900. a. Of exceptions may be noted: गुप्त has (as elsewhere: 627) विधि instead of गुप्त: thus, अभिज्ञम; गुिः has astasas, and गुिः has acaṣā (also acaṣālī in A.V.), with गुप्त in active.

b. The root ग्रह or ग्रह has (as in future etc., below, 296c, 256) long i instead of i before the sibilant: thus, अग्रभिष्म, अग्रिष्ट, अग्रिष्टत, अग्रिष्टत. The roots in changeable i (so-called roots in i: 243), and गुिः are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long i from such roots have been found, quotable. A Sūtra (PGS) has once अनायिष्ट from यन (doubtless a false reading).

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उम us and ग्रह ata in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combinations ग्र-स and ग्र-त are from the earliest period of the language contracted into ग्र-स and ग्र-त.

a. The 2d pl. mid. should end always in अध्वम (or अध्वम, from अध्व: 226); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable, namely अध्वम, अध्वम, अध्वम, अध्वम; as to the rules of the native grammarians respecting the matter, see 296c.

902. As examples of the inflection of the ग्र-aorist may be taken the roots पु pu cleanse, and बुध būdh wake. Thus:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>s</th>
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<tr>
<td>पु</td>
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<td>पु</td>
<td>त्वा</td>
<td>पु</td>
<td>त्वा</td>
<td>पु</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

903. The number of roots from which forms of this aorist have been noted in the older language is nearly a hundred and fifty (in RV., about eighty; in AV., more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.); the later texts add less than twenty. Among these are no roots in त; but otherwise they are of every variety of form (rarest in final त and त). Active and middle persons are freely made, but sparingly from the same root; only about fifteen.
roots have both active and middle forms in the older language, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other.

a. No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the īṣ- and the s-aorist; and in no small number of cases the same root shows forms of both classes.

904. Irregularities are to be noticed as follows:

a. The contracted forms akramīṃ, agrabhīṃ, and avadhīṃ (with augmentless vādhīṃ) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For ácarīt occurs in AV. ácarāt; also (in a part of the manuscripts) ṣarās for ṣarīs; agrabharāgam is found in AB. (also the monstrous form ajagrabhāgam: see 8011). Ajayīt, with short i in the ending, occurs in TS.

c. AV. has once nudiṣṭhās, without guṇa.

d. The forms atārīma (RV.), avādirān (AV.), and bādhīthās (TA.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist: compare avitā, 908. A few similar cases occur in the epics, and are of like doubtful character: thus, jāniṃthās, maṛṇāthās, vartāthās, ṣaṅkīthās, and (the causative: 1048) aghātāy ithās. Agraḥītām and grīthās and grīhīta, if not false readings for grīṇīt-, are probably irregular present-formations.

Modes of the īṣ-aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: qānquṣam, vādhīṃ; māṭha, vādhīṣ, yāvis, sāvis; āvīt, jūrvīt, māṭhit, vādhīt, veṣīt; mardhiṣtam, dogṣṭam, hiṁṣṭam; avīṣṭam, jāniṃṭam, bādhiṣṭam; ṣramīṣma, vādiṃṣa; vadhīṣṭa and vadhīṣṭana, maṭḥiṣṭana, hiṁṣṭa; ṣvārīṣī, ṣraḥṣī; — in the middle: rādhiṣī; jāniṃṭhās, marṣṭhās, vyaṭhiṣṭhās; ṣrāṁṣṭa, jāniṃṭa, paviṃṭa, prāṭhīṭa, māṇḍiṣṭa; vyathiṃṣmaḥi. The accent is on the root-syllable (tārīṣūs, AV. once, is doubtless an error).

906. a. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. daviṃṣaṇī, and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened e) yāciṣāmahe and saniṣāmahe.

b. Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: avīṣas, kāṃṣas, tārīṣas, rākṣasas, vādiṣas, vēdiṣas, qānquṣas; kārīṣat, jambhiṣat, jōṣīṣat, takṣiṣat, tārīṣat, nīṇṣat, pāriṣat, bōdhiṣat, mārdhiṣat, yāciṣat, yodhīṣat, rākṣiṣat, vanṣiṣat, vyathiṣat, qānquṣat, saniṣat, sāviṣat. They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding a to the tense-stem in īṣ before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. saniṣanta and mid. saniṣanta (and TS. has veniṣanta,
for the problematic vanuṣanta of RV.), which are also regular. Bhāgavat (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign; cāniṣṭhat (RV.; SV. instead jāniṣṭhat) seems hopelessly corrupt. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative: but we have san- in the subjunctive against āsāṇiṣṭam (as to cay- and ran-, see below, 908).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted “precative” of the later language (923, 925b). It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other iṣ-forms) ; and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: janiṣṭya, indhiṣṭya, edhiṣṭya, ruciṣṭya and rociṣṭya, gmiṣṭya, modiṣṭhā, janiṣṭha; vaniṣṭha; sahiṣṭva; edhiṣṭmāhi, dhiṣṭmāhi, janiṣṭmāhi, tāriṣṭmāhi, mandiṣṭmāhi, vandiṣṭmāhi, vardhiṣṭmāhi, sahiṣṭmāhi and sahiṣṭimāhi. The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule. The forms janīṣṭmam and -ya, from a secondary a-stem, occur in K.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from yav a series: namely, avidiṣṭhi, aviṣṭu, aviṣṭām, avitā (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for aviṣṭā) and aviṣṭāna; two of these are of unmistakably imperative form. Other forms occur only in 2d du. and 2d pl., and are accordingly such as might also be subjunctives used imperatively (which is further made probable for two of them by their accentuation on the root-syllable): they are kramiṣṭaṁ, ganiṣṭaṁ, caniṣṭaṁ, caviṣṭaṁ (against acāyiṣṭam), tāriṣṭaṁ, yodhiṣṭaṁ, vadhiṣṭaṁ, qnathiṣṭaṁ; rāniṣṭana (against arāṇiṣus), qnathiṣṭana.

909. No words having a participial ending after iṣ are found anywhere to occur.

910. This is the only aorist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, 1035, 1046, 1068.

6. The iṣ-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in ग्या (including नि mt fixed, नि mt (or mt) damage and ली mt cling, which substitute forms in ः), and from नम nam bow, यम yam reach, and रम ram be content, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the a-form (878 ff.). Its inflection is precisely like that of the iṣ-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than
its first persons, which we may form from the roots या गा and नम मो. Thus:

1 या गा गा गा गा गा गा

अयासिम अयासिता अयासितम अयासितम अयासितम अयासितम
e tc. etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.

912. The इग-अरिस्त is properly only a sub-form of the इग-अरिस्त, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added s. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots गा sing and गा go, and in AV. only from हा leave, and doubtless also from पुः fill up and वाण win (see below, 914 b); the remaining older texts add jñा know (B.), यजः over-power, ध्यान think (CB. once: the edition reads -ध्यान-), and रम बे content (SV.: a bad variant for RV. रम्याय); other Brāhmaṇa forms which might be also of the s-अरिस्त are अद्वैत, अवासित, and अह्वासित; and बहुकृष्ण्या (PB. S.) must be regarded as an anomalous formation from य्वैह, unless we prefer to admit a secondary root बहुक, like बहाक from बह. In the later language have been found quotable from other roots only ग्लासित, अद्वैत, अनासित, अपासित, मलासित, and अन्मलासित.

a. The participle हस्मान्ता and causative हस्यावति (RV.) show that हा had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside हा for other forms than the अरिस्त.

913. The whole series of older indicative forms (omitting, as doubtful, the 2d and 3d sing.) is as follows: अग्लासित, आज्ञासित, आयासित; अद्वैत, अयासित; अनासित, अन्मलासित; अमलासित, अपासित, अवासित; अह्वासित (अक्षिसित is from याकः attain).

a. Forms without augment are these: ज्ञासित, रम्यावत, हस्तित; हस्तितम; हस्तितम; हस्तितम; हस्तितम; गसित, गसित; ज्ञासित; ज्ञासित; अमलासित; अपासित; अवासित; अनासित; अन्मलासित.

The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. a. Of proper subjunctives are found two, ग्लासित and ग्लासित (both RV.).

b. Optatives are not less rare: namely, ग्लासितम and प्यासिगम (for which the AV. manuscripts read प्यासिगम, altered in the edition to प्यासिग); and doubtless वान्सित (AV., twice) is to be corrected to वान्सित, and belongs here. As to भुकृष्णिया, see above, 912.

c. The accent of ग्लासितम (like ग्लासित, 908) shows it to be a true imperative form; and ग्लासित (RV., once) is doubtless the same, with anomalous i for i.

915. Middle forms of this अरिस्त, it will be noticed, occur from the optative only; but, considering the great rarity of the whole formation, we are hardly justified in concluding that in the ancient language the middle persons in -इष्ट, -इष्टाः, etc., were not allowable, like those in -ैष, -ैष्ठाः, and the others of the इग-अरिस्त.
7. The sa-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form this aorist end in श र, श, or ह — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make छ ; and they have न, न, or ष as radical vowel.

a. They are as follows: diq, riq, liq, viq, kliq, kruq, ruq, mryq, sryq; tviq, diviq, qiq, viq, kṣ; dih, mih, lih, guh, duh, ruh, tṛh, vṛh, stṛh; from about half of them sa-forms, earlier or later, are quotable. Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take aorists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel ग in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-aorist.

917. As the tense-stem ends in ष a, the inflection is in the main like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation. But (according to the grammarians: the forms unfortunately have not been found quotable) the 1st sing. mid. ends in न instead of न e, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in शषम and शषम, as in imperfects of the other conjugation. Both active and middle inflection is admitted. The root is throughout unstrengthened.

918. As example of inflection we may take the root दिन diq point. Thus:

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<td>अनितम्</td>
<td>अनिताय</td>
<td>अनिता</td>
<td>अनिति</td>
<td>अनिताविति</td>
<td>अनितालमि</td>
<td>अनितालमि</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अदिक्षाम</td>
<td>अदिक्षावा</td>
<td>अदिक्षामा</td>
<td>अदिक्षिः</td>
<td>अदिक्षावहि</td>
<td>अदिक्षामाहि</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>अदिक्षा</td>
<td>अदिक्ष पम</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धास</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धाम</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धात्व धाम</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धात्व धात्व</td>
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<tr>
<td>अदिक्ष</td>
<td>अदिक्ष पम</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धास</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धाम</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धात्व धाम</td>
<td>अदिक्ष धात्व धात्व</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

919. In the earlier language, the forms of the sa-aorist are hardly more than sporadic. They are made in RV. from seven roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add ten more, making nineteen in all (the later language makes no additions to this number). As later, all have न or न or ष as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with ष to छ ; but there are in the list also two
ending in \textit{j}, namely \textit{mpj} and \textit{ṿj}. All the examples noted are given below.

a. So far as the middle forms are concerned, this aorist would be fully explained as a transfer of certain \textit{s}-aorists to an \textit{a}-inflection. The marked difference in the strength of radical vowel in the active, however, stands in the way of the successful application of such an explanation to the active forms.

920. a. In the indicative, we find, in the active: \textit{aṅkṣam}; \textit{adruk-}
\textit{gas}, \textit{adṛukṣas}, \textit{arukṣas}, \textit{akṛukṣas}, \textit{asṛkṣas} (and MBh. adds \textit{amṛkṣas});
and \textit{ādhuṅkṣat}, \textit{āruṅkṣat}, \textit{avṛkṣat}, \textit{akṛkṣat}, \textit{āmpṛkṣat}, \textit{āśṛkṣat};
\textit{aghukṣatām}; \textit{arukṣāma}, \textit{amṛkṣāma}, \textit{avṛkṣāma}; \textit{ādhuṅkṣan}, \textit{apik-}
\textit{ṣan} (\textit{ỵpiṣ}), \textit{arukṣan}, \textit{asṛkṣan}; — in the middle, only \textit{ākṛkṣathās}
(\textit{ỵkr̥}), \textit{ādṛukṣāta}, and \textit{amṛkṣanta} (and MBh. adds \textit{amṛkṣata}?)

b. Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: \textit{dṛkṣam}, \textit{mpkṣam}; \textit{duṅkṣas}, \textit{rukṣas}, \textit{mpkṣas}; \textit{dvikṣat};
\textit{mpkṣata}; \textit{duṅkṣan} and \textit{duṅkṣan}; — in the middle, \textit{dvikṣata}, \textit{duṅ-}
\textit{kṣata} and \textit{duṅkṣanta}, \textit{duṅkṣānta}.

c. There are no optative forms.

d. Imperative are: in the active, \textit{mpkṣatam}; in the middle, \textit{duṅk-}
\textit{gāsve}.

e. The few accented forms without augment which occur have the

tone on the tense-sign \textit{sā}, in analogy with the \textit{a}-aorist (2) and the imper-

fect of the \textit{ā}-class: a single exception is \textit{duṅkṣata}, which probably needs

emendation to \textit{duṅkṣāta}.

f. The aspiration of initial \textit{d} and \textit{g}, after loss of the aspirated qual-

ity of the root-final (155), is seen in forms from the roots \textit{duhn} and \textit{guh},

but not from \textit{duhn} (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also

\textit{adukṣat} and \textit{duṅkṣas}, \textit{duṅkṣan}, \textit{duṅkṣata}.

\textbf{Precative.}

921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians
to be made in the later language from every root, and in an inde-

pendent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the
\textit{a}-aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief

statement of the rules given for it.

922. The precative active is made by adding the active

precative endings (above, 568) directly to the root. But:

a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign \textit{ỵā}: 770), \textit{i} and

\textit{u} are lengthened; \textit{ṛ} is usually changed to \textit{rī}, but to \textit{ṛr} and \textit{ṛr} in those

roots which elsewhere show \textit{ir-} and \textit{ur-} forms (so-called \textit{ṛ}-roots: 242), and

to \textit{ar} in \textit{ṛ} and \textit{amṛ}; \textit{ā} is changed to \textit{e} in the roots \textit{dā}, \textit{dhā}, \textit{sthā}, \textit{pā}

\textit{drīṅk}, \textit{gā} \textit{sing}, and a few others, in part optionally.
b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in *badhyāsam* from *ybandh*; the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (794) have the same abbreviation here, as in *ucyāsam, ijuśāsam, vidyāsam, supyāsam, gṛhyāsam; yqās forms cīyāsam* (compare 639, 854a); and so on.

c. It has been pointed out above (837) that the active preiative is an optative of the root-aorist, with a problematic insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending.

923. a. The preiative middle is made by adding the middle preiative endings (above, 566) to the root increased by स or इ — that is, to the tense-stem of an s-aorist or of an इ-aorist (but without augment).

b. The root is strengthened according to the rules that apply in forming the middle-stem of the s and of the इ-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before इ.

c. As was pointed out above (587) the middle preiative is really the optative of certain aorists, with the insertion of a sibilant between mode-sign and ending only (so far as authenticated by use) in the 2d and 3d singular. In the older language, such forms are oftest made from the s-aorist (895) and the इ-aorist (807); but also from the root-aorist (837b), the s-aorist (850a), the reduplicated aorist (870), and the इ-aorist (814b); and even from the perfect (812b).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root भु बे, which is said (no middle aorist or preiative from it is quotable) to form its middle on the इ-stem. Thus:

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>s.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṃyāmaḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhūyāsam</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ṃyāsaḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhūyās</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ṃyātaḥ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhūyāt</td>
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XI. Aorist-systems.

middle.

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<th>s.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bhaviśīyā</td>
<td>bhaviśīyāhī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bhaviśīṣṭām</td>
<td>bhaviśīṣṭām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bhaviśīṣṭa</td>
<td>bhaviśīṣṭām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The forms given by the grammarians as 2d and 3d dual are of very questionable value, as regards the place assigned to the sibilant. Those persons, and the 2d pl., have never been met with in use. For the question respecting the ending of the 2d pl., as dhvam or dhvam, see 226 c.

925. a. The precative active is a form of very rare occurrence in the classical language. In each of the texts already more than once referred to (Manu, Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, Cākuntalā, Hitopadeśa) it occurs once and no more, and not half-a-dozen forms have been found quotable from the epic. As to its value, see 573 c.

b. The precative middle is virtually unknown in the whole later literature, not a single occurrence of it having been brought to light. The Bhāṣya has once rriṣiṣṭa, which is also a RV. form, belonging probably to the reduplicated aorist: see 870.

Uses of the Aorist.

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: 582) appear to accord with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after mà was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (579).

a. The tense-value of the aorist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.

927. The aorist of the later language is simply a pret-erit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.

a. Thus, tataḥ sa gardabham lagudena tadadhyāsa; tena 'sāu pancatvam agamat (H.) thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died; tataḥ sa vidarbhan agamat punah; tāṁ tu bandhujanah samapūjyat (MBh.) thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence; pritīmān abhūt, uvāca
Uses of the Aorist.

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cālī 'nam (MBh.) he was filled with affection, and said to him; tam adahat kāthāḥ śo bhūd divyavāpaś tadā (R.) he burned him with wood, and he became then a heavenly form.

928. The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary have. In general, it indicates what has just taken place; and oftentimes something which the speaker has experienced.

a. Examples from the Veda are: pārī 'mé gam aneṣata pary aṣṭiṃ aḥṣata, devastv akraṣa qṝvaḥ kā imān ā dadhrṣati (RV.) these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods — who shall venture anything against them? yāṁ śīchāma manasaś so 'yām ā 'gāt (RV.) he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, sor.) come; yèna 'ndro havīṣa kṛtvy ābhaḍad dyumny uttamāḥ, idām tād akri devā asaptānāḥ kī Śā bhuvam (RV.) that litation by which Indra, making it, became (imperf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies.

b. Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: sā hā 'smiḥ jyog uvaśa... táto ha gandharvaḥ sām āḍire: jyog vṛ āyām urvāci manuṣyev avātāt (CB.) she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvaṇi, forsooth, hath dwelt a long time among mortals"; tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: tam ho 'vaca: apatsata vṛ asya dantāḥ (AB.) his teeth fell out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"; īndrasya vytrāṁ jaghnuśa indriyām vīryām pṛthivīṁ ānu vy āroha tād ṇaḍadhaṅ vagṛūḍho 'bhavan śa praṣāpatim uṇā 'dhaḍad vytrāṁ me jaghnuṣa indriyāṁ vīryām pṛthivīṁ ānu vy ārat tād ṇaḍadhaṅ vagṛūḍho 'bhuvann iti (TS.) of Indra, when he had slain Vritra, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants; he ran to Praṣāpati, saying: "my force and might, after slaying Vritra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"; svayām enam abhyudētya brūyād vrātya kva 'vatsaḥ (AV., in prose passage) going up to him in person, let him say: "Vṛata, where hast thou abode? yād icāṇāṁ dvāvā vivāda- mānāv eyātām ahām adarṣam ahām agrāuṣam iti vṛ eva brūyād
ahām adarṣam iti tāmsa eva rāddadhyāma (CB.) if now two should come disputing with one another, [the one] saying "I have seen", [the other] "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen".

929. a. This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the Brāhmaṇa language (including the older Upanishads and the Sūtras), and is closely observed; violation of it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin.

b. In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained; many passages would admit an
interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

930. The boundary between what has just been and what is is an evanescent one, and is sometimes overstepped, so that an aorist appears where a present might stand, or was even rather to be expected. Thus: svāsastraṁ bhavatam indave na iti soma vāi rāje 'nduḥ somā- yāi 'vāi 'ne etad rājña šāade 'cikṣpat (AB. i. 29. 7) "be ye comfortable seats for our Indu," he says; Indu is king Soma; by this means he has made them (instead of makes them) suitable for king Soma to sit upon; vārupuḥ āpo yād adbhīr abhiśiścāti vārupam evaṁ 'nam ukar (MS. iv. 3. 10) the waters are Varuna's; in that he bepours him with waters, he has made him Varuna; paścābhīr vyāghrāyati pāṅkto yajñā yāvān eva yajñās tām ślabdhā 'tho yāvān eva yajñās tāsmād rākṣāday āpahanti (MS. iii. 2. 6) he smears with five; fivefold is the offering; as great as is the offering, of it he has [thereby] taken hold; then, as great as is the offering, from it he smiles away the demons. This idiom is met with in all the Brāhmaṇas; but it is especially frequent in the MS.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS.

931. The verb has two futures, of very different age and character. The one has for tense-sign a sibilant followed by ṣya, and is an inheritance from the time of Indo-European unity. The other is a periphrastic formation, made by appending an auxiliary verb to a derivative noun of agency, and it is a recent addition to the verb-system; its beginnings only are met with in the earliest language. The former may be called the s-future (or the old future, or simply the future); the latter may be distinguished as the periphrastic future.
I. The a-future.

933. The tense-sign of this future is the syllable या, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel य (in the latter case becoming या या). The root has the guna-strengthening. Thus, from वदा दा give is formed the future tense-stem दया दया; from धे या go, the stem धया धया; from धुद् या duh milk, the stem धया धया; from धूष या be, the stem धया धया; from धृष्ठ या धर्म thrive, the stem धर्या धर्या; and so on.

a. But from यज्ञ ल्व the stem is ल्व, from युक्त sprinkle it is उक्ष, and so on (240).

b. There are hardly any Vedic cases of resolution of the tense-sign yā into ya; RV. has क्षृंितas once.

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in य a (second general conjugation: 733a). We may take as models of inflection the future of वदा दा give, and that of धन्य क्र make. Thus:

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a. In the epics are found occasional cases of 1st du. and pl. in va and ma: e.g. राखयावा (R.), bhakṣayāva (causative: MBh.); एष्यामा (MBh.), वत्सयामा (K.).

934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel य before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance between this tense and the other future and the desiderative; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist (a-
sorist on the one side, or ły-sorist on the other), any correspondence
is still less traceable. Practically, it is necessary to learn, as a mat-
er of usage, how any given root makes these various parts of its
conjunctival system.

235. Below is added a statement of the usage, as regards the auxil-
iary vowel, of all the roots found quotable — for the most part, in the
form of a specification of those which add the tense-sign directly to the
root; in brackets are further mentioned the other roots which according to
the grammarians also refuse the auxiliary vowel.

a. Of roots ending in vowels, the great majority (excepting those in
ę) take no i. Thus, all in ą (numerous, and unnecessary to specify: but
compare c below); — those in ą, as kśi possess, ci gather, ci note, mį, śι
or śa bind (śiśya), hi; from i, kśi destroy, and jį occur forms of both clas-
es; qį [and ąqį] has i; — those in Ĩ, as křī, bhį, mį, vįt; but qį
lie and nį have both forms [and iĮ takes i]; — those in u, as oyu, dru,
plu, qru, hu; but su press out and stu have both forms [and kṣu,
kuu, nu, yu, ru, anu take i]; — of those in u, dhi and bhu take
į; śti has both forms. But all in Ī (numerous, and unnecessary to specify)
take i [those in changeable Ī, for so-called Ī-roots (249), are said by
the grammarians to take either ī or Ī; no Ī-forms, however, are quotable].

b. Of roots ending in mutes, about half add the tense-sign directly.
Thus, of roots ending in gutturals, čak; — in palatals: in c, paco, muc,
rīc, vao, vic, vraço, etc (but yāc takes ī); in ĺh, prach; in j, bhañ,
śṛj (mṛkṣya and mrakṣya), yaj, bhuj, yuṣ, vṛj, aṛj [also bhrajj,
raṛj, saṛj, svaṛj, sṛj, ruṣ], while tyaj, bhañ, and maji (mankṣya and
majjiṣya) have both forms, and vi (viṣiṣya and veṣiṣya) and vṛaj
take ī; — in dentals: in t, kṛt cut and vṛt [also qṛt and nṛt] make
both forms; in d, ad, pad, qad fall, akand, syand, chid, bhid, vid
সadh, nud [also sadh, knid, svid, kṣud, tud]; while sad (satiṣya and
siṣiṣya) and vid know make both forms [also ohṛd and tṛd!], and vad
has i; in dh, vyadh (vetṣya), rādh, sīdḥ succeed, budh, yudh, rudh,
vrōdh [also sādh, krudh, kṣudh, cūdh], and bandh and sīdḥ repet
take both forms; in n, tan, while man and han have both forms; — in
labials: in p, āp, kṣp, gup, tsp, ap (sṛapsya and sarpṣya) [also
qap, lip, lup], while tap, vap, svap, dvp, and īdp have both forms;
in bh, yabh and rabh, labh having both forms; in m, ram, while kram,
kṣam, nam, and yam make both forms.

c. Of the roots reckoned by the grammarians as ending in semivowels
(761 d—g) all take ī. And vā or vi weave, vya or vi envelop, and hvā
or hu call take a y-form, as in their present-system, to which then ī is added:
thus, vayiṣya, vyayiṣya, hvayiṣya (but also hvāṣya).

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are with-
out the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in q, diq, viq, d̄q (drakṣya),
ṣprq (spṛakṣya) [also dācq, riq, līq, kruq, mṛq], while naq be lost
have both forms (naṅkṣya and naṅṣya); — in q, piq, viq, çiq [also
The s-future.

3936. Mode-forms of the future are of the utmost rarity. The only example in the older language is karṣyā, 2d sing. subj. act., occurring once (or twice) in RV. (AB has once notsyāvahā, and GB has eqyāmahā, tadṣyāmahā, sthāyāmahā, but they are doubtless false read-
ings for -he. Two or three optative forms are found in the epics: thus, dhakṣyot and maṇḍayera (MBh.), and dhakṣyeta (R.); also an imperative patsyantu (Har.). And several 2d pl. mid. in dhvam are quotable from the epics: thus, vedyadhvam, savisyadhvam, and (the causative) kālayisyadhvam (PB.) and jivayisyadhvam (MBh.: and one text has mokṣayadhvam at 1.139.13, where the other reads mokṣayadhvam), and bhavisyadhvam (MBh. R.): it is a matter of question whether these are to be accounted a real imperative formation, or an epic substitution of secondary for primary endings (compare 543a).

Participles of the s-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in या: namely, by adding in the active the ending नत, in the middle the ending मण; the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, दस्यत दस्यां and दस्यमान दस्यमण, कारियान कारियां and कारियामण कारियामणा.

a. According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in अंती or in अदी; but only the former has been noted as occurring in the older language, and the latter is everywhere extremely rare: see above, 449 e, f.

b. In RV. occurs once सुस्यांति, from यस्य, with anomalous accentuation.

Preterit of the s-future: Conditional.

940. From the future-stem is made an augment-preterit, by prefixing the augment and adding the secondary endings, in precisely the same manner as an imperfect from a present-stem in या. This preterit is called the conditional.

a. It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional aurait to the future aurait, or as the English would have to will have — nearly as the German würde haben to werde haben.

b. Thus, from the roots already instanced:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>active</th>
<th>middle</th>
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<tr>
<td>दस्यम</td>
<td>दस्याव</td>
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The Conditional.

II. The Periphrastic Future.

941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, ábhāriṣyatyāḥ was going to carry off; and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brāhmaṇas it is hardly more common — except in C.B., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nāla, Bhagavat-Gītā, or Hitopadeśa; only one in Manu; and two in Čākuntali. In the whole MB. (Holtzmann) it is found about twenty-five times, from thirteen roots. The middle forms are extremely few.

942. a. This formation contains only a single indicative active tense (or also middle; see 947), without modes, or participle, or preterit.

b. It consists in a derivative nomen agentis, having the value of a future active participle, and used, either with or without an accompanying auxiliary, in the office of a verbal tense with future meaning.

943. The noun is formed by the suffix न् tr (or तः tar); and this (as in its other than verbal uses: see 1162) is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary vowel इ, the root itself being strengthened by गुष्णa, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, दान dānti from द्या dā give; कर्त्ति kartti from व्रत kṛ make; भविष्य bhavīṣya from भू bhū be.

a. As regards the presence or absence of the vowel इ, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the s-future from the same root (above, 935). The most important exception is that the roots in इ take no इ: thus, kartti (against karṣya); roots han and gam show the same difference; while वृत, वृध, and स्यां द have इ here, though
not in the s-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (373), is used without auxiliary: thus, भविता bhavitā he or she or it will be; भविता स्त्री bhavitāśrī both will be; भवितास्य bhavitās they will be. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of यद्यस्य as be (636) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun.

a. Thus, from दा dā give:

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<tr>
<td>दातासमि</td>
<td>दातास्वस्</td>
<td>दातास्मस्</td>
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<tr>
<td>dātāsmi</td>
<td>dātāsvas</td>
<td>dātāsmas</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 दातासि</td>
<td>दातास्वस्</td>
<td>दातास्य</td>
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<td>dātāsi</td>
<td>dātāsthas</td>
<td>dātāstha</td>
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<td>3 दाता</td>
<td>दातारौ</td>
<td>दातास्</td>
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<tr>
<td>dātā</td>
<td>dātārāu</td>
<td>dātāras</td>
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b. Occasionally, in the epics and later (almost never in the older language), the norm of the tense as given above is in various respects departed from: thus, by use of the auxiliary in the 3d person also; by its omission in the 1st or 2d person; by inversion of the order of noun and auxiliary; by interposition of other words between them; by use of a dual or plural nom. with the auxiliary; and by use of a feminine form of the noun. Examples are: vaktā 'sti (MBh.) he will speak; nihantā (MBh.) I shall or thou wilt strike down, yoddhā 'ham (R.) I shall fight, aham draṣṭā (MBh.) I shall see, kartā 'ham te (BhP.) I will do for thee, tvam bhavitā (MBh. Megh.) thou wilt be; asmi gantā (MBh.) I shall go; pratigrahitā tām asmi (MBh.) I will receive her, hantā tvam asi (MBh.) thou wilt stay; kartārāu svah (MBh.) we two shall do; draṣṭry asmi (MBh.) I (f.) shall see, udbhavitrī (Nāṣ.) she will increase, gantri (Y.) she will go. AR. has once sotā as 2d sing., thou wilt press; JUR. makes the combination qmaṣānāṁi bhavitāras the cemeteries will be.

c. An optative of the auxiliary appears to be once used, in yoddhā ayāṁ I would fight (R. i. 22. 25 Peterson; but the Bombay edition reads yoddhun yāsyāmi).

945. The accent in these combinations, as in all the ordinary cases of collocation of a verb with a preceding predicate noun or
adjective (592), is on the noun itself; and, unlike all the true verbal forms, the combination retains its accent everywhere even in an independent clause: thus, tārhi vā atimāṣṭro bhavīṣami (CB.) then I shall be out of danger (where bhaviṣyami, if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (595), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verb-form: 1083b), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the nominus agentis in ṭṛ or ṭar, like various other derivative nouns (271), but with especial frequency, are used in participial construction, governing the accusative if they come from roots whose verbal forms do so (1162). Often, also, they are used predicatively, with or without accompanying copula; yet without any implication of time; they are not the beginnings, but only the forerunners, of a new tense-formation. Generally, when they have a participial value, the root-syllable (or a prefix preceding it) has the accent. The tense-use begins, but rather sparingly, in the Brāhmaṇas (from which about thirty forms are quotable); and it grows more common later, though the periphrastic future is nowhere nearly so frequent as the s-future (it is quotable later from about thirty additional roots).

947. a. A few isolated attempts are made in the Brāhmaṇas to form by analogy middle persons to this futuro, with endings corresponding after the usual fashion to those of the active persons. Thus, TS. has once prayoktāṣe I will apply (standing related to prayoktāṣmi as, for example, cāṣe to cāṣmi); ČB. has cājitāṣe thou shalt lie (similarly related to cājitāṣi); and TR. has yaṣtāṣaḥe we will make offering. But in TA. is found (i.11) yaṣtāhe as 1st sing., showing a phonetic correspondence of a problematic character, not elsewhere met with in the language.

b. On the basis of such tentative formations as these, the native grammarians set up a complete middle inflection for the periphrastic future, as follows:

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<td>dātāsaṭhe</td>
<td>dātādheva</td>
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<td>3 dātā</td>
<td>dātārāu</td>
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c. Only a single example of such a middle has been brought to light in the later language, namely (the causative) darṣayāhe (Naïṣ.).

Uses of the Futures and Conditional.

948. As the s-future is the commoner, so also it is the one more indefinitely used. It expresses in general what is going to take place at some time to come — but often, as in other languages, adding on the one hand an implication of will or intention, or on the other hand that of promise or threatening.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed.
a. A few examples are: varṣiṣyāti āśāmaḥ parjanyo vṛṣṭimān bhaviṣya (CB.) it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year; yās tān nā vēda kīm roṣ kariṣyati (RV.) whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse? śā vāi vayām aṁghī ḍhāṣyāṁmahē 'tha yuṣmāh kīm kariṣyatha (CB.) we are going to build the two fires; then what will you do? tām śāntāṁ bhyāduḍāva haniṣyāṁ (CB.) hīm Īndra ran at, intending to slay; yādy evā kariṣyātha sākāṁ devāṁ yaśūyāso bhaviṣya (RV.) if ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods; dāntāṁ te qatzyanti (AV.) thy teeth will fall out; nā marīṣyati mā bībhē (AV.) thou shalt not die; be not afraid; brāhi kva yēṣaṁ (MBh.) tell us; where are you going to go? yādi mām pratyākhyāyasi viṣam āśthāyā (MBh.) if you shall reject me, I will resort to poison. As in other languages, the tense is also sometimes used for the expression of a conjecture or presumption: thus: ko 'yāṁ devo gandharvaṁ vā bhaviṣya (MBh.) who is this? he is a god, or a Gandharva; adya svapayanti (MBh.) they must be sleeping now.

b. The spheres of future and desiderative border upon one another, and the one is sometimes met with where the other might be expected. Examples of the future taken in a quasi-desiderative sense are as follows: yād dācuṣe bhadraṁ kariṣyāsi tāvē 't tāt satyām (RV.) what favor thou wilt bestow on thy worshiper, that of thee becometh actual (is surely brought about); yāthā 'nyād vaiṅśyānta sō 'nyād vādet (CB.) as if, intending to say one thing, one were to say another.

940. The periphrastic future is defined by the grammarians as expressing something to be done at a definite time to come. And this, though but faintly traceable in later use, is a distinct characteristic of the formation in the language where it first makes its appearance. It is especially often used along with svāṁ tomorrow.

a. A few examples are: adyā varṣiṣyati ... ṣvō vṛṣṭā (MS.) it is going to rain today; it will rain tomorrow; yatarāṁ vā ime qvāḥ kāmiśtāras te jetāras (K.) whichever of the two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer; prātār yāṣṭāsmāh (TB.) we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning; ityāḥ vāḥ paktāmi (CB.) on such and such a day I will cook for you; tān ma ekāṁ rātram ānte qayitāṁ jatā u te 'yāṁ tārhī putrō bhavītā (CB.) then you shall lie with me one night, and at that time this son of yours will be born. In other cases, this definiteness of time is wanting, but an emphasis, as of special certainty, seems perhaps to belong to the form: thus, bībhṛṁ mā pāraṁśāṁ tvē 'tī kāsmāṁ mā pāraṃśyayai 'ty āṅghā imāṁ sārvāṁ prajā nirvṛtāḥ, tātātvā pāraṁśātmā 'tī (CB.) support me and I will save you, said it. From what will you save me? said he. A flood is going to carry off all these creatures; from that I will save you, said it; paridevayāṁ ca kalīry mhaṁ ca okhakhyayān prāptāṁ (GR.) they set up a lamentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"; yāje 'yakṣī yāṣṭāhe ca (TA.) I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifices. In yet other cases,
in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, praṣṭāyaṁ enam viṣṇatāsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā (AB.) in his children we shall know him, whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge; vak-
tāsmo vā idaṁ devebhyaḥ (AB.) we shall tell this to the gods; yadi svārtha mamā 'pi bhavitā tata evaṁ svārtham kariṣyāmi (MBh.) if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair; kathāṁ tu bhavitāy eka iti tvāṁ nṛpa çocimi (MBh.) but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you.

950. The conditional would seem to be most originally and properly used to signify that something was going to be done. And this value it has in its only Vedic occurrence, and occasionally elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.

a. Thus, yó vytrāya sīnām átrā 'bhaṛīṣyat prá tām jántīr
vidūṣa uvāca (RV.) him, who was going here to carry off Vṛtra’s wealth, his mother proclaimed to the knowing one; qaṭāyim gam akariṣyam
(AB.) I was going to make (should have made) the cow live a hundred years
(other versions of the same story is added the other clause, in which the conditional has a value more removed from its original: thus, in GB., if you, villain, had not stopped [prāgraḥśyaḥ] my mouth); tāta eva 'ṣya bhayāṁ vī 'yāya kāsmād dhy abheṣyad dvitiyād vā bhayām
bhavati (‘B.) thereupon his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid?
occasion of fear arises from a second person; útpapāta cirāṁ tān mene
yād vāsaḥ paryādhaśyata (‘B.) he leaped up; he thought it long that
he should put on a garment; sā tād eva nā 'vindat praḍăpatir yātrā
'hogayāt (MS.) Prajāpati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice; evaṁ cen nā 'vaksyo mūrdaḥ te vyapatiṣyāt (GB.) if you
should not speak thus, your head would fly off; sā yād dhāī 'tāvad eva
'bhaṛīṣyat yāvatyo hāī 'vā 'gre praṭāh srṣṭās tāvato hāī 'vā
'bhaṛīṣyan nā prá 'janīṣyanta (‘B.) if he had been only so much, there
would have been only so many living creatures as were created at first; they
would have had no progeny; kim vā 'bhaviṣyat arūṇas tamaśām
vibhettā taṁ cet sahasrakriṇo dhuri nā 'kariṣyāt (C.) would
the Dawn, forsooth, be the scatterer of the darkness, if the thousand-rayed
one did not set her on the front of his chariot?
CHAPTER XIII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS: PARTICIPLES, INFINITIVES, GERUNDS.

951 a. Those verbal adjectives, or participles, which are made from tense-stems, and so constitute a part of the various tense-systems, have been already treated. It remains to describe certain others, which, being made directly from the root itself, belong to the verbal system as a whole, and not to any particular part of it.

b. The infinitive (with a few sporadic exceptions in the older language) also comes in all cases from the root directly, and not from any of the derived tense-stems.

c. The same is true of the so-called gerunds, or indeclinable participles.

Passive Participle in tá or ná.

952. By the accented suffix न ताः — or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न नाः — is formed a verbal adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्त dattá given; उक्त uktá spoken. Hence it is usually called the passive participle; or, to distinguish it from the participle belonging to the passive present-system (771), the past passive participle.

a. When made from an intransitive or neuter verb, the same participle, as in other languages, has no passive but only an indefinite past sense: thus, गत gátá gone; भूत bhúttá been; पतित patítá fallen.

953. In general, this participle is made by adding न tá to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

a. Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel 1 to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add ná instead of tá, see below, 956, 957.
b. As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see 1085a.

954. The root before नः tā has usually its weakest form, if there is anywhere in the verbal system a distinction of weak and strong forms. Thus:

a. A penultimate nasal is not seldom dropped: examples are अक्ताः (यस्य), बद्धाः (यवंत्य), छढ़ा (य्व्रम्भः), दाताः (य्दािन्तः), स्रास्तः (यस्राहः), बाद्धा (य्वाहः).

b. Roots which are abbreviated in the weak forms of the perfect (704) suffer the same abbreviation here: examples are उक्ताः (य्वाहः), उप्ताः (य्वाहः शिं), उप्ताः (य्वापः also वप्ताः), उधाः (य्वां), सुप्ताः (य्वसपः), श्रीताः (य्वाः), विधाः (य्वाधः); — and by a similar procedure, य्वर्च्छ (or वर्च्छ) makes प्रश्चता, य्वह्रङ्ग makes भ्रष्टा (beside the regular भ्रष्टा), and य्व्राहः बोिल makes ग्रष्ट (beside ग्रष्ट).

c. Final ऐ is weakened to ऐ in गीता (य्यः sing), धिता (य्वहः suck), पिता (य्पा drink), श्लिता; and जिता, विता, चिता are made from the roots य्या, य्वा, च्या, (or ज्ञी etc.); — and further to ऐ in धिता (beside चाता), दिता (य्दा divide and दा bind), द्रिता (य्वास sleep), हिता (य्वहः put: with ह for ध); but धिता also occurs in वृ., य्वित (य्विः measure), चिता (सी चिता), सिता, स्तिता.

d. A final ऐ is lost after ऐ in गता, नता, यता, रता (from य्वार etc.); and a final ऐ in क्षटा, तता, मता, हता. As to the other roots in अम and अन taking ता, see 955 a, b.

e. More isolated cases are -ूता (लृः य्वा), उता or उता (य्वाः उच्च), चिता (also चिता: य्वाः), मुर्ता (referred to य्वृंच). As to -गद्धा and जागिता, see 233 f.

f. On the other hand, य्वशद makes स्वात्ता.

955. Of more irregular character are the following:

a. A number of roots ending in अम retain the nasal, and lengthen the radical vowel (as also in some others of their verbal forms): thus, कांता, क्रांता, लाृता, क्षांता, स्वांता, दांता, बहांता, वांता, गांता (य्वाः be quiet), ग्रांता (from य्वांम etc.); and one in अन, द्वारं आं, makes द्वांता.

b. A few roots in अन make their participle from another root-form in ऐ: thus, क्षाता, जाता, -वाता, साता; द्वाम has both द्वामिता and द्वामिता.

c. Certain roots in अन take their यू-form (765 a): thus, द्वाता (य्विः play), श्वाहुता, युता; but य्विह makes मुता.

d. From roots in changeable ऐ (generally taking न: 957b) are made also पुर्ता (य्वा यु: beside पुर्ता), कीता and गुर्ता (य्यः crush); and गुर्ता is further made from य्व्री मित.
a. Double forms are mūgdā and mūḍha, sāḍhā and sūḍha, dhūṛta and dhūrta, hūpta and hrūṭa.

b. The root dā give makes dattā (from the secondary root-form dad; but dāta also in V.). But the anomalously contracted form -ṭta (as if for dāta, with the radical vowel lost) is also frequent in composition, especially with prepositions: thus, āṭṭa, anūṭta, pāṛṭṭa, pāṭṭa, pāṛṭṭa; rarely with other elements, as devāṭta, punāṛṭta, marūṭta (?). And the same abbreviated form comes from yādā divide in āvaṭta.

g. The roots making participles in both ta and ita, or ta and na, or in all three, will be noted in the next two paragraphs.

956. The suffix with ज i, or in the form जन ita, is used especially with roots having finals that are only with difficulty, if at all, combinable with त t according to the usual analogies of the language, and often with roots of a secondary, derivative, or late character; but also not seldom with original roots.

a. Thus, of roots presenting difficulties of combination: — 1. all that end in two consonants (save those of which one consonant is lost by a weakening process: 954 a, b): e. g. caṇk, valg, vāṇch, lajj, ubj, ceṣṭ, ghūṛṇ, kāṭṭh, nind, jālp, cumb, umbh, khall, pīṉv, caṇs (also caṣṭā), rākṣ, hiṅs, garh (in all, over fifty); but tākṣ makes taṣṭā; — 2. all that end in linguals (including ꞁ after a or ā): e. g. āṭṭ, truṭṭ, paṭṭ, luṭṭ, iḍ, vruṭṭ, bhāṇ, kaṣ, bhāṣ; — 3. all that end in surd spirants: e. g. likh, grath, nāṭṭh, kuth, rīph, guph; — 4. all that end in l: e. g. caḷ, guḷ, mil, lul, khel; — 5. all that end in other persistent semi-vowels: namely, caṛv (also cūṛṇa), jīv (for the other roots in 4v, see 955 c), dhāv ram, sev, day, vyay, pūy; — 6. ujḥ. — This class includes more than half of the whole number that take only ita.

b. Of other roots ending in consonants: — 1. in gutturals, caḳ, ḍhāuk (caḳ has both ta and ita); ṣlāgh; — 2. in palatals, ac (also aknā), uo, kuc, khac, yāc, ruc; aj, kūṭ, vṛaj, also tyaj and mṛj in late texts (usually tyaktā and mṛṣṭā); — 3. in dentals, at, pat, ṣcut, also yat in epos (elsewhere only yattā); krad, khāḍ, gad, cud, nad, mud, mpḍ, rad, rud, vad, vid knoc, hrāḍ; also nud in epos (elsewhere nuttā and nunna); mad has both māṭṭa and maditā (the majority of roots in d take na: 957 d); edh, kṣudh, gadh, dudh, nāḍh, bāḍh, spardh; an, in, kvan, dhvan, pan, ran ṛṇ, van, stam, svan, and dhvan (also dhvāntā); — 4. in labials, cup, yup, rup, and usually kup (kupta late) and lap (lapta epic), occasionally kṣup, gup, tap, dṛp, vāp, cāp, while jap has both ta and ita; grabh (grbhāntā), ṣubh, skabh, and occasionally lubh, while kṣubh and stabh have both forms; tim, dham, caṃ labor, stīm, and kṣam in epos (also kṣāntā); — 5. in spirants, aṇ caṭ, ṭīṅ, kāṅ, kṛṇ, vāṅ, ṣaṅ, cāṅ,
while piṣ has both forms, and mrṣ takes itsa only late; is saṇḍ, is, kuṣ, tvṣ, pruṣ, miṣ, rūṣ, heṣ, hreṣ, also muṣ except late, while dhṛṣ, ruṣ, and hṛṣ show both forms; às, bhās, bās, rās, las, vās clothe, has, also as throw occasionally, while kas, gras, yas, vās shine, vās duvell, ās (with čiṣṭā and čāsta), vās, and hras make both forms; ñ, graḥ (grḥitā), jah (secondary form of hā), mah, rah, and occasionally ūh remove, while gāh has both forms.

c. Of roots ending in vowels, only či lie, which makes čayita (with guṇa of root, as elsewhere: 629).

d. In general, a root maintains its full form before itsa; but there are a few exceptions: thus, grhrhitā and grhītā (the root being reckoned as grabh and grah: see 729), udita (also vada in the later language), uṣita (vās shine; beside uṣa), uṣita (vās duvell: also sporadically vasita and uṣa), ukgita (vāks increase), grhītā (vgrhath). From āmrṣ are made both mrṣita and mārjita (with strengthening as in present and elsewhere: 627), beside mṛṣā.

e. Instead of i, long i is taken in grhrhitā and grhītā.

The suffix nā (always without auxiliary ṣa) is taken instead of nā tā by a number of roots (about seventy).

Thus:

a. Certain roots in ā: thus, kā, gā, drā run, drā sleep, (also dṛta?), mlā (also mlāta), vā blow (also vāta), čyā (also činā), styā, hā leave (also hīnā and hāta), hā go forth; and dā divide makes dīnā (also dīta and -tīta). Further, certain roots in i- and u-vowels: thus, kṣi destroy (kṣina; also kṣīta), či, pī, ī clīn, vī, či or čyā coagulate (beside čyāna and čita), hri (beside hṛīta); dū burn (also duta), lū, čū; and div lament makes duṇa (compare 705).

b. Roots in ī, which before the suffix becomes īr or ūr: the forms are, ārā (late; beside ītā), kīrṇā (ykr scatter), gīrṇā (ygr swallow), jīrṇā and ājīrṇā (yjr waste away), tīrṇa and tūrṇa (also tūrtā), dīrṇā (ydr pierce: also dṛtā), pūrṇā (ypṛ fill: also pūrtā and pṛtā), mūrṇā (ymṛ crush), čīrṇā (ycṛ crush: also čṛtā and čūrtā?), tīrṇa (also stṛtā). Of like character with these are īrṇā from yīr, ċīrṇa (beside carīta) from ycar, gūrṇa (beside gūrtā) from ygr, a secondary form of gṛ, and ċūrṇa (beside carvīta) from ycarv, which is also plainly a secondary root.

c. A few roots ending in j (which becomes g before the suffix, against the usual rule of internal combination: 216f): thus, bhāgna (ybhāñj), bhugna (ybhuṣ end), magima (ymāj), rugna, vigna (beside vikta). Further, two or three ending in a (similarly treated): thus, akna (yac or añc: also acīta and añcīta), vṛkna (yvṛkṣo), and apparently -prṣa (RV, once: with doubly irregular change of root-final, from yṛṛ). And one root in g, lagna.
d. A considerable number, some of them very common ones, of roots in द (which, against ordinary rule, becomes n before the suffix: 157 b). The forms are: unna (also utta), arṇṇa?, klinna, kṣuṇṇa, kṣvīṇṇa, khinna, channa, chinnā, chṛṇṇā, tūnna, ṯṛṇṇā, unnana (also nutā and nudita), pannā, bhinnā, vinna (yvid fūd: also vittā), canna (yqad falt), sannā (also sattā), akannā (y’akand), ayannā (y’ayand), svinna, hanna. And anna food, in spite of its different accent, appears to be a like formation from yad eat.

958. The native grammarians reckon as participles of this formation a few miscellaneous derivative adjectives, coming from roots which do not make a regular participle: such are kṣāma burnt, kṛṣa emaciated, pakav ripe, phullā expanded, ḍūṣka dry.

Past Active Participle in tatvant (or navant).

959. From the past passive participle, of whatever formation, is made, by adding the possessive suffix वान, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, तत् कृतवान् tā kṛtavān having done that; tām nigṛtavān having swallowed him down. Its inflexion is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (452 ff.); its feminine ends in वती vati; its accent remains on the participle.

960. Derivative words of this formation are found in RV., but without anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example, with participial meaning: açitavāty ātithāu one’s guest having eaten (loc. abs.). In the Brāhmaṇas also it is hardly met with. In the later language, however, it comes to be quite common. And there it is chiefly used predicatively, and oftenest without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb-form in a past tense: primarily, and not seldom, signifying immediate past, or having a true “perfect” value; but also (like the old perfect and the old aorist in later use) coming to be freely used for indefinite time, or with the value of the imperfect (779). For example: māṁ na kaçcid ḍrṣṭavān no one has seen (or saw) me; sa nakulam vyāpāditavān he destroyed the ichneumon; or, with copula, mahat krocharaṃ prāptavāty asi thou hast fallen upon great misery. Although originally and properly made only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in tā stands in the relation of an objective predicate), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, citena saṃcītavatī (C.) has become united with the mango-tree; gatavatī (lb.) she has gone.

a. The same participle is also made in the secondary conjugations: e.g. darṣitavant having shown, prabodhitavant having awakened.
b. Possessives also in in made from passive participles are sometimes found used in an analogous manner, nearly as perfect active participles: e. g. īṣṭīṅ having sacrificed, vijītino manyamānāḥ (AB.) thinking themselves to have conquered.

**Future Passive Participles: Gerundives.**

961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in the language a value as qualifying something which is to, or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root from which they come; and they are allowed to be made from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper participles, sometimes treated as a part of the general verbal system, and called future passive participles, or gerundives (like the Latin forms in ndus, to which they correspond in meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely या, तत्व, and अनव्या.

a. Derivatives in या having this value are made in all periods of the language, from the earliest down; the other two are of more modern origin, being entirely wanting in the oldest Veda (RV.). and hardly known in the later. Other derivatives of a similar character, which afterward disappear from use, are found in the Veda (966).

963. The suffix या in its gerundive use has nothing to distinguish it from the same suffix as employed to make adjectives and nouns of other character (see below, 1913). And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.

a. The original value of the suffix is या, and as such it has to be read in the very great majority of its Vedic occurrences. Hence the conversion of e and o to ay and av before it (see below).

b. Thus: 1. Final य becomes e before the suffix: déyā, dhyeya, khyēya, méyā (perhaps dē-ia etc., with euphonic y interposed; but RV. has once -jāyā. — 2. The other vowels either remain unchanged, or have the guṇa or the vṛddhi strengthening; and e usually and o always are treated before the या as they would be before a vowel: thus, -kṣayya, jāyya, bhāyya, láyya; nāyya, bhāvya, háyya, bhāvyā; vāyya: and, in the later language, niyya, jeyya, dhūyya (such cases are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds t
before the suffix: thus, itya, mitya, pritya, stitya, kṛtya (the only Vedic examples). — 3. Medial a remains unchanged or is lengthened: thus, dābhya, vāndya, sādyā; mādya, vācyā. — 4. Medial i-, u-, and r-vowels are unchanged or have the guṇa-strengthening: thus, īḍya, gūhyā, dhṛṣya; dvēṣya, yōḍhya, mārjya.

c. The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds half as many more. Except in bhāvi (once), the accent in RV. is always on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the i of the suffix (hence written ādyā, ācyā, -vyādhyā, -dhāryā). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed: always the former, if the ya follow a vowel.

964. a. The suffix tāvya is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in tu (below, 968), made by adding the suffix ya (properly īa, whence the accent yā), before which the final u, as usual (1203 a), has guṇa-strengthening, and is resolved into av.

b. Hence, as regards both the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel i before the tāvya, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, 968).

c. No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, janitavyā and hiṃsitavyā. In the Brāhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and from the derived conjugational stems (next chapter); in the classical language it is still more frequent. According to the grammarians, the accent of the word is either circumflex on the final or acute on the penult: thus, kartavyā or kartāvya; in the accentuated texts, it is always the former (the accent tāvya given to certain gerundives in the Petersburg lexicons is an error, growing out of the ambiguous accentuation of CB.: 88c).

965. a. The suffix anīya is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix iyā (1215) to a nomen actionis formed by the common suffix ana.

b. It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix ana (below, 1150).

c. This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in upajīvanīya and śantrantīya (in both of which, moreover, its distinct gerundive value admits of question). In the Brāhmaṇas (where less than a dozen examples of it have been noted), and in the later language, it is less common than the gerundive in tāvya. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix iyā, is on the penult: thus, karaniya.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in tua or tvā, apparently made from the infinitival noun in tu with the added suffix a (1209). They are kārtua (in two occurrences kārtva), -gaṅtva, jāntua, jētua, nāntua, vāktua, sōtuas,
Infinitives.

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snátua, hántua, hétua, hótva; and, with auxiliary i (or I), jánitva, sánitva, bhávitva.

b. Gerundives in enia or enya (compare 1217): they are ikṣenía, iḍænia, carépia, dṛçenía, -dvriṣenía, bhūṣánya, yudhénia, várænia (and bhajenya BhP.); with one example from an apparent aorist-stem, yamšénlya, and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, 1019, 1038, 1068a).

c. Gerundives in áyia (once áyya: compare 1218): they are dakṣáya, panáya, vidáya, çraváya, hnaváya; with a few from secondary conjugation-stems (below, 1019, 1038, 1051, 1068a); and stuśáya is of close kindred with them.

d. A few adjectives in elima, as pacelima, bhidelima (only these quotable), are reckoned as gerundives by the grammarians.

967. The division-line between participial and ordinary adjectives is less strictly drawn in Sanskrit than in the other Indo-European languages. Thus, adjectives in u, as will be seen later (1179), from secondary conjugational stems, have participial value; and in the Brāhmaṇas (with an example or two in AV.) is found widely and commonly used a participial adjective formed with the suffix uka (1180).

Infinitives.

968. The later language has only a single infinitive, which is the accusative case of a verbal noun formed by the suffix न tu, added to the root usually directly, but often also with aid of the preceding auxiliary vowel र i. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is न u tu or न u itum. The root has the guṇa-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, रुतुम् ētum from र र i; कूलुम् kārtum from र कू kṛ; चारितम् cāritum from चचर oar; महितुम् bhāvitum from र ह bhū.

a. As regards the use or omission of i, the infinitive (as also the gerund in tvā: 991) follows in general the analogy of the passive participle (956). Examples are (with the gerund added) as follows: dagdhā, dāgdhum, dagdhvā from यdah; bhinnā, bhēttum, bhīttvā from यbhid; matā, māntum, matvā from यmān; ādhā, vōdhum, ādhvā from यvah; patīta, pātītum, patitvā from यpat; yaścitā, yaścitum, yaścitvā from यyaś; āyatā, āyātitum, āyātivā from यāti. But certain exceptions and special cases require notice. Thus:

b. Of roots having no quotable participle, infinitive stems in tu are made from ad, sagh; in itu from uñch, uh consider, kṣap, lũth, lok, svar; and in both from yabh.
c. Of roots making participles of both forms, an infinitive stem in tu only is quotable for kṣip, kṣubh, tap, tyaj, Ṱṛṣ, lubb, vas śīna, qak, stabh; only in itu for gāh, carv, jap, mad, yat, van, qāna, qvas; in both for as throw, āh remove, gup, car, mṛj (māṛṭu, māṛ-jitu), lap, vas dwell, qap, qās.

d. Also in a number of other cases (besides those already-noticed) an infinitive stem is made both with and without i. Thus, in addition to the more regular form, a stem in itu is occasionally met with from roots ač attain, ṣek seek, bandh, bhaj, yaj (ūjitum), rudh obstruct, ruh, vrṣ, sad (ṣiditum), sah, han, hṛ; and one in tu from roots ās, bhās, vid know. Both forms occur also from certain am-roots, namely nam, yam, ram, and, with ā before tu as in the pple, kram and bhram (kṣam has only kṣaṁtu against the analogy of kṣāṁta); further, from certain roots in variable ṣ, namely ṭṛ (ṭartu, taritū), vr cover (vārtu, varitū), and stṛ (stārtu, stāritu) (but from ṣṛ crush occur only gāritu, qāritu, and from vr choose only varitū; while ṣṛ swallow and ṣṛ fill make their infinitive from other root-forms, namely gūritum, pūritum); further, from a few vowel-roots, namely ni, cyu, sū (sūtu); and finally from kṛṣ, nṛ, quc.

e. Against the analogy of the participle, infinitive-stems in itu after a final consonant are made from the roots av, kṣan, khan and jan (the pplies coming from khā and jā), guh, jabh, tam, div play and div lamen (both devitu), maḷ, vrṭ, vrḍh, arṇ; and after a final vowel, from roots in ā, namely pū, bhū, sū (also sūtu), and from qṛ and qvi; as to roots in variable ṣ, see just above, d.

f. As the infinitive is made from the (accented and) strengthened root, so it naturally has, as a rule, the stronger or fuller root-form where a weaker or contracted form is taken by the participle (and gerund in tvā): e. g. vāktu against uktā (and uktvā), yāṣṭu against īṣṭā (and īṣṭvā), bandhum against baddha (and baddhvā), and so on. Deserving special notice are gātu (yṛgā sing) against gītā, and dhātu (yṛhā suck) against dhītā; and so from dā give and hā leave are made only dātu and hātu; but dhā put, mā measure, and sthā add to the regular dhātu, mātu, sthātu the late forms -dhitu, -mitu, -sthitu; and sā or sī has sātu, sētu, and sītu; vṛ veve (pple utā) has both vātu and ótu; hū or hṛ has hāvītu, ṭvāyītu, and ṭvātu. The root vyadh makes its only quotable infinitive, veddhum, from its vidh-form; from saṅj or saj occur both saṅktu and saktu. The anomalous epic forms ējitum (yṛyaj) and śiditum (yṛsad), were mentioned above. The root grāḥ makes grāḥitum.

g. In the later language, the infinitive-stem forms possessive compounds with kāma and manas (especially the former): e. g. svaปฏukāma having the wish to sleep, yaśṭukāma desirous of sacrificing, vaktu-manas minded to speak.

h. In very rare instances, dative infinitives in tave or tavyāi are
made from the infinitive stem in the later language (as abundantly in the
earlier: 970b): thus, prathartave (BhP.). And jīvase (973a) is
once found in MBh. (i. 3. 67 = 732), in a quasi-Vedi chymn to the AṚvins.

969. In the Veda and Brāhmaṇa, however, a number of verbal
nouns, nomina actionis, in various of their cases, are used in con-
structions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages
— although, were it not for these other later and more developed
and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass
as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind.

970. The nouns thus used infinitively are the following:

a. The root-noun, without derivative suffix, is so used in its
accusative in am, its dative in e or (from ā-roots) āi, its genitive
and ablative in as, and its locative in i.

b. The verbal noun in tu is so used in its accusative in tum,
its dative in tave or tavā, and its ablative and genitive in toś.

Of other nouns only single cases, generally datives, are reckoned as
used with infinitive value; thus:

c. From the verbal noun in as, the dative in ase; and also, in
an extremely small number of instances, a dative in se (or se), from
a noun formed with s simply.

d. From nouns in man and van, datives in mane and vane.

e. From nouns in ti, datives in taye, or (from one or two verbs)
in tyāi.

f. From nouns in i, datives in āye.

g. From nouns in dhi and śi, datives in dhyāi and śyāi.

h. A few infinitives in saṇi are perhaps locatives from nouns
in an added to a root increased by s.

i. From a single root, dhṛ, are made infinitively used forms in
tāri, of which the grammatical character is questionable.

j. Among all these, the forms which have best right to special treat-
ment as infinitives, on account of being of peculiar formation, or from
suffixes not found in other uses, or for both reasons, are those in se,
saṇi, tari, dhyāi, and tavāi.

k. Except the various cases of the derivative in tu, and of the root-
noun, these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the Rig-Veda.

l. Other suffixes and forms than those noticed above might be added;
for it is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as
infinitive and the ordinary case-uses: thus, prajāpatim praṇām śitām
(TS.) they went to ask Prajāpati; viṣvam jivām praśavanti carāyāi
(RV.) quickening every living being to motion; apāḥ sārmāya codāyan
(RV.) impelling the waters to flow; caṅkuyād grāhaṇāya (instead of the
usual grāhitum: (B.) may be able to apprehend; a tamanāt (instead of
the usual tamitoḥ: S.) until exhaustion. And the so-called infinitives
are found coördinated in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns: e. g. cárítave... ábhogáya iṣ táye ráyé (RV.) to go abroad, to enjoy, to seek wealth; ártárāpáya na prahartum anágani (Ṛ.) for the rescue of the distressed, not for hurling at the innocent.

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form (except that it does not take an added t: 383 f), and the same accent, both when simple and when combined with prepositions, as in its other uses. In the very great majority of instances, it is made from roots ending in a consonant; but also from a few in ā (khyā, dā, dhā, pā?, mā, yā), from two or three in i- and u-vowels (hi, mi, bhū), and from one or two in changeable y, which takes the ir-form (tir, stir).

a. The roots in ā form the accus. in ām, the dat. in āi, the abl. in āś (understanding āvasā before ā as for āvasās and not āvasāi in RV. iii. 53. 20), and the locative in ā (only two examples, of which one is perhaps better understood as dative).

972. The infinitive noun in ṭu is made freely from roots of every form. The root takes the guṇa-strengthening, if capable of it, and often adds the auxiliary vowel i before the suffix (according to the rules already stated, 968). The root is accented, unless the noun be combined with a preposition, in which case the latter has the accent instead: thus, kárutum, étave, hántos; but níkatum, níretave, nírahantos.

a. The dative in tavāi is in two respects anomalous: in having the heavy feminine ending āi along with a strengthened u; and in taking a double accent, one on the root or on the prefixed preposition, and the other on the ending āi: thus, étavāi, hántavāi, átyetavāi, ápabhartavāi.

973. a. The infinitive in ase is made in RV. from about twenty-five roots; in AV. and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In near three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: e. g. pājāse, jivāse, bhiyāse, tujāse; the exceptions are câkṣase, dhāyāse (with y inserted before the suffix: 258); and áyase, bhárase, spārase, hárase (with guṇa-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by javāse, dohāse, bhojāse, çobhāse. In puṣyāse is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

b. The ending se is extremely rare, being found only in jīṣe and perhaps stūpe, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in mane are made from only five roots: thus, trāmaṇe, dāmane, dārmane, bhārmane, and (with different accent) vidmáne. From y’dā comes dāvāne; turvāne may come directly from y’t, or through the secondary root turv; dhūrvaṇe is rather from y’dhūrv than from y’dhvṛ.

975. a. The infinitives in taye are iṣ táye (y’ṣ), pītáye (y’pā drink), vītáye, sātáye, and perhaps útáye (útáye nṛn to help his men:}
(RV.). In ṛṣi, the only examples noted are ṛṣyā (RV.) and sāḍhyā (MS. AB.).

b. With aye are formed īṣāye, tujāye, dṛṣāye, mahāye, yudhāye, samāye; and citāye (VS.), ghāye (K.).

976. The ending dhyāi is, more than any other, irregular and various in its treatment. It has always an a before it; and in the majority of cases it is accented upon this a, and added to a weak form of root: thus, ṭucādhyāi, ṭṛṇādhyāi, dhiyādhyāi, huvādhyāi. But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, ṭaṇḍhyāi, stavaḍhyāi, tarādhyāi, jaraḍhyāi, mandādhyāi, vandādhyāi. In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, kṣāradhyāi, gāmadhyāi, yājādhyāi (but once or twice also yajādhyāi), vāhadhyāi, sāhadhyāi, bhāradhyāi. In a single instance, pībadhyāi, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, vāvṛḍādhyāi, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in ay: thus, mādayādhyāi, riṣayādhyāi, etc.

a. This infinitive is by no means rare in RV., being made in thirty-five different forms (with seventy-two occurrences). But it is hardly known outside of the RV.; the AV. has it but once (in a passage found also in RV.); and elsewhere half-a-dozen examples have been noticed, in mantrapassages (one of them TS. falsely reads gāmadhye); in the Brahmāna language proper it appears to be entirely wanting.

977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in ṣyāi: thus, rōhiṣyāi (TS.), avyathisyāi (K. Kap.; MS. avyāthiṣe; VS. vyathisat), and perhaps -dhāsyāi (PGS.).

978. The infinitives in ṛṣi are: īṣā (?) from ṛṣi send, -bhūṣāṇi from ṛbhū; ṛṣāṇi from ṛṣ or ṛvā; nṛṣāṇi from ṛṇi; sakṣāṇi from ṛsah; parṇāṇi from ṛṛ; tariṣāṇi from ṛṛ; and grṇiṣāṇi and -stṛiṣāṇi from ṛṛṛ and stṛ — the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. grṇiṣe, 894d).

979. The only infinitive in tari is dhartāri (with its compound vidhartāri), from υḍhr.

Uses of the Infinitives.

980. The uses of the so-called infinitives are for the most part closely accordant with those of the corresponding cases from other abstract nouns. Thus:

981. The accusative, which is made only from the root-noun and the noun in tu, is used as object of a verb.

a. Especially, of forms from the root çak be able, and arh be worthy, have the right or the power. Thus, çakēma tvā samādham (RV.) may we accomplish thy kindling; mā çakān pratidhām iṣum (AV.) may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string; māno và imāṁ sadyāḥ pāry-
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Śuptum arhati mānāḥ pārībhavitum (TS.) the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her; kó hy étasya ṛhati gūhyaṁ nāma grāhītum (CB.) for who is worthy to take his secret name? In the Veda, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brāhmaṇa, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases).

b. Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, dākaṁśāni hōtum eti (TS.) he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts; īndram pratīram emy āyuḥ (RV.) I go to Indra for (i.e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life; — of Īdhṛ persist in, undertake: as, sā idāṁ jatāḥ sūrvam eva dāgduḥmah dadhre (CB.) he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe; — of verbs meaning desire, hope, notice, know, and the like: as, pācāṁ vieṣṭaṁ vettha sārvān (AV.) thou knowest how to loosen all bonds; tāsmād agnīṁ nā”driyeta pārihamantum (CB.) therefore one should not be careful to smother the fire; — and of others.

982. Of the infinitive datives, the fundamental and usual sense is that expressed by for, in order to, for the purpose of.

Examples are: viṣyam jīvāṁ carāse bodhāyanti (RV.) awakening every living creature to motion; tāṁ āṁ yāta pibadhāyī (RV.) come to drink them; nāṁ “tāṁ te devā adādur āttave (AV.) the gods did not give her to thee for eating; prā “d yudhāye dāsyum īndraḥ (RV.) Indra went forward to fight the demon; cāksur no dhehi vikhyāī (RV.) give us sight for looking abroad.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, cakāra sūryāya pānthām ānvetavā u (RV.) he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following); cīcēte cīṅge rakṣobhyo vinīkṣe (RV.) he whets his horns to pierce the demons; rudrāya dhānur ā tanomi brahmadvīse çārave hāntavā u”(RV.) I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the brahma-hater; asmābbhyam dṛṣyaṁ sūryāya pūnar dāṭaṁ āsum (RV.) may they grant life again, that we may see the sun.

b. An infinitive with ūkṛ make is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, prā “ndhāṁ čroṇāṁ căkaśasa āttavā kṛṣṭaḥ (RV.) ye make the blind and lame to see and go; agnīṁ samādhe cakārtha (RV.) thou hast made the fire to be kindled. Of similar character is an occasional construction with another verb: as, yād im uqmāśi kārtave kārat tāt (RV.) what we wish to be done, may he do that; kaviṁr icchāmi samādṣe (RV.) I desire to see the sages.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes
with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, agnir iva na 
pratidhihe bhavati (TS.) like fire, he is not to be resisted; mahima te 
anyena na sahmne (VS.) thy greatness is not to be attained by another;
nakim indu nirkaste na qakrah paraqakate (RV.) Indra is not to be 
pot down, the mighty one is not to be overpowered.

d. Sometimes an infinitive so used without a copula has quite nearly 
the value of an imperative: thus, tyame yagyas... saqjlo huvadhya 
(aasti) (RV.) these glorious ones shall the son of Uci invoke for me; 
suktibhir va... Indra na agni avase huvadhya (sta) (RV.) with 
your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid; vandadhya 
agnih namobhih (aami) (RV.) let me greet Agni with homage; 
smakasa saq ca surayo vicva agas tarisani (RV.) and let our sacrificers cross 
all regions; tan na vaam kartava (MS.) that must not be done so; 
brahmadvija qareve hantava u (RV.) let the arrow slay the brahma 
haters. The infinitives in dhya and qani (which latter is in all its uses 
accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most 
distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the Brha manas and Sutras (especially in CB.) the dative in 
tavai is not seldom used with a verb signifying speak (br, vac, ab), to express 
the ordering of anything to be done: thus, tasmad oscadhinam eva mula 
uchettavah bhayast (CB.) therefore let him direct the roots of the plants 
to be cut up (speak in order to their cutting up: cf. ye vaqyaa adanaya 
vadanti who dissuade from giving the cow: AV.).

983. The ablative infinitive — which, like the accusative, is 
made only from the root-noun and that in tu — is found especially 
with the prepositions s until and pura before.

a. Thus, s tamito (TS. etc.) until exhaustion; pura vacoap pradvatito (TS.) before utterance of the voice. In the Brhma language, 
this is the well-nigh exclusive construction of the ablative (it occurs also 
with prak, arvak, etc.); in the Veda, the latter is used also after ye 
without, and after several verbs, as tr and pa protect, yu separate, bh, etc.

b. In a few instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated 
above for the dative (982a), a noun dependent on this infinitive is put in 
the ablative beside it: thus, pura vagbhya sampravadito (PB.) 
before the utterance together of the voices; tradhvah kartd avapada 
(RV.) save us from falling down into the pit; pura dakcinabhyo netop 
(Apast.) before the gifts are taken away.

984. The genitive infinitive (having the same form as the ab 
lative) is in common use in the Brhma language as dependent on 
Iqvar lord, master, employed adjectively in the sense of capable or 
likely or exposed to.

a. Examples are: ta [devatat] Iqvar enam pradahah (TS.) 
they are likely to burn him up; atha ha va Iqvar qnim oiv qim 
cid dauritam spatavri va hvalito (CB.) so in truth he is liable,
after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger; 
Iqvarah vái rathantaram udgātuç caksuḥ pramathitoḥ (PB.) the 
rathantara is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter.

b. The dative is used in ÞB. instead of the genitive in a single 
phrase (Iqvarāū jánayitavāl); and, in the later language, sometimes the 
accusative in tum. In a case or two the masc. sing. nom. Iqvarah is 
used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies: 
thus, tāsyē "qvarāḥ prajā pāplyase bhāvitoḥ (CB.) his progeny is 
liable to deteriorate. And in a very few instances the word Iqvara is 
omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, dve madhy- 
āṁdhiṁ abhi pratyetoḥ (AB.) two may be added to the noon libation; 
tāto dīkṣitāḥ pāmanō bhāvitoḥ (CB.) then the consecrated is liable 

to get the itch.

o. This construction with Iqvara, which is the only one for the geni-

tive infinitive in the Brāhmaṇa, is unknown in the Veda, where the geni-
tive is found in a very small number of examples with madhyā, and with 
the root Iq: thus, madhyā kārtoḥ (RV.) in the midst of action; īçe 
rāyō dātoḥ (RV.) he is master of the giving of wealth; īçe yótoḥ (RV.) 
is able to keep away.

985. Unless the infinitives in āpi and tari are locative in form 
(their uses are those of datives), the locative infinitive is so rare, and has 
so little that is peculiar in its use, that it is hardly worth making any 
account of. An example is uṣāso budhī (RV.) at the awakening of the 
dawn.

986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much 
more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences are 
twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and the ac-
cussative in tum is rare (only four forms in RV., only eight in AV.). 
In the Brāhmaṇas, the accusative has risen to much greater compara-
tive frequency (its forms are nearly twice as many as those of the 
dative); but the ablative-genitive, which is rare in the Veda, has 
also come to full equality with it. The disappearance in the classical 
language of all excepting the accusative in tum (but see 986h) is a 
matter for no small surprise.

987. The later infinitive in tum is oftenest used in constructions 
corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus, na vāspam 
açakat soḍhum he could not restrain his tears; tath draṣṭum arhasi 
thou oughtest to see it; prāptum iochanti they desire to obtain; saṁ-
khyaṭum ārābdham having begun to count. But also, not infrequently, 
in those of the other cases. So, especially, of the dative: thus, 
avasthātum sthānāntaram cintaya devise another place to stay in; 
tvām anvesṭum ihā "gataḥ he has come hither to seek for thee: —
but likewise of the genitive: thus, samartho gantum capable of 
go ing; saṁdhiṭum Iqvarah able to mend. Even a construction as 
nominate is not unknown: thus, yuktam tasya mayā samāqva-
sayitum bhāryām (MBh.) it is proper for me to comfort his wife; na naptārah svayaṃ nyāyam qaptum evam (R.) it is not suitable thus to curse one's own grandson; tad vaktum na pāryate (Catr.) it is not possible to say that.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, kartum ārabdhāḥ beyun to be made; qrotum na yujyate it is not fit to be heard (for hearing). This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of yācaḥ: thus, tyaktum na qakyate it cannot be abandoned; qakyāv ihā "netum they two can be brought hither; na ca vibhūtayāḥ qākyam avāptum ūrjitaḥ nor are mighty successes a thing capable of being attained.

Gerunds.

989. The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally as adjunct to the logical subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes.

a. Thus, for example: ċrutvāḥ 'va cā 'bruvan and hearing (or having heard) they spoke; tebhyaḥ pratijñāyā thāi tān paripāpâyaccha having given them his promise, he then questioned them.

990. The gerund is made in the later language by one of the two suffixes भा tvā and या ya, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix — or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.

a. To this distribution of uses between the two suffixes there are occasional exceptions. Thus, gerunds in ya from simple roots are not very rare in the epic language (e.g. gṛyāya, usya [yāvas dwell], arṣya, ikṣya, cintya, tyajya, lakṣya; also from causatives and denominatives, as vácyā, yojya, plāvya), and are not unknown elsewhere (e.g. arṣya and ikṣya M., prothya AGS., sthāpya ÇvU.). And gerunds in tvā from compounded roots are met with in considerable numbers from AV. (only pratyapayitvā) down: e.g. samirayitvā MS., virocyitvā TA., utkṣipitvā U., pratyuktvā E., pratyasitvā S., prahasitvā MBh., samdrarayitvā MBh., vimuktvā R., nivedayitvā R., proktvā Pālic., anupītvā VBS.: the great majority of them are made from the causative stem.
b. The prefixion of the negative particle, a or an, does not cause the gerund to take the form in ya: thus, akṛtvā, anṛrayitvā (but R. has naśintya). Of compounds with other than verbal prefixes, RV. has punardāya, karṇa-gṛhya, pāda-gṛhya, hastagṛhya, arasmikṣṭya, akkhalikṣṭya, mithas-pṛdhya; AV. has further namaskṛtya.

991. The suffix ṣṇitvā has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but often also with interposition of the auxiliary vowel ṣi — with regard to which, as well as to the form of the root before it, the formation nearly agrees with that of the participle in ṣta (952 ff.).

a. Examples of the general accordance of passive participle, infinitive, and gerund in regard to the use of i were given above, 968a; further specifications are called for, as follows:

b. The quotable roots in variable ū (242) change it to ûr: thus, tīrtvā, stīrtya (also stṛtvā); and caṛ makes also cīrtvā (like cūraṇa); — roots in ā show in general the same weakening as in the participle; but from dhē put is quotable only dhītvā, from mā measure mītvā and mitvā, from dā give only dattvā, from dhā chaitytvā; — of roots in am, kram and bhram and yam make forms both with and without i (as in the infinitive), but ram has ratvā and ramitvā, and dam and vam make damitvā and vamitvā.

c. The auxiliary vowel is taken by roots gras, muṣ, cāp, and čas (gāsitvā) (whose participles have both forms); also by cāy, nṛt (mar-titvā), lag, and svāj (against analogy of pple); and que makes qoqitvā. On the other hand, from rūj (rūqṣa) and vraço (vṛkṣa) come ruktvā and vrṣṭvā. And both forms are made (as also in infinitive or participle) from caṛ, vaś ducell (uṣṭvā, uṣitvā), ni (nītvā, nayitvā), and mṛj (mṛṣṭvā, māṛjītvā).

d. While the formation is in general one requiring, like the passive participle (e. g. upṛtvā, like upṛtā; uditvā, like uditā), a weak or weakened root, there are some cases in which it is made from a strong or strengthened root-form. Thus (besides the instances already given: chaṇītvā, raṃtvā, qāsitvā, caṛītvā, qoqitvā, nayitvā, māṛjītvā), we find chaṛītvā (Āpast.), daṇṣṭvā, and spharītvā, and, from a number of roots, a second strong form beside the more regular weak one: namely, aṅktvā, bhāṅktvā, bhunktvā, ayanttvā (beside aṅktvā etc.); caṇītvā, saṃ马云tvā, aṃarītvā (beside cītvā etc.); roḍītvā (beside rudītvā), and śiṅcitvā (beside siktvā). The last shows the influence of the present-stem; as do also māṛjītvā (above) and jīṃhṛtvā (yghra). The form śṭhuntvā (Āpast.) is doubtless a false reading, for śṭhyūtvā.

992. The suffix ṣṇīya is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending
in a short vowel takes र्य tya instead of य ya: thus, कृत्य -jitya, स्तूत्य -stútya, कृत्य -kṣtya.

a. Roots in variable र (śravya) change that vowel to śr or śṛ: thus, क्रिया, गृह्या, तिर्या (and तृया), दिर्या, पुर्या, गिर्या, श्रिया (also श्रिया); — roots in अ have for the most part अ-ya; but द्र बुध makes द्रह्या, and double forms are found from गा मिर्ग (गृह्या, गिर्या), पा द्रृक्ष (पाया, पिया), दा गीत (दाया, दाद्या), दा मात्र (दाया, दित्या), मा मार्ग, एक्सेंस (माया, मित्या), सा बिंद (साया, अया); लि रित्र has लिया or लिया, as if an ए-verb; and खंड and दाङ make खंडया and दाङ्या, from their अ-forms; — the roots in अn and अm making their participle in ता (ङ्गād) make the gerund in अत्या, but also later in अन्या, अन्या (e.g. गात्या, गमया; हाया, हंया; but तन makes as second form ताया, and from राम only रामया is quotable) — the roots in इळ add या to their इळ-form: thus, गाथ्या, सिव्या; — a few roots in इ and उ अड या to the lengthened vowel besides adding या: thus, इ फा (फा, फिया; also अय्या), श्र गत (गिया, गिया), and इ उ, यु वाइ, सु, स्तु (पित्या, पुत्या, etc.); while या destroy has only या.

b. This gerund, though accented on the root-syllable, is generally a weakening formation: thus are made, without a strengthening nasal found in some other forms, अय्या, अय्या, इत्या, इब्या, इब्या, श्रिया, गाया, बाध्या, बहाया, लिया, लिया, व्याया, क्राया, साया, साया, स्ताया, स्ताया; with weakening of other kinds, गात्या and गात्या, प्रोक्त्या, ओत्या, ओत्या, ओत्या (veda), ओत्या, ओत्या, ओत्या, ओत्या, ओत्या, ओत्या, ओत्या — but from a number of roots are made both a stronger and a weaker form: thus, मान्या and मांथ्या, मार्या and मात्या, रुद्ध्या and रुद्ध्या, कण्या and काय, कण्या and काय, कण्या and काय, कण्या and काय; — and only strong forms are found from roots अव, अन्, अन् (गाया), as well as from certain roots with a constant nasal: e.g. उन्न, काम, नांद, ल्यां, छाल; isolated cases are या (या स्वर), प्रथ्या (also प्रथ्या).

c. Other special cases are ओत्या and ओत्या (या रुख रुख), गृह्या and गृह्या, गृह्या and गृह्या, रुद्ध्या and रुद्ध्या, भ्राया and भ्राया, भ्राया and भ्राया, द्या (beside श्या, ल्या), गृह्या and जिग्र्या; and उपत्या (beside विष्या).

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In RV., however, the final of या is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in इ or ती). In AV., long इ appears only once in a RV. passage.

b. Instead of त्या alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely त्या, त्या, and त्या. Of these three, त्या is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of त्या); but it is un-
known in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; tvāya is found nine times in RV. (only once outside the tenth Book), twice in AV., and but half-a-dozen times elsewhere (in ČB., once from a causative stem: spāçayitvāya). The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

c. Two other gerund suffixes, tvānam and tvānam, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found to occur.

994. The use of this gerund, though not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.

a. Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gītā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.

b. In general, the gerund is an adjunct to the subject of a sentence, and expresses an act or condition belonging to the subject: thus, vajraṇa hatvā nīr apāh as arja (RV.) smiting with his thunderbolt, he poured forth the waters; pīt ī sōmasya vāyadhī (RV.) having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong; té yajñasya rasaṁ dhītvā vidūhya yajñāṁ yūpēna yopayitvā tirō 'bhavan (ČB.) having sucked out the sap of the offering, having milked the offering dry, having blocked it with the sacrificial post, they disappeared; ṣṛutvā 'va ca ābruvan (MBh.) and having heard, they said; tam ca dūre ḍṛṣṭvā gardabhi 'yam iti matvā dhāvitaḥ (H.) and having seen him in the distance, thinking ‘it is a she-ass’, he ran.

c. But if the logical subject, the real agent, is put by the construction of the sentence in a dependent case, it is still qualified by the gerund: thus, strīyāṁ ḍṛṣṭvāya kitavāṁ tatāpa (RV.) it distresses the gambler (i.e. the gambler is distressed) at seeing a woman; tāṁ hāī 'nāṁ ḍṛṣṭvā bhūr vivedā (ČB.) fear came upon him (i.e. he was afraid) when he saw him; vidhāya prośite vyttim (M.) when he stays away after providing for her support; kīṁ nu me syād idāṁ kṝtvā (MBh.) what, I wonder, would happen to me if I did this; — and especially, when a passive form is given to the sentence, the gerund qualifies the agent in the instrumental case (282a): thus, tataḥ ṣabdād abhijñāya sa vyāghreṇa hataḥ (H.) thereupon he was slain by the tiger, who recognised him by his voice; tvāya sa rājā cakuntalāṁ purāskṛtya vaktavyaḥ (Ć.) presenting Cakuntalā, thou must say to the king; haḥsānāṁ vacanaṁ ṣṛutvā yathā me (gen. for instr.) nāśadho vytaḥ (MBh.) as the Niśadhan was chosen by me on hearing the words of the swans: this construction is extremely common in much of the later Sanskrit.

d. Occasionally, the gerund qualifies an agent, especially an indefinite one, that is unexpressed: thus, tadā 'trāī 'va paktvā khādītvāyaḥ (H.) then he shall be eaten [by us] eating him on the spot; yad anyasya pariñāṇyā puraṁ anyasya diyate (M.) that, after being promised (lit. when one has promised her) to one, she is given again to another; sucintya co 'ktāṁ suviccārya yat kṛtam (H.) what one says after mature thought,
and does after full deliberation. Hence, still more elliptically, after ālam: thus, ālam viśārya (‘.’) enough of hesitation; tad ālam te vānāh gatvā (lit.) so have done with going to the forest.

e. Other less regular constructions are met with, especially in the older language: thus, in the manner of a participle with man and the like (1078 a), as tāṁ hinēśtvā ‘va mene (‘B.) he thought he had hurt him; tā adhārhitā bhīṣmaḥ niṣāyāt ‘va manyata (AB.) having sprinkled them with water, he believed himself to have exhausted them; — in the manner of a participle forming a continuous tense with yā (1075 a), as indram evāi ‘tāṁ ārābhya yanti (AB.) by means of them they keep taking hold of Indra; — as qualifying a subordinate member of the sentence, as puroḍāgam evā kūrāṁ bhūtvā sārpaṇam (‘Ç.B.) to the sacrificial cake creeping about, having become a tortoise; ayodhyaḥ ... saphenām sa-
savanām bhūtvā jalormim īva (R.) into Ayodhyā, like a surge that had been foamy and roaring; — even absolutely, as āśīrvaṇā vāyā devā īṣṭvā tāṁ samād avindat (‘B.) when the gods had sacrificed with the guest-offering, strive befel them.

f. As in the two examples before the last, a predicate word with bhūtvā is put in the same case with the subject: thus, further, tād īyām evāi ‘tād bhūtvā yajati (‘Ç.B.) so having thus become this earth he makes offering; yena vāmanena ‘pi bhūtvā (Vet.) by whom, even when he had become a dwarf. The construction is a rare one.

g. A number of gerunds have their meaning attenuated sometimes to the semblance of a prepo- sition or adverb: such are adhikṛtya making a subject of; i.e. respecting, of; ādāya, upāgṛhya taking, i.e. with; uddiṣṭya pointing toward, i.e. at; āśāya, arriving at, i.e. along by; ārābhya beginning, i.e. from; sambhūya being with, i.e. with; sambhatya striking together, i.e. in union; prasahya using force, i.e. violently; tyaktvā, parītyajya, muktvā, vihāya, uddhṛtya, varjayitvā leaving out etc., i.e. excepting, without; and others. Examples are: caṅkunām adhikṛtya bravīmi (‘Ç.) I am speaking of Caṅkunā; tam uddiṣṭya kṣiptalaguḍaḥ (H.) having thrown the cudgel at him; nimittam kṣipcid āśāya (H.) for some reason or other.

h. The gerund is in the later language sometimes found in composition, as if a noun-stem: e.g. prassahyaraṇa taking with violence; prṣṭyabhāva existence after death; vibhajyapātha separate enunciation; sambhūyagamanā going together. It is also often repeated (1280), in a distributive sense: e.g. sā vāyā samṛṣṭya-samṛṣṭya pratyayā-pratyayā prāya yacchati (‘Ç.B.) in each case, after wiping and warming them, he hands them over; gṛhitvā-gṛhitvā (KÇS.) at each taking; unnamyo-

innamya (Pañça.) every time that they arise.

Adverbial Gerund in am.

995. The accusative of a derivative nomen actionis in a, used adverbially, assumes sometimes a value and construction so accord
ant with that of the usual gerund that it cannot well be called by a different name.

a. No example of a peculiar gerundial construction with such a form occurs either in RV. or AV., although a dozen adverbial accusatives are to be classed as representing the formation: thus, abhyākrāmam, pratān-kam, prapódam, nilāyam, abhiakāndam, etc. This gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, where it is not rare; in the epics it is extremely infrequent; later, also, it occurs very sparingly.

b. A final vowel has vyāddhi-strengthening before the suffix: thus, nāyam, grāvam, kāram; final ś adds y: thus, khyāyam, yāyam; a medial vowel has guṇa (if capable of it: 240): thus, kṣepam, kroṇam, vartam (but ikṣam, pūram); a medial a before a single consonant is lengthened: thus, krāmam, cāram, grāham, svādam (but grantham, lamham). The accent is on the radical syllable. No un compounded examples are found in the older language, and extremely few in the later.

c. Examples are: kāmaṁ vā imāṁ āngāni vyatyaśam ācete (CB.) he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure; uttarām-uttarāṁ cākham samālambham rōheta (CB.) he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb; aparīṣu mahanāgām ivā bhisaṁ-sāram didṛkatāraḥ (CB.) hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him; nāmāṁ āsāṁ etāṁ nāmagraham (CB.) with separate naming of these their names; yō vipaṁsām avagūhati (CB.) whoever buries it upside down; bāhūtksepam kranda-īta pravytā (C.) she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing); navacūtapallavāni darṣaṁ-darṣam madhukaraṇāṁ kva-nitāni grāvam-grāvam paribabhrāma (DKC.) he wondered about, constantly seeing the young shoots of the mango, and hearing the humming of the bees. Repeated forms, like those in the last example, are approved in the later language; they do not occur earlier (but instead of them the repeated ordinary gerund: 994 h).

CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

996. Secondary conjugations are those in which a whole system of forms, like that already described as made from the simple root, is made, with greater or less completeness, from a derivative conjugation-stem; and is also
usually connected with a certain definite modification of the original radical sense.

a. We have seen, indeed, that the tense-systems are also for the most part made from derivative-stems; and even that, in some cases, such stems assume the appearance and value of roots, and are made the basis of a complete conjugational system. Nor is there any distinct division-line to be drawn between tense-systems and derivative conjugations; the latter are present-systems which have been expanded into conjugations by the addition of other tenses, and of participles, infinitives, and so on. In the earliest language, their forms outside of the present-system are still quite rare, hardly more than sporadic; and even later they are — with the exception of one or two formations which attain a comparative frequency — much less common than the corresponding forms of primary conjugation.

997. The secondary conjugations are: I. Passive; II. Intensive; III. Desiderative; IV. Causative; V. Denominative.

a. The passive is classed here as a secondary conjugation because of its analogy with the others in respect to specific value, and freedom of formation, although it does not, like them, make its forms outside the present system from its present-stem.

I. Passive.

998. The passive conjugation has been already in the main described. Thus, we have seen that —

a. It has a special present-system, the stem of which is present only, and not made the basis of any of the remaining forms: this stem is formed with the accented class-sign ǔ yá, and it takes (with exceptions: 774) the middle endings. This present-system is treated with the others, above, 768 ff.

b. There is a special passive 3d sing. of the aorist, ending in égor: it is treated above, 842 ff.

c. In the remaining tenses, the middle forms are used also in a passive sense.

d. But the passive use of middle forms is not common; it is oftener met with in the perfect. The participle to a great extent takes the place of a past passive tense, and the gerundive that of a future. On the other
hand, in the oldest language (RV.), middle forms of other present-systems
are in a considerable number of cases employed with passive meaning.

e. According to the grammarians, there may be formed from some
verbs, for passive use, a special stem for the aorist and the two future
systems, coinciding in form with the peculiar 3d sing. aorist.

f. Thus, from ydā (aor. 3d sing. adāyī), besides ádāsi, dāsayē,
dātāhe, also ádāyīṣi, dāyāṣyē, dāyātāhe. The permission to make this
double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to grah, drṣ,
and han. No such passive forms occur in the older language, and not half-
a-dozen are quotable from the later (we find adhāyīṣi and asthāyīṣi in
DKC., and anāyīṣata in Kuval.).

 g. As to the alleged passive inflection of the periphrastic perfect, see
below, 1072.

h. Besides the participle from the present tense-stem
(771. 5), the passive has a past participle in ṉ ta (952), or
ṅ na (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various
formation 961 ff., made directly from the root.

999. As already pointed out (282a.), the language, especially
later, has a decided predilection for the passive form of the sentence.
This is given in part by the use of finite passive forms, but oftener
by that of the passive participle and of the gerundive: the participle
being taken in part in a present sense, but more usually in a past
(whether indefinite or proximate past), and sometimes with a copula
expressed, but much oftener without it; and the gerundive repre-
senting either a pure future or one with the sense of necessity or
duty added. A further example is: tatrāi ko yuvā brāhmaṇo
dṛṣṭāṇ: tam dṛṣṭā kāmena piṭita saṁjñātā: sakhyā agre kathit-
tam: sakhi puruṣo ‘yaṁ grhītāvā mama mātuḥ samipam āneta-
vyāḥ. Vēt.: there she saw a young Brahmān; at sight of him she felt
the pangs of love; she said to her friend: ‘friend, you must take and
bring this man to my mother’. In some styles of later Sanskrit, the
prevailing expression of past time is by means of the passive partici-
ple (thus, in Vēt., an extreme case, more than nine tenths).

a. As in other languages, a 3d sing. passive is freely made from
intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, ihā ‘gamyatāṁ come hither;
tvayā tatrāi va asthiyatāṁ do you stand just there; sarvāī jālāṁ
ādāyō ‘dṛṣṭyatāṁ (II.) let net fly up with the net.

II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive sometimes also called frequentative: is that one of the secondary conjugations which is
least removed from the analogy of formations already de-
scribed. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (642 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem, but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened reduplication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits of a present-system than any other of the derivative conjugations.

a. The intensive conjugation signifies the repetition or the intensification of the action expressed by the primary conjugation of a root.

1001. According to the grammarians, the intensive conjugation may be formed from nearly all the roots in the language — the exceptions being roots of more than one syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, 1056), and in general those beginning with a vowel.

a. In fact, however, intensives in the later language are very rare, so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the rules of the native grammar respecting them. Nor are they at all common earlier, except (comparatively) in the RV., which contains about six sevenths of the whole number (rather over a hundred) quotable from Veda and Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra-texts; AV. has less than half as many as RV., and many of them in RV. passages; from the later language are quotable about twenty of these, and about forty more, but for the most part only in an occurrence or two.

b. Hence, in the description to be given below, the actual aspect of the formation, as exhibited in the older language, will be had primarily and especially in view; and the examples will be of forms found there in use.

1002. The strong intensive reduplication is made in three different ways:

I. a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the consonant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect reduplication (590); but the vowel is a heavy one, radical a and r (or ar) being reduplicated with ā, an i-vowel by ē, and an u-vowel by ō.

Examples are: vāvad, bābādh, ṣāqvas, rārandh; dāḍṛ, dāḍhr; cēkt, tetī, nēnī, vēvī; cōcūe, popruth, cōṣku, jōhū.

II. b. The reduplicating syllable has a final consonant, taken from the end of the root. With an exception or two, this consonant is either r (or its substitute l) or a nasal.
Examples are: carcar, caical, sarṣ, marṃḍ, jarpṣ; caṇkram, jaṅghan, tāṅstan, dandaq (yaṅḍaq or daq), jaṅjabh (yaṃbh or jabh), tantas (ytaḥ or tas), nannam (yaṇam), yam̐yam (yaṃam). The nasal is assimilated to the initial consonant.

c. Only roots having a or ṛ as vowel make this form of reduplication, but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.

d. Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than r or n in the reduplication, badbadh; with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, jaṅgah (RV.), jaṅjap (CB.; and jaṅgṛyat PB. is perhaps from ṣu; the later language has further landah); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, jarpur from ybhur (compare the Vedī perfect jaṅhāra from ybhṛ, 789 b), galgal from ygal; with various treatment of a ṛ or ar-element, dardar and dardir, ṭarkar and carkir, tartar and tartur, carcar and carcur, jarpur and jaṅgul.

e. The roots ṭ and ṛ are the only ones with vowel initial forming an intensive stem: ṭ makes ṭyaḥ (ṛ PU., once); ṛ makes the irregular alar or αṛ. As to the stem ṭya, see below, 1021 b.

III. f. The reduplication is disyllabic, an i-vowel being added after a final consonant of the reduplicating syllable. This i-vowel is in the older language short before a double consonant, and long before a single.

Examples are: ganigam (but gānīmatam), varīṛt, vanivāḥ, caniṅkad, saniṅvan; navīṇu, dāvidyut (and the participles dāvidhvat but tāvituat). A single exception as to the quantity of the i is daviṅdhāva.

g. This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by about thirty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate n (once m), and n in the reduplicating syllable, paṇ, phan, san, svan, haṇ; gaṃ; krāṇḍ, ṣaṅd, skand, syand; of roots having final or medial ṛ, and r in the reduplicating syllable, kṛ maṇe, ṭṛ, ṭṛ, vr, mṛ, mṛ, vrj, vṛt, arṇ; also mluc (malimluc); — further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a n not found in the root, only vah (CB.: the grammarians allow also kas, pat, pad; and panipad is quotable later; and AČS. has caniṅkhudat, for which TB. reads kāṇihunat); finally, of roots having u or ū as radical vowel, with av before the i-vowel, tu, dhū, nu, dyut.

h. In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (590) are violated in the case of ghaṇighan and bharibhṛ, and of ganigam, kariṅṛ (but the regular cariṅṛ also occurs), kaniṅkrāṇḍ, and kaninṅkṛaṇḍ (but also caniṅkraṇḍ occurs); also in kaniṅkhun.

i. The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in ekīt, and jaṅghan and ghaṇighan, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (2161).
1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, dāḍr and dāḍr; dāḍhr and dāḍhṛ; cācāl and cācar (and cācour); tar τar (and tartur) and tarār; jāṅgam and jāṅgām; jāṅghān and jāṅghān; pāmppan and pāmppaṅ; mārmṛ and mārmṛ; mārmṛ and mārmṛ; varṛṭ and varṛṛṭ; jārābhṛ and bharībhṛ; doddhṛ and doddhṛ; nonu and navīnu; bāb[r]dh and bābdh[r].

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (642 ff.); and this is indeed to a considerable extent followed, in respect to endings, strengthening of stem, and accent. But deviations from the model are not rare; and the forms are in general of too infrequent occurrence to allow of satisfactory classification and explanation.

a. The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an i between the stem and ending. According to the grammarians, this is allowed in all the strong forms before an ending beginning with a consonant; and before the i a final vowel has gupa-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

Present-System.

1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.

1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root विद्ध विद know, of which the intensive stem is वेविद्ध वेविद्, or, in strong forms, वेवीद् वेवेद.

a. Neither from this nor from any other root are more than a few scattering forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>वेभविद्, वेभिद्धम् वेभिद्धस् वेभिद्धस्</td>
<td>वेवेदम्, वेविद्धम् वेविद्धस् वेविद्धस्</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. a. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only jaṅghānāni, jāgarāsi (Av.); and, in the middle, tantasāte (3d du.).

b. Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., jaṅghanas, jalglas; 3d sing., jāgarat, cēkitat, bobhavat, cārkaṭat, jaṅhanat, bārbhhat, mármpat, mármrpat, parparhat, dādirat, sanįskaṭat, dāvidyutat, sanįsvat; 1st du., jaṅhanāva; 1st pl., carkirāma, vevidāma; 3d pl., pāpatan, qoqcans, carkirān; and, with double mode-sign, cākačān (Av.). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, jaṅghananta, jar herrṣanta, marrmpjanta, nonuvanta, qoqcanta.

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (566), accented. Thus:
a. The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language; thus, active. vevidyāt (AV.), jāgryāt (KB.), jāgryāt (AB.), jāgryām (VS. MS.; but jāgryāma TS.); RV. has only cākanyāt (ptl.?); middle, nenijīta (K.).

4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>वेबिद्याम्</td>
<td>वेबिद्याव</td>
<td>वेबिद्याम्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vevidyām</td>
<td>vevidyāva</td>
<td>vevidyāma</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1011. a. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (jānghānām, the only accented example, does not correspond with the model, but is in conformity with the subjunctive of the reduplicating present); the proper imperatives are: 2d sing., dādhī, dardhī, carkdhī, jāqrhī, nenigdhī, rārdhī; the ending tāt is found in carkṛtāt and jāqrṛṭāt; and the latter (as was pointed out above, 571 b) is used in AV. as first person sing.; barbṛhī shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of h before the ending hi; 3d sing., dādharu, veveṣṭu, dardartu, marmarttu; 2d du., jāqrṛṭam; 3d du., jāqrṛṭam; 2d pl., jāqrṛṭā; cānkramata (RV., once) has an anomalous union-vowel. In the middle voice is found only nemiṃśva (CB.).

b. Of imperative forms with auxiliary त, RV. has none; AV. has vāvaditu and johavitu, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmaṇas; AV. has also, against rule, taḥstanīhi and jānghanīhi; VS. has cākacīhi.

5. Present Participle.

1012. The intensive participles, both active and middle, are comparatively common in the older language. They are formed and inflected like those of the reduplicating present, and have the accent on the reduplicating syllable.
Examples are: active, cākaça, nānadā, cēkita, mémyat, cōqu-cat, rōruvat, dārdrat, mārmjat, jāṅghanat, nānname, pānī-phanat, kānikradat, dávidyutat; — middle, bābadhāna, mémyana, cēkītā, yōuyāna, rōrucaṇa, jārīhrūna, sārśrāṇa, jāṅjabhāna, nānnaṁāna, dāndačāna. No middle participle shows the disyllabic reduplication.

1013. a. On account of their accent, rārahāpat, rārakṣāpā, and jāhrañā (beside jāhrāpā) are probably to be regarded as perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with heavy reduplication from the same roots occur. The inference is, however, rendered uncertain by the unmistakably intensive badbadhāna and marmṛjāna (beside mārmṛjāna). As to cōqučāna etc., see 808 a.

b. The RV. has once jāṅghnatas, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; kānikrat appears to be used once for kānikradat; if cākōt is to be referred to yikā (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in ś, and its accent is anomalous. Marmṛjantas (AB.) is perhaps a false reading; but forms with the nasal irregularly retained are found repeatedly in the epics and later: thus, lelihan, dedipyantīm (MBh.), jāvalant (MBh. R.), sarśrpantāu (BhP.), rāraṭanti (R.).

6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

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<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ग्रेवित्म</td>
<td>ग्रेविद</td>
<td>ग्रेविय</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ávėvidam</td>
<td>ávėvidva</td>
<td>ávėvidmā</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 ग्रेवित्म</td>
<td>ग्रेवित्म</td>
<td>ग्रेवित्म</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ग्रेवित</td>
<td>ग्रेविति</td>
<td>ग्रेविति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ávėvet</td>
<td>ávėvidis</td>
<td>ávėvittam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ग्रेवित्म</td>
<td>ग्रेवित्म</td>
<td>ग्रेवित्म</td>
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<tr>
<td>ग्रेवित</td>
<td>ग्रेविति</td>
<td>ग्रेविति</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ávėvet, ávėvidit</td>
<td>ávėvittam</td>
<td>ávėvidus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1015. The imperfect forms found in the earlier texts are not numerous. They are, including those from which the augment is omitted, as follows: in active, 1st sing., acākaṣam, dediṣam; 2d sing., ajāgar, adaradar, dādar; 3d sing., adardar, adardhar, avarīvar, dardar, kāniṣkahan, dávidyot, nāvinot; 2d du., adardaṃ; 1st pl., marmṛjā; 3d pl., anannamus, adarderus, acakṛṣṇus, ājohavus, anognivas; and, with auxiliary I, in 3d sing., avāvacīt, avāvacīt, avāvacīt, avoṣayit, āroṣayit, ājohavit; and, irregularly, in 3d du., avāvacītām. The middle forms are extremely few: namely, 3d sing., ādēdīṣa, ānan-nata (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl. marmṛjata, and avāvačanta (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an a-stem).
1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign \( \text{ya} \), along with middle endings only. It has not, however, a passive value, but is in meaning and use indistinguishable from the simpler conjugation.

a. A final vowel before this \( \text{ya} \) is treated as before the passive-sign \( \text{ya} \) (770).

b. The inflection is precisely like that of any other stem ending in \( \text{a} \) in the middle voice: thus, from \( \gamma\text{mrj} \), intensive stem \( \text{marmrj} \), is made the present indicative \( \text{marmrjye} \), \( \text{marmrjyase} \), \( \text{marmrjyate} \), etc.; optative \( \text{marmrjyeya} \), \( \text{marmrjyetha} \), \( \text{marmrjyeta} \), etc.; imperative \( \text{marmrjyasva} \), \( \text{marmrjyatam} \), etc.; participle \( \text{marmrjyama} \); imperfect \( \text{arma} \text{rjye} \), \( \text{arma} \text{rjyathas} \), \( \text{arma} \text{rjyata} \), etc.; subjunctive forms do not occur.

c. In a very few sporadic cases, these \( \text{ya} \)-forms are given a passive value: thus, \( \text{ja} \text{ghanyamana} \) in \( \text{M} \text{U} \); \( \text{bambhrayate} \), \( \text{dadhma} \text{yamana} \), \( \text{pepiyamana} \) in the later language. And active participles (529a) are not unknown: thus, \( \text{dedipyantim} \) (\( \text{MBh} \)), \( \text{dodhuyant} \) (\( \text{MBh. BhP} \)).

1017. This kind of intensive inflection is more common than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

a. In \( \text{RV} \), \( \text{ya} \)-forms are made from eight roots, five of which have also forms of the simpler conjugation; the AV. adds one more; the other earlier texts (so far as observed) about twenty more, and half of them have likewise forms of the simpler conjugation. Thus: from \( \gamma\text{mrj} \), \( \text{marmrjyat} \) etc.; and \( \text{mar} \text{mrmrjyeta} \); from \( \gamma\text{tr} \), \( \text{tarturyante} \); from \( \gamma\text{ar} \), \( \text{caryamana} \); from \( \gamma\text{ni} \), \( \text{neniyaran} \), etc.; from \( \gamma\text{vi} \), \( \text{veviyate} \); from \( \gamma\text{rh} \), \( \text{rervhyate} \) etc.; from \( \gamma\text{li} \), \( \text{vevijyate} \); from \( \gamma\text{sku} \), \( \text{coqkhyase} \) etc.; from \( \gamma\text{diq} \), \( \text{dediqyate} \); from \( \gamma\text{kai} \), \( \text{caqkayate} \) etc.; from \( \gamma\text{va} \), \( \text{vadvayamana} \); from \( \gamma\text{nam} \), \( \text{nannamadyham} \); from \( \gamma\text{vah} \), \( \text{vanvikhyeta} \) etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from \( \gamma\text{kand} \), \( \text{kanikrayamana} \); from \( \gamma\text{tr} \), \( \text{varivartyamana} \) (\( \text{CB} \): should be \( \text{varivryty} \)); from \( \gamma\text{mr} \), \( \text{amaramryyanta} \) (\( \text{CB} \): the text reads \( \text{amarimprtyyanta} \)); from \( \gamma\text{yu} \), \( \text{yoyupyante} \) etc.; from \( \gamma\text{nu} \), \( \text{anonudanta} \); from \( \gamma\text{vi} \), \( \text{avevijyanta} \); from \( \gamma\text{jah} \), \( \text{jaahjabhyate} \) etc.; from \( \gamma\text{ja} \), \( \text{jaahjapamana} \); and so on.
Perfect.

1018. The grammarians are at variance as to whether a perfect may be formed directly from the intensive stem, or whether only a periphrastic perfect (below, 1070 ff.) is to be admitted.

a. No example of an intensive periphrastic perfect has anywhere come to light (except from jägṛ: 1020a). A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.: namely, davidhāva and nōnāva, 3d sing., and nonuvus, 3d pl.; and there occur further dodrāva (TS.), yoyāva and lelāya (MS.), and lelāya (? CB.), all used in the sense of presents. To them may be added jāgara 1st sing. and jāgāra 3d sing.: but as to these, see below, 1020a.

Aorist, Future, etc.

1019. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, also, the grammarians are not agreed (occurrences of such forms, apparently, being too rare to afford even them any basis for rules); in general, it is allowed to treat the intensive stem further as a root in filling up the scheme of forms, using always the auxiliary vowel े where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

a. Thus, from y/vid, intensive stem vevid, would be made the aorist avevidiṣam with precative vevidyāsam, the futures vevidiṣyāmi and vevidītāmi, the participles vevidita, veviditavya, etc., the infinitive veviditum, and the gerunds vevidivā and -vevidya. And, where the intensive conjugation is the derivative middle one, the aorist and futures would take the corresponding middle form.

b. Of all this, in the ancient language, there is hardly a trace. The RV. has cārkṛṣe, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like hīṣa and atuṣṭ (894d), and the gerundives vitantasāya, and marmṛjanya and vāṃvindhānya; and CB. has the participle vanīvahita, and the infinitive dēdīlyatavā. As to jāgariṣyant and jāgariṭa, see the next paragraph.

1020. There are systems of inflection of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:

a. The root gr (or gar) wats has from the first no present-system save one with intensive reduplication; and its intensive stem, jägṛ, begins early to assume the value of a root, and form a completer conjugation; while by the grammarians this stem is reckoned as if simple and belonging to the root-class, and is inflected throughout accordingly. Those of its forms which occur in the older language have been given along with
the other intensives above. They are, for the present-system, the same with those acknowledged as regular later. The older perfect is like the other intensive perfects found in RV.: namely, jāgaya etc., with the participle jāgryāḥ; and a future jāgarīyāḥ, a passive participle jāgaritā, and a gerundive jāgaritavyāḥ, are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. The old aorist (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist: thus, ājīgā. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with additional reduplication, jajāgāra etc., an īp-aorist, ajāgriṣam, with preceptive jāgryāsam, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation. The perf. jajāgāra is quotable from the epics and later, as also the periphrastic jāgarāṁ āṣa. And MBh. has the mutilated jāgymi, and also a-forms, as jāgari and jāgramaṇa.

1021. a. The stem irajya (active only) regulate, from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from y'rāj or yj. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of iradh propitiate (only iradhanta and irādhyā, apparently for irādhadhyā).

b. The middle stem īya, not infrequent in the oldest language, is often called an intensive of ī ya go, but without any propriety, as it has no analogy of form whatever with an intensive. The isolated 1st pl. īmahe, common in RV., is of questionable character.

1022. The root II totter, with constant intensive reduplication, lelī, is quite irregular in infection and accent: thus, pres., lelāyatī and lelāya-tē, pple lelāyānti and lelāyata-s (gen. sing.) and lelāyamāna, impf. alelāyat and alelet and alelīyata, perf. lelāya and lelāya (?)

1023. The RV. anomalous form dart (or dara), 2d and 3d sing. from y'dr or dar, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from dārār. RV. has once avarīvyus (or -vur) where the sense requires a form from y'vṛt, as avarīvyus. The form rāraṇatā (RV., once) seems corrupt.

1024. A marked intensive or frequentative meaning is not always easily to be traced in the forms classed as intensive; and in some of them it is quite effaced. Thus, the roots cit, niy, viṣ use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with gr (jagr). The grammarians reckon the inflection of niy and viṣ as belonging to the reduplicating present-system, with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way vic and viṣ; jagr, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

a. Also dāridrā, intensive of y'drā run, is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjunctival forms: as dadāridrāu; adāridrāśīt, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language (unless dāridrāt TS., for which VS. MS. read dāridra). The so-called root vevi futter is a pure intensive.
1025. It is allowed by the grammarians to make from the intensive stem also a passive, desiderative, causative, and so on: thus, from vevid, pass. vevidyé; desid. vévidiśāmi; caus. vevidáyāmi; desid. of causative, vévidayāśāmi. But such formations are excessively rare; quotable are varivarjāyantī AV., jāgarāyant TB. etc.; dādhārayati JB., dandaçaçayitvā DKC.

III. Desiderative.

1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root: thus, ज्ञातः पिताम I drink, desid. विनायिम पिपन्तम I wish to drink; कृत्वामि ज्याम I live, desid. बिनायिण्म जीवितम I desire to live. Such a conjugation is allowed to be formed from any simple root in the language, and also from any causative stem.

a. The desiderative conjugation, although its forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language, is earlier and more fully expanded into a whole verbal system than the intensive. Its forms are also of increasing frequency: much fewer than the intensives in RV., more numerous in the Brāhmaṇas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots (about a hundred) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brāhmaṇa have such in RV.

1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics: 1. a reduplication, which always has the accent; 2. an appended ह sa — which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel इ, becoming इः.

a. A few instances in the concluding part of CB. in which the accent is otherwise laid — thus, तिष्ठाते, यिसांताम, विविदसांताम, इसांताम — must probably be regarded as errors.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final ि or ग is lengthened before sa: thus, चिक्रि, चिक्रि, जिक्रि; चुरि, जुहिरि, वुक्रि.

b. A final ज becomes त्र or द्र before sa: thus, तिक्रि, तिद्रि (also irregularly ित्रि RV.), िदिह्रि, िसिरि, िसिरि (also तसिरि), िहिरि; िवहिरि, िमिरि (the only examples quotable).
c. Before ERSHEY, a final i- or u- or r-vowel necessarily, and a penultimate i or u or r optionally, have the guṇa-strengthening; no examples are quotable from the older texts; later occur qiṣaiṣqa, qiṣariṣqa, cikarīṣqa, ninarīṣqa, mimariṣqa, vivarīṣqa, quqobīṣqa; but urudīṣqa.

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in ā weaken this vowel to ī or even i: thus, jīrīṣqa from jīrā ṣo; pīpīṣqa (beside pīpāsā) from pīpā drīn, jihīṣqa (AV.) from jīhā ṭhomas (jihiṭe: 804); didiṣqa (beside dhīṣsa) from ṣydāhā.

e. A few roots in an or am lengthen the vowel: thus, jīghāṣqa (beside jīgamiṣqa) from jīgaṃ; jīghāṃṣa from jīḥan; mīmāṃṣa from jīṃmaṇ; and titāṃṣa from jīτan.

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in cikiṣqa from jīci, cikiṣīsa from jīciṭ, jīrīṣqa from jījī, jīghāṃṣa from jīḥan; and jīhi ṣat to make jīghīṣqa (no occurrence).

g. The roots van and van make vivāsa and vīṣāṣa, from the root-forms vā and vā.

h. The root jīv forms jujyūṣqa (CB.: jijīviṣqa, VS.); and the other roots in jīv (785) are required to make the same change before iṣṭa, and to have guṇa before iṣa: thus, susiṣqa or siseviṣqa from jīvāṣv. Sāv form susuṣpa. Dūrīv form dudhrūṣa.

i. Initial ā is usually left unchanged to ā after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has ā (184e): thus, mīnāṅkṣa (CB.: 8-sān), and susiṣqa and sisiṇaṣqa, according to the grammarians; but tuṣṭiṣqa is met with.

j. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: ninaṅkṣa (or ninaṭiṣqa) from jīnaṃ be lost; mīnāṅkṣa from jīmaṇ (occurs in mīmāṅkṣu); mimāṭiṣqa (or mimāṃkṣa) from jīṃry.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (590): the vowel is ী i if the root has an a-vowel, or ীর r, or an i-vowel; it is ী u if the root has an u-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, bībhatsa from bīdah or bādah; mimāṃṣa from jīṃmaṇ; and tuṭura (RV.) from jīṭuṭ, dādhiṣqa (AV.) and dādāṅkṣu (C.) are probably false forms.

b. ীযā yāq is made (CB.) aṭiṣqa, and from jīṛdha (VS.) cḍidhiṣqa (with a mode of reduplication like that followed sometimes in the reduplicating aorist: 862). In the older language, these are the only roots with initial vowel which form a desiderative stem, except ীপ and ীdhiṣqa, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph. In the later language occur further eqiṣqa (yīq seek) and folqiṣqa (yīkṣa); and the grammarians add others, as arjīṢqa (yarkh), undidīṣqa (yund), ardiṣqa (yṛdh).
XIV. SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

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c. RV. has the stems _itersa and itivesa, regarded as desideratives from यैया अन्ति and तै, with mutilated reduplication.

1030. A number of roots, including some of very common use, form an abbreviated stem apparently by a contraction of reduplication and root together into one syllable: thus, त्रित्स is from यवाप त्रिः; दित्स is from यद्द दाः.

a. Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: द्वित्स (beside didhiṣa) from यद्वाः; दित्स (beside didāsa) from यद्दाः; दित्स (dhīpsa JB.) from यदभ; दिस्का from यक; सिस्का from यस्साः: these are found in RV.; in AV. are added इस्का from यह (RV. has इस्का once), and इत्स from यध्द; the other texts furnish इक्स (CB.) or इक्स (Gb.) from यद्भ, रिस्का (GB.) from यद्भ, रिस्का (CB.) from यद्द, and दिस्का (CB.) from यम्भ (not यम्भ, since no roots with इ as medial vowel show the contracted form). In the later language are further found रिस्का from यपत also, जीस्का from the causative quasi-root जीस्का (below, 1043), and the anomalous रिस्का from यम्भ measure (allowed also from roots मि and मि); and the grammarians give रिस्का from यरद्भ. Also दिस्का is (very questionably) viewed as a desiderative stem from यम्भ.

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel इ is quite rare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not been found in actual use.

a. It is declared to follow in general, though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures (934, 943).

b. No example of the use of इ is found in RV., and only one each in
AV. (पिपति), VS. (जिज्वि), and TS. (जिज्वि). The other examples noted in the early texts are अगि, अक्रिंष्ट, ज्ञािष्ट (with इ for इ, as elsewhere in this root), अिः, सिः, तिः, सिः, तिः, सिः: most of them are found only in CB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots गम, ग्रह, जी, जित, पत, बाध, विद.

1082. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other a-stems (783a), in both voices, in all the modes (including, in the older language, the subjunctive), and with participles and imperfect. It will be sufficient to give here the first persons only. We may take
as active model ᵋs₁ ᵋsa seek to obtain, from य्वा यप obtain; as middle, लितित titikṣa endure, from य्तित tit be sharp (see below, 1040).

1. Present Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>p. s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵋśāmi</td>
<td>ᵋśāvas ᵋśamas titikṣa titiksāvah titiksāmahe etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Present Subjunctive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>_ACTIVE</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>p. s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵋśaṇi</td>
<td>ᵋśava ᵋśama titikṣā titiksāvahā titiksāmahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Present Optative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>p. s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵋśeyam</td>
<td>ᵋśeva ᵋśema titikṣaṇa titiksāvah titiksāmahi etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Present Imperative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>p. s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵋṣa</td>
<td>ᵋṣatam ᵋṣata titikṣasva titiksathām titiksadhāvan etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Present Participle.

ᵋśaṇ (f. ṭitikṣaṇa) लितितिमाणित titiksāmāṇa

6. Imperfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s. d.</td>
<td>p. s. d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ᵋśāṃ</td>
<td>ᵋśāvas ᵋśāmas ātitikṣa ātitiksāvahi ātitiksāmahe etc. etc. etc. etc. etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in maśi, or 2d pl. in thana or tama, is met with; of the impv. in tāt, only īpsatāt. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in sāmi, sāt and sat, sān, and sānta. KBU. has jījāśa (cf. 736b). But the fem. pple śīśaṭi (instead of śīśasati) occurs once or twice in the older texts; and RV. has dhīśāṇa.

b. In the epics and later are found sporadic forms of the non-
conjugation: thus, mārykṣamas (BrP.), titikṣaṅhe and bubhūṣate 3d pl. (MBh.); and the fem. participles lipsata and cikīraṣati (MBh.: against 449b). The anomalous jighāṅsiyaṇ occurs also in MBh. and Vas.

1033. a. Desiderative forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language. The RV. has only perfect forms from a stem mimikṣa — thus, mimikṣāthus, mimikṣātus, mimikṣus; mimikṣe, mimikṣire — along with the present forms mimikṣati, mimikṣa etc., mimikṣant (pple): they show that mimikṣa or mimikṣa has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, Irtsās and acikītaṇs, and a participle or two from mimānṣa (see below, 1037a, 1039a) — all of them from stems which have lost their distinct desiderative meaning, and come to bear an independent value. The forms noted from the other earlier texts will be given in full below.

b. In the later language, a complete system of verbal forms is allowed to be made in the desiderative conjugation, the desiderative stem, less its final vowel, being treated as a root. Thus:

1034. Perfect. The desiderative perfect is the periphrastic (1070 ff.).

a. Thus, ɪpsāṃ cakāra etc.; titikṣāṃ cakre etc. Such forms are made in CB. from yγyram, dhārv, bādh, rūh; and in ChU. from man.

b. Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from mimikṣa in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21. 10) has once didāṣitha thou hast desired to give.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the iṣ-form: thus, Ṇisisesam, धितितितित्वातितिसिः.

a. The AV. has acikītaṇs, and Irtsās (augmentless, with mā prohibitive: 579). TB. has ṭipsit; CB. āīrtsit, acikīrṣis and ajighāṅsīs, and ammāṅsīṣṭāḥās; KB. jīṣāṣī; JUB. ṭipsīsma; and AA. adhirṣīṣam. No examples have been found in the later language.

b. A prescriptive is also allowed — thus, ṭipsāsam, titikṣīṣya; but it never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel ō i: thus, Ṇisitasim ɪpsīṣamī and Ṇisitasim īpsitāsī; लितितितियो titikṣīṣyē and लितितितित्वे titikṣītāhe.

a. The CB. has titikṣīṣyate and didāṣitāras. Such forms as jīṣāṣīsās (MBh.), didāḥṣyāmī (R.), and mimāṅsant (GGS.) are doubtless presents, with -sya- blunderingly for -sa-.
1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel ĳ, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

a. In the older language have been noted: participle in ta, mimāṃsātā (AV., GB.), jījyūṣita (AB.), cuṇḍūtā and dhikṣitā (CB.); — gerundive in tavya, lipsitavya (AB.), didhyāsitavya (CB.); in ya, jījāṣyā (CB.); — gerund in tvā, mimāṃṣitvā (K.).

1038. Of other declinable stems derived from the desiderative stem, by far the most common are the adjective in ú — e. g. titikṣū, dipū, bibhatsū, siṣṭā (RV. once didṛkṣū) — and the abstract noun in ā — e. g. īpsā, bibhatsā, mimāṃsā, cuṇḍūsā — both of which are made with increasing freedom from an early epoch of the language: especially the former, which has the value and construction (271 a) of a present participle. A few adjectives in enya (having a gerundive character: 906 b) occur in the earlier language: thus, didṛkṣēṇya (RV.), cuṇḍūsēṇya (TS.), mūrṣṇēṇya (PR.), jījāṣēṇya (AB.), and, with irregular reduplication (apparently) pāṇḍēṇya (RV.), dādiḥṣēṇya (JB.); and didṛkṣēya (RV.) is a similar formation. RV. has also siṣṭānī and rumuṣānī, and siṣṭātū (P). In the later language, besides some of the formations already instanced (those in u and ā, and in sva and sitavya), are found a few derivatives in a, as cikitsaka, cibhūṣaka; in anē, as jījāsana, dādiḥṣana; and, very rarely, in anēya (cikitsaniya) and tṛ (cuṇḍūśitr); further, secondary derivatives (doubtless) in in from the noun in ā, as īpsin, jījēsin (one or two of these occur in the older language). And of an adjective in a we have an example in bibhatsā (BS., and later), and perhaps in avalipsā (AVP.); such words as ajugupsā, duṇcikitsā, are rather to be understood as possessive compounds with the noun in ā. As to noun-stems in is, see 392 d.

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign ऽ yā to the desiderative root (or stem without final a): thus, ῳṣṭये Ipsyāte it is desired to be obtained; — and a causative, by adding in like manner the causative-sign यय्या (1041): thus, ῳष्टयागिन Ipsāyāmi I cause to desire obtaining.

a. Of these formations in the older language are found mīmāṃsayāmāna (doubtless to be read for -sāmāna, AV.), lipsyāmāna (CB.), and rumutsyaṃmāna (K.). Half-a-dozen such passives are quotable later, and one or two causatives: e. g. cikitsyate, vivakṣyate, jījāṣyate; cikirṣayant, cikitsayiṣyati.

b. For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas, see below, 1052 b.
1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are cikīta cūre, jugūpa despīsa, titikṣa endure, bibhats abhor, mīmāṃsā ponder, qūrūṣa obey. Doubtless some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin: e. g. qikṣa, desiderative of qak.

a. On account of the near relation of desiderative and future (cf. 948b), the former is occasionally found where the latter was rather to be expected: thus, rājānam prayīśāntam ( Чи.) a king about to depart; prāṇa uocikramiṣan (ChU.) the breath on the point of expiring; mūrmūrur śva bhavat (H.) he was fain to die.

IV. Causative.

1041. a. In the later language is allowed to be made from most roots a complete causative conjugation. The basis of this is a causative stem, formed by appending the causative-sign ṣyā ṣya to the, usually strengthened, root.

b. But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign ṣyā ṣya are of causative value; and the grammarians regard a part of them as constituting a conjugation-class, the tenth or cur-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others (775).

c. In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, 1050).

d. The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the desiderative. It is made from more than three hundred roots in the early language (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: 1048) exceedingly few.

1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign ṣyā ṣya is as follows:
a. Medial or initial i, u, ṛ, ṣ have the guṇa-strengthening (if capable of it: 240); thus, vedaya from ṣvid, oodaya from ṣoud, tarpaya from ṣṛṇp; and kalpaya from ṣkṛp (only example): but cintaya, guṇhaya, dyōhaya.

b. But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, cit (citaya and cetaya), ṭi, il, riṣ (riṣaya and reṣaya), viṣ (vīṣaya and vepaya), tuṣ, tur, tuṛ (tuṣaya and toṣaya), dyut (dyutaya and dyotaya), ruo (rucoaya and rocoaya), cuc (ṣucaya and ṛucaya), cūbh (cūbhaya and ṣūbhaya), kṛṣ, ṁṛṣ, ṣṛṣ; and grabh makes in RV. gṛbhaya. Duṣ and guh lengthen the vowel instead. Mr̥j sometimes has ṣvṛddhi, as in other forms: thus, māṛjaya (beside marjaya). On the other hand, guṇa appears irregularly (240b) in srevaaya (beside grivaya), heḍaya, mekṣaya. Similar irregularities in the later language are giraya, tulaya (also tolaya), churaya (also choraya), muṣaya, spheraya. No forms without strengthening have a causative value made in the older language.

c. A final vowel has the ṣvṛddhi-strengthening: thus, cāyaya, qāyaya, cāyaya, cyāyaya, bhāvaya, dhāyaya, sāyaya.

d. But no root in i or ṣ has ṣvṛddhi in the Veda (unless ṣpāyaya [k, below] comes from pī rather than pā) — as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly quotable: only RV. has kaṣayaya (beside kaṣepaya) from ṣkṣi possess; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, 1. In B. and S., however, occur qaṣaya and saṣaya (ṣai or sā); and later -āyaya, cāyaya, smāyaya, qāyaya, nāyaya.

e. A few roots have a form also with guṇa-strengthening: thus, cyu, dru, pu, yu separate, ṣru, ṗu, stu, aru; ṛṭ waste away, ṛṛ pierce, ṛṛ, smṛ, ṛṛ; ṣṛ choose makes varaya later (it is not found in V.; epic also vāraya).

f. A medial or initial a in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, bhājaya, svāpaya, adaya; janaya, crathaya, anaya (but mandaya, valgaya, bhakṣaya).

g. The roots in the older language which keep their short a are jan, pan, svan, dhan, ran, stan, gam (gāmaya once in RV.), tam, dam, raḥ (usually raṅjaya), prath, ṛath, qnath, vyath, svad, chad p'ese (also chandaya), ṛad, dhvas (also ḍhvaṁsaya), raḥ, māḥ (also mahāhaya), nabh (also nambhaya), tvar, svar, hval. In the later language, further, kvaṇ, jvar, trap, day, paṇ, raḥ, raṇ, ṛing, vadḥ, val, ṛaṇ, qṭlaṭh, ṛkal, sthag. Both forms are made (either in the earlier or in the later language, or in both taken together) by ad, kal, kram, ṛśam, khan, ghaṭ, cam, cal, jval, tvar, dāl, dhvan, nad, nam, pat, bhrahm, math, mad, yam, ram, ṛag, lai, vam, vyadh, qam be quiet, qram, qvas, svap. The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous.

h. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: e. g. dambhaya, daṅcayaya, indhaya,
limpaya, rundhaya, çundhaya, kṛntaya, drāhaya. From a number of roots, stems both with and without the nasal are made: thus (besides those mentioned above, g), kuṅcaya and kocaya, granthaya and grathaya, bruhaya and barhaya, bhraṇçaya and bhrāçaya, çundhaya and çodhaya, sañjaya and sañjaya, siñcaya and secaya. In a few of these is seen the influence of presūp-stems.

i. Most roots in final ā, and the root र, add p before the conjugation-sign: thus, dāpaya, dhāpaya, sthāpaya; arpaya.

j. Such stems are made in the older language from the roots kṣā, khyā, gā sing (also gāyaya), glā, ghrā, jhā, dā gire, dā divide, dā run, dhā put and dhā suck, mā measure, mlā, yā, vā blow, sthā, snā, hā remove; the later language adds kṣmā, dhmā, and hā leare. From jhā āgul snā are found in AV. and later the shortened forms jhāpaya and snāpaya, and from çrā only çrāpaya (not in RV.). Also, in the later language, glā forms glāpaya, and mlā forms mlāpaya.

k. Stems from ā-roots showing no p are, earlier, gāyaya (also gāpaya) from y/gā sing, chāyaya, pāyaya from y/pā drink (or pi), pāyaya from y/pī or pāy; sāyaya from y/sā (or sī); also, later, hvāyaya from y/hvā (or hū); — and further, from roots vā weave, vyā, and çā (or çī), according to the grammarians.

l. The same p is taken also by a few i- and ī-roots, with other accompanying irregularities: thus, in the older language, kṣepaya (RV., beside kṣayaya) from y/kṣi possess; jāpaya (VS. and later) from y/jī; lāpaya (TB. and later; later also lāyaya) from y/lij cling; çrāpaya (VS., once) from y/crī; adhyāpaya (S. and later) from adhī+γī; — in the later, kṣapaya (beside kṣayaya) from y/kṣi destroy; māpaya from y/mī; smāpaya (beside smāyaya) from y/smi; hreṇaya from y/hṛi; — and the grammarians make further kṛpaya from y/kṛi; cāpaya (beside cāyaya) from y/ci gather; bhāpaya (beside bhāyaya and bhīṣaya) from y/bhī; repaya from y/rī, and vlepya from y/vī. Moreover, y/ruh makes ropaya (B. and later) beside rohaya (V. and later), and y/kū makes knopaya (late).

m. More anomalous cases in which the so-called causative is palpably the denominative of a de-verb, are: pālaya from y/pā protect; priṇaya from y/prī; līnaya (according to grammarians) from y/ll; dhūnaya (not causative in sense) from y/dhū; bhīṣaya from y/bhī; ghataya from y/han; sphaṭaya from y/sphā or sphaṭy.

n. In the Prakrit, the causative stem is made from all roots by the addition of (the equivalent of) āpaya; and a number (about a dozen) of like formations are quoted from Sanskrit texts, mostly of the latest period; but three, krīḍāpaya, jīvāpaya, and dīkṣāpaya, occur in the epics; and two, açāpaya and kṣālāpaya, even in the Śūtras.

1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other
stems in ṣa (738a): it will be sufficient to give here in general the first persons of the different formations, taking as model the stem धारय dhārāya, from ṣḍṛ dhṛ. Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>active.</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>धारयामि</td>
<td>धारयावन्</td>
<td>धारयामन्</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhārāyāmi</td>
<td>dhārāyāvas</td>
<td>dhārāyāmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>middle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>धारये</td>
<td>धारयावहि</td>
<td>धारयामहे</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dhārāyē</td>
<td>dhārāyāvahe</td>
<td>dhārāyāmahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. The 1st pl. act. in māsi greatly outnumbers (as ten to one) that in mās in both RV. and AV. No example occurs of 2d pl. act. in thana, nor of 3d sing. mid. in ē for āte.

2. Present Subjunctive.

For the subjunctive may be instanced all the forms noted as occurring in the older language:

<table>
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b. Only one dual mid. form in ēte occurs: mādāyāte (RV.). The only RV. mid. form in ē, except in 1st du., is mādayādhvāi. The primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

3. Present Optative.

|   | active. |
|---|---------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | धारयेयम् | धारयेव | धारयेम |
|   | dhārāyeyam | dhārāyeva | dhārāyema |
|   | etc. | etc. | etc. |
middle.

1 धार्येय धार्येवादि धार्येमाधि
dhārāyesya dhārāyevahī dhārāyemahi
e tc. etc. etc.

c. Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (four in RV.,
two in AV.); they become more common in the Brāhmaṇas. A 3d sing.
mid. in īta instead of ēta (cf. 738 b) occurs once in B. (kāmayīta AB.),
is not very rare in S. (a score or two of examples are quotable), and
is also found in MBh. and later. Of a corresponding 3d pl. in Iran only
one or two instances can be pointed out (kāmayīran AÇS., kalpayīran
AGS.).

4. Present Imperative.

active.

2 धार्य धार्यतम् धार्यत
dhārāya dhārāyatam dhārāyats
etc. etc. etc.

middle.

2 धार्यत्व धार्यभाम् धार्यधम्
dhārāyasva dhārāyethām dhārāadyahvam
etc. etc. etc.

d. Imperative persons with the ending tāt occur: dhārayatāt (AV.)
and cyāvayatāt (ÇB.) are 2d sing.; pātayatāt (ÇB.) is 3d sing.; gamayatāt
and cyāvayatāt (K. etc.), and vārayatāt (TB.) are used as 2d
pl. Vārayadhvat (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only known example of
such an ending (see above, 549 b).

5. Present Participle.

धार्यत् dhārayant धार्यमाण dhārayamāṇa.

e. The feminine of the active participle is regularly and usually made
in anti (449 c). But a very few examples in ati are met with (one in
the older language: namayatī Āpast.).

f. The middle participle in māna is made through the whole history
of the language, from RV. (only yātayamāna) down, and is the only
one met with in the earlier language (for īrayānas [āṣi], MS. ii. 7.12,
is evidently a false reading, perhaps for īrayā nas). But decidedly more
common in the epics and later is one formed with āna: e.g. kāmayāna,
cintayāna, pālayāna, vedayāna. It is quotable from a larger number
of roots than is the more regular participle in māna. As it occurs in
no accentuated text, its accent cannot be given.
6. Imperfect.

active.

1 धारयम् धारय्यवः धारयाम
adhārayam adhārayāva adhārayāma etc.

middle.

1 धारये धारयाच्छि धारयामि
adhāraye adhārayāvahi adhārayāmahi etc.

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem in aya outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in syāmi, one passive participle (coditā), and ten infinitives in dhyāi; also one or two derivative nouns in tṛ (bodhayitṛ, codayitṛ), five in iṣṇu, seven in itnu, and a few in a (atipārayā, nidhārayā, vācamānkhāyā, viśvamejayā), and in u (dhārayu, bhāvayu, mandayu). In AV., also two a-future forms and four gerunds in tvā; and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect (gamayāṁ cakāra). In the Brāhmaṇas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (1071a); a derivative noun in ā is made from the causative stem, and to its accusative, in āṁ, is added the auxiliary: thus,

धारायचकर dhārayāṁ cakāra (or āsa: 1070b)
धारायचक cakre

a. Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — gamayāṁ cakāra — in AV., and but half-a-dozen in all the various texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, and these not in the mantra-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, except in CB. (where they abound: chiefly, perhaps, for the reason that this work uses in considerable part the perfect instead of the imperfect as its narrative tense).

1046. Aorist. The aorist of the causative conjugation is the reduplicated, which in general has nothing to do with the causative stem, but is made directly from the root.

a. It has been already fully described (above, 356 ff.).

b. Its association with the causative is probably founded on an original intensive character belonging to it as a reduplicated form, and is a matter of gradual growth; in the Veda it is made from a
considerable number of roots (in RV., more than a third of its instances; in AV., about a fifth) which have no causative stem in aya.

c. The causative aorist of द्य dhṛ, then, is as follows:

1 द्यघरम् द्यघर द्यघराम
   ádīdharām ádīdharāva ádīdharāma
   etc. etc. etc.

1 द्यघरे द्यघरवाचि द्यघरामकि
   ádīdhare ádīdharāvahi ádīdharāmaḥi
   etc. etc. etc.

An example was inflected in full at 904.

1047. In a few cases, where the root has assumed a peculiar form before the causative sign—as by the addition of a p or q (above, 1042 i ff.)—the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, atiśthipam from atiśāp (stem atiśāpaya) for yētāh. Aorist-stems of this character from quasi-roots in ṣp are arṣipa (yē), jījāpa or jījāpa, jījāpa or jījāpa, āpula, tiṣṭhipa, jihipa; the only other example from the older language is bhīṣa from bhīṣa for yṛbhī.

1048. But a few sporadic forms of an īṣ-aorist from causative conjugation-stems are met with: thus, dhavanajīt (RV.; TS. has instead the wholly anomalous dhavanajīt), vyāṣṭāyaś and āilajīt (AV.), pyāyajīṣṭhān and avāyajīṣṭhān (KBU.), in the older language (RV. has also īnayis from a denominative stem); in the later, ahlādayātata (DKC.), and probably aghādayātata (Mbh.; for -aiṣṭhās: cf. 1044 d). The passive 3d sing. aropi, from the causative ropaya, has a late occurrence (śatr.).

1049. A preceptive is of course allowed by the grammarians to be made for the causative conjugation: in the middle, from the causative stem with the auxiliary ā substituted for its final ā; in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

प्रायोगम् द्ययसम् etc. प्रायोगिकम् द्ययिष्या etc.

This formation is to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary ī, which takes the place of its final ā. Thus:

S-Future.

प्रायोगिकम् द्ययिष्यामि etc. प्रायोगिक्ये द्ययिष्ये etc.
प्रायोगिकम् द्ययिष्यांत प्रायोगिक्यामा द्ययिष्यामसः
Conditional.

द्वारशिष्यम् अधारयिष्यम् etc. द्वारशिष्ये अधारयिष्ये etc.

Periphrastic Future.

धारितात्मव धारयितामि etc.

a. It has been mentioned above that RV. and AV. contain only two examples each of the s-future, and none of the periphrastic. The former begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas more numerously, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only adhārayiṣyat ā.; alāpayiṣyat- thās ChU.); of the latter, ā. affords two instances (pārayiṣtāmī and jānayitāśi). Examples of both formations are quotable from the later language (including the middle form darṣayitāhe: 947 c).

1051. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These are made in two different ways: either 1. from the full causative stem (in the same manner as the futures, just described); or 2. from the causatively strengthened root-form (with loss of the causative-sign).

a. To the latter class belong the passive participle, as dhārita; the gerundive and gerund in ya, as dhārya, -dhārya; and the gerund in am, as dhāram; also, in the older language, the root-infinitive, as -dhāram etc. (970a). To the former class belong the infinitive and the gerund in tvā, as dhārayitum, dhārayitvā, and the gerundive in tavā, as dhārayitavā (also, in the older language, the infinitives in tavāi and dhyāi, as jānayitavāi, īrayādhyāi, etc.). The auxiliary i is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

b. Examples of the passive participle are īrāta, vāsita, ārāvita. But from the quasi-root jñāp (1042 j) is made jñāpta, without union-vowel.

c. Examples of the infinitive and gerund in tvā are jōṣayitum, dhārayitum; kalpayitvā, arpayitvā. But in the epics, and even later, infinitives are occasionally made with loss of the causative-sign: e. g. āṣeṣitum, bhāvitum, dhāritum, moccītum.

d. Examples of the gerunds in ya and am are -bhāya, -ghāya, -pādya, -vāsya, nāyya, -sthāpya; -bhājam, -sthāpam. But stems showing in the root-syllable no difference from the root retain ay of the causative-sign in the gerund, to distinguish it from that belonging to the primary conjugation: e. g. -kramāyya, -gamāyya, -janāyya, -jvalāyya, -kalāyya, -cāmāyya, -racāyya, -āpayya.

e. Examples of the gerundive in tavā are tarpayitavya, gamayitavya, hvāyitavya; of that in ya, sthāpya, hārya, yālya; of that in atiyya, sthāpanīya, bhāvanīya.

Whitney, Grammar. 2. ed. 25
f. Examples of other formations occurring in the older language are as follows: root-infinitive, -sthāpam, -vasaṃ; — infinitive in tu, other cases than accusative, -janayitave; jñanayitavā, pāyayitavā, -qoot- aiyitavā; — infinitive in dhyāi, īṣayādhyāi, trayaṭādhya, taṭayādhyā, nāṣayādhyā, mādayādhyā, mādayādhyā, riṣayādhyā, vartayādhyā, vājayādhyā, svandayādhyā (all RV.); — gerundive in āyya, panayāyya, spṛṣṭhayya, trayaṭāyya (P y'ītra).

g. Other noun-derivatives from the causative stem are not infrequent, being decidedly more numerous and various than from any other of the secondary conjugation-stems. Examples (of other kinds than those instance in 1044) are: āropaṭa, daṇḍa, prīṇa, bhīṣaṇa; jāhapa, ropaka; patayaṭu, spṛṣṭayāṭu; jñanayati, jñānī.

h. All the classes of derivatives, it will be noticed, follow in regard to accent the analogy of similar formations from the simple root, and show no influence of the special accent of the causative-stem.

1052. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations.

From the causative stem are made a passive and a desiderative conjugation. Thus:

a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual passive-sign ु ya to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, pāṭyaḥ dhārayaṭa.

b. Such passives are hardly found in the Veda (only baḥṣyaḥ—AV.), but some thirty instances are met with in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras: examples are jāhapyā (TB.), sādyā (K.), pāḍya (AB.), vāḍya (TB.), sthāpya (GB.); and they become quite common later.

c. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign ृष्ण ीṣa, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, dīpaḍaḥpita dhārayaṇiṭa.

d. These, too, are found here and there in the Brāhmaṇas and later (about forty stems are quotable): examples are pīpāyaṇiṣa (K.), bībhāvyayiṣa and cīkāpayaṇiṣa and tulabhāyiṣa (AB.), didrāpayaṇa and rirādhāyiṣa and ṣīpāyasya (CB.), and so on.

e. As to causatives made from the intensive and desiderative stems, see above, 1025, 1039.

V. Denominative.

1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.

a. It is a view now prevailingly held that most of the present-systems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations analogous with a
present-system, are in their ultimate origin denominative; and that many apparent roots are of the same character. The denominatives which are so called differ from these only in that their origin is recent and undisguised.

1054. The grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted, without other addition than that of an सा (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.

a. But such formations are rare in actual use. The RV. has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is भिषाक्ति he heals, from भिषाज physician; it is made like a form of the root-class; अभिषणक seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class; and पायते he rules appears to be a denominative of पति master; other possible cases are यापना etc., क्षप्य ताता, तरुगमा etc., वान वाता, भुराजाना, वान वाता. From the other older texts are quotable काव्यांत (TS.), आमला (TB.), उमुलति (Sr.). स्वदधामा (C.Ś.). And a considerable number of instances, mostly isolated, are found in the later language. e. g. कालांत (MBh.). अर्णांत (Pañc.), अबज्जति (C.Śr.). गद्धान्त (SD.), उत्कांथति (SD.), जगान्नेत्रि (Prā.). केन्य वेवसाहस्रपत्रति (Prā.).

1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign सा, which has the accent.

a. The identity of this सा with the सा of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final ति of a noun-stem the causative-sign ति, is hardly to be questioned. What relation it sustains to the सा of the सा-class (759), of the passive (788), and of the derivative intensive stem (1016), is much more doubtful.

1056. Intermediate between the denominative and causative conjugations stands a class of verbs, plainly denominative in origin, but having the causative accent. Examples, beginning to appear at the earliest period of the language, are मन्त्रायते speaks, takes counsel, (from mantra, यमन + त्री), किर्तायते commemorates (from kirti, यक praise, रत्नायति or - that makes an object of, seeks (from रत्न stalk, object), वर्नायति depicts 'from varna color', कथायति or - that gives the how of anything, relates (from katham how?), and so on. These, along with like forms from roots which have no other present-system (though they may make scattering forms outside that system from the root directly), or which have this beside other present-systems without causative meaning, are reckoned by the grammarians as a separate conjugation-class, the sans-class 'above, 607, 775.'
1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.

a. They are frequent in RV., which contains over a hundred, of all varieties; AV. has only half as many (and personal forms from hardly a third as many: from the rest, present participles, or derivative nouns): AB., less than twenty; CB., hardly more than a dozen; and so on. In the later language they are quotable by hundreds, but from the vast majority of stems occur only an example or two; the only ones that have won any currency are those that have assumed the character of "cour-class" verbs.

1058. The denominative meaning is, as in other languages, of the greatest variety; some of the most frequent forms of it are: be like; act as, play the part of; regard or treat as; cause to be, make into; use, make application of; desire, wish for, crave — that which is signified by the noun-stem.

a. The modes of treatment of the stem-final are also various; and the grammarians make a certain more or less definite assignment of the varieties of meaning to the varieties of form: but this allotment finds only a dubious support in the usages of the words as met with even in the later language, and still less in the earlier. Hence the formal classification, according to the final of the noun-stem and the way in which this is treated before the denominative sign ya, will be the best one to follow.

1059. From stems in a. a. The final a of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, amitrayáti plays the enemy, is hostile; devayáti culticates the gods, is pious.

b. But final a is also often lengthened: thus, aghayáti plans mischief; prívayáte holds dear; aqváyáti seeks for horses; açânáyáti desires food.

c. While in the Veda the various modes of denominative formation are well distributed, no one showing a marked preponderance, in the later language the vast majority of denominatives (fully seven eighths) are of the two kinds just noticed: namely, made from a-stems, and of the form aya or áya, the former predominating. And there is seen a decided tendency to give the denominatives in aya an active form and transitive meaning, and those in áya a middle form and intransitive or reflexive meaning. In not a few cases, parallel formations from the same stem illustrate this distinction: e. g. kalusayáti makes turbid. kalusayáte is or becomes turbid; tarunayáti rejuvenates, tarunáyate is rejuvenated; githilayáti loosens, githiláyáte grows loose. No distinct traces of this distinction are
recognizable in the Veda, although there also corresponding forms with short a and with long ā sometimes stand side by side.

8. Final a is sometimes changed to ā (very rarely ē): thus, adhvāryāti performs the sacrifice; taviṣṭāya śī performs the sacrifice; taviṣṭāya ā is mighty; putriyāti or putriyāti desires a son; māṃsiyāti craves flesh; sajīyāte is ready; cāndrakāntiyāti is moonstone-like. Not fifty stems of this form are quotable.

e. It is occasionally dropped (after m or r): thus, turāŋyāti is rapid; adhvāryāti performs the sacrifice.

f. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of a, a in stānasayāti seeks the breast; the change of a to ā, as in vāreyaṃti plays the vena.

1060. From stems in ā. Final ā usually remains, as in gopāyāti pays the herdsman, protects; pṛtanāyāti fights; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an a-stem: thus, pṛtanāyāti fights; tilottama-yāti acts Tilottama.

1061. From stems in i, ī, and u, ū. Such stems are (especially those in u, ū) very rare. They show regularly ī and ū before ya: thus, srātiyāti (also -tiy-) pact; injury; janīyāti (also -niy-) seeks a wife; sakhiyāti desires friendship; nāriyate turns woman; — ćatruyāti acts the for; ṛjuyāti is straight; vasūyāti desires wealth; asūyāti grumbles. i- discontented: with short u, gātuyāti sets in motion.

a. More rarely, i or ū is treated as a (or else is sibilated, with loss of a y or v): thus, dhunāyāti comes snorting; laghuyāti makes easier. Sometimes, as to a (above, 1060e), a sibilant is added: thus, avāyāti is vehement. uruṣyāti sashes. From dhi, RV. makes dhāyāte.

1062 From other vowel-stems. a. Final ī is changed to ri: thus, mātriyāti treats as a mother (only quotable example).

b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, gavyāti seeks cattle, goes a-raiding.

1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before ya: thus, bhiṣajyāti plays the physician. cures; ukaṣyāti acts like a bull; apasyāti is active. namasyāti pays reverence; sumanasyāte is favorably disposed: turaŋyāti fights.

a. But a final n is sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, rājyāte or rājyi is kingly, from rājan; -karmayāti from -karman; svāmīyāti treats as master, from svāmin: vṛṣa-yāte from vṛṣan is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadly cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, ojāyāte from ojas, -manāyate from -manas; — while, on the other hand, an a-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before ya: thus, iṣa-yāti from iṣ, satvanāyāti from satvan.

1064. The largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a s before the ya; and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denominative-sign virtually sva...
— or even, with a also added after an i- or u-vowel, anya; and this comes to be recognized by the grammarians as an independent sign, forming denomina-tives that express desire: thus, sumakhasyáte is merry; jivanasya-(in-sayá love of life); vṛṣasyati desires the mate (the only quotable exam-ples); madhuvasyati or madhvasyati longs for honey; kṣirasasyati craves milk.

1085. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denomina-tives in kāmya what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having kāma as its final member: thus, rathakāmyatī longs for the chariot (K.: only example found in the older language); arthakāmyatī desires wealth; putrakāmyatī wishes a son (the only quotable exam-ples); coming from the possessive compounds rathakāma etc. And arthā-pāyati treats as property is a (sole quotable) example of a stem having the Prakritic causative form (1053n).

a. Stems of anomalous formation are draghaya from dirgha, drañhayya from dṛg̐ha, and perhaps mradaya from mṛdu.

1086. a. A number of denominative stems occur in the Veda for which no corresponding noun-stems are found, although for all or nearly all of them related words appear: thus, ankuyā, stabhuyā, iṣudhya; dhiṣāuyā, riṣāuyā, ruvānya, huvanya, iṣānyā; ratharyā, ṇratharyā, saparyā; iṣadya (ṇB.), irasya, daçasayā, makhasyā, panasāya, sa-saṣyā. Those in anya, especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in āya, which in general have allied themselves to present-systems of the nā-class (733), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, gṛbhāyatī beside gṛbhpāti. Of such, RV. has gṛbhāya, mathāyā, pruṣāyā, muṣāyā, crathāya, skabhāyā, stabhāyā. A few others have no nā-class companions: thus, nāmāyā, qaṁāyā, tudāyā (AV.); and panāya, naqaṣa, vṛṣāya (yṛṣu rain), vāsāya (yvas clothe), and perhaps açāya (yac attain).

c. Here may be mentioned also quasi-denominatives made from onomatopoetic combinations of sounds, generally with repetition: e. g. kitiṣkita-yā, thatathāta-yā, miṣamiṣāya, qaraqara-yā.

1087. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentua-tion are: RV. ankha-yā, arthāyā, iṣāya (also iṣayā), ūṛjāya, ṛṭāya, kṛpayā, manṛāya, mṛgāya, vavrāya, vājāya (also vājayā), viḷāya, suṣvāya (also suṣvayā); AV. adds kīrtāya, dhupāya, pālāya, vīrāya, sabbhāga-yā.

a. The accent of ānnya and hástaya (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1088. Inflection. The denominative stems are in-flected with regularity like the other stems ending in ṣa (733a) throughout the present-system. Forms outside of
that system — except from the stems which are reckoned to the causative or our-class, and which follow in all respects the rules for that class — are of the utmost rarity.

a. In RV. occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, except ūnayāṣ (with mā prohibitive), an iq-sorist 2d sing. (cf. 1048). Further examples of this sorist are āṣuṣyaḥ (ČB.), pāṣyaṣṭa (TS.: pl., with mā prohibitive), and avṛṣṭyaṣṭa (VS. etc.). The form āsūṣyaḥ (AV. xiv. 2. 20), with āi for i (5550), might be sorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; aṃnasayāṭ, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (ll. 3. 89). Other forms begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas: e. g. the futures gopāṣyaṣṭi (ČB.), meghāṣyaṇānt, kaṇḍāṣyaṇānt, cilāṣyaṇānt (TS.), the participles bhīṣajyaṭa (? JB. -jita) and iyaṣṭa (ČB.), kaṇḍāṣṭyaṭa, cilāṣṭa, and meghāṣṭa (TS.), the gerund saṃcitākṣyaṇa (ČB.), and so on. In the later language, also, forms outside the present-system (except the participle in ta) are only sporadic; and of tertiary conjugation forms there are hardly any: examples are the causatives dhūṃṣyaṣṭ a and aṣuṣyaṣṭa (MBh.), and the desiderative abhiṣiṣyaṇa-sta (Cīr.).

b. Noun-derivatives from denominative stems follow the analogy of those from causative stems (1051g). In the older language, those in u and ū (especially the former) are much the most numerous; later, that in ana prevails over all others.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRACTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1069. One periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (942 ff.), since it has become in the later language a recognized part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is —
The Periphrastic Perfect.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brähmanas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.

a. It is made by prefixing the accusative of a derivative noun-stem in श्रा (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of र्क्र make, more often of र्क्रस as be, and very rarely of र्क्र bhū be.

b. In the older language (see below, 1073d), kr is almost the only auxiliary used in making this tense, as occurring very few times, and bhū never. Later, also, bhū is quite rare (it is found nine times in MBh., six times in Rg., and a few times elsewhere), but as gains very greatly in currency, having become the usual auxiliary, while kr is only exceptional.

c. Somewhat similar formations with yet other auxiliaries are not absolutely unknown in the later language: thus; varayāṃ pracakramus (MBh.), pūrayāṃ (etc.) vyadhus (Viracaritra), mṛgayāṃ avāsit (ib.).

1071. The periphrastic perfect occurs as follows:

a. It is the accepted perfect of the derivative conjugations: intensive, desiderative, causative, and denominative; the noun in श्रा being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from र्क्रु būdh, intensive बोष्कु bodbhām, desiderative बुष्का bubhutasām, causative बोष्कां bodbhayām; denominative बोष्कां mantrayām.

b. The formation from causative stems (including those denominatives which have assumed the aspect of causatives: 1058) is by far the most frequent. Only a few desideratives are quotable (1034a), and of intensives only jāgarāṃ āsa (1020a; beside jājāgāra).

c. Most roots beginning with a vowel in a heavy syllable (long by nature or long by position) make this perfect only, and not the simple one: thus, बासां āsām from र्क्रसās sāt, द्वासां ṅ�sām from र्क्रृ Ṛṣā sā; ऊष्कां ujjhām from र्क्रु ujḥ forsake; Ṛṣām edhām from र्क्रृ edhā thrive (the only examples quotable).
d. Excepted are the roots āp and āñch, and those beginning with a before two consonants (and taking ān as reduplication: 788).

e. The roots (that is, stems reckoned by the grammarians as roots) of more than one syllable have their perfect of this formation: thus, cakāsām. But āruñ (719) is said to form ārpanāva only; while jāg (1020) makes a perfect of either formation, and daridrā (1024a) is said to do the same.

f. A few other roots make the periphrastic in addition to the usual reduplicated perfect. Thus, in the older language only are found the stems cāyām, tāyām, nilayām, vāsām (yvās dreti), vidām (yvid know), vyayām, and the reduplicated stems bhikayām and juhavām; the later language adds ayām, jayām, dayām, nayām, smayām, hvayām, and the reduplicated bhikharām; and the grammarians teach like formations from uṣ, kās, and the reduplicating hrī. The stem is made in every case from the present-stem, with guṇa of a final vowel.

1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is made with the middle inflection of ykr kr. For passive use, the auxiliaries ārth as and bhū are said to be allowed to take a middle inflection.

a. One or two late examples of bhū with middle inflection have been pointed out, but none of as.

b. It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their independent use: for that of ykr, see 800 k; of ybhū, see 800 d; of yvas, see 800 m.

c. The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that other words are not occasionally allowed to come between them: thus, mimāṁsām eva cakré (CB.) he merely speculated; vidāṁ va idam ayām cakāra (JB.) he verily knew this; prabhraṇçayāṁ yo naghusāṁ ca-kāra who made Naghusa fall headlong (Rg.).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation with a derivative noun in ām as it appears especially in the later language; earlier, its aspect is rather that of a more general, but quite infrequent, combination of such a noun with various forms of the root kr. Thus:

a. Of the periphrastic perfect occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, gamayāṁ cakāra (AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas examples from causative stems begin to appear more freely, but are everywhere few in number, except in ČB. (which has them from twenty-four roots, and a few of these in several occurrences). From desiderative stems they are yet rarer (only seven occurrences, five of them in ČB.: see 1084a); and from intensives they are unknown. The periphrastic perfects of primary conjugation were noted above (1071f: in ČB.,
eight stems and about eighty occurrences, chiefly from ḍkṣ, bhi, and vid; that from vid is found in the greatest number of texts).

b. Forms with the sorist of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brāhmaṇas as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with akar occur ramayāṁ (K.), jnayāṁ and sādayāṁ and svadāyāṁ and sthāpayām (MS.); and with akraṇ, vidāṁ (TS. TB. MS.). With the sorist optative or prescriptive has been found only pārayāṁ kriyāt (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are not entirely unknown: thus, juhavāṁ karoti (笈S.). So also in the later language, where have been found quotable half-a-dozen such cases as vidāṁ karoti (Paṇc.), vidāṁ karotu and kurvantu (Paṇc. etc.).

d. Only two or three cases of the use of as instead of kṛ as auxiliary are met with in the older language: they are mantrayāṁ āsa (AB. GB.), jnayāṁ āsa (笈vU.), and ḍkṣāṁ āsa (笈S.).

e. A single example of an accented auxiliary is met with in the accentuated texts: namely, atirocayaṁ caicrūs (笈N.). As was to be expected, from the nature of the combination, the noun also retains its accent (compare 945).

Participial Periphrastic Phrases.

1074. The frequent use, especially in the later language, of a past or a future passive participle with the copula (or also without it) to make participial phrases having a value analogous to that of verb-tenses, has been already noticed (999). But other similar combinations are not unknown in any period of the language, as made with other auxiliaries, or with other participles.

a. They occur even in the Veda, but are far more common and conspicuous in the Brāhmaṇas, and become again of minor account in the later language.

1075. Examples of the various formations are as follows:

a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb ī go. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus: āyajano vibhājann ēti vedaḥ (RV.) he ever gives away the wealth of the non-offerer; yathā sucyā vāsah sāmadad īyād evam evāt tābhīr yaṅāsaya chidraṁ samadad eti (AB.) just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice; aṅgir vē idam vātvpānaro dahann āt (PB.) Agni Vaiṣṇāvava kept burning this creation; tē ‘surāḥ pārājita yānto dyāvāpyehi upaćrayan (TB.) those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth; tē ‘sya graṁ paṇāv upamānyā- māṇā īyuḥ (笈B.) the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed.
b. The same with the verb var go (continually or habitually), signifying still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: agnāv agnī carati práviṣṭaḥ (AV.) Agni is constantly present in the fire; adandhyam dashena ghanantaḥ caranti (PB.) they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment.

c. The same with the verbs sit sit and sthā stand, with a like meaning. Thus, juhvata āsate (K.) they continue sacrificing; to pakramya pratiśavadato tiṣṭhan (AB.) they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing. In the later language, sthā is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A present or future or perfect participle with as and bhū be. The participle is oftenest a future one; as only is used in the optative, bhū usually in other forms. Thus: yaḥ pūrvaṃ anijānaḥ syāt (AB.) whoever may not have made sacrifice before; saṃśad eva yajña kurvāṇa āsane (GB.) they did the same thing at the sacrifice; parikrāṇdanta āsane (MS.) they were playing about; yātra suptvā pūnār na vadāsyān bhavati (CB.) when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again; havyaṁ hi vākṣyan bhavati (AB.) for he is intending to carry the sacrifices; dāsyant syāt (K.) may be going to give; yena vāhanena syantsyant syāt (CB.) with what vehicle he may be about to drive. True expressions for perfect and pluperfect and future perfect time are capable of being made by such means, and now and then are made, but in no regular and continued fashion.

Composition with Prepositional Prefixes.

1076. All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation — of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as the denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) — occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character (see the next chapter), the so-called prepositions (according to the original use of that term), or the verbal prefixes.

a. Practically, in the later language, it is as if a compounded root were formed, out of root and prefix, from which then the whole conjugation (with derivatives: below, chap. XVII.) is made, just as from the simple root. Yet, even there (and still more in the older language: 1061 a—d), the combination is so loose, and the members retain so much of their independent value, that in most dictionaries (that of Sir Monier Williams is an exception) the conjugation of each root with prefixes is treated under the simple root, and not in the alphabetic order of the prefix. Derivative words, however,
are by universal agreement given in their independent alphabetic place, like simple words.

1077. Those verbal prefixes which have value as such throughout the whole history of the language are given below, in alphabetic order, with their fundamental meanings:

\begin{align*}
&\text{ाति ati} \text{ across, beyond, past, over, to excess;} \\
&\text{ाधि adhi} \text{ above, over, on, on to;} \\
&\text{ानु anu} \text{ after, along, toward;} \\
&\text{ान्तर antār} \text{ between, among, within;} \\
&\text{ापा āpa} \text{ away, forth, off;} \\
&\text{ापि api} \text{ unto, close upon or on;} \\
&\text{ाभि abhi} \text{ to, unto, against (often with implied violence);} \\
&\text{ावा āwa} \text{ down, off;} \\
&\text{ात to, unto, at;} \\
&\text{उद ud} \text{ up, up forth or out;} \\
&\text{उप upa} \text{ to, unto, toward;} \\
&\text{िनi} \text{ down, in, into;} \\
&\text{िनs nis} \text{ out, forth;} \\
&\text{पारा pāra} \text{ to a distance, away, forth;} \\
&\text{परि pāri} \text{ round about, around;} \\
&\text{प्रा pra} \text{ forward, onward, forth, fore;} \\
&\text{प्रति prati} \text{ in reversed direction, back to or against, against. in return;} \\
&\text{वि vi} \text{ apart, asunder, away, out;} \\
&\text{सम्स sam} \text{ along, with, together.}
\end{align*}

a. Some of these, of course, are used much more widely and frequently than others. In order of frequency in the older language (as estimated by the number of roots with which they are found used in RV. and AV.), they stand as follows: pra, ā, vi, sam, abhi, ni, ud, pari, anu, upa, prati, āva, nis, ati, āpa, pāra, adhi, api, antar. Api is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, too, also.

b. The meanings given above are only the leading ones. In combinations of root and prefix they undergo much modification, both literal and figurative — yet seldom in such a way that the steps of transition from the fundamental sense are not easy to trace. Sometimes, indeed, the value of a
root is hardly perceptibly modified by the addition of the prefix. An intensive force is not infrequently given by pari, vi, and sam.

1078. Prefixes essentially akin with the above, but more distinctly adverbial, and of more restricted use, are these:

āchā (or āchā) to, unto: tolerably frequent in RV. (used with over twenty roots), but already unusual in AV. (only two roots), quite restricted in B., and entirely lost in the later language;

āvīs forth to sight, in view: used only with the roots bhū, as, and kṛ;

tirās through, crossways; out of sight: hardly used except with kṛ, dhā, bhū (in RV., with three or four others);

purās in front, forward: used with only half-a-dozen roots, especially kṛ, dhā, i;

prādūs forth to view: only with bhū, as, kṛ.

a. A few others, as bahis outside, vinā without, alam (with bhū and kṛ) sufficiently, properly, sākṣat in view, are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of yet more limited use, and of noun-rather than adverb-value, are:

çrad (or çrath?), only with dhā (in RV., once also with kṛ): çraddhā believe, credit;

hīṅ, only with kṛ (and obsolete in the classical language): hīṅkṛ make the sound, hing low, murmur.

a. And beside these stand yet more fortuitous combinations: see below, 1081.

1080. More than one prefix may be set before the same root. Combinations of two are quite usual; of three, much less common; of more than three, rare. Their order is in general determined only by the requirements of the meaning, each added prefix bringing a further modification to the combination before which it is set. But घा is almost never allowed, either earlier or later, to be put in front of any of the others.

a. The very rare cases of apparent prefixion of स to another prefix (as āvihanti MBh., āvitanvāhā BhP.) are perhaps best explained as having the स used independently, as an adverb.

1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix stands immediately before the verbal form.

a. In the earlier language, however (especially in the Veda; in the Brāhmaṇa less often and more restrictedly), its position is quite
free: it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even come after the form to which it belongs; it may also stand alone, qualifying a verb that is understood, or conjointly with another prefix one that is expressed.

b. Thus, sā devāṁ ē ṭā vākṣyati (RV.) he shall bring the gods hither; prā na āyurśi tāriṣat (AV.) may he lengthen our lives; tāv ā yātām āpa dravāt (RV.) do ye two come hither quickly; gāmād vājebhir ā sā naḥ (RV.) may he come with gifts hither to us; pāri mām pāri me prajām pāri naḥ pāhi yād dhānam (AV.) protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own; yātāḥ sadyā ā ca pārā ca yānti (AV.) from whence every day they advance and retire; vṛ ahāṁ sārveṣa pāpmānā [avṛtām] vṛ yākṣmaṇa sām āyusā (AV.) I have separated from all evil, from disease, [I have joined myself] with life; vṛ hy enena paśyaṭi (AB.) for by it he sees; vṛ vā eṣā prajāyā paṇḍbhīṛ ydhyaṭe (TB.) he is deprived of progeny and cattle.

c. Three or four instances have been cited from the later language of a prefix separated from, or following, a verb; perhaps the prefix in every such case admits of being regarded as an adverb.

1062. As regards the accent of verb-forms compounded with prefixes, only the case needs to be considered in which the prefix stands (as always in the later language) immediately before the verb; otherwise, verb and prefix are treated as two independent words.

1063. a. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above (592), is ordinarily unsaccented: before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.

b. If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.

c. That is, in every case, the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent.

d. Examples are: pāre 'hi nāri pūnar ē 'hi kṣiprām (AV.) go away, woman; come again quickly; āthā 'stāṁ vipāretana (RV.) then scatter ye away to your home; samājīneyō 'nusamprāyāhi (AV.) gather together, go forth together after; yād ghrān upodātti (AV.) when he goes up to the house; evā ca tvaṁ saraṁ ājāgāntha (RV.) now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither; yēnā 'viṣṭirāh pravivēcīthā 'pāḥ (RV.) enveloped in which thou didst enter the waters.

1064. A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction, or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term), belonging to and governing a noun; in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound, but has its own accent. The two kinds of use shade into one another, and are not divisible by any distinct and fixed line.
a. There is in RV. a considerable number of cases (some thirty) in which the pada-text gives unnecessarily, and probably wrongly, an independent accent to a prefix before an accented verb (or other prefix): resolving, for example, árūhat into ś árūhat, vyáset into vi ś ácet, abhyávärśıt into abhi ś ávarśıt, vyáśarët into vi ś ásarët (instead of ś árūhat etc.).

1085. In combination with the non-personal parts of the verb-system — with participles, infinitives, and gerunds — the general rule is that the prefix loses its accent, in favor of the other member of the compound. But the prefix instead has sometimes the accent: namely, when combined —

a. with the passive participle in ta or na: thus, páreta gone forth; antárhitá concealed; ávapanna fallen; sánkūrṇa complete (cf. 1284).

b. But some exceptions to this rule are met with: e. g., in RV., nícitä, níkṛtā, pračastā, níśāṭā, etc.; in AV., apakritā.

c. with the infinitive in tu '972', in all its cases: thus, sámkartum to collect; ápindháveis to cover up; ávagántos of descending. The doubly accented dative in tavalí retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, ánvétavālī for following; ápabhárvavālī for carrying off.

1086. The closeness of combination between the root and the prefix is indicated not only by their unity of accent, but also by the euphonic rules (e. g. 185, 193), which allow the mutual adaptations of the two to be made to some extent as if they were parts of a unitary word.

1087. A few special irregularities call for notice:

a. In the later language, api, adhi, and ava, in connection with certain roots and their derivatives, sometimes lose the initial vowel: namely, api with nah and dха, adhi with stha, ava with gаh etc.: e. g. pinaddha, phita, dhištita, vágáha, vatahha, vástabhya, vamajjana, vekṣāna, vālēpāna. In the Veda, on the other hand, it is in a few cases found instead (apparently) of nis with v/к.

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an i, is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: e. g. pratikāra, nivṛt, parihāra, virūdh, adhivāsā, ápivṛta, abhiavārta; anūrūdh; avāyati, prāvṛṣ, úpāvasu. In the Veda, the initial of anu is sometimes lengthened after negative an: e. g. anānūdā, anānukṛtyā.

c. In combination with y/4 ga, the prefixes para, pari, and pra sometimes change their r to l. In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem pealāy fee, inflected according to the a-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brāhmaṇas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it sometimes takes the augment prefixed: thus, apalāyātā (CŚ.), apalāyata (R.), apalāyanta (MBb.); it makes
the periphrastic perfect palâyám oaks. The stem palvay, similarly
inflected, occurs only in one or two texts (CB. JB. JUB.); and plây has
been found nowhere except in MS. Also the imperfect nilâyata (TS. TB.:
not separated in the pada-text) and perfect nilâyám oaks (CB.) are
doubtless a corresponding formation from y/i with nis, though nearly akin
in form and meaning with forms from yII + ni. So also pari becomes
pail in the combination palyaṅ (CB. ÇS.), whether viewed as a denom-
inative formation or as y/aṅ + pari. And MS. has once plaksārayan
(till. 10. 2; in an etymology).

d. The root kr make sometimes assumes (or retains from a more
original condition) an initial s after the prefixes sam, pari, nis, and upa:
thus, saṃsakurute, saṃaskurvan, saṃskṛta, etc.; pari-skṛvant, pari-
skṛta, etc.; nīr akṛta; upaskṛta. And y/kṛ scatter is said by
the grammarians to add s in the same manner, under certain circumstances,
after apa and prati (only apaskiramāna, praticaskare, both late,
are quotable).

e. The passive participle of the roots dā give and dā cut has often
the abbreviated form tta after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if i,
is lengthened (compare 955f, and the derivative in ti, below, 1157c).

f. In a few sporadic cases, the augment is taken before a prefix,
instead of between i and the root: thus, avaṣṭkṛṣṇī (GB.); udaprap-
patat (AB.); anvasāhcarat, pratyasāhharat, pratyasāvyubh, anv-
āvikṣetām, aprāśit, asambhramat (MBh.); abhyāmantrayat
(Har.); vyāvasthāpi (SDS.); compare also the forms from palāy, above,
c. And AB. has once niniyoja (for nityuyoja, as read in the correspond-
ing passage of ÇS.). Some of the apparent roots of the language have
been suspected of being results of a similar unification of root and prefix:
thus, ō from ā + ap, vyas from vi + as, tyaj from ati + aj.

g. The loss of the initial s of sthā and stambh after the prefix
and has been noticed above (233c). Also (137a, c), certain peculiarities
of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1068. As to the more general qdverbial uses of the prefixes,
and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1069. As to the combination of the particles s or an privative, dus
ill, and su well, with verb-forms, see 412b, g, i. As to the addition
of the comparative and superlative suffixes tārām and tām to verbs, see
above, 473c.

Other Verbal Compounds.

1080. It has been seen above that some of the prepositional
prefixes are employed in combination with only very small classes
of roots, namely those whose meaning makes them best fitted for
auxiliary and periphrastic uses — such as kr make, bhū and as be,
dhā put, i go — and that the first of these are widely used in com-