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Thomas Oberlies

**A Grammar
of Epic Sanskrit**

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Thomas Oberlies
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Albrecht Wezler and Michael Witzel

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To the memory of
E. D. KULKARNI and NILMADHAV SEN

and also to all editors
of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa
as a token of my gratitude



Preface

A grammar of 'Epic Sanskrit' has long been deemed a desideratum of Indology. More than a century ago, ALFRED LUDWIG stated that "eine erschöpfende grammatik der epischen sprache ... wäre ... eine ebenso wünschenswerte wie schwirige leistung" (1896: 10). And LOUIS RENOUE complained that "les particularités de la langue ep. se trouvent disséminées dans les grammaires et snytaxes générales" (AiGr., *Introduction générale* p. 89 n. 333). Nor should I forget to mention numerous articles¹, often published in journals difficult to obtain. In writing the present grammar all these publications² have been critically sifted. The first task was that all cited forms and constructions had to be located in the critical editions of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa³, whereby all references were converted – where necessary – to these editions. Then it was carefully examined whether these forms and constructions occur in a considerable number of manuscripts⁴, i.e. to rule out the possibility of them having arisen from mere textual corruption. It was further checked whether they really violate

¹ Including the admirable entries in the *Petersburger Wörterbücher* (mostly) by OTTO VON BÖHTLINGK – mines of most valuable information.

² Despite much assistance rendered by Indian and American colleagues two dissertations dealing with problems of Epic Sanskrit, viz. NILMADHAV SEN's *Linguistic Study of the Rāmāyaṇa (based on various recensions)*. Calcutta 1951, and ANDREW YARROW's *Aberrant Forms in the Mahābhārata*. Yale 1950, could not be obtained. And whether E. D. KULKARNI's paper 'Epic and paurāṇic etymologies', mentioned in KULKARNI (1944/45: 6 n. 12), was ever published I am unable to say.

³ Almost needless to point out: all references to the epics are to the *Critical Editions* (CE) published at Poona and Baroda respectively, unless another edition is specified – *Ed. Calc.* and *Ed. Bomb.* for the Mahābhārata, *Ed. Bomb.* (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi 1977), *Ed. Gorr.* and the *North-Western Edition* (ed. by BHAGAVAD DATTA, RAM LABHAYA and VISHVA BANDHU SHASTRI, Lahore 1928ff.) for the Rāmāyaṇa.

⁴ Cases may, however, occur where a number of different manuscripts contain an erroneous reading. Thus this grammar is exposed to the risk that it contains forms which are mere scribal errors or blunders of tradition.

Sanskrit grammar and syntax⁵ or – this was the second criterion for forms and constructions to be included into this grammar – whether they were attested for the very first time in the epics within Sanskrit literature. The material thus obtained was arranged in terms of well-known topics of traditional Sanskrit grammar⁶. The *Epic Grammar* that is now submitted certainly does not list every peculiarity in every line of the two epics. But I do hope that each category has been covered. And attention has constantly been paid to practical needs. Thus reference has been made throughout to the Sanskrit grammars of KIELHORN, RENOU, STENZLER and WHITNEY and to the *Altindische Grammatik* of WACKERNAGEL and DEBRUNNER. In order to elucidate how an irregular form or syntagma arose, linguistic explanations have also been added. So the present grammar should prove useful for (Indo-European) linguistics too. And a concordance with EDGERTON'S *BHSG* and the author's *Pāli – A Grammar of the Language of the Theravāda Tipiṭaka* might be a welcome addition for scholars working in the field of Middle Indian languages.

Translations were added wherever they seemed useful. As a rule they are

⁵ To have a norm for classifying Epic forms and constructions as *irregular*, Pāṇini's grammatical rules, checked by the actual usage of the Vedic texts, have been chosen.

⁶ A kind of 'programm' for a grammar of Epic Sanskrit was presented some time ago by KULKARNI (1943: 84): "Naturally the study of Unpāṇinian forms in the Critical edition of the Mahābhārata falls into several classes according to its nature. It will comprise the following aspects. (1) Spelling, (2) *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, (3) syllabic haplology, (4) sandhi, (5) change of gender, (6) change of consonantal stem to vowel stem in nouns and adjectives, (7) confusion between different nominal stems, (8) strong base for weak and *vice versa*, (9) noun declension, (10) formation of feminine base, (11) declension of pronouns, (12) numerals, (13) confusion of roots, (14) conjugation of roots in different tenses and moods, (15) non-finite forms, (16) participles, (17) voice, (18) simplex and causative, (19) taddhita, (20) compounds, (21) syntax of cases, (22) tautology and word haplology, (23) negative particles, (24) use of tenses and moods, (25) illogicality, (26) concord, (27) use of *ca*, *iti*, *sma*, (28) use of prepositions, (29) historical present and (30) metres". Apart from the last one and no. (22) I did not take into account KULKARNI's numbers (2), (3) and (19), i.e. this grammar lacks a chapter on the formation of words. This is made good by the excellent treatment of this topic in Vol. II,2 of the *Altindische Grammatik*.

much indebted to those of VAN BUITENEN, as far as the Mahābhārata is concerned, and GOLDMAN, LEFEBER, POLLOCK and SUTHERLAND for the Rāmāyaṇa.

The following sigla, signs and abbreviations have been employed in the present grammar⁷:

nom.	nominative	x	blended with
abl.	ablative	<	developed from
acc.	accusative	←	based on
dat.	dative	w.r.	wrong reading
gen.	genitive	†	<i>vox nihil</i>
instr.	instrumental	↗	reference to a paragraph or a page of the present grammar
loc.	locative	→ (✓)	reference to chapter XI
sg.	singular	jag.	<i>jagati</i>
du.	dual	śl.	<i>śloka</i>
pl.	plural	tri.	<i>triṣṭubh</i>
m.	masculine	pr.	prose
n.	neuter	cad.	cadence
f.	feminine	* (+ metrical schema)	the irregular form was employed to avoid the given metrical schema
V	any vowel	Cr, Cm, Cgf, Ck, Ct	commentaries of the Rāmāyaṇa (see <i>critical edition</i> Vol. I, p. XIV)
C	any consonant		
N	any nasal		
S	any sibilant		
T	tenues		
+	seam of preverb / verb, stem / suffix or of a compound		
:	instead of, a substitute for		
::	analogical to		
~	side by side with		

It is my pleasant task to thank all people and institutions that assisted me in writing and publishing this book. I am grateful to a number of friends and colleagues who have commented on various parts of it. My greatest

⁷ For abbreviations and signs of verbal forms see (↗) p. 384.

debt of gratitude is to Prof. Dr. Dominic Goodall. Not only did he take the time to check my English but he also tendered excellent counsel on matters of Sanskrit grammar. Professor Dr. John Brockington read large parts of this grammar and selflessly made additions and corrections from his very rich *collectanea*. Professor Dr. Heinrich Hettrich checked almost everything bearing on syntax. His expertise spared me many ‘syntactical’ embarrassments. From Dr. Leonid Kulikov’s, Professor Dr. Eva Tichy’s and Professor Dr. Chlodwig Werba’s comments on chapters dealing with the verb I have profited in no small way. My friend Leonid Kulikov also went through chapter two and made highly valuable suggestions. Many Indian friends and colleagues, in particular Professor Dr. Saroja Bhate and Professor Dr. S. D. Laddu, helped me to procure articles not (or not readily) available in Europe. Dr. Marcos Albino was kind enough to place at my disposal his as-yet-unpublished dissertation on the *Vedic Denominatives* which proved immensely helpful in writing chapter 8.11. Dr. Andreas Bigger provided me with numerous aberrant forms from book 16 through 18 of the Mahābhārata when attending a class of mine on ‘Epic Sanskrit’, given at the institute of Professor Dr. Peter Schreiner, University of Zürich, in 1990 – when the enterprise of writing this grammar was still in its infancy. At that time Professor Dr. Muneo Tokunaga did not hesitate to make available his files of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Without this help the present grammar could not have been written. Nor could it have, had not the German Research Council (DFG) financed a two-years-project in Freiburg; no less indispensable was its awarding to me a *Heisenberg* scholarship from 1994 through 2000. My heart-felt thanks go to this institution, as also to Professor Dr. Oskar von Hinüber who acted as head of the aforementioned project. And Professor Dr. Albrecht Wezler and Professor Dr. Michael Witzel were kind enough to accept this book for their series *Indian Philology and South Asian Studies*.

Needless to say, the responsibility for any errors and omissions rests entirely with me. It also goes without saying that I shall be very grateful for information on any flaws of this book.

Göttingen – Nikolausberg, 17th of July 2003

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Introduction

I.

'Classical' Sanskrit is – apart from some dialectal differences – essentially a later form of the language that appears in the Veda. Grammatically the wealth of Vedic forms is, however, cut down considerably¹. In the *a*-inflection (a) the instr. sg., (b) the nom.-acc. du., (c) the nom. m. pl., (d) the nom. / acc. n. pl. and (e) the instr. pl. in

(a) *-ā*, (b) *-ā*, (c) *-āsah*, (d) *-ā* and (e) *-ebhiḥ*

were replaced by

(a) *-ena*, (b) *-au*, (c) *-āḥ*, (d) *-āni* and (e) *-aiḥ* respectively.

In the instr. sg. of the f. *i*-stems *matyā* took the place of *matī*. The same happened with the instr. sg. of the m./n. *i*- and *u*-inflections: *pavyā*, *paśvā* and *mādhvā* were substituted by *pavinā*^{*}, *paśunā* and *madhunā*. The old instrumental survived only in *patyā* and *sakhyā* (cf. [♣] p. 60). Endingless locatives of the type *vyòman* are abandoned in favour of the fully inflected forms (*vyòmani*). And the distinction between *agnih*, *agnéḥ* and *sūnīḥ*, *sūnóḥ* on the one hand and *áviḥ*, *ávyah* and *krātuḥ*, *krátvah* is eliminated². The nom.-acc. pl. of the n. ^o*mant*-/^o*vant*-stems in *-mānti* / *-vānti* are given up in favour of *-manti* / *-vanti* (as is *sānti* in favour of *santi*³). And the voc. sg. of these adjectives in *-mah* and *-vah* was substituted by *-man* and *-van*

¹ The following *conspectus*, for which see SØRENSEN (1894: 252-277), BURROW (1955: 35-39), GHATAGE (1962: 84-110) and CARDONA (1987: 449-452), gives only such forms which are of relevance for the development of Sanskrit down to the Epics.

² On the substitution of (older) *dyām* by (younger) *divam* see (♣) p. 78 n. 1.

³ See AiGr. III § 142be / 143bδ.

from the time of the Atharvaveda¹. Also the difference in declension between two kinds of f. *ī*-stems, viz.

	<i>devī</i> -inflection		<i>vrkī</i> -inflection	
	sg.	du. / pl.	sg.	du. / pl.
nom.	<i>devī</i>	du. <i>devī</i> pl. <i>devīḥ</i>	<i>vrkīḥ</i>	du. <i>vrkyā</i> , <i>vrkyāu</i> pl. <i>vrkyāḥ</i>
acc.	<i>devīm</i>		<i>vrkyām</i>	
dat.	<i>devyāi</i>		<i>vrkye</i>	
gen.	<i>devyāḥ</i>	<i>devīnām</i>	<i>vrkyāḥ</i>	<i>vrkīnām</i>
loc.	<i>devyām</i>		<i>vrkī</i>	

is effaced. The 'classical' paradigm is based on the *devī*-inflection. But its nom.-acc. dual (*devī*) was replaced by a form derived from the corresponding case of the *vrkī*-stems (*vrkyā*, *vrkyāu*). And in the plural the nom. is that of the *vrkī*-inflection (*vrkyāḥ*) while the acc. stems from the *devī*-inflection (*devīḥ*). Beside these forms only the nominative of the old *vrkī*-type survived, and this only in some words, such as *lakṣmī*-, *tantrī*-² and *tandrī*- (↗ p. 65, 82 n. 1 and 94)³.

rem. The few nominatives pl. in *īḥ* of f. *ī*-stems (↗ p. 63) are not relics of the original *devī*-inflection but they are due to the analogy of the *ā*-inflection where both nom. and

¹ See AiGr. III § 142bδ.

² In compounds, however, it inflects as a 'normal' *ī*-stem: *atantrī* ... *vīṇā*, R 2,34.25 (v.l. *atandrīr* [recte: *atantrīr*]), *saptatantrī* (*vīṇā*), Mbh 3,134.13.

³ See AiGr. III § 87b.

acc. pl. end in *-āḥ*¹. And the same holds good for the rather frequent acc. pl. in *-yaḥ* (see below, [↗] p. 64).

Among the adjectives, *māh-* ‘great’, with its old inflexion, viz. (m. sg.) *mahām*, *mahā*, *mahé*, *mahāḥ*, (n. sg. [nom.-acc.]) *māhi*, (gen. pl.) *mahām*, fell into disuse² and was replaced by *mahát-* (~ *mahānt-*). And by late Vedic, the gerundive in *°tva-* has lost currency.

The changes in the inflexion of the pronouns and the numerals were not less radical. Early Vedic has pronominal forms not found in Classical Sanskrit: *tvā* (instr. sg.), *māhya* and *túbhya* (dat. sg.), *tvé* (loc. sg.), *āvám* and *yuvám* (nom. du.), *yuvát* (abl. du.), *yuvóḥ* (gen. du.) and *asmé* and *yuṣmé* (loc. pl.) from the first and second person pronouns, which were replaced by *tváyā*, *māhyam* and *túbhyam*, *tváyi*, *āvām* and *yuvām*, *yuvābhyām*, *yuvayoḥ*, *asmāsu* and *yuṣmāsu*, respectively³. And older *tébhiḥ*, *tā*, *enā*, *ayā* and *ayóḥ* gave way to *taiḥ*, *tāni*, *anena*, *anayā* and *anayoḥ*. Among the numerals Vedic had *trīṇām* and *trī* where Classical Sanskrit has *trayāṇām* and *trīṇi*. And unknown to Sanskrit are also *turīya-* ‘the fourth’ and *saptathā-* ‘the seventh’.

In the verbal system a similar tendency to simplification prevails. The variant endings *-masi* (1pl. ind. pres. act.), *-thana* (2pl. ind. pres. act.), *-tana* (2pl. impf. act.), *-dhi* (2sg. imp. act.) and *-ā* (1sg. subj. act.) disappear, while *-maḥ*, *-tha*, *-ta*, *-hi* and *-āni* survive⁴. The *si*-imperative is

¹ This happened also in Middle Indo-Aryan (see PISCHEL § 387 and OBERLIES 2001: 160 [§ 36.1]).

² See AiGr. II,1 § 23f.

³ See AiGr. III § 226a / 229c / 233a and BLOCH (1965: 125-126).

⁴ *-dhi* is only retained in *edhi* (°√as ‘to be’).

completely abandoned, while the *r*-endings of the 3rd pl. are confined to the opt. *ātm.*, the pf. *parasm.* and some forms of the root $\sqrt{śi}$. Of the great variety of absolutive and infinitive endings only *-tvā* / *-ya* and *-tum* are preserved.

Of the tenses the pluperfect vanishes and of the modes the subjunctive is completely abandoned¹, while the injunctive (aorist) is used only in conjunction with the prohibitive particle *mā*. Also all modal forms of the aorist and the perfect are given up², and imperatives and optatives are formed only from present stems³. And only the present, the future and the perfect have a participle⁴; that of the aorist is no longer used. The different aorists were partly rebuilt, partly limited to particular roots.

An important difference between the Vedic and the classical language⁵ lies in the treatment of the prepositional prefixes attached to verbal forms. In Vedic Sanskrit – in contrary to classical – their position is quite free, and they may be separated from the verb by several words, or, on occasion, come after it⁶.

¹ Only the 1st persons of the present subjunctive survive incorporated into the paradigm of the imperative (↗ p. 142 n. 1).

² Only the optative of the aorist lives on in the precative (↗ 8.3).

³ See BURROW (1955: 297-298).

⁴ The *ātm.* perfect participle is used in Epic Sanskrit only in some petrified forms: *(ā)vidāna-*, Mbh 3,134.26, *sasvajāna-*, Mbh 2,70.12.

⁵ Verbal compounds of the type *ululā* $\sqrt{kṛ}$ and *bharbharā* $\sqrt{bhū}$ are confined to pre-classical Sanskrit (see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,42).

⁶ There are a few cases of *mesis* in Epic Sanskrit (see also p. XXIX). And usually the preposition precedes the verb. Only very occasionally it stands after it: *grhāṇa prati bhadrāṃ te* / *bhakṣayasva ca mā ciram*, R 1,9.19 (v.l. *pratiḡrāṇa*), *so 'rtho na tvā kramed ati*, R 2,9.21 v.l. (see SPEYER 1886: 235 n. 2). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 23.15-16.

Sandhi too has a different appearance in Vedic Sanskrit. Final $-ī$ and $-ū$ are as a rule retained before an initial vowel¹. The *abhinihita-sandhi* – in ‘Classical’ Sanskrit obligatory for final $-e$ and $-as$ in contact with initial $a-$ – is mostly only secondarily introduced into the text of the Ṛgveda for which $-ē a-$ and $-ō a-$ is the norm². A sibilant is inserted between a final $-n$ and an initial palatal, retroflex and dental mute only if it is etymologically justified. And final $*-Vns$ is realized as $-ām̐$, $-īm̐$, $-ūm̐$ and $-ṛm̐$ before voiced sounds; in post-Ṛgvedic Sanskrit, by contrast, the variants $-ān$, $-īn$, $-ūn$ and $-ṛn$ were generalized³.

The language that resulted from post-Vedic developments sketched above was codified by Pāṇini⁴. Essentially the whole of the classical literature of Sanskrit is composed in a form of language which is regulated by the work of that grammarian and his successors. *This* Sanskrit was no longer subject to the normal laws of linguistic development that affected, by contrast, its ‘colloquial’ form(s).

II.

The language of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa may certainly be called Sanskrit when compared with contemporary Middle Indo-Aryan, but it is a Sanskrit which continually deviates from the norms codified by Pāṇi-

¹ For details see AiGr. I § 271.

² See AiGr. I § 272 and WITZEL (1989: 185-191).

³ See AiGr. I § 279b / 281a.

⁴ According to CARDONA (2000: 113) Pāṇini lived "at the latest [in] the 5th century B.C. in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent".

ni¹. This is *not* because such ‘aberrant’ forms were ‘pre-Pāṇinian’². For the Epics³ (and in fact only the Mahābhārata) know only a handful⁴ – moreover rather doubtful (see foot notes) – ‘Vedisms’⁵: (1 pl. ind. pres. *ātm.*) *prayuj-*

¹ ‘Epic Sanskrit’ is ignored by the ancient Indian grammarians up to the Kāśikā (see AiGr., *Introduction générale* p. 91-92 n. 346).

On points of contact between the Epics and Pāṇini – concerning in the first place the vocabulary – see AGRAWALA (1939/40: 281-282) and id. (1945: 286-288). Two other words taught by Pāṇini and first attested in the Epics may be added, viz. *kākṣa-* ‘frown’ (Pāṇ 6.3.104, Mbh 1,68.53) and *maireya-* ‘alcohol’ (Pāṇ 6.2.70, Mbh 4,67.27, 14,91.36, 15,1.19, R 1,52.2, 2,85.13, 4,32.7, 36.7, 7,41.13).

² On the meaning of the designation *ārṣa* used by the commentators to characterize such forms see CARDONA (1996).

³ See AiGr., *Introduction générale* p. 23 with n. 335-339 (on p. 90). The large collection of ‘archaic’ forms of all kinds – even of pre-Vedic ones – by LUDWIG (1896) is only a sample of Epic innovations, of textual corruptions and of misconceived regular forms. And even RENOUE’s rather short list (1956: 103-104) is still too long, as is rightly observed by EDGERTON (1956: 494). And the same holds good for HOPKINS’ sample (1901: 262-263).

On ‘R̥gveda citations in the Mahābhārata’ see HOPKINS (1899: 30), id. (1901: 23-27), WELLER (1933: 38), id. (1940: 26) and APTE (1941).

⁴ Neither are *sajana-*, Mbh 2,66.19 (*pace* AiGr. II,1 § 30c *rem.*), nor (*vyā*)*dita-* nor the nom. pl. of the f. *ī*-stems in *-īḥ* archaisms. *sajane* has its common meaning ‘where there are people’, (*vyā*)*dita-* is an analogical back-formation from the Middle Indic present *deti* (≠ 9.4), and the nom. pl. in *-īḥ* is due to the confusion of nom. and acc. pl. (see above [≠], p. XXIV).

⁵ There are, however, a number of words which Epic Sanskrit shares with Vedic but not with ‘classical’ Sanskrit, e.g. *abhibhū-* ‘powerful’, Mbh 1,2.144, 13.20, 41.21, 4,65.17, 5,4.8 (see WELLER 1938: 383, DE 1947: 5 and crit. notes *ad* Mbh 5,4.8), *abhīṣu-* ‘rein’, Mbh 8,208*, 214*, *avakāśa-* ‘shine, light’, Mbh 4,19.14 (see WELLER 1938: 382), *ūdhar-* ‘udder’, Mbh 1,57.7, *kula-* ‘hollow’, Mbh 13,95.29 (on the R̥gvedic word [*mahā*]*kulā-* see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,352), *nirāha* ‘he declares’, Mbh 2,57.2 (see crit. notes *ad loc.*), On *viṣṭi-* see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 389,

mahe, Mbh 2,35.15 (↗ 7.7.2)¹, (imp. of the root-aorist) *kṛdhi*, Mbh 2,60.30, *kṛdhvam* Mbh 5,56.60 (↗ 8.2.1)², (2sg. inj. aor.) *bhūh*, Mbh 4,36.45³, (inf.) *jīvase*, Mbh 1,3.70⁴, (tmesis) *pra pūrvagau śamsāmi*, Mbh 1,3.60⁵, *prati ... sasarja*, Mbh 1,65.34⁶. Forms like the nom. and instr. pl. of the *a*-stems in *-āsaḥ* and *-ebhiḥ*, the acc. sg. of the *ī*-stems in *-(i)yam* or the infinitive in *-tave* (on all of which see above, par. I.), common enough in Middle Indo-Aryan⁷, are completely absent from Epic Sanskrit. And the nom.-acc. pl. in *-ā* of the n. *a*-stems is met with – apart from a few rather doubtful cases (↗ p. 55-56) – only in the stereotype *bhuvanāni viśvā* (↗ p. 55 and 111). In fact, almost all ‘un-Pāṇinian’ forms of Epic Sanskrit are *innovations* (see MANSION 1931: 80).

and on Epic words with a convincing Indo-European etymology which are not attested in Vedic texts see below, p. LIV.

But also with regard to vocabulary there is a gap between Epic Sanskrit on the one hand and Vedic – and Middle Indo-Aryan – on the other (on the Vedic-MIA isoglosses see OBERLIES 2001: 9-14 and id. 2001a).

¹ On *priyāyase*, Mbh 2,56.5, see (↗) 7.9.3.

² It cannot be ruled out that both these forms are Epic innovations after the model of imperatives of the second present class.

³ But (*yantā*) *bhūs* (*tvaṃ naraśreṣṭha*) might just be the regular prohibition *mā bhūh* turned into an imperative.

⁴ Note that this stanza – as well as the next-cited – belongs to the ‘archaizing’ Aśvin hymn of the Ādiparvan (on which see RENOU 1939 and MISHRA 1995).

⁵ The Aśvin hymn (see preceding note) has other cases of *tmesis* (see RENOU 1939: 179 [= *Choix* II,765]).

⁶ See SUKTHANKAR (1934/35: 109) and GUPTA (1938: 91).

⁷ See OBERLIES (2001: 7-9).

III.

‘Epic Sanskrit’ is “un langage à pureté amoindrie, ouvert aux facilités qu’entraîne l’exercice d’un idiome populaire” (RENOU 1956: 104). Among the common deviations from ‘Pāṇinian’ Sanskrit a few characteristic types may be quoted at the outset, divided into the categories (I.) *sandhi*, (II.) noun, (III.) verb and (IV.) syntax¹:

- (I. – **sandhi**) 1. optional application of vocalic *sandhi* (↗ 1.1), 2. closing of an original hiatus (↗ 1.3, 1.8),
- (II. – **noun**) 3. confusion of nom. and acc. pl. of the f. *ī-* and *ū-* stems (↗ 2.6, 2.10), 4. generalisation of strong / weak stem (↗ 2.18, 2.27, 2.28, 2.33, 2.35), 5. transfer of stem (↗ 3.1-21), 6. use of *mahyam* and *tubhyam* as genitives (↗ 4.1.2, 4.2.1), 7. nominal inflexion of pronominal adjectives (↗ 4.7.2), 8. confusion between ^o*śat-*, ^o*śati-* and ^o*śata-* in cardinals (↗ 5.1.1-3),
- (III. – **verb**) 9. change of voice (↗ 6.1), 10. confusion of primary and secondary endings (↗ 6.3), 11. omission of augment in the imperfect and aorist (↗ 6.4.1-2), 12. use of *mā* with almost all modes and tenses (↗ 6.5), 13. thematicization of athematic presents (↗ 6.6), 14. active endings in the passive (↗ 8.7), 15. confusion of ^o*atī-* and ^o*antī-* and of ^o*māna-* and ^o*āna-* in the present participle (↗ 9.1), 16. confusion of absolutive I and II (↗ 9.7.1-2),
- (IV. – **syntax**) 17. use of the indicative present instead of the imperative (↗ 6.2.1), 18. *instrumentalis comparationis* (↗ 10.3.3), 19. ‘ablatival’ genitive (↗ 10.3.6) and 20. ‘datival’ locative (↗ 10.3.7).

¹ For characteristic features of Epic Sanskrit see AiGr., *Introduction générale* p. 91 n. 343, SEN (1951/52), BURROW (1955: 52), RENOU (1956: 104-107), BROCKINGTON (1984: 17-32), id. (1982) and id. (1998: 82-98 / 345-361).

The Epic language presents itself as a mixture of correct and incorrect forms, always met with side by side, within one and the same stanza. Decisive for the use of grammatically incorrect forms is – in the overwhelming majority of cases – their position within the *pāda*. Almost always it is metrical exigencies which forced the poets to use a form not sanctioned by traditional grammar (see HOPKINS 1901: 245) – the ‘irregularities’ are very often found at a *metrically relevant position* of the stanza¹: “Metre surpasses grammar” (HOPKINS 1901: 263). By means of (1.) phonetic and (2.) morphological devices the Epic poets fitted words into the required metrical schema of a *pāda*.²

rem. To avoid speculation the following *conspectus* concentrates on verse positions which are metrically rigidly fixed³, viz.

the cadences of the *śloka pāda*⁴, of the *triṣṭubh* and of the *jagatī*, the syllables 2 through 4 of the *śloka pāda*⁵ and the opening of *triṣṭubh* and *jagatī*⁶.

¹ Another important motive to employ ‘irregular’ forms is the prescribed *pāda* length (see below).

² The fact is – as HOPKINS (1893a: 143) long ago remarked – that the epics to a great extent are made up not of hemistiches or stanzas but of *pādas*: “The *pāda* is something complete in itself, a block to build with, to fit in beside other such blocks squared to it in advance” (see also [♣] p. 1).

³ The same holds good – as a rule – for all metrical explanations of the grammar at hand.

⁴ As a rule the patterns (a) $\underline{\underline{\quad}}-\underline{\underline{\quad}}$, (b) $-\underline{\underline{\quad}}-\underline{\underline{\quad}}$ and (c) $\underline{\underline{\quad}}-\underline{\underline{\quad}}$ are avoided in the cadence of the odd *śloka-pāda* (see HOPKINS 1901: 454-456 [a] / 456 [b] / 456-457 [c]).

⁵ TOKUNAGA’s charts prove beyond the slightest doubt that the Epic poets consistently avoided $\underline{\underline{\quad}}-$ and $\underline{\underline{\quad}}\underline{\underline{\quad}}$ as the metrical pattern of the syllables 2 - 4 of any odd *śloka-pāda* and $\underline{\underline{\quad}}\underline{\underline{\quad}}$, $\underline{\underline{\quad}}-\underline{\underline{\quad}}$ and $-\underline{\underline{\quad}}-$ of the even one.

⁶ Here the third syllable should be short.

(1.) Phonetics:

A convenient means of adjusting words to metrical requirements was the (a) shortening and (b) lengthening of vowels¹ if this generates forms which still look like ‘genuine’ ones (see AiGr. I § 43b)²:

- (a) $-\bar{a}- \rightarrow -a-$ *kathākhyāyika-kārikāḥ* (◡-◡-), Mbh 2,130*(b), *gaṅgāyamunā-saṃgame* (◡-◡-), Mbh 5,118.1d, *pāṇḍumṛttikalepanaḥ* (◡-◡-), R 2,85.39b, *balāka-pañktiḥ* ([◡]-◡-), R 4,27.21 (*tri.*), *br̥hannaḍa-sārathiḥ* (◡-◡-), Mbh 4,35.21d, ^o*vāluka-jalām* (≠◡-◡-), R 2.1190*.13a, *vāluka-setavaḥ* (◡-◡-), R 3,65.30d, ^o*vāluka-saṃtatām* (◡-◡-), R 3,71.16b, (*muktā*)*sikata-śobhitām* (◡-◡-), R 5,12.33d, *svadhabhōjinām* (◡-◡-), R 7,23.18f v.l.³
- $-\bar{i}- \rightarrow -i-$ *ayajat putriyām iṣṭim*, R 1,15.8c⁴ (cf. *putriya-*, *ibid.* 14.2-3)⁵
- (b) $-a- \rightarrow -\bar{a}-$ *anāparādhinam* (≠2-4 ◡-◡-), Mbh 5,9.41c, (*ye tvā*)*nuvāde-*

¹ These features are conditioned not only by metre but also by rhythm. As in Middle Indo-Aryan, there was a strong aversion against the succession of three short syllables in one and the same word (see AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 177 [*ad* 313,42] and – for MIA – OBERLIES 2001: 35 n. 2).

² For the Rāmāyaṇa see especially SEN (1951b: 226-229).

³ See HOPKINS (1901: 245) and ROUSSEL (1910: 40).

⁴ This is to avoid the 3rd *vipulā* which should have – other than the stanza at hand – a break after the 5th syllable.

⁵ For the gen. pl. of m. *i-* and *u-*stems in *-inām* and *-unām* see (♣) 2.3.

- yuh*, Mbh 4,6.15 (4th long syll. of ‘Virāṭa tri.’¹),
(durāvāso) durārihā (◡◡◡), Mbh 13,135.96d
- ī- → -ī̄-² *adhikāre* (≠ ◡◡◡) Mbh 12,327.33a, *(sādhu) sādhy īti*
 (≠ ◡◡◡), R 5,56.33a = 7, App.13.2c, *pariṇāmaḥ* (≠ ◡◡◡),
 R 4,24.8a, ^o*pariṇāhaḥ* (≠ ◡◡◡), R 1,405*(a), ^o*pariṇāham*
 (≠ ◡◡◡), R 2,2398*.7a, 6,35.24c, ^o*parivāraḥ* (≠ ◡◡◡), R
 6,4.30a, ^o*parivāram* (≠ ◡◡◡), R 6,3114*.11a (cf. 4.19.5a,
 38.11c, 5,43.2a, 6,1435*[c]), *pravivivikṣoḥ*, R 7,36.43³
- u- → -ū- *anūcitaḥ* (◡◡◡), R 5,34.20b⁴, *anūdake* (◡◡◡), R
 1,17.33b⁵, *nirūdake* (◡◡◡), R 4,528*(b), 6,5.11b, *anūda-*
ram (◡◡◡), Mbh 14,46.45b, *anūpamam* (◡◡◡), R
 6,3064*.3b, *bahudhenūkam* (≠ ◡◡◡), Mbh 2,58.5a =
 67.18a, *(rāma) saṃjātavālūkām*, R 3,69.6c (≠ ◡◡◡).

rem. The ‘transfers of stem’ are often to the same effect, particularly when they occur at the seams of compounds (↗ 3.1-3).

Metrical pressure conditioned also a number of ‘irregular’ (non-)sandhis. (Almost) all cases of (a) *hiatus* (↗ 1.1.1.1-1.1.3.7), of (b) *sandhi* of *pra-grhya* vowels (↗ 1.3) and of (c) double *sandhi* (↗ 1.8) can be explained as due to fixed *pāda*-length. Moreover also these (non-)sandhis very often occur in a position which is metrically relevant:

¹ On the (so-called) ‘Virāṭa’ type of the *tristubh* see EDGERTON (1939: 163).
² There are a lot of examples for this lengthening achieved by the transfer of *i-* to *ī-* stems (↗ 3.3).
³ This is to avoid the sequence of three short syllables in the opening of a *tristubh*.
⁴ Pāda *a* of this stanza has *ucitaḥ*.
⁵ See AiGr. II,1 § 43b *rem.*

- (a) *rājan maghavatā api* (◡-◡-), Mbh 1,197.16d, *ekā dīnā anāthavat* (◡-◡-), R 7,896*(d), *modakī śikharī ubhe* (◡-◡-), R 1,26.7d, *panthā ayam ...*, Mbh 3,133.2 (short 3rd syll. of *tri*.)
- (b) *samupete 'dbhute 'naghe* (◡-◡-), Mbh 1,14.5d
- (c) *vavus ca vātāḥ paruṣāti velam* (-◡--), Mbh 8,68.48 (*tri*.), *doṣāḥ kaṣṭatarādhane* (◡-◡-), Mbh 12,171.35b¹, *pratipatsyeha dattvā* (-◡--), Mbh 1,88.8 (*tri*.), *pāvakaṃ juhuvendrajit* (◡-◡-), R 6,67.4d = 69.23d.

Other irregular *sandhis* too mostly occur at one and the same position within the *pāda*. The *sandhis* (a) *-o 'tman- < /-as ātman-/* (↗ 1.2.4[a]) and (b) *-e 'tman- < /-e ātman-/* (↗ 1.2.6[a]) are predominantly employed in the cadence of odd *śloka-pādas*:

- (a) *bahu mene 'rjuno 'tmānam* (◡---), Mbh 8,12.20c, *manyate puruṣo 'tmānam* (◡---), 13,27.53c
- (b) *evaṃ yo vindate 'tmānam* (◡---), Mbh 12,241.8c, *ya enaṃ vindate 'tmānam*, 14,50.33c.

And the only occurrence of the *sandhi -a r- < /-ar r-/* (↗ 1.5) stands in the cadence of an even *śloka pāda*: *kim aṅga puna rāvaṇam* (◡-◡-), R 4,26.13d.²

¹ Most cases of the *sandhi* of final *-āḥ* and an augmented preterite (↗ p. 45-46) occur in the cadence of an even *śloka-pāda*. Out of 76 recorded cases only 10 (Mbh 1,201.10a, 3,199.10b, 283.13b, 5,10.46c, 7,22.51d ~ 22.53d, 134.80c, 9,34.48a, 46.19d, 16,4.4 [*tri*]) do not comply with this rule.

² On *aho 'manyata dharmātmā*, R 4,34.7c (↗ p. 33 [1.5] and 76 [2.29]) see HOPKINS (1901: 256): "When on two short syllables a third short follows, the phrase is rudely adapted to metrical needs. Hence *aho manyata* for *ahar amanyata ...*".

Sometimes the poets (or those who were responsible for the transmission of the texts) had to make their choice between two ‘irregularities’: *atha r̥kṣarajā nāma*, R 7,36.35 (v.l. *atharkṣarajaso nāma* [↗ 1.1.2.3 and 3.15]), *dhṛtarāṣṭro śramapadam*, 1,2.212e v.l. (CE *dhṛtarāṣṭrāśramapadam* [↗ 1.2.4(b) and 1.8.2]).

rem. Also other devices falling within the range of phonology served to achieve prescribed *pāda* length, viz. (a) loss of syllables, (b) aphæresis, (c) syllabic haplology and (d) *svarabhakti* (indicated by {...}, [...], <...> and (...) respectively)¹:

(a) *āyodha{na}*- ‘battle-field’, Mbh 7,29.40², *baddhaka{vā}ṣṭām*, R 2,1204*³, *gavāmay{an}ṣa-*, Mbh 3,80.123, 82.56, 423*.5, 83.30, 13,109.44, 110.24; (b) *[a]dhiṣṭhita-*, Mbh 1,13.18b (*ko bhavān iha dhiṣṭhitaḥ*), 48.13, 5,187.21d (*pādān-guṣṭhāgradhiṣṭhitā*), 7,75.36, 147.30, 12,149.13, 321.18, *vyathitā [a]vanatānanāḥ*, R 1,8.19⁴, *[a]pinaddhakambuḥ pāṇibhyām*, Mbh 4,59*⁵, *[a]pinahya tāni puṣpāni*, Mbh 13,42.9, *[a]pihita-* (*pāṃsubhiḥ pihitam tac ca*, Mbh 1,137.8 v.l. [CE *pratyapihitam*], *diśo 'tha sarvāḥ pihitā babhūvuḥ*, 6,55.72), *[a]pidhāya (sa*

¹ On these phenomena see AiGr. I § 241 (with *Nachträge* p. 160-164), *ibid.* II,1 § 29by and LEUMANN (1968); for the Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1951b: 237-239).

² *āyodhana-* is attested at Mbh 3,272.8 and R 6,111.4.

³ *kavāṣṭa-* is attested at R 2,1667*.2 and – with *-p-* – at Mbh 1,135.17 (v.l. *kavāṣṭa-*). As to *-p-* ~ *-v-/-b-* cf. *tūvaraka-* ‘eunuch’, Mbh 7,108.35 v.l. (CE *tūbaraka-*), 114.69 v.l. (CE *tūbaraka-*), 8,49.62 v.l. (CE *tūbaraka-*) < Vedic *tūparā-* ‘hornless’ (see AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 124 [ad 223,38f.]). For *tripiṣṭapa-* ‘heaven’ (< **viṣṭap[a]-*), which the PW (s.v.) records for the Epics, the critical editions have, however, throughout *triviṣṭapa-* (see Mbh 1,199.35, R 1,57.6, 6,App.57.82).

⁴ See crit. notes *ad loc.* According to BÖHTLINGK (1887: 214) this is a case of ‘double sandhi’: *vyathitāvanatānanāḥ* (cf. 1.8.8).

⁵ *pi* beside *api* may reflect the old doublet inherited from Proto-Indo-European (see AiGr. I § 69 [p. 76-77] and EWAia s.v. *āpi*).

pidhāya mukhaṃ rājā, Mbh 2,71.11¹; (c) *amāvās<yā>yām*, Mbh 1,1171*.1, R 6,80.55², *java<va>tām*, Mbh 1,15.3 (v.l. *javavatām*), *trīyā<yā>m*, Mbh 13,26.40 (v.l. *trīyāyām*), *dvitīyā<yā>m*, Mbh 13,87.10 (*striyo dvitīyām jāyante trīyāyām tu bandhinaḥ / pañcamyām bahavaḥ putrāḥ ...*), *bibhīṣa<yīṣa>yā* ‘with the desire to frighten’³, Mbh 1,11.4, *bhrūṇahat<ya>yaiva*, Mbh 12,348.9, *vṛtrahat<yā>yai*, Mbh 7,128.28⁴, *vipaṇe<na>*, Mbh 5,35.13 (... *vipaṇe tena praśnaṃ pṛcchāva ye viduḥ*), *āvṛte<na>*, Mbh 9,16.77= 20.31 = 22.48 = 28.12 (*sainyena rajasāvṛte*), *dhvaste<na>*, Mbh 7,73.53 (*sainyena rajasā dhvaste*)⁵, *cāvayorjunaḥ* (**cāvayor<ar>junaḥ*), Mbh 2,18.3⁶ (for other haplogologies see [♣] 2.1, 5.2.1, 8.1.1, 8.4.1); (d) *mayi vā saṃgar(a)hate*, Mbh 5,508* (see SCHELLER 1991: 173 n. 4), *mār(i)ṣa* (see below [♣], p. LII), Mbh 1,213.8d (cad.) *et passim*⁷.

¹ On *vā* ‘like’ ← *va* ← [i]va see below (♣), p. 29-30 n. 5.

PW (s.v. *ratni*) assumed that *ratni-* originated from *aratni-* by the loss of initial *a-* citing (among other references) Mbh 8,3623 (*aṣṭaratniḥ*). But the crit. ed. (8,50.60) reads *ayo ratnir mahābāhur vyūḍhoraskaḥ sudurjayaḥ* (see also AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 56 [ad 101,2]).

² The entry *amāvāsī-* of our Sanskrit dictionaries – posulated only because of the references cited above – should therefore be cancelled (cf. RENOUE § 248 *rem.* and OBERLIES 2002).

³ This is the verbal noun of the desiderative of the causative (**bibhīṣayīṣā-* ← **bibhīṣayīṣa-*).

⁴ On the haplogological shortening of *-yayā* to *-yā* and of *-yāyai* to *-yai* see AiGr. III § 59 aß (p. 116-117) and § 60aα *rem.* (p. 119-120) respectively.

⁵ On these haplogologies of case-endings see OBERLIES (1997: 3-4) and id. (2002).

⁶ See EDGERTON (1943/44: 2).

⁷ This word, which is almost invariably used as the last word of even *śloka pādas* in the Mahābhārata, is not to be found in the Rāmāyaṇa, as was already observed by HOPKINS (1893a: 142) and id. (1901: 68 n. [2] / 81 / 204 with n. 1).

Now and again a double consonant¹ does not make the preceding vowel metrically long²:

lokavṛttena kliṣyate (– –), Mbh 3,203.8b, *pretānām iva krandatām* (– –), 7,146.9d, *bāhuvīryas ca kṣatriyaḥ* (– –), 1,165.20b, *śeṣā gacchantu cchandataḥ* (– –), 13,20.46d³, *striyo bālās ca jñātayaḥ* (– –), 5,36.64b, *apraṭiṣṭhaiva jyāyāsī* (– –), 5,88.73d, *śriyaṃ prāṇāṃś ca tyakṣyati* (– –), 9,26.23d, *dināni trīṇi* (– –), 5,183.27 (tri.), *sānukrośās ca tvaṃ sadā* (– –), 3,67.14b, *paralokaṃ sma draṣṭum* (– –), 5,32.22 v.l. (tri.), *dhṛtarāṣṭrāya dvāḥsthaḥ* (– –), 5,32.3 (tri.), *priyamithyābhidyāyinā* (– –), 12,149.89d, *akṣamudreva nyasyate* (– –), 12,287.38d, *vṛṣṭyā bhūyāmsi prāvṛṣi* (– –), 12,224.69b, *jyeṣṭhā śreṣṭhā ca brāhmaṇī* (– –), 1,78.21b, *tathaiśvaryaḥ ca bhraṃśitāḥ* (– –), 13,140.6b, *ivāsya vyāghraḥ* (– –), 5,42.13 (tri.), *martyānām ye tu vyādhayaḥ* (– –), 11,7.7b, *yasmin deśe ramase 'tīva śyena* (– –), 3,App.21.79 (tri.), *bhīṣme droṇe ca śrīmatī* (– –), 9,63.11d, *loke kīrtis ca sthāpitā* (– –), 3,149.20d, *pittaṃ majjāsthi snāyu ca* (– –), 12,293.31b, *yodhayām āsa svasthaṃ* (– –), 5,47.73 (tri.)⁴.

(2.) Morphology:

Also a number of changes the *noun* suffered are due to metrical exigencies.

The m. *i-* and *u-*stems formed a gen. pl. in *-inām* and *-unām* to fit into the cadence of an even *śloka pāda* (↗ 2.3): *duḥkhaṃ taj jñātinām nudan* (– –), R 6,114.35b, *śatrusaṃjātamanyunām* (– –), R 6,62.9b. Parallel cases are those of the acc. sg. and nom. pl. m. of the comparatives in *'yāms-* (↗

¹ Marked in the following by bold types.

² See ZUBATY (1889: 624-625 / 628), HOPKINS (1901: 242-243 / 278-280 / 457 [No. 45]), id. (1903: 8 with n. 1), MEILLET 1913a, RENOU § 27 and TOKUNAGA (1995: 23-25).

³ Cf. *śaravarsēṇa chādayan* (– –), Mbh 6,50.31b, *setihāse ca chandasi* (– –), Mbh 13,112.39b v.l. (CE *sacchandasi* [–(!)–]).

⁴ For examples from the Rāmāyaṇa see JACOBI (1893: 26-27), HOPKINS (1901: 243) and VAN DAALEN (1980: 78).

2.27): *pūruṃ putraṃ kanīyasam* (◡-◡-), Mbh 1,80.12b = 81.10b, *kanīyāms tu kanīyasam* (◡-◡-), Mbh 13,47.60d, *karmavajrā yavīyasaḥ* (◡-◡-), Mbh 1,158.49d. And also many transfers of stem (↗ 3.1-21) served metrical purposes¹: *patnayaḥ*, *patnibhiḥ* and *patniṣu* (↗ 3.1), *ariṣṭaneminam* and *padātinam* (↗ 3.4) – to give just a few examples – fit (unlike *patnyaḥ*, *patnibhiḥ*, *patniṣu*, *ariṣṭanemim* and *padātim*) into the cadence of an even *śloka pāda*. *oṣadhībhiḥ*, Mbh 13,10.19d, R 6,40.28d, and *yuvatībhiḥ*, R 6,102.13b, were employed to avoid the pattern ◡- in syllables 2-4 (↗ 3.3). But the main motive for morphological changes – and especially for such transfers – was the fixed length of the Epic stanzas. The desired number of syllables was achieved by inflecting a word in a particular manner which simply avoided the *pāda* getting (a) too short or (b) too long:

- (a) *vaktum arhasy aśeṣeṇa divyā hy ātmavibhūtayaḥ*, Mbh 6,32.16ab (v.l. *vibhūtīr ātmanaḥ śubhāḥ* [↗ 2.6]), *samīpasthās tadā gāvo dhṛtarāṣṭre nyavedayat*, Mbh 3,228.2cd (v.l. *gā vai* [↗ 2.15])
 (b) *oṣadhīr vividhās tatra*, Mbh 8,24.70c (v.l. *vīrudhas* [↗ 2.6]), (...) *sahasā duḥkham eyuṣaḥ* (/ *vane vijahrīre pārthāḥ*), Mbh 3,1.3b (↗ 2.28), *asyāś catasro dhenvo 'nyāḥ*, Mbh 5,100.7a (↗ 3.5), *sa tasyā mahimāṃ dṛṣṭvā*, R 1,36.13c (↗ 3.11), *apsarās ca suvarcasaḥ*, R 1,44.18b (↗ 3.14), *menāte rākṣasaṃ pakṣim*, R 3,13.2c (↗ 3.18), *jaṭāyuṃ krodamūrchitaḥ*, R 3,49.32d (↗ 3.20)².

Also the change of gender of particular words often served purely metrical purposes: *prayatnaṃ mahad āsthāya*, R 5,44.12c (v.l. *mahāntaṃ yatnam āsthāya*), (...) *apaśyat* (...) *modakān haviṣas tathā*, 2,410*.2.

¹ See (↗) especially 3.1 and 3.3.

² It is remarkable that even personal names – such as *Jaṭāyus* – could be changed.

rem. What follows is a random collection of words which may have a *gender* different from that of common usage (see also [♣] p. 41 n. 4, 59 n. 2, 62, 71 and 98 n. 2)¹:

abhra-, m. (← n.), R 5, App. 13.20, *ayuta-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 3, 21.14, 41.1, *ariṣṭa-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 12, 170.12 v.1.², *aśani-*, m. (← f.), R 2, 110.47, 6, 1701*, *astra-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 8, 52.6, R 1, 20.11, 5, 41.11, *āyudha-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 4, 753*, *ālaya-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 1, 21.4, 24.2, App. 118.106, R 5, 19.26 v.1., 6, 101.2 v.1.³, *āśrama-*, n. (← m.), R 1, 29.23, 60.10, 7, 68.6, *ūru-*, f. (← m.), Mbh 3, 265.18 ([acc. pl.] *ativāmorūḥ*), *kambala-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 15, 20.4 v.1.⁴, *kāla-*, n. (← m.), R 7, 255* (*etāvāt ... kālam* [~ *etāvantaṃ ... kālam*, 251*]), *kisalaya-*, m. (← n.), R 3, 40.19, *kūla-*, m. (← n.), R 7, 14.16, *gati-*, m. (← f.), R 2, 35.6, *guggulu-* m. (← n.), Mbh 13, 101.39, *grha-*, (pl.) n. (← m.), Mbh 1, 134.7, R 5, 5.34, *grāma-*, n. (← m.), R 2, 51.3 (*grāmāṇī nagarāṇī ca* [cf. 2, 54.12: *grāmāṃś ca nagarāṇī ca*]), *caila-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 2, 47.3, *jīva-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 12, 270.20 (cf. *jīvāḥ*, *ibid.* 19), *trāsa-*, n. (← m.), R 4, 35.2, *daṃṣṭra-*, m./n. (← f.), Mbh 3, App. 27.52, *darśa-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 3, 211.30, 13, 143.31, *dāva-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 1, 215.6, *doṣa-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 3, 200.6, R 5, 26.5, 6, App. 30.51, *dos-* m. (← n.) R 6, 319*, *dyūta-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 2, 56.9, *dhānya-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 13, 112.62, *nagara-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 3, 76.6, (^o)*nimeṣa-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 13, 103.37, (^o)*pada-*, m. (← n.), R 1, 9.15, *paraśvadha-*, n. (← m.), R 6, 60.33, (^o)*pūga-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 12, 216.18, R 1, 47.16, *prabhava-*, n. (← m.), R 4, 47.13, *prayatna-*, n. (← m.), R 5, 44.12, *prahlāda-*, n. (← m.), R 1, 923*.5, (^o)*bhāga-*, n. (← m.), R 3, 53.11, (^o)*bhāṇḍa-*, m. (← n.), R 6, 1407*.7, *bhāva-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 12, 120.10, 217.8, *bhuvana-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 13, 16.52, *bhṛṅgāra*, n. (← m.), Mbh 14, 64.12, *bhūta-* m. (← n.), Mbh 10, 6.3 (cf. *bhūta-*, n., *ibid.* 10-11), *bhoga-*, n. (← m.), R 6, 14.9, *madhu-*, m. (← n.), R 1, 52.2, *mantra*, n. (← m.), Mbh 3, 610*.1, *mahābhūta-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 12, 298.19 (~ *mahābhūtanī*, 764*), (*aśva*)*ratnau* (← n.), Mbh 3, 190.52⁵, *rātra-*, n. (← f.), Mbh 12, 238.12, 13, App. 14A.63, (^o)*lājā-*, f. (← m.), Mbh 13, 102.7, *vaktra-*, m. (← n.), R 5, 1.132,

¹ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 5-6) and VAN DAALLEN (1980: 115-116).

² See PW V 1040 (s.v. *ariṣṭa-* [4a]).

³ See PW I 702 (s.v.).

⁴ See PW II 78 (s.v.).

⁵ See AiGr. II, I § 15a.

varṇa-, n. (← m.), R 5,13.45, *vigraha-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 1,92.39, *vidhāna-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 13,76.32, *vīrudh-*, m./n. (← f.), Mbh 1,41.23, *vaira-* m. (← n.), Mbh 1,277*, *vrīda-*, m/n. (← f.), R 3,53.32, *śabda-* n. (← m.), Mbh 7,15.36, *śikhara-*, m. (← n.), R 4,2.7, *saṃśaya-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 6,28.39, *saṃsarga-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 3,1.21 (m., *ibid.* 24), *saṃtāna-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 1,68.63, *saṃtāpa-*, n. (← m.), R 5,32.16, *samūha-*, n. (← m.), R 3,33.23, *sāgara-*, n. (← m.), R 6,4.83 (~ *sāgaraḥ*, 6,96*), *sāmu-*, m. (← n.), Mbh 3,App.31.26, *sārika-*, m. (← f.), Mbh 13,112.53, R 3,22.14, *suci-*, m./n. (← f.), R 2,1784*.2, *stava-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 6,64.1¹, *svarga-*, n. (← m.), Mbh 11,3.8, 14,95.1 v.l., *havis-*, m. (← n.), R 2,410*, *hetī-*, m. (← f.), Mbh 1,223.10 (*ye ... hetayaḥ*).²

The same factors were at work in the modification of *verbal forms*. (1) The choice of a particular voice (↗ 6.1), (2) the use of the optative as a preterite (↗ 6.2.2) and of the precative as a common optative (↗ 6.2.4), (3) the employment of secondary instead of primary endings and *vice versa* (↗ 6.3.1-2), (4) the dropping of *-s-* in the ending of the 2sg. *ātṃ.* of the *iṣ-* aorist (↗ 8.2.5) and (5) the ‘confusion’ of *°atī-* and *°antī-* in the f. of the pres. part. – to give a few random examples – obeyed metrical pressure³:

- (1) *tato jāyati mānuṣaḥ* (↘↘↘), Mbh 13,112.58d = 90d, *mṛto jāyati mānavaḥ* (↘↘↘), *ibid.* 100d = 105b ↔ *jāyate naraḥ* (↘↘↘), Mbh *ibid.* 93b ~ 97b
- (2) *svaṃ svaṃ tejaḥ samādadhyuḥ* (≠ ↘↘↘), Mbh 3,99.10c, *nivartanāyaiva mano nidadhyuḥ* (↘↘↘), 4,61.24 (*tri.*) — *na hi pra-paśyāmi mamāpanudyāt* (↘↘↘), Mbh 6,24.8 (*tri.*)

¹ The following relative clause has m. *yaḥ* (*śṛṇu cedam* [!] ... *brahmabhūtastavaṃ mama / brahmarṣibhiś ca devaiś ca yaḥ* [!] *purā kathito bhuvī*).

² The fem. gender of *ādhārarūpā* ‘which has the form of an *ādhāra*’, Mbh 3,112.3, is due to the attraction to the following *vidyut* (see LÜDERS, *Phil. Ind.* p. 31 n. 2).

³ At Mbh 13,17.128(d) we even find (the *nomen proprium*) *vikurvaṇaḥ* (↘↘↘)!

- (3) *yuddhe kiṃ kurma te priyam* (ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 9,31.53f
- (4) *mā rājan vicikitsithāḥ* (ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 5,71.23d, *mā vṛttim anuvartithāḥ* (ॐ-ॐ-), 5,131.38d, *yathaitan mā viśaṅkithāḥ* (ॐ-ॐ-), 5,42.3d, *vaco me mā viśaṅkithāḥ* (ॐ-ॐ-), 7,142.14d, *mā mā tvam atīśaṅkithāḥ* (ॐ-ॐ-), 8,23.25d
- (5) (a) *kliśyamānām anarhatīm* (ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 2,62.7d, *pāṇḍavān abhyavekṣatīm* (ॐ-ॐ-), 2,72.15b, *vane tvām anugacchatī* (ॐ-ॐ-), R 3,12.4d, *muṣṭim udyamya garjatī* (ॐ-ॐ-), 5,22.23d, *hā heti vadatī muhuḥ* (ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 3,51.4b, *nabho nādayatī tadā* (ॐ-ॐ-), 1,114.28d
- (b) *vanaspatīn vicinvantī* (≠ ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 3,122.8c, *kusumāny apacinvantī* (≠ ॐ-ॐ-), R 3,40.29a, *vyatimiśram ajānantī* (≠ ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 1,73.6c.

The use of the grammatically correct forms would often have resulted in too long a *pāda*: *śaṃsur devyās tad apriyam*, R 5,51.20d (↗ 8.1.1), *tvatkṛte ca nimiṣyanti*, R 7,App.8.202 (↗ 8.4.1), *piṇḍaḥ pitṛṇām vyucchidyet*, Mbh 1,147.8c (↗ 8.7).

IV.

Apart from some exceptions – outright lapses – the ‘aberrant’ forms of Epic Sanskrit are “variantes morphologiques¹ que l’évolution linguistique a mis à la disposition du poète ... (et) que son public est censé comprendre immédiatement, ou dont le sens se laisse évoquer par un contexte adroitement disposé” (SMITH 1950: 3-4). Such forms were current in the language

¹ We should add: “et phonétiques”.

the poets themselves *spoke*. The beginnings of this ‘popular Sanskrit’¹ can be traced back to the Ṛgveda. Its hymns are composed in an archaic and – at the same time – deliberately archaizing language which lagged behind linguistic evolution. Out of the contemporary ‘spoken’ Sanskrit, however, a few forms penetrated into its hieratic language², e.g.

- (a) *cákṣoḥ*, RV 10.90.13 (abl. of *cákṣu-* ‘eye’ ← *cákṣus-*)
- (b) *nāváyā*, RV 1.97.8 (instr. of **nāvā-* ‘boat’ ← *nāu-*)
- (c) *imásya*, RV 8.13.21 (gen. sg. of *idám-*).
- (d) *kuru*, RV 10.19.2, 145.2 (2sg. imp. of \sqrt{kr}).

The next linguistic stages – the ‘Mantra language’, the ‘*Samhitā* prose’, the ‘*Brāhmaṇa* prose’ and the ‘*Sūtra* language’ – show a much advanced vernacular from which quite a number of colloquial forms intruded into the hieratic language of the ritual texts. The main features which it shares with Epic Sanskrit are as follows³:

- (1) non-sandhi of *-a ṛ-* (↗ 1.1.2.3):
rathaṃtarāsya ṛcā, MS II 3,7: 35.2, *pāñca ṛtūn*, II 2,2: 16.7, *ca ṛṣa-*
yah, AB I 27,1, II 1,1, *nāma ṛk*, III 23,1
- (2) ‘double’ sandhi and sandhi of *pragṛhya*-vowels (↗ 1.3 / 1.8):
talpārṣabham (/talpe āṛṣabham/), Kauś XVII 3, *bāhūnnayati*, MS IV
1,10: 14.8 (~ *bāhū unnayati*, Kāṭh XXXI 8: 10.21)⁴
- (3) shortening of long vowels at the seams of ‘compounds’ (↗ 3.1):

¹ Some of its features are discussed by OBERLIES (1997).

² See AiGr. I p. XVIII-XIX (= *Introduction générale* p. 7-8), TEDESCO (1945: 136-139) and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,580-581.

³ See also (↗) p. 53 n. 2.

⁴ See BLOOMFIELD, *The Kauśika Sūtra of Atharva Veda* p. LVIII, AiGr. I § 270b *rem.* (and *Nachträge*, p. 182 [*ad* 321,17]) and CALAND (1902: 100 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 137]).

sārasvati+kṛta-, VS XX 35, *pṛthivi+bhāga-*, Kāṭh XI 9: 156.8, *punḍari+srajā-*, TS I 8,18.1, *pṛthivi+tvā-*, TS VII 1,5.1¹

– (4) gen. pl. in *-ṛṇām* of *r*-stems (↗ 2.13):

udgāṛṇām, TS III 2,9.5, *pitṛṇām*, TS I 3,6.1, *bhrātṛṇām*, TS II 6,6.2²

– (5) coalescence of f. *i*- and *ī*- / *u*- and *ū*-stems³ (↗ 3.1 and 3.3):

(nom. pl.) *garbhīṇayah*, TS II 1,2.6, *pātmayah*, JB I 140, II 63, TS V 2,11.2, *mahānāmnyayah*, JB III 119, *revātayah*, JB III 135, TS V 2,11.1, (acc. du.) *gavīnyāu*, TS III 3,10.1, (instr. du.) *hānūbhyām*, TS IV 1,10.2

– (6) confusion of nom. and acc. pl. of the f. (a) *i*- and (b) *ī*-stems, of (c) the *ū*-stems and (d) of the stem *ap*- (↗ 2.6, 2.10 and 2.31):

(a) acc. (*akṣara*)*pañktayah*, KB XVI 8,14, (b) nom. *tiraścīḥ*, AB IV 25,10⁴, acc. *patnyah*, KB V 9,23, (c) acc. pl. *tanvah*, AB II 4,5, (d) acc. pl. *āpah*, AB VIII 17,1, AĀ II 4,1 (occurs also in RV)

– (7) paradigmatic levelling⁵ (↗ 2.35):

(loc. sg.) *brahma-/vīrahaṇi*, Kāṭh XXXI 7: 9.9, *bhrūṇahāni*, MS IV 1,9: 12.12, (acc. pl.) *ḥanah*, TS, VS⁶

– (8) transfer of stem (↗ 3.1-21):

ḥomāiḥ (← *ḥóman-*), TS V 1,6.2, *peṣa-* (← *peṣas-*), AB III 10,5-6, *jyotau* (← *jyotis-*), PB XVI 10,2, *yūśéna* (← *yūśán-*), TS V 7,20.1,

¹ See AiGr. II,1 § 56e and OBERLIES (1990: 150-153). The shortening of a long vowel before a double consonant at the seams of compounds – a feature of the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā – may be the first trace of the ‘law of *mora*’.

² This a feature peculiar to the Taittirīyasamhitā (see AiGr. III § 118a), perhaps an archaism.

³ See AiGr. III § 94 (also on the commencement of this phenomenon in the R̥gveda).

⁴ See AiGr. III § 89cδ (p. 178)

⁵ On the workings of ‘paradigmatic levelling’ see HOCK (1986: 44-47).

⁶ See WHITNEY § 402c and AiGr. III § 130a, who, however, do not give references.

- śīrśām / śīrśé* (← *śīrśán-*), AVŚ IV 34,1, XIV 1,55
- (9) aberrant inflexion of pronouns (↗ 4.7.2):
uttamasyām, AB VII 16,13 (see AiGr. III §267aß)
- (10) irregular numerals (↗ 5.1.1-3):
°śat- ~ °śati- ~ °śata-: *trayastrīṃśatyā*, AB VI 2,2, *ṣaṭtrīṃśatam*, AB VII 1,3, AĀ II 2,4, 3,8 (see AiGr. III § 189c)
- (11) inverted order of the members of compounds (↗ 10.4):
putrahata- ‘whose son has been killed’, PB VIII 2,4, *somāpahṛtā-* ‘from whom the Soma has been taken away’, ŚB IV 5,10.6
- (12) *°rājan-* instead of *°rāja-* in *tatpuruṣa-* compounds (↗ 10.4):
manuṣya+rājan-, AB VIII 26,4, PB XVIII 10,5
- (13) augmentless imperfects (↗ 6.4.1):
avagacchat, PB IX 1,9, *runddha*, JB II 173, *viharanta*, AB II 36,2¹
- (14) ‘wrong’ / misplaced augment (↗ 6.4.3):
ajāyethāḥ, AB VIII 15,2², *udapṛaptat*, AB III 33,5
- (15) *mā* with augmented aorist, future, imperative and optative (↗ 6.5):
mā vy anaśat, Kauś LVI 6, *māham akāmo mariṣyāmi*, ŚĀ XI 6,8, *mā savyena dakṣiṇam atikrāma*, GGS II 2,13, *mā aśnīyāt*, Kh. III 17,2 (see HOFFMANN 1968: 92-98).
- (16) 3sg. opt. in *-yīta* of thematic verbs (↗ 6.3.3):
kāmayīta, BaudhŚS II 1: 34.1, *dhārayīta*, IX 19: 296.9, *upanayīta*, Kauś XVII 31, *vāpayīta*, LXVII 15, *pradhmayīta*, ChU VI 14,1³
- (17) crossing of *parasm.* and *ātm.* optative (↗ 7.7.2, cf. 7.5.1 and 7.7.3):
vṛñjīyām, AB VIII 15,2

¹ See HOFFMANN (1967: 108-110).

² On such ‘preterite’ optatives see (↗) 6.2.2.

³ See CALAND (1903: 42), BLOOMFIELD, *The Kauśika Sūtra of Atharva Veda* p. LXI, and LIEBICH (1891: 30).

- (18) transfer of present-classes (↗ 6.6)¹:
anāti, AVŚ VII 25,2, *ápānat*, MS I 9,3: 133.1 (~ *apānit*, Kāth IX 11: 113.3), (*abhi*)*prānet*, AB II 21,3, *vi-kṣāratī*, MS II 3,9: 37.14 (~ *vi-kṣariti*, Kāth XII 11: 173.16), *bhuñjāmah*, ChU IV 11,2, *sprṇāti*, JUB IV 9,9, 10,1-8 (~ *sprṇu*², RV), *abhy-ahanat*, AB IV 2,2
- (19) wrong vocalic grade in (a) aorist, (b) future and (c) conditional (↗ 8.2, 8.4 and 8.6):
 (a) *chetsīh*, ĀŚS I 3,22, *amārjiṣuḥ*, ŚB I 3,1.11², (b) *mrākṣyāmahe*, Kāth XXXI 7: 9.1 (~ *mrākṣyāmahe*, TB III 2,8.9), *útsāksye*, ŚB[M] I 3,3.13³, *sṛksye*, JB I 357, (c) *aprākṣyah*, ChU VI 1,3
- (20) crossing of desiderative and future (↗ 8.9):
vivatsyāmi, ChU IV 4,1
- (21) causatives without causal meaning (↗ 8.8.1):
svargam lokam rohayati, KapS XLIV 4: 302.21 (so *ms.*) ~ ... *rohati*, KS XXVIII 4: 157.3⁴, *abhighārayati ... abhijigharti*, MS I 10,7: 148.1-2
- (22) ‘*ay(i)*-infinitive’ of roots in *-ī* (↗ 9.6):
vyapanayitum, AB VII 5,1, *sāmnayitum*, TB III 7,4.2 (cf. cond. *na-yisyat*, JB I 349 [so *mss.*]⁵)
- (23) absolutive I instead of II (↗ 9.7.1):
pari-dhāpayitvā, Kāth XI 10: 156.16, *vi-vartayitvā*, MS I 6,12:

¹ See NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 89, and GOTO (1987: 74-76).

² See NARTEN (1964: 58 / 116 / 197) and VIA I 437 (p. 364).

³ See AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 118 (*ad* 213,24f.), and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,370 n. 25.

⁴ See OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 687.

⁵ See OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 330-331 (cf. CALAND 1924: 152-153 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 287-288]).

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- (24) f. of the present *par.* participle (↗ 9.1):
(nom. pl.) *vadatyah*, AB VI 27,10 = 32,3, *śocatyah*, AB III 36,3,
siṣāsatyah, AB IV 17,2²
- (25) ‘secondary’ roots (↗ 6.8):
√ī (← *ati-√i* / *adhi-√i*)³, *√dad* (← [pf.] **dadé*)⁴, *√nind* (← *nindanti*
[*√nid*])⁵
- (26) 1st person of the ind. instead of the subjunctive (↗ 6.2.1):
kurmah, RV 10.51.7, *bhajāmi*, ŚB IV 1,3.12, *dadāmi*, AB VII 15,7 (~
dadāni, ŚSS XV 20: 191.17), *hanta ... upadhāvāmi*, VII 16,3 (~
upadhāvāni, ŚSS XV 21: 192.11), *kiṃ bravīmi*, ChU VI 7,2⁶
- (27) the use of the genitive instead of the dative (↗ 10.3.4):
bārhaspatyaṃ paśuṃ caturthām atipavitāsyālabhate, TBI 8,6.4, *tasya*
śrad dadhati, AB II 40,6⁷

It will not fail to be observed that a lot of the ‘aberrant’ forms of Epic Sanskrit have precursors in Vedic Sanskrit. It is only the *frequency* with which they are used in the Epics that is characteristic for their language (see RENOUE 1956: 106-107). This is certainly due to the influence of

¹ For further examples see WHITNEY § 990a, NEISSER (1906: 308-309 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 224-225]) and AiGr. II,2 § 487b *rem.* (p. 662).

² See AiGr. II,2 § 256d *rem.*

³ See AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 55 (*ad* 95,5-11).

⁴ See JOACHIM (1978: 91-93), GOTO (1987: 171-172) and LIV 106 n. 21.

⁵ See LEUMANN (1968: 57).

⁶ See HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,289 with n. 4.

⁷ See SPEYER (1896: 20 [§ 71-72]), CALAND (1903: 44) and OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 1064 (*et passim*).

Middle Indo-Aryan, in which quite a number of these ‘irregularities’ have become the regular forms¹:

- (3) shortening of long vowels at the seams of ‘compounds’ (see OBERLIES 2001: 30 [§ 2c] / 39 [§ 2b] / 51 [§ 2b]²)
- (5) coalescence of f. *i-* and *ī-* / *u-* and *ū-* stems (see OBERLIES 2001: 160 [§ 36.1])
- (6) confusion of nom. and acc. pl. of the f. *ī-* and *ū-* stems (see OBERLIES 2001: 160 [§ 36.1]) and of *ap-* (see OBERLIES 2001: 166 [§ 38.1])
- (7) paradigmatic levelling (see OBERLIES 2001: 175-176 [§ 41])
- (8) transfer of stem (see OBERLIES 2001: 131-136 [§ 28.2])
- (9) confusion of nominal and pronominal inflexion (see OBERLIES 2001: 146 [§ 30.7] / 190-191 [§ 42.7])
- (10) ^o*sati-* ~ ^o*sa-* in numerals (see OBERLIES 2001: 196)
- (12) omission of *samāsānta*-suffixes (see OBERLIES 2001: 136 n. 7)
- (13-14) omission or wrong addition of the augment (see OBERLIES 2001: 242 with n. 1)
- (15) *mā* with augmented aorists and other finite verb forms (see OBERLIES 2001: 242 n. 1)
- (18) transfer of present-classes (see OBERLIES 2001: 200-204 [§ 44])
- (23) confusion of absolutive I and II (see OBERLIES 2001: 269)
- (24) f. of the present *parasm.* participle in ^o*antī-* (see OBERLIES 2001: 178)
- (26) 1st person of the indicative used as imperative (see OBERLIES 2001: 220 [§ 46.2])
- (27) use of the genitive instead of the dative (see OBERLIES 2001: 137)

¹ For grammatical features shared by Middle Indo-Aryan and Epic Sanskrit see FRANKE (1902: 101-106), EDGERTON (1954a: 66-88) and OBERLIES (1997: 9-12).

² With the help of the concordances of OBERLIES 2001 (: 356-380), the corresponding paragraphs of PISCHEL, VON HINÜBER and EDGERTON’s BHSg may easily be found.

[§ 28.3]).

V.

But Epic Sanskrit is not just an inferior form of 'Classical' Sanskrit. It is a language in its own right¹. Quite a number of its coinages are logical and consistent realisations of linguistic facts:

(1) the use of the 1st persons of the indicative in imperative function (↗ 6.2.1) – the rule in Middle Indo-Aryan – led to (a) the crossing of indicative and imperative (↗ 6.3.2.5-6) and (b) to the building of forms such as *kurma* (↗ 7.8.1): (a) *karavāmahe* (< *kurmahe* x *karavā-mahai*), Mbh 1,122.19 (*vayaṃ kiṃ karavāmahe*), 187.31 (*śvaḥ kāle karavāmahe*), (b) *kurma* (: *kurmaḥ* = *gacchāma* : *gacchāmaḥ*), R 7,33.12 (*brahman kiṃ kurma kiṃ kāryam*).

(2) The imperative function of the future (↗ 6.2.9) led to the establishment of a new verbal category, the *imperativus futuri* (↗ 8.4.2): *kiṃ kariṣyāma bhadraṃ te*, R 1,39.8, *dadāmi medinibhāgaṃ bhavadbhyo 'haṃ surarṣabhāḥ / yasmin deśe kariṣyadhvaṃ yajñaṃ kāśyapanandanāḥ*, Mbh 13,65.20, *yāvad rāmakathāṃ vīra śroṣye 'haṃ pṛthivītale / tāvac charīre vatsyantū mama prāṇā na saṃśayaḥ*, R 7,39.16.

The most conspicuous features of Epic Sanskrit, however, are the strong influence the different forms of the nominal and of the verbal system

¹ This is rightly stressed by BROCKINGTON: "The language of the Rāmāyaṇa is not merely an aberration from Pāṇinian norms, for I consider that it (together with the language of the Mahābhārata) forms a genuinely independent form of Sanskrit" (1982a: 22). He proposed to call it 'kṣatriya Sanskrit' (*l.c.* 21). But while "there may be something to this hypothesis, it is probably at best an oversimplification" (SALOMON 1989: 278).

exercised on each other on the one hand and its economy on the other. The determining catalyst for creating up new forms and paradigms is often *analogy*¹. It eliminates alternations created – in the first place – by *ablaut*. Although there is a great variety of processes involved, they all tend towards like goals, (a) the conformity of the individual paradigms and (b) the coordination of different paradigms: (a) a lot of ‘irregular’ nominal forms owe their existence to paradigmatic levelling, as may be seen from the following chart:

	Classical Sanskrit	Epic Sanskrit (↗ p. XXXVIII and 2.27-28)
acc. sg.	<i>kanīyāṃsam</i> <i>vidvāṃsam</i>	<i>kanīyasam</i> <i>viduṣam</i>
gen. sg.	<i>kanīyasaḥ</i> <i>viduṣaḥ</i>	<i>kanīyasaḥ</i> <i>viduṣaḥ</i>
nom. du.	<i>kanīyāṃsau</i> <i>vidvāṃsau</i>	<i>kanīyasau</i> <i>viduṣau</i>
nom. pl.	<i>kanīyāṃsaḥ</i> <i>vidvāṃsaḥ</i>	<i>kanīyasaḥ</i> * <i>viduṣaḥ</i>

(b) since the *ā*-stems absorb such words as *apsarā-*, *duhitā-*, *mahimā-* and *svasā-* (↗ 3.7, 3.11, 3.14) a large group is formed whose inflexion might – if metrically required – be the model for all vocalic f. stems²:

¹ On the workings of *analogy* see HOCK (1986: 44-47).

² This coordination of the inflexion of vocalic f. stems is finalized in Pāli and in Prakrit (see OBERLIES 2001: 163 [§ 36.6] and PISCHEL § 387).

	Classical Sanskrit		Epic Sanskrit (↗ 2.6, 2.10)	
nom. pl.	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>matayaḥ</i>	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>prakṛtayaḥ / prakṛtīḥ</i>
acc. pl.	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>matīḥ</i>	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>prakṛtīḥ / prakṛtayaḥ</i>
nom. pl.	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>nadyaḥ</i>	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>bhāminyaḥ / bhāminīḥ</i>
acc. pl.	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>nadīḥ</i>	<i>kanyāḥ</i>	<i>bhāminīḥ / bhāminyaḥ*</i>

Such regrouping and systematization can be seen in the verbal system as well. The simplex and the causative are joined in such a way that (regularly) a causative with *-ā-* belongs to a present with the stem vowel *-a-* (↗ 8.8). And – to give just one more example – the pres. *sarati* replaces *dhāvati* in the old suppletive system ‘pres. *dhāvati*, aor. *asarat*, pf. *sasāra*’¹ (→ *√sr*).

Another prominent feature of Epic Sanskrit is its economy. Also here a few examples may suffice to make this point plain: (a) since the passive has a stem distinctly different from that of the present, *active* endings can also be added to it (↗ 8.7); (b) the augment may be dropped from imperfect forms as they are characterized by special endings (↗ 6.4); (c) the reduplication of the perfect may – under special conditions – be dispensed with as it is already distinguished by particular endings (↗ 8.1.1).

¹ See NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 85, KUIPER (1986: 215) and VIA I 220.

VI.

Though Epic Sanskrit stands in close relationship to Middle Indo-Aryan outright ‘Prakritisms’ are very rare in the Epics, and all of them concern words as such, i.e. they are lexicalizations¹:

aṭani- ‘the notched extremity of a bow’ (← *ārtnī-*), *kacchapa-* ‘tortoise’ (← *kaśyapa-* x *maccha-* [< *matsya-*])², *komala-* ‘tender’³ (← *kaumāra-*), *puttikā-* ‘termite’ (← *putrikā-*), *pota-* ‘young of an animal’ (← *putra-*), *vāṭa-* ‘fence’ (← ¹*√vr̥*), *√sajj* ‘to stick’ (← *sajyate* [*√sañj*]), *sajja-* ‘ready for’ (< *sajya-*).

Moreover, the great majority of these ‘Prakritisms’ have to do with the substitution of *-r-* by *-a-*, *-i-* or *-u-*, a phenomenon attested from R̥gvedic times⁴:

utkaṭa- ‘richly endowed with’ / *saṃkaṭa-* ‘contracted’ (← ^o*kṛta-*), *naṭa-* ‘dancer, actor’ (← *√nṛt*), *bhaṭa-* ‘hired soldier’ (← *bhṛta-*), *miṣṭa-* ‘savoury’ (← *mṛṣṭa-*)⁵.

Words which looked more ‘Prakritic’ were cast into a Sanskrit outfit when they were employed⁶. Note that a double consonant is almost always

¹ On all the following words see EWAia III s.vv.

² See OBERLIES (1998a: 103).

³ Attested as a *v.l.* at R 5,12.40 (CE ^o*pallavām*). The short *-a-* reflects the Prakrit origin of this word (cf. Pkt. *kumara-* [see PISCHEL § 81]).

⁴ See AiGr. I § 135 (*kṛcchrā-* < ^{*}*kṛpsrā-*) / 146 (^o*kaṭā-* < *kṛtā-*) and WERBA (1992).

⁵ See AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 12 (*ad* 19,17), and EWAia III s.v.

⁶ We cannot tell, of course, whether this was done by the *Epic* poets or whether these ‘Hyper-Sanskritisms’ just belonged to the current language or indeed whether they took place in the course of transmission.

involved. Obviously this was felt to be a feature typical of ‘Prakritic’ words:

akṣauhiṇī- ‘army’ (Mbh 6,65.10, 8,4.12, 9,1.35, R 1,19.3, 50.21, 5,34.23, 6,31.83¹) ← **akkhohiṇī-* < **akṣobhaṇī-*², *utsuka-* ‘anxious, desirous’ (Mbh 1,198.22, R 2,5.19, 3,57.13, 5,54.9) ← **ucchuka-* < *icchu(ka)-*³, *daurhṛda-* ~ *dohada-* ‘craving’ (R 5,22.34 [CE *daur*^o / v.l. *do*^o], 7,46.14 [CE *daur*^o / v.l. *do*^o]) ← **duhaḍ(a)-* < **dvihṛd*^o ⁴, *naipathya-* ‘outfit’ (Mbh 4,18.27⁵) ← *nevaccha-* < **naivastya-*⁶, *paṭṭa-* ‘hoop, snare’ (Mbh 7,93.16, 122.78, 8,68.26, R 3,25.5, 5,46.44) ← ^o*vaṭṭa-* < ^o*varta-*⁷, *māriṣa* ‘my dear’ (see above [↗], p. XXXVI) ← *māriṣa* < *mārṣa* (KāthGS XXIV 9)⁸, *muktā-* ‘pearl’ (Mbh 8,68.29, 13,20.37, R 1,73.5, 2,9.43, 106.10) ← **muttā-* < (*)*mūrtā-*⁹, *viśrabdha-* ‘confident’ (Mbh 3,187.45, 5,181.29, R 2,16.31) ← **vissaddha-* < *vissattha-* (x *saddhā-* [śraddhā-]) < *viśvasta-*¹⁰.

¹ For further references see BROCKINGTON (1996: 179 n. 20).

² See CHARPENTIER (1930: 178).

³ See WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 372. THIEME, as quoted by OBERLIES (1995a: 129), proposes instead that the starting point may have been *īpsu(ka)-*, which likewise developed to **ucchuka-*.

⁴ See LÜDERS, *Phil. Ind.* p. 44-47.

⁵ Cf. *naipathya-*, R 6, App. 72.27.

⁶ See LÜDERS (1941).

⁷ See OBERLIES (1991).

⁸ See BURROW (1980/81: 439-442).

⁹ See LÜDERS, *Phil. Ind.* p. 179-183.

¹⁰ See BERGER (1966).

The vocabulary of the Epics¹ is as variegated as its grammar. The main element are words inherited from Vedic Sanskrit, but there is an Indo-European sediment of words not to be found in Vedic² (*alāta*- ‘fire-brand’, *kiṇa*- ‘callous, scar’, $\sqrt{khañj}$ ‘to limp’, \sqrt{tarj} ‘to menace’³, $\sqrt{vrīḍ}$ ‘to feel ashamed’⁴, ^[2] \sqrt{stan} ‘to moan’⁵). Further it embraces – apart from re-interpretations (such as *sīmānta*- ‘border’, Mbh 12,91.15, R 2,43.3 [\leftarrow *sīman-ta*-]⁶) and ‘misunderstandings’ (*dāva*- ‘forest’ \leftarrow *dāvāgni*- ‘the fire of conflagration’⁷, [*pr̥thu*]vyāṃsa-⁸ ‘shoulder’ \leftarrow *pr̥thamātrāṃ vy āṃsau*, TB I 6,4.3⁹) – words from Dravidian¹⁰

aṅgana- ‘court’ (R 2,App.6.31), *eḍuka*- ‘relic chamber’ (Mbh

¹ The use of ‘word-variants’ is often metrically conditioned: *manye kālasya paryayam*, Mbh 7,61.37d = 115.1d, – *atha kālasya paryāye*, 5,147.21a (cf. *kālaparyāyāt*, 5,188.14), *gatasya yamasādanam*, R 3,10.62d (– –), *nayāmi yamasādanam*, 3,21.4d (– –), *anayad yamasādanam*, 452*.4 (– –), *yamasya sadanam prati*, 7,21.1d (= 2-4 – –).

² Beside the secondary literature cited in the following foot notes, see EWAia III s.vv.

³ On $\sqrt{khañj}$ and \sqrt{tarj} see LIV p. 555 and 632 and VIA I 623 and 633 respectively.

⁴ See VIA I 186 / 467.

⁵ See NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 410, and VIA I 475.

⁶ See AiGr. II,1 § 14bß.

⁷ See RENOU (1956: 110 n. 1).

⁸ Mbh 1,94.4 (v.l. *pr̥thvāṃsa*-), 3,157.27.

⁹ See PW s.v. *vyāṃsa*- and AiGr. II,1 § 3ea. See *ibid.* § 3f as to *kāru*- ‘horrible’, Mbh 1,36.3, and *sahasā* ‘together with’, Mbh 1,178.7 v.l. (CE *saha*).

¹⁰ For all entries see EWAia III s.v. and BURROW (1955: 379-388).

3,188.64.66)¹, *kānana-* ‘forest’ (Mbh 3,25.18, R 1,16.18, 2,3.4, 3,4.28, 22.15), *kuṇapa-* ‘lance’ (Mbh 12,133.21, 14,6.23, R 3,384*.4, 6,710*.1, 3046*), *kuddāla-* ‘hoe, spade’ (Mbh 3,105.19, 188.23, R 2,763*.4, 4,911*.1), *kūṭa-* ‘snare’ (Mbh 3,34.3, R 4,18.34), *keyūra-* ‘bracelet’ (Mbh 2,54.12, 3,222.44, R 2,20.33), *koṭara-* ‘hollow of a tree’ (Mbh 14,57.12), *tāmarasa-* ‘lotus’ (Mbh 3,155.51), *tāla-* ‘a tree producing a sort of spirituous liquor’ (Mbh 6,19.42, R 2,93.18, 3,10.72, 4,873*), *dukūla-* ‘fine cloth made of the *dukūla*-plant’ (Mbh 13,136.14), *nīra-* ‘water’, (Mbh 1,115.28), *pāṭala-* ‘a kind of tree’ (Mbh 3,155.45, 13,14.29, R 1,23.14, 6,30.4), *pravāla-* ‘coral’ (Mbh 5,98.30, R 2,44.5, 3,33.24, 4,49.25), *mīna-* ‘fish’ (Mbh 1,57.47, 3,170.46, R 1,42.12, 2,53.6, 3,50.33), *mukūṭa-* ‘diadem’ (Mbh 8,12.58, R 5,8.23, 7,15.10), *vañjula-* ‘a plant’ (Mbh 13,54.5, R 3,10.72, 4,1.37)

Austro-Asiatic

bhuśuṇḍī- ‘missile weapon’ (Mbh 3,21.32, 167.3, 274.22, 7,131.34, R 6,3046*)², *mātaṅga-* ‘elephant’ (Mbh 1,47.24, R 1,16.16, 2,50.10, 3,13.26, 5,20.16)³

Iranian

kuḍaka- ‘baby, child’ (Mbh 6,3.8)⁴, *mihira-* ‘sun’ (Mbh 3,App.1.53)

Persian

¹ See ALLCHIN (1957) and EMENEAU (1988: 184).

² See KUIPER (1985). For further references see BROCKINGTON (1998: 183 n. 29).

³ See BURROW (1955: 378) and MEENAKSHI (1989: 117-118).

⁴ See BURROW (1957: 6-7).

śikhara- ‘hunter’, Mbh 6,10.46 v.l. (CE *śabara-*)¹
and Greek

kunta- ‘spear, javelin’, Mbh 6,92.56, 8,16.10, R 3,384*.4,
6,73.21 (Greek κοντός), *khalīna-* ‘bridle’, Mbh 1,190.15,
6,50.53, 8,17.107 (Greek χαλινός)², *paristoma-* ‘cushion, pil-
low’, Mbh 3,159.30, R 4,1.5, 23.13 (Greek περίστρωμα)³,
*śautīra-*⁴ ‘noble’, Mbh 9,63.1, 12,98.25, 118.25, R 3,509.4 (CE
śautīra[tā]-), 51.7 (CE *śauṇḍīrya-*), 4,252*.1 (Greek σωτήρ)⁵,
suruṅgā- ‘underground passage’, Mbh 1,2.83, 476*.10, 1477*.4
(Greek σῦριγγίς)⁶.

While the vocabulary is enriched by new words⁷ – mostly connected with flora and fauna and military terms for which earlier Sanskrit speakers had no words of their own – quite a number of old words were lost by the time of the Epics, such as *atka-* ‘garment’, *√ad* ‘to eat’, *apas-* ‘work’, *ama-* ‘strength’, *arvant-* ‘horse’, *√av* ‘to help’, *avata-* ‘spring’, *ādhra-* ‘poor’,

¹ *śatra-* ‘disguise’, Mbh 4,10.3.13, 27.27, 28.5, 34.19, 36.34.36, 64.33, 12,308.71. 183.185, reminds one of Arabic *sitr* ‘veil’ (see LUDWIG 1896: 1-2). This association is, however, problematic for phonological and chronological reasons (letter of Prof. Dr. W. W. Müller, University of Marburg, dated 1st March, 2002). But to derive it from *√chad* ‘to cover’ – as is done by AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 135 (*ad* 242,18) – is implausible.

² On this word see LUDWIG (1896: 2) and HOPKINS (1899: 27).

³ See SPEYER (1911: 318-319).

⁴ The word is a ‘Hyper-Sanskritism’ of Middle Indo-Aryan **śotīra-*.

⁵ See BURROW (1970).

⁶ See STEIN (1925).

⁷ A “choix de mots nouveaux (presque tous du MbBh.)” is given by RENOUE (1956: 110 n. 1).

āpi- ‘friend’, *iṣira-* ‘vigorous’, *īrma-* ‘fore-quarter of an animal’, *ṛṣva-* ‘high’, *kṛśana-* ‘pearl’, *kravis-* ‘raw flesh’, *kṣap-* ‘night’, *gnā-* ‘wife’, *cyautna-* ‘deed, enterprise’, *jani-* ‘woman’, *√jambh* ‘to open the jaws’, *jra-* *yas-* ‘flat surface’, *toka-* ‘offspring’, *√tvakṣ* ‘to be active’, *dasma-* / *dasra-* ‘accomplishing wonderful deeds’, *nema-* ‘half’, *pastya-* ‘dwelling-place’, *pitu-* ‘nourishment’, *bhṛṣṭi-* ‘spike’, *pājas-* ‘surface’, *mīḍha-* ‘prize’, *rayi-* ‘possession’, *vadhri-* ‘castrated’, *vasna-* ‘value’, *vāja-* ‘booty’, *viśpati-* ‘lord of the *viś*’, *śama-* ‘hornless’, *√sap* ‘to worship’, *sama-* ‘any, everybody’ and *√stigh* ‘to climb’¹.

¹ See BURROW (1955: 39-41).

I. Sandhi

1.1. Absence of *sandhi*

In classical Sanskrit the application of the rules governing *sandhi* is generally obligatory. These rules "are based chiefly on the *avoidance of hiatus*" (MACDONELL 1927: 10). Thus, by and large, no *hiatus* between words is permitted. It is obviated either by the crasis of the final with the initial vowel or by transformation of the final vowel into the appropriate semi-vowel or by elision of the word-initial vowel (see KIELHORN § 17). A *hiatus* is only permitted under well defined conditions¹. In Epic Sanskrit, however, the operation of the rules of *sandhi* is not obligatory, and *hiatus* of various kinds is occasioned. These can be classified into two main categories, according to their position in a stanza: I. *hiatus* between two *pādas* (a-b / c-d), and II. *hiatus* within *one and the same pāda*. The *hiatus* between two *pādas* seems basically to be the result of each *pāda* being considered as a separate syntactic and metrical unit². This *hiatus* is so frequently attested³ that I dispensed with listing single cases⁴. In the main it is of the same kind as the *hiatus* within one *pāda*, examples of which are listed (infra) in section 1.1.

¹ For which see STENZLER § 23, 24, 25, 35bc, KIELHORN § 22, 23, 25, 35c, 36, RENOU § 40-42, WHITNEY § 133, 176 and AiGr. I § 267ff.

² See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 214), OLDENBERG (1888: 392 n. 1), HOPKINS (1901: 195-196), EDGERTON (1943/44: 1) and AiGr. I § 262by. See also above (♣), p. XXXI n. 2.

³ According to SEN "the Southern recension (of the Rāmāyaṇa) contains about 342 cases of *hiatus* between two *pādas*, but only about 66 cases of the same within a *pāda*. Such cases are much less frequent in the N(orth-)W(estern) and B(enga)l versions" (1951/52: 121).

⁴ See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 213), id. (1889: 53-54 and 64), DE (1958: 12-14), HOPKINS (1901: 195-197), KULKARNI (1944: 15-24), MICHELSON (1904: 99), SEN (1950: 23-33 and 37-38), GUPTA (1938: 70), SATYA VRAT (1964: 181-192) and VAN DAALEN (1980: 73-74).

Only one minor point should be noted as an *addendum* to STENZLER § 24 and KIELHORN § 23 (cf. RENOUE § 41d and AiGr. I § 274): Not only is final ^oai substituted by ^oā (and ^oāy: *svaṃ tasmāy āsanaṃ dadau*, Mbh 7,57.4, v.l. [S] *svaṃ tasmai cāsanam dadau*) before an initial vowel¹, but also final ^oau: *brahmaṇā samanujñātā, amṛtaprāśināv ubhau* ('With the consent of Brahmā both of them became consumers of ambrosia'), R 6,19.7 v.l. (Ct. *samanujñātā ity atra 'lopaḥ śākalyasya' iti lopaḥ / samanujñātāv ity arthaḥ* [referring to Pāṇ 8,3.19]).

1.1.1. Absence of *savarṇa-sandhi*²

Normally two similar simple vowels coalesce and form the corresponding long vowel³. Epic Sanskrit shows the following exceptions:

1.1.1.1. -a/ā a/ā-

In the examples from the Mahābhārata in which the word following the *hiatus* is marked by an asterisk the (allegedly) original *hiatus* was restored by the respective editor against the testimony of all manuscripts⁴.

ḍṛṣṭvā aśucy (etat), Mbh 1,3.126 (pr.), (*krodhā*) *prāvā ariṣṭā (ca)*, 1,59.12c, *tena ātmāpahāraḥ*, 1,595*(d), *yathā ātmaśāṃ (anukūlavādī)*, 1,84.4 (*tri.*), *tathā aśiṭiṃ (parivatsarāṇi)*, 1,85.8 (*tri.*), (*tvayā*) *ca *amita-dyute*, 1,99.15b (cf. KEITH 1937: 769), (*sā*) *sicyamānā *aṣṭhīlā*, 1,107.19a,

¹ *vā* 'indeed' (Mbh 3,133.16, 10,2.16 v.l., R 1,26.3, 2,20.27) is a generalized *sandhi* form of *vai* (see PW VI 875 [s.v. *vā*, 5.], SPEYER 1886: 312 and LUDWIG 1896: 9). For non-*sandhi* of *vai* see below (↗) 1.1.4.8-11.

² This *sandhi* is technically a *praśliṣṭa-sandhi* (see AiGr. I § 267 and RENOUE § 40b). For the sake of convenience it is treated here separately.

³ See STENZLER § 19, KIELHORN § 18, RENOUE § 40a, WHITNEY § 126 and AiGr. I § 269a.

⁴ Some of the examples from the first *parvan* of the Mahābhārata are discussed by KEITH (1937: 769-771).

(*taj*) *jyeṣṭhā* **anumanyatām*, 1,116.25d¹, (*sarvakāmā*) *na āpadaḥ*, 1,146.9b, *viditvā* **apakarṣeyam*, 1,148.1c (but cf. KEITH 1937: 769), (*vājan*) *maghavatā api*, 1,197.16d (cf. 6,78.42b, below), *vicacārāryamā api*, 1,218.34b, *saṃtapyamānā* **abhītaḥ*, 1,224.5c², (*pāṇḍavaiḥ*) *saha āsate*, 2,4.7b, *kṛtavarmā anādhrṣṭiḥ*, 2,13.57c, *ekavastrā adhonīvī*, 2,60.15a, *vismitā* **abhavad tadā*, 3,61.92b, (*śaṅkhinīm*) *tatra āsādyā*, 3,81.41a, (*kālēna*) *mahatā api*, 3,127.3d, *panthā ayaṃ (te 'dya mayā nisṛṣṭaḥ)*, 3,133.2 (*tri.*), (*draṣṭuṃ gatā*) *iha āyānti (bhūyaḥ)*, 3,134.25 (*tri.*), (*vācā jītā*) *medhayā āvidānāḥ*, 3,134.26 (*tri.*), *mama* **ācakṣva (pāñcālī)*, 3,222.7a, *menakā vā ahalyā vā*, 4,204*(a)³, *mānaghṃsya* **ātmakāmasya (cerṣyoḥ)*, 5,26.13 (*tri.*), (*kṣattur*) *yadā* **anvavartanta (buddhim)*, 5,26.16 (*tri.*), (*sa*) *neha āyāti (paraṃ parātmā)*, 5,246*.7 (*tri.*), (*na ceṣṭen*) *manasā api*, 5,43.34b, (*brahmaiva vidvāṃs*) *tena abhyeti (sarvam)*, 5,44.17 (*tri.*), (*nānyaḥ*) *panthā ayanāya (vidyate)*, *ibid. (jag.)*, (*āpo*) **tha adbhyaḥ (salilasya madhye)*, 5,45.3 (*tri.*), *abhipatya apakṣakāḥ*, 5,45.9b, (*na sādhunā*) *nota asadhunā (vā)*, 5,45.20 (*tri.*), (*ākāśe*) *vā* **apsu (caiva kramah syāt)*, 5,47.80 (*tri.*), *pṛthivyā api (sarvayā)*, 5,131.36b = 5,133.3b, *drṣṭaiva* **anayad (grhān)*, 5,139.5b, *māitrāvaruṇa āgnīdhrau*, 5,525*(a), *sāma ādau (prayuktam)*, 5,148.7a, *tathety āha* **arjunaḥ (savyasācī)*, 5,160.9 (*tri.*), (*saṃkhye*) *maghavatā api*, 6,78.42b (cf. 1,197.16d, above), (*jetuṃ*) *vajrabhṛtā api*, 6,114.52b, *iṣuṇā* **āsupātinā*, 7,43.10b, (*upadiṣṭā*) *mayā* **asya*, 7,47.27a (for both these cases see *crit. notes* ad 7,5.8), (*ekasmīn*) *eva* **ācārye*, 12,61.18c, *śakyā aśvasahasreṇa (... jetuṃ vasuṃdharā)*, 12,118.28a, (*āpas*) *tadā* **ātaguṇāḥ*, 12,225.5c,

¹ As KEITH (1937: 770) remarked this example is "very dubious".

² KEITH holds that "the MSS suggest *saṃtapyamānān* as clearly correct" (1937: 769).

³ KULKARNI's (1944: 25) example *trigartā asprśan*, Mbh 4,569* (of chapter 4,31), shows an absolutely correct *sandhi*.

(*mama*) *pitṛā *ahaṃ (dattā)*, R 2,110.50c, *rujā ādyāpi (tasya me)*, 3,734*.3b v.l. (CE *rujā sādyāpi*), (*hatvaitac*) *carma ādāya*, 3,41.48c, *paryupāsata āsīnam*, 4,618*.6c v.l. (CE *ekānte yaiḥ samāsīnaḥ*), (*ahir*) *eva aheḥ (pādān)*, 5,40.9c, *hatvā aśvān (apātayat)*, 6,66.28f v.l. (CE *rathāśvān samapātayat*), (*rāvaṇas*) *tatra āgataḥ*, 7,648*(d), (*ekā*) *dīnā anāthavat*, 7,896*(d), *brahma āvartayan (param)*, 7,99.4b v.l. (CE *brahma cāvartayan* [v.l. *brahma-m-āvartayan*, see p. 5]).

The variant readings show that in the course of handing down both texts attempts were made (by the redactors and/or the scribes) to eliminate instances of *hiatus* by secondary changes (see S.K. DE, *Introduction to the Udyoga-parvan*, p. XXXI, and KULKARNI 1944: 24-25¹). (Superfluous) particles, such as *atha*, *api*, *ca*, *tu*, *nu*, *vā*, *hi*, whose vowels were absorbed or transformed into semi-vowels in *sandhi*, were commonly inserted (see HOPKINS 1901: 200 and VAN DAALLEN 1980: 166-167):

tena abhyeti (K1.4 B [except B2] Dn D1-6.10 *tena cābhyeti* [D2-4 *cāpy eti*]), Mbh 5,44.17, *abhipatya apakṣakāḥ* (various MSS *hy apakṣakāḥ*, Cs *tv apakṣakāḥ*), 5,45.9, *prthivyā api sarvayā* (131.36: D3.4.9 *vāpi*, D10 *cāpi*; 133.3: K1.2 D1.7.10 *hy api*, G2 *prthivyā sarvayāpi vā* [see below]), 5,131.36 = 5,133.3

In the two following cases in a number of MSS the *sandhi* was made and the 'lost' syllable compensated for by a monosyllabic particle: *aryamā api* (T3 G M3 *aryamāpi ca*; D5 *tv api* [a particle obviates the *hiatus*]), Mbh 1,218.34, *manasā api* (K1 D7 *manasāpi hi*, B Dn D1-6 *manasāpi ca*), 5,43.34.

¹ SEN adduced a number of cases from the Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa to show that "*hiatus* even between two pādas has been avoided, almost invariably by the insertion of the particle *hi*" (SEN 1950: 35-37). He was, however, contradicted by SATYA VRAT (1964: 194-196).

Other devices are:

(a) to transpose words (see SUKTHANKAR 1934/35: 99-100): *panthā ayaṃ te 'dya mayā nisṛṣṭaḥ*, Mbh 3,133.2 (v.l. D1.2 *panthā mayā te 'yaṃ athāvasṛṣṭaḥ*), *pṛthivyā api sarvayā*, 5,133.3 (v.l. G2 *pṛthivyā sarvayāpi vā* [see above])

(b) to introduce a(n entirely) different reading: *śaṅkhinīm tatra āsādya*, 3,81.41 (S1 *śaṅkhinīm tvaṃ samāsādya*), *na sādhanā nota asādhunā vā / samānam etad drśyate mānuṣeṣu* 'Among men it is never seen as the same, neither by a good nor by a bad [man]', Mbh 5,45.20 (Dn Ds D8-10 T G M1 Cś *asādhanā vāpi sasādhanā vā* 'Wrong means or right means' – it is ... ').

(c) to insert 'sandhi-consonants'²: *brahma-m-āvartayan*, 7,99.4 v.l. (other v.l. *brahma āvartayan* [CE *brahma cāvartayan*]).

Moreover, examples can be adduced to show that later on the *sandhi* was made even at the cost of violating the metre: *tathety āha *arjunaḥ savyasācī*, Mbh 5,160.9, instead of which T1 G1.2 read *tathety āhārjunaḥ*, K4 B (etc.) *tathety uvācārjunaḥ* (*pāda* without caesura), M2 *tatheti gatvāhārjunaḥ* (without caesura). There is a strong aversion to *hiatus*, even where permitted by rules of grammar (see SUKTHANKAR, *Prolegomena* p. XCIII). Even citations taken from the Ṛgveda were altered to avoid *hiatus*: *mógham ánnaṃ vindate ápracetāḥ*, RV 10,117.6, → *mogham annaṃ vindati cāpracetāḥ*, Mbh 3.App.21.78 (Dn2 and D2.3 omit *ca*) / *mogham annaṃ vindati cāpy acetāḥ*,

¹ Do we have to read *susādhanā*?

² It is, however, possible to see in *brahmam* an irregular accusative (↗ 3.10): "On the other hand, within the *pāda* attempts are sometimes made to avoid *hiatus* at the expense of form, as in R. VII,109,4 (*brahmam*) (cf. 88,20) *āvartayan param*" (HOPKINS 1901: 197).

Mbh 5,12.20¹. And DEBRUNNER, AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 175 (ad 308,21), points to the fact that "sogar angeführte Worte in den Sandhi einbezogen werden": *neśe balasyeti cared adharmam* 'One should not practice Unlaw, thinking "Power is mine"', Mbh 3,26.10d-15d.

rem. praverita- 'cast, hurled', Mbh 1,17.23, 68.73, 76.73, 5,173.5, 7,13.59, 140.32, 142.8, probably shows an irregular *sandhi* of *pra^o* and *ava+īrita-* (see crit. notes ad Mbh 7,13.59, AiGr. I § 196 *rem.*, WINTERNITZ 1884: 308, AGRAWALA 1945: 289-90 and EWAia III/342).

1.1.1.2. *-i/ī i/ī-*

(*pramlocā*) *urvaśī irā*, Mbh 2,10.11b², (*saśaveyaṃ*) *samī iti*, 4,175*.21b

Other examples showing this *hiatus* cannot be adduced from the Epics.

1.1.1.3. *-u/ū u/ū-*

The occurrence of this *hiatus* within the same *pāda* cannot be exemplified from the Epics.

¹ On this stanza see APTE (1941: 32-33).

² On the non-*sandhi* between *pramlocā* and *urvaśī* see (↗) 1.1.2.2.

1.1.2. Absence of *praśliṣṭa-sandhi*¹1.1.2.1. *-a/ā i/ī-*

veda iha, Mbh 1,3.80 (*pr.*), *bhavatā icchāmīṣṭam*, 1,3.95 (*pr.*), (*dīyatām*) *dakṣiṇā iti*, 1,33.25d, *parīrakṣa imam (sutam)*, 1,672*.4b, *hā bhīma iti (cāpare)*, 1,1492*.1b, (*vacanād*) *āgatā iha*, 1,142.7b, (*savitā*) *svapitā iva*, 3,3.5d, (*hā nātha*) *hā dharma iti (bruvantaḥ)*, 3,24.8 (*tri.*), *vasema ity āha (purā sa rājā)*, 3,35.11 (*tri.* [or °ma : °maḥ? (↗ 6.3.1.2)]), *priyā ity (abravīs tadā)*, 3,61.20b, (*akarot*) *tasya ilvalaḥ*, 3,97.6d, *mārkaṇḍeya ihāssva (tvam)*, 3,186.88c, (*yathā sa*) *rājā ikṣvākuḥ*, 3,192.7a, (*bahu*) *saṃcintya iha (vai)*, 3,199.28e, (*sa sādhu*) *kaunteya itaḥ*, 4,1.6a, *devatā iva (kalyāṇī)*, 4,223*.3a, (*yaśaso*) 'sya *ivāṃśavaḥ*, 4,65.10b v.l. (CE *yaśaso 'sya gabhastayaḥ*²), *paśyema iti (kāmaye)*, 5,31.22b (or °ma : °maḥ? [↗ 6.3.1.2]), (*vraṇam*) *sūcyā ivānagha*, 5,74.14b, (... *māyā ...*) *samucchritā indraketuḥ prakāśā*, 5,140.4 (*tri.*), (*brūyāḥ*) *karṇa ito (gatvā)*, 5,140.16a, *nihantā iti (naḥ śrutam)*, 8,253*(b), (*hā karṇa*) *hā karṇa iti*, 9,1.5a, *gadayā iva (vīryavān)*, 10,9.26d, *dharmātmā iti (rāghavaḥ)*, R 1,20.7b³, *sūta ity (eva cābhāṣya)*, 2,43.12a (see below [↗], 2.1), (*hā putra*) *hā rāma iti*, 2,1497*(a), *tūrṇam eva ihāgataḥ*, 3,645*.5b v.l. (reading of the ed. Bomb. [see SEN 1950: 38], not given by CE [... *evam ihāgataḥ*]), *śakra indra (nibodha me)*, 3,1153*.1b v.l. (CE *śakredaṃ tvam nibodha me*), (*koṭyaghās*) *ca ime*, 4,39.5c v.l. (CE *koṭyagraśa ime*), *mama ikṣvāka-*

¹ Contrary to STENZLER § 20ab, KIELHORN § 19, RENOUE 40b and WHITNEY § 127 (cf. AiGr I § 267-269).

² See AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 178 (*ad* 316,12).

³ HOPKINS (1901:197 n. 2) explains this *hiatus* as motivated by *emphasis*.

vaḥ (*pūjyāḥ*), 5,1.84c, *anāthā iva* (*dṛśyate*), 5,853*(d)¹, (*mahoragam*) *grhya ivāṇḍajeśvaraḥ*, 5,45.35 (*jag.*), (*kapirūpeṇa*) *hā iti*, 5,1084*.3b, (*prasahya sītā khalu*) *sā ihāhṛtā*, 6,App.3.198 (*jag.*), (*kumbhīnasī*) *ca ity* (*ete*), 7,5.36e, (*velām*) *etya ivārṇavaḥ*, 7,8.1d v.l. (CE *velātiga ivārṇavaḥ*), *vyavardhata ivodadheḥ*, 7,14.6b v.l. (CE *sāgarasyeva vardhataḥ*), *citrakarma ivābhāti*, 7,28.39a, *gaṅgā iva* (*mahāga-jaiḥ*), 7,31.33d, *indra indreti* (*saṃtrāsāt*), 7,35.42c, *tejasā iva* (*bhāskaraḥ*), 7,36.35d, (*sa*) *vihāya imaṃ* (*lokam*), 7,53.19a, *māndhātā iti* (*vikhyātāḥ*), 7,59.5c, (*dadarśa*) *sā ilā* (*tasmin*), 7,79.9a, *kardamasya ilaḥ* (*sutaḥ*), 7,81.7b, *uvāca ilasaṃnidhau*, 7,81.16d v.l. (CE *uvācedaṃ ilāṃ prati*), (*vatsa*) *rāma imāḥ* (*paśya*), 7,97.10a, (*sarvān no*) *naya īśvara*, 7,97.15d.

1.1.2.2. -a/ā u/ū-

(*yatra*) *rājñā ulūkasya*, Mbh 1,2.150a, *āha upādhyāyaḥ*, 1,194* (*pr.*), *uttanka uṣyatām*, 1,3.96 (*pr.*), (*na hi sā*) *kṣatriyā ucchiṣṭenāsucinā* (*vā śakyā draṣṭum*), 1,3.112 (*pr.*), *praviśya upādhyāyinīm*, 1,3.163 (*pr.*), (*ahaś ca rātriś*) *ca ubhe* (*ca saṃdhye*), 1,68.29 (*tri.*), *tadā uttaraphalgunyām*, 1,1245*.1c, *paricarya upāsmahe*, 1,1674*.6d, (*pañcakṛtvā*) *tvayā *uktaḥ*, 1,157.13a = 1,189.46a², *brāhmaṇasya upāhṛtya*, 1,205.22a, *pramlocā urvaśī* (*irā*), 2,10.11b³ (~ *pramlocāpy urvaśī caiva idā ...*, 2,111*), *sadā uttamapūruṣāḥ*, 2,65.8d, *puṣpāmbhaś ca upasprśya*, 3,80.114c v.l. (CE *puṣpanyāsa upasprśya*⁴), *mahārāja upasprśet*, 3,83.38b, *pitā uccatarāś* (*ca khāt*), 3,297.41b, (*dvyadhikaṃ*) *daśa uṣya* (*vatsarāṇām*), 4,881*.3

¹ In this stanza there is also a *hiatus* between *pāda* c and d: *nātha || anāthā*.

² On 1,157.13 see KEITH (1937: 769).

³ On the non-*sandhi* between *urvaśī* and *irā* see (♣) 1.1.1.2.

⁴ See AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 178 (*ad* 316,12).

(*tri.*), (*sā cābhivādya caraṇau / rāmasya*) *śirasā ubhau*, 5,176.24b v.l. (CE *śubhā*), *kaustubhena uraḥsthena*, 12,45.15a, (*pūrvā*) *sandhyā upāsyatām*, R 1,22.2b v.l. (CE ... *saṃdhyā pravartate*), *atha utthāya (te sarve)*, 2,50.4a v.l. (CE *tata utthāya ...*), *apāyaṃ vā upāyaṃ vā*, 3,38.8c v.l.¹ (CE *apāyaṃ vāpy upāyaṃ vā*)², *kāmarūpeṇa unmatte*, 3,47.4c v.l. (CE *kāmarūpiṇam unmatte [paśya mām ...]*), (*paraṃ*) *karma upāsītum*, 4,24.3d v.l. (CE *karma śakyam upāsītum*), (*etāvad*) *uktvā utthāya*, 7,37.4a, *praṇipatyā umāṃ (devīm)*, 7,78.21c v.l. (CE ... *mahādevīm*), *cakāra utajān (śubhān)*, 7,84.2d.³

The same *hiatus* occurs within the compound *nārāyaṇa-urogataḥ*, Mbh 1,16.35d.

1.1.2.3. -a/ā ṛ-

As far as this *hiatus* is concerned⁴ attention has to be paid to the fact that usage in the Epics suggests that *ṛ* was actually pronounced as /ri/ or /ru/⁵:

¹ On this line see HOPKINS: "Contrast is often the cause of *hiatus* ... as in *apāyaṃ vā upāyaṃ vā*, R. III,40,8" (1901: 197).

² BÖHTLINGK (1889: 54) cites R Gorr. 3,31.39 as an example for this *sandhi* without giving the wording; it could not be verified in the CE.

³ On the non-*sandhi* between *ekānte* and *ṛṣivātānām* of *pāda c* see (♣) 1.1.4.4.

⁴ On this *hiatus* see especially AiGr. I § 267aα.

⁵ Cf. *ṛṣṭyaś ca*, Mbh 8,68.27 (v.l. *riṣṭyaś, ru* °), °*utkrṣṭa* °Mbh 10,7.46 (v.l. °*utkrṣṭa* °), *kṛmih*, Mbh 13,112.92 (v.l. *krimih*) – see LÜDERS (1926: 39) and EWAia s.v. *kṛmi* – °*bhṛkuṭīm*, Mbh 2,39.11 v.l. (CE *bhrukuṭīm*), *bhrukuṭī* °, Mbh 12,170.14 (v.l. *bhṛkuṭī* °, *bhrakuṭi* °).

This fact (on which see AiGr. I § 28 [with *Nachtrag*] /184) is, however, strictly denied by BERGER who maintains that "ai. *ṛ* niemals als (konsonantisches) *r* + Vokal artikuliert worden ist bzw. sein kann" (1955: 19; but cf. *l. c.* 38-39). According to him

(*savitā*) *ca ṛciko* (*ṛkaḥ*), Mbh 1,1.40c, *asya ṛṣabhasya*, 1,3.102 (*pr.*), *tasya ṛṣabhasya*, 1,3.174, (*bhavanty*) *asya ṛtvijaḥ*, 1,33.18b, (*ṛṣiś*) *ca ṛṣiputraś* (*ca*), 1,76.18c, (*aṣṭamīṃ*) *vā ṛtusnātā*, 1,112.31c, *tathā ṛṣir* (*uvācainam*), 1,166.5c, (*te*) *tasya ṛṣayaḥ* (*sarve*), 1,App.79.175c, *tathā ṛṣigiris* (*tāta*), 2,19.2c v.l. (CE *tathaivarṣigiris tāta*), *naiva ṛtvīn* (*na cācāryaḥ*), 2,34.10a, *āgamyā ṛṣayaḥ* (*sarve*), 3,13.33c, (*anye*) *ca ṛṣayaḥ* (*siddhāḥ*), 3,32.11c, (*devāś*) *ca ṛṣayaś* (*caiva*), 3,109.17a, (*vaikhānasāś*) *ca ṛṣayaḥ*, 3,125.14c, *dr̥ṣṭvā ṛṣīn* (*bhayāc cāpi*), 3,212.16c, *mahātmā ṛṣisamnidhau*, 3,App.22.3b, (*nānyaḥ*) *kartā ṛte* (*bhīmāt*), 4,16.4a, (*bādham ity*) *eva ṛṣayaḥ*, 5,10.31a, (*vivardhitaś*) *ca ṛṣibhiḥ*, 5,15.2a, (*ācāryāś*) *ca ṛtvijo* (*ye ca tasya*), 5,30.9 (*tri.*), *na ṛkṣu* (*tad dr̥ṣyate no yajuḥsu*), 5,44.21 v.l. (CE *naivarkṣu tan na yajuḥsu nāpy arthavasū*), *na *ṛte* (*nāyakaṃ senā*), 7,5.8a¹, (*jāyām*) *ca ṛtukāle* (*vai*), 7,16.32a, (*kāṣṭāś*) *ca ṛtavas* (*tathā*), 8,258*.9d, *jagāma ṛṣiśāsanāt*, 9,34.69b, (*tasmād*) *gatvā ṛṣiśreṣṭhaḥ*, 9,50.28a, *uvāca ṛtvijaś* (*caiva*), 12,806*.11b, *kanyā ṛtumatī* (*satī*), 13,44.15b, (*devāś*) *ca ṛṣayaś* (*ca ha*), 13,83.57b, (*dakṣiṇārthe*) *'tha ṛtvigbhyah*, 13,94.8c², *tathā ṛṣigaṇāś* (*caiva*), 13,99.29c, (*kim*) *asya ṛṣipūgasya*, 13,126.24a, *saha ṛddhyā* (*dhaneśvaraḥ*), 13,151.6d, (*vālmikaye*) *ca ṛṣaye*, R 1,2.25c v.l. (CE *vālmikaye maharṣaye*), (*na*) *gacchema ṛṣer* (*bhītāḥ*), 1,8.19c³, (*evam*) *uktvā ṛṣyaśṛṅgam*, 1,314*.16a, *cukrośa ṛṣyaśṛṅgeti*, 1,315*.5a, (*siddhāms*) *ca ṛṣisattamān*, 1,14.20b, *kārayasva ṛṣe* (*sarvam*), 1,1324*.2c, (*rāmaḥ*) *saṃsādhyā ṛṣigaṇam* (*anugamanād* /)

(l. c. 39), cases like *ṛśya-* ~ *riśya-* or *kṛmi-* ~ *krimi-* are due to an exaggeration of articulation ("Lautübersteigerung").

¹ This is an emendation of the text of the manuscripts (see p. XX and *crit. notes* p. 1143).

² This *hiatus* is employed "to save the life of the word" *atha* (HOPKINS 1901: 197 n. 2).

³ See MICHELSON (1904: 99) and VAN DAALEN (1980: 74 [§ 4,1,2,1]).

(*deśāt tasmāt kulapatim*) *abhivādya ṛṣim*, 2,108.25 v.l.¹ (CE ... *tv ṛṣiganam ... abhivādyaṛṣim*), (*agnihotre*) *ca ṛṣiṇā*, 2,111.6a v.l. (CE *ṛṣiṇām agnihotreṣu*), (*drumāḥ phalam*) *ivā² ṛtau*, 3,28.8d v.l. (CE *ivārtavam*), (*sarve*) *ca ṛtavas (tatra)*, 3,1301*.4c, (*na*) *mithyā ṛṣibhāṣitam*, 6,1026*.9d, (*datto*) *'sya ṛṣibhiḥ (purā)*, 7,35.16b, *atha ṛkṣarajā (nāma)*, 7,36.35a, *abhivādya ṛṣiśreṣṭham*, 7,73.14a v.l. (CE *muniśreṣṭham*), *uvāca ṛṣisattamaḥ*, 7,95.2b, (*tac*) *chrutvā ṛṣiśārdūlaḥ*, 7,95.5a, *grhya ṛkṣarajās (tau tu)*, 7,App.3.89, (*rāghavo*) *'tha ṛṣer (vākyam)*, 7,App.3.123a.

The same *hiatus* occurs within compounds³:

(*tathā*) *deva-ṛṣiṇām (ca)*, Mbh 1,114.38a, (*sarvān*) *deva-ṛṣiṃs (tathā)*, 11,8.20d, *dvijarāja-ṛṣiṇām (ca)*, 1,2033*.3a, (*apūjayat*) *sura-ṛṣimānavārcitam*, 3,93*.3 (*jag.*)⁴, (*cakṣuḥ*) *pūrva-ṛṣir (bhavān)*, 3,40.54b, *parama-ṛṣiḥ (paramaṃ jagāma harṣam)*, R 1,17.39 (*tri.*), *nara-ṛṣabha (samāgatān prapaśya)*, 4,668* (*tri.*), *niśākara-ṛṣes tasya*, 4,62.10a v.l. (CE *niśākaraśya maharṣeḥ*⁵ [see SEN 1951/52: 121]), (*sa*) *gandharva-ṛṣi (yakṣarā-kṣasaiḥ)*, 7,35.65 v.l. (CE *°devasiddharṣi* ° [Ck.t. *gandharva-ṛṣiyakṣeti*

¹ = ed. Bomb. 2,116.25 (not noted by CE [see SEN 1950: 34]). This reading of the *asambādhā* is discussed by HOPKINS (1901: 332).

² Note *ivā*.

³ According to APTE's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, ed. by P.K. GODE and C.G. KARVE, (s.v. *aṛṇin*) *a-ṛṇi* is attested in the Mahābhārata in the line *aṛṇi cāpravāsī ca sa vāricara modate* (see also AiGr. II,1 § 32b). Mbh 3,App.32.62, where the line is to be found, reads, however, *anṛṇi* ... without giving any v.l.

⁴ See AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 178 (*ad* 316,12).

⁵ On the cadence *...--* see HOPKINS (1901: 222), who maintains that it "is ignored by Vālmiki".

gurulaghubheda āṛṣaḥ]¹, (*tatas tu te*) *rākṣasa-ṛkṣa(vānarāḥ)*, 7,779* (*jag.*), (*ṛte*) *parama-ṛṣiṇā*, 7,App.13.40c v.l. (CE *paramarṣiṇā* [see SEN 1950: 23 and SATYA VRAT 1964: 181]).

These *hiatuses*, too, are frequently avoided by (a) the insertion of (usually monosyllabic) particles, (b) by the transposition of words, and (c) by the substitution of words:

- (a) *tathā ṛṣir uvācainam*, Mbh 1,166.5 (v.l. *tathaivarṣir ...*), *sa vihāya imaṃ lokam*, R 7,53.19 (v.l. ... *vihāya tv imaṃ ...*)
 (b) *tac chrutvā ṛṣisārdūlaḥ*, R 7,95.5 (v.l. *śrutvā tad ṛṣisārdūlaḥ*)
 (c) *ca ṛtvijo ...*, Mbh 5,30.9 (v.l. *apy ṛtvijo ...*), *jagāma ṛṣisāsanāt*, 9,34.69 (v.l. *munisāsanāt*), *mandhātā iti vikhyātaḥ*, R 7,59.5 (v.l. *°tā nāma ...*).

1.1.2.4. -a/ā e-

iṣṭpā ekacakras (ca), Mbh 1,59.25a, *hatvā ekacakrām*, 1,90.79 (*pr.*), (*kiṃ te*) *hiḍimba etair (vā)*, 1,141.2a, (*atraiva ca syād*) *avadhūya eṣa(h)*, 5,26.7 (*tri.*), *eṣā eva (tanuḥ pūrvā)*, R 7,61.28c v.l. (CE *eṣā caiva ...*), *urvaśyā evam (uktas tu)*, 7,App.8.162c.

The following forms deviate from those that result from regular *praśliṣṭa-sandhi*²:

abhyupetum, R 3,849*.4 (see SEN 1950: 39)³, (*vayaṃ yuddhād*) *iheṣyā-maḥ*, R 6,52.25 (v.l. *ihaiṣyāmaḥ*), (*divyā*) *coghavatī (nadī)*, Mbh 3,130.3

¹ The caesura has caused this *hiatus*.

² The following cases may all simply be wrong readings since the graphic representations of *e/o* and *ai/au* are often confused by scribes and copyists.

³ I do not see the reason (cf. KIELHORN § 24b) why KULKARNI (1943: 132) lists *upaitum*, Mbh 3,95.22, 3,264.59, as an irregular form ("for *upetum*").

(v.l. *caughavatī*), *jaghānojasā*, R (NW) 4,6.36 (a reading which is not given by CE 4, App. 7.18 [*taṃ jaghānaujasā vālī*])
(vi)praihi, Mbh 1,155.34.36 (v.l. [*vi*]prehi), 1,223.11.19, *paraihi*, 2,60.20 (v.l. *parehi*), 3,254.8 (v.l. *parehi*)¹, *paraita*, 1,186.2 (v.l. *pareta*).

The same *sandhi* occurs within compounds:

kṣīrodana-, Mbh 13,14.80.82.83.189.193, *tilodanam*, R 2,63.10, *piśitodanam*, Mbh 2,45.9 v.l. (CE °*audanam*) = 12,124.10, *māṃsodanam*, Mbh 8,28.12 (v.l. *māṃsaudanam*), *ṣaṣṭikodanam*, Mbh 13,63.14 v.l. (CE °*audanam*)².

rem. According to vārtt. 5 ad Pāṇ 6,1.94 (*otvoṣṭhayoḥ samāse vā*) the *sandhi* of a final *a-* or *ā-*vowel and the initial *o-* of *oṣṭha-* results either in *-o-* or in *-au-* (see STENZLER § 307a, KIELHORN § 543b and WHITNEY § 137b). Hence, the following *sandhis* are quite regular (though noted by HOLTZMANN 1884: 3 [§ 137b]): *adharoṣṭham*, Mbh 12,170.15, *nikṛttanasoṣṭhī*, 3,261.44 (v.l. °*nasauṣṭhā*), *prasphuramāṇoṣṭhaḥ* ("the MSS vary at random between °*māṇoṣṭha* and °*māṇauṣṭha*") 1,43.21, *visphuramāṇoṣṭhaḥ*, 3,46.28, *samdaṣṭoṣṭhāni*, 8,58.27 v.l. (CE *samdaṣṭauṣṭhāni*), *lamboṣṭhīm cibukoṣṭhīm*, R 5,15.7.³

1.1.2.5. *-a/ā au-*

mūḍha audariketi ca, Mbh 7,114.69b (v.l. *mūḍhety audarikety ca*).

¹ These forms are built in analogy to *praitu* < *pra* + *etu* (see AiGr. I § 269by *rem.* [p. 319] and RENOU § 40 [p. 43]).

² See AiGr. I § 269c *rem.* (p. 320) and II,1 § 55f.

³ On this *sandhi* see also OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 564.

1.1.3. Absence of *kṣaipra-sandhi*¹

1.1.3.1. -i/ī a/ā-

aśilpajīvi agrhaś ca nityam, Mbh 1,86.5 v.l. (*tri.* [CE **nagrhaś ca*²]), *antarvatnī* ahaṃ (bhrātrā)*, 1,98.8c (see, however, KEITH 1937: 769), *yadī *āvāṃ (mahāprājña)*, 1,110.28a (see, however, KEITH 1937: 770), *mīsrakeśī alaṃbusā*, 1,114.50d = 13,151.10b, (*na tu vaktuṃ samartho 'haṃ*) *tvayi ātmagatān (guṇān)*, R 4,8.5d v.l. (CE ... *svayam ātmagatān*)³, *ekaveṇī adhaśayyā*, 5,18.8a v.l. (CE *ekaveṇī dharāśayyā* 'lying on the earth'), *māyayāmī atandritāḥ*, 6,573*(d).

1.1.3.2. -i/ī u/ū-

kuṇḍabhedī urukramaḥ, Mbh 7,131.84d, *nipātī uragaḥ (khagaḥ)*, 13,17.65b, *modakī śikharī ubhe*, R 1,26.7d, (*śikhī*) *chatrī upānahī*, 3,44.3b, *karīṣyāmi umāpateḥ*, 7,31.31d.

1.1.3.3. -i/ī ṛ-

dāsī ṛṣim (anuprāptam), Mbh 1,100.24a, *mukhāni ṛtavo māsāḥ*, 11,6.9e, *bhaviṣyāmi ṛṣis (tatra)*, 12,839*.2c, *paśyanti ṛtavaś (cāpi)*, 13,43.7c,

¹ Contrary to STENZLER § 21/23, KIELHORN § 20/22, RENOU § 41 and WHITNEY § 129 (see also AiGr I § 270-272).

² See KEITH (1937: 770): "It is rather curious that in I,86,5 the editor restores *aśilpajīvi nagrhaś ca nityam* instead of taking the variant *agrhaś ca*. The *hiatus* would be excused easily enough by the caesura". For the reading of the critical edition see SUKTHANKAR, *Prolegomena* p. XCIII.

³ HOPKINS (1901:197 n. 2) explains this *hiatus* as the result of *emphasis*.

śraviṣṭhādīni ṛkṣāni (/ *ṛtavaḥ śiśirādayaḥ*), 14,44.2c, (*svayam*) *evāsi rddhitān*, 18,3.23b v.1. (CE *aśvamedhābhivardhitān*), (*ete*) *'pi ṛkṣāḥ* (*saha vānarendraiḥ*), R 7,731*.3 (*tri.*).

The same *hiatus* occurs within compounds:

śakti-ṛṣṭi(*paraśvadhān*), Mbh 8,16.9d, *hari-ṛkṣarajonāmnaḥ* (reading of R ed. Bomb. 3,75.26¹, not noted by CE 3,71.24 [see SEN 1950: 22]), *hari-ṛṣabhān* (*pramathān iveśvarasya*), 4,668* (*tri.*).

1.1.3.4. -i/ī o-

*sarasvatī *oghavatī*, Mbh 9,37.4c².

1.1.3.5. -u/ū a/ā-

(*mahāntas*) *tu amī* (*doṣāḥ*), Mbh 3,1193*.1a, *haryṛkṣeṣu asaṃśayaḥ*, R 5,66.7d (v.1. *na saṃśayaḥ*)

rem. Contrary to the contention of the *Critical Notes* (ad Mbh 6,15.3) the non-*sandhi* of (*kim*) *u āsīn* (*manas tadā*), Mbh 6,15.3, does not belong here. In the case of the particle *u* the rule Pāṇ 1,1.14 (*nipāta ekāḥ anāḥ*) – according to which a particle consisting of a single vowel is *pragrhya* and remains therefore unchanged before all initial vowels – is only *optionally* annulled by Pāṇ 8,3.33 (*maya uño vo vā* [aci 32]). Hence, KULKARNI'S (1944: 28) sole example of the non-*sandhi* of -o and i-, viz. *atho indraḥ* (Mbh 1,51.8) – an *emendation* made by SUKTHANKAR (see KEITH 1937: 770) –, is quite regular (see AiGr. I § 270a and WHITNEY § 138c) And the same holds good for ... *no iha*, Mbh 3,181.34b = d, 6,39.28d.

¹ The CaukhambāSS has *harir ṛkṣa*°.

² On this emendation see Śalyaparvan p. XLIX-L.

1.1.3.6. -u/ū i/ī-

(*kaśyapāt*) *tu imāḥ prajāḥ*, Mbh 1,59.11b, *madhu īśantaḥ tadā saṃcaranti*, 5,45.7 (on which see *rem.* below).

rem. The translation of Mbh 5,45.7 (in an "unidentified metre" [CE]) by VAN BUITENEN ("The lordly ones course the terrifying, sweet, twelvefold river guarded by Gods") is very problematic, since *devarakṣitam* / *madhu ... ghoram* cannot be related to (*dvādaśapūgām*) *saritam*.

1.1.3.7. -u ṛ-

(*abhyarcitas*) *tu ṛṣibhis*, R 7,1190*(a).

The same *hiatus* occurs within compounds:

(*śānto*) *mṛdu-ṛjur* (*dvijah*), Mbh 1,App.111.11d (cad. ॐ-), (*na*) *sāmayaju-ṛgvarṇāḥ*, 3,148.13a¹.

1.1.4. Absence of *udgrāha-sandhi*²

1.1.4.1. -e ā-

svaviṣayoddeśe āśramam (*apaśyat*), Mbh 1,3.11 (*pr.*), *mene ātmānam* (*ātmanā*), 1,94.38b, *niśithe *āgamiṣyati*, 1,100.2d, *vigarhe ātmakāraṇāt*, 1,109.18b, *bṛhannaḍe ānayethāḥ*, 4,35.22c, *pucche āstāṃ* (*mahāvīrau*),

¹ For the transfer of *yajus-* → *yaju-* see (♣) 3.20.

² Contrary to STENZLER § 23-24, KIELHORN § 22-23, RENOUE § 41b and WHITNEY § 131 (cf. AiGr. I § 272a / 274).

8,7.21a, (*ghṛtaṃ*) *māse āśvayujī*, 13,64.10a, *te āvāsaparigraham*, R 1,34.7d.

1.1.4.2. -e i-

(*pitā*) *me ita (āśramāt)*, Mbh 1,67.5b, *ucchidyate iti*, 1,90.56 (*pr.*), (*jaṭharaṃ*) *te ime (lokāḥ)*, 3,13.47c, *prabhātasamaye iva*, 5,184.6d (— [v.l. *yathā*]), *vasante iva (śālināḥ)*, R 2,1566*.8d v.l. (reading of ed. Bomb. [see MICHELSON 1904: 99], not given by CE), *prīyante iti (naḥ śrutam)*, 2,101.18d v.l. (reading of ed. Gorr. 2,118.18 [see BÖHTLINGK 1889: 54], not given by CE), (*uvāca*) *nidre iha (tvam)*, 3,App.12.17a v.l. (CE *nidrām provāca gaccha tvam*), (*tasmin*) *reme ilā (tadā)*, 7,79.7d, *pratiṣṭhāne ilo (rājā)*, 7,81.22c v.l. (CE °*ṣṭhana ilo*), *jajñe ikṣvāku-daivatam*, 7,App.8.185d.

1.1.4.3. -e u-

*kriyate *ucchrayo (nrpaīḥ)*, Mbh 1,57.20b¹, *paiṭhīnagotre utpannaḥ*, 3,40*(a), (*prekṣya*) *te utthitā*, 4,18.3a v.l., (*tasmāt*) *sarve *udīkṣadhvam*, 4,25.2c, (*ṛtaṃ*) *bhūṅkte udaṇmukhaḥ*, 13,107.25d, *āpede upasargas (tam)*, R 2,57.2c v.l. (CE *āviveśopasargas tam*), (*mitraṃ*) *te upadekṣyāmi*, 3,67.17c v.l. (CE *mitraṃ caivopa*²), (*ratho*) *me upanīyatām*, 7,22.2d v.l. (CE *rathaḥ samupanīyatām*)³.

¹ See SUKTHANKAR (1934/35: 99-100) *pace* WINTERNITZ (1934: 166 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 427]). See also KEITH (1937: 769).

² SEN (1950: 37) gives a reading *mitraṃ ca vopadekṣyāmi* (with double crasis!) which is not recorded by the crit. ed.

³ Most probably R 2,2394* (= Gorr. ed. 3,4.29) *teṣāṃ madhye uvāca* belongs here (see BÖHTLINGK 1889: 54). The crit. ed., however, reads *madhya* and does not give such a

1.1.4.4. -e r⁻¹

te ṛtumatī, Mbh 1,3.89 (*pr.*), *te ṛtavaḥ*, 1,3.173 (*pr.*), *sattre ṛṣīn* (*abhyāgatān*), 1,4.1 (*pr.*), (*tatas*) *te ṛtvijas* (*tasya*), 1,47.10a, *ye ṛtvijaḥ* (*sadasyāś ca*), 1,48.4c, *pārāvāre ṛṣīn* (*sthitān*), 1,57.58b, *jajñe ṛcaḥ*, 1,90.22 (*pr.*), (*pare*) *pāre ṛṣīn* (*sthitān*), 1,1049*.1b, *ete ṛṣivarāḥ* (*sarve*), 3,83.105a, (*kaccit svādhyāyaḥ*) *kriyate ṛṣyaśṛṅga*, 3,111.8 (*tri.*), *samāyāte ṛṣyaśṛṅge* (*'tha rājan*), 3,552* (*tri.*), (*ṣaḍ*) *eveme ṛtavaḥ* (*kālacakram*), 3,134.12 (*tri.*), (*atra*) *te ṛṣayaḥ* (*sapta*), 5,109.12a, *pratimokṣye ṛṇam* (*mahat*), 6,105.27b, *mṛgavadhakalahe ṛte* (*'rjunāt*), 8,26.64 (*jag.*), *nyāyavṛtte ṛtāv* (*ṛtau*), 12,111.6b v.l. (CE *nyāyavṛtteṣv ṛtāv ṛtau*), (*sarve*) *te ṛṣibhiḥ* (*saha*), 12,322.31d, *dhyātamātre ṛcikena*, 13,4.16a, *divye ṛṣir* (*upāvasat*), 13,20.22b, *apare ṛṣayaḥ* (*santaḥ*), 13,126.12a, *anye ṛkṣavataḥ* (*prasthān*), R 1,16.18a, (*sa*) *mene ṛkṣapumgavaḥ*, 6,61.25d, (*ye*) *cānye ṛkṣavānarāḥ*, 7,38.12b, *ekānte ṛṣivātānām*, 7,84.2c², *yatraite ṛṣayaḥ* (*sthitāḥ*), 7,App.1.269d.

1.1.4.5. -e e-

(*yo*) *bhunkte ekabhōjanam*, Mbh 13,110.81b.

1.1.4.6. -e ai-

rājñe aikṣvākave (*tadā*), R 1,17.26d v.l. (CE *nṛpāyekṣvākave tadā*).

v.l. (see, however, the v.l. *madhye 'py uvāca*).

¹ On the phonetic status of *r* see (♣) p. 9.

² On the non-*sandhi* between *cakāra* and *uṭujān* of *pāda* d see (♣) 1.1.2.2 (p. 9).

1.1.4.7. -o i-

For the sole example cited by KULKARNI (1944: 28), viz. *atho indraḥ*, Mbh 1,51.8, see (↗) 1.1.3.5 rem. (p. 15).

1.1.4.8. -ai a-

(*pramādād*) *vai asurāḥ* (*parābhavan*), Mbh 5,42.5 (*jag.*).

1.1.4.9. -ai i-

(*manor*) *vai iti* (*ca prāhuḥ*), Mbh 13,100.12c.

1.1.4.10. -ai u-

(*sa*) *vai uttamapūruṣaḥ*, Mbh 1,668*.6b, (*tato 'ntare*) *vai uṣitāḥ*, 4,616*.2a.

1.1.4.11. -ai ṛ-

(*atra*) *vai ṛṣayo* (*'nye 'pi*), Mbh 3,114.6c.

1.1.5. Absence of *abhinihita-sandhi*¹1.1.5.1. *-e a-*

utsahe anivedya (gurava iti), Mbh 1,3.72 (*pr.*), *me aśucy (annam)*, 1,3.126 (*pr.*), *tantra adhiropya*, 1,3.147 (*pr.*), *garte asminn (adhomukhāḥ)*, 1,41.8d, *jajñe ahaṃpātiḥ*, 1,90.14 (equally *jajñe a °* ibid. 17, 19, 20, 38, 42 [all *pr.*]), *upayeme amṛtam*, 1,90.43 (*pr.*), (*tathety*) *ukte *ambikayā*, 1,119.11a (see KEITH 1937: 769), *kule *asmin (babhūva ha)*, 1,207.17b (see, however, KEITH 1937: 769), *dharmarāje *atiprītyā*, 1,214.9a (for which see SUKTHANKAR 1934/35: 108-110; cf., however, KEITH 1937: 769), (*trayaḥ*) *kileme adhanā (bhavanti)*, 2,63.1 (*tri.*), (*katham*) *kṣatre *ajāyathāḥ*, 3,36.19b, *yujyante *alpabuddhayaḥ*, 3,206.16d, *me adhītāḥ*, App.21.72 (*tri.* [cad.]), (*jātāḥ*) *kule anṛśaṃsā (vadānyāḥ)*, 5,25.5 (*tri.*), *trailokyotsādane api*, 5,195.19d, *tathetare abhyadhāvan*, 6,90.35c, *jatrudese *atādayat*, 7,13.35d (see *crit. notes* ad 7,5.8), (*teṣām evaṃ*) *gate api*, 7,61.49b, *prajāsaṃharaṇe *abhūt*, 8,11.23d, *durbuddhe akṛtaprājña*, R 4, App.8.25a, (*pariṇīto 'smi haribhir /*) *balamadhya amarṣaṇaiḥ*, 6,21.8d v.1. ('I was lead around by cruel monkeys in the midst of the [whole] army' [CE ... *balavadbhir amarṣaṇaiḥ*]), *brahmabhūte *anāvṛte*, 7,65.10b.

¹ Contrary to STENZLER § 22, KIELHORN § 21, RENOU § 41c and WHITNEY § 135 (cf. AiGr. I § 272bα).

1.1.5.2. -o a- (< -as a-)²

(*tato lokān*) *mahato *ajayaṃ (vai)*, Mbh 1,84.13, *roravītho *anāthavat*, 1,147.2b (see, however, KEITH 1937: 769), *rakṣo attum (iha hy āvām)*, 1,167.21c, *kopo *agacchat (sahasā)*, 3,116.15c, *niṣpatanto adṛśyanta*, 3,221.45c, *sūryo ahnāya (jāyate)*, 5,44.15d², *somadatto *apīdayat*, 7,137.23d, *indro *abhyavapadyata*, 12,29.77b, *svalpo *apy anivāritaḥ*, 12,135.59d, (*na sa*) *śakyo abhaktena*, 12,323.48c, *nirāmayo *arogāś ca*, R 1,1.71c (see PISANI 1959: 149), *siddhārtho arthasādhakaḥ*, 1,7.2b (see PISANI 1959: 149), *vimukto aham astreṇa*, 5,48.15c, (*tvatpratīkṣaḥ*) *sthito *aham*, 7,25.13d.

The variant readings of Mbh 5,44.15, viz. K1 *sūryo 'hnāya prajāyate*, B Dn D1-6 *sūryo 'py* (B3 D5.6 *hy*) *ahnāya jāyate*, Ds *sūrya āhnāyate sadā*, are of interest, especially the irregular *sandhi* of D7-9 T1.2m G1.2.4.5 M: *sūrya ahnāya jāyate* (for which see [↗] 1.2.2).

¹ KULKARNI (1944: 28-29) gives a great number of references for this type of *hiatus* between two *pādas*.

² PISANI's (1960: 46-48) conjecture *dīrgham kālam nakulo + yo aśeta*, Mbh 5,47.21 (CE ... *yām aśeta*), is not necessary.

1.2. Special cases of *sandhi*¹

Some of the following irregular *sandhis*² are the result of emendations made by the respective editor. It should, however, be noted that "it is unsafe to lay any stress on divergence between the Northern and the Southern readings as proof of change to avoid an unusual *sandhi*" (KEITH 1937: 770).

1.2.1. *-o r-* < */-as r-/*³

¹ A matter of orthographic convention is the simplification of the *sandhi* cluster *-s+st(h)-* to *-st(h)-* (see AiGr. I § 287b), an option allowed by Kātyāyana (*vā-sār-prakarane kharpare lopah*, vārtt. to Pāṇ 8,3.36): *stavai stuvanti* (< *stavaiḥ + stuvanti*), Mbh 6,7.18, *anurāga sthitiḥ*, 12,84.19, (in compounds) *antaḥstham ca bahistham*, 12,229.23 (v.l. *bahiḥstham*) – mind that the former stands for */antar-stham/*, the latter for */bahis-stham/* –, *vakṣasthalaḥ* (< *vakṣaḥsthalam*), R 1,966*.12 (see LUDWIG 1896: 8/105 [most of the readings he cites are, however, *not* recorded in the critical edition of the Mahābhārata]). A similar *sandhi* often occurs in verbal compounds with the prefix *ni-*: *niḥśvasya*, Mbh 10,1.4 ("some MSS *niśvasya*"), *niśvasya*, R 6,57.81, 102.6 (v.l. [*bis*] *niḥśvasya*), *niśvasanta-*, R 6,39.1, 76.21, 97.3 (v.l. *niḥśvasanta-*), *niśsvanaḥ*, R 1,66.18 (v.l. *niśsvanaḥ*), *niśsvanaḥ*, R 6,115.21 (v.l. *niśsvanaḥ*). The critical editions do not always give such variant readings (cf. also *siṃha kṣudramṛgān iva*, Mbh ed. Bomb. 2,70.17, not noted crit. ed. 2,62.37 [see AiGr. I, Nachträge p. 194 (*ad* 341,36), and II,1 p. 127]) because they are regarded as mere orthographies that may be silently 'normalized'.

² According to SEN (1951/52: 120) "the Southern recension (of the Rāmāyaṇa) contains not less than 108 cases of irregular *sandhi*, whereas the B(enga)l and the N(orth-)W(estern) versions contain only about 42 and 67 such cases respectively". SEN's *irregular sandhis* correspond to the cases of our sections 1.2 through 1.8.

³ Contrary to STENZLER § 35b, KJELHORN § 35b, RENOU § 41b and WHITNEY § 175c. As to the phonetic status of *r* see (♣) p. 9.

ṛṣibhyo ṛṣayaḥ (*kecit*), Mbh 1,646*.3e, *ādyo ṛṣivaras* (*tritah*), 12,328.42b, *yāsko ṛṣir* (*udāradhīḥ*), 12,330.8¹, *vasato ṛṣyamūke me*, R 5,56.116a (~ *ṛṣyamūke nivasataḥ*, 5,1233*[c]), (*yo*) *gato ṛkṣavānarān*, 6,App.32.72b.

In the next two examples this *sandhi* occurs between different *pādas*:

... *mahātmāno / ṛṣayaś ca*, R 1,59.33 v.l. (CE *munayaś ca*), .. *bhīto / ṛṣyamūkam imam girim*, 4,11.44 v.l. (CE ... *bhīta / ṛṣya* °).

1.2.2. -a a- < /-as a-²

sūrya ahnāya jāyate, Mbh 5,44.15d v.l. (for which see [↗] 1.1.5.2), (*evamrūpaḥ*) *śakya aham* (*nṛloke*), 6,33.48 (*tri.*)³, (*ākāśaprabhavo brahmā / śāśvato*) *nitya avyayaḥ*, R 1,69.17b = 2,102.4b (v.l. *nityam avyayaḥ*).

This *sandhi* occurs also between different *pādas*:

... *anādhrṣya / abhedyakavacāvṛtaḥ*, Mbh 3,37.16, ... *deva / arthakārī* ..., 13,17.96, ... *aja / ajāt* ..., R 1,69.30, (*putro 'bhūd .../*) *sudarśa-nasyāgnivarṇa / agnivarṇasya śighragah*, 2,102.25, ... *bhūya / ayodhyām* ..., 2,105.23.

As a consequence of this *sandhi* the double crasis -ā- < /-as a-/ occurs (see [↗] 1.8.1):

¹ Cf. *sorcīkāya < /saḥ ṛcīkāya/*, Mbh 12,49.7 (see crit. notes *ad loc.*).

² For this type of *sandhi* see BECHERT (1956).

³ Cf. stanza 54: *bhaktiā tv ananyayā śakya / aham evamvidho 'rjuna*.

vidurānugataḥ (bahih), Mbh 1,124.8b, *draupadeyābhimanyuś (ca)*, 6,46.48c (= 48.29c = 58.18c = 59.10a), *pratilomānulomaś ca*, 13,40.32e (v.l. *pratilomo 'nulomaś ca*)¹.

1.2.3. -o ā- < /-as ā-/

(*tatra*) *rājarṣayo *āsan*, Mbh 1,91.3c, *śreyo *ātmavadho (mama)*, 1,149.6d = 7d (v.l. *śreyān ātma*)².

1.2.4. -o ' < /-as ā-/² (see also [♣] 1.2.6)

a) where the following word is *ātman*-³:

(*antardhāya*) *tato 'tmānam*, Mbh 1,166.14a v.l. (CE ... *tadātmanam*), (*sapatnān*) *ṛdhyato 'tmānam*, 2,45.16a, (*vinindan sa*) *dviḥyo 'tmānam*, 3,197.44c = 198.1c, (*alaṃcakāra*) *so 'tmānam*, 4,21.20c, *yo 'tmānam* (*tyaktum icchasi*), 5,110.20b, *so 'tmānam (avicakṣaṇaḥ)*, 5,149.42b⁴, *santo 'tmabalasaṃstavam*, 5,166.5b (v.l. *santaḥ svabala* ° / *santa ātmabalastavam*), (*vibhajya*) *bhāgaśo 'tmānam*, 6,61.67c (v.l. *bhāgaśātm* ° [for this *sandhi* (-ā- < /-as ā-/ ♣ 1.8.2]), *so 'tmānaḥ (sadṛśaṃ guṇaiḥ)*, 6,86.13b, *iṣanmūrchānvīto 'tmānam*, 7,153.12c, *darśayanto 'tmano (vīryam)*, 7,166.38c, *kuravo 'tmahitaṃ (mantram)*, 8,6.6c, (*bahu mene*)

¹ On R 1,31.18c (*nāvamanyasva ... < /nas + ava*° / [?]) see MICHELSON (1904: 101), ROUSSEL (1910: 31), SEN (1950: 37), BURROW (1962: 151) and GOLDMAN / SUTHERLAND (1984: 346-347).

² Some editors mark this *sandhi* with a double *avagraha*, viz. -o ''-.

³ See BHS § 4.13.

⁴ Mbh 5,149.42 contains two irregular *sandhis*: *so 'tmānam ... manyate 'tmānam* (♣ 1.2.6).

'*rjuno* 'tmānam, 8,12.20c, *ācakṣāṇo* 'tmanaḥ (*kriyām*), 8,28.33d, (*jāne* 'ham) *dharmato* 'tmānam, 12,139.80c, (*ātmayājī*) *so* 'tmaratiḥ, 12,236.23a, (*buddhir*) *evātmano* 'tmikā, 12,240.3b, (*dhārayeta*) *mano* 'tmani, 12,294.13d, (*tapasā yojya*) *so* 'tmānam, 12,331.44a, *mārgamāṇo* 'tmano (*hitam*), 12,349.14b, (*manyate*) *puruṣo* 'tmānam, 13,27.53c.

rem. Note that no example is known from the Rāmāyaṇa.

b) where another word follows:

(*mūlaṃ rājā*) *dhṛtarāṣṭro* 'mbikeyaḥ, Mbh 1,1.65 v.l. (*tri.*), *tato* 'śvamedhikaṃ (*parva*), 1,2.66a, *dhṛtarāṣṭro* 'śramapadam, 1,2.212e v.l. (CE *dhṛtarāṣṭrāśramapadam* [for this *sandhi* see 1.8.2]), *so* 'stiko (*mātaram tadā*), 1,49.17b, (*yuvā*) *yauvanago* 'mukhe, 1,71.22b, (*tasya*) *rājño* 'jñayā (*devī*), 1,168.21c, *jaladhārāmucō* 'kulān, 1,218.14d¹, *brāhmaṇo* 'jñām (*puraskṛtya*), 2,20.34c, (*yathāvṛtto*) *dhṛtarāṣṭro* 'mbikeyaḥ, 3,6.11 (*tri.*), *so* 'ste *sma naiṣadhah*, 3,56.3b v.l. (CE *sandhyām āste*), (*bhuktavaty*) *asuro* 'hvānam, 3,97.6c, (*provāca cainām*) *bhavato* 'śramāya, 3,113.7 (*tri.*), (*paulastyam*) *yo* 'hvayad (*yuddhe*), 3,175.2a, (*sainyasya*) *vrajato* 'jñayā, 3,267.40b, *saṃbhṛto* 'śramavāsina, 5,164.6b, *parīpsanto* 'rjunim (*raṇe*), 6,58.15b (stanza 14 *kārṣṇiḥ*), *bhāvajño* 'jñāya (*pāṇḍavaḥ*), 7,18.22b, *lakṣmaṇo* 'rjunim (*abhyayāt*), 7,45.8d, *rajo* 'bhīlam (*atīva ca*), 7,74.52b, *vasiṣṭho* 'śramam (*abhyayāt*), 9,39.19b, *kāṣṭhabhūto* 'śramapade, 9,49.20c, *ko* 'vām (*āśvāsaiṣyati*), 11,15.20b², *ramamāṇo* 'śrame

¹ See, however, WINTERNITZ (1934: 168 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 429]) and KEITH (1937: 770) *pace* SUKTHANKAR (1934/35: 112).

² See AiGr. III § 229a n. and LUDWIG (1896: 16). The Critical Edition, however, prints *yathaiva tvam tathaivāham ko vā māśvāsaiṣyati / mamaiva hy aparādhena kulam agryam vināśitam* (v.l. *ko nāv āśv* °). If one accepts this division of the words, *vā* is to

(*bhṛgoḥ*), 12,3.3b, *eṣo 'śramapadas (tāta)*, 12,61.21c, (*rājā bhavati*) *so 'śramī*, 12,66.25d, *tato 'śramam (iyāṃ tadā)*, 12,126.4d, *so 'dyam (brāhmaṃ tapas tepe)*, 12,192.6a v.l. (CE *so 'ntyam ...*), *so 'śramānām (mukhaṃ tāta)*, 12,271.24c, (*vaideha*) *tapaso 'śrayāt*, 12,285.16b, *dvitīyo 'śramasaṃkaraḥ*, 12,308.60d, (*tato*) *jāto 'jñayā (hareḥ)*, 12,337.54b, *yaśo 'śādhāsv (anuttamam)*, 13,89.10b, *so 'stīkam (idam abravīt)*, 15,43.10b, *āryo 'hvayati (vo rājā)*, R 2,31.8c¹, *valino 'hvānakāraṇam*, 4,12.15b², *eṣo 'hitāgniś (ca mahātapās ca)*, 6,App.67.85 (*tri.*), *so 'ryakeṇa (mahodadhim)*, 7,30.40 v.l. (CE *āryakeṇa* [with *hiatus* between *pāda c*, *caiva*, and *d*, *āryakeṇa*]), *eṣo 'śramāṇi (nātyeti)*, 7,36.34c³, *so 'śramāvasatho (janaḥ)*, 7,72.12b, *so 'śramam (samupāgamyā)*, 7,79.16a.

In this *sandhi* initial *ā-* is treated as *a-* and hence elided. That is the reason why WACKERNAGEL, AiGr. III § 229a *rem.*, calls it "übertriebenen Abhinihitasandhi" (for BHS examples see BHS § 4.13; cf. *gato 'ryaputraḥ*, Buddhacarita VIII 34). It was supposed (e.g. by MICHELSON 1904: 100; see KEITH 1937: 770) that the *sandhi* which is conditioned by the word *ātman-* can best be explained by the "abbreviated form *tman-*" (RV+). But then the regular *sandhi* /-as t-/ is to be expected. KEITH (1910: 1322), on the other hand, presumes a "shortening of vowels before a double consonant"⁴, viz. *ātman-*

be understood as follows: "nach interrogativen ... Pronomen, so v(or) a(llem) *wohl etwa*" (pW s.v., meaning 7).

¹ CE prints *āryo hvayati*.

² CE prints *valino hvāna* °. Cf., however, Ck.: *āhvānakāraṇāt* (and see BÖHTLINGK 1887: 214).

³ On this stanza see also (♣) p. 92.

⁴ He refers to the proclivity of Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, "regularly to omit the augment in verbs beginning with *a* and two consonants" (see SPEYER,

becoming (by the ‘law of *mora*’ [on which see OBERLIES 2001: 17-20]) **atman-*, the initial *a-* of which is (regularly) elided. This explanation would cover most of the other examples, too.

1.2.5. *-o c-* < */-as c-/*¹

na vīra senā gaṇaśo cyavanti, R 5,1011*.1 (*tri.*)².

rem. KULKARNI’s (1944: 33) examples *uśanā ca*, Mbh 5,48.2, and *ajokṣā candanam*, Mbh 5,40.9 (“for *ajokṣāś candanam* or *ajokṣāḥ candanam*”) for an irregular *sandhi* of *-ās* are to be discarded. Both *uśanā* and *ukṣā* are the regular nominatives (sg.) of *uśanas-* and *ukṣan-* (see AiGr. III § 149aβ [p. 285], WHITNEY § 355a and 416; AiGr. III § 144bα [p. 267], WHITNEY § 426).

1.2.6. *-e ’-* < */-e ā-/* (see also [↗] 1.2.4)

a) where the following word is *ātman-*³:

sarasivāmale ’tmānam, Mbh 1,68.64c, (*kṛtārthaṃ*) *manyate ’tmānam*, 1,198.19c, (*jñāsyanti*) *te ’tmānam (ime ’dya pāṇḍavāḥ)*, 2,68.8 (*jag.*), (*prapatan*) *bubudhe ’tmānam*, 3,178.38c, *bhūtaye ’tmanaḥ*, 3,252.9 (*jag. [cad.]*), (*garutman*) *manyase ’tmānam*, 5,103.19a, *manyate ’tmānam (āturaḥ)*, 5,149.42b, *pāpe ’tmānam*, 7,App.8.223 (*op. of tri.*), *menire ’tmānam (eva ca)*, 8,12.37d, (*vyāghraṃ tvaṃ*) *manyase ’tmānam*, 8,27.47a, *manye ’tmānaṃ (suparṇavat)*, 8,28.49a, (*manasy*) *uparate*

Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara. VKAW VIII.5, Amsterdam 1908, p. 89).

¹ See BHSG § 4.38.

² Cf. *punarajāto sukṛteneha*, MatsyaP 49.58 (see KANTAWALA 1962: 67).

³ See BHSG § 4.13.

'tmāpi, 12,225.11c v.l. (CE ...¹te 'dhyātmā), (taṃ vidvān) kurute 'tmani, 12,225.14b, (traya) ete 'tmayonijāḥ, 12,239.13b, (evaṃ yo) vindate 'tmānam, 12,241.8c, (dṛṣṭvā) manye 'tmano (gatiḥ), 12,271.64b, (manaḥ) praṇayate 'tmānam, 12,287.20e, (mūrtiṣv) ātiṣṭhate 'tmavān, 12,291.39b, dṛśyate 'tmā (tathātmani), 12,294.20d, (yadā tu) budhyate 'tmānam, 12,294.43c, (ākāśaṃ) grasate 'tmanā, 12,300.11b, kūpe 'tmānam (adhaḥśirṣam), 13,69.27a, (ya enaṃ) vindate 'tmānam, 14,50.33c, (khe 'ntar)dadhe 'tmānam (acintyarūpaḥ), R 6,60.28 (tri.)

b) where another word follows:

garte 'rtāṃs (trāṇam icchataḥ), Mbh 1,41.5a¹, te 'stike (vai prītimanto babhūvuḥ), 1,53.18 (tri.), (rājye sthāsyāmi) te 'jñayā, 1,70.41d, vavrire 'ṅgirasam (munim), 1,71.6b, (tadā sa) paryāvavṛte 'śramāya, 3,113.5 (tri.), (gaccha) te 'jñāṃ (kariṣyati), 3,158.58, (ye sma te) nādriyante 'jñāḥ, 3,226.11a, dagdhe 'śrame (mahārāja), 12,49.36c, (vartanta) itare 'śramāḥ, 12,261.6d, (vivṛtaṃ ca tato) me 'syām, 12,306.7c, (eṣā) te 'nvīksikī (vidyā), 12,306.45c, utpanne 'ṅgirase (caiva), 12,322.51a (Ca. āṅgirase iti ākāralopaś chāndasaḥ), āśrame 'śramavāsinām, 13,10.59d, ke 'śramāḥ (ke ca parvatāḥ), 13,27.24b, te 'śramās (te ca parvatāḥ), 13,27.25b, vikāle 'śramam iyuṣām, R 2,93.9d v.l. (CE vikāle gantum icchatā), yuddhe 'hvayati (darpitaḥ), 7,34.2d², (na) te 'jñāṃ (kurute 'nagha), 7,59.13d v.l. (CE nājñāṃ te ...³).

¹ This line is discussed by SUKTHANKAR, *Prolegomena* p. XCII-XCIII (see, however, KEITH 1937: 770).

² CE prints *yuddhe hvayati*. But cf. Cg.: (')hvayati āhvayati sma.

³ Cf. Cg.: *te jñāṃ iti sandhir āṛṣaḥ / te ājñāṃ* (see also MICHELSON 1904: 99).

1.2.7. -'e- < /-i e-/

hariṣyām['] *etad* (*āmiṣam*), Mbh 12,139.39d (< /*hariṣyāmi etad*/)¹.

1.3. Sandhi of *pragṛhya*-vowels²

The *pragṛhya* vowels³ are not subject to the operation of *sandhi* but remain unchanged before vowels. Contrary to this Epic Sanskrit has the following instances of *sandhi*⁴:

1.3.1. -ī- < /-ī ī-/

mañīva, Mbh 12,171.12 (see PW s.v. [7.] and crit. notes *ad loc.*), *sarasīva* (*mahāgharme*) 'like two lakes', R 6,85.1c (without any v.l.!).

KEITH (1910: 1322) is inclined to explain this *sandhi* by taking the second word to be *va* 'like', comparing Middle Indian *va*. This theory fails, as SEN (1950: 20) rightly observes, to explain other definite cases of contraction of the *pragṛhya* vowels⁵.

¹ It cannot be excluded that this is only a simple typo of the critical edition.

² Contrary to STENZLER § 25, KIELHORN § 25, RENOU § 42, WHITNEY § 138 and AiGr. I § 273.

³ The *pragṛhya* vowels are the vowels *ī*, *ū* and *e* of dual endings, both of nominal and verbal forms, the final *ī* of the pronoun *amī*, the final *o* made by combination of a final *ā*-vowel with the particle *u* and the final, or only, vowel of words such as *aho*, *he* or *u* (see AiGr I § 270b *rem.* / § 273 and WHITNEY § 138).

⁴ On the *sandhi* of *pragṛhya* vowels see AiGr. I § 270b *rem.* and CALAND (1902: 100 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 137]).

⁵ SEN's second argument is that "*va* as an independent word is nowhere found in the Rāmāyaṇa, excepting NW. Recension". This *va* was sanskritized to *vā* (see HOPKINS

1.3.2. -e- < /-e ī-/

(*ehi*) *raṃsyāvahety* (*uktvā*), R 3, App. 17.14c.

1.3.3. -e ' < /-e a-/

(*āstāṃ bhaginyau rūpeṇa*) *samupete* 'dbhute 'naghe, Mbh 1,14.5d, *dadṛśāte* 'tha (*te tatra*), 1,19.3a v.l. (Ce *dadṛśāte tadā ...*), (... *dadṛśatur ... /*) *te* 'gādhaṃ ..., 1,19.16 (*tri.*), *jajñāte* 'straviśāradau, 1,57.88d, *jajñāte* 'rthavidāv (*ubhau*), 1,57.94d, *vijahrāte* 'marāv (*iva*), 1,204.3d = 5d = 1,211.9d, *jagrhāte* 'śvināv (*api*), 1,218.32b, (*ubhau devau*) *śiśriyāte* 'ntarikṣe, 5,45.3 (*tri.*), *aśnuvāte* 'kṣayān (*dhruvān*), 5,48.21b, *cakrāte* 'straviśāradau, 7,13.38f, *dadṛśāte* 'rjunācyutau, 7,57.68d ~ 69d, *pracakrāte* 'ntaraṃ (*prati*), 9,56.11d, *śuśubhāte* 'dhikaṃ (*tataḥ*), 9,59.10b, *dadṛśāte* 'tha (*tau kanyām*), 12,249.17c, *tapaḥśrute* 'bhimathnītaḥ, 14,34.3c, *te* *suvāte* 'straśastrāṇi, R 1,20.15c, *dodhūyete* 'sya (*mūrdhani*), 3,4.9d v.l. (CE *dhūyamāne ca mūrdhanī*), *sasṛjāte* 'stramuttamam, 6,67.31d, (*na*) *jajñāte* 'tidhārmikau, 7,92.15d.

1901: 300 n. 1 and SCHELLER 1991: 173 with n. 4): *dusprekṣaṇīyo* 'si *bhagīratho* vā, Mbh 1,50.16, *makhe nirmathyamānād* vā, 1,213.61 (see *crit. notes* ad loc.), *yasyādya karma drakṣyase mūdhasattva śatakrator vā daityasenāsu samkhye*, 3,254.16, *balāhakāgre sūryo vā ya eṣa pramukhe sthitaḥ*, 4,50.19, *sa tu dolāyamāno vā dvaidhībhāvena pāṇḍavaḥ*, 7,26.17 v.l. (not recorded by the *crit. ed.*; see PW VI,875a4-5), *sa vai muktaḥ pippalaṃ bandhanād* vā (v.l. *iva*) 13,90.35, *sa vṛtra iva vajreṇa phenena namucir yathā / balo vendrāsanihato nipapāta hataḥ kharah*, R 3,29.28, *śasam ālakṣya simho vā pannagaṃ garuḍo yathā*, 7,34.14, *simho pañjararuddho* vā, 7,726* v.l. (CE 'ruddheva [↗ 1.8.3 (p. 37)]); cf. *hemapañjararuddho vā kokilo yatra kūjatī*, Buddhacarita IV 44. See also (↗) p. 323 n. 4.

1.3.4. -o ' < /-o a-/

aho 'yaṃ (*bhinnamaryādaḥ*), Mbh 1,1038*.6c, *aho 'yaṃ* (*sukumārāṅgaḥ*), 3,40.29a, *utāho 'sya mahībhṛtaḥ*, 3,61.69b v.1., (*tvam*) *utāho 'si* (*varāṅganā*), 3,61.115b, *aho 'bhihitam* (*ākhyānam*), 11,7.1a, *aho 'smy* (*aśucitām prāptaḥ*), 12,3.11a, *aho 'syā* (*hṛdayaṃ devyāḥ*), 14,80.5a, *aho 'smi* (*vañcito mūdhaḥ*), 15,6.3a, *aho 'smi* (*paramaprītaḥ*), R 2,3.2a, *aho 'dyānuḡṛhītāḥ*, 2,295*.5a, *aho 'smi* (*vyasane magnaḥ*), 3,56.17a¹, *aho 'sya* (*sadṛśaṃ sakhyam*), 6,App.32.71c, *aho 'tibalavat rakṣaḥ*, 7,27.7c v.1. (CE *asau hi balavān rakṣaḥ*), *aho 'sya* (*vikramaudāryam*), 7,30.3c.

rem. It is to be noted that all examples are cases of *aho* (a-)².

The tradition tried to eliminate even instances of *pragrhya*-hiatus not only by *sandhi* but also by the insertion of particles: *ubhe ete same*, Mbh 5,35.2 (v.11. *tv ete / hy ete / caite / [G (except G2) M] ubhāv etau*); *vidye āyurbalāvahe*, R 1,21.16 v.1. (CE *vidye tejaḥsamanvite*), instead of which the MSS V2 D13 read *hy āyur* °, B1 *cāyur* °.

¹ Cf. Cg. (*aho 'sminn* [sic!] *itī sandhīr āṛṣaḥ*) and Cś [cited by the critical notes] (*od itī* [Pāṇ 1,1.15] *prakṛtibhāvābhāvas tv āṛṣatvāt*).

² Cf. *aho 'mitayogamāyā* °, BhāgP 8,23.8, *aho 'tiramyam*, 10,13.5.

1.4. Sandhi of eṣa(h)¹

(a) The pronoun *eṣa(h)* appears – as in Middle Indo-Aryan (see OBERLIES 2001: 185 and PISCHEL § 426) and Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHSG § 4.48) – in the generalized *sandhi* form *eṣo*²:

eṣo hi, Mbh 1,184.6³, 6,41.21 v.l. (*naiṣo hi* [CE *neṣo 'sti*])⁴, *eṣo hi* (*lakṣmaṇo nāma*), R 6,19.23a v.l. (CE *eṣo 'sya lakṣmaṇo nāma*), *eṣo hi mama niścayaḥ*, 7,19.3b, *eṣo hi pūrvaṃ devasya*, 7,61.26a (v.l. *eṣo pūrvasya* [Ck. *eṣo pūrvasyeti chāndasaḥ sandhiḥ*], instead of which ed. Chaukhambā 7,69.26 reads *eṣo 'pūrvasya*)⁵.

(b) The final *a* of *eṣa* is fused in *sandhi* with a following *r*:

ya eṣarkṣarajā nāma ... pitā, R 7,App.3.2⁶.

(c) In the following example the initial *a* of the word following *eṣo* is not dropped by *abhinihita-sandhi*:

¹ Contrary to STENZLER § 114, KIELHORN § 180, RENOU § 39 and WHITNEY § 176a.

² On double *sandhis* of *sa(h)* see (♣) 1.8.4.

³ This *sandhi* is used to have a long second syllable in the *triṣṭubh*.

⁴ The reading *eṣo hi* of the Mbh Bombay ed. 7,192,13 (see HOLTZMANN 1884: 4 [§ 176a], MICHELSON 1904: 100 and HOPKINS 1901: 247) is not noted by CE (7,165.6).

⁵ In the Rāmāyaṇa examples (apart from 7,19.3b) this *sandhi* is used to avoid ॐ or ॐ of the syllables 2-4 of the *śloka-pāda* (♣ p. XXXI n.5).

⁶ On this *sandhi* cf. BHSG § 4.49.

eṣo athānye (ca ...), R 7,36.44 v.1. ([opening of *tri*. [reading of NW ed.¹, not noted by CE (*eṣo 'pi cānye*²)]).

1.5. Sandhi of /-ar/³

aho 'manyata (*dharmātmā*), R 4,34.7c (Cv. *divasam amanyata*)⁴.

It cannot be decided whether this is a special *sandhi* or whether the word *ahar-* is transferred to the *as-*declension (↗ 2.29).

Due to metrical exigency the vowel preceding an elided *-r* is not lengthened by compensation:

(*kim aṅga*) *puna rāvaṇam*, R 4,26.13d (◡-◡-).

1.6. -ai ' - < /-ai a-/

(*sa vaktum upacakrāma*) *jananyai 'vitatham* (*vacah*), R 6,App.6.55 v.1. [= NW. 5,91.26] (CE *jananyai sūnṛtam vacah*)

¹ See SEN (1951/52: 122 [without reference]).

² MSS D10.11 read *eṣeva* (see BHATNAGAR 1973: 35) on which Cg. comments: *eṣeveti sandhir āṛṣaḥ* (cf. Ck. *eṣeveti eṣa ivety arthaḥ*). See (↗) p. 37 with n. 4.

³ See BHSG § 4.39-42.

⁴ See HOPKINS (1901: 256).

This *sandhi* suggests that /ai/ was realized as /e/ after which initial *a-* was elided (see SEN 1965: 200).

1.7. -au ' - < /-au a-/

prayayau 'sau, R 6, App.76.20 v.l. [= NW. 6,109.111¹] (CE *prayayau sāsru*^o)

This *sandhi* suggests that /au/ was realized as /o/ after which initial *a-* was elided (see SEN 1965: 200).

1.8. Double *sandhi*²

1.8.1. -ā- < /-as a-/

See above (↗) 1.2.2 (p. 23-24).

1.8.2. -ā- < /-as ā-/

dhṛtarāṣṭrāśramapadam (°as+āśr°), Mbh 1,2.212e³, *kāmbojāstaraṇocitaḥ* (°jas+āst°), 7,67.70b, *sarvātmānaṃ (praśamsati)* (°as+ātmānam), 10,3.4d⁴

¹ This reading is not recorded in the CE.

² See BHATNAGAR (1973).

³ For the v.l. *dhṛtarāṣṭro 'śramapadam* see (↗) 1.2.4b.

⁴ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 4 [§ 176b]) and crit. notes *ad loc.*

Where this *sandhi* occurs in compounds these may be instances of the transference of °as- and °ā-stems (↗ 3.13-14):

(bhṛgv)āṅgirādibhir (bhūyaḥ) (°as+ādibhih), Mbh 3,212.15c, madhucchandādayaḥ (sutāḥ), 1,61.12b v.l. (CE madhuṣyandādayaḥ), tapātma-kam, R 1,App.6.5b (cad.), medārdragātraḥ,¹ 6,47.101 v.l. (CE svedārdragātraḥ), 55.11, (laṅkāyām) viśravātmajaḥ, 7,3.29d, (sāmprataṃ) viśravātmaja, 7,198*.7b.

1.8.3. -e- < /-as i-/

The examples marked by a prefixed asterisk may be instances of the confusion of primary (-maḥ/-vaḥ) and secondary (-ma/-va) endings (on this see [↗] 6.3.1.1-2) or of the *imperativus futuri* (↗ 8.4.2):

śrutaseneti (yaḥ śrutāḥ), Mbh 1,3.146b, asaṅkhyeyeti (matvā tān), 1,31.17c, nāmāstiketi (viśrutam), 1,44.20d (stanza 19d: lokeṣv āstika ity uta), rājoparicarety (evam), 1,57.31c, mahākāleti (yaṃ viduḥ), 1,536*(b), jyeṣṭhaṃ yudhiṣṭhīrety āhur / bhīmaseneti madhyamam / arjuneti tṛtīyaṃ ca, 1,115.20a-c, pūrvajaṃ nakulety evaṃ sahaddeveti cāparam, 1,115.21ab, arjuneti janaḥ kaścit kaścit karṇeti bhārata / kaścīd duryodhanety evam, 1,127.21a-c (see PISANI 1946: 190), (cirarātroṣitāḥ) *smeha, 1,156.3a, (manyase yaṃ tu) tāteti, 1,169.8a, *ānayāmeha (pāṇḍavān), 1,194.19d, *kariṣyāvedam (iti yat), 1,201.21a, śrutaseneti (taṃ viduḥ), 1,213.78d, aruṇety (abhiviśrutāḥ), 1,App.14.30d, (paundra-ko) vāsudeveti (yo 'sau), 2,13.19c, haṃseti ḍibhaketī (ca), 2,20.31b (see AiGr. III p. 81), *raṃsyāmeha (kathaṃcana), 2,42.49b, (eṣa vai) dāsa-putreti, 2,63.29c, vāsudeveti (yaṃ prāhuḥ), 3,106.2c, (nāmnā) kahodeti (babhūva rājan), 3,132.6 (tri.), (durbalāḥ kleśitāḥ) *smeti / (asākye 'pi)

¹ This *sandhi* avoids the third syllable of the *triṣṭubh* being long (it, however, might be a case of transfer of stem: meda- ← medas- [↗ 3.13]).

vrajāmeti, 3,142.2a/c, (anācāras tv) adharmeti, 3,198.72c, mahāsenety (evam uktvā), 3,221.77a, (yam) koṭikāśyety (vidur manuṣyāḥ), 3,249.6 (tri.) = 250.4 (tri.), (nāmāsya) vasuṣeṇeti, 3,293.12c, kaṅketi (nāmnāsmi virāṭa viśrutah), 4,6.10 (jag.), tantipāletī (māṃ viduḥ), 4,9.9d, bṛhannaḍeti (vikhyātaḥ), 4,34.12c, (... nāmadheyam /) duryodhanetiḥa (kṛtam purastāt), 4,60.18 (tri.), bṛhannaḍeti (yām āhuḥ), 4,1134.10c, *bhavāmeha (na saṃśayah), 5,5.5d, (na) *jānīmety (athābruvan), 5,118.21d, (vitrastāḥ) *praṇamāmeha, 5,125.12c, (nāma me) vasuṣeṇeti 5,139.10a, sūtaputreti (mā śabdaḥ), 5,143.12c, (andhaḥ) karaṇahīneti, 5,145.36a, (pāṇḍavān mā) druheti (ca), 6,85.10b, (hatān) *nihanmeha (naraṣa-bheṇa), 7,94.2 (tri.), (nāmnā) cānantarudreti, 7,173.79c, yogo yogeti (sahasā), 8,7.4c, (tasmāc) chalyeti (te nāma), 8,23.45c, (tasya) rāmeti (vikhyātaḥ), 8,24.131c, (vayaṃ haṃsās) *carāmemām, 8,28.20a, ihopayātetī (sa pāpabuddhiḥ), 8,46.40 (tri.), (droṇo) hateti (yad vacaḥ), 10,4.25c, rājadharmeti (vikhyātaḥ), 12,163.19a, (ayaṃ) kanteti (maṃsyate), 12,168.49d, kaśyapety (aparaṃ viduḥ), 12,201.8d, anenāprati-buddheti, 12,296.6a, (eṣa) mokṣayitavyeti, 12,296.24c, puruṣeti (ca nirguṇam), 12,306.38b, matsyevodakam (anveti), 12,306.72a¹, vāsudeveti (nāmataḥ), 12,842*.3b, (kālaḥ sa eva kathitaḥ /) krodhajeti (mayā tava), 12,330.70b~12,882*(b), durjayety (abhivikhyātaḥ), 13,2.11c, stavarājeti (vikhyātaḥ), 13,17.21a, (yad idaṃ) sahadharmeti, 13,19.1a ~ 2c, parṇasāletī (vikhyātaḥ), 13,67.4a, (śāpena) *yojayāmeti, 14,82.15c², (vayaṃ bhīṣmasya) *kurmeha (/ pretakārāṇi phalguna), 15,17.15c, brāhmaṇeti (sumadhyamā), R 3,866*.3b, rāmeti (prathito loke), 3,45.10a, rākṣaseti (samudvegam), 3,921*.1a, (gacchāmah) *praviśāmeti, 4,51.13c,

¹ Note that this, R 7,726* and 7,36.44 v.l. (see below) are the only cases without following *iti* or *-mah* / *-vah* of the 1du./pl.

² This may be an imperative. Then the *sandhi* would be completely regular.

(*siddhārtho gaccha*) rakṣeti, 4, App.8.70a¹, (*prabhaviṣṇavo*) *bhāvameti, 7,5.13², *pañjararuddheva*, 7,726*(c)³, *eṣeva* (*cānye ca mahākapīndrāḥ*), 7,36.44 v.l. (*tri*. [CE *eṣo* 'pi])⁴, *laveti* (*ca sa nāmataḥ*), 7,58.6d v.l. (CE *lavaś ceti sa nāmataḥ*), (*nāma tasya*) daṇḍeti, 7,70.15a, *brahmadatteti* (*nāmnaiṣaḥ*), 7, App.10.116c.

Since the following word is preponderantly *iti*, KEITH (1910: 1322) assumes the use of a word *ti* comparing MIA *ti*. But then the normal *sandhi* form *-as t-* < */-aḥ t-/* (or the lengthening of the previous vowel) might be expected.

This *sandhi* occurs also in the compound (*adhaḥ*)*srotendriya*(*grāmaḥ*), Mbh 12,298.22a⁵ (though this might be explained by supposing a transfer of stem [↗ 3.13]).

1.8.4. -o- < /-as u-/

divolkā (*nabhasaś cyutā*), Mbh 1,26.28b, (*ekaikaṃ*) *sopasarpati*, 1,147.21d, *tapasograsya* (*putraka*), 1,170.14b, (*rocatām eṣa*) *vopāyaḥ*, 1,221.17c, *lelihānopasarpati*, 1,223.5d, *kuravoraśchadaṃ* (*jagmuḥ*), 2,18.29c⁶, *sottamān* (*api cottarān / ... vyajayat prabhuḥ*), 2,27.3b.

¹ This is possibly a case of a transference of an °as- to an °a-stem (↗ 3.13).

² On this stanza see also below, (↗) p. 58.

³ The v.l. °ruddho vā uses mono-syllabic vā 'like' (on which see [↗] p. 30 n. [5]).

⁴ Cf. Cg. (*eṣeveti sandhir āṛṣaḥ*) and Ck. (*eṣeveti eṣa ivety arthaḥ*). See (↗) p. 33 n. 2.

⁵ The crit. ed. prints *adhaḥsrotendriya* °. That this is only an error is proved by stanzas 23 and 24 (*ūrdhvasrotas ... tiryaksrotas tv adhaḥsrota[h] ...*).

⁶ On this *pāda* see addenda et corrigenda *ad loc.* (p. 498).

sopakartṛṃś (ca), 3,29.21a v.l. (CE yo 'pakartṛṃś ca'¹), *tvaramāṇopacakrame*, 3,327*.2d, (*tīrthaṃ*) *brahmasarottamam*, 3,93.10d, (*sarvataḥ*) *sopacīyate*, 3,163.33b, *sopāsarpac (chanair bhītaḥ)*, 3,207.12a, *eṣopacāraḥ*, 3,290.21 (*tri.* [cad.]), *tatolūkāśrame (śubhe)*, 5,187.25b, *sotplutya (syandanāt tasmāt)*, 7,30.24a, *sottamāṅgāny (apātayat)*, 7,98.40d, *tatogradhanvā*, 8,45.55 (*tri.* [cad.])², *sopāviśad (rathopasthe)*, 9,26.31a, (*vimānito*) *hatotkruṣṭaḥ*, 12,92.17a, *tatopadiṣṭam (icchāmi)*, 12,124.29c³, (*veda*) *sottamapūruṣaḥ*, 12,209.8d, *tapasopaniṣat (tyāgaḥ)*, 12,243.11a, *sopahāsātmatām (eti)*, 12,293.28c, *vyāsothhāya (mahātapāḥ)*, 12,320.20b, *tamottaram (yāvad idaṃ na vartate)*, 13,96.12 (*jag.*), *pitaroragarākṣasāḥ*, 13,99.8b *nyagrodhodumbaro ('śvatthaḥ)*, 13,135.101c, (*tata āhūya*) *sotathyam*, 13,139.12a, *tatodānaḥ (pravartate)*, 14,23.5b, (*yenopāyena*) *socyatām*, R 1,8.23d v.l. (CE *tvayocyatām*), (*labdhasaṃjñas*) *tatotthāya*, 1,564*.3e, *sopādhyāyavacaḥ (śrutvā)*, 1,38.11a v.l. (CE *upādhyāyavacaḥ śrutvā*), (*aśakyam iti*) *sovāca*, 1,57.4a v.l. (CE ... *covāca*), (*sanirghātā*) *divolkāś ca*, 2,4.17c v.l. (CE *maholkāś ca*), *rāghavojjvalitaḥ (śriyā)*, 2,14.20d v.l.⁴ (according to Ct.: *ujjvalita iti vā / tadā sandhir ārṣaḥ* [see MICHELSON 1904: 102]), (*lakṣmaṇas taṃ*) *tatovāca*, 2,45.8a v.l. (CE *tadovāca*), *saṃvadantopatiṣṭhante*, 2,1566*.4c, *tatovāca (vacaḥ śubham)*, 3,12.12d v.l. (CE *dhīro dhīrataram vacaḥ*), (*tvam eva*) *bahuśoktavān*, 3,62.17b v.l. (CE ... *bahuśo 'nvaśāḥ*), *sottare (paryupāsprśat)*, 4,App.8.57d, *sopasarpac (samīpataḥ)*, 5,8.10d v.l. (CE *so 'pāsarpac*

¹ PW V 1370 (s.v. *upa+gam*) cites this *pāda* as *yopakartṛṃś ca* (not noted by CE).

² See critical notes *ad loc.*

³ On *brahmaṇopacitīm*, 12,200.15c = 335.64c, see critical notes *ad* 12,200.15 (< *brahmaṇaḥ + upacitīm / apacitīm*).

⁴ CE has *rāghavo jvalitaḥ śriyā*.

subhītavat), (*kecit*) *tavādeśakṛtopayantu*, 5,50.17¹ (*tri.*), (*toyaughaiḥ*) *sarasotthitaiḥ*, 6,4.67b v.l.² (of ed. Bom. [see SEN 1950: 18]), (*punaḥ sa*) *muditotpadya*, 6,50.7c v.l. (CE *utpatya cainam muditah*), *lakṣmaṇovāca* (*mandārtham*), 6,71.6c v.l. (CE *uvāca lakṣmaṇo vākyam*), *tatovāca* (*prahasyaitān*), 6,83.9a v.l. (CE *athovāca ...*), *sadyopalabdhir* (*garbhasya*), 7,4.30c, *vyādhayopekṣitā* (*iva*), 7,5.7d, *bahuśoktaḥ* (*sudurmatih*), 7,11.31d v.l. (CE *bahudhoktaḥ ...*), *sotsasarja* (*tadā raṇe*), 7,32.68d v.l. (CE *utsasarjus tadārjune*), *pulastyovāca* (*rājānam*), 7,33.13c, *śrutvendrovāca* (*mā bhaisīḥ*), 7,35.43c, *acakṣuṣottamaṃ* (*cakṣuḥ*), 7,App.10.47a v.l. (CE *acakṣuṣo bhavec cakṣur agateś ca gatir bhavet*).

This *sandhi* occurs also in compounds (though all cases might be explained by supposing a transfer of nouns from the °as- to the °ā-declension [↗ 3.13-14]):

apsaropamām, Mbh 1,100.23b (*cad.*), (*puṇyam*) *padmasaropetam*, 3,155.33a (v.l. *padmasaroyuktam*), *bṛhaspaty-uśanoktaiś* (*ca*), 3,239.20a (v.l. °*uśanaḥproktaiḥ*), *viṣṇutejopabrṃhitam*, 5,16.16b, *apsaropamāḥ*, 6,7.30d (*cad.*), (*iti*) *rakṣopasrṣṭeṣu*, 8,30.72a, (*antakāle*) *vayotkarṣāt*, 12,210.20a, *ātmatejodbhavaṃ* (*pārtha*), 12,329.2c, (*devarṣer*) *apsarottamā*, 13,38.7b, (*mune*) *divyāpsaropamām*, 13,53.61b, (*balānvitāḥ*) *śīlavayopapannāḥ*, 13,72.40 = 76.8 (*tri.*), (*tathā*) *sarodapānānām*, 14,44.13c, *padmapuṣparaḥ* (*miśraḥ*), R Gorr. 3,81.31 (see SEN 1950: 39), *yakṣarakṣorageṣu* (*ca*), 5,1048*.7b v.l. (CE *yakṣarakṣoganeṣu*), *rakṣopasaṃhāarakaraḥ* (*prakopaḥ*), 5,App.13.28 (*tri.*), *apsaroragasamghāś* (*ca*), 7,795*(c).

¹ CE has °*kṛto 'pa*°. But this is corrected in the *critical notes*.

² CE has *toyaughaiḥ sahasotthitaiḥ*.

rem. KULKARNI'S examples (1944: 31 [under point VIII A]) of the double *sandhi* -as a- > -o- are to be disregarded. For *atonimittam*, Mbh 3,58.32, is an entirely regular *sandhi* (of /atas nimittam/), as is Mbh 1,116*.3 (*parityāgo 'mbikāsutāt*).

1.8.5. -ar- < /-as r-/¹

purarkṣavantam (*girim etya narmadā*), Mbh 12,52.32 (*jag. [puras + ṛkṣa°]*).

1.8.6. -ai- < /-as e-/²

nihanmainam (*durātmānam*), Mbh 1,180.3a ~ 4a², (*sarvair devaiḥ stuto devaḥ /*) *saikadhā* (*bahudhā ca saḥ*), 7,173.69b, *eṣaivāsamsate laṅkāṃ*, R 6,17.18c v.l. = 39c v.l. (CE *eṣa āsamsate*) = 24c = 18.24c = 39e, *eṣaivāsamsate (yuddhe)*, 6,19.25c, *saiṣa (viśravasaḥ putrah)*, 6,49.9c, (*śikharair*) *vikirāmainam*, 6,App.16.74a³.

rem. It is to be noted that all instances in the Rāmāyaṇa occur in the 6th Kāṇḍa.

1.8.7. -ā- < /-ās a-/³

piṇḍitāṣṭādaśaiva tāḥ (*piṇḍitā aṣṭādaśa*), Mbh 1,2.24d v.l. (CE *piṇḍenā°*), *adhyāyāṣṭau samākhyātāḥ* (*adhyāyā aṣṭau*), 1,2.229c, *pītavāsāsitaḥ* (*°vāsā asita°*), 1,58.50b, *te 'marārivināśāya* (*amarā ari°*), 1,59.3a, *tām sa dīrghatamāṅgeṣu* (*°tamā aṅgeṣu*), 1,98.31a, *kāmamanyuparītāpi /*

¹ This *sandhi* is, however, rather uncertain.

² This might well be a case of the confusion of secondary and primary endings (P. 137).

³ This might be a case of the confusion of secondary and primary endings.

buddhyaṅgarahitāpi ca (°tā api)¹, 1,109.9ab, *bhāgīrathyāham uttare* (°rathyā aham), 1,128.12b = 154.24d, *sāparādhāpi nityadā* (°dhā api), 1,1882*(d), *tasyāśrubinduḥ patito jale vai* (tasyā aśru°), 1,189.11 (*tri.*), *apsarāsmi mahābāho* (°rā asmi), 1,208.14a, *sendrāpi devā yadi te saḥāyāḥ* (sendrā api), 2,60.30 (*tri.*), *codyamānāpi kṛṣṇayā* (°mānā api), 2,61.28b, *dvādaśemāḥ samāsmābhiḥ* (samā asmā°), 3,25.2a, *taṃ satyasandhaṃ sahitābhipetuḥ* (sahitā abhi°), 3,25.22 (*tri.*), *sthitāsmākam* (sthitā asmākam), 3,45.22c (cad.), *tāpasāntarhitāḥ sarve* (tāpasā antarhitāḥ), 3,61.91c v.l. (CE *antarhitās tāpasās te*), *sarasvatyāruṇāyās ca* (°tyā aruṇāyās), 3,81.131c, *vakṣyanti sahitānagha* (°tā anagha), 3,684*(d), *kathaṃ nu tasyānāthāyāḥ* (tasyā anāth°), 3,176.36a, *kāmaṃ devāpi mām vipra* (devā api), 3,187.1a, *aṅgirāsrjat*, 3,211.8b (cad.), *prajāsmākam hṛtās tābhiḥ* (prajā asmākam), 3,219.17c, *paradārāsmi alabhyā ca* (°dārā asmi), 3,265.20c (see below, note on Mbh 4,13.14), *abhijagmur gaṇāneke* (gaṇā aneke), 3,269.1², *yāni tasyāvakāśāni* (tasyā ava°), 4,5.25c³, *paradārāsmi bhadraṃ te* (°dārā asmi), 4,13.14a⁴, *yasyārthe kīcako hataḥ* (yasyā arthe), 4,22.5d v.l. ~ 39.6d v.l. (CE *yatkṛte* respectively), *yotsyamānābhyanahyanta* (°mānā abhy°), 4,30.15c, *tva-ritābhyupeyuḥ* (°tā abhy°), 4,61.5 (*tri.* [cad.]), *ucitāvaruddhāḥ* (ucitā

¹ As far as this *sandhi* is concerned we can compare the MIA *sandhi* with *pi*.

² Or is it rather *gaṇā [']neke*? Cf. *naika-* (♣ 4.7.2 rem. 2).

³ On this stanza see VAN BUITENEN III,533.

⁴ This is a case of double *sandhi* only if *dārāḥ* is m. pl. (as it should be according to the Sanskrit grammarians [see PW s.v. 2.*dāra*, KIELHORN § 64b and RENOUE § 207 (p. 276)]). *paradārā*, however, is considered by PW (l.c.) as f. sg. But as the word is m. sg. in stanza 15, as it is in Mbh 1,173.24 (see KULKARNI 1944: 33 n. 17), this might be a case of double *sandhi* /-as a-/ > -ā- (♣ 1.8.1). In any case, WELLER's emendation †*paradāro 'smi* (1938: 383) is out of place.

ava°), 5,37.21 (*tri.* [cad.]), *na ca te garhaṇīyāpī* (°nīyā api), 5,111.16c, *śūdrābhīrātha daradāḥ* (°rā atha), 6,10.66a, *priyaḥ priyāyārhasi deva soḍhum* (°yāyā arhasi), 6,33.44 (*tri.*), *yatamānāpī te vīrāḥ* (°mānā api), 6,55.34a, *kirīṭinaṃ tvaramāṇābhīsasruḥ*, 6,55.74 (*tri.*), *hatā gajāḥ saptaśatārjunena* (°śatā¹ arjunena), 6,55.130 (*tri.* [v.ll. °śatā nareṇa / śatāni sapta]), *indrātmajaṃ drōnamukhābhīsasruḥ* (°mukhā abhīsasruḥ), 6,56.22 (*tri.*), *yoddhukāmārimardanāḥ*, 6,84.15d, *bhūriśravābhyayāt tūrṇam* (°śravā abhy°), 6,107.42a, *tridasāpī samudyuktāḥ* (°daśā api), 6,112.105a, *pāṇḍavāpī mahārāja* (°vā api), 6,113.14a, *pāṇḍavāpī svasainikān*, 6,115.26b, *dagdhārayaḥ keśavaphalgunābhyām* (dagdhā arayaḥ), 7,94.2 (*tri.*), *tvadīyābhyadravan raṇe*, 7,96.7f, *kuṇindās taṅgaṇāmbaṣṭhāḥ* (°gaṇā ambaṣṭhāḥ), 7,97.14a, *nālaṃ devāpī saṃyuge* (devā api), 7,110.4b, *athātmajās te sahitābhipetuḥ* (sahitā abhī°), 7,115.22 (*tri.*), *tvayā tulyādhikāpī vā* (°dhikā api), 7,123.24b, *sthātum devāpī nānagha* (devā api), 7,134.75d, *yatamānāpī pāñcālāḥ* (°mānā api), 7,161.40c, *yodhāsmākaṃ pare tathā* (yodhā asmākam), 7,163.23b, (*tasya*) *vāhāsprśan* (mahīm), 7,164.107d, *vīnedus toyadāmbare* (°dā ambare), 7,172.17d, *paripatitābhīmukhāḥ prajahrīre te* (°tā abhī°), 8,21.2 (*tri.*), *śiṣṭānye kāmācāriṇaḥ* (śiṣṭā anye), 8,30.55b, *pāñcālāpī maheśvāsāḥ* (pāñcālā api), 8,56.47a, *vadhyamānāpī karṇena* (°mānā api), 8,56.54c, *preṣītārjunam abhyayuḥ* (preṣītā arj°), 8,58.9f, *parasparaṃ viprahatāpātan kṣītau*, 8,62.41 (*jag.*), *sagaṇārjunato bhavan* (°gaṇā ar°), 8,63.40b, *khasthā mahīsthās ca janāvatasthūḥ* (janā ava°), 8,65.31 (*tri.*), *vavus ca vātāḥ parūṣāṭivelam* (parūṣā ati°), 8,68.48 (*tri.*), *pāṇḍavāpī mahārāja* (°vā api), 9,10.12a v.l. (CE *pāṇḍavās ca*), *vyādhābhyajānan rājendra* (vyādhā abhy°), 9,29.27c, *te sadoṣā hatāsmābhiḥ* (hatā as°), 12,10.8a, *māsārdhamāsā ṛtavaḥ* (māsā ardha°), 12,11.14c, *ye hatāsmīn raṇājīre* (hatā asmin), 12,29.8d = 14,13.20d = 15,39.18d, *sa keśihā*

¹ Note the masculine gender of *śata-* (or is it a nom. pl. n. in *-ā* [p. 55 n. 6]?).

muditamanābhyanandata (°manā abhy°), 12,47.72 (*jag.*), *sadyo vyapagatānagha* (°gatā anagha), 12,54.17d, *kāmākṣayā matāḥ* (kāmā akṣayā), 12,61.17b, *viśahyāpi parasparam* (viśahyā api), 12,68.12b, *dākṣiṇātyāsi-carmināḥ* (°tyā asi°), 12,102.5d, *lokasaṃsthārthaniścaye* (°sthā artha°), 12,123.3b, *nālpatejāyam ity uta* (°tejā ayam), 12,124.42d, *doṣāḥ kaṣṭatarādhane* (°tarā adhane), 12,171.35b, *devāpi mārge muhyanti* (devā api), 12,231.23c = 254.32c = 261.21c = 13,114.7c, *tatas tuṣṭāsyā devatāḥ* (tuṣṭā asya), 12,263.27d, *svalpāpy arthāḥ praśasyante* (svalpā api), 12,283.1e, *tadbhūtāyatanāmālāḥ* (°āyatanā amalāḥ), 12,290.75b, (*rātris ... /*) *yasyānte pratibudhyate* (yasyā ante), 12,291.14d, *sevitavyāvipaścitā* (°tavyā avipaścitā), 12,306.101d, *śvāno bhīṣaṇāyomukhāni vayāṃsi* (°ṣaṇā ayomukhāni), 12,309.28¹, *tā etādyāpi kṛṣṇasya* (etā adyāpi), 12,310.25a, *marīcir aṅgirātris ca* (aṅgirā atris), 12,321.33c², *kāmyanaimittikājasram* (°mittikā ajasram), 12,322.23a, *nihatānārjavaiḥ* (°hatā anārjavaiḥ), 12,342.15b, *pranṛttāpsarasah śubhāḥ* (°nṛttā ap°), 13,20.21b, *yasya viprānuśāsanti* (viprā anu°), 13,61.15a, *evam tasyāgre pūrvam ardham vadeta* (tasyā agre), 13,75.14 (*tri.*), *agniśāpād ajihvāpi* (ajihvā api), 13,84.30a, *na ca trātābhayaiṣiṇāḥ* (trātā abh°), 13,118.22d³, *sāntvaṃ vadanti kruddhāpi* (kruddhā api), 13,132.25c, *devās trātā hatāsurāḥ* (hatā asurāḥ), 13,131.12b, *tasmād vadhyāḥ kapāsmākam* (kapā asmākam), 13,142.14c, *pāñcālyā sahitānagha* (sahitā anagha), 15,24.1d, (... *ye ca nihatāḥ /*) *suptānena durātmanā* (suptā anena), 16,4.25d, *hatāsmābhiḥ prasahyājau* (hatā asmābhiḥ), 18,1.8c, (... *akṣauhini ... /*) *yasyāham patir īśvaraḥ* (yasyā aham), R 1,19.3b, *tasyāyam atulaḥ śabdaḥ* (tasyā ayam), 1,23.9a, *tasyāvalepanaṃ jñātvā* (tasyā ava°), 1,916*.3a =

¹ On the metre of this stanza see HOPKINS (1901: 351).

² Some MSS transpose *atriḥ* and *ca*; cf. *aṅgirās cātriḥ*, Mbh 12,327.29.

³ See critical notes *ad loc.*

934*3a, *ye gatābhimukhaṃ viṣṇum* (gatā abhi°), 1,969*.5a, *aprajāsmiṭi saṃtāpaḥ* (aprajā smiṭi), 2,17.21¹, *tamaśyāvīdūrataḥ* (°āyā avidūrataḥ), 2,41.15b v.l. (a reading of the NSP ed., not given by CE)², *sthāpitādhikṛtāḥ pathi* (°pitā adhi°), 2,74.14b v.l. (CE *yuktās te 'dhikṛtā narāḥ*), *nāśyāntam avagacchāmi* (asyā antam), 2,78.2c (~ *antam asyā na paśyāmi*, 2,1913*), *hr̥ṣṭādr̥ṣṭaparākramam* (hr̥ṣṭā dr̥ṣṭa° [cf. Ct.]), 3,19.12d, *triśīrāpi rathenaiva* (°sirā api), 3,26.7a v.l. (CE *triśīrās ca*), *sahitābhyadravan* (°tā abhyadravan), R ed. Gorr. 3,32.32 (SEN 1950: 39), *darpam asyāpaneśyantu* (asyā apa°), 3,54.24c v.l. (CE *darpam asyā vineśyantu*), *daryās tasyāvidūrataḥ* (tasyā avi°), 3,App.17.7b, *kṛtārthārthavidāṃ varāḥ* (°arthā artha°), 4,42.5d, *apsarāpsarasāṃ śreṣṭhā* (apsarā aps°), 4,65.8a³, *diśaḥ sarvābhīdhāvāntam* (sarvā abhi°), 5,12.12a, *mandākinyāvidūrataḥ* (°kinyā avidūrataḥ), 5,36.13d v.l. (of ed. Bomb., not given by CE [*mandākinyā adūrataḥ*]), *kṛtāstrāstravidāṃ śreṣṭhāḥ* (kṛtāstrā astra°), 5,43.2c, *asyāhaṃ darśanākaṅkṣī*, 5,56.113c (asyā aham), *sutair vṛtaḥ śatrubalaśrīyārdanaīḥ* (°śrīyā ard°), 6,57.14 v.l. (*jag.*)⁴, *bāṇaughair vāryamāṇāpi* (°māṇā api), 6,57.46c v.l. (CE °ṇās ca), *tūṇāśya ratham āsthitāḥ* (tūṇā asya), 6,59.19b v.l. (CE *tūṇīrā ...*), *ye tu hr̥ṣṭābhīnardantaḥ* (hr̥ṣṭā abhi°), 6,83.29a v.l. (CE *hr̥ṣṭā vinardantaḥ*).

¹ MICHELSON (1904: 103 n. 1) cites the commentary: *samāsāntābhāvo 'nityatvāt, sandhīr vārṣatvāt*. It may be that in this case (*a*)*prajā-* inflects as a regular *ā*-stem (see SEN 1950: 19).

² See SEN (1950: 19), SATYA VRAT (1964: 198 [no. 32]) and BHATNAGAR (1973: 34).

³ This might well be a case of transfer of stems (↗ 3.14 / 3.16).

⁴ Cf. Ct.: *śatrūṇāṃ balasya śrīṇāṃ cārdanaīr ity arthe śrīyārdanaīr ity ārṣam*. CE reads ... *śatrubalaprāmardanaīḥ*.

All the following examples may be explained by assuming the verb forms to be augmentless imperfect or aorist forms (for which see [✓] 6.4.1-2):

pannagābhavan, Mbh 1,21.6d (cad.), *nṛpottamo vasumanābravīt tam*, 1,87.18 (*tri.*), *pāṇḍavābhavan*, 1,119.14d (cad.), *cotkaṅṭhitābhavan*, 1,1361*(d [cad.]), *vismitābhavan*, 1,124.25d (cad.), *prītamanābhavat*, 1,200.11b (cad.) ~ 3,39.19d (cad.) ~ 3,80.21d (cad.), (*tato*) *devābhavan (bhūtāḥ)*, 1,201.10a, *ṣaṭkṛtābhavan*, 3,17.4b (cad.), *muditābhavan*, 3,19.2d (cad.), *dānavābhavan*, 3,166.8d (cad.), *māṃsakāmābhavan (purā)*, 3,199.10b, *aṅgirābhavat*, 3,207.7b (cad.), *sahitābruvan*, 3,215.13b (cad.), *tathaiṅśyābhavac (chatam) (asyā abhavat)*, 3,283.13b, *vyathitābhavan*, 4,455*.1d (cad.) = 7,172.39d (cad.), *vitimirābhavan*, 5,10.39b (cad.), (*tato*) *bhītābhavan (devāḥ)*, 5,10.46c, *viṃśatābhavat*, 5,86.16d (cad.) ~ 7,164.93d (cad.), *palāyanaparābhavan*, 6,71.32d (cad.), *nātihr̥ṣṭamanābravīt*, 6,116.9d (cad.), *citramālyāvahan (hayāḥ)*, 7,22.51d ~ 22.53d, *hr̥ṣitābhavan*, 7,40.3d (cad.) ~ 108.22f (cad.), *vimukhābhavan*, 7,41.4d (cad.) = 45.26d (cad.) = 165.104d (cad.) = 9,18.1d (cad.) = 9,27.41d (cad.), *sainikābruvan*, 7,75.22b (cad.), *nṛpābruvan*, 7,130.35b (cad.), *krodhaktekṣaṇābruvan*, 7,134.13b (cad.), (*evaṃ*) *siddhābruvan (vācaḥ)*, 7,134.80c, *tvaritāvidhyān*, 7,145.17c (cad.), *pāvakāntargatābhavan*, 7,171.5d (cad.), *vimalābhavan*, 7,172.33d (cad.), *devatābhavan*, 8,262*.9d (cad.), *durmanābravīt*, 8,64.29 (*jag.* [cad.]), (*tās ca*) *sarvābravīt (dakṣaḥ)*, 9,34.48a, *skandasyānucarābhavan*, 9,44.109d (cad.), *prītābhūvan (savāsavāḥ)*, 9,46.19d, *pratisrotovahābhavan*, 9,57.55d (cad.), *puruṣābhavan*, 9,57.56b (cad.), *caivāvilābhavan*, 9,63.41d (cad.), *cintādhyānaparābhavan*, 9,64.43d (cad.), *ārtatarābhavan*, 11,27.12d (cad.), *antargatābhavan*, 12,139.16d (cad.), *nārāyaṇaparābhavan*, 12,326.121d (cad.), *prītamanābhavam*, 13,14.93b (cad.), *aṅgirābhavat*, 13,85.15d (cad.), *vijvarābhavan*, 13,92.11b (cad.), *aṅgirābravīt*, 13,109.46d (cad.), *sumanābhavat*, 13,139.28b (cad.), *surābhavan*, 13,141.20d (cad.), *duḥkhitābhavan*, 13,142.3b (cad.),

saṃkalpitābhavan, 14,71.7d (cad.), *śāntiparābhavan*, 14,76.23d (cad.), *hr̥ṣṭamanābhavat*, 14,86.2d (cad.), (*iṣṭakāḥ ... / cayanārtham*) *kṛtābhavan*, 14,90.30b (cad.), *sthitābhavan*, 15,7.10d (cad.), *avasthitābhavan*, 15,41.5d (cad.), *tāpasābruvan*, 15,47.4d (cad.), *gatābhavan*, 15,47.22b (cad.), *pāṇḍavābhavan*, 16,1.9d (cad.), *hayāharan* (*paśyato dārukasya*), 16,4.4 (*tri.*), *kāñcanālamkṛtābhavan*, R 1,13.19d (cad.), *ugratapābhavat*, 4,59.8d (cad.), *vānarābhavan*, 5,55.28d (cad.), *kuñjarābhavan*, 7,7.12b (cad.), *labdhavarāvasan*, 7,23.5b (cad.), *prajā vai muditābhavan*, 7,36.6b (cad.), *strījanābhavan*, 7,1230* (d [cad.]).

1.8.8. -ā- < /-ās ā-/

tenānuśiṣṭārṣṭiṣeṇena caiva (°*śiṣṭā arṣṭi*°), Mbh 3,173.22 (*tri.*), *yathendriyārthātmavatā parājitāḥ* (°*arthā ātma*°), 8,60.21 (*jag.*), *gālabhan* (*gā ālabhan*), 12,254.45, *narāśu samupāgaman* (*narā āśu*), R 1, App.14.81d (v.l. of ed. Gorr. 1,18.11 not noted by CE [*narās tam*]), *kausalyāyātmasambhavam* (°*āyā ātma*°), 2,68.13d, *tāpasāśrame* (*tāpasā āśrame*), 2,108.2 (cad.), *tasyāgamaḥ* (*tasyā āgamaḥ*), 3, App.14.16 v.l. (CE *syād āgamaḥ* [Ck. *tasyāgama iti sandhiś chāndasaḥ*]).

1.8.9. -e- < /-ās i-/

kruddheva (*bhūtvā ca punar / yathāvad anudarśitāḥ*), Mbh 14,53.20c.

1.8.10. -o- < /-ās u-/

tasyodvāham (*ca gālaviḥ*) (*tasyā ud*°), Mbh 9,51.16d, (*gurur*) *asyotarāraṇiḥ* (*asyā uttar*°), 14,34.3b.

1.8.11. -ār- < /-ās r-/

*śataṃ śatasahasrāṇāṃ / pṛtanārḥṣavanaukasām*¹, R 6,31.41b v.1. (Ct. *pṛtanāḥ ṛkṣety atra sandhir ārṣaḥ* [CE *pṛthag ṛkṣa*])².

1.8.12. -e- < /-e i-/

jāyateti (parā śrutih), Mbh 1,11.13b, (*na cāhaṃ*) *pratīpatsyeha (dattvā)*, 1,88.8 (*tri.*), (*kim idaṃ*) *drśyateti (vai)*, 3,170.5d, (*na vedyaṃ*) *vidyateti (ha)*, 3,177.22b, (*rāgaḥ*) *śukleva (vāsasi)*, 3,198.68d, *mriyateti (mūdhāḥ)*, 3,200.26 (*tri.* [cad.]), (*anāryaṇi*) *śāsate (evam)*, 3,230.8c, *sāmyateti*, 5,29.2 (*tri.* [cad.]), *pratiśrutya kariṣyati*, 5,105.8a ~ 12,24.14c, *he sakheti*, 6,33.41 (*tri.* [cad.])³, (*viṣṇo*) *bhūtapateti (vai)*, 6,64.3f, *nakhamāṃsāntareṣubhiḥ*, 7,552*(b), (*pramamātha*) *raṇeṣubhiḥ*, 8,16.15d, (*ha hate hā*) *hatety eva / svāmibhartrhateti (ca)*, 8,30.18ab, (*samaṅge*) *bahuleti (ca)*, 13,75.6b, (*somāyati ca vaktavyaṃ / tathā*) *pitṛmateti (ca)*, 13,92.14d, (*jagad vaśe*) *vartatedam (/ kṛṣṇasya sacarācaram)*, 13,135.135c, (*na*) *mriyateti (cintyate)*, 15,2.8d, (*saṃśrutyaivaṃ*) *kariṣyati*, R 1,20.8a v.1. (CE *kariṣyāmīti*), *pravidhīyateti*, App.15.41 (*tri.* [cad.]), (*vane*) *vatsyāmaheti (vā)*, 2,46.21d, *pravidhīyateti*, 2,App.15.41 (*tri.* [cad.]), (*hā*) *sīteti (punaḥ punaḥ)*, 3,58.32d (cf. 5,34.44b, 7,87.12a), (*hā*) *priyeti (vicukrośa)*, 3,59.27c (cf. 4,6.15c, 5,34.43c), (*ehi*) *raṃsyāvahety (uktvā)*, 3,App.17.14c, (*hā*) *sumitrete (bhāmini)*, 5,23.11d (Cr.m. *sumitrete atra*

¹ Is it "of bears and monkeys forming a column"? As to *pṛtanā-* see Mbh 1,2.17.

² SEN (1951/52: 121) cites *mā hiṃsīti (-ī- < /-īs i-)* from the Rāmāyaṇa without giving the reference (cf. *mā hiṃsīḥ*, Mbh 3,App.21.81).

³ On this vocative see also (♣) 2.4.

ekārābhāva ārṣaḥ), (*pāvakaṃ*) *juhuvendrajit*, 6,67.4d = 69.23d, (*āgaccha*) *sabalety (evam)*, 7, App.8.24c¹.

It is to be noted that in the instances from the Rāmāyaṇa – apart from *juhuvendrajit*, R 6,67.4 = 6,69.23 – the word beginning with *i* is always *iti*, in those from the Mahābhārata preponderantly. KEITH's proposal to explain this *sandhi* by assuming a by-form *ti* (1910: 1322) would account for such cases.

1.8.13. -o- < /-e u-/

(*tathā*) *prāptottare (kāle)*, Mbh 11,4.7a (v.l. [S] *tataḥ kālāntare prāpte*), *yugāntolkeva (suprabhā)*, R 6,91.25d (see SEN 1950: 14).

1.8.14. -e- < /-e e-/

vidyanteṣāṃ (sāhasikāḥ) (*vidyante eṣāṃ*), Mbh 13,33.9a.

1.8.15. -ai < /-e e-/

śataikīyam (śate ekīyam), Mbh 12,136.36, *grāmaikarātrikāḥ (grāme eka^o)*, 12,185.3₂ (*pr.*), *śataikaḥ (śate ekaḥ)*, 12,309.68.²

1.8.16. -ā- < /-ai a-/

svavedadakṣiṇāyātha (dakṣiṇāyai atha), Mbh 12,306.19c.

¹ SEN (1951/52: 120) cites *ceṣṭanteva* (°ante iva) from the NW recension of the Rāmāyaṇa without giving the reference; not to be verified in the text of the CE.

² On all three references see crit. notes *ad loc.*

1.8.17. *-ā- < /-au a-/*

snuṣā-śvaśrvānaghāyaste (*viśoke kuru mādhava*) ‘Make, o Mādhava, o sinless one, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, who are unhappy, free from sorrow!’, Mbh 7,54.10a (< /*snuṣā-śvaśrvau anagh^o/*)¹.

1.9. Consonantal *sandhi*

Compared with the great number of rules of vocalic *sandhi* being violated, the cases of irregular consonantal *sandhi* are few (and insignificant). This seems to be – at least in part – due to the editorial principles of both *critical editions*, which obviously silently ‘normalized’ the readings of the manuscripts. These, however, must be suspected to be purely graphical devices of the scribes. The following account may therefore be of rather limited value.

1.9.1. (Non-)doubling of final *-n*²

yadi me bhagavān āha, R 1,62.20 v.l. (CE *bhagavān āha*) – *grantham mahad dhārayan aprameyaḥ*, R 7,36.42 v.l. (CE *dhārayad aprameyaḥ*).

1.9.2. Non-assimilation of *-n* to *l*³

None of the readings which HOLTZMANN (1884: 5 [§ 206]; cf. AiGr. I § 281b *rem.*) cites is recorded by the *critical edition* (cf. Mbh 1,141.23, 3,639*.7,

¹ Differently crit. notes *ad loc.*: “The S variant (*śvaśrūsnuṣe bhṛśāyaste*) explains the phrase. It should be construed as *anagha* (voc.) *āyaste snuṣāśvaśrūḥ viśoke kuru*”.

² Contrary to STENZLER § 29, KIELHORN § 30a, RENOU § 34a, WHITNEY § 210 and AiGr. I § 279.

³ Contrary to STENZLER § 31b, KIELHORN § 30b, RENOU § 34c, WHITNEY § 206 and AiGr. I § 281b.

6,117.31, 8,24.19, 51.8, 10,8.19). A passing reference is made to *vicaral laghu*, Mbh 9,57.21 (v.l. °*caraml laghu*)¹.

1.9.3. Special cases of consonantal *sandhi*

(a) *-ṃ st-* < *-n st-*²

None of the readings which PISCHEL (1909: 170) cites is recorded by the *critical edition* (cf. Mbh 7,109.5, 7,133.62, 9,41.32, 10,16.18, 12,159.39, 13,135.5, 18,3.41).

(b) *-nt s-* < *-n s-*

LUDWIG (1896: 8) and PISCHEL (1909: 170)³ cite Mbh 12,149.77 and 13,337*.20 as instances of the *sandhi* *-nt s-* < *-n s-*. The *critical edition*, however, reads *bāndhavān suḥṛdas tathā* resp. *vidvān sīdet* without giving a v.l. *bahuvidhānt suḥṛdas ...* (thus Mbh ed. Bomb. XII 153,81 according to LUDWIG, l.c.) resp. *vidvānt sīdet* (thus Mbh ed. Bomb. XIII 61,28 according to PISCHEL, l.c.).

¹ Mbh 1,110.13c (*nityaṃ nāticaral lāmbhe*) is only a misprint. Read °*caraml lābhe* (cf. *anyeṣv api caraml lābham*, Mbh 12,9.21c).

² That means that *-n* is treated like *-m* (i.e. according to STENZLER § 30 and KIELHORN § 31).

³ See also RENOUE § 34d *rem.*

1.10. (Non)-cerebralisation of *n* and *s*¹

(a) Contrary to the rule that *-n-* is changed to *-ṅ-* if it stands before a vowel, *n*, *m*, *y* or *v* and immediately after *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *r* or *ṣ* or separated from them only by vowels, gutturals, labials, *y*, *v*, *h* or *anusvāra* the Epics have the following words²: *aprameyāni*, R 1,71.2 (v.l. *aprameyāṇi*), *āmravana-*, R 2,49.5 v.l. (CE completely different), 2,57.6.7 v.l. (CE records *āmravaṇa-*³ as another v.l.), and *udīrayāna-*, R 5,25.38.

(b) Contrary to the rule that the initial *n* of \sqrt{nas} is not changed to *ṅ* after the preverb *pra* if the palatal sibilant of this root is changed to the retroflex one⁴ (see Pāṇ 8,4.36) Epic Sanskrit has the verbal adjective *pranaṣṭa-* by analogy with *pranaśyati* (see SATYA VRAT 1964: 228): Mbh 6,40.72 v.l., R 2,8.27 v.l., 3,71.5 v.l., 3,64.12 v.l., 5,13.46 v.l., 15.48 v.l., 27.6 v.l., 38.5 v.l. (both critical editions have throughout [^o] *pranaṣṭa-*). Likewise Epic Sanskrit knows *durṇaya-*, R 6,39.18 v.l. (of ed. Gorr., not recorded in crit. ed. [*durnayaiḥ*]) instead of grammatically correct *durnaya-*. Conversely, Mbh 12,29.138 v.l. has *nirṇāsana-* instead of the required *nirṇāśana-* (so CE)⁵.

¹ Contrary to STENZLER § 45-46, KIELHORN § 58-59, RENOUE § 12-19, WHITNEY § 180-195 and AiGr. I § 167 / 203.

² See SEN (1951b: 237).

³ Cf. Pāṇ 8,4.5.

⁴ See STENZLER § 301a, KIELHORN § 40b, RENOUE § 18, WHITNEY § 192a and AiGr. I § 169a / II,1 § 57aγ (p. 136).

⁵ See AiGr. II,1 § 57aγ rem. (p. 137).

rem. The name *Śūrpanakhī*, R 3,32.1 v.l., 33.1 v.l., 48.13 v.l.¹ (CE throughout ^o*nakhī*-)², "is ... irregular for there should be the cerebral *n* here, as required by Pāṇ. 'pūrvapadāi samjñāyām aḡah' (VIII.4.3)" (SATYA VRAT 1964: 203). See also (♣) p. 64 n. 3.

(c) Against the RUKI-rule³ the Epics have

uparistha-, Mbh 1,57.14 (v.l. *upariṣṭha-*), R 7,16.5 (v.l. *upariṣṭha-*),
pathistha-, Mbh 9,34.15, *visismiye*, Mbh 3,149.6, R 6,989* v.l. (CE
visiṣmiye), *tresuḥ*, Mbh 1,219.28, 3,166.12, *resatuḥ*, Mbh 3,221.58.

rem. Also the *-s-* of *dasyu-sāt*^o is never changed to *-ṣ-* (see AiGr. I § 203a *rem.* [p. 232]):
dasyusād-bhavet, Mbh 12,68.20, *dasyusād-bhūtṵvā*, 12,130.1, *dasyusād-bhūta-*, 12,139.6⁴.

On the *sandhi* at the seam of compounds see (♣) 10.4.

¹ The last two *variae lectiones* are not recorded by the critical edition (see, however, SEN 1951b: 237).

² Cf. *śūrpanakhā*, Mbh 3,259.12 (v.l. ^o*nakhī*).

³ See STENZLER § 46, KIELHORN § 59, RENOUE § 13-16, WHITNEY § 180-188 and AiGr. I § 202-210.

⁴ On these *sāt*-forms see NEISSER (1903: 221 n. 1 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 208 n. 1]), KEITH (1912) and RENOUE (1937: 45 [= *Choix* I,265-267]).

II. The nominal system

Also in Epic Sanskrit nouns (i.e. substantives and adjectives) are characterized by the three 'dimensions' *case, gender and number*¹. All eight *cases* of OIA have survived in Epic Sanskrit though there is some 'confusion' in their usage (↗ 10.3). The most important irregular features of the declension are confusion of weak and strong stem-forms – particularly of nominative and accusative² – and of case-endings and transfer of stems (see SEN 1951/52: 123). *Gender* and *number* are declensional and syntactic categories. *Gender* is determined by agreement patterns rather than by semantic factors or the phonological shape of the word, and the three genders are systematically identifiable only in adjectives. The distinction of three genders persists throughout Epic Sanskrit though that of individual words was not always stable (↗ p. XXXVIII-XL)³. In addition to case and gender, nouns are also inflected for *number*, distinguishing systematically singular, dual and plural. Though in Middle Indo-Aryan the dual as a distinct category is lost it is well preserved and in regular use in Epic Sanskrit (↗ 10.1).

¹ On these three dimensions see especially DELBRÜCK (1888: 93-103).

² See AiGr. III § 25d: "Unter mi. Einfluß werden im Epos öfter die Formen des Nom. und Akk. Pl. vertauscht; z.B. wird °*antaḥ* gern als Akk. verwendet, weil das Mi. den Akk. auf -*ataḥ* nicht mehr kennt (z.B. pāli NAPI. *silavanto* 'tugendhafte'; Geiger Pāli 90 § 96). Von der Verwechslung verschont bleiben die *a*-Stämme, die auch im Mi. durchgehend N. und API. unterschieden; dagegen wird vereinzelt das Personalpronomen in Mitleidenschaft gezogen (*vayam* als Akk. Mbh. 4,39,10), weil auch Mi. der Akk. *amhe tumhe* 'uns, euch' als Nom. verwendet werden kann. Beispiele vor dem Epos sind selten: der RV. kennt nur *dvāraḥ* als API. und *dūraḥ* als NPI., beides im 1. Maṇḍ. ..., *ubhayādataḥ* als NPI. im 10. Maṇḍ. ..., *āpaḥ* als Akk. im 1. und 10. Maṇḍ., im AV. kommt dazu *apāḥ* als Nom. ... und *dīvaḥ* als Nom. ..., in Khila und B. *gāvāḥ* als Akk. ..., in ĀpŚS. *gāḥ* als Nom. ... und *udañcaḥ* als Akk. ...; aber -*iḥ* für -*ayaḥ* im NPI. von *i*-Stämmen ist nur ein Ausschnitt aus der weitreichenden Vermischung von *i*- und *ī*-Stämmen". On the last-mentioned feature see below (↗), sections 2.6 and 2.10.

³ On gender in Indo-Aryan see BLOCH (1965: 149-152) and MASICA (1993: 217-223).

2.1. *a*-stems¹

In R 2,43.12 VAN DAALEN (1974: 317) assumes a protracted (*pluta*²) vowel of the voc.³ sg. *sūta* (though not printed in the Crit. Ed.) on the strength of the *hiatus* between *sūta* and *iti*⁴:

*sūta ity eva cābhāṣya sārathim tam abhikṣṇasāḥ / haṃsamattasvaraḥ
śrīmān uvāca puruṣarṣabhaḥ // kadāhaṃ punar āgamyā sarayvāḥ puṣpīte
vane / mṛgayāṃ paryaṭiṣyāmi mātrā pitrā ca saṃgataḥ //* "O *sūta!*" – in
this way the majestic bull among men often would address his chariot
driver with a voice impassioned like that of a wild goose – "when shall I
come back again and go hunting in the flowering forest beside [the river]
Sarayū, reunited with my mother and father?", R 2,43.12-13.

And actually the Bombay edition of 1902 prints *sūta*⁵ (see MICHELSON 1904: 98⁶). But it is just as possible that we have here only one of the

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- ¹ See STENZLER § 62, KIELHORN § 131, RENOU § 246, WHITNEY § 326-334 and AiGr. III § 35-55.
- ² The *pluta* vowel is just mentioned but not written in Mbh 1,84.18: *dhvaṃsety uccais triḥ plutena svareṇa*.
- ³ A detailed study of the vocatives of the Āraṇyakaparvan in the Critical Edition is that of KULKARNI (1944/45).
- ⁴ For the voc. sg. of *a*-stems in *-ā* in Middle Indo-Aryan and Buddhist Sanskrit see AiGr. III § 46b (p. 97), VON HINÜBER § 311, OBERLIES (2001: 144 [§ 30.5]), FISCHER § 366b and BHSG § 8.27.
- ⁵ For the short vowel in case of *pluta* see AiGr. I, *Nachträge* (ad 298,25) p. 172.
- ⁶ MICHELSON cites as another example of a protracted vowel R ed. Bomb. (1902), 2,103,25 *tataḥ etad bhavati iti* (see also JACOBI 1893: 112 n. 1) – a reading which is not recorded by CE 2,95.26. It seems that both critical editions noted *pluta*-vowels only exceptionally (cf. Mbh 12,260.8: 'Cn [reading *vedāḥ*]: *vedāḥ iti garhāyāṃ plutih*'). This is also WEINRICH's reading (see 1928: 9 and 57 n. 2). See also above (♣), n. 2.

numerous hiatuses (♣ 1.1.2.1)¹, though their very existence is denied by VAN DAALEN for the archetype of the Rāmāyaṇa (a presupposition which accounts for his differing explanation).

A nom. pl. n. in *-ā* (instead of *-āni*) is met with several times²:

śataṃ sahasrāṇi samāhitāni / varṇasya varṇasya viniścītā guṇaiḥ ‘A hundred thousand [cows] were gathered [by me], decided upon by the virtues of each breed’³, Mbh 4,9.14 (v.l. *viniścītāni*)⁴

dharmaś ca satyaṃ ca tapo damaś ca / ... / mahāvratā dvādaśa brāhmaṇasya ‘Law, truth, ... are the twelve great vows of the brahmin’, Mbh 5,App.2.17 (v.l. *mahāvratāni*)⁵

tvat saṃbhūtā bhuvanāniha viśvā ‘All the worlds here have arisen from you’, Mbh 7,172.70 (v.l. [S] *tvat saṃbhūtāḥ sapta ceme hi lokāḥ*)⁶

kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam / babhūvatur abhidrutau ‘Rushing against each other they were [like] blows and counter-blows’, R 6,1672*.4 (after 6,76.20)⁷.

¹ Cf. the explanation given by JACOBI (1893: 112 n. 1).

² See AiGr. III § 51a. Also Middle Indo-Aryan and Buddhist Sanskrit know this ending (see VON HINÜBER § 324, OBERLIES 2001: 148, PISCHEL § 367 and BHS § 8.100).

³ VAN BUITENEN’s translation (III,40) is incorrect, for *samāhita-* is not ‘owned’ and *viniścita-* is not ‘divided’.

⁴ The plural *viniścītā* might instead be accounted for by assuming that *gāvaḥ* (cf. 4.9.12: *kṣipraṃ hi gāvo bahulā bhavanti*) was felt to be the (natural) subject of the sentence.

⁵ This form, however, may be due to a change of gender (on which see [♣] p.XXXIX).

⁶ On *viśvā* see (♣) p. 111, on *śatā* see (♣) p. 42 n. 1.

⁷ According to the commentary cited by SEN (1955/56a: 178) – *abhidrutau lakṣma-
nendrajitau anyonyam kṛtapratikṛtau babhūvatuḥ* – the form would be a nom. dual m. And SEN, loc. cit., actually takes it as such (cf. also id. 1951/52: 124). *kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam*, R 6,66.25, on the other hand is understood by him as acc. pl. nt.

And once also an acc. pl. n. in *-ā* is to be found (see AiGr. III § 51a):

kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam kurvāte tau raṇājire ‘On the battle-field both of them inflicted blows and counter-blows on each other’, R 6,66.25 (Ct. *kṛtapratikṛtā kṛtapratikṛtāni / ārṣo dādeśo vibhakteh*).

MICHELSON (1904: 103) explains the two examples of the Rāmāyaṇa as due to the haplological omission of *-ny* (< *-ni*), i.e. *kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam* out of **kṛtapratikṛtā<ny> anyonyam*¹.

rem. According to PISANI (1934: 5) a voc. sg. n. is attested: *sprhaṇīyarūpam*, Mbh 1,83.10 (v.l. *°rūpa*²). But it is more natural to explain the compound as a *bahuvrīhi* and its form as an acc. sg. m. (referring to Yayāti): *tat tvāṃ pṛcchāmaḥ sprhaṇīyarūpam / kasya tvam vā kiṃnimittaṃ tvam āgāḥ* ‘Then we ask you of enviable beauty: Whose [son] are you and why have you come here?’.

(< *°kṛtāny anyonyam* [on which see above]).

¹ Compare also ROUSSEL (1910: 54 n. 1), KEITH (1910: 1323) and AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 163 (according to RENOUE § 246 [p. 350] all these examples are ‘dubious’).

² This is the expected – or at least: more normal – form (see AiGr. III § 46c).

2.2. *ā*-stems¹

For the 'genitive' sg. (*metri causa*) *sītayā*, R 5,23.9 (see RENOUE § 248 rem.), see (♣) p. 330².

2.3. *i*- and *u*-stems³

The instr. pl. (*citra*)*pattībhiḥ* ('foot-soldier'⁴), R 4,492*.3, is due to metrical exigency (in the cadence of an odd *śloka pāda*): *āsthitāṃ citrapattībhiḥ*. This form may show the influence of the vocalism of the gen. pl. in *-īnām*⁵. Conversely the gen. pl. in *-īnām* may occur under the influence of the (short) *-ī-* of the forms of the instr., dat., abl. and loc. pl. But this form may be based on the transfer of the *ī*-stem to the *īn*-flexion (see below [♣], 3.4)⁶:

¹ See STENZLER § 63, KIELHORN § 131, RENOUE § 248, WHITNEY § 362-368 and AiGr. III § 56-64.

² A nom. sg. in *-āḥ* (see BHSG § 9.10) is to be found – according to LUDWIG (1896: 10) – at Mbh 6,115.50 v.l. (of the MSS K1.4 B M3-5 and ed. Bomb.): *parikhāḥ khanyatām atra* 'The moat is to be dug right here' (see AiGr. II.2 § 11bβ [p. 32]). The crit. ed., however, reads *parikhā khanyatām atra*.

³ See STENZLER § 65, KIELHORN § 136-137, RENOUE § 247, WHITNEY § 335-346 and AiGr. III § 66-82.

⁴ Or is the meaning of *pattī-* 'foot = support' and of *āsthitāṃ citrapattībhiḥ* '[a litter] which stands on [four] coloured feet'?

⁵ The comparable Pāli form in *-īhi* is regarded by GEIGER § 82.4 and OBERLIES (2001: 153 [§ 32.7]) as analogical to the form of the gen. pl. (for the rhythmic effect in reshaping Pāli forms see CAILLAT 1970: 19-20). EDGERTON'S explanation of this ending – "the ending of Skt. *ī*-stems, here applied to *i*-stems, in verses where meter requires *ī*" (BHSG § 10.195) – seems less likely (though not impossible) as it presupposes that feminine *ī*-stems have influenced masculine ones.

⁶ Or both factors might have operated together (see RENOUE § 247d2). It is to be remembered that the neuters in *i* and *u* have an *n*-flexion (see AiGr. III § 73bγ) that favoured the transfer. For similar Pāli forms see GEIGER § 83.8 and OBERLIES (2001:

maharddhinām, R 5, App.2.19 ([-]ᵛ-ᵛ- in the cad. of a vaṃśastha), *surarṣiṇām*, Mbh 3,845*.3b (cad.), *jñātinām*, R 6,114.35b (*duḥkhaṃ taj jñātināṃ nudan* [-ᵛ-ᵛ-]), *padātinām*, R 6,81.29d (cad.), *hariṇām*, R 4,43.15 ([jag.] *sa tat prakarṣan hariṇāṃ balaṃ mahat*)¹.

This explanation, however, fails² in the case of the gen. pl. in *-unām*³:

ḡrdhnunām, R 6,62.7d v.1. (*sarveṣāṃ ḡrhagrḡdnunām* [CE ... *medhinām*]), (*śatrusaṃjāta*)*manyunām*, 6,62.9b.

Both these forms, which are used *metri causa* – the short vowel is demanded by the cadence of the even *śloka pāda* (see MICHELSON 1904: 104) –, show the vocalism of the other oblique cases of the plural, viz. a (short) *-ū-*.

A nom. pl. in *-nvaḥ* is to be found:

prabhaviṣṇvo bhavāmeti, R 7,5.13c v.1.⁴

152 [§ 32.4]), for Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 10.203 (no examples seem to be met with in Prakrit [see PISCHEL § 377]).

¹ This is to have a short second syllable after the caesura.

² But we have the oblique forms of the neuter *u*-stems characterized by a *-n-* (for which see AiGr. III § 67) which later became transferred also to the masculine (AiGr. III § 67c). This fact explains the MIA genitive (BHS, Pāli, Prakrit) in *-uno* (see AiGr. I.c.).

³ For similar Pāli forms see GEIGER § 83.8 and OBERLIES (2001: 152 [§ 32.4]), for Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 12.71.

⁴ See MICHELSON (1904: 104), RENOU § 247d3 and SEN (1955/56a: 180). BÖHTLINGK (1889: 65-66) and KEITH (1910: 1325 with n. 1), however, regard *prabhaviṣṇvaḥ* as a bad reading calling for emendation (this is rejected by MICHELSON 1904: 104). And the crit. ed. actually reads *prabhaviṣṇavo bhavāmeti*; here the first heavy syllable is resolved into two light ones (on the double *sandhi* of *bhavāmeti* see [♣] p. 37).

rem. According to LUDWIG (1896: 10)¹, a loc. sg. *yoni*² is attested: *yoni saṃkaluṣe jātaṃ nānācārasamāhitam* ‘... born in an impure womb ...’, Mbh 13,48.39. That this is an (endingless) loc. (see BHSG § 10.68-69) is contested by AiGr. III § 76aḍ *rem.*, which sees in *yoni* the prior member of a compound (following PW VII 513).

2.4. *sakhi-*³

We have a voc. sg. *sakhā*⁴, Mbh 6,33.41 (*he sakheti* [v.l. *sakhe ca*]) unless this is a case of double sandhi: *sakheti* < **sakha iti* < *sakhe iti* (↗ 1.8.12)⁵.

¹ He referred to stanza 38 where Yudhiṣṭhira puts the question: *naraṃ kaluṣayonijam ... kathaṃ vidyāmahe*.

² The word *yoni-* can also be feminine (cf. *yonyām*, Mbh 3,80.100, *yoniḥ*, 13,28.5).

³ See STENZLER § 66, KIELHORN § 139, RENOU § 247 (p. 352), WHITNEY § 343a-c and AiGr. III § 69c.

⁴ It is to be noted that Pāli has a voc. *sakhā*, Ja III 295,20*, because of the relation of *sakhi-* to the nomina agentis in °r: nom./voc. *sakhā*, acc. *sakhāraṃ* = *satthā*, *satthāraṃ* (see GEIGER § 84 and OBERLIES 2001: 155).

⁵ RENOU’s statement that the Mahābhārata knows the nom. sg. *sakhiḥ* (1956: 106 n. 1 [without reference]; see id., § 247a1) is based on rule VII 1,93 of Śaraṇadeva’s *Durghaṭavṛtti* (*arjunasya sakhā kṛṣṇaḥ*, *kṛṣṇasya sakhir arjuna iti bhāratam*). This stanza could not be verified in the critical edition of the Mahābhārata.

2.5. *pati-*¹

The word *pati-* is sometimes treated as a ‘regular’ *i*-stem² (probably) on the analogy of its inflexion in compounds (i.e. *patinā* is not an ‘archaism’³):

(instr. sg.) *patinā*, Mbh 3,67.13, 13,134.45, 15,41.3, R 1,136*, 1,1277* v.l., 2,97.11, 4,17.36, 5,24.36, 7,48.18⁴

(dat. sg.) *pataye*, R 6,App.65.40 (cf. °*adhipataye*, ibid. 32)

(loc. sg.) *patau*, R 3,47.34 v.l., 5,51.31, 6,38.24.

In the compound (gen. sg.) *aśvapatinah*, R 7,90.4, we have a transfer of the *i-* to an *in*-stem (see [♣] 3.4, below).

2.6. (f.) *i-* and *u*-stems⁵

The nom. pl.

*ośadhīḥ*⁶, Mbh 8,24.70, R 6,40.32 v.l., *koṭīḥ*, R 4,App.17.98 v.l., *prakṛtīḥ*, R 4,560*, and *suvarṇa-rāśīḥ*, Mbh 7,App.8.353

¹ See STENZLER § 67, KIELHORN § 139, RENOUE § 247 (p. 352), WHITNEY § 343d and AiGr. III § 69d.

² In MIA *pati-* is always inflected as a regular *i*-stem (see PISCHEL § 379), since the development of *-ty-* > *-cc-* would have separated the oblique cases of the singular from the paradigm (*pati[m]* vs. †*pacc-*).

³ See AiGr. III § 69d *rem.* (p. 143).

⁴ For further instances in the Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1955/56a: 179).

⁵ See STENZLER § 68, KIELHORN § 136, RENOUE § 247b, WHITNEY § 335-346 and AiGr. III § 66-82.

⁶ For the alternation *ośadhi-* ~ *ośadhī-* see (♣) 3.3.

rest on the confusion of nom. and acc. pl. (see AiGr. § 25d / 78 *rem.* [p. 159] and BHS § 10.167)¹. As a result of the same confusion forms in *-ayah* are used as acc. pl. (see AiGr. III § 79a *rem.* [p. 159-160] and BHS § 10.153²):

oṣadhayah, Mbh 1,744*.4, R 6,61.32

(°)gatayah, Mbh 12,120.15, 290.86, 336.4³

dīpayantayah, R 6,61.32

°pañktayah, R 4,634*.2

prakṛtayah, Mbh 1,131.1 v.l. (*sarvāḥ prakṛtayah śanaiḥ* [CE *sarvās tāḥ prakṛtīḥ śanaiḥ*]), 1,133.4 (*sarvāḥ prakṛtayaś caiva* [v.l. *sarvās tāḥ prakṛtīś caiva*]), 3,57.6 (*tās tu sarvāḥ prakṛtayah* [v.l. *prakṛtīs tās tathā dr̥ṣṭvā*]), 12,44.1 (*sarvāḥ prakṛtayo nṛpa* [v.l. *sarvās tāḥ prakṛtīḥ nṛpa*]), R 6,100.15 v.l. (CE *prakṛtīḥ* [Ct. *prakṛtayah prakṛtīḥ*])

pravṛttayah, Mbh 12,220.37

rātrayah, Mbh 5,50.3 (v.l. *rātrīḥ* [*sarvās tu* / °*trīr yah* (sic!) *sarvāḥ*])

rāśayah, Mbh 2,48.9, 5,149.79

°vibhūtayah, Mbh 6,32.16.19⁴

°vr̥ṣṭayah, R 2,85.22⁵, 5,12.10

¹ This confusion is due to the analogy of the *ā*-stems whose nom. and acc. pl. end in *-āḥ* (see also [↗] p. XLIX-L).

² The same phenomenon is met with in the masculine *i*-stems in Pāli (GEIGER § 82.3 and OBERLIES 2001: 152-153 [§ 32.5]) and Prakrit (PISCHEL § 381).

³ According to LUDWIG (1896: 10) an acc. *jñātayah* is attested at Mbh (ed. Bomb.) 11,4.20. This reference, however, could not to be verified.

⁴ Cf. HOPKINS: "In *Gitā* 10,16 and 19, *ātmavibhūtayah* may be nominative. The form as acc. can scarcely be a Vedic reversion" (1901: 265 n. 2).

⁵ The v.l. *abhyavar̥ṣata* apparently requires °*vr̥ṣṭayah* to be accusative rather than, as in the critical text, a bahuvrīhi agreeing with the subject, *ghanāḥ* (see BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 406 n. 1 [= ET p. 85 n. 33]).

vyaktayah, Mbh 12,197.12, 220.37.

The nom. pl. *dhenvah*, Mbh 5,100.7, is based on the transfer of *dhenu-* to an *ū*-stem (↗ 3.5), while the acc. pl. *dhenavaḥ*, Mbh 13,94.15, is due to the confusion of acc. and nom. pl.

2.7. (n.) *u*-stems¹

The following forms are based on a change of gender (see AiGr. III § 19cα *rem.*):

(acc. sg.) *jānum*, Mbh 3,256.5, 4,604*.4 (v.l. *jānu*)²

(acc. pl.) *sanūn*, Mbh 3,App.31.26.

2.8. (°)*bhrū-*³

The word *subhrū-* (cf. *subhrū* °, Mbh 1,140.14, but also *subhru* °, Mbh 7,45.17, 11,19.17, 12,331.26 [see AiGr. III § 101h]) is declined like a polysyllabic (f.) *ū*-stem⁴:

(voc. sg. f.) *subhru*, Mbh 1,72.12, 76.10, 78.2, 4,23.26, 9,47.27, 12,218.6, 221.18, 13,41.8, 97.10, 134.1, R 5,18.32, 21.17, 6,107.35; likewise *lekha-bhru*, Mbh 8,51.79 (see crit. notes *ad loc.*)

HOLTZMANN (1884: 12 [§ 343d]) regards *vr̥ṣṭyah*, Mbh 8,36.4 v.l. (*śaravr̥ṣṭyah samantataḥ*), as gen. sg. The crit. ed., however, reads: *śalabhā iva sampetuḥ samantāc charavr̥ṣṭayah*. Here we have a regular nom. pl. (see [↗] p. 84 n. 3).

¹ See STENZLER § 69, KIELHORN § 136, RENOUE § 247, WHITNEY § 335-346 and AiGr. III § 72, 80.

² LUDWIG records an acc. du. *jānū*, Mbh (ed. Bomb.) 4,11.35, which, however, could not be verified.

³ See STENZLER § 71 *app.*, KIELHORN § 165, RENOUE § 234Bb (p. 324-325 with addendum) and AiGr. III § 100-101.

⁴ On the vocative sg. of *subhrū-* see SHARMA PERI (1980/81).

(acc. sg. f.) *subhrūm*, Mbh 1,204.13, 9,51.3, R 5,13.27 (see AiGr. III § 100eβ rem.).

As far as the masculine gender is concerned we have the following irregular forms (see AiGr. II,1 § 42dβ, III § 101h):

(nom. sg.) *saṃhatabhruḥ*, Mbh 2,58.23 v.l. (CE *ḥhrūḥ* [= 5,50.18]),

utkṣiptabhruḥ, Mbh 3,147.19 v.l. (CE *ḥhrūḥ*)

(acc. sg.) *subhrum*, Mbh 7,172.59

(nom. pl.) *ḥjhmabhrvaḥ*, Mbh 1,96.17 v.l. (CE *ḥjhmabhrū* ^ḥ).

2.9. *strī*-¹

The gen. *striyaḥ* is to be found at

Mbh 4,36.30, 12,142.12, R 3,47.14 v.l. (CE *striyāḥ*), 6,80.53 v.l. (CE *striyāḥ*), 102.26.27, 7,86.10 v.l. (CE *striyaḥ*).

It is formed on the analogy of the gen. in *ḥ(i)yaḥ* of the monosyllabic feminines (after the pattern x : *striyam* = *dhiyaḥ* : *dhiyam*)².

2.10. *ī*- and *ū*-stems³

The nominative plural in *ḥīḥ* is due to the confusion of acc. and nom.:

(*vaiśyaśūdr*)*aupayikīḥ* (*kathāḥ*), Mbh 1,185.11 (see AiGr. III § 89ce rem. [p. 178]), *kiṃpuruṣīḥ*, R 7,79.22 v.l. (CE *kiṃpuruṣāḥ*), *bhāminīḥ*, R 2,85.15, *ḥmānuṣīḥ*, R 7,466*.

¹ See STENZLER § 72, KIELHORN § 144, RENOUE § 249a, WHITNEY § 366 and AiGr. III § 92.

² At Mbh 1,621*.2 *śrī*- is inflected as a polysyllabic *ī*-stem: *sutām śrīm iva rūpiṇīm*.

³ See STENZLER § 73, KIELHORN § 141, RENOUE § 249, WHITNEY § 355-356 and AiGr. III § 83-101.

The following accusatives are based on the same confusion:

akṣauhiṇyaḥ, Mbh 1,1.116 v.l. (CE *akṣauhiṇīḥ*), (*pāpa*)*kr̥tyaḥ*, Mbh 12,262.5, *dhūmrakeśinyaḥ*, R 5,15.16 v.l. (CE *°keśīḥ*), *gr̥ṣṭyaḥ*, Mbh 13,94.15 (v.l. *gr̥ṣṭīḥ*), *°dhāriṇyaḥ*, R 5,8.30, *nadyaḥ*, Mbh 2,18.27, R 4,32.8 (*gīrinadyaḥ*), 42.8, *nalinyaḥ*, R 3,61.13 v.l. (CE *naliniḥ*), *nṛtyantyaḥ*, R 7,App.2.73 (see HOPKINS 1899: 223), (*dharma*)*patnyaḥ*, Mbh 1,60.13 (v.l. *°patnīḥ*), *padminyaḥ*, R 3,61.13 v.l. (CE *naliniḥ*), 5,12.32, *puṣkarinyaḥ*, Mbh 13,67.19, R 3,53.12, *bahvyaḥ*, Mbh 9,49.11 (v.l. *bahvīḥ*)¹, *bheryaḥ*, Mbh 6,1.15, *rākṣasyaḥ*, R 5,14.25, 6,101.25, *samālabhantyaḥ*, R 5,4.10 v.l. (CE *samālabhanti*)², *vilāsinyaḥ*, Mbh 13,110.35 (see HOPKINS 1901: 265-266), *vāpyaḥ*, R 4,755*, *vāśantyaḥ*, Mbh 11,18.14 (v.l. *vāśantiḥ*), *vāhinyaḥ*, Mbh 6,16.38, *upaśāyinyaḥ*, R 5,5.27 (Cg. *upaśāyinyaḥ paryāyaśāyiniḥ*), *vinīḥśvasantyaḥ*, R 5,175*, *sugandhavatyaḥ*, Mbh 13,72.40 = 76.8, *hasantyaḥ*, R 5,175*.

rem. The nom. sg. (*rāṣṭram ...*) *āttalakṣmi*, Mbh 3,253.5, is against the traditional grammar (see RENOU § 249B *rem.* and AiGr. II,1 § 42cy)³.

¹ This may be a case of an *aberratio oculi* of a scribe, since in the next but one verse (correct) *samās ... bahvyaḥ* (9,49.13) occurs.

² On the text of the critical edition see GOLDMAN / SUTHERLAND (1996: 344-345).

³ For *śūrpaṇakhyā*, R 3,16.12, 21.1, and *śūrpaṇakhyāḥ*, R 1,30.11, instr. and gen. sg. of *°ṇakhī-*, R 3,17.8, see SATYA VRAT (1964: 203): "The forms *Śūrpaṇakhī* and *Śūrpaṇakhī* occur in the Rāmāyaṇa along with the regular *Śūrpaṇakhā*. Now Pāṇini clearly prohibits the feminine suffix *nīṣ* to a word ending in *nakha* and *mukha* if it is a proper name by the *sūtra* 'nakhamukhāt saṃjñāyām' (IV.1.58). *Śūrpaṇakhī*, therefore, would be clearly inadmissible" (see also AiGr. II,2 § 246dy). A completely different explanation is advanced by THIEME. According to him *śūrpaṇakhyā* is an 'allegro-form' for expected *śūrpaṇakhayā*, from which the *ī*-stem is subsequently abstracted (1977: 512 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 1133]). THIEME wrongly maintains that such an *ī*-stem is only lately attested, viz. R 6,App.57.56/58 v.l. (see above). See also (♣) p. 52.

This confusion of nominative and accusative plural is due to the fact that in Middle Indo-Aryan the nom. and the acc. pl. of the *r̄*-stems had - on the model of the *ā*-inflection - the same form (see PISCHEL § 387 and OBERLIES 2001: 160 [§ 36.1]).

The nom. sg. *vadhūḥ*, Mbh 3,282.9 (v.l. *vadhu*), is used as vocative¹ (see RENOUE § 249C *rem.*). And the nominative plural *jambūḥ*, R 2,85.27 v.l. (CE *babhūvuh*), is again due to the confusion of acc. and nom.

2.11. *tandrī*-²

tandrī- has the nominative *tandrīḥ*, Mbh 3,148.34 v.l. (CE *tandrī*), 12,221.47, side by side with *tandrī*, Mbh 3,148.15.34, 160.32, 13,2.87 (see AiGr. III § 87b). On the nom. sg. m. *atandrīḥ* see (♣) p. 94.

2.12. *r*-stems³

The nominative *bhartā* (*hā bharteti*), R 2,59.10 v.l. (CE *hā nātheti*), is used as vocative⁴. And the instr. sg. (^o)*karṭṛṇā*, Mbh 3,543*, R 7,163*.3 v.l. (CE ^o*kāriṇā*), 7,App.3.19, is formed after the model of the instr. sg. in ^o*inā* and ^o*unā*, as is *napṭṛṇā*, Mbh 5,133.9 (see AiGr. III § 108 and BHS § 13.38).

¹ According to PW VI col. 663 this form is attested also BhāgP 7.2.20.

² See STENZLER § 74, KIELHORN § 142, RENOUE § 249.4, WHITNEY § 363 and AiGr. III § 87.

³ See STENZLER § 75, KIELHORN § 148, RENOUE § 243.1, WHITNEY § 369-376 and AiGr. III § 102-118.

⁴ The same holds true for the Middle Indian / BHS voc. sg. *bhaṭṭā/bhrātā* (see PISCHEL § 389, BHS § 13.31 and VAN DAALEN 1980: 114 [§ 4,24,9,2]). For the assumption that we have to do with a case of double sandhi see SEN (1950: 17).

rem. MICHELSON (1904: 110) and AiGr., *l. c.*, see in *brahmaṇā lokakarṭṛṇā*, Mbh 3,543* = R 7,App.3,19, the (regular) instr. sg. of the *neuter* (not so RENOUE § 243 rem. [p. 344]). In view of *brahmā lokakartā*, R 1,2,22, this is an unlikely explanation¹.

The acc. pl. *gopradātārah*, R 7,404*.16 (v.l. °*dātṛṇś ca*²), and *grhadātārah*, R 7,704*.17 (Ct: *grhadātāro grhadātṛṇ*), are due to the confusion with the nom. pl.

2.13. (Kinship) *r*-stems³

For the instr. *napṭṛṇā*, Mbh 5,133.9, see above (↗), 2.12. As in the case of *bhartā* (↗ 2.12) the nominative (*rāma*)*mātā*, R 2,35.28, is used instead of the vocative proper (see MICHELSON 1904: 109). The commentary, however, sees in *rāmamāteṭi* an *ārṣa sandhi*. To assume a double sandhi (from °*mataḥ iti*) creates difficulties as the vocative *mātaḥ* is based on /*mātar*/⁴. We would therefore have to assume this to have resulted from a double sandhi of °*māte* and *iti*, in which °*māte* would be a voc. sg. formed following the pattern of that of the *ā*-stems (cf. BHS *kuladuhite* [BHS § 13.9] and Pāli *satthe* [GEIGER § 90.5]). The voc. *devakīmātaḥ* (of a *bahuvrīhi* compound), Mbh 8,46.3 v.l. (CE

¹ Some examples of the rare neuter *r*-stems are met with (see LUDWIG 1896: 11): *sainyaṃ ripusainyahantṛ*, Mbh 6,76.19, *brahmaiva samniyantṛ*, Mbh 12,79.21, *tamo bhayakarṭṛ*, Mbh 7,229* (see also AiGr. III § 108).

² See HOPKINS: "In G(orresio) the hiatus is usually avoided, but it is sometimes kept here, as where R. VII,21,19 has *gorasaṃ gopradātāro annaṃ cāi 'va (adrākṣīt)* and G(orresio) rectifies the grammar but keeps the hiatus, *gopradātṛṇṣ ca annam*" (1901: 197; see *ibid.* n. 1).

³ See STENZLER § 76 KIELHORN § 151, RENOUE § 243.2, WHITNEY § 369-375 and AiGr. III § 102-118.

⁴ One could, however, point to *aho 'manyata*, R 4,34.7 (↗ 1.5) where *aho* < *ahah* is likewise based on /*ahar*/.

[◦]*putra*), 14,16.5, is formed – contrary to the rule (see AiGr. II,1 § 41bβ rem [p. 96], III § 112) – according to the *r*-inflection.

The following acc. pl. result from the confusion of acc. and nom. pl.:

duhitarah, Mbh 1,96.44, R 3,13.27 v.l. (CE *duhitarau*), *pitarah*, Mbh 3,934*, 9,4.36, *mātarah*, R 2,34.32¹, 7,82.18 (v.l. *bhrātarah* [also acc. ← nom.])².

As a short *-r-* is metrically required in the cadence of *pāda* b of the *śloka* Mbh 12,66.17b (*bhratṛṇām putranaptṛṇām* [◡-◡-])³ we have here a gen. pl. in *ṛṇām*⁴.

2.14. (m./f.) *ā*-/*i*-/*ū*-stems⁵

At Mbh 3,222.38 the acc. sg. f. *vīrasūm* is found. And the word *senānī-* has the gen. pl. m. *senānīnām* (*aḥam skandah*), Mbh 6,32.24 (v.l. [Š3 Ck] *senānyām*)⁶.

¹ As to the abnormal numeral *trayaḥ(-)śataśatārḍhāḥ* of this stanza see (♣) p. 116 n. 2.

² Cf. *paitṛṣvaseya-* (← *pitrṣvasā-*), Mbh 7,56.37 (see AiGr. II,1 § 19f.).

³ AiGr. (III § 118a rem.) is mistaken in explicitly stating: "LUDWIG Mahābh. 11. der auch *naptṛṇām* aus Mbh. 12,66,23 = 2474 anführt, wo aber metrisch notwendiges *naptṛṇām* steht".

⁴ (Also) the epic poets had two forms of the gen. pl. of *nṛ-*, viz. *nṛṇām* and *nṛṇām*, at their disposal (as had the Vedic poets [see AiGr. III § 118a]), which they used according to metrical exigencies.

⁵ See STENZLER, Anhang III, § 79, KIELHORN § 146-147, RENOUE § 234C, WHITNEY § 354 and AiGr. III § 65, 96, 101.

⁶ BhāḡP. 11,16.22 *skando 'ham sarvasenānyām* (see AiGr III § 91c and RENOUE p. 325) corresponds to this *pāda* of the *Gītā* (10,24).

2.15. *go-*¹

The nom. pl. °*gāḥ*, R 2,1030*.20 v.l.², as well as the acc. pl. *gāvah*, Mbh 3,228.2, 4,42.12.31, 4,686*.4³, 5,47.15, R 2,770*.4, 3,13.28 v.l. (CE [*rohiny ajanayad*] *gā vai*⁴) are due to the confusion of nom. and acc. pl.

2.16. (n.) °*as*-stems⁵

According to LUDWIG (1896: 11), *vacah*, Mbh 3,238.4 v.l., is (an endingless) loc. sg. (see AiGr. III § 150c): *tasminn uccāryamāṇe tu gandharveṇa vacas tathā*. This is not confirmed by the reading of the crit. ed., *vacasy atha* (i.e. [*vaca*]sta[*thā*] is only a wrong reading for [*vaca*]sya[*tha*]).

2.17. (m.) °*as*-stems⁶

The word *triśirāḥ*, Mbh 5,9.35, is to be taken as a contracted form of the ablative sg. *triśirasah*⁷: *nikṛtteṣu tatas teṣu niṣkrāmaṣ*⁸ *triśirās tv atha /*

¹ See STENZLER § 79, KIELHORN § 153, RENOUE § 235, WHITNEY 361c and AiGr. III § 121b, 122.

² MICHELSON (1904: 106) refers to the explanation of the commentary: "The comm. notes the form and says it is Vedic – 'gā' ity ārsam. This is supported by its occurrence as a nom.pl. at ĀpŚS X.26.7".

³ The critical edition erroneously prints *gā vah* (see WELLER 1938: 384 n. 1). On this stanza see also below (♣), p. 107.

⁴ Corresponding to Mbh 1,60.65: *rohinyām jajñire gāvah*.

⁵ See STENZLER § 83, KIELHORN § 88, RENOUE § 239, WHITNEY § 411-414 and AiGr. III § 148-150.

⁶ See STENZLER § 84, KIELHORN § 88, RENOUE § 239, WHITNEY § 417-419 and AiGr. III § 148-150.

⁷ See crit. notes *ad loc.*

⁸ On this form see (♣) 6.4.1.

kapiñjalās tittirās ca kalaviñkās ca sarvaśaḥ ‘When [the heads] had been cut off there issued from Trisiras¹ heathcocks and partridges and sparrows to all sides’.

Besides *māsa*- ‘month’ we have the old *s*-stem *mās*- attested only in the loc. sg. *māsi*: Mbh 13,109.32.48, 116.10.16, 143.21, *puṣpamāsi*, R 4,1.19.42 v.l. (CE ^o*māse* [see AiGr. III § 162hα *rem.*² and RENOUE § 236a (p. 329)]).

The nom. sg. *uśanāḥ*³ is formed like that of a regular *as*-stem: Mbh 5,48.2 v.l. (CE *uśanā*), 6,7.20 (v.l. *uśanā*). For the genitive dual *bṛhaspaty-uśanoḥ* see (♣) 3.13.

2.18. Present participles in ^o*ant*-⁴

The nom. pl. m. *vadantaḥ*, R 4,58.1, is due to the confusion of nominative and accusative. The reverse of this phenomenon resulting in the generalization of the strong stem is seen in

(acc. pl.) *ādravantaḥ*, Mbh 5,47.23, *pravrajantaḥ*, Mbh 5,81.44, *niḥśvasantaḥ*, Mbh 3,App.25.137.⁵

¹ Alternatively we can take *trisiraḥ* as genitive: ‘When [the heads] of Trisiras had been cut off ...’.

² WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER’s *pūrṇamāsi* is obviously a mere printing mistake for *puṣpamāsi*.

³ See KIELHORN § 91, RENOUE § 239.4, WHITNEY § 355a, 416 and AiGr. III § 149aβ *rem.* (p. 285).

⁴ See STENZLER § 88, KIELHORN § 101-104, RENOUE § 240, WHITNEY § 443-448 and AiGr. III § 143.

⁵ See BHS § 18.70 and 18.72.

2.19. Reduplicated and ‘acrodynamic’ participles¹

Reduplicated and ‘acrodynamic’² participles having a strong stem are attested of the following roots and intensives:

(nom. sg. m.) *vi-cukrośan*, R 3,815* v.l. of NW rec. (not noted by CE)³, *jāgran*, Mbh 12,245.10 (v.l. *jāgrad [eva]*), *jājvalan*, Mbh 7,173.87, R 1,59.31, *juhvan*, Mbh 1,81.12, 110.31, 4,280*.7, *lelihan*, Mbh 3,124.23, 154.40 v.l. = 4,20.34 v.l. = 9,54.19 v.l. (CE [in all cases] *parisaṃlihan*), 3,175.14 v.l. (CE *lihantam*)⁴

(acc. sg. m.) *jāgrantam*, Mbh 1,139.12 v.l. (CE *jāgratam*), *praśāsantam*, Mbh 3,61.89, R 1,1237*.2 (cf., however, thematic *śāsati* [↗ 6.6.2.1])

(nom. dual) *juhvantau*, Mbh 1,201.8 (v.l. *juhvānau*)

(nom. pl.) *juhvantah*, Mbh 6,69.38 (v.l. *juhvatah*).

2.20. *mahānt*-⁵

There is no acc. sg. m. *mahat* (pace PW V 612 [s.v. mahant] and AiGr. III § 141bγ; cf. MW 794 coll. 2). At the places which the PW adduces, *mahat* is acc. sg. n. As Mbh 3,69.14 v.l. (*mahad adhvānam api ca gantavyaṃ katham idṛśaiḥ* [CE *mahān adhvā ca turagair gantavyaḥ ...*]) clearly shows *mahad adhvānam* is a nominative yielding a (neuter) stem *adhvāna-* (↗ 3.12), which is attested also at (e.g.) Mbh 3,145.11 (*uhyamānā yayuḥ śīghraṃ mahad*

¹ See STENZLER § 89, KIELHORN § 106, RENOUE § 240a, WHITNEY § 444a / 1013b and AiGr. III § 143d (cf. *ibid.* II,2 § 70aḍ *rem.* [p. 162]).

² On the ‘acrodynamic’ present *śāste* see KÜMMEL (1998: 201-202). It is – *inter alia* – characterized by having the suffix of the present active participle only in its zero grade (see BEEKES 1995: 187 [§ 13.2.7]).

³ See SEN (1951d: 55).

⁴ It is only one MS (D3) which reads *lelihan*.

⁵ See STENZLER § 90, KIELHORN § 108, RENOUE § 240b, WHITNEY § 450b and AiGr. III § 141.

adhvānam alpavat), 3,262.20 (*cakarṣa mahad adhvānaṃ rāmaḥ*), 3,266.39 (*gatvā sumahad adhvānam*) and R 5,56.44 (*gatvā ca mahad adhvānam*)¹. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume a change of gender also for Mbh 7,112.32 (*vijayam ... mahat*), 13,62.14 (*mahad dharmam āpnuyāt*), R 4,35.2 (... *sumahat trāsam ...*), 5,44,12 (*prayatnaṃ mahad āsthāya*), 5,45.3 (... *mahad ... ratham ...*), 5,33.60 (*mahad vadham*), 6,App.30.51 (*doṣam āvahate mahat*)². On the lack of concord between (^o)*mahat* and the noun qualified by it see (♣) p. 293.

rem. Exceptionally *mahat-* is used as prior member of *karmadhārayas* and *bahuvrīhis* (see AiGr. II,1 § 23f *rem.*, SEN 1991/92: 180 and BHSG § 18.3): *pradudrāva mahadbhayāt*, Mbh 6,96.33 v.l. (of Calc. ed., not recorded in CE [*pradudrāva raṇe bhayāt*]), (*kartavyāḥ ...*) *bhaṭānāṃ mahadāvāsā vaideśikanivāsinām*, R 1,369*, .. *rakṣo mahadvyanadam ...*, 4,6.21, *mahadyāśas tvam iti ...*, Mbh 1,21.16 (on ^o*yāśa*-compounds see [♣] 3.13).

2.21. ^o*mant*-stems³

The acc. pl. *mūrtimantaḥ*, Mbh 12,326.54, is due to the confusion of nom. and acc. pl. This form is used to avoid the metrical pattern ˘˘- of the syllables 2-4 of the odd *śloka-pāda* (♣ p. XXXI n. 5).

¹ Cf. Prakrit / Pāli *addhāṇ/na-* (see PSM and CPD s.v.).

² LUDWIG (1896: 9) records a nominative *mahā* (instead of *mahān*), attested at Mbh (Bomb. ed.) 7,132,42. The crit. ed. (7,107.38), however, reads *kr̥to mahān mahārāja* (without giving a v.l. *mahā*).

³ See STENZLER § 91, KIELHORN § 109-111, RENOUE § 240c, WHITNEY § 452-457 and AiGr. III § 142.

2.22. °an-stems¹

The nom. sg. *pīvān*, Mbh 1,3.35.43.47, 13,95.4-10, is formed on analogy with the °vant- and °vāms-stems (see AiGr. III § 145a rem.).

The acc. pl. *rājānaḥ*, Mbh 2,App.13.8, and *ukṣāṇaḥ*, Mbh 3,App.21/5.80, are based on the interchange of nom. and acc. pl. (see AiGr. III § 145g rem. and BHSG § 17.62).

rem: The alleged loc. sg. *rājan*, Mbh 2,44.16 and 2,App.4.18 (according to Nilakaṇṭha), is a voc. sg. (see AiGr. III § 145da rem.).

2.23. (n.) °an-stems²

rem. The form *janma*, R 2,259*, explained as loc. sg. by the commentary, is acc. sg. (see AiGr. III § 145dy rem.).

2.24. °(C)m/van-stems³

Due to the confusion of nom./voc. and acc. pl. we have

(nom.) *mahātmanaḥ*, Mbh 3,80.51(d)⁴, R (NW) 4,19.5, 4,22.25 (not noted in the crit. ed. [see SEN 1955/56a: 185]), *puṇyakarmaṇaḥ*, R 3,22.27, 3,420*.3, *saṃnataparvaṇaḥ*, R 3,37.12

(voc.) *mahātmanaḥ*, R 1,60.3 (*mahātmana iti mahātmāna ity arthakam ṛṣisaṃbodhanam*, ct.)

¹ See STENZLER § 92, KIELHORN § 114-116, RENOU § 241a, WHITNEY § 420-424 and AiGr. III § 144-145.

² See STENZLER § 93, KIELHORN § 114-116, RENOU § 241a, WHITNEY § 420-424 and AiGr. III § 145.

³ See STENZLER § 94, KIELHORN § 114-116, RENOU § 241a, WHITNEY § 420-424 and AiGr. III § 145.

⁴ This 'nominative' is metrically conditioned: (*snātās tūrthe*) *mahātmanaḥ* (— —).

(acc.) *mahātmānaḥ*, R 1,56.15 v.l. (*sumahātmāna iti vyatyayena dvitīyārthe prathamā*, ct.), 4,13.25 (see AiGr. III § 144bγ and BHS § 17.63)¹.

rem.: (a) The word *ātman-* when used as a reflexive pronoun occurs in the singular even when referring to a dual or a plural (SPEYER 1886: 198-199 [§ 263-264], id. 1896: 39 [§ 127], HOPKINS 1902a: 122 and AiGr. III § 240c)²: *jaṭāḥ kṛtvātmanaḥ sarve* 'All [the men] braided their hair', Mbh 1,144.3, *nāthavantam ivātmānaṃ menire bharatarṣabhāḥ* 'The mighty Bharatas deemed themselves well-protected', 1,174.9, *gopāyanti kulastriyaḥ / ātmānam ātmanā* 'Women of family guard themselves by themselves', 3,68.8, *tau putram ātmanaḥ sprṣtvā ... / nipetatuh śarīre* 'sya 'Both touched their son and ... collapsed upon his body', R 2,58.25³; (b) at Mbh 1,114.14 *ātman-* does not refer to the subject of the sentence but to its speaker: *jñāsyasy adya samāgamya mayātmānaṃ balādhikam* 'If you now fight with me you will find out that I am stronger' (cf. also SPEYER 1886: 200 [§ 267]).

2.25. *maghavan-* / *yuvan-*⁴

The stem *maghavan-* is inflected also like a ⁹*vant-stem*: (nom. sg.) *maghavān*, Mbh 9,15.32, R 3,5.7. As in both places the word *iva* immediately

¹ (*kṛta*)*karmāṇaḥ* (≠ كرماء), R 5,62.16 (*nājnāpayitum īso 'haṃ / yuvarājo 'smi yady api / ayuktam kṛtakarmāṇo / yūyam dharṣayitum mayā* [Ct. *kṛtakarmāṇo yūyam kṛtakarmaṇo yuṣmān ity artha āṛṣam idam*]) is probably not an acc. or voc. pl. (as maintained by MICHELSON 1904: 112/119), but a regular nom.: "We have here a clear case of the neuter use of the predicate in *ayuktam* as often with *śakyam*" (KEITH 1910b: 471-472; see also MICHELSON 1911: 177). See also below (♣), p. 108.

² As to *ātman-* in junction with an ordinal – *ātmanāsaptamaṃ kāmam hatvā*, Mbh 12,171.52 – see HOPKINS (1902a: 122).

³ On the use of *ātmanā* (e.g. *imaṃ tu bālam samtyaktum nārhasy ātmajam ātmanā*, Mbh 1,68.71, *mātmanā vismayam gamaḥ*, 1,126.9) see SPEYER (1896: 11 [§ 38]).

⁴ See STENZLER § 95, KIELHORN § 120, RENOU § 241c, WHITNEY § 428 and AiGr. III § 146.

follows (*maghavān iva*), the *-n* was obviously intended as a (kind of) *sandhi* consonant (*īvā-n-iva*).

The nom. pl. *yūnaḥ*, Mbh 12,221.51, is due to confusion of nominative and accusative plural.

2.26. *īn-*stems¹

The acc. sg. *prātikāmīm* (of *prātikāmin-*, ‘servant’), Mbh 2,60.1, is based on the nom. sg. *prātikāmī* (Mbh 2,60.3.11; cf. voc. sg. *prātikāmin*, Mbh 2,60.2.5.16) on the analogy of the *ī-*stems (see AiGr. III § 147 *rem.*). For other aberrant forms of *īn-*stems see (↗) 3.18.

2.27. Comparative in *īyāṃs-*²

The weak stem in *īyas-* is generalized in the following forms (↗ p. XLIX):

(acc. sg. m.) *kanīyasam*, Mbh 1,80.12 = 81.10, 5,71.14, 13,47.60, R 1,1148*, 60.18.20, *garīyasam*, Mbh 1,App.42.2 v.l. (CE *preyāṃsam*), *yavīyasam*, R 2,2214*.9

(acc. dual m.) *kanīyasau*, Mbh 1,App.112.7

(nom. pl. m.) *yavīyasaḥ*, Mbh 1,158.49, 12,34.13.

Besides *kanīyāṃs-* we have now and then a co-form *kanyasa-* (see AiGr. II,2 § 269b *rem.*)³: (voc.) *tāta kanyasa*, Mbh 1,98.13 (v.l. *kanīyas* [!] *tāta*), *kanyaso bhrātā*, R 5,App.7.19 v.l. (CE *bhrātā kanīyān*), *kanyasī svasā*, Mbh 3,219.8b (cad.).

¹ See STENZLER § 96, KIELHORN § 86, RENOU § 238, WHITNEY § 438-441 and AiGr. III § 147.

² See STENZLER § 97, KIELHORN § 99, RENOU § 242, WHITNEY § 463-465, AiGr. III § 154 and BHSG § 16.34.

³ In fact, *kanīyasam* (see above) looks like a blending of *kanīyāṃsam* and *kanyasam**. This would account for the frequency of just this form.

rem. (a) AiGr. III § 154 ay (p. 295) records an acc. pl. m. *balīyasān*, Mbh. ed. Calc. 13,4559. The critical edition (Mbh 13,96.13), however, reads *purā prapaśyāmi pareṇa martyān / balīyasā durbalān bhujyamānān* (without any v.l.) ‘Formerly I saw weak men who were eaten by another one who was stronger [than they]’; (b) The suffixes *ṛara-* and *ṛama-* are added to primary comparatives and superlatives¹: *garīyastaram*, Mbh 7,105.12, *pāpīyastaram*, Mbh 13,38.12, *bhūyastaram*, R 2, App.9.24, App.26.30 (see SPEYER 1886: 188 n. 2), *śreṣṭhatara-* Mbh 1,1.130 v.l. (CE *śreṣṭhatamān*), 8,24.96 (*mattaḥ śreṣṭhataro hī yaḥ*), 12,288.20, 13,6.1, *śreṣṭhatama-*, Mbh 1,1.130, 3,253.1, R 5,45.22; (c) The suffix *ṛara-* (in its adverbial feminine form *ṛarām* [for which see RENO 1938]) is even added to personal forms of verbs (PW s.v. *sad*, SPEYER 1886: 189 [§ 249], BÖHTLINGK 1887: 216 and WHITNEY § 473c): *sīdatetarām*, R 2,1494* v.l. (CE *sīdatīva me*)².

2.28. Perfect Participle³

The weak stem is generalized on the model of the invariable adjectives in *-uṣ-* in the following forms (see AiGr. III § 155aḍ and BHSG § 16.52)⁴:

- (acc. sg. m.) *ṣaghuṣam*, Mbh 8,57.65, *tasthuṣam*, 12,304.17, *viduṣam*, R 4,5.18 v.l. (CE *ṣvidvāṃsam*), 12.7 v.l. (CE *ṣviduṣām*), 6,3348*
 (nom. du. m.) *viduṣau*, Mbh 4,53.21, 7,57.71 (v.l. [N] *ṣvidvāṃsau*)
 (nom. pl. m.) (*ṣ*)*viduṣaḥ*, Mbh 1,47.10 (v.l. *vidvāṃsaḥ*), 3,84.7 v.l. (*sarvāstraviduṣaḥ* [CE *sarve* ‘*strakuśalāḥ*]), 3,187.8 (v.l. *vidvāṃsaḥ*), 3,197.42 (*dharmaviduṣaḥ*, v.ll. *dharmakuśalāḥ*, *dharmavidāḥ*), 3,203.19

¹ See STENZLER § 110, KIELHORN § 169, RENO § 190, WHITNEY § 473d and AiGr. II,2 § 450c. For this phenomenon in Middle Indo-Aryan and Buddhist Sanskrit see OBERLIES (2001: 168) and BHSG § 16.35 respectively.

² Though Pāṇini (5.4.11 [on which see CARDONA 1991/92]) prescribes the use of *-tarām*, *-tamām* after a finite verb the earliest attestation of such a form seems to be the above-cited *sīdatetarām* (see RENO 1938: 133 [= *Choix d'études indiennes* p. 287]).

³ See STENZLER § 98, KIELHORN § 124, RENO § 244, WHITNEY § 458-462 and AiGr. III § 155-156 (cf. BHSG § 16.49-52).

⁴ Some such forms are to be met with already in Vedic Sanskrit (see WHITNEY § 462c, AiGr. III § 155aḍ and OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 1459 n. 1).

(*adhyātmaividuṣaḥ*, v.l. *kuśalāḥ*), 3,App.27.87¹, 5,42.29 (*adharmaviduṣaḥ*), 5,175.2 (*vedaviduṣaḥ*, v.l. *vidvāmsaḥ*), 12,App.28.260 (*brahmaviduṣaḥ*, v.l. *vidvāmsaḥ*), R 6,57.13, 7.11*, *eyuṣaḥ*, Mbh 3,1.3, 114.6 (*upeyuṣaḥ*).

The formation of the last mentioned forms is facilitated by the confusion of nom. and acc. pl. (see AiGr. III § 155aḍ *rem.*).

2.29. *ahar-*²

Once the stem *ahar-* (n.) is transferred to the *as*-class (see AiGr. III § 160aα *rem.*); acc. sg. *aho* (*'manyata*), R 4,34.7 (see, however, [♣] 1.5 above).

2.30. *path-*³

The acc. pl. *panthānaḥ*, Mbh 11,4.15 v.l. (CE *panthānam*), is due to confusion with the nom. pl. (see AiGr. III § 145g *rem.*).

2.31. *ap-*⁴

The acc. pl. *āpaḥ*, Mbh 1,39.25, 171.22, 2,49.8, R 5,11.43⁵, is due to confusion with the nom. pl. (see AiGr. III § 131).

¹ The crit. ed. does not record *viduṣaḥ* at Mbh 3,256.29c, a reading which the PW (VI 1068, line 13 from below) cites from ed. Calc. (3,15850).

² See STENZLER § 100, KIELHORN § 121, RENOU § 241e, WHITNEY § 430 and AiGr. III § 160.

³ See STENZLER § 101, KIELHORN § 160, RENOU § 236a (p. 330), WHITNEY § 433 and AiGr. III § 159.

⁴ See STENZLER § 102, KIELHORN § 155, RENOU § 235, WHITNEY § 393 and AiGr. III § 131.

⁵ On this stanza see HOPKINS (1901: 473).

2.32. *pum̐s-*¹

The nom. pl. *pum̐saḥ*, Mbh 1,85.22, 187.26, 3,199.19, 247.3, is due to confusion with the acc. pl. (see AiGr. III § 153).

2.33. *anaḍuh-*²

The weak stem *anaḍuh-* is generalized yielding the following forms (*anaḍuhaḥ* as nom. pl. is due to confusion with the acc. pl.):

(acc. sg.) *anaḍuham*, Mbh 3,184.8 v.l. (CE *anaḍvāham*)

(nom. pl.) *anaḍuhaḥ*, Mbh 12,255.30 (v.l. *anaḍvāhaḥ*).

The (irregular) voc. sg. (*voḍhavye dhury*) *anaḍuvan* (with a ‘split-vowel’ out of *anaḍvan*), Mbh 5,132.33 (v.l. *anaḍvān iva voḍhavye*), is used as a nominative³.

2.34. *div-*⁴

The stem *div-* is inflected like a diphthongal stem (~ *dyo-/dyau-*), i.e. after the model of *gauḥ* (*gām*, *gave*)⁵:

¹ See STENZLER § 103, KIELHORN § 163, RENOU § 235 (p. 328), WHITNEY § 394 and AiGr. III § 153.

² See STENZLER § 104, KIELHORN § 154, RENOU § 235, WHITNEY § 404 and AiGr. III § 139.

³ See SCHELLER (1991: 173 n. 4).

⁴ See STENZLER § 105, KIELHORN § 158, RENOU § 235, WHITNEY § 361d and AiGr. III § 121.

⁵ See Kāśikā ad Pāṇ 7.1.90: *kecid oto ṇid iti paṭhanti. dyośabdād api yad sarvanāma-sthānaṃ vidyate tadartham: dyauḥ, dyāvau, dyāvah.*

(acc. sg.) *dyām*, Mbh 5,66.5, 7,173.89, 10,7.38¹
 (dat. sg.) *dyave* Mbh 1,93.14 v.l. (CE *dive*)².

2.35. °han-³

An instrumental sg. *vṛtrahaṇā* is attested at Mbh 3,13.119c (*api vṛtrahaṇā yuddhe* ---) and 9,11.63d (°*haṇā yathā* ---), an instrumental pl. *brahma-haṇaiḥ* at Mbh 5,37.12. Instead of °*ghnaḥ* we have the gen. sg. *vṛtrahaṇaḥ*, Mbh 1,50.8 (to avoid a long second syllable after the caesura: *samāsate vṛtrahaṇaḥ kratum yathā* ---/----). All these forms are built in analogy of the accusative sing. in *-hanam*⁴.

2.36. pūṣan-⁵

The name *pūṣan-* forms an acc. sg. on the analogy of that of the regular °*an-* stems (i.e. *ātmānam*, *rājānam*): *pūṣāṇam*, Mbh 7,173.48⁶.

¹ Alongside there is *divam* (e.g. Mbh 1,160*.8, 1,17.16). As to the relation of *dyām* and *divam* see AiGr. III § 122b: "Schon im RV. kommt neben *dyām* ein jüngerer ..., neugebildetes *div-am* auf; dieses wird immer gebräuchlicher, bis es in der klass. Sprache *dyām* verdrängt" (see also [✓] p. XXIII n. 2).

² According to RENOUE (§ 235), we have a loc. sg. *dyavi* in the Mahābhārata. It was, however, not possible to find it in the critical edition.

³ See STENZLER § 107, KIELHORN § 118, RENOUE § 250 (p. 362), WHITNEY § 402 and AiGr. III § 130.

⁴ See AiGr. III § 130a (citing *brahmahaṇaḥ*, Manu 11,101.128) and KUIPER (1956: 223).

⁵ See KIELHORN § 118, RENOUE § 241b, WHITNEY § 426a and AiGr. III § 144bα.

⁶ This form is also attested at Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 109.64.

III. Transfer of stem

Much (seemingly) aberrant morphology results from a transfer of words from one stem-class to another one¹. We are concerned with the following categories:

3.1. °i-stem ← °ī-stem (f.)

nom. sg. *pañcavaṭir* (*iti śrutah*), R 3,12.13d v.l.² (another v.l. has °vaṭī[*ti viśrutah*] [CE *pañcavaṭy abhiviśrutah*])

acc. sg. *anukramaṇim*, Mbh 1,1.62c = 1,1.199a (°im *adhyāyam* ̣---)³,
sāvitrim, Mbh 14,44.5f (*sarvaṃ sāvitrim ucyate* ̣-̣-)⁴

nom./acc. du.

pārvatī (*te mahauśadhī*) 'two mountain herbs', R 6,40.30b (v.l. [acc. pl.] *pārvatīs tā mahauśadhīḥ*), *phalāphalavatī*, Mbh 5,3.3, *br̥hatī*,

¹ In that way "the linguistic evolution has placed prosodic doublets at the poet's disposal" (SMITH 1950: 3).

² This reading is most probably wrong since it violates the metre; the syllables 2-4 must not scan ̣̣̣ (↗ p. XXXI n. 5).

³ This word (cf. °*anukramaṇī*, Mbh 1,2.34) is discussed at some length by SUKTHANKAR (1928: 165-168).

⁴ In the very same stanza the nominative *sāvitri* occurs.

- Mbh 1,96.54 (v.l. *te bṛhatyau tathā śyāme*), 6,20.4¹, *mahatī (gade)*,
 Mbh 9,57.28d (*pragrhya mahatī gade* ॐ-ॐ- [v.l. ... *mahatīm gadām*])
 instr. du. *atandribhyām*, R 2,47.3²
 nom. pl. *patnayaḥ*, Mbh 4,15.32b (*kliśyante vīrapatnayaḥ*), 9,34.41c v.l.
 (*patnayas tasya rājendra*), R 1,35.21f (*aprajāḥ santu patnayaḥ*),
 2,59.14 ([*jag.*] *yaśasvinam samparivārya patnayaḥ*), 7,8.21d
 (*pātālam sahapatnayaḥ*³), 7,48.15b v.l. (*vaidehyā munipatnayaḥ*)⁴,
śataghnayaḥ, 6,63.33d (*yathā ghorāḥ śataghnayaḥ* [Cg. *śataghnayaḥ*
śataghnayaḥ])
 instr. pl. *patnibhiḥ*, Mbh 12,App.28.21d (*devās ca saha patnibhiḥ*), *sakhibhiḥ*,
 R 7,App.8.147d (... *sakhibhir vṛtā* [v.l. *sā sakhivṛtā*])
 loc. pl. *patniṣu*, R 1,36.6b (*na prajāsyatha patniṣu*).

This transfer is often met with if the ī-stem is the prior member of a compound:

- ¹ AiGr. III § 89a *rem.* wonders whether "die Duale ... *phalāphalavatī* und ... *bṛhatī* eine bewahrte Altertümlichkeit darstellen oder eine Nachahmung der *i*-Stämme". The latter is true: °*vatyau* (Mbh 5,3.3) and *bṛhatyau* (as far as Mbh 1,96.54 is concerned) would have given *ma-vipulās* which, however, should have a caesura after the fifth syllable. In the triṣṭubh-pāda Mbh 6,20.4 *bṛhatī* avoids a long second syllable after the caesura: *ubhe sene bṛhatī bhīmarūpe* (ॐ---/ ॐ ॐ---). The MSS B Da D5 read *bṛhatyau* placing *bhīmarūpe* before it (ॐ---/ ॐ---).
- ² Cf. Ct. ... *iḍabhāvo hrasvatvaṃ cārṣam / kvacit tu 'atandribhyām' ity eva pāṭhaḥ* (see [↗] p. 94 n. 4).
- ³ See AiGr. II,1 § 42cβ.
- ⁴ See AiGr. III § 94c. Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya III 340,13-14, considers this form as Vedic (it is *this* passage – and not Mbh 2,24 – which is obviously cited by LUDWIG 1896: 11; and his reference 'garbhīnayaḥ 4,16,41' seems to be to [*vīra*]/*patnayaḥ*, Mbh 4,15.32 = ed. Bomb. 4,16.41).

akṣauhiṇi-śatam, R 6,31.83a (≠ ॐ-ॐ-), *amarāvati-saṃkāśām*, R 7,33.4a¹, *īṅgudī-piṇyākam*, R 2,95.21, 96.6.10.12², *kuntī-kanye*, Mbh 3,290.24 (cad. of a *tri.*), *kṛṣṇāṣṭami-ratāya* (*ca*), Mbh 13,14.152d, *kaikeyi-rājyadānāt*, R 2,1347*.4 ([*tri.*] *sarve hatāḥ* ~), *gāndhāri-putrasya*, Mbh 2,63.19³, *gomati-tīrajam*, Mbh 4,16.7b (cad.), *jagati-pateḥ*, R 5,28.44 (*tri.*)⁴, *jagati-parvatam*, R 5,12.28d (cad.), °*tantri-madhuram*, R 6,42.23a⁵, *devakīnandana-*, Mbh 1,2.93b (cad.), 2,22.31b.56b (cad.)⁶, 6,55.40b (cad.), *puriśreṣṭhe*, R 2,1058*.2c⁷, *sapatni-vṛddhau*, R 2,8.17c⁸, *lambamañjari-dhāribhiḥ*, R 2,1036*(b), *bahumañjari-dhāriṇaḥ*, R 2,42.11b, *mādri-nandanaḥ* (ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 9,14.12d, *lakṣmi-varadhanaḥ* / °*nam*, R 1,17.15, 3,10.75, 11.19, 14.28, 4,31.12, App.15.3, 5,29.3, 6,89.9, 7,45.11 (this word invariably stands in the cad. of an even śloka pāda: ॐ-ॐ-), *lakṣmi-*

- ¹ I do not see why the long °ī̄ was shortened, since (+) *amarāvatisaṃkāśam* would have made a wholly regular *ma-vipulā* (with the caesura falling on the seam of the compound). Moreover, we have *amarāvatiṃ* in the same stanza.
- ² There seems to be no reason why we have in all these places *īṅgudī-* (attested R 2,44.5.6, 82.1, 96.11) transferred to the *i*-class since the long *ī* would have given a regular *ma-vipulā* (with caesura after the fifth syllable). Obviously, the *pathyā* was preferred to the (*ma-*)*vipulā*.
- ³ This is obviously to have a short third syllable, though in the ‘Sabhā-type’ of the triṣṭubh “the third syllable is very commonly long” (EDGERTON 1939: 161).
- ⁴ This is to have a short third syllable.
- ⁵ °*tantri*° would have given a *bha-vipulā* which, however, should have a short third syllable (*dhanurjyātantrimadhuram* ॐ---ॐॐ-).
- ⁶ The MS B3 has transposed the first and the second words of the *pāda*: *devakīnandane* (sic!) *tvayi* (2,22.31), *devakīnandane tadā* (2,22.56).
- ⁷ (*pur*)*i-* is not shortened for metrical reasons.
- ⁸ The *-ī̄* is not shortened because of metrical exigency.

sampannaḥ / °*nnam*, R 1,17.17a, 6,31.1c (cad.: ॐ-ॐ-)¹, *sakhi-gaṇāvṛtā*, Mbh 3,50.23b² (cf. °*sakhīgaṇāt*, 3,51.6), *sairandri-veṣeṇa*, Mbh 4,17.8a (cad.).

3.2. °i-stem ← °ī-stem (m.)

gen. sg. *yavakreḥ*, Mbh 3,137.8 v.1. (CE *yavakrīta*^{o3})

This transfer is met with in the compound °*grāmaṇi-saṃmatam* (ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 9,41.36d.

3.3. °ī-stem ← °i-stem (f.)⁴

nom sg. *oṣadhī*, R 6,40.31d.32b⁵, *vanauṣadhī*, 6,App.56.87a (*jātā* ~ *vīra* [≠ cad. ॐ-])⁶, *mūrtī*, Mbh 12,212.12b ([cad.] *ca mūrty atha ॐ-*),

¹ At Mbh 12,218.8 (*bhūtīr lakṣmīti mām āhuḥ*) *lakṣmī-* is inflected as a 'normal' *ī*-stem. On the 'vr̥kī-stem' *lakṣmī-* (cf. *lakṣmīḥ*, R 3,44.16) see (♣) p. XXIV.

² The shortening is to avoid the metrical pattern ॐ- of the syllables 2-4 of pāda b (see YUYAMA 1970: 143).

³ The name of this man is *Yavakrī* (see AiGr. III § 91e, 96b and KIELHORN § 146), which, however, is used only as stem (Mbh 3,137.7) and in the nominative (Mbh 3,135.13.15.23.33.42, 136.18, 137.1.3.12.15.16). Other cases (and the nominative, too) are supplied by the word *Yavakrīta*. I was not able to trace the voc. *yavakre* which AiGr. III § 91e cites (giving as reference Mbh ed. Bomb. 3,107,59).

⁴ See AiGr. III § 68a *rem.*: "Im Mi. sind die f. *i-* und *ī-* und nach diesem Muster auch die f. *u-* und *ū-* Stämme fast völlig zusammengefallen".

⁵ In both stanzas *paramauṣadhī* is the last word.

⁶ The question, however, whether *oṣadhī-* or *oṣadhī-* is the older form cannot be settled (see AiGr. III § 95c).

- yajñavibhūtī*, R 7,57.8c ([cad.] *vibhūtiyam* ॐ—), *vedī*, Mbh 3,114.24 (v.l. [S] *vedih* [pra°]), 10,7.13 v.l. (CE *vedih*), *sumatī*, R 1,37.17a v.l. (*sumaty api raghuśreṣṭha* [CE *sumatis tu naravyāghra*])
- acc. sg. *aśanīm*, Mbh 5,185.12, R 1,25.14, 3,28.25 v.l.¹, 6,88.19², *āyatīm*, R 5,17.11a (*āyatīm iva* [≠ 2-4 ॐ]), *ājyāhutīm*, R 6,3243*.6b (*puṇyām ājyāhutīm iva*)³, *ośadhīm*, R 2,22.15, 3,63.14 v.l. (CE *ośadhīm*), *°gatīm*, Mbh 3,160.8c (*°gatīm etām* [≠ cad. ॐ—]), *yuvatīm*, Mbh 3,94.27, 4,32.9 v.l. (CE *rudatīm*), *ratīm*, R 2,2385*.5b (*ratīm iva* [cad. ॐ—]), 5,13.28 v.l. (*ratīm iva* [cad. ॐ—])⁴, *vedīm*, Mbh 10,7.58 (v.l. *vedim*), *vedaśrutīm*, Mbh 2,42.15d v.l.⁵ = R 3,926*(d) ~ 3,48.21d ~ 4,6.4d v.l.⁶ ([*veda*] *śrutīm iva* [cad. ॐ—]), *śaraśreṇīm*, Mbh 7,1299*.5.6, *siddhīm*, R 5,11.57d v.l. (*siddhīm iva* [cad. ॐ—])⁷, *smṛtīm*, R 5,13.31c (*tām smṛtīm iva ...* [≠ 2-4 ॐ])
- nom. pl. *āhutyaḥ*, Mbh 4,27.14b (*pūrṇāhutyaḥ tathaiḥ ca*), *rṣtyaḥ*, Mbh 8,68.27 (*rṣtyaś ca ...*)⁸, *ośadhyāḥ*, Mbh 3,3.8c (*ośadhyāḥ śaḍrasā medhyāḥ*), *dhānyajātyaḥ*, Mbh 13,91.2c v.l. (*dhānyajātyaḥ kā*

¹ CE has *aśanīm yathā* ([ॐ] ॐ—). See also following foot note.

² All forms stand in the cad. of an even *śloka-pāda*: (°)[*a*] *śanīm iva* ॐ— (see AiGr. III § 68aḍḍḍ [p. 137]).

³ A v.l. has *pūrṇāhutīm*. It is this form that is cited by DAS GUPTA (1966: 214) as "*pūrṇāhutīm*, R ed. Bomb. 7,118.31".

⁴ CE has *ratīm yathā* (ॐ—).

⁵ CE has *vedaśrutīm yathā* (ॐ—).

⁶ CE has *vedaśrutīm yathā* (ॐ—).

⁷ CE has *yathā siddhīm tapasvine*,

⁸ This is to avoid a long third syllable in the triṣṭubh (*rṣtyaś ca* ॐ—).

varjvāḥ)¹; *tithyaḥ*, Mbh 13,87.18c², *duṇḍubhyaḥ*, Mbh 7,58.4d (*duṇḍubhyaś ca mahāsvanāḥ*), *pañktyaḥ*, Mbh 4,53.39c (*pañktyaḥ śaradi svasthānām*), *marīcyāḥ*, Mbh 7,19.35d (*marīcyāḥ pracakāśire*), *śaravṛṣṭyaḥ*, Mbh 8,36.4d v.1.³ (*śaravṛṣṭyaḥ samantataḥ*⁴), *śaktyaḥ*, Mbh 5,139.40b (*śaktyo 'tha vimalā gadāḥ*), 7,138.18, *śreṇyaḥ*, Mbh 5,182.13

instr. pl. *aśanībhiḥ*, R 7,7.43 (cad. of *tri*. [-]ᵛ-), *ośadhībhiḥ*, Mbh 13,10.19d (≠ 2-4 ᵛᵛ-), R 6,40.28d (≠ 2-4 ᵛᵛ-), 57.18d, *jāmībhiḥ*, Mbh 12,235.13c (≠ cad. --ᵛ-), *yuvatībhiḥ*, R 6,102.13b (≠ 2-4 ᵛᵛ-), *rāśībhiḥ*, R 1,52.11 v.1.⁵ (CE *rāśībhiḥ*), (°)śaktībhiḥ, R 6,59.13c (≠ cad. ᵛᵛ-), 6,73.20 v.1. (CE *śaktībhiḥ*). On °*pattībhiḥ*, R 4,492*.3, see (♣) 2.3.

loc. pl. *yonīṣu*, Mbh 3,200.31c (cad. [ᵛ]--- {cad. of d: *pāpayoniṣu* ᵛᵛ-})⁶.

Both transfer of stem and confusion of nom. and acc. (for which see [♣] 2.6) are met with in the following accusative forms:

ośadhyāḥ, Mbh 1,60.39, 5,138.14 (v.1. *ośadhīḥ* [see AiGr. III § 79a]),
koṭyaḥ, Mbh 3,183.30, *śaktyāḥ*, Mbh 6,92.50.

¹ CE has °*jātis ca kā vārjyā*.

² This stanza (... / *śrāddhakarmaṇi tithyaḥ syuḥ praśastā na tathetarāḥ*) corresponds to Manu 3.266 (... / *śrāddhe praśastās tithayo yathaitā na tathetarāḥ*).

³ See AiGr. III § 78 (p. 158). HOLTZMANN (1884: 12 [§ 343d]) erroneously assumed that this is a gen. sg. like *aryaḥ* (see [♣] p. 62 n. [5]).

⁴ CE has *samantāc charavṛṣṭayaḥ*.

⁵ See AiGr. III § 68aḡ *rem*.

⁶ See AiGr. III § 68aḡ *rem*. (p. 136).

This transfer is also met with in prior members of compounds and before the suffixes ^o*ka*- and ^o*vant*- (see AiGr. III § 68aγ *rem.*):

āyatī-yuktam, Mbh 5,39.7a (cad. ॐ---), *oṣadhī-śailam*, R 6,61.68 (cf. *auṣadhī-rasaiḥ*, Mbh 13,101.51b [cad.]), *koṭī-śatasahasrāṇi*, R 4,App.17.98c (≠ 2-4 ॐॐ), *tad-gatī-vaśam*, R 7,657*(c) (≠ 2-4 ॐॐ), *jāmī-śaptāni*, Mbh 13,46.6¹, *prakṛtī-jana-*, R 1,41.1b ~ 7,97.11b (cad. ॐ-x), *yuvatī-janam*, Mbh 14,91.39b (cad. ॐ-), *śreṇī-mukhyāḥ*, R 2,23.13, *sa-śreṇī-nigamam*, R 2,1906*; *agatikagatiḥ*, Mbh 12,83.24c (≠ 2-4 ॐॐ), *saśaktikāḥ*, Mbh 5,152.3c (cad. ॐ---), (*savedāḥ*) *saśrutikāś ca*, Mbh 12,326.94c (cad. ॐ---), *raśmīvatām*, Mbh 5,153.12 (≠ 2-4 ॐ-).

3.4. ^o*in*-stem ← ^o*i*-stem (m.)²

nom. sg. *añjana-girī*, R 7,7.2c³ (^o*girīvāsīt* [cad. ॐ---]), *padātī*, Mbh 7,144.34b (v.l. *padātīś ca*)

¹ *samudranemī-patayaḥ*, Mbh 4,11.13 does not belong here (*pace* DAS GUPTA 1966: 214). The prior member of this compound is a *bahuvrīhi* referring to *prthivī-*, the 'sea-fellied (earth)'.

² See AiGr. III § 67c *rem.*: "Formen auf *-in-* entstammen der Analogie der Adj. auf *-in-*, die ja in einigen Formen mit denen auf *-i-* übereinstimmen" (see *ibid.* II,2 § 191b [p. 305-306] and BHSG § 10.81). And also the instr. sg. of the m. *i*-stems (e.g. *padātīnā*, R 6,98.15d [ॐ-]) and the neuter *i*- und *u*-stems whose paradigm shows an *-n-* served as a model (cf. the *i*-/*u*-flexion of Pāli and Prakrit with its oblique *n*-cases [see OBERLIES 2001: 151 (§ 32.1) and PISCHEL § 379]).

³ Since *giri-* is m. the transfer *girī* ← *giri-* seems less likely.

- acc. sg. *ariṣṭaneminam*, R 7,81.5b (cad.), *padātinam*, Mbh 4,67.23d (cad.), 7,144.34b (cad.), 14,76.8d (cad.)¹, R 2,782*, 6,77.38 (*jag.*)², *śaktinam*, Mbh 1,166.36.37 (v.l. *śaktim*)³
- gen. sg. *ariṣṭaneminaḥ*, R 4,65.4, *aśvapatinaḥ*, R 7,90.4c (cad. [.....]), *balinaḥ*, Mbh 3,App.27.71d (*praviṣṭo balino makhe*), *hariṇaḥ*, R 5,33.75a (*tasyāhaṃ hariṇaḥ kṣetre*)
- acc. dual *padātinau*, Mbh 14,49.28d (cad.), R 2,35.30
- nom. pl. *padātinaḥ*, Mbh 3,249.11(*padātinaś ca* [cad. of *tri.*])
- gen. pl. see (↗) 2.3.

rem. Beside *padāti(n)-* (see AiGr. II,2 § 159) Epic Sanskrit knows *padāta-*, Mbh 6,1.29, and *pādāta-*, Mbh 6,99.30 v.l. (CE *padātīn*), R 1,54.7, 2,85.56.

°*pāṇin-* and °*yonin-* are used as final members of a *bahuvrīhi*⁴:

kiṃkarodyata-pāṇinam, Mbh 9,31.47d (v.l. *śūlapāṇim*), *śūlapāṇinam*, 10,6.34d (cad.), *śaracāpāsi-pāṇināu*, R 3,2.11b v.l. (CE °*dhāriṇau*), (gen. pl.) *śaktitomāra-pāṇinām*, R 5,5.27f v.l. (CE °*dhāriṇīḥ*), *dhanuḥpravara-pāṇināu*, R 5,33.25b, (gen. pl.) *śūlamudgara-pāṇinām*, R 5,56.97b, *śara-pāṇinam*, R 6,15.3d (cad.)⁵, *avyaktayoninaḥ*, Mbh 13,17.11d (cad. [cf. stanza 12 v.l.])⁶.

¹ See also *ibid.* stanza 4.

² This is to have a short third syllable.

³ The name of this man is *Śakti* (see 1,166.34).

⁴ BÖHTLINGK (1887: 215) advances that °*pāṇin-* has the suffix °*in-* (cf. *paramadhanvināu*, R 1,29.6 [see ROUSSEL 1910: 54 with n. 3]).

⁵ For further examples see PW s.v. *pāṇin*.

⁶ Cf. *śabdayoninam*, Hv. 34,29.

3.5. °ū-stem ← °u-stem (f.)

nom. sg. *kareṇūḥ*, R 4, App. 16.46 v.l.¹ (Ck. *kareṇūr ity ūkārāntatvaṃ chānda-*
sam, similarly Ct.)²

nom. pl. *dhenvaḥ*, Mbh 5, 100.7a (*asyās catasro dhenvo 'nyāḥ*)³, *kareṇvaḥ*, R
6, 98.5c (*kareṇva iva nardantyaḥ*).

This transfer occurs also in compounds:

śaṃtanū-je, Mbh 5, 47.35 (cad. of *tri-* -_u--).

3.6. °ā-stem ← °r-stem

dat. sg. (*brahmaśiro-*)*apahartāya*, Mbh 13, App. 6.45a, (*tripura*)*hartāya*,
13, App. 6.47a⁴ (cf. below [♣] 3.8).

3.7. °ā-stem ← °r-stem

acc. sg. *svasām*, Mbh 6, 112.3b (cad. [-]_u-), R 7, 12.2, (*pitṛ*)*śvasām*, Mbh
5, 129.34d (cad.), 14, 51.51, 65.12b (cad.)⁵, *duhitām*, Mbh 4, 67.5 v.l.
(CE *duhituḥ*)

gen. sg. (*pitṛ*)*śvasāyāḥ*, Mbh 14, 51.53⁶.

¹ CE has (nom. pl.) *karinyaḥ*.

² See RENOUE § 249D *rem*.

³ See LUDWIG (1896: 11) and AiGr. III § 78 (p. 158). See also above (♣) p. 62.

⁴ See HOPKINS (1901: 265) and RENOUE § 243 (p. 345).

⁵ See HOPKINS (1902a: 123 n. 1).

⁶ See LUDWIG (1896: 11). See also (♣) p. 67 n. 2.

This transfer occurs also in compounds: *svasā-nandikaraḥ*, Mbh 7,48.1.

rem. The v.l. *jāmayā*, Mbh 13,45.15 (CE *jātayā*), shows the transfer of an *i-* into an *ā-*stem (see PW s.v. *jāmā*).

3.8. °āra-stem ← ṛ-stem

dat. sg. *sraṣṭārāya*, Mbh 13,App.6.40¹ (cf. above [↗] 3.6).

3.9. °an-stem ← °a-stem

nom. sg. *kudharma*, Mbh 3,34.21d = 131.10b (*na sa dharmah kudharma tat*
[̣-̣-])

instr. pl. *loṣṭabhiḥ*, Mbh 3,App.12.26².

3.10. °(m)a-stem ← °(m)an-stem

nom. sg. *ukṣaḥ*, Mbh 12,43.13 (*subabhrur ukṣo rukmas tvam*)

acc. sg. *pratyagātmam*, R 2,101.19 (v.l. *pratyagātmānam*), *brahmam*
āvartayan, R 7,99.4 v.l.³ (see, however, above [↗] p. 5), *plīham*, R
5,22.35

gen. sg. *pulomasya*, Mbh 1,7.26 (v.l. *pulomnaḥ*)⁴

nom. pl. *bhinnaromāḥ*, R 6,App.3.35

¹ See AiGr. III § 162a, HOPKINS (1901: 265) and RENOU § 243 (p. 345).

² See AiGr. III § 52a rem.: ‘Wegen der Übereinstimmung von -āni’.

³ See HOPKINS (1901: 197).

⁴ Since this name is a haplological shortening of *pu<lu>loman-* ‘of many hairs’ (LEUMANN 1968: 55) it contains the word *loman-* as second member.

gen. pl. (... *ikṣaṇa*)*pakṣmāṇām* (/ *smitam ... nirīkṣya*), Mbh 4, App.12.13a v.l.¹ (≠ cad. ॐ- [see AiGr. III § 144aḍ *rem.*]).

rem. (a) The old stem °*dharman-* is used only sporadically as final member of compounds, in the first place in *bahuvrīhis*, but also in *tatpuruṣas* (see AiGr II,1 § 40 and VASSILKOV 1999: 26 with n. 32-33): *kāladharmaṇā*, Mbh 3,245.25, *kālaparyāyadharmaṇā*, 3,261.29; (b) *parvaṇīṣu* (*vā/ca*), Mbh 13, App.14.289.300, is used side by side with *parvasu*, *ibid.* 285, and is only a metrical variant in the cadence of the even śloka pāda.

3.11. °(*m*)ā-stem ← °(*m*)an-stem²

acc. sg. *mahimām*, Mbh 12,67.30a ~ R 1,36.13c (... *mahimāṃ drṣṭvā* [̎--])³.

This transfer occurs also in compounds (see AiGr. II,1 § 50aα):

°*sīmām* (*maryādām*), Mbh 1,71.55, (*śivām*) *susīmām* (*anūsāstu kevalam*), R 2,31.34, (*grāmān*) *vikṣṭasīmān* (*tān*), 2,43.3a, (*tām*) *susīmām* (*sumahatīm*), 2,2153*.

3.12. °āna-stem ← °an-stem⁴

nom. sg. *adhvānam*, Mbh 3,69.14 v.l. (CE *adhvā*), 18,2.26 (*kiyad adhvānam asmābhir gantavyam ...* [v.l. *kiyān adhvā sa cāsmābhir ...*])⁵

acc. sg. *adhvānam*, Mbh 1,117.7 (*prapannā dīrgham adhvānam*), 3,145.11d (*mahad adhvānam alpavat*), 262.20c (*cakarṣa mahad adhvānam*),

¹ CE has the acc. °*pakṣmāṇam* (*smitajyotsnopamaṃ ... nirīkṣya*).

² See AiGr. II,2 § 148a.

³ On *brahmam* see (♣) p. 5 n. 2 and p. 88.

⁴ See SEN (1955/56a: 170).

⁵ For *adhvāna-* see also (♣) 2.20.

266.39a (*gatvā sumahad adhvānam*), *mahimānam*, Mbh 6,33.41
(*ajānatā mahimānaṃ tavedaṃ*).

This transfer occurs also in compounds:

adhvāna-karṣitaḥ, Mbh 3,App.21A.101b v.l. (CE [p. 1113] *puruṣo
'dhvani karṣitaḥ*)¹, *ukṣāṇa-saṃnidhau*, R 2,770*(b) (*papātokṣāṇasaṃ-
nidhau*)², *śvāna-kukkuṭavaktrāś (ca)*, R 6,87.41c.

3.13. °a-stem ← °as-stem

acc. sg. *śreyam*, R 7,33.22d v.l.³ (*yadīcchec chreyam ātmanaḥ*)

This transfer occurs also in compounds (see also [♣] 3.14, below)⁴:

nom. sg. *ayaśaḥ*, R 2,68.6 ~ 2,1744*.3, *atiyaśaḥ*, R 1,514*.42 v.l.⁵ = 1,76.13
v.l. (CE [both times] *atiyaśāḥ*), *durvacaḥ*, R 2,15*.4 v.l. (CE *durva-
cāḥ*)⁶, *sarakṣaḥ*, R 7,34.31 v.l. (CE *rāvāṇa* °)⁷

¹ See AiGr. III § 162f *rem.* (cf. also BHS § 17.37).

² See AiGr. II,1 – *Nachträge* p. 20.

³ This is the reading of the NW-recension (see DAS GUPTA 1966: 214 and SEN 1955/56a: 171), while the CE has *ya icchec chreya ātmanaḥ*. The *-m-* may accordingly be interpreted as a *sandhi* consonant.

⁴ See AiGr. II,1 § 41bα. This transfer is also met with when the word is the prior member of a compound (see also [♣] p. 39): *tamorajaguṇānvitau*, Mbh 12,335.24, *retojaḥ*, 13,49.13 (v.l. *retojaḥ*).

⁵ Here the reading of the NW recension (1,14.21) is not recorded (but see SEN 1955/56a: 171 and DAS GUPTA 1966: 214).

⁶ Cf. Pāli *dubbaco*.

⁷ See SEN (1955/56a: 171).

- acc. sg. *ruddhasrotam*, R 7,App.10.92
 dat. sg. *kṛṣṇavāsāya*, Mbh 13,14.152 (v.l. °vastrāya)
 nom. du. *tigmatejau*, R 3,65.23
 gen. du. *bṛhaspaty-uśanoḥ*, Mbh 8,26.49 v.l. (CE °uśanaḥ-samaṃ)¹
 acc. du. n. *araje*, R 3,68.4 = 6,116.69, *viraje*, R 6,40.44
 nom. pl. *nīrajastamāḥ*, R 4,928* (~ *nīstamorajāḥ*, 4,927*), *vimanāḥ*, R 4,App.16.52 v.l. (CE *vimadāḥ*)
 instr. pl. *atitigmatejaiḥ*, Mbh 6,81.20 (*tri.* [cad.]), *apsaraiḥ*², R 6,App.61.80 v.l. (of NW ed. 6,81.194, not recorded by CE [see SEN 1955/56a: 170])
 gen. pl. (*śailadruma*)*vanaukānām*, Mbh 5,118.3c³.

This transfer is often met with in proper names:

bhṛgv-aṅgirādibhiḥ, Mbh 3,212.15, *asamañjah*, R 1,37.16, 69.25, 2,32.12.15⁴, 102.20, *asamañjam*, R 2,852*, 32.16 (v.l. [both times] *asamañjasam*), *asamañjāt*, R 1,69.25, *asamañjasya*, R 1,37.22, 2,102.21, *purūravam*, R 7,App.8.57*.2, *virajasya*, R 4,65.9 v.l. (CE *vānarendrasya*), *hayaśiraḥ*, Mbh 12,326.56 (v.l. *hayaśirāḥ*).

¹ See AiGr. II,1 § 41c (p. 97).

² On the masculine/neuter gender of this word see BHS § 16.11/24/26.

³ Cf. *vanaukāḥ*, BhāgP 5.19.25 (PW s.v.).

⁴ Instead 853* has *asamañjāḥ*. This form is also attested Mbh 3,106.10.14 and 12,57.8 (v.l. throughout *asamañja[h]*).

Such stems are also used as prior members of compounds¹ and before suffixes (see AiGr. II,1 § 26b):

virajāmbaraḥ, R 3,68.5 (cf. *virajo 'mbaraḥ*, Mbh 2,7.5), *sarakṣaughām*, R 5,1270*, *hṛtatejaujāḥ*, R 7,36.34², *chanda-gatau*, R 7,728*.4 (Cg. *chandagatau chandaḥśāstre*), *rodhavat*, R 7,32.18 (cf. [*sāgara*]rodhasi, R 4,52.27)³.

3.14. °ā-stem ← °as-stem

nom. sg. *apsarā*, Mbh 1,57.47 v.l. (*varāpsarā* [CE °*apsarāḥ*]), R 1,62.4 v.l. (CE *paramāpsarāḥ*), 4,65.8 (*apsarāpsarasam śreṣṭhā*⁴)

acc. sg. (in final members of compounds [see AiGr. III § 149 aa rem.]) *atiyaśām*, Mbh 3,238*.1, R 2,718*.4 v.l. (CE *atiyaśāḥ*), *pratisrotām*, R 3,76* (... *pratisrotām anuvraja / nadīm* ...), *śuṣkasrotām (nadīm iva)*, Mbh 3,65.13⁵

nom. pl. *apsarāḥ*, R 1,44.18⁶; (in a final member of a compound) (... *nadyaḥ* /) *śaśvatsrotāḥ*, Mbh 13,70.27

¹ Alternatively we could assume that we have to do with cases of double *sandhi* (but this does not hold good for *virajāmbaraḥ*, R 3,68.5 [see above]). Such ambiguous cases are listed under 1.8.3 and 1.8.4.

² On *pāda c* of this stanza see (♣) p. 26.

³ On the causative *krīḍāpayati* of this stanza see (♣) 8.8.

⁴ It is possible that this is a case of double *sandhi* (see [♣] p. 44 [and cf. Ct.: *saṁdhir āṛṣaḥ / 'apsarā' ity ābanta āṛṣa ity anye*]).

⁵ According to SEN (1955/56a: 172) and DAS GUPTA (1966: 214), this compound is attested as a v.l. at R 5,17.15 (though the crit. ed. records only the v.l. *śuṣkasroto nadīm iva*).

⁶ In the same stanza also the regular nom. pl. *apsarasāḥ* occurs.

gen. pl. *apsarāṇām*, R 1,44.19, 7,88.6.

The stem *apsarā-* is also used as prior member of compounds (though this might be a case of *double sandhi* [↗ 1.8.4]).

3.15. °asa-stem ← °as-stem

This transfer is only attested in compounds:

°*āṅgīrasa(vamśajāḥ)*, R 7,36.32b (cad.), *uccaiḥśravasa-vāhanam*, R 7,App.1.15*.10d, *divaukasaiḥ*, R 6,33.42d (cad.), 7,981*.2d v.l. (cad. [CE *marudgaṇaiḥ*]), *ṛkṣarajasah* R 7,36.35 v.l. (CE *atha ṛkṣarajāḥ* [↗ p. 11]), (nom. sg.) (*yugāntāditya*)*varcasah*, R 6,92.8d (v.l. °*tejasah* [see SEN 1955/56: 172])¹.

3.16. °asā-stem ← °as-stem

nom. sg. *apsarasā*, R 4,65.8 v.l. (of NW ed., not recorded by CE for which see above [↗], 3.14 [see SEN 1955/56a: 173])².

The stem *apsarasā-* is used as a member of compounds:

apsarasālayam, R 4,989*.3d (cad.), *gandharvāpsarasā-yute*, R 7,100.5b v.l. (CE °*apsarasamkule*³).

¹ DAS GUPTA (1966: 214) records *prasannādityavarcasam*, Mbh 5,52.8. The crit. ed., however, reads *brahmavarcaṣī*.

² The stem *apsarasā-* is frequently attested in the Kāraṇḍavyūha (see BHS § 16.4).

³ Here we do not have to assume a change of gender, despite *apsaraiḥ* (see above [↗], 3.13) unlikely with a word like *apsaras-* (pace SATYA VRAT 1964: 200, ex. 5). It seems that we have to do with a simplification of *-s+s-* in *sandhi* (see Cg.k.t.: °*apsarasamkule* °*apsaraḥsamkula iti yāvat*). See also (↗) p. 22 n. 1.

3.17. °as-stem ← °a-stem

gen. pl. *toyasām*, R 4,42.53 (v.l. *payasām*)¹.

3.18. °i-stem ← °in-stem

nom. sg. *kalkiḥ*, Mbh 3,189.5, 12,851*(d) (*sātvataḥ kalkir eva ca* [ṽ-ṽ-])², *gādhiḥ*, Mbh 3,115.17, 9,39.12.15.16, 12,49.6.7.13, 13,4.6, R 1,33.6 (cf. *gādhī*, Mbh 1,164.3, 165.3 = 3,115.9, *gādhinaḥ*, R 1,17.24), (*hata*)*vājiḥ*, R 5,45.32, *sākṣiḥ*, Mbh 12,309.52 (v.l. *sākṣi* [NSgn.]; see Cp. *sākṣir iti chāndasaṃ rūpam*)

rem. On nom. sg. m. *atandriḥ*³, Mbh 3,180.28 (no v.l.), 5,37.23 (v.l. *atandriḥ*), see AiGr. II,1 § 37bβ (on the nom. *tandriḥ*] see above [♣] 2.11).

acc. sg. *kesarim*, R 6,60.38, 3590*.1, 7,769*, *gādhim*, R, 1,33.3, *jambumālim*, R 5,42.18, *pakṣim*, R 3,13.2, *pinākim*, Mbh 2,App.30.29, 3,104.11 v.l., *mālim*, R 7,5.5, *lokasākṣim*, R 7,App.1.15*.11, *vālim*, R 7,34.22 v.l. (another v.l. has *vālinam*), *vidyunmālim*, R 6,1432*

¹ Cf. *toya-*, R 2,7.3, 13.6, 57.13.

As to the use of endings of *as*-stems in the *a*-inflection see AiGr. III § 149bβ (p. 286) and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* III,754-755.

² Cf. *kalkī*, Mbh 12,835*.5.

³ Cf. *jitatandriḥ*, Mbh 1,106.6, 12,57.20 (AiGr. II,1 p. 99 cites the v.l. *jitatandriḥ*), *nistrandriḥ*, R 2,15*.5 (AiGr. II,1 p. 99 cites the v.l. *nistrandriḥ* which is not noted by CE), *gatatandriḥ*, Mbh 12,188.14 (cf. *ibid.* 3,273.7).

⁴ *atandribhyām*, R 2,47.3 (Ct. *kvacit tu 'atandribhyām' ity eva pāṭhaḥ* [♣ p. 80 n. 2]), and *atandribhiḥ*, R 2,81.23, do not necessarily point to a stem *atandrin-* (pace PW s.v.). See AiGr. II,1 § 42c (p. 98-99).

- gen. sg. *kesareḥ*, R 4,32.10 v.l. (*vinatasyātha kesareḥ* [CE *nalasya ca mahātmanah*]), *jambumāleḥ*, R 5,5.20, *māleḥ*, R 7,5.37, *vidyunmāleḥ*, R 4,32.10, 5,5.18, *śṛṅgeḥ*, Mbh 1,46.37 (v.l. *śṛṅgiṇah*), *sumāleḥ*, R 5,5.20, 7,5.38
- acc. pl. *pakṣīn*, Mbh 12,253.30 (cf. *pakṣiṇah*, ibid. 29), *mantrīn*, R 2,104.24 v.l. (CE *mantri* °), 5,46.58 v.l. (*mukhyamantrīn* [CE *mantrimukhyān*])

rem. On *viṭapī(n)*, R 3,69.14 (CE *viṭapī*¹, v.l. *°pīn*) see BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 405 [= *ET* p. 84-85]): "Transference of *-in* stems to *-i* stems is seen ... in *viṭapī* at 3.69.14b if one emends to *viṭapīn* as Böhtlingk suggests², for an accusative is needed and so the explanation of singular for plural is inadequate"³. Another solution is brought forward by PISANI, commenting on 3.73.20 Bomb. (... *viṭapī mālyadhāriṇah* [= CE 3,69.13cd-14ab]): "Qui appare il nom. sg. adoperato per l'acc. plur.; ma evidentemente a base dell'apparizione sta una dissimilazione dei due *naḥ* finali" (1934: 68). It would, however, be natural if such a haplological omission of a case ending resulted in *viṭapī*<*naḥ*> *mālyadhāriṇah*.

¹ This is also the reading of 3,1304*: *sāyāhne vicaran rāma darśayiṣyati lakṣmaṇah / ṛṣabhā iva nardanto viṭapī mālyadhāriṇah*.

² BÖHTLINGK comments as follows: "Comm.: *viṭapī viṭapinaḥ / āṛṣam ekatvam* // Er hätte hinzufügen können, dass auch der Nominativ ein Archaismus sei. Wir werden wohl nicht fehl gehen, wenn wir nach der Analogie von *mantrīn* und *viṭapīnām* hier *viṭapīn* verbessern" (1887: 215).

³ See also crit. notes *ad loc.* and POLLOCK (1991: 354).

gen. pl. *patatrīṇām*, Mbh 1,27.20.29.35¹, *mekhalinām*, R 2,756*.1a (≠ 2-4 ˘˘-), *yogīnām*, Mbh 13,14.159c (*sanatkumāro yogīnām*), *viṭapīnām*, R 3,40.19c (≠ 2-4 ˘˘-).²

3.19. °i-stem ← °is-stem

gen. sg. *dasājyoteḥ*, Mbh 1,1.43, *śatajyoteḥ*, Mbh 1,1.43 (vs. *sahasra-jyotiṣaḥ*, Mbh 1,1.44)
instr. pl. *śāntārcibhir* (*ivānalaiḥ*), Mbh 6,92.61 (v.l. °ārcirbhiḥ).

This transfer occurs also in prior members of compounds:

pāvakārci-samāviṣṭā, R 6,84.3 v.l. (CE *pāvakārciḥ*°)³, (*agnir iv*)*ārcimālī*, Mbh 6,22.9 (*tri*. [cad.]), (°*kṛt*)*ārcimālī*, R 5,51.39 (*tri*. [cad.])⁴, *sārcijvālā-kulam*, R 4,App.8.40, *saptārcivarcasaḥ*, R 5,43.1d (cad.), *jyotinābhaḥ*, R 1,27.6 v.l. (of NW ed., not recorded by CE⁵), *jyotimukha-*, R 6,47.40 ~ 7,731*.1⁶, 60.39a (≠ cad. --˘-), 61.11a (≠ cad. --˘-), (*munayo ... / nāmnā*) *barhiṣado* (*nṛpa*), Mbh 12,336.41d⁷.

¹ In the two first stanzas *patatrīṇām* stands in the cadence of pāda a (˘---), in the third this form avoids the syllables 2-4 counting -˘- (*[pa]tatrīṇām* ---). The regular gen. pl. *patatrīṇām* is attested at Mbh 1,2.77 in the cadence of an even śloka pāda (˘˘-).

² SEN (1955/56a: 173) records *tapasvīnām*, a reading which the crit. ed. does not give as v.l. at R 3,5.20.

³ It is possible that this is a case of the sandhi -s- < -s+s- (on which see [♣] p. 22 n. 1).

⁴ Cf. *sārcirmālī*, R 1,707*.

⁵ See SEN (1955/56a: 17).

⁶ This word avoids the second syllable after the caesura of the *tri*. to be long.

⁷ Also this might be a case of the sandhi -s- < -s+s- (on which see [♣] p. 22 n. 1).

3.20. °u-stem ← °us-stem

- acc. sg. *jaṭāyum*, R 3,49.32 (cf. *jaṭāyuṣam*, 3,13.35, 49.38.39, 63.10.25, 4,6.3), (ifc.) *avaṣṭabdha-dhanum*, R 3,24.1
 gen. sg. *āyoḥ*, Mbh 1,70.23 (cf. *āyuṣaḥ*, 1,70.24), *jāṭayoḥ*, Mbh 3,266.45.47 (cf. *jaṭāyuṣaḥ*, ibid. 49, R 4,55.2.13.17.20 [et passim]), R 5,33.61, 6,111.19 (see AiGr III § 75c rem. and § 151bβ rem.)
 voc. sg. *jaṭāyo*, R 3,937*.5,47.36, 64.4

This transfer occurs also in compounds (see AiGr. II,1 § 26b):

dhanv-antarāṇi, Mbh 8,61.3, *sāmayaju-ṛgvarṇāḥ*, Mbh 3,148.13a (cad. [notice the hiatus (↯ p. 16)]).

3.21. °ma-/°va-stem ← °mant-/°vant-stem¹

- nom. sg. *jāmbavaḥ*, R 4,1343*.5 v.l. (CE *jāmbavān*)
 acc. sg. *jāmbavam*, R 4,64.28 v.l. (CE *jāmbavantam*)
 instr. sg. *jāmbavena*, R 4,1343*.3² (v.l. *jāmbavatā*), 6,72.20 (Cg. *jāmbavena jāmbavatā*)
 loc. sg. *jāmbave*, R 4,1326*.5 v.l. (reading of ed. Gorr., not recorded by CE)

This transfer occurs also in compounds (see AiGr. II,1 § 26a):

(*carāmi*) *hanumātibhiḥ*, R 4,238*.12d v.l. (CE [*vicarāmi* .. /] *hanumatpramukhair [varaiḥ]*), (*mantribhir*) *hanumātibhiḥ*, 4,626*(b) v.l. (CE *mantribhir hanumanmukhaiḥ*).

¹ See BHSG § 18.1.

² This form avoids (other than *jambavatā*) ˘˘- of syllables 2-4.

3.22. Thematicization of consonant stems

(N. pr.) *abhisravantāya*, Mbh 13, App.6.37a (cad.)¹
(idam) mahopaniṣadam, Mbh 12,326.100a², *sāṅgopaniṣadam (śāstram)*,
 12,322.51c, *(purāṇe) sopaniṣade*, 12,328.8c (v.l. °paniṣadi), *vedopaniṣade*
(caiva), 13,83.5a, *(dhanurvedo ... /) sāṅgopāṅgopaniṣadaḥ*, R 1,54.16c
 (v.l. *sāṅgopāṅgaḥ sopaniṣat*), *sāṅgopaniṣadānām (ca vedānām)*, Mbh
 1, App.1.15
(yānaṃ) tathopānaha-saṃpradāne, Mbh 13,57.35 (tri.), *chattropānaha-*
vistaram, 13,97.3b
etādṛśasya (kiṃ me 'dya / jīvitena ...), Mbh 2,50.28a v.l. (CE *atādṛśasya*),
etādṛśāni (duḥkhāni), 3,13.106 (see AiGr. III § 26a rem.)³
(caturdhā cainam upayāti) vācā, Mbh 12,261.22 v.l. (tri. [CE ... *nindā*])⁴
 (ifc.) *viṣṇutejasam*, Mbh 3, App.14.70
 (ifc.) *muktatvacāḥ*, Mbh 12,242.11
(aśobhayac ca nagaram /) patākadhvajamālinam, Mbh 3,76.6
napuṃsāya, Mbh 13, App.6.36 (↗ p. 360)
 (Nsg.) *vaṇijaḥ*, Mbh 13,17.107
 (ifc. [nom. sg.]) °*samānavarcasam*, Mbh 1,17.22
 °*srajapriyaḥ*, Mbh 12, App.28.320⁵, (ifc.) *jātarūpasrajāni ... śirāṃsi*,
 4,57.11 (v.l. °*srajāṃsi*)⁶

¹ See AiGr. III § 162e rem.

² Note that the word is here used in the neuter gender.

³ As to *netre*, R 3,62.10, see *critical notes* ad loc.

⁴ See WEINRICH (1928: 66 n. 2): "Daß *vācā* Nominativ ist, erweist die Grantharezension mit ihrem *nindā*".

⁵ See AiGr. II,1 § 25aα.

⁶ The PW records (s.v. *srajas*) *jātarūpasrajāṃsi śirāṃsi* from the *Harivaṃśa*.

(*sa bhavān*) *suhṛdo* (*'smākam*) Mbh 3,298.5c v.l.¹ (CE ... *suhṛd asmākam*), *suhṛdo hy anilo 'nalaḥ*, 13,17.97d (v.l. *suhṛd apy*), (*pāpena*) *suhṛda-dviṣā*, 15,36.32².

rem. At Mbh 13,App.14A.63 *rātra-* 'night' (← **rātra-*) is used as an independent word (see PW s.v. *rātra*): *trīṇi rātrāny upoṣitvā*.

¹ See AiGr. III § 162d.

² AiGr. III § 162e *rem.* records *mahānta-*, Mbh. Though PW gives Nalopākhyāna as reference I was not able to trace it.

IV. Pronouns

4.1. Personal pronouns: First person singular¹

The stem is *mat-*. To it the ablative suffix *-taḥ* is added resulting in 'pleonastic' *mattaḥ* (used side by side with the old ablative *mat*): Mbh 3,13.40, 42.33, 70.24, 162.13, 256.7, R 1,41.17, 45.6, 61.9, 2,1.31.32, 750*, 84.15 (see [↗] also 4.2, below).²

rem. On Mbh 8,12.34 v.1. (*eṣo 'smi hanmi saṃkalpam* 'I frustrate your plans') where *asmi* seems to be used in the sense of *aham* see AiGr. III § 224fα and OBERLIES (1997: 11 n. 23)³.

4.1.1. *mayā* as instrumental of comparison

On *mayā* as an *instr. of comparison* see (↗) p. 323-324.⁴

¹ See STENZLER § 111, KIELHORN § 177, WHITNEY § 491-494, RENOUE § 253 and AiGr. III § 224-228.

² This form occurs already in the Atharvaveda (see AiGr. III § 219dγ, BLOCH 1965: 125 and PW V 458 [s.v. mattas]).

³ The parallelism of (periphr. future) *kartāsmi* and *kartāham* 'I certainly shall do' (↗ 8.5) implies an equivalence of *asmi* and *aham* (see AiGr. III § 224fβ).

⁴ On *mama* as *gen. comparationis* see (↗) p. 338.

4.1.2. *mahyam* as genitive¹ (cf. 4.2.1)

Mbh 1,47.5 (*pitā mahyam*)², 1600*.3 (*na śṛṇoṣi vaco mahyam*), 158.11 (*mahyaṃ samīpam*), 2,70.20³, 3,12.32, 5,145.11, 182.13, 6,61.30, 7,16.4, 85.98, 8,24.2 (*pitur mahyam*), 9,34.9, 62.58, 64.34, 12,328.13, 13,100.19, 14,15.21, 52.17, 60.27, 18,2.27, R 1,12.3, 52.12 (*bhavān snigdhaḥ suhṛn mahyam*), 53.11 (*na hi tulyaṃ balaṃ mahyam*), 4,20.10 (*hṛdayaṃ susthiraṃ mahyam*), 5,34.32 = 35.20, 7,4.7, 43.12, 44.18, 46.9.⁴

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 64 [§ 86d]), id. (1896: 14 [§ 46 rem.]), AiGr. III § 226d, SEN (1952/53: 125) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 11 / 85). KEITH, however, regards *mahyam* as well as *tubhyam* as 'ethical datives' (1910b: 471). But MIA and Buddhist Sanskrit no doubt have *mahyam* and *tubhyam* as genuine genitives (see OBERLIES 2001: 180, PISCHEL § 418 / 421 and BHSG § 7.43, 20.28 / 32).

² SANKARAN opines that the "dative of relationship is a characteristically Dravidian phenomenon" and that "its influence even on Sanskrit is seen in some of the Southern manuscripts of the Mahābhārata where we have *mahyam pitā* instead of *me* or *mama pitā*" (1939/40: 417). See also KULKARNI (1946: 35).

³ See EDGERTON (1943/44: 3).

⁴ For further instances in the Rāmāyaṇa see MICHELSON (1904: 117), SEN (1952: 125) and id. (1955/56b: 267-268).

4.1.3. *me* as instrumental¹ (cf. 4.2.4)

samāhitena cīrṇāni sarvāny eva vratāni me ‘With mind composed, I have performed all the usual religious observances’, Mbh 3,282.12, *anṛtaṃ noktapūrvam me vīra kṛcchre ’pi tiṣṭhatā* ‘I have never spoken the untruth even when I was in danger’, R 4,14.13 (see MICHELSON 1904: 116-117, id. 1911: 171-173 and AiGr. III § 235b).²

rem. There are quite a lot of instances where *me*, *te* and *naḥ* are construed with a verbal adjective in *’ta-* or with a *participium necessitatis*: *rakṣā me bhavataḥ kṛtā*, Mbh 3,63.16, *bhuktaṃ me*, 5,104.12, *yātudhānī ... nihatā me ...*, 13,95.79; *na te ’sty aviditaṃ kiṃcit*, Mbh 3,131.14, *yat te ’ham ... asmi vañcitaḥ*, 5,193.18, *viṣaṃ te bhīmasenāya dattam*, 9,60.42, *na ca tasyeha te mṛtyur vistareṇa prakīrtitaḥ*, 13,86.3, *buddhir anyā na te kāryā*, R 2,79.10, *pūjitāś cāpi te vayam*, 83.7, *na hi te niṣṭhuraṃ vācyah*, 91.5, *āgantavyaṃ ca te drṣtvā*, 3,7.16; *rudhireṇeti naḥ śrutam*, Mbh 1,2.5³. These pronominal forms need not be instrumentals (*pace* MICHELSON 1904: 116-119) but could be understood to be regular genitives⁴, as is shown by Vedic sentences such as *pātyuḥ kṛitā satī* ‘A woman who is bought by the

¹ The supposed (see MICHELSON 1904: 117) ablatives *me* of (a) Mbh 1,101.16 (*na hi me ’nyo ’parādhyati* ‘No one but me is guilty’) and (b) of R 6,App.9.9 (*na me jīvan vimokṣyate*) and R 7,163* v.l. (*varam anyam vṛṇīṣva me* [CE *vṛṇīṣva vai*]) are better taken as (a) instrumental (on *ananya-* with instr. see [♣] 10.3.3) and (b) genitive (see KEITH 1910b: 469-470 and MICHELSON 1911: 176-177 [referring to SPEYER 1896: 20-21 [§ 73]).

² The congruity of *me* with the instrumentals *samāhitena* and *tiṣṭhatā* shows how the authors of these lines understood the pronoun (see AiGr. III § 235b; cf. BHSG § 20.19). Moreover, the v.l. *tiṣṭhataḥ* is instructive. But even here it is possible to assume a double construction, as pointed out by KEITH (1910b: 468-469).

³ SEN (1952: 317) gives an exhaustive list of the examples of the Rāmāyaṇa (see also CALAND 1917: 163-164).

⁴ CPD I,530a records (Pāli) ‘*mayham* as quasi-agent’ (cf. Buddhavaṃsa II 29 and Cariyapitaka 322).

husband', Maitr. Samh. 1,10.11: 151.3-4. The genitive is the adnominal case *per se* which may be used as the agent of the verbal adjective¹. This construction, which is also taught by a Pāṇinian rule (*ktasya ca vartamāne*, 2.3.67, *adhikaraṇavācīnaś ca*, 2.3.68), is continued into Middle Indo-Aryan: *katā me rakkhā* 'I have guarded', Ja II 147,22*, *eso ... diṭṭho me* 'He was perceived by me', Ausgew. Erz. 72,12*, 83,32*².

4.2. Personal pronouns: Second person singular³

The stem is *tvat-*. To it the ablative suffix *-tas* is added resulting in 'pleonastic' *tvattaḥ* (side by side with the old ablative *tvat*)⁴: Mbh 3,13.40, 65,36, 66.15, R 1,50.15 (see also [♣] 4.1, above).

At Mbh 2,5.14 *tvattaḥ* is used as the agent in a passive construction: *tvatto vā tava vāmātyair bhidyate jātu mantritām* (v.l. *tvayā*)⁵ 'Are your counsels always kept secret by yourself and your ministers?'

rem. Pāṇini's rule that an enclitic form of the pronoun should not follow a vocative (8.1.72) is not taken heed of in R 6,24.32: *acirān mokṣyate sīte devi te jaghanam gatām / dhṛtām etām bahūn māsān veṇīm rāmō mahābalaḥ* (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 136).

¹ On this 'split ergativity' – the present and the preterite mark the syntactic role of the 'agent' differently – see DELBRÜCK (1888: 153), SPEYER (1886: 50 [§ 66]), id. (1896: 19 [§ 69.2]), CALAND (1903: 44), AiGr. II 2 § 435b / III § 235b, OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 1103-1199, RENOU (1942), HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,399, JAMISON (1979: 133) and HETTRICH (1990: 41-45).

² See CAILLAT (1992), VON HINÜBER (1968: § 234-237), CPD s.v. *ahaṃ* (I 530b11ff.), *ibid.* s.v. *kata*, 2.a.(i), 3.a, PISCHEL § 421 and BHSG § 20.22.

³ See STENZLER § 111, KIELHORN § 177, WHITNEY § 491-494, RENOU § 253 and AiGr. III § 224-228.

⁴ See AiGr. III § 219dγ (p. 445).

⁵ This is also the reading of the corresponding stanza of the Rāmāyaṇa (2,94.16): *tvayā vā tava vāmātyair budhyate tāta mantritām*.

4.2.1. *tubhyam* as genitive¹ (cf. 4.1.2)

sutas tubhyam, Mbh 1,100.17 (v.l. *sutas te vai*), *haniṣyati ripus tubhyam*, 5,162.25², *vayaṃ tu guravas tubhyam*, 5,186.17, *tam abhyetyātmajas tubhyam aśvatthāmānam abravīt*, 9,5.16, *ahaṃ prasādajas tubhyam*, 12,335.36, *sutā tubhyam*, 13,19.14, *yathā mama tathā tubhyam yathā tava tathā mama*, 13,21.21, *havis tubhyaṃ pratigrhṇantu*, 14,10.28 (v.l. *tvattaḥ*), *kāṅkṣante darśanaṃ tubhyaṃ*, 14,93.60 (v.l. *tava*), ... *tubhyaṃ duḥkhitasya* ..., 15,6.5 (v.l. *te 'dya*), *svapakṣas caiva ye tubhyam*, 18,3.16, *prārthitaṃ tubhyam*, R 1,17.37, *aprameyabalaṃ tubhyam*, 1,53.15, *aprameyaṃ tapas tubhyam*, 1,64.26³, *yadi vāpi tvarā tubhyaṃ yuddhatṛṣṇāsamāvṛttā*, 7,32.30 (~ *yuddhaśraddhā ca te yadi*, 7,666*), *so 'haṃ dṛṣṭabalas tubhyam icchāmi* ..., 7,34.38 (Cg: *tubhyaṃ tavety arthaḥ*).⁴

4.2.2. *tubhyam* as instrumental

Ct. *ad naiṣa vārayituṃ śakyas tvayā krūro niśācaraḥ*, R 3,937*.7: *tubhyam iti pāṭhe tvayeti arthe ārṣaṃ tat* (see MICHELSON 1904: 119 and KEITH 1910b: 470-471).⁵

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 64 [§ 86d]), id. (1896: 14 [§ 46 rem.]), AiGr. III § 226d, SEN (1952/53: 125) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 11 / 85). For MIA and Buddhist Sanskrit see (♣) p. 101 n. 1.

² Here and also in other cases *tubhyam* can be understood as *dativus ethicus* (see above [♣], p. 101 n. 1).

³ See MICHELSON (1904: 119).

⁴ On R 2,104.19 (*mātrā tubhyaṃ idaṃ kṛtam*) see BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 406 [= ET p. 86]).

⁵ For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 20.22.

4.2.3. *te* as accusative

apāpāṃ vedmi te sītē ‘I know you, Sītā, as being free from sin’, R 7,48.10
v.l. (CE *apāpāṃ vedmi sīte tvām*).¹

4.2.4. *te* as instrumental (cf. 4.1.3)

mṛgāpakṛṣṭena hi te mṛgayāṃ paridhāvātā ‘... by you, who whilst running after the chase had been led astray by the beasts’, Mbh 1,68.66²,
apramattena te bhāvyaṃ āśramasthena sītayā ‘Stay in the hermitage with Sītā and be on your guard’, R 3,41.47.³

rem. On *te* as the agent of a ^o*ta*-verbal adjective see (♣) 4.1.3 *rem.* (p. 102-103).

¹ See KONOW (1897: 971), HOPKINS (1899: 222), id. (1931), MICHELSON (1904: 118), id. (1911: 173-174), KEITH (1910b: 470, id. (1911: 178-179) and AiGr. III § 235b. For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 20.16.

The supposed acc. *te* (MICHELSON 1904: 118 n. 1, id. 1911: 174-175) of the phrase *sa te mokṣayitā rājan śāpād asmād dvijeritāt*, R 7,App.8.41 (v.l. *tvām*), could be a simple genitive (see KEITH 1910b: 470): ‘He will release you from the curse’ (i.e. *te* depends on *mokṣayitā*). The same holds true for *aham ājñāpayāmi te*, R 7,46.9, where BÖHTLINGK (1889: 68) and MICHELSON (1904: 118) assumed an accusative (see KEITH 1910b: 470 and MICHELSON 1911: 176). And also *te* in the phrase *upāghrāsyāmi te mūrdhni*, R 7,App.9.19, is most probably a (possessive) genitive, though the v.l. *mūrdhni tvā(m) upā^o* – and *mūrdhni śatrughnam upāghrāya*, ibid. 20 – might suggest an accusative (see HOPKINS 1931).

² See PISANI (1946: 188) and id. (1960: 40-41).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 194 n. 3), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 406 [= *ET* p. 86]) and AiGr. III § 235b *rem.* For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 20.22, for MIA see OBERLIES (2001: 181) and PISCHEL § 421.

4.3. Personal pronouns: First person dual (*āvām* as genitive)¹

yuktaś cāvām hi sambandhaḥ ‘... for our alliance is fitting’, Mbh 4,66.29
(v.l. *yukta evāvayor* ...).²

4.4. Personal pronouns: Second person dual (*vām* as nominative)³

etām buddhiṃ samāsthāya karṣitau vām mayā kṣudhā ‘... you grew lean
by me, the hunger’, Mbh 13,55.19.⁴

4.5. Personal pronouns: First person plural⁵

On *naḥ* (as ‘instrumental’) in construction with verbal adjectives see above
[♣], 4.1.3 *rem.* (♣ p. 102-103).

¹ See STENZLER § 111, KIELHORN § 177, WHITNEY § 491-494, RENOUE § 253 and AiGr. III § 229.

² See LUDWIG (1896: 16) and AiGr. III § 229c *rem.* Obviously the ending *ām* is felt to be the ending of a genitive plural as in *sat-ām*.

³ See STENZLER § 111, KIELHORN § 177, WHITNEY § 491-494, RENOUE § 253 and AiGr. III § 229.

⁴ See LUDWIG (1896: 16) and AiGr. III § 236bβ *rem.* It is possible that we have to supply *kāyau*: ‘Your [bodies] grew lean ...’. RENOUE (§ 253b), however, points to the same use of *vām* in Kālidāsa’s *Raghuvamśa* (XV 69).

⁵ See STENZLER § 111, KIELHORN § 177, WHITNEY § 491-494, RENOUE § 253 and AiGr. III § 230-234.

4.5.1. *vayam* as accusative¹

jītvā vayam neṣyati cādya gāvah ‘Having conquered us he will right now carry off our cows’, Mbh 4,686*.4 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 112).²

4.5.2. *nah* as ‘locative’³

mā vai kulavināsāya sneham kārṣiḥ suteṣu nah ‘Do not be misled by your love for us, your sons, into destroying the family’, Mbh 1,221.14.

4.6. Personal pronouns: Second person plural⁴

Instead of the personal pronoun of the second person, expressions such as *dirghāyus-* may be used⁵: *neha dirghāyuṣaḥ kaścid ṛṣir na parituṣyati ... suvṛttena* ‘... with your good behaviour ...’, R 2,2339*.3 (for *bhavant-* see [✓] p. 303-304).

¹ See AiGr. III § 25d. For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 20.46.

² The Critical Edition prints *jītvāva yaṃ ... gā vaḥ* (see [✓] p. 68 n. 3). WELLER (1938: 384) compares RV 5.61.5 (*sānat sāsṅvyam paśūm utā gāvyaṃ śatāvayam*) and proposes to read *jītvāvayam* ‘Arjuna wird, nachdem er gesiegt hat, jetzt euren Schafbestand und eure Kühe wegführen’ (on *avaya-* ‘flock of sheep’ see AiGr. II,2 § 42e).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 194 n. 3), id. (1896: 38 [§ 125]) and AiGr. III § 236c *rem.* But also here it is possible to assume a double construction, i.e. *nah* as *genetivus obiectivus* and *suteṣu* as locative.

⁴ See STENZLER § 111, KIELHORN § 177, WHITNEY § 491-494, RENOU § 253 and AiGr. III § 230-234.

⁵ See BURROW (1955: 268).

rem. The supposed acc. *yūyam* (MICHELSON 1904: 119)¹ is probably a nominative² (see KEITH 1910b: 471–472 and MICHELSON 1911: 177): *ayuktaṃ kṛtakarmāṇo yūyaṃ dharṣayitum mayā* ‘It is not fitting for me to offend you who have accomplished your task’, R 5,62.16 (see above [↗], p. 73 n. 1).

4.6.1. *yuṣma(d)bhyaḥ* as ablative³

sakhe tad brūhi gandharva yuṣmabhyo yad bhayaṃ tyajet ‘O Gandharva, tell me, my friend, how one can keep away danger from you people?’, Mbh 1,158.55 (v.ll. *yuṣmatto / yuṣmabhyo* [see below])

teṣāṃ yuṣmabhyo naiva kiṃcid bhayaṃ syāt ‘They never need to be in fear of you’, Mbh 1,53.20 (v.ll. *yuṣmatto / yuṣmat*), *na guhyaṃ śrotum icchāmi yuṣmabhyo dvijapuṃgavāḥ* ‘I do not want to hear secrets from you ...’, 12,125.32 v.l. (CE *na hi guhyam ataḥ śrotum icchāmi dvijapuṃgavāḥ*).

These forms are distinct plurals built on *yuṣmat*, as are *mat-taḥ* and *tvat-taḥ* on *mat* and *tvat* (see [↗] 4.1 and 4.2).

¹ The accusative would be comparable with BHS *yūyam: paśyāmi yūyam ... sarvān*, SP 198.1 (see BHSG § 20.50).

² On *(a)yuktaṃ* with a nominative see SPEYER (1886: 305 [§ 389]) who cites Mbh 1,3.111 (*na yuktaṃ bhavatā vyaṃ anṛtenopacaritum*).

³ See AiGr. III § 221c.

4.7. Three-gender pronouns¹

The instr. pl. *imaiḥ*, Mbh 1, App. 72.71 (*snāto divyair imair jalaiḥ*), is due to a simple analogy: *aśvān* : *aśvaiḥ* = *imān* : *imaiḥ*.²

rem. On the alleged loc. sg. f. *asyāḥ*, R 5, 14.11, see the discussion between MICHELSON (1904: 119-20) and KEITH (1910b: 472) who pleads for emendation to *asyām* (rejoinder: MICHELSON 1911: 177)³.

Against the rule (anaphoric) *enam*⁴ and *asya* stand at the beginning of a *pāda*: *enam āsādyā rājānaḥ ...*, Mbh 2, 17.15, *asya rūpaṃ ca sattvaṃ ca*, 2, 192*.1, *asyājñāvaśagāḥ sarve*, 2, 19.18 (see EDGERTON 1943/44: 6 and AiGr. III § 248gβ *rem.*)⁵.

¹ See STENZLER § 112-120, KIELHORN § 179-181, WHITNEY § 495-500, RENOU § 257-261 and AiGr. III § 243-250.

² See AiGr. III § 248d. For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 21.72.

³ As evidence for the bad Sanskrit of the Anusāsanaparvan HOPKINS (1893: 3 n. 1) cites the acc. pl. n. (*yas*) *tān* (*vikrīya yajate*), Mbh 13, 67.28 v.l. (CE *tāni vikrīya yajate*). It is, however, possible that *tān* refers to *dīpāḥ* of stanza 27 while *tāni* takes up *ratnadānam* of *pāda* a.

⁴ Sometimes the substantival *ena-* is confused with the adjectival *eta-* (see WHITNEY § 500, AiGr. III § 249aγ [p. 523], VAN DAALEN 1980: 114-115 and BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 406 [= ET p. 86]): *paśyainam karṣakam raudram*, Mbh 3, 10.10 (v.l. *etaṃ/imam*) – corresponding to R 2, 68.22 (*etau dr̥ṣtvā kṛṣau*) –, *nideśam pālayatv enam*, R 2, 46.68, *enam apy aṅadam*, 4, 25.11 v.l. (of ed. Gorr. [CE *imam apy aṅadam*]), *aham āśvāsāyāmy enāṃ pūrṇacandranibhānanām*, 5, 28.7.

⁵ For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 21.47.

4.7.1. Interrogative pronoun¹

What seems to be a genitival usage of *kasmai* is probably the result of a blending of two constructions, viz. \sqrt{ruc} with dative and \sqrt{ruc} with accusative²: *sa kasmai rocayed vacaḥ* ‘In whose words does he find pleasure?’, Mbh 9,23.35 (v.l. *kasmāt*³).

Though *katara-* and *katama-* are used quite regularly⁴, *ka-* may take their place (see SPEYER 1886: 210 [§ 280 *rem.* 1], HOPKINS 1902a: 120 and AiGr. III § 258ca *rem.*): *jyāyān ka āvayoḥ* ‘Which of us is the better man?’, Mbh 2,61.61, *kiṃ nu jyāyastaram*⁵, ‘Which (of these two) is greater?’, Mbh 12,125.31, *teṣāṃ garīyān katamo madhyamaḥ ko laghuś ca kaḥ* ‘Which one of them is more heavy, ... which one is light?’, Mbh 12,161.2.

rem. kutaḥ meaning ‘where’ is once attested: *kuto 'sau tiṣṭhate rājā*, R (ed. Gorr.) 7,23,3.23 (a reading not given by CE 7,34.1.21)⁶.

¹ See STENZLER § 115, KIELHORN § 183-184, WHITNEY § 504-507, RENOUE § 262 and AiGr. III § 258-259.

² On these constructions see CARDONA (1990).

³ See crit. notes *ad loc.*: “*kasmai* – dative used in the sense of genitive. Most of the MSS belonging to the Northern recension have sought to avoid this rather “un-classical” usage”.

⁴ See KIELHORN § 184 and RENOUE § 262 (cf. BROCKINGTON 1998: 92).

⁵ Such doubled comparatives are rather common in Epic Sanskrit (see above [↗], p. 75).

⁶ See PW V,1304 (s.v. *kutas*).

4.7.2. Pronominal adjectives (incl. *eka-*)

anya-, *itara-*, *eka-*, *pūrva-* and *viśva-* sporadically do not inflect as pronominal adjectives¹:

(dat. sg. m./n.) *itarāya*, Mbh 2,66.33, R 2,4.7, *ekaikāya*, R 7,97.19 v.l. (*ekaikasya*), *pūrvāya*, R 6,App.65.31, *viśvāya*, Mbh 12,328.11
(abl. sg. m.) *itarāt*, R 6,3644*.3, *anyāt*, Mbh 12,211.33 (v.l. *asmāt*), *ekāt*, Mbh 13,1.23 v.l. (CE *ekasmāt*)

The expression *bhuvanāni viśvā* has preserved the archaic n. pl. *viśvā* (see [↗] p. XXIX and 55)²:

adhikṣiyantau bhuvanāni viśvā, Mbh 1,3.60, *te 'dhikṣiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā*, 1,3.68³, *tvat saṃbhūtā bhuvanāniha viśvā*, 7,172.70, 13,105.55

paścimā- (f.) forms its locative after the model of *tasyām*⁴:

paścimasyām, Mbh 12,329.46, R 1,60.3 v.l. (CE *paścimāyām*), 4,36.3 (Ct. *paścimasyām ity āṛṣam*).

¹ Against STENZLER § 116 / 124, KIELHORN § 195 / 205, WHITNEY § 522-526, RENOU § 263 and AiGr. III § 264-268.

² See AiGr. III § 51a, HOPKINS (1901: 251 with n. 1) and KEITH (1910: 1323 n. 3). Cf. also CALAND (1928: 223 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 523]).

³ Both stanzas are part of the hymn to the Aśvins which imitates Vedic Sanskrit (see p. XXIX n. 4).

⁴ See AiGr. III § 268f. This form is also attested in the *Harivaṃśa* (93,15) and the *Bṛhatkathakośa* (ed. A.N. UPADHYE) 71.1, 99.53.

pūrvatara- forms its nom. pl. also after the model of *pūrve*:

pūrvatare, R 2,2241*.17 (instead of which 2,2248*.1 has *pūrvatarāḥ*)¹

In regard to the choice between *eka-* und *ekatara-*, the epic uses either (see HOPKINS 1902a: 120 and AiGr. III § 174c *rem.*): *vṛṇomy ekataram na ca ... ekasya jayam āśamse* ‘(Like the mother of two gamblers) I prefer neither ... I hope for victory of one’, Mbh 12,82.9/11.

rem. (1) *anyatama-* has also the meaning ‘other’: *babhāv anyatameva śrīḥ* ‘She shone like another Śrī’, R 7,527* (instead of which ed. Gorresio 7,34.15 reads: *babhāse śrīr dvitīyā sā*)². And it is employed where *anyatara-* is expected: *tam aśvinor anyatamam*, R 3,600*, *rūpeṇānyatamo śvibhyām dyumatsenasuto balī*, 3,278.18³; (2) *eka-* tends to be fused with negative *na* (as is proved by compounded *naika*^o [see AiGr. III § 200dα]): *naikah*, Mbh 13,110.127, *naikān*, Mbh 3,61.104, *naikatra*, Mbh 3,70.8, *naikadhā*, Mbh 3,12.48, R 6,85.12 v.l. (another v.l. has *anekadhā*), *naikaśaḥ*, R 3,30.19 v.l. (of ed. Gorr.), *naikadravya-*, Mbh 13,31.17, *naikamāya-*, Mbh 12,99.48, *naikavarṇa-*, Mbh 3,61.35, *naikaśastramaya-*, R 6,95.19; (3) Sporadically *ubha-* is negated by *an-* (see AiGr. III § 176c *rem.*): *etad evaṃ ca naivaṃ ca na cobhe nānubhe tathā* ‘... neither both nor none of both’, Mbh 12,224.52 v.l. = 230.6 v.l.; (4) Occasionally the indefinite pronoun is compounded with privative *a-* (see AiGr. III § 259dα *rem.*): *akiṃcid ukṭvā* ‘without having said a word’ (~ *anukṭvā kiṃcit*), Mbh 13,41.27, 55.3, *akutaścid-bhaya-* ‘endangered from nowhere’, R 2,1058*.15.

¹ See AiGr. III § 268f.

² See EDGERTON (1954: 133).

³ On this ‘superlative’ with the ablative see (♣) p. 334-335.

V. Numerals

5.1. Cardinals¹

5.1.1. °śati- is replaced by °śat-²

(19) *ekonaviṃśat-* (↗ 5.2.2)

(20) *viṃśat-*, Mbh 1,2.199 v.l. (CE *triṃśat*), 1,180*, R 6,55.7; (in compounds) *viṃśadbhuja-* 'of twenty arms', R 3,30.8, 33.9 v.l. (CE *viṃśatibhujah*), *viṃśadbāhoḥ*, R 7,32.49, *viṃśadyojanam*, R 5,1.145

(21) *ekaviṃśat-*, R 1,406* (see below [↗], p. 120 and 126)

(22) *dvāviṃśad-yugaparyaye*, Mbh 12,839*

(23) (*yojanāni*) *trayoviṃśat*, R 6,303*.8 (on the 'nominative of extent' see [↗] 10.3.1)

(24) *caturviṃśat-*, Mbh 1,1.170, 14,64.17, R 1,196*, 4,41.17, 7,1328*

(26) *ṣaḍviṃśad (yojanāni)*, R 6,App.14.39 (on the 'nominative of extent' see [↗] 10.3.1).

5.1.2. °śat- is replaced by °śati-³

(30) *triṃśatim*, R 6,55.7 v.l. (CE *triṃśat*), 96.14 v.l. (CE *triṃśatam* [for which see (↗) 5.1.3])

(35) *pañcatriṃśati(-sāhasrāḥ)*, Mbh 6,57.12 (v.l. [S] *pañcatriṃśat-*)

¹ See STENZLER § 122, KIELHORN § 201, RENOUE § 265, WHITNEY § 475 and AiGr. III § 173-192.

² See AiGr. III § 188d (p. 367), WHITNEY § 475e and RENOUE § 270 *rem.* (p. 388). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 19.29, for MIA PISCHEL § 445 and OBERLIES (2001: 196).

³ See AiGr. III § 189c, WHITNEY § 475e and RENOUE § 270 *rem.* For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 19.29, for MIA PISCHEL § 445 and OBERLIES (2001: 196).

(50) *pañcāsatih*, Mbh 12,103.20 (*api pañcāsatih sūrā mṛdnanti paravāhinīm* [cf. Mbh 6,4.33: *pañcāśad api ye sūrā mathnanti mahatīm camūm*])

5.1.3. °*śat(i)*- is replaced by °*śata*-¹

(20) *viṃśatam*, R 6,96.14 v.l. (Cg. *viṃśatam iti ikāralopas chāndasaḥ* [CE *viṃśatim*])

(30) *triṃśata-*, Mbh 6,13.43, 7,97.34, 105.27, 134.42, 13,104.14, 139.6, R 4,64.4 (Ct. *triṃśad ity arthe triṃśatam ity āṛṣam*), 6,96.14

(33) *trayastrīṃśatam*, Mbh 1,60.36 v.l. (CE °*triṃśataḥ*²)

(40) *catvāriṃśatam*, Mbh 9,51.21 (v.l. *catvāriṃśat [tathā]*)

(50) *pañcāśata-*, Mbh 1,60.10 (v.l. *pañcāśat*), 70.7.15 (v.l. *pañcāśataḥ* [pl.]), 6,4.33 v.l. (CE *pañcāśat*), 112.44, 7,31.4, 93.8, 116.4, 12,103.20 v.l. (CE *pañcāsatih*), 247.8, 13,72.24, 109.45

(58) *aṣṭapañcāśata-*, Mbh 6,13.44, 13,153.27

5.1.4. Ordinals instead of cardinals³

(20) *viṃśa(bhujam)*, R 7,9.22 v.l. (CE *viṃśatibhujam*)

(21) *ekaviṃśa-*, Mbh 12,308.112 (v.l. *viṃśatih*), R 6,1635*.3 v.l. (CE *triṃśatam*)

¹ See RENOUE § 270 *rem.* For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 19.34 (unknown to MIA proper).

² The form *trayastrīṃśata (ity ete devāḥ)* of the critical edition seems to be nom. pl. As such it would offend against the rule that the numeral ‘33’ should be a singular noun (↗ p. 120).

³ See RENOUE § 270 *rem.* (cf. AiGr. III § 195fB [p. 385], WHITNEY § 479 and HOPKINS 1902a: 122). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 19.30-32, for Pāli see OBERLIES (2001: 197 n. 4).

(24) *caturviṃśaṃ putraśataṃ babhūva*, Mbh 1,90.39, 3,214.30¹.

5.1.5. Other 'irregular' cardinals

(38) *aṣṭatrimśat-*, Mbh (pW s.v. and RENOUE § 266 *rem.* without reference)

(70) *saptatīm*, R 5,1.148 v.l. (Cr: *dīrgha āṛṣaḥ* [for this 'transfer' see (♣) 3.3])

(84) *caturāśītiḥ*, Mbh 1,2.96a², 6,7.10a (= [cad.] ८०--)³

(85) *aśītipañcakaḥ*, Mbh 7,101.69 v.l. = 165.49 = 165.103⁴

(90) *navatīm*, R 5,1.149 v.l. (for this 'transfer' see [♣] 3.3)⁵.

¹ See HOPKINS (1902: 122) and AiGr. III § 188d *rem.* ("Weitere Abstumpfung der Endung zeigt Hariv. 12435 *caturviṃśākṣara-* '24silbig'").

² See BÖHTLINGK: "Mahābh. 1,406 liest die ed. Calc. ... *ślokāś ca caturaśītiḥ. turaśītiḥ* ist aber ein an dieser Stelle nicht geduldeter Fuss. Die ed. Vardh. 1,2,126 liest richtig *ślokāś caturāśītiś ca*" (1887: 216).

³ This form is due to the analogical influence of *aśīti*-compounds in which the prior member ended in *a*, producing *-ā-* by *sandhi* (cf. Pāli *caturāśīti-* [OBERLIES 2001: 198], BHS *caturāśīti-* [BHSG § 19.35] and Amg. *caurāsīim* [PISCHEL § 446]).

⁴ This "is said by the scholiast to mean (5x80 =) 'four hundred'" (HOPKINS 1902b: 354).

⁵ On the Vedic phrase (*jaghāna*) *navatīr nava* see (♣) p. 120.

5.1.6. Different methods of forming cardinals

(3) *tritayam* and *trayam* are used interchangeably to denote a ‘triad’, sometimes side by side¹: *dharmaś cārthaś ca kāmaś ca tritayam jivite phalam / etat trayam avāptavyam*, Mbh 13,112.17

(5) Divisional expression²: *daśārdha-*, Mbh 1,173.16, 179.16, 12,47.27, 180.26, 279.9 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 109)³

(6) Additive expression: *pañca caikaṃ ca*, Mbh 1,225.12 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 110 and AiGr. III § 195g)⁴

(8) Subtractive expression⁵: *dvirūnaṃ daśarātram* ‘eight nights’, Mbh 12,346.10⁶

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 225 [§ 297]), AiGr. III § 211c, HOPKINS (1899: 29) and id. (1902a: 110).

² This kind of forming of numerals is treated by HOPKINS (1902a: 132-137).

Compounded *ardha-* modifies the word with which it is connected, but does not specify whether by addition or subtraction or multiplication (see HOPKINS 1902a: 133 and AiGr. III § 198f rem.): *ardhasaptaśatāḥ* ‘350’, R 2,31.10, ~ *trayaḥ(-)śataśatārdhā ... mātarāḥ* ‘350 mothers’, R 2,34.32 (v.l. [of NW ed.] *ardhasaptaśatāḥ* [see ROUSSEL 1910: 46, SPEYER 1886: 222 / 226-227, id. 1896: § 151 rem., WHITNEY § 480b and RENOU § 267 rem.]). As regards the latter, BROCKINGTON comments: “... if taken as a compound (it) is an irregular form for *triśataśatārdha* or if taken as *trayaḥ śataśatārdhāḥ* is, as SPEYER points out, an extremely odd piece of arithmetic ...” (1969/70b: 407 [= ET p. 87]). As to the acc. *mātarāḥ* see (♣) 2.13.

³ At Mbh 12,115.19, this word has the meaning ‘fist’ (HOPKINS, l.c. 109-110).

⁴ In the late epic *ṣaṭka-* is used for ‘six’ (see HOPKINS 1902b: 354).

⁵ See WHITNEY § 477a, AiGr. III § 196d and HOPKINS (1902a: 117, 126). On different modes of subtraction see HOPKINS (1902a: 126-128).

⁶ The *-r-* looks much like a *sandhi* consonant. The independent use of the word *ūna-* is rare (HOPKINS 1899: 25, id.1902a: 126); *ūne dviyojane gatvā* ‘having gone two incomplete leagues’, Mbh 9,4.48.

- (10) Multiplicative expression¹: *dvipañcaśirasah kecit*, Mbh 5,101.7, *dvipañcarātram*, Mbh 3,219.35 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 110)
- (12) **a.** Multiplicative expression: *dviṣaṭ(ka)-*, Mbh 11,5.14, 13,86.18; **b.** additive expression: *daśa ca dve ca yojanāni*, R 1,5.7²
- (13) Additive expression: *tri daśāni / daśa tri* (↗ p. 125-126)
- (15) Multiplicative expression: *pañcatrikāḥ*, Mbh 12,212.24 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 111 and AiGr. III § 198eβ)
- (18) Subtractive expression: *dvyūnā viṃśatiḥ*, Mbh 1,1.158 (see BÖHTLINGK 1887: 216 and AiGr. III § 196d)
- (19) Subtractive expression: *viṃśatir ekonā*, Mbh 6,5.18 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 117 n. 2 and AiGr. III § 196d)
- (21) Multiplicative expression: *trisaptabhiḥ*, Mbh 9,12.8 (see AiGr. III § 198eβ)
- (30) Multiplicative expression: *tridasāḥ*, Mbh 1,App.61.48 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 112 and AiGr. III § 198 eβ)
- (69) Subtractive expression: *ekonasaptatiḥ*, Mbh 1,2.128.172
- (95) Subtractive expression: *pañconam śatam*, Mbh 3,70.10³
- (99) Subtractive expression: *ekona-yojanaśata-* ‘99 yojanas’, Mbh (AiGr. III § 196d without reference)⁴
- (100) *daśati-* is formed analogically to *ṣaṣṭi-*, *saptati-*, *aśīti-* and *navati-* (see HOPKINS 1902a: 116 and AiGr. III § 191g): Mbh 1,14.12 (v.l. *śatam*), 5,106.14, 13,31.21

¹ On different modes of multiplication see SPEYER (1886: 222 [§ 293]) and HOPKINS (1902a: 128-130).

² See (**a.**) HOPKINS (1902a: 110) and AiGr. III § 198eβ, (**b.**) AiGr. III § 195d.

³ See WHITNEY § 480, HOPKINS (1902a: 126) and AiGr. III § 196d.

⁴ Cf. *bhrāmayitvā śataguṇam ekonam yena bhārata, gadā kṣiptā balavatā ...*, Mbh 2,197*.3-4.

- (108) Additive expression (see AiGr. III § 211c rem.): *nāmāṣṭaśatakam*, Mbh 3,3.29 v.1. (CE *nāmnām aṣṭaśatam*)¹
- (990) Subtractive expression: *varṣa-sahasre daśone*, R 1,45.12 (see AiGr. III § 196d)²
- (1000) Multiplicative expression³: *daśaśatam*, Mbh 3,65.4, 13,5.14, 105.36, 113.25 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 117 n. 1 and AiGr. III § 198a rem.)⁴.

¹ Another v.l. has *aṣṭottaram śatam nāmnām* (on which see [♣] p. 122).

² The numeral adverb in °śaḥ can be used instead of a case of a cardinal (see AiGr. III § 215f): *anvīyeṣa ... paśuṃ gobhiḥ sahasraśaḥ*, R 1,60.9, *caturdaśa hi varṣāṇi sahitasya tvayā vane kṣaṇabhūtāni yāsyanti śataśas tu tato 'nyathā*, 2,46.47 (= *śatasamkhyāni cānyathā*, 2,52.27 ed. Bomb.). It seems to have an expressive vagueness which is missing from an ordinary cardinal.

³ For different methods of multiplication see HOPKINS (1902a: 128-132) and AiGr. III § 198. HOPKINS points to "some curiously awkward methods of multiplying": *ṣaṣṭir uṣṭrasahasrāṇi śatāni dviguṇā hayāḥ / ... / śakaṭāni rathāś caiva tāvad eva kareṇavaḥ* 'Sixty thousand camels and twice as many hundred horses, ... and ... just as many elephants', Mbh 14,64.15-16 (note the sg. of *tāvad eva*), *asmattejobalam yāvat tāvad dviguṇam eva ca / teṣāṃ iti ha manyāmaḥ* 'Their power and energy is double the strength of ours, this is what we think', Mbh 8,24.59, *caturdaśa piśācānāṃ koṭyo me vacane sthitāḥ / dviś tāvat puruṣādānāṃ rakṣasāṃ bhīmakarmaṇāṃ / tato me triguṇā yakṣāḥ* 'Fourteen crores of Piśācas ..., twice as many Rakṣasas ... [and] three times as many Yakṣas', Mbh 3,265.11-12. A connecting link is furnished by *tāvat* as part of a compound: *yāvanti tasyā romāṇi ... tāvadyugasahasrāṇi*, Mbh 3,App.21A.147-148 (~ *yāvanti romāṇi bhavanti tasyās tāvadvarṣāṇy aśnute svargalokam*, 3,184.9).

triguṇa- at Mbh 5,54.63 (*balaṃ triguṇato hīnaṃ yodhyaṃ prāha bṛhaspatiḥ / parebhyas triguṇā ceyam mama rājann anīkinī*), however, seems to mean 'one third' (and not 'three times [smaller]'): 'A force less by a third can be fought ...' (see HOPKINS 1902a: 134-135).

⁴ The strange expression *śatā* (v.l. *śatam*) *daśa* (♣-♣-), Mbh 13,113.11 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 120 and AiGr. III § 198by rem.) is occasioned by the metre.

Multiplicative expressions for high numbers were more popular than words like *(pr)ayuta-*, *koṭi-*, *(ni)kharva-*, *padma-* *mahāmbuja-* or *vṛnda-*¹ (see AiGr. III § 192c/d and WHITNEY § 475c/d)²: *triśatam ... śatāni* ‘30,000’ (see AiGr. III § 198a *rem.*), *navatyā navatīr (mukhānām kṛtvā)* ‘8,100 mouths’, Mbh 1,28.24 (see WHITNEY § 480)³. They are formed variously⁴: (a) The smaller number qualifies the nouns *śata-* and *sahasra-* (mainly they are concerned) agreeing in case⁵; (b) both numerals form a *bahuvrīhi* which is used in apposition with the numbered noun: *pañcaśatān śūrān* ‘500 champions’, Mbh 3,255.8, *ṣaṣṣataś ca padātibhiḥ* ‘600 foot-soldiers’, Mbh 3,77.2; (c) such a *bahuvrīhi* may be turned into a substantive, either a neuter in *-a* or a feminine in *-ī*: *paśūnām triśatam* ‘300 cattle’, Mbh 14,90.34, R 1,13.25, *gavām daśaśatam* ‘1000 cattle’, Mbh 3,65.4, *iṣṭīnām daśaśatam* ‘1000 Iṣṭis’, Mbh 13,105.36, *mṛgān pañcaśatam* ‘500 deer’, Mbh 3,251.11 v.l. (CE *pañcāśatam*), *paśūnām triśatī* ‘300 cattle’, Mbh 14,90.34 v.l. (CE *triśatam* [see above]), *ślokāḥ saptaśatī* ‘700 ślokas’, Mbh 1,2.195 v.l. (CE *ślokāḥ saptaśatam*).

¹ Cf. Mbh 2,58.3 and R 6,411*-416* (see AiGr. III § 192d *rem.*).

² On ‘metaphorical number-names’ – like *śarāgni-* ‘5x7 = 35’, Mbh 13,110.22 – see HOPKINS (1901: 206), id. (1902a: 111) and AiGr. III § 171a / c *rem.* (p. 335 / 336).

³ This is an instance of multiplication expressed by the instrumental of the multiplicator (see SPEYER 1886: 222 [§ 293]; cf. HOPKINS 1902a: 115). Cf. *navatīr nava* (p. 120).

⁴ See AiGr. III § 198b.

⁵ This method is a common one in all ages. A peculiarity of Epic Sanskrit is that a compound is formed out of numeral and appellative: *sūtaṣaṣṣatam* ‘600 charioteers’, Mbh 4,22.29, *dviyojanaśata-* ‘200 yojanas long’, Mbh (AiGr. III § 198ba *rem.* [without reference]).

⁶ On these *-ī*-forms see SPEYER (1886: 223 [§ 294]) and HOPKINS (1902a: 120).

There are a number of exceptions to the rule that the cardinals 1 through 19 are adjectives and that the numerals 20 through 99 are feminine¹ nouns (sg.) and 100, 1000, 10,000 and 100,000 are neuter nouns (sg.) which take the numbered noun as a dependent genitive (plural) as well as in apposition with them (here the numbered noun stands also in the plural) or as the prior member of a compound²:

(a) the numeral is a noun: *ṛtūnām ṣaṭ samatyayuh* ‘six seasons passed’, R 1,506*.3³

(b) the numerals occur in the plural⁴: *vasobhir ekaviṃśadbhiḥ*, R 1,406*, *triṃśato ’bdān* ‘thirty years’, Mbh 13,106.33, *triṃśadbhir niśitair bāṇaiḥ*, Mbh 6,112.41 v.l. (CE *triṃśatā*), R 6, App.39.43, *pañcāśadbhir hayaiḥ*, Mbh 3,77.2, (*jaghāna*) *navatīr nava*, Mbh 2,22.18 = 9,50.33 = 12,22.11⁵

(c) *śata-* and *sahasra-* occur as masculine (plural) nouns (see SPEYER 1886: 224 n. 2, HOPKINS 1902a: 120 and AiGr. III § 51a rem.): *vetanaṃ te śataṃ śatāḥ*, Mbh 3,64.6⁶, *śataṃ śatās te harayaḥ*, 3,167.8, *pañca*

¹ As to n. *aśīti-*, R 5,69*.9, see PW s.v. *aśīti*.

² See STENZLER § 126, KIELHORN § 204, WHITNEY § 486b, SPEYER (1886: 222-224 [§ 294]), HOPKINS (1902a: 120-121), RENOU § 268, BURROW (1955: 257 / 260) and BHSG § 19.37-38.

An adjective may or may not agree with the implied genitive (see HOPKINS 1902a: 121 and AiGr. III § 191cγ rem.): *bhāryāśataṃ ... sadṛśinām*, Mbh 3,127.2 (~ *bhāryāśataṃ ... sadṛśam*, 3,127,13 v.l.), *ubhayor eva ... pādābhivādanam*, 3,278.3. Or it has the gender of the substantive to which it refers (see AiGr. l.c.): *śataṃ dāśī-sahasrāṇi taruṇyo hemabhadrikāḥ*, Mbh 2,54.12 v.l. (CE *me prabhadrikāḥ* [cf. 3,222.44]).

³ See AiGr. III § 173a, WHITNEY § 486 and SPEYER (1886: 224 n. 1).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 224 [§ 294 rem. 2]).

⁵ It is not clear whether this Vedic phrase (see RV 1.84.13) means ‘99 [enemies]’ or ‘810’. See HOPKINS (1902a: 115) and AiGr. III § 186g.

⁶ The Bombay edition reads *śatā* (see HOPKINS 1902a: 120) which is explained by

*śatān*¹ *rathān*, 4,31.17 (v.l. *śatam*)², *hatā gajāḥ saptaśatārjunena*³, 6,55.130 (v.l. *śatā nareṇa*), *catuḥśatāḥ*, 2,54.28, *catuḥśatān*, 7,App.8.744, *yaṃ śaṭ sahasrā rathino 'nuyānti*, 3,249.11, (*rathānāṃ śaṭ sahasrāṇi*) *śaṭ sahasrās ca kuñjarāḥ (daśa cāśvasahasrāṇi)*, 9,7.39

(d) the numbered noun stands in the singular (see AiGr. III § 172d [p. 338]): *narakam triṣatam prāpya* ‘... thirty hells’, Mbh 13,104.14 (v.l. *triśatam*⁴)

(e) the numeral is used as the prior member of a compound: *śata-varṣa(jīvī)*, Mbh 13,105.39 (cf. *varṣaśatam*, 13,116.59), *śatavarṣāṇi*, 13,112.76 v.l. *viṃśativarṣāṇi*, 13,112.92⁵.

Nilakaṇṭha as *śatāni* (he is followed by CALAND 1917: 162, who sees in *śatā* “a Vedic plural instead of *śatāni*” [see also (♣) p. 42 n. 1]).

- ¹ It is possible to read *pañcaśatān* (as a bahuvrīhi).
- ² See AiGr. III § 191dβ: “In der epischen Sprache kann das Zahlwort ... sogar das Genus des Substantivs annehmen: *śatān rathān*, Mbh, *śatāḥ turagāḥ*, Hariv.; hier ist die Adjektivierung von *śata*- völlig geworden”. The reference is to Harivaṃśa 13606.
- ³ On the double *sandhi* see (♣) p. 42.
- ⁴ The PW, s.v. *triśata*, does not construe *triśatam* – the reading of the Calcutta ed. – with *narakam* but supplements a word for ‘year’ (“wohl während 300 Jahren”).
- ⁵ See HOPKINS (1902a: 121).

Excursus: Different methods of forming numbers

Another common method of forming numbers (mostly) above 100 is to add the smaller number to the larger with the help of (*abhy*)*adhika*-¹ or *uttara*-²: *pañcādhikam śatam* ‘105’, Mbh 4,22.28, *ekādhikaśatam pūrṇam* ‘fully 101’, Mbh 1,107.20, *śatam abhyadhikam śaṣṭitaḥ* ‘160’ (see AiGr. III § 195e), *śatāni ca / daśottarāṇi ...* ‘110’, Mbh 1,2.22, *śatam ekottaram teṣām* ‘101’, Mbh 1,119.17, *aṣṭottaram śatam nāmnām* ‘108’, Mbh 3,3.29 v.1. (cf. [♣] p. 118), *śukle daśottare pakṣe* ‘on the eleventh bright half-month’, Mbh 3,292.1 (see AiGr. III § 207a rem.)³.

avara- is added to numerals in the meanings ‘at least’ (*mantriṇaḥ tryavarāḥ* ‘at least three ministers’, Mbh 12,84.44) and ‘not quite’ (*evaṃ sarvān vaśe cakre jarāsandhaḥ śatāvarān* ‘In this way Jarāsandha has brought under his power all [those kings], who number not quite a hundred’, Mbh 2,14.16, *na kaścid āharat tatra sahasrāvaram arhaṇam* ‘No one brought as tribute there less than a thousand’, Mbh 2,32.10, *sa tuṣyed daśabhāgena tatas tv anyo daśāvaraiḥ* ‘[The king] should be satisfied with a tenth and any other with still less’, Mbh 12,308.158).⁴

¹ See HOPKINS (1902a: 124-126) – on the phrase *ardhenaitāni sarvāṇi nṛpatiḥ kathiyate dhikāḥ*, Mbh 13,App.14.19, see *ibid.* 126 n. 1 –, AiGr. III § 195e and RENOUE § 267b1.

(*abhy*)*adhikam* is also used as a comparative-maker of adjectives: *sādhikam ... śobhamānā* ‘She was more lovely’, Mbh 12,3.18, *somo rohinyām abhyadhikam prītimān bhūtaḥ* ‘Soma was more in love with Rohiṇī’, Mbh 12,329.45, v.1. (CE ... *abhyadhikām prītim akarot*). Cf. also *yasminn abhyadhikā vīre guṇāḥ sarve dhanamjayāt* ‘Who has all virtues better than has Arjuna’, Mbh 7,9.43, *sarvebhya evābhyadhiko raso ’yam* ‘This juice is the best of all’, 8,61.7.

² See STENZLER § 123, KIELHORN § 202, WHITNEY § 477a, 478b, AiGr. III § 195fy, HOPKINS (1902a: 125) and RENOUE § 267b1.

³ Differently PW s.v. *uttara*, 2e: “am 10ten Tag der lichten Hälfte des Mondes”.

⁴ See HOPKINS (1902a: 127).

Completeness is expressed by prefixed *pari*¹: *paricaturdaśa(n)-*, ‘fully fourteen’, Mbh 2,3.34, 3,1.10, 91.27, *pariṣoḍaśa-* ‘fully sixteen’, 3,77.2, *parivimśat-* ‘fully twenty’, 11,19.15² (cf. *parivatsara-* ‘a full year’, Mbh 4,4.8, *parisaṃvatsara-*, 13,100.21).

‘More, over, beyond’ is expressed by *paraḥ/param* prefixed to cardinals³: *paraḥśata-* ‘more than a hundred’, Mbh 4,23.1, 6,91.35, 8,56.49, 66.29 v.l., R 2,64.23⁴, *paraṃsahasrā viprāḥ* ‘over a thousand priests’, Mbh 12,39.24 (cf. *ekas cāpi śatāt paraḥ* ‘one more than a hundred’, Mbh 1,107.1).

rem. (a) Ordinals are occasionally used to indicate time: *dvīs tīrthāni mayā pūrvam dr̥ṣṭāni kurunandana / idaṃ tṛtīyaṃ draḥsyāmi tāny eva bhavatā saha* ‘... twice before and now for the third time’, Mbh 3,90.9 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 123); (b) *distribution* is expressed by repetition of the cardinal- / ordinal-numeral, with or without an adverb. The verb may agree with the singular: *ekaikas te tadā pāśāḥ kramaśaḥ parimokṣyate* (̣- ̣-!), Mbh 12,220.114⁵; (c) on the different methods of ‘counting and addition’ in the Epics see HOPKINS (1902a: 124-126); on the units of measurement the Epics use see *ibid.* 138-155.⁶

¹ See HOPKINS (1902a: 124-125), SPEYER (1896: 44 [§ 151 *rem.*]) and AiGr. III § 200b.

² On *śat-* : *śati-* see above (♣) 5.1.1.

³ See HOPKINS (1902a: 125) and AiGr. III § 200a. On (analogical) *param+* see AiGr. II,1 § 119d (p. 314).

⁴ A ‘definition’ is supplied by R 2,1637*: *paraḥśatās te vijñeyā yeṣāṃ saṃkhyā śatāt parā*.

⁵ See HOPKINS (1902a: 130-131). The late derivative *ekaikaśyena* is found in Mbh 12,312.39 (see HOPKINS *l.c.* 131).

⁶ HOPKINS (1902a: 136 n. 1) points out that ¹/₁₈ is a pseudo-epic alteration of the older ¹/₁₆ (“*kalām aṣṭādaśīm prāṇair na me prāpnoti mārutaḥ*, Mbh 12,150.24).

5.1.7. Declension of cardinals¹

Nominative and accusative of *catur*-² are confused³:

nom. *caturaḥ*, Mbh 3,134.10, 7,162.32, 8,118*.2⁴, 24.103, 12,25.26⁵,
181.15 v.l. (CE *varṇās catvāra ete*).

The masculine form of the instr. pl. is used also for the feminine: *caturbhiḥ saha koṭībhīḥ*, R 4,717* (see AiGr. III § 179d). And the feminine has also *catasṛṅṅām* as genitive (see AiGr. III § 179b): (*ekāhnā*) *rājaputrīṅṅām* / *catasṛṅṅām* (*mahāmune*)⁶, R 1,71.11⁷.

Besides *aṣṭau* also *aṣṭa* is attested (see HOPKINS 1902a: 113-114 and AiGr. III § 184c *rem.*)⁸: Mbh 5,84.9, 7,58.15 v.l. (CE *aṣṭau*), 1025*.5, 13,112.60.

¹ See STENZLER § 124, KIELHORN § 204-212, RENOU § 269, WHITNEY § 482-485 and AiGr. III § 173-192.

² HOLTZMANN (1884: 14 [§ 482d]) has a form (*vedān*) *catur*, Mbh 3,45,8 = 1808, ‘with lost case ending’ (cf. HOPKINS 1902a: 112 and AiGr. III § 172c, 178b *rem.*). The critical edition, however, reads *vedāṃś caturākhyān apañcamān* (Mbh 3,App.6.17).

³ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 14 [§ 482]), LUDWIG (1896: 12), HOPKINS (1902a: 112-113) and AiGr. III § 172c, § 178a *rem.* The same feature is met with in MIA and Buddhist Sanskrit (see OBERLIES 2001: 193, PISCHEL § 439, BHSG § 19.15-16 and VON HINÜBER § 396).

⁴ On this line see HOPKINS (1902a: 112-113).

⁵ On this stanza see HOPKINS (1901: 470).

⁶ This form avoids ॐ- of syllables 2-4 of the even *śloka-pāda*.

⁷ See MICHELSON (1904: 116), ROUSSEL (1910: 32) and critical notes *ad loc.*

⁸ As to *aṣṭacakra*-, Mbh 6,9.16, 7,131.27.28.103, 142.34, 12,321.11, see HOPKINS (1902a: 114-115), for the alleged difference between *aṣṭāgava*- and *aṣṭagava*- see *ibid.* 114.

There are also forms which are inflected as *a*-stems probably abstracted from the genitive plural in *°ānām*¹: *navaiḥ śaraiḥ*, Mbh 8,66.29², *saptadaśeṣu*, Mbh 3,252.11³.

Sometimes the accusative is used as a nominative, sometimes *vice versa* (AiGr. III § 186hαβ):

nom. (← acc.)

- (50) *pañcāśatam*, Mbh 12,247.8 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 117 / 120)
- (58) *aṣṭapañcāśatam*, Mbh 13,153.27 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 117)
- (60) *ṣaṣṭim*, R 1,37.19 v.l., 43.3 v.l. (CE *ṣaṣṭiḥ*)

acc. (← nom.)

- (30) *triṃśat*, Mbh 1,81.14 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 117), R 1,41.8, 4,64.3 v.l. (not recorded by CE [see SEN 1955/56b: 269])
- (32) *dvātriṃśat*, R 1,41.4
- (33) *trayastrīṃśat*, R 3,237*
- (40) *catvāriṃśat*, R 4,64.5, 5,1.146
- (50) *pañcāśat*, Mbh 13,110.28, 153.5⁴, R 4,64.6

rem. These forms can also be described as bare 'stems', as BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 406–407 [= *ET* p. 86]) does for the two last examples. Such endingless cardinals are indeed sporadically attested (see HOPKINS 1902a: 111–113, SEN 1955/56b: 270 and AiGr. III §

¹ See AiGr. III § 180b *rem.* For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 19.22/25/28.

² See HOPKINS (1902a: 115) and AiGr. III § 195b.

³ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 15 [§ 483]) and HOPKINS (1902a: 117).

⁴ See HOPKINS (1902a: 117 / 121) and AiGr. III § 186hα.

195d rem.)¹: *avaruddho 'carat pārtho varṣāṇi tri daśāni ca*, Mbh 4,57.14 v.l. (CE *avaruddhaś caran pārtho daśa varṣāṇi trīṇi ca* [B4 *varṣāṇy aṣṭau ca pañca ca*]), *tathā nṛṣaṃsāni daśa tri rājan*, 5,43.7 v.l. (CE *tathā nṛṣaṃsādi ṣaḍ atra rājan* [some MSS read *trayodaśātra*])² *ekaviṃśati yūpās te ekaviṃśaty aratnayaḥ*, R 1,406* (v.l.³), *navati yojanānām*, R 4,64.13 v.l. (not recorded by the *crit. ed.*⁴), *asīti gataḥ*, R 5,1.148 v.l. (not recorded by the *crit. ed.* [see AiGr. III § 186k and SEN 1955/56b: 270])⁵.

If used disjunctively, cardinals can be joined asyndetically (see AiGr. III § 197a): *saptāṣṭabhir dinaiḥ*, Mbh 12,345.8, *pañca ṣaṭ sapta* '5, 6, or 7', Mbh 6,4.33, 12,103.21. Such groups are used as prior members of compounds (see AiGr. III § 197b and HOPKINS 1902a: 110): *saptāṣṭadivasān* 'seven or eight days', Mbh 5,App.9.61, R 1,10.18 (Gorr. °*divasam*), *daśa-dvādaśa-varṣāṇām puṃsām* 'of men who are 10 or 12 years old', Mbh 3,186.52 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 111 and AiGr. III § 197d).

¹ AiGr. III § 32bβ (cf. *ibid.* § 180a *rem.*, HOPKINS 1901b: 345 and *id.* 1902a: 111 with n. 1) speaks in the case of Mbh 12,294.10 = 14,48.4 *daśa dvādaśabhir vāpi* (CE prints both times *daśadvādaśabhir vāpi*) 'with 10 or 12' of the "Nachklang des ursprünglich unflektierten Zahlwortes". But this is most probably a case of haplology of the case-ending: *daśa<bhir> dvādaśabhir vāpi*.

² Mbh 12,330.39 (*saptajātiṣu mukhyatvād yogānām saṃpadam gataḥ*), another example cited by HOPKINS (see also AiGr. III § 180a *rem.*), certainly does not belong here: This is a regular compound.

³ It is of course only a question of interpreting the text differently when the critical edition prints *ekaviṃśatiyūpāḥ*, a 'case of irregular *samāsa*' (this is the alternative explanation that SEN, l.c., gives). Cf. *viṃśati varṣāṇi*, Mbh 13,112.92, where CE prints *viṃśativarṣāṇi*.

⁴ Cf. R 5,1.145-150 and 5,69*.

⁵ Pāli knows 'uninflected' *aṭṭhavisati* and *asīti* (see CPD s.vv.).

5.2. Ordinals¹

5.2.1. Ordinals in *°daśama-* and *°tima-*

Sometimes ordinals in *°daśa-* are remodelled after *daśama-*:

(12th) *dvādaśama-*, Mbh 1,162.13, 12,212.34, R 7,62.9, 63.1, App.8.90

(14th) *caturdaśama-*, Mbh 1,101.26

(17th) *saptadaśama-*, Mbh 13,110.72².

As a result of haplological loss of the syllable *-ta-* Epic Sanskrit³ has ‘short’ ordinals in *°tima-* (see AiGr. III § 207b)⁴:

(24th) *caturviṃśatima-*, Mbh 12,291.38

(25th) *pañcaviṃśatima-*, Mbh 12,291.37, 291.38 v.l. (CE *caturviṃśatima-* [see above]).

5.2.2. Cardinals instead of ordinals

The (irregular [↗ 5.1.1]) *ekonaviṃśat-* is used as an ordinal:

¹ See STENZLER § 127, KIELHORN § 201 / 212, WHITNEY § 487-488, RENOU § 271 and AiGr. III § 201-210.

² *ardhatṛīya-* is ‘two and a half’ (cf. Pāli *aḍḍhatiya-* [see CPD s.v.]): *yāvad ete prapaśyanti pañktyās tāvat punanty uta / tato hi pāvanāt pañktyāḥ pañktipāvana ucyate / krośād ardhatṛīyāt tu pāvayed eka eva hi* ‘... even one such would purify to a distance of two and a half *krośa*’, Mbh 13,90.29-30 (see HOPKINS 1902a: 133 with n. 1 / 147 [pace SPEYER 1886: 227 (§ 301)]).

³ For MIA and Buddhist Sanskrit see OBERLIES (2001: 197), PISCHEL § 449 and BHSG § 19.36.

⁴ Some mss. of the Mahābhārata use *ṣaṣṭa-* ‘sixtieth’ instead of *ṣaṣṭitama-* in their colophons (see PW s.v. *ṣaṣṭa* and AiGr. III § 206b).

ekonaviṃśati dine ‘on the 19th day’, Mbh 13,110.81 v.l. (CE *°viṃśe diva-*
se)¹.

¹ See HOPKINS (1902a: 117) and AiGr. III § 172f (p. 338).

VI. The verbal system (I)

In Epic Sanskrit the paradigm of finite verb-forms comprised – basically as in Vedic¹ – the ‘dimensions’ of *person* (1st, 2nd, 3rd), *number* (singular, dual, plural), *mode* (indicative, imperative, optative, precative), *tense* (present, imperfect, aorist, perfect, future, conditional) and *voice* (active, middle, passive)². The use of *person* and *number* is – comparatively – strict (↗ 10.1-2), whereas that of *modes* and *tenses* becomes rather vague, not seldom governed mainly by metrical considerations (↗ p. XL-XLI). This regard for metre often decided also of the employment of the voices *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* (↗ 6.1). And this reflects the dying out of the distinction between these two in Middle Indo-Aryan³.

6.1. The use of the voices⁴

In Epic Sanskrit there is some divergence from classical norms in the use of voice (*diathesis*), the Rāmāyaṇa being less free in this respect than the Mahābhārata⁵. The distribution is often determined by metrical exigencies⁶: *eṣo 'rhate 'dya* ([-]-_o--), Mbh 1,51.2 (cad. of *tri.*), *arhamāṇām* (-_o--), 2,60.47 (cad.

¹ There was, however, a considerable reduction of forms (↗ p. XXV-XXVI).

² On these ‘dimensions’ see RIX (1986).

³ See VON HINÜBER § 414 and OBERLIES (2001: 199).

⁴ See STENZLER § 129, KJELHORN § 216-225, RENOU § 274-276, WHITNEY § 528-531, SPEYER (1886: 237-239 [§ 317-318]), id. (1896: 47-49 [§ 164-166]) and DELBRÜCK (1888: 228-262).

⁵ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 15-17), VAN DAALEN (1980: 93-109), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 4-5 [= ET p. 4-5]) and id. (1984: 18).

⁶ See S. K. DE’s introduction to his critical edition of *The Udyogaparvan*. Poona 1940, p. XXXIII.

of *tri.*), *nārhase vīra* ([-]ᵛ---), R 3,62.13c (cad. of *śloka*)¹, *yadā tu tān vitudante vayāṃsi* (-ᵛ--), Mbh 1,85.6 (cad. of *tri.*).

An evaluation of the *de facto* usage of the Epics² gives evidence that the following roots are used there in the present system in a different voice than in Vedic / Pāṇinian Sanskrit³:

(a) The present of the following roots is inflected (also) in the *parasmaipada*⁴ (and not chiefly or even exclusively in the *ātmanepada*⁵):

√ās, ([*adhi-*]√i), √ih, √kamp, √kāś, √kṣap, √kṣam, √kṣi (cl. IV.), √garh, √gāh, √gras, √cyu, √jan, √juṣ, √trā, √tvar, √dah (cl. IV.), (√dīp), √dyut, √nāth, √paṇ, (√pad), √prī, √bādh, √budh (cl. IV.), √bhāṣ, √bhikṣ, √bhraṃś (cl. IV.), √mi, √mud, √mṛ, √mṛṣ, √ric, √ruc, √labh, √lamb, √vand, √vās (cl. IV.), √vij, √vip, ²√vṛ, (√vṛt), √vyath, √śaṅk, √śubh, √ślāgh, √sah, ²√sū (cl. IV.), (√sev), √skhal, √spand, √sprdh, √smi, √syand, (√svaṅj), √hnu.

(b) The *ātmanepada* is used instead of – or: beside – the *parasmaipada* with the following roots⁶:

¹ Beside ‘normal’ *arhati* in the preceding stanza.

² See also SATYA VRAT (1964: 204-211).

³ A list of Vedic *media tantum* is given by DELBRÜCK (1888: 233-234) and – as far as present class I. is concerned – by GOTO (1987: 50-51).

⁴ Cf. KATRE’s list (1965: 49-50) which is based on WHITNEY’s *Roots*.

⁵ Roots with sporadical *parasmaipada* (/ *ātmanepada*) forms in Vedic texts (on which see *Vedic Variants* 1,35-48) are given in brackets.

⁶ Cf. KATRE’s list (1965: 47-49) which is based on WHITNEY’s *Roots*.

(√*ad*)¹, √*arh*, ¹√*as*, √*āp*, (²√*r*), √*kūj*, √*kṛt*, √*krand*, √*krudh*, √*kruś*, √*kṣar*, √*kṣip*, √*khād*, √*gr̥*, √*ghrā*, √*cal*, √*jalp*, √*jīv*, (√*jṛ*), √*jval*, √*takṣ*, √*tud*, √*tras*, √*damś*, √*dah*, (√*dis*), √*duṣ*, (√*dru*), √*druh*, (√*dhmā*), √*dhyā*, √*nand*, √*nard*, √*naś*, √*nind*, √*nṛt*², √*path*, √*pat*, √*piṣ*, √*puṣ*, √*budh* (cl. I.), (√*bhram*), √*majj*, √*mad* (cl. IV.), √*miṣ*, √*mih*, √*mlā*, √*yā*, √*rāj*, (√*riṣ*), √*ruj*, √*lap*, √*valg*, √*vāñch*, √*vṛṣ*, √*vyadh*, √*vraj*, (√*śudh* [cl. IV.]), √*śuṣ*, (√*sad*), ²√*sidh*, √*sṛp*, √*sru*, √*svap* (cl. I.), √*has*, √*hr̥ṣ*, √*heṣ*.

The opposition of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* is often obliterated also in the perfect and in the future. And sometimes forms of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* alternate in one and the same stanza with apparently no (real³) difference of meaning:

rakṣate dānavāṃs tatra na sa rakṣaty adānavān ‘He protects the Dānavas there, but all others he does not protect’, Mbh 1,71.12, *muhur utpatate bālā muhuḥ patati vihvalā* ‘One moment the young woman started up, the next she collapsed confused’, 3,60.13, *muñca muñcasva maithilīm* ‘Let go Maithilī, let [her] go!’, 3,263.3 v.l. (CE *muñca muñceti maithilīm*), *yā na jātu svayaṃ piṃṣe gātrodvartanam ātmanah ... sādya piṃṣāmi candanam* ‘Never before had I ground make-up paste, even for my own body ... and now I am grinding sandalwood paste!’, 4,19.22, *paśya dhvajān ... paśyas-vaitān rathinaḥ* ‘See the pennons ... see these warriors on their chariots’, 8,54.22, *naṣtam dṛṣtvā nābhyanandan vipulam vā dhanāgamam / putram prathamajam labdhvā janani nābhyanandata* ‘People felt no joy at finding something (long thought) lost, or obtaining vast wealth. A mother felt no

¹ The Ṛgveda has only one *ātmanepada* form of √*ad*, viz. (the ‘passive’) *adānā-*, RV 4.19.3.

² See also (→) √*naṭ*.

³ An ‘(indirect) reflexive’ usage of the *ātmanepada* (see TICHY 2000: 83) cannot always be excluded.

joy at conceiving a first-born son', R 2,42.4, ... *ihaivādya vasāmahe* // .. *vasāmo 'traiva sārathe* 'We shall spend the night here ... Charioteer, we shall spend the night there', 2,44.4-5 (on *vasāmaḥ* see [↗] p. 135); (in the future tense) *yadi duḥkham ... na sahiṣyase ... itaraḥ kaḥ sahiṣyati* 'If you do not endure this sorrow ... what other person will [ever] endure?', R 3,62.5.¹

6.2. Use of modes and tenses²

As a result of late Vedic loss of the *modi* of the *subjunctive*³ and *injunctive*⁴ – both survive only in 'petrified' form – a number of moods (prospect, intention, volition, prohibition) had to be allotted to the surviving verbal categories. Thus the three *modi* of (Pāṇinian) Sanskrit denote *reality* (indicative [present, imperfect, aorist, perfect]), *command* (imperative) and *possibility* (optative), and the tenses *present* (present tense), *past* (imperfect, perfect, aorist) and *future* (future tense). The usage of the Epics, however, with their mixture of Pāṇinian and 'popular'⁵ Sanskrit, deviates sometimes from this norm (see [↗] 6.2.1-4 [modes] and 6.2.5-11 [tenses]):

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- ¹ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 17), MICHELSON (1904: 120-121) and BLOCH (1965: 221).
- ² See STENZLER § 130-131, KIELHORN § 217-218 / 581-593, RENOU § 277, WHITNEY § 572-582, SPEYER (1886: 241-276 [§ 321-356]), id. (1896: 50-61 [§ 171-200]), DELBRÜCK (1888: 273-367), SEN (1951/52a) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 155-181).
- ³ On the Vedic subjunctive and its functions – denoting 'prospect' with regard to all persons and 'volition' with regard to the 1st persons – see DELBRÜCK (1888: 308-314), HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,29 / II,360, 385, id. (1968: 115) and STRUNK (1988). On the ('Middle-Vedic') replacement of the 'prospective' subjunctive by the periphrastic future see below (↗), p. 157.
- ⁴ On the Vedic injunctive see HOFFMANN (1967) – on which see CARDONA (1970) – and MUMM (1995).
- ⁵ The term 'popular' comprises all kinds of forms deviating from the '*bhāṣā*'-norms of Pāṇini.

mood	Vedic Sanskrit	Epic Sanskrit		→
		= 'Pāṇinian'	= 'colloquial'	
<i>reality</i>	indicative injunctive	indicative	(optative)	→ 6.2.2
<i>command</i>	imperative	imperative (2nd / 3rd person)	indicative present future (precative)	→ 6.2.1 → 6.2.9 → 6.2.4
<i>exhortation</i>	injunctive, subjunctive	imperative (1st person du. / pl.)	indicative present	→ 6.2.1
<i>prescription</i>	optative	optative		
<i>prohibition</i> (a) <i>inhibitive</i> (b) <i>preventive</i> ¹	<i>mā</i> + injunctive (a) inj. present (b) inj. aorist	<i>mā</i> + injunctive (aorist)	<i>mā</i> + (nearly) every mode and tense	→ 6.5.4
(im)possibility	optative	optative	future	→ 6.2.9
(im)probability		conditional		
<i>wishing</i> <i>intense wishing</i>	optative ² precative	optative precative	future	→ 6.2.9
<i>prospect</i> <i>supposition</i>	subjunctive ³ (and future)	(periphrastic) future	indicative present	→ 6.2.1
<i>volition</i> <i>intention</i>	subjunctive ⁴	imperative (1st person)	indicative present future	→ 6.2.1 → 6.2.9

¹ An action is prohibited either in (a) its inception or (b) in its continuance (see HOFFMANN 1967: 105 and id., *Aufs.* II,534-535).

² This is what HOFFMANN calls 'kupitiver Optativ' (*Aufs.* I,239).

³ This is what HOFFMANN calls 'prospektiver Konjunktiv' (*Aufs.* II,360, 538).

⁴ This is what HOFFMANN calls 'voluntativer Konjunktiv' (1967: 253 and id., *Aufs.* II,360, 538). The specific means to express *volition* are, however, the desiderative (↗ 8.9) and the future.

6.2.1. Indicative (present)

The first persons of the indicative present¹ are often used with deliberative or dubitative meaning², i.e. instead of the imperative³, or to express an immediate intention or proposal, i.e. instead of the future (↗ 6.2.9):

(1sg.) *kiṃ karomy aham* ‘What shall I do?’, Mbh 1,1569*.3, *kva nu gacchāmi sañjaya* ‘Sañjaya, where shall I go?’, 5,50.59, *kiṃ nu garhāmy athātmanam atha bhīṣmaṃ durāsadam* ‘Should I blame myself or the invincible Bhīṣma?’, 5,173.3 (v.l. *garhayiṣye kim ātmānam*), *kaṃ ca te paramaṃ kāmaṃ karomi* ... ‘What is your greatest desire that I may grant?’, R 1,17.34 (~ *kaś ca te paramaḥ kāmāḥ kim ṛṣe karavāṇy aham*, 1,548*), *kiṃ karomi tava priyam* ‘What favour may I do for you?’, 1,32.14 (v.l. *brūhi kim karavāṇi te*), *bhagavan svāgataṃ te ’stu kiṃ karomi tavānagha* ‘Welcome to you, holy one! What can I do for you, sinless man?’, 1,65.3⁴, *kiṃ karomi naravyāghra kva nu gacchāmi lakṣmaṇa kenopāyena paśyāmi sītām* ‘What shall I do? ... Where shall I go, o Lakṣmaṇa? How shall I see Sītā [again]?’, 3,63.3 v.l. (CE *kiṃ kariṣyāvahe vatsa kvā vā gacchāva lakṣmaṇa ... paśyeyam* ... [↗ 6.2.9]),

¹ On the use of the present tense see (↗) 6.2.5.

² See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 217-218), id. (1889: 56), SPEYER (1886: 276 [§ 356]), id. (1896: 59 [§ 196]), APTE (1925: 123 [§ 189]), BLOCH (1965: 222), RENOU § 291c, BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 9 [= ET p. 10]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 157-158).

For Vedic, where in colloquial idiom the first persons of the indicative may be used instead of the subjunctive, see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,289 with n. 4 / II,581-582 (cf. BLOOMFIELD 1912: 10-13, *Vedic Variants* I,74-76 [§ 118-119] and OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 700-701 / 745).

³ This led to the crossing of indicative and imperative forms (i.e. to the use of primary endings with the imperative and *vice versa* [↗ p. XLVIII]): *brūhi kiṃ karavāmahe*, Mbh 3,61.65, *kiṃ kāryaṃ karavāmahe*, 3,137.11 (↗ 6.3.2.6).

⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 2,7.29 and 3,9.9.

kāṇi diśaṃ yāmi lakṣmaṇa ‘In which direction shall I go, Lakṣmaṇa’, 3,App.15.26, *sādhu paśyāmi te rūpam* ‘Let me behold your natural beauty!’, 5,18.21 (Cg. *paśyāmi paśyeyam*)

(1du.) *adhiroha rathaṃ mātar gacchāvaḥ svagrhān iti* ‘Ascend my chariot, mother! Let us go to our house!’, Mbh 1,94.91 (v.l. *gacchāva*¹), *athavehaiva tiṣṭhāvaḥ saṃnaddhāv udyatāyudhau* ‘We better stand right here ...’, R 2,90.16, *tasmād āgaccha gacchāvaḥ* ‘Therefore come! Let us go!’, 3,71.6 v.l. (CE *tad ... gamiṣyāvaḥ* [↗ p. 156]), *gacchāvas*² *tvaritaṃ tatra mamāpi tvarate manaḥ* ‘Let us hurry then and go ...’, 3,71.9, *vanam sarvaṃ vicinuvaḥ* ‘Let us explore the whole forest!’, 3,59.16

(1pl.) *kiṃ te priyaṃ karavāmo ’dya ...* ‘What kindness shall we do for you today?’, Mbh 1,53.19 (↗ 6.3.2.2), *rājan kiṃ karavāmas te* ‘King! What shall we do for you?’, 2,65.1 (↗ 6.3.2.2), *nibadhnīmo ’sya pau-ruṣam* ‘Let us bridle his valour’, 4,29.12, *sarva enaṃ pramathnīmaḥ puraikaikaṃ hinasti naḥ* ‘Let us all crush him ... !’, 7,47.16 (↗ p. 150), *ihādya rajanīm vasāmaḥ ...* ‘Let us camp here for tonight’, R 1,25.22 v.l. (CE *vasema*), *kiṃ kurmahe punas tāta* ‘What shall we do ... ?’, 1,39.8 v.l. (CE *kiṃ kariṣyāma bhadraṃ te*), *kṣīrodaṃ sāgaraṃ sarve mathnīmaḥ sahitā vayam* ‘Let us all together churn the ocean of milk’, 1,960*, *gacchantam anugacchāmaḥ* ‘Let us follow him who is going’, 2,30.15³, *ratham āruhya gacchāmaḥ* ‘Let us mount the chariot and go’, 2,41.19, *vasāmo ’traiva sārathe* ‘Charioteer, let us spend [the night] here’, 2,44.5 (v.l. *vasāma*), *kausalyāṃ śaraṇaṃ yāmaḥ* ‘Let us take refuge with Kausalyā’, 2,72.14 (v.l. *yāma*), *babhāṣe so ’bhigacchāmaḥ sugrīvam iti*

¹ Perhaps this is a case where ^ṣvaḥ and ^ṣva are interchanged (↗ 6.3.2.1); cf. e.g. R 2,41.19: *ratham āruhya gacchāmaḥ* (v.l. *gacchāma*). But for some scribes this is perhaps no more than an orthographical variant since a sibilant in a ligature follows.

² See first part of the preceding footnote.

³ Cf. *ibid.* 2,792*.2 and 2,793*.

rāghavam ‘... let us approach Sugrīva’, 4,4.21, *evaṃ bhavatu gacchāmaḥ* ‘Be it so, let us go!’, 4,37.4, *paśyāmo janakātmajām* ‘Let us see the daughter of Janaka!’, 4,48.5 (~ *yathā paśyāma maithilīm*, 4,1034*.3¹), *punar margāmahe śailān* ‘Let us explore again these mountains!’, 4,48.13, *gacchāmaḥ praviśāmeti* ‘Let us go, let’s go in!’, 4,51.13, *praviśāmo bilam* ‘Let us enter the hole!’, 4,1124*.5, *deśaṃ vānyam vrajāmahe* ‘Let us go to another country!’, 4,App.9.9, *mālyavantam girim gatvā paśyāmo lakṣmaṇāgrajam* ‘... let us see Lakṣmaṇa’s older brother’, 4,App.19.10.

The same holds good – though only very rarely – for the second and third persons:

bhūyaḥ khanata bhadraṃ vo nirbhīdya vasudhātalam / aśvahartāram āsādya kṛtārthās ca nivartatha ‘... Come back when you have accomplished your mission and found the horse thief’, R 1,39.10 (Cm.g.k. *nivartatha nivartadhvam*)², *anviṣya daradāṃś caiva himavantam vicinvatha* ‘When you have searched the Daradas scour the Himavant’, 4,42.12³ (cf. *vimārgatha*, R 4,40.30 v.l. [CE *vimārgata*]⁴), *na vai bālāḥ*

¹ On a subordinate clause with *yathā* and the 2nd person imperative (!) see (♣) p. 173 n. 3. Normally, either the optative (see e.g. Mbh 1,150.27: *yathā tv idaṃ na vindeyur narā nagaravāsinaḥ / tathāyaṃ brāhmaṇo vācyah* ...) or the indicative (see e.g. R 1,12.3: *yathā na vighnaḥ kriyate* ...) is employed here (see SPEYER 1896: 86-87 [§ 277]).

² See ROUSSEL: "L'indicatif actif au lieu de l'impératif moyen: double irrégularité ..." (1910: 19).

³ See BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 7 [= ET p. 8]). On the present stem *vicinva(tha)* see (♣) 6.6.5.1.

⁴ See SEN (1950/51: 126). Most probably SEN's other examples for an "interchange between *tha* and *ta*" belong here, too. Unfortunately, he has given no references (I have only found *anusāsatha*, R 2,103.19, but there it is definitely a wholly regular indicative present).

praviśanty atra viprā / vṛddhā vidvāṃsah praviśanti dvijāgryāḥ ‘No brats who are Brahmins may be admitted, but (only) the old, the wise, and the best of them (may) enter’, Mbh 3,133.5.

rem. Such forms may additionally show a confusion of primary and secondary endings (↗ 6.3.1-2)¹: *nihanmainaṃ durātmānaṃ yo ’yaṃ asmān na manyate* ‘Let us kill² this ill-spirited man who despises³ us’, Mbh 1,180.3⁴, *prāg dvādaśa samā rājan / dhārtarāṣṭrān nihanmaḥi* ‘King, let us kill the Dhārtarāṣṭras before the twelve years [are over]!’, 3,49.14 (v.l. *nihanmahe*)⁵.

6.2.2. Optative⁶

The optative is used to denote a *repeated* or *habitual* action in the past (see SEN 1995: 363)⁷:

¹ See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 218). These forms *may* accordingly (cf. BHSG § 26.11-13 and OBERLIES 2001: 220) be regarded as ‘Middle Indic’ ones.

² What is expected is *hanāma* (the reading of MS T1).

³ *manyate* is used here with a meaning which is normally connected with the class VIII. present *manute* (on which see KULIKOV 2001: 257).

⁴ Or do we have to do with a double *sandhi* (↗ 1.8.6)?

⁵ Both forms were adduced by LUDWIG (1896: 20) to prove that the Mahābhārata has preserved traces of the subjunctive, but none of his numerous examples stands up to critical examination.

⁶ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 330-352), KIELHORN § 589-591, WHITNEY § 573, SPEYER (1886: 262-265 [§ 343]), id. (1896: 58-59 [§ 194]), RENOU § 292 (p. 411-412) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 175-180).

⁷ This usage (the ‘*optativus iterativus*’ of Homeric Greek) is akin to that of English *would*: ‘When we were children we loved playing by the river. We would skim stones on the water, catch little fish ...’ (UNGERER et al., *Grammatik des heutigen Englisch*. Stuttgart 1984, 161 [§ 237]). Cf. also HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,605-619.

mithilāyām vased vyādhaḥ ‘In Mithilā a hunter used to live’, Mbh 3,197.41 v.l. = 205.3 v.l. (CE [both times] *vasan*), *grhe bhīmasya nṛpateḥ ... vasetām¹ ... vaidarbhī ca nalaś ca ha* ‘Nala and Damayantī used to live in the house of king Bhīma’, 3,346*.

Sometimes it is used when a past event is to be represented in living imagination (see NEISSER 1927: 281 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 273]):

tato 'ham parvatacitaḥ sahaḥ sahasārathiḥ / aprakhyātīm iyām rājan ‘With horses and charioteer I was buried under rocks until I was invisible’, Mbh 3,23.12, *tato 'haṃ tān api raṇe śarair āśīviṣopamaiḥ / ... nṛpate pātayeyam ...* ‘I made them fall by my ... arrows ...’, 5,181.35 v.l. (CE [*a*]pātayam)², *tayor yuddhaṃ samabhavad ghorarūpaṃ viśāṃ pate / dārayetām susaṃkruddhāv anyonyam aparājītau* ‘... they tore one another to pieces ...’, 6,43.76,

or as a real ‘past’ optative (see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,609):

udyamya mandaraṃ dorbhyaṃ haret savanakānanam ‘[King Duṣṣanta] might have lifted [Mount] Mandara and carried it in his arms with its woods and forests’, Mbh 1,62.11.

Quite often, however, optatives are used as narrative preterites pure and simple³:

¹ It cannot be ruled out that this form (as well as others in *-etām* [see below]) could be an augmentless imperfect *ātmanepada*.

² See PISANI (1932) and KATRE (1939/40: 8-9).

³ See LUDWIG (1896: 19), EDGERTON (1937: 32-33), id. (1943/44) 6, id. ed. of Mbh II, note in *add.* on 2,67.5d and 15d (p. 513), BHSG § 32.85-105, KATRE (1937, 1938, 1939/40), PISANI (1932), SEN (1951e: 64), RENOU § 292 (p. 412) and BROCKINGTON (1998: 93). For Prakrit see PISCHEL § 466, GHATAGE (1993: 188 [§ 437]), PISANI (1939), SEN (1995: 363-364) and OBERLIES (1997: 15), for Pāli see OBERLIES (2000:

- (√*aś*) *prāśnīyāt*, R 3, App. 12.59 (subst.) v.l. (CE *prāśnāt*)¹
- (√*as*) *syuḥ*, Mbh 8, 19.67 v.l. (*kabandhāny utthitāni syuḥ* [CE *sma*])
- (√*āp*) *avāpnuyuḥ*, Mbh 8, 1147*.10, 14, 94.3 v.l. (*pretya svargam avāpnuyuḥ* [CE ... *ito gatāḥ*])²
- (√*i*) (1sg.) *iyām*, Mbh 7, 29.33 v.l. (*anviyām* [CE *anvagām*]), 12, 126.4
- (3sg.) *iyāt*, Mbh 1, 43.14 (v.l. *ayāt*), 122.47 (v.l. *ayāt*)³, 2, 67.5 = 15 (v.l. [both times] *ayāt*)⁴, 3, 58.7 (*anviyāt* [v.l. *anvagāt* / *ayāt*])⁵, 5, 19.12⁶, 6, 43.39 (*pratyudiyāt*), 107.22 v.l. (*samīyāt* [CE *samāyāt*]), 50.110 (*sameyāt* [v.l. *samīyāt*]), 7, 1264*.4 (*samudiyāt*), 165.87, 9, 42.32 v.l. (*anviyāt* [CE *anvayāt*]), 51.23 v.l. (CE *anvayāt*), 12, 29.88 (*abhyatīyāt* [v.l. (S) *abhyagacchat*]), 75.4 v.l. (*upeyāt* [CE *abhyayāt*]), 314.3 (v.l. *ayāt* / *agāt*), R 6, 1674*.8 = 76.33 (*vyatīyāt*)⁷, 7, 89.7 (*vyatīyāt* [v.l. *prāyāt*])⁸;

§ 48 [end]).

¹ See KATRE (1939/40: 10).

² The manuscript D6 has *avāpmuvan*.

³ See KATRE (1937: 316).

⁴ See KATRE (1938).

⁵ See KATRE (1939/40: 8).

⁶ See KATRE (1937: 317).

⁷ See SEN (1951e: 64).

⁸ See KATRE (1939/40: 10).

- (with initial \bar{i} ¹) *abhyudīyāt*, Mbh 3,120.13 v.l., *pratyudīyāt*, 3,48.39, 6,43.39 v.l. (see above), 59.23 (v.l. *pratyudāyāt*), 7,134.38
- (3du.) (*sam*)*eyātām*, Mbh 6,70.26 (v.l. *samīyātām*), 79.12 (v.l. *samīyatuh*), 97.57, 7,81.38 (v.l. *samīyātām*), 92.30, 117.32, 145.5 (v.l. *samīyātām*), 8,7.41 (v.l. [S] *prajagmatuh*), R 2,779*²
- (3pl.) *anviyuh*, Mbh 1,133.5 v.l. (CE *anvayuh*)
- (√*kr*) *kuryuh*, Mbh 3,47.11 v.l. (CE *cakruh*)
- (√*ji*) *jayeyam*, Mbh 1,84.13 v.l. (CE *ajayam* [*vai*])³
- (√*ṛṣ*) *pradṛśyeta*, Mbh 8,1041*⁴
- (√*dhā*) *nidadhyuh*, Mbh 4,61.24, *samādadhuyuh*, 3,99.10 (v.l. *sam[ā]dadhuḥ*)
- (√*man*) *manyethāḥ*, R 6,App.67.37⁵
- (√*yā*) *yāyāt*, Mbh 1,76.35 v.l. (CE *jagāma*), *upayāyāt*, 7,2.2. v.l. (CE *upāyāt*), *anuyāyāt*, 7,102.102 v.l. (CE *anuyāya*)⁶
- (√*yudh*) *yodhayetām*, Mbh 6,50.91 v.l. (CE *yodhayantau*)
- (√*labh*) *labheta*, Mbh 12,326.35 (v.l. [*a*] *labhat*)
- (√*vr*) *pravṛṇuyām*, Mbh 5,47.40 v.l. (CE *pravṛṇīma* [on which see (♣) 6.4.1])
- (√*śak*) *śaknuyuh*, Mbh 12,386* (v.l. [*a*] *śaknuvan*)
- (√*sthā*) *upatiṣṭhetām*, Mbh 3,App.21.68 (v.l. [imp. *ātm.*] *upātiṣṭhetām*)

¹ On the secondary root √*i* see (♣) 7.2.2.

² This may be an augmentless imperfect *ātmanepada* (see BÖHTLINGK 1889: 57 and GOTO 1990: 995 n. 46).

³ See PISANI (1934: 73-74)

⁴ See HOPKINS (1901: 264).

⁵ See SEN (1951e: 64).

⁶ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 42) and LUDWIG (1896: 19).

(√han) hanyāt, R 1,2.27 (v.ll. jaghne / avadhīt)¹.

Such optatives are sometimes used due to metrical exigencies (see [♣] p. XL). So the perfect *samādadhuḥ* or *nidadhuḥ* (see above) would have spoilt the cadence of the line *svaṃ svaṃ tejaḥ samādadhyuḥ*, Mbh 3,99.10c (= - - -), or of *nivartanāyaiva mano nidadhyuḥ*, Mbh 4,61.24 ([tri.] - - -).

The optative is used with *no ced*² in the meaning ‘pray ... that not ...!’:³

no ced gacchet saṃgaram mandabuddhis tābhyāṃ suto me ... / no cet kurūn saṃjaya nirdahetām ‘Pray that my dull-witted son ... does not fight with them, pray that they do not burn down the Kurus, o Sañjaya!’, Mbh 5,22.31 (cf. 5,22.32, 26.15, 32.27, 48.25, 71.35, 7,126.15).

The bare optative can also be used in such a way: *taṃ prasādaya gatva tvam na tvāṃ sa kupitaḥ śapet* ‘Go and beg his forgiveness, lest he curse you in his rage’, R 2,57.35 (see SPEYER 1886: 318-319 [§ 405 rem.] / 1896: 87 [§ 277 rem.]).⁴

¹ See BÖHTLINGK (1887a: 186), SPEYER (1896: 59 [§ 194.4]), KATRE (1939/40: 10), PISANI (1959: 149), ROUSSEL (1910: 18), SATYA VRAT (1964: 236) and GOLDMAN / SUTHERLAND (1984: 282).

² See PW II 1053, SPEYER (1886: 319 [§ 405 rem. 1] / 374 [§ 485]) and id. (1896: 73 [§ 237]).

³ *no ced* (and also *na ced*) with the indicative usually means ‘if not’ (see SPEYER 1886: 374 [§ 485]): *no cet karoṣi mārica hanmi tvām aham adya vai* ‘If you do not do it, Mārica, I (shall) slay you today’, R 3,753*.

⁴ Also *mā* with the injunctive (see SPEYER 1886: 318 and HOFFMANN 1967: 98 n. 209) – as in Vedic – or the future (♣ 6.5.5) and *no* and *na ced* with the indicative are used so: ... *anuyāta śighraṃ / mā vaḥ kālaḥ kṣipram ihātyagād vai* ‘Move on quickly lest time pass you by too quickly’, Mbh 3,253.20, *mā vanaṃ chindhi savyāghraṃ mā vyāghrān nīnaśo vanāt* ‘... so that you do not drive away the tigers from the forest’.

The negation *mā* is employed also with the optative (↗ 6.5.4). On augmented optatives see (↗) 6.4.3, and on the ‘optative’ future see (↗) 8.4.2.

rem. Optatives are often used in conditional sentences instead of the conditional (↗ 6.2.11).

6.2.3. Imperative

As to the first persons of the imperative¹ see (↗) p. XXVI n. 1; on the imperative with *mā* see (↗) 6.5.2, and on the ‘imperative’ future see (↗) 8.4.2².

Mbh 5,29.47 (↗ 8.2.3), *tvatprabhāvasamuttho 'sau prabhāvo no vinaśyati* ‘... that this power ... does not perish’, Mbh 12,59.27, *na ced iyaṃ naśyati pradīyatām dāśarathāya maithilī* ‘That this [town] does not perish Maithilī should be given to Dāśaratha’, R 6,146*.7 (see PW II,1054 l. 1-5). Vedic Sanskrit additionally uses *ned* with the subjunctive (see SPEYER 1896: 74 [§ 240 *rem.* 1]).

¹ On the first persons of the imperative, which are relics of the Vedic *subjunctive* and have inherited its function(s) – on which see DELBRÜCK (1888: 306-308, 315) –, see WHITNEY § 572b / 578, HOLTZMANN (1884: 19-20), BÖHTLINGK (1887: 217), id. (1889: 56), SPEYER (1886: 271 [§ 348] / 273 [§ 352]), id. (1896: 57 [§ 191]), RENOUE § 293 and MEENAKSHI (1983: 174): *api mantrayamānā hi hetuṃ paśyāma mokṣaṇe* ‘... we may see a means of escape’, Mbh 1,33.8 (v.l. *paśyema*), *dadāni kaṃ varam kiṃ vā karavāṇi pitṛśvasaḥ* ‘What boon shall I grant you? What can I do [for you], o aunt?’, 2,40.20, *kaḥ priyaṃ labhatām adya ko vā sumahad apriyaṃ* ‘The one shall find favour at once, the other incur my lasting disfavour’, R 2,10.9.

² At R 3,47.25 an imperative is used in an interrogative sentence: *katham evaṃvidham pāpaṃ na tvam śādhi hi rāvaṇam* (v.l. *śāssi*).

6.2.4. Precative¹

In the Epics the precative (↗ 8.3) – originally expressing (intensified) wishes and prayers (see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,469 / 502) – is used (due to metrical exigencies) as (a) a common optative² and (b) a hortative imperative³:

(a) *kiṃ nu me sukṛtaṃ bhūyād bhartur utthāpanaṃ na vā* ‘What should I better do – awaken my husband or not?’, Mbh 1,43.15, *na mṛṣyād ... māṃ dr̥ṣṭvaiva saṣoṇitam* ‘He would not tolerate to see me full of blood’, 4,63.54, *na hi prapaśyāmi mamāpanudyād / yac chokam ...* ‘For I do not perceive what should dispel my grief’, 6,24.8 (-,--)⁴, *ya imām akhilāṃ bhūmiṃ śiṣyād eko mahīpatiḥ / tasyāpy udaram evaikam* ‘Even if he were to rule this whole world as the one and only king he would have but one stomach’, 12,17.3, *nāvamanyed abhigataṃ na praṇudyāt kathaṃcana* ‘He should never disregard [the man] who comes to his house [for alms], nor should he drive him away’, 13,62.13 (v.l. *pranudyet*), *jānan yo gām apahared vikrīyād vārthakāraṇāt* ‘If someone consciously steals a cow or sells it ...’, 13,73.1 (v.l. *vikrīṇīyāc ca kāraṇāt*),

(b) *brūyāsta janasaṃsatsu* ‘At any meeting of men ask [this question]!’, Mbh 3,67.8 v.l. (CE *bruvadhvam*).

(To all appearance only once) the precative is used as a preterite⁵:

¹ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 352-353), WHITNEY § 573c, KIELHORN § 593, SPEYER (1886: 269 [§ 346]) and id. (1896: 57 [§ 189 rem.] / 59 [§ 194.4 rem.]).

² See WHITNEY § 573c, RENOU § 331, BLOCH (1927a: 122 [= *Recueil* p. 150]) and NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 256.

³ See SPEYER (1886: 269 n. 1) and BLOCH (1927a: 122 [= *Recueil* p. 150]).

⁴ *apanudet* would not have scanned.

⁵ See LUDWIG (1896: 19).

brāhmaṇān vai tadāsūyād¹ yadā vairocana baliḥ ‘At that time when Vairocana Bali was displeased with the brahmins’, Mbh 12,91.21 (v.l. *āsūyat*).

On the use of the precative with *mā* see (♣) 6.5.7.

6.2.5. Present tense

The present tense may also be used in situations where the action is in the immediate future (see [♣] also 6.2.1)²:

adyaivaitān nihanmīha praśādhi vasudhām imām ‘I shall slay them here and now, and you rule this world’, Mbh 2,64.11, *tasmāc chakravadhārthāya vṛtram utpādayāmy aham* ‘I shall engender Vṛtra ...’, 5,9.42, *tasyādya vipralambhasya phalaṃ prāpnuhi durmate / eṣa tvāṃ sajanāmātyam uddharāmi ...* ‘Get now the fruit of that deceit, o wicked one, for I shall slay now you together with your relatives and your ministers’, 5,190.23, (... *bhaviṣyati ...* [7]) *nānyam jānāti viprendraḥ (... bhaviṣyati ...* [9]) ‘[(Vibhāṇḍaka) will have (a son famed as Ṛśyaśṛṅga)] ... that lord among brahmins will not know any other’, R 1,8.8 (v.l. *jñāsyati*), *daṇḍakāraṇyam eṣo ‘ham ito gacchāmi satvaraḥ* ‘I shall go from here to the Daṇḍaka forest without delay’, 2,16.37 (~ 381*), *kṣipram eva vinaśyati* ‘He will perish soon’, 3,64.13 (~ *tvam kṣipram vinaśisyasi*, 3,20.18), *tathā kartum aham yate* ‘I shall strive to do that!’, 3,289*.9, *śrutvā ... anugacchati sambhrāntaḥ saumītrir api sauhṛdāt* ‘... also Lakṣmaṇa ... will follow’, 3,749*.3-4, *mriye sāham anāthavat* ‘I shall die like one who is without

¹ On the form see (♣) 8.3, on the accusative construction see (♣) p. 317.

² See WHITNEY § 777a, KIELHORN § 582b, SPEYER (1886: 243-244 [§ 324]), id. (1896: 51 [§ 173]), APTE (1925: 123 [§ 186a]), SEN (1951/52a: 303), RENOÙ § 291b (§ 410), MEENAKSHI (1983: 157) and BROCKINGTON (1998: 93). On the few examples in Vedic see DELBRÜCK (1888: 278-279), SPEYER (1896: 51 [§ 173]) and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,289, II,370 / 581-582 (cf. also RENOÙ 1952: 365 [§ 427]).

protector', 5,56.89, *rāmo 'bhyeti purīm laṅkā* 'Rāma will go to the city of Laṅkā', 6,6.16 (see also [♣] 6.2.9).

Conversely, the future tense is sometimes used instead of the present¹:

na mānyaṃ mānayaṣyanti 'They do not esteem an estimable man', Mbh 5,42.29 (v.l. *mānayanti*)², *adya candro 'bhyupagataḥ puṣyāt pūrvaṃ punarvasum / śvaḥ puṣyayogaṃ niyataṃ vakṣyante daivacintakāḥ* 'Today the moon has reached Punarvasu, just to the east of Puṣya; tomorrow – [so] the astrologers predict – [its] conjunction with Puṣya [will be] certain', R 2,4.21 (v.l. *vadanti / bruvanti*)³, *aṅṅtaṃ bata loko 'yam ajñānād yad dhi vakṣyati*, 'How the people lie in their ignorance!', 2,27.4.

The present tense is sometimes used as the tense of narration⁴ and so has a general past sense:

lakṣmaṇas tu maholkābhir ... citām ādīpayām āsa sā prajajvāla sarvataḥ / ... mandaṃ dahati pāvakaḥ 'With huge brands Lakṣmaṇa lit the pyre, till it stood completely in flames. The fire burned slowly ...', R 3,68.3 (v.l. *dahata*⁵), *na ca paśyāmy ahaṃ tatra ... sakhīm* 'But I did not see a girlfriend there', 7,2.19 (v.l. [*a*]paśyam)⁶.

¹ See RENOUE § 339 (p. 462).

² See MEENAKSHI (1983: 169).

³ See ROUSSEL (1910: 20 with n. 1), SATYA VRAT (1964: 236) and RENOUE § 339 *rem.*

⁴ On the tenses of narration in Vedic prose – the imperfect in the older texts, later on the indicative perfect – see WITZEL (1987: 392 with n. 31) and TICHY (1997: 592).

⁵ This is an augmentless imperfect *ātmanepada* (♣ 6.4.1).

⁶ For instances of the *praesens pro praeterito* from the Ayodhyā-, Aranya- and Kiṣkindhākāṇḍas of the Rāmāyaṇa see BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 7-8 [= ET p. 8-9]); for the whole Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1951/52a: 302). Such a present and a preterite are sometimes – though rarely – even used side by side: *devy anūdhā tvam abhavo*

But this usage is not always distinguishable from that of the present to indicate habitual or durative / continuing action¹ (see BROCKINGTON 1998: 93). More often, such use² is marked by the addition of the particle *sma*³, which then mostly *follows* the verb *immediately*⁴. Sometimes, however, this

yuvarājo bhavāmy aham 'You were not married, queen, and I was heir-apparent', R 2,57.10 (see SPEYER 1886: 245-246), *sabhāyām ṛṣayas tasyām pāṇḍavaiḥ saha āsate / āsām cakrur narendrāś ca* 'In that hall the seers sat together with the Pāṇḍavas and the kings took their seat', Mbh 2,4.7, *evaṃ bahuvīdhaṃ taṃ sā yācate gamanaṃ prati / nānumene mahābāhus tāṃ netuṃ vijanaṃ vanam* 'Though she pleaded with him thus in many ways to go, great-armed (Rāma) did not consent to taking her to the desolate forest', R 2,26.20 (see BROCKINGTON 1969/70a: 16 [= ET p. 19]), *vicacāra mṛgottamaḥ / ... punaḥ pratinivartate* 'The splendid deer went grazing ... and turned back again', 3,40.22.

- ¹ The Sanskrit imperfect has in sense normally no progressive or durative implication – 'he was doing, he used to do' (see SPEYER 1886: 244-245 [§ 327] and id. 1896: 50-51 [§ 172]). Such implications tend, even in past time, to be expressed by the present tense (some examples are given by MEENAKSHI 1983: 155-156), sometimes with the addition of the particle *sma*.
- ² KULKARNI (1951) distinguishes between *sma* + present = 'historical present' (371-374) – which can always be translated as 'used to' – and *sma* + present = (ordinary) 'past tense' (374-378).
- ³ See SPEYER (1886: 244-245 [§ 326-237]), id. (1896: 50-51 [§ 172]), KIELHORN § 583a, RENOU § 384 (p. 521), KULKARNI (1951: 371-378), SEN (1951/52a: 302), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 7-8 [= ET p. 8-9]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 156). For the older language see DELBRÜCK (1888: 501-503), SPEYER (1896: 50-51 [§ 172]), HOFFMANN (1967: 201) and TICHY (1995: 131-132 n. 23).
- ⁴ For copious examples from the Mahābhārata see KULKARNI (1951: 371-378). In most cases – whether following the verb immediately or not – *sma* is removed from its original place in the stanza, viz. the second position (cf. KOZIANKA 1998: 393).

collocation is used (without a preterite meaning) to express an action which continues in the present¹:

*te sma tatra yathākāmaṃ dṛṣṭvā sarve divaukaśaḥ / praṇamya śirasā
tasmai pratiyānti yathāgatam* ‘They and all [other] dwellers in heaven
come to visit as they please, bow their heads to him and return as they
have come’, Mbh 2,11.35, *svargaṃ prāptās caranti sma devaiḥ saha ...*
‘Having reached heaven they walk with the gods’, 3,43.23, *tāṃ ...
mahīkṣitaḥ / kāṅkṣanti sma viśeṣeṇa* ‘The kings desire her particularly’,
3,51.21, *ekarājyaṃ kurūṇāṃ sma cikīrṣati yudhiṣṭhira* ‘He wishes to place
the one kingship over the Kurus on Yudhiṣṭhira’, 5,54.10, *viparītam idaṃ
sarvaṃ pratibhāti sma saṃjaya* ‘All this seems to be absurd, Saṃjaya’,
6,72.22, *ete dravanti sma rathāśvanāgāḥ* ‘These chariots, horses and
elephants are running’, 8,54.24, *na te kṣaudraṃ ... brāhmaṇā ... mūrdhni
dadhati sma vidhānataḥ* ‘Nor pour the Brahmins honey on your head, as
custom requires’, R 2,23.12 (~ *mūrdhni ... dadhate vidhivac ca kim,*
598*), *abhitaptās ca sūryeṇa lambante sma punaḥ-punaḥ* ‘Scorched by
the sun, [the Rākṣasas] hang [there] again and again’, 4,39.37, *jalārdrās
cakravākās ca niṣpatanti sma sarvaśaḥ* ‘Dripping with water, *cakravāka*
birds fly on every side’, 4,49.13, ... *mārutaḥ / na vāti sma* ‘... [even] the
wind does not blow’, 5,21.16², *suprākṛtenāpi raṇe nihantum śakyau kuto
bhīṣayase sma bhīro* ‘... Why are you frightening us?’, 6,App.3.376-377³.

This particle is, however, also used with

– the imperfect (see DE 1947: 33 and KULKARNI 1951: 364-366):

See SEN (1951/52a: 303) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 157).

² Cf. Mbh 4,973*.2.

³ See SEN (1951/52a: 303).

vāditrāṇi ca tatra sma vādakāḥ samavādayan ‘And there musicians are playing their instruments’, Mbh 1,211.4, *na smāśakyata bībhatsuḥ kenacit prasamīkṣitum* ‘No one could look at Bībhatsu’, 7,50.79¹

– the perfect (see KULKARNI 1951: 366):

te sma lakṣyāṇi vividhur bāṇair nāmāṅkaśobhitaiḥ ‘They pierced the targets with their arrows’, Mbh 1,124.24, *mṛtyor upāntikaṃ prāptau mādrīputrau sma menire* ‘They thought that the twin sons of Mādri had reached death’, 8,40.19, *śākhāmṛgā ... / jagmuḥ śaraṇyaṃ śaraṇaṃ sma rāmam* ‘The monkeys took refuge with Rāma, who yields protection’, R 6,47.43

– the aorist (see KULKARNI 1951: 367):

āsanāni ... prayatnopahitāni sma dr̥ṣṭvā sa vismayam āgamat ‘He saw the ... seats and was amazed’, Mbh 1,64.39, *tasya daivāt prasaṅgo ’bhūd atimātraṃ sma devane* ‘By [ill] fate, he has an unbounded addiction to gambling’, 3,62.28, *agnir ... satāṃ gṛhān ... na sma dhākṣit* ‘The fire ... does not burn the houses of the good’, 3,134.27²

– the optative (see DE 1947: 33 and KULKARNI 1951: 367-368):

ajātaśatruṃ kuśalaṃ sma pṛccheḥ ‘You should inquire about the health of Ajātaśatru’, Mbh 5,22.35, *na sma kleśatamaṃ me syāt* ‘There is nothing more hurtful for me ...’, 5,88.58, *yady etad aśubhaṃ karma na sma me kathayeḥ svayam*, R 2,58.19 (on this line see below [♣], p. 165)

– the imperative (see KULKARNI 1951: 367):

¹ Cf. HOPKINS (1901: 245).

² Note that at Mbh 3,62.28 and 3,134.27 *sma* + (augmentless) *aorist* does not refer to the past but to the present.

... *rāṣṭrāṇi kīrtayiṣyāmi kānicit / ramaṇīyāni guptāṇi teṣāṃ kiṃcit sma rocaya* 'I shall name some lovely and secluded kingdoms ... – approve one or the other of them', Mbh 4,1.8

and the future (see KULKARNI 1951: 368)¹:

bhaimī kila sma bhartāraṃ dvitīyaṃ varayiṣyati 'Bhīma's daughter will choose herself another husband', Mbh 3,74.22, *kena sma karmaṇā kṛṣṇā draupadī vicariṣyati* 'What kind of work shall Kṛṣṇā Draupadī perform?', 4,3.13

As can be seen from these examples, as well as from KULKARNI's data, *sma* (almost) *never*² (immediately) follows a verb in another tense / mood than the indicative present. Here it seems to have the function of emphasizing the preceding word.

In much the same way, *purā* is used with present tense verbs to denote the past³. In the Epics this collocation is sometimes also used to express the future⁴:

¹ On *sma* with other tenses than the present see also PW VII,1382. As to the use of *sma* ~ *smaḥ* with the present participle and the verbal adjective see (♣) 7.2.1.

² There are only two instances in KULKARNI's list where *sma* stands immediately after the verb, in both instances a perfect (Mbh 1,14.7 and 3,115.24).

³ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 278), KIELHORN § 583b, HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,528, SPEYER (1886: 246), id. (1896: 51 [§ 173]), WHITNEY § 778a, RENOU § 291 (p. 410) / 389 (p. 526) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 156-157).

On "the use of *sma* with *purā* denoting the habitual action (in the past)" see KULKARNI (1951: 363), who cites (*inter alia*) Mbh 3,138.2: *taṃ sma dr̥ṣṭvā purā sarve pratyuttiṣṭhanti pāvakāḥ* 'All the fires used to rise to meet him when they saw him' (on Vedic examples see DELBRÜCK 1888: 502 and RENOU 1952: 365 [§ 427]).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 243-244 [§ 324 *rem.* 1]), SEN (1951/52a: 303) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 157-158).

purā karoti niḥśeṣāṃ pāṇḍavānām anīkinīm ‘Soon he will completely destroy the army of the Pāṇḍavas’, Mbh 7,161.45, *purā mṛtaḥ praṇīyase yamasya mṛtyusāsanāt* ‘Soon you will be carried away dead at the command of Yama, the [god of] death’, 12,309.34 (cf. crit. notes *ad loc.*)¹, *purā ... srjaty amoghān viśikhān* ‘Soon he will send off his unfailing arrows’, R 6,9.21, *purā vānarasainyāni kṣayaṃ nayati* ‘Soon he will kill the monkey warriors’, 6,59.35.

As a conjunction governing a subordinate clause, *purā* has the meaning ‘before’² (on *purā* with ablative = ‘without’ see [↗] p. 320 n. 1):

tasya prayogam ātiṣṭha purā kālo ’tivartate ‘Put it into practice before it is too late’, Mbh 1,193.17, *purā ... gāvo hriyante* ‘... before our cows are taken away’, 4,35.6, *sarva enam pramathnīmaḥ puraikaikaṃ hinasti naḥ* ‘We all will crush him before he hurts every one of us’, 7,47.16 (↗ p. 135), *gaccha durjaya rādheyaṃ purā grasati pāṇḍavaḥ* ‘Go, Durjaya, to Rādheya before the Pāṇḍava devours him’, 7,108.35, *chindhi pāsān ... purā śvapaca eti saḥ* ‘Cut the fetters before the Cāṇḍāla comes (back)’, 12,136.86, *purā vedān brāhmaṇā ... vṛṣalāñ śrāvayanti ... ahaṃ paralokaṃ vrajāmi / purāvarān pratyavarān garīyaso ... nāvamaṃsyanti sarve .. vrajāmi paralokaṃ cirāya / purā prapaśyāmi pareṇa martyān balīyasā durbalān bhujyamānān ... yāsyāmi paralokaṃ cirāya ...* ‘Before Brahmins recite the Vedas for Śūdras I shall go to the other world’, 13,96.11-13, *yajñaviḥṇakarī yakṣī purā vardheta māyayā vadhyatāṃ tāvad evaiṣā purā saṃdhyā pravartate* ‘The Yakṣī ... should be killed

¹ Cf. Mbh 3,281.98: *yāhi ... / purā mātuḥ pitur vāpi yadi paśyāmi vipriyam / na jīviṣye ...* ‘Come! ... If I shall see that anything untoward has happened to mother or father, I shall not live’ (see PW s.v. *purā* [end]).

² See PW s.v. (3), SPEYER (1886: 243-244 [§ 324 rem. 2] / 369 [§ 477 rem.]) and id. (1896: 86 [§ 275 rem.]). This usage is recorded by Pāṇini (*yāvatpurānipātayor laṭ*, 3.3.4).

before she gains strength through her magic powers and before the evening approaches’, R 1, App. 5.17-18 (v.l. *vardhati*)¹, *purā bhavati no dūrād anugacchāma rāghavam* ‘Let us follow Rāghava before he is far away from us’, 2, 42.14 (~ 1039*: *tūrṇam tam anugacchāmo*² *yāvad dūram na gacchati*), *tat purā rāma śārīrām*³ *upahiṃsām tapasviṣu / darśayanti hi duṣṭās te tyakṣyāma imam āśramam* ‘O Rāma, before these wicked [creatures] let [us] see how they inflict bodily harm upon the ascetics let us leave the ashram’, 2, 108.19.

rem. Sometimes the subordinate *purā*-clause shows a redundant *na* or *mā*⁴: *gaccha vai śayanāyaiva purā nānyo* ‘vabudhyate’ ‘Go to bed before others wake up!’, Mbh 4, 16.16 (v.l. *yathā ...*), *tām mṛṣṭahemavarṇābhām sītām darśaya parvata / purā śilāśitair bāṇair mā tvām vidhvaṃsayāmy aham* ‘Mountain! Show me ... Sītā before I dash you to pieces ...’, R 3, 60.19 v.l. of ed. Gorr. (CE *yāvat sānūni sarvāni na te vidhvaṃsayāmy aham*).

In a very similar way *yāvat* is used with present-tense verbs⁵:

yāhy etat puram aṅjasā / tridaśeśadviṣo yāvat kṣayam astrair nayāmy aham ‘Go straight to this city while I shall destroy with my weapons [these] enemies of the kings of the gods’, Mbh 3, 170.13, ... *hayān saṃyaccha sārathē / yāvat samīkṣe sainye* ‘smin kvāsau kurukulādhamah’ ‘Charioteer! Hold the horses ... while I shall see where among the troops here that foul Kaurava is’, 4, 48.8, *tasya yānam ca dāsīs ca saumitre*

¹ On the use of the optative in this stanza see BÖHTLINGK (1887a: 186-187) and PW s.v. *purā* (3., *conj.*).

² On the ‘imperative’ use of the indicative see (♣) 6.2.1.

³ Read *śārīrīm* which is the v.l.?

⁴ The model for this usage is certainly *yāvan na* ‘before’ (see RENOUE § 389 [p. 526]; cf. SPEYER 1886: 368-369 [§ 477]).

⁵ See SPEYER (1886: 368 [§ 476]), id. (1896: 86 [§ 275]), KIELHORN § 583c, RENOUE § 389 (p. 526) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 159).

saṃpradāpaya / kauśeyāni ca vastrāṇi yāvat tuṣyati sa dvijaḥ ‘Let a car ... be given to him until that twice-born is content’, R 2,29.14, *yāvan nihanmi rakṣāṃsi ghorāṇīmāni saṃyuge* ‘... while I shall slay the Rākṣasas ...’, 3,19.4 v.l. (CE *imān asyā vadhiṣyāmi padavīm āgatān iha*), *hr̥ṣṭaḥ kathaya visrabdho yāvad āropyate dhanuḥ* ‘Speak in joy and confidence while I shall string my bow’, 4,8.43 (cf. the comment of Ck), *yāvat sītāṃ na paśyāmi ... tāvad etāṃ purīm ... vicinomi ...* ‘I shall continue to search this city ... until I shall find Sītā’, 5,11.52¹.

Sometimes the sense of *yāvat* has (almost completely) faded and its collocation with a present tense verb denotes an intended action:

niyuñkṣva māṃ ... balaṃ darpaṃ ca yāvad dhi nāśayāmi durātmanaḥ ‘Just order me, and I will crush the might and pride of this wicked man’, R 1,53.16 v.l. (of ed. Gorr. [CE *yat tad ...*])².

6.2.6. Imperfect³

There are a few cases where the imperfect⁴ seems to be used with the sense of the present (see SEN 1951/52a: 305):

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- ¹ In that case the future is only exceptionally used (as it is with *yāvan na* ‘before’): ... *yāvan na pratiyāsyati* ‘... until he consents to return’, R 2,103.14, ... *yāvad eva nalaḥ kvacit / ito netā hi tatra ...* ‘... until Nala will lead you from here ...’, Mbh 3,300*.
- ² If a 3rd person is concerned the imperative is used: *nigrh̥ṣva mahābuddhe hayān eiān mahājavān / vārṣṇeyo yāvad etāṃ me paṭam ānayatām iti* ‘Halt these swift horses, clever man, and Vārṣṇeya will bring back my shawl’, Mbh 3,70.4 (see SPEYER 1886: 369 [§ 478 rem.]).
- ³ See WHITNEY § 779, SPEYER (1886: 246-250 [§ 328-330]), id. (1896: 51-52 [§ 174]), KIELHORN § 584, RENOUE § 294, SEN (1951/52a: 305) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 159-160).
- ⁴ On the use of the imperfect in Vedic (prose) – it is used to tell stories – see WITZEL (1989: 139-155).

*yasya brahmā ca viṣṇuś ca tvam cāpi saha daivataiḥ / arcayadhvam sadā
liṅgaṃ tasmāc chreṣṭhatamo hi saḥ* ‘Whose *liṅga* Brahmā, Viṣṇu and you
... always worship¹ – therefore he is the best [of the gods]’, Mbh
13,14.102 (v.l. *arcayethāḥ*), *kokilo mām ivāhvayat* ‘The cuckoo is inviting
me as it were’, R 4,20* v.l. (CE *āhvayet*)

The use of a present tense verb to denote a past event (↗ 6.2.5) might have created the impression of the interchangeability of present and past tense and led to such an abnormal phenomenon. But most probably we have to do with mere corruptions of the text (see BROCKINGTON. 1969/70a: 18 [= *ET* p. 21]).

The augmentless imperfect *samabhi-vartata*, R 1,8.10 (↗ 6.4.1), is used as a future tense verb²:

tasyaivam vartamānasya kālaḥ samabhivartata (v.l. ^ṛ*vartsyati* / ^ṛ*te*)
‘[And] time will pass away for him ...’ (cf. R 1,8.8, on which see [↗] p.
144).

On the use of the (unaugmented) imperfect with *mā* see (↗) 6.5.3.

6.2.7. Perfect³

In the Epics the perfect is quite often simply a past tense, equivalent to the imperfect and the aorist (see BROCKINGTON 1998: 352). Sometimes, however,

¹ It is, however, more probable that (the augmentless) *arcayadhvam* shows the confusion of primary and secondary endings (↗ 6.3.1.5).

² See ROUSSEL (1910:18) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 236).

³ See WHITNEY § 821, SPEYER (1886: 246-252 [§ 328-333]), id. (1896: 52-53 [§ 175-179]), KIELHORN § 584-585, RENOU § 337, SEN (1951/52a: 304-305) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 160-163).

On the use of the perfect in Vedic Sanskrit see DELBRÜCK (1888: 296-301), WITZEL (1989: 139-155) and KÜMMEL (2000).

it has preserved¹ its function of denoting a fact which is the result of a past event² (see SEN 1951/52a: 304-305)³:

sa brahmacaryam āsthāya tapas tepe ‘He (now) ... practises asceticism’, R 1,36,3 v.l. (CE *sa tapaḥ ... tapyate*), *adya mene vinihatam vālinam yuddhadurmadam* ‘Now I know that Vālin ...’, 4,255* v.l. (CE *manyē*)⁴.

Twice the perfect *āttha* is used as an imperative: *kasmai dattaś ca bhagavan vidhinā kena cāttha me* ‘To whom did he give it, blessed lord, and in what manner? [Please] tell me!’, Mbh 3,246.1 (v.l. *tad vada / śamsa me* [!]), *āttha kiṃ tatkāraṇam yasya hetoḥ prajñāviruddham karma cikīrṣasīdam* ‘Tell me! What is the reason that you wish to do this deed which runs counter to wisdom?’, 5,27.22 v.l. (CE *addhā*).

¹ There has been a generalisation of the present value of some perfects such as *veda*, *jāgāra*, *bibhāya* or *dādhāra* (cf. KÜMMEL 2000: 69-70).

² In Vedic Sanskrit the perfect is used (a) to denote a (present) fact which is the result of a past event and (b) to state or summarize past facts (see HOFFMANN 1967: 160 and KÜMMEL 2000: 680-693).

³ R 2,27.13 v.l. (of ed. Bomb.), where the perfect (*śādvaleṣu yadā śiśye ...*) seems to be used instead of the future (see SEN 1951/52a: 305), is a corrupt reading due to the confusion of *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*. The CE has the correct *yadāśiśye* (see VAN DAALEN 1980: 88 / 127). And SEN’s second example for such a use – *naiṣa dharmo ... / yat te pṛṣṭham siṣeve ’haṃ ... purā ca yad ahaṃ vīra sprṣṭā gātreṣu rakṣasā*, R 5,1385*.8-10 (v.l. *niṣīdeyaṃ*) – is an instance of a ‘future perfect’: ‘This is not (= would not be) proper when I shall have climbed on your back’.

⁴ According to the Pāṇinian school of grammar (see Pāṇ 3.2.115 / Mahābhāṣya II 119,19-120,29), the perfect should not be used to describe events within the personal experience of the speaker (i.e. it can be used with the 1st person only when the speaker wishes to make an emphatic denial or cannot recollect the past event owing to some mental distraction). But this does not hold good for the Epics (see SEN 1951/52a: 305-306).

On the use of the perfect with *mā* see (↗) 6.5.9.

6.2.8. Aorist¹

Unlike in Vedic Sanskrit (especially in the Brāhmaṇas)² the aorist denotes actual³ and historical past (see SPEYER 1886: 254 [§ 335]). And there is no trace of any real distinction between the aorist and the other two past tenses (imperfect and perfect) with regard to the level of time reference (see JACOBI 1893: 118 n. 1). Occasionally all three are even found used together:

*rāghavaḥ ... śarabhaṅgam upāgamat // ... rāmaḥ sītā ca lakṣmaṇaḥ /
niṣedus tadanujñātāḥ ... // tataḥ ... paryapṛcchat sa rāghavaḥ*, R 3,4.21-23
(see BROCKINGTON 1969/70a: 16 [= ET p. 19])⁴.

6.2.9. Future⁵

The future tense is sporadically used not only with the sense of the present (↗ 6.2.1), but also with that of the imperative (i.e. as an *adhortativus*)⁶ – a proximity which seemingly gave rise to a new mode of the future, the

¹ See WHITNEY § 927, SPEYER (1886: 252-254 [§ 334]), id. (1896: 51-54 [§ 174-181]), KIELHORN § 584-585, RENOU § 315, SEN (1951/52a: 305-306) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 163-165).

² On the functions of the aorist in Vedic Sanskrit see TICHY (1997: 599-603).

³ Cf. Mbh 1,155.22 (*tasmād droṇaḥ parājaiṣīn mām* ‘Therefore Droṇa has conquered me’) and R 2,83.5 (*kaccīt sukhaṃ nadītīre ’vātsīḥ kākutṣtha śarvarīm* ‘Have you spent the night well ...?’ [v.l. ’*vasaḥ*]).

⁴ As to the number of aorists in the different recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa, see SEN (1951/52a: 305-306).

⁵ See WHITNEY § 948, SPEYER (1886: 257-261 [§ 340-341]), id. (1896: 54-55 [§ 183-184]), KIELHORN § 586, RENOU § 339 and MEENAKSHI (1983: 165-169).

⁶ See BÖHTLINGK (1889: 56), SPEYER (1886: 266 [§ 344a]), id. (1896: 58 [§ 192] / 62 [§ 197]) and MEENAKSHI (1983:166).

imperativus futuri (on which see [↗] 8.4.2; on *mā* with the [imperative] future see [↗] 6.5.5-6):

diśam anyāṃ prapatsyāmas tatra tapsyāmahe tapaḥ ‘Let us go to another place and practise our austerities there’, R 1,60.2, *kiṃ kariṣyāvahe vatsa kva vā gacchāva lakṣmaṇa* ‘What shall we do, ...? Where shall we go, o Lakṣmaṇa?’, 3,63.3, *tad āgaccha gamiṣyāvaḥ* ‘Therefore come! Let us go!’, 3,71.6 (v.l. *gacchāvaḥ* [↗ p. 135]).

The future may also be used to denote (a) a wish (i.e. instead of the optative)¹ or to express (b) a certainty (‘I am fairly sure that ...’) or (c) a supposition (‘I suppose that ...’)². In these cases too, the modal quality is characteristic primarily of the first persons of the future (cf. HOFFMANN 1967: 248 n. 270³):

(a) *agadam vo 'stu bhadram vo drakṣyāmi punar āgatān* ‘... May I see you return’, Mbh 2,69.18 (v.l. *draṣṭāsmi*), *api nau vaśam āgacchet kovidāradhvajo raṇe // api drakṣyāmi bharatam* ‘... If only I can catch sight of Bharata!’, R 2,90.16-17 (v.l. *paśyema* [~ *api paśyeyam adyāhaṃ bharatam* ..., 2108*])⁴,

(b) (*kacas ... na dṛśyate* [28d]) *vyaktaṃ hato mṛto vāpi kacas tāta bhaviṣyati* ‘(Kaca is nowhere to be found [28d]). I am fairly sure, that Kaca is injured or killed’, Mbh 1,71.29,

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 267 [§ 344b]), id. (1896: 60 [§ 197]), HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,371, and MEENAKSHI (1983: 166-167).

² See SPEYER (1886: 267 [§ 344c]), WHITNEY § 948a and HOLTZMANN (1884: 35).

³ HOFFMANN points to subjunctives based on the future stem: *kariṣyāḥ*, RV 4.30.23, *ātapsyāni*, JB 3.368.

⁴ As to the parallelism of optative and future, see SPEYER (1896: 60 [§ 197]) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 13 [= *ET* p. 15]).

(c) *ko 'yaṃ devo ... gandharvo nu bhaviṣyati* 'Who is this? I suppose he is a god or a Gandharva', Mbh 3,52.16¹, *adya svapsyanti pāñcālāḥ* 'The Pāñcāla must be sleeping now', 10,3.25 = 5.11, *daśakrośa itas tāta girir yasmin nivatsyasi* 'Twenty miles from here, my son, is a mountain where you may live' R 2,48.25.

This usage may also have given rise to another future mode, viz. the *optativus futuri* (↗ 8.4.2 [b]).

6.2.10. Periphrastic future²

The periphrastic future, which began to make its appearance in Vedic prose, gained fairly wide currency in the epics. It replaced the (Vedic) 'prospective subjunctive' (expressing expectation: 'I expect that you / he')³, as this was restricted quite early to subordinate clauses (see TICHY 1992: 340). Unlike the *sya*-future, it originally denoted future facts without immediate connection with the present⁴ – a usage still to be found in Epic Sanskrit:

idam adya kariṣyāmi śvaḥ kartāsmīti vādinam / kālo harati samprāpto nadivega ivodupam 'Death carries away the one who says "Today I shall do this, tomorrow I will do that" ...', Mbh 12,220.98⁵, *śvo 'smi hantā durātmanam putraghnam* 'Tomorrow I shall kill the evil murderer of my son', 7,57.10, *yadi tad viditaṃ te 'dya śvo hantāsi jayadratham* 'If today you know this, you will kill Jayadratha tomorrow', 7,57.17⁶.

¹ See GOTO (1999: 128 n. 7).

² See WHITNEY § 949, SPEYER (1886: 259-260 [§ 341]), id. (1896: 54-55 [§ 183-184]), KIELHORN § 586, RENOU § 364 and MEENAKSHI (1983: 169-171).

³ See HOFFMANN (1967: 241).

⁴ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 295-296) and TICHY (1992: 342).

⁵ This stanza recalls Maitrāyaṇīya-Saṃhitā 2.1.8: *adya varṣisyati ... śvō vrasṭā*.

⁶ For other instances see MEENAKSHI (1983: 22).

But by and large there seems often to be no real difference of meaning between the simple and the periphrastic future¹ and hence both can be used side by side²:

ahaṃ duryodhanaṃ hantā karṇaṃ hantā dhanamjayah / śakuniṃ cākṣakitavaṃ sahadevo haniṣyati ‘I shall kill Duryodhana, Arjuna will kill Karṇa and Sahadeva will slay Śakuni, crook with the dice’, Mbh 2,68.26, *antam adya kariṣyāmi tasya duḥkhasya pārṣata / hantā vāsmi raṇe karṇaṃ sa vā māṃ nihaniṣyati* ‘Today I shall set an end to this suffering, Pārṣata. Either I shall kill Karṇa in battle or he will kill me’, 8,34.8 (cf. *yuvā ṣoḍaśavarṣo hi yad adya bhavitā bhavān*, 14,55.22 [v.l. (S) *tvam bhaviṣyasi*]³).

¹ See WHITNEY § 949, HOLTZMANN (1884: 35), HARA (1987/88: 201) and BROCKINGTON (1998: 94).

² See SPEYER (1886: 260 [§ 341]).

³ Note that here the periphrastic future is used with *adya* ‘today’ (see also GONDA 1957: 161). On adverbs of time used with the periphrastic future see HARA (1987/88: 211-212).

In a more distinct way than the simple future (see above, [♣] 6.2.9), the periphrastic future¹ might, however, denote a (strong) certainty on the part of the speaker² (which is why it is often used in oaths³):

yad vā te 'nyad dvijaśreṣṭha manasaḥ supriyaṃ bhavet / sarvaṃ tat te pradātāham 'Or whatever else might please your heart ..., I'll surely give it all to you', Mbh 1,155.11, *anye 'pi bhavitāro 'tra* 'I am sure that there are others here', 1,222.2, *na purā bhīmasena tvaṃ idṛśīr vaditā girah* 'I am quite sure that you would never have spoken words like these, Bhīmasena', 2,61.7, *na hy ekāhnā śataṃ gantā tvad ṛte 'nyah pumān iha* 'Surely no man but you can go one hundred [leagues] in one day', 3,75.13, *na tu dvijo 'yaṃ bhavitā narottamaḥ / patih pṛthivyāḥ* 'I am fairly sure that he ... is not a brahmin: He must be a king!', 4,6.5, *ayaṃ hayān vīkṣati māmakān dṛḍham / dhruvaṃ hayajño bhavitā vicakṣaṇaḥ* 'He is thoroughly checking these horses of mine: I am sure he is a connoisseur of horses', 4,11.3⁴, *bhavitāro bhavanto vai naivam ity abravīd ṛṣīn* '"You are certainly not like that"', she said to the seers', 13,95.3.

¹ A number of these instances could perhaps be regarded as idiomatic uses of the agentive noun.

² See GONDA (1957: 161-165), who emphasizes that "the speaker wishes to have the process viewed as an accomplished fact" (l.c. 174). This *fait-accompli*-meaning is – according to GONDA (l.c. 175) – the basis of what SPEYER (1886: 267-268 [§ 344**]) calls the "subjunctive usage of the *ṭ*-future" (cf. id. 1910: 318-319).

LUDWIG (1896: 22) and SEN (1995: 360) hold that the periphrastic future might even be used as a preterite. But all the examples they adduce (Mbh 2,61.7 [SEN], 1,189.24, 12,28.53 [LUDWIG]) are in fact instances of 'certainty' whose connection with the past is expressed by an adverb of time.

³ See HARA (1987/88).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 268 [§ 344**]).

This usage explains why the periphrastic future is employed to express the *modus irrealis* (see also [↗] 6.2.11):

jarāsaṃdhabalaṃ prāpya ... yamo 'pi na vijetājau 'Not even Yama would win in battle with Jarāsaṃdha's army', Mbh 2,15.3(ac) v.l. (CE [pāda c] *śramo hi vaḥ parājayyāt*¹), *na cākāmaḥ śakuninā devitāhaṃ na cen mām dhr̥ṣṇur āhvayitā sabhāyām / āhūto 'haṃ na nivarte kadācit* 'I shall not be unwilling to play with Śakuni. If [I were] not [to play], he would recklessly challenge me in [that] hall. Once challenged, I never refuse', 2,52.16, *na hi jīvet suyodhanaḥ / mayy āgate 'thavā vīra / dyūtaṃ na bhavitā tadā* 'Had I come, ..., Suyodhana would no longer be alive, [and] the game would not have been played', 3,23.41d / 90*², *prāptaḥ syāṃ yady ahaṃ vīra vadhaṃ tasmin mahāraṇe / śreyas tad bhavitā mahyam evambhūtaṃ na jīvitam*³ 'It would be better for me, hero, had I met my death in that great battle than [that I should live] such a life', 3,238.8, *nāsmākaṃ bhavitā bhedaḥ ... dhṛtarāṣṭrasya saṃbandho yadi na syāt tvayā saha* 'We would not have quarrelled ... if you had not entered into relations with Dhṛtarāṣṭra', 5,App.12.53, *paritrātum iha prāpto yadi pārtha puraṃdaraḥ / tam apy āśu parājitya tato hantāsmi pāṇḍavam* 'Even if Indra were to come to protect [Arjuna], I would kill the Pāṇḍava ...', 7,133.5, *taṃ hatvā cet keśava jīvaloke / sthātā kālaṃ nāham apy alpamātram* 'Had I slain him, Keśava, I would not be able to live in this world for even a moment', 8,49.63 (v.l. *hanyām* [↗ p. 287 n. 2])⁴.

¹ On this form see (↗) 8.3.

² It is ms. Dn2 that inserts 90* after 41d. On this stanza see LUDWIG (1896a: 10).

³ On this construction see (↗) p. 325.

⁴ On R 2,27.7 (*na tv ahaṃ manasāpy anyam draṣṭāsmi tvad ṛte 'nāgha / tvayā rāghava gaccheyam*), see BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 15 [= ET p. 17]) and POLLOCK (1986: 377), on R 3,54.5 (*pratyakṣam yady ahaṃ tasya tvayā syāṃ dharṣitā balāt / śayitā tvam hataḥ saṃkhye janasthāne yathā kharah* [v.l. (augmentless aorist) *śayiṣṭhāḥ, śayīthāḥ*])

6.2.11. The conditional¹

In the Vedic language it was usual to employ in a conditional sentence – though not without exception (see HETTRICH 1988: 204-210) – the same mode in the protasis² as well as in the apodosis, whether subjunctive or optative (see WHITNEY § 581f [p. 220])³. The use of one mode in both parts continued when a special form to express past unfulfilled or unreal conditions – the *conditional* – developed after the end of the R̥gvedic period, to be used in conditional sentences of the *past irrealis* type⁴. And it is just this construction that is taught by Pāṇini (3,3.140)⁵. Conditional sentences of this type are rather frequent in the Epics:

see SPEYER (1886: 258 [§ 340 *rem.* 2]), id. (1910: 316) and GONDA (1957: 175-176); cf. also SEN (1951/52a: 306).

¹ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 365-367), SPEYER (1886: 269-270 [§ 347]), id. (1896: 60 [§ 198] / 91-92 [§ 283]), KIELHORN § 592 and MEENAKSHI (1983: 180-181).

² In Epic Sanskrit *yat* does not seem to be used in the protasis of conditional sentences. Mostly *yadi* or *cet* are employed.

³ That means that the subordinate clause generally uses the *same* mode as the main clause (cf. WHITNEY, *PAOS* 1887 printed in *JAOS* 13 [1889] CCXXVII: "There is no exception in the older language to the rule that the mode, whether optative or subjunctive or conditional, is the same in both members of such a sentence [i.e. of the *protasis-apodosis*-type]").

⁴ See WHITNEY § 950, DELBRÜCK (1888: 366), SPEYER (1886: 269 [§ 347]), DURKIN (1991: 193-194) and APTE (1925: 141 [§ 216]).

The (*non-past* and *past*) *irrealis* is one of the different types of conditional sentences (beside e.g. *realis*, *eventualis* and *potentialis* [see HETTRICH 1992: 266]). For the *realis* and the *potentialis* the Epic poets usually employ the indicative and the optative respectively in protasis and apodosis (see SPEYER 1886: 377-378 [§ 489] / 1896: 89-90 [§ 283]), and to denote the *eventualis* ("if = in case that") they normally use the indicative or the optative in the protasis and the future (rarely the imperative or the optative) in the apodosis (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 158-159 / 167-169).

⁵ On the *non-past irrealis* – taught by Pāṇ 3,3.139 – see below.

imāṃ cet pūrvaṃ kitavo 'glahīṣyad īso 'bhaviṣyad aparājītāt mā 'If the gambler had staked this [woman] here before, he would have been undefeated [and still been] her master', Mbh 2,63.18, *yadi hy enam nāhaniṣyat karṇaḥ ... mayā vadhyo 'bhaviṣyat saḥ* 'Had Karṇa not killed him, he would have been killed by me', 7,156.25, *yadi ... parān yuddhe ... nāvārayiṣyaḥ .. na sma droṇo vyananḥṣyata*¹ 'Had you not warded off the foes in battle, ... Droṇa would not have died', 8,51.41², *na cemāṃ dharṣaṇāṃ rāmo vyaśahiṣyad amarṣaṇaḥ / nādharayīṣyad yadi te gauravaṃ mandaropamam* 'And Rāma ... would not have endured this insult if he had not respected your ... authority', R 2,1343*, *abhaviṣyaṃ vinihato vālinā yady ahaṃ raṇe / mamābhaviṣyat ko rājyenārtho bandhujanena vā* 'If I had been killed by Vālin in [this] fight, what would have been the use of the kingdom and of relatives for me?', 4,276*³.

rem. (a) In Mbh 13,8*.5-7 we meet the conditional in the protasis and the aorist in the apodosis: *ahaṃ hi samare vīra / gamitaḥ śatrubhiḥ kṣayam // abhaviṣyaṃ yadi purā ... na tvām evaṃ suduḥkhārtam adrākṣam*. Though such a sentence is not impossible we should probably read with mss. D7.8 *adrākṣyam*. This conditional has the vowel grade of the aorist *adrākṣ*^o (cf. *aprākṣyaḥ*, ChU 6,1.3, which likewise shows the *-ā-* of the aorist [see

¹ This form and *vyanesyathāḥ* seem to be the only middle conditionals in the Mahābhārata.

² Further examples of this construction are Mbh 2,70.17, 3,35.15, 5,29.32, 7,69.15, 127.9, 8,13.24 (on *paritrāsyāḥ* see [↗] 8.6), 48.2, 48.14-15, 12,7.3, 13,103.24 (see HOLTZMANN 1884: 35-36 and MEENAKSHI 1983: 180-181).

³ On this stanza see BÖHTLINGK (1889: 59).

HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,370-371]]¹; (b) The protasis may be replaced² by a clause with a future participle: *varān haniṣyan dviṣato raṅgamadhye / vyaneṣyathā dhārtarāṣṭrasya darpam* 'If you had killed the best enemies on the battle-field, you would have humbled Dhārtarāṣṭra's pride', Mbh 5,27-19.

But the place of the conditional *either* (a) in the apodosis *or* (b) in the protasis can be taken by an optative (i.e. *one* conditional is replaced by an optative). If in Epic Sanskrit a protasis contains a conditional, it necessarily refers to the past³, i.e. a phrase of type (a) is always a *past irrealis*. A *protasis* with an optative, i.e. a phrase of type (b), seems to be used if the proposition is considered to be valid up to the present⁴:

(a) *yadi ... adeviṣyad api saṁvatsarān bahūn / rukmaṃ ... na jātu kṣayam āvahet* 'Even if he had played for many years, he would never have exhausted his gold', Mbh 4,17.12-13, *yady evam aham ajñāsyam aśaktān rakṣaṇe mama putrasya / pāṇḍupāñcālān mayā gupto bhavet tataḥ* 'Had I known the Pāṇḍus and Pāñcālas to be incapable of protecting my son, I

¹ KEITH (1910a: 159) discusses another instance of a conditional clause with an aorist (*acakṣaḥ*) in the protasis, viz. VIII 68,5 (see also HOLTZMANN 1884: 36). The text of the critical edition (Mbh 8,48.2), however, does not read *acakṣaḥ* but *avakṣyaḥ*.

² The protasis may also be implied (or conveyed by an adverbial word or phrase) rather than directly expressed, as e.g. in Mbh 7,50,60.

³ The results of investigation of Epic *protaseis* containing a conditional coincide with what was stated long ago by SPEYER: "In the examples given, the conditional in the apodosis sometimes denotes a hypothetical past, sometimes a hypothetical present, but in the protasis it is always expressive of a past. I do not recollect having met with any instance of the conditional denoting the hypothetical present in both members" (1886: 270).

⁴ An optative can also be used if the time reference is to the *immediate* past (see also [↗] 6.2.2): *bhrātaram jyeṣṭham adya / ... yadi hanyā nṛvīra / ... katham nāma te syāt / kim cottaram vākarisyas tvam eva*, Mbh 8,729*5-8 (~ *hatvā tu nṛpatim pārtha akarisyah kim uttaram*, 8,50.3).

would have protected him’, 7,50.74, *duryodhanam cāvidheyam badhnūteṭi purā yadi / kurūn acodayiṣyas tvam na tvām vyasanam avrajat* ‘If you had formerly urged the Kurus, ... then no calamity would have come to you’, 7,62.6

(b) *vṛjinam hi bhavet kiṃcid yadi karṇasya ... nāsmāi hy astrāṇi divyāni prādāsyad bhṛgunandanaḥ* ‘If Karṇa were to have any fault ... [Rāma] would not have given him his celestial weapons’, Mbh 8,24.158¹.

But the optative may also be used both in the protasis *and* the apodosis². In that case the particle *sma* is added to *one* clause to indicate that the reference is to the past³:

tatra sma yadi śaktaḥ syām pātayeyam (v.l. *‘taye ‘ham [↗ 6.3.3] vṛkodaram* ‘If I could have, I would have killed Vṛkodara’, Mbh 2,46.28, *yadi hy ete samarthāḥ syur maddviṣas trātum ojasā / na sma trayodaśa samāḥ pārthā duḥkham avāpnuyuh* ‘If they had been capable of saving my foes ..., the Pārthas would not have suffered for thirteen years’, 5,60.19, *yadi tvam aśubham kṛtvā na sma me kathayeh svayam / phalen mūrdhā*

¹ There is a strange mixture of future and (augmentless) conditional in the apodosis in Mbh 12,10.4-5: *yadīmām bhavato buddhiṃ vidyāma vayam īdrśīm / śastraṃ naiṃva grahīsyāmo na vadhiṣyāma kaṃcana // bhaiṣyam evācarīsyāma ... na cedam dāruṇam yuddham abhaviṣyan mahīkṣitām* ‘Had we known your resolution to be such, we would not have taken up weapons ... but we would have gone around begging and this terrible war of the kings would not have taken place’ (v.l. [Da D4 M] *naivāgrahīsyāma nāvadhiṣyāma*).

² See SPEYER (1886: 264 [§ 343d]) and APTE (1925: 131 [§ 205]).

³ If the time reference is to the *immediate* past, *sma* need not be added: *yadi tvām āpageyo vai na nayed gajasāhvayam / śālvas tvām śirasā bhīru grhṇīyād rāmacoditaḥ* ‘If the son of the river had not taken you to the City of the Elephant, Śālva would [now] ... have seized you’, Mbh 5,176.10, *śapeyam tvām na ced evam āgacchethā viśām pate* ‘I would have cursed you, if you had not approached me like this’, 5,180.16 (cf. 8,50.2).

*sma*¹ *te rājan* 'If you had not told me yourself of this impious deed ..., your head would have burst, o king', R 2,58.19 (~ *yadi tvam aśubhaṃ kṛtvā nācakṣīthāḥ svayaṃ mama / lokā api tato dagdhā mayā te śāpavah-
ninā, 2,1448*)², *vibhīṣaṇavacaḥ kuryād yadi sma dhanadāmujaḥ /
śmaśānabhūtā duḥkhārtā neyaṃ laṅkāpurī bhavet* 'If the younger brother
of Dhanada had done what Vibhīṣaṇa told him, ... Laṅkā would not have
become a burning ground ...' 6,82.20.*

Sporadically also an imperfect or an aorist may be used in the protasis of a
past irrealis (i.e. instead of a conditional / optative):

*yadi naivāgnayo brahman māṃsakāmābhavan*³ *purā / bhakṣyaṃ naiva
bhaven māṃsaṃ kasyacid dvijasattama* 'Now, brahmin, if the fires had
not been so hungry for meat in former times, no one would eat it now, best
of the twice-born', Mbh 3,199.10 (v.l. *māṃsakāmā nābhaviṣyan* [!]), *mām
eva yadi pūrvaṃ tvam etad artham acodayaḥ / maithilīm aham ekāhnā
tava cānītavān bhavet* 'If you had informed me ..., I would have brought
back Sītā to you in one day', R 4,375*.1-2 (↗ p. 302), *kiṃ vidviṣo vādya
māṃ dhārayeyur nādevīs tvam yady anayā narendra* 'But could our
enemies now have held me, if you had not played for her, my king?', Mbh
2,63.7.

There are a few exceptions to these rules (see also [↗] p. 163 n. 3)⁴:

*yadi na tvam bhaven nāthaḥ phalgunasya mahāraṇe / kathaṃ śakyo raṇe
jetuṃ bhaved eṣa balārṇavaḥ* 'If you had not protected Phalguna in this

¹ Note that here *sma* is employed twice.

² See BÖHTLINGK (1889: 59), SPEYER (1886: 270) and id. (1896: 59 [§ 194.2]).

³ As to the double *sandhi* see (↗) p. 44.

⁴ As long as there is no comprehensive study of the hypotaxis in the Sanskrit epics, such
a statement must necessarily be provisional.

great battle, how could this sea of forces have been conquered in it?', Mbh 9,62.19 (↗ p. 302).

In Vedic prose there are a few (though doubtful) instances where the conditional is used in the case of *non-past unreal conditions* both in the protasis and the apodosis¹. The Epic always employs it in that case² *only* in the apodosis, and the verb of the protasis is then (1) an optative or (2) a periphrastic future (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 170). That means that there is, as far as I am aware, (a) no *non-past irrealis* with conditional *both* in the protasis *and* the apodosis and that (b) a conditional clause with a conditional in the protasis is necessarily a *past irrealis* (see above [↗], p. 163):

(1) *akālikam kuravo nābhaviṣyan pāpena cet pāpam ajātaśatruḥ / icchej jātu tvayi pāpam viśrjya nindā ceyam tava loke 'bhaviṣyat* 'The Kurus would instantly cease to exist, if Ajātaśatru wished [to counter] evil with evil, ... and the blame in the world would go to yourself', Mbh 5,32.21, *daṇḍaś cen na bhavel loke vyanaśiṣyann imāḥ prajāḥ / śūle matsyān ivāpakṣyan durbalān balavattarāḥ* 'If there were no punishment in [this] world, these people would perish [and] the stronger would roast the weaker like fish on a spit', 12,15.30 (~ *rājā cen na bhavel loke pṛthivyām daṇḍadhāraḥ / śūle ...*, 12,67.16), (2) *yadā śarān arpayitā tavorasi tadā manas te kim ivābhaviṣyat* 'If [Arjuna] were to shoot his arrows on your chest, what thoughts would be crossing your mind?', Mbh 3,252.18.

¹ See SPEYER (1896: 60 [§ 198]) and cf. DELBRÜCK (1888: 366) and SPEYER (1886: 268 [§ 347]).

The Kāśikā ad Pāṇini 3,3.139 gives the following example (see KIELHORN § 592): *abhokṣyata bhavān ghṛtena yadi matsamīpam āgamiṣyat* 'you would get some ghee to eat if you were to come to me'.

² The optative is used also in independent sentences to express the *irrealis*: *apīdānīm sa kālah syān mama śokakṣayaḥ śivaḥ / sabhāryam yat saha bhrātrā paśyeyam iha rāghavam* 'If only it were now the hour that mercifully will end my grief, when I set eyes on Rāghava again with his wife and brother', R 2,38.9 (see SPEYER 1886: 263).

But in the *non-past irrealis* also, two optatives (i.e. in the protasis¹ and in the apodosis) may be used (but without adding *sma*):

na prabhuḥ syāt kulasyāsya na vyaṃ marṣayemahi ‘Were [Yudhiṣṭhira] not the head of [our] family, we would not suffer [this]’, Mbh 2,62.32, *te ced ime kauravānām upāyam / adhigaccheyur avadhenaiva pārthāḥ / dharmatrāṇaṃ puṇyam eṣāṃ kṛtaṃ syād / ārye vṛtre bhīmasenaṃ nigrhya* ‘If the Pārthas knew of a means to their end without having to slaughter the Kauravas, they would virtuously protect the Law and force Bhīmasena to act like an Āryan’, 5,29.17 (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 221), *aho tama ivedaṃ syān na praññāyeta kiñcana / rājā cen na bhavet* ‘Ah, it would be like darkness, nothing at all remaining clear, were there no king ...’, R 2,61.23 (see also 2,223*.9-10, 7,35.10).

rem. It cannot be ruled out that this might be a continuation of the *older* state of things. In the language of the Ṛgveda the optative present was used both in the *protasis* and the *apodosis*² to denote the *non-past irrealis*. But there was no means to denote the *past irrealis* in conditional clauses consisting of *protasis* and *apodosis* (see HETTRICH 1992: 272 n. 36 and id. 1998: 265-266). In Vedic prose the *non-past irrealis* is formed with *yād* and optative in the *protasis* and optative in the *apodosis* (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 341-346 / 348 and

¹ Sometimes the protasis employs an ‘optative perfect’: *yadi niryātītā te syāt sītā rāmāya maithilī / na naḥ syād vyasanaṃ ghoram ...* ‘If you had given back Sītā ... to Rāma, this terrible disaster here would not be ours’, R 6,98.20, *yadi matsaṃnidhau sītā dharṣitā syāt tvayā balāt / bhrātaraṃ tu kharaṃ paśyēs tadā matsāyakaīr + hatam* (crit. ed. *hataḥ*) ‘Had I been there when you forced Sītā ..., you would (now) see your brother Khara killed by my missiles’, 6,92.18.

² Although we have to distinguish between the use of the optative as *modus irrealis* in independent sentences (i.e. with implied or suppressed protasis) and *protaseis* on the one hand and in (conditional) *protaseis* on the other (see HETTRICH 1998: 266), we can leave the independent sentences out of consideration here, as they are of no concern for Epic Sanskrit. As to *past irrealis* in independent sentences, which in Vedic may be expressed by the perfect optative, see HOFFMANN (1967: 47 n. 8), HETTRICH (1992: 271 n. 30) and id. (1998: 266).

HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,502), and the *past irrealis* has the conditional in both *protasis* (introduced by *yád* or *yádi*)¹ and *apodosis* (as well as in independent sentences).

The use of the different modes and tenses in conditional sentences may be seen from the following chart (constructions occurring only rarely are given within brackets):

		<i>protasis</i>	<i>apodosis</i>
I. <i>past irrealis</i>	p. 161-162	conditional	conditional
	p. 163	(future participle	conditional)
	p. 163-164	conditional	optative
	p. 163-164	optative	conditional
	p. 164-165	optative + <i>sma</i>	optative
	p. 164-165	optative	optative + <i>sma</i>
	p. 165	(imperfect / aorist	optative)
II. <i>non-past irrealis</i>	p. 166	optative	conditional
	p. 166	periphrastic future	conditional
	p. 167	optative	optative

A few exceptions apart (↗ p. 165-166), there is uncertainty whether the *irrealis* refers to a past or a present condition only if the *protasis* contains an optative and the *apodosis* a conditional.

¹ For the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa see DURKIN (1991: 271-279).

The conditional is sporadically used with (1) a preterite or (2) a future sense¹:
 (1) (*diṣṭyā tasmāt pāvakāt sampramuktā yūyaṃ ..*) *diṣṭyā pāpo dhṛtarāṣṭrasya putraḥ / sahāmātyo na sakāmo 'bhaviṣyat* '(It was good fortune that you escaped from that fire). Good fortune that evil Duryodhana and his councillors failed in their design!', Mbh 1,183.8², *tato hatam amaṃsyāma droṇaṃ dṛṣṭipathe hate* 'Then we thought that Droṇa was killed ...', 7,24.2 v.l. (CE *amanyāma*)³, *nākariṣyam idaṃ pārthair vairam...* 'I did not make enmity with the Pārthas', 7,147.6 v.l. (CE *kṛtavān pāṇḍavaih sārḍhaṃ vairam*), *ṛtvigbhir bhūṣaṇaiś caiva samayokṣyata rāghavaḥ* 'Rāghava was adorned with [royal] ornaments by the priests', R 6,3662*.8 v.l. (Ct. *ārṣo lṛñ*)⁴, (2) *yadā jyeṣṭhaḥ pāṇḍavaḥ saṃśītātmā krodhaṃ yattaṃ varṣapūgān sughoraṃ / avasraṣṭā kuruṣūdvṛttacetās tadā yuddhaṃ dhārtarāṣṭro 'nvatapsyat* 'When the eldest Pāṇḍava ... unleashes his wrath ... Dhārtarāṣṭra's son shall rue that he warred', Mbh 5,47.12⁵, *nāsti nāsīn nābhaviṣyad bhūtaṃ kāmātmakāt param* 'There is not, there was not, nor will there be a creature that is different from one whose nature is desire', Mbh 12,161.33 (v.l. *na bhavitā*)⁶.

¹ See MEENAKSHI (1983: 181).

² T G1.3.4 insert 1,1892* after this stanza: *diṣṭyā kṛṣṇā vīryam āśritya labdhā, diṣṭyā bhūyaḥ śaśvad evaṃ kṛtārthāḥ*.

³ Cf. German 'Ich hätte gedacht, daß ... tot ist'.

⁴ See SATYA VRAT (1964: 236) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 181).

⁵ See *ibid.* 14-15, 17, 19-21, 23, 25, 27-34, 36-38, 41, 49-53 (on the whole passage which coordinates the refrain *tadā yuddhaṃ dhārtarāṣṭro 'nvatapsyat* with periphrastic futures see LUDWIG 1896: 22 and BROCKINGTON 1998: 94). Cf. Mbh 3,252.18 (on which see above, [♣] p. 166).

⁶ This seems to be the only example for a conditional in an independent sentence. It is therefore rather tempting to emend to ... *no bhaviṣyad*.

On the use of the conditional with *mā* see (↗) 6.5.8.

6.3. The verbal endings¹

Epic Sanskrit knows a great number of non-standard finite verbal forms. Many of them show aberrant endings² (for the use of active endings with the passive see [↗] 8.7, on the [alleged] use of imperfect instead of perfect endings see [↗] p. 217):

6.3.1. Secondary instead of primary endings

Of the exchanges of primary and secondary endings the most frequent is the confusion of *-va* and *-vaḥ* and *-ma* and *-maḥ* respectively³. In future tense, however, we are faced (most probably) not with this confusion but with a newly created mode, viz. the *imperativus futuri* (for examples see [↗] 8.4.2[a]).

6.3.1.1. *-va* instead of *-vaḥ*

(ind. pres.) *icchāva*, Mbh 3,123.3, *paśyāva*, Mbh 3,123.6, *sva* (↗ 7.2.1), Mbh 1,215.19, 3,133.3⁴

¹ See STENZLER § 132, KIELHORN § 227, WHITNEY § 542-571 and RENOUE § 281.

² See HOLTZMANN (1884: 18-19 [§ 548]), ZUBATY (1892: 2-3 n. 2), BÖHTLINGK (1887: 217), id. (1889: 55-56), MICHELSON (1904: 121-123), SEN (1951a: 6-8) and RENOUE § 282. For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 26.

³ As the first persons of the indicative are also used in the function of an imperative (↗ 6.2.1) it is sometimes difficult to decide whether we are faced with an indicative with secondary ending or with a genuine imperative (cf. *carāma* 'Let us wander', Mbh 1,134.26 [v.l. *carāmaḥ*]). Moreover it is possible that in some cases we have to assume augmentless imperfects (↗ 6.4.1) or cases of double *sandhi* (↗ 1.8.3).

⁴ LUDWIG (1896: 19 n. *) gives *viśāva*, Mbh 5,106.17 (v.l. *viśāvaḥ*), as another example. But this may well be an imperative.

6.3.1.2. *-ma* instead of *-maḥ*¹

(ind. pres.) *arcāma*, Mbh 2,35.11, *icchāma*, Mbh 1,34.8, 2,6.17, 3,182.1, *kurma*, Mbh 9,31.53, 15,17.15, R 7,33.12 (↗ 7.8.1), *cikīrṣāma*, Mbh 7,16.14, *kṣamayāma*, Mbh 13,85.51, *gacchāma*, Mbh 1,13.14, 3,173.7², *grhṇīma*, Mbh 2,19.50, 3,120.22, 5,128.5, *jānīma*, Mbh 1,187.2, 3,249.4, 5,30.5 v.l. (CE *jānāmi*), R 4,1094*.6, *pratinandāma*, Mbh 4,32.41, *patāma*, Mbh 1,41.13 v.l.³, *paśyāma*, Mbh 3,61.87, 3,App.12.25, 7,40.22, 12,323.29, R 2,15.7, 2,1075*, 4,49.12, 55.11, 57.29, *prcchāma*, Mbh 3,249.5, *brūma*, Mbh 6,41.92, *bibhīma*, Mbh 5,16.30, *pra-yāma*, Mbh 1,189.4⁴, *vidma*, Mbh 2,16.2, 57.6, R 7,971*, *nivedayāma*, Mbh 5,89.36 v.l. (CE ^o*yāmaḥ*), *vrajāma*, Mbh 3,142.2⁵, *upa-śikṣāma*, Mbh 12,16.2, *sma* (↗ 7.2.1), Mbh 1,71*.1, 5.3, 16.28, 135.9, 156.3, 183.6, 209.15, 2,52.10,

¹ See also (↗) 1.8.3.

² See HOLTZMANN (1884: 18-19). On R 2,109.4 see BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 7 [= *ET* p. 8]).

³ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 17).

⁴ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 17).

⁵ *vrajāmeti* of the CE might be a case of double *sandhi* (↗ p. 36).

3,61.113, 67.7, 128.3, 133.5, 141.14, 244.11, 4,4.45, 5,141.41, 8,49.116, 9,49.116¹, R 1,27.11.17, 64.11, 2,87.7², *ni-hanma*, Mbh 1,180.3, 2,19.11³

6.3.1.3. °ta instead of °tha⁴

(2pl. ind. pres.) *gacchata*, R 6,54.4, *grhṇīta*, Mbh 2,19.43 (v.l. °*grhṇītha* / °*dhvam*), *jānīta*, Mbh 3,61.120 (v.l. *jānītha*), R 5,40.9⁵

6.3.1.4. °mahi instead of °mahe

śemahi, Mbh 7,16.13, *nihanmahi*, Mbh 3,49.14 (↗ p. 137)

¹ The *sma* that follows upon verbal adjectives is mostly *not* the particle *sma* which "is superseded by *smaḥ* in a number of instances" (KULKARNI 1951: 362). And the overwhelming number of KULKARNI's examples of "*sma* with participles" (1951: 368-371) – i.e. with verbal adjectives – belong here. Cf. *uṣitāḥ smaḥ*, Mbh 4,32.13, ~ *uṣitāḥ sma*, 4,53.16, 66.10, R 3,7.5, *saṃprāptāḥ smaḥ*, Mbh 3,295.17, *prāptāḥ smo bhayam uttamam*, Mbh 4,44.18d, ~ *tena prāptāḥ sma saṃśayam*, Mbh 3,296.2d-4d (cf. R 2,48.6), *anuprāptāḥ sma sāṃpratam*, R 4,64.11d. See also HOPKINS (1901: 248-249 with n. 1) and below (↗) 7.2.1.

² For more examples from the Rāmāyaṇa see BÖHTLINGK (1889: 55-56) and MICHELSON (1904:122).

³ LUDWIG (1896: 19-20) regards the forms *grhṇīma*, *jānīma* and *nihanma* as subjunctives (↗ p. 137 n. 5).

⁴ For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 26.11.

⁵ See SEN (1951/52: 126) who also cites *pradhāvata* from the Rāmāyaṇa, without giving the reference (at R 6,54.19 this form might be an augmentless imperfect [cf. HOPKINS 1901: 250]).

6.3.1.5. °dhvam instead of °dhve¹

upekṣadhvam, Mbh 3,13.113 (v.l. *upaikṣanta*²), *grhṇīdhvam*, Mbh 13,81.12 v.l. (CE *grhṇīthaḥ*), *jānīdhvam*, Mbh 2,34.3 (v.l. *jānīdhve*), *jīvadhvam*, Mbh 5,25.9, *manyadhvam*, Mbh 2,20.2 (v.l. °dhve), 62.13 (v.l. °dhve), *mokṣadhvam*, Mbh 3,233.18 (v.l. *muñcadhvam*), *labhadhvam*, R 4,40.47 (Ct. *labhadhvaṃ lapsyadhvam* [↗ 8.4.2])³, *vivadadhvam*, Mbh 2,63.17 (v.l. *vivadadhve*), *śedhvam*, Mbh 3,App.31.23 ≠ 25

6.3.2. Primary instead of sec. / opt. and imp. endings⁴

As the indicative present – especially its first persons – was quite often used instead of the imperative (↗ 6.2.1), the primary and the imperative endings – especially °vaḥ and °va and °maḥ and °ma – (seemingly) became exchangeable. Such cases are not recorded here (unless ind. and imp. have distinct forms).

6.3.2.1. °vaḥ instead of °va

syāvah, Mbh 1,201.19

6.3.2.2. °maḥ instead of °ma

(1pl. impf.) *adhṛṣṇumah*, Mbh 1,158.16 (v.l. °ma)

(1pl. opt.) (*pra*+)*āpnuyāmaḥ*, Mbh 3,91.6 v.l. (CE *prāpnuyāma*), 173.8 (v.l. *āpnuyāma*), R 6,54.22 (v.l. *avāpnuyāma*), *kuryāmaḥ*, Mbh 2,58.27

¹ For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 26.17.

² The v.l. suggests that *upekṣadhvam* is an augmentless impf.

³ This verb is used in a *yathā*-clause: *manujapatisutām yathā labhadhvaṃ / tad adhiguṇaṃ puruṣārtham ārabhadhvam* ‘Now you must begin this virtuous undertaking so that you may recover the daughter of the king’ (cf. R 4,1172.8*: ... *prabhāṣadhvaṃ yathā vacaḥ*). So this seems rather a syntactical – an imperative in a subordinate sentence (!) – than a morphological problem (unless we should correct to **labhedhvam*). See also above, (↗) p. 136 n. 1.

⁴ Also MIA replaces the optative endings by the primary ones (see OBERLIES 2001: 223).

(v.l. *kuryām*), *syāmaḥ*, R 1,44.15 v.l. (of ed. Bomb., not recorded by CE [syāma])¹, *hanyāmaḥ*, Mbh 3,App.12.27.

(1pl. imp.) *karavāmaḥ*, Mbh 1,53.19, 2,65.1

rem. On (pf.) *śuśrumaḥ* see (↗) 8.1.

6.3.2.3. °vahe as optative ending

prāpnuyāvahe, R 3,55.18 (↗ 7.5.1)

6.3.2.4. °mahe as optative ending

(pra+)āpnuyāmahe, Mbh 2,16.7 (without v.l. [!]), 7,16.34 (without v.l. [!]), R 3,1101* (↗ 7.5.1), *anurundhyāmahe*, R 1,75.2 (↗ 7.7.3)

6.3.2.5. °vahe instead of °vahai²

karavāvahe, Mbh 3,137.11 v.l. (CE *karavāmahe* [on which see below, [↗] 6.3.2.6]), R 1,30.4 v.l. (CE *karavāva*)

6.3.2.6. °mahe instead of °mahai³

karavāmahe, Mbh 1,122.19 (v.l. *karavāma te*), 187.31, 3,61.65, 137.11, 4,24.18 (v.l. *karavāma te*) ≠ 62.4 v.l. (CE *karavāma te*), R 1,App.4.83 (on this form see above [↗], p. 134 n. 3)

¹ See MICHELSON (1904: 91) and SEN (1950/51: 126).

² The use of °vahe and °mahe as imperative endings is due to the fact that the indicative is often employed as imperative (↗ 6.2.1). And except Mbh 1,187.11 (*śvaḥ kāle karavāmahe*) all cited cases are interrogative sentences (*kim ... karavāvahe / karavāmahe*).

³ See preceding foot note.

rem. The (archaic¹) imperative in °*tāt* – an *imperativus futuri* which (originally) denotes an invitation for the (more) distant future (HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,369, and FORSSMAN 1985) – is used only very rarely: *kurutāt*, Mbh 12,30.34 v.l. (CE *kurutām*), *vasatāt*, R 3,App.13 Dt, D₆ after line 27².

6.3.3. Peculiar optative endings (see also [↗] 6.3.2.2-4)

The 1st person sg. optative in *-e³* seems to be originally due to the haplological shortening of °(*a*)*ye<ya(m)>* (see AiGr. I Nachträge *ad* 279,19 [p. 161]). Only rarely – e.g. in *kṣame*, *bhave⁴* and *uddhare* – is this ending generalised⁵: *kṣame no / ... kuryām*, Mbh 13,1.22 v.l. (CE *kṣameyam*), *katham jaye*, 6,41.47 v.l. (CE *jayeyam ca*), *sa labheyam yadi tv anyam hayayānavidam naram ... kurūñ jītvānaye paśūn*, 4,34.4-5, *yady aham sātyakiṃ paśye*, 7,App.13.18 v.l. (CE *dṛṣṭvā*), *tatra sma yadi śaktaḥ syām pātaye 'ham vṛkodaram*, 2,46.28 v.l. (CE *pātayeyam*), *katham ... juhuyām pūjaye*, 3,184.3, ... *rathastho 'ham guṇair abhyadhiko 'rjunāt / bhave yudhi jayeyam*, 8,201* (v.l. ... / *bhaveyam vijayeyam ca*), *mucye 'ham*, 1,71*.6

¹ It is repeatedly attested in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa which consciously affects archaisms (see MEIER 1931: 36).

² See WHITNEY § 571b, BÖHTLINGK (1887: 217), MICHELSON (1904: 124) and ROUSSEL (1910a: 232).

³ See LUDWIG (1896:18), id. (1894: 37), BLOCH (1927: 169 [= *Recueil* 137]) and RENOU § 282d. For MIA see VON HINÜBER § 435 and OBERLIES (2001: 223), for Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 29.8-9.

⁴ This form can be accounted for by assuming a distant haplology (on which see DEBRUNNER 1937 and LEUMANN 1968: 53-55): *bhave<yam> yudhī jayeyam*.

⁵ Naturally there is no way to decide whether we are faced with such an 'e-optative' or with a 1sg. ind. pres. *āt*m. (cf. *nāham kupyē sūtaputrasya rājan*, Mbh 2,63.7, *aham ... asurān surāṃś ca / ... / ... gamaye parābhavam*, 8,52.31). I have included only such cases where another optative stands in the same stanza or where a *varia lectio* has a 'regular' optative.

(v.l. *mucyeyam*)¹, *katham ... kuryām katham mucye*, 3,199.17 (v.l. *kuryāt ... mucyet*), *vipramucye 'ham*, 1,23.11 v.l. (CE *vipramucyeyam*), *katham etān na yodhaye*, 4,App.39.16, *yenemaṃ śatrusaṃghātaṃ matipūrveṇa vañcaye*, 12,136.42 (v.l. *vañcayet*), *yām ahaṃ parivarjaye*, 12,140.1 (v.l. *yām ayaṃ parivarjayet*), *mṛdu vidyām ahaṃ katham / yenaṣṣām uddhare jihvām*, 12,82.20 (v.l. *uddharej jihvām*)², *pālaye*, R 7,10.27 (Cg. *pālaye pālayeyam*)³.

In some places *aham* follows upon such an 'e-form': *tatra sma yadi śaktaḥ syām pātaye 'haṃ vṛkodaram*, Mbh 2,46.28 v.l. (CE *pātayeyam*), *mucye 'ham*, Mbh 1,71*.6 (v.l. *mucyeyam*), *vipramucye 'ham*, Mbh 1,23.11 v.l. (CE *vipramucyeyam* [on this form see (♣) 8.7]). Accordingly Epic Sanskrit might be said to know an 'analytic' optative which is to be found also in MIA and Buddhist Sanskrit: (Aśoka) *ālabhehaṃ, yehaṃ, paṭipādayehaṃ*, (Pāli) *bhavehaṃ* (Ap 458,26), (BHS) *tiṣṭhehaṃ* (Mahāvastu I 57,7-8)⁴.

(Only) in the Mahābhārata⁵ thematic verbs in *-ay(a)-* repeatedly have an optative in *-īta* (often as v.l. of one in *-eta*):

pra-arthayīta, 5,37.26, *adhyāpayīta*, 5,App.2.48 v.l. (CE *adhyāpayet*), *kārayīta*, 12,69.51.55.59 v.l. (CE three times *kārayeta*), *kṛpāyīta*, 12,56.32, 103.34 v.l. (CE *ṛyeta*), *kopayīta*, 1,134.22 v.l. (CE *ṛyeta*),

¹ As an optative follows, *mucye* is most probably not the (wholly regular) 1sg. ind. pres. of *mucyate* but an (abnormal) optative.

² I have not been able to verify LUDWIG's reference (1896: 18) Mbh (ed. Bomb.) 3,227.51 (*uddhare*).

³ See ROUSSEL (1910: 24) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 236).

⁴ See OBERLIES (2001: 225), VON HINÜBER § 441 and BHSG § 31.21-22.

⁵ In any case, they are not to be found in the main text (i.e. excluding starred passages and appendices) of the *critical edition* of the Rāmāyaṇa (cf. RENOUE 1940: 15).

ghāyāyīta, 12,32.6 v.l. (CE °yeta)¹, 12,130.9.11 v.l. (CE both times *yāyāyeta*), *dhāyāyīta*, 12,261.26, 13,107.75 v.l. (CE *dhāyāyeta*), 14,46.4, (*ā*)*nayīta*, 5,36.4 = 12,288.7, 5,37.6 v.l. (CE *upāsatiha*), *saṃ-pūjayīta*, 3,30.6 v.l. (CE °yet), *bhakṣayīta*, 13,107.82 (v.ll. *bhakṣayeta* / °yet), *ni-mantrayīta*, 12,138.55 v.l. (CE °yeta), *mokṣayīta*, 12,86.24 v.l. (°yeta), *yājayīta*, 3,197.35, (°)*varjayīta*, 3,200.39 v.l. (CE *varjayeta*), 5,36.6.7, 39.35, *abhi-vādayīta*, 13,107.33 v.l. (°*ayeta*), *prati-vāsayīta*, 5,37.31, *śamayīta*, 12,138.42 v.l. (CE *śamayet*), *snāyīta*, 3,82.79, 13,95.75², *ā-svādayīta*, 14,46.29, *ā-hvayīta*, 12,261.26.

The sound sequence °*ay-e[ta]* (> °*ay-ī[ta]*) seems to be involved in the formation of these optatives (see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 500 n. 1, and AiGr. I § 32 *rem.*), which are attested since the period of the Brāhmaṇas³, gaining frequency in the *sūtra* texts⁴.

6.4. The augment⁵

In the past tenses of the imperfect and the aorist and in the conditional, the augment *a-* is prefixed to the verbal stem (and by extension even the periphrastic perfect is – though very sporadically – augmented: *vy-a-pothayām*⁶ *āsa*, R

¹ Another v.l. is *śāyāyīta*.

² The parallel stanza 13,96.44 has *snāyeta!*

³ For which see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,371. According to HOFFMANN (l.c.), they are attested solely in Ṛgveda-Brāhmaṇas.

⁴ See RENOUE (1940: 9-13).

⁵ See STENZLER § 134-135, KIELHORN § 229, WHITNEY § 585-587 and RENOUE § 283 (p. 402-403). For MIA see VON HINÜBER § 485 and OBERLIES (2001: 242), for Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 32.2-12.

⁶ Provided that this is not a simple scribal error.

4,11.38 v.l. [CE *vyāpātayām cakre*], *vy-a-vardhayām āsa*, R 5,1.173 v.l. [of NW recension, not recorded by CE]¹). At a certain stage of the development of Sanskrit, however, the secondary endings – as far as the imperfect is concerned – were regarded as a sufficient sign of past tense (the aorist was recognizable as a distinct verbal category by its specific formation), and the usage of the augment became to all appearances optional. Such augmentless forms are not to be confounded with (Vedic) injunctives, i.e. a distinct verbal category which mainly served to *mention* facts².

6.4.1. Augmentless imperfect

Very common are augmentless forms of the imperfect; especially numerous are cases where the verb has a prefix³. The omission of the augment is often due to metrical exigencies (see MICHELSON 1904: 126)⁴:

sam-arcayan, Mbh 2,19.20, *abhy-ardayat*, R 6,92.2, *praty-ardayat*, R 6,96.29, *sam-ardayat*, Mbh 6,84.19, *ardayan*, Mbh 1,17.24, R 1,504*.2, 6,1094*, *abhy-asta*, Mbh 1,123.4 (²*√as*)⁵, *praty-adhīyata*, Mbh 1,98.9, *icchat*, Mbh 2,41.3, *anv-iṣat*, Mbh 10,12.7, *anv-eṣat*, Mbh 9,41.33, *anv-*

¹ See SEN (1951c: 16).

² See HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,535, and id. (1967: 266).

³ What follows is only a sample of forms attested (in the first place) in the main text of the critical editions. A complete list of forms from the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata is given by SIL (1960: 35-40). A lot of examples from the Rāmāyaṇa can be found in BÖHTLINGK (1887: 218-219), id. (1889: 57/66-67), MICHELSON (1904: 125-126), SATYA VRAT (1964: 221-223), SEN (1972: 271-272) und VAN DAALLEN (1980: 83-84).

⁴ It is, however, not always possible to decide whether we have to do e.g. (1) with a *parasm.* optative used as a preterite (≠ 6.2.2) or an augmentless *ātm.* imperfect (cf. *chādayetām*, Mbh 4,53.24, *śobhayetām*, R 1,616*), (2) with an augmentless imperfect or an indicative present with secondary endings – cf. *varāma*, see below – (≠ 6.3.1.1-2) or (3) with cases of double sandhi (for these see also [≠] 1.8.8).

⁵ The ‘regular’ imperfect would be *abhyāsyat*.

eṣanta, Mbh 9,46.17, *preṣayam*, Mbh 5,185.8, *preṣayat*, Mbh 7,20.43, 68.29, 140.36, 9,22.7, 10,8.77, R 4,1162*.11, *preṣayanta*, Mbh 7,159.17, *avekṣetām*, Mbh 4,36.4, *prekṣanta*, R 5,7.64, *ud-īrayat*, Mbh 6,77.40, R 6,21.4, *ud-īrayan*, R 2,61.3, *sam-ukṣata*, Mbh 14,75.7, *rdhyata*, Mbh 1,58.8, *kurutām*, Mbh 2,40.2, R 6,66.25 v.l. (CE *kurvāte*), *kurvan*, Mbh 2,19.20, *prāduṣ-karot*, R 6,68.4, *svī-karot*, Mbh 3,185.12 v.l. (CE *cākarot*), *vyapa-karṣata*, Mbh 1,121.4, R 7,21.26 (~ *vicakarṣa*, 7,418*), *upa-kalpayat*, Mbh 1,155.30, *ava-kīryata*, R 1,36.13 (on this form see [♣] 8.7), (°)*kīryanta*, Mbh 1,102.4, R 6,1205*, *apa-krāmat*, Mbh 1,166.18, *abhyati-krāmat*, R 4,65*, *samabhyati-krāmat*, R 7,79.13, *niṣ-kraman*, R 4,98.8, *niṣ-krāman*, Mbh 5,9.35, R 7,19.9¹, *adhi-gacchata*, Mbh 1,122.15, *pratyud-gacchat*, R 7,33.6, *gamayat*, Mbh 2,66.4, *samava-gāhata*, R 3,71.13, *grhñitām*, R 4,59.20, (°)*grhñitām*, Mbh 2,46.33, R 4,59.20, *prati-grhñīma*, Mbh 2,19.50, *grhñīta*, Mbh 2,19.43, *ghnata*, Mbh 1,170.3², *chādayetām*, Mbh 4,53.24, *chindan*, R 2,74.7, ([°]abhi-)jāyata, Mbh 1,11.13³, R 1,36.19, 37.23, 69.24, *pra-jāyetām*, Mbh 2,16.34, *janayat*, R 3,13.18.29⁴, *janayan*, R 7,87.35, *jānāt*, Mbh 4,21.23 v.l., *jānīta*, R 2,53.24, *pra-jānan*, Mbh 6,50.9, *pra-jñāya(n)ta*, Mbh 4,4.5, 31.5, *jñāpayat*, Mbh 1,207.16, 2,12.34, (°)*ava-tārayat*, Mbh 1,101.19, R 7,65.19, (vi-)trāsayetām, Mbh 3,194.17, 6,43.25, (pra)dahyata, Mbh 1,213.33, R 4,60.14, (sam)abhi-dravat, Mbh 1,218.28, 9,56.57, R 3,49.10, 6,33.38, 42.32, 47.108.116, 58.3, 80.41, *abhi-dravan*, R 1,39.11, 7,21.12, *dhatta*, Mbh 11,26.5, *tiro-dhattām*, Mbh 1,3.66, *dhārayat*, R 7,36.42.

¹ As to *krama*^o / *krāma*^o see (♣) 7.1.1.

² On this form see (♣) 7.2.6.

³ It is quite possible that *jāyateri* is a double *sandhi* out of *!jāyate iti!*.

⁴ In stanza 18 (with which Mbh 1,60.55 is to be compared) *janayat* is used side by side with *vyājāyata*.

samabhi-dhāvata, R 3,27.19, *pra-dhāvanta*, R 6,66.37, *saṃ-nahyanta*, R 7,27.5, *samupa-nīyata*, Mbh 1,192.1, *upa-nṛtyanta*, Mbh 9,58.7, °*patat*, R 3,11.19, 10.57, (°)*padyata*, Mbh 1,128.17, 171.8, 3,126.17, 179.1, 4,38.18, 12,29.77, R 4,19.1 v.l. (CE *pratyapadyata*), 5,46.14, 6,64.21, *pātayan*, R 6.48.45, *pāyayan*, R 2,36.9, *pari-pālayan*, R 2,81.23, *pari-pālayaḥ*, R 5,65.15 (Ct: *paripālayaḥ paryapālayaḥ*), (°)*pūjayan*, Mbh 1,181.14, 4,53.22, *pīḍayan*, R 1,65.22, *prcchat*, Mbh 13,14.2, *prīyetām*, R 1,51.11, *ava-budhyata*, Mbh 1,120.11, R 2,32.13 (*budhyetām*, Mbh 1,46.29 v.l.), *bruvan*, R 1,36.25, 4,63.8, *vi-brūta*, Mbh 2,61.52, *bhakṣayan*, R 6,34.26, *vyava-bhāsayat*, Mbh 1,208.17, *bhavat*, R 7,89.4 (v.l. *bhavet*), *vi-bhrājetām*, Mbh 1,142.16, *bhrāmayat*, Mbh 2,22.5, *mantrayan*, R 6,116.22, *ava-manyathāḥ*, Mbh 1,68.25, *anu-mānayat*, R 5,37.18, *manyadhvam*, Mbh 11,27.8, *pra-mārjayat*, R 4,7.14, *pra-mocayan*, R 1,23.18, *pra-yacchetām*, Mbh 1,214.22, 2,48.42, (°)*yāt*, Mbh 2,27.14, 4,9.1, 49.10, *yudhyetām*, R 4,340*.4, 6,76.21, *ava-rohata*, R 2,7.8, *abhi-rañjayan*, R 1,22.19, (°)*rudhyata*, R 7,14.11, 262*, °*lokayan*, Mbh 3,700*.2, R 5,1.184, *samava-lokayat*, R 6,215*, *vācayat*, Mbh 12,40.17, *pra-vādyanta*, Mbh 12,53.4, *ni-vasatām*, Mbh 1,3.145, *vasetām*, Mbh 3,346*, *pari-vārayan*, Mbh 1,96.21, *vartāma*, Mbh 3,169.10, (*saṃ*)*abhi-vartata*, R 1,8.10 (≠ 6.2.6), 4,38.8.19, 5,46.29, 6,31.80 v.l. (CE *abhyavar-tata*), *abhi-vartetām*, Mbh 1,96.31, *pra-viśam*, R 5,1189*.5, *viśatām*, Mbh 1,189.31, *pra-vṛṇīma*, Mbh 5,47.40¹, *upani-veśayat*, R 7,25.50, *anuvrajat*, R 1,919*.8, 5,16.10, (°)*vrajan*, Mbh 1,55.20, 56.8, 2,42.40, *śaṃsat*, R 1,1.48, *samabhipra-śaṃsan*, Mbh 7,94.7, *ava-sātayat*, R 5,51.36, *śabdāpayata*, R 7,79.16, *abhi-ṣecayat*, R 4,56.13, (°)*ava-sīryanta*, Mbh 2,72.22, R 5,1.48, *samadhi-śrayat*, Mbh 9,47.19, *abhyuc-chrayan*, R 6,116.38, *śrūyanta*, Mbh 6,55.7, °*sādayam*, R 1,65.24, 74.24, *vyava-syan*, R 4,54.18, *abhi-ṣiñcatām*, Mbh 2,16.49, *abhi-ṣecayat*, R

¹ The v.l. °*vṛṇuyām* is an optative with a preterite meaning (≠ p. 140).

4,56.13, *pra-sārayan*, R 2,42.3, *ut-sṛjat*, R 6,59.80, (°)*sarpata*, R 3,23.23, 7,19.26 v.1. (CE *nyavartata*), *abhi-stuvan*, Mbh 3,101.13, *ava-tiṣṭhat*, Mbh 1,189.11, *vyava-tiṣṭhata*, R 2,77.18, *paryava-sthāpayat*, Mbh 8,44.4, *snāpayan*, R 1,36.26, *smaratām*, R 2,1.7, *anu-smarat*, R 5,36.49, *adhyava-syan*, Mbh 9,15.58, *pari-sraṃsata*, R 5,27.5, *apa-harat*, R 4,65.12, *ud-dharam*, R 2,57.38, *ud-dharat*, R 5,33.74, *upa-hārayat*, R 1,17.28.

6.4.2. Augmentless aorist

Occasionally also aorist forms without augment are to be met with¹:

adya candro 'bhyupa-gamat, R 2,4.21 v.1. (of ed. Bombay [not recorded by CE (... *abhyupagataḥ*)]²), *vāyur eko 'ti-gāt*, Mbh 1,111.9, *sarathān sadhanuṣkāṃś cāpy anu-jñāsiṣam apy aham*, Mbh 2,72.26, *tat sarvaṃ pratyānu-jñāsīd rāmaḥ*, R 2,81.15, *sabhāmadhye yo 'ti-devīd glaheṣu*, Mbh 2,63.5, *agnir ... grhān ... tejasā na sma dhākṣīt*, Mbh 3,134.27, *yadāva-maṃsthāḥ sadṛśaḥ śreyasaś ca*, Mbh 1,83.3, *parīpsamānān nāva-maṃsthā narendra*, 88.7, *yan māṃ bālyād ava-maṃsthāḥ purastāt*, 189.21, (*yad dharmam avṛṇīthās tvam*) *na kāmād anṛtaṃ vadīḥ*, Mbh 5,35.30, *balena mattā ye te sma dhārtarāṣṭrān pra-hāsiṣuḥ*, Mbh 2,68.6b (°-°-°).

¹ What follows are all augmentless aorists that I have collected.

² See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 219), SEN (1951/52: 127) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 222).

6.4.3. Augmented non-preterite forms¹

The lack of association of the augment *a-* with past time is shown by the fact that not only the imperfect, the aorist and the conditional are augmented (on the perfect see [↗] 6.5) but also the –

ind. pres.

adhy-a-vaste, Mbh 5,26.7², *a-smaḥ*, Mbh 5,36.3³ (↗ 7.2.1)

opt.

*pary-a-rundhīta*⁴, R 4,1143* (~ *pratyarautsīt*, 4.1144*)

imp.

abhy-a-bhāṣa, R 4,3.25⁵

absol.

praty-a-pūjya, R 1,23.4 v.l. (of only *one* ms.)

part.⁶

¹ Cf. VAN DAALEN (1980: 83). On this phenomenon in Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 32.8-12.

² The critical notes *ad loc.*, however, surmise a crossing of *adhi-√vas* and *adhi-√as*. On this phenomenon see (↗) 6.7.

³ The commentary of Dev. remarks: *chāndaso 'kāralopābhāvah*.

⁴ On this form see OBERLIES (1997: 15). As to another augmented optative, *a-pibeyam*, R 3,47.3 v.l. (not recorded by CE which reads *āpibeyam*), see BÖHTLINGK (1887: 218).

⁵ Cg. comments on this form: *abhyabhāṣa abhībhāṣasva / aḍāgamaparasmaipade ārṣe*. See SEN (1972: 272): "*abhyabhāṣa* seems to be a case of confusion between the imperative-injunctive and the aorist".

⁶ See SEN (1972: 272) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 3 [= ET p. 3]).

abhy-a-ghan, Mbh 4,55.2 (v. ll. *ahanat*, *avadhīt*)¹, *vy-a-caran*, R 3,37.3.4, *vy-a-dīpayan*, R 2,5.24 (v. l. *vidīpayan*), *abhy-a-vahan*, R 4,11*, *a-rujan*, R 4,66.6.²

In a few instances the augment has been placed before a preverb³:

a-palāyanta, Mbh 8,65.44, *vy-a-palāyata*, R 2,72.12, *apalāyithāḥ*, Mbh 7,133.16 v.l. (on this form see [♣] 8.2.5)⁴

a-praiṣam / *a-praiṣīt*, Mbh 3,23.2 / 4,15.4, 6,106.39, 112.86, 7,27.1

a-preṣayat, Mbh 4,App.6.3⁵

anv-a-vīkṣetām, Mbh 4,644*

praty-a-vyūhan, Mbh 3,269.6

a-prakāśata, R 4,17.3 v.l. (not recorded by CE)⁶

a-saṃbhramat, Mbh 6,78.38, 7,75.5

a-prasārayan, R 2,42.3 v.l. (CE *prasārayan* [augmentless imp.]])

¹ That this form is highly problematic was pointed out by WELLER who regarded it as 'faulty' (1938: 382).

² The v.l. *jīvānīhāsmi dr̥ṣṭavān* suggests that *adr̥ṣṭavān*, Mbh 12,270.20, belongs here: *evam saṃsaramānāni jīvāny aham adr̥ṣṭavān* 'In that way I saw the souls which wandered in the *samsāra*' (note the neuter gender of *jīva-* [stanza 19 has *jīvāḥ*]). The commentary Cn., however, sees in *a-* not the augment but the negation (*adr̥ṣṭavān na dr̥ṣṭam adr̥ṣṭam*). Cf. HOPKINS (1901: 472-473).

³ See WHITNEY § 1087f, RENOU § 283c *rem.*, SEN (1951/52: 126) and id. (1972: 272-273). The same phenomenon is met with in Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHSG § 32.5) and MIA (see OBERLIES 2001: 242 n. 1).

⁴ See SEN (1972: 272) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 18 [= *ET* p. 21]).

⁵ I was not able to trace SEN's (1972: 273) reference 'R Bengal rec. 6,83.136' in the critical edition (see also id. 1951/52: 126), and also not *vy-a-niśvasat*, R Bengal rec. 6,55.20 (see SEN *l.c.*).

⁶ See SEN (1951/52: 126) and id. (1972: 273).

sam-a-ni-ghnata, R 4,19.20 v.1.¹
praty-a-saṃharam, R 5,56.55.

In the above cited examples the preverb immediately preceding the roots \sqrt{ay} , $^2\sqrt{iṣ}$, $\sqrt{ikṣ}$ and $\sqrt{ūh}$ has been treated as an integral part of them (on these secondary roots *palāy*, *preṣ*, *vīkṣ* and *vyūh* see [♣] 6.8) and hence the augment was put before it.

6.5. Constructions with *mā*²

In Sanskrit the imperative cannot be negated with *na* (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 361)³. To express a prohibition the particle *mā* is used – as a rule – with unaugmented forms of the aorist. In Epic Sanskrit, however, the augment is occasionally not dropped⁴:

mā ... agamaḥ, R 1,2.14⁵, *mā naḥ kālo 'tyagād ayam* (var.), Mbh 1,33.7, 147.16, 3,23.24, 253.20, 5,20.21, 172.7, 8,23.24, 12,169.13, R 1,1308*.2,

¹ On this form see SEN (1972: 273).

² See STENZLER § 135, KIELHORN § 218b / 588, WHITNEY § 579, RENOU § 315 (p. 439), SPEYER (1886: 273-274 [§ 353-354]), id. (1898: 58 [§ 187-188] / 60 [§ 193]), KULKARNI (1943) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 203-204). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 42, for Pāli see OBERLIES (2001: 242 n. 1).

³ This rule seems to be valid without any exception: The (larger) *Petersburger Wörterbuch* records no instance from the epics where *na* is construed with an imperative (and Mbh 5,6032, where *na* allegedly stands with an injunctive aorist [see PW IV coll.1 line 16], has in the *crit. ed.* [5,174.10] *mā* with that same injunctive; KULKARNI's [1943: 94] example *na amaṃsthāḥ*, Mbh 5,39.21, is also a misquotation: The *crit. ed.* (Mbh 5,43.29 [!]) reads *mā maṃsthāḥ*.

⁴ See WHITNEY § 579e, RENOU § 315 (p. 439), SPEYER (1886: 274 [§ 353 *rem.* 2]), id. (1898: 60 [§ 193]), BÖHTLINGK (1887: 218), id. (1889: 56-57), SATYA VRAT (1964: 223-224), KULKARNI (1943: 91-92) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 19 [= *ET* p. 22]).

⁵ On this stanza see KÖLVER (1985: 32 n. 7).

mā tvā dharmo 'tyagān mahān, Mbh 3,205.8, *mātyagād vaḥ*, Mbh 2,56.7, *mā ... anvagāḥ*, Mbh 5,93.52 = 122.31 = 123.2, R 4,29.48 = 33.18, *mā prādāḥ*, Mbh 3,App.21/5.72, *tan mā śaṭhaḥ kitavaḥ pratyadevīt*, Mbh 3,35.2, *mā ... vyanīnaśaḥ*, Mbh 1,97.24, 4,13.18, *mā te bhayaṃ hy abhūt*, Mbh 4,221*, *māivaṃ te buddhir atrābhūt*, Mbh 12,326.45, *mā te kālātyayo hy abhūt*, R 1,23.3 v.l. (CE *mā bhūt kālasya paryayaḥ*), *māsmatsakāśe paruṣāṇy avocaḥ*, Mbh 3,253.21, *maivaṃ mā pary-aśānkithāḥ*¹, Mbh 3,123.10.

Quite often, however, *mā* is used in conjunction with other verb forms giving all of them an 'imperative value'²:

(6.5.1.) the indicative present:

mā vai dvitīyaṃ mā tṛtīyaṃ ca vāñche 'I do not desire³ a second or a third', Mbh 3,281.24, *mā ... tāpayati*, R 1,1173*.41 (v.ll. *tapayatu / tapayet*), *klaibyaṃ mā gantum arhasi*, 2,2237*.3⁴,

(6.5.2.) the imperative⁵:

... mā viśīdatam, Mbh 1,3.65, *mā .. (upāsiṣṭhāḥ) ... upākuru*, 1,122.6 (v.l. *apākṛdhi* [↗ 8.2.1]), *tvarasva bhīma mā krīḍa*, 1,142.23, *mā roda*,

¹ On this form see (↗) 8.2.5.

² See PW s.v. I. *mā*, MICHELSON (1904: 124-125), SPEYER (1886: 274 [§ 354 rem. 3/4]), id. (1898: 75 [§ 237]), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 17 [= ET p. 20]), MEENAKSHI (1983: 160 / 169 / 174 / 179-180) and KULKARNI (1943: 85-93).

³ As far as I can see, *mā* is used here in the sense of *na*.

⁴ Cf. *purā ... mā tvāṃ vidhvamsayāmy ahaṃ* 'Otherwise I crush you', R 3,60.19 v.l. (of ed. Gorr.). On this construction see BÖHTLINGK (1889: 57).

⁵ KULKARNI (1943: 85-90) gives a lot of instances from the first five books of the Mahābhārata (see also MEENAKSHI 1983: 24).

1,1580*, *mā pitaḥ kranda*, 1,147.21 v.1 (CE *mā rodīs tāta*), *tvam mā vicāraya*, 1,165.20, ... *mā maivam vyāhara* ..., 2,18.9, ... *mā viśaṅkāṃ kuruṣva* ... 2,53.5, *mā māṃ vivastrāṃ kṛdhi*, 2,60.30 (♣ 8.2.1), *mā pāṇḍavān dviṣa*, 2,50.1 v.1. (CE *dviṣaḥ* [see following section]), *pāṇḍoḥ putrān mā dviṣasva* ... , 2,489*, *mā no yajñam imaṃ jahi*, 3,559*, *mā ... kadaliskandham āruha*, 3,131.19, *mā prabodhaya*, 3,134.3, *mā kriyatām anubandhaḥ*, 3,190,46, *yathā kleśam mā kuruṣva*, 3,App.21/5.82, *mā sūtaputra hṛṣyasva*, 4,13.17, *mā vanaṃ chindhi savyāghraṃ (mā vyāghrān nīnaśo vanāt)*, 5,29.47 (♣ 8.2.3), *mā pravṛṇīṣva*, 5,47.40, *mā sma kṛdhvam mano yudhi*, 5,56,60 (♣ 8.2.1), *mā yuddhe mānaśam kuru*, 5,122.49 v.1. = 127.39 v.1.¹ (CE *mā yuddhe ceta ādithāḥ*²), *mā sma vināśaya*, 5,146.22, *mā maivam putra nirbandham kuru vipreṇa pārthiva*, 5,179.24, *prasvāpaṃ mā prayojaya*, 5,186.3 (v.1. [S] *prayūyajaḥ*), *gaccha vā mā vā*, 14,6.8, *mā me śriyā saṃgamaṃ tayāstu*, 17,3.9, *mā mṛtaṃ rudatī bhava*, R 2,68.2, *mā roṣam kuru tāṃ prati*, 2,2304*.10, *maivam vada mahābāho*, 6,3189*.1, *lokaṃ tvam kṣapayasva mā*, 7,386*.8,

(6.5.3.) the (augmentless) imperfect:

mā pāṇḍavān dviṣaḥ, Mbh 2,50.1 (v.1. *dviṣa* [see preceding section]), *mā smāham kṣatriyakule jātucit punar ābhavam*, 3,153*.13, *mā yuddhe ceta ādadhāḥ*, 5,122.49 v.1. = 127.39³ (CE *ādithāḥ* [♣ 8.2.5]), *mā putram anutapyathāḥ*, 7,App.8.382, *mā lobhe ceta ādadhāḥ*, 12,139.79 v.1. (CE *mā lobhāc chvānam ādithāḥ* [♣ 8.2.5]), *mā ... abhibhāṣathāḥ*, R 2,9.16,

(6.5.4.) the optative:

¹ On these two stanzas see also (♣) 6.5.3.

² On this form see (♣) 8.2.5.

³ On these two stanzas see also (♣) 6.5.2.

mā tvā daheyuh samkruddhā vālakhilyā marīcipāḥ, Mbh 1,26.11, *mā śabdaḥ sukhasuptānām bhrātṛṇām me bhaved iti*, 1,141.21, *mā tvam ... viḥṇakartā bhavethāḥ*, 3,App.21.74, *pitṛbhiḥ saha sālokyam mā sma gacched vṛkodarah*, 2,63.14, *mā viśāde manaḥ kuryāt*, 4,16*, *mā ... janāḥ samavabudhyeran*, 4,32.18, *mā praśamseḥ*, 4,App.57.11, *viśādam agamac chakra indro 'yam mā bhavet iti*, 5,9.7, *mā sma yuddhena bhīṣayeh*, 5,72.1, *maivam bhūyaḥ samācareḥ*, 5,94.34, *mā sma sīmantinī kācij janayet putram idṛśam*, 5,131.28, *mā tvā paśyēt sukṛpaṇam śatruḥ*, 5,132.30, *mā karṇa grhṇīthāḥ*¹, 8,449*.5, *mā vipraṃ manyur āviśet*, R 1,9.30 (~ *manyur māsyā bhaved iti*, 309*.99), *mā smainam pratyudikṣethāḥ*, 2,9.16 ([v.l. *rājānam mā nirīkṣiṣṭhāḥ*] ~ ... *mā nirīkṣasva*, 164*)², *mā sma ... janayet*, 2,47.21, *saṃmardo mā bhaved iti*, 2,91.15 v.l. (CE *na bhaved iti*), *mādharmo mām iha sprśet*, 2,App.9.48, *mā ... dahet*, 3,48.15, *mā gacchet*, 4,14.11, *gaccher mā*, 4,22.22, *mā ca kaścit kuto vrajet*, 6,4.72, *mā ... kuryāḥ*, 7,39.10

(6.5.5.) the future tense³:

(*putra mā sāhasam kārṣīr*) *mā sadyo lapsyase vyathām* (/ *mā tvā daheyuh samkruddhā vālakhilyā marīcipāḥ*), Mbh 1,26.11, *mā drakṣyasi kulasyāsya ghoram saṃkṣayam ātmanaḥ*, 1,119.8, *mā ... bhaviṣyasi*, 2,66.31, *mā ... nandayiṣyatha*, 3,238.35, *mādyā tyakṣyasi jīvitam*, 4,13.17 (v.l. *tyakṣyasva* [on which see below (♣), 6.5.6]), *nāśayiṣyasi mā sarvam ātmānam pṛthivīm tathā*, 5,145.40, *mā ... haniṣye*, 8,30.82 v.l., *tvām mā kariṣyati bhasmasāt*, 8,449*.6, *mā tvām śapsye*, 9,34.51, *mā yoniṃ prāpsyase dvija*, 13,10.55, *mā tvām dhakṣye cakṣuṣā dāruṇena*, 14,9.19,

¹ This, of course, may well be an augmentless imperfect.

² See BÖHTLINGK (1887a: 187).

³ Most of the following examples occur in subordinate clauses and express a strong warning ('... that ... not ...'). See SPEYER (1886: 319 / 365).

mā ... dhakṣyati, R 2,1412*, *mā prāṇais tvam vimokṣyase*, 6,59.52 v.l. (CE *mā prāṇāṅ jahi ...*), *mā ... avāpsyasi*, 7,302*, *mā vināśam gamiṣyāma* (*aprasādyāditeḥ sutam*), 7,35.63 (v.l. *gamiṣyadhvam* [on which see below (↗), 6.5.6]),

(6.5.6.) the ‘imperative future’ (↗ 8.4.2):

mā yāsyadhvam, Mbh 2,56.7 v.l., *mādyā tyakṣyasva jīvitam*, 4,13.17 v.l. (CE *tyakṣyasi* [see above (↗), 6.5.5]), *tvāṃ mā kariṣyatu bhasmasāt*, 8,449*.6 v.l. (CE *kariṣyati*, see above [↗ 6.5.6]), *mā vināśam gamiṣyadhvam*, R 7,35.63 v.l. (CE *gamiṣyāma* [*apra*¹]; see preceding section)¹,

(6.5.7.) the precative:

mā vaḥ priyāyāḥ ... vadanam ... sprṣyāc chubham kaścid akṛtyakārī, Mbh 3,253.20 (v.l. *sprṣec chubham*), *mā sma dharme mano bhūyāt*, R 2,1795*.9,

(6.5.8.) the conditional:

parāmarśo mā(-)bhaviṣyat, Mbh 3,237.7,

(6.5.9.) the perfect:

mā vo viduḥ pārthivāḥ kecaneha, Mbh 1,183.9, *mā niṣādā hi māṃ viduḥ*, 3,130.4, *mā neśuḥ*, 4,30.7.

rem. (a) In principle a verb can only be negated with *na* or *mā* and not with *a(n)*². There seems to be only one (very doubtful) exception to this rule: *vedīmadhye tathā yūpe*

¹ See HOPKINS (1899: 223) and MICHELSON (1904: 125).

² This negation is wrongly placed in *anv-a-trasta-* ‘not frighened’, Mbh 5,47.3 (v.l. *avitrasta-* / *asamtrasta-*).

goṣṭhamadhye hutāśane / drśyate 'drśyate' cāpi bālo vṛddho yuvā tathā '... he is seen and [at the same time] not seen as a child, a youth and an adult', Mbh 13,App.4.64-65 (see HOPKINS 1901: 265, RENOU § 134 [p. 175] and id. 1956: 106)²; (b) "Double negation carries³ with it a strength of affirmation" (HOPKINS 1902a: 119)⁴: *na sa yajño na bhaviitā* 'Surely there will be a sacrifice', Mbh 1,34.2⁵, *na hi tvām notsahe hantum* 'Assuredly I can kill you', Mbh 12,220.79, *na khalv aham na gaccheyam* 'Indeed I must go', R 2,705* (see also SPEYER 1886: 319 [§ 406] / 1896: 73 [§ 238]).

6.6. Present classes

Roots are divided by the Indian grammarians into ten classes according to the way their present tense is formed. They are grouped into two conjugations, the thematic and the athematic one. Epic Sanskrit shows a marked tendency towards the *thematic* conjugation⁶. This led to a great number of transfers to the present classes I, IV and VI⁷.

6.6.1. Transfer of present classes⁸

In the classical language the present stem of a given root is normally made according to only one of the ten different types. Epic Sanskrit, by contrast, has

¹ The critical edition prints (the second) *drśyate* without *avagrāha*.

² On this phenomenon in Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 23.17 and BHSD s.v. *a- / an-*; for Middle Indo-Aryan see OBERLIES (2001: 242 n.1).

³ It would be better to say: 'it *can* carry'.

⁴ This is *not* an exclusively Epic feature.

⁵ On the 'affirmative' meaning of the periphrastic future see (↗) p. 159.

⁶ Thematic presents are only sporadically transferred to athematic classes (↗ 6.6.1.1, 6.6.4.2 and 6.6.4.4).

⁷ A classification of transfer-presents based on WHITNEY's *Roots* is LANMAN (1889).

⁸ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 21-25) and SEN (1953/54).

a great number of roots that form their present stems in two or still more different ways, without any difference of meaning. This is the result of a tendency to transfer athematic presents to the thematic conjugation without, however, abandoning the old athematic forms. Historically most of these transferred presents can be explained by analogical processes. The number of analogies involved, even though they all have the same goal, viz. thematicization, is striking.

What follows is a sample of the more common transfers of presents and an attempt to explain the processes that were at work. Entirely isolated cases are not given. For them a once-and-for-all-reference is made to chapter XI of this grammar (see [↗] p. 383-550).

6.6.1.1. Present class I → II

Only¹ √*śuc* (in the meaning) ‘to mourn (for)’ is transferred to class II. And it is only (1sg.) *śocimi*, which shows this transfer. This, however, is an artificial form due to metrical exigencies calqued upon² *rodimi*³: *iti tvāṃ nrpa śocimi* (↘-

¹ According to WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v., also √*plu* is transferred to class II. But the nom. sg. masc. of the present participle *samāpluvan*, R 5,45.34 v.l. (CE completely different), seems to be a conflation of *samāplavan* and *samāplutaḥ* (if the word is not a mere corruption).

² Cf. (Pāli) Pv 381: *na socāmi na rodāmi*.

³ Athematic root-presents (‘class II’) of roots which ended in a laryngeal have in OIA in the present stem *-i-* before consonantal and *-a-* before vocalic endings. This is due to the different development of the laryngeal: (3sg. ind. pres.) *ániti* < **h₂énh₁-ti*, *róditi* < **reydH-ti*, *vámiti* < **u₂émh₁-ti* vs. *rudánti* < **rudH-enti* (see BEEKES 1995: 228 and MEISER 1998: 191).

–), Mbh 3,60.10 (v.l. *rodimī*), *ato 'haṃ nādya śocimī* (– –), 12,220.87 v.l. (CE *nādya śocāmy ahaṃ tataḥ*)¹.

6.6.1.2. Present class I → IV

The roots $\sqrt{kṣam}$, $\sqrt{kṣubh}$, \sqrt{tras} , \sqrt{bhram} and $\sqrt{ruṣ}$ ² form their present-stems also according to class IV³, $\sqrt{kṣam}$ and \sqrt{bhram} with lengthened stem-vowel ($kṣāmyati$, $bhrāmyati$ ⁴). All these stems are wholly regular formations whose age is guaranteed by Pāṇini (7.3.74) and the Dhātupāṭha ([$\sqrt{kṣam}$] IV 97, [$\sqrt{kṣubh}$] IV 129, [\sqrt{tras}] IV 10, [\sqrt{bhram}] IV 96, [$\sqrt{ruṣ}$] IV 120). As the present formation according to class IV was productive in (Vedic) Sanskrit (see GOTO 1987: 59-60) such roots that had semantic parallel (old) *ya*-presents were inflected in the same way⁵: $\sqrt{kṣam} \sim \sqrt{mrṣ} / \sqrt{śam}$, $\sqrt{kṣubh} \sim \sqrt{muh}$, $\sqrt{kup} / \sqrt{ruṣ}$

¹ In MIA the 1sg. pres. may end in *-āmi* (see OBERLIES 1998: 35 n. 18 and id. 2001: 217 n. 2). This form, which would have scanned, cannot – of course – be used in Sanskrit.

² On this *ya*-present see GOTO (1987: 277 with n. 639).

³ On class I forms of these roots see GOTO (1987).

⁴ The lengthening of the root vowel, which is recorded by Pāṇ 7.3.74, *might* be due to the final laryngeal of this root ($bhrāmya^o < *b^hr̥mH-ié^o$), though a late Vedic neologism is more probable (see LIV 94). But it is doubtful whether the Epic instances of *bhrāmyati* are not to be explained in an altogether different way. It could be regarded as a passive (with active endings) of the causative *bhrāmayati*: *dr̥ṣṭir bhrāmyati me 'tīva hṛdayaṃ dīryatīva (!) ca*, Mbh 1,48.22 v.l., *ihaiva sā bhrāmyati kṣīnapuṇyā*, 13,90.39 (also the often cited *bhrāmyate*, ŚU I 6 / VI 1, is the passive of the causative *bhrāmayati* [pace LIV l.c.]).

⁵ As to \sqrt{bhram} see preceding foot note.

~√*krudh*¹. *trasya(n)ti*, Mbh 5,34.24 (v.l. *trasanti*), however, looks like a rhyme form to *bibhya(n)ti* (cf. *bhayāt trasyasi*, Mbh 3,78.14 v.l.).²

6.6.1.3. Present class I → VI

Starting from the thematic aorist (*aruham aruhan, mā ..āruhaḥ* ‘do not climb!’), which looked like the imperfect of (**ruhati*, √*ruh* ‘to climb, to grow’ was inflected also as a class VI verb³.

6.6.2.1. Present class II → I

The metanalysis of 3pl. *ad|anti* as *ada|nti* led to the transfer of √*ad* to class II⁴. Other present stems were thematicised as the 3pl. ind. pres. act. *-ati* (of so-called ‘Narten-roots’⁵) and med. *-ate* (obviously) were misunderstood as 3sg., the (old) 3sg. *śāye* as 1sg.: *takṣati* → *takṣanti*, *śāsati* → *śāsanti*, *āsate* → *āsante*

¹ Cf. also (→) √*nad*, √*lap* and √*slāgh*.

² A class IV present *dahyate* ‘burns (down)’ is attested as early as the Black Yajurveda prose; its active inflexion occurs somewhat later and only very rarely (see KULIKOV 2001: 292-297). In Epic Sanskrit, however, *dahyati* is quite common, though almost all cases – as far as I can see – allow of interpretation as passives with *parasmaipada*-endings (for undisputable cases of passive *dahyati* see [↗] 8.7 and → √*dah*).

³ This transfer could only once be said to be the result of metrical exigencies: (*maheśvare tv*) *āruhati* ‘When he climbs ...’ (≠ - - -), Mbh 8,24.110 (cf. ibid. 109: *tasminn ārohati kṣipram*).

⁴ On the class IV present of √*i* see (→) √*i*, rem. (d). Pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v. √*chand*, *chad* (p. 50), there is neither a root-present *chantsi* / *chantī* nor a thematic present *chandati* (→ √*chand*, rem. [a]).

⁵ On these roots see NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 97-107, and KÜMMEL (1998).

(→ *āsanti*)¹, *cakṣate* → *cakṣante* (→ *cakṣanti*)², *śaye* → *śayate*³ (→ *śayati*). Non-present tenses (aor. *takṣa*^o, fut. *āsiṣyate*, impf. *aśayat*) may have played their role in these transfers.

Thematic *mārjati* / *mārjate* is a back-formation from forms with *-ārj-* (such as 1sg. impf. *amārjam*)⁴.

The root \sqrt{vam} , whose present stem had an *-i-* before consonantal endings (see [↗] p.190 n. 3), is inflected (also) as a class I present⁵: *vamantī-*, R 6,45.34, 94.21⁶. The point of departure for this transfer were the 3pl. *vamanti* (see above) and the frequent participle (^o)*vamant-* ([^o] *vaman*, Mbh 3,252.18, 255.14, 9,10.54, R 3,63.13, *vamantam*, Mbh 4,60.5, 7,57.69, *vamantaḥ*, Mbh 1,7.12, 9,22.47)⁷.

rem. In Vedic Sanskrit \sqrt{svan} forms an *aya*-present⁸. What is listed as a class II present by WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v., viz. *āsvanīt*, is actually an aorist (see NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 406). Hence there is no transfer *class II* → *I* of \sqrt{svan} but one of *class 'X'* → *I*: *svanati*⁹.

¹ See also MICHELSON (1904: 127) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 218).

² As to the thematic injunctive *cakṣata* (: *ācaṣta*), RV 1.121.2, 9.71.9, see GOTO (1987: 78).

³ On thematic *śayate*, RV 8.100.9, see KÜMMEL (1996: 110).

⁴ See NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 86, and VIA I/437.

⁵ \sqrt{an} , $\sqrt{śvas}$, \sqrt{svap} and \sqrt{rud} were thematised already in late Vedic (see GOTO 1987: 75).

⁶ As far as I can see, this participle is the only unambiguous class I form. And it might just show the common confusion of the suffixes ^o*atī-* and ^o*antī-* (on which see [↗] 9.1).

⁷ For another (sporadic) transfer II → I see (→) ¹ \sqrt{vid} .

⁸ This root has a homonym causative *svanayate* (*svanayāna-* [!], Mbh 6,159*).

⁹ To the best of my knowledge there are no unambiguous class I forms of ¹ \sqrt{stan} (*pace* NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 403). As to R 7,28.43 v.I. see NARTEN, *l.c.*

6.6.2.2. Present class II → IV

(Probably) due to the influence of the god-name *vāyu-* the root $\sqrt{vā}$ was transferred from class II to class IV¹: *vāti* (: *vāyu-* ‘wind’) → *vāyate*² (cf. R 7,40.16: *vāyavaś cāpi vāyante*). The class IV present of $\sqrt{snā}$ (only *ātm.* [!]) is presumably the passive (*snāyate*) used as active (‘[the child] bathes’ ← ‘[the child] is bathed’).³

Under the influence of (*vi/sam*)*jāyate* the class II present *sūte* (→ ¹*√sū*) was transformed into *sūyate* ‘produces’ (cf. *garbhaṃ tumbaṃ vyaśūyata*, R 1,37.17 v.1. [CE *garbhatumbaṃ vyajāyata*])⁴.

6.6.2.3. Present class II → VI

The metanalysis of 3pl. *duh|anti* (etc.) as *duha|nti* (etc.) led to the transfer of \sqrt{duh} , $\sqrt{dviṣ}$, $\sqrt{brū}$, $\sqrt{mṛj}$ ⁵, \sqrt{lih} , ¹ \sqrt{vid} , \sqrt{stu} and \sqrt{han} to class VI (for \sqrt{han} see [↗] 7.2.6).

¹ On the sporadic Vedic *ya*-presents of $\sqrt{vā}$ and $\sqrt{snā}$ see KULIKOV (2001: 459-460 / 593).

² Cf. *ghrāyate* ~ *ghrāti* (↗ 6.6.3.2).

³ Once $\sqrt{ās}$ shows such a transfer: *jagāma tatrāsyati yatra mārutaḥ*, R 7,35.64. But this form seems to be a passive used as active (↗ 8.7.1). As to the alleged [IV.] *duhyate* see (→) \sqrt{duh} , rem. b; as to *drāyate* see (→) $\sqrt{drā}$.

⁴ See WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 458 n. 1.

⁵ At Mbh 13,107.74 (*snātvā ca nāvamṛjyeta gātrāṇi* [~ *snātvā nāṅgāni mārjayet*, 13,500*.3]) the passive ^o*mṛjyeta* is used as an *ātmanepada* (see PW V 577 [s.v. *marj* + *ava*]). See also (↗) p. 244 n. 4.

6.6.3.1. Present class III → I

After the pattern *bhavāmi* : *bhava(ti)* the present stems *dada-* ‘to give’¹, *dadha-* ‘to put’ and *jaha-* ‘to leave’ are extracted from (1sg.) *dadāmi*, *dadhāmi* and *jahāmi* (see MICHELSON 1904: 129):

(3sg. ind. pres.) *dadati*, Mbh 3,App.21A.151, (3pl.) *dadanti*, Mbh 12,327.13 (v.l. [3sg.] *dadāti*), (1sg. opt.) (*ā*)*dadeyam*, Mbh 2,71.17, (2sg. imp.) *dadasva*, Mbh 5,104.26 = 114.5², (2pl. imp.) *dadadhvam*, R 7,36.9 v.l. (CE *dadata*), (1sg. impf.) *adadam*, Mbh 1,87.11, (2sg. impf.) *adadaḥ*, R 6,116.2 v.l. (CE *adadāḥ*), (3sg. impf.) *adadat*, Mbh 1,46.40, 2.48.22-24, R 1,510*, 2,2390*, (3pl. impf.) *adadan*, Mbh 5,47.80 (v.l. *adaduḥ*)³,

(3sg. opt.) (*śrad*)*dadhet*, R 2,21.4 (v.l. *śraddadhyāt*), (3sg. impf.) (*°*)*ādadhat*, Mbh 1,35.12, 3,73.12, 259.40, R 2,87.26, (3pl. impf.) *samādadhān*, Mbh 3,183.25,

(3sg. ind. pres.) *jahati*, Mbh 11,25.5, (3pl.) *prajahanti*, Mbh 1,161.7, (3sg. opt.) *prajahet*, Mbh 13,149.8, (3du. imp.) *jahatām*, R 6,131*.14, (3pl. impf.) *vyajahan*, Mbh 7,63*.1.

(Presumably) on the basis of the interpretation of (3pl.) *bibhyati* as 3sg. (cf. *na bibheti yadā cāyaṃ yadā cāsmān na bibhyati* ‘When someone is not afraid and nobody is afraid of him’ [!], Mbh 12,21.4 = 168.42 = 243.5 = 254.16,

¹ On the (few) Vedic examples of (thematic) *dada(ti)* see GOTO (1987: 79). This present stem is to be distinguished from *dada(te)* which belongs to the secondary root *√dad* ‘to hold, to keep’ (on which see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 379-380, and GOTO 1987: 171-172).

² This imperative is attested also Mbh 1,79.15 and 5,114.11. But there it means ‘take!’ So it might belong to *√dad* (on which see preceding foot note).

³ For further references see (→) *√dā*.

1,693*.12) $\sqrt{bh\bar{i}}$ was thematicised: (3du. ind. pres.) *bibhyataḥ*, Mbh 5,55.2, (3sg. opt.) *bibhyet*, Mbh 13,8.24 (v.l. [2sg.] *bibhiyāḥ*), (3pl. opt.) *bibhyeyuḥ*, Mbh 12,15.36 (v.l. *bibhiyuḥ*), (3sg. impf.) *abibhyat*, Mbh 3,61.10, (3pl. impf.) *abibhyan*, R 7,78.6 (Ct. *abibhyuḥ ity arthaḥ*), (2sg. ind. pres.) *bibhyase*, R 3,44.28 (v.l. *bibhyasi*), (2sg. opt.) *bibhyethāḥ*. Mbh 12,81.32.¹

$\sqrt{viṣ}$ and $\sqrt{sṛ}$ build their present stems according to class I as a result of a back-formation from caus. *veṣayati* / pass. *viṣyate* resp. aor. *asarat*² / caus. *sārayati*³.

6.6.3.2. Present class III → II

$\sqrt{ghr\bar{a}}$ and \sqrt{vac} ⁴ are transferred to class II, the former (possibly) by contracting⁵ *ghrāyate* (on which see below [↗], 6.6.3.3), the latter (probably) on the analogy of $\sqrt{br\bar{u}}$.

6.6.3.3. Present class III → IV

There are just two forms which show a transfer III → IV, viz. $\bar{a}+d\bar{a}yam\bar{a}naḥ$, Mbh 1,1828*.4⁶, and (*up*) $\bar{a}ghr\bar{a}yate$, Mbh 3,219,49 v.l., 13,105.58⁷.

¹ In the same way $\sqrt{ghr\bar{a}}$ formed a thematic present (already in R̥gvedic times [see GOTO 1987: 72]): *upājighranta*, Mbh 13,50.10.

² See WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 433. Cf. *vindati* ← (aor.) *ávidat* (after the pattern *siñcati* : *ásicat*), on which see LEUMANN (1952: 77 n. 1).

³ See BHS p. 231a (s.v. *viṣ*).

⁴ On (alleged) Vedic instances of a root-present *vakti* see NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 85 with n. 62.

⁵ On the contraction $-\bar{a}- < -\bar{a}ya-$ see also (↗) 6.6.4.2.

⁶ It seems rather unlikely that this is formed on the analogy of *gr̥bhāyati*.

⁷ Also BHS has a present *ghrāyati* (see BHS p. 211b [s.v. *ghrā*-]).

6.6.4.1. Present class IV → I

Due to a y_v -dissimilation¹ of *abhyasyati* (/ *nyasyati* / *vyasyati*)² \sqrt{as} 'to throw' forms the class I present *asati*² (see LEUMANN 1968: 58 and GOTO 1987: 85). A cluster reduction – of $-y-$ after (a) palatal(s)³ – accounts for the transfer of \sqrt{nas} ⁴ and \sqrt{nah} to class I.

The root \sqrt{sram} forms (mostly after the preverb *vi+*) a class I present, probably on the basis of the aorist *ásramat* which looked like an impf. of *(*)śramati*.⁵

6.6.4.2. Present class IV → II

Several roots in $-\bar{a}$ are transferred from class IV to class II, i.e. they are inflected as root-presents: $\sqrt{g\bar{a}}$, $\sqrt{gl\bar{a}}$, $\sqrt{tr\bar{a}}$, $\sqrt{dhy\bar{a}}$, $\sqrt{ml\bar{a}}$. It seems possible that this transfer is due to the vernacular ('Middle Indic') contraction of $-\bar{a}ya-$ into $-\bar{a}-$ ⁶ (*g\bar{a}<ya>ti* [etc.]), favoured in the case of *trāti* by *pāti*, with its similar meaning (see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 423 n. 1)⁷.

¹ Cf. *cāvyate* (< *cyāvyate*), Mbh 14,17.26, and see (↗) 6.6.9.1.

² 3sg. opt. *aset* is frequently attested in the Śrautasūtras. Cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *nyaseya* (BHSg p. 205a).

³ This is particularly clear in the case of (some of) the attested forms of \sqrt{nas} and \sqrt{nah} : *naśet*, Mbh 3,57.16, 291.9, *vipraṇaśet*, 13,337*4, *naśāmy aham* 326.46, *nahet*, Mbh 1,26.19 (all that is attested of \sqrt{nah} I. [!]). The ('palatal') front vowel $-e-$ and the palatal $-y-$ favoured the simplification of $-śy-$ to $-ś-$.

⁴ As to alleged Vedic *naśati*, see GOTO (1987: 84). See also (↗) 8.2.2.

⁵ There is only one instance of a present *śamati*, viz. *praśamet*, R 1,281*[d] (*[pra]śamed iyam* 𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀭), a metrical nonce-formation. But also here dissimilation might have played some role.

⁶ On this contraction see also (↗) 6.6.3.2.

⁷ See (→) also \sqrt{pad} (*pratipatsva*, Mbh 5,76.8).

6.6.4.3. Present class IV → VI

Due to metrical exigence \sqrt{budh} was transferred to class VI at R 3,64.13b: *sa ca kākutstha nābudhat* (√-√-).

6.6.4.4. Present class IV → IX

The present *puṣṇāti* (cf. Dhātupāṭha IX 57) has – other than *puṣyate/ṛti* (on which see KULIKOV 1999: 233-238 / 2001: 438-440) – a ‘causative’ meaning¹: *puṣṇāmy oṣadhayaḥ sarvāḥ* ‘I let all plants grow’, Mbh 1,744*.4, (*sutān*) ..., *puṣṇanti cāpi mahatā snehena* ‘... and they rear them with great love’, 3,196.10 (v.l. *poṣanti*). It can be surmised that it is built after the model² of roots which had a (fientive) *ya*-present and a (factitive) nasal present as well as a (factitive) causative (such as *pūryate* : *prṇāti* ~ *pūrāyati*³ / *kliśyate* : *kliśnāti* ~ *kleśayati* = *puṣyati* : *puṣṇāti* ~ *poṣayati*).

6.6.5.1. Present class V → I

The metanalysis of 3pl. *cinv|anti* as *cinva|nti* led to the thematicization of *cinoti* – itself (most probably) a ‘transferred’ present (→ ² \sqrt{ci} [but cf. *rem.*]): (2pl. ind. pres. [↗ 6.2.1]) *vicinvatha*, R 4,42.12, (2pl. imp. *parasm.*) *vicinvata*, R 4,42.15 v.l. (CE ^o*cinudhvam*)⁴, (2pl. imp. *ātm.*) *vicinvadhvam*, R 1,38.13.

6.6.5.2. Present class V → IV

Though all attested forms of the present stem *śakya-* are only *variae lectiones* of the ‘critical’ text of the Epics, there can be little doubt that they belonged to the language of these texts: Buddhist (Hybrid) Sanskrit and Middle

¹ See VIA I 120.

² Since $\sqrt{puṣ}$ is an *aniṭ*-root (→ $\sqrt{puṣ}$) the present stem *puṣṇā-* is clearly secondary.

³ On the relation of these three present formations see ALBINO (1999) and cf. KULIKOV (2000).

⁴ On this form see HOPKINS (1901: 448 n. 1).

Indo-Aryan know also such a present (see BHSg p. 233a [s.v. śak- (2)]), which looks like a passive used as active (↗ 8.7.1).

6.6.6.1. Present class VI → I

The present stem *iccha-* of ¹√*iṣ* is replaced in its ‘Vedic’ sense of ‘to seek’ by [*anv*]eṣati¹, which seems to be based on eṣa^o-derivations of this root.

Also √*kṛt* and √*mṛs* have forms which are inflected according to class I. In the case of √*kṛt* this transfer started from forms without infixed nasal, such as future *kartsyati* and perfect *cakarta*. And √*vi*j forms a present *vejate*² on the analogy of *vepate*³ (cf. *udvejate*, Mbh 3,58.24 v.l. [CE *udvepate*]).

6.6.7.1. Present class VII → I

The 3pl. ind. pres. was the base from which the class VII roots √*añj*⁴, √*chid*⁵, √*bhañj*, √*bhu*(ñ)*j* and √*yuj* were transferred to class I (*añja*^o ← *añja*|*nti*).

6.6.7.2. Present class VII → IV

As recorded by the Dhātupāṭha (IV 65) √*rudh* ‘to obstruct, to keep off’ (preceded by *anu*+, *upa*+, [*ni*+ ‘to shut’⁶], *vi*+) forms also a class IV present

¹ As well as by (*anv*)iṣati and (*anv*)iṣyati (↗ 7.6.2).

² Cf. Dhātupāṭha VI 9.

³ And probably also the influence of *vega-* played a role.

⁴ GOTO (1987: 79) cites a few instances of *añjati* / *añjate* from Vedic texts.

⁵ **chinati* (in: *acchinam*, Mbh 3,22.3, 7,966*, and *acchīnaḥ*, Mbh 7,118.4 v.l.), is a blending of *chinatti* and *chīdati* (see WHITNEY § 555a, EDGERTON 1937: 20 n. and BHSg p. 212b [s.v. *chid*]).

⁶ The syntax of R 6,77.14 (*hantukāmasya me bāṣpaṃ cakṣuś caiva nirudhyate*), however, is far from clear. What is the sense of *ca*? Is *nirudhyate* actually an active (cf. Cm.g.t. *nirudhyati* [!] *nirūṇaddī*)? Or do we have to supplement a verb to *bāṣpaṃ* and translate: ‘Tears [arise] for me ... and my eyes are obscured’? Cf. the v.l. of parallel 6,1691*:

⁰*rudhyati* / ⁰*rudhyate*¹. This seems to be the passive used as an active² (*anu*+ ‘to adhere to, to be fond of’ < *‘to be stopped by someone / something’, *upa*+ ‘to stagnate’ < *‘to be stopped [by something]’, *vi*+ ‘to fight’ < *‘to be stopped by each other’ [?]).

6.6.7.3. Present class VII → VI

Based on 3pl. *piṣanti* and *rundhanti* √*piṣ* and √*rudh* form class VI presents (*piṣati*, *rundhati* → *rundhate*). Due to the similar pronunciation of both long vowel and short vowel followed by *-ṃ*³ the present *piṣati* has a by-form *pīṣati* (cf. BHS *pīṣati*, Pkt. *pīṣai* [see BHSG § 28.4 and PISCHEL § 76])⁴. And there is also a form without *-ṃ*-, viz. *piṣati*, which is probably influenced by forms without nasal (*pipeṣa*, *piṣta-*, *piṣyate*, *peṣayati*).

6.6.8.1. Present class VII → ‘VI’

The present stem *kurva*⁵ of √*kr* is a back-formation from the 3pl. ind. pres. *kurvanti*: (3du. impf. *parasm.*) *akurvātām*, Mbh 1,1779*, 10,6.1, (3pl. impf.

caḥsur bāṣpena rudhyate. Or is *nirudhyate* to be construed with *bāṣpam* – in the sense of ‘choking of the throat with tears’ – and *caḥsuh*. Against this is the fact that one would then expect a dual verb.

- ¹ The Vedic evidence for a present *rudhyāte* is discussed – in the negative – by KULIKOV (2001: 152-159).
- ² Obviously WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v. ²√*rudh*, regarded *rudhyati* as a passive with active endings, and also the CPD defines Pāli *anurujjhati* as ‘pr. 3 sg. pass.’.
- ³ See BLOCH (1965: 48) and TURNER (1975: 99).
- ⁴ On *apīṣan*, AVŚ IV 6,7, see (→) √*piṣ*, *rem*.
- ⁵ Cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *kurvati* (see BHSG p. 207), Pāli *kubbati* (see OBERLIES 2001: 210) and Prakrit *kuvvai* (see PISCHEL § 505).

It is only after the preverb *vyava-* that $^1\sqrt{sā}$ has a present stem *sa(ti)*. Here the same *y__y*-dissimilation (*vyavas[y]āmi*¹) has operated as in (*abhy*)*as[y]ati* (↗ 6.6.4.1).

6.6.9.2. Present class IX → IV

Once, viz. at Mbh 12,171.36, *kliśyate* is used as a transitive, thus replacing *kliśnāti*.

6.6.9.3. Present class IX → V

By confusion with (the *aniṭ*-roots) $^1\sqrt{aś}$, $^1\sqrt{vr}$ and \sqrt{str} , (the *seṭ*-roots) $^2\sqrt{aś}$, $^2\sqrt{vr}$ and \sqrt{str} form their present also according to class V (on *aśnoti* see [↗] also 6.7 and 7.9.1)².

6.6.9.4. Present class IX → VI

Class VI present *muṣati* may be a back-formation from the verbal adjective *muṣita*³.

6.7. Crossings of roots

Starting from ambiguous forms or due to similar or identical meanings some roots have become crossed. Thus we find forms of one root used for the forms of the other.

¹ Note especially *vyavasāmy aham* (ॐ-ॐ-), Mbh 1,188.12b, 3,183.7d.

² On *vr̥noti* 'he chooses' see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* 1,248 n. 7, and KÜMMEL (1998: 197 n. 24), on *str̥noti* 'he strews' see NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 56 n. 2.

³ Cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *muṣati* (see BHSG § 28.37). I have not been able to find Epic *mūṣati* which EDGERTON (l.c. § 28.26) cites without giving the reference.

upāśnute, Mbh 12,88.6 (*yāni grāmīṇabhojyāni grāmikas tānyupāśnuyāt* [v.l. *°aśniyāt*, on which see 7.9.1]), is a crossing of *upāśnute* ‘has a share in’ and *aśnāti* ‘eats’ (cf. *sarvān kāmān upāśnānaḥ*, Mbh 13,20.58)¹.

(Most probably) because of the homophonous verbal adjectives *mathita-* ‘churned’ and *mathita-* ‘robbed’ the roots \sqrt{math} ‘to rob’ and \sqrt{manth} ‘to churn’ have been confused². A number of forms which formally belong to \sqrt{math} have the meaning proper to \sqrt{manth} ³: *mama mathnāti hṛdayam agnikāma ivāraṇim*, Mbh 1,750*, *tapahśrute ’bhimathnīto jñānāgnir jāyate tataḥ*, Mbh 14,34.3⁴, *unmamātha mahārṇavam*, Mbh 3,212.18, *pramamāthorasā kāṃścīd urubhyām aparān kapiḥ*, R 5,43.13 (v.l. *pramamāra*), *pramamātha talenāsu*, R 6,33.22 (v.l. *pramamantha*), *saumitre hara kāṣṭhāni nirmathisyāmi pāvakaṃ*, R 3,64.27, ... *amṛtārthāya nirmathisyāmahe jalām*, Mbh 1,16.8, *devā mathitum ārabdhāḥ samudram* ..., Mbh 1,16.12.

In the case of ¹ \sqrt{vid} ‘to know’ and ² \sqrt{vid} ‘to find’ it was the similar meaning (‘to find out’) which led to the use of *vindati* in the sense of ‘to know’ (see also [↗] 7.2.5): *yathā tv idaṃ na vindeyur narā nagaravāsinaḥ / tathāyaṃ brāhmaṇo vācyah* ... ‘The brahmin should be informed that the townspeople do not know it’, Mbh 1,150.27, *strīmantraṃ na sma vindati* ‘He did not know of the women’s conspiracy’, Mbh 3,71.20⁵, *striyo hy avadhyāḥ sarveṣāṃ ye dharmam abhivindate*⁶ ‘Women are inviolate to all who know the Law’, Mbh 3,197.42 v.l. (CE *ye dharmaviduṣo janāḥ* [↗ 2.28]). And the same holds good

¹ Cf. BĀUM III 8,8 *aśnoti* – BĀUK *aśnāti* (see BHSG p. 204).

² The same holds good for ¹ \sqrt{vr} and ² \sqrt{vr} (↗ 6.6.9.3) which both form the verbal adjective *vṛta-*.

³ See also NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 12 n. 5.

⁴ On the (irregular) *sandhi* of *°śrute* *’bhi°* see (↗) 1.3.3.

⁵ See PW VI 1050, 1. 19-21, GUPTA (1938: 80) and KULKARNI (1946: 37).

⁶ Note the lack of congruency (see HOPKINS 1901: 264).

for ${}^1\sqrt{as}$ x ${}^2\sqrt{as}$ (↗ 6.6.9.3), ${}^2\sqrt{pā}$ x $\sqrt{pū}$ (↗ 9.6), $\sqrt{bhā}$ x $\sqrt{bhū}$ (↗ 8.1.3.1, rem. b.)¹, $\sqrt{sṛ}$ x \sqrt{sru} (↗ 8.1.2) and $\sqrt{stṛ}$ x $\sqrt{stṛ}$ (↗ 6.6.9.3)².

6.8. Secondary roots

Throughout the history of Indo-Aryan ‘new’ roots have secondarily been abstracted from forms of (diachronically) ‘older’ roots³. This process continues in Epic Sanskrit. The present *vidhyati* (\sqrt{vyadh}) and the verbal adjective *viddha-* were the bases of a ‘root’ \sqrt{vidh} from which the futures *vetsyati* and *veddhā*, the infinitive *veddhum*, the causative *vedhayati* and the gerundive *veddhavya-* are derived (↗ 8.4-5, 8.8 and 9.5)⁴. With $\sqrt{sās}$ the full-grade form of the present (*sāsti*) was generalized, and based on it the passive *sāsyate*, the verbal adjective *sāsita-* and the absolutive (II) ${}^o\sqrt{sāsyā}$ are formed (↗ 8.7, 9.4 and 9.7). The same holds good for $\sqrt{sās}$ ‘to cut’ to which the future (II) *sāsītā* belongs (↗ 8.5).

Another source for ‘secondary’ roots was the very close connection of verbs with particular preverbs. From frequent *palā+√ay*, *pra+²√iṣ*, (o)*vi+√ikṣ* and

¹ A couple of times the roots $\sqrt{vṛt}$ and $\sqrt{vṛdh}$ have become confused: *tataḥ samājo vavṛdhe* (v.l. *vavṛte*) *vartamāne samāje tu* ..., Mbh 1,175.28-29 (for further examples see PW VI col. 785 l. 12-20). For the mingling of $\sqrt{mṛś}$ and $\sqrt{mṛṣ}$ see (↗) $\sqrt{mṛś}$, rem. b.

² On such crossing of roots in Middle Indo-Aryan see OBERLIES (2001: 42 n. 6).

³ Quite a number of such ‘secondary’ roots is given by GOTO (1987: 76-77 / 151 / 224), NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 30, and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,241-242, II,471 / 463 / 484-485. A complete inventory of the secondary roots of Vedic and Sanskrit will be found in the second volume of WERBA’s *Verba Indoarica*.

⁴ Cf. (↗) $\sqrt{ni(n)d}$ and $\sqrt{hi(m)s}$.

vi+√*ūh* the ‘roots’ *palāy*, *preṣ*, *vīkṣ*¹ and *vyūh* were formed (on √*i* see [↗] 7.2.2, on √*sajj* see [↗] 8.7.1 and on √*rañj* see [→] √*ra[ñj]*)².

¹ This ‘root’ was further compounded with *ud+* so that we meet with the combination *udvi+* which otherwise is unknown (see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 414).

² On (alleged) √*vyas* (Mbh 1,54.5, 57.73) see VIA I 382.

VII. The Verbal System (II):

Aberrant forms of the individual present classes

7.1. Aberrant forms of the individual present classes

Beside such transfers, the individual present classes know a lot of aberrant forms. The following paragraphs give only the more common ones, arranged according to the present-classes. For very exceptional formations see (♣) chapter XI.

7.1.1. \sqrt{kram}

In Vedic the *param.* and the *ātm.* of \sqrt{kram} are distinguished by their root vowel: *krāmati* ~ *kramate*¹. In Epic Sanskrit this distinction is not always upheld: *krāmati* / *krāmate* (→ \sqrt{kram}).

7.1.2. \sqrt{labh}

The present stem *lambhate* (*pralambhante*, Mbh 2,34.20, *samā lambhata*, R 3, App.17.14) has got its *-m-* from the causative *lambhayati* / *te*.

7.1.3. \sqrt{vad}

At Mbh 4,6.15 the root-vowel of \sqrt{vad} is metrically² lengthened: *ye tvānūvādeyur avṛttikarsītāḥ* (—_u—_u—_u—_u—).

7.2.1. \sqrt{as}

Due to the confusion of primary and secondary endings (°*va* ~ °*vaḥ* / °*ma* ~ °*maḥ* [♣ 6.3.1.1-2]) we have – mainly ‘*metri causa*’³ – the indicatives

¹ See GOTO (1987: 116-119).

² The fourth syllable of the ‘Virāṭa-Jagati’ is invariably heavy.

³ For examples of *sma*, which is not metrically conditioned, see (♣) 6.3.1.2.

(1du.) *sva*, Mbh 1,215.19b (*tat kartārau sva pāvaka* [– –]), 3,133.3 (*tri.-cad.* [*prāptavantau sva tāta*, – –])

(1pl.) *sma*, Mbh 1, 159.1b (*kiṃ tad yena sma dharṣitāḥ* [– –]), 3,67.7d (*prasthitāḥ smety athābruvan*), 113.13 (opening of *tri.* [*dāsāḥ sma* [*sarve tava*] –]), 133.5 (... *samādeśakarā vyaṃ sma*), 133.7 (*tri.-cad.* [*gatāḥ sma niṣṭhām*, – –]), 142.2a (*durbalāḥ kleśitāḥ smeti* [– –]), 296.2d = 3d = 4d (*tena prāptāḥ sma saṃśayam*, [– –])¹

and the optatives (cf. WHITNEY § 636d)

syāmaḥ, R 1,44.15 v.1 (see above, [♣] 6.3.2.2), *syāvaḥ*, Mbh 1,201.19.

An indicative present (1pl.) *asmaḥ* is attested at Mbh 5,36.3: *sādhyā devā vyaṃ asmo maharṣe* ‘O sage, we are the *sādhyā* gods’ (v.l. *smaḥ* / *āsmāḥ* [Dev. *chāndaso* ‘*kāralopābhāvaḥ*]). It is formed on analogy with *asmi/asti*². The same holds good for the *ātm.* form *smahe*, Mbh 13,8*.8, 94.24 (CE reads both times *sma he*)³.

rem. The optative *syāt* is sometimes used as a kind of ‘fossilized’ form functioning as a particle: *syād etat tu bhaven mūlyam* ‘This shall be the prize’, Mbh 13,51.8 (v.l. *syād idam bhagavan mūlyam*), *paṭhan dviḥ vāgr̥ṣabhatvam iḥyāt* / *syāt kṣatriyo bhūmipatitvam iḥyāt*

¹ On the verbal adjective with immediately following *sma* ~ *smaḥ* see (♣) p. 172 n. 1.

² It has a parallel in BHS *asmo* (BHSG § 28.60) which is thereby confirmed (against EDGERTON’s doubts).

³ Cf. HOPKINS (1901: 249 n. 1).

⁴ On the optative *iḥyāt* see next section (♣ 7.2.2).

/ *vaṅigjanaḥ panyaphalatvam īyāt / janaś ca sūdro 'pi mahattvam īyāt* ⁴ ... A warrior will become a lord of the earth ...¹, R 1,1.79¹.

7.2.2. \sqrt{i}

The root \sqrt{i} has optative forms with initial \bar{i} -² (for 'preterite' $^{\circ}\bar{i}yāt$ see [↗] 6.2.2):

nāgā me vaśam īyur iti 'The snakes shall come into my power', Mbh 1,3.155 (*pr.*)³, *hatpravīrās tu raṇe hi rākṣasāḥ / kathaṃcid īyur yad ihādya mārḍavam* 'If their champions were to be killed ... the *rākṣasas* might be made more pliant', R 5,39.4⁴.

These forms point to a 'secondary' root $\sqrt{i}^{\bar{}}$ (↗ 6.8) which is also attested in the absolute *anvīya* (↗ 9.7) and in *adhi- \sqrt{i}* 'to study'⁶ ([thematicised present]

¹ Quite a number of manuscript traditions have *syāt kṣatriyo* replaced by *kṣatrānvayo / kṣatrātmajo* (see also BÖHTLINGK 1887a: 186).

² See HOLTZMANN (1884: 21). Such forms are attested as early as the prose of the Black Yajurveda (see GOTO 1990: 994-995).

³ In the case of the 'preterite' *īyuh* (cf. Mbh 6,41.4-5, 58.19, 65.6, 115.27) it is difficult to decide whether what we have is an optative (with lengthened initial) used in a preterite sense or simply the perfect *īyuh*.

⁴ The *vaṃśastha* metre of this *pāda* requires the fourth syllable to be long.

⁵ It is *this* root which made STENZLER's (§ 152) and KIELHORN's (§ 270) statement necessary that "*adhi- \sqrt{i} \bar{A} . is substituted by (*adhi- \bar{i})y $^{\circ}$* (i.e. *adhīy $^{\circ}$*) before vocalic endings".*

⁶ *adhi- \sqrt{i}* is extrapolated from the participle *adhīyant-* (cf. AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 55 [*ad* 95,5-11]). This seems to be a transformation of **adhi-yant-* under the influence of (3sg.) *adhīte* (or else the model was that of denominatives in $^{\circ}\bar{i}yant-$ [GOTO 1990: 1002 n. 89-90]). Conversely *atīyāt*, R 5,58.9, has a short *-i-* on the analogy of forms such as **atīyant- ~ abhiyant-*.

adhīyet, Mbh 13,36.15 [v.l. *adhīyāt*¹], *adhīyante*, 12,8.29 [v.l. *adhīyate*], 12,221.71 [v.l. *adhīyate*], 13,105.21 [v.l. *adhīyate*], *praty-adhīyata*, 1,98.9², *adhīyamāna-*, 13,App.10.316.362³.

7.2.3. *√khyā*

The present stem (*khyāti* [→ *√khyā*])⁴ is an innovation of Epic Sanskrit based on (a faulty analysis of) aorist forms such as *akhyat* and *vyākhyāma* (see NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 84).

7.2.4. *√brū*

The stems *brū-* (in: *brūmaḥ*, *brūtha*, *brūhi*) and *bravī-* (in: *bravīmi*, *bravīti*, *bravītu*) were generalised:

(1sg. ind. pres.) *brūmi*, R 2,16.30, 3,12.17, 4,7.13⁵

(2sg. imp. *parasm.*) *bravīhi*, Mbh 1,67.17, 182.5, 2,22.34, 25.13, 3,134.6, 177.15, 4,11.10, R 2,20.35, 110.15, 6,3.3 (for further references see [→ *√brū*])

(2pl. imp. *parasm.*) *bravīta*, R 6,App.3.312, 7,42.21 v.l.⁶ (CE *nivedyatām*)

(2sg. imp. *ātm.*) *bravīṣva*, R 6,3.3 v.l. (CE *bravīhi* [see above]).

¹ We have here one more pair of ^o*yet-* and ^o*yāt-*optatives (↗ p. 231 n. 6).

² On this augmentless imperfect see (↗) 6.4.1.

³ Another thematicised present of *√i* is (^o)*ayati* / (^o)*ayate* which – in the older language preponderately an *ātmanepada* – is inflected in the Epic as a *parasmaipada* (→ *√ay^o* / *√palāy^o*). See GOTO (1987: 95-96) and JOACHIM (1978: 40).

⁴ The Dhātupāṭha (II 51) records this present-stem formation.

⁵ There is no trace of this form, which has a parallel in Pāli (see GEIGER § 141.2 and OBERLIES 2001: 201), in the Mahābhārata.

⁶ Another v.l. has *bravītha*.

7.2.5. ${}^2\sqrt{vid}$

A crossing of *vidyāt* (${}^1\sqrt{vid}$) and *vindet* (${}^2\sqrt{vid}$) – but *not* due to metre – is *vindyāt* ‘he will find’, Mbh 3,82.125 v.l. (CE *vindet*) = 83.2 (v.l. *vindet*) = 13,App.12.30, 3,83.12 (v.l. *vindet*)¹. On this phenomenon see also (♣) 6,7.

7.2.6. \sqrt{han}

After the pattern of (*bhavanti* /) *bhavantu* : *bhavata* a 2pl. imp. *ghnata*, Mbh 8,24.60 (v.l. *ghnanta*, *hata*), R 6,77.14 v.l. (CE *ghnantu*), is formed based on 3pl. (*ghnanti* /) *ghnantu*. And on the basis of the 3pl. impf. *aghnan* a new imperfect paradigm is built up:

(1sg.) *aghnam*, Mbh 3,167.6, (3sg.) (*abhy*)*aghnat*, Mbh 1,9.21 (v.l. *ahanat*), (2du.) *aghnatām*, Mbh 1,200.21, (2pl.) *ghnata*, Mbh 1,170.3 (augmentless [♣ 6.4.1]), (3pl.) *aghnanta*, Mbh 16,11*.

On the analogy of the 1sg. impf. *ahanam* is a 3sg. *ahanat* formed (Mbh 1,96.25, 181.25, 2,43.10, 5,183.7, 185.6, 13,103.20, R 5,46.25, 6,44.6, 86.17, 7,14.24, 61.12). And from these forms a present stem *hana-* is extracted, which is the base of 2pl. imp. *hanadhvam*, R 3,485*.7.

7.2.7. $\sqrt{jāgr}$ ²

Beside regular (1sg.) *jāgarmi*, Mbh 5,50.3, Epic Sanskrit has *jāgrmi*, Mbh 12,168.50, which has its *r*-vowel presumably from the imperative *jāgrhi* (see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 497; cf. WHITNEY § 1020a).

¹ On such thematicised precatives see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,517-518 n. 2, and KULIKOV, *forthc.a* § 6.2. On ‘3pl.’ *vindate*, Mbh 3,245.18, see (♣) p. 300.

² The ‘root’ $\sqrt{jāgr}$ (see STENZLER § 148 and KIELHORN § 265.3) is abstracted from *jāgāra*, the perfect of \sqrt{gr} ‘to wake up’ (see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 497, and SCHAEFER 1994: 19).

The present stem *jāgra-*, which is attested also in Pāli (*jaggati*), is a back-formation from the 3pl. ind. pres. *jāgrati* (Mbh 6,24.69)¹: (*anv*)*ajāgrat*, R 2,44.26, *jāgramāṇa-*, Mbh 13,177*.3. It is ‘extended’ – probably under the influence of ^o*gara*-forms – to *jāgara(ti)*, Mbh 12,209.3.

7.3.1. √*dā*

A 1sg. *dadmi* (→ √*dā*) is formed out of (1pl.) *dadmaḥ* after the pattern of (e.g.) *admi* : *admaḥ*² (see also below [↗] 7.8.1 on *kurmi*). And after the model of forms such as *jahāhi* (√*hā*) a 2sg. imp. *dadāhi*, Mbh 1,184.6 (v.ll. *dadasva* / *ca dehi*), is built.

7.3.2. √*dhā*

Curious slips are the imperatives (*śrad*)*dadhatsva*, R 5,32.39 v.l. (CE *śraddhatsva*), and (*vi*)*dadhvam*, Mbh 1,171.16.

7.3.3. ¹√*hā*

The 2sg. imp. *jahi*, Mbh 13,1.18³, R 1,24.16, 3,App.12.30⁴, seems to be due to a haplological shortening of *jahihi* (Mbh 6,25.41 [v.l. *prajahīhi*])⁵.

¹ See WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 497, and OBERLIES (2001: 203).

² See WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 398.

³ In stanzas 23 and 25 *jahi* is the 2sg. imp. of √*han*.

⁴ Also R 7,96.3.4 *jahi* seems to mean ‘leave!’ (cf. v.l. *tyaja* in stanza 3).

⁵ See AiGr. I § 241aα. It is, however, possible that the imperative of √*han*, viz. *jahi*, has influenced *jahihi* (see AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 161 [ad 279,11f.]). Because of the same confusion also √*han* has an imp. *jahihi* ‘slay’, R 4,App.14.124 v.l. (CE *jahi* [see SATYA VRAT 1964: 212]).

7.4.1. $\sqrt{drś}$

drakṣyeta ‘might see’, R 3,1074*.4, is a ‘future optative’ (↗ 8.4.2[b])¹.

7.5.1. $\sqrt{āp}$

On the basis of *āpnuvanti* the 2pl. imp. *ātm. āpnuvadhvam*, Mbh 1,186.1, and the 3pl. impf. *ātm. (ava+)āpnuvanta*, Mbh 1,119.13, are formed.

The forms *(pra+)āpnuyāvahe*, R 3,55.18 (v.l. *°āpnuyāmahe* [= 3,1101*]), and *(pra+)āpnuyāmahe*, Mbh 2,16.7, 7,16.34, R 3,1101* (v.l. [of ed. Gorr.] *prāpnuyāmahi*²), are blendings of *parasmaipada* optatives (*āpnuyāva*, *āpnuyāma*) and *ātmanepada* indicatives (*āpnuvahe*, *āpnumahe*)³.

7.5.2. ${}^1\sqrt{ci}$

On the analogy of roots in final consonants (cf. *āpnuhi*, Mbh 1,3.164, 3,45.6) ${}^1\sqrt{ci}$ forms also a 2sg. imp. in *-hi*: *pracīnuhi*, Mbh 3,70.10.

7.6.1. ${}^2\sqrt{r}$

${}^2\sqrt{r}$ forms also the full grade present *arcchati* (Mbh 2,19.46, 3,53.7 v.l. [CE *rcchati*]) – a back-formation from the imperfect *ārcchat* and from forms such as *ārcchati* / *avārcchati* (*lā-rcchati*, *ava-rcchati*)⁴.

7.6.2. ${}^1\sqrt{iṣ}$

${}^1\sqrt{iṣ}$ can form the present stems *(anv)iṣa-* and *(anv)iṣya-* (→ ${}^1\sqrt{iṣ}$), when it has the ‘Vedic’ sense ‘to seek’ (see also [↗] 6.6.6.1).

¹ See MICHELSON (1904: 136), SATYA VRAT (1964: 215 with n. 1) and RENOUE § 340b (p. 462).

² Here the correct ending (*-mahi-*) is added to the wrong suffix (*-yā-*).

³ Cf. (↗) 6.3.2.4. For comparable *avarundhyāmahe* see (↗) 7.7.3.

⁴ See LÜDERS, *Phil. Ind.* p. 372.

7.6.3. $\sqrt{kṛt}$ ¹

The 2sg. imp. *kṛndhi* ‘cut!’, Mbh 2,64.10, shows probably the influence of (archaic) *kṛdhi* ‘make!’ (on which see [♣] 8.2.1)².

7.7.1. $\sqrt{bhu(\tilde{n})j}$

The *parasm.* optative of $\sqrt{bhu(\tilde{n})j}$ is sporadically formed with the suffixe *-īy-* instead of *-y-*, i.e. it has taken over the *-ī-* of the *ātm.*: *bhuñjīyām*, Mbh 3,62.38a (cad.), 13,14.189a (cad.), 15,7.18 (v.l. [S] *bhuñjīya*), *bhuñjīyāt*, Mbh 12,10.13 v.l. (CE *bhuñjīta*).³ Conversely, the 2du. *upabhuñjītam*, Mbh 13,4.28 v.l. (CE *upayuñjīthām* [on which see below]), has a *parasm.* ending.

7.7.2. \sqrt{yuj}

Peculiar blendings of *parasm.* and *ātm.* optatives are (3sg.) *prayuñjīyāt*, R 1,4.2 (v.l. ^o*yuñjīta*)⁴, and (2du.) *upayuñjīthām*, Mbh 13,4.28. An ‘archaism’⁵ is *prayujmahe*, Mbh 2,35.15 (v.l. ^o*yuñjmahe*).

7.7.3. \sqrt{rudh}

The form *anurundhyāmahe*, R 1,75.2, is a blend of the *parasm.* optative ^o*rundhyāma* and the *ātm.* indicative ^o*rundhmahe*⁶.

¹ See also (♣) 6.6.6.1.

² See EDGERTON (1943/44: 4).

³ On such optative forms of \sqrt{yuj} see below (♣ 7.7.2).

⁴ On this stanza see ROUSSEL (1910: 18) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 236).

⁵ On which see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,366.

⁶ See also (♣) 6.3.2.4 and 7.5.1.

7.8.1. $\sqrt{kṛ}$

On the analogy of (1du.) *kurvaḥ* and (1pl.) *kurmaḥ* a 1sg. *kurmi* is formed¹: Mbh 5,180.26, 7,161.4, 10,7.55 (*upākurmi*), R 5,20.20, 6,1.11, 7,33.12 v.l. (CE *kurma* [on which see below]), 69.20 (for further references see [→] $\sqrt{kṛ}^2$). And 1pl. imp. (*kiṃ*) *kurma* ‘(what) shall we do?’, Mbh 9,31.53, R 7,33.12 (↗ 6.3.1.2), is formed after the pattern (ind.) *gacchāmaḥ* ‘we go’ :: (imp.) *gacchāma* ‘let us go!’.

On the (archaic³) imperatives *kṛdhi* and *kṛdhvam* see (↗) 6.5.2 and 8.2.1; on the transfer of $\sqrt{kṛ}$ to present class ‘VI’ see (↗) 6.6.8.1.

7.9.1. $^2\sqrt{as}$

The (metrically conditioned) 3sg. opt. (*upa+*)*aśniyāt*, Mbh 12,88.6 v.l. (CE *upāśnuyāt*)⁴, has got its short *-i-* because of confusion with (*upa+*)*aśnuyāt* (↗ 6.7).

7.9.2. $\sqrt{gra(b)h}$

Based on the 3pl. ind. pres. *grhṇanti* $\sqrt{gra(b)h}$ forms a thematicised present: (2sg. imp.) (*prati*)*grhṇa*, R 3,73*, (1sg. impf.) *agrhṇam*, Mbh 3,170.25, R 2,37.8 v.l. (CE *agrhṇām*), (2du. impf.) *agrhṇatām*, Mbh 1,183.5, (3sg. impf. *ātm.*) (*praty*)*agrhṇata*, Mbh 1,42.18, 3,44.19, R 4,26.4, (3pl. impf. *ātm.*) *agrhṇanta*, R 5,59.1 (for further references → $\sqrt{gra(b)h}$).

¹ See HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,586 n. 22.

² See also (↗) 6.3.2.5-6.

³ *kṛdhi* is limited to *chandas* by Pāṇ 6.4.102.

⁴ With this stanza (*yāni grāmīṇabhojyāni grāmikas tāny upāśnuyāt* [v.l. *upāśniyāt* / *avāpnuyāt*] / *daśapas tena bhartavyas tenāpi dviguṇādhipaḥ*) compare Manu 7,118 (*yāni rājapradeyāni pratyahaṃ grāmavāsibhiḥ / annapānendhanādīni grāmikas tāny avāpnuyāt*).

7.9.3. $\sqrt{prī}$

Is *priyāyase* ‘you are pleased’, Mbh 2,56.5, an archaic form (cf. *āpriyāyata*, RV 3,53.9)¹? It might, however, be simply the denominative of *priya-* ‘dear’² (see BHSD s.v. *priyāyati*, ALBINO 1998: 59 and LIV 490 [n. 2]).

7.9.4. \sqrt{bandh}

2sg. imp. *bandhāna*, Mbh 5,180.2, and 3pl. impf. (*sam*)*abadhnanta*, Mbh 4,5.27 (v.l. *samabandhanta*), are blendings of (regular) *badhāna* (Mbh 1,3.25) and *bandha* (R 3,54.19 [↗ 6.6.9.1]) and of *abadhnata* (: *badhnāti*) and *abandhanta* (: *bandhati*).

¹ See RENOU (1956: 104). HOFFMANN opines that *priyāyāte* is an *āyá*-present which stands beside a *nā*-present (see *Aufs.* II,462 and WERBA 1997: 305).

² Cf. Pāli *piyāyati* (see PED s.v.).

VIII. The verbal system (III): Non-present tenses and moods

Unlike in Middle Indo-Aryan (incl. Buddhist Sanskrit)¹ the focus of the verbal conjugation is still the root, from which almost all non-present tenses (↗ 8.1-5) are derived; only sporadically (↗ 8.1.1, 8.2.5, 8.4) does the present stem serve as the base for other forms.

And unlike in Middle Indo-Aryan and – for the most part – in Buddhist Sanskrit² the three preterites are living categories in Epic Sanskrit. In meaning, however, there is no distinction between imperfect, perfect and aorist (see also [↗] 6.2.8).

8.1. The perfect³

The perfect is formed by adding a special series of endings to the reduplicated root. Apart from the use of *cikṣepa* (*sa tvam pradīptam cikṣepa darbham taṃ vāyasam prati* ‘You hurled that flaming blade of *darbha* grass at the crow’, R 5,65.13)⁴ and *veda* as 2sg.⁵ (*kiṃ tvam na veda*, Mbh 5,41.4, *tvam hi veda nah*, 7,59.9 v.1.⁶ [not recorded by CE (*sarvāms tām api vettha nah*)])⁷ it is only

¹ On which see OBERLIES (2001: 200) and BHSG § 24.1-3.

² See OBERLIES (2001: 228) and BHSG § 32.1.

³ See STENZLER § 191-213, KIELHORN § 299-330, WHITNEY § 780-823 and RENOUE § 332-337 (cf. also BURROW 1955: 340-345).

⁴ The parallel R 5,36.27 (*cikṣepitha pradīptām tām iṣikām vāyasam prati*) has a correct 2sg. in our verse *cikṣepa* obviously goes with *sa*, so that there is nothing irregular about this construction (↗ p. 303 n. 1).

⁵ *āha* is once used as 1sg.: *na me priyaṃ yat sa hataḥ / samprāhaivam puro vacaḥ* ‘... so I have spoken before’, Mbh 12,103.35. And *attha* even seems to be used as imperative (↗ 6.2.7).

⁶ See LUDWIG (1896: 106).

⁷ *vidma*, R 7,971*, is a *pluralis majestatis* (see SATYA VRAT 1964: 236).

(^o)*śuśrumaḥ*, Mbh 1,53.1, 196.1, 2,14.11, 4,46.8, 5,51.1, 12,109.27, 13,80.30 (for further references → *śru*), which has a ‘wrong’ ending¹.

The root ²*√r* – reduplicating with *ān(ar/r^o)* by analogy² – has a 3sg. perfect in *-t*: *ānarchat*, Mbh 3,269.11, 6,45.10 (v.l. *ānarcha*). This perfect with its amplified ending (*-a+t*) is built on *ānarcha*³ (a perfect based on the present *ṛcchati*⁴ as is *papraccha* on *ṛcchati* [see DELBRÜCK 1881: 401 and NEISSER, *Kl. Sch.* p. 304 n. 2]).

Such a form might help to explain⁵ the (alleged) ‘pluperfect’⁶ *ababhramat*, i.e. we are faced with a crossing of *babhrāma* and *abhramat*: *naiva sām nirgamaṃ lebhe jaṭāmaṇḍalamohitā / tatraivābabhramad devī saṃvatsara-gaṇān bahūn* (v.l. [*a*]bibhramat) ‘But confused by the coils of his matted hair, [Gaṅgā] could not find her way out; and so the goddess wandered about in there for a great many years’, R 1,42.5.⁷

¹ (*anu*)*śuśrumaḥ* is invariably the last word of an even *śloka-pāda*, i.e. the presence of the final *-ḥ* is not metrically conditioned.

² See RENO (1952: 276 [§ 333]) and BURROW (1955: 341).

³ This form is taught by Pāṇ 3.1.36.

⁴ That means that we have to do with a ‘secondary’ root *√r(c)ch*.

⁵ The more so as some augmented (periphrastic) perfect forms are to be found (↗ 6.4).

⁶ DELBRÜCK (1874: 114) and HOLTZMANN (1884: 27) regard also *ānarchat* (see above) as a pluperfect (DELBRÜCK, however, changed his mind [see id. 1881: 401]; on this form see also THIEME 1929: 51 n. 2 and RENO § 336C *rem.*).

⁷ MICHELSON (1904: 133-134) and WERBA (1997: 417) assume a genuine pluperfect, while SEN (1951c: 18) “regards *avabhramat* (of R[āmāyaṇa]Ś[īromaṇi]) as the best reading” – not recorded by CE – and KEITH (1910: 1325) and GOLDMAN (1984: 361) adopt the reading *abibhramat*, a “reduplicated aorist with irregular reduplication” (see also ROUSSEL 1910: 19 and SATYA VRAT 1964: 217).

rem. The long reduplication¹ of *dādhāra*, Mbh 1,169.20b (*bhayād dādhāra taijasam*), is to avoid the syllables 2 - 4 scanning - - (↗ p. XXXI n. 5).

8.1.1. Un-reduplicated perfect

In Vedic Sanskrit it is only ¹*vid* ‘to know’ which regularly has an un-reduplicated perfect, inherited from PIE (see BEEKES 1997: 237-238)². But even Vedic Sanskrit has a few other sporadic cases of such forms³, and their number increases in Epic Sanskrit:

ā-karṣatuḥ, Mbh 1,141.23, 4, App.11.18, *apā-karṣuḥ*, Mbh 3,128.2⁴, *prakāṣire*, R 2,36.11 v.l. (CE *pracakāṣire*), *ā-cakṣire*, R 5,63.4 v.l. (CE *ākhyānti*), *vi-ceṣṭa*, R 2,833*.4 v.l. (CE *viveda*), *vi-ceṣṭatuḥ*, Mbh 8,15.41 v.l. (CE *viveṣṭatuḥ*), *nadatuḥ*, Mbh 8,64.9 v.l. (CE [*sasiṃhanāda*] *babhatuḥ*), *pra-pūjire*, R 6,15.33 v.l. (CE *apūjayan*), 7,1053*, *vibhrājatuh*, Mbh 1,142.16 v.l. (CE *vibhrājetām* [on which see (↗) 6.5.1]), *saṃ-mantrire*, R 6, App.32.18 v.l. (CE *mamantrire* [↗ 8.1.4]), *pra-viśuḥ*, R 5,20.40 v.l. (CE *viviśuḥ*), *ni-vartire*, Mbh 9,8.35, (*ā*)*śamsuḥ*, R 5,51.20, 7,981*.8, *ā-śamsire*, Mbh 1,174.8 (v.l. *āśaśamsire*), 7,161.24 v.l. (CE *śaśamsire*), 8,1152* (v.l. *śaśamsire*), *ni-ṣidhuḥ*, Mbh 1,2.6 v.l. (CE *siṣidhuḥ*), *upa-sarpa*, Mbh 3,61.109 v.l. (CE *upasarpya*), *pra-skandire*, R 6, App.11.27 v.l. (*paspandire*).

The length of the individual forms⁵ and the sequence of identical or similiar syllables surely favoured haplological shortening, and this was possible since

¹ On perfects with long reduplication syllable see NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 235.

² Cf. also the perfect participle *āvidāna-*, Mbh 3,134.26 (↗ p. XXVI n. 4).

³ See WHITNEY § 790b, LEUMANN (1952: 104-109), id. (1968: 57) and KÜMMEL (2000: 399).

⁴ On the ‘faulty’ vowel grade of *°karṣatuḥ* and *°karṣuḥ* see (↗) 8.1.3.2 and 8.1.3.3.

⁵ Note that only *nadatuḥ* and *śamsuḥ* have no preverb.

the perfect is sufficiently characterized by its endings: <ca>*cakṣire*, *vi<ci>-ceṣṭi*¹, <na>*nadatuḥ*, *<pu>*pūjire*, *vi<ba>bhrājatuh*, **saṃ<ma>mantrire*¹, *pra<vi>viśuh*, <va>*virtire*, <śa>*śamsuh*², <śa>*śamsire*, *nī<ṣi>śidhuh*, *upa<sa>sarpa*. But this cannot wholly account for *ā-karṣatuḥ*, *pra-kāṣire* and *pra-skandire*. Here other factors were at work³: (1) *ākarṣatuḥ*, Mbh 1,141.23⁴, was haplogologically shortened from *cakarṣatuḥ* due to immediately preceding *ca* ‘and’: *babhañjatur mahāvṛkṣāml latāś cā<ca>karṣatus tataḥ* (v.l. *latāś ca vicakarṣatuḥ / latāś cāpi cakarṣatuḥ*)⁵; and also at R 2,36.11 v.l. (NW) and 6,App.11.27 v.l. (NW) the loss of the reduplication may have been influenced by the preceding *ca*: *nāgnayaś ca pra<ca>kāṣire / na ca pra<ca>skandire*; (2) at Mbh 4,App.11.18 the preceding line *prakarṣaṇākarṣaṇayor abhyākarṣavikarṣaṇaiḥ* obviously caused the omission of the reduplication.

Because of the similar pronunciation of *-e-* and *-ī-*⁶, the perfect stem *sed-* (< **sa-zd-* < **sa-sd-/*) was confused with the present stem *sīd-*. And in this way *√sad* formed an (apparently) un-reduplicated perfect⁷:

saṃni-ṣīdatuh, Mbh 1,214.27 (v.ll. *ṣēdatuh / ṣīdatām*), *nī-ṣīdatuh*, Mbh 3,222.1, 12,40.2 (v.l. *ṣēdatuh*).

¹ Like *pūjay*^o also *mantray*^o should form (only) a periphrastic perfect (↗ 8.1.4).

² RENOUE § 333c and LEUMANN (1968: 55 n. 6) opine that the (un-reduplicated) participle *śamsivāms-* might have played also a role.

³ I am at a loss to explain *apākarṣuh*, Mbh 3,128.2 (*mātaras tu balāt putram apākarṣuh kṛpānvitāḥ*).

⁴ On the wrong ablaut of this form see (↗) 8.1.3.2.

⁵ See PISANI (1934: 4).

⁶ Certainly the exchange of *-e-* and *-ī-* was favoured by the preceding *-ī-* (*saṃniṣīdatuh*) which had an assimilating effect (cf. Pāli *abhiññā-* ← *√jeh* [see OBERLIES 2001: 48]).

⁷ On *darśivāms-* see (↗) 9.3.

8.1.2. Irregular reduplication¹

The roots \sqrt{vap} and \sqrt{vah} have a few forms without *saṃprasāraṇa*-reduplication²: *(nir)vavāpa*, R 2,1211*.4, *udvavāha*, R 6,1713* v.l. (of ed. Gorr.), *(°)vavāhatuḥ*, Mbh 1,164.5, 3,144.20 (as to the lengthened grade of *vavāhatuḥ* see [↗] 8.1.3.2)³.

rem. The *u*-reduplication of *(pra)susruḥ*, R 6,33.17 (Ct. *prasusruḥ prasusruvur⁴ ity arthaḥ*) = 6,81.9 v.l. (CE *prasasruḥ*), is due to a crossing of \sqrt{sr} and \sqrt{sru} (*sasruḥ* x *susruvūḥ*). On such 'root-crossing' see (↗) 6.7.

8.1.3. Irregular root *ablaut*

The PIE rule of perfect formation continued in (Vedic) Sanskrit is $C_1e-R(\acute{o})^o$ (+ unaccented endings) in the singular and $C_1e-R(z)^o$ (+ accented endings) in the dual and plural *parasm.* and in the whole *ātm.*⁵ Epic Sanskrit has a number of exceptions:

¹ On the rules governing reduplication see STENZLER § 192-194, KIELHORN § 230-232, 301, WHITNEY § 588-590 and RENOU § 284.

² Cf. the nonce-form *vavāca*, RV 1.67.8.

³ The *a*-reduplication of \sqrt{tyaj} , viz. *tatyāj-*, is an Epic innovation. The R̥gveda (10.71.6) has *tityāja* (see KÜMMEL 2000: 222-223).

⁴ This perfect is attested at R 6,34.11.

⁵ See LIV 21-22, BURROW (1955: 342), KÜMMEL (2000: 23-41) and HOFFMANN / FORSSMAN § 203 (p. 233).

8.1.3.1. Singular

Because of paradigmatic levelling, the 3sg. of \sqrt{hu} has full and not lengthened grade – *juhava*, R 6,67.4 v.l. = 69.23 v.l.¹ (CE [both times] *juhuve*²) –, and 3sg. *ātm.* of \sqrt{vyath} and \sqrt{vyadh} do not show *saṃprasāraṇa* ([°] *vivyathe*, Mbh 2,46.19, 6,48.26, 69.10, 78.45, 7,30.27, 8,18.24, 9,11.17, R 2,1784*.2, 6,55.19, *vivyadhe*, Mbh 6,75.11, 80.5, 98.13).

rem. (a) SEN (1951c: 16) regards *mamātha* ‘has torn’ as an irregularly reduplicated perfect of \sqrt{manth} . The underlying root, however, is \sqrt{math} ‘to tear, to rob’, and thus this perfect is a (completely) regular form. Because of a confusion of \sqrt{math} and \sqrt{manth} , the latter also forms a perfect *mamātha* (♣ 6.7); (b) a similiar confusion of roots ($\sqrt{bhū}$ x $\sqrt{bhā}$) is to be found in *babhau*, Mbh 8,33.60 (*kacākaci babhau yuddham* [v.l. *āsī*]), 54.5 (*ghoro ninādaḥ prababhau* [v.l. *babhūva*]), 12,274.3 v.l. (*jvaraḥ prādur babhau* [CE *prādur abhūt*]), 274.7 (*asya ... pārśve sthitā babhau* [v.l. *babhūva*]), 278.14 (*uśanā dūratas tasya babhau* [v.l. *abhūt*])³.

8.1.3.2. Dual

Some dual forms do not have *saṃprasāraṇa* ablaut: (*ā*)*vivyathatuḥ*, R 6,1669*.3, *vivyadhatuḥ*, Mbh 7,67.30, 8,9.13, 9,9.35, 16.13, R 6,78.10, *vivyadhāte*, Mbh 6,110.6, 7,148.3. Some forms show the (generalised) full grade:

(*ni*)*cakartatuḥ*, R 6,67.30, (*vi*)*cakarṣatuḥ*, Mbh 1,141.22⁴, R 6,App.23.7, *dadarṣatuḥ*, R 3,65.21, 70.4 v.l. (CE *apaśyatām*), App.17.8, 5,33.22, (*niṣ*)*pipeṣatuḥ*, R 3,46*.2, *mumocatuḥ*, R 7,App.1.229 v.l. (CE *amuñcatām*), (*ā*)*viveṣatuḥ*, Mbh 1,214.20 (v.l. *viviṣatuḥ*), *vavarṣatuḥ*, Mbh

¹ See SATYA VRAT (1964: 212).

² On the double sandhi of *juhuvendrajīt* see (♣) 1.8.14.

³ See PISCHEL (1908: 184-185).

⁴ On *ākarsatuḥ* see (♣) 8.1.1.

7,114.13, 8,40.13, R 3,43*.1, 6,75.33, 87.22, (vi)sasarjatuḥ, R 3,68.1, pasparśatuḥ, R 6,67.23.

(ni)jagrāhatuḥ, Mbh 3,132.4, vavāhatuḥ, Mbh 1,164.5, 3,144.20, and tuṣṭāvatuḥ, Mbh 7,57.48 v.l. (CE tuṣṭuvāte) even have the lengthened grade (as to the reduplication of vavāhatuḥ see [↗] 8.1.2).

Roots of the form *CaC* whose initial consonant is unchanged in reduplication (i.e. which is not a guttural, an aspirate or a *v*) and some other roots (on which see KIELHORN § 318a/b) have (analogical¹) *CeC-* as their weak stem. By extension also \sqrt{vip} (~ $\sqrt{vep^2}$) and \sqrt{lip} have such perfect forms: *pra-vepāte*, Mbh 2,16.35, *lepuḥ*, R 6,48.27 v.l. (CE *lilipuh*).

8.1.3.3. Plural

Also some plural forms do not have *saṃprasāraṇa* ablaut: *vivyajuḥ*, Mbh 9,1.44, *vivyadhuh*, Mbh 1,179.18 v.l., 3,20.18, 6,65.25, 69.27, 96.40, 7,25.51, 31.53, 8,39.13, R 5,55.30, 6,42.4, (°)*vivyathuh*, Mbh 6,80.9, 8,32.30, 68.49, *vivyathire*, R 6,App.11.27.

(°)*ānarcuh*, Mbh 3,27.25, 45.1, 180.12.40, 275.2, R 2,3.32, *cikṣveduh*, R 6,40.61 v.l. (CE *kṣvelanti*), *apākarṣuh*³, Mbh 3,128.2, (pra)*cakarṣuh*, R 6,15.15, 34.8, *jagrahuḥ*, R 1,44.22 v.l. (of ed. Bomb., not recorded by CE [see SEN 1951c: 12]), *bibheduh*, Mbh 8,60.15 v.l., *mamarduḥ*, Mbh 3,62.7 v.l. (CE *mamarda*), *vavarṣuh*, Mbh 1,26.32, 96.21, 3,179.2, R 3,465*.5, 581*.3, 6,45.36, 7,App.1.188, (vi)*cakartire*, R 6,34.7 v.l. (CE *vyadārayan*), 34.8 v.l.

¹ It was the *-e-* (notably) of the perfect of \sqrt{yam} (*yem-* < **ia-īm-*) and of \sqrt{sad} (*sed-* < **sa-zd-*) that formed the base of this analogy (see BURROW 1955: 341-342, RENOUE 1952: 277 and NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 12).

² There was, however, a tendency to generalize the stem *vep-* (see VIA I 177).

³ On this form see (↗) 8.1.1.

(CE *cakarṣuḥ* [see above]), 81.11 v.l. (CE *vyakartayan*), *jaharṣire*, R 6,79.17 ([*jag.*] [-] ॥ -), have (by analogy) the full instead of the zero grade, (*pra*)*mamārjuḥ*, R 2,96.16, and (*ava*)*nanāmire*, Mbh 1,124.23 ([*b*] ॥ -), the lengthened instead of the zero and full grade respectively.

8.1.4. Periphrastic perfect¹

Instead of the demanded periphrastic perfect² the simple one is formed with the following roots:

(*up*)*āsire*, Mbh 1,224.32, *nir-ikṣatuḥ*, R 3,65.7 v.l. (CE *vicikyatuḥ*), *īḍire*, R 3,4.10 (v.l. *aīḍayan*), *īhatuḥ*, R 7,34.18, *pupūje*, R 6,659* v.l. (of the NW recension [not recorded by CE])³, *pupūjire*, Mbh 6,81.37 (v.l. *pra-pūjire*), *pra-pūjire*, R 6,15.33 v.l., 7,1053*⁴, *babhakṣa*, R 6,55.71, 1063*, *mamantrire*, R 6,App.32.18.

¹ See STENZLER § 212-213, KIELHORN § 328-330, WHITNEY § 1070-1073, RENOUE § 362 and AiGr. II,1 § 143-146. According to WHITNEY § 1070b the periphrastic perfect with $\sqrt{bhū}$ as auxiliary – an ‘Epic’ innovation (see BLOCH 1965: 221) – is found only nine times in the Mahābhārata while that with \sqrt{as} is very frequent and that with $\sqrt{kṛ}$ is to be met with only occasionally. This information may need some correction after the publication of the critical edition.

² Sometimes a *parasmaipada* periphrastic perfect is formed from typically *ātmanepada* verbs: *manujāḥ ... vikṣāṃ cakruḥ*, Mbh 1,124.23, *tam evārthaṃ dhyāyamānā manobhir āsāṃ cakrur atha tatrāmītau jāḥ*, 183.1, *āsāṃ cakrur mahārheṣu pārthiveṣv āsaneṣu ca*, 200.8.

³ See SEN (1951/52: 127).

⁴ On the lack of reduplication see (♣) 8.1.1.

After the pattern of *gamáyati* : *gamayāṃ cakāra* a ‘periphrastic’ perfect is built from primary verbs in *-ayati* after preverbs. And this perfect has the same meaning as the simple one¹:

ñayām āsa, Mbh 1,27.7, App.118.20, 4,62.1, 9,48.11², 16,8.42, R 1,69.5 v.l., 2,30*.4, 770*.4, 1180*.12, 6,99.42, *ānayāṃ cakre*, R 2,3.7 (v.l. *ānināya*), *vi-smayām āsa*, Mbh 13,18.45, *(ā)hvayām āsa*, Mbh 1,114.1, R 7,1026*, 61.2, *(ā)hvayāṃ cakrire*, R 1,387*.1.

Occasionally the imperfect of \sqrt{as} may be used to form a periphrastic perfect³: *tau kathayām āstām*, Mbh 13,101.7, *sādhayām āsam (aham)*⁴, Mbh 13,106.38. And once a periphrastic-like perfect is formed with another ‘auxiliary’ than \sqrt{as} , \sqrt{kr} or $\sqrt{bhū}$ ⁵, viz. with \sqrt{kram} : *varayāṃ pracakramuḥ* ‘they courted’, Mbh 1,40.8 (*tatas tu rājānam amitratāpanam / samikṣya te tasya nṛpasya mantriṇaḥ / suvarṇavarmānam upetya kāśipaṃ / vapuṣṭanārtham varayāṃ pracakramuḥ* [v.l. *cakrire / babhūvuḥ / babhūvire*])⁶.

8.2. The aorist

The aorist is formed by seven different types of stem which clearly fall into two classes, non-sigmatic ([1.] root-aorist, [2.] *a*-aorist, [3.] reduplicated aorist)

¹ This process started in late Vedic times (see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 495-496 n. 1; cf. WHITNEY § 1071f and VAN DAALEN 1980: 92).

² See critical notes *ad loc.*

³ We may call it *periphrastic imperfect*.

⁴ It seems that the *-m* was taken as a (kind of) *sandhi* consonant (*āsa-m-aham*).

⁵ The auxiliary does not always follow immediately the noun: *anudarśayāṃ tataś cakre*, Mbh 1,70.19, *prekṣāṃ sma cakruḥ*, 178.8, *preṣayāṃ tatra cakre*, 185.14, *darśayāṃ naityakam cakruḥ*, 7,56.3, *nivedayāṃ tadā cakruḥ*, R 7,963*.

⁶ See WHITNEY § 1070c and cf. below (♣), p. 368.

on the one hand (↗ 8.2.1-3) and ([4.] - [7.]) sigmatic on the other (↗ 8.2.4-5)¹. All survive in Epic Sanskrit, where the aorist is used as a vigorous preterite which, however, has lost its specific function, viz. to denote the *recent* past (see TICHY 1997: 598-606).

8.2.1. The root-aorist²

Traces of the imperative of the root-aorist of √*kṛ* are to be found in the Mahābhārata³: *kṛdhi*, 1,122.6 v.l. (*maivam jīṛṇam upāsva tvaṃ sakhyaṃ bhavato apākṛdhi* [CE ... *upāsiṣṭhāḥ sakhyaṃ navam upākuru*⁴]), 2,60.30 (*mā māṃ vivastrāṃ kṛdhi mā vikārṣiḥ*), *kṛdhvam*, 5,56.60 (*mā sma kṛdhvaṃ mano yudhi*⁵ [v.l. *kṛdhvam / kurudhvam*]).

rem. Is the 3sg. *ātm.* (!) *adrṣṭa* 'she saw', Mbh 5,29.33, formed on the analogy of *ācaṣṭa* which is a v.l.? See also crit. notes *ad loc.*

8.2.2. The *a*-aorist⁶

An Epic innovation – though not irregular – is *anaśat*, Mbh 3,92.8 (*vṛttam teṣāṃ tato 'naśat*), 5,72.20 (*mā sma no bhāratā naśan* [v.l. *naśuḥ*]), instead of

¹ On the root aorist see HARDARSON (1993), on the thematic aorist CARDONA (1960), on the reduplicated aorist THIEME (1929) and BENDAHEMAN (1993), and on the sigmatic aorists NARTEN (1964). Cf. also BURROW (1955: 332-340).

² See STENZLER § 216, KIELHORN § 333-336, RENOU § 316-317 and WHITNEY § 829-841.

³ See WHITNEY § 839.

⁴ On *mā ... upākuru* see (↗) 6.5.2.

⁵ See (↗) 6.5.2.

⁶ See STENZLER § 217-218, KIELHORN § 337-340, RENOU § 319-320 and WHITNEY § 846-855.

older *aneśat*¹. It cannot, however, be excluded that this is the imperfect of the (Epic) present *naśati* (↗ 6.6.4.1 [on *mā* with the augmentless imperfect see [↗] p. 186]).

8.2.3. The reduplicated aorist²

Some reduplicated aorists do not have a (strictly) causative meaning (see HOLTZMANN 1884: 30); this corresponds to the fading of the ‘factitive’ meaning of the causative in Epic Sanskrit (↗ 8.8.1)³. They were used as ‘non-causative’ aorists mainly due to metrical exigencies since their prosodic structure – characteristic (◌)-◌x (*[a]jījanat*, *[a]cukrudhat*)⁴ – perfectly fitted into the cadence of the even *śloka-pāda* and into the beginning of the *triṣṭubh* / *jagatī*:

naiṣa dharmah kṛtayuge / yas tvam roṣam acikṛthāḥ ‘In the Kṛtayuga it is not proper that you (= to) fly into a passion’, Mbh 12,323.17 (v.l. *acikarah*)

kiṃ tu kāryagariyastvāt / tatas tvāham acūcudam ‘But because of the gravity of the matter I have to prompt you’, Mbh 1,44.6, *asvatantram hi mām mṛtyur / vivaśam yad acūcudat* ‘... since Mṛtyu prompted me, dependent [and] deprived of will as I am’, 13,1.28, *kālenāham praṇudītaḥ / pannaga tvām acūcudam* ‘I prompted you, o snake, driven by Kāla’, 13,1.43 (as to *codati* ~ *codayati* see GOTO 1987: 142)⁵

¹ On which see HOFFMANN (1967: 64).

² See STENZLER § 219-220, KIELHORN § 341-344, RENOU § 321-322 and WHITNEY § 856-873.

³ On *atītiṣṭhat*, Mbh 1,817* v.l. (CE *avātiṣṭhat*), see PISANI (1934: 69-70).

⁴ On this feature see LEUMANN (1962: 154-155) and BENDAHDAN (1993: 119-120).

⁵ The correspondence of *ajījanat*, Mbh 1,45.13 v.l., and *ajāyata* (so CE) also points to the loss of the causative meaning of the former.

nṛśaṃsaṃ bata kaunteya karmedaṃ kṛtavān asi / apaśyato viśaktasya yan me bāhum acicchidaḥ ‘... that you have cut off my arm’, Mbh 7,118.4 (v.II. *avicchidaḥ, tvam acchidaḥ, tvam ... acchinaḥ*)

(mā vanaṃ chindi savyāghraṃ /) mā vyāghrā nīnaśur vanāt ‘(Do not cut down the forest with its tigers) that the tigers do not vanish from the forest!’, Mbh 5,29.47 v.I.¹ (CE *mā vyāghrān nīnaśo vanāt*), *kalmāṣapāda-putro ’bhūc chañkhaṇas tv iti viśrutaḥ / yas tu tadvīryam āsādya sahaseno vyanīnaśat* ‘There was a son of Kalmāṣapāda known as Śaṅkhaṇa, who ... perished together with his army’, R 2,102.24 (~ *so ’pi daivena vidhinā sasainyo vyanaśat purā*, 2270*²)

grhītvā pariḥaṃ ghoram / karṇasyāśvān apīpiṣat ‘... he crushed the horses of Karṇa’, Mbh 7,148.6 (v.I. *apīdayat*)

amīmṛdat sarvathā te ’dya karṇo / hy astrair astrāṇi kim idaṃ kirīṭin ‘Why did Karṇa ... crush your weapons with his?’, Mbh 8,65.16

śaraiś caivābhyavīvidhat ‘He pierced with his arrows’, Mbh 7,164.38 v.I. (CE *avīvṛṣat*).

The sigmatic aorist *kopiṣṭhāḥ*, Mbh 2,59.3, however, is used as a causative aorist: *āśviṣāḥ śirasi te pūrṇakośā mahāviṣāḥ / mā kopiṣṭhāḥ sumandātman mā gamas tvam yamakṣayam* ‘.... Do not infuriate them! ... ’ (v.I. *ko-payīṣṭ[h]āḥ*)³.

¹ See PW IV col. 78 (l. 8-9).

² This parallel speaks against BROCKINGTON’s translation ‘he destroyed’ (1969/70a: 18 [= ET p. 22]).

³ Some sigmatic aorists were used in a causative sense already in Vedic Sanskrit (see NARTEN 1964: 217-218 and *Kl. Sch.* p. 8-9).

8.2.4. The *s*-aorist¹

chetsīḥ, Mbh 2,488* (v.l. *chaitśīḥ*)², and *yotsīḥ*, Mbh 5,179.23, show full instead of the lengthened grade. But other verbs have the (a) full or (b) lengthened and not the zero grade (mind that *parā+√ji* typically inflects as *ātm.*): (a) *abhidrogdhāḥ*, 3,114.8³, (b) *parājaiṣṭhāḥ*, Mbh 2,60.8 v.l. (CE *°jaiṣīḥ*), 5,37.19 (v.l. *°jaiṣīḥ* / *°jayethāḥ*), *parājaiṣṭa*, 1,155.22 v.l. (CE *°jaiṣīt*).

Singularly are the endings 2sg. *-iḥ* and 3pl. *-anta*: *mā bhaiṣi rambhe bhadram*, R 1,63.4⁴ (~ *mā bhaiṣīḥ*, R 1,58.2, 3,20.5), *adhyaiṣanta*, Mbh 12,224.55 (v.l. *°ṣata*).

(3du.) *agrahītām*, R 1,4.3 v.l. (CE *agrḥṇītām*) and 4,1235* (~ *grḥṇītām*, 4,59.20 [✓ p. 179]), has lost its *-ṣ-* (*agrahīṣṭām*) due to the influence of the 3sg. *agrahīt*⁵.

rem. 2pl. *adrākṣata*, Mbh 8,22.14 (*apy adrākṣata taṃ yūyam*), seems to be a crossing of the *s-* and the *sa*-aorist (*adrākṣ^o x [adrkṣ]ata*).

¹ See STENZLER § 221-224, KIELHORN § 346-351, RENOU § 323-324 and WHITNEY § 878-897.

² This form is attested already in late Vedic texts (see NARTEN 1964: 116).

³ WHITNEY § 834d proposes to read *°drugdhāḥ* (against all mss.), while KULKARNI (1943: 92) sees in it a periphrastic future (his only example for periphrastic future with *mā* [!]). On *vyajñāsta*, Mbh 5,App.4,88, see NARTEN (1964: 122).

⁴ Cg. comments: *mā bhaiṣi rambhe ity atra āṛṣo hrasvaḥ*. And what we expect, is indeed *bhaiṣī rambhe* (< /*bhaiṣīḥ rambhe*/) – the reading of a number of manuscripts.

⁵ See SEN (1951e: 64) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 217).

8.2.5. The *iṣ*-aorist¹

Due to the influence of the present stem *vada-*, the aorist *vadīḥ*, Mbh 1,36.25 (*mā sma ... vadīḥ*), has only full grade². Built on the present stem *aśnāti* is (*pary*)*aśnīḥ*³: *brāhmaṇān mā sma paryaśnīḥ* (—) ‘Do not eat before brahmins’, Mbh 13,58.25.

(Because of metrical exigencies⁴) the *iṣ*-aorist also has in some roots a 2sg. *ātm.* formed without *-s-*⁵ after the pattern of the ‘asigmatic’ 2sg. *ātm.* of the *s*-aorist (*akṛthāḥ*, *atathāḥ*⁶):

*palāyithāḥ*⁷, Mbh 7,133.16 v.l. (CE [impf.] *palāyathāḥ*)⁸, *aghātayithāḥ*, Mbh 1,75.3 v.l. (CE *aghātayathāḥ*), *vicikitsithāḥ*, Mbh 5,71.23 (*mā ... vicikitsithāḥ* [v.l. *°cikitsathāḥ*]), *pramādithāḥ*, Mbh 12,92.50 (... *mā pramādithāḥ*), (*a*)*varthithāḥ*, Mbh 5,131.38 (*mā ... anuvartithāḥ*), 135.12, *śaṅkithāḥ*, Mbh 1,67.13 (*mā viśaṅkithāḥ*)⁹, 3,32.6 (*mā ... atīśaṅkithāḥ*),

¹ See STENZLER § 225-227, KIELHORN § 352-357, RENOU § 325-326 and WHITNEY § 898-910.

² See NARTEN (1964: 232) on comparable Vedic forms of *√vad*.

³ Cf. Vedic *āśīḥ* ‘you ate’.

⁴ Except *aghātayithāḥ* all forms are the last word in an even *śloka-pāda* (— —).

⁵ See WHITNEY § 904d, LUDWIG (1896: 23) and RENOU § 326 (p. 448).

⁶ Historically these are forms of the root-aorist integrated into the paradigm of the *s*-aorist (see NARTEN 1964: 32 / 127).

⁷ On the regular *palāyīṣṭhāḥ* – which would not have scanned in the Mahābhārata stanza – see NARTEN (1964: 291-292).

⁸ I was not able to trace *kārayithāḥ* which according to LUDWIG (1896: 23) is attested at Mbh ed. Bomb. 3,50,13 in the critical edition.

⁹ Cf. *śaṅkiṣṭhā mā ca pārthiva*, R 1,566*.36.

123.10 (*maivam mā paryasāṅkithāḥ*¹), 5,42.3 (*mā viśāṅkithāḥ*), 7,142.14 (*mā viśāṅkithāḥ* [v. l. *viśāṅkathāḥ*]), 8,23.25 (*mā mā tvam atisāṅkithāḥ*), 12,139.79 v.l. (*mātiśāṅkhithāḥ*)², (based on the present stem³) *ajāyithāḥ*, Mbh 1,94.31 (v.l. *ajanayaḥ*⁴), 12,76.25, (*abhyanu*)*jānithāḥ*, 14,55.16 v.l. (CE *°jānathāḥ*).

rem. (*mā*) *vadhīṣma*, Mbh 5,31.13, is formed on the analogy of (*mā*) *vadhīḥ* / *vadhīt*.

8.3. The precative (see also [↗] 6.2.4)⁵

The *parasmaipada* precative⁶ – basically a root aorist optative (see RENOUE, *Grammaire Védique* § 348, and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,465 / 469 n. 6) – is formed from the root in its weakest grade⁷, the suffix *-yās-* and athematic endings. Hence the precatives of the following roots are wholly regular:

¹ As the Aśvins are addressed *paryasāṅkithāḥ* functions as a ‘dual’ (cf. the v.l. *maivam mā[m] paryasāṅkatām* [2du. impf. (!)]). This points to the formulaic use of the phrase *mā* (... *°*)*sāṅkithāḥ* (x-_-).

² (*mā lobhāc chvānam*) *ādīthāḥ*, the reading of the *crit. ed.*, is most probably not such an aorist without *-s-* of *√ad* but the regular *s*-aorist of *ā-√dā* (cf. *ādīthāḥ*, Mbh 5,122.49 = 127.39, 12,129.79 [(all) *mā* ... *ādīthāḥ*]). As to *ā-√dā* ‘to take, to eat’ see VIA I 4 and OBERLIES (2000: 146).

³ On *iṣ*-aorists formed from present stems see NARTEN (1964: 59).

⁴ At Mbh 1,94.31 *ajāyithāḥ* means ‘you have begot’. On this transitive meaning see VAN DAALLEN (1980: 230-233 / 299-301) and KULIKOV (2001: 242-243).

⁵ See STENZLER § 232, KIELHORN § 380-385, RENOUE § 330-331 and WHITNEY § 921-925 (cf. BURROW 1955: 351-352).

⁶ An *ātmanepada* precative seems not to be attested in the Epics (cf. also WHITNEY § 925b).

⁷ That means that final root vowels are treated as in passive stems.

\sqrt{as} , $\sqrt{krī}$, \sqrt{jan} , $\sqrt{jī}$, \sqrt{dah} , $\sqrt{dṛ}$, \sqrt{nud} , $\sqrt{brū}$, $\sqrt{bhū}$, $\sqrt{mṛj}$, $\sqrt{mṛṣ}$, $\sqrt{śās}$,
 $\sqrt{sprś}$, \sqrt{svap} , $\sqrt{hiṣ}$ ¹.

The following precatives are built against the above-given rule of formation:
 (asūy^o) *abhyasūyām*, Mbh 1,103.13 v.l.² (CE *atyaśnīyām*), *asūyāt*, 12,91.21³,
 ($\sqrt{jī}$) *parājayyāt*, Mbh 1,216.28 v.l. (CE *jīyāt*), 2,15.3, 4,46.17⁴.

A back-formation – from the 3sg. *bhūyāt* – is 1sg. *bhūyām*, Mbh 13,137.7
 (*sahasrabāhur bhūyām vai*)⁵.

rem. In the mss. many precatives have optatives as variant readings (and *vice versa*):
khyāyet (pass. [!]), Mbh 4,47.9 (v.l. *khyāyāt*), *jāyāt*, Mbh 3,13.62 (v.l. [S except T2 G3]
jāyet), *ādriyet*, Mbh 12,139.83 (v.l. CE *ādriyāt*), *praṇudyāt*, Mbh 13,62.13 (v.l. *praṇudyet*),
śīsyāt, Mbh 4,4.12 v.l. (CE *śīsyet*), *supyāt*, Mbh 13,77.15 (v.l. *supyet* [!])⁶.

¹ I was not able to trace *kriyāt*, *grhyāt*, *ucchidyāt* – forms cited by LUDWIG (1896: 18) – in the text of the *critical edition* of the Mahābhārata.

² KULKARNI (1946: 14) and KATRE (1954: 57) erroneously (see the following foot note) see in *abhyasūyām* a haplology of **abhyasūyayām*.

³ The precative of (*abhy*)*asūyati*, Mbh 14,20.5, should be (3sg.) **asūyyāt*. Such a simplification of geminate *-yy-* is also seen in the absol. *abhyasūya*, R 2,8.1 v.l. (CE *°sūyya*). Cf. AiGr. II,2 § 638c.

⁴ On this ‘present precative’ (a form like late Vedic *siñcyāt* [on which see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,518 n.]) see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,474 (note also the *parasm.* voice of the typical *ātm.* verb *parājayate*).

⁵ This only looks like the old form which was replaced by *bhū-yās-am* with generalised *-yās-* (see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* II,469-470).

⁶ And the (athematic) precative and the (thematic) optative were repeatedly crossed, yielding a ‘yet-optative’ (cf. *v.ll.*). On this ‘thematicised’ precative see KULIKOV’s study (forthc. a).

8.4. The future¹

The Epics have a number of ‘new’ futures, which (a) have a connecting *-i-* which was not there in Vedic Sanskrit, or (b) which do not have one²:

(a) *jāyīṣyati*, R 1,26.3, 6,52.12, 56.15, 7,20.24³, (*parā*)*jāyīṣyate*, Mbh 7,78.18, (*pra*)*tapiṣyati*, Mbh 3,188.75, °*dahiṣyati*, Mbh 1,51.7, R 6,47.6, 53.36, 65.12, (°)*bandhiṣyate*, Mbh 3,135.36, R 3,43.33, *bhajiṣyati*, Mbh 1,92.12, 3,78.12, 188.70, *bhajiṣyate*, R 2,107.16, (*ni*)*majjiṣyati*, Mbh 2,40.10, (*ā*)*rohiṣyate*, Mbh 13,12.11, (*nir*)*vapiṣyati*, R 4,61.9, (*ni*)*vasiṣyati* (³*vas*), Mbh 6,34.8, *vasiṣyate* (³*vas*), R 7,77.14, *vahiṣyāmi*, Mbh 1,143.12, °*vartiṣyati*, Mbh 5,110.22, 6,19.10, 7,120.73, 9,34.66, °*var-tiṣyate*, Mbh 2,16.17, 4,48.12, 5,71.33, 7,117.18, (*pra*)*saviṣyasi*, R 7,9.18 (on *√nī* see below)

(b) *kṣaṃsyati*, Mbh 3,188.42, *kṣaṃsyate*, Mbh 2,66.16, 72.29, (°)*vetsyati* (¹*vid*), Mbh 1,225.11, R 1,20.11, 2,634*, 6,835*, *vetsyate* (¹*vid*), Mbh 1,189.13, R 4,27.42, (°)*śeṣyati*, Mbh 3,267.30, 5,3.23 v.l., *śeṣyate*, Mbh 2,50.27, R 2,103.14, *haṃsyate*, Mbh 4,21.33.

The °*ṣya-* as well as the °*iṣya-*future are thus found side by side with some roots, such as (e.g.)⁴

¹ See STENZLER § 233-236, KIELHORN § 367-377, RENOUE § 338-340 and WHITNEY § 931-950 (cf. BURROW 1955: 331-332).

² Not only typical *seṭ*-roots form their future with *-iṣya-* (see SCHULZE 1934: 101-104 and TURNER 1975: 323). And there are no simple rules by which the distribution of *-ṣya-* and *-iṣya-* can be stated (see WHITNEY § 934-935 and RENOUE § 338 [p. 461]). So it seems best to contrast Epic and Vedic usage and to note only the main differences in the formation of the future.

³ There are some sporadic instances of this future in Vedic Sanskrit. It is formed in the way as *nayīṣyati* (on which see the foot note 1 on the following page).

⁴ See BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 13 [= *ET* p. 15]).

kṣamiṣyati, Mbh 3,122.23, R 4,52.22, *kṣamṣyati* / °te (see above), *jayiṣyati* / °te (see above), (°) *jeṣyate*, Mbh 2,44.21, 3,1227*.6, *tapiṣyati* (see above), *tapsyate*, Mbh 8,27.32, R 1,60.2, (*sam*) *tyajīṣyati*, R 7,49.11, 50.12, (°) *tyakṣyati*, R 2,41.18, 4,53.15, *tyakṣyate*, R 3,43.33, 4,61.15, *nayiṣyati*, Mbh 1,67.18, 141.7, R 2,27.18, 3,48.25¹, (°) *neṣyati*, R 2,30.9, 3,54.15, *rohīṣyate* (see above), *rokṣyate*, Mbh 3,43.18, *vahiṣyati* (see above), *vakṣyate*, Mbh 8,25.5, *vartiṣyati* / °te (see above), *vartsyate*, Mbh 5,142.11, *śayiṣyate*, R 2,37.15, 82.23, 3,48.22, *śeṣyati* / °te (see above), *svapsyati*, R 2,1248*.4, *svapiṣyati*, R 2.37.15 v.l. (CE *śayiṣyate*), *svapiṣyate*, R 2,557*.3 v.l. (CE *lapsye*), *svapsyate*, Mbh 5,184.14, R 1,46.19 v.l., 3,29.7, 6,5.9, *haniṣyati*, Mbh 8,22.30, 26.52, R 6,2.5, *haṃsyate* (see above)².

We only rarely meet with the wrong grade of vowel in the stem: *grhīṣyati*, Mbh 4,48.15 v.l.³, R 2,66.27 v.l. (CE *grahīṣyāmi*), *grhīṣyate*, Mbh 12,192.109 v.l. (CE *grahīṣyase*), R 2,66.13 v.l. (CE *grahīṣye*)⁴, *āśiṣyate* ‘he will lie down’, Mbh 5,47.9⁵.

¹ This future is formed after the model of the causative (*-ayati* :: *-ayiṣyati*). And the same holds good for the periphrastic future *nayitā* (see MISTELI, *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 11/12, p. 453).

² On *nañṣyati* (~ *naṣiṣyati*) see below.

³ Though this is the reading of ‘most MSS.’, the *critical edition* reads *grahīṣyāmah* apparently assuming a *r* ~ *ra* fault (on which see [♣] p. 9).

⁴ See also (→) *√gra(b)h*. Note that a confusion between *gra* and *gr*, which in scripts such as *Grantha* are often indistinguishable, is likely to be transmissional.

⁵ This seems to be the future of *ā/śi* with ‘Prakritic’ shortening of the root vowel (see critical notes *ad loc.*). Or is this form only due to the confusion of *ś* and *s*, i.e. do we have to read *āsiṣyate* ‘he will sit down’ (cf. [♣] p. 154 n. 3)?

(*pra*)*jāsyati*, Mbh 1,93.38, 3,188.48, 225.25, R 1,36.6, and *jahiṣyati*, Mbh 3,88.30, R 5,11.31 v.l. (CE *dhārayiṣyati*), are based on the present stem, while *nañkṣyati*, Mbh 1,119.9e (*sānubandhā vinañkṣyanti* [—]), 6,40.58d (*na śroṣyasi vinañkṣyasi* [—]), 12,51.17¹, is formed from the root variant $\sqrt{naṃs}$ ² (see WHITNEY § 936a/c and RENOUE § 338 [p. 461])³, as are *vetsyati* ‘he will pierce’, Mbh 1,177.22, 13,98.6, and *vetsyate*, Mbh 13,98.7⁴, from the ‘secondary’ root \sqrt{vidh} (→ 6.8).

8.4.1. Haplogized future

A kind of haplogized future – $^{\circ}ikṣ<iṣ>yati$ / $^{\circ}miṣ<iṣ>yati$ – is attested from $\sqrt{ikṣ}$ and $\sqrt{miṣ}$: *nirikṣyāvaḥ*, R 3,61.14 v.l. (CE *vicesyāmaḥ*), *prekṣyatha*, 4,39.34 v.l. (CE *drakṣyatha*), *pariprekṣyati*, 6,23.25 v.l. (CE *pariprakṣyati*), *prekṣyati*, 6,1019*.4 v.l.⁵ (CE *drakṣyasi*), *prekṣye*, Mbh 5,App.13.8⁶, *nimiṣyanti*, R 7,App.8.202⁷ (on *didhakṣyāmi* see [→] p. 257).

¹ This is obviously used to have a long fourth syllable in the *triṣṭubh* (*jñānāni nañkṣyanti* ...).

² On which see OBERLIES (1990: 149).

³ And *dhvañkṣyati* (→ $\sqrt{dhvaṃs}$) seems to be formed in analogy.

⁴ All three forms have a v.l. *bhetsyo*.

⁵ Ct. comments: *prekṣyasi prekṣisyasi*.

⁶ See LUDWIG (1896: 23).

⁷ See RENOUE § 338 (p. 461). Possibly also *rakṣye*, R 1,60.18 v.l. (CE *rakṣe*), belongs here (see MICHELSON 1904: 135 and BROCKINGTON 1969/70a: 4 [= ET p. 5]).

8.4.2. Modes of the future

Epic Sanskrit knows 'modes' of the future¹, (a) an *imperativus futuri*² and perhaps (b) an *optativus futuri*³:

(a) *kariṣyāva*, Mbh 1,201.21⁴, *drakṣyāva*, Mbh 1,18.5, *bhakṣayiṣyāva*, Mbh 1,139.10, *mantrayiṣyāva*, Mbh 5,111.23, *anu-yāsyāva*, Mbh 10,4.12⁵, *raṁsyāva*, R 4,App.15.42⁶, *rocisyāva*, Mbh 5,96.5, *nī-var-tiṣyāva*, Mbh 5,110.22

prāpsyāma, Mbh 1,129.18, 222.14 v.l. (CE *prāpsyāmahe*), 10,4.11, 12,7.3, R 1,44.16, *eṣyāma*, Mbh 3,140.9⁷, *preṣayiṣyāma*, Mbh 5,22*.1, (^o)*kariṣyāma*, Mbh 3,173.16, 7,5.11, 13,650*.1, R 1,39.8, *kalpayiṣyāma*, Mbh 8,24.66, *gamiṣyāma*, R 2,85.55 (*naivāyodhyāṁ gamiṣyāmo na gamiṣyāma daṇḍakān* [!]), 7,35.63, *ghātayiṣyāma*, Mbh 5,191.8, *vi-cariṣyāma*, Mbh 8,24.10, *jeṣyāma*, Mbh 5,55.5, *tariṣyāma*, R 1,800*.5, *tādayiṣyāma*, Mbh 8,30.25, (^o)*tārayiṣyāma*, R 1,800*.5, 2,83.9, *drakṣyāma*, R 1,46.19 v.l. (CE *draṣṭum arhasi*), 2,35.19, 1030*.18,

¹ On sporadic Vedic forms see PATYAL (1969).

² See WHITNEY § 938, HOLTZMANN (1884: 33), LUDWIG (1896: 22), HOPKINS (1901: 247 n. 3), BÖHILINGK (1887: 222-223), ROUSSEL (1910: 25), MICHELSON (1904: 125 / 136), SEN (1951a: 1-2), id. (1951/52: 127), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 15-16 [= *ET* p. 18]), RENOUE § 340c, SPEYER (1886: 272 with n. 1 [§ 350]) and id. (1896: 58 [§ 192]), SEN (1995: 367-368) – referring to THOMAS, *AO* 12 (1934) 51 with n. 3 – points to the existence of such a formation in the Niya documents.

³ See WHITNEY § 938, LUDWIG (1896: 22), MICHELSON (1904: 136), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 15 [= *ET* p. 18]) and RENOUE § 340b (for MIA see VON HINÜBER § 442).

⁴ It is possible that this is a case of double *sandhi* (↗ 1.8.3 [p. 35]).

⁵ Since a word with initial *s-* follows the sandhi (*anuyāsyāvas sahitau*) might have been simplified (cf. [↗] p. 22 n. 1).

⁶ See preceding foot note.

⁷ SEN (1950/51: 126) cites this form from the Rāmāyaṇa though without a reference.

bhaksyaṣyāma, Mbh 5,21.17, *bhokṣyāma*, Mbh 9,348*.7 (v.l. *prāpsyāma*), (^o)*yāsyāma*, Mbh 3,2.2, 8,22.60, *yotsyāma*, Mbh 3,120.25, 4,47.17, 863*, 7,151.9, *raṁsyāma*, Mbh 2,42.49, *prati-lapsyāma*, R 4,App.2.37, *vatsyāma*, R 2,15.6, 800*.3, 3,14.19, 4,App.15.5, *vadhiṣyāma*, Mbh 3,102.17, 12,10.4, R 6,7.16 v.l. (*tān vadhiṣyāma vānarān* [CE *tvaṁ vadhiṣyasi rāghavam*]), *vartayīṣyāma*, Mbh 9,3.16, *pra-vekṣyāma*, Mbh 5,141.42 (°*syāma* | *iti*), R 2,48.15 v.l. (CE °*āmaḥ*), *śakṣyāma*, R 2,50.7 v.l. (CE *śakṣyāmī*), *śrāvayīṣyāma*, R 5,60.29 v.l. (CE *śrāvayīṣyāmī*), *sādhayīṣyāma*, Mbh 2,18.3, *abhi-sekṣyāma*, Mbh 5,3.20, *ni-haniṣyāma*, Mbh 10,4.9, *vi-hariṣyāma*, Mbh 4,1.14, 5.14
drakṣyantū, R 6,60.7 v.l. (CE *drakṣyanti*), *vi-neṣyantū*, R 3,54.24 (v.l. *vineṣyadhvam*), *vatsyantū*, R 7,39.16
tyakṣyasva, Mbh 4,13.17 v.l. (see [✓] 6.5.6)
kariṣyadhvam, Mbh 5,27.16, 13,65.20, *gamiṣyadhvam*, R 7,35.63 v.l. (see [✓] 6.5.6), *carīṣyadhvam*, Mbh 1,208.21 (v.l. *bhaviṣyadhvam*), *uc-cārayīṣyadhvam*, Mbh 13,84.37, *jīvayīṣyadhvam*, Mbh 3,266.33, *drakṣyadhvam*, Mbh 7,50.72, 9,24.39, R 4,66.18, *bhaviṣyadhvam*, Mbh 3,217.8, 12,327.53, R 1,26.24, *bhāvayīṣyadhvam*, Mbh 12,327.58, (^o)*mokṣyadhvam*, Mbh 1,123.70 v.l. (CE *mokṣayadhvam*), 8,30.59, *yakṣyadhvam*, Mbh 7,164.52, *anu-yāsyadhvam*, Mbh 5,57.19, *pra-yāsyadhvam*, R 6,65.9 v.l. (of NW rec., not recorded by CE¹), *vadhiṣyadhvam*, Mbh 5,141.35, *vetsyadhvam*, Mbh 1,15.13 (v.l. *lapsyadhvam*), 144.19, *pra-saviṣyadhvam*, Mbh 6,25.10
(b) *dhakṣyet*, Mbh 1,221.19 v.l. (CE *dahyāt*), *drakṣyeta*, R 3,1074*.4².

¹ See SEN (1951a: 2).

² I could not trace *mamsyeraṇ*, Mbh, which is cited by WHITNEY § 938.

The forms under (a) seem to attest to the existence of a real imperative formation¹ – they are not merely cases of the substitution of secondary for primary endings (on which see [↗] 6.3.1) – which is due to the projection of a command into the future². Note the preponderance of the (hortative) 1st plural. On the *optativus futuri* see also (↗) p. 157.

8.5. The periphrastic future³

As *veddhā*, Mbh 1,176.11, and *sāsītā*, Mbh 7,39.6, are formed from the ‘secondary’ roots √*vidh* ‘to pierce’ and √*sās* ‘to cut’ (↗ 6.8) the sole irregular periphrastic future is *spr̥ṣṭā*, Mbh 5,127.49 (cf. *addenda et corrigenda ad loc.* [p. 734])⁴.

The auxiliary⁵ verb does not always follow (in the 1st and 2nd persons) (a) directly after the *tr*-noun⁶, and (b) sometimes this verb is omitted even in the

¹ Such forms “occur very rarely” in Buddhist Sanskrit (BHSG § 31.37). And they are still rarer in MIA (but note that MIA has *-ma* as the regular ending in the 1pl. future): Pāli only knows *viharissāmu* and Pkt. only *dāhāmu* (see OBERLIES 2001: 244 n. 4 and PISCHEL § 530).

² On the old imperative future in *-tāt* gone out of use in late Vedic see (↗) p. 175.

³ See STENZLER § 234-236, KIELHORN § 373-377, RENOUE § 363-364, WHITNEY § 942-947 and AiGr. II,2 § 504.

⁴ On the periphrastic future *nayitā* see above (↗), p. 233 n. 1.

⁵ The periphrastic future participates in the irregularities of the auxiliary (see [↗] 7.2.1): *kartāraḥ sma*, Mbh 1,53.21, *kartārau sva*, Mbh 1,215.19 (v.l. *sma*). Note the dual and plural form of the *tr*-noun in these examples.

⁶ The periphrastic future is based on the *nomen agentis* (on which see TICHY 1995) with accented suffix (*dātī-*). If the *tr*-noun is not accompanied by an accusative or genitive ‘object’, it is in the epics not always easy to decide whether it is a *nomen agentis* – e.g. *aham draṣṭā*, Mbh 1,1.117 – or a periphrastic future (without auxiliary).

1st and 2nd persons¹ if the subject is denoted by a pronoun (in which case the *tr*-noun agrees in number with the pronoun)²:

(a) *nādhigantā tad asmi*, Mbh 1,84.5, *pratigrahītā tām asmi*, Mbh 1,42.7³, *draṣṭā tavāsmi*, Mbh 3,173.19, *tad asmi kartā*, Mbh 2,52.15, *tathāsmi kartā*, R 4,7.4, *ahaṃ manye pūrvam eko 'smi gantā*, Mbh 1,88.17, *śvo 'smi hantā jayadratham*, Mbh 7,51.20 = 21 = 22 + 57.10, *asi narendra gantā*, Mbh 12,12.36, *stha patitāraḥ*, Mbh 1,41.8,

(b)⁴ *nāhaṃ gantā kathaṃcana*, Mbh 6,114.96, *taṃ ahaṃ patitā*, Mbh 8,28.29, *dhruvaṃ tathāhaṃ bhavitā*, Mbh 1,84.9, *ahaṃ hantā pāṇḍavānām anīkam*, Mbh 5,160.10, ... *pitaraṃ tvam | draṣṭā ...*, Mbh 1,36.26; *ahaṃ ... pratigantā*, Mbh 1,88.5, ... *aśvānām ahaṃ ... dātā śataṃ-śatam*, Mbh 1,158.45, *ahaṃ hi rakṣitā tāta bhayāt tvām ...*, Mbh 7,52.25, *ahaṃ ... viśramitā caiva svaptā ca ...*, Mbh 10,4.33, *ahaṃ te prathamam samūhe | hantā ...*, Mbh 5,160.12, *tvam eva bhavitā sārthaḥ svargasyāpi ...*, Mbh 1,110.26, *tvam kāka patitā dhruvam*, Mbh 8,28.28, *taṃ vayaṃ pāṇḍavam ... draṣṭāro ...*, Mbh 3,84.15, *yūyaṃ ... ucchettāraḥ*, Mbh 16,2.9; *kartāham*, Mbh 1,13.24, *kartāhaṃ karmaṇas tasya*⁵, Mbh 2,68.40, *naivaṃ ... kṣeptāhaṃ khevicāriṇam*, Mbh 8,345*, *sarvaṃ tat te pradātāham*, Mbh

¹ See WHITNEY § 944b, HOLTZMANN (1884: 33-34), SEN (1951a: 8-10) and SPEYER (1896: 54 [§ 183]).

The 2nd person pronoun (sg.) may be replaced by *bhavān*: *nalam jetā bhavān hi sahito mayā*, Mbh 3,56.4.

² That both the auxiliary *and* the pronoun are missing is only occasionally met with (see HOLTZMANN 1884: 33-35 [§ 944]): *śvo nihantā samāgame* 'Tomorrow you will kill in the battle ...' Mbh 10,4.4 v.1. (CE *śvo 'si hantā samāgame*).

³ See HARA (1987/88: 205).

⁴ The examples are arranged according to the (position of the) personal pronouns.

⁵ Note the genitive.

1,155.12, *saṃpraveṣṭāhaṃ jvalitaṃ jātavedasam*, Mbh 7,51.37¹, *yod-dhāham*, R 1,19.3, *yātā tvam*, R 2,110.10, *śayītā tvam*, R 3,54.5 (↗ 6.2.10), *kartā cāham*, R 1,17.38, *smārayitā te²'ham*, Mbh 2,68.17, *gantāro narakam vayam*, Mbh 1,88.10.

Sometimes a form of *√as* and the appropriate personal pronoun is added: *kartāraḥ sma vayam*, Mbh 7,16.14³. And occasionally the auxiliary even appears in the optative (*yoddhā syām*, R 1,19.25 [cf. *draṣṭā bhavet*, Mbh 4,152*])⁴.

The gender of the agent may be expressed in the ^o*tr*-noun (see SPEYER 1886: 258): *tasyādya bhāryā bhaginī mameyaṃ / kṛṣṇā bhavitrī ...*, Mbh 1,176.35 (v.l. *bhavitā*), *bhavitrī ca caturdaśī*, 3,115.6, *bhavitrī tatra vaidehī*, 3,266.55⁵.

¹ See HARA (1987/88: 210).

² It is not possible to decide whether *te* is an accusative (see [↗] 4.2.3) or a genitive.

³ On the plural form *kartāraḥ* see above, p. 237 n. 5.

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 258), WHITNEY § 944c and SEN (1951a: 10).

⁵ Cf. *ekā janayitā ... putram*, R 1,37.8 (see SPEYER 1886: 258).

8.6. The conditional¹ (see also [♣] 6.2.11)

paritrāsyah, Mbh 8,13.24, and *bhaviṣyat*, Mbh 2,51.25 are conditionals² without augment³.

8.7. The passive⁴

The passive⁵ has also *parasmaipada* endings – as generally in Middle Indic⁶ –, which are often due to metrical exigencies (see also [♣] 9.1)⁷:

iṣyati, Mbh 1,11.15b ([... *iṣya*]ti vai tava [◡-◡-])⁸, (*pra*)*kīryet*, Mbh 3,225.27 v.l. (CE *viśīryet* [on which see below]), *kliśyati*, Mbh 14,19.26d ([... *kliśya*]ti kenacit [◡-◡-]), (*vyuc*)*chidyet*, Mbh 1,147.8 (v.l. *chidyeta*),

¹ See STENZLER § 237-238, KIELHORN § 378-379, 592, WHITNEY § 940-941 and RENOUE § 340 (p. 462-463).

² As far as I have been able to determine, a conditional is attested in the Epics from the following roots: √*i*, √*kr*, √*gam*, √*gra(b)h*, √*glah*, √*car*, √*cud* (caus.), √*jñā*, √*tap*, √*trā*, √*dah*, √*dā*, √*dīv*, √*dṛś*, √*dhr* (caus.), √*naś*, √*nī*, √*pac*, √*pat*, √*bhū*, √*man*, √*yuj*, √*rakṣ*, √*vac*, √*vadh*, ¹√*vr* (caus.), √*sah*, √*han*.

³ On such forms in Buddhist Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan see BHSG § 31.38 and OBERLIES (2001: 250 n. 2).

⁴ See STENZLER § 239-249, KIELHORN § 386-399, WHITNEY § 768-774 / 998-999, RENOUE § 341-343 and SPEYER (1886: 239-240 [§ 319]).

⁵ There are no irregularities of formation (on *sāsyate* ‘is ordered’ see [♣] 6.8).

⁶ See PISCHEL § 535, OBERLIES (2001: 254 [§ 53]), BHSG § 37.10 and VON HINÜBER § 459.

⁷ See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 220), HOLTZMANN (1884: 25-26), MICHELSON (1904: 132), SPEYER (1886: 241), SUKTHANKAR (1934/35: 101-102), VAN DAALLEN (1980: 86) and RENOUE § 342 *rem.*

⁸ GUPTA (1938: 93) regards this form as an ind. pres. *parasm.*

*dahyati*¹, Mbh 2,28.22, 12,17.18 = 171.56 = 268.4 ([... *dahya*]ti *kiṃcana* [↘-↘-])², *dīryati*, Mbh 1,48.22b ~ 3,7.4d ([*hṛdayam dīryatīva me* [↘-↘-]), *dūyati*, Mbh 1,221.6b (*hṛdayam dūyatīva me* [↘-↘-]), *drśyati*, Mbh 1,71.44, 219.5, 2,62.5, 3,70.34, 5,44.21, 7,154.23, 12,327.5d ([... *drśyan*]ti *sarvaśaḥ* [↘-↘-]), R 4,38.23d ([...] *adrśyatām* [↘-↘-]), *dhmāyati*, Mbh 2,45.30d ([... *dhmāya*]ti *nityaśaḥ* [↘-↘-]), *pacyanti*, Mbh 5,107.14b ([... *pacyan*]ti *gālava* [↘-↘-]), 14,39*(d) ([... *pacyan*]ti *mānavāḥ* [↘-↘-]), (*abhi*)*pūryanti*, Mbh 14,20.27d (*te 'bhīpūryanti tejasā* [↘-↘-]), *badhyet*, R 6,2.9 (v.l. *badhyeta*), *bhajyati*, Mbh 5,50.18, 9,20.1, R 6,27.11, (*ud*)*bhid-**yati*, Mbh 5,97.17, (*upa*)*bhujyatām*, Mbh 1,126.14d (... *upa-bhujyatām* [↘-↘-]), (*saṃ*)*bhriyantū*, Mbh 1,47.9d = R 1,11.14b (*saṃbhārāḥ saṃbhriyantū me*³ [↘-↘-]), *mucyati*, Mbh 1,23.11, 137.21, 145.25, 4,61.20 ([*tri.-cad.*] ... *yathā na mucyēt*), *mokṣyati*, Mbh 1,34.13, 3,300*(d) (... *mokṣyasi matkṛtāt* [↘-↘-]), *yujyeyuḥ*, R 6,1574*, *lipyati*, Mbh 12,303.15d ([... *lipya*]ti *sarvaśaḥ* [↘-↘-]), 326.25, 339.3d ([... *lipya*]ti *karmabhiḥ* [↘-↘-]), *ucyati*, Mbh 11,6.5, *vadhyati*, Mbh 3,101.3d ([... *vadhyān*]ti *brāhmaṇāḥ* [↘-↘-])⁴, 13,112.82d ([... *vadhya*]ti *bhārata* [↘-↘-]), 112.88, *vidyati*, Mbh 4,6.15, (*vi*)*sīryet*, Mbh 3,13.117, 225.27 ([*śata*]dhā *viśīryet* [tri.-cad.]), (*abhi*)*ṣicyantu*, Mbh 5,154.9d ([... *abhiṣicyan*]tu *sapta vai* [↘-↘-]), *hanyati*,

¹ On the class IV present *dahyati* see (↗) p. 192 n. 2. And the possibility cannot be ruled out that some of these passives may in fact be class-IV presents.

² *mithilāyāṃ pradīptāyāṃ na me dahyati kiṃcana* is a famous verse widely attested also in Middle Indo-Aryan texts: *mihilāe ḍajjhamāṇīe na me ḍajjhai kiṃcana*, Uttarajjhayaṇasutta 9,14, *mithilāya ḍayhamānāya / na me kiñci aḍayhatha*, Jātaka VI 54,29*-30*, *mithilāyāṃ dahyamānāyāṃ nāsya dahyati kiṃcana*, Mahāvastu III 453,1 (cf. Udānavarga 30,44: *mithilāyāṃ dahyamānāyāṃ na no dahyati kiñcanam*).

³ Cf. *saṃbhārāḥ saṃbhriyantām me*, Mbh 3,261.15c ~ R 1,11.3c.

⁴ Note that *br-* does not make position (↗ p. XXXVII).

Mbh 13,122.11, *hanyema*, R 4,52.33, *hīyet*, R 5,35.57 (~ *hīyeta*, 817*), *hriyasi*, Mbh 1,165.24, *hriyeyam*, R 3,47.28.

The same holds good for the causative passive:

vicālyati, Mbh 14,19.27 v.l. (CE *vicālyeta*), *dhāryanti*, Mbh 3,149.29 ([b] ... *dhāryanti devatāḥ* / [d] ... *dhāryanti mānavāḥ* [- -]), *pravādyanti*, Mbh 12,53.4 v.l. (CE *pravādyanta* [on which see (↗) 6.4.1]), *vāryāmi*, R 4,23.16 (¹√*vr*).

rem. On the few instances of the passive usage of *paśyate* see (→) √*paś* (and cf. KULIKOV 2001: 435). On the passive participles *paśyamāna-* and *paśyant-* see below (↗), p. 266.

8.7.1. The passive used as active¹

Sporadically² a passive – sometimes with *parasmaipada*-endings – is used in active sense (see also [♣] 6.6.5.2)³:

āsyati, R 7,35.64 (*jaḡāma tatrāsyati yatra mārutaḥ* ‘He went where Māruta had taken his seat’)⁴

avekṣyatu, R 6,115.45 v.l. (*avekṣyatu bhavān kośam* ‘Please, look at the treasury’ [CE *avekṣatām*])

¹ Strictly speaking we do not have to do any longer with a *passive*.

² For the Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1949: 103-104). SEN’s third example, viz. *abhyakīryanta*, R 3,50.15, however, is a wholly regular passive (*padmapatrāṇi ... abhyakīryanta rāvaṇam*). And his examples of $\sqrt{gra(b)h}$, viz. *nigrāhyān na nigrhyase*, NW 3,44,7, and *kapiḥ ... vaktram ... agrhyata*, NW 6,81,115, are not recorded by the *crit. ed.* (3,39.7 and 6,App.56.87*). The same holds good for *abadhyanta*, R Bl. 5,61.9 = CE 5,60.9, and *āhūyate = āhvayati* ‘challenges’, NW 7,22.2.3 = CE 7,34.1.2 (which has [*ā*]hvayati [!]; on *hūyate ~ hvayate* see KULIKOV 2001: 233-235). And as far as *ājñāyata*, R 7,28.32, is concerned, we can separate the second half of the stanza from the first one and translate: ‘Kumbhakarṇa ... had raised various weapons, but it was not known [to him] with whom he struggled ...’ (*kumbhakarṇas tu duṣṭātmā nānāpraharaṇodyataḥ / nājñāyata tadā yuddhe saha kenāpy ayudhyata*). On R 3,8.2 v.l. (*adharmam tu susūkṣmeṇa vidhinā prāpyate mahān* [CE *ayaṃ dharmah susūkṣmeṇa vidhinā prāpyate mahān*]) see ROUSSEL (1910: 21) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 235).

For BHS see BHS § 37.22-23 – citing *āhūyati* ‘challenges’, *Divyāvadāna* 275,9 –, for Prakrit PISCHEL § 550 and for Pāli OBERLIES (2001: 199 n. 4).

³ On the passive participle with active endings see (♣) 9.1.

⁴ Cg. *yatra asyatī* (sic!) *tiṣṭhatīti yāvat*; Ck. *tatra āsyatīti padam / tiṣṭhatīti yāvat*; Ct. *āsyaty āste*.

*kathyase*¹, R 3,38.3 v.l. ([Ś₁ Ñ₁] *kiṃ kim*² *etad ayuktārthaṃ māṛica mayi kathyase* / [G₂] ... *tvam vikathyase* ‘Whatever you have said to me ...’ [CE *yat ... mayi kathyate*])³

jītaḥ svargas tava bhrātrā bharatena mahātmanā / vanastham api tāpasye yas tvām anuvidhīyate ‘Your brother, great Bharata, has won [a place in] heaven who emulates your act of asceticism even while [you are] in the forest’, R 3,15.31 (~ [.....] *tvām anuyāti yaḥ*, 281*)

bhajyati, R 6,27.11 v.l. (*dvidhā bhajyed yamo vā mām* ‘Yama will break me into two parts’ [CE *dvidhā bhajyeyam apy evam*])⁴.

The passive *sajyate* (√*sañj*) was the base of a secondary root⁵ √*sajj* ‘to cling, to be caught’ (with ‘MIA’ assimilation of the cluster -*jy*- [cf. *lajjate* < **lajyate* ~ *rajyate*])⁶.

¹ It cannot be excluded that *kathyase* is a denominative of *kathā*- (type: *prtanyati* ← *prtānā*- [see WHITNEY § 1060]).

² Ñ₁ has *kiṃ tvam etad*.

³ Though the commentary of Govindarāja – cited by the critical notes (p. 451) – sees in *avakīryata*, R 1,36.13, a passive used as active (*avakīryata avākīrat / āṛṣaḥ śyan*) this form does not belong here. This is an idiom attested as early as JB I 362 (on which see KULIKOV 2001: 53-54): ‘He, seeing her extraordinary beauty, was scattered [in the form of his semen] all over’ (*sa tasyā mahimāṃ drṣṭvā samantād avakīryata*).

⁴ The pure reflexive is occasionally expressed by a passive (see SPEYER 1886: 240): *snātvā ca nāvamṛjyeta gātrāṇi suvicakṣaṇaḥ* ‘The wise one, after having taken a bath, should not rub his limbs’, Mbh 13,107.74 (~ *snātvā nāṅgāni mārjayet*, 500*.3), *parimucyasva rāghava* ‘Release yourself, Rāghava!’, R 3,1266*.5.

⁵ On such roots see (♣) 6.8.

⁶ See GOTO (1987: 322 n. 779) and KULIKOV (2001: 371).

8.7.2. *ātmanepada*-forms with passive meaning

According to the Sanskrit grammarians, the *ātmanepada* forms outside the present-system may have also a passive sense¹. Sporadically even *parasmaipada* forms are so used²:

dadṛśuḥ ‘they were seen’, Mbh 6,16.31 (*mahendraketaḥ śubhrā mahendrasadaneṣv iva / saṃnaddhās teṣu te vīra dadṛśur yuddhakāṅkṣiṇaḥ* [~ *mahendraketaḥ śubhrā mahendrasadaneṣv iva / ... vīra ... saṃnaddhāḥ pratyadṛśyanta* [!] *grahāḥ prajvalitā iva*, 6,18.7cd / 8])
bibhiduḥ ‘they were split’, R 5,1.18 (*tās tadā saviṣair daṣṭāḥ kupitais tair mahāśilāḥ / jājvaluḥ pāvakoddīptā bibhiduḥ ca sahasradhā* [v.l. *vyabhid-yanta*])³.

rem. The first trace of what later was to become the periphrastic passive (with $\sqrt{yā}$) is met with at Mbh 2,221* (see SCHOKKER 1969/70: 2-3)⁴: *vaktuṃ nāyāti rājendra etayor niyamasthayaḥ* ‘O king, it is impossible for both of them to speak [because they are] observing a vow’.

¹ See STENZLER § 244, KIELHORN § 223, WHITNEY § 531, RENOUE § 343c, SPEYER (1886: 235-236 [§ 314]), id. (1896: 49 [§ 167]) and DELBRÜCK (1888: 263-265).

In the Epics this usage seems to be restricted to the perfect of roots meaning ‘to see, to hear, to notice’ (see HOLTZMANN 1884: 17-18 [§ 531]): *śuśruve* ‘was heard’, Mbh 6,89.26, 101.13, 114.17, R 2,6.27, 35.25, 70.21, 85.22, 95.47, 3,10.7, 5,54.21, 6,30.9, 34.4, 7,27.20, *dadṛśe* ‘was seen’, Mbh 1,446*.4, 3,263.36, 265.25, *dadṛśāte* ‘were seen’, Mbh 7,13.65.

² The 3sg. aorist passive is “nearly unknown in the epics” (WHITNEY § 845). Only the following instances can be cited: (*a*)*jani*, Mbh 5,131.14 v.l. (*mā ha sma kasyacid gehe jani rājñāḥ kharīmṛduḥ* [CE *jani*]), *udapādi*, 2,63.16, *abhedi*, 12,29.82.

³ *bibhiduḥ* might well be a non-passive intransitive (on such *anti-causatives* see KULIKOV 1998).

⁴ Cf. *klāntaḥ śatrur na kaunteya labhyaḥ pīdayituṃ raṇe* ‘Kaunteya, an exhausted enemy must not be attacked in battle’, Mbh 2,21.20.

8.8. The causative¹

There are only a few anomalies in the formation of causatives, and most of them concern the vowel grade of the stem, a few the suffix.

In Epic Sanskrit there is a marked tendency to build $C(C)\bar{a}C$ -causatives from $C(C)aC$ -roots² (Epic *krāmayati* ~ Vedic *kramayati*, Epic *bhrāmayati* ~ Vedic *bhramayati*, Epic *ś[r]āmayati* ~ Vedic *ś[r]amayati*), metrically equivalent to $C(C)aCC$ - and $C(C)e/oC$ -causatives. But causatives with $-a^{-3}$ are also preserved, and hence some roots have causatives with both short and long medial $-ā$ -: $\sqrt{kṣam}$, (\sqrt{khan}), $\sqrt{ghaṭ}$, \sqrt{nad} , \sqrt{yam} , \sqrt{ram} , $^1\sqrt{śam}$.⁴

The causatives *dhūnayati* (*vidhūnayet*, Mbh 12,120.11, *dhūnayate*, 12,212*), *rundhayati*, Mbh 3,28.11 = 12,7.33, and *siñcayati* (*abhisiñcaya*, R 2,61.25), are influenced by the present stems *dhūn(o)-*, *rundh(a)-* and *siñc(a)-*⁵, while

¹ See STENZLER § 250-257, KIELHORN § 424-438, RENOU § 344-347, WHITNEY § 1041-1052 and SPEYER (1886: 229 [§ 304]). On the causative in the Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1949: 93-99) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 30-32 [= ET p. 36-37]).

² Roots in $-ī$ and $-ū$ regularly have $-āyaya$ -/ $-āvaya$ -causatives (on [rather doubtful] *kṣayayati* → $^2\sqrt{kṣi}$). Roots with final r and \bar{r} all have $C(C)\bar{a}raya$ -causatives. WHITNEY's *varayati* (see *Roots*, s.v. $\sqrt{2v\bar{r}}$ 'choose', and cf. his *Sanskrit Grammar* § 1042e) is not the (non-factitive) causative – the meaning of which is 'to choose' – but the denominative of *vara*- 'boon' (cf. *dvitīyaṃ varaye varam*, Mbh 2,63.32). The causative of $^2\sqrt{v\bar{r}}$ is (*pra*)*vārayati*, R 2,71.15.

³ The PIE rule of formation is **R(o)-éje-** (see LIV 22). OIA causatives with short $-a$ - before a single consonant (type *janāyati*) are formed – according to BRUGMANN's rule (PIE $*o > iir$. $*ā$ in open syllables, while $*o > *a$ elsewhere) – from roots which ended in a consonant followed by a laryngeal: *janāyati* < $*\acute{g}onh_1\text{-éje-ti}$ (see KURYŁOWICZ 1927: 206-209). But analogically also some *aniṭ*-roots have such a short-vowel causative (e.g. *gamāyati* < $*g^{\#}om\text{-éje-ti}$).

⁴ See WHITNEY § 1042g and HOLTZMANN (1884: 44).

⁵ It is to be noted that there is a tendency of roots ending in a palatal (like \sqrt{kuc} , \sqrt{raj}) to develop a penultimate nasal (see JAMISON 1983: 152).

(*anvaya*)*kīrayet* ‘he should have strewn down upon’, Mbh 13,90.15, is built upon the verbal adjective *kīrṇa-*. And *avedhayan* ‘they pierced’¹, Mbh 12,83.15 v.l. (CE *apothayan*), is based on the ‘secondary’ root $\sqrt{\text{vidh}}$ (↗ 6.8).

After the pattern of [e.g.] *sthīta-* : *sthāpita-* the verbal adjective in *īta-* is the base from which also roots which have a final other than *-ā* added *-p-* before the suffix proper² (see WHITNEY § 1042n and RENOUE § 345 [p. 469])³:

krīḍāpayati, R 7,32.18 (v.l. *saṃkrīḍayati*)⁴

jīvāpayati (in: *jīvāpitaḥ*), R 7,67.10 (~ *jīvitaḥ*, 7,1130*)

tarjāpayati, R 6,25.9 (v.l. *saṃtarjayati*)

dikṣāpaya, Mbh 2,30.21 (*sa dikṣāpaya ... tvam ātmānam ...*)

bhartsāpayati, R 6,25.9 (v.l. *bhartsayaty apī*)⁵

śabdāpayati ‘to call, to summon’⁶, R 2,53.3, 7,73.19, 79.16, 84.8, 87.1

¹ On the causative used as simplex see below (↗), 8.8.1.

² See LEUMANN (1940: 222 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 316]) and BHSG § 38.42-48.

³ Probably on the model of causatives of *CRaC*-roots – such as *vyathayati* – (→) $\sqrt{\text{glā}}$ has its final shortened before the suffix *-pay(a)-* (see LUBOTSKY 1981: 84-85 and JAMISON 1983: 211).

The *causative* of the denominative *kaṭakaṭāyate* ‘to creak’ should be *kaṭakaṭāpayati* (cf. *dhūmāpayan*, Mbh 3,39.26 v.l. [CE *dhūmāyayan* (!)], and *śabdāpayate* [see below]). Hence this verb (abs. *kaṭakaṭāpya*, R 2,App.14.2 v.l. = 7,61.2 v.l. [CE (*dantān*) *kaṭakaṭāyya*]) should be cancelled from RENOUE’s list. On the cited stanza of the Rāmāyaṇa see WEZLER (1994: 387-388).

⁴ Cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *krīḍāpayati* (see BHSG p. 208).

⁵ Note that two *-āpaya-* forms – *tarjāpayati* and *bhartsāpayati* – are attested in one and the same stanza. BROCKINGTON unnecessarily doubts the genuineness of these forms (1969/70a: 32 [= *ET* p. 37]).

⁶ As the *causative* of the denominative *śabdāyate* ‘to cry, to call’, *śabdāpayate* should have the meaning ‘to cause someone to cry / call’. But this seems to be the case only at R 2,53.3 and 7,87.1.

smāpayati, Mbh 8,12.13 ([part.] *vismāpayan*), R 4,1372*.12 (*vismāpaya*)
hivāpayati, Mbh 1,155.34 (*āhvāpayat* [v.l. *āhvāyayat*])¹.

These forms seem to be (amplified) causatives of ‘-aya-presents’ (denominatives, class X verbs and verbs such as *smayate*, *hivayati*)².

The Epics know ‘allegro-forms’³ of the causative (see SATYA VRAT 1964: 224-225):

yadi puruṣāḥ yāpyanti ‘If men drive away [their wives]’, Mbh 12,258.34⁴

tadādīpyanta me pucchaṃ hanantaḥ kāṣṭamuṣṭibhiḥ ‘Then they set fire to my tail while beating me with staves and fists’, R 5,56.130 (~ *adīpayanta me pucchaṃ snehāktam duṣṭacetasaḥ*, 5,1242*)

kathaṃ rathaṃ tvayā hīnaṃ pravāhyanti hayottamāḥ ‘How do these splendid horses pull the chariot when you are not in it’, R 2,46.38 v.l. (CE *pravakṣyanti*)⁵.

¹ *kṣapayati* ‘destroys’, Mbh 3,240.9, 5,53.13, R 2,App.9.128 / *kṣapayate*, Mbh 1,41.25, R 7,386*.8, does not belong here. It is unlikely that this form is based on *kṣayati* (*pace* KEWA I 286) as this present is only once attested (R 4,7.12 ed. Gorr. [!]). The starting point seems to have been the causative of $\sqrt{kṣā}$ ‘to burn’, viz. *kṣāpayati* (on which see VIA I 273). And on the model of *jñāpayati* : *jñāpayati* an *ā*-causative *kṣapayati* was formed (\rightarrow $\sqrt{kṣi}$). Cf. BARTHOLOMAE (1896: 721) and AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 124 (*ad* 241,13).

² The same forms are to be found in Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHS § 38.54-57).

³ The non-causative *kutsyati* is also an ‘allegro-form’: *lañkāṃ api purā nītām aśokavanikāṃ gatām / rakṣasāṃ vaśam āpannām kathaṃ rāmo na kutsyati* ‘Why did Rāma not blame [her], when she was carried to Lañkā?’, R 7,42.18 v.l. (CE *kutsate*), ~ *kathaṃ rakṣovaśam prāptām rāmaḥ kutsayate na tām*, 7,809*.

⁴ On this stanza see THIEME (1977: 513 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 1134]).

⁵ Cf. BÖHILINGK (1887: 225).

There is one irregular form of the periphrastic future: (*so ... pravīrān*) *pratāpitā*, Mbh 8,359* (v.l. *saṃtāpayitā*).

8.8.1. Causatives with non-causal meaning

The major irregularities of the causative are connected not with form but with sense. For not a few causatives are used with non-causal meaning, though there are far fewer instances than suggested in secondary literature¹. Below are listed what can be regarded as obvious examples of such a use of the causative. They are divided into (a) ind. pres., imperative, optative and imperfect, (b) future, (c) aorist, (d) perfect (see also [↗] 8.1.4), (e) infinitive and (f) absolutive²:

(a) *anājñaptas tu saumitre praveṣṭuṃ necchayāmy aham* 'I do not wish to enter without permission, o Saumitri', R 7, App. 8.353 v.l. (CE *notsahe*)³

¹ Especially with verbs and syntagmata meaning 'to rule' and 'to perform a rite' (such as *rājyaṃ √kr*, *°karmāṇi √kr*, *abhi-√sic*) the causative might well have its *causative* sense though it *seems* to be used as a simplex: Such actions are (normally) done with the help of an intermediary agent (a minister, civil servant, or priest). And the same might hold good for other verbs like *vi-√srj* 'to dismiss' or *ā-√hvā* 'to summon'. But there was – no doubt – some confusion as to the actual agent of such actions (cf. *tato daśāhe 'tigate kṛtaśauce nṛpātmajaḥ / dvādaśe 'hani saṃprāpte śrāddhakarmāny akārayat* 'Then he had the *śrāddha* rites performed ...', R 2, 71.1, ~ *cakre dvādaśikam śrāddham trayodaśikam eva ca*, 2, 1813*).

² On this feature of Epic Sanskrit – well-known also from Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHSG § 38.18-23) – see HOLTZMANN (1884: 43), SPEYER (1886: 229 [§ 304]), SEN (1949: 97-99), RENOU § 347 (p. 473), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 31 [= *ET* p. 36-37]) and VAN DAALLEN (1980: 91-92 [§ 4.20.2]) and – as far as the chosen grouping is concerned – (a) SEN (1949: 97-99), (b) SEN (1951a: 10) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 225), (c) HOLTZMANN (1884: 30), (d) SEN (1951c: 15-16), (e) KULKARNI (1943b: 132) and SEN (1952: 23) and (f) KULKARNI (1943b: 137-138).

³ See PW V 1145 (s.v. I.3. iṣ) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 225).

ime ca mām karṣayanti śiśavo mandacetasaḥ ‘And these children of little wit pull at me’, Mbh 1,221.4

ye tu viṣṭabhya gātrāṇi kṣvedayanti nadanti ca ‘Having stretched their limbs, they made a [terrible] noise and roared’, R 6,17.16

sukhī bhava mahābāho kaṃcit kālam udikṣaya ‘Rejoice, mighty warrior, and wait a while’, R 7,App.3.174¹

mām khādaya ... ‘Eat me ...!’, Mbh 3,61.33 v.1. (CE *adasva*)²

lābhe na harṣayed yas tu (na vyathed yo ’vamānitaḥ) ‘If he does not rejoice at a gain ...’, Mbh 4,4.31

athānupūrvyāt pratipūjya taṃ janaṃ / gurūṃś ca mantriprakṛtīs tathānujau / vyasarjayad rāghavavaṃśavardhanaḥ / sthitaḥ svadharme himavān ivācalaḥ ‘[Rāma] paid honour to his people ... and then he dismissed them’, R 2,104.24³

so ’ham āmravaṇaṃ chittvā palāsāṃś ca nyaṣecayam ‘I cut down a mango grove and watered *palāśa* trees’, R 2,57.7⁴

(b) *grathayiṣye vicitrās ca srajaḥ paramaśobhanāḥ* ‘I will weave the most beautiful and colorful garlands’, Mbh 4,8.16 (~ *jānāmi grathituṃ srajaḥ*, 4,209* [S])

tato rājā viniścitya saha mantribhir ātmavān / purohitam amātyāṃś ca preṣayiṣyati satkṛtān ‘Then the king ... will dispatch his priest and ministers ...’, R 1,8.18 (v.1. *tataḥ preṣyati*)

sa eṣa hi mahākāyaḥ kovidāradhvajo rathe / bandhayiṣyati vā dāsān atha vāsmān vadhiṣyati ‘[Has] someone [come] who will take us ... captive or kill us?’, R 2,78.3

¹ See SATYA VRAT (1964: 225).

² See PW II 612 (s.v. khād).

³ This might well be a real causative in that Rāma directs someone to send the people away (see [♣] p. 249 n. 1).

⁴ See also (→) *√arc*, *√ku(ñ)c*, *√dev*, *√dhukṣ*, *√mṛṣ*, *√hi(m)s*, *√hel*.

samudraṃ laṅghayitvā ... laṅkāṃ ārohayiṣyāmo hanīṣyāmaś ca te ripum
‘... we shall enter Laṅkā and kill your enemy’, R 6,2.5

yadi śakro yadi yamo ... tān ahaṃ yodhayiṣyāmi ‘Whether it be Śakra or Yama ... – I shall fight with them’, R 6,51.39 (v.l. *nihanīṣyāmi*)¹

(c) For examples see (♣) 8.2.3.

(d) *śvetān hayottamān / preṣayām āsatuḥ saṃkhye* ‘They urged on the ... horses in battle’, Mbh 7,77.22 (cf. ... *śvetān ... aśvān ... praiṣīt karṇaratham prati*, 8,59.2)²

śakras tu vīryasadṛśam idhmabhāraṃ giriṣrabham / samudyamyānayām āsa nātikṛcchrād iva ... ‘Śakra ... carried this load as though with no great effort’, Mbh 1,27.7, ... *pādapān ... ānayām āsa lakṣmaṇaḥ* ‘Lakṣmaṇa brought the trees’, R 2,1180*.12³, *sumantro ... rāmam tatrānayām cakre rathena* ‘Sumantra brought Rāma in his chariot’, R 2,3.7⁴

tatas tān badhyamānāṃs tu karmabhir duṣkṛtaiḥ svakaiḥ / rāvaṇo mocayām āsa vikramaṇe balād balī ‘Then Rāvaṇa released them ...’, R 7,21.11 (v.l. *mokṣayām āsa*)

taṃ yakṣaṃ yodhayām āsa sa ca bhagnaḥ pradrudruve ‘He fought against this Yakṣa ...’, R 7,14.20

tām tu rājā daśaratho mahārāṣṭravivardhanaḥ / purīm āvāsayām āsa divi devapatir yathā ‘Daśaratha dwelt in this town ...’, R 1,5.9 (~ *ayodhyāṃ .. avasat purīm*, 1,225*)

¹ SATYA VRAT holds that the causative has the function “to transform an intransitive verb into a transitive one” (1964: 225). But √*yudh* can well be a transitive verb construed with an accusative (see KULIKOV 2001: 449-450). On further examples of *yodhayati* ‘he fights’ see PW s.v.

² *preṣyati* and *preṣayati* are true alternatives as the latter has nowhere in the Epics a true causative meaning.

³ See ROUSSEL (1910: 20).

⁴ See BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 20-21 [= ET p. 24]).

vārayām āsa caivainam patitve varavarṇinī ‘And thus the fair woman chose him for her husband’, Mbh 3,54.26¹

... *sugrīvo ... visarjayām āsa tadā tārām anyās ca yoṣitaḥ* ‘Then Sugriva ... dismissed Tārā and the other women’, R 4,37.5 (cf. 6,27.22, 7,86.16) *saṃvatsarāhite garbhe gāndhāryā janamejaya / āhvayām āsa vai kuntī garbhārthaṃ dharmam acyutam* ‘... Kuntī called imperishable Dharma to conceive a child’, Mbh 1,114.1 (v.l. *ājuhāva*)

(e) *na mām arhasi dharmajña paracittāṃ pradāpitum* ‘... do not give me away while my heart is set on another man!’, Mbh 5,175.22 (v.l. *dātum*) *gaccha kiṃ kālasadrśaṃ mām yodhayitum icchasi* ‘Go away! [Or] do you want to fight with me ...?’, R 6,59.50 (see also 6,1305*.3)

ko 'nyas tām vānarīm senām śaktaḥ stambhayitum bhavet ‘Who else would be able to stop the monkey army?’, R 4,63.14²

(f) *sa śocaty āpadaṃ prāpya yathāham ativartya tau* ‘He will suffer having fallen into calamity like me who have offended these two [friends]’, Mbh 10,6.19

seyam panthānam āvārya vasaty atyardhayojane ‘She lives over half a mile [from here], blocking our path’, R 1,23.27³.

Some of the above examples seem to be partly attributable to the fact that the causative *middle*, which had (nearly) the same sense as the simplex⁴, was

¹ On this stanza see (♣) p. 357.

² See BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 31 [= ET p. 37]).

³ Cf. Ck. *āvāryeti vṛddhiś chāndasī, āvṛtya nirudhyeti yāvat*.

⁴ Cf. EDGERTON's pertinent remark: "In Classical Sanskrit, at any rate, the causative may mean 'cause (the primary action) to be performed'. In some cases where the primary verb is transitive, this may result in a meaning not easily, if at all, distinguishable from that of the primary verb. 'He causes (say, a piece of wood) to be cut' (*chedayati*) may, of course, mean 'he has it cut (by someone else)'; But *chedayati* may also mean 'he causes it to become cut, gets it cut' when the cutting is done by himself (the subject of

replaced by its active (see SAKAMOTO-GOTO 1993: 269-270): *yodhayati* ← *yodhayate* ‘he has himself fought = he fights’, *vārayati* (*vārayām āsa*) ← *vārayate* ‘she has herself chosen = she chooses’¹. And the periphrastic perfect of *nayati* and *hvayati* (see **d**) was used instead of the simple as these verbs, with their ‘*aya*’-presents, were treated like causatives (↗ 8.1.4).

8.8.2. Simplex with causal meaning

Conversely, the simplex is used where we would expect the causative. The following examples are grouped as above (↗ 8.8.1)²:

(a) *tvaranti mām brāhmaṇā lokapālāḥ* ‘Brahmins and kings are hurrying me’, Mbh 1,87.6 (v.l. *tvarayanti*)

daṃṣṭreṇaikena coddhṛtya sve sthāne nyaviśan mahīm ‘[The boar] put the earth in its proper place’, Mbh 3,App.27.52

rāghavaḥ krodham āharat ‘Rāghava flew into a rage’³, R 6,91.23 (cf. 6,App.56.282) ~ *krodham āhārayad bhīmo*, Mbh 3,154.31 (cf. 7,709*.1, 18,2.50, R 3,23.25, 4,14.2, 6,44.1, 88.18, 7,61.1)

chedayatī). This means virtually the same as ‘he cuts it’ (1946a: 94 n. 1).

¹ Note that also in Vedic Sanskrit causatives of the middle have the same meaning as the active: *janáyati* (← *jāyate*) = *jānati*, *vardháyati* (← *vārdhate*) = *vārdhati* (see KURYLOWICZ 1928 and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* 1,253).

² See HOLTZMANN (1884: 43), MEYER (1915: 211 n.1), SPEYER (1886: 229 [§ 304]), SEN (1949: 97-98), RENOU § 347 (p. 473) and VAN DAALLEN (1980: 91 [§ 4.20.1]) and – as far as the chosen grouping is concerned – (a) SEN (1949: 97), (b) SEN (1951a: 10), (e) KULKARNI (1943b: 132) and SEN (1952: 22), and (f) KULKARNI (1943b: 137).

³ It cannot be ruled out that *āharati* is the primary and *āhārayati* the secondary verb in this syntagma although the latter is far more common than the former (cf. *gajaṃ vā vīkṣya śimhaṃ vā ... nāhārayati saṃtrāsaṃ bāhū rāmasya saṃśritā*, R 2,54.17 [– *sā naivodvijate yāntī bhartur vīryabalāśrayā*, 2,1314*], *roṣam āhārayat*, R 1,59.19, 3,29.19, *harṣam āhārayat*, R 3,14.24, *krodham āhārayām āsa yudhi tīvram akampanaḥ*, R 6,44.1).

(b) *pramṛte mayi ... putradāraṃ naśiṣyati / rakṣamāṇaḥ kapotaṃ tvam bahūn prāṇān naśiṣyasi* ‘When I predecease them ... son and wife will perish: so by protecting this dove you will kill many lives’, Mbh 3,131.9 (v.l. *prāṇān na rakṣasi*)

pratijānīṣva taṃ kartum ato vetsyāmy ahaṃ param ‘Promise to carry it out, then I shall let you know [what to do] next’, Mbh 3,165.7 v.l. (CE *vakṣyāmi*)

aho niścetano rājā ... / dharmyaṃ satyavrataṃ rāmaṃ vanavāse pravatsyati ‘Alas! The king must be mad! He will exile Rāma to life in the forest ...!’, R 2,36.6 (~ ... *rājā ... yo nāthaṃ sarvabhūtānāṃ parityajati rāghavam*, 2,957*)

(c) *āśiṣāḥ śirasi te ... mā kopiṣṭhā sumandātman* ‘There are poisonous snakes on your head ... Do not infuriate them!’, Mbh 2,59.3 (cf. *vyāghrān mṛgaḥ kopayase ...*, ibid. 2)

mā nimajjīḥ pitāmahān ‘Do not drown your grandfathers’, Mbh 1,97.11 = 5,130.32¹

(e)² *tadrājabhayabhītān naḥ prītyā jīvitum³ arhasi* ‘Please, let us live ...’, R 4,1101* (~ *trātum arhasi naḥ sarvān sugrīvabhayaśaṅkitān*, 4,52.4) *yad vyaṃ saṃśītātmanāṃ pralobdhum tvām ihāgatāḥ* ‘... that we have come here to seduce you ...’, Mbh 1,209.3 (v.l. *pralobhayitum āgatāḥ*) *daivam ... ko nivartitum utsahet* ‘Who can endeavour to avert ... what is fated’, Mbh 1,1.186 = 5,187.17 = 6,117.24

¹ BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 31-32 [= ET p. 37]) points out that *upāsām cakrire*, R 2,3.9, and *ānayām cakre*, R 2,3.7 “do not show the causative -aya-, though the sense appears to be causative”.

² It would equally be possible to see in these infinitives *causative* infinitives which have lost the suffix -ay- (↗ 9.6). The use of such forms can be explained as due to the relationship of ^oaya-causative and ^oita-verbal adjective: *jīvayati* ~ *jīvita-* → *jīvitum*.

³ v.l. (hyperm.) *pratyājīvayitum* (sic!).

nāhaṃ śakye niveditum ‘I shall not be able to make known [the matter]’,
Mbh 2,44.22 v.l. (CE *niśaṃsitum*)

tathety uktvāgniśaraṇaṃ praviveśa niveditum ‘He replied with a word of
assent and entered the fire-sanctuary to inform [the sage]’, R 3,11.5

... *kāścid rāvaṇāya niveditum* ‘Others went to report the matter to
Rāvaṇa’, R 5,40.11

yāni cauśadhajālāni tasmiñ jātāni parvate / ... na śekuḥ śamituṃ viṣam
‘Even the dense thickets of medical herbs that grew on the mountain ...
were unable to neutralize the venom’, R 5,1.19 (~ ... *tāni śekuḥ śamayituṃ*
viṣam, 5,22*)

(f) *apohya rāmaṃ kasmād dhi dāracauryaṃ tvayā kṛtam* ‘Why did you
lure away Rāma and steal his wife?’, R 5,20.22 (v.l. *apavāhya*)¹.

¹ It is, however, possible that *apohya* is not the absolutive of *apa-√vah* but of *apa-√ūh*
‘to push away, to drive away’.

8.9. The desiderative¹

There are what appear to be three *athematic* forms of the desiderative² of the roots (→) \sqrt{tyaj} , $\sqrt{bhū}$ and \sqrt{han} : *titikṣmahe*, Mbh 5,93.44 ([d] *bahūn kleśāms titikṣmahe* [v.1. (S) *sahāmahe*]), (3pl.) *bubhūṣate*, Mbh 13,133.20 ([d] *guruvaṇ na bubhūṣate*)³, *jighāmsiyāt*⁴, Mbh 12,35.17 v.1. (= VāsDhŚ III 17)⁵. On ‘athematic’ present participles in *°atī-* see (↗) p. 262⁶.

The future of the desiderative is sporadically formed with *-sya-* instead of *-siṣya-*, obviously due to a contamination of the indicative of the desiderative and the future-tense (*jijñāsyati* < *jijñāsati* x *jñāsyati*)⁷:

¹ See STENZLER § 258-262, KIELHORN § 439-456, RENOUE § 348-351, WHITNEY § 1026-1040 and SPEYER (1886: 229-230 [§ 305]). On the desiderative in the Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1949: 91-93) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 32-33 [= *ET* p. 37-38]), on this verbal category in Buddhist Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan see BHSG § 40 and OBERLIES (2001: 200 with n. 1 / 3) respectively.

² The PIE rule of formation is **C₁i-R(ø)-sé-** (see LEUMANN 1952: 116, SCHULZE 1934: 104 and LIV 24; on desideratives without reduplication see TICHY 2000: 112). It is an innovation of (Vedic) Sanskrit that roots which contain \bar{u} reduplicate with *u*. There seems to be only *one* exception to that in Epic Sanskrit, viz. *bibodhayiṣu-*, R ed. Gorr. 6,37.25 (see PW s.v., WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v. \sqrt{budh} , and CHARPENTIER 1912: 49). But this is certainly a wrong reading: the critical edition (6,1037*) has *vibodhayiṣu-* – a form without reduplication (on which see below).

³ See HOPKINS (1901: 264).

⁴ This wholly irregular optative is recorded in the Durghaṭavṛtti (see RENOUE § 351).

⁵ See WHITNEY § 1032b and RENOUE § 350.

⁶ The infinitive of the desiderative is pleonastic when employed with $\sqrt{īṣ}$ ‘to wish’: *lapsitum icchasi*, Mbh 12,112.9, *jijñāsitum icchatā mayā*, R 2,775*.2 (see ROUSSEL 1910: 20 and VAN DAALEN 1980: 116). Note the ‘crossed’ infinitive *lapsitum (labdhum x lipsitum)*.

⁷ See HOFFMANN, *Aufś.* II,572-573 (Vedic examples) and RENOUE § 350. WHITNEY opines that these forms “are doubtless presents, with *-sya-* blunderingly for *-sa-*” (§

jijñāsyati, Mbh 3,App.21.67 (*jijñāsyāmaḥ*), 13,58.14 ([2sg. imp.]
upajijñāsyā)
*didhakṣyāmi*¹, R 3,64.27 v.l. (CE *didhakṣāmi*)², *didhakṣyate*, R
 2,App.9.231 v.l. (*didhakṣyamāṇa-* [CE *didhakṣamāṇa-*])
lipsyanti, Mbh 5,85.9 v.l. (CE *lipsanti*).

On the model of *īpsu-*, *bhikṣu-*, *lipsu-* and *śikṣu-* some adjectives in ⁰*u*-³ have lost their reduplication (see RENOUE § 351 *rem.* [p. 477-478]):

vi-bodhayiṣu-, R 6,1037*, *vi-mardayiṣu-*, 6,App.16.73, *pra-mokṣayiṣu-*,
 6,4.54 v.l.⁴ (CE *mumokṣayiṣu-*⁵), *saṃ-stambhayiṣu-*, 6,80.22.

Conversely, *diditsu-*, Mbh 5,49*.3 (v.l. *praditsu-*), has a ‘redundant’ reduplication⁶.

1036a), though he himself points to “the near relation of desiderative and future” (§ 1040a).

¹ Cf. Ct.: *didhakṣyāmi dagdhum icchāmi sadgatisiddhaye / śyann āṛṣaḥ*.

² On this form see ROUSSEL (1910: 22), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 32 [= *ET* p. 38]) and *crit. notes ad loc.*

³ On these adjectives see AiGr. II,2 § 287a and LEUMANN (1968a: 472-473).

⁴ Cg. comments: *sani dvirvacanābhāva āṛṣaḥ*.

⁵ This word, attested also at R 7,34.22, is a contamination of *mumocayiṣu-* and *mumukṣu-* (see AiGr. II,2 p. 940).

⁶ On *īṛṣu-*, Mbh 3,264.25, 11,18.16, instead of *īṛṣyu-* see AiGr. I § 235a.

8.10. The intensive¹

The intensive is rare in the Epics, and the only irregularity² is the thematization of some forms³ (mostly of participles [↗ 2.19])⁴:

(part.) *caṅkramantau*, R 3,69.5

(part.) *jājṛmbhamāṇasya*, R 6,48.50⁵

(3sg.) *jājvalati*, Mbh 12,300.8 v.l. (CE *jājvalīti*), *jājvalate*, Mbh 12,224.75

v.l., (part.) *jājvalan*⁶, Mbh 7,173.87, R 1,59.31

(part.) *lelihan*, Mbh 3,124.23.

The ‘length’ of the intensive stems seems to have led to the sporadic formation of a *ya*-absolute: *caṅkramya*, Mbh 5,108.15, *caṅcūrya*, R 4,29.14.

¹ See STENZLER § 263-265, KJELHORN § 457-474, RENOU § 352-357, WHITNEY § 1000-1025 and SPEYER (1886: 230 [§ 306]). On the intensive in the Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1949: 89-90) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 33-34 [= *ET* p. 39-40]). A linguistic study of the intensive is SCHAEFER (1994) on which see LUBOTSKY (1997) and JAMISON (1997). On this category in Buddhist Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan see BHSG § 39 and OBERLIES (2001: 200 with n. 1 / 3).

² If *dodhūyuh*, R 7,1144*.3, is an intensive perfect (see SEN 1949: 90) – as the *variae lectiones* suggest –, it is an anomalous form (for **dodhūvuh*). It is, however, possible that this is an intensive optative (cf. WHITNEY § 1009) used as preterite (↗ 6.2.2).

³ The Vedic intensive is formed in two ways (see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,43, and LIV 24), (a) athematic (‘heavy’ redupl. + **R**[ablaut] + [-ī-] + *parasm.*) and (b) thematic (‘heavy’ redupl. + **R**[ø] + suffix -*yā-* + *ātṃ.*). And both types are met with in the Epics: *dodhavīti* ~ *dodhūyate*, *rorudat* ~ *rorudyate*, (part.) *lelihat* ~ *lelihyate*. This is the reason why the intensive has both thematic *and* athematic present participles which have influenced each other. On the intensive participle see WHITNEY § 1012-1013.

⁴ The same holds good for Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHSG § 39).

⁵ Cg. comments: *yaṅluky ātmanepadarugāgamābhāvāv āṛṣau*.

⁶ See WHITNEY § 1013b.

8.11. The denominative¹

Because of the simplicity of its formation² and its thematic inflexion the denominative presents very little that is different from ‘classical’ norms³. The *a*-denominative is relatively much more common in Vedic Sanskrit⁴:

arthāmahe, Mbh 4,96.19 v.l. (CE *yācāmahe*), *utkaṅṭhitum*, R 2,41.2, 47.2, (part.) *kalahadbhiḥ*, Mbh 12,319*, *kathayiṣyāmi*, Mbh 13,126.44⁵, (part.) *kutsantaḥ*, Mbh 2,554* = 61.47, *kutsate*, R 7,42.18, *paricaryāmahe*, R 5,33.24, (part.) *vitaṅḍānāḥ*, Mbh 2,33.4⁶, (part.) *vitarkantam*, Mbh 4,233*.3, *vitarkamāṇasya*, Mbh 4,185*.13, *pupūje / pupūjire* (♣ 8.1.4)⁷, *phalati*, Mbh 3,181.25⁸, 252.9, 13,6.46⁹, *phaliṣyati*, Mbh 1,72.20 ~ 12,314.44, (part.) *phullatā*, Mbh 7,108.19¹⁰, *bhakṣasi*, R 5,1166*, *bhakṣe*,

¹ See STENZLER § 266, KIELHORN § 475-485, RENOUE § 358-361, WHITNEY § 1053-1068 and SPEYER (1886: 230-231 [§ 307]). On the denominatives of the Rāmāyaṇa see SEN (1949: 99-102) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 34 [= *ET* p. 40]). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 38.34-40, for Pāli see OBERLIES (2001: 250-252).

² For details see ALBINO (1997).

³ On *priyāyase* ‘you are pleased’, Mbh 2,56.5, see (♣) 7.9.3.

⁴ See WHITNEY § 1054a, SÜTTERLIN (1909: 572-576), RENOUE § 359 and ALBINO (1997: 39).

⁵ This form is the *causative* of *kathati* (see crit. notes *ad loc.*).

⁶ On this ‘athematic’ participle see EDGERTON (1943/44: 4).

⁷ These perfect forms point to an underlying present *pūjati* (see WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 321, and LEUMANN 1940: 227 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 320]).

⁸ On this stanza see LÜDERS, *Phil. Ind.* p. 189-190.

⁹ At Mbh 5,111.15 v.l. a transitive *phalate* is attested: *ācāraḥ phalate dharmam / ācāraḥ phalate dhanam*.

¹⁰ RENOUE (§ 359) sees in this form nothing but “une normalisation de *phulla-*” (p. 486 l. 6).

R 5,1163*.3, *bhakṣiṣye*, R 4,55.5, *babhakṣa*, R 6,55.71 (↗ 8.1.4), *bhakṣitum*, Mbh 2,App.39.159, *mārgati*¹, Mbh 3,105.11, 12,171.27, R 2,93,33 (*pari*+), 4,28.22, *mārgate*, R 4,39.18, 40.24, 5,35.10, *mārgiṣyan*, R 5,192(A)*, *mārgitvā*, R 4,49.7, (*pari*)*mārgitum*, Mbh 4,518*, R 4,48.21, *mlecchanti*, Mbh 2,53.8², (*part.*) *rasatī*, Mbh 12,240.5 (↗ 9.1)³.

As in Vedic, causative, intensive and desiderative forms of the denominative are only rarely met with (see WHITNEY § 1068a and RENOUE § 361 [p. 489])⁴: *asūyayati*, Mbh 3,63.16 (*asūyayitvā*), *kathayiṣyāmi*, Mbh 13,126.44 (see above), *dhūmāyayati*, Mbh 3,39.26 ([*part.*] *dhūmāyayan* [v.l. *dhūmam utpādayan*]), *bibhakṣayiṣati*, Mbh 1,139.22 ([*part.*] *bibhakṣayiṣatā*).

¹ On the meaning 'to search' of this word see LEUMANN (1940: 228 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 320]).

² This denominative of *mleccha-* is attested as early as ŚB III 2,1.24.

³ There is, however, no *sāntvate* (as maintained by AiGr. II,2 p. 773). Mbh 8,2.22 is not (*pace* PW s.v. *sāntv*^o) to be analysed into *sāntvamāna+artha+gauravaiḥ* but into *sāntva+māna+artha+gauravaiḥ* (cf. Mbh 1,44.15: *sāntva-mānārtha-dānaiś ca*).

⁴ A detailed list of Vedic non-present forms is given by ALBINO (1997: 117-118).

IX. The verbal system (IV):

The *verbum infinitum*

9.1. The present participle (see also [♣] 2.18-19)¹

(Mostly) because of metrical exigencies the feminine of the present *parasmaipada* participle² of thematic verbs may end in °atī- and that of athematic verbs conversely in °antī-³:

(L.) (an)arhatī-, Mbh 2,61.5, 62.7, 3,118.19, (anv)eṣatī-, Mbh 3,61.32, (°)īkṣatī-, Mbh 2,72.15, 3,280.33, R 3,789*.13, (apa)karṣatī-, Mbh 1,928*, (ā)krandatī-, Mbh 3,60.25, krīdatī-, Mbh 1,8.14, krośatī-, Mbh 5,145.28, (°)gacchatī-, Mbh 2,70.3.10, 3,80.118, 215.3, R 2,745*, 3,12.4, 5,28.7, garjatī-, R 5,22.23, (vini)gūhatī-, Mbh 3,292.2, (vi)caratī-, Mbh 3,61.9, (vi)ceṣṭatī-, R 3,51.25, (apratī)jalpatī-, R 6,101.13, jīvātī-, R 3,17.19, 5,24.37, tapatī-, Mbh 1,89.42, tiṣṭhatī-, Mbh 1,732*.1, 4,382*.4, 22.4, (°)dhāvātī-, Mbh 1,224.5, R 2,35.32, (saṃni)majjatī-, Mbh 12,202.10, yācatī-, R 2,4.30, 7,25.42, °lapatī-, Mbh 1,810*.6, 2,70.12.21, 3,61.52.86, 11,16.59, R 2,51.29, 4,20.20, 24.39, vadatī-, Mbh 3,51.4, vasatī-, Mbh 1,147.18, 3,62.36, 4,483*.1, R 3,46.13, vāśatī-, Mbh 3,60.19, (pra)vepatī-, Mbh 5,144.23, 13,91.13, °vartatī-, Mbh 1,6.6, 3,280.33, R 3,1010*.4, (abhi)varṣatī-, Mbh 3,265.18, 5,80.43, (°)śocatī-, Mbh 1,2145*, 3,252*, R 3,44.9, 68.21, 5,24.2, (°)sarpatī-, Mbh 1,1522*.3,

¹ See STENZLER § 267, KIELHORN § 498-500, RENOUE § 295-296, WHITNEY § 442-444 and AiGr. II,2 § 70 / 162 / 619. For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 34.1-5, for Pāli see OBERLIES (2001: 178).

² See STENZLER § 296, KIELHORN § 105, RENOUE § 240 (p. 335) and WHITNEY § 449.

With √sthā and √ās the present participle (and also the verbal adjective) is used to denote a habitual action (see SPEYER 1886: 294-296 [§ 378]) and BROCKINGTON (1998: 94-95).

³ See HOLTZMANN (1884: 13-14), KULKARNI (1943a: 233-235), BÖHTLINGK (1887: 216), id. (1889: 55), HOPKINS (1901: 246), MICHELSON (1904: 114), VAN DAALLEN (1980: 80-81) and AiGr. II,2 § 256 ([a] - [g]).

- R 5,23.9, (*anu*)*sevatī-*, Mbh 3,222.26, (*anu*)*smaratī-*, Mbh 8,30.20, (*a*)*sahatī-*, R 2,App.9.166, *hasatī-*, Mbh 1,65.14, 16,4.1.
- (II.) *bruvantī-*, Mbh 1,63.8, 78.25, 2,60.35, R 2,8.6
- (IV.) (*a*)*paśyatī-*, Mbh 1,224.4, 3,208.6, R 3,50.42, 52.1, 4,29.8, 6,37.10, 7,47.18, *śuśyatī-*, Mbh 5,142.29
- (V.) ^o*cinvantī-*, Mbh 3,122.8, R 3,40.29, (*saṃ*)*vṛṇvantī-*, Mbh 3,143.17, (^o)*śṛṇvantī-*, Mbh 1,125.13, 145.29, 169.6
- (VII.) (*upa*)*himsantī-*, R 2,9.4 = 8¹
- (VIII.) *kurvantī-*, Mbh 1,203.22, 3,65.10, 108.12, R 1,45.9, 5,13.27²
- (IX.) (^o)*grhṇantī-*, Mbh 1,209.9, 5,111.14, R 2,App.9.73, (^o)*jānantī-*, Mbh 1,24.7, 73.6, 3,278.11, 288.8, 4,341*.2, R 2,39.6 (~ *jānamānā*, 986*.1), 66.14, *muṣṇantī-*, Mbh 3,54.8, 9,3.20, *mṛdnantī-*, R 2,24.5³
- (X. / **caus.**) *dhārayatī-*, Mbh 3,65.17, *cintayatī-*, Mbh 3,291.6, 5,187.10, R 7,473* v.l., *nādayatī-*, Mbh 1,114.28, *vāhayatī-*, Mbh 1,57.56, (*pra*)*sādayatī-*, Mbh 1,189.45
- (**denom.**) *karuṇāyatī-*, Mbh 3,10.14, *pūjayatī-*, Mbh 3,288.4, *rasatī-*, Mbh 12,240.5, (*abhi*)*liṅgatī-*, Mbh 1,66.4
- (**des.**) ⁱ*psatī-*, Mbh 1,158.31, R 2,App.14.41, *cikīṛṣatī-*, Mbh 1,18.6, 3,68.21, *mumūrṣatī-*, R 6,607*, (*abhi*)*lipsatī-*, Mbh 1,66.4 v.l. (CE *abhiliṅgatī* [on which see above])
- (**int.**) *dedīpyantī-*, Mbh 7,154.24, *rāraṭantī-*, R 2,72.25 v.l. (CE *vikṣamāṇā*)⁴.

¹ It is, however, possible that *himsantī-* is the (regular) participle of the class I. present *himsati*, attested since the time of the Brāhmaṇas.

² Cf. Pāli *kubbantī-* (see OBERLIES 2001: 178).

³ *grhṇantī-* and *jānantī-* might be regular forms belonging to the (transferred) cl. I. presents *grhṇati* and *jānati*.

⁴ See WHITNEY § 1013b.

rem. On augmented present participles see (♣) 6.4.3.

As in Middle Indo-Aryan and Buddhist Sanskrit¹, even thematic verbs² – mainly causatives and denominatives in *-aya-* – form their present *ātmanepada* participle with *°āna-*³:

(*pra+*)*arthayāna-*, Mbh 3,113.3, 286.12, 5,182.16, R 2,22.14, 6,82.13, (*ud*)*īrayāna-*, R 5,25.38, *kathayāna-*, Mbh 1,153.5, 3,72.17, *kāmayāna-*, Mbh 1,2.92, 92.21, 206.13, 2,5.35, 3,213.48, 5,33.32.72, 13,28.25, 74.17, 14,28.4, R 2,94.22, *kīrtayāna-*, Mbh 13,151.29, *kopayāna-*, Mbh 3,47.2, *ghātayāna-*, Mbh 13,73.3, (*°*)*cintayāna-*, Mbh 1,3.161, 221.7, 224.1, 2,45.23, 72.2, 3,22.21, 58.26, 4,21.23, 5,51.2, 113.17, 16,5.1.16, R 1,8.2, 44.3, 2,77.23, 110.37, 3,53.2, 1294*.2, *cetayāna-*⁴, Mbh 1,87.17, 3,238.19, 5,37.26, 18,2.48, R 2,101.7, *codayāna-*, R 6,80.42 v.l. (CE *codayām āsa*), *chādayāna-*, Mbh 6,53.5, 65.27, 8,11.11, *tarjayāna-*, Mbh 6,82.19, 13,143.8, *tarpayāna-*, Mbh 14,10.35, *tāpayāna-*, Mbh 15,39.12, *trāsayāna-*, Mbh 6,48.20, 50.27, 14,92.6, R 2,102.19 v.l. (CE *trāsayan-*

¹ See OBERLIES (2001: 257-258) and BHSG § 34.4-5.

² This section does not list the (thematic) present participles of those present stems which have been transferred from the athematic to the thematic conjugation – such as *jānamāna-*, Mbh 1,7.3.4, 11.5, 193.13, 3,136*.3, 5,104.23, 156.4, 158.25, R 5,28.21, *bhuñjamāna-*, R 1,13.9, or *hanant-*, R 5,56.130. See also (♣) p. 262 n. 1 / 3.

³ See KULKARNI (1943a: 228, 232-233), SATYA VRAT (1964: 227), VANDAALEN (1980: 81) and RENOU § 295a. KULKARNI's example *majjānaḥ*, Mbh 5,74.17, is to be cancelled. This is the regular nom. pl. of *majjan-* 'marrow': *na me sīdanti majjāno na mamodvepate manaḥ* 'My marrow is not sinking and my heart does not tremble' (v.l. *āngāni / gātrāni*).

Numerous cases of the interchange between *°nt-* and *°māna-* (due to a change of diathesis) are recorded by KULKARNI (1943a: 229-232, 235-240).

⁴ Middle *cetayate* has the same meaning as the simplex, viz. 'to perceive' (see GOTO 1987: 141 n. 189).

tam), *darśayāna-*, Mbh 1,1.119.124, *drāvayāṇa-*, Mbh 6,108.2, *nartayāna-*, Mbh 4,23.17, *nādayāna-*, Mbh 6,83.11, *nindayāna-*, R 7,64.15, *pāṭayāna-*, Mbh 6,82.17, 108.2, R 3,26.14, *pālayāna-*, Mbh 1,69.20, 11,23.20, R 2,1058*.3 v.l. (CE *pālayanti*), *pūjayāna-*, Mbh 5,40.26, *bhīṣayāna-*, Mbh 7,150.99, *bhrāmayāṇa-*, R 7,32.45, *(ni)mantrayāṇa-*, R 3,44.35 v.l. (CE *nimantryamāṇa-*), *mānayāna-*, Mbh 3,189.5, *muñcāna-*, Mbh 3,704*, *mṛgayāna-*, Mbh 3,68.2, 5,94.17, *mocayāna-*, R 2,103.32, *yodhayāna-*, Mbh 6,109.41, *lobhayāna-*, R 3,42.5, *vañcayāna-*, Mbh 9,56.20 v.l. (CE *vañcayantau*), R 3,42.3, 4,50.13 v.l., *vardhayāna-* (²√*vṛdh*), R 7,1387*, *vasāna-* (³√*vas*), Mbh 3,824*.1, 12,326.84, *vedayāna-*, Mbh 5,141.22, R 6,55.19, *(ni)veśayāna-*, R 6,383*.2, *śobhayāna-*, R 1,21.7, *(ā)śvāsayāna-*, R 6,71.1, *(samā)sajāna-*, Mbh 4,5.28, *sāntvayāna-*, Mbh 6,103.25, *sūdayāna-*, Mbh 6,55.26, *(saṃ)sprśāna-*, Mbh 4,886*, 8,5.83 v.l., 15.18, *(vi)sphārayāṇa-*, R 5,42.3, *([a]vi)smayāna-*, R 6,47.92, *(^o)svajāna-*, Mbh 5,124.15, R 2,77.10 (*pari+*), *svanayāna-*, Mbh 6,159*, *(ā)hvayāna-*, Mbh 5,542*.3, 180.10, R 6,83.39¹.

As the passive has active endings (↗ 8.7) its present participle² is sometimes formed with the suffix ^o*nt*-³:

¹ LUDWIG (1896: 23) additionally cites *vandayāna-* and *srāvayāna-* which could not be traced.

² As far as I can see, there are no examples of passive participles formed without *-ya-* (all of KULKARNI's [1943a: 241] instances are wholly regular forms, and *rakṣamāna-*, R 3,39.14, is only a v.l. of *rakṣyamāna-*). Likewise KULKARNI's sole example of "passive participles with nasal retained" (*loc. cit.*), viz. *vañcyamānam*, Mbh 1,56.8, should be cancelled. This is the participle of the causative passive *vañcyate*.

³ See KULKARNI (1943a: 239-240). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 37.15.

asyant- 'being hurled', Mbh 6,68.17, (*ud-*)*īryant-*, Mbh 3,134.21, 4,59.35¹,
uhyant-, Mbh 1,124.24, *kathyant-*, Mbh 3,16.1, 182.1, 261.1, ^o*kīryant-*
(*√kṛ*), Mbh 3,188.18, R 4,542*.24, (*pari*)*kliṣyantī-*, Mbh 3,13.105,
(^o)*kṣipyant-*, Mbh 1,16.15, 3,682*, 8,36.3 v.l., (*upa*)*gīyant-*, Mbh
15,40.16, *grhyant-*, Mbh 5,42.11, (*saṃ*)*ghṛṣyant-*, Mbh 1,16.21,
(*upa*)*cīyant-*, Mbh 3,169.10, (^o)*dahyant-*, Mbh 1,48.12, 217.13, 4,53.34,
54.4², 5,49.20, *dīryant-*, R 1,66.18, (*vi*)*dūyant-*, Mbh 1,53.6, R 7,45.16 v.l.
(CE *viśuṣyant-*), (*a*)*dṛśyant-*, Mbh 1,57.58³, 202.19, 4,43.11, R 5,24.41 v.l.
(CE *apaśyataḥ* [on which see (♣) p. 266]), (*vi*)*dhūyant-*, Mbh 3,44.17,
pacyant-, Mbh 1,48.13, (*abhi*)*pātyant-*, Mbh 3,99.4, R 4,11.39, 6,15.21,
pūryant-, Mbh 6,101.17, R 2,57.16 = 58.13, (*pra*)*bhajyant-*, Mbh 5,47.48
(v.l. [S] ^o*bhajyamānam*), *bhidyant-*, R 1,23.5 v.l. (CE *bhidyamāna-*),
mathyant-, Mbh 1,217.13 (*√manth*), (*pari*)*muṣyant-*, Mbh 12,12.27,
rakṣyantī-, R 5,23.19 (~ [*su*] *rakṣitā*, 5,580*), (*ava*)*ropyant-*, Mbh 11,3.10,
(*pra*)*lobhyantī-*, R 4,61.7, *vadhyant-*, Mbh 4,20.23, 9,3.27, *vadhyatī-*, R
7,403*.1⁴, (*vi*)*vāsyant-*, Mbh 2,App.42.14 (³*√vas*), ^o*śīryant-*, Mbh
1,218.49, 3,254.19, 4,43.11, *hanyant-*, Mbh 4,33.6, *hriyant-*, Mbh
3,154.31, *hriyantī-*, R 4,6.20.⁵

¹ VAN BUTTENEN relates *udīryataḥ* to *jīṣṇoḥ* ('... as Jīṣṇu is shooting his divine weaponry'). But it certainly is a participle present *passive*. I think we have to supplement *iva: paśyemān ... jīṣṇor divyam astram (iva) udīryataḥ* 'See these [arrows] ... which are being shot as is Jīṣṇu's divine weapon'.

² The last two examples might well belong to the class IV present *dahyati* (♣ p. 192 n. 2): *vaṃśānām iva dahyatām*, Mbh 4,53.34f (cad. - -), *dahyatām iva veṇūnām*, 4,54.4.

³ On this stanza see SUKTHANKAR (1934/35: 101-102).

⁴ On ^o*atī-* ~ ^o*antī-* see (♣) p. 261-262.

⁵ This is just a sample of forms.

The reduced distinction between active and passive led to the use of (a) some active participles – mainly *paśyant-* / *paśyamāna-* (on pass. *paśyate* see [→] *√paś*) – in a passive sense and (b) *vice versa* (see KULKARNI 1943a: 241-242):

(a) *yadāśrauṣaṃ tān athājñātavāse / tv apaśyamānān vividhair upāyair*
 ‘When I heard, that the [Pāṇḍavas] were not detected while dwelling unknown [in Virāṭa’s kingdom]’, Mbh 1,48*.2 (v.l. *adrśyamānān*),
draupadyā saha saṃgamyā paśyamāno bhyayāt prabhuḥ / mahānase
tadānnaṃ tu sādhyām āsa pāṇḍavaḥ ‘The mighty Pāṇḍava joined Draupadī and, being watched by her, went to the kitchen and prepared the food’, Mbh 3,4.5 (v.l. [N] *vandyamāno*), *drśyamāne bhavet prītiḥ*
sauhrdaṃ nāsty apaśyataḥ ‘[Generally people] have affection [only] for one who is actually present. For one who is not seen there is no love’, R 5,24.41¹ (v.l. *adrśyataḥ*), *yās tāḥ pravrajāmānāṃ tvāṃ prāhasan darpa-*
mohitāḥ ‘The arrogant ladies who laughed at you when you were in exile ...’, Mbh 3,224.8 (v.l. *pravrajya* ° / *pravraja* °)

(b) *nāgasya nāśo mama caiva nāśo / bhaviṣyatīty eva vicintyamānaḥ*
 ‘Thinking that he and the *nāga* would die ...’, Mbh 1,444*, *ābadhy-*
amānaḥ kavacaṃ rarāja / saṃdhyābhrasaṃvīta ivādrirājaḥ ‘Putting on his mail, he shone like the king of the mountains encircled by the evening clouds’, R 6,53.24².

Sporadically (a) the present participle of the causative has no causal meaning and (b) the simple participle is used as causative (see KULKARNI 1943a: 241-242):

¹ The literal translation of GOLDMAN/SUTHERLAND (1996: 421) – ‘There is no affection on the part of one who does not see’ – is surely conceivable.

² Cf. the commentary of Varadarāja (Cv): *ābadhyamānaḥ + ābadhnan ārṣo vikaraṇavyatyayena śyan* (see also ROUSSEL 1910: 30).

(a) *kārayantaḥ kṛṣiṃ gobhis tathā vaiśyāḥ kṣitāv iha* ‘In that way the farmers plough here the earth with bullocks’, Mbh 1,58.19¹

yuṣmadartham ahāpayan ‘Without giving up your cause’, Mbh 5,70.80 = 71.32 = 75.15, *ahāpayan pāṇḍavārtham* ‘Without giving up the cause of the Pāṇḍavas’, 5,91.19

(b) *diśaḥ prakāśan bhagavān ivārkaḥ* ‘Illuminating the quarters like the sun, the Lord ...’, Mbh 12,49.80 v.l. (CE *viśan prabhābhir bhagavāms trilokam*)

bhittvā girim aśvinau gām udācarantau ‘Cleaving the mountain, the Aśvins let loose the cow[s] ...’, Mbh 1,3.66².

The middle participle (*pary*)*upāsīna-* is sometimes used with a passive meaning:

yaḥ saṃsadi prakṛtibhir bhaved yukta upāsītum / vanyair mṛgair upāsīnaḥ so 'yam āste mamāgrajaḥ ‘The man to whom his subjects in the assembly should rightly be paying homage – here he sits, my elder brother, being adored by wild beasts’, R 2,93.30 (v.l. *parivṛtaḥ*), *suhṛdbhiḥ pary-upāsīnaḥ* ‘Being surrounded by his friends ...’, 2,63.6 (~ *upāsyamānaḥ sakhībhiḥ*, 2,1596*).³

¹ It cannot be ruled out that these farmers *have* someone plough the earth.

² RENO (1939: 184) proposes to read *bhittvā girim gā(h sa)mudā carantau*, while MISHRA (1995: 56) emends to *bhittvā girim aśvinā gā udājatām*.

³ We occasionally encounter a ^o*ka*-enlargement of a (middle) participle: *dhriyamāṇakau*, Mbh 3,1328*, *saṃsarpamāṇakam*, 3,292,20.

9.2. The future participle¹

The future participle denotes an act planned for or that is expected to happen in the future (see TICHY 1992: 338)²: *vṛkṣam ādāya rākṣasaḥ / tādayiṣyaṃ tadā bhīmaṃ punar abhyadravad balī* ‘The Rākṣasa ... ran once more at Bhīma in order to strike him’, Mbh 1,151.12, *te karṇaṃ bhakṣayiṣyantaḥ sarvataḥ samupadravan* ‘They ran from all sides towards Karṇa with the intention of devouring him’, Mbh 7,150.102.

rem. Nouns in *°aka-* are also used in such a way (see SPEYER 1886: 279 [§ 359.1c] / 1896: 62 [§ 202]): *āgato ‘smītyuvācainam bhavantam abhivādakaḥ* ‘I have come – he said to him – to bring you my greetings’, Mbh 3,71.23, *taṃ vivāhe kṛte rājan sabhāryam avalokakaḥ / ājagāma bhṛguśreṣṭhaḥ* ‘After the wedding .. the eldest of the Bhṛgus came in order to see [his son] and his wife’, 3,115.19, *ājagāma viśuddhātmā pāṇḍavān avalokakaḥ* ‘He ... came to see the Pāṇḍavas’, 3,180.44 (v.l. *avalokayan*)³.

9.3. The perfect participle⁴

The seemingly unreduplicated perfect participle⁵ *darśivāṃs-* (only nom. sg. masc. *°darśivān*), Mbh 1,54.18, 133.18, 146.15, 4,26.1, 5,87.26, 128.17, 7,11.1, 62.1, 8,27.4.6.10, 9,2.57, 28.45, 10,17.11, 15,26.5 – always used *ifc.*

¹ See STENZLER § 268, KIELHORN § 501, RENOU § 340, WHITNEY § 939, SPEYER (1886: 282-283 [§ 362.6]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 188).

² This is, of course, *no* Epic peculiarity.

³ On the accusative construction of these stanzas see (♣) p. 316.

⁴ See STENZLER § 271-272, KIELHORN § 502-505, RENOU § 336 and WHITNEY § 802-807. A lot of examples are given by LUDWIG (1896: 23-24), BÖHTLINGK (1887: 221), MICHELSON (1904: 133), SEN (1951d: 59) and SPEYER (1886: 256 [§ 338]).

As BÖHTLINGK (l.c.) points out, this participle is used, contrary to Pāṇ 3.2.108ff., as *verbum finitum* at R 2,56.17 (*eyivān*), 66.43 (*upapedivān*) and 6,47.126 (*eyivān*). See also LUDWIG (1896: 23-24 / 107) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 25-26).

⁵ Thus KULKARNI (1943a: 244-245).

(and as the last word of an even *śloka-pāda*) – is based on a blending of *°darśī* (*°darśin-*) and *°dṛśvā* (*°dṛśvan-*) which received the ending of *°vidvān* (see AiGr. II I § 75b *rem.* [p. 175]¹). In the same way, *°śamsin-* has been transformed into (*apriya*)*śamsivān* ‘telling (the sad news)’, R 2,16.60.

9.4. The verbal adjective²

Some (a) roots which in Vedic Sanskrit have a verbal adjective³ in *°ta-* form in the Epics one in *°ita-* and (b) *vice versa*⁴:

(a) *añcita-* (→ √*añc*), (*nir/vy*)*asita-* (→ ²√*as*), *upita-* (→ √*vap*), *krudhita-* (→ √*krudh*), *kṣubhita-* (→ √*kṣubh*), *javita-* (→ √*jū*), *nudita-* (→ √*nud*), *yatita-* (→ √*yat*), *śamsita-* (→ √*śams*), *śakita-* (→ √*śak*), *śāsita-* (→ √*śās*)⁵

¹ RENOUE § 244 comments somewhat differently on the form: “La forme *°darsivān* ... résulte de *darśin-* + *dṛśvan-* + *dadrśvāms-*”. Cf. also BHSG § 22.48.

² See STENZLER § 273-280, KIELHORN § 506-512, RENOUE § 148-154 and WHITNEY § 952-960. On the verbal adjectives of the Rāmāyaṇa see BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 22-23 [= *ET* p. 26-28]). On the use of the verbal adjective as noun of action see SPEYER (1886: 281 n. 1).

³ “By putting *bhaviṣyati* to the past participle, the future perfect may be expressed” (SPEYER 1886: 294): *arthau dvāv api niṣpannau yudhiṣṭhira bhaviṣyataḥ* ‘Both purposes will be accomplished, ...’, Mbh 1,150.20.

⁴ See KULKARNI (1943a: 242-243) and RENOUE § 149 (p. 194-195). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 34.7-11; for Prakrit see PISCHEL § 564 and for Pāli see OBERLIES (2001: 261 n. 6).

⁵ Note that the verbal adjective *śāsta-* is a secondary formation; the genuine form is *śiṣṭa-*.

(b) *harita-* (→ √*bhr* / √*hr*) ‘full of’ is an *°ita-* derivation from *bhara-* ‘fullness, abundance’ like *puṣpita-* from *puṣpa-* (on which see LEUMANN 1940: 214 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 310]) or *nimnita-* (Mbh 7,1127*.3) from *nimna-*.

(b) *grasta-* (→ √*gras*), *japta-* (→ √*jap*), *lapta-* (→ √*lap*), *uṣṭa-* (→ ³√*vas*)¹, *śvasta-* (→ √*śvas*)².

Thus some roots have two verbal adjectives, and other roots followed suit³: *kṣānta-* ~ *kṣamita-* (→ √*kṣam*), *kṣubdha-* ~ *kṣubhita-* (→ √*kṣubh*), *nunna-* ~ *nudita-* (→ √*nud*), *bhāṣṭa-* ~ *bhāṣita-* (→ √*bhāṣ*), *ruṣṭa-* ~ *ruṣita-* (→ √*ruṣ*), *uṣṭa-* ~ *uṣita-* (→ ³√*vas*), *vyātta-* ~ *vyādita-*⁴.

And a few verbal adjectives are irregularly derived⁵:

nunna- ‘pushed’, Mbh 8,54.9, *bhukṣita-* ‘hungry’, R 7,4.12 (*bhukṣitābhukṣitaiḥ*)⁶, *vivadita-* ‘quarrel’, Mbh 2,64.11, 13,12.26⁷,

¹ Cf. MIA ^o*vuttha-* (see GEIGER § 195 and PISCHEL § 564) and BHS ^o*vusta-* (see BHSG § 34.11).

² On (*vi*)*śrabdha-* ‘confident, trusting in’ as a hyper-sanskritization of MIA (*vis*)*saddha-*, a transformation of *vissattha-* (< *viśvasta-*) under the influence of *saddhā-* (< *śraddhā-*), see BERGER (1966).

³ For this phenomenon in MIA see GEIGER § 196 and OBERLIES (2001: 261).

⁴ The old verbal adjective of √*dā* is (^o)*tta-* (< **dh₃tó-*), while (^o)*dita-* is an Epic innovation based on the Middle Indic present *deti* (see EMENEAU 1988: 188-189 and VIA I 294). Both (as *vyātta-* and *vyādita-* ‘open’) are used (only) qualifying *āsyā-* and *ānana-*: *vyāditaṃ tv āsyam*, R 5,11.50 = 56.29, *vyādītāsya-*, Mbh 2,22.23, 3,146.46, 6,58.33, R 3,2.6, 6,68.32, 87.40, 90.17, 7,54.5, *vyāttāsya-*, R 4,63.5, 6,49.27, *vyāttānana-*, Mbh 3,18.7, 124.23, 125.1, 6,15.9, 33.24, 55.45, R 3,3.13, 30.6.

⁵ Of the examples, which KULKARNI (1943a: 243) cites to prove that the causative is used instead of the simplex, not one stands the test. At Mbh 1,53.28 (*kathāṃ vyāsa-saṃpannām*), however, *saṃpanna-* seems to be used instead of *saṃpādita-* ‘composed [by Vyāsa]’.

⁶ On this form see MEIER (1931: 37).

⁷ Cf. *vivadana-* ‘quarrel’, Mbh 2,61.62.

nivapta- ‘thrown down, offered’, Mbh 13,92.12 (*nivapte cāgnipūrve vai nivāpe ...*¹), *voḍha-* ‘married’, Mbh 3,127.13 (*idaṃ bhāryāśataṃ ... putrārthinā mayā voḍham*).

rem. Mbh 3,170.36 v.l. and 8,12.38 v.l. uses *pracudita-* in the sense of *pracodita-* ‘impelled (=) shot off’ (CE at Mbh 3,170.36 has *astrapramudita² raṇe*)³. The same phenomenon is met with in Pāli (see OBERLIES 2001: 262).

Ocasionally verbal adjectives⁴ from transitive verbs are used with active meaning (i.e. instead of ^o*tavant*-participles), sometimes even governing an accusative⁵:

vyāghraghrātā mṛgā iva ‘Like animals who have smelled a tiger’, Mbh 7,792*⁶, *sarvāstrāṇi ... putrāḥ ... kauśikāya purā dattāḥ* ‘Long ago the sons [of Kṛṣāśva] gave all weapons to Kauśika ...’, R 1,20.13 (~ *astram hy*

¹ It was obviously *nivāpe* which triggered the formation of *nivapte*.

² Most probably this is an error (‘[with showers of arrows] delighted [?] by weapons’) for *pranuditaiḥ* (cf. Mbh 8,12.38: ... *gāṇḍivapranuditā ... patatrināḥ* [v.l. ^o*pramuditā*]).

³ The present *codati* is completely replaced by *codayati* after the Ṛgveda (see GOTO 1987: 142). Therefore *codita-* cannot belong to *codati* but it must be the verbal adjective of *codayati*.

⁴ The verbal adjective – accompanied by an auxiliary or not (cf. Mbh 3,197.6: *ity uktvā bahuśo vidvān grāmaṃ bhaiḥyāya saṃśritaḥ* ‘... he went to the village to beg food’) – can be used instead of a finite verb of a sentence. The periphrastic construction amplifies the resultative meaning of the verbal adjective (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 390-393, SPEYER 1886: 293-296 [§ 376-378], id. 1896: 62 [§ 203-205] and MEENAKSHI 1983:185-187).

⁵ See RENOU § 152 (p. 197). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 34.15, for Pāli see OBERLIES (2001: 261-262).

⁶ It cannot, however, be excluded that *vyāghraghrātā* means ‘smelled by the tiger’ (see MEYER 1915: 356 n. 1).

*asmai kṛśāsvena ... [dattam], 1,599*¹, *ājñāṃ bhartur ādṛtāḥ* ‘They respected the order of their husband’, R 5,577*, *prasūtā garbham* ‘She gave birth to an embryo (= child)’, Mbh 3,App.27.66, *rāmapatnī sā prasūtā dāarakadvayam* ‘[Sitā], the wife of Rāma gave birth to two sons’, R 7,1013*.²*

rem. The agent of the verbal adjective may stand in the genitive (↗ p.102-103). A lot of examples for this construction are given by SEN (1952/53: 313 / 317) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 107-108).

9.5. The gerundive³

√*car* and √*tṛ* form their ^o*tavya*-gerundive otherwise than in Vedic Sanskrit, without connecting *-i-* (*cartavya-*, Mbh 13,109.2, 128.33, 129.19, *tartavya-*, Mbh 7,95.5). In both cases the formation of the gerundive agrees with that of the infinitive, viz. *cartum* and *tartum* (↗ 9.6). (*nir*)*mārjaṇīya-*, R 7,58.5.6, and (*ā*)*hvayitavya-*, Mbh 1,77.15, are based on the present stem – as is probably (*ā*)*nayitavya-*, Mbh 1,143.18⁴.

¹ Quite different is the translation and explanation of GOLDMAN / SUTHERLAND (1984: 166 / 328).

² Cf. *kālavyatīteṣu mitrakāryeṣu*, R 4,28.13 (~ *kālābhipanneṣu mitrakāryeṣu*, 563*), *kāryaṃ ... kālātītam*, R 4,28.14 (Cm. ... *yuktakālam atikramya ... ity arthaḥ*).

³ See STENZLER § 281, KIELHORN § 528-538, RENOU § 155-161, WHITNEY § 961-967 and AiGr. II,2 § 97 (^o*anīya-*), 460 (^o*tavya-*), 642-649 (^o*ya-*). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 34.20-24.

⁴ √*nī* also forms a gerundive *netavya-*. Also √*kṣam* and √*yat* have two gerundives side by side, one with and one without *-i-*.

A few *°tavya*-gerundives¹ have – on the analogy of the verbal adjective – zero-grade of the root²: *pratigrhītavyaḥ*, R 3,70.12 v.l. (CE *°grahītavyaḥ*), *jāgrtavya-*, Mbh 1,138.30 v.l. (CE *jāgartavye*), 5,133.27³, *praśastavyau*, R 1,4.15 (*praśaśamsuḥ praśastavyau*)⁴.

In Epic Sanskrit the gerundive may be compounded with *īṣat-*, *su-* and *dus-* to form adjectives which are used side by side with those of the (regular) *sukāra-* / *duṣkāra-*-type⁵: *īṣatkārya-*, Mbh 5,71.22, R 4,53.13, *sudṛśya-*, Mbh 12,331.12 v.l., *sudurgamya-*, Mbh 7,20.15, *durgrāhya-*, Mbh 5,128.39 v.l. (CE *durgraha-*), 13,38.24, R 2,901*.3, *durdamya-*, Mbh 12,79.33 v.l., *durnirikṣya-*, Mbh 8,56.51, 63.66, R 1,48.13, 73.17, *duṣprekṣya-*, Mbh 6,55.47 = 102.38, R 2,30.2, 3,23.26, *durbhedyā-*, Mbh 6,77.20, *durvigāhya-*, Mbh 13,27.81, 79.11,

¹ Gerundives, accompanied by an auxiliary or not, are capable of doing duty as finite verbs (see SPEYER 1896: 60-61 [§ 200], BROCKINGTON 1969/70a: 26 [= ET p. 30] and SEN 1995: 373): *eteṣām apy avekṣārthaṃ trātavyāsmi janārdana*, Mbh 3,13.64, *na hantavyo 'smi te rājan*, 3,50.19, *so 'smi vācyas tvayā rājan pūrvam eva samāgame*, 6,54.36 (v.l. *so 'ham*). The nom. sg. ntr. can be used impersonally (see BÖHTLINGK 1888): *yadi paśyasi gantavyaṃ gamyatām acirāt tataḥ*, R 2,1623*.2. And it is employed in the locative as an 'oblique case' of the infinitive (see SPEYER 1886: 303 [§ 386 rem.], id. 1896: 68 [§ 222], BÖHTLINGK 1888: 368-369 and AiGr. II,2 § 460c [p. 613]): ... *matim kṛtvā yaṣṭavye vasudhādhipaḥ* 'When he had decided to sacrifice ...', R 1,8.3 v.l. (another v.l. has *yaṣṭum vai*), ... *icchāmo gantavye 'numatam ...* 'We would like to have your consent to go', 3,111*.1.

² *gūhitavya-*, Mbh 3,132.14, shows the generalized root form *gūh°* (cf. inf. *gūhitum* and abs. II *°gūhya*).

³ Note, however, the easy interchangeability of *gr* and *gra* in transmission.

⁴ See MICHELSON (1904: 91) and WACKERNAGEL, *Kl. Sch.* P. 1265. Note, however, that *gr-* and *gra-* are rather commonly confused by scribes.

⁵ See AiGr. II,1 § 82aγ (p. 193), II,2 § 26g (p. 89) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 376 [= ET p. 49-50]).

durvicintya-, Mbh 12,125.7, *durviṣahya-*, Mbh 6,20.4, R 6,94.23, *duṣprativikṣya-*, R 2,20.3¹.

9.6. Infinitive²

Epic Sanskrit has infinitives (a) in *-itum*³ with verbs which form it in Vedic without connecting *-i-* and (b) in *^otum* with verbs which in Vedic form it with connecting *-i-*⁴:

(a) *eṣitum* (→ ¹√iṣ), *karṣitum* (→ √krṣ), *bhajitum* (→ √bhaj), *rodhitum* (→ √rudh), *rohitum* (→ √ruh), *veditum* (→ ²√vid), *śocitum* (→ √śuc), *haritum* (→ √hr̥)

(b) *cartum* (→ √car), *tartum* (→ √tr̥), *bhāṣṭum* (→ √bhāṣ), *vettum* (→ ¹√vid).

As Epic Sanskrit preserved the old infinitives, *^oitum-* and *^otum-*infinitives often appear side by side: *kramitum* ~ *krāntum* (on which see below), *caritum* ~ *cartum*, *taritum* ~ *tartum*, *bhajitum* ~ *bhaktum*, *bhāṣitum* ~ *bhāṣṭum*, *ramitum* ~ *rantum*, *rohitum* ~ *rodhum*, *veditum* ~ *vettum* (²√vid), *śāsitum* ~ *śāstum*, *haritum* ~ *hartum*. And new ‘pairs’ were created within Epic Sanskrit: *ūhitum* ~ *odhum*, *karṣitum* ~ *kraṣṭum*, *grasitum* ~ *grastum*, *rodhitum* ~ *roddhum*, *śapitum* ~ *śaptum*, *śocitum* ~ *śoktum*, *sahitum* ~ *soḍhum*.

¹ On *durnivāra-* with its irregular *-ā-* see AiGr. II,1 § 75e rem. (“... wohl aus **durnivāraya-* ... gekürzt”).

² See STENZLER § 282, KIELHORN § 527, RENOU § 106-108, WHITNEY § 968-988 and AiGr. II,2 § 480-482. On infinitives in Epic Sanskrit see KULKARNI (1943b: 131-133), BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 26-29 [= ET p. 30-35]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 192-196).

³ In the Aśvin hymn of the Ādiparvan the ‘Vedic’ infinitive *jīvase* is used (↗ p. XXIX).

⁴ On the insertion of *-i-* see AiGr. II,2 § 481d.

A number of infinitives are formed by adding *-(i)tum* to the present stem¹: *bibhartum*, Mbh 8,24.61, 256*, (*pra*)*mārjitum*, R 3,48.11, (*ni*)*yacchitum*, Mbh 1,98.11, (*ā*)*viśatum*, Mbh 1,222.10², (*ati*)*śayitum*, R 6,11.42 v.l. (CE *atisāyayitum*³), (*ā*)*śrayitum*, R 2,152*⁴, (°)*sīditum*, Mbh 3,78.11 v.l. ~ 3,362*, 4,27.6, R 2,98.43, 5,1.77, *ghnantum*, Mbh 12,324.4 (v.l. *hantum*).

Occasionally the infinitive suffix is added not to the full grade root⁵ but to its weak form, the model being the verbal adjective⁶:

krāntum, Mbh 3,267.27, 8,28.37, 33.9, 9,18.32, 10,1.9, 14,52.16, R 4,58.40, 66.14, (°)*grhītum*, R 3,806* v.l. (not noted by CE), 4,7.8 v.l., 18.25 v.l.⁷, (*pratisamā*)*dhitum*, R 5,36.37 = 65.19⁸, *pūritum*, R 1,66.8⁹,

¹ See RENOUE § 106 and AiGr. II,2 § 481b.

² On infinitives in *-atum* in Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 36.7.

³ The infinitive (*ati*)*śayitum* is based on the present stem *śaya-*. It cannot be excluded, however, that it is a haplogogized form of (*ati*)*śāyayitum*, the regular causative infinitive, which is used here as simplex: ‘Even Bṛhaspati cannot excel you ...’ (*na bhavantam ... atisāyayitum śakto bṛhaspatir api bruvaṇ* [v.l. *naivātiśayitum ...*]).

⁴ This infinitive is formed from the present stem after the model of the causative infinitives (see AiGr. II,2 § 481b).

⁵ *veddhum*, Mbh 1,1838*, is based on the ‘secondary’ root √*vidh* (cf. AiGr. II,2 § 481a *rem.*).

⁶ See WHITNEY § 968f, RENOUE § 106 and AiGr. II,2 § 481c. For such infinitives in Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 36.9.

⁷ See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 223) and MICHELSON (1904: 138).

⁸ The infinitive (*saṃ*)*dhayitum*, R 6,90.32 v.l., seems to be formed to (*d*)*hīta-* after the model of the *-ayī-*infinitive of *ī*-roots.

⁹ See AiGr. II,2 § 481c *rem.*

baddhum, Mbh 1,3.21, 3,135.37, R 3,53.24, 5,48.14¹, (*ā*)*saktum*, Mbh 5,156.8, *utthitum*, R 5,1.88 v.l. (CE *utthātum*), *prasthitum*, R 2,27.9 v.l. (CE *prasthātum*)².

The *set*-root $\sqrt{kṣam}$ forms an infinitive like *aniṭ*-roots in final nasal (*gantum*, *tantum*, *hantum*) so that it has a different vowel-grade than the verbal adjective: *kṣantum* ~ *kṣānta*- ($\rightarrow \sqrt{kṣam}$).

A number of infinitives of causatives, denominatives and class X verbs have lost the element *-ay-* (see AiGr. II,2 § 482a *rem.*):

prati-kūlitum ‘to be opposed’, R 3,23.12³, *ava-tāritum* ‘to be led down (the mountain)’, R 4,1168*⁴, *dhāritum* ‘to continue (living⁵)’, R 3,51.20, *pūritum* ‘to string (a bow)’, R 1,66.8, *ava-mānitum* ‘to despise’, R 2,97.13 v.l. (CE *atikramitum*), *lobhitum* ‘to seduce’, Mbh 1,209.3, R 3,53.13 v.l. (Cr.g.k. *lobhitum lobhayitum*), *upa-varṇitum* ‘to describe’, R 6,19.17 v.l.⁶ (CE *anubhāṣitum*), *nī-vāritum* ‘to avert’, Mbh 2,66.36 (v.l. [S] *nī-*

¹ On *ījitum*, Mbh 2,30.26, see (\rightarrow) \sqrt{yaj} , *rem.*

² See BÖHTLINGK (1887: 223), MICHELSON (1904: 138) and SEN (1952: 203).

³ This infinitive is used in the passive (see BÖHTLINGK 1887: 223, id. 1887a: 188-189 and BROCKINGTON 1969/70a: 26 [= *ET* p. 31]; cf. also SPEYER 1886: 307 n. 3 and VAN DAALEN 1980: 117). On this stanza see also (\rightarrow) p. 278 with n. 6.

⁴ This infinitive is also passively used (see BÖHTLINGK 1889: 59-60 / 1887a: 188 and VAN DAALEN 1980: 116). The starred passage R 4,1168* corresponds to 4,55.21 (*iccheyam parvatād asmād avatartum arindamāḥ*), where *avatartum* is used instead of *avatārayitum*, as pointed by Ck.t. The Bengal recension has *iccheyam asmād giryagrād bhavadbhīr avatāraṇam* (see BÖHTLINGK *l.c.*).

⁵ We have to supply *jīvitam* (see Ct.).

⁶ A number of manuscripts read *upalakṣitum*, likewise an infinitive without *-ay-*.

varitum), *pra-vrājītum* ‘to leave home’¹, Mbh 5,173.14 (v.l. *pravrājīyī-
tum*).

This peculiarity no doubt contributed to the confusion of simplex and causative infinitive (see above [↗], 8.8.1[e] / 2[e]).

rem. (a) *pātum* ‘to purify’, Mbh 7,125.15 (*nāśvamedhasahasreṇa pātum ātmānam utsahe*) is a crossing of the infinitives of $\sqrt{pā}$ ‘to protect’ and $\sqrt{pū}$ ‘to purify’ as the v.l. *pāvītum* shows; (b) the infinitive of the desiderative of \sqrt{labh} – *lapsitum*, Mbh 12,112.9 (*lapsitum icchasi* [↗ p. 256 n. 6]) – is influenced by the future *lapsyati*.

As occasionally in Vedic Sanskrit (see WHITNEY § 988 and SPEYER 1896: 65-66 [§ 216]), the infinitive is used in the passive (see also above [↗] p. 276 n. 3-4)²:

*sā tadāsīd bhṛśaṃ senā vyākulāśvarathadvipā / viṣaṇṇabhūyiṣṭhanarā
kṛpanā draṣṭum ābabhau* ‘The army seemed to look miserable’, Mbh 7,1.29 (see *critical notes* ad loc.)

kasmāt sarasvatī ... nivr̥ttā ... vyākhyātum etad icchāmi sarvam ... ‘Why did Sarasvatī turn back? I want all this to be told [to me] ...’, Mbh 9,36.37 (v.l. *vyākhyātam*)

*pītāmahāsute hy ete vidye tejaḥsamanvite / pradātum tava kākutstha
sadṛśas tvaṃ hi dhārmika* ‘For these two potent spells are the daughters of Grandfather [Brahmā]. Righteous Kākutstha, you are worthy to be given them’, R 1,21.16³

¹ This (truncated) causative infinitive is used instead of the simplex. It avoids the syllables 2 - 4 scanning

² See SPEYER (1886: 303-304 [§ 387]), id. (1896: 67 [§ 219]) and BÖHTLINGK (1887a: 188).

³ See *critical notes* ad loc. The problematic *tava* remains untranslated.

samudraṃ netum icchāmi bhavadbhir varuṇālayam ‘I want to be led by you to the ocean, Varuṇa’s abode’, R 4,57.32¹

yavīyān kena me bhrātā hataḥ kva ca vināśitaḥ / etad ākhyātum icchāmi bhavadbhir vānarottamāḥ ‘Who slew my younger brother? And where was he killed? I wish to be told this by you, best of [all] monkeys’, R 5,33.59².

It would be more natural to understand the above-quoted stanza Mbh 9,36.37 as a kind of elliptical *acc. cum inf.* (‘I wish [you] to tell me all this’). And Epic Sanskrit seems indeed to know this construction:

yady ātmānaṃ jīvitum te kṣamaṃ syāt ‘... if it should be proper for you to live’, Mbh 3,965*.4³

mām ca jīvitum icchasi ‘If you want me to live ...’, Mbh 3,281.99 v.l. (CE *mām cej jīvitam icchasi*⁵)

na jīvitum tvām viśahe ‘manoramām’ ‘I cannot endure that you ... should live’, R 2,App.9.230

sūra vakṣyāmi te kiṃcin na ceccchāmy abhyasūyitum ‘I shall tell you something, hero, but I do not want [you] to be angry, R 4,15.19⁶.

¹ See BÖHTLINGK (1889: 60), who cites the text of the Gorresio edition – *bhavadbhir nītam icchāmi ātmānaṃ varuṇālayam* –, and VAN DAALEN (1980: 117).

² See ROUSSEL (1910: 29).

³ On this line see SCHELLER (1950).

⁴ This is yet another example of *ca* meaning ‘if’ (see OBERLIES 1999: 169 [add: Avś I 189,8 (*ahaṃ caivamdrṣṭiḥ syām*), KSS XLV 33 and CI 61]).

⁵ Another v.l. has *jīvantam* (on which see SPEYER 1886: 307 n. 3).

⁶ See ROUSSEL (1910: 28). On R 3,23.12 (*pratikūlitum icchāmi na hi vākyam idaṃ tvayā*) see SCHELLER (1950: 248) and above [↗], p. 276.

The infinitive construed with *alam* and *kim* serves to express a kind of prohibition (see SPEYER 1896: 58 / 302 [§ 193 *rem.* / 384 *rem.*]):

alam viklavatām gantum ‘Do not despair!’, R 3,57.13 v.l. (CE *alam vaiklavyam ālambya*), *kim no vastum tapovane* ‘Why should we dwell in this wilderness of austerities?’ (= ‘Don’t let us dwell ...!’), Mbh 3,34.2.¹

9.7. The absolutive²

With only a handful of exceptions, the distribution of *-tvā* and *-itvā* in Epic Sanskrit is the same as in Vedic³: \sqrt{jap} may form its absolutive also in *-tvā*⁴, while \sqrt{kram} , \sqrt{tap} and $\sqrt{smṛ}$ ⁵ may have one in *-itvā* (with full grade root). Some roots whose absolutive is not attested in Vedic but which should form it ending in *-tvā* have it in *-itvā*: \sqrt{dam} , $\sqrt{śap}$, $\sqrt{śuc}$. These absolutives are most probably based on the present stem. The same holds good for the absolutive of

¹ On the syntax of the infinitive see also SPEYER (1886: 300-309 [§ 383-393]), WHITNEY § 987, GIPPERT (1995) and above (↗) p. 73 n. 1. See also (→) \sqrt{yat} (*rem.*).

² See STENZLER § 283-288, KIELHORN § 513-526, RENOU § 98-105, WHITNEY § 989-995 and AiGr. II,2 § 484-487 / 635-640.

³ In Buddhist Sanskrit, by contrast, the *°itvā*-absolutive (added to the present stem) became very productive (see BHSG § 35.22-28).

⁴ On *cartvā* and *uṣṭvā*, each attested only in one v.l. (→ \sqrt{car} and \sqrt{vas}), see AiGr. II,2 § 486a *rem.*

⁵ See (→) also s.v. \sqrt{stambh} .

some roots in \tilde{i}^1 , of \sqrt{jan}^2 and of $^1\sqrt{sā}^3$: *nayitvā*, *śrayitvā*, *smayitvā*⁴, *prajāyitvā*⁵, *°sya* ($\rightarrow \sqrt{sā}$)⁶.

Because of the agreement of the vowel grade of the verbal adjective and the absolutive (cf. *tīrṇá-* ~ *tīrtvā*), *cīrṇa-* gave rise to the absolutive *cīrtvā* ($\rightarrow \sqrt{car}$)⁷. Comparable are the absolutives II *°gūhya* ($\rightarrow \sqrt{guh}$) and *°śāsya* ($\rightarrow \sqrt{śās}$) which correspond to *gūḍha-* and *śāsita-*, respectively⁸. But here alternative root variants, i.e. $\sqrt{gūh}$ and $\sqrt{śās}$, were carried through. The same phenomenon led to the formation of the absolutives (I) *bhañktvā* / *bhuñktvā* and (II) *°vasya* ($^2\sqrt{vas}$)⁹. In the case of $\sqrt{bha(\tilde{n})j}$ this served to avoid confusion with the absolutive of \sqrt{bhaj} , viz. *bhaktvā*.

¹ (*saṃ*)*cayitvā*, Mbh 13,60.16 v.l. (CE *sraṃsayitvā*), consequently points to a present stem *caya-*.

² AiGr. II,2 § 485e *rem.* erroneously maintains that Epic Sanskrit possesses the absolutives *jighritvā* and *siñcitvā*. And *yamitvā* is also not ‘Epic’ (*pace* AiGr., *l.c.* *dy rem.*).

³ This phenomenon is to be met with also in Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHS § 35.12-16) and Middle Indo-Aryan (see PISCHEL § 582 and OBERLIES 2001: 265).

⁴ In the case of the \tilde{i} -roots the common *°ayitvā*-absolutive of the causative and of class X verbs (on which see below) served as a model (see AiGr. II,2 § 485e).

⁵ This absolutive is ‘irregular’ in a second way (↗ 9.7.1).

⁶ See AiGr. II,2 § 637g (*[upa]rundhya* that is cited there is only a v.l. at R 7,64.15 which is not noted by CE [*nindayānaḥ*]).

⁷ On *cīrṇa-* and *cīrtvā* see AiGr. I § 22a / 123aα and II,2 p. 658.

⁸ The (irregular) *roditvā* (cf. AiGr. II,2 § 485dα *rem.*) is attested only as a v.l. at Mbh 13,112.13.

⁹ *°lambya* and *°luñya* are the regular absolutives of the roots \sqrt{lamb} and $\sqrt{luñc}$, which have no ablaut.

The influence of forms with *-ī-* and *-ū-*, lengthened before the suffixal *-y-* (such as passives or precatives), may have transformed the absolutes *-citya*, *-sutya* and *-stutya* into *-cīya*, *-sūya*, *-stūya* (→ ^{1/2}√*ci*, ¹√*su*, √*stu*)¹.

rem. The regular absolute of the ‘secondary’ root √*i* (↗ 6.8) is *anv-īya*, Mbh 3,11.4, 6,74.17.

9.7.1. Absolutive I in place of II

Even when compounded with a prefix or – in the case of √*kṛ* – a noun, a great number of roots form an absolute in *-tvā*²:

^o*arcayitvā*, Mbh 12,322.6, R 7,31.40, *prāpayitvā*, Mbh 1,71.52, 189.25, R 4,57.34 v.l. (CE *pratyānayitvā*), *upāsītivā*, R 1,1.76, 7,34.28, 50.13, 78.26, *vi-kalpayitvā*, Mbh 3,256.10 (v.l. *vikatthayitvā*), *pra-kīrtayitvā*, Mbh 4,10.9, *apa-kṛtvā*, Mbh 5,38.8, *alaṃ-kṛtvā*, Mbh 1,507*.3, *ādi-kṛtvā*, Mbh 2,52.17, *upa-kṛtvā*, Mbh 5,44.11, *namas-kṛtvā*, Mbh 1,58.3, 59.9, 3,170.41, 186.13, 5,48.4, 118.6, 162.7, 6,33.35, 12,60.6, 321.23, R 5,36.32, *puras-kṛtvā*, R 1,10.25 v.l. (CE *-kṛtyā*), *peśi-kṛtvā*, Mbh 1,700*.6, R 3,64.33 (v.l. *piṇḍi-kṛtvā*), *bhasmī-kṛtvā*, R 7,59.21, *śīti-kṛtvā*, R 2,65.5, *śyāmī-kṛtvā*, R 4,29.24, *ati-krāmayitvā*, R 6,31.55, *saṃ-kṣodayitvā*, R 6,89.23, *anu-gatvā*, Mbh 1,133.24, *abhi-gatvā*, Mbh 3,32*, 82.126, *pra-grhītivā*, Mbh 4,931*, *pratisaṃ-grhītivā*, Mbh 1,185.21, *vi-cārayitvā*, R 7,45.19, *saṃ-cayitvā*, Mbh 13,60.16 v.l. (CE *sraṃsayitvā*), *vi-citvā*, R 3,60.3, *pari-cintayitvā*, R 5,46.40, *saṃ-cintayitvā*, R 1,53.5 v.l. (CE *sācintayitvā*), *saṃ-codayitvā*, R 4,36.33, *ā-cchādayitvā*, Mbh 4,63.22, *pra-*

¹ Cf. AiGr. II,2 § 637d.

² See AiGr. II,2 § 487b, WHITNEY § 990a, RENOU § 98 (p. 124), KULKARNI (1943b: 133-134), MEHENDALE (1939: 73), BÖHTLINGK (1887: 223-224), MICHELSON (1904: 139-140), SATYA VRAT (1964: 230-231), VAN DAALLEN (1980: 86-88) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 24 [= ET p. 28-29]). On Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 35.9; on Middle Indo-Aryan see PISCHEL § 581 and OBERLIES (2001: 269).

jāyitvā, Mbh 12,61.5, *saṃ-jīvayitvā*, Mbh 1,90.92, *avi-jñātvā*, Mbh 3,133.19, *pra-jvālayitvā*, R 7,34.40, *pra-tapitvā*, R 6,1222*.3, *paritoṣayitvā*, R 4,App.16.113, *saṃ-tyaktvā*, R 7,79.7, *vi-trāsayitvā*, Mbh 4,34.7, 57.16, *pra-dattvā*, Mbh 1,1426*, *pra-darśayitvā*, R 3,30.22, *ni-darśayitvā*, R 3,69.1, *vi-dārayitvā*, Mbh 4,61.28 v.l. (CE *vidārya viro*), *upa-dīpayitvā*, Mbh 3,118.17, *vi-dhamitvā*, Mbh 6,58.61, *anu-dhyātvā*, Mbh 9,62.50, *ā-nayitvā*, Mbh 1,66.12, 3,281.77, R 4,57.34 (*pratyānayitvā*), *vi-narditvā*, R 3,29.18, *ut-pāṭayitvā*, R 5,41.14, *ni-pāṭayitvā*, R 6,60.43, *ut-pādayitvā*, Mbh 11,1.32, *prati-pādayitvā*, Mbh 5,71.36, *saṃ-pūjayitvā*, Mbh 1,54.15, 12,322.5, *ā-prṣṭvā*, Mbh 1,133.4, R 1,2.2, 71.19, 73.1 v.l. (CE *āprcchya*), *pari-prṣṭvā*, Mbh 4,880*, (*a*)*saṃ-prṣṭvā*, Mbh 2,30.16, R 4,66.13 v.l. (CE *asamprśya*), *anu-buddhvā*, Mbh 1,131.11, *saṃ-bhāṣitvā*, Mbh 5,557*, *ā-mantrayitvā*, Mbh 1,73.23, 2,22.53, 3,43.24 v.l. (CE *āmantrayāmi*), 4,1119*, *vi-mocayitvā*, R 5,56.133, *abhi-yātvā*, Mbh 4,29.8, 6,75.32, *upa-yātvā*, Mbh 3,17.1, *saṃ-yojayitvā*, R 2,107.15, *ā-rādhayitvā*, Mbh 3,192.19, *ā-ropayitvā*, R 1,66.17, *pra-lobhayitvā*, R 3,38.15 = 3,767*, *proktvā*, Mbh 13,95.23, *praty-uktvā*, Mbh 8,24.12, *ni-vartayitvā*, Mbh 2,2.20, 3,281.59, R 4,29.22, *saṃ-vartayitvā*, R 1,15.22, *apa-vādayitvā*, Mbh 5,174.25, *apa-vāhayitvā*, R 4,540*.14, *ni-vedayitvā*, R 1,1.59, 3,1.16, 4,38.36, *ni-veśayitvā*, R 2,83.22, 4,38.37, *saṃ-veṣṭayitvā*, Mbh 3,186.75, *vi-sātayitvā*, Mbh 4,49.17, *amu-śiṣṭvā*, Mbh 1,133.24, *upā-śrayitvā*, R 7,17.29 v.l. (CE *samupāśritya*), *ā-śvāsayitvā*, Mbh 4,407*.1, R 2,83.22, *vi-śvāsayitvā*, Mbh 12,138.44.46, *vi-sarjayitvā*, Mbh 3,111.13, 242.24, 292.24, 5,135.28, R 1,11.21, 4,37.2, *vi-sarpitvā*, R 4,62.2, *pra-sādayitvā*, R 4,30.39, *vi-ṣādayitvā*, R 6,60.48, *ni-ṣṭānitvā*, Mbh 1,85.18¹, *vi-ṣṭambhayitvā*, R 5,34.33, *saṃ-stambhayitvā*, Mbh 3,124.18, *ut-thāpayitvā*, R 2,66.18, (°)*ut-smayitvā*, Mbh 2,63.12 (*abhy-*), R 1,98*, 3,41.41, *ni-hatvā*, R 4,34.14, 5,51.39, *pra-hasitvā*, Mbh 2,458*.

¹ On the meaning of *niṣṭānatī* ('to groan') see NARTEN (1993: 325 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 407]).

The majority of these absolutes are made from causatives (and ‘causative-like’ presents), which normally lose their present stem suffix *-ay[a]*- when forming the compounded absolute (see WHITNEY § 1051d)¹. Amplification for clarity accounts for this irregular formation.

9.7.2. Absolute II in place of I

In this way the suffixes *-tvā* and *-ya*² have become true alternatives³, and *-ya* was added to (a) simple verbs and (b) to verbs with the negative prefix *a(n)*-⁴:

(a) *arçya*, Mbh 3,81.21, 82.35, 5,17.2, 12,327.43, 13,87.9, 89.7, *āpya*, Mbh 9,34.37, *ikṣya*, Mbh 1,189.38, 3,184.4, 4,61.24, 14,73.17, R 6,4.50 v.l., *uṣya* (³*vas*), Mbh 1,71.58, 3,77.1.27, 82.92, 117.18, 5,132.32, R 1,26.1, 47.9, 2,13.1, 46.69, *krṣya*, Mbh 5,185.10, *gamya*, R 3,65.5, *grhya*, Mbh 1,2.93, 9.19, 39.23, 2,3.3, 17.4, 46.25, 3,76.18, 132.16, 4,47.16,

¹ As as rule, infinitives and absolutes cannot be compounded. *bhṛśasaṃkrudhya*, which RENOUE § 103 (p. 129) records from the Rāmāyaṇa (II 77 24), would be wholly exceptional. But I was not able to trace this form in the critical edition.

² Beside the absolutes in *-tvā* and *-ya*, the Mahābhārata knows what the Indian grammarians call the *ṇamul*-absolute (see WHITNEY § 995, RENOUE § 104-105, SPEYER 1886: 299-300 [§ 382], KULKARNI 1943b: 139 and MEENAKSHI 1983: 191): *ādhyāyam*, Mbh 1,91.8, (*saṃ*)*kṣepam*, Mbh 1,1.49 (on which see SUKTHANKAR 1928: 164-165), *ānardam*, Mbh 5,139.47 (on *pāśumāram*, Mbh 1,142.28, see SPEYER 1886: 32). The sole example of the Rāmāyaṇa, *uparamam*, is a rather doubtful variant reading at 3,6.21 (CE *varadam*). For this absolute in Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 35.3-5; for Middle Indo-Aryan see VON HINÜBER § 500 and OBERLIES (2001: 268 / 270).

³ *grhya*, for instance, is so frequently attested (see SATYA VRAT 1964: 229-230 n. 2) that it must be regarded as the ‘second’ regular absolute of *√gra(b)h*.

⁴ See AiGr. II,2 § 640, WHITNEY § 990a, RENOUE § 98, KULKARNI (1943b: 135-136), MEHENDEALE (1939: 73), BÖHTLINGK (1887: 223-224), MICHELSON (1904: 140-141), SATYA VRAT (1964: 229-230), VAN DAALEN (1980: 86-88) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 24 [= ET p. 28-29]). On Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 35.8; on Middle Indo-Aryan see PISCHEL § 581 and OBERLIES (2001: 269).

7,57.75, 9,24.28, 35.15, 11,11.17, 13,1.22, R 1,74.2, 3,25.12, 49.17, 64.13, 65.19, 70.1, 6,61.34, *cañcūrya*, R 4,29.14 (p. 258), *cintya*, Mbh 1,9.2, 3,59.15, 207.11, 218.43, 5,170.8, 193.1, 7,11.5, 8,233*, 9,34.66¹, *chādyā*, R 5,17.3, *tarpya*, Mbh 3,80.93, *tudya*, Mbh 1,1.139, R 2,1784*.2, *toṣya*, Mbh 1,1.109, *tyajya*, Mbh 8,673*.1, R 3,57.3.24, *ḍṛśya*², Mbh 1,218.22, 7,76.21, 78.46, R 1,29.16, 47.11, *namasya*, Mbh 5,13.3, 64.15, 142.23, *pīdyā*, Mbh 1,1835*.3, 3,40.49, 111.17, 9,22.33, *pūjya*, Mbh 2,42.38, 13,App.14.44, R 6,47.49, *bhodya*, Mbh 3,1290*.7, *mucya*, Mbh 3,235.20, R 7,39.20, *yamyā*, Mbh 3,297.55, *yudhya*, Mbh 8,46.4, *yojya*, Mbh 12,331.44, R 6,61.34, *ruṣya*, R 2,2112*.19, *vācyā*, Mbh 5,179.9 (*dvijātīn vācyā puṇyāhaṃ svasti caiva ..*)³, *śodhya*, Mbh 1,1478*.1, *sabhājya*, Mbh 1,72.22, R 3,29.29, *sūya* (¹ $\sqrt{sū}$), Mbh 3,543*, *sevyā*, Mbh 13,27.86, *sthāpyā*, R 2,12.14, 4,24.43, 43.14, *spṛśya*, Mbh 3,195.4, 261.49, 5,97.10

(b) *agrhya*, R 6,89.19, *acintya*, Mbh 3,231.4, 272.17, R 6,43.9, 46.42, *adrśya*, R 5,6.16, *apīdyā*, Mbh 5,112.5 (v.l. *apīdayitvā*), *ahatya*, Mbh 5,146.33.⁴

¹ *cintya* is not attested in the main text of the critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

² Cf. Pāli *disvā* (on which see OBERLIES 2001: 269).

³ On *svasti-vācyā*, Mbh 1,176.32 = 212.6 = 2,42.53 = 52.34, 2,2.11 = 23.6, 3,38.16, 5,196.2, see EDGERTON (1943/44: 5) and AiGr. II,2 § 639c.

⁴ This is *not* a comprehensive list.

9.7.3. The syntax of the absolutive

The absolutive is occasionally used as *verbum finitum*¹ (see SEN 1995: 376-377)²:

tato 'bhivādya govindah pādaḥ jagrāha dharmavit / utthāpya dharmarājas tu mūrdhny upāghrāya keśavam / pāṇḍavo yādavaśreṣṭhaṃ kṛṣṇaṃ kamalalocanam / gamyatām ity anujñāpya dharmarājo yudhiṣṭhiraḥ, Mbh 2,27*.3-6 (continued by: *tatas taiḥ saṃvidaṃ kṛtvā yathāvan madhusūdanaḥ / nivartayitvā ca tadā pāṇḍavān sa padānugān svāṃ puriṃ prayayau ...*, 2,2.19cd-20) 'Govinda ... grasped [Yudhiṣṭhira's] feet. The *dharmarāja*, however, made him stand up, kissed Keśava on his head and ... bade him farewell' ([2,2.19cd-20] 'Then Madhusūdana made an agreement with them ...')

pragrhyamānā tu mahājavena / muhur viniḥśvasya ca rājaputrī / tayā samākṣiptatanuḥ sa pāpaḥ / papāta śākhīva vikṛtamūlaḥ 'The princess, being seized very swiftly [by Kīcaka], suddenly breathed hard. [And] the

¹ GONDA (1967: 264 [= *Selected Studies* III 93]) cites AB VII 9,7 (*ya āhītāgnir jīve mṛtaśabdaṃ śrutvā kā tatra prāyaścittir...* 'If one who has established the fires, should, while still alive, hear the report of his own death ...') as a Vedic precursor of this phenomenon.

² On the use of the absolutive of the simplex instead of that of the causative and *vice versa* see (♣) 8.8.1(f) and 8.8.2(f).

There are some cases of a construction taught by Pāṇini 3.4.18 (on which see SPEYER 1886: 274 / 296 n. 1, id. 1896: 58 [§ 193 *rem.*], WINTERNITZ 1884: 308, RENOUE § 193b, BROCKINGTON 1982: 349, MEENAKSHI 1983: 191, SÖHNEN 1985: 480 and AiGr. II,2 § 635): *alam ... avamanya* 'Enough of contemptuous treatment!', Mbh 3,23.21, *alam sthitvā śmaśāne 'smin* 'Do not let us stay any longer on this burning-ground', Mbh 12.149.8, *tad alam te vanam gatvā* 'So no more of your going to the forest', R 2,25.14 (this is comparable to the use of *alam* with the instrumental: R 2,859*.7, 70.2, 5,22.27 [cf. SPEYER 1886: 56-57 [§ 76] / 293 [§ 375], id. 1896: 12 [§ 41d], BROCKINGTON 1982: 349 and SÖHNEN 1985: 480-481]).

villain was tossed by her and fell down ... ', Mbh 4,307*.9-12 (v.l. [muhur] *niśaśvāsa*)¹

dehāt karṇasya nīpātītasya / tejo dīptam kham vigāhyācīreṇa / tad adbhutam sarvamanuṣyayodhāḥ paśyanti rājan nihate sma karṇe 'A glowing splendour [coming] from the body of fallen Karṇa soon entered the sky. All human warriors saw this miracle, o king, when Karṇa was killed', Mbh 8,67.27² (v.l. [b]... *vidāryāviveśa*)³

tatra gatvā mahārāja balaḥ śvetānulepanaḥ / vidhivad dhi dhanam dattvā munīnām bhāvitātmanām, 'When Bala ... had gone there he gave ... wealth to the sages', Mbh 9,36.18 (v.l. [S] *prādāt*)⁴

kutas tvam adya vismṛtya vairaṃ dvādaśavārṣikam / ajñātavāsagamanam draupadiśokavardhanam / kva tadā dhṛtarāṣṭrasya sneho 'smāsv abhavat tadā 'How could you forget now the enmity of twelve years? Where was Dhṛtarāṣṭra's love for us at that time?', Mbh 15,17.19

tām āruhya mahāvegah śiṃśapām paṇasamvṛtām (ito drakṣyāmi ...) 'Then the very swift [monkey] climbed the *śiṃśapā* tree ... [and thought:] "From here I shall see ..."', R 5,12.40 (see *critical notes ad loc.*)

¹ A different explanation of this stanza – as an anacolouthon – is given by SPEYER (1910: 320).

² See *crit. notes ad loc.*

³ Cf. also Mbh 8,66.10 (which is, however, regarded as an anacolouthon by the *crit. notes ad loc.*).

⁴ It is, however, possible to construe *dattvā* with *agacchat* of the following stanza. The same could be said of *gatvā*, Mbh 9,38.17, and *prāpya*, 9,39.5 (see *critical notes ad 9,36.18*): They can depend on the following *papāta* resp. *prādāt*.

... *śibikām ... āsthāya rāghavaḥ* '[Trijaṭā began to tell what she had seen in her dream¹:] "Rāghava had climbed a palanquin ..."', R 5,25.10 (see *critical notes ad loc.*)².

The agent of the absolutive is not always the same as that of the main verb³ (see SPEYER 1886: 297-298 [§ 380]):

tataḥ śalyo mahārāja kṛtvā kadanam āhave / pāṇḍusainyasya madhyāhne dharmarājena pātitaḥ 'Śalya made a [great] slaughter in battle ... but was killed by Yudhiṣṭhira at midday', Mbh 9,1.10⁴

upāsya tu śivāṃ sandhyāṃ dr̥ṣṭvā rātrim upasthitām / rāmasya śayanaṃ cakre sūtaḥ saumitriṇā saha 'When Rāma had worshipped the gracious

¹ A couple of manuscripts insert before this stanza 5,606*: ... / *svapne rāmo mayā dr̥ṣṭo rudhiraṃ pītavān bahu*.

² Note also the use of an absolutive with *cet*: *taṃ hatvā cet keśava jīvaloke / sthātā kālaṃ nāham apy alpamātram* 'If I kill him ... I shall not allow myself to live in this world even for a short time', Mbh 8,49.63 (see *crit. notes ad loc.* and above [↗] p. 160).

³ Rather common are cases such as Mbh 3,52.13 (*tasya dr̥ṣṭvaiva vavṛdhe kāmas tām cāruhāsinīm*), 3,65.20 (*sukhārham duḥkhitām dr̥ṣṭvā mamāpi vyathate manaḥ*), 3,76.4 (*tato babhūva ... harṣanisvanah / janasya saṃprahṛṣṭasya nalam dr̥ṣṭvā tathāgatam*) or 16,6.6 (*tāsām āsīn mahān nādo dr̥ṣṭvaivārjunam āgatam*) where the agent of the absolutive stands in the genitive (see SPEYER 1886: 297 [§ 380], GONDA 1967: 263 [= *Selected Studies* III 92] and BROCKINGTON 1998: 96). Only seldom it is connected with an accusative object: *tāpasarūpeṇa prāhiṇot sa bhujamgamān / phalapatrodakaṃ gr̥hya rājñe nāgo 'tha takṣakaḥ*, Mbh 1,39.22 (see GONDA 1967: 264 [= *Selected Studies* III 93]). At R 2,1420*.5-8 (*nidhanam upagate maharṣiputre saha yaśasā sahasaiva mām nipātya / bhṛṣam aham abhavaṃ vimūḍhacetā vyasanam apāram asaṃśayaṃ prapannaḥ*) the agent of the locative absolute is also the agent of the absolutive (see BÖHTLINGK 1889: 57).

⁴ It is, however, possible to take *kṛtvā* as standing for the finite verb (see above).

twilight, ... his charioteer, with Saumitri's help, made a bed for him', R 2,41.11¹

*ayodhyāṃ bharataḥ ... praviveśa ... / saphenāṃ sasvanāṃ bhūtvā
sāgarasya samutthitām / praśāntamārutoddhūtāṃ jalormim iva niḥs-
vanām* 'Bharata entered Ayodhyā ... which was like a wave ...', R
2,106.1.7²

*saṃjagarhe 'tha taṃ bhrātā jyeṣṭho lakṣmaṇam āgatam / vihāya sītām
vijane vane rākṣasasevite* 'But then Lakṣmaṇa's eldest brother began to
rebuke him for coming and leaving Sītā [alone] in the desolate, *rākṣasa-*
haunted forest', R 3,55.14.

¹ On this stanza see POLLOCK (1986: 399).

² On this stanzas see POLLOCK (1986: 521).

X. Syntax

Apart from outright syntactical irregularities (see [↗] 10.2) the following *conspectus* records only such constructions which are not – or at least only very sporadically¹ – to be met with in texts which are definitely older than the Epics, i.e. (by and large) in the Vedic literature and in Pāṇini (on the use of modes and tenses see [↗] 6.2).

10.1. The use of the numbers²

Considering the complete loss of the dual in Middle Indo-Aryan³, the fact that the Epics use it regularly when two people or things are in question is astonishing⁴. There are only a very few exceptions to that rule and instead of it the plural⁵ is then employed⁶:

¹ In that case normally a reference is given in a footnote.

² See STENZLER § 56, KIELHORN § 64, RENOU § 207, WHITNEY § 264-265, DELBRÜCK (1888: 95-103), SPEYER (1886: 13-20 [§ 19-30]), id. (1896: 4-5 [§ 7-10]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 32-33).

³ See PISCHEL § 360, OBERLIES (2001: 130-131 [§ 28.1]), VON HINÜBER § 287 and BHSG § 5.6.

⁴ Often a dual dvandva is amplified by *ubhau* placed after it: *bhīmārjunāv ubhau*, Mbh 2,15.2 (see AiGr. II,1 § 67c).

Where the singular is used – e.g. *dharmakāryam*, Mbh 5,91.6 (v.l. *dharmakārye*), *strī-dhūrtake*, 5,39.59 – the compounds may be taken as *samāhāradvandas*.

⁵ There are, however, some instances where the plural seems to take the place of the dual (cf. R 3,10.58, 50.5, 67.20).

⁶ See SPEYER (1886: 17 n. 1), id. (1896: 4 with n. 1), HOLTZMANN (1884: 6-7) and SEN (1955/56a: 186).

Somewhat peculiar is the use of the singular instead of the plural in *bāhum udyamya te janāḥ*, R 2,1030*.19 (v.l. *bāhūn*). Cf. *udyamya bāhū*, R 1,25.13, *bāhūn udyamya*, 2,60.15.

ajaiikapād-ahirbudhnyaiḥ, Mbh 5,112.4¹, *karṇa-saubalaiḥ*, 3,242.24, *candrādityaiḥ*, 1,App.14.12², *vidyujjihva-indrajihvānām*, R 5,5.23³
etaiś cānyaiś ca bahubhī rājaputra mahātmabhiḥ / ... *puruṣasattamaiḥ*
 'These [two] and many other great and excellent men ...', R 1,24.19⁴, *tac*
chrutvā harṣam āpede rāghavo bhrātṛbhiḥ saha ... bhrātṛn provāca rāgha-
vah 'Hearing this, Rāghava with his [two] brothers rejoiced ... and he spoke
 to them', R 7,92.1⁵.

rem. dāra-, according to the Indian grammarians a *pluralis tantum* (see PW s.v. 2. *dāra*, WHITNEY § 264a, KIELHORN § 64b and RENOU § 207 [p. 276]), is used as masc. sg. in Mbh 1,173.24, 4,13.15, 12,15.47, 21.11, 26.17 (etc.) – as it is also (e.g.) at BĀUK VI 4,12, in the Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba (see OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 46, and SPEYER 1886: 14 n. 2) and in MIA (♣ p. 41 n. 4).

10.2. Syntactical irregularities

The Epics have a rather great deal of 'careless' constructions such as anacoluthon (*yo 'ham evaṃ kṛto tasmād dāsī bhaviṣyasi*, Mbh 1,14.7⁶, *namaskṛtvā pitus te 'haṃ śṛṇu me...*, 6,16.7-10), brachylogy (*bhukto vāpy athavābhukto rātrāv ahani khecara* / *na kālaniyamo hy asti gaṅgām prāpya*

¹ The form of the first member of this compound is worth noting (cf. AiGr. II,1 § 22d: "Hochstufige Stammform ... findet sich [im Vorderglied] nur ganz selten", pointing to *dharā-viyad-dyo-salileṣu*, Mbh 8,66.12). A third example is *prāḍvivāka-* 'judge', Mbh 12,121.45, for which see MEILLET (1913) and AiGr. I, *Nachträge* p. 93 (*ad* 174,27).

² See SPEYER (1886: 17 n. 1). Cf. Pāli *ime candimasuriye* (M I 69,16) and *candimasuriyānaṃ* (D I 10,14).

³ See SATYA VRAT (1964: 240).

⁴ See GOLDMAN / SUTHERLAND (1984: 337) and BHATNAGAR (1995: 343).

⁵ Cf. *bhrātṛn iti bahuvacanaṃ dvitīyādvivacanārthe* (see SATYA VRAT 1964: 240 and BHATNAGAR 1995: 343).

⁶ On this stanza as well as on 1,194.6-8 see PISANI (1946: 189).

sarīdvarām, Mbh 1,1713*), case attraction (*kurvanti teṣāṃ karmāṇi yeṣāṃ nāsti phalodayaḥ*, Mbh 5,76.5 [v.l. *te 'pi*])¹, *constructio ad synesin* (*yuktāḥ paramayā lakṣmyā babhuh kanyā śataṃ tadā*, R 1,32.23²), ellipsis (*na cāpy ahaṃ tvayā śakyā*, Mbh 4,13.18³), *enallage* (*madhyam agneḥ praviśya tam*, Mbh 3,63.3, *kulasya saṃtānakaram ... śataṃ sutānāṃ pītur astu te śubhe*, 3,281.38, *divyena dehābhyudayena yuktaḥ*, R 4,App.14.122)⁴ or parenthesis (*te jaghnus tau maheṣvāsau tābhyāṃ sṛṣṭāṃś ca sāyakān / vicerur ākāśagatāḥ pārthabāṇavidāritāḥ*, Mbh 7,68.22⁵). Other than these lapses, which are not taken into account in the following conspectus of the syntactical peculiarities of Epic Sanskrit, errors and lack of concord are in a language with such strict rules of syntactic agreement outright grammatical mistakes.

In Sanskrit adjective (including pronominal adjective) – whether attributive or predicative⁶ – and qualified noun substantive on the one hand and noun and verb on the other normally agree in number, gender and case⁷. The Sanskrit of the Epics knows quite a number of exceptions to this rule:

¹ See also crit. notes *ad* Mbh 6,16.4, 6,65.3 and 12,178.6.

² On R 2,46.34 v.l. (*cīntayanto 'dya nūnaṃ tvāṃ nirāhārāḥ kṛtāḥ prajāḥ* [CE *cīntayantyo*]) see SPEYER (1886: 19 [§ 27.3]), id. (1896: 30 [§ 95]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 35). A similar fault is met with at R 6,82.25 v.l. (see ROUSSEL 1910: 44, SATYA VRAT 1964: 239 and BHATNAGAR 1995: 342): *apaśyanto bhayasyāntam anāthā vilapāmahe* (CE *apaśyantyo*).

³ T G insert 274* (*spraṣṭum duṣṭena cetasā / kāmavegoddhatāṅgena*) after *śakyā*.

⁴ See GONDA (1955: 2 [= *Selected Studies* III,220]). On the *enallage adjektivi* see also HAVERS (1931: 91).

⁵ See crit. notes *ad loc.*

⁶ See SPEYER (1896: 30 [§ 97]).

⁷ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 79-88), SPEYER (1886: 17-20 [§ 27-28]), id. (1896: 29 [§ 94]), APTE (1925: 9-11) and RENOU § 369.

10.2.1. Lack of concord between adjective and substantive

Now and then an (a. attributive, b. predicative) adjective and its substantive do not agree (I) in gender, (II) in number or (III) in case:

(I) as to gender¹:

- (a) *vārṣṇeyaṃ tu tato bhaimī sāntvayañ ślakṣṇayā girā / ... uvāca ...*
 ‘Bhīma’s daughter said coaxingly to Vārṣṇeya in a gentle voice’,
 Mbh 3,57.11²
prathito gopatir nāma nadī ‘The river known as Gopati’, Mbh
 3,209.19 (v.l. *prathitā*)
tato ’ntarikṣe vāg āsīt sarvā viśrāvayan diśaḥ ‘Then there spoke a
 voice from the sky, reverberating through all the quarters’, Mbh
 3,275.25 (v.l. *śrāvayanty akhilā diśaḥ*)
nirikṣamāṇā bhartāraṃ sarvāvastham aninditā / mṛtam eva hi taṃ
mene kāle munivacaḥ smaran ‘The blameless [Savitri] kept watching
 her husband at all times, for, remembering the hermit’s words at the
 time, she thought him already dead’, Mbh 3,280.32 (v. l. *smarantī*
vacanaṃ muneḥ)
tato ’gnim nāśayām āsuḥ samvartāgniniyāmakāḥ / akṣamātrais ca
dhārābhis tiṣṭhanty āpūrya sarvaśaḥ ‘They ... extinguished the fire ...
 with streams measuring one *akṣa*’, Mbh 3,App.27,11-12 (v.l.
akṣamātrābhir dhārābhiḥ)
sā ... pṛthā pāṛthān anusmaran ‘Pṛthā remembering the Pārthas ...’,
 Mbh 5,88.2 (v.l. *smarantī tanayān pṛthā*)

¹ See BHATNAGAR (1995: 340-343). For Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit see BHSG § 6.11-20.

² *sāntvayañ ślakṣṇayā girā* is a ready-made *pāda*, as is shown by Mbh 1,92.30 (... *tato rājā sāntvayañ ślakṣṇayā girā*), 1,166.5 (*tathā ṛṣir uvācainaṃ sāntvayañ ślakṣṇayā girā*) and R 6,App.16.88 (*yathāsamdeśam akliṣṭaṃ sāntvayañ ślakṣṇayā girā*).

taṃ¹ tu śabdaṃ mahat śrutvā ‘Having heard this great noise’, Mbh 7,92.25 (v.l. [S] *tataḥ* [instead of *mahat*])

taṃ śrutvā ninadaṃ ghoram trailokyatrāsanam mahat ‘Having heard this great ... tumult’, Mbh 7,102.58 (v.l. [S] *trailokasyāpi bhīṣanam*)

talaśabdaṃ ca sumahat kṛtvā ... ‘Having produced a great noise with his palms ...’, Mbh 7,102.105 (~ [S] *mahāntaṃ talaśabdaṃ ca kṛtvā ...*, 7,788*)

śrutvā taṃ ninadaṃ mahat ‘Having heard this great ... tumult’, Mbh 7,103.30²

sa hi pāram mahān āsīd putrāṅgāṃ mama samjaya ‘He was the great saving shore for my sons, Samjaya’, Mbh 8,5.39³

*hairaṅyānām rathānām ca ... / dadāmi te śatāny aṣṭau kiṅkiṇīkavibhū-
ṣitān* ‘I shall give you eight hundred golden ... chariots, adorned with bells’, R 1,52.18

eṣa rāma munisreṣṭha eṣa vighrahavāms tapaḥ ‘Rāma, he is the greatest of sages, he is austerity incarnate’, R 1,64.20 (v.l. *vighrahavat tapaḥ* [Cv.r. *vighrahavat tapaḥ iti samyak*])

*maghā hy adya mahābāho tṛtīye divase prabho / phalgunyām uttare
rājams tasmin vaivāhikam kuru* ‘For it is now Maghā, mighty lord; on the third day [from now] you may perform the marriage ceremony on Uttara Phalgunī, o king’, R 1,70.24 (~ *vartate ’dya maghā rājan divase
tūttare punaḥ / phalgunyaḥ ...*, 1,1291*)

¹ Note the masculine pronoun *taṃ*. On neuter *śabda-* see next foot note.

² Cf. Mbh 7,107.4 (*cāpaśabdaṃ mahat kṛtvā talaśabdaṃ ca bhairavam*), 8,14.59 (*gacchann evāśṛṅoc chabdaṃ duryodhanabale mahat*), 9,1.19 (*ārtanādaṃ mahac cakre*) and 9,17.4 (*dhanuśabdaṃ mahat kṛtvā*). Here – at least – a change of gender can be assumed (↗ p. XL and 70-71).

³ To save the construction *mahān* can be separated from *pāram*: ‘He, the great, was the saving shore ...’. But the *variae lectiones* – *pāro* on the one hand, *mahat* on the other – show that *mahān* was felt to be an adjective to *pāram*.

lājapūrṇaiś ca pātrībhiḥ ‘With large bowls full of fried grain’, R 1,1324*.11 (instead of *ca pātrībhiḥ* some mss. have *tathā pātraiḥ*)
 ... *śirāṃsi ... / vamanto ’tiviṣam* ‘Heads vomiting fierce poison ...’, R 1,App.8.1-2¹
tiryagvāhās ca kṣīriṇaḥ / tābhyaś caivāhṛtaṃ toyam ‘And rivers flowing crookedly (?), full of milk – and from these water was brought’, R 2,13.6 v.1.² (CE *tiryagvāhāḥ samāhitāḥ*)
kharavādinam ... vadanam ‘... a mouth speaking harsh words’, R 2,436* v.1. (CE *kharavādi tat ... vadanam*)³
yuvatyaḥ ... virāgiṇaḥ ‘Passionless young girls ...’, R 2,901*.4d (⤵-⤵- [Ck. *virāgiṇyaḥ*])⁴
sumahānty api bhūtāni devās ca puruṣarṣabha / na daivasya pramuñcantī sarvabhūtāni dehinaḥ ‘Even the greatest beings, the gods themselves, ... cannot escape destiny, nor can all [other] beings, possessing a body’, R 3,62.11⁵
devī dhārayan rākṣasīm tanuṃ ‘The goddess taking on the appearance of a *rākṣasa*’, R 5,1.134 v.1. (CE *bibhratī rākṣasaṃ vapuḥ*)

¹ See ROUSSEL (1910: 41).

² On this stanza see ROUSSEL (1910: 55) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 239).

³ See ROUSSEL (1910: 55).

⁴ See SPEYER (1897: 29 [§ 94 rem.]) and ROUSSEL (1910: 55).

⁵ POLLOCK (1991: 343) points out that *dehinaḥ* can be understood as ‘epexegetical’, “as in *pādas* ab *devāḥ* is to *bhūtāni*” (cf. also *critical notes* ad loc. [pointing also to the genitive *daivasya* instead of the ablative *daivāt* (on which see below [⚡] p. 340). A similar construction is *kāmarūpadharāḥ sūraḥ subhīmā bhīmadarśanāḥ / rākṣasānām sahasrāṇi ...* ‘Assuming forms at will, ..., of terrible appearance – thousands of [such] Rākṣasas ...’, R 6,131*.3-4 (on which see ROUSSEL 1910: 44 with n. 1). On the *epexegetic* genitive see SPEYER (1886: 83).

māyās cādhiḡatās tatra bahavo rākṣasādhipa ‘Many tricks have been learnt [by you] ...’, R 6,7.10 (cf. Mbh 4,44.2 v.l. [see below [↗], p. 296])

... *koṭisahasrāṇi vānarāṇām ... / badhnantaḥ sāḡare setum ...* ‘Many thousands of monkeys fixing the dam in the ocean ...’, R 6,15.25 (v.l. *badhnanti* [Cr.m.t. *badhnanta iti liṅavyatyaya āṛṣaḥ*])¹

āpatantam ... tad anīkam vanaukasām ... ‘... this army of monkeys which rushed towards [him] ...’, R 6,68.23 (Cm. *āpatantam ity āṛṣo liṅavyatyayah*)²

... *śaravṛṣṭibhiḥ / mahāvegaiḥ ...* ‘By showers of arrows flying very swiftly ...’, R 6,87.26³

... *vānarā ... praṇeduḥ sumahānadān diśaḥ śabdena pūrayan*⁴ ‘The monkeys shouted very loudly filling the quarters with noise’, R 6,App.26.33⁵

- (b) *ayaṃ sāpo yathoddiṣṭo viditaṃ vas tathānaghāḥ* ‘You know, my innocent brothers, what curse has been pronounced over us’, Mbh 1,33.3 (v.l. *vidīto*)

¹ Because of a change of gender (cf. also Mbh 13,54.10 v.l., 112.53) *sārikāḥ* agrees with *vāśyantaḥ* at R 3,22.14 (... *vāśyanto babhūvas tatra sārikāḥ* [v.l. *vāśyantyaḥ* (so also Cm.g.)]).

² Cf. R 6,1186*.11 v.l.: *tad āpatantam ...* (on which see HOPKINS 1901: 69 n. 1).

³ See ROUSSEL (1910: 44 with n. 4) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 239). A change of gender (*vṛṣṭi-* m.) seems less likely. The same holds good for R 6,3450*.1 (on which see SATYA VRAT 1964: 239 and BHATNAGAR 1995: 342): *sarvato yojanās tisro gacchatām abhavaṃs tadā* (v.l. *yojanā trīṇi* [Cv. *yojanā trīṇi / yojanāni trīṇi*]).

As to R 6,87.37 (*te bhittvā bānarūpāṇi pañcaśiṛṣā ivoragāḥ*) see ROUSSEL, *l.c.* 44-45, and SATYA VRAT, *l.c.* 238.

⁴ (*diśaḥ*) *śabdena pūrayan* is a ready-made *pāda* (cf. R 1,25.6, 5,41.4).

⁵ See SATYA VRAT (1964: 241), MEENAKSHI (1983: 135) and BHATNAGAR (1995: 330).

māyā hi bahavaḥ santi 'For there are many tricks', Mbh 4,44.2 v.l. (CE *nayā*)¹

iyam cāpi pratijñā te ... pratiśrutam 'And you made this pledge ...'², Mbh 5,177.12 (v.l. *pratiśrutā*)³

(II) as to number⁴:

bhrātuḥ putrān pradāsyāmi mitrāvaruṇayoḥ samau 'I shall give to my brother's sons the likes of Mitra and Varuṇa', Mbh 1,99.38

aṃbhāṃsi vyasrjad bahu 'He sent forth much water', Mbh 1,217.21 v.l. (CE *ambhaḥ pravisirjan bahu*)⁵

te codyamānā vidhinā bāhukena hayottamāḥ / samutpetur ivākāśaṃ rathinaṃ mohayann iva 'Bāhuka prodded those excellent steeds in the right way, and they seemed to fly through the sky as though to bewitch the charioteer', Mbh 3,69.21 (v.l. *mohayanti ca*)

tavājñayā pāṛthiva nirviśāṅkā / vihāya mānaṃ vicaran vanāni / samīpavāsena vilobhitās te / jñāsyanti nāsmān apakṛṣṭadeśān 'At your behest, king, we fearlessly shed our pride and rambled through the woods ...', Mbh 3,173.9 (v.l. *vicarāmo / vicaranto / carato* [Cn. *vicaran vicarantaḥ*])

¹ Cf. R 6,7.10 (see above [↗], p. 295).

² It is, however, quite possible that we have *two* sentences, i.e. *pratiśrutam* is not to be construed with *pratijñā*.

³ Mbh 5,70.42 (*prasāntāntāḥ samabhūtās ca śriyaṃ tān aśnuvīmahī*), where we are faced with a "discordant use of the attribute with the noun it qualifies" (MEENAKSHI 1983: 35), is emended by VAN BUITENEN, *ad. loc.*, to *śriyaṃ + tān*.

⁴ When two subjects are connected by *ca*, the predicative adjective normally agrees in gender with the *nearest* item (see APTE 1925: 11 [§ 22]). But cases like *dhr̥tyā tuṣṭo narendrasya gāndhārī viduras tathā*, Mbh 15,3.15, are occasionally to be met with.

⁵ Cf. AiGr. III § 80 *rem.* (pointing out the possibility that *bahu* is an adverb).

*dr̥ṣṭaketuś ca samare rākṣasaś ca ghaṭotkacaḥ / putrāṇām te rathānī-
kaṃ pratyudyātāḥ sudurjayāḥ* 'Dṛṣṭaketu and the Rākṣasa Ghaṭotkaca,
invincible, proceeded in battle against the array of chariots of your
sons', Mbh 6,68.9 (v.l. *pratyudyātāu sudurjayau / pratyudyayatur
āhave*)

paruṣāṇy uktavān bahu 'Having uttered a lot of abuses ... ', Mbh
8,46.14 (v.l. *paruṣaṃ cuktavān bahu*)

*tathaiva siddhā rājendra tathā vātikacāraṇāḥ / narasiṃhau praśaṃ-
santau viprajagmur yathāgatam* 'In the same way the *Siddhas* ... went
to [those places] from where they had come praising the two lions
among men', Mbh 9,57.59 (v.l. *praśaṃsantaḥ*)

te sametā mahātmānaḥ śarīram iti saṃjñitam 'The [elements] ... when
come together are called „body” ', Mbh 12,326.32 (v.l. *saṃjñitāḥ*)¹
... *grhāṇi / pīṭṛvanabhavanābhaṃ dr̥śyate cāmarāṇām* ' ... the
habitations of men appear as ancestral groves to the immortals', Mbh
13,6.46

(III) as to case:

sudhanvan vipaṇe tena praśnaṃ pṛcchāva ye viduḥ 'With that stake
we shall ask the question of those who know', Mbh 5,35.13²

namaskṛtvā pitus te 'haṃ pārāśaryāya dhīmate 'Having paid honour
to your father, the wise son of Parāśara, ... ', Mbh 6,16.7

¹ The predicate is attracted to the predicate noun.

² This and the third example are the results of a haplological shortening of case-endings
(↗ p. XXXVI): ... *vipaṇe<na> tena* ..., Mbh 5,35.13, *upajīvane<na> kena(svid)*,
12,139.6.

*sarvasmin dasyusādbhūte pṛthivyām upajīvane / kenasvid brāhmaṇo
jīvej jaghanye kāla āgate* ‘When all becomes a prey to robbers by what
means should a brahmin live ?’, Mbh 12,139.6¹
tasyāḥ ... vepantyaḥ sītayā tadā / veṇī ... ‘The braid of trembling
Sītā’, R 5,23.9 (on *sītayā* see below [↗], p. 330)

rem. Sporadically already in Vedic the adverb in ²*taḥ* is used syntactically on a par with the ablative (see WHITNEY § 1098d, AiGr. III § 4c, SPEYER 1896: 23-24 [§ 84] and BICHLMEIER 2000: 45-54)³. In the Epics, however, it parallels even an instrumental (plural!) and a genitive (see SEN 1952: 124 and SPEYER 1896: 17 [§ 60 *rem.*]): *sugrīvapriyabhāryābhis tārāpramukhato nṛpa / anyeṣāṃ vānarendrānām strībhiḥ parivṛtā hy aham / gantum icche saḥyodhyām rājadhānīm tvayā saha* ‘I wish to go together with you to your capital Ayodhyā, o king, surrounded by the dear wives of Sugrīva, headed by Tārā, [and] the wives of the other monkey-chiefs’, R 6,App.72.3-5 (v.l. ⁴*prabhṛtibhiḥ*), *sadṛśaṃ rājaśārdūla tavaitad bhuvī nānyataḥ ... (vākyam)* ‘This (speech) is characteristic of you [alone], tiger among kings, and of no one else on earth’, R 1,18.2.

10.2.2. Lack of concord between subject and verb

(a) singular subject with plural verb:

(dvāḥsthaṃ rāmo ’bravīd vacaḥ) ... / mamāgamanam ākhyāya śabdāpayata mā ciraṃ ... ‘Rāma said to the door-keeper: ‘Announce my arrival and

¹ Mbh 1,20.3 *tataḥ sāvīnatā tasmin paṇitena parājitā* ‘Then, Vinatā defeated in that bet ...’ (so PISANI 1946: 188) is better translated as ‘in her wager on that [horse]’.

² At Mbh 6,103.20 (*yathā prajvalitaṃ vahnim pataṅgaḥ samabhidraṇam / ekato mṛtyum abhyeti*) *ekataḥ* has the meaning ‘exclusively, only’ (HOPKINS 1902a: 118). And at Mbh 12,12.11 it is used to contrast one thing against another: *ekatas te trayo rājan grhasthāśrama ekataḥ*.

³ Cf. SPEYER (1886: 219 [§ 289]) and CALAND (1892: 105-107 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 554-556]).

summon [them here] quickly!”, R 7,73.18-19 v.l. (CE *śabdāpaya ca mā ciram*)¹

(b) dual subject with singular verb:²

kaccit te ... / ... dvijātibhyo dīyate madhusarpiṣi ‘Are milk and honey given by you ... to the brahmins?’, Mbh 2,5.106 (v.l. *dīyete*)

te samānītamātre tu śakale puruṣarṣabha / ekamūrtikṛte vīra kumāraḥ samapadyata ‘As soon as the two halves were brought together, bull among men, .. they became a male child’, Mbh 2,16.40³

tatas tau ... mahoragau / dhanur bāṇaś ca śatrughnaṃ tad dvandvaṃ samapadyata ‘Then the two mighty snakes ... became an enemy-killing pair, (viz.) a bow and an arrow’, Mbh 7,57.72 (v.l. *samapadyatām*)

¹ See SATYA VRAT (1964: 241) and BHATNAGAR (1995: 332).

² See BHATNAGAR (1995: 333-335). Most of her examples are, however, to be explained in another way. Mbh 5,94.15 – for example – can be split into two sentences: *śrūyate | tau mahātmānau naranārāyaṇāv ubhau, tapo ghoram anirdeśyaṃ tapyete gandhamādane* ‘It is reported: Nara and Nārāyaṇa ... are performing ... self-mortifications on Mount Gandhamādana’. And when two singular subjects are connected by *ca*, the verb may stand *also* in the singular. Such cases are not taken into account here.

³ The verb seems to be attracted to the predicate noun.

(c) dual subject with plural verb¹:

tau vasudevasutām śubhām / alaṃkṛtām sakhīmadhye subhadrām dadṛśus tadā 'The two of them, [Vāsudeva and Arjuna,] saw Vāsudeva's sister Subhadrā, ... ', Mbh 1,211.14 v.l. (CE *bhadrām*² *dadṛśatus tadā*)

tau rathau sūryasaṃkāśau vaiyāghraparivāraṇau / sametau dadṛśus tatra dvāv ivārkau samāgatau 'These two chariots ... look like two suns', Mbh 8,63.3 (all mss. read *dadṛśuḥ*)

(d) plural subject with singular verb³:

svayam anye ca vindate (̎̎̎̎ [!]) 'And other [girls] find [a husband] for themselves', Mbh 1,96.10 (v.l. [S] *svayaṃ grhṇanti cāpare*)

kramaṇa rājan divyās tāḥ śrūyatām iha naḥ sabhāḥ 'Then hear ... of those celestial halls one by one, king!', Mbh 2,6.18 v.l.⁴ (CE *śrūyantām ... sabhāḥ*)

mātaraṃ sadṛśīm tāta pitṛn anye ca manyate (̎̎̎̎) '[Some] hold the mother for high[er], others the fathers', Mbh 3,196.15 (v.ll. *menire, manvate*)⁵

na sukhaṃ vindate janāḥ (̎̎̎̎) 'People find no happiness', Mbh 3,245.18 (v.l. [S] *sukhaṃ vindanti no janāḥ*)

¹ On R 2,31.17 (*taṃ pariṣvajya bāhubhyām tāv ubhau rāmalakṣmaṇau / paryanke sītayā sārđham rudantaḥ samaveśayan*), where "sītayā sārđham has the same effect on the construction as *sītā ca*", see SPEYER (1886: 20).

² Note that the name of Kṛṣṇa's sister normally is *Subhadrā* (see SÖRENSEN, *An Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* p. 651).

³ The *additive type* where the verb goes with one of the subjects is not taken into account here (for instances see BHATNAGAR 1995: 330-331).

⁴ EDGERTON, the editor of the *Sabhāparvan*, admits that he is "still not sure that this reading should not be adopted" (1943/44: 6).

⁵ On Mbh 3,202.8 v.l. (*[pañcadaśa guṇāḥ] anyo 'nyam nātivartante samyak ca bhavati dvija*) and 6,6.8 v.l. (*ete pañca guṇāḥ ...anyo 'nyam nātivartante samyag bhavati vai yadā*) see HOPKINS (1901: 34-35) and id. (1901a: 388-389).

(*pretakāryāṇi ...*) *tāni ... kriyatām* 'Let it all be done', R 2,70.11 (v.l. *kriyantām*)¹

aṣṭādaśa hi varṣāṇi ... janmani ganyate (,-,-) 'Eighteen years are counted ...', R 3,874*²

yathā hi kurute rājā prajāś tam anuvartate (,-,-) '... his subjects follow him', R 7,42.19 v.l. (CE ... *prajāś tam ...*)³

(e) plural subject with dual verb:

niśās tisro 'bhijagmatuḥ 'Three nights have come [and passed]', R 6,4.1 v.l. (CE *niśās tisro 'ticakramuḥ*)⁴

haripuṅgavāḥ ... utpetatuḥ 'The mighty monkeys jumped up ...', R 6,15.14 v.l. (CE *hariyūthapāḥ ... abhipetuḥ*)⁵

¹ Since at R 1,65.10 *surāḥ* is vocative (*yasmād bhāgārthīno bhāgān nākalpayata me surāḥ / varāṅgāni ... sātayāmi vaḥ* 'Since, o gods, you failed to set aside portions for me ... I shall cut off your heads ...') *akalpayata* should be a 2nd person! If we take *surāḥ* as nominative plural and *akalpayata* as 3rd sg. (as ROUSSEL 1910: 46, SATYA VRAT 1964: 240-241 and BHATNAGAR 1995: 330 do) then this stanza belongs in this section. As to R 2,85.63b (= Ed. Gorr. 2,100.65) see BÖHTLINGK (1889: 59).

² See MICHELSON (1904: 145), SATYA VRAT (1964: 241) and (BHATNAGAR 1995: 330).

³ See HOPKINS (1901: 245 n. 2): "This is simply a case of sacrifice to metre by a pedant who imitates Manu VIII,175 where *prajāś tam anuvartante* is the close of a *prior pāda*".

⁴ See ROUSSEL (1910: 23), SATYA VRAT (1964: 241) and BHATNAGAR (1995: 335).

⁵ See ROUSSEL (1910: 23), SATYA VRAT (1964: 241) and BHATNAGAR (1995: 335).

10.2.3. Lack of concord between subject and verb in person

(a) 1st person subject, 3rd person predicate:

maithilīm aham ekāhnā tava cānītavān bhavet 'I would have brought back Sītā to you in one day', R 4,375*.2 (v.l. *bhaveḥ* [Cg. *bhavet bhaveyam, puruṣavyatyaya ārṣaḥ* / Ck.t. *bhaveḥ bhaveyam iti yāvat*)]¹

vayam ... pratipedire 'We reached', Mbh 12,323.27 (v.l. *pratipedima*)

dadṛṣire vayam 'We saw', Mbh 12,323.31 (v.l. *dadṛśimaḥ / dadṛśima*)

menire vayam 'We thought', Mbh 12,323.34 (v.l. *menimahe*)²

(b) 2nd person subject, 3rd person predicate:

yadi na tvam bhaven nāthaḥ ... 'If you had not been the protector ... ', Mbh 9,62.19 (↗ p. 165-166)

tatra tvam caiva me nāsti 'But you are not [a recourse] for me', R 2,55.19³

¹ See PISANI (1934: 68) and RENOU (1956: 106) and cf. above (↗), p. 165.

² See HOPKINS (1901: 265).

³ Cf. comments: *nāsti iti pāṭha ārṣatvaṃ bodhyam*. On this irregular construction see ROUSSEL (1910: 21 n. 1) and BROCKINGTON (1982: 351 [= ET p. 189]).

(c) 3rd person subject, 2nd person predicate:¹

In Vedic Sanskrit *bhavān* is only very rarely (viz. ŚGS 2,2.8 and BĀU[M] 6,1.5) construed with a second person verb (see SPEYER 1886: 196 n. 1 and OERTEL 1926: 251). The Mahābhārata² adds a few more cases (as well as one of *bhavantaḥ* with a 2nd plural verb)³:

bhavān yat prāptakālaṃ manyethās tat kuryāḥ puruṣottama 'Do what you regard to be proper for the occasion, o best of men', Mbh 5,78.4

*bhavān asya*⁴ *vadasva me* 'Please, tell me!', Mbh 12,192.89

¹ BHATNAGAR's (alleged) example (1995: 337) *sa māṃ rakṣitum arhasi*, Mbh 13,31.25, does not belong here. It only shows the ellipsis of *tvam* after *sa* (cf. *nandāmi saumya bhadraṃ te yo māṃ jīvantam icchasi*, Mbh 12,136.66 v.1.). See SPEYER (1896: 83 [§ 266]) who points to R 2,7.26: *sā prāptakālaṃ kaikeyi kṣipraṃ kuru hitaṃ tava*. Cf. also Mbh 9,30.60 (*sa kathaṃ pṛthivīm etāṃ pradadāsi viśāṃ pate / ... sa kathaṃ tyajasi kṣitim*), R 1,61.6 (*sa me nātho hy anāthasya bhava ...*) and 2,100.16 (*sa nāsti param ity eva kuru buddhīm mahāmate*). And the same holds good for her second example, viz. *te māṃ rakṣata saṃgrāme*, Mbh 7,53.15. This is the same phenomenon in the plural. At R 5,65.13, however, *sa tvam* is construed with a 3rd person verb: *sa tvam pradīptaṃ cikṣepa darbhaṃ taṃ vāyasam prati* (on which see KEITH 1910: 1326, SATYA VRAT 1964: 215-216 and above [↗], p. 216 with n. 4).

² The Rāmāyaṇa knows this construction only as *v.l.* of the critically established text (e.g. *bhavān ... / kartum arhasi rājendra*, R 2.99.9 v.1. [CE *arhati*], on which see BÖHTLINGK 1887a: 183-184).

³ See MEENAKSHI (1983: 17/35/137) and BHATNAGAR (1995: 337-340). In most of the thirty-eight cases BHATNAGAR cites it is, however, possible to divide the stanza into two sentences, one containing *bhavān* and (mostly) a predicate noun or a 3rd person verb and the other the 2nd person verb: *bhavān etādṛṣo loke vedavedāṅgapāragah / brūhi ...* 'You are such a scholar of the Veda and the Vedāṅgas in the world – tell [me] ...', Mbh 3,178.1. Moreover, not a few of her examples simply misquote the text, which is itself quite correct.

⁴ *asya* seems to belong to *pāda* a (*virūpa kiṃ dhārayate*).

dharmam āśramiṇām śreṣṭham vaktum arhasi me bhavān 'Please explain to me the highest duty of those who belong to one of the [four] stages of life', Mbh 12,340.1 (cf. *tad bhavān vaktum arhasi*, 12,189.2d v.l. [CE *arhati*])
yathā bhavanto manyante kartum arhatha tat tathā 'What you think [proper], that you should do!', Mbh 14,63.12¹.

10.3. Syntax of cases²

A characteristic feature of Epic syntax is the wide latitude of meanings in which the cases are employed, 'independently' and in construction with particular verbs³. The instrumental is used in ablatival functions, the genitive in those of the dative⁴ and the ablative, and the locative may be employed where the dative and the instrumental⁵ would be appropriate. The reasons for such functional overlapping are manifold: (a) as 'antonyms' the instrumental and the ablative⁶ were both used with *verba separandi* from Vedic times⁷;

¹ Cf. also Mbh 15,19.10: *pradadātu bhavān vittam yāvad icchasi pārthiva* (v.l. *icchati*).

At Mbh 2,6.2 a vocative is construed with a 3rd person verb: *bhagavan nyāyāyā āhaitam yathāvad dharmaniścayam / yathāśakti yathānyayam kriyate 'yaṃ vidhir mayā ...'*" (see EDGERTON 1943/44: 5).

² The Epic syntax of cases is treated by SEN (1952/53), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 407-415 [= *ET* p. 87-96]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 37-135). A lot of observations also on Epic case syntax can be found in SPEYER (1886: 13-178) and id. (1896: 2-38). A "syntax with reference to Mss. tradition" is KULKARNI (1946).

³ Here only such functions of cases and constructions which are either unknown to or at least unusual in the regular classical language will be noted.

⁴ Only rarely is the dative used in genitive function.

⁵ On the interchangeability of instrumental and locative see OBERLIES (1997: 2-9).

⁶ A very telling example of this phenomenon is *bhartrā saha viyogaś ca* 'and separation from my husband', Mbh 3,App.12.38.

⁷ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 109-110 / 131-132).

moreover (b) the instrumental and ablative plural merged into one case in Middle Indo-Aryan (↗ p. 326) while both these cases have been identical in form in the dual ever since Vedic times; (c) the genitive had begun to absorb the functions of the dative in the early Vedic period – a process finally completed in Middle Indo-Aryan, which used the dative only to indicate purpose (*dativus finalis*); (d) outside the *a*-declension the genitive and the ablative sg. had one and the same form – an identity that in Epic Sanskrit affected the uses of these cases in the *a*-stems and also the pronouns; (e) already in the Vedic period the locative had a ‘datival’ tinge, which was prominent also in its ‘with-regard-to’-meaning.

The gradual extension of case functions and the simultaneous merger of cases favoured the employment of postpositions (↗ 10.5).

10.3.1. The nominative¹

As a case not dependent on the syntactical construction of the sentence² the nominative is an autonomous element, and as such it can stand wholly isolated³. Because of the frequent prominence of the subject⁴ the nominative

¹ On the nominative in general, see DELBRÜCK (1888: 103-106), WHITNEY § 267-268, SPEYER (1886: 26 [§ 38]), id. (1898: 6 [§ 13-14]), RENOUE § 217 and GONDA (1956); on this case in Epic Sanskrit and Buddhist Sanskrit, see SEN (1952/53: 118), MEENAKSHI (1983: 36-37) and BHSG § 7.13-15.

² WEZLER's remark amounts to the same: "Daß der Nominativ in Titeln, Überschriften, Listen und Aufzählungen verwendet und als casus pendens gebraucht wird, liegt daran, daß er ... überhaupt keine primäre syntaktische Funktion hat" (1975: 106 n. 197). Cf. also RENOUE § 218.

³ In this way it can be employed *outside* the construction of the sentence (see KEITH 1909: 430-432): *tathā vasūnām rudrānām ādityānām ca sarvaśaḥ / sādhyānām marutām caiva ye cānye devatāgaṇāḥ / svaṃ svaṃ praharaṇam teṣām parasparam upādravat* 'The weapons proper to each of the Vasus, the Rudras, the Ādityas, the Sādhyas, the Maruts, and of all the other hosts of Gods began attacking one another', Mbh 1,26.29, *samānayat sa tān vīprān samastān vedapāragān / ... / purohitam*

is often 'topicalised', i.e. placed in a position on the extreme left of clauses (HOCK / JOSEPH 1996: 204). According to its linking with the subsequent sentence, such a nominative is a *nominativus prolepticus*¹ – with the subcategory of the *nominativus pendens*² – or a *nominativus absolutivus*³. Apart from the *nominativus pendens*⁴ this 'disjunct' nominative – characterized by its 'exposed' position – functions as the subject of the subsequent sentence. But now and then it is used in the Epics to express statements of (a) time and (b) space (the '*nominativus temporis*' being always accompanied by a dependent genitive⁵):

vasiṣṭhaṃ ca ye cānye dvijasattamāḥ '[Sumantra] assembled all the priests, who were masters of the Veda, ... Vasiṣṭha, the family priest and other prominent brahmins', R 1,11.5-6, ... *mārgadhvaṃ hariyūthapāḥ // pratyaksrotogamāś caiva nadyaḥ ... / tāpasānām araṇyāni kāntārā girayaś ca ye* 'You monkey-troop leaders must search the westward-flowing rivers ... the forests of the ascetics and whatever woods and mountains there may be', 4,41.6-7, *ātithyam akarot tasya ye ca tasya padānugāḥ* 'He hospitably received him and [those] who were his companions', 7,App.9.21. Note that each example concerns a relative clause (without verb) – so-called 'restricted relative clauses'.

¹ On this feature see SASSE (1982).

² See OERTEL (1926: 10-29).

³ See OERTEL (1926: 29-39).

⁴ See OERTEL (1926: 39-45).

⁵ See NEISSER (1928: 320 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 295]): "[Mit dem *nominativus pendens* wird] der wichtigste Nominalbegriff [eines Satzgefüges] vorweg bezeichnet in der Form eines hier nicht als Subjektkasus, sondern gleichsam als indifferenter Kasus zu verstehenden Nominativs".

⁶ See SPEYER (1886: 95-96 [§ 128 *rem.* 2]), id. (1896: 64-65 [§ 212 *rem.*]) and HOPKINS (1903: 1-2).

(a) *catvāriṃśad ahāny adya dve ca me niḥśrtasya vai* ‘Forty-two days now since I have gone away’ Mbh 9,33.5¹

ṣaṣṭho hi divasas te 'dya prāptasyeha tapodhana ‘For this is the sixth day since I came here ...’, Mbh 12,346.5

saptāṣṭa divasās tv adya viprasyehāgatasya vai ‘Seven [or] eight days [from] now –since a brahmin has come here’, Mbh 12,347.13²,

(b) *trayastrīṃśat sahasrāṇi yojanānām hiraṇmayah / meruḥ ...* ‘Thirty-three leagues – [so high] is golden Meru’, Mbh 3,247.8 (v.l. *yojanāni*)³.

The ‘*nominativus spatii*’⁴ seems to be based on the ellipsis of an adjective denoting ‘height, extension’ used predicatively⁵:

sabhā vaiśravaṇī rājan śatayojanam āyatā / vistīrṇā saptatiś caiva yojanāni sitaprabhā ‘The hall Vaiśravaṇī, o king, is one hundred leagues long, and wide it is seventy (nom.) leagues’, Mbh 2,10.1⁶

¹ It is, however, possible that *catvāriṃśat* is an (‘epic’) accusative (↗ 5.1.6).

² Cf. Mbh 3,280.26: *saṃvatsarah kiṃcid ūno na niṣkrāntāham āśramāt* ‘A year almost, I have not gone out from the hermitage’ (see HOPKINS 1903: 1).

³ It cannot be ruled out that *trayastrīṃśat (sahasrāṇi [yojanānām])* is an accusative (↗ 5.1.6).

Perhaps *yojanānām sahasrāṇi pañcāśan mālyavān sthitaḥ* (‘The Mālyavant stands fifty thousand leagues [high]’), Mbh 6,8.27, is another example if *pañcāśat* is a nominative (see HOPKINS 1902a: 150), on which see (↗) 5.1.6.

⁴ On this nominative see HOPKINS (1902a: 149-150) and id. (1903: 1).

⁵ This construction is known from Vedic texts: *ṣaṭtriṃśat prakramāḥ prācī cāturviṃśatir āgreṇa triṃśād yāsya jaghānaṃ yojanāni ...*, MS III 8,4 (: 96.15), ~ *triṃśat padāni paścāt tirāścī bhavati ṣaṭtriṃśat prācī cāturviṃśatiḥ purāstāt tirāścī*, TS VI 2,4.5 (see KEITH, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittiriya Sanhita*. Part 1, p. CLIII).

⁶ MEENAKSKI (1983: 4) mistakenly considers *taijasī sā sabhā rājan, babhūva śatayojanā*, Mbh 2,8.2, as a case of “a nominative of space” – obviously assuming *śatayojanā* to be a nom. ntr. pl. in *-ā*. It is, of course, a bahuvrīhi compound: ‘the hall of hundred

... *meruḥ kanakaparvataḥ ... yojanānām sahasrāṇi caturaśītir ucchritaḥ / adhastāc caturaśītir yojanānām* 'Meru, the golden mountain, [stands] eighty-four (nom.) thousands of leagues upraised, [and] under[ground] eighty-four (nom.) [thousands] of leagues', Mbh 6,7.8-9 v.l.

As in Vedic (but not in 'Classical') Sanskrit a *predicative nominative* is used with (mostly *ātmanepada*¹) verb-forms meaning 'to call oneself, to consider oneself, to claim (to be)'²:

sāhasam cātmanātīva carantī nāvabudhyate '[This female *bhūliṅga* bird] does not realize that she herself acts very boldly', Mbh 2,41.20

kasmād bālo vṛddha ivāvabhāṣase 'You are a child! Why do you call yourself old?', Mbh 3,133.10

sāham bruvāṇā sairandhrī kuśalā keśakarmani 'I shall call myself Sairandhrī, a chambermaid with a skill in hairdressing', Mbh 4,3.17

pāṇḍavā lubdhā bruvāṇā matsyasya viṣayam prāviśan 'The Pāṇḍavas, calling themselves hunters, entered the kingdom of Matsya', Mbh 4,5.4

kaṅko brūte yudhiṣṭhiraḥ 'Yudhiṣṭhira calls himself Kaṅka', Mbh 4,17.22

bruvan ballavajātīyaḥ 'Calling yourself a Ballava', Mbh 4,363*.2 (cf. *bruvāṇo ballavaḥ*, 4,363*.6)

leagues',

¹ The corresponding *parasmaipada* construction often has a double accusative (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 179).

² See DELBRÜCK (1888: 103-104), WHITNEY § 268, SEN (1995: 8-9), SPEYER (1896: 31 [§ 99]) and id. (1912/13: 108-109).

This predicative nominative is now and then met with also in (old) Pāli texts: *kassako paṭijānāsi* 'You say you are a ploughman', Sn 76, *yo ve anarahā santo araham paṭijānati* 'Who indeed while not being an *arhat* professes to be an *arhat*', Sn 135, *sambuddho paṭijānāsi* 'You profess to be fully enlightened', Sn 555, *n'eva tāva anāvattī kāmesu paccaññāsim* 'I did not profess to be not affected by pleasures', MN 192,6.

jāryandha iva manyeta 'He might think [himself] to be like a blind man', Mbh 4,113*.2

ya eṣa ballavo brūte sūdas tava narādhipa / eṣa bhīmo ... 'The one, who calls himself Ballava, your cook, o king of men, is Bhīma ...', Mbh 4,66.3
paṇḍito manyamānaḥ 'Deeming himself a wise man', Mbh 13,23.13 v.l. (CE
°taṃ manyamānaḥ [for which see SPEYER 1896: 23 n. 2])

.... *nātmānam avabudhyase / śokavyasanavistīrṇe majjantī duḥ-khasāgare*
 'You are not aware that you are sinking in an ocean of sorrow fraught with disaster and grief', R 2,8.12

*tvam katthase mahārāja satyavādī dṛḍhavrataḥ*¹ 'You boast yourself, o great king, to be a truth speaking man of firm vows', R 2,11.3²

rem.: According to MEENAKSHI (1983: 37 [and 211]) the "nominative occurs once in the Rāmāyaṇa with the interjection *dhik*": *dhig astu yoṣito nāma śathāḥ svārthaparāḥ sadā*, R 2,App.9.190. Needless to say this is in fact the regular accusative construction (for which see SPEYER 1886: 326-327 [§ 417 with ex. 2]³, APTE 1925: § 33 and CHATTERJEE 1950: 26). An instance with a *nominativus exclamativus* is cited by the *Petersburger Wörterbuch* (s.v. *dhik*): *dhīn mātā mama kaikeyī yayā pāpam idaṃ kṛtam*, R ed. Gorr. 6,82.17 (not noted by CE)⁴.

¹ POLLOCK (1986: 348) corrects to +*katthyase* pointing to the reading *kīrtyase* of the Northern Recension. But this reading seems to be due to the unfamiliar nominatives *satyavādī dṛḍhavrataḥ*.

² It cannot to be decided if *menire paritoṣeṇa nṛpāḥ svargasado yathā*, Mbh 15,31.8, belongs here, as contended by SPEYER (1912/13: 109); *svargasadaḥ* might of course be an accusative.

³ Under *rem. 1* SPEYER cites Hariv. 8722 as an example of *dhik* with a genitive: *strīsvabhāvasya dhik khalu*. For examples of the Epics proper see below [↗], p. 347.

⁴ R 6,47.63 v.l. is an instance of *dhik* + instr.: *dhig astu mama vīryeṇa yas tvam jīvasi rāvaṇa* (Cm.g. *vīryeṇa vīryam ity arthaḥ*). The *crit. ed.* reads: *dhig astu mama vīryam tu ...*

10.3.2. The accusative¹

Apart from sporadic cases² the accusative is used as it is in Vedic Sanskrit³; Its basic meaning is to denote that towards which an action is directed (HETTRICH 1994: 111-112)⁴; but this case is also used to express time and

¹ On the accusative in general see DELBRÜCK (1888: 164-188), WHITNEY § 269-277, SPEYER (1886: 29-42 [§ 39-56]), id. (1898: 7-10 [§ 16-30]) and RENOU § 218, on this case in Epic Sanskrit see SEN (1952/53: 118-122), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 407-408 [= *ET* p. 87-89]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 37-54). On the absolute accusative see OERTEL (1926: 81-88).

² Once the accusative is used where we would expect the genitive: *bhavataḥ putram ekaṃ tu / śūlam etad bhaviṣyati* 'Your only son will get this spear', R 7,53.13. And only once an 'accusative of respect' (*accusativus graecus*) is met with: *yathā dhāvati gaur vātsam kṣīram abhyutsrjanty uta / evaṃ eva mahābhāga bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam* 'As a cow runs towards her calf and gives milk so is the earth ... to [the king] who gives land', Mbh 13,61.27 (see HOPKINS 1893: 3 n. 1, KEITH 1910a: 155 and SEN 1995: 27-28). The example which the PW (V 317) cites, viz. Mbh 13,96.41 (*hālvajena nidānena kāmasyam bhavatu dohanam*), is altogether obscure. The same holds good for the (alleged) use of the accusative instead of the ablative (*pace* SEN 1952/53: 121 and MEENAKSHI 1983: 54).

³ Where the accusative seems to be used instead of the locative (see SEN 1952: 122 and MEENAKSHI 1983: 54) it is a matter of a haplological shortening of a locative (indicated by < ... >): *striyo dvitīyā <yā > m jāyante tṛtīyāyām tu vandīnaḥ / caturthīyām kṣudrapaśavo bhavanti bahavo gr̥he*, Mbh 13,87.10, *niryāhy amāvāsyā <yā > m vijayāya mahābalair vṛtaḥ*, R 6,80.55 (Cr.m.g.k. *amāvāsyāyām*). On this phenomenon see OBERLIES (2001a) and above (♣), p. XXXVI.

⁴ In the words of GARCÍA-RAMÓN (1995: 47): "Alles spricht m.E. dafür, daß die Grundbedeutung bzw. 'valeur de langue' des Akk. ... /Ausrichtung auf ... hin/ ist, d.h. auf das Objekt bzw. auf die erste voraussetzbare Ergänzung (sei es Ort, Gegenstand, Vorgang oder Person) hin: daher die jeweiligen Realisierungen als [Ziel], als [Object] als [inneres Objekt]".

space, commonly their *extent*¹, but also the *point* where or at which something happens² and – as far as time is concerned – the *period* within which the event in question takes place³. But there are irregularities in its construction.

¹ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 170-171), SPEYER (1886: 40-41 [§ 54]), id. (1896: 9 [§ 27]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 41-42).

In his *Sanskrit Syntax* SPEYER maintained that "one does not use this accus., when naming the dimensions of a thing, but avails one's self of bahuvrīhi-compounds" (1886: § 54a). But later on he cited R 1,5.7 as an example of an accusative "denoting a measure" (1896: 9). See also Mbh 12,272.7-8 and 14,57.33.36 (on which see HOPKINS 1902a: 153 and MEENAKSHI 1983: 42).

² See DELBRÜCK (1888: 171), WHITNEY § 276c, SPEYER (1886: 41 [§ 54b rem. 1]) and id. (1896: 9 [§ 28]). For Epic Sanskrit (cf. Mbh 1,57.37, 112.31, 9,29.20, R 1,30.1, 2,37.26, 63.1.2, 75.1, 5,38.14 = 65.26, 7,34.6, 58.1) see also LUDWIG (1896: 15-16), HOPKINS (1903: 8-10), SEN (1952/53: 122 [T]), BROUGH (1950: 422 [= *Collected Papers* p. 69]), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 408 [= *ET* p. 88]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 5 / 42); for Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 7.18.

Sometimes the *accusativus temporis* (on which see GONDA 1957a: 55 [= *Selected Studies* I,52] and MEENAKSHI 1983: 41-42) is accompanied by a (verbal) adjective or a participle. Then it is construed like a *locativus absolutus*, in other words a kind of absolute accusative (on which see OERTEL 1926: 81-88): *vyuṣṭām eva tu tāṃ rātriṃ dṛṣṭvā taṃ svapnam apriyam / putro ...*, R 2,63.2, *tataḥ prabhātāṃ rajanīm udite ca divākare ... vasiṣṭho ... praviveśa purottamam*, 2,App.10.1-3 (see HOPKINS 1930: 7-10 and BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 408 [= *ET* p. 88]).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 41 [§ 54 rem. 1]), HOPKINS (1903: 8) and BROUGH (1950: 422 [= *Collected Papers* p. 69]). SPEYER, *l.c.*, points out that "occasionally [the acc. of time] is dealt with, as if it were the object": ... *iha tena mahātmanā / śarvarī śayitā bhūmau ...* 'Here on the ground is where the great man slept that night', R 2,82.2.

(1) The accusative is used in place of the nominative¹ in cases of quotation in construction with *iti*² (see also [♣] p. 305 n. 2)³:

yam samnyāsam iti prāhur yogam taṃ viddhi pāṇḍava, Mbh 6,28.2, *mūrkhān iti parān āha*, 11,4.13⁴, *guṇān ity eva tān viddhi*, R 2,26.2, *suparṇam iti menire*, 5,1.68 (v.l. *iva*), *taṃ bhītam iti vijñāya*, 4,11.14, *mām viddhi ... mainākam iti vikhyātam*, 5,56.13, ...*devadeveśvaram prabhum / lokabhāvanabhāvajñam iti tvām nārado 'bravīt*, 6,64.2 v.l. (CE °eśvaraḥ prabhuḥ / °jna iti), *sa tasyām janayām āsa ... putram ... vidyutkeśam iti śrutam*, 7,4.17 v.l. (CE *vidyutkeśa*), *purasya cakāra nāma madhumantam iti prabho*, 7,70.18.

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 387 [§ 498]), DELBRÜCK (1888: 104 / 532-533) and OERTEL (1926: 243-256).

² See SPEYER (1898: 94 [§ 292]), CHATTERJI (1950: 24-25) and SEN (1952/53: 121). SPEYER, *loc. cit.*, cites ŚB 2,1.2.13 as a Vedic example for this construction, OERTEL (1926: 248 [c]) GB 1,1.13 and KB 30.8, where, however, the edition of SREEKRISHNA SARMA (XXX 6,13) reads *khila iti*. This phenomenon is also met with in Pāli and Prakrit: *bhavantam puṭṭhum āgamhā sambuddham iti vissutam* 'We have come to ask the venerable one, who is famed as being fully enlightened', Sn 597, *riddhimantam ti ālave* 'He should call him rich', Dasaveyāliyasutta 7,53.

³ The function of *iti* is to set off the predicative accusative.

⁴ On Mbh 11,1.26 (*na dharmah satkṛtaḥ kaścin nityam yuddham iti bruvan*) see critical notes *ad loc.*

rem. To indicate that a sentence is a statement, a supposition or a quotation, *iti* is placed immediately *after* it¹. In Epic Sanskrit, however, it is sometimes put (a) before² or (b) even within³ the sentence it marks off:

(a) *abravīd iti māṃ bhīṣma vacanaṃ prītivardhanam / ahaṃ priyatamaḥ putraḥ ...* 'He used to say to me things that made me like him more [like] "I am the favorite son ..."', Mbh 1,122.28-29

praviśya tad veśma mahārathānām / ity abravīd draupadīm rājaputrīm / ehy ehi pāñcālī ... 'He entered the dwelling of those great warriors and said to Draupadī, the princess: "Come along, Pāñcālī ..."', Mbh 2,60.19-20

... ity abravīt śvetaketuṃ sa vipraḥ / gacchāva yajñam janakasya ... śivaś ca saumyaś ca hi brahmaghoṣaḥ / tau jagmatur ... yajñam ... rājñah '[Aṣṭāvakra,] the brahmin, spoke to Śvetaketu: "Let us go to Janaka's sacrifice ..., for the sound of the *brahman* is friendly and pleasant!". Then they went to that king's sacrifice', Mbh 3,132.18-20

tato yudhiṣṭhiro rājā ... iti hovāca bhārata / ... vāsam arjuna rocaya / yatremā vasatīḥ sarvā vasemāviditāḥ paraiḥ 'Then, o Bhārata, king Yudhiṣṭhira spoke ... : "Arjuna, choose a dwelling-place where we can lodge for all the coming nights without being discovered by our enemies!"', Mbh 4,1.4-6 (see also *ibid.* 4,28.1)

mahātmanaś cāgamane viditvā prayojanaṃ keśavam ity uvāca / prāduṣkaromy eṣā mahāstram ugram '... he spoke to Keśava: "I shall display the terrible weapon"', Mbh 8,65.22-23

ity uvāca vacaḥ krūram ... / kiṃ tavāpakṛtam ... 'He spoke these harrowing words ... : "What harm have been done to you ...?"', R 2,57.28-29

... vālmīkir iti hovāca rāghavam / iyaṃ dāśarathe sītā ... '[And] Vālmīki spoke to Rāghava: "Sītā here .."', R 7,87.13-14

¹ On the use of *iti* see DELBRÜCK (1888: 529-534), SPEYER (1886: 379-388 [§ 491-499]), *id.* (1896: 92-94 [§ 289-292]) and RENOUE § 393-394 (p. 532-534).

² But *iti* is always connected with the verb that introduces the *iti*-sentence. One of the few Vedic examples of *iti* in this position is RV 8.77.1 (see SPEYER 1896: 93 [§ 290a]).

³ DELBRÜCK (1888: 531) points to RV 2.30.7 and 5.53.3 for this position of *iti* (cf. SPEYER 1896: 93 [§ 290d]).

⁴ Note the position of *eṣa*.

(b) *rājā kurūṇām nakulaṃ babhāṣe / gacchānayainām iha mandabhāgyām / samātrpa-
kṣām iti rājaputrīm* ‘The king of the Kuru said to Nakula: “Go and bring this ... princess
together with all her maternal relatives”’, Mbh 10,10.26

tasmāt tridaṇḍābhihatā gaccha bhasmeti māciram ‘Therefore beaten with three staves
quickly become ashes’, Mbh 13,95.47

aghoṣayanta puruṣās ... tīrthayātrā samudre vaḥ kāryeti puruṣarṣabhāḥ ‘The men said
[to us]: “You have to undertake a *tīrtayātrā* to the ocean, bulls among men”’, Mbh
16,3.22

*śūsṛāva ca vacas teṣāṃ vṛndaṃ vēndaṃ ca tiṣṭhatām / hatāḥ sma khalu ye neha paśyāma
iti rāghavaṃ* ‘And we heard what they said as they stood about in groups: “Now we are
lost indeed, for we shall not see Rāghava here again”’, R 2,51.10

And sometimes *iti* is not used at all: *sa taṃ kopād udarasthaṃ śaśāpa / yasmāt kuṣṣau
vartamāno bravīṣi / tasmād vakro bhavitāsy aṣṭakṛtvah* ‘He threw an angry curse at [the
child] in the womb: “Since you choose to speak while still in the womb you shall be
crooked in eight ways”’, Mbh 3,132.9, *uvāca tāṃ tatra tataḥ sujātām / aṣṭāvakre gūhitavyo
'yam arthaḥ* ‘He spoke there to his [daughter] Sujātā: “This thing should be concealed from
Aṣṭāvakra”’, 3,132.14.

A mixture of two constructions, one with *yadi*, the other with *iti*, is R 2,53.3: *guhena
sārdhaṃ tatraiva sthito 'smi divasān bahūn / āśayā yadi māṃ rāmaḥ punaḥ śabdāpayed iti*
‘But I waited ... there with Guha in hopes that Rāma might yet send word for me’ (see
KEITH 1910c: 1319 and MEENAKSHI 1983: 31)¹.

¹ On Mbh 12,49.21 v.1. (*nārho 'si bhagavann adya vaktum evaṃvidhaṃ vacaḥ /
brāhmaṇāpasadaṃ putraṃ prāpsyāmīti mahāmune* [CE *prāpsyasīti*]) see critical notes
ad loc.

(2) In competition with the genitive (↗ p. 337) the accusative may depend on the following kinds of nouns¹: (a) verbal adjectives, (b) *arha-* ‘worthy of’², (c) *abhikāṅkṣā-* ‘longing’, (d) *pūjā-* ‘honour’, (e) ^o*aka-*derivations³, (f) ^o*ana-*derivations⁴ and (g) *ā-*derivations from desideratives:

(a) *bhaktā nārāyaṇam*, Mbh 12,111.23, *bhaktō nārāyaṇam harim*, 12,322.17, *bhaktāḥ sa devadevaṃ janārdanam*, 12,322.20, *brahmanyadevaṃ tvam bhaktāḥ surāsuragurum harim*, 12,324.20 (but cf. *bhaktō bhagavataḥ*, 12,324.1)⁵

(b) *indratvam arho rājāyaṃ tapasā*, Mbh 1,57.4, *vṛthāmarāṇam arhas tvam*, 1,142.25, *bhavān arho hi darśanam*, 3,42.17, *anarhā dharṣaṇam hīme jīvamāneṣu pāṇḍuṣu*, 3,238.2, *anarhā vanavāsam*, 3,279.9, *na parityāgam arheyam*, R 1,52.12, *nārhas tvam vākyam idṛśam*, 7,11.12 v.l. (CE *vaktum*)

(c) *svargam vāpy abhikāṅkṣayā*, R 3,774*.5 v.l. (CE *abhikāṅkṣatā*)

(d) *prītās te satatam putra damenāvāṃ ca pūjayā*, Mbh 3,204.10

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 38-40 [§ 52]), id. (1896: 9 [§ 25]), SEN (1952: 121) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 6-7). On this phenomenon in Vedic Sanskrit see DELBRÜCK (1888: 181-182), SEN (1995: 36-38) and OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 1386-1388. Middle Indo-Aryan (*incl.* BHS) examples are collected by VON HINÜBER (1968: 53-57), SEN (1995: 200-202 / 272-273) and BHS § 7.16. For Pāli see also CPD s.v. *anukampā* and *ibid.*, *Additions and Corrections* s.vv. *anukampā*, *anu(p)patti*.

² See SPEYER (1886: 39-40 [§ 52 rem. 2]).

³ See WHITNEY § 271c and AiGr. II,2 § 45aα (on SPEYER’s remarks [1886: 39 n. 3] see *ibid.* 279 n. 1).

⁴ See WHITNEY § 271h and OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 1386, who cites the very few Vedic examples (BĀUK II 4,7-9, IV 5,8-10 and ŚGS IV 7,42).

⁵ PW V 162 records R Gorr. 1,19.21 (*taṃ bhaktō lakṣmaṇaḥ*) not to be traced in the critical edition.

(e) *āgato 'smīty uvācainam bhavantam abhivādakaḥ*, Mbh 3,71.23¹,
ājagāma viśuddhātmā pāṇḍavān avalokakaḥ, 3,180.44, *kasyacit tv atha*
kālasya sāmkaśyād agamat purāt / sudhanvā vīryavān rājā mithilām
avarodhakaḥ, R 1,70.16

(f) *taṃ ... nivāraṇe*, Mbh 3,56.10, *aśaktā dhāraṇe deva tava tejaḥ sam-*
uddhatam, R 1,36.15, *śvamāṃsam iva bhojane*, 1,61.13² (~*śvamāṃsasyeva*
bhakṣaṇam, 1,1158*), *ayodhyāṃ pālāne*, 2,98.63, *matpurīm ... gamane kiṃ*
prayojanam, 5,1032*,

(g) *droṇaṃ praticikīrṣayā*, Mbh 1,155.3³.

(3) The accusative depends on (other) adjectives⁴:

– *bhartāram anuraktam anuvratam*, Mbh 3,74.21, *rāmaṃ parimitāyusaṃ*
/ kair guṇair anuraktāsi, R 3,47.13, *taṃ nityam anuraktāsmi yathā sūryaṃ*
suvarcalā, 5,548*.1, *anuraktā hi vaidehī rāmam*, 5,57.9

– *dhṛtarāṣṭram anuvratāḥ*, Mbh 3,36.28, *damayantīm anuvrataḥ*,
 3,51.25, *bhartāraṃ samanuvratām*, 3,62.25, *mām ca nityam anuvrataḥ*,
 3,62.27, *mām anuvrataḥ*, R 2,16.14, *ahaṃ rāmam anuvratā*, 3,45.29.30.31,
bhaimī patim anuvratā, 5,548*.7, *vīravratam anuvratā*, 6,23.8, *mām ca nity-*
am anuvrataḥ, 6,39.18, *vīramārgam anuvratāḥ*, 6,46.14, *bahuśaś codayām*
āsa bhartāraṃ mām anuvratām, 6,80.42, *parasparam anuvratāḥ*, 7,5.13,
rāmapādāv anuvratau, 7,92.15

– *laṅkāṃ abhimukhaḥ purīm*, R 3,52.5 = 6,31.16 (cf. 6,62.4, 6,78.39),
mām evābhimukhaṃ sthitam, 5,36.23, *jajvālābhimukho dvijam*, 5,36.27, *eṣa*
yo 'bhimukho laṅkāṃ, 6,17.10, *laṅkāṃ abhimukhaḥ kopāt*, 6,17.13

¹ On this stanza see SPEYER (1886: 279 n. 1).

² On this stanza see GOLDMAN / SUTHERLAND (1984: 380-381).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 40).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 32 [§ 43 rem.]), id. (1896: 9 [§ 26]), SEN (1952/53: 121),
 MEENAKSHI (1983: 50) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 408 [= ET p. 88])

– *ayodhyām unmukhaḥ*, 2,1058*.1 v.l. (CE *ayodhyābhimukhaḥ*).

(4) The accusative is used with verbs and adverbs on which a different case depends in Vedic Sanskrit¹:

(a) with *asūy*²:

ye tu dharmam asūyante ‘These who protest against the Law ...’,
Mbh 3,198.63

asūyanti hi rājāno janān anṛtavādinaḥ ‘Kings are angry with
people who lie’, Mbh 4,4.13

ye tu śṛṅvanti te vākyaṃ tān asūyāmi mādhave ‘Mādhave! I am angry
with those who listen to your words’, Mbh 5,3.4

brāhmaṇān vai tadāsūyād yadā vairocana baliḥ ‘When at that
time Vairocana Bali was angry with the brahmins ...’, Mbh
12,91.21 (↗ p. 144)

nāsūyāmi dvijān vipra ‘I am not angry with the twice-born, o
priest’, Mbh 12,133.33 v.l. (CE *nāsūyāmi dvijaśreṣṭha*)

nāsūyāmi sadā viprān ‘Never was I angry with the priests’, Mbh
13,36.4

nāsūyet pitaraṃ sutaḥ ‘The son should not be angry with his father’,
R 2,1488*.3

yadī māṃ dhārmiko rāmo nāsūyen mātṛghātakam ‘... if Rāma were
not angry with me for matricide’, R 2,72.21³

¹ In Vedic Sanskrit *√bhī* and *jugups*^o are construed with the ablative (DELBRÜCK 1888: 110), *asūy*^o and *√druh* with the dative (DELBRÜCK 1888: 142), *alam* with the dative (DELBRÜCK 1888: 147) and *ṛte* with the ablative (DELBRÜCK 1888: 114).

² See SPEYER (1886: 61 [§ 83.4]), SEN (1952/53: 120) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 53). On *abhy-asūy*^o with genitive see (↗) p. 342.

³ In construction with *√dā* the accusative might denote the person to whom something is given (see HOPKINS 1893: 3 n. I and SEN 1952/53: 120). Since, however, I found this construction only in two *variae lectiones* I relegated it to this foot note: *na cāpy*

(b) with *jugups*¹

lokavṛttam jugupsate ‘He feels disgust with the way of the world’,
Mbh 3,203.8

jugupsanti ca tādr̥ṣam ‘They feel disgust with such a person’,
Mbh 5,133.36

jugupsann iva cātmānam ‘Feeling a loathing for myself’, R
2,63.17 (~ *jugupsāmi tathātmānam*, 2,1612*,4)

aho durvṛttam āsthāya nātmānaṃ vai jugupsate ‘... he does not feel
disgust with himself’, R 7,24.13 v.l. (CE *aho durvṛttam ātmānaṃ
svayam eva na budhyate*),

(c) with *√druh* (see [♣] p. 353)

... *pāṇḍūṃs tvam mā druho bharatar̥ṣabha* ‘Bull of the Bharatas,
do not harm the Pāṇḍavas ...’, Mbh 2,55.14 (v.l. *pāṇḍūnām*²)

pāṇḍavān mā druheti ca ‘Thinking that one should not harm the
Pāṇḍavas ...’, Mbh 6,85.10³

(d) with *√bhī* (on the use of the genitive with *√bhī* see [♣] p. 339)

na bibhemi surāsurān ‘I fear neither gods nor demons’, R 6,56.7

utsahate dātum vittarakṣī mahājanān, Mbh 12,308.143 v.l. (CE *janāt*), *paridadyād
dhi dharmajña garaṃ te mama mātaram*, R 2.47.18 v.l. (CE *paridadyā hi dharmajñe
bharate mama mātaram*).

¹ On this construction see SPEYER (1886: 71 [§ 97 rem.]).

² On *√druh* with genitive see (♣) p. 344.

³ On the double sandhi of *druheti* (*/druha iti/*) see (♣) 1.8.3.

(e) with (I.) *alam* and (II.) *ṛte*¹:

(I) *tad alam viklavāṃ buddhiṃ rājan sarvārthanāśanīm*, R 6,2.12 v.l.²
 (CE *tad alam viklavā buddhī rājan sarvārthanāśinī*)
 (II) *ṛte nārāyaṇaṃ devam*, Mbh 1,16.29, *ṛte ... brahmavādinam*,
 1,128.14, *ṛte 'maratvam ...*, 1,201.20, ... *anyaḥ ... ṛte devam pināki-*
nam, 3,40.31, *praviśantaṃ ca māṃ tatra na kaścīd dr̥ṣṭavān naraḥ /*
ṛte tāṃ pārthivasutām, 3.53.16, ... *ko ṛte nalam*, 3,74.10, *pāṇḍavāḥ*
kim akurvanta tam ṛte savyasācinam, 3,79.1 (v.l. *vinā*), *tam ṛte*
puruṣavyāghram, 3,79.7 (v.l. *vinā*), *tam ṛte pāṇḍavaśreṣṭham*, 3,79.12
 (v.l. *vinā* [cf. 3,79.13.14.19.22.25.29]), *tyakṣāmī tvām ṛte putra prāṇān*
 ..., 3,138.14 (v.l. *tvad ṛte*, *tvat kṛte*, *tvām vinā*), *na syād vanam ṛte*
vyāghrān, *vyāghrā na syur ṛte vanam*, 5,37.42, *tvām ṛte sārathiṃ*
tatra nānyaṃ paśyāmahe vayam, 8.24.105, *na ca svargas tv ṛte*
makham, 12,260.24, *svayaṃbhuvam ṛte*, 14,190*, *tam ṛte kā gatir*
mama, R 2,App.9.42, *ṛte suparṇarājānaṃ mārutaṃ vā mahābalaṃ*,
 4,66.20.

rem. (a) R 2,378* (*pādau satyena³ te śape*) – noted by the PW as the sole example of $\sqrt{śap}$ + acc. – is probably a conflation of two sentences: †*pādau satyena te spr̥śe* (cf. *āyudham tena satyena pādau caivālabhe tava*, ...) and ... *satyena te śape*⁴; (b) occasionally *vinā* may have the meaning 'except' (see SPEYER 1886: 131 [§ 182 rem. 1]): *vinā nārāyaṇaṃ devam sarve* 'All the gods except Nārāyaṇa', Mbh 1,16.29 v.l. (CE *ṛte nārāyaṇaṃ devam* [on this

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 132 [§ 183 rem.]), GONDA (1957a: 65 [= *Selected Studies* I,62]), MEENAKSHI (1983: 48) nd CHATTERJI (1950: 29-30) who cites *Maitrāyaṇīya-Saṃhitā* 2,4.1: 38.7 (on which see also DELBRÜCK 1888: 183) and *Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra* 12,6.13 as Vedic examples of *ṛte* with accusative. On *ṛte* with instrumental see p. 327.

² See SEN (1952: 121) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 49).

³ The instrumental is used to denote that by which one swears (see BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 409 [= *ET* p. 90] and MEENAKSHI 1983: 69).

⁴ HOPKINS (1932: 334) even proposes to emend this line to *pādau satyena te³ spr̥śe*.

construction see above]), *sarvaṃ visarjayām āsa tam ekaṃ sacivaṃ vinā* 'He dismissed his entire [force] except the minister alone', 1,162.9, *śyena sarvaṃ dadāni te / vinemaṃ pakṣiṇaṃ ...* 'I shall give you, hawk, whatever you want, but not this bird ...', 3,131.20¹.

10.3.3. The instrumental²

The basic functions of the instrumental are (a) to denote the means by which an action is accomplished (*instrumentalis instrumenti*) and (b) to denote accompaniment (*instrumentalis sociativus*)³. A special case of the latter is the *absolute instrumental* (see AALTO 1979: 50-51) of which only germs are found in Vedic texts (see OERTEL 1926: 89), which is, however, rather common in Epic Sanskrit⁴:

tatra putram adṛkṣata // pūrvārdhakāyasampannam itareṇāprakāśatā 'In that [egg Vinatā] saw her son having [only] a upper half of the body while the other [half] was not [yet] visible', Mbh 1,14.15-16

¹ *purā* has the same meaning also in the Epics (a fact not noted by the PW [s.v. 2b]): ... *nirhantvayāḥ śatravaḥ ... purā yuddhād balād vāpi* 'Your enemies should be killed ... without fight or (application of) force', Mbh 2,66.8 (for further examples see MEENAKSHI 1983: 98-99 and SEN 1995: 343). On *purā* 'before' as a conjunction in subordinate clauses see (♣) p. 150-151.

² On the instrumental in general see DELBRÜCK (1888: 122-140), WHITNEY § 278-284, SPEYER (1886: 42-58 [§ 57-78]), id. (1898: 10-13 [§ 31-42]) and RENOUE § 219, on this case in Epic Sanskrit see SEN (1952/53: 122-124), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 409-410 [= *ET* p. 89-90]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 54-72).

³ See HETRICH (2002).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 290-291 [§ 372]), id. (1896: 65 [§ 213]), MEYER (1915: 54 n. 3), SEN (1995: 290) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 66). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 7.34, for Pāli VON HINÜBER (1968: 163-164).

kṛṣṇena samupetena jahṛṣe bhāratam puram ‘When Kṛṣṇa arrived the city of the Bhāratas rejoiced’, Mbh 2,30.15¹

anyaiḥ samṛddhair apy arthair na sutād vidyate param ‘Though there are other [precious] objects and even if they are perfect, nothing prevails over a son’, Mbh 3,10.5²

sa coddhṛtena bāṇena tatraiva svargam āsthitaḥ ‘As soon as the arrow had been pulled out he went to heaven’, R 2,58.16 (~ *samuddhṛte mayā bāṇe ... dīvaṃ gataḥ*, 2,1444*).

The idea of association passes over into one of identity: *lakṣmaṇena sahāyena vanam gacchasva putraka* ‘Go to the forest, my son, with Lakṣmaṇa as your companion’, R 2,App.15.7. Germs of such an use of the instrumental can be found in Vedic Sanskrit (*niméghamānā ātyena pājasā* ‘Pouring down water with the shape of a horse [= as a horse], RV 2.24.13, *sò ‘gninā pṛthivīm mithunām sāmabhavat* ‘As fire [Prajāpati] entered into union with the Earth’, ŚB VI 1,2.1, *tad agninaiva deveṣu brahmābhavad brāhmaṇo manuṣyeṣu* ‘Among the gods the priestly power came into being only as fire, among the humans as a brahmin’, BĀU I 4,15)³. In the Epics, however, it occurs quite frequently, as a rule formed from abstracts (on such a use of the dative and the locative see [✓] p. 357 with n. 2 and 332)⁴:

¹ *kṛṣṇena samupetena* may depend directly on *√hrṣ* (on *√hrṣ* + instrumental see DELBRÜCK 1888: 132).

² On Mbh 9,37.6 (*puṇyāhaghoṣair vimalair vedānām ninadais tathā / deveṣu caiva vyagreṣu tasmin yajñavidhau tadā*) see critical notes *ad loc.*

³ The use of the instrumental in the meaning ‘on account of, for the sake of’ (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 127) is comparable.

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 182-183 [§ 237]), JACOBI (1903: 239 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 9]), MEYER (1926: 59 n. 2) and RENOU § 219c (p. 293). For cases in Buddhist Sanskrit and MIA see BHSG § 7.38, MEYER (1909: 267-268 n. 3) and SEN (1995: 277). SEN (*l.c.*) cites *śivena dhyāhi mā[m]* (Mbh 7,38.25 ~ 66.3, cf. 9,62.50) as an example; but that does

- ... *devā vavrire 'ṅgirasam¹ muniṃ / paurohityena* ... 'The gods ... elected the hermit son of Aṅgiras as their priest', Mbh 1,71.6²
- rājyam ātmā vyaṃ caiva kaitavena hṛtaṃ paraiḥ* 'The kingdom, yourself and we all were taken by others as the stake', Mbh 2,61.3
- bhṛtiṃ copayayau tasya sārathyena mahīpateḥ* 'He entered this king's service as his charioteer', Mbh 3,57.23
- dautyenāgatya* ... 'Having come as messenger ... ', Mbh 3,App.8.16
- uttasthau rājabhiḥ sārddham ... senāpatyena satkartuṃ karṇam* 'He stood up together with the kings to pay honour to Karṇa as the leader of the army', Mbh 8,6.35
- senāpatyena rādheyam abhiśicya* ... 'Having installed Rādheya as commander of the army ... ', Mbh 8,6.44 (cf. 8,64*; *karṇam evābhiśekṣyāmaḥ saināpatyena bhārata* [v.l. *senāpatyena*])
- kuśadvīpaṃ ca sa dadau rājyena* 'And he gave [to him] Kuśadvīpa as kingdom', Mbh 13,14.57
- kārttikeyaḥ ... devaiḥ senāpatitvena vṛtaḥ* ... 'Kārttikeya was elected as commander of the army by the gods ... ', Mbh 13,401*.4
- na tadā tvā pitā jyeṣṭhaḥ pitṛtvenābhivikṣate* 'At that time your ... father did not look after you as a father [should do]', Mbh 15,17.21
- yathābhiṣeko rāmasya rājyenāmitatejasah* '.... that Rāma, of immeasurable power, be consecrated as our king', R 2,15.8 (v.l. *rājye [ca]*)³.

not mean 'Think of me as Śiva' but 'Think kindly of me'!

¹ On the sandhi *vavrire 'ṅgirasam* see (♣) p. 28.

² On ²*vṛ* with the locative of an abstract noun ('to choose as') see (♣) p. 357.

³ An ablative of an abstract noun may also be used so: *tvām āsādya ... arthivān nātha vakṣyāmaḥ* 'We have come to you as suppliants and we shall speak to you, o lord', R 3,5.9 (see SPEYER 1886: 184 [§ 238]).

Although there are a few cases of (a kind of) *instrumentalis comparationis* in Vedic texts¹ it is only by the time of the Epics that it is regularly used beside the *ablativus comparationis*, construed with (a) an adjective (not in the comparative degree) and (b) a comparative or a comparative-like word²:

(a) *duṣprekṣaṇīyo 'si bhagīrathena*³, Mbh 1,50.16 v.l. (CE *bhagīratho vā*⁴), *balavanto hi balibhiḥ dṛśyante ...*, 5,95.9, *sītā prāṇair bahumatā*, R 1,66.23, *prāṇair iṣṭān sutān iva*, 3,5.11, *kṛtaḥ prāṇair bahumataḥ*, 4,8.26, *mamāpi tvam sudayitaḥ prāṇair api na saṁśayaḥ*, 7,63.12

(b) *bālo 'pi sthavirair varaḥ*, Mbh 1,46.8, *gavāṁ śatasahasreṇa rājasūya-śatena ca aśvamedhasahasreṇa śreyān saptārciś caruḥ*, 3,80.107, *asti nūnaṁ mayā kaścīd alpabhāgyataro naraḥ*, 3,257.10⁵, *svais turaṅgair viśiṣṭāḥ*, 5,55.14, *ko 'nyo 'sti balavattaro / mayā ...*, 5,103.14, *prāṇair api garīyasī*, 5,126.9 v.l. (CE *prāṇebhyo 'pi*), *śreyān anyair dhanurdharaiḥ*, 5,137.6, *vṛddho 'pi yuvatibhir varaḥ*, 5,164.12, *prādeśenādhikāḥ pumbhir anyais te ca pramānataḥ*, 5,166.20, *prthivyāṁ nāsti yuvatir viṣamasthatarā mayā*, 5,173.1, *caturbhadrataras tvayā*, 7,App.8.357 = 12,29,34 (~ 7,App.8.871), *ko nu svantataro mayā*, 9,60.47-49, *ko 'nyo 'sti mayā*

¹ Cf. *viśā vai kṣatriyo bālīyān bhavati*, ŚBK V 3,4.4.8 (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 10 and cf. OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 493 / 852). On TS 5,3.11.1 see DELBRÜCK (1896: 337) *pacc* SPEYER (1896: 12 n. 1).

² See RENOU § 219b (p. 292), WHITNEY § 292c, PISCHEL (1881: 1332), HOLTZMANN (1884: 7-8), SPEYER (1886: 80 [§ 107]), id. (1896: 12 [§ 39]), HOPKINS (1902a: 131 n. 1), KULKARNI (1947: 74 / 82-83), SEN (1952/53: 122), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 409 [= *ET* p. 89]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 9-10 / 65). For the *instrumentalis comparationis* in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit see VON HINÜBER (1968: 148), OBERLIES (1995: 143) and BHSG § 7.35.

³ On this instrumental see WINTERNITZ (1884: 307).

⁴ On *vā* (= *iva*) 'like' see (♣) p. 29-30 n. 5.

⁵ Cf. R 3,63.23 v.l.: *nāsty abhāgyataro loke mayā* (CE *mattaḥ*).

duḥkhitataraḥ loke pumān iha, 11,1.19, *na duḥkhitataraḥ kaścit pumān asmābhir asti ha*, 12,270.1, *na tasyānyaḥ priyatarāḥ pratibuddhair mahātmabhiḥ*, 12,331.51, *nāsya bhaktaiḥ priyataro loke kaścana vidyate*, 12,332.3, *ko 'nyo dhanyataro mayā*, 13,14.180, *sarvadānair gurutaram ... pānīyam*, 13,99.21, *prāṇaiḥ priyataro nityam*, R 1,17.19, *tvayā balavattaraḥ*, 1,53.14, *prāṇaiḥ priyatarau mama*, 2,23.30, *sutair hi tāsām adhiko hi so 'bhavat*, 2,42.26, *na nūnaṃ daivatam kiṃcid kālena balavattaram*, 2,82.10, *tvaṃ me prāṇair garīyasī*, 3,53.16, *prāṇaiḥ priyatarā mama*, 3,56.6, *mama prāṇaiḥ priyataram putram*, 4,22.9, *vadhenāpratirūpeṇa śreyān mṛtyur ihaiva naḥ*, 4,52.24, *prāṇair iṣṭataram mama*, 4,1165* (~ *prāṇaiḥ priyatarasya me / jaṭāyuso ...*, 4,55.17) = 6,89.3, *rakṣasāpahṛtā bhāryā prāṇaiḥ priyatarā tava*, 6,70.4, *prāṇaiḥ priyataram drṣṭvā putram daśarathas tadā*, 6,107.11.

And even the superlative is so construed (i.e. the field of comparison is expressed by the instrumental and not by the genitive or – as far as Epic Sanskrit is concerned – by the ablative [see (♣) p. 334-335])¹:

tava putrair mahattamaḥ, Mbh 1,1.180², *ātmaprāṇaiḥ priyatamaḥ*, 1,72.7, *prajñāyānavamaś cāsi śukreṇāṅgirasena ca*, 5,6.3, *sarvaiḥ putraiḥ priyatamā draupadī me janārdana*, 5,88.42.

rem. Occasionally, an analytical construction with a negative – *na* 'not' (or the *alpha privativum*) – is found replacing the ablative / instrumental of comparison (see HOLZMANN 1884: 9 and FISCHER 1909: 167-170)³:

¹ See KULKARNI (1947: 74 / 84-85).

² On this stanza see SUKTHANKAR (1930: 175-178).

³ Another means to express comparison is to confront two nominatives: *brahmavadhyātmavadhyā vā śreyo ātmavadho mama* 'For me suicide is better than killing a brahmin', Mbh 1,149.6 (see SPEYER 1886: 87).

(a) *sa tāsām iṣṭa evāsīn na tathānye nijāḥ sutāḥ* 'They loved him more than their other own sons', Mbh 3,128.7

striyās tv abhyadhikāḥ sneho na tathā puruṣasya vai 'The love a woman feels is greater than that of a man', Mbh 13,12.42

(b) *prāptaḥ syām yady ahaṃ vīra vadhaṃ tasmin mahāraṇe / śreyas tad bhavitā mahyam evambhūtaṃ na jīvitam*, Mbh 3,238.8 (↗ 6.2.10), *śreyas te maraṇaṃ yuddhe na bhītasya palāyanam*, 4,36.26, *sa sreyaṇ netaro janaḥ* 5,42.21, *gurūn ahatvā hi mahānubhāvān śreyo bhoktuṃ bhaiḥṣam apīha loke*, 6,24.5, *parājayo vā mṛtyur vā – śreyo (!) mṛtyur na nirjayaḥ*, 7,171.29 (v.1 *śreyān*), *adhyardhena guṇeneyam gadā gurutarī mama / na tathā Dhārtarāṣṭrasya*, 9,32.17, *dharmeṇa nidhanaṃ śreyo na jayaḥ pāpakarmaṇā*, 12,96.16, *śreyo hi anāhitāgnitvam agnihotraṃ na niṣkriyam*, 12,281.21, *nanu me maraṇaṃ śreyo na cedam vyarthajīvitam*, R 6,56.13, *śreyo hi maraṇaṃ me 'dya na cāsmiṇ īdṛṣe kārye niyojyo lokanindite*, 7,46.5

(with ellipsis of the comparative) *vidīryat sanagā bhūmir dyauś cāpi śakalībhavet / ravir ātmaprabhāṃ jahyāt somaḥ śītāṃśutāṃ tyajet // vāyuh śaighryam atho jahyād dhimavāṃś ca parivrajat / śuṣyēt toyam samudreṣu vahnir apy uṣṇatāṃ tyajet / na cāhaṃ tvad ṛte rājan prasāseyaṃ vasuṃdharām ...*, Mbh 3,238.29-31, *caled dhi himavān śailo medinī śatadhā bhalet / dyauḥ patec ca sanakṣatrā na me moghaṃ vaco bhavet*, 5,80.48, *calet svadesād dhimavān na kṛṣṇau*, 8,879*, *pated divākaraḥ sthānāc chīryetānekadhā kṣitih / śaityam agnir iyān na tvā karṇo hanyād dhanamjayam*, 8,63.76, *sa bhajyeta na saṃnamet*, 9,4.13.

With ${}^2\sqrt{vr}$ a similar construction is employed to convey that *instead of which* something is chosen¹:

Also the old (Vedic) construction (on which see DELBRÜCK 1888: 111) is met with in the Epics: *kāmād arthaṃ vṛṇīte yaḥ* '.... who chooses profit instead of pleasure', Mbh 5,33.20, *vavre cāhaṃ vajrahastān mahendrād asmin yuddhe vāsudevaṃ sahāyam* 'Instead of Indra ... I have choosen Vāsudeva as helper in this battle', 5,47.63, *vṛṇe 'varām adya mahīm adharmataḥ* 'I choose today this paltry land against all that is right', R 2,18.39.

The ablative with ${}^2\sqrt{vr}$ may also denote the person from whom one begs something: *vavre prasādaṃ viprendrāt* 'He begged a favour from the great brahmin', R 1,9.30 (see SPEYER 1896: 15 [§ 51]).

apakramaṇam evātaḥ sarvakāmair ahaṃ vṛṇe ‘I prefer exile to [the fulfillment of] all my desires’, R 2,31.29¹.

In the plural the instrumental is used in functions that are normally ablative (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 72) – probably because of the merger of these two cases in Middle Indo-Aryan² (see SUKTHANKAR 1930: 177 and BHSG § 7.36):

bhuñjate rukmapātrībhiḥ ‘They eat from golden plates’, Mbh 2,45.18³ (v.l. °pātrīṣu [~ *bhuñjate rukmapātrīṣu*, Mbh 2,48.40 = 3,222.40 (v.l. °pātrībhiḥ)])

svakarmabhir mahāvyaḥair nodvijanty alpabuddhayaḥ ‘People of little intelligence are not [even] afraid of fierce beasts of prey which are their own deeds’, Mbh 11,7.8

yajñaphalam ... dhanuḥ / yācitam ... sarvadaivataiḥ ‘As a reward for his sacrifice ... this bow was begged from all the gods’, R 1,30.12 (Cr. *sarvadaivatebhyaḥ*)

prāsādāgrair bhartur pādacchāyā viśiṣyate ‘The shadow of a husband’s feet surpasses ... [even] the finest mansions⁴’, R 2,24.7

susrāva nayanaiḥ strīṇām ... salilam ‘Tears flowed out of the women’s eyes’ R 2,940*.9

pītāmahena prītena devadānavarākṣasaiḥ rāvaṇasyābhayaṃ dattam ‘Grandfather [Brahmā] granted ... Rāvaṇa safety from gods, Dānavas and Rākṣasas’, R 6,82.29 (Cr.m.g. *devadānavarākṣasaiḥ devadānavarākṣasebhyaḥ*)⁵.

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 52 [§ 70]).

² See OBERLIES (2001: 137 [§ 28.5]).

³ Cf., however, √*pā* + instrumental ‘to drink from / with the help of’.

⁴ °*agra*- in the sense of ‘the best among ...’ is also to be found in *vimānāgra*- ‘the best of *vimānas*’, Mbh 3,176.18, 178.38.

⁵ Cf. *sāmpratam kuta āyātaḥ sa viṣṇur yena bibhyasi*, R 6,App.32.81.

By analogy with (a) *sama-* / *samāna*-¹ and (b) *samam* / *saha* / *vinā*² the instrumental is used with (a) *ananya*-³ and (b) *anyatra* and *ṛte* (where we expect the ablative)⁴:

(a) *ananyā rāghaveṇāhaṃ bhāskareṇa prabhā yathā* ‘I am as inseparable from Rāghava as is the radiance from the sun’, R 5,19.14

(b) *nānyatra kukṣer mama bhedanena dṛśyet kaco madgato devayāni* ‘For but by opening⁵ my belly up can Kaca inside me appear, Devayāni’, Mbh 1,71.44, *anyatrārjunabhīmābhyāṃ tvayā vā madhusūdana* ‘Except Arjuna, Bhīma and yourself, o Madhusūdana’, 3,13.69, *siṃhā vinaśyeyur ṛte vanena* ‘Without the forest the lions will die’, 5,37.60, *na hi te jātu śāmyerann ṛte rājyena kaurava* ‘Without the kingdom they will no longer make peace, o Kaurava’, 5,136.3, *ṛte śalyasahasreṇa vijayeyam aham parān* ‘I could conquer the enemies without [the help of] a thousand Śalyas’, 8,386*.7⁶, *na sa yukto ’nyathā jetum ṛte yuddhena māghava* ‘He cannot be conquered without fighting, o Māghava’, 9,23.39, *na me śakyā mahāsurāḥ / ṛte ’sthibhīr dadhīcasya nihantum tridaśadviṣaḥ* ‘Without the bones of Dadhīca

¹ Adjectives of ‘likeness’ are – according to Pāṇ 2.3.72 – construed with the instrumental and the genitive (see SPEYER 1886: 46 [§ 61], id. 1896: 20 [§ 70c] and KULKARNI 1947: 75-78).

² *vinā* is construed either with the accusative or with the instrumental (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 49 / 62).

³ On *anya-* + (instr.) *me* see (♣) 4.1.3.

⁴ See CHATTERJI (1950: 30) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 62-63).

⁵ Here *anyatra* is construed with the case the syntax of the sentence demands, as it is (e.g.) in Aś PE I (*hidatapālate dusamptaṭipādāye amnata agena bhayenā agena usāhena*) and in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman (*anyatra samgrāmeṣu*) – see GHOSAL (1968) and SALOMON (1989: 283) and for Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit CPD s.v. *aññatra* and BHSG § 7.15.

⁶ On this line see HOPKINS (1902a: 137).

the great Asuras, the enemies of the gods, cannot be slain by me', 9,50.27, *ṛte devaprasādād vā rājan jñānāgamena vā* 'Without the grace of god or the knowledge handed down by tradition', 12,321.6, *ṛte dadhighṛteneha na yajñāḥ sampravartate* 'No sacrifice can take place in this world without *dadhi* and *ghṛta*', 13,82.2.

Most probably on the analogy of *jāta-* + instr. (*śūdrāyām asmi vaiśyena jātaḥ*, R 2,57.37, *tasyāham hariṇaḥ kṣetre jāto vātena maithili*, 5,33.75) the instrumental is occasionally used with *√jan* replacing the ablative of 'fatherhood'¹:

hiḍimbāyām ca bhīmena vane jajñe ghaṭotkacaḥ 'In the woods Ghaṭotkaca was born in Hiḍimbā [begot] by Bhīma', Mbh 1,57.103.

On the model of *kālena kālam* 'from time to time' similiar expressions are coined in which the instrumental gets ablative force (cf. BHS § 7.27-28): *te vanena vanam vīrā ghnanto mṛgagaṇān bahūn* 'From forest to forest ...', Mbh 1,144.1, *yayur vanenaiva vanam*, 3,6.2, *dyūtena te mahārāja punar dyūtam avartata* 'After one game another one started ...', 3,App.7.9.

As instrumental forms are used with ablative meanings, so also the reverse happens with ablative forms (see [↗] p. 333 n. 4).

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 74 [§ 100.1]), SEN (1995: 286-287) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 10 / 70).

Normally the name of the father is put in the ablative and that of the mother in the locative (see OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 1016-1020 / 1036-1037, SPEYER 1886: 73-74 [§ 100] and MEENAKSHI 1983: 91-92 / 125): *sūryāt kuntikanyāyām jajñe karṇo mahārathaḥ*, Mbh 1,57.82, *jātaḥ putro daśarathāt kaikeyyām ...*, R 2,99.2. On Mbh 1,107.5 (*katham ca śaptasya sataḥ pāṇḍoḥ tena mahātmanā / samutpannā daivatebhyaḥ putrāḥ pañca mahārathāḥ*) see SPEYER (1886: 73 [§ 100.1]).

A special kind of the *instrumentalis viae*¹ which denotes the road or space traversed (*yikramasva vihāyasā* ‘Go through the air’, Mbh 1,88.14)² is the *yena* NOM. / *yena* NOM. ... *tena*-construction³ – *prādravad yena vai saraḥ* ‘He ran to the pool’, Mbh 3,137.15 – which is known mainly from Buddhist texts (see BHS § 7.32 and VON HINÜBER 1968: 137-139)⁴:

– *prādravad yena vai vanam*, Mbh 3,255.56, *prasthito yena rāghavaḥ*, 3,262.29, *sa yayau yena pāṇḍavaḥ*, 5,8.15, *prayayau yena madrarāt*, 6,41.71, *tatas tāṃś codayām āsa ... yena tat tripuraṃ*, 8,24.114, *viśākhā tu yayau yena devī girivarātmaḥ ...*, 9,43.39, ... *yayau ... mahārṇavo yena mahānubhavaḥ*, 16,5.12⁵

– (the same with a verb of motion in the *yena*-clause) *gacchantam anugacchāmo yena gacchati rāghavaḥ*, R 2,30.15, *vanam nagaram evāstu yena gacchati rāghavaḥ*, 2,30.19

– *yenārjunas tena rājan kṛtāstrāḥ prayātā vai te trigartās ca sūrāḥ*, Mbh 6,20.15, *yena yena ratho yāti tena tena pradhāvati*, R 6,94.16

– (with a verb of motion in the *yena*-clause) *yena yena ca gacchanti rākṣasā bhayakarśitāḥ tena tena sma paśyanti rāmam evāgrataḥ sthitam*, R

¹ This ‘traditional’ explanation of the construction under discussion is, however, not without problems.

² On this function of the instrumental which is also covered by the locative (↗ p. 348) see DELBRÜCK (1888: 128-129), SCHULZE, *Kl. Sch.* p. 652, OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p.907-909, SPEYER (1886: 52 [§ 71]) and id. (1896: 13 [§ 42]).

³ Cf. *yato devās tato jagmur ...* ‘They went where the gods were standing’, Mbh 1,16.36 (see *ibid.* 13-14).

⁴ See SEN (1995: 281), RAGHAVAN (1955: 315-317) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 144).

⁵ R 2,46.5 (*jagmatur yena tau gaṅgāṃ sītayā saha rāghavau*) seems to be a contamination of two constructions: (a) *jagmatur gaṅgāṃ* and (b) *jagmatur yena ... gaṅgā* (as a number of mss. actually read). The ‘emendation’ of POLLOCK (1986: 406-407) is therefore most probably not necessary.

3,App.10.38-39, *ubhau hi yena vrajatas tena tena śarormayaḥ / ūrmayo vāyunā viddhā jagmuḥ sāgarayor iva*, 6,87.39¹.

rem. (a) Because of metrical exigency the instrumental *sītayā*, R 5,23.9, is used instead of the genitive²: *tasyāḥ sā dīrghavipulā vepantyaḥ sītayā tadā / dadṛśe kampanī veṇī vyālīva parisarpatī* ‘The braid of Sītā who was trembling’ (~ 5,579*: *tasyāḥ sā kampamānāyā dīrghā suvipulāsītā*)³; (b) (at least) twice the instrumental replaces a locative: *cito ‘gnir udvahan yajñam pakṣābhyām tān prabādhate* ‘The piled-up fire that carries up the sacrifice frustrates them on both sides’, Mbh 3,210.17, *makarasya tu tuṅḍe vai karṇo rājan vyavasthitah / netrābhyām śakuniḥ sūra ulūkaś ca mahārathah* ‘Karṇa stood in the beak of the [army arranged as a] *makara*, o king. in its two eyes were the brave Śakuni and Ulūka, the mighty warrior’, 8,7.15 (v.l. *netrayoḥ*)⁴.

¹ Cf. Mbh 3,133.2: *yeneccasi tena kāmaṃ vrajasva* (with this cf. Buddhist Sanskrit *yen’ icchakaṃ* ‘wherever one likes’[see BHSD s.v.]).

² See crit. notes *ad loc.*, MICHELSON (1904: 107) and SATYA VRAT (1964: 234).

³ On this stanza see (♣) p. 298.

It is not necessary to take *surasayā* at R 5,1.150 (*tad dr̥ṣṭvā vyāditam tv āsyam vāyuputraḥ sa buddhimān / dīrghajihvam surasayā sughoram narakopamam*) as *instrumentalis pro genitivo* as it can depend on *vyāditam* (see critical notes *ad loc.*).

⁴ On both stanzas see OBERLIES (1997: 3).

10.3.4. The dative¹

The *dativus (in)commodi*² (with words for persons) and the *dativus finalis*³ (with words for objects and abstracts) are the two basic functions of that case (see SPEYER 1896: 13 [§ 43] and GARCÍA-RAMÓN 1995: 34)⁴. And the Epic dative is also regularly so used. But already in Vedic times the genitive begins to usurp these traditional functions of the dative⁵. And this tendency is very

¹ On the dative in general see DELBRÜCK (1888: 140-150), WHITNEY § 285-288, SPEYER (1886: 58-67 [§ 79-92]), id. (1898: 13-15 [§ 43-49]) and RENOUE § 220; on this case in Epic Sanskrit see KULKARNI (1940/41), SEN (1952/53: 124-125), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 410 [= ET p. 90-91]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 72-86).

² On the *dativus (in)commodi* see DELBRÜCK (1888: 147), SPEYER (1886: 59-63 [§ 81-85]), id. (1896: 13-14 [§ 44-46]), HETTRICH (1995: 60) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 83-84).

³ On the *dativus finalis* see DELBRÜCK (1888: 147-149), SPEYER (1886: 64-65 [§ 87]), id. (1896: 14-15 [§ 48]), OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* S. 1372-1403, and MEENAKSHI (1983: 83-84).

⁴ Unlike in Vedic Sanskrit (on which see DELBRÜCK 1888: 149, SPEYER 1896: 15 [§ 49] and OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 775 n. [1]) the *dativus temporis* is quite common in Epic Sanskrit (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 85), and unlike in Vedic this dative seems sporadically also to be used to denote a period of time *at whose end* something takes place (see HOPKINS 1903: 6-7, 1930: 6-7 and RENOUE § 220e): *sucirāya manuṣyendro nagarīm ... viveśa* 'After (this) long time the king entered the city ...', Mbh 1,168.16 v.1. (CE *acirāt* [!] *sa*). A similar usage can be seen in *vanavāsāya rāmasya pañcarātro 'dya gaṇyate / yaḥ ... pañcavarṣopamo mama* 'Only five days all told have now passed since Rāma left for the forest', R 2,56.14 (~ *pañcaśāni gatāny adya divasāni sutasya me / tāni varṣaśatānīva śokārtāyā gatāni me*, 2,1362*). On this stanza see SPEYER (1886: 67 [§ 92]), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 410 [= ET p. 90-91]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 85); on *pañcaṣa-* see AiGr. II,1 § 41 by *rem.* and III § 197c.

⁵ The dative of persons is (above all) concerned.

noticeable in Epic Sanskrit (↗ p. 304). A reflex of this is the occasional use of dative forms¹ in definitely genitive function²:

(*tasmai namadhvam ... rudrāṅām pataye ...*) *aśvibhyāṃ pataye caiva maru-
tāṃ pataye tathā* ‘[Bow down ...] to the lord of the Aśvins, to the lord of the
Maruts’, Mbh 12,327.92 (v.l. *aśvinoḥ*)³

pitāmaheśāya vibho nāmānyācakṣva śaṃbhave ‘Tell [me] ... [all] the names
of Śambhu, the lord!’, Mbh 13,14.1⁴

atulaṃ balam etābhyām / vāliṇo rāvaṇasya ca ‘The power of these two, of
Vālin and Rāvaṇa, was incomparable’, R 7,35.2⁵.

rem. Not only the instrumental and the locative of abstract nouns are used to express ‘identity’ (↗ p. 321-322 and 357 with n. 2), but occasionally also the dative: *tataḥ ... yauvarājyāya ... sthāpito ... yudhiṣṭhiraḥ* ‘Then Yudhiṣṭhira was installed as heir-apparant’, Mbh 1,App.80.1-2 (v.l. *yauvarājye*)⁶.

¹ On the use of *mahyam* and *tubhyam* as genitives see (↗) 4.1.2 and 4.2.1.

² This phenomenon is to be found also in Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHSG § 7.43-44).

³ See HOPKINS (1901: 265).

⁴ Also “in the sequel the dative is used in the sense of the genitive” (crit. notes *ad loc.* [see also PW IV 112 l. 27 and HOLTZMANN 1884: 8]). Therefore it is unlikely that ‘noun_[dat.] + *nāman-*’ means ‘name for ...’. See also below (↗), p. 354-355 n. 4.

⁵ (*balam*) *etayoḥ* would have given an unpermitted cadence (⏑-⏑-). Therefore some mss. changed this pāda completely: *etayor atulaṃ vīryam*.

Also *śusrūṣu-*, normally construed with the genitive, is occasionally found with the dative: *mātāpitṛbhyām śusrūṣuḥ*, Mbh 3,197.41.

⁶ Cf. *śvaḥ ... yauvarājyena ... / rājā daśaratho rāmam abhiṣecayitā ...*, R 2,7.7, *śvas tvāham abhiṣekṣyāmi yauvarājye paramtapa*, R 2,4.22.

10.3.5. The ablative¹

The ablative denotes someone or something in a resting position while the subject (with a transitive verb) or the object (with an intransitive verb) withdraws from it (see HETTRICH 1995: 57). The ‘moving-away-from’ is sometimes figurative: *yācamānāḥ parād annam* ‘Begging food from a stranger ...’, Mbh 1,147.17 (v.l. *parān annam*²).

In statements of time the ablative – corresponding to its basic function – usually expresses the time *after* which something takes place³. In Epic Sanskrit, however, the time-ablative may denote also the time *up to / within* which something happens (see HOPKINS 1893: 14)⁴:

kāṅkṣamāṇo 'ham āsiṣye dehasyāsya samāpanāt ‘... until my body is finished’, Mbh 1,110.35 (v.l. *āsamāpanam* [!])

te .. agacchann ahorātrāt tīrtham ‘They arrived at the shrine within a day and night’, Mbh 1,158.2 v.l. (CE *ahorātram* [another v.l. has *ahorātreṇa*])⁵
ekāhāt pṛthivī ... vijitā śāsanād eva ‘He conquered earth within one day by an edict only’, Mbh 3,126.36 v.l. (CE *ekāhnā ... nirjitā ...*)⁶.

¹ On the ablative in general see DELBRÜCK (1888: 106-115), WHITNEY § 289-293, SPEYER (1886: 67-81 [§ 93-108]), id. (1896: 15-18 [§ 50-61]) and RENOUE § 221, on this case in Epic Sanskrit see SEN (1952/53: 125-127), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 410-411 [= ET p. 90-91]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 86-99).

² This is the double accusative construction taught by Pāṇ 1.4.51 (for Epic examples see MEENAKSHI 1983: 45).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 73 [§ 99]), id. (1896: 16-17 [§ 58]), HOPKINS (1903: 12-24) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 94-95).

⁴ This ablative interchanges with the accusative and with the instrumental (see HOPKINS 1903: 18).

⁵ See HOPKINS (1903: 18) *pace* WHITNEY § 291b and SPEYER (1886: 73 [§ 99]).

⁶ See HOPKINS (1903: 17).

Since Vedic times the ablative has also been used to express the *cause* (*āhutaś caiṣyati ... dyūtād api raṇād api* ‘If challenged he will come ... because of dicing and fighting’, Mbh 2,45.38c / 448*)¹. Combined with the notion *from which* (= to the exclusion of) this probably gave rise to the meaning ‘without’ (see LUDWIG 1896: 14):

kṛṣṇaṃ cāpahṛtaṃ jñātvā yuddhān mene jitaṃ jayam ‘Knowing that Kṛṣṇa did not participate he thought that there will be victory without fight’, Mbh 5,7.28²

na ca svargas tato makhāt ‘Without this sacrifice there will be no heaven’, Mbh 12,260.24 v.l. (CE *na ca svargas tv ṛte makham* [!]).

In comparisons the ablative marks the term as against which another is compared (*ablativus comparisonis*³). But sometimes also the superlative construes with (such) an ablative (i.e. the ablative is used instead of a genitive⁴ or – as far as Epic Sanskrit is concerned – an instrumental [↗ p. 324])⁵:

api ced asi pāpebhyaḥ sarvebhyaḥ pāpakṛttamaḥ ‘Even if you are the greatest sinner of them all, ...’, Mbh 6,26.36⁶

¹ See DELBRÜCK (1888: 114-115), SPEYER (1886: 74-76 [§ 102]) and id. (1896: 16 [§ 54]).

² VAN BUITENEN (transl.) refers *yuddhāt* to *apahṛtam*: ‘... knowing that Kṛṣṇa had excluded himself from war he thought that victory was assured’.

³ In Epic Sanskrit the instrumental and the genitive are competing with this ablative (see above [↗] p. 326-328 and below p. 338).

⁴ On this genitive see DELBRÜCK (1888: 154).

⁵ See BÖHTLINGK (1887a: 183), SPEYER (1896: 17 [§ 59]), KULKARNI (1947: 74 / 85) and RENOU § 221D (p. 301).

⁶ Cf. Mbh 6,37.18: *aham akṣarād api cottamaḥ* ‘Compared even with the imperishable I am supreme’ (on this stanza see EDGERTON 1955: 36).

nā ca tasmād manuṣyeṣu kaścīn me priyakṛttamaḥ ‘No one among [all] human beings does me greater favour than he’, Mbh 6,40.69

nā hi rāmāt priyatamo mamāsti ... ‘No one is dearer¹ to me than Rāma’, R 2,45.4 v.l. (CE *rāmāt priyatarah*)².

Here belongs the ablative of the ‘whole out of which’³:

jyeṣṭhaṃ putraśatāt putram ‘The eldest of one hundred sons’, Mbh 1,166.4⁴

yat krauñcamithunād ekam avadhīḥ ‘Since you killed one of this pair of cranes ...’, R 1,2.14.

rem. (a) The *ablativus (causae)* is sporadically also used to denote the agent of an action (i.e. instead of the instrumental): *durātmano vadho yatra kīcakasya vṛkodarāt* ‘... where the evil Kīcaka is slain by the Wolf-Belly’, Mbh 1,2.131 (no v.l. [!]), *tvatsakāsāc ca rāmāc ca bhīmasenāc ca mādḥava / arjunād vā mahābāho hantuṃ śakyo na veti vai* ‘He cannot be slain by you, nor by Rāma, Bhīmasena or Arjuna’, 2,167*.5-6 (no v.ll. [!])⁵; (b) In the ‘comparative’ and the causal functions the instrumental and the ablative can be used side by side: *tejasā yaśasā vīryād atyaricyata pāvakam*, R 1,491*.8 (✓ p. 355 n. 4), *praṇayād idam abruvam / na cākṣepān na pāṇḍityān na krodhān na vivakṣayā*, Mbh 5,75.1; (c) According to Pāṇ 2.3.11 the ablative (*ablativus pretii*) with *prati*⁶ is used to denote that for

¹ As often in Epic Sanskrit – but not only here – the superlative has definitely comparative value (see SUKTHANKAR 1930: 178). There might, however, be a slight difference in meaning: *priyatara-* ‘dearer’, *priyatama-* ‘very much dearer’ (see KULKARNI 1947: 74-75).

² It cannot be excluded that these are cases of *°tama-* for *°tara-*.

³ See WHITNEY § 292d, SPEYER (1886: 86 [§ 116 *rem.*]) and id. (1896: 16 [§ 56]). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHS § 20.55.

⁴ On the construction ‘superlative + ablative’ see above.

⁵ See KULKARNI (1946: 33) and – with Vedic examples – HETTRICH (1990: 83-92).

⁶ As far as I can see, the Epics do not know the *ablativus pretii* (without *prati*) but only have the *instrumentalis pretii*: ... *prādāt sūtaputrāya śakraḥ / śaktiṃ śreṣṭhām*

which something is exchanged. There is one Epic example for this construction: *ukṣānaṃ paktvā saha odanena asmāt kapotāt prati te nayantu* ‘Let them bring for you a bull having roasted it ... in exchange for this dove’, Mbh 3,App.21/5.79 (p. 1073)¹.

Sporadically *anu* and *yāvat* are construed with the ablative² (see SPEYER 1886: 120 / 123 [§ 164 rem. 2 / 169] and id. 1896: 26 [§ 90])³:

anu saṃvatsarāc chāpamokṣaṃ vai samavāpsyatha ‘You will be released from the curse after one year’, Mbh 1,93.36, *dhṛtarāṣṭrād anu ... viduraṃ pūjayitvā ...* ‘After Dhṛtarāṣṭra they paid honour to Vidura ...’, 14,70.6-7 *yah prācīṃ diśaṃ jigāya yāvat suryodayāt* ‘Who subjugated the East as far as the sunrise’, Mbh 1,90.12 (v.l. *sūryodayam*), *yāvat rāmasya darśanāt ...* until you should see Rāma’, R 1,48.16 v.l. (CE *darśanam*).

rem. (a) As a result of what seems a ‘double’ construction (‘frightened from all directions’ x ‘fled into all directions’) the ablative is once used (seemingly) as an accusative of goal: *vidravanti bhayād bhūtā nānādigbhyaḥ sahasraśaḥ* ‘Frightened of the danger, they fled by the thousands in all directions’, R 1,54.23 (v.l. *diśaḥ sarve* [!])⁴. And metrical exigency led to its use where we expect the dative and the genitive respectively: *ahaṃ bhīṣmavadhāt sṛṣṭo nūnaṃ dhātrā mahātmanā* ‘I was created ... to kill Bhīṣma’, Mbh 5,App.13.43, *raśmīr dinakarād iva* ‘Like a beam of the sun’, R 4.23.18 (Ct. *dinakarād iti pañcamī ṣaṣṭhyarthe*)⁵;

kuṇḍalābhyāṃ nimāya, Mbh 7,154.53 (~ *śaktiṃ śreṣṭhāṃ kuṇḍalābhyāṃ grhītām*, 1240*), *kuṇḍalābhyāṃ nimāyātha divyena kavacena ca*, 7,155.22, ... *śaktiṃ divyāṃ ... prāyacchad ... kuṇḍalābhyāṃ puraṃdaraḥ*, 8,5.65, *pakvenāmasya nimayaṃ na praśamsanti sādavaḥ / nimayet pakvam āmena*, 12,79.7 (see also MEENAKSHI 1983: 70).

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 130 [§ 180]) and GOTO (1999: 138).

² On Buddhist Sanskrit *yāvat* with ablative see BHSG § 7.48.

³ On (Epic) *anu* with genitive see (♣) p. 346.

⁴ See ROUSSEL (1910: 47).

⁵ See ROUSSEL (1910: 49 with n. 4).

(b) Most probably the ellipsis of a word meaning ‘loss’ explains the following construction: *dattvā tu dakṣiṇaṃ netraṃ prāṇebhyaḥ parirakṣitaḥ* ‘... he was spared his life’, R 5,850*.

10.3.6. The genitive¹

The genitive, whose basic function is the partitive one², is the adnominal case *per se*, qualifying the noun on which it depends (*genetivus adnominalis*)³. The governing noun may, however, suffer ellipsis:

svapuram śūrasenānām prayayau ‘He went [from the country] of the Śūrasenas to his own city’, Mbh 2,13.43⁴

duḥkhasyaitasya mahato dhārtarāṣṭrasya vai / avāpsyasi sukhaṃ rājan ‘But [after the end] of this great misery that was brought about by the Dhārtarāṣṭra you will attain happiness, o king’, Mbh 5,8.22

nāsya śakyam palāyitum ‘There is no escape [from the power] of this [law of time]’, Mbh 5,50.58.

¹ On the genitive in general see DELBRÜCK (1888: 151-164), WHITNEY § 294-300, SPEYER (1886: 81-101 [§ 109-132*]), id. (1898: 18-21 [§ 62-74]) and RENOUE § 222, on this case in Epic Sanskrit see SEN (1952/53: 311-319), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 411-413 [= *ET* p. 91-94]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 100-118).

² A somewhat peculiar use of the partitive genitive is R 3,53.25: *trayāṇām apī lokānām na taṃ paśyāmi śobhane / vikrameṇa nayed yas tvām ...* ‘In all three worlds, my beauty, I know no one strong enough to take you away ...’ (see BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 412 [= *ET* p. 93]).

Only germs of the *absolute genitive* are found in Vedic texts (see SPEYER 1886: 289 with n. 2 and OERTEL 1926: 101 / 142-144). In Epic Sanskrit, however, it is frequently used (see DE SAUSSURE 1881, SPEYER 1886: 286-289 [§ 369], id. 1896: 64 [§ 211-212], SEN 1952/53: 322, BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 413 [= *ET* p. 94] and MEENAKSHI 1983: 111-112).

³ See RENOUE § 222 (p. 302).

⁴ See crit. notes *ad loc.* and EDGERTON (1943/44: 5). On *verba separationis* with genitive in Vedic – a completely different construction than the above-quoted instance – see OERTEL., *Kl. Sch.* p. 774-814.

In this way – and probably also because of the fact that outside the *a*-declension the genitive and the ablative sg. are identical in form – the genitive is frequently used as a true alternative to the ablative¹, especially in construction with comparatives and comparative-like words²:

paraḥ kālāt paro yajñāt paraḥ sadasatoś ca yaḥ / anādir ādir viśvasya tasmai viśvātmane namaḥ ‘... which is beyond time, beyond sacrifice and beyond the existent and the non-existent’, Mbh 12,47.47 (v.l. *sadasataś*)
nāsti dhanyataro mama ‘There is no one more fortunate than I’, R 1,46.22 (v.l. *mayā*) = 3,1274*.8 v.l. (CE *mayā*³)
mama priyataro nityaṃ bhrātā rāmasya lakṣmaṇaḥ ‘Rāma’s brother Lakṣmaṇa was always dearer [to him] than I’, R 5,36.48 v.l. (CE *mattaḥ*)
iṣvastre ’pyadhiko rājñaḥ kārtavīryasya lakṣmaṇaḥ ‘In archery Lakṣmaṇa even surpasses king Kārtavīrya’, R 6,39.20 v.l. (CE *iṣvastreṣv adhikas tasmāt kārtavīryāc ca lakṣmaṇaḥ*)
anyo jīvaḥ śarīrasya ‘The soul is different from the body’, Mbh 12,211.27
puruṣasya ca yaḥ paraḥ ‘And who is higher than the soul’, Mbh 13,73*.6.

It is possible to assume ellipsis for a great number of genitive constructions (e.g. ‘to fear [the wrath] of someone’). Decisive for this usage, however, seem to be derived nouns which took the genitive⁴:

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 93-96 [§ 125-128]) and id. (1896: 20-21 [§ 73-74]); cf. BHSG § 7,54-59. According to MEENAKSHI (1991), it is solely the epic ‘ablative-genitive’ which is not covered by Pāṇini’s rules.

² On the *genitivus comparationis* see WHITNEY § 292c, SPEYER (1886: 80 [§ 107 rem.]), id. (1896: 21 [§ 73]), HOPKINS (1901: 473), id. (1902a: 131 n. 1), RENOU § 222 (p. 306), KULKARNI (1947: 74 / 83-84) and SEN (1952/53: 317). One of the few cases of this genitive in Vedic is given by OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 216.

³ On the *instrumentalis comparationis* see (♣) p. 323-324.

⁴ Cf. *bhayāt pravepe rāmasya*, R 2,134*.12, *kravyādānām ca sarveṣām mā bhūt putraka te bhayam*, 2,569*, ... *yasyā bhayād* ..., 2,51.27, *yasya devāḥ ... vidravanti*

(a) $\sqrt{bhī}^1$

vayaṃ tu yadi dāhasya bibhyataḥ pradravema hi ‘But if we were to run away from fear of being burned ...’, Mbh 1,134.23 (v.l. *yadi dāhād vai*)

bibhīmas tu vayaṃ tava ‘... but we are afraid of you’, Mbh 3,214.5

tasya bibhīma deva ‘We fear him, o god’, Mbh 5,16.30

yeṣāṃ bibhyati devatāḥ ‘... of whom the gods are afraid’, Mbh 5,100.6

kasya bibhyati devāś ca ‘Who is feared even by the gods?’, R 1,1.4 (v.l. *..kasmāc ca devatā api bibhyati*)

(... *katham tebhyo na bibhyase* [28])... *kuñjarāṇāṃ tarasvinām / katham ekā mahāraṇye na bibheṣi varānane* ‘How is it that you do not fear the ... elephants ...?’, R 3,44.29²

girimātraśarīrasya śitaśūladharasya me / nardatas tīkṣṇadaṃṣṭrasya bibhīyād vai purandaraḥ ‘[Even] Purandara will certainly be afraid of me ...’, R 6,51.40³

bhayād, 3,46.3.

¹ $\sqrt{bhī}$ is normally used with the ablative (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 110-111 and OERTEL 1926: 22-23). On $\sqrt{bhī}$ with genitive see SPEYER (1886: 94 [§ 126c]), SEN (1952/53: 313), LÜDERS (1954: 141 n. 4) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 108). Besides, this root is used with an accusative (see [✓] p. 318).

² Note that here we have an instance of ablatival and genitival construction side by side (see SPEYER 1886: 94 [§ 126c] and BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 411 [= ET p. 92]).

³ The verbal adjective *bhīta-* is also used in this way: *mahīkṣito dhārtarāṣṭrasya bhītāḥ*, Mbh 2,62.22, *yasya bhīto ...*, Mbh 8,5.77, R 5,21.16, *tayor bhīto na saṃśayah*, R 3,48.24, *aham apy asya bhītāsmi*, R 5,40.10.

(b) \sqrt{muc}^1

kva gatas tasya mokṣyase ‘Where do you want to go to free yourself from it?’, R 3,49.22 = 5,20.15

jīvaṃs tasya na mokṣyase ‘You cannot escape him alive’, R 3,54.8

na daivasya pramuñcanti sarvabhūtāni dehinaḥ ‘No being can escape its destiny ...’, R 3,62.11 (on this stanza see [↗] p. 294)

tathāpi me nādyā gato vimokṣyase ‘But even so you will not escape me now’, R 6,47.122 (v.l. *gato matto vimokṣyase*)

na mokṣyase rāvaṇa rāghavasya ‘Rāvaṇa, you will not escape Rāghava’, R 6,App.10.59

(c) $ud-\sqrt{vij}^2$

tvam apy udvijase yasya ‘Should I not fear him who ...’, Mbh 1,65.28

nodvignāḥ paracakrāṇām ‘They were not afraid of enemy-circles’, Mbh 5,82.17 (v.l. S [except G4] °*cakrebhyaḥ*)

gavām mūtrapurīśasya nodvijeta kadācana ‘One should never feel repelled by the excrements and the urine of cows’, Mbh 13,77.16

śatruḥ kas tasya nodvijet ‘Which foe would be frightened of him?’, R 5,35.16³

¹ \sqrt{muc} is normally used with the ablative (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 109). On this root with the genitive see SPEYER (1886: 94 n. 1), id. (1896: 21 [§ 73]), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 411 [= ET p. 92]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 109).

² See SEN (1952/53: 313) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 108).

³ It is, however, possible to construe *tasya* with *śatruḥ kas ...* and translate ‘Which of his foes ...?’.

(d) (*abhi-*)/*śaṅk*¹

pratyācakhyau ca śālvo 'pi cāritrasyābhiśaṅkitaḥ 'And also Śālva rejected [her], being suspicious of her conduct', Mbh 5,175.26

prathamabhayasya hi śaṅkitāḥ sma sarvāḥ 'All [his wives] fear their previous danger', R 4,34.23²

rem. Ellipsis might account also for other 'irregular' genitive constructions, such as *imā vai tava pānthasya pālayantu* 'These [goddesses] may protect you who are on the road', Mbh 3,149*³, or *kaccic chuśrūṣase pituḥ* 'Do you obey your father?', R 2,2134*.4 v.l. (CE *pītarām*)⁴.

(Presumably) out of the collocation of multiplicative adverb and genitive (e.g. *triḥ ... āhnaḥ* 'three times a day', RV 10.95.5 [cf. Pāṇ 2.3.64])⁵ a *genitivus temporis* developed in Epic Sanskrit, which is used to denote the time *after*⁶ which something takes place (i.e. instead of the *ablativus temporis*)⁷:

katipayāhasya 'After some days', Mbh 1,8.14, 43.13, 3,157.14, 14,70.10

¹ See MEENAKSHI (1983: 109).

² See ROUSSEL (1910: 49).

³ *pālay*^o is normally used with the accusative.

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 94 [§ 126c]).

⁵ See WHITNEY § 300a and DELBRÜCK (1888: 164).

⁶ At Mbh 2,33.24 the genitive expresses, however, the period of time *before* which something happened: *ta ime kālapūgasya mahato 'smān upāgatāḥ* 'Quite some time ago these [kings] came to us'.

⁷ See SPEYER (1886: 95 [§ 128]), id. (1896: 21 [§ 74]), WHITNEY § 300a, HOPKINS (1903: 2-4), id. (1930: 1-4), RENOUE § 222 (p. 308), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 411 [= ET p. 92]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 109).

*atha dīrghasya kālasya devayānī nr̥pottama vanaṃ tad eva niryātā krīḍār-
thaṃ varavarṇinī* ‘Then, after a long time, ... beautiful Devayānī went out
to that same wood to play’, Mbh 1,76.1

kālasya nātimahataḥ punaḥ śakreṇa pātitaḥ ‘After not too long a time he
was again cast out by Śakra’, Mbh 1,81.3

mumoca bāṣpaṃ dāśeyī putraṃ dṛṣṭvā cirasya tam ‘The fisher woman wept
when she saw her son after so long a time’, Mbh 1,99.23 (cf. 1,139.5)

kasyacit tv atha kālasya ‘Then after some time ...’, Mbh 1,123.68

sā cirasyātmajaṃ dṛṣṭvā ‘When she saw her son after such a long time ...’,
R 2,17.9

sudīrghasya tu kālasya rāghavo 'yaṃ ... yajñam draṣṭuṃ samāgataḥ ‘After
a very long time Rāghava arrived ... to observe a sacrifice’, R 2,110.43¹.

Many (ad)verbs and adjectives are construed with the genitive because of the
syncretism of this case and the dative. Instances of this phenomenon are met
with already in Vedic texts (see SPEYER 1896: 20 [§ 72]). Below are listed
those which are accompanied by a genitive² first in the Epics³:

(a) *abhyasūy*^o

nidrāyāś cābhyasūyāmi ‘I blame my sleep’, Mbh 3,281.89

subhage nābhyasūyāmi vākyaśyāsya tavānaghe ‘I am not indignant at your
words ...’, Mbh 14,20.5 (v.l. *vākyaṃ etat tavānaghe*)

¹ A lot of examples can be found with the help of the pāda indexes s.vv. *atha dīrghasya
kālasya, kasyacit tv atha kālasya* and *tataḥ katipayāhasya*.

² On the regular dative construction of the cited roots see DELBRÜCK (1888: 141-143).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 60-61 / 95 / 98-99 / 101 [§ 82-83 / 127 / 131 / 132.8]) and id.
(1896: 20 [§ 72]).

(b) \sqrt{kup} (see [➤] p. 352)

nṛpatis takṣakasya cukopa ha ‘The king was angry with Takṣaka’, Mbh 1,3.193 (v.l. *takṣakāya*)

nāhaṃ kupyē sūtaputrasya ‘I am not angry with a *sūta*’s son’, Mbh 2,63.7

kupitās tava ... brāhmaṇā ... ‘Brahmins are angry with you ...’, Mbh 3,110.24

bhartuḥ kupyanti ... ‘They are angry with their master(s) ...’, R 2,94.27

cukopa bāṇābhihato rākṣasasya mahākapiḥ ‘The great monkey, struck by arrows, got angry with the Rākṣasa’, R 5,42.9

vidheyānāṃ ca dāsīnāṃ kaḥ kupyed vānarottama ‘Who would be angry with women who are dependent on [a monarch] ...?’, R 6,101.30

(c) \sqrt{krudh} ¹

cukrodha so ’suras tasya brāhmaṇasya ... ‘The Asura was angry with this brahmin ...’, Mbh 3.94.6

so ’bhikrudhyati bhṛtyānām ‘He gets angry with his dependents’, Mbh 5,70.31

mama ... na kroddhum arhasi ‘You should not be angry with me ...’, Mbh 5,158.2

kruddhaḥ ... phālgunasya ... ‘Angry with Phalgunā ...’, Mbh 8,68.1

samudrasya tataḥ kruddho rāmo raktāntalocanaḥ ‘Then Rāma ... got angry with the ocean’, R 6,14.3 (v.l. *samudrāya* [cf. Cr.m.t *samudrasya samudrāya*])

sa piṭṛvyasya saṃkruddho ‘Very angry with his paternal uncle ...’, R 6,78.13 (v.l. *piṭṛvyāya*)

(d) $\sqrt{kṣam}$

kṣama vā yadi te śraddhā mā vā kṣṇa mama kṣama ‘Forgive me, if you have that much faith, or do not, Kṣṇa!’, Mbh 2,42.20

¹ See SEN (1952/53: 315) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 105).

vayaṃ kasya kṣamemahai ‘Whom should we forgive?’, Mbh 12,8.13
pāpīyasaḥ kṣametaiva śreyasaḥ sadṛśasya ca ‘One should forgive one who is lower or higher [than oneself] or who is on a par [with oneself]’, Mbh 12,288.18
dehadharmaṃ gatasya ... rāmaḥ kṣantum ihārhati ‘Rāma should forgive [Sugrīva] ..., who is only following his bodily nature’, R 4,34.9

(e) $\sqrt{\text{druh}}^1$

mahiṣāḥ śṛṅgiṇo raudrā na te druhyantu putraka ‘My son! May the ferocious horned buffalos not harm you’, R 2,22.7
ko ... jyeṣṭhasya bhrātur ... druhyed ... ‘Who would harm his eldest brother ...?’, R 2,1993*.3-4
kathaṃ druhyasi putrasya pitṛvyo mama rākṣasa ‘Why do you seek to harm his son, you who are my paternal uncle, o Rākṣasa?’, R 6,74.11 (v.l. *putrāya* [cf. Cm. *putrasya putrāya*])

(f) *anu-* $\sqrt{\text{vrt}}$

tvam apy asyānuvartase ‘You also obey him’, Mbh 5,86.20

(g) $\sqrt{\text{sprh}}^2$

sprhayāmy adya nirvedāt puruṣāṅām sacakṣuṣām ‘Today, in despair, I envy people who can see’, Mbh 1,124.6
na kasyacit sprhayate ‘He does not desire anything’, Mbh 14,19.5 (v.l. *na saṃsprhayate kiṃcit*³)

¹ See SEN (1952/53: 315) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 105).

² $\sqrt{\text{sprh}}$ is normally used with the dative, as recorded by Pāṇ 1.4.36 (cf. *na daivatebhyah sprhayanti kṛṣṇe*, Mbh 3,180.25, *nāyodhyāyai na rājyāya sprhaye 'dya tvayā saha*, R 2,89.17). On the epic construction see KULKARNI (1946: 3), SEN (1952/53: 315) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 105).

³ On $\sqrt{\text{sprh}}$ with the accusative see SPEYER (1886: 66 [§ 89]).

na ... spr̥hayet tasya vai punaḥ ‘He does not desire it again’, Mbh 14,46.23
na cāsyārāṇyavāsasya spr̥hayiṣyasi ‘You will never long for this life in the wilderness’, R 3,45.26
vanecarāṇām ... spr̥hayate purā ‘She used to love ... the creatures of the forest’, R 5,12.47

(h) *√svad*

na vai teṣāṃ svadate pathyam uktam ‘To them apt advice is not palatable’, Mbh 5,36.55

(i) *alam*¹

alam sa teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ ‘He is a match of them all’, Mbh 3,84.14,
dharmārthayor alam cāham ‘I am as capable of Law as of Profit’, 5,31.23²

(j) *paryāpta*-³

tava naikasya paryāpto rāvaṇaḥ sagaṇo yudhi ‘Rāvaṇa with [all] his hordes was no match in battle for you alone’, Mbh 3,149.16, *rāmasya ... na paryāptau ...* ‘Both are no match for Rāma ...’, R 1,18.12, *rāmān nānyad balaṃ loke paryāptaṃ tasya rākṣasaḥ* ‘No other power than that of Rāma is enough [to defeat] this Rākṣasa’, 3,36.7

¹ *alam* and the following words are normally used with the dative (see SPEYER 1886: 62-63 [§ 85], DELBRÜCK 1888: 147 and MEENAKSHI 1983: 81-82). On their construction with the infinitive see MEENAKSHI (1983: 193-195).

² *alam* with genitive is (at least) once met with in Vedic, viz. at PB XVIII 5,9 (see PW V 1054 and CALAND, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa – The Brāhmaṇa of Twenty Five Chapters*. Calcutta 1931, p. XXVII).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 63 [§ 85 rem.]).

(k) śakta¹

śakto 'haṃ rākṣasasya 'I am up to this Rākṣasa', Mbh 3,154.43, *śakto 'haṃ sarvabhūtānām* 'I am up to all beings', R 3,401*.²

(l) svasti³

api svasti bhavet tāta sarveṣāṃ bhuvī rakṣasām 'Good luck for all the rākṣasas on earth!', R 3,35.4.

The genitive is used with a number of prepositions and interjections which are construed with the accusative in Vedic and 'Pāṇinian' Sanskrit⁴:

(a) anu⁵

tasyānu 'After him ...', Mbh 3,76.2, 5,7.7, *anu tasya* ... 'After him ...', 3,163.19, 7,63.28, *anu vālisutasyāpi* ... 'Also after the son of Vālin ...', R 6,352*.⁷

(b) antareṇa⁶

saṃcodayan nahuṣasyāntareṇa 'Urging [them] away from Nahuṣa', Mbh 5,16.29 (v.l. *nahuṣaṃ [ca]*)

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 63 [§ 85 rem.]).

² That *hita-* can be used with dative and genitive is taught by Pāṇ 2.3.73. An Epic example of both constructions in one stanza is R 3,34.22: *hitam ca tasmāi hitam ātmanas ca* 'For [Rāvaṇa's] good and his own' (see SPEYER 1886: 60 [§ 83.1] and BROCKINGTON 1969/70b: 412 [= ET p. 92]).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 61 [§ 83.3]).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 119 / 121 / 134 / 327 [§ 164 / 166 / 186 / 417]), id. (1896: 24-25 / 72 [§ 87 / 90 / 235]) and DELBRÜCK (1888: 183-184 / 444-445).

⁵ See SEN (1952/53: 319). On (Epic) *anu* with ablative see (↗) p. 336.

⁶ Also in Pāli the genitive can be used with *antarena* (see CPD s.v.).

(c) *abhiṭaḥ*¹

niṣasādābhitas tasya viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ ‘He sat down at the side of wise Viśvāmitra’, R 1,30.20 v.l. (CE *agrato niṣasādātha viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ*), *paśyatām abhitas tatra* ‘At the side of those who watched [him]’, 1,1229*

(d) *uttareṇa*²

uttareṇāsya gantavyam ‘You must head north of this [place]’, R 3,12.21, *na kathaṃcana gantavyaṃ kurūṇām uttareṇa vaḥ* ‘By no means are you to go north of the Kurus’, 4,42.57

(e) *dhik*³

dhig astu mama vārṣṇeya ‘Fie upon me, o Vārṣṇeya!’, Mbh 7,122.26, 134.73, *strīṇām dhig astu ...* ‘Fie upon women!’, R 2,App.13.19, *dhig astu mama vīryasya* ‘Fie upon my strength!’, 6,47.63 v.l. (CE *dhig astu mama vīryaṃ tu*).

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 134 [§ 186 rem. 1]) and SEN (1952/53: 318). On *abhito* with genitive in Pāli see CPD s.v.

² See SPEYER (1886: 72 [§ 98c rem. 1]). On *uttarena* with genitive in Pāli see CPD s.v. *uttara*, 2c.

³ See SPEYER (1886: 327 [§ 417 rem. 1]), CHATTERJI (1950: 27) and SEN (1952/53: 319).

10.3.7. The locative¹

The basic function of the locative – in construction with nouns as well as with verbs² – is to fix facts spatially (see GARCÍA-RAMÓN 1995: 34). In certain cases it thus assumed a ‘datival’ tinge: *ácittī yác cakṛmā dáivye jáne* ‘What we have done ... to(wards) the gods’, RV 4.54.3. Though this *locativus dativalis* is met with in Vedic Sanskrit³, it is only in the Epics that it became exchangeable with the dative and the ‘datival’ genitive:

nāma cakrur mahākhage ‘They gave a name to the great bird’, Mbh 1,343*.2⁴

vikrīṇāti yudhiṣṭhīre ‘He sells for Yudhiṣṭhira’, Mbh 4,12.6

śiśupālas tu tāṃ pūjāṃ vāsudeve na cakṣame ‘Śiśupāla, however, refused to consent to the honour paid to Vāsudeva’, Mbh 2,33.31

rukmiṇyām asya mūḍhasya prārthanāsīt ‘This fool [once] had a longing for Rukmiṇī’, Mbh 2,42.15.

Especially the locative of verbal nouns in *°ana-* is used instead of a *dativus finalis* (or its substitute)⁵:

¹ On the locative in general see DELBRÜCK (1888: 115-122), WHITNEY § 301-304, SPEYER (1886: 102-113 [§ 133-149]), id. (1898: 21-23 [§ 75-81]) and RENOÙ § 223, on this case in Epic Sanskrit see SEN (1952/53: 319-323), BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 413-414 [= ET p. 94-95]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 118-135).

² See DELBRÜCK (1888: 120) and SPEYER (1896: 22 [§ 78]).

³ See WHITNEY § 303a and OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 943-972.

⁴ Cf. *sāvitrīty eva nāmāsyās cakruḥ* ..., Mbh 3,277.24, *tato 'sya brāhmaṇās cakrur nāmaitat satyavān iti*, 3,278.12 (see also OERTEL 1926: 107 [§ 48 ex. 35 rem.] and id., *Kl. Sch.* p. 1046).

⁵ See SPEYER (1886: 110-111 [§ 146]), id. (1896: 23 [§ 81bβ]), RENOÙ § 223c, BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 413-414 [= ET p. 95]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 131-132). A lot of examples will be found in LUDWIG (1896: 12 [“-e als dat. si.”] / 13 [“-e gen. sg.”]).

- kālaṃ manye palāyane* ‘I think the time has come to escape’, Mbh 1,136.3¹
yadi te śravaṇe buddhir vartate ‘If you have a mind to hear it ...’, Mbh 2,6.12²
yadi te śravaṇe matiḥ ‘If you have a mind to hear it ...’, Mbh 2,46.5³
tam uvāca tato rājā tvarito gamane tadā ‘The king, who was then in a hurry to go, replied to him’, Mbh 3,70.23
na darśane tiṣṭhati rūpam asya ‘His form is not to be seen’, Mbh 5,45.17
na me prayojanaṃ kiṃcid gamane ... ‘I really have no reason at all to go ...’, Mbh 5,110.15⁴
na ca me pravaṇā buddhiḥ parapuṇyavināśane ‘My mind is not inclined to destroy the merits of others’, Mbh 5,119.19⁵

Beside the dative and the locative of the *ṛana*-noun, its accusative depending on *prati* is used as infinitive: ... *taṃ sā yācate gamanaṃ prati* ‘She begged him [to be allowed] to go’, R 2,26.20.

- ¹ Cf. Mbh 2,18.1: *jarāsandhasya nidhane kālo ’yaṃ samupāgataḥ*.
- ² Constructions with infinitive and with dative or accusative of *nomina agentis* are also to be found (see PW s.v. *buddhi* [V 100, line 9ff. from below]).
- ³ Constructions with infinitive, dative and accusative are also to be found (see PW s.v. *mati* [V 454, line 8ff. from the bottom]).
- ⁴ *prayojana-* is used with the instrumental (*bheṣajaiḥ kiṃ prayojanam*, Mbh 12,137.52) and with the locative (*aṭane ca prayojanam*, Mbh 3,89.3, *prayojanam upakrame*, 3,96.8, *jīvite ... prayojanam*, 6,73.26, *āgamane ... prayojanam*, 8,65.22, *jīvite ’sti prayojanam*, R 4,App.1.7). See OBERLIES (1997: 5-6).
 Cf. *nirāśaḥ sarvakalyāṇaiḥ*, Mbh 10,12.10, ~ *nirāśā jīvite ’bhavan*, Mbh 5,48.47, R 6,82.25, *nirāśo gurudarśane*, Mbh 13,18.40 (once *nirāśa-* is construed with a dative: *nirāśe putralābhāya*, Mbh 2,16.44 [v.l. *putralābhena*]). See OBERLIES (1997: 4 n. 8).
- ⁵ *pravaṇa-* is also used with the dative and with the infinitive (see PW s.v. [IV 1067, line 3ff. from the bottom]).

- ayodhyāṃ pālāne vraja* ‘Go to protect Ayodhyā’, R 2,98.63¹
... aśaktās tasya tolāne ‘Unable to lift this [bow] ...’, R 2,110.42
bhavān api ... śaktāś ca parirakṣaṇe ‘You are capable of protecting her’, R 3,12.20
aprabhur laṅghane ’bhavat ‘He was unable to jump’, R 6,47.105²
kāryaṃ kiṃ cāsmadāgame ‘For what purpose have you come to us?’, Mbh 2,19.43
cakre matiṃ vadhe ‘He decided to kill [him]’, Mbh 2,21.22³
iti sma bhāṣate kāvyo jambhatyāge mahāsurān ‘So spoke Kāvya to the great Asuras so that they would abandon Jambha’, Mbh 2,55.11
tatra vṛtravadhe yatnaṃ akurvaṃs tridaśāḥ purā ‘Then the Thirty Gods plotted to kill Vṛtra’, Mbh 3,98.5
vadhe cāsya mano dadhe ‘He made up his mind to kill him’, R 6,96.17⁴.

In construction with various verbs the locative also takes the place of the dative/genitive (see SPEYER 1888: 110 [§ 145]):

(1) *verba dicendi*⁵

(a) *kathay* °

kathayām āsa daiteyaḥ pāṇduputreṣu ‘The Daitya [Maya] told the sons of Pāṇḍu ...’, Mbh 2,1.15

¹ On the verbal rection of *nomina actionis* in °ana- see (♣) p. 315-316.

² On *prabhu-* with locative see also below.

³ Cf. R 3,62.19: *yatasva dviṣatāṃ vadhe*.

⁴ Cf. *gamanāya mano dadhe*, Mbh 3,91.16.

⁵ *Verba dicendi* are regularly used either with the accusative or with the dative of the person (to) whom something is said (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 141). On the construction of these verbs in the Epics see SEN (1952/53: 320-321) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 130-131).

sarvam eva yathātattvaṃ kathayām āsa bhārgave ‘And she told the Bhārgava everything as it had happened’, Mbh 5,176.30

(b) √*brū*

mṛḍu duryodhane vākyaṃ yo brūyāt pāpacetasi ‘He who talks gently to the ill-minded Duryodhana ...’, Mbh 5,4.5

(c) √*vac*

doṣaṃ vakṣanti pāvake ‘They will tell the fault [of the wives] to the fire’, Mbh 3,214.8

tvayi vakṣyāmi na tv aham ‘I shall not speak to you’, R 3,28.23 (v.l. *tava*)

viśeṣeṇa tu sugrīvo hanumaty artham uktavān ‘Sugrīva stated his purpose to Hanumān in particular’, R 4,43.1 (v.l. *hanūmantam uvāca ha*)

hanūman mama vṛttāntaṃ vaktum arhasi rāghave ‘Hanumān, please relate my tale to Rāghava’, R 5,56.87 (v.l. *rāmāyākhyātum arhasi*)

(d) √*vad*

tvam apy evaṃ nale¹ vada ‘Speak thus also to Nala!’, Mbh 3,50.30 v.l. (CE *tam apy evaṃ nalaṃ vada*)

na vai tvayy anṛtaṃ vade ‘I shall not tell you a lie’, Mbh 5,144.18

(e) (ni)*veday*^o

nyavedayaṃs tataḥ sarvam akhilena pitāmahe ‘They then told it all in full to the Grandfather’, Mbh 1,203.7

dhṛtarāṣṭre nivedaya ‘Speak to Dhṛtarāṣṭra’, Mbh 2,43.36

nale sarvaṃ nyavedayat ‘[The goose] told Nala everything’, Mbh 3,50.31

samīpasthās tadā gāvo dhṛtarāṣṭre nyavedayat ‘He informed Dhṛtarāṣṭra about the cattle in the vicinity’, Mbh 3,228.2

arghyaṃ pādyaṃ tathātithyaṃ nivedya kuśikātmaje ‘They announced to Viśvāmitra the welcome offering’, R 1,22.18

tāṃ kathāṃ kauśiko rāme nivedya madhurākṣarām ‘Then Kauśika told Rāma this ... story’, R 1,37.1

¹ Perhaps this is simply a scribal error (-e ~ -am).

sītāyā bhāṣitam sarvaṃ nyavedayata rāghave ‘He told Rāghava all that Sītā had said’, R 5,65.1

nyavedayan bhartari yuddhakāṅkṣiṇi ‘They informed the king ...’, R 6,23.42

(f) *udā/vyā-√hr̥*

na tv idaṃ keṣucid ... vyāhartavyaṃ ... ‘You should tell this to anyone’, Mbh 1,149.17

yathodāhṛtam etad te mayi nāma ... ‘... as was pointed out to me’, Mbh 13,95.26 = 30 (v.1. *mama*)

(2) *√kup¹* (see [↗] p. 343)

avadhyeṣu na kupyati ‘He is not angry at those who are not to be violated’, R 2,55*.8

(3) *darśay²*

... dharmarāje yudhiṣṭhira ... mayam darśayām āsatuḥ ‘They presented Maya to Yudhiṣṭhira ...’, Mbh 2,1.13

(4) *√dā³*

prādād ... śatāny anaḍuhāṃ pañca dvijamukhyeṣu ‘He gave ... five hundred bullocks to the principal brahmins’, Mbh 2,49.20

dadāty amitreṣv api yācitaḥ ‘If asked he gives even to his foes’, Mbh 5,33.99

¹ See SEN (1952/53: 320) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 124).

² The causative *darśay^o* is usually used either with dative/genitive or with (double) accusative (see SPEYER 1886: 38 [§ 51] / 59 [§ 81]).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 110 [§ 145]), KULKARNI (1946: 2-3), SEN (1952/53: 320) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 129). The *locativus personae* with *√dā* is unknown to Vedic Sanskrit (see OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 944). This root is used only with the dative or with the (‘datival’) genitive of the person to whom something is given (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 140 / 162).

dattā rājñā dvijātiṣu ‘The king gave [them] to the brahmins’, Mbh 5,117.7
dadanti vasudhām sphītām ye vedaviduṣi dvije ‘... who give the prosperous earth to a twice-born who knows the *vedas*’, Mbh 13,61.43

rājyaṃ paridadau sarvaṃ vaiśyaputre yudhiṣṭhiraḥ ‘Yudhiṣṭhira gave the whole kingdom to a Vaiśya’, Mbh 17,1.6

tathā hy alarkas tejasvī brāhmaṇe vedapārage / yācamāne svake netre uddhṛtyāvimanā dadau ‘In the same way mighty Alarka gave his eyes to a brahmin versed in the *vedas* who begged him’, R 2,12.5¹

yas tvam jyeṣṭhe nrpasute pṛthivīm dātum icchasi ‘... you who are willing to give the eldest prince the earth’, R 2,73.15 (v.l. *yas tvam bhrātre śriyaṃ dātum jyeṣṭhāyecchasi rāghava*)

(5) *√druh* (see [♣] p. 318)

mitre druhyeta so tyartham ‘His intention is to harm his friend greatly’, R 2,1793*.2²

(6) *namas-√kṛ*³

namaskṛtvā ca bandhuṣu ‘She honoured her relatives ...’, Mbh 5,118.6

(7) (*sam[ā]/prati*)-*√śru* ‘to promise’⁴

kariṣya iti saṃśrutya pūrvam asmāsu naiṣadha ‘Formerly you promised us that you would do it, Naiṣadha’, Mbh 3,52.8

mātāmahe samāśrauṣīd rājyaśulkam ... ‘He made a bride-price pledge to your maternal grandfather – the kingdom ...’, R 2,99.3 (v.l. *mātāmahāya te prādāt*)

¹ Cf. R 1,67.16: *saṃpradānaṃ sutāyās tu rāghave kartum icchati*.

² Cf. *vanitāsu dveṣṭā* ‘... hating women’, Mbh 5,43.11 (v.l. *vanitām ca*).

³ *namas-√kṛ* is usually used with the dative or the accusative.

⁴ *samā/śru* and *prati/śru* are usually used with the dative (see Pāṇ 1.4.40).

brāhmaneṣu pratiśrutam ‘It was promised to the brahmins’, Mbh 5,177.12¹

(8) *upā-√hr*

atha gāṃ madhuparkaṃ cāpy udakaṃ ca janārdane / upājahrur ... ‘They offered the cow, the *madhuparka* and water to Janārdana’, Mbh 5,87.19
api rāme ... mama mātā ... / vanyair upāharat pūjāṃ pūjārhe sarvadehinām
 ‘Did my mother ... do homage ... to Rāma ...?’, R 1,50.5 (~ 1,1045*: ...
rāmāya me mātā pūjārḥāya ... / pūjāṃ kṛtavatī ...)²

Because of the vagueness of its ‘with-regard-to’-meaning the locative can be found in quite different syntactical constructions with a great number of (a) nouns and (b) some verbs³:

(a) *mahādhanuṣi jijñāsām* ‘desire to know [how to use] the great bow’, R 1,49.24, *klībe dārakriyā yādṛg andhe vā rūpadarśanam / arājñō rājavatpūjā tathā te madhusūdana* ‘As is a marriage to a eunuch, as is a show to a blind man, so is this royal honour to you, Madhusūdana, who are no king!’, Mbh 2,34.21⁴, *śuśrūṣāṃ paricaryāṃ ca jyeṣṭhe varṇe prayatnataḥ / kuryād ...* ‘He

¹ *prati-√jñā* is also used with the locative of the person: *sahasrākṣe pratijñāya*, R 1,74.7.

² *prati-pāday*^o may also be used with the locative: *ṛcīke pratipādītā* “[My sister Satyavatī] was given to Ṛcīka”, R 1,33.7.

³ What follows is only a small sample (for a fuller account see MEENAKSKI 1983: 122-132 and SPEYER 1886: 112 [§ 148]). On the construction of words meaning ‘similar, equal (in); capable (of), fit (for)’ see SPEYER (1886: 108 [§ 141]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 132-133).

⁴ Vedic examples for the parallelism of genitive and locative are recorded by OERTEL, *Kl. Sch.* p. 852-853.

In a passage in rather corrupt Sanskrit the locative may even be used as a virtual genitive: ... *ācakṣva ... babhrave viśvamāyāya mahābhāgyaṃ ca tattvataḥ / surāsuragurau deve śaṅkare vyaktayonaye* ‘Tell [me] ...the excellence of ... Śaṅkara, the god, who is the preceptor of gods and demons, who is the origin of the *avyakta*’, Mbh 13,14.1 /

should obey and serve the best *varṇa* as well as he can', Mbh 13,131.27¹, *dhruvaṃ mayi na te snehaḥ* 'Surely you do not love me', Mbh 1,224.11², *parīkṣāṃ kuru bāhuke* 'Make inquiries about Bāhuka', Mbh 3,73.2, *vyetu te bhīr dhanamjaye* 'Your fear of Dhanamjaya should cease!', Mbh 7,86.31³, *strīṣu rājasu ... viśvāsaṃ kaḥ prājñāḥ kartum arhati* 'What wise man can be confident about women [and] kings ...?', Mbh 5,37.53, *tvayy asya mahatī śaṅkā* 'He will mistrust you completely', Mbh 5,90.18, *śuśrūṣā ca dvijātiṣu* 'Obedience to the twice-born', Mbh 13,128.56, *adhyardhagaṇam ... bale śaurye ...* 'One and a half times [more excellent] with regard to strength and courage ...', Mbh 11,20.1, *yasya nāsti samo loke śaurye vīrye ca* '... similar with regard to courage and valour', Mbh 11,23.14, *na saubhāgye na dākṣiṇye ... samo loke tavānagha* 'In grace, in skill ... you have no equal in this world, blameless man', R 1,21.13, *yamaśakrasamo vīrye bṛhaspatisamo matau* 'In might he matches Yama and Śakra, in wisdom Bṛhaspati', R 2,1.32, *samudra iva gāmbhīrye dhairye ca himavān iva / viṣṇunā sadṛśo vīrye kṣamayā pṛthivīsamah / dhanadena samas tyāge satye dharma ivāparaḥ* 'In depth⁴ like the ocean, in firmness like the Himavant , ... ', R

73*,1 (see HOLTZMANN 1884: 8 and HOPKINS 1893: 3 n. 1). On the genitival use of the dative in this passage see (♣) p. 332.

¹ It is possible that at R 1,45.9 (*tapas tasyāṃ hi kurvantyāṃ paricaryāṃ cakāra ha*) the locatives form a *locativus absolutus*: 'While she was practising these austerities he served her' (on *kurvantī-* see [♣] 9.1).

² Cf. *bhartuḥ snehād ...*, Mbh 3,281.21.

³ Cf. Divyāvadāna 411,24: *utpātane 'ham na bibhemi ...*

⁴ The point of comparison can be expressed not only by a locative (see MEENAKSHI 1983: 132-133) but also by an ablative (cf. *gāmbhīryāt sāgaropamaḥ*, R 2,31.6) or by an instrumental (*buddhyā samo yasya naro na vidyate*, Mbh 3,254.17), and sometimes these cases are used side by side: *tejasā yaśasā vīryād atyaricyata pāvakam*, R 1,491*.8, *dvau putrau vinatā vavre kadrūputrādhikau bale / ojasā tejasā caiva vikra-*

1,1.16cd-18ab, *prabhuh sūryaḥ prakāśitve* ‘The sun has the power to light’, Mbh 1,83.13¹

(b) *asmāsu manasāpy eṣa nāhitam kiṃcid ācaret* ‘Even in thought he would not do us any harm’, R 2,91.4 (cf. Mbh 3,95.12 v.l.), *rāmāyaṇasya śravaṇe tuṣyanti pitarah tathā* ‘And so the fathers were pleased with hearing the Rāmāyaṇa’, R 6,3709*.4².

With a few verbs, however, the locative construction was regularly used and enters into competition with the older construction³:

(a) *ṣaḍ ime ṣaṭsu jīvanti* ‘These six live off six others’, Mbh 5,33.71, *yasyāḥ prayatne jīvāmi* ‘By whose effort I live’, R 2,App.9.57

(b) *na ca tṛpto ’smi yauvane* ‘I am not yet sated with youth’, Mbh 1,79.2⁴, *nāṭṛpyad darśane teṣām* ‘He was not sated with looking at them’, 4,66.24,

meṇādhikau sutau, Mbh 1,14.8 (see SPEYER 1886: 54 [§ 73 rem. 1] / 77 [§ 103] and KULKARNI 1947: 85).

¹ Cf. also *mama snehāc ca ...*, R 3,9.20 (v.l. *mayi* [Cm. *mameti mayīti vibhaktivatyaya ārṣaḥ*]).

² On the ‘dative-likes locatives’ *śatrusainyeṣu* and *kakṣeṣu* of R 2,90.22 (... *krodham ... mokṣyāmi śatrusainyeṣu kakṣeṣv iva hutāśanam*) see SPEYER (1886: 110 [§ 145]) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 413 [= ET p. 94-95]).

³ In Vedic (a) *√jīv* construes with the instrumental of the thing on which one lives (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 133), (b) *√tṛp* either with the genitive or with the instrumental (see DELBRÜCK 1888: 133 / 159 and SPEYER 1896: 12 [§ 41b]), (c) with ²*√vr̥* the purpose a person or thing is chosen for may stand also in the accusative (see SPEYER 1896: 7 [§ 20a]), the dative (cf. Mbh 1,3.13: *tasya taṃ putram abhigamya janamejayaḥ pāriḥṣitaḥ paurohityāya vavre*) or the instrumental of an abstract noun (see p. 322), and (d) (*sam*)*ā-√hvā* ‘to challenge’ is construed with the double accusative (cf. *hāntainam brahmódyam āhváyāmahai*, ŚB 11,4.1.2 = 6.2.5) or with the dative / infinitive.

⁴ Cf. Mbh 1,78.37: *atṛpto yauvanasyāham*.

hanūmān rākṣasendrāṇām vadhe kiṃcin na tṛpyati ‘Hanumān is not at all sated with killing the lords of the *rākṣasas*’, R 5,52.13¹

(c) *rājatve taṃ vavrire* ‘They chose him for their king’, Mbh 1,89.42², *eṣām vṛṇiṣvaikatamaṃ patitve* ‘Choose one of them to be your husband’, 2,68.12, *teṣām anyatamaṃ devaṃ patitve varayasva ha* ‘Choose one of these gods for your husband’, 3,52.6, *varayām āsa caivainam patitve varavarṇini* ‘And thus the fair woman chose him for her husband’, 3,54.26, *ṛtuparṇena sārathye bhojane ca vṛtaḥ svayam* ‘I was was chosen personally by Ṛtuparṇa as charioteer and cook’, 3,72.12, ... *vṛṇiṣvānyatamaṃ ... asmākam ... patitve* ‘Choose one of us ... for your husband’, 3,123.18, *sāhaṃ vṛṇe pañca janān patitve ...* ‘I have chosen five men to be my husbands’, 3,250.5, *vṛṇotv iyaṃ varārohā bhartṛtve varavarṇini* ‘Let the fair-hipped and fair-complexioned woman choose him for her husband’, 5,12.13, *bhajasva māṃ varārohe patitve varavarṇini* ‘Love me as your husband’, 5,13.1³

(d) ... *dyūte samāhvayata pāṇḍavān* ‘He challenged the Pāṇḍavas to the game of dice’, Mbh 1,2.102, *kṛṣṇam āhvayatām adya yuddhe ...* ‘Let him now challenge Kṛṣṇa to a duel ...’, 2,41.33, *taṃ tvam dyūte samāhvaya* ‘Challenge him to a game of dice’, 2,44.19⁴.

¹ On the Epic construction see SPEYER (1886: 91 / 105 [§ 123 rem. 2, 136.1]), id. (1896: 19 [§ 68]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 122).

² This locative of *identity*, similar to the instrumental of identity (p. 321-322), is met with elsewhere: *yam abhyaśiñcan sāmṛājye rājasūye maharṣayah* ‘Whom the great Ṛṣis consecrated as king in a *rājasūya*’, Mbh 7,App.8.764, *śṛṇu tat karma sāhāyie yat kāryaṃ vacanān mama* ‘Listen and I shall tell you what you can do for me as my helper’, R 3,34.16.

³ On the Epic locative construction see SPEYER (1886: 111 [§ 146b]), RENOU § 223e and MEENAKSHI (1983: 132).

⁴ On the Epic locative construction see MEENAKSHI (1983: 127).

rem. Occasionally *ṛte* governs the locative: *ṛte 'pi tvayi* 'Even without you'; Mbh 1,69,27 (v.l. *tvām ṛte 'pi hi*¹).

¹ On this accusative construction see (↗) p. 319; on *ṛte* with instrumental see (↗) p. 327-328.

10.4. Excursus: Nominal composition

Case relations between nouns may also be expressed by compounds. In Epic Sanskrit nominal composition has in general a relatively simple pattern. But it too shows some divergences from the Pāṇinian rules. The most common 'irregularities' are 'transfer' of stem (↗ 3.1-21) and non-addition of *samāsānta* suffixes (see below). Furthermore, Epic Sanskrit knows some 'un-Pāṇinian' types of compounds¹, such as (a) split-compounds, (b) abbreviated compounds², (c) *na*-compounds³, (d) *mā*-compounds⁴, (e) compounds with participles as posterior members⁵ and (f) compounds with a 'superlative' as posterior member⁶ (on 'mahat-compounds' see [↗] 2.20 rem.):

(a) *kr̥te yuge* 'in the *kr̥tayuga*', Mbh 12,224.62 (cad. ॡ-ॡ-), *dvāpare yuge* 'in the *dvāparayuga*', Mbh 12,224.65 (cad. ॡ-ॡ-), (b) *dr̥ṣṭapūrvā na ca śrutā* '... not heard before' (← *śrutapūrvā*), Mbh 3,50.13 (cf. 2,45.22 v.l., 3,277.3, 8,35.51), *arka-* 'crystal' (← *arkopala-* 'sun-stone'), R 2,88.6, *puṣpa-* 'topaz' (← *puṣparāga-*), R 2,88.6 v.l. (CE *puṣya-*)⁷, *tala-* (← *talatra-*) 'fence worn by archers on the arm', Mbh 1,123.5, 7,15.36, 13,145.13, R 6,88.58, *godhā-*

¹ On nominal composition in the Epics see GUPTA (1938: 76-77), GOKHALE (1957), SATYA VRAT (1964: 201-202), SEN (1991/92) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 369-404 [= ET p. 41-84]). Cf. also SPEYER (1886: 145-178 [§ 204-232] / 1896: 32-35 [§ 105-114]).

² On these compounds see SPEYER (1886: 178 [§ 232]) – the example he adduces in fn. 2 is R 3,19.11-12 –, GONDA (1968) and AiGr. II,1 § 11cβ.

³ See PW s.v. *na* (p. 3 l. 16-25) – it records also *nakimcana-*, Mbh 5,4522, which CE 5,131.26, however, does not note –, AiGr. II,1 § 31b, KULKARNI (1943: 94-97) and DE (1947: 16).

⁴ See KULKARNI (1943: 94).

⁵ See AiGr. II,1 § 82b and BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 382 [= ET p. 57]).

⁶ See AiGr. II,1 § 95cα rem. and BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 382 [= ET p. 57]).

⁷ See GONDA (1968: 222).

(← *godhāṅgulitra-*) ‘fence worn by archers on the arm’, Mbh 7, App.12.1¹, (c) *nakāraṇam* ‘of no avail’, Mbh 12,283.13, *nagrhaḥ* ‘houseless’, Mbh 1,86.5 (♣ p. 14), *nagrāhyam* ‘not to be imitated’, Mbh 12,283.6, *nacirāt* ‘shortly’, Mbh 1,3.178, 5,11.21, 35.54, 101.24, 160.16, *nacireṇa* ‘before long’, Mbh 1,196.28, *nadīrghēṇa* ‘not [too] long’, Mbh 1,117.8, *napuṃsa-* ‘eunuch’, Mbh 13, App.6.36², *naliptāṅga-* ‘whose limbs are not anointed’, R 1,6.10 v.l. (CE *nānuliptāṅgaḥ*), *naśakya-* ‘unable’, Mbh 10,5.6³, *nasukaram* ‘not easy to be done’, Mbh 3,13.103 (v.l. *tv asukaram*), 8,4.84 (v.l. *cāsukaram*) = 14,58.16 (v.l. *tv asukaram*), *na-svasthā-* ‘unwell feeling’, Mbh 3,51.1.5⁴ (cf. *nodruma-*, Mbh 12,114.10)⁵, (d) *māciram*, Mbh 1,1.161, R 2,19.12, 3,504*.20⁶, *mācirāt*, Mbh 1,1976*, *mādīrgham*, Mbh 4,20.13, (e) *prāsakārmuka+bihradbhiḥ*, R 2,14.2, *brahma+bruvāṇa-*, Mbh 5,61.17, *gaṇeśāna-*, Mbh 1, App.1, insert. after l. 39⁷, (f) *rājasūye ... kratuśreṣṭhe*,

¹ See LÜDERS (1942: 39-40 [= *Kl. Sch.* p. 506-507]).

² On this compound see AiGr. II,1 § 49dβ and above (♣ p. 98).

³ See crit. notes *ad loc.*

⁴ Stanza 4 has *asvasthā-*.

⁵ Cf. *namuktivā*, Mbh 13,1.22 (*kā vā śāntiḥ prāpya śatrum namuktivā*).

A peculiar *a(n)*-compound is *a-tad-arhamāṇām* ‘who did not deserve it’, Mbh 2,60.47 (see AiGr. II,1 § 31c *rem.*).

⁶ These are the three instances quoted by the PW (s.v.) where *mā-ciram* is not accompanied by an imperative or an ‘injunctive’ (for which see PW, *l. c.*, and SEN 1991/92: 182).

⁷ The two examples of SEN (1991/92: 184) – *āpadāśaṅkamānena* and *apratimakurvāṇam* – are feebly attested variant readings at R 3,23.10 and 5,16.17. On compounded perfect participles – *°darsivān*, Mbh 1,54.18, 133.18, 146.15, and *apriyaśaṃsivān*, R 2,16.60 (♣ p. 268-269) – see BROCKINGTON (1998: 95).

Mbh 2,App.30.1, *naraśreṣṭha-*, Mbh 7,4.11, *dvijaśreṣṭha-*, R 1,10.8, *munisreṣṭha-*, R 1,19.22.

rem. Now and then also *su* and *dus-* are used as preverbs (see PW s.v. ⁶*su*, WHITNEY § 1121i and HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* III/831): *sv-anuyāsyanti*, Mbh 8,22.59 v.l. (CE *anuyāsyanti*), *sukurute*, Mbh 7,163.30 v.l. (CE *sa kurute*), *suceratuḥ*, R 6,App.18.46 v.l. (CE *saṃceratuḥ*), *su-dhāsyati*, Mbh 1,114.31, *su-virājate*, Mbh 4,60.4 v.l. (CE *abhivirājate*), *suśakyante*, R 2,30.4 v.l. (CE *sma śakyante*), *bhartāraṃ duś-caranti yāḥ*, R 2,109.26 v.l. (see AiGr. II,1 § 33a *rem.*).

Sometimes the members of compounds are arranged differently from what would be expected in Vedic or Pāṇinian usage¹:

(*bāhū*) *kiṇakṛtau* ‘with scars’, Mbh 4,58*, (*karābhyām*) *kiṇajātābhyām* ‘calloused’, 3,144.20, *pāṃsupādāvagunṭhitāḥ* ‘whose feet are covered with dust’, 3,App.21A.68², *asiśaktigadābhṛtau* ‘carrying their swords, javelins and clubs’, 4,31.21, *buddhivyākulitendriyam* ‘whose senses and *buddhi* are disturbed’, 9,62.54, *bāhuvyastaparigrahau* ‘which were to be grasped with arms spread wide’, R 1,13.18, *kāladaṇḍodyatam yamam* ‘Yama who uplifted the rod of death’, 7,22,36.

But it is not only *bahuvrīhis* that occasionally have such an inverted order of words³: *mṛga-svapna-bhayam* ‘fright of the deer [seen] in a dream’, Mbh

¹ See AiGr. II,1 § 116a and BROCKINGTON (1969/70b: 386 [= *ET* p. 62]).

² See AiGr. II,1 § 84cṛj.

³ Sometimes the word-order in *dvandvas* does not reflect the principle that the words with fewest syllables appear first (e.g. *bāhulya+bala-darpitaiḥ*, Mbh 2,20.18, *saṃvatsara+rtavaḥ*, Mbh 1,21.6); sometimes the word with initial vowel is put after the word with initial consonant (e.g. *kharoṣṭram*, Mbh 2,47.11). And *patiputrābhyām* at R 2,69.29 contravenes Pāṇ 2.2.31, where the order *putrapatī* is given.

Another un-Pāṇinian feature of *dvandvas* is that the neuter sg. ending is not added when words denoting the limbs of living beings are compounded (see AiGr. II,1 § 69bḍ

1,2.46¹, *vāraṇamatta(vikramah)* ‘(whose gait was like that of) an elephant in rut’, 4,10.2, *samānakravyādam* ‘like fire’, 8,67.18², *agnidāva-* ‘fire’, R 3,49.39 (~ *dāvāgni-*), *śaśāṅkodita-saumyavaktrā* ‘whose face was lovely like the risen moon’, 4,App.16.69, *navārkodita-tāmracakṣuḥ* ‘whose eyes were of a coppery colour like the risen Mars’, 6,47.17, *tulyaparvata(varcasi)* ‘(whose splendour is) like that of mount [Kailāsa]’, 7,26.2.

The most common irregularity of ‘Epic’ compounds³ is, however, the non-addition⁴ of *samāsānta*-suffixes⁵:

(instr.) *ekāhnā*, Mbh 3,14.9, 28.28, 69.2, R 1,36.29, 71.11

(acc.) *grhītadhanuṣam*, R 3,37.15, (instr.) *grhītadhanuṣā*, R 3,8.20, (gen.) *grhītadhanuṣaḥ*, R 6,2.16⁶

and SEN 1991/92: 182): *netra-vaktraiḥ*, R 5,20.11, *lāṅgūla-hastaiḥ*, R 5,12.19 (Ct. *ekatvābhāva āṛṣaḥ*). Furthermore, singular *dvandvas* with masculine or feminine endings are occasionally met with in the Epics (see AiGr. II,1 § 70): *nābhāgekṣvākum*, Mbh 1,70.13, *prītimudā*, Mbh 3,214.7, *mātāpitaram*, Mbh 13,107.67 (see also BHSG § 23.3).

¹ See SUKTHANKAR (1930: 186).

² See crit. notes *ad loc.*

³ On *sāpekṣa-* and ‘syntactical’ compounds see AiGr. II,1 § 12 / 35 / 123 (here as to *kāndiś-* ‘fugitive’, Mbh 12,163.4), GOKHALE (1957: 127-128) and SEN (1991/92: 183-184). For Buddhist Sanskrit see BHSG § 23.11.

⁴ Sometimes such a suffix is added where it is not required: *sukumārāṅgulaiḥ karaiḥ*, R 4,52.9 (cf. Ck. *samāsāntas chāndasaḥ*).

⁵ This feature, on which see AiGr. II,1 § 52ca *rem.*, GUPTA (1938: 76), GOKHALE (1957: 122-124), VANDAALEN (1980: 111) and SEN (1991/92: 180-182), is to be met with also in Middle Indo-Aryan (see OBERLIES 2001: 136 n. 7).

⁶ Sometimes the suffix *°in-* is added to *°dhanvan*-compounds (cf. AiGr. II,1 § 53a): *dr̥ḍhadhanvinam*, Mbh 3,40.11, *gāṇḍīvadhanvinam*, Mbh 4,48.3, *ugradhanvinām*, Mbh

(nom.) *apetadharmah*, Mbh 1,71.54, *tyaktadharmah*, R 3,34.11, *śrutadharmah*, Mbh 12,334.10, *viditadharmah*, Mbh 12,16.2¹
 (acc.) *dharmapanthānam*, R 4,56.8 v.l. = 5,49.6 v.l. (CE [both times] *dharmyaṃ panthānam*), (instr.) *satpathā*, R 7,71.10, *utpathi*, Mbh 5,86.20 (~ *utpatham*, Mbh 5,93.46, 127.18, 145.7), (loc.) *satpathi*, Mbh 1,206.10²
 (nom. m. sg.) *aprajah*, Mbh 3,50.5 = R 1,37.2, (gen.) *aprajasya*, R 1,17.33,
 (nom. pl. f.) *aprajāḥ*, R 1,35.21
 (voc. sg. f.) (*su*)*durmedhe*, R 1,35.23, 2,App.15.15, 7,72.13, (nom. pl. f.) *durmedhāḥ*, R 4,App.21.13
 (nom. sg.) *sarvavānararājā*, R 7,36.35, (acc.) *kekayarājānam*, R 1,12.21, *dharmarājānam*, Mbh 2,22.44, 14,3.19, *pannagarājānam*, Mbh 9,36.31, *parvatarājānam*, Mbh 1,16.7, *yuvarājānam*, R 2,2.15, 4.16 (~ *yuvarājam*, R 2,1.34, 2.17), *rākṣasarājānam*, R 5,1.38, *suparṇarājānam*, R 4,66.20, (instr.) *kapirājñā*, R 5,1.171, *devarājñā*, R 5,1.80, *dharmarājñā*, Mbh 14,67.14, *matsyarājñā*, Mbh 1,1.115, 4,31.23, (dat.) *maṇḍūkarājñe*, Mbh 3,190.31, (gen.) *kāśirājñah*, Mbh 5,174.17, (loc.) *rākṣavānararājani*, R 4,17.3 v.l., (du.) *sarvavānararājānau*, Mbh 3,147.25, (nom. pl.) *daityarājānah*, Mbh 8,24.19, (gen. pl.) *pūrvarājñām*, Mbh 3,282.7³

3,175.4, *paramadhanvinau*, R 1,29.6.

¹ See AiGr. II,1 § 40a rem. Sometimes °*dharma(n)*-compounds are enlarged by the suffix °*in-* (cf. AiGr. II,1 § 53a): *martyadharmiṇā*, Mbh 3,152.4, *rājarṣidharminī*, Mbh 3,275.29. To the examples for this enlargement cited by AiGr., *l.c.*, we may add *vaicitriyavīryiṇah*, Mbh 9,40.1f (◡-◡- [!]). See also preceding foot note and above (♣), p. 86 (°*pānin-* / °*yonin-*).

² Because of an artificial resolution of *śrutipatha-*, R 3,939*.5 has (acc.) *śruteḥ patham* (see AiGr. II,1 § 9c / 13aα).

³ For further examples see GUPTA (1938:76), GOKHALE (1957: 123-124) and SEN (1991/92: 179-181).

(nom. sg.) *pitṛsakhā*, Mbh 2,23.25, *bharadvājasakhā*, Mbh 1,121.8, (nom. du.) *priyasakhāyau*, Mbh 1,153.11, 210.5¹
 (acc. pl.) *bhagnasakthīn*, R 5,3.30 v.l. (CE *bhugnavaktrān*)².

Setting aside *hiatus* which is rather frequent (↗ p. 9, 11-12, 15-16) and sporadic lengthening and shortening of vowels (↗ p. XXXII-XXXIII), the *sandhi* at the seams of compounds³ offers only very few digressions from Pāṇinian norms. A couple of times the degemination of doubled consonant is met with⁴ (on the *sandhi* -s+T- < -s+sTh- at the seam of 'compounds' see [↗] p. 22 n. 1):

tiryagās (ca ye) (instead of **tiryaggāḥ*), Mbh 13,119.4 (्-्-)⁵, *vidyujihvena*, R 6,22.43 (Ct. *vidyujihvety atra talopa āṛṣaḥ*)⁶.

A case of 'analogical' *sandhi* is *ṣaḍ-artu-kusumotsavaiḥ*, R 7,26.10, which is patterned after *pañcartu-* / *saptartu-*⁷.

rem. Suffixes are normally treated, as far as their *sandhi* is concerned, like posterior members of compounds. But older forms not complying with this rule are still preserved,

¹ See AiGr. II,1 § 51b.

² See AiGr. II,1 § 50aβ *rem.*

³ On compound *sandhi* see STENZLER § 307 and AiGr. II,1 § 55-57.

⁴ See AiGr II,1 § 55cα (cf. § 26a) and RENOUE § 34d *rem.*

⁵ BHSD, s.v. *tīrya-*, cites two comparable examples from Buddhist Sanskrit: *tīryagata-* and *tīryagati-* (cf. also EDGERTON 1946: 206), the first of which is attested in the form *tīryaggata-* in the Rāmāyaṇa (7,100.17).

⁶ Cf. *pratyagrahaḥ*, Mbh 1,57.29 (see PW s.v.).

⁷ See SEN (1951/52: 121) and AiGr. III § 182c *rem.*

and so occasionally two variants are met with side by side¹ (e.g. *ayasmaya-*, Mbh 9,34.31, 56.60, 10,11.17, 12,205.27, ~ *ayomaya-*, R 4,874*²).

¹ But occasionally Epic Sanskrit has introduced 'new' *sandhis* (cf. *viṭpati-*, Mbh 3,671*, for older *viśpati-* [see AiGr. II,1§ 55bα]).

² See AiGr. I § 288b.

10.5. Pre- and Postpositions of Epic Sanskrit

The use of different cases in one and the same syntactical function favoured the employment of pre- and postpositions which helped to determine the precise meaning of a particular case-ending¹. Especially the accusative of the goal, but also the *instrumentalis sociativus*, the *ablativus loci* and the *dativus causae / commodi* are denoted by periphrasis. Although there was no system of rules of regular usage, most of the postpositions of Epic Sanskrit are to be found also in Middle Indo-Aryan and survived into New Indo-Aryan². They were complemented by quite a number of old prepositions, a few nouns denoting 'nearness', 'middle', 'ridge', 'surface' etc., which were also used as posterior members of compounds, and some absolutives (↗ 10.6). In this way the disintegration of the case-systems was compensated for.

rem. In what follows, only a few examples for each pre- and postposition are given. They can easily be augmented with the help of our dictionaries, notably the (*Greater*) *Petersburger Wörterbuch*.

(1) abl. + *adhi* 'out of, from'³

... *gāṅgeyaḥ śaṃtanor adhi ... jajñe* 'Gāṅgeya was born from Śaṃtanu', Mbh 5,54.46

āsurād adhi sambhūtā dharmād viṣamavṛttayaḥ 'Those of wicked behaviour were born from the *āsura dharma*', Mbh 13,45.17

¹ And only those are listed below. For *agre*, *adhas(tād)*, *antaḥ*, *antarā*, *antareṇa*, *ā*, *upari*, *ūrdhvam*, *param*, *pareṇa*, *paścād*, *puras(tād)* and a few others see SPEYER (1886: 113-141 [§ 151-196]).

² For Marathi see BLOCH (1970: 203-216), for Hindi see OBERLIES (1998: 11-16).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 115-116 [§ 156]).

(2) acc. + *anu* ‘after, behind, along’¹ (see also [↗] p. 336 and 346)

jagāmānu purohitam ‘He went behind the priest’, R 2,84.3

niveśya gaṅgām anu ... camūm ... ‘Having encamped the army along the Ganges’, R 2,77.23

yas tvām dveṣṭi sa mām dveṣṭi yas tvām anu sa mām anu ‘He who hates you hates me; he who follows you follows me’, Mbh 3,13.38

rem. anu may be compounded with the noun it governs: *anugaṅgam caran*, Mbh 1,158.13 v.l. (CE *anu gaṅgām ..*).

(3) °*antare* ‘on behalf of’²

devi devaś ca devī ca samāgamyā madantare ‘My lady, the king and the queen must have met on my behalf ...’, R 2,14.13

yad avocan madantare ‘... what she said on my behalf’, R 2,84.16

(4) gen. + *antikam* ~ *antike* / acc. + *antikāt* / °*antikam* ‘near’³

sāgarāntikam agacchat ‘He went to the ocean’, Mbh 3,106.4

... *saṃprāptāḥ ... mamāntikam* ‘... who have come to me’, Mbh 3,12.24

yasyāntike tvam vrjinam karoṣi ‘It is before him that you tell your lie!’, Mbh 1,68.27

... *indraparvatam antikāt* ‘Near mount Indra ...’, Mbh 2,27.13

tataḥ śatasaharāṇi śarāṇām ... yugapat prāpataṃs tatra droṇasya ratham antikāt ‘Then arrows fell by the hundreds and thousands at a time near Droṇa’s chariot’, Mbh 4,53.62

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 119-120 [§ 164]), id. (1896: 26 [§ 90.1]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 117).

² See SPEYER (1886: 137 [§ 190 *rem.*]); cf. id. (1896: 27 [§ 90.8]).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 134-136 [§ 188]) and SEN (1995: 332 [§ 103.2]).

rem. antikāt with a preceding accusative has also the meaning ‘from (the vicinity of)’: ... *nagaram antikāt / prayāntam* ... ‘... proceeding from the city ...’, Mbh 3,21.15, *sa tām uddhṛtya mañjūṣām utsārya jalam antikāt* ‘He reached out and lifted the basket from the water’, 3,293.5.

(5) gen. + *abhyāse* / *°abhyāsam* ~ *°abhyāse* ‘to, near (to)’¹

jagāma pāvakābhyāsam ‘He went to the fire’, Mbh 3,214.1

śibirābhyāsam āgatāḥ ‘They came to the camp [of the Kauravas]’, Mbh 10,1.1

dadarśa tryambakābhyāse ‘Near Tryambaka he saw ...’, Mbh 7,57.61

tasyābhyāse tu mithunaṃ ... dadarśa ‘He saw a pair [of birds] near himself ...’, R 1,2.9

(6) gen. + *arthe* / *°artham* ~ (*°arthāya* ~ *°arthe* ‘for (the sake of)’²

vapuṣṭamārthaṃ varayāṃ pracakramuḥ ‘He sued [him] for [his daughter] *Vapuṣṭamā*’, Mbh 1,40.8³

amṛtānayanārthaṃ vai cakāra matimān matim ‘The wise [Garuḍa] made up his mind to bring the nectar of immortality’, R 3,33.33

jñātayo vā vadiṣyanti pāṇḍavārthāya karhicit ‘The kinsmen will ever say about (!) the Pāṇḍavas’, Mbh 1,132.17

ābhyām arthāya somaṃ tvam grahīṣyasi yadi svayam ‘If you of your own accord pour Soma for the two [Aśvins] ...’, Mbh 3,124.15⁴

madarthe devitā cāyaṃ śakunir mātulo mama ‘And Śakuni here, my maternal uncle, shall play for me’, Mbh 2,53.15

¹ See HOPKINS (1902a: 138) and SEN (1995: 343 [§ 103.41d]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 139 [§ 193.3]), MEENAKSHI (1983: 117) and SEN (1995: 333 [§ 103.4]).

³ Note the ‘quasi’ periphrastic perfect *varayāṃ pracakramuḥ* (♣ p. 224).

⁴ Note (pleonastic) *arthāya* with dative *ābhyām*.

ūrmilā ... / bhāryārthe lakṣmaṇasyāpi dattā pitrā mama svayam ‘My father of his own accord bestowed Ūrmilā as wife on Lakṣmaṇa’, R 2,110.51 (cf. 3,32.20)

tesām arthe ’bhiyācāmi tvām ahaṃ vai mahānadi ‘I beg you for their sake, mighty river’, Mbh 3,107.19

(7) (gen. / acc. +) *upahvare* ‘near, close to’¹

... kanīyāṃsam upahvare / prapede ... ‘He approached the younger one ...’, Mbh 1,155.9

prahvo ’bhavad bhrātur upahvare saḥ ‘He bowed down before his brother’, Mbh 3,161.21

upahvare vāsudevasya ‘In the presence of Vāsudeva’, Mbh 5,47.3

rem. With *verba dicendi* this postposition (construed with the acc.) means ‘to’: *tato ’bravīn – kuntīputram upahvare*, Mbh 15,9.7 (see also PW s.v. [2]).

(8) gen. + *kāraṇāt / ’kāraṇāt* ‘because of, for the sake of’²

viṣam agniṃ jalaṃ rajjuṃ āsthāsyē tava kāraṇāt ‘On your account I shall resort to poison, fire, water, or the rope’, Mbh 3,53.4

yudhyasva mama kāraṇāt ‘Fight for my sake!’, Mbh 6,41.93

kaccid abhyāgatā dūrād vaṇijo lābhakāraṇāt ‘Did the merchants come from afar for the sake of gain?’, Mbh 2,5.103

rājan niveśe buddhir me vartate putrakāraṇāt ‘King, I intend to marry to get a son’, Mbh 3,95.2

¹ See SEN (1995: 343 [§ 103.41d]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 140 [§ 193.4]) and SEN (1995: 334-335 [§ 103.11]).

(9) gen. + *kṛte* / °*kṛte* ‘for (the sake of), on account of’¹

kṛṣṇasya hi kṛte bhūtam idaṃ viśvaṃ samarpitam ‘For Kṛṣṇa’s sake is all that exists here offered’, Mbh 2,35.22

tvatkṛte kiṃcit kartum icchāmi ‘I wish to do something for you’, Mbh 2,1.5
drakṣyasi tvaṃ purīm laṅkāṃ vinaṣṭāṃ maithilīkṛte ‘You shall see the city of Laṅkā laid to waste on account of Maithilī’, R 3,36.21

rem. Sometimes °*kṛtena* is used instead of °*kṛte*: *tasmād dhi strikṛtenaiva vadhaṃ prāpsyati rāvaṇaḥ* ‘Therefore Rāvaṇa will be killed on account of a woman’, R 7,24.15.

(10) °*tale* ‘on’ / °*talāt* ‘from’²

sa tu dṛṣṭvā rudan dīnaḥ papāta dharaṇītale ‘He fell ... to the ground’, R 2,71.9

bhūtalāt sahasoṭthāya ‘Suddenly he sprang up from the ground ...’, R 4,58.2

(11) °*nimittam* / °*nimittena* ‘for (the sake of), on account of’³

jalakṣayanimittam vai ‘In order to remove the water’, Mbh 7,428*

ahalyādharaṇanimittam hi gautamād dhariśmaśrutām indraḥ prāptaḥ ‘On account of his adultery with Ahalyā Indra got a yellowish beard from Gautama’, Mbh 12,329.14₁

niyuktaḥ strīnimittena pitrāsau ‘On account of a woman ...’, R 2,84.12 v.l.

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 138 [§ 193.1]), MEENAKSHI (1983: 98 / 117) and SEN (1995: 336 [§ 103.12b]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 137 [§ 192]) and SEN (1952/53: 324).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 139-140 [§ 193.4]) and SEN (1995: 336-337 [§ 103.13]).

(12) gen. + *pārśvam* ~ *pārśve* / ^o*pārśvam* ‘near’¹

pārthasyaiva mahābāhuḥ pārśvam āgād arindamaḥ ‘The mighty warrior ... came to Pārtha’, Mbh 7,55.39

pārśve tatra ca vaidehyā vasane bhūṣaṇāni ca ‘The two garments and the ornaments there near Sītā’, R 2,1173*.1

jagāma himavatpārśvam ‘He went to the Himavat’, Mbh 3,107.3

(13) ^o*pr̥ṣṭhe* ‘on’²

tato ’haṃ himavat-pr̥ṣṭhe samārabdho mahāvratam ‘Then I took upon myself a severe vow on the Himavat’, Mbh 2,118*

(14) acc. + *prati* ‘close by, to(wards), about, with respect to’³

apsarā menakā ... taṃ garbhaṃ ... utsasarja yathākālaṃ sthūlakeśāsramaṃ prati ‘... close by Sthūlakeśa’s hermitage’, Mbh 1,8.6

cintayām āsa tat kāryaṃ sumahat svām sutām prati ‘He thought that he had a grave task to perform on behalf of his daughter’, Mbh 3,51.6

tava putrarathaṃ prati ‘Towards the chariot of your son’, Mbh 8,17.35 v.l. (CE ... *tava sutām prati*)

duṣṭā ... yuṣmān praty agnisambhavā ‘The wicked [sorceress] was born from the fire (*lit.*) with respect to you (= to kill you)’, Mbh 13,95.80

varo ... datto mama sutām prati ‘I was granted the boon of a son’, R 1,975*

gayena yajamānena ... pitṛṇ prati ‘By Gaya directing his worship towards the Pitṛs’, R 2,99.11

vairaṃ ... rāmaṃ prati ‘The hatred towards Rāma ...’, R 3,52.22

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 134-136 [§ 188-189]), SEN (1995: 343 [§ 103.41f]) and MEENAKSHI (1983: 133).

² See SEN (1995: 343 [§ 103.41g]).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 129-131 [§ 179-180]), SEN (1952/53: 325), HOPKINS (1899: 28) and SEN (1995: 337 [§ 103.18]).

kartavyaś ca sadā yatno rāghavasya vadhaṃ prati ‘Every effort is to be made to bring about Rāghava’s death’, R 3,52.26

praṣṭavyo merusāvarṇir ... pravṛttiṃ maithilīṃ prati ‘You must ask Merusāvarṇi for news about Maithilī’, R 4,41.43

cakāra bhūyo matim ugratejā vanasya rakṣāṃ prati vānarebhyaḥ ‘Once more he ... resolved to protect the grove from the monkeys’, R 5,59.19

(15) gen. + *madhye* ‘in the middle of’ / acc. + *madhyena* ~ *°madhyena* ‘through the midst of’¹

madhye dhanasya tiṣṭhāmi ‘I stand in the midst of booty’, Mbh 4,39.11

madhye kurūṇām ‘Amidst the Kurus’, Mbh 5,145.13

madhye sarvasya sainyasya ‘In the middle of the whole army’, Mbh 5,194.1, 6,78.4, 7,11.2

kurubhyaḥ prasthitās te tu madhyena kurujāṅgalam ‘From the land of the Kurus they travelled through the Jungle of the Kurus’, Mbh 2,18.26

sa tāni drumajālāni ... madhyena jagāma ... ‘He made his way through the midst of the thickets’, R 2,92.12

sa rājamārgamadhyena ... yatra rājā daśarathas tad evopayayau grham ‘He went by the highway to the house of king Daśaratha’, R 2,51.14

rem. Occasionally *madhye* is used as the prior member of a compound: *madhyesabham* ‘amidst the assembly’, R 1,4.13 v.1. (~ *sabhāmadhye*, Mbh 5,29.33, R 2,76.9).

(16) (a) gen. + *mūlam* ~ *mūle* / *°mūlam* ‘to(wards), near’²

bhavantāv api ca kṣipraṃ mama mūlam upaiśyataḥ ‘And both of you shall soon come to me’, R 2,58.41

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 122 [§ 167]), id. (1896: 28 [§ 91.II]), SEN (1952/53: 323-324), MEENAKSHI (1983: 110 / 133) and SEN (1995: 338 [§ 103.22]).

² See HOPKINS (1902a: 138) and SEN (1995: 338 [§ 103.23]).

ahaṃ gamiṣyāmi yamasya mūlam ‘I shall go to [the realm of] Yama’, R 5,26.17

sā kandukenāramatāsya mūle ‘She frolicked at his side with a ball’, Mbh 3,111.15

jagāmānilavegena pādamūlaṃ mahātmanaḥ ‘She ran with the speed of the wind to the great man’s feet’, R 1,53.6

rem. mūla- (often as posterior member of a ‘compound’) denotes also the *cause* of something¹: *duryodhana kuto-mūlaṃ niḥśvasann iva gacchasi* ‘Duryodhana, why do you travel with so many sighs?’, Mbh 2,43.18, *duryodhana kuto-mūlaṃ bhṛśam ārto ’si putraka* ‘Duryodhana, my son, what is the reason that you are so sorely aggrieved?’, 2,45.6.

(17) gen. + *sakāśam* ~ *sakāśe* ~ °*sakāśam*, °*sakāśe* ‘in(to) the presence’ / gen. (/abl.) + *sakāśāt* ~ °*sakāśāt* ‘from (the side of)’²

mām ito netum icchasi / sakāśam ... bhartur me ‘You wish to carry me from here into the presence of my lord’, R 5,35.32

satām sakāśe ‘In the presence of honest men’, Mbh 3,35.14

rājā tu mām prāhiṇot tvatsakāśam ‘The king has sent me to you’, Mbh 2,52.11

tayaiva prahītaḥ kṣipraṃ matsakāśam ihaiṣyati ‘... she will come [racing] after me’, R 3,55.6

damayantīsakāśe ‘In the presence of Damayanti’, Mbh 3,50.20

naitābhyāṃ bhavitā doṣaḥ sakāśāt te puraṇḍara ‘No wrong will come to you ... from them’, Mbh 1,27.31

rāmo ’pi paramāṃ pūjāṃ gautamasya mahāmuneḥ sakāśād vidhivat prāpya ‘Rāma too received this great homage from the great sage Gautama in the prescribed fashion ...’, R 1,48.22

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 140 [§ 194]) and id. (1896: 28 [§ 91.IV]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 134-136 [§ 188-189]), id. (1896: 28 [§ 91.I]), MEENAKSHI (1983: 110-111) and SEN (1995: 338 [§ 103.24]).

tvatsakāśāc ca rāmāc ca ... hantum śakyo na veti vai ‘He cannot be killed ... either by you or by Rāma¹’, Mbh 2,167*

rem. (a) With verbs of learning and hearing *sakāśa-* denotes ‘the source from which’: *śikṣasva buddhiṃ sthvirāṇāṃ sakāśāt* ‘Learn the opinion of the elders from them’, Mbh 2,57.6, *teṣāṃ sakāśād aśrauṣam* ‘I heard from them’, Mbh 3,33.57 v.l.; (b) at Mbh 3,191.8 (v.l.) *sakāśāt* with gen. is used instead of the *ablativus comparationis*: *athāsti kaścid bhavataḥ sakāśāc cirajātataḥ* ‘Is there anyone longer-lived than you?’ (CE om. *sakāśāt*). This example belongs to those cited by SPEYER (1886: 136 [§ 189] / 1896: 28 [§ 91.I]).

(18) gen. + *saṃnidhau* ~ ^o*saṃnidhau* ‘in the presence of’²

tato 'haṃ lokapālānāṃ saṃnidhau tvām ... varayiṣye ‘Then in the presence of the World Guardians [themselves] I shall choose you ...’, Mbh 3,53.11
abravīt saṃnidhau mātuh ‘She spoke [to him] in the presence of her mother’, Mbh 3,68.20

iti mayā vyāhṛtaṃ dvijasaṃnidhau ‘In the presence of those twice-born men I spoke up’, R 3,9.9

(19) gen. + *samakṣam* ~ ^o*samakṣam* ‘in the presence of’³

śvetaketoh samakṣaṃ ... pituh ‘In the presence of Śvetaketu and his father ...’, Mbh 1,113.11

yat tvayoktaṃ naravyāghra matsamakṣam ‘What you ... once said in my presence’, Mbh 3,61.14

sītāsamakṣaṃ kākutstham idaṃ vacanam abravīt ‘In the presence of Sītā he made his reply to Kākutstha’, R 3,14.6

¹ On the ablative used to denote the agent of an action see (♣) p. 335.

² See SPEYER (134-136 [§ 188]), MEENAKSHI (1983: 133) and SEN (1995: 343 [§ 103.41j]).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 127-128 [§ 177]) and SEN (1995: 343 [§ 103.41j]).

- (20) gen. + *samīpam* ~ *samīpe* / ^o*samīpam* ~ ^o*samīpataḥ* ‘near’¹
ājagmur devarājasya samīpam amarottamāḥ ‘The best of the immortals
 came to the king of the gods’, Mbh 3,51.22
jagāma rāmasya samīpam ... ‘He came to Rāma’, R 3,43.37
samīpaṃ rāghavasyāśu praviveśa ‘He went quickly to Rāghava’, R 7,1.7
tasyāḥ samīpe tu nalaṃ praśaśamsuḥ kutūhalāt ‘In her presence people
 praised Nala with great wonder’, Mbh 3,50.14
samīpe śarabhaṅgasya dadarśa mahad adbhutam ‘Near [the hermitage of]
 Śarabhaṅga he beheld a great marvel’, R 3,4.4
tayā ca preṣitaḥ kṣipraṃ matsamīpaṃ ... ‘Sent by her he quickly came to me
 ...’, R 3,1089*
ayaṃ vyāghrasamīpe ... *gītaḥ śloko* ‘This stanza was chanted in the
 presence of tigers’, R 6,101.34
 ... *maithilī* / ... *cedam uvācāgnisamīpataḥ* ‘And Maithilī spoke in the
 presence of a [blazing] fire ...’, R 6,104.23

- (21) instr. + *saha* ‘(together) with’²
 ... *mām prāhasat kṛṣṇaḥ pārthena saha* ... ‘Kṛṣṇa and Pārtha laughed at me’,
 Mbh 2,46.30
saha saumitriṇā rāmaḥ samāgacchad guhena saḥ ‘Rāma went out with
 Saumitri to meet Guha’, R 2,44.11

- (22) instr. + *sārdham* ‘together with’³
tvām ahaṃ bhrātṛbhiḥ sārdham yad bravīmi tathā kuru ‘You and your
 brothers, do what I tell you!’, Mbh 1,140.4

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 128 / 134-136 [§ 177.2 / 188]), id. (1896:28 [§ 91.I]), SEN (1952/53: 323) and SEN (1995: 340 [§ 103.29]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 132-134 [§ 184-185]) and MEENAKSI (1983: 60).

³ See MEENAKSHI (1983: 61).

samāgaccha mayā sārdham ‘Come together with me [to fight]’, Mbh 1,141.7

tam ekam sītayā sārdham anuyāti sma lakṣmaṇa ‘Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā followed him who was alone’, R 2,30.6

rem. Also *sahita-* and *saṃgata-* are used to stress the sociative meaning of an instrumental: ... *bharyayā ca sutena ca / duhitrā caiva sahitaṃ* ‘... together with his wife, his son and his daughter ...’, Mbh 1,145.19, ... *bhavān hi sahito mayā* ‘... you together with me’, 3,56.5, *punar eva mahābāhur mayā bhrātrā ca saṃgataḥ* ‘... together with his brother and me’, R 2,1101*.5¹.

(23) gen. + *hetoḥ* / ^o*hetoḥ* ‘because of’²

mama hetor ayaṃ prāṇān mumoca ‘On my account he gave up his life’, R 3,64.23

api trailokyarājyasya hetoḥ kiṃ nu mahikṛte ‘Not even because of the realm of the three worlds, how much less for this earth’, Mbh 6,23.35

bhīmaṃ te vivyadhus tūrṇaṃ śalyahetor arindamāḥ ‘Quickly the warriors shoot their arrows at Bhīma in order [to save] Śalya’, Mbh 6,109.20

dhr̥ṣṭaketum athāyāntaṃ droṇahetoḥ ‘... Dhṛṣṭaketu, who approached [to kill] Droṇa’, Mbh 7,82.9

jīvalokaṃ ... kariṣye maithilīhetor apīsācam arākṣasam ‘For the sake of Maithili I shall rid this world of all *piśācas* and *rākṣasas*’, R 3,60.47

rem. At Mbh 5,47.8 ^o*arthāya* and *hetoḥ* are used side by side with one single word of reference: *mā tat kārṣiḥ pāṇḍavārthāya hetoḥ*³.

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 43) and SEN (1995: 341 [§ 103.33]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 138 / 140 [§ 193.2 / 194]), id. (1896: 28 [§ 91.IV]) and SEN (1995: 342 [§ 103.37]).

³ See MEENAKSHI (1983: 86).

10.6. Absolutes used as pre- and postpositions¹

(1) (acc. +) *atīya* ‘more than’²

atīyaivottarān kurūn / parvataś citrakūṭo ’sau bahumūlaphalodakaḥ ‘On the Citrakūṭa mountain there are more roots, fruits and water than in the land of the Uttarakurus’, R 2,88.26 v.l. (CE *atyetīvo* ° [another v.l. has *atikramyot-tarān kurūn*])

(2) *adhikṛtya* ‘with regard’³

etat prakaraṇaṃ ... adhikṛtya ... ‘With regard to this subject ...’, Mbh 3,196.21, *pramadām adhikṛtya tām* ‘With regard to this woman ...’, R 3,18.14

(3) *apahāya* ‘except’

amaratvam apahāya ‘Except immortality’, Mbh 3,163.45
prajāpatim apahāya ‘Except Prajāpati’, Mbh 14,190*

(4) *avaṣṭabhya* ‘on account of’⁴

imāṃ virūpāṃ ... vṛddhāṃ bhāryām avaṣṭabhya na mām tvam̐ bahu manyase ‘It is on account of this misshapen old woman ...’, R 3,17.15

¹ Apart from the literature cited in the following foot notes, see SPEYER (1896: 29 [§ 93]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 145 [§ 202.4]). Cf. Pāli *aticca* ‘beyond, more than’ (see CPD s.v.).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 143 [§ 201]) and SEN (1995: 344 [§ 104.1]).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 145 [§ 202.5]) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 25 [= ET p. 29]).

(5) *(up)ādāya* ‘(together) with’¹

ādāya kuntīm bhrātṛṃś ca ‘Together with Kuntī and his brothers’, Mbh 1,137.23

kanyām ādāya ‘together with the girl’, Mbh 5,177.18

tam ādāya nṛpātmajam ‘together with the prince’, R 3,42.30

athādriṣṅgam ādāya hanūmān ... abhidruṭyādade prāṇān vajravegasya ...
‘Then Hanūman attacked Vajravega with a mountain peak and took his life’,
Mbh 3,271.24

yājyān sarvān upādāya ‘With the help of all sacrificers’, Mbh 9,35.15

(6) *āsṛitya* ‘with (the help of), in, on’²

pālayed vīryam āsṛitya ‘He will rescue [the army] with his strength’, Mbh 3,213.5

prāguttarām diśam ye ca vasanty āsṛitya dasyavaḥ ‘The Dasyus who live in the northeast, ...’, Mbh 2,24.23 (cf. 2,29.9)

tatas tu tamasātīram ramyam āsṛitya rāghavaḥ ‘Then on the lovely bank of the Tamasā’, R 2,41.1³

(7) *āsādya* ‘to(wards), on’⁴

tataḥ prakāśam āsādya punar yuddham avartata ‘Then towards daybreak the battle was taken up again’, Mbh 4,32.2

nedrśam bandhum āsādya bāndhavaḥ sukham edhate ‘No relative lives happily with such a relative’, Mbh 5,131.25

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 144 [§ 202.1]) and SEN (1995: 346 [§ 104.9]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 143 [§ 201]) and SEN (1995: 346 [§ 104.8]).

³ On R 2,8.34 (*dharmam āsṛitya tiṣṭhatā*) see BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 25 [= ET p. 29]).

⁴ See SEN (1995: 344-345 [§ 104.5]).

dakṣiṇaṃ pakṣaṃ āsādya sthitāḥ ‘They took their position on the right side’, Mbh 6,52.8

yādṛśaṃ vapate bijaṃ kṣetram āsādya karṣakaḥ ‘What kind of seed a ploughman sows on his field ...’, Mbh 13,6.6

hastipṛṣṭhakaṃ āsādya kuṭikāṃ atyavartata ‘At Hastipṛṣṭhaka he crossed the [river] Kuṭikā’, R 2,65.11

(8) *(sam)āsthāya* ‘on account of’¹

ayudhyamānaḥ kām buddhim āsthāyāhaṃ vṛtas tvayā ‘On what consideration did you choose me, who will not fight?’, Mbh 5,7.31

kāraṇadvayam āsthāya ‘For two reasons ...’, Mbh 6,114.32

upāyaḥ ko yam ahaṃ taṃ samāsthāya nihanyām ṛṣikaṇṭakam ‘Is there some means ... by which I might slay him ...’, R 1,15.2

(9) *(sam)uddiśya* ‘with a view (to)’²

kiṃcit kāraṇam uddiśya somo ’yaṃ nīyate mayā ‘It was with some purpose in mind that I stole this Soma’, Mbh 1,30.8

vane vāsam uddiśya ‘With a view to dwelling in the woods ...’, Mbh 3,6.1

svargavāsam samuddiśya ‘With a view to dwelling in heaven ...’, Mbh 3,107.25

pratathe ’gastyam uddiśya ‘[Rāma] set out with a view [to find] Agastya’, R 3,10.42

yajñam uddiśya dikṣitam ‘Consecrated with a view [to perform] a sacrifice’, R 3,36.10

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 144-145 [§ 202.3]) and SEN (1995: 347 [§ 105.3]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 143 [§ 200]), SEN (1995: 345 [§ 104.6]) BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 25 [= ET p. 29]).

(10) *upetya* ‘with regard to’¹

uvāca kubjā bharatasya mātaram / hitam vaco rāmam upetya cāhitam
 ‘Kubjā spoke well about Bharata’s mother, but not about Rāma’, R 2,183*.5-6

(11) *grhītvā* ‘together with’²

grhītvā vaidehīm ... guhām āśraya ‘Seek refuge together with Sītā ... in a mountain cave’, R 3,23.11

(12) *puraskṛtya* ‘because of, with regard to’³

kāraṇam kiṃ puraskṛtya ‘On account of what ...?’, Mbh 1,173.1

tam evārtham puraskṛtya pitāmaham acodayan ‘Because of that matter they urged the Grandfather’, Mbh 1,203.8

mitratām ca puraskṛtya pṛcchāmi tvām ahaṃ vibho ‘Because of our friendship I ask you ...’, Mbh 3,246.35 ~ 281.22

aśvamedham puraskṛtya karmāṇy ārebhire tadā ‘They began the rites with regard to the Aśvamedha’, R 1,12.34 v.l.

(13) *varjayivā* ‘with the exception of’⁴

nīpetuś ca narāḥ sarve ... varjayivā munivaram ‘All men fell down ... with the exception of [Viśvāmitra], best of [all] sages’, R 1,66.19

varjayivā jarāvṛddhān bālāṃś ca ‘With the exception of the aged and the children’, R 3,53.14

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 143 [§ 201]).

² See SPEYER (1886: 144 [§ 202.1]) and BROCKINGTON (1969/70a: 25 [= ET p. 29]).

³ See SPEYER (1886: 143 [§ 201]) and SEN (1995: 348 [§ 105.6]).

⁴ See SPEYER (1886: 144 [§ 202.2]).

(14) *saṃkhyāya* ‘with regard to’¹

*vanavāsaṃ hi saṃkhyāya vāsāṃsy ābharaṇāni ca bhartāram anugacchan-
tyai sītāyai śvaśuro dadau* ‘With regard to life in the forest her father-in-law
gave to Sītā ... clothes and jewellery’, R 2,927*

rem. (a) A verbal adjective in the neuter gender may be “used as adverb with a prepositional
function” (SPEYER 1886: 142 [§ 198.3], cf. id. 1896: 29 [§ 92 *rem.*]): *ajñātaṃ dhṛtarāṣṭras-
ya* ‘Without the knowledge of Dhṛtarāṣṭra’, Mbh 1,107.11; (b) on *gata-*, *āśrita-* and
saṃśrita- used as circumlocutions for the *nimittasaptamī* see SPEYER (1886: 142 [§ 197]).

¹ See SPEYER (1886: 143 [§ 201]).



XI.

The Roots and Verb Forms Specific to Epic Sanskrit

– A Supplement to the Grammar and an Index to Chapters VI - IX –

It is well-known, WHITNEY's *Roots* include all verb forms cited in both St. Petersburg lexica (along with very extensive gleanings made indepently by the author). WHITNEY accurately noted each and every form he found in the entries of BÖHTLINGK and ROTH. Those taken from the epics he marked with an 'E.' (without giving the reference). I followed the same – extremely laborious – track trodden by WHITNEY and went through every single entry of the Petersburg lexica so as to furnish that author's material with text references. I additionally listed all forms that are first attested in the Epics, whether regular or not, but whose existence had escaped WHITNEY's attention. All irregular forms are bracketed within horizontal chevron << ... >>. That means that all forms without such bracketing are regular ones, whose only peculiarity is that they are first attested in the Epics.

The root¹ – the basic entry – is followed by its meaning(s), by its present-class (a Roman numeral printed in bold type), by the indication of whether it is *aniṭ* or *seṭ* and by a reference to secondary literature. WHITNEY's categories and their order are retained; only his *verb.* has been split into its components, viz. absolutive, gerundive, infinitive and verbal adjective.

The following signs and abbreviations are employed (↗ is an internal reference to the present grammar):

¹ Denominatives are not included.

<< >>	irregular form (apart from irregularity because of transfer of present class, <i>set-</i> instead of <i>aniṭ-</i> character, abs. I instead of II and <i>vice versa</i>)	fut. fut. [2.]	future (↗ 8.4) periphrastic future (↗ 8.5)
		ger.	gerundive (↗ 9.5)
		imp.	imperative
		impf.	imperfect
		ind.	indicative
{ { } }	wrong reading	inf.	infinitive (↗ 9.6)
+	resolution of vocalic <i>sandhi</i>	int.	intensive (↗ 8.10)
I. (etc.)	present class I (etc.)	<i>par(asm).</i>	<i>parasmaipada</i>
[→ I. (etc.)]	transferred to present class I (etc.). On this phenomenon see (↗) 6.6.	part.	participle (↗ 9.1-3)
		pass.	passive (↗ 8.7)
		pf.	perfect (↗ 8.1)
		pf. [2.]	periphrastic perfect (↗ 8.1.4)
		pl.	plural
abs.	absolutive (↗ 9.7)	pr.	present
aor.	aorist (on the different aorists and the numbers to denote them see [↗] p. 224-225)	prec.	precative (↗ 8.3)
		pres. part.	present participle (↗ 9.1)
		sec.	secondary conjugation
<i>ātm.</i>	<i>ātmanepada</i>	sg.	singular
caus.	causative (↗ 8.8)	them.	thematicized
cond.	conditional (↗ 8.6)	tr.	transitive
des.	desiderative (↗ 8.9)	va.	verbal adjective (↗ 9.4)
du.	dual		

¹√**akṣ** (< √*as* x √*nakṣ*) ‘to reach, to attain’ (cf. VIA I 486, 557, LIV 282-284)

pr. [I.] (*sam*)*akṣase*, R 2,46.71 v.l. (Ck. *akṣū vyāptisaṃghātayoḥ śnau ca tañ chāndasam* [CE has *samīkṣase*])

rem. NARTEN (1964: 161) supposes that we have to read (fut.) *^o*akṣyase*.

√**añc** ‘to bend, to crook’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 2, LIV 268, KUIPER 1952])

va. *añcita-* (↗ 9.3), Mbh 1,61.96 v.l. (°*añcitamūrdhajā* [CE °*āyatamūrdhajā*]), 1,165.31 (*ūrdhvāñcitasirogrīvā*), 1,203.23 (*añcitapakṣmāntam*), R 4, App.2.10 (*cārv-añcitapadmākṣaṃ mukham* [v.l. °*pakṣmākṣam*]), 4,304* (*dr̥ptasiṃharṣabhāñcitam*), 5,469*.8 (*mandāñcitagatiḥ* ‘graceful’ [v.l. *madā* °]), 5,55.30 (*añcitāyatadīrghāṇi lāṅgūlāṇi*), 6,18.38 (*sudīrghāñcitalāṅgūlāḥ*)

rem. (a) R 2,58.23 v.l. (= ed. Gorr.) *prakīrṇāñcitamūrdhajam* (CE *prakīrṇājinavāsanam*) should be corrected to *prakīrṇāñcita*^o (see PW V 856); (b) according to KUIPER (1952: 60-95), the meaning ‘graceful’ belongs to a root ⁽²⁾√*añc* ‘to show, to manifest’.

√**añj** ‘to anoint’ (VII. [VIA I 379, LIV 267, KULIKOV 2001: 34-41])

pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.7.1)] *añjase*, R 3,45.36 v.l. (*akṣiṇī hy añjase sūcyā* [CE *akṣi sūcyā pramṛjasi*])

rem. With R 3,45.36 v.l. (see above) cf. *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* (ed. ERNST LEUMANN) 8,20*: *tattam loha-salāgam jeṇam añjemi acchīṇi* ‘This is a glowing bar of copper with which I anoint my eyes (= with which I blind myself)’.

√aṭ ‘to roam’ (I. *seṭ* [cf. VIA I 380])

- pr. *aṭati*, Mbh 1,69.3, R 3,68.16, 7,31.2 v.l. ([augmentless 3sg. impf.] *pary-aṭat*), *aṭate*, Mbh 1,13.11 (*aṭamāna-*), 3,40.18, 3,51.11 (*aṭamāna-*), R 2,90.6
- fut. (*pary*)*aṭiṣyāmi*, R 2,43.13
- abs. *aṭitvā*, Mbh 8,30.56, R 3,6.17
- inf. *aṭitum*, R 5,2.41 v.l.

√ad ‘to eat’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 4, LIV 230-231])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] *adasi*, R 2,94.59 v.l. (CE *aśnāsi*), *adasva*, Mbh 3,61.33 (v.l. *khādasva*, *khādaya*).

adhī ‘to study’ → *√i***√an** ‘to breathe’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 256, LIV 267-268])

- sec. caus. (*pra+*)*āṇayate*, Mbh 12,179.1 v.l. (CE *prāṇāyate* [= denom. of *prāṇa-*])

√ay ‘to hurry’ (I. [GOTO 1990: 1000-1002]) — see also (→) *√palāy*

- pr. (*ud*)*ayanti*, Mbh 3,160.15 ≠ 14,27.19, 14,90.12
- pf. (*abhyud*)*ayāṃ cakre*, Mbh 7,161.2
- fut. (*abhyud*)*ayiṣyati*, Mbh 4,20.33

√**arc** ‘to praise’ (I. / X. *aniṭ* [VIA I 21, LIV 240-241, KULIKOV 2001: 47-49])

- pf. *ānarca*, Mbh 3,117.17, R 2,22.12, << (°)*ānarcuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 3,27.25, 45.1, 180.12.40, 275.2, R 2,3.32 >>
- abs. *arcitvā*, R 3,1333*, °*arcya*, Mbh 1,212.6 (*abhi*+), 3,80.111 (*samabhi*+), *arcya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 3,81.21, 82.35, 5,17.2, 12,327.43, 13,87.9, 89.7, °*arcayitvā* (↗ 9.7.1 [abs. of (X.) *arcayati*]), Mbh 12,322.6 (*abhi*+), R 7,31.40 (*sam*+)
- ger. *arcya-*, Mbh 1,71.19, 2,35.9, *arcanīya-*, Mbh 1,71.51, 2,34.11, 35.9
- inf. *arcitum*, R 2,42.10 (*an*+), 2,79.2 (*abhi*+)
- va. *arcita-*, Mbh 2,35.15, R 2,5.11, 4,19.24, 42.25
- sec. (‘*aya*-present’ [= cl. X.] *arcayati* [see *rem.* below]) *arcayadhvam* (↗ 6.2.6), Mbh 13,14.102, *arcayiṣye*, Mbh 1,71.19, *arcayām āsuḥ*, Mbh 5,82.19, *arcayāṃ cakruḥ*, Mbh 1,152.11, *arcayāṃ cakre*, R 1,309*.95 (pass. *arcyate*, Mbh 4,63.23 [*arcyantām*], 5,82.13, 6,62.38 [*abhyarcyate*], 13,11.17, 13,14.100 [*abhyarcyate*], 13,110.70)

rem. The ‘*aya*-present’ (= cl. X.) *arcayati* has the same meaning as *arcati*, viz. ‘to praise, to honour’ (see GOTO 1987: 99). This seems to be the reason why the PW (I col. 424) regarded *arcita-* ‘honoured’ as the verbal adjective of *arcayati*.

√**arj** ‘to acquire’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 22]) — caus. id.

- sec. caus. *arjayasva*, Mbh 3,45.7, *ārjayat*, Mbh 1,App.118.77 (va. *ārjita-*, R 2,47.4)

$\sqrt{\text{arp}}$ ‘to fix, to attach’ (X. [cf. VIA I 18])

pr. *(sam)arpayadhvam*, Mbh 1,176.34

fut. *arpayitā*, Mbh 3,252.18

rem. See also (→) ${}^2\sqrt{r}$.

$\sqrt{\text{arh}}$ ‘to deserve, to be worthy of’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 381, LIV 263-264])

pr. *arhate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,51.2, 1,138.21, 2,60.47, R 2,56.6, 3,62.13, 5,34.9

${}^1\sqrt{\text{as}}$ ‘to attain, to reach’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 486])

fut. { { *(upa+)asīṣye*, Mbh 3,238.10 ed. Calc. is a mere slip for *upāsīṣye* ($\sqrt{\text{ās}}$) – the reading of the CE (see PW I 730, l. 33-38, and pW s.v. l. *as*) } }

rem. WHITNEY’S *(upa+)asniyāt*, Mbh 12,88.6 v.l. (CE *upāsmuyāt*), clearly belongs to ${}^2\sqrt{\text{as}}$ ‘to eat’ (↗ 7.9.1). The PW (V,1070) relates also *(pary)asniḥ* to ${}^2\sqrt{\text{as}}$ (‘to eat before another, to pass over a person at a meal’), pointing to Mbh 13,24.69: *paryasnantī ca ye dārān agnibhrtyātithīms tathā*. And the same holds good (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v. $\sqrt{1}$ *as*, *ans*) for *(pra+)asitum*, Mbh 2,34.19 (and for *pra+asita-*, Mbh 3,154.18).

²√*aś* ‘to eat’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 259, LIV 261-262, KULIKOV 2001: 42-43]) — *pari+* ‘to eat before (someone)’

- pr. *aśnāt*, R 3, App.12.59 (augmentless impf.); — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.9.1)]
aśati, Mbh 13,77.20 = 80.35 (*prāśet*), 95.73 (id.), R 1,15.24 v.l.
 ([2sg. imp.] *prāśa*), 3, App.12.36 v.l. (id.); — {{ [→ IV.] *prāśya*
 (2sg. imp.), R 3, App.12.37 v.l. }}; — [→ V. (↗ 6.6.9.3 / 6.7)]
upāśnuyāt, Mbh 12,88.6 (v.l. *upāśniyāt* [↗ 7.9.1])
- aor. << [5.] (*pari*)*aśniḥ* (↗ 8.2.5), Mbh 13,58.25 >>
- inf. (*pra+*)*aśitum*, Mbh 2,34.19 (see above s.v. ¹√*aś*, rem.)
- va. (*pra+*)*aśita-*, Mbh 3,154.18 (see above s.v. ¹√*aś*, rem.)

¹√*as* ‘to be’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 8, LIV 241-242])

- pr. << *sva* (↗ 7.2.1), Mbh 1,215.19, *sma* (↗ 7.2.1), Mbh 1,5.3, 1,16.28,
 1,159.1, 3,133.7, 8,49.116, *asmaḥ* (↗ 6.4.3 / 7.2.1), (opt.) *syāvaḥ*,
 Mbh 1,201.19, *syāmaḥ*, R 1,44.15 v.l. (↗ 7.2.1), Mbh 5,36.3; *smahe*
 (↗ 6.1[b] / 7.2.1), Mbh 13,8*.8, 94.24 (CE reads both times *sma he*)
 >>
- pf. (3sg.) *āsa*, R 1,9.16

rem. (a) WHITNEY’s *asate*, Mbh (see also his grammar, § 636d), could not be verified;
 (b) KULKARNI (1943: 132) lists an infinitive *asitum*, Mbh 3,219.12, 5,111.23, and (ibid.
 138) an absolutive *asitvā*, Mbh 3,224.1; both, however, belong (as *āsitum* and *āsitvā*)
 to √*ās* ‘to sit’.

²√as ‘to throw’ (IV. [VIA I 382, LIV 242-243, KULIKOV 2001: 386-390])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.4.1)] *asati*, Mbh 1,167.14 (*abhyasato muneh*), 3,37.36 (*samabhyasan*), 12,327.19 v.l. (*abhyasatām* [CE *abhyasyatām*]), 14,6.23 (*nyasethāḥ* [v.l. °*asyethāḥ*]), R 5,35.58 v.l. (*nyaseyuh* [of ed. Bomb., not given by CE]), 7,App.3.17 (*abhyasataḥ*), *asate*, Mbh 13,107.40 v.l. (*abhyasate* [CE *abhyasyati*]); — << *abhy-asta*, Mbh 1,123.4 (↗ 6.4.1) >>
- prec. (*apa+*)*asyāt*, R 2,873*.7
- inf. (*nir*)*asitum*, Mbh 1,58.46
- va. (↗ 9.4) (*nir*)*asita-*, R 4,301* v.l. (CE *nivasitaḥ*), (*vy*)*asita-*, Mbh 12,10.17 (so read against CE *vyamsita-*, see below *rem.*)
- sec. pass. *asyati*, Mbh 6,68.17 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *asyatām*); — caus. *āsayati*, Mbh 1,118.17 (*nyāsayām āsuh*)

rem. (a) On (*vy*)*asita-*, Mbh 12,10.17 (see above, *va.*), see A. WEZLER, *Die wahren ‘Speiseresteesser’*, Wiesbaden 1978, 94f. n. 208; (b) On alleged √*vyas* (Mbh 1,54.5, 57.73), see (↗) p. 205 n. 2.

√ah ‘to say’ (pf. *aniṭ* [VIA I 539, LIV 222])

rem. (a) At Mbh 12,103.35 *āha* is employed as 1sg. (↗ p. 216 n. 5); (b) at Mbh 3,246.1 and 5,27.22 v.l. *āttha* is used as an imperative (↗ 6.2.7).

√**āp** ‘to get, to reach’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 5, LIV 237, KULIKOV 2001: 43-44])

- pr. (pra+)āpnuṭe (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,12.14; — << (↗ 7.5.1) āpnuvadhvam, Mbh 1,186.1, (ava+)āpnuvanta, Mbh 1,119.13, (pra+)āpnuyāvahe, R 3,55.18 (v.l. °āpnuyāmahe [= 3,1101*]), (pra+)āpnuyāmahe, Mbh 2,16.7, 7,16.34 >>
- aor. [4.] (ava+)āpsih, Mbh 3,13.28 v.l. (CE avākṣih [√vah])
- fut. (pra+)āpsyate, Mbh 1,38.10, 47.4, 222.15, 2,50.27 (avāpsyē), R 2,68.12, 7,18.29
- abs. āpya (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 9,34.37
- sec. des. īpsate, Mbh 1,88.7 (parīpsamāna-), 1,212.28 (īpsamāna-), 2,12.39 (parīpsante), 2,23.24 (īpse); — caus. āpayate, Mbh 4,50.5.13 (prāpayasva), 8,338*.5, 28.49 (prāpayasva)

√**ās** ‘to sit’ (II. [VIA I 612, LIV 232]) — (pary)upa+ ‘to worship, to adore’, pratisam+ ‘to be a match for’

- pr. (3sg.) (upa+)āsti (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 5,175.2 v.l. (CE [3pl.] upāsate); part. āsant-, Mbh 1,4.7 (upāsati), 2,33.3 (upāsantaḥ), 6,116.8 (upāsatām), 12,337.9, 12,338.11, 13,50.10, R 4,App.8.14 (all āsataḥ [see below, rem. b]); — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] āsati, Mbh 14,95.24 (upāsantu), R 2,755*.6 (paryupāsanti), 7,43.17 v.l. ([2pl. imp.] āsata); āsate, Mbh 3,184.7, 12,302.15 (upāsase), 1,74.12 (paryupāsate), 2,5.77 (upāsante), 2,13.7 (upāsate), 3,6.19 (upāsate), 3,83.73 (upāsante), 3,297.9 (pratisamāseta [v.l. °āsīta]), 5,33.38 (upāsate), 8,62.11 (upāsante), 9,236* (upāsanta), R 1,32.12 (paryupāsate),

- 1,42.1 (*upāsata* [3. sg. impf.]), 1,71.14 (*āsetām* [v.l. *āsyatām*]),
7,42.1 (*upāsante*)
- pf. *āsām cakruḥ*, Mbh 1,183.1, 1,200.8, 2,4.7, << (*upa+*)*āsire* (↗ 8.1.4), Mbh 1,224.32 >>
- fut. *āsiṣyasi*, R 4,53.15
- abs. (*upa+*)*āsya*, Mbh 2,68.14, R 1,34.1, 2,29.3, 2,43.2, 2,44.24, 2,47.1, 2,58.28, (*upa+*)*āsivā* (↗ 9.7.1), R 1,1.76, 7,34.28, 50.13, 78.26
- sec. pass. << *āsyati*, R 7,35.64 (↗ 8.7.1), Mbh 3,265.2 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *upāsyantīm*) >>

rem. (a) The form *āsyetām* (cf. R 1,71.14), cited by PW I 729 l. 2, does not exist, as indicated by this dictionary itself (see V 1128); (b) the participle *āsant-* could of course belong to (I.) *āsati*; (c) an Epic reference for *āsyate* could not be found; (d) the middle participle (*pary*)*upāsina-* is used with passive meaning at R 2,63.6 and 93.30 (↗ p. 267).

√*i* ‘to go’ (II. *aniḥ* [VIA I 9, LIV 232-233, KULIKOV 2001: 261-263, 343, GOTO 1990: 993-1005]) — *adhi+* ‘to learn’

- pr. *īyant-* (see *rem.* [a], below), << *atīyāt* (↗ p. 208 n. 6), R 5,58.9 >>;
— [→ IV. (↗ 7.2.2)] *adhīyet* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 13,36.15 (v.l. *adhīyāt*), *adhīyante*, 12,8.29 (v.l. *adhīyate*), 12,221.71 (v.l. *adhīyate*), 13,105.21 (v.l. *adhīyate*), *praty-adhīyata*, 1,98.9, *adhīyamāna-*, 13,App.10.316.362
- pf. as to *abhyudayām cakre* see below, *rem.* (b)
- aor. [4.] << *adhyaiṣanta* (↗ 8.2.4), Mbh 12,224.55 >>; — as to *īyāt* see below, *rem.* (c)
- fut. << (*anv*)*iṣyāmi*, Mbh 1,116.24 v.l. (CE *anveṣyāmi*) >>
- cond. *upaiṣyāma*, Mbh 8,48.2
- abs. (*anu+*)*īya* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 3,11.4, 6,74.17 (as to √*i* see below, *rem.* c), *ādhyāyam* (↗ p. 283 n. 2), Mbh 1,91.8

sec. caus. (*adhi+*)*āpayati*, Mbh 3,83.43, 12,336.34 (both times ^o*yat*), ^o*te*, Mbh 3,38.14, 12,336.35 (both times ^o*yata*), 13,80.42 (*adhy-āpayeran*)

rem. (a) WHITNEY's entry "*-iyānt ... M(bh)*" is based on his analysis of *adhīyant-* as /*adhi+iyant-/* (see also [♣] 7.2.2); (b) *abhyudayāṃ cakre* does not belong to \sqrt{i} (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots*), but to \sqrt{ay} (see above, s.v.); (c) WHITNEY has an entry "Aor. 1. *īyāt* etc. E+" (see also SIL 1958: 55). But this is *not* the (irregular) precative of \sqrt{i} but the optative of the secondary root \sqrt{i} (♣ 6.2.2 [p. 139], 7.2.2) used as a preterite (♣ 6.2.2); (d) on the class IV present *adhīyate*, see KULIKOV (2001: 262-263); (e) on the sandhis of (*vī*)*praihi*, *paraihi* and *paraita* see (♣) p. 13.

$\sqrt{iṅg}$ 'to stir' (I. [LIV 222-223, KULIKOV 2001: 237-238])

pr. *iṅgati*, Mbh 3,100.18 = 185.28, *iṅgate*, Mbh 6,28.19, 36.23
va. *iṅgita-*, Mbh 3,158.25, 222.20, 263.21

rem. On $\sqrt{aṅg}$ see HOFFMANN *apud* GOTO (1987: 108 n. 81).

\sqrt{idh} 'to kindle' (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 11, LIV 259, KULIKOV 2001: 45-47])

abs. *iddhvā*, Mbh 1,166.42

¹√iṣ ‘to desire, to wish’ (VI. *aniṣ* [VIA I 12, LIV 260, KULIKOV 2001: 244, GOTO 1993: 124-128]) — *anu+* ‘to seek after’ (to denote the ‘Vedic’ sense ‘to seek’ of √iṣ the present-stems [I.] *eṣa-* and [IV. / VI.] *iṣ[y]a-* are used [↗ 6.6.6.1 and 7.6.2])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.6.1)] (*anv)eṣati*, Mbh 1,36.12 (*paryanveṣan*), 3,60.17, 61.29, 61.32 (*anveṣatīm*), 67.21 (*anveṣantaḥ*), 9,41.33 ([augmentless impf.] *anveṣat*), R 7,App.8.19 ([part.] *anveṣan*), (*anv)eṣate*, Mbh 3,61.49 (*anveṣamānām*), 3,182.12 (*anveṣamānāḥ*), 9,46.17 ([augmentless impf.] *anveṣanta*), 12,309.18, R 1,3.1.2, 4,47.4.5 (*anveṣamānāḥ*); — [→ IV. (↗ 7.6.2)] (*anv)iṣyati*, R 3,827* (*anviṣyasi*), 68.20 v.l. (part. *anviṣyan* [CE *anviṣya*]), 4,999* ([part.] *anviṣyantaḥ*), *anviṣyate*, Mbh 1,3.10 v.l. (CE *anvicchate*), 4,24.14 (*anviṣyamānāḥ*); — [→ VI. (↗ 7.6.2)] (*anv)iṣati*, Mbh 3,255.38 (*anviṣa* [v.l. *anveṣa* / *anviccha*]), 1370*.7 ([part.] *anviṣadbhiḥ*), Mbh 10,12.7 (*anviṣat* [augmentless impf.]
- inf. (*anv)eṣitum* (↗ 9.6), R 2,92.3 = 3,63.4.6 (cf. *gaveṣitum*, Mbh 12,130.19)
- va. (*anv)eṣita-*, Mbh 4,504*.3
- sec. pass. *iṣyate*, Mbh 1,146.3, 1,147.4, << *iṣyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,11.15 >>; — caus. << *icchayāmi* (↗ 8.8.1), R 7,App.8.353 v.l. (CE *utsahe*) >>

rem. The present (I) *eṣati* was the base of a secondary root √eṣ, on which the infinitive *eṣitum* and the verbal adjective *eṣita-* are based.

²√iṣ ‘to set in motion’ (IV / IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 383, LIV 234, KULIKOV 2001: 390-393, GOTO 1993: 128-133])

- aor. [5.] *praiṣīt*, Mbh 7,114.86, 161.34, 8,34.3, 59.2, << *apraiṣam*, Mbh 3,23.2, *apraiṣīt*, Mbh 4,15.4, 6,106.39, 112.86, 7,27.1 (↗6.4.3) >>
- sec. caus. (*pra+*)*iṣayati* (see *rem.* [a] below), Mbh 3,23.2 v.l., 5,185.8 (both times *preṣayam*), R 2,46.50, 3,549*.8 (both times *preṣayāmi*), (*pra+*)*iṣayate*, Mbh 1,67.20 (*preṣayīṣye*), 2,30.40, R 7,82.8 (both times *preṣayasva*) (*iṣyate*, Mbh 14,75.6 [*saṃpreṣyamāṇah*]), << *a-preṣayat*, Mbh 4,App.6.3 (↗ 6.4.3) >>

rem. (a) The augmented forms *apraiṣam*, *apraiṣīt* and *apreṣayat* point to the existence of a ‘secondary’ root √*preṣ* (↗ 6.4.3, 6.8); (b) it is quite possible that the causative is not *iṣaya*^o (as maintained by WHITNEY § 1042b) but *eṣaya*^o as also *-a* of a preverb and *e-* of a following verb form combine to give *-e-* instead of *-ai-*. In any case, *preṣayam* (etc.) is an augmentless imperfect (↗ 6.5.1); (c) *preṣayati* has completely lost its causative meaning (↗ p. 251 n. 2); so it might well be a secondary (class X.) present (see VIA I 383 [p. 337 l. 8]).

√*vikṣ* ‘to look at, to observe’ (I. [LIV 297-298, KULIKOV 2001: 581-582]) – see also (→) √*vikṣ*

- pr. << (2pl. ind.) (*upa+*)*ikṣadhvam*, Mbh 3,13.113 >>
- pf. (^o)*ikṣāṃ cakruḥ*, Mbh 1,124.23 (*vikṣāṃ cakruḥ*), 178.8 (*prekṣāṃ sma cakruḥ*), 6,45.58 (*vikṣāṃ cakruḥ*), *ikṣāṃ cakre*, R 3,306*, << (*nir*)*ikṣatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.4), R 3,65.7 v.l. (CE *vicikyatuḥ*) >>
- fut. << (^o)*ikṣyati* (↗ 8.4.1), R 3,61.14 v.l. (*nirikṣyāvaḥ* [CE *vi-ceṣyāmaḥ*]), 4,39.34 v.l. (*prekṣyatha* [CE *drakṣyatha*]), 6,23.25 v.l.

(*pariprekṣyati* [CE *pariprakṣyati*]), 6,1019* v.l. (*prekṣyati* [CE *drakṣyasi*]), *prekṣye*, 5, App.13.8 >>

- abs. *ikṣya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 1,189.38, 3,184.4, 4,61.24
 ger. (*pra+*)*ikṣanīya-*, Mbh 4,53.30, 13,57.27, 14,58.8, R 4,47.9
 inf. *ikṣitum*, Mbh 7,142*.3 (*prativi+*), App.15.32, R 2,9.18 (*pratyud+*), 2,2179*
 sec. pass. << *avekṣyatu* (↗ 8.7.1), R 6,115.45 v.l. >>

√id ‘to implore, to praise’ (II. [VIA I 615, LIV 260-261])

- pf. << *īdire* (↗ 8.1.4), R 3,4.10 (v.l. *aīdayan*, see below) >>
 sec. caus. *aīdayan*, R 3,4.10 v.l. (CE *īdire*)

√ir ‘to set in motion’ (X. [cf. VIA I 18, LIV 299-301, KULIKOV 2001: 238-239])

- pr. *īrayati* (part. << *udīrayāna-* [↗] 9.1, R 5,25.38, [pass.] *udīryant-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 3,134.21, 4,59.35 >>)

rem. It is possible that (*ud*)*īryant-* is the (active) participle of the class IV present *īryate* ‘moves’ (on which see KULIKOV *l.c.*).

√ih ‘to be eager’ (I. [LIV 222, cf. VIA I 13])

- pr. *īhati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 7, App.8.899, 12, App.4.34, R 2,72.1 (*samīhan-*
tam), << *īhate*, Mbh 12,287.14 >>
 pf. << *īhatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.4), R 7,34.18 >>

-
- inf. *īhitum*, Mbh 2,30.26 (see *add. et corr. ad loc.*), R 5,36.37 v.l. (*pratisamīhitum*)
va. *īhita-*, Mbh 1,25.25 v.l., R 2,1772*.5 v.l. (CE *samīkṣitaḥ*)
sec. caus. (abs.) *īhayitvā*, Mbh 2,30.37 (v.l. *ūhayitvā* [→ √*ūh*])

√*uc* ‘to be suitable’ (IV. [VIA I 384, LIV 244-245, KULIKOV 2001: 394-395])

- pr. *ucyate*, R 4,64.21

rem. On R 4,64.21 see KHOROCHE, *JRAS* 1995, p. 449.

√*ujjh* ‘to forsake’ (I. [see LEUMANN 1959: 342-347 and HAEBLER 1964: 23-24])

- pr. *ujjhati*, Mbh 12,159.26 (*ujjhan*)
va. *ujjhita-*, Mbh 2,64.6, 12,48.5, 166.13, 350.5, R 2,27.19, 6,61.22

√*uh* ‘to speak solemnly, to praise’ (II. [VIA I 17, LIV 253])

- pr. [→ I.] *ohate*, Mbh 1,App.76.11 (*auhata*)

√*ūh* ‘to push, to reflect’ (I. [GOTO 1987: 296-297, KULIKOV 2001: 177-183]) — see also (→) √*vyūh*

- inf. (*vyapa+*)*ūhitum*, Mbh 1,41.12, 148.2, (*prativy*)*oḍhum*, Mbh 12,220.32 (v.l. *prativodhum*)

sec. caus. *ūhayivā*, Mbh 2,30.37 v.l. (CE *ihayivā*)

$^1\sqrt{ṛ} \rightarrow \sqrt{īṛ}$

$^2\sqrt{ṛ}([c]ch)$ ‘to arrive, to get into’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 19, LIV 238])

pr. *ṛcchate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,295.6 (*ārcchanta* [v.l. *ārcchatām*]),
4,31.15 (*ārcchetām*); — << *archati* (↗ 7.6.1), Mbh 2,19.46, 3,53.7
v.l. (CE *ṛcchati*) >>

pf. << *ānarchat* (↗ 8.1), Mbh 3,269.11, 6,45.10 >>

rem. For WHITNEY’s *arpayitā* (etc.) see (→) s.v. \sqrt{arp} .

$\sqrt{ṛc} \rightarrow \sqrt{arc}$

$\sqrt{ṛ(c)ch} \rightarrow \sqrt{ṛ}([c]ch)$

$\sqrt{ṛj} \rightarrow \sqrt{arj}$

$\sqrt{ṛdh}$ ‘to thrive’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 24, LIV 262-263, KULIKOV 2001:
272-277])

rem. WHITNEY’s alleged passive participle *ṛdhyant-* is the regular active participle of the present *ṛdhyati*.

√**edh** ‘to thrive’ (I.)

va. *edhita-*, Mbh 14,80.3, R 2,57.34

√**eṣ** → ¹√**iṣ** (*rem.*)

√**katth** ‘to boast’ (I.)

pr. *katthati*, Mbh 4,45.8 (*vi+*), 5,37.6, 8,26.61 ([part.] *katthataḥ*),
katthate, Mbh 1,141.13, 3,70.11, 4,45.1 (*vi+*), 7,114.80 (*id.*),
133.14, 8,26.71 (*vi+*), R 2,7.11 (*id.*), 3,28.18 (*id.*) 6,47.64.92 (*id.*),
6,74.17 (*id.*), 6,75.13 (*id.*)

inf. *katthitum*, Mbh 2,68.20 (*vi+*), 8,17.53, R 6,59.58 (*vi+*)

va. *katthita-*, Mbh 1,141.13, 8,26.71, 9,32.46 = 55.36

sec. caus. (*vi*)*katthayitvā*, Mbh 3,256.10 v.l. (CE *vikalpayitvā*)

√**kamp** ‘to tremble’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 619, LIV 351]) — *vi+* ‘to desist from’

pr. *kampati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 4,37.6, 5,13.19 v.l. ([neg. part.] *akampat*
[CE *akampyam*])

pf. *cakampe*, Mbh 2,34* (*%ire*), 3,39.6 (*id.*), R 2,59.6 (*saṃcakampire*),
3,45.44 v.l. (CE [*gātra*] *prakampāt*), 5,6*.10, (of caus.) *kampayām*
āsa, Mbh 2,4.20

ger. (of caus. *kampayati*) *kampya-*, R 3,28.21 (*a+*), 6,3.17 (*a+*), 46.48
(*a+*), 92.4 (*a+*)

inf. (*vi*)*kampitum*, Mbh 6,24.31

va. (of caus. *kampayati*) *kampita-*, Mbh 4,37.6

√*kal* ‘to drive, to propel’ (X. [VIA I 386, LIV 348-349, KULIKOV 2001: 582])

pr. *kalayati*, Mbh 6,32.30 ([part.] *kalayatām*), 12,220.35

fut. *kalayiṣyati*, Mbh 12,220.40 v.l. (CE *kālayiṣyati*)

va. *kalita-*, Mbh 1,2.221 v.l. (CE *°galita-*), R 6,App.2.177

√*kāñkṣ* ‘to long for, to wait (for)’ (I.) — *vi+* ‘to be uncertain [about]’

pf. *cakāñkṣa*, R 2,15.14 v.l. (CE *pratīkṣate*), *cakāñkṣe*, R 3,216*.10 v.l. (*ā+* [CE *ācacakṣe*]), 5,124*

fut. *kāñkṣiṣye*, R 6,55.62

inf. (*vi*)*kāñkṣitum*, R 2,10.19 v.l. (CE *śaṅkitum*)

va. *kāñkṣita-*, Mbh 1,32.15 (*abhi+*), 32.17, 3,12.30, 181.3, 279.14 (*abhi+*), R 2,26.12, 669*, 3,11.10

sec. caus. *kāñkṣayate*, Mbh 3,882*.10 = 177.11 v.l. (*abhikāñkṣaye* [CE *abhikāmaye*])

√*kāś* ‘to appear, to shine’ (I. [VIA I 387, LIV 383-385])

pr. *kāśati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,14.16 ([pr. part.] *aparakāśatā*), 3,125.5 (*pra+*), R 4,17.3 v.l. (id. [CE *vyaṛājata*])

pf. *cakāśe*, R 4,222*.4 (*pra+*), *cakāśire*, Mbh 1,178.4, 3,185.41, 13,App.16.127, R 2,59.6 v.l. (*sam+* [CE *saṃcakampire*]), 3,22.8, 6,41.33, << *prakāśire* (↗ 8.1.1), R 2,36.11 v.l. >>

- va. *kāśita-*, Mbh 1,57.75 (*pra+*), 1,App.1.46 (*sampra+*)
 sec. caus. ([*pass.*] *prakāśyate*, Mbh 3,App.1.6)

√**ku(ñ)c** ‘to draw together’ (VI. / I. [VIA I 389, LIV 359]) — caus.
 id.

- pf. (*saṃ*)*cukoca*, R 5,1.32
 va. (*saṃ*)*kucita-*, R 4,29.48 = 33.18, *kuñcita-*, Mbh 3,112.5 v.l. (*vi+*
 [CE *vikūjita-*]), 10,7.25 (read *tathā kuñcita*^o), R 5,55.30 v.l. (CE
añcita- [→ √*añc*])
 sec. caus. *kocayati*, Mbh 1,63.24 ([*abs.*] *saṃkocya* [v.l. *saṃkucya*]),
kuñcayati, R 5,1.35 ([*abs.*] *nikuñcya* [Ck.t. *nikucya*])

√**kuṭṭ** ‘to crush’ (X.) — *pra+* / *vi+* ‘to rend to pieces’

- pr. (*vi*)*kuṭṭayet*, Mbh 12,89.4 (cf. *prakuṭya*, Mbh 1,63.23)

√**kuts** ‘to despise, to revile’ (X. / I.)

- pr. (X.) *kutsayati*, Mbh 1,123.55, 2,57.1, R 2,1772*.3 (*abhi+*),
kutsayate, R 7,809* (~ *kutsate*, 7,42.18 [see next]); — [I.] *kutsati*,
 Mbh 2,554* = 61.47, *kutsate*, R 7,42.18 (v.l. *kuts[y]ati* [↗ p. 248 n.
 3])
 abs. (of [X.] *kutsayati*) *kutsayitvā*, Mbh 1,1.139, 8,28.22
 va. *kutsita-*, R 3,51.7, 6,68.21

√**kup** ‘to be angry’ (IV. [VIA I 390, LIV 359, KULIKOV 2001: 396])

- pr. *kupyati*, Mbh 3,222.4, 13,58.22, *kupyate*, Mbh 1,134.22, 2,63.7, 3,176.25, 13,App.4.52 (see *rem.*, below)
- pf. *cukopa*, Mbh 1,3.193, 2,39.9, R 6,44.25 v.l. (CE *cukrodha*)
- aor. [5.] *kopiṣṭhāḥ*, Mbh 2,59.3 (↗ 8.2.3)
- ger. *kupya-*, Mbh 15,38.3 (*a+*)
- va. *kupita-*, Mbh 3,70.29.31, 10,6.16, R 2,57.35, 1456*.6
- sec. caus. *kopayate*, Mbh 1,134.22, 2,59.2 (part. << *kopayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 3,47.2 >>)

rem. The only Vedic occurrence of *kupyati* is in a corrupt passage of the Atharvaveda (see KULIKOV 2001: 396).

√**kūj** ‘to utter a cry (as a bird)’ (I.)

- pr. *kūjate* (↗ 6.1[b]), R 3,2.3 v.l. (*niṣkūjamāna*^o [CE *niṣkūja-nānāśakuni*])
- pf. *cukūja*, R 6,55.119, *cukūjatuḥ*, R 6,1721*
- ger. *kūjitavya-*, Mbh 8,49.52 = 12,110.14
- va. *kūjita-*, Mbh 1,216.19, R 2,54.20, 1932*, 3,1372*.8, 4,1.12 v.l. (CE *nādita-*)

√**kūrd** ‘to leap’ (I.)

- pr. *kūrdanti*, Mbh 6,3.32 v.l. (CE *nardanti*)

rem. The ātm. *kūrdate* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√*kr̥* ‘to do, to make’ (VIII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 28, LIV 391-392, KULIKOV 2001: 50-51])

- pr. << *karavāmahe* (↗ 6.3.2.6), Mbh 1,122.19, 3,137.11, R 1, App.4.83 >>; — [→ ‘VI.’ (↗ 6.6.8.1)] (3du. impf. par.) *akurvatām*, Mbh 1,1779*, 10,6.1, (3pl. impf. ātm.) *akurvanta*, Mbh 1,117.1, 200.1, 2,22.55, 3,1.2, 49.1, 79.1, 105.21, 173.1, 225.1, 241.1, 4,12.1.2, 5,156.1, 162.1, 6,45.63, 60.71, 87.1, 7,8.37, 25.2 v.l. (CE *akurvata*), 61.4, 84.26, 122.1, 164.9, 8,44.2, 50.43, 9,22.25, 45.67, 58.10, 11,1.2 v.l. (CE *akurvata*), 13,92.1.2, 154.14, 14,93.9, 17,1.1; — (1sg.) *kurmi* (↗ 7.8.1), Mbh 3, App.16.89, 4,341*.1, 5,180.26, 7,161.4, 10,7.55, R 2, App.9.47, 5,20.20, 6,1.11, 7,69.20, (1pl.) *kurma* (↗ 6.3.1.2 / 7.8.1), Mbh 9,31.53, 15,17.15, R 7,33.12
- aor. [1.] (imp.) *kṛdhi* (↗ p. XXIX, 6.5.2 / 8.2.1), Mbh 1,122.6 v.l. (*apā+* [CE *upākuru*]), 2,60.30, *kṛdhvam* (↗ p. XXIX, 6.5.2 / 8.2.1), Mbh 5,56.60; — [3.] *acikṛthāḥ* (↗ 8.2.3), Mbh 12,323.17 (v.l. *acikaraḥ*)
- fut. [2.] *kartā* (↗ 6.2.10 / 8.5), Mbh 1,13.24, 2,68.40, 8,28.26, 12,220.98, R 1,17.38, 4,7.4
- cond. *akarīṣyaḥ*, Mbh 3,35.15, 8,729*.8, 50.3 (↗ p. 163 n. 4)
- abs. (*apa*)*kṛtvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh
- sec. caus. ([pass.] *kāryate*, Mbh 6,25.5)

rem. On the (future) imperative *kurutāt* see (↗) p. 175.

√**kṛt** ‘to cut’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 29, LIV 559-560, KULIKOV 2001: 51-52])

- pr. *kṛntate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,17.23 (*ni*+), 3,194.30 (*id.*), 294.35, << (2sg. imp. [↗ 7.6.3]) *kṛndhi*, Mbh 2,64.10 >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.6.1)] *kartati*, Mbh 3,59.15 (*vikarteyam*), 152.14 v.l. (*vikartata* [CE *nikṛntata*])
- pf. << *cakartatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), R 6,67.30 (*ni*+), (*vi*)*cakartire* (↗ 8.1.3.3), 6,34.7 v.l. (CE *vyadārayan*), 34.8 v.l. (CE *cakarṣuḥ*), 81.11 v.l. (CE *vyakartayan*) >>
- ger. *kartavya-*, Mbh 1,App.81.105

√**kṛṣ** ‘to pull, to tear’ (I. / VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 31, LIV 388-389, KULIKOV 2001: 52-53])

- pf. << (↗ 8.1.1 / 8.1.3.2-3) *cakarṣatuḥ*, Mbh 1,141.22, *ākārṣatuḥ*, Mbh 1,141.23, 4,App.11.18, (*pra*)*cakarṣuḥ*, R 6,15.15, 34.8, *apākārṣuḥ*, Mbh 3,128.2 >>
- abs. *kṛśya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 5,185.10
- inf. (↗ 9.6) *kraṣtum*, Mbh 2,61.40 (*vyapa*+), R 2,15.10 (*apā*+), *karṣitum*, Mbh 1,148.1 (*apa*+), 5,166.23 (*pra*+), R 4,53.11 (*apa*+)
- sec. caus. *karṣayanti*, Mbh 1,221.4 (↗ 8.8.1)

√**kṛ** ‘to scatter’ (VI. *seṭ* [VIA I 263, LIV 353-354, KULIKOV 2001: 53-54]) — *ava*+ ‘to bestrew’

- pf. (*ava*)*cakāra*, R 4,494*, (*ava*)*cakre*, Mbh 3,172.15
- fut. (*ava*)*kariṣyati*, R 2,27.12

sec. pass. << (*pra*)*kīryet* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 3,225.27 v.l., part. ^o*kīryant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 3,188.18, R 4,542*.24 >>; — caus. << (*anv-ava*)*kīrayet* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 13,90.15 >>

rem. On the pass. *avakīryata* (R 1,36.13) see (↗) p. 244 n. 3.

√**krand** ‘to cry’ (I. [VIA I 393, LIV 369])

pr. *krandate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,60.19 v.l. (*krandamāna-*), 3,60.25 v.l. (*ākrandamāna-*), R 4,24.40 v.l. (*krandamāna-*), 43.3 (*ākrandamāna-*)
 va. (*ā*)*krandīta-*, R 2,1551*

√**kram** ‘to stride’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 266, LIV 368-369, KULIKOV 2001: 54-56])

pr. *kramati* (↗ 7.1.1), Mbh 1,56.8 (*vyati+*), 87.10.15 (*ā+*), 194.13-15 (*vi+*), 3,147.9, 12,138.25 (*parā+*), 13,118.12 (*apa+*), R 2,9.21 (*ati+*), *krāmate*, Mbh 13,10.20 v.l., R 2,95.12 (*upa+*), 5,60.22 (*abhi+*)
 abs. *kramitvā* (↗ 9.7), R 5,89*
 ger. *kramaṇīya-*, Mbh 3,83.78 (*ud+*), 205.21 (*anati+*), *kramitavya-*, R 2,35.11 (*upa+*)
 inf. *krāntum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 3,267.27, 8,28.37 (*vi+*), 33.9 (*ati+*), 9,18.32 (*abhyati+*), 10,1.9 (id.), 14,52.16 (id.), R 4,66.14 (*ati* ∅)
 sec. int. *caṅkramati* (↗ 8.10), R 3,69.5 (*caṅkramantau*)

√**krī** ‘to barter, to buy’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 267, LIV 395-396, KULIKOV 2001: 56-57]) — *vi+* ‘to sell’

- prec. *(vi)krīyāt*, Mbh 13,73.1 (↗ 6.2.4)
 ger. *kretavya-*, Mbh 13,44.45, *kreya-*, Mbh 5,38.5 (*[a]vi+*), 12,79.6 (*vi+*), 13,44.45 (id.), 45.24 (id.)
 inf. *(saṃ)kretum*, Mbh 1,148.15

√**krīḍ** ‘to play’ (I. [VIA I 622])

- abs. *krīḍitvā*, Mbh 1,507*.4, R 2,65.18, 5,7.31, *(vi)krīḍya*, Mbh 3,63*, 146.54, R 4,222*.5
 va. *krīḍita-*, Mbh 1,65.41 (*pra+*), R 2,58.6
 sec. caus. *krīḍāpayati* (↗ 8.8), R 7,32.18

√**krudh** ‘to have a grudge against someone’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 33, KULIKOV 2001: 397])

- pr. *krudhyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,1515*.6
 ger. *krodhitavya-*, Mbh 4,180*.152, *krodhanīya-*, R 2,36.3
 inf. *kroddhum*, Mbh 3,68.9-11, 72.27, 5,158.2
 va. *krudhita-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 3,30.27 v.l.
 sec. caus. ([pass.] *krodhyate*, Mbh 12,269.6)

√**kruś** ‘to cry (at)’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 34])

- pr. *krośate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,165.40 (*krośamāna-*), 224.19 (id.)

- pf. *cukrośa*, Mbh 3,252.22 (*pra*+), R 3,59.27 (*vi*+), *cukruśuh*, Mbh 3,23.15, 151.12 (*abhi*+), 7,159.27
 abs. **kruśya*, R 2,59.10 (*pari*+), 4,344* (*vi*+)
 va. (inf.) (*ā*)*kroṣṭum*, R 2, App.9.146
 sec. pass. *kruśyate*, Mbh 1,82.7 (*ākruśyamāna*-); — caus. ([abs.] *anukrośya*, Mbh 13,5.22 v.l. [CE -*anukrośa*-])

√*klid* ‘to get wet’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 35])

- pr. (*pra*)*klidyate*, Mbh 13,38.26
 ger. (*a*)*kledya*-, Mbh 6,24.24

rem. The active *klidyati* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√*kliś* ‘[*trans.*] to torment, to trouble, [*intrans.*] to have trouble’
 (*trans.* IX. [IV.] / *intrans.* IV. [VIA I 394, LIV 363])

- pr. [IV.] *kliśyate*, Mbh 3,135.36, 4,15.32, 14,19.26 (*kliśyamāna*-), R 2,34.7 (*id.*), 1415*.1, *kliśyati* (*intrans.*), Mbh 1,56.6 ([*part.*] *pari-kliśyan*), 3,119.5, (*trans.* [↗ 6.6.9.2]) 12,171.36 (v.l. *kliśnantī*)
 inf. *kleṣṭum*, R 2,19.12 (*sam*+), 7,386*.2
 va. *kliṣṭa*-, Mbh 3,39.1, 48.35 (*pari*+), 4,1.17, 23.18, R 2,96.4, 3,50.6, 4,18.12 (*sam*+), 6,106.3
 sec. pass. *kliśyate*, Mbh 2,61.5, R 2,1415*.1, 3,49.31, 6,102.25, 7,20.22, << *kliśyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 14,19.26 >>; — caus. *kleśayati*, R 6,62.49 (↗ 6.6.4.4)

rem. Transitive [IX.] *kliṣṇāti* is attested already in Vedic Sanskrit (see VIA I 394 *pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**kvath** ‘to boil’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 270, LIV 374])

sec. caus. ([pass.] *kvāthyate*, Mbh 1,217.9, 18,2.24)

√**kṣap** ‘to mortify, to be abstinent’ (I.)

pr. *kṣapati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 13,109.15, 19, 24 (*sam+*), 30, 42

√**kṣam** ‘to be patient; (caus.) to ask pardon of’ (I. / IV. *seṭ* [VIA I/272])

pr. [I.] *kṣamati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 2,42.20, 3,96*, 216*, R 6,10.14; — [IV. (↗ 6.6.1.2)] *kṣāmya*, Mbh 12,349.3

fut. (↗ 8.4) *kṣamṣyati*, Mbh 3,122.23 v.l. (CE *kṣamiṣyāmi*), 188.42, *kṣamṣyate*, Mbh 2,66.16, 72.29, *kṣamiṣyati*, Mbh 3,122.23 (see above), R 4,52.22, 1117*, *kṣamiṣyate*, R 6,10.14 v.l. (CE *kṣamāmi*), 7, App.8.238

ger. (↗ 9.5) *kṣantavya-*, Mbh 1,37.22, 74.9, 3,29.25, 76.13, *kṣamitavya-*, R 4,35.11, 5,20.8 v.l. (CE *rakṣitavya-*), *kṣamaṇīya-*, R 6,8.6

abs. *kṣāntvā*, Mbh 12,104.17

inf. *kṣantum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,209.2, 2,66.16, 3,30.36, R 4,18.42 v.l. (CE *kartum*)

va. *kṣānta-*, Mbh 8,28.9, R 1,32.6, 2,103.30, *kṣamita-*, Mbh 2,401*.4 (↗ 9.4)

sec. pass. *kṣamyate*, Mbh 2,62.38, 3,147.21, R 2,72.20, 4,396*.5; —
caus. *kṣamayati*, Mbh 13,85.51 (*kṣāmāye*, Mbh 1,3.129)

rem. WHITNEY lists a present '[4.] *kṣamyate* etc. E. +'. This is presumably an error, since the PW gives a reference only from the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (6,3.30). See also VIA *l. c.*

√*kṣar* 'to flow, to wane' (I. [VIA I 396, LIV 213-214])

pr. *kṣarate* (↗6.1[b]), Mbh 3,81.112

√*kṣā* 'to burn' (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 274, LIV 133-134, KULIKOV 2001: 397-398])

caus. << *kṣapayati* (↗ p. 248 n. 1), Mbh 3,240.9 (*kṣapayisyanti*), 5,53.13 (*kṣapayisyati*), R 2,App.9.128 (id.), 7,App.8.26* (*kṣapayisyāmi*), *kṣapayate*, Mbh 1,41.25, R 7,386*.8 (cf. pf. *kṣapayām āsa*, Mbh 1,36.4, abs. *kṣapayitvā*, Mbh 1,96.43), *kṣapita-*, Mbh 6,26.30, 7,160.20, 11,1.26, 14,10.12, R 5,52.3, 6,50.16 (see below ²√*kṣi*, rem.) >>

¹√*kṣi* 'to dwell' (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 36, LIV 643-644])

pr. *kṣeti*, Mbh 1,3.60 ([pr. part.] *adhikṣiyantau*), 1,3.68 (*adhikṣiyanti*)

²√**kṣi** ‘to destroy, to perish’ (IX. / IV. [VIA I 397, LIV 150-152, KULIKOV 2001: 278-280])

- pr. [IV.] *kṣīyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 12,329.18₃ — [→ I.] *kṣayati* (see rem.)
 fut. *kṣayiṣyāmi* (see rem.)
 sec. caus. *kṣayayati* ([see rem.] attested in: *kṣayita-*, Mbh 14,3.16 [v.l. *kṣapita-*])

rem. The present *kṣayati*, the future (*sam*)*kṣayiṣyāmi* and the causative *kṣayayati* are all attested only as *variae lectiones*, at R 4,7.12 (of ed. Gorr. [not noted by CE]), at R 7,App.8.26* (CE *kṣapayiṣyāmi*) and at Mbh 5,53.13 (reading of ed. Calcutta [see PW V 1347 s.v. ³kṣi]) respectively. The verbal adj. *kṣayita-* might also only be a wrong reading for *kṣapita-*. It therefore seems rather likely that *kṣay*^o does not exist at all.

√**kṣip** ‘to throw, to hurl’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 37, LIV 373, KULIKOV 2001: 583, 605-606])

- pr. *kṣipate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,1.189 (*sam*+), 3,30.30 v.l. (*kṣiperan*)
 pf. *cikṣepa*, Mbh 7,82.16, 9,13.28, 14,54.18, R 1,1.51, 55.6.11.12, 2,29.25, 3,29.18, 6,55.73 (*pra*+), << (2sg.) *cikṣepa*, R 5,65.13 (↗ 8.1 / 10.2.1.3[c]) >>, *cikṣipe* (see rem., below)
 fut. *kṣepsyati*, Mbh 1,30.15 (*ni*+), 5,10.37, *kṣepsyate*, Mbh 3,267.42; — [2.] *kṣeptā*, Mbh 8,345* (↗ 8.5[b])
 abs. *ṅkṣipya*, Mbh 4,15.6 (*ā*+), 5,175.18 (*avā*+), R 2,33.7 (*ava*+), 1812*.33 (*ud*+), (*sam*)*kṣepam* (↗ p. 283 n. 2), Mbh 1,1.49
 ger. *kṣeptavya-*, Mbh 1,27.32
 inf. *kṣeptum*, Mbh 13,58.28 (*upa*+)

sec. pass. *kṣipyate*, Mbh 7,132.30, 9,22.31, << part. *kṣipyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 1,16.15, 3,682* >>; — caus. *kṣepayati*, R 2,70.16 v.1. (CE *citāṃ cakruḥ*)

rem. WHITNEY's entry *cikṣipe* refers (via PW and BENFEY's *Chrest.*) to Mbh 5,180.27. In the critical edition (*prāhiṅvam*), however, this reading is not recorded.

√kṣu 'to sneeze' (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 38])

pr. [→ VI.] *kṣuvati*, Mbh 12,122.16 ([part.] *kṣuvataḥ*); on *kṣupati*, R 7,App.12.18, see *rem.*, below
 va. *kṣuta-*, Mbh 13,24.6, 148.26

rem. 3sg. impf. + *akṣuvat* is at R 7,App.12.18 transformed into *akṣupat* to 'explain' the personal name *Kṣupa* (see VIA I. c.). WHITNEY, *Roots*, has a separate root *√kṣup*.

√kṣud 'to fall to pieces; to pound' (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 39, LIV 372])

pf. *cukṣuduh*, R 2,74.10 (*sam+*)
 ger. *kṣodya-*, R 2,74.10
 va. *kṣuṅṅa-*, Mbh 3,17.20
 sec. (caus.) *kṣodayati*, R 6,89.23 ([abs. (↗ 9.7.1)] *saṃkṣodayitvā*)

√kṣup → *√kṣu*, rem.

√**kṣubh** ‘to tremble, to be agitated’ (I. / IV. [VIA I 399, LIV 372])

- pr. [IV. (↗ 6.6.1.2)] *kṣubhyati*, Mbh 1,73.11, R 2,16.6 ([part.] *kṣubhyantam*), 31.31 ~ 827*, *kṣubhyate*, R 5,14.4
- pf. *cukṣobha*, R 6,44.25 v.1. (CE *cukrodha*)
- ger. (*a*)*kṣobhya-*, R 2,16.6, 37.22, 6,13.11, 21.1
- va. *kṣubhita-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 3,221.31, 6,1.23, 12,329.21₃, R 1,35.14, 64.7, 4,9.12, 65.24, 6,46.21, 91.2, 7,22.31
- sec. caus. *kṣobhayati*, Mbh 1,25.21 ([part.] *saṃkṣobhayan*), 6,14.12, *kṣobhayate*, Mbh 1,25.23 ([part.] *vikṣobhayamāṇa-*) ([pass.] *kṣobhyate*, Mbh 1,16.31)

√**kṣved** ‘to make shrill sounds’ (I.) — see also (→) √*kṣvel* / √*khel*

- pr. *kṣvedati*, Mbh 1,1849*.2, 10,1.59, R 5,55.29, 6,78.51
- pf. << *cikṣveduḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), R 6,40.61 v.1. (CE *kṣvelanti* [→ √*kṣvel*]) >>
- abs. (*pra*)*kṣvedya*, Mbh 9,18.41
- va. *kṣvedita-*, Mbh 1,63.4, 10,7.46, 14,58.10, R 5,3.25, 6,47.8
- sec. caus. *kṣvedāyati*, Mbh 3,App.18.12, 4,60.15 (*prākṣvedāyat*), R 6,17.16 (↗ 8.8.1)

√**kṣvel** ‘to shout’ (I.) — see also (→) √*kṣved* / √*khel*

- pr. *kṣvelati*, R 4,44.9 (v.1 *kṣvedantaḥ* / *khelantaḥ*), 6,4.23 (v.1. *id.*), 40.61 (v.1. *cikṣveduḥ* [→ √*kṣved*])

rem. The verbal adjective *kṣvelita-* does not seem to be attested in the epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.); only Mbh 14,58.10 has a v.l. *kṣveḷita-*.

√**khac** ‘to adorn’ (see EWAia III s.v. KHAC)

va. *khacita-*, Mbh 7,122.78, 13,109.59

√**khan** ‘to dig’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 275, LIV 344, KULIKOV 2001: 57-58])

aor. [5.] (*mā*) *khanīḥ*, Mbh 2,59.8 (on this verse see EDGERTON 1939: 366-368)

sec. pass. *khanyate*, Mbh 1,85.17 (*ni+*), R 1,38.25

rem. WHITNEY’s caus. *khanaya-* is attested only as a v.l. of a starred passage: *khanayām āsuh*, R 2,1874* v.l. (CE *khānayām āsuh*).

√**khād** ‘to chew, to eat’ (I. [VIA I 624, LIV 359-360])

pr. *khādate*, R 7,54.5 (↗ 6.1[b])

fut. *khādiṣyate*, R 4,55.5 v.l. (CE *bhakṣiṣye*)

ger. *khādya-*, Mbh 2,41*.2

inf. *khāditum*, Mbh 1,166.35, 2,186*

sec. des. *cikhādiṣati*, Mbh 7,6.26 ([part.] *cikhādiṣantaḥ*); — caus. *khādayati*, Mbh 3,61.33 v.l. (↗ 8.8.1)

√**khid** ‘to tear’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 43, LIV 344])

- ger. *kheditavya-*, R 3,790*.113
 va. *khinna-*, Mbh 1,43.13 (*pari+*), R 3,1179*, 4,48.11
 sec. (pass.) *khidyate*, Mbh 2,64.13 v.l (CE *svidyate*), R 2,34.7 v.l. (CE *kliśyate*)

rem. A causative *khedayati* / *khedayate* does not seem to be attested in the Epics. Apparently WHITNEY entered both *par.* and *ātm.* only if the verbal adjective, in this case *khedita-*, occurred.

√**khel** ‘to shout’ (I.) — see also (→) √*kṣved* / √*kṣvel*

- pr. *khelati*, R 5,55.29 v.l., 6,78.51 v.l. (CE in both cases *kṣved*^o), 6,4.23 v.l. (CE *kṣvel*^o)

√**khyā** ‘to report’ (aor. [NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 84, LIV 383-385, KULIKOV 2001: 58-64])

- pr. [→ II. (↗ 7.2.3)] *ākhyāsi*, Mbh 2,38.15, 50.11, 3,58.32, *ākhyāti*, R 5,62.19, *ākhyāhi*, Mbh 6,33.31, R 2,804*, 66,26 (~ *ācakṣva*, 1691*), *ākhyātu*, Mbh 1,26.16, 212.22, (2pl. impf.) *ākhyāta*, R 4,57.2
 fut. (*ā*)*khyāsyate*, Mbh 1,2.29, 3,13.52, 89.8, 196.14, 5,96.5, R 6,23.26
 ger. (*ā*)*khyātavya-*, Mbh 3,180.48, 254.5
 sec. pass. << *khyāyet* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 4,47.9 >>

√**gad** ‘to recite’ (I. [VIA I 400])

- pf. *jagāda*, Mbh 3,64.9, 8,28.22 (*pra*+), 13,69.7 (*ni*+), 69.30, 125.8 (*prati*+), R 2,32.1, 34.32 (*ni*+)
fut. *gadiṣyate*, Mbh 13,17.23 (*ni*+)
ger. *gadya-*, Mbh 3,27.3
va. *gadita-*, Mbh 2,65.3 (*ni*+), R 2,21.7
sec. pass. *gadyate*, Mbh 1,123.76 (*ni*+); — des. *jigadiṣāmi*, Mbh 12,47.10 v.l. (CE *jigamiṣāmi*)

rem. WHITNEY’s *jagade* could not be verified.

√**gam** ‘to go’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 45, LIV 209-210, KULIKOV 2001: 64-66])

- fut. *gamiṣye*, Mbh 1,43.28, 189.13, R 6,101.39; — [2.] *gantā*, Mbh 1,88.5 (↗ 8.5[b]), 3,75.13 (↗ 6.2.10), (1pl.) *gantāraḥ*, Mbh 1,88.10, (2pl.) *āgantāraḥ*, Mbh 1,189.26
cond. *agamiṣyam*, Mbh 2,70.17
abs. *gatvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 1,133.24 (*anu*+), 3,32* (*abhi*+), 82.126 (*id.*), *gamyā* (↗ 9.7.2), R 3,65.5

√**garj** ‘to roar’ (I. [VIA I 625])

- pr. *garjati*, Mbh 7,133.21.25.28-30, 22 (*vi*+), R 5,55.29, 6,47.92, *garjate*, Mbh 1,142.12 (*garjamāṇau*), 212.32 (*garjamānam*), 2,60.22 (*abhigarjamānaḥ*)
pf. *jagarja*, Mbh 1,26.31 (*pra*+), R 6,App.51.2

- abs. *garjivā*, Mbh 7,133.20
 va. *garjita-*, Mbh 3,168.6, 4,10.10, 5,34.7, 56.72, 7,98.7, 102.76.101, 117.16.17, 129.17, 133.21

√garh ‘to blame’ (I.)

- pr. *garhati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,200.6, R 4,14,11; << (*saṃ*)*garahate*, Mbh 5,508* (↗ p. XXXVI) >>
 pf. *jagarhe*, Mbh 2,41.26, 3,22.16, R 2,76.9, 6,23.3 (vi+)
 ger. *garhaṇīya-*, Mbh 1,85.5, 5,111.16, *garhitavya-*, R 3,15.35
 inf. *garhitum*, Mbh 1,141.6 v.l., 4,1027*.13

rem. It was not possible to trace WHITNEY’s (pf.) *jagarha*.

√gal ‘to drop’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 276, LIV 207])

- va. *galita-*, Mbh 1,2.221, 64.8 (*ā+*), 126.33 (id.), 3,22.24, R 5,7.42, 7,7.50 (vi+)

√galbh ‘to be courageous’

- va. (*saṃpra*)*galbhita-*, R 3,44.18

¹√gā ‘to take a step’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 277, LIV 205])

- pf. (*adhi*)*jage*, Mbh 1,44.18, 54.3, 94.3

²√**gā** ‘to sing’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 278, LIV 183, KULIKOV 2001: 66-67])

- pr. [→ II. (↗ 6.6.4.2)] *gāti*, Mbh 2,10.9, 5,107.9, 7,48.48, 8,30.16, R 2,98.12 v.l. (CE *nandantu*), 7,68.11
 sec. pass. << (*upa*)*gīyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 15,40.16 >>; — int. *jegīyante*, Mbh 12,311.14

√**gāh** ‘to plunge, to dive’ (I. [VIA I 627, LIV 183])

- pr. *gāhati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 4,56.16 v.l. (^o*agāhat* [CE *vyagāhata*]), 5,183.26 (*vi+*), 8,22.23, 13,79.11, R 3,280* (*ava+*)
 fut. *gāhiṣyate*, R 1,2.6 (*ava+*), 6,83.14 v.l. (*Vi+*)
 ger. (*vi*)*gāhya-*, Mbh 13,27.78, 79.11 (*durvigāhya-* [↗ 9.5])
 inf. (*vi*)*gāhitum*, R 6,App.2.44
 va. (*ava*)*gāhita-*, Mbh 13,27.62
 sec. pass. *gāhyate*, Mbh 3,App.14.6 (*avagāhyatām*)

√**gūṅh** ‘to cover’ (cf. LIV 358-359 [^{*}√*keud^h*])

- va. *gūṅhita-*, Mbh 1,68.52, 3,256.13, 7,55.3, R 2,17.18, 110.28, 7,26.10 (*samava+*)

√**gūh** ‘to hide’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 46, LIV 199, KULIKOV 2001: 67-68])

- pf. *jugūhe*, Mbh 4,8.1 = App.6.16, (*ni*)*jugūhire*, R 5,274*.8 (so read [CE *nijagūhire*])

- abs. °*guhya*, Mbh 7,App.17.15 (*upa+*), °*gūhya* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 3,281.6 (*upa+*), R 2,67.4 (id.), 81.7 (id.), 5,8.40 (id.)
 ger. *gūhitavya-* (↗ p. 273 n. 2), Mbh 3,132.14
 inf. *gūhitum*, Mbh 7,11.14, R 3,App.13.8 (*ni+*), 5,16.5

rem. It was not possible to trace WHITNEY's (pf.) *juguhe*.

√*grdh* 'to be greedy' (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 47, LIV 185, KULIKOV 2001: 399-400])

- va. *grddha-*, Mbh 1,66.5

√*gṛ* 'to swallow' (VI. *seṭ* [VIA I 279, LIV 211-212])

- pr. *girate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 5,45.13
 sec. pass. (*ni*)*gīryate*, Mbh 1,218.7

√*gop* 'to protect' (X. <← den.> [see KULIKOV 2001: 67])

- pr. *gopayati*, Mbh 1,142.19 ([fut.] *gopayiṣyataḥ*), *gopāyate*, Mbh 5,11.7
 fut. [2.] *goptā*, R 2,8.20
 sec. pass. *gopyate*, Mbh 2,60.13, 3,104.20; — des. *jugupsati*, Mbh 5,133.36, R 2,63.17

√**gra(n)th** ‘to tie’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 281, LIV 191])

- inf. *grathitum*, Mbh 4,8.16 v.l. (CE *kartum*)
 sec. (caus. [↗ 8.8.1]) *grathayiṣye*, Mbh 4,8.16 (v.l. [not noted by CE])
granthayiṣye)

√**gra(b)h** ‘to grasp’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 506, LIV 201, KULIKOV 2001: 68-69]) — see also (→) √*glah*

- pr. *grhṇīta* (↗ 6.3.1.3), Mbh 2,19.43; — [→ I. (↗ 7.9.2)] *grhṇati*, R 3,73* (*pratigrhṇa*), Mbh 3,170.25.26 ([*praty/ny*] *agrhṇam*), R 2,37.8 v.l. (*agrhṇam* [CE *agrhṇām*]), *agrhṇatām*, Mbh 1,183.5, 204.17, *grhṇate*, Mbh 1,42.18 ([3sg.] *pratyagrhṇata*), 44.14 (id.), 71.21 (id.), 3,44.19 (id.), R 4,26.4 (id.), R 5,59.1 (*agrhṇanta*)
 pf. << *nijagrāhatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), Mbh 3,132.4 >>
 aor. << [4.] *agrahītām* (↗ 8.2.4), R 1,4.3 v.l. (CE *agrhṇītām*), 4,1235* >>
 fut. << *grahiṣyati*, R 6,App.56.14* (D₁₃), *grhīṣyati*, Mbh 4,48.15 v.l. (CE [against ‘most MSS.’] *grahīṣyāmaḥ*), R 2,816*.2 v.l. (CE *grahīṣyāmi*), 66.27 v.l. (CE *grahīṣyāmi*), *grhīṣyate* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 12,192.109 v.l. (CE *grahīṣyase*), R 2,66.13 v.l. (CE *grahīṣye*) >>; — [2.] *grahītā*, Mbh 1,42.7 (*pratigrahītā tām asmi*)
 cond. *agrahīṣyāma*, Mbh 12,10.4 v.l. (CE *grahīṣyāmaḥ*)
 abs. °*grhītvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 1,185.21 (*pratisam+*), 4,931* (*pra+*), *grhya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 2,17.4, R 3,64.13, 6,89.19 (*a+*)
 ger. *grahaṇīya-*, Mbh 5,69.2, 130.2, 138.5, 12,136.62, << *pratigrhītavya-* (↗ 9.5), R 3,70.12 v.l. (CE °*grahītavyaḥ*) >>
 inf. << (*ni*)*grhītum* (↗ 9.6), R 4,7.8 v.l. (CE *nigrhītum*) >>

sec. pass. << part. *grhyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 5,42.11 >>

rem. WHITNEY, *Roots*, lists *grhīthāḥ*, Mbh 8,449*.5 v.l. (not noted by CE, which has [mā] *grhīthāḥ*), and *agrhitām*, R 1,4.3 v.l. (for CE see above), as present-stem forms. Given that both are not mere scribal errors, they should be assigned to the aorist. For the zero grade aorist stem *grh-* see NARTEN (1964: 110); for forms without *-s-* see (↗) 8.2.4.

√**gras** ‘to devour’ (I. [VIA I 403, LIV 192])

- pr. *grasati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,17.8, 2,71.26, 72.1 (*upāgrasat*), 3,40.37, 5,9.8 (*graset*)
- fut. *grasiṣyati*, Mbh 12,2.24, *grasiṣye*, R 5,1167*
- inf. *grasitum*, Mbh 5,34.14, *grastum*, Mbh 5,16.20 (↗ 9.6)
- va. *grasta-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 1,3.62, 3,154.35, 5,9.47, 34.14, 13,141.3, R 4,1053*
- sec. pass. *grasyate*, Mbh 3,60.21.22 ([both times] *grasyamāna-*)

√**glah** ‘to gamble’ — see also (→) *gra(b)h*

- pr. *glahate*, Mbh 2,56.5
- cond. *aglahiṣyat*, Mbh 2,63.18 (↗ 6.2.11)

√**glā** ‘to be weary, to be sulky’ (IV. [KULIKOV 2001: 400])

- pr. *glāyate*, Mbh 3,279.23 v.l. (*glāyamāna-*), 12,54.16, 15,6.20; — [→ II. (↗ 6.6.4.2)] *glāti*, Mbh 3,198.28, 253.16 v.l. (CE *mlānti*), 13,143.11 v.l. (CE *glāyati*)
- aor. [6.] *glāsīḥ*, Mbh 1,76.32 (v.l. *mlāsīḥ*), 3,33.8

- va. *glānta-*, Mbh 15,7.4 v.l. (of ed. Calc., not noted by CE [*glāna-*])
 sec. *glapayati* (↗ p. 247 n. 3), Mbh 3,176.26, 5,34.7, *glapayate*, Mbh
 13,101.17 (*glapet*, Mbh 5,43.20 v.l. [*duḥkham tena ca na glapet*
 (CE completely different)], [va.] *glapita-*, Mbh 1,206.20 v.l.)

rem. The middle present *glāyate* is once attested in Vedic, viz. ŚGS VI 3,8 (see KULIKOV *l.c.*).

√ghaṭ ‘to strive, to be busy with (*acc.*)’ (I. / X.)

- pr. [I.] *ghaṭate*, Mbh 3,36.6, 222.52, 266.11, 10,2.8, R 4,11.47, *ghaṭati*,
 Mbh 3,222.53; — [X.] *ghaṭayati*, Mbh 3,222.52 v.l. (CE *ghaṭante*
sma [see above]), 7,70.22
 fut. [2.] *ghaṭitā*, Mbh 5,167.12 (*param śaktyā ghaṭitārau*)
 sec. caus. *ghāṭayati*, Mbh 3,293.5 (*udghāṭayām āsa* ‘He had [the box]
 opened’)

√ghaṭṭ ‘to push, to shake’ (X.)

- pr. *ghaṭṭayati*, Mbh 4,19.27, 6,60.77~7,38.10, 12,104.18 (v.l. *ghaṭayati*,
 139.43, R 2,474*.2 (*sam+*), 5,10.16 (*avaghaṭṭayan* [v.l. *ava-*
apaghāṭayan ‘closing’ (see above, s.v. √ghaṭ [sec.]])
 pf. *saṃjaghaṭṭire*, R 6,76.26
 fut. [2.] { *ghaṭṭitārau*, Mbh 5,167.12 v.l. (CE *ghaṭitārau* [see above, s.v.
 √ghaṭ]) }
 va. *ghaṭṭita-*, Mbh 4,811* (*vi+*), 7,147.8, R 2,1662*.9 (*sam+*), 4,1.33
 (*vi+*)

√ghuṭ ‘?’

- va. (avi)ghoṭita-, Mbh 3,190.20 v.l. (CE *avighāṭita-* [another v.l. has *avaghoṭita-* on which see below, *rem.*])

rem. PW V 1401 (s.v. √ghuṭ) cites Nīlakaṇṭha’s commentary: “Nīlak. erklärt *avaghoṭita* durch *ślakṣṇīkṛta*”. See also MEYER (1926: 354 n.)

√ghuṣ ‘to hear, to (re)sound’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 50, LIV 200])

- va. *ghuṣṭa-*, Mbh 1,16.2 (*sam+*), 64.22 (*sam+*), 124.9 (*ava+*), 13,10.7 (*sam+*), 96.11, R 2,54.16 (*ud+*), 3,47.31 (*sam+*), 4,26.2 (*id.*), 66.36 (*ud+*), 5,3.21 (*id.*), 6,62.25.29 (*id.*)
- sec. pass. *ghuṣyate*, Mbh 14,92.4, 93.58

√ghūrṇ ‘to waver, to move to and fro’ (I. / VI.)

- pr. *ghūrṇati*, Mbh 1,48.21, 16,9.22, *ghūrṇate*, Mbh 3,166.5, 185.40
- pf. *jughūrṇa*, R 4,16.22 v.l. (*cacāla ca jughūrṇa ca* [CE completely different])
- va. *ghūrṇita-*, Mbh 9,56.61 (*ava+*), R 3,2.24 (*vi+*), 6,14.21 (*ā+*)

rem. The *ātm.* perfect *jughūrṇe* does not seem to be attested in the Epics, but only in the *Harivaṃśa*.

√ghṛṣ ‘to rub’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 53])

- pr. *gharṣati*, Mbh 8,27.34 (*ni+*), *gharṣate*, Mbh 3,1358*.4

- va. *ghṛṣṭa-*, Mbh 3,107.10, 146.27
 sec. pass. (*ni*)*ghṛṣyate*, Mbh 1,85.17, << part. (*saṃ*)*ghṛṣyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 1,16.21 >>; — caus. *gharṣita-*, R 4,1.33 v.l. (of ed. Gorr. [*reṇuṃ vāyuvegena gharṣitam*])

√*ghrā* ‘to smell’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 282, LIV 221])

- pr. *jighrāṇa-* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,134.13 v.l. (CE *jighran* [*somya*]); — [→ I. (↗ p. 196 n. 1)] (*upa+*)*ajighranta*, Mbh 13,50.10 (v.l. *upajighranti*); — [→ II. (↗ 6.6.3.2)] *ghrāti*, Mbh 3,219.49 (*upā+*), 14,22.14; — [→ IV. (↗ 6.6.3.3)] *upāghrāyati*, Mbh 3,219.49 v.l. (CE *upāghrāti* [see above]), *āghrāyate*, Mbh 13,105.58
 ger. *ghreya-*, Mbh 2,5.56, 12,187.10, 188.7, 14,20.20
 va. *ghrāta-*, Mbh 7,792* (↗ 9.4)

*cakāś*⁰ ‘to become visible, to appear’ (cf. VIA I 387, LIV 384)

- pr. [I.] *cakāśete*, Mbh 3,12.53 (v.l. *°kāśetām* [augmentless impf.]), 8,33.16 (v.l. *cākasetām* [augmentless impf.])

rem. This (sec.) root is based on the perfect of (→) √*kāś* (cf. √*bhī*).

√*caṣ* ‘to see, to perceive’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 547, LIV 383-85])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] *cakṣati*, Mbh 8,48.2 v.l. ([2sg. impf.] *acakṣah*), 9,28.45 ([1sg. impf.] *ācakṣam* [v.l. *ācakṣe*]), 13,31.44 ([2pl. imp.] *ācakṣata*), *cakṣate*, Mbh 1,45.18, 122.20, 4,32.48 ([throughout 2pl. imp.] *ācakṣadhvam*), 5,92.8 ([3dual impf.] *acakṣetām*)

- pf. << *ā-cakṣire* (↗ 8.1.1), R 5,63.4 v.l. >>
 sec. pass. *cakṣyate*, Mbh 13,4.17 v.l. (CE *paricakṣate*)

√**cam** ‘to sip’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 283, LIV 389-390])

- pf. (*ā*)*cemuḥ*, Mbh 5,81.59

√**car** ‘to move (in circles)’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 284, LIV 386-388, KULIKOV 2001: 71-73]) — see also (→) √*cal*

- fut. *cariṣyadhvam*, Mbh 1,208.21 (↗ 8.4.2)
 cond. *acariṣyāma*, Mbh 12,10.5
 abs. *cīrtvā* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 5,107.12, 13,10.57, 130.43 = 50 = 53, *cartvā*, Mbh 5,107.12 v.l. (CE *cīrtvā*)
 ger. *cartavya-* (↗ 9.5), Mbh 13,109.2, 128.33, 129.19, R 2,111.3 (see below, *rem.*)
 inf. *cartum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,3.141, 3,551*, 193.14, 4,267*.10 (*sampari+*), 13,116.19, R 3,9.14 v.l., 7,69.8, 70.3
 sec. int. *cañcūryante*, Mbh 1,211.5 ([abs.] *cañcūrya*, R 4,29.14 [↗ 9.7.2]); — caus. ([pass.] *cāryate*, Mbh 3,27.3 [*uccāryamāna-*])

rem. On the ger. **upacartavya-*, R 2,110.3 (CE *upavartavya-*), see BURROW, *JRAS* 1981, p. 218.

√**care** ‘to cover with’

- va. *carcita-*, Mbh 2,62.31 v.l. (CE *rūṣita-*)

rem. At R 7, App. 3.18 *carcita-* is used in the meaning 'rubbed off' (see PW V 1414 s.v. \sqrt{carc}): *yogam abhyasatas tasya netrābhyām yad raso 'srauat / tad grhītam bhagavatā pāṇinā carcitam tu tat* (v.l. *marditam*).

\sqrt{cal} 'to gad about, to set out' (I. *set*) — see also (→) \sqrt{car}

- pr. *calate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,71.9, R 6,19.19
 pf. *cacāla*, Mbh 1,160.29, 2,42.25, 3,12.51, R 1,18.20 (*pra+*), *celuḥ*, Mbh 3,18.6 (*celivān*, Mbh 8,29.5)
 fut. *(vi)caliṣyati*, Mbh 1,205.29
 ger. *calitavya-*, R 3,788*
 inf. *calitum*, Mbh 3,63.6 (*vi+*), 169.6 (*vi+*), 8,18.42 (*vi+*), 15,22.22
 sec. caus. *cālayate*, R 1,39.14 ([*pass.*] *cālyate*, Mbh 1,146.13 [*vi+*], 3,239.15 [*vi+*], 13,65.26, R 5,33.44 [*pravi+*], << [*vi*] *cālyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 14,19.27 v.l. [CE *vicālyeta*] >>)

rem. The causative *cālayati* is (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.) attested as early as the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda (AVP 5.34.7) and other Vedic texts (see GOTO 1987: 136 n. 174-175), and the verbal adjective *calita-* is to be found at JUB 3.21.4.

\sqrt{ci} 'to pile up, to gather' (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 55, LIV 378-379, KULIKOV 2001: 73])

- pr. << *pracinuhi* (↗ 7.5.2), Mbh 3,70.10 >>
 abs. << (*samuc*) *cīya* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 2,54.25, *saṃcayitvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 13,60.16 v.l. (CE *sraṃsayitvā*) >>
 ger. *cēya-*, Mbh 12,280.22
 sec. pass. << (*upa*) *cīyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 3,169.10 >>

rem. (a) It was not possible to trace the fut. II *cetā* in the Epics; (b) the abs. *saṃcayitvā* points to a present stem *caya-* (see [♣] p. 280 n. 1).

²√*ci* ‘to observe, to search’ (I. [*cāya-*] *aniṭ* [VIA I 56, LIV 377-378, KULIKOV 2001: 350]) — *ava+* ‘to examine’, *vi+* ‘to search’

- pr. [→ V.] *cinoti*, Mbh 3,65.5 ([part.] *cinvantah*), 3,134.26.27 ([both times] *avacinvanti*), 5,176.6 (*vicinotu*), *cinute*, Mbh 3,65.6 ([part.] *vicinvānah*), (→ sec. them. [♣ 6.2.1 (p. 136), 6.6.5.1]) *vicinvatha*, R 4,42.12, *vicinvatha*, R 4,42.15 v.l. (CE °*cinudhvam*), *vicinvadhvam*, R 1,38.13
- pf. (*vi*)*cikyatuḥ*, R 3,65.7 (v.ll. *vicinvatuḥ* [!]) / *nirīkṣatuḥ*
- fut. *ceṣyati*, R 3,61.14 (*vi+*), 5,10.10.12 (id.)
- abs. ([*vi*]niś)*citya*, Mbh 1,38.28, 165.42, 3,69.8, 5,113.1, 142.26, 175.23, R 5,9.3, (*vi*)*citvā* (♣ 9.7.1), R 3,60.3, << *vicīya* (♣ 9.7), Mbh 5,15.28 >>
- ger. *cetavya-*, Mbh 3,266.18 (*vi+*), R 4,41.15 (id.), 42.28 (id.), *ceya-*, R 4,39.27 (*vi+*), 39.59 (id.)
- inf. (*vi*)*cetum*, Mbh 3,105.18, R 4,901*

rem. It cannot be excluded that the presents *cinoti* / *cinute* belong to ¹√*ci*, i.e. that ¹√*ci* and ²√*ci* have coalesced into *one* root (cf. VIA I 55). In that case they would be completely regular.

√*cit* ‘to perceive, to know’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 58, LIV 382-383])

- sec. des. *cikitsate*, Mbh 12,128.16 (*vicikitsase* [v.l. *vicikitsyase*]), 318.33, << aor. [5.] *vicikitsithāḥ* (♣ 8.2.5), Mbh 5,71.23 >>; —

caus. (part. << *cetayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 1,87.17, 3,238.19, 5,37.26, 18,2.48, R 2,101.7 >>)

√**cint** ‘to think’ (X. [KULIKOV 2001: 583, cf. VIA I 58])

- pr. (part. << *cintayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 1,3.161, 4,21.23, R 1,8.2, 2,77.23, 3,53.2 >>)
- abs. (*pari*)*cintayitvā* (↗ 9.7.1), R 5,46.40, *cintya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 1,9.2, 3,59.15, 207.11, 231.4 (*a+*), 5,170.8, 193.1, 7,11.5, 8,233*, 9,34.66, R 6,43.9 (*a+*), 46.42 (*id.*)
- ger. *cintanīya-*, Mbh 4,816*
- inf. *cintayitum*, Mbh 3,361*, 12,273.50 (*sam+*), R 4,1339* (*id.*)
- sec. pass. << (*vi*)*cintyamāna-* (↗ p. 266), Mbh 1,444* >>

√**cud** ‘to impel, to urge’ (I. [VIA I 404, LIV 560, KULIKOV 2001: 584]) — see also (↗) p. 271 n. 3

- aor. *acūcudat* (↗ 8.2.3), Mbh 1,44.6, 8,40.92 v.l. (*sam+* [CE *samacodayat*]), 13,1.28.43
- va. *cudita-* (↗ p. 271), Mbh 3,170.36 v.l. (*pra+* [CE {{*pramudita-*}}])
- sec. caus. (cond. *acodayiṣyaḥ*, Mbh 7,62.6 [↗ 6.2.11], abs. (*sam*)*codayitvā* [↗ 9.7.1], R 4,36.33, part. << *codayāna-* [↗ 9.1], R 6,80.42 v.l. >>)

√**cup** ‘to stir’ (I.)

- pr. *copati*, Mbh 3,133.25.26, 297.42.43

√cumb ‘to kiss’ (I. [VIA I 628])

- pr. *(pari)cumbati*, R 4,30*.1
 pf. *cucumbatuḥ*, Mbh 8,68.56

√ceṣṭ ‘to stir, to be busy’ (I. [VIA I 629])

- pf. *ciceṣṭa*, R 2,833*.4 v.l. (see next), << (↗ 8.1.1) *vi-ceṣṭa*, R 2,833*.4 v.l. (CE *viveda*), *vi-ceṣṭatuḥ*, Mbh 8,15.41 v.l. (CE *viveṣṭatuḥ*) >>
 ger. *ceṣṭitavya-*, Mbh 12,136.7
 inf. *ceṣṭitum*, Mbh 3,175.19 (*vi+*), 176.39 (*id.*), 10,8.17
 va. *ceṣṭita-*, Mbh 3,73.3 (*vi+*), R 4,1010*

√cyu ‘to move, to stray from’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 61, LIV 393-395])

- pr. *cyavati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,181.31 ([part.] *cyavantam*), 184.2 (*cyaveyam*), R 2,34.5
 inf. *cyavitum*, Mbh 15,22.22 v.l. (CE *calitum*)
 sec. caus. ([pass.] << *cāvyate* [< dissimilated *cyāvyate* (↗ p. 197 n. 1)], Mbh 14,17.26 >>)

√chad ‘to cover’ (X. *aniṭ* [VIA I 62, KULIKOV 2001: 350-351])

- pr. (part. << *chādayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 6,53.5, 8,11.11 >>)
 abs. *(ā)cchādayitvā*, Mbh 4,63.22, *chādya* (↗ 9.7.2), R 5,17.3

rem. The *ātm. chādayate* is (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.) attested since the Yajurveda prose (see GOTO 1997: 1002).

√**chand** (X. *aniṭ* [VIA I 63, GOTO 1997: 1004-1006])

- pr. {{ *chandati*, Mbh 12,194.11, 532*.3 (*avacchandati*) – see *rem.* (a) below }}
- sec. caus. *chandayāmi*, Mbh 12,192.74, *chandaye*, R 2,110.14 (pf. *chandayām āsa*, Mbh 1,201.16, pass. *chandyate*, Mbh 9,52.10 [imp. *chandyatām*], 12,31.9 [id.], 435* [*chandyamāna-*], 13,2.54 [*saṃchandyamāna-*], 2.64 [*chandyamāna-*], 95.83 [id.]

rem. (a) On (the alleged pr.) *chandati*, see HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,167 (we have to read *chandasi* ‘in the Veda’ in both stanzas); (b) on the caus. *chandayāmi te* ‘I please you (= I ingratiate myself with you)’ and *chandaye tvām* ‘I please you [with my person]’ (> pass. *chandyate* ‘to be pleased with [*instr.*]’) see SAKAMOTO-GOTO (1993: 299-300 n. 12).

√**chid** ‘to cut’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 64, LIV 547-548, KULIKOV 2001: 280-282])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.7.1)] *chindati*, R 3,66.5, 6,96.20, *chindate*, R 3,66.4; — << *acchinam* (↗ p. 199 n. 5), Mbh 3,22.3, 7,966*, *acchindaḥ*, Mbh 7,118.4 v.l. (CE *acicchidaḥ* [on which see below]) >>
- aor. [3.] *acicchidaḥ* (↗ 8.2.3), Mbh 7,118.4; — [4.] << *chetsiḥ* (↗ 8.2.4), Mbh 2,488* >>
- fut. (*acchetsyat*, reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 7,5993 not noted by CE 7,118.25 [*acchaitsam*]); — [2.] *chettā*, Mbh 16,2.9 (*yūyaṃ ... ucchettāraḥ kulam kṛtsnam* [↗ 8.5(b)])

- ger. *chettavya-*, R 6,3079*, *chedya-*, Mbh 5,162.20
 sec. pass. << (*vyuc*)*chidyet* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,147.8 >>

√**chur** ‘to scatter’

- va. *churita-*, Mbh 12,363*,4

√**jan** ‘to be born, (tr.) to beget, to give birth’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 286, LIV 163-165, KULIKOV 2001: 242-243])

- pr. *jāyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 13,112.42.90.92.100, 117.26
 aor. [5.] << *ajāyithāḥ* (↗ 8.2.5), Mbh 1,94.31 (v.l. *ajanayah*), 12,76.25 (*abhi+*) >>; — (pass.) (*a*)*jani* (↗ p. 245 n. 2), Mbh 5,131.14 v.l.
 prec. *jāyāt*, Mbh 3,13.62 (v.l. *jāyet*), 13,88.12 (≠ Manu 3.264 [*bhūyāt*])
 fut. *jāsyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 1,93.38 (*pra+*), 3,188.48 (id.), 225.25 (id.), R 1,36.6 (id.)
 abs. (*pra*)*jāyivā* (↗ 9.7 / 9.7.1), Mbh 12,61.5

√**jap** ‘to murmur, to whisper’ (I. [VIA I 405])

- pf. *jajāpa*, R 2,6.6, 22.15 (*abhi+*), 3,64.34, *jepuḥ*, Mbh 3,144.16, R 1,309*.70 (*upa+*), 2,70.18, 2093*.7
 abs. *jāptvā* (↗ 9.7 [and below, *rem.*]), Mbh 5,142.30, 13,26.53, R 1,133*, 7,31.37, 34.28
 ger. *jāptavya-*, R 7,App.1.301 v.l., *jāpya-*, Mbh 13,App.14A.66 v.l. (CE *jāpya-*)
 inf. *jāpitum*, Mbh 12,193.7
 va. *jāpta-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 5,177.22, R 6,93.11 (*upa+*)

sec. pass. *japyate*, Mbh 12,323.32

rem. Within Vedic it is only in late Gṛhyasūtras (ĀgniGS and VaiGS) that *japtvā* is attested.

√**jalp** ‘to mutter’ (I. [VIA I 630])

pr. *jalpate* (↗ 6.1[b]), R 5,35.19, 6,80.37 ([both times] *saṃjalpamāna-*)

pf. *jajalpuḥ*, R 1,73.19 (*sam+*), 6,77.28

ger. *jalpya-*, Mbh 1,App.72.94

va. *jalpita-*, Mbh 12,85.7 (*abhi+*), R 2,51.16, 5,56.112

√**jas** ‘to starve, to be exhausted’ (IV. [VIA I 68, KULIKOV 2001: 401, GOTO 1987: 84])

sec. caus. ([pass.] *ujjāsyamāna-*, R 7,94.11 v.l. [CE *vitṛāsyamāna-*])

√**jāgr** ‘to be awake’ (/ ³√*gr* [II. *aniṭ* (VIA I 71, LIV 245-246)])

pr. << (↗ 2.19) part. *jāgran*, Mbh 12,245.10 — (↗ 7.2.7) *jāgrmi*, Mbh 12,168.50 — (↗ 7.2.7) *jāgrati*, R 2,44.26 (*anvajāgrat*), *jāgrate*, Mbh 13,177*.3 (*jāgramāṇa-*) — (↗ 7.2.7) *jāgarati*, Mbh 12,209.3 >>

pf. << *jajāgāra*, Mbh 1,138.31 >>

fut. *jāgariṣyāmaḥ*, R 2,45.3, *jāgariṣyāmahe*, R 2,80.4

ger. *jāgartavya-*, Mbh 1,138.30, 13,52.31, R 2,47.3, << *jāgrtavya-* (↗ 9.5), Mbh 1,138.30 v.l. (CE *jāgartavye*), 5,133.27 >>

√*ji* ‘to win, to defeat’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 69, LIV 206, KULIKOV 2001: 584]) – *parā+* (*ātm.*) ‘to lose’

- aor. [3.] *ajījayat*, Mbh 7, App.8.543.659; — [4.] << *parājaiṣṭhāḥ* (↗ 8.2.4), Mbh 2,60.8 v.l. (CE *°jaiṣṭh*), 5,37.19 (v.l. *°jaiṣṭh* / *°jayethāḥ*), *parājaiṣṭa* (↗ 8.2.4), Mbh 1,155.22 v.l. (CE *°jaiṣṭ*) >>
- prec. *jīyāt*, Mbh 1,216.28 (v.l. *jayyāt*), << *parājayyāt* (↗ 8.3), Mbh 2,15.3, 4,46.17 >>
- fut. (↗ 8.4) *jeṣyate*, Mbh 2,44.21 (*vi+*), 3,1227*.6, *jaiṣyati*, R 1,26.3, 6,52.12, 56.15, *jaiṣyate*, Mbh 7,78.18 (*parā+*), R 6, App.30.121 (*sam+*), 7,20.24 v.l. (*vi+* [CE *vijeṣyati*]); — [2.] (°)*jetā*, Mbh 2,15.3 v.l. (↗ 6.2.10), 5,135.4, 184.10, R 4,38.5
- inf. *jayitum*, R 7,29.17 v.l.
- ger. *jetavya-*, Mbh 2,18.2, 25.11, 7,122.38, R 6,77.12, 95.7, *jeya-*, Mbh 1,164.5 (*a+*), 193.12 (*id.*), 7,133.33 (*id.*), 176.16
- sec. pass. *jīyate*, Mbh 1,197.19, 3,56.9.18 (*jīyeyam*, Mbh 7,53.53 v.l. [CE *jīye* (*vi-*)])

rem. (a) *aīyanta*, Mbh 5,125.8, is not – *pace* Renou (1956: 106 n. 1) and crit. notes *ad loc.* – ‘= *ajayan*’ (!), but belongs to √*ja* (on which see KULIKOV 2001: 282-285): *yat punar draviṇaṃ kiṃcit tatrājīyanta pāṇḍavāḥ* ‘Of whatever riches the Pāṇḍavas were deprived in that [game], ...’; (b) the passive *jīyate* is attested already in late Vedic texts (see KULIKOV 2001: 584).

√*jīv* ‘to live’ (I. [LIV 215-216, KULIKOV 2001: 74, cf. VIA I 631])

- pr. *jīvate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,13.61 (*jīvamāna-*), 3,256.4 (*samjī-vamāna-*), R 1,74.9, 3,9.17 (*jīvamāna-*)
- pf. ([*pratisam*])*jījīve*, R 5,27.6 v.l.

- fut. *jīviṣye*, R 5,38.10
 inf. *jīvase*, Mbh 1,3.70 (↗ p. XXIX, 274 n. 3)
 abs. *°jīvyā*, Mbh 4,App.39.14, 5,155.29 (both times *upa+*), 14,5.10 (*sam+*)
 sec. caus. *jīvayate* << *jīvayiṣyadhvam* (↗ 8.4.2), Mbh 3,266.30 >>, << *jīvāpayati* (↗ 8.8), R 7,67.10 (in: *jīvāpita-*) >>

√**juṣ** ‘to find delight in’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 70, LIV 166-167])

- pr. *juṣati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,184.13, 13,27.100
 sec. caus. *joṣayati*, Mbh 6,25.26

√**jū** ‘to hurry’ (I. / IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 287, LIV 166])

- va. (*pra*)*javita-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 6,67.22, 74.19, 7,8.18, 13.45, 73.10, 92.29, R 6,44.6

√**jṛmbh** ‘to yawn, to stretch; to unstring a bow’ (cf. GOTO 1987: 74)

- pf. *jajṛmbhe*, Mbh 4,22.17 (*vi+*), R 6,48.49
 va. *jṛmbhita-*, R 1,74.17.19, 6,58.22
 sec. int. *jājṛmbhamāṇa-*, R 6,48.50 (↗ 8.10)

√**jṛ** ‘to grow old, to decay’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 288, LIV 165-166, KULIKOV 2001: 402-404])

- pr. *jīryate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 12,28.29, 318.37 (*jīryeran*)

rem. The middle present *jīryate* is attested already in Vedic Sanskrit, viz. AĀ 2.1.7 (see KULIKOV, *loc. cit.*).

√*jñā* ‘to know’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 508, LIV 168-170, KULIKOV 2001: 74-76])

- pr. << *jānīma* (↗ 6.3.1.2), Mbh 1,187.2, 3,249.4, 5,30.5 v.l. (CE *jānāmi*), R 4,1094*.6, *jānīta* (↗ 6.3.1.3), Mbh 3,61.120, R 5,40.9, *jānīdhvam* (↗ 6.3.1.5), Mbh 2,34.3 >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.9.1)] *jānati*, Mbh 2,19.39 ([2pl.] *pratijānatha*), 63.18 ([2pl. imp.] *jānata*), *jānate*, Mbh 1,7.3.4, 11.5, 193.13, 5,104.23, 156.4, 158.25, 14,66.12 (always *jānamāna-* [!]), 2,3.30 (*ajānanta*), 13,109.69 (*vijānate*), 14,55.16 (*abhyanujānathāḥ*)
- aor. [5.] << (*abhyanu*)*jānithāḥ*, Mbh 14,55.16 v.l. (CE *’jānathāḥ* [see above]) >>
- cond. *ajñāsyat*, Mbh 2,70.17, 7,50.74 (↗ 6.2.11)
- sec. des. *jijñāsati*, Mbh 14,34.15 (*jijñāsant-*), R 1,30.10 (id.), 4,60.3 (id.), ([pass.] *jijñāsyatām*, Mbh 3,97.13, *jijñāsyamānaḥ*, Mbh 3,97.14, << *jijñāsyāmaḥ*, Mbh 3,App.21.67, [2sg. imp.] *upajijñāsyā*, Mbh 13,58.14 [↗ 8.9] >>); — caus. (*ā*)*jñāptum*, R 4,747*, *jñāpyate*, Mbh 3,100.24

rem. The causative passive *jñāpyate* is attested (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.) already in the Brāhmaṇas (see KULIKOV 2001: 75).

√*jyut* ‘to shine’ (KULIKOV 2001: 77, cf. VIA I 99)

rem. The middle present *jyotate* is not attested in the Epics. At the only place the PW cites, viz. Mbh 3,43.29, the crit. ed. has *dyotate* and none of its mss. reads *jyotate*.

√**jvar** ‘to be in a fever, to suffer’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 510, LIV 170-171])

— see also (→) √*jval*

fut. (*saṃ*)*jvarisyanti*, Mbh 12,147.19

√**jval** ‘to burn’ (I. *seṭ* [cf. VIA I 510, LIV 170-171, KULIKOV 2001: 351]) — see also (→) √*jvar*

pr. *jvalate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,88.24, 224.16 (*jvalamāna-*), 2,3.21 (id.), 13,103.37

sec. int. *jājvalyate*, Mbh 1,92.26 (*jājvalyamāna-*), 12,224.75, R 6,405*, << *jājvalati* (↗ 8.10), Mbh 7,173.87 ([part. (↗ 2.19)] *jājvalan*), 12,300.8 v.1. (CE *jājvalīti*), R 1,59.31 ([part. (↗ 2.19)] *jājvalan*), *jājvalate*, Mbh 12,224.75 v.1 (CE *jājvalyate*) >>

√**ḍī** ‘to fly’

va. *ḍīna-*, Mbh 7,18.24 (*pra+*), 8,28.24.25 (without and with all kinds of preverbs), R 4,1277*.3 (*prod+*)

√**ḍhauk** ‘to approach’ (I.)

sec. caus. (va. *ḍhaukita-*, Mbh 12,264*)

√takṣ ‘to timber, to carpenter’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 75, LIV 638-639])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] *takṣati*, Mbh 5,122.38, *takṣate*, Mbh 6,43.12
(*takṣamāṇa-*), 9,22.77 (id.)
pf. *tatakṣāte*, Mbh 3,40.25, 7,122.59 (*sam+*)

rem. On the alleged Vedic class I. present *takṣati* (see *Roots* s.v. and AiGr., *Introduction générale* p. 90 n. 338), see NARTEN (1964: 124-127).

√tan / √tā ‘to stretch’ (VIII. [VIA I 407, LIV 626-627, KULIKOV 2001: 77-81])

- pf. *tene*, Mbh 3,139.1 v.l. (CE *āste*)
sec. pass. (of √*tā*) (*pra*)*tīyate*, Mbh 5,43.27 v.l. (CE *°tāyate*) ~ 12,260.18
v.l. (CE *°tāyate*)

rem. (a) On the root variant √*tā* see KÜMMEL (2000: 210 with n. 278); (b) it was not possible to trace the pf. *tenuḥ* in the Epics.

√tap ‘to be hot, to heat’ (I. / IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 77, LIV 629-630, KULIKOV 2001: 285-292])

- aor. [3.] (*abhy*)*atītapat*, Mbh 7,31.44
fut. (↗ 8.4) *tapsyate*, Mbh 8,27.32, R 1,60.2, *tapiṣyati*, Mbh 3,188.75
(*pra+*); — [2.] *taptā*, Mbh 1,223.11
cond. *atapsyat*, Mbh 5,47.52 (↗ p. 169)
abs. (*pra*)*tapitvā* (↗ 9.7 / 9.7.1), R 6,1222*.3
ger. *taptavya-*, Mbh 3,164.22

- inf. *taptum*, Mbh 1,157.8, 3,107.3, 207.6, 10,17.26, R 7,5.8
 sec. int. *tātapyate*, R 1,11.8 v.l. (CE *lālapyamānasya*); — caus. << part. *tāpayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 15,39.12, fut. II [↗ 8.8], *pratāpitā*, Mbh 8,359*.4 >>, ([pass.] *tāpyate*, Mbh 5,34.52)

√**tam** ‘to faint’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 289, LIV 624, KULIKOV 2001: 405-406])

rem. Middle *tāmyate* is attested already at MānŚS I 7,6.49 – VārŚS I 7,4.51 (see KULIKOV 2001: 405).

√**tarj** ‘to threaten, to abuse’ (X. / I. [VIA I 633, LIV 632 and above (↗) p. LIII])

- pr. [X.] *tarjayati*, Mbh 3,264.46, 7,120.70, R 5,20.36 (*pari+*), 6,101.33, *tarjayate*, Mbh 3,157.49 (*abhi+*), 5,63.4 v.l. (CE *tarkayase*), << (part.) *tarjayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 6,82.19, 13,143.8 >> — [I.] *tarjati*, R 2,App.26.54 v.l. ([part.] *tarjadbhiḥ* [CE *tarjayadbhiḥ*]), *tarjate*, Mbh 6,81.33, 7,120.70 v.l. (on CE see above)
 abs. *tarjayitvā*, Mbh 6,144*, 97.8, (*abhi*)*tarjya*, R 3,47.19
 va. *tarjita-*, Mbh 12,15.31 (*sam+*), R 3,23.4, 54.32, 4,62.6, 5,20.11, 23.4, 35.56 (*abhi+*), 6,3184*
 sec. pass. *tarjyate*, Mbh 9,31.6, 14,78.9 (*sam+*), R 3,App.12.7, 5,20.10, 57.11 ([all] *tarjyamāna-*), — caus. *tarjāpayati* (↗ 8.8), R 6,25.9

√**tij** ‘to be sharp’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 78, LIV 592-593])

- sec. caus. *tejayati*, Mbh 5,73.3 ([part.] *saṃtejayan*)

rem. On *titikṣati* see (→) *√tyaj*.

√tim ‘to be wet’ (see EWAia s.v. *tim*¹)

va. *timita-*, R 4,1300* (see below, rem. [a])

rem. (a) Is *tāms timitān*, R 4,1300*, to be interpreted as *tān stimitān* (→ *√stim*)?; (b) for WHITNEY’s *√tim* ‘to be quiet’ (with its va. *timita-*) see (→) *√stim*.

√tud ‘to push, to thrust’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 80, LIV 601])

pr. *(vi)tudante* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,85.6; — << *tudyām*, R 3,47.4 v.l. (CE *rundhyām*) >>

abs. *tudya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 1,1.139 (CE *dhanuṣkoṭyā tudya* [read *°ātudya* ?]), R 2,1784*.2

sec. pass. *tudyate*, Mbh 3,10.13 (*tudyamāna-*), 9,53.29 (id.), 11,24.1 (*vitudyamāna-*); — caus. ([pass. (part.)] *pratodyatām*, Mbh 13,118.11 v.l. [CE *pracodyatām*])

rem. (a) The caus. *todaya-* is attested only with its va. *(pra)todita-*, Mbh 13,53.41 v.l. (CE *pracodita-*); (b) of the caus. pass. only *todyati* (in: *pratodyatām* [on which see above]) is attested (pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v. *√tud*).

√tuṣ ‘to be content’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 82, LIV 641-642, KULIKOV 2001: 406-407])

pf. *tutoṣa*, Mbh 1,165.12, 213.67, 220.30, R 2,1.5

fut. *toṣisyati*, Mbh 1,182.7

- abs. *tuṣya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 3,30.44, 5,411*.4
inf. *toṣtum*, Mbh 4,45.7
sec. caus. *toṣayiṣye*, Mbh 1,49.20 (abs. *toṣya* [↗ 9.7.2], Mbh 1,1.109)

rem. (a) The verbal adj. *tuṣta-* is attested already in Vedic Sanskrit (see VIA I 82 *pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.); (b) the gerundive *toṣañīya-* could not be traced in the Epics.

√*tṛp* ‘to be pleased’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 84, LIV 636, KULIKOV 2001: 409-409])

- pf. *tatarpa*, Mbh 3,290.4, R 2,3.13
sec. caus. << part. *tarpayāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 14,10.35 >>, ([pass.] *tarpyate*, R 2,1.7 [*tarpyamāṇa-*])

rem. Middle *tṛpyate* is attested already in Vedic texts (see KULIKOV 2001: 407-409 *pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.), and the present *tarpati* is only the reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 14,1040 (*tarpanty atha juhvati*), which is not recorded by the crit. ed. (14,37.16).

√*tṛṣ* ‘to be thirsty’ (IV. [VIA I 408, LIV 637-638, KULIKOV 2001: 409-410])

- sec. caus. ([va.] *tarṣita-*, R 2,96.1)

√*tṛ* ‘to cross, to pass’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 291, LIV 633-634, KULIKOV 2001: 351-353])

- pf. *(ava)teruh*, Mbh 1,59.3
fut. *tariṣyāmahe*, R 1,22.16

- abs. ^otīrya, Mbh 1,138.4 (*sam+*), R 2,41.28 (*id.*)
 ger. taraṇīya-, R 2,644*.4, tartavya- (↗ 9.5), Mbh 7,95.5 (*v.l. tari-*
tavya-)
 inf. tartum (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,41.10 (*nis+*), 59.1 (*ava+*), 145.40, 3,917*,
 260.8 (*ava+*), 4,13.19, 44.14 (*ud+*), 5,127.15 (*nis+*), 7,1.41, R
 1,67.10, 2,1079*.9, 3,45.37, 4,930*.1, 55.21 (*ava+*), taritum, Mbh
 1,221.5 *v.l.* (*CE saritum*), R 6,4.69, tarītum, R 4,930*.1 *v.l.* (*CE see*
above), 6,53*, (*caus. << avatāritum [↗ 9.6], R 4,1168* >>*)
 sec. desid. titīṣate, Mbh 13,48.35 (*titīṣamāṇa-*)

rem. WHITNEY's pass. *tīryate* is a reading of Mbh ed. Calc. (7,8721), which is not recorded by the crit. ed. (7,164.81). And the pass. of the *caus.* (*tāryate*, Mbh 1,99.8 [*tāryamāṇa-*], 8,28.16 [*pratāryamāṇa-*], R 2,83.18 *v.l.*) is attested as early as the Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa (see KULIKOV 2001: 351-353).

√**tyaj** 'to abandon' (*I. aniṭ* [VIA I 485, LIV 643])

- pf. tatyāja (↗ p. 220 n. 3), R 2,32.19, 6,46.19, tatyajuḥ, Mbh 3,699* =
 R 2,2093*.2 (*sam+*), tatyaje, Mbh 2,16.36 (*tatyajāte*), 3,92.6
(tatyajire)
 aor. [4.] atyākṣit, Mbh 1,69.25 (*mā tyākṣiḥ*), 7,70.34
 fut. (↗ 8.4) tyakṣyati, Mbh 1,110.28, R 2,41.18, 58.47 (*sam+*), 4,53.15,
 tyakṣyate, R 3,43.33, 4,61.15, tyajīṣyati, R 7,49.11 (*sam+*), 50.12
(id.)
 abs. tyaktvā, Mbh 5,92.19, (*sam*)tyaktvā (↗ 9.7.1), R 7,79.7, tyajya (↗
 9.7.2), Mbh 8,673*.1, R 3,57.3.24
 ger. tyaktavya-, R 2,26.3
 inf. tyaktum, Mbh 2,71.35 (*samabhi+*), R 3,43.16, 70.23
 sec. pass. tyajyate, R 3,47.12; — des. titikṣati, Mbh 1,74.1.5, 82.10,
 2,45.12 ([*part.*] *titikṣan*), << titikṣmahe (↗ 8.9), Mbh 5,93.44 >>; —

caus. *tyājayati*, R 4, App. 11.36, 6, 66.10, 71.18 ([abs.] *tyājayitvā*, Mbh 13, 5.25)

rem. (a) Middle *tyajate* is attested as early as AVP (Kashm.) XX 14,4 (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.); (b) the future *tyajisyate* does not seem to be attested in the Epics; (c) WHITNEY has *titikṣati* under *√tij* (cf. VIA I 485).

√trap ‘to feel abashed’ (I. [VIA I 527, LIV 650]) — always with
(vy)apa+

pr. *trapate*, Mbh 3, 2.60 (apa+), 5, 9.30 (apa+), R 2, 33.10 ([part.] *vyapatrapamānā*), *trapati*, Mbh 1, 109.26 ([part.] *vyapatrapan*), 12, 259.24 (apa+), R 2, 51.26 (vyapa+)

√tras ‘to be terrified’ (I. / IV. [VIA I 409, LIV 650-651])

pr. [I.] *trasasva* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 13, App. 8.14; — [IV. (↗ 6.6.1.2)] *trasyati*, Mbh 3, 78.14 v.l. (CE *paśyasi*), 5, 34.24

pf. *tatrāsa*, Mbh 3, 264.36 (vi+), R 5, 26.1 (id.), *tatrasuḥ*, Mbh 6, 42.11 (vi+), 7, 64.24 (id.), *tresatuḥ*, Mbh 2, 40.2, *tresuḥ* (↗ p. 52), Mbh 1, 219.28 (vi+), 3, 166.12 (id.), 7, 19.43 (id.), 172.25, *tatrasire*, Mbh 12, 67.30 (apa+)

fut. *trasiṣyati*, Mbh 7, 3.14, R 4, 53.17 v.l.

sec. caus. (vi) *trāsayetām* (↗ 6.4.1), Mbh 3, 194.17, 6, 43.25, << part. *trāsayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 6, 48.20, 14, 92.6 >>, ([pass.] *trāsyate*, Mbh 3, 99.17 v.l. [*trāsyamāna-*], 194.17 [*vitrāsyamāna-*], R 7, 94.11 [id.]

rem. *treṣuḥ* is the reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 7, 3143, which is not recorded by the critical edition (7, 64.22).

√**trā** ‘to rescue, to protect’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 292, KULIKOV 2001: 243-244])

- pr. [IV.] *trāyēt* (↗ 6.1[a]), R 3,57.11; — [→ II. (↗ 6.6.4.2)] *trāti*, Mbh 1,220.14, 4,335* (*pari+*), R 5,36.39 (id.), *trāhi*, Mbh 1,48.24, 77.21, 158.32, 167.21, 201.14, 3,53.7, R 1,59.18, 2,99.10, 3,50.5, 57.7 (*pari+*), 57.11, *trātu*, Mbh 3,213.7, *trāta*, Mbh 7,31.6
- fut. *trāsyati*, Mbh 1,139.25 v.l. (*trāsyāmi* [CE *trāsyē* ‘ham]), 5,14.14; — [2.] *trātā*, Mbh 8,24.88
- cond. (*pari*)*trāsyah* (↗ 8.6), Mbh 8,13.24
- ger. *trātavya-*, Mbh 3,13.64, 7,20.42
- inf. *trātum*, Mbh 3,61.19, 63.6, 6,App.4.57, R 1,61.4, 2,8.25, 5,22.26 (*pari+*), 6,23.10

√**tvar** ‘to hasten’ (I. [VIA I 634, LIV 655])

- pr. *tvarati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,87.6 (↗ 8.8.2), 2,57.11 ([part.] *tvaran*), 3,277.36, R 1,51.23
- pf. (*pra*)*tatvare*, Mbh 6,81.24
- aor. [3.] *atitvarat*, Mbh 14,65.11
- ger. *tvaraṇīya-*, Mbh 7,116.1
- va. *tvarita-*, Mbh 1,145.18, 3,54.2, 7,116.1
- sec. caus. *tvarayate*, R 2,App.10.36 ([pass.] *tvaryate*, Mbh 3,69.11 [*tvaryamāṇa-*], R 2,66.10 [id.], 6,83.21 [*saṃtvaryatām*])

√**daṃś** ‘to bite’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 86, LIV 117-118])

- pr. *daśate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,39.31 v.l. ([3sg. imp.] *daśatām*)

- pf. *dadamśuḥ*, R 1,App.8.2
fut. *daśisyāmaḥ*, Mbh 1,33.18
abs. *°daśya*, Mbh 6,44.41 (*nis*+)
sec. pass. *daśyate*, Mbh 1,1312*.4

rem. As far as I can see, *damśita-* is never attested in its literal meaning 'caused to bite' (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**dam** 'to control, to restrain' (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 293, LIV 116-117, KULIKOV 2001: 411])

- abs. *damitvā* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 7,App.8.734

rem. WHITNEY's *uddamya* is the reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 12,6596, which is not noted by CE 12,171.11 (which has *udyamya*).

√**day** 'to share' (I. [LIV 103-104, GOTO 1987: 172-173])

- va. *dayita-*, Mbh 1,57.35, 213.63, 3,44.7, R 1,26.10, 55.9, 2,9.17, 3,17.2

√**dal** 'to burst' (I.) — see also (→) ¹√*dṛ* / *dṝ*

- pr. *dalanti*, R 2,74.8 v.l. (CE *vidhamanti*)
va. *dalita-*, Mbh 8,App.40.2 v.l.
sec. caus. *dālayati*, Mbh 12,193.19 ([abs.] *uddālya*)

√*dah* ‘to burn’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 90, LIV 115-116, KULIKOV 2001: 292-298])

- pr. *dahate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,134.20, 5,29.9; — [→ IV. (↗ p. 192 n. 2)]
dahyati, Mbh 1,48.21 v.l. (CE *dahyante*), 213.33 ([pr. part.]
dahyatā), 216.34 ([pr. part.] *dahyataḥ*), 2,63.15 ([pr. part.] *prada-*
hyataḥ), 3,63.1 ([pr. part.] *dahyantam*), 261.50 ([pr. part.] *dahya-*
taḥ), R 2,1487*.4 v.l. (*vidahyeyam* [CE *vidahye* ‘ham])
- prec. *dahyāt*, Mbh 1,221.19, 13,94.19 (*nis*+)
- fut. *dahiṣyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 1,51.7 (*pra*), 9,62.23 v.l. (Id. [CE
saṃpradhakṣyati]), R 3,64.27 v.l. (CE *didhakṣāmi* [see below]),
 6,47.6 (*nis*), 53.36 (*id.*), 65.12 (*pra*), R 3,75,32 (NW), — <<
dhakṣyet (↗ 8.4.2), Mbh 1,221.19 v.l. >>
- cond. *adhakṣyat*, Mbh 7,50.60, 12,67.16 v.l. (CE *apakṣyan*)
- ger. *dagdhavya-*, Mbh 1,116.29, 135.5 (*pra*), 6,115.54, 15,33.31,
(a)dāhya-, Mbh 6,24.24
- sec. pass. << *dahyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,48.12 ([pr. part. (↗ 9.1)] *dahya-*
tām), 217.13 (*id.*), 2,28.22, 5,49.20 ([pr. part.] *dahyataḥ*), 12,17.28
 = 171.56 = 268.4 >>; — des. *didhakṣati*, Mbh 1,20.7, 2,1.2 ([part.]
didhakṣataḥ), R 3,64.27 (v.l. *didhakṣyāmi* [↗ 8.9]), *didhakṣate*, R
 2,App.9.231 (*didhakṣamāṇa-* [v.l. *didhakṣyamāṇa-*]); — caus.
dāhayati, Mbh 5,61.8 ([pr. part.] *dāhayatā*)

¹√*dā* ‘to give’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 294, LIV 89-90])

- pr. << (↗ 7.3.1) *dadmi*, Mbh 1,29.15, 46.18, 2,20.25, 3,219.20, 12,App.28.399, R 1,26.15, 2,47.21, 5,53.9, 6,112.15, *dadāhi* (Imp.), Mbh 1,184.6 >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.3.1)] (3sg.) *dadati*, Mbh 3,App.21A.151, (3pl.) *dadanti*, Mbh 12,26.7 v.l. (CE [3sg.] *dadāti*), 327.13 (v.l. [3sg.] *dadāti*), 13,61.43, (1sg. opt.) (*ā*)*dadeyam*, Mbh 2,71.17, (2sg. imp. *parasm.*) *dada*, Mbh 9,261*.5, (2sg. imp. *ātm.*) *dadasva*, Mbh 1,79.15, 3,67.11, 5,104.26 = 114.5, (2pl. imp.) *dada-dhvam*, R 7,36.9 v.l. (CE *dadata*), (1sg. impf.) *adadam*, Mbh 1,87.11, 88.22, R 1,74.25 v.l., (2sg. impf.) *adadaḥ*, R 6,116.2 v.l. (CE *adadāḥ*), (3sg. impf.) *adadat*, Mbh 1,46.40, 207.3 (v.l. *adadāt*), 2,48.22-24, 3,170.6 v.l. (CE *adadāt*), R 1,510*, 2,105.13 v.l. (CE *dadau*), 2390*, 5,58.14 v.l. (CE *dattavān*), (3pl. impf.) *adadan*, Mbh 5,47.80 (v.l. *adaduḥ*); — [→ IV. (↗ 6.6.3.3)] (*ā*)*dāyamānaḥ*, Mbh 1,1828*.4
- fut. (^o)*dātā*, Mbh 1,155.11 (↗ 6.2.10), 158.45 (↗ 8.5[b]), 2,53.15, 13,24.89
- cond. *adāsyat*, Mbh 7,69.15, 127.9, 8,24.158 (*pra*+ [↗ 6.2.11])
- abs. (*pra*)*dattvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 1,1426*
- va. (*vyā*)*dita-* (↗ p. XXVIII n. 4 / 9.4), Mbh 2,22.23, 3,146.46, 6,58.33, R 3,2.6 (v.l. *vyātta-*), 5,1.150, 6,68.32, 87.40, 90.17, 7,54.5

rem. On *ādithāḥ*, Mbh 12,139.79, see (↗) p. 230 n. 2.

²√*dā* ‘to cut off, to mow’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 295, LIV 102])

- pr. (part.) *nir-dan*, Mbh 12,98.6 (recte *nirdān*? [see crit. notes *ad loc.*])

√**diś** ‘to point, to assign’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 91, LIV 108-109, KULIKOV 2001: 354-355])

- pr. *diśate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 4,10.8 v.l. (*pradiśasva* [CE *paridatsva*]), R 7,5.13; — [→ IV.] *pratidiśyati*, Mbh 1,158.34 v.l. (CE *pradiśati*)
 ger. *deṣṭavya-*, R 3,23.12 v.l.
 inf. *deṣṭum*, Mbh 2,11.8 (*nis+*), 70.5 (*sam+*)
 sec. pass. *diśyate*, Mbh 3,203.20 (*upa+*); — caus. *deśayati*, Mbh 4,41.4 v.l., 6,4.4

√**dih** ‘to smear’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 92, LIV 140-141, KULIKOV 2001: 355])

- pf. (*sam*)*didihe*, R 5,13.36
 sec. caus. *dehayati*, Mbh 1,App.75.9 (*samdehayat*), *dehayate*, R 2,59.7 v.l. (*samdehamāna-*)

√**dikṣ** ‘to be consecrated’ (I. [LIV 111 n. 20])

- sec. caus. *dikṣayasva*, Mbh 14,70.21, << *dikṣāpaya* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 2,30.21 >>

√**dip** ‘to flame, to shine’ (IV. [KULIKOV 2001: 244-245, cf. VIA I/300])

- pr. *dīpyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,203.36 (*dīpyet*), 7,97.36 ([part.] *dīpyad-bhiḥ*)

- aor. [3.] *adidipat*, Mbh 5,75.20 v.1. (*samadīdipam* [CE *samadīpayam*])
 sec. int. *dedīpyate*, Mbh 3,249.1 (*dedīpyamāna-*), 13,70.47 (*dedīpyantīm* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 7,154.24); — caus. *dīpayate*, R 2,38.20, ([3sg. imp. pass.] *dīpyatām*, R 5,51.3), << *adīpyanta* (↗ 8.8), R 5,56.130 >>

rem. The *parasm. dīpyati* is attested in Vedic Sanskrit only at ŚBK V 4,1.28 (see KULIKOV *l.c.*).

√**dīv** ‘to play (a game)’ (IV. [VIA I 412, KULIKOV 2001: 415-418])

- pr. {{ *divyati* – reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 2,2468 and 3,3033, not noted by CE 2,66.17 and 3,77.4 }}
 aor. [5.] *adevīt*, Mbh 2,53.9 (*mātidevīḥ*), 60.6, 63.5 (*atidevīt* [augmentless (↗ 6.4.2)]), 63.7, 3,35.2 (*pratyadevīt*)
 fut. *deviṣyāmi*, Mbh 4,22*.6; — [2.] *devitā*, Mbh 2,52.16 (*devitāham* [↗ 6.2.10, 8.5(b)]), 53.15
 cond. *adeviṣyat*, Mbh 4,17.12 (↗ 6.2.11)
 ger. *devitavya-*, Mbh 2,67.3, 4,63.30, 5,30.18
 inf. *devitum*, Mbh 2,44.18 = 45.38

√**dū** ‘to burn’ (V. [VIA I 413, LIV 104-105, KULIKOV 2001: 356])

- pr. {{ *dunvasva* – reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 1,3289 [*ādunvasva vidunvasva*], not noted by CE 1,722* (*ādhūnvasva vidhūnvasva* [v.ll. *ā-* / *vidū* ° [→ √*dhū*]) }}
 sec. pass. << *dūyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,53.6 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *vidūyatā*), 221.6, 4,18.26 >>

√**duṣ** ‘to spoil’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 94/636, KULIKOV 2001: 418-420; cf. LIV 125])

- pr. *duṣyate*, Mbh 1,57.61, 13,36.17
 sec. caus. *dūṣayate*, Mbh 1,141.5, 2,57.14, 12,24.21, 13,90.12

rem. The pass. of the caus. *dūṣayate*, viz. *dūṣyate*, does not seem to be attested in the Epics.

√**duh** ‘to milk’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 95, LIV 148-149, GOTO 1991: 681-688, KULIKOV 2001: 89-96]) — see also (→) √*dhukṣ*

- pr. [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.2.3)] *duhet*, Mbh 12,89.4
 ger. *dogdhavya-*, Mbh 12,88.18
 inf. *dogdhum*, Mbh 3,32.5

rem. (a) WHITNEY’s entry ‘*aduhat*, E.’ is to be cancelled. The line which the PW (III 715 l. 3) cites is *not* ‘Mbh 2,76’, but *Manu* 2.76 (see PW V 1505, s.v. *duh* + *nis*); (b) there is no class IV. present ‘*duhyate*, M.’. What the PW (III 714 l. 7-8) cites are actually passive forms (as to the syntax see KULIKOV 2001: 91-92): *sā kāmān duhyate sadā*, Mbh 1,165.9 v.l. (CE *duduhe tataḥ*), *duhyeta paravatsena yā*, 13,96.41.

√**dṛ** / **dṝ** ‘to burst’ (VIA I 414, LIV 119-121) — see also (→) √*dal*

- aor. [3.] *adīdarat*, Mbh 5,134.5 (*mā dīdaras tvam suhṛdah*)
 va. (*vi*)*dṛta-*, R 2,App.14.28 v.l. (of ed. Bomb., not noted by CE [*vivṛta-*])

sec. pass. << *dīryati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,48.22 ~ 3,7.4, 6,18.2, R 1,66.18 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *dīryataḥ*), 2,46.32 v.l. (CE *vidīryeta*) >>; — caus. ([pass.] *dāryate*, Mbh 14,57.32 [*dāryamāna-*])

²√*dr̥* – only with *ā+* ‘to regard, to respect’ (see EWAia s.v. DAR¹ and KULIKOV 2001: 96-97)

pr. [IV.] *ādriyet*, Mbh 12,139.83 (v.l. *ādriyāt* [see below]), 13,144.9 (*ādriyeyam*)

prec. *ādriyāt*, Mbh 12,139.83 v.l. (CE *ādriyet*)

va. (*ā*)*dr̥ta-*, R 1,58.9 (*an+*), 5,577*

√*dr̥ś* ‘to see’ (*aniṭ* [VIA I 97, LIV 122, KULIKOV 2001: 97-98])

pf. *dadr̥śuḥ*, Mbh 6,16.31 (↗ 8.7.2), << *dadar̥śatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), R 3,65.21, 5,33.22, ([part.] *dars̥ivān* [↗ 9.3], Mbh 1,54.18, 133.18, 146.15, 10,17.11, 15,26.5) >>

aor. << [1.] (3sg. *ātm.*) *adr̥ṣṭa* (↗ 8.2.1), Mbh 5,29.33 >>; — [4./7.] << (2pl.) *adr̥k̥ṣata* (↗ 8.2.4), Mbh 8,22.14 >>; — [7.] *adr̥k̥ṣata* (3sg. *ātm.*), Mbh 1,14.15

fut. *dr̥ak̥ṣyate*, Mbh 2,52.9, 3,45.29, 163.13, << *dr̥ak̥ṣyeta* (↗ 7.4.1 / 8.4.2), R 3,1074*.4 >>; — [2.] *draṣṭā*, Mbh 1,189.13, 2,69.3, 3,21.9, 84.15 (*draṣṭārah* [↗ 8.5(b)]), 120.28, 173.19 (*draṣṭā tavāsmi* [↗ 6.2.10, 8.5(a)]), 12,28.53 (↗ 6.2.10), R 2,27.7

cond. << *adr̥k̥ṣyam* (↗ p. 162), Mbh 13,8*.7 (v.l.) >>

abs. *dr̥śya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 1,218.22, 7,76.21, 78.46, R 1,29.16, 47.11, 5,6.16 (*a+*)

sec. pass. << *dṛśyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,57.58 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *dṛśyant-*), 71.44, 202.19 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *dṛśyant-*), 219.5, 2,62.5, 3,70.34, 675*, 267.3, 5,44.21, 7,154.23, 12,327.5, R 4,38.23, 6,4.83 v.l. (CE *adrśyata*) >>; — des. *didṛkṣati*, Mbh 2,19.48, 5,33.2; — caus. *darśayate* << part. *darśayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 1,1.119.124 >>

√**dev** ‘to lament’ (I. / X.) — always with *pari+*

pr. *devati*, Mbh 3,227.3, 11,16.42, *devase*, R 2,47.30 v.l. (CE *paritapyase*)
 inf. *devitum*, R 2,1125*
 sec. (‘*aya*-present’ [= cl. X.]) *devayati*, Mbh 3,7.5 (*adevayat*), 4,36.38 (id.), R 2,35.28 (*adevayan*), *devayate*, Mbh 4,36.14, R 2,45.23, 6,38.22 ([both times] *devayamāna-*)

√**dyut** ‘to shine’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 99, LIV 125])

pr. *dyotati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 7,164.115 ([part.] *dyotataḥ*), 12,217.42 (*vi+*)

√**drā** ‘to fall asleep’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 303])

pr. [→ IV.] (*ni*)*drāyate* – reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 13,7418, not noted by CE 13,144.15 (*ādriyate*)

√**dru** ‘to run’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 100, LIV 129])

- pr. *dravate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 6,55.68, 99.29 (*dravamāṇa-*), 14,21.4 (*anu+*)
- pf. *dudrūvire*, R 6,48.87
- sec. caus. *drāvayate*, Mbh 6,92.34, 7,169.29, << part. *drāvayāṇa-* [↗9.1], Mbh 6,108.2 >>, ([pass.] *drāvīyate*, Mbh 6,99.29 [*drāvīyamāṇa-*], 7,70.25)

rem. On sporadic *ātm.* forms of the present in Vedic Sanskrit, see GOTO (1987: 178).

√**druh** ‘to deceive’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 101, LIV 157, KULIKOV 2001: 422])

- pr. *druhyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 12,109.26 v.l., R 2,1993*.4 v.l. (*druhyeta*)
- aor. [2.] *druhaḥ*, Mbh 2,55.14, 6,85.10 (↗ 1.8.3); — [4.] << *abhidrogdhāḥ* (↗ 8.2.4), Mbh 3,114.8 >>

rem. (a) *druhyatām*, R 2,69.17, is (pace PW s.v. 1.*druh*) no *ātm.* form, but the gen. pl. of the *par.* present participle; (b) an abs. **druhya* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**dviṣ** ‘to hate’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 102, LIV 113, GOTO 1997: 1010-1012])

- pr. [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.2.3)] *dviṣasi*, Mbh 6,62.31, *dviṣate*, Mbh 2,489* (*dviṣasva*), 12,215.31, 14,28.2

inf. *dveṣtum*, Mbh 3, App. 24.2

¹√*dhā* ‘to put, to place’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 307, LIV 136-138, KULIKOV 2001: 102-105])

pr. << (↗ 7.3.2) (*śrad*)*dadhatsva*, R 5, 32.39 v.l. (CE *śraddhatsva*), *vidadhvam*, Mbh 1, 171.16 >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.3.1)] (*śrad*)*dadhet*, R 2, 21.4 (v.l. *śraddadhyāt*), (°)*ādadhat*, Mbh 1, 35.12, 3, 73.12, 259.40, R 2, 87.26, *samādadhan*, Mbh 3, 183.25; — {{ *adhāyata* is a w.r. for *adhārayat*, so Mbh 4, 38.40 without v.l. (see also PW III 904 l. 24-27) }};

inf. << (*pratisamā*)*dhitum* (↗ 9.6), R 5, 36.37 = 65.19, (*sam*)*dhayitum* (↗ p. 275 n. 8), R 6, 90.32 v.l. (CE *abhisamdhātum*) >>

va. << *dhita-*, Mbh 2, 17.6 (*sam*+ [in a pun on the name *Jarāsaṃdha*]), 70.20 (*abhisam*+)>>

sec. pass. (*anuvi*)*dhīyate*, R 3, 15.31 (↗ 8.7.1)

rem. On *ādhithāḥ*, Mbh 5, 122.49 = 127.39, 129.79, see (↗) p. 230 n. 2.

²√*dhā* ‘to suck’ (*āya*-pr. *seṭ* [VIA I 308, LIV 138-139])

fut. *dhāsyati*, Mbh 3, 126.28, 7, App. 8.537

¹√*dhāv* ‘to run’ (I. *aniṭ* [LIV 147-148, cf. VIA I 103])

va. *dhāvita-*, Mbh 9, 19.8 (*pra*+), R 2, 20.15 (*pra*+), 95.36 (id.), 6, 1973* (*sampra*+)

²√**dhāv** ‘to wash’ (I. [LIV 149-150, cf. VIA I 417])

fut. *dhāviṣye*, Mbh 8,46.38

√**dhū** ‘to shake’ (V. [VIA I 417, LIV 149-150, KULIKOV 2001: 106])

pr. << [→ I.] *dhunati*, Mbh 13,107.75 (*nirdhunet*), *dhūnvate*, Mbh 1,722* (*ādhūnvasva vidhūnvasva*) >>

pf. *dudhāva*, Mbh 2,2.15, 6,41.25, 8,67.28 (*ā+*)

va. (*nir*)*dhuta-*, Mbh 3,7.7, 12,161.48, R 5,12.17

sec. pass. << *dhūyati*, Mbh 3,44.17 ([part.(↗ 9.1)] *vidhūyatā*) >>; — int. (↗ p. 258 n. 3) *dodhavīti*, Mbh 12,225.8 (v.l. *dodhūyati*), R 6, App.16.56, *dodhūyate*, Mbh 3,249.1 (*dodhūyamāna-*), 4,48.2 (id.), R 3,903*; — caus. << *dhūnayati* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 12,120.11 (*vi+*), R 6,94.9.10 ([augmentless (↗ 6.4.1)] [*vy*] *avadhūnayati*), *dhūnayate*, Mbh 12,212* >>

rem. On *dodhūyuh*, R 7,1144*.3, see (↗) p. 258 n. 2.

√**dhukṣ** ‘to kindle, to inflame, to enliven’ (I. [cf. VIA I 95]) — only with *sam+*

pr. *dhukṣadhvam*, Mbh 13,75.13

sec. caus. (= simplex [↗ 8.8.1(a)]) *dhukṣayati*, Mbh 1,57.11, App.81.176

rem. *kṛśāḥ samdhukṣayanti ca*, Mbh 1,57.11, corresponds to *kṛśāṅgāś cāpy ajīvayan*, Mbh 1,58.19, as does *agnim stokam ivātmānaṃ samdhukṣayati yo naraḥ*, Mbh 1,App.81.176, to *saṃvardhayan stokam ivāgnim ātmavān*, Mbh 3,6.19.

√**dhṛ** ‘to hold’ (X. *aniṭ* [VIA I 104, LIV 145-146, KULIKOV 2001: 108-110])

- pr. [→ I.] *dharanti* (‘to be alive’), Mbh 1,184.18, << *adhāram*, R 7,13.25 v.l. (Ct. *samadhāraṃ samadhārayam*) >>
- pf. *dādhāra* (↗ p. 218), Mbh 1,169.20, *dadhāra*, Mbh 5,189.11, R 4,17.5
- fut. *dharīṣyati*, Mbh 3,275.48 ~ R 6,88,53, R 1,59.28
- ger. *dhārya-*, Mbh 5,75.19, 134.12, 193.25
- inf. << (caus.) *dhāritum* (↗ 9.6), R 3,51.20 >>
- sec. pass. << *dhriyati*, Mbh 1,184.18 v.l. (for CE see above) >>; — caus. (cond. *adhārayiṣyat*, R 2,1343*, pass. << *dhāryanti* [↗ 8.7], Mbh 3,149.29 >>)

√**dhmā** ‘to blow’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 306, LIV 153, KULIKOV 2001: 99-102])

- pr. *dhamate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,3,156, 8,36.5 (*vyadhamanta*)
- pf. *dadhmau*, Mbh 2,49.17, 4,783*.2 (*pra+*), 920*.1, 14,4.15 (*pra+*), R 2,75.2, *dadhmatuḥ*, Mbh 7,78.42 (*pra+*), *dadh mire*, Mbh 5,92.20
- aor. [6.] *adh māsīt*, Mbh 3,157.40, 4,785*.1 (*upa+*)
- fut. *dhamiṣyati*, R 3,54.7 (*vi+*), 4,44.12 (*id.*), *dhmāsyāmi*, Mbh 4,41.17
- abs. *vidhamitvā* (↗ 9.7 .1), Mbh 6,58.61
- sec. pass. << *dhamyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 14,57.45 v.l. ([part.] *dhamyataḥ* [CE *dhmāyamānasya*]), *dhmāyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 2,45.30, 6,104.3

([part.] *dhmāyatsu*) >>; — caus. *dhmāpayati*, Mbh 4,53.10 (*prādhymāpayat*), 5,180.18 ([pass.] *prādhmāpyanta*, R 2,1879*)

√**dhya** ‘to think, to meditate’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 593, KULIKOV 2001: 422-425])

- pr. [→ II. (↗ 6.6.4.2)] *dhyāti*, Mbh 1,224.31 (*anu+*), 5,60.21 (*abhi+*), 172.14, 12,46.11
- aor. << [4.] (*abhi*)*dhyāsuḥ*, Mbh 13,35.3 v.l. (read *abhidhyāyuh?* [cf. CE *abhihanyuh*]) >>
- fut. *dhyāsyati*, Mbh 7,App.8.209 (*apa+*), 12,250.5 (*id.*), 250.32
- abs. °*dhyāya*, Mbh 11,8.45 (*anu+*), 12,171.59 (*samanu+*), R 6,88.37 (*anu+*), (*anu*)*dhyātvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 9,62.50
- ger. *dhyeya-*, Mbh 13,17.18
- inf. *dhyātum*, Mbh 3,App.6.116

rem. Middle *dhyāyate* is attested already in Vedic texts (see KULIKOV 2001: 424-425 *pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**dhvaṃs** ‘to fall to pieces’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 105, LIV 159, KULIKOV 2001: 425])

- fut. *dhvaṅṣyanti* (↗ 8.4), R 1,20.9 v.l. (CE *śakṣyanti*)
- pf. *dadhvaṃsire*, Mbh 5,166.38 (v.l. [unredupl. (↗ 8.1.1)] *vidhvaṃsire*)
- sec. caus. ([abs.] *vidhvasya*, Mbh 1,205.21 v.l., *vidhvaṃsya*, R 1,65.9 v.l.)

rem. (a) The future *dhvañkṣyanti*, R 1,20.9 v.l., has transitive meaning, i.e. it stands for the causative future (↗ 8.8.2[b]); (b) WHITNEY's "-*dhvasya*" is the absolutive of the causative (see above).

√*naṭ* 'to dance' (I.) — see also (→) √*nṛt*

pr. *naṭante*, Mbh 1,507*.7

√*nad* 'to sound' (I. [VIA I 420, LIV 448])

pr. *nadate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,49.17 v.l. (*prāṇadanta* [CE *prāṇadaṃs* (*te*)]); — [→ IV.] (*vi*)*nadyasi*, R 4,11.30 v.l. (CE *vinardasi*)

pf. *nanāda*, Mbh 1,1142*.4, 2,40.1, 6,50.31, R 1,38.19, 2,36.17, *neduḥ*, Mbh 3,75.15, 4,67.26, 8,28.34 (*vi*+), 60.15 (*id.*), 12,161.47 (*pra*+), (*saṃpra*)*ṇedire*, R 4,1340*.2 v.l. (CE *saṃpraṇemire*), << *nadatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.1), Mbh 8,64.9 v.l. >>

abs. *°nadya*, Mbh 6,70.16 v.l. (*pari*+), R 3,17.22 (*vi*+)

sec. int. *nānadati*, Mbh 7,20.22 ([*part.*] *nānadataḥ*), 24.17 (*id.*), 8,15.32 (*id.*), *nānadyate*, Mbh 8,64.2 (*nānadyamāna-*), R 6,49.16 (*id.*); — caus. (↗ 8.8) *nadayati* (*in*: *va.* *°nadita-*, R 2,48.26 v.l. [CE *°carita-*], pass. *nadyate*, Mbh 11,20.30 v.l. [*vinadyamāna-*], R 2,75.2 [*prāṇadyamāna-*]), *nādayati*, Mbh 5,149.66, R 2,95.47 (*anuvi*+), *nādayate*, << *nādayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 6,83.11 >>, ([*pass.*] *nadyate*, see above, *nādyate*, Mbh 7,2.10 v.l.)

rem. At R 2,48.26a (v.l.) the short -*a-* of *°naditaḥ* is guaranteed by the metre (see also PW s.v. *nad* [+ *abhi*]).

√nand ‘to rejoice, to be glad’ (I. [cf. VIA I 420])

- pr. *nandate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,51.24 v.l. (*abhinande* [CE *abhinandāmi*]), 5,187.12 (*prati+*), 13,App.4.52, R 4,App.8.69 (*abhi+*)
- pf. *nananda*, Mbh 1,106.4, 3,115.19, 7,63.33, R 2,12.21, 3,4.36, 5,4.13, 6,55.129
- fut. *nandiṣyati*, R 2,38.11, *nandiṣyate*, Mbh 1,191.12 (*abhi+*)
- abs. ^o*nandya*, Mbh 1,133.15 = 17 (*abhi+*), 15,25.3 (*id.*)
- va. *nandita-*, Mbh 5,179.9 (*pratyabhi+*), 13,153.16 (*id.*)

√nam ‘to bend, to bow’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 108, LIV 453-454, KULIKOV 2001: 357-358])

- pr. ([part. *ātm.* (?)]) [*pra*]ṇamāna, R 2,4.11 v.l.)
- pf. << *nanāmire* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 1,124.23 >>
- fut. (*prā*)ṇamiṣyati, R 6,52.33 v.l. (CE *upagamiṣyati*)
- abs. ^o*namya*, R 2,22.16 (*ā+*), 66.24 (*sam+*), 4,25.18 (*pra+*)
- sec. caus. ([pass.] *nāmyate*, Mbh 3,App.6.52 [*nāmyamāna-*])

√nard ‘to roar, to bellow’ (I. [VIA I 637])

- pr. *nardate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 6,96.25 (*nardamāna-*), R 1,16.16 (*id.*), 3,22.16 (*id.*)
- pf. *nanarda*, Mbh 6,50.88, 8,App.12.10, R 4,11.26.38
- abs. (*vi*)*narditvā* (↗ 9.7.1), R 3,29.18, (*ā*)*nardam* (↗ p. 283 n. 2), Mbh 5,139.47
- va. *nardita-*, R 4,9.6

sec. int. *nānardyate*, R 6,49.16 v.l. (*nānardyamāna-* [CE *nānadya-*
māna-])

√**naś** / √**naṣ** (↗ p. 234) 'to perish, to disappear' (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I
109, LIV 451-452, KULIKOV 2001: 425-426])

pr. *naśyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,77.18, 147.7 (*vi+*), 2,68.35 (*pra+*), R
5,25.26; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.4.1)] *naśati*, Mbh 3,57.16 (*naśet*), 291.9
(*id.*), 12,326.46 (*naśāmi*), 13,337*.4 (*vipraṇaśet*), { { *naśemahi*,
Mbh ed. Calc. 7,685 (CE 7,16.13 *na śemahi*) } }

pf. (*vī*)*nanāśa*, R 2,39.16

aor. [2.] *anaśat* (↗ 8.2.2), Mbh 3,92.8, 5,72.20, 12,117.31; — [3.]
anīnaśat (↗ 8.2.3), Mbh 3,49.14 = R 1,598*, Mbh 5,29.47 (*mā*
vyāghrān nīnaśo vanāt [v.l. *mā vyāghrā nīnaśuḥ vanāt*]), R
2,102.24

fut. *nañśyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 1,119.9 (*vi+*), 6,40.58 (*id.*), 12,51.17, R
3,39.15 v.l. (*vi+* [CE *vinaśiṣyanti*], *nañśyate*, R 1,54.27 v.l.
(*pravi+*); — [2.] *naśitā*, Mbh 1,72.23 (*pra+*)

cond. *vyanaśiṣyan*, Mbh 12,15.30 (↗ 6.2.11), *vyanañśyata*, Mbh 8,51.41
(↗ 6.2.11)

sec. caus. *nāśayate*, R 2,56.12

√**nah** 'to tie' (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA 110, LIV 227, KULIKOV 2001: 428-
432])

pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.4.1)] (*pari*)*nahet*, Mbh 1,26.19

ger. *naddhavya-*, Mbh 12,96.8

√**nāth** ‘to long for’ (I. [cf. VIA I 529])

pr. *nāthati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,181.20 ([part.] *nāthantaḥ*)

√**nij** ‘to wash’ (III. *aniṭ* [VIA I 111, LIV 450])

sec. pass. << *nijyati*, Mbh 7,162.13 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *nijyatām*) >>

√**ni(n)d** ‘to find fault with, to revile’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 112, LIV 303, KULIKOV 2001: 110])

pr. *nindate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 7,51.33, R 5,786*.8

pf. *nininda*, R 5,176*.1

fut. [2.] *ninditā*, Mbh 3,1203* (*prati+*)

abs. ^o*nindya*, Mbh 5,2.13 (*pari+*)

sec. pass. *nindyate*, Mbh 2,61.71; — caus. *nindayate* << part. *nindayāna-* (↗ 9.1), R 7,64.15 >>

√**nī** ‘to lead’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 311, LIV 450-451, KULIKOV 2001: 111-112])

pf. << ^o*nayām āsa* (↗ 8.1.4), Mbh 1,27.7 (*ā+*), 190.6 (*samā+*), App.118.20 (*anu+*), 4,62.1 (*samā+*), 9,48.11 (*ā+*), R 1,69.5 v.l. (*ā+*; another v.l. has *ānayām āsuḥ* [CE *samānetum*]), 2,1180*.12 (*ā+*), 6,99.42 (*anu+*), 7,98.7 v.l. (*ā+* [CE *samānīya*]), ^o*nayāṃ cakre*, R 2,3.7 >>

- fut. *nayīṣyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 1,67.18, 141.7, 2,71.37 (*pratyā+*), 3,65.3 (*ā+*), 9,41.11 (id.), 12,326.72 (id.), R 1,40.20, 2,194*.7 (*vyapa+*), 27.18, 3,720*.3 (*ā+*), 38.17 (id.), 39.19 (id.), 5,1.38 (id.), 7,13.37, *nayīṣyate*, Mbh 1,165.19, R 4,44.9 (*ā+*), 6,83.10 v.l. (CE *neṣyāmi*); — [2.] *netā*, Mbh 2,68.34, 3,300*, *nayitā*, R 2,8.18 v.l. (CE *nāyayitā*), 5,745*
- cond. *aneṣyathāḥ*, Mbh 5,27.19 (↗ 6.2.11)
- abs. *°nayitvā* (↗ 9.7/9.7.1), Mbh 1,66.12 (*ā+*), 3,281.77 (id.), 12,330.38 (*pra+*), R 4,57.34 (*pratyā+*), 6,3116*.3 (*ā+*)
- inf. *nayitum*, Mbh 1,165.29, 5,20.7, R 2,16.36 (*ā+*), 34.24 (*samā+*), 3,41.46 (*ā+*), 60.1 (id.), 5,35.39
- ger. *netavya-*, Mbh 3,266.10, R 3,52.25 (*upa+*), (*ā*)*nayitavya-*, Mbh 1,143.18
- sec. caus. *nāyayati*, R 2,1533*.8 (*ānāyayām āsa* [↗ 8.1.4]), *nāyayate*, R 2,1887* v.l. ([periphr. fut.] *nāyayitā*, R 2,8.18)

√*nū* 'to praise' (I. / II. [VIA I 422, LIV 456-457])

- sec. pass. (*saṃpra*)*ñūyate*, Mbh 13,123.12 v.l. (CE *°nudyate*)

√*nud* 'to push' (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 114, LIV 456])

- prec. *nudyāt* (↗ 6.2.4), Mbh 6,24.8 (*apa+*), 13,62.13 (*pra+*)
- fut. *notsyati*, Mbh 3,135.4 (*vyapa+*), *notsyate*, Mbh 14,10.11 (*pra+*)
- va. *nudita-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 1,165.22 v.l. (*pra+* [CE *pratihita-*]), 3,11.31 v.l. (*saṃpra+* [CE *saṃprayukta-*]), << *nunna-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 8,54.9 >>
- sec. caus. (*nodyate*, Mbh 3,69.21 v.l. [*nodyamāna-* (CE *codyamāna-*)])

√**nṛt** ‘to dance’ (IV, [VIA I 423, KULIKOV 2001: 432-434]) — see also (→) √**naṭ**

- pr. *nṛtyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,81.101 v.l. (CE *nṛtyet*), 7,58.3, 13,App.4.56
 pf. *nanarta*, Mbh 6,100.28, 7,155.3, 8,61.17, *nanṛtuḥ*, Mbh 1,211.4, 12,29.68, 216.18.20, R 1,1330*.7, 2,1594*
 sec. caus. *nartayate*, << part. *nartayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 4,23.17 >>

√**pac** ‘to cook, to roast’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 115, LIV 468, KULIKOV 2001: 300-304])

- pr. (*pacāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 3,App.21.28)
 cond. *apakṣyan*, Mbh 12,15.30 = 67.16 (↗ 6.2.11)
 abs. *paktvā*, R 2,49.14 v.l.
 ger. *paktavya-*, Mbh 9,286*.4
 sec. pass. << *pacyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,48.13 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *pacyatām*), 5,107.14, 14,39* >>; — caus. ([pass.] *pācyate*, Mbh 13,117.29 v.l. [CE *pātyamāna-*])

rem. The critical notes *ad* Mbh 12,179.2 unnecessarily postulate a second root √*pac*: *yady ūṣmabhāva āgneyo vahnikā pacyate yadī / agnir jarayate caiva tasmāj jīvo nīrarthakaḥ.*

√**paṭ** ‘to tear’ (X.)

- fut. *pāṭayiṣyate*, Mbh 14,30.15
 abs. (*ut*)*pāṭayitvā* (↗ 9.7.1), R 5,41.14

sec. pass. *pātyate*, Mbh 13,117.29 (*pātyamāna-*)

√**paṭh** ‘to recite’ (I.)

pr. *paṭhate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,30.22, 3,83.27, 12,327.106, 13,18.1

ger. *pāṭhya-*, R 1,4.7, 7,85.2

sec. pass. *paṭhyate*, Mbh 1,27.3, 3,277.34, 12,142.8

√**paṇ** ‘to trade, to bargain, to bet’ (I.)

pr. *paṇati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 13,95.59 = 96.18

va. *paṇita-*, Mbh 1,20.3, 9,57.11

inf. *paṇitum*, Mbh 2,60.40

rem. The pass. *paṇyate* is attested already at Kāṭh XXXIV 4: 46.4 (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**pat** ‘to move quickly, to fly, to fall’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 312, LIV 477-478])

pr. *patate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,17.22 (*ni+*), 3,60.13 (*ud+*), 12,288.5, R 3,25.7 (*abhipatamāna-*)

fut. *paṭiṣyate*, Mbh 1,App.56.14, 3,13.82 (*abhi+*); — [2.] *patitā* (↗ 8.5[b]), Mbh 1,41.8, 83.3, 8,28.23.28.29

cond. *apaṭiṣyaḥ*, Mbh 8,48.15

sec. caus. *pātayate*, Mbh 1,51.11, 6,82.17, << part. *pātayāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 6,82.17, 108.2, R 3,26.14 >>, ([pass.] *pātyate*, Mbh 1,201.13

[*paripātyamāna-*], << *pātyati*, Mbh 3,99.4 [part. (↗ 9.1)]
abhipātyant-), R 4,11.39 [id.] >>

√**pad** ‘to take a step’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 116, LIV 458, KULIKOV
2001: 246-248])

- pr. *padyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,85.1 (*anu+*), 2.60.4 (*pra+*), 60.32
(*anu+*), 71.45 (*prati+*), R 3,9.7 (*abhyava+*); — [→ II.] (*prati*)*pat-*
sva, Mbh 5,76.8 (v.l. *pratidhatsva*); — {{ *anuprapadyām*, reading
of R 5,26.5 ed. Gorr., not recorded by CE (*anupradātum*; v.l.
anupradadyām) }}
- aor. (pass.) *udapādi* (↗ p. 245 n. 2), Mbh 2,63.16
- ger. *pattavya-*, Mbh 2,37.3 (*prati+*), 67.12 (id.)

√**palāy** ‘to run away’ (I. [GOTO 1990: 1001]) — see also (→) √*ay*

- pr. *palāyati*, Mbh 2,13.48 v.l., 4,589*, 65.24, 8,45.29, *palāyate*, Mbh
1,89.34 ([3sg. impf.] *palāyata*), 8,65.44 (*a-palāyanta* [↗ 6.4.3]), R
2,72.12 (*vy-apalāyata* [↗ 6.4.3]), 3,3.7, 51.3, 6,40.5 v.l.
- aor. [5.] << *palāyithāḥ* (↗ 6.4.3 / 8.2.5), Mbh 7,133.16 v.l. >>

rem. On the ‘secondary’ root *palāy* see (↗) 6.8.

√**paś** ‘to see, to look at’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 560, LIV 575-576, KULIKOV 2001: 434-435])

sec. pass. *paśyate*, Mbh 1,48*.2 (*apaśyamāna-*), 3,4.5 (*paśyamāna-*), 9,21.27 (*apaśyetām*), *paśyati*, R 5,24.41 ([part.] *apaśyataḥ* [↗ p. 266])

¹√**pā** ‘to drink’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 316, LIV 462-463, KULIKOV 2001: 114-115])

fut. [2.] *pātā*, Mbh 2,68.29 (*pātāsmi*)

abs. ^o*pīya*, Mbh 3,195.27 v.l. (*ā+* [CE *āpīyata* (see below, *rem.*)]), 12,58.28 (*ā+*)

inf. *pātum*, Mbh 3,112.15, 13,141.18, R 3,18.15, 4,27.8

rem. *āpīyata* at Mbh 3,195.27 is the regular passive of this root (*pace* PW s.v. 1.*pī*).

²√**pā** ‘to protect’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 314, LIV 460, KULIKOV 2001: 436])

inf. *pātum*, Mbh 7,125.15 (see *rem.* [a], below)

rem. (a) *pātum*, Mbh 7,125.15 (*nāśvamedhasahasreṇa pātum ātmānam utsahe*), is a blending of (the infinitives of) the roots ²√*pā* and √*pū* (↗ 6.7 / 9.6); (b) the infinitive *pātum* could not be traced at R (ed Bomb.) 1,21.8 (for this reference see PW IV 618 l. 5 from the bottom).

√**piṣ** ‘to grind, to crush’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 119, LIV 466-467, KULIKOV 2001: 116-117])

- pr. [VII.] *piṃṣe* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 4,8.16, 19.22; — [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.7.3)] *piṃṣati*, Mbh 1,46.33 (*apiṃṣat*), 4,12.23 (id.), 4,19.22 (*piṃṣāmi*), 10,8.86 (*apiṃṣan*); — *piṣati*, Mbh 2,62.37 (*niṣpiṣeyam*), 10,8.93 (*apiṣan*), R 6,783* (*niṣpiṣanti*); << (*praty*)*apīṣan*, Mbh 2,42.27 (see *rem.*, below) >>
- pf. << (*niṣ*)*pipeṣatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), R 3,46*.2 >>
- aor. [3.] *apīpiṣat* (↗ 8.2.3), Mbh 7,148.6

rem. The *metathesis quantitatum* of *apīṣan* (< *apiṃṣan*) is met with already at AVŚ IV 6,7 = AVP-K V 8,6.

√**piḍ** ‘to press, to squeeze’ (X. [VIA I 639, KULIKOV 2001: 358-359])

- pr. *piḍayate*, Mbh 4,App.24.6, 7,85.83
- abs. *piḍya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 1,1835*.3, 3,40.49, 111.17, 5,112.5 (*a+*), 9,22.33
- ger. *piḍanīya-*, Mbh 2,21.21, *piḍayitavya-*, Mbh 12,53.15

√**puṭh** ‘to crush’ (X. [VIA I 317])

- pr. *poṭhayati*, Mbh 4,397*.2, 6,50.58, 12,83.15, R 3,49.34, *poṭhayate*, Mbh 9,15.51 (*vi+*)
- fut. *poṭhayiṣyati*, Mbh 4,21.33, *poṭhayiṣyate*, Mbh 8,65.15
- abs. *poṭhayitvā*, Mbh 2,288*, 12,App.30.21

va. *pothita-*, Mbh 8,8.8, R 6,42.16, 55.6

√**puṣ** ‘to (make) prosper’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 120, LIV 303-304, KULIKOV 2001: 438-441])

pr. *puṣyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), R 5,374*; — [→ IX. (↗ 6.6.4.4)] *puṣṇāti*, Mbh 1,744*.4 (*puṣṇāmi*), 3,196.10 (*puṣṇanti*)

inf. inf. *poṣṭum*, Mbh 12,277.19

sec. des. *pupukṣati*, Mbh 4,8.4.8

√**pū** ‘to purify’ (IX. / I. *seṭ* [VIA I 318, LIV 480, KULIKOV 2001: 117-118])

sec. caus. *pāvayate*, Mbh 7,App.8.222, 12,261.46

rem. The causative has the same transitive meaning as the class IX present *punāti* (cf. [Vedic] *pūrāyati* ~ *prṇāti* [see ALBINO 1999: 6 with n. 8]).

¹√**pr** ‘to pass over, to carry over’ (III. *aniṭ* [VIA I 121, LIV 472-473])

sec. caus. (‘to finish’) *pārayate*, Mbh 3,120.20, 280.7

²√**pr** ‘to be busy’ — attested only with (vy)ā+

va. (vyā)*prta-*, Mbh 1,189.7, 2,57.6, R 2,20.24, 34,14,

rem. Since this root is intransitive, it cannot form a passive (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**pṝ** ‘to fill, to become full’ (IX. / X. *seṭ* [VIA I 512, LIV 482-483, KULIKOV 2001: 304-308])

- pr. *pūrayate*, Mbh 3,103.15, R 1,74.3
 pf. (on *pupūre* see below, *rem.*)
 abs. ^o*pūrya*, Mbh 6,33.30, 13,14.109, R 6,1876*
 inf. << *pūritum* (↗ 9.6), R 1,66.8 >>
 sec. pass. << *pūryati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 6,101.17 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *pūryataḥ*), 14,20.27 (*abhi+*), R 2,57.16 = 58.13 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *pūryataḥ*) >>

rem. The perfect *pupūre* (R 4,45.6) – formed from the secondary root √*pūr* (see ALBINO 1999: 8) – is attested already at MS IV 6,6: 88.11.

√**prach** / √**praś** ‘to ask’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 490, LIV 490-491, KULIKOV 2001: 122])

- fut. [2.] *praṣṭā*, R 2,165*.3 v.1. (CE *prakṣyati*)
 abs. ^o*prṣṭvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 1,133.4 (*ā+*), 2,30.16 (*sam+*), 4,880* (*pari+*), R 1,2.2 (*ā+*), 71.19 (id.), ^o*prcchya*, Mbh 1,152.15 (*pari+*), R 1,9.22 (*ā+*), 73,1 (id.), 2,1.4 (id.)
 ger. *praṣṭavya-*, Mbh 1,92.22, R 4,41.43

√*pri* ‘(intr.) to be pleased, (trans.) to please’ ([intr.] IV. / [trans.] IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 320, LIV 490, KULIKOV 2001: 359-360])

- pr. [IV.] *prīyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,235.15 (*prīyāmah* [v.l. *prīy*]), 4,8.29 (*prīyeyuḥ* [v.l. *prīneran*]), 5,55.14 ([part.] *prīyant-*), 12,190.4 v.l. (CE *tuṣyati*)
- sec. denom. *priyāyase* (↗ 7.9.3), Mbh 2,56.5

rem. (a) WHITNEY’s entry ‘*priyanti* R¹.’ is apparently based on the statement of the PW (IV col. 1167) that R 2,56,13f. has *priya*^o in Schlegel’s (printed) edition, a reading which, however, is not recorded by the *critical edition* (R 2,50.12ab / 1198*). In its *addenda* to the lemma *prī* (V col. 1637) the PW gave yet another reference, viz. R 7,37,2,21 (i.e. the second *prakṣipta sarga* after R ed. Bomb. 7,37). But also in that case the *critical edition* (7,App.3.162 [CE *mriyanti* (!)]) does not give such a variant reading.

√*preṣ* → ²√*iṣ*

√*plu* ‘to leap, to float’ (I. *aniṭ* [cf. VIA I 123, LIV 493])

- pr. << {{ 3pl. impf. *apluvan*, Mbh ed. Calc. 7,6164 not recorded by CE 7,App.15.14 (*samāplavan* [v.l. *samāpnuvan*]) }} , nom. sg. masc. pr. part. *samāpluvan*, R 5,45.34 v.l. (↗ p. 190 n. 1) >>
- pf. *pupluruḥ*, R 5,59.2
- sec. caus. *plāvayate*, R 1,43.14

√pluṣ ‘to burn’

va. (vi)pluṣṭa-, R 2,106.12

√phal ‘to burst’ (I. [VIA I 429, LIV 576-577])

pr. *phalati*, Mbh 3,275.33, R 2,55.9, 58.19, *phalate*, R 6,99.29

pf. *paphāla*, Mbh 3,40.41, 8,68.48, 12,330.53, 13,145.14, R 6,31.77, 86.22

fut. *phaliṣyati*, Mbh 1,68.35, 7,121.22, R 6,80.46

sec. caus. ([abs.] °*phālya*, Mbh 1,140.16 [*ud+*], 2,63.13 [*id.*])

rem. The verbal adjective *phalita-* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v. ¹√*phal*), its place taken by *phulla-*, Mbh 3,44.26, 81.99, 5.165.9.

√bandh ‘to bind’ (IX. [VIA I 430, LIV 75, GOTO 1997: 1012-1016, KULIKOV 2001: 123-124])

pr. << (↗ 7.9.4) *bandhāna*, Mbh 5,180.2, *samabadhnanta*, Mbh 4,5.27 >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.9.1)] *bandha*, R 3,54.19, (3sg. impf.) *abandhata*, Mbh 4,5.26 (*pari+*)

pf. *babandhuḥ*, R 2,74.10

fut. *bandhiṣyate* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 3,135.36, R 3,43.33 (*ā+*)

ger. *bandhanīya-*, R 2,74.10

inf. *bandhitum* (↗ 9.6), R 2,363*.9, << *baddhum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,3.21, 3,135.36, R 3,53.24, 5,48.14 >>, {{ *banddhum*, R 3,53.24 v.l. (ed. Gorr [CE *baddhum*]]}}

sec. pass. << *badhyati* (↗ 8.7), R 6,2.9 (*badhyet* [v.l. *badhyeta*]) >>

rem. On (ā)badhyamāna- used as an active participle see (↗) p. 266.

√bādh 'to oppress' (I. [VIA I 640, LIV 68])

- pr. *bādhati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,30.7 (*pra+*), 2,14.18 (*prati+*), 9,58.8 (*pra+*), 13,133.33
 pf. *babādha*, Mbh 3,195.6
 fut. *bādhiṣyate*, R 2,46.40 (*prati+*)
 ger. *bādhitavya-*, Mbh 12,337.31
 inf. *bādhitum*, Mbh 1,130.18 (*pra+*), 7,131.57 (*id.*), 147.25 (*id.*), 12,69.5, 88.26, R 2,20.12, 7,75.12
 sec. pass. *bādhyate*, Mbh 14,12.3.5

√budh (I.) 'to know, to realize', (IV.) 'to know, to wake up' (*aniṭ* [VIA I 125, LIV 82-83, KULIKOV 2001: 250-253])

- pr. [I.] *bodhate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,329*.4 (*nibodhasva*), 3,282.13 v.l. (*nibodhasva* / *nibodhadhvam*), 12,161.41 (*nibodhadhvam*), R 4,1112* (*id.*); — [IV.] *budhyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,111.13, 2,59.2 (*sam+*), 59.5, 4,28.9 v.l., 6,61.21 (*ava+*), 12,137.38, 13,61.38 v.l. (*pra+*); — [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.4.3)] *budhati*, R 3,64.13 (v.ll. *abudhyat[a]*)
 pf. *bubodha*, Mbh 3,255.25, R 1,1173*.26
 fut. *bhotsyate*, Mbh 3,35.9 (*ava+*)
 abs. (*anu*)*buddhvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 1,131.11
 ger. *bodhya-*, Mbh 2,67.14, *bodhanīya-*, Mbh 12,339.16
 inf. *boddhum*, R 6,11.45 (*ava+*)
 sec. pass. *budhyate*, R 4,52.20; — caus. ([pass.] *bodhyate*, R 1,690*.8 [i] *bodhyamāna-*], abs. *bodhya* [↗ 9.7.2], Mbh 3,1290*.7)

√bṛñh ‘to roar, to trumpet’ (I.)

- pr. *bṛñhati*, Mbh 1,124.31 (*bṛñhantau*), 6,16.23, 7,167.19, 9,32.52
 va. *bṛñhita-*, Mbh 1,25.21, 7,35.19, R 2,1388*

√bṛh ‘to be strong’ (VIA I 126, LIV 78-79)

- sec. caus. *bṛñhayati*, Mbh 1,1.204 (*samupa+*), 3,150.14 ([fut.]
bṛñhayiṣyāmi), 12,156.22, *bṛñhayate*, Mbh 12,156.22 v.l.

rem. *bṛñhayati/te* is based on the present *bṛñhati* (ŚB III 6,1.24), which is formed on analogy with *dṛñhati* (see GOTO 1983: 215). The old causative of **√bṛh** is *barhayati*.

√brū ‘to speak’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 322, LIV 446-447])

- pr. [II. (↗ 7.2.4)] *brūmi*, R 2,16.30, 3,12.17, 4,7.13, 6,9.20, *bravīhi*, Mbh 1,67.17, 182.5, 184.17, 189.12, 193.3, 211.20, 2,22.34, 25.13, 3,134.6, 177.15, 194.20, 198.56, 4,11.10, 5,160.9, 8,28.21 v.l. (CE *bravīṣi*), 8,658*, 9,34.33 v.l. (CE *vadasva*), R 2,20.35, 110.15, App.26.106, 3,App.10.85, 6,3.3, {{ *abravat*, reading of Mbh ed. Calc. 7,9283, not recorded by CE 7,171.26 }} — [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.2.3)] *bruvāṇi*, Mbh 1,4.2, (2du. imp.) *bruvatam*, R 3,3.1 v.l. (CE *brūtam*), (1sg. impf.) *abruvam*, Mbh 1,7.2, 84.20, 93.38, 122.33, 2,11.4, 72.25, 4,20.18, 10,17.6, 11,17.8, R 2,58.9, 80.2 v.l., 4,20.12, 5,56.79, 65.24, 66.16, 7,68.15 (*bruvantī-*, Mbh 2,60.35.46), *bruvante*, R 7,23.19 v.l. (CE *bruvantī*), *bruvadhvam*, Mbh 3,67.8 (on the v.l. see below), R 4,63.23

- prec. *brūyāsta* (↗ 6.2.4), Mbh 3,67.8 v.l. (CE *bruvadhvam*)

√**bhaj** ‘to give a share, to love, to fall to one’s share’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 127, LIV 65, KULIKOV 2001: 125-130])

- fut. (↗ 8.4) *bhajiṣyati*, Mbh 1,92.12, 3,78.12, 188.70 (see *rem.*, below),
bhajiṣyate, R 2,107.16
ger. *bhajanīya-*, Mbh 1,77.23 v.l.
inf. *bhajitum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,72.5

rem. bhajiṣyanti, Mbh 3,188.70 (v.l. *gamisyanti* / *vrajiṣyanti*), has the meaning ‘to flee’; so too *bhejire*, Mbh 3,700*8 (cf. also ... *diśaś catasro vibhajya* ..., Mbh 3,250.6). Here we have to do with a meaning which properly belongs to a second root ⁽²⁾√*bhaj* going back to PIE **b^heg^h* (on which see LIV 67). On Apabhraṃśa and NIA continuations of this root / meaning see CDIAL 9361.

√**bha(ñ)** ‘to break’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 128, LIV 66-67, KULIKOV 2001: 361, 607-608])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.7.1)] *bhañjati*, Mbh 1,25.28 v.l. (*bhañjet* [CE *bhañj-
yāt*])
pf. *babhañjire*, R 6,75*.16
aor. [4.] *abhāṅkṣīt*, Mbh 1,172.4
fut. *bhaṅkṣyati*, Mbh 5,50.35 v.l. (*pra+*); — [2.] *bhaṅktā*, Mbh 9,59.14
abs. *bhaṅktvā* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 1,142.30, R 3,40.19 (v.l. *bhaktvā*), *ḥhajya*,
Mbh 1,180.19 v.l. (*vi+*), 3,111.16 (*ava+*)
sec. pass. << *bhajyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 5,47.48 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *prabhaj-
yantam*), 50.18, 9,20.1, R 6,27.11 v.l. (↗ 8.7.1) >>

√**bharts** ‘to menace, to scold’ (X.)

- pr. *bhartsayati*, Mbh 2,11.12 v.l., 21.15, R 5,22.8, 6,84.21; — [→ I.]
bhartsati, Mbh 3,264.48 ([part.] *paribhartsantīh*)
- abs. *°bhartsya*, Mbh 1,98.14 (*nis+*), R 2,72.18 (*abhinis+*), 4,10.7
(*pari+*), 5,20.41 (id.), 6,53.1 (*nis+*)
- va. *bhartsita-*, R 5,23.4 v.l. (CE *tarjita-*), 4,58.11 (*pari+*), 5,25.27.30,
7,11.31 (*nis+*)
- sec. pass. *bhartsyate*, Mbh 3,188.73 v.l., R 5,22.12, 24.4, 46.43 (*pari+*),
6,106.8; — caus. *bhartsāpayati* (♣ 8.8), R 6,25.9

√**bhaṣ** ‘to bark’ (I. [VIA I 431])

- pr. *bhaṣati*, Mbh 1,1.129 (*vyā+*), 123.18, 2,37.7, 59.9, 3,252.3,
bhaṣate, Mbh 2,37.8, 6,20.2 (*vyā+*)
- inf. *bhaṣitum*, Mbh 13,37.15

√**bhā** ‘to shine’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 323, LIV 68-69])

- pf. *babhau*, Mbh 7,App.8.456 (*ati ... babhau*), R 2,37.12 (*ati+*),
2,79.14, *babhuḥ*, Mbh 5,109.7 (*sam+*)

rem. On the crossed form *babhau*, Mbh 8,33.60, 54.5, 12,274.3 v.l. (*prādur babhau* [CE *prādur abhūt*]), 274.7 (v.l. *babhūva*), 278.14 (v.l. *abhūt*), see (♣) 6.7 / 8.1.3.1 *rem.* (b).

√**bhāṣ** ‘to speak’ (I. [KULIKOV 2001: 361-362, cf. VIA I 431])

- pr. *bhāṣati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,94.55 (*abhi+*), 129.9, 185.13, 2,43.17 (*abhi+*), 63.25 (*samā+*), 72.17 (*abhi+*), 8,28.48 (*pra+*), R 3,34.1, 4,152*, << *abhy-a-bhāṣa* (↗ 6.4.3), R 4,3.25 >>
- abs. (*saṃ*)*bhāṣitvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 5,557*, *°bhāṣya*, Mbh 1,1038*.8 (*samā+*), 5,125.2 (*vi+*), 12,331.28 (*abhi+*), 13,96.43 (*samā+*)
- inf. (*abhi*)*bhāṣitum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 3,250.2
- va. (↗ 9.4) *bhāṣita-*, Mbh 12,302.14, R 3,12.12, 40.5, 4,673*.6, 5,56.71, *bhāṣta-*, Mbh 3,126.28 (*pari+*)
- sec. pass. *bhāṣyate*, Mbh 3,68.4, 12,329.4 (*anu+*), 13,11.5 (*abhi+*); —
caus. *bhāṣayati*, R 5,56.75 v.l. (*sam+*), *bhāṣayate*, Mbh 5,44.11

√**bhās** ‘to shine’ (I. [cf. VIA I 323])

- pf. *babhāse*, Mbh 2,33.8 (*ā+*), 6,55.92, 7,15.15, R 5,3.21, 27.7
- sec. caus. *bhāsayate*, Mbh 6,37.6.12, 9,34.37

rem. Middle *bhāsate* is attested already in Vedic texts (see GOTO 1987: 231 [*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.]).

√**bhikṣ** ‘to beg’ (I. [cf. VIA I 127, LIV 65])

- pr. *bhikṣati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 13,24.53
- fut. *bhikṣiṣyate*, Mbh 9,40.5, R (ed. Gorr.) 2,32.37
- abs. *bhikṣitvā*, Mbh 1,1589*, R 1,28.10
- inf. *bhikṣitum*, Mbh 3,App.21.64, 14,55.31 = 56.12, R 1,724*.2, 2,29.22 v.l.

va. *bhikṣita-*, Mbh 3,App.21.64, R 1,724*.4

√**bhid** ‘to split’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 130, LIV 70-71, KULIKOV 2001: 309-311])

pf. *bibhiduḥ*, R 5,1.18 (↗ 8.7.2), << *bibheduḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 8,60.15 >>

aor. (pass.) *abhedi* (↗ p. 245 n. 2), Mbh 12,29.82

ger. *bhedanīya-*, R 2,74.10, *bhettavya-*, R 5,56.10

sec. pass. << (*ud*)*bhidyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 5,97.17, R 1,23.5 v.l. ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *bhidyant-*) >>; — des. *bibhīṣati*, Mbh 5,85.10 (v.ll. *bi-bhīṣat[yati]* [cf. (↗ 8.9)], 7,32.25, 37.2; — caus. *bhēdayati*, Mbh 1,25.13, 193.4, R 1,16.14, *bhēdayate*, R 1,63.6

√**bhī** ‘to be afraid’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 324, LIV 72-73])

pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.3.1)] (3du. ind. pr.) *bibhyataḥ*, Mbh 5,55.2, (3sg. opt.) *bibhyet*, Mbh 13,8.24 (v.l. [2sg.] *bibhiyāḥ*), (3pl. opt.) *bibhyeyuḥ*, Mbh 12,15.36 (v.l. *bibhiyuḥ*), (3sg. impf.) *abibhyat*, Mbh 3,61.10, (3pl. impf.) *abibhyān*, R 7,78.6 (Ct. *abibhyuḥ ity arthaḥ*), (2sg. ind. pr.) *bibhyase*, R 3,44.28 (v.l. *bibhyasi*), (2sg. opt.) *bibhyethāḥ*. Mbh 12,81.32.

pf. *bibhye*, Mbh 3,286.6, 13,8.24 v.l. (CE *bibhyet* [see above])

aor. << (4.) (*mā*) *bhaiṣi* (↗ 8.2.4), R 1,63.4 >>

ger. *bhetavya-*, Mbh 3,198.26, R 2,642*.4, 6,330*.3

inf. *bhetum*, R 6,330*.3 v.l. (CE *bhetavyam* [see above])

sec. caus. *bhīṣayati*, Mbh 1,28.10, 8,27.68 (v.l. *bhīṣayiṣyasi*)

√**bhu(ñ)j** ‘to enjoy’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 131, LIV 84-85])

- pr. << (↗ 7.7.1) *bhuñjīyām*, Mbh 3,62.38, 13,14.189, 15,7.18, *bhuñjīyāt*, Mbh 12,10.13 v.l. (CE *bhuñjīta*), *upabhuñjītam*, Mbh 13,4.28 v.l. >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.7.1)] *bhuñjate*, Mbh 2,App.31.11, 3,82.91, 197.12, 238.45 (*upabhuñjase*), *bhuñjati*, Mbh 1,App.71.20
- pf. *bubhujuh*, Mbh 7,App.8.598
- fut. *bhokṣyati*, Mbh 1,220.13 v.l. (*upa*+ [CE *upabhoktā*(*si*)]), 12,327.45, R 1,45.14; — [2.] *bhoktā*, Mbh 1,220.13 (*upa*+ [see above]), R 1,58.14 (*bhoktāraḥ*), 69.4
- abs. *bhuktvā* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 1,App.67.57, R 5,52.16, 1088*.1
- inf. *bhoktum*, Mbh 3,219.24, 5,127.42, 12,88.7, 13,113.24, R 2,97.22 (*upa*+)
- va. (*upa*)*bhukta-*, R 3,31.18, << *bhukṣita-* (↗ 9.4), R 7,4.12 (*bhukṣitābhukṣitaiḥ*) >>
- sec. pass. << *bhujyati*, Mbh 1,126.14 ([3du. imp.] *upabhujyatām*), 11,3.11 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *paribhujyantam*) >>; — des. *bubhukṣate*, Mbh 13,483*, *bubhukṣati*, Mbh 1,14.23, 129.13 v.l.; — caus. *bhojayate*, Mbh 2,57.9

√**bhū** ‘to be, to become’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 325, LIV 98-101, KULIKOV 2001: 585])

- pf. on the pf. *babhau* see (↗) p. 221
- aor. *bhūḥ* (↗ p. XXIX with n. 3), Mbh 4,36.45
- prec. *bhūyāt*, Mbh 1,43.15 (↗ 6.2.4), 10,2.7, 12,101*.3, << *bhūyām* (↗ 8.3), Mbh 13,137.7 >>

- fut. *bhaviṣyate*, Mbh 3,132.19, 4,13.12, R 1,21.15 (*bhaviṣyadhvam* [↗ 8.4.2(a)], Mbh 3,217.8, 12,327.53, R 1,26.24); — [2.] *bhavitā*, Mbh 1,84.9 (↗ 8.5[b]), 110.26 (↗ 8.5[b]), 122.2 (↗ 6.2.10), 2,30.21, 6,40.69, 7,39.7, R 1,9.27 v.l., 2,4.2, 6.22, *bhavitri* (↗ p. 239), Mbh 1,176.35, 3,115.6
- cond. *abhaviṣyat*, Mbh 1,183.8 (↗ p. 169), 2,63.18, 3,35.4.15, 5,29.32, 7,156.25, 8,48.14-15, 12,10.5, 161.33 (↗ p. 169), R 4,276* (↗ 6.2.11), *bhaviṣyat* (↗ 8.6), Mbh 2,51.25
- sec. pass. (*pari*)*bhūyate*, R 2,452*.2; — des. *bubhūṣate*, Mbh 1,213.7, 12,137.93 v.l., R 2,94.51, << (3pl.) *bubhūṣate* (↗ 8.9), Mbh 13,133.20 >>; — caus. (*bhāvitum*, R 4,26.21 v.l., [pass.] *bhāvyate*, Mbh 1,7.21 [*vi*+], 13,15.39 [*id.*], 14,40.3 [*id.*])

rem. On perfect forms of $\sqrt{bhū}$ with the meaning of $\sqrt{bhā}$ see (→) $\sqrt{bhā}$, *rem.*

$\sqrt{bhūṣ}$ ‘to adorn’ (I. / X. [VIA I 642])

- pr. *bhūṣayati*, Mbh 13,105.19 (*vi*+), R 2,9.36 v.l. (*bhūṣayiṣyāmi*), 34.17 (*bhūṣayām āsa*), 74.15 (*bhūṣayām āsuḥ*), *bhūṣayate*, Mbh 3,222.36 (*ati*+)

$\sqrt{bhṛ}$ ‘to bear, to carry’ (I. / III. *aniṭ* [VIA I 133, LIV 76-77, KULIKOV 2001: 130-132])

- aor. [3.] *bībharaḥ*, Mbh 5,131.6
- inf. << *bībhartum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 8,24.61, 256* >>
- va. *bharita-*, Mbh 1,1945*.4, 2,54.2
- sec. pass. << (*sam*)*bhriyantu* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,47.9 = R 1,11.14 >>; — caus. *bhārayati*, R 1,344*.1 (*sam*+)

√**bhr̥jj** ‘to roast’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 134, LIV 78, KULIKOV 2001: 362, 444])

sec. pass. *bhr̥jjyati* – a conjecture of the *PW* at Mbh ed. Bomb. 11,97 [*paribhr̥jj(y)antam*] which is not borne out by the CE 11,3.11 (*paribhuḥjyantam*).

√**bhramś** ‘to fall’ (I. / IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 135, LIV 95, KULIKOV 2001: 363])

pr. [IV.] *bhraśyatu*, R 2,69.28 (v.l. *bhraśyatām*)

sec. caus. *bhramśayati*, Mbh 5,123.5, 127.44, R 4,457*

√**bhram** ‘to wander, to err’ (I. / IV. [VIA I 530, LIV 94-95, KULIKOV 2001: 586-587])

pr. [I.] *bhramati*, Mbh 1,48.22, 3,64.15, 186.78, 6,78.38 (*a-saṃbhramat* [↗ 6.4.3]), R 3,63.11, 4,1043*.4, *bhramate*, R 3,58.33, 4,1032*.3, 5,733*.4; — [IV. (↗ 6.6.1.2)] *bhrāmyati*, Mbh 1,48.22 v.l. (CE *bhramati*), 13,90.39

pf. *babhrāma*, Mbh 3,216.8, *babhramuḥ*, Mbh 7,632*.2, R 1,38.22 v.l. (CE *paricakramuḥ*), *bhremuḥ*, Mbh 7,172.25 v.l., << *ababhramat* (↗ 8.1), R 1,42.5 >>

aor. [pass.] *abhrāmi*, R ed. Gorr. 2,96.8 (not verified); — [3.] << *abibhramat*, R 1,42.5 v.l. (CE *ababhramat* [see above]) >>

va. *bhrānta-*, Mbh 8,40.38 (*sam+*), 13,12.7, R 2,12.9 (*ud+*), 35.16 (*sam+*), 6,488*

sec. caus. *bhrāmayati* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 1,142.24, 158.23, 192.3, 2,22.5, R 2,39.7, << part. *bhrāmayāna-* [↗ 9.1], R 7,32.45 >>, ([pass.] *bhrāmyate*, Mbh 1,16.21)

rem. WHITNEY's absolutive *bhramitvā*, which he entered on the strength of the information given by the PW (s.v. $\sqrt{bhram} + vi$), does not exist. The CE (Mbh 6,58.61) reads *vidhamitvā*, and none of its mss. has *vibhramitvā*.

$\sqrt{bhrāj}$ 'to shine' (I. [VIA I 643, LIV 92])

- pf. *babhrāja*, R 2,59.11, 3,50.14 (*pari+*), 5,38*.2, *babhrājatuh*, Mbh 1,142.16 v.l., *babhrāje*, Mbh 7,18.5, R 5,38*.2 v.l., *babhrājire*, Mbh 3,235.19, 5,92.18, << (*vi*)*bhrājatuh* (↗ 8.1.1), Mbh 1,142.16 v.l. >>
- fut. *bhrājiṣyati*, R 3,789*.67, *bhrājiṣyate*, R ed. Gorr. 3,49,15 (not noted by CE)
- sec. caus. *bhrājayati*, Mbh 3,248.9, 5,55.3, 7,83.11

\sqrt{majj} 'to sink, to dive' (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 566, LIV 441])

- pr. *majjate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,13.40, 13.42 (*ni+*), 7,31.67 (*id.*)
- pf. *mamajja*, Mbh 1,89.24, 2,40.17 (*ni+*)
- aor. [5.] *majjīh*, Mbh 1,97.11 = 5,130.32 (↗ 8.8.2[c]), 2,55.9 = 5,123.8 v.l.
- fut. *majjiṣyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 2,40.10 (*ni+*), 7,170.29 v.l. (*vi+*)
- abs. (*un*)*majjya*, R 2,1601*
- inf. *majjitum*, Mbh 1,123.68
- sec. pass. *majyate*, Mbh 3,282.43 v.l. (CE *nimajjamāna-*); — caus. *majjayate*, Mbh 13,143.33

√**math** ‘to rob, to tear away’ (IX. *set* [VIA I 328, LIV 442-443]) –
ud+ ‘to tear upwards’, *pra+* ‘to tear away’

- pr. [IX.] *mathnāti*, Mbh 1,1726*, 5,70.24 (*pramathnanti*), 80.11 (*prāmathnāt*); — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.9.1)] *mathati*, Mbh 4,997*.7 ([part.] *pramathant-*), R 4,655*.10 (*unmathāmi*), 6,83.14 (*pramathāmi*), *mathate*, Mbh 1,15.13 v.l. (*mathadhvam* [see *rem. (b)* below]), 8,15.16 (*pramathase*)
- pf. *mamātha* (↗ p. 221), Mbh 1,218.25 (*pra+*), 7,145.22 (*ud+*), R 3,25.14 (*pra+*), 61.61 (*ud+*), 1466* (id.), 64.21 (id.), 89.20 v.l. (Id.)
- fut. [2.] *mathitā*, Mbh 3,120.8 (*unmathitāsmi*)
- abs. ^o*mathya*, Mbh 4,32.9 (*ud+*), 49.10 (*pra+*), 14,74.3 (*ud+*), 84.14 (id.),
- sec. caus. *māthayati*, (in: *pramāthita-*, Mbh 3,101.7 v.l. [CE *prabādhitā-*], 253.11)

rem. (a) Since WHITNEY did not distinguish between √*math* and √*manth*, such forms, which are attested already in Vedic Sanskrit, are also listed here; *(b)* on forms of √*math* with the meaning of √*manth*, see (↗) 6.7; *(c)* in the Epics the typical preverbs of √*math* are *ud+* and *pra+* (in contrast to √*manth*, which is commonly compounded with *nis+*).

√**mad** ‘to exhilarate, to rejoice’ (I. / IV. [VIA I 433, LIV 423-424, KULIKOV 2001: 132-133, 444-445])

- pr. [IV.] *mādyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 8,12.67 (*pra+*)
- aor. [5.] << *pramādithāḥ* (↗ 8.2.5), Mbh 12,92.50 >>

√**man** ‘to think, to respect’ (IV. / VIII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 137, LIV 435-436, GOTO 1997: 1016-1024, KULIKOV 2001: 253-260])

- pr. << (2pl. ind.) *manyadhvam* (↗ 6.3.1.5), Mbh 2,20.2, 62.13 >>; —
[VIII.] *manvāna-*, Mbh 3,165.16 = 166.8, (*abhi*)*manute*, Mbh 3,36.13
- fut. *maṃsyati*, Mbh 3,50.20, R 2,101.7, << *maṃsyeran* (↗ 8.4.2 [b]), Mbh (not traced) >>
- cond. *amaṃsyāma*, Mbh 7,24.2 v.l. (CE *amanyāma*)
- abs. °*manya*, Mbh 1,27.10 (*ava*+), 68.32 (id.), 169.18 (id.), 2,20.22 (id.), 3,152.6 (id.), 5,193.42 (id.)
- inf. *mantum*, Mbh 3,App.6.116 v.l., 9,63.13 (*sam*+), R 2,55.14 (*abhi*+), << (caus.) (*ava*)*mānitum* (↗ 9.6), R 2,97.13 v.l. >>
- sec. caus. *mānayate*, Mbh 5,186.24, 6,41.64, << part. *mānayāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 3,189.5 >>, ([pass.] *mānyate*, Mbh 13,32.26)

√**manth** ‘to churn’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 330, LIV 438-439, KULIKOV 2001: 134])

- pr. *manthadhvam*, Mbh 1,15.13 (v.l. *mathadhvam* [see rem. c. below]); — << (↗ 6.6.7) *mathnāti*, Mbh 1,750*, 14,34.3 (*abhimathnītaḥ*) >>
- pf. *mamantha*, R 2,23.2 (*ā*+), 6,54.10, *mamanthuḥ*, R 1,44.17, 6,42.8; — << (*un*)*mamātha*, Mbh 3,212.18, (*pra*)*mamātha*, R 5,43.13, 6,33.22 (↗ 6.6.7 / 8.1.3.1 rem. a) >>
- fut. << *mathiṣyati* (↗ 6.6.7), R 3,64.27 (*nis*+), *mathiṣyate*, Mbh 1,16.8 (*nis*+)>>
- abs. °*mathya*, Mbh 12,331.2 (*ā*+ [v.l. *āmanthya*]), 13,17.13 (*nis*+)
- inf. << *mathitum* (↗ 6.6.7), Mbh 1,16.12 >>

sec. pass. << *mathyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,217.13 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *mathyataḥ*), 12,329.12 v.l. (CE *mathyate*) >>

rem. (a) Since WHITNEY did not distinguish between \sqrt{math} and \sqrt{manth} , such forms, which are attested already in Vedic Sanskrit, are also listed here; (b) in the Epics the typical preverb of \sqrt{manth} is *nis+* ‘to churn s.th. out of s.th.’ (in contrast to \sqrt{math} , which is never compounded with it); (c) the v.l. at Mbh 1,15.13, *mathadhvam*, formally belongs to \sqrt{math} (cl. I) but has the meaning of \sqrt{manth} ; the same is so of all forms given in angled brackets (↗ 6.6.7).

\sqrt{mah} ‘to praise, to extol’

pr. << (1sg.) *āmahe*, Mbh 1,3.69 (see HELMER SMITH *apud* RENOUE 1939: 186 [= *Choix d'études indiennes* II,772]) >>

abs. *mahitvā*, Mbh 3,App.21.150 (v.l. *arcayitvā*)

$\sqrt{mā}$ ‘to measure’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 331, LIV 424-425, KULIKOV 2001: 134-135])

pr. *mimīmah*, Mbh 12,51.8 (*anu+*)

sec. pass. *mīyate*, Mbh 1,179.10 (*anu+*), 12,133.21 (id.), 233.16 (id.)

\sqrt{mi} ‘to barter’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 139, LIV 426])

pr. *mayati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 12,79.7 (*nimayet*), 79.8 ([part.] *nimayan*)

√**miṣ** ‘to wink’ (VI. [VIA I 434, LIV 429])

- pr. *miṣate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 9,57.32 v.1. (*unmiṣamāna-*)
fut. << *nimiṣyanti* (↗ 8.4.1), R 7,App.8.202 >>
abs. *°meṣam*, Mbh 1,App.1.16 (*unmeṣam nimiṣam ca yat*)

√**mih** ‘to urinate’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 140, LIV 301-302])

- pr. *mehate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 12,186.23, R 5,62.4

√**mī** ‘to dwindle, to pass away, to diminish’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 334, LIV 427, KULIKOV 2001: 311-314])

- sec. caus. (*pra*)*māpayati*, Mbh 11,22.14

√**mīl** ‘to wink, to close the eyes’ (I. / X. [VIA I 644, LIV 429])

- pr. [X.] *mīlayate*, Mbh 3,12.16 (*ni+*), 5,129.12 (*id.*), 7,App.24.25 (*id.*),
R 4,52.8 ([augmentless] *nimīlayata*)

√**muc** ‘to release, to become free’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 141, LIV 443-444, KULIKOV 2001: 315-318])

- pr. (<< part. *muñcāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 3,704* >>)
ger. *moktavya-*, Mbh 1,123.59, 5,38.26
abs. *mucya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 3,235.20, R 7,39.20

- sec. pass. << *mucyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,23.11 (*vīpramucyeyam*), 137.21 (*vīpramucyema*), 145.25 (*mucyeyam*), 188.17 (*mucyeyam*), 4,61.20 (*mucyēt*) >>; — desid. *mokṣadhvam*, Mbh 3,233.18; — caus. *mocayate*, Mbh 11,7.18 (*ud+*), << part. *mocayāna-* (↗ 9.1), R 2,103.32 >>

√**mud** ‘to rejoice’ (I. [VIA I 436, LIV 443])

- pr. *modati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,81.111, 82.57, 5,2.2, 12,1.11, R 2,42.3
 pf. *mumude*, Mbh 1,163.20, 3,279.17, R 1,42.20
 fut. *modiṣyati*, R 6,24.35, *modiṣyate*, Mbh 1,139.16, 2,142*.2, R 5,63.22 (*pra+*)

rem. The verbal adjective *mudita-* is attested already in Vedic texts (see VIA *l.c.*).

√**muṣ** ‘to steal, to rob’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 335, LIV 445, KULIKOV 2001: 364])

- pr. [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.9.4)] *muṣati*, Mbh 3,188.37 (*parimuṣet*) = 12,68.27 v.l. (*parimuṣet* [CE *muṣṇīyāt*])
 aor. [3.] *amūmuṣat*, Mbh 8,65.16 v.l. (CE *amīmṛdat*)
 sec. pass. << *muṣyati*, Mbh 12,12.27 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *parimuṣyant-*) >>

√**muh** ‘to be confused’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 142, KULIKOV 2001: 445-446])

- pf. *mumuhe*, Mbh 8,17.44

sec. int. *momuhyate*, Mbh 3,12.18, 4,22.9; — caus. *mohayate*, Mbh 5,45.18, 8,20.27 (vi+)

√**mūr̥ch** ‘to coagulate, to condense, to faint’ (I.)

pf. *mumūr̥cha*, R 6,1781*.3

va. *mūr̥chita-*, Mbh 2,42.27, 61.26, R 2,11.15, 16.43, 51.23, 5,7.16 (sam+), 21.3

sec. caus. *mūr̥chayate*, R 3,8.12 v.l.

√**mṛ̥** ‘to die’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 143, LIV 439-440, KULIKOV 2001: 138-140])

pr. *mriyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,147.9, 6,11.7

fut. *maṛ̥ṣyate*, Mbh 2,45.43

ger. *martavya-*, Mbh 5,184.17, R 6,95.7

inf. *martum*, R 2,App.20.13

abs. ([*paśu*]māram, Mbh 10,8.18)

sec. caus. *mārayate*, Mbh 13,30.8 ([pass.] *māryate*, Mbh 1,142.29)

√**mṛ̥kṣ̥** ‘to rub, to anoint’ (X.)

pr. *mṛ̥kṣ̥ayati*, Mbh 13,21.2 (*abhi*+), 144.22 (*id.*)

√*mṛj* ‘to stroke, to rub, to wipe’ (II. [VIA I 437, LIV 280-281, KULIKOV 2001: 140-143])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] *mārjati*, Mbh 3,13.111 (*pari+*), 5,124.14 (*id.*), 5,App.9.73 (*pra+*), 12,92.34 v.l. (*pari+* [CE *vyapamārṣṭi*]), R 2,66.25 (*pari+*), 98.66 v.l. (*parimārja* [CE *pramṛjya*]), 6,53.2 (*pra+*), 103.6 (*id.*), *mārjate*, Mbh 4,21.29, 2,59.1 (*sam+*), 15,6.27 (*pari+*); — [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.2.3)] (*pra*)*mṛjasi*, R 3,45.36
- pf. << (*pra*)*mamārjuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), R 2,96.16 >>
- aor. [7.] *amṛkṣata*, Mbh 13,21.2 v.l. (CE *abhyamṛkṣayat*)
- prec. (*pra*)*mṛjyāt*, 12,271.13 ≠ 297.17
- ger. << (*nir*)*mārjaṇīya-* (↗ 9.5), R 7,58.5.6 >>
- inf. << (*pra*)*mārjitum* (↗ 9.6), R 3,48.11 >>
- sec. (pass. °*mṛjyate*, Mbh 13,107.74, used as *ātm.* [↗ p. 194 n. 5, 244 n. 4])

√*mṛd* ‘to crush’ (IX. [VIA I 439, KULIKOV 2001: 143-144])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.9.1)] *mardati*, Mbh 1,119.15 (*pari+*), 5,134.17, R 2,108.17 v.l. (*pramardanti* [CE *pramṛdnanti*]), 6,1105*.3 (*pra+*), *mardate*, Mbh 3,13.87 (*pari+*), 146.39, 13,65.2
- pf. *mamarda*, Mbh 4,21.56 v.l. (CE *mamantha*), *mamṛduḥ*, Mbh 1,63.25, 128.4, 8,16.34, *mamṛde*, Mbh 4,313*, << *mamarduḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 3,62.7 v.l. (CE *mamarda*) >>
- aor. [3.] *amīmṛdat* (↗ 8.2.3), Mbh 8,65.16
- ger. *marditavya-*, Mbh 3,150.9
- inf. *marditum*, Mbh 4,38.3 (*pra+*), 5,36.60 (*vi+*), R 3,54.18 (*ava+*), 6,17.27, 18.24

sec. des. *mimardiṣati*, Mbh 8,17.19; — caus. *mardayati*, Mbh 6,59.13 (*pra+*), 84.2, 7,145.48 v.l., *mardayate*, Mbh 3,146.39 v.l. (*mardayāna-* [cf. (↗) 9.1])

√*mṛś* ‘to touch’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 146, LIV 226-227, KULIKOV 2001: 144])

pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.6.1)] (*abhi*)*marśati*, Mbh 1,205.8
 pf. *mamarśa*, Mbh 5,142.10 (*vi+*), R 2,10.4 (*pari+*), 17.18 (*vi+*)
 aor. [7.] *amṛkṣah*, Mbh 3,35.15 (*pari+*)
 sec. pass. *mṛśyate*, Mbh 12,112.60, 171.60, R 3,68.8

rem. (a) The infinitive *marṣtum* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.); (b) at Mbh 3,1371* (... *vākyāni vimṛṣan nṛpasattamaḥ*) √*mṛś* and √*mṛṣ* are confounded (↗ 6.7).

√*mṛṣ* ‘to tolerate, to bear’ (IV. [VIA I 440, LIV 440-441, KULIKOV 2001: 365])

pr. *mṛṣyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,55.7, 98.1, 133.12, 3,App.24.4, 14,29.21, 59.31, 16,4.17
 pf. *mamarṣa*, R 6,27.1 v.l., *mamṛṣe*, R 5,509*.11
 aor. [2.] *amṛṣan*, Mbh 1,55.7 v.l. (CE *amṛṣyan*)
 prec. *mṛṣyāt*, Mbh 4,63.54 (↗ 6.2.4)
 abs. *Ṁmṛṣya*, Mbh 12,314.12 v.l.
 ger. *marṣanīya-*, Mbh 1,212.31, 7,2.19 = 8,26.53, R 5,61.26
 sec. pass. *mṛṣyate*, R 4,377*.3; — caus. *marṣayati*, Mbh 1,32.10, 2,42.12, R 1,1.61, 4,14.17, 6,27.1, 101.32, *marṣayate*, Mbh 2,62.32, 3,18.15, R 4,57.3

rem. The causative *marṣayati* / *ṛte* has the same meaning as the simple verb (↗ 8.8.1).

√**mṛ** ‘to crush’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 336, LIV 440, KULIKOV 2001: 144-145])

pf. *(pra)mamāra*, R 5,43.13 v.l. (CE *pramamātha*)

√**mreḍ** ‘to repeat’ (X.)

pr. *mreḍayati*, Mbh 3,124.13 (*ā*+)

√**mlā** ‘to wither’ (IV. [KULIKOV 2001: 448])

pr. *mlāyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 12,177.11, 15,6.20 v.l. (CE *glāyate*); —
[→ II. (↗ 6.6.4.2)] *mlānti*, Mbh 3,253.16

pf. *mamluḥ*, Mbh 1,26.32, 7,632*.2

aor. [6.] *mlāsīḥ*, Mbh 1,76.32 v.l. (CE *glāsīḥ*)

√**yaj** ‘to worship, to offer’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 494, LIV 224-225, KULIKOV 2001: 145-146])

sec. des. *iyakṣati*, R 1,58.14 v.l., *iyakṣate*, Mbh 2,2.2 v.l. (*iyakṣamāṇa-*); — caus. *yājayate*, Mbh 4,45.5, 14,6.8

rem. (a) There is no *par.* pf. *iyāja* in the Epics. What WHITNEY has noted down is MārḥP 36,2; (b) WHITNEY’s inf. *ījitum* is only a *w.r.* at Mbh 2,30.26 (see critical notes *ad loc.*); (c) the same holds good for the part. *ījantam* at Mbh 2,33.20 (CE *īḍyaṃ tam*).

√yat ‘to endeavour’ (I. [VIA I 441, LIV 313-314])

- fut. *yatiṣyati*, Mbh 5,9.14, R 4,App.9.10
ger. (*pra*)*yattavya-*, Mbh 3,68.15, *yatitavya-*, Mbh 3,238.41, R 3,App.11.3
inf. *yatitum*, R 2,502*.1
va. *yatita-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 1,142.9, 145.26, 5,126.15

rem. *yatita-* construed with an infinitive or a *dativus finalis* denotes ‘the one in regard to whom some effort is made’: *apanetum ca yatitaḥ* ‘I tried to carry him away’, Mbh 1,142.26 (see SPEYER 1886: 304).

√yam ‘to hold’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 150, LIV 312, KULIKOV 2001: 146-148])

- abs. *yamya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 3,297.55
inf. << (*ni*)*yacchitum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,98.11 >>
sec. caus. *yāmayati*, Mbh 12,104.17, *yamayate*, Mbh 9,31.52

rem. The Epics do not seem to possess *yamati* / *yamate* and *yāmayate* (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√yas ‘to boil’ (I. / IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 495, LIV 312-313, KULIKOV 2001: 448-449])

- sec. caus. *yāsayati*, Mbh 13,124.19 ([*pass.*] *yāsyate*, R 5,768*.1)

√yā 'to go' (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 514, LIV 309-310, KULIKOV 2001: 261-263])

- pr. *(anu)yāmahe* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,187.28
 fut. *yāsyate*, R 5,1338*.1, 6,89.33, 7,App.3.376; — [2.] *yātā*, Mbh 5,127.31, R 3,49.20 v.l.
 abs. ^o*yātvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 4,29.8 (*abhi+*), 3,17.1 (*upa+*), 6,75.32 (*abhi+*)
 ger. *yātavya-*, Mbh 4,61.14, 13,19.22, 53.34
 inf. *yātum*, Mbh 3,6.9, 57.17, 66.19
 sec. pass. *yāyate*, Mbh 12,309.33 v.l. (*prayāyatām*); — des. *yīyāsati*, Mbh 3,2.1, 7,21.1, 121.16; — caus. << *yāpyanti* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 12,258.34 >>

√yāc 'to beg' (I. [VIA I 645, LIV 310])

- aor. [5.] *ayācīt*, Mbh 12,29.114, R 2,66.21 v.l.
 fut. *yāciṣyate*, Mbh 5,179.23 (*pra+*)
 ger. *yācanīya-*, Mbh 3,App.25.37, *yācitavya-*, Mbh 12,89.15
 sec. pass. *yācyate*, Mbh 1,145.27, 5,172.18, 189.8, R 2,40.4

√yuj 'to yoke, to join' (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 152, LIV 316, KULIKOV 2001: 148-150])

- pr. <<(↗ 7.7.2) *prayuñjīyāt*, R 1,4.2 (v.l. ^o*yuñjīta*), *upayuñjīthām*, Mbh 13,4.28, *prayujmahe* (↗ p. XXIX), Mbh 2,35.15 >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.7.1)] *yuñjati*, Mbh 5,186.2, *yuñjate*, Mbh 1,2070* ([augmentless 3sg. impf.] *yuñjata*), 13,App.4.63, R 1,413*.7 (*pra+*), 4,53.10

- aor. [3.] *ayūyujat*, R 2,76.30 (v.l. *ayojayan*)
 cond. *samayokṣyata* (↗ p. 169), R 6,3662.8* v.l.
 abs. ^o*yujya*, Mbh 13,143.21 (*upa+*), R 2,32.11 (*ni+*)
 sec. pass. << *yujyati* (↗ 8.7), R 6,70.19 v.l. (*yujyeyuh* [CE *yujyeran*]),
 6,1574* (*yujyeyuh*) >>; — des. *yuyukṣati*, Mbh 4,8.4 v.l., 8.8 v.l.;
 — caus. *yojayati*, Mbh 1,212.18, 2,32.4 (*saṃni+*) 4,30.23, R 2,32.4
 (*ni+*), *yojayate*, Mbh 1,212.17, R 1,68.5

√**yudh** ‘to fight’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 153, LIV 225-226, KULIKOV
 2001: 449-451])

- aor. [3.] *yūyudhaḥ*, Mbh 2,56.10 v.l.; — [4.] << *yotsiḥ* (↗ 8.2.4), Mbh
 5,179.23 >>
 fut. [2.] *yoddhā*, Mbh 8,24.102.103.104, R 1,19.3 (↗ 8.5[b])
 abs. *yuddhvā*, Mbh 2,51.2 (*a+*), R 6,7.9, *yudhya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 8,46.4
 ger. *yoddhavya-*, Mbh 3,296.35, 4,42.15, 5,47.61
 inf. *yoddhum*, Mbh 4,36.9, 8,267*.3, 14,85.21 (*prati+*)
 sec. int. *yoyudhyete*, R 6,App.26.98 v.l.; — caus. *yodhayate*, Mbh 1,71.7
 (*yodhayāṃ cakrire*) ([pass.] *yodhyate*, Mbh 4,12.28)

√**rakṣ** ‘to protect’ (I. [VIA I 646, LIV 278, KULIKOV 2001: 587-
 588])

- fut. *rakṣiṣyati*, Mbh 3,159.13, 4,3.18, R 2,45.6, 80.7, *rakṣiṣyate*, R
 3,13.34, << *rakṣye* (↗ p. 234 n. 7), R 1,60.18 v.l. >>; — [2.]
rakṣitā, Mbh 7,52.25 (↗ 8.5[b]), R 5,47.18
 cond. *arakṣiṣyaḥ*, Mbh 8,13.24 v.l.

- ger. *rakṣaṇīya-*, Mbh 3,67.13, *rakṣitavya-*, Mbh 1,116.19, 7,98.9, R 5,20.8, 56.5
 inf. *rakṣitum*, Mbh 1,132.3, 146.11, R 5,35.51 (*pari+*)
 sec. pass. << *rakṣyati*, R 5,23.19 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *rakṣyanti-*) >>; — des. *rirakṣiṣati*, Mbh 5,59.10 ([part.] *rirakṣiṣant-*), 6,81.9 (id.), 99.14 (id.)

√*rac* ‘to make’ (X. [VIA I 647])

- pr. *racayati*, Mbh 7,63.10, R 2,1112*.4

rem. As to the meaning of √*rac* at Mbh 7,63.10, see PW s.v. (5).

√*ra(ñ)* ‘to become red; to be devoted’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 155, LIV 587, KULIKOV 2001: 371-372])

- pr. [IV.] *rajyati*, Mbh 12,94.15, *rajyate*, Mbh 4,App.11.15, 13,39.2; —
 [→ VI.] (*anu*)*rañjanti*, R 7,89.8 v.l. (CE *anurajyanti*)
 abs. (*anu*)*rajya*, Mbh 2,24.4
 ger. *rajanīya-*, Mbh ed. Calc. 2,2088 (not verified), *rañjanīya-*, R 6,93.6
 sec. caus. *rañjayati*, Mbh 12,34.32, 56.36, R 1,7.16, *rañjayate*, Mbh 1,150.23 13,152.8, 14,41.5, R 7,App.8.375 ([va.] *rañjita-*, Mbh 8,36.9)

rem. On the ‘secondary’ root *rañj* see JAMISON (1983: 152).

√**raṭ** ‘to howl’ (I. [VIA I 444])

sec. int. *rāraṭīti*, R 2,72.25 v.l. (*rāraṭantīm*)

√**ra(m)bh** ‘to take hold of’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 157, 159, LIV 411-412])

— see also (→) √*la(m)bh*

pr. *rambhate*, Mbh 5,2.11 (*ārambhamāṇa-*)

fut. *rapsyati*, Mbh 3,267.30 (*samā+*), *rapsyate*, Mbh 15,44.35 (*ā+*)

ger. *rabdhavya-*, Mbh 3,37.6 (*ā+*)

inf. *rabdhum*, R 4,23.14 (*pari+*)

sec. pass. *rabhyate*, Mbh 1,94.15 (*ā+*), 3,37.4 (*id.*)

rem. Active *rambhati* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**ram** ‘to be content’ (I. / IX. *aniṭ* [VIA I 158, LIV 252-253, KULIKOV 2001: 588-589])

pf. *rarāma*, Mbh 1,2.6 (*vi+*), 53.9 (*upa+*), 3,134.20 (*vi+*), 8,68.32, 9,55.5

inf. (↗ 9.6) *rantum*, R 7,31.8, *ramitum*, Mbh 1,98.10 (*upā+*)

sec. pass. *ramyate*, Mbh 1,98.8 (*ā+*), 201.30, R 5,19.7; — caus. *ramayiṣye*, Mbh 4,2.23

√ras ‘to roar’ (I. [VIA I 449])

pf. *rarāsa*, Mbh 1,2132*.4, 2,40.1 v.l., R 5,45.13, 54.19, 6,59.99, 7,7.10, 32.42, *resathuḥ* (↗ p. 52), Mbh 3,221.58

rem. There is no root variant *rās* (pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v. √1rās). At all places the PW (s.v.) cites the critical editions have forms of √vās.

√rah ‘to abandon’ (I. / X. [VIA I 450])

inf. *rahitum*, R 3,830*

rem. The verbal adjective *rahita-* is attested already in early Śrautasūtras (see VIA *l.c.*).

√rāj ‘to shine’ (I. [VIA I 648])

pr. *rājate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,50.12 v.l., 140.2, 287.16 (*vi+*), R 1,13.21, 2,60.16, 91.13 v.l.

pf. *rarāja*, Mbh 1,106.9, 2,16.19, 5,1.7, R 1,409*.2, 2,86.36, *rejathuḥ*, Mbh 1,181.36 (*vi+*), *rejuḥ*, R 2,96.29 (v.l. *rejire*), *reje*, Mbh 3,App.6.57, *rejire*, R 5,7.51

sec. caus. *rājayate*, R 2,34.18 (*vi+*)

rem. The Mahābhārata does not seem to contain the perfect *rarājathuḥ* (pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.). At least it does not occur in the main text.

√**rādh** ‘to succeed’ (V. / IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 497, LIV 499-500, KULIKOV 2001: 263-266])

sec. caus. ([pass.] *rādhyate*, R 2,707*.1 [*abhi*+])

†√**rās** → √**ras**

√**ric** ‘to surpass’ (VII. / IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 161, LIV 406-408, KULIKOV 2001: 318-321])

pr. [IV.] *ricyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), R 5,1168*.15 ([part.] *atiricyantam*)

√**riṣ** ‘to be hurt, to come to harm, to harm’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 165, LIV 505, KULIKOV 2001: 455-457])

pr. *riṣyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,22.25, 5,45.15, 12,316.52, 13,107.62, 136.1.2.

rem. On the few Vedic forms of the middle present see KULIKOV (2001: 457).

√**ru** ‘to cry, to shout’ (I. / II. [VIA I 452, LIV 306])

pr. [I.] *ravant-*, Mbh 1,151.23 v.l., *ravamāṇa-*, R 7,34.22

pf. *rurāva*, Mbh 1,1142*.4, 2,40.1

sec. *rorūyate*, Mbh 1,3.3, 205.9, 2,62.22, 4,22.9 v.l., 9,49.57, 11,21.14, *rorūyati*, Mbh 8,331*.4, 9,49.57 v.l. (on CE see above)

rem. On Vedic forms of *ravati* see GOTO (1987: 265-266) and VIA *l.c.*

√**ruc** ‘to shine’ (I. [VIA I 454, LIV 418-419])

- pr. *rocāti* (↗ 6.1 [a]), Mbh 1,63.26 (*vi+*), 2,57.15
 fut. *rociṣyati*, R 6,13.20 (v.l. ^o*te*)
 inf. *rocitum*, Mbh 12,90.18
 sec. caus. ([pass.] *rocyate*, R 6,6.5 v.l. [of ed. Gorr.])

√**ruj** ‘to hurt’ (VI. [VIA I 455, LIV 415-416, KULIKOV 2001: 590])

- pr. *rujate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,56.3 (*ā+*)
 sec. pass. *rujyate*, Mbh 7,App.8.231

√**rud** ‘to weep’ (II. / I. *seṭ* [VIA I 343, LIV 508])

- pf. *ruroda*, Mbh 3,59.18, 65.30, 4,19.26.29, R 1,45.18, *ruruduḥ*, Mbh 3,23.15, R 2,36.7, 42.26, 75.7, 6,56.3, *rurude*, R 2,46.13
 aor. [5.] *rodih*, Mbh 1,147.21, 3,70*.4, R 1,45.19 v.l. (CE *mā rudaḥ*)
 abs. *ruditvā*, Mbh 3,68.7, R 2,66.20, *roditvā*, Mbh 13,112.13 v.l.
 va. *rudita-*, Mbh 1,147.20 (*pra+*), 13,91.41 (*ava+*), R 2,39.2, 1442*

rem. There are no forms of the intensive of this root in the Epics. What are cited by PW (s.v. 1. *rud*) are wrong readings.

√**rudh** ‘to obstruct, to stop’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 168, LIV 415, KULIKOV 2001: 152-159]) – *anu*+ ‘to adhere to, to be fond of; (*ātm.*) to approve’, *upa*+ ‘to disturb’, *ni*+ ‘to shut’, *vi*+ ‘to attack’, *vyava*+ ‘to banish’

- pr. << *anurundhyāmahe* (↗ 7.7.3), R 1,75.2, *pary-a-rundhīta* (↗ 6.4.3), R 4,1143* >>; — [→ IV. (↗ 6.6.7.2)] *rudhyati*, Mbh 3,App.8.6 (*anurudhyanti*), 4,15.32 ([part.] *anurudhyantyaḥ*), 5,22.4 (*anurudhyanti*), 13,95.72 (*virudhyatu*), R 3,64.11 (*upa*+ [see below, *rem.*]), 4,360* (*virudhyāmi*), *rudhyate*, Mbh 2,14.13 (*anurudhyante*), 3,11.15 (*virudhyante*), 12,74.8 (*virudhyate*), R 6,77.14 (*nirudhyate* [↗ p. 199-200 n. 6]); — [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.7.3)] *uparundheta*, Mbh 12,208.23, *arundhanta*, R 6,681*
- pf. *rurundhatuḥ*, R 6,3038*.4 v.l. (CE *babandhatuḥ*)
- abs. *ruddhvā*, R 3,940*.6, { { *uparundhya*, R 7,64.15 v.l. (not noted by CE [Cg.k.t. *uparudhya*]) } }
- inf. (↗ 9.6) *roddhum*, Mbh 3,251.15 (*anu*+), R 2,103.17, 3,10.83 (*ni*+), 4,58.14, 5,49.15 (*upa*+), *rodhitum*, Mbh 2,22.2
- sec. (on pass. *rudhyati* see *rem.* [a]); — int. *vyavarorudhaḥ*, R 2,1263*.1 (↗ 6.5.3); — des. *rurutsati*, Mbh 5,89.29 v.l. (CE *vi*+); — caus. *rodhayate*, Mbh 8,41.4 v.l. ([pass.] *rodhyate*, R 2,App.26.81 v.l.), << *rundhayati* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 3,28.11 = 12,7.33 >>

rem. (a) *uparudhyanti*, R 3,64.11 (CE [by a printing mistake] *ruddhyanti*), may well be a passive with an active ending. All other examples of *rudhyati* / *te* are clearly non-passives; (b) *upārudhat*, R 2,32.12, is the regular *a*-aorist and not the imperfect of a class VI present (as maintained by VAN DAALEN 1980: 79).

√**ruś** → √**ruṣ** (*rem.* b)

√**ruṣ** ‘to be angry’ (I. / IV. [VIA I 457])

- pr. [IV. (↗ 6.6.1.2)] *ruṣyati*, R 3,546*.2, 5,36.20 v.l. (CE *krudhyanti*), 7,App.10.42
- aor. [2.] *ruṣaḥ*, Mbh 7,App.8.95
- abs. *ruṣya* (↗ 9.7.2), R 2,2112*.19
- va. (↗ 9.4) *ruṣita-*, Mbh 1,9.21, 3,189.18, 5,159.2, 186.8, 8,40.90, R 1,55.6, 2,90.12, 3,26.20, *ruṣta-*, Mbh 8,27.59, 13,18.18, 76.7, R 3,51.12
- sec. caus. *roṣayati*, R 4,6.22, 5,36.17 v.l., *roṣayate*, R 6,28.22

rem. (a) A middle present *ruṣyate* and the passive of *roṣayati* do not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.); (b) as to *ruṣatī-* ‘cross, impolite’ (Mbh 1,82.8 = 2,59.6), see GOTO (1987: 277 n. 640).

√**ruh** ‘to climb, to grow’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 170, LIV 248-249, KULIKOV 2001: 159-160])

- pr. [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.1.3)] *ruhati*, Mbh 1,140.5 (*ā+* [v.l. *āroha*]); 1742*.4 (*aruhan* ‘they grew’), 8,24.110 ([pr. part.] *āruhati*), R 2,1472* (*adhyā+*), 6,110.20 v.l. (CE *adhyāroha*), *ruhate*, Mbh 3,185.29 (*ā+*), 9,4.37 (*adhyā+*)
- fut. (↗ 8.4) *rokṣyate*, Mbh 3,43.18, *rohiṣyate*, Mbh 13,12.11 (*ā+*)
- inf. *rohitum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 3,109.13
- sec. pass. *ruhyate*, R 2,41.22; — caus. *ropayate*, Mbh 5,170.12 (pass. *ropyate* ‘to cause to grow’, Mbh 3,189.10 v.l., R 7,App.6.27*.28*, << *ropyati*, Mbh 11,3.10 [(part. [↗ 9.1]) *avaropyant-*] >>)

√**rūṣ** ‘to strew’

- va. *rūṣita-*, Mbh 2,62.31 (v.l. *carcita-* [→ √*carc*]), 6,103.86, 9,1.28, R 2,1515*, 85.54, 3,29.7, 5,47.8, 6,8.9

√**lakṣ** ‘to perceive, to realize’ (X. / I. [KULIKOV 2001: 590, cf. VIA I/646])

- pr. [I.] *lakṣati*, Mbh 12,130.20 v.l.; — [X.] *lakṣayati*, Mbh 3,73.2, 131.14, *lakṣayate*, Mbh 3,39.7, 54.14, R 4,2.24
- abs. *lakṣayitvā*, Mbh 3,60.32, (^o)*lakṣya*, Mbh 13,41.16 (*ā+*), R 2,58.15 (id.), 108.4 (id.), R 7,15.1 v.l.
- ger. *lakṣayitavya-*, Mbh 15,10.14 (*upa+*)
- inf. *lakṣitum*, R 6,19.17 v.l. (*upa+*)
- sec. pass. *lakṣyate*, Mbh 13,29.6, 49.9, R 2,16.59, 85.45, 4,24.23, 40,43

rem. The passive *lakṣyate* is attested already in late Vedic texts (see KULIKOV *l.c.*).

√**lag** ‘to stick to’ (VIA I 458)

- va. *lagna-*, Mbh 9,22.49 (*samā+*), 38.8, 13,50.19, R 2,72.25 (*vi+*), 4,27.30

rem. The present *lagati* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√laṅgh ‘to leap, to transgress’ (X.)

- pr. *laṅghayati*, Mbh 12,140.34 (*ati+*), 13,74.31, R 6,40.6, 7,36.31,
laṅghayate, R 4,63.17, 65.34
 fut. *laṅghayiṣyati*, R 4,63.16
 abs. *laṅghayitvā*, R 6,2.5, 7,27.1

√lajj ‘to feel ashamed’ (VI. [cf. VIA I 155])

- pr. *lajjate*, Mbh 1,68.7, 3,241.5, 251.20, R 3,51.6, 6,40.6, *lajjati*, Mbh
 3,199.30, R 6,89.5
 inf. *lajjitum*, R 2,103.6 v.l. (*avartitum*), 1239*
 va. *lajjita-*, Mbh 13,2.60, R 2,9.31

√lāḍ ‘to tease’ (X.) — see also (→) *√lal*

- pr. *lāḍayati*, Mbh 7,13.29, 28.6

√lap ‘to talk, to chat’ (I. [cf. VIA I 448])

- pr. *lapati*, Mbh 3,250.3 (*ā+*), 14,2.15 (*pra+*), R 2,53.26 (*vi+*), *lapate*
 (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 13,App.16.152 (*pra+*), R 6,82.25 (*vi+*); — [→ IV.]
lapyati, Mbh 7,53.33 ([pr. part.] *vilapyataḥ*)
 pf. *lalāpa*, Mbh 2,62.3 (*vi+*), 3,116.29 (*id.*), R 6,11.17 (*id.*)
 inf. *laptum*, R 4,App.11.45 v.l. (*vi+*), 5,24.1 (*id.*)
 va. *lapta-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 12,29.137.139 (*vipra+*)

sec. int. *lālapya*te, Mbh 1,85.4, 97.23, 160.39, 5,26.10, 7,4.1, 8,65.44, 11,21.10, R 1,11.8, 2,69.34, 5,11.15, *lālapya*ti, Mbh 1,232*, 15,22.29, R 2,1404* v.l. (CE *lālapant*-)

rem. The absolutive *lāpya* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**la(m)bh** ‘to take, to seize’ (I. *aniṭ* [LIV 411-412, KULIKOV 150-152, cf. VIA I 157]) — see also (→) √*ra(m)bh*

pr. *labhati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,3.147, 3,186.80, 4,4.9, 5,178.8, 9,5.4, << (2pl. ind.) *labhadhvam* (↗ 6.3.1.5), R 4,40.47 >>; — *lambhate* (↗ 7.1.2), Mbh 2,34.20 (*pra*+), R 3,App.17.14 (*samā*+)

fut. [2.] *labdhā*, Mbh 1,83.5, 176.11, 3,12.35, 7,125.25

inf. *labdhum*, Mbh 11,17*.8 (*pra*+)

sec. des. *lipsati*, Mbh 3,33.51, 5,85.9 (v.l. *lipsyanti* [↗ 8.9]), 7,76.30 (<< [inf.] *lapsitum* [↗ p. 256 n. 6], Mbh 12,112.9 >>)

√**lamb** ‘to hang down’ (I.)

pr. *lambati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,42.5, 3,94.13, 4,31.4, 12,285.30, 13,7.11

pf. *lalambe*, Mbh 6,90.5 (*samā*+), 7,65.21, R 6,App.61.48

fut. (*ā*)*lambiṣyanti*, R 6,3.31 v.l. (not noted by CE)

abs. *lambya* (↗ p. 280 n. 9), R 3,57.13 (*ā*+), 5,23.6 (id.)

inf. *lambitum*, Mbh 3,70.14 (*vi*+), R 1,1107*, 2,2359*.1 (*vi*+), 6,281*.4 (id.)

va. *lambīta-*, Mbh 3,154.35, R 2,App.24.25 (*vi*+)

sec. caus. *lambayati* ([pass.] *lambyate*, R 1,72.15 [*vi*+], 2,66.44 [*ava*+])

√**lal** ‘to flirt, to treat lovingly’ (I.) — see also (→) √**laḍ**

- pr. *lalati*, Mbh 1,71.24 v.l., 13,58.27, R 2,38.15, 5,18.23, *lalate*, Mbh 1,76.5, R 1,309*.36
 va. *lalita-*, Mbh 3,188*.5
 sec. caus. *lālayati*, Mbh 7,13.29 v.l., 28.6 v.l., R 2,38.15 v.l. (on CE see above)

√**laṣ** ‘to desire’ — only with *abhi+*

- pr. *laṣati*, Mbh 1,161.17, *laṣate*, Mbh 13,92.18
 va. *laṣita-*, Mbh 3,279.13, 9,47.43, R 1,550*, 2,107.7

√**las** ‘to move rapidly, to dart’ (I.)

- pr. *lasati*, Mbh 3,App.25.83 ([part.] *lasant-*)
 pf. *lalāsa*, Mbh 1,1945*.5 (*ud+*)
 sec. caus. *lāsayati*, R 2,63.4, 7,46*

rem. A verbal adjective *lasita-* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**lip** ‘to smear, to stain’ (VI. *aniṭ* [LIV 408-409, KULIKOV 2001: 160-162, cf. VIA I 162])

- pf. << *lepuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), R 6,48.27 v.l. (CE *lilipuh*) >>

sec. pass. << *lipyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 12,303.15, 326.25, 339.3 >>; — caus. *lepayati*, Mbh 12,69.45 (*pra+*), R 2,9.36

√*lih* ‘to lick’ (II. *aniṭ* [LIV 404, cf. VIA I 166])

pr. << (1sg. *līdhe*, Mbh 1,3.6 v.l. (CE *avalihe*) >>; — [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.2.3)] *lihati*, Mbh 13,40.39, R 3,45.36 v.l. (CE *leḍhi*), *lihate*, Mbh 1,3.6 (*avalihe*), R 3,45.36 v.l.; — [→ IV.] *lihyasi*, R 3,45.36 v.l. (CE *leḍhi* [see *rem.* below])

ger. *lehya-*, Mbh 1,165.11, App.73.10, R 1,51.23, 2,44.15

sec. pass. *lihyate*, Mbh 3,253.19, R 7,1288*; — int. (part. nom. sg. m.) *lelihat*, Mbh 1,17.23, 125.2, 6,57.22 v.l. (*pari+*), 12,216.17 (*vi+*), << *lelihan* (↗ 2.19 / 8.10), Mbh 3,124.23 >>, *lelihāna-*, Mbh 1,221.4, 223.5, 3,170.39, 5,50.29, 185.5, R 6,87.40, *lelihyate*, Mbh 6,33.30, 103.14, 12,117.12, 12,322.11

rem. *leḍhi*, R 3,45.36 (*akṣi sūcyā pramṛjasi / jihvayā leḍhi ca kṣuram* [v.ll. *lihyasi / lihase / lihasi / lehi*], ~ *lekṣi*, 3.900*, must be a 2sg. ind. pr. (!).

√*lī* ‘to cling, to stoop, to hide’ (I. / IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 344, LIV 405, KULIKOV 2001: 266-269])

pf. (*ni*)*lilyuḥ*, Mbh 3,166.12, 699* = R 2,2093*.2, (*ni*)*lilyire*, Mbh 3,143.15

abs. (*saṃ*)*līya*, R 5,14.32 v.l.

rem. (a) As to WHITNEY’s entry ‘*lilyus* B.+’, see HÖFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,180; (b) on va. *niḷīna-*, R 2,41.3, see PW VI 551 l. 14 from the bottom.

√lu(ñ)c ‘to tear out’ (VIA I 460)

- pf. *lulu(ñ)cuḥ*, Mbh 9,28.66 v.l. (CE *luluvuḥ* [→ √lū]), *luluñcuḥ*, R 6,48.44 v.l.
 abs. *(ava)lu(ñ)cya* (↗ p. 280 n. 9), Mbh 3,137.9.10 v.l.

luṭh ‘to rob’ (I.)

- pr. *luṭhati*, Mbh 6,App.4.78 ([part.] *luṭhant-*)

√luḍ ‘to stir, to bring to disarray’ (X.)

- pr. *loḍayati*, Mbh 7,44.2, 68.30, 102.66 (*sam+*), 8,16.18 (*vi+*), 9,15.2 (*sam+*)
 va. *loḍita-*, R 5,11.3.4
 sec. pass. *loḍyate*, Mbh 1,211.16 (*ā+*), 6,91.54 (*sam+*), 107.55, 8,33.70 (*sam+*), 9,12.42, 12,135.12 (*vi+*), R 2,App.26.81 (*ā+*)

√lup ‘to damage, to tear’ (VI. *aniṭ* [LIV 510-511, KULIKOV 2001: 321-322, cf. VIA I 169])

- pf. *(vi)lulupe*, R 1,536*.3
 aor. *alūlupat*, Mbh 8,24.28 (*sam+*)
 inf. *loptum*, R 6,App.16.90
 sec. caus. *lopayati*, Mbh 5,24.2, 12,91.13, 156.24, *lopayate*, Mbh 7,57.3

√**lubh** ‘to be/become disturbed, confused’ (IV. [VIA I 461, LIV 414, KULIKOV 2001: 457-459])

- inf. *lobdhum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,209.3 (*pra+*), 3,53.13 v.l.
sec. caus. *lobhayate*, Mbh 12,192.79, R 1,63.12, << part. *lobhayāna-* [↗ 9.1], R 3,42.5 >>, ([pass.] *lobhyate*, Mbh 12,112.43 [*vi+*], << *lobhyati*, R 4,61.7 [part. (↗ 9.1) *pralobhyantī-*] >>)

√**lul** ‘to move to and fro’

- va. *lulita-*, Mbh 7,31.77, 105.1 (*vi+*), 8,35.17 (*sam+*), R 2,69.33, 7,543*
sec. caus. *lolayati*, R 2,857*.3, 6,115.22

√**lū** ‘to cut’ (IX. / V. *seṭ* [VIA I 346, LIV 417])

- pf. *luluvuḥ*, Mbh 9,28.66 (v.l. *luluñcuḥ* [→ √*luñc*])

√**loc** ‘to view, to contemplate’ (X.)

- pr. (*ā*)*locayate*, Mbh 12,195.23

rem. Active *locayati* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**vac** ‘to speak, to say’ (III. *aniṭ* [VIA I 498, LIV 673-674, KULIKOV 2001: 162-167])

- pr. [-> II. (↗ 6.6.3.2)] *vacmi*, Mbh 3,204.24
 fut. *vakṣyate*, Mbh 1,33.13, 39.14, 13,17.5, R 1,1183*.3, 2,4.21
 cond. *avakṣyaḥ*, Mbh 8,48.2 (↗ p. 163 n. 1)
 abs. ^o*uktvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 8,24.12 (*prati+*), 13,95.23 (*pra+*), *ucya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 8,1058* v.l. (CE *uktvā*)
 sec. pass. << *ucyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 11,6.5 >>

rem. 2sg. *vakṣi* and 3sg. *vakti* do not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**vañc** ‘to move waveringly’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 172, LIV 683, KULIKOV 2001: 167-171])

- sec. caus. *vañcayate*, <<part. *vañcayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 9,56.20 v.l., R 3,42.3, 4,50.13 v.l. >>, ([pass.] *vañcyate*, Mbh 12,286.34)

√**vad** ‘to speak’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 518, LIV 286, KULIKOV 2001: 172-173])

- pr. << (2pl. ind.) (*vi*)*vadadhvam* (↗ 6.3.1.5), Mbh 2,63.17, (2pl. imp.) *abhivādata* (↗ 7.1.2), Mbh 3,App.16.20, (3pl. opt.) *anuvādeyuh* (↗ 7.1.3), Mbh 4,6.15 >>
 aor. << [5.] *vadiḥ* (↗ 8.2.5), Mbh 1,36.25 >>
 fut. [2.] *vaditā*, Mbh 2,61.7 (↗ 6.2.10)
 va. << (*vi*)*vadita-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 2,64.11, 13,12.26 >>

sec. caus. ([pass.] << *pravādyanti* [↗ 8.7], Mbh 12,53.4 v.l. [CE *pravādyanta*] >>)

√**vadh** ‘to slay, to kill’ (VIA I 649, LIV 660, KULIKOV 2001: 591)

aor. [5.] << *vadhīṣma* (↗ 8.2.5), Mbh 5,31.13 >>

fut. *vadhiṣyati*, Mbh 5,149.46, 170.2, 188.8.12, 8,351*.3, R 3,26.3, 39.17, 41.45, 48.23, 6,4.2, *vadhiṣyate*, Mbh 3,15.13, R 7,1029*.2, << *vadhiṣyadhvam* (↗ 8.4.2[a]), Mbh 5,141.35 >>

cond. *avadhiṣyāma*, Mbh 12,10.4 v.l. (CE *vadhiṣyāma*)

sec. pass. *vadhyate*, Mbh 2,5.93, 5,136.21, << *vadhyati* (↗ 8.7 / [part.] 9.1), Mbh 3,21.28 ([part.] *vadhyatām*), 101.3, 4,20.23 ([part.] *vadhyantam*), 9,3.27 ([part.] *vadhyatām*), 13,112.82.88, R 7,403*.1 ([part.] *vadhyatī-*) >>

√**van** ‘to love, to desire’ (I. *seṭ* [VIA I 347, LIV 682-683])

va. *vanita-*, Mbh 7,App.8.441, 12,329.41₂, R 2,88.25, 89.15, 4,34.23

√**vand** ‘to praise, to greet’ (I. [VIA I 650, LIV 681])

pr. *vandati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 14,90.1 v.l. (*abhyavandat* [CE ^o*vadat*]), R 1,30.2 v.l.

abs. *vanditvā*, R 2,16.54, 29.2, *vandya*, Mbh 3,161.21 v.l. (CE *vavande*)

ger. *vandanīya-*, Mbh 7,58.30, 13,54.31, R 2,52.12

inf. *vanditum*, R 2,84.17 (*abhi+*)

sec. pass. *vandyate*, Mbh 3,226.9, R 1,458*; — caus. (abs.) *vandayitvā*, R 3,54.25 v.l., 4,25.19 v.l.

√**vap** ‘to strew, to throw’ (I. [VIA I 532, LIV 684, KULIKOV 2001: 173-177])

- pf. << (nir)vavāpa (↗ 8.1.2), R 2,1211*.4 >>
 fut. (nir)vapiṣyati (↗ 8.4), R 4,61.9
 abs. uṣtvā, Mbh 2,53.1
 va. upita- (↗ 9.4), Mbh 3,225.23, << (ni)vapta- (↗ 9.4), Mbh 13,92.12 >>

√**vam** ‘to vomit’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 348, LIV 680])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] *vamati*, R 6,45.34 ([part.] *vamantī-*), 94.21 (id.)
 pf. *vavāma*, Mbh 8,146*.1, *vemuḥ*, R 6,46.12

rem. On sporadic Vedic forms of *vamati* see VIA *l.c.*

√**valg** ‘to boil up, to spring’ (I. [VIA I 651, LIV 676])

- pr. *valgate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 7,91.17, 8,30.5, 13,App.4.58
 pf. *vavalga*, Mbh 3,App.6.51, 7,107.25, R 5,7.52
 va. *valgita-*, Mbh 7,57.37, R 1,309*.26, 3,44.18 v.l. (*sampra+*)

√**vaś** ‘to long for, to desire’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 499, LIV 672-673])

- aor. { { [5.] *vaśiḥ*, Mbh 3,114.8 v.l. (CE *naśiḥ*) } }

¹√*vas* ‘to glow, to flash up’ (VI. [VIA I 534, LIV 292-293, KULIKOV 2001: 347-348])

va. *uṣita-*, Mbh 3,227.17 = 5,152.1 (*vi+*), 8,296*.1 (*adhi+*)

²√*vas* ‘to dress’ (II. [VIA I 535, LIV 692-693])

pr. << *adhy-a-vaste* (↗ 6.4.3), Mbh 5,26.7 >>

abs. *vasitvā*, Mbh 1,507*.10, << ^o*vasya* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 3,59.17 (*ni+*) >>

ger. *vasitavya-*, R 2,647*

inf. *vasitum*, R 2,33.14 v.l. (another v.l. has [caus. (↗ 9.6)] *vāsitum*)

va. *vasita-*, R 2,93.31 v.l. (*ni+*)

sec. caus. ([pass.] *vāsyate*, Mbh 2,68.7 [*ni+*])

³√*vas* ‘to dwell, to spend the night’ (I. [VIA I 536, LIV 293-294, KULIKOV 2001: 177])

pr. *vasate* (<< part. *vasāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 3,824*.1, 12,326.84 >>)

fut. *vatsyate*, Mbh 3,188.73, 279.9 v.l. (*vi+*), 4,9.7 (*ni+*), 29.13, R 1,46.19, 2,46.21, *vasiṣyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 6,34.8, R 1,47.28 v.l., 2,40.23 v.l., 709*.2, *vasiṣyate*, R 7,77.14

abs. *uṣtvā*, Mbh 3,80.56 v.l. (CE *uṣya*), ^o*uṣya*, Mbh 3,25.13 ~ 26.17 (*nis+*), *uṣya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 3,80.56, 82.92, 5,132.32, 14,26.4, R 2,13.1, 46.69

inf. *vastum*, Mbh 1,128.14, 10,1.11, 13,52.10, R 2,16.28

va. *uṣta-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 1,89.38, R 7,23.3 (*adhi+*)

sec. caus. *vāsayati*, ([pass. << (*vi*)*vāsyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 2,App.42.14 >>])

√**vah** ‘to carry’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 500, LIV 661-662, KULIKOV 2001: 177-183])

- pf. << (*ud*)*vavāha* (↗ 8.1.2), R 6,1713* v.l. (ed. Gorr.), ^o*vavāhatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.2 / 8.1.3.2), Mbh 1,164.5, 3,144.20 (*sam+*) >>
 fut. (↗ 8.4) *vakṣyate*, Mbh 8,25.5, *vahiṣyati*, Mbh 1,143.12, 3,259.34
 ger. *voḍhavya-*, Mbh 13,44.45, 53.25
 va. << *voḍha-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 3,127.13 >>
 sec. pass. << *uhyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 1,124.24 >>; — caus. *vāhayate*, R 2,86.13, App.23.20 ([pass.] *vāhyate*, R 2,940*,2), << *pravāhyanti* (↗ 8.8), R 2,46.38 v.l. >>

√**vā** ‘to blow’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 349, LIV 287, KULIKOV 2001: 459-460])

- pr.: [→ IV. (↗ 6.6.2.2)] *vāyati*, Mbh 1,65.42, 155.43, 175.10, R 5,11.63, *vāyate*, R 7,40.16
 pf. *vavuh*, Mbh 1,26.30, 8,68.48

rem. Already in late Vedic √*vā* forms a present stem *vāya-* (see KULIKOV 2001: 460).

√**vāñch** ‘to desire, to crave for’

- pr. *vāñche* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,281.24
 va. *vāñchita-*, Mbh 12,App.5.1, R 1,51.22 v.l., 1783* v.l.
 sec. caus. *vāñchayati*, Mbh 12,78.25 v.l. (*abhi+* [CE *abhivāñchāmi*])

√**vāś** ‘to roar, to bellow, to croak’ (IV. / I. [VIA I 653, KULIKOV 2001: 270-271])

- pr. [IV.] *vāśyati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 16,3.4 = R 3,22.14 ([part.] *vāśyant-*), R 7,107*.2 — [I.] *vāśati*, Mbh 3,60.19 ([part.] *vāśatīm*), 128.2 ([part.] *vāśantyaḥ*), *vāśate*, Mbh 1,224.5, 2,41.20, 5,141.22, 12,115.4, R 3,55.4 v.l.
- va. *vāśita-*, Mbh 3,126.13, 9,30.51, R 3,55.10 v.l.
- sec. int. *vāvāśyate*, Mbh 6,3.41, 12,14.6

√**vāh** ‘to press’ (I.)

- pr. *vāhati*, R 2,85.51 ([part.] *saṃvāhantyaḥ*)

√**vic** ‘to sift, to separate’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 175, LIV 670, KULIKOV 2001: 184])

- inf. *vektum*, Mbh 1,193.1 (*vi+*), 2,60.41 (*id.*), 62.16 (*id.*)

√**vij** ‘to jerk’ (VI. [VIA I 462, LIV 667-668])

- pr. [VI.] *vijati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,65.28 (*ud+*), 3,59*.6 (*id.*), 62.24 (*id.*), 11,7.7 (*id.*), R 5,35.16 (*id.*), 6,18.14 (*id.*); — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.6.1)] *vejate*, Mbh 3,58.24 v.l. (*udvejate* [CE *udvepate*]), 222.11 v.l. (*udvejate* [CE *udvijeta*])
- fut. *vijiṣyati*, R 2,60.8 (*paryud+*)

- va. *vigna-*, Mbh 5,181.28 (*sam+*), 12,138.62 (*ud+*), 13,83.41 (*samud+*),
R 1,35.8 (*id.*), 2,68.18 (*ud+*), 3,794*.3 (*id.*)
- sec. caus. *vejayate*, Mbh 13,68.9 (*ud+*)

¹*√vid* ‘to know’ (II. [VIA I 463, LIV 665-667])

- pr. [→ I.] (2sg. imp.) *veda*, Mbh 3,65.32 (v.ll. *vettha*, *viddhi*); — [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.2.3)] *vidati*, Mbh 7,68.41, *vidate*, Mbh 12,330.25; — << *vindati* (↗ 6.7), Mbh 1,150.27, 3,71.20, (*abhi*)*vindate*, Mbh 3,197.42 v.l. >>
- pf. << 2sg. *veda* (↗ 8.1), Mbh 5,41.4, 7,59.9 v.l. >>, *āvidāna-* (↗ p. XXVI n. 4), Mbh 3,134.26
- fut. *vetsyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 1,225.11, 2,45.41, 3,69.7, 285.9, R 1,20.11, 2,634*, 6,835*, *vetsyate* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 1,189.13, 4,25*, R 4,27.42; — [2.] *vettā*, R 7,36.33 (v.l. *vetsyase*)
- inf. *vettum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,78.5, 3,34.48, 5,2.4, 63.3, 162.15, 193.25, 13,14.6, R 2,98.10, 6,116.8, 7,35.10, (*ni*)*veditum* (↗ 8.8.2[e]), Mbh 2,44.22 v.l., R 3,11.5, 5,40.11
- sec. caus. *vedayate*, << part. *vedayāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 5,141.22, R 6,55.19 >>, ([pass.] *vedyate*, Mbh 8,69.8 [*ā+*])

²*√vid* ‘to find’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 176, LIV 665-667, KULIKOV 2001: 185-187])

- pr. << (3pl.) *vindate* (↗ 10.2.1.2[d]), Mbh 3,245.18, *vindyāt* (↗ 7.2.5), Mbh 3,82.125 v.l. (CE *vindet*) = 83.2 (v.l. *vindet*) = 13, App. 12.30, 3,83.12 (v.l. *vindet*) >>
- aor. [1.] *viddhi* (↗ 8.2.1), Mbh 1,111.32
- fut. *vetsyadhvam* (↗ 8.4.2[a]), Mbh 1,15.13, 144.19

- inf. *vettum*, Mbh 3,34.48, *veditum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,24.1
 sec. pass. << *vidyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 4,6.15, 12,105.41 (*nis+*), R 6,2085(A)*.1 >>; — caus. *vedayati*, Mbh 12,69.61 (*nirvedayitvā*)

√vip → √vep

√viś ‘to enter’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 178, LIV 669-670])

- pf. << (*ā*)*viveśatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), Mbh 1,214.20 >>
 fut. *veṣyate*, Mbh 5,75.17 v.l. (*abhini+*), 13,40.46 (*saṃpra+*), R 2,103.16 (*pratyupa+*); — [2.] *veṣṭā*, Mbh 7,51.37 (*saṃpraveṣṭāham* [↗ 8.5(b)]), 9,55.19 (*pra+*)
 inf. *veṣṭum*, Mbh 8,12.24 (*nis+*), 13,19.11 (*ni+*), R 1,636*.3 (*ā+*), << (*ā*)*viśatum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 1,222.10 >>
 sec. des. *vivikṣati*, Mbh 6,4.22 = 12,103.15 ([part.] *pravivikṣant-*), 7,596*.4 (*id.*), R 2,456* (*pra+*); — caus. *veśayate*, << part. (*ni*)*veśayāna-* (↗ 9.1), R 6,383*.2 >>

√viṣ ‘to effect’ (III. *aniṭ* [VIA I 179, LIV 672, KULIKOV 2001: 373-374])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.3.1)] *veṣati*, Mbh 3,97.5 (*pari+*), 14,87.15 (*id.*)
 sec. pass. << *viṣyant-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 2,45.30 >>; — caus. *veṣayati*, R 1,13.13 (*pari+*)

√viṣṭ ‘to wrap’ (I. [VIA I 464, KULIKOV 2001: 187])

pf. *viveṣṭatuḥ*, Mbh 8,15.41

rem. Most probably this is a *w.r.* for *viceṣṭatuḥ* (→ √ceṣṭ).

√vīj / √vyaj ‘to fan’ (I. / X.)

pr. [I.] *vījati*, Mbh 7,9.2 ([part.] *vījant-*), 13,154.11 (*pari+*), *vījate*, Mbh 11,8.4, 15,46.4 (*pari+*); — [X.] *vījayati*, Mbh 12,164.6 (*abhi+*), R 2,812*, 1320*.3

pf. << *vivyajuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 9,1.44 >>

va. *vījita-*, Mbh 13,88.13, R 5,12.39

sec. pass. *vījyate*, Mbh 2,64.13, 3,696*, 5,179.14, 7,9.5, R 2,23.10, 968*, 5,8.3

rem. It cannot be excluded that *vījayati* is a causative (possibly with the meaning of *vījati*), *vījita-* the corresponding verbal adjective and *vījyate* the passive.

√vīkṣ ‘to look at’ — see also (→) √īkṣ

pr. *anv-a-vīkṣetām*, Mbh 4,644* (↗ 6.4.3)

rem. On this ‘secondary’ root see (↗) 6.8.

¹√**vr̥** ‘to cover, to keep off’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 180, LIV 227-228, 674, 684-685])

- inf. *vartum*, Mbh 3,36.22 (*sam+*), 4,2.21 (*id.*), << (*caus.*) (*ni*)*vāritum*, Mbh 2,66.36 >>
- sec. *caus.* (*cond.* *avārayiṣyat*, Mbh 5,29.32, 7,69.15, 8,51.41; *pass.* *vāryate*, Mbh 1,405* [*vini+*], 13,29.4, << *vāryāmi*, R 4,23.16 >>)

²√**vr̥** ‘to choose’ (IX. [VIA I 465, LIV 677-678, KULIKOV 2001: 190-192])

- pr. *vṛṇāti* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,201.20, 5,88.77 = 135.13 ([*always 2du. imp.*] *vṛṇitam*); — [*→ V.* (↗ 6.6.9.3)] *vṛṇoti*, Mbh 1,76.31 (*pra+*), 2,72.26, 8,24.35, 12,322.4, R 2,18.39 v.l. (*pra+*), *vṛṇute*, Mbh 3,294.9 (*pra+*)
- pf. *vavruḥ*, Mbh 8,24.13
- sec. *pass.* *vriyate*, Mbh 7,57.47; — *caus.* (*pra*)*vārayati*, R 2,71.15

rem. (a) WHITNEY’s (*caus.*) *varayati* / *te* is in fact the denominative of *vara-* (↗ p. 246 ii. 2); (b) on *varayāṃ pracakramuḥ*, Mbh 1,40.8, see (↗) p. 224.

√**vr̥j** ‘to turn over’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 181, LIV 290-291])

- sec. *caus.* *varjayate*, Mbh 3,131.21, 200.39, 222.27 ([*pass.*] *varjyate*, Mbh 1,208.6)

rem. WHITNEY’s *vṛktām* is not attested in the Mahābhārata but at Manu IX 20.

√*vṛt* ‘to turn’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 182, LIV 691-692, KULIKOV 2001: 189-190])

- pr. *vartati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,1.190, 72.4, 94.16, 2,53.13, 3,169.10, 281.25 (*ni*+), R 3,67.21, 5,1.142 (*ati*+)
- pf. *vavṛtīre*, R 2,96.18, << (*ni*)*vartire* (↗ 8.1.1), Mbh 9,8.35 >>
- aor. << [5.] (*a*)*vartithāḥ* (↗ 8.2.5), Mbh 5,131.38, 135.12 >>
- fut. (↗ 8.4) *vartsyate*, Mbh 5,142.11, *vartīṣyati*, Mbh 5,110.22 (*nivartīṣyāva* [↗ 8.4.2(a)]), 155.12, 6,19.10 (*ni*+), 7,120.73 (*id.*), 9,34.66 (*id.*), *vartīṣyate*, Mbh 2,16.17 (*ati*+), 4,48.12 (*ni*+), 5,71.33 (*vini*+), 186.22 (*id.*), 7,117.18 (*ni*+), 137.2 (*id.*), 8,57.7 (*id.*)
- inf. *vartitum*, Mbh 2,44.18 (*ni*+), 5,187.17 (*id.* [↗ 8.8.2(e)]), 6,117.24 (*id.*), R 2,27.30, 103.6 (*a*+), App.12.55, 4,42.58 (*upā*+), 5,36.3 (*vyati*+)

rem. (a) There are a few forms of active *vartati* in late Vedic texts (see GOTO 1987: 289 n. 681); (b) on the confusion of √*vṛt* and ¹√*vṛdh* see (↗) p. 204 n. 1; (c) on *samabhivartata*, R 1,8.10, see (↗) p. 153.

¹√*vṛdh* ‘to grow’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 183, LIV 228])

- aor. [5.] (*pra*)*vardhiṣṭhāḥ*, Mbh 1,20.7
- sec. caus. *vardhayate*, << part. *vardhayāna-* (↗ 9.1), R 7,1387* >>

rem. On the confusion of ¹√*vṛdh* and √*vṛt* see (↗) p. 204 n. 1.

²**√vr̥dh** ‘to destroy, to damage’ (I.)

- pr. *vardhati*, Mbh 12,270.25 (*avardham*)
 va. *vr̥ddha-*, Mbh 12,74.8 v.l. (CE [ex con.] *vyr̥ddha-*)

rem. On this root and "its origination in the compound *vy-r̥dh* ‘to be deprived of’" see KULIKOV (forthc. b).

√vr̥ṣ ‘to rain, to shower’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 184, LIV 291-292, KULIKOV 2001: 591-592])

- pr. *var̥ṣate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,215.18, App.78.36, 3,13.110 (*abhi+*),
 13,App.5.56, 15,20.10 v.l., R 2,85.22 v.l. (*abhi+*), 3,50.26 v.l. (*id.*)
 pf. *vavar̥ṣa*, Mbh 1,58.14, 5,180.32, 9,15.32, *vavr̥ṣatuḥ*, Mbh 8,40.13
 v.l. (CE *vavar̥ṣatuḥ*), *vavr̥ṣuḥ*, Mbh 1,26.32 v.l., 96.21 v.l. (CE
 [both times] *vavar̥ṣuḥ*), *vavr̥ṣe*, Mbh 12,29.22, 13,App.16.126,
 14,81.14, *vavr̥ṣāte*, Mbh ed. Calc. 6,1889 (not verified), <<
vavar̥ṣatuḥ (↗ 8.1.3.2), Mbh 7,114.13, 8,40.13, R 3,43*.1, 6,75.33,
 87.22, *vavar̥ṣuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 1,26.32, 96.21, 3,179.2 (*pra+*),
 R 3,465*.5, 581*.3, 6,45.36, 7,App.1.188 >>
 aor. [3.] *avīvr̥ṣat*, Mbh 6,81.5, 8,12.42 (*abhi+*), 14.8, 15.30 (*abhi+*),
 17.5 (*id.*), 40.103 (*id.*), 60.33 (*id.*)
 fut. *variṣyate*, Mbh 7,166.54 (*pra+*)

√vep / √vip ‘to tremble’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 177, LIV 671, KULIKOV 2001: 372])

- pr. *vepati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 13,145.8, R 1,62.13 ([part.] *vepantī-*)

pf. << (*pra*)*vepāte* (↗ 8.1.3.2), Mbh 2,16.35 >>

√*vell* ‘to curl’

va. *vellita-*, Mbh 4,8.1

√*vyath* ‘to waver, to stagger’ (I. *set* [VIA I 520, LIV 696])

pr. *vyathati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 2,60.11, 4,4.31, 41.16, 36.10 (*pra*+), 12,152.30

pf. *vivyātha*, R 4.235*.4, << (*ā*)*vivyathatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), R 6,1669*.3, *vivyathuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 3,19.1, 6,22.13, 80.9, R 6,95.15 v.1. (CE *babhramuḥ*), (*o*)*vivyathe* (↗ 8.1.3.1), Mbh 2,46.19, 6,48.26, 69.10, 78.45, 7,30.27, 8,18.24, 9,11.17, R 2,1784*.2, 6,55.19, *vivyathire*, R 6,App.11.27 >>

√*vyadh* / √*vidh* (↗ 6.8) ‘to pierce’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 502, LIV 294-295, KULIKOV 2001: 460-461])

pr. *vidhyate*, Mbh 1,177.22, 4,52.23 v.1.

pf. << *vivyadhatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), Mbh 7,67.30, 8,9.13, 9,9.35, 16.13, R 6,78.10, *vivyadhuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.3), Mbh 1,179.18 v.1., 3,20.18, 6,65.25, 69.27, 96.40, 7,25.51, 31.53, 8,39.13, R 5,55.30, 6,42.4, *vivyadhe* (↗ 8.1.3.1), Mbh 6,75.11, 80.5, 98.13, *vivyadhāte* (↗ 8.1.3.2), Mbh 6,110.6, 7,148.3 >>

aor. [3.] *avīvidhat* (↗ 8.2.3), Mbh 7,164.38 v.1. (CE *avīvr̥ṣat*)

fut. *vetsyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 1,177.22, 13,98.6, *vetsyate*, Mbh 13,98.7; — [2.] *veddhā* (↗ 8.5), Mbh 1,176.11

- abs. *viddvā*, R 3,523*.12, ^a*vidhya*, Mbh 3,154.50 (*ā*+), 16,4.39 (id.), R 3,50.22 v.l. (id.)
- inf. *veddhum* (↗ p. 275 n. 5), Mbh 1,123.55, 1838*, 16,11*, R 6,87.15 v.l.
- sec. pass. *vidhyate*, Mbh 2,22.25 v.l.; — caus. *avedhayan* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 12,83.15 v.l. (CE *apothayan*)

√**vyūh** ‘to array’ — see also (→) √*ūh*

- pr. *praty-a-vyūhan* (↗ 6.4.3), Mbh 3,269.6

rem. On this ‘secondary’ root see (↗) 6.8.

√**vraj** ‘to proceed, to travel’ (I. [VIA I 466, LIV 697])

- pr. *vrajate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,55.24, 3,275.11, 6,24.54, R 3,58.1 (*ā*+), 4,12.27
- inf. *vrajitum*, R 2,23.13 (*anu*+), << (*pra*)*vrājitum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 5,173.14 >>
- sec. caus. << *pravrajamāṇa-* (↗ p. 266), Mbh 3,224.8 >>, ([pass.] *vrājyate*, R 2,48.14 [*pra*+])

√**vrīḍ** ‘to feel ashamed’ (I. [VIA I 467 and above (↗) p. LIII])

- pr. *vrīḍate*, Mbh 4,34.11 (*vrīḍamāṇa-*)
- va. *vrīḍita-*, Mbh 1,14.15, 3,56.17, 178.48, R 1,35.24, 2,32.14, 5,13.21

√**śams** ‘to recite, to praise, to say’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 188, LIV 326, KULIKOV 2001: 199-201])

- pf. << (*ā*)śamsuḥ (↗ 8.1.1), R 5,51.20, 7,981*.8, *ā-śamsire* (↗ 8.1.1), Mbh 1,174.8 (v.l. *āśaśamsire*), 7,161.24 v.l. (CE *śaśamsire*), 8,1152* (v.l. *śaśamsire*), (part. [↗ 9.3], *śamsivān*, R 2,16.60) >>
- aor. [5.] (*a*)śamsiṣuḥ, R 2,62.8
- fut. [2.] śamsitā, R 2,429* v.l. (*ā*+)
- abs. { { (*pra*)śamsya, R 5,1278* v.l. (CE °śasya) } }
- ger. (*pra*)śastavya- (↗ 9.5), R 1,4.15
- inf. śamsitum, Mbh 2,44.22 (*ni*+), R 5,56.78
- va. śamsita- (↗ 9.4), Mbh 8,822*.5 (*ā*+), R 2,429* (*id.*), 1690*

√**śak** ‘to be able’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 189, LIV 322, KULIKOV 2001: 592])

- pr. [→ IV. (↗ 6.6.5.2)] śakyati, Mbh 1,167.10 v.l. (*martuṃ na śakyāmīty uktvā* [CE ... *śakyam* ...]), R 2,1346*.15 v.l. (CE *śakṣyasi*), 5,50.15 v.l. (*śakyati*), *śakyate*, Mbh 3,60.6 v.l. (*śakyase* [CE *śakṣyase*]), R 3,51.20 v.l. (*śakyase* [CE *śakṣyase*]), 3,67.12 v.l. (*śakye* [CE *śaktaḥ*])
- va. śakta-, Mbh 1,3.120, 7.5, 3,154.43, 8,683*, R 1,13.40, 2,9.18, śakita- (↗ 9.4), Mbh 1,90.78, 142.9, 171.12, 5,20.7, 7,97.9 (see below, *rem.* [b])
- sec. des. (<< *śikṣāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 3,164.53 v.l. >>), [caus.] śikṣayati, Mbh 1,1330*.7 [*śikṣayām āsa*], 123.7, 4,2.24 [*śikṣayiṣyati*], *śikṣayate*, R 3,8.20, 6,94.7)

rem. (a) Class IV present *śakyati* / *te* is listed by WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v., as passive (with active endings); (b) on the difference of meaning between *śakta-* and *śakita-* (not attested in the Rāmāyaṇa) see PW VII col. 9.

√**śaṅk** ‘to suspect, to doubt’ (I. [VIA I 655, LIV 325])

- pr. *śaṅkati*, Mbh 3,123.10 v.1.
 aor. [5.] *śaṅkīḥ*, Mbh 5,145.40 (*ati+*), 7,16.4 (*id.*), R 2,84.15 v.1. (*ā+*), 4,279*.8, (*a*)*śaṅkiṣṭhāḥ*, R 1,566*.36, << (*a*)*śaṅkithāḥ* (↗ 8.2.5), Mbh 1,67.13, 3,32.6 (*ati+*), 123.10 (*maivaṃ mā paryaśaṅkithāḥ*), 5,42.3 (*vi+*), 7,142.14 (*id.*), 8,23.25 (*ati+*), 12,139.79 v.1. (*id.*) >>
 ger. *śaṅkitavya-*, Mbh 3,32.36
 inf. *śaṅkitum*, Mbh 3,32.14, 75.1 (*pari+*), 6,16.2 (*upā+*), R 2,10.19
 va. *śaṅkita-*, Mbh 3,151.12, 275.10 (*vi+*), R 2,1505*, 108.3

√**śad** ‘to fall’ (cf. HOFFMANN, *Aufs.* I,92)

rem. At Mbh 8,29.24 √*śad* is used in an etymological explanation of the word *śatru-*.

√**śap** ‘to curse, to swear’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 192, LIV 327, KULIKOV 2001: 592])

- fut. *śapiṣyate*, R 4,230*.7, 7,95.6, *śapsyati*, Mbh 3,290.15, *śapsyate*, Mbh 3,11.6
 abs. (↗ 9.7) *śaptvā*, Mbh 1,14.21, *śapitvā*, Mbh 7,161.43
 inf. (↗ 9.6) *śapitum*, Mbh 3,55.10, *śaptum*, Mbh 1,7.5
 va. *śapita-*, R 7,App.8.48*.2

¹√**śam** ‘to calm down, to be quiet, to become tired’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I/353, LIV 323-324, KULIKOV 2001: 462-469])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ p. 197 n. 5)] *śamati*, R 1,281* (*pra*+)
 fut. *śamiṣyati*, Mbh 12,188.19 (*pra*+)
 sec. caus. *śāmayati* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 1,28.25 (abs.), 1730*.7 (*upa*+),
 7,81.34 ([pass.] *śāmyate*, R 5,44.4 v.1.)

²√**śam** ‘to hear, to learn’ (X.) — only with (*saṃ*)*ni*+

- pr. (*ni*)*śāmayati*, Mbh 4,56.3, 5,555*, 6,2.6, 12,242.18, 13,16.12, R
 1,2.5, 2,51.19, 7,17.10, 35.18
 abs. (*ni*)*śāmya*, Mbh 1,100.8, 2,5.47, 3,10.17, 225.7, 4,5.20, 5,1.21, R
 1,10.13, 2,39.16, 60.9, 7,61.30, (*ni*)*śāmya*, Mbh 1,221.2, 3,170.51,
 5,190.9 (*saṃni*+), R 1,2.13
 va. (*ni*)*śāmita-*, Mbh 7,62.10, 8,30.52
 sec. pass. (*ni*)*śamyate*, Mbh 5,107.6, R 2,106.20, 114.9

√**śās** (↗ 6.8) ‘to cut, to slaughter’ (II. [VIA I 468, LIV 329, KULIKOV 2001: 201])

- pf. *śāsāsa*, R 1,13.26 (*vi*+)
 fut. [2.] *śāsītā* (↗ 8.5), Mbh 7,39.6
 abs. °*śasya*, Mbh 2,51.15 (*ava*+), 3,60.27 (*vi*+), 128.4 (id.)
 va. *śasta-*, Mbh 8,725*.10 (*vi*+), 62.24 (id.), 9,9.20 (id.), R 2,466* (id.)

rem. On *śāsyatām*, R 5,44.4, see (→) √*śās*, rem. c.

√śā ‘to sharpen’ (III. / IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 354, LIV 319-320, KULIKOV 2001: 504-505])

va. *śāta-*, R 2,9.31 v.l. (CE *śānta-* [see below, *rem.*])

rem. The text of the crit. ed. at R 2,9.31 (*adhastāc codaraṃ śāntam*) is most probably wrong. Correct with the v.l. to *śātam* ‘thin’ (see POLLOCK 1986: 344).

√śās ‘to order, to instruct, to rule’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 194, LIV 318-319, KULIKOV 2001: 593])

pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] *śāsati*, Mbh 1,95.13 (*anvaśāsan*), 2,5.34 (*anusāśanti*), 65.2 (*anusāśata*), 5,37.3 (*śāsati*), 40.28 (*anusāśasi*), 9,6.8 (*śāsantu*), 13.16.48 v.l. (*anusāśanti*), 16,5.2 (*anvaśāsat*), R 1,7.15 (*anvaśāsat*), 20.13 (*praśāsati*), 2,103.25 (*anusāśāmi*), 2379* (*anvaśāsat*), 6,51.22 (*anusāśasi*), 7,30.41 (*anvaśāsat*), *śāsate*, Mbh 3,104.7 (*anvaśāśata*)

prec. *śiṣyāt*, Mbh 4,4.12 v.l. (*anu+* [CE *anusīṣyet*]), 12,17.3 (↗ 6.2.4)

fut. [2.] (*anu*)*śāstā*, Mbh 3,11.5

abs. (*anu*)*śiṣtvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 1,133.24, *śāsya* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 3,107.34 (*pra+*), 153.28 (*anu+*), 5,25.9 (*id.*), R 2,18.40 (*id.*), 3,69.33 (*id.*)

inf. (↗ 9.6) *śāstum*, Mbh 11,4.13, R 2,App.15.31, *śāsitum*, R 1,14.6, 5,37.16

va. *śāsita-* (↗ 9.4), R 4,154*.4, 7,App.8.57*.6 (*pra+*)

sec. pass. *śāsyaate*, R 3,9.20 v.l. (*anu+*), 5,44.4 (see *rem. c*)

rem. (a) On the (secondary) root √śās see (↗) 6.8; (b) on Vedic forms of thematicized *śāsati*, see VIA *l.c.*; (c) it cannot be ruled out that *śāśyatām*, R 5,44.4, belongs to the (secondary) root √śās ‘to cut’; (d) on the present participle of this root see (↗) p. 70.

√*śiñj* ‘to tinkle, to clink’ (II. [VIA I 656])

va. *śiñjita-*, Mbh 7,34.19, 13,78.26, R 2,35.16

√*śiṣ* ‘to remain, to leave’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 195, LIV 321, KULIKOV 2001: 323-325, 611-612])

sec. caus. *śeṣayati*, Mbh 3,225.20, 5,51.13, 62.30, 13,8.26, *śeṣayate*, Mbh 7,150.30 v.l. (*vi+*)

√*śi* ‘to lie’ (II. [VIA I 469, LIV 320])

pr. << *śemahi* (↗ 6.3.1.4), Mbh 7,16.13, (2pl. ind.) *śedhvam* (↗ 6.3.1.5), Mbh 3,App.31.23 ≠ 25 >>; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1)] *śayati*, Mbh 11,2.22 (*anu+*), 12,109.10 (*ati+*), *śayate*, Mbh 2,38.40 (*ati+*), R 6,54.22 (*śayāmahe*)

aor. [3.] *āśiśayat*, R 2,1812*.62 v.l. (of ed Gorr.)

fut. (↗ 8.4) *śeṣyate*, Mbh 2,50.27, R 2,27.13 v.l., 103.14, 6,66.14 v.l., *śeṣyati*, Mbh 3,267.30, 5,3.23 v.l., << *āśiśyate* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 5,47.9 >>; — [2.] *śayitā*, Mbh 7,2.15, R 3,54.5

inf. << (*ati*)*śayitum* (↗ 9.6), R 6,11.42 v.l. (CE *atiśāyayitum*) >>

va. *śayita-*, Mbh 1,66.12, 3,219.46, 4,13.21, R 2,52.9, 81,21, 3,29.8, 5,33.40

sec. caus. *śāyayate*, R 4,307* v.l.

rem. It was not possible to trace WHITNEY’s pass. (!) part. *śīyant-* in the text of the Mahābhārata.

√**śuc** ‘to lament, to suffer’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 196, LIV 331, KULIKOV 2001: 469-470])

- pr. [→ II. (↗ 6.6.1.1)] *śocimi*, Mbh 3,60.10, 12,220.87 v.l. (CE *śocāmi*)
 fut. *śociṣyati*, R 2,41.4, *śociṣyate*, R 6,App.68.51
 abs. *śocitvā* (↗ 9.7), R 2,1217*
 ger. *śocitavya-*, R 6,3121*
 inf. *śocitum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 7,57.8, R 2,98.35, 5,38.14 = 65.26 (*pari+*)

rem. An infinitive *śoktum* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**śudh** ‘to become pure, to clean’ (I. / IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 197, LIV 330, KULIKOV 2001: 470-473])

- pr. [IV.] *śudhyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,57.16, R 2,84.10 = 5,981*
 sec. caus. ([pass.] *śodhyate*, Mbh 2,5.60 [*sam+*])

rem. On late Vedic examples of *śudhyate* see KULIKOV (2001: 471-472).

√**śubh** ‘to be beautiful, to beautify’ (I. / VI. [VIA I 470, LIV 330])

- pr. [I.] *śobhati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 14,9.16
 pf. *śuśobha*, Mbh 4,10.6 v.l., *śuśubhe*, Mbh 1,64.32, 4,15.37, 8,24.90, 14,64.7, 91.29, R 1,17.7, 3,33.10, 50.20
 fut. *śobhiṣyati*, Mbh 1,182.7 v.l., R 6,24.35 v.l.
 sec. int. *śośubhyate*, Mbh 3,171.6, 14,10.21; — caus. *śobhayate*, << part. *śobhayāna-* (↗ 9.1), R 1,21.7 >>

√śuṣ ‘to dry (up)’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 198, LIV 285, KULIKOV 2001: 473-475])

- pr. *śuṣyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,217.20, 2,43.21, 13,5.7 (*vi+*), R 2,App.26.70, 3,60.43
 sec. caus. *śoṣayate*, Mbh 14,80.18

rem. On the few Vedic attestations of middle *śuṣyate* see KULIKOV *l.c.*

√śṛ ‘to break’ (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 356, LIV 327-328, KULIKOV 2001: 332-335])

- sec. pass. << *śīryati* (↗ 8.7 / 9.1), Mbh 3,13.117, 225.27 (*vi+*), 254.19 ([part.] *viśīryantī-*), 5,47.66 (*vi+*), 6,112.49 ([part.] *viśīryantī-*), 14,116* (*vyāśīryat*), R 1,66.18 v.l. ([part.] *śīryant-*), 2,365*.3 >>

√śran ‘to give away’ (X.)

- va. (*vi*)*śrāṇita-*, R 2,29.24

√śram ‘to toil’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 358, LIV 337-338, KULIKOV 2001: 446-447]) – *vi+* ‘to rest (from labour), to recover’

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.4.1)] *śramati*, Mbh 3,App.21A.101 (*vi+*), 9,60.63 (*id.*), R 1,61.1 v.l. (*id.* [CE *vyāśrāmyat*]), 7,26.18 (*id.*), *śramate*, Mbh 1,138.10 (*id.*), R 1,61.2 (*id.*), 5,1.78.98 (*id.*)
 fut. [2.] *śramitā* (↗ 8.5[b]), Mbh 10,4.33 (*vi+*)

sec. pass. *śramyate*, Mbh 1,138.10 v.l. (*viśramyatām* [CE *viśramadhvam*]); — caus. *śrāmayati* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 3,144.19 (*vi+*), 5,8.5 (*id.*) ([pass.] *śrāmyate*, Mbh 3,71.26 [*vi+*], R 1,1173*.17, 7,2.23)

√**śrambh** ‘to trust’

va. (*vi*)*śrabdha-* (↗ p. LII), Mbh 3,187.45, 5,181.29, R 2,16.31, 24.6

rem. (a) A present *śrambhate* does not seem to be attested in the Epics; (b) sometimes the verbal adjective appears with (dental) *-s-* (e.g. Mbh 6,41.82, R 4,8.43).

√**śrā** ‘to become ready, to cook’ (IV. *seṭ* [VIA I 607, KULIKOV 2001: 477-478])

sec. caus. *śrapayate*, Mbh 12,49.8 (*śrapayām āsa*), R 2,1207* (*id.*)

√**śri** ‘to lean against, to resort’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 201, LIV 332-333, KULIKOV 2001: 203-206])

pf. *śiśriyuh*, Mbh 1,218.41 (*abhi+*), 3,126.31 v.l. (*upa+* [CE *upasaṃśrayan*])

abs. (*upā*)*śrayitvā* (↗ 9.7 / 9.7.1), R 7,17.29 v.l. (CE *samupāśritya*)

inf. << (*ā*)*śrayitum* (↗ 9.6), R 2,152* >>

rem. WHITNEY’s entry ‘aor: ... *śriyus* E’ is an error. The two Epic attestations of *śiśriyuh* are regular perfects.

√*śru* ‘to hear’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 203, LIV 334-335, KULIKOV 2001: 207-208])

- pf. *śuśrumaḥ* (↗ 8.1), Mbh 1,53.1, 89.31.44, 156.7, 196.1, 2,14.11, 16.2, 64.1, 4,46.8, 5,51.1.11, 12,109.27, 113.3, 327.6, 13,80.30, 117.22
- fut. *śroṣyate*, Mbh 7,54.20, 9,2.46.47, R 2,17.23, 5,36.6
- inf. *śrotum*, Mbh 1,1.3.9, 2,6.14, 9,2.65, R 1,44.11, 25.6
- sec. pass. {{ *śrūyati*, Mbh 6,55.7 v.l. (not noted by CE) }}; — des. *śuśrūṣati*, Mbh 4,13.2, 13,24.91, 15,22.16, R 2,2.27 v.l., 16.52, 6,107.32, 7,70.14 (*śuśrūṣyate*, R 2,1262*.3); — caus. *śrāvayate*, Mbh 5,30.41, R 6,104.5 ([pass.] *śrāvayate*, Mbh 12,4.11 [*sam+*], R 6,App.1.39)

√*ślath* ‘to loosen’

rem. ślathāyate, Mbh 1,213.15, is a denominative of *ślatha-* (Mbh 8,App.42.14).

√*ślāgh* ‘to extol, to boast’ (I. [VIA I 659, KULIKOV 2001: 378-379])

- pr. *ślāghate*, Mbh 2,57.1, 3,133.8, 4,33.12, 5,32.28, 71.17, 8,341*, 46.37, R 2,1708*, 7,18.11, *ślāghati*, Mbh 5,164.17, 7,49.16, 14,60.12; — [→ IV.] *ślāghyase*, R 7,18.11 v.l. (CE *ślāghase*)
- ger. *ślāghya-*, Mbh 3,147.11, 5,99.7, R 1,74.4, *ślāghanīya-*, Mbh 5,132.18, R 2,56.10
- sec. pass. *ślāghyate*, R 1,203*.46; — caus. *ślāghayati*, R 2,58.28

√**śliṣ** ‘to clasp, to embrace’ (IV. *aniṭ* [LIV 333, KULIKOV 2001: 479-481])

- aor. [2.] *śliṣat*, Mbh 3,111.15 (*samā+*)
 abs. *śliṣtvā*, R 2,86.22 v.l., °*śliṣya*, Mbh 3,12.53 (*samā+*), 4,66.23 (*sam+*), R 1,10.22 (*id.*)

√**śvas** ‘to hiss, to blow’ (II. [VIA I 537, LIV 341])

- pr. [→ I.] *śvasati*, R 3,45.19 (*samāśvasa*), 4,54.7 (*viśvaset+*), Mbh 3,269* (*samāśvasat*), 6,50.89 (*id.*), 7,2.8 (*nyaśvasat*), 116.12 (*samāśvasat*), 164.76 (*id.*), 8,68.2.13 (*nyaśvasat*)
 pf. *śaśvāsa*, Mbh 1,1509* (*ni+*), 2,12.1 (*id.*), R 2,20.2 (*id.*), 86.26 (*id.*)
 fut. *śvasiṣyati*, R 2,App.9.125 (*vi+*)
 inf. *śvasitum*, R 4,App.20.48 (*vi+*)
 va. (°)*śvasta-* (↗ 9.4), Mbh 1,1.160, 2.28.181, 135.20, 187.18, 3,154.1, 180.2, 190.20, 261.48, 5,37.11, 7,63.16, 14,81.16, R 1,1.53, 2,10.13, 3,59.5, 4,2.21
 sec. caus. *śvāsayate*, << part. (*ā*)*śvāsayāna-* (↗ 9.1), R 6,71.1 >>

√**sa**j → √**sa(ñ)**j

√**sa**jj ‘to stick, to be caught’ (I. [cf. VIA I 210]) — see (↗) p. 244

- pr. *sajjati*, Mbh 1,203.15, 5,55.9 (*sam+*), 177.20, 13,21.10 (*sampra+*), 39.1, 499* (*pra+*), 132.7, *sajjate*, Mbh 3,2.16 ~ 240.3, 5,9.8, 67.15, R 2,54.4 (*sam+*), 100.6, 4,28.20.25, 58.29, 5,37.35, 49,16

- pf. (sam)sasajjatuḥ, Mbh 6,43.69
 sec. caus. sajjayate, R 6,150*.8 (pra+), 7,60.17

rem. A denominative of *sajja-* (< *sajya-*) is *sajjayati* / *°te* ‘to make s.th. ready’ (Mbh 5,150.21 [*sajjayanti sma nāgān*], R 7,60.17 [*sajjaye yāvad āyudham*]). Its causative is *sajjayate* ‘to get ready’ (Mbh 14,51.2 [*sajjayadhvam prayāsyāmah*]), its passive *sajj(i)yate* ‘to be made ready’ (Mbh 6,19.39 [... *sajjīyamāneṣu sainyeṣu* ...], 8,50.36 [*āyudhāni ... sajjyantām*]) and its verbal adjective *sajjita-* ‘ready’ (Mbh 7,53.25).

√**sa(ñ)j** ‘to fasten, to hang’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 210, LIV 516, KULIKOV 2001: 208-210])

- pr. *sajate*, << part. *samāsajāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 4,5.28 >>
 inf. << (*ā*)*saktum*, Mbh 5,156.8 = 6,16.1 >>
 sec. caus. *sañjayati*, Mbh 13,125.24 (*āsañjayitvā*)

√**sad** ‘to sit’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 211, LIV 513-515, KULIKOV 2001: 210-212])

- pr. *sīdate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 1,112.20 (pra+), 2,5.68 (ava+), 13,1.4
 pf. << *saṃni-ṣīdatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.1), Mbh 1,214.27 (v.ll. *°ṣedatuḥ* / *°sīdatām*), *ni-ṣīdatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.1), Mbh 3,222.1, 12,40.2 (v.l. *°ṣedatuḥ*) >>
 aor. [2.] (*ā*)*sadat*, Mbh 10,6.2
 inf. << *sīditum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 3,362*, 4,27.6, R 2,98.43, 5,1.77 >>

rem. On *sīdatetarām* see (↗) p. 75.

√**sah** ‘to overcome, to master’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 214, LIV 515-516])

- pr. *sahati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,1.98, 71.42, 2,12.27 (*vi+*), R 3,15.34, << *protsāhati*, Mbh 1,55.3, R 4,26.17 >>
- pf. *sehima*, Mbh 3,App.31.16, *sehuḥ*, Mbh 3,245.6
- fut. *sahiṣyati*, Mbh 8,22.20, R 3,62.5, 4,1403*.4, *sahiṣyate*, Mbh 3,279.9, R 1,38.5, 41.23, 3,62.5; — [2.] *soḍhā*, Mbh 1,16.9
- cond. *vyasahiṣyat*, R 2,1343* (↗ 6.2.11)
- ger. *sahanīya-*, R 7,42.19, *sahitavya-*, Mbh 12,139.87
- inf. *soḍhum*, Mbh 1,83.11, 2,24.7, 4,38.2, 6,33.44, R 2,35.23, 5,37.15, *sahitum*, Mbh 1,197.18, 3,48.7, R 2,27.20, 35.31, 80.11 (*pra+*)
- sec. caus. *sāhayati*, Mbh 5,123.13 (*prod+*), 165.3 (*id.*), 15,22.20 (*utsāhya*)

rem. The future *sakṣyati* is only a very feebly attested *v.l.* at Mbh 9,62.13.

√**sā** ‘to bind’ (IV. / IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 361, KULIKOV 2001: 506-508, cf. LIV 518])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.9.1)] (*vyava*)*sāmi*, Mbh 1,188.12, 3,183.7, 281.52, *vyavasanti*, Mbh 4,44.1 *v.l.* (not noted by CE [*vyavasyanti*]), (*vyava*)*seyam*, Mbh 1,97.18, (*vyava*)*set*, Mbh 7,169.13
- fut. *siṣyati*, Mbh 1,145.16 (*vyava+*)
- abs. ^o*sya* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 1,138.31 (*vyava+*), 12,38.29 (*id.*), R 7,9.37 (*adhyava+*)
- inf. *situm*, Mbh 4,36.36 (*vyava+*)
- sec. pass. << *sīyate*, Mbh 14,24.19 *v.l.* (not noted by CE [*vyavasyate*]) >>

√*sādh* ‘to succeed’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 215, LIV 517])

sec. caus. *sādhayate*, Mbh 6,104.53, 13,23.6 ([pass.] *sādhyate*, Mbh 12,206.1, 13,19.25, R 2,32.8 [*sam+*]), << *sādhayam-āsam* (↗ 8.1.4), Mbh 13,106.38 >>

√*śic* ‘to pour out’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 217, LIV 523, KULIKOV 2001: 213-214, 612])

fut. (*abhi*)*śekṣyati*, R 2,4.16, (*abhi*)*śekṣye*, R 2,4.20 v.l. (ex con.); — [2.] *sektā*, R 2,2.10 v.l., 5.9, 7.7 v.l.

inf. (*abhi*)*śektum*, R 2,2.34, (*abhi*)*śecitum*, R (NW) 2,49.14 (see SEN 1952: 21)

sec. pass. << *sicyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 5,154.9 (*abhi+*) >>; — caus. << *siñcayati* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 1,107.18 v.l., R 2,61.25 (*abhi+*) >>

¹√*śidh* ‘to keep off, to repel’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 218, LIV 522, KULIKOV 2001: 379])

pf. *śiśidhe*, Mbh 8,26.61 (*prati+*), << (*ni*)*śidhuḥ* (↗ 8.1.1), Mbh 1,2.6 v.l. >>

aor. [5.] *asedhīḥ*, Mbh 14,9.31 (*prati+*)

fut. *setsyati*, Mbh 1,34.13 (*prati+*)

ger. *seddhavya-*, Mbh 12,106.13 (*prati+*)

sec. pass. *śidhyate*, Mbh 5,94.10 (*prati+*), R 4,621*.1

²√*sidh* ‘to succeed, to be successful’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 218, LIV 517, KULIKOV 2001: 482-483])

- pr. *sidhyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,183.27, 7,57.58, R 2,1.32 (*pra+*)
 va. *siddha-*, Mbh 5,193.3, 13,53.14, R 1,6.7, 14.2

rem. The futures *setsyati* and *setsyate* do not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√*su* ‘to squeeze out’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 219, LIV 537-538, GOTO 1991: 688-692, KULIKOV 2001: 215-216])

- pf. *suṣāva*, Mbh 1,113.14 (v.l. *suṣuve*)
 abs. (*abhi*)ṣūya, Mbh 14,90.21

¹√*sū* ‘to beget, to produce (offspring)’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 364, LIV 538, GOTO 1991: 697-701, KULIKOV 2001: 379-380])

- pr. [→ I.] *savati*, Mbh 1,143.32 (*pra+*); — [→ IV. (↗ 6.6.2.2)] *sūyate*, Mbh 14,18.2 (*pra+*), R 1,37.17 v.l. (*vyasūyata*), 4,42.47 (*pra+*)
 pf. *suṣuve*, Mbh 1,59.30, 60.55, 138.19, R 2,86.21, *suṣāva*, Mbh 1,57.69, R 1,828*.8
 fut. *saviṣyati* (↗ 8.4), R 7,9.18 (*pra+*)
 abs. << *sūya* (↗ 9.7 / 9.7.2), Mbh 3,543* >>
 sec. pass. /<< *sūyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 3,149.33, 187.28 (*sampra+*), 12,149.10 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *sūyant-*), 13,48.4 (*pra+*) >>

²√sū 'to impel' (VI. *seṭ* [VIA I 363, LIV 538-539, GOTO 1991: 692-697])

pr. [→ I.] *savati*, Mbh 3,297.36.37 ([part.] *prasavant-*)

fut. (*pra*)*saviṣyadhvam* (↗ 8.4.2[a]), Mbh 6,25.10

rem. (*pra*)*saviṣyadhvam*, Mbh 6,25.10, may well belong to ¹√sū.

√sūd 'to put in order, to kill' (X. [VIA I 660])

pr. *sūdayate*, R 6,99.27, << part. *sūdayāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 6,55.26 >>

va. *sūdita-* Mbh 3,100.20, R 5,46.8, 56.97 (*ni+*)

√sṛ 'to run' (*aniṭ* [VIA I 220, LIV 527-528])

pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.3.1)] *sarati*, Mbh 4,65.10 (*sam+*), 7,3.17 (*pra+*), R 2,53.5 (*pra+*), *sarate*, Mbh 12,228.27 (*nis+*)

pf. (*pra*)*susruḥ* (↗ 8.1.2 rem.), R 6,33.17

inf. *saritam*, Mbh 1,221.5

sec. pass. (*anu*)*saryate*, Mbh 8,43.2 (see crit. notes *ad loc.*)

√sṛj 'to emit' (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 222, LIV 528-529, KULIKOV 2001: 218-221])

pf. << (*vi*)*sasarjatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), R 3,68.1 >>

inf. *sraṣṭum*, Mbh 2,66.10 (*samud+*), 3,104.19 (*id.*), 185.52, 12,224.41, 333.16

√sṛp ‘to creep’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 223, LIV 536])

- pr. *sarpate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 4,36.5, 8,35.52 (*upa+*), R 1,42.7 (*vi+*),
7,19.26 v.l. (*upa+*)
- abs. (*vi*)*sarpitvā* (↗ 9.7.1), R 4,62.2
- inf. *sarpitum*, Mbh 4,53.59, 53.68 (*vyapa+*), 8,28.43 (*id.*)

rem. A passive *sṛpyate* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√sev ‘to attend upon’ (I.)

- pr. *sevati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,1.198, R 3,53.28
- pf. *siṣeva*, Mbh 8,App.14.36
- fut. *seviṣyati*, R 2,39.9
- abs. *sevitvā*, R 2,85.21 v.l., *sevyā* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 13,27.86
- ger. *sevyā-*, Mbh 8,43.21 (*saṃni+*), 13,132.26
- inf. *sevitum*, Mbh 1,221.18, 5,35.64, 154.33 (*ni+*), 12,173.35 (*upa+*), R
2,31.33, 5,9.2 (*upa+*)
- va. *sevita-*, Mbh 3,3.25 (*ni+*), 107.11 (*id.*), 114.5, R 2,44.2 (*ni+*), 49.4
(*upa+*), 62.11, 3,2.2, 49.24
- sec. pass. *sevyate*, Mbh 3,160.32 (*ni+*), 12,107.13 (*saṃ+*), R 2,30.20,
7,20.8

√skand ‘to leap’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 224, LIV 554])

- pf. *caskande*, Mbh 9,37.30, << (*pra*)*skandire* (↗ 8.1.1), R 6,App.11.27
v.l. >>

- inf. *skanditum*, R 3,App.10.102
 va. *(a)skandita*, Mbh 14,46.14

√skhal ‘to stumble’ (I. [VIA I 474, LIV 543-544])

- pr. *skhalati* (↗ 6.1[a]), R 5,60.11
 pf. *caskhaluh*, Mbh 7,632*.2, 8,14.14, 60.28, 66.19

¹√stan ‘to thunder’ (*seṭ* [VIA I 367, LIV 597])

rem. As to class I present *stanati*, see (↗) p. 193 n. 9.

²√stan ‘to moan, to groan’ (I. [VIA I 475, LIV 596, NARTEN, *Kl. Sch.* p. 409-410, and above (↗) p. LIII])

- pr. *stanati*, Mbh 3,205.27 ([part.] *niṣṭanantam*), 268.37 ([part.] *niṣṭanantaḥ*), 5,73.7 ([part.] *niṣṭanan*), 141.11 (*niṣṭananti*), 151.19 ([part.] *niṣṭanan*), 6,85.23 ([part.] *stanatām*), 8,59.15 (id.), R 4,10.16 ([part.] *stanataḥ*), App.14.39 ([part.] *pariniṣṭanan*)
 abs. *(niṣ)ṭanitvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 1,85.18

√stambh ‘to prop’ (IX. / V. [VIA I 476, LIV 595-596])

- pr. [→ I.] *stambhati*, R 4,App.2.22 (*sam+*)
 pf. *tastambhe*, Mbh 12,176.4
 abs. *stabdhvā*, Mbh 3,166.12, 7,30.15, *(vi)stambhitvā* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 12,140.9 v.l.

- ger. *stambhaniya-*, Mbh 5,22.25 (*a+*)
 sec. caus. *stambhayati*, Mbh 3,22.9, R 5,10.32, *stambhayate*, Mbh 9,28.52

√**stim** 'to stiffen, to become motionless'

- va. *stimita-*, Mbh 12,329.48₃, R 2,75.14, 3,46.9, 4,63.21

rem. See also (→) √*tim*.

√**stu** 'to praise' (II. *aniṣ* [VIA I 228, LIV 601-602, KULIKOV 2001: 222-225])

- pr. [→ VI. (↗ 6.6.2.3)] *stuvati*, Mbh 1,3.138 (*astuvat*), 21.6 (id.), 4,App.4D.2 (id.), *stuvate*, Mbh 12,205.9 (*abhiṣṭuvate*); — [→ V.] *stunoti*, Mbh 4,App.4B.2, *stunvāna-*, R 6,App.46.2 v.l.
 pf. << *tuṣṭāvatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), Mbh 7,57.48 v.l. >>
 abs. << (*abhi*)ṣṭūya (↗ 9.7), Mbh 10,7.53 v.l. (CE °*stutya*), 13,10.3 (*sam+*) >>

√**stṛ** 'to strew, to spread' (IX. *seṭ* [VIA I 368, LIV 599-600, KULIKOV 2001: 225-227, GOTO 1997: 1041-1045])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.9.1)] *starati*, Mbh 1,28.25 (*samāstarat*), 3,659*.8 (*vistareyuh*), 7,68.55 (*saṃstarant-*), R 2,103.13 (*āstara*), 103.15 (*āstarat*); — [→ V. (↗ 6.6.9.3)] *stṛṇoti*, Mbh 13,105.54 (see rem. a below)
 abs. (*vi*)stṛtya, R 4,1389*.7 v.l.

- va. *str̥ta-*, Mbh 3,179.5 (*samava+*), 6,45.53 (id.)
 sec. pass. << *vistīryet* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 5,145.18 v.l. (CE *vistīryeta*) >>

rem. (a) *str̥noti*, Mbh 13,105.54, has the meaning ‘is strewn, is covered with’; (b) this present, as well as the absolutive *°str̥tya* and the verbal adjective *str̥ta-*, are due to the confusion of \sqrt{str} ‘to strike to the ground’ and $\sqrt{st̥}$ (↗ 6.7).

$\sqrt{sthā}$ ‘to stand’ (I. *seṭ*. [VIA I 369, LIV 590-592, KULIKOV 2001: 382-383])

- fut. [2.] *sthātā*, Mbh 3,46.1, 8,49.63 (↗ 6.2.10), 10,12.9 (↗ 8.5), R 4,12.9
 inf. << (↗ 9.6) (*ut*)*thitum*, R 5,1.88 v.l. (CE *°thātum*), (*pra*)*sthitum*, R 2,27.9 v.l. (CE *°sthātum*) >>

$\sqrt{snā}$ ‘to bathe’ (II. *seṭ* [VIA I 370, LIV 572-573, KULIKOV 2001: 593])

- pr. [→ IV. (↗ 6.6.2.2)] *snāyate*, Mbh 7,51.31 (*snāyamāna-*), 13,96.44 (*snāyeta*), << *snāyīta* (↗ 6.3.3), Mbh 3,82.79, 13,95.75 >>
 pf. *sasnuḥ*, Mbh 8,33.64
 fut. *snāsyati*, R 2,42.8, *snāsyate*, Mbh 13,53.8, R 2,16.42

\sqrt{snih} ‘to be sticky’ (IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 232, LIV 573, KULIKOV 2001: 593])

- pr. *snihyate*, Mbh 7,11.12
 va. *snigdha-*, Mbh 12,335.51, 13,14.199, 126.23, 14,49.42, R 2,6.23

rem. Active *snihyati* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**spand** ‘to quiver’ (I. [VIA I 477])

- pr. *spandati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 7,50.4
 pf. *paspande*, R 6,48.44
 inf. *spanditum*, R 6,57.68, 61.43, 64.11

√**sprdh** ‘to contend’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 236, LIV 580-581])

- pr. *spardhati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,19.28, 8,33.11
 pf. *paspardha*, Mbh 13,27.57, 15,32.11
 ger. *spardhya-*, Mbh 1,43.6, 3,284.7
 va. *spardhita-*, Mbh 14,46.14 v.l., R 4,App.24.26 v.l.

√**sprś** ‘to touch’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 237])

- pr. *sprśate*, << part. (*saṃ*)*sprśāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 4,886*, 8,5.83 v.l. (CE *sprśamāna-*), 15.18 >>
 pf. *pasprśuḥ*, R 1,42.17, *pasprśire*, R 1,309*.69 (*pari+*), << *pasprśatuḥ* (↗ 8.1.3.2), R 6,67.23 >>
 aor. [4.] *asprākṣiḥ*, R 2,37.6
 prec. *sprśyāt*, Mbh 3,253.20 (↗ 6.5.7)
 fut. *sprakṣyati*, Mbh 4,8.32, 13,144.41; — [2.] *sprśtā* (↗ 8.5), Mbh 5,127.49
 abs. *sprśya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 3,195.4, 5,97.10
 ger. *sprśanīya-*, Mbh 12,339.16

- inf. *spraṣṭum*, Mbh 3,213.46, 264.4
 sec. pass. *sprśyate*, Mbh 7,164.99

√**spr̥h** ‘to desire, to long for, to envy’ (X. *aniṭ* [VIA I 238, LIV 581])

- pr. *spr̥hayate*, Mbh 14,19.5
 va. *(ni)spr̥kta-*, Mbh 12,81.39 (see VIA *l.c.*)

√**sphar** ‘to bend (a bow), to open (one’s eyes)’ (X. [cf. VIA I 372])
 — only with *vi*+

- pr. *(vi)sphārayati*, Mbh 4,58.2, 7,5.30, 63.29, R 3,36.10, 5,46.23, <<
 part. *(vi)sphārayāṇa-* (↗ 9.1), R 5,42.3 >>
 abs. *(vi)sphārya*, Mbh 4,53.25, 6,45.44, 7,15.36, 142.29, R 6,35.14
 va. *(vi)sphārita-*, Mbh 3,12.20, 5,26.24, R 1,53.19, 2,19.1

√**sphā** ‘to fatten’

- va. *sphāta-*, Mbh 1,165.43, 2,17.17, R 2,43.11

√**sphuṭ** ‘to burst’ (VI. / I.)

- pr. [I.] *sphoṭati*, R 2,96.12, 6,99.29 v.l.
 pf. *pusphoṭa*, R 6,57.38, 63.47, 64.7.17
 fut. *sphuṭisyati*, Mbh 1,68.35 v.l., R 2,App.23.61
 va. *sphuṭita-*, R 6,57.84

sec. caus. *sphoṭayati*, Mbh 5,164.9, R 6,17.14, 78.52

√**sphūrj** ‘to rumble, to roar’ (I. [VIA I 661])

abs. (*vi*)*sphūrjya*, Mbh 3,252.1 v.l. (CE *visphūrya*)

va. *sphūrjita-*, Mbh 4,22.13 (*vi+*), 57.10 (*id.*), R 5,46.23 v.l.

√**sphṛ** / √**sphur** ‘to flash’ (VI. *aniṭ* [VIA I 372])

fut. *sphuriṣyati*, Mbh 12,188.11

va. *sphurita-*, Mbh 1,301*.9, 3,154.38 (*pra+*), 4,1117*, 8,11.34 (*pra+*)

abs. (*vi*)*sphūrya*, Mbh 3,252.1 (v.l. *visphūrjya*)

√**smi** ‘to smile’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 239, LIV 568-569])

pr. *smayati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 1,26.2, 2,6.9, 9,13.28, 16.32, *smayate*, << part. (*avi*)*smayāna-* (↗ 9.1), R 6,47.92 >>

pf. (*vi*)*sismiye* (↗ p. 52), Mbh 3,149.6, R 6,989* v.l. << (*vi*)*smayām āsa* (↗ 8.1.4), Mbh 13,18.45 >>

aor. [5.] *asmayiṣṭhāḥ*, Mbh 13,121.6

abs. (°)*smayitvā* (↗ 9.7 / 9.7.1), Mbh 2,63.12 (*abhyud+*), 3,224.17, 4,637*.4, R 1,98* (*ud+*), 3,41.41 (*id.*), 6,59.45

ger. (*vi*)*smayanīya-*, Mbh 8,64.1.2

sec. caus. (*vi*)*smāpayati* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 8,12.13, R 4,1372*.12

√**smṛ** ‘to remember’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 240, LIV 569-570, KULIKOV 2001: 384-385])

- pf. *sasmaruḥ*, Mbh 9,37.16
 fut. *smariṣyati*, Mbh 3,48.10, 5,188.12, R 2,27.15, 32.5 (*sam+*), 64.13, 3,46.13.14; — [2.] *smartā*, Mbh 5,48.24, 57.25
 aor. [4.] *asmārṣuḥ*, Mbh (not verified)
 abs. *smarivā* (↗ 9.7), Mbh 7,1331*.5
 ger. *smaraṇīya-*, Mbh 3,48.10, *smartavya-*, Mbh 3,63.22 (*sam+*)
 inf. *(vi)smartum*, R 4,672*
 sec. caus. *smārayati*, Mbh 2,66.33, R 2,9.21, *smārayate*, R 3,8.20, 6,94.7 ([pass.] *smāryate*, R ed Gorr 7,36.24 [not verified])

√**syand** ‘to flow, to move on’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 241])

- pr. *syandati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 3,284*.6 ([part.] *syandatām*)
 pf. *sasyanduḥ*, R 6,75*.4

√**sraṃs** ‘to fall asunder’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 242, KULIKOV 2001: 594])

- sec. caus. ([pass.] *sraṃsyate*, R 5,36.18)

rem. The active present *sraṃsati* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**sru** ‘to flow’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 244, LIV 588])

- pr. *sravate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 3,225.27
pf. *susruve*, Mbh 7,153.30
fut. *sraviṣyati*, Mbh 7,53.41 (*vi+*), R 2,1038* (*pra+*)

√**svaṅj** ‘to embrace’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 245, LIV 610-611])

- pr. *svajati* (↗ 6.1[a]), Mbh 12,232.27 (*abhi+*), << *svajāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 5,124.15, R 2,77.10 (*pari+*) >>
pf. (part.) *sasvajāna-* (↗ p. XXVI n. 4), Mbh 2,70.12
fut. *svajīṣyate*, Mbh 7,87.72 (*pari+*)
abs. *svajitvā*, Mbh 3,224.3, °*svajya*, Mbh 1,73.28 (*saṃpari+*), 2,2.18 (*pari+*), 5,181.26 (*saṃpari+*)
inf. *svaktum*, R 2,810* (*pari+*), 6,App.68.23 (*id.*)

√**svad** ‘to make savoury’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 505, LIV 606-607])

- sec. caus. *svādayati*, R 5,1.102 v.l. (*samāsvādyā*)

√**svan** ‘to sound’ (*aya-pr. seṭ* [VIA I 373, LIV 611])

- pr. [→ I. (↗ 6.6.2.1 [*rem.*])] *svanati*, Mbh 7,165.12, R 2,90.5 v.l., 7,28.43, *svanate*, Mbh 7,85.36
pf. *sasvāna*, Mbh 7,78.44 (*prati+*), *sasvanuḥ*, R 1,48.19 v.l., 6,4.86
sec. caus. *svanayate* (↗ p. 193 n. 8), << part. *svanayāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 6,159* >>

√**svap** ‘to sleep’ (II. [VIA I 538, LIV 612-613])

- pr. (pra)svapīta, Mbh 13,107.73 v.l. (CE *prasvapeta*); — [→ I.]
svapate, Mbh 1,150.7, 3,261.48, 5,94.40, 9,34.24, 13,107.73
(pra+), 14,9.2 v.l.
- prec. supyāt, Mbh 13,77.15
- fut. (↗ 8.4) svapsyate, Mbh 5,184.14, R 1,46.19 v.l., 2,1924*.16, 3,29.7,
6,5.9, svapiṣyate, R 2,557*.3 v.l. (CE *lapsye*); — [2.] svaptā, Mbh
9,226*.4, 10,4.33 (↗ 8.5[b])
- inf. svaptum, Mbh 13,52.29, R 2,82.3
- sec. pass. supyate, R 2,25.7

rem. On forms of this root in the Mahābhārata see NĀYAK (1994).

√**svid** ‘to sweat’ (I. / IV. *aniṭ* [VIA I 246, LIV 607])

- pr. [IV.] svidyate, Mbh 2,64.13
- pf. (pra)siṣvide, Mbh 7,18.21

rem. On late Vedic *svidyati* see KULIKOV (2001: 486).

√**han** ‘to slay, to kill’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 248, LIV 218-219, KULIKOV
2001: 227-229])

- pr. (ni)hanma (↗ p. 137), Mbh 1,180.3, (ni)hanmahi (↗ 6.3.1.3), Mbh
3,49.14; — [→ I. (↗ 7.2.6)] ahanat, Mbh 1,96.25 (*abhyā+*), 181.25,
2,43.10 (*samā+*), 5,183.7 (*abhi+*), 185.6 (id.), 8,331*.3 (id.),
13,103.20 (id.), R 5,46.25 (*vi+*), 6,44.6 (*abhi+*), 86.16 (id.), 7,14.24

- (*samā+*), 61.12 (*abhi+*), (2pl. imp.) *hanadhvam*, R 3,485*.7; — [→ VI. (↗ 7.2.6)] (2pl. imp.) *ghnata*, Mbh 8,24.60, *aghnām*, Mbh 3,167.6, (*abhy*)*aghnat*, Mbh 1,9.21, *aghnatām*, Mbh 1,200.21, (2pl. [↗ 6.4.1]) *ghnata*, Mbh 1,170.3, *aghnanta*, Mbh 16,11*
- aor. [3.] *ajīghanat*, Mbh 5,123.14, 7,164.142
- fut. (↗ 8.4) *haṁsyati*, R 5.58.6 v.l. (*ni+*), *haṁsyate*, Mbh 4,21.33; — [2.] *hantā* (↗ 6.2.10 / 8.5[b]), Mbh 2,68.26, 5,160.10, 7,57.10.17, 133,5, 8,253* (*ni+*), 8,24.35.88, R 6,31.68, 7,54.8
- cond. *ahaniṣyat*, Mbh 7,156.25 (↗ 6.2.11), 8,48.14
- abs. (*ni*)*hatvā* (↗ 9.7.1), R 4,34.14, 5,51.39, (*prati*)*hanya*, Mbh 1,181.14 v.l. (CE *ḥatya*), 7,68.23 v.l. (CE *ḥatya*), *ahatya* (↗ 9.7.2), Mbh 5,146.33
- ger. *hantavya-*, Mbh 2,66.8 (*ni+*), 4,22.6, R 6,4.26 (*ni+*), 62.34, 7,13.36
- inf. << *ghnantum* (↗ 9.6), Mbh 12,324.4 >>
- sec. pass. << *hanyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 3,10.15 v.l. (CE *piḍyate*), 4,33.6 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *hanyatām*), 13,122.11, R 4,52.33 >>; — int. << (*vi*)*jījahi*, Mbh 7,App.8.742 >>; — des. *jighāṁsate*, Mbh 3,230.27, 14,9.6, << *jighāṁsīyāt* (↗ 8.9), Mbh 12,35.17 v.l. >> — caus. *ghātayate*, Mbh 1,75.3 v.l. (*aghātayithāḥ* [↗ 8.2.5]) (part. << *ghātayāna-* [↗ 9.1], Mbh 13,73.3 >>)

rem. On 2sg. imp. *jāhihi*, R 4,App.24.124 v.l., see p. 211 n. 5.

√**has** 'to laugh' (I. [VIA I 480, LIV 199])

- pr. *hasate*, Mbh 6,108.11, 13,10.52 (*pra+*), App.4.56.60,
- pf. *jahāsa*, Mbh 14,73.24 = 75.2, *jahasuḥ*, Mbh 8,28.30 (*pra+*), R 1,309*.45

- aor. [5.] *hāsīḥ*, Mbh 5,27.14 (*pra+*), *hāsiṣuḥ*, Mbh 2,66.34 (*pra+* [see below, rem.]), 68.6 (id. [↗ 6.4.2])
 fut. *hasiṣyati*, Mbh 3,48.32, R 6,56.15
 abs. (*pra*)*hasitvā* (↗ 9.7.1), Mbh 2,458*, °*hasya*, Mbh 3,53.1 (*pra+*), 163.39 (*pra+*), R 7,20.11 (*saṃpra+*)
 ger. *hāsya-*, Mbh 4,4.29
 inf. *hasitum*, R 3,59.4, 5,App.2.105
 sec. int. *jāhasyate*, Mbh 3,222.1 (*jāhasyamāna-*)

rem. It is quite possible that *prahāsiṣuḥ*, Mbh 2,66.34, belongs to ¹√*hā*.

¹√*hā* ‘to leave behind’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 374, LIV 173, KULIKOV 2001: 336-338])

- pr. *jahi* (↗ 7.3.3), Mbh 13,1.18, R 1,24.16, 3,App.12.30; — [→ I. (↗ 6.6.3.1)] *jahati*, Mbh 1,161.7 (*prajahanti*), 7,63*.1 (*vyajahan*), 11,25.5, 13,149.8 (*prajahet*), R 6,131*.14 ([3du. imp.] *jahatām*)
 aor. [4.] *ahāśma*, Mbh 5,70.10 (see also √*has*, rem.)
 fut. *jahiṣyati* (↗ 8.4), Mbh 3,88.30, R 5,11.31 v.l. (CE *dhārayiṣyati*)
 ger. *hātavya-*, Mbh 12,60.35, 217.51
 sec. pass. << *hīyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 2,49.24, 6,61.17, R 5,35.57 >>; — des. (part.) *jihāsati-*, R 3,1351* v.l., *jihāsamāna-*, R 3,59.15 v.l. (Lahore ed.); — caus. *hāpayati*, Mbh 3,38.7, 5,29.41, 40.1, 70.80

²√*hā* ‘to move’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 375, LIV 172])

rem. The future *hāsyate* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (pace WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**hi** ‘to impel’ (V. *aniṭ* [VIA I 249, LIV 174])

rem. The future *heṣyati* does not seem to be attested in the Epics (*pace* WHITNEY, *Roots* s.v.).

√**hi(ṃ)s** ‘to injure’ (VII. *aniṭ* [VIA I 250, LIV 174-175, KULIKOV 2001: 385])

- pr. << (2sg. ind.) *hinatsi*, Mbh 1,92.47 v.l. (CE *hiṃsasi*) >>, {{ *hiṃsi*, Mbh 3,App.21.62 v.l. (CE *haṃsi*) }}
ger. *hiṃsanīya-*, Mbh 12,278.35
sec. caus. (= simplex [↗ 8.8.1(a)]) *hiṃsayati*, Mbh 3,188.21.22 (both times [part.] *hiṃsayant-*), 12,169.25, 264.13, 13,133.38

√**hu** ‘to pour (an oblation), to offer, to sacrifice’ (III. *aniṭ* [VIA I 251, LIV 179, KULIKOV 2001: 230-232])

- pr. (part. *juhvant-* [↗ 2.19], Mbh 1,81.12, 110.31, 201.8, 4,280*.7, 6,69.38)
pf. *juhāva*, Mbh 1,51.8, R 6,37.5 (*ā+*), 69.26, *juhuvuḥ*, Mbh 1,27.12, 47.18, *juhuve*, R 2,1211*.2, << *juhava* (↗ 8.1.3.1), R 6,67.4 v.l. = 69.23 v.l. (CE [both times] *juhuve*) >>
fut. *hoṣyate*, Mbh 3,188.26

√**hr̥** ‘to take’ (I. *aniṭ* [VIA I 252, LIV 177, KULIKOV 2001: 235-236])

- aor. [4.] *ahārṣīt*, Mbh 2,45.26 (*ā+*), 47.21 (*id.*)
 fut. [2.] *hartā*, Mbh 7,51.39 (*ahaṃ ... abhihartā*), R 2,34* (*vi+*), 7,74.12 (*ā+*)
 ger. *hartavya-*, R 3,38.6, *haraṇīya-*, Mbh 1,194.11 (*pra+*)
 inf. *haritum* (↗ 9.6), R 3,60.1 v.l. (*ud+* [CE *ānayitum*]), 64.4 (*vyā+*)
 va. (*praharṣa*)*harita-*, Mbh 1,1945*.5 (cf. [*saṃtoṣa*]*bharita-*, *ibid.* 1. 4)
 sec. pass. << *hriyati* (↗ 8.7), Mbh 1,165.24, 3,154.31 ([part. (↗ 9.1) *hriyataḥ*], R 3,47.28, 4,6.20 ([part. (↗ 9.1)] *hriyantī-*) >>; — caus. ([pass.] *hāryate*, Mbh 2,5.103 [*ava+*])

rem. On *praty-a-saṃharam*, R 5,56.55, see (↗) 6.4.3.

√**hr̥ṣ** ‘to be excited, to become erect, to bristle’ (IV. / I. [VIA I 482, LIV 178, 198, KULIKOV 2001: 491-492])

- pr. [IV.] *hr̥ṣyate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 2,22.18 (*samahṣyanta*), 4,4.29 (*pra+*) — [I.] *harṣate*, R 6,60.10 (*saṃharṣamāṇa-*)
 pf. *jaharṣa*, Mbh 2,58.42, R 5,1.96, *jahṣuḥ*, Mbh 15,41.25, *jahrṣe*, Mbh 2,30.15, *jahrṣire*, Mbh 2,41.28, R 2,57.12, 4,1282*, << *jaharṣire* (↗ 8.1.3.3), R 6,79.17 >>
 aor. [2.] *ahr̥ṣan*, Mbh 2,45.31 ~ 49.17
 abs. *ḥhr̥ṣya*, Mbh 6,247* (*saṃpra+*)
 va. *hr̥ṣta-*, Mbh 3,51.23, 66.20, R 1,8.23, 52.5.6, 2,30.32, 3,50.11 (*pra+*)
 sec. caus. *harṣayase*, Mbh 7,98.9

√**hel** ‘to despise, to deride’ (I. [cf. VIA I 481])

- pr. *helate*, Mbh 10,10.23 (*helamāna-*), 12,56.58 (id.)
 ger. *helitavya-*, Mbh 12,309.23 v.l. (CE *heḍitavya-*)
 sec. caus. (= simplex [↗ 8.8.1(a)]) *helayate*, Mbh 12,56.57 v.l. ([part.]
helayant-), 13,133.38 v.l. (*vi+* [CE *vihimsayate*])

√**heṣ** ‘to neigh’ (I. [VIA I 662]) — see also (→) √*hreṣ*

- pr. *heṣate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 4,57.3 (*heṣamāṇa-*), R 2,1273* (id.)
 va. *heṣita-*, Mbh 4,42.23, 6,16.22, 7,129.17, 8,7.37, R 5,3.35

√**hnu** ‘to deny, to disavow’ (II. *aniṭ* [VIA I 253, LIV 180])

- pr. *nihnavati* (↗ 6.1[a]), 12,222.8 v.l. (CE *nihnuvanti*), 13,112.104 (v.l.
nihnoti)

√**hrī** ‘to be ashamed’ (III. *seṭ* [VIA I 377, LIV 180])

- va. *hrīṇa-*, R 4,608* (v.l.)

√**hreṣ** ‘to neigh’ (I.) — see also (→) √*heṣ*

- pr. *hreṣati*, Mbh 4,42.23 v.l. (CE *hreṣanti*), 7,167.19 v.l. (CE *heṣatām*),
hreṣate, Mbh 4,57.3 v.l. (CE *heṣamāṇa-*)
 va. *hreṣita-*, Mbh 3,158.25 v.l. (CE *iṅgita-*), 4,42.23 v.l. (CE *hreṣita-*)

sec. caus. *hreṣayati*, Mbh 3,158.25 v.1. (*hreṣayām āsuḥ* [CE *harṣayām āsuḥ*])

√hlād ‘to rejoice’ (I.)

pr. *hlādate*, Mbh 1,68.48.49

sec. caus. *hlādayati*, Mbh 14,67.1 (*hlādayant-*), R 1,9.28 (*prahlādayant-*), 5,56.12 (id.), *hlādayate*, Mbh 13,101.19, 14,89.1

√hval ‘to stagger, to go wrong’ (I. [cf. VIA I 255, LIV 182]) —
always with (^o)vi+

pr. *hvalati*, Mbh 1,1.159 (vi+), 3,31.38 (id.), 8,68.15 (*vihvalant-*), R 2,11.4 (id.), 2,1612*.1 (vi+), 4,App.14.110 ([part.] *parivihvalantī*), *hvalate* (↗ 6.1[b]), Mbh 7,14.30 (*vihvalamāna-*)

va. (*vi*)*hvalita-*, Mbh 7,66.23, 8,38.27, R 2,1946*, 6,42.35

√hvā ‘to call’ (^oaya-pr. *seṭ* [VIA I 525, LIV 180-181, KULIKOV 2001: 232-235])

pr. << (*ā*)*hvayāna-* (↗ 9.1), Mbh 5,542*.3, 180.10, R 6,83.39 >>

pf. << (*ā*)*hvayām āsa* (↗ 8.1.4), Mbh 1,114.1, 5,179.31, R 7,1026*, 61.2, (*ā*)*hvayāṃ cakrire* (↗ 8.1.4), R 1,387*.1 >>

fut. [2.] (*ā*)*hvayitā*, Mbh 2,52.16

ger. (*ā*)*hvayitavya-* (↗ 9.5), Mbh 1,77.15

sec. caus. *āhvāpayat* (↗ 8.8), Mbh 1,155.34

XII. Abbreviations and literature

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- BHSG F. EDGERTON. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar*. New Haven 1953.
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- A.I.O.N.-L Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Sezione linguistica
- AJP American Journal of Philology

<i>AKM</i>	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
<i>ALB</i>	Adyar Library Bulletin
<i>AOS</i>	American Oriental Series
<i>AWLM</i>	Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz (Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse)
<i>AO</i>	Acta Orientalia
<i>AOS</i>	American Oriental Society
<i>BB</i>	Betzenbergers Beiträge
<i>BDCRI</i>	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute
<i>BEI</i>	Bulletin d'Études Indiennes
<i>BSL</i>	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique
<i>BSO(A)S</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies
<i>GGA</i>	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen
<i>HS</i>	Historische Sprachforschung
<i>HSK</i>	Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft
<i>IF</i>	Indogermanische Forschungen
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>IJJ</i>	Indo-Iranian Journal
<i>IL</i>	Indian Linguistics
<i>IT</i>	Indologica Taurinensia
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JAs</i>	Journal Asiatique
<i>JBBRAS</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JBORS</i>	Journal of the Bihar Oriental Research Society
<i>JIBS</i>	Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies
<i>JOIB</i>	Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda
<i>JORM</i>	Journal of Oriental Research Madras

<i>JPTS</i>	Journal of the Pali Text Society
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>MSL</i>	Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique
<i>MSS</i>	Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft
<i>NAWG</i>	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Phil.-Hist. Klasse)
<i>NIA</i>	New Indian Antiquary
<i>PAOS</i>	Proceedings of the American Oriental Society
<i>RO</i>	Rocznik Orjentalistyczny
<i>StII</i>	Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik
<i>VIJ</i>	Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal
<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes
<i>WZKS(O)</i>	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd(ost)-asiens
<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
<i>ZII</i>	Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik
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2,63.7	p. 165, 343	3,51.22	p. 375
2,63.18	p. 162	3,52.6	p. 357
2,64.11	p. 144	3,52.8	p. 353
2,65.1	p. 135	3,52.16	p. 157
2,66.8	p. 320 n. 1	3,53.4	p. 369
2,68.12	p. 357	3,53.11	p. 374
2,68.26	p. 158	3,54.26	p. 252, 357
2,69.18	p. 156	3,56.5	p. 376
2,27*.3-6	p. 285	3,57.11	p. 292
2,118*	p. 371	3,57.23	p. 322
2,167*	p. 374	3,60.13	p. 131
2,221*	p. 245	3,61.14	p. 374
3,4.5	p. 266	3,61.33 (v.l.)	p. 250

3,62.28	p. 148	3,149.16	p. 345
3,67.8	p. 143	3,154.31	p. 253
3,68.8	p. 73	3,154.43	p. 346
3,68.20	p. 374	3,161.21	p. 369
3,69.21	p. 296	3,163.45	p. 377
3,70.4	p. 152 n. 2	3,165.7 (v.l.)	p. 254
3,70.23	p. 349	3,170.13	p. 151
3,71.20	p. 203	3,170.36	p. 271 with n. 2
3,71.23	p. 268	3,173.9	p. 296
3,72.12	p. 357	3,180.44	p. 268
3,73.2	p. 355	3,184.3	p. 175
3,74.22	p. 149	3,186.52	p. 126
3,75.13	p. 159	3,191.8	p. 374
3,84.14	p. 345	3,196.10	p. 198
3,90.9	p. 123	3,196.15	p. 300
3,94.6	p. 343	3,196.21	p. 377
3,95.2	p. 369	3,197.41 (v.l.) = 205.3 (v.l.)	p. 138
3,98.5	p. 350	3,197.41	p. 332 n. 5
3,106.4	p. 367	3,197.42 (v.l.)	p. 203
3,107.3	p. 371	3,198.63	p. 317
3,107.19	p. 369	3,199.10	p. 165
3,107.25	p. 379	3,199.17	p. 176
3,110.24	p. 343	3,203.8	p. 318
3,111.15	p. 373	3,209.19	p. 292
3,115.19	p. 268	3,210.17	p. 330
3,123.18	p. 357	3,213.5	p. 378
3,124.15	p. 368	3,214.1	p. 368
3,126.36 (v.l.)	p. 333	3,214.5	p. 339
3,131.9	p. 254	3,214.8	p. 351
3,131.20	p. 320	3,222.40	p. 326
3,132.9	p. 314	3,224.8	p. 266
3,132.14	p. 314	3,228.2	p. 351
3,132.18-20	p. 313	3,238.8	p. 160
3,133.5	p. 136-137	3,245.18	p. 300
3,133.10	p. 308	3,246.1	p. 154
3,134.27	p. 148	3,246.35	p. 380
3,138.2	p. 149 n. 3	3,247.8	p. 307

3,250.5	p. 357	4,17.12-13	p. 163
3,252.18	p. 166	4,17.22	p. 308
3,253.20	p. 141 n. 4	4,19.22	p. 131
3,265.11-12	p. 118 n. 3	4,29.12	p. 135
3,271.24	p. 378	4,32.2	p. 378
3,275.25	p. 292	4,34.4-5	p. 175
3,280.26	p. 307 n. 2	4,35.6	p. 150
3,280.32	p. 292	4,39.11	p. 372
3,281.89	p. 342	4,44.2 (v.l.)	p. 296
3,281.98	p. 150 n. 1	4,48.8	p. 151
3,281.99 (v.l.)	p. 278	4,53.62	p. 367
3,282.12	p. 102	4,63.54	p. 143
3,293.5	p. 368	4,66.3	p. 309
3,90*	p. 160	4,66.24	p. 356
3,149*	p. 341	4,66.29	p. 106
3,300*	p. 152 n. 1	4,113*.2	p. 309
3,346*	p. 138	4,209*	p. 250
3,965*.4	p. 278	4,307*.9-12	p. 285-286
3,App.7.9	p. 328	4,363*.2	p. 308
3,App.8.16	p. 322	4,686*	p. 68, 107
3,App.21.78	p. 5	5,3.4	p. 317
3,App.27.1-12	p. 292	5,4.5	p. 351
3,App.27.52	p. 253	5,7.28	p. 334
3,App.27.66	p. 272	5,7.31	p. 379
4,1.4-6	p. 313	5,8.22	p. 337
4,1.8	p. 148-149	5,9.35	p. 68-69
4,3.13	p. 149	5,9.42	p. 144
4,3.17	p. 308	5,12.13	p. 357
4,4.13	p. 317	5,12.20	p. 5-6
4,4.31	p. 250	5,13.1	p. 357
4,5.4	p. 308	5,16.29	p. 346
4,6.5	p. 159	5,16.30	p. 339
4,8.16	p. 250	5,22.31	p. 141
4,9.14	p. 55	5,22.35	p. 148
4,11.3	p. 159	5,27.19	p. 163
4,12.6	p. 348	5,27.22 (v.l.)	p. 154
4,16.16	p. 151	5,29.17	p. 167

5,29.47 (v.l.)	p. 141-142 n. 4, 227	5,100.6	p. 339
5,31.23	p. 345	5,110.15	p. 349
5,32.21	p. 166	5,117.7	p. 353
5,33.20	p. 325	5,118.6	p. 353
5,33.71	p. 356	5,119.19	p. 349
5,33.99	p. 352	5,131.25	p. 378
5,35.13	p. XXXVI, 297	5,133.36	p. 318
5,36.3	p. 207	5,136.3	p. 327
5,36.55	p. 345	5,144.18	p. 351
5,37.53	p. 355	5,145.13	p. 372
5,37.60	p. 327	5,149.42	p. 24 n. 4
5,42.29	p. 145	5,158.2	p. 343
5,44.15	p. 21, 23	5,173.3	p. 134
5,45.7	p. 16	5,175.22	p. 252
5,45.17	p. 349	5,175.26	p. 341
5,47.3	p. 369	5,176.10	p. 164 n. 3
5,47.8	p. 376	5,176.30	p. 351
5,47.9	p. 233 with n. 5	5,177.12	p. 295
5,47.12	p. 169	5,177.18	p. 378
5,47.63	p. 325	5,180.16	p. 164 n. 3
5,50.58	p. 337	5,181.35 (v.l.)	p. 138
5,50.59	p. 134	5,187.17	p. 254
5,54.10	p. 147	5,190.23	p. 144
5,54.46	p. 366	5,508*	p. XXXVI
5,54.63	p. 118 n. 3	5,App.2.17	p. 55
5,60.19	p. 164	5,App.12.53	p. 160
5,70.31	p. 343	5,App.13.43	p. 336
5,70.42	p. 296 n. 3	6,7.8-9 (v.l.)	p. 308
5,70.80 = 71.32 = 75.15	p. 267	6,8.27	p. 307 n. 3
5,78.4	p. 303	6,16.7	p. 297
5,82.17	p. 340	6,16.31	p. 245
5,86.20	p. 344	6,23.35	p. 376
5,87.19	p. 354	6,24.8	p. 143
5,88.2	p. 292	6,26.36	p. 334
5,88.58	p. 148	6,37.18	p. 334 n. 6
5,90.18	p. 355	6,40.69	p. 335
5,91.19	p. 267	6,41.93	p. 369

6,43.76	p. 138	7,161.45	p. 150
6,52.8	p. 379	7,164.38 (v.l.)	p. 227
6,68.9	p. 297	7,172.70	p. 55
6,72.22	p. 147	7,428*	p. 370
6,85.10	p. 318	7,788*	p. 293
6,109.20	p. 376	7,792*	p. 271
6,114.32	p. 379	7,App.8.764	p. 357 n. 2
6,117.24	p. 254	8,5.39	p. 293
7,1.29	p. 277	8,6.35	p. 322
7,9.43	p. 122 n. 1	8,6.44	p. 322
7,24.2	p. 169	8,7.15	p. 330
7,26.10	p. 364	8,17.35 (v.l.)	p. 371
7,47.16	p. 135, 150	8,24.59	p. 118 n. 3
7,50.74	p. 163-164	8,24.158	p. 164
7,50.79	p. 148	8,34.8	p. 158
7,54.10	p. 49	8,40.19	p. 148
7,55.39	p. 371	8,46.14	p. 297
7,57.10	p. 157-158	8,49.63	p. 160, 285 n. 2
7,57.17	p. 158	8,51.41	p. 162
7,57.61	p. 368	8,54.22	p. 131
7,57.72	p. 299	8,54.24	p. 147
7,62.6	p. 164	8,59.2	p. 251
7,77.22	p. 251	8,61.7	p. 122 n. 1
7,82.9	p. 376	8,63.3	p. 300
7,86.31	p. 355	8,65.16	p. 227
7,92.25	p. 293	8,65.22-23	p. 313
7,102.58	p. 293	8,67.27	p. 286
7,102.105	p. 293	8,68.1	p. 343
7,103.30	p. 293	8,44*	p. 322
7,108.35	p. 150	8,201*	p. 175
7,118.4	p. 227	8,386*.7	p. 327
7,122.26	p. 347	8,729*.5-8	p. 163 n. 4
7,133.5	p. 160	9,1.10	p. 287
7,147.6 (v.l.)	p. 169	9,4.48	p. 116 n. 6
7,148.6	p. 227	9,23.35	p. 110
7,150.102	p. 268	9,23.39	p. 327
7,156.25	p. 162	9,33.5	p. 307

9,35.15	p. 378	12,139.6	p. 298
9,36.18	p. 286	12,140.1	p. 176
9,36.37	p. 277	12,149.8	p. 285 n. 2
9,37.6	p. 321 n. 2	12,161.33	p. 169-170
9,50.27	p. 327-328	12,171.56	p. 241
9,50.33	p. 120	12,189.2 (v.l.)	p. 304
9,57.59	p. 297	12,192.89	p. 303
9,62.19	p. 165-166, 302	12,211.27	p. 338
10,1.1	p. 368	12,220.98	p. 157
10,3.25 = 5.11	p. 157	12,224.62	p. 359
10,6.19	p. 252	12,224.65	p. 359
10,10.26	p. 314	12,258.34	p. 248
11,7.8	p. 326	12,260.24 (v.l.)	p. 334
11,15.20	p. 25-26 n. 2	12,268.4	p. 241
11,20.1	p. 355	12,270.20	p. 183 n. 2
11,23.14	p. 355	12,288.18	p. 344
12,8.13	p. 344	12,294.10	p. 126 n. (5)
12,10.4-5	p. 164 n. 1	12,298.22	p. 37 with n. 4
12,15.30	p. 166	12,308.158	p. 122
12,17.3	p. 143	12,309.34	p. 150
12,17.18	p. 241	12,321.6	p. 328
12,22.11	p. 120	12,323.17	p. 226
12,47.47	p. 338	12,323.27	p. 302
12,49.7	p. 22 n. 4	12,323.31	p. 302
12,49.80 (v.l.)	p. 267	12,323.34	p. 302
12,59.27	p. 142 (n. 4)	12,326.32	p. 297
12,67.16	p. 166	12,327.92	p. 332
12,73.1	p. 143	12,329.14 ₁	p. 370
12,82.9.11	p. 112	12,346.5	p. 307
12,82.20	p. 176	12,347.13	p. 307
12,88.6	p. 203	13,1.28	p. 226
12,91.21	p. 144, 317	13,1.43	p. 226
12,103.35	p. 216 n. 5	13,6.6	p. 379
12,125.31	p. 110	13,6.46	p. 297
12,133.33 (v.l.)	p. 317	13,14.1	p. 332, 354-355 n. 4
12,136.42	p. 176	13,14.57	p. 322
12,136.86	p. 150	13,14.102	p. 153

13,23.13 (v.l.)	p. 309	14,48.4	p. 126 n. (5)
13,26.40	p. XXXVI	14,55.22	p. 158
13,36.4	p. 317	14,63.12	p. 304
13,41.27	p. 112	14,64.15-16	p. 118 n. 3
13,45.17	p. 366	14,70.6-7	p. 336
13,48.39	p. 59	14,190*	p. 377
13,51.8	p. 207	15,9.7	p. 369
13,55.19	p. 106	15,17.19	p. 286
13,58.25	p. 229	15,17.21	p. 322
13,61.27	p. 310 n. 2	16,3.22	p. 314
13,61.43	p. 353	17,1.6	p. 353
13,62.13	p. 143		
13,77.16	p. 340		
13,82.2	p. 328	Rāmāyaṇa	
13,87.10	p. XXXVI, 310 n. 3	1,1.4	p. 339
13,87.18	p. 84 with n. 2	1,1.16-18	p. 355-356
13,90.29-30	p. 127 n. 2	1,1.79	p. 207-208
13,95.3	p. 159	1,2.9	p. 368
13,95.26 = 30	p. 352	1,2.14	p. 184
13,95.47	p. 314	1,5.7	p. 311 n. 1
13,95.80	p. 371	1,5.9	p. 251
13,96.11-13	p. 150	1,8.3 (v.l.)	p. 273 n. 1
13,96.13	p. 75	1,8.8	p. 144
13,104.14	p. 121	1,8.10	p. 153
13,106.33	p. 120	1,8.18	p. 250
13,107.74	p. 194 n. 5, 244 n. 4	1,8.19	p. XXXV
13,113.11	p. 118 n. 4	1,9.19	p. XXVI n. 6
13,128.56	p. 355	1,9.30	p. 325 n. 1
13,131.27	p. 354-355	1,11.5-6	p. 305-306 n. 3
13,8*.5-7	p. 162-163	1,12.34 (v.l.)	p. 380
13,73*.1	p. 354-355 n. 4	1,15.2	p. 379
13,73*.6	p. 338	1,17.34	p. 134
13,401*.4	p. 322	1,18.2	p. 298
13,App.4.64-65	p. 188-189	1,18.12	p. 345
14,19.5	p. 344	1,21.13	p. 355
14,20.5	p. 342	1,20.13	p. 271
14,46.23	p. 345	1,21.16	p. 277

1,22.18	p. 351	1,1045*	p. 354
1,23.27	p. 252	1,1229*	p. 347
1,24.19	p. 290	1,1291*	p. 293
1,30.12	p. 326	1,1324*.11	p. 294
1,30.20 (v.l.)	p. 347	1,App.5.17-18	p. 150-151
1,31.18	p. 24 n. 1	1,App.8.1-2	p. 294
1,32.14	p. 134	2,1.32	p. 355
1,33.7	p. 354 n. 2	2,3.7	p. 251
1,36.3 (v.l.)	p. 154	2,4.21	p. 145
1,36.13	p. 244 n. 3	2,8.12	p. 309
1,37.1	p. 351	2,8.34	p. 378 n. 3
1,39.8 (v.l.)	p. 135	2,10.9	p. 142 n. 1
1,39.10	p. 136	2,11.3	p. 309
1,42.15	p. 217	2,12.5	p. 353
1,45.9	p. 355 n. 1	2,13.6 (v.l.)	p. 294
1,46.22	p. 338	2,14.13	p. 367
1,48.16 (v.l.)	p. 336	2,15.8	p. 322
1,48.22	p. 373	2,16.37	p. 144
1,49.24	p. 354	2,17.9	p. 342
1,50.5	p. 354	2,18.39	p. 325 n. 1
1,52.18	p. 293	2,22.7	p. 344
1,53.6	p. 373	2,23.12	p. 147
1,53.16 v.l. (of ed. Gorr.)	p. 152	2,24.7	p. 326
1,54.23	p. 336	2,25.14	p. 285 n. 2
1,60.2	p. 156	2,26.20	p. 146 (n. 6), 349 (n.5)
1,64.20	p. 293	2,27.4	p. 145
1,65.3	p. 134	2,27.7	p. 160 n. 4
1,65.10	p. 301 n. 1	2,29.14	p. 151-152
1,66.19	p. 380	2,30.6	p. 376
1,70.24	p. 293	2,30.15	p. 135
1,74.7	p. 354 n. 1	2,31.10	p. 116 n. 2
1,406*	p. 113, 120, 126	2,31.17	p. 300 n. 1
1,506*.3	p. 120	2,31.29	p. 326
1,548*	p. 134	2,34.32	p. 116 n. 2
1,599*	p. 271-272	2,36.6	p. 254
1,960*	p. 135	2,38.9	p. 166 n. 2
1,975*	p. 371	2,41.1	p. 378

2,41.11	p. 287-288	2,82.2	p. 311 n. 3
2,41.19	p. 135	2,84.2 (v.l.)	p. 370
2,42.4	p. 131-132	2,84.3	p. 367
2,42.14	p. 151	2,84.16	p. 367
2,43.12-13	p. 54-55	2,88.26 (v.l.)	p. 377
2,44.4-5	p. 132, 135	2,90.16	p. 135
2,44.11	p. 375	2,90.16-17	p. 156
2,45.4 (v.l.)	p. 335	2,90.22	p. 356 n. 2
2,46.5	p. 329 n. 5	2,91.4	p. 356
2,46.38 (v.l.)	p. 248	2,92.12	p. 372
2,48.25	p. 157	2,93.30	p. 267
2,51.10	p. 314	2,94.16	p. 103 n. 5
2,51.14	p. 372	2,94.27	p. 343
2,53.3	p. 314	2,98.63	p. 350
2,55.19	p. 302	2,99.3	p. 353
2,56.14	p. 331 n. 4	2,99.11	p. 371
2,57.7	p. 250	2,102.24	p. 227
2,57.10	p. 145-146 n. 6	2,103.14	p. 152 n. 1
2,57.28-29	p. 313	2,104.24	p. 250
2,57.35	p. 141	2,106.1.7	p. 288
2,58.16	p. 321	2,108.19	p. 151
2,58.19	p. 148, 165	2,108.25 (v.l.)	p. 11
2,58.25	p. 73	2,110.42	p. 350
2,58.41	p. 372	2,110.43	p. 342
2,61.23	p. 167	2,110.51	p. 369
2,63.2	p. 311 n. 2	2,55*.8	p. 352
2,63.6	p. 267	2,167*.5-6	p. 335
2,63.17	p. 318	2,183*.5-6	p. 380
2,65.11	p. 379	2,378*	p. 319
2,70.11	p. 301	2,436* (v.l.)	p. 294
2,71.1	p. 249 n. 1	2,705*	p. 189
2,71.9	p. 370	2,901*.4	p. 294
2,72.14	p. 135	2,927*	p. 381
2,72.21	p. 317	2,940*.9	p. 326
2,73.15	p. 353	2,957*	p. 254
2,77.23	p. 367	2,1058*.15	p. 112
2,78.3	p. 250	2,1101*.5	p. 376

2,1173*.1	p. 371	3,36.10	p. 379
2,1180*.12	p. 251	3,36.21	p. 370
2,1343*	p. 162	3,38.3 (v.l.)	p. 244
2,1362*	p. 331 n. 4	3,40.22	p. 146 (n. 6)
2,1420*.5-8	p. 287 n. 3	3,41.47	p. 105
2,1444*	p. 321	3,42.30	p. 378
2,1488*.3	p. 317	3,43.37	p. 375
2,1596*	p. 267	3,44.29	p. 339
2,1612*.4	p. 318	3,45.26	p. 345
2,1793*.2	p. 353	3,47.25	p. 142 n. 2
2,1813*	p. 249 n. 1	3,49.22	p. 340
2,1933*.3-4	p. 344	3,52.22	p. 371
2,2339*.3	p. 107	3,52.26	p. 372
2,App.9.57	p. 356	3,53.14	p. 380
2,App.9.230	p. 278	3,53.25	p. 337 n. 2
2,App.10.1-3	p. 311 n. 2	3,54.5	p. 160 n. 4
2,App.13.19	p. 347	3,54.8	p. 340
3,4.4	p. 375	3,55.6	p. 373
3,4.21-23	p. 155	3,55.14	p. 288
3,5.9	p. 322 n. 3	3,57.13 (v.l.)	p. 279
3,9.9	p. 374	3,59.16	p. 135
3,10.42	p. 379	3,60.19 v.l. (of ed. Gorr.)	p. 151
3,11.5	p. 255	3,60.47	p. 376
3,12.20	p. 350	3,62.5	p. 132
3,12.21	p. 347	3,62.11	p. 294, 340
3,14.6	p. 374	3,63.3 (v.l.)	p. 134, 156
3,15.31	p. 244	3,64.13	p. 144
3,17.15	p. 377	3,64.23	p. 376
3,19.4 (v.l.)	p. 151	3,68.3	p. 145
3,23.11	p. 380	3,69.14	p. 95-96
3,23.12	p. 276, 278 n. 6	3,71.6 (v.l.)	p. 135, 156
3,28.23	p. 351	3,71.9	p. 135
3,33.33	p. 368	3,111*.1	p. 273 n. 1
3,34.16	p. 357 n. 2	3,289*.9	p. 144
3,34.22	p. 346 n. 2	3,401*	p. 346
3,35.4	p. 346	3,749*.3-4	p. 144
3,36.7	p. 345	3,753*	p. 141

3,874*	p. 301	5,1.18	p. 245
3,1089*	p. 375	5,1.19	p. 255
3,1266*.5	p. 244 n. 4	5,1.134 (v.l.)	p. 294
3,App.15.26	p. 135	5,1.150	p. 330 n. 3
4,4.21	p. 136	5,11.52	p. 152
4,8.43	p. 152	5,12.40	p. 286
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Concordance to KIELHORN's *Grammatik der Sanskrit-Sprache*, to
EDGERTON's *BHSG* and to OBERLIES' *Pāli Grammar*

With the help of the following concordance and those given in OBERLIES (2001: 356-380) the user of the present grammar can readily ascertain which paragraphs in WILHELM GEIGER's *Pāli. Literatur und Sprache* (Strassburg 1916), OSKAR VON HINÜBER's *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick* (Wien 2001) and RICHARD PISCHEL's *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* (Strassburg 1900) deal with a given phenomenon. Hopefully this will make this grammar useful also for Middle Indian studies.

	KIELHORN	EDGERTON	OBERLIES
I. Sandhi	§ 13-59	§ 4	§ 23-27
1.1. Absence of <i>sandhi</i>	—	§ 4.51-56	§ 23 (p. 116), 25 (p. 124)
1.2. Peculiar <i>sandhis</i>	—	§ 4.13	—
1.3. <i>Sandhi</i> of <i>pra-</i> <i>grhya</i> -vowels	cf. § 25	§ 4.47	—
1.4. <i>Sandhi</i> of <i>eṣa(h)</i>	§ 180	§ 4.48-50	cf. § 42.2 (p. 185)
1.8. Double <i>sandhi</i>	—	§ 4.34-35	—
1.9. Consonantal <i>sandhi</i>	§ 26-32, 40- 41	—	§ 24
II. Declension of nouns	§ 60-70	§ 5-7	§ 28-29
2.1. <i>a</i> -stems	§ 131	§ 8	§ 30
2.2. <i>ā</i> -stems	§ 131	§ 9	§ 31
2.3. <i>i</i> -/ <i>u</i> -stems	§ 136-137	§ 10 / 12	§ 32
2.4. <i>sakhi</i> -	§ 139	—	§ 33
2.5. <i>pati</i> -	§ 139	—	—
2.6. (fem.) <i>i</i> -/ <i>u</i> -stems	§ 136	§ 10 / 12	§ 36
2.7. (ntr.) <i>u</i> -stems	§ 136	§ 12.29	§ 32
2.8. (°) <i>bhrū</i> -	§ 165	—	—
2.9. <i>strī</i> -	§ 144	—	—
2.10. <i>ī</i> -/ <i>ū</i> -stems	§ 141	§ 10 / 12	§ 36
2.11. <i>tandrī</i> -	§ 142	—	—

2.12. <i>r</i> -stems	§ 148	§ 13	§ 40
2.13. (Kinship) <i>r</i> -stems	§ 151	§ 13	§ 40
2.14. (masc.) <i>ā</i> -/ <i>ī</i> -/ <i>ū</i> -stems	§ 145-147	—	§ 35
2.15. <i>go</i> -	§ 153	cf. § 14	§ 37
2.16. (ntr.) <i>as</i> -stems	§ 88	§ 16	§ 38
2.17. (masc.) <i>as</i> -stems	§ 88	§ 16	§ 38
2.18. Present participle	§ 101-105	§ 18	§ 41 (p. 177-179)
2.19. Redupl. participle	§ 106	§ 18	—
2.20. <i>mahānt</i> -	§ 108	§ 18.2	§ 41
2.21. ^o <i>mant</i> -stems	§ 109-111	§ 18	§ 41
2.22.-23. ^o <i>an</i> -stems	§ 114-116	§ 17	§ 39
2.24. ^o (<i>C</i>) <i>m/van</i> -stems	§ 114-116	§ 17	§ 39 (p. 170)
2.25. <i>maghavan</i> - / <i>yuvan</i> -	§ 120	—	§ 39 (p. 171-172)
2.26. ^o <i>in</i> -stems	§ 86	§ 10.58	§ 34
2.27. Comparative in ^o <i>īyāms</i> -	§ 99	§ 16.34	§ 38 (p. 167-168)
2.28. Perfect participle	§ 124	§ 16.49-52	—
2.29. <i>ahar</i> -	§ 121	—	—
2.30. <i>path</i> -	§ 160	—	—
2.31. <i>ap</i> -	§ 155	cf. § 15.13	—
2.32. <i>pums</i> -	§ 163	—	§ 39 (p. 171-172)
2.33. <i>anaduh</i> -	§ 154	—	—
2.34. <i>div</i> -	§ 158	cf. § 14	§ 37
2.35. ^o <i>han</i> -	§ 118	—	—
2.36. <i>pūṣan</i> -	§ 118	—	—
III. Transfer of stem	—	§ 15	§ 28.2 (p. 131-136)
IV. Pronouns	§ 177-200	§ 20-21	§ 42
4.1.-6. Personal pronouns	§ 177-178	§ 20	§ 42.1 (p. 180-184)
4.7. Generic pronouns	§ 179-182	§ 21	§ 42.2-3 / 5-6
4.7.1. Interrogative pr.	§ 183-184	—	§ 42.4
4.7.2. Pronominal adj.	§ 195-200	—	§ 42.7

V. Numerals	§ 201-213	§ 19	§ 43
5.1. Cardinals	§ 201	§ 19.29-35	§ 43 (p. 192-197)
5.1.7. Inflexion	§ 204-211	§ 19.1-27	§ 43 (p. 192-195)
5.2. Ordinals	§ 201 / 212	§ 19.36	§ 43 (p. 197-198)
VI. – IX. The verbal system	§ 214-485	§ 24-43	§ 44-58
6.1. Use of voices	§ 224-225 / 579	cf. § 37	§ 44 (p. 199)
6.2. Use of modes and tenses	§ 217-219	—	—
6.2.1. Indicative	cf. § 582	—	—
6.2.2. Optative	§ 589	—	cf. § 48 (p. 243)
6.2.3. Imperative	§ 587	—	—
6.2.4. Precative	§ 593	—	—
6.2.5. Present tense	§ 582-583	—	—
6.2.6. Imperfect	§ 584	—	—
6.2.7. Perfect	§ 584	—	—
6.2.8. Aorist	§ 584-585	§ 32.1	—
6.2.9. Future	§ 586	—	—
6.2.10. Periphr. future	§ 586	§ 31.36	p. 248-249
6.2.11. Conditional	§ 588	§ 31.38-40	§ 50
6.3. The verbal endings	§ 227	§ 26	§ 46-48
6.4. The augment	§ 229	§ 32.2-12	p. 242
6.5. Constructions with <i>mā</i>	§ 218b / 588	§ 42	p. 242 n. 1
6.6. Transfer of present classes	—	§ 28	§ 44 (p. 201-205)
6.7. Crossing of roots	—	—	p. 42 n. 6
6.8. Secondary roots	—	—	—
7.1-9. Aberrant forms of individual present classes	—	§ 28	—
8.1. The perfect	§ 299-327	§ 33	p. 228-229
8.1.4. Periphrastic pf.	§ 328-330	—	—
8.2. The aorist	§ 331-366	§ 32	§ 48
8.2.1. Root-aorist	§ 333-336	§ 32.106-109	p. 231-232

8.2.2. <i>a</i> -aorist	§ 337-340	§ 32.110-118	p. 232-234
8.2.3. Reduplicated aor.	§ 341-344	cf. § 32.114	p. 236
8.2.4. <i>s</i> -aorist	§ 345-351	§ 32.47-84	p. 234-235
8.2.5. <i>iṣ</i> -aorist	§ 352-357	§ 32.15-46	p. 235-236
8.3. The precative	§ 380-385	—	p. 199
8.4. The future	§ 367-372	§ 31	§ 49
8.4.2. Modes of the fut.	—	§ 31.37	p. 244 n. 4
8.5. The periphrastic future	§ 373-377	§ 31.36	p. 248-249
8.6. The conditional	§ 378-379	§ 31.38-40	§ 50
8.7. The passive	§ 386-401	§ 37(.10-14)	§ 53
8.7.1. The passive used as active	—	§ 37.22-23	p. 199
8.7.2. <i>ātmanepada</i> - forms with passive meaning	§ 223	cf. § 37.24-25	—
8.8. The causative	§ 404-438	§ 38.1-33	§ 52
8.8.1. Causatives with non-causal meaning	—	§ 38.18-23	cf. p. 199 / 215
8.8.2. Simplex with causal meaning	—	§ 38.24-33	—
8.9. The desiderative	§ 439-456	§ 40	p. 200 with n. 1 / 3
8.10. The intensive	§ 457-474	§ 39	p. 200 with n. 1 / 3
8.11. The denominative	§ 475-485	§ 38.34-40	§ 51
9.1. The present participle	§ 498-500	§ 34.1-5	§ 54
9.2. The future participle	§ 501	—	§ 54
9.3. The perfect participle	§ 502-505	cf. § 34.6	cf. p. 180 n. 1
9.4. The verbal adjective	§ 506-512	§ 34.7-19	§ 56
9.5. The gerundive	§ 528-538	§ 34.20-27	§ 55
9.6. The infinitive	§ 527	§ 36	§ 57
9.7. The absolutive	§ 513-526	§ 35	§ 58
9.7.1. Absolutive I in place of II	—	§ 35.8	cf. p. 269
9.7.2. Absolutive II in place of I	—	§ 35.9	cf. p. 269
9.7.3. The syntax of absolutive	§ 598-599	—	—

With regard to syntax, a concordance of this grammar and SPEYER's publications of 1886 and 1896 on the one hand and MEENAKSHI 1983 seems appropriate:

	SPEYER	MEENAKSHI
10.1. Use of numbers	1886: § 19-30 1896: § 7-10	2-3, 32-33
10.2. Syntactical irregularities	1886: § 27.3 (p. 19) 1896: § 95	—
10.2.1-3. Lack of concord	1886: § 27 1896: § 94 (p. 29)	3, 34-35
10.3. Syntax of cases	1886: § 35-150 (p. 24-113) 1896: § 13-84 (p. 6-24)	4-15, 36-135
10.3.1. The nominative	1886: § 38 (p. 26) 1896: § 13-14 (p. 6)	4, 36-37
10.3.2. The accusative	1886: § 39-56 (p. 29-42) 1896: § 16-30 (p. 7-10)	4-7, 37-54
10.3.3. The instrumental	1886: § 57-78 (p. 42-58) 1896: § 31-42 (p. 10-13)	7-11, 54-72
10.3.4. The dative	1886: § 79-92 (p. 58-67) 1896: § 43-48 (p. 13-15)	11-12, 72-86
10.3.5. The ablative	1886: § 93-108 (p. 67-81) 1896: § 50-61 (p. 15-18)	12-13, 86-99
10.3.6. The genitive	1886: § 109-132 (p. 81-101) 1896: § 62-74 (p. 18-21)	13-15, 100-118
10.3.7. The locative	1886: § 133-150 (p. 102-113) 1896: § 75-81 (p. 21-23)	15-16, 118-135
10.4. Nominal composition	1886: § 204-232 (p. 145-178) 1896: § 105-114 (p. 32-35)	—
10.5. Pre- and postpositions	1886: § 151-199 (p. 113-142) 1896: § 85-92 (p. 24-29)	47-50, 60-63, 96-99, 110-111, 117-118
10.6. Absolutes used as postpositions	1886: § 200-203 (p. 143-145) 1896: § 93 (p. 29)	50-51

