) 'wearing a skin', *kēta-vedās* 'knowing the intention', *khādo-ārṇās* 'having a devouring flood', *gabhrī-vepās* 'deeply moved', *gūrtā-manās* 'having a grateful mind', *gūrtā-śraṇās* 'the praise of whom is welcome', *gō-nyeghās* 'streaming among milk', *ghṛtī-prayās* 'relishing ghee', *jāt-ved is* 'knowing created beings', *tāt-apās* 'accustomed to that work', *tāt-okās* 'rejoicing in that', *tāt-ājās* 'endowed with such strength', *tarid-āvepās* 'overcoming foes', *tigmā-tejās* (VS. i. 34) 'keen-edged', *tri-vayās* 'having threefold food', *dabhrī-cetās* 'little-minded', *dasmā-varcās* 'of wonderful appearance', *dirghā-tamās* N. of a seer, *dirghīpās* 'having a long fore-part', *dur-īpās* 'hard to excite', *dev-īparās* 'serving the gods as a feast', *dev-īśraṇās* 'having divine renown', *dvi-bārṇās* 'doubly strong', *nū-vedās* 'cognisant', *ny-cakṣās* 'watching men', *ny-mānās* 'mindful of men', *ny-ōkās* 'domestic', *pāvākī-varcās* 'brightly resplendent', *purā-rāvās* (VS. v. 2) N., *pythu-jrīyās* 'widely extended', *pythu-pājās* 'far-shining', *prā-cetas* 'attentive', *prā-vayās* 'vigorous', *bāhu-ājās* 'strong in the arm', *bṛhīc-śraṇās* 'loud-sounding', *bṛhīd-ravās* (VS. v. 22) 'loud-sounding', *bṛhīd-vayās* (TS. i. 5. 10²) 'grown strong', *bodhin-manās* 'watchful-minded', *bhāri-retās* (VS. xx. 44) 'abounding in seed', *bhāry-ājās* 'having great power', *mādhū-vacās* 'sweet-voiced', *māno-javās* 'swift as thought', *mahā-yasās* (Kh. iv. 8²) 'very glorious', *mitrī-mahās* 'rich in friends', *raghu-pātma-jamhās* 'having a light-falling foot',

¹ The stems *svā-tarās-* and *sv-ōtas-* form the irregular N. *svā-tarān* and *sv-ōtān*, VS. *usānī*; but this form may be a transition, starting from the A. *usānim* (= *usānasam*) *sv-āvā*.

² Except in f. *usōdbhis* and m. *svā-tarādbhyas* (VS.); cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 713 (bottom). The form *an-ēhī* (x. 61¹²), is perhaps *an-ēhī*.

³ The ending *-au* is here very rare and occurs chiefly in the later Sāṃhitās. The form *an-āvayās* (AV. vii. 90¹), meaning perhaps 'not producing conception', may belong to this declension. See

⁴ Represented in f. by *apārasū* (Kh.) and m. *apāsu* if for *apāssu*. WHITNEY's note. LANMAN 443, places it under radical *-ā* stems.

nīthaujās (VS. xv. 15) 'having the strength of a chariot', *riśādās* 'destroying enemies', *viśu-śravās* 'famous for wealth', *vāta-ramhās* 'fleet as wind', *vi-śetās* 'clearly seen', *vi-manās* 'very wise', *viśvā-śakṣās* 'all-seeing', *viśvā-dhāyās* 'all-sustaining', *viśvā-bharās*¹ (VS. xi. 32) 'all-supporting', *viśvā-bhojās* 'all-nourishing', *viśvā-manās* 'perceiving everything', *viśvā-vedās* 'omniscient', *viśvā-vyacās* (VS. xiii. 56) 'embracing all things', *viśvāśās* 'all-powerful', *vi-hāyās* 'mighty', *viśu-dhēsās* 'hating strongly', *viśi-harās* 'holding fast', *vṛddhā-mahās* 'of great might', *vṛddhā-vayās* 'of great power', *vṛddhā-śravās* 'possessed of great swiftness', *śatī-śeśās* (VS. i. 24) 'having a hundredfold vital power', *śatī-payās* (TS. VS.) 'having a hundred draughts', *śukrī-varcās* 'having bright lustre', *śraddhā-manās* 'true-hearted', *śrī-manās* (VS.) 'well-disposed', *śi-canā* 'being in harmony with', *śi-śetās* 'unanimous', *śa-śiśās* 'united', *śatyā-rādhas* 'truly beneficent', *śatyāśās* (AV. VS. TS.) 'truly mighty', *śa-prāthās* 'extensive', *śām-okās* 'dwelling together', *śahśra-śakṣās* 'thousand-eyed', *śahśra-śetās* 'having a thousand aspects', *śahśra-pāthās* 'appearing in a thousand places', *śahśra-śetās* 'having a thousandfold seed', *śahśra-śokās*¹ 'emitting a thousand flames', *śahśraśās* 'thousand-shaped', *śu-dāśās* 'performing splendid actions', *śu-mānās* 'well-disposed', *śu-medhās*² 'having a good understanding', *śu-rādhas* 'bountiful', *śu-śakṣās* 'having fair possessions', *śu-śetās* 'having much seed', *śu-vārcās* 'splendid', *śu-vāśās* 'having beautiful garments', *śōma-śakṣās* (TS. ii. 2. 12⁴) 'looking like Soma', *śōma-vāśās* 'receiving praise', *śpārthā-rādhas* 'bestowing enviable wealth', *śv-āścās*¹ 'going well', *śv-āśās* 'skillful', *śvābhūty-ōjās* 'having energy from inherent power', *śvā-yāśās* 'glorious through one's own acts', *śvār-śakṣās* 'brilliant as light', *śvār-canās* 'lovely as light', *śv-ōjās* 'very strong'.

f. *uśās* 'dawn'; *ūti-śchandās* (TS., VS. xxi. 22) a metre, *ū-dvayās*, *ap-sarās* 'water-nymph', *a-repās* 'spotless', *ā-hanās*, *uru-vydeās*, *ūrva-mradās* 'soft as wool', *dri-bīrhās*, *netā-vayās* 'whose strength is low', *nr-mānās*, *prī-śetās*, *mādhu-vacās*, *yāray-ū-dhēsās* 'driving away enemies', *vi-śchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11¹) 'containing various metres', *vi-hāyās*, *vīśa-muñās* 'manly-spirited', *śukrā-vāśās* 'bright-robed', *śi-śetās*, *śi-śchandās* (TS. v. 2. 11¹) 'consisting of the same metres', *śa-śiśās*, *śa-prāthās*, *śi-bharās*¹ 'furnished with gifts' (?), *śahś-yāśās* (TS. iv. 4. 12²) 'glorious', *śu-dāśās*, *śu-śakṣās* 'well-adorned', *śu-mānās*, *śu-medhās*², *śu-vāśās*.

N. A. n. *āpās* 'distress', *āñjās* 'ointment', *a-dhēsās* 'without malevolence', *ānās* 'cart', *an-śhās* 'without a rival', *ānūllās* 'darkness' and 'plant', *āśās* 'work', *āśās* 'active', *āśnās* 'property', *āśās* 'hidden part of the body', *āmbhās* 'water', *āśās* 'metal', *a-rakṣās* 'harmless', *a-rapās*, *āśnās* 'flood', *āśās* 'favour', *āśās* 'sin', *āśās* 'religious ceremony', *āśās* 'breast', *ūdhās* 'udder', *āśās* 'sin', *āśās* 'abode', *āśās* 'strength', *āśās* 'rushing water', *āśnās* 'delight', *āśnās* (VS. xxxiv. 3) 'intellect', *āśnās* 'metrical hymn', *āśnās* 'course', *āśnās* 'quickness', *āśnās* 'expanse', *āśnās*, *āśnās* 'heat', *āśnās* 'darkness', *āśnās* 'velocity', *āśnās* 'sharp edge', *āśnās* 'abandonment', *āśnās* 'marvellous power', *āśnās* 'worship', *āśnās* 'property', *āśnās* 'hostility', *āśnās* 'vapour', *āśnās* 'obedience', *āśnās* 'side', *āśnās* 'milk', *āśnās* (VS. xx. 9) 'penis', *āśnās* 'vigour', *āśnās* 'place', *āśnās* 'fat', *āśnās* 'greatly nourishing', *āśnās* 'ornament', *āśnās* 'width', *āśnās* 'enjoyment', *āśnās* 'feast', *āśnās* 'radiance', *āśnās* 'light', *āśnās* 'mind', *āśnās* 'joy', *āśnās* 'greatness', *āśnās* 'great', *āśnās* 'disdain', *āśnās* 'fat', *āśnās* 'fame', *āśnās* 'damage', *āśnās* 'region of clouds', *āśnās* 'infirmity', *āśnās* 'violence', *āśnās* 'bounty', *āśnās* 'wealth', *āśnās* 'flow', *āśnās* 'stain', *āśnās* 'bank', *āśnās* 'breast', *āśnās* 'speech', *āśnās* 'bird' and

¹ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3, 4) ; -as stem occurs only in *śu-medhāsam* (once)

² Perhaps a transfer form from *medhā-*, and *śu-medhāsas* (four times in a refrain) since the latter stem is common, while the

'food', *vāriyas* 'space', *vārcas* 'vigour', *vārpas* 'figure', *vag-śjas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'speech-energy', *vāsas* 'garment', *vāhas* 'offering', *vādas* 'wealth', *vepas* 'quivering', *vyācas* 'expanse', *vṛhyas* 'superior power', *śārdhas* 'troop', *śāvas* 'power', *śra-* 'head', *śśas* 'offspring', *śrāvas* 'renown', *sa-śjas*, *sādas* 'seat', *sānas* (Kh. III. 15¹⁵) 'gain', *sa-prāthas*, *sa-bhāhas* 'harassed', *sāras* 'lake', *sāhas* 'force', *sahāśjas* (VS. XXXVI. 1) 'endowed with strength', *su-rātas*, *srātas* 'stream', *svā-tarvas* 'inherently strong', *hāras* 'flame', *hālas* 'passion', *hāras* 'crookedness'. — Ending in *-ās*² (like m.): *asrī-vāyās*³ (VS. XIV. 18), *uru-prāthās* (VS. XX. 39) 'far-spread', *ūrva-mradās*, *gārdi-vacās* 'speaking agreeably', *devd-ryacās* 'affording space for the gods', *dvi-bārhas*, *viśvā-nyacās* (AV.), *vī-spardhas* (VS. XV. 5) 'emulating', *vīrā-peśās* 'forming the ornament of heroes', *vīli-harās*, *sa-prāthās* (AV. VS. TS.), *sumānās* (TS. IV. 5. 1²)⁴.

A. m. *jarāsam* 'old age', *tavāsam* 'strong', 'strength', *tyajāsam* 'offshoot', *dāmūnasam*, *pārīnasam* (160) 'abundance', *bhīyāsam* 'fear', *yajāsam*, *rakāsam*, *vedhāsam*, *a-cetāsam*, *ānasā-vedāsam* 'having one's property unimpaired', *ān-āgasam*, *ānu-gāyasam* 'followed by shouts', *an-ēndām* (TS. I. 8. 5³), *an-ēndām*, *apāsam*, *ā-pratidhīśa-śavasam* 'of irresistible power', *abhībhūty-śjasam*, *arī-manāsam* 'obedient', *a-rādhasam* 'not liberal', *a-repāsam*, *arcanānasam* 'having a rattling carriage' (N. of a man), *ā-hanāsam*, *ūccaiś-śravasam* (Kh. V. 14⁵) 'neighing aloud' (N. of Indra's horse), *upāki-cakāsam* 'seen close at hand', *uru-cikāsam*, *uru-jrāyasam* 'extending over a wide space', *uru-vyācasam*, *ūrva-mradāsam* (VS. II. 2), *ūrdhvā-nabhasam* (VS. VI. 16) 'being above the clouds', *kyetra-sādhāsam* 'who divides the fields', *gāthā-śravasam* 'famous through songs', *gāyatrī-cchandāsam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Gāyatrī metre belongs', *gāyatrī-vepasam* 'inspired by songs', *gīr-vānasam* 'delighting in invocations', *gīr-vāhasam* 'praised in song', *gārdi-śravasam*, *gī-ārjāsam* 'abounding in cattle', *gī-dhāyasam* 'supporting cows', *cikitvīn-manāsam* 'attentive', *citrī-mahasam* 'possessing excellent bounty', *citrī-rādhasam* 'granting excellent gifts', *jīgac-chandāsam* (VS. VIII. 47) 'to whom the Jagatī metre belongs', *jātā-vedāsam*, *tuvi-rādhasam* 'granting many gifts', *tuvi-svāndām* 'loud-sounding', *tuvi-śjasam* 'very powerful', *trīṣṭhī-chandāsam* (VS. VIII. 47), *dāndukāsam* 'delighting (śkas-) in a sacrificial meal', *dyukṣi-vacāsam* 'uttering heavenly words', *dvi-bārhasam*, *dvi-śavasam* 'having twofold strength', *dhī-srī-śjasam* 'endowed with resistless might', *nāryāpasam* 'doing manly (nārya-) deeds', *nī-cakāsam*, *pañkti-rādhasam* 'containing fivefold gifts', *puru-peśāsam* 'multiform', *puru-bhājasam*, *puru-vārpasam* 'having many forms', *puru-vepasam* 'much-exciting', *prā-cetasam*, *prā-tvakāsam* 'energetic', *brāhma-vāhasam* 'to whom prayers are offered', *bhūri-cakāsam* 'much-seeing', *bhūri-dhīyasam* 'nourishing many', *māno-javāsam* (TS. I. 4. 7¹), *yajñī-vānasam* 'loving sacrifice', *yajñī-vāhasam* 'offering worship', *riśādasam*⁶, *vāja-śravasam* 'famous for wealth', *vī-cetasam*, *vī-jośasam* 'forsaken', *vī-dveśasam* 'resisting enmity', *viśvā-dhāyasam*, *viśvā-bhārasam*⁷, *viśvā-vedāsam*, *viśvā-nyacāsam*, *viśvāyu-jośasam* 'causing prosperity to all men', *viśvāyu-vepasam* 'exciting all men', *vī-hāyasam*, *vīli-rādhasam* 'granting enjoyment', *sī-cetasam*, *sa-śjasam*, *satyī-gīr-vāhasam* 'getting true praise', *satyī-rādhasam* (VS. XXII. 11), *satyī-śavasam* 'truly vigorous',

¹ Though *sānas* does not otherwise occur (sana- m. is found as last member of a compound), the context in Khila III. 15¹⁵ seems to require an A.: *ahām gandhārva-rāpeya sāna ā varīyāmi te*.

² Cp. LANMAN 560.

³ Of doubtful meaning; the form may possibly be N. pl. of *arīvi*. Cp. BR.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 560; see also the neuters in *ā-s*, LANMAN 445 (mid).

⁵ For this form, TS. III. 3. 11² has erroneously *tuvi-manāsam*.

⁶ Also the transition form *vajyo-dhīnam* (VS.) 'bestowing strength'.

⁷ Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

sādma-makhasam 'performing sacrifice in a sacred precinct', *sa-prāthasam* (VS. XXI. 3), *samudrā-vāsasam* 'concealed in the waters', *samudrā-vyacasam* 'extensive as the sea', *sāra-vedasam* (VS. xv. 55; TS. iv. 7. 13⁴) 'having complete property', *sahāsra-cakṣasam*, *sahāsra-bhāṇasam* 'a thousandfold', *sahāsra-varcasam* 'having a thousandfold power', *su-ctasam* 'very wise', *su-dhṛṣasam*, *su-pśasam*, *su-prayāsam* 'well regaled', *su-bhōjasam* 'bountiful', *su-medhāsam*², *su-rādhasam*, *su-rctasam*, *su-vārcasam* (TS. III. 2. 8³), *su-srāvasam* 'famous', *syprā-bhōjasam* 'having abundant food', *svā-yāsasam*, *sv-āvasam* 'affording good protection', *hāri-dhāyasam* 'giving yellow streams', *hāri-varpasam* 'having a yellow appearance'. — Contracted forms: *uśānam* N. of a seer, *māhām*, *vedhām*.

f. *uśāsam* and *uśāsam*², *dhvārsam* 'deceiving'; *du-āgasam*, *an-dhāsam*, *a-rakṣāsam*, *a-repāsam*, *āśva-peśasam* 'decorated with horses', *śū-ōjasam* 'exceedingly powerful', *uru-vyācasam*, *cikitoṁ-manasam*, *puru-bhōjasam*, *yāvayā-d-āveśasam*, *vāja-peśasam* 'adorned with precious gifts', *viśva-dāhasam* 'yielding all things', *viśvā-dhāyasam*, *viśvā-peśasam* 'containing all adornment', *viśvā-bhōjasam*, *satārcasam* 'having a hundred supports' (*rcās-*), *śīci-peśasam* 'brightly adorned', *sahāsra-bhāṇasam*, *svā-yāsasam*, *hāri-varpasam*. — Contracted forms: *uśām*, *jarām*, *medhām* 'wisdom', *vayām* 'vigour'; *du-āgām*, *ap-sarām* (AV.)³.

I. m. *jarāsā*, *tārūśasā* 'giving victory', *tavāsā*, *tveśāsā* 'impulse', *pārinasā*, *bhīyāsā*⁴, *yaśāsā*, *sāhasā* 'mighty', *havāsā* 'invocation'; *an-ehāsā*, *a-rakṣāsā*, *gī-partūśasā* 'having abundance of cows', *pythu-pājasā*, *māno-javasā*, *viśvā-peśasā*, *su-peśasā*, *su-srāvasā*, *sv-āpasā* (VS. xxv. 3).

f. *uśāsā*, *yajāsā* 'worshipping'; *ātī-ehandasā* (VS. I. 27), *a-repāsā*, *uru-cakṣāsā* (VS. IV. 23).

n. *āśjasā*, *ānasā*, *āndhasā*, *āpasā*, *āpāsā*, *a-rakṣāsā*, *ārnasā*, *āvasā*, *ūrasā* (VS. TS.), *ēnasā*, *ōjasā*, *īhasā* 'prospect', *kyōdasā*, *gū-arnasā*, *cakṣāsā* 'brightness', *chāsā*, *chāndasā* (VS. TS.), *jāvasā* and (once) *javāsā*⁵ 'with speed', *tānasā* 'offspring', *tāpasā*, *tāmasā*, *tārasā*, *tjjasā*, *tyjasā*, *tvākṣāsā* 'energy', *dāṁsasā*, *dāhasā* 'milking', *dhāyasā* 'nourishing', *dhrijasā* 'gliding power', *nābhasā*, *nāmasā*, *pāyasā*, *pājasā*, *pīvasā*, *pśasā* (VS. xx. 41), *prāyasā*, *bāhvōjasā*, *bhrijasā* 'lustre', *mānasā*, *māhasā*, *mēdasā*, *yaśāsā*⁶ 'glorious', *rākṣāsā*, *rājasā*, *rāpasā*, *rādhasā*, *riknasā*, *rctasā*, *vācasā*, *vānasā* 'enjoyment', *vāyasā*⁷, *vārcasā*, *vārpasā*, *vāsasā*, *vāhasā*, *vēdasā*, *vēpasā*, *sāvasā*, *śirasā* (Kh. I. 9), *śśasā*, *śrāvasā*, *sāhasā*, *su-dāṁsasā*, *su-rctasā*, *svctasā*, *hārasā*, *hēśasā* 'vigour'⁸.

D. m. *tavāse*, *duvāse* 'worshipper', *yaśāse*, *rakṣāse*, *vedhāse*, *śīkṣāse* 'adroit', *sāhasē* 'mighty'; *abhīṣṭi-sāvase* 'granting powerful aid', *ukthā-vāhase* 'offering verses', *uru-vyācase*, *rcti-peśase* 'having a glorious form', *gāyatrī-vepase*, *gīr-vanase*, *gīr-vāhase*, *ghorī-cakṣase* 'of frightful appearance'⁹, *jātī-vedase*, *tīd-āpase*, *tīd-akase*, *dirghā-yaśase* 'renowned far and wide', *dirghā-śravase* 'famous far

² Perhaps to be explained as a transition form starting from N. *su-medhās-*.

³ In Pada text *uśasam*.

⁴ Cp. J. SCHMIDT, *Heteroklitische nominative singularis auf -ās in den arischen Sprachen*, KZ. 26, 401—409; 27, 284; COLLITZ, BB. 7, 180; PRELLWITZ, BB. 22, 83.

⁵ Also contracted to *bhīyā* with adverbial shift of accent occurring 3 times (*bhīyāsā* 11 times).

⁶ In IV. 27.

⁷ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *yajās-*.

⁷ Also the transition form *vayā-dhāsā* (VS. xv. 7).

⁸ A few forms in *-ās* appear to have the value of instrumentals as agreeing with a word in that case: *vācas* (I. 26² etc.), *yajñā-vacis* (AV. xi. 31⁹), *sāvas* (I. 81⁴); *tāhas* (AV. xii. 3²); cp. BLOOMFIELD, SHE. 42, 645; see LANMAN 562, and cp. CALAND, KZ. 31, 261.

⁹ Also the transition form *caudrī-mase* (VS. xxx. 21).

and wide', *dyumni-śravase* 'producing a clear sound', *ny-cakṣase*, *ny-ḍkase*, *puru-rāvase*, *prthu-jrāvase*, *prthu-pāvase*, *prā-cetasē*, *prā-tarase* 'very strong', *brāhma-vāhase*, *mṛktā-vāhase* 'carrying off what is injured', N. of a seer, *yajñā-vāhase*, *viśvā-cakṣase*, *vi-śūyase*, *satyā-rādhasē*, *sahāśra-cakṣuse*, *svā-tarase*, *svā-yāśase*.

f. *uśāse*, *vydhāse* 'furtherance'; *āti-cchandase* (VS. XXIV. 13), *dur-vāśase* 'ill-clothed', *parjānya-retase* 'sprung from the seed of Parjanya'.

n. *apāse*, *a-peśāse* 'formless', *āvase*, *ījase*, *cakṣase*, *javāse*, *tāpase*, *tāmasē*, *tārāse*, *tjase* (VS. XV. 8), *dākṣase* 'ability', *dhiyase*, *dhrumase* 'stopping', *nibhase* (VS. VII. 30), *nāmase*, *pāvase*, *prāyase*, *psrāse*, *mānase*, *māhase* (VS. XIX. 8), *yāśase* (VS. XX. 3), *yūdase* (VS. XXX. 20) 'voluptuousness', *rākṣase*, *rādhasē*, *rētase*, *vācāse*, *vārcāse*, *śārasē* (VS. XXXVIII. 15) 'skin of boiled milk', *śāvase*, *śāśase*, *svā-yāśase*, *hārasē*.

Ab. m. *a-rādhasas*, *javāsas*, *tavāsas*, *pārīṇasas*, *rakṣāsas*², *sūhasas*. — f. *uśāsas*. — n. *āpḥasas*³, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *ārīnasas*, *āgasas* (TS. IV. 7. 15⁴), *ānasas*, *śkasas*, *ījasas*, *kṣāsas*, *jrāyasas*, *tāpasas*, *tāmasas*, *drāvīnasas*, *pāvāsas*, *pāvāsas*, *prādhasas*, *bhāṃsasas* 'intestine', *mānasas*⁵, *rāvāsas*, *rādhasas*, *vāśasas*, *sāśasas*, *sārasas*, *sāhasas*.

G. m. *āngirasas*, *apāsas*, *āpnasas*, *tavāsas*, *pārīṇasas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*; *in-āgasas*, *āpaka-cakṣāsas* 'shining from afar', *abhi-vayasas* 'refreshing', *a-rakṣāsas*, *upamā-śravāsas* 'most highly famed', *kṣmā-jamhasas* 'having a black track', *jātā-vedāsas*, *dināpnasas* 'having abundance of gifts', *dirghā-śravāsas*, *drī-bārhasas*, *ny-cakṣāsas*, *pārī-dveśāsas* 'enemy', *puru-bhījasas*, *prthu-śrāvāsas* 'far-famed', *prā-cetasas*, *prā-mahasas* 'very glorious', *prāyāsas* (TS. IV. 1. 8⁶), *bhā-tvakṣāsas* 'having the power of light', *vi-cetasas*, *vidmanāpasas* 'working with wisdom', *viśvā-manāsas*, *vīka-dvarāsas*⁷, *satyā-rādhasas* (TS. III. 3. 11⁴), *satyā-savāsas* (VS. IV. 18) 'having true impulsion', *sa-bīdhasas*, *su-prāyāsas* (VS. XXVII. 15), *svā-yāśasas*. — f. *uśāsas*⁸.

n. *āpḥasas*, *ānasas*, *āndhasas*, *āpasas*, *āyasas*, *ārīnasas*, *ārīnasas* (VS. XII. 97) 'piles', *āvāsas*, *ānasas* (VS. VIII. 13), *śkasas*, *ījasas*, *gī-ārīnasas*, *tāpasas* (VS. IV. 26; Kh. IV. 11¹³), *tāmasas*, *tyjāsas*, *dākṣāsas*⁷, *drāvīnasas*, *nibhasas*, *nāmasas*, *pāvāsas*, *pāvāsas* (Kh. I. 7⁹), *prāyāsas*, *mānasas*, *māśasas*, *rāvāsas*, *rāpasas*, *rādhasas*, *rāsasas*, *vāśasas*, *vāśasas* 'fair form', *vāyasas*, *vārpāsas*, *vāsasas*, *śāśasas*⁸, *śāvāsas*, *sāśasas*, *sārapāsas*⁹, *sāhasas*, *hārasas*⁹. — Contracted form: *ny-mānās* (X. 92¹⁴).

L. m. *āngirasi*¹⁰ (VS. IV. 10), *gī-ārīnasi*, *jātā-vedasi*, *dāmūnasi*, *prthu-śrāvasi*, *yajñā-vāhasi* (VS. IX. 37), *satyā-śravasi* 'truly famous', N. of a man. — f. *uśāsi*. — n. *āpḥasi*, *ānjasi*, *apāsi*, *āvasi*, *āgasi*, *śkasi*, *krāndasi* 'battle-cry', *cakṣasi*, *tāmasi*, *nāmasi*, *pāvasi*, *pāvasi* (VS. XIII. 53), *mānasi*, *rāvasi*, *rādhasi*, *rētasi*, *śrāvasi*, *sāśasi*, *sārasasi*, *hāśasi* (TS. III. 3. 11⁴).

V. m. *āngiras*, *nodhas*, *vedhas*; *uktha-vāhas*, *upama-śravas*, *kāru-dhāyas*,

¹ Also the transition form *vayo-dhāse* (VS. XXVIII. 46).

² Also the transition form *retā-dhāse* (VS. VIII. 10).

³ In VI. 3¹ *āpḥas* is probably the stem used instead of the very frequent Ab. *āpḥas-as*, rather than the Ab. of *āpḥ-*, as this would be the only form from such a stem, and the accent would be irregular.

⁴ Also the adv. in the sense of the Ab., *medas-tās* (VS. XXI. 60).

⁵ Of uncertain meaning.

⁶ Once the strong form *uśāsas* (X. 39¹) for the weak.

⁷ This, as well as the D. n. *dākṣan*, is a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁸ The stem *śāśas* in VIII. 3⁶ may be used for the G. Perhaps also *sāśas-pāti* stands for *śāśas-pāti*. Cp. LANMAN 563¹.

⁹ Transition forms are *śāśhaya*, *nir-avāśya*; *candrā-masas*, *retā-dhāse* (VS.); *dākṣasas*, *doṣṣas* (AV.).

¹⁰ Also the transfer forms *āngiri*, *hīle*; *candrā-masi* (AV.).

gir-vāhas, *gir-vāhas*¹, *jāta-vedas*, *deva-śravas*, *dhṛṣan-manas* 'bold-minded', *kr-cakṣas*, *nr-manas*, *puru-ravas*, *pra-cetas*², *brahma-vāhas*, *mitra-mahas*, *vāja-pramahas* 'superior in strength', *viśva-cakṣas*, *viśva-dhāyas*, *viśva-manas*, *ryā-manas*, *satya-rādhas*, *su-dravīnas* 'having fine property', *su-mahas* 'very great', *sva-tavas*, *su-ojas*. — f. *uśas*; *ā-hanas*, *tigma-tejas* (AV. VS.). — n. *dravīnas*, *śārdhas*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *apāsā*, *tavāsā*, *tuśāsā*³ 'showering', *yaśāsā*, *vedhāsā*; *a-repāsā*, *āsu-hkṣāsā* 'having neighing horses', *tya-cakṣāsā* 'of far-reaching sight', *ukthā-vāhasā*, *uru-cakṣāsā*, *kṣty-ojasā* 'overpowering men', *gambhīra-cetasā* 'of profound mind', *gā-parīyasā*, *jāta-vedasā*, *tid-okasā*, *na-vedasā*, *nr-cakṣāsā*, *nr-vāhasā* 'conveying men', *puru-dīmsasā* 'abounding in wonderful deeds', *puru-bhojasā*, *pūta-dakṣāsā*⁴ 'pure-minded', *prthu-pākṣāsā* 'broad-flanked', *prī-cetasā*, *prī-mahasā*, *bodhin-manasā*, *mata-vacasā* 'heeding prayers', *mano-jarāsā*, *yajña-vāhasā*, *riśāsā*, *vatsa-pracetāsā* 'mindful of Vatsa', *vi-cetasā*, *vi-pakṣāsā* 'going on both sides', *vipra-vāhasā* 'receiving the offerings of the wise', *viśvā-bhojasā*, *viśvā-vedasā*, *ryānasā* 'guiltless', *śrīṣṭha-varcasā* 'having most excellent energy', *sa-jāsā*, V. *sātyaujasā* (TS. iv. 7. 15⁵), *sā-manasā* 'unanimous', *samānt-varcasā* 'having equal vigour', *sām-okasā*, *sā-rayasā* 'having equal vigour', *sā-vedasā* 'having equal wealth', *sindhu-vāhasā* 'passing through the sea'(?), *su-dīmsasā*, *su-prayāsā*, *su-rādhasā*, *su-riśāsā*, *su-ryicasā* 'very eloquent', *sr-śrasā*, *hitī-prayasā* 'who has offered an oblation of food', *hiranya-pekāsā* 'having golden lustre'⁶. — **With au:** *a-repāsau*, V. *jāta-vedasau* (TS. i. 3. 7²), *nr-cakṣasau*, *prī-cetasau* (VS. xxviii. 7), *viśvā-sārdhasau* 'forming a complete troop', *sā-cetasau* (VS. v. 3; Kh. iii. 15¹¹), *sa-jāsau* (VS. xii. 74), *sā-manasau* (TS. i. 3. 7²), *sām-okasau* (TS. i. 3. 7²)⁷. — f. *uśāsā* and *uśāsā*⁸, *nīkṣāsā*⁹, *bhūri-relāsā*, *bhūri-varpāsā* 'multiform', *viśvā-pekāsā*, *sā-cetasā*, *sā-manasā*, *su-dīmsasā*⁹, *su-pāsā*. — **With -au:** *ap-sārdāsau* (AV.), *a-repāsau*, *uśāsau* (VS. xxi. 50), *yaśāsau*; *nr-cakṣasau*, *viśvā-sārdhasau*, *ryānasau* (AV.)¹⁰. — n. *āndhasi*, *krāndhasi*, *jānasī*, *drādhasi* (TS. iii. 2. 2¹¹) 'garments', *nībhāsī* (AV.), *nādhasī* 'refuges', *pākṣasī* (AV.), *pājāsī*, *rājāsī*, *vīcasī*, *vāsasī* (TS. i. 5. 10¹).

D. m. *sa-jīśobhyām* (VS. vii. 8).

G. n. *dikṣā-tapāsos*¹¹ (VS. iv. 2) 'consecration and penance'.

Pl. N. V. m. *āṅgirasas*, *apāsas*, *tavāsas*, *dīmānasas*, *duvāsas* 'restless', *mygayāsas* 'wild animals', *yaśāsas*, *rakṣāsas*, *vedhāsas*, *śikvasas*; *ā-giraukasas* 'not to be kept back by hymns' (*girā*), *a-cetasas*, *a-cudāsas* 'unurged', *ādbhutainasas* 'in whom no fault (*ānas*) is visible', *an-avabhṛā-rādhasas* 'giving undiminished wealth', *ān-āgasas*, *an-ohāsas*, *a-repāsas*, *ā-vīcetasas* 'unwise', *a-śāsasas* 'without descendants', *āśva-rādhasas* 'equipping horses', *ā-sāmi-savāsas* 'having complete strength', *ā-hanasas*, *ukthā-vāhasas*, *āid-ojasas*, *uru-ryīcasas* (VS. xxvii. 16), *kṣetra-sādhasas*, *gambhīrā-vapāsas*,

¹ In VI. 24⁶ GRASSMANN would read *gīrāvāhas*, as N.; cp. LANMAN 564².

² TS. i. 5. 11³ has *pracetā rājan*; the original passage, RV. i. 24¹⁴, has *pracetā rājan* (Pada, *pracetā*); see LANMAN 564³.

³ Transition forms are *sā-pratha* (TB.), *candra-mar* (AV.), *vayo-dhas*, *draviṇo-das*.

⁴ With lengthened vowel.

⁵ Probably to be explained as a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁶ Also the transition forms *condrāmāsā*, *sūryā-candramāsā*.

⁷ Also the transition forms *sūryā-candramāsā*, *varco-dāsau* (VS. vii. 27), *sa-jāsau*.

⁸ In the Pada text *uśāsā*.

⁹ In vii. 73¹ *puru-dīmsā* is perhaps a contracted form.

¹⁰ Also the transition forms *uśī* (VS.), *a-śvepī*, *vi-dradhī*.

¹¹ There are also in the f. the transition forms *uśābhīyam* I. and *rūdhasos* G.

ghṛṣṭi-rādhasas 'granting with joy', *ghorī-varpasas* 'of terrible appearance', *citrī-rādhasas*, *tūti-okasas*, *tūti-svāndas*¹, *devī-bārhasas*, *dṛṣṣṭi-śasas*, *nā-vedasas*, *ṛ-ekṣasas*, *paṭhi-rākṣasas* (VS. xvi. 60) 'protecting roads', *pāṭi-dakṣasas*², *pr̥thu-pājasas*, *prā-cetasas*, *prati-jūti-varpasas* 'assuming any form according to impulse', *prī-tavasas*, *prī-śvakṣasas*, *prī-sravasas* 'farfamed', *bāhī-śjasas*, *bhālanāsas* N. of a people, *mādhū-śsarasas* 'fond of sweetness', *mīdhya-cchandasas* (TS. IV. 3. 11)³ 'sun' or 'middle of the year' (Comm.), *yajña-vāhasas*, *yuti-dveśasas* 'delivered from enemies', *riśādasas*, *rukmi-vakṣasas* 'wearing gold ornaments on the breast', *vāruna-śasasas* 'resembling sons of Varuṇa', *vāta-ramhasas*, *vāta-svanasas* 'roaring like the wind', *vī-cetasas*, *vidmanīpasas*, *vidyām-mahasas* 'rejoicing in lightning', *vīpra-vacasas* 'whose words are inspired', *vī-mahasas* 'very glorious', *vīśvī-dhāyasas*, *vīśvī-mahasas* 'having all splendour', *vīśvī-vedasas*, *vī-pardhasas* 'vying', *vī-hāyasas*, *vṛddhī-tavasas* 'of great strength', *śrīṣṭha-varcasas*, *sī-cetasas*, *sa-jūśasas*, *satya-śavasas*, *sa-bharasas*⁴, *sā-manasas*, *sām-okasas*, *sī-rayasas*, *sī-srotasas* (VS. xxxiv. 11) 'flowing', *sahī-cchandasas* 'accompanied by metre', *sahśra-pājasas* 'having a thousandfold lustre', *sahīujasas* (VS. x. 4), *su-ekṣasas* 'seeing well', *su-cetasas*, *su-dāśasas*, *su-pṛśśasas* 'very fat', *su-pēśasas*, *su-prīcetasas* 'very wise', *su-prajāsas*⁵ (TS. I. 6. 2¹; AV.) 'having a good son', *su-māśasas*, *su-mahasas*, *su-medhasas*⁶, *su-rādhasas*, *sīra-ekṣasas* 'radiant as the sun', *sīrya-śaracasas* (VS. x. 4) 'having a covering bright as the sun', *sīrya-varcasas* (VS. x. 4) 'resplendent as the sun', *śīma-vāhasas* 'giving praise', *svī-tavasas*, *svī-śpasas*, *svī-śpnasas* 'wealthy', *svī-yasasas*, *svī-śvasas*, *hīti-prayasas*. — Contracted forms: *āngiras*, *an-āgās*⁷, *nāvedās*, *śajśśās*. — f. *apāsas*, *uśśas* and *uśśās*⁸, *yaśśas*; *agni-bhrījasas* 'fire-bright', *an-ehāsas*, *ap-sarīśas*, *uru-vyēśasas* (TS. IV. 1. 8²), *ṛṣṣu-eyīśasas* 'moving greedily', *dhātva-arnasas* 'overflowing the dry land', *ṛ-pēśasas* 'adorned by men', *prā-cetasas*, *prā-svādasas* 'pleasant', *mīdhv-arnasas* 'having a sweet flood', *vī-cetasas*, *su-pēśasas*, *sūda-dohasas* 'milking sweetness', *svī-śpasas*, *svī-yasasas*. — Contracted forms: *medhās*; *ś-jūśās* 'insatiable', *nā-vedās*, *su-rādhas*.

N. A. n. *ānhāmsi*, *ānkāmsi* 'bends', *āndhāmsi*, *āpāmsi*, *ārṇāmsi*, *ārṇāmsi*, *īgāmsi*, *enāmsi*, *ōkāmsi*, *ījāmsi*, *kīrṇāmsi* 'deeds', *chāndāmsi*, *jīvāmsi*, *śrīyāmsi*, *tīmāmsi*, *trōksāmsi*, *dāśśāmsi*, *dīrṇāmsi*, *dūśśāmsi*, *pāyāmsi*, *pājāmsi*, *pāthāmsi* (VS. xxi. 46), *pēśāmsi*, *prīyāmsi*, *bhāsāmsi*, *māndāmsi*, *māhāmsi*, *rākṣāmsi*, *rājāmsi*, *rāpāmsi*, *rādhasāmsi*, *rētāmsi*, *rōdhāmsi*, *rōhāmsi* 'heights', *vūkāmsi*, *vūcāmsi*, *vāyāmsi*, *vārṇāmsi* 'expanses', *vārīvāmsi*, *vārcāmsi* (VS. ix. 22), *vārpāmsi*, *vāsāmsi*, *śārdhāmsi*, *śāvāmsi*, *śrāvāmsi*, *sādāmsi*, *sārāmsi*, *sāhāmsi*, *skāndhāmsi* 'branches', *hēlāmsi*, *hvdṛāmsi*.

A. m. *āngirasas*⁹, *dhvāśśasas*, *yaśśasas*, *rakṣasas*, *vedhāsas*; *an-āgasas*, *an-ehāsas*, *ā-prācetasas*, *ā-rādhasas*, *uru-ekṣasas*, *tūti-rādhasas*, *pūṭi-dakṣasas*⁷, *prā-cetasas*, *br̥hīc-śhravasas*, *yajñi-vāśasas*, *riśāśśasas*, *vī-mahasas*, *vī-śpardhasas*, *sa-jūśasas* (VS. iii. 44), *sā-manasas* (VS. vii. 25), *su-pēśasas*, *su-rādhasas*, *svī-śpnasas*⁸. — Contracted forms: *an-āgās*, *su-medhās*⁹. — f. *apāsas*, *uśśas*¹⁰, *yaśśasas*; *a-javāsas* 'not swift', *an-āpnāsas* 'destitute of wealth', *an-ehāsas*, *ap-sarīśas*, *arī-dhāyasas* 'willingly yielding milk', *gharmā-svarasas*⁷ 'sounding like (the contents of) a boiler', *tūā-apasas*, *bhūri-varpasas*, *vāja-dravīśasas* 'richly

¹ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

² Probably a transition form (p. 225, 2).

³ Probably a transfer form; see p. 227, note 2.

⁴ Perhaps also *an-ehās* (x. 61²); see LAN-

MAN 551¹.

⁵ In the Pada text *uśśas*.

⁶ In I. 112¹⁸ LANMAN would take *āngiras* as A. pl. m. without ending.

⁷ Probably a transition form (p. 225, 3).

⁸ Also the transition forms *śārdhān*, *an-āgān*.

⁹ It is somewhat doubtful whether this is a contracted A. pl. (vii. 91³).

¹⁰ Once also *uśśas*. In III. 6⁷ and VIII.

41³ LANMAN (566) would take *uśśas* as A. pl. without ending.

rewarded', *vāja-bravasas*, *viśvā-dahasas*, *viśvā-dhāyasas*, *su-pīśasas*¹. — Contracted form: *usās* (IX. 41⁵).

I. m. *āngirobhis*; *agni-tāpobhis* 'having the heat of fire', *svā-yasobhis*. — f. *svā-yasobhis*; with -*ad-* for -*o-*: *uśādbhis* (44 a, 3).

n. *ā-yavobhis* (VS. XII. 74) 'dark halves of the month', *āryobhis*, *āvobhis*, *ījobhis*, *chāndobhis* (Kh. V. 3⁴), *tāpobhis*, *tāmobhis*, *tārobhis*, *dāmsobhis*, *dvīśobhis*, *dhūyobhis*, *nābhobhis*, *nāmobhis*, *pākṣobhis* (VS. XXIX. 5; TS. V. I. 11²), *pāyobhis*, *prāyobhis*, *māhobhis*, *rājobhis*, *rādhobhis*, *vidobhis*, *vāyobhis*, *vārobhis*, *tāvobhis*, *śrāvobhis*, *sāhobhis*.

D. m. *āngirobhyas*; with -*ad-* for -*o-*: *svā-tavadbhyas* (VS. XXIV. 16). — n. *mīdobhyas* (VS. XXXIX. 10), *rīkṣobhyas*, *vāyobhyas* (AV.), *śrōbhyas* (VS. XXX. 16). — Ab. n. *dvīśobhyas*.

G. m. *āngirasām*, *apāsām*, *tavāsām*, *yaśāsām*, *vedhāsām*; *adbhutainasām*, *dasmā-varcasām*, *mahā-manasām* 'high-minded', *śīma-vāhasām*. — f. *apāsām*, *uśāsām*; *ap-sarāsām*, *nikṣatra-savasām* 'equalling the stars in number'. — n. *chāndasām*, *tīrasām* (AV.), *mīdasām* (VS. XXI. 40), *rīkṣasām* (VS. II. 23), *rādhāsām*, *vīdasām*³.

L. f. *ap-sarāssu* (Kh. IV. 8³). — n. *āphassu*¹ (AV.), *ūdhassu*, *rājassu*, *rīkṣassu*, *vāyassu* (AV.), *śrāvassu*, *sīdassu*⁴.

γ. Stems in -yāms.

345. The primary suffix -yāms (137)⁵ is used to form comparative stems. It is added either directly or with connecting -r- to the root, which is always accented. There are seven duplicate stems formed in both ways: *tāv-yāms-* and *tāv-ryāms-* 'stronger'; *nāv-yāms-* and *nāv-ryāms-* 'new'; *pān-yāms-* and *pān-ryāms-* 'more wonderful'; *bhūyāms-* and *bhāv-ryāms-* 'more'; *rābh-yāms-* and *rābh-ryāms-* (VS.) 'more violent'; *vāsyāms-* and *vās-ryāms-* 'better'; *sāh-yāms-* and *sāh-ryāms-* 'mightier'. Strong and weak forms are regularly distinguished. In the latter the suffix is reduced by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel to -yas. These stems are declined in the m. and n. only, as they form their f. by adding -r- to the weak stem; e. g. *prēyas-r-* 'dearer'. No forms of the dual occur, and in the plural only the N. A. G. are found.

Inflection.

346. The V. sing. m. ends in -as⁶. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kānt-yāms-* 'younger', would be as follows:

Sing. N. m. *kānt-yan*, n. *kānt-yas*. A. m. *kānt-yāmsam*, n. *kānt-yas*. I. m. n. *kānt-yasā*. D. m. n. *kānt-yase*. Ab. m. n. *kānt-yasas*. G. m. n. *kānt-yasas*. L. m. *kānt-yasī*. V. m. *kānt-yas*. — Pl. N. m. *kānt-yāmsas*. A. m. *kānt-yasas*. N. A. n. *kānt-yāmsi*. G. m. *kānt-yasām*.

The forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ā-tavyān*⁷ 'not stronger', *śīyān* 'stronger', *kānt-yan*, *jāv-yan* 'swifter', *jyāyān* 'mightier', *tār-yan*⁸ 'easily passing through', *tāv-yan* 'stronger', *tāv-yan* 'stronger', *dhāv-yan* 'running fast', *nāv-yan* 'new', *mān-yan* 'more bountiful', *yāj-yan* 'worshipping more', *yād-yan* 'more warlike', *vānt-yan* 'imparting more', *vār-yan* 'better', *vār-yan* (VS. XXXIII. 48) 'higher', *vās-yan*

¹ Also the transition forms *īda-prajāsas* (TS. I. 5. 6¹; MS. I. 5¹, p. 70).

² The form *vayām* is perhaps contracted for *vayāsām* (I. 165¹ etc.); see LANMAN 552³.

³ All the Mss. read *āphassu*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. VI. 35².

⁴ The form *śpānu* (VIII. 41⁴) is perhaps

for m. *apāssu*; cp. WACKERNAGEL I, p. 111, note.

⁵ Cp. J. SCHMIDT KZ. 26, 377—400; HIRT, IF. 12, 201 f.

⁶ As in the -*mant*, -*vant* and -*vāms* stems.

⁷ On the Sandhi of these nominals see LANMAN 514 (middle).

⁸ Cp. REICHEL, BB. 27, 104f.

'better', *vēdyān* 'knowing better', *śrīyān* 'better', *sānyān* (TS. III. 5. 5³) 'winning much', *sāhīyān* 'mightier', *skābhīyān* 'supporting more firmly'.

N. A. n. *ḥītyas* 'straighter', *ḥītyas*, *kānyas*¹, *jyāyas*, *tāvīyas*, *dāvīyas* 'farther', *drāghīyas* 'longer', *nāvīyas*, *nāvīyas*, *nādyas*, *nādyas* 'quite near', *prīyas* 'dearer', *bhūyas*² 'more', *vārīyas*, *vārīyas*, *vāsīyas* (TS. VS.), *vāsīyas*, *śrīyas* (TS. VS.), *svādīyas* 'sweeter'.

A. m. *jyāyāmsam*, *tāvīyāmsam*, *drāghīyāmsam*, *nāvīyāmsam*, *pānyāmsam* 'more wonderful', *vārīyāmsam* (AV.), *śāśīyāmsam*³ 'more frequent', *śrīyāmsam*, *sāhīyāmsam* (AV.).

I. m. *jāvīyasā*, *nāvīyasā*, *bhūyasā*, *sāhīyasā* (Kh. I. 1¹). — n. *ḥītyasā* 'keener', *tvāksīyasā* 'very strong', *nāvīyasā*, *nāvīyasā*, *pānyasā*, *bhāvīyasā* 'more abundant', *bhūyasā*, *vāsīyasā*, *sāhīyasā*.

D. m. *tāvīyase*, *nāvīyase*, *pānyase*, *pānyase*, *bhīyase* (AV.) 'mightier', *vārīyase* (VS. XVI. 30), *śrīyase* (VS. XXXI. 11), *sānyase* 'older', *sāhīyase*⁴, *sāhīyase*, *hāvīyase* (VS. XVI. 40) 'more destructive'. — n. *nāvīyase*, *nāvīyase*, *sānyase*.

Ab. m. *tāvīyasas*, *rābhīyasas* 'more violent', *sāhīyasas*, *sāhīyasas*. — n. *bhūyasas*.

G. m. *kānyasas*, *jyāyasas*, *tāvīyasas*, *nāvīyasas*, *nāvīyasas*, *bhūyasas*. — n. *nāvīyasas*.

L. m. *vārīyasi* (VS. VI. 11), *sāhīyasi*. — V. m. *ḥītyas*, *jyāyas*.

Pl. N. m. *tīksnīyāmsas* (AV.) 'sharper', *bhūyāmsas* (TS. VS. AV.), *śrīyāmsas*. — n. *nāvīyāmsi*.

A. m. *kānyasas*, *nāvīyasas*, *bhūyasas*, *rābhīyasas* (VS. XXI. 46), *vārīyasas* (AV.), *vāsīyasas*, *vāhīyasas* 'driving better', *śrīyasas* (VS. TS.).

G. m. *ś-sthevasām* 'not firm' (137). The f. form *nāvīyasām* is twice used owing to metrical exigencies instead of *nāvīyasām* in agreement with *marūtām*⁵.

ḍ. Stems in -vāms.

347. The suffix -vāms⁶ is used to form the stem of the perfect participle active. **Strong and weak stem**⁷ are regularly distinguished; but the latter assumes two different forms according as it is followed by a vowel or a consonant. The suffix is reduced before vowels, by loss of the nasal and Samprasāraṇa, to -us which becomes -us; before a consonant (i. e. *ḥ*), it is reduced, by loss of the nasal and shortening of the vowel, to -vat, which becomes -vat⁸. The latter form of the stem occurs only three times in the RV. There are thus three stems employed in the inflexion of these participles: -vāms, -vat, -us. The weakest form of the stem (-us) appears instead of the strong twice in the A. sing. m. and once in the N. pl. m. The accent rests on the suffix in all its forms except in compounds formed with the negative *a-* or with *su-* 'well' and *du-* 'ill', where it shifts to these particles. This declension is restricted to the m. and n., as the f. is formed by adding -ī to the weakest stem, as *jagmīḥī-* 'having gone'. There are altogether (including compounds) about 75 stems in -vāms in the RV.

Inflexion.

348. No specifically n. forms occur except two in the A. sing. No I. has been met with in any number; all the other weak cases are wanting in

¹ The form *jāvīyas* occurs in VS. XL. 4 (Iśā Up.).

² Once to be read *bhāvīyas*; LANMAN 514⁴.

³ Comparative of the root from which *tāvī-vat-* 'constant' is derived.

⁴ To be read *sāhyase* in I. 71⁴.

⁵ See LANMAN 515.

⁶ On this suffix cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 329—377.

⁷ On the formation of this perfect stem, see above 181 and below 491.

⁸ This form was transferred to the N. A. sing. n. in which no consonant (-*ḥ* or -*ī*) followed; cp. 44 a, 3.

the dual as well as the D. Ab. in the plural. The V. sing. m. is regularly formed with *-vas*¹. The forms actually occurring, if made from *cakrṅvāms-* 'having done', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *cakrṅvān*. A. m. *cakrṅvāmsam*, n. *cakrṅvāt*. I. *cakrṅsā*. D. m. *cakrṅse*. Ab. *cakrṅsas*. G. *cakrṅsas*. V. m. *cakrṅvas*. — Du. N. A. m. *cakrṅvāmsā*. — Pl. N. m. *cakrṅvāmsas*. A. m. *cakrṅsas*. I. m. *cakrṅddhis*. G. m. *cakrṅsām*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ā-cikītvān*² 'not knowing', *ā-prasivān* 'not gone away'³, *ā-rarivān* 'not liberal', *ā-vidvān*⁴ 'not knowing', *cakrṅvān* 'having done', *cikītvān* 'having noticed', *jaganvān* 'having gone', *jaghanvān* 'having slain', *ajātvān*⁵ 'having recognized', *jigtvān*⁶ 'having conquered', *jujurvān* 'having grown old', *jujusrvān* 'having enjoyed', *ajuṅvān* 'having sped', *tatanvān* 'having stretched', *tasthivān* 'having stood', *dadaśvān*⁷ 'having bitten', *dadaśvān* 'become exhausted', *dadrśvān* 'having seen', *dadvān* 'having given', *dadhanvān*⁸ 'having streamed', *dadhṛsvān* 'having become bold', *dāśvān*⁹ 'worshipping', *dīdivān* 'having shone', *nir-jagmivān* (TS. iv. 2. 1⁴) 'having gone out', *papivān* 'having drunk'¹⁰, *pupusvān* 'having made abundant', *babhūvān* 'having become', *bibhūvān* 'having feared', *mamṛvān* 'having died', *mūḥvān*¹¹ 'bountiful', *yayivān* 'having gone', *rarivān* 'having given', *rurukvān* 'having shone', *vavanvān* 'having accepted', *vidvān*¹² 'knowing', *vīkivān*¹³ 'having divided', *vīdivān* 'having found', *vīdhvān*¹⁴ 'having wounded', *śuśukvān*¹⁵ 'having shone', *śuśruvān* 'having heard', *sasavān* 'having won', *sāsahvān* 'having conquered', *sāhvān*¹⁶ 'having overcome'.

A. m. *tyivāmsam*¹⁷ 'having gone', *cakrṅvāmsam*, *cakhvāmsam*¹⁸ 'stretching out', *cikītvāmsam*, *jaḡrvāmsam* 'waking', *jūjuvāmsam*, *tastabhvāmsam* 'having held fast', *tasthivāmsam*, *dāśvāmsam*¹⁹, *dīdivāmsam*, *dīr-vidvāmsam* 'ill-disposed', *papivāmsam*²⁰, *paptivāmsam* 'having flown', *pīpivāmsam* 'having swelled', *mamṛvāmsam*, *rīrhvāmsam* 'having licked', *vavrvāmsam* 'having enclosed', *vāvrdhvāmsam* 'having grown strong', *vidvāmsam*²¹, (*pra*-)*vīdivāmsam* (TS. iv. 7. 15²), *śīśuvāmsam* 'having increased', *sasavāmsam*, *sasrvāmsam* 'having sped', *sāsahvāmsam*, *sū-vidvāmsam*²² 'knowing well', *susupvāmsam* 'having slept', *susuvāmsam* 'having pressed (Soma)'. — Weak forms for strong: *cakrṅsam* (X. 137¹) for *cakrṅvāmsam*; *emūsam* (VIII. 66¹⁰)²³ 'dangerous'.

A. n. *tatanvāt* 'extending far', *saṃ-vavrvāt* 'enveloping'.

I. m. *ā-bibhyṣā* 'fearless', *cikīṭṣā* 'wise', *vidhṣā*²⁴. — n. *ā-bibhyṣā*, *bibhyṣā*.

D. m. *ā-raruṣe*, *uḥṣe*²⁵ 'pleased', *cakrṅse*, *cikīṭṣe*, *jaḡmṅse* 'having gone', *jigyṅse*, *dadaśṅse* 'worshipping', *dāśṅse*²⁶, *bibhyṅse*, *mīḥṅse*²⁷, *vidṅse*²⁸, *sedṅse*²⁹ 'having sat down'.

Ab. m. *ā-raruṣas*, *jujurṅsas*. — n. *tasthṅsas*³⁰.

¹ Cp. the *-mant* and *-vant* stems (316) and the *-yāms* stems (346).

² On the Sandhi of these nominatives see LANMAN 512.

³ From *pra* and *vas* 'dwell'.

⁴ Without reduplication.

⁵ From *jñā* 'know'.

⁶ From *ji* 'conquer'.

⁷ From *damś* 'bite'.

⁸ From *dhaw* 'run'.

⁹ LANMAN adds *paprivān*(?).

¹⁰ From *vic* 'separate'.

¹¹ From *vyadh* 'pierce'.

¹² From *śuc* 'shine'.

¹³ From *i* 'go'.

¹⁴ From a root *khā*.

¹⁵ LANMAN adds *paprivāmsam*(?).

¹⁶ From *am* 'be injurious', with weak stem, together with anomalous accent, for **m-i-vāmsam*; cp. LANMAN 512³.

¹⁷ From *uc* 'find pleasure'.

¹⁸ Unreduplicated form.

¹⁹ From *sad* 'sit down'.

²⁰ This may be A. pl. m.

G. m. *d-dāśuśas* 'not worshipping', *d-raruśas*, *tyūśas*, *cikīṭuśas*, *jaḡmūśas*, *jaḡmūśas*, *jūnūśas*¹ 'knowing', *jīgyūśas*, *tatarūśas* 'having crossed', *tasthūśas*, *dadūśas*, *dāśūśas*², *didīyūśas*, *papūśas*, *bibhyūśas*, *mamrūśas* (AV.), *mīlūśas*³, *vidūśas* 'having found', *sedūśas*, *susūśas*. — **n.** *ravarūśas*⁴ 'enveloping'.

V. m. *cikīṭvas* 'seeing', *tītirvas* 'having crossed', *dīdivas* 'shining', *mīdhvas*⁵.

— **With -van:** *cikīṭvan*³ (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. *okīṭvāmsa*⁴ 'accustomed to', *jaganvāmsa*, *jāgrvāmsa*, *tasthivāmsa*, *dīdivāmsa*, *papivāmsa*, *ravarvāmsa*, *vidvāmsa*⁵, *śūśuvāmsa*, *śūśruvāmsa*.

— **With au:** *vidvāmsau*⁵.

Pl. N. m. *d-vidvāmsas*, *caḡrvāmsas*, *cikīṭvāmsas*, *jaḡsvāmsas* (TS. I. 4. 44²) 'having eaten', *jaganvāmsas*, *jāgrvāmsas*, *jīgyvāmsas*, *tasthivāmsas*, *tītirvāmsas*, *tuṣṭuvāmsas* 'having praised', *dadrvāmsas* 'having burst', *dāsvāmsas*⁵, *papivāmsas* (TS. I. 4. 44²), *papīrvāmsas*, *mīdhvāmsas*⁵, *rīrvāmsas*⁶ 'having abandoned', *vidvāmsas*⁵, *śūśukvāmsas*, *śūśuvāmsas*, *sasavāmsas*, *sasrvāmsas*, *sāsahvāmsas*, *sāhvāmsas*⁵, *śū-vidvāmsas* (TS. IV. 6. 5²), *susūrvāmsas*. — **Weak form for strong:** *d-bibhyūśas*⁷ (I. 11²). The AV. has the hybrid form *bhaktivāmsas*⁸.

A. m. *cikīṭuśas*, *jaḡmūśas*, *jīgyūśas*, *tasthūśas*, *dāśūśas*⁵, *mīlūśas*⁵, *vidūśas*⁵, *sedūśas*.

I. m. *jāgrvāddhis*. — **G. m.** *d-dāśuśām*⁵, *jīgyūśām*, *dadūśām*, *mīlūśām*⁵, *vidūśām*⁵.

2. Radical Stems in -ś.

349. This declension comprises only radical stems, both monosyllabic and compound, formed from some dozen roots, numbering altogether about sixty. Some forty of these occur in the m., nearly thirty in the f., and half a dozen in the n. Nine monosyllabic stems are f., viz. *dāś-* 'worship', *dīś-* 'direction', *dīś-* 'look', *nāś-* 'night', *pāś-* 'sight', *pīś-* 'ornament', *prāś-*⁹ 'dispute', *viś-* 'settlement', *vīś-* 'finger'; but only two m., viz. *iś-* 'lord' and *spāś-* 'spy'; all the rest are compounds, about 20 of which are formed from *dīś-*. The inflexion is the same in all genders: the only n. forms which would differ from the m. and f. (N. A. du. and pl.) do not occur.

a. The only trace of the distinction of strong and weak forms appears in the nasalization of the stem in the N. sing. m. of some half dozen compounds of *dīś-* 'look'¹⁰.

b. As the *ś* represents an old palatal (40), it normally becomes the cerebral *ḡ* before terminations beginning with *bh*, as *viś-bhis*; but in *dīś-* and *dīś-* it becomes a guttural, owing doubtless to the influence of the *k* in the N. sing. and I. pl. It regularly becomes *k* before the *-su* of the L. pl., where it is phonetic (43 b 2); it usually also becomes *k* in the N. sing. (which originally ended in *-s*). But in four stems it is represented by the cerebral *ḡ*, e. g. *vīś-*, owing to the influence of forms in which the cerebral is phonetic. In *puro-dāś-* 'sacrificial cake', the palatal is displaced by the *-s* of the N.¹¹

¹ Unreduplicated form from *jñā-* 'know'.

² With anomalous additional reduplicative syllable.

³ AV. VII. 97² for *cikīṭvas* of the corresponding verse of the RV. (III. 29¹⁶), as if from a *-vant* stem.

⁴ From *uc-* 'be wont'.

⁵ Without reduplication.

⁶ From *vic-* 'leave'.

⁷ See LANMAN 513³.

⁸ In AV. VI. 79³ for the reading of the edition *bhaktivāmsas* *śyāma* the Paipp. has *bhaktīmahi*.

⁹ From *pras-* 'question'. LANMAN would correct the reading of AV. II. 27⁷ to *prāśi*, explaining the word as a compound (*pra as-*), where the accent *prāśi* would be regular.

¹⁰ That is, *dīś-*, which in its three occurrences in the RV. appears before vowels and doubles the *ī*: *dīśi*.

¹¹ It cannot, however, have been directly ousted by the N. *-s* (the former existence of which in consonant stems must have been long forgotten), but was doubtless due to the influence of *ā-* stems, such as *dravīṇ-dā-s*.

c. There are two transition forms to the *a*-declension from *puro-dās*: *puro-lāhna* (VS. XIX. 85) and *puro-jāti-vatsū* (AV. XII. 4³⁵) 'having a sacrificial cake as a calf'. The D. infinitive *dāyē* is a transition to the *i*-declension, for *dā-ti*.

Inflexion.

350. The normal forms actually occurring, if made from *vīś* f. 'settlement', would be as follows:

Sing. N. V. *vīś*. A. *vīśam*. I. *vīśā*. D. *vīśē*. Ab. *vīśās*. G. *vīśās*. L. *vīśī*. — Du. N. A. *vīśā* and *vīśau*. — Pl. N. *vīśas*. A. *vīśas*. I. *vīśhīs*. D. Ab. *vīśhīyās*. G. *vīśām*. L. *vīśhī*.

Forms which actually occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *i*. with nasalized stem: *ki-dīn²* 'of what kind?', *sa-dīn³* 'resembling'; in VS. XVII. 81: *anya-dīn* 'of another kind', *i-dīn* 'such', *prāti-sadyān* 'similar'. — 2. ending in *-k*: *i-dīk* (AV.), *da-dīk* 'such', *tā-dīk* 'such', *divi-spīk* 'touching heaven', *ni-spīk⁵* 'caressing', *yā-dīk* 'of what kind', *raṇvā-saṇḍīk* 'appearing beautiful', *svar-dīk* 'seeing light', *hiranya-saṇḍīk* 'resembling gold', *hrīdi-spīk* 'touching the heart'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *spāt*; *vi-spāt* 'spy'. — 4. ending in *-s*: *puro-dās* 'sacrificial cake' (occurs twice).

f. 2. ending in *-k*: *dīk* (VS. AV.), *nīk*; *an-apa-spīk* (AV.) 'not refusing', *upa-dīk* 'aspect', *raṇvā-saṇḍīk*, *saṇ-dīk* 'appearance', *su-dīśika-saṇḍīk* 'having a beautiful appearance'. — 3. ending in *-t*: *vīś*; *vī-pāt* ('letterless') N. of a river.

N. A. n. *da-dīk⁶*, *su-saṇḍīk* 'handsome'; *tā-dīk* may be a neuter in v. 44⁹.

A. m. *spāsam*; *puro-dīśam*; *upari-spīśam* 'reaching above', *divi-spīśam*, *hrīdi-spīśam*; *tvesā-saṇḍīśam* 'of brilliant appearance', *piśāṅga-saṇḍīśam* 'of reddish appearance', *raṇvā-saṇḍīśam*, *su-saṇḍīśam*; *dāre-dīśam* 'visible far and wide', *su-dīśam* 'well-looking', *svar-dīśam*; *dāra-ādīśam* 'announcing far and wide'. — f. *dīśam*, *prāsam* (AV.), *vīśam*; *a-dīśam* 'intention', *ṛta-spīśam* 'connected with pious works', *piśāṅga-saṇḍīśam* (AV.), *pra-dīśam* 'direction', *vt-pāsam*, *śukra-pīśam* 'radiantly adorned', *saṇ-dīśam*.

I. m. *vīśva-pīśā* 'all-adorned', *su-saṇḍīśā⁸*. — f. *dāsā⁹*, *dīśā*, *piśā*, *vīśā*; *pra-dīśā*. — n. *divi-spīśā*, *dāre-dīśā*.

D. m. *ānar-vīśē* 'seated on the car', *i-dīśē*, *divi-spīśē*, *da-dīśē* (AV.) 'irreligious', *dāre-dīśē*. — f. *dīśē* (AV. VS.), *vīśē*; *saṇ-dīśē¹⁰*.

Ab. m. *svar-dīśas*. — f. *dīśās* (AV.), *vīśās*; *saṇ-dīśas*, *saṇ-spīśas* (VS. XXXVIII. 11).

G. m. *upa-spīśas* (AV.) 'touching', *divi-spīśas*, *prāti-prāsas¹¹* (AV.) 'counter-disputant', *su-dīśas*, *svar-dīśas*, *hiranya-saṇḍīśas*, *hrīdi-spīśas*. — f. *dīśās* (AV.), *vīśās*. — n. *sādāna-spīśas* 'coming into one's house'.

L. m. *divi-spīśī*. — f. *dīśī* (AV.), *dīśī*, *prāśī* (AV.), *vīśī*; *pra-dīśī*, *vt-pāśī*, *saṇ-dīśī*. — V. m. *tvesā-saṇḍīk*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *ṛta-spīśā*, *divi-spīśā* and *divi-spīśā*, *mithū-dīśā* 'appearing alternately', *svar-dīśā*. — f. *mithū-dīśā*. — With *-au*: *vīśau*.

Pl. N. m. *spāsas*; *upari-spīśas* (AV.), *ṛta-spīśas*, *divi-spīśas*, *mandi-ni-spīśas* 'fond of Soma', *ratha-spīśas* 'touching the chariot', *hrīdi-spīśas*; *dāre-*

¹ Cp. LANMAN 490^t.

² *kīlīnī i*. (X. 108^d).

³ *sadyān* always before *a*. in RV. In TS. II. 2. 8^b (B) the final *k* is preserved before *saṇḍīk samāndis*.

⁴ Also *sadyān*: all four before *ca*. Cp. LANMAN 456^t and 463^t.

⁵ From *ni-spīś*, BR., GRASSMANN, LANMAN; from *ni-spīś*. 'desirous of' (loc.), BÖHTLINGK (pw.).

⁶ The form *manūndā* (X. 61^b), perhaps the same as *manū* 'a little', is explained by GRASSMANN as *manū-nid* 'dispelling wrath'.

⁷ For *dīśī-dīśam*.

⁸ In the *Īśā Upaniṣad* (VS. XL. 1) also occurs *īśā*.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 490 (bottom).

¹⁰ There is also the transition form *dīśāyē*.

¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. II. 27^t. The accent should be *prāti-prāsas*.

dīśas, *yakṣa-dīśas* 'having the appearance of a Yakṣa', *su-dīśas*, *svar-dīśas*; *tueśā-saṃdīśas*, *su-saṃdīśas*; *viśva-pīśas*, *su-pīśas* 'well adorned'; *śū-saṃdīśas* 'handsome'. — f. *dīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *ud-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'upper quarters', *upa-spīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *vi-dīśas* (VS. VI. 19) 'intermediate quarters', *saṃ-dīśas*.

A. m. *spīśas*; *ahar-dīśas* 'beholding the day', *bhūmī-saṃdīśas* 'of terrible appearance', *svar-dīśas*, *hiraṇya-saṃdīśas*. — f. *dīśas*, *vīśas*, *vīśas*; *ā-dīśas*, *pra-dīśas*, *saṃ-dīśas*.

I. m. *su-saṃdīśabhis*. — f. *paṇḍhis* (IV. 2¹²) 'with looks', *viḍḍhis*. — D. f. *diḅhyāḥ* (VS. VI. 19). — Ab. f. *diḅhyāḥ*, *viḍḅhyāḥ*. — G. f. *dīśām*, *vīśām*; *ā-dīśām*. — L. f. *dīkṣā* (AV. VS.), *vīkṣā*.

6. Radical stems in -h.

351. This declension comprises some 80 stems formed from about a dozen roots. All three genders appear in its inflexion; but the neuter is rare, being found in only two stems and never in the plural. Of monosyllabic stems six or seven are f., one m., and one n. All the remaining stems are compounds, about three-fourths of which are formed from the three roots *drūh-*, *vah-* and *sah-* (over 30 from the last). The origin of the two stems *uṣṣh-* (AV.) a metre, and *sarāh-*² 'bee' is obscure.

a. The distinction of strong and weak appears in compounds of *vah-* and *sah-*³, the vowel being lengthened in the N. A. sing. and N. pl. m.; also in the N. A. du. m. forms *indra-vāhā*, *indra-vāhau*, *anaḍ-vāhau*; and in the f. sing. N. *dakṣiṇā-vāḥ* and A. *harya-vāham*. The strong stem *-vāh-* twice appears in weak cases, while it is metrically shortened 18 times in strong cases⁴. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* 'ox' (lit. 'cart-drawer') distinguishes three stems, the strong one being *anaḍ-vāh-*, and the weak *anaḍ-vāh-* before vowels and *anaḍ-vāh-*⁵ before consonants.

b. As *h* represents both the old guttural aspirate *gh* and the old palatal *jh*, it should phonetically become *g* and *ḍ* respectively before *bh*. But the cerebral appears for both in the only two case-forms that occur with a *-bh* ending: *sarāḍbhyaḥ* from *sarāh-*, and *anaḍ-ūḍbhyaḥ* (AV.) from *anaḍ-vāh-*, where the dental *ḍ* takes the place of the cerebral by dissimilation. Before the *-su* of the L. pl., *h* would be phonetic; but here again, in the only form occurring, the cerebral appears: *anaḍvāsu*⁶. On the other hand the phonetic *h* appears in the N. sing. in the six forms *-dhik*, *-dhik*, *-dhrīk*⁷, *-vīk*, *-spīk*, *uṣīk* (AV.)⁸; while the unphonetic *h* appears in the two forms *-vāḥ* and *-vāḥ*⁹. The word *anaḍ-vāh-* forms, instead of **anaḍ-vāḥ*, the anomalous *anaḍvāḥ* as if from a stem in *-vant*.

c. The stem *māhā-* is perhaps a transfer to the *a*-declension from the far more frequent but defective *māh-* 'great'. Several cases are formed from it: sing. N. *māhā-*, G. *māhāya*, I. *māhā*; pl. N. *māhā* and *māhāni*, n., G. *māhānām*. The D. sing. *māhāye*, used as an infinitive, is a transfer to the *i*-declension from *māh-*.

Inflexion.

352. The forms actually occurring, if made from *sāh-* 'victorious', would be as follows:

¹ BLOOMFIELD is of opinion that here, as well as in the 5 other passages in which this form occurs in the RV., it means 'with feet': Johns Hopkins University Circular, 1906, p. 15—19.

² That the *h* here represents an original guttural is shown by the N. pl. *sarāḅhau* (SB.) and the derivatives *sarāḅhā-* and *sāraḅhā-* (TB.).

³ The Pāda text has always *vāh-* on the one hand, but *vāh-* on the other.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 498 (middle).

⁵ For *anaḍ-ūḍ-* by dissimilation.

⁶ The dental again by dissimilation for the cerebral *ḍ*.

⁷ Occurring respectively in *usā-dhah* 'burning with eagerness', in three compounds of *duh-* 'milk', and in five compounds of *drūh-* 'injure'. These three forms, together with *uṣar-bhūh*, are the only examples of the restoration of initial aspiration in the declension of the RV.

⁸ The derivation of this word (AV. VS.) is uncertain; it occurs in the RV. only in the extended form of *uṣṣhā-*.

⁹ When the final *h* becomes *h*, the initial *s* is cerebralized.

Sing. N. *sāt*. V. m. f. *śāt*. A. m. f. *sāham*. I. *sahā*. D. *sahē*. Ab. *sahās*. G. *sahīs*. L. *sahl*. — Du. N. A. V. m. f. *sāhā* and *sāhau*. N. A. n. *sahē*. — Pl. N. V. m. f. *sāhas*. A. m. *sāhas* and *sahīs*, f. *sāhas*. D. m. f. *śāt-bhyās*. G. m. *sāhām*. L. m. *śātsit*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. I. with -*k*: *uśā-dhāk* 'burning with eagerness'; *go-dhūk* 'milkman', *prati-dhūk*² (AV. TS.) 'fresh milk'; *akṣaya-dhruk* 'injuring wrongly', *a-dhruk* 'free from malice', *antaka-dhruk* 'demon of death', *abhi-dhruk* 'inimical', *asma-dhruk* 'inimical to us'.

2. with -*t*: *sāt*; *abhi-sāt* 'overpowering', *ṛsi-sāt* 'overcoming the seer', *janā-sāt* 'overcoming men', *tura-sāt* 'overpowering quickly', *ni-sāt* 'overpowering', *ni-sāt*³ (AV.) 'overcoming', *prā-sāt* 'victorious from of old', *prtanā-sāt* 'conquering hostile armies', *prāsu-sāt* 'finishing swiftly', *bhūri-sāt*⁴ 'bearing much', *vayī-sāt* 'ruling over wealth', *vane-sāt* 'prevailing in woods', *virā-sāt*⁵ 'ruling men', *viśvā-sāt*⁶ (AV.) 'all-conquering', *vṛthā-sāt* 'conquering easily', *śatrū-sāt*⁷ (AV.) 'overcoming foes', *śatrū-sāt* 'always conquering'; *turya-vāt* (TS. iv. 3. 3)⁸ 'four-year-old ox', *ditya-vāt*⁹ (VS. xiv. 10; TS. iv. 7. 10)¹⁰ 'two-year-old ox', *paśtha-vāt* (VS. xiv. 9) 'four-year-old ox'¹¹, *mudhyama-vāt* 'driving at middling speed', *haviṛ-vāt* 'conveying the oblation', *havya-vāt* 'conveying the offering'. — Irregular form: *anaś-vān* (AV. TS. VS.) 'ox'¹².

f. I. *uśīk* (VS. AV.) a metre, *garta-rūk*¹¹ 'ascending the car-seat', *sabar-dhūk* 'yielding nectar'. — 2. *dakṣiṇā-vāt* 'borne to the right'¹². — n. I. *puru-śīk* 'much desired'.

A. m. I. Strong forms with -*vāham* and -*sāham* (after *ā*) or -*śāham* (after *i* or *r*): *anaś-vāham*, *turya-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 28), *ditya-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 25), *paśtha-vāham* (VS. xxviii. 29), *vīra-vāham* 'conveying men', *svasti-vāham* 'bringing welfare', *havya-vāham* (also f.); *pra-sāham* 'victorious', *yajñā-sāham*¹³ 'mighty in sacrifice', *viśvā-sāham*, *śatrū-sāham*; *abhimāti-sāham* 'conquering adversaries', *ṛti-sāham* 'subduing assailants', *ni-sāham* 'overcoming men', *prtanā-sāham*¹⁴. — With metrical shortening of -*sāh*- or -*śāh*-: *ṛti-sāham*, *prtanā-sāham*¹⁴; *carṣaṇī-sāham*¹⁵ 'ruling over men', *prā-sāham*, *vibhū-sāham* 'overcoming the rich', *śatī-sāham* 'always holding out'. — 2. *a-drīham*, *puru-śīham*. — f. *gūham* 'hiding-place', *drīham* 'fiend', *mīham* 'mist'; *uśīham* (VS. xxviii. 25); *parī-nāham* 'enclosure'.

I. m. *dhanvā-sāhā* 'skilled in archery', *puru-śīhā*, *viśu-drīhā* 'injuring in various parts'. — f. *gūhā*¹⁶, *drūhā*, *māhā* 'great'; *uśīhā* (VS. xxi. 13); *prā-sāhā*¹⁷ 'might', *vi-srīhā* 'plant'. — n. *māhā*.

D. m. *drūhā*¹⁸, *māhā*; *a-drūhe*, *abhi-drūhe*, *abhimāti-sāhe*¹⁹ (TS. v. 2. 7³), *carṣaṇī-sāhe*²⁰, *śatrū-sāhe*²⁰. — f. *māhā*; *uśīhe* (VS. xxiv. 12); *go-dūhe*²¹. — n. *māhā*.

¹ To be inferred from *anaśūdhya* and *anaśūru*.

² There is no evidence to show the gender of this word.

³ For *ni-sāt*.

⁴ For *bhūri-sāt*.

⁵ For *virā-sāt*.

⁶ For *viśvā-sāt*.

⁷ For *śatrū-sāt*.

⁸ Here *ditya* seems to be = *dvītya*.

⁹ Probably from *paśtha* = *prytha* 'back'. The TS. (iv. 3. 3² etc.) has *paśtha-vāt* with dental *t* for cerebral *t*.

¹⁰ There is also the transfer form *māhā-t*, supplying the place of a N. of *māh*.

¹¹ For *garta-rūk*.

¹² The N. of *sarāh* 'bee', occurs as *sarāt* in TS. v. 3. 12² (B) and in SB. xiii. 3. 1⁴.

¹³ For *yajñā-sāham*.

¹⁴ With unphonetic cerebral after *ā* owing to the influence of the N. *prtanā-sāt*.

¹⁵ The *s* is here not cerebralized after *i*.

¹⁶ *gūhā* which occurs 53 times (beside *gūhā*, once) is used adverbially, 'in secret', with retracted accent.

¹⁷ From *prā-sāh*, beside *pra-sāh*.

¹⁸ This form is perhaps f.

¹⁹ Strong form for weak.

²⁰ Strong form for weak (ii. 21²), but the Pada text has *śatrū-sāhe*.

²¹ There is also a transfer to the *i*-declension: *māhāye* (as an infinitive).

Ab. m. *druhás*, *mahás*; *rī-sáhas*. — f. *druhás*². — n. *mahás*.

G. m. *druhás*, *mahás*²; *a-drúhas*, *anađúhas* (AV.), *prtaná-sáhas*; with strong form: *abhimáti-sáhas*³. — f. *druhás*, *mihás*; *prá-sáhas*. — n. *mahás*; *puru-sphás*.

L. m. *anađúhi* (AV.)⁴. — f. *upá-níhi* (AV.) 'shoe', *pari-níhi* (AV.).

V. 1. m. *turá-sáhi* (VS. x. 22), *prtaná-sáhi* (AV.), *havya-váhi*. — 2. m. *gadhuk* (AV.). — f. *á-dhruk*⁵.

Du. N. A. V. 1. m. *anađ-váhau*, *indra-váhū* and *indra-váhau* 'conveying Indra', *dhār-sáhau* (VS. iv. 33) 'bearing the yoke'; shortened: *carṣaṇi-sahā*, *vathā-sáhā* 'drawing the chariot'. — 2. m. *a-drúhā*, *án-abhidrúhā* 'not inimical', *puru-sphā*. — f. *a-drúhā*, *a-druhā*. — n. *mahí*.

Pl. N. V. 1. m. *anađ-váhas* (AV.), *indra-váhas*, *turya-váhas* (VS. xxiv. 12), *dīya-váhas* (VS.), *paśtha-váhas* (VS.), *prṣṣi-váhas* (AV.) 'carrying on the sides', *vajra-váhas* 'wielding a thunderbolt', *vīra-váhas*, *saha-váhas* 'drawing together', *susphu-váhas* 'carrying well', *havya-váhas*; *abhimáti-sáhas*, *satrú-sáhas*; shortened: V. *carṣaṇi-sahas*. — 2. m. *drúhas*, *mahás*⁶; *a-drúhas*, V. *a-druhas*, *go-díhas*, *puru-sphás*, V. *puru-sphás*.

f. ⁷ *míhas*, *rúhas* 'sprouts'; *a-drúhas*, *á-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *ghṛta-dúhas* 'giving ghee', *puru-drúhas* 'injuring greatly', *puru-sphás*, *pra-rúhas* (AV.) 'shoots', *mano-múhas* (AV.) 'bewildering the mind', *vī-srúhas*.

A. m. *druhás*⁸, *mahás*⁸, *a-drúhas*, *anađúhas* (AV.), *puru-sphás*. — f. *drúhas*, *níhas*⁹ (AV. VS.) 'destroyers', *míhas*, *rúhas* (AV.); *akṣā-náhas* 'tied to the axle', *a-drúhas*, *upá-rúhas* 'shoots', *pra-rúhas* (AV.), *saṃ-díhas* 'mounds'.

D. m. *anađúdbhyas* (AV.) — f. *sarúdbhyas* 'bees'. — G. m. *mahám*¹⁰, *carṣaṇi-sáhām* (VS. xxviii. 1). — L. m. *anađútsu*.

7. Stems in semivowels: *r*, *y*, *v*.

353. This group forms a transition from the consonant to the vowel declension inasmuch as the stem often assumes a vocalic form before endings with initial consonant, and in some cases takes endings which otherwise appear in the vowel declension only. The *-r* stems are nearest the consonant declension as their radical division conforms almost without exception to that type; their derivative division, however, has several points in common with the inflexion of vowel stems.

1. Stems ending in *-r*.

354. A. Radical stems. Here the stems ending in radical *r* must be distinguished from those in which the *r* belongs to a suffix. The radical stems numbering over 50 are formed from some sixteen roots, the vowel of which is nearly always *i* or *u*. Only three of these stems contain *a* and only two *ā*. Nearly a dozen are monosyllabic, but the rest (numbering over 40) are compounds, almost a dozen of which are formed with *-tur*.

¹ *ámhas* (vi. 3¹) is probably not an Ab. of *ámh-* 'distress' (which does not occur elsewhere), but by haplology for *ámhas-as*, which is very frequent.

² There is also the transition form *mahásya*.

³ The Pada text has *-sahas*.

⁴ There is also the transition form *mahé* (m. n.).

⁵ See WHITNEY'S note on AV. vii. 73⁶.

⁶ With irregular accent.

⁷ There are no neuters except the transition forms *mahā* and *mahūni*.

⁸ With irregular accent as if weak forms.

Cp. above 94, note ⁶ and LANMAN 501 (middle).

⁹ The derivation of this word is uncertain:

It is explained by Mahidhara as = *nihantī*.

WHITNEY (AV. ii. 6⁵) would emend to *nida*.

¹⁰ There is also the transition form

mahūnām.

The inflexion is the same in all genders except the N. A. neuter. A peculiarity is the lengthening of the radical *i*; and *u* when a consonant ending follows or originally followed¹.

a. The distinction of strong and weak appears in *dvār* f. 'door', which is reduced to *dūr* in weak cases; in *tār* and *stār* 'star', from which are made *tāras* and *stābhīs*; and in the n. *vār* 'light' two weak cases, the D. and G. sing., are formed from the contracted stem *vār*.

b. There are here a few transitions to the *a*-declension: *śatā-durasya* and *śatā-durasya* 'having a hundred doors', which started from weak cases like *dūras*; *su-dhūra-s*, N. sing. m. 'well-yoked', due to the A. *su-dhūr-am*; perhaps also the A. sing. f. *an-apa-sphūrā-m* 'not pushing away', which occurs beside the N. pl. *an-apa-sphūr-as*. On the other hand the N. pl. m. *vandhūra-s* 'car-seats' seems to be a transition from the *a*-declension, as *vandhūra* is probably the older stem.

c. The form *yan-tār-am* 'guide', which occurs twice for *yan-tār-am* has been formed as if from *-tūr* owing to the parallelism with *ap-tūram* which once appears beside it².

Inflexion.

355. The forms actually occurring, if made from *pūr* f. 'stronghold', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *pūr*. A. *pūram*. I. *pūrā*. D. *pūrā*. Ab. *pūrās*. G. *pūrās*.
L. *pūrā*. — Du. N. A. *pūrā* and *pūrau*. — Pl. N. V. *pūras*. A. *pūras*.
I. *pūrbhīs*. D. *pūrbhīs* (VS.). G. *pūrām*. L. *pūrsh*.

The forms actually occurring are as follows:

Sing. N. m. *gīr* 'praising', *vār*⁴ 'protector'; *muhur-gīr* 'swallowing suddenly'; *dūr-āsīr* 'badly mixed'; *rajas-tūr* 'traversing the air', *ratha-tūr* 'drawing a chariot', *viśva-tūr* 'all-surpassing', *su-pra-tūr* 'very victorious'⁵. — f. *gīr* 'praise', *dvār* (AV.) 'door', *dhūr* 'burden', *pūr*; *amā-jūr* 'aging at home', *ā-śīr*⁶ (AV. TS.) 'mixture'.

N. A. n. *vār* 'water', *śār*⁷ 'light'⁸, *śīvar* (TS. II. 2. 12¹).

A. m. *tūram* 'promoter'; *ap-tūram*⁹ 'active', *aji-tūram* 'victorious in battles', *rajas-tūram*, *ratha-tūram*, *vytra-tūram* 'conquering enemies'; *a-jūram* 'unaging', *apa-sphūram* 'bounding forth', *ṛta-jūram* 'grown old in (observing) the law', *gāvāsīram* 'mixed with milk', *yāvāsīram* 'mixed with corn', *sahāsra-dvāram* 'having a thousand doors', *su-dhūram* 'well yoked'¹⁰. — f. *gīram*, *dvāram* (AV.), *dhūram*, *pūram*; *ā-śīram*, *upa-śīram* 'cover', *saṃ-gīram* 'assent'.

I. m. *budhkurā*¹¹ (AV.) 'binder' (?). — f. *gīrā*, *dhūrā*, *pūrā*; *abhi-pra-mūrā* 'crushing', *abhi-svārā* 'invocation', *ā-śīrā*. — n. *viśva-tūrā*.

D. m. *gīrē*; *niś-tūre* 'overthrowing'. — f. *upa-śīre*. — n. *śūrā*.

Ab. f. *dhūrās*; *ni-jūras* 'consuming by fire'.

G. m. *gāvāsīras*, *yāvāsīras*, *radhra-tūras* 'encouraging the obedient'. — f. *amā-jūras*. — n. *śūras*¹²; *ṛśāsīras* 'mixed with juice'.

¹ That is, the *-s* of the N. sing. m. and f. This rule also applies in *vār* (I. 132³) if GRASSMANN is right in explaining this form as a N. sing. m. meaning 'protector', from *vār* (*vy-* 'cover'); but BK., s. v. *vār*, regard this form as a corruption.

² In the later language *dvār* f. and *pūr* f. went over to the *a*-declension as *dvāra* n. and *pūra* n., while *vār* n. went over to the *i*-declension as *vārī*.

³ See LANMAN 486 (bottom).

⁴ If this form is not a corruption.

⁵ There is also the transition form *su-dhūra-s*.

⁶ From *ś-* 'mix'.

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⁷ This is the only declensional form of this word occurring in the AV.

⁸ Neuter compounds ending in *-r* are avoided; thus the AV. has the transition form *nīva-dvāra-m*, N. n.

⁹ For *ap(a)-s-tūram* 'getting over work'.

¹⁰ There is also the anomalous form *yantūram* for *yantāram*.

¹¹ Probably a transfer from the *a*-declension.

¹² With the accentuation of a dissyllabic stem (*śūar*). In VIII. 61¹⁷ for *śūra ā* the Pada text has *śūra ā*, but it is probably the G. *śūras*. In I. 66¹⁰, 69¹⁰ the uninflected form *śūar* seems to be used in a G. sense.

L. f. *dhurī*, *purī*. — n. *śhar*¹.

Du. N. A. m. *vr̥tra-tīrā*, *sanā-jīrā* 'long grown old', *su-dhūrā*. — f. *dvārā*; *mīthas-tīrā* 'alternating'; with *au*: *dvārau*, *dhūrau*.

Pl. N. V. m. *gīras*, *gīras*, *mīras* 'destroyers'; *ap-tīras*, *ā-mīras* 'destroyers'; *gīvāśīras*, *try-āśīras* 'mixed with three (products of milk)', *dādhy-āśīras* 'mixed with curds'; *dur-dhīras* 'badly yoked', *dhiyā-jīras* 'grown old in devotion', *niṣ-jīras*, *bandhūras* (AV.), *vandhūras* 'seat of the chariot', *vr̥tra-tīras* (VS.VI.34). — f. *gīras*, *gīras* (AV.), *tīras* 'stars'², *dvāras*³, *dvāras*, *pīras*; *an-apasphuras* 'not struggling', *amā-jīras*, *mīthas-tīras*.

A. m. *gīras*; *ā-mīras*, *gīvāśīras*, *mīthas-tīras*, *yāvāśīras*, *saṃ-gīras*, *su-dhūras*. — f. *gīras*, *dūras*⁴, *dhūras*, *pīras*, *pīras*⁵ 'victuals'; *ni-pīras*⁶ (VS. AV.), *parā-pīras*⁶ (VS. AV.), *vi-śīras* 'expansion', *saṃ-śīras* 'contraction'.

I. m. *ratha-tīrbhis*. — f. *gīrbhis*, *pūrbhis*⁷, *śīrbhis*⁸ 'stars'. — D. n. *vārbhīś* (VS.). — G. m. *sām-āśīrām* 'mixed'. — f. *gīrām*, *pūrām*. — L. m. *tīrśī*. — f. *gīrśī*, *dhūrśī*, *pūrśī*. — n. *pṛtsu-tīrśu*⁹ 'victorious in battle'.

356. B. Derivative stems. — Derivative stems ending in *r* consist of two groups, the one formed with the suffix *-ar*, the other with *-ār*. The former is a small group containing only eight stems, the latter is a very large one with more than 150 stems. Both groups agree in regularly distinguishing strong and weak cases. The strong stem ends in *-ar* or *-ār*, which in the weak forms is reduced to *r* before vowels and *r̥* before consonants. Both groups further agree in dropping the final of the stem in the N. sing. n. f., which case always ends in *-r̥*¹⁰. They resemble the vowel declension in adding the ending *-n* in the A. pl. m., and *-s* in the A. pl. f. and in inserting *n* before the *-am* of the G. pl. They have the peculiar ending *-ur* in the G. sing.¹¹

a. Stems in *-ar*.

357. There are only five simple m. and f. stems in *-ar*, viz. *uṣ-ār* f. 'dawn', *dev-ār* m. 'husband's brother', *nānānd-ār* f. 'husband's sister', *nār*¹² m. 'man', *svāsar*¹³ f. 'sister'; and the two compounds *svār-ṇar* m. 'lord of heaven' and *saptā-svasar* 'having seven sisters'. Of these, *uṣār* shows only case-forms according to the consonant declension, while *nār* and *svāsar* have some according to the vowel declension also. Of *nānāndar* only the G. and L. sing. and of *devār* only the A. sing. and the N. and L. pl. occur. Nearly all case-forms are represented by these five stems taken together. There are also the three neuters *dīh-ar* 'day', *ūdh-ar* 'udder', and *vādh-ar* 'weapon', which occur in the N. A. sing. only. The first two supplement the *-an* stems *dīh-an* and *ūdh-an* in those cases.

¹ This form is used 5 times as a L. sing. dropping the *-i* like the *-an* stems, as *dhan* beside *dhani*.

² Strong form of *tīr* = *stīr* 'star'. The gender is uncertain.

³ Once the weak form *dūras*.

⁴ The strong form *dvāras* is once used. The accentuation of a weak case, *dūrās*, occurs once.

⁵ Occurring only in x. 26³; it is a n. sing. according to BR.

⁶ The meaning and derivation of these two words is uncertain; see WHITNEY's note on AV. xviii. 2¹⁸.

⁷ From *pūr* 'stronghold' and *pūr* 'abundance'.

⁸ Weak form, accented like a dissyllabic stem. In Kh. I. 11⁶ normally accented, but spelt with *ri* as *śīrbhis*.

⁹ With L. pl. ending kept in the first member.

¹⁰ In this they resemble the N. m. of nouns of the *-an* declension.

¹¹ Except *nār-as* and *uṣr-ds*.

¹² This word is probably derived with the suffix *-ar*; cp. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, p. 359.

¹³ Here *-sar* is probably a root; cp. BRUGMANN, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 8, footnote.

Inflexion.

358. Sing. N. m. *hatá-svasā* (AV.) 'whose sisters have been slain'. — f. *svásā*; *saptá-svasā* 'having seven sisters'. — n. *áhar*, *úddhar*, *váddhar*.

A. m. *deváram*, *náram*. — f. *svásāram*. — I. f. *svásrā*. — D. m. *ndre*; *svár-nare*. — f. *svásre*. — Ab. f. *svásur*¹. — G. m. *náras*. — f. *usrás*, *nánandur* (AV.), *svásur*. — L. m. *ndri*. — f. *usrī*² and *usrām*³, *nánandari*⁴. — V. f. *uṣar*.

Du. N. A. m. *ndrā*, V. *narā* and *narau*. — f. *svásārā* and *svásārau*. — L. f. *svásros*.

Pl. N. m. *deváras*, *náras*, V. *naras*, *svár-naras*. — f. *svásāras*. — A. m. *nṣn*⁵. — f. *usrás*, *svásṣs*. — I. m. *nṣbhis*. — f. *svásṣbhis*. — D. m. *nṣbhyas*. — Ab. m. *nṣbhyas*. — G. m. *narām*⁶ and *nṣnām*⁷. — f. *svásrām*⁶ and *svásṣnām*. — L. *devṣu*, *nṣu*.

b. Stems in *-tar*.

359. This group includes two subdivisions, the one forming its strong stem in *-tar*, the other in *-tār*. The former consists of a small class of five names of relationship: three masculines, *pi-tár* 'father', *bhrī-tar* 'brother', *níp-tar*⁸ 'grandson', and two feminines, *duhi-tár* 'daughter', and *mā-tár* 'mother'; and the m. and f. compounds formed from them. The second class consists of more than 150 stems (including compounds), which are either agent nouns accented chiefly on the suffix, or participles accented chiefly on the root. These are never used in the f., which is formed with *-i* from the weak stem of the m., e. g. *jánitr-i* 'mother' (377).

a. This declension is almost restricted to the m. and f. gender. The only n. stems are *dhar-tár* 'prop', *dhmā-tár* 'smithy', *sthā-tár* 'stationary', *vi-dhar-tár* 'meting out'; and from these only about half a dozen forms occur. The only oblique cases met with are the G. *sthātír* and the L. *dhmātírī* (Pada-tári). The N. A. sing. which might be expected to appear as *-tár*, seems to have attained to no fixity of form, as it was of extremely rare occurrence. It seems to be represented by the following variations: *sthātár* (VI. 49^b), *sthātī* (I. 72^a), *sthātūr* (I. 58⁵, 68¹, 70⁷), *dhātári* (IX. 86⁴²; II. 23¹⁷), *vi-dhātári* (VIII. 59²; IX. 47¹)⁹.

Inflexion.

360. The inflexion is exactly the same in the m. and f. except that the A. pl. m. ends in *-tṣn*, but the f. in *-tṣs*.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *mātár* f. 'mother', as representing a name of relationship, and from *janítár* m. 'begetter', as representing an agent noun, would be as follows:

Sing. N. *mātā*; *janitā*. A. *mātāram*; *janitāram*. I. *mātrā*; *janitrā*. D. *mātré*; *janitré*. Ab. *mātír*; *janitír*. G. *mātír*; *janitír*. L. *mātári*; *janitári*. V. *mātar*; *janitar*.

Du. N. A. *mātírā* and *mātrāu*; *janitírā* and *janitārau*. I. *janitṣbhyām* (VS.). D. *janitṣbhyām*. G. *mātrós*; *janitrós*. I. *mātrós*; *janitrós*.

¹ The ending *-ur* in this declension appears to represent original *-r* through *-r̥*; cp. LANMAN 426. BRUGMANN, KG. p. 381 (middle).

² The metre requires *uṣári*. As to the *sr* cp. 57, 1 a.

³ The ending *-ām* is a transfer from the *i*-declension. The metre requires *uṣrām* in which *-ām* is added direct to the stem.

⁴ The metre requires *nánandri* (x. 85^{4b}).

⁵ On *nṣn* as a metrically shortened form for other cases see FISCHER, VS. I, p. 42 f.

⁶ The only two forms in the derivative (*-tar*) declension in which *-ām* is added direct to the stem.

⁷ Often to be read as *nṣnām*; see LANMAN 43.

⁸ In the RV. this stem occurs in weak forms only, being supplemented in the strong by *nípāt*. The TS. (I. 3. 4¹) however has the strong form *nípāram* with long vowel, like *svásāram*.

⁹ See LANMAN 422 f.

Pl. N. *mātāras; janitāras*. A. *māts; janitn*. I. *mātsbhis; janitbhis*. D. *mātsbhyas; janitbhyas*. Ab. *mātsbhyas; janitbhyas*. G. *mātsnām; janitnām*. L. *mātsu; janitśu*. V. *mātaras; janitāras*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. 1. m. *pitā, bhrātā; dakṣa-pitā* (TS. IV. 3. 4¹; VS. XIV. 3) 'having Dakṣa as father', *tri-mātā* 'having three mothers', *devi-mātā* 'having two mothers', *hatā-bhrātā* (AV.) 'whose brothers have been slain', *hatā-mātā* (AV.) 'whose mother has been slain'. — f. *duhitā, matā; a-bhrātā* 'brotherless', *śudhu-mātā* 'having a stream as mother'.

2. m. *anv-ā-gantī* (VS. XVIII. 59)², *avitā* 'protector', *upa-sattā* (TS. VS. AV.) 'attendant', *krośā* 'jackal' ('yeller'), *janitā, jaritā* 'praiser', *trātā* 'protector', *trāṣṭā* 'fashioner', *dātā* 'giver', *dhartā* 'supporter', *netā* 'leader', *prati-grahitā* (VS. VII. 48) 'receiver', *prati-dhartā* (VS. XV. 10) 'one who keeps back', *pravaktā* (Kh. IV. 8³) 'speaker', *vadhā* and *vādhā* 'driving'; etc.

A. 1. m. *pitram, bhrātaram; dvī-mātaram* 'having a rock for a mother', *jā-mātaram* 'son-in-law', *śudhu-mātaram*. — f. *duhitram, mātaram, sapit-mātaram* 'having seven mothers'.

2. m. *adhi-śaktāram* 'advocate', *anv-śaktāram* (VS. XXX. 11) 'doorkeeper's mate', *abhi-śaktāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'consecrator', *abhi-sartāram* (VS.) 'assistant', *ava-satāram* 'liberator', *avitāram, śtātāram* 'shooter', *ā-yantāram* 'restrainer', *iṣ-kartāram* 'arranging', *upa-manthitāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'churner', *upa-śaktāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'pouder-out', *kārtāram* 'agent', *śaktāram* (VS. XXX. 13) 'door-keeper', *gāntāram* 'going', *guptāram* (Kh. V. 3³) 'protector', *cltāram* 'attentive', *janitāram* (VS. XIII. 51), *jaritāram, jātāram* 'victorious', *joṣtāram* (VS. XXVIII. 10) 'cherishing', *tarutāram* 'victor', *trātāram, tvāṣtāram, dātāram* 'giver', *dātāram* 'giving', *dhartāram, ni-dātāram* 'one who ties up', *niṣ-kartāram* (TS. IV. 2. 7⁴), *netāram* 'leader', *panitāram* 'praising', *pari-veśtāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'waiter', *pavitāram* 'purifier', *pura-dātāram* (VS. XXXIII. 60) 'leader', *peśitāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'carver', *pra-kartāram* (VS. XXX. 12) 'sprinkler', *pra-netāram* 'leader', *pra-dātāram* (VS. VII. 46; TS.) 'giver', *pra-hatāram* 'impeller', *bodhayitāram* 'awakener', *bhūtāram* (TS. I. 5. 6⁴) 'breaker', *mandhātāram* 'pious man', *marṣitāram* 'comforter', *yantāram* 'ruler', *yantāram* 'restraining', *yātāram* 'pursuer', *yoktāram* (VS. XXX. 14) 'exciter', *rakṣitāram* 'protector', *vanditāram* 'praiser', *vi-bhaktāram* 'distributor', *vi-moktāram* (VS. XXX. 14) 'unyoker', *samitāram* (VS. XXVIII. 10) 'slaughterer', *ītam-kartāram* (TS. III. 1. 4⁴) 'cooking thoroughly', *śrotāram* 'hearer', *sanitāram* 'bestower', *sam-cūdhāram*⁵ 'kindler', *savitāram* 'stimulator', *stotāram* 'praiser', *hanitāram* 'slayer', *has-kartāram* 'inciter', *hātāram* 'driver', *hūtāram* 'invoker'.

I. 1. m. *nīptā, pītā, bhrātā* (AV.). — f. *duhitā, matrā* (VS. AV.). — 2. m. *āstrā, tvāṣtrā* (AV.), *dhātā* 'establisher', *pra-savitā* (VS. X. 30) 'impeller', *savitā*.

D. 1. m. *nīptre, pītṛ, — f. duhitṛ, matrā. — 2. m. āstre* (AV.), *kartr* (AV.), *krośtr* (AV.), *jaritr*, *joṣtre* (VS. XVII. 56), *tvāṣtre* (VS. XXII. 20), *dātṛ, dhartṛ* (VS. XVII. 56; TS. IV. 6. 3²), *dhātṛ* (AV.), *prati-grahitr* (VS. VII. 47), *rakṣitr* (AV.), *vi-dhātṛ* (AV.) 'disposer', *samitr* (TS. IV. 6. 3³), *savitṛ, stotr*, *hantr* (VS. XVI. 40), *hūtre*.

Ab. 1. m. *pītṛ, bhrātṛ, vi-jamātṛ* 'son-in-law'. — f. *duhitṛ, matr*. — 2. m. *āstur, tvāṣtur* (AV.), *dhātṛ, savitṛ, hūtur*.

¹ On the Sandhi of these nominatives in cipient use as a periphrastic future: = 'will follow'.

² The nominatives of the m. agent nouns are so numerous (140 in the RV. alone) that examples only can be given here.

³ Used with the A., an example of in-

⁴ RV. X. 140⁵ and VS. XII. 110 have *iṣ-kartāram* in the same passage.

⁵ For **edh-tāram*, from *idh-* 'kindle'.

G. I. m. *nāptur*, *pitūr*, *bhrātūr*. — f. *duhitūr*, *nānāndūr* (AV.), *mātūr*. — 2. m. *abhi-ksattūr* 'carver', *avitūr*, *āstur*, *ullhātūr* (AV.) 'resolving', *kartūr* (Kh. IV. 5^{6, 10}), *cedūr* (AV.), *janitūr*, *jaritūr*, *trātūr*, *teṣṭūr*, *datūr*, *dhatūr* (VS. TS. AV.), *ni-dhātūr* 'one who lays down', *netūr*, *neṣṭūr* 'leader', *mandhātūr*, *yantūr* (VS. IX. 30), *vanditūr*, *vāvātūr* 'adherent', *vādhūr* 'draught-horse', *samitūr*, *sanitūr*, *savitūr*, *sotūr* 'presser of Soma', *stotūr*, *hitūr*.

L. I. m. *pitāri*. — f. *duhitāri*, *mātāri*. — 2. m. *netri*, *vaktāri* (AV.) 'speaker', *sotāri*. — With metrically protracted -i: *ctāri*², *kartāri*, *vaktāri*².

V. I. m. *jāmatar*, *pitār*, *bhrātār*. — f. *duhitār*, *mātār*. — 2. m. *ava-spartār* 'preserver', *avitār*, *janitār*, *jaritār*, *trātār*, *vaṣṭār*, *dartār* 'breaker', *deṣā-vustār* 'illuminer of the dark', *dhartār*, *dhātār*, *netār*, *neṣṭār*, *pra-netār*, *pru-yantār* 'bringer', *yajña-hotār* 'offerer at a sacrifice', *vi-dhartār* 'ruler', *vi-dhātār*, *vi-sastār* (AV.) 'slaughterer', *sanitār*, *savitār*, *su-sanitār* 'liberal giver', *sotār*, *stotār* (VS. XXIII. 7; TS. VII. 4. 20), *sthātār* 'guider', *hotār*.

Du. N. A. V. I. m. *pitārā*, *bhrātārā*; *iḥḥa-mātārā* 'whose mother is here and there', *dikṣa-pitārā*, *mātārā-pitārā*³ 'father and mother', *sindhū-mātārā*. — f. *duhitārā*, *mātārā*, *sam-mātārā* 'twins'. — With -au: m. *pitārau*, *sam-mātārau* (AV.). — f. *duhitārau* (AV. Kh. III. 15¹³), *mātārau*. — 2. m. *avitārā*, *a-snatārā* 'not (fond of) bathing', *uṣṭārā* 'ploughing bulls', *gātārā*, *coditārā* 'instigators', *janitārā*, *dhartārā*, *ni-ctārā* 'observers', *pretārā* 'lovers', *yantārā* 'guides', *rakṣitārā*, *samitārā*, *sthātārā*, *hitārā*. — With shortened vowel: *manotārā* 'disposers'. — With -au: *anu-śhātārau* (AV.) 'undertakers', *ksathārau* (AV.) 'carvers', *goptārau* (AV.), *datārau*, *rakṣitārau*, *hōtārau* (VS. XX. 42), *hotārau* (TS. IV. I. 8²). — With shortened vowel: *dhānutarāu*⁶ 'running swiftly', *savātārau* (VS. XXVIII. 6) 'having the same calf'⁷.

I. 2. m. *hṛbhyām* (VS. XXI. 53). — D. I. m. *pitḥbhyām*⁸. — G. I. m. *pitṛis*. — f. *mātṛis*. — 2. m. *pra-sāstrīs* (VS.) 'directors'. — L. I. m. *pitṛis*. — f. *mātṛis*⁹.

Pl. N. I. m. *pitāras*, V. *pitāras*, *bhrātāras*; *dikṣa-pitāras*, *dikṣa-pitāras*¹⁰ (TS. I. 2. 3¹), *gū-mātāras* 'having a cow for mother', *pṛṣni-mātāras* 'having Pṛṣni for a mother', *sindhū-mātāras*, *su-mātāras* 'having a beautiful mother'. — f. *duhitāras*, *mātāras*, V. *mātāras*; *a-bhrātāras* and *a-bhrītāras* (AV.). — 2. m. *agnī-hotāras* 'having Agni for a priest', *abhi-ksathāras*, *abhi-svartāras* 'invokers', *āstāras*, *upa-ksatāras* 'dwelling near', *gātāras*, *ctāras* 'avengers', *jaritāras*, *joṣṭāras*, *trātāras*, *daditāras* (VS. VII. 14) 'keepers', *datāras*, *dhartāras*, *dhātāras*, *ni-ctāras* 'observing' and 'observers', *ninditāras* 'scorners', *ṛi-pātāras* 'protectors of men', *netāras* and *netāras*, *panitāras*, *pari-veṣṭāras* (VS. VI. 13), *paṅktāras* 'purifiers', *pura-ctāras* (VS. XVII. 14; TS. IV. 6. 1¹), *pra-jñātāras* 'conductors', *pra-netāras*, *prāvītāras* 'promoters', *pretāras*, *yantāras*, *rakṣitāras*, *vantāras* 'enjoyers', *vi-dhātāras*, *vi-yoktāras* 'separators', *samitāras*, *śrītāras*, *sanitāras*, *sotāras*, *stotāras*, *sthātāras*, *svāritāras* 'roaring', *hḥāras*, *hitāras*¹¹.

¹ For **vāh-tur*, from *vah-* 'draw'.

² GRASSMANN takes this form (V. 4110; VI. 12¹) as a N. f. of *dhv-* 'one who approaches or asks'.

³ The Pada text has *i* in all these forms. Cp. NEISSER BB. 20, 44.

⁴ In the RV. the ending -ā occurs 176 times, -au only 10 times: LANMAN 427 (mid.).

⁵ A Dvandva compound in which both members are inflected.

⁶ The shortening is probably metrical.

⁷ This is the interpretation of the commentator; but the derivation of the word is obscure.

⁸ No form in -*bhyām* with the Ab. sense occurs.

⁹ These G. L. forms as well as *sutras* must be pronounced trisyllabically in the RV. except *mātṛis* in VII. 3⁹. See LANMAN 428.

¹⁰ With long grade vowel.

¹¹ The form *vasu-dhātāras* (AV. V. 27⁶) may be N. pl. with shortened vowel, but WHITNEY regards it as a comparative N. sing. 'greater bestower of wealth'. See his note on AV. V. 27⁶.

A. 1. m. *pitṛn*¹; *dikṣa-pitṛn*, *pṛṣni-mātṛn*. — **f.** *mātṛs*². — **2. m.** *dstṛn*, *a-suātṛn*, *kartṛn* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5³⁰), *goptṛn* (AV.), *jaritṛn*, *trātṛn*, *dātṛn*, *pātṛn* (AV.) 'drinkers', *pra-voḍhṛn* 'carrying off', *stotṛn*, *sthatṛn*, *hōtṛn*.

L. 1. m. *nīptṛbhis*, *pitṛbhis*, *bhrātṛbhis*; *saptā-mātṛbhis*. — **f.** *mātṛbhis*. — **2. m.** *dstṛbhis*, *kartṛbhis*, *dhātṛbhis*, *partṛbhis* 'with aids', *scābhis* 'bindings', *soṭṛbhis* and *sōṭṛbhis*, *hoṭṛbhis*, *hōtṛbhis*.

D. 1. m. *pūtṛbhyas*. — **f.** *mātṛbhyas*. — **2. m.** *ksātṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'charioteers', *raksītṛbhyas* (AV.), *stotṛbhyas*, *sam-grahītṛbhyas* (VS. XVI. 26) 'drivers'.

Ab. 1. m. *pitṛbhyas*. — **f.** *mātṛbhyas*.

G. m. 1. *pitṛnām*³. — **2.** *unnēṭṛnām* (VS. VI. 2) kind of Soma priests, *jaritṛnām*, *dātṛnām*⁴ (AV.), *dhātṛnām*, *stotṛnām*, *hōtṛnām*. — **With r:** **1.** *pitṛnām* (TS. I. 3. 6⁵ etc.); **2.** *dhātṛnām* (TS. IV. 7. 14⁵), *netṛnām* (TS. I. 3. 6⁵)⁶.

L. 1. m. *pitṛṣu* (AV.). — **f.** *mātṛṣu*. — **2. m.** *hōtṛṣu*.

2. Stems in *y* and *v*.

361. These stems, of which there are only five, form a transition to the vowel declension because, while taking the normal endings like the ordinary consonant declension, they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. and show a vowel before the endings with initial consonant. There are no neuter forms⁶.

a. Stem in *-ay* (*-ai*).

362. This type is represented by only one word, usually stated in the form of *rāi-*, which never appears in any case. This word, which is both m. and (rarely) f., means 'wealth', being in origin doubtless connected with the root *rā-* 'give'. The stem appears as *rāy-* before vowels and *rā-* before consonants. The forms occurring are: **Sing.** A. *rām*. I. *rāyā*. D. *rāyā*. **Ab.** *rāyās*. **G.** *rāyās*⁷. — **Pl. N.** *rāyas*. A. *rāyās*⁸. **G.** *rāyām*.

a. The inflexion of *rāy-* is supplemented by *rāy-*, m. f., from which occur the additional cases **slug. N.** *rāyā*, A. *rāyam*, I. *rāyā* and *rāyānā*; **pl. I.** *rāyābhis*, **G.** *rāyām*.

b. There are three forms which seem to be irregular compounds of *rāy-*: **sing. G.** *rāyā-rayas* ('increasing wealth') **N.** of a man, **D.** *rāyā-rāyā* 'having much wealth', and **du. N.** *satā-rā* 'having a hundred goods'. In the first two forms the vowel of the stem has probably been shortened metrically⁹; in the third form, the stem as it appears before consonants has been used.

b. Stems in *-av* (*-o*) and *-āv* (*-au*).

363. There are two stems in *-av*, viz. *gāv-* m. 'bull', f. 'cow', and *dyāv-* m. f. 'heaven', 'day'. Both distinguish strong forms, in which the vowel is lengthened; both take *-s* in the N. sing. before which the end of the stem assumes the form of *-au*. Both show various irregularities in their inflexion.

¹ On the Sandhi of these accusatives see LANMAN 429.

² Once with m. ending *mātṛn* (x. 35²).

³ With *n* before the ending *-ām* as in the vowel declension, and accent shifted to the ending as in the *i-* and *u-* declension when those vowels are accented.

⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. v. 24³.

⁵ Also *udgōṭṛnām* (TS. III. 2. 9⁵) and *bhrāṭṛnām* (TS. II. 6. 6²). See BENFEY, *Vedica*, p. 1-38; IS. 13, 101; LANMAN 430.

⁶ Except the isolated *dyāvī* occurring once as V. du. of *dyāv-* 'heaven'.

⁷ The G. a few times has the irregular accent *rāyas*.

⁸ Accented thus 22 times as a weak case in the RV., and four times *rāyas* as a strong case (also VS. II. 24). The SV. I. 4. 1. 4¹ has the A. pl. *rās* in the variant *adhā rās* for *adhāta* of RV. VIII. 96¹³.

⁹ According to BK. and GRASSMANN, they are formed from the stems *bhāḍ-ri-* and *rāḍā-rī-*. Cp. LANMAN 431.

The inflexion of *gáv-*, which is almost complete (the only forms not represented being the weak cases of the dual) is as follows:

Sing. N. *gáus*. A. *gám*. I. *gávā*. D. *gáve*. Ab. *gás*. G. *gás*. L. *gávi*. — Du. N. A. *gávā* and *gávau*. — Pl. N. *gávas*. A. *gás*. I. *góbhis*. D. *góbhyas*. G. *gávām* and *gávām*. L. *gávu*. V. *gávas*.

a. Three of these forms, *gám*, *gás*, *gós* must, in the RV., be read as dissyllables in a few instances, though this is doubtful in the case of *gás*¹.

b. The normal G. pl. *gávām*, which is by far the commoner, occurring 55 times in the RV., is found only 3 times at the end of a Páda (which in two of these instances ends iambically); the irregular G. *gávām*², occurring 20 times in the RV., is found at the end of a Páda only. The use of the latter form thus seems to have arisen from metrical exigencies.

c. It is to be noted that from the point of view of accentuation the stem is not treated as a monosyllable, since the Udatta never shifts to the ending in weak cases.

d. There are three compounds formed from this stem: *ágor*³ G. sing. m. 'having no cows'; *pfñi-gávas*⁴ N. pl. m. 'having dappled cows'; *ritad-gávi* I. sing. f. 'having bright cows'.

364. The strong form of *dyáv-* (in which the *y* has often to be read as *i*) is *dyáv-*, which appears as *dyiuv-* before the *-s* of the N., and with loss of the final *u*, in the A. sing. *dyám*⁵. The normal stem *dyáv-* appears in weak cases only, in the contracted Ab. G. *dyás*⁶ and the L. *dyávi*; it is otherwise entirely displaced by the Samprasāraṇa form *div-* (from which the accent shifts to the ending in weak cases) before vowels and *dyi-* before consonants.

The weak grade stem *div-* has not only entirely ousted *dyáv-* from the I. D. sing., and largely from the Ab. G. L. sing., but has even encroached on the strong forms: *divām* occurring (21 times) beside *dyám* (79 times), and *divas* (once) beside *dyávas* (22 times) in the N. pl. Similarly *dyi-*⁷ has displaced *dyáv-* in the weak plural forms: A. *dyám* (for **dyávas*) and I. *dyúbhis* (for **dyábhīs*).

The inflexion of *dyáv-* is less complete than that of *gáv-*, the D. Ab. G. L. pl. being wanting as well as all the weak cases of the dual. The forms occurring are the following:

Sing. N. *dyáus*. A. *dyám*; *divām*. I. *divā*. D. *divē*. Ab. *dyás*; *divás*⁸. G. *dyás*; *divás*⁹. L. *dyávi*; *divi*¹⁰. V. *dyéus* and *dyáus*¹¹. — Du. N. A. V. *dyávi*¹²; *dyávi*¹³. — Pl. N. V. *dyávas*; *divas*¹⁴ (once). A. m. *dyám*; f. *divas*¹⁵ (twice); I. m. *dyúbhis*¹⁶.

a. The A. *dyám* seems to require dissyllabic pronunciation in a few instances. The form *dyáus* occurs once (I. 71⁸) as an Ab. instead of *dyás*. The form *divām* doubtless made its way into the A. sing. owing to the influence of the very frequent weak cases *divás* etc., which taken together occur more than 350 times in the RV.

¹ See LANMAN 431 (bottom). The form *gávas* is actually used for the A. in Kh. II. 6¹⁸.

² Formed on the analogy of the vowel declension.

³ This might be formed from the reduced stem *á-gu-*.

⁴ There is also from the reduced stem *gu-* the A. sing. m. *pfñi-gum*, as the N. of a man.

⁵ For **dyá[á]m* like *gám* for **gá[á]m*.

⁶ Like *gás* for **gávas*.

⁷ Based on *dyi-*.

⁸ In the RV. *dyás* occurs only twice as Ab., *divás* 50 times.

⁹ In the RV. *dyás* occurs 4 times as G., *divás* 180 times.

¹⁰ *dyávi* occurs 12 times, *divi* 118 times in the RV.

¹¹ *dyéus*, that is, *diaus* occurs only once and is to be read as a dissyllable.

¹² In the G. du. of the Dvandva *divis-pfñivás*, the G. sing. takes the place of the G. du., which would be *divás*.

¹³ The neuter form used once for the m.

¹⁴ Also twice in AV.

¹⁵ Also 3 or 4 times in AV.

¹⁶ *dyám* and *dyúbhis* occur only in the RV. or in verses borrowed from the RV.

b. Starting from *div-ás* etc. a transition stem *divá-* according to the *a*-declension came into being. From this occur the forms *divá-m* 'heaven' and *divá-dive* 'every day', and in compounds *tri-divá-m* (AV.) 'third heaven', *tri-divá-*, *su-divá-m* (AV.) 'bright day'.

c. It is to be noted that the accentuation of forms from *div-* follows the rule of monosyllables, while that of forms from *dyāv-* and *dyá-*, as may be inferred from *dyáśi* and *dyábhīś*, does not, being the same as that of *gāv-*.

d. The following case-forms of compounds of *dyāv-* occur: sing. N. *pra-dyāv-* (AV.) 'highest heaven', I. *pra-dīvā*, Ab. *pra-dīvas*, L. *pra-dīvi*; *dhur-dīvi* 'day by day'; du. N. A. *prthivī-dyāvā* 'earth and heaven', *dyāvā-kāmā*, *dyāvā-prthivī*, *dyāvā-bhūmī* 'heaven and earth', *vr̥ṣi-dyāvā* 'having a raining sky'; pl. N. *vr̥ṣi-dyāvas*, *su-dīvas*.

365. There are two stems in *-āv-*, viz. *nāv-* (*nāu-*) f. 'ship', and *glāv-* (*glāu-*) m. or f. 'lump'. The inflexion is very incomplete, as no dual and only two plural forms are found; but as far as can be judged from the forms occurring it is quite regular, the accentuation being that of monosyllabic stems. The forms of *nāv-* are:

Sing. N. *ndus*. A. *nāvam*, *su-nāvam* 'good ship' (VS. XXI. 7). I. *nāvā*†. G. *nāvās*. L. *nāvi*. — Pl. N. *nāvas*. I. *naubhīś*.

From *glāv-* occur only the two forms N. sing. *glāus* (AV.) and I. pl. *glāubhīś* (VS. XXV. 8)‡.

B. Vowel stems.

366. The vowel declension comprises stems ending in *a*, *i*, *u*, both long and short. These differ considerably in their inflexion according as they are radical or derivative. The radical stems, which virtually all end in the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, are allied to the consonant declension in taking the normal endings; but they add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f. The derivative stems, which end in both long and short vowels, modify the normal endings considerably; though they for the most part add *-s* in the N. sing. m. f., those in *-ā* and *-ī* regularly drop it.

1. a. Stems in radical *-ā*.

367. Radical *-ā*-stems are frequent in the RV., but become less common in the later Samhitās where they often shorten the final vowel to *ā* and are then inflected like derivative *a*-stems. The great majority of the forms occurring are nominatives or accusatives, other cases being rare and some not occurring at all. In the RV. the N. sing. forms with *ā* occur ten times oftener than those with the shortened vowel *ā*, and five times oftener than the forms with *ā* in the AV. On the other hand, the AV. has only slightly more forms with *ā* than with *ā*, and no m. forms at all from *-ā*-stems in the oblique cases‡. This tendency to give up the *ā* forms in the later Samhitās may be illustrated by the fact that the forms of the RV. N. sing. *carṣāṇi-prā-s* 'blessing men', *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giver', *prathama-jū-s* 'first-horn', V. *somā-pā-s* 'soma-drinker', are replaced in the AV. by *carṣāṇi-prā-s*, *nāma-dhā-s*, *prathama-jū-s*‡, V. *somā-pā* respectively.

This declension includes stems formed from about thirty roots. Of these, four appear as monosyllables in the m.: *jū-* 'child', *trā-* 'protector', *dā-* 'giver', *sthā-* 'standing'; and seven in the f.: *kṣā-*‡ 'abode', *-khā-* 'well', *gnā-*‡ 'divine

† There is also the transition form according to the *ā*-declension I. sing. *nāvāyā*, the accentuation of which indicates that it started from *nāvā*.

‡ The N. pl. *glāvas* also occurs in the AB.

§ These, however, by being shortened often appear secondarily as *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, when they are inflected like derivative stems. Radical *ī* *ū* and *r* stems have joined the

consonant declension by almost always adding the root determinative *-ā*.

§ See LANMAN 435.

¶ The form *prathama-jū-s*, however, also occurs in the AV.

‡ From *kṣā-* = *kṣi-* 'dwell', 'rule'.

‡ Perhaps formed with suffixal *ā* from a root **gan-* and sometimes to be pronounced as a dissyllable (*canā-*), but inflected as if a radical stem.

woman', *jā-* 'child', *jyā-* 'bowstring', *mā-* 'measure', *vri-* 'troop'; the rest appear only at the end of compounds; *-krū-* 'doing', *-krū-* 'scattering', *-kṣī-* 'ruling', *-khā-* 'digging', *-khyā-* 'seeing', *-gā-* 'going', *-gā-* 'singing', *-jā-* 'born', *-jñā-* 'knowing', *-jñi-* 'power', *-tā-* 'stretching', *-dā-* 'giving', *-drā-* 'sleeping', *-dhā-* 'putting', *-dhi-* 'sucking', *-pā-* 'guarding', *-pā-* 'drinking', *-prā-* 'filling', *-bhā-* 'appearing', *-mā-* 'measuring', *-yā-* 'going', *-vā-* 'blowing', *-sā-* 'winning', *-sthā-* 'standing', *-snā-* 'bathing', *-hā-* 'starting'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and f. only. There are no distinctively n. forms⁶, as the stem shortens the radical vowel to *ā* in that gender and is consequently inflected according to the derivative *a*-declension.

a. Three anomalously formed m. derivative stems in *-ā* follow the analogy of the radical *a*-stems. 1. From the adverb *tā-thā* 'thus' is formed the N. sing. *tā-tathā-s* 'not saying "yes"'. 2. *uśānā*, N. of a seer, forms its A. *uśānam* and D. *uśāne*?; the N. sing. being irregularly formed without *-s*, has the appearance of a N. sing. f. from a derivative *a*-stem⁸. 3. The strong stem of *pathi-* 'path' is in the RV. *pānthā-* only: N. sing. *pānthā-s* (+ AV.), A. *pānthā-m* (+ AV.), N. pl. *pānthā-*. The AV. also uses the stem *pānthān-*, from which it forms N. sing. *pānthā* (once), A. *pānthānam* (once), and N. pl. *pānthāna-*. Though the stem *pānthān-* never occurs in the RV., the evidence of the Avesta points to its having been in use beside *pānthā-* in the Indo-Iranian period⁹. The A. *pānthānam*¹⁰, as a contraction of *pānthānam*, may have been the starting point of the N. sing. *pānthā-s*.

Inflection.

368. The forms occurring in the oblique cases are so rare that some endings, such as those of the L. sing., G. l. du. and G. pl. are not represented at all. The m. always takes *-s* in the N. sing., but the f. often drops it, doubtless owing to the influence of the f. of derivative *a*-stems. Excepting the few forms occurring in the D. and G. sing.¹¹, the N. sing. with *-s* is the only case in which the inflexion of the radical stems can be distinguished in the f.¹² from that of the derivative *a*-stems in form¹³. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *jā-* 'offspring', be the following:

Sing. N. m. f. *jā-s*, f. also *jā*. A. m. f. *jā-m*. I. f. *jā-ā*. D. m. f. *jā-e*. G. m. *jā-ds*. V. m. *jā-s*.

Du. N. A. V. m. *jā*, *jāu*. I. *jā-bhyām*¹⁴.

Pl. N. m. f. *jās*. A. f. *jās*. I. m. f. *jā-bhis*. D. f. *jā-bhyas*. Ab. m. *jā-bhyas*. L. f. *jā-su*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. *jā-s*¹⁵ 'child', *dā-s*¹⁶ 'giver', *sthā-s* 'standing'. — *dadhī-krā-s*¹⁷,

¹ From an extended form of the root *vy-* 'surround'.

² An extension with *-ā* of *ky-* 'do'.

³ An extension with *-ā* of *ky-* 'scatter'.

⁴ The root *mlā-* 'soften' occurs in the modified form of *-mā-* in *carma-mnā-* 'tanner'.

⁵ Four of these roots, *khā-*, *gā-*, *jā-*, *sā-*, are collateral forms of others ending in a nasal, *khan-*, *gam-*, *jan-*, *sau-*; cp. DELBRÜCK, *Verbum*, p. 92 f., LANMAN 442.

⁶ Five N. sing. m. forms with *-s* are found in agreement with n. substantives.

⁷ There is also a L. sing. *uśāne*, which is formed as if from an *a*-stem.

⁸ The starting-point of this may have been *uśānam* as a contracted A. for *uśānasam*.

⁹ See LANMAN 441.

¹⁰ The analogy of *pathi-* is followed by *mathi-* 'churning-stick', which once has the A. form *mānthā-m*.

¹¹ There are otherwise only the f. trans-

ition forms I. sing. *āpayāyām*, N. of a river, and *purā-dhāyām* (AV.).

¹² The N. sing. with *-s* is about as common as that without it in the RV., the latter occurring in late hymns; in the AV. the former are less common.

¹³ But on etymological grounds other cases may commonly be distinguished as belonging to either one group or the other; thus A. f. *āgopām* 'having no herdsman' must be regarded as a radical *a*-form, because the m. is almost without exception *gopām*, and not as a derivative f. from *gopā-*.

¹⁴ Contrary to the rule generally applicable to monosyllable stems, the accent remains on the radical syllable throughout.

¹⁵ LANMAN 443 thinks *gā-s* in x. 127⁸ is a N. sing. 'singer' (*gā-* 'sing'), but it is probably the A. pl. of *gā-* 'cow'.

¹⁶ Also *dā-s* in TS. II. 6. 41.

¹⁷ These compounds are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the roots.

N. of a divine horse. — *rbhu-kṣh-s* 'lord of the Rbhus'. — *bisa-khū-s* 'digging up lotus fibres'. — *agre-gū-s* (VS. xxvii. 31; Kh. v. 6') 'going before', *an-ā-gū-s* 'not coming', *puro-gū-s* 'leader', *samana-gū-s* 'going to the assembly'. — *sāma-gū-s* 'singing chants'. — *adri-jū-s* 'produced from stones', *apsu-jū-s* 'born in the waters', *ab-jū-s* 'born in water', *abhra-jū-s* (AV.) 'born from clouds', *ṛta-jū-s* 'truly born', *ṛte-jū-s* 'produced at the rite', *go-jū-s* 'born from the cow', *taṇo-jū-s* (VS. xxxvii. 16) 'born from heat', *divi-jū-s* 'born in the sky', *deva-jū-s* 'god-born', *dvi-jū-s* 'twice-born', *nakṣatra-jū-s* (AV.) 'star-born', *nabho-jū-s* 'produced from vapour', *nava-jū-s* 'newly born', *pura-jū-s* 'primeval', *pūrva-jū-s* 'born before', *prathama-jū-s* 'first-born', *bahu-pra-jū-s* 'having numerous progeny', *manuṣya-jū-s* 'born of men', *vane-jū-s* 'born in woods', *vāta-jū-s* (AV.) 'arisen from wind', *sana-jū-s* 'born long ago', *saha-jū-s* 'born together', *saho-jū-s* 'produced by strength', *su-pra-jū-s* 'having good offspring', *hiranya-jū-s* (AV.) 'sprung from gold'. — *ṛta-jñā-s* 'knowing the sacred law'. — *paramajyū-s* 'holding supreme power'. — *apāna-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'giving the downward air', *ātma-dā-s* 'granting breath', *ayur-dā-s* (TS. VS.) 'granting long life', *āstī-dā-s* (VS. xviii. 56) 'fulfilling a wish', *ojo-dā-s* 'granting power', *go-dā-s* 'giving kine', *cakṣur-dā-s* (TS. iv. 6. 1⁵) 'giving sight', *draviṇo-dā-s* 'giving wealth', *dhana-dā-s* 'giving booty', *prāṇa-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'life-giving', *bala-dā-s* 'giving power', *bhūri-dā-s* 'giving much', *rāstra-dā-s* (VS. x. 2) 'giving dominion', *varivo-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving space', *varco-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving vigour', *vasu-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving wealth', *vyāna-dā-s* (VS. TS.) 'giving breath', *sahasra-dā-s* 'giving a thousand', *saho-dā-s* 'giving strength', *svasti-dā-s* 'giving happiness', *havir-dā-s* (AV.) 'giving oblations', *hiranya-dā-s* 'yielding gold'. — *abhi-dhā-s* (VS. xxii. 3) 'surrounding', *kiyo-dhā-s* 'containing much', *cano-dhā-s* (VS. viii. 7) 'gracious', *dhāma-dhā-s* 'founder of dwellings', *dhiyam-dhā-s* 'devout', *nāma-dhā-s* 'name-giving', *bhāga-dhā-s* (TS. iv. 6. 3¹) 'paying what is due', *ratna-dhā-s* 'procuring wealth', *reto-dhā-s* 'impregnating', *rayo-dhā-s* 'bestowing strength', *varco-dhā-s* (AV.) 'granting vigour', *vistud-dhā-s* (VS. i. 2) 'all-preserving', *sarva-dhā-s* 'all-refreshing'. — *adhi-pā-s* 'ruler', *apāna-pā-s* (VS. xx. 34) 'protecting the downward breath', *abhiṣṭi-pā-s* 'defending from imprecations', *abhiṣṭi-pā-s* 'protecting with assistance', *āprā-pā-s* (VS. viii. 57) 'guarding when gladdened', *āyus-pā-s* (VS. xxii. 1) 'life-protector', *ṛta-pā-s* 'guarding divine order', *go-pā-s* 'herdsman', *ā-gopā-s* 'lacking a cowherd', *devā-gopā-s* 'having the gods for guardians', *su-gopā-s* 'good protector', *sōma-gopā-s* 'keeper of Soma', *cakṣus-pā-s*² (VS. ii. 6) 'protecting the eyesight', *tanu-pā-s* 'protecting the person', *nidhi-pā-s* (AV. VS.) 'guardian of treasure', *paras-pā-s*² 'protecting afar', *paśu-pā-s* 'keeper of herds', *prāṇa-pā-s* (VS. xx. 34) 'guardian of breath', *vrata-pā-s* 'observing ordinances', *śevadhī-pā-s* 'guarding treasure', *sti-pā-s* 'protecting dependents', *sva-pā-s*³ (AV.) 'protector of his own'. — *an-ṛtu-pā-s* 'not drinking in time', *ṛtu-pā-s* 'drinking at the right season', *pūrva-pā-s* 'drinking first', *suta-pā-s* 'drinking the Soma-juice', *soma-pā-s* 'drinking Soma', *hari-pā-s* 'drinking the yellow (Soma)'. — *antarikṣa-prā-s* 'traversing the air', *kratu-prā-s* 'granting power', *carsani-prā-s* 'satisfying men', *rodasi-prā-s*⁴ 'filling heaven and earth'. — *ṛṇa-yā-s* 'exacting obligations', *eva-yā-s* 'going quickly', *tura-yā-s* 'going swiftly', *deva-yā-s* 'going to the gods'. — *ap-sā-s* 'giving water', *aśva-sā-s* 'giving horses', *dhana-sā-s* 'winning wealth', *vāja-sā-s* 'winning booty', *sata-sā-s* 'gaining a hundred', *sahasra-sā-s* 'gaining a thousand', *go-sā-s* 'acquiring cattle', *ṛ-sā-s* 'procuring men', *su-sā-s* 'gaining

¹ In *abhiṣṭi-pā* (ii. 20²), where the Pada text reads *abhiṣṭi-pā asi*. See LANMAN 443 (bottom).

² On the Sandhi in this compound cp. 78 c.

³ The Pada text of AV. iii. 31 divides *sva-pāh*; but the correct division may be *su-āpāh*; see WHITNEY's note.

⁴ For *rodasi-prā-s*.

easily', *sva-sā-s* 'winning light'. — *adhara-sthā-s*¹ (Kh. II. 8²) 'subordinate', *ṛta-sthā-s* (AV.) 'standing right', *rocana-sthā-s* 'abiding in light', *sūpa-sthā-s*³ (VS. XXI. 60; TS. I. 2. 2³) 'forming a good lap'; *aṅge-sthā-s* (AV.) 'situated in a member of the body', *adhvare-sthā-s* 'standing at the sacrifice', *giri-sthā-s* 'mountain-dwelling', *nī-sthā-s* 'excelling', *puru-nī-sthā-s* 'excelling among many', *bhuvane-sthā-s*⁴ (AV.) 'being in the world', *manhane-sthā-s* 'liberal', *madhyame-sthā-s* (AV. VS. TS.) 'standing in the middle', *ratho-sthā-s* 'standing on a car', *vandane-sthā-s* 'mindful of praises', *vandhure-sthā-s* 'standing on the car-seat', *savya-sthā-s*⁴ (AV.), *hari-sthā-s* 'borne by bay horses'. — *ghṛta-snā-s* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal forms *d-tathā-s* 'not saying "yes"', *pānthā-s* 'path'.

f. *ksī-s* 'abode', *gnā-s* 'divine woman', *vri-s*⁵ (I. 124⁶) 'troop'. — *ṛta-pā-s*, *ṛte-jī-s*, *kula-pā-s* (AV.) 'chief of a family', *go-dhā-s*⁶ 'sinew', *go-pā-s* (AV.) 'female guardian', *go-sā-s*, *divi-jā-s*, *divo-jā-s* 'born from heaven', *vane-jā-s*, *vayo-dhā-s* (AV.), *vasu-dhā-s* (AV.), *śata-sā-s*, *samana-gā-s*, *sahasra-sā-s*⁷. — Without -s in the Pada but with hiatus in the Saṃhitā⁸: *jyā* 'bowstring'; *nī-dri* 'sleep', *pra-pā* 'place for watering', *śrad-dhā* 'faith', *sva-dhā*⁹ 'self-power'; *un-mā* (TS.) 'measure of height', *prati-mā* (TS.) 'counter-measure', *pra-mā* (TS.) 'fore-measure', *vi-mā* (TS.) 'through-measure'¹⁰. — Without -s as in the derivative *ā-* declension: *jā* (AV.), *mā* (TS. IV. 3. 7¹) 'measure'. — *upa-gā*¹¹ (AV.) 'going away', *abhi-bhā* 'apparition', *d-sanyjū* (AV.) 'discord', *upa-jā* (AV.) 'distant posterity', *go-dhā*¹², *dur-gā* (AV.) 'hard to go upon', *devi-gopā*, *dyu-ksā* 'heavenly', *pra-jā* 'offspring', *prati-mā* 'image', *pra-pā* (AV. III. 30⁶), *pra-mā* 'measure', *madhu-dhā*¹³ 'dispensing sweetness', *śrad-dhā* (AV.), *sana-jā*, *svā-gopā* 'guarding oneself', *sva-dhā*.

n. With -s and agreeing with n. substantives: *sthā-s* 'stationary'; *indra-jā-s* (AV.) 'descended from Indra', *śata-sā-s*, *su-pra-yā-s* 'pleasant to tread on', *soma-jā-s*¹⁴ (AV.) 'Soma-born'.

A. m. *jām*, *trām* 'protector', *sthām*. — *dadhi-krām*, *rudhi-krām* N. of a demon. — *tamo-gām* 'roaming in the darkness', *tava-gām* 'moving mightily', *svasti-gām* 'leading to prosperity'. — *sāma-gām*. — *agra-jām* 'first-born', *ab-jām*, *nabho-jām*, *purā-jām*, *prathama-jām*, *bhāreṣu-jām* 'existing in battles'. — *in-āśva-dām* 'not giving horses', *in-āśv-dām* 'not giving a blessing', *a-bhikṣa-dām*¹⁵ 'giving without being asked', *upa-dām* (VS. XXX. 9) 'giving a present', *jani-dām* 'giving a wife', *dracīno-dām*, *dhana-dām*, *rabho-dām* 'bestowing strength', *vasu-dām*, *saho-dām*, *havir-dām* (AV.). — *ratna-dhām* (AV., VS. IV. 25), *reto-dhām* (VS. VIII. 10), *vayo-dhām*, *varivo-dhām* 'granting space', *varco-dhām* (VS. IV. 11), *vīpo-dhām* 'inspiring'. — *abhisasti-pām*, *go-pām*, *tanū-pām*, *nī-sikta-pām* 'protecting the infused (semen)', *vṛata-pām*. — *añjas-pām* 'drinking instantly', *śṛta-pām* 'drinking boiled milk', *soma-pām*. — *antarikṣa-prām*, *kakṣya-prām* 'filling out the girth',

¹ The Ms. reads *adhira-sthā nīnatat*.

² That is, *su-upa-sthā-s*.

³ While Kh. III. 22^a has in the same verse *bhūmane-sthāh* (sic).

⁴ The Pada reads *savya-sthāh*; see APR. II. 95, and cp. WHITNEY'S note on AV. VIII. 8³.

⁵ N. sing. GRASSMANN and LANMAN, N. pl. ROTH and ŚĀYANA.

⁶ The derivation is uncertain.

⁷ The above are the only N. sing. f. forms written with -s in the Pada text.

⁸ It may therefore be assumed that the N. was formed with -s.

⁹ Cp. RPr. II. 29. With regard to *sva-dhā*, the Saṃhitā text is inconsistent, writing it contracted with a following vowel in *svadhāsi*

(I. 165⁶) and *svadhāmī* (V. 34¹), where it must be pronounced with hiatus.

¹⁰ All these four compounds of *mā* 'measure' occur in TS. IV. 4. 11³; see TPr. X. 13, IS. 13, 104, note 2.

¹¹ BR. would accentuate *apa-gā*; cp. WHITNEY'S note on AV. I. 34⁵.

¹² Probably *go-dhās* in X. 28¹¹; cp. LANMAN 445.

¹³ Also *maryādā* 'limit' if *maryā-dā*, but the derivation is doubtful.

¹⁴ These forms must be regarded as m. used as n. Cp. the -ās forms of -as stems used as n. (344).

¹⁵ According to the Pada text *abhi-kṣa-dām* ('destroying').

carsani-prām, *ratha-prām* 'filling a car', *rodasi-prām*¹. — *ap-sām*, *urvarā-sām* 'granting fertile land', *ksetra-sām* 'procuring land', *dhana-sām*, *sada-sām* 'always gaining', *sahasra-sām*; *go-sām*, *svar-sām*. — *rocana-sthām*, *sv-āsa-sthām* (VS. II. 2) 'offering a good seat'; *giri-sthām*, *nare-sthām* 'serving for a man² to stand on', *ni-sthām*, *karma-ni-sthām* 'diligent in religious acts', *pathi-sthām* (AV.) 'standing on the way', *pathe-sthām*³ 'standing in the way', *pari-sthām* 'surrounding', *parvate-sthām* 'dwelling on the heights', *barhi-sthām*⁴ 'standing on the sacrificial grass', *rathe-sthām*, *rayi-sthām* (AV.) 'possessed of wealth', *hari-sthām*. — Also the abnormal derivative forms *pānthām*, *mānthām* 'churning-stick'.

f. *ksām*, *khām* 'well', *gnām*, *jām*, *hyām*, *vrām*. — *āgopām*, *antariksa-prām*, *ava-sām* 'liberation', *dśva-sām*, *upa-vām* (AV.) 'act of blowing upon', *uru-sām* 'granting much', *pta-jhām*, *tiro-dhām* (AV.) 'concealment', *dūr-dhām* 'disarrangement', *dhana-sām*, *pra-jām*, *prati-dhām* (AV.) 'draught', *prati-sthām* 'standpoint', *pra-vām* (AV.) 'blowing forth', *pra-hām* 'advantage', *yaksmodhām*⁵ (AV.) 'maker of disease', *vāja-sām*, *śrad-dhām*, *sabhām*⁶ 'assembly', *su-prajām*, *sva-jām* 'self-born', *sva-dhām*, *svar-sām*.

I. f. *apa-dhā* 'concealment', *abhi-khyā* 'splendour', *a-sthā* 'without standing', *aśir-dā* (VS.) 'fulfilment of a wish', *prati-dhā*, *prati-sthā*⁸, *sva-dhā*.

D. m. *dā*; *kitāla-pē* 'drinking (the beverage called) *kitāla*', *dhiyam-dhē* 'devout', *paśu-pē* 'bestowing cattle', *rāyas-paśa-dā* (VS. v. 1) 'granting increase of wealth', *śuci-pē* 'drinking the clear (Soma)', *śubham-yē* 'flying swiftly along', *havi-dā*.

f. *ksē*; *śrad-dhē*⁹. — Also the infinitives *pra-khyāi* 'to see', *vi-khyāi* 'to look about'; *parā-dāi* 'to give up'; *vayo-dhāi* 'to strengthen'; *prati-dāi*¹⁰ 'to imitate'; *ava-yāi* 'to go away', *ā-yāi* 'to approach', *upa-yāi* 'to come near', *pra-yāi* 'to go forward'; *ava-sāi*¹¹ 'to rest'¹².

G. m. *ksī-prāś* 'pervading the human race', *paśu-pāś*¹³.

V. m. *pta-pā-s* (TS. III. 2. 8), *rtu-pā-s*, *puro-gā-s* (TS. v. 1. 11), *bhūri-dā-s*, *śukra-pāta-pā-s* 'drinking bright and purified (Soma)', *śuci-pā-s*, *śrotra-pā-s* (VS. xx. 34) 'protecting the ear', *suta-pā-s*, *soma-pā-s*¹⁴.

Du. N. A. V. m. *kakṣya-prā*, *go-pā*, *gharmye-sthā* 'being in a house', *chardis-pā* 'protecting a house', *jagat-pā* 'protecting the living', *lanā-pā*, *tapus-pā* 'drinking warm beverage', *dravino-dā*¹⁵, *paras-pā*, *purā-jā*, *pūru-trā* 'protecting much', *vāja-dā* 'bestowing vigour', *śuci-pā*, *su-gopā*, *soma-pā*, *stī-pā*. — With -au: *ā-krau*¹⁶ 'inactive', *a-doma-dhū* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *adhra-gāu* 'travelling', *go-pāu*, *go-pāu*, *madhu-pāu* 'drinking Soma', *rayi-dāu* 'bestowing wealth', *suta-pāu*¹⁷.

¹ For *rodasi-prām*.

² The D. case-form of *ur-* 'man' being retained in the compound.

³ The l. of the stem *patha-* = *pathi-* being retained in the compound.

⁴ *barhi-* for *barhi-*: see 62.

⁵ With the N. case-form retained in the compound; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. IX. 8⁹.

⁶ The derivation of this word is uncertain.

⁷ Used adverbially = 'at once'.

⁸ Cp. LANMAN 447¹. There are also the transition forms *jyāyā*, *prajūyā*.

⁹ Also the transition form *prajūyāi*.

¹⁰ The infinitive *prati-dāi* is probably a locative.

¹¹ These dative infinitives are formed by combining the full root with the ending -e, while in the ordinary datives the radical ā is dropped before the ending.

¹² See below, the Dative Infinitive, 584.

¹³ The form *jās-* in *jās-pāi-* (I. 185^b) 'lord of the family' is probably a f. G. of *jā-*; and *gnās* probably G. of *gnā-* in *gnās-pāi-* 'husband of a divine woman'. There are also the transition forms *jyāyās* and *prajūyās*.

¹⁴ There are also in the f. the transition forms *gānge*, *śrad-dhē*, *tiro-dhē* (AV.) 'concealment'.

¹⁵ The Pada text reads *dravino-dāu*.

¹⁶ Some of these duals in -au may be formed from radical stems with shortened -ā; cp. LANMAN 450¹.

¹⁷ There are also the f. transition forms *pdū-pē* 'drinking what is sweet', *pūru-yē* 'born before', *sv-āsa-sthē* 'sitting on a good seat'.

I. Only four compounds of *-pā* in TS. III. 2. 10¹: *kratu-pābhyām* 'watching one's intentions', *cakṣus-pābhyām*, *vāk-pābhyām* 'protecting speech', *śrotra-pābhyām*².

PI. N. V. m. *rbhu-kṣās*. — *agni-jās* (AV.) 'fire-born', *ā-pra-jās* 'childless', *apsu-jās* (AV.), *osadhi-jās* (AV.) 'born among herbs', *khala-jās* (AV.) 'produced on a threshing-floor', *deva-jās*, *purī-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pravāte-jās* 'grown in an airy place', *raghu-jās* 'produced from a racer', *śaka-dhūma-jās* (AV.) 'produced from cow-dung', *su-pra-jās*, *sva-jās*. — *ṛta-jās*, *ṛta-jās*, *pada-jās* 'knowing the track'. — *āśva-dās* 'giving horses', *āśv-dās* (VS. VIII. 5), *god-dās*, *dravīno-dās*, *dhana-dās*, *vara-dās* (AV.) 'granting boons', *vastra-dās* and *vāso-dās* 'giving garments', *hiranya-dās*. — *jani-dhās*³ (x. 29²), *dhīyam-dhās*, *ratna-dhās*, *retu-dhās*, *vayo-dhās*. — *payo-dhās* 'sucking milk'. — *kula-pās* 'heads of the family'; *go-pās*, *indra-gopās* 'protected by Indra', *devā-gopās*, *vāyū-gopās* 'protected by Wind', *su-gopās*; *tann-pās*, *paśu-pās*, *vraṭa-pās*. — *agre-pās* 'drinking first', *añjas-pās*, *payas-pās* 'drinking milk', *manthi-pās*³ (VS. VII. 17) 'drinking the stirred Soma', *soma-pās*, *sīma-pās* (AV.), *havis-pās* 'drinking offerings'. — *carma-mnās*⁴ 'tanners'. — *jma-yās* 'going on the earth'. — *dhana-sās*, *sadā-sās*, *sahasra-sās*. — *prthivi-sthās*⁵ 'standing on the earth', *rathe-sthās*⁶, *harmye-sthās*⁶ 'dwelling in the house'. — *ghṛta-snās* 'sprinkling ghee'. — Also the abnormal derivative *pānthās*⁷.

f. *gnās*, *vṛās*. — *ā-gopās*, *ava-sthās* 'female organs', *dhi-gopās* 'guarded by the dragon', *ā-kās* 'frames', *ṛta-jās* (AV.), *giri-jās* 'mountain-born', *jarani-prās*², *devā-gopās*, *deva-yās*, *pada-jās* (AV.), *pra-jās*, *prathama-jās*, *pra-yās* 'advance', *manusya-jās* (AV.), *vakṣane-sthās* 'being in Agni' (?), *vāja-dās*, *śusma-dās* 'bestowing strength', *su-gopās*, *soma-pās*, *svayam-jās*⁸ 'self-born'.

A. m. There is no certain example: *vane-jās* (x. 79²) is possibly one⁹.

f. *kṣās*, *gnās*, *jās*. — *ān-agni-trās* 'not maintaining the sacred fire', *anu-sthās* 'following in succession', *āśva-dās*, *deva-yās*, *pari-jās* (AV.) 'places of origin', *pari-sthās* 'impediments', *pra-jās*, *manusya-jās*, *vi-sthās* 'positions', *sahā-gopās* 'accompanied by herdsmen', *su-gās* 'easy to traverse', *sva-dhās*.

I. m. *agre-pābhis*. — f. *gnābhis*; *ṛtu-pābhis*, *ratna-dhābhis*, *prajābhis*, *śrad-dhābhis*, *sva-dhābhis*.

D. f. *pra-jābhyas*. — Ab. m. *bhūri-dābhyas*¹⁰.

L. f. *kṣdsu*, *gnāsu*, *jāsu*; *ā-tāsu*¹¹, *pra-jāsu*, *sabhāsu*.

I b. Stems in Radical -a.

369. These consist almost entirely of stems in radical *a* which has been shortened to *ā*. With the exception of *kṣā*¹² 'aperture' they occur at the end of compounds only. They are: *kṣā* 'dwelling', *kṣā*, *gā* 'going', *gā* 'singing', *ajā* 'born', *jyā* 'bowstring', *ta* 'stretching', *trā*¹³ 'protecting', *dā* 'giving'¹⁴, *dā* 'binding', *dhd* 'putting', *pā* 'guarding', *pā* 'drinking', *prā* 'filling', *mnā*.

¹ In the L. du. there also occur the f. transition forms *jūghāyas* (AV.) and *sva-jhāyas*.

² Of doubtful meaning.

³ The stem is *manthi-pā*. according to BR.

⁴ From *jmlā*: 'softening hides'.

⁵ *Prthivi* = *prthiv*.

⁶ With the L. ending retained in the first member of the compound.

⁷ The form *pānthās* also occurs once. It is doubtful whether the plurals *dyu-kṣāns* and *prīya-sāsas* are to be regarded as formed from *ā*-stems. Such plurals are probably made from *a*-stems.

⁸ There is also the f. transition form *nāva-gevās*.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 451⁴.

¹⁰ In the G. occur the f. transition forms *prajhānām* (AV.) 'fore-knowing', *vi-bhānām* 'radiant'.

¹¹ Probably from *tā* = *tan* 'stretch'.

¹² The nominatives *dṛās* and *vṛās* in AV. XI. 7¹ (also *nyās*, 7¹) are of unknown meaning (see WHITNEY'S note).

¹³ Cp. GARRE in KZ. 23, 476, 480.

¹⁴ Perhaps also *drā* 'running' in *kyṛya-drām* (AV.).

'thinking', *-mla-*¹ 'softening', *-sd-* 'winning', *-sthā-* 'standing'; also *-grā-*² 'swallowing', *-gva-*³ 'going', *-hā-*⁴ 'slaying'.

These stems are inflected in the m. and n. only. This is the form assumed in the n. by all radical *ā*-stems (367).

Inflection.

370. The inflection of the radical *ā*-stems is identical with that of the derivative *ā*-stems (371). The forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *dya-kṣā-s* 'dwelling in heaven'. — *su-khā-s* 'having a good (axle) hole'. — *agre-gā-s* 'going in front', *āsum-gā-s* (AV.) 'swift-going', *ṛju-gā-s* (AV.) 'going straight on', *patan-gā-s*⁵ 'going by flight', *valu-gā-s* (AV.) 'hidden in a cave'⁶, *śitim-gā-s* (AV. xi. 5¹²) 'white-goer', *su-gā-s* 'easy to traverse'. — *dāśa-gva-s*⁷ 'going in tens', *nāva-gva-s*⁸ 'going in nines'⁸. — *a-jā-s* 'unborn', *adhri-jas* 'irresistible', *eka-jā-s* (AV.) 'produced alone', *jarāyu-jā-s* (AV.) 'viviparous', *ni-jā-s* (AV.) 'familiar'⁹, *prathama-jā-s* (AV.) 'first-born', *samudra-jā-s* (AV.) 'sea-born', *stamba-jā-s* (AV.) 'shaggy'(?). — *an-ānu-dā-s* 'not giving way', *dānu-dā-s* 'dripping', *dāyā-dā-s* (AV.) 'receiving (*ā-da-*) inheritance (*dāya-*)', *prāṇa-dā-s* 'life-giving'. — *nāma-dhā-s* (AV.) 'name-giver'. — *ākūti-prā-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling wishes', *kāma-prā-s* (AV.) 'fulfilling desire', *carṣani-prā-s* (AV.) 'satisfying men', *pṛthivī-prā-s* (AV.) 'earth-filling'¹⁰. — *apnah-sthā-s* 'possessor', *go-śhā-s* (AV.) 'cow-pen', *puru-ni-śhā-s* 'excelling among many'. — *satru-hā-s* (AV.) 'slaying enemies', *śahasra-hā-s* (AV.) 'slaying a thousand'.

N. A. n. *khām* 'aperture'. — *a-doma-dām* (AV.) 'not causing inconvenience', *antīri-kṣam* 'air', *kṛṣṇa-dām* (AV.) 'black runner'(?)¹¹, *tuvi-kṣdm* 'destroying many', *dur-gām* 'impassable', *dya-kṣām*, *prathama-jām* (AV. VS.), *vāta-gopam* (AV.) 'guarded by the wind', *vṛtra-hām* 'slaying foes', *satra-hām* 'always destroying', *sadhā-stham* 'abode', *su-gām*, *su-mnām* 'benevolent'.

A. m. *atīthi-gvām* ('to whom guests go') N. of a man, *an-ānu-dām*, *arāti-hām* (AV.) 'destroying adversity', *aśva-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'groom', *i-sva-gam* (AV.) 'homeless', *eka-jām*, *garbha-dhām* (VS. TS.) 'impregnator', *grha-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'guardian of a house', *go-pām* 'herdsman', *carma-mnām* (VS.) 'tanner', *tri-śhām* 'having three seats', *dāśa-gvam*, *dāva-pām* (VS. xxx. 19) 'forest-fire guard', *dya-kṣām*, *patan-gām*, *prathama-jām* (VS. xxxiv. 51), *madhu-pām* 'honey-drinker', *vana-pām* (VS. xxx. 19) 'wood-ranger', *vāta-gām* (AV.), *vitta-dhām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'possessing wealth', *su-khām*, *su-gām* (AV.), *hasti-pām* (VS. xxx. 11) 'elephant-keeper'.

I. m. *rathe-śhēna* 'standing on a car'. — n. *antīri-kṣēna*, *ṛd-jiyēna* 'whose bowstring is truth', *kāma-prēṇa*, *su-gēna* (AV.), *su-mnēna*.

D. m. *atīthi-gvāya*, *dya-kṣāya*, *patan-gāya*, *rathe-śhāya*¹². — n. *paris-pāya* (VS.) 'protecting from afar', *su-mnāya*. — **Ab. m.** *ṛṣya-dāt* (x. 39⁶) 'pit for antelopes'. — n. *antīri-kṣāt*¹³, *dur-gāt*, *sadhā-sthāt*.

¹ In the form of *-mna-* in *car-ma-mnā* 'tanner'. BLOOMFIELD, AJPh. 17, 422-27; cp. above p. 153 (mid.).

² An extension of *-gr-* 'swallow'; cp. *-krā-* and *-vṛ-* among the radical *ā*-stems. ⁶ The compound *puru-gvā-s* 'leader' possibly = **puru-gvā-s*; but it is probably a governing compound; cp. above, p. 176.

³ In its original form perhaps *-gva-*; a reduced form *-gu-* appears in *tana-gā-* 'forest-roaming'. ⁹ See WHITNEY'S note on AV. III. 5².

⁴ A reduced form of *han-* 'slay'. ¹⁰ Also *patu-gā-s* (v. 41¹) if it is N. sing. and not a G. of *patu-gā-*.

⁵ See BARTHOLOMAE, BR. 15, 34 and cp. BB. 18, 12. ¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY'S note on AV. IX. 7⁴.

⁶ The etymology and meaning are somewhat doubtful; cp. IS. 4, 304. ¹² *svājāya* (AV.) is analyzed by the Commentator as *sva-jāya* 'self-born', but is explained by WHITNEY (AV. VI. 56²) as 'constrictor' (from *svaj-* 'embrace').

⁷ These two compounds as well as *atīthi-gvā-* and *śa-gva-*, are with more probability derived from a reduced form of *ga-* 'cow' by ¹³ See LANNAN 337.

G. m. *a-jāsya*, *alīthi-gvāsya*¹. — n. *antāri-ksāya*, *asthi-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced in the bones', *tanū-jāsya* (AV.) 'produced from the body', *su-mnāsya*.

L. m. *dāśa-gvā*, *nāva-gvā*, *ratha-saṅgē* 'encounter of war-cars', *saṅ-ssthē* 'presence', *saṅ-gē* 'conflict', *su-khē*, *svar-gē* 'going to heaven'. — n. *antāri-ksē*, *khē*. — *karañja-hē* 'pernicious to the Karañja tree', *dur-gē*, *bhayā-sihē* 'perilous situation', *sadhā-sthē*, *su-mnē*. — V. m. *eka-ja*, *dyu-ksā*, *patan-ga* (AV.), *soma-pa* (AV.) 'drinking Soma'.

Du. N. A. m.² *ta-gvā* 'going swiftly'. — A. n. *sadhā-sthē*.

Pl. N. V. m. *ājya-pās* (VS. XXI. 40) 'drinking clarified butter', *ta-gvās*, *tanū-jās* (AV.), *tapo-jās* (AV.) 'produced by austerity', *dāśa-gvās*, *nāva-gvās*, *patan-gās*, *vala-gās* (AV.), *su-gās*. — Also four forms with *āsas*: *dāśa-gvāsas*, *dyu-ksāsas*, *nāva-gvāsas*, *priya-sāsas*³ 'granting desired objects'.

N. A. n. 1. *āmsa-trā* 'armour protecting the shoulder', *antāriksū*, *dur-gā*, *prathama-jā*⁴ (AV.), *sadhā-sthā*, *su-gā*, *su-mnā*. — 2. *khāni*. — *antāri-ksāni*, *ararū-dāni*⁵, *dur-gāni*, *sadhā-sthāni*, *su-gāni*, *su-mnāni*.

A. m. *go-pān*, *tapo-pān*, *dur-gān* (AV.), *patan-gān*, *pūrva-jān* (TS.) 'born before', *lyta-pān* 'drinking boiled milk', *saha-jān* (TS.) 'born at the same time', *su-gān*, *soma-pān* (AV.).

I. m. 1. *tuvi-grībhis* 'swallowing much', *mithv-aradya-pēbhis* 'mutually averting calamities', *ratna-dhībhis* 'preserving wealth', *sāma-gēbhis* (AV.) 'reciting chants', *su-gēbhis*. — 2. *ā-tais*⁶ 'frames', *dāśa-gvais*, *nāva-gvais*, *dhana-sāis* 'winning wealth', *nāva-gvais*, *patan-gūis*, *su-khūis*. — n. 1. *madhu-pēbhis*, *su-gēbhis*, *su-mnēbhis*. — 2. *su-mnēis*.

D. m. *pūrva-jēbhyas*. — G. m. *dvi-jānām* (AV.) 'twice-born', *sākam-jānām* 'being born together'. — L. m. *draviṇo-dēsu* 'giving wealth', *su-khēsu*. — n. *dur-gēsu*, *sadhā-sthēsu*, *su-gēsu*, *su-mnēsu*.

2a. Derivative stems in -a.

BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* p. 293—317. — WHITNEY, *Grammar* 326—334 (p. 112—116). — LANMAN, *Noun-Inflection* 329—334.

371. This is the most important of the declensions as it embraces more than one-half of all nominal stems. It is also the most irregular inasmuch as its ending diverge from the normal ones more than is elsewhere the case. This is the only declension in which the N. A. n. has an ending in the singular. Here the I. D. Ab. G. sing. are peculiar; and in the plural, the A., the G., one of the forms of the I. and of the N. A. n. do not take the normal endings. The final vowel of the stem is also modified before the endings with initial consonant in the du. and pl. Three of the peculiar case-endings of the sing. (I. Ab. G.) are borrowed from the pronominal declension, while in the pl. two of the case-endings (G. and N. A. n.) are due to the influence of the stems in -n. This is the only declension in which the Ab. sing., as a result of taking the pronominal ending, is distinguished from the G. As elsewhere in the vowel declension, the N. sing. n. here adds the ending -s throughout; but the V. sing. shows the bare stem unmodified. This declension includes

¹ *va-jāsya* in AV. X. 4¹⁰. It is according to WHITNEY 'constrictor', not *va-jāsya* 'self-born'; cp. p. 254, note 12.

² Some of the m. duals given under the radical *ā*-declension ought possibly to be placed here.

³ There is no reason to suppose that any of these are plurals of *ā*-stems, since the first three appear as *ā*-stems only and *priya-si* does not otherwise occur. The pl.

pānthāsas, occurring once beside the ordinary *pānthās* formed from the anomalous derivative *ā*-stem *pānthā*, proves nothing regarding radical *ā*-stems.

⁴ This is the reading of the Pada text, the Saṁhita having *-jā* (70 a).

⁵ A word of uncertain meaning.

⁶ Two other forms, *ātās* and *ātāsu* are formed from the f. stem of this word, *ā-tā*, which is probably a radical *ā*-stem.

m. and n. stems only, as the corresponding f. follows the derivative *ā*-declension. There is here no irregularity in the accent, which remains on the same syllable in every case except the V., where it of course shifts to the first.

Inflexion.

372. The inflexion of the n. differs from that of the m. in the N. sing. and the N. A. du. and pl. only. In the G. L. du. *y* is inserted between the final *-a* of the stem and the ending *-os*. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyā-* 'dear', would be the following:

Sing. N. m. *priyā-s*, n. *priyā-m*. A. *priyā-m*. I. *priyā* and *priyā*. D. *priyāya*. Ab. *priyāt*. G. *priyāsya*. L. *priyā*. V. *priya*.

Du. N. A. m. *priyā* and *priyāu*, n. *priyā*. V. m. *priyā* and *priyau*. I. D. Ab. *priyābhyām*. G. L. *priyāyos*.

Pl. N. m. *priyās* and *priyāsas*, n. *priyā* and *priyāni*. A. m. *priyān*, n. *priyā* and *priyāni*. I. *priyās* and *priyābhis*. D. Ab. *priyābhyas*. G. *priyānām*. L. *priyāsu*. V. *priyās* and *priyāsas*.

Owing to the enormous number of words belonging to this declension, only forms of commonest occurrence will be given below as examples under each case.

Sing. N. m. This case is formed in the RV. by 1845 *a*-stems and occurs more than 10000 times. The most frequent substantive is *indras* N. of a god, found more than 500 times; next in order come *somas* (220) N. of a plant, *devās* (203) 'god', *mitrās* (132) N. of a god, *vāruṇas* (94) N. of a god.

A. m. After the N. sing. m., the A. sing. m. is the commonest declensional form in the RV., being made from 1357 stems¹ and occurring nearly 7000 times. The nouns most frequently found in this case are *indram* (335), *sāmam*, (212), *yajñām* (183) 'sacrifice', *vājam* (123) 'vigour', *sūryam* (90) 'sun', *hūvam* (88) 'invocation', *vitrām* (82) N. of a demon, *stōmam* (77) 'praise'.

N. A. n. This is the only declension in which these cases take an ending. They here add *-m*, being thus identical in form with the A. sing. m.² They are very frequently used, being formed from about 950 stems and occurring, taken together, more than 4000 times. Examples are: *ṛtām* (70) 'sacred order', *ghṛtām* (47) 'clarified butter', *padām* (46) 'step', *rātām* (44) 'wealth', *sakhyām* (43) 'friendship', *drāvīṇām* (41) 'wealth', *satyām* (40) 'truth'.

I. m. n. i. The usual form of this case ending in *-ena* is very frequent, being formed from more than 300 stems nearly equally divided between m. and n. The commonest forms are: m. *sūryeṇa* (37), *indreṇa* (34), *vājreṇa* (33) 'thunderbolt', *yajñeṇa* (13). — n. *ghṛtēṇa* (31)³.

a. The final vowel appears lengthened in about twenty-five forms: *amftēnā* (AV.) 'ambrosia', *ā-sīvenā* 'malevolent', *ājyēnā* 'melted butter', *ṛtēnā*, *kāvyeṇā* 'wisdom', *kūlīṣeṇā* 'axe', *pṛtveṇā* 'ram', *tauṣṭhēnā* 'strong', *dāksīṇeṇā* 'right', *dāivyēnā* 'divine', *dākureṇā* 'bagpipe', *bhadreṇā* (AV.) 'excellent', *mārtiyeṇā* 'mortal', *mārutēnā* 'consisting of storm-gods', *rauḍhēnā* 'roar', *vāruṇeṇā*, *vithurēnā* 'staggering', *vi-raveṇā* 'roar', *vīryeṇā* 'heroic power', *vijāneṇā* 'might', *vṛṣabhēnā* 'bull', *sahasyeṇā* 'mighty', *sāyakeṇā* 'missile', *sūryeṇā*, *skāmbhaneṇā*

¹ The pronominal forms *tām* and *yām* occur 509 and 259 times respectively in the RV. mining whether a word is m. or n.; cp. LANMAN 331 (middle).

² On the occasional elision of the *-m* before *ena* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331. ⁴ On occasional elision of the final *-m* and subsequent contraction, see LANMAN 331.

³ For this reason there is in some instances not sufficient evidence for deter-

⁵ The final vowel is twice nasalized: *ghantēnām* *ēkar* (I. 334) and *tjanenām* *tkam* (I. 110^b).

'support'. These forms regularly occur where the metre at the end of a Pāda favours a long vowel; e. g. *skāmbhauena jānitri* (III. 31¹²), but *kāmbhanena skābhyan* (X. 111⁵); on the other hand, the long vowel appears to be used arbitrarily at the beginning of a Pāda, though the short vowel here is much more frequent. Hence the *ā* seems to be a survival and not to be due to metrical exigencies.

2. There are also more than a dozen forms made with the nominal ending *-ā*. In the m. there are no quite certain examples beyond *yajñā*; possibly also *krānā* 'acting', *ghanā* 'club', *dānā* 'gift', *camasā* 'cup'. The n. forms are *kavitā* and *kavitvanā* 'by wisdom', *tarānitvā* 'by energy', *mahitrā* and *mahitvanā* 'by greatness', *ratna-dhāyā* 'by distribution of wealth', *rāthya* 'belonging to a car', *vīryā* 'with heroism', *sakhyā* 'with friendship', *sarva-rathā* 'with the whole line of chariots', *su-hāvā* 'with good invocation'. — This ending is also preserved in a few instrumental adverbs: *anī* 'hereby', *uccā* 'above', *paścā* 'behind', *sānī* 'from of old'.⁵

D. m. n. This case, which has the abnormal ending *-āya*, is of very frequent occurrence, being formed in the RV. from over 300 stems in the m. and from nearly 150 in the n. The commonest forms are: m. *indrāya* (188), *mādīya* (76) 'exultation', *devāya* (26), *mārtīya* (25), *mitrīya* (23), *vāruṇīya* (23), *yajamānīya* 'sacrificing', *sīryāya* (11); n. *svitīya* (34) 'welfare', *sakhyāya* (29), *lokāya* (21) 'offspring', *śānīya* (18) 'line of descendants'.⁶

a. The normal form would have been for example **yajñāi* = *yajñā-e*. This would in Sandhi have become **yajñāy*, which was ultimately extended with *-a*, owing to the frequent combination with a following *a* in Sandhi (e. g. *yajñāy-a* *pi* for *yajñāy apī*), or with the shortened form of the preposition *ā*.⁷

Ab. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the Ab. is formally distinguished from the G. Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they take the *-d* which appears in the pronominal declension (e. g. *mā-d* 'from me'), lengthening the *-a* of the stem before it.⁸ This Ab. in *-ād* is formed in the RV. from over 200 stems, nearly equally divided between m. and n. Some of the n. forms are used as adverbs. Forms of common occurrence are: m. *samudrāt* (15) 'sea', *upasthāt* (9) 'lap', *indrāt* (8); n. *antīri-kyāt*⁹ (15) 'air'; *dūrāt* (19) 'from a distance', *paścāt* (26).

G. m. n. These are the only nominal stems in which the G. sing. does not end in *-s*.¹¹ Instead of the normal ending *-as*, they add *-sya*¹² which is

¹ In all these forms the Pāda text has the short final vowel *ā*; see RPr. VIII. 21 and cp. Afr. III. 16. The pronominal forms *tānā*, *yānā*, *svānā* also appear, and always with the short vowel in the Pāda text; on the other hand, *enā* is always *enā* in the Pāda, while the unaccented *enā*, beside *ena*, has the short vowel in the Pāda. See LANMAN 332 (bottom).

² See LANMAN 334 (middle).

³ Nasalized in *camasānī* (X. 25⁴), Pāda *camasānī*. On these forms see LANMAN 335.

⁴ This form of the instrumental also appears a few times in the pronoun *tad* beside the usual *tadīyā*; it also occurs in a few compounds, as *tad-datta-* and *tad-dāta-* 'given by thee'; cp. LANMAN 334 (middle).

⁵ Perhaps also *nīcā* 'below', cp. *nīcās*; but it may be the I. of *nyādh-*.

⁶ Such D. forms are twice nasalized be-

fore vowels: *tad-vakīyānā enā* (II. 14²) and *savīyānā enā* (I. 113¹).

⁷ The normal ending *-e* is actually used in the pronominal declension, e. g. *tāsmāi* = *tāsmā-e*.

⁸ See JOHANSSON, BB. 20, 96 ff. and BARTHOLOMAE, *Arische Forschungen* 2, 69; 3, 63.

⁹ Cp. JOHANSSON, BB. 16, 136 and BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, 588.

¹⁰ This is really a radical *a-* stem; see above, 370.

¹¹ In the G. sing. of stems in *-ar* and *-ar-*, the final *r* seems to represent original *-s*; see above 358, note on *svāsur*.

¹² The *y* is never to be read as *i*; possibly however about five times in the pronominal *asyā*. The final *-a* in two or three instances undergoes protraction of a purely metrical character; see LANMAN 338³.

otherwise found in the pronominal declension only. This case is very common, being formed in the RV. from over 500 stems in the m. and 175 in the n., occurring altogether over 3300 times¹. Among the frequent forms² are: m. *indrasya* (123), *sūryasya* (93), *sōmasya* (88), *devāsya* (60), *yajñāsya* (55), *sutāsya* (53) 'pressed'; n. *ṛtāsya* (187), *bhūvanasya* (39) 'world', *amṛtasya* (35)³.

L. m. n. This case is formed with the normal ending -i, which combines with the final -a of the stem to -e. It is formed in the RV. from 373 stems in the m., and over 300 in the n., occurring altogether about 2500 times. Among the frequent forms are: m. *adhvarī* (68) 'sacrifice', *sutī* (53), *upī-sthe* (49), *māde* (48), *dāme* (40) 'house', *indre* (33), *yajñe* (28), *jāme* (26) 'man', *gṛhe* (23) 'house'; n. *vidūthe* (49) 'assembly', *āgre* (43) 'front', *sādane* (35) 'seat', *padē* (33), *durondē* (31) 'abode', *mādhye* 'middle' (29).

V. m. n. In this case the bare stem (always accented on the first syllable) is employed. It is formed in the RV. from about 260 stems, occurring about 2500 times in the m.; but in the n. there is no undoubted example⁴. The AV. however has four or five n. vocatives. Among the commonest forms are: m. *sōma* and *soma* (240), *deva* (132), *śura* (94) 'hero', *pavamāna* (63) 'bright Soma', *puru-hūta* (49) 'much invoked', *varuṇa* (45), *mītra* (35), *yavīṣṭha* (29) 'youngest', *vṛṣabha* (27) 'bull', *ugra* (23) 'mighty', *amṛta* (12)⁵; n. *antarikṣā*⁶ (AV. vi. 130⁴), *trūṅkakuda* 'coming from the three-peaked (mountain)' and *dēvāhjana* (AV. xix. 44⁶) 'divine ointment', *talpa* (AV. xii. 2⁴⁹) 'couch', *vīṣa* (AV. iv. 6³) 'poison'⁷.

Du. N. A. V. m. The ending of these cases in the RV. is ordinarily -ā, much less frequently -au⁸. The former is taken by over 360 stems occurring about 1150 times, the latter by fewer than 90 stems occurring about 170 times. The ending -ā is therefore more than seven times as common as -au. The rule is that -ā appears before consonants⁹, in pausa at the end of a Pāda¹⁰, or within a Pāda in coalescence with a following vowel; while -au¹¹ occurs in the older parts of the RV. only before vowels in the Sandhi form of -āv, within a Pāda. Examples of this rule are *tā vām* (i. 184¹); *ṛtvīrddhī* | (i. 47^{3b}); *dasrāt*¹² (i. 116^{10c}) for *dasrā āt*; *mitrāgnīm* (i. 14¹) for *mitrā āgnīm*; but *tāv*¹³ *aparām* (i. 184¹). Hiatus, when the metre requires two

¹ The pronominal genitives *asya* and *asyā*, *tāsya*, *yāsya*, *śāsya* occur over 900 times in the RV.; cp. LANMAN 338.

² The commonest G. in -sya is the pronominal *asyā* which (accented or unaccented) occurs nearly 600 times in the RV.

³ The final vowel is once nasalized at the end of a Pāda in *ṛtāsyaṁ ikam* (viii. 89³); cp. RPr. II. 31.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 339.

⁵ There are two instances of the final -a being nasalized: *uṣṛāṁ śkar* (vii. 254) and *puru-gutām īko* (viii. 153¹¹); cp. RPr. xiv. 20. There is a purely metrical lengthening of the final vowel in *vṛṣabhā* (viii. 45^{2a} 38), *simā* (viii. 4²), and *hāriyojanā* (i. 61¹⁶); perhaps also *maryā* (i. 6³); cp. LANMAN 339.

⁶ Properly a radical a-stem.

⁷ By a syntactical peculiarity the N. *indrā* is some ten times coupled with a vocative *vāyo*, *āgne* etc. See LANMAN 340 (top).

⁸ In the AV. -au is more than twice as common as in the RV.; it is there some-

times a various reading for -ā of the RV. In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. there are at least seven forms in -ā and fourteen in -au. In the Khilas -ā is nearly three times (33) as common as -au (12).

⁹ -au occurs 23 times before a consonant within a Pāda; mostly in passages showing signs of lateness. Cp. LANMAN 576.

¹⁰ -au occurs 5 times at the end of an odd Pāda before a consonant; and 4 times as -āv at the end of an odd Pāda before a vowel. At the end of an even Pāda -au occurs 4 times.

¹¹ LANMAN 343 enumerates the forms in -au which occur in the RV.

¹² At the end of an odd Pāda -ā is always written in the Saṃhitā contracted with a following vowel, but must always be read with hiatus.

¹³ This is the normal use of -au, which in 70 per cent of its occurrences is found as -āv before a vowel within a Pāda; in the AV. the percentage is only 26.

syllables, is thus removed¹ by the use of *-āu*, except when *u* or *ū* follows². In the latter case the Saphitū text writes *-ā u-*³, e.g. *ubhā upāntū* (x. 83⁷), though the Pada always has *-au u-*.

There are seven or eight passages of the RV. in which *-ā* is written with hiatus before other vowels (*a-i-o-*)⁴, but those passages are all obscure or corrupt⁵.

a. About a dozen forms, occurring altogether some 20 times, shorten the dual *-ā* to *a*, mostly owing to the metre, but in a few instances against the metre. In the forms *asura*, *āditya*, *deva*, *dhyta-vrata*, *mitra*, *varuṇa*, *indrā-varuṇa*, *mitrā-varuṇa*⁶ the Pada text has *-ā*; but in *pūra* (v. 74⁴) and *vīra* (vi. 63¹⁰) the short vowel appears in the Pada also⁷. A similar shortening occurs in the first member of the dual compounds *indrā-vīryū* (i. 2¹) and *mitrā-rājānā* (v. 62³).

N. A. n. This form takes the normal ending *-ī*, which combines with the final *-a* of the stem to *-e*. It is made in the RV. from about 30 nominal stems. The vocative does not occur. Only seven of these n. forms are found more than once, *śṛṅge* 'two horns' being the commonest (5)⁸.

a. The n. *nāktā* 'night' is irregular in forming its du. N. as a m. in the compound *utāśā nāktā* 'dawn and night', in agreement with which a f. adjective is used, owing doubtless to the predominance of 'Dawn', in the combination. In ii. 39⁴, *yugā iva nābhya* 'like two yokes, like two naves', though analyzed by the Pada as *yugā iva* and *nābhya iva*, must be explained as regular n. forms *yugā* and *nābhya+va*.

I. D. Ab. Before the normal ending *-bhyām*⁹ which forms these cases, the final *-a* of the stems is lengthened, e.g. *nīsatyābhyām*. In the RV. this form is made from only about a dozen nominal stems in the m. and three in the n. The cases can of course only be distinguished exegetically.

I. m. *kārṇābhyām* (AV.) 'ears', *dāṁśṛābhyām* (TS. AV.) 'teeth', *duḥśina-savyābhyām* (AV.) 'right and left', *dāśa-śakṇābhyām* 'having ten fingers', *mitrā-varuṇābhyām*¹⁰, *yuktābhyām* 'yoked', *vrihī-yavābhyām* (AV.) 'rice and barley', *śubhrābhyām* 'shining', *sūryā-candramāśābhyām* (AV.)¹⁰ 'sun and moon', *hastābhyām* 'hands', *haryatābhyām* 'desirable'. — n. *ṛk-sāmbhyām* 'hymn and chant', *śṛṅgābhyām* (AV.).

D. m. *treśābhyām* 'violent', *nīsatyābhyām* 'truthful', *nicirābhyām* 'attentive'.

Ab. m. *āṁśābhyām* 'shoulders', *kārṇābhyām*. — n. *parśvābhyām* (AV.) 'sides', *prā-pādābhyām* 'tips of the feet', *māta-snābhyām* certain internal organs.

G. L. These cases take the normal ending *-os*, between which and the stem *y* is inserted. In the RV. only eight nominal¹¹ forms occur with the genitive sense, and twelve with the locative sense. One form, *dhuasrīdyos* (ix. 58³), seems to be used as an Ab. There are one or two others which anomalously drop the final *-a* of the stem, instead of inserting *y*, before the ending *-os*¹².

¹ In two instances hiatus is removed by nasalization: *upāntū*¹ *ékā* (i. 35⁶) and *jānāmī āśāmī* (vi. 67¹).

² There are 40 instances of this in the RV.; see LANMAN 575.

³ This is also the practice of the Brāhmanas; see AUFRECHT, AB. 427; cp. Sarva-nukramant, ed. MACDONELL, p. x. In the AV. (as in the later language) *-āu u-* is regularly written (except *mūṣkā upāvadhit*, xx. 136²).

⁴ See LANMAN 341⁴.

⁵ Except vii. 70⁶ where *devā śpadhīru* (Pada *devau*) is written, *a* being treated like *u*, perhaps owing to its labial character.

⁶ See RPr. iv. 39, 40.

⁷ The shortening of the du. *-ā* at the end of odd Padas before *y*, occurring in four passages (ii. 37; vi. 68²; viii. 66¹¹; x. 66³) is due to Sandhi; see 70.

⁸ These neuter duals are enumerated by LANMAN 343.

⁹ To be read *-bhiām* in two or three forms.

¹⁰ In this compound only the second dual takes the proper case-ending.

¹¹ There are also the pronominal forms G. I. m. *ayās*, *ubhāyos*, *tāyos*, *yāyos*; *tūyos* also as G. n.

¹² Also the pronominal forms *av-ās*, *en-ās*, *y-ās*. Cp. LANMAN 344.

The forms occurring are:

G. m. *indrā-narṇayos*, *iśāndyos* 'ruling', *devdyos*, *mitrāyos*, *mitrā-vārunayos*, *yamāyos* 'twins', *vārunayos*, *vaikarṇdyos* 'descendants of Vikarna'. — n. *pṛṣṭyās* (for **pṛṣṭā-yās*) 'pressing stones', *purāṇyās* (for **purāṇā-yās*) 'ancient'.

L. m. *āṃsāyos*, *āśvāyos*, *upākāyos* 'closely connected', *kārṇayos* (AV.), *jāmbhāyos* (TS. iv. 1. 10³) 'jaws', *tuvī-jātāyos* 'of powerful nature', *dānustrayos* (AV.), *nāddāyos* 'roarers', *mitrāyos*, *muskāyos* 'testicles', *vārunayos*, *vāhīsthayos* 'drawing best', *ol-vratayos* 'refractory', *sthūrāyos* 'strong', *hāstāyos*.

Pl. N. V. m. Here there are two forms. In the more common form the normal ending *-as* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e. g. *devās*. The less common form appears to be made by adding the normal ending *-as* over again¹, e. g. *devās-us*. The form in *-ās* is about twice as frequent in the RV. as that in *-āsas*², the former being made from 808 stems, the latter from 403. In the original parts of the AV. *-ās* is 24 times as frequent as *-āsas*, the former occurring 1366 times, the latter only 57 times³. Both forms frequently occur side by side, the choice of the one or the other being often no doubt determined simply by the metre; e. g. *bṛhda vadema vidīthe svīrāḥ* (ii. 1¹⁰) 'abounding in heroes we would speak aloud in the assembly', but *svīrāso vidītham ā vadema* (ii. 12¹⁵) 'abounding in heroes we would speak to the assembly'.

Examples of the most frequent forms made with the two endings are: 1. *devāsas* (86), *jñāsas* (41), *somāsas* (41), *sutāsas* (29), *ādityāsas* (24) 'Ādityas', *yajñiyāsas* (21) 'holy', *amṛtāsas* (11). — 2. *dīvās* and *devās* (311), *somās* (42), *ādityās* (39), *sutās* (27), *jñās* (24), *amṛtās* (22), *yajñiyās* (10).

N. A. n.⁵ Here, as in the N. m. there are two forms, a shorter and a longer, the former being the older and original, as well as the more frequent one. The older form is made not by adding the normal ending *-i*, but by lengthening the final *-a* of the stem, e. g. *havyā* 'oblations'⁶. The later form ends in *-āni* and is doubtless due to transitions from the stems in *-an*⁷ which form the n. pl. N. A. with both *-ā* and *-āni*, e. g. *nāmā* and *nāmāni*. The form in *-ā* is in the RV. made from 394 stems, that in *-āni* from 280, the proportion of the occurrences of the former being roughly three to every two of the latter. The proportion in the AV. is almost exactly reversed, the form in *-ā* being there made from 102 stems, that in *-āni* from 158⁸. The two forms are so common side by side that when two n. plurals occur in the same Pāda, the one generally ends in *-āni* and the other in *-ā*; e. g. *yā te bhīrṇāni dyudhā* (ix. 61³⁰) 'thy terrible weapons'. This phenomenon

¹ With *y* inserted though *-a* is dropped.
² See BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 661, where several examples are given of endings being repeated in other languages.

³ The form in *-āsas* seems to be an Indo-Iranian innovation, as there are no certain traces of it in other Indo-European languages; cp. BRUGMANN l. c.

⁴ In the original Mantra portions of the TS. the pl. in *-ās* is very numerous, but I have noted only 11 forms in *-āsas*. In the Khilas, forms in *-ās* are three times (30) as numerous as in *-āsas* (10).

⁵ There is no example of a V. in the RV., and only one, *cittāni* (iii. 2⁴), in the AV. where the Mss. have *cittāni*.

⁶ This form in *-ā* is commonly supposed to have started from a N. sing. f. in *-ā* as

a collective; this would account for the agreement of the singular verb with this pl. in Greek; cp. also *sīrā ā . . . ānu* (RV. i. 162⁸); see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 682.

⁷ The G. *dhānām* is an example of the transference of another case from an *-an* stem.

⁸ In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the forms in *-ā* seem to outnumber those in *-āni* in about the same proportion as in the RV.; there are at least 20 forms of the former and 14 of the latter. In the Khilas the two forms are almost equally divided, as 10 examples of *-ā* and 12 of *-āni* occur.

⁹ Similarly, the form in *-ā* appears beside n. pl. forms in *-āni*, *-āni* or even *-āni*, *-āni*; e. g. *bhūrṇi bhadrā* (i. 166¹⁰);

is clearly due to the influence of metre. The *-ā* here seems never to be shortened to *-i*, as is so frequently the case in the N. A. n. pl. of *-an* stems¹. Nor does it avoid hiatus (like the *-ā* of the N. A. du. m.), though coalescence with a following vowel sometimes takes place².

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *havyā* (44), *bhīvanā* (36), *duritā* (31) 'distresses', *sāvanā* (30), *ukthā* (25) 'praises'. — 2. *bhīvanāni* (57), *vratāni* (36) 'foes', *vratāni* (34) 'laws', *havyāni* (25), *kṛtāni* (20) 'done'.

A. m. The ending of this case is not the normal *-as*, but *-n*, before which the final vowel of the stem is lengthened³, e. g. *āsvā-n*. The form is frequent, being made from more than 250 stems in the RV. That the ending was originally *-ns* is shown by the treatment of *-ān* in Sandhi, where it becomes *-ān̄* before vowels and the sibilant itself occasionally survives before *c*- and *t*-.

I. m. n. In this case there are two forms, the one adding the normal ending *-bhis* (before which the final vowel of the stem becomes *-e*), while the other ends in *-ais* (which does not appear in any other declension). The form in *-ais* is only slightly commoner in the RV, being made from 221 stems, while that in *-bhis* is made from 211. In the AV., however, the former is 5 times as frequent as the latter⁵. The two forms⁶ often appear in the same Pāda; e. g. *upam̄bhīr arkīis* (i. 33²) 'with highest songs'. The choice is often due to the metre; e. g. *yātīm āsvēbhīr āsvinā* (viii. 5⁷) 'come with your steeds, O Āsvins', and *ādityāir yātām āsvinā* (viii. 35¹³) 'with the Ādityas come, O Āsvins'.

In the RV. the m. forms are roughly twice as numerous as the n. Examples of the most frequent forms are: 1. *arkīis* (43), *ukthīis* (35), *yajñīis* (34), *devīis* (31), *āsvais* (30), *śīmāis* (25). — 2. *devēbhis* (52), *śīmēbhis* (26), *vijēbhis* (21).

D. m. n. This case is formed with the normal ending *-bhyas*, before which the final *-a* of the stem appears as *-e*. In the RV. it is made from over 40 stems in the m., but from only one in the n. In about half the forms occurring the ending has to be read as a dissyllable *-bhias*. The forms occurring are: *ajārebhyas* 'unaging', *amavattarebhyas* 'mightier', *āraṇebhyas* (Kh. v. 1²) 'foreign', *arbhak̄bhyas* 'small', *ādityēbhyas*, *āsinebhyas* 'aged', *āsv-āpas-tarebhyas* 'working more quickly', *āmebhyas* 'helpers', *gārbhebhyaḥ* 'infants', *gṛhēbhyas*, *jānebhyaḥ*, *jivēbhyas* 'living', *jñāt̄bhyas* (Kh. iii. 16¹) 'known', *śavakēbhyas* 'thy', *śāśa-kakṣyebhyas* 'having ten girths', *śāśa-yoktrebhyas* 'having ten traces', *śāśa-yajanebhyaḥ* 'having ten teams', *devēbhyas*, *pajrēbhyas* 'strong', *pārvalēbhyas* 'mountains', *paspydhānebhyaḥ* 'striving', *pitu-kṣītarebhyas* 'procuring more nourishment', *piśunebhyaḥ* 'treacherous', *putrēbhyas* 'sons', *pūruṣebhyas* 'men', *pūrvebhyaḥ* 'former', *bādhikēbhyas* 'oppressed', *bharatēbhyas* 'descendants of Bharata', *mārtve-*

sāvanā purāṇi (iii. 36⁸); *īśākrā lochm̄si prāsthītā* (iii. 44); *rābhāsā vāpūm̄si* (iii. 18).

¹ There seems no sufficient reason to assume that in *vīhōi āha* (i. 92³) as compared with *ānā vīhā* (i. 130²), *āha* is formed from the transition stem *āha-* rather than from *āhan-*; cp. LANMAN p. 348.

² On some probable mistakes made by the Pāda in contracted forms see LANMAN 348.

³ This lengthening is at least Indo-Iranian: BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 672².

⁴ See above 77; and cp. LANMAN 346 on the Sandhi of *-ān* in general.

⁵ In the independent Mantra portions of the TS. the proportion is about the same as in the AV. The following four forms with *-bhis* occur: *śāśebhis* (i. 2. 4¹), *devēbhis* (iii. 1. 4³), *rudrēbhis* (ii. 1. 11²), *su-yāmebhis* (iv. 7. 15³). In the Khilas 5 forms in *-ais* to 7 in *-ebhis* occur. The latter are: *amīva-cānebhis* (i. 11⁷), *ārtvēbhis* (iii. 16⁶), *ukthēbhis* (v. 6³), *vjvēbhis* (iii. 1⁷), *kāvarebhis* (i. 5¹), *vāthēbhis* (i. 11⁷), *śāraghēbhis* (i. 11⁷). In the later language the form in *-bhis* survives in the pronominal *ebhis* alone.

⁶ On the origin of the two forms cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 717.

bhyas, *mānavēbhyas* 'men', *mānuṣēbhyas* 'men', *mānēbhyas* 'descendants of Māna', *yajātēbhyas* 'adorable', *yajñīyēbhyas*, *rāthēbhyas* 'chariots', *vidūṣṭarēbhyas* 'very wise', *vīprēbhyas* 'seers', *vy-āśvēbhyas* 'horseless', *śaśamānēbhyas* 'tolling', *śauidātrīyēbhyas* 'bountiful', *śama-rabhuṣṭarēbhyas* 'intoxicated with Soma', *somyēbhyas* 'preparers of Soma', *stēnēbhyas* 'thieves'. — n. *bhīvanēbhyas* 'beings'.

Ab. m. n. This case is formed like the D. with the normal ending *-bhyas* from nearly two dozen stems in the RV. about equally divided between the m. and n. In more than half of these forms the ending must be pronounced as a dissyllable. The forms occurring are: m. *antēbhyas* 'ends', *āsurebhyas* 'divine spirits', *ugrēbhyas*, *grhēbhyas*, *jānēbhyas*, *jīvēbhyas* 'living beings', *devēbhyas*, *pārvatebhyas*, *makhēbhyas* 'vigorous', *vīprēbhyas*, *śūrēbhyas*, *śyētēbhyas* 'eagles'. — n. *anyt-krēbhyas* 'done by others', *āntreḥbhyas* 'entrails', *duritēbhyas*, *nakhēbhyas* 'nails', *padēbhyas*, *pārthivēbhyas* 'terrestrial spaces', *bhīvanēbhyas*, *mṛdārēbhyas* 'contempt', *vānēbhyas* 'forest trees', *harmyēbhyas* 'houses'.

G. m. n. Instead of the normal ending *-ām* these stems almost invariably add the ending *-nām*, before which the final vowel is lengthened as in the *-i*, *-u* and *-r* stems. This ending (like *-āni* in the n. pl.) must have been due to the influence of the *-n* stems¹. The case is thus formed in the RV. from over 100 stems in the m. and over 20 in the n. In nearly half these forms the final syllable may be metrically read as *aam*². Two-thirds of these resolutions are, however, not necessary as they occur at the end of octosyllabic Pādas which may be catalectic; but many undoubted resolutions are required within the Pāda³. Among the forms of most frequent occurrence are m. *devānām* (148), *jānānām* (34), *yajñīyānām* (12), *ādityīnām* (11), *adhvarīnām* (10). — n. *dhānānām* (13).

a. The organic form e. g. from *devā-* would have been *devām* (= *devā-ām*). Not more than three or four examples of this survive in the RV., and only two of these seem undoubted: *yūthyām dhānām* (VII. 56⁴) 'of horses belonging to the herd' and *cardhām* in *gṛbhat ca śhātām gṛbhat cardhām* (I. 70⁵) 'offspring of things that are stationary, offspring of things that move'⁶. There are further some half dozen forms written with final *-ān* or *-ān* which seem to stand for the G. pl. in *-ām*: *devān jānma* (I. 71⁷); VI. 11⁸) 'the race of the gods' (Pāda *devān*); *devān jānmanā* (X. 64⁹) 'with the race of the gods' (Pāda *devān*); *vīśā ā ca mṛtān* (IV. 2¹⁰) 'and hither to the dwellings of mortals' (= *mṛtām*); *vykūyāte vīśā indro manuṣyān* (VI. 47¹¹) 'Indra protects the tribes of men'.

L. m. n. This case adds the normal ending *-su* before which (as before *-bhis* and *-bhyas*) *-e* takes the place of the final vowel of the stem and cerebralizes the following sibilant. It is formed from some 123 stems in the m. and some 92 in the n.⁵ It is almost invariably⁶ to be read with hiatus, even before *u*-7.

Among the most frequently occurring forms are: m. *devēsu* (99), *vājēsu* (41), *yajñēsu* (35), *adhvarēsu* (27), *mṛtēsu* (25), *sulēsu* (16). — n. *viddthēsu* (33), *vānēsu* (20), *sāvanēsu* (14), *bhīvanēsu* (12), *ukthēsu* (10).

¹ See LANMAN 352 c; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 691.

² LANMAN (352, bottom) enumerates the forms in which resolution takes place.

³ LANMAN 352^a, gives a list of the forms in which resolution is required; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 143 (p. 92).

⁴ Perhaps also *himsānām* (X. 142¹) if G. pl. of a participle *himsāna-*, and *śāsām* if G. of *śāś-* 'ruler' (II. 23¹²). *vānām* (X. 46¹³) is G. pl. of *vān-* rather than *vāno-*. Cp. LANMAN 353.

⁵ The gender is doubtful in some instances.

⁶ The only undoubted exception to this rule in the RV. occurs in a late hymn (X. 121¹⁴), where *devēsu dāhi* must be read. (Cp. LANMAN 354.

⁷ On the probable origin of the ending *-su* cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 700.

2 b. Derivative Stems in -ā.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 335-365. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 131-137. — Cp. COLLITZ, die herkunft der ā-deklination, BB. 29, p. 81-114.

373. The derivative ā-declension corresponds to the derivative a-declension, for the m. adjectives of which it furnishes the f. stems. It includes more feminines than any other declension. Like the a-declension it has many irregularities of inflexion, every case in the singular, except the A., and two cases in the plural showing some abnormal feature. The N. sing. shares with the derivative ī-declension the peculiarity of not adding the ending -s; the I. sing. has an alternative form borrowed from the pronominal declension; the D. Ab. G. L. sing. are formed under the influence of the derivative ī-stems; and the V. sing. ends in -e instead of appearing in the form of the bare stem. In the plural the N. has to a limited extent the same alternative form in -ās as the m. of the a-declension, and the G. is similarly formed with -nām.

As in the a-declension, the accent remains in the same position throughout except the V., where it of course shifts to the first syllable.

Inflexion.

374. The forms actually occurring, if made from *priyā*- 'dear', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *priyā*. A. *priyām*. I. *priyā* and *priyāyā*. D. *priyāyai*. Ab. G. *priyāyas*. I. *priyāyam*. V. *priye*.

Du. N. A. *priyā*. I. Ab. *priyābhyām*. G. L. *priyāyor*.

Pl. N. *priyās* and *priyāsas*. V. *priyās*. A. *priyās*. I. *priyābhis*. D. Ab. *priyābhyas*. G. *priyānām*. L. *priyāsu*.

Sing. N. This case never adds the normal ending -s¹. It is formed in the RV. from 424 stems and occurs more than 1000 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *yāyā* (24) 'maiden', *dāksīyā* (24) 'good milch cow', *ītā* (17) 'refreshment', *jāyā* (17) 'wife', *su-bhūgā* (13) 'beautiful', *sūnītā* (10) 'joyful', *citrā* (9) 'brilliant'.

a. At the end of odd Pādas the final -ā of this N. is regularly written with Sandhi, but must always be read with hiatus; coalescence with -e and -r- is, however, twice avoided by nasalization², while twice³ the -ā is shortened before -r-.

b. Within a Pāda the -ā is written with Sandhi in 160 instances in the RV., but is pronounced (unlike the -ā of the N. A. du. m.) with hiatus in 23 of these instances; while the nominatives *īyā* 'car-pole' and *manīyā* 'devotion' are written as well as pronounced with hiatus⁴, the former once, the latter four times.

A. This case, which is formed with the normal ending -m, is in the RV. made from over 200 nominal stems occurring more than 400 times. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *manīyām* (21), *jāyām* (11), *āmīyām* (9) 'distress', *yāyām* (7), *yāyāyām* (6) 'maiden'.

a. This case is often identical in form with the L. sing. f. of stems in -ī; thus *pūryām* may be the A. of *pūryā*- 'previous' or L. of *pūrī-* 'much'. In one instance at least elision of the -m, followed by contraction, takes place⁵: *śatātāmdivēṣī* (VII. 19⁵) for

¹ The stem *gnā*- 'woman', though originally dissyllabic, came to be regarded as a radical ā-stem and accordingly forms its N. sing. *gnās* (IV. 9⁴).

² *śādanāyā* 'lī' (I. 12310) and *yāyā* 'r' *ṛṇamcayā* (V. 30⁴).

³ *priyā* 'r' (I. 151⁴), *rju-hūta* 'r' (V. 41¹⁵), Cp. 70.

⁴ *īyā* 'āko' (VIII. 5²⁰); *manīyā* 'abhi' (I. 101⁷);

manīyā 'iyāni' (V. 11⁵; VII. 70⁷); *manīyā* 'asmāt' (VII. 34¹); cp. RPr. II. 29. LANMAN 356 suggests that the comparative frequency of this hiatus justifies the restoration of the augment in Pādas short of a syllable; e. g. *prāyā* [aj'vāci' (VII. 58⁹).

⁵ On some contractions in which -m has probably been elided but explained wrongly by the Pāda as containing nominatives in -ā, see LANMAN 356.

śatatanū avivṛṣh. In two or three instances the metre seems to require *-ām* to be read as *-aam*.

I. There are two forms of this case. In the one, the normal ending *-ā* is added directly to the stem and, by contracting with its final *-ā*, produces a form identical in appearance with the N., e. g. *jihvā* (= *jihvā-ā*) 'tongue'. In the other, *y* is interposed between the ending *-ā* and the final *-ā* of the stem, which is shortened, e. g. *jihvā-yā*. The latter form is due to the influence of the regular pronominal I. sing. f., e. g. *tāyā*¹. This form is already slightly the more common in the RV.², being made from 113 stems³ as compared with 95 which take the older form with *-ā*. In the later Saṃhitās the I. in *-ā* is very rare in original passages, the AV. using only five such forms independently⁴. Both forms are (unlike the N. pl. m. in *-āsas* and *-as*) comparatively seldom made from the same stem, as *jihvā* and *jihvāyā*. Two thirds of the total number of 95 stems which have the older form, end in the suffixes *-tā* and *-yā*, as *puruṣā-tā* 'after the manner of men', *hiranyayā* 'golden'. The choice of the alternative forms is, as elsewhere, often determined by the metre⁵.

Examples of the commonest forms are: 1. *doṣā* (13) 'evening', *barhṣpā* (13) 'might', *manīsā* (13), *manhānā* (11) 'willingness', *śrāvayā* (7) 'desire to praise'. — Also *āśir-dāyā* (TS. III. 2. 8¹) 'fulfilment of blessing', *viśvā-pṛnyā* (TS. I. 5. 3¹); VS. XII. 10) 'omniform'. — 2. *dhārayā* (53) 'stream', *jihvāyā* (24), *māyāyā* (20) 'craft'.

a. There are some instrumentals sing. f. formed from derivative *a*-stems, which are used as adverbs with shift of accent to the ending. Such are: *a-datrayā* 'without a gift' (*a-datra-*), *ubhāyā* 'in both ways' (*ubhāya-*), *ṛtāyā* 'in the right way' (*ṛtā-*), *daśyāyā* 'on the right' (*daśyā-*), *naktāyā* 'by night' (*nakta-*), *madhyā* 'in the middle' (*mādhyā-*), *samanā* 'together' (*sāmāna-*), *svapnāyā* (AV.) 'in dream' (*svāpna-*)⁶.

D. This case is anomalously formed by adding *-yai* to the stem, e. g. *jarī-yai*⁷. It is not of common occurrence, being made from only 14 nominal¹⁰ stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *a-gatāyai* 'lack of cows', *a-viratāyai* 'lack of sons', *ukhāyai* (TS. IV. 1. 9¹) 'pot', *uttāniyai* (TS. IV. 1. 4¹; Kh. V. 16¹) 'supine', *ghṛīṣāyai* N. of a woman, *carīyai* 'for going', *jarīyai* (AV.) 'old age', *tvā-yatīyai* 'presented by thee', *duchchīniyai* 'mischievous demon', *putrā-kāmāyai* (Kh. IV. 13¹) 'desiring sons', *pūtā-kratāyai* N. of a woman, *manīyai* 'eagerness', *vāṣṭāyai* N. of a woman, *śivāyai* 'auspicious', *svetanīyai* 'dawn', *śaṅktāyai* 'joy', *sūryāyai* 'sun-goddess'.

a. Two forms have been preserved in which the D. is made by adding the normal ending *-e* directly to the stem with the *-ā* of which it coalesces to *-ai*: *mahīyā* (I. 113⁶) 'greatness', *sv-āpatyāyā*¹¹ (I. 54¹¹) 'accompanied with fair offspring'. These are formed like the D. infinitives from radical *ā*-stems such as *vī-khyā* (584).

b. In one passage (VII. 119) the form *a-vīratē*, for *a-vīratāyai* 'lack of sons',

¹ See LANMAN 357 (top).

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629, 783.

³ The corresponding later form in the Avesta is much commoner than the older: BRUGMANN 2, p. 629.

⁴ This number given by LANMAN 357 includes some pronominal stems. BRUGMANN's statement (2, p. 629) that the form in *-āyā* is less common than the form in *-ā* in Vedic, is not applicable even to the RV.

⁵ The forms are *daśyāyā*, *devātā*, *doṣā*, *sumnāyā*, *vitta-kāmāyā*; only the last is peculiar to the AV.

⁶ Euphony also has some influence; thus *hiranyayayā* does not occur.

⁷ LANMAN 358 enumerates the homophonous instrumentals.

⁸ These forms may have been due to the influence of the pronominal adverb *ayā* 'in this way' (with adverbial shift of accent, cp. *tāyā* etc.); see J. SCHMIDT, Pluralbildung 212 ff., and BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 629; otherwise BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 20 f.

⁹ Formed in the Indo-Iranian period, probably under the influence of the derivative stems in *-ī* originally *-yā*, i. e. *-yai* for *-yā-e*.

¹⁰ Also *svāyā* from the possessive pronoun *svā*.

¹¹ BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 600, thinks this form may be shortened for *sv-āpatyāyā*.

takes the ending *-e* direct, but with elision of the stem vowel, as in the radical *ā*-declension¹.

Ab. This case is formed anomalously by adding the ending *-yās* to the stem. It is rare, being made in the RV. from only seven stems, the AV. having three additional examples. The forms occurring are: *urdhvōyās* (AV.) 'upright', *kaniyās* 'maiden', *jihvōyās*, *dakṣiṇyās*, *dur-dvōyās* 'ill-disposed', *dur-hiṇyās* 'mischief', *dīṇyās* 'divine', *dhruvōyās* (AV.) 'firm', *nīdīyās* 'disgrace', *vy-adhvōyās* (AV.)² 'lying half-way'.

G. This case is formed in the same way as the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 26 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghnyās* and *aghnyāyās* 'cow (not to be killed)', *lāyās*, *ukhōyās*, *usrīyās* 'muddy cow', *ūrmyās* 'night', *kaniyās*, *kāṣṭhāyās* 'course', *jihvōyās*, *dakṣiṇyās*, *darśatīyās* 'conspicuous', *dūrōyās* 'Dūrva grass', *dhiśānyās* 'offering', *dhiśam-ānyās*³ 'longing', *pūjyās* 'vigorous', *pāri-takmyāyās* 'wandering', *māhināyās* 'mighty', *rasāyās* a mythical river, *vayōyās* 'branch', *vīśpātīyās*, *śakvātumīyās* 'most recent', *śiphāyās* N. of a river, *śucīyās* 'pure', *sabar-dūghyās* 'yielding nectar', *śchāmīyās*⁴ 'victorious', *śūrīyās* 'intoxicating liquor', *sūryyās*.

L. This case is formed by adding the anomalous ending *-yām* to the stem, e. g. *bhadrā-yām*. It is not common, being formed from only 16 or 17 stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *āpayīyām*⁵ N. of a river, *āmāyām* 'raw', *utkāmīyām* 'outstretched', *usrīyīyām*, (*ā*)-*gatīyām* 'come', *grīvīyām* 'neck', *jāruyām* 'ancient', *nīvāyām* 'new', *pāri-takmyāyām*, *bhadrīyām* 'beneficent', *yamūnyām* N. of a river, *varatrīyām* 'thong', *vāsāyām* (Kh. II. 10⁵) 'cow', *śipīśīyām* N. of a tree, *śrīnyām* 'night', *sabhāyām* (TS. I. 8. 3¹) 'assembly', *sūryām*, *su-śmāyām*⁷ N. of a river, *hariyūpiyām* N. of a locality.

V. This case has the abnormal ending *-e*⁸ and is in the RV. formed from over 50 stems; e. g. *āśve*. The original form must have been the bare stem with the final vowel shortened; e. g. **āśva*, but of this there is no certain survival. The form *amba* which occurs in the RV. three times (unaccented) may originally have been an exclamation, and it can have this sense alone in one of the three passages of the RV. (x. 97²), where it is used with a plural. In the two other passages it may very well mean 'O mother' (II. 41¹⁶; x. 86⁷). The VS. (xxiii. 18) and the TS. (VII. 4. 19¹) have the V. *āmba* as from a stem *āmba* 'mother'.

The forms occurring are: *āghnyāsyē*¹⁰ (Kh. IV. 5^{26, 32}) 'cow-faced', *aghnye*, *apre* N. of a disease, *amartye* 'immortal', *āmbike* (TS. VS.) 'mother', *ambitame* 'most motherly', *āśve* 'mare', *āśva-sānyte* 'rich in horses', *āditya-varṇe*¹¹ (Kh. II. 6⁶) 'sun-coloured', *arjkiye* N. of a river, *iḥe* goddess of devotion, *iṣṭake* (TS. IV. 2. 9²) 'brick', *ugra-putre* 'having mighty sons', *ullare* 'mightier', *ullāna-parṇe* 'having extended leaves', *uru-vraje* 'extending afar', *ūrmye*, *rṣe* 'exalted', *kadhā-priye* 'ever pleased', *kāṇe* 'one-eyed', *kūma-dughe* (TS. IV. 2. 9⁶) 'cow of plenty', *krīye* (Kh. IV. 5²⁵) 'magic', *ghōra-rūpe* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶) 'of awful form', *gāṅge* 'Ganges', *ghore* 'awful', *citre*, *citrā-maghe* 'having brilliant gifts', *jīye*, *dārre* (TS. IV. 2. 9²), *deva-jūte* 'impelled by the gods'

¹ This forms a transition to the consonant declension like *devātāte* beside *devātāte*; cp. LANMAN 359².

² Like the D. it is due to the influence of the stems in derivative *-ī*, to the fuller form of which, *-yā*, the normal ending *-as* was added.

³ Also the pronominal *svāyās* 'own'.

⁴ Participle, perhaps desiderative, of *dhi-* 'think'.

⁵ Perfect participle middle of *sah-* 'conquer'.

⁶ A transition form from the radical *ā*-declension, see p. 249, note 11.

⁷ Also the pronominal form *svīyām*.

⁸ The origin of this ending is uncertain; cp. BRUGMANN 2, 541.

⁹ This is a common stem in post-Vedic Sanskrit.

¹⁰ The ed. has *aghnyāsyē*.

¹¹ The ed. has *ādityā-varṇe*.

devi-tame 'most divine', *dhiyane* 'goddess of devotion', *nadi-tame* 'best of rivers', *pathye* 'path' (as goddess), *pastye* 'goddess of the house', *putra-kāme*, *puru-priye* 'much beloved', *pythu-jāghane* 'broad-hipped', *pythu-stūke* 'having broad braids of hair', *priye* (TS. VII. I. 6⁸), *brahma-samśite* 'sharpened by prayer', *marud-vyāthe* N. of a river, *yamune*, *rāke* N. of a goddess, *vapuṣtame* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'most beautiful', *vāra-rāpe* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶) 'of excellent form', *vi-kāse* 'monstrous', *vivasvad-vāte* (TS. IV. 4. 12⁴) 'desired by Vivasvat', *viśva-rāpe* (TS. IV. 2. 5⁹) 'omniform', *viśva-vāre* 'possessed of all goods', *saravye* 'arrow', *śitike* 'cool', *śūnge* (Kh. V. 15⁸) N. of a goddess, *śubhre* 'shining', *sa-dānve* 'associated with demons', *sarame* N. of a goddess, *śite* 'furrow', *su-jāte* 'well-born', *su-putre* 'having good sons', *su-bhage*, *su-lābhike* 'easy to win', *su-snuṣe* 'having fair daughters-in-law', *su-nyte*, *sūrya-varṇe* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'sun-coloured', *sūrye*, *śūma-trayastrinṣe* (TS. IV. 4. 12⁴), *hūriklike* (Kh. V. 15¹) 'yellowish', *hiranya-parṇe* (Kh. IV. 7⁷) 'gold-winged', *hūtidike* 'refreshing'.

Du. N. A. V. These cases are identical in form, having final *-e* which doubtless contains the same dual ending *-ī* as N. A. V. du. of the *a*-declension². They are of frequent occurrence, being made from over 130 stems in the RV. The ending *-e* is Pragrhya, being distinguished by the Pada text with an appended *iti* from the *e* of the V. sing. f.; e. g. V. du. f. *śubhre iti*, but V. sing. f. *śubhre*.

Examples of the most frequent forms are: *ubhī* (66) 'both', *su-mīke*³ (8) 'well-established', *devi-putre* (7) 'having gods as sons', *vi-rāpe* (7) 'of different forms', *śipre* (5) 'cheeks'. The compound *śitasite* 'black and white' occurs in a Khila (p. 171⁵).

I. Ab. These cases, made with the ending *-bhyām*, are identical in form with the I. D. Ab. m. n. of the *a*-declension. They are represented by only two forms in the RV.: *śiprābhyām* (x. 105⁵) which seems to be I.⁴, and *nāsikābhyām* (x. 163¹) 'nostrils', Ab. No form with a D. sense occurs.

G. L. Both these cases add, with interposing *-y-*, the normal ending *-as* to the final *-ā* of the stem, which is shortened. They are thus identical in form with the G. L. du. m. n. of the *a*-declension. There are only four nominal forms in the RV. and AV.: in the G. sense *jāghāyos* (AV.) 'legs', *yamāyos* 'twins'; and in the L. sense *uttānyos*, *svadhāyos* 'homestead'⁵.

Pl. N. V. The regular form ends in *-ās* and is very common, being formed from nearly 260 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *bhadriś* (19), *dhārāś* (16), *mantriś* (10)⁶.

There is, however, a second form in *-āsas* which occurs nearly 20 times in the RV. Considering the rarity of this form here, while it is the commoner as N. pl. m. in the *a*-declension, the probability is that its introduction was due to those very numerous masculines. The forms occurring are: *ā-tandrāsas* 'indefatigable', *a-mṛtāsas* (AV.) 'immortal', *dur-mitrāsas* 'unfriendly', *paśpādhānāsas* 'vying'⁷, *pārthivāsas*⁸ 'terrestrial', *pāvakāsas* 'pure', *bhejānāsas*⁹ 'having obtained', *vanvānāsas*¹⁰ (SV.) 'having obtained', *vaśāsas*,

¹ Superlative of *devī*, the final being shortened as in the simple vocative *devī*.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 286 (p. 643).

³ Cp. WINDSCH in Festgruss an O. v. BÖHTLINGK 114 f.

⁴ The pronominal form *idābhyām* (x. 88¹⁵) has a locative meaning.

⁵ There are also the pronominal forms *ayās* and *yāyos*. In III. 54³ the Pada text reads *āyās* probably for *ayās*.

⁶ In two or three passages the Pada text seems to confuse forms in *-ās* with others in *-ā*; see LANMAN 362.

⁷ Perfect participle middle of *ṣpādh-*.

⁸ Cp. LANMAN 362.

⁹ Perfect participle middle of *bhāj-* 'share'.

¹⁰ The variant of the SV. for *bhejānāsas* of the RV.

vāśrīśas 'roaring', *vidāśśas* 'being found', *vydhāśas* 'helping', *a-śusāśśas*² 'stimulating', *śaghanāśas*³ 'swift', *sāmmitāśas* (AV.) 'corresponding', *smīyamānāśas* 'smiling', *hīvamānāśas* 'calling'⁴.

A. This case is formed with the normal ending *-as* which coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ās*, e. g. *sūnīśas*. It is very frequent, being made from more than 160 stems in the RV. Examples of the commonest forms are: *mīśas* (22), *pīśas* (13) 'battles', *usīśas* (12) 'dawns', *dhīśas* (11), *usīśas* (10)⁵. Two instances occur of forms in *-āsas* being wrongly used as A. pl. f.: *samvidāśśas* (x. 30¹⁴) 'united' and *arāṇ-gamāśas* (AV. xiii. 2¹³) 'ready to help'.

I. This case is always formed by adding the ending *-bhis* directly to the stem, e. g. *sūnīś-bhis*. It is made from over 80 stems in the RV. Examples of the most frequent forms are: *mīś-bhis* (13), *citrīś-bhis* (8), *dhīś-bhis* (7), *hīś-bhis* (7) 'libations', *śāś-bhis* (6). The form *drāghīś-bhis* (iii. 62¹⁷) 'for longest times'⁶ is used adverbially.

D. Ab. These cases are formed with the same ending *-bhyas* (sometimes to be read as two syllables) added directly to the stem. In the RV. only 4 datives and 11 ablatives occur from nominal stems⁷. The forms occurring are: D. *aghnyīś-bhyas*, *usīś-bhyas*, *duccēś-bhyas*, *devīś-bhyas* (TS. iv. 2. 9⁸) 'deities', *vyś-bhyas* 'movements'. — Ab. *dāharīś-bhyas* 'lower', *āśāś-bhyas* 'regions', *ūtarīś-bhyas*, *uśīś-bhyas* 'nape of the neck', *kikasīś-bhyas* 'cartilages of the breast-bone', *gīdāś-bhyas* 'intestines', *grīś-bhyas*, *damsīś-bhyas* 'wondrous powers', *dhīśāś-bhyas* 'Soma bowls', *vaksīś-bhyas* 'bellies'. *śyāś-bhyas* 'darkness'.

G. This case being made with the abnormal ending *-nām* is identical in form with the G. pl. m. of the *a*-declension. It is formed in the RV. from 22 stems. There is no certain example here of forms with the normal ending *-ām* which is found in a few genitives of the *a*-declension (372). There are only a couple of instances in which the resolution of the final syllable *as* *-aam* seems required by the metre⁸. The G. of *kanyīś* 'girl' always appears in the contracted form of *kanīśnām*⁹ (occurring five times) in the RV.¹⁰

The forms actually occurring are: *ākṣarāśnām* 'speech', *āghnyāśnām*, *a-nivēśāśnām* 'affording no place of rest', *ābhayāśnām* 'free from danger', *āśma-vrajāśnām* 'whose pen is a rock', *āśāśnām* (TS. iv. 4. 12³), *urudrāśnām* 'arable fields', *usīśnām*, *usīśāśnām*, *kāśhāśnām*, *kṛtyāśnām* (Kh. iv. 5³⁰), *jīhāśnām* 'transverse', *divyāśnām* 'heavenly', *dūghāśnām* 'milk kine', *devīśnām* (Kh. ii. 4¹), *deva-senīśnām* 'hosts of the gods', *dhīśāśnām*, *nāśnām*, *naryāśnām* 'navigable rivers', *pastyāśnām* 'abodes', *manīśāśnām*, *rāmyāśnām* 'nights', *sāmāśnām* 'years', *sūnīśāśnām* 'songs of joy', *stīyāśnām* 'still waters'.

L. This case is formed by adding the ending *-su* directly to the stem. The final *-u* though always combined with a following vowel both at the end of an internal Pāda or within a Pāda, is invariably to be read with hiatus

² Participle middle, with passive sense, of *vid* 'find'.

³ Participle middle of *śvas*.

⁴ This word (AV.) is of uncertain derivation.

⁵ There are besides two or three doubtful instances which may be m.; see LANMAN 362.

⁶ In several instances *-ās* is most probably to be read where the Pāda text has *-ī*, see LANMAN 363. In a few forms the resolution of *-ās* as *-aas* or *-āś* seems necessary; LANMAN l. c.

⁷ Cp. *aparīś-bhyas* 'for future times'.

⁸ There are also the pronominal forms *āś-bhyas* and *āś-bhyas*, *īś-bhyas*, *yāś-bhyas*.

⁹ *dhāśnām* in viii. 59¹² and *pīśāśnām* in viii. 59¹. In *sūnīśnām* (l. 3¹¹) the metre seems to require the shortening of the final of the stem: *sūnīśnām*; LANMAN 364.

¹⁰ This is a form of some importance as showing how the suffix *-ī* arose from *-yā*.

¹¹ It also occurs once in Kh. i. 5⁷.

in the RV.; e. g. *svāsu urvdrāsu* (x. 50¹) for *svāsvurvdrāsu*². This case is formed from over 50 nominal stems in the RV. The forms occurring are: *aghāsu* 'evil', *amṭṭisu*, *dvarāsu* 'later', *amāsu*, *ārtanāsu* 'uncultivated', *lāsu*, *īparāsu* 'neighbouring', *urvāsu*, *usriyāsu*, *urmyāsu*, *kanyāsu*, *kāśhāsu*, *kṛṣṇāsu* 'black', *grīvāsu* (TS. iv. 2. 5³), *cittā-garbhāsu* 'visibly pregnant', *citrāsu*, *jagmāsu*⁴ 'having gone', *jātāsu* 'born', *tīgryāsu* 'descended from Tugra', *dhyāsu* 'abodes', *devātāsu* (TS. i. 6. 4⁵), *dhīgyāsu* 'fire-places', *dhrurāsu* 'unchangeable', *nivāsu*, *pathyāsu*, *pādyāsu* 'footsteps', *pātyāsu*, *pāñca-janyāsu* 'relating to the five tribes', *pura-pāśāsu* 'multiform', *pūrvāsu* 'earlier', *pītanāsu*, *pradhanyāsu* 'forming the spoil', *priyāsu*, *mādyāsu* 'fond of exhilaration', *madhyamāsu* 'middlemost', *manuṣyāsu* 'human', *mandrāsu* (TS. iv. 1. 8⁶), *mārtiyāsu* 'mortal', *mahināsu* 'mighty', *yajñiyāsu* 'devout', *(prā-)yatāsu* 'presented', *yāsanāsu*, *rāmyāsu*, *ropanākāsu* a kind of bird, *raksāsu* 'bellies', *ṛddhāsu* 'great', *ṛdhasānāsu*⁷ 'growing', *śayāsu* 'resting-places', *śāśkāsu* 'dry', *śyāvāsu* 'nights', *śrutāsu* 'famous', *sāmayāsu* 'old', *saptā-sivāsu* 'blessing the seven (worlds)', *sirīsu* 'streams', *su-ṛjñāsu* 'dwelling in fair regions', *hāryāsu* 'to be invoked'.

3. a. Stems in radical -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365-400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 348-359.

375. This declension consists primarily of fewer than 50 m. and f. nouns derived from 9 roots. Only four of these words appear as monosyllables, the rest being compounds. The analogy of this primary group (A) is closely followed both in inflexion and accentuation by a second group of about 80 polysyllabic stems which, though formed with derivative -ī, are for the sake of clearness best treated as a division (B) of this declension. The normal endings as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems are taken throughout this declension. The G. pl., however, with the exception of a single form occurring only once (*dhiyām*), takes the ending -nām; and the N. sing. always adds -i. Accentuation on the final syllable of the stem is characteristic of this declension; and except in monosyllabic stems the acute remains on that syllable throughout¹. Before vowel endings the -ī is split to -iy in the monosyllabic nouns; e. g. *dhiyam*; this is also the case in compounds formed with these nouns, except -dhi when it is accented, e. g. *jana-sriyam*, *nānā-dhiyas*, but *ā-dhiyam*; in compounds formed with roots it is split only when two consonants precede; e. g. *yajña-priyam*, but *yajña-nām*; in the secondary group it is split in *samudri-* and partly in *cakri-*, e. g. *samudriyas* and *cakriyas*, but *cakrias*. Otherwise the r is always written as y, but is in the RV. invariably² to be pronounced as a vowel; e. g. *nadyām* pronounced *nadlam*³.

A. The stems belonging to the primary group are: 1. the monosyllabic feminines *dhi-* 'thought', *bhī-* 'fear', *śrī-* 'glory'; and the m. *vi-* 'receiver' (which occurs only once in the N. sing.). — 2. Compounds (mostly Bahuvrīhis) formed with the first three: *ā-dhi-* f. 'care', *itthi-dhi-* 'right devout', *dirghadh-*

¹ Cp. the L. pl. of the *a*-declension.

² Perfect participle middle of *gam-* 'go'.

³ Participle middle from *ṛdh-* 'grow'.

⁴ There are one or two exceptions to this rule in compound words in the A group, and a few others, in the AV., in the B group.

⁵ There are only two exceptions in the RV.: A. sing. *staryām* (VII. 68⁸) in a late

verse (cp. LANMAN 379¹) and N. pl. *nadyām* (VII. 50⁴). The AV. has six such forms: *āvataryās*, *nadyās*, *nāpyās*, *nādyās*, *pīpalyās*, *ṛkṣa-sarpyās*.

⁶ The resolved forms are therefore always given below, spelt with *i* in this declension. This will not lead to any confusion with the written forms of the Samhita text in which the *i* of the stem always appears as *iy* or *y*.

'having a far-reaching mind' (*ā-dh-*), *dur-ī-dh-* 'malevolent', *dūrī-ādhi-*¹ 'longing for the distance', *su-ādhi-* 'attentive', *dū-dh-*² 'malevolent', *nānā-dhī-* 'of various intent', *vītrī-dhī-* 'all-attending', *su-dhī-* 'devout'; *arādya-bhī-* f. 'fear of blame'; *agni-srī-* 'fire-bright', *adhvara-srī-* 'adorning the sacrifice', *ksatra-srī-* 'blessing dominion', *ghṛta-srī-* 'glittering with ghee', *janī-srī-* 'blessing men', *darśata-srī-* 'of beautiful splendour', *mārya-srī-* 'adorned like a wooer', *yajña-srī-* 'beautifying the sacrifice', *su-srī-* 'glorious', *hari-srī-* 'of golden glory'. — 3. Compounds formed with the roots *krī-* 'buy', *nī-* 'lead', *pri-* 'love', *mī-* 'diminish', *vī-* 'move' and 'cover', *śī-* 'lie', *sri-* 'mix': *pra-krī-* (AV.) 'purchasable', *sadyah-krī-* (AV.) 'bought on the same day'; *agre-nī-* (VS.) 'leading', *ṛta-nī-* 'leading the rite', *grāma-nī-* 'leading the community', *pada-nī-* (AV.) 'following the steps of another', *pra-nī-* f. 'furtherance', *pra-nenī-*⁴ 'powerfully furthering', *mana-nī-* 'spirit-leading', *yajñī-nī-* 'leading the sacrifice', *vaśa-nī-* m. 'commander', *vratā-nī-* 'carrying out the ordinance', *sadhā-nī-* 'accompanying', *senī-nī-* m. 'leader of an army', *skambha-nī-* (VS.) 'furnishing a prop'; *abhi-pri-* 'gladdening', *kadha-pri-* 'gladdening whom?', *pri-pri-* 'dear', *brahma-pri-* 'prayer-loving', *yajña-prī-* 'sacrifice-loving'; *manyu-mī-* 'rage-obstructing', *vīta-pri-mī-* 'surpassing the wind'; *lakṣa-vī-* m. '(swiftly darting) bird', *deva-vī-* and *deva-vī-* 'god-refreshing', *pada-vī-* m. 'leader', *parjā-vī-* 'moving with wings', *prati-vī-*⁵ 'gladly accepting', *hiraṇya-vī-* 'gold-bringing'; *pra-vī-* (VS.) 'wound round'; *jihva-śī-* 'lying prostrate', *patsu-taś-śī-*⁶ 'lying at the feet', *mathyama-śī-* 'lying in the midst', *ṣyona-śī-* 'lying on a soft couch'; *abhi-srī-*⁷ 'admixture', *gāṇa-srī-*⁷ 'mixing in troops'.

B. This secondary group comprises upwards of 80 polysyllabic stems, accented on the final vowel, which are all substantives except about half a dozen. It includes fewer than a dozen masculines. Of the remainder, which are feminine, more than half are names of female beings; about 30 are the f. form of m. stems that are not accented on the final vowel, as *puruṣ-* 'woman' beside *puruṣa-* 'man'. There are also some f. adjectives corresponding to m. in *-ya*, as *svarī-* beside *svaryā-* 'resounding'. This derivative group closely follows the analogy of the third division of the radical group (compounds ending in roots with final accented *-ī*); it joined the radical declension doubtless owing to the accentuation of the final vowel.

The m. stems are: *ah-* 'serpent', *upāni-* (VS.)⁸ 'encouraging', *dakṣ-*⁹ 'flaming'; *pravi-*⁸ 'attentive', *dus-prāvi-* 'unfriendly', *su-prāvi-* 'very attentive'; *yayī-*¹⁰ 'going'; *rathī-* 'charioteer', *ā-rathī-* 'not a charioteer'; *sahasra-śarī-* 'having a thousand barren cows', *hiraṇya-vaśī-* 'wielding a golden axe'.

The f. stems are: *atharī-* 'flame', *atharvī-* 'priestess' (m. *ātharvan-*), *ā-dur-māṅgalī-* 'not unlucky', *apar-* pl. 'future days' (m. *āpara-*), *apasi-* (VS.) 'industrious' (m. *apāsya-*), *ambī-* 'mother', *arīyī-* 'demoness' (m. *arīya-*), *arūnī-* 'dawn', *āsvatār-* (AV.) 'she-mule', *aśa-karṇī-* 'cow with notched ear', *ā-pathī-* 'impediment', *enī-* 'doe' (m. *ēta-*), *oṅī-* 'breast', *kalyāṇī-* 'fair woman' (m. *kalyāṇa-*), *kavaśī-* 'creaking' (m. *kavāśa-*), *kilāśī-* 'spotted deer' (m. *kilāśa-*), *kumārī-* (AV.) 'girl', *kūd-* (AV.) 'fetter', *kr̥ṣṇī-* 'night', *ksōṇī-* 'flood', *khārī-* 'measure', *gandharvī-* 'female Gandharva', *gaurī-* 'buffalo cow', *cakrī-* 'wheel', *tandri-*

¹ For *dūrī-ādhi-*.

² From *dū-dh-*.

³ Mostly Tatpuruṣas, generally with accusative sense; some Karmadhārayas.

⁴ An intensive formation from *nī-* 'lead'.

⁵ 'Coming towards', *prāvi-*, with lengthened final vowel.

⁶ From *patsu-tā-*, an adverb anomalously

formed by adding the suffix *-as* to the l. pl. of *pād-* 'foot'.

⁷ Formed directly from the root *śri-* 'mix', and not from the substantive *śrī-*.

⁸ From *upa* and *pra+av-* 'favour'.

⁹ To be assumed as the stem of the V.

dakṣi, Pada text *dhakṣi*.

¹⁰ The final vowel is here perhaps radical in origin.

(AV.) 'weariness' (m. *tāndra-*), *tapan-* 'heat' (m. *tāpana-*), *tila-piñjī-*¹ (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *tila-piñja-*), *īkṣṇa-sṛṅgī-* (AV.) 'sharp-horned' (m. *īkṣṇa-sṛṅga-*), *dātī-* 'messenger', *dehī-* 'dam', *nadī-* 'stream', *napit-* 'daughter' (m. *napitr-*), *nāḍī-* 'pipe', *nāndī-* 'joy', *nīstīgri-* N. of Indra's mother, *patālī-*² (AV.) 'stalk', *pippalī-* (AV.), 'berry' (m. *pippala-*), *puruṣī-* 'woman' (m. *puruṣa-*), *prapharvī-* 'voluptuous girl', *mandūki-* 'female frog' (m. *mandūka-*), *mayūrī-* 'peahen' (m. *mayūra-*), *mahi-nadī-* 'great stream', *mahiṣī-* (TS.) 'buffalo cow', *meṣī-* 'ewe', *yamī-* 'Yamī', *yayī-*³ 'quick', *yātudhānī-* 'sorceress' (m. *yātudhāna-*), *rathī-* 'female charioteer' (m. *rātha-* 'car'), *lakṣmī-* 'mark', *lalāmi-* 'speckled mare' (m. *lalāma-*), *vakṣī-* 'flame', *vi-keṭī-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *vibālī-* N. of a river, *vi-līptī-* (AV.) 'cow', *vi-lūḍhī-* (AV.) 'female monster', *viśva-rūpī-* 'brindled cow' (m. *viśva-rūpa-*), *vṛkī-* 'she-wolf' (m. *vṛka-*), *vṛkṣa-sarpi-* (AV.) 'tree-serpent', *veśī-* 'needle', *vyasta-keṭī-* (AV.) 'shaggy hog', *śakaṣī-* 'cart' (*śakāṣa-*), *śabālī-* (TS.) 'cow of plenty' (m. *śabdā-*), *sakthī-* 'thigh' (n. *sākthi-*), *sasarparī-* 'trumpet', *sahasra-parṇī-* (AV.) N. of a plant (m. *sahāsra-parṇa-*), *simhī-* 'lioness', *su-manḡalī-*⁴ 'lucky woman' (m. *su-manḡala-*), *sṛmī-* 'pipe', *sṛṇī-* 'sickle', *starī-* 'barren cow', *sphigī-* 'hip', *hastinī-*⁴ (AV.) 'female elephant', *hiranya-keṭī-* 'gold-haired' (AV.) (m. *hiranya-keṣa-*).

a. There are further a few f. adjectives in *-ī* from m. stems in *-ya-*: *dṛ-* 'watery' (m. *dṛya-*), *samudrī-*⁵ 'belonging to the sea' (m. *samudriya-*), *svartī-* 'resounding' (m. *svaryā-*).

a. There are a few transition forms from the *i*-stems: *karkaryās*⁶ (AV.) from *karkarī-* 'ute' (*karkarī-*); N. sing. *arī-*? (VS. vi. 36) from *arī-* 'faithful' beside the usual *arī-*; and the stems *yayī-*, *sakthī-*, *sṛṇī-* also occur beside *yayī-*, *sakthī-*, *sṛṇī-* respectively. The only certain transition from the derivative *ī*-declension to the radical *ī*-declension is represented by *strī-* 'woman', originally a dissyllable⁷, from which occur the forms A. sing. *striyam*, N. A. pl. *striyas*, I. *strībhis*. Other transition forms are probably *ṛṇīyas* G. sing. N. pl., *yahvīas* A. pl., *suparṇīas*⁸ N. A. pl.

Inflexion.

376. The forms actually occurring if made from *dhi-* 'thought', *yajña-* *śrī-* m. f. 'adorning the sacrifice', *senā-* *nī-* m. 'leader of an army', *rathī-* m. f. 'charioteer' respectively, would be the following:

A. 1. sing. N. *dhis*. A. *dhiyam*. I. *dhiyā*. D. *dhiyē*. G. *dhiyīs*. — Pl. N. *dhiyas*. A. *dhiyas*. I. *dhibhis*. G. *dhinām*¹⁰. L. *dhiṣū*.

2. sing. N. *yajña-śrīs*. A. *yajña-śriyam*. I. *yajña-śriyā*. D. *yajña-śriyē*. G. *yajña-śriyīs*. — Du. N. A. *yajña-śriyā* and *yajña-śriyau* (AV.). — Pl. N. *yajña-śriyas*. A. *yajña-śriyas*. I. *yajña-śribhis*.

3. sing. N. *senā-nīs*. A. *senā-nīyam*. D. *senā-nīyē*. G. *senā-nīyīs*. — Du. N. A. *senā-nīyā*. G. *senā-nīyos*. — Pl. N. *senā-nīyas*. A. *senā-nīyas*. D. *senā-nībhis*. G. *senā-nīnām*.

B. Sing. N. *rathīs*. A. *rathīyam*. I. *rathīyā*. D. *rathīyē*. G. *rathīyīs*. V. *rathī*. — Du. N. A. *rathīyā*. I. f. *rathībhiyam*. G. f. *rathīyos*. L. *rathīyos*. — Pl. N. *rathīyas*. A. *rathīyas*. I. *rathībhis*. D. f. *rathībhiyas*. G. *rathīnām*. L. f. *rathīyū*.

¹ In these words the accent is shifted to a vowel ending in weak cases.

² The final vowel in this word is perhaps radical in origin (from *yā-* 'go').

³ The V. pl. *su-hastīs* (ix. 46¹), presupposes a stem *su-hastī-*, but as the form is a m., the reading ought perhaps to be emended to *su-hastās* with BR.

⁴ *hastinī-* (ix. 37) means 'having a hand'.

⁵ GRASSMANN regards this as a f. of an adjective *samudrī-*.

⁶ See WHITNEY on AV. iv. 37⁵.

⁷ See LANMAN 371³.

⁸ In I. 122⁷ *starīs* seems to be the equivalent of *strī-*. See pw. s. v.

⁹ Cp. LANMAN 372².

¹⁰ The form *dhinām* occurs 7 times in the RV., *dhiyām* only once.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. A. 1. m. *vis*. — f. *dhīs*, *bhīs*, *śrīs*. — 2. m. *itthādhtis*, *kṣatratris*, *ghṛta-śrīs*, *darśata-śrīs*, *dārā-ādhtis*, *mārya-śrīs*, *vīśvato-dhtis*, *sv-ādhtis*. — f. *abhi-śrīs*. — 3. m. *agre-nīs* (VS. vi. 2), *grāma-nīs*, *takva-*vis**, *deva-*vis** and *devā-*vis**, *patsu-tas-śīs*, *pada-nīs* (AV.), *pada-*vis**, *pari-*vis** (VS. vi. 6), *parṇa-*vis**, *pra-kṛis* (AV.), *pra-*nenīs**, *madhyama-śīs*, *manyu-*mīs**, *yajña-nīs*, *yajña-*prīs** (VS. XXVII. 31), *vasā-nīs*, *sadyah-kṛis*, *senā-nīs*, *skambha-nīs* (VS. i. 19), *syona-śīs*. — f. *pra-kṛis* (AV.), *vrata-nīs*. — B. m. *ā-rathīs*¹, *prāvīs*, *su-prāvīs*, *rathīs*² *sahasra-startis*, *hiraṇya-vāsīs*. — f. *ā-dur-māṅgalīs*, *arunīs*, *kalyānīs*, *kṛṣṇīs*, *kṣonīs*³, *gandharvīs*, *gaurīs*, *jātrīs*⁴ (AV.), *tandris* (AV.), *dūtīs*, *napītīs*, *nāḍīs*, *māhīsīs*⁵ (TS. I. 2. 12²), *yamīs*, *yātudhānīs* (AV.), *rathīs*, *lakṣmīs*, *lalānīs*, *viśva-rūpīs* (TS. I. 5. 6³), *vrkīs*, *śakapīs*, *śabalīs* (TS. IV. 3. 11⁵), *sasarparīs*, *siṃhīs* (TS. I. 2. 12²), *su-māṅgalīs*⁶, *starīs*⁷.

Acc. A. 1. f. *dhiyam*, *bhiyam*, *śriyam*. — 2. m. *dur-ādhtiam*, *sv-ādhtiam*, *adhvara-śriyam*, *kṣatra-śriyam*, *ghṛta-śriyam*, *jana-śriyam*, *yajña-śriyam*, *su-śriyam*, *hari-śriyam*⁸. — f. *abhi-śriyam*. — 3. m. *gāthā-nīam*, *grāma-nīam* (VS. XXX. 20), *yajña-nīam*; *devā-*vīam**, *prati-*vīam**; *abhi-*prīyam**, *ghṛta-*prīyam** (AV.), *brahma-*prīyam**. — f. *devā-*vīam**⁹. — B. m. *rathīam*, *su-*prāvīam**. — f. *atharvīam*, *arāyīam*, *kumārīam* (AV.), *kūdiām* (AV.), *gaurīam*, *nadiām*, *napīam*, *nūndīam*, *prapharvīam*, *yamīam*, *lakṣmīam* (AV.), *lalānīam* (AV.), *vibhīam*, *vīlīptīam* (AV.), *vīlīḍhīam* (AV.), *viśva-rūpīam*, *vrkīam*, *siṃhīam*, *sūrmīam*, *starīam*¹⁰, *sphigīam*, *svarīam*.

I. A. 1. f. *dhiyā*, *bhiyā*, *śriyā*. — 2. m. *dū-*dhīā**. — f. *avadya-bhiyā*¹¹, *ā-*dhīā**¹² (AV.). — B. m. *rathīā*. — f. *tila-*piñjīā**¹³ (AV.), *patālīā*¹⁴ (AV.), *mañḍukīā*, *veśīā*, *sahasra-*parñīā**¹⁵ (AV.), *sūrmīā*, *sphigīā*. — The form *tapantī* may be a contraction for *tapantīā*¹⁶.

D. A. 1. f. *dhiyā*, *śriyā*. — 2. m. *itthā-*dhiye**, *dur-*ādhtīe**, *dū-*dhīe**. — f. *ā-*dhīe**. — 3. m. *gāṇa-*śriye** (VS. XXII. 30), *yajña-*prīye**; *jihma-*śīe**, *senā-*nīe** (VS. XVI. 17). — B. m. *rathīe*, *su-*prāvīe**¹⁷. — f. *nāndīe*, *meśīe*, *vrkīe*.

G.¹⁸ A. 1. f. *dhiyās*. — 2. m. *dū-*dhīas**, *su-*dhīas**. — n. *sv-*ādhtīas**¹⁶. — 3. m. *gāṇa-*śriyas**; *gāthā-*nīas**, *manyu-*nīas**¹⁷. — B. m. *ahīas*, *su-*prāvīas**. — f. *atharīas*, *āpīas*¹⁸, *nadīas*, *niṣī-*grīas**, *prānīas*, *meśīas*, *śrīnīas*.

L. f. *gaurī* (IX. 12³) and *sarasī* (VII. 103²) may be locatives containing the normal ending *-ī*.

¹ There is also the transition form *arīs* (VS. vi. 36).

² On *rathīas* occurring once or twice for *rathīr īva*, cp. LANMAN 375 (bottom).

³ The N. sing. once (I. 180⁴) appears without the *s* as *kṣonī*. This word has other forms also according to the derivative *-ī* declension; cp. LANMAN 372 (bottom).

⁴ The reading of the Ms. in AV. XX. 48² is *jātrīs*; the edition has *jānīs*.

⁵ This is a transition from the derivative *-ī* declension for the *māhīsī* of the RV.

⁶ The AV. has *su-māṅgalī* three times; cp. LANMAN 377 (top).

⁷ There are also the transition forms *drūḍīs* (VI. 43), *śakvārīs* (TS. IV. 4. 4¹), *devīs* (AV. VI. 59²); *variantīs* (I. 140²) is a purely metrical lengthening; cp. LANMAN 377².

⁸ This form is also once (Val. II. 10) used in agreement with a neuter substantive (*gotrām*).

⁹ In agreement with *tudcam* (IX. 74³).

¹⁰ This form is once (VII. 68⁴) pronounced *staryām*, being one of the two only examples in the RV. of the *ī* in this declension being pronounced as *y* before a vowel.

¹¹ Accented as if *bhiyā* were used independently; the form occurs in a late hymn (X. 107³).

¹² Irregular accentuation of the ending.

¹³ Otherwise it may be an I. of the derivative *-ī* declension.

¹⁴ Cp. LANMAN 382¹.

¹⁵ There is no example of an ablative.

¹⁶ This seems to be the only actual n. form of this declension in the RV.

¹⁷ The form *ahī-*ghnyās** (AV.) is a transition form with shift of accent from the derivative *-ī* declension.

¹⁸ The form *arunīs* (I. 121³) may be contracted for *arunīas*.

V. B. m. *dakṣi*¹. — f. *arāyi*, *maho-nadi*², *yami*, *lakṣmi* (AV.).

Du. N. A. A. 2. f. *abhi-śrīyā*, *ghṛta-śrīyā*. — 3. m. *mana-nā*, *sadhā-nā*; *senānt-grāmanyāu* (VS. xv. 15). — f. *abhi-śrīyau* (AV.). — B. m. *rathā*. — f. *cakrīyā*, *nadhā*, *napṭā*, *yamā*, *sakthā*, *spṛā*; *cakrīyau* (SV.), *nādyāu* (AV.), *sakthāu* (AV.)³.

I. B. f. *ksouibhyām*. — G. A. 3. m. *yajña-nlos*. — B. f. *onlos*⁴, *cakrlos*. — L. B. f. *onlos*, *napṭlos*.

Pl. N. V. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *śrīyas*⁵. — 2. m. *dirghādhiyas*, *durādhiyas*, *dādhiyas*, *nīnā-dhiyas*, *su-dhiyas*, *su-ādhiyas*, *su-ādhiyas*; *agni-śrīyas*, *adhvara-śrīyas*, *su-śrīyas*. — f. *ādhiyas*, *vyādhiyas*⁶ (AV.). — 3. m. *grāma-nlas* (AV.), *devā-nlas*, *pada-nlas*, *sadhā-nlas*; *abhi-priyas*, *kadhā-priyas*, *gana-śrīyas*, *pari-priyas*. — f. *abhi-śrīyas*, *ā-priyas* (AV.), *pra-nlas*, *vāta-pramiyas*. — B. m. *ahias*, *āpathias*, *rathias*, *su-hastias*⁷. — f. *apaslas* (VS. x. 7), *arāyias* (AV.), *arunias*, *enias*, *kalyānias*, *karasias* (VS. xx. 40, 60), *gaurias*, *tikṣna-śrīngias*, *nadhias*, *nadhias* (AV.), *māyārias*, *yātu-dhanlas* (AV.), *rathias*, *lakṣmias* (AV.), *rakṣias*, *vī-keṣias* (AV.), *vyasta-keṣias* (AV.), *samudrīyas*, *sahasra-parṇlas* (AV.), *starias*. — With *i* pronounced as *y*: once *nadyās* (VII. 50⁴) and 6 forms in the AV., *āvataryās*, *nadyās*, *naptyās*, *nādyās*, *pippalyās*, *vykṣa-sarpyās*.

Acc. A. 1. f. *dhiyas*, *bhiyas* (AV.), *bhiyās* (TS. IV. 1. 7³ = VS. xxvii. 7), *śrīyas*. — 2. m. *durādhiyas*, *dādhiyas*, *su-śrīyas*⁸. — f. *ādhiyas* (AV.). — 3. m. *sadhā-nlas*. — B. m. *ahias*, *duṣprāviyas*, *rathias*. — f. *arāyias* (AV.), *aṣṭa-karṇlas*, *kilāslas*, *khāriyas*, *dehlās*, *nadhias*, *napṭlas*, *mṣias*, *yamias*, *yātu-dhanlas*, *samudrīyas*, *sambādha-tandriyas* (AV.) 'affliction and exhaustion', *starias*⁹.

I. A. 1. f. *dhibhis*, *śrībhis*¹⁰. — 2. m. *su-adhibhis*. — 3. m. *gana-śrībhis*¹¹. — B. m. *hiranya-vāśibhis*. — f. *kalyāṇibhis*, *ksouibhis*, *nadibhis*, *napṭibhis*.

D.¹² A. 3. m. *pta-nibhyas*¹³, *śva-nibhyas*¹⁴ (VS. xvi. 27), *senā-nibhyas*¹⁵ (VS. xvi. 26). — B. f. *aparibhyas*, *nadibhyas* (VS. xxx. 8).

G. A. 1. f. *dhinām* and *dhiyām*, *śrīnām*. — 3. f. *hiranya-vinām*. — B. m. *ahinām*, *nadinām* 'invokers', *rathinām*¹⁶. — f. *aruninām*, *kriminām* (AV.), *nadinām*, *puruṣinām*, *svarinām*.

L. A. 1. f. *dhiṣū*. — B. f. *aparīṣu*, *arunīṣu*, *nadīṣu*¹⁷.

3. b. Stems in derivative -ī.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 362—366.

377. 1. This declension embraces a very considerable number of stems which are formed by means of the suffix -ī (originally -yā) and, except seven masculines, are restricted to the f. gender. It largely supplies the f. form of words requiring inflexion in more than one gender. Feminine stems are thus made from nouns in -a, e. g. *devī* (m. *devā-*); from adjectives in -u; e. g. *pythī-ī* (m. *pythī-*); from present participles in -ant; e. g. *māḍantī-ī*

¹ Pada *dhakṣi*; cp. RPr. IV. 41.

² Treated as a compound in the Pada (VIII. 74¹⁵) though *make* is V.

³ The AV. shows no example of -ī. It has three transition forms *āyṭhau*, *phāḥṇyau*, *akṣyāu*.

⁴ Cp. APr. III. 61.

⁵ Also the transition form *sthiyas*.

⁶ This would be *vyā-dhiyas* in the RV. where in compounds ending in -dhi- the *i* if unaccented is split.

⁷ See above, 375 B a, note 3.

⁸ Also the transition form to the deriva-

tive *ī*-declension *deva-śrī* (TS. IV. 6. 3² = VS. XVII. 56) 'worshipping the gods'.

⁹ Also the transition form *sthiyas*; on *yakṣias* and *suparṇias* see 375 a a.

¹⁰ Also the transition form *śrībhis* (accented as a monosyllabic stem).

¹¹ Metrical shortening; see LANMAN 372³.

¹² There is no example of an Ab. m. or f.

¹³ The accent of the G. *ataṣṭām* 'beggars' would seem to require a stem *ata-* and not *atā-*.

¹⁴ There is also the transition form *śrīyā* accented as a monosyllabic.

(m. *midant-*), *-ant*, e. g. *adat-ī* (m. *adānt-*), or *-at*, e. g. *plprat-ī* (m. *plprat-*); from perfect participles in *-vāms*, e. g. *jagmṣ-ī* (m. *jaganvāms-*); from comparatives in *-yāms*, e. g. *ndvīyas-ī* (m. *ndvīyāms-*); from words in *-tar* (*-tr*), e. g. *avit-ī* (m. *avitār-*); from adjectives in *-mant*, e. g. *dhenu-māt-ī* (m. *dhenu-mānt-*), and *-vant*, e. g. *āma-va-ī* (m. *āma-vant-*); from nouns in *-an*, e. g. *sam-rāj-ī* (m. *rājan-*), *-van*, e. g. *ṛtā-var-ī* (m. *ṛtā-van-*); from adjectives¹ in *-in*, e. g. *arkī-ī* (m. *arkin-*); from compounds ending in *-ānc*, e. g. *arvāc-ī* (m. *arvānc-*), in *-dṛs*, e. g. *su-dṛs-ī*, in *-pad*, e. g. *a-pād-ī*, and in *-han*, e. g. *d-pati-ghn-ī*.

2. There is besides a large group of miscellaneous f. stems of an independent character, having no corresponding m., e. g. *śīc-ī* 'might'.

3. The seven m. stems³, of which five are proper names, are: *Tīrasēt-*, *Nām-*, *Pfth-*, *Mūtal-*, *Sōbhar-*; *rāṣṭr-* 'ruler', *sir-* 'weaver'.

a. The stems of this declension (in contrast with those of the B group of the radical *-ī* declension) do not normally accent the suffix. The exceptions to this rule are of a definite character.

1. When in the first f. group there is a corresponding m. accented on a final syllable which is liable to be reduced in such a way as to be incapable of bearing the accent, the acute is thrown forward on the *-ī*; e. g. m. *ur-*, f. *ur-ī*; m. *net-*, f. *net-ī*; m. *ad-ant-*, f. *ad-at-ī*; m. *fraty-dāc-*, f. *fratīc-ī*; m. *han-*, f. *ghn-ī*. When the m. ends in *-ā*, the accent also in several stems remains on the corresponding *-ī*; thus m. *dev-*, f. *dev-ī*; *pāp-* 'evil', f. *pāp-ī*; m. *puro-gav-* 'leader', f. *puro-gav-ī*; m. *rām-* 'night', f. *rām-ī*; m. *vamr-* 'ant', f. *vamr-ī*. More usually, however, the accent of such feminines is thrown back on the first syllable²; thus m. *āyat-* 'made of iron', f. *āyat-ī*; m. *aruṣ-* 'red', f. *aruṣ-ī*; m. *gāndharv-* 'belonging to the Gandharvas', f. *gāndharv-ī*; m. *taviṣ-* 'strong', f. *taviṣ-ī*; m. *paruṣ-* 'reed', f. *paruṣ-ī*; N. of a river; m. *palit-* 'grey', f. *palit-ī*; m. *mahī-* 'buffalo', f. *mahī-ī*; m. *rohī-* 'ruddy', f. *rohī-ī* 'ruddy cow', m. *śam-gay-* 'procuring prosperity for the household', f. *śam-gay-ī*; m. *śyāv-* 'brown', f. *śyāv-ī*; m. *śyēt-* 'white', f. *śyēt-ī* 'white cow'.

2. Again, the miscellaneous group of feminines hardly ever accents the final *-ī* of the stem except when it is a proper name, a shift of accent having here probably taken place to indicate a change of meaning; thus *aranyān-* 'Forest-goddess', *arundhat-*⁷ (AV.) N. of a plant and a star, *indrān-* 'Indra's wife', *rodāt-* N. of the Aśvins' wife, *vāthri-mat-* N. of a mythical female, *varuṇāt-* 'Varuṇa's wife', *śarast-* N. of Indra's mother, *śūvāl-* N. of a goddess; and the river names *ahjast-*, *aukṣ-*⁸ (but *śikṣ-* 'black' and 'night'), *śo-mat-* (but *śo-mat-ī* 'rich in cows'), *lutud-*.

Inflexion.

378. The inflexion of the derivative *-ī* stems stands in marked contrast with that of the radical *-ī* stems in three respects: (1) no *-s* is added in the N. sing. masculine or feminine; (2) the endings diverge considerably from the normal ones, the Sing. A. taking *-m*, the D. *-ai*, the Ab. G. *-ās*, the L. *-ām*, the du. N. A. *-ī*, the pl. N. A. *-s*; (3) stems accented on the final vowel shift the acute to the ending in the weak cases of the sing., in the G. L. du., and the G. pl.

¹ Adjectives ending in *-a* do not form their f. in *-ī* unless they are accented on the final syllable, when the accent almost always shifts to the first syllable; e. g. *aruṣ-* from *aruṣ-*; but *pāp-* has *pāp-* beside *pāp-*.

² A list of these is given by GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1722-23.

³ Cp. ZUBATÝ, zu den altindischen männlichen *-ī*-stämmen, Sitzungsberichte d. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss. 1897, XIX (treats also of the radical *-ī*-stems used in the masc.).

⁴ Beside *pāp-*. The great majority of Indo-arian Philologie. I. 4.

adjectives and all participles ending in *-a* form their f. with *-ā*.

⁵ This is the converse of the accentuation in the B group of the radical *-ī* declension, where the m. in unaccented *-a* throws the acute on the final *-ī* of the f.

⁶ Similarly *varūt-* 'protector', f. *vārūt-ī*.

⁷ Originally a present participle **d-sundhat-ī* 'not hindering'.

⁸ *śikṣ-* also occurs once as the N. of the river.

The forms actually occurring, if made from *devī* 'goddess', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *devī*. A. *devīm*. I. *devyā*. D. *devyāi*. Ab. *devyās*. G. *devyās*. L. *devyām*. V. *devi*.

Du. N. A. *devī*, V. *devi*. D. Ab. *devibhyām*. G. L. *devyās*.

Pl. N. *devās*. A. *devīs*. I. *devibhis*. D. *devibhyas*. Ab. *devibhyas*. G. *devīmām*. L. *devīsu*. V. *devīs*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. The m. forms are: *nāmī*, *pīthī*, *mītalī*, *rāstrī*, *sobhari*. The f. forms are very common, being made from nearly 300 stems in the RV. Among the most frequent are: *pīthivī* 'earth' (57), *devī* (48), *sarasvatī* (43) N. of a goddess, *mahī* 'great' (35), *ucchintī* 'shining' (16), *yati* 'going' (14), *jānitṛī* 'mother' (10), *brhātī* 'great' (10), *ghṛtācī* 'filled with ghee' (9), *maghānī* 'bountiful' (9), *strī* 'woman' (3)².

A. m. *nāmīm*. — The f. is formed from over 100 stems in the RV. Among the commonest forms are: *pīthivīm* (62), *mahīm*³ (35), *devīm* (18), *devīṣīm* (13), *urvīm* (9) 'wide', *pīpyūṣīm*⁴ (9) 'swelling'⁵.

I. This case is formed with the normal ending *-ā*. The only m. form is *nāmīyā*. But there are about 40 f. forms in the RV. In more than two-thirds of these the suffix is pronounced as a vowel⁶ *-iā* (in oxytones *-iā*), in the rest as a semivowel *-yā* (in oxytones *-yā*). The stem *sāmī* 'labour' has, beside *sāmīyā*, the contracted form *sāmī*, which also appears in the compound *su-sāmī* 'with great care'. At the end of a Pāda and before vowels⁷ this I. *sāmī* is shortened to *sīmī*⁸. The forms occurring are: 1. *āpvyā* 'subtile', *āsvābhīdhānyā* (AV.) 'halter', *āsvāvatyā* 'furnished with horses', *āsiknyā*⁹ (AV.), *kundṛṇḍyā* 'house lizard', *kumbhyā* (TS. III. 2. 8¹) 'jar', *gātū-mātyā* 'spacious', *gāyatryā* (TS. II. 2. 4²) a metre, *ghṛtācyā*, *citāntyā* 'observing', *citīyāntyā* 'appearing', *jūgatyā* (TS. II. 21. 4³), a metre, *tmānyā* 'by oneself', *dāvīdyutātyā* 'glittering', *devīcyā* 'directed towards the gods', *dāvīyā* (AV.) 'divine', *utīyasyā* 'new', *pātīyā* 'wife', *mādhū-mātyā* 'accompanied with sweetness', *rāhīnyā*, *vāstryā* 'good', *vājarātyā* 'rich in treasure', *vāsyā* (AV.) 'knife', *visvā-bheṣajyā* (AV.) 'all-healing', *visvācyā* 'universal', *vīsvyā* 'everywhere' (adv.), *śācyā* 'might', *sāmīyā*, *sārmayāntyā* 'protecting', *sīmīyā* 'work', *satrācyā* 'attentive', *sāmīcyā* (Kh. III. 10⁴) a goddess, *sarasvatīyā* (AV.), *sōma-vatīyā* 'accompanied with Soma', *stūbhāntyā* 'praising', *hārinīyā* 'yellow', *hīranyīyā*¹⁰ 'golden'. — Oxytones with shift of accent: *annīdyā* (AV.) 'proper food', *āsiknyā*, *devyā*, *purānyā* 'ancient', *pīthīyā*, *māhyā*, *sāmānyā* 'similar', *sādhāranyā*¹¹ 'common', *sūcyā* 'needle', *sautrāmanyā* (AV.) a kind of Indra sacrifice. The TS. and VS. also have *urvyā* as an adverb 'afar', which in the RV. appears only in the modified form *urvyā*.

D. The ending looks like *-ai*, e. g. *devyāi*; but it is doubtless in origin the normal ending *-e* fused with the suffix *-yā*, i. e. *-yāi* = *-yā-e*¹². Only 13 forms (all f.) occur in the RV. These are, besides a few others from the later

¹ Cp. WIEDEMANN, BB. 27, 211, footnote.

² In the AV. there are also the transition forms *ā-durmagāli*, *su-māgāli*, *nudī*. In RV. I. 180⁵ *kyōtī* has perhaps dropped its *-yō* owing to the following *ś*.

³ Perhaps to be read uncontracted as *māhīm* in x. 50⁵; *vāyīm* (II. 11⁶) is also to be read as *vāyīm*.

⁴ Perfect participle of *ṣ-* 'swell'.

⁵ There is also the transition form *nādīm* (AV.).

⁶ The vocalic pronunciation seems to be the commoner in the AV. also; cp. LANMAN 381.

⁷ This also occurs in the compound *urvi-śīthī* (VI. 24²), if *urvi-* = the adv. instr. *urvyā*.

⁸ The compound *su-sāmī* also occurs once in the TS. VS. as well as the RV.

⁹ Probably an error for *āsiknyā*; see WHITNEY on AV. V. 13⁸.

¹⁰ For *hīranyāyā*.

¹¹ Cp. LANMAN 368 (top).

¹² An indication of this origin is perhaps to be found in the fact that of the 13 stems in the RV. taking this dative only one, *-yāyāi*, has the vocalic pronunciation *-iā*.

Samhitās: 1. *arvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'hitherward', *dvācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'downward', *āvyai* 'not desiring', *lyai* 'so great', *ūdicai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'northern', *jāgatyai* (VS. XXIV. 12), *jāryai* (TS. III. 2. 2²) 'mistress', *jāryantyai* 'aging', *jyāyasyai* 'elder', *dhenudīyai* 'yielding milk', *parjanya-patnyai* 'having Parjanya for a husband', *paśumūtyai* 'consisting of cattle', *praticai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'western', *prācyai* (VS. XXII. 24) 'eastern', *yaśo-bhagīnyai* (VS. II. 20) 'rich in glory', *rātryai* (VS. XXIV. 25) 'night', *vijavatyai*, *viś-pātnyai*, *sahā-patnyai* (AV.) 'united with the husband'. — 2. Oxytones: *indrānyāi* (VS. XXXVIII. 3), *urvyāi* (VS. XXII. 27), *kalyānyāi*² (AV.) 'good', *gāyatryāi* (VS. XIII. 54), *dēyāi*, *pṛthivyāi*, *brhatyāi*, *mahyāi*, *rājāsandyāi* (VS. XIX. 16) 'Soma stand', *sinvālyāi*, *striyāi*³ (AV.), *hiranya-keśyāi*⁴ (AV.) 'gold-haired'.

Ab. The ending looks like *-ās*, e. g. *pṛthivy-ās*; but it is doubtless the normal ending *-as* fused with the suffix *-yā*, i. e. *-yās = -yā-as*⁵. Only five forms occur in the RV., besides a few others in the later Samhitās: *arvādvatyās* (AV.) 'disgraceful', *urvādyās* N. of a nymph, *jāgatyās* (VS. XIII. 56), *jāryantyas*⁶ 'living', *dur-admanyās* (VS. II. 20) 'bad food', *pātantyās* 'flying', *pṛthivyās*, *brhatyās* (AV.), *mahyās*⁶.

G. The ending is the same as in the Ab. and of similar origin. m. *īrāśeyās*⁷, *pṛthivyās*, *sōbharyās*. — f. The forms occurring in the RV.⁸ are: 1. *amlu-mātyās*⁹ N. of a river, *amlu-bhēdyās* (VS. XXIII. 28) 'having a narrow slit', *uśmānyās* N. of a people, *ūrjānyās* 'vigorous', *śadhyās* (VS. I. 25) 'plant', *tānyās*, *dānumatyās* 'rich in drops', *māyus-pācanyās* 'flesh-cooking', *rātryās*, *vīśvātyās* 'shining', *sānyās*, *śśucatyās* 'shining', *śśyantyās* 'about to bear'. — 2. *urvyās* 'earth', *dēvyās*, *pṛthivyās*, *mahatyās* 'great', *yatyās*, *yātyās* 'going', *vadhri-matyās* N. of a woman, *striyās*¹⁰.

L. This case seems to be formed with the ending *-ām*, e. g. *dēvy-ām*; but it may be due to the fusion of a particle **-am*¹¹ with the suffix *-yā*. It is formed from 15 stems in the RV., where the pronunciation *-ām* is considerably less than half as common¹² as *-yām*. Forms occurring are: 1. *āsiknyām*, *ucchāntnyām*, *ūdicnyām* (TS. II. 4. 14¹), *jāgatnyām* (VS. XXXVIII. 18), *jahnūnyām* 'race of Jahnū', *drśādvyām* N. of a river, *nāryām* (Kh. IV. 13²) 'woman', *pāruṣnyām* N. of a river, *prācyām* (TS. II. 4. 14¹), *yayācnyām* 'rich in streams', *rātryām*, *varāṇdvānyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *vasūnyām* 'treasury', *śācyām*, *sārasvatnyām* N. of a river, *soma-kṛyānyām* (VS. VIII. 54) 'serving as the price of Soma'. — 2. *aranyānyām*, *astryām* 'fire-place', *āsandyām* (AV.) 'stool', *gavānyām* (Kh. IV. 13³) 'groin', *gāyatryām* (VS. AV.), *catvāriṃśyām* 'fortieth', *jyēṣṭhaghnyām* (AV.) N. of an asterism, *dēvyām*, *naracyām* (AV.) N. of a river, *pṛthivyām*, *striyām* (AV.)¹³.

and here the *i* is preceded by two consonants).

¹ To be pronounced *-ai*.

² This is an emendation for the reading *kalpānyāi* of the edition; cp. I. ANMAN 383².

³ With split *i* as in the radical *i*-stems.

⁴ There are also the transition forms *bhūyāi*, *brīyāi* (VS. XIX. 94), *hrīyāi* (VS. XIV. 35) from the radical *i*-declension, and from the *i*-declension *devā-hūyāi*, *turyāi*, *nhrītyai*, *paṣṭyāi*, *bhūjyāi*, *bhrīyāi*, *brūtyai*.

⁵ *-yās* is read *-ās* 4 times out of 25 in the RV.: *pṛthivyās* 3 times and *jvāntyas* once, always for metrical reasons, cp. I. ANMAN 384 (top).

⁶ There are also the transition forms from the *i*-declension, *nābhvyās*, *bhūmyās*, *keśyās*; and from the AV. *ā-bhūyās*, *ā-rūyās*, *ā-śastyās*,

ābhūyās, *kṛsyās*, *deva-hēlyās*, *rātryās*, *ūrjākyās*; probably also *pūvyās* (VI. 121¹), Pada *yānyā*.

⁷ Pronounced *īrāśeās*. But cp. KOTH, ZDMG. 48, 115 (bottom).

⁸ This case is formed from more stems in the AV. than in the RV.; cp. I. ANMAN 355.

⁹ In about 15 per cent of the following genitives the ending is pronounced *-ās*.

¹⁰ There are also half a dozen transition forms from the *i*-declension in the RV.: *anumātyās*, *āśyās*, *nhrītyās*, *pṛīnyās*, *bhūmyās* (once with crasis in *bhūmyopāri* X. 75³), *yuvatyās*; there are many others in the AV.; as *jāmyās* (also Kh. v. 5¹⁹); see I. ANMAN 385².

¹¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 265 (p. 619).

¹² It is much less common than this is in the AV.

¹³ There are also two transition forms

V. This case is formed, by shortening the final, from 38 stems (all f.) in the RV. Examples are: *devi* (23), *sarasvati* (16), *pṛthivi* (11), *maghoni* (9), *vibhāvāri* 'radiant' (8), *mahi* (6). From the TS.: *āmbālī* (VII.4.19¹) 'mother', *kāmpilāvāsini* (VII.4.19¹; VS.) 'living in Kāmpila', *darvi* (I.8.4¹) 'ladle', *patni* (IV.4.12¹), *māṇḍāki* (IV.6.1¹; VS.) 'frog', *deva-yajani* (VS.) 'whereon gods are adored'.

Du. N. A. V. This form in the RV. ends in *-ī* exclusively, being made probably with the ending *-ī* (like the f. du. of the derivative *-ā* stems), which coalesces with the *-ī* of the stem¹. There is only one m. form, the V. *mādhvī* 'fond of sweetness', an epithet of the Aśvins. The f. is very frequent, being made from 76 stems in the RV. and from over 20 in the VS. The commonest forms in the RV. are: *rodasi* (87) 'the two worlds', *dyāvā-pṛthivi* (65) 'heaven and earth', *mahi* (27), *urvi* (20), *pṛthivi* (20), *devi* (13), *samīci* (11) 'united', *brhati* (10), *yahvi* (6) 'active', *akṣi* (6) 'eyes', *pṛthvi* (5). From the TS.: N. *chāndasvati* 'desiring' and *sūrya-patni* (IV.3.11¹) 'having the sun as husband', V. *ūrvi*, *rodasi*, *patni* (IV.7.15⁶).

a. The *-ī* is twice metrically shortened in *pṛthivi* (II.31⁵; III.54¹) and in *mahi* (IV.56⁷; X.93¹).

b. In the AV. three stems of this declension form transition duals² according to the radical *-i* declension: *akṣyān*, *āṅṅyān*, *phalgunyān*³; in other texts: *gavinyān* (TS. III.3.10¹) 'the groins', *pānyān* (VS. XXXI.22), *rābhānyān* and *su-pānyān* (Kh. I.37).

I. *akṣibhyām* (AV.), *kumbhībhyām* (VS. XIX.27), *jōṣṣribhyām* (VS. XXI.51) 'cherishing', *mādhvātibhyām* (VS.) 'sweetness-loving', *mādhvibhyām* (VS.).

D. *rodasibhyām*. — Ab. *akṣibhyām*, *dyāvāpṛthivibhyām* (VS. XXXVII.18).

G. *akṣyós*⁴ (AV.; TS. III.2.5⁵), *ārtnyós* (TS. IV.5.2³) 'ends of the bow', *ārtnyós* (VS. XVI.9), *dīvas-pṛthivyós*⁵, *ninyós*⁶ 'secret', *pari-ñtanyós* (AV.) 'dancing round', *rodasyós*⁷. — L. *akṣyós* (AV.), *arānyós*, *ārjunyós*, *dyāvāpṛthivyós* (VS. XX.10), *pātanyós*, *rodasyós*, *samicyós*.

Pl. N. V. The ending seems to be simply *-s*, but it is doubtless the normal ending *-as*, which originally coalesced with the suffix *-ya* to *-yas*, the latter then contracting to *-is*. In the m. the only example is *siris*. But the f. is very frequent, being formed from 166 stems in the RV., and occurring in the independent parts of the TS. at least 25 and of the VS. at least 40 times. The commonest forms are: *devīs* (43), *pūrvīs* (36) 'many', *śadhis* (27), *vānīs* (12) 'songs', *pātīs* (11), *mahīs* (11), *bhātīs* (8) 'shining', *yalvīs* (7), *devayānīs* (6) 'serving the gods', *vāsvīs*⁸ (6). In the Khilas occur the 7 forms *a-lakṣmīs* (II.6⁹), *āpīs* (IV.8⁵), *devīs* (III.10⁴), *pāvāmānīs* (III.10⁴) N. of certain hymns, *bahvīs* (II.8⁴ etc.) 'many', *svastyāyanīs* (III.10¹), *hiranyāyīs* (V.15¹¹).

a. Transitions from this to the radical *-i* declension are almost unknown to the RV.: *striyas* is the only certain example, and *pṛjānyās* and *supānyās* are probably such; the tendency to use such transition forms is only incipient even in the AV.⁹, where *urvyās*¹⁰ (once) and *rodatyās* (once) occur¹¹. In the Khilas also, occur the three forms *śhṛtyās*

from the radical *-i* declension: *iriyām* (AV.) and *dūyām*; five from the *-i* declension: *pūramūhyām*, *bhūmyām*, *bhṛtyām*, *yuvat-yām*, *sāṅṅatyām*; besides at least 10 additional ones from the AV.: *āvayām*, *ākūtyām*, *cillyām*, *devā-hūtyām*, *nābhīyām* (+VS. XXIV.1), *pṛṣṭiyām*, *bhūtyām*, *yānyām* (+VS.), *utdyām*, *sāmītyām*.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 287 (p. 644).

² There are also the transition forms from the radical *-i* declension *kṛpī* and once *nadi*.

³ This form in *-yas* becomes universal in the post-Vedic language.

⁴ The Mss. in AV. V. 4¹⁰ read *akṣīs*; see WHITNEY's note.

⁵ With the first member of the Dvandva inflected in the sing. G.

⁶ Either the G. of *ninyā-* (m. *ninyā-*) or shortened for *ninyāyos*.

⁷ Once (VI.24²) used in the sense of an Ab.

⁸ *lka-patnīs* (AV. X.8³⁰) 'having one husband' is N. pl. f., not N. sing. m.

⁹ There seem to be no such transitions in the TS.; but there are at least 3 to the *-i* declension: *śadhayas* (IV.1.41), *revālayas* (IV.2.11¹), *pātṇayas* (V.2.11²).

¹⁰ Beside *urvīs* which occurs 9 times.

¹¹ And yet this form is the only one in the post-Vedic language.

(II. 8¹), *bahvyaś* (III. 11²), *pīramānyāś* (III. 10³). The VS. has about 10 such forms: *devyāś* (XXVII. 4) beside *devīś*, *pātnyāś* (XXIII. 36) beside *pātnīś* (VI. 34), *phālavatyāś* (XXII. 22), *bahvyaś* (XX. 44) beside *bahvīś*, *mahānāmyāś* (XXIII. 35), *malvāvarānyāś* (XXIV. 2), *malvyaś* (XXIV. 8), *vatsaryāś* (XXIV. 5), V. *vamryāś* (XXXVII. 4), *vaiśvadyāś* (XXIV. 5), *sārasvatyāś* (XXIV. 4).

b. There are no transitions from the radical *i*-declension to this one in the RV., and in the AV. only *nadyāś* (beside *nadyāś*) and *lakṣmīś* (beside *lakṣmīyāś*). But the transitions from the *i*-declension are numerous: *angūlīś* (AV.), *avānīś*, *ājānīś*, *ūtīś*, *ṛṣṭīś* (AV.), *dhāmānīś* (AV.), *nāhīś*, *nābhīś* (AV.), *nirṛāś*, *nirṛīś*, *pārṣṇīś* (AV.), *pūramdhīś*, *ṛṣṭīś* (AV.), *bhāmīś*, *vīśvākṛṣṭīś*, *br̥ṣṭīś*¹, *sāyonīś*.

A. This case is identical in form with the N., and its origin is doubtless similar. It is very frequent, being made from more than 100 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *pūrvīś* (40), *śadhis* (24), *mahīś* (18), *bṛhatīś* (12), *dāsīś* (9) 'demonesses', *pātnīś* (7), *pṛṣatīś* (7)² 'dappled mares'.

I. This case is fairly frequent, being made from 32 stems in the RV. The commonest forms are: *sācibhis* (36), *tāvisibhis* (13), *śmibhis* (8), *śadhibhis* (6), *pṛṣatibhis*³ (5). The TS. has also *śmibhis* (V. 2. 12⁴), *sācibhis* (V. 2. 11⁵); the VS. *aruṇibhis* (XII. 74), *jāgatibhis* (I. 21), *sthālibhis* (XIX. 27) 'cooking-pots'.

D. This case is rare, being formed from only three stems in the RV. and a few others in the later Sāpitiās: *avyādhibhis* (VS. XVI. 24) 'assailing banis', *śadhibhis*, *keśinibhis* (AV.) 'hairy', *gandharvī-pātnibhis* (VS. AV.) 'having Gandharvas for spouses', *ghoṣinibhis* (AV.) 'noisy', *tāvisibhis*⁴, *śṣṭantibhis* (VS. XXII. 25) 'standing', *tr̥ṣṭantibhis* (VS. XVI. 24) 'piercing', *mānusiḥyas* (TS. IV. 1. 4⁵; VS. XI. 45) 'human', *vṛṣanyāntibhis* 'desiring a male', *sāvatibhis*⁵ (AV.) 'everlasting', *sr̥ṣvantibhis* (VS. XXII. 25) 'flowing', *hr̥ṣṭantibhis* (VS. XXII. 26) 'hail'.

Ab. Only three forms of this case occur in the RV.: *śadhibhis*, *padvītibhis*, 'possessed of feet', *bṛhatibhis*.

G. This case, which as is usual in the vowel declension takes the ending *-nām*, is found in only one m. form, *sibharinām*; but it is fairly common in the f., being formed from 34 stems in the RV. The oxytones which number only six⁶, throw the accent (as in the *i*-declension) on the ending: *bahvānām*, *bhāṇjātānām* 'breaking', *bhātānām*, *bhūṇjātānām* 'gladdening', *mahīnām*⁷, *yātānām*. This rule does not, however, hold in the SV. and VS., which have *mahīnām* (VS. I. 70; IV. 3); nor in the AV. where the forms *nārāśāṣṭānām* 'eulogies' and *rāthajitānām* 'chariot-conquering' occur. Of the remaining 28 genitives in the RV.⁸ the commonest are: *śāsvatānām* (10), *śadhinām*⁹ (9), *mānusiṇām* (8), *śūcīnām* (4), *vyīṣṭānām*¹⁰ (3) 'having departed'. From the VS.: *avyādhintānām* (XVI. 21).

L. This case is fairly common, being formed from 30 stems (all f.) in the RV. The most frequent forms are: *śadhiṣu* (20), *mānuṣiṣu* (8), *nāhuṣiṣu* 'neighbouring', *jāgatiṣu* (2) 'females', *tāviṣiṣu* (2), *yakviṣu* (2), *r̥ṣṭiṣu*¹¹ (2). The rest occur only once each¹². From Khila III. 15¹³: *śuddha-dantīṣu* 'white-toothed'.

¹ This form should perhaps be read as *trīpayaś* in V. 597.

² Also the transitions from the radical *i*-declension *aruṇīś* and *yātudhānīś* (AV.).

³ The stems forming this case in the RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 396.

⁴ *mīrī* 'woman', by shortening its final vowel, forms its D. according to the *i*-declension: *nārībhis*.

⁵ Irregularly accented on the final of the stem, otherwise, *śāsvatī*.

⁶ Or 7 including *strī*: *strīnām*.

⁷ On the exceptions *mahīnām* (X. 134¹), *yātānām* (I. 158⁶), *devayātānām* (I. 36¹), see LANMAN 398 (bottom).

⁸ The G. *nāvyaśānām* is once used in agreement with the m. *marūtām*.

⁹ *kantūnām*, with contracted *-yā*, is the only G. pl. of *kanyū* in the RV., *kanyānām* occurs once in the AV.; see LANMAN 399 (top).

¹⁰ Perfect participle of *i*: 'go'.

¹¹ There is also the transfer form from the *i*-declension *svāhākṛṣṭiṣu*, in which the long vowel is perhaps metrical. On the other hand *strīṣu* (accent) is a transfer to the radical *i*-declension.

¹² LANMAN enumerates the stems, 399 (bottom).

4. a. Radical stems in *-i*.

379. No nominal *i*-stems are derived from roots originally ending in *-i*, as these (some six or seven) have all joined the consonant declension by adding a determinative *-i*. There are, however, about a dozen stems in which *i* is probably radical in a secondary sense, as representing a reduced form of roots ending in *-ā*. These are with one or two exceptions m. compounds formed with *-dhi* = *dhā* 'put': *api-dhi* 'covering', *ū-dhi* 'pledge', *utsa-dhi* 'receptacle of a spring', *uda-dhi* 'receptacle of water', *upa-dhi* 'part of the wheel between nave and felly', *garbha-dhi* 'nest', *ni-dhi* 'treasure', *pari-dhi* 'fence', *prati-dhi* 'cross-piece of car-pole', *pra-dhi* 'felly', *śva-dhi* 'treasure', *sā-dhi* 'abode'; perhaps also *śa-dhi* f. as a shortened form of *śa-dhi* 'plant'. Besides these there is *prati-śhi* f. 'resistance', from *śhā* 'stand', and probably the reduplicated stem *yay-* 'speeding', in which the *-i* is secondarily reduced through the older form *yay-* from the *-ā* of the root *yā-* 'go'. These few stems have nothing distinctive in their inflexion, which follows that of the derivative *i*-stems in every particular.

The forms which occur from these words are the following:

Sing. N. *ādhi-s*, *śa-dhi-s*, *nidhi-s*, *pari-dhi-s*, *prati-śhi-s*, *yay-i-s*, *sī dhi-s*. — A. *utsa-dhi-m*, *uda-dhi-m*, *śva-dhi-m*, *garbha-dhi-m*, *ni-dhi-m*, *pari-dhi-m*, *pra-dhi-m*, *yay-i-m*, *śva-dhi-m*. — I. *yayina*. — Ab. *uda-dhi-s*. — Du. N. *upa-dhi*, *pra-dhi*. — Pl. N. *śa-dhāyas*, *ni-dhīyas*, *pari-dhīyas*, *prati-dhīyas*, *pra-dhīyas*. — A. *api dhin*, *uda-dhin*, *ni-dhīn*, *pari-dhīn*, *pra-dhīn*. — I. *nidhibhis*. — G. *nī-dhinām*. — L. *nī-dhīsu*.

4. b. Derivative stems in *-i*.

LANMAN, Noun Inflection 365—400. — WHITNEY, Grammar 335—340, 343. — Cp. REICHELT, Die abgeleiteten *i*- und *u*-stämme, BB. 25, 238—252.

380. This declension embraces a large number of m. and f. stems. There are comparatively few neuter stems; and, except the N. A. sing. and pl., neuter forms are rare, not occurring at all in several cases. The regular inflexion is practically the same in all genders, except that the N. A. sing. and pl. n. differ from the m. and f., and the A. pl. m. and f. differ from each other. There are several peculiarities here as regards the formation of the stem, the endings, and accentuation. The final vowel of the stems shows Guṇa in three of the weak cases of the singular (D. Ab. G.) as well as in the V. sing. and the N. pl. m. f., while it is abnormally strengthened in the L. sing. The normal ending *-as* of the Ab. G. sing. is reduced to *-s*, while that of the L. sing. is lost. Oxytone stems, when the vowel is changed to *y*, throw the accent on a following vowel not as Svarita but as Udātta; and even on the *-ām* of the G. pl., though the stem vowel in that case does not lose its syllabic value.

a. The only word which distinguishes strong forms is *sākhī* 'friend', which takes *Ṛddhi* in its strong stem *sākhīy-*. These strong forms are frequent: Sing. N. *sākhī*¹, A. *sākhīyam*, Du. N. A. *sākhīyā*² and *sākhīyau*, Pl. N. *sākhīyas*. This word has two further irregularities, the simple stem *sākhī* adding *-e* in the D. *sākhī-e*, and the abnormal ending *-ur* in the Ab. G. *sākhī-ur*. The other forms occurring are regular: Sing. I. *sākhīyā*, V. *sākhī*, Pl. A. *sākhīn*, I. *sākhībhis*, D. Ab. *sākhībhyas*, G. *sākhīnām*. Eight compounds in the RV.³ are inflected in the same way (also *sma-sākhī*, VS. iv. 20); but of four others, which have joined the *a*-declension, there occur the forms A. *śācayāt-sākhī-m* (X. 39¹⁰), N. *yācayāt-sākhī-s* (X. 26⁵), A. *patayāt-sākhī-m* and *mandayāt-sākhī-m* (I. 4¹).

¹ See above, stems in derivative *-i* (307).

² Cp. LINDNER 56 and LANMAN 453.

³ See J. Schmidt, KZ. 29, 526, note 2.

⁴ *sākhīyā* occurs 6 times (also VS. XXVII. 7) *sākhīyau* only once.

⁵ See LANMAN 400³.

b. 1. The stem *pāti-*, when it means 'husband' and is uncompounded, shows irregular inflexion in the Sing. D. and G. (like *sakhi*) and the L.: D. *pātye*, G. *pātyur*¹, L. *pātyam*. When it means 'lord'² or is compounded, it is regular: D. *pātye*, *īśha pātye*, G. *pātes*, *prajā-pātes* (TS.), L. *gā-pātau*. — 2. The stem *jāni-* 'wife' also takes the abnormal ending *-ur* in the G. sing.: *jānyur*³. This stem has the further irregularity of forming its N. sing. *jāni* according to the derivative *i-* declension. — 3. The stem *arī-* 'devout' is irregular in forming several cases like the radical *ī-* stems (except in accentuation): Sing. A. *aryim* (beside *arim*), G. *aryās*³. Pl. N. A. m. f. *aryās*. The VS. has also the N. sing. *arī* beside the *arīs* of the RV.

c. Twenty-seven stems in the RV. show forms according to the derivative *i-* declension in the D. Ab. G. L. sing. f. 4, perhaps from a desire to add a distinctively f. ending in a declension which does not distinguish genders in these cases. There is a steady increase of such forms in the later Samhitās; thus while the RV. has only 7 datives in *-ai* from *i-* stems, the VS. has about 40.

d. In the RV. 4 or 5 stems show the influence of the *n-* declension in the incipient use of the ending *-nī* in the N. A. n. du. and (*ī*)-*nī* in N. A. n. pl.; and in the L. sing., stems taking the ending *-nī* are already 5 times as numerous as those adding the normal *-ā*.

Inflexion.

38r. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s*⁴, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. V. gunate the suffix, to which the Ab. G. add only *-s* instead of *-as*. The L. sing. has an altogether abnormal form ending in *-ā* or *-au*. The N. pl. m. f. gunates the *-i*, to which the normal ending *-as* is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds *-n*, in the f. *-s*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes *-nām*, lengthening the preceding vowel. The frequent adjective *śīci-* 'bright' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring in the three genders:

Sing. N. m. f. *śīcis*, n. *śīci*. A. m. f. *śīcim*, n. *śīci*. I. m. *śīcyā*, *śīcinā*, f. *śīcyā*, *śīcā*, *śīci*. D. m. f. n. *śīcaye*. Ab. m. f. *śīces*. G. m. f. n. *śīces*. L. m. f. n. *śīcā*, *śīcau*. V. m. f. *śīce*.

Du. N. A. V. m. f. n. *śīcī*. I. m. f. n. *śīcibhyām*. D. m. *śīcibhyām*. Ab. m. f. *śīcibhyām*. G. m. f. *śīcyos*. I. m. f. n. *śīcyos*.

Pl. N. m. f. *śīcayas*. N. A. n. *śīcī*, *śīci*, *śīcinī*. A. m. *śīcīm*, f. *śīcīs*. I. m. f. *śīcibhis*. D. m. f. *śīcibhyas*. Ab. m. f. n. *śīcibhyas*. G. m. f. *śīcīnām*. L. m. f. n. *śīcīsu*.

Forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. This form is very frequent, being made from nearly 250 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnīs* (389) 'fire', *karīs* (90) 'sage', *hāris* (58) 'tawny', *bṛhas-pātīs* (52) 'Lord of Prayer', *śīcis* (38) 'bright', *śīs* (32) 'seer', *brāhmaṇas-pātīs* (23) 'Lord of Prayer', *ātīthīs* (20) 'guest'⁵.

a. The stem *vi-* 'bird', besides the regular N. *vi-s*, which occurs 6 times, has the anomalously gunated form *vi-sī*⁶, which occurs 5 times in the RV.

b. The pronominal forms *nā-kī-s* (50) and *mā-kī-s* (13) 'no one' are old nominatives which have become indeclinable.

N. f. This form is frequent, being made from 136 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ādītīs* (78) 'freedom', *su-matīs* (22) 'benevolence', *rātīs* (22) 'gift', *nābhīs* (19) 'navel', *matīs* (18) 'thought', *yuvātīs* (18) 'maiden', *bhūmīs* (12) 'earth', *prā-matīs* (11) 'providence'⁷.

¹ This ending is probably due to the analogy of the words of relationship, *pitūr* etc.; cp. KZ. 25, 289 and 242 f.

² The VS., however, has *pātye vīśvaya bhūmanas* 'lord of the whole world'.

³ Cp. BB. 25, 242; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 54, 49-78.

⁴ Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 234-238, and J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 27, 382.

⁵ Except the irregular m. *sābhū* and the f. *jānī* (*jānis* in AV. xx. 48² is an emendation).

⁶ There is also the transition form from the radical *i-* declension *vīśa-bri-s* 'beautifully adorned' (TS.).

⁷ Cp. REICHEL, BB. 25, 250.

⁸ Also the transition forms from the *i-* declension *aranyānis*, *śādhīs*, *naptīs* (AV.), *vābri* (AV., VS. xxxvii. 21).

N. A. n. This form has no ending¹. It is made from 37 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *māhi* (84) 'great', *bhūri* (47) 'much', *sv-asti* (35) 'welfare', *hīrdi* (9) 'heart'². From other Saphitās: *du-abhiṣasti* (VS.v.5) 'blameless', *a-meni* (VS.xxxviii.14) 'not casting', *dṣthi* (AV., VS.) 'bone', *a-stūri* (VS. II. 27) 'not single-horsed', *ātma-sdni* (VS. xix. 48) 'life-winning', *eka-nemi* (AV.) 'having one felly', *krivi* (VS.x.20) 'active' (?), *ḷṣatra-vāni* (VS.I.17) 'devoted to warriors', *gāyatrī-vartani* (TS. III. I. 10⁴; VS. XI. 8) 'moving in Gāyatrī measures', *dādhi* (AV., VS., Kh. III. 16⁵) 'sour milk', *paśu-sdni* (VS. xix. 48) 'cattle-winning', *pśni* (AV.) 'dappled', *brahma-vāni* (VS.I.17) 'devoted to Brahmans', *loka-sdni* (VS. xix. 48) 'causing space', *vādhri* (AV.) 'emasculated', *vāri*³ (VS. XXI. 61) 'choiceworthy', *sajāta-vāni* (VS. I. 17) 'conciliating relations'.

A. m. This form is very frequent, being made from 205 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 1200 times. The commonest examples are: *agnim* (269), *rayim* (180) 'wealth', *yānim* (61) 'receptacle', *pātim* (49) 'lord' or 'husband', *ihim* (40) 'serpent', *ādrim* (30) 'rock', *kaṣim* (28), *ātlim* (25), *bḥas-pātim* (25), *hīrim* (24), *ūrim* (23) 'wave', *pūramdhim* (8) 'bountiful', *yayim* (2) '(speeding) cloud', *arim*⁴ (2) 'devout'⁵.

ḷ. This is a frequent form, being made from 156 stems in the RV. and occurring more than 600 times. It is thus about half as common as the m. The examples occurring oftenest are: *su-matim* (41), *su-ṣṭim* (35) 'excellent praise', *vyṣim* (26) 'rain', *matim* (22), *rātim* (20), *bhūmim* (19), *pūramdhim* (5), *rayim* (4)⁶.

I. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Five stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-i* is generally pronounced as *y*, but half a dozen times as a vowel: *pātyā* 'husband', *sākhya*, *ūrmī*⁷, *paryā* 'felly', *rayyā*⁸. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 25 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *agninā*, *ānghriṇā* (VS. II. 8) 'foot', *dāriṇā*, *asinā* 'sword', *ihinā*, *armīṇā*, *kaṣinā*, *kāśinā* 'fist', *kiki-dvīnā* 'blue jay', *jamādagninā* N. of a scer, *devīpīnā* N. of a man, *dhāsinā* 'draught', *paṇinā* 'niggard', *pātinā* 'lord', *pāpīṇā* 'delivering', *paridhīnā* (VS. xviii. 63; TS. v. 7. 7) 'fence', *pāṇinā* (VS. I. 16) 'hand', *pśminā* (Kh. III. 15⁷), *bḥas-pātinā*, *maṇinā* 'gem', *yayinā*, *rayinā*, *raśminā* 'rein', *vādhriṇā*, *vāriṇā* 'vesture', *vāstinā* (VS. xxv. 7) 'blackler', *vṣā-nābhīnā* 'having strong naves', *vṣṣinā* 'strong', *śūcinā*, *sāsninā* 'bountiful'.

ḷ. This case is formed in two ways. 1. About 30 stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-i* is pronounced as a vowel in about three-fourths of the occurrences of this form, and as *y* in the rest⁹. The forms occurring are (a) oxytones: *asītyā* 'eighty', *ūtyā* 'aid', *kīrtiyā*¹⁰ (AV.) 'fame', *paṅkītyā* (VS. xxiii. 33) a metre, *pātyā* 'draught', *puṣtyā* (AV. TS.) 'prosperity', *matyā*, *mīhatyā* 'emulation', *vasatyā* 'abode', *vṣtyā*, *sanyā* (VS. v. 7; TS. IV. 2. 1¹) 'gain', *su-kīrtiyā* 'praise', *su-matyā*, *su-ṣṭiyā*, *svastyā* (VS.

¹ The only *i*-stem taking *-m* is the pronominal *ā-m*, probably owing to the false analogy of *kā-m*.

² LANMAN 377 enumerates the forms.

³ The Pada text reads *vāri*. According to BR. *vāry ā* here stands for *vāryam ā*.

⁴ Also *aryām* formed like a radical *i*-stem (though differently accented).

⁵ There are also the transitions from the *i*-declension *pāthim* and *sābharim*.

⁶ Also the transfers from the *i*-declension *avayānīm*, *oṣīm*, *śādhīm*, *vātrīm* (AV.), *snhītim* (SV.).

⁷ Pronounced *ūrmī*, sometimes also *pānī*, *sākhī*.

⁸ *ghṣṣṣā* (II. 33⁶) possibly stands for *ghṣṣṣā-īva* (Pada *-ī-īva*), *ghṣṣṣā* then possibly being a contracted *i* for *ghṣṣṣā*; cp. LANMAN 379 (middle).

⁹ On the other hand *yā* is pronounced *y* times as often as *ī* in the AV.; see LANMAN 380.

¹⁰ All the Mss. but one read *kīrtiyā* or *kīrtiyā*; see WHITNEY's note on X. 647.

viii. 15; TS. I. 4. 44¹); (b) otherwise accented: *abhi-sastyā* (AV.) 'curse', *dratyā* (AV.) 'malignity', *dvartyā* 'distress', *asānyā* 'thunderbolt', *śaktyā* 'purpose', *ābhātyā* 'ability', *īṣṭyā* 'sacrifice', *jāḥṣyā* 'whispering', *īṣṭyā* (AV.) 'satisfaction', *tvīṣyā* 'brilliance', *devā-kūtyā* 'invocation of the gods', *dhrājyā* 'impulse'; *nābhya* (VS. xxv. 9), *pārṣṇyā* 'heel', *pūramāhyā*, *pūṣṭyā* (TS. III. I. 5¹), *prā-matyā*, *bhūtyā* (AV.) 'growth', *bhūmyā*, *rāmhyā* 'speed', *rājyā* 'direction', *rūcyā* (AV.) 'lustre', *vīcyā* 'seduction', *śaktyā* (VS. XI. 2; TS. IV. I. 5³) 'power', *sū-bhūtyā* (AV.) 'welfare', *śṇyā* 'sickle', *svadhityā* (AV.) 'knife', *hārsyā* 'excitement'.

2. A contracted form in *-ī*² is made by 35 stems in the RV. and occurs more than twice as often as the uncontracted *-yā*. The forms occurring are: *i-citr* 'thoughtlessness', *d-prabhūti* 'little effort', *a-vyathī* 'sure-footedness', *dhūti* 'oblation', *ūti*, *ṛju-ntī* 'right guidance', *cliti* 'understanding', *jīṣṭi* 'favour', *didhiti* 'devotion', *du-stuti* and *di-stuti* 'faulty hymn', *dhūti*² 'thought', *ni-ṣiti* 'kindling', *pāri-viṣṭi* 'attendance', *pur-jīti* 'previous acquisition', *prā-nti* 'guidance', *prā-bhūti* 'violence', *prā-yati* 'offering', *prā-yuti* 'absence', *matī*, *varāni* 'felly', *viṣṭi* 'effort', *vīti* 'enjoyment', *vṛṣṭi*, *śakti* and *śakti*, *śruṣṭi*³ 'willingness', *śā-kūti* 'joint invocation', *su-dīti* 'bright radiance', *śi-nti* 'good guidance', *su-matī*, *sū-mitī* 'being well fixed', *su-śasti* (Kh. II. 10²) 'good recitation', *su-stuti*, *hāsta-cyuti* 'quick motion of the hand'. Also *su-paptāni* (I. 182⁴) 'with swift flight' (in Pada with *-i*); perhaps also the two forms *hetī* (VI. 18¹⁰) 'missile' and *-iṣṭi* (I. 180⁴) 'desire', which occurring before *r-* are given by the Pada as *hetī*⁵ and *-iṣṭi*.

a. This form is further shortened to *-ī* in about a dozen words⁶ in the RV., occurring altogether some 25 times: *iṣāni* 'setting in motion', *īpa-śruti* 'giving ear to', *upādhrīti* 'bringing near', *tri-viṣṭi* 'thrice' (= adv.), *ni-tīkti* 'haste', *prā-yukti* 'impulse', *vaiśaṅ-kṛti* 'exclamation vaiśaṅ', *sadhā-stuti* 'joint praise', *su-vṛktī* 'excellent praise', *su-śasti* 'good praise', *sv-astī*, *haviṣ-kṛti* 'preparation of the oblation'. Perhaps also *d-smṛti* (AV. VII. 106¹) 'through forgetfulness'.

b. A few forms follow the analogy of the m. in adding *-nā*: *dhāśnā* 'abode', *nābhīnā*, *prāthīnā* (VS. xv. 6) 'advance'.

n. There is no certain instance of a neuter I.: *śucīnā* (II. 38⁸) is perhaps an example, but it may be taken as a masculine.

D. m. The stem regularly takes *Guṇa* before adding the normal ending *-e*; e. g. *iṣay-e*. This is a form of frequent occurrence, being made from 44 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnāye* (48), *ātrāye* (12) N. of a seer, *sandāye* (12), *ghṛṣṭāye* (6) 'gladdening', *dabhīṭāye* (5) N. of a man⁷. From the VS.: *brāhmaye* 'holy', *bhuvantīye* (xvi. 19) 'earth-extender' (P), *vṛṣṭi-rānāye* (xxxviii. 6) 'rain-winning', *sandhāye* (xxx. 9) 'agreement'.

a. The only two stems not taking *Guṇa* are *pāti* 'husband' and *sākhī*, which make *pātye* and *sākhīye*⁸. When compounded *pāti* 'lord' forms its D. regularly as *patāye*; e. g. *bṛhas-patāye*⁹, *prajā-patāye* (VS. XI. 66) 'Lord of Creatures', *amhasar-patāye*

¹ This form is, except in two instances, written with *y* before *ā*, but is to be read with hiatus; it coalesces in the written text with *i* or *ī*, but is not always to be so pronounced.

² This is the only contracted form occurring in the independent parts of the AV.

³ The form *sadhri* (II. 13²) is probably an adverb 'to the same goal' from *sādhri* (LINDNER p. 112), or it might be an inst. f. of *sadhri* (LANMAN 380⁴).

⁴ See R.Fr. VII. 15.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 380⁴.

⁶ These occur eight times at the end of a line or stanza, four times at the end of an internal Pada before vowels, two or three times within a Pada before vowels.

⁷ The stems which form this dative are enumerated by LANMAN 382.

⁸ These words are never pronounced as *pātie* and *sākhīe*.

⁹ This is the only compound in the RV. formed with the D. of *pāti*.

(VS. VII. 30) 'lord of distress', *dhāraṇa-pālaye* (VS. II. 2) 'lord of the world', *dhīva-pālaye* (VS. II. 6) 'lord of the atmosphere', *vācā-pālaye* (VS. VII. 1) 'lord of speech', *samvetsā-pālaye* (VS. II. 20) 'lord of rest'; also in the expressions *kṛtāsya pālaye* (AV.) 'lord of the field' and *dhātāsya pālaye* (AV.) 'lord of the world', which are virtually compounds¹; similarly *dāhā-pālaye* (VS. XVI. 17)²; but *pālaye* *vishvasya bhūmanas* (VS. XVII. 78) 'lord of all the earth'.

f. This form is made like the m.; e.g. *īṣṭiye*. It is very frequent, being formed from 50 stems and occurring over 500 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūṭiye* (88), *pīṭiye* (67), *sōma-pīṭiye* (49) 'draught of Soma', *vāṣa-sūṭiye* (34) 'winning of booty', *sāṭiye* (34) 'acquisition', *vāṭiye* (31), *devā-vāṭiye* (22) 'feast for the gods', *īṣṭiye* (20) 'impulse'⁴.

a. The form *īṣṭi* is frequently used as a dative, similarly *du-ūṭi* 'no help' once and *vāṭi* twice. *vāṭi* occasionally has this value at the end of a Pāda and when it alternates with *vāṭiye* in v. 511², 13, but it may be intended for an adverb⁵.

b. In the RV. seven stems in *-i* (all but 2 of which occur in Mandala X), follow the analogy of derivative *-i* stems and take the ending *-ai*: *turyāi* 'victory', *devā-hūyāi* 'invocation of the gods', *nirṣṭyāi* 'dissolution', *puṣṭyāi*, *bhūyāi* 'favour', *bhṛtyāi* 'support', *śrūtyāi* 'blessing'. The AV. forms such datives from at least 11 stems; the TS. has *ā-samurtyāi* (III. 3. 8²) 'non-injury', *dūr-īṣṭyāi* (III. 2. 8³) 'failure in sacrifice', *śāṭyāi* (IV. 1. 1¹); the VS. has nearly 40: *ā-kūyāi* (VI. 28) 'imperishableness', *dāyāi* (I. 30) 'Aditi', *ānu-matyāi* (XXIV. 32) 'assent', *ā-bhūyāi* (XI. 64) 'not bursting', *ā-hi-īṣṭyāi* (II. 5), *ā-bhūyāi* (XXX. 17) 'wretchedness', *ā-rūddhyāi* (XXX. 9) 'mischance', *ā-īṣṭyāi* (II. 3) 'safety', *ā-sa-ṣṭyāi* (XXX. 12) 'distress', *ā-hantayāi* (XVI. 18) 'non-killing', *ā-kūyāi* (IV. 7), *ā-īṣṭyāi* (XXX. 9. 17) 'trouble', *ā-kṛāntayāi* (XV. 9) 'upstriding', *āyāi* (XXVII. 45) 'arrival', *kṛyāi* (IX. 22) 'village', *dūr-īṣṭyāi* (II. 20), *dūr-īṣṭyāi* (VI. 18), *nābhayāi* (XXXIX. 2), *nirṣṭyāi* (XXX. 9) 'atonement', *paṭhyāi* (XIII. 58), *prāṭi-śhītyāi* (XV. 10) 'firm footing', *prā-śhītyāi* (VI. 20) 'attain', *prāyā-cītyāi* (XXXIX. 12) 'expiation', *prāyāi* (XXVII. 45), *bhūyāi* (XII. 65), *bhūyāi* (XXIV. 26), *matyāi* (XXIV. 39), *mahyāi* (XXII. 20), *rayyāi* (IX. 22), *vīkītyāi* (XXX. 13) 'separation', *vīṣṭyāi* (XVIII. 28), *vīṣṭyāi* (XIX. 16) 'altar', *vīṣṭyāi* (XXII. 34) 'dawn', *vīṣṭyāi* (XXX. 17) 'fallure', *hīnyāi* (III. 43) 'quiet', *su-kūyāi* (XXXVII. 10) 'secure dwelling', *heṣṭyāi* (XVI. 18) 'missile'.

n. The only form which seems to occur is *śūcaye*.

Ab. m. The stem takes Guṇa, to which *-s* only, instead of *-as*, is added; e.g. *ādres*. It is not common, being formed from only 8 or 9 stems in the RV.: *agnīs* (TS. IV. 2. 10⁴; Kh. IV. 6⁵), *dhes*, *udadhīs* 'water-receptacle', *gīrīs* 'mountain', *ghṛṇēs* 'heat', *dhāści-rījēs* (AV.) 'striped across', *parṇa-dhīs* (AV.) 'feather-holder', *prajāpates* (TS. IV. 11⁴), *phīsēs* (AV.) 'intestine', *yōnes*, *vṛśā-kapes* 'inan-ape', *sattā-m-ātes* 'granting a hundred aids', *sām-ṛtes* 'conflict'.

f. This form is made in the same way as in the m. from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādītes*, *āpītes* 'entering (*īṣṭi*) into (*āpi*)', *abhi-śastes*, *abhi-ṛutes* 'injury', *āmātes* 'indigence', *ārātes*, *āhūtes* (AV.), *dhāsēs* 'abode', *dhātātēs* 'injury', *nītes*⁶ (AV.), *pāri-śātes* 'oppression', *bhūmes* (AV.), *vasatēs*, *srutēs* 'course'.

a. The RV. has three forms according to the derivative *-i* declension: *nābhīyār* (X. 90⁴), *bhūmyās* (I. 80⁴), *hetīās* (X. 87¹⁰). Besides these the AV. has: *ā bhūtyās*, *ā-rūddhās*, *ā-śarīyās* 'imprecation', *dhūtyās*, *kṛyās*, *deva-hētyās* 'divine weapon', *īṣṭyātīyās* 'headache'; probably also *yōnyās* in *yōnyeva* (VI. 121⁴) for *yōnyā īva*.

G. m. The regular form of this case is identical with that of the Ab., but is much more frequent, being made from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *agnīs* (55), *vēs* (14), *ādres* (10), *paṇēs* (8), *bṛhas-pītes* (6), *sūrēs* (5) 'patron', *ātres* (4), *katēs* (4), *dhāsēs* (4) 'draught', *bhūres* (4); *pātes* 'lord'

¹ Equivalent to *kṛtra-pāṭi* (K.) and *bhūta-pāṭi* (AV.).

² And a number of other epithets in VS. XVI. 17-23.

³ *pālaye* otherwise means 'husband'.

⁴ LANMAN 382 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 383 (top).

⁶ Used in the sense of the ablative with *pāṭi* 'protect from'.

⁷ Cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 5.

⁸ This form *nītes* is probably an error for *īṣṭēs* 'skin'; see WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 18³.

occurs once. Elsewhere are found: *jamā-āgnes* (VS. III. 62; Kh. v. 3⁶), *prajīpates* (TS. III. 1. 4¹; Kh. III. 15¹³), *yayāś*¹ (Kh. I. 10²).

a. The two stems *ari-* and *āvi-* 'sheep' do not take Guṇa, and add the normal ending *-a*: *aryās*² which occurs nearly 40 times, and *āvya* which occurs nearly 20 times. The stem *śūhi-*, when meaning 'husband', and *sākhī-* do not take Guṇa either, but add the anomalous ending *-ur*: *śūhiur*, *sākhīur*³.

f. This case, identical in form with the m., is made from 11 stems in the RV.: *ādītes*, *abhī-śastes*, *dmates*, *iśśś*, *kyśś*'s 'tillage', *devā-śites*, *nirpśes*, *pūśśś*, *pśśśes*, *vṛśśś*, *vraśśśes* 'creeper'. This form is also made by at least 8 stems in the AV.

a. Six stems in the RV. form genitives according to the derivative *ī* declension, occurring 17 times altogether: *dmu-matyās*, *ārātyās*, *nirpśyās*, *pśśnyās*, *bhūmyās*, *yuvatyās*. In the AV. such forms are made from at least 16 stems and occur over 50 times: *śāmyās* 'akin' etc. One of these, *ādityās*, occurs also in the TS. (I. 6. 5¹) and VS. (I. 11).

n. The only example is *bhāras*, which occurs 16 times.

L. This case in all genders ends very anomalously in *-ā* or *-au*. The latter ending occurs more than twice as often as the former in the RV. (272 times to 126), while in the N. A. dual *-ā* is nearly 7 times as frequent as *-au* (1145 times to 171)⁴. The general conditions under which the parallel L. forms *-ā* and *-au* occur⁵ are the same as apply to the dual *-ā* and *-au*: *-ā* appears before consonants, *-au* (as *-ā*) before vowels, e. g. *śr yōna vasatī v i va* (IX. 62¹⁵) 'a bird in the receptacle as in a nest'. But while the dual *-ā* is the regular form at the end of a Pāda, the L. *-au* is almost exclusively found in that position⁶. As in the dual N. A. and the perfect sing. 1 and 3, the *-ā*-form is doubtless the earlier. It is most probably derived from a locative form with Guṇa (like the D. Ab. G. V. sing.), e. g. **agnīy-ī*, which dropped the ending (like some other locatives), **agnīy* then losing its *y*⁷ before consonants and lengthening its *-a*: *agnā*. The later form *agnāu* must have been due to the influence of the *u*-stems, the inflexion of which is closely parallel to that of the *i*-stems, through the Sandhi form *-ā* which is common to both⁸.

m. 1. The *-ā* form is made from 7 stems and occurs 40 times in the RV.: *agnā*, *ājā* 'contest', *armā*, *kuśā* 'belly', *śhīnā*, *vānā*, *su-rabhī*⁹ 'fragrant'. The AV. TS. VS. have no *-ā* form in independent passages, but Kh. III. 15¹⁰ has *agnā*.

2. The form in *-au* is taken by 27 stems in the RV.: *agnāu*, *ādrau*, *arabāu*¹⁰ 'manager', *aratnāu* 'elbow', *ājāu*, *āyāu* 'pin of the axle', *urmadāu*, *gābhastāu* 'hand', *girāu*, *gō-patāu* 'lord', *śrīdāu*¹¹ 'stream', *trkśdāu* N. of a prince, *dhvasānāu* 'sprinkler', *nāmucau* N. of a demon, *nīpātīthāu* N. of a man, *pañdāu*, *pśś-sutāu* 'hostile attack', *mādhyañtīthāu* N. of a seer, *yajñī-patāu* 'lord of sacrifice', *yōnāu*, *rāthantāu* N. of a man, *vānas-pātāu*¹² 'lord of

¹ Emendation for *yayāś*.

² Once or twice to be pronounced *ariās*.

³ Cp. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 25, 239 f.

⁴ Cp. LANMAN 514.

⁵ See LANMAN 385 ff.; and cp. for the dual 340 ff. and 574—576.

⁶ The L. *-ā* appears only 5 times at the end of a Pāda, and then only in the two forms *devātātā* and *sārvātātā*.

⁷ Cp. the N. *sākhā* for **sākhāy*. The old L. may be preserved in feminines like *agnīy-ī* 'she who is beside Agni'; cp. IF. 12, 3.

⁸ Cp. MERINGER, BB. 16, 224.

⁹ LANMAN 388², suggests the possibility of restoring *ājāyī* in I. 112¹⁰ and *yōnāyī* in X. 46⁶. The n. l. *a-pātā* is used adverbially = 'without recompense' (VIII. 32¹⁶); cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 9, 255 f.

¹⁰ BR. would read *aratnāu*.

¹¹ *śrī-* may be f. as there is nothing to show the gender of the word.

¹² The form *vānas-pātāu* occurs in Kh. II. 10⁵ also.

the forest', *śalmalku* 'silk-cotton tree', *sānītau* 'attainment', *śamvaranau* 'descendant of Samvarana', *syāma-raśmau* N. of a man, *svāddhītau*. The AV. also forms the L. in *-au* from at least 16 stems; among them appears the uncompounded *pītau* (AV. III. 18³) 'husband'¹ as a variant for *jāne* in the corresponding passage of the RV. (x. 145⁴). The TS. has *dhau* (v. 6. 1² = AV. III. 13¹).

f. i. The form in *-ā* is made from 21 stems in the RV.: *avānā* 'river-bed', *nā, iditā* 'sunrise', *ksātra-sātā* 'acquisition of land', *gā-sātā* 'winning of cows', *lokū-sātā* 'attainment of offspring', *devā-tātā* 'worship of the gods', *dyumnd-sātā* 'obtainment of strength', *nābhā, nī-sātā* 'capture of men', *nemdhītā* 'conflict', *pītā, pīt-bhītā* 'offering', *medhī-sātā* 'receiving the oblation', *yāma-hūtā* 'invocation by prayer', *śāra-sātā* 'battle', *sām-ṛtā, sarvāt-tātā* 'perfect prosperity', *sātā², sruṭā, svār-sātā* 'attainment of heaven'. The AV. has *nābhā* (VII. 62¹); and the SV. reads *śāntātā* 'beneficent', as a variant for *śāntātā* of RV. VIII. 18⁷. The TS. and VS. have no independent I. f in *-ā*.

2. The form in *-au* is more than twice as frequent, being made from 49 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *sātū* (17), *vāja-sātū* (16), *vyūṣṭau* (16) 'flush of dawn', *abhīṣṭau* (10) 'help', *su-matū* (14), *gūvīṣṭau* (7) 'fight', *iṣṭū* (6), *rātū* (5), *pūrū-hūtā*³ (5) 'first invocation'. The AV. makes this form from 7 stems in independent passages. The TS. has *iditau* (1.8.12³), *pūrū-cittau* (IV. 2.10⁴) 'first thought'; the VS. *ratha-nābhū* (XXXIV. 5) 'chariot nave', *rātrau* (XXIII. 4) 'night'; and Kh. I. 11⁴ *śāra-sātū*.

a. There are 5 locatives f. formed according to the derivative *ī*-declension with the ending *-ām*: *pūramāhyām, bhūmyām, bhītyām, yuvatyām, sām-gatyām* 'assembly'. The AV. has 9 more: *dyvām, ākūtyām, cītyām, devā-kūtyām, pṛṣṭyām* 'rib', *bhūtyām, yānyām, vedyām* (+ VS. XXVIII. 12), *sāmītyām* 'assembly'. The VS. has *sanyām* (VIII. 54).

b. The locative *vēdī⁴* occurring twice (VI. 1⁵; II. 3⁴) is the only one formed from an *ī*-stem with the normal ending *-ī* (= *vēdī-ī*). The form *prānī* may also possibly be a I. in III. 51⁷.

L. n. The only form in *-ā* is *a-pratī* (VIII. 32¹⁶) 'without recompense' (used adverbially), and the only one in *-au* is *saptī-raśmatu* (AV. IX. 5¹⁵) 'seven-rayed'.

V. This case regularly gunates the final vowel in the m. and f. It is very frequent in the m., being formed from 72 stems and occurring over 1100 times in the RV. In the f. it is not common, being formed from only 11 stems and occurring only 27 times in the RV.

m. The commonest examples are: *agne⁵* (799), *pate* (35), *bhas-pate⁶* (32), *kave* (26), *brahmanas-pate* (17), *vanas-pate* (14), *āghrṇe* (13) 'glowing', *sapate* (13) 'lord of the seat', *sakhe* (11)⁷. In Kh. I. 5⁷ the anomalously formed compound *bhuvanāpate⁸* 'lord of the world' occurs; in the VS. *aṅghāre* (IV. 27) a guardian of Soma, *dīte* (XXXVI. 18) 'bag', *drāpe* (XVI. 47) 'causing to run', *bāmbhāre* (IV. 27) a guardian deity of Soma, *bhūvas-pate* (IV. 34) 'lord of the earth', *sātesudhe* (XVI. 13) 'hundred-quivered', *sapte* (XXIX. 2) 'steed'.

a. The V. *sobhāre* is a transfer from the *ī*-declension; and the compounds *pāvaka-loce, bhādra-loce, hukra-loce* are transfers from the *-is* declension, doubtless meant to avoid the unusual form *-locis* in the V.

¹ The RV. has only the form *pātītau* 'husband'.

² For this form in VI. 46¹ the SV. and VS. have the variant *sātū*.

³ This form occurs also in AV. V. 11.

⁴ Cp. RPr. I. 28; II. 35.

⁵ Written with Pluti VS. VIII. 10: *āgnāti*.

⁶ Once (IX. 80¹) with double accent *bhas-pāte*.

⁷ In *make-mate* 'O great-souled' (Indra), the first member is anomalously gunated as well as the second; cp. *make-nadī* 'O great stream'.

⁸ Formed like *vanas-pate*.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *adite*, *anumate*, *asu-nīte* 'spirit-world', *iṣṭe*, *upa-māte* 'granting (of wealth)', *ṛjīte* 'radiant', *bhūme*, *mate*, *yuvate*, *satyatāte* 'truth', *cu-aṅgure* 'fair-fingered'. The AV. has *darve* 'spoon'; the VS. *svadhite*.

a. There is also the transfer *svadhite* from the *ī*-declension.

Du. N. A. V. This form ends in *-ī* and can be used in all genders alike. The *m.* is very frequent, being made from 72 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *indrāgnī* (78) 'Indra and Agni', *hāri* (78), *pāti* (33), *śubhīś-pāti* (21) 'lords of light'. Elsewhere also occur: *sa-tāti* (TS. III. 2. 2²) 'continuous'; *bhūri-rasmi* (Kh. IV. 22⁸) 'many-rayed'; *visva-vāpāri* (Kh. II. 22⁸) 'extending (?) everywhere'. The final vowel is shortened in *sakṣāni* (x. 32¹) 'united'.

f. The forms occurring in the RV. are: *itd-ūti* 'extending from hence', *āti*, *ījiti*, *jāmi*, *dārvī*, *dyāvā-bhāmī* 'heaven and earth', *dhārayāt-kavī* 'protecting the wise', *pāramhī*, *bhujī* 'patrons', *yuvati*, *vāsu-dhiti* 'treasuries', *śīci*, *sā-yoni* 'of the same origin', *su-prātīrti* 'very victorious', *sruti*.

n. The only two regular forms are *śīci*¹ and *tigmā-heti* (AV.) 'having a keen thrust'; also *mīhi* (with shortened final)⁵. There are besides one or two secondary forms with *-nī* made under the influence of the *n*-declension: *dāśinī* (AV.) 'eyes' and perhaps *hārinī* (ix. 70⁷) from *hāri*⁶.

I. m. *indrāgnībhyām*, *dāmpatībhyām* (AV.) 'husband and wife', *hāribhyām*. — f. *vartanībhyām*, *śrōṇībhyām* (VS. xxv. 6) 'hips'. — n. *sākthībhyām* 'thighs'.

D. m. *indrāgnībhyām*, *indrā-bṛhaspatībhyām* (VS. vii. 23) 'Indra and Bṛhaspati', *hāribhyām*.

Ab. m. *kuṣībhyām* (AV. VS.) *pānībhyām* (AV.). — f. *pārṣṇībhyām*, *śrōṇībhyām*. — G. m. *indrāgnīyās*, *hāryos*. — f. *yuvatyās*.

L. m. *kuṣīyās*, *gābhastīyās*⁸, *hāryos*. — f. *jāmyās*; *gavīnyās* (AV.) 'groins', *pārṣṇīyās* (AV.). — n. *sākthīyās* (VS. xxiv. 1).

Pl. N. V. This form gunates the final vowel of the stem, adding the normal ending *-as* in the *m.* and *f.*; e. g. *agnīy-as*, *ūtīy-as*. It is of very frequent occurrence, but is nearly twice as common in the *m.* as the *f.*

m. This form is made from 109 stems in the RV. and occurs 523 times. The commonest examples are: *kavīyās* (45), *vāyās* (38), *sūrīyās* (36), *hārayās* (31), *agnīyās* (27), *ādrayās* (26), *īśayās* (26), *śīcayās* (18), *pātayās* (16), *raśmīyās* (16), *vāhnayās* (15) 'conveyers'. In the VS. also occur: *ajāvīyās* 'goats and sheep' (iii. 43), *vīśa-pāṇayās* (xxix. 44) 'strong-hoofed', *vṛthīyās* (xviii. 12) 'rice-plants'.

a. The stem *ari-*, being the only *i*-stem that does not take *Guna*, forms its N. pl. like the B group of the radical *ī*-stems (except the accent); *ari-ās*, which occurs 16 times in the RV.

b. The form *ā-hrayās* 'shameless' is a transfer from the radical *ī*-declension, and *ābharayās* 'descendants of Sobhari' from the derivative *ī*-declension.

f. This form is made from 66 stems and occurs 290 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *ūtīyās* (42), *dhitīyās* (21), *matīyās* (20), *ādrayās* (18), *rātīyās* (18), *kṛṣṭīyās* (17), *kṣitīyās* (13) 'races', *jānayās* (12), *vṛṣṭīyās* (12).

a. The stem *ari-* has the same anomalous form as in the *m.*: *ari-ās*, which occurs 4 times in the RV.

¹ Agreeing with *agne*.

² The VS. (ii. 49) has *darvi* from *dārvī* = *dārvī*. The VS. (viii. 43) also has *vi-sruti* which seems to be an irregular V. for *vi-trute*; cp. pw. s. v.

³ The derivative *-i*, *-u* and *-ī* stems are the only ones which do not take *-ā* or *-au* in the dual.

⁴ Occurring in x. 85¹² and possibly iv. 56⁵.

⁵ Occurring x. 97⁵⁴ and perhaps also iv. 56⁵.

⁶ BK. and GRASSMANN place this form under *hāri*.

⁷ No n. forms occur in the D. Ab. dual.

⁸ This word may be *f.* also.

b. About 10 *i*-stems in the RV. have also N. pl. forms according to the derivative *i*-declension: *arānīs* 'streams', *ajōnīs* 'births', *ātīs*, *udkīs* 'nights', *nirpīs*, *nirpīḥ*, *pīraṇdhīs*, *bhāmīs*, *cācā-kṛpīs* 'dwelling among all men', *sā-jonīs*. The AV. also has: *angūlīs*, *ṛpīs* 'spears', *dhamānīs* 'tubes', *mābhis*, *pāṛpīs*, *ṛpīs*.

c. The stems *yayī-* 'speeding', *bubhri-* 'shining', *karkari-* 'lute' form their N. pl. according to the radical *i*-declension: *yayīyas*, *bubhriyas* (AV.), *karkariyas* (AV.).

d. Some *i*-stems have transfer forms according to the *i*-declension: *ambāyas*, *arunāyas*, *hōṇāyas*; *śpathayas*, *sāletrayas* (TS. v. 4. 12²; VS. xviii. 22). The TS. has also: *garbhīnayas* (ii. 1. 2⁶), *pānayas* (v. 2. 11² etc.), *śevānayas* (v. 2. 11¹), *vārātāyas* (iv. 1. 6⁴).

N. A. n. i. The normal form, in which the ending *-i* coalesces with the final of the stem to *-ī*, is made from 4 stems in the RV.: *apratī* 'irresistible', *krihīmī* 'irascible', *tri* 'three', *śīcti*. The final vowel of this form is further shortened in six stems: *apratī*, *a-sthūrī* 'not single-horsed', *jāml*, *bhūri*, *sāmi*³ 'work', *surabhi*. The AV. has also *māhi* (besides *apratī* and *bhūri*). The forms in *-ī* and *-i* (which are of about equal frequency) taken together occur about 50 times in the RV.

2. There is a secondary form (following the analogy of the *n*-stems) in *-īni*, which is taken by 4 stems having the primary form also: *apratīni*, *bhūriṇi*, *śīctni*, *surabhiṇi*. These forms occur about 14 times. The AV. has also *ākṣiṇi* and *āsthīni*; the latter form occurs in the TS. as well (v. 7. 2¹); the VS. has *śhigīni* (xxxix. 8) 'entrails'.

A. m. The ending *-n* here (as in the *-a* and *-u* declension) represents original *-ns*, which in one half (42) of the total occurrences (84) of these forms in *-in* in the RV. is preserved as *-ns* or (before vowels) *-nr*. This *A.* is made from 31 stems in the RV⁴. The commonest examples are *surīn* (14), *vānas-pātin* (11), *pāṇin* (9), *raśmīn* (6), *sakṣīn* (5), *girīn* (4). The TS. also has *dāhi-pātin* (i. 6. 6⁴) 'lords', *āhin* (iv. 5. 1²; VS. xvi. 5); the VS. has *tīlīrin* (xxiv. 20) 'partridges', *lōjin*⁵ (xxiii. 8) 'parched grain', *śācin*⁶ (xxiii. 8) 'groats'.

a. The stem *arī-* is the only one which does not take *-n*, but adds the normal ending *-as* instead, the *A. arīas* (which occurs 7 times in the RV.) being thus identical with the N. pl. The stem *ī-* in its only occurrence (i. 104¹) in the *A.* pl. uses the N. pl. form *īyas*.

f. This form, which is made by adding simple *-s* (instead of *-as*), e. g. *bhāmīs*, occurs from 42 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *śrātīs* (16), *kṛpīs* (16), *śpītīs* (8), *caryānīs* (7) 'people', *pīraṇdhīs* (7), *arānīs* (6), *āśastīs* (5)⁷. The TS. has *abhīṣīs* (v. 4. 14²), *āmātīs* (iii. 1. 4⁴), *yōnīs* (i. 5. 3¹), *vyūṣṭīs* (iv. 3. 11¹); and *śāctīs* occurs in a Khila (p. 171, 6)⁸.

a. As in the *m.*, the stem *arī-* has *arīas* (occurring 4 times). Two N. forms, *citrāstāyas* (x. 140²) 'granting wonderful gifts' and *śācāyas* (AV. v. 1²), appear to be used for the *A.*

I. m.⁹ This form is made with the regular ending *-bhis* from 40 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are *dāribhis* (43), *raśmībhis* (36), *pathībhis* (28) 'paths', *hūribhis* (23), *sakṣībhis* (15), *śarībhis* (14), *agnībhis* (10), *adṣībhis* (10) 'ornaments', *ṛṣībhis* (10), *vibhis*¹⁰ (9). — From the VS.: *plāsībhis* (xxv. 8).

¹ Beside *arānayas*, *ātīyas*, *bhāmāyas*, *vibhī-*
kṛpāyas.

² The Pada text has *apratī*.

³ BR. set up a n. stem *sāmi-* beside f.
sāmi-. GRASSMANN recognizes *sāmi-* only,
making *sāmi* always the I. sing. with short-
ened final vowel. Cp. the I. sing. of *sāmi-*
above (p. 274).

⁴ LANMAN 395 enumerates the stems
which take this accusative.

⁵ On the Sandhi of the final *-n* in this
form see LANMAN 394 f.

⁶ Written with *pluti* in the text as *śācin*,
śāctin.

⁷ The stems which take this form in the
RV. are enumerated by LANMAN 395³.

⁸ See SCHREFFLOWITZ' note, p. 171 (bottom).

⁹ No n. form occurs.

¹⁰ Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.

f. This form is made in the same way as the m. from 48 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *utibhis* (100), *svastibhis* (82), *matibhis* (37), *dhātibhis* (27), *su-vyātibhis* (18).

a. The form *ūtī* is used 9 times as an I. pl. in the RV., as is shown both by the sense and by the forms agreeing with it; e. g. *tvādhīr utī* (II. 20) 'with thine aids'.

b. A transfer from the *i*-declension is *aranyibhis* 'tinder-sticks'.

D. m. This form is made with *-bhyas* from 9 stems in the RV.: *āśva-pātibhyas* (VS. XVI. 24) 'masters of horses', *ṛyibhyas*¹, *gaṇḍ-pātibhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of troops', *dāśāvanibhyas* 'having ten courses', *pātibhyas*, *yātibhyas* N. of a race, *raśmībhyas* (VS. XXII. 28), *vī-bhyas*², *vṛitā-pātibhyas* (VS. XVI. 25) 'lords of companies', *śūcībhyas*, *śvā-pātibhyas* (VS. XIV. 28) 'masters of dogs', *sākhībhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sandhibhyas* (VS. XXIV. 25), *sūribhyas*.

f. *ksītībhyas*, *carṣaṇībhyas*, *deva-jāmībhyas* (VS. XXIV. 24) 'sisters of the gods'. There is also the transfer from the *i*-declension *nārībhyas* 'women'.

Ab. m. This case, identical in form with the D., is made from 12 stems in the RV.: *agnībhyas*, *ātrībhyas*, *kavārībhyas* 'niggardly', *gīrībhyas*, *paṇībhyas*, *paṇībhyas*, *plāśībhyas*, *yōnībhyas* (VS. XIII. 34), *vānas-pātībhyas*, *vībhyas*², *sākhībhyas*, *sanībhyas*, *sthīvībhyas* 'bushels'. — f. *aṃhātībhyas* 'distresses', *aṅgūtībhyas* (AV.), *ksīlībhyas*, *carṣaṇībhyas*, *jānībhyas*, *dhamānībhyas* (AV.) 'blasts'. — n. *asthībhyas*³ (AV. II. 33⁶).

G. m. This form is made from 28 stems in the RV.: (a) oxytones are *agutnām*, *kavutnām*, *gīrutnām*, *carṣantnām*, *deva-jāminām* (AV.), *nidhātām* 'treasures', *paṇitnām*, *paṭhitnām*, *manitnām* (AV.), *matitnām*⁴, *rayitnām*, *vāpitnām*⁵ (AV.), *vinām*, *sanitnām*⁶; (b) otherwise accented: *ātrītām*, *āvinām*, *dhīnām*, *ṛṣītām*, *gandhārītām* N. of a people, *carḍitnām* 'active', *tvṛiṣvātītām* 'loud-roaring', *dhīnitnām* 'roaring', *mahī-svātītām* 'very noisy', *mūnitnām* 'seers', *vānas-pātītām*, *vī-mahītām* 'very great', *vyātītām* 'steeds', *śūcītām*, *sākhītām*, *hārītām*, *havīr-mātkītām*⁷ 'disturbing sacrifices'. Also *gṛh-pātītām* (VS. IX. 39) 'householders', *dhārma-pātītām* (VS. IX. 39) 'guardians of law'.

f. This form is made from 18 stems in the RV.⁸: (a) oxytones: *karītām*, *krītītām*, *ksītītām*, *carṣaṇītām*, *jānītām*, *dur-mātītām* 'hatred', *dhautītām* 'wells', *puṣītām*, *matītām*, *rayītām*, *su-ksītītām*, *su-matītām*, *su-ḡūtītām*; (b) otherwise accented: *arātītām*⁹ (Kh. I. 5⁵), *ūpa-stūtītām* 'invocations', *jūtītām*, *nīryūtītām*, *mārcītām* 'particles of light', *śūcītām*.

L. m. This form is made with the ending *-su*, which becomes *-su*, from 16 stems in the RV.: *ā-kaviṣu* 'not wise', *agnīṣu*, *aṅgīṣu*, *ā-samāṣu* 'incomparable', *ājīṣu*, *āpīṣu* 'kinsmen', *ṛṣīṣu*, *khādīṣu* 'rings', *gīrīṣu*, *nidhīṣu*, *paṭhīṣu*, *paṇīṣu*, *yōnīṣu*, *raśmīṣu*, *śubhrīṣu*, *sarīṣu*.

f. This form is made from 21 stems, all but three of which (*a-vyāthī-*, *jānī-*, *śubhrī-*) end in *-ti-*: *abhi-mātīṣu* 'plots', *a-vyāthīṣu*, *iṣṭīṣu*, *ūtīṣu*, *ṛṣṭīṣu*, *krītīṣu*, *ksītīṣu*, *gḍv-iṣṭīṣu*, *jānīṣu*, *dīv-iṣṭīṣu* 'devotions', *devā-hūtīṣu*, *pārīṣṭīṣu* 'distresses', *puṣṭīṣu*, *prā-ṇīṣu*, *prā-tūṛīṣu* 'speedy motions', *prā-yuktīṣu*, *prā-sastīṣu* (VS. I. 7. 7¹; VS. IX. 6) 'praises', *yāma-hūtīṣu*, *rātīṣu*, *vyūṣṭīṣu*, *śubhrīṣu*, *sātīṣu*. The form *nārīṣu*¹⁰ is a transfer from the *i*-declension.

n. The only example that occurs is *bhūrīṣu*.

¹ Once accented *ṛyībhyas* in Valakhilya XI. 6, doubtless an error.

² Not accented as a monosyllabic stem.

³ With wrong accent for *asthībhyas*; cp. *asthībhyas* (VS. XXIII. 44).

⁴ Val. 5⁸; BK. and GRASSMANN would read *matītām*, which is actually the reading of the Kashmir Ms.; SCHEFFLEWITZ, Die Apokryphen des Rgveda 40.

⁵ See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 24⁶.

⁶ Also the numeral *trīṇām*.

⁷ In about a dozen out of 128 occurrences resolution of *-ām* to *-ām* seems necessary.

⁸ Resolution of *-ām* to *-ām* seems to be necessary in 4 out of 98 occurrences.

⁹ Wrong accent for *arātītām*.

¹⁰ On the other hand *svāhā-krītīṣu* is a transfer from this to the *i*-declension.

5. a. Radical ū-stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400—419. — WHITNEY, Grammar 348—352.

38a. This declension comprises strictly speaking only m. and f. stems; for the few distinctively n. forms which occur are made only from stems in which the *u* is shortened and which therefore in form belong to the *ū*-declension. The normal endings, as they appear in the inflexion of consonant stems, are taken throughout. The G. pl., however, adds the ending *-nam* to compound stems¹; and the N. sing. always has *-r*.

This declension contains seven monosyllabic stems, one of which is m., five f., and one m. and f.; two reduplicated f. substantives and one adjective; and about 60 compounds, almost exclusively adjectives, made with the roots *ja-* 'speed', *dyū-* (*dīy-*) 'play', *pū-* 'purify', *bhū-* 'be', *sū-* 'swell', *sū-* 'bring forth', *hū-* 'call', and with the modified forms *krū-*, *gū-* 'go', *drū-* 'run', *sū-* 'drip', which may be treated as roots. The stems occurring are: 1. monosyllables: m. *jū-* 'speeding', 'steed', *sū-* 'begetter'; f. *dū-* 'gift', *bhū-* 'earth', *bhrū-* 'brow', *sū-* 'mother', *syū-* 'thread' (VS.), *sri-* 'stream'. 2. reduplicated stems: *jūhū-* 'tongue', *jūhū-* 'sacrificial spoon', *jūgū-* 'singing aloud'. 3. compounds (in the alphabetical order of the roots): *apt-jū-* 'impelling', *kaso-jū-* 'hastening to the water (?)', N. of a man, *dhi-jū-* 'inspiring the mind', *nabho-jū-* 'cloud-impelling', *mano-jū-* 'swift as thought', *yātu-jū-* 'incited by demons', *vayo-jū-* 'stimulating strength', *vasū-jū-* 'procuring goods', *viśva-jū-* 'all-impelling', *sadyo-jū-* 'quickly speeding', *śnā-jū-* 'swift as an arrow'. — *eka-dyū-* m. N. of a seer, *kama-dyū-* f. N. of a woman. — *agre-pū-*² 'drinking first', *udā-pū-* 'purified by water', *keta-pū-* (VS. TS.) 'purifying the will', *ghṛta-pū-* 'clarifying ghee', *madhu-pū-* 'purifying itself by sweetness', *vāta-pū-* 'purified by the wind', *viśvā-pū-* m. N. of a man, *su-pū-* 'clarifying well', *sva-pū-* 'broom'. — *an-ūbhū-* 'disobedient', *abhi-bhū-* 'superior', *ā-bhū-* 'present', *pari-bhū-* 'surrounding', *punar-bhū-* 'being renewed', *puro-bhū-* 'being in front', *pra-bhū-* 'excelling', *mayo-bhū-* 'causing pleasure', *vi-bhū-* 'far-extending', *viśva-bhū-* 'being everywhere', *viśvā-sambhū-* 'beneficial to all', *śam-bhū-* 'beneficent', *sacā-bhū-* 'associate', *su-bhū-* 'good', *svayam-bhū-* 'self-existing', *sv-abhū-* 'helping well'. — *sarā-sū-* 'exultant with liquor'. — *a-sū-* 'not bringing forth', *a-sūsū-* (AV.) 'barren', *nava-sū-* 'having recently calved', *pārva-sū-* 'bringing forth first', *prā-sū-* 'bringing forth', *yama-sū-* 'bringing forth twins', *raha-sū-* 'bringing forth secretly', *rāja-sū-* 'king-creating', *viśva-sū-* 'all-generating', *vira-sū-* 'hero-bearing', *sakṛt-sū-* 'bringing forth once', *su-sū-* 'bringing forth easily'. — *ū-hū-* 'invoking', *u-hū-*³ 'crying aloud', *varṣā-hū-* (VS.) f., *sumna-hū-* (TS.) 'invoking favour', *su-hū-* (VS.) 'invoking well'. — *mitra-kṛū-* f. a kind of demon. — *agre-gū-*⁴ 'moving forwards'. — *raghu-drū-* 'running swiftly'⁵. — *ghṛta-sū-*⁶ 'dripping ghee'⁶.

a. Vocalic pronunciation. Before vowels the *ū* has regularly a vocalic value in pronunciation. In monosyllabic stems it is always written as *ur*; generally also in compounds even when preceded by a single consonant. In the minority of compounds (some 9 stems in the RV.) it is written as *v*, but pronounced as a vowel. In the latter instances it is always given as *u* below; e. g. *vibhū* as *vibhūā*.

b. Accentuation. Except in the monosyllabic stems, which follow the general rule, the accent remains throughout on the same syllable, which is almost always the radical one.

¹ The monosyllabic and the reduplicated stems, on the other hand, added *-ām*, as far as can be inferred from *bhuvām* and *jāyivām*, the only examples which occur.

² *pū-* here = *pū-* 'drink'.

³ Perhaps an onomatopoeic word.

⁴ *gū-* here = *gū-* 'go'.

⁵ Cp. LANMAN 402.

⁶ About a dozen of the above compounds (all but 3 or 4 of them being formed with *bhū-*) also shorten the final of the stem, which is then inflected like an *ū*-stem.

Inflexion.

383. The inflexion is identical in the m. and f. Several of the cases do not occur at all in the m., viz. Ab. L. V. sing., I. D. Ab. G. L. du., D. Ab. pl. In the monosyllabic stems several cases are wanting in both genders, viz. A. D. V. sing., and all the cases of the pl. except the N. A. G. The forms actually occurring, if made from *bhū-* f. 'earth' and the adjectives *ābhū-* 'present' and *vi-bhū-* 'far-reaching', would be as follows:

1. Sing. N. *bhūs*. I. *bhuvā*. Ab. *bhuvās*. G. *bhuvās*. L. *bhuvā* (VS.). Du. N. *bhīvā*. I. *bhūbhyām* (VS.). L. *bhuvās*. Pl. N. *bhīvas*. A. *bhīvas*. G. *bhuvām* (VS.).

2. Sing. N. *ābhūs*; *vibhūs*. A. *ābhīvam*; *vibhīvam*. I. *ābhīvā*; *vibhīvā*. D. *ābhīve*; *vibhīve*. Ab. f. *vibhīas* (AV.). G. m. *ābhīvas*.

Du. N. A. *ābhīvā*. Pl. N. *ābhīvas*; *vibhīas*. A. m. f. *ābhīvas*; f. *vibhīas*. I. m. f. *ābhūbhīs*. G. m. f. *ābhūbhm*. L. m. f. *ābhūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *jūs* (VS. IV. 17), *sās*; *eka-dyūs*, — *uda-pūs* (AV.), *keta-pūs* (VS. IX. 1; TS. IV. 1. 1³), *madhu-pūs* (AV.), *vāta-pūs* (AV.), — *abhi-bhūs*, *pari-bhūs*, *puro-bhūs*, *pra-bhūs* (AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *vi-bhūs* (AV.), *viśvā-sambhūs*, *śam-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *sacā-bhūs*, *su-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *svayam-bhūs*. — *sumna-hūs* (TS. IV. 6. 3⁴), *su-hūs* (VS. I. 30) 'invoking well'. — f. *bhūs*, *sūs*, *syūs* (VS. V. 21); *juhūs* (AV. VS.), — *kama-dyūs*, — *abhi-bhūs* (AV.), *punar-bhūs*, *pra-bhūs* (VS. AV.), *mayo-bhūs*, *śam-bhūs* (AV.). — *pra-sūs* (AV.), *yama-sūs*, *raha-sūs*, *vīra-sūs*, *su-sūs*, — *varṣā-hūs* (VS. XXIV. 38) 'frog'.

A. m. 1. *kaśo-jīvam*, *mano-jīvam*, *vasū-jīvam*; *abhi-bhīvam* (AV.), *ābhīvam*, *mayo-bhīvam*, *viśvā-sambhūvam*, *śambhīvam*, *sacā-bhīvam*, *su-ābhīvam*; 2. *viṣṇi-pīvam*; *vi-bhīvam*, *su-bhīvam*. — f. *juhīvam* 'sacrificial spoon'; 1. *kama-dyūvam*, *viśvā-jīvam*, *sacā-bhīvam*; 2. *a-sīvam*, *viśvā-sīvam* (AV.), *akṛt-sīvam*.

I. m. 1. *mano-jīvā*, *senā-jīvā*, *su-ābhīvā*; 2. *vi-bhīvā*. — f. *bhuvā*; *juhīvā* 'tongue' and 'spoon'; 1. *punar-bhīvā* (AV.), *mayo-bhīvā* (TS. I. 8. 3¹; VS. III. 47). — n. 1. *mayo-bhīvā*; 2. *su-pūā* (VS. I. 3).

D. m. 1. *abhi-bhīve*, *vi-bhīve* (VS. XXII. 30), *viśvā-bhīve*, *sacā-bhīve*; 2. *viśvā-pīve*, *vi-bhīve*, *su-bhīve*.

Ab. f. *bhuvās*; *a-sāsīas* (AV.). — G. m. *śam-bhīvas*, *sacā-bhīvas*². — f. *bhuvās*. — L. f. *bhuvā* (VS.). — V. f. *jūhu* (AV.).

Du. N. A. m. *mano-jīvā*; *mayo-bhīvā*, *śam-bhīvā*, *sacā-bhīvā*; *ghṛta-mīvā*³. — f. *srīvā*; *apti-jīvā*; *punar-bhīvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvā*, *viśvā-sambhūvā* (VS. X. 9), *śambhūvā*, *sacā-bhīvā*. — I. f. *bhūbhyām* (VS.). — L. f. *bhuvās*.

Pl. N. m. *jīvas*; 1. *ś-duvas*, *ā-bhīvas*, *u-hīvas*, *nabho-jīvas*, *pari-bhīvas*, *mano-jīvas*, *mayo-bhīvas*, *raghu-drīvas*, *vayo-jīvas*, *śam-bhīvas*, V. *sacā-bhūvas* (VS. III. 47), *sadyo-jīvas*, *su-bhīvas*, *sv-ābhīvas*⁴; 2. *vi-bhīvas*, *su-bhīvas*; *sura-sīas*. — f. *dīvas*, *bhīvas*; *juhīas* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; 1. V. *agre-gūvas* (VS.), V. *agre-pūvas* (VS.), *dhi-jīvas*, *punar-bhīvas*, *mayo-bhīvas*, *mitra-kṛīvas*; V. *viśvā-sambhūvas* (VS. IV. 7); 2. *ghṛta-pīas*, *nava-sīas*, *pra-sīas*, *vi-bhīas*, *su-bhīas*.

A. m. *ān-ābhūvas*, *mayo-bhīvas*⁵. — f. *dīvas*, *bhīvas*; *ā-bhīvas*, *ā-hīvas*,

¹ The transition form *a-sēm* (VS.) under the influence of the derivative *i-* stems also occurs. The form *ayogām* (VS. XXX. 5) is perhaps of the same kind.

² The AV. has also the transition form *punar-bhīvā-ās*.

Inlo-rische Philologie. I, 4.

³ Cp. LANMAN 413 (middle).

⁴ There are also the transfers from the u-declension *ā-prāyūvas*, *madhyāyūvas*, *mitrā-yūvas*, *śrūmayūvas*.

⁵ In II. 14³ *jūs* is perhaps contracted for *jūas*.

ghṛta-sū́vas, *mayo-bh'vas*, *sanj-śúvas*; *pra-súas*, *rāja-s'as* (VS. X. 1) 'king-creating', *vi-bh'as*¹.

I. m. *ā-bhū́bhis*. — f. *juhū́bhis* 'tongues' and 'spoons'; *sva-pū́bhis*.

G. m. *jīgvaṁ*; *yātu-jīṁṁ*. — f. *bhuvā́m*² (VS. XXXVII. 18); *pārva-sā́nṁ*.

L. m. *ā-bhū́su*, *puru-bhū́su* 'appearing to many'. — f. *pra-sū́su*.

5. b. Derivative *ū*-stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400-419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 355-359, 362-364.

384. This declension is almost entirely restricted to f.³ stems, which (like the derivative or B group of the radical *i*-declension) accent the final vowel and in inflexion are practically identical with the radical stems. The f. stems which it comprises may be divided into two groups. The first contains about 18 oxytone f. substantives corresponding in several instances to m. or n. stems in *-u* accented on the first syllable: *a-grū-* (m. *a-gru-*) 'maid', *kadrū-* (m. *kādrū-* 'brown') 'Soma vessel', *kuhū-* (AV.) 'new moon', *guggulī-* (n. *gūggulu-*) (AV.) N. of an Apsaras, *guṅgū-* N. of a goddess, *camū-* 'bowl', *jatī-* (n. *jatu-*) (AV. VS.) 'bat', *tanū-* 'body', *dhanū-* (*dhinu-*) 'sandbank' (AV.), *nabhanū-* 'well', *nrīṭū-* 'dancer', *prḍakū-* (m. *prḍaku-*) 'serpent' (AV.), *prajanī-* (AV.) 'organ of generation', *vadhū-* 'bride', *svasrū-* (m. *śvasura-*) 'mother-in-law', *saranyī-* N. of a goddess; also *kyāmbū-*⁴ (n. *kiyāmbu-*) an aquatic plant (AV.). The second group comprises oxytone f. adjectives corresponding to m. oxytones: *amhoyū-* 'troublesome', *aghryī-* 'malicious', *apasyī-* 'active', *abhi-dipsā-* 'wishing to deceive', *avasyī-* 'desiring favour', *asita-jñū-* (AV.) 'black-kneed', *ayū-* 'active', *udanyī-* 'seeking water', *caranyū-* 'movable', *carisyū-* 'moving', *jighatsī-* 'hungry', *tanī-* 'thin', *didhīṣū-* 'wishing to gain', *dur-haṇyī-* 'meditating harm', *duvasyū-* 'worshipping', *devayū-* (VS.) 'devoted to the gods', *dravitnū-* 'speeding', *patayālū-* 'flying', *panasyī-* 'glorious', *pārayiṣṇū-* 'victorious', *prtanīyū-* 'hostile', *prtanīyū-* 'tender', *phalgī-* 'reddish', *bubhrū-* 'reddish brown', *bibhatsī-* 'loathing', *makhasyū-* 'cheerful', *madhū-*⁵ 'sweet', *mandrayī-* 'gladdening', *mahlyū-* 'joyous', *mumukṣū-* 'wishing to free', *vacasyū-* 'eloquent', *vi-panyī-* 'admirer', *sundhyū-* 'radiant', *santīyū-* 'wishing for gain', *sūdayitnī-* 'yielding sweetness'; also *sū-drū-* 'having good wood' (*dru-*)⁶.

a. Vocalic pronunciation. Before vowels the *ū* has almost invariably a vocalic value in pronunciation. It is written as *uv* in the substantives *agrū-* and *kadrū-*, and in adjectives when the *ū* is preceded by *y*, also in *bibhatsī-*⁷. Otherwise though always written as *v* it is (except four or five times at the most in the RV.)⁸, here also to be pronounced as a vowel. Hence the forms written in the Samhitā with simple *v* are given below with *ū*.

b. Accentuation. The derivative *ū*-stems not only accent the final syllable⁹ but

¹ VS. XXIV. 25 has the form *ścī-pū* a kind of bird.

² In the V. *vīśvīṣāṁ bhūvāṁ pātē*.

³ There are only five m. forms: N. *prāsū* 'guest', *ātaptā-tanū* 'whose body is not cooked', *sūrva-tanū* (AV.) 'whose body is entire'; A. *kyā-dāśū* a kind of demon; I. pl. *mākṣūbhis* 'swift'.

⁴ This is the only f. stem in this declension not accented on the final vowel; but TA. VI. 4¹ has the normally accented *kyāmbū-*.

⁵ The corresponding m. in this instance is not oxytone, *mādhu*.

⁶ Also as a substantive f. 'good beam'. BR. and pw. however regard *sū-drū* as A. of a m. substantive *sū-drū-* 'starkes Holz'.

⁷ This is the regular practice in the TS. even when a single consonant precedes the *ū*, e. g. *tanū-am*; cp. IS. 13, 105 f.

⁸ *tanū* 3 times. *camvū* once, *tanvū* perhaps once; cp. LANMAN 408 (top).

⁹ Except the f. *kyāmbū-* (AV.) and the two m. Bahuvrīhis *ātaptā-tanū-* and *sūrva-tanū-*.

retain the accent on that syllable throughout their inflexion. In this respect they agree with the B group of the radical *i*-declension and differ from the ordinary derivative *i*-declension.

c. Transition forms. There is an incipient tendency here to be affected by the analogy of the derivative *i*-stems. The only certain example in the RV. is the L. *ivānuim* (X. 854^b) for **ivānuī*; the L. *dravīnuā* is perhaps another instance¹. But the AV. has at least 10 such forms: A. *kuhām*, *tanām*, *vadhām*; D. *agrīvai*, *vadhvī*, *svāstrūdi*; Ab. *punar-bhūvās*; G. *urvānuās*² 'gourd', *prākuās*, *svāstrūās*; I. *tanām*. The VS. has A. *pum̐calīm*. D. *tanvāi*, G. *tanvās*.

Inflexion.

385. In the I. sing. the *-i* may be dropped in the RV. In the later Saphitās *-m* sometimes appears in the A. for *-am*, and *-ai*, *-ās*, *-ām* are occasionally taken as the endings of the D. G. L. respectively. The ending *-ām* appears once in the RV. also. The forms actually occurring, if made from *tanū* f. 'body', would be as follows:

Sing. N. *tanūs*. A. *tanīam*. I. *tanūā*. D. *tanūe*. Ab. *tanūas*. G. *tanūas*. L. *tanūi* and *tanū*. V. *tanū*.

Du. N. A. *tanūā*. D. *tanūbhyām*. L. *tanūos*.

Pl. N. *tanūas*. A. *tanūas*. I. *tanūbhis*. D. *tanūbhyas*. G. *tanūnam*. L. *tanūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are:

Sing. N. m. *prāsūs*, *ā-tapta-tanūs*, *sīrva-tanūs* (AV.). — f. *asita-jñūs* (AV.), *kuhūs* (TS. AV.), *kyāmbūs*³ (AV.), *guggulūs* (AV.), *guṅgūs*, *jatūs* (VS.), *tanūs*, *dhanūs* (AV.), *nyūūs*, *patayālīs* (AV.), *prākūs* (AV.), *phalgūs* (VS. xxiv. 4), *madhūs* (AV.), *vadhūs*, *sundhyūs*, *svāstrūs*, *saranyūs*.

A. m. *krkadāshīam*⁴. — f. *carīṣṇām*, *jighatsūam* (AV.), *tanīam*⁵, *prākūam*⁶ (AV.), *vadhūam*, *su-drūam*⁷; *avasyūvam*, *dur-haṇyūvam*, *devayūvam* (VS. I. 12), *makhasyūvam*, *vacasyūvam*, *sundhyūvam*, *su-drūvam* (SV.). — With ending *-m* for *-am*: *kuhīm* (TS. AV.), *tanīm* (TS. AV.), *pum̐calīm* (VS. xxx. 5), *vadhīm* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5¹).

I. f. *tanūā*⁸, *vadhūā*; *dvavasyūvā*. — D. f. *tanūe*⁹. — With ending *-ai*: *agrīvai* (AV.), *tanvūi* (VS. xxiii. 44), *bābhvūi* (VS. xx. 28), *vadhvūi*¹⁰ (AV.), *svāstrūdi* (AV.). — Ab. f. *kadrīvas*; *tanūas*.

G. f. *agrīvas*, *sundhyīvas*; *tanūas*¹¹, *vadhūas*. — With ending *-ās*: *tanvās* (VS. iii. 17), *prākūās* (AV.), *svāstrūās* (AV.).

L. f. *canūi*, *tanūi*¹². — Without ending: *canū*¹³, *tanū*¹⁴. — With ending *-am*: *svāstrūām*; *tanvām*¹⁵ (AV.), *tanūvām*¹⁶ (TS. I. 7. 12²).

V. f. *bābhru*, *vādhu*.

¹ Because the accent is shifted to the ending as in the derivative *i*-declension; cp. LANMAN 404.

² See LANMAN 4111.

³ The TA. has the normal accentuation *kyāmbū*; the corresponding stem in the RV. is *kyāmbū* n.

⁴ That the word is m. is probable because *sīrvaam* seems to agree with it (I. 297). The A. m. *āhīruam* 'fearless' is a transfer from the *u*-declension.

⁵ The AV. has *tanvām* once, *tanīam* 16 times. The TS. regularly has *tanīvam* (I. 8. 10², etc.).

⁶ The Mss. all read *prākūvam*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. x. 4¹⁷.

⁷ As an adj. in vii. 32²⁰, 'made of good wood'; as a subst. in x. 28⁸ 'good beam'.

⁸ The AV. has *tanūi* 4 times, *tanvū* 5

times. The TS. has *tanvū* (I. 1. 10² etc.) In RV. x. 24¹ *canū* is once perhaps a contracted I; see LANMAN 409 (top).

⁹ The AV. has *tanūe* 6 times, *tanvū* 7 times. The TS. has *tanūe*.

¹⁰ The AV. has *vadhvūi* and *vadhūi* once each.

¹¹ The AV. has *tanūas* 10 times, *tanvās* 4 times. The TS. has *tanūvas*.

¹² Three or four times *tanūi*, metrically lengthened (the Pada has I); cp. LANMAN 411 (bottom). The TS. (iv. 3. 13²) has *tanūvi*.

¹³ *canū* occurs 6 times, *canūi* once.

¹⁴ *tanū* occurs once, *tanūi* 3 times.

¹⁵ This should doubtless be read *tanvām*; see LANMAN 412.

¹⁶ This form in TS. iv. 2. 6³ is a variant for the G. sing. *tanvās* of RV. x. 97¹⁰.

Du. N. A. f. *camūā, tanūā*. — D. f. *hanūbhyaṃ*? (TS. VII. 3. 16'). — L. *camūas*?

Pl. N. f. 1. *agrīvas; camūas, jātiās (AV.), tanūas¹, pṛāktās (AV.), prajānīas (AV.)*. — 2. *amho-yīvas, apasyīvas, avasyīvas, ayīvas, udanyīvas, zaranyīvas (AV.), didhīās, panasyīvas, pṛayīśnīas, pṛtanāyīvas, pṛsanāyīvas, bibhāśīvas, makhasīvas, mandrayīvas, mahīyīvas, mumukṣīas, sanāyīvas, sūdayitnīas*. — *yuva-yīs* (IV. 41^b), agreeing with N. f. *dhiyas*, appears to be a contracted form for *-yū-as*?

A. f. 1. *agrīvas; tanūas², nabhanīas, vadhiās³*. — 2. *abhi-dipsīas, dravītīas; vi-panyīvas, sūdhīyīvas⁴*. — I. m. *makṣābhīs*?. — f. *tanūbhīs*. — D. f. *tanūbhyaṃ*. — G. f. 1. *tanūnām, vadhinām* — 2. *aghīyūnām*⁵ (AV.), *babhrānām, bibhāśīnām*.

L. f. 1. *camūsu, tanūsu*. — 2. *babhrīsu*.

6. a. Radical *u*- stems.

386. There are not many *u*- stems derived from roots originally ending in *-u*, as several of these (about nine) have joined the consonant declension by adding the determinative *-t*¹¹. Some eight stems are, however, formed from roots in *-u*, all of them but one (*dyū-*) being compounds. These are: *dyū-* 'day', *abhi-dyū-* 'heavenly'; *miti-dru-*¹² 'firm-legged', *raghu-dri-* 'running swiftly'; *ī-prā-yu-*¹³ 'assiduous'; *ādhrī-gu-*¹⁴ 'irresistible', *vanar-gū-* 'forest-roaming'; *su-śhū-* 'highly praised'¹⁵. There are besides some 12 stems in which *u* is radical in a secondary sense as representing the shortened form of the vowel of three roots ending in *-ū*¹⁶. These are: *dhi-jū-* 'inspiring the mind', from *jā-* 'impel'; *su-pū-* 'clarifying well', from *pū-* 'purify'; and compounds of *bhū-* 'be': *ī-prā-bhū-* 'powerless', *abhi-bhū-* 'superior', *ā-bhū-* 'empty', *ud-bhū-* 'persevering', *pari-bhū-* 'surrounding', *puru-bhū-* 'appearing in many places', *pra-bhū-* 'powerful', *mayo-bhū-* 'delighting', *vi-bhū-* 'far-extending', *śam-bhū-* 'beneficent', *su-bhū-* 'good'.

387. The inflexion of these words is identical with that of derivative *u*- stems. Forms which occur are the following:

Sing. N. m. *ādhrī-gus, ī-prā-bhus, pra-bhūs, mayo-bhūs, miti-drus, vanar-gūs, vi-bhūs, śam-bhūs*¹⁷. — n. *ī-prā-bhu, ī-prāyu, ā-bhū, ud-bhū* (AV.), *pra-bhū, mayo-bhū, raghu-dri, vi-bhū, śam-bhū, su-bhū*.

A. m. *ādhrī-gum, abhi-dyum, abhi-bhūm* (AV.), *ā-bhūm, pra-bhīm, vi-bhūm*¹⁸. I. m. *mayo-bhīmā*. — n. *su-pūnā* (AV.).

¹ There are also two m. transfers from the *u*- declension, *madhūyevā* and *śatvā*; cp. LANMAN 403 and 413 (mid).

² This is really a transition form from the derivative *u*- declension.

³ *camūas* occurs 14 times, *camūas* possibly once (IX. 96²¹).

⁴ Once *tanūas*; see LANMAN 408 (top). The TS. has *tanūas*.

⁵ On *ratha-yīs* (X. 70⁵) standing possibly for *-yū-as* = *yū-as*, see LANMAN 415².

⁶ RV. 20 times, AV. 3 times (*tanūas*); RV. twice, AV. once (*tanūas*). The TS. has *tanūas*. On WEBER's conjecture (IS. 13, 58) *vitvās* as A. pl. of **viśū-* see LANMAN 416³.

⁷ The Mss. of the AV. once read *badhvās* (= *vadhūas*).

⁸ On *ratha-yīs* (VII. 2⁵) for *-yū-as* = *yū-as*, see LANMAN 416³. The VS. (XXI. 25) has *jatūs*.

⁹ This is only a metrical lengthening of the stem vowel (Pada *ū*).

¹⁰ Cp. LANMAN 418³.

¹¹ See above, stems in derivative *-t* (307).

¹² From *dru-* 'run'. On *śidru-* see WEBER's note on AV. XV. 7¹.

¹³ From *yu-* 'separate', 'keep away'.

¹⁴ 'going unrestrained', from *gu-* 'go' = *gū-*.

¹⁵ The words *sabar-dhū-* 'yielding nectar', and *ā-smṛta-dhru-* 'not caring for enemies', seem to be compounded with *-duh* (*-dhuk*) and *-druh* (*-dhruk*: see pw.).

¹⁶ They are therefore transfers from the radical *ū*- declension, all the N. A. neuters of which are thus formed.

¹⁷ *sabar-dhūs* (VS. V. 26, Kh. IV. 5²⁰) = *sabar-dhūt*.

¹⁸ *sabar-dhūm* A. f. = *sabar-dūham*.

- D. m. *ādhrī-gave*, *abhī-dyave*.
 G. m. *pra-bhōs*, *su-ṣṭōs*. — L. n. *ud-bhāu* (VS. xv. 1), *mitā-drau*.
 V. m. *adhri-go*, *pra-bho* (AA. iv. 1 = Kh. v. 4)¹.
 Du. N. A. V. m. *ādhrī-gā²*, *abhī-dyā* (Kh. i. 3³), *pari-bhū* (AV.), *puru-bhū*, *puru-bhū*, *vanar-gū*, *śam-bhū*, *śam-bhū*.
 Pl. N. m. *ādhrī-gāvas³*, *abhī-dyavas*, *dhi-jāvas*, *mitā-dravas⁴*, *vi-bhūvas*,
 V. *vi-bhū-as⁵*. — n. *mayo-bhū*.
 A. m. *mayo-bhūn*, *dyūn*, *vi-bhūn* (VS. xx. 23).
 I. m. *dyūbhis*; *ā-prā-yubhis*, *abhī-dyubhis*, *vanar-gūbhis* (AV.), *vi-bhūbhis*.

6. b. Derivative *u-* stems.

LANMAN, Noun-Inflection 400-419. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 335-346.

388. This declension embraces a large number of nouns of all genders. The masculine stems greatly preponderate, being about four times as numerous as the feminine and neuter stems taken together; while the neuters considerably outnumber the feminines. Thus the N. and A. sing. are formed by about 430 stems in the m., by 68 in the n., and by 46 in the f. in the RV. The normal inflexion which is practically the same in all genders, except the N. A. sing. du. pl. n., is closely parallel to that of the *i-* stems (380). The stem takes Guna in the same cases; but while in the *i-* declension only one word (*ari-*) ever uses the unmodified stem, 8 or 9 words may do so here. The endings, too, are closely analogous; but while in the *i-* declension the ending of the L. sing. is always dropped, it is here retained in several words; and while the *u-* declension has affected only the I. sing. of the *i-* declension, it has here affected all the other cases of the singular which take vowel endings. Finally, the accentuation is exactly parallel to that of the *i-* stems.

a. Adjectives in *-u* often use this stem for the feminine also; e. g. *cāru-* 'dear'; otherwise they form the f. in *-ū*, as *tanū-m.*, *tanū-f.* 'thin'; or in *-ī*, as *urū-m.*, *urū-f.* 'broad', *prthū-m.*, *prthū-f.* 'broad', *bahū-m.*, *bahū-f.* 'much', *mrđū-* (AV.) m., *mrđū-f.* (VS.) f. 'soft'.

b. The 8 stems which are analogous to *ari-* in having forms that attach the normal endings to the unaltered stem are: *paśū-*, *pitū-*; *kṛtū-*, *krātū-*, *mādhu-*, *vāsū-*, *śisū-*, *śakū-*, *a-bhū-*.

c. Oxytone stems when the final vowel is changed to *v*, throw the accent on a following vowel not as Svarita but as Udatta; they also shift it to the *-ām* of the G. pl. even though the stem vowel does not in that case lose its syllabic value; e. g. *paśū-nām*.

d. Transition forms. 1. There are in the RV. only three forms which follow the analogy of the derivative *i-* declension: D. *īv-ai*, G. *īv-ās*, *su-vāstr-ās*, all in late passages; the AV. also has *rājju-ām*⁶. — 2. Transitions to the *ū-* declension appear in the A. *ā-bhūvam*, from *ā-bhūv-*, and in several words formed with the suffix *-ju* which make their N. pl. or du. as *-yuzus*, *-yavā*. — 3. Besides some 46 I. forms m. and n. sing., there are several transitions to the *u-* declension in the remaining cases of the sing., all neuter forms (except the m. G. *cāruyas*; D. *mādhun*; Ab. *mādhunas*, *śāmunas*; G. *cāruyas*, *śāmunas*, *drūyas*, *mādhunas*, *vāsunas*; L. *āyuni*, *śānuni*; also a few other forms from the later Saṃhitās.

Inflexion.

389. The N. sing. m. f. always takes *-s*, the A. simply *-m*. The D. Ab. G. sing. sometimes attach the normal endings to the unmodified stem; but

¹ In the f. V. *prthū-ṣṭā* 'broad-tufted', the radical *ū-* declension *ā-prāyavas*, *raghū-* of the stem *stū-* = *stūkū-* 'tuft' may be radical. *drūvas*.

² *ā-smpta-dhrū* = *āsmpta-druhā*.

³ For *ādhrī-gāvas* owing to the false analogy of *gāvas* 'cows'.

⁴ There are also the forms according to

⁵ See LANMAN 414².

⁶ The Mss. in AV. vi. 121² read *rājvām*, the only form of this word which occurs in the RV. is the N. sing. *rājju*.

they generally gunate the stem, which then adds only *-s* instead of *-as* in the Ab. G. The L. sing. sometimes gunates the stem and adds *-i*, but generally takes Vrddhi without an ending. The V. always gunates the stem. The N. pl. m. f. nearly always gunates the *-u*, to which the normal ending *-as* is added. The A. pl. in the m. adds *-n*, in the f. *-s*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The G. pl. always takes *-nām*, lengthening the preceding vowel. The N. A. V. du. m. f. have no ending, simply lengthening the final vowel. The adjective *mādhū* 'sweet' may be used to illustrate the forms actually occurring:

Sing. N. m. f. *mādhus*, n. *mādhū*. A. m. f. *mādhum*, n. *mādhū*. I. m. f. n. *mādhvā*, m. n. *mādhunā*. D. m. f. n. *mādhave*, m. *mādhve*. Ab. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*, n. *mādhunas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhos*, m. n. *mādhvas*; n. *mādhunas*. L. m. f. n. *mādhau*, m. n. *mādhavi*, n. *mādhuni*. V. m. f. *mādho*, n. *mādhū*. Du. N. A. V. m. f. *mādhū*, n. *mādhvī*. I. m. *mādhubhyām*. D. m. *mādhubhyām*. Ab. m. n. *mādhubhyām*. G. m. *mādhvos*, n. *mādhunos* (AV.). L. m. f. *mādhvos*.

Pl. N. V. m. f. *mādhavas*; *mādhvas*. N. A. n. *mādhū*, *mādhū*; *mādhūni*. A. m. *mādhūn*; *mādhvas*, f. *mādhūs*; *mādhvas*. I. m. f. n. *mādhubhis*. D. m. f. n. *mādhubhyas*. Ab. m. f. *mādhubhyas*. G. m. f. n. *mādhūnam*. L. m. f. n. *mādhūsu*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Sing. N. m. This form is very frequent, being made from 250 stems in the RV. and occurring nearly 900 times. The commonest examples are: *indus* (64) 'drop', *viṣṇus* (34) 'Viṣṇu', *su-krātus* (32) 'skilful', *vāsus* (25) 'good', *ketis* (23) 'brightness', *rbhīs* (21) 'deft', *vāyūs* (20) 'wind', *vīśvāyus* (18) 'kind to all men', *stūnīs* (18) 'son', *sīndhus* (17) 'river', *cārus* (16) 'dear', *asmayīs* (16) 'desiring us', *devayīs* (15) 'devoted to the gods', *mānus* (15) 'man'. — *īsus* 'arrow', otherwise f., is once (VIII. 66⁷) m.

a. The form *yās* 'moving' is perhaps a corruption in VIII. 18¹³, where BLOOMFIELD (JAOS. 1906, p. 72) would read, for *vīśiṣṭa yās*, *vīśiṣṭāyūr* = *vīśiṣṭa āyūr*.

b. In VII. 86³ *ādīkṣū* perhaps stands for *ādīkṣus+ūpo*; but the Pada reads *ādīkṣu*, and desiderative adjectives otherwise accent the final syllable; cp. LANMAN 405 (bottom).

f. This form is made from 31 stems and occurs 73 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *dhenūs* (22) 'cow', *sīndhus* (11), *sārus* (4) 'arrow', *vasūyūs* (3) 'desiring goods', *īsus* (2), *gātīs* (2) 'course', *cārus* (2), *jīvātus* (2) 'life'¹.

N. A. n. This form, which has no ending, is made from 68 stems and occurs over 400 times in the RV. The commonest examples are *mādhū* (77) ('sweetness'), *vāsu* (77) 'wealth', *urū* (51) 'wide', *cāru* (27), *sīnu* (18) 'summit', *prāhū* (15) 'broad', *tri-dhātū* (13) 'threefold', *purū* (13) 'much'. The RV. once has *pāsu* and the VS. (XXII. 30) *pāṣū* 'animal'. In other Saṃhitās occur *āṣū* (VS.) 'palate', *trāpu* (AV. VS.) 'tin'.

a. The final *-u* is metrically lengthened in *purū* (12 times), *mithū* (twice) 'wrongly', and *urū* (once)².

b. The metre seems to require the forms *āyu* (III. 49²), *jarānṛtyu* (AV. XIX. 30¹), *īṣṇū* (AV. III. 19¹), *pārayiṣṇū* (AV. VIII. 22⁶), *lohū* (AV. XX. 135¹²), instead of the corresponding forms with *-s*, *āyus* etc., of the Saṃhitā text.

A. m. This form is made from 179 stems and occurs over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *krātum* (55) 'ability', *ketim* (34), *gātūm* (33) 'course' and 'song', *indum* (27), *sītum* (26) 'child', *sīndhum* (22),

¹ LANMAN 406 enumerates the stems which form this N. ² The Pada text here always has *purū*, *mithū*, *urū*. Cp. RPr. VII. 9, 19, 31; IX. 3.

āsūm (20) 'swift', *urūm* (18), *manyūm* (18) 'wrath', *vāyūm* (18), *apśūm* (17) 'shoot', *sūnūm* (17), *dāsyūm* (15) 'fiend', *paśūm* (15), *bhānūm* (15) 'lustre', *hujyūm* (15) N. of a man, *sātrūm* (15) 'enemy'.

f. This form is made from 15 stems and occurs 50 times in the RV.: *ā-dhenuṃ* 'yielding no milk', *arund-ṣum* 'of ruddy appearance', *īsum*, *krīmum* N. of a river, *cārum*, *jāsum* 'resting-place', *jigatnūm* 'speeding', *ṣṛidānum* 'sprinkling abundantly', *ṣṛvātum*, *dhātum* 'sandbank', *dhenūm*, *bhujyīm* 'viper', *rasūyīm*, *sārum*, *sindhūm*.

l. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. Four stems in the RV. add the normal ending *-ā*, before which the *-u* is almost invariably pronounced as *v*: *paraś-ā* 'axe', *paśv-ā*; *krāt-ā*¹, *śīśv-ā*. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 30 stems in the RV. add *-nā* instead of the normal *-ā*: *ambhūnā*, *akṣhīnā* 'light', *an-āśīnā* 'not swift', *a-bandhīnā* 'kinless', *īdunā*, *īṣunā* (Kh. iv. 7³), *urūnā*, *ṛjīnā* 'straight', *ṛtīnā* 'fixed time', *ketīnā*, *krātunā*³, *catīnā* 'heed', *jiṣṣūnā* 'victorious', *tri-dhātunā*, *dhūmā-ketunā* 'smoke-bannered', *dhr̥ṣṇīnā* 'bold', *paśīnā*, *bhānīnā*, *mānunā*, *manyūnā*, *ripīnā* 'deceiver', *raḡnīnā* 'roar', *vahatīnā* 'bridal procession', *vāyīnā*, *vi-bhīndīnā* 'splitting', *viṣṇunā*, *vīṣa-ṣunā* 'of strong appearance', *sādīnā* 'straight', *su-ctīnā* 'benevolence', *sūnā* (TS. III. 2. 2¹) 'bridge', *stanayīnā* 'thunder', *śūnā*⁵ 'sunmit'.

f. This form is made from 7 stems in the RV. by adding the normal ending *-ī*, before which the *u* is pronounced as a vowel in five stems: *cikītvā* (AV.), *paṇvā* 'praise'; *ā-dhenvā*, *īṣvā* (AV.; Kh. iv. 5 3¹), *mādhvā*, *mehatvā* N. of a river, *r-ijjvā* (AV.) 'rope', *sūrūvā*, *su-sārtvā* N. of a river, *hānvā* 'jaw'.

a. Six oxytone stems and also *mīthu-* form instrumentals with interposed *-y-*; they are used adverbially with shift of accent to the ending: *am-ḡhuyā* 'immediately', *amuyā* 'thus', *āyā* 'quickly', *dhr̥ṣṇuyā* 'boldly', *ra-ḡhuyā* 'swiftly', *sādhyā* 'rightly'; *mīthuyā* 'falsely'.

n. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-ā* is added directly to the stem. Of this formation there is only one example: *mādhvā*⁴ 'honey'. — 2. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension 15 stems in the RV. add *-nā*: *urūnā*, *krādhīnā* 'defective', *ḡhṛtā-śunā* 'dripping with ghee', *jarīyūnā* 'after-birth', *śītānā* 'sieve', *ṛṣṇānā* 'greedy', *tri-dhātunā*, *dāmunā* 'fluid', *drīnā*⁵ 'wood', *dhr̥ṣṇīnā*, *purūrīnā* 'far and wide', *prthīnā*, *mādhunā*, *vīśunā*, *sānunā*, *svādīnā* 'sweet'.

D. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the unmodified stem in three words in the RV.: *krātvē*⁶, *śīśvē*, *sahāsra-bāhvē*⁷ 'having a thousand arms'. — 2. The ending *e* is added to the gunated final vowel in over 60 stems in the RV. The commonest examples are: *mānavē* (36), *vāydvē* (23), *viṣṇavē* (13), *manyūvē* (12), *āydvē* (10) 'living', *sāndvē* (10), *dāśavē* (9), *ripdvē* (7), *mṛtyūdvē* (6) 'death', *pūrdvē* (5)⁸ 'man'.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. from only three stems in the RV.: *ṣṛvādvē*, *dhenūdvē*, *sārvē*.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. The ending *-e* is added to the

¹ Twice out of 59 occurrences pronounced *krātū*. The form *krātū* occurs VS. xxx. 11, 72 and twice in the Khilas (III. 16³; v. 6³); and in Kh. iv. 5³ *krātū* is perhaps meant for *krātū*.

² For the *īṣvā* of AV. v. 5¹.

³ The form *krātunā* occurs 12 times, *krātū* 59 times, in the RV.

⁴ This form also occurs in VS. xx. 56 etc., TS. iv. 1. 8¹ (twice) and Kh. v. 6⁴.

⁵ The words *mī-* and *drī-* are not accented as monosyllabic stems because they are the reduced form of the disyllables *mīnu-* and *drīnu-*.

⁶ *krātvē* also occurs VS. xiv. 8; xxxviii. 28.

⁷ Pronounced *-bāhu-*.

⁸ LANMAN 409 enumerates the stems which take this dative.

unmodified stem in one word: *pāśv-e*¹. — 2. The ending *-e* is added to the gunated stem in two words: *urāve*, *viśvāyave*.

3. Owing to the influence of the *n*-declension *-ne* is added to the stem in one word in the RV.: *mādhune*. The AV. also has *kaśīpune* 'mat'.

Ab. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in one word only: *pitv-as* 'draught'. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the gunated stem in 20 words in the RV.: *amhās* 'distress', *adhvaryās* 'officiating priest', *ṛtās*, *krśānos* N. of a divine archer, *kaśīpānās* 'archer', *gāntās* 'course', *tanayitnās* 'thundering', *tanyatās* 'thunder', *devayās*, *ninitśās* 'wishing to blame', *pārās*, *babhrās* (Kh. v. 15¹¹) 'brown', *manyās*, *mṛtyās*, *irikṣās* 'wishing to injure', *vanīṣṭhās* 'intestine', *vāyās*, *vīśnās*, *sātros*, *śudhās*, *śuās*.

f. This case is made in the same way as the second form of the m. The only two examples are: *dhānos* and *vāstos* 'dawn'. There is also one transition form due to the influence of the *r*-declension: *īṣv-as*.

n. This case is made in three ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in one word only: *mādhvas*. — 2. The ending *-s* is added to the gunated stem: *urās*, *drās*², *mādhos* (Kh. iv. 12¹; TS. iv. 4. 12¹), *sānos*, *svādās*. — 3. Under the influence of the *n*-declension *-nas* is added to the stem: *mādhunas*, *śinunas*.

G. m. This case is made in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem in six words: *paśvās*, *pitvās*; *krītvās*, *mādhvas*, *vāsvas*, *śīsvas*³. — 2. The prevailing form is made by adding *-s* to the gunated stem, and appears in 70 words. The commonest examples are⁴: *āyās* (22), *vīśnās* (14), *śindhās* (13), *aktās* (11), *vāyās* (10), *dāsyaos* (8), *mīnos* (8), *śītros* (5), *kārās* (4) 'singer'.

a. There is a single transition form according to the *n*-declension *cāruṇas*, which occurs only once (VIII. 5¹⁴).

f. This case is formed in one way only, like the second form of the m., from 5 stems: *aktās*, *dhēnās*, *vāstos*, *sarāyos* N. of a river, *śindhās*.

n. This case is made like the Ab. n. 1. *mādhvas*⁵, *vāsvas*. — 2. The commonest form, made from 8 stems in the RV.: *urās*, *krās* 'food', *gūggulās* (AV.) 'bdellium', *cīros*, *mādhos* (+AV.), *vāsvos* (+AV.), *vāstos* (+AV.) 'dwelling', *sādhās*, *svādās*. — 3. *cāruṇas*, *dānunas*, *drūṇas*⁶, *mādhunas*⁷, *vāsunas*⁸.

L. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-i* is added to the gunated final vowel in 7 stems: *dnari* 'non-Aryan man', *trasādasyavi* N. of a king, *dāsyavi*, *druhydvi* N. of a man, *pāvitravi* N. of a man, *vīśnavi*, *śūndvi*. — 2. More usually the ending is dropped, leaving the final stem vowel with Vrddhi instead of Guṇa. This form of the L. is taken by 19 stems in the RV.: *aktū* 'at night', *āyū*, *urū*, *krītau*, *carū* 'pot', *druhytu*, *pārśau* N. of a man, *paśū*,

¹ The stem *pāśv-* occurs once in the N. as a neuter, and *pāśve* must owing to the accent be taken as the D. of that stem; the m. stem is *paśū-*, D. *paśūve*.

² The form *drās* also occurs in Kh. iv. 5¹¹.

³ Possibly 4 other words written with *-as*, should be pronounced with *-nas*: *dhyṇās* (x. 22³), *vīpās* (iv. 3¹³), *śīrṇās* (vi. 22²), *vīśṇās* (viii. 31¹⁰).

⁴ LANMAN 410 gives a list of the stems taking this form of the genitive.

⁵ Pronounced *mādhvas* twice out of 67 occurrences.

⁶ There is no certain evidence as to the gender of *drū-* 'wood', but, as it is a reduced form of *dāru-* which is n., it may be assumed to be n. There is also the form *drū-*.

⁷ *mādhvas* occurs 67 times, *mādhos* 13 times, *mādhunas* 9 times in the RV. The VS. has all three forms in independent passages.

⁸ *vāsvas* occurs 38 times, *vāsvos* 8 times, *vāsunas* 11 times in the RV.

phṣṣi-gau N. of a man, *phṣṣā-kratau* N. of a man, *pārdu*, *mānau* and *mandu*¹, *yādu* N. of a man, *śrīṣṣi-gau* N. of a man, *sindhau*, *sītau* 'bond', *svārau*² 'sacrificial post'.

f. This case is made in one way only, like the second form of the m. The only example in the RV. is *sindhau*; the AV. has *śīrau*³ and *sītau* 'birth'.

n. This case is formed in three ways. 1. With the ending *-i* added to the gunated stem only in *sānari*, which occurs 9 times. When the adjective *śīya-* or *ary-īya-* 'made of sheep's wool' immediately follows, the L. of this word appears as *sāno*. The Pada here always has *sīnau*, but as the metre requires a short syllable it seems likely that the ending has been dropped to avoid a disagreeable sequence of syllables in *sānary śīye*, but without leaving the lengthened form of the stem (*sānar*) because of the metre. A parallel form appears to be *vāsto* in the formula *vāsta usrās* 'at break of dawn', which occurs 5 times in the RV.⁴ — 2. As in the m., the usual form is that in *-au* formed from 8 stems: *a-rajjīdu* 'not consisting of ropes', *urūu*, *ghīṣṣau* 'lively', *prthūu*, *mādhau*, *vāsau*, *vīṣṣū* 'stronghold', *sīnau*. — 3. According to the *n-* declension: *śyuni*, *dīruni* (AV.), *drīni* (Kh. 1. 5¹⁰), *sānuni*⁵.

V. m. This case, which gunates the final vowel, is formed from 58 stems. The commonest examples are: *indo* (144), *vaso* (62), *śata-krato* (47) 'having a hundred powers', *vāyo* (43), *sāno* (36), *su-krato* (22)⁶.

f. This case which has the same form as the m., is made from 6 stems: *adri-sāno* 'dwelling on mountain tops', *dur-haṇo* 'ugly-jawed', *prthu-ṣo* 'having a broad tuft of hair', *sindhō*, *su-bāho* 'having strong arms', *sva-bhāno* 'self-luminous'.

n. The V. n. seems to have been identical in form with the N. judging by the only example which occurs: *gūggulu*⁷ (AV. XIX. 38²).

Du. N. A. V. m. This form, which is made by lengthening the final vowel, occurs from 69 stems. The commonest examples are: *indra-vāyā* (22) 'Indra and Vāyu', *vājīnt-vasā* (21) 'rich in swift mares', *bāhū* (20) 'arms', *vīṣṣan-vasā* (18) 'possessing great wealth', *indra-vīṣṣā* (13) 'Indra and Viṣṣu'. The TS. has also *agnā-vīṣṣā* (1. 8. 22¹) 'O Agni and Viṣṣu'. There are besides two forms in which the final vowel is shortened⁸: *jigatnū* (VII. 65¹) 'speeding' and *su-hāntu* (VII. 19¹)⁹ 'easy to slay'.

f. This form is made in the same way as the m. but is much rarer, occurring from 5 stems only: *jigatnō*, *dhenū*, *sū-bandhū* 'akin', *samānd-bandhū* 'having the same kin', *hāntū*.

n. This form adds the regular ending *-ī*. The only example in the RV. is *urī-ī*. The VS. has according to the *n-* declension *jānu-n-ī* (XX. 8) 'knees'.

I. m. *amśībhyām* (VS. VII. 1), *an-āmāyīnībhyām* 'curative', *nī-bāhībhyām* 'man's arms', *bāhībhyām*. — f. *hānūbhyām* (VS. XI. 78)¹⁰.

D. m. *indra-vāyībhyām* (VS. VII. 8), *indra-vīṣṣūbhyām* (VS. VII. 23), *bāhībhyām*.

¹ Accented *manāu* only when followed by *ādhi*.

² A possible m. L. with *n* would be *rajjūni*, an emendation for *rajani* of the Mss. (AV. XX. 133¹). For the reading of AV. XX. 131¹ *vanīṣṣū* the Mss. have *vanīṣṣā* which, if correct, would be a unique example of *-ā* in the L. of the *n-* declension.

³ Emendation for *śīrau* of the Mss.; see WHITNEY's note on AV. V. 25¹.

⁴ See KÆGLI, Festgruss an Böhlingk 48 f.

⁵ *sānari* occurs 9 times, *sāno* (*śīya*) 8 times, *sīnau* 10 times, *sānuni* once.

⁶ The V. *vāhāvāso* in Kh. II. 8² is wrongly accented.

⁷ The Mss. read *gūggulū* or *gūggulū*. See WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁸ In both Saṁhitā and Pada text.

⁹ The RV. three times has the curious A. m. du. *bāhāvā* = *bāhū* apparently from a stem *bāhāva-*.

¹⁰ *hānūbhyām*, a transition to the *ū-* stems, in TS. IV. 1. 10²; VII. 3. 16¹.

Ab. m. *arūbhyām* 'thighs', *bāhūbhyām*. — **n.** *jānubhyām* (AV.).

G. m. *arūś*¹, *bāhūś*¹. — **n.** according to the *n*-declension: *jānuś* (AV.).

L. m. *arvś* (AV.), *bāhvś*¹. — **f.** *hānvś*¹.

Pl. N. V. m. This case is formed in two ways. 1. The ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem. Of this formation the only example is *mādhv-as* (occurring 4 times). — 2. The ending *-as* is added to the gunated stem, e. g. *aktv-as*. This form is very frequent, being made from 161 stems and occurring over 700 times in the RV. The commonest examples are: *indavas* (67), *r̥bhāvas* (57), *vāsavas* (46), *sudānavas* (42) 'bounteous', *sindhavas* (34), *āsāvas* (30), *adhvāryavas* (27), *ayavas* (27), *karīvas* (18), *mītā-jhavas* (2) 'firm-kneed'.

f. This case is formed in the same two ways as the m. 1. Of this formation there are only two examples: *mādhv-as*, *sata-kratv-as*. — 2. The regular form is made from 15 stems in the RV.: *an-adrīvas* 'tearless', *d-bhīravas* 'fearless', *a-renīvas* 'dustless', *īśavas*, *tri-dhātavas*, *dhendvas*, *pārśavas*, *vashyīvas*, *śāravas*, *sanīśyīvas* 'desirous', *sā-manyavas* and *sa-manyavas* 'unanimous', *sindhavas*, *su-ketāvas*, *svi-setavas* 'forming one's own bridge', *hānavas*.

N. A. n. This form is made in two ways. 1. Twelve stems take no ending, four of them also lengthening the final vowel sometimes. These forms occur 76 times altogether in the RV., 48 times with short, 28 times with long vowel. The words occurring are: *urū*, *r̥jū*, *cāru*, *ti-dhātu*, *purū*², *bahū*, *mādhū*, *vāsu*, *vāhū*, *sānu*, *su-dhātu* 'manifold', *su-hāntu*; *urū*, *purū*³, *vāsu*⁴, *vāhū*. The Pada text always has the short vowel. — 2. The more usual form follows the *n*-declension, adding *-ni*, before which the final vowel is lengthened. It is made by 14 stems⁵ and occurs 127 times altogether in the RV.: *aghōyāni* (Kh. iv. 5¹) 'malicious', *anūni* (AV.) 'minute', *alībūni* (AV.)⁶ 'gourds', *īśrāni* (AV.) 'tears', *karkāndhūni* (VS. xix. 23) 'jujube berries', *cārāni*, *tri-dhātāni*, *dānāni* 'fluid', *dārāni*, *devayāni*, *purāni*, *prthāni*, *bahāni*, *mādhāni*, *yurayāni* 'longing for you both', *vāsūni*, *vāstāni*, *śindīrāni*, *sānūni*.

A. m. This case is made in two ways. 1. The normal ending *-as* is added to the unmodified stem. The only two examples of this formation are *paśū-as* and *kṛtī-as*⁷ 'times'. — 2. The usual form is made from 43 stems with the ending *-n*, before which the vowel is lengthened. The original ending *-ns* still survives as *-nr* 45 times before vowels and once as *-ni* before *ca*⁸. The commonest examples are *śātrun* (43), *dāsyūn* (27), *sindhūn* (23), *aktūn* (9), *r̥tūn* (8), *paśūn* (5)⁹. From the VS.: *ākhūn* (xxiv. 26) 'moles', *nyādhūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes', *madgūn* (xxiv. 22) 'diver-birds', *malimlūn* (xi. 78; TS.) 'robbers', *rūrūn* (xxiv. 27) 'antelopes'. From the Khilas: *hūn* (iii. 16⁹).

f. This like the m. is formed in two ways. 1. The only example is *mādhv-as*, which occurs twice. — 2. The ending *-s* is added, before which the vowel is lengthened. The only two examples in the RV. (occurring 5

¹ To be pronounced *arūś*, *bāhūś*, *hānuś* in the RV.

² *purū* seems to be the only form of this kind in the AV., where it occurs once (xix. 49¹).

³ *purū* occurs 24 times, *purū* 12 times (all but once at the end of a Pada).

⁴ *vāhū* occurs twice, *vāsu* 19 times (12 times at the end of a Pada).

⁵ Half of these also take the form without *n* in the RV.

⁶ The Mss. in AV. xx. 134¹ read *alībūni*.

⁷ The A. of a noun *kṛtī* 'making', used adverbially: *bhīrī kṛtīvas* (iii. 18¹) 'many times', *śāśat kṛtīvas* (iii. 54¹) 'innumerable times', *adā kṛtīvas* (AV. xi. 2⁹) 'ten times'.

⁸ On the Sandhi of these accusatives in *-ūn* see LANMAN 415 (bottom) and 416 (top).

⁹ LANMAN 416 enumerates the stems which form this A.

(times) are: *istas* and *dhenús*. The Khila after RV. x. 9 has the form *vāreṇya-kratús* 'intelligent', but the text of Kh. III. 13¹ reads *vāreṇya-kratus*¹.

I. m. This form is frequent, being made from 50 stems and occurring over 200 times. The commonest examples² are: *vásudhis* (24), *aktúbhís* (17), *rúbhís* (15), *ásúbhís* (12), *páyúbhís* (12) 'protectors', *Indubhis* (11), *bhānúbhis* (7), *rúbhís* (6), *sindhúbhís* (5), *snúbhis*³ (5).

f. This case, formed in the same way as the m., is rare, only 3 examples occurring in the RV.: *ika-dhenubhis* 'excellent cows', *tri-dhātubhis*, *dhenúbhis*.

n. *a-venúbhis* 'dustless', *ásrubhis* (VS. xxv. 9), *karkāndhubhis* (VS. xxi. 32), *jarúvubhis* (AV.), *bahúbhis*, *mādhubhis* (Kh. I. 11⁷), *vásubhis*, *smāsrubhis* (VS. xxv. 1; SV.) 'beards', *su-māntubhis* 'benevolent'.

D. m. *a-satrúbhis* 'foeless', *rúbhis* (VS. xxii. 28), *rúbhíbyas*, *guṅgíbyas* 'descendants of Gungu', *tṛsubhyas* 'the Trtsus' (a tribe), *dásabhisubhyas*, 'having ten reins', *dásyubhyas*, *palúbhyas*, *párúbhyas*, *bahúbhyas*, *mṛgayúbhyas* (VS. xvi. 27) 'hunters', *vásubhyas*, *sindhubhyas*.

f. There is no example in the RV. The AV. has two: *śubhyas*, *dhenúbhyas*. — **n.** *sānubhyas* (VS. xxx. 6).

Ab. m. *aktúbhyas*, *fatrúbhyas* 'cartilages of the breast bone', *jighatsúbhya-* (AV.) 'seeking to devour', *dásyubhyas*, *bahúbhyas*, *bhṛgubhyas* 'Bhrgus', *mṛtyúbhyas* (AV.), *sā-bandhubhyas* (AV.). — **f.** *dhānubhyas*, *sindhubhyas*.

G. m. This case is formed from 23 stems in the RV., 12 being oxytones and 11 otherwise accented: 1. *ṛtānām*, *rúhānām*, *ṛsūnām* 'flames', *carānām*, *devayanām*, *paśānām* (AV. VS. TS.), *pitānām*, *purānām*, *prāsānām* 'very swift', *bahrānām*, *bahūnām*, *yātūnām* 'spectres', *ripānām*, *stāyanām* (VS.) 'thieves'. — 2. *abhi-krātūnām* 'insolent', *abhīśānām* 'reins', *ahy-īrśūnām* 'gliding like a snake', *krātūnām*, *tṛśānām*, *dāsyanām* (AV.), *piyarānām* (AV.) 'mischievous', *bhṛgūnām*, *mānānām*, *vāsūnām*, *śātrānām*, *sā-bandhūnām* (AV.), *sindhūnām*, *svānūnām* 'sacrificial posts'. — **f.** *dhenūnām*; *sindhūnām*. — **n.** *mādhūnām*, *yāsūnām* 'embraces', *vāsūnām*.

L. m. *apūśū* (VS. VIII. 57), *aktūśu*, *ānuśu*, *āsūśu*, *druhyūśu*, *paśūśu* (AV.), *pārūśu*, *bahūśu*, *yādūśu*, *vī-bandhuśu* (AV.) 'kinless', *vīśvā-bhānuśu* 'all-illuminating', *śātrūśu*, *sindhūśu*. — **f.** *vāstūśu*, *sindhūśu*⁴. — **n.** *urūśu*, *vāstūśu*, *smāsrūśu*, *sinūśu*, *snūśu*⁵ (VS. TS.).

II. Pronouns.

BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 773—780 (p. 333—340). — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 490—526 (p. 185—199). — FISCHER, *ZDMG.* 35, 714—716. — DELBRÜCK, *Syntaktische Forschungen* 5, 204—221; cp. BRUGMANN, *KG.* 494—525, and *Die Demonstrativa der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1904.

390. The pronouns occupy a special position in declension, as being derived from a limited class of roots with a demonstrative sense, and as exhibiting several marked peculiarities of inflexion. These peculiarities are in some degree extended to a certain number of adjectives.

1. Personal Pronouns.

391. These are the most peculiar of all, as being for each person derived from several roots or combinations of roots, as being specially anomalous in inflexion, as not distinguishing gender and, to some extent,

¹ The m. *A. sūdhiṃ* occurs once (x. 35¹) in the sense of a f.

² LANMAN 416 (bottom) enumerates the stems taking this case.

³ Accentuated like a dissyllable as elsewhere.

⁴ *āyūśu* (i. 58³) is perhaps a transfer form for *āvūśu*; cp. LANMAN 419¹.

⁵ With dissyllabic accent as usual.

not even number. Some resemble neuters in form; a few have no apparent case-ending; in two of them the acc. pl. masc. does duty as fem. also.

The forms of the first and second person¹ which occur are:

1. Sing. N. *ahám*². A. *mām*, *mā*. I. *māyā*. D. *māhyam*, *māhya*, *mē*.
 Ab. *mād*³. G. *māma*, *mē*. L. *māyī*⁴.
 Du. N. *vām* (RV⁵).⁶ A. *nau*. D.⁷ *nau*. Ab. *āvād* (TS.). G.⁸ *nau*.
 Pl. N. *vayām*. A. *asmān*⁹, *nas*³. I. *asmābhis*. D. *asmābhyam*, *asmā* (RV.), *nas*. Ab. *asmād*. G. *asmākam*¹⁰, *asmāka*¹¹ (RV¹), *nas*. L. *asmē*, *asmāsu*¹².
 2. Sing. N. *tvām*¹³. A. *tvām*, *tvā*. I. *tvāyā*, *tvā* (RV.). D. *tībhyam*, *tībhya*, *tē*¹⁴. Ab. *tvād*. G. *tīvā*, *tē*. L. *tvā*¹⁵ (RV. VS.), *tvāyē* (AV. VS. TS.).
 Du. N. *yuvām*. A. *yuvām*, *vām*. I. *yuvābhyam*, *yuvābhyām*. D. *vām*.
 Ab. *yuvād* (RV¹). G. *yuvās* (RV. and Kh. 1. 12⁴), *yuvāyos* (TS. III. 5. 4¹), *vām*.
 Pl. *yūyām*¹⁶. A. *yusmān*¹⁷, f. *yusmās* (VS²), *vās*¹⁸. D. *yusmābhyam*, *vas*. Ab. *yusmād*. G. *yusmākam*¹⁰, *yusmāka* (RV²), *vas*. L. *yusmē*.

a. The usual stems representing these personal pronouns in derivation or as first member of a compound are *ma-*, *asma-*; *tvā-*, *yuva-*, *yusma-*; e. g. *mā-vant* 'like me', *asma-dāh* 'hating us', *tvā-vant* 'like thee', *tvā-yata* 'presented by thee'; *yuva-yi* 'desiring you two', *yuvā-āhita* 'established by you two', *yuvā-datta* 'given by you two'; *yusma-jant* 'desiring you', *yusmā-ūta* 'supported by you'; *yusmā-datta* 'given by you'¹⁹.

b. The forms *mad-*, *asmād-*, *tvād-* occur a few times as first member of compounds; thus *māt-kṛtu-* 'done by me', *māt-sakhi-* 'my companion', *mat-tās* (AV.) 'from me'; *asmād-sakhi-* 'having us as companions', *asmād-rāta-* (VS.) 'given by us'; *tvād-pitṛ-* (TS.) 'having thee as father'; *tvād-yoni-* (AV.) 'derived from thee', *tvād-vācāna-* (TS.) 'having thee as umpire'.

c. *aham-*, *mām-*, *mama-*; *asm-*; *tvām-* are also sometimes found as first member of compounds; thus *aham-uttarā-* (AV.) 'struggle for precedence', *aham-fūrva-* 'eager to be first', *aham-yā-* 'proud'; *mām-pasyā-* (AV.) 'looking at me'; *mama-satyā-* 'dispute as to ownership'; *asmā-hiti-* 'errand for us'; *tvām-kāma-* 'desiring thee', *tvām-āhuti-* (TS.) 'offering to thee'.

2. Demonstrative Pronouns.

392. *Ti-* 'that', which also serves as the personal pronoun of the third person, 'he', 'she', 'it', is typical, in its inflexion, of the adjectival pronoun. It has the special peculiarity of using the stem *sa-* for the nom. masc. and fem. sing. and, in the RV., for the loc. sing. masc. and neut. The general peculiarities of the adjectival pronominal declension, as distinct from

- ¹ Cp. GAEDICKE, Akkusativ 12—14.
² On the formation of *ahām* cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 36, 405 ff. — All the nominatives of the personal pronouns are formed with *-am* as also the N. sing. of the demonstrative *ayam* and the reflexive *vayām*.
³ The unaccented forms of the personal pronoun (85) may be accompanied by accented words in agreement with them; e. g. *te jāyatah* 'of thee when conquering'; *na vṛtābhyah* 'for you that were confined'; *nas tībhyāh* 'to us three'.
⁴ *mād* is two or three times unaccented in the AV.
⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 725.
⁶ This seems to be the only nom. form (v. 55¹) occurring in the Samhitās. The nom. in the ŚB. is *āvām*, in the AB. *āvām*; the acc. in the ŚB. is *āvām*. The form *vām* must be an abbreviation of *āvām*.
⁷ The AB. has *āvābhyām*.
⁸ The ŚB. has *āvāyos*.
⁹ *asmān* and *yusmān* are new formations according to the nominal declension; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 519, 2, note.
¹⁰ *asmākam* and *yusmākam* are properly acc. n. of the possessives *asmāka-*, *yusmāka-*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 4.
¹¹ Occurs only in 1. 173¹⁰.
¹² *asmāsu* is a new formation according to the inst. *asmā-bhis*.
¹³ *tvām* must often be read as *tīam*.
¹⁴ *tē*, originally only loc., is used as dat. and gen.; similarly *mē*; the loc. *asmē* is also used as dat.
¹⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, loc. cit.
¹⁶ Originally **yūṣ-ām* where *y* was substituted for the sibilant owing to the influence of *vayām*; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, op. cit. 726, note; BRUGMANN, KG. 513 and note 3, 518.
¹⁷ *yusmān* is a new formation according to the nominal declension (like *asmān*).
¹⁸ The inst. was originally in all probability *yusmā* (like *tvā*), which later became *yusmābhis* (like *asmābhis*).
¹⁹ This compound may preserve the old inst.

the nominal *a*-declension, are that 1. in the singular they take *-d* instead of *-m* in the nom. and acc. neut.; the element *-sma-* in the dat., abl., loc. masc. and neut.; the element *-sya-* in the dat., abl., gen., loc. fem.; the suffix *-su* in the loc. masc. and neut.¹; 2. in the plural they take *-e* for *-ās* in the nom. masc.; *s* for *n* in the gen. before *-ām*.

1. The inflexion of *tā-* accordingly is as follows:

Sing. N. m. *sā-s*², f. *sā*, n. *tā-d*. A. m. *tā-m*, f. *tā-m*, n. *tā-d*. I. m. *tāḥ*³, f. *tāḥ*. D. m. n. *tā-smai*, f. *tā-syai*. Ab. m. n. *tā-smit*, f. *tā-syās*. G. m. n. *tā-sya*, f. *tā-syās*. L. *tā-smin*⁴, *sā-smin* (RV.), f. *tā-syām*.

Du. N. A. m. *tā*, *tāu*, f. *tā*, n. *tā*. I. m. f. *tā-bhyām*⁵. Ab. m. *tā-bhyām*. G. m. n. *tāyoḥ*. L. m. *tāyoḥ*.

Pl. N. m. *tā*, f. *tās*, n. *tā*, *tāni*. A. m. *tān*, f. *tās*, n. *tā*, *tāni*. I. m. n. *tābhis*, *tāis* (AV.; Kh. II. 10⁴), f. *tābhis*. D. m. n. *tābhyas*, f. *tābhyas*. G. m. *tāśām*, f. *tāśām*. L. m. *tāśu*, f. *tāśu*.

a. The stem *tā-* is frequently used in derivation, especially that of adverbs; e. g. *tāḥi* 'thus', *tā-rant-* 'so great', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many', and in the compound *tā-df-* 'such'.

b. The neuter form *tād* is often used as the first member of a compound; thus *tād-anna-* 'having that food'; *tād-āpas-* 'accustomed to that work'; *tād-ārtha-* 'having just that as an object'; *tād-oka-* 'delighting in that'; *tād-ajas-* 'possessing such power'; *tād-vid-* 'having a desire for that'; *tād-vid-* (AV.) 'knowing that'.

2. Two other demonstrative pronouns are formed from *tā-*. a. One of them, *etā-*, formed by prefixing the pronominal element *e-*⁶, means 'this here'. It is inflected exactly like *tā-* and is of common occurrence. The forms which occur are:

m. Sing. m. N. *eśās* or *eśā*⁷. A. *etām*. I. *etāna*. D. *etāsmāi* (TS.). Ab. *etāsmāt* (AV.). G. *etāsya* (AV.). — Du. N. *etā*, *etāu*. — Pl. N. *etā*. A. *etān*. I. *etābhis*, *etāis* (AV.). D. *etābhyas*.

f. Sing. N. *eśā*. A. *etām*. I. *etāyā*. L. *etāsyām*. — Du. N. *etā*. — Pl. N. *etās*. A. *etās*. I. *etābhis* (AV.). L. *etāsu* (AV.).

n. Sing. N. *etād*. — Pl. N. *etā* (+VS.), *etāni*.

a. The stem used in derivation and composition is *etā-*; thus *etā-rant-* 'so great'; *etā-df-* 'such'.

b. The other secondary demonstrative, *tyā-*, is derived from *tā-* with the suffix *-ya*⁸ and means 'that'. It is common in the RV., but rare in the later Samhitās⁹. It is used adjectivally, being nearly always accompanied by its substantive. It is never found at the beginning of a sentence except when followed by *u*, *cīd*, *nū*, or *sū*¹⁰.

The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *tyā*¹⁰ (+VS.). A. *tyām*. G. *tyāsya*. — Du. N. *tyā*. — Pl. N. *tyā*. A. *tyān*. I. *tyābhis*.

f. Sing. N. *tyā*. A. *tyām*. I. *tyā* (for *tyāḥ*). G. *tyāsyaḥ*. — Du. N. *tyā*. — Pl. N. *tyās*. A. *tyās*.

n. Sing. N. *tyād* (+TS.). — Pl. *tyā*, *tyāni*.

393. The demonstrative which appears as *ayām* in the nom. sing. masc. and means 'this here', employs the pronominal roots *a-* and (in various modifications) *i-* in its inflexion, the latter being used in nearly all the

¹ This suffix is once found in the RV., in the form of *-min*, attached to *yādḥi-* 'having what appearance', though the stem ends in a consonant.

² On the Sandhi of *sā-* and *eśā-* see 78.

³ The Pada text always reads *tāna*.

⁴ *sāsmīn* occurs nearly half as often as *tāsmīn* in the RV.

⁵ In IX. 66² this form (f.) seems to have a loc. sense; see LANMAN 343f.

⁶ According to BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6, note 3, originally loc. sing. of *a-*.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 401 and 495, 2.

⁸ It occurs two or three times also in B.

⁹ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *tyā*.

¹⁰ *tyā-* and *tyā-* are often to be read with *Vyātha*.

nom. and acc. forms, the former in the other cases. The acc. sing. masc. and fem. starts from *i-m*¹, the acc. of *i*, and is followed by the nom. acc. du. and pl., all these forms having the appearance of being made from a stem *ima-*. The nom. sing. fem. is formed from *i-²*, and the nom. acc. sing. neut. from *i-d* (the N. A. n. of *i*), both with the suffix *-am* added. The nom. sing. masc. is formed from *a-* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *-y-*. The remaining cases formed from *a-*³ are inflected throughout like *tá-*.

The inflexion of this pronoun is accordingly as follows:

Sing. N. m. *a-yám*, f. *i-yám*, n. *i-dám*. A. m. *imám*, f. *imám*, n. *i-dám*. I. m. *e-ná*⁴, f. *ayá*⁴. D. m. *a-smái*⁵, f. *a-syái*. Ab. m. *a-smái*⁶, f. *a-syás*. G. m. *a-syá*⁷, f. *a-syás*. L. m. *a-smá*, f. *a-syám*.

Du. N. A. m. *imá*, *imá*, f. *imá*, n. *imá*. D. m. *a-bhyám* (RV¹). Ab. m. *a-bhyám*. G. m. *a-yás* (RV.)⁸. L. m. *a-yás*⁹ (RV.).

Pl. N. m. *imá*, f. *imás*, n. *imá*, *imáni*. A. m. *imán*, f. *imás*, n. *imá*, *imáni*. I. m. *e-bhís*, f. *a-bhís*¹⁰. D. m. *e-bhyás*, f. *a-bhyás*. G. m. *e-sám*, f. *a-sám*. L. m. *e-sá*, f. *a-sá*.

394. The corresponding demonstrative employed to express remoteness, 'that there', 'yon', appears in the nom. sing. masc. fem. as *asáu*. The pronominal root employed throughout its inflexion is *a-*, but always in an extended form only. The fundamental stem used in every case, excepting the nom. sing., is *a-m*, acc. masc. of *a-*; this is extended by the addition of the particle *u* to *amu-*, which has become the stem in the oblique cases of the sing. (with long *u* in the acc. fem.); in the plur. *amú-* is the fem. and *amí-* the masc. stem (except the acc.). The nom. sing. forms are quite peculiar. In the masc. and fem. the pronominal root *a-* seems to be compounded with *sa-* extended by the particle *u*: *a-sá-u* and *a-sá-u*¹¹; while the neut. has the pronominal *-d* extended with the suffix *-as*: *a-d-ás*. Only one dual form has been noted, and several plural case forms are wanting. The forms found in the Samhitás are the following:

m. Sing. N. *asáu*. A. *amám*. I. *aminá* (VS.). D. *amí-smái*. Ab. *amí-smát* (AV. TS.). G. *amí-sya*¹². L. *amí-smín* (AV.). — Pl. N. *amí*¹³. A. *amán* (AV.). D. *amíbhya* (AV.). G. *amí-sám*.

f. Sing. N. *asáu*. A. *amám*. I. *amíyá*¹⁴. D. *amí-syai* (VS.). G. *amí-syas* (AV.). — Du. N. *amú* (AV.). — Pl. N. *amís*. A. *amís*.

n. Sing. N. *adís*. — Pl. N. *amá* (AV.).

395. A defective unaccented pronoun of the third person meaning 'he', 'she', and in the AV. 'it', is *e-na*¹⁵. It occurs almost exclusively in the

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 10.

² From *i* is also formed the acc. *i-m* and the neut. *i-d*, both used as particles.

³ The Pada text always reads *ena* (the unaccented *ena* occurs twice). This and all other oblique cases formed from *a-*, when used as nouns may lose their accent; see 85 § 3; cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *idám*. On *ayám* see BRUGMANN, KG. 498, 3.

⁴ This inst. is fairly frequent in the RV.; instead of it *andya* occurs twice (IX. 65¹². 7), being probably a later correction to obviate the hiatus. Otherwise no forms of *ana-* (*anána*, *andya*, *andya*) occur in the Samhitás. But *anána* (n.) occurs in Kh. III. 16⁷.

⁵ *asmái* and *asya* are accented on the first syllable, the former four or five times, the latter about ten times, when specially emphatic at the beginning of a Pada in the RV.

⁶ The abl. according to the nominal declension, *ái*, is used as a conjunction.

⁷ The form *imáya* also occurs once.

⁸ To be read as *ayás*.

⁹ Seems to be wrongly read as *ayás* in the Pada text; cp. LANMAN 344².

¹⁰ *ábhis* occurs ten times in the RV.; it thrice accented *ábhis* and thrice unaccented: cp. note 5.

¹¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6; 498, 4.

¹² This is the only instance of *-ya* being added to any but an *a-* stem.

¹³ This form is Praghyá (70). On its origin cp. IF. 18, 64, note.

¹⁴ Used adverbially, with shifted accent.

¹⁵ The same *e-* (loc. of *a-*) as in *éso* 'one', *éso* 'thus'; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 495, 6.

acc. (the great majority of occurrences being masc. sing.). Otherwise it is found only twice in the inst. sing. and three or four times in the gen. dual. The forms occurring are: m. Sing. A. *enam*. I. *enena* (AV.). — Du. A. *enau* (AV.). G. *enos* (RV.), *enayos* (AV.). — Pl. A. *enān*.

f. Sing. A. *entm*¹. Du. A. *ene*. Pl. A. *entis*. — n. N. *enad* (AV.; Kh. IV. 6³).

396. Another demonstrative found nearly twenty times in the RV., but otherwise occurring only once in the AV., is the unaccented pronoun *tva-*² meaning 'one', 'inauy a one', generally repeated, in the sense of 'one — another'. The forms occurring are: m. Sing. N. *tvas*. A. *tvam*. I. *tvena*. D. *tvasmai*. Pl. N. *tre*³. — f. Sing. N. *tvā*. D. *tvasyai*. — n. Sing. N. *tvad*.

a. The pronoun *avā-*⁴ 'this' is found two or three times in the RV., and only in the gen. du. form. *avās* in combination with *vām*, meaning 'of you two being such' (used like *sa*, e. g. *sā tvām* 'thou as such').

b. The pronoun *āma-*⁵ 'this' occurs only once in the AV.: *āmo hām asmi* (XIV. 2¹¹), 'this am I'.

3. Interrogative Pronoun.

397. The interrogative *ka-*, 'who?', 'which?', 'what?' used both as substantive and adjective, is quite regular in its declension, excepting the alternative neuter form *ki-m*⁶, which instead of the pronominal *-d* has the nominal *-m* (never elsewhere attached to a stem in *-i*). The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *kis*. A. *kām*. I. *kēna*. D. *kāsmāi*. Ab. *kāsmāt* (AV.). G. *kāya*. L. *kāsmīn*. — Du. *kāu*. — Pl. N. *kē*. I. *kēbhīs*. L. *kēṣu* (VS.).

f. Sing. N. *kā*. A. *kām*. I. *kīyā*. G. *kāsyīs* (AV. VS.). — Pl. N. *kās*. A. *kās*. L. *kāsu*.

n. Sing. N. A. *kā-d*⁷ (RV.) and *kī-m*. — Pl. N. A. *kā* and *kāni*.

a. In forming derivatives, which are numerous, the stem of the interrogative employed is not only *ka-*, but also *ki-* and *ku-*; e. g. *kā-ti* 'how many?'; *kī-yant-* 'how great?'; *kā-ka* 'where?'. The neuter form *kim* is twice used in this way: *kim-yā* 'desiring what?'; *kim-māya-* 'consisting of what?'.

b. In the formation of compounds *kā-* occurs twice as first member: in *kāt-payā-* 'greatly swelling', and *kād-artha-* 'having what purpose?'. *kām* is similarly used a few times in the later Saṃhitās; thus *kim-ṣiṣi-* (VS. TS.) 'being in stony ground', *kim-kā-d-* (AV.) 'servant'.

4. Relative Pronoun.

398. The relative pronoun *ya-* 'who', 'which', 'what' is perfectly regular in its declension. The forms occurring are:

m. Sing. N. *yās*⁸. — A. *yām*. I. *yēna*⁹ and *yēna*. D. *yāsmāi*. Ab. *yāsmāt*¹⁰. G. *yāya*. L. *yāsmīn*. — Du. N. A. *yā*, *yāu*. D. *yābhyām*. G. *yāyos*. L. *yāyos* and *yās*¹¹ (RV.). — Pl. N. *yē*. A. *yān*. I. *yēbhīs*, *yāis* (AV.; Kh. I. 9⁷). D. *yēbhyas*. G. *yēṣām*. L. *yēṣu*.

¹ This form occurs once (VIII. 6¹⁹) at the beginning of a sentence and is then accented as *enām*.

² The unaccented adverb *tvadanīm* (MS. IV. 2⁷) 'sometimes', is derived from this pronoun.

³ See WHITNEY'S note on AV. VIII. 9⁹ in his translation.

⁴ This pronoun also occurs in the Avesta; cp. BRUGMANN 495, 10.

⁵ From this pronoun are derived the inst. and abl. adverbs (with shifted accent) *amī* 'at home' and *andī* 'from near at hand'.

⁶ The nom. masc. is preserved as a petri-

fied form in *nā-kis* and *mā-kis* 'no one', 'nothing', 'never'.

⁷ The relative frequency of *kād* to *kim* in the RV. is as 2 to 3.

⁸ *yās* is the commonest declensional form in the RV., occurring more than 1000 times.

⁹ *yēnā* is twice as common in the RV. as *yēna*; the Pada text, however, always reads *yēna* (cp. LANSMAN 332).

¹⁰ The ablative according to the nominal declension, *yāi*, is used as a conjunction.

¹¹ *yās* for *yāyos*, like *yuvās* for *yuvāyos*; cp. BB. 23, 183; ZDMG. 50, 589.

f. Sing. N. *yá*. A. *yám*. I. *yáya*. G. *yáyas*. L. *yáysám*. — Du. N. *ye* (TS. AV.). G. *yáyo*. L. *yáyo*. — Pl. N. *yás*. A. *yás*. I. *yábhís*. D. *yábhya*. G. *yáśám*. L. *yáśu*.

n. Sing. N. A. *yád*. — Du. *ye*. — Pl. *yá*, *yáni*.

a. The stem of *yá-* is used in the formation of many derivatives; e. g. *yá-thá* 'as'; it also appears as first member of a compound in *yá-dí-* 'which like'. The neuter form *yad* is once used similarly in the RV.: *yát-káma-* 'desiring what'.

b. The relative receives the indefinite meaning of 'whoever' by the addition of *kás ca*, *kás cid*, or *cid* alone; e. g. *yád vo vayám calpmá tác cid áya?* (II. 27¹) 'whatever sin we have committed against you'; *yát kim ca durtám máyi* (I. 23¹²) 'whatever sin (there is) in me'; *yé cid áhi tuam páyáñ pára átye juhúrt* (I. 48¹⁴) 'whatever early seers have called on thee for aid'.

5. Indefinite Pronouns.

399. a. In the RV. there are found the two simple indefinite pronouns *sama* (unaccented) 'any', 'every' and *simá-* 'every', 'all'. The six forms of the former which occur are: m. Sing. A. *samam*. D. *samasmai*. Ab. *samasmat*. G. *samasya*. L. *samasmin*. — Pl. N. *sama*. From *simá-* are met with the five forms: Sing. V. *síma*. N. *simás*. D. *simásmai* (neut). Ab. *simásmat*. — Pl. *simá*.

b. Compound indefinite pronouns are formed by combining the particles *ca*, *caná*, or *cid* with the interrogative; thus *kás ca* 'any', 'any one'; *kás caná* 'any one soever', 'every'; *kás cid* 'any', 'some'; 'any one', 'some one'.

6. Reflexive Pronouns.

400. 1. The reflexive adjective is *svá-* 'own', which refers to the first and second as well as the third person of all numbers; e. g. *yád, indránt, mádathak svá duron!* (I. 108¹) 'when, O Indra and Agni, ye rejoice in your own abode'.

2. The substantive reflexive is *sva-yám* 'self', which is derived from *svá-* with the suffix *-am* and interposing *y* (as *a-yám* from *a-*). It is properly used as a nom. referring to all three persons; e. g. *svayám yajasva devá, devá* (X. 7⁶) 'do thou thyself, O god, worship the gods in heaven'. Sometimes, however, the nominative nature of the pronoun is forgotten and *svayám* is used agreeing in sense with another case; e. g. *vatsám . . svayám gátim . . icchámānam* (IV. 18¹⁰) 'the calf himself seeking a way'.

3. Other cases than the nom. are regularly expressed in the RV. by *tanú-* 'body'; e. g. *svayám gátim tanú icchámānam* (IV. 18¹⁰) 'himself seeking a way for himself (*tanú*)'; *yajasva tanúam* (X. 7⁶) 'worship thyself'; *svá hásmahi prajáya, má tanúbhíh* (X. 128⁵) 'may we suffer no harm with (regard to our) offspring or ourselves'. The reflexive adjective and a possessive gen. may be added; e. g. *ágne, yajasva tanúam táva svám* (VI. 11¹) 'Agni, worship thine own self'.

4. There are one or two instances in the RV. of the incipient use of *ātman-* 'soul' in a reflexive sense; thus *bálan dídhāna ātmāni* (IX. 113¹) 'putting strength into himself'; *yiksmam sárcasmá ātmānas . . ví vřhāmi* (X. 163³) 'I expel the disease from (thy) whole self'. The acc. *ātmanam*, though not met with in the RV. as a reflexive, is frequently found so used in the later Samhitās³; also in Kh. III. 10³.

a. In the formation of compounds *sva-* several times appears in the substantive as well as the adjective sense as first member; e. g. *svá-yukta-* 'self-yoked'; *sva-yávan-* 'own companion'. *svayám* is also thus used in a few compounds; thus *svayam-jí-* 'self-born'; *svayam-bhú-* 'self-existent'.

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Syntaktische Forschungen; ² Cp. DELBRÜCK op. cit. 135, and GRASSMANN, s. v. *svá-* and *tanú-*.

³ See DELBRÜCK op. cit. 155.

7. Possessive Pronouns.

401. Possessive pronouns are of rare occurrence because the genitive of the personal pronoun is generally used to express the sense which they convey.

a. The possessives of the first person are *māmaka-* (RV.) 'my', *māmakā-* 'my', (both formed from the genitive of the personal pronoun *māma*)¹, and *asmāka-* 'our'. The commonest form of the latter is the N. A. neut. *asmākam*, which is used as the gen. plur. of the personal pronoun². The other forms occurring are *asmākena*, *asmākāsas*, and *asmākebhis*. The VS. also has the form *āsmākās* (IV. 24) 'our' from a secondary derivative³.

b. The possessives of the second person are *tāvaka-* (RV.) 'thy', (from *tiva*), met with only in the form *tāvakabhyas*; *tvā-*⁴ (RV.) 'thy', found only in the inst. pl. *tvābhis* (II. 20²); and *yusmāka-* 'your', the N. A. neut. of which is used as the gen. pl. of the personal pronoun of the second person; it otherwise occurs only in the RV. in the two forms *yusmākena* and *yusmākabhis*.

c. Besides being used reflexively, *svā-* is fairly often employed as a simple possessive, generally as that of the third person, 'his', 'her', 'their', but also of the second, 'thy', 'your', and of the first, 'my', 'our'. It is, however, inflected like an ordinary adjective, having only two isolated forms according to the pronominal declension⁵. The forms which occur are:

m. sing. N. *svās*. A. *svām*. I. *svāna* and *svānā*⁶. D. *svāya*. Ab. *svāt*. G. *svāsyā*. L. *svā* and *svāsmīn* (RV.). — Pl. N. *svās* (AV.). A. *svān* (AV.). I. *svābhis* and *svāis*. D. *svābhyas* (Kh. v. 1²). G. *svānām* (AV.; Kh. II. 10⁴). L. *svāsu*.

f. sing. N. *svā*. A. *svām*. I. *svāyā*. D. *svāyai*. Ab. *svāyās*. G. *svāsyās* (RV.). L. *svāyām*. — Pl. N. *svās*. A. *svās*. I. *svābhis*. L. *svāsu*.

n. sing. N. A. *svām*. — Pl. A. *svā*.

8. Pronominal derivatives and compounds.

402. A certain number of derivatives are formed from the roots or stems of simple pronouns by means of suffixes which modify the pronominal sense. There are also a few pronominal compounds.

a. With the suffix *-ka*, conveying a diminutive or contemptuous meaning, derivatives are formed from the pronouns *tā-*, *yā-*, *sā-*, and *asī-*; thus *ta-kā-* (RV.) 'that little', of which the forms A. sing. m. *takū-m* and n. *takū-d* occur; *yī-ka-* 'who', 'which', the only forms met with being N. m. *yakās*, f. *yakī* (VS. XXIII. 22, 23), and N. pl. m. *yakī* (RV.); *sa-kī-* (RV. AV.) 'that little', of which only N. sing. f. *sakī* occurs; N. sing. f. *asakū* 'that little' (VS. XXIII. 22, 23).

b. With the comparative suffix *-tara* derivatives are formed from *i-*, *kā-*, and *yā-*; and with the superlative suffix *-tama*, from the latter two; thus *i-tara-* 'other'; *kā-tarī-* 'which of two?'; *yā-tarī-* 'who or which of two?'; *kā-tamī-* 'who or which of many?'; *yā-tamī-* 'who or which of many?'

c. With *-ti* derivatives with a numerical sense are formed from *kā-*, *tā-*, and *yā-*; thus *kā-ti* 'how many?', *tā-ti* (AV.) 'so many?'; *yā-ti* 'as many?'. No inflected forms of these words occur.

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 524, 2.

² Op. cit. 524, 4.

³ Formed like *māmakā-* beside *māmaka-*.

⁴ Used as a possessive probably under Indo-ariatic Philologie. I. 4.

the influence of *svā-*; cp. BRUGMANN, op. cit. 524, 2.

⁵ That is, *svāsyās* and *svāsmīn*.

⁶ The Pada text always reads *svāna*.

d. With *-yant*, expressing the quantitative meaning of 'much', derivatives are formed from *i-* and *ki-*: *i-yant-* 'so much' (n. N. sing. *lyat*, pl. *lyanti*; f. D. sing. *lyatyai*); *ki-yant-* 'how much?' (sing. N. n. adv. *klyat*, D. m. *klyate*, L. *klyāti* for *klyati*; N. f. *klyati*).

e. With *-vant* are formed derivatives from personal pronouns with the sense of 'like', 'attached to', and from others in the quantitative sense of 'great'; thus *tvā-vant-* 'like thee', *mā-vant-* 'like me'; *yuvā-vant-* (RV.) 'devoted to you two' (only D. *yuvāvate*); *yusmā-vant-* (RV.) 'belonging to you' (only L. pl. *yusmāvatsu*); *chī-vant-* and *tū-vant-* 'so great'; *yā-vant-* 'as great'; *i-vant-* 'so great' (sing. N. n. *ivat*, D. m. n. *ivate*, G. *ivatas*; pl. A. m. *ivatas*); *ki-vant-* 'how far?' (G. *kivatas*).

f. With *-dṛś-*, *-dṛśa-*, *-dṛkṣa-* are formed the following pronominal compounds: *i-dṛkṣa-* (VS.) and *i-dṛś-* (VS. TS.) 'such'; *eti-dṛkṣa-* (VS.) and *eti-dṛś-* 'such' (N. sing. n. *etādṛk*); *kt-dṛś-* 'what like?' (N. sing. m. *kūḍhī*); *tā-dṛś-* 'such' (N. sing. m. *tā-dṛk*); *yā-dṛś-* 'what like' (sing. m. N. *yādṛk*, L. *yādṛśmin*).

9. Pronominal Adjectives.

403. Certain adjectives derived from pronominal roots or allied to pronouns in sense conform in varying degrees to the pronominal declension.

1. The adjectives which strictly adhere to the pronominal type of inflexion are *anyī-* 'other', and (as far as can be judged by the few forms occurring and by the usage of the later language) the derivatives formed with *-tara-* and *-tama-* from *kū-* and *yā-*. The specifically pronominal cases of the latter which have been met with are: sing. N. n. *katarīd* (AV.), *yatarīd*; *katamīd*, *yatamīd* (AV.); D. m. *katamīsmāi* (VS.); G. f. *katamīśyās* (AV.); I. f. *yatamīśyām* (AV.); Pl. N. m. *katamē* (AV.), *yatamē* (AV.). No such form of *tara-* has been found. The forms of *anyī-* which occur are:

m. sing. N. *anyās*. A. *anyām*. I. *anyāna*. D. *anyāsmāi* (AV.). G. *anyāśya*. L. *anyāśmin*. — Pl. N. *anyē*. A. *anyān*. I. *anyābhis* and *anyāis*. D. *anyābhyas* (AV.). G. *anyāśām*. I. *anyāśu*.

f. sing. N. *anyī*. A. *anyīm*. I. *anyīyā*. D. *anyīśyai*. G. *anyīśyās*. L. *anyīśyām*. — Du. N. *anyē*. — Pl. N. *anyās*. A. *anyās*. I. *anyābhis*. G. *anyāśām*. L. *anyāśu*.

n. sing. N. *anyīd*. — Du. I. *anyābhyām* (AV.). — Pl. N. *anyā*.

2. The three adjectives *eka-* 'one', *viśva-* 'all', *sārva-* 'whole' are partially pronominal, following this declension except in the nom. acc. sing. neut., which takes the nominal *-m*. Thus sing. G. f. *ekasyās*, L. m. *ekasmin*¹, pl. N. m. *eka*, but sing. N. n. *ekam*; sing. D. *viśvasmāi*², Ab. *viśvasmāt*², L. *viśvasmin*², pl. N. m. *viśve*, G. m. *viśveśām*, f. *viśvāsām*, but sing. N. n. *viśvam*; sing. D. m. *sārvasmāi* (AV.), f. *sārvasyai* (AV.; AA. III. 2⁵), Ab. m. *sārvasmāt*, pl. N. m. *sārve*, G. *sārveśām* (AV.), f. *sārvasām* (AV.), but sing. N. n. *sārvam*.

3. More than a dozen other adjectives which have pronominal affinities in form or sense occasionally show pronominal case-forms (but never *-d* in the N. A. sing. n.).

a. A few adjectives formed with the comparative and superlative suffixes *-ra-* and *-ma-* have such endings; thus *āpara-* 'lower' has *āpare* in the N. pl. m. beside *āparāsas*; *ūttara-* 'higher', 'later', forms the L. sing. f. *ūttarasām*

¹ The AV. once has *ēka* as a loc. sing.; see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 56² in his *vitrāya*, Ab. *viśvāt*, L. *viśva*, once each; translation. ² The RV. has the nominal forms D. *viśvāt* (a.) also occurs Kh. II. 6¹⁸.

(AV.), N. pl. m. *ūttare*; Ab. I. sing. *ūtтарasmāt* and *ūtтарasmin* beside *ūtтарit* and *ūttare*; *īpara-* 'lower' has *īpare* beside *īparās* and *īparāsas* in the N. pl. m.; *avamā-* 'lowest' has L. sing. f. *avamāsyām*; *upamā-* 'highest' has sing. L. f. *upamāsyām*; *paramā-* 'farthest' has sing. f. G. *paramāsyās* and L. *paramāsyām* (+ VS.); *madhyamā-* 'middlemost' has sing. L. f. *madhyamāsyām*.

b. A few other adjectives with a comparative or pronominal sense have occasional pronominal endings. Thus *pāra-* 'ulterior' has sing. D. m. *pārasmai* (AV.), Ab. m. *pārasmāt* (+ AV. VS.), G. f. *pārasyās*, G. pl. m. *pāresām*; L. sing. m. *pārasmin* beside *pāre*; and N. pl. m. *pāre* beside *pārasas*. *pūrva-* 'prior' has sing. m. D. *pūrvasmāi*, Ab. *pūrvasmāt*, G. pl. m. *pūrvesām*, f. *pūrvesām*; and the N. pl. m. *pūrve* is very common beside the very rare *pūrvāsas*. *nēma-* 'other' has m. L. sing. *nēmasmin*, N. pl. *nēme*, but N. sing. n. *nēmam* and G. pl. m. *nēmānam* (unaccented). *svā-* 'own', otherwise following the nominal declension, has once sing. G. f. *svāsyās* and once L. n. *svāsmīn*. *samāna-* 'similar', 'common', has once Ab. sing. n. *samānismāt* beside *samānāt*.

c. A few adjectives which are numerical in form or meaning have occasional pronominal forms; thus *prathamā-* 'first', has G. sing. f. *prathamāsyās* (AV.); *trītiya-* 'third' has L. sing. f. *trītiyasām*² (AV.); *ūbhaya-* 'of both kinds' has m. pl. G. *ūbhayesām*, and N. *ūbhaye* beside *ūbhayāsas* and *ūbhayās*³; *kēvala-* 'exclusive' has once N. pl. m. *kēvala*.

III. Numerals.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 764—771. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 475—488. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 441—451.

404. The series of the numerals is based on the decimal system of reckoning. The names of the first ten cardinals, which are of an adjectival character, form the foundation of the rest either by compounding or derivation; the ordinals and numerical adverbs being further derived from the corresponding cardinals.

A. Cardinals.

405. The names of the first ten cardinals are: *eka-* 'one'; *dvā-* 'two'; *tri-* 'three'; *catvī-* 'four'; *pāñca* 'five'; *ṣaṣ-* 'six'; *saptī* 'seven'; *aṣṭī* 'eight'; *nīva* 'nine'; *dāśa* 'ten'.

a. The numbers intermediate between 'ten' and 'twenty' are Dvandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to *dāśa* 'ten': *ekā-dāśa*⁴ ('one and ten') 'eleven'; *dvā-dāśa*⁵ 'twelve'; *trāyo-dāśa*⁶ (AV. VS. TS.) 'thirteen'; *cātūr-dāśa*⁷ 'fourteen'; *pāñca-dāśa* 'fifteen'; *ṣoḍaśa*⁸ (VS. TS.) 'sixteen'; *saptī-dāśa* (TS.) 'seventeen'; *aṣṭī-dāśa* (TS.) 'eighteen'; *nīva-dāśa* (VS.) 'nineteen'.

b. The remaining cardinals are substantives. The names of the decades from 'twenty' to 'ninety' are either old Dvandva compounds or derivatives formed with the suffix *-ti*. They are *vīṃśati-* 'twenty'; *triṃśat* 'thirty';

¹ Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 303.

² The pronominal endings are recognized as alternative in the later language as regards *dvītiya-* and *trītiya-*; the *Bṛhaddevatā* (VIII, 95) has *prathamāsyām* as well as *dvītiyasām*.

³ *ūbhā-* 'both' is declined in the dual only: N. A. m. *ūbhā* and *ūbhāu*, f. *ūbhī*, I. *ūbhābhyām* (once in RV.), G. *ūbhābhyas* (twice in RV.).

⁴ With *ekā-* for *eka-* under the influence of *dvī-dāśa*.

⁵ Here the N. m. du. form *dvā* is retained instead of the stem form *dvā-*.

⁶ In this and other numeral compounds the N. m. plural form remains in every case; e. g. *tān . . . trāyas-trīṃśatam ā vaha* (I. 45²) 'bring those thirty-three'.

⁷ As first member of a compound *cātūr-* is regularly accented *cātūr-*.

⁸ For *ṣaṣ-dāśa*, see above 43, b, 3; 56, b.

catvāriṃśat 'forty'; *pañcaśat* 'fifty'; *ṣaṣṭi-* 'sixty'; *sapta-* 'seventy'; *aṣṭi-* 'eighty'; *navati-* 'ninety'. The last four are abstract fem. nouns derived from the simple cardinal (except *aṣṭi-*)¹ and meaning originally 'hexad etc. (of tens)'. The others are fem. compounds, the first member of which is 'two', 'three', 'four', or 'five', and the second a remnant of the IE. word for 'ten'; thus *triṃśat* meant 'three tens'. *viṃśati-* was probably in origin an old dual of this formation which ended in *-ī* but was transformed by the influence of *ṣaṣṭi-* etc. to a singular fem. in *-ī*².

c. The numbers intermediate between these decades are Dyandva compounds formed by prefixing the accented unit to the decade; thus *aṣṭi-viṃśati-* (VS.) 'twenty-eight'; *eka-triṃśat* (VS.) 'thirty-one'; *trīyas-triṃśat* 'thirty-three'; *nīva-catvāriṃśat* (TS.) 'forty-nine'; *nīva-ṣaṣṭi-* (TS.) 'sixty-nine'; *nīvaśṣṭi-* (TS.) 'eighty-nine'; *pañca-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-five'; *ṣṣṭi-ṇavati-* (TS.) 'ninety-six'; *aṣṭi-navati-* (TS.) 'ninety-eight'.

α. In the TS., the number preceding a decade is also expressed by *thān na* 'by one not' = 'minus one'; thus *thān na viṃśati-* 'twenty less one' = 'nineteen'; *thān na catvāriṃśat* 'thirty-nine'; *thān na ṣaṣṭi-* 'fifty-nine'; *thān na śṣṭi-* 'seventy-nine'; *thān na śatam* 'a hundred less one', 'ninety-nine'³.

β. Intermediate numbers may also be expressed by adding together unit and decade with or without *ca*; e. g. *nāva ca navatiṃ ca* 'ninety and nine'; *navatiṃ nīva* 'ninety-nine'.

d. The numbers expressing 'a hundred' and its multiples are *śati-* '100'; *sahasra-* '1000'; *a-yūta-* (AV. TS.) '10000'; *ni-yūta-* (TS.; Kh. iv. 12⁸) '100000'; *pra-yūta-* (VS. TS.) '1000000'; *ārbuda-* (TS.; Kh. iv. 12⁸) '10000000'; *nyārūda-* (AV. VS. TS.) '100000000'⁴.

α. Intermediate numbers are compounded in the same way with *śati-* as with the preceding decades; e. g. *eka-śatam* 'a hundred and one'; *cātuh-śatam* 'a hundred and four'; *triṃśac-chalam* 'a hundred and thirty'.

β. Multiples may be expressed in two ways. Either the larger number is put in the dual or plural multiplied by the smaller one used adjectivally; e. g. *dvī śatī* (VII. 18²) 'two hundred'; *ṣaṣṭiṃ sahasrā* (VI. 26⁶) 'sixty thousand'; *trīni śatā trī sahasrāṇi* *trivide ca nīva ca* (III. 9⁷) 'three thousand three hundred and thirty-nine'. Or the multiplier may be prefixed to the larger number, forming with it a possessive compound accented on the final syllable; e. g. *trīyastriṃśat trīśatāḥ saśahasrāḥ* (AV.) 'six thousand three hundred and thirty-three'. Numbers below a hundred are sometimes used multiplicatively in these two ways; e. g. *navatiṃ nīva* (I. 84³) 'nine nineties' = 'eight hundred and ten'; *tri-śatā*⁵ 'thrice seven'; *tri-ṇavā-* (VS.) 'having thrice nine'.

Inflexion.

406. With regard to their inflexion, which in many respects is peculiar, the cardinals may be divided into three groups.

a. The first group comprises the first four numerals. These are the only cardinals which, like other adjectives, distinguish the genders. They also distinguish the numbers as far as the sense admits: *eka-* 'one', while inflected chiefly in the singular, forms a plural also in the sense of 'some'; *dvī-* 'two' is of course inflected in the dual only; and *tri-* 'three' and *catvī-* 'four' in the plural only.

1. *eka-* is declined like the second group of pronominal adjectives⁶. The only form of the abl. sing.³ met with follows the nominal declension,

¹ *aṣṭi-* is radically related to *aṣṭān*, cp. in succession: we may infer from the first few that each successive number is equal to

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 443, 1. ten times the preceding one; cp. WHITNEY

³ In the TS. (B.) are also met with *thāsmān* 475, c. The contents of TS. VII. 2, 11—20 *nā pañcāśat* and *ekasyai nā pañcāśat* (VII. 4. 7³) are almost entirely numerals.

⁴ 'forty-nine': WHITNEY 477, b. ⁵ Inflected according to the *a-* declension:

⁶ In TS. VII. 2²⁰ these numerals, followed by *śamudrā-*, *mādhyā-*, *anta-*, *parārdhā-*, occur inst. *trīśatāḥ*.
⁶ See above 403, 2.

viz. *ekat*, used in the compound numerals *ekān nā trīṃśat* 'twenty-nine' etc. occurring in the TS. A single dual case, from *eka-* in the sense of 'a certain', appears in *eke yuātī* (AV. x. 7¹²) 'a certain pair of maidens'. The forms to be found in the Saṃhitās are: m. sing. N. *ekas*. A. *ekam*. I. *ekena*. G. *ekasya*. L. *ekasmin*; pi. N. *eke*. D. *ekebhyas*. — f. N. *ekā*. A. *ekām*. I. *ekayā*. G. *ekasyās*; du. N. *eke* (AV.); pl. N. *ekās* (AV.). — n. N. sing. *ekam*; pl. *ekā*.

2. *dvā-* 'two', declined in the dual only, is quite regular. The forms occurring are: m. N. *dvā*, *dvāu*. I. *dvābhyām*. G. *dvāyos*. L. *dvāyos*. — f. N. *dvā*. I. *dvābhyām*. — n. N. *dvā*. L. *dvāyos*.

a. The dual form *dvā* is retained in the first member of the numeral compound *dvā-data* 'twelve'. Otherwise *dvī-* is used as the stem of *dvā-* in derivation, e. g. *dvī-dhā* 'twofold'; and as the first member of compounds, e. g. *dvī-pād-* 'biped'.

3. The cardinal *trī-* 'three' is, in the masc. and neut., inflected like a regular *i-* stem. The fem. stem is *tisf-*; the gen. pl. is once (v. 69²) written *tisrñim* (though the *r* is actually long metrically)¹. The forms occurring are: m. N. *trāyas*. A. *trīn*. I. *tribhis*. D. *tribhyās*. G. *trīnām*. L. *trīṣū*. — f. N. *tisrās*. A. *tisrās*. I. *tisfhis*. D. *tisfbyas*. G. *tisrñām*². L. *tisfṣu*. — n. N. A. *trī*, *trīni*.

a. The stem used in derivation and compounding is regularly *tri-*, e. g. *tri-dhā* 'in three ways'; *tri-pād-* 'three-footed'. But *tr-* appears in *tr-d-* (AV.) 'third', as a N., and in the secondary ordinal *tr-tīya-* 'third'; and in numeral compounds *trim* appears in *nimśat* 'thirty', and *trāyas* in *trāyodaśa* 'thirteen', and *trāyas-trīṃśat* 'thirty-three'.

4. *catūr-* 'four' has the stem *catvār-* in the strong forms of the masc. and neut. In the gen. it has the peculiarity of taking *n* before the ending *ām*, though the stem ends in a consonant³. The fem. stem is *cātasy-*, which is inflected like *tisf-* and shifts its accent like *pāñca*. The forms occurring are: m. N. *catvāras*. A. *catūras*. I. *catūrbbhis*. D. *catūrbbhyas* (AV.). G. *caturnām*⁴. — f. N. *cātāsrās*. A. *cātāsrās*. I. *cātāsfbbhis*⁵. — n. N. A. *catvāri*.

a. The stem used in derivation and compounding is regularly *catūr-*; e. g. *caur-dhā* 'in four ways'; *cātūr-data* 'fourteen'; *cātūr-pād-*⁶ 'four-footed'. But it is once *cātārin-* (from the n. pl.) in the numeral compound *cātātrīṃśat* 'forty'.

b. The second group, comprising the cardinals from 'five' to 'nineteen', though used adjectivally, does not distinguish gender, and takes no ending in the nom. and acc. These numerals also share the same peculiarities of accentuation⁷.

5. N. A. *pāñca* 'five'. I. *pañcābbhis*. D. *pañcābbhyas*. L. *pañcāsu*.

6. *ṣṭis-* 'six'; N. A. *ṣṭī*. I. *ṣṭābbhis*. D. *ṣṭābbhyās*⁸.

7. N. A. *saptā* 'seven'. I. *saptābbhis*. D. Ab. *saptābbhyas*. G. *saptānām*.

8. That the cardinal for 'eight' was an old dual⁹ is indicated by its forms in the N. A. *aṣṭā*, *aṣṭāu* and in the only other cases occurring, I. *aṣṭābbhis*, D. *aṣṭābbhyās* (TS.). According to the analysis of the Pada text in a late passage of the RV. (x. 27¹⁰), *aṣṭātarittāt* contains the N. *aṣṭā*, doubtless because it is preceded by *saptā* and followed by *nāva* and *dāśa*.

a. The stem used in compounding has mostly the dual form *aṣṭā*; thus *aṣṭā-pād-* 'eight-footed', *aṣṭā-vandhura-* 'eight-seated'¹⁰; *aṣṭā-dāśa-* (TS.) 'eighteen', *aṣṭā-vimśā-* (AV.)

¹ See above 12, 13; cp. BENEFF, *Vedica und Verwandtes* 4.

² On the accentuation, see 94, 2 a.

³ It shares this peculiarity with *ṣaṇ-nām*, the gen. plur. of *ṣṭī*, which however does not seem to occur in any of the Saṃhitās.

⁴ With accent on the final syllable like the genitives of *pāñca* etc.

⁵ G. *caturnām* and L. *catāsfṣu* occur in B.

⁶ On the Sandhi, see above 78.

⁷ That is, of accenting *-ā* before the terminations *-bbhis*, *-bbhyas*, *-su*, and the final syllable in the gen. See above, 93.

⁸ Cp. note 3.

⁹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 441, 8.

¹⁰ These are the only two occurrences in the RV., for in *aṣṭā-karṣā-* (x. 62⁷) the first member is doubtless a past participle.

'twenty-eightfold', *aṣṭā-cakra-* (AV.) 'eight-wheeled', *aṣṭā-pakṣa-* (AV.) 'eight-sided', *aṣṭāyogā-* (AV.) 'yoke of eight'. The form *aṣṭa-* begins to appear in the AV. in the derivative *aṣṭā-dhā* 'in eight ways'; and in the compounds *aṣṭa-kṛtvā* 'eight times', *aṣṭā-yoni-* 'having eight wombs', *aṣṭa-ṛṣā-* 'eight times chief'.

9. N. A. *nūva* 'nine'. I. *navābhis*. D. *navābhyas* (TS.). G. *navānām*.
10. N. A. *dāśa* 'ten'. I. *daśābhis*. D. *daśābhyas* (TS.). G. *daśānām*. I. *daśāsu*.
11. N. A. *ekādaśa* 'eleven'. D. *ekādaśābhyas* (TS.).
12. N. A. *dvādaśa* 'twelve'. D. *dvādaśābhyas* (TS.).
13. N. A. *trāyodaśa* 'thirteen'. I. *trāyodaśābhis* (TS.). D. *trāyodaśābhyas* (TS.).
14. N. A. *caturdaśa* 'fourteen'. D. *caturdaśābhyas* (TS.).
15. N. A. *pañcadaśa* 'fifteen'. D. *pañcadaśābhyas* (TS.).
16. N. A. *ṣoḍaśa* (VS.) 'sixteen'. D. *ṣoḍaśābhyas* (TS.).
17. 18. The N. of the cardinals for 'seventeen' and 'eighteen' does not seem to occur in Mantras. D. *saptadaśābhyas* (TS.); *aṣṭadaśābhyas* (TS.).
19. N. A. *nūvadaśa* (VS.) 'nineteen'. I. *navadaśābhis* (VS.). D. *ekān ni vīṃśatyāi* (TS.).

c. The third group of cardinals, comprising the numbers from 'twenty' onwards, are substantives inflected regularly according to the declension of the stem final; e. g. N. *vīṃśatī-* 'twenty', A. *vīṃśatī-m*, I. *vīṃśaty-ā*; N. *triṃśatī* 'thirty', A. *triṃśatī-am*, I. *triṃśatī-ā*, L. *triṃśatī-i*. The decades 'twenty' to 'ninety' and their compounds are fem. and nearly always inflected in the singular; but if the sense requires it they may be used in the plural; e. g. *nūva navatīḥ* 'nine nineties'; *navānām navatīnām* (I. 191¹³) 'of nine nineties'.

a. *śatī-* 'a hundred' and *sahasra-* 'a thousand' are neuters, which may be declined in all numbers; e. g. *dvī śatī* 'two hundred'; *saptā śatāni* 'seven hundred'.

Syntactical employment of the Cardinals.

407. a. The numerals from 'one' to 'nineteen' are used adjectivally; e. g. *trīyo vīrāḥ* (III. 56⁸) 'three heroes'; *saptābhiḥ putrīḥ* (X. 72⁹) 'with seven sons'; *jānesu pañcaśu* (III. 37⁹) 'among the five races'. The bare stem (in the numerals of the second group) is, however, sometimes used in the oblique cases; e. g. *saptā hōtrībhiḥ* (III. 10⁴) 'with seven priests'; *śatī pañca kṛṣṣu* (II. 2¹⁰) 'over the five tribes'.

a. Exceptionally these numerals are, however, to be met with governing a genitive; e. g. *dāśa kalāśānām* (IV. 32¹⁹) 'ten jars'.

b. The third group of numerals (from 'twenty' upwards), as singular substantives, is treated in two ways.

1. They may govern a genitive; e. g. *pañcaśītam āśvānām* (V. 18⁵) 'fifty horses'; *ṣaṣṭīm āśvānām* (VIII. 46²⁰) 'sixty horses'; *śatīm gōnām* (I. 126⁷) 'a hundred kine'. So also when *śatī-* and *sahasra-* are in the du. or pl.; e. g. *gōvām śatāni* (VII. 103¹⁰) 'hundreds of kine'; *sahasrāṇi gōvām* (VIII. 51²) 'thousands of kine'.

2. They may, remaining singular, agree in case with the following plural, being then used adjectivally (not appositionally, because they always precede the substantive in this use); e. g. *triṃśad devāḥ* (III. 9²) 'thirty gods'; *triṃśatām yājanāni* (I. 123⁸) 'thirty leagues'; *triṃśatā hōtrībhiḥ* (II. 18⁵) 'with thirty bays'; *śatāna hōtrībhiḥ* (II. 18⁶) 'with a hundred bays'; *śatīm pūraḥ* (IV. 27⁵) 'a hundred forts'; *sahasraṃ hōtrayāḥ* (IV. 46³) 'a thousand bays'. The following word, agreeing with *sahasra-*, may be in the singular as a collective; thus *śīnaś cic chēpaṃ nidītaṃ sahasrād yūpad amūcaḥ* (V. 2²) 'Sunahsepa, who was bound, thou didst release from a thousand posts'.

a. *śatī-* and *sahasra-* have, in their adjectival use, the peculiarity of sometimes either being put in the plural themselves or retaining the N. A. neuter sing. form (like *pañca*) when in agreement with an inst. pl.; e. g. *śatā pūraḥ* (I. 53⁸) 'a hundred forts'; *sahasrāṇy*

śāhiraṭhāni (X. 98⁹) 'a thousand wagonloads'; *śālm pūrbbhī* (VI. 48⁸) 'with a hundred forts'; *śāśāram pūrbbhī* (I. 189⁸) 'with a thousand seers'.

β. The numeral pronouns *kaṭi* 'how many?', *tdi* 'so many', *yāti* 'as many', remain uninflected in agreement with nominatives and accusatives plural, which are the only cases found occurring with them in the Saṃhitās.

B. Ordinals.

408. The ordinals, being all adjectives ending in *-a*, are declined throughout in the masc. and neut. according to the nominal *a*-declension. The feminine is formed with *-ī*,¹ except in the first four, which take *-ā*, viz. *prathamā*,² *dvitīyā*,³ *trīyā*,³ *turiyā* (TS.). The ordinals may best be divided into four groups according to the formation of their stems.

1. The ordinals from 'first' to 'tenth' are formed with various suffixes, viz. *(-)-īya*, *-tha*, *-thamā*, *-mā*, the first four in a somewhat irregular manner.

a. *pra-thamā* 'first' was doubtless formed from *pra-* with the superlative suffix *-tama*,⁴ meaning 'foremost', the initial of the suffix being probably changed under the influence of other ordinals formed with *-tha* (*śasṭhā*, etc.).

b. The next three ordinals are formed with the suffix *-īya*: *dvitīyā* 'second', *trīyā* 'third', secondarily through *dvī-tī* 'second', and *trī-tī* 'third', both used as names; *turiyā* 'fourth' for **ktur-īya* (beside *catuṣ-thā*). The latter when used in the fractional sense is accented *tūriyā* (AV.) 'quarter'.

c. The ordinal for 'sixth', besides the alternative forms for 'fourth' and 'seventh', is formed with *-tha*: *śasṭhā* (AV. VS.), *catuṣ-thā* (AV. VS.), *saptā-thā* (RV.).

d. The ordinals for 'fifth' and 'seventh' to 'tenth' are formed with *-mā*: *pañca-mā* (AV. VS.), *sapta-mā* (VS.) beside *saptā-thā*, *aṣṭa-mā*, *nava-mā*, *daśa-mā*.

2. The stems of the ordinals for 'seventh' to 'nineteenth' are the same as those of the cardinals, except that they are accented on the final syllable. In inflexion they differ from the cardinals in following the ordinary nominal *a*-declension; thus from *ekādaśā* 'eleventh' are formed: sing. m. A. *ekādaśīm*; pl. N. *ekādaśāsah*, A. *ekādaśīm*, I. *ekādaśīs*.

3. The ordinals for 'twentieth' to 'ninetieth' (including their compounds) seem, judged by some three examples met with in the Saṃhitās (and some four others in B.), to have been abbreviated forms of the cardinals, ending in *-d*: *eka-viṃśī* 'twenty-first' (B.) 'consisting of twenty-one' (VS.), *catuṣ-ṛiṃśī* (RV.) 'fortieth', *aṣṭa-catvāriṃśī* (VS.) 'forty-eighth'; *catuṣ-triṃśī* (B.) 'thirty-fourth', *dvā-pañcāśī* (B.) 'fifty-second', *eka-ṣaṣṭī* (B.) 'sixty-first'.

4. The ordinals for 'hundredth' and 'thousandth' are formed with the superlative suffix *-tama*: *śata-tamā*; but *sahasra-tamā* has been noted in B. passages only (TS. SB.).

C. Numeral Derivatives.

409. A number of derivatives, chiefly adverbs, are formed from the cardinals.

a. There are a few multiplicative adjectives derived with the suffixes *-a*, *-ya*, *-taya*, *-vaya*; thus *tray-ā* 'threefold' (from *trī-*); *dvā-yā* 'twofold'; *dāśa-taya* 'tenfold'; *catuṣ-vaya* 'fourfold'.

b. Multiplicative adverbs are formed in three different ways. 'Once'

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK 50.

² Inflected like stems in derivative *-ī*: 377.

³ Both *prathamā* and *trīyā* have one form each according to the pronominal declension in the AV. (403, 3, c).

⁴ Cp. the adverbial acc. *pra-tamām* (B.) 'specially'. See BRUGMANN, KG, 447, 1.

⁵ Similarly in B. passages *catuṣ-thā* 'quarter', *trīyā* 'third'.

is expressed by *sa-kṛt*, which originally seems to have meant 'one making'. The next three are formed with the suffix *-s*: *dvī-s* 'twice'; *trī-s* 'thrice', *catvīs* (AV.) 'four times' (for **catūr-s*, cp. Av. *čathru-š*)¹. Others are expressed by the cardinal and the form *kṛtvās* 'times' (probably = 'makings', acc. pl. of **kṛtu-*), which, except in *aṣṭa-kṛtvās* (AV.) 'eight times', is a separate word; thus *dāśa kṛtvās* (AV.) 'ten times', *bhūri kṛtvās* (RV.) 'many times'².

c. Numeral adverbs of manner are formed with the suffix *-dhā*; thus *dvī-dhā* 'in two ways or parts'; similarly *trī-dhā* and *trc-dhā*, *catur-dhā*, *pañca-dhā* (AV.), *ṣoḍhā*³, *sapta-dhā* (AV. VS. TS.), *aṣṭa-dhā* (AV.), *nava-dhā* (AV.), *sahasra-dhā*.

VII. THE VERB.

DENFFY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 788—920. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 527—1073. — DELBRÜCK, *Das altindische Verbum*, Halle 1874. — AVERY, *Contributions to the history of verb-inflection in Sanskrit*, JAOS. x. (1876), 219—276; 311—324. — JUL. V. NEGELEN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda. Das Verbal-system des Atharva-Veda*, Berlin 1898.

410. **General characteristics.** — The verbal system comprises the two groups of forms which include, on the one hand, the finite verb and, on the other, the nominal formations connected with the verb. The former group represents the forms made with personal endings, viz. indicative, subjunctive, injunctive, optative, and imperative. The latter group consists of infinitives (nouns of action) and participles (agent nouns). These differ from ordinary nouns inasmuch as they participate in the characteristics of the verb, governing cases, being connected with particular tenses, being used in different voices, and being liable to tmesis when compounded with prepositions.

A. The finite verb distinguishes the **primary conjugation** of the root and the **secondary conjugation** of derivative formations, viz. desiderative, intensive, causative, and denominative. The latter class does not, however, differ in origin from the former; but doubtless because (in contrast with the present stems of the primary conjugation) it preserves the distinctive meaning of the stem, it extends the form of the present stem beyond the present system to the whole conjugation.

The finite verb further distinguishes voice, tense, mood, number, and person.

a. There are **two voices**, active and middle, which are distinguished throughout the inflexion of the verb (largely also in the participle, though not in the infinitive). The middle forms may be employed in a passive sense, except in the present system where there is a special passive stem inflected with middle terminations. Some verbs are conjugated in both active and middle; e. g. *kṛṇō-ti* and *kṛṇu-ti* 'makes'; others in one voice only, e. g. *ās-ti* 'is'; others partly in one and partly in the other; e. g. pres. *vārtā-te* 'turns', but perf. *vavārt-a* 'has turned'.

b. There are **five tenses** in ordinary use, viz. the present, the imperfect, the perfect, the aorist, and the future. The terms imperfect, perfect, and aorist are here used in a purely formal sense, that is, as corresponding in formation to the Greek tenses bearing those names. No Vedic tense has an imperfect meaning, while the perfect sense is generally expressed by the aorist.

c. Beside the indicative there are **four moods**, the subjunctive, the injunctive, the optative, and the imperative, all formed from the stem of the

¹ Cp. BEUGMANN, KG. 450, 1.
² Cp. WHITNEY 1105, a.

³ For *ṣaṣ-dhā*; cp. above 43, b, 3; 56, b; and p. 307, note 6.

present, the perfect, and the aorist. The imperfect has no moods; and the only modal form occurring in the future is the unique subjunctive *karisyās*, from *kr-* 'make'.

d. The finite verb is, as in other languages, used in three persons in all tenses and moods excepting the imperative, where the first persons are supplied from the subjunctive. As in declension, the three numbers, singular, dual, and plural, are in regular use throughout.

B. The nominal verb-forms comprise:

a. **Participles.** The tense-stem of the present, future, aorist, and perfect each forms an active and a middle participle; e. g. *gācchant-*, *gāccha-māna-* 'going'; *karisyānt-* 'going to do', *yaṅsyā-māna-* 'going to sacrifice'; *krīnt-*, *krānt-* 'making'; *cakrīvāms-*, *cakrānt-* 'having done'. Besides these, there are passive participles, present, perfect, and future. The present form is made from the passive stem in *-ya-*; e. g. *stūyā-māna-* 'being praised'. The perfect passive participle, on the other hand, is formed from the root; e. g. *kr-t-t-* 'made'; as is also (with few exceptions) the future passive participle or gerundive; e. g. *vānt-ya-* 'praiseworthy'.

b. **Gerunds.** These are stereotyped cases (chiefly instrumentals) of verbal nouns, and have the value of indeclinable active participles with a prevailing past sense; e. g. *gatvī* and *gatvāya* 'having gone'.

c. **Infinitives.** There are about a dozen differently formed types of infinitives, which are cases of verbal nouns made directly or with a suffix from the root, and hardly ever connected with a tense stem; e. g. *lūh-am* 'to kindle'; *gān-tavī* 'to go'.

A. The Finite Verb.

411. All forms of the finite verb¹ may be classed under four groups: (1) the present system, comprising the present tense together with its moods and participles, and its augmented past tense, the imperfect; (2) the perfect system, comprising the perfect tense together with its moods and participles, and its augmented past tense, the pluperfect² (494); (3) the aorist system, comprising the aorist tense together with its moods and participles; (4) the future system, comprising the future tense³ together with its participles, and its augmented past form, the conditional⁴.

Personal Endings.

412. The characteristic feature of the finite verb is the addition of personal endings⁵. These are divided into active and middle; in each of which groups, again, primary and secondary forms are to be distinguished. The primary forms appear throughout the present and future indicative, but in the middle only of the perfect indicative⁶. The secondary forms appear in augmented indicatives, in injunctives (which are identical in form with un-augmented past indicatives), in the imperative (several forms of which are identical with the injunctive)⁷, and in the optative. The subjunctive fluctuates between the primary and the secondary endings, but the latter are about

¹ Over 18000 occurrences of verb-forms have been noted by AVERY (221) in the RV.

² This term is used in a purely formal sense, as this rare tense has not a pluperfect meaning.

³ There is no periphrastic future in the Samhitā.

⁴ There is only a single occurrence of this formation in the Samhitā.

⁵ Cp. AVERY 225 f.; BRUGMANN, KG. 771-798.

⁶ The 3. pl. has here the peculiar ending *-e*.

⁷ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 729.

twice as frequent as the former¹. The perfect indicative active has some of the regular secondary endings (*-va, -ma, -ur*), but the rest are of a peculiar type.

Active endings.

Primary. Sing. 1. *-mi*². 2. *-si*. 3. *-ti*³. Du. 1. *-vas*⁴. 2. *-thas*⁵. 3. *-tas*⁶. Pl. 1. *-masi, -mas*⁶. 2. *-tha, -thana*⁷. 3. *-anti*⁸.
Secondary. Sing. 1. *-m*. 2. *-s*⁹. 3. *-t*¹⁰. Du. 1. *-va*. 2. *-tam*. 3. *-ām*. Pl. 1. *-mu*. 2. *-tu, -tana*¹¹. 3. *-an, -ur*¹².

Middle endings.

Primary. Sing. 1. *-e*. 2. *-se*¹³. 3. *-te*¹⁴. Du. 1. *-vaha*¹⁵. 2. *-āthe*¹⁶. 3. *-āte*¹⁶. Pl. 1. *-mahe*¹⁷. 2. *-dhve*¹⁸. 3. *-ante*¹⁹.
Secondary. Sing. 1. *-i*²⁰. 2. *-thās*²¹. 3. *-ta*²². Du. 1. *-vahi*. 2. *-āthām*²³. 3. *-āthām*²³. Pl. 1. *-mahi*. 2. *-dhvam*²⁴. 3. *-anta*²⁵.

a. Beside the perfect endings containing *r*, act. du. 2. *-athur*, 3. *-atur*, pl. 3. *-ur*, middle *-re*, some verbs have endings with initial *r* in the 3. pl. mid. ind. and opt. of most tenses. These endings are *-re* and *-rate* in the pres. ind.; *-rīre* in the perf. ind.; *-ran* in the opt. pres. and the ind. imperfect, pluperfect, and aorist; *-ram* in the ind. aor.; *-ranā* in the pluperfect; *-rata* in the opt. In the AV. *-rām* and *-ratām* appear in the 3. pl. impv. mid.²⁶

b. More than twenty roots have forms in which certain endings are added to the root with the connecting vowel *i* or less commonly *ī*. These roots are *an-* 'breathe', *am-* 'injure', *as-* 'be', *id-* 'praise', *il-* 'rule', *cid-* 'impel', *jan-* 'beget', *tu-* 'be strong', *dhvan-* 'sound', *brū-* 'speak', *vam-* 'vomit', *var-* 'clothe', *ṛṣ-* 'rain', *śnath-* 'pierce', *śru-* 'hear',

¹ AVERY 227 (middle).

² The subjunctive has *-āni* and instead of it (13 times) *-ā*; cp. AVERY 225 (mid.) and BRUGMANN, KG. 772.

³ The perf. ind. has the peculiar endings 1. *-a* or *-au*, 2. *-tha*, 3. *-a* or *-au* in the sing.

⁴ This ending does not occur in the RV.; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 24.

⁵ The perf. act. du. has the peculiar endings 2. *-athur*, 3. *-atur*.

⁶ *-masi* occurs 109 times in the RV., being more than 5 times as frequent as *-mas* (cp. WHITNEY 548; AVERY 226), but in the AV. *-mas* has become commoner than *-masi* in the proportion of 4 to 3. On these endings cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 311-315.

⁷ In the RV. *-tha* occurs more than 6 times as often as *-thana* (AVERY 226). The perf. ind. has the peculiar ending *-a*.

⁸ The *an* is replaced by *a* (for the sonant nasal) in reduplicated verbs and a few others treated as such; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 51 (mid.).

⁹ The impv. act. adds *-hi, -si, -āna, -āt* or no ending.

¹⁰ The 3. impv. has *-u* instead of *-t*; in the RV. and TS. also *-it*; see 418 b.

¹¹ In the RV. *-tu* occurs more than 4 times as often as *-tana* (560 occurrences to 125; AVERY 226).

¹² In the ind. perf., the ind. *s*-aorist, and the optative, *-ur* always appears, sometimes also in the imperfect; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 52. The impv. has *-antu*, which loses its *n* under the same conditions as *-anti*.

¹³ In the AV. *-sai* is the only form of the subjunctive (WHITNEY 561, a).

¹⁴ *-tai* occurs once in the RV. for *-te* in the subjunctive; it is the usual form in the AV. In the RV. *-e* sometimes occurs for *-te* in the ind. pres.; it is the only ending in the perf. ind.

¹⁵ The subjunctive has *-vahi*.

¹⁶ In the *a*-conjugation *-the* and *-te*; *-āthe* and *-āte* appear in the RV. as subjunctives in several forms; *-āte* occurs once as an indicative; cp. WHITNEY 547, c and 561, a; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 106 and p. 45 (mid.).

¹⁷ *-mahai* is the usual form in the subjunctive in the RV. and AV.

¹⁸ In the RV. once *-dhvai* in the subjunctive.

¹⁹ In the impv. *-antām* and *-atām*.

²⁰ In the optative (*ī*)-*a*.

²¹ In the impv. *-vā*.

²² In the impv. *-tām*.

²³ In the *a*-conjugation *-āthām* and *-tām*.

²⁴ Once *-dhva* in the RV.

²⁵ In the impv. *-antām*; both this ending and *-antu* lose their *n* under the same conditions as *-anti*. The perf. ind. has *-re*.

²⁶ See DELBRÜCK, Verbum 76-78; AVERY 226; BRUGMANN, KG. 797; cp. also BOLLENSEN, ZDMG. 22, 599; KUHN, KZ. 18, 400; BENFEY, Ueber die Entstehung und Verwendung der im Sanskrit mit *r* anlautenden Personalendungen, Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen 15, Göttingen 1870; WINDISCH, Berichte der sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wiss. 1889, p. 1 ff.; ZIMMER, KZ. 30, 224 ff.

kras 'breathe', *sikh* 'repel', *stan* 'thunder', *stambh* 'prop'. There are also a few 3. plurals in *ī-*, viz. *īvyire*, *īsvire*, *īsvire*, *īsvire* and *īsvire*, in which the connecting vowel *i* appears².

The Augment.

413. The augment³ (originally doubtless an independent temporal particle) consists of the syllable *a-*, which is prefixed to the imperfect, pluperfect, aorist, and conditional, giving to those forms the signification of past time. It invariably bears the acute when the verb is accented, like the preposition immediately preceding a verb in a principal sentence (111). The augment sometimes appears lengthened before *n*, *y*, *r* or *v*, the only examples being *ā-naṣ*, from *naṣ-* 'attain'; *ā-yunak* (beside *a-yunak*), *ā-yukta* (beside *a-yukta*), and *ā-yukṣātām*, from *yuj-* 'join'; *ā-riṣak* and *ā-raik*, from *ric-* 'leave'; *ā-var*, from *vṛ-* 'cover'; *ā-vṛṇi*, from *vṛ-* 'choose'; *ā-vṛnak*, from *vṛj-* 'turn'; *ā-vidhyat* (beside *ā-vidhyat*), from *vṛadh-* 'wound'. The only one of these forms written with *i* in the Pada text is *ā-var* (but once also *a-var*). There is also one passage (II. 17.⁹) in which the metre seems to require that *yās i!* 'vidhat should be read *yās ta āvidhat*⁴.

a. With the initial vowels *i*, *u*, *r* the augment irregularly contracts to the Vṛddhi vowels *ai*, *au*, *ar*; e. g. *āicchas*, 2. sing. imperf. of *iṣ-* 'wish'; *ānat*, 3. sing. imperf. of *ud-* 'wet'; *āra*, 3. sing. aor. of *r-* 'go'. This appears to be a survival of a prehistoric contraction of *a* with *i*, *u*, *r* to *ai*, *au*, *ar*, which is otherwise almost invariably represented by *e*, *o*, *ar*⁵.

b. The augment is very often dropped. This optional loss is to be explained as a survival from the Indo-European period when, being an independent particle, the augment could be dispensed with if the past sense was clear from the context. In the RV. the number of examples in which the augment is wanting (about 2000) is considerably more than half that of forms in which it is prefixed (about 3300), more than one half of these unaugmented forms being aorists. In the AV. the number of forms which lose the augment is less than half that of those which retain it, more than four fifths of these unaugmented forms being aorists. In sense, the forms which drop the augment are either indicative or injunctive. The indicatives have for the most part a past, but often also (generally when compounded with prefixes) a present meaning. In the RV., the indicative and injunctive unaugmented forms are about equal in number⁶; the injunctives being used in nearly one-third of their occurrences with the prohibitive particle *mā*. In the AV. about nine-tenths of the unaugmented forms are injunctive, some four-fifths of these being construed with *mā*.

Formation of the Moods.

414. 1. Subjunctive⁷. The subjunctive is a very common mood in the RV. and the AV., occurring three or four times as often as the optative. It is formed from the present, the perfect, and the aorist⁸. The stem is formed by adding *a* to the indicative stem. When a strong and weak stem are distinguished, the *a* is attached to the former; while it coalesces to *i* with the final of the stem in the *a-* conjugation. Thus the subjunctive stem of

¹ AVERY 226.

² AVERY 227 (top).

³ Cp. AVERY 225; BRUGMANN KG. 626.

⁴ WHITNEY 585, a.

⁵ Cp. above 19 a, 4. 5.

⁶ WHITNEY 587, a. According to AVERY: ⁷ Only a single form of the future subjunctive occurs.

have a historical sense in 488 instances only.

⁸ See especially W. NEISSER, Zur vedischen Verballehre (Inaugural-Dissertat.), Göttingen 1882 = BB. 7 (1883), 211—241.

the root *dūh-* 'milk' in *dūh-a-*; of *yuj-* 'join' *yundj-a-*; but of *bhū-* 'be' *bhāv-a-*. Owing to the analogy of the *a-* conjugation, other verbs sometimes add *ū* instead of *a*, e. g. *brav-ū-thā* from *brū-* 'speak'. The subjunctive is on the whole inflected like an indicative, but with fluctuations between the primary and the secondary endings, besides some variations in the endings themselves. Thus in the active, (1) the ending of the 1. sing. is *-ant*, of which the *ni* is dropped thirteen times in the RV., e. g. *dūh-āni*, *yundj-āni*, *bhāv-āni*; *bhāv-a-*; (2) the 1. du. and 1. 3. pl. have the secondary endings *-va*, *-ma*, *-an* only; e. g. *dūh-āva*, *dūh-āma*, *dūh-an*; *bhāv-āva*, *bhāv-āma*, *bhāv-ān*; (3) the 2. 3. sing. may take the secondary endings as well as the primary; e. g. *dūh-a-si* or *dūh-a-s*; *bhāv-ā-ti* or *bhāv-ā-t*².

In the middle, (1) the only secondary ending is found in the 3. pl., *-anta*, which occurs beside and more frequently than *-ante*; (2) the ending *-ai*, which is normal in the 1. sing. (being = *a + e*), has spread from that person to forms in which *e* would be normal. Thus the 1. du. has *-āvahai* only; in the 1. pl., *-āmahai* is the usual form in the RV. and AV. beside the rarer *-āmahc*; in the 2. sing., *-sai* always appears for *-se* in the AV., though it does not occur in the RV.; in the 2. pl., *-dhvai* occurs once for *-dhve*³ in the RV.; in the 2. 3. du., *-aithe* and *-aite* occur several times in the RV., being doubtless intended for subjunctive modifications⁴ of the indicative *-ethe* and *-ete* of the *a-* conjugation; in the 3. sing., *-tai* occurs once in the RV. for *-te*, and is the usual form in the AV.

a. The subjunctive endings in combination with the *-a* of the stem are accordingly the following:

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>āni</i> , <i>-ā</i>	<i>-āva</i>	<i>-āma</i>	1. <i>-ai</i>	<i>-āvahai</i>	<i>-āmahai</i> , <i>-āmahc</i>
2. <i>-a-si</i> ⁵ , <i>-a-s</i> ⁶	<i>-a-las</i>	<i>-a-tha</i>	2. <i>-a-se</i> , <i>-a-sai</i>	<i>-aithe</i>	<i>-a-dhve</i> , <i>-a-dhvai</i>
3. <i>-a-ti</i> ⁷ , <i>-a-t</i>	<i>-a-las</i>	<i>-a-n</i>	3. <i>-a-te</i> , <i>-a-tai</i>	<i>-aite</i>	<i>-ante</i> , <i>-anta</i> .

415. Injunctive. The unaugmented forms of past tenses used modally, are sometimes called improper subjunctives⁸, but they are more suitably termed injunctives, as they appear to have originally expressed an injunction. This is borne out by the fact that since the 1E. period the second and third persons imperfect (except the 2. sing. act.) had come to be used as regular imperatives expressing a command⁹. But the unaugmented forms of the imperfect that could be distinguished from the regular imperative (as *bhūras*, *bhūrat*, *bharan*) and especially unaugmented aorists¹⁰, are often used in a sense fluctuating between that of the subjunctive (requisition) and of the optative (wish)¹¹. Thus *bhūratu* 'let him bear', but *bhūrat* 'may he bear', *bhū* 'may he be'.

416. Optative. This mood, which is comparatively rare in the Saṅgīhitās, is formed from the present, the perfect, and the aorist. The stem is formed with *-yā* or *-ī*, which, when strong and weak stem are distinguished,

¹ Cp. WHITNEY 560 e; BRUGMANN, KG. 719.
² The subjunctive in *ū* is in origin an old injunctive: BRUGMANN, KG. 716 (end).
³ In the form *mādayādhvai* 'may ye rejoice'.
⁴ *kravāite*, however, appears once as an indicative; see DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 45.
⁵ In the aor. subj., *-si* occurs only once in the RV.
⁶ In the *a-* conjugation *ā* appears throughout: *-āni*, *-āi*, etc.
⁷ In the aor. subj., *-ti* occurs only six times in the RV.
⁸ WHITNEY 563.
⁹ The 3. sing. and pl., e. g. *bhūrat-u* and *bhūrant-u*, are explained as injunctives and the particle *u*: BRUGMANN, KG. 729, 1.
¹⁰ The aorist injunctives were probably used originally with the prohibitive particle *mā* only: BRUGMANN, KG. 716, 2 (end).
¹¹ Cp. WHITNEY 575.

are attached to the latter. In the *a*-conjugation *-r̄* is added (coalescing with *a* to *e*) throughout; in other verbs *-r̄* is added in the middle only, and *-yā* (often to be read as *-iā*) in the active only¹.

a. Roots ending in *ā* usually change that vowel to *e* before *-yā*; e. g. *de-yām* (perhaps to be explained as *dāijām*)² 'I would give'. But *ā* is sometimes retained, as in *yā-yām* 'I would go'.

b. The endings are the secondary ones. There are, however, some irregularities in the 1. sing. and the 3. pl. 1. The 3. pl. mid. always takes *-an* instead of *-am*. 2. The 3. pl. act. always takes *-ur*, before which the *ā* of *-yā* is dropped, while in the *a*-conjugation *y* is interposed between *e*³ and *-ur*. 3. The 1. sing. mid. has the peculiar ending *a* with *y* interposed between it and the modal *-i*. 4. The 1. sing. act. of the *a*-conjugation attaches *-am* instead of *-m* (the termination *-em* being unknown), interposing *y* between it and the *e*³ of the stem.

a. The endings of the optative in combination with the modal suffix are accordingly the following:

1. Graded conjugation.

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>-yā-m</i>	<i>-yā-va</i>	<i>-yā-ma</i>	1. <i>-r̄-yā</i>	<i>-r̄-vāhi</i>	<i>-r̄-māhi</i>
2. <i>-yā-s</i>	<i>-yā-tam</i>	<i>-yā-ta</i>	2. <i>-r̄-thās</i>	<i>-r̄-y-āthām</i>	<i>-r̄-dhvām</i>
3. <i>-yā-t</i>	<i>-yā-tām</i>	<i>-y-ir</i>	3. <i>-r̄-tā</i>	<i>-r̄-y-ātām</i>	<i>-r̄-r-ān</i>

2. *a*-conjugation.

1. <i>-e-y-am</i>	<i>-e-va</i>	<i>-e-ma</i>	1. <i>-e-y-a</i>	<i>-e-vāhi</i>	<i>-e-māhi</i>
2. <i>-e-s</i>	<i>-e-tam</i>	<i>-e-ta</i>	2. <i>-e-thās</i>	<i>-e-y-āthām</i>	<i>-e-dhvām</i>
3. <i>-e-t</i>	<i>-e-tām</i>	<i>-e-y-ur</i>	3. <i>-e-tā</i>	<i>-e-y-ātām</i>	<i>-e-r-an.</i>

417. **Precative.** This is a form of the optative which adds an *-s* after the modal suffix in several persons, and is made almost exclusively from aorist stems. In the RV. there occur a few forms of the precativ in three persons (1. 3. sing., 1. pl.) active, and in two persons (2. 3. sing.) middle; thus active: 1. sing. *bhū-yā-s-am* (aor.) 'may I be'; 3. sing. *as-yās* (for **as-yā-s-t*) 'may he attain' (aor.); *babhū-yās* 'may he be' (perf.); 1. pl. *kri-yā-s-ma* 'may we do' (aor.); middle: 2. sing. *man-s-r̄-s-thās* (aor.) and 3. sing. *man-s-r̄-s-ta* (aor.), from *man-* 'think'.

418. **Imperative.** This mood has no mood-sign of its own, as all the first persons are subjunctives and the second and third persons are mostly old injunctives. The purely injunctive forms are the 2. 3. du. and 2. pl. active and middle, ending in *-tam*, *-tām*, *-ta*; *-āthām*, *-ātām*, *-dhvam*. The 3. sing. pl. act. in *-tu*⁴ and *-antu*⁵, and the 3. pl. mid. in *-antām*⁵ may be modifications of injunctives. The imperative has, however, distinctive forms of its own in the 2. sing. act.: *-dhi*, *-hi*, *-āna*, *-tāt*; and in the middle: 2. sing. *-sva* and 3. sing. *-tām* or *-ām*.

a. The 2. sing. act. in the *a*-conjugation has no ending, employing the bare stem (like the vocative singular of the *a*-declension); e. g. *bhāra* 'support'; *neṣa* 'lead' (aor. of *√ni-*). In the graded conjugation, when a strong and weak stem are distinguished, the ending is attached to the latter: *-dhi* is added after both consonants and vowels, *-hi* (the later form of *-dhi*) after vowels only; thus *ad-dhi* 'eat'; *śru-dhi* and *śṛṇu-dhi* 'hear'; *i-hi* 'go', *jāgr-hi* 'awake', *pīpr-hi* 'save', *śṛṇu-hi* 'hear'. In the *nā*-class, *-hi* is added

¹ On the accentuation cp. above 9 and 24 a.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 555 (bottom).

³ The *e* (for *a*) is here probably due to the influence of the other forms *-s*, *-t*, etc.: BRUGMANN, KG. 728.

⁴ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 729, 1; IF. 18, 71; DELBRÜCK, Vergl. Syntax 2, p. 357.

⁵ The ending *-antu* and *-antām* lose their *n* under the same conditions as *-anti* (p. 314, note 8).

only when the root ends in a vowel, but *-īna*¹ when it ends in a consonant; thus *pu-nīhi* 'purify', but *as-īna* 'eat'.

b. The ending *-tāt* occurs some twenty times in the RV. When strong and weak stem are distinguished, it is added to the latter; e. g. *rit-tāt* 'thou shalt regard', *dhat-tāt* 'thou shalt place', *kṛnu-tāt* 'thou shalt make', *puni-tāt* 'thou shalt purify', etc.² Its use is almost restricted to the 2. sing. It is, however, once³ found in the RV. and once in the TS, in the sense of the 3. sing., once as 2. du. in the RV., once as 2. pl. in the TS., and once as 1. sing. in AV.⁴ It appears to have the value of a future imperative, expressing an injunction to be carried out at a time subsequent to the present. It may originally have been identical with the abl. *tād* 'after that', 'then'; *kṛnu-tāt* would thus have meant 'do (it) then'⁵.

I. The Present System.

419. This group consists of a present indicative together with a subjunctive, an injunctive, an optative, an imperative, and participles, besides a past augmented tense called the imperfect because formed analogously to the Greek tense. This is the most important system, as its forms are about three times as common as those of the three other systems taken together⁶. Hence roots are generally classified according to the manner in which their stems are formed in the present system. Here two distinct conjugations may be conveniently distinguished.

The first or *a*-conjugation, all the stems in which end in *-a*, retains the stem unaltered (like the *a*-declension) in every tense, mood, and participle, accenting the same syllable throughout the present indicative, its moods and participles, as well as the unaugmented imperfect⁷. The secondary conjugations in *-a* (desideratives, intensives, causatives, denominatives) as well as the future⁸, follow this conjugation in their inflexion.

The second or graded conjugation is characterized by shift of accent between stem and ending, accompanied by vowel gradation. Minor differences consist in the loss of *n* in the 3. pl. middle, in the addition of another suffix (*-īna* instead of *-māna*) in the middle participle, in the employment of an ending in the 2. sing. impv. act., and in vowel gradation, with shift of accent, in the modal suffix of the optative.

a. The first or *a*-conjugation.

420. The special characteristics of this conjugation are:

1. The *-a* of the stem is lengthened before the endings of the 1. du. and pl. which begin with *v* and *m*; e. g. *jayīmasi* 'we conquer'; while the initial *a* of the endings of the 3. pl. *-anti*, *-ante*, *-an*, *-anta*, is dropped; e. g. *bhāra-nti* 'they bear'.

2. The optative sign is throughout *-ī*, which combines with the *-a* of the present stem to *e*; e. g. *bhāves*.

3. The 2. sing. impv. act. has no ending except the comparatively few instances (about sixteen) in which *-tāt* is added.

¹ On the origin of this peculiar imperative form cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 839, 5.

² See DELBRÜCK, Verbum 38.

³ Op. cit. 77; WHITNEY 571, b. AVERY, however (225, bottom), states that it occurs 5 times in the RV. as a 3. sing.

⁴ WHITNEY, loc. cit.

⁵ BRUGMANN, KG. 732.

⁶ WHITNEY 600, a.

⁷ But when the augment was added, it received the accent just like the verbal position in a principal sentence (the verb itself remaining unaccented).

⁸ Also aorist stems ending in *-a*.

4. The 2, 3, du. mid. substitute *e* for the *ā* of the endings *-āthe*, *-āte*; e. g. 2. *vahethe* 'ye two travel', 3. *vardhete* 'they two thrive'.

5. The middle participle regularly ends in *-māna*.

a. Five classes or types may be distinguished in the present stems of the *a*- conjugation. These are: 1. Stems in which the radical syllable has a strong grade accented vowel¹; e. g. *bhāra-ti*, from *bhr-* 'bear'. 2. Stems in which the radical syllable has a weak grade vowel, the thematic *a* being accented²; e. g. *ruj-ti*, from *ruj-* 'break'. 3. Stems formed with the suffix *-ya*, being either (a) ordinary transitive or intransitive verbs³, e. g. *ās-ya-ti* 'throws'; or (b) passives, e. g. *nr-ya-te* 'is led'. 4. Stems ending in *-aya*, being either (a) causatives (*-āya*) or (b) denominatives (*-āyā*)⁴. 5. Stems formed with the suffix *-sa*, added to the reduplicated root, being desideratives; e. g. *pi-pā-sa* 'desire to drink'. The last two classes, which retain the present stem throughout their inflexion, constitute three of the secondary conjugations which will be treated separately below (541—570).

1. The radically accented *a*- class (*bhāva*-).

421. This is by far the commonest type of the *a*- conjugation, about 300 such present stems occurring in the *Samhitās*⁵. The radical vowel takes *Guna*, unless it is medial and long by nature or position; thus from *ji-* 'conquer': *jīy-a-*; *nr-* 'lead': *nīy-a-*; *bhr-* 'be': *bhāv-a-*; *budh-* 'awake': *būdih-a-*; *sp-* 'creep': *sārpa-*; but *śuv-* 'quicken': *śuv-a-*; *krī-* 'play': *krīḍ-a-*. Roots with medial *a* remain unchanged, e. g. *vad-* 'speak': *vid-a-*.

a. There are, however, several irregularities in the formation of the present stem: 1. *āh-* 'consider' takes *Guna*: *śha-* (but *āh-* 'remove' remains unchanged: *āha-*); *guk-* 'hide' lengthens its vowel: *gūha-*; *kram-* 'stride' lengthens its vowel in the active: *krāma-* (but *krama-* in the middle); *kyp-* 'lament' retains its vowel unchanged: *kypa-*. — 2. The roots *śam-* 'hite' and *śañ-* 'hang' lose their nasal: *dāsa-*, *sajā-*. — 3. *gam-* 'go', *yam-* 'reach', *ya-* 'separate' form their stem with the suffix *-cha-*: *yāccha-*, *yāccha-*, *yucchā-*. — 4. Four stems are transfers from the reduplicating class⁶: *pīḍa-* from *pā-* 'drink', *tiṣṭha-* from *sthā-* 'stand', *śīḍa-*⁷ (for **śi-sad-a-*) from *sad-* 'sit', *sācā-*⁸ (for **śā-sac-a-*) from *sac-* 'accompany'; four others⁹ are transfers from the *nu*- class, being either used beside or having entirely superseded the simpler original stems: *śuv-a-* from *ś-* 'send', beside *ś-ś-ś-*; *śuv-a-* from *ś-* 'quicken', beside *ś-ś-ś-*; *śi-śuv-a-* from *śi-* 'impel', beside *śi-ś-ś-*; *śuv-a-* 'fatten' was doubtless originally **śi-nu-* from the root *śi*¹⁰.

422. Present indicative. The forms of this tense which actually occur, if made from *bhāva*-, would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *bhāvā-mi*, 2. *bhāvā-si*, 3. *bhāvā-ti*. Du. 1. *bhāvā-vas* ('I'S.), 2. *bhāvā-thas*, 3. *bhāvā-tas*. Pl. 1. *bhāvā-masi* and *bhāvā-mas*, 2. *bhāvā-tha*¹¹, 3. *bhāvā-nti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *bhāv-e*, 2. *bhāvā-se*, 3. *bhāvā-te*¹². Du. 1. *bhāvā-tuṭhe*, 3. *bhāv-ete*. Pl. 1. *bhāvā-mahe*¹³, 2. *bhāvā-dhve*, 3. *bhāvā-nte*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

¹ The first class of the Indian grammarians.

² The sixth class of the Indian grammarians.

³ The fourth class of the Indian grammarians.

⁴ The nominal *a* preceding the *-ya* is here sometimes dropped or changed to *ā* or *ī*. See below 562. Some of these verbs in *-aya*, having lost their special stem meaning, are treated as a class (the tenth) of primary verbs.

⁵ See WHITNEY 214—216, cp. 744.

⁶ *dād-a-* occasionally appears for the regular *dādā*, from *dā-* 'give'.

⁷ See ROZWADOWSKI, BB. 21, 147.

⁸ A reminiscence of its reduplicative origin is the loss of the nasal (the sonant becoming *a*) in the ending of the 3. pl.: *śācāti*, *sācāta*.

⁹ *śuv-a-*, beside *ś-ś-ś-* from *ś-* 'send', is a similar transfer to the sixth class.

¹⁰ See WHITNEY, Roots, under *śuv*.

¹¹ *vāda-thana* is the only example of the ending *-thana* in the indicative of the *a*- conjugation.

¹² The RV. once has *śācā* as 3. sing. for *śācāte*.

¹³ DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 30 (top), AVKRY p. 235, WHITNEY 735, b, and GRASSMANN, under *man* 'think', give *manāmāht* (IX. 412).

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *acāmi, ārcāmi, avāmi, ūhāmi (AV. VS.), khināmi, gācchāmi (AV.), carāmi, codāmi, jānāmi, jāyāmi, tapāmi (AV.), tiṣṭhāmi (AV.), dahāmi, dhāvāmi (AV.), nāyāmi (AV. TS.), pacāmi (AV.), patāmi, pibāmi, bhajāmi, bhārāmi, bhavāmi (AV.), mīndāmi (TS. IV. 2. 6'), yacchāmi (AV.), yajāmi (AV.), yācāmi, rapāmi, rājāmi, rokāmi (AV.), vādāmi, vapāmi (AV.), vāhāmi, sāmsāmi, śikṣāmi, sūbhāmi, sajāmi, sapāmi, sidāmi' (AV.), svadāmi, harāmi.*

2. *atāsi, arṣāsi, arhāsi, dvāsi, luvāsi², ūhāsi, kṣayāsi, cārasī, jāyāsi, jinvāsi², jīrvāsi, tapāsi (AV.), tarāsi, tiṣṭhāsi¹, tīrvāsi, dāsāsi, dhanvāsi, dhāvāsi, nōyāsi, pātāsi, pinvāsi², pibāsi¹, bhāvāsi, bhīṣāsi, madāsi (AV.), yācchāsi, yājāsi, vākṣāsi, rājāsi, rohāsi, vācāsi (AV.), vādāsi, vapāsi, varsāsi (AV.), vāhāsi, sāmsāsi, śikṣāsi, sīrpāsi (AV.), saścāsi¹, sidāsi¹, harāsi (AV.).*

3. *acāti (AV.), ājāti, ānāti (AV.), ayāti, ārcāti, ardati (AV.), arṣāti, arhāti, ārvāti, invāti², īyāti, īhāti (Kh. II. 10³), ūhāti, ḥjāti, oṣāti, krīndāti, krāmāti (AV.), kriṣāti, kṣyāti, kṣarāti, khanāti (AV.), khādāti, gācchāti, gāhāti (AV.), cārvāti, cītāti, jāyāti, jinvāti², jīvāti, jīrvāti, jrayāti, tapāti, tārāti, tiṣṭhāti¹, tsārvāti (AV.), dadāti¹, dahāti (AV.), dāsāti, dāsāti, dhāmāti, dhāvāti 'runs' and 'washes', nāksāti, nāndāti (AV.), nōyāti, navāti (AV.) 'praises', pūcāti, pātāti, pinvāti², pibāti¹, piyāti, bādāti, bhījāti, bhānāti, bhīrvāti, bhāvāti, bhāvāti, bhīsvāti (AV.), bhīṣāti, bhīdati, mādāti, mārdati, mehāti (AV.), yācchāti, yājāti, yātāti, yabhāti (TS. VII. 4. 19²), yāmāti, yācāti (AV.), yūcchāti, rākṣāti, rādāti, rapāti, rājāti, rādāti, rējāti, rehāti, rōdhāti, rōṣāti, rōhāti, rūcāti (AV.), vādāti, vāpāti, varjāti, vardhāti, varṣāti (AV.), vasāti 'dwells', vahāti, vāsāti, vēnāti, sāmsāti, śāsāti³, śikṣāti, sūndhāti, sūmbhāti, śicāti (AV. TS.), sarjāti, sārpati, sādāti, śdāti¹, śēdhāti, skandāti, stobhāti, sphūrjāti (AV.), sredhāti, hārāti, hīmsāti' (Kh. IV. 5¹¹).*

Du. 1. *cārvāsi (TS. I. 5. 10¹).* — 2. *acūthas, ārcūthas, arhūthas, dvūthas, invūthas², karṣūthas, kṣyūthas, gācchūthas, ghōṣūthas, cūthas, janūthas, jinvūthas², jīvūthas, jīrvūthas, tiṣṭhūthas¹, dhāmūthas, nakṣūthas, nōyūthas, pātūthas, pinvūthas², bhāvūthas, bhāvūthas, bhīṣūthas, mādūthas, yajūthas, yātūthas, rākṣūthas (AV. TS.), rājūthas, rohūthas, vānūthas, varūthas, vahūthas, śikṣūthas, sadūthas, sūdhūthas, sūdūthas¹, svūdūthas.*

3. *invātas², ajātas (AV.), kṣayātas, khādātas (AV.), gācchātas (AV.), ghōṣātas, cārvātas, tiṣṭhātas¹ (AV.), dravātas (AV.), dhāvātas 'wash', nakṣātas, pūcātas (AV.), pinvātas², pibātas¹, bhāvātas, bhīṣātas, manthātas, mārdatas, yacchātas (AV.), yūcchātas, rākṣātas, rājātas, vardhātas (AV.), vasātas, vāhātas.*

Pl. 1. *ārcāmasi, ārhāmāsi, khānāmāsi (AV.), cārvāmasi and cārvāmas (AV.), jānāmāsi, jāyāmāsi, tarāmāsi, dīyāmāsi (AV.), dahāmāsi (AV.), nāmāmāsi (AV.), nōyāmāsi and nōyāmas (AV.), pibāmāsi¹ (AV.), bādāmāsi, bhujāmāsi (AV.), bhārāmāsi, mādāmāsi and madāmas, methāmāsi, yājāmāsi and yājāmas, vādāmāsi and vadāmas, vasāmāsi (AV.), sāmsāmāsi (AV.), sajāmāsi (AV.), harāmāsi (AV.) and hārāmāsi (AV.).*

2. *ājātha⁵, āvātha, ḥjātha, kriṣātha, kṣyātha, khādātha, gācchātha, carātha (AV.), cūthātha, jinvātha², tīkṣātha, tīrvātha, dhāvātha (AV.), nōyātha, nāsātha, patātha, pinvātha² (TS. III. I. 11⁸), bhāvātha, bhāvātha, bhīṣātha, mādātha, mōṣātha, rākṣātha, rājātha, rējātha, vahātha, sīrpātha. — With -thana only vādāthana.*

3. *acānti (AV.), ajānti, ārcānti, ārcānti, ārhānti, āvānti, krandānti,*

but this is due to Sandhi (108), *manūmahī* 'li standing for *manūmahe dū* (Fp.).

¹ A transfer from the reduplicating class.

² A transfer from the *nu*-class.

³ A transfer from the root class for *śati*.

⁴ A transfer from the infixing class.

⁵ The Samhita lengthens the final vowel in at least ten of the following forms.

krāmanti (AV.), *krīṣanti*, *krīṣānti*, *krīṣānti*, *krīṣānti*, *krīṣānti* (AV.), *khādanti* (AV.), *gacchanti*, *gāmanti*, *gūhanti*, *cīranti*, *īdyanti*, *jūranti*, *jīvanti*¹, *īsvanti*, *tākṣanti*, *tīṣanti*, *taranti*, *tīṣhanti*², *trāsanti*, *tsānti*, *dābhanti*, *dahanti*, *dāsanti* (AV.), *drāvanti*, *dāvanti*, *dāṁanti*, *dāvanti*, *dāvanti*, *nakṣanti*, *nandanti*, *namanti*, *nāyanti*, *navanti* 'they attain', *nīksanti* (AV.), *nindanti*, *pūcanti*, *pūcanti*, *plāvanti*³, *pībanti*⁴, *pīyanti*, *bhājanti*, *bhānti*, *bhūranti*, *bhāvanti*, *bhūṣanti*, *majjanti*, *māḍanti*, *māṅhanti*, *maranti*, *marāhanti*, *mimanti*⁵ (*mā*- 'bellow'), *mehanti*, *yācchanti*, *yājanti*, *yācanti* (AV.), *yodhanti* (AV.), *rākṣanti*, *rājanti*, *rādanti*, *rājanti*, *rebhanti*, *rōhanti*, *vādanti*, *vananti*, *vāpanti*, *vārdhanti*, *vārsanti*, *vāḡanti* (AV.), *vāṣanti*, *vasanti* (AV.), *vāḡanti*, *vēnanti*, *śāṣanti*, *śīksanti*, *śīcanti*, *śānti*, *sapanti*, *sarpanti* (AV.), *sīdanti*⁶, *selhanti*, *skandanti*, *stobhanti*, *srāvanti*, *svādanti*, *svāranti*, *hīranti* (AV.), *hīṣanti*⁷.

Indicative Middle.

Sing. I. *aḡe*, *āme*, *arce*, *īkse*, *gacche* (TS. I. I. 10²), *daye* (AV. TS.), *namē*, *nīkse* (AV.), *bīdhe* (AV.), *bhāre*, *bhīkse*, *maude*, *yāḡe*, *rabhe*, *lābhe* (AV.), *vade*, *vānde*, *varte*, *śraye* (AV.), *sāhe* (AV.), *stāve*, *svaje* (AV.), *hāve*.

2. *arṣase* (AV.), *ohase*, *garhase*, *gāhase*, *cākyase*, *cayase*, *jarase*, *joṣase* (AV.), *tīṣhase*⁸, *toṣase*, *dohase*, *nakṣase*, *nayase*, *payase*, *pinvase*⁹, *būdhasse*, *bhrāṣase*, *maṅhase*, *mandase*, *modase*, *yacchase*, *yajase*, *yamase*, *rākṣase*, *ramase* (AV.), *rīcasse*, *rohase*, *vārdhase*, *vahase*, *śūmbhase*, *śobhase*, *śīcasse*, *stāvase*, *harṣase*.

3. *ajate*, *ayate*, *īkṣate* (AV.), *īṣate*, *īṣate*, *ejate*⁴, *ēhate*, *ūhate*, *kypate*, *kalpate* (AV.), *kramate*, *krījate* (AV.), *gacchate*, *gāhate*, *gūhate*, *ghoṣate*, *cūyate*, *cūate*, *codate*, *cyācate* (AV.), *jūrte*, *jīmbhate*, *tandate*, *tīṣhate*⁸, *tejate*, *toṣate*, *dāksate*, *dadate*⁵ (AV.), *dadhate*⁶ (TS. II. 2. 12⁴), *dīhate*⁵, *dyotate* (AV.), *dhāvate*, *nāksate*, *nāmte*, *nāyate* (AV.), *nāṣate*, *nāṣate*, *pūcate* (AV.), *pāyate*, *pāvate*, *plīvate*⁷, *pībate*⁷, *prāthate*, *pīāvate*, *bīdhate*, *bhājate*, *bhāndate*, *bhāyate*, *bhūrte*, *bhīksate*, *bhījate*, *bhrījate*, *bhrīṣate*, *māṅhate*, *madate* (AV.), *mīrate*, *modate*, *yājate*, *yatate*, *yamate*, *yojate*, *raṅhate*, *rākṣate*, *rāṣate*⁶, *rāmte*, *rambate*, *rījate*, *rīcate*, *rohate*, *lāyate* (AV.), *vācicate* (AV.), *vādte*, *vanate*, *vāndate*, *vāpate*, *vārate* 'covers', *vārdte*, *vārdhate*, *varṣate* (AV.), *vāṣate* (x. 37³), *vāḡate*, *vēpate*, *vyathate*, *śāpate* (AV.), *śīksate*, *śūmbhate*, *śrayate* (AV.), *śācate*, *sahate*, *śādhate*, *śēate*, *śvate*, *stūrte*, *śāyate*, *śāyate*, *śyāndate*, *śvādte*, *hārsate*, *hāvate*, *hāṣate*⁷, *hūrte*. — With -e for -te: *joṣe*, *toṣe*⁸, *make*, *śīye*, *śēve*, *stāve*.

Du. I. *sicāvahe*.

2. *jayethe*, *jarethe*, *rākṣethe*, *varethe*, *vahethe*, *śrayethe*, *sacche*.

3. *carete*, *javete*, *tarde*, *nameṭe*, *bīdhete* (AV.), *bhāyete*, *bhārete*, *methete*, *yateṭe*, *reṭete*, *vārdete*, *vārdete*, *veṭete*, *vyathete*, *sacete*, *śmāyete*, *havete*.

Pl. I. *ṣādāmahe* (AV.), *cīyāmahe*⁹ (AV.), *jarāmahe*, *nāksāmahe*, *nāvāmahe*, *nāṣāmahe*, *bādhamāhe*, *bhājāmahe*, *bhāyāmahe*, *bhārāmahe*, *mānāmahe*¹⁰, *māndāmahe*, *marāmahe*, *yājāmahe*, *yācāmahe*, *rabhāmahe*, *vānāmahe*, *vāndāmahe*, *sahāmahe* (AV.), *śarāmahe*, *śvāmahe*, *śvājāmahe*, *hāvāmahe*.

2. *cayadhve*, *dhavadhve*, *bādhadhve*, *bhāradhve*, *mandadhve*, *vīhadhve*, *śayadhve*, *sicadhve* (AV.).

¹ Transfer from the -nu class.
² A transfer form from the reduplicating class.
³ A transfer from the infixing nasal class.
⁴ In *āpejate* in IV. 48⁴, v. 64³: Pp. *āpa ijate*.
⁵ *dohāte* (x. 133⁷), DELBRÜCK, Verbum 97, and AVERY 233, is a mistake for *dīhate* (a transfer from the root class).
⁶ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 10, 18.
⁷ From *hās*- 'go emulously', a secondary

form of *hā*- 'leave' IX. 27⁵; x. 127³; cp. p. 322, note 3. This form is given by AVERY 258 as subjunctive of the s- aorist of *hā*.

⁸ (IV. 38¹). With irregular accent, like that of similar forms in the graded conjugation.

⁹ Conjecture for *cayāmahe*, AV. XIX. 48¹; see WILLIAMS' note on the passage in his Translation.

¹⁰ See note on *bhāvāmahe*, above, p. 319, note 3.

3. *dyante*, *ikṣante* (AV. TS.), *ṣyante*, *ldhante*, *ḷśḍante*, *gūcchante* (TS. IV. 2. 6¹), *ellante*, *cydvante*, *ḷdyante*, *jarante* 'sing', *ṭṣhante*¹, *dīdante*¹ (AV.), *dhavante*, *nakṣante*, *namante*, *navante*, *pāvante*, *pībante*¹, *plavante* (AV.), *bādḥante*, *bhājante*, *bhāyante*, *bhīrante*, *bhrājante*, *mīdante* (AV.), *yājante*, *yatante*, *yācante*, *rakṣante*, *rante*², *rapsante* (AV.), *rabhante*, *ramante*, *rjante*, *rīcante*, *vādante*, *vādrante*, *vārdhante*, *vārdhante*, *vahante*, *vyathante*, *ṣayante*, *śimbhante*, *śrayante*, *śācante*, *śāpante*, *sāhante*, *stīvante*, *spīrdhante*, *svajante*, *svādante*, *hīrante*, *hīvante*, *hāsante*³ (AV.).

Present Subjunctive†.

423. Active. Sing. 1. *ajāni* (TS. VII. 4. 19¹; VS. XXIII. 19), *carāni*, *jīvāni* (AV.), *tarāni* (AV.), *nāyāni*, *pacāni*, *bhājāni*, *rājāni*, *vādāni* (AV.), *vāhāni*, *hārāni* (AV.). — Without -ni: *arc*.¹

2. a. With -ai: *ājāsi*, *gūcchāsi* (AV.), *jayāsi*, *ṭṣhāsi*² (AV.), *nayāsi* (AV.), *pībāsi*¹, *bhājāsi*, *bhāvāsi*, *bhāsāsi* (AV.), *yājāsi*, *vadāsi*, *vahāsi*.

b. With -s: *āvās*, *gacchās*, *jūyās*, *jīvās* (AV.), *jārvās*³, *ṭṣhās*¹, *bhārās*, *vadās* (AV.), *vīnās* (AV.), *vārdhās*, *śikṣās*.

3. a. With -ti: *ājāti*, *ejāti* (AV.), *gūcchāti*, *jayāti*, *jīvāti*, *tāpāti*, *ṭṣhāti*¹, *dabhāti*, *dahāti*, *dhanvāti*, *nīyāti*, *pīcāti*, *pātāti*, *padāti*, *pībāti*¹, *bōdhāti*, *bhājāti*, *bhīrāti*, *bhāvāti*, *marāti*, *yājāti*, *rakṣāti* (AV.), *vadāti*, *vahāti* (AV.), *śāmsāti*, *śāpāti* (AV.), *śumbhāti* (AV.), *śrayāti* (AV.), *śidāti*¹, *svādāti*, *svarāti*.

b. With -t: *ārcāt*, *ārcāt*, *ārdhāt*, *āvāt*, *invāt*⁴, *ejāt*, *gacchāt*, *ghōṣāt*, *janāt* (AV. VI. 81), *jīvāt*, *ṭṣhāt*¹, *dāsāt* (AV.), *dāsāt*, *dhāvāt* (AV.), *nāyāt* (AV.), *nīnāt*, *pīcāt*, *pītāt*, *pībāt*¹, *bhājāt* (AV.), *bhārāt*, *bhāsāt*, *yācchāt*, *yajāt*, *rjāt* (AV.), *rīhāt* (AV.), *vārdhāt*, *vahāt* (AV. TS.), *śāmsāt*, *śāpāt* (AV.), *śikṣāt*, *sarpāt* (AV.), *skāndāt* (TS. I. 6. 2¹), *smārāt* (AV.), *hārāt* (AV.).

Du. 1. *cārāva*, *jūyāva*, *pībāva*¹, *vīnāva*, *śāmsāva*.

2. *dvāthas*, *tarāthas* (AV.), *ṭṣhāthas*¹, *nīyāthas* (AV.), *pībāthas*¹, *bhīvāthas* (AV.), *vadāthas*, *smārāthas*.

3. *cārāthas*¹, *pībāthas*¹, *vāhāthas*, *śāpāthas*.

Pl. 1. *ārcāma*, *krāmāma*, *kḥānāma* (TS. IV. 1. 2¹), *takṣāma*, *namāma* (TS. V. 7. 4¹), *patāma* (Kh. p. 171. 6), *bhājāma*, *bhārāma*, *bhāvāma*, *madāma*, *manthāma*, *marāma*, *yajāma*, *rādhāma*, *vādāma*, *vārdhāma*, *vāsāma*, *śreṣāma*⁵, *hārāma*.

2. *dvātha*, *gacchātha*, *jayātha*, *jivātha* (TS. V. 7. 4¹)⁹, *yacchātha* (AV.), *vāhātha*.

3. *ārcān*, *krīṣān*, *gacchān*, *ghōṣān*, *cārān*, *jivān* (AV.), *dāsan* (AV.), *patān*, *yacchān* (AV.), *vādān*, *vārdhān*¹⁰, *vahān*, *śikṣān* (AV.), *śidān*¹ (AV.), *hārān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *gācchāi* (AV.), *mānai*, *marai*, *stāvai*. — 2. *varūhāse*; *nayāsai* (AV.). — 3. *jarāte*, *ṭṣhāte*¹, *pavāte*, *bhāyāte*, *yājāte*, *vāhāte*, *śrayāte*, *svajāte*; *carātai* (AV.), *jayātai* (TS. AV.), *yajātai*, *śrayātai* (AV.), *svajātai* (AV.).

¹ A transfer form from the reduplicating class.

² According to ROTH, ZDMG. 20, 71, for **ray-ante*; WHITNEY, Roots = *r-ante*, under *r* 'go'; also GRASSMANN, under root *ar*.

³ From *hā-* 'go emulously': see WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 36⁵.

⁴ No forms of the 2. 3. pl. subj. middle occur in this class.

⁵ DELBRÜCK p. 37 (top) gives *tākpūs*, which I cannot trace.

⁶ A transfer from the -*nu* class.

⁷ DELBRÜCK, Verbum 82, gives *ṭṣhātas*, but I cannot trace it.

⁸ Perhaps from *bri-* = *li-* 'clasp': cp. WHITNEY, Roots.

⁹ DELBRÜCK 48 gives *pībātha* also.

¹⁰ *vārdhān* (L 70¹; VL 17¹¹) as well as *drōn* (IV. 55²; V. 31⁵) are given as indicatives by DELBRÜCK, Verbum 91; cp. p. 327, note 1.

Du. 1. *rabhāvahai* (TS. IV. 4. 7²), *sācāvahai*, *sahāvahai*. — 3. *ydtaitē*.
Pl. 1. *nāśāmahai*, *bhājāmahai* (AV.), *yājāmahai*, *vānāmahai*.

Present Injunctive.

424. Active. Sing. 1. *cyātram*, *takṣam*, *tīṣṭham*¹, *bhojam*, *yojam*.

2. *āvas*, *ēvas* (AV.), *oṣar*, *gūhas*, *caras*, *tīṣṭhas*¹ (AV.), *dāhas*, *namas* (AV.), *madas* (AV.), *yamas*, *vadas* (VS. XXIII. 25), *vanas*, *vapas*, *vāras*, *vasas*, *venas*, *locas*.

3. *areat*, *arpat* (AV.)³, *karṣat*, *krandat*, *krāmat*¹ (AV.), *kṣarat*, *cārat*, *catat*, *cōdat*, *janat*, *jāyat*, *jūsat*, *takṣat*, *tandrat*³, *śapat*, *tamat*, *tīrat*, *tīṣṭhat*¹, *dadat*¹, *dābhat*, *dāsāt*, *dāsāt*, *dāsāt*, *drāvāt*, *nāksāt*, *nayāt*, *nuśāt*, *pācat*, *pātāt*, *pīnvat*², *pībat*¹, *prīthāt*, *bīdhat*, *bhīrat*, *bhavāt* (AV.), *bhīsat*, *bhramṣāt* (AV.), *mādat* (AV.)⁶, *mināt*, *yāmat*⁷, *raṇāt*, *rādat*, *rāpat*, *rādhat*, *rejat*, *reṣāt*, *rodhat*, *vādat*, *vārat*, *vārtāt*, *vārdhat*, *vāsāt*, *śakat*, *śardhat*, *śīkṣāt*, *śnāthāt*, *īramāt*, *sadāt*, *sārpāt*, *saicāt*², *svājat*.

Pl. 3. *arean*, *cāran*, *dabhan*, *dhāvan*, *nāksan*, *nāsan* ('lose' and 'reach'), *bharan* (AV.), *bhavan* (AV.), *yaman*, *rīṇan*, *vaman*, *vardhan*, *śāsan*, *sādhan*⁸, *śidun*¹.

Middle. Sing. 2. *gāhathās* (AV.), *bādhatās*, *rabhatās* (AV.).

3. *tāta*, *bharata*, *rocata*, *vārdhata*, *sacata*, *sādhatā*.

Pl. 3. *āmanta*, *āyanta*, *caranta*, *cyavanta*, *jananta*, *tīṣṭhanta*¹, *nāksanta*, *namanta*, *nāyanta*, *navanta*, *naśanta*, *nasanta*, *plnṛanta*², *pravanta*, *bhājanta*, *bhananta*, *bhāraṇta*, *bhīksanta*, *yakṣanta*, *yavanta*, *raṇanta*, *ranta* (I. 61¹¹; VII. 39¹³)⁹, *ramanta*, *rējanta*, *vanta*¹⁰, *vāraṇta* ('cover'), *vardhanta*, *vārdhanta*, *ścanta*, *sīcanta*, *sapanta*, *sādhatā*, *stāvanta*, *smayanta*, *hīvanta*.

Present Optative.

425. Active. Sing. 1. *careyam* (AV.), *bhaveyam* (TS. IV. 7. 12²), *vadheyam* (AV.), *śīkheyam*. — 2. *āves*, *bhaves*, *mades*, *vanes*. — 3. *āvet*, *gūcchet* (AV.), *carēt*, *turēt*, *pādet*, *bhāvet* (AV.), *yacchet* (AV.), *libhet* (AV.), *vadet* (AV.), *vaśet*¹¹ (AV.), *sravet*, *hureṭ* (AV.). — Du. 3. *grīśetām*.

Pl. 1. *krānema*, *kṣayema* (AV.), *khanema* (TS. IV. 1. 2⁴), *gacchema* (AV. TS.), *cayema*, *carema*, *jāyema*, *jīvema*, *tārema*, *tīṣṭhema*¹, *dāśema*, *patema* (TS. IV. 7. 13¹), *bhārema* (AV. TS.), *bhīvema*, *bhīṣema*, *mādemā*, *māhema*, *yatema*, *ropema*, *rīhema* (AV.), *vātema*, *vādemā*, *śīkṣema*, *sapema*, *śīdemā*² (AV.), *hārema* (AV.). — 3. *tāreyur*, *yāceyur* (AV.), *vaheyur*, *saheyur* (SA. XII. 32).

Middle. Sing. 1. *saceyā*. — 3. *ajetā*, *kalpeta* (SA. XII. 20), *kṣameta*, *jareta*, *bhīkṣeta*, *yajeta*, *vādetā*, *śāmseta* (AV.), *saceta*, *saheta* (SA. XII. 20), *staveta*.

Du. 1. *sacavāhi* (AV.).

Pl. 1. *gāhemahi*, *bhājemahi*, *bhāremahi*, *yātemahi*, *rabhemahi*, *sācemaḥi*. — 3. With ending *-rata*: *bharerata*.

Present Imperative.

426. Active. Sing. 2. *aca*, *āja*, *ārca*, *ārṣa*, *āva*, *inva*², *ūha* (AV.), *ōṣa*, *karṣa*, *kranda*, *krāma*, *kṣāra*, *khāda* (AV. TS.), *gūccha*, *gāda* (AV.), *cāra*,

¹ Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

² A transfer from the *-nu* class.

³ AV. X. 4¹, some Mss. *riṣat*: see WHITNEY's note in his Translation.

⁴ Emendation for *krāmat*, AV. VII. 63²: see WHITNEY's Translation.

⁵ II 30¹, perhaps to be emended to *tandāt*.

⁶ AV. XX. 49² emendation for *mada*.

⁷ DELBRÜCK 56 (top) adds *rīkṣat*.

⁸ DELBRÜCK, Verbum 89 (p. 63), takes *hāran* as an unaugmented imperfect, but it seems to occur only as a N. sing. m. participle.

⁹ According to DELBRÜCK 113 for **raṇanta*; WHITNEY, Roots, *-anta*, Cp. p. 322, note 2.

¹⁰ DELBRÜCK l. c., for **van-anta*.

¹¹ AV. XII. 4¹⁷: should probably be *vaset*. Cp. p. 324, note 3.

cāda, jāya, jīva¹, jīva, jūrva, jōsa, tīpa, tara, tīṣṭha², daśa (AV.), dīha, dīṃha (AV.), drava, dhanva, dhama, dhāva, nama, nāya, nīkṣa (AV.), pata, pava, pinva¹, piba², protha, bīdha, bhōja, bhāra, bhāva, bhūsa, mada, māntha (AV.), maṇḍa, myakṣa, mṛada, yāccha, yāja, yābha (AV.), yoja, rākṣa, rāna, rāda, rāja (AV.), rīha, vada, vadha (AV.), vapa, vārdha, vaśa³ (AV.), vasa (AV.), vāha, vāncha⁴ (AV.), śāmsa, śārdha, śīkṣa, śumbha, śōca, śraya (AV. TS.), sīra, sarpa, saha (SA. XII. 31), sādha, sīda², śdha, skanda (AV.), stana (AV.), srava, svada, swapa, svara, hara, hinva¹. — With ending -tāt: avatāt, ośatāt, gācchatāt (AV.), jīvatāt¹ (AV.), dahatāt, dhāvātāt (AV.) 'run', bhavatāt, yacchatāt, yācatāt, rākṣatāt, vahatāt, śrayatāt (TS. VII. 4. 19²).

3. *ajatū, añcatū (AV.), arcatū, arjātū (AV.), āvatū, invatū¹, īsatū (AV.), ejatū, ēsatū (AV.), ośatū (AV.), krandatū, krāmatū (TS. VII. 3. 11¹), krosātū (AV.), gacchatū, caratū (AV.), jāyatū, jīvatū¹, jīvatū (AV.), tapatū, tīṣṭhatū², dahatū (AV.), dīṃhatū (AV.), dravatū (AV.), dhavatū, nakṣatū (AV.), nayatū, patatū (AV.), pibatū², bīdhatū, bhavatū, bhūsatū, manthātū (AV.), māndatū, yacchatū, yajātū, rākṣatū, rājātū (AV.), rohatū, vadatū (AV.), vapatū (TS. AV.), vārdhatū, varjātū (Kh. II. 13³), vasatū (AV.), vahatū, śīkṣatū, śocātū, sarpatū, sīdatū², sedhatū, hinvatū¹. — With ending -tāt: gacchatāt, smarātāt (AV.).*

Du. 2. *ajatam, āvatam, invatam¹, ośatam, gācchatam, jāyatam, jaratam, jīvatam², takṣatam, tīpatam, tīṣṭhatam², tīrvatam, dahatam (AV.), dhīvatam, nayatam, patatam, pīvatam², bīdhatam, bhajatam, bhāratam, bhāvatam, bhūsatam, manthatam (Kh. I. 10²), yacchatam, yātatam, rohatam (TS. I. 8. 12³), vānatam, vārdhatam, vāhatam, venatam, śīkṣatam, sīdatam², sedhatam.*

3. *ayātām (AV.), āvatām, invatām¹, krosātām (AV.), gacchatām, cātām, jāyatām (AV.), jīvatām (AV.), drāvātām, pīvatām² (AV.), bhāratām (AV.), bhāvatām, madātām, mehatām (AV.), yacchatām, rākṣātām, vāhatām, veśātām (AV.), sīdatām².*

Pl. 2. *ārcatū, arjātū⁵, āvatū, gacchata, gūhata, carata, codata, janata, jāyata, jīvatū¹, jīvata, takṣata, tapata, tarata, tīṣṭhata¹, trasatū, dakṣatū, dīṃhata, dhīvatū, nīyatū, nīndatū, pīcatū, patatū (AV.), pīvatū¹, pībatū², bhājata (AV.), bhāratā, bhāvata, bhūsatā, madatā, mānthata, yācchata, yajata, yācatā, rākṣatā, rohatā, vadatā, vanatā, vapatā, vārdhata, vahata, vrajatū (AV.), śāmsatā, śārdhata (Kh. III. 16⁶), śumbhata, śīcatā (AV.), śacatā, sarpatā, saścatā², sīdatā², śdhatā, śobhata, średhata, harata (AV.). — With ending -tana: bhajatana.*

3. *ārcantū, arjantū, āvantū, kasantū (AV.), krosantū (AV.), kṣarantū, gacchantū, carantū, jāyantū, jīvantū, takṣantū, tapantū (AV. TS.), tīṣṭhantū¹, trasantū (AV.), dahantū, drāvantū, dhanvantū (AV.), dhāvantū (AV.), dhārvantū, namantū (AV. TS.), nayantū, pacantū, patantū, pībantū², bīdhanantū, bhajantū (AV.), dhārantū (AV.), bhāvantū, manthantū (AV.), madantū, manthantū (AV.), māndantū, yācchantū, yajantū, yācchantū, rākṣantū, radantū, rohanantū, lapantū (AV.), vādatantū, vāpantū, vārdhanantū, vārjantū (AV.; Kh. II. 5), vasantū (AV.), vāhanantū, vānchanantū, śārdhanantū, śumbhanantū (AV.), śrośantū, śajantū (AV.), sarpanantū (AV.), sīdantū², sedhanantū, śobhanantū, śravantū, svādatantū, svarantū, harantū (AV.).*

Middle. Sing. 2. *āsva (AV.), edhasva (AV.), kalpasva, kramasva, gacchasva (AV.), codasva, cyavasva (AV. TS.), jārasva, tapasva, dayasva (AV.).*

¹ Transfer from the -nu class.

² Transfer from the reduplicating class.

³ AV. III. 4⁷, perhaps to be read *vasa*.

⁴ AVERY 243 adds *vna*(?).

⁵ The form *arjātā* in AV. VI. 28² is a corruption: see WHITNEY'S note in his Translation.

khānamāna-, *gāhamāna-*, *gāhamāna-*, *cāyamāna-*, *jānanāna-*, *jāramāna-*, 'singing' and 'approaching', *jāsamāna-*, *jāhamāna-*, *tūjāmāna-*, *tūjamāna-*, *tūsamāna-* (AV.), *dāksamāna-* (AV.), *dāsamāna-*, *dyātamāna-*, *dhāvamāna-*, *nāksamāna-*, *nāmamāna-*, *nāyamāna-*, *nāvamāna-*, *nādamāna-*, *pāvamāna-*, *pīvamāna-*¹, *pīdamāna-*, *prāthamāna-* (AV. TS.), *prāthamāna-*, *bīdhamāna-*, *bhādamāna-*, *bhāyamāna-*, *bhāramāna-*, *bhīksamāna-*, *bhrājāmāna-*, *māpāmāna-*, *mādamāna-*, *māghamāna-*, *mīdamāna-*, *yācchamāna-*, *yājāmāna-*, *yātāmāna-*, *yīcamāna-* (AV.), *yīdamāna-*, *rāpāmāna-*, *rāksamāna-*, *rābhamāna-*, *rābamāna-*, *rāsamāna-* (AV.), *rījamāna-*, *rīcamāna-*, *vādamāna-*, *vīrtamāna-*, *vīrdhamāna-*, *vīhamāna-*, *vīpāmāna-* (AV.), *vyāthamāna-*, *śīksamāna-*, *śībhāmāna-*, *śībhamāna-*, *śrīyamāna-*, *śrīsamāna-*, *śvādamāna-*, *śīcamāna-*, *śīhamāna-*, *śtāramāna-*, *spīrdhamāna-*, *smāyamāna-*, *syādamāna-*, *hāramāna-*, *hīsamāna-*.

a. A few middle participles in *-āna* instead of *-māna*, seem to be formed from present stems of this class: thus *cyāvāna-*, *prathāna-*, *yātāna-* and *yātāna-*, *śūmbhāna-*²; but it is probably better to class them as somewhat irregular or isolated root aorist participles³.

Imperfect Indicative.

428. It is to be noted that the longer ending of the 2. pl. active never occurs in the imperfect of this or any other class of the *a-* conjugation. Unaugmented forms are fairly common; used injunctively they are in the 3. sing. very nearly as frequent (424) as the regular subjunctive⁵ (423).

Active sing. I. *āgaccham* (AV.), *acaram*, *ataksam*, *ataram*, *anānam*, *anayam*, *apinvam*¹, *abharam*, *abhavam*, *abhedam*, *arodham*, *aroham*, *asīdam*, *āvam*; *yamam*.

2. *ākrāndas*, *ākṣaras*, *agacchas*, *dearas*, *djanas*, *djayas*, *dīaras*, *dīstīhas*², *ādahas*, *adhamas*, *ānayas*, *āpinvas*², *āpibas*², *ābhajas*, *ābharas*, *ābharas*, *āmadas*, *āyajas*, *āramhas*, *āradas*, *āvadas*, *āvapas*, *āvahas*, *āsīkṣas*, *āsīdas*, *āsarpas* (AV.), *āsīdas*², *āsēdhas*, *asravas*; *ājas*, *āvas*; *tapas* (AV.), *bhīras*.

3. *ākrāndat*, *ākrāmat*, *ākṣarat*, *ākhanat* (AV.), *āgacchat*, *āgūhat*, *ācarat*, *ācalat* (AV.), *acetat*, *ājanat*, *ājayat*, *ājīvat*³, *ātaksat*, *atapat*, *atarat*, *ātīsthat*⁴, *ādādat*² (AV.), *ādāhat*, *ādīsat*, *ādīsthat* (AV.), *ādīrvat*, *adhamat*, *anamat*, *ānayat*, *āpacat*, *āpatat* (AV.), *āpinvat*³, *āpibat*², *ābhajat*, *ābharat*, *ābharat*, *ābhāsat*, *āmadat*, *āmanthāt*, *āmandat*, *āmurchat* (AV.), *āyucchāt*, *ārakṣat*, *arapat*, *arohat*, *āvapat*, *āvāvat*, *āvāsat*, *āvāhat*, *āvenat*, *āsīyat*, *āsīsat*⁶ (Kh. I. 9¹), *āsīcat*, *āsajāt*, *āsādat*, *āsīdat*², *āsēdhat*, *āsāndat* (AV.), *āiharat* (AV.); *ājāt*, *arcat*, *āvāt*; *āirat* (V. Ir.)⁷, *āuhāt* (ūh- 'push'); *krāndat*, *carat* (AV.), *taksat*, *tsirat*, *dīsthat*, *naksat*, *nayat*, *pibat*², *bhīrat*, *rībhat*, *vīhat*.

Du. 2. *ājīrvatam*³, *ātaksatam* (AV.), *āpinvatam*³, *āprathatam*, *ābhavatam*, *āmanthātam*, *aradātam*, *āsīksatam*, *āsācatam*², *āsīdatam*²; *ājatam*, *āvatam*; *āiratam*? (Ir- 'set in motion').

3. *āstīsthatam*² (AV.), *ābhavatam* (TS. IV. 7. 15⁶), *āvārdhatam*; *āvātam*; *āuhātam* (AV. VS. TS.).

Pl. I. *ātaksāma*, *ābharāma* (AV.). — 2. *ātaksata*, *dīstīhata*², *ānādota* (TS. V. 6. 1²), *ānayata*, *āpinvata*³, *ābhavata*, *āvartata* (AV.), *āvālgata* (TS. V. 6. 1²), *āsarpata*; *āvata*; *āuhata* (AV.).

3. *ākāṣan* (AV.), *ākramān*⁸ (AV.), *ākṣaran*, *ākhanan* (AV.), *āgūhan*,

¹ Transfer from the *-nu* class.

² Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 741 a, and LINDNER, Nominalbildung 54 (top).

⁴ Cp. Root Aorist 506.

⁵ See WHITNEY 743.

⁶ Transfer from the root class.

⁷ Transfer from the root class, in which the verb *ir-* is also middle.

⁸ *ākramus* is given by AVERY 249 as an impl. of this class with *-us*, but it is doubt-

dearan (AV.), *acalan* (AV.), *ajanan*, *ajayan* (AV.), *ataksan*, *ataran*, *atiṣṭhan*¹, *atrasan*, *adāsan*, *adravan*, *adhrajan*, *anakṣan*, *ānaman* (AV.), *ānayan*, *āpinvan*², *apiban*³ (AV.), *ābharan*, *ābhavan*, *ābhūsan*, *āmadan*, *āmandan*, *āyacchan* (AV.), *āyācan* (AV.), *āraṣṣan*, *ārājan* (AV.), *āvadan*, *āvapan* (AV.), *āvārdhan*⁴, *āvahan*, *aveṣan* (√*viṣ*), *āsāmsan*, *alīkṣan* (AV.), *asṛayan* (AV.), *āśhāvan*⁵ (AV.), *āsredhan*, *āsvaran*; *ājan*, *āyan* (AV.), *ārcan*⁶, *āvan*⁷, *ājan* (ej-⁸ 'stir'), *auhan*⁹ (AV.); *jīvan*, *tāksan*, *tsāran* (AV.), *dādan*¹⁰ (AV.), *bharan*, *bhūsan*, *śrūsan*, *sīdan*¹¹.

Middle. Sing. 1. *atiṣṭhe*¹ (AV.). — 2. *āgāthās* (AV.), *āpavathās*, *āmandathās*, *ārocathās*; *gāthās* (AV.).

3. *akalpata*² (AV.), *atakṣata*, *apīnvata*³, *abādhata*, *āmamhata*⁴, *āmanthata*, *āmavdata*, *āramhata*, *arākṣata*, *ārocata*, *āvartata*, *āvārdhata*, *āvālgata* (AV.), *āśpata*; *ājata*, *āyata*; *āikṣata*¹⁰ (AV.), *auhata* (ūh- 'remove'); *caṣṣata*, *janata*, *nakṣata*, *nīpsata*, *bādhata*, *rejata*.

Du. 2. *ābādhethām*, *ārabhethām* (AV.). — 3. *akṣpetām*, *apṛathetām*, *ābhyaśetām*¹¹, *ārejetām*; *āikṣetām*¹⁰.

Pl. 3. *ākalpanta* (AV.), *akṣpanta*, *ākhananta*, *āgacchantā*, *ajananta*, *atiṣṭhanta*¹, *ādadanta*¹, *adhavanta*¹², *anamanta* (TS. IV. 6. 2⁶), *ānayanta*, *ānavanta*, *apacanta*, *apṛathanta*, *ābhajanta*, *abhayanta*, *ābharanta*, *āyajanta*, *aramanta*, *ārejanta*, *āvadanta*, *āvartanta*, *āvārdhanta*, *avepanta* (AV.), *āvradanta*, *āsānanta* (TS. IV. 6. 3²), *āsacanta*, *āsapanta*, *āsahanta*; *āikṣanta*¹⁰ (AV. TS.); *ṛjanta*, *ṛjpanta*, *jananta*, *navanta*, *prathanta*, *bhājanta* (AV.), *bhananta*, *mananta*, *rapanta*.

2. The suffixally accented *ā*- class (*tudā*)¹³.

429. Nearly one hundred roots belong to this class. The radical vowel is almost always medial, being regularly *i*, *u* or *r*. If the vowel is final, which is very rare, it is almost invariably short. As the *-ā* is accented, the radical vowel appears in its weak form; e.g. *huv-ā* (but according to the radically accented class, *hāv-ā*) from *hū* 'call'.

a. There are, however, some irregularities in the formation of the present stem. 1. Several roots instead of appearing in their weak form, are nasalized: *kyt* 'cut': *kyntā*; *ṣp* 'be pleased': *ṣpntā*; *ṣi* 'adorn': *ṣiṅtā*; *mu* 'release': *muṅtā*; *lip* 'smear': *lipntā*; *hp* 'break': *hpnā*; *vid* 'find': *viṅtā*; *śic* 'sprinkle': *śiṅtā*. A few other roots occasionally have nasalized forms according to this class: thus *tudā*, beside the regular *tudā* etc., from *tud* 'thrust'; *āpṛathā*, beside *āpṛathā*, etc., from *āpṛ* 'make firm'; *śumbhāntā*,

less an aorist: see WHITNEY, Roots, under *śumbhāntā*. Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *śumbhāntā*.

¹ Transfer form from the reduplicating class.

² Transfer from the *-nu* class.

³ *ārcin* (IV. 55²; V. 31³) and *vārdhān* are given as indicatives by DELBRÜCK 91, followed by AVERY 249. Cp. p. 322, note ¹⁰.

⁴ From *āshā* 'spue', originally **āshā*: cp. v. NEGGLEIN 24, note ⁰: the root is there wrongly given as *āshā*.

⁵ *āshān* (AV. XIII. 1³) is given by v. NEGGLEIN 18, note ¹ as imperfect of *ā*; but see WHITNEY's note on AV. XIII. 1³.

⁶ *akṣpān* being formed with the ending *-ran* (DELBRÜCK 124) is doubtless an aorist; cp. WHITNEY, Roots under *akṣp*. See below, 500.

⁷ *śvan* (IV. 21⁹) according to DELBRÜCK, Verbum 89: p. 63, middle, followed by AVERY 249, for **asara-*; but *asvran* is 3. pl. aor.

of *vas* 'shine' with ending *-ran* (not *ava-svan*: accent!). Cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *vas* 'shine'.

⁸ DELBRÜCK 176 and AVERY 247 give *akṣpāntā* as (once) a 3. sing. If this is correct, the form would be a transfer for *akṣpāntā*.

⁹ *āmata* is given by DELBRÜCK 101 and AVERY 247 as belonging to this class (presumably from the root *am-*), but it is doubtless 3. sing. mid. aor. of *man-* 'think'; see WHITNEY, Roots, under *man*.

¹⁰ From *āṣ* 'see'.

¹¹ From *bhyas-* 'fear'.

¹² VI. 18¹³; from *dhāv-* 'run' = *dhāv-*.

¹³ Cp. E. LEUMANN, Die Herkunft der 6. Praesensklasse im Indischen (Actes du X. Cong. Intern. Orient. II. 1, 39-44; IF. 5, Anz. 109; KZ. 34, 587 ff.).

beside *śumbhate* and *śbhate*, from *śubh-* 'shine'; *śruthati* (TS.), beside the regular *śruthānā* etc., from *śrath-* 'loosen'. — 2. Four roots form their stem with the suffix *-chā*: *ī-* 'wish'; *i-icchā-*; *ṛ-* 'go'; *ṛ-ecchā-*; *prś-*¹ 'ask'; *prcchā-*; *vas-* 'shine'; *u-ecchā-*. — 3. Two stems are transfers from the nasal class of the second conjugation: *ṣṣā-*, beside *ṣṣ-ū-*, from *ṣṣ-* 'fill'; *mṛṣā-*, beside *mṛ-ṣā-*, from *mṛ-* 'crush'; *ṛñjā-* 'stretch' has become the regular stem beside 3. pl. *ṛñjate*; and 2. pl. *umbhā-ta* (AV.), appears beside *ubh-nā-*, from *ubh-* 'confine'. — 4. Beside the normal *-nu* stem *ṛ-ṣu*, the root *ṛ-* also has the transfer stem *ṛṣv-ā-*. — 5. While roots ending in *i* or *ū* change these vowels into *iy* or *uv* before *-ā* (e. g. *kṣiy-ā-*, from *kṣi-* 'dwell', *yuv-ā-* from *yu-* 'join'), the TS. has *kṣy-ant-* beside RV. *kṣiyānti* 'dwelling'.
b. The present stems *chyā-* (AV.) 'cut up', *dyā-* (AV.) 'divide', *śyā-* 'sharpen', *śyā-* 'bind', though regarded by the Indian grammarians as belonging to the *-ya* class, should most probably be classified here, because the *a* is accented, *i* appears beside *ā* in various forms from these roots, and *-ya* is here often to be read as *-iā*, while this is never the case in the *-ya* class.

430. The inflexion is exactly the same as that of *bhāva-*. The forms which actually occur are the following:

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *icchāmi*, *ukṣāmi* (AV.), *kirāmi* (AV.), *khidāmi* (AV.), *gṛāmi*² (AV.), *ṣṛāmi* (AV.), *tirāmi*, *dyāmi* (AV.), *dīśāmi* (TS. AV.), *dhuvāmi* (AV.), *prcchāmi*, *muñcāmi*, *rujāmi*, *śimpāmi* (AV.), *vindāmi*, *viśāmi* (AV.), *vṛścāmi* (AV.), *vṛhāmi*, *siñcāmi*, *sulāmi* (TS. VII. 4. 19⁴), *suvāmi*, *śṛjāmi*, *śṛśāmi*, *śyāmi* (AV. TS.).

2. *icchasi* (AV.), *ucchasi* (TS. IV. 3. 11⁵), *tirasi*, *kṣipasi* (AV.), *ṛmpāsi*, *prcchasi*, *mṛṣasi*, *vindasi*, *vṛścasi*, *suvāsi*.

3. *anāti* (AV.), *icchati*, *ucchati*, *ṛcchati* (AV.), *ṛṣvati*, *krntāti* (AV.), *kṣāti* (TS. IV. 2. 5⁶), *kṣiyati* (AV.), *khidāti*, *girati* (AV.), *chyati* (TS. V. 2. 12⁷), *dyati* (AV.), *piṃśati*, *prcchati*, *ṣṛjāti*, *viśati*, *muñcati* (AV.), *yuvāti*, *rujāti*, *ruśāti*, *vindāti*, *viśati* (AV.), *vṛścati*, *vṛhāti*, *siñcati* (AV.), *suvāti*, *śṛjāti*, *sphurāti* (AV.), *śyati*.

Du. 2. *ṛṣvathas*, *bhasāthas*, *muñcathas*, *viśathas* (AV.), *vṛhathas*, *śṛjāthas*.

3. *icchatas* (AV.), *muñcatas* (AV.), *siñcatas*.

Pl. 1. *girāmas* (AV.), *ṣṛtāmasi* (AV.), *tirāmasi*, *dyāmasi* (AV.), *nudāmasi* (AV.) and *nudāmas* (AV.), *prcchāmas* (AV.), *mṛśāmasi*, *vṛhāmasi* (AV.) and *vṛhāmas* (AV.), *suvāmasi* (AV.), *śṛjāmasi* (AV.) and *śṛjāmas* (AV.), *śṛśāmasi*.

2. *muñcātha*, *siñcātha* (TS. AV.).

3. *anānti* (AV.), *icchānti*, *ukṣānti*, *ucchānti*, *ṛcchānti*, *ṛñjānti*, *ṛśānti*, *kṣiyānti* (AV.), *khidānti* (AV.), *ṣṛtānti*, *tirānti*, *tuñjānti*, *prcchānti*, *miśānti*, *muñcānti*, *muñcānti*, *mṛśānti*, *rujānti*, *vindānti*, *viśānti*, *vṛścānti*, *śumbhānti*, *siñcānti*, *suvānti*, *śṛjānti*, *śṛśānti*, *sphurānti*, *śyānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īṣe* 'send', *nude* (AV.), *prcche*, *muñce* (AV.), *mṛje*, *vindhe*, *viśe* (AV.), *śuṣe*, *siñce*, *huvē*.

2. *icchase*, *ṛñjāse*, *ṣṛśāse* (AV.), *prcchase*, *mṛśāse*, *yuvase*, *vindāse*, *siñcāse*.

3. *icchate* (AV.), *ukṣāte*, *ṛñjāte*, *kirate*, *kṣāte* (AV.), *tirāte*, *tundate*, *turāte* (TS. II. 2. 12⁸), *nudate* (AV.), *piṃśāte*, *prcchate*, *ṣṛñcāte*, *muñcate*, *mṛśāte*, *yuvāte*, *vindāte*, *vindhāte*, *viśāte*, *vṛścate* (AV.), *śṛjate*. — **With ending -o:** *huvē*.

Du. 2. *ṣṛmṣāthe*, *nudethe* (AV. TS.), *yuvethe*, *vindethe* (Kh. I. 12⁹).

3. *tujete*.

Pl. 1. *nudāmahe* (AV.), *yuvāmahe*, *viśāmahe*, *siñcāmahe*, *huvāmahe*.

3. *icchante* (AV.), *ukṣānte*, *tirānte*, *viśānte* (AV.), *vindānte* (AV.), *viśānte*, *vṛścānte* (AV.), *śṛjānte* (AV.).

¹ The suffix *-cha* has in this instance purposes *prcch-* (but *prś-nā-* 'question'); cp. attached itself throughout the conjugation *prc-* or and *ṣṛc-* for ²*ṣṛc-* in Latin. to the root, which thus becomes for practical ² From *ṣṛ-* 'swallow'.

Present Subjunctive.

431. Active. Sing. 1. *syjāni*; *mṛkṣā*. — 2. *kirāsi*, *muñcāsi* (AV.), *rujāsi*; *siñcāsi*. — 3. *tirāti*, *bhṛjjāti*, *mṛjāti*, *mṛdhāti*, *vanāti*, *vidhāti*, *viśāti* (AV.), *suwāti*, *syjāti* (AV.); *icchāt*, *ucchāt*, *rechāt*, *nudāt* (SA. XII. 29), *prechāt*, *prūdāt*, *muñcāt* (AV.), *mṛlāt*, *mṛśāt* (AV.), *vṛścāt*, *siñcāt*, *syjāt*, *sprśāt* (AV.).

Du. 1. *viśāva* (AV.). — 3. *mṛjātas*.

Pl. 2. *viśātha* (AV.). — 3. *ucchān*, *prechān*, *sphurān*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *prechati*, *vidāi* (TS. III. 5. 6¹). — 2. *yuvāse*. — 3. *juṣāte*, *tirāte*. — Du. 2. *prūdāthe*. — 3. *yuvāite*. — Pl. 1. *siñcāmahai*.

Present Injunctive.

432. Active. Sing. 2. *icchas* (AV.), *guhās*, *rujās*, *vṛhas*, *vṛścas*, *sicas*, *syjās*.

3. *ucchāt*, *kyntāt*, *kṣipāt*, *khidāt*, *juṣāt*, *mṛṇāt* (AV.), *rujāt*, *rudhāt*, *rudāt*, *viśāt*, *vṛhāt*, *siñcāt*, *syjāt*², *sprśāt* (AA. V. 2²), *sphurat*, *huvat*.

Pl. 3. *trpān*, *vidhān*, *vindān*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *juṣāta*, *tirāta*. — Pl. 3. *icchānta*, *iṣānta*, *juṣānta*, *tirānta*, *nudānta*, *bhurānta*, *yuvānta*, *vidhānta*, *syjānta*.

Present Optative.

433. Active. Sing. 1. *udeyam*² (AV.), *tireyam* (Kh. I. 9³), *vīndeyam* (Kh. II. 6²). — 3. *icchet*, *ucchet* (AV.), *khidāt* (AV.), *prechet*, *lumpāt* (AV.), *siñcēt* (AV.), *syjēt* (AV.). — Du. 1. *vṛheva*. — 2. *tiretam*. — Pl. 1. *iṣema*, *kṣiyema* (AV.), *rujema*, *ruhema* (Kh. II. 4¹), *vanēma*, *vidhēma*, *viśema*, *huvēma*. — 2. *tireta*; *tiretana*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *huvēya*. — 3. *iccheta* (AV.), *juṣeta*.

Pl. 1. *vanemahi*, *vidhemahi*. — 3. *juṣerata*.

Present Imperative.

434. Active. Sing. 2. *icchā*, *ucchā*, *ubja* (AV.), *kira*, *kyntā* (AV.), *kṣipa*, *kṣiya* (AV.), *khida* (AV.), *çta*, *çhya* (AV.), *tira*, *tuda*, *trpā*, *nuda* (AV.), *piṃśā* (AV.), *precha*, *prñca*³ (AV.), *prña*, *pruṣa*, *muñcā*, *mṛṇā*, *mṛlā*, *mṛśa*, *yuva*, *rikha*, *rujā*, *ruva*, *viśa*, *vindā*, *vṛścā*, *vṛhā*, *çṇa* (AV.), *siñca*, *suva*⁴, *syjā*, *sprśa*, *sphura*, *sya*. — With ending *-tāt*: *mṛdatāt* (AV.), *vṛhatāt*, *viśatāt* (TS. VII. I. 6⁶), *suwatāt*.

3. *icchātu*, *uksātu* (AV.), *ucchātu*, *ubjātu* (AV.), *rechātu*, *kirātu* (TS. III. 3. 11⁵), *kṣyātu* (AV.), *çtātu* (AV.), *tirātu* (Kh. II. 11²), *trmpātu*, *dīśātu* (AV.), *dyātu* (AV.), *nudātu* (AV.), *piṃśātu*, *muñcatu* (AV. TS.), *mṛśātu*, *viśātu* (AV. TS.), *vindātu* (AV.), *vṛścatu* (AV.), *siñcatu*, *suvātu*, *syātu*. — With *-tāt*: *viśatāt* (Kh. IV. 6¹; 8³).

Du. 2. *uksatam*, *ubjātam*, *tiratam*, *trmpatam*, *nudatam* (AV.), *brhatam* (AV.), *muñcātām*, *mṛlātām*, *viśatām* (AV.), *vṛhatam*, *siñcatām*, *syjātām*, *sphuratām* (AV.), *syatām*.

3. *juṣatām* (Kh. I. 3¹), *trmpatām*, *dyatām* (AV.), *muñcatām*, *viśatām* (TS. VII. 3. 13¹), *suwatām* (AV.), *syatām*.

¹ AVERY adds *sydhāt*(?): perhaps the aor. injunctive *sridhāt* is meant. *prñcā* is to be inferred from the fem. part. *prñcāt-* (RV. AV.), though the AV. has also *prñcāt-*.

² With Samprasāraṇa. This verb otherwise follows the radically accented *a*-class. ⁴ In AV. VII. 14³ *suwā* appears in the Pp. as *sva*.

³ Transfer from the infixing nasal class (*vṛc-*): that it would have been accented

Pl. 2. *icchata, ukṣata, ucchata, umbhata* (AV.), *rñjāta, khuddāta, gṛyāta* (AV.), *tīrata, tudata* (AV.), *nudata, pīṃśata, pṛechāta, pṛyāta, muñcāta, mṛjāta, mṛpāta* (AV.), *viśata* (AV.), *vṛhata, śundhata, śiñcāta, sṛjāta, sprśāta*.

3. *ukṣantu* (AV.), *ucchāntu, ubjāntu, pṛechāntu, rdāntu, kṛṣāntu, chyaṅtu* (TS. v. 2. 12¹), *tīrantu, tudāntu* (AV. TS.), *dīśāntu* (Kh. III. 10¹), *nudāntu* (AV.), *bhūrāntu, muñcāntu, mṛlāntu, viśāntu, śiñcāntu, sūvāntu, sṛjāntu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *icchāsva, kṛṣāsva, gurasva, juṣāsva, nudāsva, pṛechāsva* (Kh. II. 13¹), *pṛpāsva, mṛpāsva, yuvāsva, vīndāsva* (AV.), *viśāsva, vṛśāsva, śiñcāsva, sṛjāsva, sprśāsva* (AV.), *svāsva*.

3. *icchātām* (AV.), *juṣātām, nudātām* (AV.; ŚA. XII. 9), *pṛyātām, muñcātām* (AV.), *viśātām, sṛjātām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *ukṣāthām, juṣāthām, nudāthām, pṛyethām, vṛsethām, sṛjethām* (AV. TS.). — 3. *juṣāthām*.

Pl. 2. *kramādhwam* (TS. IV. 6. 5¹), *juṣādhwam, tīradhwam, pṛyādhwam, viśādhwam* (AV.), *śiñcādhwam, sṛjādhwam, syādhwam*.

3. *juṣāntām, muñcāntām* (AV.), *viśāntām, vijāntām* (AV.), *vṛścāntām* (AV.), *sprśāntām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

435. Active. *icchānt, ukṣānt* (AV.), *ucchānt, ubjānt, rñjānt, kṛtānt, kṛṣānt, kṛpānt, kṛyānt, khidānt* (AV.), *guhānt, cītānt, jurānt, tīrānt, tujānt, tudānt, tṛpānt, dīśānt, drphānt* (AV.), *nudānt, nuvānt, pṛechānt, pṛuśānt* (AV.), *bhujānt, mithānt, mīśānt, muñcānt, mṛjānt, mṛśānt, riśānt, rujānt, rudhānt, ruvānt, vidhānt, viśānt, vṛścānt, śucānt, śumbhānt, śuśānt* and *śvasānt, śiñcānt, sūvānt, sṛjānt, sphurānt, huvānt*¹ (*hā* 'call').

Middle. *icchāmāna, ukṣāmāna, uśāmāna* (*√vas*), *uśāmāna* (*vas* 'wear'), *guhāmāna, juṣāmāna, dhṛśāmāna, nṛtāmāna, pṛechāmāna, bhurāmāna, muñcāmāna* (AV. TS.), *yuvāmāna, vijāmāna* (AV.), *śucāmāna*.

Imperfect Indicative.

436. Active. Sing. 1. *atīram* (TS. IV. 1. 10¹), *āpṛecham, ārujam*.

2. *ātīras, anudas, āpṛyas, āmuñcas, āmṛyas, ārujas, āvindas, āvṛhas, āsṛyas, āsphuras, āsyas* (AV.); *dicchas, āucchas; vindas, vṛścas, sṛjas*.

3. *ākṛntat, ākhidat, ājuśat, ātīrat, āduhat* (TS. IV. 6. 5¹), *āpīṃśat, āpṛyat, āmuñcat, āmṛyat, āmṛśat* (AV.), *ārujat, āvidhat, āvindat, āviśat, āvṛścat, āśiñcat, āsuvat, āsṛjat, āsprśat, āsphurat, āyat; dicchat* (AV.), *āukṣat, āucchat, āubjat; tudat, tṛpḥāt, rujāt, likhat* (AV.), *āvīdat, vṛśedat, syat, śiñcat, sṛjāt*.

Du. 2. *atīratam, āmuñcatam, āmṛyatam, āvindatam* (Kh. I. 3¹), *āśiñcatam*.

3. *āmuñcatām, āśiñcatām* (AV.).

Pl. 1. *āicchāma*. — 2. *āpīṃśata* (*√piś*), *āpṛechata, āmuñcata, āsṛjata*. — 3. *āpīṃśan, āpīṣan*² (AV. IV. 6¹), *āvīndan, āviśan* (AV.), *āvṛścan* (AV.), *āśiñcan, āsṛjan, āsprśan* (AV.); *ārdan* (*√rd*); *āukṣan; ukṣan, rujan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ājuśe* (AV.), *āviṣe, āhuve*. — 2. *āmuñcathās, āviśathās* (AV.). — 3. *ājuśata, āmuñcata, āśiñcata* (AV.), *āsṛjata; drphata*.

Du. 2. *anudethām, āvīndethām*.

Pl. 2. *ājuśadhvam*. — 3. *ājuśanta, atīranta, āviśanta, ānudanta* (AV.), *āmuñcanta* (AV.), *āvīvanta* (AV.), *āvīndanta, āviśanta, āsṛjanta, āsprśanta* (AV.), *āhuvanta; diśanta* (*iś* 'send'); *gṛyanta, juṣanta*.

¹ The fem. is regularly formed from the strong stem in *-ant*; but the weak stem in 'crush'.
² Anomalous form for **āpīṣan*, from *piś* 'crush'.
-at appears in *śiñcat-ā*, beside *śiñcāt-ā*.

3. The *ya*- class¹.

437. The present stems formed with this suffix fall into two groups. In the first, consisting of about 70 transitive or intransitive verbs, the suffix is unaccented; in the second, consisting of rather more than 80 verbs with a passive meaning, the suffix is accented. In all probability both groups were identical in origin, with the accent on the suffix. This is indicated by the fact that the root though accented in the first group appears in its weak form; and that this group consists largely of intransitive verbs and to some extent of verbs with a passive sense. The latter are manifestly transfers from the *-ya* or passive group with change of accent. Thus *jīyate* 'is born' is an altered passive beside the active *jānati* 'begets'. The accent moreover occasionally fluctuates. Thus the passive *mucyāte* 'is released' once or twice occurs (in the RV. and AV.) accented on the root; and there is no appreciable difference of meaning between *kṣiyate* and *kṣiyāte* 'is destroyed'; *jīyate* and *jīyāte* 'is overcome'; *pācyate* and *pācyāte* 'is cooked'; *mīyate* and *mīyāte* (AV.) 'is infringed'².

A. The radically accented *ya*- class.

438. The root nearly always appears in a weak form. Thus roots that otherwise contain a nasal, lose it: *dṛyuh-* 'make firm': *dṛh-ya-*. The root *vyadh-* 'pierce' takes Samprasāraṇa: *vidh-ya-*. The root *spa-* 'see' loses its initial: *pā-ya-*. Several roots ending in *ā* shorten the vowel before the suffix: *dhā-* 'suck': *dhaya-*; *mā-* 'exchange': *maya-*; *vā-* 'weave': *vāya-*; *vā-* 'envelope': *vāya-*; *hvā-* 'call': *hvāya-*.

a. Several other roots usually stated as ending in *ā* remain unchanged: *gā-* 'sing': *gāya-*; *glā-* 'be weary': *glāya-* (AV.); *trā-* 'save': *trāya-*; *pyā-* 'fill up': *pyāya-*; *vā-* 'bark': *vāya-*; *vā-* 'blow': *vāya-*; *vā-* 'boil': *vāya-*⁴.

b. The root *īram-* 'be weary' lengthens its vowel: *īrāmya-*⁵.

c. The final of roots in *-y* sometimes becomes both *ī*⁶ and *ū*; thus *jp-* 'waste away' becomes *jīrya-* and *jūrya-* (AV.); *ty-* 'cross': *tīrya-* and *tūrya-* (AV.). The root *jp-* 'fill' because of its initial labial becomes *pūrya-* only.

439. The forms actually occurring in this class are the following:

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *asyāmi* (AV.), *īsyāmi*, *nāhyāmi*, *pāśyāmi* (AV.), *vidhyāmi* (AV.), *hvāyāmi*.

2. *īsyasi*, *īsyasi*, *ucyasi* (Vuc-), *gāyasi*, *nāśyasi*, *pāśyasi*, *pūsyasi*, *rānyasi*, *rāyasi*, *riśyasi*, *haryasi*.

3. *āsyaṭi*, *lyati* (RV¹), *īsyati*, *krudhyati* (AV.), *gāyati*, *jīryati* (AV.), *jūryati*, *tanyati*, *nāśyati*, *dīhyati* (AV.), *diyati*, *dīnyati* (AV.), *duśyati* (SĀ. XII. 23), *dhayati*, *nāśyati*, *nītyati* (AV.), *pāśyati*, *pūśyati*, *ranyati*, *riśyati*, *vayati* (AV.), *vāyati*, *vidhyati*, *vyayati*, *śimiyati* (TS. v. 2. 12¹), *śusyati* (Kh. IV. 5²), *śidhyati*, *haryati*, *hṛsyati*, *hvāyati*.

Du. 2. *dīyathas*, *ranyathas*. — 3. *asyatas* (AV.), *nāsyatas*, *pāśyatas*, *pūśyatas*, *riśyatas* (AV.), *vayatas* (AV.), *vāyatas*, *śrāmyatas* (AV.).

¹ Cp. LORENTZ, IF. 8, 68—122.

² Also in Brāhmaṇa passages of the TS. *vicyate* 'is left' beside *vicyāte* (V.), *hīpyate* 'is lost' beside *hīpyāte* (AV.), *hīyate* 'is left' beside *hīyāte* (V.).

³ These are reckoned by the native grammarians as ending in *e* and belonging to the *e*-class. This seems preferable from the point of view of vowel gradation: see 27, a, 3.

⁴ Such roots are reckoned by the native

grammarians as ending in *-ai* and belonging to the *a*-class. The latter form is preferable from the point of view of gradation. Cp. 27, a, 1; BB. 19, 166.

⁵ In B. this analogy is followed by several roots in *-am*.

⁶ In the *a*-class *-y* becomes *-ī*, e. g. *ty-*: *tīr-*.

⁷ Only in an emendation *ava-śryati* (AV. XIX. 9³) for *avaśryati*, Pada *avaśryati*.

Pl. 1. *asyāmasi, pāsyāmasi* and *pāsyāmas* (AV.), *vidhyāmas* (AV.), *vyayāmasi* (AV.TS.), *haryāmasi, hvyāmasi*.

2. *āsyatha, pāsyatha, pūsyatha, rīsyatha, hāryatha*.

3. *āsyanti* (AV.), *āryanti, gāyanti, jāryanti, dasyanti, dīyanti, dhīyanti* (AV.), *naśyanti* (AV.), *nāhyanti, nītyanti* (AV.), *pāsyanti, pūsyanti, rūsyanti, rīsyanti, vāsyanti, vāyanti, vidhyanti* (AV. TS.), *śrāmyanti, hāryanti, hrāyanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īsyē, pādye* (AV.), *gōye, nahye* (TS. I. I. 10¹), *mūyē, mṛsyē, vyayē* (AV.), *hwayē*.

2. *īyase* (i-'go'), *jāyase, trīyase, dīyase, pādīyase, pūyayase, mīnyase, mīyase, mīcyase*.

3. *īsyate, iyate, rīyate, kīsyate, jāyate, jīyate, tṛsyate* (AV.), *dīyate, dīpyate* (AV.), *pādīyate, pādīyate, pādīyate, pādīyate, pūsyate* (AV.), *budhyate* (AV.), *manyate, mīyate, mṛsyate, rīyate, haryate*.

Du. 3. *jāyete* (AV.), *hrāyete*.

Pl. 1. *hvyāmahe*. — **2.** *trīyadhve*. — **3.** *īyante, kīyante, jāyante, trīyante, pādīyante, manyante* (AV.), *mayante, mṛsyante, yādhyante, rīyante, hvyāyante*.

Present Subjunctive.

440. Active. Sing. 1. *pāsyani* (AV.). — **2.** *pāsyāsi, haryāsi* (AV.); *pāsyās* (AV.); *rīsyās, hāryās*. — **3.** *rīsyāti; pāsyāt, pūsyāt, rīsyāt* (TS. I. 6. 2¹).

Pl. 1. *pāsyāma* (AV.). — **3.** *pāsyām*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *yīdhyai*. — **2.** *pāsyāsai* (AV.). — **3.** *manyāte, mīcyātai* (AV.). — **Pl. 1.** *hwayāmahai* (AV.).

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dīvyas*. — **3.** *gūyat, dīyat, pūsyat, vidhyat*. — **Pl. 3.** *pāsyān*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *manyathās*. — **3.** *jāyata, manyata*. — **Pl. 3.** *dīyantu*.

Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 1. *vyayevam*. — **2.** *pāsyēs*. — **3.** *dasyet, dhāyet* (AV.), *rīsyet*. — **Du. 3.** *hwayetām* (TS. III. 2. 4). — **Pl. 1.** *pāsyēma, pūsyēma, bīdhyēma* (AV.), *rīsyēma*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *pāśyeta, manyeta* (AV.), *mīyeta* (SA. XII. 20). — **Pl. 1.** *jāyemahi*.

Present Imperative.

441. Active. Sing. 2. *asya, gōya, dīya, dīhya, naśya, nahya* (AV.), *nṛtya* (AV.), *pāsyā, yudhya, vāya, vīdhya, śusya* (AV.), *śīrya* (AV.), *harya, hwaya*. — With ending *-tāt*: *asyatīt* (AV.).

3. *asyatu, ucyatu* (AV.), *tṛpyatu* (AV.), *naśyatu, nṛtyatu* (AV.), *rādhyatu* (AV.), *vidhyatu* (AV.), *śusyatu, śīryatu, hvyāyatu* (AV.).

Du. 2. *asyatām, isyatām* (AV.), *dīyatām, nahyatām* (AV.), *pūsyatām* (AV.), *vidhyatām, hāryatām*. — **3.** *asyatām* (AV. TS.), *nahyatām* (SA. XII. 32), *vidhyatām*.

Pl. 2. *isyata, gūyata, jāsyata, nāśyata* (AV.), *nahyata* (AV.), *pāsyata, pūsyata, muhyata* (AV.), *vayata, vīdhyata, haryata*. — With ending *-tana*: *nahyatana*.

3. *gūyantu* (AV.), *tṛpyantu* (AV.), *naśyantu* (AV.), *pūsyantu, mīhyantu, mēdyantu, vyayantu* (AV.), *śīmyantu* (TS. V. 2. 11¹), *haryantu* (AV.), *hvyāyantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *jāyasva, trīyasva, dayasva, drīyasva, nahyasva* (AV.), *pādīyasva, pāsyasva, pūyayasva, budhyasva* (TS. AV.), *manyasva* (TS. AV.), *vyayasva, hwayasva* (AV.).

3. *rdhyatām, jāyatām, trīyatām, dīpyatām* (TS. IV. 7. 13¹), *pādīyatām* (AV.), *pūyatām* (TS. AV.), *manyatām* (TS. AV.), *mēdyatām* (AV.), *rādhyatām* (AV.), *śīyatām* (AV.) 'ie', *hwayatām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *trāyethām, manyethām, hvayethām* (AV.). — 3. *trāyētām*.

Pl. 2. *asyadhvam, jāyadhvam* (AV.), *trāyadhvam, dayadhvam, nahya-*
dhvam (AV.), *budhyadhvam, sryadhvam*. — 3. *jāyantām, trāyantām, padyantām*
(AV.), *pyāyantām, manyantām* (AV. TS.), *vyayantām* (TS. III. 3. 11³), *hvayantām*
(TS. III. 2. 4¹).

Present Participle.

442. Active. *āsyant-, īsyant-, jīyant-, (ā-)kūpyant-* (AV.), *ksūdyant-,*
gāyant-, gādhyant-¹, īśyant-, diyant-, nītyant-, pāsyant-, piyant-, pūsyant-,
yāsyant-, yūdhyant-, rāyant-, (ā-)śubhyant- (AV.), *vāyant-, vidhyant-* (AV.), *vyāyant-,*
śīnyant- (TS. V. 2. 12¹), *śīyant-, hūryant-*; and the compound *ān-ava-glāyant-*
(AV.) 'not relaxing'.

Middle. *īyamāna-, kāyamāna-, cāyamāna-, jāyamāna-, triyamāna-,*
dīyamāna-, nāhyamāna-, pūtyamāna-, pūdyamāna-, pūśyamāna-, pūryamāna-,
pyāyamāna-, budhyamāna-, mūnyamāna-, yūdhyamāna-, rādhyamāna- (AV.),
vāśyamāna- (AV.), *hūryamāna-, hūdyamāna-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

443. Active. Sing. 1. *adyam, āpaśyam, anyayam*. — 2. *apaśyas, dyudhyas*. —
3. *agāyat, adhayat, anītyat* (AV.), *āpaśyat, ayudhyat, avayat* (AV.), *dvidhyat,*
anyayat, āharyat, āhvayat; āśyat.

Du. 3. *āpaśyatām*.

Pl. 1. *āpaśyāma*. — 3. *ajūryan², āpaśyan, āvayan* (AV.), *ahvayan* (AV.);
āśyan (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *ājāyathās, aharyathās; jāyathās*. — 3. *djāyata, apatyata,*
amanyata, arajyata (AV.); *jāyata*.

Du. 2. *āhvayadhām* (AV.). — 3. *āhvayētām*.

Pl. 3. *ājāyanta, ānahyanta* (AV.), *āpadyanta* (AV.), *āpaśyanta, āman-*
yanta, ahvayanta; jāyanta, diiyanta.

B. The suffixally accented *yā*-class (passive).

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* 184 (p. 166—169). — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 274—275. —
WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 768—774; *Roots* 230—231. — V. NEGELEIN 38—40.

444. Any root that requires a passive forms its present stem by adding
accented *-yā* (which never needs to be pronounced *-iā*). The root appears in its
weak form, losing a nasal and taking Samprasāraṇa; thus *āñj-* 'anoint': *aj-yā-*
'be anointed'; *vac-* 'speak': *uc-yā-* 'be spoken'. Final vowels undergo the
changes usual before *-yā* in verbal forms: final *i* and *u* being lengthened,
ā mostly becoming *ī*, *r* being generally changed to *ri*, and *ṛ* becoming *ir²*.
Thus *mī-* 'fix': *mīya-*; *su-* 'press': *sūyā-*; *dā-* 'give': *dīya-* (but *jñā-* 'know':
jñā-yā-); *kṛ-* 'make': *kri-yā-*; *śr-* 'crush': *śriya-*.

a. The root *tan-* 'stretch' forms its passive from *tā-*: *tā-yā-*. Similarly *jan-* 'beget'
makes its present stem from *jā-*: *jāya-te*, which has, however, been transferred to the
radically accented *yā*-class. *mri-yā-te* 'dies' (*ṽmr³*)⁴ and *dhriyā-te* (*ṽdhṛ-*)⁵ 'is steadfast',
though passives in form, are not so in sense⁵.

445. The inflexion is identical with that of the radically accented *yā*-
class in the middle, differing from it in accent only. No forms of the optative
are found in the RV. or AV. The forms actually occurring are the following:

¹ *ōvatiriyāts* (AV. XIX. 9³) is a corrupt reading; see WHITNEY's Translation; cp. p. 331, note ⁷.
² AVERY 249 adds *adhayan*(?).
³ No example of *ūr* seems to occur in the Sāṃhitās, but *pūr-yā-* from *pṛ-* 'fill' is found in the *-yā* class.
⁴ This root has a transitive sense ('crush') only in its secondary form *mṛu-*, and in the AV. in the imperative forms *mṛuhi* and *mṛuīta*.
⁵ Cp. above 437.

Present Indicative.

Sing. 1. *hīye* (hā- 'leave'). — 2. *acyāse* (añc- 'bend', AV.), *ajyāse* (Vaj- and Vañj-), *idhyāse*, *ucyāse* (Vvac-), *niyāse*, *pūyāse*, *badhyāse* (AV.), *mucyāse* (AV.), *mṛjyāse*, *yujyāse*, *ricyāse*, *rudhyāse* (rudh- 'hinder'), *śasyāse* (Vśams-), *sicyāse*, *stūyāse*, *hūyāse* (hū- 'call'). — 3. *ajyāte* (Vaj- and Vañj-), *asyāte* (AV.), *idhyāte*, *ucyāte* (Vvac-), *udyāte* (ud- 'wet' and vad- 'speak'), *upyāte* (Vvap-), *uhyāte* (Vvah-), *reyāte* (arc- 'praise'), *kriyāte*, *kṣiyāte* 'is destroyed', *gamyāte* (AV.), *grhyāte* (AV.), *chidyāte* (AV.), *jīyāte* (AV.)¹, *tapyāte*, *tīyāte*, *tujyāte*, *dabhyāte*, *dīyāte* 'is given' (AV.), *divyāte* 'is divided' (AV.), *duhyāte*, *dhīyāte*, *dhamyāte*, *dhiyāte* (dhā- 'put'), *dhriyāte*, *nīyāte*, *pacyāte*, *pīyāte* 'is drunk' (AV.), *pūyāte*, *preyāte*, *badhyāte* (Vbandh-)², *mathyāte* (AV.), *mucyāte*, *mṛjyāte*, *mriyāte*, *yujyāte*, *ricyāte*, *ribhyāte*³, *lupyāte* (AV.), *vacyāte* (Vvañc-), *vidyāte* 'is found', *vijyāte*⁴, *śasyāte* (Vśams-), *śisyāte*, *śiryāte*, *śriyāte*, *sicyāte*, *sūyāte* 'is pressed', (Vsu-), *ṣjyāte*, *hanyāte*, *hūyāte* 'is called'.

Du. 3. *ucyete* (Vvac-).

Pl. 1. *tapyāmahe* (AV.), *pnyāmahe*. — 3. *upyānte* (Vvap-), *reyānte*, *rdhyanāte* (AV.), *kriyānte*, *jīyānte*, *tṛhyānte* (AV.), *dahyanāte* (AV.), *duhyānte* (AV.), *dhriyānte*, *mīyānte* 'are fixed' (Vmi-, AV.), *mriyānte* (AV.), *yujyānte*, *vacyānte* (Vvañc-, AV.), *vīyānte* (Vī-, AV.), *śasyānte* (Vśams-), *śiryānte* (AV.), *ṣjyānte* (AV.), *hanyānte*, *hūyānte*.

Present Subjunctive.

446. Sing. 3. *uhyāte*, *dhriyāte*, *śisyātai*⁵ (AV.).

Du. 2. *ūhyāthe*⁶.

Present Injunctive.

Sing. 3. *sūyata* (Vsu-).

Present Imperative.

Sing. 2. *idhyāsva* (AV. TS.), *dhīyasva* (AV.), *dhriyasva* (AV.), *mucyasva* (Kh. II. 11⁴), *mriyāsva* (AV.), *vacyasva* (Vvañc-).

3. *rdhyatām* (AV.), *tīyatām* (AV.), *dhiyatām* (AV.), *dhūyatām* (AV.), *dhriyatām* (AV.), *preyatām*, *badhyatām* (AV.), *mucyatām* (AV.), *hanyatām* (AV.), *hūyatām*.

Pl. 2. *preyadhvam* (AV. TS.), *yujyadhvam*, *vicyadhvam* (AV.).

3. *tapyantām* (AV.), *tṛhyantām* (AV.), *preyantām* (AV.), *badhyantām*, *dhūyantām* (Vbhañj-, AV.), *vacyantām*, *vṣjyantām*, *hanyantām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

447. *acyāmana-* (AV.), *ajyāmana-*, *idhyāmana-*, *udyāmana-* (Vvad-, AV.), *upyāmana-* (Vvap-, AV.), *uhyāmana-*, *reyāmana-*, *kṛtyāmana-* (AV.), *kriyāmana-*, (d-)kṣiyāmana-, *gryāmana-*, *guhāyāmana-*, *tapyāmana-*, *tīyāmana-*, *tujyāmana-*, *tṛhyāmana-*, *dadyāmana-*⁷, *diyāmana-* (AV.), *duhyāmana-* (AV.), *dhriyāmana-*, *nahyāmana-* (AV.), *nidyāmana-*, *nīyāmana-*, *pacyāmana-*, *pīyāmana-* (AV.), *pūyāmana-*, *preyāmana-*, *badhyāmana-*, *bhūyāmana-*, *mathyāmana-*, *madyāmana-*, *mīyāmana-* (mi- 'fix'), *mṛjyāmana-*, *yamyāmana-*, *vacyāmana-* (Vvañc-),

¹ From Vjā- or Vj- 'scathe'.

² *bhiyate*, AV. XX. 131⁴, is an emendation.

³ *īyate*, AV. XX. 134³ 4, is an emendation.

⁴ The forms *vīcate*, *vīcānte*, *vīcāntām*

appear occasionally to stand for *vīcyate*,

vīcyānte, *vīcyāntām* in the AV. See v. NEGE-

LEIN 40; BLOOMFIELD, SBE. 42, 418.

⁵ Emendation in AV. II. 31⁴, for *uchīyātai*, the reading of the text.

⁶ A 3. pl. mid. in *-antai* once occurs in

the TS. in the form *jāyāntai*; WHITNEY 760a.

⁷ From the weak present stem *dad-* of

dā- 'give'.

रय्यमन्ना- (AV.), *śasyāmāna-*, *śicyāmāna-*, *śijyāmāna-*, *śtāyāmāna-*, *hanyāmāna-* (AV.), *hijyāmāna-*, *hūyāmāna-* (*hū-* 'call'); from the causative of \sqrt{bhaj} : *bhājyāmāna-* (AV. XII. 4²⁸).

Imperfect Indicative.

448. Sing. 3. *antayata*, *amueyata*, *aricyata*. — Pl. 3. *atapyanta* (AV. TS.), *apacyanta*, *apreyanta*, *dsicyanta* (AV.); *acyanta*.

b. The second or graded conjugation.

449. The chief characteristic of this conjugation is vowel gradation in the base¹ consequent on shift of accent. The base has a strong grade vowel in the singular indicative (present and imperfect) active, throughout the subjunctive, and in the 3. sing. imperative active. Minor peculiarities are: 1. loss of *u* in the endings of the 3. pl. mid. (*-ate*, *-ata*, *-atim*); 2. formation of the 2. sing. imperative active with a suffix, generally *-dhi*; 3. vowel gradation in the modal suffix of the optative (act. *-yā*; mid. *-i*); 4. formation of the middle participle with *-āna*.

a. The second conjugation comprises five distinct classes falling into two main groups in which α) the vowel of the root (simple or reduplicated) is graded; β) the vowel of the suffix (nearly always containing a nasal) is graded.

α. 1. The root class.

450. The base is formed by the root itself, to which the personal endings are directly attached (in the subjunctive and optative with the intervening modal suffix). The radical vowel is accented and takes *Guṇa* in the strong forms. More than a hundred roots are comprised in this class².

a. A good many irregularities are met with in this class, with regard to both the base and the endings. 1. Vrddhi is taken in the strong forms by *uṣj-* 'wipe' e. g. *mūj-mi*, and before consonants by roots ending in *-u*, i. e. by *kyu-* 'whet', *nu-* 'praise', *yu-* 'unite' (AV.), *śtu-* 'praise'; e. g. *śtū-mi*³, *ś-stu-t*⁴, but *ś-stav-am*. — 2. The *Guṇa* vowel, along with the accent, is retained in the root of *ś-* 'lie' (middle) throughout the weak forms; e. g. sing. 1. *śāy-e*, 2. *ś-ye*. In the 3. pl. this verb at the same time inserts *i* before the endings: *ś-ya-te*, *ś-ye* (AV.), *ś-yatim*, *ś-ye-rata*, *ś-ye-ran*⁵. — 3. Several roots form a base with the connecting vowel *i* or *i*⁶ before consonant endings. The roots *au-* 'breathe', *rud-*⁸ 'weep', *vam* 'vomit', *śvas-* 'blow', *svap-*⁹ 'sleep' insert *i* before all terminations beginning with a consonant, except in 2. 3. impf., where they insert *i*; e. g. *āni-ti*, *āni-t*; *svamī-t*; *svasi-ti*. The roots *id-* 'praise' and *id-* 'rule' add *i* in some forms of the 2. pers. middle: *īji-śva*; *īji-ge* (beside *īj-ge*), *īi-dice*. The 3. pl. *ījre* is, owing to its accent¹⁰, probably to be accounted a present rather than a perfect¹¹. Occasional (imperative sing.) forms with connecting *i* from other roots also occur: *jāni-śva* 'be born', *vāni-śva* 'clothe', *śnathi-hi* 'pierce', *śtani-hi* 'thunder'. The root *brū-* 'speak' regularly inserts *i* in the strong forms before terminations beginning with consonants; e. g. *brāvi-mi*. The same *i* also appears in the form *lavī-ti* from *lu-* 'be strong'; in *amī-ji* and in the TS.¹² *amī-ti*, *amī-śva*, *āmī-t* from *am-* 'injure'; and in *śamī-śva* (VS.), from *śam-*

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 211.

² Several roots of this class show transfers to the *a-* conjugation: cp. WHITNEY 625 a.

³ The RV. has once 2. sing. *śto-ji* (X. 22¹), a form which AVERY 275 takes to be a 3. sing. nor. pass. injunctive.

⁴ Vrddhi on the other hand once appears even in the weak form 3. pl. impf. *ānāvan*. On the Vrddhi in these verbs, cp. v. NEGELEIN 10 a.

⁵ There are some transfer forms according to the *a-* conjugation from the stem *śdy-a-*, including the isolated active form *śdayat*, which is common. Nearly a dozen roots

besides *ś-* retain the accent on the radical syllable throughout. See 97, 2 a.

⁶ This *i* is, however, in reality originally part of a dissyllabic base: cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 212, 2.

⁷ The AV. has also forms according to the *a-* conjugation: *āni-ti*, etc.

⁸ The RV. has no such forms from *rud-* and *svap-*.

⁹ The AV., however, has the form *svap-tu*.

¹⁰ See 97, 2 a and 484.

¹¹ The 3. sing. impf. of this verb is in the MS. *āiśa* (like *ādūhā*), cp. WHITNEY 630.

¹² WHITNEY 634.

'labour'. — 4. A few roots undergo peculiar shortenings in the weak forms: as 'be' loses its vowel¹ (except where protected by the augment)², e. g. *s-mās* 'we are'; *han-*³ 'slay' in the weak forms loses its *n* before terminations beginning with consonants (except *m*, *y* or *v*), but syncopates its *a* before terminations beginning with vowels, when *h* reverts to the original guttural *gh*; e. g. *ha-thá*, but *han-yáma*; *gh-ánti*, part. *gh-ánt-*; the root *vas-* 'be eager', takes Samprasāraṇa; e. g. 1. pl. *uś-māś*, part. *uś-ānd-*⁴, but 1. sing. *vāś-mi*. The root *vas-* 'clothe' similarly takes Samprasāraṇa once in the participle *uś-ānd-* (beside the usual *vāśāna-*). — 5. With regard to endings, the root *śā-* 'order' loses the *n* in the 3. pl. active (as well as middle) and in the participle, being treated like roots of the reduplicating class (457)⁵: 3. pl. impv. *śā-ate* (TS.), part. *śā-at-*⁶. The root *duh-* 'milk' is very anomalous in its endings: middle impv. 3. sing. *duh-ām*, 3. pl. *duh-rām* and *duh-ratām*; ind. 3. pl. mid. *duh-ré* and *duh-ráte* beside the regular *duh-at* (with irregular accent)⁷; active imperf. 3. sing. *á-duh-a-t*⁸ beside *á-dhok*, 3. pl. *a-duh-ran* beside *á-duh-an* and *duh-úr*⁹; and in the 3. opt. the entirely anomalous sing. *duh-ī-yát* (RV.) and pl. *duh-īyān* (RV.) (for *duh-yát* and *duh-yār*).

Present Indicative.

451. A final or prosodically short medial radical vowel takes Guṇa in the singular; elsewhere it remains unchanged, excepting the changes of final vowels required by internal Sandhi, and the irregular shortenings mentioned above (450, a 4). The ordinary endings are added directly¹⁰ to the root. But the 3. sing. mid. ends in *-e* nearly as often as in *-te*; and anomalous endings appear in the 3. persons of the roots *ī-*, *duh-*, *śā-*, *ś-*¹¹.

The forms actually occurring would, if made from *ī-* 'go' and *brū-* 'speak', be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ī-mi*. 2. *ī-ṣi*. 3. *ī-ti*. — Du. 2. *ī-thāś*. 3. *ī-tts*. — Pl. 1. *ī-māśi* and *ī-māś*. 2. *ī-thā* and *ī-thāna*. 3. *y-ānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *brū-ē*. 2. *brū-śē*. 3. *brū-tē* and *brū-ē*. — Du. 2. *brū-āthe*. 3. *brū-āte*. — Pl. 1. *brū-māhe*. 2. *brū-dhve*. 3. *brū-ūtē*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ādmī*, *āsmī*, *āmi*, *ksānumi*, *dvāsmi* (AV.), *pāmi* 'protect', *mārjmi*, *yāmi*, *yaumi* (AV.) 'join', *vaśmi*, *vāmi*, *śāsmi* (AV.), *staumi* (AV. TS.), *hanmi*, *harmi*. — With connecting *ī-*: *brāvīmi*.

2. *ātsi*, *āsi*, *āsi*, *kārsi* (AV.), *caksi* (= **caks-ṣi*), *chanti* (Vchand-), *dārsi* (d- 'pierce'), *pārsi* (pr- 'pass'), *pāsi* ('protect'), *bhāsi*, *yāsi*, *vakṣi* (vaś- 'desire'), *vṣi* (Vvṣ-), *śāsi*, *sāsi*, *stāsi*, *stāsi*¹², *hāsi*. — With imperative sense¹³: *krṣi* (*krṣ-* 'dwell'), *jīsi*, *jīsi* (= **jōs-ṣi*: *jus-* 'enjoy'), *dārsi*, *dhāksi* (*dah-* 'burn'), *nakṣi* (*naś-* 'attain'), *neṣi*, *pārsi*, *prāsi*, *bhāksi* (*bhāj-* 'divide'), *maṣi*, *māsi*, *yāksi* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice'), *yāmsi* (*yam-* 'reach'), *yāsi*, *yāsi* (*yudh-* 'fight'), *rāsi* (*rad-* 'dig'), *rāsi*, *vāksi* (*vah-* 'carry'), *vṣi* (Vvṣ-), *śrāsi*, *sakṣi* (*sah-* 'prevail'), *sāsi*, *hāsi* (*hu-* 'sacrifice'). — With connecting *ī-*: *amīsi*, *brāvīsi*.

¹ It is, however, preserved in an altered form in the 2. sing. impv. act.: *e-āhi* for **as-dhi* (62, 4, 6, p. 57). This verb has the further anomalies of losing its *s* in the 2. sing. pres. *a-si*, and in inserting *ī* in the 2. 3. sing. impv. *āśī-s*, *āśī-t*. It has no middle.

² Cp. v. NEGELIN 8⁷; VAN WIJK, IF. 18, 59.

³ Limited to the active in this conjugation in the RV.

⁴ The only middle form.

⁵ There are also some transfer forms according to the *a-* conjugation: 3. sing. *śhātī*.

⁶ Similarly from *dā-* 'worship' the part. *dāś-at*.

⁷ In the middle participle the *h* of the root reverts to the guttural *gh*: *dāgh-āna-*.

⁸ Transfer to the *a-* conjugation.

⁹ The MS. has further anomalous endings in the imperf. mid.: 3. sing. *a-duh-a* and 3. pl. *a-duh-ra*, probably as parallel to the present *duh-* and *duhre*: WHITNEY 635.

¹⁰ Excepting the few forms of roots which may take connecting *i* or *ī* (450, a 3).

¹¹ See above 450, a 2, 3, 5; cp. JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 512; NEISSER, BB. 20, 74.

¹² See 450, a 1, note 7.

¹³ Some of these have no corresponding root present or root aorist; cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 624; BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 2, 271; NEISSER, BB. 7, 230 ff., 20, 70 ff.; BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 72; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 30; Syntaktische Forschungen 5, 209.

3. *ḍīti, ḍāti, ḍī, kṣēti, takṣi* (tak- 'rush'), *dāti* (dā- 'share'), *dāṣṭi* (dāṣ- 'worship'), *dveṣṭi, pāti, bhārti, bhāti, māṣṭi* (SA. XII. 9), *yāti, rāṣṭi* (rāj- 'rule'), *ṛṣṭi* (rih- 'lick'), *vaṣṭi* (vaṣ- 'desire'), *vāti, vṛti, stauti* (AV.; Kh. v. 3²), *hanti*. — With connecting -i- or -ī-: *ḍniti, ṣoḍṣiti; amti* (TS. VS.), *taviti* (tu- 'be strong'), *brāviti*.

Du. 2. *ithās, kṛthās, pāthās, bhūthās, yāthās, vithās, sthās* (as- 'be'), *hathās* (√han-).

3. *attas, etas*¹ (AV.), *ksitās, dviṣtas* (AV.), *pātas, psātās* (AV.), *bhūtas, yātas, vātas, ṛtas, snātas, hatās, hūtas*.

Pl. 1. *admasi* (AV.), *imāsi, uśmāsi*² (√vaṣ-), *stumāsi, smāsi, hanmasi* (AV.); *dviṣmās, brāmās* (AV.), *mṛjmas* (AV.), *yāmas, rudhmas* (AV.), *vidmas* (Kh. IV. 5³³), *stūmas* (AV.), *smās, hanmas*.

2. *itha, kṛtha, gathā* (RV¹),³ *nethā*⁴, *pāthā* 'protect'⁵, *yāthā, stha, hatā; pāthāna, yāthāna, sthāna*.

3. *adanti, amānti, uśanti, kṣiyānti, ghnānti* (√han-), *dānti* (dā- 'cut'), *duhanti, dviṣānti* (AV.), *pānti*⁶, *bruvānti, bhānti, mṛjānti, yānti, yānti, rihānti, rudānti, vānti, vṛyānti* (√vṛ-), *sānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īye* (i- 'go'), *īḷe, īḷe, uoḷ⁷, duhe, bruve, mṛje* (AV.), *yujē, yuve* (yu- 'join'), *suve* (sū- 'beget')⁸, *hnuve*.

2. *īkṣe, kṛṣi, cakṣe* (= *cakṣ-*se*), *dhukṣe* (AV.), *brūṣe, vitsē* (vid- 'find'), *īḷe*. — With connecting -i-: *īḷiṣe*.

3. *ḍste, īḷe* (√iḷ-), *ṛte, īḷe* (√iḷ-), *cāṣte* (√cakṣ-), *brūḍ, vāste, śāste, śikṣte*⁹ (√śikṣ-), *sāte, hāte* (SA. XII. 27). — With ending -e: *īḷe*¹⁰, *citē* (cit- 'perceive'), *duhē, bruvē, vidē* ('finds'), *śāye*¹¹.

Du. 2. *ḍsāthe, īḷsāthe, cakṣāthe, vāsāthe*. — 3. *asāte, iyāte, duhāte, bruvāte, śayāte, śivāte*.

Pl. 1. *ḍsmahe* (AV.), *īmahe, īsmahe* (AV.), *mṛjmihe* (AV.), *yujmahe, śasmahe, śemahe* (AV.), *hūmahe*. — 2. With connecting -i-: *īḷidhve* (AV.). — 3. *ḍsate, ṛrate, ḷate, īsate, śhate* (√śh-), *grhate*¹², *cakṣate, duhate*¹³, *dviṣāte* (AV.), *nṛjate, bruvāte, rihate*¹³, *vāsate, śāsate, suvate*. — With ending -re: *duhrē, śere* (AV.); with -rate: *duhrate, śerate* (AV. TS.).

Present Subjunctive.

452. In the AV. several forms are irregularly made with *ī*, as if following the *a*- conjugation. No examples of the 2. du. and pl. mid. are found. The forms which actually occur, if made from *brū-* 'speak', would be:

Active. Sing. 1. *brāvāmi, brāvāi*. 2. *brāvāsi, brāvāsi*. 3. *brāvāti, brāvāti*. — Du. 1. *brāvāvāva*. 2. *brāvāvāthas*. 3. *brāvāvātas*. — Pl. 1. *brāvāvāma*. 2. *brāvāvātha*. 3. *brāvāvan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *brāvāi*. 2. *brāvāse*. 3. *brāvāte*. — Du. 1. *brāvāvāhai*. 3. *brāvāite*. — Pl. 1. *brāvāvāmahai, brāvāvāmahe*. 3. *brāvāvānta*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ḍsāmi* (AV.), *brāvāmi; ayī, brāvāi, stāvā*.

¹ With irregular strong radical vowel.

² Once anomalously *imāsi*.

³ With loss of nasal as in √han-.

⁴ With irregular strong radical vowel: cp. v. NEGELEIN 33.

⁵ Once from *pā-* 'drink', in I. 86¹?

⁶ Thirteen times from *pā-* 'protect', once (II. 11¹⁴) from *pā-* 'drink' (probably subj. nor.).

⁷ This form occurring only once in the RV. seems to be formed from a doubtful root

⁸ 'proclaim'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, under *u*.

⁹ *hnuē*, sing. 1. and 3., should perhaps be

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placed here rather than in the *a*- class; on this form cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 59, 355 ff.; NEISSER, BB. 25, 315 ff.

⁹ *hite* (AV.).

¹⁰ AVERY 234 gives *īḷe* only, apparently instead of *īḷe*. The form *īḷe* would be 3. sing. mid. perfect.

¹¹ On these forms cp. v. NEGELEIN 102; NEISSER, BB. 20, 74.

¹² Placed by WHITNEY, Roots, doubtfully under the norist of √grah-.

¹³ With irregular accent.

2. *ayasi* (AV.), *ásasi*, *bravasi*; *áyas* (AV.), *ásas*, *kṣáyas* (*kṣi*- 'dwell'); *ghásas*, *dánas*, *parvas*, *bravas*, *védas*, *sákas*, *hánas*; with *-ā*: *áyās* (AV.).

3. *áyati*, *ásati*, *vayati* (V^{or}-), *védati*, *hanati*; *adat* (AV.), *dyat*, *ásat*, *trat*¹, *kṣayat*, *ghasat*, *cayat*, *déhat*, *dohat* (i. 164²), *dúlsat* (AV.), *pāt* ('protect'), *brávat*, *védāt* (vid- 'know'), *stívat*, *hánat* (AV. TS.); with *-ā*: *ayāt* (Kh. III. 1³), *asāt* (AV.), *rodāt* (Kh. 2. 11⁴).

Du. 1. *hánava*. — 2. *ásathas*, *vedathas*. — 3. *pātas* 'protect' (iv. 55⁵).

Pl. 1. *ayāma*, *ásāma*, *kṣáyāma*, *dvesāma* (AV.), *brāvāma*, *stāvāma*, *hánāma*. — 2. *ásatha*², *stavatha*; with *-ā*: *bravātha* (AV.), *hanātha* (AV.). — 3. *ayan*, *ásan*, *brávan*, *yavan* ('join', AV. III. 17³), *hánan* (AV.); with *-ā*: *ádān* (AV.), *ayān* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *stusé*³. — 2. *āsase*. — 3. *āsate*, *idhaté*⁴, *dohate*, *dúlsate* (TS. IV. 1. 10⁵), *várjate*; with *-tai*: *áyatai* (AV.), *ásatai* (AV.); with secondary ending *-ta*: *isata*. — Du. 1. *brāvāvahai*. — 3. *brávaite*. — Pl. 1. *īṣāmahai*, *brāvāmahai*; *īṣāmahe*. — 3. *hánanta*.

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *vés*. — 3. *vet* (x. 53⁹), *stant*; without ending: *dān*, *rāt*, *han*. — Pl. 3. *yan*, *san*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *vasta*, *sata*. — Pl. 3. *īṣata*, *vasata*.

Present Optative.

453. Active. Sing. 1. *iyām*, *yayām*, *vidyām*, *syām*. — 2. *syās*. — 3. *adyāt* (AV.), *iyāt*, *brūyāt*, *vidyāt*, *syāt*, *hanyāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *brūyatam* (TS. IV. 7. 15¹⁰), *vidyatam*, *svātam*. — 3. *syātīm*.

Pl. 1. *iyāma*, *turyāma*, *vidyāma*, *syāma*, *hanyāma*. — 2. *syāta*; *syātana*. — 3. *adyūr*, *vidyūr*, *syūr*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *īṣya*, *śyīya* (AV.). — 3. *āsita*, *īṣta*, *īṣta*, *duhita*, *bruvita*, *śyīta*, *stutitā*. — Pl. 1. *bruvīmahi*, *vastmahi*, *stutīmahi*.

Present Imperative.

454. The endings are added directly to the root, which appears in its weak form except in the 3. sing. act., where it is strong and accented⁵. In the 2. sing. act., *-dhi* is added to a final consonant, *-hi* to a vowel; *-it*, which occurs only three times, may be added to either a consonant or a vowel. In the mid., *-ām* 3. sing., *-rām* and *-ratīm* 3. pl., occasionally appear for *-itām* and *-atām*⁶.

Active. Sing. 2. *adhi*, *edhi* (as- 'be'), *tāhi* (V^{lakṣ}-), *psāhi* (AV.), *myādhī* (AV.), *viddhi* ('find' and 'know'), *śādhi* (V^{śās}-); *īhi*, *jāhi*⁷, *pāhi* 'protect', *brāhi*, *bhāhi*, *yāhi*, *vāhi*, *zīhi*⁸, *vīhi*, *stūhi*, *snāhi* (AV.); with connecting *-i*: *anihi* (VS. IV. 25), *śnathīhi*, *svasihi* (AV.), *stanihi*; with *-tāt*: *brātāt* (TS. I. 6. 4³), *vītāt*, *vītāt*. — 3. *aitu*, *ástu*, *étu*, *dvesītu* (AV.), *pātu* 'protect', *psātu* (AV.), *māṛṣtu* (AV. TS.), *yātu*, *vasītu* (V^{vaś}-), *vātu*, *vltu*, *vltu* (AV.), *sastu*, *stantu* (AV.), *snautu* (TS. III. 5. 5⁴), *svāptu* (AV.), *hāntu*; with connecting *-ī*: *brāvītu*.

¹ AVERY 230 here adds *śāhat*, which I regard as a root nor. subjunctive.

² *vidātha*, AV. I. 32¹, seems to be a corruption for *védatha*; cp. WHITNEY's note.

³ For *stus-a-i*; cp. AVERY 238; DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 181¹; NEISSER, BB. 27, 262—280; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 55, 39.

⁴ With irregular accent and weak root (VII. 1⁸) for **indhate*, beside *indhate* formed from *īdh-* according to the infixing nasal class.

⁵ This is also irregularly the case in six or seven forms of the 2. pl., before both *-ā* and *-tana*: *īta*, *netā*, *stotā*; *īāna*, *bravīāna*, *stāna*, *hantāna*.

⁶ In *duhīm*, *vidām* (AV.), *jayām* (AV.); *duhrām* (AV.), *dukratām* (AV.).

⁷ For **jha-hi*, from *han-* 'slay': see 32, 2 c, and cp. V. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 8².

⁸ Metrically shortened for *vīhi*, from *vīh-*.

Du. 2. *attam* (AV.), *itam* (AV. TS.), *pātām* 'protect', *brūtam* (AV.), *yātām*, *vittām*, *vītām*, *stam* (as- 'be'), *stutam*, *katām*. — 3. *itām*, *dugdhām* (√*duh-*), *pātām* 'protect', *sastām*, *stām* (AV.), *hatām* (AV.).

Pl. 2. *atā*, *itā* and *īta*, *pātā* 'protect', *brūta*, *yātā*, *śasta* (śas- 'cut'), *sta* (VS. AV.), *stota*, *hatā*; with *-āna*: *attana*, *itana* and *ītana*, *yātāna*, *śastāna*, *sotāna* (su- 'press'), *hantāna*; with connecting *-ī-*: *bravitāna*.

3. *adantu*, *ghnantu*, *drantu*, *pāntu* 'protect', *bruvantu*, *yantu*, *yāntu*, *vantu* (AV.), *vyāntu* (√*vi-*) and *vīyantu* (TS.), *śasatu* (TS.V.2.12¹), *śvīśantu* (AV.), *santu*, *svāpantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *īṣva*, *caṣva* (= **caṣ-ṣva*), *trāṣva*, *dhukṣva*², *mṛkṣva* (√*mṛ-*, AV.), *stuyvā* (AV.); with connecting *-i-*: *īlīṣva*, *jūhīṣva*, *vāsiṣva*.

3. *āstām*, *yūtām* (AV.), *vastām*, *śetām* (AV.); with *-ām*: *duhām*, *vidām* (vid- 'find', AV.), *śayām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *trāthām*, *caṣāthām* (TS.), *duhāthām* (AV.), *vasāthām* (TS.). — 3. *duhātām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *adhvam*³ (√*ās-*), *trādhvam*, *trādhvam*, *mṛdhvam* (AV.). — 3. *tratām*, *stuvatām* (AV.); with *-rām*: *duhrām* (AV.); with *-ratām*: *duhratām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

455. The active participle is formed by adding *-ānt*¹ to the weak root; thus *y-ānt* from *y-* 'go'; *duh-ānt* from *duh-* 'milk'; *s-ānt* from *as-* 'be'. The strong stems of the participles of *dās-* 'worship' and *śās-* 'order' lose the *n*: *dās-at*⁴ and *śās-at*⁵. The middle participle is formed by adding the suffix *-ānt* to the weak form of the root; thus *iy-ānt* from *√i-*; *us-ānt* from *√vas-*; *ghn-ānt* (AV.) from *√ghan-*. In a few examples, however, the radical vowel takes Guṇa; thus *oh-ānt* from *oh-* 'consider'; *yodh-ānt* from *yudh-* 'fight'; *śīy-āna* from *śī-* 'lie'; *stuv-ānt* from *stu-* 'praise'. The final of √*duh-* reverts to the original guttural in *dūgh-āna* beside the regular *dūkhāna*. The root *ās-* 'sit' has the anomalous suffix *-ina* in *ās-ina* beside the regular *ās-ānt*. Several of these participles in *-āna* alternatively accent the radical vowel instead of the final vowel of the suffix; thus *vīd-āna* beside *vīd-ānt* 'finding'.

Active. *adānt*, *anānt*, *usānt*, *ksiyānt*⁶ 'dwelling', *ghnānt* (√*ghan-*), *duhānt*, *visānt*, *dhṛṣānt*, *pānt* 'protecting', *bruv-ānt*, *bhānt*, *yānt*, *yānt*, *rihānt*, *rudānt*, *vānt*⁷ (AV.), *vyānt* (√*vi-*), *sūnt*, *sasānt*, *stuvānt*, *snānt*, *svāpānt*; with loss of *n*: *dāsāt*, *śāsāt*.

Middle. *adānt*, *āsānt* and *āsina*, *indhāna*, *ivānt* (VS. x. 19; TS. I. 8. 14⁸), *īṣāna*, *īṣāna*, *īṣāna* and (once) *īṣānt*, *usānt*⁹, *usānt*⁹ (vas- 'wear'), *īhāna* and *ohānt* (√*ah-*), *ksuvānt*¹⁰, *ghnānt* (AV.), *dihānt*, *dūghāna* and *duhānt* and *dūkhāna*, *dhṛṣānt* (AV.), *nijānt*, *bruvānt*, *mṛjānt*, *yuvānt* (yu-

¹ DELBRÜCK 61 and AVERY 242 wrongly give this form as *dukṣva*.

² In AV. (iv. 14²) and TS. (iv. 6. 5¹) some Mss. read *adhvam*. VS. xvii. 65 has *adhvam*.

³ The feminine is formed with *-ī* from the weak stem; thus *ghnat-ī*, *duhat-ī*, *yāt-ī*, *yāt-ī*, *bhāt-ī*, *rudat-ī*, *sat-ī* (AV.), *snāt-ī*. But the AV. has *yāntī* (beside *yātī*) and *svāpāntī*; see WHITNEY, Index Verborum 374.

⁴ The verb *dās-* may have lost its nasal in the 3. pl. act., but there is no evidence of this, as the only form preserved according to the root class is 3. sing. *dāyī*.

⁵ As in 3. pl.

⁶ *ksiyāntam* TS. iv. 1. 2⁵.

⁷ *apa-vān* AV. xix. 50⁴ is probably N. sing. of this part.; see WHITNEY's note and cp. LANMAN 484².

⁸ The RV. has once the transfer form *usāmāna*.

⁹ Once, beside the regular *visāna*. The RV. has also once the transfer form *usāmāna*.

¹⁰ The form *gṛhīṃā* (x. 103¹²), doubtless 2. sing. impv. of the *nā-* class, is regarded by GRASSMANN as a participle.

'join'), *yodhānā-*, *rihānā-*, *vāsānā-* 'wearing', *vidānā-* and *vidānā-*, *vyānā-* (√*vi-*), *śāyānā-*, *śāsānā-* (AV. TS.), *śivānā-* (ś- 'bring forth', AV.), *stuvānā-* and *stāvānā-*, *svānā-* (su- 'press', SV.)¹.

Imperfect Indicative.

456. Active. Sing. 1. *adōham* (Kh. v. 15¹⁴), *apām* ('protect'), *ābravam*, *avedam*, *ahanam*; *adam* (VS. XII. 105), *āyam*, *āsam*, *airam* (√*ir-*).

2. *āpās*, *āyās*; *ās* (AV.); *ves* (√*vr-*); with connecting -*i-*: *abravīs* (AV.); *āsīs*; without ending: *āhan*; *han*.

3. *āpāt*, *āyat*, *avāt* (AV.), *astaut*; *dit*²; with connecting -*ī-*: *ābravīt*, *avamīt*; *ānīt*, *āsīt*³; without ending: *adhok*, *āvet* (AV.), *āhan*; *ās* (= **ās-*, from *as-* 'be'); *han*⁴.

Du. 2. *dyātām*, *āhatām*; *āstām*, *ditām*; *yātām* (AV.). — 3. *abrūām* (AV.); *ātām* (VS. XXI. 43), *āstām*, *aitām* (AV. VS.).

Pl. 1. *atākṣma*, *āpāma*. — 2. *atākṣa*; *āita*; *abravīta*; *dyātana*, *āsastana*; *ditana*; *ābravītana*. — 3. *ādīhan* (AV.), *anāvan*, *ābruvan*, *āvyan* (√*vi-*); *āyan* (i- 'go'), *āsan*; *asan*⁵ (as- 'throw'), *gḥnan* (Kh. I. 2²); with ending -*ur*: *atvīsur*, *apur* (pā- 'protect'); *asur* (as- 'throw', I. 179³); *cākṣur*, *duhur*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *acākṣa*, *atākṣa*, *āvasta* (AV.), *āsnta*; *ditṣa* (√*it-*); *mṛṣṭa* (I. 174⁴), *sūta*.

Pl. 2. *ārādhrām*. — 3. *aghnata* (AV.), *acākṣata*, *ājanata*, *āmṛjata* (AV.), *akāsata*; *āsata*, *āirata*. With ending -*ran*: *aduhran* (AV.), *āsēran*.

a. 2. The Reduplicating Class.

457. This class is less than half as frequent as the root class, comprising fewer than 50 verbs. The endings are here added to the reduplicated root, which is treated as in the root class, taking Guna in the strong forms. The stem shows the same peculiarity as the desiderative in reduplicating *ī* (= *ar*) and *ā* with *i*. Here, however, this rule is not invariable. All the roots with *r* except one reduplicate with *i*. They are *r-* 'go': *īy-ar-*⁶; *ghr-* 'drip': *jghar-*; *ṣr-* 'cross': *īṣr-*; *pṛ-* 'fill' and *pṛ-* 'pass': *pṣpṛ-*; *bhr-* 'bear': *bībhar-*; *sr-* 'run': *sīsar-*; *pṛc-* 'mix': *pīpṛc-*; but *vrt-* 'turn': *vavart-*. While nine roots reduplicate *ā* with *a*, thirteen do so with *i*. The latter are: *gā-* 'go': *jīgā-*; *ghrā-* 'smell': *jīghrā-*; *pā-* 'drink': *pīpā-*; *mā-* 'measure': *mīmā-*; *mā-* 'bellow': *mīmā-*; *śā-* 'sharpen': *śīśā-*; *sthā-* 'stand': *īśthā-*; *hā-* 'go forth': *jīhī-*⁷; *wac-* 'speak': *vīvac-*; *vas-* 'desire': *vīvās-*⁸; *vyac-* 'extend': *vīvyac-*; *sac-* 'accompany': *sīśac-*⁹; *han-* 'strike': *jīghna-*. Three of these, however, *pā-*, *sthā-*, *han-*, have permanently gone over to the *a-* conjugation, while a fourth, *ghrā-*, is beginning to do so. Contrary to analogy the accent is not, in the majority of verbs belonging to this class, on the root in the strong forms, but on the reduplicative syllable. The latter is further accented in the 3. pl. act. and mid., as well as in the 1. du. and pl. mid. Doubtless as a result of this accentuation, the verbs of this class lose the *n* of the endings in the 3. pl. act. and mid.; e. g. *bībhr-ati*¹⁰ and *jīhate*.

¹ To be pronounced thus in the RV., though always written *svānā-*.

² The form *āitā* (AV. XVIII. 34⁰) seems to be a corruption of *āit*; see WHITNEY'S note in his Translation.

³ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 81; REICHELTS BB. 27, 89. VS. VIII. 46 has the transfer form *ārat*.

⁴ *ārudat* (AV.) is a transfer to the *a-* conjugation. In I. 77² *vā-*, 3. sing., seems to be an aor. form = **vā-s-*.

⁵ Unaugmented form IV. 3¹.

⁶ With -*y-* interposed between reduplication and root.

⁷ With *ī* for *ā*; inflected in the middle only.

⁸ Also *vavāf-*.

⁹ Also *sāc-*.

¹⁰ That is, *a* replaces the sonant nasal.

a. There are a number of irregularities chiefly in the direction of shortening the root in weak forms. 1. Roots ending in *ā* drop their vowel before terminations beginning with vowels: e. g. $\sqrt{mā}$: *mim-e*, 3. pl. *mim-ate*. $\sqrt{dā}$ and $\sqrt{dhā}$, the two commonest verbs in this class, drop the *ā* in all weak forms. — 2. The root *vyac-* takes Samprasāraṇa; e. g. 3. du. *vikṛtās*; analogously *kvav-* 'be crooked', makes some forms with Samprasāraṇa, when it reduplicates with *u*; e. g. *juhūrthās*, 2. sing. mid. injunctive. — 3. The verbs *bhas-* 'chew', *sac-* 'accompany', *has-* 'laugh', syncopate the radical vowel; thus *babhas-at*, 3. sing. subj., but *bāpāt*, 3. pl. ind.; *sāc-ati*, 3. pl. ind. pres., *sāc-ata*, 3. pl. inj.; *jāky-at-*, pres. part. — 4. The *ā* of *śā-* 'sharpen', *mā-* 'measure', *mā-* 'bellow', *rā-* 'give', *hā-* 'go away' (mid.), and (in AV.) *hā-* 'leave' (act.)¹, is usually changed to *ī* before consonants; e. g. *śī jīvāsi*, *mīmīte*, *rārīthās*², *jīhīte*, *jāhīta* (AV.); while the roots *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put' drop their vowel even here³; e. g. *dād-mahā*, *dadh-māsi*. — 5. The initial of *ci-* 'observe' reverts to the original guttural throughout; e. g. *cikṛji* (AV.). — 6. When the aspiration of *dadh-*, the weak base of *dhā-*, is lost before *t*, *th*, *s*, or *dh*, it is thrown back on the initial; e. g. *dhat-sva*. — 7. The roots *dī-* 'shine', *dhī-* 'think', *ṣī-* 'swell', reduplicate with *ī*; e. g. *ādīlet*; *dādīhet*; *ṣṣīpet*. — 8. There are a number of transfers from this to other classes. Thus *cah-* 'see', originally a syncopated reduplicative base (= *cah-ā-*), has become a root inflected according to the root class; *jah-* 'eat', also originally a reduplicated base (*juhās-*), has become a root from which is formed the past passive participle *jaṣ-dhā*, and which in the later language is inflected both in the root class and the *a*-class. The weak bases *dad-* and *dadh-* show an incipient tendency to become roots⁴, from which a number of transfer forms according to the *a*-conjugation are made, such as 3. sing. mid. *dada-te*, 3. pl. ind. act. *dādhanāti*, 3. pl. impv. act. *dadhāntu*, 3. sing. mid. *dadhā-te*, 2. du. *dadhete* (AV.). The roots *pā-* 'drink', *sthā-*, *han-*, form only transfer stems according to the *a*-class: *pā-*, *sthā-*, *jighra-*; while *ghrā-*, *mā-* 'bellow', *śā-*, *bhas-*, *sa-* make occasional forms from transfer stems according to the *a*-class: *jighra-*, *mīma-*, *rāra-*, *bāpa-*, *sāsa-*.

Inflection.

458. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *bhṛ-* 'bear', be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *bhbharmi*. 2. *bhbharsi*. 3. *bhbharti*. — Du. 2. *bhbhṛthās*. 3. *bhbhṛtās*. — Pl. 1. *bhbhṛmāsi* and *bhbhṛmās*. 2. *bhbhṛthā*. 3. *bhbhṛtā*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *bhbhrā*. 2. *bhbhṛā*. 3. *bhbhṛtā*. — Du. 1. *bhbhṛvāhe*. 2. *bhbhṛāthe*. 3. *bhbhṛāte*. — Pl. 1. *bhbhṛmahc*. 2. *bhbhṛdhve*. 3. *bhbhṛate*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Present Indicative.

Active. Sing. 1. *tyarmi*, *jāhami*, *jigharmi*, *juhōmi*, *dādāmi*, *dādhāmi*, *pīparmi* ('fill', AV.), *bhbharmi*, *vivakmi* (\sqrt{vac}), *śīśāmi*.

2. *tyarsi*⁵, *cikṛsi* (AV.), *jāhāsi* (AV.), *jīgāsi*, *dādāsi*, *dādhāsi*, *pīparsi*, *bhbharsi*, *mamūsi*, *vavīkṣi* (\sqrt{vas}), *vivēkṣi*⁷ (*vīṣ-* 'be active'), *śīśakṣi* (\sqrt{sac}), *śīśarṣi*⁸.

3. *tyarti*, *jāhāti*, *jīgāti*, *jīghāti*, *juhōti*, *dādāti*⁹, *dādhāti*, *pīparati* 'fills' and 'passes', *bhbhāsi* (AV.), *bhbharti* and (once) *bhbhṛti*, *mīmāti* 'bellows', *mīmāti* (*mā-* 'bellow', SV.), *yuyoti* 'separates', *vavarti* (= *vavart-ti*, II. 38⁵), *vivakti*, *vivāṣi* (\sqrt{vas}), *vivēṣi* (*vīṣ-* 'be active'), *śīśāsi* (VS.) and *śīśāsti* (TS. VII. 4. 19⁴), *śīśakti* (\sqrt{sac}), *śīśarti*.

Du. 2. *dhatthās*, *nīnthās*, *pīpṛthās*, *bhbhṛthās*. — 3. *dattās* (AV.), *dādhatas*¹⁰ (AV.), *bhbhṛtās* (AV.), *bhbhṛtās*, *mīmtas*, *viviktās* (\sqrt{vyac}), *vivīṣtas*.

Pl. 1. *juhāmāsi*, *dādmasi*, *dādhmasi*, *bhbhṛmāsi*, *śīśmāsi*; *juhīmas*¹¹ (AV.), *juhūmās*, *dadhmas* (AV.), *dādhmas*, *bhbhṛmas* (AV.), *vivīṣmas*. — 2. *dhatthā*,

¹ This of course does not take place in the transfer verbs according to the *a*-conjugation.

² In the RV. *hā-* 'leave', has only forms with *ā* (never *ī*).

³ But *rārāṣan* (AV.).

⁴ The vowel of *hā-* 'leave' is also dropped in the 3. pl. opt. act. *jāhyur* (AV.).

⁵ From the former is made the past passive participle *dat-tā-* 'given'.

⁶ This is the accentuation in MAX MÜLLER'S and AUFRECHT'S editions, both in Samhitā and Padapāṭha.

⁷ Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 303.

⁸ With imperative sense.

⁹ Also the transfer form *dādāti*.

¹⁰ With strong base, for *dhatthā*.

¹¹ With base weakened to *jāhi-* for *jāhi-*.

piprthá, bibhrthá. — 3. *jakati, jighrati* (AV.), *jūhvati, dādati, dādhati*¹, *didyati*² (AV.), *piprati, bapsati* (√*bhas-*), *bibhrati*³, *sūscati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *juhv́, dad́* (AV. TS.), *dadh́, mīm*. — 2. *datse* (AV.), *dhatsé*. — 3. *jihite, jukuti, datté, dhatté, mimate, śisite*⁴; with -o: *dadhí* (+ AV.).

Du. 1. *dādvake*. — 2. *dadhāthe*. — 3. *jihāte, dadhāte*⁵, *mimate*⁶ (v. 82^b).

Pl. 1. *dādmahe, mīmamahe* (AV.). — 2. *jikhāhoe* (AV.). — 3. *jihaté, dadhaté, mimate* ('measure'), *sisrate*.

Present Subjunctive.

459. Active. Sing. 1. *dadhāni, bibharāni* (TS. I. 5. 10¹). — 2. *juhuras, dādas, dadhas, didhyas* (AV.), *vīvesas*. — 3. *piprati; dadat, dādhat, didayat, didayat*¹⁰ (AV.), *babhasat, bibharat* (AV.), *yuyavat* 'separate'.

Du. 2. *dādhatas, bapsathas* (Kh. I. 11¹).

Pl. 1. *jāhūma, juhāvāma, dadhāma*. — 3. *dādan* (AV.), *dādhan, yuyaran*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *dādhasé*. — 3. *dādhaté*; with -tai: *dādātai* (AV.). —

Du. 1. *dadhāvahai* (TS. I. 5. 10¹). — Pl. 1. *dādāmahe*. — 3. *juhuranta*¹².

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dadas* (AV.), *bibhes* (AV.). — 3. *jlgat, dadāt* (AV.), *vivyak*.

Pl. 1. *yuyoma*¹³ (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *juhūrthās* (√*hry-*). 3. *jihita*.

Pl. 3. *sāscata*.

Present Optative¹⁴.

Active. Sing. 2. *mimtyās* (x. 56²). — 3. *jāhyat*¹⁵ (ŚA. XII. 11); *juhuyāt* (AV.), *dadyat* (AV.), *bibhyāt, bibhryāt, mamanyāt, mimtyāt* (mā- 'measure'). —

Du. 3. *yuyuyātām*. — Pl. 1. *juhuyāma*. — 3. *jāhyur*¹⁵ (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *dādhitā* and *dadhītā*. — Pl. 1. *dādīmahi, dadhīmahi*. — 3. *dādiran*.

Present Imperative.

460. Active. Sing. 1. *jāhāni* (AV.). — 2. *dadhí, piprgdhi* (√*pre-*), *mamadhí, mamandhi, yuyodhi, vividghí* (√*vis-*), *śisādhi*. — With -hi: *cihí* (ci- 'note', AV.), *dādhi* and *dādhi* (√*dā-*), *dehí* (√*dā-*), *dhehí, piprhi, bibhrhi* (AV. TS.), *mimihí* (mī- 'measure'), *ririhí*¹⁶ (√*ri-*), *śisihí*. — With -tāt: *jāhitāt* (AV.), *dattāt, dhattāt, piprtāt* (TS. IV. 4. 12¹). — 3. *ciketu* (TS. III. 3. 11²), *jāhātu, jlgātu, juhotu* (TS. III. 3. 10¹), *dādātu, dadhātu, pipartu* ('fill' and 'pass'), *bibhartu* (AV. TS.), *mimātu, yuyastu, yuyātu, śisātu, śisaktu*.

¹ Also the transfer form *dādhaní*.

² Regarded by DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 1331, as an intensive.

³ There is also a transfer form *mimanti* 'bellow'.

⁴ Also the transfer form *dadate*.

⁵ Also the transfer form *dadhate*.

⁶ There is also the transfer form *rarate* from √*rā-*.

⁷ Also the transfer form *dadhele* (AV.).

⁸ By AVERY 237⁴ given as 3. sing. subjunctive middle.

⁹ TS. I. 5. 10¹, III. 1. 8² has the transfer form *dādante*.

¹⁰ Pp. *didayat*; see WHITNEY's note on AV. III. 8¹.

¹¹ *śāvācāi* (RV. III. 33¹⁰) is probably sing. 1 perfect subj. (p. 361); but occurring beside the aorist form *namśai*, it may be an aorist, to which tense WHITNEY, *Roots*, doubtfully assigns it.

¹² *didayante* (AV. XVIII. 373) is perhaps a subjunctive.

¹³ With the strong base *yuyo-* for *yuyu-*.

¹⁴ AVERY 241 gives here several forms which it is better to class as optatives perfect.

¹⁵ With weak base *jah-*, for *jāh-*, which here loses its final vowel like *dadā-* and *dadhā-*.

¹⁶ The only form in which √*rā-* reduplicates with *i*.

Du. 2. *jahitam* (AV.), *jigātam*, *dattām*, *dhattām*, *piprām*, *mimām*, *yuyām* and *yuyotām*¹, *śiśitām*, *sisrām*. — 3. *cikītam* (ci- 'note', AV.), *dattām*, *dhattām*, *piprām*, *bibhrām*, *mimām*, *śiśitām*.

Pl. 2. *iyarta*², *jahita* (AV.), *jigata*, *juhata* and *juhāta*³, *dattā* and *dādātā*⁴, *dhattā* and *dādhātā*⁵, *ninikta* (y nif-), *piprka*, *piprā*, *bibhita* (AV.), *bibhrā* (TS. IV. 2. 3²), *yuyāta*⁶, *śiśita*, *śiśakta*; *jigātana*, *juhātana*⁷, *dadātana*⁸, *dhattana* and *dādhitana*⁹, *piprātana*¹⁰, *bibhitana*, *mamātāna*, *yuyātana*¹¹, *vivaktana*. — 3. *dadatu* (AV.), *dadhātu*¹².

Middle. Sing. 2. *jihīva*, *datsva* (AV.), *dhatsva*, *mimīva* (AV.), *rarāsva* (AV.). — 3. *jihīzām*¹³.

Du. 2. *jihīthām* (TS. I. 1. 12¹), *dīdhīthām* (AV.), *mīmāthām*, *rarāthām*.

Pl. 2. *juhūdhvam* (TS. IV. 6. 1³), *rarūdhvam*. — 3. *jihatām*, *dadhātām*, *sisrātām* (Kh. I. 3⁶).

Present Participle.

461. Active. As the suffix *-ant* drops its *n* (like the endings of the 3. pl. act.) strong and weak stem are not distinguished. The feminine stem of course lacks *n* also; e.g. *bībhrat-ī*. Stems occurring are: *cīkyat-* (ci- 'note')¹⁴, *jihat-*, *jigat-*, *juhvat-*, *tīrat-* (tr- 'cross'), *dādāt-*, *dādhat-*, *dīdyat-*, *dīdhyat-*, *bāpsat-*, *bībhyat-*, *bībhrat-*, *sāścat-* ('pursuer') and *sāścat-*¹⁵ ('helping'), *sisrat-*¹⁶.

Middle. *jihāna-*, *jihvāna-*, *dādāna-*, *dādāna-*, *dīdyāna-*, *dīdhyāna-*, *pipāna-* (pa- 'drink', AV.) and *pipāna-*¹⁷, *pipāna-*¹⁸ (√ pī-), *mimāna-*, *rarāna-*¹⁹, *śīśāna-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

462. All the verbs of this class occurring in the 3. pl. act. take the ending *-ur* except *bhr-*, which has the normal *-an*. The verbs *dā-*, *dhā-*, *hā-* show the irregularity (appearing elsewhere also) of using the strong instead of the weak base in the 2. pl. act.

Active. Sing. 1. *adadam*, *adadhām*. — 2. *ādadaś*, *ādadaśas*²⁰, *ādides*, *drives* (√ vis-); *bībhes* (AV.), *vivēs* (√ vis-), *śīśās*. — 3. *aciket* (√ ci-), *ājahāt*, *ajigat*, *ādadat*²¹, *ādadhāt*, *ādīdat*, *ābībhar*, *ābībhet*, *āvīvyak*²², *āśīśāt*; *vivēs* (√ vis-).

Du. 2. *adattam*, *adhattam*. — 3. *āvīviktām*, *āmimātām* (AV.)²³.

Pl. 2. *ādadāta*²⁴, *ādadhāta*²⁵ and *ādhatta*; *ājahātana*²⁶, *ādattana*. — 3. *ābībhran*; *ājahur*, *ājahavur*, *adadur*, *adadhur*, *āmamaur*, *āvīvyacur*; *jahur*, *dadur*, *dīdhur* (AV.), *vīvyacur*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ādhattās*, *āmimīthās*; *dīdīthās* (AV.). — 3. *ājīhita*, *ādatta*, *adhatta*, *āpiprāta*²⁷, *āmimīta*; *śīśīta*. — Pl. 3. *ājīhata*, *ājūhvata*²⁸.

¹ With strong base *yuyo-* for *yuyu-*.

² With strong base *iyar-* for **iyr-*; cp. v. NEGELEIN 65⁴f.

³ With strong base for weak.

⁴ Strong base *dādā-* for *dād-*.

⁵ Strong base *dādā-* for *dadh-*.

⁶ Strong base *pipar-* for *pipr-*.

⁷ Also the transfer form *dadhāna*.

⁸ There is also the 3. sing. transfer form *dadātām*.

⁹ *cīkyat* (IV. 38¹), nom. sing. m., is given by v. NEGELEIN 77² as *cīkyat* and explained as a pluperfect form.

¹⁰ When compounded with the negative particle, *sāścat-* remains unchanged in the fem. if accented *a-sāścat-*, but has *n* if accented on the prefix: *ā-sāścant-*.

¹¹ For inflected forms of these stems see 312.

¹² With irregular accent.

¹³ The anomalous transfer form *bībhramāna-* takes the place of **bībhāna-*.

¹⁴ But perfect *rarāpā-*.

¹⁵ There is no sufficient reason for regarding *ādadaśas* in x. 739, as a 3. sing. (AVERY 248; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 50, 59).

¹⁶ There is also the transfer form *dīdat*. v. NEGELEIN 67² gives *dādhat* (RV. AV.) which seems a misprint for *dādhat*.

¹⁷ There is also the unaugmented transfer form *vīvyācat*.

¹⁸ WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 665, quotes *ājāhitām* from the TS. (mantra?).

¹⁹ With strong base instead of weak.

²⁰ Anomalous form instead of **āpiprāta*.

²¹ Also the transfer form *adadanta*. WHITNEY 658 also mentions the unaugmented 3. pl. *jīhata*.

β. 1. The infixing nasal class.

463. This class, which includes fewer than 30 verbs, is characterized by the accented syllable *ud* preceding the final consonant of the root in the strong forms. That syllable in the weak forms becomes a simple nasal varying according to the class to which the following consonant belongs.

1. The infix, appearing in forms outside the limits of the present stem, has become part of the root in *añj-* 'anoint', *bhañj-* 'break', and *hims-* 'injure'. — 2. There are a few transfers to the *d-* class, in which some of these verbs come to be inflected in the later language¹, and in which several verbs are regularly nasalized in the present stem (429, a, 1). — 3. Instead of the regular *-ud-*, the root *trh-* 'crush' infixes *-nē-* in the strong forms; thus 3. sing. *trne-dhi*. — 4. In the 3. pl. ind. mid. irregular accentuation of the final syllable occurs exceptionally in each of the forms *añjati*, *indhati*, *bhujati*².

Present Indicative.

464. The forms actually occurring, if made from *yuj-* 'join', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *yundjmi*. 2. *yundksi*. 3. *yundkti*. — Pl. 1. *yujjmas*. 3. *yujjanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *yujje*. 2. *yunkse*. 3. *yunkti*. — Du. 2. *yujjathe*. 3. *yujjate*. — Pl. 2. *yungdhve*. 3. *yujjate*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *anajmi* (AV.), *chinadmi* (AV.), *trnadmi* (√*trd-*), *bhinidmi*, *yundjmi*, *runadhmi* (*rudh-* 'obstruct'). — 2. *prndksi* (√*prc-*), *bhinitsi*, *yunksi*, *vrndksi* (*vrj-* 'twist'). — 3. *anakti*, *unatti* (√*ud-*), *kpnatti* (*krt-* 'spin'), *grnatti*³ (AV. x. 7⁴³), *chinatti* (AV.), *trnatti*, *pinaksi* (√*pis-*), *bhanakti* (√*bhañj-*), *bhinatti*, *yundkti* (AV.), *rinakti* (√*ric-*), *runaddhi*, *vrnakti*, *hindsti* (√*hims-*, AV. SA.).

Pl. 1. *añjmas*. — 3. *añjanti*, *undanti*, *pinantanti*, *prncanti*, *bhindanti*, *yujjanti*, *viñcanti* (*vic-* 'sit'), *vrñjanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *añje*, *rñje* (*rj-* 'direct'), *prñce* (AV.), *yujje*, *vrñje*. — 2. *yunkse* (AV.). — 3. *añkte*⁴, *indhé* (= *ind-dhé*, √*idh-*), *prñkte*, *yunkti*⁵, *rundhé* (= *rund-dhé*, AV.), *vrñkte*, *hlmste*⁶ (AV.). — With ending *-e*: *vrñje*.

Du. 2. *añjathe* (Kh. v. 6⁴; VS. xxxiii. 33), *yujjathe*. — 3. *añjate* (VS. xx. 61), *tuñjate*, *vrñjate* (AV.).

Pl. 2. *angdhve*. — 3. *añjate* and *añjat*, *indhate* and *indhati*, *rñjate*, *tuñjate*, *prñcate*, *bhujjate* and *bhujjat*, *yujjate*, *rundhate* (AV.), *vrñjate*.

Present Subjunctive.

465. The weak base is once used instead of the strong in the form *añj-a-tas* for **anaj-a-tas*; and the AV. has once the double modal sign *ā* in the form *trñdh-ān*.

Active. Sing. 2. *bhinúdas*. — 3. *rñdhat*, *bhinúdat*, *yundjat*. — Du. 1. *rñdcava*. — 3. *añjatas*. — Pl. 3. *añjan*, *yundjan*, *vrñajan*; *trñdhan* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *indhate*, *yundjate*. — Pl. 1. *bhunjāmuhai*, *runadhāmahai*.

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *pinák* (√*pis-*), *bhindt*. — 3. *pinak*, *prndk*, *bhindt*, *rinak* (√*ric-*).

Middle. Pl. 3. *yujjata*.

¹ Thus *ud-* 'wet': *unatti* is inflected as *unda-ti* in B. and S.; and *yuj-* 'join': *yundkti* as *yujja-ti* in U. and E., beside the old forms.

² In the RV. *añjati* occurs once, *añjate* 12 times, *indhate* 4 times, *indhate* 15 times, while *bhujati* and *bhujate* occur once each.

³ *ud grnatti* 'ties up', is here only a corruption of the corresponding *ud kpnatti* of RV. x. 130², seemingly a form of *grath-* 'tie'.

⁴ AV. *añte*.

⁵ AV. *yunte*.

⁶ With irregular accent.

Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 3. *bhindyāt* (AV.). — Middle. Sing. 3. *prñcītā*.

Present Imperative.

466. The only ending of the 2. sing. act. is *-dhi*, no form with *-tāt* having been met with. As usual, the strong base sometimes appears in the 2. pl. act.: *undāta*, *yundāta*; *anaktana*, *pināṣṭana*.

Active. Sing. 2. *aīdhi*¹ (√*añj*), *undhi* (= *umddhi*), *chindhi* (= *chind-dhi*), *ṛndhi* (= *ṛnddhi*), *prñdhi* (= *prñgdhi*), *bhañdhi* (= *bhañgdhi*), *bhindhi* (= *bhinddhi*), *yundhi* (= *yungdhi*, AV.), *rundhi* (= *runddhi*, AV.), *ṛñdhi* (= *ṛngdhi*). — 3. *anāktu*, *chindtu* (AV.), *ṛñdhu*² (AV.), *prñāktu*, *bhanāktu* (AV.), *bhinattu* (AV.), *yunāktu* (AV.), *vinaktu* (√*vic*, AV.), *ṛñaktu*, *hindstu* (Kh. iv. 5¹).

Du. 2. *antam* (= *anaktam*, AV.), *chintām* (= *chintām*, AV.), *prñktām*. — 3. *anctām* (VS. II. 22).

Pl. 2. *undāta*³, *bhīntā* (TS. IV. 7. 13²), *yundāta*, *ṛñdāta*; *anaktana*, *pināṣṭana*. — 3. *añjantu*, *undantu* (AV.), *yujāntu* (AV.), *ṛñjantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *anḥsvā*⁴ (AV.), *yunḥsvā*, *ṛñḥsvā* (AV.). — 3. *indhām*⁵ (= *inddhām*, AV.), *yuntām* (= *yunktām*, AV.), *rundhām* (= *runddhām*, AV.). — Du. 2. *yujāthām*. — Pl. 2. *indhvam* (= *inddhvam*), *yungdhvam*. — 3. *indhātām*.

Present Participle.

467. Active. *añjant-*, *undant-* and *udat-*⁶ (AV.), *ṛñjant-*, *ṛndhant-*, *ṛñtāt-* (AV.), *pinṣat-*, *prñcāt-* and *prñcat-*⁶, *bhañjant-* and *bhañjat-*, *bhindant-* and *bhindat-* (AV.), *bhuñjat-*, *yujant-*, *viñcāt-*, (*i-*)*hinsant-*.

Middle. *añjān-*, *indhān-*, *tuñjān-*, *tundān-*⁷ (AV.), *prñcān-*, *bhindān-*, *yujān-* (TS. IV. 1. 1¹), *rundhān-*, *ṣumbhān-*⁸, *hinsān-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

468. Active. Sing. 2. *āṛṇat*⁹ (AV.), *abhanas*¹⁰ (AV.), *ābhinat*, *ariṇak* (√*ric*), *avṛṇak*; *unap* (√*ubh*), *ṛṇak* (Kh. IV. 6⁹), *piṇak*, *bhind*. — 3. *āṛṇat*, *avṛṇak* (√*ṛc*), *ābhinat*, *ayunak* and *ayunak*, *avīnak* (√*vic*, AV.), *āṛṇak* (√*ṛj*); *ānat* (√*ud*); *bhind*, *riṇak*, *ṛṇak*. — Du. 2. *atṛntam* (= *atṛntam*). — Pl. 3. *āṛndan*, *ābhindan*, *avṛñjan*; *añjan*, *ayujān* (TS. I. 7. 7²).

Middle. Sing. 3. *ainddha* (√*idh*, AV.). — Pl. 3. *ayujāta*, *arundhata* (AV.); unaugmented: *añjata*.

β. 2. The *nu*- class.

DILBRÜCK, Verbum p. 154—157. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 232 ff. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 254—260; Roots 213. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 57—60; 63—64; 94.

469. More than thirty verbs follow this class in the Saṃhitās. The stem is formed by adding to the root, in the strong forms, the accented syllable *-n-*, which in the weak forms is reduced to *-nu*.

¹ For *añj-dhi*. The final consonant of the root is regularly dropped before the ending *-dhi*.

² Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 61³.

³ The AV. has the transfer form *umbhata* (√*ubh*) according to the *d*-class.

⁴ AV. XIX. 455: *āḥsvā* emended to *ā-aiḥsvā*; see WHITNEY'S note on the passage.

⁵ v. NEGELEIN 63, note 1, thinks this form may be the starting point of the ending *-ām*

in the imperatives 3. sing. *vid-ām* and *dih-ām*.

⁶ AV. also *prñcat-*.

⁷ √*ud* otherwise follows the *d*-class.

⁸ √*ubh* otherwise follows the *a*- or *d*-class.

⁹ From √*ṛc*. The MSS. have *āṛṇat*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. XIX. 32⁴.

¹⁰ For **abhanak-s* (√*bhañj*): see WHITNEY, Grammar 555, and his note on AV. III. 63. Cp. above 66, c, β 2 (p. 61).

a. Several irregularities occur with regard to root, suffix, and ending. 1. The root *śru-* 'hear' is dissimilated to *śr-* before the suffix: *śr-nu-*, *śr-nō-*. — 2. The root *kr-* 'cover' assumes the anomalous form of *ūr-* (with interchange of vowel and semivowel: *ūr-nu-*, beside the regular *kr-nu-*). — 3. Four roots ending in *-n*, *tan-* 'stretch', *man-* 'think', *van-* 'win', *śan-* 'gain', seem to form their stem with the suffix *-n*, being assigned by the Indian grammarians to a separate class, the eighth; but this appearance has probably been brought about by the *-an* of the root having originally been reduced to the nasal sonant: *tan-nu-* for **tan-nu-*. — 4. In place of the regular and very frequent *kr-nu-*, there appears in the tenth book of the RV. the anomalous stem *kuru-*, once in the form *kur-mas* (X. 51⁷), 1. pl. pres. ind., and twice in the form *kuru* (X. 19², 145²), 2. sing. impv. act. The strong form of this stem, *kar-*, which has the additional anomaly of *Guna* in the root, appears in the AV., where however the forms made from *kr-n-*, *kr-nu-* are still upwards of six times as common as those from *kar-*, *kuru-*. The isolated form *karu-te* 'attains', which occurs once in the RV. (X. 76²), seems to be analogous in formation to *kar-ṭi*, but it may be connected with the somewhat frequent nominal stem *karu-*. — 5. The *u* of the suffix is dropped, in all the few forms which occur in the 1. pl. ind. act. and mid., before terminations beginning with *m*: *kur-mās*, *kr-n-māsi* (AV.), *tan-māsi* (TS.), *hin-mās* (AV.), *hin-māsi* (AV.); *kr-n-māhe*, *man-māhe*. When the *-nu* is preceded by a consonant, the *u* becomes *o* before vowel endings; e. g. *āśnu-ānti* (but *sunv-ānti*). — 6. In the 3. pl. mid., six verbs of this class take the ending *-roḥ* with connecting vowel *-i*: *inv-ire*, *ṛṣv-ire*, *śiv-ire*, *śṛṣv-ire*, *sunv-ire*, *hinv-ire*. The connecting vowel *-i* is also taken by *īru-* in the 2. sing. mid. *īru-ṭi* (for **īru-ṣe*) used in a passive sense. — 7. Five stems of this class, *i-nu-*, *r-nu-*, *ji-nu-*, *ṣi-nu-*, *hi-nu-*, have come to be used frequently even in the RV. as secondary roots following the *a*-conjugation. Of these *ṣnu-a-* occurs almost exclusively in the RV. as well as the AV.; *inv-a-* alone is met with in the AV.; and *jinv-a-* and *hinv-a-* are commoner in the RV. than *ji-nu-* and *hi-nu-*.

Present Indicative.

470. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kr-* 'make', would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *kr-nōmi*. 2. *kr-nōsi*. 3. *kr-nōti*. — Du. 2. *kr-nūthās*. 3. *kr-nūtis*. — Pl. 1. *kr-n-māsi* and *kr-n-mās*. 2. *kr-nūthā*. 3. *kr-nōnti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *kr-nōṣi*. 2. *kr-nōṣe*. 3. *kr-nōṣe* and *kr-nōṣe*. — Du. 2. *kr-nōvāthe*. — Pl. 1. *kr-n-māhe*. 3. *kr-nōvāthe*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ar-nomi* (AV.), *r-nomi*, *kr-nōmi*, *kr-nōmi* (AV. TS.), *minomi* (*mi-* 'fix', AV.), *vr-nomi* ('choose', Kh. II. 6⁵), *sak-nomi* (AV.), *śr-nōmi*, *hin-nōmi*. — With *-u-*: *kar-nomi* (AV. TS.), *tan-nomi*.

2. *āp-nōsi* (AV.), *ino-si*, *kr-nōsi*, *jin-si*, *śr-nōsi*, *hin-si*; *tan-si*, *van-si*.

3. *āś-nōti* (*āś-* 'attain'), *āp-nōti* (VS. AV.), *in-ṭi*, *un-ṭi* (RV.), *ar-nōti*, *r-nōti*, *rdh-nōti*, *kr-nōti*, *cin-ṭi* 'gathers', *dāś-n-ṭi*, *dun-ṭi* (AV.), *dhūn-ṭi*, *min-ṭi* (AV.), *vr-nōti*, *sak-nōti* (AV.), *śr-n-ṭi*, *sun-ṭi*, *skun-ṭi* (AV.), *hin-ṭi*; *kar-ṭi* (AV. TS. VS.), *tan-ṭi*, *van-ṭi*, *san-ṭi*.

Du. 2. *āś-nūthās* (Kh. I. 9²), *ar-nūthās*, *kr-nūthās*, *van-nūthās*. — 3. *āś-nūtis*, *ar-nūtis*, *kr-nūtis*, *sunūtis*; *tanūtis* (Kh. III. 22⁶).

Pl. 1. *kr-n-māsi* (AV.), *hin-mās* (AV.), *hin-māsi* (AV.); *kur-mās*, *tan-māsi* (TS. IV. 5. 11¹). — 2. *āś-nūthā*, *kr-nūthā*, *dhūn-nūthā*, *sun-nūthā*. — 3. *āś-nōvānti*,

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 154¹.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 674.

³ Cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 24, 259; DELBRÜCK p. 156.

⁴ Perhaps starting from the aorist *ā-kar* and following the analogy of *kr-nō-*; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 656, 3.

⁵ WHITNEY 715.

⁶ Occurring in *tāru-* 'swift' (?), *taru-ṭi* 'conqueror', *tāru-tra-* 'victorious', *tāru-ṣa-* 'victor', AV.) in which the stem *ṣinu-* appears. All others and the verbal stem *tāru-ṣya-* 'cross', 'overcome' are made from the transfer stem *ṣinva-*.

⁷ Thus *kr-n-māhe* is not the only example

(DELBRÜCK 174, BRUGMANN, KG. 673) of this phenomenon. There is no example in the Saṃhitās of the 1. du. in *-var* and *-vāhe*; but **kr-n-vā-*, **kr-n-vāhe-* must be presupposed to account for the loss of the *-u* before *-mas* and *-māhe*: BRUGMANN, KG. 673.

⁸ Like *dub-ṣe* in the root class.

⁹ This is the only form (besides the participle *ṣinv-ānā-* and *ṣinv-ant-*, *ṣinv-at-im* in AV.) in which the stem *ṣinu-* appears. All others and the verbal stem *tāru-ṣya-* 'cross', 'overcome' are made from the transfer stem *ṣinva-*.

¹⁰ Sometimes accented *kr-nvānti*.

r̥p̥vānti, k̥p̥vānti¹, cinvānti (TS. I. I. 7²), *dabhnvanti, dunvanti* (AV.), *pr̥s̥p̥vanti, śaknavānti* (AV.), *śr̥p̥vānti, sunvānti, hinvānti; kurvanti* (AV.), *tanvānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *asnuve, k̥p̥vō, hinvō; kurve* (AV.), *manvō* (AV.), *vanve*.

2. *asnuṣe, ūrnuṣe, k̥p̥nuṣe, cinuṣe, dhānuṣe; tanuṣe* (AV.). — With connecting vowel *-i-*: *śr̥p̥v-i-ṣe*.

3. *asnutē, ūrnutē, k̥p̥nutē, dhānutē, pr̥s̥nutē, śr̥nutē; kurute* (AV.), *tanute, tarute, vanutē*. — With ending *-o-*: *śr̥p̥vō, sunvō, hinvō*.

Du. 2. *tanvāthe*. — **Pl. 1.** *k̥p̥mahe, manmahe*. — **3.** *asnuvate, k̥p̥vāte, v̥p̥vāte* and *v̥p̥vātē, śr̥p̥vātē, hinvāte; kurvāte* (AV.), *tanvātē* and *tanvāte* (AV.). — With ending *-re-*: *inv-i-re, r̥p̥v-i-re, pinv-i-re, śr̥p̥v-i-rē, sunv-i-rē, hinv-i-rē*.

Present Subjunctive.

471. Active. Sing. 1. *k̥p̥avā, hinavā; sanāvāni* (AV.). — **2.** *r̥p̥dvas, k̥p̥dvas, t̥p̥dvas, śr̥p̥dvas; karavas* (AV.). — **3.** *asnavat², k̥p̥dvat, cinavat, dhānavat, pr̥s̥ndvat, śr̥ndvat, sunvat; vanvat*. — With double modal sign *ā-*: *karavāt* (AV.), *k̥p̥navāt* (AV. xx. 132⁵). — With ending *-tai-*: *asnavātai³* (AV.). — **Du. 1.** *asnavāva, k̥p̥navāva*.

Pl. 1. *asndvāma, k̥p̥ndvāma, minavāma, śakndvāma, sunavāma, śr̥p̥navāma*. — **2.** *sanāvatha*; with double modal sign: *k̥p̥navātha* (VS.). — **3.** *asnavan, k̥p̥dvan, śr̥p̥dvan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *asnavai* (VS. XIX. 37), *k̥p̥dvai, sunāvai; mandvai*. — **2.** *k̥p̥navase; vanavase*. — **3.** *k̥p̥dvate; mandvate*.

Du. 1. *k̥p̥navāvahai; tanavāvahai*. — **2.** *asndvāithe*. — **3.** *k̥p̥vāite⁴*.

Pl. 1. *asndvāmahai* (x. 97¹¹)⁵, *k̥p̥ndvāmahai, śr̥p̥navāmahai* (AV.). — **3.** *asnavanta, k̥p̥dvanta*.

Present Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *r̥p̥os*. — **3.** *ūrnot*. — **Pl. 3.** *r̥p̥van, minvān, hinvān; vanvan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *tanuthās*. — **3.** *r̥p̥utā*. — **Pl. 3.** *k̥p̥vata; manvata*.

Present Optative.

Active. Sing. 1. *sanuyāma*. — **3.** *śr̥p̥uyāt* (AV.). — **Pl. 1.** *cinuyāma, śr̥p̥uyāma; vanuyāma, sanuyāma*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *k̥p̥vāta⁷; manvāta* (AV.).

Present Imperative.

472. Active. Sing. 2. *śr̥p̥udhī*. — With ending *-hi⁸*: *ak̥p̥nuhi* (*ak̥p̥* 'mutilate', AV.), *asnuhi, āp̥nuhi* (AV.), *inuhi, ūrnuhi, k̥p̥nuhi, cinuhi, t̥p̥nuhi, dabhnuhi* (AV.), *dhānuhi, dh̥r̥p̥nuhi, śr̥p̥nuhi, śr̥p̥nuhi, hinuhi; tanuhi, sanuhi*. — With ending *-tāt*: *k̥p̥nutāt, hinutāt*. — Without ending: *inū, ūrnu, k̥p̥nu, dhānu* (AV.), *śr̥p̥ū, sunū, hinu; kuru, tanu*. — **3.** *asnotu, āp̥notu* (AV.), *ūrnotu* (AV.), *k̥p̥notu, cinotu, minotu, śr̥p̥notu, sunotu; karotu* (TS. VS.), *tanotu* (AV.), *sanotu*.

Du. 2. *asnutam, k̥p̥nutām, t̥p̥p̥nutām, śr̥p̥nutām, hinūtām⁹*. — **3.** *asnutām* (AV. TS.), *k̥p̥nutām* (AV.).

¹ *sk̥p̥vanti* after *pari; pari-sk̥p̥vanti* (ix. 14²), *p̥d̥i sk̥p̥vanti* (ix. 64²³).

² The form *ar̥navat*, AV. v. 2⁶ (Vr.), is a corruption of *ar̥not* in RV.

³ The TS. has once *asnavatai* (WHITNEY 701).

⁴ Irregular for *k̥p̥dvāite*.

⁵ Omitted by AVERY 238.

⁶ The injunctive form *asnavam*, AV. XIX. 55⁶, is a conjecture; see WHITNEY's note on the passage.

⁷ *ūr̥p̥vā* occurs in TS. VI. I. 3³ and *ūr̥p̥vā* in K. (WHITNEY 713).

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY 704.

⁹ With strong stem.

Pl. 2. *ārṇuta*, *kṛṇutā* and *kṛṇōta*¹, *tyṛṇuta*, *dhānuta*, *śṛṇutā* and *śṛṇōta*¹, *sunutā* and *sunōta*¹, *hinuta* (AV.) and *hinōta*¹; *tanōta*² (AV. TS.). — **With ending -tana:** *kṛṇōtana*², *śṛṇōtana*², *sunōtana*², *hinōtana*² (x. 30). — **3.** *āśṛṇvantu*, *ārṇvantu*, *kṛṇvantu*, *cinvantu* (TS. v. 2. 11²), *śṛṇvantu*, *hinvantu*, *vanvantu*, *sanvantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ārṇusva*, *kṛṇusvā*, *cīnusva* (AV.), *dhānusva* (AV.), *śṛṇusvā*; *tanusva*, *vanusva*. — **3.** *āśṛṇutām* (AV.), *kṛṇutām*; *tanutām* (TS. i. 6. 3³), *manutām*, *vanutām* (AV.).

Du. 2. *kṛṇvāthām* (AV.). — **Pl. 2.** *kṛṇudhvām*, *sunudhvām*; *tanudhvām*, *vanudhvām* (AV.). — **3.** *ṛṇvatām* (AV.); *kurvatām* (AV.), *tanvātām* (AV.), *vanvatām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

473. Active. *ārṇvānt-* and *ārṇvānt-*, f. *-vati*, *ṛvānt-*, *kṛṇvānt-*³, f. *-vati*, *cinvānt-*, f. *-vati*, *dhvānt-* (AV.), *dhvānt-*, *pinvānt-* (AV.), *minvānt-*, *ṛṇvānt-*, *śṛṇvānt-*, f. *-vati*, *sunvānt-*, *hinvānt-*, f. *-vati*; *kurvānt-* (AV.), f. *-vati* (AV.), *tanvānt-*, f. *-vati* (AV.), *vanvānt-*.

Middle. *ārṇvānā-*, *kṛṇvānā-*, *cinvānā-* (TS. iv. 2. 10¹), *dhvānā-*, *pinvānā-*, *sunvānā-*, *hinvānā-*; *kurvānā-* (AV.), *tanvānā-*, *manvānā-*, *vanvānā-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

474. Active. Sing. 1. *āśṛṇavam*; *kṛṇavam*. — **2.** *āśṛṇos*, *ārṇos*, *āśṛṇos*, *āsagṇos*, *ainos*, *ārṇos*; *akaros* (AV.), *āvanos*, *āsanos*. — **3.** *āśṛṇot*, *ārṇot*, *āśṛṇot*, *ārṇot* (AV. TS.), *ārṇot* (AV.), *ainot*, *ārṇot*; *akarot* (VS. AV.), *atanot*, *asanot*. — **Du. 2.** *āśṛṇutam*, *adhvutam*.

Pl. 2. *āśṛṇuta* and *āśṛṇota*; *āśṛṇotana*. — **3.** *āśṛṇvan*, *acinvan* (AV.), *āśṛṇvan*, *āśṛṇvan* (AV.); *ṛṇvan*, *minvan*; *akurvan* (AV.), *avanvan*, *āsanvan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *adhvūthās*; *kuruthās* (AV.). — **3.** *āśṛṇuta*, *adhvūta*; *kṛṇuta*; *akuruta* (AV.), *atanuta* (AV.), *āmanuta*.

Pl. 2. *āśṛṇudhvām*. — **3.** *āśṛṇvata*⁴, *ārṇvata*; *akurvata* (AV.; Kh. II 13⁵), *ātavata*, *amanvata*, *avanvata* (AV.).

β. 3. The nā- class.

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 151–153. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 232 ff. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* p. 260–263; *Roots* 214. — v. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte* 49–57. — Cp. J. SCHMIDT, *Festschrift an Roth* 179 ff.; BARTHOLOMAE, *IF.* 7, 50–81; BRUGMANN, *IF.* 16, 509 ff.

475. Nearly forty verbs belong to this class in the *Saṃhitās*. The stem is formed by adding to the root, in the strong forms, the accented syllable *-nā*⁵, which in the weak forms is reduced to *-ni* before consonants and *-n* before vowels.

a. There are some irregularities with regard to the root, the suffix, and the endings. 1. The root shows a tendency to be reduced in various ways. The roots *ji-* 'overpower', *ji-* 'hasten', *ph-* 'purify', are shortened; e.g. *jināmi*, *junasi*, *punāti*. The root *grah-* 'seize' and its later form *grah-* take

¹ With strong stem instead of weak. Thus in four out of seven verbs there is an alternative strong form; and in one other (*tanota*) the strong is the only form occurring.

² Thus all the forms occurring with *-tana* have a strong stem. WHITNEY 704 also mentions *karṇta* besides the 2. du. *kṛṇotam*, but I do not know whether these forms occur in mantra passages.

³ *śṛṇvānt-* in *śṛṇvānt-* (ix. 39²).

⁴ In x. 134 *āśṛṇvata* has the appearance of being used for the 3. sing. (= *āśṛṇuta*).

⁵ The suffix may originally have been *-nā* of which *-ni* would be the weak grade (27); but BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, 597, note, disagrees with this view. He thinks *-ni* has displaced earlier *-ni*, KG. p. 512.

Samprasāraṇa; e. g. *grbhñāmi* and *grhñāmi* (AV.). Four roots which, in forms outside the present system appear with a nasal¹, drop the nasal here; thus *bandh-* 'bind': *badhnāmi* (AV.); *manth-* 'shake': *mathnāmi* (AV.); *skambh-* 'make firm': *skabhñāti*; *stambh-* 'prop': *stabhnāti* (AV.). The root *jñā-* 'know', also loses its nasal; e. g. *jā-nā-mi*². — 2. The strong form of the suffix, *-nā*, appears in certain 2. persons impv. act., which should have the weak form *-nī*; e. g. 2. pl. *punā-ta* for *punī-tā*. On the other hand *-nī* appears once instead of *-nā* in 3. sing. injv. *minī*³ (AV.). — 3. A few roots ending in consonants take the peculiar ending *-ānā* in the 2. sing. impv. act.; e. g. *grh-ānā*⁴. — 4. Transfers to the *a-* conjugation are made from five roots. These are rare in the case of *gr-* 'sing': *grñā-ta* 2. pl. ind., *grñā-nta* 3. pl. impf.; *mi-* 'damage': *minā-t* 3. sing. injv., *aminā-nta* 3. pl. impf.; *śr-* 'crush' only *śrñā* (AV.) 2. sing. impv. But *śr-* 'fill' and *mṛ-* 'crush' form the regular *ā-* stems *prñā-* and *mṛñā-* (beside *prñā-* and *mṛñā-*), ten forms being made from the former, and five from the latter in the RV.⁵

Present Indicative.

476. The forms actually occurring, if made from *grabh-* 'seize', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *grbhñāmi*. 2. *grbhñāsi*. 3. *grbhñāti*. — Du. 2. *grbhñāthas*. 3. *grbhñāts*. — Pl. 1. *grbhñāmsi* and *grbhñāmas*. 2. *grbhñātha* and *grbhñāthāna*. 3. *grbhñānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *grbhñē*. 2. *grbhñēd*. 3. *grbhñāt*. — Pl. 1. *grbhñāmahe*. 3. *grbhñante*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *asñāmi* ('eat', AV. VS.), *iṣṇāmi* (AV.), *kṣīṇāmi* (AV.), *grñāmi* (*gr-* 'sing'), *grñāmi* (AV. VI. 713, *gr-* 'swallow'), *grbhñāmi*, *grhñāmi* (AV. TS.), *jānāmi*, *jināmi*, *punāmi*, *prñāmi* (AV.), *badhnāmi*⁶ (*bandh-* 'bind', AV. TS.), *mathnāmi* (AV.), *mināmi*, *riñāmi* (AV.), *śrñāmi* (AV.), *sināmi* (AV.), *stabhnāmi*, *strñāmi* (AV.). — 2. *asñāsi* (AV.), *iṣṇāsi*, *junāsi*, *prñāsi*, *riñāsi*, *śrñāsi*. — 3. *asñāti*, *krñāti*, *kṣīṇāti* (*kṣi-* 'destroy'), *grñāti*, *grbhñāti*, *grhñāti* (AV.), *jānāti*, *jināti*, *junāti*, *punāti*, *prñāti*, *mināti*, *musṇāti* (AV.), *riñāti*, *śrñāti*, *sināti*, *skabhñāti*, *stabhnāti* (AV.), *hrñāti*.

Du. 2. *riñāthas*. — 3. *grñāts*, *prñāts*.

Pl. 1. *grñāmsi*, *junāmsi*, *mināmsi*, *śrñāmsi* (AV.); *janāmas*. — 2. *janātha*; *strñāthāna* (AV.). — 3. *asñānti* (AV.), *kṣīṇānti*, *grñānti*, *grbhñānti*, *grhñānti* (AV. TS.), *jānānti*, *jinānti*, *junānti*, *punānti*, *prñānti*, *prñānti*, *badhnānti* (AV.), *hrñānti*⁷, *minānti*, *riñānti*, *śrñānti*, *strñānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *grñē*, *grbhñē*, *grhñē* (AV.), *vrñē*. — 2. *grñēd*⁸, *vrñēd* (AV.), *śrñēd*, *hrñēd*. — 3. *krñāte* (AV.), *kṣīṇāte* (AV.), *grñāte*, *punāte*, *prñāte*, *riñāte*, *vrñāte*, *śrñāte*, *strñāte*, *hrñāte*. — With *-e* for *-te*: *grñe*.

Pl. 1. *grñāmahe* (TS. V. 7. 9¹), *punāmahe* (Kh. III. 10²), *vrñāmahe*⁹. —

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 627.

² Originally **janā-* with nasal sonant, **jñ-* *nā-*; see BRUGMANN, KG. 666 (p. 511).

³ On this form see v. NEGELEIN 56, note 1.

⁴ On the origin of this ending see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 975.

⁵ Beside seven present stems of this class there appear denominative stems in *-āya* from the same roots. Cp. v. NEGELEIN 50—52.

⁶ Given, along with a number of cognate forms, as from the root *bādh-*, by v. NEGELEIN 57.

⁷ The only form occurring of the root *bhrī-* 'consume'.

⁸ The form *grñēd* also occurs in the RV. as a 1. sing. ind., 'I praise', being formed from an anomalous aorist stem *grñī-*.

⁹ According to WHITNEY 719, once *vrñāmahe*, with reference doubtless to RV. V. 20³, where, however, *vrñāmahe* 'grue' is only the Sandhi accentuation for *vrñāmahe* *grue* (see above 108 and p. 319, note 23).

3. *āsnate*¹, *grbhūate*, *grhūate* (AV.), *jānate*, *punāte* (AV.) and *punāte*, *badhnāte*, *riṇāte*, *vyūāte*.

Present Subjunctive.

477. In the 2. 3. sing., subjunctive forms are indistinguishable from the indicative present, if formed with primary endings, and from the injunctive, if formed with secondary endings, as the modal sign *a* is merged in the strong stem; thus *grbhūāti* may be 3. sing. indicative or subjunctive; *grbhūās* may be 2. sing. injunctive or subjunctive. In such forms therefore the sense or construction of the sentence can alone decide their value. These as well as unmistakable subjunctives are rare in this class.

Active. Sing. 2. *grbhūās*, *junās*. — 3. *prṇāti* (x. 2¹, cp. 2²), *prṇat* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *junāma*, *mināma*.

Middle Du. 1. *krṇāvahai* (TS. I. 8. 4¹). — Pl. 1. *jānāmahai* (AV.).

Present Infjunctive.

Active. Sing. 1. *ksinām*. — 2. *riṇās* (AV. xx. 135¹¹). — 3. *jānāt*², *mināt*³ (AV. VI. 110¹). — Pl. 3. *minan*, *riṇān* (VIII. 7²²), *śamnan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *hrṇthas*. — 3. *grṇita*, *grbhṇita*, *vyṇita*. — Pl. 1. *stṇimāhi*⁴.

Present Optative.

In the middle some forms of the optative cannot be distinguished from unaugmented forms of the imperfect, as the modal sign *-i* is merged in the suffix *-nt*. The forms actually occurring are very few, being found in the 2. 3. sing. only.

Active. 3. *asṇiyāt* (AV.), *grhṇiyāt* (AV.), *jintiyāt* (AV.), *prṇiyāt*.

Middle. 2. *jānithās* (Kh. IV. 5¹⁰). — 3. *vyṇita* (TS. I. 1. 2¹ = *vurita*, VS. IV. 8).

Present Imperative.

478. The regular ending of the 2. sing. act. is *-hi*, while *-dhi* never occurs. Three verbs take *-tāt* as well. One of these, *grah*, and three others ending in a consonant, *as*, *bandh*, *stambh*, take the peculiar ending *-ānt*.

Active. Sing. 2. *grṇāhi*⁵ (TS. IV. 4. 12³), *grṇthi*, *grbhṇthi* (AV.), *grhṇāhi*⁵ (AV.), *jānāhi*, *punāhi*⁶ (SV.), *punthi*, *prṇthi* (AV.), *mrṇthi*, *śṇāhi*⁶ (SV.), *śṇthi*⁷, *stṇthi*⁸ (AV.). — With *-tat*: *grhṇtat* (AV.), *jāntat*⁹ (TS. AV.), *pūntat*. — With *-āna*: *asāna*¹⁰, *grhāna*¹⁰ (x. 103¹²), *badhāna* (AV.), *stabhāna* (AV.) — 3. *grṇātu*, *grhṇātu*, *jānātu* (AV.), *punātu*, *prṇātu* (AV.), *badhnātu* (AV.), *śṇātu* (AV.), *sinātu* (AV.).

Du. 2. *asṇtām*, *grṇtām* (TS. IV. 1. 8²), *grhṇtām* (AV.), *prṇtām*, *śṇtām*, *stṇtām*. — 3. *grṇtām*, *pūntām* (AV.).

¹ *grṇāt* (AV. IV. 21²), given by v. NEGELEIN as a finite form *grṇate* (unaccented), is the dat. sing. of the participle.

² This form is accented *jānāt* in the Khila (III. 21) after RV. x. 103 (AUFRECHT's R̥gveda², 682), but it is correct in the corresponding passage of the AV. (III. 26).

³ For *mināt*.

⁴ There seems to be no certain example of a 3. pl. AVERY 240 gives *grbhṇata*, but this form (IX. 14⁷) appears to have an imperf. sense; he adds *vyṇata* with a query, but I cannot trace the form.

⁵ With strong base instead of *grṇthi*, *grbhṇthi*.

⁶ With strong base and irregular accent.

⁷ Also the transfer form *śṇa* (AV. XIX. 45¹).

⁸ WHITNEY 723 quotes *stṇāhi* from the TS. [VI. 3. 1²].

⁹ v. NEGELEIN 57, line 6, seems to regard *jānāhi* (AV. XIX. 15⁶), given as *jāntāt* (unaccented), as an anomalous imperative; but it is the ablative of the past participle.

¹⁰ Both forms are omitted by AVERY 243; the latter is regarded by GRASSMANN as a participle.

Pl. 2. *grñta*¹, *grbhñta*, *jññta*, *pññta* and *pññta*², *prññta*, *mathñta* (AV.), *mrññta* (AV.), *srññta* (AV.). — With *-tana*: *pññtana*, *prññtana*, *srññtana*. — 3. *asñantu* (AV.), *grñantu* (AV. TS.), *grbhñantu* (AV.), *jññantu* (AV.), *pññantu*, *mathñantu* (AV.), *badhñantu* (AV.), *srñantu*, *srñantu* (AV.), *sinantu* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 2. *grbhñiṣva* (Kh. IV. 5²⁶), *prñiṣva* (Kh. II. 8¹), *vrñiṣvā*. — 3. *srññām*, *hrññām*.

Pl. 2. *jññadhvam* (AV.), *vrññdhvam*. — 3. *jññatām*³, *vrññatām* (AV.).

Present Participle.

479. Active. *asñant-*, f. *-ati-* (AV.), *iṣñant-*, *uṣñant-*, *grñant-*, *grbhñant-*, *jññant-*, f. *-ati-*, *jññant-* (AV.), *pññant-*, f. *-ati-*, *prññant-*⁴, *prññant-*, *mathñant-*, *minant-*, f. *-ati-*, *muṣñant-*, *mrññant-*, *riññant-*, *srññant-*, *skabhñant-*, *stññant-*, f. *-ati-* (AV.).

Middle. *āpñana-*, *iṣñāna-*, *grñāna-*, *grbhñāna-* (AV.), *jññāna-*, *drññāna-*, *pññāna-*, *prññāna-*, *mināna-*, *riññāna-*, *vrññāna-*, *srññāna-*, *srathñāna-* (AV.), *srññāna-*, *stññāna-*, *hrññāna-*.

Imperfect Indicative.

480. Active. Sing. 1. *asñām*, *asñām*. — 2. *ākññās*, *agr-bhñās*, *apññās*, *āminñās*, *amuṣñās*, *aramñās*, *ariñās*, *astabhñās*; *ubhñās*, *riñās*, *srathñās*. — 3. *agr-bhñāt*, *agr-bhñāt* (AV.), *asñāt* (AV.), *apññāt*, *apññāt*, *dbadhñāt*, *āmathñāt*, *aminñāt*, *amuṣñāt*, *aramñāt*, *ariñāt*, *asñāt*, *astabhñāt*, *astññāt*; *asñāt* (AV.), *ubhñāt*; *jññāt*, *badhñāt* (AV.).

Du. 2. *āmññātam*, *ariññātam*, *apññātam*. — Pl. 2. *ariññta*. — 3. *akññyan* (AV.), *agr-bhñyan*, *agr-bhñyan* (AV. TS.), *asññan*⁵, *apññan*, *dbadhñan*, *asrathñan*, *asññan*; *asññan*⁶ (AV.); *asññan* (X. 176¹), *riññan* (X. 138¹).

Middle. Sing. 1. *asññi*. — 3. *dbadhñita* (TS. I. I. 10²), *asññita*, *asrathñita*. — Pl. 1. *apññmahī*. — 3. *agr-bhñata*⁷, *asññata* (TS. II. I. 11¹); *grbhñata*.

II. The Perfect System.

DENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 372—381. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 112—134. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 249—253. — WILTZEV, Sanskrit Grammar p. 279—296; Roots 219—221. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 70—78.

481. Like the present system, the perfect has, besides an indicative, the subjunctive, optative and imperative moods, as well as participles and an augmented tense, the pluperfect. It is of very frequent occurrence, being taken by nearly 300 verbs in the Samhitās. It is formed in essentially the same way from all roots, its characteristic feature being reduplication.

1. The Reduplicative Syllable⁸.

482. The reduplicative vowel is as a rule short. It is, however, long in more than thirty verbs. These are *kan-* 'be pleased': *cā-kan*; *kṣ-* 'be adapted': *cā-kṣ-*; *gr-* 'wake': *jū-gr-*; *grdh-* 'be greedy': *jī-grdh-*; *ṭp-* 'be pleased': *ṭī-ṭp-*; *ṭṣ-* 'be thirsty': *ṭī-ṭṣ-*; *dhr-* 'hold': *dā-dhr-*; *nam-* 'bend': *nā-nam-*;

¹ Also the transfer form according to the *ā*-class, *grñata* (AV. V. 279). (the participle nom. sing. m. *jññan* is common).

² With strong instead of weak base.

³ In Khila II. 10⁶ wrongly *jññām*.

⁴ With fem. *prññānti*, a transfer to the *ā*-class.

⁵ v. NEGELEIN 57 also gives the unaugmented form *jññan* (RV. AV.), which I cannot trace

⁶ In *prññan* (AV. XI. 33²) the Pada text reads *pra-āññan*.

⁷ Also the transfer forms *aminanta* and *grñanta* (VIII. 37).

⁸ On the reduplicative syllable see v. NEGELEIN 70; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 846.

māh- 'be liberal': *mā-māh-*; *mṛj-* 'wipe': *mā-mṛj-*; *mṛś-* 'touch': *mā-mṛś-*;
radh- 'be subject': *rā-radh-*; *van-* 'rejoice': *rā-van-*; *rabh-* 'grasp': *rā-rabh-*;
vañc- 'be crooked': *vā-vañc-*; *van-* 'win': *vā-van-*; *vas-* 'desire': *vā-vas-*; *vas-*
 'clothe': *vā-vas-*; *vāś-* 'roar': *vā-vas-*; *vṛj-* 'twist': *vā-vṛj-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *vā-vṛt-*;
vṛdh- 'grow': *vā-vṛdh-*; *vṛs-* 'rain': *vā-vṛs-*; *śad-* 'prevail': *śā-śad-*; *sah-* 'prevail':
sā-sah-; *skambh-* 'prop': *cā-skambh-*; *dī-* 'shine': *dī-dī-*; *dhī-* 'think': *dī-dhī-*;
ṣṭ- 'swell': *ṣṭ-ṣṭ-*; *hīd-* 'be hostile': *jī-hīd-* (AV.); *jū-* 'be swift': *jū-jū-*; *tu-*
 'be strong': *tū-tū-*; *śū-* 'swell': *śū-śū-*.

a. The reduplication of *r* (= *ar*) and *l* (= *al*) is always *ā*¹; e. g. *hr-*
 'make': *cahr-*; *grdh-* 'be greedy': *jū-grdh-*; *kṣp-* 'be adapted': *cā-kṣp-*.

b. The reduplication of *ā*, *ī*, *ū* is made with *ā*, *ī*, *ū* respectively; e. g.
khād- 'chew': *ca-khād-*; *bhī-* 'fear': *bibhī-*; *budh-* 'know': *bu-budh-*.

There are, however, certain exceptions to this rule.

1. Roots containing *ya* or *va* and liable to Samprasāraṇa in other forms (such as the past passive participle), reduplicate with *i* and *u* respectively². Those with *ya* are: *tyaj-* 'forsake': *ti-tyaj-*; *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *ti-yaj-*; *vyā-* 'extend': *vi-vyā-*; *gyand-* 'move on': *si-gyand-* (AV.). Similarly *cyu-* 'stir': *ci-cyu-*³ (beside *cu-cyu-*), and *dyut-* 'shine': *diti-dyut-*. Those with *va-* are: *vac-* 'speak': *u-vac-*; *vad-* 'speak': *u-vad-*; *vap-* 'strew': *u-vap-*; *vac-* 'carry': *u-vac-*; *svap-* 'sleep': *su-svap-*. The three roots *yam-* 'teach', *van-* 'win', *van-* 'wear', however, have the full reduplication: *ya-yam-*, *va-van-*, *vā-vas-*; and *vac-* 'speak' has it optionally: *va-vac-* beside *u-vac-*⁴. — a. The roots *bhū-* 'be', *śū-* 'generate', and *śū-* 'lie', reduplicate with *a*: *bābhū-*; *śa-śū-* (beside *su-śū-*, AV); *śa-śū-* (in the participle *śa-śay-ānd-*)⁵.

c. In roots beginning with vowels, the reduplication coalesces with the initial of the root to a long vowel; e. g. *an-* 'breathe': *ān-*; *av-* 'favour': *āv-*; *aś-* 'eat': *āś-*; *as-* 'be': *ās-*; *ah-* 'say': *āh-*; *r-* 'go': *ār-* (= *a-ar-*); *āp-* 'obtain': *āp-*; *īd-* 'praise': *īd-*; *ir-* 'set in motion': *īr-*; *ūh-* 'consider': *ūh-*. But if the root begins with *i* or *u*, the reduplicative syllable is separated, in the sing. act., from the strong radical syllable by its own semivowel: *i-* 'go': 3. pl. *īy-ūr*, but 2. sing. *i-y-ī-tha*; *uc-* 'be pleased': 2. sing. mid. *ūc-i-ṣṭ*, but 3. sing. act. *u-v-ṣṭ-a*⁶.

a. Five roots beginning with prosodically long *a*, reduplicate not with *a*, but with the syllable *ān-*. Only two of these, both containing a nasal, viz. *am-* 'attain' and *aj-* 'anoint', make several forms; the former, 3. sing. *ān-ānt-a* and *ān-ānt-a*, pl. 1. *ān-ānt-ma*, 2. *ān-ānt-ā*, 3. *ān-ānt-ūr*; mid. sing. 1. 3. *ān-ānt-ī*; subj. pl. 1. *ān-ānt-ā-mahai*; opt. sing. 1. *ān-ānt-ī*; the latter, *ān-ānt-ā* (VS. VII 29; TS. III 3. 10²); mid. sing. 1. *ān-ānt-ī*, pl. 3. *ān-ānt-ī*; subj. sing. 1. *ān-ānt-ā*; opt. 3. sing. *ān-ānt-ī*. The root *rdh-* (reduced from *arāh-*) 'thrive', which has a nasalized present stem⁷, makes the forms *ān-rdh-ūr* (AV.) and *ān-rdh-ī*. Through the influence of these nasalized verbs, their method of reduplication spread to two others which show no trace of a nasal anywhere. Thus from *arc-* 'praise' occur the forms *ān-rc-ūr* and *ān-rc-ī*; and from *arh-* 'deserve', *ān-ṛh-ūr* (TS.) beside *arh-ūr* (RV.). There are besides two isolated forms of doubtful meaning, probably formed from

¹ The quantitative form of the stem is governed by the law that it may not contain (except in the 1. sing. act.) two prosodically short vowels; the only exceptions in the weak stem being the two irregular forms *latane*, 1. sing. mid., and *jajanū*, 3. pl. act. Thus *sah-* reduplicates *sāśah-* and once *sarāh-* (weak). Cp. BENFAY's articles 'Die Quantitätsverschiebungen in den Samhita- und Pada-Texten', GGA. 19 ff.

² In most of the forms from *a-* and *r-* roots, the Pada text has *a*.

³ These verbs originally had the full reduplication *ya-* and *va-* as is shown by the evidence of the Avesta, which has this only; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3, 38 (§ 59).

⁴ Due to the vocalic pronunciation of the *y*: *cyu-* and *djū-*.

⁵ This root thus shows the transition from the full to the Samprasāraṇa reduplication.

⁶ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 846.

⁷ These are the only two examples to be met with in the Saphitas of this form of reduplication.

⁸ Beside *āntur*, *āsāthe*, etc., from *at-*, the unnasalized form of the same root. Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1211⁴.

⁹ Thus *ṛddhat*, *ṛndhyām*, *ṛndhānt-*, according to the infixing nasal class.

nasalized roots: *ān-ṛj-ūr* (AV.), from *ṛj-* 'attain' (with present stem *ṛj-*)¹, and *an-āh-a*², 2. pl. act., perhaps from *amh-* 'compress'³.

This form of reduplication evidently arose from a radical nasal having originally been repeated along with the initial vowel, which is lengthened as in many other stems (*ai-kau*, etc.), while the root itself is shortened by dropping the nasal⁴. In the modal forms *ān-ṛj-ūr*, *ān-ṛj-ūr*, *ān-ṛj-ūr* the reduplicative vowel seems to have been shortened because *ān-* came to be regarded as containing an augment (like *āna*, aorist of *na-* 'attain')⁵.

d. A few irregularities in regard to consonants also appear in the formation of the reduplicative stem. 1. The root *bhr-* 'bear' reduplicates with *j* (as if from *√hr-*), making the stem *ja-bhr-*, forms from which occur nearly thirty times in the RV., beside only two forms from the regular stem *ba-bhr-*. — 2. In forming their stem, the five roots *ci-* 'gather', *ci-* 'observe', *cit-* 'perceive', *ji-* 'conquer', *han-* 'smite', revert to the original guttural (as in other reduplicated forms) in the radical syllable: *ci-ki-*, *ci-ki-*, *ji-gi-*, *ja-ghan-*.

e. The root *vid-* 'know' loses its reduplication along with the perfect sense⁶. Thus *vid-a* 'I know'; *vid-vāms-* 'knowing'. Some half dozen other roots show isolated finite forms without reduplication; and four or five more have unreduplicated participial forms. Thus *taks-* 'fashion' makes *taks-āthur* and *taks-ur*; *yam-* 'guide': *yam-ātur*; *skambh-* 'prop': *skambh-āthur*, *skambh-ur*; *nind-* 'blame': *nind-ima*⁷; *arh-* 'be worthy': *arh-ir*; *cit-* 'perceive': *cit-atur* (AV. VS. SV.)⁸. Three unreduplicated participles are common: *dās-vāms-* and *dās-i-vāms-* (SV.) 'worshipping', beside the rare *dādās-vāms-*; *mīdh-vāms-* 'bountiful'; *sāh-vāms-* 'conquering', beside *sāsah-vāms-*. There also occurs once the unreduplicated *jāni-vāms-* (in the form *vi-jānis-ah*) beside *jānī-vāms-* 'knowing' (from *√jā-*); and the isolated vocative *khid-vas* may be the equivalent of **cikhid-vas*, from *khid-* 'oppress'⁹.

2. The Root.

483. Like the present and imperfect, the perfect is strong in the sing. act. Here the root, as a rule, is strengthened, while it remains unchanged in the weak forms. But if it contains a medial *a* or a final *ā*, it remains unchanged in the strong forms (except that *a* is lengthened in the 3. sing.), while it is reduced in the weak.

In the strong stem, the radical vowel takes Guṇa, but in the 3. sing. a final vowel takes Vrddhi instead of Guṇa¹⁰. Thus *vis-* 'enter' makes *vivēt-*; *druh-* 'be hostile', *dudrūh-*; *kṛt-* 'cut', *cakṛt-*; but *bhi-* 'fear', 1. 2. *bībhē-*, 3. *bībhī-*; *śru-* 'hear', 1. 2. *śuśrū-*, 3. *śuśrū-*; *kr-* 'make', 1. 2. *cakṛ-*, 3. *cakṛ-*¹¹. In the weak stem, on the other hand, the root remains unchanged; thus *vivi-*, *dudruh-*, *cakṛt-*, *bībh-*, *śuśru-*, *cakṛ-*.

a. Some irregularities occur in the treatment of the radical vowel. 1. The verb

¹ According to both the infixing nasal class, 3. pl. *ṛjate*, and the *ā-* class, 3. sing. *ṛjāti*.

² Probably for **ānaha*; cp. the weak stem *anāh-* beside *sāsah-*.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 145, and WHITNEY, Roots, under *anā* 'be narrow or distressing'.

⁴ Except in the form *ān-āna* (cp. *ṛj-ṛj-ūr*) beside *ān-āna* (= *ṛj-ṛj-ūr*).

⁵ Cp. the Greek aor. inf. *ἔν-ῥηκ-ῶν* and the perfect *ἔν-ῥηκ-ῶν*.

⁶ Cp. BEZZENBERGER, GGA. 1879, p. 818; J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 3; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 848.

⁷ With the strong (nasalized) form of the Indo-aryische Philologie. I. 4.

root beside *cakabh-āna* (AV.), and *nind-ūr*.

⁸ With strong radical syllable.

⁹ DELBRÜCK, Verbum 148, adds *dabhūr*, but this is rather aorist (beside perf. *debhur*).

¹⁰ On the origin of this distinction between the 1. sing. and the 3. sing. cp. J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 25, 8ff. and SRRITBERG, IF. 3, 383—386.

¹¹ This distinction is invariable in the RV., and the rule seems to be the same in the AV. WHITNEY 793 d mentions *cakūra* as an exception, but this form is 3. sing. in all the passages given in his AV. Index; and *jagrāha* (AV. III. 13^b) is evidently a corruption; see WHITNEY's note and cp. p. 356, note 2.

mij- 'wipe' takes *Vyddhi* instead of *Guna* throughout the strong stem: *mamāri-1*. — 2. Two instances of the strong stem being used in weak forms occur in the RV.: pl. 1. *yayojimā* and 3. *vicitur*² beside the regular *vicitur*. — 3. The radical vowel of *bhd-* remains unchanged in the strong as well as the weak forms, interposing *v* before vowels; thus sing. 2. *bahū-tha*, pl. 3. *bahū-vur*. — 4. The weak stem of *ij-* 'cross' appears in the RV. as *itir-* and *tutur-*; thus sing. 3. *tatūr-a*, but pl. 3. *itir-vur*, part. *itir-vams-*, opt. sing. 3. *tutur-yāt*³.

a. Roots containing medial *a* leave the radical syllable unchanged in sing. 1, 2., lengthening the vowel in sing. 3.; they reduce it in the weak stem by contraction, syncopation, or loss of nasal.

1. The roots with initial *ya-* and *va-*, which reduplicate with the vowels *i* and *u* respectively, take *Samprasāraṇa*, the result being contraction to *r* and *ṛ*. Thus from *yaj-* 'sacrifice': strong stem *i-yāj-*, weak *ij-* (= *i-ij-*)⁴; *vac-* 'speak': *u-vid-* and *ṛc-* (= *u-uc-*); *vad-* 'speak': *u-vād-* and *ṛd-*; *vap-* 'strew': *u-vap-* and *ṛp-*; *vas-* 'dwell': *u-vas-* and *ṛs-*; *vah-* 'carry': *u-vāh-* and *ṛh-*. The root *vā-* 'weave' is similarly treated in the form pl. 3. *ṛ-v-ur* (= *u-u-v-ur*). *Samprasāraṇa* of the root also appears in the weak stem of *svap-* 'sleep' and of *grabh-* and *grah-* 'seize': *su-ṣvāp-* and *su-ṣṛp-*; *ja-grābh-*, *ja-grāh-* and *ja-grbh-*, *ja-grh-*. The roots *yam-*⁶, *van-*, *vas-* 'wear' have the full reduplication throughout; *yam-* taking *Samprasāraṇa* and contracting in the weak stem, *van-* syncopating its *a*, and *vas-* retaining it throughout: *ya-yam-* and *yem-* (= *ya-im*); *va-vān-* and *va-vn-*; *vā-vas-* (both strong and weak).

2. More than a dozen roots containing *a* between single consonants and reduplicating their initial without change, contract the reduplication and root to a single syllable with medial *o*. The type followed by these verbs was doubtless furnished by *sad-* 'sit', which forms the weak stem *sat-* (= **sazd-*), beside the strong *sa-sād-*, and supported by *yam-*, with its weak stem *yem-* (= *ya-im*) beside the strong *yayam-*⁷. The other stems showing this contraction are formed from *tap-* 'heat', *dabh-* 'harm', *nam-* 'bend', *pac-* 'cook', *pat-* 'fall', *yat-* 'stretch', *yam-* 'guide', *rabh-* 'seize', *labh-* 'take', *sak-* 'be able', *sap-* 'curse', *sap-* 'serve'. The roots *tan-* 'stretch' and *sac-* 'follow' also belong to this class in the AV., but not in the RV. The root *bhaj-* 'divide' though not reduplicating with an identical consonant in its strong stem *ba-bhaj-*, follows the analogy of this group in forming the weak stem *bhej-*.

3. Four roots of this form, however, simply syncopate the radical *a* without contracting. These are *jan-* 'beget': *jajñ-*, strong *jajñ-*; *pan-* 'admire': *pāpn-*, strong *pāpan-*; *man-* 'think': *mamn-*⁸; *van-* 'win': *vavn-*, strong *vāvan-*. Three others have this syncopated as well as the contracted form: *tan-* 'stretch': *tāt-* and *ten-* (AV.); *pat-* 'fall': *pāpt-* and *pēt-*; *sac-* 'follow': *sāsc-* and *sec-* (AV.). Syncopation of medial *a* also takes place in four roots with initial guttural: *khan-* 'dig': *cakhu-* (AV.), strong *cakhūn-*; *gam-* 'go': *jagm-*, strong *jagām-*; *ghas-* 'eat': *jaks-*, strong *jaghās-*; *han-* 'smite': *jaghn-*, strong *jaghān-*.

4. In a few roots with medial *a* and a penultimate nasal, the latter is lost in the weak stem⁹. Thus *krand-* 'cry out': *cakrad-*; *tams-* 'shake': *tatas-*; *skambh-* 'prop': *caskabh-* (AV.), strong *caskāmbh-*; *stambh-* 'prop':

¹ The same irregularity appears in the present stem.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1223¹.

³ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 74¹.

⁴ But they had the full reduplication in the IIr. period; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1220³.

⁵ In the one form *yejt* (beside *ijē*), *yaj-* follows the analogy of *yam-*, preserving a trace of the old reduplication *ya-*.

⁶ The analogy of *yam-* is followed by *yaj-* in the one form *yejt* (beside *ijē*); cp. note ⁵.

⁷ See BARTHOLOMAE, Die al. *ṛ*-Formen im schwachen Perfect, KZ. 27, 337—366; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1222; cp. v. NEGELEIN 71³.

⁸ The strong stem does not occur.

⁹ Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 1217⁴.

tastabh-, strong *tastāmbh-*. Similarly, from *dambh-*, the nasalized form of *dabh-* 'harm', is formed *dadabh-*, strong *dadāmbh-* (AV.); and from *rambh-*, the nasalized form of *rabh-* 'seize', *rārabh-*. From *dams-* 'bite', only the participle *dadāstāms-* occurs. The root *bandh-* 'bind', both loses its nasal and contracts, forming the weak stem *bedh-* (AV.) beside the strong *babāndh-* (AV.).

b. Roots with final *ā* retain that vowel in the strong stem, but in the weak reduce it to *i*³ before consonants and drop it before vowels. Thus *dhā-* 'put' employs *dadhi-* in the strong forms, *dadhi-* and *dadh-* in the weak.

3. Endings.

484. The endings in the indicative active are all peculiar (excepting the secondary *-va*⁴ and *-ma*), while in the middle they are identical (excepting the 3. sing. *-e* and 3. pl. *-re*)⁵ with the primary middle endings of the present. They are the following:

Active			Middle		
sing.	du.	pl.	sing.	du.	pl.
1. <i>-a</i>	[<i>-mā</i>]	<i>-mā</i>	1. <i>-e</i>	[<i>-vāhe</i>]	<i>-māhe</i>
2. <i>-tha</i>	<i>-dthur</i> ⁶	<i>-ī</i>	2. <i>-se</i>	<i>-dthe</i>	<i>-dhve</i>
3. <i>-a</i>	<i>-ātur</i> ⁶	<i>-īr</i> ⁷	3. <i>-e</i>	<i>-āte</i>	<i>-re</i>

Roots ending in *-ā* take the anomalous ending *-au*⁸ in the 1. and 3. sing. act.; e. g. *dhā-* 'put': *da-dhāu*. The only exception is the root *prā-* 'fill', which once forms the 3. sing. *pa-prā* (1. 69¹) beside the usual *pa-prāu*.

a. Consonant endings. These are, as a rule, added directly to the stem. No forms with *-vā* or *-vāhe* occur in the Samhitās; *-māhe* is always added direct, as is also *-dhve* in the only form in which it occurs, *dadhi-dhv!* The remaining consonant endings, *-tha*, *-ma*, *-se*, *-re*, are nearly always added direct to stems ending in vowels, but frequently with the connecting vowel *-i-* to stems ending in consonants.

1. Roots with final *ā* always add the endings directly to the stem, which reduces the radical vowel to *i*⁹ in the weak forms; e. g. *dadītha*; *dadhi-mā*, *dadhi-se*, *dadhi-re*¹⁰.

2. Roots with final *ī* and *ū* also always add these endings direct to the stem; e. g. *jī-* 'conquer': *jige-tha*; *nī-* 'lead': *nind-tha*; *su-* 'press': *susu-mā*; *cyu-* 'move': *ciyu-se*; *hu-* 'sacrifice': *juhu-re*; *hū-* 'call': *jūhū-re*. The only exception is *bhā-*, which (doubtless owing to the fondness of this verb for *-āu-*) forms *babhū-i-tha* twice in the RV. beside the usual *babhū-tha*, and *babhū-i-mā* once in the AV.

¹ From which is formed the weak stem *debh-*.

² From which is formed the weak stem *ebh-*.

³ See DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* 147 (p. 120); BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, 844 (p. 1206—8); cp. v. BRADKE, *IF.* 8, 123—137; 156—160; REICHELDT, *BB.* 27, 94.

⁴ No perfect form with *-va* is, however, found in the Samhitās.

⁵ Both of these, however, occasionally appear in the present ind. mid.

⁶ The *a* is here probably not connecting vowel but identical with the *a* of the 2. pl.; *-dthur* getting its *r* from the 3. pl. *-tur*, and *-ātur* being then formed like *-thar* beside *tas*; cp. BRUGMANN, *KG.* p. 597.

⁷ That *r* (and not *s*) is here original is

shown by the evidence of the Avesta; cp. BRUGMANN, *KG.* 797 (p. 597).

⁸ This has not been satisfactorily explained; cp. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, p. 1223³.

⁹ This *i* as the reduced form of *ā* (cp. *hi-tā* etc., from *dhā-*), occurring in such very common verbs as *dā-* 'give' and *dhā-* 'put', was probably the starting point for the use of *i* as a connecting vowel in other verbs; but cp. BRUGMANN, *Grundriss* 2, p. 1208⁴; cp. also *IF.* 8, 123—160.

¹⁰ The vowel is dropped before *-re* in *dadhi-re*, which occurs once beside the very common *dadhi-re*. Similarly the stem of *dā-* 'give', is shortened before the ending *-re* in *dad-re*, which occurs once (with passive sense).

3. Roots with final *-r* add the endings *-tha*, *-ma*, and *-se* direct (excepting two or three forms), but *-re* always with connecting *-i-*; thus *kr-* 'do': *cakār-tha*, *cakr-ma*, *cakr-sē*, but *cakr-i-rē*. Connecting *-i-* before the other endings appears in *ār-i-tha*, *ār-i-mā* (*r-* 'go'); and in *jabhr-i-se* (*bhr-* 'bear').

4. Roots with final consonant add *-tha*, *-ma*; *se*, *-re* direct if the last syllable of the stem is prosodically short, but with the connecting vowel *-i-* if that syllable is long¹. Thus *tatn-tha*; *jagan-ma*, *jagrbh-mā*, *yuyuj-ma*; *dadrk-sē*, *vivit-se*; *caklp-rē*, *tatas-rē*, *duduh-rē*, *pasprdh-rē*, *yuyuj-re*, *vivid-rē* and others; but *ās-i-tha*, *uvē-i-tha*, *vivēd-i-tha*; *ū-i-mā*, *papt-i-mā*, *sed-i-ma*; *tatn-i-se*; *ṽ-i-rē*, *jagm-i-re*, *tataks-i-rē*, *yet-i-rē*. The only exception is *vd-tha*, which as an old form inherited from the IE. period (Greek *οἶσ-θε*) without reduplication, remained unaffected by the influence of reduplicated forms.

a. Six roots ending in consonants add *-rē*² instead of *-re*: *cikit-rē* (beside the more usual *cikit-rē*), *jagrbh-rē* (once beside the usual *jagrbh-rē*), *bubhuj-rē* (once), *vivid-rē* (once beside *vivid-rē*), *casj-rē* (once), and *duduh-rē* (once in the SV. for the common *duduh-rē* of the RV.)³

b. Vowel endings. Before terminations beginning with vowels final radical vowels are variously treated. 1. *ī*, if preceded by one consonant, becomes *y*, if preceded by more than one, *iy*: e. g. from *bhi-* 'fear', *bibhy-atur*, *bibhy-ar*; but from *śri-* 'resort', *śisriy-e*. — 2. Final *ū* ordinarily becomes *uv*; e. g. *yu-* 'join': *yuyuv-ē*; *śru-* 'hear': *śśrur-e*; *śū-* 'swell': *śśur-e*. But *ū* becomes *v* in *hū-* 'call', e. g. *ju-hv-ē*; and *ūv* in *bhū-* 'be' and *śū-* 'bring forth', even in strong forms⁴; e. g. 3. sing. *bā-bhūv-a*, *sastū-a*⁵. — 3. Final *r* becomes *r*; e. g. from *kr-* 'make', *cakr-d*, *cakr-d*. But *r* becomes *ir* in *tītir-ur* from *tī-* 'cross', and in 3. sing. *tītir-ē*, part. *tītir-ānā*, from *stī-* 'strew' (the only root with a *r* vowel preceded by two consonants that occurs in the perfect).

Perfect Indicative.

485. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kr-* 'make', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *cakāra*⁷. 2. *cakārtha*. 3. *cakāra*. — Du. 2. *cakrāthur*. 3. *cakrītur*. — Pl. 1. *cakrmi*. 2. *cakrā*. 3. *cakrīr*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *cakrē*. 2. *cakrjē*. 3. *cakrē*. — Du. 2. *cakrītha*. 3. *cakrīte*. — Pl. 1. *cakrmdhe*. 2. *cakrdhvē*. 3. *cakrīrē*⁸.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ūsa*, *uvāpa* (TS. i. 5. 3²), *cakara*, *ciketa* (*cit-* 'observe'), *jagama*, *jagrbha*, *jagrāha* (AV.)⁹, *jaghāsa* (AV. vi. 117¹⁰), *jihāsa*¹¹, *tatāpa*, *dudrdha*, *pāpāna*, *bābhūva*, *bibhāya*, *mimaya* (*mī-* 'diminish'), *rāpāna*, *rīrāha*, *viveśa*, *vēda*¹², *śīstraya*, *śūstrāva*. The TS. (iii. 5. 5¹) has the Vrddhi form *rāvāra* (*vr-* 'cover').

¹ This is in accordance with the rhythmic rule that the stem may not have two prosodically short vowels in successive syllables.

² The strength of this rhythmic rule is well illustrated by the same root *vac-* having the two collateral forms *vavak-jē* and *ūc-i-jē*; cp. also the unique lengthening, in a weak form, of the radical *a* in *sa-sāh-i-se* (beside the usual *sāsah-*) and the Guṇa in *yuyup-i-mā*.

³ The additional *r* may have come into use under the influence of forms from roots in *r*, like *dadrh-rē* from *ṽdhr-*.

⁴ The ending *-rē* is once also added to a root ending in a vowel: *dadr-rē*, from *ṽdā-*.

⁵ Instead of the normal *āv*.

⁶ This is the only perfect form of *ṽi-* occurring.

⁷ The 1. and 3. of *dhā-* 'put' would both be *dadhāu*; of *vid-* 'find', both *vividā*.

⁸ The 3. pl. of *vid-* 'find' would be *vividēt*.

⁹ AV. iii. 18³ reads *jagrāha*, but this must be emended to *jagrāha*; see WHITNEY'S note.

¹⁰ *jaghāsa* here is a misprint for *jaśhāsa*; see WHITNEY'S note on the passage.

¹¹ Also in AV. iv. 32⁵, but written *jihāsa* in the Saṃhitā text, but *ji-* in Pada. See WHITNEY'S note.

¹² Unreduplicated form.

2. *iyatha*¹ and *iyetha*, *cakārtha*, *jagāntha* (*gam-*'go'), *jaghāntha*, *jabhārtha*, *jigātha* (*ji-*'conquer'), *tatāntha*, *dadāntha*, *dadhārtha* (*dh-*'hold'), *dadhātha*, *ninātha*, *papātha* (*pā-*'drink'), *paprātha*², *babhūtha*, *yayantha* (*yam-*'guide'), *yayātha*, *vāvāntha*, *vavārtha* (*vr-*'cover'), *vivyāktha* (*vyac-*'extend'), *vātha*¹⁰, *sasītha* (*sad-*'sit'). — With connecting *-i-*: *āpītha* (AV.), *ārītha* (*r-*'go'), *ārītha* (*av-*'favour'), *āsītha* (*as-*'be'), *uvēcītha* (*uc-*'be pleased'), *cakarītha* (*kr-*'cut'), *tatīrdītha* (*tr-*'split'), *dudohītha*, *dudrōhītha* (AV.), *babhūvītha*, *rurōjītha*, *rurodhītha*, *rurōhītha* (AV.), *vavākṣītha*, *vivēdītha* (*vid-*'find'), *vivesītha*.

3. *āna*, *ānāṣa* and *ānāsa* (*amś-*'attain'); *āpa*, *āra* (*r-*'go'), *āva*, *āsa* (*af-*'eat'), *āsa* (*as-*'be' and *as-*'throw'), *āha* (*ah-*'say'), *iyāya* (*i-*'go'), *uvāca* (*vac-*'speak'), *uvāsa* (*vas-*'shine'), *uvāha*, *uvāca* (*uc-*'be pleased'), *cakarā* (*kr-*'cut'), *cakārsu* (*krś-*'be lean', AV.), *cakāra*, *cakrama*, *cakhūda*, *cakhāna* (VS.v.23), *cacākṣa*, *cacarta* (*cr-*'bind', AV.), *cacāra* (AV.), *cacchanda*, *caskānda*, *caskāmbha*, *cikīya* (*ci-*'gather'), *cikāya* (*ci-*'observe'), *cikīta*³ (*ci-*'perceive'), *jagāma*, *jagrāha*, *jaghāna*, *jaghāsa*, *jajāna*, *jajāra* (AV.), *jabhāra*⁴, *jigāya* (*ji-*'conquer'), *juhōsa*, *juhāva* (*hū-*'call'), *tatākṣa*, *tatarā*, *tatarha* (AV.), *tātāna*, *tatāpa*, *tatāra*, *tatsāra* (*tsar-*'approach stealthily'), *tastāmbha*, *tātāna* (RV.), *tīyōja*, *tūyāva* (*tu-*'be strong'), *tutōda*, *dadāmbha* (*dambh-*'harm', AV.), *dadārsu*, *dadābha* (*dabh-*'harm'), *dadāra* (*dr-*'split'), *dadāsa* (*dās-*'worship'), *dadhārsa*, *dādāra*, *didāva* (*dt-*'play', AV.), *didēsa* (AV.), *didyāta* (AV.), *didāya* (VS. xii. 34), *nanāta* (*nas-*'be lost'), *nandāha*⁵ (AV.), *nānāma*, *niniya*, *papāca* (AV.), *papāta* (AV.), *papāda*, *paprā*⁶, *pipāsa*, *pipēsa*, *pipāya*, *pipāsa*, *babāntha* (VS. AV.), *babārha* (*brh-*'make strong', AV.), *babhūja*⁷ (*bhanj-*'break'), *babhōja*, *babhāva*, *bibhāya*, *bibhēda*, *mamānda* (*mand-*'exhilarate'), *mamārṣa*, *mamītha* (*math-*'shake', AV.), *mamāda* (*mad-*'exhilarate'), *mamāra* (*mṛ-*'die'), *mamārja* (*mṛj-*'wipe', AV.), 1. *mimāya* (*mā-*'bellow'), 2. *mimāya* (*mi-*'fix'), 3. *mimāya* (*mi-*'damage'), *mtmāya* (*mt-*'damage', AV.), *mimētha* (*mīth-*'alternate'), *mimydṣa*, *mumōda*, *yayāma*, *yuyōja* (AV.), *yuyōdha*, *yuyōpa*, *rardṣa*, *rariḍa*, *rariḍha*, *ravāra*, *rivāca*, *rurōca*, *rurōja*, *rurōha* (AV.), *vavākṣa*, *vavānda*, *vavārta*, *vavārtha*, *vavāca*⁸ (*vac-*'speak'), *vavāra* (*vr-*'cover'), *vavūja*, *vavūrta*, *vāvīna*, *vivīya* (*vī-*'be eager'), *vivēda*, *vivēsa*, *vivēja*, *vivyāca*, *vāda*¹⁰, *śasāka* (AV.), *śasāpa* (AV.), *śīrāya* (*śri-*'resort'), *śusōca*, *śusrāva*, *sasarja*, *sasāda*, *sasīna*, *sasāra*, *sasīva*, *sāsāha*, *sīsedha*, *sīṣṭya*, *susāva* (*su-*'press'). — With the ending *-au*: *tasthū*, *dadū*, *dadhū*, *papū* (*pā-*'drink'), *paprū*, *yayū*.

Du. 2. *arathur*, *arāthur*, *āsathur*, *zyathur*, *īśāthur*, *āpāthur* (*√rap-*), *uhūthur* (*√vah-*), *cakrāthur*, *cakhyathur* (*khyā-*'see'), *jagrōbhāthur*, *jagmāthur*, *jigyathur* (*ji-*'conquer'), *jijivāthur*⁹, *taksathur*¹⁰, *tasthāthur*, *daddthur*, *dadhathur*, *ninyathur*, *papāthur* (*pā-*'drink'), *paprathur*, *pipinwāthur*¹¹, *pipyathur* (*pī-*'swell'), *patathur* (*√pat-*), *babhūvāthur*, *mimikṣāthur*, *yayathur*, *yemāthur* (*√yam-*), *rīricāthur*, *vidāthur*¹⁰, *vidāthur*, *vividāthur* (*vyā-* or *vī-*'envelope'), *sedāthur* (*√sad-*), *skambhāthur*¹⁰.

¹ The irregularity of this form which occurs once in the RV. and once in the AV. beside the regular *iyātha* is hard to explain.

² In VL 177 this form stands for the 2. sing. of *prāth-*'extend'; see NEISSER, BB. 30, 302.

³ Occurs twice in the RV. also with the irregular accent *cikīta*.

⁴ It is very doubtful whether *jahā* VIII. 4537 is 3. sing. perfect of *hā-*'leave' (cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 124), like *paprā*. FISCHER, Vedische Studien I, 163 f., thinks this word with the following *hā* should be read *jāhāko* 'abandoning'. ROTH thinks (pw.) *jahā* is an interjection.

⁵ Overlooked by WHITNEY, Roots, under *√nah-*: AV. VI. 133¹.

⁶ The only occurrence of *ā* for *au* unless *jahā* is a verbal form.

⁷ Omitted by AVERY 250.

⁸ RV., beside the ordinary *vavāca*.

⁹ From *jinv-*'quicken', a secondary root starting from the present stem *ji-nu-* of *ji-*'quicken'; see 469, 2, 7.

¹⁰ Unreduplicated form.

¹¹ From *pinu-*'fatten', which started from a present stem of the *-nu* class; see 469, 2, 7.

Du. 3. *apatur, āvatur, āsatur* (as- 'attain'), *asatur, iyātur, ihātur* (√yah-), *cakratur, cikyatur* (ci- 'observe'), *catatur, jagmatur, jajñatur* (jan- 'beget'), *jahatur* (hā- 'leave'), *tataksātur, tasthātur, dadatur, paprātur* (prā- 'fill'), *peātur, bahhāvātur, mamātur* (mā- 'measure'), *mimikṣātur* (mikṣ- 'mix'), *yamātur*, *yematur* (√yam-), *vavakṣātur, vāvṛdhatur, sasratur*¹ (√sr-, AV.), *sisicatur, sedātur* (√sad-).

Pl. 1. *ānaśma* (amś- 'attain'); *cakrma, jaganma, jagrbhṃā, tasthi-mā* (√sthā-), *dadhi-mā, yuyujma, rarabhṃā, rari-mā* (rā- 'give'), *vavanmā, vidmā*⁴, *śūtruma* (AV.), *suśuma*. — **With connecting -i-**: *ārimā, āsimā* (as- 'be', AV.), *ūcimā* (√vac-), *ādīmā* (√vad-), *āsīmā* (vas- 'dwell', AV.), *cerimā* (√car-, AV.), *jaghnimā* (√han-, AV.), *jihimsimā* (AV. TS.), *dadāsimā, nindimā*⁵ (TS. III. 2. 8³), *paptima, bahhūvima* (AV.), *yuyopimā*⁷, *yenimā, vavandimā, vidmā*⁸, *śekimā* (√śak-, AV.), *śācīma, suśādimā* (√śad-), *sedimā*⁵ (√sad-).

2. *anāha*⁹ (RV¹), *anaśā* (amś- 'attain'); *āśā* (vas- 'shine'), *cakrā, jagmā*¹⁰ (AV. TS. VS.), *dadā, bahhūvā, yayā, vidā*⁸, *śāśāśā, seka* (√śak-), *sedā* (√sad-).

3. *ānaśūr* (amś- 'attain'), *āncūr* (√arc-), *ānydhūr* (AV.), *ānyhūr* (TS. III. 2. 8¹); *āpūr, ārūr, āsur* (as- 'attain'), *āsūr* (as- 'be'), *āhūr, iyūr, īsur* (is- 'send'), *ūcūr, ūdur* (und- 'wet', AV.), *ūvūr* (vā- 'weave'), *ūśūr* (vas- 'shine'), *āhūr* (√yah-), *cakramūr, cakrūr, cakhūr* (khan-, AV.), *cakṣpur* (AV.), *cikūr, cikūr, cikūr* (ci- 'perceive'), *cerūr* (√car-, AV.), *jagrbhūr, jagrhūr* (AV.), *jagmūr, jaghnūr* (√han-, AV.), *jajanūr*¹¹ and *jajñūr* (jan- 'beget'), *jahhūr* (√bhj-), *jahūr* (hā- 'leave'), *jahurur*¹² (√hr-, AV.), *jāgṛdhūr, jigyur* (ji- 'conquer'), *jugupur*¹³, *jujuśūr, jūvūr* (√jū-), *takṣūr, tataksūr, tasthūr, tatpūr* (AV.), *tāpśūr, titūr* (√tī-), *tustuvūr, dadāśūr, dadūr, dadhūr, dādhr̥sur* (AV.), *didyūr* (TS. II. 2. 12⁶), *duduhur, dudruvūr* (AV.), *debhūr* (dabh- 'harm'), *nanakṣūr, niidūr, papūr* (pā- 'drink'), *paptūr* (pat- 'fall'), *paprur* (prā- 'fill'), *pipśūr, pipyūr* (√pī-), *bahhūvūr, bibhādūr, bibhyūr* (bhj- 'fear'), *bedhūr* (bandh-, AV.), *mamur* (mā- 'measure'), *mamrur* (m- 'die'), *māmṛjur, māmṛśūr, mimikṣūr* (√myakṣ-), *minyūr* (mi- 'fix'), *yamūr*¹⁴, *yayur, yuyudhūr, yemūr, vāradhūr* (√rād-), *vīpūr, rurucūr, ruruhūr, vavakṣūr, vāvṛjur, vavūr* (vr- 'cover'), *vāvasūr* (vas- 'desire'), *vāvṛtūr, vāvṛdhūr, vidūr*⁸, *vīvdūr, vīvāśūr* and (once) *vīvūr*¹⁵, *vīvūr, śāśasur, śāśramur, śāśādūr, śūśuvūr, śekūr* (√śak-), *śācūr, sasrūr, sisyādūr* (√syand-, AV.), *sisicūr, suśupur* (√śvap-), *suśuvūr* (VS. XX. 63), *suśruvūr* (AV.), *sedūr* (√sad-), *sepur, skambhūr*¹⁶.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ijī, idhe* (idh- 'kindle'), *īś* (īś- 'move'), *nhe* (nh- 'consider'), *cake* (kā- = kan- 'be pleased'), *cake, jigyē* (ji- 'conquer'), *tatac*¹⁰, *tasthe, titriṣe, dade, mame* (mā- 'measure'), *māmahe, rarē* (√rā-), *śepē* (√śap-), *śāśce*.

¹ AV. III. 21²; SV. I. 2. 2. 1¹⁰, explained by BENFLEY, SV. Glossary, as 3. du. perf. without reduplication. WHITNEY, note on AV. III. 21², thinks it is a corruption for *catatur*, but quotes WEBER as taking it for 3. du. perf. from *cat-* 'frighten into submission'.

² Unreduplicated form with present meaning (VI. 67¹).

³ *siratur* (RV¹) is an anomalous 3. du. pres. ind. of *sr-*, according to the reduplicating class with perfect ending instead of **siphr̥*.

⁴ The form *vīvīma* which AVERY gives with a query is probably an error for *vīvīmas* 1. pl. pres. (VI. 23^{5, 6}).

⁵ Cp. IF. 3, 9f.; ZDMG. 48, 519.

⁶ The metre requires *nindima* (see BR. under *nī-* 'lead').

⁷ With strong radical syllable.

⁸ Unreduplicated form.

⁹ This form (VI. 48²) may be 2. pl. from a root *anā-* for **ānaha*.

¹⁰ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 97¹.

¹¹ This form without syncope occurs once in the RV., *jajñūr* twice.

¹² WHITNEY on AV. III. 9⁵ would emend this irregular form, the reading of all the Mss., to *jahūr*.

¹³ This is the only finite form of this secondary root, and it occurs in a late hymn (VII. 1039); the past participle *gupitū-* also occurs twice in the tenth book. This *√gup-* was doubtless evolved from the denominative *gupā-yā-* 'act as a cowherd'.

¹⁴ Unreduplicated form occurring once.

¹⁵ With irregular strong vowel.

¹⁶ With unsyncope vowel occurring once; 3. sing. *tatuc*.

2. *cakryś*, *cicyuś*, *tasthi-śe* (AV.), *dadṛkṣ* (*drś*- 'see'), *dadhi-śe*, *papṛṣe* *yuyukṣ* (V*yaṣ*-), *rari-śe*, *ririkṣ* (V*ric*-), *vavakṣ* (V*vac*-), *vaurṣ* (V*r-choose*), *vivitse* (V*id*- 'find'). — With connecting -i-: *ācis* (V*uc*- and V*vac*-), *āpise* (V*vap*-), *āhiṣe* (V*vah*-), *jajñiś* (V*jan*-), *jabhriṣe*, *tatniṣe*, *bedhiṣe* (AV.), *śepiś* (V*śap*-), AV.), *sasāhiṣe*¹.

3. *ānaj* (V*añj*-), *ānaś* (V*amś*-), *ānrcc*, *ānr̥dhe*; *āse* (as- 'throw'), *ij* (V*yaṣ*-), *id* (V*id*-), *idh* (V*idh*-), *iś* (*iś*- 'move'), *ice* (uc- 'be pleased'), *ipe* (V*vap*-), *ūh*² (*ūh*- 'consider'), *cak* (V*kā*-), *cakrad* (V*krand*-), *cakram*, *cakr*, *caksad* (*kṣad*- 'divide'), *cah* (AV.), *cikit* (V*cit*-), *cakrubh* (*kṣubh*- 'quake', AV.), *cucyuve*, *jagrhe*³, *jagm* (V*gam*-), *jajñ* (V*jan*-), *jabhre* (V*bhr*-), *jiḡe* (V*ji*-), *jih* (V*hid*-), *juy*, *juh* (*hū*- 'call'), *tatakṣ*, *tate* (V*t-* 'stretch' = V*tan*-), *taine* (V*tan*-), *tatre* (*trā*- 'protect'), *tasthe* (V*sthā*-), *titviś*, *tistir* (*st-* 'strew'), *ddṛśe*, *dad*, *dadhanv*⁴, *dadh*, *dadhr* (*dhr*- 'hold'), *dadhvase* (*dhvams-* 'scatter'), *duduhe*, *dudhuve* (V*dha*-), AV.), *nanakṣ*⁵, *nunud*, *neme* (V*nam*-), *papṛkṣ*⁶, *pape*² (*pā*- 'drink'), *pāprathe* (RV.) and *pāprath* (RV. AV.), *papre*⁷ (V*prā*-), AV.), *paspaś* (*spāś*- 'see'), *pipiś*, *pipise*, *pipi*, *pipye* (*p-* 'swell'), *pece* (V*pac*-), *bubadh*, *babhre* (V*bhr*-), *behd* (V*bandh*-), AV.), *bhej* (*bhaj-* 'divide'), *mam* (*mā*- 'measure'), *māmahe*, *māmṛj*, *mimikṣ*⁸, *yuyuj*, *yuyuv* (yu- 'join'), *yej*⁹ (V*yaṣ*-), *yeme* (V*yam*-), *raraps*, *rārabhe* (V*rambh*-), *riric*, *ruruc*, *rebh* (V*rabh*-), AV.), *vavakṣ* (V*vaks*-), *vavande*, *vavnd* (V*van*-), *vavr* (V*r-choose*), *vāvasē* (*vāś-* 'desire'), *vāvase* (VIII. 4⁸, *vāś-* 'clothe')¹⁰, *vāvṛje*, *vāvṛt*, *vāvṛdh*, *vid* (*vid*- 'know'), *vivid* (*vid*- 'find'), *vivy* (*vṛ-* 'envelope'), *vivye* (V*r-* 'be eager'), *śasam* (VS. XXXIII. 87), *śāsrathe*, *śāsr* (*ś-* 'crush'), *śīśriy* (*śī-* 'resort'), *śūruve*, *śūruve* (*śū-* 'swell'), *śep* (V*śap*-), AV.), *sasāh*¹¹ and *sasāhe*¹², *sasṛj*, *sasṛ* (V*r-* 'flow'), *sasvaj*, *sisice*, *sisyade* (V*syand*-), AV.), *suśuv* (*sū-* 'bring forth').

Du. 2. *āsāthe* (V*āś-* 'attain'), *ijāthe* (AV.), *āhyāthe*¹³ (IV. 56⁶), *cakramāthe*, *cakrāthe*, *ciklthe*¹⁴ (*ci-* 'note'), *dadāthe*, *dadhāthe*, *mamūāthe* (V*man*-), *rarāthe* (*rā-* 'give'), *riricāthe*, *sasṛāthe* (V*sr-*).

3. *āsāte*¹⁵, *cakrāte*, *dadhāte*, *pasṛdhāte*, *bhejāte* (*bhaj-* 'divide'), *mamāte* (*mā-* 'measure'), *mamūāte* (*man-* 'think'), *yuyudhāte*, *yemāte* (V*yam*-), *rebhāte* (V*rabh*-), AV.), *vāvṛdhāte*¹⁶, *sasvajāte*.

Pl. 1. *bubhujmāhe*, *mumucmāhe*, *vavṛmāhe* (V*r-choose*), *śāśadmahe* (*śad-* 'prevail'), *sasṛjmāhe*. — 2. *dadhidhvd*.

3. *ānajre* (V*añj*-); *cakṛpr̥e*, *cikitṛe* (V*cit*-), *jagr̥bhṛe*¹⁷, *jahi-re* (V*hī-*, AV.), *juhūr̥e*, *juhūr̥e*, *tatasr̥e* (V*tams*-), *tasthi-re*, *ddṛśre*, *dadhi-r̥e*, *dadhre*, *duduh̥r̥e*, *numudr̥e*, *pasṛdh̥r̥e*, *pipiśre*, *mami-r̥e* (*mā-* 'measure'), *mumucr̥e*, *yuyujr̥e*, *riricr̥e*,

¹ With strong radical vowel: cp. p. 356, note 2.

² With passive sense.

³ Omitted by AVERY 250.

⁴ From *dham-* a transfer root from *dhan-* 'run'. Cp. WHITNEY, Roots 81.

⁵ From *nakṣ-* 'attain', a secondary form of *naś-* 'attain'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots 87.

⁶ IV. 437. This form (which is perhaps rather to be taken as 1. sing.) may be formed from *prākṣ-*, a secondary form of *prach-* 'ask'; cp. BENFEY, O. u. O. 3, 256; DELBRÜCK p. 126⁴; WHITNEY, Roots, and BR. s. v. *prach*.

⁷ *fapre*, given by AVERY 250 with a query, does not seem to occur in the RV.

⁸ From *mikṣ-*, a desiderative formation from *mih-*; cp. WHITNEY, Roots.

⁹ *yeje* occurs three times in the RV. (only with *ā-* and *pra-*), *ij* occurs twice as 3. sing., once as 1. sing.

¹⁰ WHITNEY, Roots, under *vāś-* 'clothe'. This form is placed by BR. and GRASSMANN under a root *vāś-* 'aim'.

¹¹ X. 104¹⁰ (AVERY *sāsāhe*), Pada text *sasāh*.
¹² VIII. 96¹⁵, (AVERY *sāsāhe*), Pada text *sasāhe* cp. RPr. 580, 582, 587, 589.

¹³ This seems to be an anomalous form for *ūhāthe* (*ūh-* 'consider'; cp. GRASSMANN).
¹⁴ Irregular form (RV.) for **ciky-āthe*.

¹⁵ Thus irregularly accented v. 66⁴. This form, *āsāte*, also occurs five times unaccented.

¹⁶ The AV. has also the transfer form *vāvṛdhāte*.

¹⁷ See notes on AV. XVIII. 31⁶ in WHITNEY's Translation.

rurudhre, vāvakre (vāñc- 'move crookedly')¹, vāvāsre² (vās- 'bellow'), vinijre, vidre³, vividre, vivipre, vivisre, śāsadrē. — With connecting -i-: arhire⁴, āsire (Kh. I. 11¹), īsire (√yaj-), īdhire (√idh-), īrīr⁵, īsīr⁵ (īṣ- 'send', AV.), ūcīrē (√vac-, AV.), ūhīrē (√vāh-), cakrīrē, cacakṣīrē (VS. XL. 10 : Up.), jagmīre, jajūirē (√jan-), jabhīrē (√bhj-), jihīrē (√hid-), latakṣīrē, tainīrē (√tan-), tastrīrē⁶ (√str-, AV.), tenīrē (√tan-, VS. TS. AV.), dadhamīrē⁷, dadhīre (Kh. I. 4¹), dadhīre (√dhj-), papīre (pā- 'drink'), bedhīre (√bandh-, AV.), bhjīrē (√bhj-), mimikṣīre (√mikṣ- 'mix', and √myakṣ-), yetīrē (√yat-), yemīre (√yam-), rurucīre (Kh. I. 12¹), rebhīrē (√rabh-), lebhīrē (√labh-), vāvākṣīre, vāvandīrē, vāvāsīre, saścīrē (√sac-), secīre (√sac-, AV.), sedīre (√sad-). — With ending -īre: cikīrīre (√cit-), jagrbhīrē, dadhīre (√dā-), bubhujīrē, vivīdrīre, saṣjīre.

Moods of the Perfect.

486. Modal forms of the perfect are of rare occurrence in the Saṃhitās except the RV. They are made from the perfect stem in the same way as from the present stem. It is, however, not always possible to distinguish modal forms of the perfect from those of other reduplicated stems (present reduplicating class, reduplicated aorist, and intensive) either in form (because the reduplication is in many instances the same) or in meaning (because the perfect is often used in a present sense).

Perfect Subjunctive.

487. The normal method of forming the stem is to add *-a⁸* to the strong perfect stem, accented on the radical syllable. In the active the secondary endings are more usual; e. g. *tuṣṭāv-a-t*. If the primary endings are added in the active, the reduplicative syllable is in several forms⁹ accented, as *jījōṣ-a-si¹⁰*. In about a dozen forms, nearly all with secondary endings, the weak stem¹¹ is employed, but whether the reduplicative syllable was then accented is uncertain, because the examples that occur are unaccented. Middle forms, numbering not many more than a dozen, occur only in the 3. sing., with the ending *-te*, and in the 3. pl. with the ending *-anta*.

Active. Sing. 1. *anajā¹²*. — 2. *jījōṣasi, dādāyasi, paprāsi¹³; cakradas, cākānas, cikītas (√cit-), jījōṣas, tatanas, dadāśas, dādāyas, paprāthas, piprayas, bubodhas, mamādas, māmāhas, mumucas¹⁴, rūrānas, sāsāhas, śiśūdas.*

3. *ciketati (√cit-), jījōṣati, dādāṣati, dadhārṣati, dādāṣati¹⁵, dādāyati, būbōdhati, mumocati, vāvārtati; cākānat, cākṣpat (AV.), ciketati (√cit-), jaghānat, jabhārat, jugurat (gur- = gr- 'greet'), jījōṣat, jījūvat¹⁶, tādnat, tuṣṭavat, dādāṣat, dadhānat, dadhārṣat, paprāthāt, paspāriat, piprayat, mamādat (AV.), mamādat, dādāyat, mumucat¹⁴, mumurat (mur- = mṛ- 'crush'), mumucat, rūrānat, vāvārtat and vāvārtat¹⁴, vāvanat (TS. II. 4. 5¹), vivīdat¹⁴, śūśravat, śūśuvāt¹⁴, sāsāhat, suṣṭat.*

¹ With reversion to the original guttural.

² With shortening of the radical vowel.

³ Without reduplication.

⁴ In RV. regularly *erire*, Pp. *ā-īrīre* (but in I. 6⁴ for *erire* the accentuation should be *īrīre* = *ā-īrīre*). The AV. has once *saṃ-īhīrē* (XIV. 146).

⁵ *īrīre* with irregular accent is probably to be regarded as a present (450, 2).

⁶ IF. 8, Anzeiger 13.

⁷ From the secondary root *dhanv-* = *dhan-* 'run'.

⁸ Two subjunctive forms with double modal sign *-ā-* occur: *paprāsi* and *vāvārdhātī*.

⁹ Cp. the accentuation of the reduplicating class.

¹⁰ Except the forms *dādāyasi, dādāyati, dadhārṣati* and *vāvārtati*.

¹¹ The two roots *muc-* and *dhj-* make subjunctive forms from both the strong and weak stem.

¹² RV. v. 54¹: this form (Pp. *anaja*) is regarded by DELBRÜCK 126^b and AVERY 251 as a 2. pl. ind.

¹³ With double modal sign *-ā-*.

¹⁴ With weak radical syllable.

¹⁵ Always *ā-dādāṣati* in relative clauses.

Du. 2. *ciketathas, jijoṣathas; nīnthas*¹ (I. 181¹).
 Pl. I. *cākināma, tatānāma, śāśāvāma*. — 2. *jijoṣatha, bubadhatha*. —
 3. *jūjūsan*², *jijoṣan, tatānan, paprāthan, mamādan*.
 Middle. Sing. I. *śaśvacit*³ (√śvañc-). — 3. *jijoṣate*⁴, *tatāpate, dadhr̥ṣate*⁵,
*yuyjate, vārydhate*⁶, *śaśmate* (sam- 'labour'). — Pl. I. *andśamahai*.

Perfect Injunctive.

488. There are a few singular active and 3. pl. middle forms which must be classed as injunctives, being identical in form with the corresponding un-augmented persons of the pluperfect. These are: Sing. 2. *śaśas* (= *śaśas-s). — 3. *dudhot* (dhū- 'shake'), *śiṣet*⁷ (śi- 'bind'); *sasvār* (= *sasvar-t, from svar- 'sound'); with connecting -i-: *dadhar̥ṣit*.

Pl. 3. *cākramanta, cākinanta, tatānanta, dadabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, rurucanta*⁸, *vārydhanta*⁹, *viryacanta*.

Perfect Optative.

489. This mood is formed by adding the accented optative modal suffix combined with the endings (416a) to the weak perfect stem. The active forms are the commonest, occurring more than twice as often as those of the middle.

a. There are a few irregularities in the formation of this mood. 1. The radical vowels of *pā-* 'drink', *śru-* 'hear', and *kr-* 'make', being treated as before the -ya of the passive (444), the stems of these roots appear before the optative suffix as *pāpī-*, *śurū-*, and *akri-*. — 2. The vowel of the reduplicative syllable *an-* is shortened (as if it contained the augment) in *ānāyāt* (√'aij-). — 3. A connecting -r̥- is interposed in *śaśvār̥yāt*, while the radical *i* is combined with the ending in *śiṣitā*. — 4. A transfer according to the analogy of the a- conjugation is *viryas*; possibly also *śiṣet*⁶.

Active. Sing. I. *ānaśvām; jagamyām, paprcyām, viricyām, vavṛtyām*.

2. *cakriyās*⁷, *juguryās* (gur- = gr- 'greet'), *pupuryās, pupūryās* (pur- = pr-, 'fill'), *babhūyās, rurucyās, vavṛtyās, vivīśyās, śurūryās*⁸.

3. *anāyāt; cacchadyāt, jakṣiyāt*⁹ (ghas- 'eat'), *jagamyāt, jagāyāt* (gā- 'go'), *jagr̥bhīyāt, juguryāt, tuturyāt, tuturyāt* (√'tur- = tṛ-), *niniyāt*¹⁰, *papatyāt* (AV.), *papiyāt*¹¹ (pā- 'drink'), *paprcyāt, babhūyāt, mamādyāt, viricyāt, vavṛtyāt, sasadyāt* (AV.), *sasṛjyāt, śasahyāt*.

Du. 2. *jagamyātam, śuśrūyātum*.

Pl. I. *tuturyāma, vavṛtyāma, śaśuyāma, śasahyāma*.

3. *jagamyur, tatanyur, dadhanyur, mamūdyur, vavṛjyūr, vavṛtyur*.

Middle. Sing. I. *vavṛtiya*. — 2. *cakṣamithās, vārydhithās*. — 3. *jagrāsita, dudhuvita, māmyjita, vavṛtita, śiṣitā* (śri- 'resort'), *śuśucita*.

Pl. I. *vavṛtimahi*.

There also occurs in the middle one precative form: Sing. 2. *śasah-i-ṣ-ṣhās*.

Perfect Imperative.

490. The regular perfect imperative is formed like the present imperative of the reduplicating class, the 3. sing. active being strong. Hardly more

¹ Abnormal form without modal sign or strong radical vowel; cp. HIRT, IF. 12, 220.
² With weak radical syllable.
³ This form occurs only once (III. 33¹⁰) beside the s-aor. *naṃsai*, and may therefore be an irregular redupl. aorist, to which it is doubtfully assigned by WHITNEY 863 a.
⁴ SV. *jijōṣate*.
⁵ This form, however, might be a transfer present optative from śā- (the collateral form of the root śi-) according to the reduplicating class; or a reduplicated aorist injunctive (GRASSMANN and WHITNEY 868 a).
⁶ See note 5 on this form.
⁷ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 66.
⁸ With lengthened radical vowel.
⁹ With interposed -i-.
¹⁰ Cp. HIRT, IF. 12, 220.
¹¹ With change of the final radical vowel ā to ē.

than twenty regular forms occur, nearly all of them being active. There are also some irregular imperatives, being transfer forms which follow the analogy of the *a*- conjugation, made from either the strong or the weak perfect stem.

Active. Sing. 2. *cākaṅdhi*, *cikiddhi* (√*cit*-), *dididdhi*¹ (√*diś*-), *pipr̥thi*, *mumugdhi* (√*muc*-), *śasādhi* (√*śas*- 'order'), *śuśugdhi* (√*śuc*-).

3. *cākantu*, *dideṣtu*², *babhātu*², *mamātu*, *mumoktu*, *rārantu*.

Du. 2. *jajastām*³ (jas- 'be exhausted'), *mumuktam*, *vavyktam*.

Pl. 2. *jujastana*, *didistana* (√*diś*-), *vavytana*⁴.

Middle. Sing. 2. *dadhīṣva*, *mimikṣva*⁵, *vavytṣva*⁶.

Pl. 2. *dadhīdhvam*, *vavyddhvam*⁷ (VIII. 20¹⁸). — **3.** With the unique ending *-rām*: *dadrām* (AV.)⁸ 'let be seen'.

a. The transfer forms are:

Active. Du. 2. *juṣoṣatam*, *mum̐catam*. — **Pl. 2.** *mum̐cata*⁹, *rārāṅdhi*¹⁰ (I. 171¹).

Middle. Sing. 2. *pipr̥dyasva*, *māmahasva*, *vavydhasva*, *vavyṣasva*. —

Pl. 3. *māmahan̐im*.

Perfect Participle.

WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 802—807. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 229. — LINDNER 84 and 216.

491. There is an active and a middle participle, and both occur frequently. Both are formed from the weak stem of the perfect, being accented on the suffix. The strong form is made by adding the suffix *-vāms* to the unstrengthened perfect stem; e. g. *cakr-vāms*, *jaghan-vāms*. If the stem is reduced to a monosyllable, the suffix is nearly always added with the connecting vowel *-i-*¹¹, as *papt-i-vāms* from *pat*- 'fall'. Unreduplicated stems, however, do not take the connecting vowel¹², as *vidvāms*. The weak stem of the active participle is identical in form with the 3. pl. ind. act. if written with *-us* instead of *-ur*; e. g. *cakrus*. The middle participle is formed by adding the suffix *-āni* to the weak perfect stem; thus from *cakr*- is made *cakr-āni*.

Active.

492. *cakrvāms*¹³, *cakhvāms*¹⁴, *cikivāms* (f. *cikit-īst-*), *jaganvāms* (f. *jag-mīst-*), *jagrbhvāms*, *jagmivāms* (TS. IV. 2. 1¹ for RV. X. 1¹ *jaganvāms*), *jaghanvāms* (f. *ḍ-jaghnus-*), *janivāms*¹⁵, *jigvāms* (*ji*- 'conquer'), *jujurvāms*

¹ WHITNEY, Roots 73, doubtfully assigns this and the cognate forms *didevati*, *didīṣa* to the reduplicating present class.

² With *ū* unchanged, as elsewhere in strong forms.

³ Beside ind. *jajāsa* (AV.). WHITNEY, Roots 53, assigns this form to the reduplicated aor. beside 3. sing. *ajjāsata* (SB.).

⁴ Given by AVERY 268 as a reduplicated aorist in the form of *vavytana* (sic).

⁵ For **mimikṣ-va*. WHITNEY, Roots 120, assigns this form to the reduplicating present class.

⁶ WHITNEY, Roots 164, assigns this form to the reduplicating present class.

⁷ Written *vavyddhvam*.

⁸ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XII. 33.

⁹ Perhaps also *śuśuddita* (AV. I. 26⁶) placed by WHITNEY, Roots 138, under the perfect, but, Sanskrit Grammar 871, doubtfully under the reduplicated aorist.

¹⁰ Owing to the strong radical vowel this should perhaps be regarded rather as a 2. pl. subjunctive. (The final vowel is long in the Pada text also.) The accent of these transfer forms was perhaps, except when the radical syllable was strong, normally on the thematic *-a*. Cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 815.

¹¹ Not, however, in *dadvāms*, nor in the problematic form *cakhvāmsam* (II. 14⁴), which seems to be formed from a root *khā*.

¹² Except *vīdivāms* (AV.).

¹³ With the weak stem in the acc. sing. *cakrūsam* (X. 137¹).

¹⁴ Without connecting vowel.

¹⁵ Only the weak stem of this participle occurs in the form *vi-jānūṣ-ah*; cp. above 482 c.

(*jur.* = *jr.* 'waste away'), *jujūsvāms-*, *jījuvāms-*, *tatanvāms-*, *tastabhvāms-*, *tasthi-vāms-* (f. *tasthīst-*), *tītirvāms-*¹, *tūstuvāms-* (√*stu-*), *dadasvāms-* (*dams-* 'bite'), *dadasvāms-*, *dadārvāms-*² (AV.), *dadīhīs-*, *dadivāms-* (AV.), *dadr̥vāms-* (f. *dadr̥st-*³, AV., *dr-* 'pierce'), *dadr̥svāms-* (f. *dadr̥sīst-*), *dadvāms-* (*dr-* 'give'), *daaknāvāms-*, *dadhṛsvāms-*, *dādivāms-*, *pāpivāms-* (*pā-* 'drink'), *pāprvāms-* (f. *pāprhīst-*; *pr-* 'fill'), *pīpivāms-* (f. *pīpyīst-*; *pī-* 'swell'), *pūpūsvāms-*, *bābhūsvāms-* (f. *bābhūhīst-*), *bībhūsvāms-* (f. *bībhūyīst-*), *māmandīst-*, *māmr̥vāms-* (f. *māmr̥hīst-*; *mṛ-* 'die'); *yayī-vāms-* (√*yā-*), *rarī-vāms-* (f. *rārīst-*, AV.), *rīrīkvāms-*⁴ (√*rīc-*), *rīrīkvāms-*, *rurukvāms-*⁵ (√*ruc-*), *vāvanvāms-*, *vāvarjīst-*⁶, *vāvr̥vāms-*⁶ (√*vr-* 'cover'), *vāvrtvāms-*, *vāvrdhvāms-*⁷, *vīvīkvāms-*⁸ (*vīc-* 'sift'), *vīvidvāms-*, *vīvidhvāms-* (√*vyadh-*), *śūśūkvāms-*⁹ (√*suc-*), *śūśrūvāms-*, *śūśuvāms-*, *sasāvāms-*⁸, *sasṛvāms-* (f. *sasṛhīst-*), *sāsahvāms-*, *sūsūpvāms-* (√*svap-*), *sūsūvāms-*, *sadḥ-* (*sad-* 'sit').

a. **With connecting -i-**: *ārivāms-* presupposed by f. *ārīst-* (*r-* 'go'), *īyivāms-* (f. *īyīst-*), *āsivāms-* (*vas-* 'dwell'), *ūṣīst-* (TS. IV. 3. 11²: *vas-* 'shine'), *okivāms-*⁹ (weak stem *uc-*, √*uc-*), *jaksivāms-* (*ghas-* 'eat', VS. AV. TS.), *jajñivāms-*¹⁰ (√*jñā-*), *pāptivāms-*, *vīvīsvāms-* (TS. IV. 7. 15¹). Also the negative compound *d-sāscivāms-* presupposed by the feminine *d-sāscust-*.

b. **Without reduplication**: *dāsvāms-*, *vidvāms-* (f. *vidhīst-*), *sāhvāms-*; perhaps also *khidvāms-* in the voc. *khidvas*. Similarly formed is *mīshvāms-* (f. *mīshīst-*) 'bountiful', though the root is not found in independent use. With irregular connecting -i-: *dīsvāms-* (SV.), *vīsvāms-* (AV.), and the negative compound *d-varjivāms-* presupposed by the f. *d-varjīst-* (AV.).

Middle.

493. *ākṣānd-* (√*ākṣ-*), *ānānā-* (√*āñj-*), *ānāsānā-* (√*am-*, AV.), *āraṇḍ-*, *āpānā-*, *ījānā-* (√*yaj-*), *acānā-* (√*vac-*), *cakamānā-*¹¹ (AV.), *cakānā-* (√*kā-*), *cakramānā-*, *cakrānā-*, *cakṣādānā-*, *cakṣabhānā-* (AV.), *cikitānā-* (√*cit-*), *jaḡrasānā-*, *jaḡmānā-*, *jaññānā-* (√*jan-*), *jāhṛsānā-*, *jīhīṣānā-*, *jujūsvānā-*, *juhūrānā-*¹² (√*hṛ-*), *jūjūsvānā-*, *tatṛdānā-*, *tastabhānā-*, *tasthānā-*, *tātrpānā-*, *tātrāsānā-*, *tītrivānā-*, *tītirānā-* (√*str-*), *tūstuvānā-*, *tātujānā-*¹³, *tepanā-* (√*tap-*), *dudānā-*, *dadr̥sānā-*, *dadr̥ānā-* (*drā-* 'run'), *dādr̥hānā-*, *didyutānā-*, *duduhānā-*, *pāpānā-* (*pā-* 'drink'), *pāprathānā-*, *pāspasānā-*, *pāsprdhānā-*, *pīpīyānā-*, *pīpyānā-*, *bābhṛhānā-*, *bābhṛānā-*, *bubudhānā-*, *bhējānā-*, *māmāhānā-*, *numucānā-* (AV.), *yuyujānā-*, *yemānā-* (√*yam-*), *rārānā-*, *rārakṣānā-*, *rārāhānā-* (*raṇh-* 'hasten'), *rīrīcānā-*, *rurucānā-*, *rebhānā-* (AV.), *lebhānā-* (√*labh-*), 1. *vāvasānā-* (*vas-* 'desire'), 2. *vāvasānā-* (*vās-* 'bellow'), 1. *vāvasānā-* (*vas-* 'wear'), 2. *vāvasānā-* (*vas-* 'dwell'), 3. *vāvasānā-* (*vas-* 'aim'), *vāvrdhānā-*, *vāvr̥svānā-*, *vīryānā-* (√*vyā-*), *śalāmānā-*¹⁴, *śaśayānā-*¹⁴ (*ś-* 'lie'), *śaśānā-* (*śā-* 'sharpen', AV.), *śūśramānā-*,

¹ There also occurs the weak stem *tatarīsv-*, to be read *sasāvāms-* (cp. the f. *sasāvīst-* from *ṣep-*, in B.); see ARNOLD, Vedic metre p. 144².

² With strong stem instead of weak.

³ Given under *drā-* 'run' in the AV. Index Verborum, but translated by WHITNEY, AV. v. 13⁸, as from *dr-* 'pierce'.

⁴ With reversion to the original guttural.

⁵ With strong radical vowel.

⁶ The anomalous gen. sing. with an additional reduplicative syllable, *va-vāvr̥sv-as* appears once (I. 173⁸); cp. ZDMG. 22, 605.

⁷ There occurs once (IV. 217) the anomalous participle with pres. suffix *vāvrdhāntas* *tātujāna-* (GRASSMANN, Aorist).

⁸ From *san-* 'gain'. The metre seems almost invariably to require this participle.

⁹ With strong radical vowel and reversion to the original guttural.

¹⁰ The *i* may here perhaps more correctly be regarded as a reduced form of the basic vowel, as in *dadi-*, *tasthi-* etc.

¹¹ The *a* is not syncopated in *kam-* or *sam-*.

¹² Doubtfully assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the reduplicating class.

¹³ More frequently with the intensive accent *tātujāna-*.

¹⁴ With the double irregularity of strong radical syllable and reduplication with *a*.

*śāsādāna*¹ (*śad*- 'prevail'), *śīśriyānī*- (*śri*- 'resort'), *śūśucānā*-, *śūśujāna*²-, *śūśuvāna*³-, *śasṛjānā*-, *śasṛjānā*⁴-, *śasṛjānā*-, *śasṛjānā*-, *śasṛjānā*⁵-, *śiśmiyānā*-, *śiśvidānā*-, *śuśupānā*- (*√ swap*-), *śuśvānā*- (*su*- 'press'), *śehānī*- (*√ sah*-)⁵.

Pluperfect.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik p. 353. — Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 15, p. 151—154. — DELBRÜCK, Verbum 419. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 253. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 817—820.

494. This tense, which is a pluperfect in form but not in meaning, is an augmented preterite made from the perfect stem. As in the perfect, the strong stem is used in the singular active, the weak elsewhere. The endings are the secondary ones; in the 3. pl. *-ur* always appears in the active and *-iran* in the middle. There is some difficulty in distinguishing this tense from the imperfect of the reduplicating class and from the reduplicating aorist⁶. Though its sense is the same as that of the imperfect, its forms may usually be distinguished (when the reduplication would be identical in both tenses) by the fact that the verb in question is not otherwise conjugated according to the reduplicating present class. On the other hand, the sense helps to distinguish the pluperfect from the aorist, when the reduplication would be identical in both tenses. With the aid of these criteria some sixty forms may be classed as belonging to the pluperfect. The augment is, as in other past tenses, dropped in several instances. The *-s* and *-t* of the 2. 3. sing. are in some forms preserved by an interposed *-r* (as in the aorist). Several transfer forms according to the *a*- conjugation are met with in this tense.

495. Active. Sing. 1. *acacakṣam*, *ajagrabham*, *atustavam*; *āpīprayam* (TS. V. 1. 11³; VS. XXIX. 7); *cakaram*, *cikdam* (*√ cit*-), *jagrabham* (AV.).

2. *ājagan*⁸; *āyey*⁹ (V. 2⁸); *cakān*, *nanimas*. — With *-i*-: *ābubhojī*, *āvivēṣī*, *āvivēṣī*; *jihimsī*¹⁰ (AV.).

3. *ājagan*¹¹, *aciket* (*√ cit*-); *rārān*¹². — With *-i*-: *acucyavit*¹³, *ajagrabhī*, *ariracit*, *āviracit*, *āviracit*¹⁴. — With thematic *-a*-: *acakrat*, *acikitat* and *aciketat* (*√ cit*-), *adadhāvat*¹⁵ 'ran', *asūravat*¹⁶ (MS.), *āsavujat*; *cakradat*, *jagrabhat* (VS. XXXII. 2), *tastāmbhat* (I. 121¹⁷).

Du. 2. *ātataṃsatam*¹⁷, *amumuktam*; *mumuktam*. — 3. *avāvaśītām* (vaś- 'desire').

Pl. 2. *ājaganta*; *ājagantana*, *ajabhartana*¹⁸. — With *-i*-: *acucyavītana*¹⁹.

3. *acucyatur*, *āśīrayur*, *asūrazur*¹⁰, *ābubhayur* (Kh. 1. 7⁵).

Middle. Sing. 1. *āsūtravi*. — 3. *didiṣṭa* (*√ diṣ*-).

Du. 2. *āpaspydhethām*²¹.

¹ With the intensive accent.

² With the intensive accent and regarded by WHITNEY, Roots 174, and by LINDNER, Nominalbildung p. 54, as an intensive.

³ With the intensive accent and assigned by LINDNER, l. c., to the intensive, but by WHITNEY, Roots 175, to the perfect.

⁴ Once also anomalously with *-māna*: *śasymānā*.

⁵ *śāsahānā* once in RV., *śehānā* thrice, from *√ sah*.

⁶ On such doubtful forms see specially DELBRÜCK, Verbum 158 (p. 135 f.).

⁷ WHITNEY 866 also quotes *āpīprayam* from the TS.

⁸ For **ā-jagam-s*.

⁹ BENFEY (p. 152) and DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 123 and 128, regard this form as a plu-

perfect of *i*- 'go' (= *ā-ij-e-s*), WHITNEY, Roots, as pluperfect of *ip*- or *ey*- 'move' (= *ā-ij-e-s*), ROTH and GRAESMANN as aorist of *√ iṣ*.

¹⁰ With irregular accent.

¹¹ For **ā-jagam-t*.

¹² From *ran*- 'rejoice' (I. 122¹²).

¹³ Cp. WHITNEY 868 a.

¹⁴ From *ry*- 'cover'; cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 122¹.

¹⁵ WHITNEY regards this form as an aorist, but the reduplicative vowel is that of the pluperfect, while the sense (IX. 877) does not seem decisive.

¹⁶ WHITNEY 866.

¹⁷ Transfer form.

¹⁸ With strong radical vowel.

¹⁹ These three are, however, classed by WHITNEY 861, and Roots, as aorists.

Pl. 3. *ācākriran, ājāgmiran, āpēciran* (√ *pac*, AV.); *āvayātran; āsasāgram*¹. — Transfer forms according to the *a*- conjugation: *ātitāṣanta, ādadāṣanta, ādadāṣanta* (TS. IV. 6. 2¹), *āvāśanta* (vāś- 'bellow'); *cakṣpānta, dādhyṣanta* (AV.), *vāśanta* (vāś- 'bellow'). — With ending *-ranta*: *āvayātranta*.

Periphrastic Perfect.

496. This formation made with the reduplicated perfect of *ky-* 'make' which governs the acc. of a fem. substantive in *-ā* derived from a secondary (causative) verbal stem, is found only once in the Mantra portion of the Vedas; *gamayām cakāra* (AV. XVIII. 2⁷) 'he caused to go' (lit. 'he made a causing to go') In the Brāhmaṇa portions of the Sāphtitās (TS. MS. K.), such periphrastic forms (made even with an aorist) are occasionally met with.²

III. The Aorist System.

497. The aorist is of frequent occurrence in the Vedas, being made from about 450 roots. An augmented tense taking the secondary endings and forming moods and participles, it is distinguished from the imperfect by lack of a corresponding present³ (e. g. 3. sing. aor. *ākar*, 3. sing. imp. *ākṣṇot*, 3. sing. pres. *kṣṇōti*) and by difference of meaning (*ākar* 'he has done', *ākṣṇot*, 'he did').

There are three distinct types of aorist.

1. The **simple aorist** adds the endings to the root either directly or with the connecting vowel *-a-*. It thus resembles the imperfect of the root-class or of the accented *d*- class. This type of aorist is formed by nearly 170 roots. Some nine or ten roots have, beside the regular forms of the simple aorist, a certain number of other forms which have the appearance of indicatives present. They seem to represent a transition to the formation of a new present stem. The most striking example is the aorist stem *voca-* from which the 3. sing. *vocati* occurs several times.

2. The **reduplicated aorist** resembles the imperfect of the reduplicating present class. It is, however, distinguishable from the latter not only in meaning, but by a certain peculiarity of reduplication and by being nearly always formed with a connecting *-a-*. This type of aorist is taken by about 85 roots.

3. The **sigmatic aorist** inserts *-s-*, with or without an added *-a-*, between the root and the endings. It is taken by rather more than 200 roots.

Thus each of the three types has one form following the analogy of the graded conjugation, and another following that of the *a*- conjugation. The sigmatic aorist has, however, further subdivisions.

Upwards of 50 roots take more than one form of the aorist. One verb, *budh-* 'wake', has even forms from five varieties of the aorist; from two of the first type, e. g. *ābudh-i* and *budhā-nta*; from one of the second, e. g. *ā-būbudh-a-t*; and from two of the third, e. g. *ā-bhūt-s-i* and *būdhri-ṣ-a-t*.

¹ With reversion to the original guttural.

² See WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1073 a, b; JACOBI, KZ. 35, 578—587; BÖHTLINGK, ZDMG. 52, article 11; DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax 426^f.; LUDWIG, Sitzungsber. d. kgl. Böhm. Ges. d. W., phil.-hist. Kl. Nr. XIII.

³ There are, however, sometimes sporadic forms from the same stem as the aorist beside the normal ones; thus the 2. du. pres. *kṣ-ṭhās* occurs besides the numerous regular forms of the *nu-* class.

1. Simple Aorist.

A. Root Aorist.

BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik 840. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 253—256. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar, 299—304; Roots 222 f.; AV. Index Verborum 380.

498. This form of the simple aorist is taken by about 100 roots (and by more than 80 of these in the RV.), the commonest being those with medial *a* (nearly 30 in number). It is inflected in both the active and the middle voice. The root is strong in the indicative active singular, but weak elsewhere. Roots ending in vowels, however, show a tendency to retain the strong vowel throughout the indicative active except the 3. plural.

a. Roots ending in *ā*, of which there are some eight, retain the *ā* throughout the indicative active except the 3. pl., where they drop it before the ending which in these verbs is invariably *-ur*. In the middle indicative, the radical vowel is weakened to *i*¹.

The forms which occur from these roots, if made from *sthā-* 'stand', would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *āsthām*. 2. *āsthās*. 3. *āsthāt*. — Du. 2. *āsthātam*. 3. *āsthātam*. — Pl. 1. *āsthāma*. 2. *āsthata*. 3. *āsthur*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *āsthithās*. 3. *āsthita*. — Pl. 1. *āsthimahi*. 3. *āsthiran*.

b. Roots ending in *r*, of which there are some ten, take Guna throughout the indicative active except the 3. pl. Roots ending in *i* and *ū* (of which, however, few dual and plural forms occur) show the same tendency. The root *bhū-* 'be' retains its *ū* throughout (as in the perfect), interposing *v* between it and a following *a*. The forms met with from *kr-* 'make' are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākaram*. 2. *ākar*. 3. *ākar*. — Du. 2. *kartam* (AV.). 3. *ākartam*. — Pl. 1. *ākarma*. 2. *ākarta*. 3. *ākran*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ākri*. 2. *ākrythās*. 3. *ākryta*. — Pl. 3. *ākryata*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Indicative Active.

499. Sing. 1. *ākaram*, *āgamam*², *agām* (*gā-* 'go'), *āgrabham*, *adhām*, *āpām*³ (*pā-* 'drink'), *abhuvam*⁴, *abhelam*, *arodham* (*rudh-* 'hinder'), *āsravam*, *asthām* (AV.); *karam*, *gamam*, *gām* (AV.), *dām*⁵, *dham* (AV.), *vam*⁶ (*vr-* 'cover').

2. *agās*, *adās*⁷, *āpās*, *āprās*, *ābhās*, *āsres*, *āsthās*; *gās*, *dās*, *dhās*, *bhās*, *sthās*. — With loss of ending: *ākar*, *ākrām* (√*krand-*), *āgan*⁸, *āghas*, *āvar* (*vr-* 'cover'), *āspar*, *ānaf*⁹, *āvar* (*vr-* 'cover'); *kar*, *kran*¹⁰ (√*kram-*), *bhd* (√*bhid-*), *vār*, *vār*¹¹.

3. *āgāt*, *ācet*¹² (*ci-* 'collect'), *ādāt*¹², *ādhat* (*dhā-* 'put'), *ādhit* (*dhā-* 'suck', AV.), *āpāt*, *āprat* (AV.), *ābhūt*, *āsret* (√*śri-*), *āsrot*, *āsthāt*,

¹ As in the perfect before consonant endings and in the past passive participle, e. g. *ta-sthi-je* (AV.), and *sthi-tā-* from *sthā-* 'stand'.

² This might also be the sing. 1. of the thematic aorist *āgamat* etc.

³ No forms of *pā-* 'protect' are made according to this aorist, while *pā-* 'drink' (present stem *piba-*) has no forms from the root in the present system except *pānti* (RV¹;) and *pāthās* (AV²;) but perhaps even these are rather to be taken as meant for aorist forms; cp. p. 369, note ¹ and p. 368, note ¹⁰.

⁴ With the usual absence of Guna in this root; later *abhūvam*.

⁵ There is also the transfer form *ādām*

(1. 126¹), which though not analyzed in the Pāda text, appears to stand for *ādām* as indicated by both sense and accent.

⁶ For *varam* formed by false analogy as a first person to 2. sing. *vuh* (for **var-s*) appearing as if formed with the *-s* of 2. sing.

⁷ There is also the transfer form *ādās* (1. 121²), which though not analyzed in the Pāda text, is shown by both sense and accent to stand for *ādās*.

⁸ For **ā-gam-s*.

⁹ For **ā-naf-s* from *nat-* 'attain', where **ānat* would have been phonetic (34, 6).

¹⁰ For **kram-s*.

¹¹ For **varj-s* from *Varj-*.

¹² There is also the transfer form *ādāt*

*asrat*¹ (VS. VIII. 28); *gāt, dāt, dhāt, bhāt, sthāt*. — With loss of ending: *ākar, ākran*² (√*kram-*), *ākrān* (√*kranit-*), *agan, aghas, ācet* (ci- 'observe'), *atan, adar* (dr- 'pierce'), *abhai, ābhru* (√*bhrāj-*), *amok* (√*muc-*, AV.), *dmyak* (√*myaks-*), *āvart*³, *avṛk*⁴ (AV.), *āstar, ānat, āvar; kar, gan, na* (√*nas-* 'attain', AV.), *bhāt, vāt, vark, skan* (√*skand-*).

Du. 2. *agātam* (AV.), *ābhūtam, amuktam* (Kh. I. 12⁶); *kartam* (AV.), *gātam* (AV.), *dātam, dhātam, spartam*.

3. *ākartām, agātām* (AV.), *ādhitām* (VS. XX. 57), *ānaṣtām* ('reach'), *āpatām* (VS. XXXVIII. 13), *ābhūtām; gātām* (AV.), *dātām*.

Pl. 1. *ākarma, āganma, āgāma, ādarśma* (TS. III. 2. 5⁴), *ādīma*⁵, *āpāma, ābhūma*⁷, *āsthāma* (AV.), *āhema* (√*hi-*); *dhīma, bhīma* (AV.).

2. *ākartā, agāta* (AV.), *ābhūta; ābhūtana, dhātana; kartā* (AV.) and *kṛtā*⁸ (AV.), *gāta* (AV.), *sthāta* (AV.).

3. *ākran* (√*kr-*), *āksan*⁹ (√*ghas-*), *āgman, ābhūvan, avṛjan, avṛtan*¹⁰ (AV.), *āvran, āśriyan* (√*śri-*), *āśriyan* (AV.), *āśritan, āhyan* (√*hi-*), *āsthan*¹¹ (AV.); *kran* (AV.), *kṣan* (√*ghas-*), *gman, vran*. — With ending -ur: *ākrāmur, āgur, ādur, ādhur, āpur* (I. 164⁷), *āyamur, āsthur; gur, dabhūr, dūr, dhur, nṛtur*¹², *mandur, sthur*.

Indicative Middle.

500. Sing. I. *akri, ajani, ayuji, avri* (vr- 'choose'), *akri* (√*hū-*, AV.).

2. *ākṛthās, agathās* (VS. III. 19), *adhithās, āyukthās, āsthithās*.

3. *ākṛta, āgata* (AV.), *ādīṣta, ādhita, āprkta* (√*prś-*), *āmata* (√*man-*), *amṛta* (AV.), *āyukta, āvṛkta* (√*vṛj-*), *āvṛta* ('choose' and 'cover'), *āśṛṣta, āskṛta* (X. 127³), *āsthita, āspaṣta* (√*spas-*), *āśita* (śi- 'sharpen'); *āyukta; āṛta* (r- 'go'), *āṣṭa* (as- 'attain'); *ārta* (r- 'go'), *kṛta, gūrta* (gur- 'greet'), *gḍha*¹³, *mṛta* (AV.).

Du. 1. *gānvahi*. — 3. *ādhitām*¹⁴ (√*dhā-*).

Pl. 1. *āganmahi, ādimahi* (TS. I. 8. 6⁵) and *ādīmahi*¹⁴ (VS. III. 58)¹⁵, *ādīmahi*¹⁴ (√*dhā-*), *āpadmahi* (VS. IV. 29), *āmanmahi, ayujmahi, āhūmahi; dhīmahi*¹⁴ (√*dhā-*).

2. *ācidhvam* (ci- 'note'), *āmugdhvam* (√*muc-*), *ayugdhvam*.

3. *ākrata*¹⁶, *āgmata, ānata; āṛata, āśata* (as- 'attain'); *yujata*. — With the ending -ran: *ākṛpran*¹⁷, *agrḥhran, ajusran, ādṛśran, āpadran, ābudhran, āyujran, āvasran*¹⁸ (vas- 'shine'), *āśīśran, avṛtran, āśṛgrān*¹⁹, *āsthīran, āspṛdhran*. — With ending -ram: *ādṛśram, ābudhram, āśṛgram*¹⁹.

(I. 127⁶, II. 124, v. 32³) which, though not analyzed in the Pada text, appears to stand for *ā-adat*.

¹ For **asras-t*; see Sandhi p. 61³.

² Also the transfer form (√*prā-*) *dhat* (IV. 27³).

³ For **akram-t*.

⁴ For **āvart-t* from *vrt*- 'turn'.

⁵ Seemingly with anomalously weak root for **avṛk-t*. But the form really stands by haplology for the 3. sing. mid. *avṛkta: āpāvṛk-āmāh* (AV. XIII. 29) 'he has wasted away the darkness': see WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 40, 544-547.

⁶ That is, in *ādīma* (v. 30⁵), which though not analyzed in the Pada text, must stand for *ā-adāma*.

⁷ *arudhma* is quoted in WHITNEY's Roots as occurring in the MS. [I. 6⁵: 94, 6].

⁸ Emendation for *kṛtām* (AV. XIX. 44¹).

⁹ For *āghāsan*.

¹⁰ Misprinted as *avṛtan* in the text of AV. III. 31¹; see WHITNEY's note.

¹¹ Transfer form probably for *asthur* from *sthā*- 'stand'; see AJP. 12, 439; IE. 5, 388; KZ. 22, 435; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 847, and his note on AV. XIII. 15.

¹² This form might be regarded as an un-augmented perfect.

¹³ For *gḥ(u)ṣta*, from √*ghas-*; cp. p. 56, 3.

¹⁴ With *ī* for *i*; cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, p. 896; v. NEGELEIN 6¹; OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 297.

¹⁵ From *dā*- 'share'.

¹⁶ There is also the transfer form *krānta* (I. 141³).

¹⁷ Cp. BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University Circular, Dec. 1906, p. 10.

¹⁸ Cp. p. 327, note 7.

¹⁹ With reversion to the original guttural.

Passive Indicative of the Root Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 181⁴. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 275. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 842-845; Roots 240. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 4. — Cp. OSTHOFF, IF. 3, 390; HIRT, IF. 17, 64 f.

501. There is a peculiar middle form, made from about 45 roots in the Samhitās (40 of them occurring in the RV.), which is used with a predominantly passive meaning¹. When it is formed from verbs with a neuter signification, like *gam-* 'go', the sense remains unaltered (as in the past passive participle). It is a 3. sing. indicative, in which the augmented root takes the ending *-i*. This *-i*, otherwise the ending of the 1. sing. middle, appears to be used in the regular 3. sing. perfect middle (e. g. *dadhe*, 1. and 3. sing.), and sometimes in the 3. sing. present middle (e. g. *śīye*, 1. and 3. sing.). The characteristic feature of this passive form is the strengthening of the root as compared with other middle forms, e. g. *ākṛi* beside *akri* (1. sing. mid.)².

a. A prosodically short medial *i*, *u* or *r* takes *Guṇa*, while *a* is normally lengthened; a final *i*, *u* or *r* takes *Vṛddhi*, while final *ā* interposes a *y* before the ending. The accent in unaugmented forms is always on the root. The forms actually occurring are: Sing. 3. *ākṛi*, *agāmi*, *aceti*, *dechedi*, *ijani*³, *ajūyāyi*, *atāpi*, *ādarsi*, *ādhyāyi*, *āpādi* (AV.), *āpāyi* ('drink'), *apṛāyi* (AV. VS.), *ābodhi*, *ābhrāji*, *amāyi* ('measure'), *āmōdi*, *āmyaksi*, *āyāmi*, *āyāvi*⁴ (VS. XXVIII. 15), *āyōji*, *drādhi*, *aroci*, *avahi* (Kh. v. 15⁵), *avāci*, *āvāri* ('cover'), *avedi* ('find'), *āsoci*, *āsṛāyi* (√*śri-*), *āsarji*, *āsādi*, *āsāvi* (√*su-*), *āstāri*, *āstāvi*, *dhāvi*; *cei*, *jūmi*, *jāni*, *tāri*, *darśi*, *dāyi* ('give'), *dāyi* ('bind'), *dhāyi*, *pādi*, *vēdi* ('find'), *sādi*⁶. — Used injunctively: *ghāsi*, *ceti*, *chedi*, *tāri*, *dhāvi*, *bhāri*, *bhedī* (VS. XI. 64), *mōci* (AV.), *yōji*, *reci*, *roci*, *vādi*, *varhi*, *vāci*, *śāpsi*, *śāri*, *śeyi* (√*ś-* 'leave', AV.), *śrīvi*, *sarji*, *sādi*, *hāyi* (√*h-* 'leave', AV.); also the unique form *jārayāyi* 'let him be embraced', from the secondary stem *jāra-ya-* 'play the lover'.

Root Aorist Subjunctive.

502. Active. Sing. 1. *kṛāmi*, *gamāmi*, *gāmi*, *bhuvāmi*. — 2. *kṛasi*; *kṛas*, *gamas*, *gās*⁷, *tārdas*, *dās*, *dhās*, *pārcas*, *pās* (iv. 20⁸ 'drink'), *prās*, *bhūvas*⁹, *yamas*, *vāras* ('choose'), *śāsas*, *sthās*.

3. *karati*, *jīyati*, *darśati* (AV.), *dāti*, *dhāti*, *padāti*¹⁰, *bhūdati*, *rādhati*, *varjati*, *sthāti*; *kṛat*, *gamat*, *garat* (√*gr-* 'swallow', AV.), *gāt*, *jīyat*, *dāt*, *dhāt*, *padāt*¹¹ (AV.), *mūthāt*¹² (AV. VII. 50⁵), *yamat*, *yodhat*, *rādhat*, *vārat* ('choose'), *vārtat*, *śrāvāt*, *sāghat*, *sāt*, *sthāt*, *spārat*. — Without *Guṇa*: *fdhat*, *bhūvat*, *śrīvāt* (RV¹).

Du. 2. *karathas*, *gamathas*, *darśathas*, *pāthās*¹⁰ (AV. VII. 29¹), *bhūthās*¹¹, *śrāvathas*. — 3. *karatas*, *gamatas*, *bhūtas*¹², *śrāvatas*, *sthātas*.

¹ In one or two passages this form seems to have a transitive meaning; cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 845 (end).

² Cp. BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 1054, 3.

³ This augmented form always occurs in the RV. with short radical vowel, beside the unaugmented *jāni* as well as *jāni*.

⁴ From *yu-* 'separate'.

⁵ The form *svāni* (VI. 46¹⁴) may be the 3. sing. passive aorist (BR. and doubtfully WHITNEY, Roots 201), but GRASSMANN, s. v. *svāni*, regards it as a neut. substantive in *-i*. Cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 305 ff.

⁶ The 2. 3. sing. with secondary endings

from roots ending in *ā* cannot be distinguished from injunctives.

⁷ Formed without *Guṇa* as in the ind. aor. and perfect.

⁸ With double modal sign *-ā-*.

⁹ This form has a subjunctive sense ('might shake'); it might otherwise be an injunctive of the *a-* aorist.

¹⁰ Assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the present of the root class.

¹¹ Both *bhūthās* (VI. 67⁵) and *bhūtas* (X. 27¹) seem to be meant for subjunctives formed anomalously without mood sign, instead of **bhūvathas* and **bhūvatas*.

Pl. 1. *kārama*, *gamāma*, *gāma*, *dhāma*, *rādhamā*. — 3. *karanti*, *gāmanti*, *pānti*¹ (ii. 11¹⁴); *kāran*, *gāman*, *garan*, *dārsan*, *bhūvan*, *yaman*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *kārase*, *joṣase* (AV.). — 3. *idhatē*² (RV.), *kārate*, *bhijate*, *yojate*, *vārijate*, *stārate*. — Du. 2. *dhātē*³, *dhaithe*. — Pl. 1. *kāramahe*, *gamāmahe*, *dhāmahe*, *manāmahe* (VS. IV. 11), *stārāmahe*. — 3. *yavanta* (yu- 'separate').

Root Aorist Injunctive.

503. Active. Sing. 1. *karam* (AV.), *gām*, *dhām* (VS. I. 20), *bhuvam*, *bhojam*, *yojam*, *sthām*.

2. *jes*, *bhūs*, *bhēs* (√*bhr-*, VS. I. 23 etc.; TS. IV. 5. 10⁴). — With loss of ending: *kar* (TS. I. 3. 7⁵), *dhak* (√*dagh-* 'reach'), *bhet* (√*bhid-*), *rok* (√*ruj-*, VS.), *var* ('cover'), *vark* (√*vij-*), *star*, *spar*.

3. *bhūt*, *śret*, *ut-thāt* (√*sthā-*, Kh. II. 11¹). — With loss of ending: *gan* (VS. XXVII. 31; TS. V. 6. 1⁴), *dhak* (√*dagh-*), *nak* and *naṭ* (naṣ- 'attain'), *vār*, *vark*, *skān* (√*skand-*), *stan*⁴.

Pl. 1. *gāma*, *chedma*⁵, *daghma*, *bhūma*, *bhema*⁵, *hūma*⁵ (hū- 'call'). — 3. *bhūvan*, *vān*. — With ending -ur: *kramur*, *gur*, *dabhūr*, *dur*, *dhiur*, *sthur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *nāṃsi* (naṃs- = naṣ- 'attain'). — 2. *dhṛthās* (AV.), *nūthās*, *bhitthās* (VS. XI. 68), *mṛthās* (mṛ- 'die'), *mṛṣthās* (√*mṛs-*), *rikthās* (√*ric-*), *vikthās* (√*vij-*, VS. I. 23). — 3. *arṭa* (√*r-*), *aṣṭa* (aṣ- 'attain'), *vukta* (TS. IV. 3. 11⁴), *viktā* (√*vij-*), *vṛta* (vṛ- 'choose'). — Pl. 1. *dhīmahi*⁶ (√*dha-*). — 3. *aṣata* (SA. XII. 19).

Root Aorist Optative.

504. Active. Sing. 1. *aśyām* (aś- 'attain'), *rāhyām* (AV.), *deyām*⁷, *dheyām*⁷, *vṛjyām*, *sākyām*. — 2. *avyās*, *aśyās*, *rāhyās*, *gamyās*, *jñeyās*, *bhūyās*, *mṛdhyās*, *sāhyās*. — 3. *bhūyāt*⁸ (AV.).

Du. 1. *yujyāva*. — 3. *yujyātām*.

Pl. 1. *aśyāma*, *rāhyāma*, *kriyāma*, *bhūyāma*, *vṛjyāma*, *sāhyāma*⁹, *stheyāma*¹. — 3. *aśyur* (aś- 'attain'), *dheyur*, *sāhyur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *aśiya*, *muriya* (mṛ- 'die', AV.). — 3. *arṭa* (√*r-*) *uhīta*¹⁰ (√*vah-*), *vurita* (vṛ- 'choose'). — Du. 2. *rādhathe*.

Pl. 1. *aśīmahi*, *idhīmahi*, *rādhīmahi*, *naśīmahi* ('reach'), *naśīmahi*, *prīmahi*, *mudīmahi*, *yamīmahi*, *śīmahi*¹¹ (śā- 'bind').

a. Precative forms of the root aorist are common in the active, being made from about twenty roots in the Saṃhitās.

Active. Sing. 1. *āpyāsam*¹² (AA. V. 3. 2³) *rāhyāsam* (VS. VIII. 9), *jñeyāsam* (AV. VS.), *priyāsam*¹³ (AV.), *bhūyāsam*, *bhṛjyāsam* (AV.), *bhriyāsam* (VS. II. 8), *rādhīyāsam* (VS. XXXVII. 3), *vadhīyāsam* (VS. AV.), *śrūyāsam* (AV.). — 3. *avyās*, *aśyās* ('reach'), *rāhyās*, *gamyās*, *daghyās*, *peyās* ('drink'), *bhūyās*, *yamyās*, *yūyās*¹⁴ (yu- 'separate'), *vṛjyās*, *śrūyās*, *sāhyās*.

¹ Assigned by WHITNEY, Roots, to the present of the root class.

² With weak and unaccented root.

³ A transfer form for **dhātē*.

⁴ This form may, however, perhaps preferably be classed as an imperfect injunctive along with *śānti* as pres. impv., as in WHITNEY's Roots. These are the only forms of the simple verb beside the aor. *arṭānti* (AV.).

⁵ With strong radical vowel.

⁶ Probably to be explained as the injunctive corresponding to the augmented indicative *adhīmahi* (see 500, note 24); it might, however, be the 1. pl. opt. mid. with loss of *ā* before the modal -*r*.

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⁷ For *dā-iyām*, *dhā-iyām*, *sthā-iyāma*.

⁸ The RV. has no forms of the 3. sing. in -*yāt*, but only the somewhat numerous precatives in -*yās* = **yās-t*.

⁹ With irregular strong radical vowel, Padapaṭha *sāhyāma*; cp. RPr. IX. 30.

¹⁰ Aor. opt. in WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 837 b, but pres. opt. in 'Roots' 157.

¹¹ With loss of *ā* before the modal -*r*.

¹² Accented *āpyāsam* in the ed. (B. I.).

¹³ WHITNEY, in AV. III. 54, would emend this form to *bhriyāsam*: see his note on that passage.

¹⁴ According to AVERY 241, 3. sing. pres. opt.

Du. 2. *bhūyāstam* (VS. II. 7). — **Pl. 1.** *rdhyāsma* (AV.), *kriyāsma*, *bhūyāsma* (AV. VS.), *rādhyāsma* (AV.). — **2.** *bhūyāsta*¹ (TS. III. 2. 5⁶).
Middle. Sing. 3. *padīṣṭā*, *mucīṣṭā*².

Root Aorist Imperative.

505. The active forms of this mood are fairly numerous, occurring in all the 2. and 3. persons; but middle forms occur in the 2. pers. only, ten in the sing. and two in the pl. In the 2. persons active of all numbers, several forms irregularly strengthen the root, which is then nearly always accented.

Active. Sing. 2. *kr̥dhi*, *gadhi*, *badhi*³, *yandhi* (√yam-), *yūdhi*⁴, *randhi* (= *rand-dhi*; √randh-), *viddhi* (√vis-), AV.), *vdhi* 'cover', *śagdhi* (√śak-), *śrudhi*, *śprdhī*. — **With ending -hi:** *gahi*, *pāhi* (AV.), *māhi* 'measure', *sāhi* 'bind'.

3. *gantū*, *dātū*, *dhātū*, *pātū* (AV.), *bhātū*, *śrātū*, *sātū* (su- 'press').

Du. 2. *kartām*⁵ (AV.) and *kr̥tām*, *gatām* and *gantām*⁶, *jītam*, *dītam*, *dhaktam* (√dagh-), *dhātām*, *pātām* (AV.), *bhūtām*, *bhytam* (VS. XI. 30), *yantām*⁷, *riktām* (√ric-), *vartām*⁸ (√vrj-), *vartām*⁹ (vr- 'cover'), *voṣṭām*¹⁰, *śaktām*, *śrutām*, *sitām* (si- 'bind'), *sūtām*, *sthātām*, *śprtam*.

3. *gantām*⁵ (VS. IX. 19), *ghāstām* (VS. XXI. 43), *dātām*, *pātām*, *voṣṭām*¹⁰.

Pl. 2. *kṛtā*⁵ and *kr̥tā*, *gatā* and *gātā*⁶, *gātā*, *dātā*, *dhātā*⁶, *pātā* (AV.), *bhūtā*, *yantā*⁷, *vartā*⁹ (√vrj-), *śastā* (√śaps-), *śrutā* and *śrūtā*¹⁰, *sātā*⁵ (√su-), *sthātā*, *hetā*⁵ (√hi-). — **With ending -tana:** *kārtana*⁵, *gāntana*⁵, *gātana*, *dhātana*, *dhātana*¹¹, *pātana* (AV.), *bhūtana*, *yantana*⁵, *sātana* (√su-).

3. *gāmantu*, *dāntu* (dā- 'cut', AV. XII. 3¹), *dhantu*, *pāntu* (AV.), *śruvantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *kr̥ṣvā*, *dhiṣvā* (√dhā-), *yukṣvā*; accented on the root: *mātsva*, *yāksva*, *rāsva*, *vāṁsva* (van- 'win'), *sāksva*¹² (I. 42¹, √sac-); unaccented *dīsva* (dā- 'give', VS. XXXVIII. 3), *māsva* 'measure'.

Pl. 2. *kr̥dhvam*, *voḍhvam*¹³ (VS.).

Root Aorist Participle.

506. Of the active form of the participle of the root aorist few examples occur. But the middle form is common, nearly forty examples being met with in the RV. The accent here generally rests on the final syllable of the suffix *-āna*, but in several examples it is on the radical syllable.

Active. *rdhānt-*, *krānt-*, *gmānt-*, *citānt-*, *pānt-*, *bhidānt-*, *sthānt-*; also *dyutānt-*¹⁴ as first member of a compound.

Middle. *arāṇā-*, *idhānā-*, *urāṇā-* 'choosing', *ihāna-* (√vah-), *krāṇā-*¹⁵, *citāna-*, *cyāvāna-*, *juṣānā-*, *tr̥ṣāṇā-*, *ārsānā-* and *ārsāna-*, *dyutānā-* and *dyūtāna-*, *dhuvānā-* (TS. IV. 4. 12¹), *nidānā-*, *pīśānā-*, *prcānā-*, *prathānā-*, *budhānā-*, *bhīyānā-*, *manānā-*, *mandānā-*, (ri-) *māna-* (TS. IV. 6. 3¹), *yatānā-* and *yātāna-*, *yujānā-*,

¹ AV. XVIII. 4⁸⁶ has the corrupt reading *bhūyāstha*; see WHITNEY'S note on that passage.

² The form *pradhīṣṭa* is a 2. pl. injv. beside the 1. pl. ind. *agrabhīṣma* according to the *is-* aorist.

³ From both *bhū-* 'be' for **bhū-dhi* and *budh-* 'awake' for **būd-dhi* instead of **bud-dhi*.

⁴ For **yūd-dhi* instead of **yuddhi*.

⁵ With strong root.

⁶ For *vah-tam*, *vah-tām* through **vagh-tam*, **voḥ-tām*.

⁷ Once (VI. 49¹¹) accented *gantā*.

⁸ With the accent of strong forms.

⁹ For *vart-ta* (like *vartī* for *vart-ī*).

¹⁰ Always *śrutā* or *śrūtā*; also *śrūtā* (cp. RPr. VII. 14 f.).

¹¹ With *s* for *ā*.

¹² *sāksva* (III. 37⁷) is from √śak-, being an *s-* aor. form, for **śah-s-sva* beside 1. sing. mid. *osāki* and *sāki*.

¹³ For *vah-dhvam* through **vagh-dhvam*.

¹⁴ In *dyutā-d-yāman-* 'having a shining track'.

¹⁵ Cp. BB. 20, 89.

rucānd-, *rūhāna-*, *vāsana-* 'dwelling', *vipānd-*, *vṛānd-* 'covering', *subhānd-* and *śumbhāna-*, *svitānd-*, *sacānd-*, *surānd-*¹ and *svānd-* (SV.) (*su-* 'press'), *spjānd-*, *spṛdhānd-*, *hiyānd-*². As members of compounds only, *-cetāna-* and *-hrayāna-*³ occur.

B. a- Aorist.

AVERY, Verb-Inflection 256 f. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar p. 305—308; Roots 224; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 32—34.

507. This form of the simple aorist is taken by nearly 60 roots, chiefly by such as contain a medial vowel. In the RV. less than half as many verbs form the a- aorist as form the root-aorist; and it is more frequent in the AV. than in the RV. The root generally appears in the weak form, the stem being made with an added -a, which in unaugmented forms is normally accented. This form of the aorist therefore resembles an imperfect of the *i-* class. Middle forms are of rare occurrence in this aorist.

a. A certain number of irregularities occur in the formation of the stem. 1. The radical vowel of *śā-* 'order' is reduced to *i*¹, e. g. *śpat*² (IV. 2⁷). — 2. Some half dozen roots containing a medial *u* followed by a nasal, drop the nasal; these are *kṛand-* 'cry out', *tans-* 'shake', *dhvams-* 'scatter', *bhram-* 'fall', *randh-* 'make subject', *sram-* 'fall'. — 3. On the other hand *ṣ-* 'go' and *sp-* 'flow' take *Gu*pa and accent the radical syllable, as *śanta* (unaugmented 3. pl.) and *sārat*. — 4. Several roots form transfer stems from the root aorist. Some half dozen do this by reducing a final radical *ā* to *a*. This is regularly the case in *bhya-* 'see', *vya-* 'envelope', *hva-* 'call'; e. g. *ākhyat*, *āvya-*, *ākat*; but from *dā-* 'give', *dhā-* 'put', and *sthā-* 'stand', only occasional transfer forms occur; thus *īdat*; *adhat* (SV.) and *dhat*; *āsthat* (AV.). On the other hand, occasional transfer forms are made from *kr-* 'make', and *gam-* 'go', in which the radical syllable remains strong; e. g. *dkarat* (AV.) and *āgamat*.

Indicative.

508. The forms of the indicative actually occurring, if made from *vid-* 'find', would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *dividam*. 2. *dividas*. 3. *dividat*. — Pl. 1. *dividāma*. 2. *dividata*. 3. *dividan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *divide*. 3. *dividata*. — Pl. 1. *vidāmaḥi*. 3. *dividanta*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākhyam*, *agr̥bham* (Kh. II. 15⁵), *ātpam* (AV. TS.), *atpam* (AV.), *anijam* (AV.), *āmucam* (AV.), *druham* (TS. VS. AV.), *dividam*, *āvṛdham* (Kh. IV. 8⁵), *āsukam* (VS. II. 28), *āsanam*, *āsaram*, *ahyam*⁶ (√ *hi-*, AV.), *āhvam* (AV.); *āpam* (AV.); *aram*, *vidam*.

2. *dkaras* (AV.), *dkṛtas* (*kr̥t-* 'cut'), *ākhyas* (TS. AV.), *druhas*, *dividas*, *asadas* (TS. VS. AV.), *āsaras*; *āpas*; *kāras*, *guhās*, *druhas*, *bhūvas*⁷, *mucās* (AV.), *vidās*.

3. *ākarat*⁸ (AV.), *ākramat* (AV.), *ākhyat*, *āgamat*⁹ (AV.), *āgr̥dhat*, *acchīdat* (AV.), *ātanat*, *ātasat* (VS. AV.), *adr̥pat*¹⁰ (AV.), *adhat*¹⁰ (√ *dhā-*, SV.), *āmucat*,

¹ Always written thus in the RV., but to be pronounced *svānd-*.

² Hardly any of these participles occur in any of the other Samhitās: *rucānd-* (VS. XII. 1), *rūhāna-* (TS. IV. 1. 2⁴), *svānd-* (SV.).

³ In *ā-cetāna-* 'thoughtless', and *ā-hrayāna-* 'bold'.

⁴ As in the weak forms of the present stem.

⁵ At the same time accenting the radical syllable.

⁶ Though the other forms from √ *hi-*

follow the root-aorist (*āhema*, *ahyan*, etc.), this is probably to be regarded as a transfer form, since the regular form according to the root aorist ought to be **āhāyam*.

⁷ A transfer form, *bhūva-s*, following *bhuv-am* as if from a stem *bhūva-*.

⁸ Transfers from the root aorist, following the 1. sing. *dkar-am*, *āgam-am*.

⁹ Emendation in AV. XX. 136⁵.

¹⁰ Transfer from the root aorist for *a-dhāt*.

arudat (AV.), *arudhat*, *aruhat*, *avidat*, *avytat* (AV.), *avydhat*, *avyat*¹ (*√vya-*), *āśakat* (AV.), *āśucāt*, *āśramat* (AV.), *āśadat*, *āśanat*, *āśarat*, *āśicat* (TS. III. 2.84), *āśrpat* (AV.), *āśvat*²; *ādat*³ (*√dā-*), *āpaś*, *arat*, *āsthat*³ (AV.²); *tr̥ṣat* (AV.), *dhat*⁴ (*√dhā-*), *bhūvat*⁵, *vidāt*, *sadat* (AV.), *sānat*, *sārat*.

Pl. 1. *aruhāma* (VS. VIII. 52), *avidāma*, *āsanāma*, *dhvāma*; *vydhāma*⁵ (AV. V. 19). — 2. *avyata*¹; *ārata*.

3. *akhyan*, *akraman* (AV.), *agaman* (AV.), *acchidan* (AV.), *ādṛśan* (TS. IV. 5. 13), *arudhan* (AV.), *aruhan*, *avidan*, *avyjan*, *avydhan* (VS. XXXIII. 60), *āsakan* (AV.), *āsadan*, *asanan*, *asaran*, *asican*; *āpan*, *aran*, *āsthan*⁶ (AV. XIII. 13); *khyān*, *dhvasān*⁷, *vidān*, *sadan*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *dhve*; *hve* (AV.). — 3. *akhyata*, *avyata*¹; *ārata*; *vyata*¹. — Pl. 1. *śiṣāmahi* (*√śās-*). — 3. *avidanta* (AV.), *ahvanta*; *āranta*, *kr̥dnta*¹.

a- Aorist Subjunctive.

509. The forms of this mood are rare and almost restricted to the active.

Active. Sing. 2. *vidāsi*; *vidās*. — 3. *mucāti*; *vidt*.

Du. 1. *ruhāva*. — 2. *vidāthas*. — 3. *gamātas* (AV. X. 712).

Pl. 1. *arāma*; *radhāma*, *riṣāma*, *sadāma*. — 2. *gamātha* (AV.), *riṣātha*, *vidātha*; *riṣāthana*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *mucāte*, *śiṣatai*⁸ (*śiṣ-* 'leave', AV. II. 313).

Pl. 1. *śiṣāmahe*⁹ (AV. SV.).

a- Aorist Injunctive.

510. Active. Sing. 1. *aram*, *khyam*, *dāśam*, *radham*, *riṣam*, *ruhām*, *vidam*, *sanam*.

2. *kradas*, *krudhas* (AV.), *khyāis*, *guhās*, *gr̥dhas* (AV. VS.), *druhas* (AV.), *mucās*, *vidas*, *riṣas* (VS. XI. 68; TS. IV. 1.9¹), *śiṣas* ('leave'), *sadas*, *sṛpas* (AV.).

3. *ksudhat* (AV.), *khyat*, *gr̥dhat* (AV.), *tanat*, *tamat*, *tr̥ṣat* (AV.), *dasat*, *dhṛṣāt* (Kh. IV. 1), *bhraśat*, *mucāt*, *riśat*, *rudhat*, *rihāt*¹⁰, *vidt*, *śiṣat*¹¹, *śramat*, *śriṣat*, *śriśvat*¹², *sadat*, *sānat*¹⁰, *sṛpat* (AV.), *sridhat*.

Pl. 3. *aran*, *khyan*, *gāman* (VS. XVII. 78), *tr̥pān*, *tr̥ṣan* (VS. VI. 31), *dr̥śan*, *druhan*, *riṣan*, *vidan*, *sakan* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 3. *vidatu* (AV. XIII. 231).

Pl. 1. *arāmahi* (AV.); *gr̥hāmahi*. — 3. *aranta*, *budhānta*, *mṛṣanta*, *vidānta*.

a- Aorist Optative.

511. This mood is rare and confined to the active in the RV., though three or four middle forms occur in the later Saṃhitās.

Active. Sing. 1. *āpeyam*¹³ (AV.), *gameyam*, *dr̥ṣeyam*, *bhīdeyam* (AV.),

¹ Transfer form.

² A transfer form; see p. 366, note 12.

³ See p. 327, note 3.

⁴ *pr̥dāt dhat* (IV. 27⁵).

⁵ WHITNEY, note on AV. V. 1⁹, would instead of *āvin* *vydhāma* read (with Paipp.) *āvin* *vydhāma*.

⁶ A transfer form from *√sthā-*; cp. WHITNEY'S note on AV. XIII. 1⁵.

⁷ With loss of medial nasal, from *√dhvas-*.

⁸ This form is probably a corrupt reading for the passive *śiṣyātai*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. II. 31³.

⁹ For *śiṣāmahi* of RV. VIII. 24¹.

¹⁰ With accent on the radical syllable.

¹¹ From *śās-* 'order', with accent on the root.

¹² It is hard to decide whether this form, which occurs only once (I. 127³) beside the regular *śriśvat*, should be classed here as an injunctive of the a- aorist, or as an irregular subjunctive of the root-class following the analogy of *bhūvat* (cp. 502).

¹³ In *pr̥āpeyam* (AV. III. 20⁹), analyzed in the Pada text as *pr̥ā* *āpeyam*; cp. WHITNEY'S note on the passage.

*vidyam*¹ (AV.), *sākeyam* (Kh. IV. 8⁴), *sanlyam*. — 2. *games* (VS.). — 3. *rdhet* (AV.), *gamēt*, *yamet*² (AV.), *videt*, *sanet*, *set*³ (VS. IX. 5, 6).

Pl. 1. *aśema* ('attain'), *rdhema* (AV.), *gamēma*, *dr̥sema* (AV.), *puṣema*, *bhujema*, *ruhema*, *videma* (AV.), *śakema*, *sadema*, *sanēma* and *sānema*, *srasema*⁴.

Middle. Sing. 1. *videya* (VS. IV. 23). — Pl. 1. *gamemahi*. There is also one precativ form: 3. sing. *videṣṭa* (AV.) 'may she find'.

a- Aorist Imperative.

512. This mood is also of rare occurrence and is restricted to the active, excepting two middle plural forms.

Active. Sing. 2. *kara*⁵ (RV¹), *bhujā* (TS. IV. 5. 1⁴), *muca*, *ruha* (AV.), *sada*, *sina*⁶, *sāra*. — 3. *sudatu*.

Du. 2. *aratam*, *karatam*⁷ (RV¹), *khyatam*, *ruhātam*, *vidatam*, *sādatam*.
3. *aratām*, *karatām*⁸, *sadatām*.

Pl. 2. *khyāta*, *sadata*; *sadatana*. — 3. *sadantu*.

Middle. Pl. 2. *mucadhvam*. — 3. *sadantām* (AV.).

a- Aorist Participle.

a. There are hardly more than a dozen certain examples of the participle of this aorist.

Active. *trpānt-*, *dhṛśānt-*, *rīśant-* or *rīśant-⁹*, *vr̥dhānt-*, *śīśānt-* (*śās-* 'order'), *śucānt-*, *sādant-¹⁰*, *śinānt-¹⁰*; and as first member of compounds: *kṛtānt-*, *guhānt-*, *vidānt-¹¹*.

Middle. *guhāmāna-*, *dhṛśāmāna-*, *nṛtāmāna-*, *śucāmāna-*; possibly also *dāsāmāna-¹²*. Probably three participles in *-āna* are to be regarded as belonging to this aorist: *dhṛśānū-* (AV.), *vr̥dhānū-*, *sridhānū-*.

a. Reduplicated Aorist.

DELRÜCK, Verbum 143 f. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 266—268. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 856—873; Roots 224; Atharvaveda, Index Verborum 380. — V. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 68 f.

513. This type of aorist is formed from nearly 90 verbs in the Samhitās. Though it has come to be associated with the secondary conjugation in *-āya* (causative), it is not in form (with a few slight exceptions) connected with that stem, being made directly from the root. It is, however, in sense connected with the causative, inasmuch as it has a causative meaning when the corresponding verb in *-āya* has that meaning. As an augmented reduplicated form, it has affinities with the imperfect of the reduplicating present class and with the pluperfect. It may, however, be distinguished from the imperfect by the long reduplicative vowel, by the thematic *-a-* which nearly always appears in the stem, and often by the meaning; and from the

¹ Emendation in AV. XIX. 4² for *vide yām*; see WHITNEY'S note.

² A probable conjecture for *yame* in AV. XVIII. 2³.

³ From *śā-* 'gain', as if *śā-* (*śā-ñ*). Cp. V. NEGELEIN 36.

⁴ With loss of the radical nasal, from *śvams-*.

⁵ A transfer from the root aorist (otherwise *kṛdhi*). AVERY 243 adds *gama*(?).

⁶ With accent on the root instead of the second syllable; always *sīnū*; cp. RPr. VII. 14, 19, 33.

⁷ A transfer form from the root aorist (otherwise *kṛtām*).

⁸ A transfer form from the root aorist.

⁹ Once with the short, six times with the long vowel in the Samhitā text (Pp. always 1); see APr. 583, 584, 588.

¹⁰ With accent on the root as also *rīśant-* and *rīśant-*.

¹¹ In *kṛtū-vasu-* 'disclosing wealth', *guhād-avāya-* 'concealing faults', *vidū-vasu-* 'winning wealth'.

¹² As occurring beside the a- aorist in-junctive form *dasat* (510).

pluperfect by difference of reduplication when the root contains *a* or *r*, and often by meaning.

a. The characteristic feature of this aorist is the almost invariable quantitative sequence of a long reduplicative and a short radical vowel (—). The vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ī*, as well as *ī*, are reduplicated with *i*², which (unless it becomes long by position) is lengthened if the radical vowel is (or is made) prosodically short; e. g. *ā-jjan-a-t* from *jan-* 'beget'; *d-vivrdh-a-t* from *vydh-* 'grow', but *cikṣip-a-s* from *ṣip-* 'throw'.

In order to bring about this trochaic rhythm, the radical vowel has to be shortened or the nasal dropped in the roots *vās-* 'bellow', *sādḥ-* 'succeed', *hīd-* 'be hostile', *kraud-* 'cry out', *jambh-* 'crush', *randh-* 'subject', *syund-* 'flow', *sraṃs-* 'fall'; e. g. *anvāsat*, *acikradat*. In *jihvaratam* (TS.) the reduplicative vowel, being already long by position, is unnecessarily lengthened.

1. In a few forms the reduplicative vowel is, contrary to the prevailing rhythmic rule, left short: *jigṛtām* and *jigṛtā* (beside *ājṛgar*); *didṛtam* and *dirīpas* (beside *vīriṣas*). On the other hand, in the isolated injunctive form *didṛpas*³, the radical vowel remains long, and in *ānimet* both the reduplicative and the radical syllable are long (beside *mimayat* with the regular rhythm).

2. The *p* of the causative stems *jāpaya-*, *sthāpaya-*, *hāpaya-*, *ar-paya-* (*r-* 'go'), is retained in the aorist, the radical vowel being at the same time reduced to *i* in the first three: *ajīhīpat* (TS.), *āhīpat*, *jīhīpas*; the *s* of the causative stem *bhīpaya-* is also retained: *bīhīpas* (TS.).

3. The root *dyut-* 'shine', reduplicates with *i*: *adīdyutat*⁴. In the aorist formed from the causative stem *arpaya-*, the reduplicative *i* appears after, instead of before, the radical vowel, doubtless owing to the difficulty caused by the initial *a* and the augment: *arp-i-p-am* (AV.). The initial *a* also led to the anomaly of reduplicating the whole of the root *am* 'injure', and then prefixing the augment: *ām-am-at*.

4. There are three anomalous aorists formed from *nas-* 'be lost', *pat-* 'fall', and *vac-* 'speak', in which besides an irregular reduplicative vowel, the radical *a* is syncopated (*a-pat-t-at*, *ā-ne-t-an*) or contracted (*ā-vo-at*). As beside the former two the regular reduplicated aorists *apīpat* and *anīpat* occur, and as all three have the regular reduplicative vowel *a* of the perfect⁵, they appear to have been originally pluperfects which before being shortened had the form of **ā-papat-at*⁶, **ā-nanai-at*, **ā-va-va-at*⁷. But they all came to be regarded as aorists. This is undoubted in the case of *āvo-at* owing to its numerous mood forms; *āpaptu*, moreover, has an imperative form beside it; and *ānejan* (TS VS.) has a distinctly aoristic meaning.

b. The reduplicated aorist in the great majority of forms makes its stems with a thematic *-a-*. Before this, a final *r* regularly, and *r* and *u* in two or three forms, take Guṇa; e. g. *adīdhar-a-t* (√*dhr-*), *bīdhay-a-t* (√*bhī-*), *cucyav-a-t* (√*cyu-*), *dudrāv-a-t* (√*dru-*). The inflexion of this aorist stem is like that of an imperfect of the *a-* conjugation.

c. About a dozen roots, however, have occasional forms from stems made without thematic *-a-*, the inflexion then being like that of an imperfect of the reduplicating class. These roots are *mā-* 'bellow'; *śri-* 'resort'; *tu-* 'be strong', *dru-* 'run', *dhū-* 'shake', *nu-* 'praise', *pū-* 'cleanse', *yu-* 'separate'.

¹ In *ṣip-*, the only root in which it occurs.

² In the reduplicating present class *ī* is almost invariably, and *ā* predominantly, reduplicated with *i* (457).

³ In form this might be a pluperfect. A similar reversal of the ordinary rhythm appears in the three forms *ātalamśatam* (I, 120⁷), *adadhāvat* (IX, 877), *vaśāṣat* (SV, I, 1, 2, 2, 3 var. lect. for *vaśāṣa* of RV, X, 115¹) each occurring once, but owing to the reduplicative vowel they should rather be accounted pluperfects. Cp. p. 364, note 15.

⁴ See 514, note 1.

⁵ That is, *nes-* for *nanai-*, on the analogy of *sed-* for **sard-* in the perfect: this form of contraction would be unique in an original aorist.

⁶ Like *a-sarvaj-at*; becoming *a-papt-at* like *a-cakr-at* beside *cakar-am*.

⁷ The cause of the anomalous contraction may be due to the awkwardness of combining the augment with the reduced reduplicative syllable *u-* of the perfect (**a-uvac-at*). The accentuation of the augment would also favour the second syllable taking Samprasāraṇa: *ā-va-uc-at*.

śū 'generate', *sru* 'flow'; *gr* 'waken', *dhṛ* 'hold'; *svap* 'sleep'; e. g. *asiśre-t* (TS.), *diduro-t*, *đjigar*, *siśvap*. Beside forms made thus, occur others made from several of these roots with the thematic *-a-*; and those made from the roots ending in *ḥ* (the majority), cannot be distinguished in form from pluperfects. The number of forms of this type which can with certainty be classed as aorists is therefore very small.

d. Besides the indicative all the moods are represented in this aorist, but no participial form has been found.

Reduplicated Aorist Indicative.

514. The forms actually occurring would, if made from *jan* 'beget' with thematic *-a-*, be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *đjījanam*. 2. *đjījanas*. 3. *đjījanat*. — Du. 2. *ajījanatam*. — Pl. 1. *ajījanāma*. 2. *ajījanata*. 3. *ajījanan*.

Middle. Sing. 3. *ajījanata*. — Pl. 2. *ajījanadhvam*. 3. *ajījananta*.

The forms actually occurring (including those made without thematic *-a-*) are:

Active. Sing. 1. *acikṛsam*, *ajīgamam* (TS. VS. AV.), *ajījabham* (AV.), *atiśhipam* (AV.), *adūduṣam* (AV.), *anīnaśam*, *apīparam* (*pr* 'pass', AV.), *amimadam* (AV.), *avocam*, *diśsamam* (*śam* 'be quiet', AV.); *arpiṣam* (AV.),

2. *acikradas*, *đjījanas*, *atiśhipas*, *atītaras* (AV.), *atītrpas* (AV.), *anīnaśas* ('be lost', AV.), *apīparas* (AV.), *abūbhūvas* (AV.), *amīmadas* (AV.), *arūrupas* (AV.), *avīrydhas* (AV.), *diśsamas* (AV.); *jihvaras* (AV.), *didyutas*¹, *rūrupas* (AV.), *sūśucas* (TS. IV. 1. 4³), *siśvapas*. — Without thematic *-a-*: *tūtos*², *susros*; *ajigar*³ (*gr* 'swallow'), *đjigar* (*gr* 'waken'); *didhar*, *siśvap*.

3. *acikradat*, *acikṛpat* (AV.), *acīcarat* (AV.), *acukrudhat*, *ucucyavat*⁴ (K.), *ajījīpat* (TS. II. 1. 11⁵), *đjījanat*, *đjīhidat* (AV.), *atiśhipat*, *adīdyutat*⁶, *adīdharat*, *adūduṣat*, *anīnaśat*, *apaptat* and *apīpatat*, *abūbudhat*, *amūmuhat* (AV.), *arīramat*, *arūrucat*, *avīvaśat* ('has bellowed', √ *vāś*), *avīvipat*, *avīrytat*, *avīrydhat*, *avocat*, *asīriyat*⁷ (AV.), *diśīvitat*, *diśīśamat* (AV.), *asiśyadat* (√ *śyand*); *amamat* (√ *um*); *jījanat*, *diśyutat* (VS. XXXVIII. 22), *diśdharat*, *dudrīvat*, *uśāt*⁸, *bībhayāt*, *vavīyat*, *vīvat*, *śiśnāthāt*. — Without thematic *-a-*: *ādudrot*, *amūnot*, *apupot*, *amimē*⁹ (*mā* 'bellow'), *diśīret*⁸, *asusot* (√ *sū*, MS.), *asusrot* (VS. XVIII. 58; TS. V. 7. 7¹); *tūtot*, *dūdhot* (*dhū* 'shake'); *đjigar* (*gr* 'waken'), *asiśnat* (√ *śnath*); *didhar*. — Du. 2. *arūrucatam* (Kh. I. 5¹⁰).

Pl. 1. *atītrpāma* (VS. VII. 29), *atītrśāma*, *apaptāma* (Kh. III. 19), *apīpadāma* (AV.), *avīrytāma* (AV.), *avocāma*.

2. *ajījapata*⁹ (VS. IX. 12), *arūrucata* (VS. XXXVII. 15).

3. *acikradan*, *đjījanan*, *atītrasan* (AV.), *adīdharan* (AV.), *anīnaśan* (AV.), *amē'an* (VS. XVI. 10; TS. IV. 5. 1⁴), *apaptan*, *apīparan* (*pr* 'cross'), *amīmīnan* (AV.), *avīvatan*, *avīvaran* (AV.), *avīvaśan* (*vāś* 'bellow'), *avīvipān*, *avīrydhan*, *avocan*, *diśīśaman* (AV.), *asīśubhan*, *asiśrasan* (√ *sras*, AV.), *asiśadan* (√ *sad*, VS. XII. 54; TS. IV. 2. 4⁴); *jījanan*, *paptan*.

¹ Reduplicated with *i* owing to the vocalic pronunciation of the *y* (*dyut*) as in the perfect; see 482 a 1. (= SV.) and for *hīriye* in TS. I. 5. 3¹. See WHITNEY'S note on AV. VI. 31³.

² Classed by WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 868 a, as an aorist, but Roots 63, as pluperfect; similarly *tūtot* below. ⁶ This form occurs once in the RV. (VI. 11⁷) as a past tense (along with three other un-augmented forms: *vāta*, *urta*, *tīkhat*) and twice as an injunctive. BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 27. 360, note 1, regards it as a pluperfect.

³ Occurring only in RV. I. 163⁷ = VS. XXIX. 18 = TS. IV. 6. 7³. ⁷ WHITNEY 868 a; v. NEGELEIN 69¹.

⁴ WHITNEY 866 (Mantra?). ⁸ Occurs TS. I. 8. 10² with other aorists. ⁹ From the causative stem *jāpaya-* of *jī* 'conquer'.

Middle. Sing. 3. *dvīvarata* (2^r 'cover', AV.; TS. v. 6. 13). — With ending *-i* for *-ta*: *attīape*.

Pl. 2. *dvīvadhāvam*. — **3.** *ātīrpanta* (VS. XIX. 36), *ābībhayanta*, *āmīmadanta*, *dvīvasanta* (√*vāś-*), *dvīvadhanta*, *āvocanta*, *asīgyadanta* (√*syand-*), *āsīśudanta* (TS. I. 8. 10²); *jījananta*.

Reduplicated Aorist Subjunctive.

515. This mood is of rare occurrence, only about a dozen forms having been noted. The active is represented in all the persons of the sing. and the 1. pl. only; the middle by a single dual form.

Active. Sing. 1. *rīradhā*, *vocā*. — **2.** *titāpāsi* (AV.), *vocāsi* (VS. XXIII. 51). — **3.** *cikpāti*, *piśpṛsati*¹, *vocāti*², *vocāti*, *siśadhāti*³ (√*sādh-*).

Pl. 1. *cukrudhāma*, *rīramāma*, *vocāma*, *siśadhāma* (√*sādh-*).

Middle. Du. 1. *vocāvahai*.

Reduplicated Aorist Injunctive.

516. Forms of this mood are of common occurrence in the active, in which voice more than fifty have been found; but in the middle only five have been noted.

Active. Sing. 1. *cukrudham*, *jījanam*, *dīdharam*, *vocam*.

2. *cikradas*, *cikṣīpas*, *jīhvaras*, *jīhīpas* (caus. *hā-paya-*), *titīṣas* (TS. III. 2. 5¹), *dīdīpas*, *dīdyutas*, *dīdharas*, *nīnamas*, *nīnasas*, *paptas*, *piśpṛsas*, *pīpāras* (pr- 'cross'), *bībhīsas* (TS. III. 2. 5²), *mīmīsas*, *rīradhas*, *rīrīsas*, *vīrījas*, *vocas*, *śīśnathas*, *śīśrāthas*, *sāśucas* (AV.), *siśadhas* (√*sādh-*).

3. *cucyavat*, *tiśhīpat*, *dīdharat*, *dudravat*, *dīduṣat*, *neśat*, *paptat* (AV.), *pīparat* (pr- 'cross', RV¹) and *pīpārat* (pr- 'cross', RV¹) = TS. I. 6. 12³), *pīparat* (pr- 'fill'), *mīmāyat*⁴, *rīradhat* (√*randh-*), *rīrīṣat*, *vocat*, *śīśrathat*, *siśvadat* (√*svād-*). — Without thematic *-a-*: *nūnot* (nu- 'praise'), *yūyot* (yu- 'separate'), *susrot*.

Du. 2. *jīhvaratam*⁵ (VS. v. 17) and *jīhvaratam*⁵ (TS. I. 2. 13²), *rīradhatam*⁵.

Pl. 2. *rīradhata*⁵, *rīrīṣata*⁵ (I. 89² = VS. XXV. 22).

3. *cikṣīpan* (AV.), *paptan*, *rīraman*, *vocan*, *sāśucan* (VS. XXXV. 8).

Middle. Sing. 1. *vōce*. — **2.** *bībhīśathā*⁶.

Pl. 3. *jījananta*, *vōcanta*, *siśāpanta* (sap- 'serve').

Reduplicated Aorist Optative.

517. The forms of this mood are rare, numbering altogether (including a precativē) not more than a dozen. The majority of these come from *vac-* 'speak', and the rest from two other roots, *cyu-* 'stir' and *rī-* 'hurt'.

Active. Sing. 1. *vocyam*. — **2.** *rīrīṣes*, *vocēs*. — **3.** *vocet* (AV.).

Du. 2. *vocetam*. — **Pl. 1.** *vocēma*⁷. — **3.** *vocyur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vocēya*. — **Pl. 1.** *cucyurimāhi*⁸, *vocemahi*. — **3.** *cucyavīrata*⁹. There is also the precativē sing. 3. *rīrīṣ-ī-ṣ-ṣa*⁹ (VI. 51⁷) or *rīrīṣ-ī-ṣ-ṣa* (VIII. 18¹³).

¹ As if from an indicative 3. sing. **afīspṛk-*.

² Like an indicative present in form.

³ These forms refute the statement of HIRT, IF. 12, 214 f., that the reduplicated, as well as the root and *a-* aorist, has no subjunctive, but only injunctive forms. Cp. 502, 509.

⁴ This form seems to have an injunctive sense in RV. x. 27², its only occurrence.

⁵ Reckoned here an injunctive form (not imperative) because accompanied by *mā*: cp. DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 361¹.

⁶ Formed from the causative stem *bhīśya-* of *bhī-* 'fear'.

⁷ This form occurs six times in the RV., three times unaccented and three times accented *vocēma*. AVERTY 268 wrongly states *vocēma* to occur five times and *vōcema* (sic) once.

⁸ Without thematic *-a-*.

⁹ In the Pada text *rīrīṣīṣa*.

Reduplicated Aorist Imperative.

518. Forms of this mood are rare, numbering hardly more than a dozen. They occur in the active only.

Active. Sing. 2. vocatāt. — 3. *vocatu.* — **Du. 2. jigṛtām** (*gr-* 'waken'), *ādhytam, vocatam.* — **Pl. 2. jigṛtā, didhytā, paptata** (1. 88¹), *vocata, susūddita* (AV. 1. 26²). — 3. *pāpurantu* (*pr-* 'fill'), *śīsrathantu.*

3. Sigmatic Aorist.

519. The general tense sign of this aorist is an *s* added to the root. This *s* in the vast majority of verbs (more than 200) comes immediately before the endings. When such is the case, the stem may be formed in three different ways: the *s* being added 1. direct to the root, e. g. *a-jai-ṣam* (*ji-* 'conquer'); 2. with a connecting *-i-*, e. g. *a-kram-i-ṣam* (*kram-* 'stride'); 3. with an additional *s-* prefixed to the connecting *-i-*, e. g. *a-yā-s-i-ṣam* (*yā-* 'go'). The inflexion of these three varieties (A) follows that of the graded conjugation. In a small number of verbs the stem is formed by adding *-s* extended with a thematic *a*; e. g. *d-ruk-sa-t* (*ruh-* 'mount'). The inflexion of this fourth form (B) of the sigmatic aorist is like that of an imperfect of the *a-* conjugation.

Of the four varieties of the sigmatic aorist, the first two, the *s-* aorist and the *iṣ-* aorist, are very common, each being formed by nearly 100 roots. The other two are rare, the *śiṣ-* aorist being made from only six, and the *sa-* aorist from only nine roots.

A. 1. The *s-* aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum 177-179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 257-259. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 878-897; Roots 225-226; Atharvaveda, Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 83-84.

520. In this form of the sigmatic aorist, the radical vowel as a rule takes Vṛddhi (*a* being lengthened) in the active. In the middle, on the other hand, excepting final *ī* and *u* (which take Guṇa), the radical vowel remains unchanged. Thus in the active there occur the forms 1. sing. *a-jai-ṣam* (√*ji-*), *a-bhūr-ṣam* (√*bhū-*), 3. sing. *ā-raik* (√*ric-*), 3. pl. *ā-cchānt-sur* (√*chand-*); while in the middle we find 1. sing. *a-vit-si* (√*vid-*), *ā-bhut-si* (√*budh-*), *a-ṣṭk-si* (√*ṣṭj-*), *a-nū-si* (*nū-* 'praise'), beside forms with Guṇa from roots ending in *ī* or *u* such as 3. pl. *a-he-ṣata* (√*hi-*), *a-ne-ṣata* (√*nt-*), 1. sing. *a-sto-ṣi* (√*stu-*).

a. There are, however, some irregularities. 1. In a few active injunctive forms Guṇa appears instead of Vṛddhi, e. g. sing. 2. *je-s* (√*ji-*), pl. 1. *je-sma*. — 2. In two or three middle forms of *sak-* 'overcome', the *a* is lengthened, e. g. sing. 1. *sāk-si*³. — 3. The root is shortened in a few middle forms; thus the *ā* of *dā-* 'cut', is reduced to *i* in sing. 1. opt. *dī-ṣi-ya*, and the nasal of *gam-* 'go' and *man-* 'think' is dropped in the forms *a-ya-smahi* and *ma-si-ya*. — 4. After a consonant other than *n m r*, the tense sign *s* is dropped before *t*, *th*, and *dh*; thus *d-bhak-ta* beside *d-bhak-si* (√*bhaja-*); *pat-thās* (AV.) beside *pat-si* (√*pad-*, AV.); *ā-sto-dhvam*⁴ (√*stu-*), where the *s* on becoming *ṣ* cerebralized the following dental before disappearing (**d-sto-ṣ-dhvam*).

In addition to the indicative, all the moods of this form of the aorist occur. There is also a participle, but it is rare.

¹ An imperative form like this justifies 188), though the reduplicative vowel is the classification of *āpaptat* etc. as an actual short. Cp. p. 362, note 9.

² Also in the active subjunctive form *śakṣāma*, where the *a* would normally remain

³ Pada text *susūddita*. It is perhaps better short, as the radical vowel in this mood to class this form here (cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 871) than as a transfer form of takes Guṇa only.

⁴ The only example in this aorist of the perfect imperative from √*sū-* (Roots ending *-dhvam*).

Indicative.

52x. The only point in which the inflexion differs from that of the imperfect of the graded conjugation is that the 3. pl. active invariably ends in *-ur*.

a. The following peculiarities and irregularities are moreover to be noted. 1. In the active: in the RV.¹ the endings *-s* and *-t* of the 2. 3. sing. disappear, and the tense sign also, unless the root ends in a vowel; e. g. *a-hār* (AV.), 3. sing. from *√hr-*, = **a-hār-s-t*, but *a-hā-s*, 3. sing. from *hā* 'leave' = **a-hā-s-t*. The AV. and TS., however, less often than not, insert a connecting *-i-* before these endings, thus preserving both the latter and the *s* of the tense stem; e. g. *a-naik-s-i-* (*√ni-*, AV.), *a-tām-s-i-* (*√tan-*, TS.). In four forms in which the *-i-* is not inserted, the *-s* and *-t*, as distinctive of the 2. and 3. persons, abnormally take the place of the *-s* of the stem or the final consonant of the root: *a-śra-i-* (AV.) for **a-śra-i-s-t* (*√śri-*); *ā-hai-t* (AV.) for **ā-hai-s-t* (*√hā-*); *a-vā-t* (AV. VIII. 121) for **a-vā-s-t* (*vas* 'shine'); 2. sing. *srā-s* (AV.) for **srā-i-s-s*³ (*√srj-*). The RV. also has *a-yā-s* for **a-yā-i-s-t* (*yaj-* 'sacrifice') beside the phonetically regular form in the 3. sing. *a-yā-i-* for **a-yā-i-s-t*. — 2. In the middle nine first and one or two third persons singular appear in which the stem is made with the addition of *-s*, but which have both the ending and the meaning of the present; and the *-s* is added to a present stem and not to the aorist form of the root. Thus formed are from a present stem of 1. the *a-* class: *arca-se* 'I praise', *yaja-se* 'I worship' (VIII. 25⁴); 2. the *ā-* class, nasalized: *yāja-se*⁵ 'I strive after'; 3. the *ya-* class: *gāyā-se*⁶ 'I sing'; 4. the *nā-* class: *gṛhī-ya-t*⁶ 'I praise'; *janī-ya-t* 'I purify'; 5. the root class: *kr-ya-se* 'I make', *hi-ya-se* 'I impel', *stū-ya-t*⁷ 'I praise'; 6. the intensive: *cākr-ya-se* which (like *stū-*⁹ in I. 122⁷) is a 3. sing. with a passive sense: 'is praised'.

522. The forms of the indicative actually occurring would, if made from *bhr-* 'bear' in the active and *stu-* 'praise' in the middle, be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ābhārsam*. 2. *ābhār*, *abhārsis* (AV.). 3. *ābhār*; *abhārsit* (AV. TS.). — Du. 2. *ābhārsām*. 3. *ābhārsām*. — Pl. 1. *ābhārsma*. 2. *ābhārsja*. 3. *ābhārsur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *āstoṣi*. 2. *āstoṣhās*. 3. *āstoṣa*. — Du. 3. *āstoṣātām*. — Pl. 1. *āstoṣmahī*. 2. *āstoṣvām*. 3. *āstoṣata*.

The forms which actually occur are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ākārsam* (AV.), *ajaisam* (*√ji-*), *āprāksam* (*√prach-*, AV.), *ābhārsam*, *āyārsam* (*√yam-*), *ayārsam*, *āspārsam* (*spr-* 'win'), *āhārsam* (*√hr-*).

2. *ākran* (*√krand-*), *āghās*¹⁰ (*√ghas-*, AV. XX. 129¹⁰), *āhās* (*hā-* 'leave', AV. II. 10⁷). — With irregular *-s*: *ayās* (*√yaj-*), *srās* (*√srj-*, AV.). — With connecting *-i-*: *arātsis* (*rād-* 'succeed', AV.), *avātsis*¹¹ (*vas-* 'dwell', AV.); *bhātsis* (AV.).

3. With loss of the ending *-t*: *ajais*¹² (*√ji-*), *āprās* (*√prā-*), *āhās* (*hā-* 'leave'). — With loss of both tense sign and ending: *ākrān*¹³ (*√krand-*), *āksār* (*√kār-*), *ācāt* (*√cit-*), *ācchān* (*√chand-*), *ātān* (*√tan-*), *ātsār* (*√tsar-*), *ādyaut* (*√dyut-*), *ādāk* (*√dah-*), *āprāk* (*pr-* 'mix', AV.), *āprāt* (*√prach-*), *ābhār*, *ayāt* (*√yaj-*), *āyān* (*√yam-*), *ārāt*¹⁴ (*√rudh-*, AV.), *āvāt* (*√vāh-*), *āvāt*¹⁵ (*vas-* 'shine', AV.), *āsvāt* (*√svit-*), *āsyān* (*√syand-*), *āsrāk* (*√srj-*), *āsvār* (*√svar-*), *āhār* (*√hr-*, AV.); *ārāik* (*√ric-*); *āyaut*, *vāt* (*√vāh-*). —

¹ and the Kaṭhaka, WHITNEY 888.

² In *avāt* the *t* may, however, represent the final *s* of the root, the form possibly standing for **a-vāt-s-t*; see above 44 a 2, and WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 167.

³ The phonetically regular form would be **srāk*. Cp. p. 61 (middle).

⁴ Also the participle *yāja-ānā-*.

⁵ From *gāya-*, with *-i-* for *-a-*.

⁶ From the weak stem.

⁷ These three forms seem to represent the transition of aorist stems to employment as present stems.

⁸ The form *stū-* is frequent as a 1. sing.;

in one passage (I. 122⁷), however, it appears to be a 3. sing. with a passive sense: 'is praised'.

⁹ On *stū-* in general, see OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 59, 355 ff., NEISSER, BB. 30, 315—325.

¹⁰ Cp. above 499, *āghās* sing. 2. 3.

¹¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 83, note 5; above

44, a 1.

¹² For **ajais-t*.

¹³ For **ākrānd-s-t*.

¹⁴ For **ārāudh-s-t*.

¹⁵ Cp. *avāt-s-i-s* (AV.) from *vas-* 'dwell'.

Cp. note 2 and p. 36 (top).

With irregular -t: *asrait* (√*ri*-, AV.), *dhait* (√*hi*-, AV.).—With connecting -i-: *atimsit* (√*tan*-, TS. IV. 7. 13⁵; VS. XV. 53), *anaikṣit* (√*nij*-, AV.); *rautsit* (√*rudh*-, Kh. IV. 7⁵).

Du. 2. *āsvāśām*¹ (√*srj*-, AV.).—3. *abhārśām* (VS. XXVIII. 17), *asvārśām* (√*svar*-).

Pl. I. *śvaiśma*, *ābhaiśma*.—2. *āchānta*² (√*chand*-), *anaīṣṭa* (TS. V. 7. 2⁴).—3. *āchāntsur*, *ābhāntsur*, *amāntsur* (√*mad*-), *ayāntsur*, *āvāntsur* (√*vah*-, AV.)⁵.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ādīkṣi* (√*dīś*-), *ādīṣi*¹ (*dā*- 'give', AV.), *anūṣi* (√*nū*-), *ābhakṣi* (√*bhaj*-), *ābhutsi* (√*budh*-), *āmāsi* (*mā*- 'measure', AV.), *āmukṣi* (√*muc*-, AV.), *avīṣi* (*vid*- 'find'), *asākṣi*⁵ (√*sah*-), *asrkṣi*, *astoṣi*; *maṅṣi* (√*man*-), *vrkṣi*⁶ (√*vrj*-, AV.), *sākṣi*⁵.

2. *ājñāsthās* (AV.), *ātapthās*⁷ (AV. IX. 5⁶), *aprkthās* (√*prc*-, AV.), *āmukthās* (√*muc*-, AV.).

3. *aprēta* (√*prc*-), *ābhakta* (√*bhaj*-), *āmānta* (VS. V. 40), *amatta* (√*mat*-), *ayānta* (√*yam*-), *ayāṣṭa* (√*yaj*-), *āramānta* (√*ram*-), *ārabdhā* (√*rabh*-), *asakta* (√*saj*-), *ārṣṭa* (√*srj*-), *astoṣṭa*.

Du. 3. *anūśātām*, *amānśātām* (VS. XXXVIII. 13), *āyukṣātām* (√*yuj*-).

Pl. I. *agasmahi*⁸ (√*gam*-), *aprkasmahi* (√*prc*-, AV.), *ābhutsmahi* (√*budh*-), *ādikṣmahi* (√*dīś*-), *asrkṣmahi* (√*srj*-, TS. I. 4. 45³; VS. XX. 22).

2. *āstothvam* (for **i-stoṣ-dhvam* from *stu*- 'praise').

3. *ākramānta* (AV.), *ādkṣata* (√*dīś*-), *ādhuṣata* (√*dūh*-), *ādūrṣata*⁹ (*dūr*- 'injure'), *ādūṣata*, *ānūṣata*, *āneṣata* (√*nī*-), *ābhutṣata* (√*budh*-), *āmānśata* (√*man*-), *amānśata* (√*mad*-), *ayānśata* (√*yam*-), *ayukṣata* (√*yuj*-), *arāmānta* (AV.), *ārāsata*, *ālīṣata*, *āvīṣata* (√*vīś*-), *āvṛṣata* (√*vrj*-), *āvṛṣata* (*vr*- 'choose', AV. III. 3³), *asakṣata* (*sac*- 'accompany'), *ārṣṭata* (√*srj*-), *āstōṣata*, *āhāsata*, *āhūṣata* (*hū*- 'call'), *āhrṣata* (√*hr*-), *āheṣata* (√*hi*-).

s- Aorist Subjunctive.

523. This mood is quite common in the RV., but decidedly less so in the other Saṃhitās. Its forms are, however, frequent only in the active, in which all persons are represented except the 1. du. The middle is much less common, about 20 forms occurring altogether; only one of these is found in the dual, and two in the plural. The root regularly takes Guṇa throughout before the tense sign¹⁰, in the middle as well as the active. The primary endings are frequent, being used almost exclusively¹¹ in the du. and the 2. pl.

In the middle 3. sing. and pl. the exceptional ending *-tai* occurs in two forms in later Saṃhitās (AV. TS.).

Active. Sing. 1. *stoṣāmi*.—2. *darsasi* (*dr*- 'split'); *jṣas* (√*ji*-), *vāṣas* (√*vah*-).—3. *neṣati* (√*nī*-), *parṣati* (*pr*- 'take across'), *pāsati* ('protect'), *māṣati* (√*mad*-), *yoṣati* (*yu*- 'separate'), *vāṣati* (√*vah*-), *sakṣati* (√*sah*-, AV.); *ūṣat* (*ās*- 'attain', X. 117), *kṣeṣat* (*kṣi*- 'dwell'), *chantṣat* (√*chand*-), *jṣat* (√*ji*-), *dārṣat* (*dr*- 'split'), *dāṣat* (*dā*- 'give'), *drāṣat*

¹ Emendation for *āsvāśram* of the Mss., AV. IV. 28¹; see WHITNEY's note.

² For **acchānt-sa*.

³ AVERY 257 adds the form *acchānt*, which occurs twice in the RV., regarding it doubtless as an s- aorist of √*ch*. It would as such have the double anomaly of absence of Vrddhi and the ending *-an*. It is probably 3. pl. impf. of √*ch* in both passages (I. 170²; X. 114¹). GRASSMANN in X. 114¹ regards it as aorist of √*ch*.

⁴ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 834.

⁵ With anomalous long vowel.

⁶ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 30².

⁷ For **ātap-s-thās*.

⁸ With loss of the radical nasal (*a* taking the place of the sonant nasal).

⁹ With interchange of the radical vowel and semivowel: see 50, b.

¹⁰ The *a* of *sah* is lengthened in the forms *sākṣāma* and *sākṣate*.

¹¹ Excepting only the 3. du. act. *yakṣatām*.

(*drā* 'run'), *naksat* (*nas-* 'rench'), *nesat* (*√nī-*), *pāksat* (*√pac-*), *pārsat* ('take across'), *prēsat* (*√prī-*), *bhaksat* (*√bhaj-*), *bharsat* (*√bhr-*), *mātsat* (*√mad-*), *yāmsat* (*√yam-*), *yāksat* (*√yaj-*), *yāsāt*, *yōsāt* (*yu-* 'separate'), *rāsāt*, *vāmsat* (*√van-*), *vāksat* (*√vah-*), *valsat* (Kh. v. 15¹⁶), *vēsat*¹ (*√vī-*)², *saksat* (sac- 'accompany')³ and *sah-* 'overcome'⁴), *satsat* (*√sad-*), *sarsat* (*√sr-*, AV.), *stosāt*, *sraksat* (*√srj-*, VS. XXI. 46).

Du. 2. *dāsathas*, *dhāsathas*, *pārsathas* (*pr-* 'take across'), *vāksathas* (*√vah-*, AV.), *varsathas* (*vr-* 'cover').

3. *pāsatas* ('protect'), *yāmsatas* (*√yam-*), *yāksatas* (*√yaj-*), *yōsatas* (*yu-* 'separate', AV.), *vāksatas* (*√vah-*). — With *-tām*: *yaksatām* (*√yaj-*).

Pl. 1. *jīśāma* (*√ji-*), *vāmsāma* (*√van-*), *sāksāma*⁵ (*√sah-*), *stosāma*. — 2. *dhāsatha*, *nesatha*, *pārsatha* ('take across'), *mātsatha*. — 3. *pārsan* ('take across'), *yāmsan* (*√yam-*), *rāsan*, *vāksan*, *śējan* (*ś-* 'lie').

Middle. Sing. 1. *nāmsai*, *māmsai* (*√man-*). — 2. *dīkṣase*⁶, *prkṣase*⁶ (*√prc-*), *māmsase* (*√man-*). — 3. *kramsate*, *trāsate*, *darśate* (*dr-* 'split'), *māmsate* (*√man-*), *yāmsate* (*√yam-*), *yāksate* (*√yaj-*), *rāsate*, *vāmsate* (*√van-*), *sāksate*⁷ (*√sah-*)⁷. — With ending *-tai*: *māsatai* (AV.).

Du. 2. *trāsathe* (for **trāsaithe*). — Pl. 3. *nāmsante* (*√nam-*), *māmsante* (*√man-*). — With ending *-tai*: *māmsatai*⁸ (TS. VII. 4. 15¹).

s- Aorist Injunctive.

524. Injunctive forms are of fairly common occurrence, especially after *mā*. Judged by the extremely few accented forms occurring, the accent was on the radical syllable. All the forms occurring in the 1. sing. act. are irregular in one way or another: nearly all of them take Guṇa instead of Vrddhi, while *yāsam* (AV.) only lengthens the radical vowel (*yu-* 'separate'). Three first persons from roots in *-ā* substitute *e*⁹ for that vowel, as *jesam* from *yā-* 'go'; the same substitution takes place in the 1. pl. *gesma* (AV.), *desma* (VS.), and 3. pl. *sthesur* (AV.).

Active. Sing. 1. *jesam*¹⁰ (*√ji-*, VS. IX. 13 etc.), *yāsam* (*yu-* 'separate', AV.), *stosam*¹⁰; from roots ending in *-ā*: *gesam* (*gā-* 'go', VS. V. 5), *yesam* (*yā-* 'go'), *sthesam*⁹ (*sthā-* 'stand', VS. II. 8).

2. *jes*¹⁰; *bhāk* (*√bhaj-*), *yāt* (*√yaj-*), *yaus* (*yu-* 'separate'), *hvar* (*√hvar-*, VS. I. 2). — With connecting *-ī-*: *hāsīs* (Kh. IV. 8⁵; AA. II. 7).

3. *dhāk* (*√dah-*), *bhāk* (*√bhaj-*), *bhār* (*√bhr-*), *mauk* (*√muc-*, VS. I. 25), *hās*¹¹ (*hā-* 'leave'). — With connecting *-ī-*: *tāpsit* (VS. XIII. 30), *vāksit* (*√vah-*, AV.), *hāsīt* (TS. VII. 3. 13¹; AV.), *hvarīt* (*√hvar-*, VS. I. 2).

Du. 2. *tāptam* (*√tap-*, VS. V. 33), *yausam* (*yu-* 'separate'), *sraśsam* (*√srj-*, AV.).

¹ As appearing in immediate juxtaposition with *prīyat* (I. 180⁶), this form appears to be an aorist subjunctive of *vī-*, not a present injunctive of *√vī-* (*vīyat*).

² AVERY 258 gives *śīyat*, among these forms, as occurring once. He doubtless means *ni-śīyat* (IV. 2⁷) which occurs beside the subjunctives *bhārāt* and *udīrat*. But it cannot be an *s-* aorist (which would be *śīyat*). WHITNEY, *Roots*, takes it as an *a-* aorist of *śī-* 'leave', GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* 1392, as an aorist of *śās-*. Cp. above 510.

³ In I. 129¹⁰ ('accompany').

⁴ In V. 30⁶ ('conquer').

⁵ With lengthened radical vowel.

⁶ Weak radical vowel instead of Guṇa.

⁷ AVERY 258 adds *hāsate*, also WHITNEY, *Grammar* 893 a; but this form is doubtless a 3. sing. mid. pres. of *hās-* 'hasten', a secondary form of *hā-* 'leave' according to the class; also *hāsante* (AV. IV. 36⁵). Cp. p. 321, note 7.

⁸ See WEHER's ed. of the TS., p. 310, 15, note 12.

⁹ Made perhaps from an *i-* form of roots ending in *-ā*. Cp. WHITNEY, *Grammar* 894 c.

¹⁰ Formed perhaps under the influence of the subjunctives *śīyat* and *stosāt*.

¹¹ Unnecessarily regarded by DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 60 (80) as from *hr-* 'take'.

Pl. 1. *yausma* (*yu-* 'separate', VS. IV. 22). — With Guṇa only: *germa*¹ (*gā-* 'go', AV.), *jāma* (*√ji-*), *deyṃa*² (*dā-* 'give', VS. II. 32). — 2. *naiṣṭa* (*√ni-*), *yausṭa* (*√yu-* 'separate', AV.), *sāpta*³ (TS. III. 3. 9¹). — 3. *jaiṣur* (*√ji-*, AV.), *dhāsur*, *yausur* (*yu-* 'separate'), *sṭhesur*⁴ (AV. XVI. 4¹), *hāsur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *gāsi* (*gā-* 'sing'), *nikṣi* (*√nij-*, AV.), *pāsi* (*√pad-*, AV.), *bhāksi* (*√bhaj-*, VII. 41²), *meri* (*mī-* 'diminish', AV.), *yaṃsi* (*√yam-*), *yakṣi* (*√yaj-*), *vāṃsi* (*√van-*), *vrkṣi* (*√vrj-*).

2. *cyoṣṭhās* (*√cyu-*), *chitthās* (*√chid-*, AV.), *patthās* (*√pad-*, AV.), *bhitthās* (TS. IV. 1. 9²), *maṃsthās* (*√man-*, AV.; VS. XIII. 41), *meṣṭhās* (*√mī-*, AV.), *raṃsthās* (*√ram-*, AV.), *hāsthās* (*hā-* 'go forth', AV.).

3. *kṣeṣṭa* (*kṣi-* 'destroy', AV.), *neṣṭa* (*√nī-*, AV.), *pāsta* (*pā-* 'drink', AV.), *maṃsta* (*√man-*, AV.), *māṃsta*⁵ (*√man-*, AV. XI. 2⁸), *meṣṭa* (*mī-* 'fail', AV.), *hāsta* (*hā-* 'be left', AV.).

Du. 2. *sykṣātham* (*√syj-*, VS. XIX. 7).

Pl. 1. *yutsmahi*³ (*√yudh-*, AV.), *hāsmahi* (*hā-* 'be deprived of').

3. *dhukṣata* (*√duh-*), *nāṣata*, *māṣata* (*√mad-*), *mukṣata* (*√muc-*), *sakṣata* (*√sac-* 'accompany').

s- Aorist Optative.

525. This mood occurs in the middle only in this form of the sigmatic aorist. The 2. 3. sing. always appears with the precative *s* excepting the one form *bhakṣīta* in the SV. (I. 1. 2. 4²).

Sing. 1. *diṣṭya*⁴ (*dā-* 'cut'), *bhakṣīd* (*√bhaj-*), *māṣṭya*⁵ (*√man-*), *mukṣīya*, *rāṣṭya*, *sākṣīya*⁶ (*√sah-*, AV.), *strīṣṭya* (*√str-*, AV.).

2. *maṃṣṭhās* (*√man-*). — 3. *darṣṭṣṭa* (*dṛ-* 'tear'), *bhakṣīta* (SV.), *maṃṣṭṣṭa* (*√man-*), *mṛkṣṭṣṭa* (*mṛc-* 'injure').

Du. 2. *trāṣṭhām* (for **trāṣ-tyāthām*).

Pl. 1. *dhukṣīmdhi* (*√duh-*, TS. I. 6. 4³), *bhakṣīmdhi* (*√bhaj-*), *maṃṣṭīmdhi* (*√man-*), *raṃṣṭīmdhi* and *vasīmdhi*⁵ (*√van-*, IX. 72⁸), *sakṣīmdhi* (*√sac-*). — 3. *maṃṣṭrāta*.

s- Aorist Imperative.

526. No certain regular forms of the imperative occur in the active. Two or three, such as *yausṭam*, *naiṣṭa*, might have been classed here, but as they occur with *mā* only, they have been placed among the injunctives. There are, however, the two transfer forms in the 2. sing. *neṣa* (*√nī-*, AV.) and *parṣā* (*pr-* 'take across')⁷. The only forms of the imperative occurring in the middle are three made from *rā-* 'give' and one from *sah-* 'conquer'.

Midāle. Sing. 2. *sākṣva*. — 3. *rāsatām*. — Du. 2. *rāsātham*. — Pl. 3. *rāsantām*.

s- Aorist Participle.

527. Only two or three forms of the active participle are found. These are *dākṣant-* and *dhākṣant-* from *dah-* 'burn', and *sākṣant-* from *sah-* 'prevail'. In the middle there are no regular forms. There is one doubtful example in which the stem is extended with *-a-* and accordingly adds the suffix *-māna*, as in the *a-* conjugation: *dhī-ṣ-a-māna-* (*dhī-* 'think').

There are, besides, a dozen stems irregularly formed by adding *s* to the root with an intermediate *-a-*, and taking the regular ending *-āna*. These forms

¹ See p. 380, note 9.

² For *śāp-s-ta*.

³ A somewhat doubtful reading: see WHITNEY's note on AV. VII. 52².

⁴ With the radical *ā* weakened to *i*.

⁵ Root weakened by loss of nasal (*a* taking the place of the sonant nasal).

⁶ With irregular lengthening of the radical vowel.

⁷ See WHITNEY, AV. Index Verborum 382.

may be accounted as belonging to the *s*-aorist. All but two of them occur in the RV. They are: *arsasānd-* 'injuring', *ḥasāna-* (√*ḥh*-) 'lying in wait', *prayasānd-* (√*prj*-) 'far-extending', *dhiyasānd-* (√*dhṛ*-) 'attending', *namasānd-* (√*nam*-) 'rendering homage' (AV.), *bhiyāsāna-* (√*bhī*-) 'fearing' (AV.), *mandasānd-* (√*mand*-) 'rejoicing', *yamasānd-* (√*yam*-) 'being driven' (with passive sense), *rabhasānd-* (√*rabh*-) 'agile', *vrđhasānd-* (√*vydh*-) 'growing', *śavasānd-* (√*śā*-) 'strong', *sahasānd-* (√*śah*-) 'mighty'.

A. 2. The *iṣ*-Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179—180. — AVREY, Verb-Inflection 259—261. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 898—910; Roots 226—227; AV. Index Verborum 380. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 85—86.

528. About 80 roots take this form of the sigmatic aorist in the RV, and about a dozen others in the AV.

The *-i* is here added to the root with the connecting vowel *-i-*. The radical vowel as a general rule takes **Guna** throughout; but in the active a final vowel takes **Ṛddhi** and a medial *-a* is sometimes lengthened. No roots with final *-ā* and few with final *-ī* take this aorist. The terminations are the same as those of the *s*-aorist, excepting that the 2. and 3. sing. act. end in *-is* (= *iṣ-s*) and *-it* (= *iṣ-t*). Active and middle forms, though frequent, are rarely both made from the same root, occurring thus in about fifteen verbs only. This is the only aorist from which a few forms are made in the secondary conjugation¹.

Besides the indicative, all the moods are represented in this aorist, but no participial forms have been met with.

Indicative.

529. In the active all persons are represented except du. 1. 2. and pl. 2.; but in the middle only sing. 2. and 3. occur besides a single form of sing. 1 (Kh.), du. 3. and pl. 3. (VS.).

a. A few irregularities occur in the formation of this tense¹. 1. The forms *atīrina* (beside the normal *ātīriṣma*) and *avādiran*² (AV.), are probably to be regarded as irregular forms with abnormal loss of the aoristic *-s*. — 2. The root *grabh-* 'seize' takes the connecting vowel *ī*³ (as it does in other verbal forms) instead of *-i-*, as *agrabhīṣma*. — 3. In the sing. 1. act., the ending *-im* appears instead of *-iṣam* in the three forms *ḍkramim*, *vādhim*, and *agrabhīm* (TS.), doubtless owing to the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing. *-is* and *-it*⁴. — 4. The abnormal ending *-ait* appears in the 3. sing. in *āsarait*⁵ (AV.) beside *āsarit* (AV.)⁶.

The normal forms occurring, if made from *kram-* 'stride', would be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *ḍkramiṣam*. 2. *ḍkramis*. 3. *ḍkramit*. — Du. 3. *ḍkramiṣām*. — Pl. 1. *ḍkramiṣma*. 3. *ḍkramiṣur*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *ḍkramiṣi* (Kh.). 2. *ḍkramiṣthas*. 3. *ḍkramiṣta*. — Du. 3. *ḍkramiṣātām*. — Pl. 3. *ḍkramiṣata* (VS.).

The forms which actually occur are the following:

¹ From causatives *dhvanayit*, *ailayit* (Vil. AV.), from a desiderative *īrtis* (√*rdh*-, AV.).

² The weak form of the root appears in the injunctive *nuāiṣhās* (AV.) and the optative *ruciṣiṣya* (AV.) and *gmiṣiṣya* (VS.), which syncopates the radical vowel as in the root aor. and the perfect of this verb.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 904 d.

⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 188.

⁵ This abnormal ending also occurs in the secondary conjugation in the denominative aor. *āsaparyait* (AV.); see below 570.

⁶ Both these forms also show the irregularity of taking **Guna** instead of **Ṛddhi**.

Active. Sing. 1. *akāniṣam, akāriṣam, akramiṣam, acāyīṣam* (AV.), *acāriṣam, abhāriṣam* (√*bhr-*, AV.), *avadhiṣam* (AV.), *avādiṣam* (AV.), *āsaṅsiṣam, asāniṣam; āṣiṣam* (as- 'eat', AV.); *rāviṣam*. — With ending *-im*: *akramīm, agrabhīm* (TS.); *vādhitm*.

2. *akramīs, adṛṃhiṣ* (VS. VI. 2), *āvadhīs, avarṣīs¹, astartīs* (√*str-*, AV.); *āṣīs* (as- 'eat', AV.), *duṣṣīs* (ukṣ- 'grow'); *kramīs, vādhitṣ*.

3. *ākārit, ākramit, āgrabhīt, āgrahīt* (AV.), *ātārit, adṛṃhāt* (MS. IV. 13⁸), *anayīt²* (√*nr-*, AV.), *dmandit, ayāsit, dyodhit, arāvīt, āvadhīt, āvarṣīt* (√*vṛs-*, AV.), *āsāṅsit, āsarīt³* (AV.), *asāvīt, astānit* (AV.), *āsvanīt; āvīt, āṣīt* (as- 'eat', AV.); *jūrūt* (jūr- 'consume'), *tārit, vādhit*. — With ending *-ait*: *āsarait⁴* (AV.).

Du. 3. *dmanthiṣtām; jāniṣtām*.

Pl. 1. *agrabhīṣma, ātāriṣma* and *ātārima⁵, āvadhīṣma* (VS. IX. 38).

3. *ataḥṣiṣur, ātāriṣur, adhanviṣur, ānartīṣur, ānindīṣur, apāviṣur, āmandīṣur, amādīṣur, arāṣiṣur, arāvīṣur* (ran- 'rejoice'), *ārāvīṣur, avādīṣur, asāvīṣur; āḥṣiṣur⁶* (I. 163¹⁰), *āniṣur* (√*an-*, AV., TS.), *āviṣur* (√*av-*). — With *-ran-*: *arādīran* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *aikṣiṣi* (Kh. I. 1¹: √*tkṣ-*). — 2. *djaniṣthās* (AV.), *āsamiṣthās* (sam- 'labour'), *āsaiṣthās, āsramiṣthās; jāniṣthās*.

3. *akrapīṣṭa* (√*kṛp-*), *djaniṣṭa, adhāviṣṭa, anaviṣṭa, aprathiṣṭa, arociṣṭa* (VS. XXXVII. 15), *avasīṣṭa* (vas- 'wear'), *āsamiṣṭa, āsahiṣṭa; duhiṣṭa* (dh- 'consider'); *krāmīṣṭa, jāniṣṭa, prdhiṣṭa, māndiṣṭa, yamiṣṭa*.

Du. 3. *āmāndiṣtām*. — Pl. 3. *āgrbhīṣata* (VS. XXI. 60).

iṣ- Aorist Subjunctive.

530. Active forms of this mood are fairly common, but are almost exclusively limited to the 2. and 3. sing. Middle forms are very rare, occurring only in the pl., where not more than four examples have been noted.

Active. Sing. 1. *daviṣāni⁷*. — 2. *aviṣas, kāniṣas, tāriṣas, rakṣiṣas, vādhiṣas, vādīṣas* (AV.), *vṛṣiṣas, śaṃsiṣas*.

3. *kāriṣat, jambhiṣat, jōṣiṣat, tāriṣat, nindīṣat* (AV.), *pāriṣat* ('take across'), *dādhiṣat, mārāhiṣat, yāciṣat, yodhiṣat, rakṣiṣat, vaniṣat* (AV.), *vyathiṣat* (VS. VI. 18), *śaṃsiṣat* (TS. V. 6. 8⁶), *sanīṣat, sāviṣat⁸* (sa- 'vivify').

Pl. 3. *sanīṣan⁹* (AV. V. 3⁵).

Middle. Pl. 1. *yāciṣāmahe, sanīṣāmahe*. — 3. *vanīṣanta¹⁰* (TS. IV. 7. 14¹), *sāniṣanta*.

iṣ- Aorist Injunctive.

531. Forms of the injunctive are commoner than those of the subjunctive. In the active they are found almost exclusively in the 2. 3. sing., 2. du. and 2. 3. pl.; in the middle nearly a dozen forms occur, all but one in the sing.

The forms of this mood have the accent on the root (as in the un-augmented indicative).

Active. Sing. 1. *śāṃsiṣam, hiṃsiṣam* (VS. I. 25).

¹ AVERY 259 adds *divarhīs* as occurring once.
² See WHITNEY's note on AV. XI. 3²⁶.
³ With Guna instead of Vṛddhi of final vowel; cp. BARTHOLOMAE, Studien 2, 165.
⁴ See WHITNEY's note on AV. VI. 66², where the reading *ātārit* is better supported; cp. his note on AV. VI. 65¹.
⁵ With loss of the aoristic -s.
⁶ From *akṣ-* 'attain' (WHITNEY, Roots 1) a secondary form of √*at-*; otherwise a *si-* aorist from *at-* 'attain'.

⁷ Cp. v. SCHROEDER, WZKM. 13, 119—122.
⁸ This form occurs also in two passages of the AV.; in a third (AV. I. 18²) *sāviṣat* appears instead of it. Cp. WHITNEY's note on this passage, and his Grammar 151 a.
⁹ The corresponding passage of the RV. (X. 128³) has *vaniṣanta*, and of the TS. (IV. 7. 14¹) *vanīṣanta*.
¹⁰ See preceding note.

2. *avīs, kramīs* (AV.), *jivīs* (AV.), *tartīs, barhīs, mātthīs, mardhīs, moṣīs, yāvīs, yodhīs, rakṣīs* (AV.), *randhīs, lekḥīs* (VS. v. 43), *vādhīs, śocīs* (VS. xl. 45), *sāvīs, spharīs, hīṣīs* (VS. AV.). — With *-ais*: *śarais* (√*śr-*, AV.).

3. *alit* (as- 'eat'), *gārit* (gr- 'swallow'), *cārit, jivit* (AV.), *tārit, dāsīt* (das- 'waste'), *barhit, mātthit, vadhīt* (TS. iv. 2. 9¹; VS. xiii. 16), *veṣīt, svānit, hīṣit*.

Du. 2. *tāriṣam, mardhiṣam, hīṣiṣam* (AV. VS.).

Pl. 1. *śramiṣma*. — 2. *grabhiṣta, vadhiṣta, hīṣiṣta* (AV. TS.); *mathiṣana* (AV.), *rdniṣana* (√*ran-*), *vadhīṣana*. — 3. *jūriṣur* (jr- 'waste away'), *jivīṣur* (AV.), *tāriṣūr*¹ (AV.), *vadhīṣur* (AV.), *vadhīṣur* (AV.), *hīṣiṣur* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *vādhiṣi* (AV.). — 2. *kaṣiṣthās*² (AV.), *nudiṣthās*³ (AV.), *marṣiṣthās* (√*mṛṣ-*), *vadhīṣthās* (Kh. ii. 11³), *vyathīṣthās* (AV.). — 3. *paṣiṣta, pavīṣta, bādhiṣta*. — Pl. 1. *vyathīṣmahi* (AV.).

is- Aorist Optative.

532. This mood is rare, occurring in the middle only and being formed from hardly a dozen roots. Though the ending is accented, the root appears in a weak form in *gmīṣtya*⁴ (VS.) and *ruciṣtya* (AV.). The 2. and 3. sing. take the precative *-s-*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *edhiṣtyā* (AV.), *gmīṣtyā*⁵ (VS. iii. 19), *janīṣtyā* (AV.),⁶ *ruciṣtyā*⁷ (AV.). — 2. *modiṣiṣthās* (AV.). — 3. *janīṣiṣta, vanīṣiṣta*.

Du. 1. *sahiṣmahi* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *edhiṣimāhi* (AV.), *tāriṣimāhi, mandīṣimāhi* (VS. iv. 14; TS. i. 2. 3¹ etc.), *vandiṣimāhi, vardiṣimāhi* (VS. ii. 14, xxxviii. 21), *sahiṣmahi* (AV.), *sahiṣimāhi* (Pada text *sahiṣimāhi*).

is- Aorist Imperative.

533. Forms of this mood are rare, occurring in the active only and being made from six or seven roots at the most. Among these forms, two only are distinctively imperative, *aviṣḍhi* and *aviṣu*; a few others can be distinguished by having the accent on the ending; the rest, being unaccented and used without *mā*, cannot be distinguished from injunctives.

Sing. 2. *aviṣḍhi*. — 3. *aviṣu*. — Du. 1. *aviṣm, kramiṣam, gamiṣam, caniṣam, rayiṣam* (ci- 'gather'), *yodhiṣam* (√*yudh-*), *vadhīṣam, śnathiṣam*. — 3. *aviṣam*. — Pl. 2. *aviṣā*⁸; *aviṣāna, śnathiṣana*.

A. 3. The siṣ- Aorist.

¹ DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179. — AVFREY, Verb-Inflection 261. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 911—916; Roots 227. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

534. This aorist, which is inflected exactly like the *is-* aorist, is formed by only six or seven roots in the Samhitās. Middle forms occur in the optative only.

Indicative.

Sing. 1. *ayāsiṣam*. — Du. 3. *ayāsiṣam* (VS. xxviii. 14). — Pl. 2. *dyāsiṣta*. — 3. *agāsiṣur* (gā- 'sing'), *ayāsiṣur*⁹.

Subjunctive.

Sing. 3. *gāsiṣat* (gā- 'sing'), *yāsiṣat*.

¹ With accent on the ending instead of the root.

² Cp. BRUGMANN, KZ. 24, 363 f.

³ With weak form of root.

⁴ Cp. ZIMMER, KZ. 30, 222.

⁵ The Kāthaka has the forms *janīṣyam* and *janīṣya* made from a secondary *-a-* stem (WHITNEY 907).

⁶ This may be regarded as a form irregularly lacking *s* = *aviṣḍ*.

⁷ *ākiṣur* is formed from *ak-* 'attain', according to DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179; according to WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 913, and Roots 1, from the secondary root *akṣ-*; see above p. 383, note ⁶.

Optative.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vaṁśiṣyā*¹ (*van-* 'win', AV.). — 2. *yāśiṣṣhās*². — Pl. 1. *pyāśiṣmahī*³ (AV.; VS. II. 14; MS. IV. 9¹⁰ [p. 181, 9]).

Injunctive.

Sing. 1. *raṁśiṣam*⁴ (SV. I. 4. 1. 2⁵). — Du. 2. *hāśiṣam* (AV.). — 3. *hāśiṣām* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *hāśiṣa* (AV.). — 3. *hāśiṣur* (AV.).

Imperative.

Du. 2. *yāśiṣām*. — Pl. 2. *yāśiṣa*⁵ (I. 165¹⁵).

B. The *sa-* Aorist.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 179. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 262. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 916—920; Roots 227. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 85.

535. In the Sāpṛthās this form of the sigmatic aorist is taken by only nine roots, which end in *j ś ṣ* or *h* and contain the medial vowels *i u* or *r*. The thematic *a* doubtless came to be employed in these few verbs to avoid a difficult agglomeration of consonants when the endings were added. The inflexion is like that of an imperfect of the *i-* class of the first conjugation, the *-śi-* being accented⁶ in unaugmented forms. Besides the indicative, only forms of the injunctive and imperative occur, altogether fewer than a dozen. No subjunctive, optative, or participial forms have been noted.

Indicative.

536. Neither forms of any person of the dual nor of the 2. pl. occur in the indicative of this type of the *s-* aorist. The active forms greatly predominate, the middle being represented in the 3. sing. and pl. by only three or four forms altogether.

Active. Sing. 1. *avykṣam* (*vyrh-*). — 2. *adhukṣas* (*ḍuh-*, VS. I. 3), *arukṣas* (*ruh-*, AV.); *rukṣas* (*ruh-*, AV.). — 3. *ākrukṣat* (*kruś-*), *aghukṣat* (*guh-*), *adukṣat*⁷ and *ādihukṣat* (*duh-*), *āmṛkṣat* (*mṛś-*, AV.) *ārukṣat* (*ruh-*), *āsprkṣat* (*sprś-*, AV.; VS. XXVIII. 18). — Pl. 1. *amykṣāma* (*mṛj-* 'wipe'), *arukṣāma* (*ruh-*, AV.). — 3. *ādihukṣan* (*duh-*); *dukṣan*⁸ and *dhukṣan* (*duh-*).

Middle. Sing. 3. *ādihukṣata*⁹; *dukṣata*⁸ and *dhukṣata*. — Pl. 3. *amykṣanta* (*mṛj-*).

Injunctive.

Active. Sing. 2. *dukṣas*, *mṛkṣas* (*mṛś-*). — 3. *dvikṣat* (*diviś-*, AV.). — Pl. 2. *mṛkṣata* (*mṛś-*).

Middle. Sing. 3. *dukṣata*⁸ and *dhukṣata* (*duh-*), *dvikṣata* (*diviś-*, AV.). — Pl. 3. *dhukṣanta* (*duh-*).

Imperative.

Active. Du. 2. *mṛkṣatam* (*mṛj-*). — 3. *yakṣatām* (*yaj-*).

Middle. Sing. 2. *ādihukṣāsva* (*duh-*).

¹ In the Ms. *vaṁśiṣyā*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. IX. 114.

² With precative *s*.

³ In the Ms. *pyāśiṣmahī*; see WHITNEY'S note on AV. VII. 81⁵.

⁴ Variant for *rāśiṣa* of the RV.

⁵ With *ī* for *i*. AVERY 261 gives the form as *yāśiṣā*.

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⁶ Three forms occur accented thus; the root is, however, accented in *dhukṣata*.

⁷ See above 32 b.

⁸ See above 32 b.

⁹ In IX. 110⁸ the form *ādihukṣata* seems to be a 3. pl.

IV. The Future System.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 183—184. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 262. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 931—941; Roots 228 f.; AV. Index Verborum 380. — V. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86—87.

537. The stem is formed by adding *-syá*¹ or (rather less frequently with connecting *-i-*) *-isyá*¹ to the root, which gunates a final or a prosodically short medial vowel. As the subjunctive frequently has a future sense, and even the present indicative may have it, the occasion for the use of actual future forms seldom arises in the RV., which forms a future stem from only fifteen roots, while the AV. does so from more than thirty (about eight of these occurring in the RV. also)². There is only one subjunctive and one conditional form, but some twenty participles occur.

a. In the following stems the suffix *-sya* is added direct: *kṣi* 'abide': *kṣe-syá*³; *ji* 'conquer': *je-syá*; *dhak* 'burn': *dhak-syá*; *yaj* 'sacrifice': *yak-syá*; *vac* 'speak': *vak-syá*; *sū* 'bring forth': *sū-sya*⁴. In the AV. also occur: *i* 'go': *e-syá*; *kṛt* 'cut': *kart-sya*; *kram* 'stride': *kram-syá*; *gop* 'protect': *gop-sya*; *dā* 'give': *dā-syá*; *ni* 'lead': *ne-sya*; *mih* 'mingere': *meh-syá*; *yā* 'go': *yā-syá*; *yuj* 'join': *yok-sya*⁵; *rād* 'succeed': *rāt-sya*; *vah* 'carry': *vak-syá*; *vrt* 'turn': *vart-syá*⁷; *sad* 'fall': *sat-sya*; *suh* 'prevail': *sak-sya*; *hā* 'leave': *hā-sya*; *hu* 'sacrifice': *ho-syá*. In the VS. *bandh* 'bind': *bhant-syá*.

b. In the following stems the suffix is added with connecting *-i-*: *ar* 'favour': *ar-isyá*⁸; *as* 'shoot': *as-isyá*; *kr* 'do': *kar-isyá*; *jan* 'beget': *jan-isyá*; *bhū* 'be': *bhāv-isyá*; *man* 'think': *man-isyá*; *vā* 'weave': *vay-isyá*⁹; *san* 'acquire': *san-isyá*; *sr* 'hasten': *sar-isyá*; *stu* 'praise': *star-isyá*. From causative stems: *dhr* 'support': *dhāray-isyá*; *vas* 'clothe oneself': *vāsay-isyá*.

The AV. has the following additional stems: *gam* 'go': *gam-isyá*; *dhy* 'maintain': *dhar-isyá*; *naś* 'disappear': *naś-isyá*; *pat* 'fly': *pat-isyá*; *mr* 'die': *mar-isyá*; *rad* 'speak': *rad-isyá*; *vrt* 'turn': *vart-isyá*¹¹; *svap* 'sleep': *svap-isyá*¹²; *han* 'slay': *han-isyá*. From causative stems: *duś* 'spoil': *dūśay-isyá*; *vṛ* 'cover': *vāray-isyá* 'shield'.

538. a. Subjunctive. The only subjunctive form occurring is *kar-isyá(-s)* in IV. 30^{13, 14}.

b. Conditional. The only example occurring is formed from *bhr* 'bear': *d-bhar-isyá-t* 'he was going to bear off' (II. 30²).

c. Participles. A good many participial forms occur. The following stems are met with:

Active. *ar-isyánt*¹⁵, *as-isyánt*, *e-syánt* (AV.)¹⁵, *kar-isyánt*, *kṣe-syánt*, *khan-isyánt* (TS.), *je-syánt*¹⁶ (AV.), *dā-syánt* (AV.), *dhak-syánt*, *pat-isyánt* (AV.),

¹ On the origin of this suffix see BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 747 (p. 1092), who connects the *-sya* form with the *is*-aorist; and V. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 86.

² According to WHITNEY 937 the future is formed from over 60 roots in the TS. but I am uncertain how many of these occur in independent Mantra passages.

³ This is the only stem in which *-syá* is to be read *-sia*: *kṣe-syántas*.

⁴ This stem has the double irregularity of accenting the root and not taking Guna: cp. the perfect *sasūva*.

⁵ The Mss. read *mehāmi* in AV. VII. 102¹; cp. WHITNEY's note.

⁶ Doubtful readings see note³ p. 387 on *yok-sya*.

⁷ See WHITNEY's note on AV. XV. 6⁷.

⁸ An emendation: see note on *sākya*.

⁹ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 184.

¹⁰ Op. cit. p. 183.

¹¹ In the form *ānv-artisya* for *ānv-vas-tisya*; see p. 11, 18.

¹² See WHITNEY's note on AV. XIX. 47⁹.

¹³ The form *karisyā* (t. 1659) is probably to be explained as the same subjunctive (= *karisyá*): cp. BR. sv. *karisyā*.

¹⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 183.

¹⁵ In *praiśyān* (AV. V. 22¹⁴), Pp. *pra-śyān*, but WHITNEY = *pra-śyan*.

¹⁶ In AV. XV. 20¹ nearly all the Mss. read *jyasyān* (as if from *√jā-*) for *jesyān*.

bhar-isyánt- (TS.), *bhav-isyánt-* (AV.VS.), *yā-isyánt-* (AV.), *vac-* 'speak': *vak-isyánt-*, *vay-isyánt-*, *san-isyánt-*, *sar-isyánt-*, *sū-isyant-*, *han-isyánt-*.

Middle. *kraṇṣyā-māna-* (AV.), *janisyā-māna-* (VS. xviii. 5), *yakṣyā-māna-*, *stavisyā-māna-* (AV.).

Future Indicative.

539. The future is inflected, in both active and middle, like the present of the *a-* conjugation. The forms actually met with in the Saṃhitās would, if made from *kr-* 'do', be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *karisyāmi*. 2. *karisyāsi*. 3. *karisyāti*. — Du. 2. *karisyāthas* (TS.). 3. *karisyātas* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *karisyāmas* and *karisyāmasi* (AV.). 2. *karisyātha*. 3. *karisyānti* (AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *karisyā*. 2. *karisyase*. 3. *karisyate*.

The forms actually occurring are the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *esyāmi* (AV.), *karisyāmi* (AV.), *kartsyāmi* (AV.), *carisyāmi* (VS. I. 5), *jesyāmi*, *bhantisyāmi* (1' *bandh-*, VS. xxii. 4)¹, *mekṣyāmi*² (AV.), *vakṣyāmi* (1' *vac-*), *stavisyāmi*.

2. *karisyāsi*, *jesyasi* (VS. xxiii. 17), *bhavisyasi* (AV.), *marisyasi* (AV.), *rātsyasi* (1' *rādh-*, AV.), *vakṣyasi* (1' *vac-*, TS. II. 6. 12⁵), *sanisyasi*, *hanisyasi* (AV.).

3. *karisyāti*, *gamisyāti* (AV.), *naṣisyāti* (AV.), *neṣyāti* (AV.), *patisyāti* (AV.), *bhavisyāti*, *marisyāti* (AV.), *vadisyāti* (AV.), *sanisyāti*, *sthāsyāti* (VS. VI. 2), *hanisyāti* (AV.).

Du. 2. *karisyāthas* (TS. IV. 1. 9²). — 3. *marisyātas* (AV.), *vakṣyātas* (1' *vac-*, AV.).

Pl. 1. *bharisyāmas* (VS. XI. 16), *vakṣyāmas* (1' *vac-*), *svapisyāmasi* (AV.).

2. *karisyātha*, *bhavisyātha*, *sarisyātha* (AV.).

3. *gopisyānti* (1' *gop-*, AV.), *śatsyānti* (1' *śad-*, AV.), *hāsyānti* (1' *hā-*, AV.).

Middle. Sing. 1. *dharisyā* (AV.), *manisyē*, *yokṣyē*³ (AV.), *vartisyē*⁴ (AV.), *sākṣyē*⁵ (1' *sah-*, AV.). — 2. *stavisyase*. — 3. *janisyate*, *stavisyate* (AV.).

Periphrastic Future.

540. Of this formation, common in the later language, there seems to be an incipient example in VS. xviii. 59 = TS. v. 7. 7¹: *anvāgantī yajñdpatir vo itra* 'the sacrificer is following after you here', a modification of AV. VI. 1. 23²: *anvāgantī yujāmānaḥ svastī*, which WHITNEY translates 'the sacrificer follows after well-being'⁶.

V. Secondary Conjugation.

541. As opposed to the primary conjugation, there are four derivative formations in which the present stem is used throughout the inflexion of the verb and is everywhere accompanied by the specific sense connected with that stem. The forms which occur outside the present system are, however, rare. The four derivative formations are the desiderative, the intensive, the causative, and the denominative.

1. The Desiderative.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 184—186. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 230, 268—270. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1026—1040; Roots 233f. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 88—90.

542. Though the least frequent of the secondary conjugations, the desiderative is perhaps best dealt with first, as being akin in derivation and

¹ In AV. III. 95 ROTH and WHITNEY's edition reads *bhantisyāmi*; but WHITNEY, note on that passage, would emend this to *bhantisyāmi* (1' *bandh-*), and SHANKAR PANDIT reads *bhantisyāmi*.
² WHITNEY's emendation for *mekṣyāmi* of the Mss.; see his note on AV. VII. 102¹.

³ All the Mss. in AV. XIX. 13¹ read *yokṣe* (but Paipp. *yokṣye*).

⁴ In *dvartisyē* (AV. XIV. 15⁶) given under the root *art-* by WHITNEY, AV. Index Verborum; see p. 386, note 1¹.

⁵ The Mss. in AV. II. 275 read *sākṣe*.

⁶ Cp. WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 946.

meaning to the future¹, the last of the primary verbal formations treated above (537—540). The desiderative is formed from the root with an accented reduplicative syllable and the suffix *-sa*, which expresses the desire for the action or condition denoted by the root; e. g. *pā-* 'drink': *pī-pā-sa-* 'desire to drink'. Desiderative stems from fewer than sixty roots are met with in the *Saṃhitās*.

The characteristic reduplicative vowel is *i*, which appears in all stems except those formed from roots containing *ū* (which reduplicate with *u*); and the root generally remains unchanged. Thus *jñā-* 'know': *ji-jñā-sa-* (AV.); *ṛyā-* 'overpower': *ṛi-ṛyā-sa-*; *dā-* 'give': *dī-dā-sa-*; *pā-* 'drink': *pī-pā-sa-*; *tij-* 'be sharp': *tī-tik-sa-*; *nid-* 'blame': *nī-nit-sa-*; *bhid-* 'split': *bī-bhit-sa-*; *miś-* 'mix': *mī-mik-sa-*; *riś-* 'hurt': *rī-rik-sa-*; *nī-* 'lead': *nī-nī-sa-*; *pri-* 'love': *pī-pri-sa-*; *guh-* 'hide': *gi-guk-sa-*²; *duh-* 'milk': *dū-duk-sa-*²; *muc-* 'release': *mū-muk-sa-*; *yudh-* 'fight': *yī-yut-sa-*; *ruh-* 'ascend': *rū-ruk-sa-*; *bhū-* 'be': *bī-bhū-sa-*; *ṛd-* 'pierce': *ṛī-ṛt-sa-*; *ṛp-* 'delight': *ṛī-ṛp-sa-*; *dṛś-* 'see': *dī-dṛk-sa-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *vī-vṛt-sa-*; *śṛp-* 'creep': *śī-śṛp-sa-*.

a. A few desideratives reduplicate with a long vowel: *tur-* (=*ṛ*) 'cross': *tī-tūr-sa-*; *bād-* 'oppress': *bī-bhat-sa-*; *man-* 'think': *mī-mām-sa-* (AV.) 'investigate'. On the other hand, two desideratives abbreviate the reduplicative syllable by dropping its consonant; thus *yaj-* 'sacrifice': *ī-yak-sa-* for **yī-yak-sa-*³; *naś-* 'attain': *ī-nak-sa-*, for **nī-nak-sa-*, perhaps through the influence of *lyak-sa-*; and the RV. has one desiderative form from *āp-* 'obtain' in which the reduplication is dropped altogether: *ap-santa*.

b. The radical vowel is lengthened when *i*, *u*, or *r* is final (the latter becoming *ṛ*); thus *ci-* 'see': *cī-ki-sa-*; *ji-* 'conquer': *jī-gṛ-sa-*; *yu-* 'unite': *yū-yū-sa-*; *śru-* 'hear': *śrū-śrā-sa-*; *kr-* 'make': *ki-kṛ-sa-* (AV.); *hr-* 'take': *hī-hir-sa-* (AV.); *dhṛ-* 'injure': *dū-dhūr-sa-* with *ū* because vowel and semi-vowel have interchanged⁴.

c. A few roots with medial *a* followed by *n* or *m* lengthen the vowel; thus *man-* 'think': *mī-mām-sa-* (AV.); *han-* 'smite': *jī-ghām-sa-*; *gam-* 'go': *gi-gām-sa-* (AV.); two others do so after dropping the nasal, viz. *van-* 'win': *vī-vā-sa-*; and *san-* 'gain': *sī-sā-sa-*⁵.

c. In nearly a dozen roots, on the other hand, the radical vowel is weakened.

1. In a few roots final *ā* is reduced to *r* and, in one instance, even *i*⁶; thus *gā-* 'go': *gi-gṛ-sa-* (SV¹); *pā-* 'drink': *pī-pṛ-sa-* (RV.) beside *pī-pā-sa-*; *hā-* 'go forth': *hī-hi-sa-*⁷ (AV.); *dhā-* 'put': *dī-dhi-sa-* (RV.) beside *dhi-dhā-sa-*.

2. Half a dozen roots containing *ā* or *a* shorten the root by syncopation resulting in contraction with the reduplicative syllable; *dā-* 'give': *dī-sa-*, for *dī-d[ā]-sa-*, beside *dī-dā-sa-*; *dhā-* 'put': *dhi-t-sa-*, for *dī-dh[ā]-sa-*, beside *dī-dhi-sa-*; *dabh-* 'harm': *dī-p-sa-*, for *dī-d[a]bh-sa-*; *labh-* 'take': *lī-p-sa-* (AV.), for *lī-l[a]bh-sa-*; *sak-* 'be able': *sī-k-sa-*, for *sī-s[a]k-sa-*; *sah-* 'prevail': *sī-k-sa-*, for *sī-s[a]k-sa-*; similarly initial *ā* in *āp-* 'obtain': *īp-sa-*⁸ (AV.); and in *ṛdh-* 'thrive': *ṛt-sa-* (AV.) the initial *r* is treated as if it were *ar*⁹.

a. In a few roots the consonants undergo exceptional changes; thus palatals revert to the original guttural in *ci-* 'note': *cī-ki-sa-*; *ci-* 'perceive': *cī-ki-sa-*; *ji-* 'conquer': *jī-gṛ-sa-*;

¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 86.

² See above 32 b.

³ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 68, note 2. The *i* being the reduplicative vowel, cannot be explained in the same way as that of the perfect *i-yāji-* for **ya-yāji-*, where *i-* has the nature of *Samprasāraṇa*.

⁴ Cp. *ṛdā-*: *dṛyā-tā-* etc., below 573 a.

⁵ As in the past participle 574, 2 a.

⁶ As in the past participle 574, 3.

⁷ In AV. xx. 127² the Mss. read *jihīṣate* probably for *jihīṣate*.

⁸ Cp. BRUGMANN 2, 854, 1027.

⁹ v. NEGELEIN (89, note 2) thinks *ṛtā-* can only be explained from *ṛdh-sa-*.

kan 'slay': *ji-ghām-sa*. In *ghā-* 'eat' the final *s* becomes *t* before the *s* of the suffix: *ji-ghāt-sa*.¹ (AV.).

β. The desiderative suffix *-sa* is never added in the RV. with the connecting vowel *-i-*; but there is one example of this formation in the AV., viz. *pat* 'fly': *ṣi-pat-i-sa*.²

Inflexion.

543. The desiderative is inflected regularly like verbs of the *a*-conjugation in both voices, having the moods and participles of the present tense, as well as an imperfect. No forms outside the present system occur in the RV. with the exception of the perfect from *miś*, *mi-mikṣ-ur*³ etc. (in which, however, the desiderative stem is treated as a root) besides two aorist forms and one passive participle in the AV.⁴

The forms of the present indicative, active and middle, which actually occur, would if made from *vi-vā-sa* 'desire to win', be as follows:

Active. Sing. 1. *vivāsamī*. 2. *vivāsasi*. 3. *vivāsati*. — Du. 2. *vivāsathas*. 3. *vivāsatas*. — Pl. 1. *vivāsamas*. 3. *vivāsanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *vivāse*. 2. *vivāsase*. 3. *vivāsate*. — Pl. 1. *vivāsamāhe*. *vivāsante*.

544. Forms occurring elsewhere in the present system are the following:

a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 3. *ṣṣghāmsāt* (TS.), *ttṣpsāt*, *dlpsāt* (TS. AV.), *ninitsāt*, *vivāsāt*. — Pl. 3. *ṣṣghāmsān*, *ttṣpsān*, *vivāsān*.

b. Injunctive. Active. Sing. 3. *inakṣāt*, *cikitsāt*, *vivāsāt*. — Middle. Pl. 3. *apsanta*, *didhīanta*, *śikṣanta*.

c. Optative. Active. Sing. 1. *ditseyam*, *vivāseyam*. — 3. *vivāset*. — Pl. 1. *didhīema*, *vivāsema*. — Middle. Sing. 1. *didhīeya*.

d. Imperative. Active. Sing. 2. *cikitsa*, *dlpsa* (AV.), *mimikṣa*, *vivāsa*. — 3. *cikitsatu* (AV.). — Du. 2. *mmikṣatam*, *śṣāsātām*. — 3. *mimikṣatām*. — Pl. 2. *cikitsata* (TS.), *vivāsata*. — 3. *didhīantu*.

e. Participles. Active. *inakṣant*, *ṣṣghāmsant*, *ipsant* (AV.), *trtsant* (AV.), *cikitsant*, *ṣṣghāmsant*, *dlpsant*, *dlpsant*, *dūdukṣant*, *pīpīṣant*, *bībhūṣant*, *yūyūṣant*, *yūyūṣant*, *rīrīṣant* (√*rīṣ*), *rūrukṣant* (√*ruh*), *vivāsant*, *śṣāsant*, *śṣṣpsant*, *śikṣant*. — Middle. *ṣṣghāmsamāna*, *trtsamāna* (AV.), *ṣṣṣamāna*, *mimukṣamāna*, *ipsamāna* (AV.), *śikṣamāna* (TS.), *śṣṣamāna*; and with *-āna*: *didhīāna*.

f. Imperfect. Active. Sing. 2. *āsīṣāsas*. — 3. *ajīghāmsāt*, *āsīṣāsāt*. — Pl. 3. *ṣṣyūṣān*, *āsīṣān*; *dūdukṣān*, *bībhīṣān*.

g. Aorist. Sing. 2. *acikitsis* (AV.), *trtsis* (AV.).

h. Passive. No finite form of the passive seems to occur in the Samhitās; of participles, no certain form of the present occurs, *mimāṣyamāna* (AV. IX. 6⁵)⁵ being a conjecture; and of the past only one form has been noted: *mimāṣitā* (AV. IX. 6⁶)⁶.

i. Gerundive. Two regular forms occur: *didṣṣ-ṣṣya* 'worthy to be seen' and *śṣṣṣ-ṣṣya* (TS.) 'worthy to be heard'. There are also one or two irregular formations: *didṣṣ-ṣṣya* 'worthy to be seen' and *paṣṣṣ-ṣṣya* 'to be asked' (unless from aorist stem)⁷.

k. Verbal adjective. A considerable number (more than a dozen in the RV.) of verbal adjectives are formed from the desiderative stem with the

¹ See above 44 a, 1.

² The desiderative of *ṣṣi-* 'live', *ṣṣi-vi-sa*, occurs in VS. XL. (1^a Up.).

³ According to GRASSMANN, perf. des. of *mik* 'ingere'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *mikṣ*.

⁴ In all these forms the stems have lost their distinct desiderative meaning: cp. WHITNEY 1033.

⁵ Cp. WHITNEY's note in his translation; in his grammar 1039 he quotes *ṣṣṣyamāna* (√*rūdh*) from K. 37, 12 (apa-).

⁶ WHITNEY 1037 quotes the gerund *mimāṣ-ṣṣvā* from K.

⁷ See below, Gerundive 580.

suffix *-u*. They have the value of a present participle governing a case; thus *iyakṣ-ū-* 'wishing to sacrifice'; *jigīṣ-ū-* 'wishing to conquer'; *didhīṣ-ū-* 'desiring to win'; *dīps-ū-* 'wishing to injure'; *vivakṣ-ū-* (AV.) from *vac-* 'speak'; *śīvas-ū-* 'eager to win'.

2. Intensives.

DELBRÜCK, *Verbum* p. 130—134. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 230, 270—272. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 1000—1025; *Roots* 232 f. — v. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte* 78—80. — LINDNER, *Altindische Nominalbildung* 10 (p. 48) and 21 c (participles). — BURCHARDI, *Die Intensiva des Sanskrit und Avesta*. Teil I. Halle 1892; Teil II, BB. 19, 169—225.

545. The intensive or, as it is also often called, the frequentative implies intensification or repetition of the sense expressed by the root¹. It is a common formation, being made from over 90 roots in the Saṃhitās. The stem is derived from the root by means of a reduplicative syllable, the characteristic feature of which is that it always has a strong form. The reduplicative syllable may be formed in three different ways: 1. radical *i* *ū* are always reduplicated with a Guna vowel, and *ā* and *r* (*ar*) often with *a*; 2. roots containing *r* or *a* followed by *r l n m* more usually reduplicate with *a* and liquid or nasal; 3. a considerable number of intensives interpose the vowel *ī* between the reduplicative syllable and the root.

1. a. Roots containing *i* or *ū* reduplicate with *o* or *o*; thus *cit-* 'perceive': *cīcī-*; *tij-* 'be sharp': *tī-tij-*; *dīs-* 'point': *dī-dīs-*; *nij-* 'wash': *nī-nij-*; *nī-* 'lead': *nī-nī-*; *piś-* 'adorn': *pī-piś-*; *mī-* 'damage': *mī-mī-*; *rih-* 'lick': *rī-rih-*; *vij-* 'tremble': *vī-vij-*; *vid-* 'find': *vī-vid-*; *viś-* 'be active': *vī-viś-*; *vī-* 'enjoy': *vī-vī-*; *sidh-* 'repel': *sī-sidh-*; *gu-* 'sound': *gū-gu-*; *dhū-* 'shake': *dī-dhū-*; *nu-* 'praise': *nī-nu-*; *pruth-* 'snort': *pī-pruth-*; *bhū-* 'be': *bī-bhū-*; *yu-* 'join': *yī-yu-*; *yu-* 'separate': *yī-yu-*; *ru-* 'cry': *rī-ru-*; *ru-* 'break': *rī-ru-*; *śuc-* 'gleam': *śī-śuc-*; *sū-* 'generate': *sī-sū-*; *sku-* 'tear': *kī-sku-*; *hū-* 'call': *hī-hū-*.

b. More than a dozen roots with medial *ā* (ending in mutes or sibilants, and one in *m*), as well as three with final *-r*, reduplicate with *ā*: *kā-* 'appear': *kī-kā-*; *gam-* 'go': *gī-gam-*; *nād-* 'sound': *nī-nād-*; *pat-* 'fall': *pī-pat-*; *bād-* 'oppress': *bī-bād-*; *raj-* 'colour': *rī-raj-*; *randh-* 'make subject': *rī-randh-*; *rap-* 'chatter': *rī-rap-*; *lap-* 'prate': *lī-lap-*; *vac-* 'speak': *vī-vac-*; *vad-* 'speak': *vī-vad-*; *vas-* 'be eager': *vī-vas-*; *vās-* 'bellow': *vī-vās-*; *śvas-* 'blow': *śī-śvas-*; *gr-* 'wake': *gī-gr-*; *dr-* 'split': *dī-dr-*; *dhr-* 'hold': *dī-dhr-*; also *cal-* 'stir': *cī-cal-* (AV.).

2. All other roots containing *r* (and *dr-* and *dhr-* alternatively) and several with medial *a* followed by *r l*, or a nasal, reduplicate with *-ar*, *-al* or *-an*, *-am*. Thus:

a. *kr-* 'commemorate': *car-kr-* and *car-kir-*; *kṣ-* 'drag': *car-kṣ-*; *gr-* 'swallow': *jīr-gur-* and *jal-gul-*; *tr-* 'cross': *tur-tr-* (RV.); *dr-* 'split': *dār-dr-* and *dar-dīr-*; *dhr-* 'hold': *dār-dhr-*; *brh-* 'make strong': *bīr-brh-*; *bhr-* 'bear': *jar-bhr-*; *mṛj-* 'wipe': *mar-mṛj-*; *mṛś-* 'touch': *mār-mṛś-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *var-vṛt-*; *sr-* 'flow': *sar-sr-*; *hrṣ-* 'be excited': *jar-hṣ-*.

b. *car-* 'move': *car-car-* (AV.); *cal-* 'stir': *cal-cal-* (MS.) beside *cī-cal-* (AV.); *phar-* 'scatter' (?): *par-phar-*; *kram-* 'stride': *car-kram-*; *gam-* 'go': *gī-gam-*; *jambh-* 'chew up': *jañ-jabh-*; *taṃs-* 'shake': *tan-tas-*; *daṃs-* 'bite': *dan-das-*; *nam-* 'bend': *nan-nam-*; *yam-* 'reach': *yañ-yam-*; *stan-* 'thunder': *tañ-stan-* (AV.).

¹ GRASSMANN, p. 1727, gives a list of the desiderative adjectives in *-su* occurring in the RV. (about 15); four occur in the AV.: *cī-* 'perceive', *nij-* 'wash', *viś-* 'work', *cikīṣ-*, *jigīṣ-*, *dīps-*, *bībhāṣ-*; cp. WHITNEY 1038.

² The specific meaning of the formation is wanting in the intensives of *gr-* 'wake', *cī-* 'perceive', *nij-* 'wash', *viś-* 'work'.

³ The palatal *j* in the reduplication is like that of *bhr-* in the perfect form *ja-bhāra* (482 d).

a. A few intensives show irregularities in the reduplicative syllable; thus *ṛ* 'go': *ālar-* (dis-similation); *gāh-* 'plunge': *juh-gah-* (from a root which otherwise has no nasal in inflected forms); *bādḥ-* 'oppress': *bad-badh-* (only example of a final mute being reduplicated); *gur-* 'greet' and *bhur-* 'quiver' reduplicate with *a*: *jar-gur-* and *jar-bhur-*.

β. In a few roots containing *ṛ* or *r* the radical syllable varies; thus *gṛ-* 'swallow': *jar-gur-* and *jal-gul-*; *car-* 'move': *car-cur-* beside *car-car-*; *ṭṛ-* 'cross': *tar-tur-* beside *tar-tar-*.

3. Over twenty roots with final or penultimate nasal, *ṛ*, or *ṛ*, interpose an *ṛ* (or *r* if the vowel would be long by position) between the reduplicative syllable and the root:

a. *krand-* 'cry out': *kan-i-krand-* and *kan-i-krad-*; *gam-* 'go': *gan-i-gam-* (but *gan-i-gm-at*); *pan-* 'admire': *pān-i-pan-*; *phaṇ-* 'spring': *pān-i-phaṇ-*; *ścaud-* 'shine': *can-i-ścaud-*; *san-* 'gain': *sān-i-san-*; *skand-* 'leap': *kan-i-skand-* and *can-i-śkaud-*; *syand-* 'flow': *sān-i-syand-*; *svan-* 'sound': *san-i-svan-*; *han-* 'slay': *ghan-i-ghan-*.

b. *kr-* 'make': *kar-i-kr-* and *car-i-kr-* (AV.); *ṭṛ-* 'cross': *tar-tṛ-*; *bhr-* 'bear': *bhar-t-bhr-*; *vṛ-* 'cover': *car-t-vṛ-*; *vṛj-* 'twist': *vdr-t-vṛj-*; *vṛt-* 'turn': *var-t-vṛt-*.

c. *tu-* 'be strong': *tiv-tu-*; *dhu-* 'shake': *dāv-i-dhu-*; *nu-* 'praise': *nāv-t-nu-*; *dyut-* 'shine': *dāv-i-dyut-*.

a. Primary Form. Present Indicative.

546. With the exception of eight or nine verbs, which take a secondary form (inflected in the middle only and identical in appearance with a passive), the intensive is inflected like the third conjugational class. The only difference is that *ṛ* may be inserted between the root and terminations beginning with consonants; it is common in the 1. and 3. sing. ind. act., and is also sometimes found to occur in the 2. 3. du. incl. and the 2. 3. sing. imperative and imperfect active¹. The forms actually found, if made from the intensive of *nij-* 'wash', would be the following in the indicative:

Active. Sing. 1. *n'nej-mi* and *n'nej-i-mi*. 2. *n'nek-si*. 3. *n'nek-ti* and *n'nej-ti*. — Du. 2. *nenej-t'has*². 3. *neni-t'is*. — Pl. 1. *nenij-mas* and *nenij-masi* (AV.). 3. *nenij-ati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *nenij-*. 3. *nenik-t'*. — Du. 3. *nenij-āte*. — Pl. 3. *n'nij-ate*.

The forms actually met with are:

Active. Sing. 1. *car-kurmi*, *veveṣmi* (AV.); *cakāṣmi*, *jōhavāmi*, *dardarāmi*. — 2. *alarṣi*, *jāgarṣi* (Kh. II 3), *dīrdarṣi*, *dārdharṣi*. — 3. *dlarti*, *kānikranti*, *ganiganti*, *jaṅghanti*, *varivarti* and *vdrivarti*⁶; *-calcaliti* (MS. III. 13¹); *carcariti* (AV.), *cakāṣiti*, *jarbhuriti*, *jalguliti* (TS.), *jōhaviti*, *tarturiti*, *dardariti*, *dodhaviti*, *nānnamiti*⁷, *nānaviti*, *pāpatiti*, *bobhaviti*, *yanyamiti*, *rārajiti* (AV.), *rārapiti*, *rōraviti*, *lālapiti* (AV.), *vāvaditi*, *soṣaviti*.

Du. 2. *tartarīthas*⁸. — 3. *jarbhṛtās*.

Pl. 1. *nonumas* and *nonumasi* (AV.). — 3. *jigrati* (AV.), *dvidyutati*, *nānadati*, *bharibhrati*, *vdrivrtati*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *joguve*. — 3. *tlikte*, *dēdiṣte*, *nānmate*⁹, *nenikti*,

¹ Though it has in nominal derivatives; see WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *gāh*; cp. BURCHARDI, BB. 19, 179; v. NEGELEIN 79.

² Cp. p. 390, note 3.

³ In the participle *kārikr-at* and *-cārikr-at* (AV.).

⁴ This *i* never occurs if the reduplication contains *i*; thus *no-nav-i-ti* and *nav-i-no-t*, but never **nav-i-nav-i-ti*. Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 131; v. NEGELEIN 79.

⁵ For **nenik-t'has*; the only 2. du. which occurs is *tartarīthas* for **tarty-dhās*.

⁶ For *vdrivart-ti*, *varivart-ti*; cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *vṛt*.

⁷ See note 9.

⁸ Cp. note 5.

⁹ With loss of nasal (*a* = sonant nasal) for **nānma-te* (l. 1400). AUFRECHT, RV², and MAX MÜLLER, RV², write *nānma-te* (also Padapāṭha); but the participle *nānmat* (VIII. 43⁶), AUFRECHT *nān-*, MAX MÜLLER *nān-*; the 3. sing. *nānamiti* (v. 83⁵) AUFRECHT², *nānamiti* MAX MÜLLER²; similarly *nānamāne* (x. 82¹) AUFRECHT, *nānamāne* MAX MÜLLER (also Pp.).

sarsrte; with -o for -to: cckite, jāṅgāhe, jogure, badbadhe¹ and bābadhe, yajure, sarsrē. — Du. 3. sarsrāte. — Pl. 3. dēdīate.

547. a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. jāṅghānāni. — 2. jāgarāsi² (AV.); jāṅghanas, jāḡulas. — 3. caniskodāt, cārkyśat, cckitat, jāṅghanat, jāgarat (AV.), dardirat, dāvidyat, parpharat, bārbyhat, marmrjat, marmrjat, sanīṣvanat. — Du. 1. jāṅghanāva. — Pl. 1. carkirāma, vevidāma. — 3. carkiran, ('commemorate'), cckāśān³ (AV.), pāpatan, śūsucan.

Middle. Du. 3. tantasaitē. — Pl. 3. jāṅghananta, jārhṣanta, nomavanta, marmrjanta, śūsucanta.

b. Optative. No certain form occurs in the RV,⁴ and only two or three in other Samhitās: Sing. 3. vevisyāt (AV.). — Pl. 1. jāgyāma (VS. TS. MS.), jāgyāma (TS. 1. 7. 10¹).

c. Imperative. Examples of forms of all the 2. and 3. persons are found excepting the 3. pl., but no middle form has been met with.

Active. Sing. 2. carkrdhi (AV.) 'remember', jāghī, dardhī, dādhyī, nenigdhī (AV.), bārbyhi⁴; jāṅghanī (AV.), cckāśī (VS. TS.), tamstanī (AV.). — With -tāt: carkytāt, jāgytāt⁵. — 3. dardartu, marmartu, vevesu (AV.); vāvaditu (AV.), jāhavitu (AV.). — Du. 2. jāgytam. — 3. jāgyām (AV.). — Pl. 2. jāgyta (AV.), carkramata⁶.

548. Participle. Active. kñikradat, kārīkrat, ghānighnat, -cārīkrat (AV.), cckāśat, cckitat, jāṅghanat, jārbhurat, jāgrat, dāridrat (TS. IV. 5. 10¹), dārdrat, dāvidyat, nānamat, nānadat, pānīpnat, pānīphanat, pēpīśat, bībhuvat (AV.), marmrjat, yūyvat (yu- 'ward off'), rērihat, rēruvat, vāvāśat (vās- 'roar'), vēvīśat, śūsucāt, śśīdhat.

Middle⁷. cckitāna, jāṅghāna (AV.), jārbhurāna, jārhṣāna, dāndāna, nānamāna, pēpīśāna (AV. TS.), bābadhāna, mēmyāna, yūyuvāna (yu- 'join'), rīrucāna, śūsucāna, śśīrāna.

a. The participles badbadhāna- and marmrjāna- (beside marmrjana-), though irregularly accented, unmistakably belong to the intensive. kñikrat once (IX. 63¹⁰) appears as an abbreviated form of kñikradat. The participle jāṅghanat- syncopates the radical vowel in the gen. sing.: jāṅghat-; another form of the intensive participle from the same root syncopates the radical vowel throughout: ghānighnat-; also pānīpnat-. The obscure form cckāśān (X. 29¹) may be the nom. of an intensive participle with anomalous accent for cckāśat-.

549. Imperfect. Altogether (including unaugmented forms, some of which are used injunctively) about thirty forms of the imperfect occur, among them only four examples of the middle. In the active all persons are represented except the 1. du. and the 2. pl.; but in the middle only the 3. sing. and pl. are met with.

Active. Sing. 1. acckāśam; dēdīsam. — 2. ajāgar, adardar, dardar. — 3. adardar, adardhar, avarīvar; kñīśkan, dardar, dāvidyat, nāvīnot; dājavāt, dyoyavāt, āroravāt, āvāvāt.

Du. 2. adardītam. — 3. avāvātītam. — Pl. 1. marmrjāma. — 3. acarkṣur (AV.), dājavur, adardīrur, avonavur.

¹ With irregular accent.

² With double modal sign.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 1009 a.

⁴ For bārbyhi, the final *h* being dropped after being cerebralized before *-dhi*: *bārby-*dhi* (58, 1 b, a; 62, 4 e).

⁵ This form occurs once in the AV. as a 1. person: cp. WHITNEY 1011 a.

⁶ With anomalous connecting *-a-* for *carkran-*ta*.

⁷ The participles rārah-āna-, rārak-āna-, and jārhṣ-āna- (beside jārhṣ-āna-) are probably perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with *ā* in the reduplicative syllable occur from these roots (rah-, rāk-, rāh-); cp. WHITNEY 1013.

⁸ I regard it as 3. sing. perf. inj. = *rākānt- (488). Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 7, 111; GRASSMANN, under the root *kā*; WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1013 b; Roots 17.

Middle. Sing. 3. *ādediṣṭa*, *ānannata*¹. — Pl. 3. *marmṛjata*².

550. a. Perfect. A few perfect forms with intensive reduplication and present sense are met with:

Active. Sing. 1. *jāgara*. — 3. *jāgīra*, *dauidhāva* (*dhū-* 'shake'), *nūniva*³ (*nu-* 'praise').

The only perfect participle occurring is *jāgrvāms*.

b. Aorist. The only trace of an aorist being formed from the intensive is *cārṣ-ṣ-c* 'thinks of', 3. sing. mid., formed like *hi-ṣ-c* and *stu-ṣ-c*. It occurs three times in the RV., always with a present sense.

c. Causative. A causative formed from the intensive is once found in the participle *varvarj-āyant-t-* (AV.) 'twisting about' (*ṣṣj*).

b. Secondary Form.

551. The rare secondary form of the intensive is identical in meaning with the primary. In form it is indistinguishable from a passive, the suffix *-yā* being added to the primary stem and the inflexion being the same as that of the passive. Altogether about a dozen forms have been met with from nine roots. The only persons represented are the 2. and 3. sing. and 3. pl. indicative; and there is also a present participle. The forms actually occurring are the following:

Present indicative. Sing. 2. *coṣkayāse*. — 3. *dediṣyāte* (AV. VS.), *nēnyāte* (VS.), *marmṛjyāte*, *verihyāte*, *vevijyāte*, *vevyāte*. — Pl. 3. *tartāryante* (*ṣṣt-*), *marmṛjyānte*.

Participle. *carcāryātmāna-* (*ṣ car-*), *nēnyātmāna-*, *marmṛjyātmāna-*.

3. The Causative.

DELBÜCK, *Verbum* p. 209—216. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection* 262—268. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* p. 379—386; *Roots* 235 f. — v. NEGELEIN 44—48.

552. The causative verb expresses that its object is caused to perform the action or to undergo the state denoted by the root; e. g. *pārām evā parivṛtāṃ sapātṇiṃ gamayāmasi* (x. 145⁴) 'we cause our rival to go to the far distance'. It is by far the commonest of the secondary conjugations, being formed from over 200 roots in the Samhitās; but of about 150 causative stems appearing in the RV. at least one-third lack the causative meaning. The stem is formed by adding the suffix *-iṣya* to the root, which as a rule is strengthened. Those verbs in which the root, though capable of being strengthened, remains unchanged, have not a causative¹, but an iterative sense, being akin in formation to denominatives² (which sometimes even have the causative accent). The whole group may originally have had this meaning, from which the causative sense was developed till it became the prevalent one³. This may perhaps account for an iterative formation, the reduplicated aorist, having specially attached itself to the causative. Both the iterative and the causative form are occasionally made from the same root; e. g. *patāya-ti* 'flies about' and *patāya-ti* 'causes to fly' beside the simple verb *patā-ti* 'flies'.

¹ See p. 391, note 9.

² *ācāvāntu* (*ṣvā-*) is probably a plu-perfect (p. 365, top).

³ WHITNEY 1018 quotes also *ācāvāntu* (*drū-* 'run') from the TS., and *yāvāva* (*yu-* 'separate'), and *lāṣya* (*ṣ-* 'be unsteady') from the

MS. (l. 86); the latter form is irregular in accent. Cp. BÖHLINGER's *Lexicon*, s. v. 3. *li*.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 1042 b.

⁵ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 44.

⁶ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 698.

553. The root is strengthened in different ways according to the nature and position of its vowel.

Initial or medial *i u r l* (if not long by position) take Guna; thus

a. *cit*- 'perceive': *cit-āya*- 'teach'; *mih*- 'mingere': *meh-āya*- 'cause to rain'; *riṣ*- 'be hurl': *reṣ-āya*- 'injure'; *vid*- 'know': *ved-āya*- 'cause to know'; *viṣ*- 'tremble': *veṣ-āya*- 'shake'; *vis*- 'enter': *ves-āya*- 'cause to enter'; *viṣṭ*- 'wrap': *veṣṭ-āya*- (AV.) 'involve'; *sniḥ*- 'be moist': *sneh-āya*- 'destroy';

b. *kup*- 'be agitated': *kop-āya*- 'shake'; *krudh*- 'be angry': *krodh-āya*- 'enrage'; *kṣud*- 'be agitated': *kṣoud-āya*- 'shake'; *ghuṣ*- 'sound': *ghoṣ-āya*- 'proclaim'; *cuḍ*- 'impel': *cod-āya*-, id.; *juṣ*- 'enjoy': *joṣ-āya*- 'caress'; *ḥyut*- 'shine': *ḥyot-āya*- (AV.) 'enlighten'; *tuḥ*- 'drip': *toḥ-āya*- 'bestow abundantly'; *dyut*- 'shine': *dyot-āya*- 'illumine'; *puṣ*- 'thrive': *poṣ-āya*- 'nourish'; *budh*- 'be awake': *bodh-āya*- 'waken'; *muh*- 'be dazed': *moh-āya*- 'bewilder'; *yudh*- 'fight': *yodh-āya*- 'cause to fight'; *yup*- 'efface': *yop-āya*-, id.; *ruc*- 'shine': *roc-āya*- 'illumine'; *rud*- 'weep': *rod-āya*- 'cause to weep'; *ruh*- 'rise': *roh-āya*- 'raise'; *subh*- 'desire eagerly': *lobh-āya*- 'allure'; *śuc*- 'flame': *śoc-āya*- 'set on fire'; *śubh*- 'shine': *śobh-āya*- (AV.) 'adorn'; *śuṣ*- 'grow dry': *śoṣ-āya*- (AV.) 'make dry';

c. *ṛd*- 'dissolve' (intr.): *ard-āya*- 'destroy'; *ḥṛt*- 'be lean': *kaṛṣ-āya*- 'emaciate'; *ṛp*- 'be pleased': *tarṣ-āya*- 'delight'; *ḍṛṣ*- 'see': *darṣ-āya*- (AV.) 'show'; *ṛt*- 'dance': *nart-āya*- 'cause to dance'; *ḥṛh*- or *ṛḥ*- 'tear': *barh-āya*- 'thrust'; *mṛc*- 'injure': *marc-āya*-, id.; *mṛj*- 'wipe': *marj-āya*-, id.; *ṛj*- 'turn': *varj-āya*- (AV.) 'cause to turn'; *ṛt*- 'roll': *wart-āya*- 'cause to revolve'; *ṛdḥ*- 'grow': *ṛardh-āya*- 'augment'; *ṛṣ*- 'rain': *varṣ-āya*- 'cause to rain'; *ṣṛdh*- 'be bold': *śardh-āya*- 'cause to be bold'; *ḥṛṣ*- 'be excited': *haṛṣ-āya*- 'excite';

d. *kṛp*- 'be adapted': *kaṛp-āya*- 'arrange'.

554. The following verbs, mostly lacking the causative meaning, leave the root unchanged: *it*- 'be quiet': *it-āya*- (AV.) 'cease'; *cit*- 'observe': *cit-āya*- 'stimulate' (also *cit-āya*-); *riṣ*- 'be injured': *riṣ-āya*- id. (beside *reṣ-āya*-); *viṣ*- 'quiver': *viṣ-āya*- 'agitare' (also *veṣ-āya*-);

tuj- 'be eager': *tuj-āya*- id.; *tur*- 'overwhelm': *tur-āya*- id.; *tus*- 'be content': *tus-āya*- id.; *dyut*- 'shine': *dyut-āya*- id. (beside *dyot-āya*- 'illumine'); *ruc*- 'shine': *ruc-āya*- id. (beside *roc-āya*- 'illumine'); *śuc*- 'shine': *śuc-āya*- id. (beside *śoc-āya*- 'illumine'); *śubh*- 'shine': *śubh-āya*- id. (also *śobh-āya*- 'adorn' AV.). The vowel is lengthened in *duṣ*- 'spoil': *dāṣ-āya*- id.

kṛp- 'lament': *kṛp-āya*- id.; *mṛd*- 'be gracious': *mṛd-āya*-¹ id.; *sṛḥ*- 'be eager': *sṛḥ-āya*- id. In the case of *grabh*- 'grasp', the root is even weakened: *grbh-āya*- id.

a. Vowels long by nature or position remain unchanged, but the stem, in this case, usually has the causative sense: *iṅ*- 'move': *iṅ-āya*- 'set in motion'; *ikṣ*- 'see': *ikṣ-āya*- 'cause to see'; *iṅkḥ*- 'swing': *iṅkḥ-āya*- 'shake'; *ir*- 'set in motion': *ir-āya*- id.; *ḥṛ*- 'live': *ḥṛ-āya*- 'animate'; *ḍiṣ*- 'shine': *ḍiṣ-āya*- 'kindle'; *ḥṛ*- 'press': *ḥṛ-āya*- (AV.) 'distress'; *viḍ*- 'be strong' (in *viḍ-āya*- 'strong'): *viḍ-āya*- 'make strong'²;

ukṣ- 'grow up': *ukṣ-āya*- 'strengthen'; *kūḍ*- (does not occur in the simple form): *kūḍ-āya*- 'scorch'; *śundh*- 'purity': *śundh-āya*- id.; *śad*- 'make pleasant': *śad-āya*- id.; *spharj*- 'rumble': *spharj-āya*- id.;

ḍṛṇh- 'make firm': *ḍṛṇh-āya*- (AV.) 'hold fast';

α. Two roots with medial *r* take Guna: *svā*- 'fall': *sev-āya*- beside *svā-āya*-³ (AV.) 'lead astray'; *hiḍ*- 'be hostile': *helaya*- in the participle *ā-helayant*- 'not angry'; while

¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 46, note 1.

² DELBRÜCK 189, 4 regards *viḍ-āya*- as a denominative.

³ In AV. VI 73² all the Mss. but one have

hṛv-.

two others already have it in the root: *rej-* 'tremble': *rej-āya-* 'shake'; *med-* 'be fat': *med-āya-* 'fatten'.

555. An initial or a medial *a* (if not long by position) is lengthened in some thirty roots: *am-* 'be injurious': *am-āya-* 'be injured'; *kam-* 'desire': *kam-āya-* 'love'; *cat-* 'hide oneself': *cat-āya-* 'drive away'; *chad-* 'cover': *chad-āya-* id.; *tan-* 'stretch': *tan-āya-* (AV.) 'make taut'; *tap-* 'burn': *tap-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to burn'; *trās-* 'be terrified': *trās-āya-* (AV.) 'terrify'; *naś-* 'be lost': *naś-āya-* 'destroy'; *pad-* 'go', 'fall': *pad-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *phaṇ-* 'bound': *phaṇ-āya-* 'cause to bound'; *bhāj-* 'divide': *bhāj-āya-* 'cause to share'; *bhrās-* 'fall': *bhrās-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *man-* 'think': *mān-āya-*² (AV.) 'esteem'; *yat-* 'stretch': *yāt-āya-* 'unite'; *yam-* 'guide': *yām-āya-* (Pp. *yām-*) 'present'; *lap-* 'prate': *lap-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to cry'; *vat-* 'apprehend': *vāt-āya-* 'inspire'; *van-* 'win': *vān-āya-* (AV.) 'conciliate' (Pp. *vān-*); *vas-* 'dwell': *vās-āya-* 'cause to stay'; *vas-* 'wear': *vās-āya-* 'clothe'; *vas-* 'shine': *vās-āya-* 'illumine'; *śat-*³ 'cut in pieces': *śāt-āya-* (AV.) id.⁴; *śvas-* 'snort': *śvās-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to resound'; *spāś-* 'see': *spāś-āya-* 'show'; *svap-* 'sleep': *svāp-āya-* 'send to sleep'.

a. Five or six other causatives optionally retain the *a*: *gam-* 'go': *gam-āya-* and *gām ay-* (RV.) 'bring'; *das-* 'waste away': *das-āya-* and *dās-āya-* (AV.) 'exhaust'; *dhvan-* 'disappear': *dhvan-āya-* (RV.) and *dhvān-āya-* (RV.) 'cause to disappear'; *pat-* 'fall': *pat-āya-* 'fly about' (in RV. only once, I. 1697, 'cause to fall') and *pāt-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *mad-* 'be exhilarated': *mad-āya-* (AV.) and *mād-āya-* 'rejoice'; *ran-* 'rest': *ran-āya-* and *rām-āya-* 'cause to rest'.

556. Some twenty-five roots with initial or medial *a* (short by position) remain unchanged, as the causative meaning is mostly absent: *an-* 'breathe': *an-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to breathe'; *chad-* 'seem': *chad-āya-* id.; *jan-* 'beget': *jan-āya-* id.; *tvar-* 'make haste': *tvar-āya-* (AV.) 'quicken'; *dam-* 'control': *dam-āya-* id.; *dhan-* 'set in motion': *dhan-āya-* id.; *dhvas-* 'disperse' (intr.): *dhvas-āya-* 'scatter' (tr.); *mad-* 'roar': *mad-āya-* 'cause to resound'; *nam-* 'bend' (tr. and intr.): *nam-āya-* 'cause to bend', 'strike down'; *pan-* 'admire': *pan-āya-* id.; *prath-* 'spread out': *prath-āya-* id.; *mah-* 'be great': *mah-āya-* 'magnify'; *ra-* 'colour': *raj-āya-* (AV.) id.; *ran-* 'rejoice': *ran-āya-* id. and 'gladden'; *vyath-* 'waver': *vyath-āya-* 'cause to fall'; *śam-* 'be quiet': *śam-āya-* (AV.) 'appease'; *śnath-* 'pierce': *śnath-āya-* id.; *śrath-* 'loosen': *śrath-āya-* id.; *stan-* 'thunder': *stan-āya-* id.; *svad-* 'enjoy', 'sweeten': *svad-āya-* id.; *svan-* 'sound': *svan-āya-* id.; *svar-* 'sound': *svar-āya-* (AV.) id.⁵

a. If long by nature or position medial *ā* remains unchanged, the causative sense being more often lacking than present: thus *arc-* 'shine': *arc-āya-* 'cause to shine'; *kṛś-* 'appear': *kṛś-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to be viewed'; *kṛand-* 'roar': *kṛand-āya-* 'cause to roar'; *cakṣ-* 'see': *cakṣ-āya-* 'cause to appear'; *chand-* 'seem': *chand-āya-* id.; *jambh-* 'chew up', 'crush': *jambh-āya-* id.; *tanis-* 'set in motion': *tanis-āya-* id.; *dambh-* 'destroy': *dambh-āya-* id.; *bādh-* 'oppress': *bādh-āya-* (AV.) 'force'; *bhaks-* 'partake of': *bhaks-āya-* id.; *manh-* 'bestow': *manh-āya-* id.; *mand-* 'gladden': *mand-āya-* 'satisfy'; *yāc-* 'ask': *yāc-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to be asked for'; *ramh-* 'hasten': *ramh-āya-* (AV.) id.; *randh-* 'make subject': *randh-āya-* id.; *rāj-* 'rule': *rāj-āya-* (AV. TS.) 'be king'; *rādh-* 'succeed': *rādh-āya-* (AV.) 'make successful'; *raks-* 'grow': *raks-āya-* 'cause to grow';

¹ Finite forms of the simple root *chad-* do not occur; the part. *channa-* is found in B.

² In AV. xv. 102 the reading should be *mānyet*; see WHITNEY's note.

³ In AV. iv. 184 *śāpaya*, which would be the causative of *śap-*, is probably a wrong reading; cp. WHITNEY's note.

⁴ No form or derivative of the simple root *śat-* occurs in V.; see WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *śat*.

⁵ Occurring only in the participle *svarāyant-* *an* (AV. xiii. 22), which WHITNEY translates 'shining'.

sams- 'proclaim': *sams-īya-* 'cause to proclaim'; *svāñ-* 'spread': *svāñ-āya-* 'cause to spread out'; *syand-* 'flow': *syand-āya-* id.; *srañs-* 'fall': *srañs-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to fall'.

557. Final *i*, *ū*, *r* take **Guṇa** or **Vṛddhi**, the latter being commoner.

a. The only example of a causative stem from a root ending in an *i*-vowel is that of *kṣi-* 'possess', which takes **Guṇa**: *kṣay-āya-* 'cause to dwell securely'.

b. Final *ñ* takes **Guṇa** or **Vṛddhi**: *cyu-* 'waver': *cyāu-āya-* 'shake'; *dru-* 'run': *drāv-āya-* 'flow' and *drāv-āya-* 'cause to flow'; *bhū-* 'become': *bhāv-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to become'; *yu-* 'separate': *yāu-āya-* and *yāv-āya-* id.; *śru-* 'hear': *śrāv-āya-* and *śrāv-āya-* 'cause to hear'; *śru-* 'dissolve': *śrāv-āya-* and *śrāv-āya-* (Pp. *śrāv-*) 'cause to move'; *sru-* 'flow': *sṛāv-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to flow'.

c. Final *r* usually takes **Vṛddhi**; thus *ghr-* 'drip': *ghāv-āya-* (AV.) 'cause to drip'; *dhr-* 'hold': *dhāv-āya-* id.; *pr-* 'pass': *pāv-āya-* id.; *pr-* 'fill': *pūr-āya-* (AV.) 'fulfil'; *mṛ-* 'die': *māv-āya-* (AV.) 'kill'; *vy-* 'confine': *vāv-āya-* id. Two causatives have the **Guṇa** as well as the **Vṛddhi** form: *ḥr-* 'waste away': *ḥāv-āya-* and *ḥāv-āya-* (Pp. *ḥāv-*) 'wear out', 'cause to grow old'; *śr-* 'flow': *sāv-āya-* id. and *sāv-āya-* 'cause to flow'. One root in *-r* takes **Guṇa** only: *dr-* 'pierce': *dāv-āya-* 'shatter'.

558. Roots ending in *-ā* form their causative stem by adding *-pāya*; thus *kṣā-* 'burn': *kṣā-pāya-* (AV.) id.; *glā-* 'be weary': *glā-pāya-* (Pp. *glāp-*) 'exhaust'; *dā-* 'give': *dā-pāya-* (AV.) 'cause to give'; *dhā-* 'put': *dhā-pāya-* 'cause to put'; *dhā-* 'suck': *dhā-pāya-* 'suckle'; *mā-* 'relax' (intr.): *mā-pāya-* (AV.) 'relax' (tr.); *vā-* 'blow': *vā-pāya-* 'fan'; *sthā-* 'stand': *sthā-pāya-* 'set up'; *snā-* 'wash' (intr.): *snā-pāya-* 'bathe' (tr.)¹. In three roots the *ā* is shortened: *jñā-* 'know': *jñā-pāya-* (AV.) 'cause to know'; *brā-* 'boil': *brā-pāya-* (AV. TS.) 'cook'; *snā-* 'wash': *snā-pāya-* (AV.) beside *snā-pāya-* 'bathe' (tr.).

a. A few roots ending in other vowels take *-pāya*. Two stems are formed by adding the suffix to the gunated root: *kṣi-* 'possess': *kṣe-pāya-* 'cause to dwell' beside *kṣay-āya-*; *r-* 'go': *arpāya-* 'cause to go'. In the VS. two roots in *i* substitute *ā* for that vowel before *-pāya*: *ji-* 'conquer': *jā-pāya-* 'cause to win'; *śri-* 'resort': *(ud-)śrā-pāya-* (VS¹) 'raise'.

a. Two roots with initial *r* and ending in *-ā* do not form their causative stem with *-pāya*, but add the ordinary suffix *-āya* with interposed *y*: *pā-* 'drink': *pāy-āya-* 'cause to drink'; *pā-* 'overflow': *(ā-)pāy-āya-* (AV.) 'fill up'. This seeming irregularity is doubtless due to the original form of the root².

Inflexion.

559. The causative is inflected regularly like the verbs of the *a-* conjugation in both voices. It is to be noted, however, that in the 1. pl. pres. the termination *-masi* occurs in the RV. and AV. ten times as often as *-mas*; that in the 2. pl. no forms in *-thana* are met with; and that in the 3. sing. mid. *e* never appears for *-ate*.

a. The forms of the present indicative active and middle, which actually occur, would if made from *kalpiya-* be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *kalpayāmi*. 2. *kalpāyasi*. 3. *kalpiyati*. — Du. 2. *kalpāyathas*. 3. *kalpayatas*. — Pl. 1. *kalpayāmasi* and *kalpāyāmas*. 2. *kalpāyanti*. 3. *kalpāyanti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *kalpāye*. 2. *kalpāyase*. 3. *kalpāyate*. — Du. 2. *kalpāyetha*. 3. *kalpāyete*. — Pl. 1. *kalpayāmahe*. 3. *kalpāyanti*.

Forms that occur elsewhere in the present system are the following:

¹ This root, of which only three forms occur in the RV., seems to be only a varied spelling for *sm-* 'flow'.
² The causative stem *hā-pāya-*, from *hā-* 'forsake' is presupposed by the aorist *hāpa-*.
³ See above 27 a 1 and 4.

b. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. *cet-tyāni* (TS. III. 2. 10²; MS. IV. 5³), *randhāyāni*. — 2. *codīyāsi*, *mṛḥīyāsi*, *randhīyāsi* (AV.), *vartayāsi* (TS. VII. 4. 20¹); *janīyāsi* (AV.), *yāvayāsi* (AV.), *yodhīyāsi*. — 3. *ardīyāti* (AV.), *kalpīyāti*, *tarpayāti* (AV.), *pādayāti* (AV.), *pārayāti*, *pārayāti* (AV.), *māryāti* (AV.), *mṛḥīyāti*, *rājayāti* (TS. II. 4. 14²), *sūdayāti*; *kalpayāt* (AV.), *codīyāt*, *pārīyāt*, *marēyāt*, *sādayāt*, *sādyāt* (TS. I. 8. 6²). — **Du. 1.** *irīyāva*. — 2. *dhāpayāthas* (AV.), *pādayāthas* (AV.), *vāsāyāthas* (AV.), *sādayāthas* (AV.). — 3. *kūlayātas*. — **Pl. 1.** *irīyāma*, *dhārayāma*. — 2. *dhādīyātha*, *vardhāyātha* (AV.). — 3. *śrapīyāu* (TS. IV. 1. 5¹). — **Middle. Sing. 2.** *kāmīyāse*, *codīyāse*, *joṣīyāse*, *mādīyāse*, *yāthīyāse*, *mādayāthās* (AV. IV. 25⁶). — 3. *codayāte*, *chandayāte*, *dhārayāte*, *mādīyāte*, *vartayāte*; *inḥīyātai* (AV.), *cedīyātai* (TS. I. 1. 13²), *dhārayātai* (AV.), *rājayātai* (AV.), *vārayātai* (AV.). — **Du. 1.** *inḥīyārahai*, *kalpayāvahai*, *janayāvahai* (AV.). — 3. *mādīyāite*. — **Pl. 2.** *kāmīyādhrve*, *mādīyādhrve*; *mādīyādhrvai*.

c. Optative. This mood is very rare, only four forms occurring in the RV. and two in the AV. **Sing. 2.** *janāyēs* (Kh. II. 10⁴), *dhārayēs*. — 3. *mānāyēt* (AV.), *vādāyēt* (AA. III. 2. 5), *veśāyēt* (AV.), *śprhūyēt*. — **Pl. 1.** *citīyema*, *marjāyema*.

d. Imperative. Forms of this mood are common, nearly 120 occurring in the RV.; of these, however, quite one half are in the 2. sing. act. No forms of the 3. sing. and du. mid. are met with in the RV. No impv. in *-tāt* is found in the RV. and only one in the AV.: 2. sing. *dhārayātīt*¹. The forms actually occurring, if made from *kalpīya-*, would be the following:

Active. Sing. 2. *kalpīyā* and *kalpayātāt* (AV.). 3. *kalpayatu*. — **Du. 2.** *kalpayatam*. 3. *kalpayatam*. — **Pl. 2.** *kalpīyātā*. 3. *kalpīyantu*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *kalpīyasva*. — **Du. 2.** *kalpīyethām*. — **Pl. 2.** *kalpīyadhvam*. 3. *kalpayantām*.

e. Participles. The active participle in *-ant*, with fem. in *-ī*, is common; e. g. *jan-īyant-*, f. *jan-īyant-ī* 'producing'. The middle participle, which is always formed with *-māna*, is rare. In the RV. are found only *māhīya-māna-* 'glorifying', *yāthīya-māna-* 'reaching', *vardhīya-māna-* 'increasing', and in the AV. only *kāmīya-māna-* 'desiring'; in the TS. (IV. 2. 6²) *cātīya-māna-*.

f. Imperfect. Forms of this tense, both augmented and unaugmented, are frequent. In the RV. some 130 occur in the active, about two-thirds of which are in the 2. and 3. sing. Middle forms are rare except in the 3. pl. In the active the 1. and 3. du., and 1. and 2. pl. are wanting; in the middle all the 1. persons and the 3. du. are unrepresented. Some 50 unaugmented forms are used as injunctives in the RV.² The forms actually occurring, if made from *janīya-*, would be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *ajanayam*; *janayam*. 2. *ājanayas*; *janīyas*. 3. *ājanayat*; *janīyat*. — **Du. 2.** *ājanayatam*. — **Pl. 3.** *ājanayan*; *janayan*.

Middle. Sing. 2. *ājanayāthās*; *janīyāthās*. 3. *ājanayata*; *janīyata*. — **Du. 2.** *ājanayethām*. — **Pl. 2.** *ājanayadhvam*. 3. *ājanayanta*; *janīyanta*.

560. Outside the present system very few causative forms occur. These are found in the following formations.

a. Future. Only four forms occur in the RV. and AV. **Active. Sing. 1.** *dāṣayīsyāmi* (AV.). 3. *dhārayīsyāti*. — **Middle. Sing. 2.** *vāsāyīsyāse* 'wilt adorn thyself'. 3. *vārayīsyate* (AV.) 'will shield'.

b. Perfect. The only example of a periphrastic perfect occurring in the Sāmhitās is made from a causative stem: *gamayāṇi cakāra* (AV.).

c. Aorist. The reduplicated aorist has attached itself to the causative, probably because the intensive character of the reduplicated form became

¹ In K. the forms *yamayātāt* and *cyārayātāt* occur; and in pl. 2. the unexampled ending *-dhvāt* in *vārayadhvāt*: WIRTHNEY 1043 d.

² See AVERY 264.

associated with the originally iterative meaning of the causative. But in form it is unconnected with the causative stem, being derived directly from the root; and more than one-third of the verbs which form it in the RV., and about one-fifth in the AV., have no causative stem in *-aya*. There are, however, eight forms which are actually made from the causative stem: Sing. 1. *arp-īp-am* (AV.) from *ar-paya-*; 2. *jihīp-as* from *hī-paya-*¹ 'cause to depart'; *alīsthīp-as* and 3. *alīsthīp-at* from *sthā-paya-* 'fasten'; *ājijīp-at* (TS.) from *jñā-paya-* 'cause to know'; Pl. 2. *ājijap-ata* (VS.) from *jāpaya-* 'cause to conquer' (V'ji-); Sing. 2. act. *bibhī-as* (TS.) and mid. *bibhī-ath-is* from *bhī-paya-* 'frighten', anomalous causative of *bhī-* 'fear'.

a. There are besides three *īp*-aorists formed from the causative stem: *vyathay-is* (AV.) from *vyathaya-* 'disturb'; *ailay-is* (AV.) from *īlaya-* 'has quieted down'; *dhvanay-it*² from *dhvanaya-* 'envelope'.

561. Nominal derivatives. a. The only present passive participle appears in the form *bhāj-yā-māna-* (AV. XII. 5^{2b}). There are also a few past participles: *gh-r-i-ta-* (AV.) 'smeared'; *cod-i-tā-* 'impelled'; *ret-i-ta-* (AV.) 'caused to enter'.

b. A few gerundives in *-āyya* are formed from causative stems: *irayay-āyya-* 'to be guarded'; *panay-āyya-* 'admirable'; *spṛhay-āyya-* 'desirable'.

c. Ten infinitives formed with *-dhyai* from the causative stem are met with in the RV.: *iśyādhyai*, *irāyādhyai*, *tāmsayādhyai*, *nāśayādhyai*, *mandayādhyai*, *mādayādhyai*, *riśayādhyai*, *vartayādhyai*, *vāśayādhyai*, *syandayādhyai*³.

d. Four gerunds formed with *-tvā* from causative stems are met with in the AV.: *arpay-i-tvā*, *kalpay-i-tvā*, *sāday-i-tvā*, *sramsay-i-tvā*.

e. Finally several ordinary nouns are derived from the causative stem with various suffixes; a few verbal nouns in *-ana*: *ārp-ana-* (AV.) 'thrusting'; *-bhī-s-ana-* 'frightening'; one or two agent nouns in *-īp*, f. *-tr-i*: *coday-i-tr-i-* 'stimulator'; *bodhay-i-tī-* 'awakener'; a few adjectives in *-ā* as second members of compounds: *alī-p-īray-i-* 'putting across'; *ni-dhāray-i-* 'putting down'; *vācam-īkṣhay-i-* 'voice-impelling'; *viśvam-ējaya-* 'all-stimulating'; an adjective in *-ālu*: *patay-āli-* (AV.) 'flying'; five adjectives in *-īṣṇū*: *tāpāy-īṣṇū-* 'tormenting'; *namay-īṣṇū-* 'bending'; *patay-īṣṇū-* 'flying'; *pāray-īṣṇū-* 'rescuing'; *māday-īṣṇū-* 'intoxicating'; seven adjectives in *-īṭnū*: *āmāy-īṭnū-* 'making ill'; *tanay-īṭnū-* 'thundering'; *dr̥ṣṭay-īṭnū-* 'speeding'; *pośay-īṭnū-* 'nourishing'; *māday-īṭnū-* 'intoxicating'; *sūday-īṭnū-* 'streaming sweetness'; *stanay-īṭnū-* m. 'thunder'; and three adjectives in *-u*: *dhāray-ī-* 'streaming'; *bhāray-ī-* 'animating'; *manday-ī-* 'rejoicing'.

4. The Denominative.

DELBRÜCK, Verbum p. 201—209, 216—218. — AVERY, Verb-Inflection 272—274. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1053—1068. — v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 40—44. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 693—696.

562. The denominative is nearly always formed from a nominal stem with the suffix *-ya*. The latter is normally accented; but a certain number of unmistakable denominatives, such as *mantrā-ya-te* 'takes counsel', have the causative accent and thus form a connecting link between the regular denominatives and the causatives⁴. The formation is a frequent one, more than a hundred denominative stems occurring in the RV., and in the AV. about

¹ The stem *hī-paya-* does not itself otherwise occur in V.; cp. p. 390 note 2.

² The TS. IV. 6. 9² has instead *dhvanayit*.

³ See below 579.

⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, Verbum 211; and below 585, 7.

⁵ WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *dhī*; according to

BR. and GRASSMANN to be analyzed as *dhāra-yū-*.

⁶ There can be little doubt that the denominative suffix *-ya* is identical with that of the causative as well as that of the verbs of the fourth class; cp. WHITNEY 1055 a; v. NEGELEIN 44; BRUGMANN, KG. 690, 694.

thirty (or about fifty if those which form present participles or derivative nouns only are included). The general meaning of the denominative is that the subject expressed by the inflexion stands in some relation to the noun from which the stem is formed. It may usually be rendered by 'be or act like'; 'regard or treat as'; 'turn into or use as'; 'wish for'.

Denominatives formed with *-ya* are best classified according to the final of the nominal stem to which the suffix is added.

563. Stems in *-a*, which usually remains unchanged; thus *amitra-yá-* 'act like an enemy', 'be hostile'; *indra-ya-* 'behave like Indra'; *ksema-yá-* 'take a rest'; *jāra-ya-* 'treat like a lover', 'caress'; *deva-yá-* 'serve the gods'; *yusma-yá-* 'seek you'; *vasna-yá-* 'deal with the price', 'bargain'.

With the causative accent: (*pary-*)*an̄khá-ya-*¹ 'clasp (round)'; *arthá-ya-* 'have as a desire'; *ṛtá-ya-* 'act according to sacred order'; *kuláyá-ya-* 'build a nest'; *nīlá-ya-* 'bring together'; *pálá-ya-* (AV.) 'act as guardian', 'protect'; *mantrá-ya-* 'take counsel'; *mṛgá-ya-* 'treat as a wild animal', 'hunt'; *vavṛá-ya-* 'put in hiding', 'shrink from'; *vájá-ya-* 'act like a steed', 'race' (beside *vāja-yá-*); *vīrá-ya-* 'play the man'; *sa-bhāgá-ya-* (AV.) 'apportion'.

a. One or two denominatives are from nominal stems extended with *-a*: *īśá-ya-* 'have strength' (*īś-*)³; *ūjá-ya-* 'have strength' (*ūj-*)⁴.

a. The *-a* is, however, often lengthened: *aghā-yá-* 'plan mischief'; *ajirā-ya-* 'be swift'; *amitrā-yá-* (AV.) 'be hostile' (Pp. *-āyá-*); *asvā-yá-* 'desire horses'; *ṛtā-yá-* 'observe sacred order' (beside *ṛtá-ya-*); *tilvīlā-yá-* 'be fertile'; *tudā-yá-* (AV.) 'thrust'; *dhūpā-yá-*⁵ (MS. AV.) 'be like smoke', 'fume'; *priyā-yá-* 'become friends'; *mathī-yá-* (AV.) 'shake'; *muṣā-ya-*⁶ (AV.) 'steal'; *yajñā-yá-* 'sacrifice'; *rathirā-yá-* 'be conveyed in a car'; *randhanā-ya-*⁷ 'make subject'; *vṛṣā-yá-* 'act like a bull'⁸; *samā-yá-* 'be active' (*sāma-*); *subhā-yá-* 'be beautiful'⁹; *śrathā-ya-* 'make loose' (Pp. *-āya-*)¹⁰; *satvanā-yá-* (AV.) 'act like a warrior'; *sumnā-yá-* 'show benevolence'; *skabhā-yá-* 'make firm'. In most of these examples the Pada text has a short *a*.

a. The denominative *ojā-yá-* 'employ force' is formed from *oja-*, shortened for *hjas-* 'strength'.

b. The *-a* of the nominal stem is sometimes changed to *-ī*: *adhvarī-yá-* 'perform the sacrifice' (*adhvará-*); *caranī-yá-* 'follow a course' (*cāraṇa-*), 'pursue'; *taviṣī-yá-* 'be strong' (*taviṣá-*); *putrī-yá-* 'desire a son' (*putrá-*); *rathī-yá-* 'drive in a car' (*rātha-*); *śapathī-yá-* (AV.) 'utter a curse' (*śapátha-*). In nearly every instance here the Pada text has *ī*. Even in the Samhitā text the AV. has *putrī-yá-* 'desire a son', and the RV. the denominative participle (with shifted accent) *annī-yant-* 'desiring food' (*ánna-*).

a. For the *-a* of the nominal stem *e* is substituted in *vare-yá-* 'play the wooer' (*vāra-*), 'woo'.

c. The final *-a* of the nominal stem is sometimes dropped¹¹: *adhvar-yá-* 'perform sacrifice' (beside *adhvarī-yá-*); *kṛpā-yá-* 'be eager'; *taviṣ-yá-* 'be

¹ Regarded as a causative by GRASSMANN, s. v. *an̄kh*.

² DELBRÜCK 189, 1 regards the form *hāstayatā* as a denominative; but the accent would be unique: its explanation by BR. and GRASSMANN as a compound, *hāsta-yatā* 'wielded by the hand', is doubtless the correct one.

³ Cp. DELBRÜCK 189, 2.

⁴ GRASSMANN regards this verb as a causative: see Wörterbuch, s. v. *ūjāy*.

⁵ See WHITNEY's note on AV. IV. 196.

⁶ See WHITNEY on AV. IV. 212.

⁷ Based on *randhana*, an assumed derivative of the root *randh-*.

⁸ Beside *vṛṣā-yá-*, from *vṛṣa-*, the form which *vṛṣan-* assumes before terminations or before second members of compounds beginning with consonants.

⁹ From *subha-*, an assumed derivative of *subh-* 'shine'.

¹⁰ There is also a causative form *śrathāya-*, from *śrath-* 'loosen'.

¹¹ Cp. v. NUGLEIN 40.

mighty' (beside *taviṣṭ-yá-*); *turaṇ-yá-* 'be speedy'; *damaṇ-ya-*¹ 'overpower'; *bhuraṇ-yá-* 'be active'; *vithur-yá-* 'stagger'; *saraṇ-yá-* 'hasten'. There are several other denominatives which presuppose nouns in *-ana*; thus *dhiṣaṇ-yá-* 'pay attention'; *riṣaṇ-yá-* 'commit faults'; *ruvaṇ-ya-* 'roar'; *huvāṇ-ya-* 'call'. The derivation of *iṣaṇ-yá-* beside *iṣāṇa-ya-* 'impel' is perhaps similar; but the nominal stem on which this denominative is based may be *iṣāni-* 'impulse'².

564. Stems in *-ā*, which usually remains unchanged; *gopā-yá-* 'act as herdsman', 'protect'; *jmā-yá-* 'speed to earth'; *ducchunā-yá-* 'desire mischief'³; *pytānā-yá-* 'fight'; *bhādanā-yá-* 'strive for glory'; *manā-yá-* 'feel attachment'; *rasānā-yá-* (AV.)⁴ 'put on a girdle'. Similar stems are to be assumed in *ṛghā-yá-* 'tremble', and *hṛnā-yá-* 'be wrathful'; and *dhiyā-yá-* 'pay attention' is based on *dhiyā-*⁵ = *dhi-* 'thought'.

α. The *-ā* of the nominal stem is once shortened, if *hṛnā-yá-* (RV.) 'mourn'⁶ is a denominative and different from the causative *hṛnāya-* (354). The *ā* is dropped in *pytān-yá-* 'fight' beside *pytānā-yá-*.

α. There are more than a dozen denominatives with *ā* preceding *-ya-*, without any corresponding noun in *ā*; thus *akā-yá-* 'attain'; *tudā-yá-* (AV.) 'thrust'; *damā-yá-* 'tame'⁷; *naśā-ya-*⁸ (x. 40⁶) 'reach'; *panā-ya-* 'boast of'; *rasā-yá-* 'invest oneself with'; *ṛṣṣā-ya-* 'cause to rain'⁹. Seven such denominatives, however, appear beside present bases according to the ninth class in *-nā*: *grbhā-yá-* 'seize' (*grbh-nā-*); *mathā-yá-* 'shake' (*math-nā-*); *pruṣā-yá-* 'drip' (*pruṣ-ndnt-*, VS.); *muśā-yá-* 'steal' (*muś-nā-*); *srathā-ya-* 'loosen' (*srath-nā-*); *skabhā-yá-* 'fasten' (*skabh-nā-*); *stabhā-yá-* 'support' (*stabh-nā-*).

565. Stems in *-i*, which is nearly always lengthened (though usually short in the Pada text): *arāṇi-yá-* (RV. VS.) 'be malevolent', but *arāṇi-yá-* (AV. and RV. Pp.); *kavi-yá-* 'be wise'; *janī-yá-* 'seek a wife', but *janī-yá-* (AV.); *dur-grbhī-ya-* 'be hard to grasp'; *mahi-yá-* 'be delighted'; *rayi-yá-* 'desire wealth'; *sakhī-yá-*¹⁰ 'seek friendship'.

α. In a few instances the *i* is either treated as *a* or takes Guṇa of which the final element is dropped (*-a-ya* = *-ā-ya*): thus *iṣāṇa-ya-* 'set in motion' (*iṣāni-* 'impulse'); *kirtā-ya-* (AV.) 'make mention of' (*kīrti-*); *akūna-yá-* 'resound' (*dhūni-* 'rounding'); *suśva-ya-* and *supṛā-ya-* 'slow' (*śiṣṭi-*¹¹ 'pressing'). Perhaps formed in the same way are *bruhī-yá-* 'obey' and *hṛnī-yá-* 'be angry'¹².

β. *pātya-* 'be a lord', 'rule', probably in origin a denominative of *pāti-* 'lord', is treated like a verb of the fourth class as if from a root *pat-*.

566. Stems in *-u*, which (except *gātu-yá-* twice) is always long (though always short in Pp.): *asū-yá-* 'grumble'; *ṛjū-yá-* 'be straight'; *kratū-yá-* 'exert the intellect'; *gātu-yá-* and *gātu-yá-* 'set in motion'; *pītā-yá-* 'desire nourishment'; *vālgū-yá-* 'treat kindly'; *rasū-yá-* 'desire wealth'; *śatru-yá-* 'play the enemy', 'be hostile'; *sukratū-ya-* 'show oneself wise'. Moreover, *iṣū-ya-* 'strive', may be derived from *iṣu-* 'arrow'; and nouns in *-u* are presupposed by *āhā-yá-* 'move tortuously', and *stabhū-yá-* 'stand firm'.

α. In *go-*, the only stem in *-o*, the diphthong becomes *-au* before the denominative suffix: *gav-yá-* 'desire cows'.

¹ From an assumed adjective derivative: *damaṇa-*.

² Cp. DELBRÜCK 189, 4.

³ The Pada text wrongly *ducchunayā-*.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY's note on AV. XIV. 2⁷⁴.

⁵ Which perhaps became an independent noun through the influence of the instrumental form in such compounds as *dhiyā-jir-* 'growing old in devotion'.

⁶ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *hṛnāya-*.

⁷ Cp. DELBRÜCK 199 (p. 217, middle).

⁸ DELBRÜCK, l. c., regards *naśāya-* (x. 40⁶) as a denominative, BR. as causative of *naś-*.

⁹ To be distinguished from *ṛṣṣā-yá-* 'act like a bull'.

¹⁰ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 41 (middle).

¹¹ From the reduplicated root *su-* 'press'.

¹² According to DELBRÜCK 205, p. 57, also *duhīya-* in the forms *duhīyāt* and *duhīyān* (optatives GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, and WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *duh-*). Cp. 450, a 5.

567. Consonant stems usually remain unchanged before the suffix.

a. The only stem ending in *-j* is *bhīśāj-* 'physician': *bhīśāj-yá-* 'play the physician', 'heal'.

b. There is one denominative, *īśudh-yá-* 'implore', which seems to presuppose a stem in *-dh*, viz. *īśudh-*¹, but is probably a denominative from *īśu-dhī-* (like *pātya-* 'from *pāti-*') 'put in the arrow', 'aim'².

c. Denominatives formed from stems in *-n* are *ukṣan-yá-* 'act like a bull'; *udan-yá-* 'irrigate'; *brahman-yá-* 'be devout' ('act like a *brahmán*'); *vṛṣan-yá-*³ 'act like a bull', 'be lustful'.

d. A denominative formed from a stem in *-ar* is *vadhā-yá-* 'hurl a bolt' (*vādhar-*). Stems in *-ar* are further presupposed in *rathar-yá-* 'ride in a car'; *śrathar-yá-* 'become loose'; *sapar-yá-* 'worship'.

e. The consonant stems most frequently used to form denominatives are those in *-as*: *apas-yá-* 'be active'; *avas-yá-* 'seek help'; *canas-yá-* 'be satisfied'; *divas-yá-* 'adore'; *namas-yá-* 'pay homage'; *ny-manas-yá-* 'be kindly disposed to men'; *manas-yá-* 'bear in mind'; *vacas-yá-* 'be audible'; *varivās-yá-* 'grant space'; *śravas-yá-*⁴ 'hasten'; *sa-canas-yá-* 'cherish'; *su-manas-yá-* 'be gracious'; *sv-apas-yá-* 'act well'. Stems in *-as* are further presupposed by *iras-yá-* 'be angry'; *daśas-yá-* 'render service to'; *pañas-yá-* 'excite admiration'; *sacas-yá-* 'receive care'. A few denominatives have further been formed from stems in *-a* following the analogy of those in *-as*; thus *makkhas-yá-* 'be cheerful' (*makkhā-*) and *su-makkhas-yá-* (TS.) 'be merry'; *mānavas-yá-* 'act like men' (*mānavā-*). The stem *aviś-yá-*, appearing in the participle *aviśyānt-* 'helping willingly', apparently a denominative (beside *aviśyā-* 'desire', *aviśyū-* 'desirous'), seems to be formed from **av-is-* = *śv-as-* 'favour'⁵.

f. A few denominatives are formed from stems in *-us*: *taruś-yá-* 'engage in fight' (*tār-us-*); *vanuś-yá-* 'plot against' (*van-īś-* 'eager'); *vapuś-ya-* 'wonder' (*vāp-us-* 'marvellous'). This analogy is followed by *uruś-yá-* 'seek wide space' from a stem in *-u* (*urū-* 'wide').

568. There are a few denominative forms made without a suffix direct from nominal stems, but they nearly always have beside them denominative stems in *-ya*; thus *bhīśā-k-ti* (VII. 79⁶) 'heals' 3. sing. from *bhīśāj-* 'act as physician' (also m. 'physician'); *a-bhīśā-k* (X. 131⁶), 3. sing. impf. of *bhīśāj-* 'heal'. Similarly there appear the forms sing. 2. *īśāṇa-*, 3. *īśāṇa-*, pl. 3. *īśāṇa-nta* beside *īśāṇ-yá-*; pl. 3. *kṛpāṇa-nta* beside *kṛpāṇ-yá-*; pl. 1. *taruśa-ma*, 3. *taruśa-nte*, *taruśa-nta* beside *taruś-yá-*; pl. 3. *vanuśa-nta* beside *vanuś-yá-*. Possibly the form *vānanvati* is a denominative meaning 'is at hand', from a noun **van-anu-*, beside the simple verb *van-* 'win'⁶.

Inflexion.

569. The denominative is regularly inflected throughout the present system according to the *a*-conjugation in both voices. The commonest form is the 3. sing. active and middle.

The forms of the present indicative active and middle that actually occur would, if made from *manas-yá-* 'bear in mind', be the following:

Active. Sing. 1. *manasyāmi* (AV.), 2. *manasyāsi*, 3. *manasyāti*. — Du. 2. *manasyāthas*, 3. *manasyātas*. — Pl. 1. *manasyāmasi* and *manasyāmas*, 2. *manasyātha*, 3. *manasyānti*.

Middle. Sing. 1. *manasye*, 2. *manasyīse*, 3. *manasyāte*. — Du. 2. *manasyāthe*, 3. *manasyāte* (AV.). — Pl. 1. *manasyāmahe*, 3. *manasyānte*.

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK 194.

² Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *īśudhy*.

³ Beside *vṛṣāyá-*; cp. p. 399, note 8.

⁴ According to BR. derived from *śravas-*.

from *śru-* = *sru-* 'flow', but GRASSMANN from *śru-* 'hear'.

⁵ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *aviśy*.

⁶ Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 218.

Forms that actually occur elsewhere in the present system are the following:

a. Subjunctive. Active. Sing. 1. *namasyā*. — 2. *urusyās, kirtāyās* (AV.), *śravasyās*. — 3. *apasyāt, arāṭiyāt* (TS. IV. 1. 10³; VS. XI. 80), *arāṭiyāt* (AV.), *urusyāt, caranyāt* (AV.), *durasyāt* (AV.), *duvasyāt, pṛtanyāt, vanusyāt, vareyāt, vasūyāt, śravasyāt, saparyūt*. — Du. 3. *varivasyātas*. — Pl. 3. *pṛtanyān* (AV.), *saparyān, saranyān*. — Middle. Sing. 2. *arthāyāse, niśāyāse*. — 3. *anḥhāyāte*.

b. Injunctive. Active. Sing. 2. *irasyas, riśanyas, ruvanyas*. — Pl. 3. *turanyan, duvasyan, namasyan, saparyan*. — Middle. Sing. 3. *paṇāyāte*. — Pl. 3. *ṛghāyānta, ṛtāyānta, kṛpāyānta, taruṣānta, dhunayānta¹, rucayānta, vanuṣānta, suśūdyānta*.

c. Optative. Active. Sing. 2. *daśasyes*. — 3. *urusyēt, caranyēt* (TS. I. 8. 22⁴), *daśasyēt, duvasyēt*. — Pl. 1. *iśayema, taruṣema, saparyēma*. — Middle. Sing. 3. *manasyēta* (AV.).

d. Imperative. Active. Sing. 2. *iśanya, urusyā, gātuyā, gūrdhaya, gopāyā* (AV. TS.), *ṛbhāya, daśasyā, duvasya, namasyā, varivasyā, vājaya* (TS. I. 7. 8¹), *śrathāya, saparya*. — 3. *urusyatu, gopāyatu²* (AV.), *bhīṣajyatu* (TS. V. 2. 12²). — Du. 2. *urusyātām, gopāyātām, canasyātām, daśasyātām*. — 3. *urusyātām*. — Pl. 2. *iśanyata, urusyata, ṛbhūyāta* (AV.), *gopāyata* (AV.), *daśasyata, duvasyata, namasyata, riśanyata, saparyata*. — 3. *urusyantu, gopāyantu* (AV.), *varivasyantu*. — Middle. Sing. 2. *arthayasva, vīrāyasva* (AV. TS.), *vṛṣāyasva* (AV.). — Pl. 2. *tilvīlāyādhwam, vīrāyādhwam*. — 3. *dhunayāntām*.

e. Participle. The present participle active in *-ant* (with fem. *-ant-ī*) is very common, while the middle form in *-māna*, occurs fairly often.

α. Examples of the active are *aghāyānt-, anḥhāyānt-, adhvārīyānt-, amitrayānt-, arāṭiyānt-, aśvāyānt-, iśanyānt-, iśāyānt- and iśayānt-, iśūyānt-, udanyānt-, ūrjīyānt-, ṛghāyānt-, ṛtāyānt-, ṛtāyānt-, gavyānt-, gopāyānt-* (AV.), *taviṣīyānt-, daśasyānt-, duvasyānt-, devayānt-, namasyānt-, pālāyānt-* (AV.), *putriyānt-, pṛtanīyānt-, pṛtanyānt-, bhāndanīyānt-, bhuranyānt-, mathāyānt-, muṣāyānt-, yajñāyānt-, yuṣmayānt-, rathirāyānt-, rathīyānt-, vasūyānt-, vasnāyānt-, vāṣīyānt- and vāṣayānt-, vṛṣanyānt-, śatīyānt-, śikāyānt-* (VS.) 'dripping', *sakḥīyānt-, satvanīyānt-* (AV.), *saparyānt-, sumnīyānt-, suśūdyānt-, hr̥ṣīyānt-* 'angry'.

β. Examples of the middle are *ṛghāyāmāna-, ṛjūyāmāna-, oṣṭhāyāmāna-, kaṇḍūyāmāna-* (TS.), *kaṇḍīyāmāna-, caranyāmāna-, taviṣīyāmāna-, priyāyāmāna-* (AV.), *(ā-prati-)manīyāmāna-* (AV.), *raśanīyāmāna-, vṛṣāyāmāna-, samanīyāmāna-, sumakḥīyāmāna-* (TS.), *sumanīyāmāna-, stabhīyāmāna-, svapasyāmāna-, hr̥ṣīyāmāna-* 'angry'.

f. Imperfect. Active. Sing. 2. *arandhanāyas*. — 3. *apṛtanyat, āskabhāyat* (AV.); *urusyāt, damanyat, dhūpāyat* (AV.); *abhiṣṇak*. — Du. 3. *urusyātām*. — Pl. 3. *anamasyan, asaparyan; turanyan, vopuṣyan, saparyan* (TS. II. 2. 12⁴). — Middle. Sing. 3. *āpīyāyata*. — Du. 2. *avīrayethām*. — Pl. 3. *iśanayānta*.

570. Outside the present system no denominative form occurs in the RV. except *anayts* (+AV.), 2. sing. *iṣ-* aorist (used injunctively with *mā*)

¹ The form *bhurājanta* (IV. 43⁵) is according to the declension (*go-pā-*) occur in the RV. To to pw. = *bhrajanta* for *bhrajanta* (*bhraj-* 'be roasted'). Cp. note in OLDENBERG'S Rgveda. the denominative must be due the secondary root *gṛp-* 'protect' (*juṣṭer* once, *gṛpī-* twice in the RV.). Cp. p. 358, note 23. How ² This denominative is derived from the very frequent *go-pā-* 'cowherd', of which *gṛp-* should be a denominative of *go-* 'cow' two transition forms according to the a- (v. NEGELEIN 43, note 3) is not clear.

from *anaya-* 'leave unfulfilled' (*and-*). A few other forms occur in the later Samhitās. Thus the AV. has the peculiar form *dsaparyait* (AV. xiv. 2²⁰)², probably 3. sing. aorist, with *-ait* for *-it*². The VS. (II. 31) has the 3. pl. aorist *ā-a-ṛṣay-iṣ-ata* 'they have accepted'. The TS. has the 2. pl. aor. *pāpay-iṣ-ṣa* 'lead into evil' (used injunctively with *mā*). The TS. (III. 2. 8³) has also the future participles *kandūyisyānt-* 'about to scratch', *meghūyisyānt-* 'about to be cloudy', *śikāyisyānt-* 'about to drip', with the corresponding perfect participles passive *kandūyitā-*, *meghitā-*, *śikitā-*.

B. Nominal Verb Forms.

571. A large number of nominal formations partake of the verbal character inasmuch as they express time (present, past, or future); or the relations between subject and object, implying transitive or intransitive action, and active, middle, or passive sense. Such formations are participles (including verbal adjectives), infinitives, and gerunds. The participles formed from tense-stems having already been treated³, only those that are formed directly from the root remain to be dealt with. These are the verbal adjectives which have the value either of past passive participles or of future passive participles (otherwise called gerundives).

a. Past Passive Participles.

572. The past passive participle is formed by adding, in the great majority of instances, the suffix *-tā*⁴ (with or without connecting *-i-*), or far less commonly the suffix *-nā* (directly) to the root. When formed from a transitive verb, it has a passive as well as a past sense; e. g. *as-* 'throw': *as-tā-* 'thrown'; *dā-* 'give': *dat-tā-* 'given'. But when formed from an intransitive verb, it has a neuter past sense; e. g. *gam-* 'go': *ga-tā-* 'gone'; *pat-* 'fall': *pat-i-tā-* (AV.) 'fallen'.

573. When *-tā* is added direct, the root tends to appear in its weak form. Very frequently, however, the form in which the root is generally stated, if ending in vowels, remains unchanged, while those ending in consonants are usually modified only in so far as is required by the rules of internal Sandhi; thus *√mlā-*: *mlā-tā-* 'softened'; *√yā-*: *yā-tā-* 'gone'; *√rā-*: *rā-tā-* 'given'; *√ji-*: *ji-tā-* 'conquered'; *√sri-*: *sri-tā-* 'leaning on'; *√pri-*: *pri-tā-* 'rejoiced'; *√bhi-*: *bhi-tā-* 'frightened'; *√yu-* 1. 'yoke' and 2. 'ward off': *-yu-tā-*; *√śru-*: *śru-tā-* 'heard'; *√stu-*: *stu-tā-* 'praised'; *√bha-*: *bha-tā-* 'become'; *√hā-*: *hā-tā-* 'called'; *√kṛ-*: *kṛ-tā-* 'made'; *√bhy-*: *bhy-tā-* 'borne'; *√ur-*: *ur-tā-* 'covered' and 'chosen'; *√mṛc-*: *mṛc-tā-*⁵ (RV.) 'injured'; *√sic-*: *sik-tā-* 'poured out'; *√tij-*: *tik-tā-* 'sharp'; *√yuj-*: *yuk-tā-* 'yoked'; *√mṛj-*: *mṛj-tā-* 'rubbed'; *√sṛj-*: *sṛj-tā-* 'discharged'; *√cit-*: *cit-tā-* 'perceived'; *√vṛt-*: *vṛt-tā-* 'turned'; *√mad-* 'be exhilarated': *mat-tā-* (AV.); *√idh-*: *id-dhā-* 'kindled'; *√krudh-*: *krud-dhā-* 'angry'; *√tap-*: *tap-tā-* 'hot'; *√rip-*: *rip-tā-* (RV.) 'besmeared'; *√dis-*: *dis-tā-* 'shown'; *√nas-*: *nas-tā-* 'lost'; *√jus-*: *jus-tā-* (RV.) 'gladdened' and *jūṣ-ṣa-* 'welcome'; *√pis-*: *pis-tā-* 'crushed'; *√kas-*: *vi-kas-tā-* 'split'; *√guh-*: *gū-dhā-*⁶ 'hidden'; *√trh-*: *tr-dhā-* 'crushed'; *√dah-*: *dag-dhā-*⁷ 'burnt'; *√dih-*: *dig-dhā-* (AV.) 'besmeared'; *√duh-*: *dug-dhā-* 'milked'; *√dṛk-*

¹ Cp. v. NEGELEIN 41; BÖHLINGER, ZDMG. 52, 510 ff.

² As in the AB. form *agrabhaiṣam* beside *agrabhū*; cp. v. NEGELEIN 41, note 2.

³ See under declension 311—313, and in the account of the various tenses (present, perfect, aorist, future).

⁴ Cp. REICHELDT, BB. 27, 95—97.

⁵ Only in the compounds *ā-mṛkta-* and *mṛkta-vāhas-*.

⁶ In roots in *-h* which cerebralize the suffix, the vowel is lengthened as compensation for the loss of the cerebral *ṣ*: cp. p. 51, note 2.

⁷ In the RV. only in *agni-dagdhā-* 'burnt with fire'.

: *dr-dhā-* 'firm'; *√druh-* : *drug-dhā-* 'hurtful'; *√nah-* : *nad-dhā-* 'bound'; *√muh-* : *mug-dhā-* and *mū-dhā-* (AV.) 'bewildered'; *√rih-* : *ri-dhā-* (RV.) 'licked'; *√ruh-* : *rū-dhā-* (AV.) 'ascended'; *√sah-* : *sā-dhā-* 'overcome'.

a. Occasional irregularities in the form of the root are not due to the ordinary rules of internal Sandhi. Thus some roots show an interchange of vowel and semi-vowel: *dāv-* 'play' : *dyū-tā-* (AV.); *śiv-* 'sew' : *śyū-tā-*; *miv-* 'push' : *mūta-* (VS. AV.) instead of **myū-tā-*; *hṛp-* 'make crooked' has *hru-tā-* 'crooked', beside the regular *hṛp-tā-* (RV.); sometimes a long vowel appears in the root: *svad-* 'sweeten' : *svāt-tā-*; *gur-* 'greet' : *gūr-tā-*; *śy-* 'mix' : *śīr-tā-*, beside *śrī-tā-* from *śrī-* 'mix', the usual form of the root; *dā-* 'give', beside the regular form *-dā-tā-* in *tvā-dāta-* (RV.) 'given by thee', otherwise always has *dat-tā-*, formed from *dad-*, the weak form of the present base.

574. Roots which contain the syllables *ya*, *ra*, *va* (initial or medial) are generally weakened by Samprasāraṇa; those which contain a nasal (medial or final), by dropping it; those which end in *ā* or *yā*, by shortening the former to *ī* or *i*, the latter to *ī*. Thus:

1. *yaj-* 'sacrifice' : *iṣ-tā-*; *vyadh-* 'pierce' : *vid-dhā-*; *prach-* 'ask' : *prī-tā-*; *dhraś-* 'fall' : *bhṛṣ-tā-* beside *bhṛaṣ-tā-* (AV.); *vac-* 'speak' : *uk-tā-*; *vap-* 'strew' : *up-tā-*; *vas-* 'shine' : *uṣ-tā-*; *vah-* 'carry' : *ū-dhā-*; *svap-* 'sleep' : *sup-tā-* (AV. VS.).

a. A shortening akin to Samprasāraṇa appears in *ar-* 'favour' : *-ū-tā-*; *vā-* 'weave' : *u-tā-*; *brū-* 'boil' : *śr-tā-* beside *brā-tā-*.

2. A medial nasal is dropped in *añj-* 'anoint' : *ak-tā-*; *umbh-* 'confine' : *ub-dhā-*; *damś-* 'bite' : *daṣ-tā-* (AV.); *banh-* 'make firm' : *-bā-dhā-*; *Sundh-* 'purify' : *sud-dhā-*. Final *n* and *m* are dropped (the radical *a* representing the sonant nasal) in *kṣan-* 'wound' : *-kṣa-tā-*; *tan-* 'stretch' : *ta-tā-*; *man-* 'think' : *ma-tā-*; *han-* 'smite' : *ha-tā-*; *gam-* 'go' : *ga-tā-*; *nam-* 'bend' : *na-tā-*; *yam-* 'reach' : *ya-tā-*.

a. A few roots in *-an* have *ā* instead of *-an** : *khan-* 'dig' : *khā-tā-*; *jan-* 'be born' : *jā-tā-*; *van-* 'win' : *vā-tā-*; *san-* 'gain' : *sā-tā-*; while some roots in *-am* and one in *-an*, retaining the nasal, have *ān* : *dhvan-* 'sound' : *dhvāntā-* (VS. xxxix. 7); *kram-* 'stride' : *krān-tā-* (AV.); *lam-* 'be quiet' : *lān-tā-* (AV.); *tram-* 'be weary' : *trān-tā-*; *dham-* 'blow' has the irregular *dhmā-tā-* and *dham-ī-tā-*.

3. Final *ā* is shortened to *ī* in *gā-* 'sing' : *gī-tā-*; *dhā-* 'suck' : *dhi-tā-*; *pā-* 'drink' : *pī-tā-*; to *i* in *dā-* 'bind' : *dī-tā-*; *dhā-* 'put' : *-dhi-tā-* and *hi-tā-*; *mā-* 'measure' : *mī-tā-*; *sā-* 'sharpen' : *śi-tā-*; *sā-* 'bind' : *si-tā-*; *sthā-* 'stand' : *sthi-tā-*.

Final *yā* is shortened to *ī* in *iyā-* 'overpower' : *ī-tā-* (AV.); *vyā-* 'envelope' : *vī-tā-*; *śyā-* 'coagulate' : *śr-tā-*.

a. Internal shortening of *ā* to *i* appears in *sā-* 'order' : *śi-tā-*; and medial *a* entirely disappears in *ghus-* 'eat' : *-dha-* (TS.) and in the compounded form of *dattā-* 'given', which becomes *-tā-* : *deva-tā-* 'given by the gods'; *vy-ā-tā-* (AV. VS.), *n-* 'the opened mouth'; *pāri-tā-* (VS. ix. 9) 'deposited'; *prati-tā-* (AV.) 'given back'. The same syncopated form appears in the compound participle of *dā-* 'divide' : *deva-tā-* (VS.) 'cut off'.

575. When *-tā* is added, as it is in many verbs, with connecting *-i-*, the root is not weakened (excepting four instances of Samprasāraṇa)⁴. It is thus added to a number of roots ending in consonants and to all secondary verbs.

a. The roots to which it is thus regularly added are those that end:

1. in two consonants: thus *ukṣ-* 'sprinkle' : *ukṣ-i-tā-*; *ubj-* 'force' : *ubj-i-tā-* (AV.); *nind-* 'revile' : *nind-i-tā-*; *rakṣ-* 'protect' : *rakṣ-i-tā-*; *śumbh-* 'beautify' : *-śumbh-i-tā-* (AV.); *hims-* 'injure' : *hims-i-tā-* (AV.); but *taṣ-* 'fashion' has *taṣ-tā-*;

¹ See above 50 b.

² Representing the long sonant nasal.

³ The more correct way of stating these roots would be *gai-*, *dhai-*, *pai-*; cp. 27 a.

⁴ In *grbh-i-tā-* from *grabh-* 'seize' and *grh-i-tā-* (AV.) from *grah-* id.; *ukṣ-i-tā-* from *vakṣ-* 'increase'; *ud-i-tā-* from *vad-* 'speak'; *śrth-i-tā-* from *svath-* 'slacken'.

2. in voiceless aspirates: *likh-* 'scratch': *likh-i-tā-* (AV.); *grath-* 'tie': *grath-i-tā-*; *nāth-* 'seek aid': *nāth-i-tā-*; *math-* 'stir': *math-i-tā-*;

3. in cerebral *ḍ*: *īḍ-* 'praise': *īḍ-i-tā-*; *hiḍ-* 'be hostile': *hiḍ-i-tā-*;

4. in semivowels: *car-* 'move': *car-i-tā-*²; *jiv-* 'live': *jiv-i-tā-*.

b. The suffix is also added with *-i-* to a number of roots ending in simple consonants, especially sibilants, about which no rule can be stated. Such are the following participles arranged according to the final of the root: *yāc-* 'ask': *yāc-i-tā-* (AV.); *pat-* 'fall': *pat-i-tā-* (AV.); *rad-* 'dig': *rad-i-tā-* (AV.); *vad-* 'speak': *vad-i-tā-*; *vid-* 'know': *vid-i-tā-* (AV.)²; *dudh-* 'stir up': *dudh-i-tā-* (RV.); *nādh-* 'seek aid': *nādh-i-tā-*; *bādh-* 'oppress': *bādh-i-tā-*; *pan-* 'admire': *pan-i-tā-*; *kup-* 'be agitated': *kup-i-tā-*; *gup-* 'protect': *gup-i-tā-* beside *gup-tā-* (AV.); *yup-* 'obstruct': *yup-i-tā-* (AV.); *rup-* 'break': *rup-i-tā-*; *drp-* 'rave': *drp-i-tā-* and *drp-tā-*; *lap-* 'prate': *lap-i-tā-* (AV.); *grabh-* 'seize': *grabh-i-tā-* and *grah-* 'seize': *grah-i-tā-* (AV.); *śkabh-* 'prop': *śkabh-i-tā-*; *stabh-* 'prop': *stabh-i-tā-*; *dham-* 'blow': *dham-i-tā-* (beside *dhmā-tā-*);

aś- 'eat': *aś-i-tā-*; *piś-* 'adorn': *piś-i-tā-* (AV.) beside *piś-tā-*; *is-* 'send': *is-i-tā-*; *is-* 'move': *is-i-tā-*; *viś-* 'be stirred': *viś-i-tā-*; *dhr̥ś-* 'dare': *dhr̥ś-i-tā-* beside *dhr̥ś-tā-*; *pruś-* 'sprinkle': *pruś-i-tā-*; *muś-* 'steal': *muś-i-tā-*; *hr̥ś-* 'be excited': *hr̥ś-i-tā-*; *gras-* 'devour': *gras-i-tā-*.

a. The verb *hā-* 'leave' forms its past participle anomalously (like *dā-* 'give') from the reduplicated present base: *jāh-i-tā-* (cp. the pres. part. *jāh-at-*).

β. In the AV. is once (IX. 61⁸) found a past passive participle extended with the possessive suffix *-vant*, which gives it the sense of a perfect participle active: *aś-i-tā-vant-* (Pp. *aśitā-vant-*) 'having eaten'.

c. Secondary verbs, almost exclusively causatives⁴, add *-ita* after dropping *-aya-*; thus *arp-aya-* 'cause to go': *arp-itā-* and *drp-ita-*; *īkḥ-āya-* 'cause to quake': *īkḥ-itā-*; *cod-āya-* 'set in motion': *cod-itā-*; *vīl-āya-* 'make strong': *vīl-itā-*; *śnath-āya-* 'pierce': *śnath-itā-*; *svan-āya-* 'resound': *svan-ita-*.

The only past passive participle formed from a denominative is *bhām-itā-* 'enraged', from *bhāma-* 'wrath'.

576. The suffix *-nā* is always attached directly to the root, which as a rule remains unweakened. Among roots ending in consonants, it is taken by those in *d*, besides two or three in the palatals *c* and *j*; among roots in vowels, it is taken by those ending in the long vowels *a*, *i*, *ī*, besides one in *ū*.

a. The final of roots in *-d* is assimilated to the *n* of the suffix; thus *chid-* 'cut off': *chin-nā-*; *tud-* 'push': *tun-nā-*; *tr̥d-* 'pierce': *tr̥n-nā-* (VS. xxxvi. 2); *nud-* 'push': *nun-na-* (SV.) beside *nut-tā-*; *pad-* 'go': *pan-nā-* (AV.); *bhid-* 'split': *bhin-nā-*; *vid-* 'find': *vin-nā-* (AV.) beside *vit-tā-*; *sad-* 'sit': *san-nā-* (VS. AV.) beside *sat-tā-*; *skand-* 'leap': *skan-nā-*; *syand-* 'move on': *syan-nā-*; *svid-* 'sweat': *svin-nā-*. The original participle of *ad-* 'eat' survives only (with change of accent) in the neuter noun *ān-na-* 'food'.

b. The roots in palatals which take *-nā* are: *pre-* 'mix': *pr̥g-na-* (RV¹) beside *pr̥k-tā-*; *vraśc-* 'cut up': *vr̥k-nā-*; *ruj-* 'break': *rug-nā-*.

c. Roots in *-ā* remain unchanged or weaken the final to *ī*: *dr̥ā-* 'sleep': *dr̥ā-na-* (AV.); *dā-* 'divide': *dī-nā-*; *hā-* 'leave': *hī-nā-*; final *-yā* is shortened to *-ī*: *śyā-* 'coagulate': *śī-nā-* (VS.) beside *śī-tā-*.

d. Roots in *-ī* and *-ū* remain unchanged: *kṣī-* 'destroy': *kṣī-na-* (AV.);

¹ Also *ār-i-tā-* if derived from a somewhat doubtful root *ār-* 'praise'; cp. WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *ār*.

² *mad-i-tā-* is probably from the causative of *mad-* 'be exhilarated'.

³ See p. 402, note 2.

⁴ No examples of past participles from desideratives (except *mimāmsitā-*, AV.) and intensives seem to occur in the Sāphtās.

pi- 'swell': *pi-na-* (AV.); *ḍi-* 'crush': *-ḍi-na-* (AV.); *li-* 'cling': *-li-na-* (AV.); *dā-* 'burn': *dā-na-* (AV.).

e. Roots in *-ṛ* change that vowel to *-ir* or (generally when a labial precedes) *-ur* before *-na*: *gr-* 'swallow': *gir-na-*; *ḥr-* 'waste away': *ḥir-na-* (AV.) and *jūr-na-*; *tr-* 'pass': *tir-na-*; *ṣṛ-* 'fill': *pūr-na-* beside *pūr-ti-*; *mṛ-* 'crush': *mūr-na-* (AV.); *ṣṛ-* 'crush': *ṣir-na-* (AV.) beside *ṣūr-ti-* (RV. I. 174⁶); *stṛ-* 'strew': *stir-na-* beside *-stṛ-ta-*.

b. Future Passive Participles (Gerundives).

577. Verbal adjectives formed with certain suffixes have acquired the value of future participles passive, expressing that the action of the verb is or ought to be suffered. There are four forms of such gerundives in use in the RV.: that derived with the primary suffix *-ya*, which is common, and those derived with the secondary suffixes *-īy-ya*, *-āy-ya*, and *-va-a*, about a dozen examples of each of which are met with. In the AV. are also found two instances each of gerundives in *-tavyā* and *-aniya*.

578. By far the most frequent form of gerundive is that in *-ya*, about 40 examples occurring in the RV. and about 60 in the AV. This suffix is nearly always to be read as *-ia*, which accounts for the treatment of final radical vowels before it. The root, being accented, appears in a strong form, excepting a few instances in which there is the short radical vowel *i* or *u*.

1. In the following examples a final short vowel remains unchanged, a *-t*² being interposed: *-ti-ya-* 'to be gone'; *apa-mi-t-ya-* (AV. VI. 117¹) 'to be thrown away' (? *mi-* 'fix')³; *śrī-t-ya-* 'to be heard'; *-kr-t-ya-* 'to be made'; *car-kr-t-ya-* 'to be praised' (*kr-* 'commemorate').

2. Otherwise final *i*, *ū*, *r* regularly take Guṇa or Vṛddhi, the final element of which always appears as *y*, *v*, *r* as before a vowel; thus from *li-* 'cling': *a-liy-ya-*⁴, an epithet of Indra; *nu-* 'praise': *nav-ya-* 'to be praised'; *bhū-* 'be': *bhāv-ya-* and *bhūr-ya-* 'future'; *hu-* 'call': *hāv-ya-* 'to be invoked'; *vr-* 'choose': *vār-ya-* 'to be chosen'.

3. Final *-ā* coalesces with the initial of *-ia* to *e*, between which and *-a* a phonetic *y* is interposed; thus *dā-* 'give': *dē-ya-* (= *dī-i-y-a-*) 'to be given'; *khyā-* 'see': *-khye-ya-* (AV.); *mā-* 'measure': *mē-ya-* (AV.). In the RV., however, the form *jñā-ya-* once occurs in the compound *bala-vi-jñā-yi-* (x. 103⁵) 'to be recognized by his might'.

4. A medial vowel either remains unchanged or, if short, may take Guṇa, and *a* is sometimes lengthened; thus *hid-ya-* 'to be praised'; *gīh-ya-* 'to be hidden'; *-dhr̥s-ya-* 'to be assailed'; *divs-ya-* (AV.) 'to be hated' (| *divs-*); *yōdh-ya-* 'to be fought' (| *yudh-*); *ārdh-ya-* 'to be completed' (| *rdh-*); *mūrj-ya-* 'to be purified' (| *mṛj-*); *cākṣ-ya-* 'to be seen'; *dābh-ya-* 'to be deceived'; *rāṃh-ya-* 'to be hastened'; *rādh-ya-* 'to be won'; *vānd-ya-* 'praiseworthy'; *sāms-ya-* 'to be lauded'; *-sīt-ya-* from *sad-* 'sit'; *-mūd-ya-* from *mad-* 'be exhilarated'; *vāc-ya-* 'to be said' (| *vac-*).

579. Hardly a dozen gerundives, almost restricted to the RV., are formed with *-īy-ya*⁶ (which with one exception is always to be read *-īyīa*): *dakṣ-īyīa-* 'to be conciliated'; *pan-īyīa-* 'to be admired'; *vīd-īyīa-* 'to be

¹ The form *-li-ta-* is also found in the MS.: WHITNEY, Roots, s. v. *li-* 'crush'.

² Cp. the *-t* added to roots ending in *-i*, *-u*, *-r* to form nominal stems (308).

³ The meaning is uncertain: WHITNEY translates the word by 'borrowed'. See his notes in his Translation.

⁴ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v.

⁵ Cp. LINDNER, Nominalbildung 22; DELBRÜCK, Verbum 233; WHITNEY 966 c; BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 179 n. 1; BB. 20, 85.

found; *śrav-īyā-* 'glorious'; *-hnav-īyā-* 'to be denied'. A few are formed from secondary verbs; from causatives: *trayay-īyā-* 'to be guarded' (*√tra-*)¹; *paray-īyā-* 'admirable' (*√pan-*); *sprhay-īyā-* 'desirable' (*√sprh-*); from a desiderative: *di-dhi-s-īyā-* 'to be conciliated' (*√dhā-*); from an intensive: *vi-tan-tas-īyā-* 'to be hastened' (*√tams-*). Akin to these gerundives is the anomalous form *stus-īyā-* 'to be praised', derived direct from the infinitive *stus-* 'to praise'.

580. More than a dozen gerundives are formed with *-an-ya* (generally to be read *-ania*): *ikṣ-ēnyā-* 'worthy to be seen', *ī-ēnyā-* 'praiseworthy', *-car-ēnyā-* 'to be acted', *ārś-ēnyā-* 'worthy to be seen', *-dvis-ēnyā-* 'malignant', *ā-bhās-ēnyā-* 'to be glorified', *yudh-ēnyā-* 'to be combatted', *vār-ēnyā-* 'desirable'. From the aorist stem is formed *-yams-ēnyā-* 'to be guided' (*√yam-*); and perhaps *paprks-ēnyā-* 'desirable' (*√prach-*). A few are also derived from secondary verbs; from desideratives: *didrks-ēnyā-* 'worthy to be seen' (*√drś-*), *śustrs-ēnyā-* (TS.) 'deserving to be heard'; from intensives: *mar-mj-ēnyā-* 'to be adorned', *vāṛqdh-ēnyā-* 'to be glorified'; from a denominative: *sapary-ēnyā-* 'to be adored'.

581. About a dozen gerundives, almost restricted to the RV.⁴, end in *-tv-a* (generally to be read as *-tu-a*), which seems to be the infinitive stem in *-tu* turned into an adjective by means of the suffix *-a*: *kār-tva-* 'to be made', *jān-i-tva-* and *jān-tva-* 'to be born', *jī-tva-* 'to be won', *nān-tva-* 'to be bent', *bhāv-i-tva-* 'future', *vāk-tva-* 'to be said', *sān-i-tva-* 'to be won', *sū-tva-* 'to be pressed', *snā-tva-* 'suitable for bathing', *hān-tva-* 'to be slain', *hī-tva-* 'to be driven on' (*√hi-*).

a. In the AV. there begins to appear a gerundive in *-tav-yā*. It probably started from the stem of the predicative infinitive in *-tave*, which was turned into an adjective by means of the suffix *-ia*⁵. The only examples of this formation are *jan-i-tav-yā-* 'to be born' (AV. IV. 237) and *hiṃsi-tav-yā-* 'to be injured' (AV. V. 180).

b. There are also two examples in the AV. of a new gerundive in *-an-īya*, which is derived from a verbal noun in *-ana* with the adjective suffix *-īya*. These are *upa-jiv-anīya-* 'serving for subsistence' = 'to be subsisted on' (AV. VIII. 10²); *ā-mantr-anīya-* 'fit for address' (*ā-māntrana-*) = 'worthy to be addressed' (AV. VIII. 10⁷)⁶.

c. Infinitive.

A. LUDWIG, *Der Infinitiv im Veda*, Prag 1871. — J. JOLLY, *Geschichte des Infinitivs im Indogermanischen* (München 1873), especially p. 111—137. — DELBRÜCK, *Das altindische Verbum* (1874), p. 221—228; *Altindische Syntax* p. 410—425. — AVERY, *Verb-Inflection in Sanskrit*, JAOS. 10, 275—276 (1876). — BRUNNIÖFER, *Über die durch einfache fleetirung der wurzel gebildeten infinitive des Veda*, KZ. 30 (1890), 504—513. — BARTHOLOMAE, *Zur bildung des dat. sing. der a-stämme*, BB. 15, 221—247. — v. NEGELEIN, *Zur Sprachgeschichte des Veda* (1898), 91. — FRITZ WOLFF, *Die infinitive des Indischen und Iranischen. Erster teil: Die ablativisch-genetivischen und die accusativischen infinitive*, Göttersloh 1905.

582. The infinitive, all the forms of which are old cases of nouns of action, is very frequently used, occurring in the RV. alone about 700 times. The case-forms which it exhibits are those of the accusative, dative, ablative-genitive, and locative. Only the first two are common, but the dative is by far the commonest, outnumbering the accusative in the proportion of 12 to 1 in the RV. (609 to 49)⁷, and of 3 to 1 in the AV.⁸ Infinitives are

¹ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v., and WHITNEY 1051f.

² See BRUGMANN, KG. 809.

³ See BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 904 and 860.

⁴ A few of these are also found in B., also an additional one, *hī-tva-* 'to be sacrificed', in the MS. (l. 93).

⁵ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 809.

⁶ The gerundive meaning in these two verbal adjectives is probably only incipient. The second is expressly connected with the verbal noun *ā-māntrana-*.

⁷ AVERY 231.

⁸ WHITNEY 986.

formed chiefly from radical stems or stems in *-tu*, only a few dative and locative forms being made from other stems. It is somewhat remarkable that the acc. form in *-tum* which is the only infinitive in the later language, hardly occurs in the RV., being found there only five times¹, while the dative infinitive, which is more than seven times as frequent as all the rest in the RV., has almost disappeared even in the Brāhmaṇas. The formations which are restricted to the infinitive meaning are the datives in *-tavi*, *-dhyai*, and (the very few) in *-re*, besides a small number of locatives in *-sāni*. In other forms it is often difficult to draw a strict line of demarcation between the infinitive² and ordinary case uses³.

I. Dative Infinitive.

583. This infinitive ends in *-e*, which when added to the *ā* of a root or stem combines with it to *-ai*. It has the final meaning of '(in order) to', 'for (the purpose of)'⁴. This dative is commonly used without an object: hence a dative often appears beside it by attraction instead of an accusative; e. g. *asmūbhyam drśāye śūryāya pīnar dātām dsum* (x. 14¹²) 'may they two grant us life again, for the sun, that we may see (it)', i. e. 'that we may see the sun' (= *drśāye śūryam*). When used with *kr-* 'make' or verbs of wishing, and when predicative, this infinitive acquires⁵ a passive meaning; e. g. *agnim sam-lāhe cakārtha* (i. 113⁹) 'thou hast made (= caused) the fire to be kindled'; *yād im usmāsi kārtave* (x. 74⁶) 'what we wish to be done'; *brahmaāvīṣaḥ . . . hantavā u* (x. 182³) 'Brahma-haters (are) to be slain'⁴.

584. From roots are formed some 60 dative infinitives.

a. About a dozen are made from roots ending in long vowels, chiefly *-ā*, and one in *-ī*. All of these are found only compounded with prefixes, excepting *bhū-*, which appears once in the simple form. Two of them drop *ā* before the *-e*⁵. These infinitives are: *vi-khyāi* 'to look abroad'; *parā-dāi* 'to give up'; *prati-māi* 'to imitate' (iii. 60⁴); *yaūi* 'to go'; *ava-sāi* (iii. 53²⁰) 'to rest'; *śrad-dhē* (i. 102²) 'to trust' (with the dat. particle *kām*); *pra-mē* (ix. 70¹) 'to form'; *pra-hyē* (x. 109³) 'to send' (*√hi-*); *-mlye* 'to diminish' (*√m-*); *bhuv-ē* and *-bhv-ē* 'to be' (*√bhū-*); *-sr-e* 'to cross' (*√sr-*); *-stir-e* (*√st-* 'spread').

b. The rest are formed from roots ending in consonants. The uncompounded forms are: *viṣ-ē* 'to arouse', *drś-ē* 'to see', *bhuj-ē* 'to enjoy', *mal-ē* 'to be glad', *mih-ē* 'to make water', *mud-ē* 'to rejoice', *muṣ-ē* 'to rob', *muh-ē* 'to be bewildered', *yuj-ē* 'to yoke', *yudh-ē* 'to fight', *ruc-ē* 'to shine', *vydh-ē* 'to thrive', *subh-ē* 'to shine'.

The compounded forms are much more frequent. They are: *-āj-e* 'to drive', *-idh-e* 'to kindle', *-krām-e* 'to stride', *-grābh-e* 'to seize', *-caks-e* 'to see', *-sr-e* 'to cross', *-tij-e*⁶ 'to procure', *-dibh-e* 'to injure', *-dīṣ-e* 'to point', *-dṛś-e* 'to see', *-dhṛṣ-e* 'to be bold' (+ AV. TS.), *-nām-e* 'to bend', *-nās-e* (+ VS.) 'to attain', *-nlkṣ-e* 'to pierce', *-nid-e* 'to thrust', *-pfo-e* 'to fill', *-pṛcch-e* 'to ask'; *-bādhe* 'to bind' (AV.), *-būdh-e* (TS. i. 2. 3¹) 'to awake', *-mṛṣ-e* 'to forget', *-yāks-e* 'to speed', *-yūj-e* 'to yoke', *-rūbh-e* 'to seize', *-rūj-e* 'to break', *-vāc-e* 'to speak' (*√vac-*), *-vid-e* 'to find', *-vidh-e* 'to pierce' (*√vyadh-*), *-viṣ-e* 'to seize', *-vṛj-e* 'to put round', *-vrt-e* 'to turn', *-śās-e* 'to proclaim', *-śād-e* 'to sit', *-śūd-e* 'to enjoy', *-skūd-e* 'to leap', *-skūbh-e* 'to prop', *-spṛś-e* 'to touch', *-sydd-e* 'to flow', *-svāj-e* 'to embrace'⁷.

¹ AVERY 230.

² WHITNEY 9701; WOLFF p. 1.

³ Cp. WHITNEY 982. On the uses of the infinitive, cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 805—811.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 982, a—d.

⁵ That is, *śrad-dhē* and *pra-mē*, which might, however, be explained as locatives.

⁶ In VIII. 4¹⁵ the dative, accented *tij-e*, occurring independently, appears to be a substantive.

⁷ Cp. the list in LUDWIG p. 56—58.

a. One infinitive is also formed from a reduplicated root: *śiśnáth-e* (III. 31¹³) 'to attack'; but according to GRASSMANN¹ it is the locative of a substantive meaning 'attack'.

585. The remaining dative infinitives are formed from verbal nouns derived with nine different suffixes.

1. Some 25 of these are datives of stems in *-as*². They are the following: *dyas-e* (I. 57³) 'to go', *arhás-e* 'to be worthy of', *rcás-e* 'to praise', *rñjás-e* 'to strive after', *hśádas-e* 'to partake of', *cákśas-e* 'to see', *cards-e* 'to fare', *javás-e*⁴ (III. 50⁵) 'to speed', *jvás-e* 'to live', *tujás-e* 'to hurl', *dohás-e* 'to milk', *dháyas-e* 'to cherish', *dhrúvás-e* 'to sit firmly', *pusyás-e* 'to thrive', *bhúras-e*³ 'to bear', *bhíyás-e* 'to fear', *bhojás-e* 'to enjoy', *rājás-e* 'to shine', *rñjás-e* 'to turn aside', *vrdhás-e* 'to further', *sobhás-e* 'to shine', *triyás-e* 'to be resplendent', *sáhyas-e*⁵ 'to conquer', *spúras-e* 'to help to', *spúrdhás-e* 'to strive after', *harás-e* 'to seize'.

a. Three roots form an infinitive stem with *-s* only instead of *-as*: *ji-s* 'to conquer', *upa-prak-s*⁶ (V. 47⁶) 'to unite', *su-s* 'to praise'.

2. Some half dozen are formed from stems in *-i*: *is-dy-e*⁸ (VI. 52¹⁵) 'to refresh', *tuj-dy-e* (V. 46⁷) 'to breed', *dyś-dy-e* 'to see', *mah-dy-e* 'to rejoice', *yudh-dy-e* 'to fight', *san-dy-e* 'to win'; *cit-dy-e*⁹ (VS.) 'to understand'.

3. Four or five are formed from stems in *-ti*: *is-táy-e* 'to refresh', *pi-táy-e* 'to drink', *vi-táy-e* 'to enjoy', *sā-táy-e* 'to win'; perhaps also *ū-táy-e* (*nfn*) 'to help (his men)'.

4. Over 30 dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-tu* (added to the gunated root, in some instances with connecting vowel), from which acc. and abl. gen. infinitives are also formed:

a. *āt-tav-e* 'to eat', *ās-tav-e* 'to attain', *ās-tav-e* (VS.; TS. IV. 5. 1²) 'to shoot', *ē-tav-e* 'to go', *ō-tav-e* 'to weave' (*vā*), *kār-tav-e* 'to make', *gān-tav-e* and *gā-tav-e* 'to go', *dā-tav-e* 'to give', *prāti-dhā-tav-e* 'to place upon', *dhū-tav-e* 'to suck', *puṅk-tav-e* (AV.) 'to cook', *pāt-tav-e* 'to fall', *pā-tav-e* 'to drink', *bhār-tav-e* 'to bear away', *mān-tav-e* 'to think', *yān-tav-e* 'to present', *yās-tav-e* 'to sacrifice', *yā-tav-e* 'to go', *yō-tav-e* 'to ward off', *vāk-tav-e* 'to speak', *prā-van-tav-e* 'to win' (*van*), *vār-tav-e* 'to restrain', *vās-tav-e* 'to shine', *vī-tav-e* (AV.) 'to weave', *vēt-tav-e* (AV.) 'to find', *vō-lhav-e* 'to convey', *pāri-sak-tav-e* 'to overcome', *sār-tav-e* 'to flow', *sū-tav-e* 'to bring forth', *sō-tav-e* (AV.) 'to bind', *sō-tav-e* 'to press', *śī-tav-e* 'to praise', *hān-tav-e* 'to slay'.

β. *āv-i-tav-e* 'to refresh', *adr-i-tav-e* 'to fare', *jvā-ā-tav-e* (TS. IV. 2. 6⁵; VS. XVIII. 67) 'to live', *sāvi-tav-e* 'to bring forth', *stār-i-tav-e* (AV.) 'to lay low', *srāv-i-tav-e* 'to flow', *hāv-i-tav-e* 'to call'.

5. Over a dozen infinitives are formed from stems in *-tavā* (added like *-tu* to the gunated root), which are doubly accented.

a. *ētavāi* 'to go' (also *āty-*, *ānu-*, *clavāi*), *ō-tavāi* 'to weave', *gān-tavāi* 'to go' (also *ūpa-gantavāi*), *dā-tavāi* 'to give', *pāri-dhā-tavāi* (AV.) 'to envelope', *pā-tavāi* 'to drink', *āpa-bhar-tavāi* 'to be taken away', *mān-tavāi* 'to think', *mā-tavāi* 'to low', *sār-tavāi* 'to flow', *sū-tavāi* (AV.) 'to bring forth', *hān-tavāi* 'to slay'¹⁰.

¹ S. v. *śiśnátha*.

² As a rule the suffix, but in half a dozen instances the root, is accented.

³ According to GRASSMANN, 2. sing. middle.

⁴ According to GRASSMANN, dat. of the substantive *jāvā* meaning 'swiftness'.

⁵ According to GRASSMANN, dat. of the comparative *sāhyas*.

⁶ DELBRÜCK, Verbum, and AVERY accent

-prak-. Cp. OLDENBERG. Rgveda, note on V. 47⁶.

⁷ See DELBRÜCK p. 181 (I, 5); cp. above, p. 378, note 1.

⁸ Cp. however, DELBRÜCK 307.

⁹ Perhaps more probably a substantive, according to BR.: 'for understanding'.

¹⁰ The MS. has *kārtavāi*, cp. WHITNEY 982 d and WOLFF 7 (p. 9).

β. *īṅ-i-tavdi* (AV.) 'to live' (Pp. *-ta vdi*), *yām-i-tavdi* 'to guide', *srīṅ-i-tavdi* 'to flow'.

6. There seems to be only one certain example of a dative infinitive formed from a stem in *-tyā*: *i-tyāi* 'to go'¹.

7. Some 35 dative infinitives almost limited to the RV.² are formed from stems in *-dhyā* added to verbal bases ending in *a* (generally accented), and seem to have the termination *-dhyai*: *iyā-dhyai* 'to go' (√*i-*), *irā-dhyai*³ 'to seek to win', *iśā-dhyai* and *iśdyā-dhyai* 'to refresh', *īrayā-dhyai* 'to set in motion', *kṣāra-dhyai* 'to pour out', *gāma-dhyai* 'to go', *grnā-dhyai* (AA. v. 2. 1¹⁰) 'to praise', *carā-dhyai* 'to fare', *jarā-dhyai* 'to sing', *tamsayā-dhyai* 'to attract', *tarā-dhyai* 'to overcome', *duhā-dhyai* 'to milk', *dhiyā-dhyai* 'to deposit' (√*dhā-*), *nāśayā-dhyai* 'to cause to disappear', *plā-dhyai* 'to drink', *prnā-dhyai* 'to fill', *bhāra-dhyai* 'to bear', *mandā-dhyai* 'to delight in', *mandayā-dhyai* 'to rejoice', *mādayā-dhyai* 'to delight in', *yājā-dhyai*⁴ 'to worship', *riśayā-dhyai* 'to injure oneself', *vandā-dhyai* 'to praise', *varṭayā-dhyai* 'to cause to turn', *vāha-dhyai* 'to guide', *vājayā-dhyai* 'to hasten', *vīrydhā-dhyai* (from the perfect) 'to strengthen', *vrjā-dhyai* 'to turn to', *śayā-dhyai* 'to lie', *śucā-dhyai* 'to shine', *śacā-dhyai* 'to partake', *sāha-dhyai* 'to overcome', *stavā-dhyai* 'to praise', *syandayā-dhyai* 'to flow', *huvā-dhyai* 'to call'. The TS. has also one of these infinitives ending in *-c*: *gamā-dhye* (I. 3. 6²).

8. Five dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-man*: *trā-man-e* 'to protect', *dā-man-e* 'to give', *dhār-man-e* (x. 88¹) 'to support', *bhār-man-e* 'to preserve', *vid-mān-e*⁵ 'to know'.

9. Three dative infinitives are formed from stems in *-van*: *tur-vān-e* 'to overcome' (√*tṛ-*), *dā-vān-e* 'to give', *dhār-vān-e* 'to injure' (√*dhṛ-*).

2. Accusative Infinitive.

586. This infinitive is an accusative in sense as well as in form, being used only as the object of a verb. It is primarily employed as a supine with verbs of motion⁶ to express purpose. It is formed in two ways.

a. More than a dozen radical stems in the RV. and several others in the AV. form an accusative infinitive with the ending *-am*⁷.

The root nearly always ends in a consonant and appears in its weak form. It is not always easy to distinguish these infinitives from substantives, but the following include all the more certain forms: *sam-īdham* 'to kindle', *vi-śt-am* 'to unfasten', *pra-tīr-am* (√*tī-*) 'to prolong', *prati-dhām* 'to place upon' (AV.), (*vi-*, *san-*) *piśch-am* 'to ask', *pra-mly-am* 'to neglect' (√*mā-*), *yām-am*⁸ 'to guide', *yudh-am* (AV.) 'to fight', *ā-rābh-am* 'to reach', *ā-rīh-am* 'to mount', *ā-vīś-am* 'to enter', *śībh-am* 'to shine', *ū-sīd-am* 'to sit down'⁹.

b. Five accusative infinitives from stems in *-tu* (of which the dative

¹ In x. 106⁴ *bhujyāi*, occurring beside *puṣṣyāi*, is doubtless a substantive; other cases of the word are also met with: see GRASSMANN, s. v. *bhujī*. The MS. I. 6² has also *sādhayāi* (from *sah+ī*); *rābhayāi*, which occurs in the TS. I. 3. 10² is doubtless a substantive; see DELBRÜCK 201 and WHITNEY 977.

² This infinitive form occurs once only in the AV. in a Rigvedic passage.

³ An intensive formation from √*rād-* (64, 1).

⁴ *yājādhayāi* TS. IV. 6. 3⁴; VS. XVII. 57.

⁵ WHITNEY 974 also quotes *dār-man-e*.

⁶ Cp. WOLFF 32, 40.

⁷ The only roots in vowels taking it are *dhā-*, *mī-*, *tī-*.

⁸ Occurs three times in the RV., always dependent on *śaktma*.

⁹ Perhaps also *sant-bh-am* (strong radical vowel) and *upa-spij-am*. Cp. the list in WOLFF, p. 87—90. There are several quite doubtful examples from the AV., as *nih-khāt-am* (conjecture), *pra-tīr-am*, *saṃ-rūdh-am*. See WHITNEY's notes in his Translation on AV. IV. 16²; v. 18⁷; VII. 50⁵.

form is much commoner)¹ occur in the RV. and about the same number of others in the AV.: *āt-tum* (AV.) 'to eat', *ś-tum* 'to weave', *kār-tum* (AV.) 'to make', *nī-kartum* (Kh. iv. 5²⁵) 'to overcome', *khān-i-tum* (VS. xi. 10) 'to dig', *dā-tum* 'to give', *drās-tum* (AV.) 'to see', *prās-tum* 'to ask', *prā-bhar-tum* 'to present', *yāc-i-tum* (AV.) 'to ask for', *anu-prā-vothum* 'to advance', *spārdh-i-tum* (AV.) 'to contend with'².

3. Ablative-Genitive Infinitive.

587. This infinitive is formed in two ways, like the accusative infinitive, either from a radical stem or from a verbal noun in *-tu* (from which a dative and an acc. infinitive are also formed)³. The former, therefore, ends in *-as*, the latter in *-tos*. As these endings are both ablative and genitive in form, the cases can only be distinguished syntactically. The ablative use is by this criterion shown to preponderate considerably.

a. The *-as* form has the ablative sense almost exclusively, as is indicated by its being employed with words governing the ablative, viz. the adnominal prepositions *ṛtā* 'without', *purā* 'before', and the verbs *pā-* 'protect' *trā-* 'rescue', *bhī-* 'fear'. It occurs with the same kind of attraction as appears with the dative infinitive: thus *trādhvaṃ kartū ava-pād-as* (II. 29⁶) 'save us from the pit, from falling down (into it)'. There are six such ablatives in the RV.: *ā-tīd-as* 'being pierced', *ava-pād-as* 'falling down', *sam-pfc-as* 'coming in contact', *abhi-srī-as* 'binding', *abhi-svās-as* 'blowing', *ati-śkād-as* 'leaping across'.

a. There seems also to be at least one example (II. 28⁶) of the genitive use, viz. *nī-mī-as* . . . *īse* 'I am able to wink', the construction of *√ī-* being the same as with the genitive infinitive in *-tos* (b α). Another instance is perhaps *ā-pfc-as* 'to fill' (VIII. 40⁹).

b. Of the infinitives in *-tos* occurring in the RV. some six are shown by the construction to be ablatives. They are: *t-tos* 'going', *gāt-tos* 'going', *jāni-tos* 'being born', *nī-dhā-tos* 'putting down', *śār-t-tos* 'being shattered', *sā-tos* 'pressing', *hān-tos* 'being struck'; perhaps also *vās-tos* (I. 174³)⁵.

a. Three infinitives in *-tos* have the genitive sense, viz. *kūr-tos* 'doing' (with *madhyā*)⁶, *dā-tos* 'giving', and *yō-tos* 'warding off' (both with *ī-* 'have power'). In two passages in which *īse* governs the infinitive attraction of the object appears as with the dative infinitive: *īse rāyāḥ suvīryasya dātos* (VII. 4⁶) 'he has power over wealth (and) brave sons, over giving (them)', i. e. 'he has power to give wealth and brave sons'; also *yāsya . . . īse . . . yōtos* (VI. 18¹¹) 'whom he can ward off'⁷.

4. Locative Infinitive.

588. This form of the infinitive is rare, since thirteen or fourteen examples at the most occur. Several of these are, however, indistinguishable in meaning from ordinary locatives of verbal nouns⁸.

a. Five or six of these locatives are formed from radical stems: *vy-ī-* 'at the dawning', *sam-cāks-i* 'on beholding', *drś-i* and *sam-āś-i* 'on seeing', *hūdḥ-i* 'at the waking'. As these nearly always govern a genitive, they are preferably to be explained as simple locatives of verbal nouns.

¹ See above 585, 4.

² See the list in WOLFF p. 68-71.

³ Above 585, 4 and 586.

⁴ Cp. also VIII. 1¹²: *purā jātrūbhya ā-tīdas* 'before the cartilages being pierced'.

⁵ See WOLFF 11.

⁶ On this word see WOLFF 14, who thinks

it governs the ablative rather than the genitive.

⁷ See DELBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax* p. 418, and cp. WOLFF 58.

⁸ Cp. DELBRÜCK 212 (p. 227) and WHITNEY 985.

b. One locative infinitive is formed from a stem in *-tar*: *dhar-tār-i* 'to support' and *ni-dhar-tār-i* 'to bestow'.

c. Eight locatives with a genuine infinitive meaning are formed from stems in *-san* in the RV. They are: *gr-ṛ-śāṇ-i* 'to sing', *tar-ṛ-śāṇ-i* 'to cross', *ne-śāṇ-i* 'to lead', *par-śāṇ-i* 'to pass', *abhi-bhū-śāṇ-i* 'to aid', *śā-śāṇ-i* 'to swell', *sak-śāṇ-i* 'to abide' (√*sac*)², *upa-stṛ-ṇi-śāṇ-i* 'to spread'.

a. The form *iśāṇ-i* (II, 2³), seems to be derived from *iś-* 'emit' for *iś-śāṇ-i*³.

d. Gerund.

589. A considerable number (upwards of 120) of forms ending in *-tvī*, *-tvā*, *-tvāya*, *-tvā*, *-yā* occur in the RV. and AV. in the sense of gerunds expressing an action which accompanies or more often precedes that of the finite verb. They are doubtless old cases⁴ (the first most probably a locative, the rest instrumentals) of verbal nouns formed with *-tu*, *-li*, *-i*, all of which are also employed in the formation of infinitives⁵. The first three are formed from the simple root, the last two from the compounded root.

590. A. a. Of the gerunds formed from the simple root, those in *-tvī* are the commonest in the RV., there being fifteen altogether in the RV. They hardly ever occur in any of the other Samhitās. They appear to be old locatives⁶ of stems in *-tu*, which as a rule is added directly to the root, but in two instances with connecting *-i*. They are *kr-tvī* 'having made', *khā-tvī* (TS. IV. 1. 1⁴) 'having dug', *ga-tvī* 'having gone', *gū-dhvī* 'having concealed', *jani-tvī* 'having produced', *juṣ-tvī* 'liking', *pr-tvī* 'having drunk', *pā-tvī* 'having cleansed', *bhū-tvī* 'having become', *vr-tvī* 'enclosing', *vrk-tvī* 'having overthrown' (√*vṛj*-), *vis-tvī* 'working' (√*vis*-), *vṛṣ-tvī* 'showering', *skabhi-tvī* 'having propped', *ha-tvī* 'having smitten', *hi-tvī* 'having abandoned' (√*hā*-).

b. The gerund in *-tvā*, an old instrumental of a verbal noun in *-tu*, is formed by nine roots in the RV. and about thirty more in the AV. Those found in the RV. are: *pr-tvā* 'having drunk', *bhūt-tvā* 'having shattered', *bhā-tvā* 'having become', *mi-tvā* 'having formed' (√*mā*-), *yuk-tvā* 'having yoked', *vr-tvā* 'having covered', *śru-tvā* 'having heard', *ha-tvā* 'having slain', *hi-tvā* 'having abandoned' (√*hā*-). The forms occurring in the AV. include two formed from secondary verbal stems and three others formed with the connecting vowel *-i*. They are: *is-tvā* 'having sacrificed' (√*yaj*-), *kaṣpay-i-tvā* 'having shaped', *kr-tvā* 'having made', *kri-tvā* 'trading', *ga-tvā* 'having gone', *grh-ṛ-tvā* 'having seized', *jag-dhvā* 'having devoured' (√*jaks*-), *ci-tvā* 'having gathered', *āy-i-tvā* 'noting', *nr-tvā* 'having crossed' (√*tr*-), *tr-dhvā* 'having shattered' (√*trh*-), *dat-tvā* 'having given', *drṣ-tvā* 'having seen', *pak-tvā* 'having cooked', *pū-tvā* 'having purified', *bad-dhvā* 'having bound', *bhāḥ-tvā* 'sharing', *mṛṣ-tvā* 'having wiped off', *rū-dhvā* 'having ascended', *lab-dhvā* 'taking', *vit-tvā* 'having found', *vṛṣ-tvā* 'cutting off' (√*vraśc*-)⁸, *sup-tvā* 'having slept', *stāb-dhvā* 'having established', *stu-tvā* 'having praised', *snū-tvā* 'having bathed', *sraṃsay-i-tvā* 'letting fall', *hiṃs-i-tvā* 'having injured'. One gerund in *-tvā* also occurs though compounded with a prefix: *praty-arpay-i-tvā* (AV.) 'having sent

¹ Formed from the present base.

⁶ BARTHOLOMAE, loc. cit.

² From √*sac*, BR., DELBRÜCK, Verbum, 7 *trṣ-tvā* in AV. XIX. 34^o is probably to be read *tris tvā* 'thrice thee'; see WHITNEY's 213; from √*śāh*, WHITNEY 978.

³ See BÖHTLINGK, pw. s. v. *iśāṇi*, and cp. Translation. WHITNEY 978, OLDENBERG, note on II. 2³.

⁸ See note on AV. VIII. 3² in WHITNEY's

⁴ Cp. v. NEGELEIN, Zur Sprachgeschichte 91. Translation (RV. has *vrk-tvā*).

⁵ Cp. BARTHOLOMAE, BB. 15, 227, 239; BRUGMANN, Grundriss 2, 1090.

in opposition'. From the Khilas: *janay-i-tvā* (I. 4^B); from the VS. *i-tvā* (XXXII. 12), *vid-i-tvā* (XXXI. 18) 'having known', *spr-tvā* (XXXI. 1) 'pervading'.

c. The rarest gerund in the RV. is that in *-tvāya*, being formed from only seven roots. It appears to be a late formation, occurring only in the tenth Maṇḍala, excepting one example in the eighth (VIII. 100^B) in a hymn which is marked by ARNOLD² as belonging to the latest period of the RV. Two of these gerunds (*gatvāya* and *hatvāya*) recur in the AV., which, however, has no additional examples of this type. These forms have the appearance of being datives of stems in *-tva*, but the use of the dative in this sense is in itself unlikely, as that case is otherwise employed to express the final meaning of the infinitive. Hence DARTHOLOMAE³ explains the forms as a metrical substitute for a fem. inst. in *-tvāyā* (from the stem *-tva*), or for a loc. of *-tva* with enclitic *ā* added. There seems to be another possible explanation. Three of the seven forms occurring appear instead of the corresponding forms in *-tvā* of the older Maṇḍalas. Owing to this close connexion and the lateness as well as the rarity of these forms, we may here have a tentative double formation, under the influence of compound gerunds formed with *-ya* which end in *-āya*, such as *ā-dāya* 'taking'.

The forms occurring are *kr-tvāya* (VS. XI. 59; TS. IV. 1. 5⁴) 'having made', *ga-tvāya* 'having gone', *jaḡ-dhvāya* 'having devoured', *ta-tvāya* (VS. XI. 1) 'having stretched', *dat-tvāya* 'having given', *dṛs-tvāya* 'having seen', *bhaktvāya* 'having attained', *yuk-tvāya* 'having yoked', *vr-tvāya* (TS. IV. 1. 2³; VS. XI. 19) 'having covered', *ha-tvāya* 'having slain', *hi-tvāya* 'having abandoned'.

591. B. When the verb is compounded, the suffix is regularly either *-yā* or *-tyā*. In at least two-thirds of these forms the vowel is long in the RV.⁴

a. Nearly 40 roots in the RV. and about 30 more in the AV., when compounded with verbal prefixes, take the suffix *-yā*. Four roots take it also when compounded with nouns or adverbs. The forms occurring in the RV. are in the alphabetical order of the radical initial: *ā-dc-yā* 'bending', *pra-dṛp-yā* 'setting in motion', *prati-ṣ-yā* 'having sought for', *abhi-ḥp-yā* 'having enveloped' (1 'vap-), *vi-ḥft-yā* 'having cut in pieces', *abhi-krām-yā* 'approaching', *abhi-khyā-yā* 'having descried', *abhi-gṛ-yā* 'graciously accepting', *saṃ-gḥ-yā* 'gathering', *prati-gḥ-yā* 'accepting', *anu-gḥ-yā* 'proclaiming aloud', *abhi-cāks-yā* 'regarding', *prati-cāks-yā* 'observing' and *vi-cāks-yā* 'seeing clearly', *ni-cā-yā* 'fearing', *pari-tāp-yā* 'stirring up' (heat), *vi-tṛ-yā* 'driving forth', *ā-dā-yā* 'taking' and *pari-dā-yā* 'handing over', *ati-dv-yā* 'playing higher', *anu-dṛs-yā* 'looking along', *abhi-pād-yā* 'acquiring', *pra-prūh-yā* 'puffing out', *vi-bhā-yā* 'shattering', *abhi-bhū-yā* 'overcoming', *vi-mā-yā* 'disposing' and *saṃ-mā-yā* 'measuring out', *saṃ-mil-yā* 'closing the eyes', *vi-mūc-yā* 'unyoking', *ā-mūs-yā* 'appropriating', *anu-mṛs-yā* 'grasping', *ā-yi-yā*⁵ 'taking to oneself', *ā-rābh-yā* 'grasping' and *saṃ-rābh-yā* 'surrounding oneself with', *ni-rūdh-yā* 'having restrained', *abhi-vṛt-yā* 'having overcome' and *ā-vṛt-yā* 'causing to roll towards', *abhi-vlāg-yā* 'pursuing', *ni-sād-yā* 'having sat down', *vi-sāh-yā* 'having conquered', *ava-sā-yā* 'having unyoked', *saṃ-hā-yā* 'preparing oneself' (*hā* 'go'). Compounds formed with adverbs are: *punar-dā-yā* 'giving back', *mītha-sṛjdh-yā* 'vying together'; and with nouns, *karṇa-gḥ-yā* 'seizing by the ear', *pāda-gḥ-yā* 'grasping by the foot', *hastā-gḥ-yā* 'grasping by the hand'.

¹ The MS. has also the form *saṃ-iray-i-tvā*; WHITNEY 990 a.

² Vedic Metre p. 283.

³ BB. 15, p. 239, 12.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 993 a.

⁵ On the gerund in *-yā* cp. NEISSER, BB. 30, 308-311.

⁶ *-yā* is also compounded with *ni-* and *vi-*.

The additional roots thus compounded in the AV. are: *ud-ih-ya* 'having carried up', *ā-krām-ya* 'stepping into' and *pari-krām-ya* 'striding about', *saṃ-gīr-ya* 'swallowing up', *saṃ-gīh-ya*¹ 'having grasped', *vi-ccīd-ya* 'having cut asunder', *upa-dād-ya* 'putting in' (*dā-* 'give'), *abhi-dhū-ya* 'encircling', *vi-dhū-ya* 'shaking off', *parā-ñi-ya* 'leading away', *ā-pād-ya* 'arriving at' and *pra-pād-ya* 'going forward', *saṃ-pā-ya* 'drinking up', *vi-bhāj-ya* 'having apportioned', (caus. of *√bhaj-*), *saṃ-bhū-ya* 'combining', *ni-mājj-ya* 'having immersed' (*√majj-*), *apa-mā-ya* 'having measured off'⁴, *apa-mj-ya* 'having wiped off', *saṃ-rābh-ya* 'taking hold together', *ā-rūh-ya* 'ascending', *saṃ-līp-ya* 'having torn up'², *upa-ni-ya* 'sitting down', *pari-vi-ya* 'attending upon', *saṃ-si-ya* 'sharpening', *ā-sād-ya* 'sitting upon' and *ni-sād-ya* 'sitting down', *saṃ-sic-ya* 'having poured together', *apa-sidh-ya* 'driving away', *saṃ-siv-ya* 'having sewed', *nih-sfp-ya* 'having crept out', *ati-śhū-ya* 'excelling', *prati-śhū-ya* 'standing firm', *ut-thā-ya* 'arising'. From the VS.: *ni-sir-ya* (xvi. 13) 'having broken off', *saṃ-sfj-ya* (xi. 53) 'having mingled', *ati-hā-ya* (xxv. 43) 'having missed'.

b. Roots which end in a short vowel, either originally or after losing a nasal, add *-tyā* (nearly always in RV.) or *-tya* instead of *-yā*, when compounded. The following gerunds are thus formed in the RV.: *-i-tyā* 'having gone' with *api-*, *abhi-* and *ā-*, *-i-tya* with *abhi-* and *prati-*; *ā-gā-tyā* 'having come' (*√gam-*), *ā-dī-tyā* 'regarding', *ā-bhī-tyā* 'bringing', *vi-hā-tyā* 'having driven away' (*√han-*); and with adverbial prefixes *aram-kī-tyā* 'having made ready', *akkkhālī-kī-tyā* 'shouting'. From the Khilas: *aty-ā-hr-tya* (iv. 5²⁹).

The AV. has the following gerunds from nine additional roots *nir-tya* 'separating' (?),⁵ *abhi-ji-tya* 'having conquered', and *saṃ-ji-tya* 'having wholly conquered', *ā-tī-tya* 'having expanded', *apa-mi-tya* 'having borrowed' (*√mā-*), *ud-yī-tya* 'lifting up', *pra-ā-vr-tya* 'having enveloped', *upa-srī-tya* 'having overheard', *ud-dhī-tya* 'having taken up' (*√hr-*); also in composition with a substantive: *namas-kī-tya*. The VS. has *upa-stū-tya* (xxi. 46) 'having invoked' and *pra-stū-tya* (xxi. 46) 'having lauded'.

VIII. INDECLINABLES.

I. Prepositions.

GAEDICKE, *Der Akkusativ im Veda* (Breslau 1880), p. 193—210. — WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar* 1077—1089, 1123—1130. — DEIBRÜCK, *Altindische Syntax* p. 440—471. — Cp. BENFEY, *Vollständige Grammatik* 241 and 784. — BRUGMANN, *KG.* p. 457—480. — J. S. SPEIJER, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Grundriss I. 6, 87.

592. Two classes of prepositions are to be distinguished. The first class embraces the genuine or adverbial prepositions. These are words with a local sense which, being primarily used to modify the meaning of verbs, came to be connected independently with the cases governed by the verbs thus modified. They show no signs of derivation from inflexional forms or (except *tīrds* and *purds*) forms made with adverbial suffixes. The second class embraces what may be called adnominal prepositions. These are words which are not compounded with verbs, but govern cases only. As regards form, they almost invariably end in case terminations or adverbial suffixes.

¹ *gīhya* also appears compounded with *ni-*, *vi-* and *prati-*.

² The gerund *ā-śhrā-ya* (AV. xix. 8⁵), the reading of the text, is not found in the Mss. and is doubtless wrong; cp. WHITNEY'S *Index Verborum*.

³ From the present base of *√dā-*, cp. WHITNEY 992 a.

⁴ *apa-mā-ya* is a conjectural reading.

⁵ v. NEGELEIN 92 gives *-vidh-ya* (*√vyadh-*) and *-iur-ya* as occurring in the AV., but they are not to be found in WHITNEY'S *Index Verborum*.

⁶ See note on AV. x. 2² in WHITNEY'S *Translation*.

⁷ Conjectural reading in AV. xx. 136¹; see WHITNEY'S *Index Verborum*.

A. Adverbial Prepositions.

593. Of the twenty-two included in this class¹, eight are never used adnominally, viz. *āpa*² 'away'; *id* 'up', 'out'; *ni* 'down', 'into'; *nis* 'out'; *pāra* 'away'; *prā* 'forth'; *vi* 'asunder' (often = 'dis-', 'away'); *sām*³ 'together'⁴. Three others, for the most part employed adnominally, are restricted in their adverbial use to combination with particular verbs, viz. *decha* 'towards', *tirās* 'across', *purās* 'before'. The remaining eleven, being employed both adverbially and adnominally, are: *āti* 'beyond'; *dūhi* 'upon'; *ānu* 'after'; *antār* 'within'; *āpi* 'on'; *abhi* 'against'; *āva* 'down'; *ā* 'near'; *ūpa* 'up to'; *pāri* 'around'; *prāti* 'towards'.

a. When combined with verbs⁵ these prepositions are not compounded in the principal sentence⁶. Generally speaking, they immediately precede the verb; but they are also often separated from it, e. g. *ā tvā vīśantu* (I. 5¹) 'may they enter thee'. Occasionally the preposition follows the verb, e. g. *indra gā avyrod āpa* (VIII. 63³) 'Indra disclosed the cows'. Two prepositions are not infrequently combined with the verb⁷; no certain instances of three being thus used can be quoted from the RV., though a few such instances occur in the AV.⁸ On the other hand, a preposition sometimes appears quite alone⁹; the verb 'to be', or some other verb commonly connected with it, can then be supplied without difficulty; e. g. *ā tū na indra* (I. 10¹¹) 'hither, pray, (come) to us, Indra'. Or the preposition appears without the verb in one part of the sentence, but with it in another; e. g. *pāri mām, pāri me prajām, pāri nah pāhi yad dhānam* (AV. II. 7⁴) 'protect me, protect my progeny, protect what wealth (is) ours'. As the verb normally stands at the end of the sentence, the preposition would naturally come after the object. Hence as a rule it follows the noun governed by the verb (though it is also often found preceding the noun). Primarily used to define the local direction expressed by the verb which governs a case, prepositions gradually became connected with particular cases. In the RV. it is still often uncertain whether the adverbial or the adnominal sense is intended. Thus *dāsvānsam ūpa gacchatam* (I. 47³) may mean either 'do ye two go to the pious man' or 'do ye two go to the pious man'. When used adnominally the preposition only

¹ On the relative frequency of these prepositions in the RV. and AV. see WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1077 n.

² On the relation of *āpa*, *āpi*, *ūpa*, *ni*, *pāri* to corresponding Greek prepositions see J. SCHMIDT, KZ. 26, 21 ff.

³ *sām* seems in a few passages to have attained an independent prepositional use with the instrumental: *sām usādhih* (I. 6³), *sām pātībhīh* (II. 16³), *sām ūkvābhīh* (VIII. 97¹²), *sām jyōtiṣā jyōtiḥ* (VS. II. 9), *sām āyujā* (TS. I. 1. 10²); but in all these examples the case perhaps depends on the compound sense of the verb. BR. do not recognize the prepositional use, cp. DELBRÜCK p. 459; on the other hand, see GRASSMANN s. v. *sām* and WHITNEY 1127. *sām* is used with the inst. in Kh. I. 47.

⁴ The adverbs *āvis* and *prādūr* 'in view' are used with *√as-*, *√bhū-* and *√kr-* only.

⁵ Though a certain number of verbs are never actually met with in the RV. and AV. in combination with prepositions (cp. DELBRÜCK p. 433), there can be little doubt

that practically all verbs except denominatives were capable of combining with prepositions. On the other hand, some verbs occur only in combination with prepositions (DELBRÜCK, loc. cit.).

⁶ *decha*, *tirās*, *purās* seem never to be compounded with the verb even in dependent clauses; see DELBRÜCK p. 469 (mid.).

⁷ When there are two, *pāra* always immediately precedes the verb; *ā* and *āva* nearly always; *ād*, *ni*, *prā* usually. On the other hand, *abhi* is all but invariably the first of the two; *dūhi* and *ānu* are nearly always so, *ūpa* and *prāti* usually; cp. DELBRÜCK 234.

⁸ Cp. DELBRÜCK 235. Three prepositions combined with a verb are common in B.; the last is then almost invariably *ā* or *āva*.

⁹ On the elliptical imperative use of prepositions cp. FISCHER, VS. I. 13, 19f.; BRUGMANN, IF. 18, 128; DELBRÜCK, Vergleichende Syntax 3, 122f.

defines the local meaning of the case. It cannot be said to 'govern' the case, except perhaps when *á* 'up to' or *purás* 'before' are connected with the ablative.

594. The fourteen genuine prepositions which are used adnominally are almost entirely restricted to employment with the accusative, locative, and ablative. Six are used with the accusative only, viz. *decha*, *áti*, *ánu*, *abhi*, *práti* and *tíras*; one (*ápi*) with the locative only; one (*dva*) with the ablative only (and that very rarely).

The remaining six take the accusative and one or both of the other two cases: *pári* takes the ablative also; *úpa* the locative also; *ádhi*, *antár*, *á*, *purás* take both the locative and the ablative also. The first two of these six belong primarily to the sphere of the accusative, the last four to that of the locative. Thus it appears that the genuine prepositions were at the outset practically associated with these two cases only. The ablative came to be used secondarily with *pári* in the sense of 'from (around)'; and similarly with locative prepositions. *ádhi* = 'from (upon)', *antár* = 'from (within)', *á* = 'from (on)'. In all these, the sense of the ablative case combined with the original meaning of the preposition to form a new double notion. But in *purás* 'before' and in *á*, when it means 'up to', which are both used before the case, the ablative sense has completely disappeared.

The following is a detailed account of the genuine prepositions in their alphabetical order.

decha 'towards'.

595. In combination with verbs of motion and of speaking¹, *decha*² expresses direction in the sense of '(all the way) to'⁴. Used adnominally with the same meaning, it takes the accusative, which either precedes or follows. It is rare except in the RV.⁵ Examples of its use are: *prá yātana sákhīn dechā* (I. 165¹³) 'proceed hither to your friends'; *úpa prāgāt . . dechā pātīram mātāraṇ ca* (I. 163¹³) 'he has come forward hither to his father and mother'; *kām dechā yuñjāthe rātham* (V. 74³) 'to (go to) whom do ye two yoke your car?'; *dechā ca tvāṇi nāmasā vādāmasi* (VII. 21⁶) 'and to thee we speak with this devotion'; *prīyam agād dhīṣṇā barhiṛ decha* (TS. I. 1. 2¹ = MS. I. 1² = K. I. 2) 'this bowl has come forward hither to the litter'.

áti 'beyond'.

596. Adverbially *áti* is frequently used in the sense of 'beyond', 'over', 'through', with verbs of motion. Whether it is used adnominally with these and cognate verbs is somewhat uncertain. There are, however, a few distinct instances of such use⁶ of *áti* in other connexions with the accusative; e. g. *śatāṃ dāsāṃ áti srājāḥ* (VII. 56³) 'a hundred slaves (beyond =) in addition to garlands'; *purvīr áti kṣāpāḥ* (X. 77²) 'through many nights'; *kād asya áti vratāṇ cakrāmā* (X. 12⁵) 'what have we done (beyond =) contrary

¹ In regard to *úpa* the sense of 'motion locative in the v. r. *sādanēṣu decha* for to' seems to be the primary one; for it is used twice as often with the acc., and its position before the loc. is less primitive.

² It is once (VII. 33¹³) also used with *śru-* 'hear' in the sense of 'listen to'.

³ The final *a* is short only at the end of a Pada and in I. 31¹⁷ and IX. 106¹; otherwise always *dechā*.

⁴ In the SV, it is once used with the

⁵ It is used with over twenty roots in the RV. and with only two in the AV. (WHITNEY 1078). In the TS, it occurs with *i-* 'go' (IV. 1. 8¹; II. 2. 12³) and with *vad-* 'speak' (IV. 5. 1² = VS. XVI. 4).

⁶ The adnominal use survives through the Brāhmaṇas into the Mahābhārata.

to his ordinance?'; *yá devá mártvyám dái* (AV. XX. 127') 'the god who (is) beyond mortals'.

ádhi 'upon'.

597. The general meaning of *ádhi* in its adverbial use is 'upon', e. g. *ádhi gam* 'come upon', then 'find out', 'learn'.

In adnominal use the proper sphere of *ádhi* is the locative, with which it is almost always connected. Here, however, there is sometimes an uncertainty whether the preposition belongs to the verb or the noun; e. g. *nákasya prásthé ádhi tisthati* (I. 125⁵) 'he stands upon the ridge of the firmament'. When referring to a person *ádhi* means 'beside', 'with' (from the notion of wielding sway over); e. g. *yán, násatyá, parāvátí yád vá sthó ádhi turvdáe* (I. 47⁷) 'when, O Násatyas, ye are at a distance or with Turvaśa'.

a. From the locative the use of *ádhi* extended to the ablative, with which it is less frequently connected. It then primarily has the compound sense 'from upon'; e. g. *átah ... á gáhi divó vá rocanád ádhi* (I. 69⁹) 'thence come, or from the bright realm of heaven'. Often, however, the simple ablative meaning alone remains; e. g. *hridayád ádhi* (X. 163¹) 'from the heart'; *púruṣád ádhi* (VS. XXXII. 2) 'from Puruṣa'. A somewhat extended sense is occasionally found; e. g. *yám ... káṇva idhá ríád ádhi* (I. 36¹¹) 'whom Kanva kindled (proceeding from =) in accordance with sacred order'; *má pañir bhur asmád ádhi* (I. 33³) 'be not niggardly with regard to us'.

b. From the locative the use of *ádhi* further spread to the accusative, though in a very limited way, to express the sphere on or over which an action extends; e. g. *prthú prátikam ádhy láhe agní* (VII. 36¹) 'Agni has been kindled over the broad surface'. Otherwise, when taking the accusative in the sense of 'upon' with verbs of motion, *ádhi* nearly always belongs to the verb.

a. In the RV. only, *ádhi* is used seven times with the (following) instrumental singular or plural of *anu-* 'height', to express motion along and over = 'across'; e. g. *cakráṃ ... ádhi ṣṇúná bhrahá vartamānam* (IV. 28²) 'the wheel rolling across the mighty height'. This is probably to be explained as the instrumental of the space (by =) through which motion takes place (e. g. *váto an'árikṣeva yáti* 'the wind goes through the air', I. 161¹⁴), the preposition that regularly means 'upon' being added to define the action as taking place 'over' as well as 'along'. The VS. has the regular locative of *anu-* with *ádhi*: *prthivyá ádhi mūsu* (XVII. 14) 'on the heights of the earth'.

ánu 'after'.

598. In its adverbial use *ánu* primarily means 'after', e. g. *ánu i-* 'go after', 'follow'; from this fundamental sense are developed various modifications such as 'along', 'through'.

In its adnominal use *ánu* takes the accusative only. When the influence of the verb is still felt, it means 'after', 'along', 'throughout'; e. g. *pára me yanti dhítáyo gávo ná gávyátir ánu* (I. 25¹⁶) 'my prayers go abroad like kine (seeking) after pastures'; *ápa prá yanti dhítíyah ríásya pathyá ánu* (III. 12⁷) 'forth go my prayers along the paths of sacred order'; *yát páñca mánuṣám ánu nrmáṃ* (VII. 9²) 'the might which (exists) throughout the five peoples'; similarly *prthivím ánu* (VS. XIII. 6) 'throughout the earth', *vínaspátim ánu* (VS. XIII. 7) 'in all trees', *pradísá 'nu* (VS. XXXII. 4) 'throughout the regions'.

When used in closer connexion with nouns *ánu* expresses:

a. sequence in time: 'after' or (with plurals) 'throughout'; e. g. *púrvám ánu práyatim* (I. 126⁵) 'after the first presentment'; *ánu dyán* 'throughout the days' = 'day after day'.

b. conformity: 'after' = 'in accordance with'; e. g. *svám ánu vratám* (I. 128³) 'according to his own ordinance'; *amítám ánu* (VS. IV. 28) 'after the

manner of immortals'; *anu jōsam* (TS. I. 1. 13^a — VS. II. 17) 'for (= to suit) thy enjoyment'. This is the commoner independent use.

antār 'between'.

599. In its adverbial use, which is not frequent, *antār* means 'between', 'within', 'into'; e. g. *antās car-* 'move between or within'; *antāḥ pāt-* 'look into'; *antār gā-* 'go between', 'separate'; *antar-vidvān* 'knowing (the difference) between', 'distinguishing'.

The fundamental and by far the most frequent adnominal use of *antār* is connected with the locative in the sense of 'within', 'among'; e. g. *antāḥ samudrē* 'within the ocean'; *apsī antār* 'within the waters'; *antār devēsu* 'among the gods'; *gūrbhe antāḥ* (VS. XXXII. 4) 'within the womb'; *mātṛtamāsu antāḥ* (TS. I. 8. 12^a = VS. X. 7) 'in the best of mothers'.

a. From the locative its use extends in a few instances to the ablative in the sense of 'from within'; e. g. *antār āsmanah* 'from within the rock'; *epā yayau paramād antāḥ ādreh* (IX. 87^b) 'it has come from the highest stone'.

b. From the locative its use further extends, in several instances, to the accusative, in the sense of 'between' (expressing both motion and rest), generally in connexion with duals or two classes of objects; e. g. *mahān sadhāsthe dhruvā ā nisatto 'ntār dyāva* (III. 6¹) 'the great one who has sat down in the firm seat between the two worlds'; *Indra It somapā kkaḥ . . antār devān mātṛyānāś ca* (VIII. 2¹) 'Indra is the one Soma-drinker (between =) among gods and mortals'.

āpi 'upon'.

600. In its adverbial use with verbs of motion *āpi* generally means 'into', e. g. *āpi gam-* 'go into', 'enter'; but this sense assumes various modifications which may be expressed by 'on', 'over', 'up'; e. g. *āpi dhā-* 'put upon', 'close up'; *āpi nah-* 'tie up'; *āpi-ripta-* 'smeared over' = 'blind'.

In its adnominal use, which is rare, *āpi* is connected with the locative only. It then has the sense of 'on'; e. g. *ayām, agne, tvē āpi yān yajūḥm cakṛmā vayām* (II. 5^b) 'this (is), O Agni, the sacrifice which we have offered on thee'.

abhi 'towards'.

601. In its adverbial use *abhi* means 'towards' with verbs of motion, e. g. *abhi dru-* 'run towards'; it further commonly makes verbs of action transitive, e. g. *krand-* 'roar': *abhi krand-* 'roar at'; it also sometimes, especially with *bhū-* 'be', comes to have the sense of superiority: *abhi bhū-* 'overcome'.

The adnominal use of *abhi* is fairly frequent, though in many individual instances difficult to distinguish from its adverbial use. It is connected with the accusative only, in the sense of 'to'; e. g. *ūd iriṣva nārī abhi jīvalokām* (X. 18^b) 'Arise, O woman, to the world of the living'. The sense of 'over' (implying dominion), abstracted from one of its secondary adverbial uses, is occasionally found; e. g. *vīśvā yās carṣaṇīr abhi* (I. 86^a) 'who (is) over all men'.

¹ In the later language *antār* is not infrequently used with the genitive (as well as the locative). An example of this occurs as early as VS. XL. 5 (= Īśa Upaniṣad 5): *tād antār aśya sārvaśya, tād u sārvaśya aśya bāhyatāḥ* 'it is within this all and it is without this all'.

² The adverb *āpi* begins to be employed secondarily in the RV. (though rarely) as a conjunctive particle meaning 'also'; cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 588, 5.

áva 'down'.

602. In its adverbial use, *áva* generally means 'down'. e. g. *áva gam-* 'come down'; but it has also the extended sense of 'away', 'off', e. g. *áva sṛj-* 'discharge'.

In its adnominal use, which is very rare and doubtful, it is connected with the ablative in the sense of 'down from'. In the following two examples, especially the second, the case seems to be directly dependent on the preposition: *vṛṣṭim áva divá invatam* (VII. 64²) 'send rain down from heaven'; *yé te pánthāno áva diváh* (AV. VII. 55¹) 'which (are) thy paths down from the sky'.

á 'near'.

603. The adverbial use of *á* with verbs expressing either physical or mental motion is very common in the sense of 'near', 'hither', 'towards', 'to', 'upon'; e. g. *á aj-* 'drive hither'; *á krand-* 'cry to'; *á dhī-* 'think upon', 'attend to'. Less commonly, when used with verbs expressing rest or occurrence, it means 'in' or 'at'; e. g. *á kṣi-* 'dwell in', *á jan-* 'be born at' a place.

When used adnominally, *á* regularly follows the case, excepting only one sense of the ablative. It is primarily and most commonly connected with the locative, when it has the sense of 'on', 'in', 'at', 'to'; e. g. *upásta á* 'on the lap'; *dadhīs tvā bhṛgavo mānuṣeṣu.á* (I. 58⁶) 'the Bhṛgus brought thee to men'.

a. From the locative its use extended to the ablative, with which it is used fairly often. It is generally used after this case, when it primarily has the compound sense of 'from on' (cp. *ádhi*); e. g. *parvatād á* 'from (on) the mountain'. It also means, secondarily, 'away from'; e. g. *yás cid dhī tvā bahūbhya á sutāvān avtāsati* (I. 84⁹) 'who entices thee away from many (others) with his Soma draught'. This secondary meaning is sometimes further extended to express preference; e. g. *yás te sūkhībhya á váram* (I. 4¹) 'who is a boon to thee (in distinction) from friends', i. e. 'who is better to thee than friends'.

a. In about a dozen instances in the RV., *á* is used before the ablative to express 'up to'; e. g. *yati girībhya á samudrát* (VII. 95²) 'going from the mountains up to the sea'; *á nimirāḥ* (I. 161¹⁰) 'till sunset'. This reversal of meaning is probably due to the reversal of the natural order of the words: *samudrát á* 'from the sea' thus becoming *á samudrát* 'to the sea'.

b. The use of *á* is further extended to the accusative, with which it is least frequently connected, generally meaning 'to', 'upon', to express the goal with verbs of motion; e. g. *antár tyase . . yuṣmāns ca devān viśa á ca mártān* (IV. 2³) 'thou goest mediating to you, the gods, and to the people, the mortals'; *mātāra sīdatām bahīr á* (I. 142⁷) 'may the two mothers seat themselves upon the litter'; *éhy á naḥ* (AV. II. 5¹) 'come hither to us'; *devānām vakṣi priyām á sadhástham* (TS. V. 1. 11¹ = VS. XXIX. 1) 'bring (it) to the dear abode of the gods'. In closer connexion with nouns, *á* is used to express purpose in the phrases *jāyam á* 'for enjoyment', and *vāram á* 'for pleasure'.

úpa 'up to'.

604. In its adverbial use *úpa* is in sense akin to *abhi* and *á*, expressing 'near to'; e. g. *úpa gam-* 'go near to'. The fundamental meaning of close

¹ Cp. DELBRÜCK p. 451.

² With very few exceptions this is the only use of *á* to be found in B.; in C. also *á* is found only before the ablative, but

with the old sense of 'from' as well as 'up to'.

³ It is occasionally found after the ablative in this sense; see GRASSMANN s. v. *á*.

contiguity is often coupled with the idea of subordination or inferiority; e. g. *úpa sad-* 'sit down close to', 'approach reverentially'; *úpa ús-* 'sit under', 'adore'.

In its adnominal use *úpa* is most frequently connected with the accusative (which it more often precedes than follows) in the sense of 'to'; e. g. *á yáhi . . úpa bráhmāni vāghātāḥ* (I. 3⁵) 'come to the prayers of the worshipper'.

a. It is also used (about half as frequently in the RV.) before the locative in the sense of 'beside', 'upon', 'at': *yá úpa sárye* (I. 23¹⁷) 'who (are) beside the sun'; *úpa dyávi* '(upon =) up to the sky' (from below); *úpa jmánā úpa vetasá áva tara* (VS. XVII. 6 = MS. II. 10¹) 'descend upon the earth, upon the reed'.

a. Quite exceptionally (only three times) *úpa* occurs in the RV. with the (following) instrumental. In two passages it expresses sequence of time in the phrase *úpa dyúbhis* (V. 53³; VIII. 40⁸) 'day by day'. Once it expresses conformity: *yásmāi víṣṇus tríṇi padá vicakramá úpa mitráya dhármabhiḥ* (Vál. IV. 3³) 'for whom Viṣṇu strode forth his three steps in accordance with the ordinances of Mitra'. These abnormal senses of *úpa* are parallel to those of *ánu* (598 a, b), and the construction to that of *dāhi* (597 a).

tiráś 'across'.

605. Adverbially *tiráś* is used in the sense of 'aside', but only with the two verbs *dha-* 'put' and *bha-* 'be', in the Samhitās; thus *tíró dha-* 'put aside', 'conceal'; *tíró bha-* 'disappear'; e. g. *ajakávuṣṇe tíró dadhe* (VII. 50¹) 'I put away the scorpion'; *má tíró bhūt* (AV. VIII. 17) 'may it not disappear'.

Adnominally *tiráś* is used fairly often in the RV., and a few times in the AV., in the sense of 'across', 'over', 'through', 'past', with (nearly always before) the accusative¹; e. g. *á ye tanvānti rāsmibhis tíráś samudrām* (I. 19⁶) 'who spread with their rays across the ocean'; *náyanti duritá tíráś* (I. 41¹) 'they lead him through (so as to escape) dangers'; *tíró víśvān árcato yáhy arváni* (X. 89¹⁶) 'come hither past (leaving behind) all singers'.

a. Figuratively *tiráś* occasionally means 'contrary to'; e. g. *devānām cit tíró váśam* (X. 171⁴) 'even against the will of the gods'; *yó no . . tíráś cittāni jighāmsati* (VII. 59⁸) 'who desires to slay us contrary to expectations' (= 'un-awares'), *yó no . . tíráś satyāni . . jighāmsat* (TS. IV. 3. 13³) 'who may desire to slay us contrary to oaths'.

pári 'around'.

606. In its adverbial use *pári* generally means 'around', e. g. *pári i-* 'go around'; figuratively it also means 'completely', e. g. *pári vid-* 'know fully' (cp. *πέρι οἴου*).

Its adnominal use starts from the accusative, with which case it is, however, not very commonly connected. Here, too, it is not always certain that the preposition does not belong to the verb. It nearly always immediately precedes the accusative in the sense of 'around', 'about'; e. g. *pári dyám anyád iyate* (I. 30¹⁰) 'the other (wheel) goes around the sky'. The following is one of the two instances in which *pári* comes after the accusative³: *havāmahe śraddhām madhyāhṇīnam pári* (X. 151⁵) 'we invoke Śraddhā (about =) at noon'⁴.

a. Its use then extends to the ablative, with which it is much more frequently connected. Here it has primarily the compound sense of 'from around'; e. g. *divás pári* (I. 47⁶) 'from the sky (which is) around'; *tāmasas pári* (I. 50¹⁰) 'from the surrounding darkness'. The original meaning (as in

¹ In the ŚB. and later *tiráś* is used with sense of 'away from' = 'without the knowledge of'.

² It is found at least once in the AV. (XII. 3³⁹) and occasionally in the ŚB. in the

³ Cp. GRASSMANN, s. v. *pári*, 784 (bottom).

⁴ Like the German preposition 'um'.

ddhi) then disappears, leaving only the ablative sense 'from'; e. g. *tvám abhýās tvám āsmanas pári . . jāyase* (ii. 1') 'thou art born from the waters, from the rock'.

purás 'before'.

607. Adverbially *purás* is combined with *kr-* 'do', and *dhā-* 'put' only, in the sense of 'in front'; e. g. *indrah kṛnotu prasave ratham puráh* (i. 102⁹) 'may Indra place (our) car in front in the enterprise'; *Indram víśve devāso dadhire puráh* (i. 131') 'the all-gods placed Indra in the forefront'.

Adnominally *purás* occurs about nine times in the RV., in the sense of 'before' and connected with the accusative, the ablative, and the locative; e. g. *āsadan mātāram puráh* (x. 189') 'he has sat down before his mother'; *nā gardabhām puró āśvān nayanti* (iii. 53²) 'they do not place the ass before the horse' (*āśvāt*); *yāh sphāyate puró . . samidhyāte* (iv. 15⁴) 'who is kindled before Sṛñjaya'.

prāti 'against'.

608. Used adverbially *prāti* means 'towards', 'against', e. g. *prāti i-* 'go towards or against'; *prāti mā-* 'counterfeit', 'imitate'. From this sense the notion of equality was developed, as in *prāti as-* 'be a match for'; e. g. *Indra, nákiś tvā prāty asy eśam, víśvā jātāny abhy āsi tāni* (vi. 25³) 'O Indra, none of them is equal to thee; thou art superior to all these beings'. The verb *as-* often being omitted, *prāti* appears to be used like an adjective; e. g. *Indram ná mahná pṛthivī caná prāti* (i. 55') 'not even the earth (is) equal to Indra in greatness'. The preposition further comes to express adverbially the sense of 'back'; e. g. *prāti ūh-* 'thrust back'; *prāti brū-* 'reply'.

Adnominally *prāti* is used with the accusative only, altogether about a dozen times in the RV. With verbs of motion¹ or of calling it means 'towards', 'to' (though here there is sometimes a doubt whether it does not rather belong to the verb); e. g. *prāti tyīm cārum adhvādyi; gopithāya prī hāyase* (i. 19') 'thou art summoned to the beloved sacrifice to drink the milk'. With verbs of protecting it means 'against' = 'from'; e. g. *āgne rāksā no dñhasah, prāti śma, deva, rīśatah* (vii. 15³) 'O Agni, protect us from distress, against injurers, O god'. Sometimes it means 'over against', 'opposite'; e. g. *ābodhy agnih . . prāti . . āyatim usāsam* (v. 1') 'Agni has awakened in face of the coming Dawn'. It expresses conformity in the phrase *prāti vāram* 'according to desire' (cp. *ānu b, śpa a, α*).

a. In the phrase *prāti vāstoh* 'at dawn', occurring three times in the RV., the preposition seems to take the ablative, but *vāstoh* may here be meant for an adverbial form³.

B. Adnominal Prepositions.

609. This class of words which is never compounded with verbs, but only governs oblique cases (with the exception of the dative), cannot be clearly distinguished from adverbs such as *urdhvām* (which from B. onwards is also used as a preposition with the ablative in the sense of 'above' and 'after'). It is to be noted that several of them govern the genitive and the instrumental, cases practically never connected with the genuine prepositions in the Saphitās. The following is an account of these words arranged in their alphabetical order⁴.

¹ Both *abhi* and *prāti* primarily express direction 'towards', but the former tends to imply superiority or attack ('at'), the latter comparison and equality or repulsion ('back').

² In B. *prāti* is regularly used after the accusative, though apparently never connected

with verbs of motion: here it expresses approximate position = 'about', 'at', 'on'; it also means 'in regard to', 'in equality with'.

³ Cp. BR., and DELANŪCK p. 463.

⁴ Though several of these (*avā, ārī, parás, śacā, sanitūr, sanutār, samāyā, sumād,*

adhás 'below'.

610. With the accusative *adhás* occurs only once in the RV., in the sense of 'below'; *tisráh pṛthivīr adhó astu* (vii. 104¹¹) 'may he be below the three earths'. It is also found once with the ablative (or genitive) in the same sense: *adháḥ . . padāḥ* (x. 166²) 'below (my) feet'. The latter use also occurs once in the SV. and once in the AV.: *yé te pánthā adhó divāḥ* (SV. 1. 2. 3⁸) 'thy paths which are below the sky'; *adhás te ásmāno manyám ipṣyamasi yó guríḥ* (AV. vi. 42²) 'we cast thy fury under a stone that (is) heavy'.

antará 'between'.

611. This word occurs five times in the RV. with a following accusative in the sense of 'between', e. g. *antará dāmpati* 'between husband and wife'. It also occurs a few times in the AV. and VS. before duals; e. g. *antará dyāvāpṛthivī* 'between heaven and earth'.

abhítas 'around'.

612. This adverb is employed in a few passages of the RV. and AV. in the sense of 'around' with the accusative; e. g. *sáro ná pūrṇám abhító vādantaḥ* (vii. 103⁷) 'talking as round a brimful lake'; *yé devā rāṣṭrabhīto bhító yānti sáryam* (AV. xiii. 1²⁵) 'the kingdom-bearing gods who go around the sun'.

avás 'down from'.

613. In the RV. *avás* occurs four times with the ablative (cp. *áva*) in the sense of 'down from'; e. g. *avāḥ síryasya bhātāḥ pūrīṣāt* (x. 27¹¹) 'down from the vast misty region of the sun'. It is further employed four or five times with the instrumental; e. g. *avó dirá patáyantam patamgám* (i. 163³) 'a bird flying down from heaven'. The latter use seems to be analogous to that of *ádhi* with the instrumental (597 a).

upári 'above'.

614. This adverb occurs three times in the RV. after the accusative in the sense of 'above', 'beyond'; e. g. *tisráh pṛthivīr upári* (i. 34⁸) 'above the three earths'. It is also found once with the instrumental in the combination *bhāmīyopári*, i. e. *bhāmīyā upári* (x. 75³) 'beyond the earth'. It is, however, more likely that here we have an irregular euphonic combination for *bhāmīyā[h] upári* and that the case governed by the preposition is the genitive. This would account for the frequent use of *upári* with the genitive in the later language, while the instrumental would be unique.

ṛtá 'without'.

615. This word² is used fairly often in the RV., and occasionally in the later Samhitās, before or after the ablative (sometimes separated from it) in the sense of 'without'; e. g. *ná ṛtá tvát kṛiyate kṣm caná* (x. 112⁹) 'without thee nothing is done'; *yébhyo ná ṛtá pávate dhāma kṣm caná* (TS. iv. 6. 1⁴ = VS. xvii. 14) 'without whom no dwelling is purified'.

smád) disappear in C., there is nevertheless in the later language a large increase in their numbers, greatly supplemented by the periphrastic use of nouns and by the prepositional gerunds. Cp. SPRUEB, *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax* 89—93.

¹ See GRASSMANN, s. v. *upári*; cp. above p. 65 (top).

² In origin an old locative. On some other words representing old case-forms, used prepositionally (*arudh* etc.), cp. WHITNEY 1128.

parás 'beyond'.

616. In the RV. *paris* is used with the accusative, instrumental, ablative, and locative; but in the later Samhitās it seems to be found with the ablative only.

a. It takes the accusative six or seven times in the sense of 'beyond', not only locally, but also to express superiority or excess; e. g. *dū sūryam parāḥ śakunā iva paptima* (ix. 107²⁰) 'we have flown away like birds beyond the sun'; *nahi devō nā mṛtyo mahāś tva kṛtūm parāḥi* (i. 19²) 'for neither god nor mortal (goes) beyond the might of thee, the great'.

b. It is employed nearly three times as frequently with the instrumental, for the most part in the sense of 'beyond'; e. g. *parā mātraya* (vii. 99¹) 'beyond measure'. In some passages this sense is somewhat modified. Thus the word twice means 'over' (as opposed to *arās*); e. g. *yās te amśūr avās ca yāḥ parāḥ srucā* (x. 17¹³) 'thy juice which (fell) down from and over the ladle'. Twice, moreover, it expresses 'without'; e. g. *parā māyābhis* (v. 44²) 'without wiles'.

c. With the locative it occurs only once in the sense of 'beyond': *yē triṃśāti trāyas parā devāso bāhīr āsadan* (viii. 28¹) 'the gods who, three in excess of thirty, have seated themselves upon the litter'.

d. It is found in three passages of the RV., as well as a few times in the AV. and the VS., with the ablative in the senses of 'beyond', far 'from', and 'away from'; e. g. *parā diviḥ* (AV. ix. 4²²) 'beyond the sky'; *asmāt . . parāḥ* (viii. 27¹⁸) 'far from him'; *tvāt parāḥi* (AV. xii. 3³⁹) 'apart from thee'; *parā mājavatā tīhi* (VS. iii. 61) 'go away beyond (Mount) Mūjavat'. The last example may probably be an instance of the accusative with *parās* = 'beyond (the tribe of) the Mūjavants'.

purāstād 'in front of'.

617. This adverb is used two or three times in the Samhitās with the genitive in the sense of 'before', 'in front of'; e. g. *sūmidhāsyā purāstāt* (iii. 8²) 'in front of the kindled one'; *vājūḥ purāstād ut i madhyatā nah* (TS. iv. 7. 12² = VS. xviii. 34) 'strength be before us and in the midst of us'.

purā 'before' (time).

In the RV. *purā* is used some twenty times, and in the later Samhitās occasionally, before or after the ablative. It has primarily the sense of 'before' (of time); e. g. *purā nī jarāsuḥ* (viii. 67²⁰) 'before old age'; *purā krūrāsya viśpāḥ* (TS. i. 1. 9³ = VS. i. 28) 'before the departure of the cruel (foe)'. This sense is, however, often modified to express exclusion, sometimes equivalent to 'without', 'except', 'in preference to', e. g. *purā saṃbādhdā abhy ā vavṛtsva* (ii. 16⁸) 'turn to us before (= so as to save us from) distress'; *purā māt* (AV. xii. 3⁴⁶) 'except me'.

bahirdhā 'outside'.

618. This adverb² is once used in the VS. with the ablative in the sense of 'outside', 'from': *idām ahūṇ taptām vār bahirdhā yajñān nīśyāmi* (VS. v. 11) 'this heated water I eject from the sacrifice'.

sācā 'with'.

619. The use of *sācā* is almost restricted to the RV., where it is common before and after the locative, meaning 'in association with', 'beside', 'at',

¹ The word *mājavant-* occurs in the plural simple form *bahis* 'outside' (used also with as the name of a tribe in AV. v. 22⁵ etc. abl.) is frequent in B. and later.

² It is used fairly often in B. and S. The

'in'; e. g. *Indra id dhīryoh sdcā* (1.7¹) 'Indra with his two bays'; *māddāyasva sut!* *sdcā* (1.81⁸) 'rejoice at the pressed libation'; *nāmucau asurē sdcā* (VS.xx.68) 'along with the demoniac Namuci'¹.

sanitūr 'apart from'.

620. This adverb is used two or three times² in the RV. after the accusative in the sense of 'beside', 'apart from'; e. g. *pātīm sanitūr* (v.12³) 'without a lord'.

sanutār 'far from'.

621. Allied to the preceding word, *sanutār* appears once in the RV. with the ablative in the sense of 'far away from': *kṣētrād apasyaṃ sanutāś cārantam* (v. 2⁴) 'far from the field I saw him wandering'.

sahā 'with'.

622. This adverb is common in the RV. as well as the later Saṃhitās, before and after the instrumental in the sense of 'with'; e. g. *sahā ṣṣibhīḥ* (1. 23⁵) 'together with the seers'; *jarāyunaḥ sahā* (VS.viii.28) 'with the after-birth'; *sahā pātyā* (TS.1.1.10⁶) 'with (my) husband'; *mdnasā sahā* (AV.1.1⁷) 'together with divine mind'.

sākām 'with'.

623. In the same sense as, but less frequently than, *sahā*, the adverb *sākām*³ is used before and after the instrumental; e. g. *sākām sūryasya rasmbhīḥ* (1.47⁷) 'together with the rays of the sun'; *sākām gan mdnasā yajñām* (VS.xxvii.31) 'may he come with thought to the sacrifice'; *sākām jarāyunaḥ pata* (AV.1.11⁶) 'fly with the afterbirth'.

sumād 'with'.

624. This word occurs four times as an adverb⁴ in the RV. with the sense of 'together'. It is found once governing the instrumental in the sense of 'with': *jāyā pātīm vahati vagninā sumāt* (x.32³) 'the wife weds the husband with a shout of joy'.

smād 'with'.

625. Besides being used adverbially some half dozen times in the RV. with the sense of 'together', 'at the same time', *smād*⁵ also occurs about as often with the instrumental, meaning 'with'; e. g. *smāt sarlbhīḥ* (1.51¹⁵) 'together with the princes'.

2. Adverbs.

GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch 1737—1740. — WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 1097—1117.

626. Adverbs are most conveniently grouped as those which are formed with adverbial suffixes and those which are formed with case-endings. The former class may be best described according to the suffixes alphabetically arranged, the latter according to the ordinary sequence of the cases.

¹ Though not found in the AV., *sdcā* survives in the TB. (1.2.1⁸).

² Cp. BR. and GRASSMANN, s. v.

³ On other adverbs of similar meaning, with case-endings (*samdyā*, *sardhām*) used prepositionally, see WHITNEY 1127.

⁴ *sumād* also appears as the first member of a compound in *sumād-amtu-*, *sumād-gaṇa-*, *sumād-ratha-*.

⁵ *smād* also appears as the first member of six or seven compounds.

A. Adverbial suffixes.

627. *-as* forms adverbs chiefly of a local or temporal meaning; thus *tir-ás* 'across', *par-ás* 'beyond', *pur-ás* 'before', *sa-div-as* and *sa-dy-ás* 'to-day', 'at once'; *sv-ás* 'to-morrow', *hy-ás* 'yesterday'; also *mith-ás* 'wrongly'.

628. *-tas* expresses the ablative sense of 'from'. It forms adverbs:

a. from pronouns; e. g. *á-tas* 'hence', *amí-tas* 'from there', *kí-tas* 'whence?', *tá-tas* 'thence', *yá-tas* 'whence', and, with accent on the suffix, *i-tás* 'from hence', *mat-tás* (AV.) 'from me'.

b. from adjectives and substantives; e. g. *anyá-tas* 'from another place', *dakṣiṇa-tás* 'from the right', *sarvá-tas* 'from all sides'; *agra-tás* 'in front', *hṛt-tás* 'from the heart', etc.; the suffix is added to a locative case-form in *patu-tás* 'at the feet', beside *pat-tás* 'from the feet'.

c. from prepositions; *ánti-tas* 'from near', *abhi-tas* 'around', *pari-tas* (AV.) 'round about'.

a. These adverbs in *-tas* are sometimes used as equivalents of ablatives; e. g. *áto bhūyas* 'more than that'; *tátaḥ ṣaṣṭhī* (AV.) 'from that sixth'. On the other hand, the ablative sense is sometimes effaced, the locative meaning taking its place; e. g. *agra-tás* 'in front'.

629. *-tāt* (an old ablative of *ta* 'this') has an ablative or a locative meaning. It is attached to adverbial case-forms and adverbial or adnominal prepositions; thus *údak-tāt* 'from above', *prāk-tāt* 'from the front'; *arāt-tāt* 'from afar', *uttarāt-tāt* 'from the north', *parākāt-tāt* 'from a distance'; *pasch-tāt* 'from behind'; *adhás-tāt* 'below', *avis-tāt* 'below', *parás-tāt* 'beyond', *purás-tāt* 'in or from the front', and with inserted *s* (probably due to the influence of the preceding forms) *updri-s-tāt* '(from) above'.

630. *-ti* in *án-ti* 'near', *tí-ti* 'thus'; probably also in *á-ti* 'beyond', *prá-ti* 'towards'.

631. *-tra* or *-trá* has a local sense, and is mostly attached to pronominal stems or stems allied to pronouns in sense; thus *á-tra* 'here', *amí-tra* (AV.) 'there', *kí-tra* 'where?', *tá-tra* 'there', *yá-tra* 'where'; *anyá-tra* 'elsewhere', *ubhayá-tra* 'in both places', *viśvá-tra* 'everywhere'; *asma-trá* 'among us', *sa-trá* 'in one place', 'together'; *dakṣiṇa-trá* 'on the right side', *puru-trá* 'in many places', *bahu-trá* 'amongst many'; *dva-trá* 'among the gods', *páka-trá* 'in simplicity', *puruṣa-trá* 'among men', *martya-trá* 'among mortals', *jayú-trá* 'on a couch'.

a. These adverbs in *-trá* are sometimes used as equivalents of locatives; e. g. *yátráthi* 'in which', *hásta á dakṣiṇa-trá* 'in the right hand'. This locative sense also sometimes expresses the goal; e. g. *paṭhó devatrá . . yānān* (x. 73) 'roads that go to the gods'.

632. *-thā* forms adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal stems; thus *á-thā* (more usually with shortened vowel, *átha*) 'then', *i-t-thā* 'thus', *imá-thā* 'in this manner', *ka-thā* 'how'; *tí-thā* 'thus', *yá-thā* 'in which manner'; *anyá-thā* 'otherwise', *viśvá-thā* 'in every way'; *ardhvá-thā* 'upwards', *purvá-thā* 'formerly', *pratiná-thā* 'as of old'; *ṛtu-thā* 'regularly', *nāmad-thā* (AV.) 'by name'; *evá-thā* 'just so'.

a. *-thām* occurs beside *-thā* in *i-t-thām* 'thus', and *ka-thām* 'how?'.

633. *-dā* forms adverbs of time almost exclusively from pronominal roots; thus *i-dā* 'now', *ka-dā* 'when?', *ta-dā* 'then', *ya-dā* 'at what time'; *sá-dā* 'always'; *sarva-dā* (AV.) 'always'.

a. *-dam* occurs beside *-dā* in *sá-dam* 'always'; and *-dā-nīm*, an extended form of *-dā*, appears in *i-dā-nīm* 'now', *ta-dā-nīm* 'then', *viśva-dā-nīm* 'always'.

¹ In the RV. *tí* itself is once used independently in the sense of 'in this way'. | ² In the RV. nearly always accented *kádā* when followed by *caná* = 'never'.

b. *di-*, which occurs only in *yd-di* 'if', is perhaps related to *-dā*.

634. *-dhā* forms adverbs from numerals or words of cognate meaning with the sense of '(so many) times', 'in (so many) ways', '-fold'; thus *eka-dhā* (AV.) 'singly', *dvi-dhā* 'in two ways', *tri-dhā* and *tre-dhā* 'triply', *catur-dhā* 'fourfold', *ṣo-dhā* 'in six ways', *dvādaśa-dhā* (AV.) 'twelfefold'; *kati-dhā* 'how many times?', *tati-dhā* (AV.) 'in so many parts', *puru-dhā*² 'variously', *bahu-dhā* 'in many ways', *viśvā-dhā*³ 'in every way', *saśva-dhā* 'again and again'; *priya-dhā* (TS.) 'kindly', *pre-dhā* (MS.) 'kindly', *bahir-dhā* (VS.) 'outward', *mītra-dhā* (AV.) 'in a friendly manner'; *d-dhā* and (with shortened final) *d-dhā* 'then', *a-d-dhā* ('thus' =) 'truly'; *sāma-dhā*³ (Kh. I. 11⁴) 'in the same way'.

a. *sa-dha-*, occurring as the first member of several compounds, in the sense of ('in one way' =) 'together', is probably formed with the same suffix, the final vowel being shortened⁴; in independent use it appears as *sahā* 'with'⁵. With the same original suffix appear to be formed other adverbs in *-ha*; thus *i-hā* 'here' (Prākṛit *īdha*), *kū-hā* 'where?', *viśvā-hā*⁶ and *viśvā-hū*⁷ 'always', *sama-hā* 'in some way or other'.

635. *-va*, expressing similarity of manner, forms two adverbs: *i-va* 'like', 'as'⁸; *e-va*, often with lengthened final, *e-va* 'thus'. *-vām* appears beside *-va* in *evām* 'thus', which occurs once in the RV. (x. 151³) instead of *evā*, and a few times in the AV. with *vid-* 'know'; it is also found in the SV. (1. 3. 1. 1¹⁰): *nā ki evāṃ yātha tvām* 'there is nothing such as thou'.

636. *-vāt* forms adverbs meaning 'like' from substantives and adjectives; e. g. *āngiras-vāt* 'like Angiras', *manu-vāt* 'as Manu (did)'; *purāṇa-vāt*, *purā-vāt*, *pratna-vāt* 'as of old'. In origin it is the accusative neuter (with adverbial shift of accent) of the suffix *-vant*, which is used to form adjectives of a similar meaning (e. g. *tvā-vant* 'like thee').

637. *-śās* is used to form adverbs of measure or manner with a distributive sense, often from numerals or words implying number; thus *śata-śās* (AV.) 'by hundreds', *sahasra-śās* 'by thousands'; *śreṇi-śās* 'in rows'; similarly *ṛtu-śās* 'season by season', *deva-śās* 'to each of the gods', *parva-śās* 'joint by joint', *manmā-śās* 'each as he is minded'.

638. *-s* forms two or three multiplicative adverbs: *dvi-s* 'twice', *tri-s* 'thrice', and probably *catur* for **cathis* (cp. Zend *cathruš*) 'four times'. The same suffix forms a few other adverbs: *adhā-s* 'below' (cp. *ādha-ra* 'inferior'), *avā-s* 'downwards' (from *dva* 'down'), *-dyū-s*⁹ (from *dyū-* 'day') in *anye-dyū-s* (AV.) 'next day' and *ubhaya-dyū-s* (AV.) 'on both days'; perhaps also in *avī-s* 'openly' and *bahī-s* 'outside'¹⁰.

639. *-hi* forms a few adverbs of time from pronominal roots; thus *kār-hi* 'when?', *īr-hi* 'then?'¹¹. The first part of these words seems already to contain an adverbial suffix *-r*¹² (thus *kār* = Lat. *cūr*)¹³.

640. There are also some miscellaneous adverbs consisting of isolated

¹ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 585.

² The final vowel of *purudhā* and *viśvādhā* appears shortened before a double consonant in the RV.

³ Cp. *sama-ha*.

⁴ As in *ādha*, *purudhā*, *viśvādhā*.

⁵ See above 58, 2 a (p. 52).

⁶ Just as *viśvādhā* beside *viśvādhā*; but cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 582.

⁷ On the other hand *viśvādhā* 'always' is = *viśvā dhā* 'all days' ('alle Tage') with a single accent, like a compound; see GRASSMANN, s. v.

⁸ In the late parts of the RV. and in the AV. *iva* has often to be read as *va*; cp. ARNOLD, Vedic Metre 129, but see OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 61, 830.

⁹ See MERINGER, IF. 18, 257; cp. RICHTER, IF. 9, 238; SCHULZE, KZ. 28, 546.

¹⁰ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 584.

¹¹ *amūr-hi*, *stār-hi*, *yār-hi* also occur in B.

¹² Cp. *avā-r*, which occurs once beside the usual *avā-s*.

¹³ Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 583.

words or small groups, mostly of obscure origin, formed with other suffixes. The latter in alphabetical order are:

-a : *ku-à* (always *kū-a*) 'where?' and *a-dy-á* 'to-day'.

-ar : *pūn-ar* 'again' and *sasu-ár* 'secretly'.

-ā : *antar-ā* 'between', *pur-ā* 'before'; perhaps also in *nānā* 'variously', which may be = *nā-nā* 'so and so' from the pronominal root *na-*.

-it : *dakṣiṇ-it* 'with the right hand'; and *-vit* in *cikīṭ-vit* 'with deliberation'.

-u : *jāt-u* 'ever', *mīh-u* 'wrongly', *mūh-u* 'suddenly'; *anu-śth-ū* 'at once' ('standing after', from $\sqrt{sthā}$, cp. *su-śth-ū* 'in good state').

-ur : *mīh-ur* 'suddenly'.

-k : *jyī-k* 'long'. In several other adverbs -k with more or less probability represents the final of a root; thus *nīh-k* 'secretly' (probably from **nīh-ac*-adj. 'secret'), *madrīk* 'towards me' (contracted from *madrīak*, neut. adv. of *madrīac*-adj. 'turned to me'); *anu-śāk* 'in succession' ('following after' : \sqrt{sac}); *āyu-śāk* 'with the cooperation of men' (*sac*- 'follow'); *uśī-dhāk* 'with eager consumption' ('eagerly burning' : \sqrt{dah}).

-tār : *prā-tār* 'early' and *sanu-tār* 'away' (621).

-tūr : *sani-tūr* 'away' (620).

-nām : *nā-nām* 'now' and *nānā-nām* 'variously' (642 d).

B. Adverbial Case-forms.

641. A large number of case-forms of nominal and pronominal stems, often not otherwise in use, are employed as adverbs. They become such when no longer felt to be case-forms¹. Forms of all the cases appear with adverbial function.

Nominative. Examples of this case are *prathamām* 'firstly', *dvitīyam* 'secondly'; e. g. *dīvdṣ pūri prathamāy jajñe agnir, asmād dvitīyam pūri jātavedāh* (x. 45¹) 'Agni was first born from heaven, secondly he, Jātavedas, (was born) from us'. Such adverbs are to be explained as originally used in apposition to the verbal action: 'as the first thing, Agni was born'. A masculine form has become stereotyped in *kī-s* as an interrogative adverb; its negative forms *nā-kī-s* and *mā-kī-s* are often used in the sense of 'never' or simply 'not'.

642. **Accusative.** Adverbs of this form are to be explained from various meanings of the accusative. The following are examples of nominal forms representing:

a. the cognate accusative: *rcā kapṣam nudata praṇḍam* (x. 165²) 'by song expel the pigeon as expulsion'; *citrām bhānty usṣasah* (vi. 65²) 'the Dawns shine brightly' (= 'a bright scil. shining'); *marmrjmā te tanvām bhāri kṣtvah* (iii. 18⁴) 'we adorned thy form many times' (originally 'makings'); similarly *dhrṣṇī* 'boldly', *pūrī* 'much', 'very', *bhūyas* 'more'; and the comparative in *-taram* added to verbal prefixes; e. g. *vi-tarāṃ vi kramasva* (iv. 18¹¹) 'stride out more widely'; *saṃ-tarāṃ sāṃ śīśādhi* (AV. vii. 16¹) 'quicken still further'; *prā tāṃ naya pra-tarāṃ* (x. 45²) 'lead him forward still further'; *śū enam ut-tarāṃ naya* (AV. vi. 5¹) 'lead him up still higher'; so also *ava-tarāṃ*, *paras-tarāṃ*, *parū-tarāṃ* 'further away', and the fem. accusatives *saṃ-tarāṃ* and *paras-tarāṃ* (AV.).

¹ Cp. REICHELDT, BB. 25, 244.

² Cp. op. cit. 839; FERSSON, IF. 2, 200 ff., 'auf diese (oder) jene Weise'; BARTHOLOMÆ, IF. 10, 10—12, originally 'separatim'.

³ On the distinction between case function and adverbial use see BRUGMANN, KG. 571.

b. the appositional accusative; thus *oṣā-m* 'quickly' (lit. 'burningly'), *kāma-m* 'according to desire'; *nāma* 'by name', *rūpā-m* 'in form', *satyā-m* 'truly'.

c. the accusative of direction; e. g. *āgra-m* (*i*) '(go) to the front of', 'before'; *āsta-m* (*gam-*) '(go) home'.

d. the accusative of distance and time; e. g. *dūrā-m* 'a long way off', 'far'; *nikta-m* 'by night', *sāyā-m* 'in the evening', *cirā-m* '(for a) long (time)', *nitya-m* 'constantly', *pūrva-m* 'formerly'.

a. There are also some adverbs derived from obsolete nominal stems, which would seem for the most part to have belonged originally to the sphere of the cognate accusative; thus *āra-m* 'sufficiently' (from **āra-* 'fitting'), *dā-m* (AV.) 'id.'; *tūṣṭi-m* 'in silence', *nānānā-m* (from *nān i*) 'variously', *nūnā-m* (from *nū*) 'now'; *sākā-m* 'together' (from **sākā-* 'accompaniment'; *sac-* 'follow').

β. Finally a number of accusative adverbs are formed from pronominal stems; thus *adā* 'there', 'thither'; *id* 'just', 'even'; *idām* 'here', 'now'; *im* 'ever' (e. g. *yā im* 'whoever'); *kā-d*, an interrogative particle; *kā-m*, a particle emphasizing a preceding dative or (unaccented) the particles *nū*, *sū*, *hi*; *kī-m* 'why?'; *-kī-m* 'ever' (in *mā-kīm* 'never'); *kva-id* 'whether?'; *ci-d* 'even'; *tā-d* 'then'; *yā-d* 'if', 'when', 'that'; *si-m* 'ever' (*yā si-m* 'whenever'); *sumā-d* and *smā-d* 'together'.

643. Instrumental. With the ending of this case (sometimes plural) are formed adverbs from substantives, adjectives, and pronouns, the latter two groups being at first probably used with the ellipse of a substantive. Various senses of the instrumental case are expressed by these adverbs. Usually they imply manner or accompanying circumstances; e. g. *dhra-a* 'with speed'; *sahas-a* 'forcibly'; *tāvīṣṭi-bhis* 'with might'; *natvya-a* 'anew'; *enā* 'in this (way)', 'thus'. Not infrequently they express extension of space or time; e. g. *āgreṇa* 'in front'; *akti-bhis* 'by night'; *div-a* 'by day' (but *div-d* 'through the sky'); *doṣā* 'in the evening'.

a. The substantive instrumentals are chiefly formed from feminine stems in *-ā* not otherwise in use, but corresponding mostly to masculines or neuters in *-a*; thus *a-dātrayā* 'without (receiving) a gift' (*dātra-* 'gift'); *āsayā* 'before the face of', 'openly' (**āsā-* = *ās-* 'face'); *ṛtayā* 'in the right way' (**ṛtā-* = *ṛtā-*); *naktayā* 'by night' (**ndkta-* = *ndkta-*); *sumnayā* 'piously' (**sumnā-* = *sumnā-*); *svapnayā* (AV.) 'in a dream' (**svāpnā-* = *svāpnā-*).

a. Several of these feminines are instrumentals from stems in *-tā* and identical in form with the stem; thus *tirātā-tā* 'through'; *devātā* 'among the gods'; *bāhūtā* 'with the arms'; *sasvātā* 'in secret'; *āvītā* 'in two ways' may have a similar origin (*āvī tā* 'two')². We have perhaps also old instrumentals of feminine stems in *-ā* in *ūdditā* 'then' = 'at that time'; and in *vīthā* 'according to choice', 'at will' (**vīthā-* 'choice', from *vī-* 'choose').

β. In a few examples the instrumental seems more probably to be that of a radical stem with adverbial shift of accent rather than from a stem in *-ā*; thus *gūh-ā* 'in secret', rather inst. of *gūh-* 'hiding'⁴, than of a stem **gūh-ā*⁵; similarly *mṛṣ-ā* 'in vain' (**mṛṣ-* 'neglect'; inst. *mṛṣ-ā*); *sac-ā* 'together' (**sac-* 'accompaniment'; inst. *sac-ā*). In *a-sthā* (RV.), perhaps meaning 'at once', we seem to have an instrumental adverb from a radical *ā*-stem *a-sthā-* ('no standing') = 'without delay'.

b. The adjective instrumentals end either in *-ā* (plural *-āḥ*) or *-yā*. The former are derived from *a*-stems and a few consonant stems in *-e*; the latter are anomalous feminines from *u*-stems and one or two *r*-stems:

a. *apākā* 'afar' (*āpaka-* 'far'); *īrmā* 'quickly' (*īrmā-*); *uccā* and *uccāḥ* 'on high' (*uccā-*); *dakṣiṇā* 'to the right' (*dakṣiṇā-*); *parācā* 'for away' (**parācā-*); *paścā* 'behind' (**paścā-*); *madhyā* 'in the midst' (*mādhyā-*); *śānais* 'slowly'

¹ Cp. GRAY, IF. 11, 307 ff.; FOY, IF. 12, 172.

² For some other adverbs of obscure origin, which were originally accusatives, see WHITNEY 1111 f.

³ Cp. BENFEY, SV. Glossary, and GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, s. v.

⁴ The normal inst. of which would be *gūh-ā*.

⁵ Cp. RV. I. 676 *gūhā gūham gās* and in the next stanza *gūhā bhāvantaṁ*.

(**sána*-) and *sánakais* id.; *sána* 'from of old' (*sána*-); *samaná* 'in the same way' (*samana*-); *tirak-á* 'across'; *nic-á* 'downwards'; *prác-á* 'forwards'.

β. *anu-śthū-y-á* 'at once' (*anu-śthū* 'following', adv. from *sthā* 'stand'); *aiu-y-á* 'swiftly' (*ásti*-); *dhṛṣṇu-y-á* 'boldly' (*dhṛṣṇi*-); *mithu-y-á* 'falsely' (*mithu*, adv. from *mith-* 'be hostile'); *raghu-y-á* 'rapidly' (*raghū*-); *sādhu-y-á* 'straight' (*sādhi*-); also *urvi-y-á* (for *urvy-á*) 'far', from *urvi* f. of *urī* 'wide'; and *vīśvay-a* 'everywhere', from **vīśv-*, irregular f. of *vīśva-* 'all', beside the regular inst. f. *vīśvayā*, which itself seems once (VIII. 68²) to be used adverbially.

c. Pronominal instrumentals are formed from several stems in *-a* and one in *-u*. Some appear in the masculine (or neuter) form of *-a* or the feminine of *-yā*; so *anā* 'thus' (*anā*- 'that'); *amā* 'at home' (*āma*- 'this'); *a-yā* 'thus' (*a*- 'this'); *enā* 'thus' (*ena*- 'this'); *ka-yā* 'how?' (*kā*- 'who?'); *ubhayā* 'in both ways' (*ubhāya*- 'both'). From *amī*- 'that' is formed the adverb *amu-y-á* 'in that way', with the anomalous interposition of *y*¹. To the influence of the latter word is probably due the form *kuhayā* 'where?' (RV¹.) beside the usual *kūha* 'where?'.²

644. a. Dative. The adverbial use of this case is rare. Examples are: *aparāya* 'for the future' (from *āpara*- 'later'); *vārāya* 'according to wish' (*vāra*- 'choice').

b. Ablative. This case is on the whole used adverbially fairly often. It is, however, seldom formed from substantives, as *ārāt* 'from a distance', *āsāt* 'from near'; or from pronouns, as *āt* 'then', *tāt* 'thus', *yāt* 'as far as'. It is most commonly formed from adjectives; thus *dūrāt* 'from afar'; *nīcāt* 'from below'; *pāścāt* 'from behind'; *sākṣāt* 'visibly'; and with shifted accent: *adhārāt* 'below' (*adhara*-); *āpākāt* 'from afar' (*āpāka*-); *amāt* 'from near' (*āma*-); *uttarāt* 'from the north' (*uttara*-); *sanāt* and *sanakāt* 'from of old' (*sána*-).

c. Genitive. The adverbial use of this case is very rare. Examples are *aktis* 'by night' and *vāstos* 'in the morning'.

d. Locative. Several forms of this case have an adverbial meaning; thus *āgre* 'in front'; *abhi-svarāt* 'behind' (lit. 'within call'); *astam-ikā* 'at home'; *akā* 'near'; *ārā* 'afar'; *ṛtā* 'without'; *dūrā* 'afar'; and in the plural *aparīṣu* 'in future'.

3. Particles.

WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar 122, 132—133. — DELBRÜCK, Altindische Syntax p. 240—267. — Cp. BRUGMANN, KG. 817—855.

645. Other adverbial words, the derivation of which is obscure and the meaning of which is abstract or general, may be classed as particles. They form three groups, the emphatic, the conjunctive, and the negative, the first being the most numerous. The emphatic particles, as throwing stress on a preceding word, are either enclitic or incapable of beginning a sentence; the conjunctive particles, except *utā*, are of a similar nature; but the negatives, having a strongly antithetical meaning, generally occupy an emphatic position in the sentence.

646. The emphatic particles may usually be translated by such words as 'just', 'indeed', or rendered merely by stress on the word they follow.

¹ In the last three adverbs the accent does not shift to the final syllable.
² These anomalous forms are due perhaps to the influence of the pronominal *amu-y-á*.
³ perhaps due to the influence of the numerous adverbs in *-yā* from stems in *-a*, *amī*- being an isolated pronominal *u*-stem.
⁴ *sanāt* occurs also AA. v. 2. 2¹⁵.
⁵ On *ārā*, *ārāt*, *ṛtā* cp. NEISSER, BB. 19, 140.

They are *aṅḡ*; *dha*¹, *gha*, *ha* (the last two less emphatic than *dha*); *smā*; *svīd* (generally following an interrogative) = 'pray'; *vāi*, nearly always following the first word of a sentence. Three particles which emphasize the preceding word more strongly in the sense of 'certainly', 'in truth', are *ālla* (+ AV.), *khālu* (RV¹, not in AV.), *bhāla* (RV¹, AV¹). In the RV. *śi* usually emphasizes exhortations = 'pray', but sometimes also statements = 'surely'; once (vi. 29³) it seems to mean 'but', which is its sense in its single occurrence in the AV. The particle *nā*, when it means 'as it were', 'like', was in origin probably an emphatic particle = 'truly'².

647. There are several conjunctive particles, some of which are compounded. *āi* 'now', 'again', is commonly used deictically and anaphorically after pronouns and verbs. Both *u-ti* and *ca* mean 'and'. *ca* when compounded with the negative particle as *canā* originally meant 'not even', but the negative sense generally disappears and *canā* turns the interrogative pronoun into an indefinite, as *kās canā* 'some one'. *ca* when compounded with *id*, that is *cid*, means 'if'. *nū* 'now' generally follows the first word of the sentence. The disjunctive particle is *vā* 'or'. *hi* (generally following the first word of a sentence) expresses the reason for an assertion = 'for', 'because'; it is also used with imperatives, when it means 'then'. It occurs once in the RV. (vi. 48²) compounded with the negative *nā*, but without change of meaning: *hi nā* 'for'.

648. The negative particle which denies assertions is *nā* 'not'. Its compound *nā id* (= *nā id*) expresses an emphatic 'not'; it is, however, usually employed in the final sense of 'in order that not', 'lest'. Its compound *nā-kis* often means 'never', and *nā-kim*, in the only two stanzas in which it occurs (viii. 78¹⁻³), has the same sense. The negative also occurs twice (x. 54²; 84¹) compounded with *nū* as *nānū*, which expresses a strong negative = 'not at all', 'never'. When it is compounded with *hi* as *nāhi*, the latter word retains the meaning of both particles: 'for not'.

mā 'not' is the prohibitive particle regularly used with the injunctive⁵. It is compounded with the petrified nom. *-kis* and acc. *-kim* to *mā-kis* and *mā-kim*. The former frequently and the latter in its only two occurrences mean 'never'.

a. Adverbial words occurring in compounds only.

649. A limited number of words of a. adverbial character have either entirely lost or, in a few instances, nearly lost their independent character, being found in combination with half a dozen particular verbs or as the first member of nominal compounds. In two or three examples the original independence of such words can still be traced.

650. A few mostly onomatopoeic reduplicative words appear only compounded with the roots *kr-* 'do' and *bhū-* 'be', the prefixed form generally ending in *-ā*, once in *-ī*: thus *akkkhāli-kītya*⁶ (vii. 103³) 'croaking', *alālū-*

¹ Another frequent particle of the same meaning, *id*, has already been mentioned among the pronominal accusative adverbs. DELBRÜCK p. 361 (top). In the *Khilas* it

² Greek *naí*, Lat. *nae*, cp. Lith. *nei* 'as it were' (cp. BRAUMANN, KG. 839); this sense of *nā* is generally explained as derived from the negative = 'not (precisely)'; see WHITNEY 1122 h; cp. BB. 22, 194 ff.

³ On the Sandhi of *u*, see above 71, 1 b.

⁴ Cp. DELBRÜCK, op. cit. p. 544.

⁵ It is not used with the ordinary sub-

jective, nor the imperative, nor the optative except in the form *bhujema*; see DELBRÜCK p. 361 (top). In the *Khilas* it occurs two or three times with the 2. impv.; *paśya* (ii. 1517), *tiśha* (iv. 525), and once at least with the subj.: *vādāi* (t. 9³); MS. *vādāi*.

⁶ This is the only instance of the prefix ending in *-ī* instead of *-ā* in the RV. In the AV. *-ī* appears before forms of *kr-* in the nominal compounds *vāli-kṛta-* and *vāli-kāra-*, designations of a disease.

bhāvant- (IV. 18⁶) 'sounding merrily'; *jañjana-bhāvant-* (VII. 43⁸) 'sparkling'; *kikirā kṛnu* (VI. 53⁷) 'tear to tatters'; *maṣmaśā-karam* (AV. V. 23⁸) 'I have crushed'; *maṣmaśā kuru* (VS. XI. 80) and *mṛsmṛśā kuru* (MS. II. 7¹) 'crush', *malmalā-bhāvant-* (MS. II. 13¹⁹; TS. I. 4. 34¹) 'glittering', *bharbharā-bhavat* (MS. II. 2¹; B.) 'became confounded'; *bibibā-bhāvant-* (MS. I. 6⁵; B.) 'crackling'.

651. The adverb *avis* 'openly', 'in view', is found in combination with the verbs *as-*, *bhū-* and *kr-* only. With the latter it means 'make visible', e. g. *avis karta* (I. 86⁶) 'make manifest'. With the two former, which are sometimes omitted, it means 'become visible', 'appear'; e. g. *avis sānti* (VII. 8²³) 'being manifest'; *avir agnir abhavat* (I. 143²) 'Agni became manifest'.

prā-dūr, lit. 'out of doors', begins to appear in the AV. in combination with *√bhū-*, meaning 'become manifest', 'appear'.

652. The word *śrād*, which originally probably meant 'heart'¹, is often found in combination with *dhā-* 'place', in the sense of 'put faith in', 'credit', nearly always, however, separated from the verb by other words, e. g. *śrād asmai dhatta* (II. 12⁵) 'believe in him'; *śrād asmai, nara, vicase dadhātana* (VS. VIII. 5) 'give credence, O men, to this utterance'. It also appears in the substantive *śrād-dhā-* 'faith'. The word is once also found with *√kr-* in the sense of 'entrust': *śrād vīśvā vārya kṛdhi* (VII. 75²) 'entrust all boons (to us)'.

653. The interjection *hīn* is compounded with *kr-* 'make' in the sense of 'utter the sound hīn', 'murmur'; thus *gūr . . hīn akṛnot* (I. 164²⁸) 'the cow lowed'; *hīn-kṛvati* (I. 164²⁷) 'lowing'; *hīn-kṛtaya svāha* (VS. XXII. 7) 'hail to the sound hīn'; *tasmā usā hīn-kṛnoti* (AV. IX. 6⁴⁵) 'for him the dawn utters hīn'.

654. A few substantives, after assuming an adverbial character, are found compounded with participial forms. *āsta-mi* 'home', which still appears as a noun in the RV., though commonly used adverbially in the accusative with verbs of motion, is combined like a verbal prefix with participles of *i-* 'go' in the AV.: *astam-yānt-* 'setting', *astam-esyānt-* 'about to set', *āstam-ita-* (AV. XVII. 1²³)² 'set'. The noun *nīmas-* 'obedience' is similarly compounded in the gerund with *kr-* 'make' in the AV.: *namas-kṛtya*³. In the RV. itself names of parts of the body, with no tendency otherwise to adverbial use, are thus compounded with the gerund of *grah-* 'seize': *karna-gṛhya* 'seizing by the ear', *pāda-gṛhya* 'seizing by the foot', *hasta-gṛhya* 'grasping the hand'⁴. The transition to this use was probably supplied by nouns compounded with past participles, as *sahas-kṛta-* 'produced by force'.

655. There are besides a few monosyllabic adverbial particles which occur as prefixes compounded with nominal forms only. By far the most frequent of these is the negative prefix, which appears in the form of *an-* before vowels and *a-* before consonants. It is compounded with innumerable substantives and adjectives, but rarely with adverbs, as *a-kūtrā* 'to the wrong place', *a-pundr* ('not again' =) 'once for all'; *an-eva* (AV¹) 'not so'.

656. *sā-*, as a prefix expressive of accompaniment, is employed as a reduced form of the verbal prefix *sam*⁵, and interchanges with *saha-*; e. g. *sā-cetas-* 'accompanied by wisdom', 'wise', beside *sahā-cchandasa-* 'accompanied with songs'.

¹ See UHLENBECK, Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch der altindischen Sprache, Amsterdam 1888-89, s. v. *śraddhā*.

² For some other later nominal compounds of this kind see WHITNEY 1092 c.

³ This is the regular form in the later

language, but the independent form *namas kṛtvā* is occasionally found; cp. Bṛhaddevatā, I. 1, critical note in my edition.

⁴ Cp. WHITNEY 990 b and above 591 a (p. 413, bottom) and 591 b.

⁵ Cp. above 250.

657. *du-* (appearing also, according to the euphonic combination, as *dur-*, *duś-*, *dur-*), means 'ill', 'hard to'; e. g. *dur-gá-* '(place) difficult of access', *dur-yíj-* 'ill-yoked', *dur-mat-* 'ill-will'; *duś-cyavan-* 'hard to shake'; *duś-kṛtá-* 'ill-done'; *duś-śáha-* 'irresistible'.

658. *su-* 'well', 'easy to' is compounded with a much larger number of words than *du-*²; e. g. *su-kṛa-* 'easy to accomplish'; *su-kṛ-* 'acting well', *su-gá-* 'easy of access', *su-mat-* 'good-will', *su-yíj-* 'well-yoked'. It is, however, still found in a state of transition in the RV., where it occurs independently more than 200 times³, being then connected in sense with the verb only; e. g. *asmān sū jigyúṣaḥ kṛtam* (i. 17) 'make us well victorious'⁴.

4. Interjections.

659. A certain number of words having the nature of interjections occur in the Samhitās. They are of two kinds, being either exclamations or imitative sounds.

a. The exclamations are *bát* (RV.) 'truly', *bata* (RV.) 'alas!', *hanta* 'come' used exhortatively with the subjunctive, and *hayé* 'come', before vocatives, *hruk* 'away!', *hurúk* (RV.) 'away!', *hái* (AV.) 'ho!'. Perhaps *uv!* (x. 86)⁵.

b. Interjections of the onomatopoeic type are: *kikirá* (RV.) used with *kṛ-* 'make the sound *kikirá*' = 'tear to tatters'; *kikkirá* (TS.) used in invocations (TS. iii. 4. 2¹); *ciscá* (RV.) 'whiz!' (of an arrow) used with *kṛ-* 'make a whizzing sound'; *phát* (AV. VS.) 'crash!', *phál* (AV. xx. 135²) 'splash!'; *bá* (TS. = AV.) 'dash!'; *dhúk* (AV. xx. 135²) 'bang!'; *śúl* (AV. xx. 135²) 'clap!'

¹ See GRASSMANN, Wörterbuch, columns 614—619.

² Op. cit., columns 1526—1560.

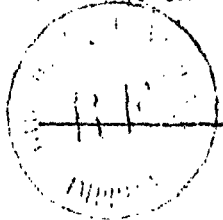
³ In the AV. it is still used independently, but only 14 times.

⁴ See GRASSMANN, op. cit., s. v. *sū*.

⁵ The Pada text of AV. xix. 49¹⁰ treats

sv dpāyati 'may he go well away' as a compound: *sv-dpāyati*; but this is doubtless an error for *sū | dpa | ayati*. See WHITNEY's note on this passage in his Translation of the AV.

⁶ See NEISSER, BB. 30, 303; cp. above p. 337, note ⁷.



ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

It should be noted, in addition to what is said at the end of § 1 (p. 2), that when the abbreviations 'VS.' etc. indicate the occurrence of a form in a later Veda, they only mean that the form in question is not found in the RV., while it may occur in parallel passages of one or more of the other Samhitās also. The symbols '+VS.' etc. are intended to draw attention to the fact that the form indicated occurs in a later Samhitā as well as in the RV. — In the enumeration of words, stems, inflected forms, and suffixes, initial alphabetical order is the principle followed. But it is occasionally varied for clearness of grouping. Thus the arrangement, in the case of compounds, is sometimes according to the final member (e. g. 308, 375 A, 591 a) or, in the case of roots, according to the medial or final vowel (e. g. 421, 483). The principle is also departed from when examples only of very frequent forms are given. Thus the nom. forms of present participles are arranged in the order of the conjugational classes (314); the nom. and other cases of the *a*-declension are given according to frequency of occurrence (372). Adverbs are classed according to the alphabetical order of the suffixes (626—640) or the sequence of the cases (641—644). — The principle of giving the meanings of words has been followed throughout the work. But this has been modified in two ways in the enumeration of inflected forms. In declension the meaning is given only with the first occurrence of a case-form of any word found in the same paragraph (e. g. 372). It seemed impossible to follow the same method in lists of inflected verbal forms. For, owing to the modifications of sense due to context and compounding with prepositions, the meaning could not be satisfactorily stated by giving it with the first occurrence of forms from the same root. The meaning has therefore been stated with the root only or when forms from different roots might be confused (e. g. 444, 445). But as the index gives the meaning of every root and enumerates all paragraphs containing forms from that root, the general sense of all such forms may easily be ascertained. — As regards references, figures without an added 'p.' always indicate paragraphs when books are divided into paragraphs; e. g. 'DELBRÜCK, Verbum 184 (p. 166—169)'; otherwise they refer to the page. When pages have to be referred to they are for the convenience of the reader often divided into quarters; thus LANMAN 372³ means the third quarter of p. 372 in LANMAN'S Noun-Inflection.

P. 23, line 19 *for* original *read* original. — P. 51, note ², *for* **guḍdhá* *read* **guḍḍha*. — P. 56, l. 27, *for* AV. *read* Av. and *for* 'weak *read* weak. — P. 58, l. 4 from below, *for* *cāk[an]anta* *read* *cāk[an]antu*. — P. 60, l. 2, *for* appears *read* appears as. — P. 61, l. 7, *for* become *read* becomes; l. 34, *for* (*a-yās* *read* *a-yās*; l. 36, *for* fall) *read* 'fall'. — P. 66, § 72, 2 b: cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 298. — P. 67, l. 30, *for* There seems to be no certain instance of this in the RV. *read* This is of regular and, as far as *ā* is concerned, of very frequent occurrence in the RV., e. g. *tān* (*for* *tād*) *mītrāsya* (l. 115⁵); l. 31, after *cakrān ná*

(x. 95¹² 13) for however read too. — P. 70, l. 17, insert often also after But s. — P. 83, l. 27, for Reduplicated stems read Reduplicated present stems; l. 28, after 'invoking' add but perfect *śiriyānā-* 'having resorted to'. — P. 99, l. 2 from below, insert (AV.) after *ma-mād-a-t*; note 3, for *ri-hatē* read *rih-ah*. — P. 100, last line: on *dāsa-māna-* cp. p. 373 note 12. — P. 109, l. 3 from below, for *vevij-ā* read *vevij-ā-* and for *carā-car-ā* read *carā-car-ā-*. — P. 119, l. 21, for *jigīs-ū* read *jigīs-ū-*. — P. 141, l. 2 from below, for *medh-i-rā-* read *medh-i-rā-*. — P. 146, l. 6, for 204 read 244. — P. 156, l. 20, for *vārunas* read *vārunas* and l. 22, for *pitirā-* read *pitirā-*. — P. 157, l. 26, for occurs read occur. — P. 169, l. 21, after *purusa-nyāghrā-* add (VS.). — P. 192, l. 9 from below, for *mahāntas* read *mahāntas*. — P. 197, note 7, for 55 read 66 c β. — P. 199, note 8, add Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 300–302. — P. 202, l. sing.: OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 289, would place the form *rāyā* (ix. 77) here. — P. 209, l. 25, for 'width read width. — P. 215, note 5, for Bahuvrīhi read a Bahuvrīhi. — P. 238, note 1, add Cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 300–302. — P. 255, l. 11, for *āsas* read *-āsas*; § 371, l. 3, for ending read endings. — P. 257, lines 9 and 12: on *krāṇā*, *dānā*, and *sakhyā* (as acc. pl.) cp. OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 287–290. — P. 264, l. 3 from below: according to OLDENBERG, ZDMG. 63, 293, also *śatruhātyai*. — P. 279, l. 10, for *i*-declension read *i*-declension. — P. 304, l. 9 from below, for *ātman-* read *ātman-*. — P. 315 delete 1 after 414. — P. 317, l. 20, for *-yat* read *-yāt*. — P. 320, sing. 3.: *yūmati* should perhaps be classed as a root aor. subj., though this form seems to have a distinctly indicative sense in the two passages in which it occurs; du. 2. for *sādathas* read *sādathas*, which form should perhaps rather be classed as a root aor. subj.; pl. 1., delete *diyāmasi* (AV.). — P. 321, l. 2, delete *gīmantī*; see p. 369 top; l. 12: the shift of accent is insufficient (cp. *hims-te*) for the treatment of *himsanti* as a transfer form (cp. p. 100, l. 13): it should preferably be placed in 464 after *vr̥ṇjanti*. — P. 321, Indicative Middle: Sing. 1., delete *dhūjate* (AV. TS.). — Sing. 3., delete *bhūjate*, *yojate*, *stīrate* (p. 369, top); read *vihate* before *vāsate*, and *soyate* before *śikṣate*. — Du. 3., add *śobhete*. — Pl. 1., delete *starīmahe* (p. 369, top). — P. 323, § 424, Sing. 1., delete *bhojam*, *yojam* (503). — Sing. 2., delete *yamas*, *vīras* (502). — Sing. 3., delete *yamat*, *rādhat*, *śakat* (502), *tamat*, *dīsat*, *śramat*, *sadat* (510), *minat* (477), *śnithat* (452); for *vārat* read *varat* ('cover'): — Pl. 3., delete *yaman* (502), *vaman*, *śāsan* (452), add *śrīṣan*. — Middle. Pl. 3., delete *yavantu* (502). — P. 324, l. 4, for *yoja* read *yōja*; last line, delete *dayasva* (AV.). — P. 325, § 427 a, delete *śāsant-* (455) and *śānant-* (512). — P. 326, l. 1, for *cāyamāna* read *cāyamāna-*; § 428, Sing. 3., delete *asadat* (508). — P. 328, l. 3: *śṛṇa-* read Four; l. 4 add *gr-* 'sing': *grūd-* (AV.) beside *grūd-*, and *śṛ-* 'crush' for Two (AV.) beside *śṛūd-*. — § 430, Sing. 2., read *kṣipasi* (AV.) before *tīrasi*; Middle. Sing. 1., delete *mṛje* and *śuṣe* (451). — P. 329, § 431, Sing. 3., delete *pr̥ṇāt*; § 432, delete *guhās*, *rudhat*, *tr̥pān* (510) and add *bhujāt* (*bhuj-* 'bend'). — P. 330, l. 11, add *meditām*; l. 14, after TS. iv. 6. 5¹ add = AV. VS. MS. — § 435, delete *kṣiyānt-*, *mṛjānt-* (455), *citānt-* (506), *guhānt-*, *śucānt-* (512), *śuśānt-*, *śvasānt-* (455); insert 'bending' after *bhujānt-*; Middle, delete *guhāmāna-*, *dhṛśāmāna-*, *ṅrlāmāna-*, *śucāmāna-* (512). — § 436, Sing. 2., add *adyas*. — P. 332, l. 1, add *dayāmasi* (AV.); l. 7, add *daye* (AV. TS.); § 441, add *rāya*. — P. 333, l. 12, delete *cāyamāna-*. — P. 337, lines 6 and 8, delete *bhāthās* and *bhūthās* (502), and (AV.) after *psātās*; Middle. Sing. 1., for *mṛje* (AV.) read *mṛje*; add *śuṣe* (√*śvas-* 'blow'). — P. 338, l. 2., delete *parcas*, *śīkas* (502); l. 5, add *śnathat*; l. 10, add *vāman*, *śāsan*; l. 12, delete *vārajate* (502). — § 454, Act. Sing., add *drāhi* (AV.) and *drātu* (AV.) and after *psāhi* delete (AV.); note 4, add Perhaps root aor. subj.; cp. 502 (p. 369). —

P. 339, l. 6, delete *soṭana* (*su-* 'press'): cp. 505. — § 455, Act., delete *dhṛṣānt-* (512), add *mṛjānt-*, *śusānt-*, *śvasānt-*; Middle., delete *dhṛṣānā-* (AV.), add *tvakṣānā-*. — P. 340, l. 3, delete *svānā-* (*su-* 'press', SV.): cp. 506. — P. 342, l. 11, delete *pīprati-*. — P. 343, l. 12, for TS. iv. 6. 1⁵ read TS. iv. 6. 1⁴. — P. 345, § 467, delete *krntati-* and *śumbhānā-*. — P. 350, l. 11, for *prnāt* (AV.) read *prnāt*; l. 16, add *minat* (for *mināt*). — P. 359, l. 23, delete VS. xxxiii. 87; l. 24, after *śy-* 'crush' add AV.; l. 26, after 'bring forth' add AV.; note 1, for *sāsahē* read *sāsahē*. — P. 361, l. 10, add *cākan* before *sasvār*. — P. 362, l. 6: *cākanantu* though sing. in form is pl. in meaning and stands by haplology for *cākanantu*: cp. p. 58, l. 4 from below. — P. 364, l. 12, read *-ran* or *-iran* for *-iran*; l. 9 from below, delete *divrācti* (549). — P. 366, l. 5 from below, delete *ākrān* (*√krand-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*). — P. 367, l. 2, delete *ākrān* (*√krand-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*); l. 22, delete *aprka* (*√prc-*): see 522 (*s-aor.*). — P. 368, § 502, l. 3, add *śūkas*; l. 6, for *yamat* read *yāmat*; l. 7, add *śākat*; l. 9, after *pāthās* add 'drink'. — P. 369, l. 5 from below: on *āpyāsam* (AA. v. 3. 2) see КЕИГН, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, p. 157, note 1, and Index iv, *√ap-*. — P. 374, l. 22, add *bibhīṣ-athās*. — P. 383, l. 8, delete *ayāsit*. — P. 384, l. 4 from below, add 3. *ayāsit*. — P. 397, l. 2 and l. 24, add *vikṣyāsi* and *vīdyasva*.



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- AA. = Aitareya-Āraṇyaka.
AD. = Aitareya-Brahmaṇa.
AJPh. = American Journal of Philology.
APr. = Atharva-Prātiśākhya.
ASL. = Ancient Sanskrit Literature.
AV. = Atharva-Veda.
Av. = Avesta.
B. = Brāhmaṇa.
BB. = BEZZENBERGER's Beiträge.
BL. = Bibliotheca Indica.
BR. = BÖHTLINGK and ROTH (St. Petersburg Dictionary).
C. = Classical Sanskrit.
GGA. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
IE. = Indo-European.
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.
Ir. = Indo-Iranian.
IS. = Indische Studien.
JAOS. = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
K. = Kāṭhaka.
KG. = BRUGMANN's Kurze Vergleichende Grammatik.
Kh. = Khila.
KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift.
MS. = Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā.
N. = (Proper) Name.
O. u. O. = Orient und Occident.
Pp. = Pada-pāṭha.
pw. = Petersburger Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK's Smaller Lexicon).
Paipp. = Paippalāda.
RPr. = Rigveda-Prātiśākhya.
RV. = Rigveda.
S. = Sātra.
ŚA. = Śāṅkhayana-Āraṇyaka.
SB. = Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa.
SBE. = Sacred Books of the East.
SV. = Saṃn-Veda.
TB. = Taittirya-Brahmaṇa.
TPr. = Taittirya-Prātiśākhya.
TS. = Taittirya-Saṃhitā.
Up. = Upanishad.
V. = Vedic.
VPr. = Vajasaneyi-Prātiśākhya.
VS. = (1) Vajasaneyi-Saṃhitā; (2) Vedische Studien.
Wb. = Wörterbuch.
WZKM. = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
YV. = Yajur-Veda.
ZDMG. = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.



I. SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs.

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- Vaqs-* 'attain', pr. 470, sj. 471, impv. 472; pl. 482 c a, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 493; root aor. 500, inj. 503; opt. 504, prec. 504; a-aor. opt. 511; s-aor. sj. 523; inf. 585, 4.
- Vamh-* 'compress', pl. 482 c a; p. 358, n. 2.
- akramim*, 1. s. aor. *Vkram-* 66 c β 2.
- Vaky-* 'mutilate', pr. impv. 472; pr. pt. 473; *is-*aor. 529.
- akram*, root aor. of *ghar-* 499.
- ankhaya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- Vac-* 'bend', pr. 422, impv. 426; ps. pr. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; gd. 591 a.
- acchā* 'towards', prep. with acc. 595.
- Vaj-* 'drive', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445, pt. 447; inf. 584 b.
- Vajh-* 'anoint', pr. 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pl. 482 c a, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 493; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 574, 2.
- Vat-* 'wander', pr. 422, pt. 437.
- di-* 'beyond', prep. with acc. 596.
- Vad-* 'eat', pr. 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pp. 576 a; inf. 585, 4, 586 b.
- adant-* 'eating', inflected 295 c.
- adhās* 'below', prep. with acc. abl. 610.
- adhi* 'upon', prep. with loc. abl. acc. inst. 597.
- Van-* 'breathe', pr. 422, 430, 451, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pl. 482 c, 485; *is-*aor. 529; cs. 556.
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- apas-* n. 'work' and *apṣ-* 'active', inflected 344.
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- Vam-* 'injure', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, pt. 427; red. aor. 514; cs. 555.
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- ayā-* 2. s. aor. *Vva-* 66 c 2, 522.
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- ari-* 'devout', inflected 380 b 3.
- Varc-* 'shine', 'praise', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445, pt. 447; pl. 482 c a, 485; cs. 556; inf. 585, 1.
- arthāya-* den., sj. 569 a, impv. 569 d.
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- arkire*, 3. pl. pl. 482 c a.
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- dva* 'down', prep. with abl. 602.
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- arā-* 'that', inflected 394.
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- ānu* pf. pt. suffix 491.
- Vāp-* 'obtain', pr. 470, impv. 472, impf. 474, pt. 479; pl. 482 c, 485, pt. 493; prec. 504; a-aor. 508, opt. 511; des. 542, sj. 544.
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- id-* 'refreshment' 304.
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- aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, pt. 506; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, 455, 467, impf. 468; pp. 573; inf. 584 b, 586 a.
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- iyacha*, 2. s. pf. *Vi-* 485.
- Vik-* 'be quiet', cs. 554, aor. 560 a.
- Vi-* 'desire', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; gdv. 591 a.
- V2. ik-* 'send', pr. 430, 434, 476, inj. 432, impf. 436, impv. 441, pt. 442, 479; 485; pp. 575 b.
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- iyanya-* den., impv. 569 d.
- iyaya-* den., opt. 569 c.
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- Vik-* 'awing', cs. 554 a, sj. 559 b, pp. 575 c.
- Vid-* 'praise', pr. 451, sj. 452, inj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455; pf. 482 c, 485; pp. 575 a 3; gdv. 578, 4, 580.
- Viz-* 'set in motion', pr. 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, impf. 428, 456, pt. 455; pf. 482 c, 485; cs. 554 a, sj. 559 b.
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- Vis-* 'move', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427; pp. 575 b.
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- Vuc-* 'be pleased', pr. 437, impv. 441; pf. 482 c, 485, pt. 492.
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- ulbbi-* p. 59, note 1.
- Vus-* 'burn', p. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, 479.
- uasi-* f. 'dawn' 44 a 3; 344 (p. 233).
- uti-* 'aid', d. s. = inf. 585, 3 contracted dat. s. p. 282; inst. s. = inst. pl. p. 287.
- inaya-* den., aor. 570.
- Vt. ih-* 'remove', pr. 422, impv. 426, impf. 428.
- V2. ih-* 'consider', pr. 422, 451 (3. pl.), pt. 455; pf. 482 c, 485; s aor. pt. 527; *ip-* aor. 529.
- Vr-* 'go', pr. 430, 458, 470, sj. 431, 471, inj. 471, impv. 434, 460, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482 c, 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 500, inj. 503, opt. 504, pt. 506; a-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, impv. 512; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 2, 546; cs. 558 a, aor. 560, pp. 575 c, gdv. 590 b, 591 a, b.
- rgbāya-* den., inj. 569 b.
- Vri-* 'direct', pr. 430, 439, 464, impv. 434, pt. 442, 467, impf. 468.
- Vrv-* 'go', pr. 430.
- vraya-* den., inj. 569 b.
- vi-* 'without', prep. with abl. 615.
- Vri-* 'stir', pr. 422, impv. 434, impf. 436; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b.
- Vrdh-* 'thrive', pr. 470, sj. 464, impv. 441, pt. 467, impf. 474; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, prec. 504, pt. 506; a-aor. opt. 511; des. 542, pt. 544; ps. 445, impv. 446; gdv. 578, 4.
- Vri-* 'injure'(?), s-aor. pt. 527.
- Vrv-* 'rush', pr. 422, 430, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, 435.
- ika-* 'one' 403, 2, 406 a 1.
- ika-pati-* 'one-footed' 319 a.
- Vej-* 'stir', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428.
- Vedh-* 'thrive', pr. 422, impv. 426; *ip-* aor. opt. 532.
- ena-* 'he, she, it', inflected 395.
- obivāms-* pf. pt. 492 a.
- ka-* 'who?', pron. 397.
- kandāya-* den., ft. and pp. 570.
- Vkan-* 'enjoy', pr. pt. 442; pf. 482, sj. 487, inj. 488, impv. 490; plup. = pf. inj. 495; *ip-* aor. 529, sj. 530.
- kāmyāms-* 'younger', inflected 346.
- Vkam-* 'love', pf. pt. 493; cs. 555, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 c.
- kāman-* 'act', inflected 329.
- Vkas-* 'scratch', impf. 426.
- Vkar-* 'open', pr. impv. 426; pp. 573.
- Vka-* = *Vkan-* 'enjoy', pf. 485, pt. 493.
- Vkad-* 'appear', intv. 545, 1, 546, 547, pt. 548, impf. 549; cs. 556 a.
- kātūya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- Vkup-* 'be angry', pr. pt. 442; cs. 553 b; pp. 575 b.
- Vkūj-* 'hum', pr. pt. 427.
- Vkud-* 'burn', cs. 554 a, sj. 559 b.
- Vi. kr-* 'make', pr. 451, 470 (inflected); sj. 471, inj. 471, opt. 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482 a, 485 (inflected), opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. (inflected) 498, 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; a-aor. 508, impv. 512; s-aor. 522; ft. 537, 539 (inflected), sj. 538, pt. 538; des. 542 b; intv. 545, 3, pt. 548; ps. 445, pt. 447, aor. 501; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 1, 581; inf. 585, 4, 586 b, 587 b; gdv. 590 a, b, c, 591 b.
- V2. kr-* 'commemorate', *ip-* aor. 529; intv. 545, 2, 546, 547, aor. 550 b, gdv. 578, 1.
- Vi. kri-* 'cut', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; a-aor. 508, pt. 512; ft. 537, 539; gdv. 591 a.
- V2. kri-* 'spin', pr. 464; ps. pr. pt. 447.
- Vkri-* 'lament', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; plup. 495; root aor. 500; *ip-* aor. 529; cs. 554.
- kryāya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- Vkri-* 'be lean', pr. impv. 434; pt. 485; cs. 553 c.
- Vkry-* 'plough', pr. 422, 430, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 435; pf. 485; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 2, 547, impf. 549.
- Vky-* 'scatter', pr. 430, sj. 431, impv. 434; *ip-* aor. sj. 530.
- Vkpa-* 'be adapted', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485; sj. 487; red. aor. 514, sj. 515; cs. 553 d, 559 (inflected), sj.

- 559b, impv. 559 d (inflected);
gd. 590 b.
- Vkrak-** 'crash', pr. pt. 427.
Krinta, root aor. [?], p. 367,
n. 16.
- Vkrant-** 'cry out', pr. 422, inj.
424, impv. 426, pt. 427,
impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487;
plup. 495; a-aor. inj. 510;
red. aor. 514, inj. 516; s-aor.
522; intv. 545, 3, 546, pt.
548; cs. 556 a.
- Vkram-** 'stride', pr. 422, sj.
423, inj. 424, opt. 425,
impv. 426, 434, pt. 427,
impf. 428; pf. 485, inj. 488,
pt. 493; root aor. 66, 4 a,
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s-aor. 522, sj. 523; i-aor.
529 (inflected); inj. 531,
impv. 533, ft. 537; intv.
547c; pp. 574, 2; inf. 584 b;
gd. 591 a.
- Vkri-** 'buy', pr. 476, sj. 477,
impf. 480; gd. 590 b.
- Vkri-** 'play', pr. 422, sj. 423,
pt. 427.
- Vkrudh-** 'be angry', pr. 439;
a-aor. inj. 510; red. aor.
512, sj. 515, inj. 516; cs.
553 b; pp. 573.
- Vkru-** 'cry out', pr. 422, impv.
426, pt. 427; s-aor. 536.
- Vksad-** 'divide', pr. 422; pf.
485, pt. 493; inf. 585, 1.
- Vksan-** 'wound', i-aor. inj.
531; pp. 574, 2.
- Vksam-** 'endure', pr. opt. 425,
impv. 426, pt. 427; pl. opt.
489.
- Vksar-** 'flow', pr. 422, inj. 424,
impv. 426, pt. 427, impf.
428; s-aor. 522; inf. 585, 7.
- Vksr-** 'burn', cs. 558.
- Vkṣi-** 'possess', pr. 422, 430,
451, sj. 452, opt. 425, 433,
pt. 427, 435, 455, impv.
434, s-aor. sj. 523; ft. 537,
pt. 538; cs. 557 a, 558 a.
- Vkṣi-** 'destroy', pr. 439, 470,
476, inj. 477, impf. 480;
s-aor. inj. 524; ps. 445, pt.
447.
- Vkṣip-** 'throw', pr. 430, inj.
432, impv. 434, pt. 435;
red. aor. inj. 516.
- Vkṣt-** = **kṣi-** 'destroy', pp.
576 d.
- Vkṣud-** 'be agitated', 'crush',
pr. 422, pt. 442; cs. 553 b.
- Vkṣudh-** 'be hungry', cs. aor.
inj. 510.
- Vkṣubb-** 'quake', pf. 485.
- Vkṣu-** 'whet', pr. 451, pt. 455.
- Vkhan-** 'dig', pr. 422, sj. 423,
opt. 425, pt. 427, impf. 428,
pf. 485; ft. pt. 538; pp.
574, 2; inf. 586 b; gd. 590 a.
- Vkhan-** 'chew', pr. 422, impv.
426, pt. 427; pf. 482 b, 485.
- Vkhid-** 'tear', pr. 420, inj. 432,
opt. 433, impv. 434, pt.
435, impf. 436; pf. pt. 482 d,
492 b.
- Vkhid-** 'future', pr. impv. 434.
- Vkhi-** 'see', pf. 485; a-aor.
508, inj. 510, impv. 512;
gdv. 578, 3; inf. 584 a; gd.
591 a.
- Vkad-** 'say', pr. impv. 426.
- Vkam-** 'go', pr. 422, 451, sj.
423, opt. 425, impv. 426,
pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485,
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542; intv. 545, 1, 3, 546;
cs. 555 a; ps. 445, aor. 501;
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- Vkan-** 'chide', pr. 422.
- Vka-** 'go', pr. 458, inj. 459,
impv. 460, pt. 461, impf.
462; pf. 489; root aor. 499,
sj. 502, inj. 503, impv. 505;
s-aor. inj. 524; des. 542 c;
inf. 585, 4.
- Vka-** 'sing', pr. 439, inj.
440, impv. 441, pt. 442;
s-aor. inj. 524; i-aor. 534;
pr. pt. 447; pp. 574, 3.
- Kāteya-** den., impv. 569 d.
- Vkāl-** 'junge', pr. 422, opt.
425, impv. 426, pt. 427,
impf. 428; intv. 545, 2 a, 546.
- Vka-** 'sound', intv. 545, 1, 546.
- Vka-** 'protect', pf. 485 (cp.
p. 358, note 1); ft. 537,
539; pp. 575 b.
- Vka-** 'greet', pr. impv. 434;
pf. sj. 487, opt. 489; root
aor. 500; intv. 545, 2 a; pp.
573 a; gd. 591 a.
- Vka-** 'hide', pr. 422, inj.
424, impv. 426, pt. 427,
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536; des. 542; pa. pt. 447;
pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; gd.
590 a.
- Kārahya-** den., impv. 569 d.
- Vka-** 'sing', pr. 476, inj.
477, impv. 434, 478, pt.
479, impf. 436; inf. 585, 7,
588 c.
- Va. ka-** 'awake', pf. 482; red.
aor. 512, impv. 518; intv.
545, 1 b, 546, 547, pt. 548,
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- Vgrah-** 'be greedy', pr. pt.
442; pf. 482, 485; a-aor.
508, inj. 510.
- grhāya-** den., impv. 569 d.
- Vg-** 'swallow', pr. 430, 479;
root aor. sj. 502; red. aor.
514; i-aor. inj. 531; intv.
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- gd-** 'cow', inflected 365.
- gopāya-** den., impv. 569 d;
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- gdha,** 3. s. root aor. **Vghar-**,
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- gud-** 'woman', 367 (bottom);
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- Vgrath-** 'lie', pr. 464; pp.
575 a, 2.
- Vgrabh-** 'seize', pr. 476 (in-
flected), sj. 477, inj. 477,
impv. 478, impf. 480; pf.
485, opt. 489, pt. 492; plup.
495; root aor. 499, 500;
a-aor. 508; i-aor. 529; cs.
554; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b;
gd. 591 a.
- Vgr-** 'devour', pr. opt. 425;
pf. opt. 489, pt. 493; pp.
575 b.
- Vgr-** 'seize', pr. 476, opt.
477, impv. 478, pt. 479,
impf. 480; pf. 485; a-aor.
inj. 510; i-aor. 529; pp.
575 b; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
- gravan-** 'pressing-stone', in-
flected 331.
- Vglā-** 'be weary', pr. pt. 442;
cs. 558.
- Vghar-** 'eat', pr. sj. 452; pf.
485, opt. 489, pt. 492; root
aor. 499, impv. 505; s-aor.
522; des. 542 (p. 389, top);
pp. 574, 3 a.
- Vghur-** 'sound', pr. sj. 423,
pt. 427; cs. 553 b; pa. aor.
501; gd. 591 a.
- Vghr-** 'drip', pr. 458; cs. 557 c,
pa. pt. 561 a.
- Vghr-** 'smell', pr. 458.
- Vca-** 'see', pr. 422, 451,
impv. 454, impf. 428, 456;
pf. 485; plup. 495; cs.
556 a; gdv. 578, 4; inf.
584 b, 585, 1, 588 a; gd.
591 a, b.
- ca-** 'eye', inflected 342.
- Vcat-** 'hide', pr. pt. 427; cs.
555, pt. 559 e.

- chatuspad-* 'four-footed' 319 a.
Van- 'be pleased', *i*-aor. impv. 533.
canayá- den., impv. 569d.
car- 'move', pr. 422, sj. 423; inj. 424, opt. 425; impv. 426, pt. 427; impf. 428; pf. 485; red. aor. 514; *i*-aor. 529; inj. 531; ft. 539; intv. 545, 2 b, 546, 551; pp. 575 a 3; gdv. 580; inf. 585, 1, 4, 7.
carayá- den., sj. 569 a, opt. c.
carmamú- 'tanner' p. 38 n. 1; p. 249 note 4.
Veat- 'stir', impf. 428; intv. 545, 2, 546.
cákh- inj. pf. 488 (cp. p. 392 note 8).
Veij- 'note', pr. pt. 427; *i*-aor. 529; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
Vi- 'gather', pr. 422, 470, sj. 452, 471, opt. 425, 471; impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485; root aor. 499; *i*-aor. impv. 533; gd. 590 b.
Ví- 'note', pr. 458, impv. 460, pt. 461, 462; pf. 485; root aor. 500; des. 542.
Veit- 'perceive', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487, impv. 490, pt. 492, 473; plup. 495; root aor. 499, pt. 506; *i*-aor. 522; des. 542, sj. 544; intv. 545, 1, 546, 547, pt. 548; cs. 553, 554, sj. 559 b, opt. 559 c; *i*-aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 585, 2.
Veuit- 'impel', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426; cs. 553 b, sj. 559 b, ps. pt. 561 a, pp. 575 c.
Vept- 'bind', pr. 430, impv. 434; pf. 485; inf. 586 a.
colatur pf. *Veis-*, p. 358 n. 1.
Vees- 'stir', pr. pt. 427.
Veyu- 'move', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426; pf. 482 b 1, 485; plup. 495; red. aor. 514, inj. 516, opt. 517; *i*-aor. inj. 524; cs. 557 b.
Vehad- or *chand-* 'seem', pr. 451; pf. 485, opt. 489; *i*-aor. 522, sj. 523; cs. 556, 556 a, sj. 559 b.
Vehad- 'cover', cs. 555.
Vehá- 'cut up', pr. 430, impv. 434.
Velid- 'cut off', pr. 464, impv. 466; root aor. inj. 503; *a*-aor. 508; *i*-aor. inj. 524; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gd. 591 a.
Vjak- 'eat', gd. 590 b, c.
Vjakh-, pr. pt. 427.
Vjakh-, pr. pt. 427.
Vjan- 'generate', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, 454, pt. 427, impf. 428, 456; pf. 485, pt. 493; root aor. 500; red. aor. 514 (inflected), inj. 516; *i*-aor. 529, opt. 532; ft. 537, 539; cs. 556, sj. 559 b, opt. 559 c, pt. 559 e, impf. 559 f (inflected); pp. 574, 2; gdv. 580, 581; inf. 587 b; gd. 590 a.
jánu- 'wife' 380 b 2.
janid- 'begetter' 390.
Vjambh- 'chew', red. aor. 514; *i*-aor. 530; intv. 545, 2, pt. 548; cs. 556 a.
Vjar- 'be exhausted', pr. impv. 441, pt. 427; pf. impv. 490.
jahá-, 3. s. pf. ? p. 357 note 4.
jahi-, 2. s. impv. [*han-* 32 c; p. 50 note 9].
já- 'offspring', inflected 368.
Vjá- 'be born', pr. 439, inj. 440, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.
jánváms- pf. pt. 482 d.
járaya- den., *i*-aor. 501.
Vji- 'conquer', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. inj. 503, impv. 505, red. aor. 514; *i*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 521; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 558 a; pp. 573; gdv. 581; inf. 585, 1 a; gd. 591 b.
Vji- or *jív-* 'quicken', pr. 422, 470, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485.
Vjiv- 'live', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427; prec. 504; *i*-aor. inj. 531; cs. 554 a; pp. 575 a 3; gdv. 581 b; inf. 585, 1, 4, 5.
Vjiv- 'enjoy', pr. 422, 430, 451, inj. 424, 432, sj. 431, opt. 433, impv. 426, 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 500, sj. 502, pt. 506; *i*-aor. sj. 530; cs. 553 b, sj. 559 b; pp. 573; gd. 590 a.
Vjiv- 'be swift', pr. 422, 476, sj. 477; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, pt. 492, 493; inf. 585, 1.
Vjiv- 'consume', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427; *i*-aor. 529.
Vjiv- 'sing', pr. 422 (p. 322), sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426 (top), pt. 427; inf. 585, 7.
Vjimbh- 'gape', pr. 422.
Vjiv- 'waste away', pr. 422, 439, impv. 426, pt. 427, 435, impf. 443; pf. 485, pt. 492; *i*-aor. inj. 531; cs. 557 c; pp. 576 e.
Vjiv- 'want', pr. pt. 427.
Vjiv- 'know', pr. 476, sj. 477, opt. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. pt. 492, 492 a; root aor. opt. 504; red. aor. 514; *i*-aor. 522; des. 542; cs. 558, aor. 560, gdv. 578, 3; ps. 445, aor. 501.
Vjiv- 'overpower', pr. 439, 476, opt. 477, pt. 479; des. 542; ps. 445; pp. 574, 2.
Vjiv- 'shine', cs. 553 b.
Vjiv- 'go', pr. 422; *i*-aor. pt. 527.
á- 'that', inflected 392, 1.
Viams- 'shake', pf. 485; plup. 495; *a*-aor. 508; intv. 545, 2 b; sj. 547, gdv. 579; cs. 556 a; inf. 585, 7.
Viak- 'rush', pr. 451, impf. 456.
Viak- 'fashion', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, 454, pt. 427, impf. 428, 456; pf. 485; *i*-aor. 529; pp. 575 a 1.
Ví- *tan-* 'stretch', pr. 470, sj. 471, inj. 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, opt. 489, pt. 492; root aor. 499, 500; *a*-aor. 508, inj. 510; *i*-aor. 522; cs. 555; pp. 574, 2; gd. 591 b.
Ví- *tan-* 'roar', pr. 439.
tanú- 'body', inflected 385; --- 'self' 400, 3.
Vtand- 'be weary', pr. 422, inj. (?) 424.
Vtaz- 'be hot', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; red. aor. 514, sj. 515; *i*-aor. 522, inj. 524; cs. 555; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, impf. 448; aor. 501; pp. 573; gd. 591 a.
Vlam- 'faint', *a*-aor. inj. 510.
taraya- den., inj. 569 b, opt. 569 c.
id-, abl. adv. 'in this way' 629.
ij- 'be sharp', pr. 422, pt. 427; des. 542; intv. 545, 1, 546; pp. 573.

- tvā* 'across', prep. with acc. 605.
- tvā* 'be strong', pr. 451; pf. 482, 485; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 3.
- Vtj-* 'urge', pr. 430, 464, pt. 427, 435, 467; pf. opt. 489, pt. 493; cs. 554; ps. 445, pt. 447; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 2.
- Vind-* 'thrust', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, 467, impf. 436; pf. 485; pp. 570 a.
- Vit-* 'pass', pr. 430, opt. 453; des. 542; cs. 554; gd. 591 a.
- iturāya-* den., inj. 569 b, impf. 569 f.
- Vit-* 'drip', pr. 422, pt. 427; cs. 553 b.
- Vit-* 'be content', cs. 554.
- Vit-* 'overcome', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427.
- Vit-* 'split', pr. 464, impf. 468; pf. 485, pt. 493; root aor. sj. 502; des. 542, sj. 544; pp. 570 a; inf. 587 a.
- Vit-* 'be pleased', pr. 430, sj. 471, impv. 434, 441, 472, pt. 435; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; a-aor. 508, inj. 510, pt. 512; red. aor. 514; des. 542, sj. 544; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b.
- Vit-* 'be thirsty', pr. 439, pt. 442; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; root aor. pt. 506; a-aor. 508, inj. 510; red. aor. 514, inj. 516.
- Vit-* 'crush', pr. sj. 465, impf. 436; pf. 485; a-aor. 508; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447; pp. 573; gd. 590 b, c.
- Vit-* 'pass', pr. 422, 430, 470, sj. 423, 431, inj. 424, 432, opt. 425, 433, impv. 426, 434, pt. 427, 435, 461, impf. 428, 436; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; red. aor. 514; i-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, opt. 532; intv. 545, 2, 3, 546, 551; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 e; inf. 584 a, 585, 7, 9, 586 a, 588 c; gd. 590 a.
- Vit-* 'forsake', pf. 482 b 1, 485.
- Vit-* 'be terrified', pr. 422, impv. 426, impf. 428; red. aor. 514; cs. 555.
- Vit-* 'rescue', pr. 439, impv. 441, 454, pt. 442; pf. 485; s-aor. sj. 523, opt. 525; cs. gdv. 561 b, 579; inf. 585, 8.
- tripā-* 'three-footed' 319 a.
- tripā-* 'threefold', inflected 306.
- tvā-* 'many a one', inflected 396.
- Vit-* 'fashion', pr. pt. 455.
- tvām* 'thou', inflected 391, 2.
- Vit-* 'make haste', cs. 556.
- Vit-* 'be stirred', impf. 436, 456; pf. 485, pt. 493; plup. 495; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b.
- Vit-* 'approach stealthily', pr. 422, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. 522.
- Vit-* 'bite', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. pt. 472; intv. 545 2 b, pt. 548; pp. 574, 2.
- Vit-* 'be able', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; gdv. 579.
- Vit-* 'reach to', root aor. inj. 503; prec. 504, impv. 505.
- dan-* g. of *dan-* 'house', p. 37 (bottom); 66, 4 a; 338.
- Vit-* 'straighten?', pr. sj. 452, inj. 452.
- dit-* 'tooth' 313.
- Vit-* 'harm', pr. 422, 470, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 472; pf. 485, inj. 488; root aor. 499, inj. 503; des. 542, sj. 544; cs. 556 a; ps. 445; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 583 b.
- Vit-* 'control', cs. 556.
- damāya-* den., impf. 569 f.
- dasāya-* den., opt. 569 c, impv. 569 d.
- Vit-* or *dit-* 'waste', pr. 422, 439, sj. 423, inj. 424, pt. 427, opt. 440; pf. pt. 492; a-aor. inj. 510, pt. 512; i-aor. inj. 531; cs. 555.
- Vit-* 'burn', pr. 422, 439, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; s-aor. 522, inj. 524, pt. 527; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 573.
- Vit-* 'give', pr. 422, 458, sj. 459, inj. 424, 459, opt. 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 461, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504; impv. 505; a-aor. 508; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, pt. 538; des. 542; cs. 558; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 572, 573 a, 574, 3 a; gdv. 578, 3; inf. 584 a, 585, 4, 5, 8, 9, 586 b, 587 b; gd. 590 b, c, 591 a.
- Vit-* 'divide', pr. 422, 430, 451, impv. 426, 434, inj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 436; pf. pt. 493; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. inj. 525; ps. 574, 3 a, 576 c.
- V3-* *dā-* 'bind', impf. 443; ps. aor. 501; pp. 574, 3.
- Vit-* 'make offering', pr. 422, 451, 470, sj. 423, opt. 425, pt. 455, impf. 428; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492, 492 b.
- Vit-* 'point', pr. 430, opt. 434, pt. 435; pf. 485, sj. 487, impv. 490; plup. 495; root aor. 500; s-aor. 522; intv. 545, 1, 546, impf. 549, 551; pp. 573; inf. 584 b.
- Vit-* 'smear', pr. sj. 452, pt. 455, impf. 456; pp. 573.
- Vit-* 'fly', pr. 439, inj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.
- V2-* *dī-* 'shine', pr. 458, sj. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, pt. 492.
- Vit-* 'shine', pr. 439, impv. 441; red. aor. inj. 516; cs. 554 a.
- Vit-* 'play', pr. 439, inj. 440; pf. 485; pp. 573 a; gd. 591 a.
- Vit-* or *dū-* 'burn', pr. 470, pt. 473; i-aor. sj. 530; pp. 576 d.
- Vit-* 'stir up', pp. 575 b.
- durāya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- durāya-* den., sj. 569 a, opt. 569 c, impv. 569 d.
- Vit-* 'spoil', pr. 439; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; ft. cs. 537, 560; cs. 554.
- das-* 'ill', adverbial particle as first member of compounds 251, 657.
- Vit-* 'milk', pr. 422, 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 436, 456; pf. 485, pt. 493; s-aor. 522, inj. 524, opt. 525; s-aor. 536; des. 542, pt. 544; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 573; inf. 585, 1, 7.
- dū-* 'Sandhi of', p. 70 note 3; 81, 1 b.
- Vit-* 'pierce', pr. 451; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. 499; s-aor. sj. 523, opt. 525; intv. 545, 1, 2, 546, 547, pt. 547, impf. 549; cs. 557 c.
- V2-* *dy-* 'heed', gd. 591 b.
- Vit-* 'rave', a-aor. 508; pp. 575 b.
- Vit-* 'see', pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, pt. 506; a-aor. 508, inj. 510, opt. 511; s-aor. 522, sj. 523; des. 542, gdv.

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- √dā-* 'be firm', pr. 430, impv. 426, 441, pt. 435, impf. 428, 436; pl. pt. 493; plup. 495; *i*-aor. 529; cs. 554 a; pp. 573.
- dā-*, inflected 378.
- dāhi*, pr. impv. *√dā-* 'give' 62, 4 b.
- dyāv-* 'heaven', inflected 364.
- √dyut-* 'shine', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pl. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; intv. 545, 3, 546, pt. 547, impf. 549; cs. 553 b, 554.
- dyaus*, accentuation of voc. 85, 93, 364 note 1 (p. 247).
- √i. drā-* 'run', pr. impv. 454; pl. pt. 493; *s*-aor. sj. 523; intv. pt. 547.
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- √dru-* 'run', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pl. 485; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; cs. 557 b.
- √dru-* 'be hostile', pl. 485; *a*-aor. 508, inj. 510; pp. 573.
- √drā-* 'hurl(?)', pr. pt. 479.
- √dripād-* 'two-footed' 319 a.
- dris-* 'hatred', inflected 340.
- √dri-* 'hate', pr. 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455; *s*-aor. inj. 536; gdv. 578, 4, 580.
- drīpā-* 'island' 255, 4.
- √dhan-* 'run', pl. sj. 487, opt. 489; cs. 556.
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- dhanvan-* 'bow', inflected 331.
- √dham-* or *dhmā-* 'blow', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445; pp. 574, 2, 575 b.
- √dhav-* 'flow', impf. 428.
- √i. dhā-* 'put', pr. 422, 458, sj. 459, opt. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; pl. 485, impv. 490; root aor. 499, 500; *a*-aor. 508; *s*-aor. sj. 523, inj. 524; des. 542, sj. 544, gdv. 579; cs. 558, sj. 559 b; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, aor. 501, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, impv. 505; pp. 574, 3; inf. 584 a, 585, 4, 5, 7, 586 a, 587 b; gd. 591 a.
- √2. dhā-* 'suck', pr. 439, opt. 440; root aor. 499; cs. 558; pp. 574; inf. 585, 1, 4.
- √i. dhāv-* 'run', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427; plup. 495.
- √2. dhāv-* 'wash', pr. 422, impv. 426; *i*-aor. 529.
- dhā-* 'thought', inflected 376.
- √dhi-* 'think', pr. sj. 459, pt. 461, impf. 462; pl. 482; *s*-aor. pt. 527.
- dhanaya-* den., inj. 569 b, impv. 569 d.
- √dhi-* 'shake', pr. 430, 470, sj. 441, impv. 440, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pl. 485, inj. 488, opt. 489; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; *s*-aor. 522; intv. 545, 1, 3, 546, pl. 550; gd. 591 a.
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- √dhūv-* 'injure', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427.
- √dhr-* 'hold', red. aor. 514, inj. 516, impv. 518; pl. 482, 485; root aor. inj. 503; ft. 537, 539; intv. 545, 1, 2, 546, impf. 549; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b, opt. 559 c, ft. 537, 560; ps. 445, impv. 446; inf. 585, 1, 8, 588 b.
- √dhr-* 'dare', pr. impv. 472; pl. 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, pt. 493; plup. 495; *a*-aor. inj. 510, pt. 512; pp. 575 b; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b.
- √dhrj-* 'sweep', pr. pt. 427, impf. 428.
- √dhvams-* 'scatter', pl. 485; *a*-aor. 508; cs. 556.
- √dhvan-* 'round', cs. 555, aor. 560 a; pp. 574, 2 a.
- √dhr-* 'injure', *s*-aor. 522; des. 542; inf. 585, 1.
- nā* 'like', Sandhi of 67, p. 63 note 9.
- nāktis*, indecl. pron., old nom. sing. 381 b (p. 279, bottom).
- nāktā-* n. 'night', irreg. nom. du. 372.
- √nakt-* 'attain', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pl. 485.
- √nād-* 'sound', pr. pt. 427, impf. 428; intv. 545, 1 b, 546, pt. 548; cs. 556.
- nādhvay-*, dat. of *nāpāt-* 62, 3 b; 321 note 1.
- √nand-* 'rejoice', pr. 422.
- √nabh-* 'burst', pr. impv. 426.
- √nam-* 'bend', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pl. 482, 485; plup. 495; red. aor. inj. 516; *i*-aor. sj. 523; pt. 527; intv. 545, 2, 546, pt. 547, impf. 549; *i*-aor. 529; ft. 537, 539; des. 542; intv. 545, 1, 551; ps. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; inf. 588 c; gd. 591 a.
- nīliya-* den., sj. 569 a.
- √i. nu-* 'praise', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 427, impf. 428, 456, pt. 435; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; *s*-aor. 522, inj. 524; *i*-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1, 546, 547, impf. 549, pl. 550; gdv. 578, 2.
- √2. nu-* 'move', pr. 422, impf. 428.
- √nud-* 'push', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pl. 485; root aor. inj. 503; *i*-aor. inj. 531; pp. 576 a; inf. 584 b.
- √npt-* 'dance', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442; root aor. 499; *a*-aor. pt. 512; *i*-aor. 529; cs. 553 c.
- 527; intv. 545, 2, 546, pt. 548, impf. 549; cs. 556; pp. 574, 2; gdv. 581; inf. 584 b.
- √i. nā-* 'be lost', pr. 439, inj. 424, impv. 441; pl. 485; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; ft. 537, 539; cs. 555, inf. 585, 7; pp. 573.
- √2. nā-* 'obtain', pr. 451, sj. 423, inj. 424; root aor. 499, inj. 503, opt. 504, *s*-aor. sj. 523; des. 542 a, sj. 544; inf. 584 b.
- √nas-* 'unite', pr. 422, inj. 424; root aor. opt. 504.
- √nā-* 'bind', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pl. 485; ps. pt. 447; pp. 573.
- √nāth-* 'seek aid', pp. 575 a 2.
- √nāth-* 'seek aid', pr. part. 427; pp. 575 b.
- nāv-* 'ship', inflected 365.
- √nim-* 'kiss', pr. 451, impf. 428.
- √nik-* 'pierce', pr. 422, impv. 426; inf. 584 b.
- √nij-* 'wash', pr. impv. 460, pt. 455; *a*-aor. 508; *s*-aor. 522, inj. 524; intv. 545, 1, 546 (inflected), 547.
- √nim-* 'revile', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426; pl. 485; root aor. pt. 506; *i*-aor. 529, sj. 530; des. 542, sj. 544; ps. pt. 447; pp. 575 a 1.
- √ni-* 'lead', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pl. 485; sj. 487 (ep. p. 361 note 1), opt. 489; *s*-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, impv. 526; *i*-aor. 529; ft. 537, 539; des. 542; intv. 545, 1, 551; ps. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; inf. 588 c; gd. 591 a.

- Vpac* 'cook', pr. 422, 439, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; plup. 495; s-aor. sj. 523; ps. 445, pt. 447, impf. 448; inf. 585, 4; gd. 590 b.
- palāhi*, inst. pl. 42 c, 43 b, 62, 4 b (p. 57) note 3, 350 (p. 238 note 1).
- Vt. pa-* 'fly', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; red. aor. 514, inj. 516, impv. 518; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; des. 542; intv. 545, 1, 546, 547; cs. 555 a; pp. 572, 575 b; inf. 585, 4.
- V2. pa-* 'rule', pr. 439, pt. 442, 565 β, impf. 443.
- pāti* 'husband', inflected 380 b; in compounds 280; accentuation p. 95 a, p. 96, 3.
- Vpad-* 'go', 1 r. 439, sj. 423, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 502, prec. 504; red. aor. 514; s-aor. inj. 524; cs. 555, sj. 559 b; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 a; inf. 587 a; gd. 591 a.
- pād-* 'foot', inflected 319.
- Vpau-* 'admire', pf. 485; s-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 3, pt. 548; cs. 556, gdv. 561 b; ps. 445; pp. 575 b; gdv. 579.
- panya-* den., inj. 569 b.
- piprā-* 3. s. pf. *Vprā-* 484.
- paris* 'beyond', prep. with acc. inst. loc. abl. 616.
- pāri* 'around', prep. with acc. abl. 606.
- Vpat-* 'see', pr. 439, sj. 440, inj. 440, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443.
- Vt. pi-* 'drink', pres. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, 461, impf. 428; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 499, sj. 502, prec. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. inj. 524; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 558 a; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 574, 3; inf. 585, 3, 4, 5, 7; gd. 590 a, b; 591 a.
- V2. pi-* 'protect', pr. 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; s-aor. sj. 523.
- pāpaya-* den., aor. inj. 570.
- Vpi-* or *pi-* 'swell', pr. 422, 470, pt. 442, 461, 473; pf. 482, 485, pt. 492, 493; pp. 576 d.
- Vpima-* 'fatten', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485.
- Vpibh-* 'stand firm', pr. pt. 427.
- Vpi-* 'adorn', pr. 430, impv. 431, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548; ps. pt. 447; pp. 575 b.
- Vpy-* 'crush', pr. 464, inj. 465, impv. 466, impf. 436, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; pp. 573.
- Vpā-* 'press', pf. 485; cs. 554 a.
- pur-* 'stronghold', inflected 355.
- purā-* 'before', prep. with acc. abl. loc. 607.
- purādāt* 'in front of', prep. with gen. 617.
- purā-* 'before', prep. with abl. 617.
- purā-* 42 c, 66 c β 1 (p. 61, mid.), 349 b, 350.
- Vpu-* 'thrive', pr. 439, sj. 440, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; s-aor. opt. 511; cs. 553 b, inf. 585, 1.
- Vpi-* 'cleansed', pr. 422, 476, sj. 423, impv. 426, 478, pt. 427, 479, impf. 428, 480; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 529, inj. 531; ps. 445, pt. 447; gd. 590 a, b.
- Vpr-* 'pass', pr. 451, 458, impv. 460; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; s-aor. sj. 523, impv. 526; s-aor. sj. 530; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b; inf. 588 b.
- Vpū-* 'fill', pr. 430, sj. 431, impv. 434, impf. 436; inf. 585, 7.
- Vpū-* 'mix', pr. 430, 464, inj. 465, opt. 465, impv. 434, 460, 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. sj. 487, opt. 489; root aor. sj. 502, opt. 504, pt. 506; s-aor. 522, sj. 523; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447, impf. 448; pp. 576 b; inf. 584 b, 587 a.
- ptanya-* den., sj. 569 a, impf. 569 f.
- Vpū-* 'sprinkle', pr. pt. 427, = adj. 'spotted' 313.
- Vpū-* 'fill', pr. 458, 476, sj. 477, opt. 477, impv. 460, 478, pt. 442, 479, impf. 462, 480; pf. opt. 489, pt. 492; red. aor. inj. 516, impv. 518; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b; pp. 576 e.
- Vpū-* 'fill up', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442; s-aor. opt. 534; cs. 558 a.
- Vprakt-* = *prach-* 'ask', pf. 485 (cp. p. 359 note 0); inf. 585, 1 a.
- Vprach-* 'ask', pr. 430, sj. 431, opt. 433, impv. 434, part. 435, impf. 436; s-aor. 522; gdv. 544 i, 580; pp. 574, 1; inf. 584 b, 586 a, b.
- prōti* 'against', prep. with acc. 608.
- pratyā-* inflected 299.
- Vprath-* 'spread', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485 (cp. p. 357 note 1), sj. 487, inj. 488, pt. 493; root aor. pt. 506; s-aor. 529; cs. 556.
- Vprā-* 'hill', pr. 451; pf. 485; root aor. 499, sj. 502; s-aor. 522; ps. aor. 501.
- prādūr-* 'out of doors', adv. compounded with *Vbhū-* 651.
- prīva-* m., inflected 372.
- prīd-* f., inflected 374.
- prīyā-* den., impf. 569 f.
- Vpri-* 'please', pr. 476, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. sj. 487, impv. 490, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. prec. 504; s-aor. sj. 523; des. 542; pp. 573.
- Vpru-* 'flow', pr. inf. 424.
- Vpruth-* 'snort', pr. inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; intv. 545, 1; gd. 591 a.
- Vpru-* 'sprinkle', pr. 470, sj. 471, impv. 434, pt. 435; pp. 575 b.
- Vplu-* 'float', pr. 422, impv. 426.
- Vpū-* 'devour', pr. 451, impv. 454.
- Vpshu-* 'spring', intv. 545, 3, pt. 548; cs. 555.
- Vpshar-* 'scatter', intv. 545, 2, 547 a.
- Vbambh-* 'make firm', pp. 574, 2.
- Vbandh-* 'bind', pr. 476, impv. 478, impf. 480; pf. 485; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447; inf. 584 b, 590 b.
- bahirdhā* 'outside', prep. with abl. 618.
- Vbādth-* 'oppress', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. inj. 531; des. 542; intv. 545, 1 b, 2 a, 546, pt. 548; cs. 556 a; pp. 575 b.
- Vbudh-* 'wake', pr. 422, 439, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 440, impv. 426, 441, pt. 442; pf. 482 b, sj. 487, pt. 493; root aor. 500, pt. 506;

- a-aor. inj. 510; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 522; i-aor. sj. 530; ps. aor. 501; inf. 584 d, 588 a.
- √yā-** 'make big', pr. impv. 434; pf. 485; pt. 493; i-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 2, 547 a.
- √bū-** impv. of **√bhū-** and **√buddh-** 32 c, 505 note 3.
- √brū-** 'ray', pr. (inflected) 451, sj. (inflected) 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456.
- √lli-** 'crush', pp. 576 d.
- √bhaks-** 'partake of', cs. 556 a.
- √bhaj-** 'divide', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 493; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, opt. 525; cs. 555; ps. pt. 447, 561, gd. 591 a; ps. pr. pt. 447; gd. 590 b, c.
- √bhan-** 'break', pr. 464, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; ps. impv. 446.
- √bhan-** 'speak', pr. 422, inj. 424, impf. 428.
- √bhana-** 'be bright', pr. 422, pt. 427.
- √bharv-** 'devour', pr. 422.
- √bhavant-** 'being', inflected 314.
- √bhas-** 'devour', pr. 430, 458, sj. 459, inj. 424, pt. 461.
- √bhā-** 'shine', pr. 451, impv. 454, pt. 455.
- bhāmaya-** 'be angry', den., pp. 575 c.
- √bhās-** 'shine', pr. 422, sj. 423, pt. 427.
- √bhāks-** 'beg', pr. 422, inj. 424, opt. 425, pt. 427.
- √bhā-** 'split', pr. 422, 464, sj. 465, inj. 465, opt. 465, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 428, 468; pf. 485; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503, pt. 506; a-aor. opt. 511; s-aor. inj. 524; des. 542, impf. 544; ps. aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
- bhīraj-** 'heal', den., pr. 568.
- bhīrajya-** den., impv. 569 d.
- bhīraj-** 'heal', den., impf. 568, 569 f.
- √bhī-** 'fear', pr. 422, 458, sj. 423, inj. opt. 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427, 461, impf. 428, 462; pf. 482 b, 485, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. inj. 503, pt. 506; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; s-aor. 522, pt. 527; cs. aor. 560; inf. 585, 1.
- √bhuj-** 'enjoy', pr. 464, sj. 465, pt. 467; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, inj. 503; inf. 584 b, 585, 1.
- √bhuv-** 'quiver', pr. inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435; intv. 545, 2 a, 546, pt. 548.
- √bhū-** 'be', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485, opt. 489, pt. 492; root aor. 499, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504; a-aor. 508; red. aor. 514; ft. 537, 539, pt. 538; des. 542, pt. 544; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548; cs. 557 b; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 2, 581; inf. 584 a, 588 c; gd. 590 a, b, 591 a.
- bhū-** 'earth', inflected 383.
- √bhū-** 'adorn', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; gdv. 580.
- √bhr-** 'bear', pr. 422, 451, 458 (inflected), sj. 423, 459, inj. 424, opt. 425, 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427, 461, impf. 428, 462; pf. 482 d, 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. prec. 504, impv. 505; s-aor. (inflected) 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; i-aor. 529; eond. 538; ft. pt. 538; intv. 545, 2, 546; ps. 445, sj. 446, aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 585, 585, 4, 5, 7, 8, 586 b; gd. 591 b.
- √bhrj-** 'roast', pr. sj. 431.
- √bhya-** 'fear', impf. 428.
- √bhrant-** 'fall', pr. inj. 424; a-aor. inj. 510; cs. 555; pp. 574.
- √bhraj-** 'shine', pr. 422, pt. 427; root aor. 499, prec. 504; ps. aor. 501.
- √bhr-** 'consume', pr. 476.
- √bhray-** 'totter', pr. 422.
- √mamh-** or **mah-** 'be great', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, impv. 490, pt. 493; cs. 556, 556 a, pt. 559 c; inf. 584 b, 585, 2.
- √maj-** 'sink', pr. 422; gd. 591 a.
- magrū-** 38 c, 44 a 3 a (p. 36), 62, 4 b note 1 (p. 57).
- √math-** or **manth-** 'stir', pr. 422, 476, sj. 423, impv. 426, 478, pt. 479, impf. 428, 480; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502; i-aor. 529, inj. 531; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 575 a, 2.
- √mad-** or **mand-** 'exhilarate', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492; root aor. 499, impv. 505, pt. 506; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, pt. 527; i-aor. 529, opt. 532; cs. 555 a, 556 a, sj. 559 b; ps. pt. 447; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.
- madhu-** 'sweet', inflected 389.
- madhyā-** 'in the midst of' 587 b a.
- √man-** 'think', pr. 422, 439, 470, sj. 423, 440, 471, inj. 410, 471, opt. 440, 459, 471, impv. 441, 472, pt. 442, 473, impf. 443, 474; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 502, pt. 506; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 539; des. 542, ps. 544 h, pp. 544 h; cs. 555, opt. 559 c; pp. 574, 2; inf. 585, 4, 5.
- manayā-** den., pr. (inflected) 569, opt. 569 c.
- mantraniya-** gdv. 581 b.
- √mā-** 'measure', pr. 451, opt. 459, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 462; root aor. impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. 522; ps. aor. 501; pp. 574, 3; gdv. 578, 3; inf. 584 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
- √mā-** 'exchange', pr. 439; gd. 591 b.
- √mā-** 'hollow', pr. 422, 458; pf. 485; red. aor. 514, inj. 516; inf. 585, 5.
- mā-** prohibitive particle used with injunctive 648.
- mātūr-** 'mother', inflected 360.
- mās-** 'month' 44, 3, 340 (inflected).
- √mi-** 'fix', pr. 470, sj. 471, inj. 471, impv. 472, part. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485; ps. 445, pt. 447; gdv. 578, 1.
- √miks-** 'mix', pf. 485 (cp. p. 359 note 8), impv. 490.
- √mingh-** 'mingere', pr. pt. 427.
- √mith-** 'alternate', pr. 422, pt. 435; pf. 485.
- √mit-** 'mix', des. 542, impv. 544.
- √mis-** 'wink', pr. 430, pt. 435; inf. 587 a a.
- √mih-** 'mingere', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; ft. 537, 539; cs. 553 a; inf. 584 b.
- √mi-** 'damage', pr. 439, 476, subj. 477, inj. 477, opt. 440, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; s-aor. inj. 524;

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Ṃmī- 'release', pr. 430, 439, sj. 431, 440, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, prec. 504; a-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, impv. 512; s-aor. 522, inj. 524, opt. 525, des. 542, pt. 544; ps. aor. 501; gd. 591 a.
Ṃmū- 'be merry', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; root aor. opt. 504; i-aor. opt. 532; ps. aor. 501; inf. 584 b.
Ṃmū- 'crush', pf. sj. 487.
Ṃmū- 'steal', pr. 422, 476, pt. 479, impf. 480; i-aor. inj. 531; pp. 575 b; inf. 584 b; gd. 591 a.
Ṃmū- 'be dazed', pr. impv. 441; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 b; pp. 573; inf. 584 b.
Ṃmū- 'thicken', impf. 428.
Ṃmū- 'die', pr. 422, sj. 423; pf. 485, pt. 492; root aor. 500, inj. 503, opt. 504; ft. 537, 539; cs. 557 c; ps. 445, impv. 446; pp. 576 c.
Ṃmū- 'crush', pr. impv. 478, pt. 479; intv. 547 c.
Ṃmū- 'stroke', pr. sj. 431.
Ṃmū- 'injure', s-aor. opt. 525; cs. 553 c; sj. 559 b; pp. 573.
Ṃmū- 'wipe', pr. 451, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482, 485, opt. 489; sa-aor. 536; intv. 545, 2, 547, pt. 548, impf. 549, 551, gdv. 580; cs. 553 c, opt. 559 c; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 4; gd. 590 b.
Ṃmū- 'be gracious', pr. sj. 431, impv. 434; cs. 554, sj. 559 b.
Ṃmū- 'crush', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, impf. 436; red. aor. 514.
Ṃmū- 'crush', pf. opt. 489.
Ṃmū- 'neglect', pr. 422, sj. 431; root aor. opt. 504; i-aor. sj. 530, inj. 531.
Ṃmū- 'touch', pr. 430, sj. 431, impv. 434, pt. 435; impf. 436; pf. 482, 485; sa-aor. 536; intv. 545, 2, 547 a; gd. 591 a.
Ṃmū- 'not heed', pr. 439; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503;
 a-aor. inj. 510; red. aor. inj. 516; i-aor. inj. 531; inf. 584 b.
Ṃmū- 'be fat', pr. impv. 441; cs. 554 a.
Ṃmū- 'be situated', pr. impv. 426; pf. 485; root aor. 499; ps. aor. 501.
Ṃmū- 'set', pr. pt. 427.
Ṃmū- 'relax', cs. 558; pp. 573.
Ṃmū- 'who', rel. pron. 398.
Ṃmū- 'press on'(?), pr. inj. 424, pt. 427; inf. 584 b.
Ṃmū- 'sacrifice', pr. 451, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427; impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; sa-aor. impv. 536; ft. 537; des. 542, sj. 544; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 7; gd. 590 b.
Ṃmū-, inflected 376.
Ṃmū- 'stretch', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; cs. 555, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 e.
Ṃmū- 'future', pr. 422, impv. 426.
Ṃmū- 'reach', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; root aor. 499, sj. 502, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505; a-aor. opt. 511; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524, pt. 527; i-aor. 529; intv. 545, 2, 546; cs. 555; ps. pt. 447, aor. 501; pp. 574, 2; aor. gdv. 580; inf. 585, 4, 5 p, 586 a; gd. 591 b.
Ṃmū- 'be heated', pr. impv. 460, pt. 442.
Ṃmū- 'go', pt. 451, opt. 453, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 485, pt. 492; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; s-aor. 534, sj., opt., impv. 534; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 573; inf. 584 a, 585, 4.
Ṃmū- 'ask', pr. 422, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; i-aor. sj. 530; cs. 556 a; pp. 575 b; inf. 586 b.
Ṃmū- 'unite'(?), pr. pt. 427.
Ṃmū- 'unite', pr. 430, 451, sj. 431, 452, inj. 432, impv. 434, 454, pt. 435, 455; impf. 436; pf. 485; des. 542, pt. 544; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548; pp. 573; gd. 591 a.
Ṃmū- 'separate', pr. 422, 458; sj. 459, inj. 459, opt. 459, impv. 426, 460, pt. 427; root aor. sj. 502, prec. 504; red. aor. inj. 516; s-aor. sj. 523, inj. 524; i-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1, pt. 546, impf. 549; cs. 557 b, sj. 559 b; ps. aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 585, 4, 587 b.
Ṃmū- 'join', pr. 451, 464 (inflected), sj. 465, inj. 465, impv. 426, 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; root aor. 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. 522; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, impv. 446, aor. 501; pp. 573; inf. 584 b; gd. 589 b, c.
Ṃmū- 'fight', pr. 422, 439, 451, sj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, 455, impf. 443; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, impv. 505; s-aor. inj. 524; i-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, impv. 533; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553 b, sj. 559 b; gdv. 578, 4, 580; inf. 584 b, 585, 2, 586 a.
Ṃmū- 'obstruct', pf. 485; cs. 553 b; pp. 575 b.
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Ṃmū- 'you', pron. 49 a, 391, 2.
Ṃmū- 'be heated', pr. pt. 427.
Ṃmū- 'hasten', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. pt. 493; cs. 556 a; gdv. 578, 4.
Ṃmū- 'protect', pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 493; i-aor. 530; pp. 575 a 1.
Ṃmū- or *Ṃmū-* 'colour', impf. 443; intv. 545, 1 b, 546; cs. 556.
Ṃmū- m. f. 'charioteer', inflected 376.
Ṃmū- 'dig', pr. 422, 451, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; pp. 575 b.
Ṃmū- or *Ṃmū-* 'make subject', pr. impv. 441; pf. 482; root aor. impv. 505, a-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510; red. aor. sj. 515, inj. 516; i-aor. inj. 531; intv. 545, 1 b; cs. 556 a, sj. 559 b.
Ṃmū- 'rejoice', pr. 422, 439, inj. 424, impv. 426; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, impv. 490; plup. 495; i-aor. 529, inj. 531; cs. 556.
Ṃmū- 'chatter', pr. 422, inj.

- 424, opt. 425, pt. 427, impf. 428; intv. 545, 1 b, 546.
 |*rañ-* 'be full', pr. 422; pf. 485.
 |*rabh-* or *rambh-* 'grasp', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; s-aor. 522, pt. 527; inf. 584 b, 586 a; gd. 591 a.
 |*rañ-* 'rejoice', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, impf. 428, 480; red. aor. 514, sj. 515, inj. 516; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; s-aor. inj. 534; cs. 555 a.
 |*ramb-* 'hang down', pr. 422, pt. 427.
 |1. *rā-* 'give', pr. 451, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 456; pf. 485, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, opt. 525, impv. 526; pp. 573.
 |2. *rā-* 'bark', pr. 439, pt. 442.
 |*rā-* 'give', pr. pt. 427.
 |*raj-* 'be kingly', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, inj. 424, 452, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; s-aor. 529; cs. 556 a, sj. 559 b; inf. 585, 1.
 |*radh-* 'succeed' pr. 422, sj. 423, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485; root aor. sj. 502, prec. 504; s-aor. 522; s-aor. inj. 531; ft. 537, 539; cs. 556 a; ps. aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.
 |*ri-* or *rī-* 'flow', pr. 439, 476, inj. 477, pt. 479; impf. 480.
 |*rih-* 'scratch', pr. impv. 434.
 |*ric-* 'leave', pr. 461, sj. 465, inj. 465, impf. 468; pf. 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; plup. 495; root aor. inj. 503, impv. 505; s-aor. 522; ps. 445, impf. 448, aor. 501.
 |*rip-* 'smear', pf. 485; pp. 573.
 |*riñ-* 'sing', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; ps. 445; pf. 485.
 |*riñ-* 'tear', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435.
 |*riñ-* 'be hurt', pr. 439, sj. 423, 440, inj. 424, opt. 440; s-aor. sj. 509, inj. 510, pt. 512; red. aor. inj. 516, opt. 517, prec. 517; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553, 554; inf. 585, 7.
 |*riñya-* den., inj., impv. 569 b, d.
 |*riñ-* 'lick', pr. 451, pt. 455; pf. 492; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548, 551; pp. 573.
 |1. *ru-* 'cry', pr. 430, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435; s-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1 a, pt. 548, impf. 549.
 |2. *ru-* 'break', s-aor. 529; intv. 545, 1, 546, pt. 548.
 |*ruñ-* 'shine', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, inj. 488, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 529, opt. 532; intv. pt. 548; cs. 553 b, 554; inf. 584 b.
 |*ruñya-* den., inj. 569 b.
 |*ruñ-* 'break', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503; red. aor. 514; pp. 576 b; inf. 584 b.
 |*rud-* 'weep', pr. 451, sj. 452, pt. 455; s-aor. 508; cs. 553 b.
 |1. *rudh-* 'grow', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 435, impf. 428.
 |2. *rudh-* 'obstruct', pr. 451, 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. 485; root aor. 499; s-aor. 508, inj. 510; s-aor. 522; ps. 445; gd. 591 a.
 |*rup-* 'break', red-aor. 514; pp. 575 b.
 |*ruñya-* den., inj. 569 b.
 |*ruñ-* 'be vexed', pr. 422.
 |*ruñ-* 'ascend', pr. 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; s-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, opt. 511; s-aor. 536; des. 542, pt. 544; cs. 553 b; pp. 573; inf. 586 a; gd. 590 b, 591 a.
 |*ruñ-* 'treacher', pr. 422, inj. 424, pt. 427, impf. 428; cs. 554 a.
 |*rup-* 'prate', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; intv. 545, 1 b, 546; cs. 555; pp. 575 b.
 |*rabh-* 'take', pr. 422, opt. 425; pf. 485, pt. 493; des. 542, pt. 544; gd. 590 b.
 |*rih-* 'scratch', impf. 436; s-aor. inj. 531; pp. 575 a 2.
 |*rip-* 'smear', pr. 430; s-aor. 522.
 |*ri-* 'cling', pr. 422, impv. 426; pp. 576 d; gdv. 578, 2.
 |*rup-* 'break', pr. opt. 433; ps. 445; gd. 591 a.
 |*rubh-* 'desire', pr. pt. 442; cs. 533 b.
 |*ruñ-* 'increase', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; cs. 556 a.
 |*ruñ-* 'speak', pr. 458, impv. 460; pf. 482 b 1, 485, pt. 493; red. aor. 514, sj. 515, inj. 516, opt. 517, impv. 518; ft. 537, 539; pt. 538, intv. 545, 1 b, impf. 549; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 574, 1; gdv. 578, 4, 581; inf. 584 b, 585, 4.
 |*ruñ-* 'move crookedly', pr. 422; pf. 482, 485; ps. 445, impv. 446, pt. 447.
 |*ruñ-* 'apprehend', pr. opt. 425, pt. 427; red. aor. 514; cs. 555.
 |*ruñ-* 'speak', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, 433, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531; ft. 537, 539; intv. 545, 1 b, 546, 547 c; opt. 559 c; ps. pt. 447, pp. 575 b.
 |*ruñ-* 'slay', pr. opt. 425, impv. 426; root aor. ps. 504; s-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531, impv. 533.
 |*ruñ-* 'win', pr. 422, 470; sj. 423, 431, 471, inj. 424, 471, opt. 425, 433, 471, impv. 426, 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, pt. 492; root aor. impv. 505; s-aor. sj. 523, inj. 524, opt. 525; s-aor. sj. 530, opt. 532; s-aor. opt. 534; des. 542, 543 (inflected), sj. 544; cs. 555; pp. 574, 2 a; inf. 585, 4.
 |*ruñya-* den., inj. 569 b.
 |*ruñya-* den., sj. 569 a.
 |*ruñ-* 'greet', pr. 422, impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485; s-aor. opt. 532; ps. aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 585, 7.
 |1. *ruñ-* 'strew', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485; ps. 445, pt. 447; pp. 574, 1; gd. 591 a.
 |2. *ruñ-* 'shear', pr. (ā. s. 3 pl. act.) 422.
 |*ruñya-* den., impf. 569 f.
 |*ruñ-* 1. s. aor. of *ruñ-* 'cover' 66 c 2, 499.
 |*ruñ-* 'vomit', pr. sj. 452, impf. 456.
 |*ruñya-* den., sj. 569 a, impv. 569 d.
 |*ruñya-* den., sj. 569 a.
 |*ruñ-* s-aor. sj. 523.
 |*ruñ-* 'bound', pr. 422, impf. 428.
 |*ruñ-* anom. pf. pt., p. 363 note 7.

- vat-* 'desire', pr. 422, 451, 458, sj. 423, inj. 424, opt. 425, impv. 426, 454, pt. 455; impf. 428, pt. 435; pf. 482, 485; intv. 545, 1.
- vā-* 'shine', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. 500; s-aor. 522; cs. 555; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 588 a.
- vā-* 'wear', pr. 451, inj. 452, opt. 453, pt. 435, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 456; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; s-aor. 529; cs. 555, ft. 537, 560.
- vā-* 'dwell', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485, pt. 492, 493; root aor. pt. 506; s-aor. 522; cs. 555, sj. 559 b.
- vā-* 'carry', pr. 422, 451, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482 b 1, 485; root aor. opt. 501, impv. 505, pt. 506; s-aor. 522, sj. 523, inj. 524; ft. 537, 539; ps. 445, sj. 446, pt. 447; pp. 574; inf. 585, 4, 7, 586 b; gd. 591 a.
- vā-* 'blow', pr. 439, 451, impv. 452, pt. 455, impf. 456; cs. 558.
- vā-* 'weave', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. 485; ft. 537, pt. 538; pp. 574, 1 a; inf. 585, 4, 5, 586 b.
- vāns*, pt. suffix, 181, 347, 491.
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- vām* 'we two' 391, 1.
- vā-* 'bellow', pt. 442; pf. 482, 485, pt. 493; plup. 495; red. aor. 514; intv. 545, 1b, pt. 548, impf. 549.
- vās-* = 3. *vās-* (r) pr. 422.
- vā-* 'bird' 381 a.
- vā-* 'lift', pr. 464, impv. 466, pt. 467, impf. 468; pf. pt. 492; ps. impv. 446.
- vā-* 'tremble', pr. 430, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 485; root aor. inj. 503; red. aor. inj. 516; intv. 545, 1 a, 551.
- vā-* 'know', pr. 451, sj. 452, opt. 453, impv. 454, impf. 456; pf. 485, pt. 492 b; cs. 553; pp. 575 b; inf. 585, 8; gd. 590 b.
- vā-* 'find', pr. 430, 451, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, 454, pt. 455, impf. 436; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 492; s-aor. (inflected) 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, opt. 511, prec. 511, impv. 512, pt. 512; s-aor. 522; intv. 547 a; ps. 445, aor. 501; pp. 576 a; gdv. 579; inf. 584 b, 585, 4; gd. 590 b.
- vā-* 'binding', inflected, 319.
- vā-* 'worship', pr. sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, pt. 435, impf. 436.
- vā-* 'lack', pr. 430.
- vāyā-* den., sj. 569 a.
- vā-* 'tremble', pr. 422, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; root aor. pt. 506; red. aor. 514; cs. 553 a, 554.
- vā-*, inflected, 383.
- vā-* 'enter', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; pf. 483, 485, opt. 489, pt. 492, 492 b; plup. 495; root aor. 500, impv. 505; s-aor. 522; s-aor. 531; cs. 553 a, opt. 559 c, pp. 561 a; inf. 586 a; gd. 591 a.
- vā-* 'having feet on every side', 319 a.
- vā-* 'be active', pr. 458, sj. 459, impv. 460, pt. 427, impf. 428, 462; pf. 485; s-aor. sj. 530; intv. 545, 1 a, 546, 547 b, pt. 548; inf. 584 b.
- vā-* or *vā-* 'wrap', pr. impv. 426; cs. 553.
- vā-* 'enjoy', pr. 451, sj. 452, inj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455; impf. 456; pf. 485; s-aor. sj. 523; intv. 545, 1 a, 551; ps. 445, pt. 447, inf. 585, 3.
- vā-* 'make strong', cs. 554 a.
- vā-* den., impv. 569 d, impf. 569 f.
- vā-*, sj. 559 b, impv. 559 d, pp. 575 c.
- vā-* 'cover', pr. 422, 470, inj. 424, 471, impv. 472, pt. 473, impf. 474; pf. 485, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, inj. 503, impv. 505, pt. 506; red. aor. 514; s-aor. sj. 523; intv. 545, 3; cs. 557 c, sj. 559 b; ft. 537, 560; ps. aor. 501, pp. 573; inf. 585, 4; g-l. 590 a, b, c, 591 b.
- vā-* 'choose', pr. 470, 476, inj. 477, opt. 477, impv. 478, pt. 479, impf. 480; pf. 485; root aor. 500, sj. 503, inj. 503, opt. 504, pt. 506; s-aor. 522; pp. 573; gdv. 578, 2, 580.
- vā-* 'twist', pr. 422, 464, sj. 465, impv. 466, impf. 468; pf. 482, 485, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492, 492 b; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, inj. 503, opt. 504, prec. 504, impv. 505; s-aor. 508; s-aor. 522, inj. 524; intv. 545, 3, cs. 550 c; cs. 553 c; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 7; gd. 590 a.
- vā-* 'turn', pr. 422, 458, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492; plup. 495; root aor. 499, 500, sj. 502, impv. 505; s-aor. 508; red. aor. 514; s-aor. 522; ft. 537, 539; des. 542; intv. 545, 2, 3, 546; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b; pp. 573; inf. 584 b, cs. 585, 7; gd. 591 a.
- vā-* 'grow', pr. 422, sj. 423, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, inj. 488, opt. 489, impv. 490, pt. 492, 493; s-aor. 508, pt. 512 a; red. aor. 514; s-aor. pt. 527; s-aor. opt. 532; cs. 553 c, sj. 559 b, pt. 559 c; intv. gdv. 580; inf. 584 b, 585, 1, 7.
- vā-* 'rain', pr. 422, impv. 426, 434, pt. 427; pf. 482, impv. 490, pt. 493; s-aor. 529; cs. 553 c; gd. 590 a.
- vā-* den., impv. 509 d, aor. 570.
- vā-* 'tear', pr. 430, inj. 432, opt. 433, impv. 434, impf. 436; pf. 485; s-aor. 536; cs. 553 c; ps. aor. 501.
- vā-*, loc. sing. p. 284 (mid.).
- vā-* 'long', pr. 422, inj. 424, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428.
- vā-* 'extend', pr. 458, inj. 459, impf. 462; pf. 482 b 1, 485, inj. 488.
- vā-* 'waver', pr. 422, pt. 427; s-aor. sj. 530, inj. 531; cs. 556, aor. 560 a.
- vā-* 'pierce', pr. 439, inj. 440, impv. 441, pt. 442, impf. 443; pf. pt. 492; pp. 574, 1; inf. 584 b.
- vā-* 'envelope', pr. 439, opt. 440, impv. 441, pt.

- 442, impf. 443; pf. 485, pt. 493; a-aor. 508; pp. 574, 3.
- Vṛay-* 'proceed', pr. impv. 426, pt. 427; pf. 485.
- Vṛad-* 'weaken', impf. 428.
- Vṛak-* 'cut up', pr. 430, sj. 431, inj. 432, impv. 434, pt. 435, impf. 436; ps. impv. 446; pp. 576 b; gd. 590 b.
- Vṛādh-* 'stir up', pr. inj. 424, pt. 427.
- Vṛag-* 'pursue(?)' gd. 591 a.
- Vṛi-* 'crush' = *vṛi-*.
- Vṛam-* 'praise', 422, sj. 423, opt. 425, impv. 426, pt. 427, impf. 428; root aor. impv. 505; i-aor. 529, sj. 530, inj. 531; cs. 556 a; ps. 445, pt. 447, aor. 501; gdv. 578, 4; inf. 584 b.
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- Vṛi-ṣad-* 'prevail', pf. 482, 485, pt. 493.
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- Vṛi-ṣap-* 'curse', pr. 422, sj. 423, pt. 427, impf. 428; pf. 485; s-aor. inj. 524.
- Vṛi-ṣam-* 'labour', pr. 439, impv. 441, pt. 442; pf. 485, sj. 487, pt. 493; i-aor. 529.
- Vṛi-ṣam-* 'be quiet', impf. 428; red. aor. 514; cs. 556; pp. 574, 2 a.
- Vṛi-ṣat-* 'cut', pr. impv. 454.
- Vṛi-ṣā-* 'sharpen', pr. 458, impv. 460, pt. 461, impf. 436, 462; pf. pt. 493; pp. 574, 3; gd. 591 a.
- Vṛi-ṣā-* 'order', pr. 422, 451, sj. 452, impv. 454, pt. 455, impf. 428, 456; pt. 485, inj. 488, impv. 490; root aor. sj. 502; a-aor. 508, sj. 509, inj. 510, pt. 512 a; pp. 574, 3 a.
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- Vṛi-ṣā-* 'sharpen' = *Vṛi-ṣā-*, root aor. 500.
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- Vṛi-ṣā-* or *Vṛi-ṣā-* 'swell', pr. pt. 427; pf. 482, 485, sj. 487, opt. 489, pt. 492, 493 (p. 364 note 3); s-aor. pt. 527; inf. 588 c.
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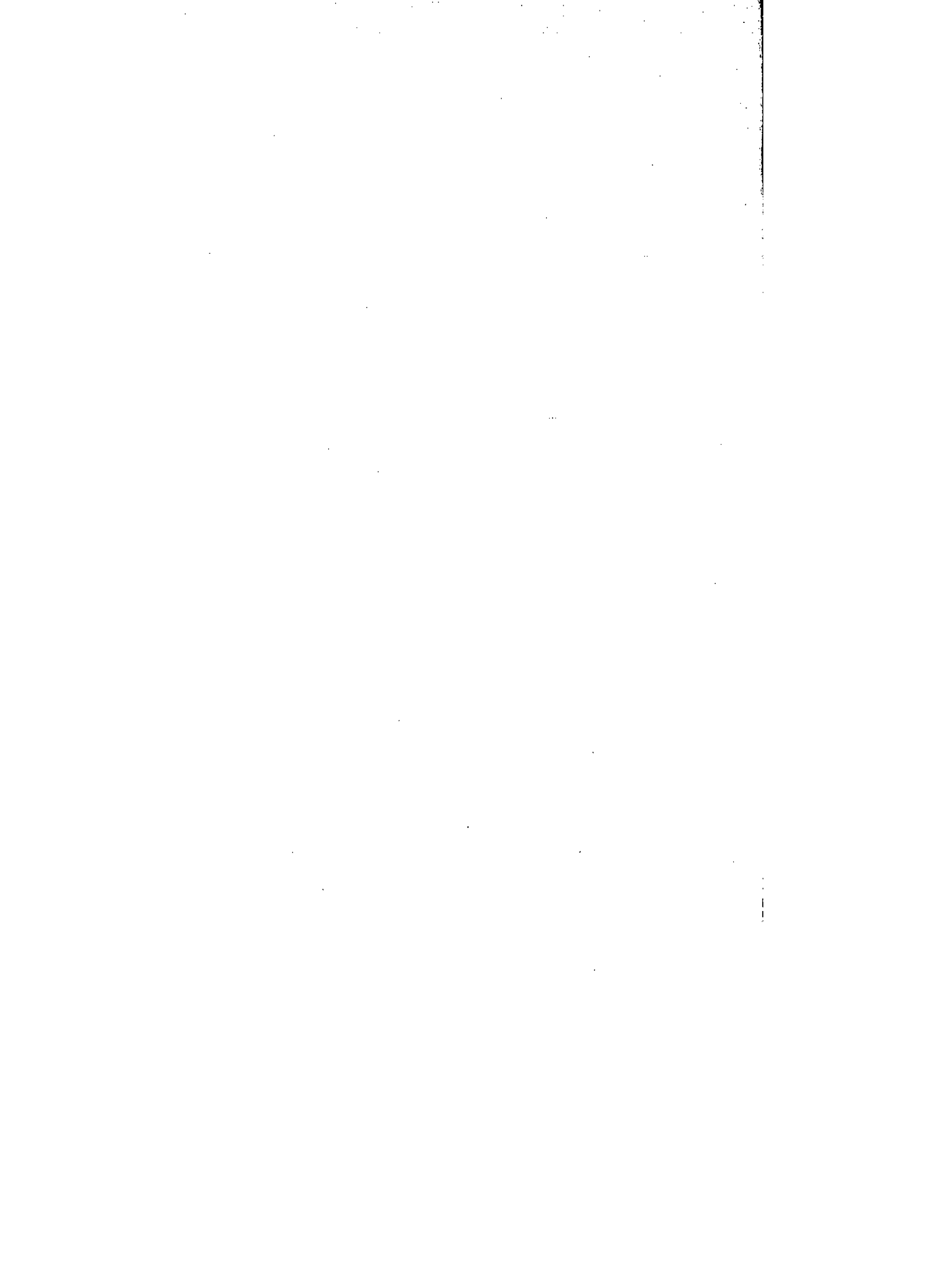
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