bination with a derivative in ām to make a periphrastic conjugation. Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

1091. a. The older language has a number of (mostly) reduplitative onomatopoetic compounds with roots krṣ and bhṛṣ, the prefixed element ending in ā or ī (generally the former): thus, in RV., akkhaliṣṭya crooking, jahjanābhāvant simmering, alalābhāvant making merry, bhukśe krṣu tear; in AV., maṃsaṣ karam I have crushed; in VS., mvaṃsaṣ (also TS.; MS. mvaṃṣaṣ) kuru; in TS., malmalābhāvant; in K., manmalābhāvant, kikkitākāra; in MS., bibibābhāvant, bharbhā bhavat; in AB., babābākurva. The accentuation, where shown, is like that of a verb-form with accompanying prefix.

b. Further, combinations with ṣkrṣ of utterances used at the sacrifice, and mostly ending in ā: thus, svāhā, svadhā, svagā; also vāṣṭ. In these, too, the accentuation is generally that of a verb with prefix: e. g. svagākarotā (CB.; but svadhā karotā [?] TAJ.), vāṣṭkuryāt (MS.); and, with another prefix, anuvāṣṭkarotā (CB.).

c. An instance or two also occur of ordinary words in such combinations, put in corresponding form: thus, gūlā kuryāt (CB.) may roast on a spit (gūla); anṛṣaktaros (AB.) of getting clear of debt; ṣikṣa-bhāvayant (AA.) uniting.

1092. a. The noun nāmas obeisance, homage, in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with ṣkrṣ: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in nāmakṛṣṭya (beside hastakṛṣṭya and karnakṛṣṭya: above, 990 b).

b. A solitary combination with ṣlgo is shown by the accusative āśram home: which, appearing only in ordinary phrases in RV., is in AV. compounded with the participles — in āstāhyānt, āstameṣṭānt, āstamita (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix) — and in the Brāhmaṇas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix: thus, āstāmāti (CB.).

c. Other ordinary accusative forms of adjectives in combination with verbal derivatives of krṣ and bhṛṣ are found here and there in the older language: thus, gṛtakhṛṣṭya and nagnakhṛṣṭya (TS.); nagnambhāvuka, pāmanambhāvuka etc. (TS. et al.); ānaraṇkarotā (CB.).

1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with krṣ or bhṛṣ (and very rarely with ām), in verbal nouns and ordinary derivatives, and then also in verbal forms, begins to assume a constant ending I (of doubtful origin).

a. There is no instance of this in RV., unless the I of akkhaliṣṭya (above, 1091 a) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure
vāṭikṛta and vāṭikārī, is found only phalikāraṇa. In the Brahmaṇa language, examples begin to occur more often: thus, in TS., qetī, mithunī, muṣṭī; in TB., further, phalī, krūrī, udvāś; in ČB., besides some of these, also ekī, kāvvaī, tīrvī, daridrī, brahmaṇī, mithunī, svī; and svavābhīdāṇī, of which (as of muṣṭī) the I might be that of an ordinary grammatical form; in K., dvī; in GB., pravaṇī; in SB., vajrī; in AB., matī (from matya). From Upanishad and Sūtra are to be added dvāṭī (MU.), samī (KCŚ.), nāvī and kuṇālī (AGS.). The accent is in general like that of the similar combinations treated above (1081); e.g. krūrīkuraṇāti, svīkṛtya, brahmaṇībhūtīya, mithunībhāvanīya, phalikāravāsī, krūrīkṛta; but sometimes a mere collocation takes place: thus, mithunī bhāvantī (TS.), phalī kriyāmāṇām (TB.), vajrī bhūtvā (TA.). The I is variously treated: now as an uncombinable final, as in qetī akuruta and mithunī abhavan (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in mithunī ēnāyām ayām, mithunī ēkhibhy ayām, and svavākuraṇa (ČB.).

b. Out of such beginnings has grown in the later language the following rule:

1084. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots नक्र and भु (and of बम as also; but such cases are extremely rare), in the manner of a verbal prefix. If the final of the stem be an a- or i-vowel, it is changed to इ; if an u-vowel, it is changed to उ.

a. Examples are: stambhībhavati becomes a post; ekścittābhūya becoming of one mind; upahārīkaroṇī thou makest an offering; nakhaprahāraṇjarakṛta torn to pieces with blows of the claws; qitilībhavantī become loose; kuṇḍalīkṛta ring-shaped; surabhīkṛta made fragrant; ádhipāraṇa pawning; ṛjukṛtya straightening; hētukaraṇa taking as causes. As in the case of the denominatives (10590), the combinations with a-stems are the immense majority, and occur abundantly (hardly less than a thousand are quotable) in the later language, but for the most part only once or twice each; those made with i- and u-stems are a very small number. In a few instances, stems in an and as, with those finals changed to I, are met with: e.g. śmī-kṛ, yuvī-bhū; unmanikṛ, amanī-bhū; final ya after a consonant is contracted to I: e.g. kāśī-kṛ; and anomalous cases like kāśdiṇ-bhū occur. Final ṛ is said to become rI, but no examples are quotable. The combinations with kṛ are about twice as frequent as those with bhū, and examples with as do not appear to have been brought to light.

b. Similar combinations are occasionally made with elements of questionable or altogether obscure character: e.g. urarī-kṛ, urī-kṛ.

c. Examples are not altogether wanting in the later language of Č as
final of the compounded noun-stem (cf. 1091): thus, duḥkhā-ky, niṣkula-ky, qambā-ky, and one or two others.

1095. Of all the forms which constitute or are attached to the verbal system, the passive participle is the one most closely assimilated in its treatment as a combinable element to an ordinary adjective. Next to it come the gerund and the gerundives. Combinations of the kind above treated of are quite common with passive participles and gerunds.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDECLINABLES.

1096. The indeclinable words are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech in Sanskrit than is usual elsewhere in Indo-European language — especially owing to the fact that the class of prepositions hardly has a real existence, but is represented by certain adverbial words which are to a greater or less extent used prepositionally. They will, however, be briefly described here under the usual heads.

Adverbs.

1097. Adverbs by Suffix. Classes of adverbs, sometimes of considerable extent, are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems.

a. There is no ultimate difference between such suffixes and the case-endings in declension; and the adverbs of this division sometimes are used in the manner of cases.

1098. With the suffix tas are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:

a. From pronominal roots, in átās, itās, tátas, yátas, kuṭas, amútas, svātas (not found earlier); from the pronominal stems in t or
d (494) of the personal pronouns: thus, mattás (only example in V.), tvattas, asmattas, yuṣmattas; and from pronominal derivatives: thus, itaratas, kataratas.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: e. g. mukhatás, agratás, ybhutás, ṭktás, hṛttás, cīṛgatás, jemata, nastás, yajusṭás, pārutas, anyatás, anyataratas, sarvatas, dakṣiṇatás, abhipatás (once, in RV., from a case-form: paṭutāt).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, abhisat, paristas, antivas.

d. Examples of ablative construction are: āto bhūyat (RV.) more than that; tataḥ saṣṭhit (AV.) from that sixth; āto nyena (G.) with any other than this; sarvato bhayat (AGS.) from all fear; kutaḥ cid deṣād āgati (H.) arriving from some region or other; puruṣat itaḥ (R.) from this city; tasmat pretaṃkṣataḥ (KSS.) from that dead body.

e. But the distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced, and the adverb has a more general, especially a locative, value: thus, agratās in front; asmatsamipatās in our presence; dharmatās in accordance with duty; cāgatas (H.) with reference to the goat; guṇato ‘dhikaḥ (M.) superior in virtue.

1099. With the suffix tra (in the older language often trā) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.

a. These adverbs are very few, compared with those in tas. They are formed chiefly from pronominal stems, and from other stems having a quasi-pronominal character: namely, in tra, ātra, taṭra, yātra, kūtra, amūtra, anyātra, vyāvātra, sarvatra, ubhayaṭra, aparatra, uttara-tra, itaratra, anyataratra, pūrvartra, paratra, samānātra, ekatra, anekatra, ekakatra; in trā, asmatrā, satrā, purutrā, bahutrā, dakṣiṇatrā. But a few in trā come from ordinary nouns: thus, devatrā, margvatrā, puruṣatrā, manusyaṭrā, pākaṭrā, ṛṣyutrā, kurupānatoṭrā. Those in trā are distinguished from the others by their accent.

b. Examples of locative construction are: hāsta śa dakṣiṇatrā (RV.) in the right hand; yātra ‘dhi (RV.) in which; ekatra puruṣe (MBh.) in a single man; atra mārātmake (H.) in this murderous creature; prabhutvaṃ tatra yuṣyate (H.) sovereignty befits him. And, as the locative case is used also to express the goal of motion (304), so the adverbs in tra have sometimes an accusative as well as a locative value: thus, tatra gaucha go there or thither; patho devatā yānāṁ (RV.) roads that go to the gods.

1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. ha, in ihā here, krha where? and the Vedic viqvāha (also viqvāha, viqvāha) always (compare below, 1104 b); and ihā (like ātra etc.:
1088b) is sometimes used with locative-case value: e. g. tha samaye (H.) at this conjunction.

b. tātt, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, prāktatt, udaktatt, āvattatt; to adverbial ablatives, ārātatt, uttarātatt, parātatt; and to prepositional adverbs, pačāttatt, adhāttatt, avāttatt, parātatt, purātatt, bahītatt. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has the form stātt (and BhP. has udastātt).

c. hi, in uttarāth (CB.) and dakṣipāhi (not quotable).

1101. By the suffix thā the are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

a. Thus, tatha, vyatha; katha and ittha (by the side of which stand katholic and itthā; and CB. has itthā); and the rare imatha and amuthā. And atha (V. often athā) so then doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems, mostly of quasi-pronominal character: thus, viqvatha, sarvatha,anyakatha, apparatha, itaratha, yataratha, yatamatha, kataratha, katamatha, pūrvatha, pratnatha, purvathā, tirappatha, ekathā (JB.), rthathā, namathā (once, AV.); and evatha.

b. Vyatha becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of 'iva after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, taya vatha athā (IV.) like thieves.

1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:

a. ti, in iti thus, very commonly used, from the earliest period, especially as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

b. Examples are: brahmaqa yam iti cēd avocan (RV.) if they have said ‘this is a Brahman’s wife’; tath deva abruvan vrtya kim mū tiṭhastā ti (AV.) the gods said to him: ‘Vṛtya, why do you stand?’ Often, the iti is used more pregnantly: thus, yaḥ graddāhāti santi devā iti (AV.) whoever has faith that the gods exist; tath vyaŋgram munir muṣiko ‘yam iti pāgyati (H.) the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse; yūyath kim iti sidatha (H.) why (lit. alleging what reason) do you sit?

c. But iti is sometimes used in a less specialized way, to mark an onomatopoeia, or to indicate a gesture: e. g. bahī bāstum bāl iti (AV.) let it come out of you with a splash; ity āgra kvāgy āthā ‘ti (CB.) he ploughs first this way, then this way; or it points forward to something to be said: e. g. yan vr ity āhur anyāṇa chaṇḍāṇa vṛṣṭyanāśa kasmād bhathy uṇyata iti (PB.) when now they say thus: ‘the other metres are greater; why is the bhath spoken?’ It also makes a number of derivatives and compounds: e. g. itithā the so-many-eth; itivat in this fashion; ityartham for this purpose; itiṣāsa a story or legend (lit. thus forsooth it was). As to the use of a nominative with iti as predicate to an accusative, see 268b.
d. With the suffix of śtī is to be compared that of tāti etc. (519).
The word is abbreviated to tī two or three times in CB.

e. va in īva (toneless) like, as, and evā (in V. often evā), earlier thus, later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for thus is used later the related evām, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with y/vidā: as, evām vidvān knowing thus.

f. In later Vedic (AV. etc., and the later parts of RV.) īva more often counts for only a single syllable, “va.”

1103. a. By the suffix dā are made adverbs of time, but almost only from pronominal roots.

b. Thus, tadā, yadā, kadā (in RV. also kādā), idā (only in V.); and sādā, beside which there is found earlier sādām. Besides these, in the older language, only sarvadā; later a few others, anyadā, ekadā, nityadā. A quasi-locative case use is seen occasionally in such phrases as kādācid divorce (R.) on a certain day.

c. By the perhaps related dānīm are made idānīm, tadānīm, viqvānīm, tvādānīm (toneless). Viqvānī occurs as adjective in TB.

d. With rhi are made, from pronominal roots, tārhi, etārhi, yārhi, kārhi, amūrhi.

e. The suffix dī, found only in yādī if, is perhaps related with dā, in form as in meaning. Sadādī (MS.) is of doubtful character.

1104. By the suffix dhā are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying fold, times, ways, etc.

a. Thus, akadhā, dvīdhā (also dvīdhā and dvadhā), trīdhā (in the older language usually trethā), śadadhā (also śodadhā and śadadhā), dvādaśadhā, ekānnavinçatidadhā, sahasradadhā, and so on. Also, naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, anekadhā, katidadhā, tatidadhā, bahudadhā, purudadhā, viqvāadhā, gaqvāadhā, aparimitadhā, yāvadhā, etāvadhā, māsadadhā. In a very few cases, also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, mitradadhā (AV.), priyadhā (TS.; predadhā, MS.), ājuddhā (TB.), urudadhā and citradadhā (BhP.); and from one adverb, bahirdhā.

b. The particle adha or ādha, a Vedic equivalent of ātha, probably belongs here (purudadhā and viqvdadhā, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.); also addhā in truth; and perhaps sahā with, which has an equivalent saha- in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in ha (1100a) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with s: namely, dvīs, trīs, and cātur (probably, for cātiura): 499a.

a. The corresponding word for once, sakṛt, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to pañcakṛtvās, navakṛtvās, aparimitakṛtvās, etc., though kṛt and kṛtvās are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes; the earlier
texts (AV. ṝB. MS.) have saptā kṛtvās, dága kṛtvās, dvādaśa kṛtvās, aṣṭāv eva kṛtvās, etc. Ṛg. has the redundant combination triś kṛtvāḥ.

b. The quasi-suffix dyus, from a case-form of dīv day, is in a similar manner added to various determining words, generally made to end in e.g. anyedūs another day, ubhayedūs (AV. -yadyūs) or either day, pūrvedūs the day before.

1106. By the suffix qās are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, many adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively:

a. Examples are: ekaqās one by one, qataqās by hundreds, rṣuqās season by season, pachas foot by foot, aksaraqās syllable by syllable, ganaqās in crowds, stambaqās by bunches, parauqās limb by limb, tāvacchaqās in such and such number or quantity: and, in a more general way, sarvāqās wholly, mukhyāqās principally, kṛśhraqās stingily, manmaqās as minded.

1107. By the suffix vāt are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying after the manner of, like, etc.

a. Thus, aṅgirasvāt like Anyiras, manusvāt (RV.) as Manu did, jamadagnivāt after the manner of Jamadagni; pūrvavāt or pratnavāt or purāṇavāt, as of old, kākatālīvāt after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit.

b. This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, 1111g) of the suffix vant (1233f), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, tvāvant like thee, māvant of my sort, etc.

1108. By the suffix sāt are made from nouns quasi-adverbs signifying in or into the condition or the possession of what is indicated by the noun; they are used only with verbs of being, of becoming, and of making: namely, oftenest kṛ and bhū, but also as, gam, yā, and ni (and, according to the grammarians, sam-pad). Some twenty-five examples are quotable from the later literature; but none from the earlier, which also appears to contain nothing that casts light upon the origin of the formation. The s of sāt is not liable to conversion into q. The connection with the verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in ya instead of that in tvā (990); and other words are sometimes interposed between the adverb and verb.

a. Examples are: sarvakarmāṇi bhasmasāt kurute (MBh.) reduces all deeds to ashes; loko ‘yam dasyasād bhaved (MBh.) this world would become a prey to barbarians; yasya brāhmaṇasāt sarvam vittam āśit (MBh.) whose whole property was given to Brahmans; niyataṁ bhasmasād yāti (Har.) it is inevitably reduced to ashes; āgniṁ ātmasāt kṛtvā (Y.) having taken the fires to one’s self.

1109. a. Suffixes, not of noun-derivation or of inflection, may be traced with more or less plausibility in a few other adverbs. Thus, for
example, in prātār early, and samutār away; in daksināt with right hand, and cikritāt with consideration; in nānāt now, and nānānāt variously. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be worth notice here.

b. In the epics begin to be found a small class (about a dozen are quotable) of adverbs having the form of a repeated noun-stem with its first occurrence ending in ā and its second in ā: e.g. hastāhasti hand to hand, rathārathī chariot against chariot, karṇākarni ear to ear.

c. The adverbs thus far described are almost never used prepositionally. Those of the next division, however, are in many instances so used.

1110. Case-forms used as Adverbs. A large number of adverbs are more or less evidently cases in form, made from stems which are not otherwise in use. Also many cases of known stems, pronominal or noun or adjectival, are used with an adverbial value, being distinguished from proper cases by some difference of application, which is sometimes accompanied by an irregularity of form.

1111. The accusative is the case most frequently and widely used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, yād if, when, that, etc.; tād then etc.; kāmāt whether, etc.; idām ērā, ērā, ērā; adās wonder; and so on. Of like value, apparently, are the (mostly Vedic) particles kād, kāmad and kām(ā), ēd, cīd (common at every period), sūmad and sūmad, ēm and ēm (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), -ēm. Compounds with ēd are cīd ēd, nēd ēd, ēd, ēd, kūvīd; with ēd, ēd; with ēm, nākīm and nākīm, and ēkām.

b. Of noun-stems: as, nāma by name; sūkham happily; kāman at will, if you please; nāktam by night; rāhas secretly; cūm quickly (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in unlimited numbers: as, satyām truly, cīrām long; pūrvarm formerly; nītām constantly; bhūyās more, again; vigrabdham confidently; prákatam openly; and so on.

d. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way; and it is so used especially as made from great numbers of compound adjective stems, often from such as hardly occur, or are not at all found, in adjective use. Certain of these adverbial compounds, having an indeclinable as prior member, are made by the Hindu grammarians a special class of compounds, called avyayībhāva (1313).

e. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used, especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, tarām and tamām, which are attached to particles (cf. 1110), and even (6786) to verb-forms:
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e. g. natarām, kathamantarām, uccalastarām, qanālistarām, jyokta-
mām. In the oldest language (RV. and AV.), the neuter instead of the
feminine form of these suffixes is almost alone in use: see 1110.

f. Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained
with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples
are tāṁḍāṁ in silence; sāyām at evening; sākām together, with (prep.);
āram or ālām sufficient (in the later language used with yāka in the manner
of a prefix: 1078 a); prāyas usually; lāt somewhat; amnās unex-
pectedly; bāhās outside; mithu and mithās, mūh and mūhus, jātu,
and so on. Madrīk etc., and niśik (in RV.), are perhaps contracted
forms of adjectival having āc or ānc as their final (407 ff.). The
presence of other roots as final members is also probable for ucaḥhak, ānu-
śāk and āyuśāk, anuṣṭhū and suṣṭhū, yugapāt, etc. Compare also
the forms in ām beside those in ā, above, 1101 ā, 1102 ā, 1103 b.

In (Vedic) dravāt quickly is to be seen a change of accent for
the adverbial use (ple dravānt running); and drahāyāt stoutly (RV.,
once) may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes
(above, e) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the deri-
vatives with vāt (1107).

1112. The instrumental is also often used with adverbial
value: generally in the singular, but sometimes also in the plural.
Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: ās, enā and ayā, kāyā, anā, amā, amuyā.

b. Of noun-stems: ās, kṣaṇena instantly; aṣeṣena completely;
vīcēṣena especially; dīvā by day; diṣṭyā fortunately; sābasā suddenly;
aktubhīs by night; and so on.

o. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and
feminine: ās, akhilena wholly; praśena mostly; dākṣiṇena to the south;
ūttareṇa to the north; āntareṇa within; cīrēṇa long; — qānāis and
qānakāis stoutly; uccāils on high; nīcāils below; parācāils afar;
tāvisībhis mightily; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be in-
staned as follows: tiraḍcātā, devātā, bāhūtas, and sāvārītā (all RV.),
homonymous instrumentals from nouns in ā; dvitā, tāḍitānā, īrmā,
mṛṣā, vṛtthā, sācā, asthā (P), mudhā (not V.), adhunā (B. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), oftener
than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences
of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, amā and dīvā
(given above); perhaps guhā; apakā, āṣiyā, kuḥayā (P); naktayā,
svapnayā, samanā; adatrayā, ṭtayā, ubhayā, sumnayā (P); daks-
ainā, madhyās; nīcā, prācā, uccā, paçośā, tiraḍcā; vasāntā; — in
a few u-stems, by a y inserted before the ending, which is accented: thus,
amuyā (given above), āṣuyā, sādhuyā, rughuyā, dhṛṣṭuyā, amuś-

\[\text{thuyā, mithuyā; — and urvīyā (for urvīyā) and vígvyā (properly vígvyā) are more slightly irregular.}\]

1113. The dative has only very seldom an adverbal use.

a. Examples are aparāya for the future (RV.; with changed accent); cirāya long; arthāya for the sake of; ahnāya presently.

1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, kāsmāt why? akāsmāt casually, unexpectedly; át, tát, yát (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal asmāt etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: as, āsāt near; ārāt afar; balāt forcibly; kutu-halāt emulously; sakaśat on the part of.

c. Of the, of adjective stems: as, dūrāt afar; nicāt below; paçoāt behind; sakāt plainly, actually; samantāt completely; acirāt not long; pratyakṣatamāt (AB.) most obviously; pratyantāt (S.) to the end.

d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, apākāt from afar; amāt from near by; sanāt from of old (but instr. sānā); uttarāt from the north; adharāt below.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.

a. In the older language occur aktōs by night, and vāstos by day; later, cirāsāya long.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbal value. Thus:

a. From noun and adjective stems: ākē near; ārē and dūrē afar; abhīsvārē behind; āstamikē at home; ṣte without (prep.); āgre in front; sāhāne suitably; sapadi immediately; -artha and -kṛṣe (common in composition) for the sake of; aparīṣu in after time; ādān first; rahasi in secret.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) kis, interrogative particle, and its compounds nākis and mākis, negative particles. And masc. nominatives from año-stems (as parān AB., nyan Āpast.) are sometimes found used by substitution for neuters.

1118. Verbal Prefixes and kindred words. The verbal prefixes, described in the preceding chapter (1076 ff.), are properly adverbs, having a special office and mode of use in connection with verbal roots and their more immediate derivatives.

a. Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (1084). In the value of general adverbs, however,
they only rarely occur (except as ápt has mainly changed its*office
from prefix to adverb or conjunction in the later language); but their
prepositional uses are much more frequent and important: see below,
1125 b.

b. In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements)
not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, 1281 ff., 1305.

1119. Several of the prefixes (as noticed above, 473—4) form com-
parative and superlative adjectives, by the suffixes tara and tama, or ra
and ma: thus, úttara and uttamá, ádhara and adhamá, ápara and
apamá, ávara and avamá, úpara and upamá, and prathamá is
doubtless of the same character; also, ántara and ántama. And accusa-
tives of such derivative adjectives (for the most part not otherwise found in
use) have the value of comparative and rarely superlatives, to the prefixes
themselves: thus, sáncitam cit samtarám sám ciçādhi (AV.) whatever
is quickened do thou still further quicken; vitarám ví kramasva (RV.)
stride out yet more widely; prá tám naya pratarám vásyo ácha (RV.)
lead him forward still further toward advantage; úd enaṃ uttaráh naya
(AV.) lead him up still higher.

a. Besides those instanced, are found also nitarám, apatarám, abhi-
tarám, avatarám, paratarám, paratarám. In the Brähmapas and
later (above, 1111 e), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, ati-
tarám and atitamám, abhitarám, anutamám, átamám, pratitarám,
nitarám, uttarám, pratarám and pratamarám, vitarám, sañtamarám
(also RV., once).

1120. Kindred in origin and character with the verbal pre-
fixes, and used like them except in composition with verbs, are a
few other adverbs: thus, avás down; adhás below (and adhastarám);
parás far off (and paratarám); purá before; antarā (apparently,
antar + á) among, between; ánti near; upári above; and sahá (already
mentioned, 1104 b) along, with, and sáca together, with, may be noticed
with them. Viná without, and víqu- apart, appear to be related
with ví.

1121. Inseparable Prefixes. A small number of
adverbial prefixes are found only in combination with other
elements. Thus:

a. The negative prefix a or an — an before vowels, a before
consonants.

b. It is combined especially with innumerable nouns and adjectives;
much more rarely, with adverbs, as akútra and ápunar (RV.), ánava
(AV.), ánadhás (TB.), akasmat, asakyt; in rare cases, also with pro-
nouns (as atad, akhrotit); and even, in the later language, now and then
with verbs, as aspyhayanti (BhP. Çiç.) they do not desire, alokayati
(3D.) he does not view. Now and then it is prefixed to itself: e. g. ana-
kāmamāra, anaviprayuksa, anavadya(?).
1121—]

XVI. INDECLINABLES.

0. In a very few cases, the negative a appears to be made long: thus, ásat non-existent, ádeva godless, áráti enemy, ácāuca impurity, átura ill(?)

d. The independent negative adverbs, mà and mā, are only in exceptional instances used in composition: see below, 1122f.

e. The comitative prefix sa, used instead of the preposition sām, and interchangeably with sahá, before nouns and adjectives.

f. The prefix of dispraise dus ill, badly (identical with yduṣ: 225a).

g. It is combined in the same manner as a or an. Of combinations with a verbal form, at least a single example appears to be quotable: duṣṭaquenti (R.) behave ill.

h. The corresponding laudatory prefix su well is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here though it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.

i. The particle su sometimes appears in B. and later before a verb-form, and considering its rapid loss of independent use in V., and the analogy of a and dus (above, b, g) it is probably at least in part to be regarded as in composition with the verb. The pada-text of AV. xix. 49. 10 reads su-ápáyati, but its testimony is of little or no value. K. has na su vijñāyete and na vāi su viduḥ, and KeU. has su veda; TB. has susámboḍháyatī(?) MBh. and BhP. have suññasthe; R. has su-çakyanete.

j. The exclamatory and usually deprecative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (506) are most analogous with the inseparable prefixes.

1122. Miscellaneous Adverbs. Other words of adverbal character and office, not clearly referable to any of the classes hitherto treated, may be mentioned as follows:

a. Asseserative particles (in part, only in the older language): thus, aṅgā, hánta, kīla, khálu, tū (rare in older language), vāi, vāvā (in Brāhmaṇa language only); hi, hinā, u, áha, ha, gha, samaha, sma, bhala.

b. Of these, hánta is a word of assent and incitement; hi has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (595 e); sma sometimes appears to give a past meaning to a present tense (778 b); u is often combined with the final a of other particles: thus, átho, nó, mó, úto, úpo, pró; but also with that of verb-forms, as dató, vidmô. The final o thus produced is praṇ芎va or un-combinable (138 c). Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above,
are ñd, káṁ or kam, cid, játu, evá. Some of the asseverative particles are much used in the later artificial poetry with a purely expletive value, as devices to help make out the metre (pádápúraṇa verse-filler); so especially ha, hi, tu, sma.

c. Negative particles are: ná, signifying simple negation; má, signifying prohibition.

d. As to the construction of the verb with má, see above, 570. In the Veda, nú (or nú: 248a) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic ná of comparison, see below, g, h.

e. In nahí, ná is combined with hí, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with íd in néd lest. It is perhaps present in nanú and caná, but not in hiná (RV., once). In general, neither ná nor má is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix a or an (1121a): exceptions are the Vedic particles nákis and mákis, nákim and mákim; also nacíram and mácíram, nápuñsaka, and, in the later language, a number of others.

f. Interrogative particles are only those already given: kád, kim, kuvid, svid, nanú, of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.

g. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless iva, and yathá (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also ná, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

h. Examples of the ná of comparison are: rśidvíṣa iva nú snjata dvīṣam (RV.) let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer; váyo nú vṛkṣá (AV.) as birds to the tree; gauró nú tṛṣitáḥ piba (RV.) drink like a thirsty buffalo. This use is generally explained as being a modification or adaptation of the negative one: thus, [although, to be sure] not [precisely] a thirsty buffalo; and so on.

i. Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed kvá schere? [in V., always to be read kúa].

j. Particles of time are: nú now; also nú: núnam was mentioned above, 1109a; adyá and sadyás and sadívas (RV., once) today, at once: all held to contain the element div or dyu., hyás yesterday, qvás tomorrow, jyók also related with dyu; long; púnar again.

k. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed nánám variously (for nánánám, its derivative, see 1109a); sasvár (RV.) secretly.

l. In the above classifications are included all the Vedic adverbial words, and most of those of the later language: for the rest, see the dictionaries.
Prepositions.

1123. There is, as already stated, no proper class of prepositions (in the modern sense of that term, no body of words having for their prevailing office the "government" of nouns. But many of the adverbal words indicated above are used with nouns in a way which approximates them to the more fully developed prepositions of other languages.

a. If one and another of such words — as vinā, rte — occurs almost solely in prepositional use, this is merely fortuitous and unessential.

1124. Words are thus used prepositionally along with all the noun-cases excepting the dative. But in general their office is directive only, determining more definitely, or strengthening, the proper case-use of the noun. Sometimes, however, the case-use is not easy to trace, and the noun then seems to be more immediately "governed" by the preposition — that is, to have its case-form more arbitrarily determined by its association with the latter. This is oftenest true of the accusative; and also of the genitive, which has, here as elsewhere (294b), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use.

1125. a. The adverbs by derivative form (1097ff.) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix tas: 1098).

b. Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are ud, ni, parā, pra; and ava and vi are almost such) have their prepositional or quasi-prepositional uses with cases; but much more widely in the older time than in the later: in the classical language the usage is mainly restricted to prati, anu, and ā.

c. Most of the directive words akin with the more proper prefixes are used prepositionally: some of them — as saha, vinā, upari, antarā, purā — freely, earlier and later.

d. The case-forms used adverbially are in many instances used prepositionally also: oftenest, as was to be expected, with the genitive; but frequently, and from an early time, with the accusative; more rarely with other cases.

e. We will take up now the cases for a brief exposition, beginning with those that are least freely used.

1126. The Locative. This case is least of all used with words that can claim the name of preposition. Of directives, antār and its later derivative antarā, meaning within, in, are oftenest added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are ā and ádhi: thus, mártreyā ā among mortals; prthivyām ádhy óśādhīḥ the plants upon the earth; téjo máyā dhārayā 'dhi (AV.) establish glory
in me; — ápi and úpa are much rarer: thus, yá apám ápi vraté [sánti] (RV.) who are in the domain of the waters; amúr yá úpa súrye [sánti] (RV.) who are up yonder in the sun; — sácá along with is not rare in RV., but almost entirely unknown later: thus, pitróḥ sácá sati staying with her parents.

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pronominal root as: as sahá (most frequent), sákám, sārdhám, samám, samáya, sarátham; and, in the Veda, the prefix sám: 'as, te sumatiḥbiḥ sân pátñibhir na vṛṣapo nasāmahi (RV.) may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses.

By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (293a), vinā without (not Vedic) takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, avás down and parás beyond, with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And ádhi, in RV., is used with the instrumentals smúna and smúbhī, where the locative would be expected.

1128. The Ablative. In the prepositional constructions of the ablative (as was pointed out and partly illustrated above, 293), the ablative value of the case, and the merely directive value of the added particle, are for the most part clearly to be traced. Many of the verbal prefixes are more or less frequently joined in the older language with this case: oftenest, ádhi and pārī; more sporadically, ánú, ápā, áva, práti, and the separatives nīś and ví. The change of meaning of the ablative with á hit her, by which it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (293c). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many — as bahíś, purás, avás, adháś, parás, purá, vinā, and tinás out of knowledge of — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms arvák, prák, paçcát, urdhváṃ, pūrvar, pāram, and ýté without, of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier.

1129. The Accusative. Many of the verbal prefixes and related words take an accompanying accusative. Most naturally (since the accusative is essentially the to-case), those that express a motion or action toward anything: as abhí, práti, ánú, úpa, á, áti and ádhi in the sense of over on to, or across, beyond, tirás through, antár and antarā when meaning between, pārī around. Examples are: yáḥ pradaḥo abhí stúrya vicāśte (AV.) what quarters the sun looks abroad unto; ábodhy agnīḥ práty ayatim ujasam (RV.) Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn; gacchét kadácit svajanam prati (MH.) she might go somewhither to her own people; imam prakśyamı n.pratim prati (MH.) him I will ask with reference to the king; máma cittám ánú cítēbhir ē `ta (AV.) follow after my mind with your minds; é hy á nauḥ (AV.) come hither to us; úpa na é `hy arván (RV.) come hither unto us; yó devó máryān áti (AV.) the god who is beyond mortals; adhiṣṭhāya váraṣaḥ `dhy anyān (AV.) exelling above others in glory. Also abhitas and parítas, which have a like value with the simple abhí and pārī;
and upārī above (often with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with adhas, paras, puras, vinā, beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbal case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instrumentals of situation or direction: as yē 'vareṇa "dityām, yē pāreṇa "dityām (TB.) those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun; āntareṇa yōnim (CB.) within the womb; te hi 'dam antareṇa sarvam (AB.) for all this universe is between them; úttareṇa gārhapatyam (CB.) to the north of the householder’s fire; dākṣiṇa vēdim (CB.) to the south of the sacrificial hearth; dākṣiṇena vṛkṣavāṭikām (C.) to the right of the orchard; nikaṣṭ yamunām (Har.) near the Yamunā. Similarly, ārdhavam and pūrvam have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of ēte. Abhimukham toward has a more natural right to construction with this case.

1130. The Genitive. The words which are accompanied by the genitive are mostly case-forms of nouns, or of adjectives used substantively, retaining enough of the noun-character to take this case as their natural adjunct. Such are the locatives agreg in front of, abhyaṣe near, arthe and kṛte for the sake of, nimitte and hetau by reason of, madhye in the midst of; and other cases, as arthāya, kāraṇat, sakṣat, hetas. And really, although less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed): as adhareṇa, uttareṇa and āttarāt, dākṣiṇena and dākṣiṇat, paścāt, ārdhavam, anantaram, samakṣam, sākṣat. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative paritas, paratas, and antitas, and parastat and purastat (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, saṁvatsarasasya parastat after a year; sūktasya purastat before the hymn [AB.J]; with anti, adhas, avas, puras; with uparī above (common later); and with antar.

Conjunctions.

1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words, are almost wanting.

a. The combination of clauses is in Sanskrit in general of a very simple character; much of what in other Indo-European languages is effected by subordinating conjunctions is here managed by means of composition of words, by the use of the gerunds (994), of iti 1102), of abstract nouns in case-forms, and so on.

1132. The relative derivative adverbs, already given
Conjunctions.

(1098 ff.), may properly be regarded as conjunctions; and a few other particles of kindred value, as céd and néd (1111a).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are च ca and, and वा or (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).

a. Of copulative value, along with ca, is in the older language especially utá (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and ápi, tátás, táthā, kím ca, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

b. Adversative is tú but (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, u (toneless).

c. Of illative value is हि for (originally, and in great part at every period, asseverative only): compare above, 1122b.

d. To ca (as well as to its compound céd) belongs occasionally the meaning if.

e. It is needless to enter into further detail with regard to those uses which may be not less properly, or more properly, called conjunctive than adverbial, of the particles already given, under the head of Adverbs.

Interjections.

1134. The utterances which may be classed as interjections are, as in other languages, in part voice-gestures, in part onomatopoeias, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.

1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: आ, हाहाहाहाहा, आहा, हाहाहाहा, आ, हाहा (AV.), आई, आई, हाइ (RV.), आई, बा (RV.), बाट (RV.) or vata, and (probably) हिरूक and हुरूक (RV.).

b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language): चक्छा चहिड़ (of an arrow: RV.); किकिर (palpitation: RV.); बाड़ and फाड़ (फाड़?) or फाड splash (AV.); भूक bow-wow (AV.); जल pat (AV.); अस, हिस, आ, and has (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots kr̥ and bhū, above, 1081.

c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjunctonal character are, for example: भोस (for the vocative bhavas, 456); आरे or रे (voc. of अरे enemy); धीक alas! (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with धी धी); कष्टम voe is me! दिश्या thank heaven! स्वस्ती hail! सुधु good, excellent! None of these are Vedic in interjunctonal use.
CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

1136. The formation from roots of conjugable stems — namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) — was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation (not essentially different from case-formation), in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems — namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles — which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was reserved for a special chapter.

a. Of course, only a brief and compendious exhibition of the subject can be attempted within the here necessary limits: no exhaustive tracing out of the formative elements of every period; still less, a complete statement of the varied uses of each element; least of all, a discussion of origins; but enough to help the student in that analysis of words which must form a part of his labor from the outset, giving a general outline of the field, and preparing for more penetrating investigation.

b. The material from accented texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be had especially in view (nothing that is Vedic being intentionally left unconsidered); and the examples given will be, so far as is possible, words found in such texts with their accent marked. No word not thus vouched for will be accented unless the fact is specifically pointed out.

1137. The roots themselves, both verbal and pronominal, are used in their bare form, or without any added suffix, as declinable stems.

a. As to this use of verbal roots, see below, 1147.

b. The pronominal roots, so-called, are essentially declinable; and hence, in their further treatment in derivation, they are throughout in accordance with other declinable stems, and not with verbal roots.

1138. Apart from this, every such stem is made by a suffix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:
A. Primary suffixes, or those which are added directly to roots;

B. Secondary suffixes, or those which are added to derivative stems (also to pronominal roots, as just pointed out, and sometimes to particles).

a. The division of primary suffixes nearly corresponds to the kṛt (more regular) and unāḍī (less regular) suffixes of the Hindu grammarians; the secondary, to their tuddhita-suffixes.

1139. But this distinction, though one of high value, theoretically and practically, is not absolute. Thus:

a. Suffixes come to have the aspect and the use of primary which really contain a secondary element — that is to say, the earliest words exhibiting them were made by addition of secondary suffixes to words already derivative.

b. Sundry examples of this will be pointed out below: thus, the gerundival suffixes, tavya, aninya, etc., the suffixes uka and aka, tra, and others. This origin is probable for more cases than admit of demonstration; and it is assumable for others which show no distinct signs of composition.

c. Less often, a suffix of primary use passes over in part into secondary, through the medium of use with denominative "roots" or otherwise: examples are yu, iman, iyas and istha, ta.

1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only to more original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation — and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.

a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (वैद्य ft.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly earlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.

b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causative conjugation: see below the suffixes a (1148 j, k), ã (1149 c, d), ana (1150 m), aś (1151 f), ani (1159 b), u (1178 g —), ti (1187 g), tr (1189 e), tnu (1190 b), snu (1194 b), uka (1190 d), ṣku (1191 d), ṣlu (1192 b), tu (1191 d).
c. From tense-stems the examples are far fewer, but not unknown. thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in a (1148 j), ā (1149 d, e), ana (1150 n), i (1155 d), u (1176 f), ta (1176 e), tu (1161 d), uka (1160 d), tra (1185 e), ti (1157 g), vin (or in: 1232 b, 1183 a); from stems in a 8 apparently of aoristic character (besides infinitives and gerundives), occasional derivatives in a (1148 j), ana (1150 j), ani (1159 b), an (1160 a), āna (1175), as (1151 c), i (1156 b), istha (1184 a), u (1178 f), us (1154 a), tr (1182 e), in (1183 a).

1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.

a. Whatever, namely, may have been originally and strictly the mode of production of the derivatives with prefixes, it is throughout the recorded life of the language as if the root and its prefix or prefixes constituted a unity, from which a derivative is formed in the same manner as from the simple root, with that modification of the radical meaning which appears also in the proper verbal forms as compounded with the same prefixes.

b. Not derivatives of every kind are thus made; but, in the main, those classes which have most of the verbal force, or which are most akin in value with infinitives and participles.

c. The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their accent, will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in a, in ana, in ti, in tar and tra, and in in, ya, van and man, i and u, as, and a few others.

1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel — that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our ignorance or uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and those deserving to be ranked as of organic suffixal character cannot be sharply drawn.

Each of the two great classes will now be taken up by itself, for more particular consideration.

A. Primary Derivatives.

1143. Form of root. The form of root to which a primary suffix is added is liable to more or less variation. Thus:

a. By far the most frequent is a strengthening change, by guṇa- or vyādhi-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where guṇa-change is in general forbidden: 236, 240): thus, véda from ṣvād, méda from ṣmud, várdha from ṣvyādha;
áyana from \(\gamma\i\), savána from \(\gamma\su\), sáraṇa from \(\gamma\sr\); and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long a as the resulting vowel: that is to say, with non-final a, and with a final i- or u-vowel and r before a vowel: thus, nádá from \(\gamma\nad\), grábhá from \(\gamma\grbh\) or grabh, váhá from \(\gamma\vah\), náyá from \(\gamma\nt\), bhává from \(\gamma\bh\), kárá from \(\gamma\kr\); such strengthening as would make váída and máúda does not accompany primary derivation.

b. Strengthening in derivation does not stand in any such evident connection with accent as strengthening in conjugation; nor can any general rules be laid down as to its occurrence; it has to be pointed out in detail for each suffix. So also with other vowel-changes, which are in general accordance with those found in inflection and in the formation of tense- and mode-stems.

c. The reversion of a final palatal or h to a guttural has been already noticed (216). A final n or m is occasionally lost, as in formations already considered.

d. After a short final vowel is sometimes added a t: namely, where a root is used as stem without suffix (1147d), and before a following y or v of vána (1169), vara and varí (1171), yu once (1165a), and yá (1213a). The presence of \(t\) before these suffixes appears to indicate an original secondary derivation from derivatives in \(ti\) and \(tu\).

e. The root is sometimes reduplicated: rarely in the use without suffix (1147c,e); oftener before a (1148k), i (1155e), u (1178d); but also before other suffixes, as á (1149e), ana (1150m), vána (1170a), vána and varí (1169d, 1171a,b), vani (1170b), vi (1183), vit (1183b), ani (1159b), in (1183a), tnu (1198a), ta (1176a), ti (1157d), tha (1163a), tr (1182b), tra (1185f), úka (1180f), aka (1181a), íka (1186c), ma (1166b).

1144. Accent. No general laws governing the place of the accent are to be recognized; each suffix must in this respect be considered by itself.

a. In connection with a very few suffixes is to be recognized a certain degree of tendency to accent the root in case of a nomen actionis or infinitival derivative, and the ending in the case of a nomen agentis or participial derivative: see the suffixes a, ana, as, an, and man, below, where the examples are considered. Differences of accent in words made by the same suffix are also occasionally connected with differences of gender: see the suffixes as and man.

1145. Meaning. As regards their signification, the primary derivatives fall in general into two great classes, the one indicating the action expressed by the verbal root, the other the person or thing in which the action appears, the agent or actor — the latter, either substantively or adjectively. The one class is more abstract, infinitival; the other is more concrete, participial. Other meanings
may in the main be viewed as modifications or specializations of these two.

a. Even the words indicating recipience of action, the passive participles, are, as their use also as neuter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (961 ff.), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only concerned with the action.

1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which action-nouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter. In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.

a. To facilitate the finding of the different suffixes is given the following list of them, in their order as treated, with references to paragraphs:

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<td>ma</td>
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<td>tr or tar</td>
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1147. Stems without suffix; Root-words. These words and their uses have been already pretty fully considered above (323, 348 ff., 383 ff., 400, 401).

a. They are used especially (in the later language, almost solely) as finals of compounds, and have both fundamental values, as action-nouns (frequently as infinitives: 971), and as agent-nouns and adjectives (often governing an accusative: 271 a). As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (384: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).
b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.

c. The Vedic cases are: with simple reduplication, sasyád, cikít, dadhí, didyú and didyút, juhú, and perhaps gángo and cíqu; with intensive reduplication, -není, malimíuc, yaviyúdh, and jógú and váñívan (with the intensive in-tred of the usual radical accent). In dárídra is seen a transfer to the a-declension. Ásúśu is probably to be understood as a compound, asú-stí.

d. If the root end in a short vowel, a t is regularly and usually added 383-f-h'.

e. Examples have been given at the place just quoted. In jágat the t is added to the mutilated form of ygam reduplicated, and tňayát (TS., once) appears to put it after a long vowel. In a single instance, črútkarñá (RV.) of listening ears, a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.

f. Words of this form in combination with verbal prefixes are very numerous. The accent rests (as in combination of the same with other preceding elements) on the root-stem.

g. A few exceptions in point of accent occur: thus, ávasá, úpástut; and, with other irregularities of form, párijí, upásthá, upárístha.

1148. ढ a. With the suffix ढ a is made an immensely large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: guṇa-strengthening, vrddhi-strengthening, retention unchanged, and reduplication.

In good part, they are classifiable under the two usual general heads; but in part they have been individualized into more special senses.

1. a. With guṇa-strengthening of the root (where that is possible: 235, 240). These are the great majority, being more than twice as numerous as all others together.

b. Many nomina actionis: as, qrama weariness, gráha seizure, áya movement, védá knowledge, háva cell, kródha wrath, jóga enjoyment, tára crossing, sárga emission.

c. Many nomina agentis: as, kṣamá patient, svája constricitor, jívá living, meghá cloud, codá incitamy, plavá boat, sará brook, sarpá serpent, bhojá generous, khádá devouring.

d. Of the examples here given, those under b accent the radical syllable, and those under c the ending. And this is in perhaps a majority of cases the fact as regards the two classes of derivatives; so that, taken in connection with kindred facts as to other suffixes, it hints at such a difference of accent as a general tendency of the language. A few sporadic
instances are met with of the same form having the one or the other value according to its accent: thus, eṣa haste, eṣā hasting; cāsa order, cāsā orderer (other examples are coda, cāka, qoka: compare a similar difference with other derivatives in as, ana, an, man). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, jayā, javā, amarā, action-nouns; grāva, mōgha, stāva, agent-nouns — and the subject calls for a much wider and deeper investigation than it has yet received, before the accentuation referred to can be set up as a law of the language in derivation.

2. e. With vyuddhi-strengthening of the root — but only where a is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial a, and of final r (most often), u or ū, i or ī (rare).

f. Examples of action-nouns are: kāma love, bhāgā share, nādā noise, dāvā fire, tārā crossing. Very few forms of clear derivation and meaning are quotable with accent on the root-syllable.

g. Examples of agent-nouns are: grābhā seizing, vāhā carrying, nāyā leading, jārā lover.

3. h. With unstrengthened root, the examples are few: e. g. kṛça lean, turā rapid, yugā yoke, sruvā spoon, priyā dear, vrā troop, ṣuca bright.

i. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in composition, are doubtless results of the transfer of root-stems to the a-declension: e. g. -ghuṣa, - sphura, - tuda, -drça, -vida, -kira.

j. A few a-stems are made, especially in the older language, from conjugation-stems, mostly causative: thus, -āmaya, īlaya, -īṇkhaya, -ejaya, -dhāraya, -pāraya, -mrçaya, -camaya (compare the a-stems, 1149 o, d): also desiderative, as bibhāta (compare 1038). Occasional examples also occur from tense-stems: thus, from nu-stems, or secondary stems made from such, hinva, --invā, -jnīva, -pinva, -sinva, -sunva, -aṇvīva; from others, -pṛva, -mrṣa, -strṣa, -puna, -janā, -paçya, -manyā, -dasā, -jurya, -kuṇāya, -aya, -tiṣṭha, -jighra, -pība; from future-stems, kariṣya (JB.), janiṣya, bhaviṣya, ruciṣya (P); apparently from aorist-stems, āsā, nēṣa-, parṣa, pṛkṣa (P), -hoṣa.

4. k. Derivatives in a from a reduplicated root-form are a considerable class, mostly occurring in the older language. They are sometimes made with a simple reduplication: thus, cacakā, cikita, dṛdhra, daddṛṣa, babhasa, -babhra, vavṛā, qiṣayā, qiṃnātha (an action-noun), savra; but oftener with an intensive reduplication: thus, merely strengthened, cākṣā, -cācala, jāgara, nānada, lālasa, vivadhā (?), -memiṣa, rerihā and loliha, vevijā, nonuva, momughā, -roruda, lolupa; with consonant added, -caṅkaça-, -caṅkrama, jaṅgama, caṅcala, -jan-Japa, daṇḍhvana, -nannama, -jarjāla, -jarjara, -tartura, -dardāra, mūrmura, gadgada; dissyllabic, -karikra, karikradā, karācarā and calācalā, marīṃṣa, mailīmuc, varivṛṭa, sarīṣpa, paniṣpadā, sanīṣyadā, sanīsrasā, patāpata, māmādā, -vadāvada, ghanā-
ghanā. Many of these are to be regarded as from an intensive conjugation-
stem; but some of them show a form not met with in intensive conju-
gation.

5. 1. Derivatives with this suffix from roots as compounded with
the verbal prefixes are quite common, in all the modes of formation
(in each, in proportion to the frequency of independent words): con-
stituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems
with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent
is, with few exceptions, on the ending — and that, without any re-
ference to the value of the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.

m. Examples are: saṅgamā assembly, nimeṣā wink, abhidrohā
enmity, anukārā assistance, udānā inspiration, pratyaśrāvā response;
— paricārā wandering, samājyā victorious, vibodhā wakeful, atiyājā
over-pious, udārā inciting, elevated, uttudā rousing, saṅgirā swallow-
ing, ādardirā crushing, adhīcaṁkramā climbing.

n. The only definite class of exceptions in regard to accent appears
to be that of the adverbial gerunds in am (above, 335), which are accent-
ed on the root-syllable. A very few other stems have the same tone: for
example, utpāta portent, ācṛēsa plague. A few others, mostly agent-
nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, vyōga (i. e. vī-ōga)
burning, prātiveśa neighbor, ābhaga shaving; but also saṁkāsa ap-
pearance.

o. For the remaining compounds of these derivatives, with the insep-
separable prefixes and with other elements, see the next chapter. It may
be merely mentioned here that such compounds are numerous, and that
the a-derivative has often an active participial value, and is frequently
preceded by a case-form, oftenest the accusative.

p. Many words in the language appear to end with a suffix a, while
yet they are referable to no root which can be otherwise demonstrated
as such.

1149. घा 5. The vast majority of stems in घा 5 are
feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters
in घा (332, 334). But also many suffixes ending in घा
have corresponding feminine forms in long घा, making a
greater or less number of action-nouns. These will be
given under the different suffixes below.

a. There is further, however, a considerable body of feminine
action-nouns made by adding a to a root, and having an independent
aspect; though they are doubtless in part transfers from the root-
noun (1147). Usually they show an unstrengthened form of root, and
(such as occur in accented texts) an accented suffix.
b. Examples are ḍaṁ lordship, kṛḍā play, dayā pity, nindā reproach, 
caṅkā doubt, hīṁa injury, kṣama patience, kṣudhā hunger, bhāṣa 
speech, sevā service, upā天然气.

c. But especially, such nouns in ā are made in large numbers, 
and with perfect freedom, from secondary conjugation-stems.

d. Thus, especially from desiderative stems, as jīgīṣa, bhikṣa, 
vīrastā, bibhata, etc. (see 1038); in the formation of periphrastic 
perfects, especially from causative stems, but also from desiderative and 
intensive, and even from primary present-stems (1071 c–f); from denomina-
tive stems, in the older language, as aṣvaya, sukratūya, apasya, uru-
ṣyā, asūyā, aghanayā, jīvanasyā, etc., and quite rarely in the later, 
as mṛgayā.

e. The only example from a reduplicated stem is the late paspaça; 
for sūṣa, jāṅgha, and jīhvā, which have a reduplicated aspect, are of 
doubtful origin. From present-stems come locha and probably –yocha.

1150. धन ana. With this suffix (as with ध a) are form-
ed innumerable derivatives, of both the principal classes of 
meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root 
has oftenest guṇa-strengthening, but not seldom vṛddhi 
instead; and in a few cases it remains unstrengthened. 
Derivatives of this formation are frequent from roots with 
prefixes, and also in composition with other elements.

a. The normal and greatly prevalent accent is upon the root-
syllable, without regard to the difference of meaning; but cases occur 
of accented final, and a few of accented penult. The action-nouns 
are in general of the neuter gender. The feminine of adjectives is 
made either in ā or in ī (for details, see below). And a few feminine 
action-nouns in anā and anī occur, which may be ranked as belong-
ing to this suffix.

1. b. With strengthened and accented root-syllable. Under this 
head fall, as above indicated, the great mass of forms.

c. With guṇa-strengthening: examples of action-nouns are sādana 
seat, rākṣaṇa protector, dāna giving, cāyaṇa collection, vēdana pro-
propriety, hāvana call, bhōjana enjoyment, kāraṇa deed, vārdaṇa increase; 
— of agent-nouns, tāpāṇa burning, cētāṇa visible, cōdana impelling.

d. With vṛddhi-strengthening (only in such circumstances that ā 
remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples are -cētāna, nācana, 
mādana, -vācana, -vāsana, -vāhana, sādana, -spācana, svādana, 
-āyana, -yāvana, -srāvana, -pāraṇa.

e. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are 
very numerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the
suffix a (above, 11481, m). A few examples are: ākrāmaṇa striding on, udānā upgoing, nidhāna receptacle, prāṇāna expiration, vimocana release and releasing, saṃgāmaṇa assembly and assembler, adhivikārtana cutting off, avaprabhaṇāṇa falling away down. For other compounds of these derivatives, showing the same accent (and the same feminine stem), see the next chapter (below, 1271). A few exceptions occur: viśakṣaṇā, upariṇayaṇā, and the feminines pramanandā and nirddhahāni.

f. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in ā: thus, cōḍanā, pēcaṇā, spāraṇā, jāmbhāṇi, prājāṇi, prákoṣaṇi, saṃgrāhaṇi, abhiśavaṇi, vidhāraṇi (cetaṇī is of doubtful meaning: below, i). An adjective compound, however, having a noun in ana as final member, makes its feminine in ā: thus, sūpasarpanā of easy approach, sāḍvidhānā of sextuple order, anapavācanā not to be ordered away.

2. The more irregular formations may be classed as follows:

g. With accent on the final: a number of agent-nounā and adjectives, as karaṇā active (against karaṇa act), kṛpaṇā miserable (against kṛpāna misery), tvaraṇā hastening, rocanā shining, krocanā yelling, svapaṇā sleepy, kṣayaṇa habitable.

h. These, unlike the preceding class, make their feminine in ā: e. g. tvraṇā, spandanā. A few feminine action-nouns in the older language have the same form: thus, acaṇā, asanā, mananā, dyotanā, rodhāṇā, çvetanā, hasanā (and compare kapanā, račanā); those of the later language in anā (rather numerous) are doubtful as regards accent.

i. Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in anī, of more or less doubtful character: arṣaṇī, cetaṇī (to cētana), tapaṇī (to tapiṇana), prāṇā, vṛjaṇī (with vṛjana), raṇā, tedāṇī.

j. With accent on the penult: a small number of adjectives: as turāṇa hasten, dohāṇa milking, manāna considerate, bhandāna and manandāna rejoicing, sakṣaṇa overcoming, and perhaps vakṣaṇa carrying (the last two with aoristic a); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: daṁsaṇā great deed, vṛjana enclosure, town, veṣaṇa service, kṛpaṇa misery (against kṛpāna miserable), with the masculine kirāṇa dust.

k. The only noticed example of a feminine is in ā: turāṇā. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: arhaṇā, jarāṇā, barhaṇā, bhandāṇā, maṇḥāṇā, mehāṇā, vadhaṇā, vanāṇā, vakṣaṇā. (And compare the anomalous masc. name uṣāṇā: 355a.)

l. Without strengthening of the root are made a small number of derivatives: thus (besides those already noted, kṛpāṇa and kṛpaṇā, vṛjana and vṛjaṇī, kirāṇa, turāṇa), further accented examples are Ṽraṇa, dhūvana, pṛṣaṇa, bhūvana, vṛjaṇa, vṛṣaṇa, -sūvana; and later are found sphuṣaṇa, sphaṇa, sphaṇa, -hnuvana, likhana, rudana, etc. RV. makes denominatives from riṣaṇa-, ruvaṇa-, vīpāna-, huvana-.
m. Stems in ana are made also from secondary conjugation-stems: thus, from desideratives, as cikitsana (see 1038); from causatives, as hāpama, bhīṣāna (see 1051 g); from denominatives, with great freedom, in the later language, as ākārāna, unmulana, čākṣepa, cīhna; from intensives and other reduplicated stems, only caṇkramaṇa, jaṅgamana, jāgarana, yoyupana.

n. A few isolated cases may be further mentioned: from tense-stems, -jighraṇa, -ūrpana, -paṇyana, yaçchana, -siñcana; from prepositions, antarama and sāmana; astamana from the quasi-prefix (1092b) astam. Feminines in anā of doubtful connection are yōṣāna woman (beside yōṣan, yoṣā, etc.) and pītanā.

1151. ॐ sa. By this suffix are made (usually with guṇa-strengthening of the root-vowel) especially a large class of neuter nouns, mostly abstract (action-nouns); but sometimes assuming a concrete value; and also, in the older language, a few agent-nouns and adjectives, and a considerable number of infinitives.

a. The accent in words of the first class is on the root, and in the second on the ending; and in a few instances words of the two classes having the same form are distinguished by their accent; the infinitives have for the most part the accent on the suffix.

1. b. Examples of the first and principal class are: āvas aid, favor, tāpas warmth, prāyas pleasure, tējas splendor, crāvas fame, dōhas milking, kāras deed, prāthas breadth, cītas and mānas mind, cākṣas eye, sāras pond, vācas speech.

c. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: thus, without strengthening of the root, jūvas quickness (beside jávas), úras breast, mīchas contempt; and iras- (irasy-) and vīpas-, and the adverbs tirās, mithās, hūras-, also cīras head, are to be compared; — with vrddhi-strengthening, -vācas, vāsas, vāhas, -svādas, and, of doubtful connections, pājas, pāthas, and -hāyas; — perhaps with an adjectival s, hēgas missile; — pīvas contains a v apparently not radical.

d. After final a of a root is usually inserted y before the suffix (258): thus, dhāyas, -gāyas. But there are in the oldest language apparent remains of a formation in which as was added directly to radical a: thus, bhās and -dās (often to be pronounced as two syllables), jnās, mās; and -dhas and -das, from the roots dhā and dā.

2. a. The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an action-noun are: ápas work, and apās active; yāgas beauty, and yaqās beautiful; tāras quickness, and tarās (VS., once) quick; tāvas strength, and tavās strong: dūvas worship, and dūvās lively(?); māhas greatness, and mahās great; between rākṣas n. and
rakṣas m., both meaning *demon*, and between tyājas n. *abandonment* (?) and tyajās m. *descendant* (?), the antithesis is much less clear.

f. Adjectives in ās without corresponding abstracts are: toṣās be−
stowing, yajās offering, vedhās pious, probably āhanās *holy*; and a few other words of isolated occurrence, as veṣās, dhvarās. From a denomi−
native stem is made mpagās *wild animal* (RV., once).

g. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter,
accented on the ending: thus, jarās *old age*, bhiyās *fear*; and doubtless
also havās *call*, and tvēṣās *impulse*. The feminine uṣās *dawn*, and
doṣās *night*, might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

h. Apparently containing a suffix ās are the noun upās l-āp, and
certain proper names: āṅgiras, nondās, bhalānās, arcanānās, nac−
ketas. The feminine apsarās *nymph* is of doubtful derivation.

i. The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will
be noticed, without special remark.

3. j. The infinitives made by the suffix ās have been explained
above (973): they show various treatment of the root, and various
accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that
between sāhas and jarās).

4. k. The formation of derivatives in ās from roots compounded
with prefixes is very restricted -- if, indeed, it is to be admitted at all.
No infinitive in ās occurs with a prefix; nor any action-noun; and the
adjective combinations are in some instances evidently, and in most others
apparently, possessive compounds of the noun with the prefix used adver−
tively: the most probable exceptions are -nyōkas and víṣpardhas. As in
these examples, the accent is always on the prefix.

l. Certain Vedic stems in ar may be noticed here, as more or less
exchanging with stems in ās, and apparently related with such. They
were reported above, at 169 a.

In connection with this, the most common and important suffix
ending in ā, may be best treated the others, kindred in office and
possibly also in origin, which end in the same sibilant.

1152. तस ́म, नस ́म, तस ́स. With these suffixes are
made an extremely small number of action−nouns. Thus:

a. With tas are made rétas *seed*, and arōtas *stream*.

b. With nas are made ápnaś *acquisition*, árṇaś *wave*, -bhāṛṇaś
offering, réknaś *riches*; and in drāvinās *wealth*, and pāriṇaś *fullness.
Is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having
the present value of union−vowels. Probably the same is true of dámu−
nas *house−friend*, and jījnaś (RV.) n. pr., ućānas (or -nā) n. pr.

C. With sas is perhaps made vápsas *beauty*; and tārūgas may be
mentioned with it (rather taru−as).
1153. is. With the suffix is is formed a small number (about a dozen) of nouns.

a. They are in part nouns of action, but most are used concretely. The radical syllable has the guṇa-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in jyotis light, vyāthia, and amśa, raw meat). Examples are: arcīs, rocīs, and qočīs light, chadīs or chardīs cover, barhīs string, varṭīs track, sarpīs butter, havis oblation, dyotīs light, and kravīs raw flesh. Avis-, pāthis, bhrājis-, and māhis- are isolated variants of stems in as; and tuvis-, quocīs-, and surabhis- appear inorganically for tuvi etc. in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. us. With this suffix are made a few words, of various, meaning, root-form, and accent.

a. They are words signifying both action and agent. A few have both meanings, without difference of accent: thus, tāpus heat and hot; āarus wound and sore; cākūs brightness and seeing, eye; vápus wondrous and wonder. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable: thus, āyas, tārus, pūrus, mūhus (? only adverbial). mithus (do.), yājus, qasus; exceptions are: in regard to accent, janūs birth; in regard to gender, mānas man, and nāhus, proper name. Of adjectives, are accented on the ending jayūs, vanūs, and daksūs burning (which appears to attach itself to the aorist-stem).

1155. i. With this suffix are formed a large body of derivatives, of all genders: adjectives and masculine agent-nouns, feminine abstracts, and a few neuters. They show a various form of the root: strong, weak, and re-duplicated. Their accent is also various. Many of them have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.

1. a. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, rucī brightness, tvīṣī sheen; kṛṣī ploughing, nṛtī dance; — with guṇa-strengthening (where possible), rōpi pain, qočī heat, vanī and saṇī gain; — with vṛddhi-strengthening, grāhi seizure, dhrāji course, ājī race; from ydus comes dúsi (compare duṣgayati, 1042 b). The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given. The few intuitively used words of this formation (above, 975 b) have a weak root-form, with accent on the ending.

2. b. The adjectives and masculine agent-nouns exhibit the same variety. Thus:

c. With unstrengthened root: qočī bright, bhīmi lively (ybhram), sibhi container.
d. With unstrengthened root (or root incapable of guṇa-change): arī enemy, máhi great, arci beam, granthī knot, kṛiḍi playing; with vṛddhi-increment, kāṛi, jāni, -dhāri, çāri, sāci, sādi, -sāhi, and a few words of obscure connections: thus, drāpi mantle, raçī heap, pāpi hand, etc. The isolated -sāniči appears to come from the perfect-stem (788) of yāç.

e. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a considerable class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, cákri, jāghri (y'ghar), pápri, sári, -amri, babhrī, vavri, jāgni, -jāṇi (y'jana), -tāni, jāghni, sāṣi, sūvi, -çīvi; and, with displacement of final ā (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), dādi, papī, yāyī (with a case or two from yāyī), -jāṇi, dādhi; — from the ur-form of roots in changeable y, jāguri, tāturi, pápuri (púpuri SV.); — with simple reduplication, cīkī, yūyudhi, vīvici; — with strengthened reduplication, -cācali, tāṭpī, dādhrsi, vávahi, sāsahī, tūtujī and tūtujī, yūyuvī, yūyudhi; and jarbhrāi and bāmbhāri. And karkari lute and dundubhi drum have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoetic. The accent, it will be noticed, is most often on the reduplication, but not seldom elsewhere (only once on the root). It was noticed above (271f) that these reduplicated derivatives in i not seldom take an object in the accusative, like a present participle.

f. Formations in i from the root compounded with prexīxes are not at all numerous. They are accented usually on the suffix. Examples are: áyaj, vyānači, nijaghni, paradadi, viṣasahī; but also ājáni, amúri, vīvavri. As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or agent-nouns in i are not rare, and are regularly accented on the root: see the next chapter, 1276.

g. From y'dhā comes a derivative -dhi, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with prexīxes, antardhi, uddhi, nīdhī, paridhi, etc. From y'dā is made in like manner adi beginning, and from y'sthā, pratiṣṭhī resistance. Opinions are at variance as to whether such forms are to be regarded as made with the suffix i, displacing the radical ā, or with weakening of ā to i.

h. Neuter nouns in i are few, and of obscure derivation: examples are akṣi eye, āsthī bone, dādhi curī, etc.

1156. § 1. Stems in i (like those in ā ā, above, 1149) are for the most part feminine adjectives, corresponding to masculines and neuters of other terminations.

a. Thus, feminines in i are made from a-stems (332, 334: and see also the different suffixes), from i-stems (344, 346), from u-stems (344 b), from y-stems (376 a), and from various consonant-stems (376 a).

b. But there are also a few stems in i wearing the aspect of independent derivatives. Examples are dakṣi, dehi, nādi, nándī, pēsi,
vakṣī (apparently with aoristic s), veçī, qākī, qācī, qāmī, qīmī, tarī, vāpī; they are either action-nouns or agent-nouns. In the later language (as noticed at 344a) there is very frequent interchange of i- and t-stems and the forms from them.

c. In the oldest language there are even a few masculines in i. They were noticed, and their inflection illustrated, above, at 355b, 356.

1157. निं तिः. This suffix forms a large class of frequently used feminine nouns of action; and also a few agent-nouns (masculine) and adjectives. The root has in general the same form as before the suffix नं ta of the passive participle (952 ff.) — that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.

a. The accent ought, it would appear, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; but in the recorded condition of the language it does so only in a minority of cases: namely, about fifty, against sixty cases of accent on the radical syllable, and a hundred and forty of undetermined accent; a number of words — iti, ri, citi, tṛpti, pakti, puṣṭi, bhūti, bhṛti, vṛṣṭi, qākti, qruṣṭi, sṛṣṭi, sthitī — have both accentuations.

1. b. Examples of the normal formation are: rāṭī gift, úṭī aid, rītī flow, stutī praise, bhaktī division, viṣṭī service, stutī praise, kirtī fame, pūrītī bestowal, matī thought, pīṭī drink (yāpā; pple pīta), dhāntī stream (yādhāv; pple dhānta); — and with accented root, gātī motion, qāntī repose, dītī division (yāda; pple dītā), dṛṣṭī sight, īṭī offering (yāj: pple īṭā), úkti speech (yāvoc: pple uktā), vṛddhi increase.

c. The roots which form their participle in ita (956) do not have the i also before ti; thus, only āyūpti, -dṛṣṭi. A few roots having their participle in na instead of ta (957) form the abstract noun also in ni (below, 1158). And from the roots tan and ran occur tantī and rāntī, beside the more regular tati and rāti; also āhantī (once, VS.) beside āhatī. From roots having the form dā, the derivative in composition is sometimes -tī (for dātī, with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form -tta, above, 955 f): thus, niravatti (K.), samprāttī (CB.), pārīttī (TB.), vāsūttī, bhāgattī, mahāttī (all RV.).

d. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, carkṛtī, dīdhitī and -dīdītī, jīgarti, and perhaps the proper name yayātī; also jāgḍhi from vjākṣ (283 f).

e. Derivatives from roots with prefixes are numerous, and have (as in the case of the participles in ta, and the action-nouns in tu) the accent on the prefix: examples are ānumati, abhūti, āhūti, nīrthī, vṛṣtpī, sāṃgattī. The only exceptions noticed are āsaktī and āsūtī, and abhi-
şṭi (beside abhīṣṭi). In other combinations than with prefixes, the accentuation is in general the same: see the next chapter (1274).

2. f. The adjectives and agent-nouns — which, as masculines, are to be connected with these rather than with the feminine abstracts — are very few: thus, pūṭi putrid, vāṣṭi eager, dhūṭi shaker, jāṭi relative, pāṭi footman, pāṭi master; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.

3. g. A few words show the suffix ti preceded by various vowels, uniloc- or stem-vowels. The ordinary intermediate i of the ta-participle etc. is seen in sāṅtī, uṣhīṭī, -ṣṭīṭī (I, as usual with this root: 800 b), paṭhīṭi, bhaṅṭī; and with them may be mentioned the adjective jīṭī, the proper names turvīṭi and dabhīṭi, and anīṭīṭi and anīṣṭīṭi, notwithstanding their long final. With ati are made a few derivatives, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns anīṭati, dṛṣṭati, pakṣatī, mithāṭī, vasatī, ramāṭī, vratāṭī, amāṭī and āmāṭī, -drājatī; and the agent-words aratī, khalatī, vṛkhatī, rāmatī, daḥatī. In some of these is to be seen with probability a stem-vowel, as also in jāṇayatī and rāsrayatī (and RV. has gopayāṣya). The grammarians' method of representing a root by its 3rd sing. pres. indic., declining this as a ti-stem, begins in the older language: e. g. étivatī (TB.), kṣetivatī (AB.), yajatī and juhotī and dadatī (S.), mandatī (MBh.). The feminine yuvatī young, maiden is of isolated character.

h. In some of the words instanced in the last paragraph, ti is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, kātī, tātī, yātī, and from numerals, as daṇṭatī, viṇḍatī, ṣaṇṭī, etc., with paṇktī (from paṇca); in padatī; and in addhatī, from the particle addhā.

1158. ० ०. This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a very much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.

a. As was noticed above (1157 c), a few verbs (ending in vowels) making their passive participle in na instead of ta make their action-noun in ni instead of ti. From the older language are quotable jyāṇī injury, jūṁṇī heat, hāṇī abandonment (and the masculines ghṛṇī and jīṛṇī); later occur glāṇi, -mlāṇi, sāmnī.

b. Words of the other class are: aṇḍi eating, -uṇṇi burning, vāṅhni carrying, āṁrṇi singing, tāmṇi hasty, bhūṁṇī excited, dhāṁṇi sustaining, prajñī loving, vṛṣṇi and vṛṣṇi virile; and with them may be mentioned ptṛṇi speckled.

c. In prajñī, yōṁ, mṛṇī, qṛṇi, qṛṇi is seen a strengthening of the radical syllable, such as does not appear among the derivatives in ti.

d. Derivatives in ni from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 28
e. In hr̥d̤ūni and hl̥d̤ūni we have a prefixed u. In the words ending in ani, the a has probably the same value with that of ati (above, 1157); but ani has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. गन्ध ani. The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding suffixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with concreted meaning: as, िरि ani impulsc, दिवरिणी injury, विपरिनी brightness, करियाणी blow, अगरिणी missile, व्यर्थिणी vartanī track; and -र्थिण, uदाण-स्वर्थिण, िज्ञिण.

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are: िमि fire-stick, िरिण movable, िक्षिण enlightener, ित्रिण quick, िमाणी pipe, िवस्विण scattering, िक्षिण strengthener, िस्रिण track. िस्रिण and one or two other late words are probably variants to stems in anī. From a reduplicated root-form comes -प्यतिण. From desiderative stems are made िरुक्षिण, िस्विण, and (with prefix) िशुरुक्षिण. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an िरि-sorist stem: thus, िरि, िक्षिण, िस्रिण.

c. It is questionable whether the infinitives in िमि (978) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in ani, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in an, from roots and stems increased by an soristic a.

1160. घन an. Not many words are made with a suffix of this form, and of these few are plainly to be connected with roots. Certain rare neuters (along with the doubtful infinitives) are nouns of action; the rest are masculine and neuter agent-nouns. The accent is various.

a. The infinitives which admit of being referred to this suffix, as locative cases, are those in िमि, of which the sibilant may be the final of a tense-stem. They are all given above (978).

b. The other action-nouns in an are महिण greatness, िरिण authority (RV., once: compare िरिण; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and िमब्नह depth (V8., once); and PB. has िश्रिण once.

c. Agent-nouns (in part of doubtful connection) are: िक्षिण eye, िक्षिण eye, िक्षिण carpenter, िवस्विण proper name, पुहिण name of a god, िमिण marrow, िरिण king, िपिण virtue, िस्विण, स्विण, िस्विण, िस्विण (स्विण Aṣṭā.), also िमाण, िमाण, िवह्व, िलाण, with िवह्व, िवह्व, िवह्व, िवह्व, िवह्व, िवह्व, िवह्व, िवह्व, and the stems िस्विण, िद्विण, िद्विण, etc. (430—4), filling up the inflection of other defective stems.

d. With prefixes occur िप्रतिद्विण and िस्विण, िविह्व, िनिक्षिण.
1161. तu. The great mass of the words of this formation are the infinitives — accusatives in the later language, in the earlier likewise datives and ablative-genitives: see above, 970b, 972. But a few are also used independently, as action-nouns or with concreted meaning; and an extremely small number, of somewhat questionable character, appear to have the value of agent-words. They are of all genders, but chiefly masculine. The root has the guna-strengthening.

a. The infinitive words are accented on the radical syllable when simple, and most of the others have the same accent; but a few have the tone on the ending.

b. Examples are: of the regular formation, masc. dātu share; jātu birth; dhātu element, tāntu thread, māntu counsel, ōtu weft, sātu receptacle, sōtu tie, sōtu pressure; also krātu capacity, and sāktu prīts; fem. vāstū morning; neut. vāstū thing, vāstū abode; — with accent on the ending, aktū ray, jantū being, gātū way and song, yātū (?) demon, hetū cause, ketū banner (all masc.); — with unstrengthened root, rū season, pitū drink, sūtu birth, and apparently Ḟtū (in Ḟtvas times); with vrddhi-strengthening, vāstū (above). Agent-nouns appear to be dhātu drinkable and kroṣṭu jackal.

c. The infinitives in tu have (968) often the union-vowel ī before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to ī. In other use occur also -stārītu and -dhārītu (both with dus), -hāvītu (with su); tur-phārītu seems of the same formation, but is obscure.

d. In a few instances, the suffix tu appears to be added to a tense- or conjugation-stem in a; thus, edhatū and vahatū; tamyatū and tapyatū; and siṣāsātu. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of jīvātu life, which is further exceptional in showing a long ā; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1162. न u. This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.

a. The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.

b. Thus: kṣepnū jerk, bhānū light (later sun), vagnū sound, sūnū son, dānū (with irregular accent) m. f. demon, n. drop, dew; dhemū f. cow; — gṛdhnū hasty, tapnū burning, trasnu fearful, dhṛṇū bold; — and viṇṇu Vishnu, and perhaps athāṇu pillar. Compare also suffix tnu, 1168a.
0. This also (like tu) appears sometimes with a prefixed a: thus, kṣipraṁ mūsa, kṣrandana and nādanā rooring, nābhanū (and -ntī, t.) fountains, vībhahājanū (only instance with prefix) breaking to pieces; and perhaps the proper names dāmanu and kṛṣṇaṇu belong here.

1162. Ṛtha. The words made with this suffix are almost without exception action-nouns (though some have assumed a concrete value). They are of all genders. The root is of a weak (or even weakened) form, and the accent usually on the suffix.

a. Thus: masc., -itha going, ārtha goal, -kytha making, gātha song, pakhā n. pr., bhṛtha offering, -yātha road, -gītha lying down, gota dwelling, -śiktha sediment; and, of less clear connections, yūthā herd, rātha chariot; — neut., ukthā saying, tīrthā ford, nīthā song, rikthā heritage, and apparently pūṣthā back; — fem. (with ā), gāthā song, nīthā way. Radical ā is weakened to ī in gītha song and pītha drink and pītha protection; a final nasal is lost in gātha going and hātha saying. In vijīgātha (Q.B.; but BAU. -īta) is apparently seen a formation from a reduplication of yǐ, victorious.

b. A few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with accent on the final: thus, nirṛthā destruction, saṅghathā union, etc.

c. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an ā, which is probably of thematic origin, though become a union-vowel. Thus: -anātha breathing, ayātha foot, carātha mobility, tvagātha vehemence, and so prothātha, yajātha, rāvātha, vakṣātha, ucātha, vidātha, caṇātha, qāpātha, qāyātha, qvāyātha, qvāsātha, vacātha, stānātha, stavātha, aravātha, and, with weak root-form, ruvātha; the later language adds karatha, taraṇtha, qamatha, savatha. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, āvāsātha abode, pravāsātha absence; but prāpātha breath is treated as if prān were an integral root.

d. Isolated combinations of ētha with other preceding vowels occur: thus, vārūtha protection, jārūtha wasting (?); and matūtha (y/man P).

1164. Ṛ thu. This suffix (like Ṛ tha, above) has an Ṛ ā attached to it, and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as Ṛṛ ā thu.

a. The only Vedic examples are ejāthu quaking, vepāthu trembling, stanaṭhnu rooring. Later cases are nandāthu (TS.), nadvathu (U.), kṣavathu (S.), dathu, bhraṇathu, majamathu, vamathu, qvayathu, spūṣrjathu.

1165. Ṛ yu. With this suffix are made a very few nouns,
both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (masc.) are manyū wrath, mṛtyū death (with t added to the short final of the root).

b. Adjectives etc. are druhyū n. pr., bhujyū pitiful, munyu (GB. i. 1.7), qundhyū pure; yājyu pious, sāhyu strong, dásyu enemy; and, with vṛddhi-strengthening, jāyū victorious.

c. For other derivatives ending in yu, see the suffix u, below, 1178 h, i.

1166. य ma. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.

a. Examples of action-nouns are: ajmā course, ghārmā heat; éma progress, bhāma brightness, sārma flow, stōma song of praise.

b. Examples of agent-nouns etc. are: tigmā sharp, bhimā terrible, cāgmā mighty, idhmā fuel, yudhmā warrior. A single instance from a reduplicated root is tātymā powerful. Saramā f., with a before the suffix, is of doubtful connection.

c. A number of stems in ma have stems in man beside them, and appear, at least in part, to be transfers from the an- to the a-declension. Such are ajma, oma, ema, arma, tōkma, dārmā, dhārma, nāmā, yāma, yugma, vema, quṣma, sōma, sārma, hōma.

1167. मि mi. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with mi, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus, from r-roots, ārmī wave, -kārmī action, sūrmī f. tube; from others, jāmī relation, bhūmī or bhūmī f. earth, lākṣmī sign; also probably raṃśī line, ray; and the adjective krūdhmi (? RV., once).

1168. मन man. The numerous derivatives made with this suffix are almost only action-nouns. The great majority of them are neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; a much smaller number are masculine, and accented on the suffix. The few agent-words are, if nouns, masculine, and have the latter accent: in several instances, a neuter and a masculine, of the one and the other value and accent, stand side by side. The root has in general the guṇa-strengthening.

1. a. Examples of regularly formed neutrals are: kārmān action, jāmān birth, nāmān name, vārtmān track, vēqmaṇ dwelling, hōma sacrifice, -dyōtman splendor.
b. Examples of masculine abstracts are: omán favor, ojmán strength, jemán conquest, svádmán sweetness, hemán impulse.

c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are: bráhman worship and brahmán priest; dáman gift and dáman giver; dhárman rule and dharmán orderer; sádman seat and sadmán sitter. But óman friend stands in the contrary relation to omán m. favor. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except brahmán, are of rare occurrence.

d. On the other hand, jemán and varṣman and svádmán (and varíman) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

e. The noun áçman stone, though masculine, is accented on the radical syllable; and two or three other questionable cases of the same kind occur.

f. The derivatives in man used as infinitives (974) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is vidmáne.

g. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus, údman, úsmán or úsman, bhúman earth, bhúmán abundance, ayúman, simán, bhujmán, vidmán, cíkman, quáman, sidhmán; and kár̥man, bhárman, qákman.

h. Derivatives in man from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, prábhárman forthbringing, práyáman departure; ánuvartmán following after: the exceptions, víjáman, pratívartmán, visarmán, are perhaps of possessive formation.

2. i. The same suffix, though only with its abstract-making value, has in a number of cases before it a union-vowel, i or ṭ; and imán comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns (masculine) from a considerable number of adjectives.

j. The neuters in íman and imán are primary formations, belonging almost only to the older language: thus, jánimán, dhárman (M.), væríman (beside varíman, as noticed above); and dárman, dhárman, párimán (and páreman SV., once), bhárman, væríman, sárimán, stárman, sávímán, and hávímán. Those in imán are hardly met with outside the Rig-Veda.

k. The masculines in imán are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are tánimán (?), jarimán, práthi-
mán, mahimán, varíman (beside the equivalent várimán and vári-
man), varśimán (beside the equivalent váṛmán and varśmán), harimá-
n, and drághimán (VS.) beside drághmán (V.B.). Some of these, as well as of the derivatives in simple man, attach themselves in meaning, or in form also, to adjectives, to which they seem the accompanying ab-
stracts: compare the similar treatment of the primary comparatives and
superlatives (above, 468): such are pápmán (to pápá, pápiyas etc.);
drághmán etc. (to dirghá, drághiyas, etc.); váriman etc. (to urú,
vāriyas, etc.; prāthimān (to pṛthū, prāthīṣṭha); harimān (to hārī or hārīta); vārśman etc. (to vāriyas etc.); svādman etc. (to svādū, svādīyas, etc.). Then in the Brāhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, dhūrmimān (TS. K.), draḍhimān (MS. K.: to drāḍha, drāḍhīyas, etc.), ṣāṇimān (‘B.; and āṇīman n. bīl), sthemān, sthāvīman (n. big piece), taruṣimān (K.), paraṇimān (AB.), abalimān (Chī.), lohitimān (KB.); and still later such as laghimān, kṛṣṇimān, pūrṇimān, madhurimān, ṣoṇimān, etc., etc.

1169. वन van. By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter chiefly masculines. The root is unstrengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a त before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.

a. The insertion of त is an intimation that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of an to derivatives in u and tu; yet van has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.

b. Examples of the usual formation are: masc. yājvan offering, drūhan harming, cākvan capable, -rikvan leaving, -jitvan conquering, sūtvan pressing, kītvan active, -gātvan (like -gat, -gatyas) going, sātvan (y/san) warrior; neut. pārvan joint, dhāvan bow. Irregular, with strengthened root, are ārvan courser, -yāvan (? AV.) driving off; and, with accent on the suffix, dhrvan (? VS.) and vidvān (? AV.).

c. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: atitvan excelling, upabhāsvan revealing, sambhātvan collecting; and perhaps vivāsvan shining: abhisatvan is a compound with governing preposition (1310). For the compounds with other elements, which, except in special cases, have the same accent, see below, 1277.

d. The stems muṣīvān robber and sanītvan (each RV., once) are the only ones with a union-vowel, and are perhaps better regarded as secondary derivatives — of which a few are made with this suffix: see below, 1234. From a reduplicated root are made rārāvan and cikītvan (and possibly vivāsvan).

e. Action-nouns made with the suffix van are only the infinitival words mentioned at 976 — unless bhurvāni (RV., once) is to be added, as locative of bhurvan.

f. The feminines corresponding to adjectives in van are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from vara, and end in vari; see below, 1171 b.

1170. बन vana, बनी vani, बनु vanu. The very few words
made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in connection with वन (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

a. With वन are made याग्यनालक्षत्र, सत्यनावर्त (beside सत्यन, above); and, from a reduplicated root, गुष्क्यनाशिंग.

b. With वन are made from simple roots तुर्वात्य excellence, and भुर्वात्य restless, and, from reduplicated roots, गुष्क्यनाशिंग, दाहर्यनालक्षत्र during, तुर्वात्य striving after, and जुग्रनालक्षत्र praising; अर्धरिस्त्र is obscure.

c. With वन is made only याग्यनु तोने, नोस.

1171. वाा वरा. With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives. Much more common are the feminine stems in वरी वारी, which, from the earliest period, serve as corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in वान.

a. A few masculine adjectives in वारा occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, इत्यवर गोइंग, अद्वरा eating; and so, further, in the older language, इत्यवर, ज्यवरा, पञ्च्यवरा, भार्यवरा, भास्यवरा, व्याध्यवरा (?), अद्वरा, श्यावरा, and doubtless with them belongs विद्धवाल. Later, -क्यवर्ता, गत्यवरा, गह्यवरा (also गस्यवरा), -जेत्यवरा, नम्ध्यवरा, पिवरा, मद्यवरा, -पत्यवरा; from a reduplicated root, यायावरा (B. and later). Many of these have feminines in ा.

b. The feminines in वारी accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in वान to which they correspond: thus, याय्यरी, -जेत्यरी, -पत्यरी, -पिवरी, यायारी, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, -पत्यरी.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, कार्यवद्द, गह्यवद्द (later also गङ्गवद्द) thicket; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: उर्वारा field, and उर्वारी tow (both of doubtful etymology).

We take up now the suffixes by which are made only stems having the value of agent-nouns and adjectives; beginning with a brief mention of the participial endings, which in general have been already sufficiently treated.

1172. वाा अंट (or वाा अत). The office of this suffix, in making present and future participles active, has been fully explained above, in connection with the various tense-stems and conjugation-stems (chsps. VIII.—XIV.), in combination
with which alone it is employed (not directly with the root, unless this is also used as tense-stem).

a. A few words of like origin, but used as independent adjectives, were given at 450. With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots ūyant and kīyant (451, 517a). And ādva-yant not double-tongued (RV., once), appears to contain a similar formation from the numeral dvī — unless we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.

1173. बालस् vānas (or बलस् vās). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, 802-6, and 453 ff.

a. A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at 453, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form us or usa. RV. vocalises the v once, in jujurān.

b. The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in vas, of doubtful relations: śbhvas and śkivas skitful (beside words in va and van), and perhaps khidvas (ykhād). The neuter abstract vārivas breading, room (belonging to urū broad, in the same manner with vāraiyaś and varimān), is quite isolated. MBh. makes a nominative pīvān, as if from pīvāna instead of pīvan.

1174. मन् māna. The participles having this ending are, as has been seen (584b), present and future only, and have the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in general to the stems to which the suffix is attached.

1175. खान āna. The participles ending in khān āna are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form māna sāna: above, 897b) aorist.

a. A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives tākavāna, bhīga-vāna, vāsavāna, ārdhvasānā, apparently made on the model of participial stems. Also the proper names āpnavāna, pūthavāna, and cyāvāna and cyāvatāna. Pārcāna abyss is doubtful; rujāna (RV., once) is probably a false reading; āpna is of doubtful character.

1176. न ta. The use of this suffix in forming participles directly from the root, or from a conjugational (not a tense) stem, was explained above, 952-6. The participles thus made are in part intransitive, but in great part passive
in value (like those made by the two preceding suffixes, but in much larger measure, and more decidedly).

a. A few general adjectives, or nouns with concrete meaning, are adaptations of this participle. Examples are: tṛṇā rougī, ītā cold, dyādhā (for dīdhā: 224a) firm; dūtā messenger, sūtā charioteer; ṣītā right, gṛṯā ghee, jātā kind, dyūtā gambling, nṛttā dance, Jīvīta life, sarītā behavior, śītīta smile. The adjective tīgīta (RV.) sharp shows anomalous reversion of palatal to guttural before the i (216d). Vāvātā dear is a single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denominative stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Veda — unless bhāmīta RV.), derivatives in ita are in the later language made directly from noun and adjective-stems, having the meaning of endowed with, affected by, made to be, and the like (compare the similar English formation in ed, as horned, barefooted, bluecoated). Examples are rathīta furnished with a chariot, duḥkhīta pained, kusumīta flowered, durbindīta weakened, niṃsaṃgīyīta indubitable, etc. etc.

c. A few words ending in ta are accented on the radical syllable, and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful: such are āstā home, mārta mortal, vāṣa wind; and with them may be mentioned gāṛta high seat, nākta night, hāstā hand. Vraṭā is commonly viewed as containing a suffix ta, but it doubtless comes from ṣvṛt (vraṭ-ā, like tradā, vrajā) and means originally course.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in ita, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, palītā gray, śītā black, ṛōhīta and lōhīta red, hārīta green; skin with them are ēta variegated, gṛṣṭā white. The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus, ēnī and gṛṣīnī; ṛōhīnī and lōhīnī, and hārīnī (but the corresponding masc. hārīṇa also occurs); and āśiknī, pāliknī, and hārīknī.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in ata are not to be separated from the participial words in ta, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: paṭātā cooked, dāṛgātā and paṇḍāta seen, to be seen, worth seeing; and so yajātā, haryātā, bhārātā. The y of paṇḍāta and haryātā indicates pretty plainly that the a also is that of a present tense-stem. Ṛajātā silvery is of more obscure relation to ṛajā color; pāṛvāta mountain must be secondary.

1177. न ना (and हन ina, तन una). The use of the suffix न ना in forming from certain roots participles equivalent to those in न ta, either alongside the latter or instead of them, was explained above, at 957.

a. With the same suffix are made a number of general adjectives, and of nouns of various gender (fem. in ।). The accent is on the suffix
or on the root. A few examples are: uṣṇā hot, ṣūna fortunate, āgna ravenous, gṝtma white; masc., praṇā question, yajñā offering, gṛṇā heat, vārṇa color, svāpna sleep; neut., parṇā wing, rāma jewel (?) ; fem. tṛṇā thirst, yāha supplication. But many of the stems ending in na are not readily connectible with roots. An antithesis of accent is seen in kārṇa ear and kārṇa cared.

b. The few words ending in ina are of doubtful connection, but may be mentioned here: thus, aminā violent, vṛjinā crooked, dākṣina right, drāvina property, drūhinā, -gṛśina, harinā; and kanīna may be added.

c. The words ending in ina are of various meaning and accent, like those in ana: they are ārjuna, karuṇa, -cetūna, tāruṇa, dāruṇa, dharuṇa, narūṇa, pīṣuna, mithūna, yatūna, vayūna, varuṇa, ca- lūna, and the feminine yamūnā; and bhrūnā may be added.

d. These are all the proper participial endings of the language. The gerundives, later and earlier, are in the main evident secondary formations, and will be treated under the head of secondary derivation.

We take up now the other suffixes forming agent-nouns and adjectives, beginning with those which have more or less a participial value.

1178. 3 u. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character — adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives with the value of present participles; and in such use it wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.

a. The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vṛiddhied; least often (when capable of guṇa), it has the guṇa-strengthening — all without any apparent connection with either accent or meaning or gender. After final radical अ is usually added y (258) before the suffix. A few derivatives are made from the reduplicated root. But many words ending in u are not readily, or not at all, connectible with roots; examples will be given especially of those that have an obvious etymology.

b. Examples of ordinary adjectives are: uru wide, र्जु straight, prthu broad, मदु soft, सधु good, svādū sweet, tápu hot, vásu good; jē-yu conquering, daru bursting; qayu lying, réku empty; dhāyū thirsty, pāyū protecting. Final अ appears to be lost before the suffix in -sthu (suṣṭhū, anuṣṭhū), and perhaps in yū, -gu (agregū), and -khu (ākhū).

c. Examples of nouns are: masc., aṇḍu ray, ripū deceiver, vāyū
wind-god, āsu life, mānu man, Manu; fem., śru (also masc.) arrow, sindhu (also masc.) river, tantu or tantū body; neut., kṣū food.

d. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: cikītū, jāgmū, jīgyū, jījānu, śruqu, -tamtū (unless this is made with nu or tu), didyū (?), dadru, yānu or yayū and yīyu (with final ā lost), pīprū (proper name), -dīdhayū; and tītātī, babhrū, -raru (arāru), malīmlū (?) have the aspect of being similar formations.

e. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, upāyū on-coming, pramāyū going to destruction, viklīndu a certain disease, abhīqu reiś (director), sāhvasu dwelling together.

f. From tense-stems, apparently, are made tanyū thundering, bhīndū splitting, -vindu finding, and (with aoristic ā) dākṣqu and dhākṣqu (all RV).

g. Participial adjectives in ā from desiderative "roots" (stems with loss of their final ā) are sufficiently numerous in the ancient language (RV. has more than a dozen of them, AV. not quite so many) to show that the formation was already a regular one, extensible at will; and later such adjectives may be made from every desiderative. Examples (older) are: dītā, dīpā, cikītā, titīkā, pipīqu, mumukṣu, iyākṣu, cīlīkṣu; with prefix, abhidīpā; with anomalous accent, didīkṣu. These adjectives, both earlier and later, may take an object in the accusative (271 a).

h. A few similar adjectives are made in the older language from causatives: thus, dharayū (persistent), bhājāyū, bhāvayū, māhāyū, mandayū, cīrayāyu: and mṛgāyū from the caus.-denom. mṛgāyā.

i. Much more numerous, however, are such formations from the more proper denominatives, especially in the oldest language (RV. has toward eighty of them; AV. only a quarter as many, including six or eight which are not found in RV.; and they are still rarer in the Brāhmaṇas, and hardly met with later). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms from the same denominative stem are in use: thus, for example, to aghāyū, arātiyū, jīyū, caraṇyū, manasāyū, saniyū, uruṣyū, saparyū; in others, only the present participle in yānt, or the abstract noun in yā (1149 d), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns: thus, tvāyū (beside tvāyant and tvāyā), yuvāyū or yuvāyū, asmayū, svayū, and the more anomalous ahamyū and kimyū. Especially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this has often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix yu, either with a meaning of seeking or desiring, or with a more general adjective sense: thus, yuvāyū seeking grain, varāhāyū boar-hunting, stansāyū desiring the breast; uruṣyū woolen, yuvānyū youthful, bhīmāyū terrible. And so the "secondary suffix yu" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in ahamyū and kimyū, above, and doubtless some others, even of the RV. words). In three RV. cases, the final ā of a noun-stem is even changed to ā before it: namely, an-hoyū, duvoyū (and duvoyā; beside duvasyū), āskṛdhoyu.
j. The words in yu do not show in the Veda resolution into ůu (except dhāśū Av., once).

1179. u u. Stems in u are very few, even as compared with those in i (1156). They are for the most part feminines corresponding to masculines in ũ (344b), with half-a-dozen more independent feminines (see 3550).

a. To those already mentioned above are to be added karṣū pit, -calū (in puṇḍcalū), -janū (in praṇanū), ṣūmbhū.

1180. uk uka. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction (271g) of a present participle. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.

a. The derivatives in uka are hardly known in the Veda; but they become frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, of whose language they are a marked characteristic (about sixty different stems occur there); and they are found occasionally in the older language. In all probability, they are originally and properly obtained by adding the secondary suffix ka (1223) to a derivative in ũ; but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an ũ-word from which they should be made.

b. The root is only so far strengthened that the radical syllable is a heavy (79) one; and it has the accent, whether the derivative is made from a simple root or from one with prefix.

c. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are: vāduka, nāṅṣa, upākrāmuka, prapāduka, upasthāyuka (259), vyāyuka, vēduka, bhāyuka, kṣodhuka, hāruka, vārṣuka, samārdhuka, dāṅṣuka, śambuka, qīṣuka (GB: RV. has qīṣū), pramāyuka (SB. has pramāyu).

d. Exceptions as regards root-form are: nirmāyuka (with vṛddhi-strengthening, as is usual with this root: 627), -kasuka, ydhnuka (from a tense-stem; beside ārdhuka). AV. accents sāṁkasuka (CB. has saṁkasuka) and vīkasuka; RV. has sāṅkā (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also ghātuka from yhan, and apramāyuka); vasukā (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. Aṇanāyuka (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

e. Of later occurrence are a few words whose relation to the others is more or less doubtful: kārmuka and dhārmuka, tsāruka, tarkuka, nānduka, pāduka, pecuka, bhikṣuka, lāḍuka, seduka, hīṇḍuka, hreṣuka. Of these, only lāḍuka appears like a true continuer of the formation; several are pretty clearly secondary derivatives.

f. A formation in āka (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with uka) may be mentioned here: namely, indhūka, mājīka, and, from redu-
plicated roots, jāgarīka wakeful, jañjapūka (later) muttering, danda-
qūka biting, yāyaśūka sacrificing much, vāvādūka (later) talkative;
salalūka is questionable.

1181. ॥ अक्र a, Here, as in the preceding case, we
doubtless have a suffix made by secondary addition of क a,
to a derivative in य a; but it has, for the same reason as
the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in
the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than
that of uka; it has very few examples in the older language.

a. In RV, is found (besides pāvakā, which has a different accent,
and which, as the metre shows, is really pāvāka) only sāyaka missile:
AV. adds pīyaka and vādhaka, and VS. abhikröcaka. But in the later
language such derivatives are common, more usually with raising of the root-
syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus, nāyaka, dāyaka (358),
pācaka, grāhaka, bodhaka, jāgaraka; but also janaka, khanaka.
They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical
syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of
the same root: thus, bhakṣyabhakṣaka eatabe and eater, vācyavācaka
designated and designation, and so on.

b. That the derivatives in a, sometimes take an accusative object
was pointed out above (271 c).

c. The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in āka or in ākī,
but more usually in īka: thus, nāyikā (with nāyakā), pācikā, bo-
dhikā; compare secondary a, below, 1282.

d. Derivatives in āka are made from a few roots: thus, jālpāka,
bhikṣūka; but very few occur in the older language: thus, pāvāka (above,
a), nabhāka, smayāka, jāhāka (?), -calāka, patākā. With āku is
made in RV. mṛdayāku, from the causative stem: pṛdāku and the pro-
per name ikṣvāku are of obscure connection.

e. Derivatives in īka and īkā will be treated below, in connection
with those in ka (1180 c).

1182. ॥ त्र (or त्र) tar). The derivatives made by this
suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their
uses, have been the subject of remark more than once
above (see 369 ff., 942 ff.). Agent-nouns are freely formed
with it at every period of the language; these in the oldest
language are very frequently used participially, governing
an object in the accusative (271 d); later they enter into
combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future
meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (942). Their corresponding feminine is in ārī.

a. The root has regularly the guṇa-strengthening. A union-vowel i (very rarely, one of another character) is often taken: as regards its presence or absence in the periphrastic future forms, see above (943 a).

b. Without guṇa-change is only uṣṭṛ plo of (no proper agent-noun: apparently úkṣ-ṛ: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root graha has, as usual, i — thus, grahītṛ; and the same appears in -tarītṛ, -pavītṛ, -marītṛ, -varītṛ, -saviṭṛ. An u-vowel is taken instead by tārītṛ and tarītṛ, dhānutṛ, and sānutṛ; long in varūtṛ; strengthened to o in manōtṛ and manotṛ. From a reduplicated root comes vāvātṛ.

c. The accent, in the older language, is sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the root; or, from roots combined with prefixes, sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the prefix.

d. In general, the accent on the root or prefix accompanies the participial use of the word; but there are exceptions to this: in a very few instances (four), a word with accented suffix has an accusative object; very much more often, accent on the root appears along with ordinary noun value. The accent, as well as the form, of manōtṛ is an isolated irregularity. Examples are: jētā dhānāni winning treasures; yūyām mārtiṁ grōtāḥ ye listen to a mortal; but, on the other hand, yāmā vāṣāni vidhatē bestowing good things on the pious; and jētā jānānām conqueror of peoples.

e. The formation of these nouns in ārī from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brāhmaṇas, is met with but once or twice in the Veda (bodhayītṛ and ocdhayitrī, RV.). In nēṣṭṛ a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the aoristic s.

f. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in ārī, are pīrī, mātṛ, bhītṛ, yātṛ, duḥtṛ, nāpātṛ, jāmātṛ. Of these, only mātṛ and yātṛ are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in ārī.

g. Instead of ārī is found ār in one or two RV. examples: yamūr, stāṭur.

h. Apparently formed by a suffix ā (or ār) are uṣṭṛ, savyaṣṭṛ, nānāndṛ, devṛ, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in ār, see 369.

1163. ṣ in. This is another suffix which has assumed a primary aspect and use, while yet evidently identical in real character with the frequent secondary suffix of the same form denoting possession (below, 1230).
a. How far it had gained a primary value in the early language is not easy to determine. Most of the words in in occurring in RV. and AV. are explainable as possessives; in many the other value is possible, and in a few it is distinctly suggested: thus, kevalādīn, bhadravādīn, nītodbīn, āgarāśīn, ānāmin, vīvādīn; from a tense-stem, -qnuvin, -paqvin (late); with aoristic s, -sakṣīn; and, with reduplication, niyāvin, vādavādīn. As the examples indicate, composition, both with prefixes and with other elements, is frequent; and, in all cases alike, the accent is on the suffix.

b. Later, the primary employment is unquestionable, and examples of it, chiefly in composition, are frequent. The radical syllable is usually strengthened, a medial a being sometimes lengthened and sometimes remaining unchanged. Thus, satyavādīn truth-speaking, abhībhāśin addressing, manohārin soul-winning. In bhāvin has established itself a prevailingly future meaning, about to be.

c. The use of an accusative object with words in in was noticed above (271 b).

1184. श्रयस्य iyas and श्रष्ठa iṣṭha. These suffixes, which, from forming intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of root-form, have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suffixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treated above, under the head of comparison (466—470).

a. It may be further noticed that jyeṣṭha has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, jyeṣṭhā, and that its correlative also is kaniṣṭhā in the oldest language; pārṣṣṭha is made from a secondary form of root, with aoristic s added.

b. When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form yas (470 a), its y is never to be read in the Veda as i.

c. No other suffixes make derivatives having participial value otherwise than in rare and sporadic cases; those that remain, therefore, will be taken up mainly in the order of their frequency and importance.

1185. त्रa. With this suffix are formed a few adjectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the gūpā-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.

a. Here, as in certain other cases above, we have doubtless a suffix
originally secondary, made by adding a to the primary ṭṛ or tar (1162); but its use is in great part that of a primary suffix.

b. Examples of neuter nouns are: gātra limb, pātra wing, pātra cup, yōktra bond, vāstra garment, grōtra ear; astrā missile, stotrā song of praise, potrā vessel; of more general meaning, dātra gift, kṣētra field, mātra urine, hōtrā sacrifice. The words accentuated on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, kṣatrā authority, rāṇtrā kingdom, gāstrā doctrine, satrā sacrificial session (also jñātra knowledge).

c. Masculines are: dāṇḍra task, māntra prayer, aṭtrā (or aṭrā: 232) devourer, ṭṣṭra buffalo, camel, and a few of questionable etymology, as mitrā friend, putrā son, vṛtrā foe. Mitrā and vṛtrā are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and mitrā comes later to be regularly of that gender.

d. Feminines (in trā) are: aṣṭrā goad, mātrā measure, hōtrā sacrifice (beside hōtrā); dāṇḍra (later, for dāṇḍra); nāṣṭrā destroyer.

e. Not seldom, a “union-vowel” appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with ṭṛ (above, 1162a). For the words in trā have the accent on i: thus, arītra (ārītra AV., once) impelling, oar, khanītra shovel. pavītra sieze, janītra birth-place; saṇītra gift; and so -avītra, aṣṭrā, carītra, -tarītra, dhamītra, dhavītra, bhavītra, vādītra (with causative root-strengthening), vahītra: the combination ītra has almost won the character of an independent suffix. The preceding vowel is also in a few cases a (sometimes apparently of the present-stem): thus, yājītra venerable, kṛṣṇātra shred, gāyātṛa (f. -trī) song, -damātra, pāṭrātra wing; but also āmatrā violent, vādātra deadly weapon; and varātra f. strap. Tātrā overcomes corresponds to taruṭ. Nākṣātra asterism is of very doubtful etymology. Samhāktatrā (RV., once) seems of secondary formation.

f. The words still used as adjectives in trā are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is johūtra crying out.

g. A word or two in tri and tru may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in trā: thus, āṭtri devouring, arcātri beaming, rāṭtrī or rāṭrī night; gātrī (gātru: 232) enemy.

1186. फः ka. The suffix फः ka is of very common use in secondary derivation (below, 1222); whether it is directly added to roots is almost questionable: at any rate, extremely few primary derivatives are made with it.

a. The words which have most distinctly the aspect of being made from roots are pūka-, -mekha (y/mi f2z), yaska n. pr., quśka dry, qlōka (y/ gVu hear) noise, report, etc., and -phāka teeming; and stūkā flake and stokā drop seem to belong together to a root stu; rākā f., n. pr., may be added.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 29
b. But ka enters, in its value as secondary, into the composition of certain suffixes reckoned as primary: see aka and uka (above, 1180, 1181).

c. A few words in which fka and fka seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, vṛṣṭika (vṛṣṭika) scorpion; aṇika (?) face, dṛṣṭika aspect, dṛṣṭha n. pl., mṛḍika grace, vṛṣṭika increase, aṇarpika and vṛṣṭika graces, -ṛṣṭika beaming, ṛṣṭka; ṛṣṭka; and, from reduplicated root, parvartika scattering (?). Compare secondary suffix ka (below, 1229).

1197. Ṣya. It is altogether probable that a part of the derivatives made with this suffix are not less entitled to be ranked as primary than some of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, 1210—13).

1198. Ṣra. With this suffix are made a large number of adjectives, almost always with weak root-form, and usually with accent on the suffix. Also, a few words used as nouns, of various gender. In some cases, the suffix is found with a preceding vowel, having the aspect of a union-vowel.

a. Examples of adjectives in ra are: kṣīrā quick, chīdrā split, turā strong, bhadrā pleasing, cakrā 'mighty, qukrā bright, hiṣāra injurious; — with accent on the root, only gīdrā greedy, tymra stout, dhīrā wise (secondary?), vīpra inspired, tūgra n. pr.

b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two: thus, nīcā attentive, nīmgra joining on.

c. Nouns in ra are: masc., ájra field, vīrā man, vajra thunderbolt, qīra hero; neut., ágra point, kṣīrā milk, rándhra hollow, ripra defilement; fem., dhīrā stream, qīpra jaw, sūrā intoxicating drink.

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly or quite gained the value of independent endings. Thus:

d. With ara are made a few rare words: the adjectives dvāra running, patarā flying, (with prefix) nyocara sutting; and the nouns gambhāra depth, tāsara and trasara shuttle, sānara gait, -ṛṣara thorn: bhāravarā and vāsarā are doubtless of secondary formation; and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others. As made with ara may be mentioned mandara a tree, mājāra cat.

e. With ira are made a few words, some of which are in common use: thus, ajīra quick, khadirā a tree, timīra dark, dvāsrā stirring up, mādīra pleasing, mudīra cloud, badhīra deaf, rudīra bright, ṣātri
lively, ásira missile, sthávira firm; and sthíra hard, and sphíra fat, with displacement of final radical ā; also sárīrā wave (usually salilā). With ēra are made gabhirā or gambhirā profound and gávira mighty, and perhaps gára body.

f. With u rā are made a few words, of some of which the secondary character is probable: thus, anhurā (aṅhur-ṛa?) narrow, ásura (aṅstu-ṛa?) living, chidurā tearing, bhāngurā breaking, bhāsura shining, bhidurā splitting, medurā fat, yādura uniting, vithura tottering, vidhura knowing, vidhurā lacking. With ūrā, apparently, are made sthūrā stout (compare sthāvira), kharjūra a tree, mayūra peacock (or imitative?).

1189. ल la. This suffix is only another form of the preceding, exchanging with it in certain words, in others prevalently or solely used from their first appearance.

a. Conspicuous examples of the interchange are quklā, sthūlā, -miqla, qithilā, salilā.

b. Examples of the more independent use are: pālā protecting, ānīla (or anīla) wind, tṛpāla joyous; later cāpala and tarāla (said to be accented on the final), and harṣula (the same). Many words ending in la are of obscure etymology.

1190. व va. Very few words of clear derivation are made with this suffix — too few to be worth classifying. They are of various meaning and accent, and generally show a weak root-form.

a. Thus: pākva praising, pāvā lofty, takvā quick, dhruvā fixed, pakvā ripe, padvā going, yahvā quick (?), ċarvā n. pr., hrasvā short, qikvā art/ul, rávā joy/ul, ūrdhvā lofty, vākvā twisting, ūrvā stall; ēvā quick, course, āśva horse, srākva or śkva corner; and perhaps ālba caul; a feminine is prāsvā (TS. pṛśvā, AV. pruśvā); with union-vowel are made sāciva companion, āmiva disease, and vidhāvā widow.

b. The words in va exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into u.

1191. र ri. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding u, a small number of derivatives.

a. Thus: aṅghri or aṅhrī foot, ācṛi edge, úsṛi dawn, tandri or -drī uneliness, bhūrī abundant, vānkri rib, sūrī patron, -takri quick, vādhri eunuch, qubhrī beautif/ul, sthūri single (team); and, with urī, jāsuri exhausted, dāguri pious, bhāguri n. pr., sāhuri mighty; aṅgūrī (or aṅgūlī) finger.

1192. र ru. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.
a. Thus: ágru tear, cáru dear, dhárù sucking, bhírù himself; — with preceding a-vowel: aráru intemical, patáru flying, vandáru praising, píyáru scoffing, garáru harming; — with preceding e, tamérù relaxed, maderù rejoicing, sanérù obtaining, himerù chilly, the evidently secondary mitrérù ally, and péru (of doubtful meaning).

b. The secondary suffix lu (see 1297b) is apparently added to certain nouns in á from conjugation-stems, making derivatives that have a primary aspect: thus, patayálu flying, apyáyu desiring.

1193. स व. By this suffix are made:

a. Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: jágávi awake, dādhrávi sustaining, dídhi shinning; and a very few other words; gíjávi lively, dhrúvá firm, jírvá worn out (AV.; elsewhere jírvi); -pharvá is doubtful.

b. Here may be mentioned olkitváit (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix vit from a reduplicated root-form.

1194. ह ः snu. With this suffix, with or without a union-vowel, are made a few adjective derivatives from roots, but also from causative stems.

a. From simple roots: direct, kāḍaṇu perishable, -gálsnu sick, jisánu victorious, dáháṣṇu sitting, bháṣṇu thriving, ni-ṣatsnu sitting down, stháṣnu fixed; with union-vowel i, kariṣṇu, kāḍiṣṇu, kāṣṣṇu, ga-máṣṇu, gráṣṇu, grahiṣṇu, cárīṣṇu, -jániṣṇu, jayáṣṇu, tapáṣṇu, -trápiṣṇu, -patáṣṇu, -bháviṣṇu, bhrájiṣṇu, madiṣṇu, -máviṣṇu, yájiṣṇu, yádiṣṇu, -vádiṣṇu, vardhiṣṇu, -sáhiṣṇu.

b. From secondary conjugation-stems: kopáyáṣṇu, kápayáṣṇu, cyáyáṣṇu, janáyáṣṇu, tápayáṣṇu, namáyáṣṇu, patáyáṣṇu, pośáyáṣṇu, páráyáṣṇu, bódhayáṣṇu, mádayáṣṇu, yámáyáṣṇu, rópayáṣṇu, -várayáṣṇu, -qócayáṣṇu; and jágáṣṇu. An anomalous formation is ulbaniṣṇu.

c. These derivatives are freely compounded with prefixes: e. g. ni-ṣatsnu, prajániṣṇu, abhiqocayáṣṇu, saḿvárayáṣṇu.

d. It is not unlikely that the s of this suffix is originally that of a stem, to which nu was added. Such a character is still apparent in krajáṣṇu craving raw flesh (kravis); and also in vadháṣnu, vṛdháṣnu (?), and pratháṣnu (?).

1195. ह सना. Extremely few words have this ending.

a. It is seen in tíkáṣna story, and perhaps in klákaná, -rákṣá, -mártána; and in geṣána and desána (usually trisyllabic: daśána) gift. Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by i; but it has (like sna, above) a before it in vadhásna deadly weapon, karásna fore-arm; na-dišṇa skilful seems to be secondary. Feminines are myáṣná loam, jyot-áná moonlight.
1196. त्त्वू. This suffix is used in nearly the same way with त्वू (above, 1194).

a. As used with simple roots, the त is generally capable of being considered the desinence त after a short root-final, to which नू is then added: thus, कर्त्तू active, गत्तू (? RV.), हात्तू deadly, -त्तू (? stretching; and, from reduplicated roots, ज़ज्ञत्तू hastening, and ज़ज्ञत्तू harming; but also दात्तू bursting. Also, with union-vowel, द्रव्यत्तू running, दयित्तू (? LC).

b. With causative stems: for example, द्रावयत्तू hastening, पोषयत्तू nourishing, मादयत्तू intoxicating, तनयत्तू and सनयत्तू thunder, सूरयत्तू flowing, -सयत्तू sickening.

c. With preceding य, in प्लयत्तू scoffing, भैरत्तू a river, अ-रुज्जत्तू breaking into; and काव्यत्तू misery (obscure derivation).

1197. ः ः. The words ending in suffixal ः ः, with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. Thus:

a. With ः simply: ग्र्त्तृ clever, जेष्ठa winning (rather, scoliotic of ग्रः त्तृ); ध्रुवः looking, रुक्ता shining, रुक्ता rough; उत्ता n. fountain; बहितसा f. fear (or from the secondary root बहितसा).

b. With preceding अ-vowel: तविः (f. तविः) strong, महिः (f. महिः) mighty, भरिः (? ) seeking booty; जीता rushing, पुरिः rubbish, मणिः f. devotion; and compare रार्यतम तिः (? SV.).

c. With preceding उ-vowel: आरुश (f. आरुश) red, अक्षुशuscious, तारुश overcomer, पुरुश and मानुश (-us-अ) man; पियदुा blessings.

1198. ः ः. A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps produced by the addition of आ to ः).

a. Thus, आतसा vagabond, धर्मसा firm, सनसा winning; and धसू m. drink, f. station, ससू (?) pool.

1199. ः ः. A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

a. Thus, व्राश्यहाः and रश्यहाः bull, शराश्य a certain fabulous animal, शर्राश्य a certain snake, गाराश्य and राश्य अस; further, काश्य, काराश्य and कालाश्य, ओश्य, ओश्य; and, with other union-vowels, तुष्ठिः, नुष्ठिः, and कुक्कुब्बा. The feminine, if occurring, is in ः; and काताश्य is found without corresponding masculine. AV. has the adjective स्तुलाश्य, equivalent to स्तुलः.

1200. A few words ending in the consonants त, द, ज, etc., and for the most part of doubtful root-connections, were given above, at 383x (3–5,7); it is unnecessary to repeat them here. Certain of those in ः are perhaps related to the participles in ant (1179).

1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by
the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or are doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.

a. A few such may be mentioned here: aṅḍa in karaṅḍa and vā- raṅḍa and certain unquotable words (prakritized a-forms from the present participle); era and ora in unquotable words, and elima (above, 966 d: perhaps a further derivative with secondary ima from era); mara (ma or man with secondary ra added) in ghasmarā, āmarā, etc.; — sara in matsara, kara in pūṣkara and other obscure words, pa in pūṣpa, stupā, stūpa, and a number of other obscure words; and so on.

B. Secondary Derivatives.

1202. Words of secondary derivation are made by the addition of further suffixes to stems already ending in evident suffixes.

a. But also, as pointed out above (1197 b), to pronominal roots.

b. Further, in exceptional cases, to indeclinables, to case-forms, and to phrases: e. g. antarvānt, apītvā, paratāstva, sahātva, sārva- trika, ākadhya, māmaka, āmuṃmika, āmuṣyāpā, apṣumānt, apśavyā, kīmoṣaṇya, kīmkartavyātā, kvācitka, nāṣṭika, akiṃkoin- maya.

1203. Changes of the stem. The stem to which the suffix is added is liable to certain changes of form.

a. Before a suffix beginning with a vowel or with y (which in this respect is treated as if it were i), final a- and i-vowels are regularly lost altogether, while a final u-vowel has the guṇa-strengthening and becomes sv; y and o and ū (all of rare occurrence) are treated in accordance with usual euphonic rule.

b. An u-vowel also sometimes remains unstrengthened: see 1206 c.

c. A final n is variously treated, being sometimes retained, and sometimes lost, even along with a preceding a; and sometimes an a is lost, while the n remains: thus, gṛṇāvant, gṛṇapa, gṛṇa, gṛṇātva, gṛṇyas, from gṛṇa. Of a stem ending in ant, the weak form, in at. is regularly taken: thus, vāivāsva (vivāsvant).

d. In general, the masculine form of a primitive stem is that from which a further secondary derivative is made. But there are not very rare cases in which the feminine is taken instead; examples are satītva, bhāryātva, pranitītva, bhāratīvant, rakṣāvant, priyāvant. On the other hand, a final long vowel — ṛ, much more rarely ū — generally of a feminine stem, is sometimes shortened in derivation: thus, yājyāvant, praṇākhabvant, goṣṭama, vaṣṭamatā, sadhanītva, jaratikā, annā-
dītamā (cf. 471 b), rohinitvā (TB.; -nītvā ÇB.), prthivitvā, pratipatnīvat, sarasvatvant.

a. As was pointed out above (111 c, d), the combination of a secondary suffix with a stem is sometimes made according to the rules of external combination. Such cases are pointed out under the suffixes īya (1215 c), ka (1223 m), maya (1225 b), min (1231 b), vin (1232 c), vant (1233 i), van (1234 c), mant (1235 f), tvā (1239 c), taya (1245 a), tya (1245 e), tana (1245 i).

1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the vyādhi-strengthening of an initial syllable of the stem to which a suffix is added.

a. The strengthened syllable may be of any character: radical, of a prefix, or of the first member of a compound: thus, aśvinā (aśvinā), saumyā (soma), pārthiva (prthivī), āmitrā (āmitra), sāmrājya (samrāj), sākytva (sukṛtā), mātrāvarṇa (mitrāvārṇa), ānucāñḍravasa (ucañḍravasa). As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.

b. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by y or v, the semi-vowel is sometimes vṛddhied, as if it were i or u, and the resulting āi or āu has y or v further added before the succeeding vowel.

c. This is most frequent where the y or v belongs to a prefix — as ni, vi, su — altered before a following initial vowel: thus, nāyāyika from nyāya (as if niyāya), vāyaṭva from vyāga (as if viyaṭva), sāyaṭvya from svāga (as if suvaṣa); but it occurs also in other cases, as sāvvarā from svāra, cāvva from čva, against svāyambhava (svayambhū), and so on. AV. has irregularly kāverakā from kūvera (as if from kvēra, without the euphonic y inserted).

d. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes a and ya; also regularly before i, āyana, ēya (with ēṣya), and later īya; before the compound aka and ika, and later aki; and, in single sporadic examples before, na, ṇa, ra, and tvā (?): see these various suffixes below.

e. Sometimes an unstrengthened word is prefixed to one thus strengthened, as if the composition were made after instead of before the strengthening: e. g. indradāvāya having Indra as divinity (instead of indrādevāya), caramaṅgārīka with head to the west, jivalāṅkika belonging to the world of the living, antarbhāumā within the earth, somārāuda, gurulāghava (cf. tāmasam gupalakṣaṇam M. xil. 35). But especially when the first word is of numeral value: as catagrama of a hundred years, pāncaśaradīya, trisāmāvatsara, bahuvārjika, aṣṭavārjika, anekarāṣṭrasastra, daçaśasra, trisāhāsri, tripāṣu-ruṣa, caturāḍhāyī or -yikā of four chapters, etc. etc.
More often, both members of a compound word have the initial strengthening: e. g. sūmāpāṇā, kāurupāṇāśa, cāturvāḍya, ākhasūkika, ākabhāskita, trāṣṭubajāga, yajurvāḍika. Such cases are not rare.

The guṇa-strengthening (except of a final u-vowel: 1203a) is only in the rarest cases an accompaniment of secondary derivation. Exceptions are dvāyā and trāyā and nāva (1209i), bheṣajā and devā (1209j), drōna (1293g), ċekhara (1296a).

1205. Accent. a. The derivatives with initial vrddhi-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable. And usually it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be furthest removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix eya: 1216).

b. No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial vrddhi); and in a single case (tā: 1237) it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.

1206. Meaning. a. The great mass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But, as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality expressed attributively by the adjective; and neuter abstracts are with the same suffixes made from adjectives. There are also special suffixes (very few) by which abstracts are made directly, from adjective or noun.

b. A few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminution and comparison), or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered.

1207. The suffixes will be taken up below in the following order. First, the general adjective-making suffixes, beginning with those of most frequent use (a, ya and its connections, i, ka); then, those of specific possessive value (in, vant and mant, and their connections); then, the abstract-making ones (tā and tvā, and their connections); then, the suffixes of comparison etc.; and finally, those by which derivatives are made only or almost only from particles.
a. For convenience of reference, a list of them in their order as treated is here added:

a 1208—9 maya 1225 tvā, tvatā 1239
ya 1210—13 ra, ira, etc. 1226 tvāna 1240
iya 1214 la, lu 1227 tara, tama 1242
iya 1215 va, vala, vaya, ra, ma
eyā, eyya 1216 vyā 1228 tha
enya 1217 qa 1229 titha
āyya 1218 in 1230 taya 1245
āyana 1219 min 1231 tya
āyī 1220 vin 1232 ta
i, aki 1221 vant 1233 na
ka, aka, ika 1222 van 1234 tana, tna
na, āna, īna, mant 1235 vat
ina, ena 1223 tā 1237 kaṭa
ma, ima, mna 1224 tāti, tāt 1238 vana, āla

1208. \( \text{H} \) a. With this suffix are made an immensely large class of derivatives, from nouns or from adjectives having a noun-value. Such derivatives are primarily and especially adjectives, denoting *having a relation* or *connection* (of the most various kind) *with* that denoted by the more primitive word. But they are also freely used substantively: the masculine and feminine as appellatives, the neuter, especially and frequently, as abstract. Often they have a patronymic or gentile value,

a. The regular and greatly prevailing formation is that which is accompanied with *vyuddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word, simple or compound. Examples of this formation are:

b. From primitives ending in consonants: with the usual shift of accent, āyasā of metal (āyas), mānasā relating to the mind (mānas), sāumanasā friendliness (sumānas), brāhmaṇā priest (brāhman), hāimavatā from the Himalaya (himāvant), āṅgirasā of the Āṅgiras family (āṅgiras); hāstina elephantine (hastin), māruta pertaining to the Maruts (marut); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, cāradā autumnal, vāirājā relating to the vārāj, pāṇiṇa belonging to Pūshān; gātrikṣitā son of Gātrikṣīt; — with accent unchanged, mānuṣa descendant of Mānuṣa.

c. The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in vant; it is added to the weakest in māghona and vātraghona; the ending in remains unchanged; an usually does the same, but some-
times loses its a, as in pāuṇā, trāīvṛṣṇā, daśa-rājāh; and sometimes its n, as in brāhmaṇā, aukṣā, bārhatsāma.

d. From primitives in य: jāstra victorious (jetṛ or jētṛ conqueror), tvāṣṭrā relating to Tvāṣṭr, sāvitrā descendant of the sun (savitṛ), āūbheṭra, pāitra.

e. From primitives in उ: usually with guṇa-strengthening of the उ, as vāsa-vā relating to the Vāsu, ārtavā concerning the seasons (ṛtu), dānāvā child of Dānu (dānu), sāindhavā from the Indus (śindhu); — but sometimes without, as mādhva full of sweets (mādhu), pāryavā side (pārqu vi), pāivā belonging to Pedā, tānvā of the body (tand), yādva of Yādū.

f. From primitives in इ and ई, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: pārthivā earthy (pythivī), saśra-vā of the Sāravati, āindrāṅgu belonging to Indra and Agni (indrāṅgu); pānkta five-fold (paṅkti), nāirtā belonging to Nārtti, pārthuraṅgu of Prathuraṅgu, pāṅgupā of Paṅgupāti.

ɡ. From primitives in ा, which in like manner disappears: yāmunā of the Yamūna, sāraghā honey etc. (sarāghā bee), kānāṁ natural child (kānāṁ girī).

h. A large number (more than all the rest together) from primitives in ा, of which the final is replaced by the suffix: for example, with the usual shift of accent, āmitrā inimical (amitra enemy), vārunā of Vāruṇa, vālqvadavā belonging to all the gods (viqvādeva), nārhastā handless-ness (nirhasta), vālqa-vā descendant of Vyūṣya; gārdabha asinine (gadarbhā), dāiva divine (devā), mādhyāmdina meridional (madhyāmdina), pāutra grandchild (putrā son), sāubbhāga good fortune (su-bhāga), vādhrayavā of Vādhrayavā’s race; with unchanged accent (comparatively few), vāsanā vernal (vāsanā spring), mātṛā Mitrā’s, ātithigavā of Atithigavā’s race, ‘dāivodāsa Dīvodāsa’s. In a few instances, ya is replaced by the suffix: thus, sāura, pāuṇā, yājaṅvalka.

i. The derivatives of this last form are sometimes regarded as made by internal change, without added suffix. Considering, however, that other final vowels are supplanted by this suffix, that a disappears as stem-final also before various other suffixes of secondary derivation, and that no examples of derivation without suffix are quotable from primitives of any other final than a, it seems far too violent to assume here a deviation from the whole course of Indo-European word-making.

j. Adjectives of this formation make their feminines in ǐ (see 332a).

1209. The derivatives made by adding ा without vṛddhi-change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of the transfer to an a-declension of words of other finals.
a. A number of examples of stems in a made by transfer were noticed above (399). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition (1315): thus, further, apa- (for ap or āp water), -ros, -nare, etc.; from stems in an, -aha, -vṛṣa, etc., but also -ahna and -vṛṣaḥ and vṛṣana; from stems in i, -aṅgula, -rātra, etc.; from the weakest forms of añ̄̄o-stems (407) uccā, nīcā, parācā, etc.

b. Also occurring especially in composition, yet likewise as simple words often enough to have an independent aspect, are derivatives in a from nouns in as (rarely iš, us): thus, for example, tamasa, rajas, payasa, brahmavargas, sarvavedas, devinas, paruṣa, tryāyuṣa, and probably manuṣa.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in in are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix ina: thus, malina polluted, paramaṣṭhina etc. (see 441 b).

d. A number of words formed with the so-called suffix anta are evident transfers from stems in ant. A few of them are found even from the earliest period: thus, pānta draught, āvantā (?), vasantā spring, hemantā winter, veṇantā etc. tank, jīvantā a certain healing plant; and others occur later, as jayanta, taranta, madhumanta, etc. They are said to be accentuated on the final.

e. From añ̄̄o-stems (407) are made a few nouns ending in k-a: thus, anūka, āpaka, upāka, prātika, prakā, etc.

f. From stems in y, hotra, netra, neṣṭra, potra, prajāstra, etc., from titles of priests; also dhātra, bhrātra, etc.

g. Other scattering cases are: sāvidyutā, āvyuṣa, vīrudha, kākuda, kakubhā, aṅguṣa, bhūmya, sakhyā, ādhipatya, jāspatya, arṣṭva, pāṇḍva.

h. The Vedic gerundives in tvā (tua), made by addition of a to abstract noun-stems in tu, have been already (966 a) fully given.

i. Trayā and dvayā come with guṇa-strengthening from numeral stems; nāva new in like manner from nū now; and antara apparently from antār.

j. Bhēṣajā medicine is from bhīṣajā healer, with guṇa-change; and probably devā heavenly, divine, god, in like manner from div sky, heaven (there is no “root div shine” in the language).

1210. U ya. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.

a. The derivatives in ya exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a ya-element — iya, iya, āya, ēyya, eyya, enya — are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the ya when it follows a consonant is dissyllable in
metrical value, or is to be read as īa. Thus, in RV., 266 words (excluding compounds) have īa, and only 75 have ya always; 46 are to be read now with īa and now with ya, but many of these have ya only in isolated cases. As might be expected, the value īa is more frequent after a heavy syllable: thus, in RV., there are 188 examples of īa and 27 of ya after such a syllable, and 78 of īa and 96 of ya after a light syllable (the circumflexed yā — that is to say, īa — being, as is pointed out below, more liable to the resolution than ya or yā). It must be left for further researches to decide whether in the ya are not included more than one suffix, with different accent, and different quantity of the i-element; or with an a added to a final ī of the primitive. It is also matter for question whether there is a primary as well as a secondary suffix ya; the suffix at least comes to be used as if primary, in the formation of gerundives and in that of action-nouns: but it is quite impossible to separate the derivatives into two such classes, and it has seemed preferable therefore to treat them all together here.

b. The derivatives made with ya may be first divided into those which do and those which do not show an accompanying vṛddhi-increment of the initial syllable.

c. Adjectives in ya, of both these divisions, make their feminines regularly in yā. But in a number of cases, a feminine in ī is made, either alone or beside one in yā: e. g. cāturmāsi, āgniveṣṭi, cāṇḍili, ārī (and ārī), dāvī (and dāvyā), sāumī (and sāumyā); dhīrī, cīśrpāṇī, svari, etc.

1211. Derivatives in ṝ ya with initial vṛddhi-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in ṝ a (above, 1209). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).

a. Examples are: with the usual shift of accent, daivyā divine (devā), pālītya grayness (palītā), grāvyā cervical (grīvā), āṛtvīja priestly office (ṛtvīj), gārhapatyā householder’s (ṛghāpati), jānarājya kingship (jānarāj), sāṅgrāmjīta victory in battle (samgrāmajīt); sātvāvyā wealth in horses (svāvā), śūpadraśṭraya witness (upadraśṭr); śādityā Aditya (ādīṭi), sāmyā relating to soma, śātithyā hospitality (āṭithi), pārahapatyā belonging to Prajāpati, vālmansyā mindlessness (vīmanas), sāhadevyā descendant of Sahādeva; — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, lāukya of the world (lokā), kāvya of the Kavi-race, ārvāya descendant of Rītu, vāśavyā belonging to the wind (vāyū), rāvativyā wealth (revānt); — with unchanged accent (very few), ādhipatyā lordship (ādhipati), cṛāṣṭhyā excellence (cṛāṣṭha), vāṣvyā belonging to the third class (vīq people), pāūmasya munliness (pūma).
1212. Derivatives in य ग without initial य्र्द्धि-strengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in य ग, feminine) abstract nouns. They are made from every variety of primitive, and are very numerous (in Veda, three or four times as many as the preceding class).

a. The general mass of these words may be best divided according to their accent, into: 1. Words retaining the accent of the primitive; 2. Words with retracted accent; 3. Words with acute य ( tá); 4. Words with circumflexed य (sa). Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.

1. b. Examples of derivatives in य ग retaining the accent of their primitives are: आय्वया equine (आय्वा), आंग्या of the limbs (आंग्वा), मुङ्ग्या foremost (मुङ्ग्वा mouth), आय्वा ovine (आय्वि), गाय्वया bovine (गो), विव्या of the people (विवा), दुर्या of the door (दुर्वा), नांया manly (न्या), विव्या virile (विवा), स्वार्या autocracy (स्वारा), सुव्या wealth in retainers (सुव्वा), विव्या of all men, विव्या of all the gods (विव्याव्या), बर्वाद्या peacock-tailed.

a. In the last words, and in a few others, the य ग appears to be used (like का, 1292h: cf. 1212m) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound: and so further सहास्त्रा (beside the equivalent suhasta), माधुर्यांस्या, दांगमास्या, निर्गार्यांस्या, अन्योदार्या, सामान्यांस्या.

2. d. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with य्र्द्धि-increment) are: काण्ठ्या guttural (काण्ठा), काल्या humeral (काल्या), व्रत्या of a ceremony (व्रता), मेघ्या in the clouds (मेघा), पित्र्या of the Fathers (पित्रा), भूत्या adverse (भूत्या). Hiranyāya of gold (हिरण्या), is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward and in retaining the final ए of the primitive; and gavayā and aavyā (also aavyā) are to be compared with it as to formation.

3. e. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are: दिव्य एक्षेत्र (द्विय), सत्य एक्षेत्र (सत्य), व्रेष्याते šrine (व्रेष्याते), कान्य एक्षेत्र (कन्या), ग्राम्य एक्षेत्र (ग्राम्या), सोण्या एक्षेत्र (सोण्या), अन्यांस्या एक्षेत्र (अन्यांस्या), दाक्षिणात्या नत for दाक्षिणा.

4. f. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed याद (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:
g. From consonant-stems: viśyā of the clan (RV.: vić), hṛdyā of the heart (ḥṛd), viḍyā of the lightning (viḍyāt), rājanyā of the royal class (rājan), doṣanyā of the arm (doṣān), ciṁyaṇyā of the head (ciṁāṇān), karmayā active (kārman), dhanavyā of the plain (dhanvan), namasyā reverend (nāmas), tvacasyā cuticular (tvācas), barnaṇyā of barhīs, āyuṇyā giving life (āyu), bhasadyā of the buttocks (bhasād), praśyā eastern (praño), etc. Of exceptional formation is aryaṁyā intimate (aryaṁáñ), with which doubtless belong sāṁya (sāṁān) and sākṣya (sākṣin).

h. From u-stems: hanavyā of the jaws (hānu), vāyavya belonging to Vāyu, paṇavyā relating to cattle (paṇū), iṣavyā relating to arrows (iṣu), madhavyā of the sweet (mādhu), aṣavyā of the waters (āṣū lon.), rājavyā of rope (rāju); garavyā i. arrow (gaṇu, do.); and there may be added nāvavyā navigable (especially in fem., nāvavyā navigable stream: nāvāceat). The RV. has praṣavyā to be partaken of (pra+yāq), without any corresponding noun praṇu; and also urjavyā rich in nourishment (ūrj), without any intermediate ūrju.

1. Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (904), the so-called gerundives in tavyā, as made by the addition of yā to the infinitive noun in tu. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later tavya wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous verbal derivatives.

:j. From i- and I-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS. has dundubhyā from dundubhī.

k. From a-stems: svargyā heavenly (svargā), devatyā relating to a deity (devatā), prapathyā guiding (prapāthā), budhnyā fundamental (budhnā), jaghaṇyā kindmost (jaghāna), varuryā Vāruna’s, viśyā might (vīrā), udārayā abdominal (udāra), utṣya of the fountain (utṣa); and from ā-stems, urvavyā of cultivated land (urvaṅā), svāhyā relating to the exclamation svāhā.

1. The circumflexed yā is more generally resolved (into īa) than the other forms of the suffix: thus, in RV. it is never to be read as ya after a heavy syllable ending with a consonant; and even after a light one it becomes īa in more than three quarters of the examples.

m. There are a few cases in which yā appears to be used to help make a compound with governing preposition (next chapter, 1310: cf. 1212 o): thus, apiṣaptayā about the arm-pit, upapaṣyā upon the sides, udāpyā up-stream; and perhaps upatmyā lying in the grass (occurs only in voc.). But, with other accent, anvāntraya through the entrails, upamāsya in each month, abhinabhỹā up to the clouds, antaḥparṣavyā between the ribs, ādhyāntyā on the chariot seat; of unknown accent, adhyātya, anuṣṭhyā, anuṣāsikya, anuvāṇyā.

1213. The derivatives in ु ya as to which it may be
questioned whether they are not, at least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, 963) comes to be practically a primary one.

a. In RV. occur about forty instances of gerundives in ya, of tolerably accordant form: the root usually unstrengthened (but cétya, bhávya, -hávya, márya, yódhya; also -mámya, -vácyya, bhávya); the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, praçáya, upásádyya, vihávya (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, anápyá, anapavrjyá) — exceptions are only bhávya and the doubtful akávyá; the ya resolved into ia in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by t (in -ítya, -krtva, -çrútya, -stútya, and the reduplicated carkútya, beside carküti: not in návya and -hávya), and a changed to e (in -deya only). If regarded as secondary, they might be made with ya, in accordance with other formations by this suffix, in part from the root-noun, as anukrt-ya, in part from derivatives in a, as bhávya (from bháva).

b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about twenty-five) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in ya with the same value: thus, for example, ádyé catable, kártya to be done, samápyá to be obtained, atitárya to be overpowered, nívibhárya to be carried in the opus, prathamaváhyá to be first worn. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as pariváryá to be avoided, avimókyá not to be gotten rid of, where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitives in ga and ka (316h).

c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence neuter abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition (in AV., only cítya and stéya as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: brahmañjáya, vasúdáya, bhágadháya, púrvapáya, çataséya, abhíbháya, deváháya, mantráçrútya, kar- makútya, vytrátyya, hotárya, ahihátya, satrasádyya, çíra- bhádyya, brahmásárya, nṛsháya. Of exceptional form are rúdya (yvad) and sahaçáyya (yáh); of exceptional accent, sadhástutya. And AV. has one example, ranyá, with circumflexed final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a smaller class of feminines in yá: thus, kútyá, vídya, ityá, agnicityá, vajñátyá, muṣṭihátyá, devavajyá, etc.

e. There remain, of course, a considerable number of less classifiable words, both nouns and adjectives, of which a few from the older language may be mentioned, without discussion of their relations: thus, stúrya (with
fem. sūryā, ájya, pūṣya, nābhya; yūjya, gṛdhya, īrya, aryā and árya, márya, mádhyā.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with ya may best be next taken up.

1214. य Iya. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of य ya would create a combination of difficult utterance. It has the same variety of accent with ya. Thus:

a. With accent iya (= iā or ya): for example, abhrīya (also abhrīyā) from the clouds (abhrā), kṣatriya having authority (kṣatrā), yajāśya reverent (yajnā), hōtrīya libationāl (hōtrā), amīṭriya inflammable (amītra).

b. With accent iyā (= iā or yā): for example, agrīya (also agrīya) foremost (āgra), indriyā Indra’s (later, sense: Indra), kṣetriyā of the field (kṣetra).

c. With accent on the primitive: cūtriya learned (cūtra), ṭṭvīya (also ṭṭvīya) in season (ṛtu).

1215. य Iya. This suffix also is apparently by origin a ya (Iā) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic y. It is accented always on the i.

a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only śrīkīya and gphame-
dhvīya, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. parvatiya mountainous (AV., beside RV. pravatīyā). In the Brāhmaṇas are found a number of adjectives, some of them from phrases (first words of verses and the like): thus, anyāśtriya, pañcavatiya, mārjāliya, kā-
cubhīya, svādūkṣhīya, āpohiḥśthīya, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (995) that derivative adjectives in īya from action-nouns in anā begin in later Veda and in Brāhmaṇa to be used gerundive, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language. But adjectives in anīya without gerundive character are also common.

c. Derivatives in īya with initial vṛddhi are sometimes made in the later language: c. g. pārvatiya, pāitāputriya, āparapakṣiya, vālakriya.

d. The pronominal possessives mādiya etc. (518 a) do not occur either in Veda or in Brāhmaṇa; but the ordinals dvitiya etc. (487 b, c: with fractionals ṭṭtīya and tūrīya: 488 a) are found from the earliest period.

e. The possessives bhagavādiya and bhavādiya, with the final of the primitive made sonant, have probably had their form determined by the pronominal possessives in -diya.
1216. या eya. With this suffix, accompanied by व्रद्धि-increment of an initial syllable, are made adjectives, often having a patronymic or metronymic value. Their neuter is sometimes used as abstract noun. The accent rests usually on the final in adjectives of descent, and on the first syllable in others.

a. Examples are: अर्जेये descendant of a नाये (नी), जानारुटेये son of जानारुटि, सारामेये of सारामि's race, छाटानेये (छाटानि's descendant, राठाहेये son of राठाहित, असेये of the blood (आसे), वास्तेये of the bladder (वास्ति), पारुषेये coming from man (पारुषा), पारसेये of a paternal aunt (पारसे), etc.

b. A more than usual proportion of derivatives in eya come from primitives in i or i; and probably the suffix first gained its form by addition of ya to a gunated i, though afterward used independently.

c. The gerundive etc. derivatives in ya (above, 1213) from र-roots end in या; and, besides such, RV. etc. have सह्ये from सह्य, and दिये worth seeing, apparently from the desiderative noun दिय, after their analogy. M. has once adhyeya as gerund of यि.

d. Derivatives in the so-called suffix इंये — as भागीये, ज्यादीये, कान्यीये — are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in इनि (fem.).

e. In eya (i.e. eya) end, besides the neuter abstract सहाय (above, 1213 c), the adjective of gerundival meaning सहाय (with aorist आ added to the root), and चलाये curse-bringing (or accursed), from चलाया.

1217. या enya. This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition of या to derivatives in a nasuffix; but, like others of similar origin, it is applied in some measure independently, chiefly in the older language, where it has nearly the value of the latter anवा (above, 1215 b), as making gerundival adjectives.

a. The य of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in वरेन्या) on the य: thus, -निा.

b. The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (966 b, 1019 b, 1036). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, वीरेया manly (वीरा), and दर्देया famous (दर्दी), and TS. has अनाध्विष्ठेया (अनाध्विष्ठा); विज्ञा (RV.) is a word of doubtful connections; गत्वेया instructive is found in a Sūtra; प्रायेया of the rainy season occurs later.
1219. ग्रज्जा ा्या. With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives, almost only in RV. They have been noticed above (666c. The ending is everywhere to be read as ा्या.

a. A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur: thus, bahupाया protecting many, रपाया men-guarding; कुँदपाया, and पुरुमाया, proper names; पुरपाया first drink, महायाया enjoyment; — and रसाया nervous, and उत्तमाया summit, contain no verbal root. ालाया is doubtful; also ाकाया, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with प्राहाया (AV.: यहि) messenger, and प्रवाया (AV.), of doubtful value.

1219. ग्राम्ययान ा्या. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, patronyms made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in ा ार, and have यढ्धि-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

a. In RV., the only example of this formation is कापाया (voc.: कापा); AV. has in metrical parts कापया and the fem. रामया; and ामया son of so-and-so (516) in its prose; CB. has राजसायानाळ aside -ायाना. The RV. name नामयानाळ is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. ायार ा्यी. Only a very few words are made with this suffix, namely ागयी (agī); ाग्नि, व्रजकपयी wife of रुषी-कपी; and later पुत्रकपयी, and मनयी रुषी's wife (but मनयी CB.).

a. They seem to be feminines of a derivative in a made with यढ्धि-increment of the final ि of the primitive.

1221. ि. Derivatives made with this suffix are patronyms from nouns in ा. The accent rests on the initial syllable, which has the यढ्धि-strengthening.

a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronyms in ा: for example, ाग्नी, पारुकुतस, प्रातारानि, साहवानि; AV. has but one, प्राहर; in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, in AB., सायवाणि, जानातपि, ारुपि, जानकि, etc. A single word of other value — सारथि राति (रातिम) — is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix ा्य — as ाणी descendant of र्वार — are doubtless properly derivatives in ा from others in ा or ाा. That the secondary suffix ा्य is probably made by addition of ा to a derivative in ा is pointed out below (1222).

c. RV. has ापुषि, apparently from ापुष with a secondary ा added, and the n. pr. ाणि; ाणि is found in B., and ाणि later.

1222. आ का. This is doubtless originally one of the class of suffixes forming adjectives of appurtenance. And
that value it still has in actual use; yet only in a small minority of occurrences. It has been, on the one hand, specialized into an element forming diminutives; and, on the other hand, and much more widely, attenuated into an element without definable value, added to a great many nouns and adjectives to make others of the same meaning — this last is, even in the Veda, and still more in the later language, its chief office.

a. Hence, ka easily associates itself with the finals of derivatives to which it is attached, and comes to seem along with them an integral suffix, and is further used as such. Of this origin are doubtless, as was seen above (1180, 1181), the so-called primary suffixes uka and aka; and likewise the secondary suffix ika (below, j).

b. The accent of derivatives in ka varies — apparently without rule, save that the words most plainly of diminutive character have the tone usually on the suffix.

c. Examples (from the older language) of words in which the suffix has an adjective-making value are: ántaka (ánta) end-making, bálhika (bálhī) of Balākā, àṇḍika (àṇḍā) egg-bearing, súcika (súci) stinging, urvárūka fruit of the gourd (urvārū), paryáyikā (paryáyā) strophic; from numerals, okakā, dvakā, trikā, ástaka; títiyaka of the third day; from pronoun-stems, ásmāka ours, ýuṣmāka your, mámāka mine (516d); from prepositions, ántika near, ánuka following, ávakā a plant (later adhika, utka); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides ástaka and títiyaka, already given), rúpaka (rúpā) with form, bábhruka (babhrū brown) a certain lizard. Bhāvataka your worship's has an anomalous initial vṛddhi.

d. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: átvakā age, kanínikā and kumārakā boy, kanínikā or kanínikā girl, pādakā little foot, putrakā little son, rājakā princelet, čakuntakā birdling. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from pronominal stems, see above, 531; other examples are anyakā (R.V.), álakam (R.V.: from álám), and even the verb-form yāmakī (for yāmī: K.B.).

e. The derivatives in ka with unchanged meaning are made from primitives of every variety of form, simple and compound, and have the same variety of accent as the adjective derivatives (with which they are at bottom identical). Thus:

f. From simple nouns and adjectives: ástaka home, násikā nostril, mákučikā fly, avikā eye, iṣukā arrow, dūrakā distant, sarvakā all, dhēnukā (dhenu) cow, nāgakā (nagnā) naked, báddhaka (baddhā) captive, abhinnatāraka by no means different, anastamitakā before sun-
set, vamrakā ant, arbhakā small, čiğukā young, aϕiyaska finer, eʃatūkā trembling, abhipāyakā intoxicated, paʃatūkā flying. Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable; from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in kā or kā (according to the gender).

g. From compound primitives: aʃalpakā very small, vīmanyakā removing wrath, vikṣàpatkā destroying, pravartamānaka moving forward, vikṣàpatkā destroyed.

h. In the Brāhmaṇas and later, kā is often added to a possessive adjective compound (1307), sometimes redundantly, but usually in order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, anakṣika eyeless, atvākka skinless, aṛtākka without seed, vyāsthaka boneless, saʃīrakā along with the head, ekagāyatrika containing a single gāyatri-verse, gṛhitāvasātarikā one who has taken yesterday’s water, sapatnīka with his spouse, bahuhaṣṭika having many elephants, saʃịgpasāṭika with dīkṣā and upasad, ahiṭasaṃitkā with his fuel laid on, abhinava-yaśa of youthful age, aṅgūṭhamāṭaka of thumb size.

i. The vowel by which the kā is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in ikā is so common beside a masculine in aϕa as to be its regular correspondent (as is the case with the so-called primary aϕa: above, 1181). In RV. are found beside one another only iyakkā and iyattikā; but AV. has several examples.

j. Two suffixes made up of kā and a preceding vowel — namely, aϕa and ika — are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial vyṛddhi-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless originally made by addition of kā to a final i or a, though coming to be used independently.

k. Of vyṛddhi-derivatives in aϕa no examples have been noted from the older language (unless māmakā mine is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, aϕavṣaϕa necessary, vāṛddhaka old age, rāṃapiṇyaka delightfulness.

l. Of vyṛddhi-derivatives in ika, the Veda furnishes a very few cases: vīṣantika vernal, vāṛṣika of the rainy season, hāmantiṭika wintry (none of them in RV.); AV. has kārīṭkā of the Kṛūṭas, apparent fem. to a masc. kārīṭkā, which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: vādīṭka relating to the Vedas, dhāṛmika religious, aṭhikā daily, vāṃṣayika well-behaved, dāuvārīka doorkeeper, nāṭiyika versed in the Nyāya.

m. Before the suffix kā, some finals show a form which is characteristic of external rather than internal combination. A final sonant mute, of course, becomes surd, and an aspirate loses its aspiration (117, 114): cf. -upasatka, -samitka, above. h. So also a palatal becomes guttural (as before t etc.: 317): e.g. -srucka, -rucka, -tvakka, anṛkka. A s remains after ś, and becomes ș after an alterant vowel (180): e.g. sadyaska, jyotiṣka, dirghāyuṣka. But the other sibilants take the form